Living at Home: People, Spaces, and the Changing Domestic Environment in Early Modern South-West England

Submitted by Andrew Peter Binding to the University of Exeter
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Abstract

The domestic housing of early modern south-west England, c.1500 to c.1750, has been under-studied compared with other regions of England, with limited consideration of the broad changes in the physical layout of domestic houses. Current research, drawing on proxemics and Environment-Behaviour Studies, shows how changes to the layout and rooms of early modern houses has a strong relationship with changes to social relationships and cultural behaviours, as well as economic, political, religious, and geographical influences. Current research also shows how the domestic housing of other regions underwent change in accordance with existing theories, such as the 'Great Rebuilding' or 'Closure'. This study investigates the changes in the physical layout of rural and urban vernacular and gentry houses of Devon and Cornwall, c.1500 to c.1750. It examines changes to domestic behaviours such as cooking, eating and drinking, and hospitality. It asks to what extent was the pattern of change unique to the South West, whether trends observed in other regions are applicable to the South West.

Over two thousand probate inventories, and modern plans of over one hundred rural, urban, and gentry houses are studied and the evidence entered into a number of databases. These recorded key information dependent on the type of source, such as room names, the number of rooms, the material culture recorded, the plan-form of recorded buildings, and the number of chimneys. Analysis of these sources reveals several patterns in rural, urban, and gentry houses which highlight the regional distinctiveness of housing in the early modern South West. Central amongst these patterns was the strong influence of late medieval ways of living and layout of houses, as seen in the continuing importance of the cross-passage in houses of the gentry, yeomanry, and husbandmen, from the fifteenth century into the mid-eighteenth century. This continuing influence of medieval plan-forms and architectural features is contrasted against a high degree of change in how houses were lived in, with a noticeable 'decline of the hall' and 'rise of the kitchen' as well as changes in the material culture of the household.

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Abbreviations and Definitions

CRO – Cornwall Record Office, Truro

DHC – Devon Heritage Centre, Exeter

DRA – Devon Rural Archive, Shilstone

PWDRO – Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, Plymouth

(Additional abbreviations used in Appendix 2 are explained at the head of that section).

Dates

Dates are given in Old Style as they appear in the sources. Occasionally, for clarity, double years (e.g. 1700/01) are given for dates in the sources between 1 January and 24 March.

Chapter 1. Introduction

Introducing the Project

The history of domestic architecture should not solely focus on the physical shell of any domestic dwelling, but also on families and households, their lives and behaviours, recorded in the layout and architectural features of houses. We can follow the spectres of servants, husbands, wives, and children as they negotiated domestic space, viewing how they utilised these spaces. To ask questions about how and why certain features or rooms changed is to ask questions about the dynamics of family and household life, and the interactions with local and wider society. A basic human need is to have shelter, but the creation and use of that shelter depends strongly on socio-economic status, local social structures and local cultures. Every house is the culmination of successive families and households; therefore they are complex records of successive relationships and interactions.

In that light, this thesis investigates the relationship between the house and the family and household, to understand house development, and changes in domestic behaviour. Focus is on vernacular and gentry houses between c.1500 and 1750 in south-west England. This study integrates domestic behaviour with house development examining the reaction to and adaption of new cultures, behaviours, objects, and technologies, within a changing socio-cultural context. It also considers the attitudes and definition of household space. The period c.1500 to 1750 encompasses the much-debated 'Great Rebuilding', a phase of rebuilding and modernisation between 1575 and 1625 where yeoman and husbandmen redeveloped existing medieval houses by inserting a ceiling over the hall supported by a new chimney stack and the construction of extra rooms and spaces.[1] Although it must be noted that since the publication of the theory of the 'Great Rebuilding', the exact formulation has been found to vary on a regional basis. By moving beyond the scope of one or two generations we can view the medium and long-term factors that influenced change in domestic behaviour and dwellings.

The geographical scope of this research project encompasses the counties of Cornwall and Devon, herein referred to as the South West, two counties that resemble and differ from

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[1] W. G. Hoskins, 'The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640', *Past & Present*, 4 (1953), 44–59.

each other in their social, economic, and cultural characters. These counties were chosen because the historiography is lacking compared with other regions of England, and because of the relatively high number of surviving vernacular and gentry dwellings constructed between the fifteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries.

The research questions that this thesis engages with encompass areas of domestic architecture and domestic functions. They are as follows:

- What changes can be observed to the internal layout and presence of certain architectural features?
- How did the function of rooms change in the South West between c.1500 to 1750?
- To what extent can the theories of the 'Great Rebuilding', and 'Closure', and theories of domestic architecture be applied to domestic housing of the South West c.1500 to 1750?
- What is the evidence for changes in domestic behaviour related to domestic architecture?
- How did domestic behaviours of south-western households change?
- To what extent was there a clear divide between the houses of the gentry and others of middling wealth?
- To what extent was the domestic housing of the South West unique?

Domestic architecture and domestic behaviour should not be investigated separately; both are active elements of domestic life. Understanding the relationship between social and cultural changes and the domestic environment (including domestic behaviours and architecture), and the role of comfort, privacy, and sociability and social display is important to understanding this connection. Understanding houses is to begin to understand the mental and physical lives of the people who lived in them, and to illuminate wider society and culture. Comparisons are made between areas and social groups in nature, timings, and factors for developments in housing, and regional distinctiveness between and within counties is also considered.

Yet, the concepts of 'privacy' and 'comfort' are problematic concepts rather than drivers for change in the layout of houses. In most readings 'privacy' is equated with the hidden, a

desire for concealment and seclusion, and read in opposition to 'public' in a powerful dichotomy between public and private spheres or realms.[2] The need for privacy in domestic houses is an important notion in anthropological and archaeological studies of houses, and seen as an important driver for change in domestic dwellings especially in those studies taking a 'proxemic' approach, with a concern for privacy against visitors or strangers to the house.[3] Yet Meldrum argued that blurred lines between design and habitation undermines the ability for architectural evidence to be used to judge; inventories and architecture cannot be sufficient proof of a growth in privacy even if we knew whose privacy was being considered.[4] Thus, although physical evidence in the form of walls and doors may hint at increased privacy, understanding whether this was the driver for change as argued by Hoskins, or an expression of some other broad social change, as found by Matthew Johnson, is a challenge.[5] Indeed, although elements of the 'enclosed house' such as the back-to-back chimney stacks, ceiled hall, and lobby-entry, helped physical comfort, Johnson argued that the rise in the desire for privacy, and for comfort, were superficial manifestations of the process of 'Closure'.[6]

John Crowley argues that comfort in pre-eighteenth century contexts did not relate to personal amenity but to meanings of cleanliness and hygiene. Ease and convenience were instead used in association with physical amenity.[7] Although Crowley argued that an increasing desire for comfort was a driver behind some architectural changes in houses, especially the decline of the hall in favour of the chamber or Great Chamber, the evidence for this was the increased number of glazed windows and chimneys.[8] Comfort was identified by Overton et al as an important influence in the development of houses in Kent between 1600 and 1750, a factor in changes in material culture that emphasised comfort and

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[2] Tim Meldum, 'Domestic Service, privacy and the eighteenth-century metropolitan household', *Urban History,* 26 (1999), 27-39 (pp. 27-8); Amanda Vickery*, Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 27

[3] Sharon Steadman, *Archaeology of Domestic Architecture and the Human Use of Space* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 57-9.

[4] Meldrum, 'Domestic service', pp. 36, 39

[5] Matthew Johnson, *Housing Culture: Traditional Architecture in an English Landscape* (Harlow: Longman, 1993), p. 175; Hoskins, 'Rebuilding of Rural England', pp. 54–5.

[6] Johnson, *Housing Culture*, p. 108.

[7] John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 1-5, 69-71.

[8] Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort,* pp. 44-46, 47-69.

convenience over the creation of public areas for social display of wealth.[9] The increasing comfort of the early modern house was realised through the physical structure and material culture. Through it the social status and wealth of the homeowner could be displayed for the community and social peers. It could be that the most comfortable rooms in the early modern house were those highly connected to sociability and commensality.[10] Comfort is more readily applied to theories of consumption and material culture rather than as a driver for change in room layouts. Only from the early to mid-eighteenth century did definitions of comfort change in favour of physical meanings and improvements in standards of living.[11]

Historiography

The pioneering approach of Maurice Barley and W.G. Hoskins, combining archaeological evidence with quantitative analysis of inventories and other records, continues to be a common technique for the investigation of early modern house development.[12] They were not the first to examine the development of vernacular rural dwellings, but laid the methodological and theoretical foundations for this subject.[13] More recent studies such as by Ursula Priestly, Nat Alcock, and, to a smaller extent Matthew Johnson, rely heavily but not solely on the quantitative analysis of inventories, supplemented by qualitative evidence from particular houses; they too are concerned with placing the development of houses within the wider changing social, cultural, economic, and political contexts.[14]

In some ways there has been little change since Hoskins and Barley. The primary focus of these works is on understanding how rural vernacular houses developed in tandem with cultural, economic, and social changes within the local community, and nationally. Other

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[9] Overton and others*, Production and Consumption,* p. 136.
[10] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* pp. 111-13.
[11] John E. Crowley, 'The Sensibility of Comfort', *American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), 749–82 (pp. 749-752).
[12] See for example: Maurice Barley, 'Farmhouses and Cottages, 1550-1725', *Economic History Review*, 7 (1955), 291–306; Maurice Barley, *The English Farmhouse and Cottage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976); Hoskins, 'Rebuilding of Rural England'; Eric Mercer, *English Vernacular Houses: A Study of Traditional Farmhouses and Cottages* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1975).
[13] Sidney Oldall Addy, *The Evolution of the English House*, ed. John Summerson, 2nd ed., (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1975); Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan, *Monmouthshire Houses. A Study of Building Techniques and Smaller House-Plans in the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries*, 3 vols (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1951-54).
[14] Nathaniel Alcock, *People at Home: Living in a Warwickshire Village, 1500-1800* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1993); Matthew Johnson, *Housing Culture: Traditional Architecture in an English Landscape* (Harlow: Longman, 1993); Matthew Johnson, *English Houses, 1300-1800: Vernacular Architecture, Social Life* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2010); Ursula Priestley, P. J. Corfield, and Helen Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich Housing, 1580-1730', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 16 (1982), 93–123.

aspects of research have changed, especially with the use of computers. The development of new computer based techniques, approaches, and database software since the 1980s has overcome issues associated with broad ranges and variations in source material, and expanded the scope for wider geographical studies, or studies of change over a longer chronological period.[15] The results are clear in a comparison between Barley who studied a sample of 1,000 inventories over two dioceses with Mark Overton et al who studied over 8,000 inventories over two counties and drew out a more sophisticated analysis.[16]

The development of theories of 'Closure' and 'Space Syntax', and the wider application of theories of domestic architecture changed how vernacular houses are perceived. They are now seen as active components in the changing social and domestic lives of the family and household.[17] More recently, application of theories of domestic architecture to historical enquiry have been perceived as a 'Spatial Turn' within the study of history.[18] These theories, which are expanded upon below, show the relationship between social and cultural changes and changes to the layout and structure of the vernacular home. Although not essentially new, since Hoskins had already stressed the importance of cultural change, the increasing desire for privacy and comfort to the 'Great Rebuilding', these theories of domestic architecture focus on the study of house plans, and borrow heavily from anthropological studies.[19] Johnson's theory of 'Closure' argued that the 'closing' of the rural vernacular house was related to the enclosure of land, both were physical expressions of a social

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[15] Mark Overton, 'Computer Analysis of an Inconsistent Data Source: The Case of Probate Inventories', *Journal of Historical Geography*, (1977), 317–26 (pp. 319–20).
[16] Barley, 'Farmhouses and Cottages', p. 293; Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean and Andrew Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 30–35.
[17] Such works include Julienne Hanson, *Decoding Homes and Houses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Johnson, *Housing Culture*; Johnson, *English Houses*; Susan Kent, 'Partitioning Space: Cross-Cultural Factors Influencing Domestic Spatial Segmentation', *Environment and Behavior*, 23 (1991), 438–73; Susan Kent, 'Activity Areas and Architecture: An Interdisciplinary View of the Relationship between Use of Space and Domestic Built Environments', in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*, ed. Susan Kent, reprint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1–8.
[18] A good outline of the 'Spatial Turn' is provided by Ralph Kingston, 'Mind Over Matter?', *Cultural and Social History*, 7 (2010), 111–21 and Beat Kümin and Cornelie Usborne, 'At Home and in the Workplace: a Historical introduction to the "Spatial Turn"', *History and Theory*, 52 (2013), 305–318.
[19] Hoskins, 'Rebuilding of Rural England', 54–55. Examples include Frank E. Brown, 'Continuity and Change in the Urban House: Developments in Domestic Space Organisation in Seventeenth-Century London', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 28 (1986), 558–90; Hanson, *Decoding Homes and Houses*; Sara Pennell, '"Pots and Pans History": The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England', *Journal of Design History*, 11 (1998), 201–16; Raymond B. Wood Jones, *Traditional Domestic Architecture of the Banbury Region,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1963).

change.[20] Although 'Closure' introduced the importance of studying plans, Hillier and Hanson's theory of 'Space Syntax' introduced a new methodology of 'justified access graphs' analysed by specialist software.[21] These theories of 'Closure' and 'Space Syntax' have been applied by Chris King and Frank Brown to urban housing, albeit unsuccessfully in the case of 'Closure' due to the rural nature of the theory.[22]

Many of the works that examine changes in the housing provision of early modern society do not create a new orthodox model of house development. Defined initially by Hoskins, and refined by Alock, R. Machin and Colin Platt among others, the 'Great Rebuilding' continues to be the primary model of how early modern rural vernacular houses changed from the late sixteenth century. Whilst other studies add a regional aspect, or extend the period of rebuilding activity, it is still acknowledged that between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there was a significant change and redevelopment of rural vernacular houses.[23] The 'Great Rebuilding' model is difficult to apply to urban housing. There is as yet no single model of describing and explaining urban house development in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as many of these houses had upper floors long before early modern rural houses, and more complex internal arrangement.[24] With an increasing emphasis on local and regional case studies, and the application of other early modern social concepts such as gender to early modern housing, it is now far more likely that early modern houses will be considered as vital elements in the changes and development of early modern social relationships and dynamics.[25]

The history of household development also incorporates the family and the household.[26] Due to the sources used, this study inevitably views the family and household as an

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[20] Johnson, *Housing Culture*, pp. 120, 179–182.
[21] Hanson, *Decoding Homes and Houses,* pp. 22–4.
[22] Brown, 'Continuity and Change', p. 567; Chris King, 'The Interpretation of Urban Buildings: Power, Memory and Appropriation in Norwich Merchants' Houses, c. 1400–1660', *World Archaeology*, 41 (2009), 471–88; Chris King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding in Early Modern Norwich', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 44 (2010), 54–80.
[23] Nathaniel Alcock, 'The Great Rebuilding and Its Later Stages', *Vernacular Architecture*, 14 (1983), 45–48; R. Machin, 'The Great Rebuilding: A Reassessment', *Past & Present*, 77 (1977), 33–56; Colin Platt, *The Great Rebuildings of Tudor and Stuart England: Revolutions in Architectural Taste* (London: UCL Press, 1994).
[24] King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', p. 57.
[25] See Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007); Kümin and Usborne, 'At Home and in the Workplace', pp. 310-14.
[26] Naomi Tadmor, 'The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past & Present*, 151 (1996), 111–40.

economic and social unit, rather than as a unit of reproduction and sentiment, but the role of sentiment in family life impacted on domestic behaviours and relationships.[27] Lawrence Stone's argument of a rise of sentiment and emotion in family life over the early modern period is no longer accepted, with Ralph Houlbrooke among others arguing for the consistent role of sentiment and emotion in family life.[28] Recent studies emphasise how the relationship and dynamics between husbands and wives could be more 'equal' within a patriarchal society, dependent on individual characters and the level of privacy in that relationship; it is a relationship that can be read in the dynamics of household life.[29] Rather than increasing segregation between male and female activity areas, recent studies of household life by Jane Whittle and Amanda Flather demonstrate how such gender segregation was not apparent, if at all possible, in middling rural vernacular houses, whilst Sara Pennell argues that the kitchen, a typical site of female activity, was not a site of female separation and isolation.[30] The evidence for the arguments of Whittle, Flather, and Pennell, is primarily literary material, including diaries, correspondence, and witness depositions.

How people lived at home is a growing branch of historical enquiry, as scholars such as Anthony Buxton, and Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson seek to understand the everyday experience of domestic life.[31] Studying domestic behaviour is more than just asking about the changes in material culture. It allows exploration of how different socio-economic groups experienced domestic life, how they grasped concepts of 'domesticity' and 'homeliness', and how the domestic experience changed over the course of a life-time. A number of works seek to describe and explain the changes in material culture of certain domestic behaviours, such as cooking or eating, with limited discussion of the rooms in

[27] Michael Anderson, *Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 1500-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Will Coster, *Family and Kinship in England, 1450-1800* (London: Longman, 2001), pp. 6–11.

[28] Ralph Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450-1700* (London: Longman, 1984); Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977).

[29] Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 9–13.

[30] Amanda Flather, 'Gender, Space, and Place', *Home Cultures*, 8 (2011), 171–88 (pp. 173–84); Pennell, '"Pots and Pans History"', pp. 211–13; Jane Whittle, 'The House as a Place of Work in Early Modern Rural England', *Home Cultures*, 8 (2011), 133–50 (pp. 137–38, 147).

[31] Antony Buxton, *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015); *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings*, ed. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day At Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

which they happened.[32] However, it is essential that households are studied in context, rather than considering them passive actors influenced by socio-cultural and economic changes, especially when considering material culture where household context is essential in reconstructing household behaviours and meaning. [33]

A few studies combine the two branches of historical enquiry that examine early modern house development, and household behaviour.[34] Overton and others and Priestly are part of a group of scholars who show the explicit relationship between the rooms of the vernacular house and domestic behaviour. New rooms became the site of existing domestic functions, for instance, where present, the kitchen became the principal site of cooking where present; this also implies that new domestic functions could happen in existing rooms.[35] This is a theme also explored by Alice Dolan in her case study of halls in early modern Kent.[36] A move to mono-function rooms, that is rooms with one principal function, has been ascribed to the increasing desire for comfort and privacy, and the evidence for this has been primarily inventory based with concentration on particular aspects of material culture.[37]

Understanding how domestic behaviours changed can highlight the development of social concepts of privacy, comfort, and taste, and the spread of consumer goods, through examination of the material culture and the location of such activities.[38] As such, this study also touches on the branch of historical enquiry that concentrates on domestic consumption

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[32] For cooking and eating see Peter Brears, 'Seventeenth-Century Britain', in *A Taste of History: 10,000 Years of Food in Britain*, ed. Maggie Black, Peter Brears, Gill Corbishley, Jane Renfrew, and Jennifer Stead (London: British Museum Press, 1993), pp. 179–216; Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500-1760* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007); Jennifer Stead, 'Georgian Britain', in *A Taste of History*, ed. Black and others, pp. 217–62. For sleeping see A. Roger Ekirch, 'Sleep We Have Lost: Pre-Industrial Slumber in the British Isles', *American Historical Review*, 106 (2001), 343–86; A. Roger Ekirch, *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past* (London: Phoenix, 2006); Sasha Handley, *Sleep in Early Modern England* (Yale University Press, 2016). For hospitality and sociability in the home see Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990); Amanda Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter* (Yale University Press, 2003). For heating see Donald Woodward, 'Straw, Bracken and the Wicklow Whale: The Exploitation of Natural Resources in England Since 1500', *Past & Present*, 159 (1998), 43–76; Lawrence Wright, *Home Fires Burning: The History of Domestic Heating and Cooking* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964).

[33] Adrian Green, 'Consumption and Material Culture', in *A Social History of England, 1500-1750,* ed. Keith Wrightson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 242-266.

[34] Such as Buxton, *Domestic Culture*; Hamling and Richardson, *A Day At Home in Early Modern England*.

[35] Overton and others*, Production and Consumption,* chapter 6; Priestley, Corfield and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', pp. 104-20.

[36] Alice Dolan, 'The Decline of the Multifunction Hall? Material Culture and Social Practice in Kent c.1660-1750' (unpublished master's dissertation, Victoria and Albert Museum and Royal College of Art, 2011).

[37] Overton and others, *Production and Consumption,* pp. 134–36; Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', p. 120.

[38] Crowley, 'The Sensibility of Comfort'; Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort.*

patterns, and how these fit into wider contexts such as the changing attitudes towards luxury, comfort, and proto-industrialisation. Studies taking such an approach include Lorna Weatherill and Carole Shammas among others, emphaise the relationship between the social, cultural, and economic experience of daily life and changing consumption patterns.[39] In exploring domestic life through the lens of consumption patterns, two of the more common theories to engage with are Jan de Vries' 'Industrious Revolution', or 'The Consumer Revolution' as theorized by Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb.[40]

Both these theories have important implications for domestic behaviour. In the case of the 'Industrious Revolution', de Vries argued for a change in peasant households to be more market orientated; rather than putting labour into producing home produce and handicraft to replace these activities with market supplied alternatives (e.g. rather than brewing beer at home, changing to buying beer) which allowed women and children to engage in money-earning activities and market engagement.[41] The implication of this is a change in domestic behaviour with fewer activities geared towards domestic production but to market engagement and an increase in purchased food and drink. The 'Consumer Revolution' supposed a huge boom in consumption, especially amongst the middling orders, in the eighteenth century driven primarily by emulation, but where most of the activity happened after c.1750.[42] McKendrick theorised that his 'Consumer Revolution' was, following Thorstein Veblen, motivated by emulation, although this is now highly questioned and debated, would suggest a subtle impact on domestic behaviour where those of middling wealth would ape and emulate the domestic behaviours of the gentry.[43] However, despite these theories relating to the domestic environment, and behaviour in relation to the work of women and children, these theories will not be examined or questioned further in this thesis.

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[39] Carole Shammas, 'Food Expenditures and Economic Well-Being in Early Modern England', *Journal of Economic History*, 43 (2009), 89–100 (p. 89); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 6–18.

[40] Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Hutchinson, 1983); Jan De Vries, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolutions', *Journal of Economic History*, 54 (1994), 249–70; Jan De Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[41] Vries, 'The Industrial Revolution', pp. 255-7; Overton and others, *Production and Consumption,* pp. 5-6.

[42] Overton and others, *Production and Consumption,* pp. 5-7.

[43] Jane Hamlett, 'The British Domestic Interior and Social and Cultural History', *Cultural and Social History,* 6 (2009), 97-107 (p. 100); Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 4-6, 241.

There has been limited focus on household behaviour in the South West through the lens of consumption. Overton et al argued that the traditional outcomes of the 'Industrious Revolution' and the 'Consumer Revolution' did not transpire in either Kent or Cornwall. There was no evidence for households becoming specialist commercial enterprises in either Kent or Cornwall, and although in Cornwall there was a fall in production for domestic use this was related to a fall in the relative importance of agriculture.[44] What Overton et al find in Cornwall instead is a decline in household production activities, particularly spinning, a decline in by-employment, but that in the acquisition of new goods and fashions there was no slavish emulation of the gentry but engaged in appropriation; that said many non-gentry Cornish households did not acquire goods indicative of new behaviours.[45]

Changes in household behaviour are evident. In Devon, Alcock argued that detached kitchens came to be incorporated within the main range of the house, the former detached kitchen repurposed for production of food or drink often for the household, before insertion of stone or cloam ovens into the main chimney of the house saw further changes to the purpose of detached service buildings.[46] To Hoskins, changes in domestic behaviour were similarly limited to which rooms activities occurred in, such as cooking and eating moving from the hall into the kitchen, and sleeping into bedrooms; these changes were seen in most houses of yeoman and husbandmen across England.[47] Across the South West, sleeping occurred within chambers, but from the early seventeenth century that chamber was more likely to be an upper storey room, the parlour became a best living room than best bedroom, and significant change occurred with reference to service buildings as economic changes occurred, such as the increase in cider drinking reduced the number of households with brewhouses and malthouses.[48] From these brief surveys, although the national historiography on household consumption, and relationship with household behaviour, is somewhat fleshed out especially in relation to household production and work, the regional historiography on the South West is considerably lacking.

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[44] Overton et al, *Production and Consumption,* pp. 64, 173.
[45] Overton et al, *Production and Consumption,* pp. 173-7.
[46] Nathaniel W. Alcock, 'The Development of the Vernacular House in South-West England, 1500-1700', in *West Country Households,* ed. Allan, Alcock, and Dawson, pp. 14-20.
[47] Hoskins, 'Rebuilding of Rural England', pp. 49-50.
[48] Nathaniel W. Alcock and Cary Carson, *West Country Farms: House-and-Estate Surveys, 1598-1764* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), p. 33-41.

A criticism of certain studies of vernacular or traditional architecture has been an apparent perception that such houses were functionally determined, with the result that these studies had a pre-occupation with structures and materials.[49] From the 1960s, the growing influence of theories of anthropology and sociology started to spread into archaeology and the field of traditional architecture, with a number of works that increasingly sought to restore human agency and cultural impacts to houses. Such works include those of Edward T. Hall and Amos Rapoport.[50] The value of what have been grouped together as theories of domestic architecture, by considering the relationship between house plan and wider society, investigation of house plans can reveal relationships between rooms and spaces dependent on function, and how that changed to accommodation new patterns of family life and social relations.[51] Rapoport argues that 'house form is not simply the result of physical factors or any single causal factor, but is the consequence of a whole range of socio-cultural factors seen in their broadest terms'; thus, house form is a way to facilitate and perpetuate socio-cultural forces and behaviours.[52] His work is considered in greater depth in a following section.

Recent studies by Daniel Maudlin and Adrian Green question whether we can truly call non-gentry housing 'vernacular architecture'. Vernacular architecture has come to mean the study of houses created for those of particular social status, in contrast to gentry and polite houses. However, as assumptions into whether early modern society was divided into the 'best and rest' have been challenged so this should follow into studies of houses.[53] Green indeed argues that 'the very idea of "vernacular architecture" is a hindrance to our understanding of how contemporaries perceived housing … the idea of the vernacular has always tended to disguise the very social relations and patterning of regional and national culture'.[54] Nicholas Cooper argues there can be no clear separation between the vernacular and the polite, both are dependent on each other, and changes to both are evocative of

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[49] Daniel Maudlin, 'Crossing Boundaries: Revisiting the Thresholds of Vernacular Architecture', *Vernacular Architecture*, 41 (2010), 10–14 (p. 10).
[50] Maudlin, 'Crossing Boundaries', p. 11.
[51] Brown, 'Continuity and Change', p. 567.
[52] Amos Rapoport, *House Form and Culture, (*Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 47.
[53] Adrian Green, 'Confining the Vernacular: The Seventeenth-Century Origins of a Mode of Study', *Vernacular Architecture*, 38 (2007), 1–7 (p. 2); Maudlin, 'Crossing Boundaries', pp. 10–11.
[54] Green, 'Confining the Vernacular', p. 5.

changing social relationships.[55] However, an alternative form of definition is not put forward by Cooper, Maudlin, or Green to denote those houses that are not gentry or country houses. As Maudlin argues, this is probably because a social definition of 'vernacular architecture' can be used to denote an architectural language of people, whomsoever the people were.[56] In this study 'vernacular' is used to denote non-gentry houses, but at the same time this study also considers gentry houses, and their similarities and differences to vernacular houses.

A crucial aspect of this study is concentration on the experience of space, how the household and family used domestic spaces, and the flexibility of rooms. Overton et al, and Priestley identify that between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries domestic rooms, especially ground floor spaces, became more specialised in function.[57] This needs to be contrasted with other studies that instead highlight a more complex picture. Amanda Vickery argues that in several rural and urban middling and gentry households of the eighteenth century there was no specialised 'room' for public entertaining and hospitality, and instead those households created space for hospitality through the arrangement of material culture in an appropriate room.[58] Dolan argues that the hall remained a multi-functional space in Kent homes into the mid-eighteenth century.[59]

Evidence from diaries and correspondence demonstrates that an increasing specialism of spaces was not universal. Flather argues that in early modern Essex men, women, children, and servants all appeared in the same rooms at different times for different purposes, and that the organisation of domestic space was underpinned by integration and multi-function rather than specialism.[60] In the arrangement of domestic space for work, Whittle shows that despite an increasing separation of work from living spaces from 1550, for women's and servant's work such specialisation was not possible due to the nature of the work.[61] Rooms were multi-functional, with an individual's relationship with that room determined by age,

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[55] Nicholas Cooper, 'Display, Status and the Vernacular Tradition', *Vernacular Architecture*, 33 (2002), 28–33 (p. 32).
[56] Maudlin, 'Crossing Boundaries', p. 13.
[57] Overton and others, *Production and Consumption,* pp. 122–4, 135–6; Priestley, Corfield and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', p. 120.
[58] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* pp. 295–96.
[59] Dolan, 'Decline of the Multi-function Hall', p. 164.
[60] Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*.
[61] Whittle, 'House as a Place of Work', pp. 146–7.

gender, and rank. In the spatial organisation for everyday tasks such as eating and sleeping, hierarchies of gender, age, and rank could be expressed by material culture.[62] The lower status of servants could be mapped out spatially by where they sat to eat, whether in a separate room (if possible) or at the tableboard, and by what they sat on.[63] Hamling and Richardon similarly that across the span of a day, the rooms and spaces of the house underwent significant temporal changes primarily in response to work, resulting in multifunctional rooms.[64]

The simple idea of a linear progression of monofunctional rooms and highly differentiated rooms especially by gender is not reflected in the evidence that suggests a far more complex picture. An example of this is shown by the kitchen, a room that remained the site of multiple daily domestic activities.[65] Pennell and Vickery emphasise this was a female dominated domain and a site of female expertise but not of segregation.[66] Women's and servants' work, when centred on house-based work such as cooking, child-care, cleaning, and aspects of domestic production, occurred all over the house, not within specialist rooms. When women were cooking, if the space was large enough, men and other household members congregated in that same space for warmth and sociability.[67] As is shown in chapter 4, there is limited evidence for room specialisation in gentry and vernacular houses during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, such as the kitchen where the primary purpose as a space for cooking and food preparation was alongside a secondary function as a space for commensality.[68]

This outline of the historiography of studies of domestic dwellings and household life show the broad changes and influences in the scholarship, such as the growing application of cultural and social theories. It is these theories that have done the most to shape how early modern houses are considered by scholars, but there has been no broad pattern of orthodoxy and revision, with theories continuing to be accepted, or rejected, dependent on sources used and scope of study. It is to these theories this study turns to next.

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[62] Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, pp. 64–65, 69, 71.
[63] Flather, 'Gender, Space, and Place', pp. 173–74, 184.
[64] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day At Home, p. 266*.
[65] Pennell, '"Pots and Pans History"', p. 205.
[66] Pennell, '"Pots and Pans History"', pp. 211–13; Vickery*, Behind Closed Doors,* pp. 266–67.
[67] Whittle, 'House as a Place of Work', p. 147.
[68] Chapter 4, 'Function Changes in Rural Rooms'; Chapter 4, 'Functional Changes in Urban Rooms'.

The Theories of House Development

'Great Rebuilding'

The theory of the 'Great Rebuilding' was first defined by W.G. Hoskins in his 1953 work 'The Rebuilding of Rural England 1570 – 1640'. The study was based upon archaeological evidence of surviving buildings and inventories, primarily from Devon. Hoskins' theory argued for three main types of rebuilding activity, of which the most important type was the redevelopment of medieval houses. Typically, this took the form of the insertion of a floor over the hall, the insertion of a chimney stack that carried the new floor and staircase, and a formal partitioning of the hall into additional rooms. This activity was primarily in houses of yeomen and some husbandmen. Although economic factors, such as ready money and land-holding status were considerable influences, it was cultural factors that were key in the timing of the 'Great Rebuilding', with the increasing desire for privacy, and the desire for comfort, filtering down the social scale, along with technological improvements (window glass and spread of coal fires).[69]

Hoskins argued that the main period of rebuilding activity in upland regions, such as the Lake District and Yorkshire Dales, was the later seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries, nearly a century after lowland areas. Subsequently, other scholars recognised significant phases of later rebuilding activity after the 1640s.[70] Platt argued that rebuilding activity occurred in lowland and highland zones before and after Hoskins' 'Great Rebuilding'.[71] Machin, Barley, and Alcock argued for later phases of rebuilding activity, from the mid-seventeenth century into the mid-eighteenth century, in lowland and highland areas. Drawing on probate inventory evidence and house-and-estate surveys from Stoneleigh and Devon, Alcock argued that houses had reached their maximum number of rooms by 1625, after which there were only changes in types and location of rooms such as the addition of upper floors and the inclusion of service spaces within the existing fabric of the house.[72] Both Machin and Barley argue for a main phase of rebuilding that happened between 1660 and the early to mid-eighteenth century, with a different character and nature of rebuilding

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[69] Hoskins, 'Rebuilding of Rural England', pp. 44-55.
[70] Hoskins, 'Rebuilding of Rural England', p. 48.
[71] Platt, *Great Rebuildings*, pp. 1–2.
[72] Alcock, 'Great Rebuilding and Later Stages', pp. 45–47.

dependent on location, but Machin's argument is compromised due to his reliance on date-stones.[73]

These later works extend the period of rebuilding activity into the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries but without creating a national narrative of the nature of these later redevelopments compared with the changes of earlier phases. Indeed, these works show how the 'Great Rebuilding' was a highly regionalised process, with particular differences between highland and lowland zones between and within counties. Given this, it is beyond the scope of this study to investigate trans-national links with surrounding areas of Wales, Ireland, and Brittany by solely focusing on England and the South West. Thus, the regional characteristics of the South West that may be related to its peripheral character may be overemphasised. In concentrating on Hoskins' home county of Devon, and from where Alcock gathered his evidence for the nature of the later 'Great Rebuilding', the evidence gathered by this study is somewhat supportive of Hoskins' original assertions.

Although the theory of the 'Great Rebuilding' was based upon rural vernacular evidence, particularly from Devon, Hoskins argued that it could be applied to urban areas, but only in the broadest terms where urban centres became larger, or had houses rebuilt.[74] Citing evidence from Yarmouth, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Leicester, Dartmouth, Exeter, and Plymouth, Hoskins' application of the 'Great Rebuilding' theory was broad, noting that these town centres underwent rebuilding and enlargement between 1575 and 1625. Other scholars disagreed with Hoskins' timings, and whether such a theory can be applied to urban houses. In their case studies of towns both Alan Dyer and Priestley argued that while the 'modernisation' of houses was already underway by the early sixteenth century, dependent upon urban pressure, most rebuilding activity happened after the early sixteenth century.[75] Dyer argued that there were noticeable phases of urban rebuilding, including between 1570 and 1625 and after 1660, but Priestley argued for continuous and gradual renovation and adaption rather than clear phases.[76] Chris King argued that urban houses are the products of

[73] Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 183–84, 243–44; Machin, 'Great Rebuilding: A Reassessment', pp. 35, 37–38.
[74] W. G. Hoskins, 'The Great Rebuilding', *History Today,* 5 (1955), 104-11(pp. 104–5).
[75] Alan Dyer, 'Urban Housing: A Documentary Study of Four Midland Towns 1530-1700', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 15 (1981), 207–18 (pp. 214–17); Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', pp. 104–5.
[76] Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', pp. 104–5.

distinct urban social, economic, cultural, and political contexts, and urban topography, and thus of theories based on rural houses, such as the 'Great Rebuilding', cannot be applied to urban houses. Rather than clear phases of rebuilding there was gradual adaption and renovation.[77]

In addition to these problems, the 'Great Rebuilding' says little about the relationship between space and behaviour, about how the changing layout of the rural vernacular house may have impacted on the use of the new rooms, or how new behaviours of hospitality or domestic production were accommodated within the house. Hoskins' focused on the role of privacy in motivating the creation of more rooms with specialised functions, a process that started with the separation of family quarters from servant quarters.[78] It is a specific criticism of the 'Great Rebuilding' by Johnson that such narratives focus on economic matters or objective material conditions, rather than cultural life, an approach also utilised by studies of traditional architecture of other modern and ancient societies.[79]

Theories of Domestic Architecture

Hoskins' theory of the 'Great Rebuilding' relied on the evidence of the changing physical structure of early modern houses. Examining the physical structure of a house, whether still upstanding or buried in the ground, is the core evidence base of the archaeology of domestic architecture. Like the 'Great Rebuilding', the archaeological study of domestic architecture has undergone substantial changes since the 1950s, with the 1980s being an important period when many of the current approaches and methodologies originated. This decade saw the integration and further development of theories that sought to understand the relationship between domestic architecture, and human behaviour, drawing on anthropological and geographical disciplines. [80] Many of these theories are now firmly embedded within the study of 'household archaeology', a field of study developed by Richard Wilk and William Rathje in 1982 with an initial focus on the socioeconomic activities and social organisation of the household but which now has come to encompass a wide range of

[77] King, 'The Interpretation of Urban Buildings', pp. 471–72.
[78] Hoskins, 'Rebuilding of Rural England', p. 54.
[79] Matthew Johnson, 'Rethinking the Great Rebuilding', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology,* 12 (1993), 117-25 (p. 123).
[80] Steadman, *Archaeology of Domestic Architecture*, pp. 11-17.

questions on the individuals of the household, including gendered labour, symbolism, status, and ethnicity and identity [81]

There are several studies that outline the different theories of domestic architecture, notably by Mike Parker Pearson and Sharon Steadman; for this study the important theories are those of Rapoport and Susan Kent.[82] Both Kent and Rapoport pioneered studies that presented a correlation between increasing social complexity and domestic spatial segmentation, with the work of Kent dovetailing with that of Rapoport.[83] The background to Rapoport's work was a combination of proxemics and semiotics with a focus on architectural studies of past and present cultures, while Kent combined ethnoarchaeological and archaeological data, but whilst both these approaches have been successfully applied to archaeological sites and study they have been criticised for ignoring symbolism and semantics.[84] Underpinning Rapoport's theories are proxemics, or 'the study of how man unconsciously structures microspace-the distance between men in the conduct of daily transactions, the organization of space in his houses and buildings'. [85] Further developments of the Environment-Behavior Studies approach to the study of domestic architecture include the field of 'activity area research', developed by Kent, and studies in the field of 'agency', such as Pierre Bourdieu's 'Habitus', and Anthony Gidden's theory of 'Structuration', arguing that the house also shaped the behaviour of its inhabitants.[86] There has been limited application of general theories of domestic architecture to the study of early modern housing in England.[87] Such theories are more readily applied to prehistoric housing of the Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age in Britain.[88] However, there is a growing body of work

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[81] Steadman, *Archaeology of Domestic Architecture*, pp. 14, 163; Richard Wilk and William Rathje, 'Household Archaeology', *American Behavioral Scientist,* 25 (1982), 617-39 (pp. 617-620).

[82] See Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* pp. 6-18; Mike Parker Pearson and Colin Richards, 'Ordering the World: Perceptions of Architecture, Space, and Time', in *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Order,* eds. Mike Parker Pearson and Colin Richards, (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 1-33; Steadman, *Archaeology of Domestic Architecture,* pp. 11-17.

[83] Steadman, *Archaeology of Domestic Architecture,* pp. 126.

[84] Parker Pearson and Richards, 'Ordering the World', p. 26; Steadman, *Archaeology of Domestic Architecture,* pp. 53, 126.

[85] Edward T. Hall, 'A System for the Notation of Proxemic Behavior', *American Anthropologist,* New Series 65 (1963), 1003-1026 (p. 1003).

[86] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990); Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Steadman, *Archaeology of Domestic Architecture,* p. 15.

[87] Kümin and Usborne, 'At Home and in the Workplace', 305–318;

[88] Marion Cutting, 'The Use of Spatial Analysis to study Prehistoric Settlement Architecture', *Oxford Journal of Architecture,* 22 (2003), 1-21; Mike Parker Pearson and Colin Richards, 'Architecture and Order: Spatial Representation and Archaeology', in *Architecture and Order,* eds. Parker Pearson and Richards, pp. 34-66; John

that applies the 'spatial turn' to early modern housing, with a particular concentration of research that considers the impact of gender on domestic architecture in towns, town houses, and the countryside.[89]

In his 1969 *House Form and Culture,* Rapoport argued for a relationship between houses and cultural behaviour. He noted that although climate and materials were important factors, the vernacular house was an unself-conscious physical translation of cultural needs, values, and the desires of a society.[90] Indeed, the study of built environments can inform about responses to climate, comfort, and aspects of culture.[91] He argued for increasing differentiation between domestic spaces, with this process happening in three phases. First came the separation between 'work' and 'living', then separation between sleeping spaces for the family and servants/household, and finally came a separation between 'living' and 'sleeping' areas within family quarters.[92] What lay behind this increasing differentiation and segmentation were socio-cultural changes in how the family operated, the form of dwelling is the visible expression of the importance attached to different aspects of life, and of the shared values and goals of the society/community.[93] Thus, house form reflects culture and behaviour; with highly differentiated behaviours, comes highly differentiated houses. Rapoport argued that the house can reinforce culture and behaviour, and remind the inhabitants of differentiation in society and culture, but the house cannot create cultural segmentation though that may be a logical assumption.[94]

Rapoport further develops the argument that house form reflects culture and behaviours arising from culture, in that within a setting the behaviours and rules are set out by cues (objects, tools, people) that remind those entering the setting of what is expected if they noticed and understood the cues, and depending on situation those cues may reflect

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C Barrett, 'Defining Domestic Space in the Bronze Age of Southern Britain', in *Architecture and Order,* eds. Parker Pearson and Richards, pp. 82-88.

[89] Fiona Williamson, 'Space and the City: Gender Identifies in Seventeenth-Century Norwich', *Cultural and Social History*, 9 (2012), 169-185 (p. 170).

[90] Rapoport, *House Form and Culture*, p. 2.

[91] Amos Rapoport, 'A Framework for Studying Vernacular Design', *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research,* 16 (1999), 52-64 (p. 55).

[92] Rapoport, *House Form and Culture*, p. 9.

[93] Rapoport, *House Form and Culture*, p. 47.

[94] Rapoport, *House Form and Culture*, p. 47-9; Amos Rapoport, 'Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings', in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space*, ed. Kent, pp. 9–20 (p. 11).

different behaviours (e.g. time of day); cues are culture specific.[95] Rapoport divided cues into three categories: 'fixed-feature' being physical walls, 'semi-fixed-feature' being objects, and 'non-fixed-feature' being behaviours. 'People typically act in accordance with their reading of environmental cues … the same people act quite differently in different settings … these settings somehow communicate expected behavior if the cues can be understood'. [96] Importantly, settings are linked by the way people use them: what Rapoport calls systems of settings are linked by activity systems; to understand the activities within one setting needs consideration of activities in other settings, all of which are culture specific and have implications for how certain cultural behaviours are manifested, such as privacy, conflicts and crowding.[97] Thus, one room or one dwelling cannot be studied in isolation; what happens in one room or dwelling is part of a much bigger activity system in systems of settings.

Kent similarly argues that '[a]rchitecure is an active force only in the sense that it is a visible expression and a reminder, and in that way a perpetuator of culture, not a creator or modifier of culture'.[98] The organisation of space in a house, and the organisation of the built environment, is an expression of how culture is organised; not every society organised culture in the same way and thus each society has different spatial organisations.[99] More complex societies, with greater socio-political complexity, have more segmented economies, religion, recreation, and have built environments and uses of space that are more segmented, usually in terms of gender-specific, generational/age-specific, or function-specific areas (or loci),[100] Increasing segmentation in the built environment and use of space is not just more rooms, but more non-domestic buildings for political, religious, economic, and social activities.[101] Ultimately, there is 'a basic relationship among sociopolitical complexity, segmented use of space, and architectural partitioning, the former generally affecting the latter'.[102] By more complex societies, it is meant a society with greater

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[95] Rapoport, 'Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings', p. 12-3.
[96] Amos Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach,* (Beverly Hills, USA: Sage Publications, 1982), p. 57.
[97] Rapoport, 'Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings', p. 13-4.
[98] Susan Kent, 'A cross-cultural study of segmentation, architecure, and the use of space', in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space*, ed. Kent, pp. 127-52 (p. 148-9).
[99] Kent, 'Partitioning Space', pp. 439, 440-2.
[100] Kent, 'Partitioning Space', pp. 465.
[101] Kent, 'A cross-cultural study of segmentation', p. 148-9.
[102] Kent, 'A cross-cultural study of segmentation', p. 148-9.

segmentation and differentiation, more parts, with greater socio-political divisions, more hierarchies, along social, economic, political, and gender lines.[103]

Domestic space can be partitioned using physical structures (referred to as fixed-feature cues), such as walls and screens, or other subtle physical means such as mats, carpets and even un-swept areas.[104] The domestic environment can also be conceptually partitioned through habitual use of specific activity areas, an idea that is an important component of activity area research of domestic architecture. These conceptual partitions exist in the minds of users, and can be expressed visibly in the habitual use of a locus; for instance, the splitting of one room into a 'dining' space and 'cooking' space through habitual use of associated furniture.[105] Physical and conceptual partitions can exist together, or alone, in the same dwelling, and the degree to which a house is physically or conceptually partitioned is reflective of the degree of differentiation and segmentation in behaviour and culture of that society.

Alongside the continuing development of EBS the 1980s also saw the development of two important archaeologically based analytics for studying domestic architecture; one of these was Space Syntax. Developed by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson, this approach used a new methodology, using justified access graphs, to show spatial patterns in interiors quantitatively by characterising rooms according to the relationship with outside spaces.[106] At the core of 'Space Syntax' is the idea that the 'ordering of space in buildings is really about the ordering of relations between people'.[107] This theory argues that buildings are systems of spatial relations, and that the reconstruction of the way buildings create and order space will in turn allow the reconstruction of cultural identities and the social relationships of societies that inhabited such buildings.[108] Space Syntax has been used in a limited way to study the housing of specific communities in England, such as Banbury or West Sussex. However, this methodology is not used in this thesis, owing to the low number of plans of surviving dwellings for the sample parishes studied.

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[103] Kent, 'Partitioning Space', p. 442; Kent, 'A cross-cultural study of segmentation', p. 127.
[104] Parker Pearson and Richards, 'Ordering the World', p. 21.
[105] Kent, 'Partitioning Space', p. 439.
[106] Hillier and Hanson, *Social Logic of Space,* pp. 14-16; Steadman, *Archaeology of Domestic Architecture,* p. 14..
[107] Hillier and Hanson, *Social Logic of Space,* p. 2.
[108] Hillier and Hanson, *Social Logic of Space,* p. 2.

It is worth expanding on why the approaches of Rapoport and Kent are best suited to this study. Primarily, they are best suited to this study because of the nature of the evidence drawn on from house plans and probate inventories that reveals fixed-feature elements (walls and floors) and semi-fixed-feature elements (objects and furnishings), both of which are essential to understand how past cultures used space and differentiated behaviour.[109] They are also suitable to answer questions regarding why house forms changed over time in early modern south-west England, and the link between changes in domestic architecture and the use of space (domestic behaviours). To some extent, this study could take an approach based on 'Household Archaeology', however this would necessitate the study of objects within specific dwellings where the plan-form is also known, something that is not possible with the evidence considered for this study. In only a handful of examples can a probate inventory be linked with a specific dwelling, and in most of those examples no house plan exists.

In approach, this thesis integrates evidence of changing layout of the house (house plans and descriptions of listed buildings), and evidence for the functions of rooms, including activity areas/loci (probate inventories). Therefore it is appropriate to use the approaches of Rapoport and Kent in order to answer the questions posed by this study that do not concentrate on semiotics or semantics but on pragmatics, the relationship between nonverbal cues (semi-fixed-feature and fixed-feature elements) and behaviour and situations.[110] By using plans of surviving dwellings, it is possible to study changes to the system of settings (or room layout) of early modern housing, and using probate inventories can elucidate changes to the activity systems (function of rooms) of households. It is important that the basic argument of Kent and Rapoport, that societies with greater socio-political complexity, and greater segmentation and differentiation in culture and behaviour, have greater segregation in the built environment and domestic architecture, is accepted and proven, as by reading backwards we can link the degree of differentiation in the house in the use of space with the culture and behaviours of that society/community.

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[109] Rapoport, 'Framework for Studying Vernacular Design', p. 54.
[110] Rapoport, *Meaning of the Built Environment*, p. 50-1.

'Closure'

Johnson argued that Hoskins used economic factors such as land-ownership and demography to explain why rebuilding and modernisation of medieval houses took place from the late sixteenth century.[111] However, Johnson's argument that only cultural perspectives can answer questions relating to the choice of plan-form, appears to ignore Hoskins' argument that the cause of the 'Great Rebuilding' was the filtering down to the yeomanry and husbandmen of a sense of privacy.[112] To this end, he builds on research by Henry Glassie of eighteenth-century North American housing.[113] The theory of 'Closure' posits that the enclosing of the house (through the ceiling of the hall and other ground floor rooms), the addition of glass in windows, and the creation of a lobby style entrance, was related to the enclosure of land, and was as a result of the change from a communal medieval society to an early modern, capitalist society, with new social relationships.[114] These new social relationships were individualistic, and based more strongly on family than community. This entailed a move from the house and household being a community to being a 'society' with a focus on the segregation of social elements, and of social status.[115] The important influences behind Johnson's ideas were studies that emphasised how houses can illuminate cultural life such as by D. Upton and R. B. St George, and works that examine the deep cultural shifts and social relationships of the early modern period in Britain, such as by Keith Wrightson.[116]

Johnson's theory is based upon evidence from vernacular architecture supplemented by probate inventories, an approach utilised by Hoskins, Alcock and Buxton.[117] Johnson argued that inventories showed the rise of mono-function rooms at the expense of multi-functional rooms, the latter suitable for a society more segregated and more individualistic than before.[118] Johnson was not the first to examine probate inventories alongside archaeological plans and records, as there is a strong body of work mostly on the East Coast of America, but he may have been one of the first to apply this approach to early modern English

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[111] Johnson, 'Rethinking the Great Rebuilding', p. 123.
[112] Hoskins, 'Rebuilding Rural England', p. 55.
[113] H. Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia (*Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975).
[114] Johnson, *Housing Culture*, pp. 179–182.
[115] Johnson, *Housing Culture*, p. 120.
[116] Johnson, 'Rethinking the Great Rebuilding', pp. 13-14.
[117] Alcock, *People at Home,* pp. xv, 5-6; Antony Buxton, 'Domestic Culture in Early Seventeenth-Century Thame', *Oxoniensia*, LXVII (2002), 79–116; Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* pp. 18-36.
[118] Johnson, *Housing Culture,* p. 128.

housing.[119] Alcock used a similar approach in his study of Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, also published 1993, but his approach was to examine the changing use of rooms and the changing lifestyles of individuals, rather than to consider how these changes were linked to broader social changes.[120] Buxton developed this approach further, fusing together a theoretical framework based upon 'actor-network theory' and 'Structuration', with a quantitative study of 188 household probate inventories using sophisticated data analysis techniques.[121]

Whilst theories of domestic architecture and the 'Great Rebuilding' have continued to be applied in recent studies, an expansion of the theory of 'Closure' is not readily apparent. King argued that the theory was difficult to apply to towns, and Whittle argued that although the 'closing' of the house can be found elsewhere through the insertion of ceilings, the lobby-entry plan is not commonly found elsewhere.[122] Theories of domestic architecture also show that 'Closure' is not the only expression of this more sophisticated approach to understanding the rebuilding of houses. Where emphasis is now on cultural identities and changing social relationships rather than economic factors, it is likely that in future new ways of thinking about this problem will emphasise other existing factors.[123]

This section has set out some of the key theories, concepts, and outlined the historiography relating to the early modern house and domestic behaviours. The core theories of the 'Great Rebuilding' and 'Closure' serve as models of early modern house development, despite their many issues and apparent gaps, but we also cannot ignore other theories of house development. This is because although both those theories present a picture of the changing house, through enclosure and the provision of extra spaces and rooms, this needs to be contrasted against evidence of strong continuity in patterns of housing. This is implicit within the theory of the 'Great Rebuilding', that whilst houses had their halls ceiled and extra rooms created, Hoskins did not make explicit any other changes to the early modern house, particularly the decline or loss of the cross-passage, unlike in 'Closure'. The evidence presented in this study would also suggest such a pattern, that alongside the strong evidence

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[119] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* pp. 7–8.
[120] Alcock, *People at Home,* pp. xv, 5-6.
[121] Buxton, *Housing Culture,* pp. 16-18, 30-35.
[122] King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', p. 73; Whittle, 'The House as a Place of Work', p. 143.
[123] King, 'The Interpretation of Urban Buildings', p. 472.

of change this was within a broader framework of continuity and continuing adherence to traditional plan-forms. Thus, in this study, theories of domestic architecture are utilised to provide depth to the analysis, and to try and understand the meanings of changes to house plan-forms and room use but also the continuity.

Layout of the Study

Having surveyed the theoretical approaches in this chapter, chapter 2 introduces the geographical area of the South West, taken to mean the counties of Devon and Cornwall. The chapter then explores how the theories and concepts described in chapter 1 have been applied to the South West, before considering the historiography of the development of houses in the South West.

Chapter 3 examines the nature of rural and urban vernacular houses in the South West, and how the size and plan-forms changed. Examining urban houses alongside rural houses provides a more comprehensive view, and the relationship between changes in both environments. At the core of this chapter is a study of both plans of surviving houses and inventories, two different sources that provide slightly different perspectives on early modern housing. These sources are analysed through quantitative techniques, with some qualitative analysis to supplement the findings.

Chapter 4 moves into internal spaces, and examines how the activity systems of vernacular houses, as evidenced through the function of rooms, changed. By looking at both how functions moved about the house, and the function of specific rooms, we may identify how new objects and behaviours were adopted, assimilated, or rejected by different households. Primarily, this chapter uses inventories that record rooms to explore the changing material culture of the house, undertaking quantitative analysis techniques, continuing the application of theories of domestic architecture.

Chapter 5 introduces gentry and country houses to enable a full examination of the early modern housing system in the South West. Gentry houses were far more likely to be influenced by new national cultures of behaviour and trends of house development. Being distinct entities from middling houses means in many cases they also show different factors behind their development. The chapter draws primarily on plans and inventories of gentry

and country houses, seeking to understand the changes in the physical layout and plan form of houses of the elites and how they were used.

Chapter 6, the conclusion, answers the principal questions relating to the development of vernacular and elite housing in the early modern South West; what was the nature of gentry and vernacular housing of the South West, and what changes are apparent in the physical layout and use of space of these dwellings? The conclusion considers the regionality of housing in the South West, and reapplies the theories of the 'Great Rebuilding', 'Closure', and of domestic architecture to assess their validity with respect to housing of the South West.

Chapter 2. The South West and Methodology

Social and Economic Context of the South West

Within the mosaic of regions across Great Britain and Europe, this study focuses on one specific geographical region, the South West, being the two counties of Devon and Cornwall. Typically seen as backward and isolated, especially Cornwall, the perception of the early modern housing of Devon and Cornwall is of small, stone-built dwellings. Nevertheless, these counties have a rich early modern housing landscape. A full consideration of the early modern housing stock of these counties is still comparatively unknown, but the rural vernacular housing stock is better known, as discussed below. John Allan noted that the South West has been the focus for interesting work on the early modern house and household; much of this has been local studies examining the development of plan-forms of houses.[124] To understand the changes in the housing stock of early modern south-west England, the nature and context of these counties needs to be understood.

As Rapoport argued, houses are physical expressions of ideal environments of socio-cultural forces, religion, social structures and hierarchies, and economies shaped by climate and topography.[125] Regional economic, social, and cultural contexts strongly influenced houses, and the climate and topography of the region influenced housing to a lesser degree. Thus, before discussing the changes observed by this study, this chapter considers three key themes in the two counties' physical, economic, social, and cultural contexts: landscape, economy, and society. The focus is broadly descriptive, seeking to understand what the South West was like to inhabit between 1600 and 1750.

Landscape: topography and transport

A common complaint by early modern commentators and travellers was how difficult it was to travel through and between Devon and Cornwall. Tristram Risdon found moving through

[124] John Allan, Nathaniel W Alcock, and David Dawson, 'Introduction', in *West Country Households, 1500-1700*, ed. John Allan, Nathaniel W. Alcock, and David Dawson (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), pp. 1–6 (pp. 1–3).
[125] Rapoport, *House Form and Culture*, pp. 47–48.

Devon in 1630 difficult, and Celia Fiennes, visiting in the late seventeenth century, described a vivid picture;

> 'the Roades contract and ye Lanes are exceeding narrow and so Cover'd up you Can see Little about; an army Might be marching undiscover'd by any body … The ways now become so difficult yt one Could scarely pass by Each other, Even ye single horses, and so Dirty in many places, and just a track for one horses feete, and the Banks on Either side so neer'.[126]

Recent scholars, including Anne Duffin and Susi Batty, continue to paint the same picture of early modern Devon and Cornwall and suggest that geographic isolation could foster cultural isolation.[127]

However, the long coastlines and strong connections with the sea enabled regular contact through transport and trade with the rest of England, Europe, and the known world, shown by material culture. Thousands of shards of North Devon pottery are abundant in archaeological sites in Virginia and Maryland.[128] Portuguese Faience has been recorded at seventeen archaeological sites in England, eleven of which were in Devon. Plymouth has the densest concentration of Spanish and Portuguese pottery vessels in Britain, suggesting direct and indirect trade with Portugal in the mid-seventeenth century.[129] David Hussey and Carl Estabrook considered north-east Somerset and north Devon as part of the economic hinterlands of Bristol, linked by the Bristol Channel, with recognised connections between Barnstaple and the Iberian Peninsula and La Rochelle in France.[130] Difficult road transport did not stop the transfer of new ideas, new fashions, the procurement of building materials, or

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[126] Susi Batty, 'An Examination of the Gardens at Langdon Court', *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 26 (2006), 173–93 (p. 176); Celia Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary,* ed. Mrs Griffiths (London and New York, 1888), p. 212 <https://archive.org/details/throughenglando00fiengoog/page/n7>, [accessed 3 May 2017].
[127] Anne Duffin, *Faction and Faith: Politics and Religion of the Cornish Gentry before the Civil War* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), pp. 1–2; Batty, 'Gardens at Langdon Court', p. 176.
[128] Richard Coleman-Smith, R. Taft Kiser, and Michael J. Hughes, 'Donyatt-Type Pottery in 17th- and 18th-Century Virginia and Maryland', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 39 (2005), 294–310 (pp. 294, 302).
[129] Tânia Manuel Casimiro, 'Portuguese Faience in South-West England', in *West Country Households*, eds. Allan, Alcock, and Dawson, pp. 339–56 (pp. 343–44, 350).
[130] Carl B. Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and Social Spheres in the Provinces, 1660-1780.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 3, 6; David Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade in Pre-Industrial England: Bristol and Its Region, 1680-1730* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), p. xv; Duncan Taylor, 'The Maritime Trade of the Smaller Bristol Channel Ports in the Sixteenth Century' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 2009), pp. 16, 43–44.

the ability to build or rebuild vernacular and gentry houses.[131] Among the Cornish gentry, there was a great interest in news from London and other regional centres such as Exeter, with a rapid expansion of the news industry from the early seventeenth century.[132] This regular contact with the rest of England and London raises questions about just how 'peripheral' the Cornish were and whether the centre-periphery relationship always left Cornwall 'isolated'.[133]

Geographic and topographic isolation implies cultural differences between Devon, Cornwall, and the rest of England, but to what degree is questionable. Stephen Rippon drew attention to the Blackdown and Quantock Hills between Devon and Somerset as boundaries that barely restricted physical movement between the counties but resulted in different cultural landscapes on either side.[134] River valleys had the same effect, evidenced by the Gipping and Lark valleys in Suffolk as evidence, but this is applicable to the River Tamar or River Fowey.[135] Given the definite link between culture and housing as argued by Rapoport and Kent, if, as Rippon argues, topography could foster cultural differences, there could be differences in the housing of Devon compared with Somerset, and differences between the housing on either side of the Tamar.[136]

Landscape: Enclosure and Settlement Pattern

Using Historic Landscape Analysis, Sam Turner and Peter Herring argue that much of late medieval and early modern Devon and Cornwall was characterised by 'Anciently Enclosed Land'.[137] As much as 60 per cent of Cornwall was enclosed by the medieval period, which may have been well advanced by the early thirteenth century.[138] Farmers in upland areas, and some lowland areas, included much older Roman period, Iron Age, or Bronze Age

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[131] Bridget Cherry, 'The Devon Country House in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society*, 46 (1988), 91–136 (pp.131-33).
[132] Duffin, *Faction and Faith,* pp. 2–3.
[133] Veronica Chesher and Francis Chesher, *The Cornishman's House: An Introduction to the History of Traditional Domestic Architecture in Cornwall* (Truro: D. Bradford Barton, 1968), p. 13; Philip Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall: Historical Experience and the Persistence of 'Difference'* (Redruth: Dyllansow Truran, 1992), chaps 1–2.
[134] Stephen Rippon, *Beyond the Medieval Village: The Diversification of Landscape Character in Southern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 257–8.
[135] Rippon, *Beyond the Medieval Village,* pp. 257–8.
[136] Stephen Rippon, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation: Its Role in Contemporary British Archaeology and Landscape History', *Landscapes*, 8 (2007), 1–14 (p. 11).
[137] Peter Herring, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation in an Ever-Changing Cornwall', *Landscapes*, 8 (2007), 15–27 (p. 22); Sam Turner, 'The Changing Ancient Landscape: South-West England c. 1700–1900', *Landscapes*, 5 (2004), 18–35 (pp. 18–19).
[138] Herring, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', p. 22; Turner, 'Changing Ancient Landscape', pp. 18-9.

boundaries in medieval and post-medieval boundaries.[139] The landscape patterns of the period before c.1700 was essentially very similar to the basic framework of land patterns found in the medieval period.[140] The period after c.1700 saw significant landscape change with the enclosure of rough ground and alteration of medieval fields to new uses such as water meadows.[141]

These landscape patterns are reflected in settlement patterns. In areas of Anciently Enclosed Land, the settlement layout was of large hamlets of well-sized farmhouses, with mellow and sinuous boundaries to fields. However, the settlement pattern of recent enclosed land is different, characterised by smaller, isolated and exposed farmsteads with sharp straight field boundaries.[142] Herring argues that the medieval landscape of Anciently Enclosed Land and small hamlets is broadly unique to Cornwall, Devon, and West Somerset. It is a visible marker of the tensions and relationship between individualistic households and cooperative hamlets.[143] John Thorp argues that the early enclosure of much of Devon meant better survival of medieval farmhouses; unfortunately, he does not explain this remark further.[144] If, as suggested by 'Closure', that land enclosure was paralleled by 'closure' of houses, the expectation would be for little change in the plan-form of vernacular dwellings until the early eighteenth century.[145] Indeed, this is noted in chapter 3.[146]

Economy: Land Tenure

A crucial principle of the theory of the 'Great Rebuilding' is that nearly all rebuilding activity was the work of freeholders. A significant proportion of leaseholders and copyholders had sufficient security of tenure or 'interest' of the tenant in their land to undertake rebuilding activity.[147] Although free tenants had sole responsibility for constructing and maintaining dwellings and buildings on their holdings, the level of responsibility for building and

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[139] Turner, 'Changing Ancient Landscape', p. 19.
[140] Turner, 'Changing Ancient Landscape', p. 22.
[141] Turner, 'Changing Ancient Landscape', pp. 23, 28–30.
[142] Herring, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', pp. 22–23.
[143] Peter Herring, 'Cornish Strip Fields', in *Medieval Devon and Cornwall: Shaping an Ancient Countryside*, ed. Sam Turner (Oxbow Books, 2006), pp. 44–77 (pp. 47–51, 74).
[144] John R. L. Thorp, 'Carpentry and Framing Techniques in Devon Buildings up to 1550', in *Regional Variation in Timber-Framed Buildings in England and Wales down to 1550: Proceedings of the 1994 Cressing Conference*, ed. D. F. Stenning and D. D. Andrews (Chelmsford: Essex County Council, 1998), pp. 79–87 (p. 79).
[145] Johnson, *Housing Culture*, pp. 120, 167–70, 179–82.
[146] Chapter 3, 'Plan-Forms: Rural'.
[147] Hoskins, 'Rebuilding of Rural England', pp. 50-2; Machin, 'Great Rebuilding', pp. 50-3.

maintaining houses on the holdings of copyholders and customary tenants is contested. Pamela Slocombe argues that there was greater involvement by the manorial lord than argued by Christopher Currie and Chris Dyer, with Currie suggesting that only in exceptional circumstances did manorial lords take on more responsibility for building and repairing houses.[148] This is shown in the building of a cob house in Sidbury, Devon, in 1461 which showed that in exceptional economic situations did manorial lords take on more responsibility.[149] Thus, it is necessary to look at the nature of land tenure within south-west England and the potential relationship between tenure security and freeholding with rebuilding activity. Both counties had a significant number of freeholders, with most rural tenants holding their land by customary/copyhold tenancy, with a small proportion being leasehold tenants.

Hoskins argued that in early modern Devon, there were few great landowners (namely the Russell and Rolle families), with much of the free land of Devon was widely distributed between squires, small gentry and large yeoman. This division is recorded on Benjamin Donn's map of Devon (1765) that recorded circa 680 'seats'.[150] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there may have been a thousand or more mansions with small freehold estates with ancient origins as an ancient freehold of the eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth centuries.[151] The equivalent position is not known for Cornwall, although the Cornish manor was often fragmented.[152] The Duchy of Cornwall was a significant landowner across both counties, holding sixty-four manors, in addition to a small number of boroughs, honours, or other parcels of land by the mid-seventeenth century.[153] The survey of Robert Fraser in 1794 noted how intermixed the lands of the Duchy were with other landowners in Cornwall and how the freehold land in Devon 'is also very much divided, perhaps more than

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[148] C. R. J. Currie, 'Why Historians Believe that Customary Tenants Normally Paid for their Own Buildings: A Reply to Pamela Slocombe', *Vernacular Architecture,* 49 (2019), 38-43 (pp. 38-41); Christopher Dyer, 'A Comment on Rural Tenants and Their Buildings in the Later Middle Ages', *Vernacular Architecture,* 50 (2019), 53-56 (p. 53); Pamela Slocombe, ''To Beg a Tree and Tarry his Pleasure to Assign it to Me' – The Roles of Lords, Landlords, and Tenants in House Building and Improvement', *Vernacular Architecture,* 49 (2018), 32-37 (pp. 32-6).
[149] Nathaniel W. Alcock, 'Building a cob house in Devon', *Vernacular Architecture,* (2020), 1-7 (pp. 1, 3-4); Currie, 'Reply to Pamela Slocombe', p. 41; Dyer, 'Comment on Rural Tenants', p. 53.
[150] W. G. Hoskins, *Devon* (Tiverton: Devon Books, 1978), p. 74, 90.
[151] Hoskins, *Devon*, p. 87.
[152] Herring, 'Cornish Strip Fields', p. 52.
[153] Herring, 'Cornish Strip Fields', p. 52; *Parliamentary Survey of the Duchy of Cornwall: Part 1 (Austell Prior-Saltash)*, ed. Norman John Greville Pounds, New Series (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1982), pp. xxi.

in almost any county of England'.[154] Hoskins argues that free tenants made up roughly a fifth of the rural tenantry in early modern Devon, the majority of which were drawn from the ranks of squires, small gentry, and large yeomen.[155] More than a third of all land on Duchy manors were held by free tenants, with local variations in that proportion. [156] A study of manorial surveys of Cornwall, including Duchy lands, show that roughly thirty-seven per cent of manorial tenements were freehold; within the sample parishes, thirty-nine per cent of tenements were freehold.[157]

In Devon, Hoskins argued roughly seventy-five per cent of the rural tenantry were customary tenants, holding their land by copyhold or according to the custom of the manor. Roughly ten per cent of the rural tenantry being leaseholders or conventionary tenants, with the typical lease running for three lives or ninety-nine years.[158] With roughly 20 per cent of the rural tenantry being free holders, an assumption may be that some proportion of leasehold/conventionary tenants were considered a type of customary tenant. Over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many copyhold tenures became leaseholds for three lives. Additional lives could be added for an appropriate fine resulting in leasehold tenure lasting for centuries, as demonstrated by manorial surveys from the early and late seventeenth centuries.[159] On manors held by the Duchy of Cornwall, the majority of tenants held their land by conventionary tenure; this pattern was also found widespread across medieval Cornwall and some parts of Devon.[160] John Hatcher notes that at the founding of the Duchy in 1337, the conventionary tenant was a crucial category of tenant on Duchy manors of the medieval period, with approximately 800 conventionary tenants, three times the number of free tenants. [161] In theory, conventionary tenants had to attend an Assessions Court every seven years and re-bid for their land against other potential tenants. In reality, by the early modern period, a degree of security of tenure developed, the old custom of

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[154] Robert Fraser, General View of the County of Cornwall with Observation on the Means of its Improvement, (London), 1794, p. 31; Robert Fraser, General View of the County of Devon with Observations on the Means of its Improvement, (London), 1794, pp. 16-7.
[155] Hoskins, *Devon*, pp. 74-9, 90.
[156] John Hatcher, 'Non-Manorialism in Medieval Cornwall', *The Agricultural History Review,* 18 (1970), 1-16 (p. 2).
[157] Herring, 'Cornish Strip Fields', p. 52; *Parliamentary Survey of the Duchy of Cornwall: Part 1,* pp. xix-xx.
[158] Hoskins, *Devon*, p. 90.
[159] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms.* pp. 117, 127; Hoskins, *Devon*, p. 91.
[160] Mark Bailey, 'The transformation of customary tenures in southern England, c.1350 to c.1500', *Agricultural History Review,* 62 (2014), 210-230 (p. 218); Herring, 'Cornish Strip Fields', p. 53; *Parliamentary Survey of the Duchy of Cornwall: Part I,* pp. xiv-xiv; Hatcher, 'Non-Manorialism in Medieval Cornwall', p. 2.
[161] John Hatcher, 'Non-Manorialism in Medieval Cornwall', *The Agricultural History Review,* 18 (1970), 1-16 (p. 2).

bidding to keep a tenancy lapsed.[162] By the seventeenth century, Hatcher argued that many conventionary tenants had assumed a hereditary title to the lands they held.[163]

One of the notable facets of conventionary tenure is that, when efficiently managed, the process created something approximating a free market in land. Study of the Assession Court Rolls can illuminate economic relationships. Hatcher argued for a clear relationship between the demand for land and the agrarian and non-agrarian sectors of the Cornish economy of the later medieval period; demand from non-agrarian sectors helped encourage arable farming in the medieval period.[164] The evidence studied by Hatcher suggests that demand for land in later medieval Cornwall was related to two essential components of the non-agrarian economy: tin-mining in the west of Cornwall, the textile industry of west Devon and the Cornish border, as well as the Devon tin industry.[165] Landownership structure in Cornwall and especially Devon meant that many families retained a secure hereditary interest in their landholdings in the early modern period.

Economy: Non-Agrarian Sector

The economy of the early modern South West can be divided into agrarian and non-agrarian, with interdependencies between the two sectors, evidenced through considerable by-employment in tin-mining, fishing, and the cloth or woollen industry.[166] Mining and the textile industries dominated the non-agrarian sector. Hatcher argues that mining, overwhelmingly for tin extraction, was significant in the late medieval economy of Cornwall, with perhaps 10 per cent of the adult population engaged in work directly connected with mining in the early fifteenth century.[167] Even during periods of comparatively low production, such as in the second half of the sixteenth century, permanent tinners were a substantial proportion of the total workforce in Cornwall. In contrast to Devon, tinners may have constituted a year-round workforce where much mining activity may have been seasonal and short-term.[168]

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[162] Parliamentary Survey of the Duchy of Cornwall: Part I, pp. xvii-xviii.
[163] Hatcher, 'Non-Manorialism in Medieval Cornwall', p. 15.
[164] John Hatcher, 'A Diversified Economy: Later Medieval Cornwall', *The Economic History Review,* 22 (1969), 208-227 (pp. 213-4); Hatcher, 'Non-Manorialism in Medieval Cornwall', p. 3.
[165] Hatcher, 'A Diversified Economy', pp. 224-26.
[166] Harrison, 'The South-West', p. 358.
[167] Hatcher, 'A Diversified Economy', p. 210-12.
[168] John Hatcher, 'Myths, Miners, and Agricultural Communities', *The Agricultural History Review*, 22 (1974), 54-61 (pp. 58-9).

The locus of the tin-mining industry that came to dominate the Cornish economy from the late seventeenth century, ushering in what Philip Payton termed a 'second perpherialism', changed over time.[169] In the early seventeenth century, the central areas around Truro and Redruth dominated mining activity as output in the eastern areas around Gunnislake and the border with Devon fell.[170] Between 1640 and the 1690s the locus shifted further west, towards the Penzance and the surrounding areas. By the eighteenth century, in the centre and west of Cornwall the tinning industry dominated labour and resources and was the main force for depression or prosperity.[171] Dartmoor was also a centre for tin mining from the medieval period but the quantity and quality of output did not match Cornwall.[172] Copper mining was concentrated in central west Cornwall, around Redruth, Camborne, and Chacewater, and evident in parts of Devon.[173] Interest in copper mining in Devon and Cornwall resurged from the late sixteenth century but remained relatively small scale until the 1740s when the price of copper exceeded that of tin.[174]

In Devon, the tin industry never dominated to the same extent as in Cornwall, with the non-agrarian sector of the economy dominated by the cloth industry. Hoskins argued that such dominance started from the thirteenth century, with many small towns becoming centres of the cloth industry. With the development between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries of new fabrics, regional centres developed associated with different cloths, such as Tavistock for serge and Tiverton for kerseys. From the mid-eighteenth century, the industry went into considerable decline.[175] During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, east Devon emerged as a textile manufacturing region of considerable importance locally and abroad. By the seventeenth century, it was renowned for its cloth. The rise of the cloth industry in east Devon was linked with the development of a pastoral farm economy.[176] Some cloth was

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[169] Payton, *Making of Modern Cornwall,* pp. 36–37.
[170] James Whetter, *Cornwall in the 17th Century: An Economic History of Kernow* (Padstow: Lodenek Press, 1974), p. 74.
[171] Whetter*, Cornwall in the 17th Century,* pp. 74, 172–73.
[172] Hoskins, *Devon*, p. 131.
[173] Denys Bradford Barton, *A History of Copper Mining in Cornwall and Devon* (Truro: Truro Bookshop, 1961), pp. 10–13.
[174] Barton, *History of Copper Mining,* pp. 10–17.
[175] Hoskins, *Devon*, p. 127-28.
[176] H. S. A. Fox, 'The Chronology of Enclosure and Economic Development in Medieval Devon', *The Economic History Review,* 28)1975), 181-202 (p. 195).

manufactured in south Devon, but not to the same scale or extent as the industry in east Devon.[177]

Cornwall's cloth industry was not of the same importance, with a traditional focus on coarse kersey evenly distributed across the county. There was a change from the mid-seventeenth century, with worsted cloth production developing in central Cornwall and an alignment of cloth making in east Cornwall to yarn production supplying the Devon serge industry.[178] Whetter and Hatcher have noted this close alignment between east Cornwall and west Devon. Indeed, Hatcher argues that the border region was not only a production area, with a significant proportion of exports of cloth from Cornish ports, but the flourishing textile industry provided a substantial market for the produce of arable and pastoral farming of Cornwall.[179]

Economy: Agrarian Sector

The tin mining industry was essential to the Cornish economy, but agriculture dominated.[180] From 1640 into the 1750s, Devon and Cornwall were principally pastoral in upland areas, including around Bodmin moor and Dartmoor, with most farms were neither arable nor pastoral but mixed agrarian systems in both counties.[181] Overton et al. found this pattern in Cornwall, where the evidence from inventories suggests the majority of Cornish farmers had small fixed farms, with husbandmen in the west of the county increasingly switching from arable farming to pastoral farming or the non-agrarian sector in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[182] Early modern specialisms included dairy farming in south-east Devon and livestock rearing in north Devon and Cornwall.[183] Agriculture was supplemented by the cloth industry in east Devon, and sheep farming was common.[184] In

[177] Fox, 'Chronology of Enclosure and Economic Development', p. 197.
[178] Overton *et al, Production and Consumption,* pp. 47-8.
[179] Hatcher, 'A Diversified Economy', p, 225; Whetter, *Cornwall in the 17th Century,* pp. 173-4.
[180] Whetter, *Cornwall in the 17th Century,* p. 172.
[181] *Harvest Failure in Cornwall and Devon: The Book of Orders and the Corn Surveys of 1623 and 1630-1*, ed. Todd Gray (Exeter: Institute of Cornish Studies, 1992), p. xvi; Giles Harrison, ''The South-West: Dorset, Somerset, *Devon,* and Cornwall', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales,* 8 vols (Camrbidge: Cambridge University Press, 1967-2002), *Vol. 5 Part 1, 1640-1750: Regional Farming Systems.*, ed. Joan Thirsk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 358-93 (p. 358); Helen Victoria Speechley, 'Female and Child Agricultural Day Labourers in Somerset, c. 1685-1870' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 1999), p. 53.
[182] Overton et al, *Production and Consumption,* pp. 40-7.
[183] Harrison, 'The South-West', p. 358.
[184] Harrison, 'The South-West', pp. 372–73, 380–81; Mark Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), pp. 9–13.

Cornwall and north Devon, cattle breeding dominated the pastoral agrarian economy, with graziers driving cattle from Cornwall to Somerset, Dorset, and Devon.[185]

Across the early modern South West, Nat Alcock argued there were five different agricultural systems underpinned by topography: upland regions, fertile valley bottoms, coastal plains, and fen and forest pastures. Each supported different systems of arable, pastoral, or mixed farming.[186] Arable farming was possible on gentle hilltops and coastal plains whilst pastoral farming dominated on rough pasture on moorland, high ridges, and cliff tops; by-employment through fruit growing was possible in these areas.[187] The acreage given to grain production decreased over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and increasing acreage given over to cider and apple orchards, hops, teasels, flax, potatoes, and market gardening.[188] Most new crops were slow in reaching Cornwall. Winter fodder crops of turnips and clover were only grown in considerable quantities from the mid-eighteenth century, despite the importance of cattle breeding to the Cornish agricultural economy.[189] In contrast, in east Devon, most new crops appeared first before spreading to the rest of Devon and Cornwall.[190]

Between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, the agricultural economy in Devon underwent striking advances, including in land and technical organisation, with a strong move towards regional specialisation.[191] Although agriculture dominated employment in Cornwall, the industry saw no significant change in technique or diversity with only small-scale improvements.[192] Compared with other counties, Cornwall saw increased poverty, despite increasing specialisation of production between 1600 and 1750, possibly due to integration into the broader 'English economy'.[193] The trend, as suggested by current research into the South West's economy, was one of increasing regional and local specialism, part of what Keith Wrightson observed across early modern Britain as a process

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[185] Harrison, 'The South-West', p. 375.
[186] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* p. 5.
[187] Alcock and Carson*, West Country Farms,* pp. 5–6; Sam Turner, 'The Medieval Landscape of Devon and Cornwall', in *Medieval Devon and Cornwall*, ed. Turner, pp. 1–9 (p. 4).
[188] Harrison, 'The South-West', pp. 358, 388.
[189] Harrison, 'The South-West', pp. 365–66, 377.
[190] Harrison, 'The South-West', pp. 365–67.
[191] Robin Stanes, 'The Husbandry of Devon and Cornwall', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 141 (2009), 153–80 (pp. 153–55).
[192] Harrison, 'The South-West', p. 388; Whetter*, Cornwall in the 17th Century,* pp. 17, 172.
[193] Overton et al*, Production and Consumption,* p. 171.

of commercialisation with local and regional chronologies of development dependent on how individuals and communities engaged with changes to economic relationships.[194]

Society: Population Change

While national population totals from the sixteenth century onwards are reasonably well established, population change at county level is open to debate.[195] Jonathan Barry, and more recently Stephen Broadberry et al., have devised county population estimates for Devon and Cornwall.[196] Broadberry et al.'s estimates are derived from the poll taxes (for 1377) and parish registers, building on the work of Wrigley and Schofield, while Barry relies on Protestation Returns (1641-2), Hearth Tax Returns, the Compton Census (1676) and Diocesan Visitation returns. There are examples of local case studies of demographic change within particular parishes, most notably Colyton, east Devon, where there has been considerable debate as to the patterns and meanings trends of demographic change.[197]

County estimates of populations during the late medieval and early modern periods are shown in Table 1, which demonstrate how debates on exact population numbers can be complex. The figures demonstrate that comparison between sources on population estimates is not straightforward. Estimating past populations is a knotty problem and dependent on the sources used and any multipliers used.[198] Broadberry et al. argue that population growth for Devon and Cornwall after 1600 grew in line with national population growth suggested by Wrigley and Schofield of roughly 0.45 per cent between 1600 and 1659

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[194] Keith Wrightson, *Earthy Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain,* (New Haven: Yale University press, 2000), pp. 331-4.
[195] E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: a reconstruction,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[196] Jonathan Barry, 'Population Distribution and Growth in the Early Modern Period', in *Historical Atlas of South-West England*, ed. by Roger Kain and William Ravenhill (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), pp. 110–18 (pp. 110-12): Jonathan Barry, 'England: South-West', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume 2: 1540–1840*, ed. Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 67–92 (p. 71 n.4); Stephen Broadberry, Bruce Campbell, Alexander Klein, Mark Overton, and Bruce van Leeuwan, *British Economic Growth, 1270–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 5-20, 28.
[197] David Levine, *Family Formation in an Age of Nascent Capitalism,* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), chap. 7; Pamela Sharpe, 'Literally spinsters: a new interpretation of local economic and demography in Colyton in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *The Economic History Review,* 44 (1991), 46-95; E. A. Wrigley, 'Mortality in Pre-Industrial England: The Example of Colyton, Devon, Over Three Centuries', *Daedalus,* 97 (1968), 546-580.
[198] Barry, 'Population Distribution and Growth', p. 114.

with a slight decline between 1660 and 1700, whilst Barry argues for a mixed picture 1660 to 1750.[199]

The most densely populated areas were in east Devon, especially the Exe and Culm river valleys, while the least populated areas were the north coast, the central, and moorland areas of Devon and Cornwall.[200] Between 1660 and 1750, population change was more striking in Cornwall. Fishing and mining parishes, including Paul and Mevagissy had the highest population growth, with all of west Cornwall seeing some population increase. The five hundreds in the east of Cornwall saw population declines of between 7 per cent and 26 per cent.[201] However, much of this population change was not caused by a 'Westward Shift' of people but rather natural population growth; Plymouth may have been a more likely target for the population of east Cornwall than those living in west Cornwall.[202]

[199] Barry, 'Population Distribution and Growth', p. 117; Broadberry et al, *British Economic Growth,* pp.28-31.
[200] Barry, 'Population Distribution and Growth', pp. 116–17.
[201] Barry, 'Population Distribution and Growth', p. 117; Overton et al, *Production and Consumption,* p. 12; N. J. G. Pounds, 'Population Movement in Cornwall, and the Rise of Mining in the 18th Century', *Geography,* 28 (1943), 37-46 (p. 42).
[202] Barry, 'Population Distribution and Growth', p. 117.

Table 1: Estimated populations of Devon and Cornwall, 1290 to 1745

	Devon		Cornwall				
	Broadberry et al.	Barry	Broadberry et al.	Barry	Pounds	Whetter	Thomas
1290	147,860		34,914*				
1377	86,239		61,964				
1600	258,587		102,892				
1603		207,500		90,000			
1660		227,157		98,104			
1672					103,000		
1690						107,517	
1745							115,710

Source: Broadberry et al., *British Economic Growth,* p. 25; Barry, 'Population Distribution and Growth', pp. 114-6; N. J. G. Pounds, 'Population Movement in Cornwall, and the Rise of Mining in the 18th Century', *Geography,* 28 (1943), 37-46 (p. 45).

*Likely an underestimate because stannary workers were excluded from the calculations.[203]

Barry considered that roughly a quarter of the population of the South West (Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, and Gloucestershire) lived in towns by 1660, with 8 per cent of that urban population in Cornwall and 30 per cent in Devon.[204] Across the South West in 1660 nearly 30 per cent of the urban population lived in towns of less than 800 people, with Barry suggesting that a small minority of the urban population lived in a town of fewer than 200 people. Most towns had a population of between 200 and 800 people across the South West in 1660.[205] What appears to lay at the heart of the definition of a town is its market function and its role as a market centre, although complicated by the rise of village and itinerant retail and growth of private commodity trading.[206] According to Paul Glennie and Ian Whyte, what defined a town was its functions rather than population, as the majority of towns contained populations of under 2,000. These small towns were more than mere markets.[207] Barry estimated that of Cornwall's population of c.100,000,

[203] Barry, 'England: South-West', p. 68.
[204] Broadberry et al., *British Economic Growth,* p. 26.
[205] Barry, 'England: South-West', pp. 71-2.
[206] Barry, 'England: South-West', p. 83.
[207] Paul Glennie and Ian Whyte, 'Towns in an agrarian economy 1540-1700', in *Cambridge Urban History of Britain,* eds Peter Clark, pp. 165-194 (pp. 167-8).

roughly 18,200 people lived in towns, whilst in Devon, the urban population was estimated at 67,500 people of a county population of c.230,000. The average size of towns in Devon was 1,089 inhabitants, much larger than Cornwall's average, which was only 478. Exeter was the largest town with a population of c.11,500 in 1660.[208] Barry's estimated the urban population increased by 141 per cent between 1660 and 1805 in Devon and Cornwall, the peak of growth between 1750 and 1805.[209] Both counties gradually became more urbanised over time, but Devon remained more urbanised than Cornwall.[210]

Population growth was less rapid before 1750 than afterwards, but the cumulative effect of growth was not insignificant; for instance, Penwith Hundred's population grew by eighty-nine per cent over a ninety-year period (1660 to 1750), and at the same time, most Cornish towns grew in population by fifty-nine per cent.[211] In the parish of Paul, the population grew from 599 persons in 1600 to 1276 persons in 1699, a near doubling of the population over a one-hundred-year period.[212] This significant but less rapid population change implies no rapid change in housing. There was little need to quickly accommodated extra persons within a community and house, shown in the evidence examined in later chapters indicating no rapid change in house layouts with extra rooms on the ground floor and no rapid increase in newly built cottages until the eighteenth century.[213] There is limited evidence for the sub-division of large dwellings into smaller dwellings to accommodate new families. However, it may be difficult to directly ascribe changes in the plan-forms of houses with population change and the pressures of demographic change, especially in urban areas, without a fuller understanding of the physical context of houses in the South West.

Society: Household Size

Against the backdrop of population change, there is limited evidence on what changes South West households underwent regarding household size and members. Research indicates that households of the South West were larger than average. Peter Laslett found that on average, there were 4.75 people living in each household in England between the late

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[208] Barry, 'England: South-West', p. 71.
[209] Jonathan Barry, 'Towns and Processes of Urbanization in the Early Modern Period', in *Historical Atlas of South-West England*, ed. Kain and Ravenhill, pp. 413–25 (pp. 416–18).
[210] Barry, 'Towns and Processes of Urbanization', p. 418.
[211] Barry, 'Towns and Processes of Urbanization', p. 416; Overton et al, *Production and Consumption,* p. 12).
[212] David Hughes Cullum, 'Society and Economy in West Cornwall C1588-1750' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 1993), pp. 32, 91.
[213] Chapter three, 'Physical Developments'.

sixteenth century and the early twentieth century, and Nigel Goose, in his study of Cambridge in the early seventeenth century, found a mean household size of 4.13.[214] David Cullum argued that the mean household size in Cornwall was between seven and eight (St Just parish, 1589), and Devon between 4.54 (Tiverton, 1695) and 9.8 (Coleridge and Stanborough Hundreds, 1623).[215] Barry estimated an average of 5.11 persons per household (excluding Exeter) using Hearth Tax records across Devon, refined in selected Hundreds to provide an average of 5.58 persons per household.[216]

It is unknown why households in Devon and Cornwall appear to have been larger than average. It may reflect different calculations of 'household'. While the majority of households contained a nuclear family (husband, wife, and children), studies by Laslett, Naomi Tadmor, Nigel Goose, and Rosemary O'Day show they often included a 'household-family' of servants, apprentices, lodgers and kin as co-residents.[217] Callum estimated from the St Just Easter Book that the average household of the parish contained three or four adults, including servants, and four or five children.[218] Determining the household structure of a given house is partially possible using archaeological techniques and theories, mainly through evidence of room use in a system of settings. However, such techniques are more applicable to studies of material culture assemblages indicative of functions in situ.[219]

Society: Social Structure

Across the country, local communities underwent complex economic, social, and cultural changes during the early modern period. Wrightson, focusing on the period 1580 to 1660, argued that forces of economic, administrative and cultural integration penetrated local communities deeply, binding them closer to a national society and economy. The result was increased social polarisation between the upper middling sorts and lesser gentry on the one hand, and less wealthy groups on the other.[220] In turn, there were increased tensions

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[214] Nigel Goose, 'Household Size and Structure in Early-Stuart Cambridge', *Social History*, 5 (1980), 347–85 (p. 363); Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost*, 2nd edn (London: Methuen, 1971), p. 93.

[215] Cullum, 'Society and Economy in West Cornwall', pp. 24–25; Gray, *Harvest Failure in Cornwall and Devon,* pp. xx–xxi.

[216] Barry, 'Population Distribution and Growth', p. 114.

[217] Goose, 'Household Size and Structure', pp. 381–83; Hamling and Richardson*, A Day at Home,* p. 12; Laslett, *World We Have Lost*, p. 94; Tadmor, 'Concept of the Household-Family', pp. 139-40.

[218] Cullum, 'Society and Economy in West Cornwall', p. 24.

[219] Steadman, *Archaeology of Domestic Architecture,* pp. 173-77.

[220] Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London: Hutchinson, 1986), pp. 12–14, 224–27.

between social groups, with Wrightson arguing for inter-group conflicts of interest, fiercer antagonisms, and the beginning of what scholars describe as a dissociation between polite and plebian cultures. Wrightson also found increased conflict and suspicion between neighbours that found expression in accusations of theft, witchcraft, the harrying of poorer sorts, and ultimately riots.[221] Scholars have noted a particular association of food riots with the South West, especially Somerset and Cornwall: the cause of these riots was more complex than just high prices and scarcity of supply, drawing on what E. P. Thompson termed the 'moral economy'.[222] Smaller-scale riots and unrest occurred in Cornwall and Devon of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as well as more significant periods of unrest such as the Prayer Book Rebellion (1549) and the Civil War.[223]

It is vital, however that we consider this change from within communities. Rather than consider the impact of external forces of economic, social, and cultural change on communities, as Wrightson argued, it is instead an interaction between locality and larger society, creating division between those well placed to take advantage of market opportunities and the advancing the economic integration of English society, and others less well placed, which deepened and modified existing social divisions within a community.[224] In short, we need to consider how the household and the community interacted with economic, social, and cultural changes originating outside of the community, and forces of acculturation and assimilation, from the perspective of the community or household. As Kent stated, the forces of acculturation and assimilation should be considered when examining the relationship between culture and culture change with changes in the built environment. However, Richard Wilk warns that acculturation and assimilation are descriptive terms than explanatory terms.[225] They fail to explain why one culture takes on all, or aspects of, another culture.[226] This is somewhat shown in the material culture of Cornish households. Some members of Cornish society owned new goods indicative of new

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[221] Wrightson, *English Society,* pp. 14, 224.
[222] Carl J. Griffin, *Protest, Politics and Work in Rural England, 1700-1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 99–101; E. P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past & Present*, 50 (1971), 76–136; John Walter, *Crowds and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 68–70.
[223] Walter, *Crowds and Popular Politics,* pp. 68–70; Wrightson, *English Society,* pp. 173–74.
[224] Wrightson, *English Society,* pp. 222-3.
[225] Kent, 'Segmentation, Architecture, and Space', p. 150; Richard Wilk, 'The built environment and consumer decisions', in *Domestic Architecutre and the Use of Space,* pp. 34-42 (p. 41).
[226] Wilk, 'The built environment and consumer decisions', p. 41.

behaviours, such as tea and coffee sets, and how inventories of retailers indicate the availability of imported goods.[227] Any implication of a slavish partaking is incorrect. Overton et al. argue that the new behaviours of eating and sociability, and the associated material culture, were slow to appear in Cornish houses.[228]

Much is unknown regarding society in the early modern South West. We know little of how communities adapted to new behaviours expected of new cultures, how the divide between 'plebian' and 'polite' cultures was manifested in behaviours within a community by the gentry and those of middling wealth, despite assertions that in specific locations social barriers were not erected.[229] The Civil War has been used as a lens to explore Cornish society and the appearance of Cornish cultural identity. Mark Stoyle argues that the Cornish population were distinct from others in their reaction to the Civil War, being exceptionally Royalist and that this rebellion was partly fuelled by the sense that a cultural Cornish identity was under attack by the English.[230] In return, the English perceived the Cornish as rebellious until the post Restoration period when the fervent Royalism of the Cornish in the Civil War transformed into a perception of loyalty.[231] Others argue differently, with Duffin seeing factional political conflicts of the 1620s, and the Civil War factions caused by religion, especially Puritanism.[232] Stoyle also applies his analysis to Devon, noting regional and socio-economic divisions in support for the King or Parliament, but without a broader analysis of early modern society in Devon.[233]

In comparison to other social groups, the gentry of Devon and Cornwall are better known.[234] In Devon, the period 1560 to 1700 saw no rapid increase in gentry families, with the number of minor gentry families decreasing from the later seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century, there may have been roughly 2,000 gentry families; 1,500 to 1,600

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[227] Overton et al, *Production and Consumption,* chap. 5; Jon Stobart, 'English rural shopkeepers and retailers and consumers of colonial goods, c.1660-1760, in *La Diffusion de Produits Ultramarins en Europe, XVIe-VIIIIle Siecle,* ed. Marguerite Martin and Maude Villeret, (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2017), pp. 143-158.
[228] Overton et al*, Production and Consumption,* pp. 104–9.
[229] Ruth Priscilla Flower-Smith, 'Landowners on the Devon and Somerset Border: 1660 - 1715' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 1996), pp. 295–96.
[230] Mark Stoyle, *West Britons: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), pp. 2–5.
[231] Stoyle, *West Briton*, pp. 4–5.
[232] Duffin, *Faction and Faith,* pp. 207–12.
[233] Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality*, chapter 4.
[234] John Chynoweth, 'The Gentry of Tudor Cornwall' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 1994); Flower-Smith, 'Landowners on the Devon and Somerset Border', pp. 6-33.

were lesser gentry and around 400 greater gentry in Devon.[235] A geographical division is apparent, with a more significant number of gentry living in north and mid Devon, but a higher proportion of the greater gentry living in east and south Devon.[236] Estimates suggest there were fewer gentry in Cornwall. In the mid-seventeenth century, the number of gentry families in Cornwall was estimated at 321, fewer than 2 per cent of a total population of c.98,000, of which ninety-six families were greater gentry.[237] Between 1485 and 1603, there was an increase in the number of gentry families from 168 to 288, much of that increase between 1573 to 1603. Much of this growth came from the upward movement of yeoman families, and immigration from other areas, with little emigration of gentry families from Cornwall.[238]

The low number of Cornish gentry may be a consequence of different definitions of 'gentry'. John Chynoweth identified his Cornish gentry using by using official Tudor documents produced by local government officials and heralds, which implies many parish gentry or lesser gentry were missed from his estimates.[239] Ruth Flower-Smith used a similar technique to identify gentry individuals in Devon and Somerset, excluding urban areas. However, she recognised that many individuals considered themselves 'gentry' or were referred to by their contemporaries as 'gentry' without official blessing. In this regard, Flower-Smith identified her gentry population using official and local sources to capture a fuller picture of the 'gentry', including wills and inventories, official documents such as rate and tax returns and parish registers and other sources including road maps.[240]

The Cornish gentry were significant figures in early modern political, social, and economic life, with no resident nobility in the county, and the Duke of Cornwall rarely came to Cornwall.[241] The gentry were highly connected to London and regional capitals and to the rest of England and Europe, which Chynoweth argues was mainly through the medium of personal correspondence. They were distinct from their national peers by a high degree of intermarriage, as 60 per cent of the greater gentry and 72 per cent of the lesser gentry

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[235] Alan Everitt, 'Social Mobility in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 33 (1966), 56–73 (pp. 64–65); Flower-Smith, 'Landowners on the Devon and Somerset Border', pp. 9–10.
[236] Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality*, pp. 137–38.
[237] Duffin, *Faction and Faith,* p. 15; Flower-Smith, 'Landowners on the Devon and Somerset Border', pp. 9–10.
[238] Chynoweth, 'Gentry of Tudor Cornwall', p. 58.
[239] Chynoweth, 'Gentry of Tudor Cornwall', p. 57.
[240] Flower-Smith, 'Landowners on the Devon and Somerset Border', pp. 13, 17-33.
[241] Chynoweth, 'Gentry of Tudor Cornwall', pp. 25–26.

married Cornish brides.[242] They were deeply divided, with political conflicts in the 1620s, and such division continued into the Civil War.[243] Stoyle suggests a considerable gulf between the Cornish greater gentry and the rest of society, with a clannishness among the lesser gentry, middling sorts, and labouring sorts; Chynoweth considers the gap between the greater and lesser gentry less pronounced.[244] External connections with peers elsewhere in England, especially London, kept the Cornish gentleman up to date with the latest fashions and social behaviours.[245] Strong connections with London and urban culture imply Cornish gentlemen should have been more aware of new behaviours. However, gentry inventories show low participation in certain new behaviours such as visiting with consumption of hot drinks, which shows how the gentry of the South West need to be considered in their own contexts.[246]

Society: Identity

In Devon, the upland region of Dartmoor and the Blackdown Hills, and the Tamar Valley, have been perceived as barriers to a shared 'Devonian' identity, and the regions created by these features, and the parishes within, had their own social, cultural, political, and economic behaviours.[247] Maurice Barley argued for a cultural difference between Highland and Lowland Zones, suggesting that Lowland Zones being closer to the continent were a key source of new social and technical concepts spreading to the rest of England. The culture of the Highland Zone was an amalgam of new forms of social and technical concepts and older forms.[248] However, given he characterised Devon and Cornwall as Highland, but with good connections with England and the continent through maritime trade, Barely's generalisation can not be easily applied to the South West. Dartmoor, the Haldon Hills, and river valleys prompted Stoyle to divide Devon into four areas with distinct topographical characteristics and economic bases: north Devon, east Devon, central Devon, and south Devon.[249] Stoyle notes differences in the presence and proportions of gentry families in different regions of

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[242] Chynoweth, 'Gentry of Tudor Cornwall', pp. 18–25, 29; Duffin, *Faction and Faith,* pp. 2–3, 30–31.
[243] Duffin, *Faction and Faith,* pp. 207–10.
[244] Chynoweth, 'Gentry of Tudor Cornwall', p. 60; Mark Stoyle, '"Pagans or Paragons?": Images of the Cornish during the English Civil War', *English Historical Review*, 111 (1996), 299–323 (pp. 301–2).
[245] Chapter 5.
[246] Overton et al*, Production and Consumption,* pp. 106–7.
[247] Bernard Deacon, 'Propaganda and the Tudor State or Propaganda of the Tudor Historians?', *Cornish Studies*, 11 (2003), 317–28 (pp. 325–26); Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality*, pp. 7–23.
[248] Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, p. 4.
[249] Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality*, pp. 9–13.

Devon and suggests that proximity to trade routes may have affected the spread of social and religious ideas, such as Puritanism.[250] To some extent, the arguments outlined imply likely social and cultural differences between households living in different parts of Devon, influenced in part geographical and topographical 'boundaries' that segmented south Devon from other parts of Devon, but also in part by economic factors. Stoyle argues that a pattern of a higher number of gentlemen per head of population in north and central Devon was the result of a need to lay claim by basis of culture and lineage because the gentry in those parts were not clearly distinguished by wealth from their social neighbours.[251]

An important aspect to consider in the regionality of the South West is the idea of Cornish Distinctiveness. To some scholars, including Philip Payton and Bernard Deacon, the Cornish were distinct from their geographical neighbours and England. There is limited agreement over whether this distinctiveness was rooted in geographical isolation,[252] a unique cultural heritage of language and ethnic identity,[253] or the relationship between Cornwall as a periphery, and the central 'state' in economic, social, political, and cultural matters.[254] Other scholars, such as Chynoweth and Duffin, dispute the existence of this distinctiveness, primarily using evidence from studies of the gentry in Cornwall that highlighted how much they were like other gentry in England.[255] Through these studies, the idea of Cornish isolation due to topography and geography, central to some theories of Cornish distinctiveness, was not that strong. Indeed, Stoyle argues that the Tamar should not be considered a 'racial barrier' owing with numerous links and cooperation across the river, with Herring noting similarities in landscape characterisation between Devon and Cornwall indicative of some shared culture.[256]

Consideration of these topics have not fed into discussions about early modern houses in Devon and Cornwall. It is interesting to note that proponents of the theory of Cornish distinctiveness do not use houses as part of their evidence base. It is tempting to conclude that the lack of use of such evidence suggests that Cornish houses were not distinct from

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[250] Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality,* pp. 136-38, 200.
[251] Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality,* p. 138.
[252] Bernard Deacon, 'In Search of the Missing "Turn": The Spatial Dimension and Cornish Studies', *Cornish Studies*, 8 (2000), 213–30 (pp. 218–19).
[253] Stoyle, *West Britons*, p. 4.
[254] Payton, *Making of Modern Cornwall,* p. 65.
[255] Chynoweth, 'Gentry of Tudor Cornwall', pp. 18–29; Duffin, *Faction and Faith,* pp. 26–37.
[256] Herring, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', p. 25; Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality,* pp. 149-50.

houses elsewhere in England. Adrian Green noted that the middling sorts and lesser gentry of north-east England built houses similar in plan-form with other houses in the rest of England, with a 'regionality' of building materials, construction techniques, and plan-forms.[257] This study examines this further, examining whether the development of early modern housing in the South West was distinct or similar to other England areas.

[257] Adrian Green, 'Houses in North-Eastern England: Regionality and the British beyond, c. 1600 - 1750', in *Archaeologies of the British: Explorations of Identity in Great Britain and Its Colonies 1600 - 1945*, ed. Susan Lawrence (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 55–75 (pp. 61–65).

Studies of Housing in the South West

A few early modern commentators and travellers remarked on the housing of the South West. Celia Fiennes wrote of the physical situation of houses as she travelled between Exeter and Plymouth, describing how 'On these hills … rarely Can see houses unless you are just descending to them, they allwayes are placed in holes as it were and you have a precipice to go down to Come at them'.[258] Approaching Plymouth, she commented, 'there are very few if any houses neare the Road, unless the Little villages you passe through'.[259] In St Austell, Fiennes described that 'their houses are like Barnes up to ye top of ye house', and near Lands End the 'houses are but poor cottages like Barnes to look on' but 'are clean and plaister'd and such as you might Comfortably Eate and drink in'.[260] Sir Richard Carew in 1602 commented on recent changes to Cornish housing chiefly amongst the gentry;

> 'The ancient maner of Cornish buildings was to plant their houses lowe, to lay the stones with morter of lyme and sand, to make the walles thick … to set hearths in the midst of the room … to frame rooms not to exceede two stories … whereas now-adays they seat their dwellings high, build their walles thinne … raise them to three or four stories … coveting chiefly prospect and pleasure'.[261]

The current historiography of houses in the early modern South West concentrates on farmhouses and urban houses of the middling sorts, but numbers of surveys of vernacular architecture are low. Of all the reports in the journal of the Vernacular Architecture Group, *Vernacular Architecture,* there are more surveys of the vernacular architecture of European countries than surveys of Devon or Cornwall. Surviving dwellings in Devon and Cornwall form the backbone of Hoskins' theory of the 'Great Rebuilding' and features in Alcock's and R. Machin's revisions of the 'Great Rebuilding'.[262] Studies by Barley and Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, integrate surviving dwellings from the South West into their arguments, and show that the nature and development of vernacular houses were not unique.[263]

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[258] Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle*, p. 211.
[259] Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle*, p. 213.
[260] Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle*, pp. 215–16, 217, 224.
[261] Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall*, ed. John Chynoweth, Nicholas Orme, and Alexandra Walsham (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2004), fol. 53r.
[262] Alcock, 'Great Rebuilding and Later Stages', pp. 46-7; Hoskins, 'Rebuilding of Rural England', pp. 45-6; Machin, 'Great Rebuilding: a Reassessment', p. 36.
[263] Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 108–13, 164–68, 221–24, 262–63; Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home*; Sarah Pearson, 'Medieval Houses in English Towns', 'Medieval Houses in English Towns: Form and Location', *Vernacular Architecture*, 40 (2009), 1–22 (pp. 15-18).

Early modern farmhouses in Devon and Somerset were examined by Alcock, separately and with Carson detailing their development using manorial surveys and plans of existing houses.[264] Other works provide a broader survey of the medieval, early modern, and post-modern housing of Devon, such as by Peter Child, Thorp and Jo Cox, and Nikolaus Pevsner.[265] Local case studies are more common in the historiography of Devon's early modern housing, focusing on specific parishes or houses.[266] East Devon and Exeter are particular areas of focus.[267] The town houses of Devon are well known in historiography, with Michael Laithwaite has carried out a broad survey of the urban housing of Devon.[268] As the capital of Devon, and the largest town in the South West in the early modern period, Exeter features heavily. Most recently, Todd Gray and Sue Jackson surveyed the houses of St Martin's parish in Exeter, detailing the development of individual houses, and Derek Portman's study of medieval and early modern Exeter houses is a frequently cited source on Devon town houses.[269] Exeter features within several local case studies on town houses, with a smaller body of works focusing on other significant towns of Plymouth and Totnes, and limited focus on the towns of north Devon.[270]

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[264] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* chapter 3; Alcock, 'The Development of the Vernacular House', pp. 9–33.

[265] Nathaniel W. Alcock and M. Laithwaite, 'Medieval Houses in Devon and Their Modernisation', *Medieval Archaeology*, 17 (1973), 100–125; *Devon's Traditional Buildings*, ed. Peter Beacham (Exeter: Devon County Council, 1978); Jo Cox and John Thorpe, *Devon Thatch: An Illustrated History of Thatching and Thatched Buildings in Devon* (Tiverton: Devon Books, 2001).

[266] Nathaniel W. Alcock, P. Child, and M. Laithwaite, 'Sanders, Lettaford: A Devon Long-House', *Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society*, 30 (1972), 227-33; Nathaniel W. Alcock, 'Houses in the Yarty Valley', *Devon Buildings Group Newsletter*, (2015), 44–54; Elizabeth Gawne, *Early Dartmoor Farmhouses: Longhouses in Widecombe*, ed. Jenny Sanders (Newton Abbot: Orchard Publications, 1998); Charles Hulland, 'Devonshire Farmhouses. Part V. Some Medieval Houses in North and Mid-Devon', *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 112 (1980), 127–60; Charles Hulland, 'Devonshire Farmhouses. Part VI: More Medieval Houses in North and Mid-Devon', *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 116 (1984), 29–61; M. Laithwaite, 'Sanders, Lettaford', *Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society*, 35 (1977), 84; John R. L. Thorp and Jo Cox, 'The Traditional Dartmoor Farmstead; the End', *Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society,* 52: *The Archaeology of Dartmoor* (1994), 241–70.

[267] Nathaniel W. Alcock, 'Houses in an East Devon parish', *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 94 (1962), 185–232; John R. L. Thorp and Nathaniel W. Alcock, 'Great Moor Farm, Sowton, Devon: the recording and excavation of a 16th- and 17th-century farmhouse', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 53 (2019), 186-224.

[268] M. Laithwaite, 'Town Houses up to 1700', in *Devon's Traditional Buildings*, ed Peter Beacham (Exeter: Devon County Council, 1978), pp. 30–42.

[269] Todd Gray and Sue Jackson, *St Martin's Island: An Introductory History of Forty-Two Exeter Buildings* (Exeter: The Mint Press, 2017); D Portman*, Exeter Houses 1400-1700* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1966).

[270] Examples include A. J. Passmore, P. Jones, and John Allan, 'Dyers, Fullers and Brewers: Post-Medieval Housing and Industries at Tudor Street, Exeter', *Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society Proceedings*, 67 (2009), 133–97; Aidan Matthews, Anthony Collings, and John Allan, 'The Ship Inn: A Row of Late Medieval Houses in St Martin's Lane, Exeter', *Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society Proceedings*, 69 (2011), 157–80; Richard Parker, 'Archaeological Recording at No. 67 South Street, Exeter', *Proceedings of the Devon*

Fewer surveys of the early modern housing of Cornwall exist. Well known, yet under-utilised, works that tackle Cornwall's rural vernacular housing are by Chesher and Chesher, and Jope.[271] What is unusual regarding Jope's survey is that it considers vernacular and gentry houses. Pevsner's near-comprehensive survey of the medieval, early modern, and post-modern housing of Cornwall is also essential, updated by Beacham in 2014.[272] Other works that concentrate on Cornish houses are mostly found within local archaeological journals and studies, whether of individual houses or thematic discussions of house types.[273]

Surveys of gentry houses in the South West are more numerous. The surveys by Pevsner remain the principal source of information on country houses of the South West, with the recent updating and re-publication of the volumes on Devon and Cornwall shows that interest in county-specific surveys remains strong.[274] This is further shown by the re-publication of Jane Penoyre's *Traditional Houses of Somerset,* and the recent publication of Hugh Meller's two-volume *Country Houses of Devon.*[275] Smaller-scale surveys of gentry houses are found within several essay collections, with the focus more on Devon than Cornwall.[276] A number of these studies are published, usually within local archaeological journals, or

Archaeological Society Proceedings, 62 (2004), 121–52; Richard Parker, 'Nos 53-53a Southside Street: A Merchant's House in Plymouth', *Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society Proceedings*, 65 (2007), 183–230; Richard Parker and John Allan, 'The Transformation of the Building Stock of Exeter, 1450-1700', in *West Country Households,* ed Allan, Alcock, and Dawson, pp. 35–68; Richard Parker, Piran Bishop, A. G. Collings, and Ruth McNeilage, 'No. 18 North Street, Exeter: A 17th-Century Merchant House with Painted Panelling', *Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society Proceedings*, 71 (2013), 123–86.

[271] Chesher and Chesher, *Cornishman's House*; E. M. Jope, 'Cornish Houses 1400-1700', in *Studies in Building History: Essays in Recognition of the Work of B. H. St. J. O'Neil*, ed. E. M. Jope (London: Odhams Press, 1961), pp. 192–222.

[272] Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of Britain: Cornwall*, ed. Enid Radcliffe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970); Peter Beacham and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cornwall* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014).

[273] Examples such as: Guy Bereford, 'Tresmorn, St Gennys', *Cornish Archaeology,* 10 (1971), 55-72; Jeanette Ratcliffe and Eric Berry, *14 Teetotal Street, St Ives, Cornwall: Archaeological Assessment* (Cornwall: Jeanette Ratcliffe, 2012), https://doi.org/10.5284/1021472 [accessed 27 January 2016]; Peter Stead, John Allan, Graham Langman, and Robert Taylor, 'Investigations at Nos 4-6 Pydar Street, Truro', *Cornish Archaeology*, 37–8 (1998-9), 178–85; Jo Sturgess, *No. 2, The Square, Chacewater, Cornwall: Archaeological Watching Brief and Historic Building Record,* (Truro: Cornwall Council Historic Environment Service, 2012) https://doi.org/10.5284/1017562 [accessed 27 January 2016].

[274] Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of Britain: Devon* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989); Beacham and Pevsner, *Cornwall*.

[275] Hugh Meller, *The Country Houses of Devon,* 2 vols (Crediton: Black Dog Press, 2015); Jane Penoyre, *Traditional Houses of Somerset* (Tiverton: Somerset Books, 2005).

[276] Steven Pugsley, 'Landed Society and the Emergence of the Country House in Tudor and Early Stuart Devon', in *Tudor and Stuart Devon: The Common Estate and Government*, ed. Todd Gray, Margery Rowe, and Audrey Erskine (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992), pp. 96–118.

published online as grey literature reports.[277] Mark Girouard drew on very little evidence from the South West as part of his study examining the relationship between socio-cultural change and developments of 'the County House': twelve houses from Devon and only one from Cornwall.[278] In contrast, Nicholas Cooper drew on more Cornish evidence for his study of the development of gentry houses and the impact of the introduction of compact non-hierarchical houses.[279]

By concentrating on local studies, a perception may grow that the houses of the early modern South West were unique with a high degree of regionality in plan-form or design. As Green argued, although there was a national culture of housing forms, there was regionality in room arrangements, building materials, and construction techniques, this should not be taken to mean that there were plan-forms unique to a region or area.[280] This is typified by the longhouse. A traditional argument was that the longhouse was a typical Devon house constructed during the late medieval and early modern periods, as suggested by R. W. Brunskill. However, longhouses are found across Europe and the Americas, and date from at least the Neolithic (c.5000 BC).[281] Furthermore, Alcock shows that Cornwall has a considerable number of surviving longhouses, but longhouses are principally found in upland regions of the South West.[282] However, continuing research shows that heavily disguised longhouses are present in lowland areas of Devon, identified by external features primarily a step-down in roof levels between the high and low end of a house marking a house and shippon.[283] This partly undermines arguments for different cultures in highland

[277] Cherry, 'Devon Country House'; Diana Colville, 'Penheale: The Rebirth of a House', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, X (1989), 267–82; Richard Parker, Pru Manning, and Gary Young, 'Hatt House, Botus Fleming: The Evolution of a Georgian Country House', *Cornish Archaeology,* 47 (2008), 153-76; H. Gordon Slade, Nicholas Cooper, Diana Woolner, John R. L. Thorp, and Anthony Emery, '7 Country Houses', *Archaeological Journal*, 147 (1990), 93–115; W. R. Wilson-North, 'Stowe: The Country House and Garden of the Grenville Family; a Survey by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England', *Cornish Archaeology,* 32 (1993), 112-27.
[278] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980).
[279] Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry, 1480-1680* (New Haven, USA: Yale University Press, 1999).
[280] Green, 'Houses in North-Eastern England', p. 61.
[281] R. W. Brunskill, *Traditional Buidlings of Britain: An Introduction to Vernacular Architecture* (London: Victor Gollancz in association with Pete Crawley, 1981), pp. 114–5.
[282] Alcock, 'Development of the Vernacular House', p. 16.
[283] Peter Beacham, 'The Dartmoor Longhouse', *Devon Archaeology*, 3 (1991), 23–30; S. R. Jones, 'Devonshire Farmhouses Part III: Moorland and non-moorland long-houses', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association,* 103 (1971), pp. 35-76 (pp. 35-7); E. M. Jope and R. I. Threlfall, 'Excavation of a Medieval Settlement at Beere, North Tawton, Devon', *Medieval Archaeology*, 2 (1958), 112–40 (p. 112).

and lowland zones, given the relationship between culture and house plan-form.[284] Care must be taken as to whether a described 'longhouse' is actually a 'longhouse' that is a house and shippon plan-form.[285] Furthermore, research is showing how the Devon longhouse may have been a regional innovation of a broader indigenous longhouse tradition across Britain, but one that was not ubiquitous given a lack of definite excavated or surviving longhouses across large parts of southern and eastern England.[286]

Discussions on the concept and theory of Cornish distinctiveness, the types of houses the early modern Cornish lived in are not discussed. In contrast to Chesher and Chesher, Cooper argues that the Cornish house was distinct from houses of neighbouring counties in the use of local building materials, rather than in distinctive plan-forms, especially the elite and gentry houses in Cornwall.[287] Brunskill further argued for other regional characteristics of south-western houses, such as the cob and thatch house with or without side chimney, and the slate-hung cottage.[288] It is important to note that Brunskill's differentiation relied on particular architectural features and building materials. Child and Linda Hall similarly argue that a lateral front chimney is an essentially Devonian architectural feature. However, Hall notes that this architectural feature can be found in other areas of England.[289] This study is primarily concerned with describing the early modern housing of the South West rather than arguing for its regional uniqueness; without an overtly comparative approach, claims of regional uniqueness remain open to question.

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[284] Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, p. 4.

[285] Nathaniel W. Alcock and P. Smith, 'The Long-House: A Plea for Clarity', *Medieval Archaeology,* 16 (1972), 145-6 (p. 145); Peter Ennals and Deryck W Holdsworth, 'Looking Backward and Moving Forward: Early House Building Patterns among the Yorkshire Settlers of Chignecto', *Material Culture Review,* 65 (2007), 32-46 (pp. 33-5; Mark Gardiner, 'Vernacular Buildings and the Development of the Later Medieval Domestic Plan in England', *Medieval Archaeology,* 44 (2000), 159-179 (pp. 163-67); ghouse', *Devon Archaeology*, 3 (1991), 23–30; E. M. Jope and R. I. Threlfall, 'Excavation of a Medieval Settlement at Beere, North Tawton, Devon', *Medieval Archaeology*, 2 (1958), 112–40 (p. 112); Barry Harrison, 'Longhouses in the Vale of York, 1570-1669', *Vernacular Architecture*, 22 (1991), 31–39.

[286] Daniel Maudlin, 'The Legend of Brigadoon: Architecture, Identity and Choice in the Scottish Highlands', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 20, (2009), 45–57 (p. 47); Gardiner, 'Vernacular Buildings', pp. 167-8.

[287] Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry,* pp. 65, 75–8, 158, 168, 198, 201, 210, 226, 245, 294, 300, 302, 309.

[288] Brunskill, *Traditional Buildings of Britain,* pp. 114–5.

[289] Brunskill, *Traditional Buildings of Britain,* pp. 114–5; Peter Child, 'Farmhouse Building Traditions', in *Devon's Traditional Buildings*, ed. Beacham, pp. 7–17 (p. 14); Linda Hall, 'Yeoman or Gentleman? Problems in Defining Social Status in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Gloucestershire', *Vernacular Architecture*, 22 (1991), 2–19 (pp. 9–11).

Physical Development of Houses of the South West

This section shows that there is no single model of development of housing in the early modern South West. However, a great deal can be stitched together about the form, construction, and development of housing in the South West during the early modern period from existing studies. Principal building materials were stone, such as the granites of the upland moorlands or the sandstones and slates of large portions of Devon and Cornwall, or cob, a mix of clay, straw, and stone rubble.[290] Early modern houses of cob are found in rural areas of Cornwall, with particular concentrations around Padstow, Truro and the Roseland Peninsula, and the Fal and Helford estuaries, and in distinct regions of Devon in a broad sweep from the Culm Measures in North Devon to East Devon.[291] Brick was slow to be adopted, particularly in Cornwall where early modern builders may not have trusted the material to be reliable in the wet Cornish climate.[292] Entire timber-framed buildings are rare in south-west England, with timber fronted buildings more common in towns, with stone or rubble side walls.[293] E. M. Jope argued that in some deep valleys of Cornwall houses could be timber framed, but the evidence used to support this assertion was from the town of Launceston.[294]

The early seventeenth century was a critical period in considering the nature, and timings, of house development in the early modern South West. Alcock and Chesher and Chesher argued that a first phase of development was during the period of the Great Rebuilding (c.1575 to c.1640), with a strong continuity of 'medieval' features such as cross-passages and sheltered courtyard plans, and another phase in the late seventeenth century.[295] During the later phase houses were constructed with new and innovative plan-forms, such as having a single storey range of rooms at the rear, termed the linhay plan (Cornwall) or outshut plan

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[290] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* p. 24; Chesher, 'Traditional Building Materials', p. 39; Charles Hulland, 'Notes on Building Materials in Devon', in *Devon's Traditional Buildings*, ed. Beacham, pp. 1–6 (pp. 1–2); John Penoyre and Jane Penoyre, *Houses in the Landscape: A Regional Study of Vernacular Building Styles in England and Wales* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), pp. 53–4

[291] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* p. 24; Chesher, 'Traditional Building Materials', p. 39; Hulland, 'Notes on Building Materials in Devon', pp. 1–2; Penoyre and Penoyre, *Houses in the Landscape,* pp. 53–4.

[292] Patrick Brown, *Buildings of Britain 1550-1750: South West England* (Ashbourne: Moorland Publishing, 1981), pp. 21–2; Penoyre and Penoyre, *Houses in the Landscape,* p. 36.

[293] Thorp, 'Carpentry and Framing Techniques in Devon', pp. 84–87.

[294] Jope, 'Cornish Houses', p. 197.

[295] Alcock, 'Development of the Vernacular House', pp. 16–29; Chesher and Chesher, *Cornishman's House,* pp. 116–20.

(Devon). Alcock argues that new plan-forms can be identified from c.1600, most obviously seen in the abandonment of the cross-passage.[296]

Recent research suggest that it was unlikely that c.1580 to 1640 was the earliest phase of redevelopment. Alcock and Laithwaite argued that in larger houses, particularly in east Devon and Somerset, there was a pattern of flooring over the inner room or service room (or both) in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, usually identified by an internal jetty.[297] In Hampshire and Kent, dendrochronology has identified several dwellings constructed from the late fifteenth century with ceiled halls; further research may find similar examples in Devon and Cornwall.[298]

The existing secondary literature emphasises that early modern south-western housing can be categorised into several fundamental plan-forms. For this study, the most important are: (1) three ground floor room plan-forms; (2) two ground floor room plan-forms; and (3) the longhouse. Urban and gentry houses have different plan-forms and are considered separately. The introduction of plan-forms such as the lobby-entry, or the double-pile plan, are analysed as variations of these plan-forms. Forms (1), (2), and (3) have a close relationship to the medieval plan-form of three or four spaces/rooms. Gardiner argued that the later medieval house plan typically had a cross-entry, with at least one space on one side for service functions, the hall to the other side, and a chamber either on the ground floor or a first floor room beyond the hall; there were variations dependent on wealth and status typically in the number of extra rooms and spaces present.[299] However, the longhouse appears to have been a distinct variation of cross-passage houses, rather than being the root of later medieval hall-house plans as argued by J. Hurst.[300]

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[296] Alcock, ‘Development of the Vernacular House’, p. 20.
[297] Alcock and Laithwaite, 'Medieval Houses in Devon', p. 100; Alcock and Carson*, West Country Farms,* p. 33.
[298] Edward Roberts, ‘W. G. Hoskins’s “Great Rebuilding” and Dendrochronology in Hampshire’, *Vernacular Architecture*, 38 (2007), 15–18 (p. 17).
[299] Gardiner, 'Vernacular Buildings', p. 161-2; Mark Gardiner, ‘Conceptions of domestic space in the long term- the example of the English medieval hall’, in Medieval Archaeology in Scandinavia and Beyond: History, trends and tomorrow: Proceedings of a Conference to Celebrate 40 years of Medieval Archaeology at Aarhus University, 26-27 October 2011, ed. Mette Svart Kristiansen, Else Roesdahl and James Graham-Campbell, (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2015), pp. 313-333 (p. 321.
[300] Gardiner, 'Vernacular Buildings', p. 168, 169.

Figure 1: Floor plan of a three-room house (1)

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From: Nathaniel Alcock, 'Houses in the Yarty Valley', *Devon Buildings Group Newsletter,* 33 (44-54) p.40.

Note: Hatched areas are later developments

Figure 2: Floor plan of a two-room house (2)

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From: N. Alcock and C. Carson, *West Country Farms: house and estate surveys, 1598-1764* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), p. 24.

Figure 3: Floor plan of a longhouse (3)

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

From: E. Gawne and J. Saunders, *Early Dartmoor Farmhouses: Longhouses in Widecombe* (Chudleigh: Orchard Publications, 1998), p. 64.

Houses constructed with a two-room plan-form during the early modern period are found across the South West, a continuation of houses constructed earlier with the same plan-form, although more common further west.[301] Houses with two-room plan-forms constructed before the early seventeenth century show limited variations. Principally, variations were limited to either with or without cross-passage, but some two-room houses in Devon and Cornwall were constructed with a long hall. During post-construction development, this space was divided into two rooms, creating a house with a three-room plan-form.with some houses.[302] Alternatively, some houses were constructed with upper chambers over the service room, or these were added in post-construction redevelopment such as at Truthall in Sithney parish, where a heated chamber was inserted over an unheated service room.[303]

Houses with two-room plan-forms constructed after the early seventeenth century show greater variation, but less variation than houses with three-room plan-forms. In Cornwall, variations included the addition of either rear lean-to service rooms or outshuts (Chesher

[301] Alcock and Carson*, West Country Farms,* pp. 35, 37.
[302] Alcock and Carson*, West Country Farms,* p. 25; Alcock and Laithwaite, 'Medieval Houses in Devon', pp. 100–101; Berry, 'Vernacular Building', p. 45.
[303] Alcock and Laithwaite, 'Medieval Houses in Devon', pp. 100-101; Jope, 'Cornish Houses', pp. 198–99.

and Chesher termed this the 'Linhay plan'), a rear wing with a service function, or front parlour wing.[304] In Devon and Somerset, Alcock argued that one variation was a lobby at the stairhead was created, part of a growing concern for privacy. Except for Moxhayes in Membury parish, east Devon, there is little physical evidence of this.[305] Studies of smaller houses in early modern Devon and Cornwall are limited compared with elsewhere, such as Norfolk, but nonetheless show that whilst variations are apparent, in most houses there was little departure from the medieval two-room and cross-passage plan-form.[306]

Discussions of the three-room plan-form in the South West are more comprehensive. Houses constructed during the early modern period with a three-room plan-form are a continuation of houses constructed during the late medieval period, referred to as the 'Hall House', consisting of an inner room, an open hall, cross-passage, and service rooms, often with an upper chamber, or solar, above the inner room or the service room.[307] Larger medieval houses were modernised during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, including the insertion of low partitions or the division of a long hall into two rooms, or the insertion of an upper storey room with a jetty over the low partition.[308] Peter Beacham suggests there may have been a degree of regionalism, with ceiled service rooms and jetties over the cross-passage more common in North Devon, and Eric Berry recognises the same pattern of modernisation in Cornwall.[309] However, Jope suggests that a number of fifteenth century and early sixteenth century houses were fully floored over, such as at Boycombe, Farway parish.[310]

Alcock argued that houses constructed, or redeveloped, after 1600 could have significant variations to the medieval three-room plan-form, such as two-storey porches, cross-wings, and lobby entries. A departure from the three-room and cross-passage plan-form was the central unheated service room plan-form, often considered a typical plan-form of south-

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[304] Alcock, 'Development of the Vernacular House', pp. 27-31; Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* p. 33; Chesher and Chesher*, Cornishman's House,* pp. 15-16, 120.
[305] Alcock, 'Development of the Vernacular House', p. 27; Alcock, 'Houses in the Yarty Valley', pp. 50–51.
[306] Adam Longcroft, 'Plan-Forms in Smaller Post-Medieval Houses: A Case Study from Norfolk', *Vernacular Architecture*, 33 (2002), 34–56 (pp. 38–43).
[307] Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 108–9; Chesher and Chesher*, Cornishman's House,* pp. 15–16.
[308] Alcock and Laithwaite, 'Medieval Houses in Devon', pp. 102–22.
[309] Eric Berry, 'Vernacular Building, 1400-1800', in *The Buildings of England: Cornwall*, ed. Beacham and Pevsner, pp. 44–50; Peter Beacham, 'Rural Building: 1400-1800', in *The Buildings of England: Devon*, ed. Cherry and Pevsner, pp. 62–77 (pp. 71–72).
[310] Jope, 'Cornish Houses', p. 198.

west England.[311] The insertion of new architectural features did not mean replacement of traditional feature. For example, Wick Farm, Curry Rivel in Somerset was built as a lobby-entry plan and yet retained a cross-passage.[312] Although Alcock and Chesher and Chesher suggest there was an abandonment of the cross-passage in new houses built after 1600, there are a large number of surviving houses that retain this traditional architectural feature to the present day.[313] The majority of surviving houses in the South West constructed during and from the later seventeenth century retained traditional architectural features of the medieval period, such as the cross-passage or a walled enclosure or courtyard.[314] Other developments of the three-room plan-form after 1600 include the addition of outshuts and a double-pile plan-form with central cross-passage.[315]

Longhouses are defined in plan-form as a two or one-room 'house' and a shippon for housing cattle; a regionalised adaption of the late medieval 'Hall House'. [316] Most, if not all, surviving Dartmoor farmhouses were initially constructed as longhouses. Beacham argues that longhouses were not necessarily simple but could be sophisticated structures with a high degree of internal decoration.[317] Barley argued that the longhouse underwent piecemeal but linear development of increasing separation between living rooms and the shippon before the link was entirely severed in the early eighteenth century.[318] Elizabeth Gawne and Jennifer Sanders also argue for the increasing separation from the shippon; surviving longhouses constructed after 1700 showed greater separation between the living areas and the shippon than those constructed earlier. Beacham and Child disagree, arguing that longhouses were not subject to such a linear pattern of evolution.[319] Recent and continuing research shows surviving longhouses are not solely concentrated in upland regions but are

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[311] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* pp. 31–33; Alcock, 'Development of the Vernacular House', pp. 20–27.
[312] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* pp. 31–32.
[313] Alcock, 'Development of the Vernacular House', pp. 20–25; Chesher and Chesher, *Cornishman's House,* pp. 118–20.
[314] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* p. 33; Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 222–23.
[315] Alcock, 'Development of the Vernacular House', pp. 25–27; Berry, 'Vernacular Building', pp. 46–47; Chesher and Chesher, *Cornishman's House,* pp. 118–21.
[316] Gardiner, 'Vernacular Buildings', p. 178.
[317] Beacham, 'The Dartmoor Longhouse', pp. 23–24, 28; Gawne, *Early Dartmoor Farmhouses,* p. 6.
[318] Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 109, 164–65, 262–63.
[319] Beacham, 'The Dartmoor Longhouse', p. 26; Child, 'Farmhouse Building Traditions', p. 10; Gawne, *Early Dartmoor Farmhouses,* p. 6.

identified in lowland Devon albeit heavily disguised.[320] Longhouses suit a particular domestic arrangement where the living accommodation was sufficient and the herd of cattle small enough to be housed in the shippon.[321] They are appropriate to the agricultural economy of upland regions and a need to cope with the challenging climate, with their presence in lowland areas suggests a connection with transhumance.[322]

Urban housing has been studied in comparatively greater depth. Studies by Derek Portman and Robert Taylor concentrate on certain plan-forms of houses in Exeter and Taunton and the development of town houses based on whether the roof was parallel to the street or perpendicular (following W. A. Pantin) and variations in size within these bounds. [323] Pantin's typology, in which he split late medieval middle-sized urban houses into two groups, those with the hall parallel with the street and those with the hall perpendicular to the street, with sub-divisions in each group, has remained remarkably resilient despite considerable changes in the investigation of urban houses over the last fifty years. [324] Current research points to c.1500 and c.1700 as critical points in the transformation and development of the housing stock of towns in early modern south-west England.[325] The nature of post-construction redevelopment between 1500 and 1700 included addition of chimney stacks, changes to the side-passage, and addition of a rear gallery or rear block.[326] Furthermore, post-construction redevelopment also involved stacking additional storeys onto smaller houses and sub-dividing older buildings due to increased population and the need to maximise the use of space.[327] In this period, houses with L-shaped plans were constructed, which according to Taylor, was an intrusive plan-form; Portman found little evidence for L-shaped plans in Exeter.[328] In contrast, Pantin included the L-shaped plan-form as part of his 'Broad Plan'

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[320] Alcock and Carson*, West Country Farms,* p. 26; Alcock, Child, and Laithwaite, 'Sanders, Lettaford', pp. 8–9; Jones, 'Devonshire Farmhouses Part III', pp. 35-7.
[321] Alcock, 'Development of the Vernacular House', p. 16.
[322] Beacham, 'The Dartmoor Longhouse', p. 26; Berry, 'Vernacular Buildings', p. 45.
[323] Robert Taylor, 'Town Houses in Taunton, 1500-1700', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 8 (1974), 63–79 (p. 64); Portman, *Exeter Houses,* pp. 24-28.
[324] W. A. Pantin, 'Medieval English Town-House Plans', *Medieval Archaeology,* 6 (1962), 2020-239 (pp. 202-5; Sarah Pearson, 'Vernacular Architecture and Medieval Urban Studies', in 'Vernacular Architecture at 50: Towards the Study of Buildings in Context', eds Martin Cherry and Adrian Green, *Vernacular Architecture,* 50 (2019), 1-17 (pp. 5-6).
[325] Parker and Allan, 'Building Stock of Exeter', pp. 63–64.
[326] Parker and Allan, 'Building Stock of Exeter', pp. 63–64; Taylor, 'Town Houses in Taunton', pp. 78–79.
[327] Parker and Allan, 'Building Stock of Exeter ', p. 45.
[328] Taylor, 'Town Houses in Taunton', p. 79; Portman*, Exeter Houses,* p. 28.

typography, where the hall flanked a courtyard.[329] The development of town houses in Cornwall is less well known. Berry argues strong comparisons exist between the houses of Fowey, Launceston, Penryn, and East Looe and those of Exeter and Totnes; stylistically however, there was a stronger relationship with Brittany.[330]

Consideration of gentry houses in the South West have tended to emphasise that they were modest, unpretentious, and discreet, gentleman's houses rather than grand mansions, and their owners were slow to adopt new courtly fashions.[331] From the late seventeenth century some houses was constructed with a double-pile symmetrical (neo-Palladian) design, such as Puslinch, Yealmpton (constructed 1720s) with local variations in design.[332] Other examples show how gentry houses in the South West had innovative and fashionable. The plan form of Ince Castle, built in the 1630s, was similar to several other gentry houses of the same period, deemed by Cooper to be quintessentially gentry, while earlier the gatehouse at Godolphin House was realigned to be axial with the hall, also seen at Barrington Court and Shute House.[333] Beyond piecemeal consideration of local case studies, there is no overall model for the development of gentry and elite country houses in the South West, or how the gentry reacted to new fashions and urban cultures of behaviour.

Methodology

This study uses probate inventories alongside house plans created by archaeological historic building surveys carried out in the last fifty-years, to understand how early modern housing and the use of space changed. The South West was chosen because of the richness of the physical evidence, with many thousands of early modern houses surviving in Devon and Cornwall. Local Historic Environment Records (HER) provide an interesting perspective on the numbers of early modern houses in the South West.[334] Searches using the pre-designated term 'house' suggests a national picture of roughly 64,822 surviving houses

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[329] Pantin, 'Medieval England Town-House Plans', p. 205.
[330] Berry, 'Vernacular Buildings', p. 45.
[331] Batty, 'Gardens at Langdon Court', pp. 176–78; Beacham and Pevsner, *Cornwall,* pp. 38–41; Cherry, 'Devon Country House', pp. 91–93; Pugsley, 'Landed Society', p. 116.
[332] Cherry, 'Devon Country House', p. 133; Slade and others, '7 Country Houses', p. 115; Richard Wellby, 'An Evaluation of Castle Hill House, Castle Street, Launceston, Cornwall' (unpublished postgraduate diploma dissertation, University of Plymouth, 1993).
[333] Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry,* pp. 75–78, 168, 245.
[334] www.heritagegateway.org.uk, [accessed 26 February 2017].

constructed 1485 to 1760, with 9,989 recorded in Devon and Cornwall.[335] The Devon and Dartmoor HER identify 8,646 surviving early modern houses, the Cornwall and Isles of Scilly HER identify 1,643. The number of surviving houses in Cornwall constructed from the late medieval and early modern periods likely a significant underestimation considering population sizes shown in table 1, and perhaps the result of considerable population change from the nineteenth century.

Evidence was taken from a selection of parishes chosen as representative of urban and rural settlements within the two counties, as shown in table 2, with a map showing the distribution of the parishes across Devon and Cornwall in figure 4. These parishes were chosen because they have good numbers of surviving probate inventories and a number of archaeologically surveyed buildings with a plan produced of the house. The level of evidence differs between each county. In Cornwall, there are a high number of probate inventories as most of the probate inventories proved at the Ecclesiastical Probate Court of the Archdeaconry of Truro survive, so the selection of the parishes was influenced by the number of recorded buildings and listed dwellings. In Devon, the number of probate inventories is much lower due to the destruction of the Devon Register Office in 1942, so the critical influence in the choice of certain parishes and towns was the number of existing probate inventories. Table A, Appendix 1 shows the number of probate inventories and house plans per location examined. A second important factor in choosing these parishes was that they all have surviving hearth tax records, allowing for comparison between individual parishes and with the region.

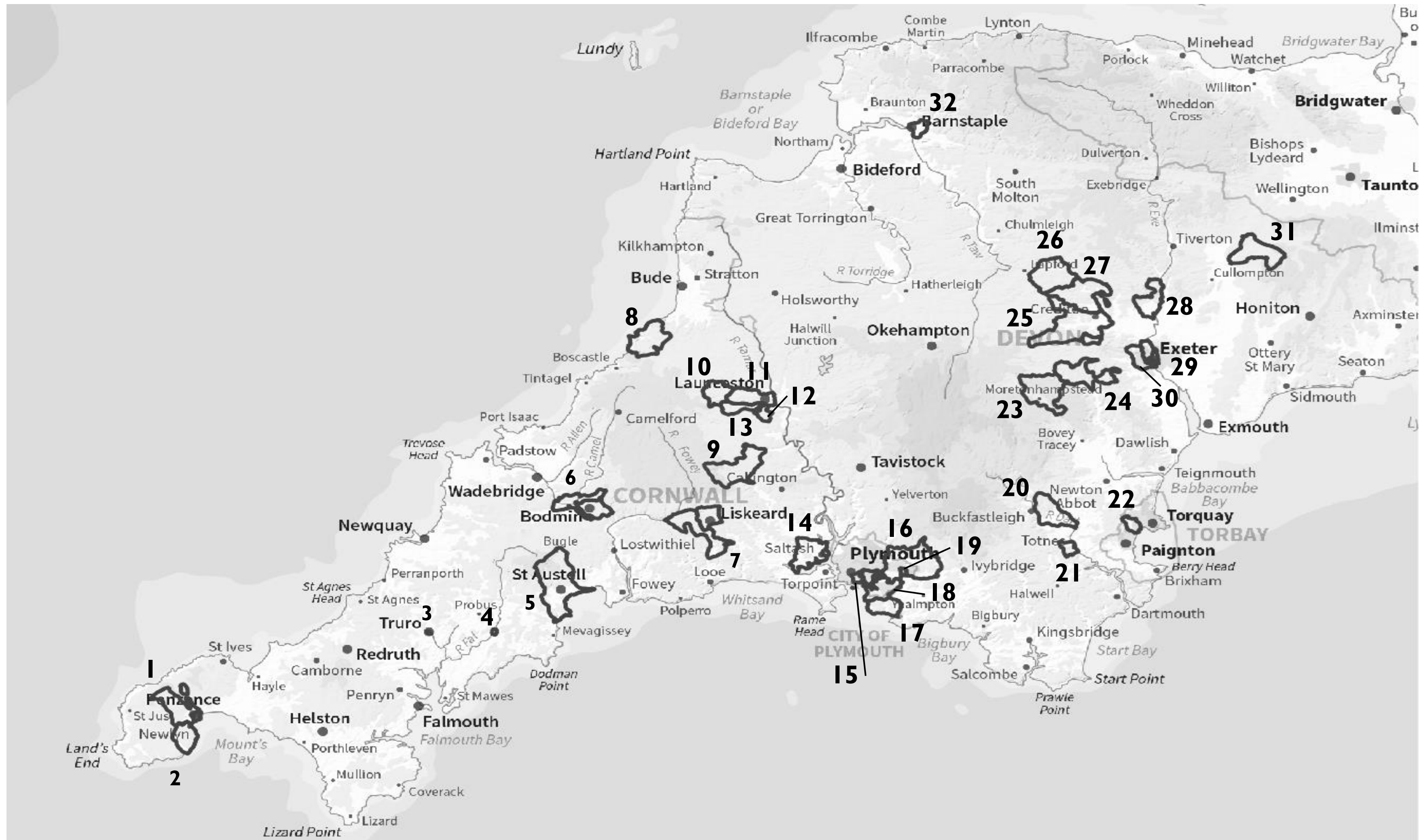
[335] http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results.aspx, [accessed 26 February 2017].

Table 2: Topographical characteristics of the sample parishes

	Cornwall	Devon
County border	St Stephens-by-Saltash (14) St Stephen-by-Launceston (11) St Thomas-by-Launceston (13)	
Ports	Truro (3)	Barnstaple (32) Exeter (29) Totnes (21) Plymouth (15)
Rural (coastal)	Madron (1) Paul (2) St Gennys (8)	Wembury (17) Plymstock (18) Cockington (22)
Rural (inland)	Linkinhorne (9) Egloskerry (10)	Staverton (21) Moretonhampstead (23) Dunsford (24) Sandford (27) Morchard Bishop (26) Thorverton (28) Uffculme (31)
Rural-Urban	Bodmin (6) St Austell (5) St Stephen-by-Launceston (11) St Thomas-by-Launceston (13) Liskeard (7) St Stephens-by-Saltash (14)	Plympton St Mary (16) Crediton (25) Exeter St Thomas (30)
Boroughs	Liskeard (7) Bodmin (6) Launceston (12) Truro (3) Tregony (4) Saltash (14)	Crediton (25) Exeter (29) Totnes (21) Plymouth (15) Barnstaple (32) Plympton St Maurice (19)

Note: number in brackets refers to figure 1.

Table 3: Map of sample parishes and towns



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Parish boundary source: Satchell, A.E.M, Shaw-Taylor, L., Wrigley E.A., 1831 England and Wales ancient counties GIS (2016). This dataset was created with funding from the ESRC (RES-000-23-1579), the Leverhulme Trust and the British Academy. The Satchell *et al* dataset derives from an enhanced version of Burton, N, Westwood J., and Carter P., GIS of the ancient parishes of England and Wales, 1500-1850. Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive (May 2004), SN 4828, which is a GIS version of Kain, R.J.P., and Oliver, R.R., Historic parishes of England and Wales: An electronic map of boundaries before 1850 with a gazetteer and metadata. Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive, May, 2001. SN 4348. A description of the dataset can be found in Satchell, A.E.M., England and Wales ancient counties 1831 documentation (2016, 2006) available at: http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/datasets/documentation.html

Existing surveys of early modern houses tend to use one of two approaches; either a national survey of particular typologies of housing or a regional/local case study. Hoskins and Barley are examples of a national survey approach, through which the broader trends and development of certain plan-forms can be assessed. However, Cooper argues that is all a national survey can determine.[336] Suggestions can be made to explain the existence of plans-types in an area, yet local studies are needed to examine the patterns and trends of development and to assess local social, economic, cultural and political contexts and outlooks in more depth.[337] Examples include Ursula Priestley and Penelope Corfield's survey of the housing of early modern Norwich, Alcock's investigation of Stoneleigh and Arrow, Warwickshire, Johnson's study of western Suffolk and Barley's investigation of the diocese of Lincoln.[338]

Local case studies can illuminate the relationship between land tenure, household economy, and house plan forms, and to what extent plan-form was influenced by land tenure and household economy. Although not the subject of investigation in this study, manorial surveys of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries enable insight into the relationship between land tenure and house plan-form and can allow for regional comparison. As has been discussed, there is evidence for growing regional economic specialisms, especially in term of the agrarian economy and the growth of tin mining in the west of Cornwall, also evident in household economies. As household economies adapted to the new economic situation, so activities and production behaviours changed, as recognised by Overton et al.[339] Central to this thesis is the argument that the domestic use of space and the built environment is reflective of culture and related social behaviours, and of household economies, which given the highly differentiated nature of early modern society necessitates attention to be paid to localities.

Core to all the studies of early modern housing above are probate inventories and house plans of surviving medieval and early modern houses. For this study, these same sources are used, supplemented by records of listed buildings from the National Heritage List for England, the Hearth Tax, and images of buildings where available.

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336 Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry,* pp. ix–x.
337 Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry,* pp. ix–x.
338 Alcock, *People at Home*; Barley, 'Farmhouses and Cottages'; Johnson, *Housing Culture*; Priestley, Corfield and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use'.
339 Overton et al, Production and Consumption, p. 64.

Probate Inventories

Probate inventories are produced after the death of an individual which record 'movables' within the house, levels of debt owing to the deceased, and sometimes chattel leases of land and property. Details captured from probate inventories can provide a snapshot of the use of space and household behaviour. Investigations of room function from the material culture recorded by inventories have been carried out by Overton et al., Priestley, and Lorna Weatherill, but their methodologies differed.[340] Weatherill examined early modern consumer behaviour by concentrating on twenty key items, including items relating to domestic processes and daily life, 'luxuries', and 'new luxuries' such as clocks, silver, and pictures.[341] No furniture was analysed by Weatherill. Priestley and Overton et al. used a wide range of goods to investigate household behaviour, including household production and domestic sociability. Anthony Buxton used a similar approach, categorising artefacts by the associated activity and associative objects, then associating these with specific processes.[342] A similar approach is taken by this thesis, which focuses on specific categories of domestic functions, these being cooking, eating and drinking, sleeping, sociability and hospitality, comfort, and domestic production, with the functions identified by associated objects.[343]

The use of inventories has to be carefully considered. They form a crucial part of the process of inheritance which included settling debts after death. By law, a deceased's creditors had to be satisfied before bequests could be made, and thus probate inventories assisted with this by listing the value of goods that could be sold to honour debts. [344] Lena Orlin argued, due to both accidental and deliberate reasons, objects and

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[340] Overton et al*, Production and Consumption,* chapter 6; Priestley, Corfield and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use'; Lorna Weatherill, 'Probate Inventories and Consumer Behaviour in England 1660-1740', in *The Records of the Nation: The Public Record Office 1838-1988: The British Record Society 1880-1988* (London: Boydell and Brewer, 1990), pp. 251–72; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture.*
[341] Weatherill, 'Probate Inventories and Consumer Behaviour', pp. 268–71.
[342] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* pp. 30-37; Anthony Buxton, 'Appendix 2', in *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015) <http://boybrew.co/9781783270415> [accessed 27 January 2016].
[343] A full list of these can be found in Table S, Appendix 1.
[344] Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998), p. 22.

entire rooms may be left off the inventory.[345] For this reason, Overton et al. question whether inventories can be used for morphological analysis and whether the grouping of objects within rooms can be trusted which could have been recorded in an inventory together for ease, an issue that Buxton grappled with during his study.[346] Another critical issue with inventories is that they are records of material culture at the time of the death of the individual, running the risk that the picture of the house and room function at the time of death was not the same as during earlier life.[347] This issue may be overcome by considering other sources, including witness depositions from Church Court, Quarter Sessions, and Post-mortem Inquest trials, although these approaches are not taken here.

Another issue is the social representativeness of probate inventories. Overton et al. calculated that inventories exclude the richest 10 per cent, and the poorest 40 per cent of early modern society, although if probate inventories from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and Consistory Courts were included in analysis, the richest ten per cent would be included.[348] Craig Muldrew drew attention to the fact that although the complete reasons for why specific households were inventoried are not fully known, the amount of wealth and complexity of bequests may have been significant.[349] Nonetheless, it was far more likely for wealthy households to be inventoried than poorer households. Although these issues have been recognised, ways of overcoming them have been subject to less discussion. Orlin suggested no methodology to overcome the problems she recognised, and although Buxton recognised the issues with inventories and the location of objects, the core of his study relied on taking the relationship between groups of objects and the space they occupied recoded in inventories at face value.[350]

For this thesis, the probate inventories examined are from the Cornwall Record Office (now Kresen Kernow), Plymouth and West Devon Record Office (now The Box), the

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[345] Lena Cowen Orlin, ‘Fictions of the Early Modern English Probate Inventory’, in *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities and Knowledge in Early Modern England*, ed. Henry Turner (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 51–84.
[346] Buxton, *Domestic Culture*, pp. 24–7, 30–4; Overton et al*, Production and Consumption,* pp. 121–2.
[347] Orlin, 'Fictions of the Early Modern English Probate', pp. 63–76.
[348] Dyer, 'Urban Housing', p. 207; Overton et al*, Production and Consumption,* p. 26 + n.45.
[349] Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation,* p. 22.
[350] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* pp. 30-37.

Devon Heritage Centre, and the published collections of probate inventories of Uffculme and Devon.[351] During the early modern period, Devon and Cornwall were within the Diocese of Exeter; for matters regarding probate, Cornwall was covered by one Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall at Truro, and Devon was covered by Archdeaconry Courts at Exeter, Totnes, and Barnstaple. However, the wills and inventories of the Devon Archdeaconry Courts, the Principal Registry of the Bishop of Exeter and the Consistory Court of the Bishop stored at Exeter were destroyed in 1942. The Archdeaconry Court of Truro materials survived. Not all probate wills and inventories were lost for Devon. The wills and inventories of the parish of Uffculme, published in 1997, survived because Uffculme was a peculiar parish of the Diocese of Salisbury, and wills and inventories of the manor of Cockington similarly survive as they were proved in the manor court.[352] The Devon inventories collated and published by Margaret Cash are primarily from the Consistory Court of Exeter, with others from the records of the Principal Registry, or from family and estate papers.[353] Broadly, this implies that the inventories collated by Cash were from individuals that held land across more than one Archdeaconry, suggesting a higher degree of wealth than those proved in the Archdeaconry Courts.

Inventories that record rooms are of prime importance, with the objects they recorded examined to determine the possible functions of rooms. For example the location of crocks, cauldrons, spits, skillets, and posnets are evidence of rooms for cooking, whilst jacks and saucepans considered evidence of new techniques of cooking. Tables are considered, as well as tableboards but are only evidence for commensality when found in relation to forms of seating. Chairs, forms, settles, and benches are recorded, and upholstered chairs, cushions, and window curtains, evidence for increasing physical and material comfort in the house. Cultural changes are evident in the introduction of tea and coffee sets to the house and in the appearance of forks and round tables. Database analysis allows the trends and patterns of certain functions to be analysed in relation to the overall house size and recorded rooms.

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[351] *Devon Inventories of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, ed. Margaret Cash (Torquay: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1966); *The Uffculme Wills and Inventories: 16th to 18th Centuries*, ed. Peter Wyatt (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1997).
[352] Robin Stanes, 'Introduction', in *The Uffculme Wills and Inventories: 16th to 18th Centuries,* ed. Peter Wyatt (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1997), pp. xiii-xxxviii (pp. xiii-xiv).
[353] Devon Inventories, p. ix-x.

House plans

Reconstructing the internal layout of early modern houses relies on house plans of surviving houses from various documents and repositories alongside written descriptions. A principal source are archaeological reports, the majority of which are Grey Literature reports (produced outside of traditional commercial or academic publishing). Most Grey Literature reports considered are published online, and a smaller proportion deposited in local archives.[354] Another source are house plans produced by professional archaeological organisations/individuals during historic building surveys and published in the proceedings of local societies, including the Devon Archaeological Society and the Cornwall Archaeological Society. An essential additional resource has been the Devon Rural Archive (DRA), which has surveys of over 150 farmhouses and manor houses created by the consultant archaeologists of the archive. The DRA also stores many Grey Literature research reports and unpublished dissertations from Plymouth University. Further studies of early modern houses have been published by the Devon Buildings Group. A small number of parish surveys exist for Devon, such as that for Dartington parish.[355] While a wide range of houses are covered by this dataset, a high proportion are farmhouses, which therefore, means the evidence considered is not a careful, systematic data set.

House plans and written descriptions show how internal space was partitioned, the system of setting of houses. They record rooms and passageways, doorways into rooms and to outside spaces, and the position of architectural features of hearths, staircases, and windows. Where able to be determined, house plans record phases of construction and former architectural features such as infilled doors, windows, and hearths. In several surveys, where rooms or wings have been demolished, the possible former layout of the house is recorded. In other surveys, only the written description notes that the walls formerly extended further than they survive. Whilst house plans reveal a wealth of information regarding surviving early modern houses, they reflect how the house was assessed by the surveyor and may not be an accurate depiction of the house at construction. The quality of plans reflects the ability of the surveyor, and

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[354] Archaeology Data Service, http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/greylit/, [accessed 26 February 2017].

[355] Exeter Industrial Archaeology Group, *Dartington Houses: A Survey*, ed. Nathaniel W. Alcock (Exeter: University of Exeter Department of Economic History, 1972).

how much surviving material is evident. Few house plans of surviving vernacular houses record upper storeys, a critical element in the development of early modern houses, and an omission that makes carrying out 'space syntax' analysis difficult.[356] In contrast, most plans of surviving gentry houses include the upper storeys, making it easier to how those spaces changed.

A small number of house plans are from archaeological study of demolished buildings, primarily in towns.[357] From such remains, house plans can be created with much of the same information: the physical partitioning of space, the location of chimney stacks and hearths, and how the house was accessed. However, it is more challenging to locate the staircase, ascertain how many stories the dwelling had (although the thickness of foundation walls can be used to gauge height), or the location and number of windows (depending on the height of the surviving walls). Where they survive, assemblages of material culture can provide an insight into the last known use of a space and thus allow interpretation on the function of that room and thus name of the room.

The level of detail of house plans vary. In nearly all of the house surveys undertaken by the archaeologists of the Devon Rural Archive, the exterior and interior were examined, and the written descriptions detailed; yet the majority of the house plans produced are rough representations of the house, grounds, and phases of development. In other Grey Literature reports, the written descriptions and house plans are detailed. In other reports however, parts of the house were inaccessible for various reasons, and although some evidence of bricked-up openings or former walls may be obvious, others lie behind paint and plasterboard. The majority of the house plans considered by this study are considered detailed enough to allow, with the written description, for assessment of the changes in the system of settings to be determined. A critical concern with house plans is the naming of rooms by the surveyor. It is typically unclear how room names were decided; whether named in relation to how the owner named that room, or according to a judgement by the

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[356] Cutting, 'Use of Spatial Analysis', p. 18.

[357] Passmore, Jones, and Allan, 'Dyers, Fullers and Brewers'; Portman, *Exeter Houses,* p.71, 71-2, 75, 75-6, 82-3, 83-4; P. M. Stead and M. A. Watts, '5. Excavations at Hawker's Avenue, North Quay, 1994-5', in *Archaeological Investigations and Research in Plymouth,* Vol. 2: 1994 - 95, ed. Keith Ray, Sarah Noble, and Sophie Sharif, (Plymouth Archaeology Occasional Publications, 4, 1998), pp. 67–82.

surveyor about its historical use in a certain period. It is often unclear how room labels match early modern uses, and as such are treated with caution.

For this thesis, when the house plans and accompanying information were analysed, details of construction and post-construction development are capture on a database. Details include: the number of rooms, presence of a cross-passage, the number of storeys, the plan-form (according to a set typology, see Tables J and N, Appendix 1), and the location and nature of staircases, chimney stacks and assumed hearths. Using a database means common plan-forms, cross-passages, and locations of architectural features can be determined and regional trends and patterns identified. On occasion, post-construction development may have erased early phases of development. In some surveys, this earlier phase is described in the written report accompanying the house plan, known through examination of other sources of evidence, whilst in other surveys, if there was an earlier phase, it was unknown to the surveyor.

Most existing studies of early modern houses use either probate inventories or house plans to study vernacular housing but rarely combine these two data sources. Alcock and Johnson use inventories to supplement the narrative of development derived from house plans, particularly for upper storey rooms.[358] Although Frank Brown also used this approach, he found that linking an inventory with a house plan was complex.[359] Inventories are extensively used to examine the changing number and function of rooms in the domestic environment and examine the material culture of the household.[360] House plans provide limited evidence of the function of rooms but do provide evidence for how space was partitioned in the domestic environment and how that changed over time. By combining these two sources, a more detailed picture of the developments that houses underwent can be created, including how the use of space within the domestic environment changed in the use of individual rooms and the partitioning of internal space. As discussed above and shown in the course of this study, the concepts of 'privacy' and 'comfort' are not key drivers of change in the domestic environment, but rather developments were a result of household-level interaction with broader economic, social, and cultural changes. Thus, context at the

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[358] Alcock, *People at Home*, pp. 4–16; Johnson, *Housing Culture*, pp. 122–28.
[359] Brown, 'Continuity and Change', p. 566.
[360] Hoskins, 'The Rebuilding of Rural England', p. 45; Overton et al, *Production and Consumption,* chapter 6; Priestley, Corfield and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', p. 94.

household level is key, which is reconstructed through probate inventories and house plans.

Supplementary records

The volume of plans for each county differs, necessitating different approaches. In both counties, only a small number of house plans are available (Table A, Appendix 1). To examine more of the housing stock of the early modern South West, supplementary records are required. The listed buildings recorded on the National Heritage List for England have been used, such as by Jane Whittle, to identify typical plan-forms within a particular parish, such as Uffculme, where no known plans of early modern houses exist.[361] The advantage of listed building records is that they can describes the physical layout (e.g. L-shaped or three-room and cross-passage), height, and building materials. Use of the listings data is not without issues. A high proportion of the records are impressionistic rather than detailed surveys, with details such as the number of rooms on the ground floor, the layout of rooms, and descriptions of the interior are inconsistent or missing, especially in towns. The date of construction and subsequent developments may be broad rather than firmly rooted in a particular period. The surveys of listed houses are not always a complete systematic survey of a locality as they depend on what has been designated as noteworthy for listing. Nonetheless they can provide a far wider impression of the historic houses in a locality than historic house surveys. In locations without many plans of surviving early modern buildings such a resource is too valuable to ignore.

Using house plans and NHL records only allows for investigating a small proportion of the houses that initially existed in those areas in the early modern period. Johnson, using the National Heritage Lists of houses, and the hearth tax of 1674, estimated that the 794 pre-1700 houses that survived in western Suffolk were 28 per cent of the houses that existed in that area in 1674.[362] A similar methodology for Devon and Cornwall, reveals a mixed picture.[363] This methodology assumes that each entry on the

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[361] Whittle, 'The House as a Place of Work', p. 143.
[362] Johnson, *Housing Culture*, p. 23.
[363] *Exeter in the Seventeenth Century: Tax and Rate Assessments 1602-1699,* ed. W. G. Hoskins, (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1973), chapter 4; *Cornwall Hearth and Poll Taxes 1660- 1664: Direct Taxation in Cornwall in the Reign of Charles II.*, ed. Thomas L. Stoate (Bristol, 1981); *Devon Hearth Tax Return: Lady Day 1674*, ed. Thomas L. Stoate (Bristol, 1982).

hearth tax refers to a separate dwelling, an assumption made by Johnson.[364] For instance, the parishes of Dunsford in Devon and Egloskerry in Cornwall appear to have a relatively high survival rate of pre-1750 buildings. At Dunsford, fifty-four houses (assuming one house per entry) were recorded on the hearth tax, with thirty-three pre-1750 dwellings recorded on the NHL for the parish, suggesting a survival rate of 61 per cent. In Egloskerry, thirty-seven houses were recorded on the Hearth Tax Returns, and thirteen pre-1750 dwellings are recorded in the NHL for the parish, suggesting a survival rate of 37 per cent. Most rural parishes have a survival rate of between 10 and 20 per cent (average of 17 per cent), and urban parishes and boroughs a survival rate of between 5 and 10 percent (average of 9 per cent), suggesting a high degree of attrition. It needs to be noted that Devon towns had an unusually high incidence of fire, such as the Great Fire of Crediton in 1743, with fires continuing into the nineteenth century.[365] Given that nearly 10,000 houses across Devon and Cornwall have early modern origins (pre-1750), a relatively high proportion of dwellings in the modern day have early modern origins.

The issue of survival rates is significant, for as Christopher Currie outlined, the apparent waves of rebuilding may be illusionary, and how different models of attrition can result in significant regional variations in the survival of older buildings.[366] Currie outlined two main groups of reasons for the destruction of older houses: involuntary factors (fire and decay) and voluntary factors (remodelling and fashion), and related these to broader social and economic factors, including the adaptability of buildings to new requirements.[367] Jeremy Lake and Bob Edwards argued that there is a link between surviving building stock and patterns of settlement and landscape character, with high levels of surviving pre-1700 farmstead buildings in areas of enclosure by agreement, or assarted landscapes.[368] The factors behind the relatively low survival rates of pre-1750 houses in Devon and Cornwall into the modern-day are complex and encapsulate economic factors including rural de-population, fire and decay, and demolition due to changing requirements and needs in the early modern period and

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364 Johnson, *Housing Culture*, p. 23 n.2.
365 Currie, 'Time and Chance', p. 5.
366 C. R. J. Currie, 'Time and Chance: Modelling the Attrition of Old Houses', *Vernacular Architecture*, 19 (1988), 1–9 (p.6).
367 Currie, 'Time and Chance', pp. 1-3; Jeremy Lake and Bob Edwards, 'Buildings and Place: Farmsteads and the Mapping of Change', *Vernacular Architectire,* 37 (2006), 33-49 (p. 39).
368 Lake and Edwards, 'Buildings and Place', pp. 37-42.

the present day. It is not within the scope of this study to consider reasons for survival, or lack of survival, of a high proportion of the early modern housing stock into the present day. However, that nearly 10,000 dwellings did is indicative of the immense adaptability of buildings to changing socio-cultural and economic situations.[369]

Thus, Hearth Tax Returns, collected in England between 1662 and 1689, are another essential supplementary source. The number of hearths recorded enables estimates to be made of the size of dwellings and thus provides context for rooms recorded in probate inventories.[370] A positive correlation exists between the number of hearths and rooms; one hearth suggests two or three rooms, four hearths suggest seven to nine rooms.[371] Dwellings with one hearth cannot always be assumed to be small. Several different factors influenced the number of hearths, including type of chimney and construction material, the type of fuel burnt, as well as economic (including household production) and cultural factors.[372] The relationship between the number of hearths and the context of the community is complex, largely dependent on the situation of different households. Relating the average number of rooms from the minority of inventories that record rooms, with the expected number of rooms extrapolated from hearth tax data, can indicate how representative the inventories are of the parish housing stock. Margaret Spufford and Rachel Garrard sought to examine the hearth tax data further by matching names on the hearth tax with inventories. They matched roughly one hundred inventories of Cambridgeshire and Suffolk to examine the relationship between hearth sizes and the number of heated rooms, resulting in a positive correlation between the two.[373] This relationship is significant in

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[369] Lake and Edwards, 'Buildings and Place', p. 39.

[370] P. S. Barnwell, 'Conclusion', in *Houses and the Hearth Tax: The Later Stuart House and Society*, ed. P S Barnwall and Malcolm Airs, CBA Research Report 150 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2006), pp. 177–83 (pp. 177–82); Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, new ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 39–41; Margaret Spufford, 'The Scope of Local History, and the Potential of the Hearth Tax Returns', *The Local Historian.*, 30 (2000), 202–21.

[371] Tom Arkell, 'Interpreting Probate Inventories', in *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England,* ed. Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 2000), pp. 72–102 Spufford, 'Scope of Local History', pp. 3–14.

[372] Barnwell, 'Conclusion', pp. 180-82.

[373] Rachel Garrard, 'English Probate Inventories and Their Use in Studying the Significance of the Domestic Interior, 1570-1700', in *Probate Inventories: A New Source for the Historical Study of Wealth, Material Culture and Agricultral Development; Papers Presented at the Leeuwenborch Conference (5-7 May 1980)*, ed. Ad Van Der Woude and Anton Schuurman (Wageningen: Landbouwhogeschool, 1980), pp. 55–82; Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, pp. 39–45.

discussing houses in Cornwall, where a high proportion of inventories do not record rooms.

In summary, the methodology used by this study builds on that utilised by other studies of early modern housing change but uses a different framework in the application of theories of domestic architecture. The key sources are probate inventories and house plans, supplemented by records of listed buildings and the hearth tax, each of which can provide data to answer particular questions. Across both Devon and Cornwall, the only type of source with a high number of records available is listed buildings recorded on the NHL. The parishes chosen provide a topographical cross-section of the South West. In each county, a different emphasis was needed to choosing the locations for study due to differing rates of surviving plans and probate inventories.

Chapter 3. Physical Changes in Houses of the South West

Introduction

In 1610, James Dabin, or Dawbyn, of the parish of Madron in the west of Cornwall, died, and an inventory was taken of his three-roomed house, consisting of a shop, hall, and chamber.[374] In the same parish, the house of Honour Chambers was assessed in 1714 with at least five rooms: a shop and hall with chambers above and a kitchen.[375] From the same parish and relatively comparable in terms of recorded wealth, these two inventories suggest that in specific communities, houses became larger with more rooms over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. However, a much larger body of evidence shows that across the South West, the majority of houses remained small across the same period. Chapter 2 shows that studies considering the physical development of houses in the South West during the early modern period argue that plan-forms became more diverse from the early seventeenth century, and an increasing number rejected medieval features like cross-passages. There is no clear consensus that houses became larger during this time.[376] This chapter examines the nature of change in rural and town houses over the early modern in the South West, with regard to numbers of room and layout. This chapter considers the factors for development, examining the link between physical house development and changing social, cultural, and economic contexts.

Research in other regions of England shows that during the early modern period, vernacular houses became larger. The study of Kent houses by Mark Overton et al. using inventories that described rooms suggests an enlargement of houses between 1600 and 1749, initially from an average of one to three rooms to an average of four to six rooms by 1659. By 1719 houses had an average of seven to nine rooms.[377] In West Suffolk, Matthew Johnson noted an increase in the average number of rooms recorded in inventories, from six during the early seventeenth century to nine rooms during the late seventeenth century, whilst Maurice Barley noted a steady increase in

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[374] Truro, CRO, AP/D/86, Archdeaconary of Cornwall Probate Court, Will of James Dawbyn of Mardon, 1610.
[375] CRO, AP/C.2718, Will of Honour Chambers, widow, of Madron, 1714.
[376] Chapter 2, 'Physical Development of Houses of the South West'.
[377] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 124.

the average number of rooms recorded in inventories of Lincolnshire and the Trent Valley between 1575 and 1725.[378] Barley showed that until 1725 the majority of houses had either two or three rooms, despite an increase in the proportion of houses with four to nine rooms.[379] Two case studies of towns using inventory evidence provide some contrast. In Norwich, there was little change in average house size by numbers of room between 1580 and 1730, despite continuous development, renovation, and adaption of houses over the period.[380] In the four Midland towns of Birmingham, Coventry, Derby, and Worcester, Alan Dyer argued for two different phases of rebuilding. One phase was between c.1570 and 1625 which saw houses become larger with extra rooms, the second after 1660 in which average houses sizes declined.[381]

Discussed in chapter 1, the theory of the 'Great Rebuilding' argued that rural houses of those of upper middling wealth were rebuilt to be larger during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[382] R. Machin, Barley, and Nat Alcock, among others, identified continuing house development during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as later stages of the 'Great Rebuilding'.[383] Whether these later activities were a linear continuation of the 'Great Rebuilding' or a more decisive break with the past is debated.[384] 'Closure' similarly argues for an enlargement of houses over the early modern period, in much the same way as the 'Great Rebuilding' showed but with the addition of lobby entries.[385] The 'Great Rebuilding' and 'Closure', are difficult to apply to town houses, with no current specific theory to explain town house development in the same way as rural houses.[386] Chris King, Sarah Pearson, and Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson argue that attention needs to be on specific urban conditions and the role of status.[387] The trend of more rooms was not uniform, however. Urban and rural housing in some counties, including Cornwall, underwent a decline in the number of rooms. The adaption of existing houses usually has explained

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[378] Barley, 'Farmhouses and Cottages', pp. 294–95; Johnson, *Housing Culture*, p. 90.
[379] Barley, 'Farmhouses and Cottages', pp. 297–98.
[380] King, 'The Interpretation of Urban Buildings', p. 472; Priestley, Corfield, and *Sutermeiter*, 'Rooms and Room Use', pp. 99–100, 104–5.
[381] Dyer, 'Urban Housing', pp. 208, 214–17.
[382] Chapter 1, 'The Theories of House Development: The Great Rebuilding'.
[383] Alcock, 'The Great Rebuilding', pp. 45-47; Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 183–84, 243–44; Machin, 'Great Rebuilding: a Reassessment', pp. 35, 37–38.
[384] Platt, *Great Rebuildings,* pp. 1–2.
[385] Johnson, *Housing Culture*, pp. 179–182.
[386] Hoskins, 'Great Rebuilding', pp. 104–5; King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', pp. 57–59.
[387] Hamling and Richardson*, A Day at Home,* pp. 266–69; King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', pp. 56–57, 73; Pearson, 'Medieval Houses in English Towns', p. 20.

such decline to cope with population increase, necessitating the sub-division of larger dwellings or building new two or three-room cottages on waste grounds.[388]

As well as drawing comparisons with existing studies of early modern town houses in England, this chapter also engages with theories of domestic architecture, especially those of Amos Rapoport and Susan Kent.[389] As outlined in chapter 1, these theories argue that 'the ordering of space in buildings is really about the ordering of relations between people'.[390] The organisation of space and the built environment reflected the social and political organisation of that inhabiting 'culture'.[391] However, the majority of early modern houses in the South West were not large enough to enable such physical segregation to the ideal environment suggested by Rapoport.[392] In turn, this implies that mental map and prerogatives of control, and the spatial organisation of everyday activities, were used to express hierarchies of gender, age, and status in early modern houses; however, the evidence used by this study does not allow for this to be examined fully.[393]

For houses constructed during the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, consideration is often given to the 'polite threshold'. This term was used by R. W. Brunskill as the date at which traditional rural designs gave way to polite architecture, by which he meant designed by an architect or surveyor according to rules and conventions that create an aesthetically pleasing result.[394] The concept of a 'polite threshold' is contested in timings, nature, and the actual concept, with these changes more apparent amongst gentry houses than vernacular houses.[395] A significant development was the application of symmetry to architecture, a reflection of order in society and the creation of an ideal environment of order and hierarchy.[396] Thus, social

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[388] Alcock, *People at Home*, pp. 200–201; Dyer, 'Urban Housing', p. 217; Wrightson, *English Society,* p. 127.
[389] Chapter 1, 'The Theories of House Development: Theories of Domestic Architecture'.
[390] Hillier and Hanson*, Social Logic of Space,* p. 2.
[391] Kent, 'Partitioning Space', p. 465.
[392] Rapoport, *House Form and Culture*, pp. 47–49.
[393] Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, p. 44; Flather, 'Gender, Space, and Place', pp. 173–74.
[394] R. W. Brunskill, *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture*, 3rd edn (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), pp. 25–26; Maudlin, 'Crossing Boundaries', pp. 10–14..
[395] Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 243–69; Green, 'Confining the Vernacular'; Adrian Green, 'The Polite Threshold in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Vernacular Architecture*, 41 (2010), 1–9; Maudlin, 'Crossing Boundaries', pp. 11-12.
[396] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 80, 114–20, 126.

changes and relationships were expressed in the plan-form and design of gentry and elite houses. This is an important point because, as Daniel Maudlin argues, the boundary between the vernacular and the polite is porous and ambiguous, as shown in chapter 5 that shows a considerable overlap between gentry houses and vernacular houses in plan-form and layout.[397] Therefore, if social changes were expressed in gentry houses, so changes to the layout of houses of those of upper middling wealth may too be a physical expression of social changes. Adrian Green argued that the use of particular architectural features could create a shared stylistic culture between the lesser elites, gentry, and middling sorts, although the use of these features by middling sorts was no mere emulation, rather a complex display of social and geographical identity.[398]

More is known of how plan-forms of South West houses changed over the early modern period, than how the average number of rooms changed, with a perception that Cornish houses were generally small.[399] Alcock and Cary Carson's detailed study of manorial surveys of Cornwall and Devon showed that the average house size was three bays (roughly three ground rooms) on smaller farms, and three to four bays on larger farms (over twenty to thirty acres). Small two-bay houses (roughly two ground rooms) were typical across both counties but more numerous on manors in Cornwall.[400] When Alcock and Carson compared manorial surveys of the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries, c.1598 to c.1619, with two eighteenth-century surveys of 1709 and 1764, they found the average number of rooms per dwelling declined.[401] Other studies of the houses of Devon rarely quantify the change in room numbers. Most, including W.G. Hoskins and Jo Cox and John Thorp, conclude that rural houses of the late seventeenth century were larger than their counterparts of the mid-sixteenth century.[402] This general enlargement was also evident in towns, with Richard Parker and John Allan arguing that by the eighteenth century, town houses were larger than earlier town houses.[403]

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[397] Maudlin, 'Crossing Boundaries', p. 10.
[398] Green, 'Houses in North-Eastern England', pp. 68–69.
[399] Chapter 2, 'Physical Development of Houses of the South West'.
[400] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* pp. 37, 89-91, 186-206.
[401] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* p. 37.
[402] Alcock, 'Great Rebuilding and Later Stages', p. 45; Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 221–23; Cox and Thorpe, *Devon Thatch,* pp. 58–60; Hoskins, 'Rebuilding of Rural England', p. 45.
[403] Parker and Allan, 'The Transformation of the Building Stock of Exeter', pp. 63–64.

This chapter brings new evidence to bear on these debates by using inventories and house plans to examine the physical changes in the housing of the South West in the early modern period. It considers how the evidence tallies with existing models of physical change in each county, how the typical plan form changed in houses of the South West, what this meant for the number and layout of rooms, without neglecting regional contrasts. The following section examines the physical development of all houses in Devon and Cornwall using probate inventories before focusing solely on non-gentry houses. This is followed by a section looking at the evidence from house plans. Further detail is then provided by analysing change over time in both rural and urban house plan types and the impact of polite architecture.

The South West Context: Socio-Economic Status and Hearth Tax

The principal sources for examining the changes to early modern houses in the South West are probate inventories and house plans. Chapter 2 discusses the advantages and disadvantages of these sources, but it is essential to consider bias.[404] Overton et al. found that probate inventories proved at Archdeaconry Courts are representative of roughly 50 per cent of the English population, excluding roughly the poorest 40 per cent and richest 10 per cent of society.[405] The 50 per cent of the population represented by probate inventories covers a section of society termed the 'middling sort', a group which somewhat defies precise definition but which are also challenging to be equated with the sample of inventories studied by Overton et al.[406] As the inventories examined in this study include individuals drawn from the ranks of the gentry, and labourers at the other end, it would be more appropriate to refer to the section of society covered by probate inventories studied as those of middling wealth. It is unlikely a stable sample of those of middling wealth, especially in periods of economic boom and bust that saw differing proportions of those with low to middling wealth drawn into and fall from the inventory-making net.[407]

The sample of probate inventories from the South West which recorded status showed a high number of individuals assessed as gentlemen and yeomen, together with inventories of a broad range of socio-economic and occupation groups.[408] These include merchants, sailors and mariners, tailors, cordwainers, haberdashers, shopkeepers, fullers, dyers, quarrymen, and weavers. Table 4 shows the proportion of inventories recording socio-economic status and occupation groupings, derived from comparison with other studies by Anthony Buxton, Overton et al., and French. Whilst status groups are self-explanatory, such as esquires and gentleman, the occupations are grouped together with reference to similar types of work, such as occupations associated with leather and textile production or associated with retailing.

[404] Chapter 2, 'Methodology'.
[405] Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', p. 94; Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 26.
[406] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 26.
[407] Dyer, 'Urban Housing', p. 207.
[408] See Chapter 2, 'Methodology'.

Table 4: Status groups and socio-economic occupations recorded in inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750	Total	% of inventories
Esquires		5	2	7	0.2%
Gentlemen	**41**	**78**	**38**	**157**	**5%**
Yeoman	**64**	**158**	**118**	**340**	**11%**
Husbandmen	**67**	**62**	**33**	**162**	**5%**
Mistresses/Spinsters	14	30	19	63	2%
Batchelors	4	4		8	0.3%
Clerics	2	6	1	9	0.3%
Agricultural Labourers	6	8	6	20	1%
Commercial Food	8	20	14	42	1%
Maritime	1	10	23	34	1%
Textile & Leather Trades	**62**	**83**	**65**	**210**	**7%**
Other Crafts & Trades	21	52	59	132	4%
Tin Mining & Quarrying	5	34	29	68	2%
Retail	27	32	16	75	2%
Services	5	7	11	23	1%
Military	3	4	1	8	0.3%
Total Status Recorded	420	761	501	1687	54%
% status recorded	**40%**	**60%**	**67%**	**54%**	
No status recorded	630	508	291	1429	46%
Total Inventories	1050	1269	792	3111	

Source: all inventories from Devon and Cornwall; see appendix 2.

Note:

Clerics: Clerk, Vicar, Surveyor, Sexton, Tideman.
Agricultural Labourers: Labourer, Shepherd, Farmer.
Commercial Food: Baker, Brewer, Butcher, Maltster, Whitebaker, Miller, Mill Keeper, Fishmonger.
Maritime: Bargeman, Boatman, Fisherman, Mariner.

<u>Textile & Leather Trades</u>: Barker, Clothier, Cordwainer, Currier, Dyer, Fuller, Fellmaker, Draper, Fellmonger, Glover, Hotpresser, Pointer, Saddler, Serge Maker, Shoemaker, Tailor, Tanner, Weaver, Woolcomber, Yarn Buyer, Hatmaker.
<u>Other Crafts & Trades</u>: Bell Founder, Black Brazier, Blacksmith, Carpenter, Cooper, Cutler, Glazier, Goldsmith, Gunsmith, Hellier, Joiner, Mason, Millwright, Pewterer, Pipemaker, Potter, Plumber, Shipwright, Tallow Chandler, Thatcher, Virginal Maker, Wheelwright, Soap Boiler.
<u>Tin Mining & Quarrying</u>: Blower, Hewer, Quarryman, Tin Blower, Tinman, Tinner.
<u>Retail</u>: Chandler, Grocer, Haberdasher, Mercer, Merchant, Shopkeeper, Stationer, Tobacconist, Victualler, Vintner.
<u>Services</u>: Apothecary, Barber, Drayman, Surgeon.
<u>Military</u>: Sailor, Seaman, Solider.

Table 4 shows that the largest group of inventories, where status was recorded, belonged to yeomen (20 per cent of inventories that recorded status), with the second-largest group from those associated with the textile and leather crafts (12 per cent). Inventories of individuals assessed as gentlemen formed 9 per cent of inventories with status recorded. The number, and proportion, of inventories of individuals associated with other crafts and trades, increased, which may be in part a consequence of a higher number of inventories recording status and occupation by 1750 compared with earlier periods. On the other hand, the proportion of inventories of individuals assessed as husbandmen declined from 16 per cent of inventories that recorded status in 1601 to 1650 to only 7 per cent by 1750. These changes reflect changes known shifts in English social structure in this period, as historians such as Alexandra Shepard identified.[409] There is no indication that the group represented by inventories in south-west England altered dramatically during the period of study.

Issues of household wealth also need to be considered. Inventories record the second-hand value of moveable goods owned at the time of death, as judged by appraisers. It is acknowledged by Overton et al. that using these valuations can be fraught with problems, mainly due to the inclusion of chattel leases but not other forms of real property in inventories, and the inclusion of debts owing to the deceased but not the debts owed by them.[410] Nonetheless, broad comparisons identify any significant change in the moveable wealth recorded in inventories that record rooms. Table 5 shows that the largest group of inventories recorded wealth of less than £50. Overton et al. argued that the total mean and median of the Cornish inventories studies increased between 1600 and 1749, with the

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[409] Alexandra Shepard and Judith Spicksley, 'Worth, age, and social status in early modern England', *Economic History Review,* 64 (2011), 493-530 (pp. 527-28).
[410] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 138-39.

median and mean of material wealth rather than total wealth changing little; similar calculations are difficult for this study as the few very wealthy inventories skew the mean wealth.[411] Instead, Table 5 shows no significant change in the wealth structure of the roomed inventories studied from Devon and Cornwall.

Table 5: Wealth recorded in roomed inventories

£	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
0–50	**42%**	**46%**	**39%**
51–100	26%	21%	17%
101–150	10%	6%	10%
151–200	3%	6%	7%
201–250	3%	3%	7%
251+	11%	13%	18%
Number of inventories	85	161	99

Source: all roomed inventories from Devon and Cornwall; see appendix 2.

Note: figures rounded to nearest £1.

The link between wealth and size of houses, or the number of rooms, is broad at best, with only a clear link that the wealthier an individual, the larger their house is likely to be. For the non-gentry inventories, for all one to three-roomed inventories, the average wealth was £80 (nearest £10), whilst for inventories of seven to nine rooms, the average wealth was much higher at £180 (nearest £10). Inventories recording more than ten rooms also recorded significantly higher mean wealth, with an average of £390 (nearest £10). The link between inventoried wealth and the average number of rooms is clear; inventories with an assessed average wealth of between £5 and £10 had three rooms, with the average number of rooms of individuals with an inventoried wealth of over £251 being eight rooms.

Hearth Tax Records can provide a sense of the average size of dwelling per county and per parish and borough. With Cornish hearth tax records recording surprisingly few exempt, they are excluded from tables 6a and 6b. Hearth Tax Records show the majority of houses in urban and rural parishes had one or two hearths (35 per cent had one hearth, 29 per cent had two), with a larger proportion of urban houses assessed with five to nine hearths.

[411] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 140-41.

Table 6b further shows that although the rural parishes of Devon and Cornwall were broadly similar, there was greater difference between houses assessed in the towns of Devon compared to the towns of Cornwall. These averages hide a considerable degree of regional variation. In the parishes of Paul and St Gennys (Cornwall), over 60 per cent of households had one hearth, compared to Staverton parish (Devon), where the percentage of one hearth household was 11 per cent. All bar one of the parishes and towns where the proportion of households with one hearth was above 40 per cent were in Cornwall. However, in six parishes and boroughs in Cornwall, the proportion of households assessed with two hearths was above 30 per cent, compared to five parishes and boroughs in Devon.

Table 6a: Hearth Tax Returns of Devon and Cornwall, 1664 and 1671

	Cornwall	Devon
Date	1664	1671
Total number of hearths	2839	12957
Assumed number of households	1651	3845
1–2 hearths	**63%**	**51%**
3–4 hearths	25%	27%
5–9 hearths	11%	19%
10+ hearths	1%	4%

Source: *Exeter in the Seventeenth Century, Cornwall Hearth and Poll Taxes, Devon Hearth Tax Return.*

Table 6b: Hearth Tax Returns of Devon and Cornwall, 1664 and 1671

	Cornwall Rural	Cornwall Urban	Devon Rural	Devon Urban
Date	1664	1664	1671	1671/4
Total number of hearths	1439	1400	4018	8939
Assumed number of households	876	775	1378	2467
1–2 hearths	**67%**	**56%**	**62%**	**45%**
3–4 hearths	22%	29%	26%	27%
5–9 hearths	9%	13%	10%	23%
10+ hearths	1%	1%	1%	5%

Source: *Exeter in the Seventeenth Century, Cornwall Hearth and Poll Taxes, Devon Hearth Tax Return.*

Hearth Tax Records can be used to assess the likely bias of house plans. Inventories and plans may represent the same social group in different ways. House plans record the number of surviving and demolished chimneys and hearths (if apparent in the existing building fabric) and can be used in comparison with Hearth Tax Records to assess representativeness. However, that assumes that the Hearth Tax Records are drawn from across the whole of early modern society, but in many Cornish parishes, the recording of individuals exempt was inconsistent. Using house plans to provide a snapshot of houses of the seventeenth century suggests that of sixteen houses, six had one chimney stack (38 per cent), five had two stacks (31 per cent), while five had three or more stacks (31 per cent). The snapshot in towns using house plans suggests that of eight seventeenth-century houses, two had one stack (25 per cent), and five had two stacks (63 per cent), implying a greater proportion of rooms in towns were heated. However, given the small number of house plans, caution is needed with these proportions.

Thus, the data shows a bias, with surviving dwellings with a house plan more likely to be of houses with more chimney stacks, and thus with more rooms, than other vernacular houses of the parish, surviving or otherwise. That 31 per cent of seventeenth-century rural houses had three or more chimney stacks, indicating at least three hearths, compared to Hearth Tax Records of the mid-seventeenth century showing 38 per cent of rural houses had three or more heaths. The evidence shows that the proportion of surviving houses with house plans with one stack to be lower than the expected number from Hearth Tax Records of rural houses, implying larger houses were more likely to survive to the present day. Town houses show the same pattern, with a significantly higher proportion of plans of surviving dwellings showing two hearths (63 per cent) compared to Hearth Tax Records (28 per cent). These patterns suggest that surviving dwellings are likely to be of larger dwellings compared with the housing stock evident through Hearth Tax Records and likely to have belonged to wealthier owners. This is shown in the example of West Hooe Farm, Hooe village in Plymstock parish. When surveyed in the mid-twentieth century, the dwelling had at least four ground floor rooms and likely the same number of chambers.[412] The house is much larger than other dwellings of the parish of Plymstock, shown by the 1709 Bedford

[412] DRA, DRA.PR.P15.0001, Richard Tidmarsh, 'West Hooe Farm: An Evaluation' (20th century), p. 21-2.

Estate manorial survey where the majority of houses of Oreston and Plymstock villages in the parish had one or two ground floor rooms with chambers above.[413] None of the houses of Oreston village constructed during this period are listed or archaeologically surveyed. Given the issues of attrition and demolition discussed in chapter 2, it may be that such bias towards recording and examining in-depth larger houses is because these houses were more likely to survive into the modern day and be better constructed.[414]

It is also possible to cross-reference probate inventories with Hearth Tax records. In methodology, the approach taken by this study is to link names and compare the hearth tax entry for that individual with the detail from their probate inventory. In the parish of Linkinhorne, where Hearth Tax Returns (1664) show 62 per cent of households had one to two hearths, only 31 per cent of inventoried households linked with a Hearth Tax record had one to two hearths. This detail is shown in table 7, which compares a selection of parishes where more than ten probate inventories are linked with Hearth Tax records. The comparison shows that in Launceston Borough, Liskeard Borough, and the parish of Linkinhorne, most households that were inventoried were drawn from the population assessed with more than two hearths. However, in most other parishes, most of the inventoried households had one hearth. What links those three mentioned locations is that they are located in the east of Cornwall; parishes further north and west show those households inventoried are more representative of parish society as assessed using the Hearth Tax. In both Linkinhorne and St Austell parishes, a significantly higher proportion of households with linked inventories were assessed with five to nine hearths compared to the overall parish population, suggesting that a high proportion of inventoried households were drawn from the top levels of parish society.

[413] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* p. 185.
[414] Chapter 2, 'Methodology: Supplementary Records'.

Table 7: 1664 Hearth Tax for Cornwall, and 1671 Hearth Tax for Devon compared with inventories (excluding except)

		1-2 Hearths	3-4 Hearths	5-9 Hearths	10+ Hearths	Total Inventories
Bodmin borough	Inventories	70%	20%	10%	0%	10
	Hearth Tax	66%	24%	10%	6%	
Launceston borough	Inventories	56%	17%	22%	6%	18
	Hearth Tax	49%	29%	17%	5%	
Linkinhorne	Inventories	31%	44%	25%	0%	16
	Hearth Tax	54%	32%	13%	2%	
Liskeard borough	Inventories	27%	64%	9%	0%	11
	Hearth Tax	63%	29%	8%	0%	
Madron	Inventories	83%	17%	0%	0%	18
	Hearth Tax	84%	16%	0%	0%	
St Austell	Inventories	63%	16%	16%	0%	19
	Hearth Tax	71%	19%	8%	2%	
St Gennys	Inventories	82%	9%	9%	0%	11
	Hearth Tax	78%	17%	3%	1%	
Uffculme	Inventories	90%	10%	0%	0%	10
	Hearth Tax	65%	27%	6%	2%	

Source: all inventories with rooms described, see appendix 2; *Cornwall Hearth and Poll Taxes, Devon Hearth Tax Return.*

Table 8 shows a comparison between the Hearth Tax Returns for the South West against Returns for other parts of England. Table 8 shows that Devon and Cornwall have a comparatively high proportion of households with three to four hearths and five to nine hearths. However, Devon has a comparatively lower proportion of households with one to two hearths, whilst the proportion of households assessed with one to two hearths in Cornwall is comparable with other counties. Table 8 shows the proportion of houses in the South West assessed with one to two hearths are lower than the same assessment for the Midlands and north of England and are comparable to the figures seen in Warwickshire and Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire. The South West figures are, however, higher than the

figures for Kent and Essex. However, the hearth tax figures for the South West exclude the exempt, due to inconsistent recording of the exempt in Cornwall, but who are included within some of the figures from other areas. In Kent, 32 per cent of households were exempt, in Norfolk, the figure was between 32.6 per cent and 41 per cent, but the figure for Cornwall was 7 per cent.[415]

Table 8: Hearth Tax Returns from other parts of England

	Kent*	Essex	Dorset	Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire	Warwickshire	East Riding, Yorkshire
	1664	1671	1662-64	1662-64, 1674		1670-5
1 hearth					63.5%	
2 hearths					17%	
1–2 hearths	**65%**	**65%**	**65%**	**80%**		**86.5%**
3–4 hearths	22%	25%	25%	15%	20%§	8.5%
5–9 hearths	11%	13%	7%+			4%
10+ hearths	2%	2%		1%		1%

Source: Nathaniel W. Alcock, 'The Hearth Tax in Warwickshire', in *Houses and the Hearth Tax,* pp. 106-120 (p.107); E. M. Davis, 'The Taxable Chimneys of Huntingdonshire in Cambridgeshire', in *Houses and the Hearth Tax,* pp. 96-105 (pp. 96-102); Adam Longcroft, 'The Hearth Tax and Historic Housing Stocks: A Case Study from Norfolk', in *Houses and the Hearth Tax,* pp. 62-73 (p. 67); Susan and David Neave, 'The East Riding of Yorkshire', in *Houses and the Hearth Tax,* pp. 122-31 (p. 127); Sarah Pearson, 'Kent: Heating, Houses and the Hearth Tax', in *Houses and the Heath Tax,* pp. 46-54 (p. 46); Pat Ryan, Dave Stenning and David Andrews, 'Some Highways and Byeways on the Essex Heath Tax Trail', in *Houses and the Hearth Tax,* pp. 55-61 (p. 59).
Notes:

* Excludes the city of Canterbury, the Cinque Ports, and half of Romney Marsh

+ Figure relates to houses of five to seven hearths

§ Figure relates to houses of three or more hearths

Studies of the hearth tax reveal a wealth of analysis that can flesh out a fuller picture of early modern society within a particular county or parish. Correlations between wealth and the number of hearths only exist in the broadest sense; the link between wealth and the

[415] Adam Longcroft, 'The Hearth Tax and Historic Housing Stocks: A Case Study from Norfolk', in *Houses and the Hearth Tax,* pp. 62-73 (p. 67); Sarah Pearson, 'Kent: Heating, Houses and the Hearth Tax', in *Houses and the Heath Tax,* pp. 46-54 (p. 46).

number of hearths is not rigid.[416] The occupiers of a house with three or four hearths may not be more wealthy than the occupiers of a one or two hearth house. However, it is more likely that yeomen occupied houses of three and more hearths compared with husbandmen, and the parish elites would likely occupy houses with the highest number of hearths.[417] Where more is known about particular communities, further conclusions can be drawn, as in Green's study of County Durham or Alcock's study of Warwickshire.[418] For example, a household of ten to nineteen hearths is assumed to be that of a gentleman or an inn. In County Durham, houses with five to nine hearths were generally of the gentry, and in Warwickshire, houses of eight to nineteen hearths are of the parish elite above yeoman level.[419]

Across the South West, most gentlemen were assessed with between five and nine hearths, whilst most yeomen assessed with one to two hearths, same as husbandmen. Some regional variation is apparent, although caution is needed because the sampled population size is small. In St Austell parish, most gentlemen were assessed with more than five hearths, whilst in Madron parish, most gentlemen had fewer than five hearths. In Linkinhorne, most yeomen had between five and no hearths, and most husbandmen had four hearths or fewer, whilst in Madron parish, most yeomen had one to two hearths, the same as in St Austell parish. Houses in the far west of Cornwall had fewer hearths across all social groups than east Cornwall, but so too did houses on the coastal parishes of Cornwall. This, however, does not mean they were necessarily smaller. The numbers of inventories of other social groups are too low for any clear trend to be discerned.

The relationship between the number of hearths and the number of rooms is more apparent. Margaret Spufford argued that houses with three hearths typically had between six and eight rooms, and houses with four or more hearths had houses of six to fourteen room.[420] In his study of the Warwickshire hearth tax, Alcock linked probate inventories with hearth tax records to show that one hearth indicated three to five rooms and two to four

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[416] Barnwell, 'Conclusion', pp. 177–82.
[417] Alcock, 'Hearth Tax in Warwickshire', pp. 107-9; David Hey, 'Introduction', *Houses and the Heath Tax,* pp. 1-6 (p. 5); Longcroft, 'The Hearth Tax and Historic Housing Stocks', p. 67.
[418] Alcock, 'Hearth Tax in Warwickshire', pp. 107-9, 116, 118); Adrian Green, 'The Durham Hearth Tax: Community, Politics and Social Relations', in *Houses and the Hearth Tax,* pp. 144-154.
[419] Alcock, 'Hearth Tax in Warwickshire', pp. 107-9; Green, 'The Durham Hearth Tax', p. 146; Ryan, Stenning and Andrews, 'Highways and Byeways', p. 60.
[420] Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, pp. 39–41.

hearths roughly eight rooms.[421] Forty-two inventories can be linked with a Hearth Tax Return, shown in Table 9. The dark-shaded cells are outliers to the data, suggesting either under-recording of rooms in inventories or over-recording of hearths. The light-shaded cells show where the data fits best. Table 9 shows that a house of one to three rooms would likely have one to two hearths, and a house of four to nine rooms likely had three hearths. The larger the dwelling, the more hearths it would likely have, but smaller dwellings did not always have a low number of hearths.

Table 9: Link between number of hearth and number of rooms recorded in linked probate inventories, 1664 to 1682

	Number of hearths									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
Number of rooms										
1—3	**6**	**3**	2						**1**	
4—6	**3**	**7**	**2**	2		1				
7—9		**1**	**4**	**2**		1				
10+		1		**2**	**1**					3
Total inventories	9	12	8	5	1	2			1	3

Source: 42 inventories with rooms described linked with a hearth tax entry from the sample parishes.

Hearth Tax Returns show that a significant proportion of dwellings in both counties were smaller. However, a greater proportion of houses in Devon had more rooms. In nine rural parishes, five in Devon and four in Cornwall, Hearth Tax Records show that no house was assessed with ten or more hearths.[422] In these parishes, the top-most tiers of rural society may not have lived in significantly larger houses than others of middling wealth in the parish, but this cannot be conclusively proved in this study. Six of the parishes were near major urban population centres (Exeter, Plymouth, and Launceston), although the meaning of this relationship is not discussed here. Another way to examine hearth tax data, proposed by Adam Longcroft, is to look at proportions of houses with a low number of hearths and

[421] Alcock, 'Hearth Tax in Warwickshire', pp. 116, 118.
[422] The parishes are: Dunsford, Moretonhampstead, Plymstock, Thorverton, Morchard Bishop, Paul, St Thomas-by-Launceston, Madron, and St Stephen-by-Launceston.

houses of three to six hearths, indicative of social structure.[423] Using this approach implies a greater polarisation of society in several rural parishes of Cornwall compared with Devon. However, in three parishes where the proportion of houses with three to four hearths was over 30 per cent, rural society may have been more egalitarian or have better economic prosperity. However, large numbers of houses with one or two hearths are not always indicators of low economic prosperity or a highly differentiated society but a result of building materials or the typical layout of houses.

Matching probate inventories with Hearth Tax Returns for each parish can show regional variation of roomed probate inventories against their community contexts. Due to the small sample size, such regional comparison is only possible at the level of hundreds than parishes, and caution is needed. Nonetheless, in Powder Hundred (Truro borough, Tregony borough and St Austell parish), three of ten linked roomed inventories recorded one to three rooms, with Hearth Tax Returns for the hundred indicate 60 per cent of households were assessed with one to two hearths. In Penwith Hundred (Madron and Paul parishes and Penzance Borough), four of nine linked roomed probate inventories recorded four to six rooms, in contrast to 79 per cent of the hundred assessed with one to two hearths. Thus, it is likely that only larger dwellings had rooms recorded in probate inventories, especially since of thirty-two linked inventories (roomed and non-roomed), twenty-three were of households assessed with one to two hearths.

In East Hundred (Launceston Borough, and parishes of Linkinhorne, Egloskerry, St Stephen-by-Launceston, St Thomas-by-Launceston, and St Stephens-by-Saltash), six of nine linked roomed inventories had between four and nine rooms, whilst Hearth Tax Returns show that 28 per cent of the hundred were assessed with three or four hearths. In Bampton Hundred (Uffculme parish), three of eight linked roomed inventories had four to six rooms, although two inventories recorded one to three rooms and another two recorded seven to nine rooms. The majority, 65 per cent, of households of the hundred were assessed in Hearth Tax Returns with one to two hearths. Unfortunately, a comparatively low number of roomed probate inventories can be linked with Hearth Tax Returns. This analysis shows that the size of houses represented by roomed inventories varied geographically and did not

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[423] Longcroft, 'The Hearth Tax and Historic Housing Stocks', p. 67.

always follow the pattern of the number of hearths recorded in the hearth tax. This is especially apparent in Penwith hundred, where roomed probate inventories appear to represent a significantly different portion of society. The small number of inventories that recorded rooms and can be linked with the hearth tax makes it very difficult to discern clear geographical patterns in house size.

This section shows that the largest group of inventories belonged to individuals assessed as yeomen or connected with the leather and textile industries. The largest group of roomed inventories were assessed with less than £50 moveable wealth. In comparing probate inventories with Hearth Tax returns, in at least six parishes, the houses represented by probate inventories are smaller than the community context shown through Hearth Tax Returns; in only two parishes, both in the east of Cornwall, the opposite is apparent. Comparing the evidence from surviving houses with plans against Hearth Tax Returns show that surviving houses are less likely to be smaller houses of one to two hearths, with a bias thus of house plans towards larger houses. This issue is not concerning but needs to be taken into account. Comparing the Hearth Tax Returns for Devon and Cornwall, excluding the exempt, shows how similar the proportion of rural houses with one to two hearths are to houses in Kent, Essex, and Dorset, and differ from houses in the Midlands and the north of England.

Physical Developments: Inventories

As outlined in Chapter 2, to examine the physical development of houses in the early modern South West, the quantitative analysis of inventories and plans is central.[424] First, this section considers the proportion of probate inventories that record rooms of a house, termed 'roomed' inventories, before exploring how to interpret inventories where no room was recorded. Next, the section examines the changing numbers of rooms recorded in roomed inventories. Finally, the significance of a large number of 'non-roomed' inventories is studied, with hearth tax data supplementing the inventories examined. The analysis is expanded further to consider the impact of including non-roomed inventories.

Table 10: Recording of rooms in vernacular inventories

	1601-1650	1650-1700	1701-1750
Total roomed inventories	174	249	165
% roomed inventories	**18%**	**21%**	**22%**
Total number of inventories	955	1196	750

Source: all inventories from Devon and Cornwall; see appendix 2.

Table 10 shows an analysis derived from all rural and urban inventories including gentry inventories. Compared with Overton et al.'s sample of Kent parishes, where between 1600 and 1749 a maximum of 87 per cent of inventories recorded rooms, and Johnson's sample of West Suffolk parishes where between 1570 and 1700 up to 85 per cent of inventories recorded rooms, only a maximum of 22 per cent of Devon and Cornwall inventories record rooms.[425] Given this comparatively low proportion, it is worth considering whether the inventories are of comparative social groups. Table 11 shows the proportion of roomed inventories of various social groups expressed as a percentage of all roomed inventories mentioning that status or socio-economic label.

[424] Chapter 2, 'Methodology'.

[425] Garrard, 'English Probate Inventories', p. 62; Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 122.

Table 11: Status groups and socio-economic occupations represented in roomed inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750	Total	% of status inventories
Esquires		1	5	6	86%
Gentlemen	**10**	**20**	**30**	**60**	**38%**
Yeoman	**17**	**30**	**33**	**80**	**24%**
Husbandmen	8	7	6	21	13%
Mistresses/Spinsters		1	5	6	86%
Batchelors					
Clerics			2	2	22%
Agricultural Labourers					
Commercial Food	3	3	4	10	24%
Maritime			1	1	3%
Textile & Leather Trades	**27**	**26**	**28**	**81**	**39%**
Other Crafts & Trades	**7**	**7**	**15**	**29**	**22%**
Tin Mining & Quarrying			2	2	3%
Retail	**12**	**19**	**20**	**51**	**68%**
Services	2	2	2	6	26%
Military	1	1	1	3	38%
All Status Given	101	141	187	429	65%
No Status Given	83	142	1	226	35%
Total Inventories	184	283	188	655	

Source: all inventories with rooms described from Devon and Cornwall; see appendix 2.

Table 11 shows that when compared against all probate inventories for the South West, nearly all of the probate inventories for esquires, and over half of those associated with the retail trade, record rooms. The table shows that 38 per cent of gentry inventories, 21 per cent of yeoman's inventories, and 11 per cent of husbandmen's inventories recorded rooms, which suggests that the recording of rooms had some relationship to wealth. It is not surprising to find that more gentry had probate inventories that had rooms recorded compared with yeoman and that more yeoman had rooms recorded in their inventories than husbandmen. The evidence from the levels of moveable wealth recorded in roomed

inventories suggests that having rooms recorded correlated broadly, but not exactly, with levels of wealth, which suggests another factor, perhaps a more important factor, in the relationship between households and recording of rooms. The discussion now considers the number of rooms recorded before returning to representativeness later in the section. For the rest of this chapter and chapter 4, only non-gentry inventories are analysed, with the analysis of gentry inventories considered in chapter 5. In this chapter and chapter 4, non-gentry houses are referred to as 'vernacular' houses.

Analysis of the number of rooms recorded in non-gentry inventories shows the majority recorded one to six rooms, shown in Table 12. However, the table shows little evidence that the proportion of inventories recording one to three rooms declined whilst the proportion of inventories with four to six rooms increased. Instead, table 12 shows that the proportion of inventories recording seven to nine rooms declined over the early to mid-seventeenth century, particularly during the late seventeenth century, and the proportion recording ten or more rooms increased. Table 12 suggests a complex picture, one that does not point to a linear pattern of development with houses having more rooms over time. Instead, it shows that larger dwellings of seven to nine rooms may have become larger over the seventeenth century, and a small proportion of dwellings of one to three rooms did enlarge. Comparison with the houses in Kent (Table B, Appendix 1) and with Stoneleigh (Table C, Appendix 1), show clear contrast with Devon and Cornwall.

Table 12: Frequency of rooms recorded in South West vernacular inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
1—3	**32%**	**37%**	**34%**
4—6	**32%**	**34%**	**38%**
7—9	28%	17%	15%
10+	7%	11%	13%
Total	174	249	165
% of all inventories	30%	42%	28%

Source: all non-gentry inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

There were significant differences between Devon and Cornwall, shown in tables 13 and 14. However, the lower number of inventories means clear trends about Devon inventories

recording more than ten rooms are uncertain. In Cornwall, the highest proportion of houses assessed between 1601 and 1650 had four to six rooms; by 1700, that position had changed, and by 1750 had changed again. Table 11 shows the proportion of houses with seven to nine rooms declined in Cornwall with some increase in larger dwellings of ten or more rooms. The data implies that a small proportion of houses of seven to nine rooms became larger with ten or more room during the early to mid-seventeenth century and that a small proportion of smaller dwellings of one to three rooms became larger during the early to mid-eighteenth century. In Devon, nearly half of inventories between 1601 to 1650 recorded one to three rooms, with inventories between 1701 and 1750 recording no house had fewer than four rooms. In Devon, after 1650, the highest proportion of houses had four to six rooms, with a significant overall increase in the proportion of houses with seven to nine, and more than ten rooms. By the early eighteenth century, a higher proportion of the inventoried housing stock of Devon had seven to nine rooms, or ten and more rooms, than in inventoried Cornish houses. A linear pattern of development is not evident in Cornwall compared with Devon.

Table 13: Frequency of rooms recorded in Cornwall inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
1—3	**27%**	**42%**	**36%**
4—6	**35%**	**32%**	**38%**
7—9	33%	15%	14%
10+	6%	10%	12%
Total	124	168	154

Source: all non-gentry inventories with rooms described from Cornwall; see appendix 2.

Table 14: Frequency of rooms recorded in Devon inventories, 1601 to 1750

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
1—3	**46%**	**28%**	
4—6	**24%**	**38%**	**45%**
7—9	14%	21%	36%
10+	12%	14%	18%
Total	50	81	11

Source: all non-gentry inventories with rooms described from Devon, see appendix 2.

However, only a small proportion of inventories describe rooms; how should non-roomed inventories be interpreted? Both Overton et al. and Carole Shammas argue that non-roomed inventories were likely to represent smaller houses of one to three rooms.[426] Shammas does not provide any evidence for this assertion.[427] Overton et al. argued that non-roomed inventories suggest that much of the inventoried housing stock in Cornwall was of semi-permanently divided houses, using post and panel screens to divide houses into 'areas of function', rather than formal rooms.[428] This suggestion implies most houses were of one or two rooms, with one ground floor room divided into functional spaces by low partitions and one upstairs room; occasionally, this single room was recorded as a separate room. The idea that non-roomed inventories indicate small dwellings of one to three rooms can be investigated by cross-referencing specific Hearth Tax entries for Cornwall (1664) and Devon (1676) with inventories assessed in that year, and nine years later, hearth tax shows one-hundred and sixty inventories linked with specific hearth tax entries.[429] Table 15 shows the number of hearths recorded of inventoried households, identified by linking an inventory with a hearth tax entry.

[426] Arkell, 'Interpreting Probate Inventories', p. 88; Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 121–23.
[427] Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), p. 164.
[428] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 121–3.
[429] *Cornwall Hearth and Poll Taxes.*

Table 15: Numbers of hearths recorded in inventoried households, 1664 to 1682

Hearths	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
All inventories	**29%**	**28%**	19%	8%	4%	4%	2%		1%	3%
Total inventories linked with Hearth Tax entry	47	45	31	13	7	7	3		2	5

Source: 160 inventories, see appendix 2.

Table 15 shows that 57 per cent of linked probate inventories for Cornwall (1664 to 1673) and Devon (1676 to 1685) are of households assessed with one or two hearths, 27 per cent had three or four heaths, and 14 per cent had five hearths or more. Using table 15 shows a similarity with table 9; roomed probate inventories recorded most dwellings having between one and six rooms. Table 15 shows the relationship between the number of hearths, and the number of rooms, to allow for the assessment of non-roomed inventories. A house of one to three rooms would likely have one to two hearths, and a house of four to nine rooms likely had three hearths. Tables 9 and 15 show that the majority of non-roomed inventories are representative of smaller dwellings of one to three rooms; 85 per cent fit this pattern. However, there is a margin of error where a significant minority are representative of larger buildings with four and more rooms. Nonetheless, it is appropriate for this study to assume that non-roomed inventories represent smaller dwellings of one or three rooms.

Table 16 uses this assumption that non-roomed inventories represent houses with one to three rooms to show the proportion of different numbers of rooms recorded in all non-gentry inventories. The table shows that including non-roomed inventories as one to three-roomed dwellings provides a significantly different perspective on the development of vernacular houses in the South West. Owing to the more significant number of inventories, table 16 shows twenty-five-year periods, but to allow comparison tables 17 and 18 revert to fifty-year periods.

Table 16: Estimated frequency of rooms recorded in South West vernacular inventories.

	1601-1625	1626-1650	1651-1675	1676-1700	1701-1725	1726-1750
1—3	**90%**	**85%**	**87%**	**87%**	**85%**	**86%**
4—6	6%	6%	6%	8%	8%	9%
7—9	3%	7%	3%	4%	3%	4%
10+	1%	2%	3%	2%	3%	2%
Total	533	476	451	736	469	283

Source: all non-gentry inventories; see appendix 2.

Table 16 shows that dwellings of one to three rooms dominated the inventoried vernacular housing stock of early modern Devon and Cornwall. There was a very slight increase in the proportion of vernacular houses with four to six rooms and virtually no change in the proportion of houses with seven to nine rooms, or ten or more rooms. The table contrasts with other studies of development discussed, where the proportion of one to three-roomed dwellings declined, matched by a rise in the proportion of houses with four to six rooms; however, these studies did not integrate non-roomed inventories into their analysis. Tables 17 and 18 show the analysis of all non-gentry inventories, revealing a significantly different picture of vernacular house development in Cornwall compared with Devon.

Table 17 shows that in Cornwall, the significant majority of vernacular houses inventoried between 1601 and 1750 had one to three rooms, with a very slight increase in the proportion of houses with four to six rooms. In contrast, table 18 shows that in Devon, the proportion of inventoried houses of one to three rooms declined over the seventeenth century, whilst the proportion of houses with four to six and seven to nine rooms increased. A significant period of change was the mid-seventeenth century, before which there was a minor difference between the inventoried stock of Devon and Cornwall. By 1750, although over half of the houses of Devon were small dwellings of one to three rooms, 38 per cent had four to nine rooms; in Cornwall, only 11 per cent had four to nine rooms. Tables 17 and 18 show a growing difference between Cornwall and Devon over the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, with larger houses more apparent in Devon.

Table 17: Estimated frequency of rooms recorded in Cornwall inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
1—3	**89%**	**91%**	**87%**
4—6	**5%**	**5%**	**8%**
7—9	5%	2%	3%
10+	1%	2%	3%
Total	855	1034	728

Source: all non-gentry inventories from Cornwall; see appendix 2.

Table 18: Estimated frequency of rooms recorded in Devon inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
1—3	**82%**	**62%**	**54%**
4—6	**8%**	**20%**	**21%**
7—9	5%	11%	17%
10+	4%	7%	8%
Total	154	153	24

Source: all non-gentry inventories from Devon; see appendix 2.

This section has shown that the majority of the inventoried housing stock in the South West consisted of one to six-room dwellings, in contrast with other studies. Usually, a decline in the proportion of small dwellings has been explained through 'The Great Rebuilding' with the physical expansion of buildings. In contrast, this section has shown that probate inventories do not show this expansion with only a minority of smaller dwellings becoming larger with four to six rooms. Instead, roomed inventories show it more likely that dwellings with seven to nine rooms increased in size with ten or more rooms during the early to mid-seventeenth century. Inventories show interesting links with Hearth Tax Returns and show that for some parishes, the households that were inventoried were likely larger compared with the community average. The evidence raises whether house plans show any change in internal layouts of south-western houses if the numbers of rooms in houses did not change significantly.

Physical Developments: Rural Houses

This section examines the physical development of rural houses using evidence from inventories, house plans, and the National Heritage List. The broad context is introduced before a detailed examination of the development of vernacular houses as evidenced by house plans. Lastly, this section considers the representativeness of the house plans by comparing them with the development patterns recorded in listed building records. The broad context can be outlined by an analysis of roomed rural inventories of vernacular houses. This is shown in table 19, which indicates the percentage of houses with different numbers of rooms mentioned in roomed rural inventories.

Table 19: Frequency of rooms in South West rural vernacular inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
1—3	**36%**	**35%**	**36%**
4—6	**34%**	**38%**	**38%**
7—9	25%	17%	15%
10+	5%	10%	11%
Total	110	171	92

Source: all rural non-gentry inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Table 19 shows that the majority of inventoried rural houses had one to six rooms, a decreasing proportion had seven to nine rooms, and an increasing proportion had ten or more rooms. Although a proportion of houses with houses of seven to nine rooms did become larger with ten or more rooms, smaller dwellings of one to three rooms did not. The examination of archaeological house plans is a practical approach, as discussed in chapter 2, to elucidate the physical changes that houses underwent and provide an independent source that allows comparison and exploration of inventory evidence.[430] These house plans are produced during historic building surveys of houses, carried out by local archaeological societies and professional organisations in advance of demolition or substantial renovations. These reports are often only published in a local journal or online. Plans show surviving and demolished features such as hearths and frequently denote phases of change, accompanied by a written description. However, phases of development are

[430] Chapter 2, 'Methodology'.

rarely able to be accurately dated. Dating of phases is achieved by examining architectural details, such as styles of staircases, and decoration, including doorframes, hearth furniture, and the ends of beams. As a result, in most cases, a development phase can only be dated to a broad period, such as between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries or to a century. Occasionally supplementary sources reveal the date of construction, whilst very few reports utilise dendrochronology (tree-ring analysis) to determine the dates of construction and post-construction development more accurately.

Plans of thirty-six surviving rural buildings from Devon and Cornwall shows that although inventories imply that vernacular houses underwent little change, this is not correct. One possibility is that the two sources of evidence do not represent the same social groups. The inventory data analysed in the previous section did not include gentlemen, as these are included within the analysis of gentry inventories in chapter 5. The demarcation between wealthier yeomen and gentlemen was blurred and porous in early modern England, as most recently demonstrated by Alexandra Shepard.[431] Some of the vernacular houses considered within this section were occupied by a gentleman, demonstrated by a small number of Cornish houses that were recorded on Martin's 1785 map as occupied by gentry individuals. However, analysis of the NHL record or other sources shows the dwelling had a traditional three-room with cross-passage plan-form.[432] As such, all vernacular houses are included in the analysis for this section.

Table 20 shows the construction of vernacular houses in the early modern South West happened continuously during and from the fifteenth century, with a decline in the rate of construction from the late seventeenth century.[433] Whether this slow-down was a period of stability in construction rates or a period of decline is debated.[434] Table 20 does not support Barley's argument that building rates in Highland Zones, including Devon and Cornwall, peaked in the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries.[435] The high number of dwelling constructed during the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries shown are likely a result of

[431] Alexandra Shepard and Judith Spicksley, 'Worth, Age, and Social Status in Early Modern England', *Economic History Review*, 64 (2011), 493–530 (p. 519); Alexandra Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status, and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[432] See Chapter 5, 'Methodology and Approaches'.
[433] A breakdown of table 16 for each country is in appendix 1 as tables A4 and A5.
[434] Machin, 'Great Rebuilding: a Reassessment', pp. 37–38.
[435] Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 243–44; Machin, 'Great Rebuilding: a Reassessment', pp. 37–38.

dating construction and phases of development to a century. Table 20 shows that there was a high number of surviving vernacular houses constructed between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, c.1585 to c.1625, the period of the 'Great Rebuilding'. However, if there was a 'revolution in the housing of a considerable part of the population', this implies that there were a high number of buildings built before the late sixteenth century.[436] Seventeen surviving dwellings were constructed before the late sixteenth century, twelve of which are located in Devon.

Table 20: Dates of construction and post-construction of surviving rural vernacular houses from plans

	C14-C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
New Build	**7**	**6**	**4**	**8**	**7**	**2**	**3**	**36**
Phase II		4	3	4	6	4		21
Phase III		2	1	3	2	2	3	13
Phases IV-VI			1	2	3	2	3	10

Source: 36 archaeologically surveyed buildings from the rural sample parishes.

Table 20 also shows post-construction redevelopment occurred in all periods. Post-construction redevelopment included the flooring of halls and other rooms, wings, and the permanent division of larger rooms into smaller rooms. Developments also included extra chimneys and hearths, moving a staircase to another part of the dwelling, or stopping up the cross-passage. A higher proportion of Devon vernacular houses underwent post-construction development when compared with Cornish vernacular houses.[437] Thirteen of nineteen vernacular rural houses in Devon underwent post-construction redevelopment, whilst eight of seventeen vernacular houses for Cornwall have evidence for post-construction development.

[436] Hoskins, 'Rural Rebuilding of England', p. 44.
[437] A breakdown of table 21 for each county is in appendix 1, tables D and E.

Table 20 shows that there was a peak in post-construction development activity during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, within the period of the 'Great Rebuilding'. Several surviving dwellings constructed before the late sixteenth century had ceiligns inserted into their halls. For example, at Higher Langage Farm, constructed in the sixteenth century and demolished in 2011, the hall and inner room had ceilings inserted when the front lateral stack was inserted in the hall during the early to mid-seventeenth century.[438] At Berry Barton, a fifteenth-century farmhouse in Dunsford parish, the hall was ceiled between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, whilst at Little Addicroft, Linkinhorne parish, the ceiling of the hall occurred during the mid to late sixteenth century.[439] Other dwellings constructed during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries included a hall ceiling. These include Browda (Linkinhorne), Treludick (Egloskerry), Magnolia and Lawn House (Exeter), Court Barton (Thorverton), and Dorsley Barton (Totnes).[440] Some surviving dwellings were constructed with three-room and cross-passage plan-forms with a wing, such as at Tower Hill Farmhouse, Bodmin (Cornwall), Magnolia and Lawn House, Exeter, and Dorsley Barton, Totnes parish, but this plan-form was in the minority.[441] Bremridge, Sandford (Devon), constructed during the mid-fifteenth century, had a less common variation of the three-room cross-passage plan-form, where outshuts were constructed behind the main range during the seventeenth century.[442] Only six surviving dwellings, identified through plans and the NHL, had this plan-form.

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[438] T. Green, C. Humphreys, B. Morris, and S. Wills, *Higher Langage Farm, Sparkwell, Devon: Results of a Desk-Based Assessment, Historic Building Recording and Archaeological Evaluation* (South Molton: Southwest Archaeology, 2011), [https://doi.org/10.5284/1011787], p. 16.

[439] Shilstone, DRA, DRA.R.CO.010, Andrew Wood, 'An Historical Evaluation of Little Addicroft, Rilla Mill, Cornwall (unpublished postgraduate diploma report, University of Plymouth, 1998); Green and others, *Higher Langage Farm*; DRA, Robert Waterhouse, 'Berry Barton: Archaeological Notes', 2006.

[440] DRA, DRA.PR.T14.0004, M. J. Baldwin, 'Court Barton, Thorverton: Historical Evaluation', 1993 (pp.14); DRA, DRA.R.CO.009, Lavinia Halliday, 'Browda' (unpublished postgraduate diploma report, Plymouth University, 2016); DRA, Sarah Daligan, 'Dorsely Barton: Archaeological Notes', 2011; Lucy Jessop, *Treludick, Egloskerry, Cornwall: Survey, Investigation and History of the House and Farm Building*, (Swindon: Historic England Research Report, 2007) <http://research.historicengland.org.uk/Report.aspx?i=14602&ru=%2FResults.aspx%3Fn%3D10%26k%3DBuilding%2520Recording%26p%3D2> [accessed 12 July 2017]; Richard Parker and Andrew Passmore, *Magnolia House and Acadia House, Friar's Green, Exeter, Devon: Results of Historic Building Recording and Archaeological Watching Brief* (Exeter: AC Archaeology, 2013) <http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-882-1/dissemination/pdf/acarchae2-152015_2.pdf> [accessed 25 June 2017].

[441] DRA, DR.R.CO.001, Roger Green, 'An evaluation of Tower Hill Farmhouse, 6 Castle Street, Bodmin, Cornwall', 1993, p. 7; Daligan, 'Dorsely Barton'; Parker and Passmore, 'Magnolia House and Arcadia House', pp. 4, 18.

[442] Hulland, 'Devonshire Farmhouses. Part VI', p. 43.

The inclusion of a hall ceiling, a feature of all surviving dwellings constructed during and after the early seventeenth century, was not always the first change. At Middle Aish, Morchard Bishop, constructed during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, chambers were inserted over the service room and inner room in the early sixteenth century, before the hall was ceiled in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries.[443] At Old Frogmire, Sandford, a chimney was inserted in the hall during the mid to late sixteenth century, with the first floor inserted roughly half a century later during the early seventeenth century.[444]

A small number of surviving dwellings constructed before the seventeenth century underwent more than two phases of redevelopment before the mid-eighteenth century, whilst others underwent no post-construction redevelopment. Little Addicroft, Linkinhorne parish underwent four periods of changes after initial construction during the late fifteenth century, including the construction of a one-roomed wing, the last one being the raising of the walls to create a full-height second storey. In Sandford parish, both Prowse (constructed early fifteenth century) and Bremridge (constructed mid-fifteenth century) had five phases of development; in both houses, the last phase of post-construction redevelopment was the inclusion of a chimney in the service rooms in the eighteenth century.[445] However, most surviving dwellings only underwent one phase of post-construction redevelopment before the mid-eighteenth century. Fifteen of the thirty-six surveyed houses underwent no post-construction development before the mid-eighteenth century, nine of which are in Cornwall and six in Devon. Further regional variation is challenging to determine. That only fifteen houses, mostly constructing during or after the seventeenth century, underwent no post-construction redevelopment before the eighteenth century implies little change in the activity systems and socio-cultural context of the households.

The number of storeys and chimneys derived from house plans of surviving rural vernacular houses (shown in Tables F and G, Appendix 1) shows a difference between houses constructed during the fifteenth century and dwellings constructed during and after the early seventeenth century. The former were typically one storey, with the hall heated by an

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[443] Hulland, 'Devonshire Farmhouses. Part V', pp. 137–40.

[444] DRA, DRA.PR.S6.0001, Claire Whewell, 'Evaluation: Old Frogmire, Sandford, Devon' (unpublished postgraduate diploma, Plymouth University, 1998).

[445] DRA, DRA.R.CO.010, Wood, 'Little Addicroft, Rilla Mill, Cornwall', pp.2, 26 – 54; Hulland, 'Devonshire Farmhouses. Part VI', pp. 32–36, 38–41.

open hearth (no chimney), whilst the latter were at least one and a half storeys and with one or two chimneys. Rural vernacular houses of the early eighteenth century were more likely to have had two chimneys. From the early seventeenth century, the number of rural vernacular buildings in the South West with two full storeys increased, whether due to construction or post-construction redevelopment, which implies an increase in the provision of upper storey spaces and more active use of first floors. Barley argued that these upper storey spaces were used for sleeping or storage purposes, although inventory evidence discussed in chapter 4 reveals a more complex picture.[446]

However, few surviving dwellings have been planned, and as discussed, it is more likely that the plans are of surviving houses that were perhaps larger than most of the houses of the parish. Thus, to consider a more significant number of rural vernacular houses requires the use of listed building records on the National Heritage List for England (NHL). As outlined in Chapter 2, there are advantages and disadvantages to this data source.[447] Of most concern is that a significant number of surveyors did not inspect the interior, a critical source of information for understanding the full development sequence of the house. In addition, even if the interior was inspected, nearly a quarter of surveys of rural dwellings did not record enough information to determine the plan-form. Nevertheless, that over four hundred surveys did show how NHL records are a valuable source to understand the plan-forms of surviving rural vernacular houses.

Table 21: Dates of construction and post-construction development of rural vernacular houses from NHL entries

	C14-C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
New Build	**3**	**39**	**53**	**59**	**118**	**92**	**170**	**534**
Phase II			1	34	39	18	16	108
Phase III				4	13	9	14	40

Source: 534 NHL buildings from the rural sample parishes.

[446] Maurice Barley, ‘The Use of Upper Floors in Rural Houses’, *Vernacular Architecture,* 22 (1991), 20-23 (p. 20).
[447] See Chapter 2, ‘Methodology’.

Table 21 shows a greater number of surviving dwellings that have been listed compared with the number planned, but also a degree of similarity with table 20. Construction of surviving rural dwellings occurred in all periods during and after the fifteenth century, with peaks of activity during the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries and the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries. In contrast to table 20 and the evidence solely from house plans, a high number of surviving dwellings in Devon and Cornwall were constructed during and after the late seventeenth century, although the eighteenth-century peak is potentially false.[448] Similarities between the counties are apparent. House plans show the highest number of dwellings were constructed during or before the seventeenth century (eleven of nineteen in Cornwall and fourteen of eighteen in Devon), whereas NHL records show the highest number of dwellings constructed during or after the late seventeenth century. Combining both sources of evidence show that in Devon, 151 surviving dwellings were constructed before or during the early seventeenth century (of 393 surviving dwellings), compared with twenty-six surviving dwellings in Cornwall (of 178 surviving houses). In comparison, 158 surviving dwellings were constructed in Devon after or during the late seventeenth century, whilst in Cornwall, 109 dwellings were constructed in the same period.

Combining tables 20 and 21 shows that ten dwellings were constructed before the late fifteenth century, all of which were in Devon parishes: Dunsford (three houses), Morchard Bishop (two houses), Sandford (two houses), Thorverton (two houses), and Plympton St Mary (one house). Proportionally, these form only 3 per cent of the surviving housing stock. Sarah Pearson argued that in Kent, areas with a higher density of hearths were also areas with a high survival of medieval houses.[449] Although Plympton St Mary, Sanford, and Dunsford, had a higher-than-average proportion of houses with three to four hearths (between 30 and 35 per cent), Thorverton and Morchard Bishop did not. In Morchard Bishop parish, only 12 per cent of households had three to four hearths. By the same argument, Staverton, Linkinhorne, and St Thomas-by-Launceston, all with a proportion of households assessed with three to four hearths of 29 to 39 per cent, should have surviving

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[448] This is because a high proportion of the listed entries did not examine the interior, only exterior features and design. Therefore, there is a strong likelihood that a number of those buildings recorded as being built in the eighteenth century were constructed earlier, but external modernisation and rebuilding in the eighteenth century means those buildings were thought to date from that period from external examination only.
[449] Pearson, Kent: Heating, Houses and the Hearth Tax', p. 46.

medieval houses; none have been recorded in those locations. Indeed, 62 per cent of households in St Thomas-by-Launceston, and 53 per cent of households in Wembury parish were assessed with three or more hearths, yet no surviving recorded dwellings. It may be that further research is needed to identify more medieval houses in these parishes.

The low number of surviving listed houses with recognised post-construction development may result from several surveyors not fully detailing a surveyed house's development. The listing records for 123 surviving houses did not have sufficient detail to determine a plan-form; for example, in Madron parish, twenty-four houses were recorded on the NHL, but only ten had sufficient detail to determine their plan-form. It is noticeable that most listed dwellings that had a second or third phase of development were in parishes close to Exeter (Dunsford, Morchard Bishop, Sandford, Moretonhampstead, and Crediton) with a smaller proportion in other Devon parishes, Uffculme and Thorverton. In Cornwall, the only parishes with noted evidence are in the East Hundred (Egloskerry, Linkinhorne, and St Stephen-by-Launceston). It remains unclear if these patterns were due to more detailed surveys carried out by listed building inspectors in some areas or by fundamental differences in the development of early modern houses.

Surviving dwellings underwent post-construction development in all periods after the sixteenth century, shown in tables 20 and 21. Differences between the two counties are worth briefly discussing.[450] A higher proportion of surviving dwellings in Devon underwent post-construction development compared to surviving houses in Cornwall. In Devon, 105 of 393 surviving houses showed evidence for post-construction development, compared with twenty-four of 178 surviving houses for Cornwall. In Devon, most post-construction developments occurred before or during the early seventeenth century, reflecting the higher number of dwellings constructed during the same period, whilst in Cornwall, most post-construction developments occurred during or after the late seventeenth century. Few surviving dwellings underwent post-construction development during the early or mid-eighteenth century. To some extent, methodological differences and issues may partly explain this pattern, including whether the substantial redevelopment of dwellings in later centuries obliterated or covered up evidence of early modern redevelopment. The

[450] A breakdown of table 21 for each county is in Appendix 1, tables H and I.

assumptions underpinning this conclusion are challenging to test. In chapter 4, probate inventories shows that in both counties there was a substantial change in the domestic environment from the early eighteenth century that did not result in physical redevelopment.[451]

The evidence considered in this section only focuses on the footprint of the house and on architectural features; plan-forms are examined in the following section. Despite the difficulties relating to the nature of the evidence of inventories and plans, there are specific trends that are reasonably definite. The construction of surviving rural vernacular houses occurred in all periods during the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. A high number were constructed during either the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries or during the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries, dependent on the source used. Surviving rural vernacular houses constructed after the early seventeenth century differed from surviving houses constructed earlier, with a floor over the hall and at least one chimney. Dwellings constructed before the late sixteenth century were 'modernised' during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries with a floor over the hall. Post-construction development occurred during all periods after the fifteenth century, although comparatively few houses underwent more than one phase of post-construction development. Whilst the evidence from NHL records appears to support Barley's argument that there was a delayed peak in 'Great Rebuilding' activity in Highland Zones, including Devon and Cornwall, surviving houses showed there was no delay in the ceiling of halls to this later period.[452] However, seventy dwellings (of 267 surviving houses) constructed during or after the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were not internally surveyed, meaning these dwellings may have been constructed earlier. Thus, understanding how different sources of evidence lead to different trends and patterns explains in part why debates around the theory of 'The Great Rebuilding' have thrived.

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[451] Chapter 4, 'Functional Changes in Rural Rooms'.
[452] Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 108–13.

Plan-Forms: Rural

Evidence from plans of surviving houses from Devon and Cornwall show that rural vernacular houses were constructed over a broad period rather than concentrated during a particular century, and in every period, there was some form of post-construction development. However, probate inventories do not show any considerable change in the number of rooms recorded, with the majority of dwellings recorded with one to six rooms. What does this mean for plan-forms? It is essential to consider this because, as discussed in Chapter 1, there is a relationship between plan-form and socio-cultural contexts.[453] Houses with lobby-entry plan-forms are more than just physically different from houses with traditional 'open' three-room with cross-passage plan-forms. Johnson argues that the lobby-entry plan-forms represents a change in social and cultural behaviours and relationships. The social meanings and cues encapsulated in an 'open' plan-form were superseded by new social meanings and cues, which needed to be expressed in a different physical format.[454]

This section first considers the typical plan-forms of houses of the South West before exploring in more detail the development of three- and two-room and cross-passage plan-forms. Focus is first on those plan-forms that keep traditional features before consideration of those that 'reject' these features. The first two sections focus on rural vernacular houses and finish with a consideration of those buildings that sit at the 'polite threshold' as a chronological boundary and those buildings of polite architecture. A full table of the plan-forms discussed can be found in Table J, Appendix 1. The terminology used in this section reflects current approaches: 'three-room plan-forms' refer to plan-forms recording three rooms in a line on the ground floor, whilst 'two-room plan-forms' refers to plan-forms recording two rooms in a line on the ground floor.

Houses with a three-room plan-forms constructed from the mid to late medieval period are usually split into either the 'Hall House' or 'Longhouse' types, the difference being the use of the third room across the cross-passage.[455] In 'Hall Houses', the third room across the cross-passage was usually a service room (AX); in longhouses, that room was a shippon

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[453] Chapter 1, 'The Theories of House Development: Theories of domestic architecture'.
[454] Johnson, *Housing Culture*, pp. 117–25.
[455] Chapter 3, 'Physical Development of Houses of the South West'.

(AO). In plan-form, there is little comparative difference between the 'Hall House' and the longhouse, even after the ceiling of the hall (A1). Figures 4 and 5 show this plan-form.

Figure 4: Floor plan of a three-room cross-passage house (AX and A1).

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From: Nathaniel Alcock, 'Houses in the Yarty Valley', *Devon Buildings Group Newsletter,* 33 (44-54) p.40. Note: hatched areas are later developments.

Figure 5: Floor plan of a longhouse (AO).

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From: Maurice Barley, *The English Farmhouse and Cottage,* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), p.110.

However, no surviving longhouses are identified in the sample parishes, even in Moretonhampstead parish which is predominantly an upland region, although well-known

examples survive near to the sample parishes, such as Sanders, in North Bovey parish and Higher Uppacott, Widecombe-in-the-Moor parish.[456]

The traditional plan-form of three rooms with cross-passage remained at the core of the majority of surviving vernacular houses, even those constructed in the early eighteenth century. Some surviving dwellings constructed after the late sixteenth century showed variations on this plan-form. Usually, this variation was the addition of a one-room wing, either at the front (A7) or more commonly at the rear (A6), as in figure 6. However, a small number of surviving post-medieval houses were constructed with no cross-passage at all, with entry directly into the hall or the service room (A2), as seen in figure 7. Further variations on this plan-form included whether there were one-room wings to the front (A9) or rear (A8), but these were uncommon.

Figure 6: Floor plan of a three-room cross-passage house with rear wing (A6).

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From: Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage,* p.110.

[456] For research into Sanders, see Alcock, Child, and Laithwaite, 'Sanders, Lettaford'; Beacham, 'The Dartmoor Longhouse'; Gawne, *Early Dartmoor Farmhouses*; Laithwaite, 'Sanders, Lettaford'. More information about Higher Uppacott can be found online: http://www.dartmoor.gov.uk/enjoy-dartmoor/places/higher-uppacott/conserving-a-dartmoor-longhouse; [accessed 4 March 2018].

Figure 7: Floor plan of a three-room side-entry house (A2).

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From: Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage,* p.158.

Note: the entrance is located bottom left.

Other variations on plan-forms without a cross-passage include lobby-entry plan-forms (A3), shown in figure 8, gable-entry plan-forms (A13), or dwellings constructed with a central unheated service room (A5). Houses with the latter plan-form are found widespread in Somerset and Dorset, shown through the research of the Somerset Vernacular Buildings Research Group, although Alcock argues these plan-forms are widely but sparsely found in Devon.[457] However, some dwellings were 'transitional' houses, incorporating traditional and innovative architectural features. Figure 8 shows a dwelling with a lobby-entry to the rear and a cross-passage between the hall and cross-wing. The low number of surviving dwellings with lobby-entry plan-forms does not mean that the separation of different social groups and the socio-cultural meanings of 'Closure' were achieved through other means. Although surviving dwellings show the variety of plan-forms increased after the seventeenth century, at the core of a significant majority of dwelling was the traditional plan-form of three rooms with cross-passage. Thus, there was a strong attachment to this plan-form, even where added to with wings or outshuts, indicating a strong socio-cultural or economic need to retain the cross-passage.

[457] Alcock, 'Development of the Vernacular House', p. 27; see also multiple publications by the Somerset Vernacular Buildings Research Group.

Figure 8: Floor plan of a lobby-entry house (A5) with wing.

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From: Nat Alcock, 'The Development of the Vernacular House in South-West England, 1500 – 1700', in *West Country Households, 1500 – 1700,* ed. by J. Allan, N. Alcock, and D. Dawson, pp.9-33 (p.23).

The development of the two-room plan-form is similar to that of larger three-room plan-forms. The oldest surviving rural vernacular houses with two-room plan-forms had open halls (BX plan-form), with a similar footprint as that of larger 'Hall Houses' except with one room either side of the cross-passage. As with three-room plan-forms, the footprint did not differ between those with open halls (BX) or with ceiled halls (B1).

Figure 9: Floor plan of a two-room cross-passage house (BX and B1).

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From: N. Alcock and C. Carson, *West Country Farms: house and estate surveys, 1598-1764* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), p. 24.

Surviving dwellings constructed after the late sixteenth century show increasing variation on the traditional plan-form. Variations include the addition of one-room wings, either to the front (B5), shown in figure 10, or the rear (B4).

Figure 10: Floor plan of a two-room cross-passage house with front wing (B5).

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From: Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* p.32.

One variation more common amongst surviving dwellings with two-room plan-forms than three-room plan-forms is the provision of a rear outshut, a rear one storey lean-to extension, running either the entire width of the house, shown in figure 11 or just half. The primary function of the outshut was for service activities. Nearly all surviving dwellings with an outshut (fourteen dwellings) had a cross-passage, whether two-room (B6) or three-room (A10).

Figure 11: Floor plan of a two-room plan with outshuts (B6).

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From: Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* p.31.

Note: the rear rooms were single-storey outshuts.

The plans of surviving houses shown above demonstrate a weaknesses of using house plans; the rooms are often unnamed. Room names may be assumed in a traditional three-room or two-room plan-form with cross-passage, with a hall on one side of the cross-passage opposite a service room, or shippon, and an inner room next to the hall in house with a three-room plan-form. Chambers are more challenging to locate. Before the late

seventeenth century, 'chamber' may refer to a multi-purpose room on the ground floor. After the early seventeenth century, 'chamber' was increasingly used to refer to upper storey spaces, to the point that after the late seventeenth century, 'chamber' referred almost solely to upper storey spaces.[458] Even if the exact name of rooms are unable to be determined from plans of surviving dwellings, there is still a clear hierarchical aspect to surviving houses, with a low end consisting of a service room on one side of a cross-passage and a high end consisting of the hall and inner room on the other.

Similarly, identifying service rooms can be a challenge. Although Barley and Sarah Pennell point to the increasing integration of the kitchen into rural houses during the seventeenth century, this assumes that the kitchen was already present as a detached space.[459] There is little evidence for detached kitchens on the plans of surviving houses. Several surveyors assume the kitchen was opposite the hall, or in a rear wing. The provision of other service rooms, including dairy or milkhouse, buttery, or cider house, could be accommodated in separate detached blocks with chambers over for storage.[460] However, chapter 4 shows that the proportion of dwellings with a kitchen increased, and whilst in Cornwall, the proportion of dwellings with a service room declined; in Devon, that proportion increased.[461] Plans of surviving houses do not show that many dwellings had extra spaces commonly associated with service functions. Forty houses (of 431 surviving dwellings) were constructed with a one-room wing, and thirty-two dwellings had a wing added, whilst only fourteen dwellings were constructed with an outshut. Plans of surviving houses do not show the demolition of detached service blocks or ranges, but this is expected given that plans are created by survey of upstanding building fabric.

There are examples of buildings that accommodated additional service spaces in both manners, such as Moreshead (or Morshead), in Dean Prior parish, Devon. A bakehouse, milkhouse, 'wenehouse', 'towelhouse', and cider house were constructed after Robert Furse

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[458] Alcock and Carson*, West Country Farms,* p. 40; Overton et al.*, Production and Consumption,* p. 133; Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', p. 102.
[459] Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 178–79; Sara Pennell, *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), p. 46.
[460] Alcock, 'Great Rebuilding and Later Stages'.
[461] Chapter 4, 'Rooms in Rural Vernacular Houses'.

inherited the house in the later sixteenth century.[462] Furse wrote that these service rooms were constructed as either detached service blocks on waste or void ground or were attached to the main range of the house. In this manner, the extra service spaces lengthened the house westwards beyond the hall and formed a front wing that attached the main range to a barn. The Furse memoir book provides a unique insight into early modern farmhouses of the South West. However, it should not be taken as an example of an ordinary house since Furse had risen to be a minor gentleman (manorial lord) from a yeoman background.

Changes occurred elsewhere in the house. Although parlours were more associated with larger houses, with inventories showing the provision of a parlour was less important than kitchens and service rooms, the space was apparent in several plans of surviving houses.[463] With the majority of houses constructed with a three-room plan-form, the space was apparent at construction, whilst in other dwellings, a space called the parlour was provided in the front wing. Another way to accommodate a parlour was seen at Morshead, where Furse made a parlour from his kitchen and a new kitchen created from the old shippon.[464] Only two plans of surviving dwellings recorded the upper storey (Higher Langage Farm and Magnolia House) and showed little change in the number of chambers before the nineteenth century. It is likely however that extra chambers were created in a number of dwellings, especially those with wings added which had chambers above, or in the three dwellings with porches added with chamber above constructed at the entrance to the cross-passage.

Information derived from the analysis of plans of surviving dwellings shows some increased variety of plan-forms of houses constructed after the late sixteenth century; however, due to the lower number of plans from the late seventeenth century the full range of plan-forms is not apparent. Alcock argued that after 1600, there was greater variety in plan-forms than before, which is not entirely evident from the analysis of plans of surviving dwellings considered.[465] Tables K and L in Appendix 1 show the recorded plan-form of surviving dwellings at the time of their construction. Both tables show that traditional plan-forms, apparent in surviving houses constructed during the medieval period, remained the core

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[462] Anita Travers, ed., *Robert Furse: A Devon Family Memoir of 1593* (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2012), pp. 72–73.
[463] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 132.
[464] Travers, *Devon Family Memoir,* p. 72.
[465] Alcock, 'Development of the Rural House', p. 20.

plan-form of surviving houses constructed during later periods, with two surviving dwellings constructed with no cross-passage. There was minimal variation in plan-forms over the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and Table L shows only a minority of houses had a two-room plan-form. Compared with the evidence from inventories, where a high proportion of inventories recorded houses with one to three rooms, and given that nearly all surviving houses had at least one upper storey space after the early seventeenth century, the number of surviving houses with two-room plan-form should be higher. To examine this, a broader perspective of surviving dwellings needs to be examined; thus, need to combine all evidence from NHL records and plans since NHL records are comparable to a systematic survey of a parish. Whilst there are likely many varied reasons for why houses with a two-room plan-form are underrepresented in archaeological house surveys, what tables 22 and 23 show are how different sources provide different perspectives of the early modern housing stock in Devon and Cornwall.

Table 22: Plan-forms of three-room rural dwellings at construction

	C14-C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
AX	**5**	**28**	**9**					**40**
AO								
AY		1						1
A1	**1**	**4**	**32**	**24**	**27**	**5**	**3**	**96**
A2			**1**		**3**	**3**	**7**	**14**
A3					1	1		2
A4								
A5						1		1
A6			**2**		**5**	**1**		**8**
A7					1		1	2
A8			1	1	2	2	1	7
A9					1	2		3
A10					2			2
A11					1	1		2
A12								
A13								

Source: 177 planned and NHL listed dwellings from the sample rural parishes; key to the plan-forms is in Table J, Appendix 1.

Note: plan-forms with a cross-passage are lightly shaded.

Table 23: Plan-forms of two-room rural dwellings at construction

	C14-C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
BX	2	2	2					6
BY								
B1		**2**	**3**	**3**	**15**	**11**	**5**	**39**
B2				**1**	**9**	**8**	**2**	**20**
B3						1	2	3
B4				**3**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**9**
B5			1					1
B6					3	2		5
B7					**2**	**1**	**4**	**7**
B8								
B9							2	2
B10								
B11								
B12								

Source: 94 planned and NHL listed buildings from the rural sample parishes; key to the plan-forms is in Table J, Appendix 1.

Note: plan-forms with a cross-passage are lightly shaded.

Tables 22 and 23 show that although houses constructed after the late sixteenth century showed greater variety in plan-form, the majority of dwellings were constructed with the medieval three or two-room with cross-passage plan-form. Several interesting patterns are apparent from the evidence. First, is that both tables show that no surviving dwelling had an open hall after the late sixteenth century (AX, AO, AY, and BX). Second, is that 106 of 177 surviving dwellings with a three-room plan-form were constructed before or during the early seventeenth century, but forty-one of ninety-four two-room dwellings were

constructed during or after the late seventeenth century. Thus, smaller surviving dwellings are likely to be constructed later than surviving three-room dwellings. Third, while that the largest number of surviving houses were constructed with a two-room plan-forms with cross-passage (B1) or variations upon (B4 and B5), a significant number of houses were constructed with no cross-passage (B2 and B8).

Surviving dwellings with two-room plan-forms are evident in nearly all sample rural parishes. The exception was Paul parish, where twenty-seven listed houses are described as cottages, although eleven surviving dwellings did not have sufficient information to determine the plan-form. Surviving dwellings with two-room plan-forms are more common in Cornish parishes than Devon; in Cornwall, thirty-nine of one-hundred surviving dwellings had two-room plan-forms, whereas, in Devon, fifty-five of 331 surviving dwellings had that plan-form. In four of six Cornish sample parishes with nine or more surviving dwellings either planned or listed, more surviving dwellings had two-room plan-forms than three-room plan-forms. In St Stephen-by-Launceston parish, five of twenty-one surviving dwellings had a three-room plan-form, and ten surviving houses had a two-room plan-form. In comparison, in Linkinhorne parish, of nine surviving dwellings, five had a three-room plan-form, whilst four surviving dwellings had a two-room plan-form. In Devon, nine parishes had nine or more surviving dwellings that are planned or listed, and show that in eight of the parishes, there is a higher number of surviving houses with three-room plan-forms than two-room plan-forms. In Uffculme, of twenty-five surviving houses that are planned or listed, seventeen surviving dwellings have a three-room plan-forms, and three had a two-room plan-form. Drawing together the evidence of Hearth Tax Records, Linkinhorne parish was comparable with most of the sample Devon parishes with regard to the proportion of households assessed with three to four hearths (32 per cent in Linkinhorne, 26 per cent across rural Devon parishes). However, Egloskerry parish also had 29 per cent of households assessed with three or four hearths, yet the majority of surviving dwellings had two-room plan-forms than three-room plan-forms.

Table 25 shows that 40 per cent of two-room houses were constructed without a cross-passage (thirty-seven dwellings). By comparison, 162 surviving larger dwellings of three-room plan-forms of 177 have cross-passages, and sixteen did not. In Egloskerry, ten of thirteen surviving houses constructed in the early modern period have a two-room plan-

form, although unfortunately, none are planned; eight of those dwellings have a cross-passage. By contrast, in Morchard Bishop and Thorverton parishes in Devon, most smaller houses had no cross-passage but with side or lobby-entry. Six of nine surviving smaller houses in Morchard Bishop do not have a cross-passage, with three of six surviving small dwellings in Thorverton having side-entry plan-forms. In St Stephen-by-Launceston parish, of twelve surviving smaller houses, seven have no cross-passage. Most surviving dwellings with three-room plan-forms have a cross-passage in all three parishes, suggestive of different household contexts between larger and smaller surviving dwellings. Unfortunately, none of the smaller houses of those parishes are planned. It is not clear why a higher proportion of smaller dwellings had no cross-passage. Although Alcock and Carson noted that smaller farms were less likely to have ancillary service buildings than larger farms, there was a degree of uniformity with three-bay farmhouses (three to four rooms) typical across small and large farms.[466]

Prowse, Sandford parish (Devon), was constructed during the late fifteenth century with a two-room cross-passage plan-form and open hall, although with a one-room cross-wing instead of a service room. The hall was ceilinged during the early sixteenth century, and the cross-wing ceiled during the mid to late sixteenth century.[467] Lower Tresmorn, St Gennys, is a rare example of a dwelling that had a cross-passage when constructed, but by the mid-eighteenth century, the passage was blocked. The dwelling was constructed during the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries with a two-room cross-passage plan-form with an open hall. Both rooms were ceiled before the seventeenth century, and a rear outshut constructed, which blocked the cross-passage.[468] In contrast, Baccamore Farmhouse, Sparkwell (Plympton St Mary parish), constructed during the sixteenth century with a two-room and cross-passage plan-form and rear wing, kept the cross-passage into the eighteenth century.[469]

Although surviving early modern houses in Cornish parishes were more likely to have two-room plan-forms and more likely not to have a cross-passage, this may be a result that the majority of surviving houses in Devon were constructed earlier. The majority of surviving

[466] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* p. 41.
[467] Hulland, 'Devonshire Farmhouses. Part VI', pp. 32–36.
[468] Bereford, 'Tresmorn, St Gennys', pp. 64–65.
[469] DRA, Robert Waterhouse, 'Baccamore Farmhouse, Sparkwell: Archaeological Notes', 2006, pp. 1–2.

two-room dwellings were constructed during or after the late seventeenth century; most surviving dwellings without a cross-passage were constructed in the same period. A higher proportion of surviving Cornish houses (comparable to the total number of Cornish houses) were constructed after or during the late seventeenth century compared with Devon houses. It is also clear that most two-room houses constructed during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were more likely not to have a cross-passage. Thus, it suggests that in Cornwall, a greater variety in two-room plan-forms may partly reflect a later period of construction of surviving dwellings, but this is not certain.

A comparatively higher proportion of surviving houses in Devon had three-room plan-forms than in Cornwall; 48 per cent compared to 22 per cent. Of the parishes with more than nine surviving dwellings listed or planned, a majority of larger dwellings had the medieval three-room with cross-passage plan-form (A1). Crediton, Dunsford, Morchard Bishop, Plympton St Mary, Sandford, Thorverton, Uffculme, Linkinhorne, and St Stephen-by-Launceston all had a high proportion of houses with three-room with cross-passage plan-forms. For example, in Moretonhampstead, eighteen of twenty-one surviving dwellings had a three-room and cross-passage plan-form, and in Thorverton, ten of sixteen surviving larger dwellings had a three-room and cross-passage plan-form.

In Thorverton and Morchard Bishop, a significant minority of larger dwellings have no cross-passage; in Morchard Bishop, six of sixteen surviving dwellings with three-room plan-forms have no cross-passage. The proportion of houses with three-room with cross-passage plan-forms is lowest in Plymstock, St Gennys, Paul, and Madron parishes. In all those parishes, a significant proportion of the local economy was geared towards fishing or small trade; all the parishes have notable fishing villages (Oreston and Turnchapel, Crackington Haven, Mousehole, Penzance) and so may not have had such a high number of farmers. It is also unclear whether this low proportion was due to a higher proportion of surviving houses constructed during the mid to late seventeenth century. Only two surviving dwellings were constructed with a lobby-entry plan-form, all in Morchard Bishop parish. One other surviving dwelling (in Dunsford) had a lobby-entry added during post-construction redevelopment.

At Higher Tresmorn, St Gennys parish (Cornwall), constructed with a three-room plan-form and open hall during the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries. By the early seventeenth century, the dwelling had an unusual plan-form, where the old house was turned into a service wing and the cross-passage stopped-up, and a new dwelling attached to the former lower-end with a two-room and central stair plan-form.[470] At Berry Barton, Dunsford parish (Devon), constructed during the fifteenth century with a three-room plan-form with cross-passage and open hall, was redeveloped by the mid-seventeenth century to have four rooms in a line and no cross-passage.[471]

Devon parishes have the highest number of surviving dwellings with variations on the medieval plan-form with cross-passage, such as wings and outshuts, particularly Crediton and Sandford parishes. However, only ten surviving dwellings were constructed or redeveloped to have front wings, compared with fifty-eight surviving dwellings with evidence for rear wings. Moretonhampstead and Linkinhorne parishes have more surviving houses with three-room plan-forms with front wings rather than rear wings. The evidence shows that those parishes with a high number of surviving houses with three-room with cross-passage plan-forms had a high proportion of houses constructed before the early seventeenth century.

It may be roughly determined that parishes with a higher proportion of households assessed with three to four hearths have a higher proportion of houses with three-room plan-forms, and parishes with a higher proportion of smaller houses of two-room plan-forms were more likely to be assessed with a high proportion of one to two hearths. Issues of survival complicate this pattern. Within the context of each community, there are apparent differences between houses, even between neighbouring parishes such as Egloskerry and Linkinhorne, which cannot be easily related to clear differences in Hearth Tax assessments or average wealth assessments in probate inventories. Instead, we may start to point towards some evidence of differences in economic and socio-cultural contexts and behaviours. The evidence suggests that in parishes with a high proportion of houses with two-room plan-forms, there was little economic or socio-cultural need to have an extra room beyond the hall. The presence of wings, particularly a rear wing, may indicate a need

[470] Bereford, 'Tresmorn, St Gennys', pp. 64–65.
[471] DRA, Waterhouse, ‘Berry Barton’, p. 3.

for extra space for service functions, whether additional or as a room to move service functions out from another room. Surviving dwellings with plans show that rear wings were used for a service function, either as dedicated service rooms, such as Budleigh Farmhouse, Moretonhampstead with a rear kitchen wing, or Rudge, Morchard Bishop, that had two rear wings of a kitchen and pound house. Sixteen dwellings had wings added during post-construction development, which indicates that amongst a small proportion of households, there were changes to the activity systems in the domestic environment that necessitated a change in their system of settings with extra service space.

Other plan-forms of dwellings include the double-pile plan-form, and cottage plan-forms, shown in Table M, Appendix 1. A significant number of dwellings have plan-forms that are described by surveyors as ‘cottage’: one or two rooms, no cross-passage, in a compact footprint smaller than a two-room house. These dwellings are defined as cottages by the listed building’s surveyor, but it is likely that upon further research, some may be redefined as vernacular houses with a two-room plan-form without a cross-passage. 117 of 137 surviving ‘cottages’ were constructed from or during the late seventeenth century, whereas just seven were constructed during or before the early seventeenth century. Cottages may provide evidence of population pressure necessitating more houses to be constructed and the separation of buildings into cottages, an example being ‘Hynams’, Sandford parish.[472] The reasons for this rapid increase in cottage numbers in the South West has not been fully explored, although Adam Longcroft argues that a link between this type of house and landless labourers may not be clear.[473] Nearly all the surviving dwellings with determinable plan-forms of Paul parish were described as ‘cottages’, and a high number of surviving houses in the parishes of Crediton, Morchard Bishop, Sandford, and Thorverton, all close to Exeter, had a ‘cottage’ plan-form.

Twelve surviving dwellings were constructed with double-pile plan-forms which may be a further development of the medieval two or three-room with cross-passage plan-form. The typical double-pile plan-form comprises four ground floor rooms with chambers above and a central passage either containing the stairs or leading to a rear stair. The plan-form is, to

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472 Hynams, Sandford, <https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1243472, *[accessed 5* March 2018].
473 Longcroft, 'Plan-Forms in Smaller Post-Medieval Houses', p. 42.

some extent, a development of the medieval two-room plan-form, with an extra range of rooms behind the front range, all of the same height. All surviving dwellings identified with a double-pile plan-form in Devon and Cornwall were listed, not planned, and unfortunately, when surveyed, the interiors were only briefly examined. That only twelve surviving dwellings are apparent support's Alcock's argument that such houses are uncommon in the South West.[474] The double-pile house is considered to be a typical 'Georgian Farmhouse', a housing type that Johnson argued was deeply connected with the creation of British identity and an idea of Britain, materialising British and Protestant identity as well as a local character.[475] Although this is difficult to determine, it is more likely that the low number of double-pile houses resulted from the strong attachment to the cross-passage.

The reasons behind the trends discussed are uncertain. Whilst some scholars point to the increasing desire for privacy and comfort as factors to explain the physical enlargement of the house, the evidence considered here does not support this.[476] Evidence for this, identified elsewhere in England, include the increase in the number of rooms and chambers with fireplaces, the increased number of rooms created through internal sub-division, and the increased number of windows with glazing. Unfortunately, the plans of surviving houses do not show whether houses constructed in later periods had more glazed windows compared with houses constructed earlier, although we can assume that this was the case.[477] House plans show that most houses constructed before or during the early seventeenth century had either no chimney stacks, or two chimney stacks, with most houses constructed during or after the late seventeenth century having three stacks. However, a high number of surviving rural dwellings only have one chimney. For example, Court Barton, Thorverton parish (Devon), Lower Tresmorn, St Gennys parish (Cornwall), and Berry Barton, Dunsford parish (Devon), had only one chimney in the late seventeenth century. Only two surviving rural vernacular houses had a lobby-entry plan-form, a plan-form strongly associated with increased comfort and privacy for the family.[478] Only two plans of surviving dwellings record upper storey spaces, but neither reveal whether there

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[474] Alcock, 'Development of the Vernacular House', p. 27; Maurice W. Barley, 'The Double Pile House', *Archaeological Journal*, 136 (1979), 253–64 (p. 253).
[475] Matthew Johnson, 'English Houses, Materiality, and Everyday Life', *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, 26.1 (2015), 27–39 (pp. 189–91).
[476] Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 60–61; Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, pp. 44, 69; Platt, *Great Rebuildings,* pp. 188–89.
[477] Hoskins, 'Rebuilding of Rural England', p. 55.
[478] Johnson, *Housing Culture*, p. 78.

was an increase in the number of chambers after construction. The provision of extra chambers may be associated with the separation of family and household into their own sleeping spaces, but this is not evident in the surviving houses studied.

Alcock rejected privacy as a factor in the development of houses at Stoneleigh, while Rapoport, Martine Segalen, and Donald Sanders argue that although there was a relationship between the built environment and privacy, in which privacy can affect the built environment, it is not a simple relationship.[479] The central argument in these studies is that a large number of buildings were too small to accommodate separate, specialist rooms, as would be expected if privacy between family and household, and living and working was important. This is also apparent in the plans for surviving rural vernacular houses in the South West. A small number of surviving dwellings increased in size with the addition of extra spaces as wings or outshuts; in the majority of surviving houses, post-construction development only involved the inclusion of an extra chimney or new staircase. That does not mean that privacy could not be 'enacted' in the early modern south-western house, but this may have taken place through material culture and domestic behaviours rather than physical separation. Increased privacy is poorly evidenced and does not appear to have been a priority in the development of houses in early modern Devon and Cornwall.

Instead, surviving houses provide evidence that the activity systems, and socio-cultural context, of the majority of households underwent little change that resulted in a different system of settings of the built environment. In other words, little evidence of change in plan-forms suggests that there was little change in the use of space within the domestic environment, in both how rooms were used, and how activities were spread through the house. This is evident in both the small proportion of houses that underwent some form of post-construction redevelopment, which usually involved the addition of architectural features rather than physical expansion, and that only six dwellings increased in size from a two-room to a three-room plan-form. In a small number of dwellings did activity systems

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[479] Alcock, *People at Home*, p. 203; Rapoport, *House Form and Culture*, pp. 9, 61; Donald Sanders, 'Behavioral Conventions and Archaeology: Methods for the Analysis of Ancient Architecture', in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space,* ed. Kent, pp. 43–72 (p. 50); Martine Segalen, 'The House Between Private and Public: A Socio-Historical Overview', in *Private Domain, Public Inquiry: Families and Life-Styles in the Netherlands and Europe, 1550 to the Present*, ed. Anton Schuurman and Pieter Spierenbury (Hilversum: Verloren, 1996), pp. 240–53 (pp. 241–43).

change with an increasing need for more service space, evident the small number of dwellings with rear wings and outshuts, spaces strongly associated with a service function.

The majority of surviving dwellings, whether constructed during the fifteenth century or during the early eighteenth century, retained the medieval cross-passage. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, there is increasing evidence for the 'polite threshold'. This threshold had socio-economic and physical elements. Physically it was where traditional architectural styles gave way to new 'classical' architectural styles. These new architectural styles embodied a classical style of symmetry and order inspired by Palladian ideals. In plan-form, this meant a double-pile house entered through a symmetrical and ordered façade, often with the central portion of the façade jutting out with a pediment or portico.[480] Houses constructing during the eighteenth century with this plan-form are referred to as 'small classical houses' or 'compact villa' plan. According to Stephen Hague, this type of house came to be strongly associated with gentlemen and the lesser gentry, being able to fulfil the performance of genteel status.[481]

This aspect relates to the socio-economic aspect of the 'polite threshold'. The threshold is strongly associated with the upper strata of early modern society and provided a separation between the houses that embodied the culture of the gentry and upper middling sorts and the rest of society. Choosing to construct a house with a 'polite' plan-form suggests a conscious choice by the consumer to lay claim to a position amongst polite culture, a wish to be members of early modern society's governing class.[482] To Green, Nicholas Cooper, Hague, and others that polite architecture was associated with a particular strand of early modern society, consisting of the upper middling sorts, the upper and lesser gentry, and the nobility. [483] The architecture and domestic behaviours of these social groups are considered in more depth in chapter 5. A small proportion of surviving dwellings were constructed with a double-pile plan-form, the majority of which were constructed during the eighteenth century. These houses are in Crediton, Plymstock, and St Stephen-by-Launeston, parishes where 'classical' houses, were also located or nearby. As shown in in chapter 5, these

[480] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 1.
[481] Stephen G. Hague*, The Gentleman's House, The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World, 1680-1780* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 5.
[482] Hague*, Gentleman's House,* p. 5.
[483] Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p. 31; Green, 'Polite Threshold', pp. 4–5.

houses mark a significant departure from traditional plan-forms, and enabled the performance of gentry behaviours and culture; these vernacular double-pile houses may signify the drawing together of the cultures of the lesser gentry and the upper middling sorts. The spread of polite architecture in south-west England amongst the upper middling strands of society had barely begun by 1750.

Physical Developments: Urban Houses

The previous section shows that the construction and post-construction development of rural vernacular houses occurred in all periods after the fifteenth century. This section investigates whether urban vernacular housing followed a similar pattern of change. Inventories provide a broad context, showing that the majority of urban non-gentry houses were assessed with one to six room. Table 24 shows the distribution of inventories by the number of rooms mentioned as a percentage of all urban roomed non-gentry inventories. The table shows that the proportion of houses with one to three rooms remained significant, and the proportion of houses with four to six rooms recorded increased. The proportion of houses assessed with seven to nine rooms decreased, but the proportion of houses with ten or more rooms underwent comparatively little change.

Table 24: Frequency of rooms in South West urban vernacular inventories

Number of rooms	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
1—3	**26%**	**43%**	**32%**
4—6	**29%**	**26%**	**38%**
7—9	34%	17%	15%
10+	11%	14%	15%
Total	62	77	73

Source: all urban non-gentry inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Plans of surviving dwellings show that similar to rural vernacular houses, urban vernacular houses were constructed in all periods after the fifteenth century, with a sixteenth-century 'peak'. Table 25 shows ten surviving dwellings with plans were constructed during the sixteenth century, with seven constructed during either the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries or during the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries. However, thirty-one of the forty-two plans are of surviving houses in Exeter, compared to six plans of dwellings in Plymouth, three of dwellings in Totnes, and one plan each for Launceston and Barnstaple. Thus, table 25 is not representative of the South West unless combined with listed dwellings, as discussed later.

Table 25: Dates of construction and post-construction of surviving urban vernacular houses from plans

	C14-C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
New Build	**5**	**5**	**10**	**7**	**8**	**7**		**42**
Phase II			3	6		3	2	14
Phase III					1	1	1	3
Phase IV						1		1

Source: 42 archaeologically recorded buildings from the sample towns.

Fewer urban houses underwent post-construction redevelopment than rural vernacular houses, but this may overlook gradual processes of rebuilding and renewal, which are difficult to be determined as particular post-construction redevelopment phases. Plans of surviving dwellings show that twenty-seven of forty-two dwellings were constructed before the early seventeenth century, and seven constructed after the late seventeenth century. Post-construction development predominantly involved significant renovations, such as adding an extra floor or building a rear block. Less significant developments included the inclusion of an extra chimney or reconstruction of access to upper storeys; changes that in rural contexts occurred from the seventeenth century but in towns are apparent before the mid-sixteenth century. Several plans show a degree of similarity between the plan-forms of surviving urban vernacular houses and those of rural vernacular houses.

The urban context meant that such domestic spaces were in a complex spatial relationship with commercial spaces and needed to accommodate activities that required space for industrial, commercial, storage, and domestic life in a small space.[484] A typical example of this are the houses of weavers in early modern Norwich, where the sub-division of the ground and first floors limited light, so looms and work tools were likely to be found in better-lit garrets and roof spaces from 1680. This solution would only work in an urban environment to a problem not necessarily encountered in the countryside.[485] This is also reflected in

[484] King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', p. 58.
[485] Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', pp. 118–20.

King's argument that there was likely already a high degree of room specialisation by the sixteenth century, unlike in rural contexts and which suggest a degree of complexity of urban society.[486]

Examining surviving dwellings that are listed reveals a different picture, seen in table 26, with a degree of similarity to the patterns of construction and redevelopment of surviving rural vernacular houses. Table 26 shows that twenty-seven of forty-two dwellings were constructed during or before the early seventeenth century (64 per cent), whereas of 504 surviving listed dwellings, 320 were constructed during or after the late seventeenth century (63 per cent). Thus, similar to rural houses, different sources of evidence provide a different perspective on when the majority of surviving houses were constructed. As discussed in chapter 2, there is little evidence to suggest towns in the early modern South West had sharp population increases. While urban populations increased in Devon and Cornwall by 141 per cent between 1660 and 1805, much of this growth happened after 1750.[487] The eighteenth-century 'peak' is most likely false, as many surveyors did not inspect the interiors of urban houses. The entries of 215 surviving dwellings did not have sufficient detail to determine layout usually determined through internal inspection, 115 of which were thought to be constructed in the eighteenth century. For example, in Plympton St Maurice, sixteen of twenty-six list entries of surviving houses contained sufficient detail to determine their plan-forms, whilst in Totnes the list entries of twenty-eight of a total of ninety-one surviving houses, contained sufficient detail. Tables 25 and 26 may also reflect that developments in the eighteenth century obscured or eradicated evidence of older phases.

[486] King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', pp. 57–58.
[487] Barry, 'Population Distribution and Growth', pp. 116–17; Barry, 'Towns and Processes of Urbanization', pp. 416–18.

Table 26: Dates of construction and post-construction of surviving urban vernacular houses from NHL entries

	C14-C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
New Build	**8**	**7**	**24**	**55**	**90**	**98**	**221**	**503**
Phase II			1	3	8	13	21	46
Phase III				1	1	1	3	6

Source: 504 NHL listed buildings from the sample towns.

Table 26 shows that proportionally fewer surviving dwellings underwent post-construction redevelopment before the late seventeenth century than after and that proportionally fewer surviving town houses underwent any form of clear post-construction development in this period. House plans show a third of surviving dwellings constructed before the early eighteenth century underwent post-construction redevelopment, whilst the NHL shows fewer than 10 per cent of surviving dwellings underwent renovation. In comparison, nearly a third of surviving rural houses show evidence for post-construction development, identified through plans and the NHL. Evidence from listed entries shows that only seven dwellings constructed during or before the early seventeenth century survive in Cornwall, identified in Bodmin, Liskeard and Launceston. By contrast, 123 surviving houses were constructed during or after the late seventeenth century. Research carried out by the Cornwall and Scilly Urban Survey shows these towns, and others, including Saltash and St Austell, have a considerable heritage with medieval, or older, parts.[488] Given this heritage, the data is incomplete, suggesting either interior inspection by surveyors did not happen or later alterations have removed evidence for earlier phases.

The same picture is evident in Devon. Eight-seven of 359 surviving listed dwellings were recorded as constructed before or during the early seventeenth century, 197 surviving dwellings were recorded as constructed during or after the late seventeenth century; the

[488] Peter Herring and Bridget Gillard, 'Cornwall & Scilly Urban Survey: Historic characterisation for regeration; Launceston', (Cornwall County Council, July 2005); Bridget Gillard, 'Cornwall & Scilly Urban Survey: Historic characterisation for regeration; Liskeard', (Cornwall County Council, July 2005); Graeme Kirkham, 'Cornwall & Scilly Urban Survey: Historic characterisation for regeration; Bodmin', (Cornwall County Council, September 2005).

majority of those 197 dwellings were assumed to have been constructed in the eighteenth century. In the town of Plympton St Maurice, no surviving listed dwelling was constructed before the late sixteenth century, which given the presence of a twelfth-century motte and bailey castle in the town, seems unusual.

Nonetheless, the combined evidence of surviving dwellings that were either planned or listed shows a higher number of surviving urban dwellings in Devon and Cornwall were constructed during or after the late seventeenth century. For example, in Plymouth, the highest number of surviving dwellings were constructed in the seventeenth century, whilst in Totnes, the highest number of surviving dwellings date to the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries. In Cornwall, the evidence suggests that in Bodmin, Liskeard and Launceston, most surviving dwellings were constructed in the period of the seventeenth century. With regards to post-construction development, the evidence suggests that a high proportion of surviving dwellings in Tregony (30 per cent), Plymouth (26 per cent) and Launceston (20 per cent) underwent post-construction redevelopment, primarily in the period after the late seventeenth century.

Plan-Forms: Urban

Similar to surviving rural dwellings, the plan-forms of urban vernacular houses fall into several typologies. The typologies for urban plan-forms used by this thesis are based upon Derek Portman's study of Exeter's medieval and late medieval housing, characterised by the relationship between roof and street.[489] The plan-forms are split into Type-As (roof perpendicular to the street), Type-Bs (roof parallel with the street), Type-Cs (L-shaped plan), and Type-Ds (corner plot). A breakdown of the plan-forms considered is in Table N, Appendix 1. One type of house not considered in this section is the 'garden house' or 'summer house', houses built in the suburbs of towns as retreats or socialising houses for merchants.[490] This type of house is located on the fringes of a town or city, almost in the country, and in plan-form is closer to that of a country house.[491] However, the merchant

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[489] Portman, *Exeter Houses,* pp. 24–28.
[490] Roger H. Leech, 'The Garden House: Merchant Culture and Identity in the Early Modern City', in *Archaeologies of the British: Explorations of Identity in Great Britain and Its Colonies 1600 - 1945*, ed. Susan Lawrence (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 76–86 (pp. 76–77).
[491] Roger H. Leech, 'Lodges, Garden Houses and Villas: The Urban Periphery in the Early Modern Atlantic World', in *Slavery and the British Country House*, ed. by Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013), pp. 54–58 (pp. 54–55).

owners considered themselves citizens of a city centre parish rather than using a 'garden house' to establish themselves as rural gentry.[492]

Plans of surviving dwellings of the South West show that most surviving dwellings were Type-A houses, shown in figure 12. This type of plan-form varied in size, from one room on the ground floor (A1), to two rooms deep (A2 and A3), to three rooms deep (A9, A10, A11, and A12), but all one room wide. Some plan-forms had a side-passage entry, which facilitated access to a central staircase, rear rooms, or a rear courtyard. Ten surviving Type-A dwellings were constructed with a rear block separated from the main block of rooms by a rear courtyard. Seventeen dwellings had a rear block linked to the main block by a gallery, a first-floor 'corridor', known as a 'gallery-and-back-block'. These plan-forms are considered common in Devon, and although rarer elsewhere, surviving examples have been found in Taunton and Chester (figure 13).[493] Type-A plan-forms are narrow, suitable for where space for housing was restricted, such as narrow medieval burgage plots commonly found in town centres. Robert Taylor argued that houses with this plan-form were found in Cornwall, Devon, and much of West Somerset, but not in Dorset or South Somerset. Dorchester and Totnes had similar populations and population densities in the early modern period, but there is currently no evidence of Type-A plan-forms in Dorchester.[494]

Figure 12: Floor plan of a Type-A house, one room wide and two rooms deep (A2).

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From: M. Laithwaite, 'Town Houses up to 1700', in *Devon's Traditional Buildings,* ed. by P Beacham, (Exeter: Devon County Council, 1978), pp. 30-42 (34).

[492] Leech, 'Garden House', p. 82.
[493] Hamling and Richardson*, A Day at Home,* p. 24; Laithwaite, 'Town Houses up to 1700', p. 39; Robert Taylor, 'Town Houses in Taunton', p. 67.
[494] Taylor, 'Town Houses in Taunton', p. 78; Pearson, 'Medieval Houses in English Towns', p. 18.

Figure 13: Floor plan of a 'gallery-and-back-block' house (A12, A13, A14).

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From: Laithwaite, 'Town Houses up to 1700', p. 36.

Note: the gallery runs between the hall and kitchen.

In Type-B plan-forms, the roof is parallel with the street, and are similar to rural vernacular houses apart from location and often a lack of a cross-passage. Surviving Type-B houses are typically located beyond town centres, often just one or two streets away, where pressures of space are not so significant or found in through-out smaller, less crowded towns, such as Launceston and Liskeard.[495] Type-B plan-forms range in size from one room only to three rooms wide but only one room deep, but were typically without a rear block or gallery and not as tall as Type-A houses. Some surviving Type-B houses showed a blurred boundary between rural and urban plan-forms with a central cross-passage and were either one room deep (B4) or two deep (B5).

Surviving Type-C houses are more common than expected since Portman argued that very few could be found in Exeter.[496] Sixty-one surviving dwellings are Type-C houses, either with the full width of the house along the street with a rear wing (C2) or a front wing with the full width behind (C1), shown in figure 14. The Type-C plan-form also shows similarities to plan-forms of surviving rural dwellings with eight surviving Type-C dwellings even had a cross-passage (although fifty-two did not). As seen in chapter 4, despite being in different environments, there is likely to be a strong similarity in the use of space in urban dwellings with Type-C plan-forms and rural dwellings with rear or front wings.

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[495] Taylor, 'Town Houses in Taunton', p. 78.

[496] Portman, *Exeter Houses,* p. 28.

Figure 14: Floor plan of a Type-C house with rear wing (C1)

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From: Robert Taylor, 'Town Houses in Taunton, 1500 – 1700', *Post Medieval Archaeology,* 8 (1974), 63–79 (p. 72).

Plans of surviving houses show some identifiable trends; see Table O, Appendix 1. Thirty-three of thirty-seven surviving houses were constructed with an identifiable Type-A plan-form, of which thirteen were two rooms deep and one room wide; five of the thirteen dwellings had a side-passage. Six surviving Type-A dwellings had a cross-passage and were mainly two rooms deep, showing some similarity between the plan-forms of surviving rural houses and the plan-forms of surviving urban dwellings. One point of difference between rural and urban dwellings with a cross-passage, apart from location, is that all rural dwellings were only one room deep, whilst urban dwellings were two rooms deep. In plan-form, urban houses with a cross-passage were akin to rural double-pile houses. Five surviving Type-A houses were constructed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and a total of twenty-one surviving Type-A dwellings were constructed during or before the early seventeenth century. Six were constructed during or after the late seventeenth century.

Plans show little comparative difference in the plan-forms of surviving Type-A houses constructed earlier compared with later dwellings. 1 and 2 Catherine Street, Exeter, were constructed in c.1450 with roofs perpendicular to the street and were one room deep; 13

High Street, Launceston (Cornwall) was constructed in the same manner in c.1556.[497] Numbers 4, 181, and 182, Cowick Street in the urban portion of Exeter St Thomas parish were built in the early eighteenth century with Type-A plan-forms, all two rooms deep; only number 4 had a side-passage.[498] Plans of surviving dwellings do not show a noticeable increase in the diversity of plan-forms during the early modern period. However, with limited space for these dwellings to expand in the same way as rural dwellings, this may be expected. Instead, what is evident is that there was no significant increase in the number of dwellings with extra rooms added to the rear of the main block or with a rear block constructed during the seventeenth century.

Only one surviving Type-B dwelling is archaeologically surveyed. 15 Frog Street, Exeter, constructed during the mid to late sixteenth century, is one room deep and one room wide. 1 New Bridge Street, Exeter, may be another example, constructed during the early to mid-eighteenth century, but the plan-form is somewhat confused and unable to be clearly determined.[499] The low number of plans of surviving Type-B or Type-C dwellings skews the perception of the housing stock of towns towards Type-A houses when using plan evidence.

Instead, the plan evidence needs to be supplemented by evidence from NHL records, shown in Table P, Appendix 1. Combining the evidence from both plans and NHL records is shown in Table Q in Appendix 1. Table Q shows that eight-six of 331 surviving dwellings were Type-B houses, seventy-one were Type-A houses, and sixty were Type-C houses. However, 215 of 331 surviving houses did not have sufficient detail in either their listed record or plan to determine the plan-form. Ninety-nine dwellings were constructed during or before the early seventeenth century, of which thirty-six were Type-A houses. In contrast, 178 surviving dwellings were constructed during or after the late seventeenth century, seventy-two of which were Type-B houses. The majority of Type-B and Type-C houses were constructed during a later period than Type-A houses. In plan-form, Table Q shows that there was greater diversity of plan-form of Type-B houses during later periods, but this is

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[497] DRA, DRA.R.CO.005, Gemma Kidd, '13 High Street, Launceston: An Historic Evaluation prepared as part of a Post-Graduate Diploma' (Unpublished postgraduate diploma dissertation, Plymouth University, 2006), pp.2-10; Portman, *Exeter Houses,* pp. 63–64.

[498] Portman, *Exeter Houses,* pp. 71–72.

[499] R. W. Parker, 'Archaeological Survey and Recording at No. 1 New Bridge Street, Exeter, (Exeter: Exeter Archaeology Report 08.03, 2008), 10-11 [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-478-1/dissemination/pdf/exeterar1-37447_1.pdf [accessed 8 March 2017]; Portman, *Exeter Houses,* p. 75.

reflective of a higher number of dwellings during later periods than definite evidence of increasing variation. Seventeen of seventy-two surviving Type-A dwellings had a plan-form of two rooms deep, one side, without a side-passage, and fourteen had a Type-A plan-form of two rooms deep, one wide, with gallery and rear block.

Regional variation is apparent. Eighty-eight surviving dwellings in Cornwall with a determinable plan-form, forty-four are Type-B houses, and six Type-A houses. In all towns in Cornwall considered there are a higher number of surviving Type-B dwellings than Type-A houses. In Devon, 185 surviving dwellings have a determinable plan-form, forty-three of which are Type-B houses, and sixty-six Type-A dwellings. In only Crediton and Plympton St Maurice are there a higher number of surviving Type-B dwellings. In Cornwall, four of six surviving Type-A dwellings were only one room deep, evident in Launceston and Truro, whilst in Devon, the majority of Type-A houses were two rooms deep. In Totnes, six of nineteen surviving Type-A dwellings were two rooms deep, one wide, without side-passage, whilst another six dwellings had a two-room 'gallery-and-back-block' plan-form. In Barnstaple, three Type-A dwellings had a two-room 'gallery-and-back-block' plan-form, and two more were two rooms deep and one wide. All surviving Type-A dwellings with a rear block or gallery are found in towns in Devon, the highest concentration in Exeter, Totnes and Barnstaple. Nine of twenty-seven surviving dwellings with rear blocks were constructed during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and in total, fifteen dwellings with rear blocks were constructed before or during the early seventeenth century. Eight of seventeen surviving dwellings with 'gallery-and-back-block' plan-forms were constructed before or during the early seventeenth century.

Twenty-eight of forty-four surviving Type-B houses in Cornwall were two rooms deep and one side. In comparison, only six of forty-two surviving Type-B houses in Devon had that plan-form, whereas eleven are one room deep and two wide. Liskeard and Truro have the highest number of surviving Type-B dwellings. In Liskeard, thirteen of seventeen surviving Type-B dwellings had a plan-form of two rooms deep and one wide, whereas in Truro eight of ten Type-B dwellings had that plan-form. However, in Tregony, of nine surviving Type-B dwellings, six have a plan-form of one room deep and two rooms wide, the most common plan-form of Type-B dwellings in Devon. Crediton has the highest number of surviving Type-B houses in Devon (fifteen dwellings), followed by Plympton St Maurice with eight. Whilst

six of the fifteen dwellings in Crediton have a plan-form of one room deep and two wide, in Plympton St Maurice, five of the eight dwellings have a plan-form of one room deep, two rooms wide with central cross-passage. Type-B plan-forms are similar to a number of rural dwellings with two-room and side-entry plan-forms where the same principle of an entry room and another beyond stands true. Surviving dwellings, either listed or planned, show that the period of the fifteen to the early seventeenth centuries was a critical period for the development of most towns in Devon, whilst a later period was more important for the development of town houses in Cornwall.

Most surviving urban dwellings had a plan-form of two to four rooms on the ground floor, and were at least two storeys in height, implying most urban dwellings had between three and eight rooms. Comparing against Hearth Tax Records, which show that most urban households were assessed with one to two hearths (54 per cent), and 26 per cent assessed with three to four hearths, indicative of houses of between one and nine rooms. This implies that surviving town houses are somewhat representative of the complete early modern housing stock. Hearth Tax Returns also show some strong similarity between neighbouring urban and rural areas, also physically shown by several urban houses with cross-passages. The highest number of such houses with a central cross-passage are to be found in Plympton St Maurice. Whilst there is no apparent reason why this should be the case. The borough is surrounded by Plympton St Mary parish, which had a high proportion of houses with cross-passages; over 90 per cent of listed and recorded houses in Plympton St Mary parish had a cross-passage and three ground floor rooms. There is also a fair degree of similarity between Plympton St Mary and Plympton St Maurice in terms of Hearth Tax Returns. However, Plympton St Mary had a lower proportion of households assessed with one to two hearths and a higher proportion of households with five to nine hearths.

Surviving dwellings show that there was a significant continuity of plan-form, with surviving dwellings constructed during or after the late seventeenth century having the same plan-forms as found in surviving dwellings constructed before or during the sixteenth century. There are two critical areas of difference between surviving town houses constructed earlier compared with dwellings constructed in later periods. One difference was in the proportion of dwellings with Type-B plans-forms, with a higher proportion of surviving Type-B houses constructed during later periods. The other was that of twenty-nine

surviving dwellings with a central cross-passage, eighteen were constructed after or during the late seventeenth century. Examples include 67 South Street, Exeter, and 89 High Street, Totnes, as well as a number of dwellings in Plympton St Maurice borough.[500] However, factors such as urban patterns of demolition and renewal may distort these trends derived from surviving houses.

Forty-four of sixty-one surviving dwellings with Type-C plan-forms were constructed during or after the late seventeenth century, with seven constructed before or during the early seventeenth century. The earliest surviving Type-C dwelling, 39 High Street, Barnstaple, appears to date from the fifteenth century with assessment suggesting the wing was extended during the Middle Ages.[501] Barnstaple has the highest number of surviving houses with Type-C plan-forms (ten dwellings), followed by Plymouth and Launceston (nine dwellings). 24 Church Street, Liskeard, was assessed as constructed during the late seventeenth century and underwent post-construction remodeling in the later eighteenth century which incorporated earlier fabric.[502] There are higher numbers of surviving Type-C houses in towns in Devon rather than in towns in Cornwall, with Tregony, St Austell and Penzance have few surviving Type-C houses. There is some similarity with rural houses. Although comparatively few surviving dwellings had wings, they were more common in Devon than Cornwall. Unfortunately, no surviving Type-C houses have a house plan, and Taylor does not describe the function of urban wings. Thirty-three surviving Type-D dwellings are apparent, occupying a corner plot with the roof parallel and perpendicular to the street. 16 Edmund Street, Exeter, was constructed during the early sixteenth century with a Type-D plan-form, and 13 High Street, Launceston was constructed during the mid-sixteenth century. Both were of at least three storeys with no rear blocks.[503] Both houses are distinct with two entrances on different sides of the house with one doorway providing entrance to the front space, likely a shop, and the other to the rest of the house.

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[500] DRA, DRA.PR.T25.0002, Roger Hawkins, 'The Evaluation of an Historic Building: 89 High Street, Totnes, (Unpublished postgraduate diploma dissertation, Plymouth University, 1995); Parker, 'No. 67 South Street', pp. 124–27.

[501] 39 High Street, Barnstaple, https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1385154, *[accessed 6 February 2018].*

[502] DRA, DRA.R.CO.011, Richard Bland, 'Evaluation of Historic Buildings Coursework: 24 Church Street, Liskeard', (Unpublished postgraduate diploma dissertation, Plymouth University, 2002), pp. 7-18.

[503] DRA, DRA.R.CO.005, Kidd, '13 High Street, Launceston', pp. 6-10; Portman, *Exeter Houses,* pp. 73–74.

A small number of plan-forms, strongly associated with the gentry, including courtyard, double-pile, and half-H or U plan-forms, are found in towns in the South West. Houses with a courtyard plan-form are found in Exeter, Barnstaple, Crediton, Plymouth, and Launceston, with houses with a U, or half-H plan-forms found in the towns mentioned above and Liskeard and Tregony. As with rural areas, a small number of urban houses were built according to the principles of polite architecture from the eighteenth century, likely influenced by changing socio-cultural and economic behaviours. The owners or occupiers were likely members of the urban elite, usually the gentry and wealthier professionals or merchants. For example, Plympton House, in Plympton St Maurice borough, was constructed in the classic compact villa design by George Treby MP between 1700 and 1720.[504] The plan-forms of these houses better fitted the socio-cultural behaviours and needs of the social elites and marked the growing importance of towns. That these polite houses were built in the middle of towns, rather than on country estates, shows the shifting relationship between political and economic power and land held. The spread of polite architecture was slow in towns of the South West, with Classical polite terraced buildings found in London, Bath, Bristol, and other provincial capitals but not appearing in Exeter, Plymouth, Totnes, or Truro until the later eighteenth century. This suggests a late appearance of the 'urban renaissance' in south-western towns, of which one mark was the construction of fashionable squares and urban classicism.[505]

However, that there are low numbers of these types of houses before the mid-eighteenth century suggests that most urban elites occupied houses with more traditional plan-forms. Before the early eighteenth century, Pearson and King argue that urban elites, including merchants, occupied courtyard plan-form houses or large houses gable facing the street that displayed wealth and status in the decoration.[506] There is a limited number of surviving urban houses with courtyard plan-form, which have been archaeologically surveyed and house plan created; known examples in Exeter include 8, 9, and 9A Cathedral Close.[507]

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[504] DRA Robert Waterhouse, 'Plympton House: Archaeological Notes', 2008.
[505] Peter Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance: The Development of Provincial Urban Culture c.1680-c.1760', *Social History*, 2 (1977), 581–603 (pp. 589–90).
[506] King, '"Closure" and the urban Great Rebuilding', pp. 58–60; Pearson, 'Medieval Houses in English Towns', p. 18.
[507] Richard Parker, John Allan, and T. Ives, 'An Archaeological Assessment of Nos 8 and 9A, Cathedral Close, Exeter, (Exeter: Exeter Archaeology Report 07.97, 2007) http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-478-1/dissemination/pdf/exeterar1-79533_1.pdf, [accessed 8 March 2017]; Richard Parker, 'Recent Observations during Building Works at 8-9

Excavations in the twentieth century on the site of 7 Tudor Street revealed a late seventeenth-century open courtyard house of nine rooms.[508] A 1755 plan of Bedford House, located within the city walls of Exeter, shows the house had three ranges, that the north and west ranges were three storeys high, the east two storeys high, and that these were set around a central square.[509] One house from before the eighteenth century that belonged to a gentry family was 7 Cathedral Close, Exeter, owned by the Courtenay family. In plan-form this was an open courtyard house with a sixteenth-century back range and front gatehouse range, heavily altered in 1814.[510]

Surviving or surveyed houses assessed as belonging to merchants in the towns of the South West were either large houses with gable onto the street, such as the two tenements at Hawker's Avenue, Plymouth, or 'gallery-and-back-block houses', including 18 North Street and 38 North Street, Exeter and 4 Vauxhall Street, Plymouth.[511] Documentary evidence shows they were occupied by merchants. Numbers 1 and 2 Catherine Street, Exeter, demonstrate another aspect of urban 'elite' housing. Both buildings were owned by Hugh Pomeroy and John Prouz in 1566, then by Nicholas Wyott in 1591, but these individuals did not occupy the buildings; instead, they were leased. In plan-form, the buildings were simple, gable onto the street, one room deep with a rear block.[512] To some extent, the presence of houses with courtyard plan-forms shows the blurred boundaries between rural and urban environments, with the same meaning of authority and power in both environments. These were likely the power houses of the local environment. However, it was the houses of the new style of design, the classical houses, which were a significant disruption to the urban environment, standing out from surrounding vernacular style houses and marking a socio-cultural shift in the household behaviours and culture of the occupiers.

The Close, Exeter (Exeter: Exeter Archaeology Report 09.93, 2009) http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-478-1/dissemination/pdf/exeterar1-79537_1.pdf, [accessed 8 March 2017].

[508] Passmore, Jones, and Allan, 'Dyers, Fullers and Brewers', pp. 136, 146–55.

[509] Exeter, DHC, L1258M/Estate/MTP/Exeter5/1, Elevation of old Bedford House, c.1755; DHC, L1258M/Estate/MTP/Exeter/5/2, Plan of Bedford House by J. Wynne, 1755.

[510] Devon and Exeter Institution [7, Cathedral Close], https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1104062; [accessed 8 March 2019].

[511] James Barber, 'No. 4, Vauxhall Street, Plymouth: A Seventeenth Century Merchant's House of "Gallery and Back Block" Type', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 105 (1974), 17–36; Parker and others, 'No. 18 North Street'; Peter Stead and M. A. Watts, 'Excavations at Hawker's Avenue, North Quay, 1994-5', in *Archaeological Investigations and Research in Plymouth,* ed. Keith Ray, 2 vols (Plymouth: Plymouth Archaeology Occasional Publications, 1995 - 1998), Vol 2: 1994-5, ed. Keith Ray, Sarah Noble, and Sophie Sharif, (1998), pp. 67–82; Thorp, '38 North Street, Exeter'.

[512] Portman, *Exeter Houses,* p. 64.

The height of urban houses needs consideration. Table R, Appendix 1 shows that plans of surviving houses record that nearly all surviving houses constructed after the fifteenth century were at least one and a half storeys high, with a significant proportion were two or three storeys high. Most surviving rural houses constructed before 1700 were only one and a half storeys in height. Rear blocks were unlikely to be the same heigh as the main block, typically one storey lower; these are recorded in table R as 'multiple'. There are rare examples of houses where the main block was of different heights, with the front section typically taller, such as 38 North Street. Surviving town houses constructed during the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries were likely to be taller than those constructed before. This is also evident when examining the listed records of surviving buildings, where most were of two or three storeys and surviving dwellings constructed during later periods were more likely to be higher than houses constructed before. Listed entries show that a small number of surviving dwellings reached four and a half or five storeys in height.

Pressures of space were a strong impetus behind the increasing height of urban buildings, but this is not proven through the evidence considered. In central urban locations where physical space was at a premium, the only way to extend was upwards to accommodate extra space for activity systems. Evidence for vertical post-construction development is apparent at 1, 2, and 3, St Martin's Lane, Exeter, where during the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries, the two-storey houses had attics constructed over the first floor, creating buildings of two and a half storey height.[513] At 38 North Street, Exeter, constructed during the early sixteenth century, the first two sections of the three-room main block were two storeys, the rear section was one or one and a half storeys, and a one and a half storey rear block. Post-construction redevelopment during the seventeenth century resulted in the main block being all three-storey height and the rear block two storeys, before the front section of the main block was heightened again to four storeys in c.1900.[514] With additional storeys came additional windows. C. Pamela Graves argues for a strong relationship between windows and viewing civic events and mercantile identity, status, and business

[513] Matthews, Collings, and Allan, 'The Ship Inn', pp. 171–72.
[514] Thorp, '38 North Street, Exeter', pp. 172–204.

relationships, hence the presence of all houses with large windows at locations central to urban life and governance.[515]

Plans show that the largest number of rear blocks were two storeys in height, one room with chamber over. There is one example of a three-storey rear block at 4 Vauxhall Street, Plymouth.[516] Only twenty-seven surviving dwellings constructed before 1750 had rear blocks at construction, and a further twelve surviving houses had a rear block added during post-construction development from the later seventeenth century. Although some rear blocks are likely to have been demolished during the nineteenth century, for a high proportion of urban households, there was no functional need or no space for a rear block. A number of surveyors recorded the rear block had a service function, usually a kitchen, but the function of the chamber above more mixed. Thus, to some extent, households with a rear block are comparable to rural dwellings with a rear wing. There is a similar use of space; pushing a service function out to another rear room implies either a need for more extra service space (unlikely in towns as seen in chapter 4) or the need not to have existing rooms used for service functions.

King, Sarah Pearson, and Carl Estabrook argue that despite a similarity in plan-forms, there were very different pressures and models of development in smaller towns than rural areas and villages.[517] Comparing the surviving dwellings in rural areas and towns demonstrates some considerable differences in surviving plan-forms between rural areas and towns. An example being no apparent rural equivalent of the gallery-and-back-block plan-form. Instead, most rural plan-forms had an urban equivalent. In rural areas, the most common plan-forms that surviving houses had two- or three-room with cross-passage plan-forms, whilst in towns, the most common plan-form of surviving houses was a Type-B with or without side-passage (fifty-three dwellings) or Type-C with rear wing (fifty-one dwellings). To some extent, these are virtually the same plan-form, just without the cross-passage in towns.

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[515] C. Pamela Graves, 'Civic Ritual, Townscape and Social Identity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Newcastle upon Tyne', in *Archaeologies of the British,* ed. Lawrence (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 31–54 (pp. 40–41).
[516] Barber, 'No 4, Vauxhall Street', pp. 20–21.
[517] King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', p. 58; Pearson, 'Medieval Houses in English Towns', p. 20.

This rural-urban comparison can be looked at in sharper focus Launceston and Plympton.[518] In Launceston, nine of twenty-nine surviving dwellings are Type-B houses, seven of which were two rooms deep and one wide (B3), and eight surviving dwellings were Type-C houses with rear wing (C1). In comparison, four of twenty-one surviving houses planned in the nearby parish of St Stephen-by-Launceston had a two-room with cross-passage plan-form (B1), and four dwellings had a three-room with cross-passage plan-form (A1). Seven surviving dwellings were assessed with side-entry, four with a wing (B7). Hearth Tax Returns show the considerable difference between the two areas. Launceston Borough was assessed with 49 per cent of households having one to two hearths, whilst in St Stephen-by-Launceston parish, 76 per cent of households with one to two hearths. Nonetheless, there is overlap between rural and urban plan-forms, with the urban C1 having a counterpart in the rural B7 plan-form and the urban B3 having a counterpart in the rural B2 plan-form. To some extent, surviving houses in Launceston that were two rooms deep and one wide were found in rural parishes, albeit turned with the total width faced the street and the same with Launceston house with rear wings and two rooms facing the street. Thus, it may be that there was a similarity between the use of space and socio-cultural contexts between Launceston and the rural hinterland of St Stephen-by-Launceston. Unfortunately, few houses of St Thomas-by-Launceston were listed or recorded to enable comparison. Looking geographically beyond Launceston to Egloskerry parish also shows an interesting overlap. Eight of thirteen listed and recorded houses of Egloskerry had two-room with cross-passage plan-forms, and none were recorded with a side-entry. Only two dwellings had a rear wing. Thus, the evidence would suggest that the further from Launceston, the more likely that houses had cross-passages but were not necessarily larger.

In Plympton St Maurice, eight of the sixteen listed and recorded dwellings had Type-B plan-forms, with five of these being one-room deep with central cross-passage (B4). A further four had a central cross-passage, two of which have both rear wing and central cross-passage (C3). One dwelling with a Type-A plan-form was recorded, also with a central cross-passage and one room deep (A8). Five dwellings were recorded with Type-C plan-forms with rear wing (C1). Five of ten surviving early modern houses in the surrounding Plympton St Mary parish have three-room with cross-passage plan-forms (A1), and two

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[518] Given the destruction of much of Crediton in the 1743 fire, it would not be fair to compare the rural and urban areas.

dwellings have two-room and cross-passage plan-forms (B1). Three dwellings were constructed with rear wings, two with three rooms (A6) and one with two rooms (B4); one dwelling was constructed with a front wing (B5). The two areas were quite similar to each other with regards to the Hearth Tax Returns. Plympton St Maurice was assessed with 55 per cent of households having one to two hearths. Plympton St Mary parish was assessed with 47 per cent assessed with one to two hearths. There is some overlap in the plan-forms of the two areas. There is a strong overlap between the urban B4 plan-form and the rural B1 plan-form, both being two rooms side with central cross-passage and a similarity between the urban C1 and the rural B4 and A6 plan-forms (albeit without cross-passage). There is no direct urban counterpart to the rural three-room with cross-passage plan-form. Instead, looking a little further, the houses of Plymstock parish (to the south) show a little more overlap. Three of eighteen surviving listed and recorded dwellings were two-room and cross-passage plan-forms (B1), a counterpart to the urban B4 plan-form of two-rooms and cross-passage, with two dwellings assessed with three rooms, side-entry, and rear wing (A8). There are significant differences between Plympton St Mary and Plymstock parishes, with Hearth Tax Returns showing 62 per cent of households in Plymstock were assessed with one to two hearths and potential economic differences with Plymstock containing two important fishing villages of Turnchapel and Oreston.

The evidence from such comparisons between rural and urban areas is not as comprehensive as to allow a complete statement to be made on the nature of the rural-urban continuum. Nonetheless, in comparing Launceston and Plympton St Maurice with their neighbouring parishes, there are aspects to touch on lightly. In both comparing the rural and urban areas shows a fair degree of similarity between rural plan-forms and urban plan-forms. This is more apparent in Cornwall, with greater similarity between the plan-forms of surviving houses in Launceston and St Stephen-by-Launceston, than Plympton St Maurice and Plympton St Mary where some plan-forms found in Plympton St Maurice were had no rural equivalent. However, that in both boroughs there were a significant number of houses with plan-forms that could also be found in rural environments indicates a similarity in the system of settings of rural and urban households. This may indicate similarity in socio-cultural contexts, as would be suggested applying the arguments of Rapoport and Kent. Those households with a plan-form not found within rural environments, and those households with a plan-form not found in urban environments, show a greater degree of

difference between the use of space in rural and urban contexts, indicative of different socio-cultural contexts.

Understanding why and how urban buildings changed is more challenging. Scholars of town housing such as King and Pearson have noted that national narratives, such as 'Closure' or 'Great Rebuilding' are insufficient for understanding rates of urban building and redevelopment activity. Instead, attention needs to be paid to the history of specific towns and the influence of economic, demographic, cultural, social, and geographical change on that town or city.[519] An explanation of urban house development needs to incorporate an understanding of urban contextual changes rather than merely considering broader shifts identified in early modern society. It cannot be put down to a change from one plan-form to another.[520]

A particularly urban plan-form are 'gallery-and-back-block' houses. Laithwaite found that surviving 'gallery-and-back-block' plan-forms were common in Devon, with Richard Parker and James Barber considering them common in Exeter and Plymouth.[521] Reconsideration of the evidence suggests that neither was the 'gallery-and-back-block' plan-form particular to the South West nor was it common. Only seventeen surviving dwellings with a 'gallery-and-back-block' plan-form have been identified, located in Exeter, Totnes, Barnstaple, and Plymouth. Eight of seventeen surviving dwellings with 'gallery-and-back-block' plan-forms were constructed during or before the early seventeenth century, with seven constructed during the late sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. It may be that the plan-form was once more common. However, pressures of space and population change, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the destruction caused by the 1942 Blitz in Exeter and Plymouth, reduced the numbers surviving to the present day. This type of plan-form appears to be an example of post-medieval development in urban housing. However, there has been little consideration of whether these houses had different socio-cultural meanings or behaviours compared with other houses with a rear block but no gallery. Inventoried

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[519] King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', pp. 56–58; Pearson, 'Medieval Houses in English Towns', pp. 18–20.
[520] King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', p. 73.
[521] Barber, 'No 4, Vauxhall Street', p. 33; Laithwaite, 'Town Houses up to 1700', p. 39; Parker and Allan, 'Building Stock of Exeter', p. 49.

examples from other towns suggest the linking gallery had no specific function but was another storage room or corridor.[522]

Another feature of urban houses is retaining an open hall, even in houses constructed in the seventeenth century, seemingly at odds with rural vernacular houses where the impetus was on the ceiling of the hall before the mid-seventeenth century. Surviving evidence, however, is limited. Only one surviving house considered retained an open hall into the eighteenth century, number 38 North Street, Exeter, constructed during the early sixteenth century. Although open halls may have been more common in houses constructed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, by the sixteenth century, houses with open halls were rare, with many older houses having their open halls ceiled over.[523] The deliberate construction of an open hall, or keeping an existing open hall, is full of socio-cultural meanings of civic and individual status and identity, one that affirmed civic identity and national political considerations, reflecting the connection amongst merchant families and urban gentry families between their civic position and identity, and indicating investment in domestic hospitality and display.[524] That not many open halls have been identified so far in towns in Devon and Cornwall does not mean such features were necessarily uncommon, only that the evidence is not so apparent given subsequent changes to early modern urban houses.

Unusually, some urban houses had a cross-passage, an architectural feature strongly associated with rural areas. Town houses with a cross-passage plan-form have not been considered in as much depth as houses with other plan-forms, with Pearson only noting that smaller houses with open halls and cross-passages were more common beyond the city walls of Coventry.[525] Twenty-nine surviving dwellings have a cross-passage, mainly in Devon, with eighteen surviving dwellings with a cross-passage constructed during or from the late seventeenth century. It is odd that such buildings were not apparently recorded by Taylor in Taunton or by Parker in Exeter. Seven have been archaeologically examined, three each in Exeter and Plymouth and one in Totnes. Another house with a cross-passage was in

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[522] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day At Home*, pp. 149, 152.
[523] King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', pp. 58–60; Pearson, 'Medieval Houses in English Towns', p. 7.
[524] Roger H. Leech, 'The Symbolic Hall: Historical Context and Merchant Culture in the Early Modern City', *Vernacular Architecture*, 31 (2000), 1–10 (p. 9); Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* pp. 106–8; King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', p. 59.
[525] Pearson, 'Medieval Houses in English Towns', p. 14.

Tavistock, recorded in an eighteenth-century plan as intending to be pulled down to allow a new house to be constructed.[526] Unfortunately, the plan does not record the name of the rooms of the to-be demolished house nor the intended plan of the new dwelling. With only thirteen dwellings assessed with a side-passage, in most surviving urban houses considered, access to rear rooms and courtyards would have been either by an internal corridor or through the rooms of the house. There was a concentration of urban dwellings with central cross-passage in Plympton St Maurice, with a small number of surviving dwellings in Tregony, Truro, Crediton, and Plymouth. Although the two Plymouth dwellings with central cross-passage were owned by merchants, this is not clear in the other buildings.[527]

Although there are similarities between towns and rural areas, such as houses with courtyard plans-forms and houses built according to the principles of polite architecture, amongst most vernacular houses, there was a distinct difference between rural areas and towns. Variety of plan-forms of surviving dwellings is less evident than in rural areas, with most urban vernacular houses either two rooms deep, one wide with roof parallel with the street, or L-shaped with a rear wing and the entire width to the street. Thus, the majority of surviving urban houses had between two and three ground floor rooms. The issue of whether theories of early modern house development can be applied to urban houses has been explored by scholars such as King, who argued that although it would appear that the concepts and behaviours of rural 'Closure' can be applied to early modern Norwich, with urban socio-political relations already highly polarized by the sixteenth century, 'Closure' cannot be neatly applied to towns.[528] The interpretation by Alan Dyer of four Midland towns focuses on local circumstances such as the ebb-and-flow of populations rather than focusing on overarching shifts in social relations.[529] In comparing urban and rural houses, Estabrook argued that they embody different cultures, one 'rustic' and one 'urbane', and this would appear to be apparent in the plan-forms of south-western towns.[530] Applying the theories of Rapoport and Kent suggests that overlaps in exact plan-forms between rural and urban areas may be indicative of similarities in socio-cultural behaviour of households and use of space and in how external visitors were received into the house. However, that most

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[526] DHC, L1258M/MTP/Tavistock2/6, Plan, house in West Street, Tavistock, 18th century.
[527] Stead and Watts, 'Excavations at Hawker's Avenue', p. 80.
[528] King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', p. 73.
[529] Dyer, 'Urban Housing', pp. 214–17.
[530] Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England,* pp. 53–56, 129.

surviving rural dwellings had a separate entry room (cross-passage) as opposed to urban dwellings where the entry in most dwellings was direct into a front space may indicate slightly different levels of social differentiation between the household and external community.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to understand the nature and physical changes to vernacular houses of the South West constructed between c.1500 and 1750, using probate inventories and surviving dwellings. Assuming non-roomed inventories are representative of smaller houses of one to three rooms, small dwellings dominated the inventoried housing stock throughout the early modern period. From the late seventeenth century in Devon, a growing proportion of the housing stock was assessed with four to six rooms, unlike in Cornwall. Surviving houses were constructed in all periods from the fifteen century and before, with post-construction development similarly occurring in all periods. The majority of surviving rural vernacular houses were constructed with a cross-passage, and the majority of urban houses with a two-room plan-form. There are three aspects to consider further: first, the general enlargement of vernacular houses from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries; second, the theory of the 'Great Rebuilding'; and third, the increased variety in plan-forms from c.1600. It is important to remember that the majority of the inventories and plans considered relate to the houses of those of middling wealth, representative of perhaps 50 per cent of the social strata and incorporating a broad swath of those of middling wealth from urban artisans and rural husbandmen to urban merchants and rural yeomen.

Inventories show that to some extent there was a general enlargement of the housing stock of the South West, which is more clear in Devon. In Devon, one to three-roomed dwellings formed a majority of the inventoried housing stock until c.1701; after which four to nine roomed houses formed an increasing proportion of the inventoried housing stock. By 1750, the inventoried housing stock of Devon predominantly had four to six rooms. In Cornwall, by contrast, one to three-roomed dwellings dominated the inventoried housing stock for all periods after 1601. Inventories show a growing divide between houses in Devon and houses in Cornwall after the early seventeenth century. By linking inventories with Hearth Tax records, over 80 per cent of non-roomed inventories are likely representative of dwellings of one to three rooms. By incorporating non-roomed inventories into the analysis, the inventoried housing stock of both counties is shown to be dominated by smaller dwellings. By 1750, 52 per cent of rural vernacular houses in Devon had one to three rooms, compared with 83 per cent in Cornwall. The inventoried housing stock in Cornwall is comparable to the inventoried housing of Lincolnshire and the Trent Valley, where the

proportion of two and three-roomed houses remained high despite changes in the proportion of larger houses.[531]

Different sources of evidence provide different perspectives, with house plans providing more evidence for the 'Great Rebuilding' in rural contexts compared with NHL records. However, the weight of evidence from listed entries show surviving rural vernacular houses were constructed in all periods from the fifteenth century, with a high proportion of constructed during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This late peak of rebuilding activity is identified in studies by Machin and Platt, but house plan evidence does not support assertions that this was a delayed 'Great Rebuilding'. All surviving rural houses constructed before the early seventeenth century had hall ceilings inserted by the mid-seventeenth century. The same is evident in towns, where the majority of surviving dwellings were constructed during or after the late seventeenth century. However, notable differences are apparent. In rural environments, smaller dwellings were more likely to be constructed during or after the late seventeenth century, larger dwellings were likely to be constructed earlier. In towns, most Type-B houses were constructed after or during the late seventeenth century, in contrast, to Type-A houses that were more likely to be constructed during or before the early seventeenth century.

After c.1600, surviving dwellings show increased variety in the plan-forms of rural vernacular houses found in the South West. However, the vast majority of surviving dwellings constructed from the fifteenth century had a medieval two or three-room with cross-passage plan-form. Subsequent variations in plan-forms primarily came out of this medieval plan-form rather than departing, since the majority retained a cross-passage. A small proportion of surviving dwellings were constructed during the seventeenth century with no cross-passage, the majority of which are assessed as 'cottages'. Smaller dwellings were more likely to not have a cross-passage. Only five surviving dwellings were constructed with a lobby-entry, although it is valid to consider whether cob or stone, the standard building materials of south-western houses were able to be used to construct complex lobby-entry plan-forms, as argued by Anthony Quiney. [532] Surviving town houses show little variation in

[531] Barley, 'Farmhouses and Cottages', pp. 295–98.
[532] Anthony Quiney, 'The Lobby-Entry House: Its Origins and Distribution', *Architectural History*, 27 (1984), 456–66 (p. 464).

the plan-forms of urban vernacular houses between the fifteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, with the only significant innovation of the late sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries being the 'gallery-and-back-block' plan-form.

At the start of this chapter, it was suggested there is no single model of development for houses of the South West. This may be due to tensions between the sources. Probate inventories show that most assessed houses of the early modern South West had one to six rooms; including non-roomed inventories changes the perspective considerably. House plans show that most surviving rural and urban houses had at least three ground floor rooms, suggestive of houses with three to six rooms. Additionally, archaeological plans of surviving houses show the majority were constructed or redeveloped between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, indicative of the 'Great Rebuilding'. Listed entries on the NHL increases the number of surviving small rural vernacular houses with two ground floor rooms and 'cottages', representative of houses with two to four rooms. Listed entries also show that proportionally more surviving dwellings were constructed during the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries, in both urban and rural contexts. Lastly, house plans and listed entries show there was an increasing variety of plan-forms after 1600, but most surviving rural houses had the medieval plan-form of two or three rooms with cross-passage. Variations in two-room plan-forms were much the same as those of three-room plan-forms, and showing that most surviving dwellings were constructed during and after the later seventeenth century. Therefore, only by combining inventories, archaeological plans, and listed buildings can there be a more apparent appreciation of the middling houses of early modern society, although not of the whole housing stock.

From all evidence considered, surviving rural vernacular houses constructed during the eighteenth century were different to rural vernacular houses constructed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The evidence for increasing comfort and privacy in the South West is limited. Evidence from inventories suggest few vernacular houses had enough room for the complete separation of the family from servants if the average household had between six and nine members, and even a few surviving dwellings had enough rooms. Few houses had every ground room heated, while evidence for heated upper floor spaces is sparse due to the lack of upper floor plans. Privacy was even less possible in towns and

cities with communal yards and courts and where thin walls had gaps or weaknesses which were regularly exploited by neighbours.[533]

By applying the principle that house form is shaped primarily by socio-cultural forces, we can argue that the same socio-cultural forces of cultural behaviours and social relationships which shaped medieval houses were still strong during most of the early modern period. This is evidenced by the retention of the medieval plan-form with cross-passage, but the ceiling of the hall from the late sixteenth century in rural contexts marked the start of further changes more apparent after the early eighteenth century. However, there is regional variation. Cornwall, in particular, saw a significant change with an increased proportion of households in smaller houses with a side-entry rather than a cross-passage. Sanders and Rapoport argue that the form of domestic dwellings 'naturally fixed factors' or 'flexible factors', such as climate, topography, and building materials, could be overridden by cultural conventions and functions.[534] Thus, we should not see the strong attachment to the cross-passage as a result of building materials, or that it was most suitable for the climate, but that it suited the socio-cultural and economic needs of the household, which a side-entry or lobby-entry did not.

Applying the principle of activity systems and systems of settings reveals more complexity. The increase in the number of dwellings with rear blocks or rear wings, supposed to be service spaces, implies some change in the use of space within the domestic setting. Such a change may be related to socio-cultural or economic factors. The majority of surviving dwellings with rear wings or rear blocks were in Devon, where changes to the agrarian economy may have resulted in the need for new dedicated service spaces that may not have been accommodated in existing service spaces. It may be that households needed to remove existing service activities from an existing room as the function and meaning of the room changed. The examination of plan-forms of dwellings as evidenced through house plans and descriptions of surviving listed buildings suggests that for most households, there was little change in the use of space, and thus in the broader socio-cultural and economic contexts of the household and community.

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[533] Fiona Williamson, 'Public and Private Worlds? Social History, Gender and Space', *History Compass*, 10.9 (2012), 633–43 (p. 637); Williamson, 'Space and the City', p. 172.

[534] Sanders, 'Behavioural Conventions and Archaeology', p. 44; Rapoport, *House Form and Culture,* pp. 18-24, 83-84.

Chapter 4. Changes in the Domestic functions of Vernacular Houses

Introduction

In chapter 3, the 1610 inventory of James Dabin or Dawbyn of Madron and the 1714 inventory of Honour Chambers of the same parish were compared to illustrate the growth in house size over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[535] These two inventories also illuminate changes in the domestic environment. James Dabin's hall was used for both sleeping and commensality; it contained a tableboard, bench, form, plates, salts, cups and a bedstead. A chamber was also used for sleeping, evidenced by two bedsteads, a featherbed, bolster, a flock bed, a coverlet, and a pair of sheets.[536] In contrast, Honour Chambers used all her chambers for sleeping, evidenced by bedsteads and bed furnishings, with the chambers over the shop and over the hall also used for commensality. Her kitchen was the sole location for cooking, and the hall had no apparent function.[537] Chapter 3 showed that the majority of houses inventoried had one to six rooms, and that the surviving buildings show an increasing variety of plan-forms of houses from c.1600 took place against a background of considerable continuity. The majority of surviving dwellings retained a cross-passage, even in dwellings constructed from the early eighteenth century, and most town houses saw slight variation in plan-forms.[538] This chapter examines whether the activity system of households changed, in the use of space and function of rooms, despite little change in the system of settings of households.

A number of studies, including by Matthew Overton et al., Anthony Buxton, and Ursula Priestley and Penelope Corfield, highlight the changing function of rooms in vernacular houses across England over the course of the early modern period. These changes were most apparent in the hall, kitchen, parlour, and chambers.[539] As argued by Amos Rapoport and Susan Kent, changes in the function of rooms may be presumed to be indicative of socio-cultural changes in the household and of broader society, also evidenced by the changing internal layout of houses. The surviving dwellings discussed in chapter 3 show that

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[535] Chapter 3, 'Introduction'.
[536] Truro, CRO, AP/D/86, Archdeaconary of Cornwall Probate Court, Will of James Dawbyn of Madron, 1610.
[537] CRO, AP/C/2718, Will of Honour Chambers, widow, of Madron, 1714.
[538] Chapter 3, 'Conclusion'.
[539] Chapter 1, 'Historiography'.

in rural and urban environments, there was relatively little change in the plan-forms and room layouts of early modern vernacular houses of the South West, except for the ceiling of halls of dwellings constructed before the early seventeenth century. Surviving buildings show there was a need in some households to create extra space for service functions, usually through provision of a wing, outshut, or rear block. This was the result either of more specialised service functions or the need to move service functions out of existing rooms. However, in the majority of households, there was little evidence of change to the physical layout of space in dwellings over the seventeenth century; the limited evidence for change in room layout implies little change in the function of rooms. This chapter explores this theme by examining the function of certain rooms within vernacular houses of the early modern South West and exploring the impact of new objects and behaviours. By vernacular, it is meant houses of individuals inventoried and assessed as not belonging to the gentry.

An approach used in this chapter is a study of how domestic material culture can indicate room functions and change in the domestic environment. As discussed in chapter 1, the most relevant approach here is the branch of historical enquiry that concentrates on domestic consumption patterns.[540] A practical approach is Erving Goffman's 'Presentation of the Self', an approach utilised by Lorna Weatherill.[541] Goffman's theory argues that when individuals appear before others, their actions and behaviour (performance) convey specific impressions to their 'audience' often for a purpose. That purpose may be cynical, sincere or both, 'deluding' either the audience or the 'performer'. The house forms part of the performance and can be split into 'front' stage and 'back' stage areas. The front stage includes furniture, decoration, and rooms such as the dining room, where the 'performance' was carried out, with a 'back' stage area to allow the performance to be prepared and shaped. In archaeological studies of houses, front and backstage rooms have been combined with ideas of private and public spaces, in a front:public/back:private convention.[542]

Rapoport argued that front/back or private/public are examples of dichotomies that humans tend to use to classify the world. The strict binary nature of these needs to be modified by

[540] Chapter 1, 'Historiography'.
[541] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Penguin, 1990); Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture,* p. 9.
[542] Steadman, *Archaeology of Domestic Architecture,* pp. 58-9.

the realisation that a middle term or terms exist to mediate, or resolve, the opposition.[543] Sara Pennell draws attention to the role of the kitchen, which sat at the physical fringes of the house but was a contested, un-fixed space with multiple functions of cooking, dining, hospitality, and reading that resists any binary interpretations.[544] Pennell argues that one room could have multiple functions, related or not to a particular set of behaviours. Similarly, Overton et al., Priestley and Corfield, Buxton, Frank Brown, and Nat Alcock, argue that in vernacular households, although certain rooms were associated with particular functions dependent on circumstances, there is limited evidence for rooms with one dedicated function.[545] In Rapoport's argument, cues are needed to make such domains, such as private or public, visible, necessitating the use of fixed-feature, semi-fixed-feature, and non-fixed-feature elements, including walls and material culture. However, where the cues are not clear, such as a mix of material culture of opposing functions within the same space, the meaning is not clear.[546] It is clear from chapter 3 that the majority of dwellings had two or three ground-floor rooms, and one to three upper-storey spaces, showing they could not accommodate a clear division between 'front' stage and 'back' stage rooms.[547] However, Goffman's theory draws attention to the idea that the whole house must be considered, an essential principle of the argument of Rapoport on activity systems and systems of settings.

Reconstructions of the layout of rooms using groupings of inventoried material culture, by Buxton for Thame households or Susan Coltman for Hook Norton, show rooms were frequently multifunctional even in larger houses.[548] Only amongst houses of the greater gentry does it appear that rooms could have a single function, although Vickery argues that even urban and smaller houses of the gentry and nobility had multi-functional spaces.[549] These reconstructions propose how objects were grouped within a house into 'functional spaces' within a single room, how cooking objects were grouped around the hearth or looms within a corner, and how these relationships are subject to varying conditions and

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[543] Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment,* pp. 118-19.
[544] Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment,* pp. 119-20.
[545] Brown, 'Continuity and Change', p. 587; Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 238; Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 266-67; Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 134; Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', p. 120.
[546] Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment,* pp. 118-19.
[547] Chapter 3, 'Physical Developments: Inventories'.
[548] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* chapter 7; Sue Coltman, 'A Hook Norton Family ... The Calcotts', *Cake and Cockhorse*, 9 (1982), 7–13.
[549] Vickery*, Behind Closed Doors,* pp. 293–95.

contexts. Thus, the relationship between the system of settings (room layout), and the activity systems of households (function of rooms) is shown through these reconstructions.

Few of the early studies that examined the development of early modern vernacular houses, such as by W.G. Hoskins, Maurice Barley, and Eric Mercer, examined the 'performance' of daily life and the function of rooms. More recently, there is a growing body of research, especially since 'the spatial turn', that considers the performance of daily life and domestic studies in vernacular buildings. Examples include studies by Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, Frank Brown, and Buxton.[550] In order to consider this relationship, the meaning of domestic material culture needs to be considered within the framework of historical geography, which shows that the material and spatial, the social and conceptual, are linked. This approach is embraced by ethnographical or anthropological studies and by historical archaeology.[551] The early modern house was considered by Hamling and Richardson as a performance of objects and behaviours within spaces. Each element carried meaning and purpose, with the form and use of the domestic built environment subject to a number of different theories and frameworks.[552] One of the growing areas of study is the impact of gender, and gender division in the early modern house, especially women's work. Although not explicitly examined by this study, ideas of gender division are firmly bound with ideas of private and public, front and backstage, and with separating women's work in the house.[553] However, as discussed in chapter 1, Flather and Whittle show that gender segregation was not apparent, if at all possible, in middling rural vernacular houses, and that that the organisation of domestic space was underpinned by integration and multi-function rather than specialism.[554]

There are many interpretative and theoretical frameworks for understanding the meanings of material culture in the domestic environment. As outlined in chapter 1, the framework and approach used by this study are those of Rapoport and Kent.[555] Both argue for a

[550] Alcock, *People at Home*; Brown, 'Continuty and Change'; Hamling and Richardson, *A Day At Home;* Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use'.
[551] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 5.
[552] Hamling and Richardson*, A Day at Home,* p. 16.
[553] Steadman, *Archaeology of Domestic Environment,* chap. 8; Hambling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* chap. 2.
[554] Amanda Flather, 'Gender, Space, and Place', *Home Cultures*, 8 (2011), 171–88 (pp. 173–84); Pennell, '"Pots and Pans History", pp. 211–13; Jane Whittle, 'The House as a Place of Work in Early Modern Rural England', *Home Cultures*, 8 (2011), 133–50 (pp. 137–38, 147).
[555] Chapter 1 'The Theories of House Development: Theories of domestic architecture'.

relationship between social and cultural influences and that the secondary function of domestic architecture was the maintenance of social conventions.[556] By studying activity areas and the location of domestic functions in houses, Kent argued that more complex societies have not only greater segregation of domestic space, there is also more significant differentiation in cultural material and use of rooms.[557] Increasing segmentation in the built environment and the use of space is not just houses having more rooms. It refers to having more non-domestic buildings for political, religious, economic, and social activities and having more restricted loci within the domestic environment, whether by status, gender, or function.[558] Rapoport and Kent also argued that to understand activities in one setting (one room or one house) needed an understanding of activities in other settings (other rooms, other houses, and the wider built environment). In this, systems of settings were influenced by culture and varied according to cultural differences.[559] Only a small number of studies have applied these theories to houses of early modern England, opening up further opportunities, such as in this study.[560]

Historians including Lorna Weatherill, Overton et al., Roy Brewer, Pennell, and Linda Levy Peck, have considered consumption patterns and motives, the role of new fashion and taste, luxury and novelties, and the impact of the desire for greater comfort and convenience.[561] Chapter 3 showed that comfort and privacy may be considered an important influence behind physical changes in the structure of the house, but there was little evidence from the houses studied to support this in the early modern South West.[562] To Rapoport, 'comfort' and 'privacy' were elements of a broader *genre de vrie* which houses served to facilitate and perpetuate.[563] More upholstered chairs and the decline of communal seating (benches, forms, and settles) in favour of chairs should not be seen as associated with a desire for

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[556] Chapter 1, 'The Theories of House Development: Theories of domestic architecture'; Kent, 'Activity Areas and Architectures', p. 5; Amos Rapoport, 'Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings', in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space*, ed. Kent, pp. 9–20 (p. 11); Sanders, 'Behavioural Conventions and Archaeology', p. 45.
[557] Kent, 'Cross-cultural study of segmentation', p. 127.
[558] Kent, 'Cross-cultural study of segmentation', pp. 148-9.
[559] Rapoport, 'Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings', p. 14.
[560] Chapter 1, 'The Theories of House Development'.
[561] *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge,1993); Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*; Linda Levy Peck, 'Luxury and War: Reconsidering Luxury Consumption in Seventeenth-Century England', *Albion*, 34 (2002), 1–23; Sara Pennell, 'Consumption and Consumerism in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, 42 (1999), 549–64; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture*.
[562] Chapter 3, 'Plan Forms: Rural, Layout of the House'.
[563] Rapoport, *House Form,* p. 48.

physical comfort, with John Crowley arguing that comfort before the eighteenth century referred to cleanliness and hygiene, but associated with socialising and new forms of hospitality.[564] Overton et al. argue that changes in material culture indicate that the desire to create comfortable and private spaces was more important than spaces for social display; this was no simple dichotomy.[565]

Studies by Wrightson and Amussen, focusing on the period from 1600 to 1750 show important social and cultural changes occurred, with increased social polarisation between wealthier and less well-off social groups and increased urbanisation.[566] This social polarisation is also reflected in how individuals self-identified their social status. Alex Sheperd argues that among those of more modest wealth from the mid to late seventeenth century, assessments of worth based on net movable worth in Church Court depositions gave way to concepts of occupational identity.[567] Social polarisation is also viewed in cultural terms, with differences between the 'polite' culture of the gentry and social elites, and 'popular' culture of the lower sorts, although this dichotomy is contested.[568] Nonetheless, all households shared similar functions of cooking, sleeping, and commensality, from which we can start to unpick how different households used space, how the functions of rooms changed between households, and identify the impact of new cultures and behaviours as well as new objects and conveniences. When discussing the 'households', discussed in chapter 2, the average size of households in the South West were larger than average, although why is unknown.[569] Although Carson argued houses with a two or three-room plan-form with cross-passage could be divided into separate 'dwellings' for family and servants, with one side of the house each, how this impacted on the use of space is not evident from inventories.[570]

The probate inventories considered are primarily representative of those of middling wealth, but they do not provide evidence for the development of a distinct middling culture. Henry French's study of the middling sorts, the upper strata of those of middling wealth,

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[564] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, pp. 1–5, 69–71; Crowley, 'The Sensibility of Comfort', p. 756.
[565] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 136.
[566] Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 31–33; Wrightson, *English Society,* pp. 223–28.
[567] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself,* pp. 1-3.
[568] Green, 'The Polite Threshold', p. 2; Wrightson, *English Society,* pp. 223-28.
[569] Chapter 2 'Social and Economic Context of the South West: Household Size'.
[570] Carson, 'Segregation in Vernacular Buildings', pp. 24-7.

shows that although all middling sort households were better furnished than the bulk of society, there was no 'bourgeois' pattern behaviour or material culture. Material culture was used to reinforce distinct social attitudes between the parishes 'chief inhabitants' and the bulk of parish society.[571] Buxton argued that an apparent shift away from the hall as the collective heart of the house to separate service areas and the parlour was a domestic manifestation of a new awareness of class interest amongst the middling ranks that mirrors an 'external withdrawal' from local popular culture.[572] It is questionable how far such a change is evidence of a 'class interest' amongst the middling rank as Buxton's study focused solely on the market town of Thame, Oxfordshire. Discourses of politeness and polite culture should also be seen as a mechanism for separation between different social groups, explicitly between the social elites and the generality of the population.[573] Given this social context, probate inventories may indicate an increasing division between the social elites of the parish, whether gentry or wealthier yeomen and others of lesser middling wealth, in the use of space, and the function of rooms.

There has been comparatively little consideration of how households of the South West used domestic space and the function of rooms. The study by Overton et al. is perhaps the best known, comparing the consumption, material culture, and room use in Kent and Cornwall, and while the recent study of Westcountry Households by John Allan, Alcock, and David Dawson devote several chapters to the changing material culture, there is little consideration of domestic functions and behaviours. An in-depth study of the material culture of the Devon parish of Uffculme, a peculiar parish of East Devon, was undertaken by the Uffculme Research Group.[574] However, the body of surviving inventories relating to the parish of Cockington has not come under the same scrutiny as Uffculme.[575] Despite the wealth of evidence available for Cornwall from the records of the Archdeaconry of Truro,

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[571] H. R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England 1600-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 197–99.
[572] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 238.
[573] Green, 'The Polite Threshold', p. 3.
[574] *Uffculme: A Peculiar Parish*, ed. Peter Arthur Harris Wyatt, Robin Stanes, and Uffculme Archive Group (Uffculme: Uffculme Archive Group, 1997); Margaret Tucker, 'Houses, Furnishings and Household Equipment', in *Uffculme: A Peculiar Parish, A Devon Town from Tudor Times*, ed. Peter Wyatt and Robin Stanes (Uffculme: Uffculme Archive Group, 1997), pp. 76–92; Whittle, 'The House as a Place of Work'.
[575] Exeter, DHC, 48/13/2/3/2, '*Liber Probationum Testamentorum*', containing copies of Wills proved and Inventories exhibited in Cockington Manor Court, c.1540-1623; also DHC, 48/13/2/3/3A-27, Inventories and Wills proved at the manor court of Cockington, 1624 – 1754.

an in-depth consideration of the changing function of rooms during the early modern period in Cornwall has not yet been undertaken.

This chapter primarily uses probate inventories, which, as discussed in chapter 2, despite the shortcomings, probate inventories are the best source for understanding changes in material culture and function of rooms where recorded.[576] However, only a small proportion of inventories from the South West record rooms, roughly 20 per cent.[577] Although this chapter cannot be wholly representative of the middling section of society that inventories represent, it can, however, shed light on changes to the function of rooms during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. An important criticism of inventories is that they record the location of objects after the death of the occupier, which may not reflect day-to-day reality of where and how objects were used.[578] One approach to overcome this is to use witness depositions and court records that record what people were doing and where. However, although these were sampled, the incidences of functions mentioned and in which room a low and therefore considered not worth pursuing at this time. In the following analysis, not all objects are of concern, with focus only on objects that indicate certain domestic functions. These include cauldrons and crocks for cooking or beds and bedsteads for sleeping. Although the domestic functions of many material objects, such as bedsteads and tableboards, remained universal, existing work by Overton et al. demonstrates that the material culture of the household changed to incorporate objects associated with convenience and comfort.[579] Typical objects associated with convenience and ease are jacks (for turning spits), chests of drawers, and candlesticks, and for this study, objects for comfort, such as cushions, upholstered seating, and feather beds, are taken into account.[580] A complete list of objects and associated functions is in Table S, Appendix 1.

This chapter brings new evidence to bear on how the house provided a physical environment for living. The purpose of this chapter is to understand how the activity systems of houses changed in the South West between 1600 and 1750. By using probate inventories, this chapter will examine room usage, looking at the changing rooms recorded

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[576] Chapter 2, 'Methodology: Probate Inventories'.
[577] Chapter 3, 'Physical Developments: Inventories'.
[578] Orlin, 'Fictions of the Early Modern English Probate', pp. 63–76.
[579] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* chapter 5 and 6.
[580] Overton et al.*, Production and Consumption,* pp. 136, 174–75.

in inventories, and the material culture of rooms. This chapter examines rural houses first, how the rooms recorded in inventories changes before considering specific domestic functions and rooms, before moving onto urban houses.

Rooms in Rural Vernacular Houses

Chapter 3 shows that surviving rural vernacular houses in the South West were constructed and redeveloped in all periods after the late fifteenth century, and the majority of surviving houses had a medieval two- or three-room plan-form with cross-passage.[581] The typical rooms recorded in house plans are halls, inner rooms/parlours, and service rooms/kitchens, but these are derived from an assessment by the surveyor. This section examines the room names given in probate inventories, showing that the hall came to be replaced by the kitchen, with regional variation in the recording of service rooms. This section first examines the changes at a regional level, before considering differences between Devon and Cornwall, drawing out any regional differences within each county.

Table 27 shows several significant changes to room names recorded in probate inventories over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The proportion of inventoried rural vernacular houses with halls declined considerably over this period, with the decline more significant from the early eighteenth century. There was a similar decline in the proportion of rural houses with at least one named service room; a low proportion of rural roomed inventories named either a buttery, brewhouse, malthouse, or dairy/milkhouse. In contrast, there was a sharp increase from the early eighteenth century in the proportion of inventoried rural houses with cellars, mirroring the significant decline of service rooms. The proportion of rural vernacular houses with kitchens increased significantly from the early eighteenth century, mirroring the proportional decline in rural houses with halls. The proportion of rural roomed inventories that recorded parlours changed little, recorded in a small proportion of rural vernacular houses. From the eighteenth century, some rural vernacular houses had garrets, a room that may have come to replace the 'loft', although Barely argues that garrets and lofts are dissimilar in function.[582] There was also a gradual decline in the proportion of houses with definite upper chambers, however this decline is likely connected to the changing definition of 'chamber' that came to denote an exclusively upper storey room by the late eighteenth century.[583] Table 27 shows that the early eighteenth century was a significant period for change in the rooms recorded in vernacular inventories of the South West.

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[581] See Chapter 3, 'Plan Forms: Rural'.
[582] Barley, 'Use of Upper Floors', p. 21.
[583] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* p. 40.

Table 27: Room types in rural vernacular houses

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall	**77%**	**69%**	**49%**
Kitchen	**45%**	**43%**	**74%**
Parlour	**29%**	**27%**	**25%**
Dining Room		1%	3%
Chamber	52%	57%	68%
Best/Great Chamber	5%	2%	2%
Definite upper chambers	48%	38%	17%
Total chambers present	**100%**	**98%**	**88%**
Buttery	21%	29%	9%
Brewhouse	9%	3%	5%
Malt House	1%	7%	4%
Dairy/Milk House	8%	15%	15%
Bakehouse	5%	4%	2%
Other service rooms	19%	15%	10%
Total service rooms present	**63%**	**73%**	**46%**
Entries	8%	13%	9%
Cellars	5%	9%	25%
Lofts	1%	3%	2%
Garrets			3%
Total inventories	110	171	92

Source: all rural vernacular inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of roomed inventories that recorded certain rooms.

Barley argued that kitchens were increasingly integrated into houses over the seventeenth century, taking the place of the service room, implies these kitchens were previously detached.[584] A similar argument was put forward by Alcock, whose analysis of inventories for Devon showed an increase in the number of upper floor chambers and a decline in the number of detached service rooms as their functions became incorporated within other

[584] Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 178–79.

ground floor rooms.[585] Alcock argues that this was likely a two-phase development. First, the former detached kitchen became a service room that required a hearth such as a bakehouse, but with the introduction of stone or cloam ovens in hearths in the main range of a dwelling, that function also was no longer carried out in the detached room.[586] However, the physical evidence for detached kitchens amongst rural vernacular houses is only apparent amongst the top strata of the middling portion of early modern society and the gentry, with few detached kitchens identified. As discussed above, Beneathwood Farm, Linkinhorne, may have had a detached kitchen by evidence of the plan-form, although this is not certain. Lodge House, in the manor and parish of Liskeard, leased by Sir Warwick Heale from 1619 for ninety-nine years, had '[o]pposite the said house … one kitchin and a roome used for a brewhouse'.[587] Unfortunately, no inventory can be matched with the dwelling yet.

Roomed inventories also record considerable differences between Devon and Cornwall, shown in tables 28 (Cornwall) and 29 (Devon). The proportion of inventoried rural houses with a hall declined more significantly in Cornwall than in Devon; over half of Devon houses inventoried between 1701 and 1750 had a hall. A greater proportion of rural vernacular houses assessed before 1701 in Cornwall had kitchens. However, both counties had a significant change in the proportion of inventoried houses with kitchens after the early eighteenth century. A 'mirrored' decline of the hall and rise of the kitchen is more apparent in Devon than in Cornwall. With regards to parlours, in Cornwall the proportion of houses with a parlour declined over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whilst in Devon, the proportion increased significantly in the eighteenth century. For example, in Madron and St Stephens-by-Saltash parishes, the proportion of houses inventoried with a parlour remained broadly static between 1650 and 1750, perhaps reflective of the evidence from surviving dwellings which shows little renovation of houses constructed before 1700. In comparison, the proportion of houses with a parlour decreased by 23 per cent in Paul parish despite a higher number of inventories dated to between 1701 and 1750 and a similar decline in St Thomas-by-Launceston parish. In Uffculme, the proportion of dwellings with a parlour increased by 14 per cent between 1650 and 1750, despite fewer inventories for later periods.

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[585] Alcock, 'Great Rebuilding and Later Stages', pp. 46–47.
[586] Alcock. 'Development of the Vernacular House', p. 20.
[587] Pounds, *Parliamentary Survey of the Duchy of Cornwall: Part 1*, p. 78.

Table 28: Room types in rural vernacular houses, Cornwall

Room	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall	**81%**	**65%**	**48%**
Kitchen	**64%**	**54%**	**74%**
Parlour	**30%**	**23%**	**22%**
Dining Room		2%	4%
Chamber	58%	46%	64%
Best/Great Chamber	7%	4%	2%
Definite upper chambers	47%	42%	20%
Total chambers present	**100%**	**93%**	**86%**
Buttery	20%	22%	2%
Brewhouse	7%	4%	6%
Malt House	1%	3%	4%
Dairy/Milk House	12%	4%	12%
Bakehouse	5%	1%	1%
Other service rooms	22%	11%	6%
Total service rooms present	**68%**	**45%**	**32%**
Entries	5%	13%	6%
Cellars	8%	15%	28%
Lofts	1%	5%	1%
Garrets			4%
Total inventories	74	97	81

Source: all rural vernacular inventories from Cornwall with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of roomed inventories that recorded certain rooms.

Table 29: Room types in rural vernacular houses, Devon

Room	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall	**69%**	**74%**	**55%**
Kitchen	**6%**	**30%**	**73%**
Parlour	**28%**	**32%**	**45%**
Dining Room			
Chamber	39%	72%	100%
Best/Great Chamber			
Definite upper chambers	50%	32%	
Total chambers present	**89%**	**100%**	**100%**
Buttery	22%	39%	55%
Brewhouse	14%	1%	
Malt House		12%	9%
Dairy/Milk House		28%	36%
Bakehouse	3%	8%	9%
Other service rooms	14%	20%	36%
Total service rooms present	**53%**	**100%**	**100%**
Entries	14%	14%	27%
Cellars			
Lofts			9%
Garrets			
Total inventories	36	74	11

Source: all rural vernacular inventories from Devon with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of roomed inventories that recorded certain rooms.

In Cornwall, whilst a higher proportion of houses inventoried between 1601 and 1650 had a service room compared with inventoried houses in Devon, after the mid-seventeenth century that proportion decreased, except for the proportion of houses with milkhouses, malt houses or brewhouses. In contrast, there was a significant increase in the proportion of inventoried Devon houses with at least one service room from the mid-seventeenth

century, with a notable increase in the proportion of rural vernacular houses with a buttery or milkhouse. Inventories do not show the increased presence of service rooms connected with cider making (pound houses or cider houses) or brewing (brewhouses or malt houses), contrary to arguments that these activities increased in Devon.[588] Only inventoried houses in Cornwall recorded a cellar, with some mirroring with the proportion of houses with a buttery, with some evidence for Buxton's argument that the cellar was predominantly found in larger houses.[589] A cellar was four times more likely to be in a house of seven or more rooms than smaller houses of one to three rooms, but fewer than 16 per cent of larger houses had a cellar. The apparent lack of cellars in rural vernacular houses in Devon is explored further below and may relate to the function of cellars. One argument is that in Cornwall, a cellar became associated with the functions of the buttery since the proportional changes mirror each other.

A factor in the decline in the proportion of rural vernacular houses with service rooms in Cornwall, and an increase in Devon, were changes to the agricultural economies. Although Turner and Herring both suggest that the organisation of rural life in Devon and Cornwall was broadly similar, particularly strip-field farming, others such as Harrison show key regional differences in pastoral farming.[590] The argument of Harrison, that Cornwall's pastoral economy became more geared towards cattle rearing and breeding, and Devon's towards dairying, does help to explain why the proportion of houses with milkhouses or dairies in Devon rose.[591]

Further contrast is shown by considering parlours. In Cornwall, the proportion of rural vernacular houses with a parlour was in the minority and declined from the mid-seventeenth century. By contrast, in Devon, there was a steady increase. Nearly half of inventoried rural houses in Devon had a parlour by 1750, whilst a quarter of inventoried rural houses during the same period in Cornwall had a parlour. However, no inventoried rural house in Devon had a dining room, unlike in Cornwall, where the room was present in a small minority of rural vernacular houses. In Devon, all rural houses had at least one

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588 Harrison, 'The South West', p. 358.
589 Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* pp. 231-32.
590 Herring, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', p. 25; Turner, 'The Medieval Landscape of Devon and Cornwall', p. 4.
591 Harrison, 'The South West', pp. 358, 375.

chamber by 1750, in contrast to Cornwall, where the proportion of houses inventoried after the mid-seventeenth century with a chamber declined. Chapter 3 shows that Cornish houses were more likely to be smaller, with a more significant proportion of the inventoried housing stock having one to three rooms and a greater proportion of surviving with two-room plan-forms.[592] However, surviving dwellings in Cornwall did not have a distinctly different plan-form from surviving dwellings in Devon.[593] Despite a similarity between Devon and Cornwall in the plan-forms of surviving dwellings, the use of space in early modern vernacular houses may have been different.

Comparisons with other regions of England show some interesting aspects. The change in rooms recorded in roomed inventories for Kent is recreated in Table T, Appendix 1. In comparison, there is some similarity between the evidence from Kent and the evidence shown in table 27, although the proportion of houses in Kent with kitchens, parlours, and halls in 1601 to 1629 was more significant than in both Devon and Cornwall between 1601 and 1650.[594] Differences between the three counties is most apparent when examining service rooms and chambers. In Cornwall, the proportion of houses with at least one chamber declined over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, whilst in Devon the proportion increased. However, in Kent, the proportion without a chamber decreased from 14 per cent to 4 per cent by 1749.[595] In Kent, the proportion of houses with at least one service room increased, similar to the trend in Devon and unlike Cornwall. In Devon, the proportion of butteries and milkhouses increased from the mid-seventeenth century, with the proportion of houses with a brewhouse declined from the mid-seventeenth century. This pattern suggests a shift from home brewing to dairying in a significant proportion of houses in Devon. In comparison, in Kent, whilst there was overall stasis in the proportion of houses with butteries (unlike Cornwall), the proportion of houses with brewhouses increased after the mid-seventeenth century, and proportions with milk houses increased until the early eighteenth century.

There are significant differences between parishes. To some extent, there is some relationship with the plan-forms of houses. In Uffculme, there was a decline in the

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[592] Chapter 3, 'Plan-Forms: Rural'.
[593] Chapter 3, 'Plan-Forms: Rural'.
[594] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 122.
[595] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 125.

proportion of houses inventoried with a hall, from 86 per cent in 1601 to 1650 to 55 per cent by 1750, and relatively little change in the proportion of houses inventoried with a parlour. There was, however a significant increase in the proportion of houses inventoried with a kitchen, from 10 per cent to 82 per cent. Thus, inventories show that in Uffculme, there was a mirrored decline of the hall and rise of the kitchen. Surviving dwellings of the parish show that of twenty-five houses, seventeen had three-room and cross-passage plan-forms, indicating that in the parish, where there is little evidence of change in house plans, the evidence from inventories implies the hall became known as a kitchen. By comparison, in Madron parish, the evidence shows the proportion of houses inventoried with a hall remained high. 82 per cent of dwellings inventoried between 1701 and 1750 were recorded with a hall. In the same period, the proportion of inventoried houses with a kitchen increased from 71 per cent by 1650 to 91 per cent by 1750, and the proportion with a parlour remaining low at between 14 and 18 per cent. In Madron, records and surveys of surviving dwellings show six of ten surviving dwellings had two-room plan-forms, four of which had no cross-passage. Probate inventories and surviving dwellings show that there was little change in the domestic environment of houses in Madron between 1601 and 1750.

Other parishes show strong evidence for a mirrored decline of the hall and rise of the kitchen. Six parishes with the highest number of inventories dated to between 1601 to 1650 and 1701 to 1750 (Bodmin, St Austell, St Stephens-by-Saltash, Uffculme, Madron, and Paul), the evidence shows that in all bar Madron and Paul parish, the proportion of inventoried dwellings with halls declined, and the proportion of houses with kitchens increased. In Paul parish, the proportion of houses with a hall increased by 3 per cent, and the proportion with a kitchen increased by 37 per cent; all surviving dwellings with a clear plan-form are assessed as two-room cottages with side-entry. In St Stephens-by-Saltash, a decline in the number of inventoried houses with a hall (80 per cent in 1601 to 1650 to 33 per cent by 1750), with an increase over the same period in the number of houses with a kitchen (from 70 per cent to 87 per cent), or dining room (an increase by 13 per cent). Unfortunately, few surviving dwellings are assessed with a clear plan-form, but the evidence does not indicate that they became larger during post-construction redevelopment.

Significant differences between parishes are notable when examining the proportion of inventories recording service rooms. In Madron parish the proportion of inventoried houses

with a buttery fell 24 per cent between 1650 and 1750, and in Bodmin, the proportion declined by 28 per cent. By contrast, in St Austell parish the proportion increased by 5 per cent, and in Uffculme the proportion of houses with a buttery rose by 27 per cent. However, in Madron, the proportion of houses with a cellar increased by 17 per cent, and in Bodmin by 21 per cent, with no increase in St Austell parish. The majority of surviving dwellings in Madron, Bodmin, and St Austell parishes have two-room plan-forms, with little evidence of post-construction redevelopment, implying that in a number of households, the buttery was renamed the cellar. Of the parishes with more than ten inventories dated between 1601 and 1650, three of eleven inventories in Bodmin had a brewhouse, whilst in Madron, three of twenty-one inventories had a milkhouse/dairy; Madron also had the highest proportion of houses with other service rooms (such as pound houses). Relatively few houses in Uffculme had a service room. By 1750, in Uffculme, six of eleven inventoried houses had a milkhouse/dairy, and seven had another type of service room. With no wings or outshuts added during redevelopment in Uffculme, evidence from surviving buildings implies that the room opposite the central room became either a milkhouse or other service room. Madron too saw an increase in the proportion of houses with a milkhouse/dairy (18 per cent, two of eleven inventories).

In Paul parish by 1750, 20 per cent of houses had a brewhouse, and in St Stephens-by-Saltash, the proportion of households with a brewhouse increased by 13 per cent between 1650 and 1750. Bakehouses were rarely recorded in inventories of the South West. These patterns are to be expected. Overton et al. argued that in Cornwall, very few houses were recorded as being involved in baking (whether commercial or for household production), whilst the proportion of households producing alcohol for domestic use declined between 1600 and 1660 with stability thereafter to 1749 (although source issues may overestimate the proportion of households involved).[596] Most brewing in Cornish houses was for ale rather than beer and may not have needed specialist equipment or specialist room.[597] However, it is clear that these declines and increases in the presence of certain service rooms do not necessarily indicate any physical change but a change in the function of a space.

[596] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 52-60.
[597] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 58-60.

As discussed in chapter 2, the agrarian economy of south-east Devon and parts of the Somerset Levels became more specialised toward dairying. Thus, in Uffculme there was a significant increase in the number of houses with a milkhouse or dairy, with an increase of 48 per cent, perhaps becoming the formal name for the room across the cross-passage from the hall.[598] Three Cornish parishes (Madron, St Stephens-by-Saltash and St Austell) also saw slight increases in the proportion of inventories recording a milkhouse/dairy, although houses with a room were in the minority. Linking these trends with observable trends from surviving dwellings about how extra service space was accommodated is more complex, as seen with Uffculme and Paul parishes where there is little evidence from surviving buildings of provision of extra service rooms.

One factor to consider to understand tables 27 to 29 are physical factors. As discussed above, there is no physical reason for the decline in the proportion of halls. Chapter 3 showed that the majority of plan-forms of surviving dwellings in the early modern South West were either two-room or three-room and cross-passage plan-forms, with a minority of surviving dwellings without a cross-passage.[599] In a three-room and cross-passage plan-form, the main heated room to one side of the cross-passage was the 'hall', with the room beyond being an inner room or parlour, and the room on the other side of the cross-passage a service room or kitchen. Therefore, with surviving dwellings showing a strong continuity of two- and three-room and cross-passage plan-forms, the physical space known as the 'hall' remained, but as shown from table 27, a room called the 'hall' became less common. In the case of houses without a cross-passage, the work of the Somerset Vernacular Building Research Group shows that when houses are surveyed, there is often an unacknowledged uncertainty whether the entry room was a hall or a service space.[600] Surviving dwellings show that there was evidence of an extension from a two-room plan-form to a three-room plan-form in only five dwellings, and a wing or outshut added to only thirty-three houses. Thus, there is unlikely to be a physical cause behind the rise of the kitchen. Given that the trends of change in halls and kitchens broadly mirror each other, it is

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[598] Harrison, 'The South-West', p. 358.
[599] Chapter 3, 'Plan Forms: Rural'.
[600] Compare Somerset Vernacular Building Research Group, *Somerset Villages: Vernacular Houses and Farms of Butleigh* (SVBRG, 2001) where the rooms are named, with Somerset and South Avon Vernacular Building Research Group, *Somerset Villages: Long Load and Knole, Long Sutton: their houses, cottages and farms, settlement and people* (SSAVBRG, 1982) where the rooms are not named.

likely that in a significant number of dwellings, the 'hall' was renamed as a 'kitchen'. Whether this also resulted in a change in function is discussed below.

The increase of service rooms in Devon compared to Cornwall may be related to the higher proportion of surviving houses with a three-room plan-form, where the service space was unnamed before the early eighteenth century. Although a higher number of surviving dwellings in Devon had a wing or outshuts, as a proportion of surviving dwellings, there is a similarity between Devon and Cornwall. Wings and outshuts were spaces used for service functions, as evidenced by the handful of surveys that record a rear wing or outshut supposed by surveyors to have a service function. However, the small proportion of houses with a wing or outshut does little to explain the much greater increase of kitchens or service rooms in Devon, and does not explain the decrease of service rooms in Cornwall. Alcock argued that from the late seventeenth century there was an increase in the proportion of houses with chambers and a decline in the number of detached service rooms.[601] This argument is relevant to consider as it would suggest the widespread demolition of detached kitchen and service blocks. Hamling and Richardson argued that in rural contexts, the integration of kitchens into the main block of the house became more common from 1500, although at different paces across England. [602]

Unfortunately the house plans of surviving dwellings studied for vernacular houses do not show detached service blocks, although these are recorded for gentry houses. However, if such a demolition did occur, then the function of these former spaces would have been incorporated within existing spaces. This would assume a need for the service function to be incorporated within the main range of a dwelling and given a specific room for that function which may not be correct for all cases. Unfortunately only two plans of surviving dwellings showed the upper storey, so it is difficult to determine from surviving buildings whether there was an increase in the number of upper storey spaces. However, all surviving houses constructed from the early seventeenth century were at least one and a half storeys, indicative of at least one or two upper storey rooms. Thus, the slight decline in the proportion of roomed inventories recording a 'chamber' in Cornwall is unlikely to be related to physical reasons.

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[601] Alcock, 'Great Rebuilding and Later Stages', pp. 46–47.
[602] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 71.

Another factor to consider is an uncertainty in the minds of appraisers of the name of rooms. Inventories were drawn up by those with personal or business interests in the estate of the deceased, including creditors, legatees, reputable neighbours, as well as close kin and relatives, meaning that some but not all would have had personal experience of the names of the rooms within the deceased's house.[603] Thus, what rooms were recorded may have been a reflection of the rooms given to the appraiser's own house. Barley argued that the introduction of the kitchen created uncertainty as to whether the hall was now a parlour, but this assumes that the kitchen 'took' the functions of the hall, which Hoskins argues.[604] It is apparent in several studies, such as by Buxton, that there was little difference in the material culture of the hall and parlour; thus the function of these two rooms was similar, although the location of parlours was more private and less accessible.[605] However, if the parlour was heated, as Buxton argued they nearly always were, the hall may have been renamed the 'kitchen' in the mind of appraisers, in contrast with an unheated service space opposite the cross-passage.[606]

This trend may, as discussed, explain some of the patterns observed looking at parish level inventory data, where a change in the proportion of dwellings with halls or kitchens was not matched by a change in the plan-forms of surviving dwellings. In smaller houses with two-room plan-forms and only one chimney, the name of the central heated room may be unclear to appraisers and may have relied on material culture cues to determine the function and name, whether the hall or kitchen. There was no simple relationship; 'kitchen' could be the name for a room associated with several functions, including the primary cooking location, an unheated room for food preparation, or a room for the storage of cooking equipment.[607] When read with the physical evidence that suggests a significant number of cottages (one or two rooms without cross-passage) were constructed in the eighteenth century. Alcock and Carson noted that cottages came to be described more simply in manorial surveys from the eighteenth century, suggesting a lack of differentiation in

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[603] Tom Arkell, 'The Probate Process', in *When Death Do Us Part*, ed. Arkell, Evans, and Goose, pp. 3–13 (p. 8); Jeff Cox and Nancy Cox, 'Probate 1500-1800: A System in Transition', in *When Death Do Us Part*, ed. Arkell, Evans, and Goose, pp. 14–37 (p. 29); Christine North, 'Merchants and Retailers in Seventeenth-Century Cornwall', in *When Death Do Us Part,* ed. Arkell, Evans, and Goose, pp. 285–305 (p. 293).
[604] Barley, *English Farmhouse and Cottage*, pp. 178–79; Hoskins, 'Rebuilding of Rural England', p. 50.
[605] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 225.
[606] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* pp. 226-27.
[607] Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, p. 40.

ground floor rooms.[608] Whilst this may provide some explanation for the decline in the proportion of inventories recording rooms, there is little evidence to suggest what proportion of those inventoried in the eighteenth century lived in a cottage.

Given the majority of surviving vernacular houses did not change in plan-form, that surviving dwellings did not become smaller, and a lack of evidence for detached kitchens, the decline of the hall and the rise of the kitchen were likely the results of non-physical factors. Drawing back to the arguments in chapter 1, one fruitful area of consideration is the relationship between socio-cultural change and changes in the domestic environment in terms of activity settings and systems of settings. This section shows a change in the domestic environment of vernacular houses over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, with changes in the system of settings in houses. In this, the hall became the kitchen, and the service room opposite was formally designated as a space for a particular service function; milkhouse, brewhouse, or even buttery. In a small number of households, an additional service space was added to the house as a rear wing or outshut. These changes to the system of settings, more apparent through study of probate inventories than plans of surviving dwellings, may well have resulted in changes to the activity systems of households. An increase in the range of rooms may indicate the growing specialisation of rooms with functionally restricted loci. As per the arguments of Rapoport and Kent indicates some broader socio-cultural changes in society in the South West. The next section will consider the function of halls, parlours, kitchens, chambers, and service rooms, how the function of those rooms changed over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and how the location of important domestic functions of cooking, sleeping, and dining changed over that same period.

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[608] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* pp. 33-4.

Functional Changes in Rural Rooms

The previous section shows significant changes in the room names recorded in inventories, with a replacement of the hall by the kitchen, and regional variation in service rooms recorded. Although physical factors may have influenced some changes, it is more likely that socio-cultural and economic factors were of greater importance. Having examined room names, we move on now to consider the objects recorded in rooms, in order to explore the activity systems of households and the use of space. This illuminates the degree to which changing room names were accompanied by changing room functions. In this section, two approaches are used. First, looking at the rooms in which certain activities took place, such as cooking and food preparation, or commensality. The second, is looking at a certain room and analysing the objects found within them. In using this approach, the activity system of households can be considered, and changes in the location of domestic functions, whilst also considering the specific function of rooms as used by a household.

Heating, Cooking, and Dining

In the previous section, it is shown that the room formerly called the 'hall' became known as a 'kitchen'. This may imply, however, that the functions of the hall in the seventeenth century were the same functions of the kitchen in the early eighteenth century. Roomed inventories show that from the early seventeenth century a complex narrative of change in the rooms used for cooking and food preparation and commensality, indicating that a simple narrative of change is not evident. Each of the activities recorded in table 30 were identified through the material culture recorded in roomed inventories in accordance with Table S in Appendix 1. Table 30 shows that in the majority of houses, there were no specialised rooms, with a strong cross-over between the rooms used for cooking and food preparation and the rooms for commensality, sleeping, and other functions. For example, in Francis Bishop's ten-room house (Bodmin parish, 1738) there was no hall, and the kitchen was used for both cooking and commensality. The dining room and two chambers were additional spaces for commensality.[609] In Anne Marshall's house (Uffculme, 1731), there was no hall, with the kitchen and buttery were used for cooking. A secondary function of the kitchen was commensality, which also evident in the outer chamber.[610] In smaller houses such as that of William Leane (St Stephens-by-Saltash, 1616), although assessed with a kitchen, the

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[609] CRO AP/B/3534/1, Will of Francis Bishop, goldsmith, of Bodmin, 1738.
[610] Inventory of Ann Marshall, of Uffculme, 1731, *Uffculme Wills and Inventories,* no. 242.

hall was the only heated room and used for commensality and cooking. The kitchen was used for domestic production, and sleeping occurred in the two chambers.[611]

Table 30: Cooking and food preparation, commensality, and hearths recorded in rural vernacular inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Cooking and Food Preparation			
Hall	**13%**	**18%**	**7%**
Kitchen	**49%**	**42%**	**41%**
Parlour	3%	4%	
All Chambers	2%	2%	
Butteries	13%	4%	13%
Commensality			
Hall	**72%**	**64%**	**36%**
Kitchen	**27%**	**32%**	**37%**
Parlour	**50%**	**57%**	**57%**
All Chambers	29%	26%	27%
Butteries	26%	22%	25%
Heated			
Hall	**7%**	**12%**	**16%**
Kitchen	**20%**	**16%**	**12%**
Parlour	3%	11%	4%
All Chambers	2%	9%	6%
Butteries	4%	2%	
Total number of inventories	110	171	92

Source: all rural vernacular inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of rooms that record material culture related to a particular function.

[611] CRO AP/L/166, Will of William Leane, butcher, of St Stephens-by-Saltash, 1616.

Pennell and Overton et al. argued that there was a shift from the hall to the kitchen over the seventeenth century, but this is not wholly evident here.[612] Table 30 shows a significant change in the rooms used for commensality, with a declining proportion of halls used for commensality, but little evidence that all the functions of the hall moved into the kitchen. Table 30 supports Alcock's argument that during the early seventeenth century, the hall was the principal room for commensality and domestic living, the kitchen the principal room for food prep and cooking.[613] Roomed inventories also show that a quarter of chambers were used for commensality, a secondary function alongside their primary function as a sleeping space. However, the proportion of halls that were heated (as determined by presence of hearth equipment) increased over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Roomed inventories show that although the hall lost some functions over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, those functions came to be more spread about the house, rather than concentrated in the kitchen.

Cooking and food preparation predominantly occurred in the kitchen, even during the early seventeenth century where the proportion of inventories recording that room were low. Over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, shows a decline in the proportion of kitchens and halls used for that function. Table 30 also shows that a declining proportion of houses had any recognised space for cooking and food preparation. This pattern suggests either in those houses a multi-functional room for cooking was not recognised as a kitchen, or that cooking involved non-specialist equipment such as 'dishes' or 'pots'. It may also be that a proportion of dwellings were small dwellings or part houses, relying on other spaces for cooking and food preparation beyond the house boundaries. Thirteen roomed inventories show two rooms assessed as used for cooking and food preparation, with one room probably used for storage rather than actual cooking. In John Hambley's house (St Austell parish, 1625), his hall was a space for commensality and the roasting of food, and his kitchen used for boiling and food preparation.[614] In the house of Barnard Tucker (Uffculme,

[612] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 77; Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 130–31; Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, p. 42.
[613] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* pp. 33-4.
[614] CRO AP/H/622, Will of John Hambley, yeoman, of Tregangives, St Austell, 1625.

1613) which had no kitchen but instead the buttery was used for domestic production and the hall for cooking and dining.[615]

An analysis of the material culture shows some evidence for change in the processes and activity of cooking, even if the location did not change significantly. For much of the seventeenth century English cooking techniques and practices underwent little change, primarily involving the processes of boiling, roasting, frying, grilling, and baking, with the most common being boiling or roasting.[616] Table 31 shows the gradual introduction of jacks, as mechanical aids for the turning of spits (although it is not clear what type of jacks these were), and for a late appearance of saucepans.[617]

Table 31: Material culture of cooking recorded in rural vernacular inventories

Object	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Skillets	**55%**	**44%**	**63%**
Crocks	**81%**	**48%**	**46%**
Saucepans			6%
Spits	48%	44%	40%
Jacks		8%	11%
Frying Pans	19%	16%	26%
Gridirons	36%	17%	20%
Total inventories	110	171	92

Source: 140 rural vernacular inventories with rooms described that record 'cooking'.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of rooms that record material culture related to a particular function.

Table 31 shows the principal cooking techniques in households of the South West were the boiling of food, using cauldrons or 'crocks' (metal or ceramic cauldrons with shoulder loops for pot-hooks and with legs for standing in the fire, particular to the South West), posnuts, skillets, and kettles, frying using frying pans, and roasting using spits and dripping pans.[618] The

[615] Inventory of Barnard Tucker, of Uffculme, 1613, *Uffculme Wills and Inventories,* no. 52.
[616] Brears, 'Seventeenth Century Britain', pp. 188-90; Stead, 'Georgian Britain', p. 221.
[617] Brears, 'Seventeenth Century Britain', pp. 190–91; Stead, 'Georgian Britain', p. 221.
[618] Peter Brears, 'Culinary Artefacts in West Country Households, 1550-1700: Form, Function and Nomenclature', in *West Country Households,* ed. Allan, Alcock, and Dawson, pp. 255–70 (pp. 256–60).

proportion of households using crocks declined significantly from the mid-seventeenth century, with an increase in the proportion using skillets to boil food. A small proportion of rural households contained frying pans and gridiron, and a declining proportion of households cooking using spits. From the early eighteenth century a small number of inventories recorded saucepans. Saucepans are more commonly associated with coal fires and grates (due to their flat bottoms) but could be used on open wood fires on brandices (a regional version of the trivet with thicker construction for being placed in a fire).[619] The introduction of saucepans heralded new recipes and new tastes in cooking and technical innovations but it remains the case that the vast majority of households continued cooking with traditional objects. What is not observed in the data are changes in the foods being cooked, and that even with roasting and boiling techniques, there could be considerable complexity with detailed knowledge and understanding of cooking techniques to create successful meals.[620]

Table 30 shows commensality from the early eighteenth century took place primarily in a parlour or kitchen, with a small but significant proportion of halls and chambers also used for eating and drinking. In earlier periods, the hall was the primary location in most households, with the parlour an important secondary space for commensality. That chambers show evidence for commensality contrasts with the study of Alcock and Carson, who argued that in the South West, chambers were for sleeping and storage, sometimes specialised storage (e.g. apple chamber or cheese chamber) rather than for any other function.[621] In a small number of households, the chamber, most likely an upper-storey space, gained a new social purpose for sociability in the majority of inventories.[622] The houses of William Hoyle (Cockington, 1613), of Alice Hurley and Mary Champneys (Uffculme, 1628 and 1635), and James Hellier and Florence Hawke (Bodmin parish, 1615 and 1618) show the primary commensality rooms to be the hall and parlour/kitchen.[623] In contrast, the houses of Mary Honeywill (Cockington, 1687), of Edward Marshall and Justin

[619] Brears, 'Seventeenth Century Britain', p. 191; Brears, 'Culinary Artefacts in West Country Households', p. 260; Vickery*, Behind Closed Doors,* p. 266.
[620] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 88-9.
[621] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* pp. 33-4.
[622] Hamling and Richardson*, A Day at Home,* p. 185.
[623] Inventory of Mary Champeneys, widow, of Uffculme, 1635, *Uffculme Wills and Inventories,* no. 96; CRO AP/H/366,Will of James Hellier of Bodmin, 1615; CRO AP/H/431, Will of Florence Hawke, widow, of Bodmin, 1618; DHC 48/13/2/3/2, Inventory of William Hoyle of Chilston, Cockington, 1613, fol.157; inventory of Alice Hurley, widow of Uffculme, 1628, *Uffculme Wills and Inventories,* no. 84.

Dunne (Uffculme, 1668 and 1697), and William Blake and Nicholas Bradley (Bodmin parish, 1717 and 1700), show that although the hall remained an important space for eating and drinking, so now was a chamber.[624]

Roomed inventories show that 10 per cent of dwellings had an extra room for commensality by 1750 compared with houses inventoried 1601 to 1650. In 126 inventories, commensality likely occurred in two or more rooms; eleven dwellings had evidence for five or more rooms used for commensality. There was instead an increase in the proportion of houses assessed with two rooms for commensality, from 14 per cent in 1601 to 1650, to 24 per cent by 1750, with a similar increase in the proportion of houses assessed with three or rooms for commensality. In Devon, the proportion of houses with two or more rooms for commensality increased, from 28 per cent of houses assessed 1601 to 1650 to 45 per cent of houses assessed 1701 to 1750. Over the same period, the proportion of houses in Cornwall with two or more rooms for commensality fell from 58 per cent to 44 per cent.[625] For example, Thomas Dunne's house (Uffculme, 1697) had five rooms that contained the material culture of commensality, or Thomas Jenkin's house (Madron, 1663) with eight rooms showing evidence for use for commensality.[626] That is not to say that eating and drinking always happened in those rooms since different rooms would have suited different meals at different times of the day

The low proportion of rooms with evidence for hearths is contrasts with Hearth Tax Returns for Devon and Cornwall show that the majority of rural houses had two hearths, shown in tables 6a and 6b. Twenty of 110 inventories dated to 1601 to 1650 recorded hearth equipment, with four of those inventories recording hearth equipment in two rooms; by 1750 twenty-one of ninety-two inventories assessed hearth equipment, with four inventories recording hearth equipment in two or three rooms. These secondary heated rooms include the hall, parlour, kitchen, buttery, with a tertiary heated room likely to be a chamber. For example, in Agnes Hunking's house (St Stephens-by-Saltash, 1672) of five

[624] CRO AP/B/2961/2, Will of William Blake, tanner and barker, Bodmin, 1717; CRO AP/B/2532/2, Will of Nicholas Bradley, yeoman, of Bodmin, 1700; inventory of Justin Dunne, of Uffculme, 1697, *Uffculme Wills and Inventories,* no. 219; DHC 48/13/2/3/15B, Inventory of Mary Honywill of Chilston, Cockington, 1687; inventory of Edward Marshall, fuller of Uffculme, 1668, *Uffculme Wills and Inventories,* no. 143.
[625] Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, p. 62.
[626] Inventory of Justin Dunne, of Uffculme, 1697, *The Uffculme Wills and Inventories: 16th to 18th centuries,* ed. Peter Wyatt (Devon and Cornwall Record Society Vol 40, 1997), number 219; CRO AP/J/588, Will of Thomas Jenkin of Madron, 1663.

rooms with evidence for heating, three were chambers.[627] Inventory evidence for the fuel used is scarce (as wood fires needed different hearth equipment to coal fires). Although Lawrence and Stead argued that throughout England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a gradual change to the use of coal for fuel for fires, the the domestic use of coal in Devon was uncommon, with wood the predominant fuel for the early modern period, supplemented by peat or turf.[628] In Cornwall, peat or turf was of particular importance, with Carew writing that wood in Cornwall was better in the east than the west, with wood in western parts of Cornwall principally employed for making into charcoal for tin blowing.[629]

Chapter 3 shows comparatively little change in the system of settings in the built domestic environment in the South West over the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, with comparatively few dwellings undergoing significant post-construction redevelopment with a physical extension to the house. However, roomed inventories show a significant change in the activity systems of households and the use of space, with spaces given different names in later periods and less activity occurring in the central room of the house. Roomed inventories and surviving dwellings constructed before 1750 show that in the majority of households, the space called the hall was renamed the kitchen from the early eighteenth century, but the space was used differently in this later period with a decentralisation of functions. In the early seventeenth century, commensality primarily occurred in the hall, with cooking and food preparation occurring in the kitchen was cooking and food preparation. From the early eighteenth century, the primary rooms in the majority of rural vernacular houses were a kitchen and chamber(s), both used for commensality but as their secondary function. Not all chambers were used for commensality, but that between a quarter and a third of chambers showed evidence for commensality suggests a fundamental shift from the ground floor to a first-floor room for entertaining. This pattern supports the argument of Hamling and Richardson, and Overton et al. that sociability became

[627] CRO AP/H/1744, Will of Agnes Hunking, widow, of St Stephens-by-Saltash, 1672.
[628] Stead, 'Georgian Britain', p. 221; Wright, *Home Fires Burning,* pp. 65–7l; Woodward, 'Straw, Bracken and the Wicklow Whale', pp. 50–51.
[629] Carew, *Survey of Cornwall,* fol. 21r; Woodward, 'Straw, Bracken and the Wicklow Whale', pp. 50–51.

concentrated on a first-floor chamber, especially a Great Chamber, rather than the parlour.[630]

Halls

Table 28 showed a considerable decline in the proportions of rural houses with halls in the South West, particularly from the early eighteenth century. This decline is not likely to be related to the physical loss of that space as there is substantial continuity of the same plan-forms across the early modern period. Roomed inventories show that whilst in the early seventeenth century the primary function of the hall was for commensality, from the early eighteenth century few halls had a clear function. The decline in the proportions of houses with 'halls' must be related to socio-cultural factors and naming practices. Table 32 shows how the functions and furniture groups of the hall changed over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

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[630] Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 185; Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 134.

Table 32: Halls in rural vernacular houses, 1601 to 1750

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Heating	7%	12%	16%
Cooking and Food Preparation	**13%**	**18%**	**7%**
Commensality	**72%**	**64%**	**36%**
Sleeping	12%	7%	2%
Hospitality	5%		
Comfort	12%	5%	2%
Convenience	18%	9%	11%
Chairs	42%	46%	22%
Looking Glass		3%	
Pictures			
Timekeeping	1%	2%	4%
Reading	2%	1%	
Domestic Production	1%	1%	2%
Total number of halls	85	118	45
Total roomed inventories	110	171	92

Source: all rural vernacular inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of halls that record material culture related to a particular function.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the hall no longer contained objects of physical comfort (reflecting the reduced use of the hall), and few halls contained objects of convenience such as chests of drawers and chairs. The functions of the hall similarly dwindled, but in the small proportion of dwellings recorded with a space named the hall, the room was important for the activity systems of the household. The hall offered appropriate space for commensality, cooking and food preparation (reflecting the small proportion that with hearth equipment), and even domestic production. Table 32 shows that in the majority of households of the early modern South West, their domestic environments had changed. There were different activity systems where even if the system of settings remained the same, although named differently, the same space was used differently in the eighteenth century compared with the seventeenth century. Households no longer needed a room called the hall; the space formerly called the hall was used differently. Table 37 does not support Alcock and Caron's

implied suggestion for a continuity in the function of the hall over the seventeenth century, and little evidence of the hall becoming a specialised room as happened in Thame and Kent.[631]

There are areas of difference and similarities between the two counties in the use of the hall. In the early seventeenth century, a similar proportion of halls in both counties, 72 per cent, were used for commensality, with a higher proportion of halls in Cornwall used for cooking and food preparation (17 per cent compared to 4 per cent in Devon). However, 50 per cent of halls in Devon, and 33 per cent in Cornwall, were assessed between 1701 and 1705 with evidence for commensality. Few halls in Devon were used for sleeping compared with Cornwall. Compared to Kent, halls in Devon and Cornwall in the eighteenth century were used differently, with little evidence for the display of clocks, pictures, and looking glasses.[632] This study did not focus on wall decoration and imagery in halls, but with few recorded incidents of hangings, the hall was, by the early eighteenth century, a room with little purpose or function in Cornwall.[633] It was in the east of Cornwall that the evidence suggests a more significant shedding of function than elsewhere. In St Stephens-by-Saltash, for example, five of six recorded halls had a clear function in 1601 to 1650; by 1750 only three of twelve halls had a clear function. In other Cornish parishes, the decline was smaller, with inventoried halls in only four parishes (St Austell, Linkinhorne, St Stephens-by-Saltash, and Madron) showing evidence for some function. In Uffculme, however, the proportion of halls with a clear function by 1750 was higher than other parishes, with five of eleven inventories with a hall recording a clear function. Having a space called the hall was more important in Devon than in Cornwall, and the room formed an essential part of the activity systems of a minority of households in the eighteenth century.

In one house, we can get a vivid glimpse of how households used the hall as part of daily life during the early seventeenth century. The inventory of Henry Grills of Beneathwood House, in the manor of Rillaton Pengelly, Linkinhorne parish, Cornwall, was created in 1633.[634] Grills' inventory shows he lived in a nine roomed house, with hall, parlour, kitchen, buttery,

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[631] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* pp. 33-4; Buxton, *Domestic Culture*, p. 216; Dolan, 'Decline of the Multifunction Hall?', p. 164; Overton et al.*, Production and Consumption,* pp. 129–30.
[632] Overton et al.*, Production and Consumption,* p. 126.
[633] Hamling and Richardson*, A Day at Home,* pp. 122–27.
[634] *Parliamentary Survey of the Duchy of Cornwall: Part 1,* p. 123.

and chambers over the hall and entry, and a malthouse and hay house.[635] His parlour was used for reading, commensality happened in the hall, the kitchen for cooking, and his hay house contained a cider pound. The house, recorded on the NHL, was constructed during the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries with a two-room and cross-passage. The house was extended in the seventeenth century with a three-room and cross-passage plan-form.[636] The inner room and hall are heated by lateral stacks, and the chambers over the entry and hall heated by an axial stack. The inventory suggests the parlour was constructed by 1633, that the kitchen was heated with a chamber over, and the lower room was unheated. This may suggest there was a detached kitchen as well as a detached malthouse and hay house. The hall thus was the main room for dining, with the parlour beyond a private sitting room, but there was no clear chamber over the parlour, suggesting that when the parlour was built, the chamber over the hall was extended. The chamber over the buttery was the principal sleeping chamber.

Kitchens

Although table 28 showed an increase in the proportion of houses with kitchens, which mirror the decline of the hall, and that it is likely the space called the hall was renamed the kitchen, table 30 shows that the kitchen did not have the same functions as the hall. The kitchen was principally a space for cooking and food preparation, and over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, it was also used for commensality. Table 33 shows how the kitchen gradually came to be a more important room in the domestic environment.

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[635] CRO AP/G/388, Will of Henry Grills, yeoman, of Beneathwood, Linkinhorne, 1633.

[636] Beneathwood House, Linkinhorne; https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1140524; [10 November 2018].

Table 33: Kitchens in rural vernacular houses, 1601 to 1750

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Heating	20%	16%	12%
Cooking and Food Preparation	**49%**	**42%**	**41%**
Commensality	**27%**	**32%**	**37%**
Sleeping	8%	5%	6%
Hospitality		3%	7%
Comfort		4%	1%
Convenience	16%	16%	25%
Chairs	8%	14%	19%
Looking Glass			1%
Pictures			1%
Timekeeping			4%
Reading		1%	1%
Domestic Production	14%	14%	6%
Total number of kitchens	49	74	68
Total roomed inventories	110	171	92

Source: all rural vernacular inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of kitchens that record material culture related to a particular function.

Across the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a small proportion of kitchens contained objects of comfort and convenience, including cooking jacks, candlesticks, and chests of drawers. Few kitchens contained objects of physical comfort. The proportion of kitchens used for domestic production, such as brewing or spinning, declined with some evidence of the function becoming more associated with a service room. A low proportion of kitchens contained timepieces or pictures/framed maps, and limited evidence before the mid-eighteenth century of objects associated with formal hospitality in the kitchen. A small minority of kitchens (four of sixty-eight kitchens) in the early eighteenth century contained a bed. Most likely, these were beds for servants, but evidence suggests some may have been well-appointed beds with featherbeds and high bedsteads, and kitchens with beds were

slightly more common in Devon than Cornwall. The evidence shows that houses with beds in the kitchen were not the largest, nor the smallest, with between four and six rooms. Table 33 show that although the proportion of kitchens used for a function, or which contained a particular group of objects increased, at least half of kitchens assessed between 1701 and 1750 had no apparent function. Nonetheless, in a significant number of households where there was a kitchen, the function of that space was for cooking and food preparation and commensality, with some evidence for informal sociability evidenced by the increasing proportion of kitchens with chairs.

In comparing table 33 with other locations shows a degree of similarity. In the houses of Thame, by the end of the seventeenth century the kitchen was a place for social association and dining, as well as for the preparation of food, but whether cooking was located in the kitchen depended on house size.[637] Kitchens in smaller houses were less likely to be heated and used for cooking, as the hall often had the only hearth, and thus it was more likely to be used for food preparation.[638] However, kitchens in Thame and Kent were more commonly used for cooking than in rural vernacular houses of the South West, even in 1601.[639] Evidently, in other regions, inventory evidence shows that the kitchen was increasingly an essential place for commensality, although whether that commensality involved the whole household or just servants, is unclear. In some houses, although noted by Overton et al., the kitchen was a storage room for plates, platters, and other commensality utensils with no tables, tableboards, or seating recorded.[640] Pennell argues that the kitchen became the 'heart of the home', with clocks and timepieces, pictures and framed maps, or books and Bibles increasingly located there.[641] Such evidence for rural vernacular houses in the South West is lacking.

Table 33 shows that a significant proportion of kitchens had no material culture of cooking, although there may have been a particular relationship between the buttery and kitchen in houses where both were present, suggestive of a complex system of activities separating the functions. That less than all houses appear to have a room with evidence for cooking needs

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[637] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* pp. 229-30.
[638] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* pp. 230-31.
[639] Overton et al*., Production and Consumption,* p. 126.
[640] Overton et al*., Production and Consumption,* pp. 130–31.
[641] Pennell, "'Pots and Pans History'", p. 205.

to be remarked. One theory may be that found by Aaron Brody at Tell En-Naṣbeh, where he argued that in one five-building compound, occupied by three nuclear families, only one kitchen was used with the groups eating separately, with potential co-operation in the production of food and goods, and storage.[642] In research by Herring, he argues that the basic form of settlement in early medieval Cornwall were nucleated hamlets, and even hamlet disintegration from the fourteenth century did not result in widespread disintegration into single farmsteads as many nucleated hamlets still existed in the early nineteenth century.[643] The result of this may have been an extraordinary level of cooperation between households in the hamlet, in the field, and in other economic activity such as fishing and tinning.[644] Thus, it may be that the systems of settings in the hamlet extended into other households, but the evidence for this in the early modern period may be challenging to find.

Comparison between Devon and Cornwall shows particular difference in the use of kitchens for commensality and cooking and food preparation. In the early seventeenth century, only two kitchens were recorded in roomed inventories from Devon, and of the forty-seven recorded in Cornwall, 51 per cent were used for cooking and food preparation, and 28 per cent for commensality. From the early eighteenth century, 75 per cent of kitchens in Devon (eight were recorded) were used for cooking and food preparation, and 75 per cent for commensality, whilst in Cornwall, only 37 per cent were used for cooking and food preparation and 32 per cent for commensality. There was little difference in the use of kitchens between Devon and Cornwall, with kitchens in both counties used for the same functions.

Parlours

Table 30 shows that at least half of parlours were used for commensality, and proportionally few contained hearth equipment indicating they were heated. However, a closer look at the function of parlours, seen in table 34, shows that there was a considerable change in the function of the parlour from the early eighteenth century.

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642 Aaron Brody, 'The Archaeology of the Extended Family: a Household Compound from Iron II Tell En-Naṣbeh', in *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond,* ed. Assaf Yasur-Landau, Jennie R. Ebeling and Laura B. Mazow, (Brill, Leiden, 2013), pp. 237-254.
643 Herring, 'Cornish Strip Fields', pp. 60-5
644 Herring, 'Cornish Strip Fields', pp. 73-5.

Table 34: Parlours in rural vernacular houses, 1601 to 1750

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Heating	3%	11%	4%
Cooking and Food Preparation	3%	4%	
Commensality	**50%**	**57%**	**57%**
Sleeping	**50%**	**30%**	**4%**
Hospitality			9%
Comfort	25%	28%	4%
Convenience	6%	9%	4%
Chairs	16%	43%	43%
Looking Glass		2%	9%
Pictures			4%
Timekeeping			4%
Reading	9%	2%	
Total number of parlours	32	46	23
Total roomed inventories	110	171	92

Source: all rural vernacular inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of parlours that record material culture related to a particular function.

During the early seventeenth century, most parlours were used for commensality or sleeping, with a small proportion heated. The parlour was both best room and best bedchamber. By 1750, the primary function of the parlour was for commensality, with some evidence for formal hospitality, with few parlours contained beds. By 1750 parlours also contained looking glasses and pictures, objects associated with social display. The evidence suggests that, akin to the argument of Overton et al., and Hamling and Richardson, that the parlour transformed from a space for sleeping into space for commensality and sociability, but the parlour was not used to store increasing numbers of possessions that displayed

status.[645] Only a minority of parlours contained hearth equipment, although house plans of surviving houses show it was as likely for a house to have the inner room or parlour heated as it was to have a service room or kitchen heated. This may be evidence that hearths in parlours did not require specialist material culture (andirons, firepans, and bellows). The parlour did not become a more comfortable room over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as the proportion with upholstered chairs and stools, and cushions, declined. The low incidence of objects of physical comfort does suggest little socialising within parlours until the early eighteenth century.[646] Table 34 shows the principal meaning of the parlour changed, with a clear shift from the use of the parlour as the best bed/sitting room, to its use for small groups and family to dine in, with occasional use for hospitality, such as tea and coffee drinking. However, although Alcock and Carson also identified this change, their argument that the move from sleeping into chamber rooms and the provision of extra upper storey rooms (chambers) helped turn the parlour into a living room is unlikely to be the root cause of the change.[647] Alcock and Carson argue that most parlours had become the best living room, and no longer used for sleeping; this is supported by table 30 in the increase in the proportion of parlours with the material culture of commensality.[648] The change is perhaps evidence of a broader household change in systems of activities related to changes in socio-cultural and economic contexts; in essence, the change could be evidence of a changing society that inhabited these dwellings.

The patterns of table 34 are not very different to those found in the houses of Kent and Thame, in that the function of the parlour changed from a place of private, family retreat to a place of discerning sociability and hospitality.[649] Given some overlap in sources of evidence between this study and the study of Overton et al., it is to be expected that there is an overlap in findings, with a similar picture of the change in the function of the parlour.[650] To describe the parlour as a room for sleeping, and later to a place of discerning sociability and hospitality invites questions as to the nature of the sleeping and to the nature of the commensality activity. It was a very particular room, linked with the scale and status of a

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645 Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 226; Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 186; Overton et al*., Production and Consumption,* pp. 131-32.
646 Buxton, 'Domestic Culture in Early Seventeenth-Century Thame', pp. 111–13.
647 Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* p. 40.
648 Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* pp. 33-4.
649 Buxton, *Domestic Culture*, pp. 226–27; Overton et al*., Production and Consumption,* pp. 131–32.
650 Overton et al*., Production and Consumption,* pp. 131–32.

property which acted as a social filter, described by Gervase Markham as a room for "entertainment of strangers".[651] Hamling and Richardson found that the beds and bedding associated with parlours to be of high quality and high status: feather beds and higher status beds (i.e. not truckle beds).[652] The evidence from rural inventories of the South West does not suggest a high degree of 'display' in the bed furniture found in parlours. Although the evidence does show that a high proportion of beds in parlours were featherbeds, this needs to be read alongside that much of the evidence for beds in Cornwall were featherbeds (588 recorded compared with only twenty-two flock beds and 111 dust beds). The evidence also shows that three parlours with beds the type of bed were recorded indicating a high status, such as found in the inventory of Gregory Hellyar (Bodmin parish, 1644) which recorded that the bedstead was a standing bedstead, a type of bedstead with columns, panelled head and a tester (canopy).[653] For the most part, the simple description of "bedstead" or "bed" was provided; thus evidence for display beds in the parlour is lacking.[654]

Another aspect to consider is whether parlours show evidence for increased sociability of groups of individuals, rather than just family/dining alone. Seating and chairs provide an essential clue to the changing use of the room for sociable dining. Buxton argued that surpluses of seating, as found by comparing the number of seats recorded with dwelling size and the household's expected population, could indicate external hospitality. Buxton related these figures to the expected household population by dwelling size, determining that chambers may link to household population: more chambers, the greater the number of household members. Thus, he argued that in Thame, the higher number of multiple seating furniture (settles, forms, and benches) in larger houses could be mapped to an expected higher household population, but there was an apparent surplus of single seating, stools and chairs in larger houses, suggestive of external hospitality.[655] Using a similar technique in the South West suggests that houses of more than six rooms had a population twice as large as dwellings of one to three rooms. Examining the total number of chairs and multiple seating furniture (settles, forms, and benches) associated with commensality activity shows

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[651] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* pp. 181-2; Gervase Markham, *The English Husbandman, The First Part,* London (1613)
[652] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* pp. 186-7.
[653] Pauline Agius, 'Late Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Furniture in Oxford: A survey of that listed in the probate inventories of members of the University 1568-1699', *Furniture History,* 7 (1971), 72-86 (p. 79); CRO AP/H/1174, Will of Gregory Hellyar, weaver of Bodmin, 1644.
[654] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 169.
[655] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* pp 169-70.

differences between Devon and Cornwall. In Cornwall, dwellings of one to three rooms had roughly one chair and one piece of multiple seating furniture per household, whilst in dwellings of more than six rooms, there were roughly five chairs and one piece of multiple seating furniture per dwelling. In Devon, the figures show that dwellings of one to three rooms were likely to have one chair and one piece of multiple seating furniture, but in dwellings of more than six rooms, there was likely to be five chairs and five items of multiple seating per household. This evidence suggests that informal sociability is evident in larger vernacular houses of the South West, especially from the early eighteenth century, and that the parlour was more likely used for sociable commensality or informal sociability with external visitors. This change in the function of the parlour may be linked with the development in some households of a 'Great Chamber', a room combining the function of a private reception room with a bedchamber (to some extent, the function of a parlour before the mid-seventeenth century).[656]

In other studies, this shift has been taken to suggest evidence for increasing sociable dining, dining together rather than private sitting.[657] Who 'together' cannot be answered through the inventories, although the suggestion is for family, friends, and associates. The evidence suggests that in larger households, there may have been more opportunity for sociability and informal hospitality in the parlour. However, a question is raised about the nature of parlour-based hospitality. There is clear evidence for new forms of socialising around tea and coffee with tea pots and tea canisters found in parlours from the early eighteenth century, as seen in table 40. Although the same evidence can be found in kitchens in the eighteenth century, the lack of seating suggests the storage of such goods in the kitchen for use in the parlour. A discussion of the nature of the parlour by Hamling and Richardson implies that in some households, the parlour was a male-dominated space, a space for great men and officeholders for withdrawal or spending leisure time in. However, it was a multi-layered room where the function changed according to time of day.[658] The presence of tea pots and tea canisters may suggest a growing female presence. Vickey noted that evidence for tea pots could be found across a broad social spectrum, not just in possession of women; ownership of tea wares was often attributed to women. Tea loomed large in the

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[656] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 133-4.
[657] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 132.
[658] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* pp. 185-90.

social worlds of women from the late seventeenth century; tea was likely to be served to other women.[659] Although other studies suggest the parlour must be considered in tandem with the Great Chamber, which appeared to have functioned as a formal reception room in place of the hall, the low proportions of Great or Best Chambers in the early modern South West suggest a different pattern.[660] The lack of framed maps and pictures, looking glasses, clocks, books and Bibles, and low proportions of parlours with new objects of convenience and comfort do not suggest these were 'front stage' rooms for social display of status and wealth as Weatherill argued (although ownership of pictures was limited at the social level of the middling sorts).[661] Instead, the patterns seen in table 39 suggest a degree of specialisation of function, with the parlour becoming a room for commensality, and from the early eighteenth century, informal sociability. What is not so able to determine is how the function of the parlour changed between different times of day, and the meaning of the parlour during the day compared to during the evening.[662]

Hospitality and Entertaining

Evidence for hospitality, including tea and coffee sets, does not appear in significant numbers in parlours until after the early eighteenth century. The complete list of items designated as indicating hospitality is set out in Table S, Appendix 1, and includes napkins, tablecloths, musical instruments, basins and ewers, and tea and coffee drinking sets. This list was inspired by the arguments of Buxton and Crowley, that for the late medieval and early modern period, a crucial element of hospitality was cleanliness, through provision of tablecloths and napkins and water for washing, which also provided comfort.[663] Table 35 shows, a hall and chamber(s) were important for hospitality and entertaining, but overall little hospitality occurred which required specialist objects. For the majority of households, hospitality at home did not involve dedicated objects, but was accommodated using existing material culture. This pattern implies that the majority of hospitality was informal. From the early eighteenth century, the number of rooms assessed with the material culture of hospitality increased to twelve (31 per cent of all roomed inventories), primarily contained within the kitchen or parlour. The hall no longer contained such objects after the mid-

[659] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* pp. 272-3.
[660] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* pp. 131–33; Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 130.
[661] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 197; Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 135; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture*, p. 9.
[662] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* pp. 189-90.
[663] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, p. 5.

seventeenth century. Combining the evidence from tables 30 and 35 suggests that in the majority of households, hospitality was informal, based upon sociable commensality without the provision of particular material culture.

Table 35: Hospitality recorded in rural vernacular inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall	4		
Kitchen		2	5
Parlour			2
All Chambers	4	2	2
Total number of inventories	110	171	92

Source: all rural vernacular inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

The parlours of the early modern South West do provide evidence for the changing nature and material culture of hospitality in early modern England. Although the most focus has been on the changing nature of gentry hospitality and entertainment, by studying the changing domestic material culture of a broader middle section of society some light has been shed on this topic.[664] Although hospitality has more obvious forms, such as tea and coffee drinking or entertaining with music and gaming, informal hospitality was a crucial part of daily life. Especially amongst the middle portion of society, informal hospitality and sociability accompanied religious occasions, activities connected with the agricultural calendar such as harvesting and sheep shearing, and life-cycle events (baptisms, marriages, and funerals).[665] All such events involved access to the house, although restrictions could be put in place through shut or locked doors or amongst higher status households through elaborate rules of time and space.[666] Buxton argues that the majority of domestic social engagements involved drink rather than food and that the use of specific objects highlights changes in hospitality and entertaining.[667] In this light, re-considering table 30 would suggest that kitchens and parlours principal rooms for household commensality, but also for

[664] Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*; Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994).
[665] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 173.
[666] Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, p. 106.
[667] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 170.

informal sociability. As discussed previously, the evidence for informal sociability with external visitors to the household is more evident in dwellings of more than six rooms, and the increasing presence of multiple sets of chairs in the parlour and chambers suggest these were primary. In these rooms, the household welcomed visitors from outside the household for dining and drinking together.

Before the early eighteenth century, there was a culture of hospitality based upon largesse and dressing, evidenced by a material culture connected with 'cleanliness' and concealment, such as basins and ewers, napkins, and table and cupboard cloths.[668] All these were found houses of the early modern South West, but only until the late seventeenth century. After which, a new culture of domestic sociability is more apparent. Although the domestic sociability of visiting had been evident from the late seventeenth century and was particularly associated with towns and cities, tea and coffee drinking intensified the activity.[669] There is little evidence for tea and coffee drinking in parlours, through the use of tea and coffee pots, tea and coffee cups, tea kettles, or tea spoons, amongst rural vernacular households. The earliest evidence for this is from 1738 in the rural sample parishes considered and primarily found in kitchens or parlours.

Table 36: Tea and coffee drinking recorded in rural vernacular inventories

Tea and Coffee	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall			
Kitchen			5
Parlour			**2**
Best Chamber			
Another Room			1
Total inventories			8

Source: 8 rural vernacular inventories with rooms described that recorded hospitality.

However, it is likely that the kitchen was where the goods were stored rather than where they were used, but this cannot be discounted. This is evident in the inventory of Stephen Commin (St Austell, 1740) where the kitchen was apparently used to store and prepare the

[668] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 155.
[669] Vickery*, Behind Closed Doors,* p. 14.

tea and coffee for consumption elsewhere, whether the best dining room or parlour.[670] By combining tables 35 and 36 shows that virtually all domestic hospitality from 1701 involved the consumption of tea and coffee. Visiting with tea was an informal activity, although it could be made formal. This shift opened the domestic interior to new scrutiny, and could be modest and routine. Hence, it makes sense that such activity happened in ground floor rooms, heated and one which conveyed traditional sense of hierarchiy and status, and a room which could be isolated from the rest of the house.[671] Evidence for tea and coffee drinking is not any more apparent in the houses of the gentry than other socio-economic groups. Of the inventories considered in table 36, one was of a yeoman, one of a surgeon, one of a joiner, and one of a goldsmith, with five of the eight inventories of houses larger than seven rooms. For the majority of households, traditional forms of informal hospitality and entertaining continued within a changed system of setting.

This is further shown by concentrating on three groups of objects: those for physical comfort, convenience, and new behaviours. These groups were separated by this study for how they impacted domestic life. Objects that provided physical comfort through softening hard surfaces, such as cushions, upholstered chairs and stools, or warming pans for beds, were considered, although this is a modern definition offered by Crowley.[672] Objects for convenience includes goods such as jacks, candlesticks and lanterns, and chests of drawers that were useful and provided physical satisfaction, a precursor to comfort.[673] Goods of new behaviours include saucepans, tea and coffee sets, and round or oval tables. The meaning of round and oval tables is that they changed the social dynamics of any gathering sat at them and creating the appearance of a more equitable social dynamic. However, Buxton suggested that oval and round tables demonstrate the "agency of furniture in the structuring of a changing social dynamic". In contrast, this study argues that semi-fixed elements such as furniture together with fixed-feature elements (walls and rooms) are culture-specific mnemonic devices reminding those entering of expected behaviours and rules if the cues were understood.[674] These objects imply a change in certain domestic behaviours rather than a broad continuation of the same activity with better objects. Figure 15 shows how the

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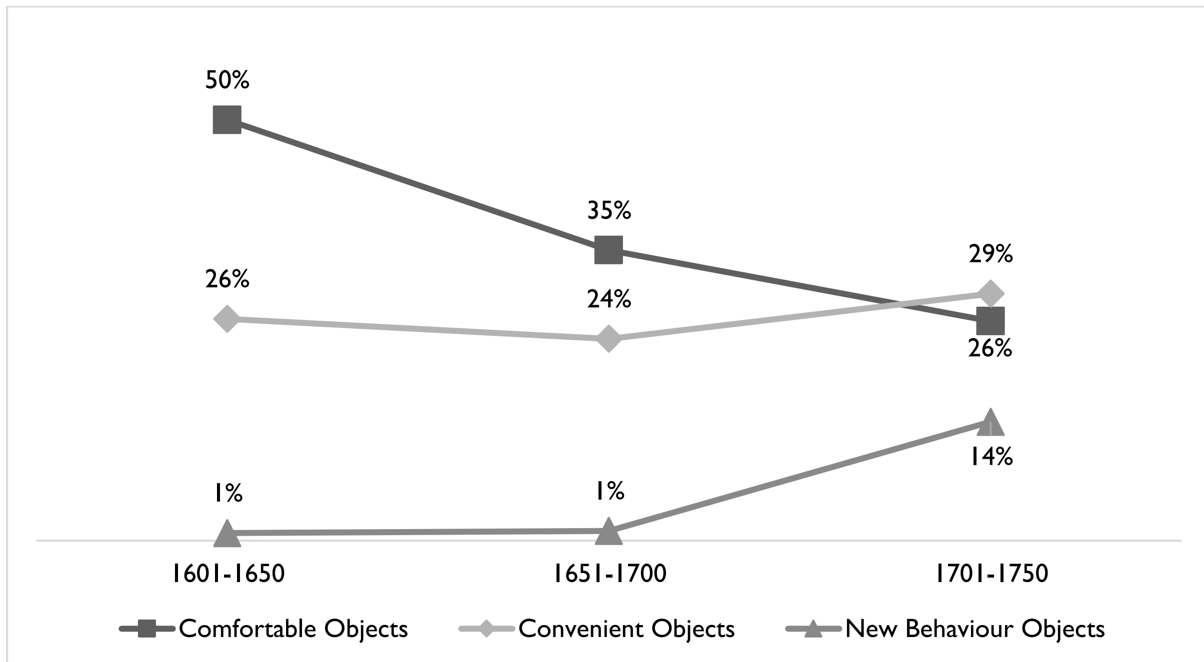
[670] CRO AP/C/3340, Will of Stephen Commin, of St Austell, 1740.
[671] Vickery*, Behind Closed Doors,* p. 295.
[672] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort,* pp. 1–5, 69–71.
[673] Crowley, 'The Sensibility of Comfort', pp. 758–62.
[674] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 150; Rapoport, 'Activity Systems and Systems of Settings', pp. 12-3.

proportion of inventories with such evidence changes over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Figure 15: Frequency of objects of physical comfort, convenience, and new behaviours in rural vernacular houses



Source: all rural vernacular inventories with rooms described, see appendix 2.

The figure shows how objects for new behaviours, although more common by the mid-eighteenth century, were still only to be found recorded in a minority of inventories than objects of convenience. The fall in the proportion recording comfortable objects has been interpreted by Overton et al. as evidence of both a rejection of 'English' cultural values through objects and of Cornish households becoming poorer.[675] Given that these trends are also observed in urban inventories, as seen below, it is likely that there were socio-cultural and economic factors at play here, but whether that was a rejection of 'English' cultural values and behaviours is difficult to know. In comparing Devon with Cornwall, the proportion of rural households with comfortable goods increased in Devon from 8 per cent to 27 per cent by 1750, whereas in Cornwall, the proportion declined from 73 per cent to 30 per cent. The proportion of rural households with convenient goods also rose in Devon, from 3 per cent to 36 per cent by 1750, but in Cornwall, the proportion declined slightly

[675] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 175–76.

from 39 per cent to 33 per cent. In both counties the proportion of rural households with goods of new behaviours increased after the early eighteenth century. Nonetheless, the evidence does show that the only change that the majority of households underwent was a reduction in the presence of objects of physical comfort. Householders were not necessarily concerned with having objects of convenience or new behaviours.

Sleeping

As seen in previous tables, a growing minority of halls, kitchens, and parlours contained evidence for sleeping. Such a change is evident in the different meaning of 'parlour' by the early eighteenth century. Table 37 shows the main rooms recorded with the material culture of sleeping, and how that the principal function of chambers was a space for sleeping.

Table 37: Sleeping in rural vernacular houses

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall	12%	7%	2%
Kitchen	8%	5%	6%
Parlour	**50%**	**30%**	**4%**
All Chambers	**73%**	**80%**	**78%**
Total number of inventories	110	171	92

Source: all rural vernacular inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of rooms that record sufficient evidence for sleeping.

From the late seventeenth century 'chamber' was used to denote an upper storey room, shown in table 28 in the decline of 'chambers over'. Sleeping shifted upwards in the house, away from ground floor rooms (halls and parlours) to less accessible rooms. This pattern is not dissimilar to that found elsewhere, with most other case studies showing that chambers were primarily used for sleeping, as well as storage and commensality.[676] Table 37 shows a small proportion of kitchens were used for sleeping, predominantly found in larger houses of more than eight rooms, and were likely to be used by servants. This pattern is more commonly observed in towns and cities.[677] Hamling and Richardson, Hoskin, Overton et al.,

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[676] Buxton, *Domestic Culture*, pp. 222–23; Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 133–34.
[677] Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, pp. 125–26.

and Buxton all recognise in various ways that the room for sleeping in increasingly meant an upstairs chamber but the reasons why have not been considered in depth. The answer to this might be the lack of room downstairs and the difficulty of physically expanding the footprint of the house. Sasha Handley, and Hamling and Richardson, argue that the provision of a separate bedchamber away from daily activities offered a semi-private space for individual activity, to separate the mundane from other more private activities of sleeping, and representing a withdrawal from communal life.[678] Handley argues further that the sacralisation of sleep during the late seventeenth century was physically supported by the relocation of beds into specialised sleeping spaces.[679] By sacralisation of sleep, Handley means the infusion of daily practices of sleep with spiritual meanings, part of a post-Restoration change towards private, household spirituality of which sleep was an important part.[680] Yet, Handley also recognised chambers as multifunctional rooms, a focus of dining and informal sociability and hospitality, which impacted on sleeping habits.[681]

Chambers

Table 37 shows that the primary function of a chamber was for sleeping, with an important secondary function, shown in table 30, for commensality and likely informal sociability. An important aspect to consider when discussing 'chambers' is a changing definition of 'chamber' that increasingly became associated with an exclusively upstairs space by the early to the mid-eighteenth century, as discussed above. Alcock and Carson argued that chambers were predominantly used for sleeping and storage, sometimes specialised storage (e.g. Apple Chamber or Cheese Chamber), and that by the early eighteenth century, the chamber was used to denote a sleeping room located on an upper storey.[682] That not all chambers were used for sleeping in (roughly 20-30 per cent of chambers had no material culture evidence for sleeping) does indicate that some may have been a ground floor room used for storage or other purposes. The argument could be that chambers functioning as bedchambers were nearly all located on an upper floor by the early eighteenth century, whilst chambers not used for sleeping may have been located on any floor in the house. One example which contrasts with this is recorded in the inventory of Thomas Benmer (Madron, 1692), which

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[678] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 29; Sasha Handley, 'Sociable Sleeping in Early Modern England, 1660–1760', *History*, 98 (2013), 79–104 (pp. 98–99).
[679] Sasha Handley, 'From the Sacral to the Moral', *Cultural and Social History*, 9 (2012), 27–46 (pp. 42–43).
[680] Handley, 'Sacred to the Moral', p. 28.
[681] Handley, 'Sociable Sleeping in Early Modern England', pp. 94-104.
[682] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* pp. 34-40.

recorded a "Chamber adjoining Dining Room" that was used for sleeping.[683] Plans of surviving dwellings show all houses built after the early seventeenth century had at least one upper storey room, likely a chamber, so the decline in the number of 'chambers' must be related to functional changes. Table 38 shows, in the South West chambers were used for a range of functions, not just sleeping or storage.[684]

Table 38: Chambers recorded in rural vernacular inventories, 1601 to 1750

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Heating	2%	9%	6%
Cooking and Food Preparation	2%	2%	
Commensality	**29%**	**26%**	**27%**
Sleeping	**73%**	**80%**	**78%**
Hospitality	3%	1%	2%
Comfort	39%	31%	26%
Convenience	3%	7%	12%
Chairs	18%	26%	43%
Looking Glass	2%	4%	14%
Pictures			6%
Timekeeping			1%
Reading	2%	5%	5%
Domestic Production	1%	2%	1%
Total number of chambers	115	167	81
Total roomed inventories	110	171	92

Source: all rural vernacular inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of chambers where material culture was recorded as evidence of a particular function or object category.

Table 38 shows the primary function of chambers was for sleeping, with a significant proportion of chambers used for commensality. Handley and A. Roger Ekirch argue that

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683 CRO AP/B/2256, Will of Thomas Benmer, of Madron, 1692.
684 Barley, 'Use of Upper Floors', pp. 20–21.

such activities were not necessarily disparate, and sharing a bed with companions was a pragmatic solution to overcrowding after domestic sociability late into the night. This also made beds in chambers a unique site for strengthening personal affections and bonds.[685] This would assume thus that chambers were used for domestic sociability and sleeping. As with the evidence from parlours, the evidence for 'display' beds in chambers is not that strong compared to the number of bedsteads recorded. Roughly twenty-three inventories record evidence for display beds in chambers, primarily located in a chamber over a service room, kitchen, or cellar. In comparison with halls, parlours, and kitchens, there is a more significant proportion of framed maps and pictures, looking glasses, clocks, books, and Bibles to be found in chambers, befitting their role for domestic sociability and informal hospitality.

Chambers were also more likely than halls or parlours to contain objects of convenience, such as chests of drawers or candlesticks from the early eighteenth century. Their presence shows the use of chambers for both storage and 'nocturnal sociability' that various studies have documented, and the desire of households for convenient goods.[686] The majority of the comfortable items were featherbeds, with a smaller number of cushions, window seats, warming pans, and upholstered chairs, but the proportion of chambers with such items suddenly declined from the late seventeenth century in a trend noted by Overton et al..[687] There is limited evidence that bedding improved through this period as argued by Crowley, since a high proportion of households assessed between 1601 and 1650 had featherbeds, a trend that continued into the eighteenth century.[688] A high proportion of chambers with chairs and sets of chairs suggests select dining and sociability was happening in chamber rooms, as described above. What the evidence does appear to suggest is that chambers, particularly hall, kitchen and parlour chambers, appeared to function as an important reception room space rather than the hall, with eating, drinking, and small-scale entertaining happening in those upper spaces.

Given that a significant minority of chambers were used for commensality and informal sociability, an important question to consider is whether some of these chambers functioned as parlours or 'Great Chambers'. As discussed above, the function of parlours

[685] Ekirch, *At Day's Close*, p. 281; Handley, 'Sociable Sleeping in Early Modern England', p. 101.
[686] Ekirch, *At Day's Close*, pp. 185–226; Handley, 'Sociable Sleeping in Early Modern England', pp. 79–80.
[687] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 118-20.
[688] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, p. 74.

changed during the early modern period from being a best bedroom and reception room, to a room for selected but informal sociability with external visitors. In Kent, Overton et al. argued that the function of Great Chambers echoed the function of such rooms in gentry houses, serving as a bedroom, a space for commensality and for sitting, and were more private spaces compared with a parlour for the head of a household, and their family, to retire.[689] The Great or Best Chamber over the seventeenth century came to be considered a comfortable and private multi-function room. However, the relationship with a parlour is not clearly understood, with Overton et al. citing examples of households creating a Great Chamber before a parlour.[690] The proportion of houses with a Great or Best Chamber recorded in roomed inventories is small, no more than 8 per cent, with the room more likely to be recorded in dwellings of more than six rooms, as expected from the work of Overton et al..[691] The function of this room was primarily for sleeping, and commensality. This is seen in the inventory of Roger Bickton (St Stephens-by-Saltash, 1619) whose four-room house had a Best Chamber but no parlour, and in the inventory of Francis Bishop (Bodmin parish, 1738), a goldsmith and whose ten-room house contained a Best Chamber and no parlour.[692]

Other objects found within chambers are indicative of the different use of these spaces compared with other rooms. Objects for timekeeping, pictures, and looking-glasses were more commonly located in a chamber rather than other rooms (including parlours), perhaps indicative of the use of a chamber for selected sociability. 17 per cent of parlours inventoried between 1701 and 1750 contained timepieces, pictures or looking glasses, compared with 21 per cent of chambers over the same period. Crowley argued that the use of artificial lighting using looking glasses and candles denoted an interior where domestic activities could take place beyond the elemental constraints of natural light and so could partake in urbane and genteel lifestyles.[693] Buxton argued that ownership of looking-glasses symbolised the trickling into Thame of a London metropolitan culture of comfort and individualism, whilst Crowley argued that the looking glass was most likely located in the

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[689] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 134.
[690] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 134.
[691] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 134.
[692] CRO AP/B/256, Will of Roger Bickton, of St Stephens-by-Saltash, 1619; CRO AP/B/3534/1, Will of Francis Bishop, goldsmith, of Bodmin, 1738.
[693] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort,* p. 140.

room for social display rather than personal grooming.[694] Most looking glasses in the South West were found in chambers, but as table 35 shows, chambers were not important rooms for formal sociability as suggested by Buxton.[695] There was no strong link between candles and looking glasses either, with most candlesticks and snuffers located within kitchens or parlours rather than chambers, although this may reflect the room where they were lit rather than where they were used. Chambers were also more likely to contain books than other rooms, although the proportion of households with evidence for books or Bibles is low. Hamling and Richardson interpreted evidence for books together with performative objects such as window curtains, pictures, window cushions, and looking glasses as indicative of comfortable spaces used for leisure activities.[696] With this in mind, with chambers showing more evidence for objects of reading and social display, we may interpret these spaces in a minority of households as spaces for leisure activities and informal sociability.

Service Rooms

As shown previously, whilst in Cornwall the proportion of houses with a service room declined, in Devon that proportion increased. The lack of definite service rooms for service functions preclude the possibility that such activity was accommodated within the house, as cider and brewing equipment did not necessarily need a specialist room.[697] However, as shown in Table U, Appendix 1, the service room was likely the space for domestic production. In all periods, a service room was primarily used for domestic production, with a secondary function of the kitchen for domestic production. That domestic production primarily occurred in service rooms in all periods despite an increasing proportion of houses with a kitchen suggests that in rural vernacular houses there was greater need to physically separate 'sleeping' from other mundane daily activities, with some limited desire to separate domestic 'living' functions from 'working' functions. The increase in the proportion of rural houses in Devon with a service room, whilst potentially connected with economic changes, also suggests a social change. There was a need to separate some domestic 'working' functions from domestic 'living' functions by creating an extra room. This suggests some attempt at more significant differentiation in household activities, and perhaps between household members, reflective of some social differentiation amongst

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[694] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort,* p. 129; Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 204.
[695] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* pp. 223-24.
[696] Hamling and Richardson, *A Dat at Home,* p. 42.
[697] Alcock and Carson*, West Country Farms,* pp. 55–60.

those of middling wealth between household members and servants. However, this is difficult to determine from roomed inventories.

The low proportion of service rooms with a clear function may be expected in Cornwall, where Overton et al. argued that few houses in Cornwall were involved in baking (whether commercial or for household production), whilst the proportion of households producing alcohol for domestic use declined between 1600 and 1660 with stability thereafter to 1749 (although source issues may overestimate the proportion of households involved).[698] Most brewing in Cornish houses was for ale rather than beer and may not have needed specialist equipment or specialist room.[699] Where recorded, Table V, Appendix 1 shows the primary function of these rooms was as sites of domestic production, whether that was brewing, making cheese, winnowing, or spinning, with occasional examples of other functions.[700] The low proportion overall of service rooms with evidence for domestic production in the South West contrasts with the pattern elsewhere. Buxton found that while a number of households in Thame continued to carry out brewing and dairying during the seventeenth century, an increasing proportion of households purchased malt and meal rather than making these goods. That said, the proportion of houses with 'other' service rooms increased in Thame, in contrast to Cornwall.[701]

The buttery is a curious room connected with the domestic economy, typically described as a service room but without a clear service function, as seen in Table W, Appendix 1. The proportion of houses with a buttery was small, although greater in Devon than Kent, and it is clear they were used for a range of domestic functions beyond the storage of butts of drink.[702] Table W implies that the low proportion of butteries with a clear function means that their primary function was for the storage of butts, hogsheads, and victuals. Some butteries may have been used for commensality as evidenced by tables, seating furniture, and the presence of cups, plates, platters, saucers, glasses, porringers, and specialist objects such as mustard dishes and pie plates. These functions are also in evidence in butteries in

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[698] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 52-60.
[699] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 58-60.
[700] Kitchens, butteries and cellars are excluded from this table.
[701] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 235.
[702] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 131.

Thame.[703] It may be, however that the buttery was used to store such goods rather than commensality actually occurring in the buttery, as argued by Hamling and Richardson; from inventory evidence alone, this is difficult to determine and depends on other textual evidence.[704] South West examples include Thomas John's house (Madron, 1689) where the buttery was used for commensality, since it contained platters, plates, dishes, a tableboard and a form, and George Edwards' house (St Thomas-by-Launceston, 1621) where the buttery was the only eating room despite the presence of a hall and kitchen.[705] In a small number of examples, the buttery was used to store objects of eating and drinking. In Blanche George's house (Madron, 1674) there were a range of eating implements in the buttery, including plates, flagons, platters, and dishes, but no tableboards, tables, or chairs.[706]

Table W shows there was an overlap of functions with the kitchen, a relationship that Buxton remarked upon where the buttery was an additional storage room alongside the kitchen.[707] A few examples show this. Ann Marshall's house (Uffculme, 1731) contained a kitchen and buttery, both rooms were used for cooking but the buttery was geared towards boiling and the kitchen roasting. Marshall's kitchen was also a principal living room containing pictures, a looking glass, an hourglass, though dining evidently happening there too.[708] In John Bond's house (St Austell, 1710) the buttery and kitchen were used for commensality, a similar pattern to that found in Christopher Burt's house (Liskeard parish, 1696).[709]

Buxton argued that there was an overlap between the functions of butteries and cellars; although only a few cellars had sufficient material culture to determine the function(s), most may have to store objects for eating and drinking.[710] The inventories show cellars were used for the storage of butts of drink, and storage of cooking vessels and eating utensils, brewing, and even for storage of coal. Some cellars in Cornwall had a specific function. From the late fifteenth century, fish cellars or 'palaces' were constructed along the coast of Cornwall, used

[703] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 231.
[704] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 73.
[705] CRO AP/E/91, Will of George Edwards, tanner, of St Thomas by Launceston, 1621; CRO AP/J/886, Will of Thomas John, blacksmith, of Madron, 1689.
[706] CRO AP/G/786, Will of Blanche George, widow, of Madron, 1674.
[707] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 232.
[708] Inventory of Ann Marshall, of Uffculme, 1731, *Uffculme Wills and Inventories,* no. 242
[709] CRO AP/B/2450/2, Will of Christopher Burt, tanner, of Liskeard, 1696.
[710] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 231.

for the salting and pressing of pilchards.[711] In form, they were often a simple courtyard with slots for pressing beams and a gutter for the train oil, with lean-tos for storage of salt and fishing equipment. These might have been attached to a dwelling or might have had the dwelling as an upper storey.[712] Six inventories, dating from 1633 to 1743, all from Madron and Paul parishes, record cellars that were likely to be fish cellars owing to the presence of salt, pressing beams, hogsheads, buckets, and stones. Fish cellars in Devon were of a different form. Here, they were primarily used for the storage of fishing equipment rather than pressing and preparing pilchards, and although some cellars came to be 'cellar settlements', permanently inhabited fishing villages, such as Cockwood on the River Exe, others may have been seasonally inhabited.[713]

Given the overlap between the evidence used by this study and the work of Overton et al., it allows for explanations to be applied to Tables U to W. In Cornwall, Overton et al. found that inventories with evidence for household food processing and textile production fell over the seventeenth century, although it remained the case that more than half of inventories still recorded such evidence in the mid-eighteenth century. Inventories showing evidence of commercial food production and commercial textile production fell too.[714] Indeed, by 1749 Overton et al. argue that evidence of spinning was virtually non-existent in Cornish inventories, and the proportion of inventories with evidence of production for household use fell from 81 per cent 1600 to 1629 to 58 per cent by 1749. Inventories contained little evidence of baking in Cornish households, suggesting either greater reliance on communal ovens or different practices of baking bread. Domestic brewing also declined in Cornwall from c.1660, and the proportion showing evidence for domestic dairying remained static.[715] While this might suggest greater market engagement, there is no evidence for a consumer revolution in material goods in Cornwall by the mid-eighteenth century, and no clear trend that commercial textile or food production increased to meet

[711] Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The Expansion of the South-Western Fisheries in Late Medieval England', *Economic History Review*, 53 (2000), 429–54 (p. 446); Norman John Grenville Pounds, 'Cornish Fish Cellars', *Antiquity*, 18 (1944), 36–41 (pp. 38–40).
[712] Pounds, 'Cornish Fish Cellars', pp. 38–40.
[713] Harold Fox, 'Two Devon Estuaries in the Middle Ages: Fisheries, Ports, Fortifications and Places of Worship', *Landscapes*, 8 (2007), 39–68 (p. 41); F. M. Griffith and E. M. Wilkes, 'The Land Named from the Sea? Coastal Archaeology and Place-Names of Bigbury Bay, Devon', *Archaeological Journal*, 163 (2006), 67–91 (p. 75).
[714] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 39, 57.
[715] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 57–61.

the declining domestic production.[716] In contrast, the trends in Devon suggest there was an increase in the numbers of households engaged with domestic production of cheese and butter. This is evident in the higher proportion of households with cheese wrings or cheese vats from c.1660, such as in Elizabeth Bishop's Uffculme house, inventoried 1688, which had cheese racks in the hall chamber, and cheese tubs in the bakehouse.[717]

Changing use of Rural Rooms

In rural vernacular houses, the focus of domestic life moved away from the hall in favour of kitchens, parlours, and chambers, despite the evidence suggesting that in many households, the central room became known as a kitchen. There was a more diverse and differentiated domestic life by the early eighteenth century with changes in the systems of domestic activities. In the early seventeenth century, commensality was centred on the hall, with a kitchen for cooking and food preparation, whilst a parlour was a best bedroom and room for sociability. From the early eighteenth century, commensality was spread across the house, kitchens remained the principal room for cooking and food preparation with a complex relationship with butteries and service rooms in Devon compared with Cornwall, and the parlour was a room for hospitality and informal sociability. Chambers, although used for commensality since the early seventeenth century, appear to have become more associated with leisure activities and informal sociability. Rooms remained multi-functional, but with some evidence of functionally-restricted loci. Thus, the majority of households saw a significant change in the activity systems, with functions more spread out across the system of settings of the house; there was more significant differentiation and segmentation between working and living activities. These changes are indicative of the expression of wider socio-cultural changes of the household and society, different behaviour and social relationships amongst society, but which did not necessarily find physical expression in the construction of additional rooms. Instead, we can turn to arguments by Flather that divisions in early modern households by status, age, and gender could be managed through mental maps and material culture as a way to understand how increasing differentiation could be managed.[718]

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[716] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* chapter 3.
[717] Inventory of Elizabeth Bishop, of Uffculme, 1688, *Uffculme Wills and Inventories,* no. 194.
[718] Flather, 'Gender, Space, and Place', p. 44.

Particularly noticeable is the changing function of the hall and its decreased use for a range of activities. This 'decline of the hall' questions what function the hall now served in the minority of houses where they were recorded. In some houses, the hall had some limited functions. The inventory of Jane Lampen (St Stephens-by-Saltash, 1741), a spinster, records the hall with only a tableboard indicating that dining was concentrated on the parlour where twelve chairs and a tableboard could be found.[719] In the house of Robert Batt (Uffculme, 1703) the hall contained a clock with the kitchen and parlour used for general living.[720] The hall, devoid of any function although still furnished, could not function as an entry space because of the cross-passage, but was a passage room used to traverse between the cross-passage and the parlour or chambers where commensality occurred. Where there was a hall and a kitchen, there was a complex relationship. In the house of Giles Bishop (Uffculme, 1709), a yeoman, the hall was used for commensality, timekeeping, and cooking (roasting with spits), whilst the kitchen was also used for dining and cooking although with posnuts, cauldrons and frying pans.[721]

[719] CRO AP/L/1478, Will of Jane Lampen, Spinster, of St Stephens-by-Saltash, 1741.
[720] Inventory of Robert Batt, of Uffculme, 1703, *Uffculme Wills and Inventories,* no. L16.
[721] Inventory of Giles Bishop, yeoman, of Uffculme, 1709, *Uffculme Wills and Inventories,* no. 231.

Rooms in Urban Vernacular Houses

Having examined rural houses, this section now turns to examining urban houses. Chapter 3 showed the development of houses in urban environments was distinct to that of houses in rural environments, but with overlap between the different environments. Primarily, the majority of rural dwellings were of plan-forms without an urban equivalent, although the majority of the plan-forms of town houses had a rural equivalent.[722] The theories of rebuilding, such as Hoskins' 'Great Rebuilding' and Johnson's 'Closure', cannot be applied easily to urban housing as they were created from rural evidence. As Chris King wrote, '[u]rban buildings have been almost totally ignored in the wider debate over the Great Rebuilding', but work using archaeological techniques have shown that urban houses were not mere adaptions of rural plan-forms.[723] As discussed in chapter 1, Amos Rapoport, Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson argue that different plan-forms imply different patterns of behaviour and use of rooms. Understanding these differences requires attention to the nature of urban dwellings and the specific economic, social, political, and cultural conditions operating in early modern town centres.[724] Despite physical differences evident between rural vernacular houses and vernacular houses in towns in the South West, there is little difference in the names of rooms recorded in urban roomed inventories compared with their rural counterparts, as seen in table 39.

[722] Chapter 3 'Plan Forms: Urban'.
[723] King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', pp. 57–59.
[724] King, 'The Interpretation of Urban Buildings', p. 485; King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', p. 73.

Table 39: Room types in urban vernacular houses

Room	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall	**79%**	**45%**	**41%**
Kitchen	**56%**	**45%**	**56%**
Parlour	**32%**	**19%**	**25%**
Dining Room	3%	4%	11%
Chamber	61%	64%	62%
Best/Great Chamber	2%	1%	7%
Definite upper chambers	50%	45%	44%
Total chambers present	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
Buttery	23%	14%	5%
Brewhouse	10%	5%	3%
Malt House	3%	4%	3%
Dairy/Milk House	3%	1%	1%
Bakehouse	2%	1%	
Other service rooms	21%	10%	11%
Total service rooms present	**61%**	**40%**	**23%**
Entries	13%	9%	5%
Cellars	16%	19%	25%
Lofts	10%	12%	8%
Garrets			7%
Total inventories	62	77	73

Source: all urban vernacular inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of roomed inventories that recorded certain rooms.

Table 39 shows that although the same rooms were recorded in rural roomed inventories, there are important contrasts and similarities. Whilst the overall proportion of urban inventories recording a hall declined, this was from an earlier period compared to rural houses. In towns, there was a significant decline during the mid to late seventeenth century and a slower rate of decline from the early eighteenth century. Unlike in rural areas, there

was no significant rise in the proportion of urban vernacular houses with kitchens. The proportion of rural houses with a parlour declined slightly, the same pattern as observed in town houses, with arguably the same proportion of houses in both environments recorded with a parlour from the early eighteenth century. The proportion of town houses with chambers was high, as would be expected with taller houses, the proportion was higher than rural houses. The proportion of town houses with service rooms significant declined, with fewer town houses with a service room by 1750 than rural areas. 46 per cent of rural vernacular houses had a service room by 1750 compared with 11 per cent of town houses.

There are insufficient urban inventories from Devon to make a meaningful comparison with Cornwall (shown in Table X, Appendix 1).[725] Instead, a comparison may be carried out between towns in Cornwall to show regional variation. In Tregony parish, for example, of eleven dwellings inventoried in 1601 to 1650, nine had a hall, three had a kitchen, and seven had a parlour; by 1750 of fifteen dwellings, seven had a hall, eight had a kitchen, and six cent a parlour. Tregony was unusual in having evidence for an increasing proportion of households with a kitchen and a parlour. In other towns, other patterns are evident. For example, in Launceston Borough, fourteen of twenty-two dwellings inventoried in 1601 to 1650 had a kitchen, but by 1750 of eight dwellings three had a kitchen. No Launceston house inventoried after 1701 had a parlour, compared with three recorded in houses inventoried between 1601 and 1650. In Penzance, twelve of nineteen dwellings retained a hall from 1701 to 1750. Given that the town was part of Madron parish, where 82 per cent of inventoried rural houses recorded a hall by 1750, this should not be surprising. Nor is it surprising that in Launceston, the proportion of dwellings with a hall decreased to virtually nil, given the same pattern was observable in the nearby rural areas of St Stephen-by-Launceston (decline of 83 per cent) and St Thomas-by-Launceston (decline of 75 per cent). However, the relatively small numbers of inventories for the rural parishes necessitate caution for interpretation. Less similar are the trends for kitchens and parlours, but the interpretation of the hall evidence may be that the same trends and influences operating in rural areas also operated in towns but to a lesser degree.

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[725] There are 181 urban inventories that describe rooms for Cornwall, compared with only 24 for Devon.

Roomed inventories show that the proportion of inventoried houses with a buttery declined, with this decline more apparent in Truro and Tregony boroughs. Between 1601-1650 five of nine inventories from Truro recorded a buttery (56 per cent), whilst in Tregony borough, three of eleven inventories recorded a buttery (27 per cent). By 1750, in Truro, only one of the twenty-five inventories noted a buttery present (4 per cent), and in Tregony, a buttery was not recorded in any of the fifteen inventories. In Penzance borough, however, three of nineteen inventories recorded a buttery (16 per cent). What is apparent is that in Truro borough, the proportion of inventories that recorded a cellar increased by 10 per cent between 1650 and 1750, whilst in Launceston, that proportion increased by 28 per cent (9 per cent fall in the proportion of inventories with a buttery). Unfortunately few inventories of town houses in Devon record butteries, rendering comparison challenging. The numbers of other service rooms were similarly in decline in town houses over the seventeenth century. Almost no town house was inventoried with a bakehouse during the early modern period, whilst in Launceston and Truro boroughs the proportion of houses with a brewhouse increased between 1601 and 1750. Few houses with inventoried with a milkhouse or malthouse, and across Launceston, Tregony, and Truro boroughs (with more than eight inventories dated to 1601 to 1650 and 1701 to 1750), there was a decline in the proportion of dwellings with other service rooms such as sculleries or wash houses.

Comparing the trends observed in table 39 with studies of other towns and cities shows some interesting comparisons.[726] In contrast to the houses of the South West, Norwich houses between 1580 and 1730 showed a decrease in the proportion of houses with a hall and parlour, and an increase in the proportion with kitchens, sculleries and wash houses.[727] Only two inventoried town houses in the South West had washhouses, both in Devon, and no sculleries were recorded. Alan Dyer's study of four Midland towns, Birmingham, Coventry, Derby, and Worcester, also can be compared with towns of the South West, although Dyer examined inventories between 1530 to 1699.[728] Focusing on the period 1570 to 1699 shows that in the four Midland towns the proportion of houses with halls decreased and that only in Coventry was there a rise in the proportion of houses with kitchens. In all four towns studied by Dyer, the proportion of houses with parlours declined. In Coventry

[726] These are set out in Appendix 1, Tables Y (Norwich) and Z (Coventry, Birmingham, and Derby).
[727] Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiater, 'Rooms and Room Use', p. 102.
[728] Dyer, 'Urban Housing', p. 210.

and Worcester, the proportion of houses with cellars increased, although the data for Worcester stops at 1620, and in all four towns, there was a rise in the proportion of houses with attic rooms such as garrets and lofts.[729] These trends show that whatever lay behind the changes in the proportion of town houses with specific rooms in south-west England were observed elsewhere in England, with apparent differences in the timing and nature of the changes.

There is unlikely to have been a physical loss of the hall from houses. Chapter 3 shows the majority of surviving urban vernacular houses constructed before 1750 had plan-forms with two ground floor rooms, and although a small proportion constructed before 1700 underwent post-development construction, this primarily took the form of a physical extension.[730] Unfortunately, plans of surviving houses do not always indicate clearly what these additional rooms were called, with a few exceptions such as 38 North Street.[731] House plans show that none of surviving dwellings was the central room, predominantly called the hall, removed during post-construction redevelopment. The small proportion of surviving urban dwellings that underwent post-construction redevelopment may partly explain why there was relative stasis in the proportion of town houses with a kitchen compared with rural houses, but this is not easy to determine. Thus, surviving dwellings show that the decline of the hall, observed in roomed inventories, was likely the result of socio-cultural or economic factors, including the renaming of that space.

Functional Changes in Urban Rooms

The previous section show significant change in the room names recorded in inventories, with a decline of the hall not matched by a rise of the kitchen, a decline in service rooms recorded, with some replacement of the buttery by the cellar. Although physical factors may have influenced some changes, it is more likely that socio-cultural and economic factors were of greater importance. Having examined room names, we move on now to consider the objects recorded in rooms, in order to explore the activity systems of households and the use of space. As with rural houses, in this section, two approaches are used. First, looking at the rooms in which certain activities took place, such as cooking and food

[729] Dyer, 'Urban Housing', p. 215.
[730] Chapter 3, ‘Plan Forms: Urban’.
[731] Thorp, ‘Construction, Presentation and Development of a Merchant’s Town House’, pp. 154–215.

preparation, or commensality. The second, is looking at a certain room and analysing the objects found within them.

Cooking, Dining, and Heating

As discussed above, the decline of the hall in rural dwellings led to changes in the activity systems of early modern households, particularly a decentralisation of commensality. Stable 47 shows a different pattern in towns. Urban roomed inventories show that commensality primarily occurred in halls or parlours in all periods, with chambers or kitchens also used for commensality, whilst cooking and food preparation primarily occurred in a kitchen. Table 47 shows a higher proportion of halls and chambers contained hearth equipment compared with the same rooms assessed during the early seventeenth century, although with the caveat that the pattern is based on the presence of particular objects associated with hearths. Commensality in town houses did not move from the hall to the kitchen during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Table 40 shows comparatively little change in the activity systems of households in the period of the seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, with surviving dwellings showing little change in the system of settings. The hall and parlour remained primary rooms for commensality and informal sociability, and the kitchen remained the central room for cooking and food preparation.

Table 40: Cooking and food preparation, commensality, and hearths, recorded in urban vernacular inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Cooking and Food Preparation			
Hall	**8%**	**26%**	**13%**
Kitchen	**54%**	**60%**	**39%**
Parlour	5%	7%	
All Chambers		4%	
Butteries	29%	9%	
Commensality			
Hall	**63%**	**80%**	**60%**
Kitchen	**31%**	**31%**	**34%**
Parlour	**60%**	**60%**	**72%**
All Chambers	47%	49%	29%
Butteries	43%	36%	25%
Heated			
Hall	**12%**	**26%**	**37%**
Kitchen	23%	31%	7%
Parlour	10%	33%	11%
All Chambers	4%	16%	12%
Butteries			
Total number of inventories	62	77	73

Source: all urban vernacular inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of rooms that record material culture related to a particular function.

Eleven inventories recorded cooking equipment in two rooms (seventy-three inventories recorded only one room). In some households, the additional room with cooking and food preparation equipment within could be the buttery, as in Boniface Bowsage's house (Truro,

1620), or the hall as in Richard Matthew's house (Penzance, 1707).[732] Several houses had the hall as the secondary cooking room, but as the examples of William Edwards (Penzance, 1735), John Hancock (Truro, 1683), and Richard Matthews (Penzance, 1707) show, the hall may have been used for storage or food preparation only owing to the lack of hearth equipment.[733] One hundred inventories record at least two spaces for commensality, roughly a fifth to a quarter of town houses had five or more rooms for dining within. The most significant example is Humphry Daniell's dwelling (Truro, 1672) that had ten rooms with evidence relating to commensality.[734] Fifty-two inventories only recorded one space for commensality, which would most likely have been either a hall or kitchen, although that space may have been a chamber in some households.

Table 40 shows a decline in the proportion of kitchens containing evidence for cooking and food preparation, with fewer inventories recording objects of cooking and food preparation in the early eighteenth century. In the early seventeenth century, thirty of sixty-two (48 per cent) inventories recorded evidence for domestic cooking and food preparation. By the early eighteenth century, twenty-four of seventy-three (33 per cent) recorded objects of cooking and food preparation. In total seventy-six urban inventories have no evidence for cooking. Whilst this may suggest an increase in the proportion of households eating out, buying ready-cooked foods, or relying on other households for cooking, supporting evidence for this in the South West is limited. The evidence does show a significant change in the activity systems of urban households, with fewer households appearing to cook within the domestic environment using specialist cooking equipment.

Determining whether any of the urban roomed inventories were lodgings or rented rooms in larger houses is tricky. Inventory evidence suggest that twenty-nine were houses with one to three rooms, and thirty-one were houses with four to six rooms. Unusually, sixteen were houses with more than six rooms. However, the inventory evidence does not determine how those households managed without specialist cooking equipment. Although the evidence considered does not necessarily reveal leased part-dwellings within a larger

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[732] CRO AP/B/536/6, Will of Boniface Bowsage, of Truro, 1620; CRO AP/M/1670, Will of Richard Matthews, currier, of Penzance, 1707.
[733] CRO AP/E/725, Will of William Edwards, tallow chandler, of Penzance, 1735; CRO AP/H/2039, Will of John Hancock, of Truro, 1683; CRO AP/M/1670, Will of Richard Matthews, currier, of Penzance, 1707.
[734] CRO AP/D/684, Will of Humphry Daniell, of Truro, 1672.

building, the proportion of urban dwellings with a named room decreased may indicate this. For those households that still cooked within the domestic environment, the material culture of cooking practices shows that traditional forms of cookery remained important into the mid-eighteenth century.

Table 41: Material culture of cooking recorded in urban vernacular inventories

Object	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Skillets	37%	49%	38%
Crocks	**70%**	**71%**	**58%**
Saucepans			8%
Spits	57%	44%	42%
Jacks	**7%**	**12%**	**33%**
Frying Pans	43%	15%	29%
Gridirons	30%	15%	25%
Total inventories	30	41	24
Total number of inventories	62	77	73

Source: 95 urban vernacular inventories with rooms described that record 'cooking'.

In both towns and the countryside, the boiling of food using crocks and skillets was the most common cooking technique, with roasting using spits similarly common. Jacks were recorded in urban houses earlier than rural vernacular houses, where they were recorded from the mid-seventeenth century, but remained uncommon in urban houses until the early eighteenth century. In both rural houses and town house saucepans appeared from the late eighteenth century but were slightly more widespread in inventoried urban houses; the relatively low proportion does not imply a significant change in cooking practices amongst those of middling wealth in towns. This data suggests that until the early eighteenth century, there was an emphasis on convenient objects to assist traditional cooking practices, such as jacks, but the declining proportion of objects for boiling food was not matched by a rise in other cooking techniques. That this pattern was common to both rural vernacular houses and inventoried town houses suggests some commonality between the urbane and rustic cultures of those of middling wealth.

Halls

Table 40 shows that although there was a decline in the proportion of houses with a space called the hall, the hall still retained a primary function as a room for commensality, with a secondary function for cooking and food preparation. Estabrook argued for apparent differences between urbane and rustic cultures, which implies differences between the uses of key rooms, such as the hall.[735] Indeed, Hamling and Richardson argue that although in some households the hall was a single storey diminished space, in other households at either end of the social spectrum retained functional halls which carried symbolic meaning.[736] We also need to consider whether just because a hall was furnished for commensality does not mean it was used regularly for commensality, but a space that still conveyed traditional associations of hospitality and community, as evidenced by the other goods found in the hall.[737] Table 42 shows that in towns the hall had a more significant part in the activity system of some households compared with rural households.

[735] Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England,* pp. 3, 276–77.
[736] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 122.
[737] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 119.

Table 42: Halls in urban vernacular houses, 1601 to 1750

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Heating	12%	26%	37%
Cooking and Food Preparation	**8%**	**26%**	**13%**
Commensality	**63%**	**80%**	**60%**
Sleeping	27%	6%	
Hospitality	10%		3%
Comfort	35%	11%	13%
Convenience	20%	20%	30%
Chairs	37%	43%	50%
Looking Glass		3%	
Pictures	4%	9%	10%
Timekeeping		3%	
Reading	8%	3%	
Domestic Production	2%		
Total number of halls	49	35	30
Total urban inventories	62	77	73

Source: all urban vernacular inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of halls that show material culture relating to certain functions.

The primary function of urban halls were for commensality and cooking and food preparation. Compared to halls in rural vernacular houses, a greater proportion of halls in town houses had objects of physical comfort: primarily cushions with upholstered chairs more common from the late seventeenth century, as well as objects of convenience and pictures and framed maps. However, fewer than half of urban halls contained objects of convenience or comfort, and a small minority contained pictures or framed maps. This may suggest that if the hall was used for commensality, it was likely more a space for family and household commensality than the entertainment and impressment of social peers in formal sociability. A more significant proportion of halls in inventoried town houses retained a function in the early eighteenth century compared with rural halls, and were more likely to have objects of convenience or social display. The patterns suggests that amongst those of

middling wealth in towns of the South West, in some households the hall was used either for household/family commensality and some informal sociability, or as a central room for domestic functions. However, in most households the hall was an entry room with domestic functions spread across other rooms of the house. This is a similar pattern to that of Norwich, where the hall was used less for sleeping, eating, and 'working' by the early eighteenth century, but in a minority of houses the hall was used for dining.[738]

Examples of this change of function are evident in inventoried town houses in the South West. In smaller houses, there was a limited change with halls retaining a multi-functional role. In both Stephen Austyn's three-room house (Exeter, 1641) and John Symons's four-room house (Tregony, 1741), their halls were used for commensality.[739] A secondary function of Austyn's hall was for sleeping, comparable to the halls of Gregory Horsham (Launceston Borough, 1605) and William Phillipps (Truro, 1619).[740] However, the inventories of Matthew Read (Penzance, 1741) and Andrew Andrew (Tregony, 1721), who both occupied four-room houses, show that their halls had no particular function.[741] In larger houses, a similar pattern is apparent. In Michael Avery's thirteen-room house (Truro, 1601) and Peter Cozens's eight-room house (Truro, 1623) their halls were multi-functional and used for commensality, hospitality, and for the display of pictures in the case of Cozen's house.[742] By the early eighteenth century, although the inventories of Richard Donnithorne (Truro, 1736) and Williams Edwards (Penzance, 1735) show that their halls were used for dining and hospitality, other examples show the hall was an entry room.[743] The inventory of Stephen Lawrence (Tregony, 1721) shows that in his thirteen-room house the hall housed chairs and a screen, and in Catherine Gubb's house (Penzance, 1720), the hall contained old tables, suggesting that the hall was an entry room allowing access to the rest of the house.[744]

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[738] Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', p. 105.
[739] Inventory of Stephen Austyn, dyer, of Exeter St Edmunds, 1641, *Devon Inventories of the 16th and 17th centuries,* number 98; CRO AP/S/2948, Will of John Symons, clothier, of Tregony, 1741.
[740] CRO AP/H/107, Will of Gregory Horsham, tanner, of Launceston Borough, 1605; CRO AP/P/370, Will of William Phillipps, cordwainer, of Truro, 1619.
[741] CRO AP/A/654, Will of Andrew Andrew, blacksmith, of Tregony, 1721; CRO AP/R/2275, Will of Matthew Read, cordwainer, of Penzance, 1741.
[742] CRO AP/A/5/2-3, Will of Michael Avery, of Truro, 1601; CRO AP/C/574, Will of Peter Cozens, tanner of Truro, 1623.
[743] CRO AP/D/1440, Will of Richard Donnithorne, glazier, of Truro, 1736; CRO AP/E/725, Will of William Edwards, tallow chandler of Penzance, 1735.
[744] CRO AP/G/3094, Will of Catherine Gubbs, widow, of Penzance, 1720; CRO AP/L/1249, Will of Stephen Lawrence, shopkeeper, of Tregony, 1721.

Kitchens

In rural vernacular houses, there was little evidence that the kitchen was used in the same way as the hall. Table 43 shows some similarities in the use of kitchens in rural houses with kitchens in urban houses. The primary function of urban kitchens was for cooking and food preparation, with a secondary function for commensality. Compared with halls, kitchens in town houses had comparatively little evidence for objects of comfort and social display, and the proportion of kitchens with objects of convenience is strongly related to jacks. In the range of functions recorded in houses inventoried from the early eighteenth century, there is little difference between kitchens in rural houses and kitchens in town houses. However, kitchens in rural houses were increasing used as spaces for commensality, most likely household/family dining, a pattern not evident in kitchens in town houses. That only a minority of urban kitchens contained goods associated with social display and leisure, including looking glasses, pictures, and books, implies that the majority of kitchens did not function as a second living room as suggested by Pennell.[745]

[745] Pennell, *Birth of the English Kitchen*, p. 105; Pennell, '"Pots and Pans History"', pp. 205-7; Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', p. 107.

Table 43: Kitchens in urban vernacular houses, 1601 to 1750

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Heating	23%	31%	7%
Cooking and Food Preparation	**54%**	**60%**	**39%**
Commensality	**31%**	**31%**	**34%**
Sleeping	6%	6%	2%
Hospitality	3%	3%	2%
Comfort	3%	3%	
Convenience	17%	20%	20%
Chairs	20%	11%	15%
Looking Glass			2%
Pictures			
Timekeeping			
Reading		3%	
Domestic Production	17%	20%	5%
Total number of kitchens	35	35	41
Total urban inventories	62	77	73

Source: all urban vernacular inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of kitchens that show material culture relating to specific functions.

Parlours

Table 40 shows that the primary function of the parlour was for commensality, but roomed inventories show that across the South West, the parlour underwent a change of function. During the seventeenth century, the parlour changed from use as a best bedroom in the early seventeenth century to a place of dining and informal sociability by the early eighteenth century, seen in table 44.

Table 44: Parlours in urban vernacular houses, 1601 to 1750

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Heating	10%	33%	11%
Cooking and Food Preparation	5%	7%	
Commensality	**60%**	**60%**	**72%**
Sleeping	**55%**	**27%**	**6%**
Hospitality	10%	7%	6%
Comfort	40%	20%	17%
Convenience	15%	47%	6%
Chairs	**20%**	**53%**	**72%**
Looking Glass	10%	7%	6%
Pictures	5%		22%
Timekeeping	5%		
Reading		7%	6%
Total number of parlours	20	15	18
Total inventories	62	77	73

Source: all urban vernacular inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of parlours that show material culture relating to certain functions.

Although table 44 shows that the parlour was a best bedchamber during the early to mid-seventeenth century, there is limited evidence for the parlour having a 'display bed', such as a standing or high bedstead. In the majority of inventories recording beds in a parlour, only a 'bedstead' is recorded, and only two inventories record a standing bedstead in the parlour. As table 50 shows, the parlour had a particular role in daily life from the early eighteenth century but it was not becoming a room with more comfortable objects. The nature of commensality in the parlour changed from the early eighteenth century. Table 50 shows a significant increase in the proportion of parlours inventoried with chairs, from the early eighteenth century sets of chairs were most commonly recorded in parlours, suggestive of sociable dining of selective company alongside perhaps more day-to-day household and family commensality. The evidence for sociable dining may also be seen in the small number of parlours with looking-glasses, and pictures/framed maps. This pattern is a critical difference between commensality in halls and parlours, with halls appearing more functional and day-to-day in their furnishings and suggestive of household commensality rather than

selective sociability. Hamling and Richardson argued that by the early seventeenth century the leisure functions of the parlour were solidifying, as evidenced by an increasing proportion with instruments, playing tables, and books.[746] Table 50 does not show that to be evident in inventoried urban parlours of the South West, with comparatively few containing books or the material culture of formal hospitality.

Roomed inventories show a likely change in the nature of commensality and sociability in the parlour, which is most likely to have been informal given the comparative lack of the material culture of formal hospitality. The question arises regarding whether the evidence suggests family or household commensality in the parlour or with external guests. Roomed inventories suggests that using Buxton's methodology discussed above, that across the South West urban dwellings of one to three rooms were likely to have one chamber. Dwellings of more than six rooms were likely to have four chambers, suggesting a household population four times larger in larger dwellings compared with smaller dwellings. Comparing the number of chairs and furniture with multiple seats (settles, forms, and benches) suggests that in Cornwall, dwellings of one to three rooms were likely to have one chair and one item of multiple seats, in larger dwellings of more than six rooms there were likely to be six items of multiple seats and twenty-three chairs associated with commensality. This extraordinary increase by a factor of twenty-three suggests an increased likelihood of informal sociability with external guests in urban dwellings of more than six rooms, and it is more likely this occurred in the early eighteenth century than before. In Devon, despite the smaller number of inventories, the same pattern is evident. Roomed inventories show that sociability with external visitors were more likely to occur in larger dwellings of more than six rooms. However, it cannot be ruled out that such sociability may have happened in smaller dwellings on occasion.

In comparison, in Norwich, parlours continued to be used for sleeping, even into the mid-eighteenth century, and more than half also had a hearth.[747] In Norwich and London, 'parlour' always referred to a room on the ground floor, but Frank Brown argued that in several buildings in London, the parlour 'moved' forward, becoming the name of the fore-

[746] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 187.
[747] Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', pp. 108–9.

most room from the early eighteenth century.[748] This, Brown argued, shows the changing cultural meaning of the parlour, from a private space for the family to a more sociable space for managing community relations with other socio-economic groups.[749] It is unlikely that these London dynamics operated in towns of the South West before 1750, as house plans of surviving town houses in the South West show the parlour was never recorded as the fore-most room. It was always behind the hall as a rear-most room on the ground floor. Roomed inventories also show a degree of similarity between the hall and the parlour, with differentiation being the presence of fewer day-to-day objects in the parlour. A similar pattern was found by Brown in London parlours.[750]

Hospitality and Entertaining

As described above, the function of the urban parlour changed from being a best bedchamber to a room for sociable commensality and sociability but was the only room for hospitality. Table 45 shows the changing location of hospitality in early modern urban houses of the South West, as evidenced by the specific material culture of hospitality. Either the hall or parlour were primary locations for hospitality, with a chamber another important space in all periods between the early seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. As with rural houses, in town houses there was no one room set aside solely for formal hospitality.

Table 45: Hospitality recorded in vernacular urban inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall	**5**		**1**
Kitchen	1	1	1
Parlour	**2**	**1**	**1**
Chamber	**5**	**4**	**5**
Total number of inventories	62	77	73

Source: all urban vernacular inventories with rooms described, see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of rooms that record material culture that demonstrates hospitality happening in those rooms.

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748 Brown, 'Continuity and Change', pp. 584, 587-90; Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', p. 108.

749 Brown, 'Continuity and Change', pp. 588–90.

750 Brown, 'Continuity and Change', pp. 584.

One form of hospitality, tea and coffee drinking, needs further discussion. As noted above, the consumption of hot drinks was connected with visiting, which opened the house to new scrutiny. Table 46 shows that the inventoried material culture for the consumption of hot drinks were found in ground floor rooms, although it is likely that hospitality with hot drinks could take place elsewhere in the house. It was likely that the kitchen was used to store objects associated with tea and coffee drinking rather than where they were used. Not all hospitality was confined to ground floor rooms. In two inventories, the Best Chamber was used for consumption of tea and coffee, shown in table 46.

Table 46: Tea and coffee drinking in urban vernacular inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall			1
Kitchen			**6**
Parlour			**2**
Best Chamber			1
Another Room			2
Total inventories			5

Source: 5 urban vernacular inventories with rooms described that record 'hospitality'.

Note: one inventory recorded hospitality with hot drinks in two rooms

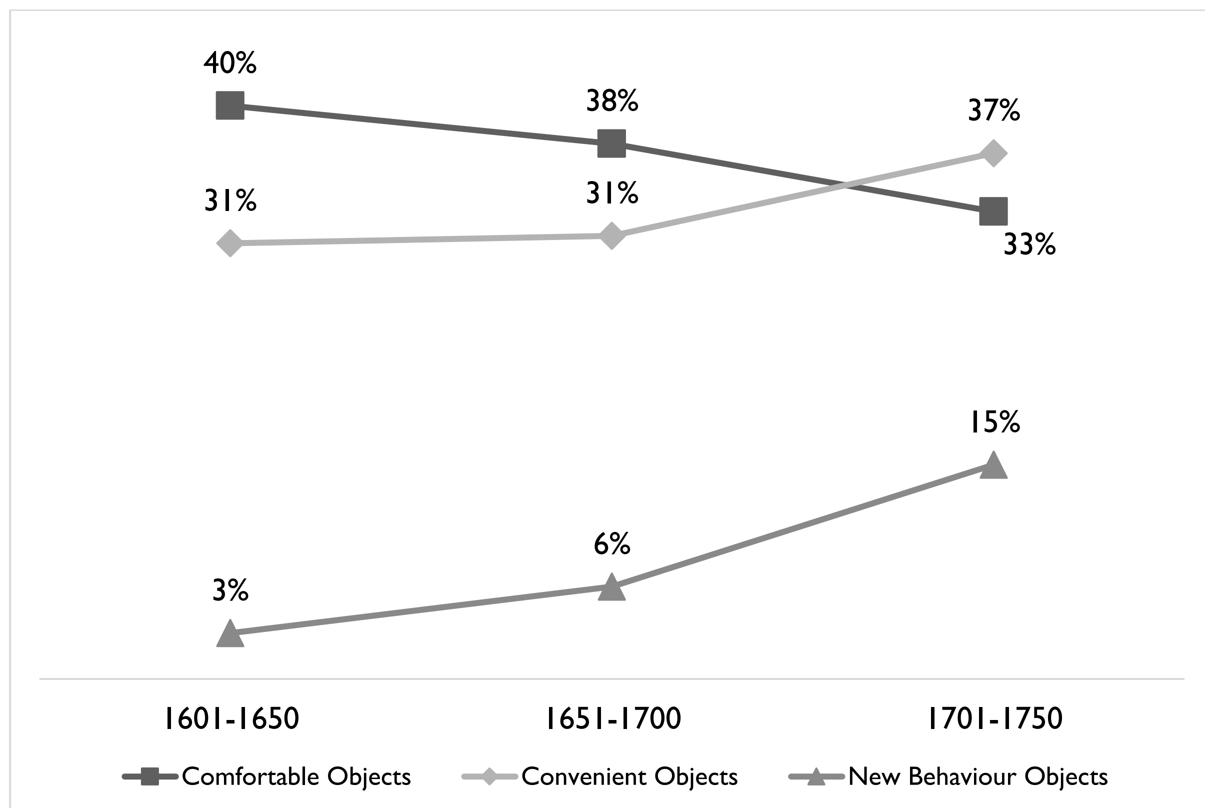
Table 46 shows that the material culture evidence for the consumption of hot drinks was uncommon in vernacular urban inventories, such as the parlour of William Edwards of Penzance, tallow chandler, inventoried in 1735 with decanters and glasses suggestive of hospitality rather than tea or coffee. [751] In the inventories of Stephen Lawrence (Tregony, 1721) and Margaret Treffry (Tregony, 1729) the Best Chamber was used to consume hot drinks.[752] In both houses, the Best Chamber was a space for commensality with sets of chairs, sleeping (no evidence of display beds), but only Lawrence's was heated (evidence of two fenders). In the inventory of Richard Donnithorne (Truro, 1736), a glazier the hall and the kitchen contained the material culture of tea and coffee drinking.[753] Tea kettles and coffee pot were located in the kitchen, whilst tea bowls were in the hall, suggesting the

[751] CRO AP/E/725, Will of William Edwards, tallow chandler, of Penzance, 1735.
[752] CRO AP/L/1249, Will of Stephen Lawrence, shopkeeper, of Tregony, 1721; CRO AP/T/2176, Will of Margaret Treffry, widow, of Tregony, 1729.
[753] CRO AP/D/1440, Will of Richard Donnithorne, glazier of Truro, 1736.

kitchen was used to store and prepare the drinks for consumption in the hall. One other point regarding formal hospitality with tea and coffee is that there is little to link the households together with such evidence by social status or occupation group. One inventory was of a merchant, one of a glazier, one of a shopkeeper, and one of a widow. Of the five urban inventories with evidence of hospitality with hot drinks, three were of dwellings with seven or more rooms. The evidence suggests that in the towns of the South West, new social behaviours such as tea and coffee drinking were yet to find their way into the households of those of middling wealth.

As argued above, inventories show that the material culture of the majority of rural vernacular houses saw little change over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In comparison with the early seventeenth century, a higher proportion of rural dwellings of the early to mid-eighteenth century contained objects associated with new behaviours, and roughly the same proportion of households contained objects of convenience. However, fewer households had objects of physical comfort. The same is true of urban houses, shown in figure 16. In the early seventeenth century, a higher proportion of inventoried urban households had objects new behaviours (such as round and oval tableboards) compared with rural dwellings, and rural houses more likely to have objects of convenience and comfort. The proportion of urban houses with objects of comfort declined over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but more houses had objects of convenience and new behaviours in the eighteenth century than before. A higher proportion of town houses, compared to rural houses, contained objects of new behaviours, comfort, and convenience.

Figure 16: Frequency of objects of physical comfort, convenience, and new behaviours in urban vernacular houses



Source: all urban vernacular inventories with rooms described, see appendix 2.

Some regional variation is apparent, which the proportion of houses in Devon with objects of comfort and convenience declining, but in Cornwall, there was only a slight decline in the proportion of houses with comfortable objects. In Cornwall, the proportion of houses with objects of new behaviours increased from c.1701, with little evidence of an increase in Devon. In both rural and town houses, over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the proportion with comfortable goods fell, the proportion with convenient goods remained broadly static, and the proportion with goods for new behaviours rose, especially after the early eighteenth century.

Sleeping

From the early seventeenth century, the primary function of a chamber was for sleeping, whether that space was on the ground floor or an upper storey. A smaller proportion of halls, parlours, and kitchens were also used for sleeping, especially the parlour where over half recorded beds and bedsteads. Table 47 shows that from the early eighteenth century, a

smaller proportion of chambers were used for sleeping, and that beds and bedsteads had almost disappeared from halls and parlours. The proportion of kitchens with a secondary function of a space to sleep in changed little over this period. The apparent decline in the proportion of chambers used for sleeping (over a quarter of chambers assessed between 1701 and 1750 had no material culture evident for sleeping activity) may point to their use for other functions. Roomed inventories show that in only two households were chambers assessed as used for commensality and contained no furniture associated with sleeping.

Table 47: Sleeping recorded in urban vernacular inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall	20%	23%	3%
Kitchen	11%	11%	10%
Parlour	55%	27%	6%
All Chambers	**86%**	**82%**	**71%**
Total number of inventories	62	77	73

Source: all urban vernacular inventories with rooms described, see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of named rooms that show sufficient material culture that demonstrates sleeping.

The small proportion of kitchens used for sleeping, such as in the house of James Vickers (Truro, 1732) may have been for the use of servants, but evidencing this through inventories is difficult. Vickers' house had seven rooms, three of which were chambers, but the kitchen had a bedstead and bedding.[754] The quality of bedstead may be a clue as to the status of the individual(s) sleeping within the kitchen, but the inventory evidence considered only recorded 'bedsteads' or 'bedding' rather than any detailed description. Sleeping in the kitchen was also evident in smaller dwellings of three or four rooms. In the three-room house of George Norrish (Launceston borough, 1681), located on St Thomas Street, the kitchen and chamber were used for sleeping.[755] In these examples, for their respective size by numbers of rooms, they had fewer chambers than expected.

[754] CRO AP/V/413, Will of James Vickers, of Truro, 1732.
[755] CRO AP/N/340, Will of George Norrish, chandler, of St Thomas Street, Launceston, 1681.

Table 47 shows a high degree of similarity between the rooms for sleeping in rural vernacular houses and town houses, especially that the primary function of a chamber was for sleeping. There is evidence of change in where the chamber was located. As discussed previously, from the late seventeenth century, 'chamber' came to almost solely denote an upper storey space. Before this, however, the term chamber could be used to denote any general-purpose room, implying that chambers containing beds could have been on the ground storey.[756] Alcock and Carson, based on the evidence from house surveys, argued that sleeping moved from a ground floor room to an upper storey room in rural dwellings of the South West, there is no reason why this trend could not apply to urban houses.[757] Roomed inventories do not readily indicate the division of household members by chambers, such as separate rooms for each household member/couple, nor do they show a proliferation of bedsteads over the course of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Between 1601 and 1650, in smaller dwellings there was an average of one bedstead per household, with an average of four bedsteads in larger dwellings of more than seven rooms, but by 1750 that had fallen to an average of only two bedsteads per household in larger dwellings. A small number of chambers were noted as belonging to someone else. The house of Richard Every (Launceston, 1697) contained roomed referred to as 'Mr Spry's Chamber' and 'Mr Brown's Chamber'.[758]

Chambers

The function of chambers, shown in table 48, shows a similarity with the function of chambers in rural houses, in that they were principally spaces for sleeping with a secondary function for commensality. However, the significant decline in the proportion used for commensality from the early eighteenth century matches a significant increase in the proportion of parlours used for commensality. This may reflect a desire to have greater separation between ground floor spaces and upper storey spaces.

[756] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 29.
[757] Alcock and Carson, *West Country Farms,* pp. 34, 39-40.
[758] CRO AP/E/507, Will of Richard Every, cutler, of Launceston, 1697.

Table 48: Chambers in urban vernacular houses, 1601 to 1750

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Heating	4%	16%	12%
Cooking and Food Preparation		4%	
Commensality	**47%**	**49%**	**29%**
Sleeping	**86%**	**82%**	**71%**
Hospitality	7%	5%	6%
Comfort	57%	42%	38%
Convenience	4%	11%	23%
Chairs	29%	44%	35%
Looking Glass	4%	16%	12%
Pictures		4%	5%
Timekeeping	1%	1%	1%
Reading	1%	5%	4%
Domestic Production	1%	1%	
Total chambers present	70	85	82
Total inventories	62	77	73

Source: all urban vernacular inventories with rooms described, see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of chambers that record material culture relating to certain functions.

The high proportion of chambers with objects of physical comfort relate to the presence of featherbeds. Larger dwellings had more featherbeds (average of thirteen featherbeds per dwelling compared with one featherbed per dwelling in smaller houses), but that featherbeds were evident in over half of all inventoried smaller dwellings suggests they were reasonably common items. Some chambers contained 'display' beds. Although a high proportion of inventories solely recorded a 'bed' or 'bedstead', a specific bedstead was recorded in twenty-seven inventories, either a standing, tester, high, or half-headed bedstead. Such bedsteads were primarily recorded in houses of more than five rooms, and more likely within chambers above a service room (cellar, buttery, brewhouse, milkhouse, and kitchen), but this was not a definite trend.

Roomed inventories show that a chamber over the hall or a chamber at the front of the house the most common locations for commensality. Of over one hundred chambers with evidence for commensality in town houses, twenty were chambers over the hall/hall chamber, fifteen were chambers over a parlour or kitchen, and seventeen were chambers over the shop or fore chambers. The chamber at the front of the house had a particular meaning in the urban environment, a liminal space between house and street, able to be looked into from the street and houses opposite, and subject to noise from the street. Hamling and Richardson argue that a close connection to the street in fore chambers may have been considered desirable, suggesting that householders used fore chambers to construct social identity and relationships and reflect embeddedness within communities that surrounded them.[759] Indeed, the fore chambers were more likely to be highly decorated with painted decoration and plaster ceilings, with examples from Type-A and Type-B plan-form houses.[760] Larger dwellings were more likely to have evidence of sociability with external visitors than smaller dwellings, and most of the chambers with evidence for commensality were in houses of more than six rooms. A small proportion of urban chambers contained objects of social display such as pictures and looking glasses, especially from the mid to late seventeenth century. Although a higher proportion of urban parlours had goods such as looking glasses, pictures, and books when compared with chambers, the degree of similarity is notable. Three chambers (over two households) contained no beds or bedsteads; two were spaces for commensality (one a chamber over the hall, the other a fore chamber), and the third had as its primary function a space for leisure and reading.

There are thus to particular aspects to consider with chambers and whether there was an overlap with parlours. Table 55 shows the majority of chambers contained a bed and bedstead, and a significant proportion were used for commensality/sociability, indicative of overlap of functionality with parlours. Some chambers were both a bed bedchamber and space for sociability/commensality, but being located on an upper storey were called 'chamber' instead. This may be evident in the low proportion of houses inventoried with a fore chamber or chamber over the shop (the shop placed at the front of the dwelling) and a parlour, and vice-versa. Fifteen dwellings were inventoried with a fore chamber/chamber

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[759] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* pp. 37-8.
[760] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* pp. 35-8.

over the shop and no parlour, whilst twenty-seven dwellings inventoried with a parlour had no fore chamber or chamber over the shop. The majority of dwellings with a fore chamber had four to nine rooms; the same trend is true of dwellings with a parlour. Further overlap between the parlour and the chamber may also be shown in the proportion of urban chambers having the material culture of formal hospitality present compared (ten chambers). Usually, the evidence was within a chamber over the hall (two inventories) or a Best Chamber (two inventories), but other chambers had such evidence, including a chamber over the entry, parlour, or shop (one inventory each). This overlap is also recognised by Hamling and Richardson, noting that a small proportion of chambers show evidence for having been used for leisure activities and were more comfortable than others.[761]

Only one inventory that of Nicholas Gennis (Launceston, 1626) recorded a 'Great Chamber'.[762] Best/Great Chambers were primarily used for sleeping and commensality, both informal and formal sociability. A high proportion were heated and contained objects of social display. However, the lack of a room called a Best/Great Chamber does not mean there was not another chamber that incorporated these functions. Priestley argued that in Norwich, either the parlour chamber, or the kitchen chamber, acted as a master bedroom.[763] In the South West, analysis of the most common location of looking glasses, pictures, books, and hearth equipment suggests the hall chamber or shop chamber/fore chamber may have been used in the same manner as a Great Chamber. Thus, in towns of the South West, roomed inventories show the principal bedroom was at the front of the house, rather than at the back as in Norwich. Hamling and Richardson argue that for the majority of urban houses of the shophouse type being fully floored, the first-floor room at the front of the house became the centre of social life and daily domestic practices of commensality.[764] The shophouse type was defined by Leech as an urban house without an open hall, where the principal upper room over the shop was the social centre of the house,

[761] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 42.
[762] CRO AP/G/317, Will of Nicholas Gennis, draper, of Launceston Borough, 1626.
[763] Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', p. 103.
[764] Hamling and Richardson*, A Day at Home,* p. 108.

and was referred to as the hall.[765] Internal decoration, and the quality of decoration could denote the social centre of dwellings which could vary on position on the first floor.[766]

Social Display

An important secondary function of chambers and parlours was that they were used to display goods, including looking glasses and pictures, that demonstrated social status and wealth. Table 49 shows that Best/Great Chambers and parlours were more likely than halls or other chambers. There is some good correlation between the rooms for social display and rooms for hospitality, but few inventories recorded such objects. Table 56 shows an interesting trend, in that the proportion of halls, chambers, and parlours that contained such goods increased over the seventeenth century, a trend also noted in rural houses. This may imply a growing socio-cultural need for these items within the domestic environment and perhaps indicate the use of these spaces for leisure activities and spending time.[767] Furthermore, the increase suggests changes in the activity systems of some households with a new requirement for semi-fixed cues, indicative of new expressions of cultural and social changes. Table 56 shows that if this was the case, in some households the focus was on parlours, whilst in others, a chamber was important.

Table 49: Objects of social display recorded in urban vernacular inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall	**2**	**5**	**3**
Kitchen			1
Parlours	**4**	**1**	**5**
All Chambers	**4**	**18**	**15**
Best/Great Chamber		**1**	**3**
Total number of inventories	62	77	73

Source: all urban vernacular inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.

765 Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 106; Leech, The Symbolic Hall', p. 1.
766 Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 201.
767 Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* p. 187.

Butteries and service rooms

Table AA in Appendix I shows that the use of butteries in urban houses to be consistent with the function of butteries in rural vernacular houses. Very few had a clear function during the early eighteenth century, and were likely primarily used for storage of various goods and storage vessels. However, the high proportion apparently used for commensality during the early seventeenth century may show a close relationship with the hall, as either a space for more select commensality, or a space for storage of utensils and vessels.[768] Five butteries have the material culture of commensality recorded, whilst another four contain utensils for commensality but no seating. The low number showing any function suggests that from the early seventeenth century the majority of butteries were used as storage rooms with little other function, similar to patterns observed in early modern Norwich and London.[769] Table AA does not show that butteries in town houses of the South West functioned as spaces alongside kitchens for cooking and food preparation/domestic production and the separation out of such processes amongst different rooms.[770] It is apparent that in some households a space called the cellar took over from the buttery. It is unlikely that these cellars were so-called fish palaces, with four inventoried cellars with a clear function suggest similarities with butteries (storage of commensality vessels, and brewing). Detailed analysis of the function of service rooms is difficult due to the low numbers, only that their principal function was storage, domestic production, or occasionally for commensality (most likely storage of utensils).

In this, an important difference between rural and urban houses can be determined. In rural vernacular houses of Devon, an increasing proportion of houses with service rooms used for domestic production purposes was evidence of a greater need to differentiate between domestic 'living' and 'working' functions. This implies attempts at differentiation within households. This pattern is not apparent in urban vernacular houses, given the decreasing proportion of houses with service rooms and the material culture of domestic production. Nor is there evidence of an increased number of chambers in town houses, indicating separation within households. Instead, this may suggest that in towns, any attempts at

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[768] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* pp. 114, 132.

[769] Brown, 'Continuity and Change', pp. 585–86; Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeiter, 'Rooms and Room Use', pp. 110–12.

[770] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* pp. 73, 76.

greater differentiation between household members may have been achieved through non-physical means, using conceptual partitions or material culture.

Changing use of Urban Rooms

Changes in the function of rooms in town houses of the South West over the seventeenth century are less clear compared with the changes in rural houses. In the majority of households, the focus of domestic life moved from the hall but it is not clear where the new social centre of the house was. From the early eighteenth century there was a more diverse and differentiated domestic life in town houses. The primary purpose of parlours and halls remained for commensality and informal sociability, despite a decreasing proportion of households with a room called the hall. In some households, the use of the hall for commensality was a daily necessity with little other spaces available and no parlour. In others, the hall was a part of the activity systems of the household, used only for selective sociability or arranged for visitors as physical expression of traditional hospitality. Actual commensality occurred in the parlour. A kitchen remained the central room for cooking and food preparation, and the primary function of parlours were for sleeping. Houses at the front of the house, in the absence of a Best/Great Chamber, had a secondary function as a room for commensality and informal/formal sociability.

The lack of service rooms used for cooking, food preparation, or domestic production demonstrates a lack of differentiation of different 'work' tasks across the domestic environment. There is little evidence for the creation of functionally-restricted loci, with nearly all rooms remained multi-functional. That said, there may have been some attempts to create specialised chambers for specific functions. Roomed inventories, however perhaps show a shift towards less activity within the domestic environment. Proportionally fewer rooms had evidence for dining and drinking, and less than half of kitchens contained evidence of cooking and food preparation by 1750. We may look to transformations within the urban environment for some answers to this, looking beyond the house to how the household operated within changing activity systems and systems of settings. We may look to the growing number of alehouses, and their increasing importance for leisure and

hospitality, as another example of these changes in activity systems, which perhaps may also be seen in the 'urban renaissance' suggested by Peter Borsay.[771]

Halls in inventoried town houses underwent considerable change over the course of the eighteenth century, becoming either a room for daily commensality or an entry room. The house of John Symons, (Tregony, 1741), clothier, had four rooms consisting of a hall, kitchen, and two chambers above.[772] His hall and kitchen were used for commensality, and with a tableboard and thirteen chairs in the hall, that space was likely used for informal sociability. These were not the only spaces with commensality, with both hall chambers also used for commensality containing chairs and tableboards. Surviving dwellings of the borough typically had plan-forms of two rooms wide and one deep; it suggests that Symon's hall was an entry room and dining space. In larger houses, the hall retained some function. Richard Donnithorne's seven-room house (Truro, 1736) contained a front shop, back shop, hall, dining room, kitchen, cellar and chamber.[773] His dining room contained two settle beds and twelve chairs, and his hall and kitchen were used for commensality and sociability. The hall used for more selective, sociable dining with china goods. With a shop at the front, his hall was either in the centre of the house or occupied the space above with shop (the 'shophouse' identified by Leech).[774] In contrast, Catherine Gubbs' ten-room house (Penzance, 1720) included a hall, kitchen, and shop, and recorded no function for the hall.[775] The room contained only an old table and other goods, but none of the rooms in the house contained any objects indicative of commensality.

[771] Peter Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance: The Development of Provincial Urban Culture c. 1680-c. 1760', *Social History,* 2)1977), 581-603; Mark Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 3–4.
[772] CRO AP/S/2948, Will of John Symons, Clothier, of Tregony, 1741.
[773] CRO AP/D/1440, Will of Richard Donnithorne, glazier, of Truro, 1736.
[774] Leech. 'The Symbolic Hall', p. 1.
[775] CRO AP/G/3094, Will of Catherine Gubbs, of Penzance, Madron, 1720.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to examine the changing functions of rooms in early modern rural and urban vernacular houses of the South West. The chapter shows that changes are apparent in the function and status of the hall, kitchen, parlour, chambers, and service rooms over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The proportion of vernacular houses in towns and rural environments with a space called a hall declined over the period, and functions, and thus status, of the hall. The hall changed from a central room in the activity systems of households, a space for commensality and informal sociability, to an entrance room where it was still recorded in eighteenth-century inventories. The function and status of the parlour also changed in the majority of vernacular houses from being a best bedchamber/sitting room to a room for commensality and selective, informal sociability. In vernacular houses, especially in towns, at least one chamber, more likely to be an upper storey space in later periods, was used for commensality and informal sociability, akin to a parlour with a bed. Being an upper storey space, the room was not called a 'parlour'. There was a decline in the proportion of vernacular houses with service rooms indicative of domestic production, subject to regional variation.

The material culture of cooking changed little with most food still boiled or roasted. A minority of houses contained evidence of change with the appearance of round tables, tea and coffee sets, chests of drawers, and saucepans. Fewer vernacular houses contained objects of physical comfort by 1750 compared with the early seventeenth century, and proportionally more contained objects of convenience such as jacks and chests of drawers in urban and rural environments. The changes in the function of rooms are indicative of economic differences between Devon and Cornwall, and of different consumption patterns in rural areas compared with towns. Roomed inventories cannot prove how men, women, children, and servants navigated the early modern house, and how different rooms were used according to the time of day. Instead, roomed inventories show that some houses saw change in the activity systems used by the household in the performance of day-to-day domestic life.

The changing nature of the hall demonstratives explicitly the changing activity systems in the domestic environment. During the early seventeenth century, a majority of rural and urban houses recorded a space called the hall, and the primary space for commensality and

informal sociability in the majority of houses without a parlour. During the early eighteenth century, roughly a third of halls in rural dwellings, and over half of halls in urban houses, retained that function. In the rest of the households with a hall, the room functioned as an entrance room and passageway leading to other rooms where commensality took place. Halls in urban houses retained more function than halls in rural houses, with roomed inventories showing how the space was used for household commensality and informal sociability; occasionally, this was more a performance with actual commensality occurring elsewhere. The hall was an important indicator of the changes that had and were happening in the early modern period in socio-cultural behaviour and social relationships and how those were reflected in the use of space in the domestic environment.

Social relationships changed considerably during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. There was greater social differentiation between the gentry and the wealthier yeoman, and the rest of society, and a poorly defied division amongst those of middling wealth between 'polite' and 'popular' cultures.[776] Applying the arguments of Rapoport and Kent, changes to socio-cultural contexts lay at the heart of changes in the function of the hall. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, halls in vernacular houses primarily functioned as rooms for household dining and communal sociability; the centre of domestic life, where household and social interaction happened.[777] The kitchen was the principal room for cooking and food preparation, where it was recorded. By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century there was greater diffusion of commensality and sociability throughout the house, especially apparent in rural houses. A chamber, kitchen, or parlour, or a combination, were primary rooms for commensality in rural houses. Formal hospitality also moved out of the hall. Thus, in the majority of rural and urban houses without a hall, domestic activities during the eighteenth century occurred in other spaces of the house, with no single centralising room where the household and family came together. This is reflective of less communal social relationships and patterns and more differentiation in the activity systems of the household. However, this also suggests that retaining a room named the 'hall' may be indicative of some socio-cultural meaning behind the centralising role of the hall or a lack of differentiation in the domestic environment.

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[776] Wrightson, *English Society,* pp. 223–28.
[777] Johnson, *Housing Culture*, pp. 56–57.

Lack of a parlour was significant in assessing whether households continued to use a hall for commensality into the early and mid-eighteenth centuries. Roomed inventories show that the function of the parlour changed between the early seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century, from being the best bedchamber/sitting room to a room for commensality and informal sociability by the early eighteenth century. This study agrees with Overton et al. argument that the parlour became a private sitting room for the family, indicating of the need for separation from the rest of the household.[778] One aspect absent from South West inventories is evidence for the parlour becoming a space for leisure activities and social display, as seen elsewhere in England.[779] However, the majority of houses had no parlour, which means that household commensality and informal sociability occurred in other spaces, or such activities did not occur within the domestic environment. Roomed inventories show that chambers in rural and urban households were used for commensality and informal sociability. Occasionally, they were used for formal sociability and hospitality. Given the position of a chamber in the domestic environment, accessed only through other rooms, it would appear that chambers allowed households to achieve the same level of control of accessibility from the outside as achieved with a parlour.

However, the primary function of chambers were spaces for sleeping, adding another layer of meaning to a chamber used for both sleeping and commensality, a room that, to all intents and purposes, was a parlour. Inventories do not show any significant increase in the number of chambers per house, suggesting that in the majority of early modern houses in the South West, there were not enough rooms to accommodate complete sleeping separation between family and household. Hierarchical distinctions could be managed in other ways. Flather argued that sleeping arrangements were based more on age, status, and place than gender, and although there were differences in the sleeping arrangements of female and male servants, this does not indicate different rooms for males and females.[780] In a small number of dwellings, commensality was spread through the house with evidence in the hall, a parlour, and a chamber, although this was more apparent in larger dwellings of more than six rooms, where there was evidence of more significant opening of the house to external visitors through informal and formal sociability. Principal chambers are more

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[778] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* pp. 225-27; Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* pp. 132-32.
[779] Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home,* chap. 5.
[780] Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, pp. 64–65, 71.

apparent in urban houses than rural houses, usually the first-storey room at the front or middle of the dwelling, used for commensality and sleeping. Few chambers were used for leisure activities.

The evidence discussed in this chapter indicates changing socio-cultural relations and behaviours, and the physical expression in the function of the hall, parlour, and chambers. There is evidence for a decentralising of functions away from the central room, whether called a hall or kitchen, and towards other spaces of the house, indicating a need to physically accommodate social divisions and differentiation. However, in a minority of households the hall retained a clear role and function in domestic life and the use of space. This may be considered on two levels. On the one hand, the continuing use of the hall was a daily necessity with little other space allocated to commensality or cooking/food preparation. On the other hand, the continued use of the hall for commensality may have carried social meaning of traditional hospitality and community, expressed through the semi-fixed-feature cues of the material culture, even if actual commensality occurred elsewhere in the house. A hall laid out for commensality carried meaning, even if that meaning was a lack of differentiation in the activity systems of the household. In considering inventory evidence, it may be seen that a small minority of dwellings, the domestic environment had new cues indicative of new behaviours: round tables, tea and coffee pots, saucepans, all of which needed to be understood and interpreted correctly by household inhabitants and visitors. This starts to show a division amongst households of middling wealth in socio-cultural terms, but it is important also to note that amongst nearly all households, there were changes in the semi-fixed-feature cues (objects) throughout this period.

Differences in the agrarian economy may lie behind the patterns of rural vernacular houses in Devon being more likely to have a service room, whether a buttery or dairy/milkhouse. This is in contrast to Cornwall, where rural vernacular houses with any service room declined. Both counties underwent changes in the agrarian economy with specialisation towards pastoral farming, but in Devon this was in the form of dairying whilst in Cornwall it was stock rearing and breeding.[781] Why did households in Devon need to have extra room for domestic production purposes? It perhaps indicates a greater need to separate domestic

[781] Harrison, 'The South-West', pp. 358, 375.

'living' and domestic 'working' functions rather than incorporating these within an existing room; a change in activity systems and settings of systems. In turn, this is indicative of attempts in Devon to show social differentiation using physical partitions between household members, which may have been achieved in Cornwall through less physical means. In both counties, the proportion of rural vernacular houses with service rooms was much higher than town houses, which is to be expected. It suggests a different consumer economy in towns and cities, where access to prepared foods (cheese, butter, and bread) and drink was much better, but also shows that in towns, consumption of foodstuffs was not necessarily at home.

This chapter and chapter 3 show that the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were an important period for change in houses of the South West. It is not clear why this should be. The argument of Johnson was that the 'enclosing' of houses in West Suffolk was linked to enclosure of the land, and were physical manifestations of social and cultural moves towards a more individualistic, capitalist, society.[782] Thus 'closure' of the house and enclosure of the land were related by social and cultural changes away from communal life, with the social and cultural changes occurring first leading to the physical and topographical changes. For Devon and Cornwall, a number of landscape historians point to the early eighteenth century as a key period for the enclosure of rough ground and common fields and the alteration of medieval fields, particularly from the 1750s.[783] As Johnson, Sam Turner, Peter Herring, and others acknowledge, the transformation of the landscape in the early modern period was related to social, economic, and cultural changes particularly around the issue of community/individualism.[784] There has been little work done to follow up on the arguments that enclosure from the 1700s was preceded by cultural and social changes, or that between the medieval period and the early eighteenth century that social relations remained as unchanged as the landscape. Nonetheless, the decline of the hall as a communal/centralising room in favour of a kitchen, chamber or parlour, for more selective sociability is indicative of changes in the activity systems in early modern vernacular houses.

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[782] Johnson, *Housing Culture,* pp. 179-82.
[783] Herring, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', pp. 22–23; Turner, 'The Changing Ancient Landscape', pp. 23–30.
[784] Johnson, *Housing Culture*; Herring, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', pp. 22–23; Turner, 'The Changing Ancient Landscape', pp. 19–20, 30; Herring, 'Cornish Strip Fields', pp. 47–51, 74.

Chapter 5. Gentry Houses

In chapters 3 and 4, the 1610 inventory of James Dabin and the 1714 inventory of Honour Chambers were compared to show the changes in the physical size and room function of early modern vernacular houses. Their inventories, and the others studied in chapters 3 and 4, are assumed to represent those of middling wealth in early modern society and vernacular houses. Little is known of the houses and material culture of the poorest strata of early modern society. However, the houses of the richest of early modern society, the gentry and nobility, are much better known.[785] These houses could be considerably larger and better furnished. An example is Pridhamsleigh, owned by Edward Gould at his death in 1627, whose inventory in 1628 showed the house had at least twenty-four rooms.[786] A house plan shows house had a main range with a two-room plan-form with cross-passage and a front wing added in the early seventeenth century.[787] In contrast to vernacular houses, the front wing was three rooms deep and three storeys high.

The focus of this chapter is on gentry houses. The broad contours of the development of gentry houses are well known, but there is limited consideration of continuity. Through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was a growing appreciation of symmetry in exterior design and decoration, with the idea that social order, or the desire for social order, should be expressed in architectural order.[788] In reality, most country houses conformed to a hierarchical ideal, with high end and low ends of the house in accordance with the principles of rank and status, as they had done so since the medieval period.

The prevailing fashion for gentry house plan-forms of the sixteenth century were those that displayed hierarchical principles, such as the courtyard plan-form, but there was no typical hierarchical plan-form.[789] From the late sixteenth century, a small number of great country houses were constructed in one mass with a symmetrical plan, such as an H plan-form, or U

[785] For example on literature on the material culture of the poor, see: Joseph Harley, 'Consumption and poverty in the homes of the English poor, c. 1670-1834', *Social History,* 43 (2018), 81-107
[786] Exeter, DHC, 1120Z/FZ/1, Inventory of Edward Gould of Staverton, 1628.
[787] Meller *Country Houses of Devon,* II, pp. 805-6.
[788] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 114–15, 120.
[789] Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry,* pp. 58-61, 70; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 114; Eric Mercer, 'The Houses of the Gentry', *Past & Present,* 5 (1954), 11-32 (pp. 12–17, 25).

plan-form.[790] Hardwick Hall, Houghton Conquest, and Hatfield House are examples of this new symmetrical plan-form, where the hall was placed in the centre of the house on an axial alignment with Great Chamber/Great Dining Room directly above. However, it was unlikely that the layout of rooms was perfectly symmetrical about the axial, central hall. The central/axial hall plan-form filtered down to the gentry, as typified in the construction of Coleshill, designed by Sir Roger Pratt for his cousin Sir George Pratt, but the widespread adoption of the axial hall plan-form did not happen until the later seventeenth century.[791] Post Restoration, there was a strong French and Dutch influence with a number of courtier and aristocratic houses constructed with symmetrical external design and Formal Plans with axial hall but asymmetrical surrounding rooms. However, the Formal Plan was adapted by provincial gentry within smaller houses such as Nether Lypiatt in Gloucestershire.[792]

From the late seventeenth century, the influence for exterior design changed in favour of Palladianism, but in plan-form, the Formal Plan remained common in larger houses or smaller compact villas. This was not a true Palladianism, as captured within the works of Andrea Palladio. Palladianism emphasised internal and external symmetry, but this classical design was adapted to English houses with axial hall and Great Chamber/Great Dining Room, and asymmetrical surrounding rooms.[793] In this period, the number of pattern books and works on architecture expanded. The best-known work capturing the spirit and houses of English Palladianism is Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (published in three volumes from 1715 to 1725). From the mid-eighteenth century, the Formal Plan became less popular for new houses, partially due to the growing influence of 'polite culture' especially in towns and cities, and it was replaced in popularity by 'The Social House' plan-form.[794]

These broad contours are well known because of the high number of works examining the country or gentry house. Pertinent to this study, however, is the question of how a country house is defined and differentiated from the vernacular house? It is debated whether such a differentiation between vernacular houses and polite houses (which embodies specific designs of country houses) helps or hinders discussions about social change and

[790] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 114; Mercer, 'The Houses of the Gentry', pp. 12–17, 25.
[791] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 121–23.
[792] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 126–51.
[793] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 158–62.
[794] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 194–97.

architecture.[795] Although strictly defining a country house is not possible, certain vital aspects are essential for this study. They are considered power houses, and the seats of the ruling families and individuals.[796] The link between possession of a country house and social status is explicit, reflecting the apparent dominance of the landed class.[797] Anyone with social, political, and economic power, and those with ambitions to that power, needed a country house.[798] Land was a crucial element of defining a country house, as opposed to a 'house in the country', but the nature of that land was essential. It needed to be tenanted land, allowing the landowner and occupier of the country house to live on the profits of rents, and exert influence and control over the tenants.[799] In more recent works, additional facets have been added to the definition of a country house. Now, the country house is a political powerhouse, a demonstration of wealth and status, a nexus of consumption of goods and people, an embodiment of cultural capital as patrons of artists, craftsmen, and skilled professionals, and from the eighteenth century it also encapsulated ideas of gentility and 'taste'.[800]

In defining a country house rather than a 'house in the country' or any other variation, two approaches are commonly used. One, used by Lawrence Stone and Jeanne Stone, focuses on defining a country house by the size of the house, in Stone and Stone's case, as houses with 5,000 feet and greater of living space.[801] This approach, and Stone and Stone's application of this approach, has been criticised by Richard Wilson and Alan Mackey for ignoring the lower gentry.[802] The second approach focuses on the key qualification for a country house, land by

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[795] See Green, 'Confining the Vernacular', p. 1; Green, 'The Polite Threshold', p. 1; Maudlin, 'Crossing Boundaries', pp. 11-12.
[796] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 2; Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* 1, p. xi.
[797] Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry,* p. 3; Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite?: England 1540-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 10–12.
[798] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 2.
[799] Richard G. Wilson and Alan L. Mackley, 'How Much Did the English Country House Cost to Build, 1660-1880?', *Economic History Review*, 52 (1999), 436–68 (p. 436); Richard G. Wilson and Alan L. Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (London: Hambledon and London, 2000), p. 5.
[800] Jon Stobart, 'The Country House and Cultures of Consumption', in *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption*, ed. Jon Stobart and Andrew Hann (Swindon: Historic England, 2016), pp. 1–10 (pp. 1, 7); Jon Stobart, 'Introduction: Travel and the British Country House', in *Travel and the British Country House: Cultures, Critiques and Consumption in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Jon Stobart (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 1–18 (p. 2); Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 14–15.
[801] Stone and Stone, *An Open Elite?,* p. 10.
[802] Nigel Wright, 'The Gentry and Their Houses in Norfolk and Suffolk from circa 1550 to 1850' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, 1990), pp. 8–10.

stressing the size of the landed estate, as used by Heather Clemenson and Wilson and Mackley.[803] Both approaches carry risks and complications, and it is clear that they are more applicable to isolating the houses of the greater gentry from the lesser/parish gentry.[804] Arbitrary choices in house size or estate acreage, although grounded in apparently solid research, will ignore a number of likely country houses which do not match the criteria set.[805]

Significantly, Nicholas Cooper and Mark Girouard, whose works form the cornerstones of research into country and gentry houses, do not clearly define the reasoning behind the samples of houses they chose. Defining a gentry house by knowing the status of the owner is more applicable to the houses of the greater gentry and nobility, but with houses of the lesser gentry, this is more difficult. Linda Hall's study of houses in Gloucestershire in the seventeenth century found that although the owners of houses might be of gentry status, defining the difference between a lesser gentry house and a yeoman house was difficult at times.[806] Cooper similarly found it difficult to precisely define the difference between a yeoman house and a gentry house, noting clues as to status in the decoration of a house.[807] Adrian Green found shared features between gentry and yeoman houses in north-east England.[808] These difficulties in defining a gentry house are undoubtedly connected to the difficulties of defining the gentry.

Early modern social commentators struggled to define who the gentry were with any certainty. They occupied a special place in the social order set apart from ordinary people, but that division was highly permeable.[809] The division between the gentry and yeomen was particularly permeable within the parish, and both relied on the other for the keeping of social order.[810] The gentry played a vital role in parochial life, as evidenced by early seventeenth-century Royal Proclamations for the gentry to return to their estates, however splitting them into 'country gentry' and 'parish gentry' as Stone and Stone do may

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[803] Heather Clemenson, *English Country Houses and Landed Estates* (London: Croom Helm; 1982), pp. 231–32; Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p. 7.
[804] Stone and Stone, *An Open Elite?'*, p. 10; Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise,* p. 7.
[805] Wilson and Mackley, 'How Much Did the English Country House Cost to Build?', pp. 437–38.
[806] Hall, 'Yeoman or Gentleman?', p. 2,8.
[807] Cooper, 'Display, Status and the Vernacular Tradition', pp. 28–29.
[808] Green, 'Houses in North-Eastern England', pp. 61–65.
[809] Wrightson, *English Society,* p. 23.
[810] Amussen, *An Ordered Society,* pp. 50–52.

overemphasise any apparent collective identity.[811] In definition by status, the gentry included a broad range of social ranks including baronets, knights, esquires, and 'gentlemen', but towards the lesser end of the scale definition, a gentleman may have relied more on the perception of their community than an official title.[812] However, in defining an individual as gentry, the community were noting a code of honour and living, the quality of gentility. The gentry were those individuals whose gentility was accepted by others and who in turn, could recognise another gentry by their gentility.[813]

Gentility was based upon landed wealth but also displayed through wealth, conspicuous consumption, behaviours and hospitality. However, the concept of gentility may not solely apply to the gentry.[814] Henry French details the struggle to identify who the middling sort really were, arguing that gentility had more potential than middling sort as a principle for extra-parochial collective identity, although within the parish, the middling sort were more likely to be identified as 'chief inhabitants'.[815] French argues that gentility was utilised and appropriated by higher echelons of the middling sorts to realise ambitions but also that deploying gentility was complex and not a case of simple emulation.[816] Thus, although the concept of gentility was a good indicator of gentry status, at the parochial level, the concept of gentility could be expanded to include wealthier yeomen, blurring the boundaries between the two groups. In this study, a different methodology for identifying gentry houses is discussed below, following the lead of Wilson and Mackley.

When considering gentry houses in their communities, three aspects are usually considered. The first is the impact of London on local communities, and thus a continuation of the 'county community debate' of Alan Everitt and J. Morrill.[817] This debate focused on the role of London and whether or not it was a major influence upon local identity, with different themes of research being called into service by critics and proponents of this theory.[818] Architectural styles of provincial gentry houses can be used to explore this theory further.

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811 Stone and Stone, *An Open Elite?,* pp. 6–8; Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender*, p. 17.
812 Wrightson, *English Society,* pp. 23–24.
813 Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry,* pp. 16–19.
814 Wrightson, *English Society,* pp. 25–26.
815 French, *The Middle Sort of People*, pp. 19–21.
816 French, *The Middle Sort of People*, pp. 258–59.
817 Ian Warren, 'London's Cultural Impact on the English Gentry: The Case of Worcestershire, c. 1580–1680', *Midland History*, 33 (2008), 156–78 (p. 158).
818 Warren, 'London's Cultural Impact', pp. 158, 171–78.

The second key aspect, and partially related to the county community debate, is the consumption behaviours of the gentry. A central issue is whether the gentry were pioneers of new objects, such as tea and coffee sets, jacks, chests of drawers, and forks, since these were indicative of new cultural behaviours. The third aspect to consider is the role of gentility and politeness; two social concepts often relied upon by scholars to create differentiation between the gentry and aspirant/pseudo gentry and the rest of early modern society. Discourses of eighteenth-century politeness had a relationship with discourses of sixteenth and seventeenth civility, so we could expect to find that civility and gentility were incorporated within the fixed-feature and semi-fixed-feature cures of sixteenth and seventeenth-century gentry houses.[819]

Few studies consider the gentry of Devon and Cornwall. Mark Stoyle notes that in Devon with only two aristocratic families, the Bouchiers (Earls of Bath) and the Russells (Earls of Bedford), the greater gentry (roughly 400 individuals) and lesser gentry (roughly 1,500 individuals) were more able to exert their own localized spheres of influence.[820] Everitt and Ruth Flower-Smith argue that from the later seventeenth century, numbers of gentry families declined across England, with the number of minor gentry declining in Devon.[821] Flower-Smith argues that many gentry families, including those on the border with Somerset, were highly aware of new cultures and readily partook in new behaviours and social practices.[822] Whether geographical and topographical peripheralism also resulted in social, economic, and political peripherialism, otherwise described as 'Cornish distinctiveness', is encountered in several works that study early modern Cornwall and its relationships with England.[823] However, these works do not solely focus on the Cornish gentry. Some works show the gentry were highly connected with news in London, despite poor transport infrastructure and distance, and able and willing to send children to be

[819] Green, 'The Polite Threshold', pp. 1–2.
[820] Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality*, pp. 18-20,136-7.
[821] Everitt, 'Social Mobility', pp. 64-65; Flower-Smith, 'Landowners on the Devon and Somerset Border', pp. 12-13.
[822] Flower-Smith, 'Landowners on the Devon and Somerset Border', pp. 8–15.
[823] Payton, *Making of Modern Cornwall*; Stoyle, *West Britons: Cornish Identities*; Deacon, 'In Search of the Missing "Turn"'; Deacon, 'Propaganda and the Tudor State'.

educated in Oxford or Inns of Court.[824] Other works show through material culture that there were links between the South West and the rest of the world.[825]

There is thought to have been a gulf between the Cornish greater gentry and the lesser gentry, who, according to Stoyle, had a greater clannishness with the 'middling sorts' and greater adherence to more traditional cultural behaviours.[826] In Cornwall, the position of the gentry was bolstered by a lack of peers, with the Duchy of Cornwall having little influence on cultural or social behaviours.[827] These works leave little impression about the social and cultural life of the gentry in south-west England. Mark Overton et al. argue that many Cornish gentry had a material culture quite similar to that found elsewhere, even sharing in what was suggested as a national gentry culture, though they were more likely to be pioneers with new goods.[828]

Very few works examine the development of country houses in the South West. Girouard drew on very little evidence from the South West, in contrast to Cooper in his study on gentry houses. Cooper posited that a number of houses display evidence for a south-western regional plan-form based on a hall that extended to an end wall.[829] More recent works by Wilson and Mackley largely ignore evidence from Devon and Cornwall. In all, country houses of the South West of the mid-seventeenth to late eighteenth centuries have rarely been drawn into national narratives of architectural change.[830] Surviving dwellings are predominantly examined for local case studies. These include by Pevsner, updated by Bridget Cherry and Beacham. These studies argue that country house owners and builders in the South West were slow to adopt new architectural fashions, preferring piecemeal renovations and rebuilding.[831] During the eighteenth century, the extremes of the Baroque and Palladianism did not take hold.[832] Suggestions have been put forward for why this was, possible causes including a lack of courtly visits or economic and geographical factors, but

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[824] Chynoweth, 'Gentry of Tudor Cornwall', pp. 18-30; Duffin, *Faction and Faith,* pp. 2–3, 26–27.
[825] Casimiro, 'Portugeuse Faience', pp. 343–51; Coleman-Smith, Kiser, and Hughes, 'Donyatt-Type Pottery', pp. 294, 302.
[826] Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality*, pp. 301–2.
[827] Chynoweth, 'Gentry of Tudor Cornwall', pp. 29, 60.
[828] Overton et al.*, Production and Consumption,* pp. 150–51, 176.
[829] Cooper, Houses of the Gentry, p. 196-98.
[830] Cherry, 'Devon Country House', p. 91.
[831] Cherry, 'Devon Country House', pp. 91–93, 131.
[832] Beacham and Pevsner, *Cornwall,* pp. 51–52; Cherry and Pevsner*, Devon,* p. 85.

recently there has been a slight change in narrative.[833] There is a recognition that the late seventeenth century was a significant period of change in the region, with several new houses built after the 1680s or complete renovations of older ones.[834] The Post-Restoration period saw the introduction of 'classicism' and symmetrical frontages in Cornwall.[835] Furthermore, in Cornwall from the early eighteenth century, there were several notable architects, including James Gibbs and Thomas Edwards. This latter trend is not so apparent in Devon, but in both counties dozens of country houses exhibit a refined classicism which perhaps has been misinterpreted as old fashioned.[836]

An aspect to consider is the issue of regionality. Green noted in his study of north-east English housing that '[t]he architecture of houses shows that regional variation in style was part of middling and elite culture in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries'.[837] How much this was apparent in the South West is of debate. The presence of battlemented parapets has been suggested by Cooper as a way for the lesser gentry to create a shared visual identity through their houses, as identified at Godolphin, Trelowarren, Penheale, Lanhydrock, and Prideaux Place.[838] However, the presence of battlemented parapets at houses of the greater gentry, such as Cotehele House and Mount Edgcumbe, appears to undermine this argument; even if it was possible that the lesser gentry of Cornwall considered themselves to have a shared social identity with the greater gentry. Instead, given the lower presence of battlemented parapets on gentry houses in Devon, it could be argued that battlemented parapets was one aspect of regional variation of gentry architecture in Cornwall.

Methodology and approaches

The principal focus for this chapter is the nature of gentry and country houses in the early modern South West between the fifteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, and how and why they changed over time. The debates mentioned above mean that attention must be given to how gentry and country houses are selected for study. Existing studies of country houses of the South West, such as Nikolaus Pevsner's *Buildings of Britain* series, and Hugh Meller's

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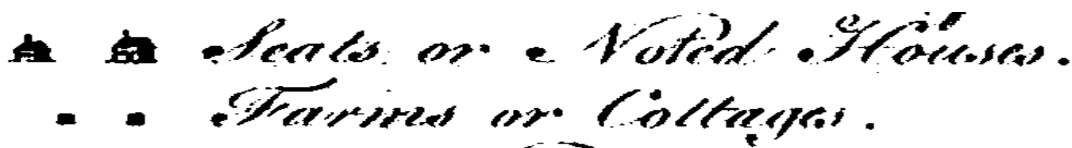
[833] Batty, 'Examination of Gardens at Langdon Court', p. 176; Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, p. 1.
[834] Beacham and Pevsner, *Cornwall,* p. 52; Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, pp. 6–7.
[835] Jope, 'Cornish Houses', pp. 194–95.
[836] Beacham and Pevsner, *Cornwall,* pp. 52–54; Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, p. 7.
[837] Green, 'Houses in North-Eastern England', pp. 69–70.
[838] Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p. 210.

two-volume study *County Houses of Devon* have taken different approaches. Peter Becham notes difficult judgements about what to include in the updated Pevsner for Cornwall based upon relative significance, whilst Meller similarly notes 'I have omitted some smaller Georgian houses which may be attractive, well proportioned buildings but with little else of interest'.[839] Meller's choice of 'country houses' lead to some odd decisions. Bowhill in Exeter was chosen, but Cowick Barton was not, despite both being built about the same time, in the suburbs of Exeter, by wealthy yeoman families. A systematic study of the country houses of Cornwall does not yet exist.

One way around this issue is to follow the lead of Wilson and Mackley, and recognise that early modern commentators and writers had a better definition of a country house.[840] This included there being sufficient landed estate for economic income with a significant proportion of that land tenanted (for influence in the local community), that the house was used for recreation, entertainment, and as a family seat.[841] This approach follows the Devon Rural Archive's Project Donn, which examines the manor houses and farmhouses recorded on Benjamin Donn's map of 1765. The map uses particular symbols to note 'Seats or Noted Houses' from other houses, and often records the owners and their status. Figure 17 shows these symbols. Thus, a picture can be built of the number of gentry houses in Devon about 1765, and which ones still survive within the sample parishes. A similar technique can be used for Cornwall, where Thomas Martyn's map of 1748 also recorded manor houses, and like Donn used a particular symbol for 'farm houses' and 'The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry', shown in figure 18. These were used to identify gentry and country houses in the sample parishes for Cornwall.

Figure 17: Symbols used by Donn for 'Seats or Noted Houses'.



From:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1765_Benjamin_Donn_Wall_Map_of_Devonshire_and_Exeter,_England_-_Geographicus_-_Devon-donn-1765.jpg) [accessed 10 March 2019].

[839] Beacham and Pevsner, *Cornwall,* p. xv; Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, p. xi.
[840] Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p. 8.
[841] Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise,* p. 8–9.

Figure 18: Symbols used by Martyn for 'Seats of the Nobility and Gentry'.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

From: https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:23971453 [accessed 10 March 2019].

This chapter primarily uses plans and written descriptions of surviving dwellings, and probate inventories of the gentry. The majority of the plans studied are modern plans produced through archaeological examination, supplemented by recordings of listed buildings and a handful of seventeenth and eighteenth-century plans. In approach, a distinction is made between the internal layout of rooms (plan-form) and the footprint of the house. This is particularly important when discussing symmetrical houses, where the footprint may be symmetrical, but the layout of rooms is not. Evidence from surviving dwellings is considered alongside gentry inventories, defined by this study as belonging to 'gentlemen' and 'esquires'. The same issues discussed in chapters 3 and 4 concerning inventories and house plans of surviving dwellings are still relevant.[842] Inventories do not always record all rooms, and rooms that are missing may be deliberately or accidentally missed. However more plans of surviving gentry dwellings record upper storeys or outbuildings than plans of surviving vernacular houses. This chapter uses the same approach as previous chapters; a quantitative analysis of plans and inventories. With better quality of the evidence, more qualitative analysis is undertaken; however, as shown in Appendix 2, the overall number of gentry inventories and surviving gentry dwellings is low. Thus, using a quantitative approach cannot provide any certainty for trends but they are indicative of broader patterns.

During this chapter, gentry and country houses are categorised into five categories: hierarchical (vernacular) houses; courtyard houses; symmetrical houses; Double-Pile houses; and Palladian/classical houses. These categories are derived from the layout of rooms and the recorded footprint. Firstly, hierarchical houses are gentry houses that have plan-forms that are considered 'vernacular', as discussed during chapter 3. These gentry houses are

[842] Chapter 3 'Introduction'; Chapter 4, 'Introduction'.

recorded because 'hierarchical' as they incorporate the hierarchical architectural and social principles of low and high ends. The definition used here does not include external decoration to signify high and low ends, as used by Cooper since in many of the houses, external building activity obscures those architectural details.[843] Courtyard houses are similar to symmetrical houses, with the distinction in the presence of internal courtyard/courtyards. Symmetrical houses conform to either H, half-H, E, U, or T plan-forms. There is a degree of similarity between Double-Pile houses and Palladian/Classical Houses, with important differences. In plan-form, a Classical House, similar to a Formal Plan houses, had a central hall, with a staircase either in the hall or in a room behind, and the main reception room aligned above or behind the hall. Both these elements are typically lacking in Double-Pile houses. Often Classical Houses, particularly small classical houses, have been referred to by scholars as villas. However, such a term has an architectural meaning and form, to which the houses studied do not quite conform.[844]

In focusing on gentry houses, this chapter continues to draw on the theories of Susan Kent and Amos Rapoport, as discussed in chapter 1.[845] This is because the theories of Kent and Rapoport are applicable to the whole built environment, which includes both vernacular and 'high style buildings'. Rapoport's definition of 'high-style' dwellings refer to that these are specialised dwellings, often designed and constructed by specialists, and not easily adapted.[846] In this regard, many gentry dwellings are difficult to be defined as 'high-style', but nonetheless, the point that Rapoport argues is that we cannot look at solely one aspect of the built environment:

> "[W]e must look at the whole environment in order to understand it, and it is in this sense that we must study the history of built form. If we only look at the smallest part of the work, that part tends to assume undue importance; if we look at it in isolation, we cannot grasp its complex and subtle relation to the vernacular matrix with this it forms a total spatial and hierarchic system".[847]

Applying this approach to this chapter breaks new ground. Though there are a number of studies that consider the lesser gentry alongside yeoman/husbandmen/professionals as part

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[843] Cooper, Houses of the Gentry, p. 55.
[844] Hague, *The Gentleman's House,* pp. 57–58.
[845] Chapter 1, 'Theories of Domestic Architecture'.
[846] Rapoport, *House Form and Culture*, pp. 5, 8.
[847] Rapoport, *House Form and Culture*, p. 2.

of the ‘middling sort’ or those of middling wealth, this is often through the study of material culture and living patterns using probate inventories alone.[848] The lack of studies incorporating an examination of both gentry houses with vernacular houses shows that the common approach has been to consider each separately, with different approaches and theories. For example, although Matthew Johnson’s theory of ‘Closure’ was applied to urban houses by Chris King, it has not been applied to gentry houses. Green and Daniel Mauldin both argue that the concept of a ‘vernacular threshold’ and the use of the contrasting ‘polite threshold’ should be abandoned as they are not applicable, but few works have carried this out.[849]

This chapter brings new evidence to bear on the question of how the country houses of early modern south-west England developed between 1601 and 1750. Focus is on physical changes and continuities of rural country houses and urban gentry houses, shown in the plan-forms of surviving dwellings. The inventories of the gentry of south-west England between 1601 and 1750 are examined to investigate the changing function of rooms, most especially the function of the hall, kitchen, and parlour. First, this chapter examines the physical changes that country and gentry houses underwent between 1601 to 1750, showing how the majority of gentry houses retained a hierarchical plan-form. Following that section, this chapter focuses on the function of rooms, and where certain domestic activities occurred in the gentry house.

[848] Buxton, *Domestic Culture*; Henry French, ‘The Search for the “Middle Sort of People” in England, 1600-1800’, *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 277–93; Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*.
[849] Green, ‘Confining the Vernacular’, p. 1; Maudlin, 'Crossing Boundaries', pp. 10-12.

Country and Gentry Houses: physical development

Chapter 3 showed that the majority of surviving vernacular houses had a two or three-room plan-form with cross-passage, even in dwellings constructed during the eighteenth century.[850] In examining gentry houses, this section shows that the same pattern is apparent. Most surviving gentry dwellings had at their core a two or three-room plan-form with cross-passage but with periods of significant change. In the following section, surviving gentry dwellings, either with a house plan or record on the NHL, are analysed using quantitative techniques. First, this section considers the dates of construction and post-construction of surviving dwellings before examining the plan-forms of surviving houses for each period. Lastly, this section undertakes an in-depth discussion of each of the five key plan-forms (hierarchical, symmetrical, courtyard, double-pile and classical), drawing on specific examples from Devon and Cornwall. A sixth group of houses, transitional houses with both classical and hierarchical elements, are considered at the end of this section.

Surviving gentry houses were constructed in all periods from the fourteenth century, with a higher number constructed within the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries. There is an overlap with some surviving dwellings included in the analysis in chapter 3 because they are vernacular in plan-form but also recorded on the maps of Donn or Martyn. Table 50 shows the number of surviving dwellings constructed per period, although, as discussed in chapter 3, the dating of construction and post-construction development is often to a century rather than a specific period. This is comparatively less of an issue for gentry houses, where the houses are more likely to be surveyed in greater detail and supporting documentation considered to date construction and post-construction development more accurately.

[850] Chapter 3, 'Conclusion'.

Table 50: Dates of construction and post-construction redevelopment of gentry houses

	C14 -C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
New Build	**6**	**4**	**4**	**12**	**10**	**6**	**2**	**44**
Phase II	1	2	1	4	**5**	**10**	3	26
Phase III			3	2	3	2	3	13
Phases IV-V				1	1	2	1	5

Source: 45 gentry dwellings with plans or NHL listed entry from the sample parishes.

Twenty-six of forty-five surviving gentry houses were constructed during or before the early seventeenth century, with eight constructed during or after the late seventeenth century, with table 50 showing that the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries a critical period for the construction of gentry houses. In both counties, the highest proportion of gentry dwellings were constructed before or during the early seventeenth century (58 per cent in Devon, 35 per cent in Cornwall), with fewer than a fifth of surviving gentry dwellings constructed after or during the late fifteenth century. Over half of all surviving gentry houses constructed before c.1700 underwent post-construction development (59 per cent), in contrast to only 23 per cent of surviving rural vernacular dwellings. However, this may be expected as the nature of the evidence is different, with most gentry houses considered in greater depth by surveyors and assessors.

Table 50 suggests the principal periods of construction and post-construction development of surviving gentry dwellings in the South West was different to the pattern elsewhere in England. Most research considers that an important period for investment in country houses, whether new building or remodelling/rebuilding was from the 1680s or 1690s until the 1730s, although Wilson and Mackley opted for a more extended period from the 1660s to the 1730s.[851] Clemenson argued that were there four key periods of investment in country houses, the first after redistribution of monastic lands until the 1630s (also suggested by Stone and Stone), the second from the 1680s until the 1730s, with two more

[851] Clemenson, *English Country Houses,* p. 50; Wilson and Mackley, 'How Much Did the English Country House Cost to Build?', p. 437; Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise,* p. 202.

periods in the early and late nineteenth century.[852] Stephen Pugsley argued that there was a crescendo of country house building 1561 to 1620, before decline set in after that.[853] However, the data behind these patterns differs from this study. Wilson and Mackley draw their evidence from country houses in estates of 1,000 acres or more, Clemenson from a sample of 500 estates of 3,000 acres or more, and Stone and Stone from houses with 5,000ft^2 or more living accommodation. By concentrating on what early modern commentators and authors thought were gentry houses in Devon and Cornwall, a different pattern emerges.

An examination of parish level information is challenging due to the low number of surviving gentry houses per parish (no more than four surviving dwellings), but some trends are apparent. In Sandford and Plympton St Mary, two parishes in Devon with the highest number of surviving gentry dwellings constructed before or during the early seventeenth century, many surviving vernacular dwellings were constructed in the same period. However, in St Stephens-by-Saltash parish, where a high number of surviving gentry dwellings were also constructed during or before the early seventeenth century, the highest number of surviving vernacular dwellings were constructed during or after the late seventeenth century. Only eight surviving gentry dwelling were constructed during or after the late seventeenth century, three in Cornwall and five in Devon. In Madron parish, where two surviving gentry dwellings were constructed during or later the late seventeenth century, twenty-one of twenty-six surviving vernacular dwellings were constructed during this period. However, the correlation is not strong between parishes with a high degree of redevelopment activity during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in both gentry and vernacular houses.

Table 51 shows that the majority of surviving gentry houses, recorded on the maps by Donn and Martyn, were constructed with 'hierarchical' plan-forms. The majority of these (thirteen dwellings) were constructed during or before the late seventeenth century. All courtyard and symmetrical dwellings were constructed before or during the early seventeenth century, whilst all surviving dwellings with a classical plan-form constructed during or after the late seventeenth century. With an acknowledged overlap between wealthier yeomen

[852] Clemenson, *English Country Houses,* pp. 49–50; Stone and Stone, *An Open Elite?,* p. 263.
[853] Pugsley, 'Landed Society', p. 104.

and the gentry, it is not surprising that a high number of gentry houses had hierarchical plan-forms, but from the early eighteenth century, there may have been a shift given that more houses had symmetrical plans. The majority of surviving gentry houses with hierarchical plan-forms retained a cross-passage, an essential feature in the plan-forms of vernacular houses. Surviving dwellings with courtyard or symmetrical plan-forms were constructed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with Palladian/Classical houses constructed from the late seventeenth century. Although table 51 would support the argument of Pevsner that a majority of gentry houses were architecturally conservative, this may be due to the period of study, which does not stretch into the late eighteenth century, during which period a number of Classical houses were constructed.[854] That houses with a Classical or double-pile plan-form appear in the South West does show that these new plan-forms were known, but they were not chosen in the redevelopment, and new building of gentry and country houses in the parishes studied.

Table 51: Plan-forms of gentry houses

	C14-C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
Hierarchical	**5**	**4**		**4**	**6**	**2**	**2**	**23**
Courtyard				3	1			4
Symmetrical			2	4	1			7
Double-Pile					1			1
Palladian/Classical House						4		4
Unclear/Unknown	1		2	1	2			6

Source: 45 gentry dwellings with plans or NHL listed entry from the sample parishes.

This section has shown that the majority of surviving gentry houses had a hierarchical plan-form, and the majority of gentry houses retained a medieval plan-form that was either hierarchical or courtyard. The majority of surviving gentry dwellings were constructed before or during the early seventeenth century, with a significant proportion undergoing post-construction development. However, these broad facets need to be more closely

[854] Batty, 'Examination of the Gardens at Langdon Court', pp. 176–78; Beacham and Pevsner, *Cornwall,* pp. 51–52; Cherry and Pevsner*, Devon,* pp. 85–88; Pugsley, 'Landed Society', p. 116.

investigated to draw out the nature of the changes to gentry houses. The following sections take each plan-form (hierarchical, courtyard and symmetrical, double-pile, and classical) to draw out how they sat within community contexts of vernacular houses.

'Hierarchical' Houses

Table 52 shows the details of surviving gentry houses with hierarchical plan-forms, the majority of which were L-shaped with a two or three-room with cross-passage core and front or rear wing. This overlap with the plan-forms of vernacular houses with front or rear wings has been largely overlooked. Instead, attention is on gentry houses that were fortified manor houses and castles, manorial houses, tower house, and courtyard houses.[855] Cooper argues that most gentry houses from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were hierarchical, but during the sixteenth century, gentry house started to be constructed to the principles of symmetry in external decoration and footprint, but not in the layout of rooms.[856] Surviving dwellings show that most gentry hierarchical dwellings were constructed either during or before the early seventeenth century, predominantly with traditional two or three-room and cross-passage plan-forms. The following section highlights some examples of hierarchical gentry dwellings, taking each county in turn, before assessing the parish contexts of the hierarchical gentry dwellings.

[855] Clemenson, English Country Houses, pp. 40-43; Girouard, Life in the Country House, p. 66.
[856] Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry,* pp. 55, 74-5.

Table 52: Surviving hierarchical gentry houses constructed c.1500 to c.1750.

Name	Parish	Broad plan-form	Known owners
Treludick	Egloskerry	L-shaped	Baron family (1617–1702) John Saltren (1709–1732)
Cleeve	Exeter St Thomas	L-shaped	Thomas Northmore (1705)
Darley	Linkinhorne	Three-room and cross-passage	
Wescott	Linkinhorne	Three-room and cross-passage/ L-shaped	Edward Kneebone (1653)
Nancealverne House	Madron	Hierarchical	
Rosecadgehill House	Madron	Hierarchical	
Rudge	Morchard Bishop	Three-room and cross-passage	Leigh family (1546-1779)
Budleigh Farmhouse	Moretonhampstead	Two-room and cross-passage	
Trungle House	Paul	L-shaped	
Old Newnham	Plympton St Mary	Three-room and cross-passage/ L-shaped	Strode family (c.1400–c.1720)
Trevigue	St Gennys	L-shaped	
Treworgie Barton	St Gennys	Three-room and cross-passage	Benet Mill (1568) William Braddon (1648) Elizabeth Bligh (1650)
Erth Barton	St Stephens-by-Saltash	L-shaped	
Wivelscombe Manor	St Stephens-by-Saltash	L-shaped	Thomas Wills (1664)
Blackler	Staverton	L-shaped	
Pridhamsleigh	Staverton	L-shaped	Edward Gould (c.1600–1627)
Bowden	Totnes	Three-room and cross-passage/L-shaped	Giles family (1552–1670) Sir Richard Gripps (c.1670-1704) Nicholas Trist (1704)
Follaton House	Totnes	L-shaped	

Nine surviving gentry houses in Cornwall were constructed with, and retained, a hierarchical plan-form; seven underwent no post-construction redevelopment before the mid-eighteenth century. Darley Farmhouse for example was constructed in the seventeenth

century with a three-room and cross-passage plan-form, whilst Treworgie Barton was constructed with the same plan-form but earlier, during the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries.[857] Treworgie Barton had an open hall in the mid-seventeenth century, with the survey of the Manor of Treworgie, 1650, describing the house as 'consists of one fair hall open to the roof and wainscoted half way, one parlour and one kitchen below stairs, and of diverse lodging chambers above stairs'.[858] Wescott was constructed during the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century with a three-room and cross-passage plan-form, and extended in 1653 to have a rear wing (L-shaped plan-form). Whether what survives was an uncompleted U plan-form or what remains of a fully completed U plan-form is unknown.[859] Treludick underwent a more complex pattern of development; the plan-form is shown in figure 19. Constructed during the early seventeenth century with a three-room and cross-passage plan-form, post-construction redevelopment means the house now has an L-shaped plan-form with two perpendicular rear wings.[860] Post-construction redevelopment in both houses did not change the core plan-form as both retained a cross-passage. The last phase of major construction before the nineteenth century at Treludick involved the construction of the south service range during the mid to late sixteenth century, which included a kitchen and possibly a dairy.[861] In Devon, eight surviving gentry houses were constructed with a hierarchical plan-form; three underwent no post-construction redevelopment before the mid-eighteenth century. Rudge was constructed in the fifteenth century with a three-room with cross-passage plan-form, whilst Budleigh Farmhouse was constructed in the seventeenth century with a two-room and cross-passage plan-form.[862]

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[857] Treworgie Barton, St Gennys, https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1137256 *[accessed 17 November 2018]; Darley Farmhouse, Linkinhorne,* https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1329173 *[accessed 29 April 2017].*
[858] *The Parliamentary Survey of the Duchy of Cornwall: Part 2 (Isles of Scilly - West Antony and Manors in Devon)*, ed. Norman John Greville Pounds, New Series (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1984), p. 207.
[859] Wescott Farmhouse, Linkinhorne, https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1140496, [accessed 29 April 2017]; Beacham and Pevsner, *Cornwall,* p. 308.
[860] Jessop, *Treludick, Egloskerry,* p. 4.
[861] Jessop, *Treludick, Egloskerry*, pp. 30-3.
[862] Charles Hulland, 'Devonshire Farmhouses. Part V', Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association, 112 (1980), 127–60 (pp. 129–36); Budleigh Farmhouse, https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1334173 [accessed 23 September 2017].

Figure 19: Floor plan of Treludick, Egloskerry.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons

From: Lucy Jessop, *Treludick, Egloskerry, Cornwall: Survey, Investigation, and History of the House and Farm Building'*, English Heritage Research Report 91-2007 (Swindon: English Heritage Research Department, 2007), p. 4.
Note: the two wings to the rear of the hall and parlour are different dates and gable-ended, unknown function.

One aspect to consider is that gentry houses with a wing, whether rear or front, and hierarchical plan-form had more rooms in that wing compared with vernacular houses. As shown above, Treludick had three rooms in the front wing, and at Follaton House, constructed during the fifteenth century, where although the old house was completely absorbed into the new 1826 house planned by Humphry Repton, the plan for the new house record the older house had an L-shaped plan-form with three rooms in the wing.[863] At Old Newnham, constructed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a three-room and cross-passage plan, the house had an extended complex L-shaped plan-form by the sixteenth century.[864] A house plan of Old Newnham, shown in figure 29 in a later section, shows that the front wing had multiple rooms, and the middle section (solar and lodgings) is three storeys high. However, the cross-passage was blocked early on by the chapel, constructed by 1432. The internal layout of the original hall range is somewhat of a puzzle, with a strong suggestion that the range may have extended further to the east, and

[863] RIBAPIX, https://www.architecture.com/image-library/RIBApix/image-information/poster/design-for-follaton-house-totnes-ground-floor-plan/posterid/RIBA65343.html [accessed 3 February 2019]; Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, p. 408.
[864] DRA, Robert Waterhouse, 'Old Newnham: Archaeological Notes', 2006, pp. 1–4.

the hall was re-orientated when the porch and oriel window was constructed in the sixteenth century. The south range was added in the early to mid-sixteenth century, contemporary with the ceiling of the hall and the addition of the porch.[865] The hall was ceiled in either the sixteenth, or the eighteenth century.[866]

Two points are essential to note. First, if the hall extended to the end of the range before the construction of the south range in the sixteenth century, as is supposed, then Old Newnham was similar to other gentry dwellings of the South West with an end hall and broadly symmetrical frontage, although Cooper suggests most of this type of house date from the late sixteenth century rather than the early sixteenth century.[867] The second is that the cross-passage was blocked early on in the development of Old Newnham. Two other gentry dwellings with a hierarchical plan-form also had the cross-passage blocked; Cleeve House and Bowden House. At Cleeve House, a cross-passage was not apparent by the mid eighteenth century; in Bowden House this was a result of the cross-passage being blocked in c.1704.[868]

Two gentry houses that were constructed as hierarchical houses were remodelled into courtyard houses; Great Fulford in c.1534 and Dowrich Manor in the mid-sixteenth century. Four were remodelled to have symmetrical footprints rather than room layout. They were: Boringdon House in c.1590, Burrell House in the early seventeenth century, Ruxford Barton in c.1708, and Downes House in the mid-eighteenth century. Discussion of these gentry houses is expanded in the following section on symmetrical and courtyard houses. No hierarchical gentry house was clearly remodelled into a Classical/Palladian plan-form house, although some had elements added, as discussed in a later section. Surviving dwellings, such as Old Newnham and Treludick, show some need amongst certain gentry households to have extra spaces, likely for service functions and thus indicating changes to the system of activities and settings of the household that necessitated separation between service functions. Indeed, these ranges indicate greater separation between family and household/servants, especially since these service ranges were constructed with upper

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[865] Cherry and Pevsner, *Devon,* p. 583; Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, p. 730.
[866] DRA; DRA.PR.P13.0002, John E M MacGregor, 'Report on Old Newnham: Plympton', (1962); Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, p. 730.
[867] Cooper, Houses of the Gentry, p. 198.
[868] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, p. 158.

storey chambers. However, this is not apparent in the majority of surviving gentry houses with hierarchical plan-forms may indicate a similarity of settings between gentry and vernacular houses.

The gentry houses discussed in this section show a high degree of similarity with their parish contexts, suggesting a blurred boundary between the cultures of the gentry and others of middling wealth occupying vernacular houses. Four of nine surviving dwellings in Linkinhorne parish, where Darley is located, have three-room and cross-passage plan-forms, whilst in St Gennys, where Treworgie Barton is located, three of eleven surviving dwellings were two-room with cross-passage houses. Another three dwellings had a three-room with cross-passage plan-form, one with a rear wing. Rudge is located in Morchard Bishop, where ten of thirty-one non-cottage surviving dwellings in Morchard Bishop also had a three-room and cross-passage plan-form. In contrast, Budleigh Farmhouse in Moretonhampstead may have been smaller than the majority of vernacular houses with a two-room plan-form; eighteen of thirty-one surviving vernacular dwellings had a three-room and cross-passage plan-form. Old Newnham is situated within Plympton St Mary parish, where most of the surviving vernacular dwellings were constructed in the seventeenth century with two or three-room with cross-passage plan-forms. However, although Old Newnham may have been constructed with a cross-passage, by the seventeenth century when seven of twenty-one surviving dwellings were constructed, the gentry dwelling was different from the context of the parish in which it sat. All the surviving rural vernacular houses of Plympton St Mary parish have a cross-passage.

These houses highlight that members of the gentry lived in vernacular houses, blurring lines between the gentry and 'chief inhabitants' discussed earlier. However, although secondary research suggests that Treludick and Bowden House were owned by wealthy yeoman families, Martyn's map of Cornwall shows that Treludick was occupied by Saltron esq[uire]', and Donn noted that 'Trist esq[uire]' owned Bowden House.[869] Thus, members of the lesser gentry occupying houses with vernacular plan-forms. Six houses were indicated by the map makers to be occupied by members of the lesser gentry, with physical evidence showing

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[869] Jessop, *Treludick, Egloskerry,* pp. 7–10.

these houses were hierarchical houses, larger versions of vernacular houses.[870] However, one way that a separation between the houses of the gentry and houses occupied by wealthy yeomen was through roof coverings, with Cox and Throp arguing that virtually all houses of the gentry and those with gentry pretensions were slate-covered rather than thatched; evidence of this is now sparse.[871]

Symmetrical and Courtyard Houses

From the early sixteenth century, there was a growing realization that the order and hierarchy of the household and of society at large could be reflected in architecture through a hierarchy of rooms and symmetry.[872] At first, this principle primarily affected exterior design. It could be piecemeal, with a group of houses in Somerset (Kingston Seymour, Poundisford, and Barringdon Court) showing the early adoption of symmetrical principles in external decoration.[873] From the mid to late sixteenth century, several houses were constructed that had achieved complete external symmetry, denying any reading of internal layout and the high/low ends from external decoration.[874] Symmetrical principles suggested footprint of either H, half-H, U, E, or T forms. However, this exterior symmetry was not followed by interior symmetry except for in palaces; most country houses were a curious mix of the symmetrical and hierarchical plan-forms with the hall to one side.[875] From the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, some gentry houses were constructed that tried to achieve internal symmetry with a central, axial hall; such as Hardwick Hall and Houghton Conquest.[876] By axial hall, it is meant a hall that sat central to the plan of the house and entered in the middle. Alice Friedman argues that given these two houses were owned and the construction directed by women, gender may have influenced where conventional modes were insufficient to express a woman as head of the household.[877]

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[870] These houses being: Rosecadgehill (Borlase esq.), Nancealvern (Carveth esq.), Wescott (Kneebone esq.), Treludick (Saltron esq.), Bowden (Trist esq.), and Cleeve (Northmore esq.).
[871] Cox and Thorpe, *Devon Thatch,* pp. 62–63.
[872] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 80.
[873] Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry,* pp. 75-78; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 114–16.
[874] Cooper, Houses of the Gentry, pp. 79-80.
[875] Alice T. Friedman, 'Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze: Planning and Representation in the Early Modern Country House', *Assemblage*, 1992, 41–61 (pp. 51–52); Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 120.
[876] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 114–16.
[877] Friedman, 'Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze', p. 58.

Although Jope argued that in the South West, the influence of symmetry was not apparent until after the early seventeenth century, as shown in Table 51, some surviving houses with symmetrical plan-forms were constructed during the sixteenth century.[878] Seven gentry dwellings were constructed to embody symmetrical principles in the design of the building and in exterior design, four of which date to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. No surviving symmetrical house was constructed after the late seventeenth century. The symmetry of the footprint and exterior was unlikely to have been matched by a symmetrical internal layout. Instead, these houses retained hierarchical principles of room arrangement. This is expected, since Friedman argued that an axial hall, which allowed for symmetry in internal layout, was unusual until the later seventeenth century; Steven Hague argued that internal symmetry was only more common from the mid-eighteenth century.[879]

[878] Jope, 'Cornish Houses', p. 193.
[879] Friedman, 'Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze', p. 57; Hague, *Gentleman's House,* p. 79.

Table 53: Surviving courtyard and symmetrical gentry houses constructed c.1500 to c.1750.

Name	Parish	Broad plan-form	Known owners
Great Fulford	Dunsford	Courtyard	Fulford family (c.1150–)
Penheale House	Egloskerry	Courtyard	Grenville family (1539–c.1636) Specott family (1636–1756)
Kerris Manor	Paul	Courtyard	Richard Pearce (1694–1743) John Hawkins (1743)
Dowrich Manor	Sandford	Courtyard	Dowrich family (c.1250–1717) Charles Challis (1717)
Langdon Court	Wembury	Courtyard	Calmady family (1555–1875)
Wembury House	Wembury	Courtyard/T-shaped	Sir John Hele (1592–1608) John Pollexfen (1685)
Cockington Court	Cockington	U-shaped	Cary family (c.1375–1654) Mallock family (1655-1933)
Great Duryard	Exeter St David	U-shaped	Henry Walker (1674) Thomas Bury (1700)
Trerife Manor	Madron	U-shaped	Nicholls family
Easton Barton	Morchard Bishop	U-shaped	
Saltram House	Plympton St Mary	L-shaped/U-shaped	Parker family (c.1712–1957)
Radford House	Plymstock	E-shaped/U-shaped	Radford family
Boringdon Hall	Plympton St Mary	Two-room and cross-passage/E-shaped	Mayhew family (c.1530–1583 Parker family (1583–1712)
Creedy Park	Sandford	Half-H	John Davie (1600)
Dira Farmhouse	Sandford	E-shaped	
Ruxford Barton	Sandford	E-shaped	
Trevissick	St Austell	U-shaped	
Burrell House	St Stephens-by-Saltash	Half-H	
Shillingham	St Stephens-by-Saltash	T-shaped	Francis Buller (1664)
Bradfield House	Uffculme	H-shaped	Walrond family (c.1250–1918)

In Cornwall, two surviving gentry dwellings were constructed with a symmetrical plan: Trereife Manor and Trevissick. These dwellings were constructed in the seventeenth century with U-shaped plan-forms, whilst Trevissick had an E-shaped façade added in the eighteenth century.[880] Unfortunately, the descriptions of the houses do not detail whether a cross-passage was present, but in the context of their communities, these two dwellings were large and distinctive. Both Shillingham and Burrell House underwent post-construction redevelopment to form symmetrical houses. Burrell House was initially constructed during

[880] Beacham and Pevsner, *Cornwall*, p. 648; Trevissick Farmhouse, St Austell, https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1211651 [accessed 29 May 2017].

the fifteenth or sixteenth century with a hierarchical plan-form before redevelopment in c.1621 to have a half-H plan-form.[881] According to Jope, most Cornish houses that embraced symmetrical plans and frontages date to after the 1680s, but the evidence here suggests that may have begun in the early seventeenth century.[882] Six surviving gentry dwellings in Devon were constructed with a symmetrical plan. Examples include Creedy Park, constructed c.1600, of which little is known except a sketch by Swete that showed the house had three storeys and a half-H plan-form.[883] Radford House, demolished in 1934, was shown in twentieth-century photographs to have an E-shaped plan-form or U-shaped plan-form; unfortunately, little is known about the physical development of the house.[884] Bradfield House is thought to date from the medieval period, although most of the house dates to c.1592 to c.1604 and conforms to an H-shaped plan-form, shown in figure 20.[885] The plan shows a central hall, with an off-centre entrance and cross-passage to one side, with two seventeenth-century rooms (dining room and Spanish Room) to the north, and formerly two large rooms to the south. The interior underwent substantial remodelling in the nineteenth century.

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[881] Burrell House, St Stephens-by-Saltash, https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1140376 [accessed10 June 2017].
[882] Jope, 'Cornish Houses', pp. 194–95.
[883] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, p. 325.
[884] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* II, p. 825.
[885] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, pp. 170–71.

Figure 20: Floor plan of Bradfield House, Uffculme.

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From: Bridget Cherry and N. Pevsner, eds., *The Buildings of Britain: Devon,* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989), p. 198.

Other gentry houses were constructed with a hierarchical plan-form before post-construction development resulted in symmetrical houses. Cockington Court was constructed in the twelfth or thirteenth century with a two or three-room cross-passage house with separate chamber block, remodelled in c.1577 to have a U-shaped plan-form with matching symmetrical façade.[886] Boringdon Hall was initially constructed in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century with a two-room and cross-passage plan-form but was renovated in c.1590 to c.1620 to have an E-shaped plan-form.[887] There is little evidence that the rooms were symmetrical, and the hall is off-centre. Great Duryard, was initially constructed in the mid-seventeenth century, but redevelopment in c.1700 meant the house had a symmetrical plan-form.[888] Wembury House was thoroughly remodelled in 1685 to 1701 from a late sixteenth and early seventeenth century (c.1592 to 1602) to have a T-shaped plan-form, with the hall in the bar of the 'T'.[889] An image of Wembury house after renovation is below

[886] DRA, DRA.PR.C34.0002, Brian Read, Cockington Court: A Brief History' (mid 20th century), pp. 13-20; Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, pp. 266–68; Robert Waterhouse, 'Cockington Court: Archaeological Notes', 2007, pp. 5–7.
[887] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, pp. 147–50; Waterhouse, 'Boringdon Hall'.
[888] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* II, pp. 991–92.
[889] Robert Waterhouse, 'Wembury House: Archaeological Notes', 2006, p. 4.

(figure 25). These later examples show the long attraction of the principles of symmetry to the gentry, but little evidence that the internal room layout was also symmetrical.

Figure 21: Sketch of Wembury by Edmund Prideaux, 1716.

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From: John Harris, 'The Prideaux Collection of Topographical Drawings', *Architectural History*, 7 (1964), 17–108 (p. 76).

Note: Harris supposed this to be a view of Mothecombe House mis-labelled as Wembury, as he argued there were no Pollexfens at Wembury. Meller and Pevsner argue that house depicted was built by John Pollexfen, father of the John Pollexfen who owned the house when Prideaux drew it.[890]

In their individual parish contexts, the evidence suggests these surviving gentry houses with symmetrical plan-forms were marked a clear point of differentiation between the gentry and others of middling wealth in the parish. The majority of listed and recorded vernacular dwellings of Madron and St Austell parishes date from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in plan-form were constructed with two-room plan-forms mostly without a cross-passage. In their parish context, most vernacular houses of St Stephens-by-Saltash parish appear to have had the traditional medieval plan-form of two or three rooms and cross-passage, but a small number had wing room. In Sandford, where Creedy Park and Dira Farmhouse are located, twenty-one of fifty-five surviving vernacular dwellings have a three-

[890] Cherry and Pevsner, *Devon,* p. 894; Harris, 'Prideaux Collection', p. 31; Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* II, pp. 1073-75.

room and cross-passage plan-form, most of which were constructed before or during the early seventeenth century. There is little if any evidence for vernacular dwellings with two wings forming a symmetrical plan-form. In Uffculme parish, where Bradfield House is located, seventeen of twenty-five surviving dwellings have a three-room and cross-passage plan-form, most of which were constructed about the same time as Bradfield in the late sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. Surviving buildings show that in all Devon parishes where symmetrical gentry houses were located, the majority of vernacular dwellings had two or three-room and cross-passage plan-forms, suggesting significant differences between the system of settings, and thus cultures, of gentry households and vernacular houses. However, that all surviving symmetrical gentry houses had a hierarchical plan-form with cross-passage and high/low ends found in vernacular houses suggest that difference in cultures may not have been so much of a gulf.

In the late medieval and sixteenth century the prevailing fashion for large country houses was to have a courtyard plan, and whilst the plan-form did not immediately allow for internal symmetry, façades could be reworked to be symmetrical.[891] The majority of surviving courtyard houses examined in the South West were constructed during the late sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. Penheale was constructed during the late sixteenth century and renovated c.1636 with new symmetrical façades and another courtyard.[892] Kerris Manor was constructed in the seventeenth century with a symmetrical front façade and remodelled in c.1721 in a classical style.[893] In Devon, two surviving gentry dwellings were constructed as courtyard houses, and another three underwent post-construction redevelopment to end up as courtyard houses. Of the dwellings that were remodelled into courtyard plan, two houses started life as fifteenth century hierarchical houses. Great Fulford, perhaps one of the best known courtyard houses in Devon, assumed its present form of a double courtyard plan-form with the main ranges of three storeys in c.1534, with the main court further remodelled c.1560 to 1620 to provide four symmetrical ranges, with symmetrical façades.[894] Dowrich Manor also underwent a similar development pattern, remodelled to have a double courtyard plan by the mid to late sixteenth century with a

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[891] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 114; Mercer, 'Houses of the Gentry', p. 13.
[892] Ralph Edwards, 'Country Homes Gardens Old & New: Penheale Manor House--I. Cornwall', *Country Life*, 57 (1925), 484–91 (pp. 484–89).
[893] Beacham and Pevsner, *Cornwall,* p. 399; Kerris Manor, Paul, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1327506 *[accessed 20 January 2019].*
[894] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, pp. 454–55.

cross-passage to the service court, a remnant of the earlier hierarchical house.[895] Both Dowrich and Great Fulford had separate service courtyards tucked behind the main courtyard, but the need to have a dedicated courtyard for service activities is suggestive of a high degree of service need and activity. It also suggests a highly developed sense of differentiation to almost fully separate family areas from household/servant areas, with the supposition that chambers were provided on upper storeys above the service rooms for servants and household. Langdon Court, initially constructed in c.1577 with a U-shaped plan-form, had symmetrical façades added when the house was remodelled to a courtyard house sometime between the late seventeenth century and 1707.[896]

The architectural contexts of the parishes in which these houses were located suggest most vernacular dwellings had traditional three or two-room plan-forms with cross-passages. Most surviving vernacular dwellings of Egloskerry were constructed in the seventeenth century and eight of thirteen dwellings had a two-room with cross-passage plan-form. In that context, Penheale must have been a significant expression of gentry power and wealth, being larger and with a considerably different plan-form than the rest of the parish. Unfortunately, most of the surviving listed and recorded dwellings of Paul parish date to the eighteenth century, so determining the architectural context of Kerris is challenging.
In Dunsford parish, where Great Fulford was located, nineteen of thirty-two surviving dwellings had three or two-rooms and cross-passage plan-forms, whilst only six dwelllings were constructed without a cross-passage. None of the surviving dwellings were constructed, or redeveloped, with wing rooms. The plan evidence suggests that at the time of construction Great Fulford was significantly different from vernacular dwellings in the parish. Only two surviving listed and recorded vernacular dwellings that were not almshouses in Wembury parish makes understanding the context of Wembury and Langdon Court difficult, however the nearby parishes of Plymstock and Plympton St Mary suggest that most vernacular dwellings in Wembury would have had a medieval two or three-room and cross-passage plan-form at their core.

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[895] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, pp. 350–51; Waterhouse, 'Dowrich Manor: Archaeological Notes', pp. 2–5.
[896] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* II, pp. 597–98.

The lack of plans for the surviving gentry houses with courtyard plan-forms means we cannot wholly understand what happened in these houses, but written descriptions provide some interesting evidence of attempts to incorporate new social behaviours. At Great Fulford, the Great Dining Room was noted by Meller to be on the first floor, in the north wing above the drawing room, accessed via a staircase hall from the two storey Great Hall (west wing).[897] There is no date to this room, but its position, accessed via staircase from the hall, is reminiscent of Formal Plan houses, with the main reception room on the first floor.

One other plan-form needs consideration, which is the Formal Plan houses. This plan-form, where the symmetry of the exterior was complimented by symmetry of the interior with central hall and symmetrical lodging 'wings', was strongly associated with the Court and nobility.[898] With Susan Batty and Mark Stoyle arguing that there were low numbers of courtly nobles, and a low influence of Court in the South West, this lack of Formal Plan houses should not be surprising.[899] The plan-form is strongly indicative of different social relations. According to Girouard and Adrian Tinniswood, the Formal Plan was appropriate in very hierarchical societies, and strongly associated with absolutism because the plan-form moved servants out of the main body of the house.[900] In this model the service functions were accommodated within a basement, or separate pavilion/building, making the social separation and segregation between masters and servants, and between those of different social ranks, physical.

The lack of Formal Plan houses in the South West may partly be an issue with evidence. An example was Escot House, designed 1678 for Sir Walter Yong. Escot was considered by Pevsner and Cherry to be a compact plan house, but on inspection of the plan, drawn in Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, it seems that the plan should be considered a Formal Plan house.[901] A description of Escot's layout is provided by the Rev. Richard Polwhele who visited in 1794. Polwhele describes a central hall with stair hall behind, a library, eating

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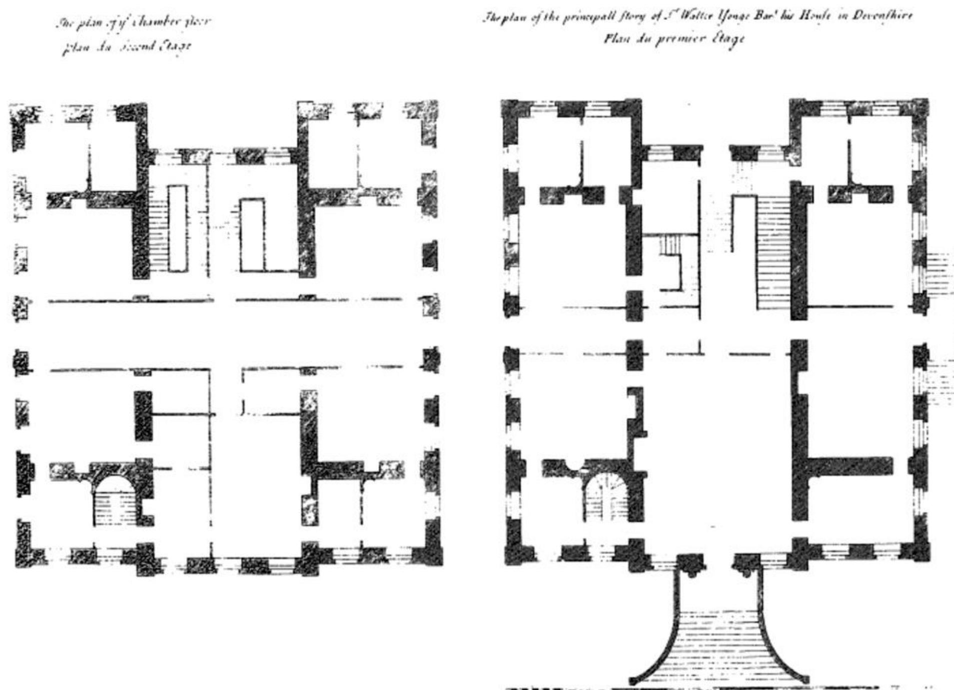
[897] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I*,* pp. 454–55.
[898] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 126–58.
[899] Batty, 'Examination of the Gardens at Langdon Court', p. 176; Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality*, pp. 136–37; Pugsley, 'Landed Society', p. 98.
[900] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 184–90; Adrian Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist: A History of Country House Visiting* (London: National Trust, 1998), p. 81.
[901] Cherry and Pevsner*, Devon,* p. 85.

room, a chapel, and a drawing room, with 'three compleat apartments or bed-chambers and dressing rooms' on the chamber floor and the kitchen and offices in a basement storey (see figure 26).[902] However, recent research suggests that the *Vitruvius Britannicus* plans and elevation were actually of a proposal for Mohuns Ottery by Robert Hooke, also owned by Sir Walter Yong, but which were not carried out.[903] Polwhele's description of Escot can be mapped onto the proposed plan for Mohuns Ottery, suggesting the proposed layout of Mohuns Ottery, as recorded in *Vritrivius Britannicus,* formed the basis of the layout of Escot. Part of the confusion perhaps has been that Colen Campbell described the plans and associated elevation as the 'Seat of Sir Walter Yonge Bar. in Devonshire' rather than naming the house. Another example of a Formal Plan house may be Trewithen House, Cornwall, planned in 1715, where servants were segregated into the basement and a separate kitchen pavilion.[904] These examples suggest that a careful review might identify more Formal Plan houses in the South West.

Figure 22: Ground and first floor plan of Mohuns Ottery, Devon, 1715.



From: Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus,* (1715), fol. 78.

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[902] Reverend Richard Polwhele, *A History of Devonshire,* 3 vols (London: 1797), II, p. 271.
[903] Barbie Moul, 'Clarification and Revision of Escot's Seventeenth-Century History', *Devon Gardens Trust Journal*, 5 (2017), 13–18 (pp. 13–14).
[904] CRO J/2/1 – 8, Hawkins family of Trewithen, Probus, plans of Trewithen House, 1715.

Double-Pile Houses

The Double-Pile house is another plan-form that was inspired by symmetry and hierarchy, but through which symmetry could be expressed more easily.[905] There was a strong connection between the Double-Pile house and gentry status, with Mercer arguing that it became 'the' gentry plan-form.[906] Whilst that may be somewhat true, albeit in different clothing as the Double-Pile house became classical/Palladian houses, it should also be noted that houses with a Double-Pile plan-form were owned by those of lesser statuses such as yeoman.[907] In the parishes of concern only two surviving gentry dwellings can be considered Double-Piles houses that are not classical/Palladian houses.

Table 54: Surviving double-pile gentry houses constructed c.1500 to c.1750.

Name	Parish	Broad plan-form	Known owners
Trobridge House	Crediton	Double-Pile	Trobridge family (c.1250–1720) Samuel Strode (1720–1756) Yarde family (1756–c.1925)
Ince Castle	St Stephens-by-Saltash	Double-Pile	Sir Henry Killigrew (1640) Edward Norsworthy (1653)

Trobridge House is a house that is somewhat deceiving. Whilst it looks like a small classical house, it is a clever early eighteenth-century redevelopment of a late sixteenth century open courtyard farmhouse to a double-pile plan-form.[908] The interior is described by Meller to have been two rooms wide, two rooms deep, and divided by a narrow hall, perhaps a former cross-passage.[909] Ince Castle, although symmetrical is difficult to describe as 'classical', whilst Trobridge is designed to look from the exterior to be like a 'classical' house. The history of Ince Castle is well-known having been the focus of several studies, but there is debate surrounding the date of construction. According to the NHL record, the house was constructed in 1653 for Edward Nosworthy, however, since Christopher Hussey's article in 1967 more research suggests the house was actually constructed in the 1630s.[910] This is also accepted by Cooper and Beacham and Pevsner.[911] This earlier date is

[905] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 122–23.
[906] Mercer, 'Houses of the Gentry', pp. 21–23.
[907] Alcock, 'Development of the Vernacular House', p. 27; Barley, 'Double-Pile House', p. 253.
[908] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* II, pp. 1021–22; Robert Waterhouse, 'Trobridge House: Archaeological Notes', 2008, pp. 3–4.
[909] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* II, p. 1021.
[910] Ince Castle, St Stephens-by-Saltash, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1329260 [accessed 8 March 2020].

preferred due to certain stylistic elements that better fit a date of construction in the 1630s.[912] The house was drawn by Prideaux in 1727, and in plan-form is an unusual Double-Pile house with central hall, four corner towers, and no central staircase.

Figure 23: Floor plan of Ince Castle, St Stephens-by-Saltash.

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From: Christopher Hussey, 'Ince Castle, Cornwall – I', *Country Life,* 141.3654 (1967), 592-3.

The inspiration for Ince may have come from nearby Mount Edgcumbe, Maker parish. The house there was constructed c.1547 to 1553, to a design of four battlemented towers surrounding a central block, but at the time of construction the frontage was not symmetrical. Mount Edgcumbe was also unusual for having a central hall and central entrance to the hall, showing a strong continental influence, and the design is thirty years before Hardwick and Wollaton, considered to be the earliest houses with central halls.[913] With both these gentry dwellings, it is unclear where the service rooms are located in relation to the rest of the house.

Classical/Palladian Houses

The Classical, or Palladian-inspired House can be found elsewhere in the country from the early seventeenth century but did not become more widely popular until the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Such houses embody a new architectural style

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[911] Beacham and Pevsner, *Cornwall,* p. 252; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, pp. 157–58.
[912] Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, pp. 157–58; Christopher Hussey, 'Ince Castle, Cornwall - I', *Country Life*, 141 (1967), 592–95.
[913] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 115–16; Jope, 'Cornish Houses', pp. 208–10.

centred on a refined classicism of symmetry and order, inspired by 'Palladian ideals', often with the central portion of the house jutting out with a pediment or portico.[914] One influence behind the spread of Palladianism, or neo-Palladianism, after the early eighteenth century may have been political, with 'Baroque' strongly associated with authoritarianism, Catholicism, and France.[915] These Palladian-esque types of houses are labelled by scholars in various ways, including 'The Social House', 'small classical houses', or 'compact villas', and are strongly associated with gentlemen and the lesser gentry.[916] In the layout of these houses, there were typically five or six rooms, three to four of which were principal entertaining rooms, plus a central hall (if possible) with stair hall behind or beside, a layout that was suited to the new needs of the gentry for entertaining and socialising.[917] It was also a layout that allowed easy segregation and governance of movement through rooms, although it is easy to overstate the actual degree of separation between family and servants.[918]

This choice of adopting this style of house, Hague argues, signalled a conscious choice by the consumer to lay claim to a position amongst polite culture and a wish to be members of early modern society's governing class.[919] However, care needs to be taken. The term the 'Social House' has been applied only to houses dating from after the 1750s; before this period, a layout with central hall and receptions rooms in a sort of circuit could be referred to as a 'gentleman's house'. Current research suggests that the Social House plan-form was not common until after the 1750s, and is considered to be concentrated in the hinterlands of London and Bath.[920] Table 51 shows that surviving Classical Houses were constructed from the late seventeenth century. Table 55 shows that the only classical houses recorded on the Donn and Martyn maps from the parishes studied are found in Devon. Examples can be found in Cornish towns.

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[914] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 160–61.
[915] Tinniswood, *Polite Tourist,* p. 84.
[916] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 205; Hague*, Gentleman's House,* p. 5; Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, pp. 54–55.
[917] Hague*, Gentleman's House,* pp. 75–77; Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, pp. 54–55.
[918] Hague*, Gentleman's House,* pp. 77–87.
[919] Hague*, Gentleman's House,* p. 5.
[920] Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, pp. 56–59.

Table 55: Surviving Classical/Palladian gentry houses constructed c.1500 to c.1750.

Name	Parish/Town	Broad plan-form	Known owners
Barley House	Exeter St Thomas	Double-Pile Classical	John Penneck (1726–1751)
Castle Hill House	Launceston borough	Double-Pile Classical	
Eagle Hill House	Launceston borough	Double-Pile Classical	
Newnham Park	Plympton St Mary	Double-Pile Classical	Strode family (1700–present)
Plympton House	Plympton St Maurice borough	Double-Pile Classical	Treby family (c.1700-1834)
Kingston House	Staverton	Double-Pile Classical	Rowe family (1502–1778)
Mansion House	Truro borough	Double-Pile Classical	
Princes House	Truro borough	Double-Pile Classical	William Lemon (1737)

Kingston House is the earliest example of these classical houses. There is debate about when the house was first constructed, with recent works preferring a construction date between 1725 and 1735, although Waterhouse argues the shell was constructed c.1685 to 1688.[921] It is a classical house of three storeys over a basement with symmetrical façades and has decorated rooms imitating Roman marble panels or arcadian landscapes; it also contains a fully decorated Roman Catholic chapel on the first floor.[922] It is not clear where the service rooms were located in Kingston House, but there was a kitchen on the ground floor and evidence of a basement level. Meller describes the service rooms, with the original cream ovens and smoking chambers retained.[923] Newnham Park and Plympton House were constructed between c.1700 and c.1720, but Plympton is the larger of the two; like Kingston, Plympton had seven bays front and rear, and five bays to the sides. Newnham Park is a square of five bays, with two storeys over a basement.[924] Both exude classical design principles and can be linked with other nearby Queen Anne era classical houses, including Puslinch, Mothecombe House, and Lyneham House. Newnham House is also considerably different from two other gentry dwellings in the parish, Old Newnham and Boringdon Hall, which were traditional in plan-form. It is possible that the design of Newnham Park influenced the design of Saltram House, constructed in the 1740s, at least in external design and presence of certain rooms such as a dining room and other entertaining/rooms for

[921] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, pp. 575–77; Robert Waterhouse, 'Kingston House: Archaeological Notes', 2006, pp. 1–4.
[922] Waterhouse, 'Kingston House', p. 2.
[923] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, p. 576.
[924] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* II, pp. 707–8, 783–85; Waterhouse, 'Plympton House: Archaeological Notes', pp. 1–2, 5.

sociability, but unlike Saltram House, the service rooms for Newnham Park appear to have been located in the basement where the remains of the original kitchen survive.[925]

In their parish contexts, the houses discussed represent a significant departure. Kingston House is located in Staverton parish, where five of six surviving dwellings had a traditional plan-form of two or three rooms and cross-passage; an example is Beara Farmhouse, Woolston Green, constructed with a three-room and cross-passage plan-form.[926] Three of eight surviving dwellings of the parish were constructed before the late seventeenth century, and only one dwelling had no cross-passage in a departure from the traditional medieval plan-form. Newnham Park sits within Plympton St Mary parish, where, as discussed previously, the majority of the vernacular dwellings had a traditional plan-form of three rooms and cross-passage. However, there was a change from the eighteenth century. Great Woodford Farmhouse, for example, was constructed in the eighteenth century with a two-room central stair plan-form, although Little Woodford Farmhouse, constructed in the same period, had a three-room and cross-passage plan-form.[927]

Plympton House, Newnham Park and Kingston House provide physical evidence for changes in social relationships between the household/servants and the family, and hints of a changing relationship between the gentry family and their surrounding community. These gentry houses have secondary staircases, rising to the attic storey where servants' bedchambers were located.[928] The importance of the backstairs is noted by Girouard as a revolutionary invention in the separation of servants from the family, keeping servants from out of view as much as possible from the 'front' of the house, reflecting what Girourard argued to be changes in privacy and changing nature of society.[929] By the 1720s, most gentleman's houses had backstairs, reflecting a growing divide between family and servants, and segregation of service functions, although the degree of divide may be overstated given the unavoidable relationship between the two.[930] This suggests in turn that the gentry

[925] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* II, p. 708.
[926] Beara Farmhouse, Woolston Green, Staverton, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1324913 [accessed 14/02/2021].
[927] Great Woodford Farmhouse, Plympton St Mary's, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1386331 [accessed 14 February 2021]; Little Woodford Farmhouse, Pympton St Mary's, nce Castle, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1322015 [accessed 14 February 2021].
[928] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, p. 565; Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* II, p. 708.
[929] Girouard, Life in the English Country House, pp. 138-43.
[930] Hauge, *Gentleman's House,* p. 87.

houses discussed above, as well as at Saltram House where several sets of backstairs exist, are representative of this new relationship within the house, between the family and servants, due to the presence of backstairs and separate service functions at the rear of the house, but the degree of this divide is unclear from the physical evidence.

Another aspect to consider is the location of service rooms and ancillary spaces in relation to the main house. In this regard, Saltram House stands out. At Newham Park, Plympton House, and possibly Kingston House, the service rooms were contained within a basement storey or at the back of the main block, presenting a coherent symmetrical block to external visitors, with rear stable ranges and at Newnham Park, a coach house.[931] However, at Saltram House there was no basement storey with the service rooms contained within separate ranges at the rear, akin to the rear range of a courtyard, with a different external design, and to some extent visible to any external visitors in the garden. To some extent, these houses continue a feature of other studied gentry houses from across the South West in hiding the rooms for service functions behind the main block, such as at Great Fulford and Penheale. In contrast, at Boringdon Hall and Treludick, the service ranges were visible to the approach to the house.

What connects these houses, apart from external design and gentry ownership, is that they have a shared layout. Hague's research suggests that gentlemen's houses that were in form a small classical house had five or six ground-floor rooms, of which four were principal entertaining rooms and backstairs.[932] These features can be found in the examples studied. The layout of Plympton House is below (figure 24), with the plan showing a central hall, drawing room to the left, and the stair hall unusually to the right, along with the dining room.[933] At Newnham Park, the entrance was via central stair hall, the drawing room was to the left and the library to the right, and the dining room beyond the library.[934] At Kingston House, the drawing room and dining room were next to each other to the left of the main hall and the stair hall behind; on the right was a small parlour and kitchen.[935] Although Barley House had an entrance room, central stair hall, dining room, drawing room, and library, the

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[931] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, p. 567; Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* II, pp. 708, 785, 872.
[932] Hague, *Gentleman's House,* pp. 75–77, 87.
[933] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* II, pp. 783–85.
[934] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* II, pp. 707–8.
[935] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, pp. 575–76.

exact layout is not clear.[936] Despite these variations in layout, all the houses discussed have the expected rooms of a modern 'gentleman's house', including a dining room and drawing room, but they were not necessarily examples of 'Social Houses' due to the lack of a clear circuit of rooms, nor were they Formal Plan houses with a Classical exterior.

Figure 24: Floor plan of Plympton House, Plympton St Maurice.

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From: Parkes Lees Architects Ltd, *Plympton House, Plympton, Devon: Heritage Statement* (2015), p. 38.
Note: the entrance is at the bottom of the house plan.

The presence of certain rooms such as the saloon and library can be a marker of gentry status. In Barley House and Newnham Park a library was recorded on the house plan, but no library was recorded at Kingston House or Plympton House. The presence of a library and its use as another reception/sitting room was a key marker of genteel status and of a 'gentleman'.[937] The saloon was another essential room for the display of status, strongly associated with Formal Plan houses as the central reception and entertaining room, and acted as a ceremonial pivot for the house.[938] Only Plympton House appears to have something akin to a saloon, with a large room behind the entrance hall, although not recorded as a 'saloon' by Hussey or Meller. If it was a saloon, this was unusual for a house built in the early eighteenth century, as the saloon started to lose its role as the ceremonial pivot in favour of the dining room at this time.[939] The presence of a saloon at Plympton

[936] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, p. 98.
[937] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 180.
[938] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 158–62.
[939] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 162.

House, and a library at Newnham Park and Barley House, physically demonstrates the rank and status of their owners as genteel. In contrast, at Kingston House, this may have been demonstrated by a long gallery on the second floor. From Donn's map and secondary research the owners of Plympton House, Barley House, Newnham Park, and Kingston House can be traced and are clearly gentry.[940]

In Cornwall, no surviving gentry houses from the sample parishes recorded on Martyn's map are of classical/Palladian design. There are however a significant number of examples from elsewhere in Cornwall. These include Trewithen House and Heligan House both of which had plans drawn up in c.1710 to c.1715 showing them to be small classical houses.[941] Eighteenth-centry plans show that Trewithen had a basement and two pavilions for service functions, the layout of rooms at Heligan House was hierarchical, with the kitchen, buttery, pastry and servants hall on one side of the building, and the drawing room and dining room on the other side separated by a hall and staircase hall.[942] This arrangement perhaps demonstrates, akin to Kingston, some adherence to older principles of social relationships. This is also shown in the larger size of the dining room compared with the drawing room, reflecting the traditional importance of the eating room compared with rooms for 'polite retirement'.[943] The drawings of Edmund Prideaux in the early eighteenth century record many houses across the county that were of classical design, such as Antony House, Bake House, Stow, and Trewarthenick House.[944]

What is notable however, compared to Devon, is that there are several examples of classical houses built in Cornwall in the early eighteenth century designed by an architect, such as Thomas Edwards of Greenwich.[945] Edwards was involved as architect in four of the twelve important Cornish houses recorded in Borlase's *Natural History of Cornwall* (1758): Trewithen, Tehidy, Nanswhydyn and Carclew.[946] Prideaux's drawings of these houses show

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[940] Newnham Park was constructed by Sir Sydney Strode, Plympton House by Sir George Treby (MP for Plympton Erle), Kingston House by William Rowe, esq., Sheriff of Devon, and Barley House by John Penneck, but occupied by Richard Sawle, esq., by 1765.
[941] CRO T/1284/20/1-18, sketches and plans, design of Heligan House, c.1710 – c.1715; CRO J/2/1-8, c.1715; CRO J/2/8-41, c.1755.
[942] CRO J/2/3, c.1715; CRO/T/1284/20/5, c.1715.
[943] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 205.
[944] Harris, 'Prideaux Collection', pp. 23-39, 41-43, 69, 71, 82, 88, 104, 106.
[945] H. Dalton, 'A Georgian Architect in Cornwall - I', *Country Life*, 132 (1962), 774–77; H. Dalton, 'A Georgian Architect in Cornwall - II', *Country Life*, 132 (1962), 959–62.
[946] Dalton, 'A Georgian Architect in Cornwall - I', p. 774.

that some of these houses had Classical design ranges added onto existing houses, rather than a total rebuild/new construction in a Classical style, such as demonstrated with Bake, near Looe, burnt down in 1808 (figure 25). A number of architects were active in Cornwall in the early eighteenth century, many of which had extensive practices elsewhere across England, including James Gibbs, Thomas Edwards, and the Brettinghams. This is perhaps best encapsulated in the redevelopment of Trewithen, near Truro in Probus parish, where over a thirty-year period beginning in the 1730s, the house underwent different phases of redevelopment involving Gibbs, Edwards, either Matthew Brettingham the senior or Matthew Brettingham the younger, and Taylor.[947]

Figure 25: Sketches of Bake, Cornwall, by Edmund Prideaux, 1727.

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From: Harris, 'Prideaux Collection', p. 43.

However, what is not clearly answered is why a few well known and renowned architects were working in Cornwall to the latest designs. At a basic level, it is evident of strong

[947] Paul Holden, 'Trewithen and the "Brettingham plans"', *The Georgian Group Journal,* XXI (2013), pp. 58-72

connections with London and metropolitan culture, and at another level, of changes in the domestic environment and sociocultural relationships of these households that would need to be encapsulated in new design of houses. These houses are a dramatic departure from older gentry houses such as Heligan House, Cotehele, and Mount Edgcumbe, but and significant differentiation from vernacular houses. The evidence across Cornwall may indicate a propensity to move away from traditional plan-forms by the gentry, as typified by Ince Castle, but is also evident in the design of Newton Ferrers, Tregrehan, Trewarne, and Croan.[948] To some extent, the construction by the gentry of houses to classical and almost Palladian design, and the changes to room layout, are reflective of a changing social landscape and increasing differentiation between the gentry and others in middling status in parishes where these new houses were constructed. However, there may be another layer added to this. What is notable is that a number of these newly constructed classical houses is that they are located in the mid to west of Cornwall, in the areas of Truro and Penzance, the areas of development from the mining industry: Trewithen, Tehidy, Carclew, and Pendarves, are such examples, although these houses can be found spread across the county. What these houses may indicate is a drawing together of selected groups of gentry together with perhaps a shared sociocultural outlook that was expressed from the early eighteenth century in physical format in architecture and the built environment. The physical evidence clearly demonstrates that the systems of activity and system of settings at these houses were significantly different from the activity systems and settings in vernacular houses, indicative of different cultures.

In the towns of Cornwall there are some examples of classical houses, but the uncertainty of who formed the gentry is more acute than in rural areas. Jon Stobart argued that the urban gentry included the landed gentry, professionals, merchants, and tradesmen, and that they were defined by their social relationships and social capital.[949] Thus, land holdings could not define the urban gentry, but connections with rural gentry gave the urban gentry some legitimacy.[950] The definition of the gentry was not static. From the late seventeenth century,

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[948] Beacham and Pevsner, *Cornwall,* p. 52.
[949] Jon Stobart, 'Who Were the Urban Gentry? Social Elites in an English Provincial Town, c. 1680–1760', *Continuity and Change*, 26 (2011), 89–112 (pp. 107–8).
[950] Stobart, 'Who Were the Urban Gentry?', pp. 104, 108.

the concept of 'politeness' disrupted the link between gentility and gentry.[951] Politeness emerged in the late seventeenth as a new social discourse, a means to navigate society, and it enabled upward social mobility since gentility was no longer the exclusive preserve of the landed gentry. [952] Politeness conveyed the principles of gentility and sociability to a class of individuals who had only money but who wanted to acquire the status of gentlemen; to sustain polite behaviour needed a suitable house.[953] Thus, politeness may have created a new social cleave between the ruling classes and the rest of society, but it also opened up the lower boundaries of the gentry to greater numbers of wealthier yeoman and urban professionals.

Princes House is an urban gentry house, constructed during the mid-eighteenth century in the centre of Truro, the plan of which, see figure 26, shows a small entrance hall/stair hall and a 'circuit' of rooms.[954] The left-hand room was likely the parlour, with the dining room behind, then drawing room to the right; the upper rooms were not planned. A little later Mansion House, designed by the same architect as Princes House, Thomas Edwards, constructed 1755 to 1762 also in the centre of Truro, had the same principles of classical façades but a very different layout.[955] There are similarities between the layout of Princes House, and Castle Hill House and Eagle House in Launceston, constructed during the mid-eighteenth century. A plan of Castle Hill shows a main staircase and entrance hall (off centre) with parlour, drawing room, and dining room in a circuit around.[956] In the case of Princes House and Mansion House, the dwellings appear to be the first evidence of an 'urban renaissance' in Truro from the mid to late eighteenth century with gracious squares and lines of houses that Beacham and Pevsner argue would not look out of place in Dublin, Bristol or Bath.[957] In Truro, twenty-one of twenty-two surviving dwellings were constructed after or during the late seventeenth century, with eight Type-B dwellings of one room wide by two rooms deep. In Launceston, eight of twenty-nine surviving dwellings were similarly

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[951] Lawrence Klein, 'Politeness for Plebs: Some Social Identities in Early Eighteenth-Century England', *The Consumption of Culture: Word, Image, and Object in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Ann Bremingham and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 1997), 362–82 (pp. 362–64).
[952] Green, 'The Polite Threshold', p. 3.
[953] Green, 'The Polite Threshold', p. 3; Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727 - 1783* (London: Guild Publishing, 1989), pp. 7–8.
[954] Dalton, 'A Georgian Architect in Cornwall - II', pp. 959–1.
[955] Dalton, 'A Georgian Architect in Cornwall - II', pp. 961–62.
[956] Wellby, 'Evaluation of Castle Hill House'.
[957] Beacham and Pevsner, *Cornwall,* pp. 54-5.

one room wide and two deep, whilst nine had L-shaped plan-forms with rear wing. Thus, the households that occupied Princes House, Mansion House, Castle Hill House, and Eagle Hill House had very different systems of activities and systems of settings compared with their vernacular communities.

Figure 26: Floor plan of Princes House, Truro.

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From: Hugh Dalton, 'A Georgian Architect in Cornwall – II', *Country Life,* 132 (1962), 959-962 (p. 962).

The layouts of Princes House and Castle Hill House demonstrate an aspect of what Girouard called the 'Social House', a circuit of rooms about a staircase.[958] This contrasts with a sequence of rooms found in the Formal Plan house, each of which was only accessible from the previous room and each smaller and more important than the last. The degree to which an individual could proceed along this sequence can be mapped to their social status in relation to the house owner.[959] However, if these are examples of mid-eighteenth-century Social Houses, two important points need to be made. A Social House needs a certain form of sociability for the label and room layout to be appropriate; thus, in areas with limited social networks between the gentry, there were low numbers of Social Houses.[960] This suggests that the construction of Princes House, Mansion House, and Castle Hill House

[958] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 194–97.
[959] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 144-49.
[960] Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p. 59.

were in part influenced by an existing civic urbane and genteel culture of entertaining in Truro and Launceston. This has not been fully investigated by scholars, perhaps in part due to current descriptions emphasising the supposedly brutal and rough nature of the Cornish.[961]

'Transitional Houses'

In addition to the houses discussed above, there are a small number of surviving gentry dwellings that display both traditional features and classical design, defined by this study as a 'transitional house'. These houses demonstrate that amongst some owners, there was a desire to have a house with classical façade(s) and external details, but simultaneously a desire to keep traditional features. The evidence appears to suggest that this was deliberate rather than a result of construction works stopping mid-way in the construction of a full classical house.

Table 56: Surviving Transitional gentry houses constructed c.1500 to c.1750.

Name	Parish	Broad plan-form	Known owners
Downes	Crediton	Three-room/Double-Pile	Moses Gould (1690s) Buller family (1739)
Trobridge House	Crediton	U-shaped	Trobridge family (c.1250–1720) Samuel Strode (1720–1756) Yarde family (1756–c.1925)
Saltram House	Plympton St Mary	U-shaped	Parker family (1712–1957)
Bowden House	Totnes	Three-room cross-passage/L-shaped	Giles family (1552–1670) Sir Richard Gripps (1670–1704) Nicholas Trist (1704)

Bowden House was constructed with a three-room and cross-passage plan-form in either the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and remodelled in c.1704 to have an L-shaped plan-form by Nicholas Trist.[962] The remodelling retained the older house 'hidden' within the angle of two wings, with the new hall formed from the former kitchen, and the façades were remodelled to be symmetrical and classical in style.[963] Downes was constructed in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century with a U-shaped plan-form, and post-construction

[961] F. E. Halliday, *A History of Cornwall*, 2nd edn (Truro: Duckworth, 1975), pp. 249–81.
[962] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, p. 158.
[963] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* I, pp. 158–60.

redevelopment in the 1720s resulted in the house having a combination of old and classical. The main house was re-fronted with a classical design, the older kitchen block was enclosed in a new brick shell, and a grand staircase inserted in the courtyard.[964] To some extent, Saltram House is also an example of this type of house. The house was originally constructed with a large L-shaped/U-shaped plan-form, but renovations in c.1743 under Sir John and Lady Catherine Parker created the present plan-form. Around three façades, it is a classical house, with each façade a different design, but the rear has no façade. In layout, the house is a jumble of courtyards, kitchens, and stairs, with the main rooms one depth along the three main façades. Saltram House was intended to be much larger, with proposed schemes dating to the mid to late eighteenth century, but limited funds resulted in the current layout.[965] The layout of Saltram House is shown in figure 27, showing the similarity of the plan-form to a courtyard plan with staircases added within the middling of the courtyard linking front with rear service ranges.

Figure 27: Floor plan of Saltram House, Plympton St Mary.

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From: Cherry and Pevsner, *Devon,* p. 711.

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[964] Waterhouse, 'Trobridge House'.
[965] *Saltram, Devon* (The National Trust, 1988), pp. 49–50.

These transitional gentry houses also sit within a parish context where most vernacular houses retained the traditional medieval plan-form of three or two rooms and cross-passage. To some extent these transitional houses reflect a significant change in the system of settings in the domestic environment. For example, at Bowden House system of settings of the older house was reversed, but all houses in table 56 show evidence of significant changes to the older system of settings. At Saltram, the new wing extended the space for entertaining and hospitality whilst at Downes extensions to the rear increased the space for service functions. This small group of houses shows more complexity than a linear progression from hierarchical houses to classical houses.

This section has shown that the highest number of surviving gentry houses from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the South West had hierarchical plan-forms. A small number of surviving gentry dwellings had a traditional medieval courtyard plan-form, and the minority of gentry houses with a symmetrical external design and footprint did not have a symmetrical room layout. However, all the gentry houses discussed were located with a community context predominantly made up of dwellings with medieval plan-forms of three or two rooms and cross-passages. However, although a small minority of gentry houses show little difference in the system of settings compared with vernacular houses of the community, in the majority of gentry houses there could be significant differentiation. House plans show a higher degree of separation in gentry houses between different activities. Primarily this was through having large service ranges of multiple rooms rather than just one or two rooms, often with extensive chambers above, which also indicates a greater number of rooms set aside in gentry houses for lodging and general living.

A small number of surviving gentry dwellings constructed from the late seventeenth century had a significantly different plan-form than those constructed before: Classical/Palladian houses. Provision of backstairs, basement storeys of service rooms, and attic bedchambers speak of more significant differentiation between the family and servants. The provision of specialist rooms for entertaining and hospitality speaks of significant changes in systems of activities and systems of settings. These houses mark a growing socio-cultural need for more functionally-restricted loci associated with entertaining that required provision of a dining room, parlour, and drawing room, but one that would be understood by the visitors

to the house. As Rapoport argued, cues of semi-fixed and fixed feature elements needed to be understood and noticed in order to fulfil their role as mnemonic devices reminding of behaviour and rules, and as such were culturally specific; significantly different cues from vernacular dwellings in these gentry houses suggest different sociocultural behaviours and rules.[966] In order thus to understand how the activity systems and systems of settings operated differently in gentry houses, attention needs to be focused on inventories and the evidence of material culture.

[966] Rapoport, 'Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings', pp. 12-3.

Gentry Houses: Living in the house

The previous section shows how the majority of gentry houses had a system of settings that were different from the system of settings found in vernacular houses, which implies differences in the activity systems and socio-cultural contexts. By examining probate inventories, as chapter 4 demonstrated, we can start to understand the function of rooms, and the activity systems of households change over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[967] In chapter 4, this technique revealed that in a majority of households, the hall became the kitchen, the parlour became a best room for commensality and sociability, with regional differences in the presence of service rooms. This section looks to do the same for gentry houses. However, since linking a specific gentry house with an inventory is more possible than linking a vernacular house with a particular inventory, we may be able to understand more detail on the use of space in the domestic environment. In the South West, ten inventories of gentry individuals are linked with a specific house; however, only two of those ten houses have an associated plan. However, Meller, who drew the plans, does not specify his methodology for naming rooms; thus the room names in inventories are in some cases different.

One house is Pridhamsleigh, Staverton, occupied by Edward Gould upon his decease in 1628. Analysis of Pridhamsleigh by Meller indicates that the cider house used to be domestic accommodation, and the west range with kitchen, the panelled room (probably a small parlour) and parlour is three storeys high, heightened in the early seventeenth century by Gould.[968] The plan, shown in figure 28, shows the older portion of the house (the southern range) has a cross-passage, but the later east wing has a lobby-entry with the kitchen stack, and two 'corridors' running the length of the wing. Gould's inventory indicates that the house had eighteen rooms, with hall, parlour, two butteries, kitchen, several chambers, and a number of service rooms including a corn house, malt house, and pound house (see Table BB, Appendix 1).[969] The inventory does not refer to the panelled room shown on Meller's plan that he suggested was a second parlour. This was an early eighteenth-century renovation of that room with a shell niche and a staircase inserted within the room (not

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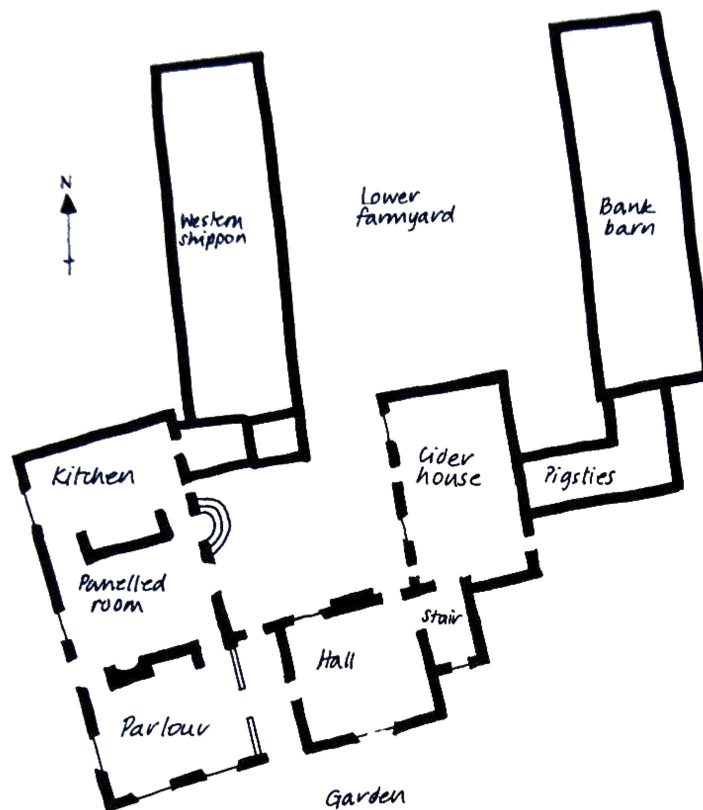
[967] Chapter 4, 'Functional changes in rural rooms'.
[968] Meller, *Country Houses of Devon,* II, pp. 805–6.
[969] DHC, 112OZ/FZ/1, Inventory of Edward Gould of Staverton, 1628 (7 April 1628).

shown on Meller's plan).[970] The inventory shows that several spaces were used for commensality and sociability: the hall, parlour, and parlour chamber. The latter room was also used for formal hospitality, evidenced by a basin and ewer together with furniture for comfortable eating and drinking. With a bedstead also found in the parlour chamber, the room appeared to have been used akin to a Great Chamber. The entry chamber, new chamber, and hall chamber were used for sleeping since they contained featherbeds, and the parlour also contained a bedstead. The kitchen was used almost solely for cooking, containing spits, crocks, andirons, and dripping pans. It was a well-furnished house, but with few examples of a material culture distinct from that recorded in other probate inventories of the same period.

Figure 28: Floor plan of Pridhamsleigh, Staverton.



From: Hugh Meller, *The Country Houses of Devon,* 2 vols, (Crediton: Black Dog Press, 2015), II, p. 806.

[970] Alison Arnold and Robert Howard, *Pridhamsleigh Manor and Farm, Staverton, near Ashburton, Devon: Tree-ring Analysis of Timbers,* Research Department Report 59-2008 (Portsmouth: English Heritage. 2008), p. 3r

The other house is Old Newnham, occupied by the Strode family from the fifteenth century until the early eighteenth century. The inventory was made for Richard Strode esquire, who died in 1707 and who may have been one of the last Strodes to have lived in Old Newnham after the construction of Newham Park in c.1700. Strode's inventory shows the dwelling had twenty rooms in 1707, with several chambers including a chapel chamber, a diary, kitchen, hall, parlour, a Great Parlour and chamber over, and an entry with chamber over (see Table CC, Appendix 1).[971] These rooms match in places with the plan by Meller, but missing from the inventory is the solar, most likely the Great Parlour in 1707. This implies that next to the hall was a parlour, formerly the original kitchen, both with chambers over, with chapel behind and chamber over. What is recorded as the 'solar' should be the Great Parlour, with chamber over, and service rooms including a dairy, laundry, and buttery either side. However, there is no mention of a gatehouse or gatehouse chamber, marked on the plan as the 'original entrance'.

The inventory shows little difference with the house of Edward Gould, with much the same objects to be found and in similar locations. The only significant point of difference seems to be the size of Old Newnham. The hall and parlour were grouped together, and show to function as spaces for commensality and sociability, with tableboards, forms and cane chairs; the Great Parlour contained a still, trendle, and some hogheads, pipes, and sieves. The inventoried chambers record greater evidence for commensality and sociability, such as the parlour chamber with tableboards, chairs, and a looking glass. The buttery chamber appears the only chamber that functioned similar to a Great Chamber, used for commensality and sociability evidenced by chairs and a tableboard, together with a furnished bed, and tapestry hangings. Cooking and some eating and drinking occurred within the kitchen and dairy (inventoried together), with the techniques of cooking appearing to rely on traditional principles of roasting or boiling. Other chambers were primarily used for sleeping, with some commensality in the landry chamber/Great Parlour chamber, and the chapel chamber. Old Newnham has the plan-form of a vernacular house, larger, and the material culture does not appear out of place when compared with vernacular houses.

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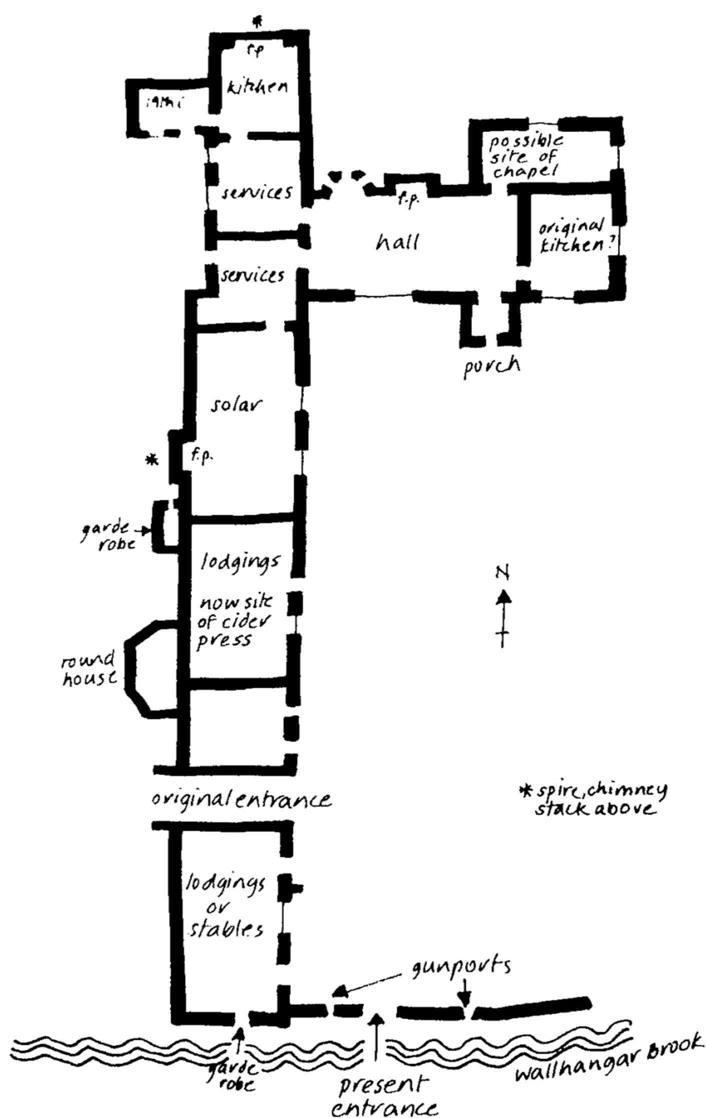
[971] Plymouth, PWDRO, 72/226 Inventory of Richard Strode, 1707.

Figure 29: Floor plan of Old Newnham, Plympton St Mary.



From: Hugh Meller, *The Country Houses of Devon,* 2 vols, (Crediton: Black Dog Press, 2015), II, p. 731.

The inventory can be compared with goods owned by Josias Calmady at Langdon House in Wembury parish (seven miles south). Calmady's 1714 inventory shows Langdon Court to contain dozens of upholstered chairs, tea tables and tea sets, chinaware, window curtains, chests of drawers, silver goods, snuffers (see Table DD, Appendix 1).[972] The contrast is shown in that many of Calmady's goods were new and fashionable, and included knives and forks, Japanned goods, glass tables, tea sets, china goods including gilt china goods, and weather glasses, all objects entirely missing from Strode's inventory. How much can be

[972] PWDRO, 372/27/1, Calmady family of Langdon, Wembury: Josias Calmady, Deceased, Inventory, 1714; PWDRO, 372/7/1/8 Calmady family of Langdon, Wembury: Josias Calmady Estates, Inventory, 1714; PWDRO, 1221/52, Josias Calmady, Estate Inventory, 1714.

explained by differences between the two men, Richard Strode and Josias Calmady is worth exploring. Both were active in London as MPs in the 1670s and 1680s but with different interests (Calmady was Whig, Strode was Tory), although Strode was fourteen years older than Calmady. Both inherited their houses at about the same time, Strode in 1677 and Calmady in 1683, but a key difference may be their connection with the houses before inheritance. Strode was the first son of William Strode of Newnham, and so had a personal connection with the house and furnishings. Calmady was the son of Shilston Calmady of Leawood (Bridestowe, near Okehampton), and inherited the Langdon estate from his uncle, also Josias Calmady, in 1683, he later inherited Leawood in 1688. Given the many similarities between the two individuals, it is likely the different material cultures are a result of different social relationships and attitudes.

Examining inventories to reveal the number of rooms per house is not straightforward, as discussed in chapter 2.[973] Although these issues are no less apparent for inventories of the gentry, a higher proportion of gentry inventories recorded rooms compared with non-gentry inventories. As shown in table 57, an increasing proportion of gentry inventories recorded room after the early seventeenth century, although in all periods, a significant proportion of appraisers of gentry inventories did not record rooms.

Table 57: Recording of gentry rooms

	1601-50	1651-1700	1701-1750
Total roomed gentry inventories	12	35	23
Total roomed gentry inventories (%)	**28%**	**48%**	**56%**
Total number of gentry inventories	43	73	41

Source: all gentry inventories, see appendix 2.

Using the maps of Donn and Martyn revealed no houses occupied by the gentry in any towns, although it is unlikely that their focus was on providing that information. The probate inventories of gentlemen, gentlewomen, and esquires reveal that a high proportion of the gentry in the South West lived in towns; twenty-five of seventy roomed gentry inventories were of urban dwellings. Furthermore, as shown in table 66, a significant minority of gentry occupied houses of one to three rooms. This is in contrast to surviving dwellings, which

[973] Chapter 2, 'Methodology'.

indicate that very few gentry dwellings had a two-room plan-form indicative of at least three rooms. Thus, we are dealing with two separate sources of data: gentry houses and houses that the gentry occupied. Roomed inventories thus show that explorations of gentry houses have primarily focused on either the houses of the greater gentry, or on houses that typify an expected picture of gentry houses rather than the reality of the houses gentry actually occupied. Not all gentry occupied a 'gentry house' such as Langdon Court, Raddon Court, and Saltram House, with many inventoried gentry dwellings having fewer than seven rooms. Due to the small number of roomed gentry inventories, to properly assess trends urban and rural gentry inventories have been combined. Table 58 shows the changing number and proportion of rooms found in inventoried gentry houses between 1601 and 1750.

Table 58: Frequency of rooms recorded in gentry inventories

Date	1601-50	1651-1700	1701-1750
1—3	17%	17%	
4—6	42%	14%	22%
7—9	17%	26%	22%
10+	**25%**	**43%**	**57%**
Total	12	35	23

Source: all gentry inventories with rooms described, see appendix 2.

Table 66 shows that across the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the houses of the gentry became larger, with the proportion of houses with ten or more rooms significant increasing after the early seventeenth century. That the proportion of houses with four to six rooms also declined shows that those houses became larger to have seven to nine rooms, and a significant proportion of houses with seven to nine rooms also became larger. The proportion of houses occupied by the gentry with one to six rooms declined. Across the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the average number of rooms recorded in gentry inventories was twelve. These findings are not too dissimilar to those of Mark Overton et al., who found that in their inventory sample, the average number of rooms recorded in gentry inventories of Kent was eleven rooms.[974] Green and Nigel Wright argued that the gentry could occupy modest houses even into the early eighteenth century,

[974] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p. 123.

and to some extent this is apparent in the evidence considered.[975] Table 66 it was not until from the early eighteenth century that a majority of gentry houses had ten rooms or more, with the majority of gentry inventories in the early seventeenth century recording one to six rooms. Differences between urban and rural gentry in the South West are apparent, but the small data set means differences may be exaggerated. Amongst urban gentry, the average number of rooms recorded in inventories was nine rooms, and the highest proportion of urban gentry houses had four to six rooms. Amongst rural gentry, the average number of inventoried rooms was twelve, and the highest proportion of rural gentry houses had seven to nine rooms. The average house size for an esquire was twenty-five rooms, with Langdon Court the largest at fifty-six rooms. Nearly all inventories of esquires recorded house of more than sixteen rooms.[976] For gentlemen, the average was lower at nine rooms, with the largest house belonging to Adam Bennett of Liskeard Borough with twenty-two rooms.[977]

Hearth Tax records also show that the gentry occupied dwellings with a wide range of rooms. Seventeen gentry inventories can be linked with Hearth Tax records, of which seven record rooms. The evidence suggests that of those seven roomed inventories of the gentry, two were assessed with five to nine hearths, two had two hearths, and three had more than ten hearths. Their inventories reveal that all lived in houses of more than five rooms, with four of the seven individuals assessed as occupying a house of more than twelve rooms. For example, the dwelling of Nicholas Fleming, gentleman of Madron, was recorded in the Hearth Tax Returns with two hearths, and the 1668 inventory of his dwelling recorded six rooms: a hall, kitchen, buttery, and three chambers with one over the hall.[978] At the other end of the social scale, the dwelling of Thomas Wills, esquire of St Stephens-by-Saltash, was recorded with sixteen hearths in the Hearth Tax Return of 1664, and with twenty rooms in the 1664 inventory of Wivelscombe, including a parlour, buttery, dining room, hall, cellar, Best Chamber, a pastry, library, and several chambers.[979] The house is listed, and from the description, it can be determined that it was an L-shaped house, constructed in the

[975] Adrian Green, ‘Tudhoe Hall and Byers Green Hall, County Durham: Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century Social Change in Houses’, *Vernacular Architecture*, 29 (1998), 33–42 (p. 40); Wright, 'Gentry and their Houses', pp. 12–13.
[976] Seven esquires compared with sixty gentlemen/gentlewomen.
[977] CRO AP/B/1984/2-3, Will of Adam Bennett of Liskeard Borough, Gentleman, 1682.
[978] CRO AP/F/275, Will of Nicholas Fleming of Madron parish, Gentleman, 1668. .
[979] CRO AP/W/908, Will of Thomas Wills of Wivelscombe, St Stephens-by-Saltash, Gentleman, 1664.

seventeenth century but heavily altered.[980] The Hearth Tax Return for the parish reveals that Thomas was deceased at the time of the 1664 assessment, with a Mr Garthred Wills with eleven hearths, his heir three hearths, and Anthony Wills two hearths, showing the sub-division of Wivelscombe into different dwellings, although the status of the new owners is not clearly noted.

As shown in table 65, a high proportion of inventories did not record rooms, and in chapter 3 these non-roomed inventories were considered representative of one to three-roomed dwellings.[981] This may not be so true for gentry inventories. Seventeen non-roomed inventories can be linked with Hearth Tax Records and show that one household was assessed with two hearths, three assessed with three hearths, and six assessed with five to nine hearths. Linking this with the suggested pattern seen in table 15 (chapter 3) would imply that most non-roomed gentry inventories were indicative of ten to twelve rooms, but with a small proportion of gentry occupying smaller dwellings of four to six rooms. Unlike with other socio-economic groups, the gentry are regularly identified in Hearth Tax Returns, meaning a better assessment can be made of the types of dwellings the gentry occupied. Eighty-three non-roomed inventories can be matched with hearth tax records (sixteen esquires and sixty-six gentlemen) show the majority (fifty households) were assessed with five or more hearths. Eleven households were assessed with one to two hearths, whilst sixteen were assessed with ten or more hearths. Using table 15 as a guide indicates that the majority of gentry occupied dwellings of ten or more rooms, with a significant proportion of gentry occupying dwellings of one to six rooms (one to two hearths). This pattern was also found in assessing roomed inventories and suggests that unlike with non-gentry inventories that non-roomed inventories are representative of a broad range of dwellings sizes not just smaller houses. Although fewer than half show evidence for separate rooms through hearths, equipment and other objects. Some were well-furnished, such as that of Thomas Cocke, gentleman of Madron, whose 1735 inventory recorded featherbeds, a tea table, pictures, four round tables, two writing tables, and a chest of drawers.[982]

[980] Wivelscombe Manor, St Stephens-by-Saltash, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1140350 [accessed 28 February 2021].
[981] Chapter 3, 'Physical Developments: Inventories'.
[982] CRO AP/C/3230, Will of Thomas Cocke of Madron, Gentleman, 1735.

Amanda Vickery argues that London has most evidence for gentry lodgers in the early to mid-eighteenth century, but it may have been more prevalent elsewhere with examples found by Wright in rural Norfolk and Suffolk.[983] In the South West, there are clear examples in inventories of rooms and chambers set aside for servants, relatives and kin, or lodgers. Twelve gentry inventories show this evidence, usually taking the form of named chambers for servants, such as maid's chamber, men's chamber, coachman's chamber, and groom's chamber, but there were also room set aside for other family members. For example, Roger Tuckfield's 1686 inventory of Raddon Court shows a room set aside for Mrs Tuckfield, possibly his wife.[984] Josias Calmady's 1714 inventory shows a series of rooms set aside for his father, 'Father's Lodging Room', 'His Father's Study', and 'Closet within his Father's Lodging Room', and three rooms set aside for his sister Grace, being a chamber and two closets, there was also a room set aside for the Parson.[985] Francis Gregor's 1716 inventory in Truro also shows a room set aside for the Parson, whilst Francis Arundell's 1697 inventory of his house in Madron that indicates a little mystery with an 'Old Gent Chamber'.[986]

Eight gentry inventories record two or three rooms, and there is evidence that these may have been lodgings within a larger house. That two inventories recorded any evidence for cooking, only four recorded evidence for commensality, and three had insufficient evidence for domestic functions may indicate this. The 1682 inventory of William Paynter, gentleman of Madron parish, recorded two rooms, a Great Chamber and an Other Chamber, and between the two rooms there is sufficient evidence for cooking, eating and drinking, sleeping, reading, and hospitality, suggesting he was able to carry out all domestic functions within those two rooms.[987] That these rooms were named chambers, rather than hall and chamber, implies both rooms were on an upper storey of a house, with the lower rooms perhaps given over to another individual. Richard Avent, gentleman, inventoried 1700 in Tregony borough, appears to have lodged in a kitchen chamber of another house; although he slept in that room, there was no evidence for eating and drinking, or cooking either.[988]

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[983] Vickery*, Behind Closed Doors,* p. 296; Wright, 'Gentry and their Houses', pp. 455–59.
[984] DHC, Z1/44/55, Inventory of Roger Tuckfield, of Raddon Court, Thorverton, esq., 1686.
[985] PWDRO 72/226
[986] CRO, AP/A/537, Will of Francis Arundell esquire, of Madron, 1697; CRO, AP/G/3054, Will of Francis Gregor, gentleman, of Truro, 1716.
[987] CRO AP/P/1484, Will of William Paynter of Madron, Esquire, 1682.
[988] CRO AP/A/459, Will of Richard Avert of Tregony, Gentleman, 1700.

Hearth Tax Returns also show part houses and gentry lodgers. By examining all gentry records in the Hearth Tax Returns, not just those linked with inventories, in some of the descriptions, it is clear that a house was part divided. One example is that of Wivelscombe described above as divided between three individuals, or the house of Mathew Cocke, gentleman of Launceston Borough whose dwelling with seven hearths was part shared with a Mr Ruddle. Only three gentry were assessed with one hearth, and although this may be suggestive of gentry lodgings in a larger house, two of the three individuals were within St Genny's parish, where the majority of houses recorded were assessed with one hearth.[989]

The evidence from inventories and Hearth Tax Returns shows that most gentry dwellings contained more than nine rooms, although with regional variation. Dwellings inventoried as occupied by the gentry were larger than the majority of inventoried vernacular houses, and most increased in size after the early seventeenth century. As discussed in the previous section, there is some evidence for different systems of settings, as determined by the layout of rooms, between gentry houses and vernacular houses. However, it is likely that the same rooms were found in both gentry and vernacular houses, and with the majority of gentry houses having a similar plan-form to vernacular houses, it is likely that there were similarities between the activity systems of gentry and vernacular households. There were more significant differences between the activity system of vernacular households and gentry households that occupied a non-hierarchical plan-form house. Table 59 shows that the same rooms found in vernacular houses were also found in inventoried gentry houses. Some evidence of difference apparent, with houses occupied by the gentry more likely to be inventoried with a dining room, closets, dressing rooms; although not recorded in the table below only one gentry inventory recorded a library.[990] A further discussion of the meaning and functions of these rooms follows, but what is clear is that their presence in gentry houses is evident of some differentiation between the activity systems in gentry houses compared with vernacular houses.

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[989] Adrian Green, 'Learning the tricks of the Northumberland and Newcastle upon Tyne hearth tax', *A Northumbrian miscellany: historical essays in memory of Constance M. Fraser, (*Association of Northumberland Local History Societies, 2015), pp. 106-122 (p. 113).

[990] This was of Thomas Wills, esquire of St Stephens-by-Saltash, 1664: CRO AP/W/908, Will of Thomas Wills of St Stephens-by-Saltash, esquire, 1664.

Table 59: Rooms types in gentry houses

Room	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall	**7**	**22**	**12**
Kitchen	**5**	**19**	**17**
Parlour	**6**	**17**	**20**
Dining Room		4	7
Drawing Room			1
Dressing Room			1
Chamber	14	76	72
Best or Great Chamber		2	7
Definite upper chambers	14	60	10
Total chambers present	**28**	**138**	**89**
Closets	1	3	10
Gallery	1	1	2
Buttery	6	6	2
Brewhouse		2	1
Malt House			
Milk House	2	3	3
Bakehouse		1	
Other service rooms		4	1
Total service rooms present	**8**	**16**	**7**
Entries		2	
Cellars		1	2
Lofts	2		2
Garrets			8
Total per period	12	35	23

Source: all gentry inventories with rooms described, see appendix 2.

Table 59 shows a number of major and smaller trends, many of which can be contrasted with inventoried vernacular houses. Roomed inventories show little comparative change in the proportion of gentry houses with a hall, and a significant increase in the proportion of gentry houses inventoried with a kitchen and a parlour. From the early eighteenth century,

74 per cent of gentry houses had a kitchen, and 87 per cent had a parlour. The number of chambers per dwelling increased over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, increasing from an average of two per dwelling to four per dwelling by 1750. However, table 67 shows a significant decline in the proportion of gentry houses with any service rooms, with a particular decline in the proportion inventoried with a buttery; however, there was no increase in the proportion inventoried with a cellar.

Roomed inventories of gentry houses reveal two facets. First, the same room names are found in vernacular and gentry houses. However, comparing vernacular and gentry houses reveals interesting similarities and differences. Similar to urban vernacular houses, there was no significant decline in the proportion of gentry houses with halls, and there was an increase in the proportion with dining rooms. However, similar to rural vernacular houses, there was an increase in the proportion of gentry houses with a kitchen. However, whilst the proportion of gentry houses with service rooms declined, as apparent in urban vernacular houses and rural vernacular houses in Cornwall only, an increase in the proportion of gentry houses with parlours is unmatched by vernacular houses.

The second facet is that a minority of gentry inventories recorded rooms that were not found in houses of yeoman, husbandmen and other social groups of middling wealth. These rooms include the drawing room (or withdrawing room), dressing room, saloons, gallery, and libraries. Girouard argued that the presence of a saloon, and from the early eighteenth century a library, were key rooms through which the greater gentry could convey their status and culture. The saloon was a central room of 'state' within late seventeenth century symmetrical houses, and the library was associated with the display of a gentleman's culture and learning, essential aspects of gentility and politeness.[991] Cooper discusses neither libraries nor saloons in his study of gentry houses, and nor did Hague discuss saloons or libraries in eighteenth-century gentleman's house. Hague argued instead that parlours, grand staircases, and ample offices and outbuildings to support a genteel lifestyle were spaces that defined a genteel house.[992] Table 67 may support this argument, given the proportion with a parlour increased significantly, with only a minority having other spaces for commensality

[991] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 128-29, 137, 174-80.
[992] Hague, *The Gentleman's House,* pp. 82, 88.

and sociability in the form of the dining room and drawing-room. However, table 67 does not show an increase in the proportion of service spaces.

A useful comparison may be shown by using evidence from Worcestershire gentry inventories. Although the Worcestershire inventories are derived from the landed gentry or greater gentry, they provide a helpful comparison with Devon and Cornwall (see Table EE, Appendix 1).[993] Notably, the Worcestershire inventories do not record any saloons or libraries. The lack of these rooms amongst the Worcester inventories that relate of the greater gentry implies that although the library was important to scholarly definitions of a gentry house, it was not an important room for the gentry. The Worcestershire gentry inventories record higher proportions of dining rooms, drawing rooms, halls, kitchens, parlours, closets, and galleries. Thus augments evidence from the South West and Worcestershire arguments evidence from Hall, Hague, and Overton et al. that the presence of a parlour, more than other rooms, is an important clue to the status of the owner.[994] However, given the apparently strong relationship between the presence of a parlour and gentry status, it is important to note that not all the gentry inventories record a parlour and not all parlours were located in a gentry house. However, amongst the Worcestershire landed gentry all inventories between 1601 and 1750 recorded at least one parlour.

One of Hague's key arguments was that a gentry house was more suited for a 'genteel' lifestyle, primarily because of the evidence of certain rooms important to support genteel activity, but the evidence for clearly different uses of space compared with vernacular houses is more abundant from the early eighteenth century.[995] Roomed inventories show that although the name of spaces shows differentiation between vernacular and gentry houses, this does not immediately suggest that the activity systems and use of space in gentry houses was significantly different from those in vernacular houses. In essence, in most cases, the function of rooms were much the same between gentry houses and vernacular houses. There are apparent exceptions, especially on the scale of sociability. Using the evidence from inventories to examine the potential use of rooms suggests that rooms in gentry houses were used in broadly the same way as in inventoried vernacular houses.

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[993] Malcolm Wanklyn, *Inventories of the Worcestershire Landed Gentry 1537 - 1786* (Worcestershire Historical Society, Vol. 16, 1998), pp. xvii–xix.
[994] Hall, 'Yeoman or Gentleman', p. 5; Hague, *The Gentleman's House,* p. 82.
[995] Hague, *The Gentleman's House,* p. 5.

Table 60: Cooking and food preparation and commensality recorded in gentry inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Cooking and Food Preparation			
Hall	**14%**	**14%**	**8%**
Kitchen	**80%**	**63%**	**53%**
Parlour		6%	5%
All Chambers		2%	10%
Butteries	67%	33%	
Commensality			
Hall	**100%**	**95%**	**58%**
Kitchen	20%	42%	65%
Parlour	**100%**	**88%**	**75%**
Best/Great Chamber		50%	29%
All other Chambers	46%	29%	22%
Dining Room		**75%**	**100%**
Closet	100%	33%	40%
Butteries	33%	67%	100%
Total number of inventories	12	35	23

Source: all gentry inventories that describe rooms, see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of named rooms that record material culture related to cooking.

Table 60 shows that the principal space for cooking and food preparation was the kitchen, with buttery providing a supporting space, most likely for food preparation or storage as only one had evidence for hearth furniture. However, although table 60 does not show that cooking and food preparation moved into another space, it does show that a decreasing proportion of kitchens were used for that function. Both these trends are also apparent in inventories of vernacular houses; thus, for all households, from the early seventeenth century, an important function of a space called the kitchen was for cooking and food preparation. It must however be noted that the data in table 60 is derived from an analysis of selected objects of material culture indicative of cooking and food preparation. That the

proportion of kitchens that were used by households for cooking and food preparation decreased is notable, with inventory evidence not clearly indicating any move of that function into another space, implying changes in household activity systems instead. The small proportion of households that used their halls for cooking and food preparation is unlikely to be related to the size of the dwelling. All the dwellings with evidence for cooking and food preparation in the hall had four or more rooms, and three were inventoried with a kitchen as well as the hall. The two dwellings with evidence for cooking and food preparation in the parlour, as evidenced by the presence of spits, gridirons, and andirons, are both large dwellings of nine and thirteen rooms, where the parlour was also used for commensality.

Overlap between gentry and vernacular households is further shown by the typical cooking techniques, shown in table 61. Roomed inventories show a strong adherence to traditional ways of cooking through boiling (crocks and skillets), frying, and roasting (spits) into the mid eighteenth century. A small number of inventories recorded saucepans from the early eighteenth century. Although more inventoried gentry houses had jacks compared with inventoried rural vernacular houses, the proportion was less than in inventoried town houses, where the jack also appeared earlier than inventoried gentry houses. Table 61 shows that by 1750 gentry households were as likely to cook with saucepans as with crocks and skillets, which suggests that the gentry were more willing, or felt it more necessary, to adapt cooking techniques to what was new. The saucepan is a new cue in the domestic environment, one requiring adoption of new behaviour to use and cook with, perhaps a change in the arrangement for cooking, and which marked some differentiation between households. Yet, that vernacular houses also took up the saucepan does not mean clear boundaries can be drawn between gentry and vernacular households.

Table 61: Material culture of cooking and food preparation from gentry inventories

Cooking and Food Preparation	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Skillets	2	12	5
Crocks	8	13	5
Saucepans			5
Spits	4	14	10
Jacks		4	6
Frying pans		5	4
Total cooking inventories	12	28	21

Source: 46 gentry inventories with rooms described that also record cooking.

Table 60 shows a significant difference between vernacular and gentry households in the spaces for commensality. Roomed inventories show that during the early to mid-seventeenth century, the hall, parlour, and closet were spaces used for commensality, suggesting a high degree of differentiation in gentry houses. From the early eighteenth century, although over half of halls were still used for commensality, kitchens, dining rooms, and butteries were all used for commensality and informal sociability. It is likely there is a split in who ate where, with the kitchen more likely used by servants or other household members, with the family eating and drinking in the parlour. In the continuing use of the hall, there is a strong correlation with vernacular urban households, in being perhaps arranged for commensality with all the meanings associated. For example, in the Truro house of Francis Gregor, gentleman, assessed 1716, his hall was used for eating and drinking and was decorated with pictures, whilst at Wembury House the 1714 inventory records the same pattern.[996] In other examples, the hall included looking glasses or timepieces together with eating and drinking, but in the majority of gentry households where the hall was used for commensality there was little other furniture. What is notable when compared with vernacular houses is the low proportion of chambers used for eating and drinking, which may be related to the higher proportion of gentry dwellings with parlours or dining rooms, spaces set aside for commensality on the ground floor. Where commensality occurred in a chamber, primarily this was within a chamber over the parlour (ten inventories), over the hall (nine inventories), or over a service room including butteries (seven inventories).

[996] CRO, AP/G/3054, Will of Francis Gregor, Gentleman, of Truro, 1716; PWDRO 72/226.

The presence of the parlour is strongly connected with social status, with a higher proportion of gentry inventories having such a room.[997] In function, there was little difference compared to parlours in vernacular houses. Cooper argued that the parlour in gentry houses principally functioned as the family's everyday sitting and eating room, used for entertaining guests, but may have contained beds until the mid-sixteenth century where the function came to be exclusively for dining and entertaining.[998] The primary use of the room changed in gentry households between the early seventeenth century and the mid-eighteenth century, from a bed bedroom/sitting room to a room for selective commensality and informal sociability. A high proportion of parlours contained beds in the early seventeenth century (67 per cent), with the proportion declining but ten per cent of parlours still retained a bed by 1750. With the proportion of parlours with evidence for commensality remaining high, this suggests, that akin to the parlours of yeomen and husbandmen, the use of gentry parlours changed especially after the early eighteenth century, from a private room for the family to eat and drink, to a room for select sociability and hospitality. In gentry inventories, a multitude of parlours were likely to be recorded, including a Great Parlour or a Little Parlour. Five inventories record a Little Parlour, different in audience to the main parlour in being more for everyday use by the family for eating and drinking.[999]

The withdrawing room/drawing room is argued to be a room strongly associated with female sociability and with meeting the needs of new forms of eighteenth-century sociability based on visiting and tea.[1000] The room has a longer history than that, stretching back to the fifteenth century when it was known as a withdrawing room. From the early eighteenth century the room changed from being a private room to a room for polite, genteel sociability.[1001] Twelve surviving dwellings were assessed to have a with/drawing room; the one inventoried drawing room, in Langdon Court (1714), suggests it was a room like a parlour, a comfortable room for select and polite sociability with tea.[1002] A greater number of dining rooms are inventoried. The dining room, like the drawing room, had a longer history, but from the late seventeenth century dining rooms began to become the most

[997] Hague, *Gentleman's House,* p. 82.
[998] Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry,* p. 289.
[999] Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry,* pp. 291-92; Hague, *The Gentleman's House,* p. 84.
[1000] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 204–5; Vickery*, Behind Closed Doors,* p. 293.
[1001] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 94, 130, 204.
[1002] PWDRO 1221/52, Josias Calmady, Estate Inventory, 1714.

important room for dining, rather than the saloon or Great Chamber, and to be suitable for the needs of polite sociability.[1003] The dining room was a prestigious room, often larger than the drawing room until the mid to late eighteenth century.[1004] In Devon and Cornwall, thirteen surviving houses were assessed with a dining room, and up to 30 per cent of gentry inventories recorded the room. Predominantly, the room was used for commensality, often with upholstered seating, looking glasses, pictures, and occasionally for tea drinking, such as in the house of Thomas Giles (St Austell, 1728).[1005] Ten of eleven dining rooms recorded in inventories of 1651 to 1750 record evidence for commensality and five of those have evidence for pictures, clocks, or looking glasses. Given that a comparatively low proportion of inventories recorded a dining room or drawing room, it shows that sociability and informal hospitality was predominantly accommodated within existing rooms of the house, most likely the parlour.

Indeed, Table 62 shows that most hospitality occurred in the parlour, with a clear change that after the early seventeenth century, a declining proportion of halls were used for hospitality. Table 62, where the same material culture evident of hospitality as examined for vernacular houses, shows that an increasing proportion of inventories recorded items of hospitality and that no one room was used for hospitality across all households. An aspect to consider in relation to gentry houses is whether the material culture of hospitality was stored away in another room, such as a linen closet or linen trunk. An example is shown in the house of Edward Mayowe, gentleman (Truro, 1703), where a chamber above the kitchen contained nearly forty napkins and five board cloths, despite no material culture of commensality recorded in that chamber.[1006]

1003 Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* pp. 165, 204–5; Vickery*, Behind Closed Doors,* p. 302.
1004 Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 205.
1005 CRO AP/G/4075, Will of Thomas Giles of St Austell, Gentleman, 1728.
1006 CRO AP/M/1591/3, Will of Edward Mayowe of Truro, gentleman, 1703.

Table 62: Hospitality in gentry inventories

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall	29%	9%	
Kitchen			29%
Parlour	**17%**	**24%**	**15%**
Best/Great Chamber			
All other Chambers	7%	3%	6%
Dining Room		25%	14%
Closet			20%
Buttery		17%	
Total number of inventories with evidence for 'hospitality'	5	12	16
Total number of inventories	12	35	23

Source: all gentry inventories with rooms described, see appendix 2.

Note: percentages relate to the proportion of rooms that record the material culture of hospitality.

Roomed inventories show that larger houses were more likely used for the hospitality of external visitors. As used in chapter 4, looking at chamber numbers as an indicator of household population suggests that houses of seven to nine rooms had nearly three times the population of houses of one to three rooms; houses of more than nine rooms had nearly seven times the population of smaller dwellings. Analysis of seating furniture shows there was typically one piece of multiple seating furniture (form, settle or bench), and three chairs in smaller dwellings of less than four rooms. In larger dwellings of seven to nine rooms, there was typically one piece of multiple seating furniture and twelve chairs, whilst in dwellings of ten rooms or more, there were typically thirteen chairs and two pieces of multiple seating furniture. The evidence would suggest that in houses of less than seven rooms, sociability was primarily restricted to the household with perhaps an occasional household visitor. In larger dwellings, there is significantly more evidence for hospitality involving external visitors by the much higher proportion of chairs than the expected household population.

The coming of tea and coffee intensified existing behaviours of gentry hospitality and sociability, especially the practice of visiting in towns and cities.[1007] Nine gentry inventories dating from 1701 had evidence for tea and coffee drinking, such as tea tables and tea spoons, with associated china cups and sugar pot. The evidence for tea and coffee drinking is found in towns of the South West, primarily Truro, with scattered evidence from smaller towns and their rural hinterlands such as St Austell, and rural parishes close to cities such as Wembury. This is similar to the pattern from vernacular houses, where the majority of the ten inventories recording such material culture were of houses in Truro and Tregony, with a similar scatter in St Austell, Bodmin, and St Stephens-by-Saltash parishes. Roomed inventories thus show that west Cornwall may have seen the earliest appearance of tea and coffee drinking in the South West and suggests some shared behaviours and sociocultural behaviour between the gentry and more wealthy non-gentry in specific areas. However, a low number of inventories from port towns of Devon may impact this. The greater evidence of tea and coffee drinking in gentry inventories than non-gentry inventories shows that tea and coffee drinking was a marker of status, necessitating new material culture and behaviours. Such evidence shows that the gentry in the South West were not isolated from wider socio-cultural changes and behaviours, but were willing participants.

This is further emphasised by concentrating on three groups of objects: of physical comfort, convenience, and of new behaviours, defined by how they impacted on domestic life. Objects of physical comfort provided physical comfort through softening hard surfaces, and objects of convenience are goods that were useful and provided physical satisfaction, a precursor to comfort. Goods of new behaviours include goods that implied change in certain domestic behaviours rather than a broad continuation of the same activity with better objects.[1008] Figure 30 shows how the proportion of inventories with such evidence changes over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. There was an increasing proportion of inventories with evidence for convenient goods and goods of new behaviours, especially from the later seventeenth century. When contrasted against the evidence from chapter 4, which showed for non-gentry inventories a decline in the proportion of inventories with evidence for convenient and comfortable goods over the seventeenth

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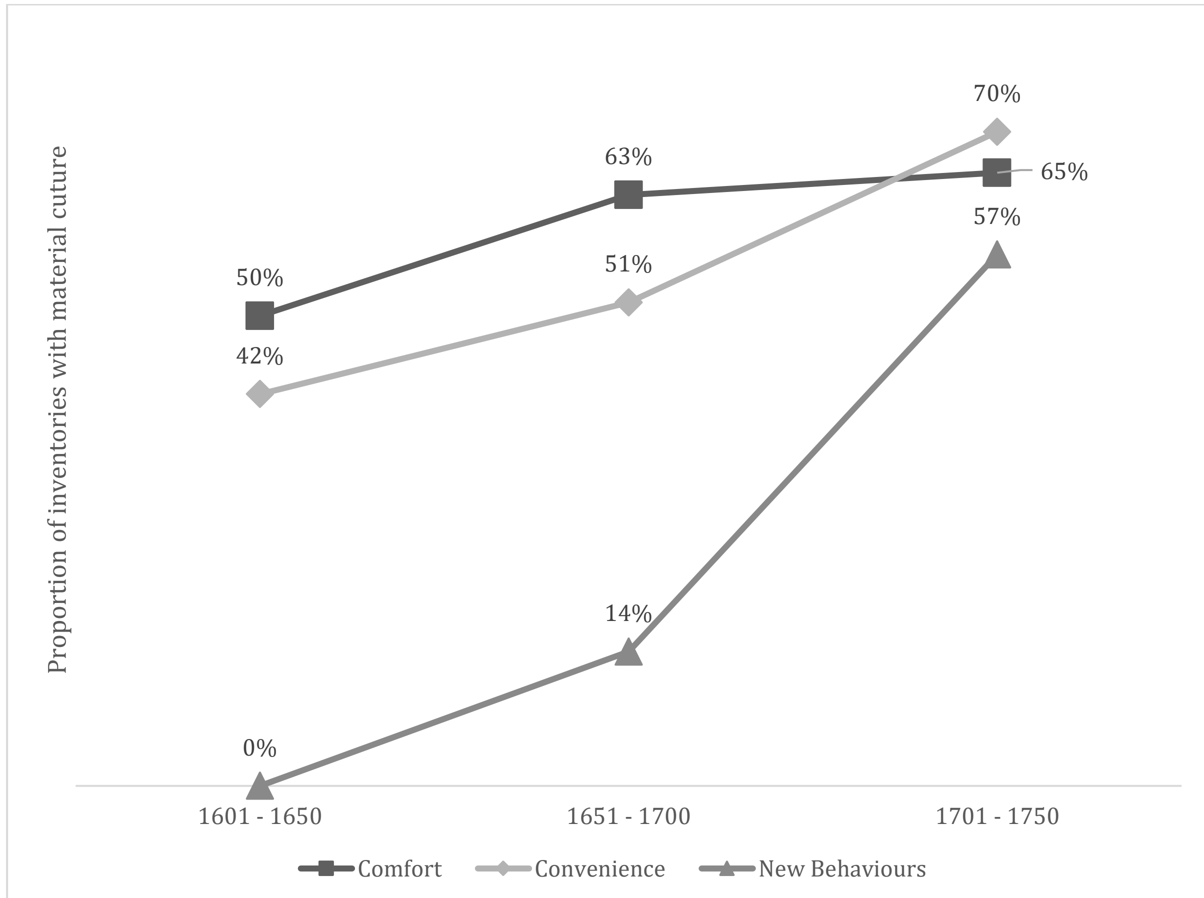
[1007] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* p. 274.

[1008] For an outline of the typical goods see Chapter 4, 'Functional Changes in Rural Rooms: Hospitality and Entertaining'.

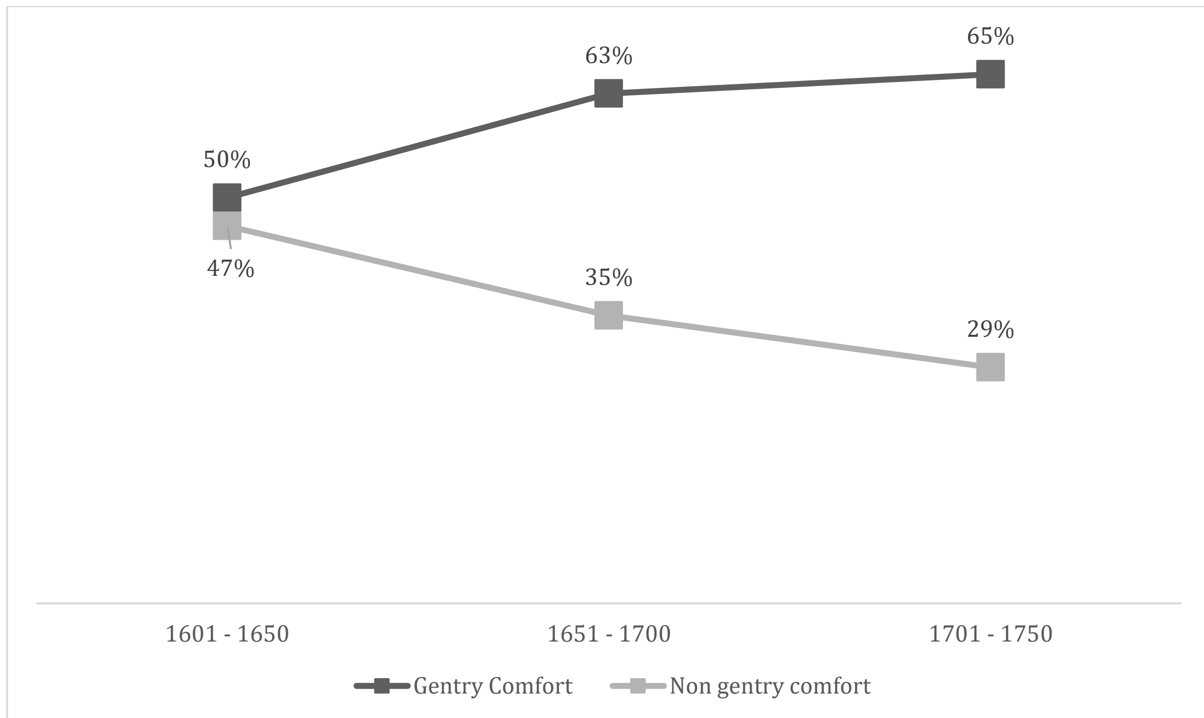
century, this shows a clear difference between gentry and vernacular households, see figures 31 to 35.

Figure 30: Frequency of objects of physical comfort, convenience, and new behaviours in gentry houses



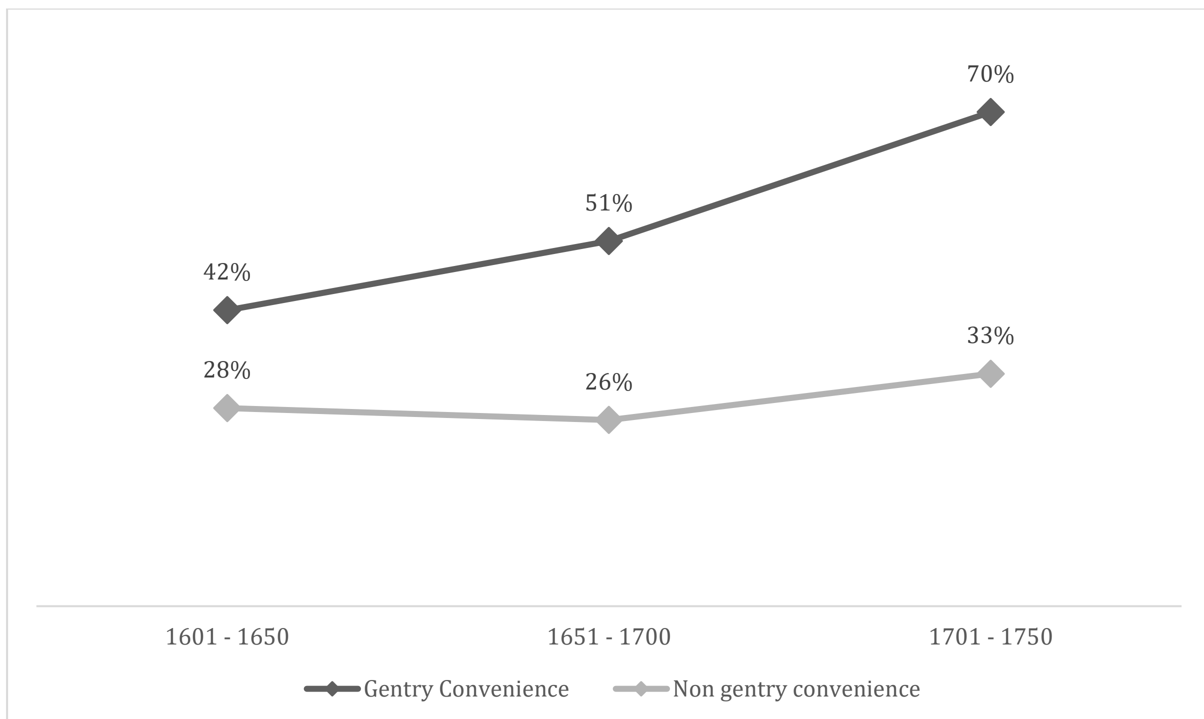
Source: all gentry inventories with rooms described, see appendix 2.

Figure 31: Frequency of objects of physical comfort



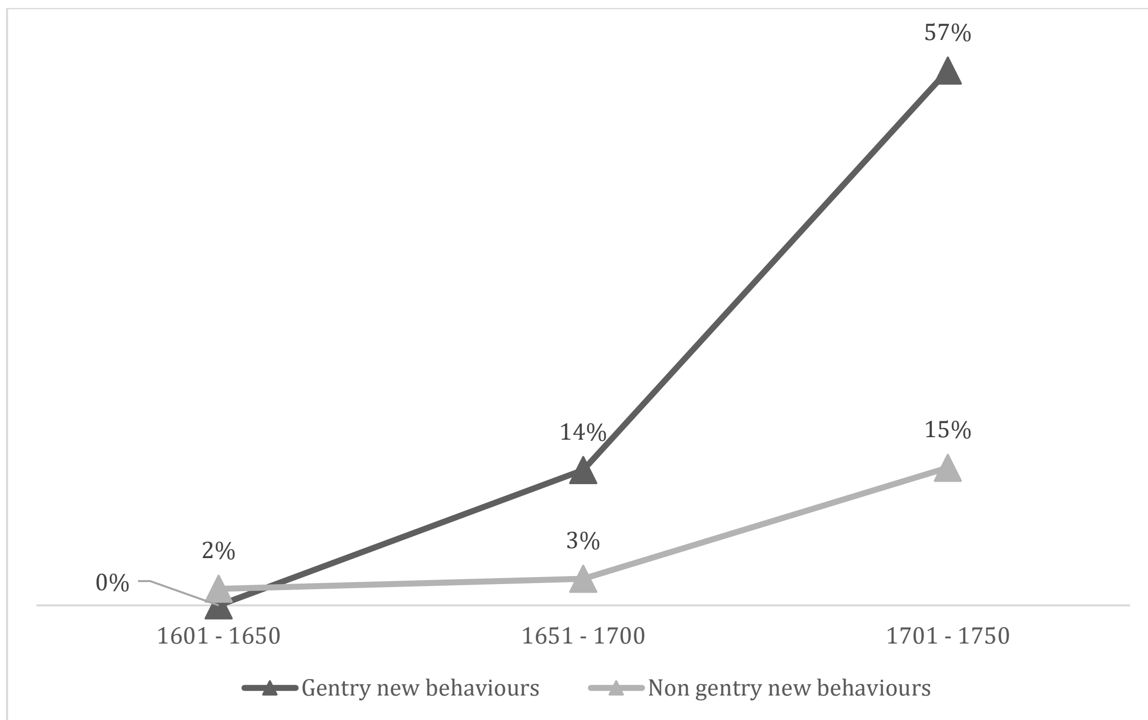
Source: 200 inventories with rooms described that record 'comfort', see appendix 2.

Figure 32: Frequency of objects of convenience



Source: 206 inventories with rooms described that record 'convenience', see appendix 2.

Figure 33: Frequency of objects of new behaviours



Source: 58 inventories with rooms described that record ‘new behaviours’, see appendix 2.

Figures 31 to 33 show a growing gulf between the gentry and others of middling wealth grew over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. From the early eighteenth century, gentry households were more likely to have objects of physical comfort, convenience, and new behaviours. The gulf is more noticeable in figure 33, where an increasing proportion of gentry houses contained new semi-fixed-feature cues (objects and material culture) that were occasionally recorded in other households. Thus, this reflects different socio-cultural contexts of gentry households compared with vernacular households, a growing cultural difference. However, that a small proportion of non-gentry households also had such material culture supports the growth of a section of those of middling wealth moving away from the cultures and cues of the rest. The evidence derived from inventories also questions the extent theory of emulation. Instead, the evidence suggests two broadly different socio-cultural behaviours, with some of those of middling wealth aspiring to gentry status through use of the same objects, but within their own cultural worlds. However, it is important to note similarities across the gulf. As Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths show, the material culture of the Le Stranges, an upper gentry family of Norfolk, shows that alongside continuing traditional forms of consumption and purchasing, the Le Stranges readily purchased new and novel goods from the 1610s to the

1650s.[1009] The consumption and material culture of this upper gentry family demonstrate two elements. Some of their material culture was similar to the material culture of others of lower status, albeit of better quality and greater quantity, such as beds, bedding, and tableboards. The second element is that the family also had a material culture indicative of status consisting of the new and novelty.[1010]

A clear example of the change that gentry houses underwent in the use of rooms can be shown by comparing the inventory of Boringdon House with the inventory of Langdon Court. An inventory taken at Boringdon in 1664 records forty-one rooms, including a hall, parlour, kitchen, dining room, a range of chambers including a Black and White Chamber and a Canopy Chamber, and various service rooms.[1011] Langdon Court, inventoried 1714, had fifty-six rooms, with the same range of rooms found at Boringdon, including a hall, parlour, kitchen, dining room, a range of chambers, and various service rooms; Langdon Court had more closets, a dressing room, studies, and pleasure houses in the garden.[1012] By comparing the two houses, we can get a sense that the use of rooms barely changed over time, but the material culture within them changed significantly. Both halls were used for eating and drinking, hospitality and sociability, and were heated. At Langdon Court, there were two halls, a main hall and a little hall, but the main hall was little more than a reception room furnished only with pictures (which had been moved to the dining room at the time of the inventory). The little hall was used for sociability and contained a Spanish table, a couch, dish stand, voider tray, and twelve knives and forks. Likewise, parlours at Boringdon and Langdon were well furnished, comfortable, heated rooms for sociable dining and hospitality. At Boringdon, the parlour had seventeen Turkey work chairs and two Turkey work stools, but at Langdon, it was necessary to have three parlours, with the Common Parlour better furnished than Boringdon's only parlour, and contained an oval table, twelve upholstered chairs, a cane chair, three pictures in gilt frames and four Indian pictures. In the Great Parlour at Langdon were two tables, a looking glass, eighteen chairs and cushions, twelve pictures, a weather glass, marble basin, two alabaster figurines, and twenty-eight pieces of china. However, whilst the dining room at Boringdon was clearly used for dining since it had

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[1009] Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender,* pp. 239-40.
[1010] Whittle and Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender,* pp. 154-55.
[1011] PWDRO 69/M/7/1, Morley Estate papers, Household Records: Boringdon, inventory, 1664.
[1012] PWDRO 372/27/1, Josias Calmady, Deceased, Inventory, 1714.

a round tableboard and frame, eight stools (four upholstered), and one chair. At Langdon only seven chairs were recorded, no frame, and its pictures were borrowed from the hall.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore gentry houses in early modern south-west England, seeking to understand their nature and the domestic environment of gentry households. Examining all of the gentry, rather than just the landed gentry or greater gentry, has shown that linking status with a particular style of house is trickier than expected. A 'gentry house' and 'a house the gentry lived in' were different. Across the South West there was a broad context of change in the plan-forms of gentry houses, with symmetrical houses and classical/Palladian houses gradually appearing in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Within this broad context is a strong pattern of continuity; the majority of gentry houses had hierarchical plan-forms in all periods. Likewise, examining the domestic environment reveals change and continuity, with some change in the function of specific rooms such as parlours and halls. The function and presence of the hall provide a way to compare gentry and vernacular houses. Roomed inventories show there was a greater similarity between gentry halls and urban non-gentry halls than between gentry halls and rural non-gentry halls. The hall was recorded in over half of gentry inventories and changed in function in a little under a half of those houses, becoming an entrance room. There is limited evidence for any clear difference between the domestic cultures of the lesser gentry and those of middling wealth, as shown by the proportion of inventories showing evidence for new behaviours. Such material culture markers include forks, utensils for hot drinks, and saucepans, but these objects do not appear in gentry inventories any earlier than other inventories. The rest of this conclusion considers the strong patterns of continuity shown through this chapter.

First, the majority of houses that the gentry occupied had traditional hierarchical or courtyard plan-forms. Surviving gentry houses with hierarchical plan-forms were constructed in the South West in all periods during the fifteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. In contrast, other studies suggest most gentry houses constructed after the late sixteenth century had symmetrical or double-pile plan-forms before the appearance of classical and Palladian plan-forms from the late seventeenth century. This difference may be down to the focus on the lesser and greater gentry by this study, rather than just the greater gentry of other studies. From the late sixteenth century a number of gentry houses with symmetrical plans were constructed, or developed from hierarchical houses, but these did not disrupt principles of hierarchy; even with a central hall, the entrance remained off-centre, creating low and high ends of the house. Surviving classical houses were constructed

from the late seventeenth century, with a small number of 'transitional' houses with classical facades but hierarchical or courtyard plan-forms.

Second, this strength of continuity is shown in the function of the hall, and aspects of the domestic environment. Gentry roomed inventories show that over half of gentry halls by 1750 were still used for commensality and informal sociability, providing a link with earlier cultures of civility, hospitality and communal largess even if the hall was no longer the space for formal hospitality. By contrast, in houses with classical plan-forms or plan-forms akin to Girouard's 'Social House' such as Princes' Mansion in Truro, the hall was an entrance room allowing for external visitors to be guided to other rooms. There is little evidence for significant change in domestic behaviours until from the late seventeenth century. The boiling and roasting of foods were still the principal cooking techniques, which primarily occurred in a kitchen, with the hall and parlour the main commensality spaces. From the late seventeenth century, an increasing proportion of households used a dining room for commensality, and there was an increase in the proportion of gentry roomed inventories recording goods representative of new behaviours. This is not a pattern unique to the South West, as Overton et al. also show a similar pattern can be found in Kentish inventories.[1013]

Lastly, the evidence suggests a degree of sociocultural continuity between the gentry and yeomanry of the early modern South West. This continuity was partly expressed in that the majority of vernacular and gentry houses had the medieval plan-form of two or three rooms with cross-passage; similar system of settings in gentry and vernacular houses. Some differences are apparent. Gentry houses were likely to be larger with a greater number of chambers and service rooms, and gentry houses could have three storey or three-room wings. Although not examined by this study, it is likely that decorative details, both internal and external, also helped demonstrate differentiation between gentry and vernacular houses with similar plan-forms. Roomed inventories also show that the function of halls, parlours, and kitchens in gentry and vernacular houses were similar before the early eighteenth century. There were similar semi-fixed-feature element cues (material culture) in both gentry and vernacular houses, indicating a degree of similarity in socio-cultural contexts in all but a handful of gentry houses before c.1700. During and after the early eighteenth century,

[1013] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* chapter 5.

differences are more apparent with a greater proportion of gentry houses containing goods indicative of new behaviours.

Differences between gentry and vernacular households in their activity systems is more apparent after the early eighteenth century. A high proportion of gentry houses continued to use their halls for commensality and informal sociability compared with vernacular rural households, although there is a degree of similarity with vernacular urban households. Gentry households were also more likely to use the kitchen for commensality, and the buttery had a more important function in gentry households than vernacular households. Whilst in verenacular rural households there was a gradual decentralisation of functions from the hall into other rooms of the house, albeit without any room becoming the new 'hall'. In gentry households, much as seen in vernacular urban households, there was already a degree of decentralisation of functions, with other spaces including the parlour and kitchen used for commensality and informal sociability from the early seventeenth century. From the early eighteenth century, there were significant differences between the use of space in gentry households compared with vernacular households and in the sem-fixed-feature element cues recorded. These elements highlight that from the early eighteenth century, there were social and cultural differences between gentry and the majority of vernacular households.

This chapter has shown that in the South West, the gentry constructed houses that were found elsewhere in England about the same time. This is seen in the construction of symmetrical houses and Classical houses. Surviving symmetrical gentry houses were first constructed in the South West from the sixteenth century, roughly when symmetrical houses start to be constructed in significant numbers elsewhere in England. However, the pinnacle of the symmetrical house, the Formal Plan house, was uncommon in the South West. There may be a few houses that had this plan-form that need further exploration. The lack of this plan-form may be down to a different socio-cultural context in the South West, where differentiation between the gentry and vernacular households was more apparent from the early eighteenth century. At this period, the Formal Plan house was out of favour amongst the gentry, replaced by the Palladian and Classical house. A small number of Classical houses were constructed in the South West from the late seventeenth century, expressing this differentiation, which had plan-forms found in other classical houses of a

central hall and main sociability spaces on the ground floor. However, such houses did not become more common in the South West until the later eighteenth century.

An essential aspect raised by this study is whether it is appropriate to call the houses that the gentry lived in 'gentry houses'. Although the evidence from surviving dwellings showed a range of dwellings occupied by the gentry; some occupied large houses with hierarchical plan-forms, others preferring a courtyard or symmetrical plan, and others living in Classical mansions ('small gentleman's houses'). Surviving dwellings show the majority of gentry occupied houses of more than three rooms, but plans of surviving dwellings do not show whether there were other occupiers of the house. Roomed inventories of the gentry show that although an increasing proportion of the gentry occupied large houses of more than nine rooms, a significant number occupied smaller houses. Indeed, during the early seventeenth century, almost a fifth of the gentry occupied dwellings of one to three rooms. Roomed inventories also show the gentry occupying large urban houses that were likely to be much the same as those occupied by vernacular households, only larger. Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence to consider the difference between houses occupied by urban gentry and by urban vernacular households. Furthermore, roomed inventories suggest some gentry may have rented rooms in a larger house. Other scholars, particularly Vickery, have touched on this subject, showing that gentry individuals and families could live in smaller houses and dwellings, sometimes just a room or two within a larger building.[1014]

Surviving dwellings show that although a minority of gentry households occupied houses indicative of different systems of settings compared with vernacular households, the majority of gentry households had different activity systems from vernacular houses. Roomed inventories and surviving dwellings reveal changes to the cues of their domestic environment, in the fixed-feature and semi-fixed-feature elements, that indicate differences in the socio-cultural contexts of gentry households compared with vernacular households. However, much of this difference was apparent from the early eighteenth century rather than before.

[1014] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* pp. 295–96.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

In the introduction of this thesis, the theories of the 'Great Rebuilding' and 'Closure' were outlined as essential to understanding the development of early modern housing in England. However, the patterns of the development of vernacular and gentry housing in the South West between c.1500 and 1750 show the weaknesses of those theories. The majority of surviving gentry and vernacular houses constructed between the fifteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries had the medieval plan-form of two or three rooms with cross-passage at their core. There were peaks of construction during the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries and the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Surviving rural and urban vernacular houses were predominantly small, with one to six rooms, with the majority of urban houses having a plan-form strongly related to rural plan-forms. The majority of gentry households did not occupy 'gentry houses', only a small proportion occupied houses with symmetrical, courtyard, double-pile or Classical plan-forms, with a continuum between gentry and vernacular houses rather than sharp differences. Across rural, urban, and gentry houses, the use of the hall, parlour, and chambers changed over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Comparison between the housing of Devon and Cornwall reveals areas of differences and similarities. In Cornwall, there was a greater proportion of houses with smaller two-room plan-forms, and the average Devon house by 1750 had more rooms than their Cornish counterparts. In both counties, surviving dwellings show the continuing importance of the cross-passage and decline in the status and functions of the hall. Roomed inventories show a similarity between vernacular and gentry houses. The same cues (fixed-feature and semi-fixed-feature elements) were found in both gentry and vernacular houses. In only in a minority of gentry houses were these cues significantly different, indicative of different socio-cultural cultures.

Before expanding further on the conclusions of this thesis, the limitations of probate inventories and modern plans must be reviewed. The probate inventories studied primarily belonged to those of middling wealth, roughly the middle 40 to 50 per cent of early modern society, excluding the poorest and very richest. Therefore, the trends and patterns observed are most applicable to a wide band of society, including the gentry, yeomen, husbandmen, merchants, urban professionals and artisans, and wealthier craftsmen.

Inventories from the late seventeenth century are representative of a wider range of socio-economic statuses and occupations than earlier inventories. Only a small proportion of inventories recorded rooms. A higher proportion of inventories from later periods that did not record the contents of rooms in detail may indicate an increasingly poorer material culture. They may also represent growing confidence in the probate system.[1015] Analysis of inventories relies heavily on the assessors' descriptions of goods, from which function is inferred. However, these descriptions may ignore objects. Modern plans of surviving dwellings primarily represent those of middling wealth, overlapping imperfectly with inventories in terms of the social strata represented. A higher proportion of plans are of larger, older, or more complex houses, and thus more representative of wealthier yeomen, or of the gentry.

Housing of the South West

Comparing rural vernacular houses of the South West with vernacular houses in other areas highlights the different patterns of development that this thesis has uncovered. Effective comparison can be made with the vernacular houses of a sample of parishes of Kent, and Stoneleigh parish, Warwickshire.[1016] Vernacular housing in the South West, inventoried between 1601 and 1750, was dominated by houses with one to three rooms, assuming that non-roomed inventories were indicative of smaller dwellings, albeit with fewer smaller houses in Devon than Cornwall by 1750. In contrast, whilst during the early seventeenth century in Kent and Stoneleigh smaller dwellings dominated the inventoried housing stock, from the early eighteenth century, they no longer dominated the same way as is apparent in Devon and Cornwall.

In comparison with early modern West Suffolk and Stoneleigh there is a strong adherence to traditional medieval plan-forms in the South West amongst surviving dwellings. Matthew Johnson points to an increased number of houses in West Suffolk with lobby entries and back-to-back axial chimney stacks. Although a significant proportion of vernacular houses in West Suffolk may have retained a cross-passage as 'transitional' houses, a higher proportion of houses were 'closed' with a lobby-entry. Lobby-entry houses with axial chimney stacks were rare in the South West. It may be that building materials were a factor in the low

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[1015] Overton et al, *Production and Consumption,* pp. 170–71.
[1016] Alcock, *People at Home,* chapter 12; Overton et al, *Production and Consumption,* chapter 5.

number of houses with lobby entries in the South West. Anthony Quiney argued that lobby-entry plans are limited in areas of stone and cob, the principal building materials of Devon and Cornwall.[1017] However, the lobby-entry plan represents a regional variation on how to manage privacy and restrict access to the interior, which in the South West was achieved through the cross-passage. The space allowed for the division of external visitors into either the hall or kitchen whilst retaining access for household members to rear yards.

Comparing the typical rooms recorded in South West rural houses with those recorded in Kent shows that in both locations, the proportion of houses with halls declined, the proportion with kitchens increased, and the proportion with parlours remained broadly static. A point of difference is the proportion of houses with service rooms. Between 1600 and 1749 in Kent, the proportion of houses with service rooms increased, a similar pattern identified in Devon. In contrast, the picture in Cornwall was more complex. Although there was a decline in the proportion of dwellings with a specialised service room, there was an increase in the proportion of dwellings with a cellar after the late seventeenth century, which is not apparent in either Devon or Kent. In the South West, most of the changes in the proportion of inventories recording halls, kitchens, and cellars came in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, whilst in Kent, the change was much smoother, almost linear, across the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Comparison of the South West can be made with Norwich, and the Midlands.[1018] Town houses in the South West were smaller than those in Norwich, and underwent more change. In the South West, the inventoried housing stock (excluding non-roomed inventories) between the early and late seventeenth centuries was dominated by houses of one to three rooms; after the early eighteenth century, the majority of town houses had four to six rooms. By contrast, in Norwich over the seventeenth century, the majority of the inventoried housing stock had four to six rooms; one to three-roomed dwellings formed only a small proportion of the housing stock. In plan-form, the majority of town houses in Cornwall were one room wide and two rooms deep, whilst in Devon, the majority were two rooms deep and one wide or with rear wings.

[1017] Quiney, 'Lobby-Entry House', p. 464.
[1018] Dyer, ‘Urban Housing’, pp. 210-12, 215; Priestley, Corfield, and Sutermeister, ‘Room and Room Use’, pp. 100-20.

Further comparisons can be made with the typical rooms found in town houses of the South West. In town houses of the South West, the proportion of houses with halls declined over the seventeenth century, but the proportion of houses with kitchens did not increase. In Birmingham and Derby, between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the proportion of houses with halls remained high, whilst the proportion of houses with kitchens declined. In Coventry, the trends were much the same as the South West and Norwich with regards to the hall and kitchen. In both Norwich and the South West, the proportion of town houses with parlours decreased, and whilst the proportion with cellars increased in both locations, the proportion of houses with a service room declined only in the South West.

These areas of difference show the benefits of taking a regional approach in understanding the character of vernacular and gentry housing in their own contexts. Whilst it cannot be suggested that the housing system of the South West was unique, given some degree of similarity with the Midlands and Kent, it cannot be true that the housing system of all of early modern England was the same. Indeed, there are important differences between Devon and Cornwall, and between different areas in each county. The study also shows some relationship between gentry houses and vernacular houses and between rural vernacular houses and vernacular houses of neighbouring towns as indicative of rural-urban relationships. The development of houses, the pace of change and the forms of development taken can be tied to a particular region and its social, cultural, and economic character. There are patterns that need further research and further elucidation of relationships with land tenure.

This thesis has shown how the theories of 'Great Rebuilding' and 'Closure' are applicable when describing the changes to rural vernacular housing. They are, however imperfect as explanations for change, and for understanding the nature of developments in urban and gentry housing. The imperfect application of 'Great Rebuilding' to the evidence provided here is troubling, given that W. G. Hoskins was a prominent historian of Devon and whose evidence for the 'Great Rebuilding' was based primarily on a study of 430 Devon

parishes.[1019] Although a theory strongly based on the evidence for one region may not be easily applied to another, the same region has been studied here. This chapter considers each of the main theories, the 'Great Rebuilding', 'Closure', and theories of domestic architecture separately, assessing how they apply to the surviving dwellings and probate inventories from the early modern South West.

The 'Great Rebuilding'

Hoskins argued that a 'Great Rebuilding' of vernacular houses occurred between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, c.1575 to c.1640, involving the modernisation of the medieval house through the ceiling of the hall and division of large rooms into multiple rooms.[1020] This is apparent in this thesis to some extent. Evidence derived from house plans shows that surviving rural vernacular houses of the South West constructed during the fifteen and sixteenth centuries underwent a phase of rebuilding between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, primarily involving the insertion of a hall ceiling, as would be expected from the theory of the 'Great Rebuilding'. House plans show that surviving rural dwellings constructed during or after the early seventeenth century had a ceiled hall with at least one upper storey chamber and were of at least one and a half storeys.

However, the theory of the 'Great Rebuilding' is insufficient for describing and explaining the changes observed during this thesis. Surviving rural dwellings were constructed in all periods between the fifteenth and mid-eighteenth century with two periods of high construction activity. One was during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the period of the 'Great Rebuilding', the second during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Later scholars criticising the theory of the 'Great Rebuilding' such as R. Machin, Nat Alcock, and Colin Platt argued that the development of vernacular rural houses continued into the early eighteenth century with a peak in the late seventeenth century.[1021] Surviving dwellings from the South West are indicative both of the 'Great Rebuilding' and of the later 'Great Rebuilding'. However, surviving buildings also show an earlier phase before the 'Great Rebuilding'. A small number of dwellings constructed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had a ceiling inserted over the service room or inner room.

[1019] Hoskins, 'Great Rebuilding', p. 45.
[1020] Hoskins, 'Great Rebuilding', pp. 45–46.
[1021] Alcock, 'Great Rebuilding and Later Stages'; Johnson, 'Rethinking the Great Rebuilding'; Machin, 'The Great Rebulding'; Platt, *Great Rebuildings*.

Hoskins' considered the theory of the 'Great Rebuilding' applicable to towns and countryside, since 'many English towns were substantially rebuilt or enlarged in these two generations'.[1022] Although this thesis also considers town houses and rural houses as part of the same housing system, demonstrated by that a number of rural plan-forms are apparent in towns and vice-versa, using the 'Great Rebuilding' to understand urban houses is challenging. Nearly all urban houses had ceiled halls by the mid-sixteenth century, whilst a small number had a deliberately open hall that carried social and cultural significance.[1023] In addition, understanding the nature of gentry houses is difficult through the framework of the 'Great Rebuilding'. Hoskins argued that the 'Great Rebuilding' of medieval houses was caused by a 'filtering down to the mass of the population … of a sense of privacy that had formerly been enjoyed by only the upper classes'.[1024] Surviving houses show a degree of continuum between gentry and vernacular houses, with similar plan-forms, and that most houses of the gentry had their halls ceiled in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries. This suggests that a key component of the 'Great Rebuilding', the ceiling of the hall, occurred at the same time for both social groups. Instead, halls in urban houses were ceiled before halls in vernacular rural and gentry houses.

In addition, concepts of privacy have moved on considerably since Hoskins.[1025] Various authors have tried to apply concepts of privacy to domestic architecture, and have found that whilst the built environment can reflect concepts of privacy and public worlds, these were elements of a wider *genre de genre de vie* the whole of which affected built form rather than sole aspects such as comfort.[1026]

'Closure'

Johnson argued that rural vernacular houses underwent a process of 'closure' during the early modern period. This was characterised by the ceiling of the hall and other ground rooms, the addition of glass in windows, and the creation of a 'lobby' entrance through the

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[1022] Hoskins, 'Great Rebuilding', p. 105.
[1023] Leech, 'The Symbolic Hall'.
[1024] Hoskins, 'Rebuilding of Rural England', pp. 54–55.
[1025] See for example: Williamson, 'Public and Private Worlds?'.
[1026] Rapoport, *House Form and Culture,* pp. 60-9.Sanders, 'Behavioural Conventions and Archaeology', p. 50; Segalen, 'House between Private and Public', pp. 241–43.

placement of back-to-back chimney stacks in a former cross-passage.[1027] Whilst is it clear that surviving dwellings constructed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were ceiled during the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries, the construction of lobby-entry plan-forms is rare. However, 'Closure' is more than just lobby-entry plan-forms. Johnson was explicit that the 'Closure' of the house and the enclosure of fields, together with the growing acceptance of Protestantism and Puritanism were manifestations of profound social and cultural shifts. The fundamental principles underpinning these shifts were discipline and order, and segregation and differentiation, rather than community and deference.[1028]

Although the link between 'Closure' and Puritanism has been challenged, including by Johnson himself in subsequent work, the principle that changes in the layout of the house are indicative of social and cultural changes is essential. Surviving dwellings from the South West show the room layout of a considerable proportion of vernacular and gentry houses in towns and rural areas did not change after construction. Few surviving vernacular dwellings underwent a phase of post-construction redevelopment that changed their core plan-form of two or three rooms with cross-passage. Interestingly, this was paralleled with a similar lack of change in the landscape. Most of the South West was 'Anciently Enclosed', so did not experience a marked trend towards enclosing fields as the Midlands and south-east England did.[1029]

However, roomed probate inventories show some changes in the activity systems of households and the semi-fixed-feature element cues indicative of social and cultural change. The degree of change was more apparent in gentry inventories. Most of these changes were apparent from the early eighteenth century, such as the change in the function of the parlour, the appearance of saucepans and the material culture of hot drinks. What is apparent is decentralisation of functions from the hall into other rooms in the rural vernacular house, indicative of an increased separation between household members from gathering in the hall for household commensality to spaces for more selective commensality. Thus, to some extent, the principle of the lobby-entry plan-form, which allowed for the

[1027] Johnson, *Housing Culture*, pp. 179–82; Johnson, 'English Houses, Materiality, and Everyday Life', p. 28.
[1028] Johnson, *Housing Culture*, pp. 162–68.
[1029] Turner, 'Changing Ancient Landscape', p. 22.

household to separate and segment household visitors to appropriate spaces, is apparent in South West vernacular houses despite the lack of lobby-entries.

As Chris King has noted, the theory of 'Closure' is difficult to apply to urban environments, and as such it cannot be used to understand the changes to the wider housing system in early modern south-west England.[1030] This is because different social and cultural forces operated there compared to the countryside, particularly from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. According to King, segregation within urban communities had already started by the mid-sixteenth century due to an early desire to segregate different domestic activities within the urban household.[1031] Likewise, the theory of 'Closure' also cannot be easily applied to the houses of the gentry. Not merely because no gentry house had a lobby-entry, but what is more apparent in gentry houses is a high degree of segregation of activities about the house. Surviving gentry houses with a plan show early segregation of domestic activities in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, usually through the creation of agricultural courts and outbuildings. Gentry inventories record a greater average number of rooms compared with vernacular houses and more specialist rooms such as dining and drawing rooms that suited a particular gentry activity system.

Theories of Domestic Architecture

The foundation of Johnson's theory of 'Closure' is that the internal layout of houses can be linked with social and cultural changes. This is the foundation of many 'theories of domestic architecture', which for this study are exemplified in the work of Amos Rapoport and Susan Kent. In summary, they argue that greater differentiation and complexity in society was reflected in the built environment, with segregation in the use of space between work and living, and between family and others.[1032] The house was an ideal environment, a physical expression of socio-cultural forces such as religion, social structures and hierarchies, and economics, and a silent language that survives for future generations to understand social behaviours and relationships.[1033] Space and the built environment are organised in a way that reflects the social and political organisation of that society. More complex cultures have segmented economies, religion, and gender-specific economies, recreation, and behaviour

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[1030] King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding'.
[1031] King, '"Closure" and the Urban Great Rebuilding', p. 73.
[1032] Rapoport, *House Form and Culture*, pp. 8–9.
[1033] Rapoport, *House Form and Culture*, pp. 47–49.

that promotes a more segmented built environment.[1034] Culture structures behaviour, which structures the layout of the house and architecture.[1035] Furthermore, settings (rooms and buildings) are linked by the way in which people use them, through activity settings, taking people from setting to setting; these activity systems and systems of settings are influenced by culture.[1036] Furthermore, theories of domestic architecture do not specify the size of the society examined since many focus on specific groups, such as the Betsileo of Madagascar or individual Greek city-states, even Pompeii.[1037]

Applying the ideas of Rapoport and Kent to the evidence and conclusions discussed reveal some interesting patterns. At all periods between the fifteen and mid-eighteenth centuries, the most common plan-form for rural vernacular houses was the medieval three or two-room with cross-passage plan-form, and for urban vernacular houses, the two-room plan-form was most common. The system of settings, identified through room layout, in an early seventeenth-century vernacular house was not significantly different to the system of settings in early eighteenth-century vernacular houses, using the evidence of house plans and listed building entries. Thus, in the majority of dwellings, an important set of fixed-feature element cues for behaviours had not changed significantly, thus indicating the social behaviours and culture of the majority of vernacular houses in the early modern South West had barely changed. However, Rapoport and Kent argued that physical walls were only one element in how to partition space and that space could be partitioned conceptually, such as through the habitual use of specific activity areas dividing one large room into 'cooking' and 'eating' areas.[1038] However, this is challenging to identify through probate inventories.

Probate inventories reveal a number of changes in the domestic environment. There was the decline of the hall in rural dwellings, the growing importance of chambers, and the changing functions of the parlour. A decentralisation of functions from the hall into other

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[1034] Kent, 'Partitioning Space', p. 465.
[1035] Kent, 'Activity Areas and Architecture', p. 3.
[1036] Rapoport, 'Activity Systems and Systems of Settings', pp. 13-4.
[1037] Mark Grahame, *Reading Space: Social Interaction and Identity in the Houses of Roman Pompeii: A Syntactical Approach to the Analysis and Interpretation of Built Space* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000); Michael H. Jameson, 'Domestic Space in the Greek City-State', in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space,* ed. Kent, pp. 92–113; Susan Kus and Victor Raharijaona, 'Domestic Space and the Tenacity of Tradition amongst Some Betsileo of Madagascar', in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space,* ed. Kent, pp. 21–33.
[1038] Kent, 'Partitioning Space', p. 439.

spaces is indicative of changes to the activity systems of rural vernacular houses, which in turn implies a need for greater segregation in the domestic environment between social groups. This is also apparent in the early segregation of commensality in gentry households between the hall, parlour, and the kitchen, which remained into the early eighteenth century. Further changes are apparent in the material culture, with increases in the proportion of inventories recording objects of convenience and new behaviours. These new semi-fixed-feature cues, only apparent in a minority of inventories, imply and do not necessarily reflect new behaviours indicative of a changing socio-cultural context of the household. Rates of this change differ between gentry inventories, and non-gentry inventories, but show an important relationship.

Closer examination of plan evidence indicates some degree of differentiation between rural and urban households, and between vernacular and gentry households. The differences between rural plan-forms and urban plan-forms of vernacular houses shows the expected differences in the social relationships and structures between urban societies and rural society. This may been seen in the high proportion of surviving urban houses with two rooms on the ground floor, necessitating the use of an upper storey chamber for informal sociability. However, there were similarities in the function of rooms, such as the hall, kitchen, and parlour that may indicate a shared set of cultural behaviours and ideals. The same semi-fixed-feature cues were found in rural and urban vernacular households. The evidence also suggests that towns in Devon had greater social differentiation amongst those of middling wealth than Cornish towns, owing to the greater diversity of plan-forms in Devon town houses, especially amongst houses with roofs perpendicular to the street. Observed changes in towns such as Truro and Launceston with the imposition of new classical-style houses in the early eighteenth century speak of growing differences in the activity systems of whole towns.

In both counties, a high proportion of surviving gentry houses had traditional hierarchical plan-forms, and whilst this may suggest a limited degree of social differentiation between the gentry and wealthier yeomen, a growing division is apparent. From the sixteenth century, some gentry constructed houses with a symmetrical footprint, although with a hierarchical room layout, and from the late seventeenth century, some gentry occupied houses with Classical/Palladian inspired designs. In the design of symmetrical, double-pile, and Classical

houses, they mark a growing division between the gentry and their surrounding communities, and even between the gentry themselves as a number of their peers remained in hierarchical houses. Yet, only the double-pile and Classical design houses mark the most significant attempt at differentiation; in nearly all symmetrical design houses by retaining a cross-passage and hierarchical ends, the fixed-feature and semi-fixed-feature element cues of high-end and low-end stayed the same, understood by the gentry and their neighbouring communities. Some 'transitional' gentry houses indicate how some gentry families were concerned to appear to keep up with the latest tastes and expressions of gentility but were unwilling to completely change their domestic arrangements in accordance with new genteel and polite behaviours.

This thesis has shown that across the South West, over the early modern period there were significant changes in the activity systems of gentry and vernacular houses, especially after the early eighteenth century, despite limited change to systems of settings. Only in a minority of households sought to change the room layout of their dwelling through physical extension, requiring new system of settings to accommodate the activity systems of the household. The changed activity systems of households were a reflection of socio-cultural changes of increased segregation and differentiation between social groups, and between households and servants, with the changing function of the hall evidence for these changes. However, there are clear differences between the changes in urban environments and rural environments, with a closer relationship between the changes in urban environments and changes in gentry houses. Differences between Devon and Cornwall were more muted compared, particularly seen in the requirement for Devon households to have a dedicated service room. The critical period for change was the early eighteenth century. Houses provide a window into understanding early modern society, in the physical layout and use of space; what houses can tell us of society in the early modern South West is blurry but indicative of complex social relationships between towns, rural parishes, and the gentry.

Appendix I

Table KKK: Number of Inventories, Plans, and NHL records for each location

	Roomed inventories[1039]	Plans	NHL Listed Dwellings[1040]	Hearth Tax Households
Bodmin (borough)	13		14	134
Bodmin (parish)	40	1	1	58
Egloskerry	3	1	14	37
Launceston	50	1	40	198
Linkinhorne	14	4	9	124
Liskeard (Borough)	12		26	113
Liskeard (parish)	15		2	139
Madron	103	2	51	157
Paul	21	3	35	87
St Austell	40		13	131
St Gennys	4	4	19	77
St Stephen-by-Launceston	9		32	72
St Stephens-by-Saltash	50	2	13	194
St Thomas-by-Launceston	13		1	23
Tregony	52		10	90
Truro	67		26	135
Barnstaple	3	1	61	188
Cockington	6		8	38
Crediton	6		78	289
Dunsford	1	1	35	54
Exeter	14	30	99	1566
Exeter St Thomas		4	7	135
Morchard Bishop	1	2	67	83
Moretonhampstead		1	45	88
Plymouth	1	6	32	604
Plympton St Mary	4	4	24	118
Plympton St Maurice	1		26	44
Plymstock		1	20	92
Sandford	1	4	60	102
Staverton	2	1	7	99
Thorverton Parish	1	1	46	79
Totnes		6	94	195
Uffculme	110		26	104
Wembury parish	1		3	32

[1039] Total number of roomed inventories used by this study
[1040] Derived from the National Heritage List for England

Table LLL: Proportion of rooms recorded in Kent inventories, 1600 to 1749

	1600–1629	1630–1659	1660–1689	1690–1719	1720-1749
1—3	22%	14%	8%	4%	5%
4—6	33%	36%	30%	24%	28%
7—9	23%	25%	26%	32%	33%
10—14	13%	14%	20%	23%	19%
15+	9%	10%	25%	16%	16%
Number of inventories	727	511	846	536	207

Source: Mark Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750,* (London: Rouledge, 2004), p. 124.

Table MMM: Proportion of rooms recorded in Stoneleigh inventories, 1532 to 1750.

	1532 - 1600	1601 - 1650	1661 - 1700	1701 - 1750
1—3	43%	10%	8%	14%
4—6	34%	44%	48%	36%
7—9	23%	22%	27%	26%
10—12		13%	8%	14%
13—15		6%	3%	6%
16+		5%	5%	5%
Total	53	94	73	86

Source: Nat Alcock, *People at Home: Living in a Warwickshire Village, 1500-1800,* (Chichester: Pillimore, 1993), p. 200.

Table NNN: Dates of construction and post-construction development of rural vernacular houses in Devon from plans, c.1500 to c.1750

	C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
New Build	7	3	4	1	2	1	1	19
Phase II		4	2	3	2	2		13
Phase III			1	2	2		1	8
Phase IV-VI			1	1	2		3	7

Source: 19 planned dwellings from the sample rural parishes in Devon.

Table OOO: Dates of construction and post-construction development of rural vernacular houses in Cornwall from plans, c.1500 to c.1750

	C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
New Build		3		6	5	1	2	17
Phase II			1	1	4	2		8
Phase III				1		2	2	5
Phases IV-V				1	1	1		3

Source: 17 planned dwellings from the sample rural parishes in Cornwall.

Table PPP: Number of storeys of rural vernacular houses from plans, c.1500 to c.1750

Storeys	C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18
1	7	3	2				
1.5		1	2	7	4		2
2		**1**	**2**	**8**	**9**	**4**	**5**
2.5					1	2	
3							
3.5							
Multiple		6	3	2	4	3	2

Source: 36 planned dwellings from the sample rural parishes.

Table QQQ: Number of chimney stacks of rural vernacular houses from plans, c.1500 to c.1750

Stacks	C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18
Zero	**7**	**7**	**2**				
1		**3**	**2**	**4**	**6**	**1**	
2			**2**	**10**	**5**	**2**	**1**
3			3	1	3	1	5
4+				1	2	2	

Source: 36 planned dwellings from the sample rural parishes.

Table RRR: Dates of construction and post-construction development of rural vernacular houses in Cornwall from NHL entries, c.1500 to c.1750

	C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
New Build			1	**15**	**38**	**36**	**46**	136
Phase II				2	3	6	6	17
Phase III						2		2

Source: 136 NHL listed dwellings from the rural sample parishes of Cornwall.

Table SSS: Dates of construction and post-construction development of rural vernacular houses in Devon from NHL entries, c.1500 to c.1750

	C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
New Build	3	39	**48**	**42**	**86**	**58**	**91**	367
Phase II			1	34	39	18	10	101
Phase III				4	15	7	13	39

Source: 367 NHL listed dwellings from the rural sample parishes of Devon.

Table TTT: Rural plan-form classifications

Code	Plan form
AX	Three-room cross-passage plan with open hall
AY	Three-room side-entry plan with open hall
AO	Longhouse type plan
BX	Two-room cross-passage plan with open hall
BY	Two-room side-entry plan with open hall
A1	Three-room cross-passage plan
A2	Three-room side-entry plan
A3	Three-room lobby entry plan
A4	Three-room cross-passage plan with central unheated service room
A5	Three-room side-entry plan with central unheated service room
A6	Three-room cross-passage plan with rear wing(s)
A7	Three-room cross-passage plan with front wing(s)
A8	Three-room side-entry plan with rear wing(s)
A9	Three-room side-entry plan with front wing(s)
A10	Three-room cross-passage plan with outshut(s)
A11	Three-room side-entry plan with outshut(s)
A12	Three-room central unheated service room plan with outshut(s)
A13	Three-room gable entry plan
B1	Two-room cross-passage plan
B2	Two-room side-entry plan
B3	Two-room lobby entry plan
B4	Two-room cross-passage plan with rear wing(s)
B5	Two-room cross-passage plan with front wing(s)
B6	Two-room plan with rear outshuts
B7	Two-room side-entry plan with rear wing(s)
B8	Two-room side-entry plan with front wing(s)
B9	Two-room central stair plan
B10	Two-room central stair plan with front wing(s)
B11	Two-room gable entry plan
B12	Two-room gable entry plan with rear wing(s)
C1	One or two-room cottage gable entry plan
C2	One or two-room cottage side-entry plan
C3	One or two-room cottage side-entry plan with outshut(s)
C4	Two-room cottage cross passage plan
D1	Double pile
D2	Four-room cross-passage plan with Two-rooms either side of cross-passage
D3	Four-room cross-passage plan with One-room one side of cross-passage and 3 the other
D4	Four-room side-entry plan
E1	One-room side-entry plan
E2	One-room gable entry plan

Table UUU: Rural three-room plan-forms, from plans, c.1500 to c.1750

	C14-C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
AX	**5**	**4**	**1**					**10**
AO								
AY								
A1	**1**			**4**	**3**		**1**	**9**
A2								
A3								
A4								
A5								
A6			1					1
A7								
A8								
A9						1		1
A10								
A11								
A12								
A13								

Source: 22 recorded buildings from the rural sample parishes; key to the plan-forms is in Table J.
Note: plan-forms with a cross-passage are lightly shaded.

Table VVV: Rural two-room plan-forms, from plans, c.1500 to c.1750

	C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
BX	**1**		**1**					**2**
B1		**2**			**1**			**3**
B2								
B3								
B4								
B5			1					1
B6					1			1
B7								
B8								
B9								
B10								
B11								
B12								

Source: 6 recorded buildings from the rural sample parishes; key to the plan-forms is in Table J.
Note: plan-forms with a cross-passage are lightly shaded.

Table WWW: Rural double-pile and cottage plan-forms c.1500 to c.1750

	C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
C1								
C2		**3**		**4**	**9**	**25**	**82**	**123**
C3					3		6	9
C4					1		4	5
D1				1		1	10	12

Source: 542 planned and NHL listed buildings from the sample rural parishes; key to the plan-forms is in Table J.
Note: plan-forms with a cross-passage are lightly shaded.

Table XXX: Urban plan-form classifications

A1	Gable to street, one room deep
A2	Gable to street, two rooms deep with side passage
A3	Gable to street, two rooms deep without side passage
A4	Gable to street, one room deep, with rear block
A5	Gable to street, two rooms deep, with rear block and side passage
A6	Gable to street, two rooms deep, with rear block without side passage
A7	Gable to street, two rooms deep, with central cross-passage
A8	Gable to street, one room deep, with central cross-passage
A9	Gable to street, three rooms deep, with rear block and side passage
A10	Gable to street, three rooms deep, with cross-passage
A11	Gable to street, three rooms deep, with side passage
A12	Gable to street, three rooms deep, without side passage
A13	Gable to street, one room deep, gallery and rear block
A14	Gable to street, two rooms deep, gallery and rear block
A15	Gable to street, three rooms deep, gallery and rear block
B1	Parallel to street, one room deep and one room wide
B2	Parallel to street, one room deep and two rooms wide
B3	Parallel to street, two rooms deep and one room wide
B4	Parallel to street, one room deep with central cross-passage
B5	Parallel to street, two rooms deep with central cross-passage
B6	Parallel to street, two rooms deep and two rooms wide
B7	Parallel to street, one room deep and three rooms wide
B8	Parallel to street, three rooms deep and one room wide
C1	L-shaped plan with main width on street and wing backwards
C2	L-shaped plan with main width back from street and wing forwards
C3	L-shaped plan with main width on street with central cross-passage, wing backwards
D1	Corner Plan

Table YYY: Urban plan-forms from plans, c.1500 to c.1750

	C14-C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
A1	2							2
A2			1	1	1	2		5
A3	2		3	1		2		8
A4			3					3
A5								
A6					1			1
A7				1	3	1		5
A8				1				1
A9		2						2
A10	1							1
A11		1						1
A12					1			1
A13						1		1
A14				2				2
A15								
B1			1					1
B2								
B3								
B4								
B5								
B6								
B7								
B8								
C1				1				1
C2								
C3								
D1		1	1					2

Source: 42 planned buildings from the sample towns; key to the plan-forms is table N.

Table ZZZ: Urban plan-forms from NHL entries, c.1500 to c.1750

	C14-C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
A1			1		1	1	3	6
A2			2		1			3
A3	1		1	1	2	3	1	9
A4								
A5								
A6				2		1		3
A7								
A8						1		1
A9						1		1
A10								
A11								
A12			1					1
A13						1		1
A14			1	4	6	1		12
A15				1				1
B1				1	1	3	3	8
B2				1	2	5	10	18
B3					4	9	21	34
B4			1		2	1	8	12
B5							1	1
B6						3	5	8
B7					1	1	2	4
B8								
C1		1	1	3	8	9	28	50
C2							1	1
C3	1				1		6	8
D1	1			2	6	11	11	31
Unclear		1	2	5	5	2	25	40
Not Known	1	3	11	16	40	38	79	191

Source: 232 NHL listed dwellings from the sample towns; key to plan-forms is table N.

Table AAAA: Urban plan-forms, c.1500 to c.1750

	C14-C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
A1	2		1		1	1	3	8
A2			3	1	2	2		8
A3	3		4	2	2	5	1	17
A4			3					3
A5								
A6				2	1	1		4
A7				1	3	1		5
A8				1		1		2
A9		2				1		3
A10	1							1
A11		1						1
A12			1		1			2
A13						2		2
A14			1	6	6	1		14
A15				1				1
B1			1	1	1	3	3	9
B2				1	2	5	10	18
B3					4	9	21	34
B4			1		2	1	8	12
B5							1	1
B6						3	5	8
B7					1	1	2	4
B8								
C1		1	1	4	8	9	28	51
C2							1	1
C3	1				1		6	8
D1	1	1	1	2	6	11	11	33

Source: 331 NHL listed dwellings from the sample towns; key to plan-forms is table N.

Table BBBB: Height in storeys of urban dwellings, from plans, c.1500 to c.1750

Storeys	C14-C15	C15 late-C16 early	C16	C16 late-C17 early	C17	C17 late-C18 early	C18	Total
1								
1.5								
2	**1**		**6**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**14**
2.5	2			1				3
3	**2**	**1**	**3**	**8**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**21**
3.5		1	2	1		2		6
4								
Multiple		3	1	4	2	4		14

Source: 42 recorded buildings from the sample towns.

Table CCCC: List of objects and their associated function

Function	Objects
Heating	Andirons
	Fire-dogs
	Tongs
	Bellows
	Fire Shovels
	Fire Pans
	Grates
	Iron Backs
Cooking	Crocks
	Cauldrons
	Spits
	Kettles
	Frying Pans
	Sauce Pans
	Skillets
	Dripping Pans
	Gridirons
	Jacks
	Posnuts
	Basting Spoons
	Mortar and Pestles
	[Heating]
Sleeping	Bedsteads (including standing, half-headed, tester, and truckle)
	Beds (including feather, flock, dust, and performed)
	Pillows
	Bolsters
	Coverlets
	Sheets
Eating and Drinking (Commensality)	Tableboards
	Tables (including round or livery)
	Forms
	Settles
	Benches
	[Chairs]
	Sideboards
	Side Tables
	Court Cupboards
	Press Cupboards
	Platters
	Trenchers
	Plates
	Salts
	Spoons
	Saucers
	Knives
	Forks
	Napkins
	Porringers
	Cups
	Bottles (glass or otherwise)
	Flagons/ Jugs
	Tankards
	Drinking Glasses
	Salvers
	Voiders
Hospitality	Playing Tables
	Basins and Ewers
	Tea sets
	Coffee sets
	Drinking chocolate sets
	Virginals
	Shuffle Board tables
	Deal Tables
	Napkins
Comfort	Cushions
	Upholstered Chairs
	Upholstered Stools
	Warming Pans
Convenience	Candlesticks
	Jacks
	Chests of Drawers
	Candles
	Snuffers
	Lanterns
	Forks
Chairs	Chairs
	Upholstered Chairs

Table DDDD: Room types in Kent (1600-1749).

	1600–1629	1630–1659	1660–1689	1690–1719	1720—1749
No hall	6%	7%	17%	43%	59%
1 hall	49%	39%	32%	27%	33%
>1 hall	45%	54%	51%	30%	9%
No parlour	53%	53%	48%	46%	52%
1 parlour	18%	20%	20%	26%	25%
>1 parlour	29%	27%	32%	28%	22%
No kitchen	52%	48%	37%	29%	29%
1 kitchen	33%	33%	35%	34%	40%
>1 kitchen	15%	19%	29%	36%	31%
No chamber	14%	13%	5%	4%	4%
1 chamber	27%	27%	23%	25%	35%
2 chambers	26%	28%	30%	33%	33%
>2 chambers	32%	32%	42%	38%	28%
No great chamber	97%	93%	80%	59%	49%
1 great chamber	3%	6%	18%	38%	50%
>1 great chamber		1%	2%	2%	1%
No service room	54%	46%	31%	17%	27%
1 service room	30%	33%	34%	31%	34%
>1 service room	17%	21%	36%	52%	39%
Milk-house	35%	43%	51%	54%	39%
Bakehouse	2%	3%	3%	4%	2%
Boutling house	6%	5%	3%	4%	1%
Wash-house	5%	7%	16%	28%	34%
Brew-house	10%	16%	34%	46%	35%
Drink buttery	9%	17%	21%	19%	10%
Loft	21%	16%	2%		
Servants' Room	6%	9%	13%	16%	21%
Fire room				7%	10%
Number of inventories	727	511	846	536	207

Source: Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households,* p. 125.

Table EEEE: Domestic production in rural vernacular houses, 1601 to 1750.

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall	1%	1%	2%
Kitchen	14%	14%	6%
All Chambers	1%	2%	1%
Butteries	13%	2%	
Bakehouses, Milkhouses, Brewhouses	16%	12%	8%
Other service rooms		23%	11%
Total number of inventories	110	171	92

Source: all rural non-gentry inventories with rooms described, see appendix 2.

Table FFFF: Service rooms in rural vernacular houses, 1601 to 1750.

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Heating			11%
Cooking and Food Preparation		4%	22%
Commensality	24%	4%	11%
Sleeping	5%	4%	11%
Hospitality			
Comfort		4%	
Convenience		4%	
Chairs		4%	11%
Looking Glass			
Pictures			
Timekeeping			
Domestic Production		23%	11%
Total other service rooms	21	26	9
Total roomed inventories	110	171	92

Source: all rural non-gentry inventories with rooms described, see appendix 2.
Note: percentages relate to the proportion of rooms that record material culture that related to a particular function.

Table GGGG: Butteries in rural vernacular houses, 1601 to 1750.

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Heating	4%	2%	
Cooking and Food Preparation	13%	4%	13%
Commensality	26%	22%	25%
Sleeping	9%	2%	
Hospitality			
Comfort		4%	
Convenience	22%	14%	
Chairs	9%	4%	
Looking Glass	4%		
Pictures			
Timekeeping			
Reading			
Domestic Production	13%	2%	
Total number of butteries`	23	50	8
Total roomed inventories	110	171	92

Source: all rural non-gentry inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.
Note: percentages relate to the proportion of butteries with evidence of a particular function or object category.

Table HHHH: Room types in Cornwall vernacular houses, 1601 to 1750.

Room	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Hall	80%	48%	41%
Kitchen	54%	43%	56%
Parlour	30%	19%	25%
Dining Room		1%	11%
Chamber	60%	61%	62%
Best or Great Chamber	2%	1%	7%
Definite upper chambers	56%	45%	44%
Total chambers present	100%	100%	100%
Buttery	24%	14%	5%
Brewhouse	8%	3%	3%
Malt House	4%	1%	3%
Dairy/Milk House	4%	1%	1%
Bakehouse	2%	1%	
Other service rooms	20%	6%	11%
Total service rooms present	62%	28%	23%
Entries	8%	7%	5%
Cellars	14%	20%	25%
Lofts	10%	7%	8%
Garrets			7%
Total	50	69	73

Source: all urban non-gentry inventories with rooms described, see appendix 2.

Table IIII: Rooms whose main uses could be analysed; Norwich 1580 to 1730

Room	1580-1604	1605-1629	1630-1654	1655-1679	1680-1704	1705-1730
Hall	48%	41%	32%	14%	13%	11%
Kitchen	59%	64%	85%	95%	93%	100%
Parlour	78%	66%	65%	49%	56%	56%
Chambers	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Service Rooms	51%	44%	47%	53%	49%	60%
Cellars	14%	24%	24%	27%	27%	27%
Garrets	10%	29%	39%	51%	54%	62%
Total	120	148	127	86	179	211

Source: Ursula Priestley, P. J. Corfield, and Helen Sutermeister, 'Rooms and room use in Norwich housing, 1580-1730, *Post-Medieval Archaeology,* 16 (1982), 93-123 (p. 102).

Table JJJJ: Percentage of houses with a hall, kitchen, and parlour in Birmingham, Coventry, and Derby, 1570-1699.

Birmingham	1570-1609	1610-1629	1630-1649	1660-1679	1680-1699
Hall	100%	98%	98%	92%	97%
Kitchen	68%	55%	49%	49%	37%
Parlour	51%	46%	37%	35%	37%

Coventry	1590 - 1609	1610 - 1629	1630 - 1649	1660 -1679	1680 - 1699
Hall	89%	88%	77%	56%	29%
Kitchen	67%	61%	69%	80%	95%
Parlour	84%	85%	74%	65%	61%

Derby	1590 - 1609	1610 - 1629	1630 - 1649	1660 -1679	1680 - 1699
Hall	97%	99%	94%	96%	91%
Kitchen	77%	59%	66%	66%	41%
Parlour	92%	80%	94%	76%	61%

Source: Alan Dyer, 'Urban housing: a documentary study of four Midland towns 1530-1700', *Post-Medieval Archaeology,* 15 (1981), 207-218 (p. 215).

Table KKKK: Butteries in urban vernacular houses, 1601 to 1750.

	1601-1650	1651-1700	1701-1750
Heating			
Cooking and Food Preparation	29%	8%	
Commensality	43%	33%	9%
Sleeping			
Hospitality			
Comfort			
Convenience	43%	8%	9%
Chairs	7%		
Looking Glass			
Pictures			
Timekeeping			
Domestic Production			
Total number of butteries	14	12	11
Total inventories	62	77	73

Source: all urban non-gentry inventories with rooms described; see appendix 2.
Note: percentages relate to the proportion of butteries that record material culture relating to specific functions.

Table LLLL: Rooms, contents, and inferred function from Edward Gould's inventory, 1628.

Room	Objects	Inferred Function(s)
Hall	1 tableboard + forms 1 cupboard 1 livery tableboard 1 chair 5 cushions 3 brass candlesticks 1 iron bar	Eating and Drinking
Parlour	1 tableboard 8 joint stools 1 livery tableboard 2 carpets 4 chairs 1 bedstead + 1 green ? + curtains 2 pair of andirons + 1 pair of tongs + 1 fire shovel + bellows 1 warming pan 1 bedstead 1 pair of tables Books	Eating and Drinking Sleeping Reading Heating
Buttery	2 hogsheads + 2 half hogsheads 5 standards for butter and flour + salting tub 5 hanging boards + 1 plank + bacon + 84 trenchers	Storage
Parlour Chamber	1 tableboard 4 joint stools 1 livery table 7 cushions 1 chair 1 basin and ewer of china + some small dishes 1 looking glass + 1 ? 1 standing bedstead + 1 trundle bedstead 3 featherbeds + 3 feather bolsters + 4 pillows 1 green rug + 2 pair of blankets 5 green curtains + valances 4 coverlets 5 pieces of household cloth	Eating and Drinking Hospitality Sleeping
Buttery Chamber	1 bedstead 1 featherbed + bolster + 4 pillows 1 green rug + 1 pair of blankets 1 spruce chest 1 other chest 1 chair 20 pairs of ? + 60 table napkins + 4 board cloths +	Sleeping Storage

	other napery	
Cockloft	Wool and yarn Coffer with candles 1 foot of leather + pigs skins 1 child's chair + spinning form	Storage
Middle Buttery	Salt beef + pork + 6 fitches of bacon Butter + cheese	Storage
Entry Chamber	1 standing bedstead + 1 trundle bedstead 1 featherbed + feather bolster + pillows 1 flock bolster + 1 flock bed + pillows 4 coverlets + 2 pair of blankets 1 close stool 1 press + 2 coffers	Sleeping
New Chamber	1 bedstead 1 featherbed + 1 bolster + 1 pair of blankets + 1 green coverlet Cellar or case of bottles ? performed Musket performed 1 other musket + 1 birding piece ? box + ? box	Sleeping
Hall Chamber	1 standing bedstead + 1 trundle bedstead 1 chest 1 flock bed + 1 dust bed 4 coverlets + 2 pair of blankets	Sleeping
Kitchen Chamber	4 bedsteads + 4 beds + coverlets + blankets + bolsters (for cook's men) 1 press	Sleeping
Kitchen	6 spits + 5 iron crocks + 4 pair of ? + 3 brandices + 1 ? + 2 gridirons + 2 small andirons 2 great iron andirons 1 iron bar 2 iron ? pans + 1 dripping pan + 1 iron plate 2 brass chaffen dishes 2 ?	Cooking
Corn House and Chamber over	? timber + timber vessels 40 bushels of wheat + 20 bushels of barley + 20 bushels of rye + 8 bushels of oats threshed and winnowed	Storage
Malthouse and	Black malt and barley malt 11 pairs of truss ?	Domestic Production

Chamber over	Crushing mill for corn	Storage
Pound House and Chamber over	The pounds + 6 apparatuses Timber ? + ?	Storage

Source: Devon Heritage Centre, 1120Z/FZ/1, Inventory of Edward Gould of Staverton, 1628.

Table MMMM: Rooms, contents, and inferred function from Richard Strode's inventory, 1707.

Room	Objects	Inferred function(s)
Parlour Chamber	5 small tableboards + 1 portmantle trunk + 4 old chairs + 1 old trunk + 1 looking glass + other small things	Eating and Drinking
Chapel Chamber	1 featherbed + bedstead + 1 chest + 2 small tableboards + 1 bolster	Sleeping
Closet	1 old trunk + 1 tableboard + books	Reading
Little Closet	1 old trunk + 2 boxes	Storage
Press Chamber	1 chest + curtains + 4 saddles + furniture for horses + 1 quilt + 2 pieces of tapestry + several nets for taking of game	Storage
Still Chamber	1 featherbed + bedstead + dog irons + looking glass	Sleeping
Entry Chamber	2 featherbed + bedsteads + 2 stools	Sleeping
Pewter Closet	Pewter plates + pewter dishes + pewter pans + small matter of linen for the table and the bed + small things + 3 trunks + 2 candlesticks + glasses	Storage
Pastry Chamber	2 featherbeds + 1 bedstead + 2 brass crocks + 1 brass mortar + bolster + pillows + other small bedding + 1 quilt	Sleeping Storage
Kitchen Chamber	Feathers + old lumber	Storage
Dairy and Kitchen	11 brass pans + 5 brass crocks + 1 warming pan + 5 brass candlesticks + some pewter + 1 mortar + 1 tableboard + forms + 1 settle + iron spits + some old muskets + fowling pieces + other lumber	Cooking Eating and Drinking
Hall and Parlour	5 tableboards + forms + 6 old chairs + 14 cane chairs + 3 old tableboards	Eating and Drinking
Dairy Chamber	3 old beds + bedding + bedsteads	Sleeping
Buttery Chamber	1 featherbed performed + curtains + valances + 6 chairs + 1 tableboard + 1 looking glass + tapestry hangings	Sleeping Eating and Drinking
Laudry Chamber and Great Parlour Chamber	1 bedstead + tableboard + chair + 2 beds + bedsteads + 1 tableboard + fleece wool	Sleeping Eating and Drinking
Great Parlour	1 still + 1 trendle + hogsheads + pipes + sieves + other lumber	Domestic Production

Source: Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, 72/226, Inventory of Richard Strode, Esquire, 1707.

Table NNNN: Rooms, contents, and inferred function from Josias Calmady's inventory, 1714.

Room	Objects	Inferred function(s)
Outer Study	315 ? + 3 quarter ? 150 guineas + 1 half guinea 2 pistols 1 piece of gold 1 double guinea 1 double Louis D'Or 3 single Louis D'Ors 144 guineas + half guinea Silver Books	Reading
Study	Old gold rings + buttons + buckles + spectacles frame + 1 diamond ring 1 snuffbox + old coins	
Inner Study	Silver Books	Reading
Cabinet in his Father's Lodging Room	Silver 42 ? 32 guineas Silver	
Nursery	Old pieces of silver + money 6 mourning rings 1 bedstead + curtains + valances + 1 half headed bedstead + 2 featherbed + 2 bolsters + 3 pillows + 4 blankets + 1 coverlet + 1 quilt + 2 small tables + 3 chairs + 1 stool + 1 chest of drawers + quilting for bedding	Sleeping Comfort Convenience Eating and Drinking
Higher Waine House	Lumber + wheel barrows	
Lower Waine House	Sheet lead + vessel timber + lumber	
Closet within the Dressing Room	1 box of children's clothes Holland cloth New cloth Other trifles	
Dressing Room	Leather 2 new brass locks Wool Chequered tables	
Passage by the Closet	Serge + linen Whip	

	2 bundles of thread	
Great Parlour	1 spinnett Silk thread + other cloth 1 cabinet 1 cabinet + 1 table + 1 carpet + 1 painted table + 1 looking glass + 18 chairs + cushions + 12 pictures + 1 weather glass + chimney furniture + 1 marble basin + 2 alabaster figurines + 28 pieces of china	Eating and Drinking Looking Glass Comfort Heating
Common Parlour	2 bird cages 1 oval table + 12 gilt leather chairs + 1 couch + 1 cane elbow chair + 3 pictures in gilt frames + 4 Indian pictures + chimney furniture	Eating and Drinking Comfort Pictures Heating
Outer Buttery	3 bird cages 1 table + 3 forms + 1 side board + 4 stands for dishes + 1 napkin press + 1 hand bolt + 1 joint stool	Eating and Drinking
Little Parlour within the Kitchen	Old guns + pistols 1 old table + 4 chairs + 1 pair of dogs + 1 save iron	Eating and Drinking Heating
Staircase	5 bird cages	
Dining Room	Fishing nets + other nets Odd lumber 3 large spruce chests + other boxes 7 chairs + 1 stool	
Inner Closet to Father's Lodging Room	Books	Reading
Outer Closet in Father's Lodging Room	Books	Reading
Closet within Sister's Chamber	Books	Reading
New Chamber	1 bed performed	Sleeping
Larder and Cellar adjoining	Old hogsheads	Storage
Little Hall	1 Spanish table + couch + dish stand + 1 voider tray + 1 Japanned ? + 1 box + 12 knives and forks	Eating and Drinking
Passage leading to the Kitchen	1 warming pan + 1 chest	
Kitchen	1 jack + weight + spits + handirons + crooks + frying pan + dripping pan + gridiron 1 tableboard + forms 1 chicken coop + shelves 1 gun 1 jack + weights + spits + chimney ironwork +	Cooking Convenience Eating and Drinking Heating

	5 iron pots + 1 iron kettle + 1 table + forms + settles + poultry coop + chopping blocks + pewter	
Parlour	2 oval tables 11 chairs + 1 couch 1 clock + case Chimney furniture 6 cushions + child's chair	Eating and Drinking Timekeeping New Behaviours Comfort Heating
Linen Closet	4 tablecloths + 12 napkins 1 tablecloth + 12 napkins 13 napkins Earthenware	Storage
Passage Chamber	4 tablecloths + 29 napkins 2 pair of Holland sheets 6 pair of Dowlas sheets 2 old tablecloths + 4 towels 6 pair of canvas sheets 12 pillow drawers 2 diaper tablecloths + 29 napkins 18 Dowlas napkins Other linen	Storage
Brewhouse	2 cheesewrings Old buckets + keeves + tubs + barrels 1 brewing kettle + brewing vessels + tubs + buckets	Domestic Production
Brewhouse Chamber	1 old corn hutch + lumber Beams + scales + weights	
Other Study	59 pieces of gold	
Old Study	180 pieces of old gold	
Men Servants Chamber	3 bedsteads + 6 blankets + 2 coverlets + 2 featherbeds + 1 dust bed + 2 bolsters + 1 table + 2 chairs	Sleeping Comfort Eating and Drinking
Chamber adjoining	1 bedstead + curtains + 1 featherbed + bolster + 2 blankets + 1 coverlet + 1 old couch + stool	Sleeping Comfort
Outer Passage Garrett	1 bedstead + curtains + valances + 1 featherbed + bolster + 2 blankets + coverlet + 1 truckle bedstead + 1 featherbed + bolster + 3 chairs + 1 table	Sleeping Comfort Eating and Drinking
Inner Passage Garrett	1 bedstead + 1 featherbed + 1 bolster + 2 blankets + 1 rug	Sleeping Comfort
Closet within Inner Passage Garrett	1 table + chairs + stools	
School Rooms	1 bedstead + curtains + valances + 1 bed bolster + 2 pillows + 3 blankets + 1 coverlet + 1 quilt + 4 chairs + 1 stool + 1 table + 1 pair	Sleeping Comfort Eating and

	of iron dogs + bellows 1 bedstead + curtains + valances + feather bed + bolster + 2 blankets + 1 rug + 2 chairs	Drinking Heating Sleeping Comfort
Chamber adjoining		
Chamber adjoining Nursery	1 bedstead + curtains + 1 featherbed + bolster + 2 blankets + 1 rug + 1 old chest of drawers + 1 chair + 1 stool	Sleeping Comfort Convenience
Servant Maids Chamber	3 half headed bedsteads + 3 featherbeds + bolsters + 3 blankets + coverlets + 1 joint stool	Sleeping Comfort
Best Chamber	1 bed performed + 6 chairs + 2 stools + window curtains + hangings + looking glass + tables + stands + chimney furniture	Sleeping Comfort Looking Glass Heating
Cedar Chamber	1 bed performed + 1 table + 1 looking glass + stands + 5 chairs + cushions + 1 close stool + chimney furniture	Sleeping Looking Glass Comfort Heating Eating and Drinking
His Sister Grace's Chamber	1 bed performed + hangings + 1 dressing table + furniture + 1 press bed + 3 chairs + chimney furniture	Sleeping Heating
His Sister Grace's Two Closets	1 Cabinet with drawers + 1 table + corner shelves + 3 chairs + 1 stool	Convenience
Kitchen Chamber	1 bed performed + 1 table glass + stands + 3 chairs + 1 couch + chimney furniture	Sleeping Eating and Drinking Heating
Passage Chamber	1 bed performed + 1 old chest of drawers + 3 chairs	Sleeping Convenience
Green Chamber	1 bed performed + 1 table + glass + 6 chairs + 2 stools + chimney furniture	Sleeping Heating
Father's Lodging Room	1 bed performed + hangings + table glasses + stands + 2 sconces + 1 chimney glass + 6 chairs + 4 stools + 1 screen + 1 clock + weather glass + 1 cabinet + pictures + window curtains + rods + 3 Indian Japanned boxes on the Cabinet + china + chimney furniture	Sleeping Looking Glass Eating and Drinking Pictures Timekeeping Heating
Closet	Hangings + window curtains + 4 stools + 1 table + 1 stand + candlestick + corner shelves + 1 Japan hand tea table + plates + bowls + 1 sugar dish + 5 boxes + voiders + 1 nest of straw boxes + 4 pictures + 8 prints + 1 map	Convenience Eating and Drinking Comfort Pictures
Dressing Room	1 close stool + some old boxes + 1 hand Cabinet cupboard + 1 dressing table + furniture + 6 chairs + 1 east chair + 4 stools + 1 chimney glass + furniture + 5 pictures + 11	Eating and Drinking Looking Glass Pictures

	maps + 9 prints + 2 hand tea tables + 1 Japan box + combs + 2 pint decanters + 140 small pieces of china + 30 pieces of gilt china on a Japan tea table + 1 large covered china bowl + 1 earthen basin + Japan plate candlestick + salver + Indian ? + 2 Indian baskets + 4 screens + 2 sets of window curtains	Hospitality Convenience Comfort New Behaviours
Closet within the Dressing Room	2 corner cupboards + 10 deal boxes + chimney brass + 43 pieces of china + 2 small Indian tea tables + 1 box of scales and weights	Hospitality Convenience
Passage by the Closet	1 bag for foul linen + 1 cotton sheet + 1 blanket + quilting for bed + 24 pieces of small china + a marble mortar + salts + several boxes of Tunbridge ware + 2 round stools + 1 print	Pictures
Little Closet in the Stairs leading to the Nursery	12 china plates + other earthenware + old boxes + old lumber	
Store Room	1 table + old boxes + 3 chests	
Passage by Store Room	Lumber	
His Father's Study	5 pictures + 2 prints + 1 walnut writing table + 3 chairs + 1 stool + 1 square table + Scriptures + 1 nest of drawers + 1 frame + chimney furniture	Pictures Reading Eating and Drinking Convenience Heating
Hall	Pictures [currently in dining room] 1 large oval table + 1 Spanish table + 1 marble table + 12 wooden chairs + 1 child's chair + grates in the chimney + sconces	Eating and Drinking Heating Convenience
Parson's Lodging Room	1 bed performed + 4 old chairs + 2 old tables + 1 looking glass	Sleeping Eating and Drinking Looking Glass
Withdrawing Room within the Parlour	4 chairs + 3 cushions + 1 chimney glass + 1 corner shelf + 6 prints + 1 Turkey carpet + 1 tea table + stands + 1 large china basin + 24 pieces of small china + 2 candlesticks with plates + 1 desert + 6 small dishes + a Japanned punch bowl + 2 Japanned candlesticks + 2 alabaster figurines + 1 copper tea boiler + 1 pair of iron dogs	Eating and Drinking Looking Glass Pictures Hospitality Convenience Heating
Staircase	1 marble table + 1 marble basin + 2 chairs + pictures	Pictures
Gallery adjoining	Pictures	Pictures
Buttery + Passages	Deer horns + leather + buckets	

Inner Buttery	1 old table + 1 large chest + 2 small boxes + 2 safes + 3 stills + 1 bottle rack + 2 chairs + 2 stools + 1 marble mortar	Eating and Drinking
Passage leading from Outer Buttery to Kitchen	1 clock	Timekeeping
Dairy + Passages to them	Cheese + salt + lumber	
Larder	Standards + flesh tubs	
Still House	Stills	
Cellars	Casks Bottles 1 cider pound + vessels	Domestic Production
Over the Old Dairy	1 corn hutch	
Old Diary	Cisterns to make malt	Domestic Production
Pleasure House in the Warren	6 chairs	
Summer House in the Garden	1 marble table + 6 chairs	

Source: PWDRO 1221/52, Inventory of Josias Calmady, 1714.

Table OOOO: Rooms recorded in Worcestershire Landed Gentry Room Inventories, 1601 to 1750.

Room	1601-1650	1651-1675	1676-1700	1701-1750
Hall	85%	81%	86%	95%
Kitchen	78%	94%	91%	100%
Parlour	100%	100%	100%	100%
Dining Room		38%	27%	24%
Drawing Rooms			36%	33%
Saloons				
Dressing Rooms			9%	19%
Libraries				
Closets	37%	44%	64%	71%
Gallery	22%	19%	68%	10%
Total inventories	27	16	22	21

Source: Malcolm Wanklyn, ed., *Inventories of the Worcestershire Landed Gentry 1537-1786,* (Worcestershire Historical Society New Series Volume 16, 1998).

Appendix 2

A full list of all the inventories considered, including name, date, status, location, and reference(s).

Abbreviations

Cash - Cash, Margaret, ed., *Devon Inventories of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Torquay: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1966)

CRO – Cornwall Record Office, Truro

DHC – Devon Heritage Centre, Exeter

DRA – Devon Rural Archive, Shilstone

Portman - Portman, D., *Exeter Houses 1400-1700* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1966)

PWDRO – Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, PWDRO

Uffculme - Wyatt, Peter, ed., *The Uffculme Wills and Inventories: 16th to 18th Centuries* (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1997)

Rural non-gentry inventories without rooms described

Cornwall

Reference	Surname	Forename	Location	Date	Status
CRO; AP/B/11	Benny	Peter	Liskeard	1601	Weaver
CRO; AP/B/51	Barnicote	John	Madron	1601	
CRO; AP/F/1	Farrow	Richard	St Austell	1601	
CRO; AP/H/8	Harvye	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1601	
CRO; AP/T/11	Treleven	Nicholas	St Austell	1601	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/3	Whale	Mary	Linkinhorne	1601	
CRO; AP/B/23	Badcock	Olive	Paul	1602	Widow
CRO; AP/B/43	Bouet	John	St Austell	1602	
CRO; AP/B/46	Brodlake alias Bradlake	John	Linkinhorne	1602	
CRO; AP/H/25a	Hawkins	Nicholas	Bodmin	1602	
CRO; AP/H/40	Honey	William	St Austell	1602	
CRO; AP/N/4	Nenys	Edward	Madron	1602	
CRO; AP/T/28	Tremouth	Stephen	St Austell	1602	
CRO; AP/B/36	Best	John	St Gennys	1603	
CRO; AP/B/61	Bennick	Wilmot	Linkinhorne	1603	

CRO; AP/B/65	Body	Richard	St Austell	1603	
CRO; AP/B/68	Bowey	Edmond	Linkinhorne	1603	Labourer
CRO; AP/B/71	Broad	Edward	St Stephen by Launceston	1603	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/37	Carlyon	Richard	St Austell	1603	
CRO; AP/C/41	Charke	John	Linkinhorne	1603	
CRO; AP/C/55	Coram	Henry	St Thomas by Launceston	1603	tanner
CRO; AP/D/12	Davy	Elizabeth	Linkinhorne	1603	Widow
CRO; AP/D/15	Davy	William	Linkinhorne	1603	Husbandman
CRO; AP/D/20	Dingle	Roger	St Austell	1603	
CRO; AP/G/14	Gist	Roger	St Gennys	1603	
CRO; AP/G/15	Gooding	William	Linkinhorne	1603	
CRO; AP/G/23	Geake	Melior	Bodmin	1603	
CRO; AP/G/31	Goodman	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1603	
CRO; AP/H/68	Hocken	Henry	Paul	1603	
CRO; AP/M/31	Manninge	John	Bodmin	1603	
CRO; AP/M/35	Marshall	Stephen	St Gennys	1603	
CRO; AP/M/45	Maye	Oliver	Liskeard	1603	
CRO; AP/M/56	Morcombe	Agnes	St Austell	1603	Widow
CRO; AP/R/40	Rawle	Edward	St Gennys	1603	

CRO; AP/V/10	Vivian	John	St Austell	1603	
CRO; AP/V/11	Vosper	John	Liskeard	1603	
CRO; AP/V/12	Vowler	Thomas	St Stephen by Launceston	1603	
CRO; AP/W/40	Whyte	Meller	St Stephen by Launceston	1603	
CRO; AP/B/75	Barne	William	St Austell	1604	
CRO; AP/C/73	Coole	John	Bodmin	1604	labourer
CRO; AP/C/74	Coram	Agnes	St Thomas by Launceston	1604	
CRO; AP/D/25	Daniell	Humphry	Liskeard	1604	Merchant
CRO; AP/G/30	Glawen	Elizabeth	St Gennys	1604	
CRO; AP/G/41	Grills	John	Liskeard	1604	
CRO; AP/J/39	Jenkinge	Thomas	Paul	1604	
CRO; AP/K/10	Kneebone	John	Linkinhorne	1604	
CRO; AP/M/74	Moyse	Arthur	Egloskerry	1604	Husbandman
CRO; AP/T/52	Treleven	John	St Austell	1604	
CRO; AP/T/62	Tome	Thomas	Bodmin	1604	
CRO; AP/V/13	Vincent	John	Liskeard	1604	
CRO; AP/A/16	Algar	William	Madron	1605	
CRO; AP/A/18	Anderson	Richard	Madron	1605	
CRO; AP/B/101	Bodener	John	Paul	1605	

CRO; AP/B/103	Bonifant	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1605	
CRO; AP/B/99	Blight	Christopher	St Gennys	1605	
CRO; AP/C/86	Clies alias Trenoweth	Ralph	Bodmin	1605	
CRO; AP/C/89	Cock	Walter	St Austell	1605	
CRO; AP/D/32	Dadow	Thomas	St Austell	1605	
CRO; AP/D/40	Dill	Walter	Linkinhorne	1605	
CRO; AP/D/43	Dowe	Stephen	Bodmin	1605	Barker
CRO; AP/D/44	Downing	John	Egloskerry	1605	
CRO; AP/H/101	Hodge	Stephen	St Austell	1605	
CRO; AP/K/12	Kent	William	St Gennys	1605	
CRO; AP/M/77	Marke	Henry	Liskeard	1605	
CRO; AP/M/82		Thomas and Agnes	St Austell	1605	
CRO; AP/M/84	Menire	John and Margery	St Austell	1605	
CRO; AP/N/15	Nycholas	George	St Austell	1605	
CRO; AP/V/16	Vivian	John	St Austell	1605	
CRO; AP/A/27	Alsa	John	Paul	1606	
CRO; AP/A/30	Arnold	John	Bodmin	1606	
CRO; AP/B/115	Baker	Thomas	St Austell	1606	
CRO; AP/B/127	Berriball	Stephen	Liskeard	1606	Husbandman

CRO; AP/B/137	Brown	Robert	Liskeard	1606	
CRO; AP/C/129	Combe	John	Bodmin	1606	cordwainer
CRO; AP/C/131	Coole	John	Liskeard	1606	
CRO; AP/C/134	Cowch	Harry	St Austell	1606	
CRO; AP/D/54	Dingle	Matilda or Maud	Egloskerry	1606	Widow
CRO; AP/E/23	Edleigh	Thomas	Liskeard	1606	
CRO; AP/H/113	Ham	Thomas	Bodmin	1606	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/H/124	Hicks	William	St Austell	1606	
CRO; AP/K/16	Kerrow	Richard	Madron	1606	
CRO; AP/M/110	Mulfra	James	Madron	1606	
CRO; AP/M/85	Menhire	William	St Austell	1606	
CRO; AP/M/92	Marke	John	Liskeard	1606	Husbandman
CRO; AP/M/94	Marshall	William	St Gennys	1606	
CRO; AP/N/22	Nicholl	John	St Austell	1606	
CRO; AP/N/25	Nottell	Thomas	Liskeard	1606	
CRO; AP/T/110	Trewyn	John	St Gennys	1606	
CRO; AP/V/20	Veale	Thomas	Bodmin	1606	Joiner
CRO; AP/B/131	Ambone alias Bone	Thomas	Madron	1607	
CRO; AP/C/144	Chepman	Mary	St Gennys	1607	

CRO; AP/C/176	Crume	John	St Gennys	1607	
CRO; AP/G/57	Geste	John	St Gennys	1607	
CRO; AP/G/71	Grose	William	Liskeard	1607	
CRO; AP/G/82	Glaste	Richard	St Stephen by Launceston	1607	
CRO; AP/H/144	Hancocke	John	Bodmin	1607	
CRO; AP/H/161	Hicks	Lowdy	St Austell	1607	Weaver
CRO; AP/J/78	Jackeman	Peter	Egloskerry	1607	Labourer
CRO; AP/M/123	Mill	Edward	Bodmin	1607	
CRO; AP/T/115	Teage	John	Bodmin	1607	
CRO; AP/W/112	Webber	Francis	Bodmin	1607	
CRO; AP/B/163	Bray	William	St Gennys	1608	
CRO; AP/B/174	Beaton	John	St Thomas by Launceston	1608	Glover
CRO; AP/C/189	Couch	Jane	Bodmin	1608	Widow
CRO; AP/C/193	Courtis	Margery	St Thomas by Launceston	1608	Widow
CRO; AP/D/71	Day	George	Bodmin	1608	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/175	Harris	Bennett	St Austell	1608	
CRO; AP/H/185	Hicks	Walter	Bodmin	1608	
CRO; AP/M/129	Martine	Henry	Linkinhorne	1608	
CRO; AP/M/139	Mill	John	St Gennys	1608	

CRO; AP/W/136	Wolcocke	William	Madron	1608	Husbandman
CRO; AP/W/142	Williams	John	St Austell	1608	
CRO; AP/A/51	Allyn	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1609	
CRO; AP/B/214	Botters	Thomas	St Austell	1609	
CRO; AP/C/195	Cardue	John	Liskeard	1609	cordwainer
CRO; AP/C/198	Gaunter	Richard	Linkinhorne	1609	
CRO; AP/G/116	Gomow [Gummoe]	Isabel	St Austell	1609	
CRO; AP/H/212	Hitchens	Elizabeth	Paul	1609	
CRO; AP/M/161	Mulfra	John	Madron	1609	Husbandman
CRO; AP/R/146	Redwood	William	Madron	1609	Yeoman
CRO; AP/S/182	Sudge alias Geene	Thomas	Madron	1609	
CRO; AP/T/120	Treleven	Richard	St Austell	1609	
CRO; AP/T/140	Taylor	Thomas	St Stephen by Launceston	1609	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/235	Coll	Thomas	Liskeard	1610	Husbandman
CRO; AP/D/89	Downing	Thomasine	Egloskerry	1610	Spinster
CRO; AP/F/36	Foot	George	Linkinhorne	1610	Husbandman/ Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/175	More	Alice	St Austell	1610	Widow
CRO; AP/T/154	Telder	Edmond	Liskeard	1610	Husbandman
CRO; AP/T/164	Tredinham	Nicholas	St Austell	1610	

CRO; AP/W/156	Wickett	John	St Gennys	1610	
CRO; AP/B/263	Bligh	Jane	St Thomas by Launceston	1611	Widow
CRO; AP/B/276	Brush	John	Bodmin	1611	
CRO; AP/B/279	Burne	Bartholomew	Bodmin	1611	
CRO; AP/C/263	Couch	Thomasin	Linkinhorne	1611	Widow
CRO; AP/D/92	Dadow	Walter	St Austell	1611	Husbandman
CRO; AP/G/130	Gomow	Matthew	St Austell	1611	
CRO; AP/H/260	Hodge	Robert	St Austell	1611	
CRO; AP/H/269	Hunt	Agnes or Annis	Liskeard	1611	Widow
CRO; AP/L/102	Launder	Robert	Egloskerry	1611	
CRO; AP/M/185	Marten	Tristram	Egloskerry	1611	
CRO; AP/M/194	Morish	Richard	Madron	1611	
CRO; AP/C/274	Carne	Hugh	Liskeard	1612	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/293	Coole	Alice	Bodmin	1612	Widow
CRO; AP/E/45	Ellis	Robert	Linkinhorne	1612	
CRO; AP/F/51	Facey	Thomas	St Thomas by Launceston	1612	
CRO; AP/G/141	Gichard	Luke	St Austell	1612	
CRO; AP/H/264	Holman	Thomas	St Stephen by Launceston	1612	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/283	Hill	John	Liskeard	1612	

CRO; AP/J/146	Jack	John	Paul	1612	
CRO; AP/M/212	Moyse	John and Jane	St Gennys	1612	
CRO; AP/O/34	Oppie	Roberte	St Austell	1612	
CRO; AP/P/220	Penfound	Richard	St Gennys	1612	
CRO; AP/R/190	Richard	Roger	Paul	1612	
CRO; AP/W/181	West	John	St Austell	1612	
CRO; AP/W/191	Wills	Robert	Bodmin	1612	
CRO; AP/A/79	Argall	Jennett	Madron	1613	Widow
CRO; AP/A/80	Argall	Joan	Madron	1613	
CRO; AP/C/319	Crist	Mark	Liskeard	1613	
CRO; AP/J/164	John	Elizabeth	Linkinhorne	1613	Husbandman
CRO; AP/M/198	Marshall	Robert	St Gennys	1613	
CRO; AP/M/216	Marshall	Stephen	St Gennys	1613	
CRO; AP/T/211	Tallacke	Richard	Bodmin	1613	
CRO; AP/T/227	Trussell	John	Liskeard	1613	
CRO; AP/W/198	Wearye	Tamsin	St Gennys	1613	
CRO; AP/B/340	Bewes	William	St Stephen by Launceston	1614	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/346	Body	Phil	St Austell	1614	
CRO; AP/B/348	Bowden	Jansen	Paul	1614	

CRO; AP/B/350	Bray	William	Liskeard	1614	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/351	Brown	John	Liskeard	1614	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/352	Brown	William	St Stephen by Launceston	1614	labourer
CRO; AP/C/323	Cardew	John	Liskeard	1614	
CRO; AP/C/342	Cowch	Thomas	Liskeard	1614	
CRO; AP/D/129	Donaford	Amy	Bodmin	1614	Widow
CRO; AP/E/53	Escott	Digory	Egloskerry	1614	
CRO; AP/F/62	Frencg	Henry	St Gennys	1614	
CRO; AP/G/163	Glanfield	Richard	St Stephen by Launceston	1614	
CRO; AP/H/313	Hall alias Tawe	John	St Gennys	1614	
CRO; AP/M/231	Marshall	William	St Gennys	1614	
CRO; AP/M/231	Marshall	William	St Gennys	1614	
CRO; AP/S/290	Stone	Agnes	Madron	1614	Widow
CRO; AP/T/231	Taylor	Thomas	St Austell	1614	
CRO; AP/T/232	Taulor	Thomas	Bodmin	1614	
CRO; AP/W/216	Ward	Henry	Bodmin	1614	
CRO; AP/B/365	Benny	Peter	Liskeard	1615	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/366	Benny	William	Liskeard	1615	
CRO; AP/B/368	Bewes	William	St Stephen by Launceston	1615	Husbandman

CRO; AP/C/347	Canne	Richard	St Thomas by Launceston	1615	
CRO; AP/C/349	Carlyon	John	St Austell	1615	
CRO; AP/C/350	Carne	John	St Austell	1615	
CRO; AP/C/351	Carne	John	St Austell	1615	Yeoman
CRO; AP/E/60	Eutis	John	St Thomas by Launceston	1615	
CRO; AP/G/177	Gooding	William	Linkinhorne	1615	
CRO; AP/H/355	Harper	Andrew	Linkinhorne	1615	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/382	How	William	Linkinhorne	1615	
CRO; AP/M/254	Marshall	John	St Gennys	1615	
CRO; AP/R/219	Richard alias Tregeras	John	Paul	1615	
CRO; AP/T/253	Tomkin	Margery	St Austell	1615	
CRO; AP/V/44	Veale	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1615	
CRO; AP/C/379	Cassell	Jone	St Austell	1616	Widow
CRO; AP/C/383	Cloke	John	Liskeard	1616	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/394	Cosegarne	Peter	St Austell	1616	
CRO; AP/D/146	Downinge	Alice	St Gennys	1616	
CRO; AP/E/63	Eastlake	Thomas	Bodmin	1616	Butcher
CRO; AP/G/181b	Gayche	John	Liskeard	1616	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/387	Harle	Phillip	Liskeard	1616	Tanner

CRO; AP/H/390	Harvey	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1616	
CRO; AP/H/392	Hawkes	Thomas	Bodmin	1616	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/412	Hobbe	Nicholas	St Stephen by Launceston	1616	Husbandman
CRO; AP/J/207	John	Richard	Linkinhorne	1616	Husbandman
CRO; AP/K/64	Knight	Radigon	Linkinhorne	1616	
CRO; AP/L/167	Ley	Tregony	Egloskerry	1616	
CRO; AP/M/270	Master	John	Bodmin	1616	
CRO; AP/O/45	Olver	Henry	St Stephen by Launceston	1616	
CRO; AP/T/268	Tampson	Alice	Bodmin	1616	Widow
CRO; AP/T/283	Trembath	Maddren	Madron	1616	
CRO; AP/W/268	Wodenote	Francys	Linkinhorne	1616	
CRO; AP/C/414	Cooke	Robert	Madron	1617	
CRO; AP/C/415	Coombe	Agnes	Linkinhorne	1617	Widow
CRO; AP/C/417	Couche	John	Bodmin	1617	
CRO; AP/G/201	Gist	Charity	St Gennys	1617	
CRO; AP/G/209	Gummon	John	St Austell	1617	
CRO; AP/H/411	Hobbe	Joan	St Stephen by Launceston	1617	Widow
CRO; AP/H/439	Hobbe	Henry	St Gennys	1617	
CRO; AP/J/303	John	Thomas	Madron	1617	Yeoman

CRO; AP/M/302	Morishe	Jerman	Madron	1617	
CRO; AP/O/48	Oliver alias Bodway	John	Linkinhorne	1617	Yeoman
CRO; AP/P/332	Perse	Maragret	Paul	1617	Widow
CRO; AP/S/365	Stacy	John	St Gennys	1617	
CRO; AP/W/275	Wealiinge	John	Bodmin	1617	
CRO; AP/A/106	Alpha	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1618	
CRO; AP/B/441	Bickham	Ralph	Madron	1618	
CRO; AP/C/425	Carlian	Enoder	St Austell	1618	
CRO; AP/C/426	Carlian	John	St Austell	1618	
CRO; AP/C/437	Cooke	Robert	St Gennys	1618	
CRO; AP/D/178	Dictott	Mark	Bodmin	1618	Blacksmith and glover
CRO; AP/D/179	Dill	Robert	Linkinhorne	1618	Husbandman
CRO; AP/D/69	Davye	John	Madron	1618	
CRO; AP/G/214	Giles	Degory	St Austell	1618	
CRO; AP/G/216	Greenfield [Grenvile]	Humphry	St Stephen by Launceston	1618	
CRO; AP/K/68	Kneebone	Joan	Linkinhorne	1618	
CRO; AP/T/321	Tresise	Walter	Madron	1618	Tailor
CRO; AP/W/291	Waye	Thomas	Bodmin	1618	
CRO; AP/B/490	Blake	Edward	St Stephen by Launceston	1619	

CRO; AP/B/500	Browne	Thomas	Liskeard	1619	
CRO; AP/B/502	Budge	John	Linkinhorne	1619	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/447	Champion	William	Liskeard	1619	
CRO; AP/C/469	Courtyer	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1619	Yeoman
CRO; AP/R/298	Richard	John	Paul	1619	
CRO; AP/T/335	Treleven	Thomas	St Austell	1619	
CRO; AP/B/510	Barnes	John	Egloskerry	1620	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/519	Beaton	Richard	St Thomas by Launceston	1620	Widow
CRO; AP/B/529	Bland	Grace	St Stephen by Launceston	1620	Widow
CRO; AP/B/538	Browne	Joan	Liskeard	1620	Widow
CRO; AP/C/490	Crabb	John	St Thomas by Launceston	1620	
CRO; AP/C/491	Crabb	Margaret	St Thomas by Launceston	1620	spinster
CRO; AP/D/184a	Davy or Davies	Tristram	Bodmin	1620	
CRO; AP/G/234	Gordge	Thomas	St Thomas by Launceston	1620	Tanner
CRO; AP/H/470	Hancock	Michael	Bodmin	1620	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/490	Holland	John	Liskeard	1620	Young Man
CRO; AP/H/522	Hooper	Walter	St Austell	1620	
CRO; AP/L/197	Landry	John	Linkinhorne	1620	Miller
CRO; AP/M/336	Moon	Richard	Liskeard	1620	Yeoman

CRO; AP/N/111	Norrish	Frances	St Thomas by Launceston	1620	
CRO; AP/R/314	Richard alias Boskemyn	John	Madron	1620	Tinner
CRO; AP/R/330	Rawe	Richard	St Gennys	1620	
CRO; AP/T/345	Thomas	John	St Austell	1620	
CRO; AP/T/347	Tipper	Peter	Liskeard	1620	
CRO; AP/T/360	Turnavine	Edward	Bodmin	1620	
CRO; AP/W/322	Wats	Joane	Liskeard	1620	
CRO; AP/W/323	Watts	John	Liskeard	1620	
CRO; AP/B/561	Boddy	William	Liskeard	1621	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/562	Bodener	Martin	Paul	1621	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/495	Cardewe	Helen	Madron	1621	Widow
CRO; AP/D/202	Davie	Pasco	Linkinhorne	1621	Husbandman
CRO; AP/F/92	Fowler	William	Bodmin	1621	
CRO; AP/G/250	Greene	William	Madron	1621	
CRO; AP/H/541	Hellyer	Nicholas	Bodmin	1621	Baker
CRO; AP/M/331	Michilmore	Richard	Liskeard	1621	Haberdasher
CRO; AP/M/342	Martyn	John	Liskeard	1621	Husbandman
CRO; AP/M/346	Mewhire	Alice	St Austell	1621	
CRO; AP/T/344	Thomas	Agnes	Madron	1621	

CRO; AP/T/361	Telder	Joan	Liskeard	1621	Widow
CRO; AP/V/63	Vinvent	Thomas	Liskeard	1621	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/342	Welshe	Wilmott	Liskeard	1621	
CRO; AP/B/602	Bullingham	Elizabeth	Bodmin	1622	Widow
CRO; AP/C/522	Carlyon	William	St Austell	1622	
CRO; AP/C/529	Clenicke	William	Liskeard	1622	
CRO; AP/C/532	Coll	Robert	Liskeard	1622	
CRO; AP/C/540	Couche	James	St Thomas by Launceston	1622	tanner
CRO; AP/D/225	Dustow	Elizabeth	Liskeard	1622	Widow
CRO; AP/H/587	Hornabroke	Joan	Linkinhorne	1622	Widow
CRO; AP/J/276	Jackman	Degory	Egloskerry	1622	Husbandman
CRO; AP/J/286	Jenken	Richard	Madron	1622	
CRO; AP/O/69	Opye	Matthew	St Austell	1622	
CRO; AP/C/566	Congdon	William	Linkinhorne	1623	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/569	Couch	Elizabeth	St Austell	1623	Widow
CRO; AP/C/571	Couch	Peter	St Austell	1623	
CRO; AP/C/572	Coule	Robert	Liskeard	1623	cordwainer
CRO; AP/C/575	Crabbe	George	Liskeard	1623	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/577	Crapp	Pascoe	St Austell	1623	

CRO; AP/D/228	Davy	Rowan	Madron	1623	
CRO; AP/D/232	Dingle	Margaret	Linkinhorne	1623	Widow
CRO; AP/D/237	Dyer	John	Linkinhorne	1623	Husbandman
CRO; AP/E/108	Edlight	Joan	Liskeard	1623	
CRO; AP/F/107	Fryer	Thomas	Paul	1623	
CRO; AP/G/282	Greep	Walter	St Austell	1623	
CRO; AP/H/597	Harris	Avery	Bodmin	1623	
CRO; AP/S/511	Stacye	Simon	St Gennys	1623	
CRO; AP/T/388	Thorne	Nicholas	St Austell	1623	
CRO; AP/W/383	Williams	John	Bodmin	1623	
CRO; AP/A/142	Abraham	Edward	St Thomas by Launceston	1624	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/A/144	Andrew	Edward	Bodmin	1624	
CRO; AP/B/647	Boddy	Stephen	Liskeard	1624	
CRO; AP/C/582	Caunter	Jane	Linkinhorne	1624	Widow
CRO; AP/D/252	Downing	Degory	Egloskerry	1624	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/256	Daddow	John	St Austell	1624	
CRO; AP/D/257	Daddow	Richard	St Austell	1624	
CRO; AP/H/628	Hearle	Christopher	Liskeard	1624	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/629	Hearle	William	Liskeard	1624	

CRO; AP/H/636	Hill	John	Liskeard	1624	
CRO; AP/M/398	Marshall	Robert	St Gennys	1624	
CRO; AP/T/416	Tawlier	George	Liskeard	1624	Hellier
CRO; AP/W/407	Wroath	Richard	Bodmin	1624	
CRO; AP/B/648	Body	Thomas	Madron	1625	
CRO; AP/B/666	Beale	William	Liskeard	1625	
CRO; AP/B/671	Best	John	Linkinhorne	1625	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/682	Bovett	Henry	St Austell	1625	
CRO; AP/C/616	Congdon	Richard	Egloskerry	1625	
CRO; AP/C/628	Crapp	Thomas	St Austell	1625	
CRO; AP/D/259	Dingle	Thomas	Egloskerry	1625	Yeoman
CRO; AP/F/113	French	Henry	St Gennys	1625	
CRO; AP/G/306	Gilbert	William	St Austell	1625	
CRO; AP/G/308	Green	Richard	Bodmin	1625	Merchant
CRO; AP/H/667	Hambly	John Bogeth	St Austell	1625	
CRO; AP/H/674	Harry	Richard	Paul	1625	Husbandman
CRO; AP/M/432	Maye	John	St Austell	1625	
CRO; AP/M/437	Michell	Roger	Liskeard	1625	
CRO; AP/P/506	Pitt	Prudence	Madron	1625	

CRO; AP/S/531	Saunders alias King	Walter	St Gennys	1625	
CRO; AP/T/435	Thomas	Elizabeth	St Austell	1625	Widow
CRO; AP/C/645	Clobery	Alice	St Stephen by Launceston	1626	Widow
CRO; AP/C/655	Congdon	Elizabeth	Egloskerry	1626	spinster
CRO; AP/C/663	Cowling	William	Linkinhorne	1626	Husbandman
CRO; AP/G/319	Gilbert	Nicholas	St Austell	1626	Yeoman
CRO; AP/G/321	Gillian	Ricgard	St Austell	1626	
CRO; AP/H/673	Harry	Martin	Paul	1626	
CRO; AP/M/439	Mill	Walter	St Gennys	1626	
CRO; AP/M/444	Marche	Nicholas	St Austell	1626	
CRO; AP/M/445	Marshall	Edward	St Gennys	1626	
CRO; AP/M/456	Morecombe	Richard	Bodmin	1626	
CRO; AP/M/458	Morish	Jerman	Madron	1626	
CRO; AP/N/146	Northey	Robert	Bodmin	1626	
CRO; AP/S/553	Sampson	John	Madron	1626	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/T/467	Tremearne	John	Paul	1626	Clerk and Vicar
CRO; AP/V/81	Vivian alias Vevian	Rachel	St Austell	1626	Widow
CRO; AP/W/440	Whenacott	Johane	St Stephen by Launceston	1626	
CRO; AP/W/442	White	Beaton	St Stephen by Launceston	1626	

CRO; AP/W/453	Wood	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1626	
CRO; AP/B/734	Burnard	Nicholas	St Austell	1627	Weaver
CRO; AP/B/735	Burnard	Oliver	St Austell	1627	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/677	Congdon alias Kingdon	Timothy	Egloskerry	1627	Husbandman
CRO; AP/D/287	Drewe	Thomas	Madron	1627	Husbandman
CRO; AP/F/127	Fryar	Honor	Paul	1627	
CRO; AP/G/333	Garland	Temperance	Bodmin	1627	Widow
CRO; AP/J/329	Juell	Richard	St Gennys	1627	
CRO; AP/N/150	Nicholl	Robert	Madron	1627	
CRO; AP/B/754	Bagge	Thomas	Madron	1628	
CRO; AP/C/687	Chepman	Edward	Liskeard	1628	merchant
CRO; AP/D/296	Dingle	Richard	Linkinhorne	1628	
CRO; AP/H/738	Hill	George	Egloskerry	1628	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/757	Harris	Thomas	St Gennys	1628	
CRO; AP/L/317	Lanyon	Blanche	Madron	1628	Widow
CRO; AP/M/484	Maye	John	Liskeard	1628	Husbandman
CRO; AP/N/156	Nicholls	Peter	Madron	1628	
CRO; AP/O/88	Olliver alias Bodway	Agneis	Linkinhorne	1628	
CRO; AP/T/531	Taylor	William	St Austell	1628	

CRO; AP/W/473	Warring	Beaton	Bodmin	1628	
CRO; AP/W/482	Williams	John	Bodmin	1628	
CRO; AP/A/169	Abbott	David	Linkinhorne	1629	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/767	Bouett	John	St Austell	1629	Fuller
CRO; AP/C/719	Congdon	Peter	Linkinhorne	1629	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/727	Cowlinge	Richard	Liskeard	1629	
CRO; AP/G/358	Greenwood	John	Liskeard	1629	Bargeman
CRO; AP/M/488	Marke	Emblem	Liskeard	1629	Widow
CRO; AP/P/595	Polkinghorne	John	Madron	1629	
CRO; AP/S/622	Sampson	John	Madron	1629	
CRO; AP/B/786	Braye	Thomas	St Gennys	1630	
CRO; AP/G/365	Gill	Jane	Liskeard	1630	Widow
CRO; AP/H/802	Honey	William	St Austell	1630	
CRO; AP/T/533	Thomas	Thomas	St Austell	1630	
CRO; AP/B/795	Band	Degory	St Stephen by Launceston	1631	
CRO; AP/B/801	Boddy	John	Liskeard	1631	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/747	Callerd	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1631	
CRO; AP/C/762	Corber	Robert	Liskeard	1631	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/763	Couch	Thomsin	Liskeard	1631	Widow

CRO; AP/C/765	Courtier	William	St Stephen by Launceston	1631	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/330	Dawe	John	Bodmin	1631	
CRO; AP/F/143a	Fenny	John	Madron	1631	
CRO; AP/F/145	Fleming	Thomas	Madron	1631	
CRO; AP/F/146	Foot	William	Linkinhorne	1631	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/806	Hamly	Mary	St Austell	1631	Widow
CRO; AP/M/518	Marten	Arthur	Egloskerry	1631	Husbandman
CRO; AP/O/95	Oke	Thomas	St Gennys	1631	
CRO; AP/R/517	Richard	John	Paul	1631	Husbandman
CRO; AP/T/539	Trenaman [Treniman]	James	Liskeard	1631	
CRO; AP/T/545	Tonken	Richard	St Austell	1631	
CRO; AP/W/512	Wills	Marten	Paul	1631	
CRO; AP/C/780	Carlyan	William	St Austell	1632	
CRO; AP/L/351	Lethebie	Samuel	Linkinhorne	1632	
CRO; AP/M/538	Maynerd	Philip	Bodmin	1632	Spinster
CRO; AP/R/520	Rodda	John	Madron	1632	
CRO; AP/B/836	Ball	John	Bodmin	1633	Victualler
CRO; AP/B/846	Bennett	Thomas	St Austell	1633	
CRO; AP/B/851	Bosen	Thomas	Paul	1633	

CRO; AP/G/393	Geake	John	Egloskerry	1633	Batchelor
CRO; AP/L/355	Latimer	Francis	Paul	1633	
CRO; AP/T/567	Tawten	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1633	
CRO; AP/Y/20	Yeo	Thomas	St Gennys	1633	
CRO; AP/B/862	Browne	Francis	St Gennys	1634	
CRO; AP/C/835	Cowlly	Henry	Bodmin	1634	hot presser
CRO; AP/F/151	Foote	Wilmot	Linkinhorne	1634	Widow
CRO; AP/M/550	Marten	Joan	Egloskerry	1634	Widow
CRO; AP/M/568	Mulfra	Richard	Madron	1634	
CRO; AP/V/105	Vivian	William	St Austell	1634	
CRO; AP/B/875	Best	Robert	Linkinhorne	1635	
CRO; AP/C/856	Congdon	Peter	Linkinhorne	1635	
CRO; AP/C/858	Cooke	John	St Thomas by Launceston	1635	
CRO; AP/C/863	Crabb	Robert	Linkinhorne	1635	
CRO; AP/D/364	Davies	William	Linkinhorne	1635	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/907	Hosking	John	Bodmin	1635	
CRO; AP/J/411	James alias Mulfra	William	Madron	1635	
CRO; AP/J/413	John	James	Madron	1635	
CRO; AP/J/414	John alias Breadlake	Edward	Linkinhorne	1635	Yeoman

CRO; AP/M/575	Marten	William	Linkinhorne	1635	
CRO; AP/M/576	Mayow	John	Liskeard	1635	
CRO; AP/R/558	Rawle	Anne	St Gennys	1635	
CRO; AP/S/731	Smith	Henry	St Gennys	1635	
CRO; AP/T/586	Treweek	Stephen	St Austell	1635	Husbandman
CRO; AP/U/20	Uglow	Nicholas	St Gennys	1635	
CRO; AP/D/377	Dallyn	Thomas	St Austell	1636	
CRO; AP/D/389	Dowe	John	St Thomas by Launceston	1636	
CRO; AP/F/164	Fenymore	Roger	St Stephen by Launceston	1636	Husbandman
CRO; AP/G/414	Gennys	Katheren	Bodmin	1636	Widow
CRO; AP/H/893	Hayne	Thomas	St Thomas by Launceston	1636	
CRO; AP/H/914	Hambly	William	Liskeard	1636	Hellier
CRO; AP/H/922	Harvy	Thomas	St Thomas by Launceston	1636	Tanner
CRO; AP/M/574	Martin	Robert	St Austell	1636	
CRO; AP/M/592	Menhenicke	Marryn	Bodmin	1636	Widow
CRO; AP/N/176	Nicholas	Richard	Madron	1636	
CRO; AP/S/784	Smith	William	St Gennys	1636	
CRO; AP/V/112	Veale	Margaret	St Stephen by Launceston	1636	Widow
CRO; AP/W/573	Warne	Edward	Linkinhorne	1636	

CRO; AP/W/582	Wills	Alice	Bodmin	1636	
CRO; AP/C/899	Clemence	Stephen	St Austell	1637	
CRO; AP/C/917	Couch	William	Liskeard	1637	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/920	Crabb	John	Linkinhorne	1637	Husbandman
CRO; AP/D/396	Dingle	Richard	Linkinhorne	1637	
CRO; AP/F/170	Fenny	Katherine	Madron	1637	Widow
CRO; AP/H/938	Hodge	John	St Austell	1637	
CRO; AP/H/953	Harry	Robert	Liskeard	1637	
CRO; AP/J/429	John alias Bradlake	John	Linkinhorne	1637	Tailor
CRO; AP/K/159	King alias Saunders	John	St Gennys	1637	
CRO; AP/M/611	Moone	William	Liskeard	1637	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/2004	Brush	Thomas	Madron	1638	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/955	Box	Anthony	St Austell	1638	
CRO; AP/B/957	Brooke	Roger	St Stephen by Launceston	1638	
CRO; AP/C/912	Cooke	John	St Gennys	1638	
CRO; AP/D/405	Dingle	Ralph	St Thomas by Launceston	1638	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/1001	Humphrey	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1638	
CRO; AP/H/960	Hendy	Vyvian	St Austell	1638	Tinner
CRO; AP/H/963	Higman	William	St Austell	1638	Yeoman

CRO; AP/L/416	Luke	Robert	Madron	1638	
CRO; AP/T/650	Trehane	James	Linkinhorne	1638	Tanner
CRO; AP/W/617	Welshe	John	Liskeard	1638	
CRO; AP/W/619	Wilcock	Jonas	Liskeard	1638	
CRO; AP/B/963	Band	William	St Austell	1639	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/973	Coombe	Elizabeth	Linkinhorne	1639	Widow
CRO; AP/C/976	Coyler	John	Liskeard	1639	Husbandman
CRO; AP/D/413	Davy	Edward	Linkinhorne	1639	
CRO; AP/D/415	Dennis	Joanne	St Gennys	1639	
CRO; AP/D/416	Dingle	Richard	Linkinhorne	1639	Widower
CRO; AP/F/175	Foslett	Jerome	St Austell	1639	
CRO; AP/G/459	Grills	Sampson	Linkinhorne	1639	Young Man
CRO; AP/G/461	Gubbins	Blanch	Bodmin	1639	Widow
CRO; AP/H/991	Hobb	Thomasin	St Stephen by Launceston	1639	Spinster
CRO; AP/M/627	Marten	Marten	St Austell	1639	
CRO; AP/M/630	Mined	John	St Austell	1639	Yeoman
CRO; AP/S/811	Sampson	John	Madron	1639	
CRO; AP/W/646	Wickett	Henry	St Gennys	1639	
CRO; AP/B/1009	Boddy	William	Liskeard	1640	weaver

CRO; AP/B/996	Bastard	Degory	Bodmin	1640	
CRO; AP/C/1004	Couch	Alice	Liskeard	1640	Widow
CRO; AP/C/997	Comyn	Thomas	St Austell	1640	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/998	Congdon	Joan	Linkinhorne	1640	Widow
CRO; AP/D/426	Dart	Jerom	St Austell	1640	
CRO; AP/D/428	Davy	Richard	Linkinhorne	1640	
CRO; AP/D/433	Dennis	Margery	St Gennys	1640	
CRO; AP/D/434	Dennis	Walter	St Gennys	1640	
CRO; AP/D/436	Dingle	John	Linkinhorne	1640	
CRO; AP/D/437	Dingle	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1640	Tinner
CRO; AP/G/476	Gorrell	Simon	St Thomas by Launceston	1640	
CRO; AP/H/1057	Hodge	John	St Austell	1640	
CRO; AP/L/422	Leane	Walter	Linkinhorne	1640	
CRO; AP/L/435	Legow	Arthur	Madron	1640	Husbandman
CRO; AP/M/644	May	Wilson	Liskeard	1640	Spinster
CRO; AP/M/648	Methers	Jennifer	St Austell	1640	Widow
CRO; AP/M/657	Moyse	Moris	St Stephen by Launceston	1640	Husbandman
CRO; AP/M/674	Moyse	Stephen	St Gennys	1640	
CRO; AP/R/638	Rawle	Mary	St Gennys	1640	

CRO; AP/S/844	Stableton	Catron	Paul	1640	Widow
CRO; AP/T/664	Trenaman	William	Liskeard	1640	Husbandman
CRO; AP/W/648	Willa	Nicholas	Linkinhorne	1640	
CRO; AP/B/1031	Bewes	Mary	St Stephen by Launceston	1641	
CRO; AP/B/1040	Bovett	Matthew	St Austell	1641	Fuller
CRO; AP/B/1046	Bray	William	St Gennys	1641	
CRO; AP/B/1049	Brooke	Margaret	St Stephen by Launceston	1641	Widow
CRO; AP/D/449	Dodge	Thomas	St Stephen by Launceston	1641	Yeoman
CRO; AP/E/185	Edgcomb	Joan	St Stephen by Launceston	1641	Widow
CRO; AP/E/186	Edgcombe	Roger	St Stephen by Launceston	1641	
CRO; AP/E/187	Edly	John	Liskeard	1641	Batchelor
CRO; AP/F/188	Foote	John	Linkinhorne	1641	Yeoman
CRO; AP/I/31	Ingram	Richard	St Austell	1641	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/641	Martine	William	St Thomas by Launceston	1641	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/654	Moore	Philip	Liskeard	1641	Clothier
CRO; AP/N/193	Noye	Sampson	Madron	1641	
CRO; AP/T/680	Towsey	John	Liskeard	1641	
CRO; AP/W/672	Walters	Thomas	St Austell	1641	
CRO; AP/W/676	Web	John	Linkinhorne	1641	

CRO; AP/B/1064	Brodlake	Cathy	Linkinhorne	1642	Spinster
CRO; AP/F/193	Fenny	John	Madron	1642	Vintner
CRO; AP/G/482	Gilbeard	Thomas	Liskeard	1642	Husbandman
CRO; AP/M/664	May	Peter	St Austell	1642	
CRO; AP/M/687	Marshall	Stephen	St Gennys	1642	
CRO; AP/V/130	Veale	Richard	St Gennys	1642	
CRO; AP/A/243	Andrew	John	Liskeard	1643	
CRO; AP/A/244	Anger	John	Linkinhorne	1643	
CRO; AP/B/1079	Beard	Degory	Bodmin	1643	
CRO; AP/B/1085	Benny	Robert	Madron	1643	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/1076	Couch	James	Liskeard	1643	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/460	Daddowe	Phil	St Austell	1643	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/469	Dingle	Margaret	Linkinhorne	1643	Spinster
CRO; AP/H/1112	Harper	Henry	Linkinhorne	1643	
CRO; AP/H/1138	Holman	John	Egloskerry	1643	
CRO; AP/L/456	Laundry	Stephen	Linkinhorne	1643	
CRO; AP/N/199	Newton	Isaac	Madron	1643	Clerk
CRO; AP/O/132	Olliver	John	Linkinhorne	1643	
CRO; AP/T/718	Taw alias Hall	Henry	St Gennys	1643	

CRO; AP/T/725	Tonkin	John	Madron	1643	
CRO; AP/T/726	Towsey	Thomas	Liskeard	1643	
CRO; AP/T/741	Tricke	John	Madron	1643	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/1144	Budge	Edward	Linkinhorne	1644	
CRO; AP/C/1089	Clatworthy	Richard	Linkinhorne	1644	
CRO; AP/C/1105	Coram	William	St Thomas by Launceston	1644	
CRO; AP/C/1133	Crumb	Stephen	St Gennys	1644	
CRO; AP/D/482	Davy	William	Madron	1644	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/484	Dawe	William	St Stephen by Launceston	1644	
CRO; AP/F/205	Fuidge	William	Liskeard	1644	
CRO; AP/G/508	Geake	Degory	St Stephen by Launceston	1644	
CRO; AP/H/1188	Hooper	Edward	St Gennys	1644	
CRO; AP/H/1191	Hooper	Stephen	St Gennys	1644	
CRO; AP/J/525	Juell	John	St Gennys	1644	
CRO; AP/M/710	Marshall	Joanne	St Gennys	1644	
CRO; AP/M/722	Morcombe	Joan	Bodmin	1644	Widow
CRO; AP/W/730	White	William	St Stephen by Launceston	1644	
CRO; AP/B/1138	Bray	John	St Gennys	1645	
CRO; AP/C/1125	Cloake	John	Madron	1645	

CRO; AP/D/492	Dawe	William	St Thomas by Launceston	1645	
CRO; AP/G/538	Gill	John	Liskeard	1645	
CRO; AP/H/1195	Howsey	John	Liskeard	1645	Butcher
CRO; AP/H/1218	Hooper	Richard	St Gennys	1645	
CRO; AP/M/728	Mallett	Thomas	Liskeard	1645	
CRO; AP/M/746	Marshall	Stephen	St Gennys	1645	
CRO; AP/N/213	Newton	Prudence	Madron	1645	
CRO; AP/Q/19	Quiler	Peter	Liskeard	1645	
CRO; AP/R/729	Ranke	Sampson	St Gennys	1645	
CRO; AP/B/1196	Bray	Jane	St Gennys	1646	
CRO; AP/B/1200	Bray	Robert	St Thomas by Launceston	1646	Feltmaker
CRO; AP/C/1139	Champion	John	Madron	1646	
CRO; AP/C/1164	Cowle	Reginald	Liskeard	1646	mason
CRO; AP/D/509	Dinner	Richard	Liskeard	1646	
CRO; AP/H/1236	Hearle	Josias	Liskeard	1646	
CRO; AP/K/234	Kneebone	Edward	Linkinhorne	1646	
CRO; AP/L/494	Lake	Eleanor	Madron	1646	Widow
CRO; AP/O/142	Oke	Joan	St Gennys	1646	
CRO; AP/O/145	Olver	Richard	Liskeard	1646	Tanner

CRO; AP/B/1224	Boddy	John	Madron	1647	Tinner
CRO; AP/B/1239	Butler	Richard	St Thomas by Launceston	1647	
CRO; AP/C/1173	Chapman	John	St Gennys	1647	
CRO; AP/C/1196	Cowle	Tamsine	St Thomas by Launceston	1647	spinster
CRO; AP/D/520	Dawe	Roger	Linkinhorne	1647	
CRO; AP/G/565	Gilberd	Thomas	Liskeard	1647	
CRO; AP/G/566	Gilberd	William	Liskeard	1647	
CRO; AP/G/583	Greenwood	Marian	Liskeard	1647	Widow
CRO; AP/H/1254	Horwill alias Roberts	William	Linkinhorne	1647	Husbandman
CRO; AP/K/230	Kempe	Edward	Linkinhorne	1647	
CRO; AP/M/758	Marke	Chris	St Stephen by Launceston	1647	Mason
CRO; AP/S/1027	Stacy	Barnabas	St Gennys	1647	
CRO; AP/A/275	Andrew	Dorothy	Liskeard	1648	
CRO; AP/B/1248	Bennett	Margaret	St Austell	1648	Widow
CRO; AP/C/1208	Cock	Elizabeth	St Austell	1648	Widow
CRO; AP/D/528	Davy	Richard	Linkinhorne	1648	Husbandman
CRO; AP/G/581	George	William	St Austell	1648	Tinner
CRO; AP/H/1272	Hele	Edwards	Liskeard	1648	
CRO; AP/H/1286	Hooper	John	St Austell	1648	

CRO; AP/J/548	James	Robert	Madron	1648	Husbandman
CRO; AP/O/149	Offall	Katherine	Madron	1648	Widow
CRO; AP/O/151	Oliver	Elizabeth	St Stephen by Launceston	1648	
CRO; AP/S/1051	Smeeth	John	St Gennys	1648	
CRO; AP/F/224	Fenton	Andrew	Linkinhorne	1649	
CRO; AP/L/524	Luke	Jerman	Madron	1649	
CRO; AP/U/28	Ugier	Degory	St Gennys	1655	
CRO; AP/H/1328	Hooper	William	St Gennys	1658	Carpenter
CRO; AP/P/1000	Pollard	John	Madron	1659	
CRO; AP/B/1296	Bray	Robert	Linkinhorne	1660	
CRO; AP/B/1303	Budge	John	Linkinhorne	1660	
CRO; AP/B/1304	Budge	John	Linkinhorne	1660	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1309	Byland	William	Liskeard	1660	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/795	Marke	John	St Gennys	1660	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/N/232	Noye	Margaret	Madron	1660	Widow
CRO; AP/P/995	Penningto	John	Bodmin	1660	Bell Founder
CRO; AP/W/828	Whitefield	Elizabeth	Madron	1660	Spinster
CRO; AP/B/1330	Bryant	Roger	Paul	1661	
CRO; AP/C/1255	Cunnack	Richard	Madron	1661	

CRO; AP/C/1266	Canter	William	Linkinhorne	1661	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/1278	Cloake	Dorthy	Liskeard	1661	Widow
CRO; AP/C/1281	Cole	Mayers	Liskeard	1661	Widow
CRO; AP/C/1301	Couch	Thomas	Liskeard	1661	
CRO; AP/D/548	Daddowe	John	St Austell	1661	Yeoman
CRO; AP/G/609	Gay	Agnes	Liskeard	1661	Widow
CRO; AP/H/1365	Higman	Walter	St Austell	1661	
CRO; AP/H/1367	Hill	Julian	St Austell	1661	
CRO; AP/J/563	John	Richard	Linkinhorne	1661	Yeoman
CRO; AP/J/593	Jocelyn	Edward	St Gennys	1661	Husbandman
CRO; AP/L/533	Landry	Joan	Linkinhorne	1661	Spinster
CRO; AP/M/807	Moone	Chris	Liskeard	1661	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/809	Moone	William	Liskeard	1661	Yeoman
CRO; AP/P/1002	Popham	William	St Gennys	1661	
CRO; AP/P/1038	Pryer	Thomas	Madron	1661	
CRO; AP/T/832	Tank	Radigon	Liskeard	1661	Widow
CRO; AP/T/837	Thorn	Richard	Liskeard	1661	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/T/867	Tremearne	Henry	Madron	1661	
CRO; AP/V/153	Veale	Richard	St Stephen by Launceston	1661	

CRO; AP/B/1346	Binnick	Edward	Linkinhorne	1662	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1362	Budge	John	Linkinhorne	1662	Widow
CRO; AP/B/1363	Budge	John	Linkinhorne	1662	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/1308	Chalk	John	St Austell	1662	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/1321	Congdon	Joan	Linkinhorne	1662	spinster
CRO; AP/C/1322	Couch	Henry	St Thomas by Launceston	1662	tanner
CRO; AP/F/243	French	Thomas	St Gennys	1662	
CRO; AP/G/630	Gichard	William	St Austell	1662	
CRO; AP/H/1375	Hunt	Richard	St Austell	1662	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/1400	Holman	John	Egloskerry	1662	
CRO; AP/H/1402	Honny	Samuel	St Austell	1662	
CRO; AP/H/1404	Hooper	Jeremiah	Egloskerry	1662	Miller and Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/812	Manly	John	Madron	1662	
CRO; AP/M/831	Moorshead	Priscilla	Liskeard	1662	Widow
CRO; AP/N/244	Noye	Nicholas	Paul	1662	
CRO; AP/T/863	Tredinnick	Michael	Madron	1662	Yeoman
CRO; AP/T/876	Thomas	William	St Austell	1662	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/867	Willcocks	Barbara	Bodmin	1662	Widow
CRO; AP/B/1368	Bake	Richard	Linkinhorne	1663	Miller

CRO; AP/B/1379	Bickton	Christian	Linkinhorne	1663	Widow
CRO; AP/C/1332	Charke	Elizabeth	Linkinhorne	1663	Widow
CRO; AP/G/650	Geake	Degory	Egloskerry	1663	
CRO; AP/G/655	Grosse	John	Bodmin	1663	
CRO; AP/L/562	Lakes	Temprance	Linkinhorne	1663	Widow
CRO; AP/M/851	Marten	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1663	
CRO; AP/M/852	Martin	Walter	Bodmin	1663	Butcher
CRO; AP/M/853	Marten	William	Linkinhorne	1663	
CRO; AP/M/855	Masters	Richard	Bodmin	1663	Batchelor
CRO; AP/N/242	Nickles	Thomas	Bodmin	1663	
CRO; AP/P/1088	Popham	Margaret	St Gennys	1663	Widow
CRO; AP/T/886	Treise	Radigon	St Thomas by Launceston	1663	Carpenter
CRO; AP/T/902b	Tonkin	John	Paul	1663	
CRO; AP/W/882	White	John	Bodmin	1663	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/888	Wymond	William	Bodmin	1663	
CRO; AP/A/318	Argall	Philip	Madron	1664	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1397	Badcock	William	Paul	1664	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1409	Bodener	John	Paul	1664	
CRO; AP/B/1410	Bond	Thomas	Bodmin	1664	

CRO; AP/B/1425	Byle	Thomas	Bodmin	1664	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/C/1354	Clemens	Stephen	St Austell	1664	
CRO; AP/C/1356	Clemmets	Luke	St Austell	1664	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/1370	Crumbe	Nicholas	St Gennys	1664	
CRO; AP/H/1430	Hodge	David	St Austell	1664	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/1437	Hambly	Christopher	Bodmin	1664	Mason
CRO; AP/H/1456	Hill	Degory	Egloskerry	1664	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/1458	Hill	Maud	Egloskerry	1664	
CRO; AP/H/1462	Hitchings	William	Paul	1664	Husbandman
CRO; AP/J/610	John	Joan	Paul	1664	
CRO; AP/L/578	Lent	William	St Gennys	1664	
CRO; AP/M/866	Moone	Ann	Liskeard	1664	Widow
CRO; AP/M/880	Martin	Thomas	Egloskerry	1664	Tailor
CRO; AP/T/925	Tredinnick	Margaret	Madron	1664	Widow
CRO; AP/C/1397	Cruse	Elizabeth	Egloskerry	1665	Widow
CRO; AP/D/611	Dawe	Emma	Egloskerry	1665	Widow
CRO; AP/G/664	Gully	Edward	Bodmin	1665	
CRO; AP/G/666	Gilbert	John	Madron	1665	
CRO; AP/M/902	Mathew	Richard	Paul	1665	

CRO; AP/M/907	Mineard	Constantine	St Stephen by Launceston	1665	
CRO; AP/M/908	Moore	Dorothy	Liskeard	1665	
CRO; AP/M/912	Mulford	Thomas	St Austell	1665	Tinner
CRO; AP/M/921	Mill	Stephen	St Gennys	1665	Husbandman
CRO; AP/T/945	Tipper	John	Liskeard	1665	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1469	Bradlake	John	Linkinhorne	1666	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1472	Bray	Robert	Liskeard	1666	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/628	Downing	Richard	Egloskerry	1666	Husbandman
CRO; AP/F/269	Francis	Michael	St Austell	1666	
CRO; AP/H/1507	Harvey	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1666	
CRO; AP/H/1666	Husband	Richard	Liskeard	1666	Husbandman
CRO; AP/L/601	Lanion	Richard	Madron	1666	
CRO; AP/M/925	Morish	Thomas	Madron	1666	
CRO; AP/O/189	Olliver	Patience	St Thomas by Launceston	1666	Widow
CRO; AP/R/901	Rawlings	Arthur	Madron	1666	
CRO; AP/T/943	Thomas	John	St Austell	1666	
CRO; AP/T/957	Tampson	Robert	Bodmin	1666	
CRO; AP/T/961-2	Thomas	Giles	Madron	1666	Yeoman
CRO; AP/T/969	Towsey	Stephen	Liskeard	1666	

CRO; AP/W/937	Wills	Thomas	Liskeard	1666	
CRO; AP/B/1490	Bartlett	James	St Stephen by Launceston	1667	Weaver
CRO; AP/C/1428	Clarke	Blanche	Liskeard	1667	spinster
CRO; AP/H/1565	Hooper	Philippa	St Gennys	1667	Widow
CRO; AP/M/949-2	Morish	Ralph	Madron	1667	Yeoman
CRO; AP/N/266	Nennis	Thomas	St Austell	1667	Husbandman
CRO; AP/O/196	Olliver	Faith	Linkinhorne	1667	Widow
CRO; AP/T/987	Towsen	Peter	Liskeard	1667	
CRO; AP/V/180	Veale	Wilmot	St Stephen by Launceston	1667	Widow
CRO; AP/B/1531	Bennett	John	Madron	1668	
CRO; AP/B/1550	Bunny	Richard	Linkinhorne	1668	
CRO; AP/C/1468	Crabb	Richard	Linkinhorne	1668	
CRO; AP/C/1470	Cummin	Humfrey	Linkinhorne	1668	tinner
CRO; AP/G/692	Games	Anne	Madron	1668	Widow
CRO; AP/G/700	Griffin	Alice	Liskeard	1668	
CRO; AP/G/702	Gadgcombe	Degory	Liskeard	1668	Husbandman
CRO; AP/G/710	Gorde	Noah	Liskeard	1668	Barker
CRO; AP/H/1526	Hosking	Thomas	Liskeard	1668	
CRO; AP/H/1531	Hacker	Thomas	Madron	1668	

CRO; AP/H/1535	Hancock	Sampson	St Austell	1668	
CRO; AP/H/1575	Harry or Harrye	John	Paul	1668	Yeoman
CRO; AP/J/651	Jenking	William	Madron	1668	
CRO; AP/M/949-3	Morish	Ralph	Madron	1668	Yeoman
CRO; AP/N/270	Nicholas	John	St Austell	1668	Tinner
CRO; AP/R/940	Roger	Henry	St Gennys	1668	
CRO; AP/T/982	Thomas	Mary	St Austell	1668	Spinster
CRO; AP/W/973	Wills	Francis	St Stephen by Launceston	1668	
CRO; AP/B/1578	Bunce	Thomas	Liskeard	1669	
CRO; AP/C/1471	Carne	Nicholas	St Austell	1669	
CRO; AP/D/649	Davy	Richard	St Austell	1669	Husbandman
CRO; AP/D/651	Davy	William	St Austell	1669	
CRO; AP/F/279	Francis	Thomas	Madron	1669	Yeoman
CRO; AP/G/722	Goodman	William	Linkinhorne	1669	
CRO; AP/H/1577	Harvye	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1669	Tinner
CRO; AP/H/1628	Honey	John	St Austell	1669	
CRO; AP/T/1019	Tipper	John	Liskeard	1669	
CRO; AP/T/1038	Tucker or Tooker	William	Paul	1669	
CRO; AP/V/191	Veale	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1669	Yeoman

CRO; AP/B/1583	Baker	Benjamin	St Thomas by Launceston	1670	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1587	Barnes	Anne	Madron	1670	Widow
CRO; AP/B/1594	Boddy	Thomas	Egloskerry	1670	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/1536	Couch	Thomas	St Austell	1670	
CRO; AP/C/1538	Crabb	Jane	Linkinhorne	1670	
CRO; AP/D/664	Davy	John	St Austell	1670	
CRO; AP/G/734	Glaste	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1670	
CRO; AP/G/740	Gynne	William	St Thomas by Launceston	1670	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/1664	Hodge	Thomas	St Austell	1670	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/1671	Hunney	Loveday	St Austell	1670	Widow
CRO; AP/M/995	Moyse	Peter	St Gennys	1670	Batchelor
CRO; AP/O/210	Olver alias Body	Christopher	Liskeard	1670	Yeoman
CRO; AP/P/1250	Popham	John	St Gennys	1670	Husbandman
CRO; AP/R/965	Rawling	William	Madron	1670	
CRO; AP/T/1057	Tonking	John	St Austell	1670	Carpenter
CRO; AP/T/1065	Trevorow	Michael	Bodmin	1670	Labourer
CRO; AP/W/1001	White	Elizabeth	St Austell	1670	Widow
CRO; AP/W/1006	Williams	Henry	Liskeard	1670	Merchant
CRO; AP/A/359	Allen	Jane	St Austell	1671	Widow

CRO; AP/B/1610	Baker	Richard	St Austell	1671	Batchelor
CRO; AP/B/1623	Boddy	William	Liskeard	1671	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/1541	Came	John	St Austell	1671	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/1556	Cole	John	St Austell	1671	
CRO; AP/C/1565	Congdon	William	Linkinhorne	1671	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/674	Daniell	Thomas	St Stephen by Launceston	1671	
CRO; AP/F/297	Foote	Nicholas	Linkinhorne	1671	Yeoman
CRO; AP/G/744	Geffery	John	Liskeard	1671	
CRO; AP/G/745	Giffe	William	Madron	1671	
CRO; AP/G/750	Grigg	Margaret	St Gennys	1671	
CRO; AP/G/752	Grills	Henry	Linkinhorne	1671	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/1669	Howsey	William	Liskeard	1671	
CRO; AP/H/1690	Hodge	John	Bodmin	1671	Goldsmith
CRO; AP/H/1706	Hallett	Edward	St Gennys	1671	
CRO; AP/J/1693	Holla	John	Madron	1671	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/1011	Moone	John	Liskeard	1671	Yeoman
CRO; AP/N/282	Nicholas	Elizabeth	St Austell	1671	
CRO; AP/N/284	Ninnes	Elizabeth	St Austell	1671	
CRO; AP/N/286	Noye	Richard	Paul	1671	

CRO; AP/R/994	Rawle	Mary	St Gennys	1671	
CRO; AP/S/1313	Smith	John	St Gennys	1671	
CRO; AP/T/1072	Thomas	Elinor	St Austell	1671	
CRO; AP/T/1080	Tonkin	Mary	St Austell	1671	Widow
CRO; AP/W/1014	Wade	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1671	
CRO; AP/W/1019	Way	John	Liskeard	1671	Husbandman
CRO; AP/W/1030	Wolcocke	Mary	St Austell	1671	Widow
CRO; AP/B/1662	Boddy	Humphry	Liskeard	1672	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1669	Budge	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1672	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1670	Budge	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1672	Tanner
CRO; AP/B/1672	Badcocke	Kevern	Madron	1672	
CRO; AP/B/1692	Boddy	John	Madron	1672	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/1585	Clemence	Margery	St Austell	1672	Widow
CRO; AP/C/1602	Crabb	John	Liskeard	1672	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/691	Dell	Agnes	Liskeard	1672	Widow
CRO; AP/D/693	Dingle	Sampson	Linkinhorne	1672	Carpenter
CRO; AP/D/701	Dyer	William	Liskeard	1672	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/F/305	Finny	Joanne	Madron	1672	Widow
CRO; AP/G/762	Giste	Roger	St Gennys	1672	Yeoman

CRO; AP/H/1708	Hancock	Thomas	St Austell	1672	Tinner
CRO; AP/H/1724	Hayne	Thomas	Egloskerry	1672	Carpenter
CRO; AP/H/1729	Hill	Nicholas	St Austell	1672	
CRO; AP/L/681	Lanyon	John	Madron	1672	
CRO; AP/N/293	Nottle	Thomas	Egloskerry	1672	
CRO; AP/A/367	Allen	William	Bodmin	1673	
CRO; AP/B/1691	Boddy	Christopher	Madron	1673	
CRO; AP/C/1619	Clemence	Frances	St Austell	1673	Widow
CRO; AP/C/1620	Clemmens	Thomas	St Austell	1673	tinner
CRO; AP/C/1639	Couch	Mary	Liskeard	1673	Widow
CRO; AP/C/1644	Cowling	Thomas	Liskeard	1673	Yeoman
CRO; AP/G/781	Gourde	Jane	Liskeard	1673	Widow
CRO; AP/M/1032	Marke	Bennet	St Gennys	1673	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/1035	Marten	Edward	Egloskerry	1673	Husbandman
CRO; AP/O/227	Olliver	Agnes	Liskeard	1673	
CRO; AP/T/1098	Thomas	Thomas	St Austell	1673	Yeoman
CRO; AP/T/1106	Tucker or Tooker	Hugh	Paul	1673	
CRO; AP/T/1119	Tucker	Edward	Liskeard	1673	Husbandman
CRO; AP/W/1054	Warne	Henry	Linkinhorne	1673	Husbandman

CRO; AP/W/1059	White	Matthew	Bodmin	1673	Glover
CRO; AP/W/1063	Williams	Petherick	St Austell	1673	Tinner
CRO; AP/B/1717	Beaford	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1674	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/1733	Bryant	Ann	Paul	1674	Widow
CRO; AP/B/1734	Budge	John	Linkinhorne	1674	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1738	Butler	Elizabeth	St Thomas by Launceston	1674	
CRO; AP/B/1757	Bonithon	Blanche	Madron	1674	Widow
CRO; AP/C/1647	Cardew	Thomas	Madron	1674	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/1662	Coome	John	Linkinhorne	1674	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/1663	Coome	Joan	Linkinhorne	1674	Widow
CRO; AP/E/323	Eudy	John	Madron	1674	Tinner
CRO; AP/F/314	Ferrett	Philippa	St Gennys	1674	
CRO; AP/G/773	Gervas	Richard	Paul	1674	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/1787	Higman	Mark	St Austell	1674	Yeoman
CRO; AP/O/233	Opie	Richard	St Austell	1674	
CRO; AP/R/1045	Rawle	Stephen	St Gennys	1674	
CRO; AP/T/1110	Tonkyn	Grace	Madron	1674	Spinster
CRO; AP/V/201	Vanson	John	St Austell	1674	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/1079	White	George	Bodmin	1674	

CRO; AP/B/1754	Blake	James	St Austell	1675	
CRO; AP/B/1768	Burte	Nicholas	St Stephen by Launceston	1675	Mason
CRO; AP/C/1686	Crapp	John	St Austell	1675	Yeoman
CRO; AP/G/807	Gidleigh	Joan	Bodmin	1675	Spinster
CRO; AP/H/1818	Hender	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1675	
CRO; AP/J/721	John	Johan	Linkinhorne	1675	Yeoman
CRO; AP/J/723	John	Robert	Linkinhorne	1675	Yeoman
CRO; AP/L/700	Lanyon	William	Madron	1675	
CRO; AP/M/1051	May	Kathy	St Austell	1675	Widow
CRO; AP/M/1061	Marrake	John	Paul	1675	
CRO; AP/M/1066	Michell	Katherine	Madron	1675	Widow
CRO; AP/N/306	Nicholl	Hugh	Bodmin	1675	Husbandman
CRO; AP/T/1135	Tawley	George	Liskeard	1675	Weaver
CRO; AP/T/1144	Tipper	Nicholas	Liskeard	1675	Yeoman
CRO; AP/T/1150	Tyack	William	Paul	1675	
CRO; AP/W/1110	Wolcocke	John	St Austell	1675	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1784	Billing	Philip	St Austell	1676	
CRO; AP/B/1790	Borlace	William	St Austell	1676	Tinner
CRO; AP/B/1803	Budge	Peternell	Linkinhorne	1676	Widow

CRO; AP/C/1691	Champion	Thomas	Madron	1676	
CRO; AP/C/1701	Clemens	John	St Austell	1676	
CRO; AP/C/1703	Clements	Margery	St Austell	1676	Widow
CRO; AP/C/1712	Common	Hugh	St Austell	1676	brewer
CRO; AP/C/1714	Coombe	Richard	St Austell	1676	tinner
CRO; AP/C/1720	Crapp	Sampson	St Austell	1676	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/730	Dingell	William	St Austell	1676	Tinner
CRO; AP/F/329	Fugers	William	Liskeard	1676	
CRO; AP/G/821	Grills	John	Liskeard	1676	Tanner
CRO; AP/G/842	Gubbes	Anthony	Madron	1676	Merchant
CRO; AP/H/1839	Harris	Robert	Bodmin	1676	
CRO; AP/M/1079	Marshall	Mary	St Gennys	1676	Widow
CRO; AP/W/1130	Williams	Abraham	Egloskerry	1676	
CRO; AP/W/1136	Wills	Elizabeth	St Austell	1676	Widow
CRO; AP/B/1832	Buriman	Edward	Paul	1677	Labourer
CRO; AP/C/1749	Comon	Nicholas	St Austell	1677	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/751	Doney	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1677	
CRO; AP/F/330	Finney	Thomas	Madron	1677	
CRO; AP/G/836	Goodman	William	Linkinhorne	1677	Yeoman

CRO; AP/K/339	Kalinack	William	Paul	1677	
CRO; AP/L/730	Landry	Digory	Linkinhorne	1677	
CRO; AP/M/1084	Mathew	Richard	Paul	1677	
CRO; AP/M/1096	Marshall	Dorothy	St Gennys	1677	
CRO; AP/M/1099	Marshall	John	St Gennys	1677	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/1100	Marshall	Stephen	St Gennys	1677	Husbandman
CRO; AP/T/1166	Tregurtha	Thomas	Paul	1677	Fisherman
CRO; AP/W/1125	White	Robert	Madron	1677	
CRO; AP/A/391	Allen	Henry	St Austell	1678	Tinner
CRO; AP/B/1838	Baker	Samuel	St Austell	1678	
CRO; AP/B/1850	Best	Stephen	Liskeard	1678	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/1862	Bovett	John	St Austell	1678	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/1504	Siscell	Henry	Madron	1678	
CRO; AP/C/1786	Cooke	Peternell	Liskeard	1678	Widow
CRO; AP/D/762	Dawe	Samuel	Egloskerry	1678	
CRO; AP/D/767	Downing	Adam	Egloskerry	1678	Husbandman
CRO; AP/G/853	Giles	William	St Austell	1678	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/1942	Hobb	Reginald or Reynold	Liskeard	1678	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/1946	Hodge	William	Bodmin	1678	

CRO; AP/K/350	Kallinack	John	Paul	1678	Tailor
CRO; AP/M/1120	Marton	Agnes	Linkinhorne	1678	Widow
CRO; AP/M/1129	Mill	Thomas	St Gennys	1678	Husbandman
CRO; AP/O/249	Olver	Samuel	St Stephen by Launceston	1678	Labourer
CRO; AP/R/1133	Russell	Thomas	Liskeard	1678	Merchant
CRO; AP/V/222	Veale	Joan	Bodmin	1678	Widow
CRO; AP/V/227	Veale	Christopher	St Stephen by Launceston	1678	
CRO; AP/B/1900	Busby	Robert	Liskeard	1679	
CRO; AP/C/1796	Came	Ann	St Austell	1679	Widow
CRO; AP/C/1800	Carveth	Thomas	St Austell	1679	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/1816	Combe	Thomas	St Austell	1679	
CRO; AP/C/1817	Congdon	Joan	Linkinhorne	1679	Widow
CRO; AP/C/1820	Cowling	John	Liskeard	1679	barker
CRO; AP/C/1822	Cowling	William	Liskeard	1679	Husbandman
CRO; AP/F/346	Fuidge	Phillipa	Liskeard	1679	Widow
CRO; AP/G/868	Grose	Henry	Bodmin	1679	
CRO; AP/H/1952	Hancock	Grace	St Austell	1679	Widow
CRO; AP/L/776	Laytie	Bernard	Madron	1679	
CRO; AP/L/777	Lent	Elizabeth	St Gennys	1679	Spinster

CRO; AP/M/1139	Marke	Edward	St Stephen by Launceston	1679	Mason
CRO; AP/M/1142	Martin	Chris	St Stephen by Launceston	1679	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/1157	Moyse	Thamazin	St Stephen by Launceston	1679	Widow
CRO; AP/N/329	Newman	Elizabeth	Madron	1679	Widow
CRO; AP/T/1160	Tizer	William	St Austell	1679	Shepherd
CRO; AP/T/1224	Tawe alias Hall	Grace	St Gennys	1679	
CRO; AP/T/1227	Tinner	Robert	St Austell	1679	Yeoman
CRO; AP/T/1229	Tonkin	Thomas	St Austell	1679	Yeoman
CRO; AP/A/401	Allen	Peter	St Austell	1680	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1909	Beare	John	Linkinhorne	1680	
CRO; AP/C/1839	Couch	Benedict	Linkinhorne	1680	mason
CRO; AP/H/2004	Hoskin	William	St Austell	1680	
CRO; AP/I/56	Ivey	John	St Austell	1680	Yeoman
CRO; AP/K/378	Kelynack	Philip	Paul	1680	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/1156	Mounce	Thomas	Liskeard	1680	
CRO; AP/P/1473	Phillips	Alice	Madron	1680	Widow
CRO; AP/P/1479	Popham	William	St Gennys	1680	Yeoman
CRO; AP/Q/25	Quiler	William	Liskeard	1680	Yeoman
CRO; AP/T/1238	Tipper	Grace	Liskeard	1680	

CRO; AP/W/1215	Whitelock	Richard	St Thomas by Launceston	1680	Thatcher
CRO; AP/W/1216	Wickett	James	St Gennys	1680	
CRO; AP/B/1930	Badcock	Jenkyn	Paul	1681	Husbandman
CRO; AP/F/354	Fanstone	John	St Gennys	1681	
CRO; AP/F/355	Ferrett	John	St Gennys	1681	
CRO; AP/M/1173	Marshall	Bridget	St Gennys	1681	
CRO; AP/T/1250	Tom	Mathew	Bodmin	1681	
CRO; AP/T/1252	Tonkin	Nicholas	Paul	1681	Fisherman
CRO; AP/V/235	Vincent	Mary	Liskeard	1681	Widow
CRO; AP/W/1226	Wathen	Richard	Liskeard	1681	
CRO; AP/W/1233	Willa	Susanna	Liskeard	1681	Widow
CRO; AP/A/413	Allen	Alexander	St Austell	1682	
CRO; AP/A/414	Allen	Constance	St Austell	1682	Widow
CRO; AP/C/1879	Cheylly	Nicholas	Egloskerry	1682	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/1889	Collacott	Philip	Egloskerry	1682	mason
CRO; AP/D/807	Davy	Elizabeth	Linkinhorne	1682	Widow
CRO; AP/F/369	Foott	Mary	Linkinhorne	1682	Widow
CRO; AP/F/372	French	Edward	St Gennys	1682	
CRO; AP/F/373	French	Elizabeth	St Gennys	1682	Widow

CRO; AP/G/888	Grigg	Jacob	St Austell	1682	Tinner
CRO; AP/H/2023	Hene or Hayne	Ann	Egloskerry	1682	Widow
CRO; AP/H/2036	Hambly	Loveday	St Austell	1682	Widow
CRO; AP/H/2051	Higman	John	St Austell	1682	
CRO; AP/H/2059	Hosken	Henry	Paul	1682	Miller
CRO; AP/K/399	Kellinack	Jane	Paul	1682	Widow
CRO; AP/M/1195	Marten	Edward	Egloskerry	1682	
CRO; AP/N/344	Nancarrow	Peter	St Austell	1682	
CRO; AP/P/1531	Penleaze	David	Madron	1682	
CRO; AP/S/1625	Stacy	Stephen	St Gennys	1682	
CRO; AP/V/233	Veale	Mary	St Stephen by Launceston	1682	Singlewoman
CRO; AP/B/1991	Bodinner	Christopher	Paul	1683	
CRO; AP/B/2006	Budge	Edward	Linkinhorne	1683	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2007	Budge	Jane	Linkinhorne	1683	
CRO; AP/F/366	Fenton	Andrew	Linkinhorne	1683	
CRO; AP/G/897	Giles	Gregory	St Austell	1683	
CRO; AP/G/898	Goodman	Honour	Linkinhorne	1683	
CRO; AP/G/918	Grills	Grace	Linkinhorne	1683	Widow
CRO; AP/H/2046	Harell or Hearle	Elizabeth	Liskeard	1683	Widow

CRO; AP/H/2047	Hearle	James	Liskeard	1683	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/2065	Hancock	Joan	St Austell	1683	Widow
CRO; AP/H/2069	Harry	John	Paul	1683	
CRO; AP/H/2071	Harry	Sampson	Madron	1683	Tinner
CRO; AP/K/402	Kempe alias Laa	Sybly	Linkinhorne	1683	
CRO; AP/M/1212	Marke	Philip	St Austell	1683	Yeoman
CRO; AP/P/1569	Popham	Anne	St Gennys	1683	
CRO; AP/T/1312	Trewren	William	Madron	1683	Merchant
CRO; AP/T/1319	Thomas	Robert	Madron	1683	
CRO; AP/W/1268	White	Barbara	Egloskerry	1683	Singlewoman
CRO; AP/W/1277	Wymond	Robert	Bodmin	1683	
CRO; AP/B/2027	Bennett	Stephen	St Austell	1684	tinner
CRO; AP/B/2028	Bennick	John	Linkinhorne	1684	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2032	Best	John	Bodmin	1684	
CRO; AP/C/1915	Clemence	Thomas	St Austell	1684	tinner
CRO; AP/C/1930	Chapman	Jonathan	Liskeard	1684	
CRO; AP/C/1939	Combe	Degory	Linkinhorne	1684	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/843	Dyer	Dorothy	Madron	1684	Widow
CRO; AP/E/397	Evens alias Eavens	John	St Austell	1684	

CRO; AP/G/926	Gatty	Philip	St Austell	1684	Widow
CRO; AP/H/2064	Ham	Mary	Liskeard	1684	
CRO; AP/H/2087	Horrell	William	St Thomas by Launceston	1684	
CRO; AP/H/2095	Hawe	John	Egloskerry	1684	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/2102	Harry	Nicholas	Paul	1684	Weaver
CRO; AP/H/2108	Head	Susanna	Bodmin	1684	Spinster
CRO; AP/J/830	John	Richard	Linkinhorne	1684	
CRO; AP/N/361	Nicholas	Richard	Madron	1684	Miller
CRO; AP/T/1325	Tippett	Richard	St Austell	1684	Fuller
CRO; AP/V/247	Vivian	Thomas	St Austell	1684	
CRO; AP/W/1271	Wickett	Degory	St Gennys	1684	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/1281	Weale	Dorothy	Liskeard	1684	Widow
CRO; AP/W/1302	Wymond	Richard	Bodmin	1684	
CRO; AP/B/2070	Benham	William	St Austell	1685	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2082	Body	Luke	Linkinhorne	1685	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/1962	Cloake	Richard	Madron	1685	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/C/1978	Cossens	Jane	St Stephen by Launceston	1685	Spinster
CRO; AP/D/844	Davy	Martin	Madron	1685	
CRO; AP/D/845	Davie	Pentecost	St Austell	1685	Widow

CRO; AP/F/383	French	John	St Gennys	1685	Yeoman
CRO; AP/G/939	Giles	Matthew	Bodmin	1685	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/2168	Honny	Degory	St Stephen by Launceston	1685	Pipemaker
CRO; AP/H/2169	Honny	Samuel	St Austell	1685	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/2170	Horrell	Thomas	St Stephen by Launceston	1685	Maltster
CRO; AP/J/842	John	James	Madron	1685	
CRO; AP/M/1239	Marshall	John	St Gennys	1685	
CRO; AP/M/1240	Marshall	Henry	St Gennys	1685	
CRO; AP/N/363	Noye	Sampson	Madron	1685	Yeoman
CRO; AP/O/281	Oppie	Martin	St Austell	1685	
CRO; AP/Q/26	Quiler	John	Liskeard	1685	
CRO; AP/B/2106	Best	John	Bodmin	1686	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/1998	Couch	William	St Austell	1686	Tinner
CRO; AP/F/385	Finney	Walter	Madron	1686	
CRO; AP/G/938	Giddy	Samuel	Linkinhorne	1686	
CRO; AP/G/941	Glanvill	Millicent	Egloskerry	1686	Widow
CRO; AP/H/2135	Hande	Gertrude	Paul	1686	Widow
CRO; AP/H/2144	Hawken	Mary	Bodmin	1686	Spinster
CRO; AP/H/2145	Hawken	William	Bodmin	1686	Yeoman

CRO; AP/H/2193	Howard	Gartred	Bodmin	1686	Widow
CRO; AP/M/1242	Marten	John	Egloskerry	1686	Tailor
CRO; AP/M/1255	Man	John	Paul	1686	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/1258	Medland	Margaret	St Gennys	1686	
CRO; AP/S/1696	Smeeth	Stephen	St Gennys	1686	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/1329	Wise	Jerome	St Austell	1686	
CRO; AP/A/451	Argoll	William	Madron	1687	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2127	Baron	Blanche	Egloskerry	1687	Widow
CRO; AP/B/2134	Bennett	Matthew	St Austell	1687	Tinner
CRO; AP/B/2135	Bennett	Richard	Madron	1687	Shipwright
CRO; AP/B/2137	Bennett	Tristram	Linkinhorne	1687	blacksmith
CRO; AP/C/2024	Crosse	Jerom	St Austell	1687	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/C/2025	Cullombe	Philip	Linkinhorne	1687	Husbandman
CRO; AP/D/872	Drue	Mathew	St Austell	1687	Tinner
CRO; AP/E/423	Eutis	Anthony	Liskeard	1687	Carpenter
CRO; AP/H/2221	Honywell	Benjamin	St Austell	1687	
CRO; AP/H/2222	Hooper	Julian	St Austell	1687	Widow
CRO; AP/J/860	Jolle	Degory	St Gennys	1687	
CRO; AP/L/868	Landry	Edward	Linkinhorne	1687	

CRO; AP/N/368	Nottell	Richard	Egloskerry	1687	Yeoman
CRO; AP/R/1271	Rodda	Thomas	Madron	1687	Yeoman
CRO; AP/T/1396	Tucker	Honor	Liskeard	1687	Widow
CRO; AP/W/1334	Warne	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1687	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/1341	Williams	Thomas	St Austell	1687	
CRO; AP/B/2176	Budge	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1688	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/2028	Canter	Sampson	Linkinhorne	1688	Butcher
CRO; AP/C/2031	Champion	Richard	Liskeard	1688	Weaver
CRO; AP/C/2050	Cowling	Elizabeth	Liskeard	1688	Spinster
CRO; AP/C/2055	Cunnack	Richard	Madron	1688	
CRO; AP/C/2065	Cloake	Hugh	Madron	1688	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/G/969	Gift	Thomas	Madron	1688	Merchant
CRO; AP/H/2203	Harris	William	St Austell	1688	
CRO; AP/H/2232b	Harry or Harrie	Mary	Paul	1688	Widow
CRO; AP/H/2233	Harwell	William	Bodmin	1688	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/2238	Hobbs	William	St Thomas by Launceston	1688	
CRO; AP/M/1288	May	Elizabeth	Liskeard	1688	Widow
CRO; AP/M/1290	Meager	Otho	Bodmin	1688	
CRO; AP/R/1311	Richards alias Boskenning	John	Madron	1688	Yeoman

CRO; AP/S/1760	Stephens	John	Madron	1688	
CRO; AP/T/1409	Tremethick	Thomas	Paul	1688	Labourer
CRO; AP/V/260	Veale	Thomasine	St Stephen by Launceston	1688	Singlewoman
CRO; AP/V/265	Vivyan	William	St Austell	1688	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/1351	Webb	Nicholas	St Austell	1688	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/1353	Werring	Joan	Liskeard	1688	Widow
CRO; AP/A/468	Andrew	Jane	Liskeard	1689	Widow
CRO; AP/A/470	Aunger	John	Liskeard	1689	
CRO; AP/B/2185	Bennett	Matthew	St Austell	1689	tinner
CRO; AP/B/2197	Brent	Joan	Linkinhorne	1689	Widow
CRO; AP/C/2058	Champion	George	Liskeard	1689	
CRO; AP/C/2073	Couch	Margery	Liskeard	1689	Widow
CRO; AP/D/877	Dagge	Elizabeth	Bodmin	1689	Spinster
CRO; AP/D/878	Dallyn	Thomas	St Austell	1689	
CRO; AP/D/883	Davy	Joseph	Liskeard	1689	Husbandman
CRO; AP/D/884	Daw	John	Liskeard	1689	
CRO; AP/E/433	Esbell alias Isbell	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1689	Husbandman
CRO; AP/G/977	Giles	Michael	Bodmin	1689	
CRO; AP/H/2241	Hocken	William	Bodmin	1689	

CRO; AP/H/2268	Hill	George	Egloskerry	1689	
CRO; AP/H/2280	Hore	William	St Austell	1689	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/1313	Morton	David	St Stephen by Launceston	1689	Yeoman and Clothier
CRO; AP/N/369	Nankevill	William	St Austell	1689	Mason
CRO; AP/R/1301	Rawle	Edward	St Gennys	1689	
CRO; AP/T/1419	Thomas	Edward	St Austell	1689	
CRO; AP/W/1369	Walky	John	St Thomas by Launceston	1689	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/W/1388	Wymond	Richard	Bodmin	1689	
CRO; AP/B/2209	Bate	Digory	Linkinhorne	1690	
CRO; AP/B/2220	Bennett	William	St Austell	1690	
CRO; AP/B/2221	Bickford	Otho	Bodmin	1690	glazier
CRO; AP/B/2233	Burnard	Nicholas	Liskeard	1690	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2235	Burnard	William	Liskeard	1690	Bachelor
CRO; AP/B/2249	Byle	William	Liskeard	1690	
CRO; AP/C/2094	Clarke	Anthony	Liskeard	1690	
CRO; AP/C/2095	Clemence	Richard	St Austell	1690	
CRO; AP/C/2099	Clinnick	Robert	Liskeard	1690	
CRO; AP/C/2106	Colman	James	Bodmin	1690	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/2108	Combe	Matthew	St Austell	1690	Tinner

CRO; AP/C/2113	Coombe	James	Liskeard	1690	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/2125	Croll	John	St Austell	1690	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/D/899	Daw	Phillippa	Egloskerry	1690	Widow
CRO; AP/D/906	Dingle	Peter	St Austell	1690	Tinner
CRO; AP/E/439	Edwards	Joan	Linkinhorne	1690	
CRO; AP/G/1015	Gye	John	Liskeard	1690	Yeoman
CRO; AP/G/1016	Gyles	Dorothy	Bodmin	1690	Widow
CRO; AP/G/983	Glanvill	Robert	St Stephen by Launceston	1690	Tailor
CRO; AP/G/996	Gilbert	Nicholas	Liskeard	1690	Husbandman
CRO; AP/G/998	Gilles	Richard	St Austell	1690	
CRO; AP/H/2255	Harry	Prudence	Paul	1690	
CRO; AP/H/2303	Higman	William	St Austell	1690	
CRO; AP/H/2312	Hodge	Thomas	St Thomas by Launceston	1690	
CRO; AP/L/886	Lanion	Jane	Madron	1690	Widow
CRO; AP/M/1321	Marshall	Margaret	St Gennys	1690	
CRO; AP/N/382	Nicholls	Hannah	Linkinhorne	1690	Spinster
CRO; AP/R/1131	Rugge	Leonard	Madron	1690	Innkeeper
CRO; AP/T/1451	Thomas	William	St Austell	1690	Tinner
CRO; AP/T/1454	Tibb	Tristram	Liskeard	1690	Yeoman

CRO; AP/V/273	Verrin alias Virrin	John	St Austell	1690	Husbandman
CRO; AP/W/1390	Ward	John	St Gennys	1690	
CRO; AP/W/1392	Warrick	Thomas	St Austell	1690	
CRO; AP/W/1403	Willcock	Thomas	Liskeard	1690	Tailor
CRO; AP/B/2264	Bovett	John	St Austell	1691	
CRO; AP/C/2133	Caunter	William	Linkinhorne	1691	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/2137	Chely	Florence	Egloskerry	1691	
CRO; AP/C/2157	Combe	Rebecca	Liskeard	1691	Widow
CRO; AP/C/2169	Crabb	John	Liskeard	1691	
CRO; AP/D/914	Davy	John	Bodmin	1691	Weaver
CRO; AP/D/918	Dingle	Robert	St Austell	1691	Tinner
CRO; AP/G/1022	George	John	Madron	1691	
CRO; AP/G/1033	Gwennap	Nicholas	Madron	1691	Shipwright
CRO; AP/H/2329	Hancock	John	St Austell	1691	
CRO; AP/H/2339	Harvey	Degory	St Stephen by Launceston	1691	
CRO; AP/H/2365	Hooper	William	St Austell	1691	
CRO; AP/K/462	Keavern	Trestram	Paul	1691	Widow
CRO; AP/L/932	Loos	Valentine	Linkinhorne	1691	
CRO; AP/M/1344	Man	Joan	Paul	1691	

CRO; AP/M/1346	Marke	Mary	Liskeard	1691	Spinster
CRO; AP/M/1350	Marshall	Julian	St Gennys	1691	
CRO; AP/O/305	Olver	Peter	Linkinhorne	1691	Husbandman
CRO; AP/T/1447	Thomas	John	St Austell	1691	
CRO; AP/T/1449	Thomas	Robert	St Austell	1691	Yeoman
CRO; AP/T/1466	Tallack	Jane	St Austell	1691	Widow
CRO; AP/T/1468	Taylor	John	Linkinhorne	1691	
CRO; AP/T/1478b	Trehane	John	Linkinhorne	1691	
CRO; AP/W/1433	White	Thomas	Bodmin	1691	
CRO; AP/W/1448	Wollcock	John	St Austell	1691	Tinner
CRO; AP/B/2303	Bouett	Susanne	St Austell	1692	Widow
CRO; AP/H/2342	Hatch	Samuel	St Stephen by Launceston	1692	Miller
CRO; AP/H/2344	Haydon	William	Egloskerry	1692	Labourer
CRO; AP/H/2394	Hodge	William	St Austell	1692	Miller
CRO; AP/T/1499	Tonkin	John	Paul	1692	Fisherman
CRO; AP/U/69	Upton	Anne	Madron	1692	Innkeeper
CRO; AP/A/506	Anger	Robert	Liskeard	1693	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2302	Bosavern	Walter	Madron	1693	Clerk
CRO; AP/B/2339	Bray	Thomas	St Gennys	1693	

CRO; AP/B/2343	Beachamp	Loveday	St Austell	1693	Widow
CRO; AP/C/2216	Caunter	William	Linkinhorne	1693	
CRO; AP/C/2223	Cock	Thomas	St Austell	1693	Miller
CRO; AP/C/2242	Cowling	Mary	Paul	1693	Spinster
CRO; AP/D/940	Davey	Patrick	St Austell	1693	Husbandman
CRO; AP/D/951	Doidge	Henry	Liskeard	1693	Husbandman
CRO; AP/E/470	Eustiss	Ann	Liskeard	1693	Widow
CRO; AP/E/477	Elliott	John	St Austell	1693	
CRO; AP/F/420	Fuidge	Joan	Liskeard	1693	Widow
CRO; AP/F/422	Favell	Humphrey	Madron	1693	
CRO; AP/F/423	Favell	John	Paul	1693	Yeoman
CRO; AP/G/1038	Gill	Matilda	Madron	1693	Widow
CRO; AP/G/1048	Grills	Julian	Liskeard	1693	Widow
CRO; AP/H/2379	Hayne	Thomas	St Thomas by Launceston	1693	
CRO; AP/H/2443	Horsford	Mary	Madron	1693	Widow
CRO; AP/R/1409	Rodda	Martin	Madron	1693	Yeoman
CRO; AP/S/1905	Smith	James	Madron	1693	Pewterer
CRO; AP/T/1529	Tooke	Vincent	St Stephen by Launceston	1693	
CRO; AP/T/1532	Tremearne	William	Madron	1693	Hewer

CRO; AP/W/1493	Woolcock	Loveday	St Austell	1693	Widow
CRO; AP/C/2252	Carey	Peternell	Liskeard	1694	Singlewoman
CRO; AP/C/2258	Chubb	Thomas	Egloskerry	1694	
CRO; AP/C/2276	Crossman	Andrew	Egloskerry	1694	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/955	Davies	Elizabeth	Madron	1694	
CRO; AP/H/2345	Hill	Michael	Liskeard	1694	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/2451	Hallett	Anne	St Gennys	1694	
CRO; AP/H/2479	Hodge	Thomas	St Austell	1694	
CRO; AP/H/2482f	Hutchings	John	Paul	1694	
CRO; AP/M/1407	Miners	Philip	Liskeard	1694	Husbandman
CRO; AP/M/1421	Meldrum	Richard	Madron	1694	
CRO; AP/O/318	Opey alias Opie	Mary	Bodmin	1694	Widow
CRO; AP/S/1936	Smyth	Sara	Madron	1694	Spinster
CRO; AP/T/1546	Toman	John	Madron	1694	Mariner
CRO; AP/T/1563	Tucker	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1694	
CRO; AP/W/1499	Warne	William	Linkinhorne	1694	
CRO; AP/W/1500	Warrick	Thomas	St Austell	1694	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/1510	Wickham	Nathaniel	Liskeard	1694	
CRO; AP/B/2387	Beare	Henry	St Stephen by Launceston	1695	

CRO; AP/B/2396	Body	Alice	Linkinhorne	1695	Widow
CRO; AP/C/2281	Caunter	Thomasine	Liskeard	1695	
CRO; AP/C/2296	Coram	Henry	St Thomas by Launceston	1695	Tanner
CRO; AP/C/2303	Crabb	Ann	Liskeard	1695	Widow
CRO; AP/D/967	Dawe	Francis	Liskeard	1695	
CRO; AP/E/495	Edwards	Nicholas	Madron	1695	Mariner
CRO; AP/F/435	Fuidge	William	Liskeard	1695	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/2483	Hall	Thomas	Madron	1695	
CRO; AP/H/2487b	Hancock	Vivan	St Austell	1695	
CRO; AP/J/980	John	William	Madron	1695	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/O/322	Olliver	Abraham	Linkinhorne	1695	Yeoman
CRO; AP/T/1583	Tuke	Julian	St Stephen by Launceston	1695	Widow
CRO; AP/V/305	Veale	Elizabeth	St Stephen by Launceston	1695	Widow
CRO; AP/V/306	Veale	Tobias	Madron	1695	Mariner
CRO; AP/W/1531	Whitford	Elizabeth	Liskeard	1695	Widow
CRO; AP/A/530	Antis	Walter	Liskeard	1696	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2432	Betty	William	Bodmin	1696	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/2434	Burt	John	Liskeard	1696	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/2442	Bray	Stephen	St Gennys	1696	

CRO; AP/C/2304	Crocker	William	Madron	1696	Clerk
CRO; AP/C/2309	Clarke	Leonard	St Austell	1696	Tinner
CRO; AP/C/2326	Courtis	Hew	Bodmin	1696	Black Brazier
CRO; AP/G/1088	Gatchcombe	Dorothy	Bodmin	1696	Widow
CRO; AP/G/1094	Gist	Francis	St Gennys	1696	Yeoman
CRO; AP/G/1099	Greet	Richard	Liskeard	1696	
CRO; AP/H/2490	Harrye or Harry	Nurra	Paul	1696	Widow
CRO; AP/H/2523	Hayne	Jane	St Thomas by Launceston	1696	
CRO; AP/H/2528	Hender	George	St Stephen by Launceston	1696	Carpenter
CRO; AP/L/982	Legoe	Peter	Madron	1696	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/1458	Marke	Edward	St Gennys	1696	
CRO; AP/M/1477	Moune	George	Liskeard	1696	Husbandman
CRO; AP/N/403	Noye	Blanche	Madron	1696	Widow
CRO; AP/S/2000	Smith	Edward	St Gennys	1696	
CRO; AP/V/309	Veale	Thomas	Madron	1696	Sailor
CRO; AP/W/1548	Wickett	Degory	St Gennys	1696	
CRO; AP/W/1549	Willcock	Jemina	Liskeard	1696	
CRO; AP/B/2472	Burt	Robert	St Stephen by Launceston	1697	mason
CRO; AP/C/2345	Crapp	John	Liskeard	1697	

CRO; AP/D/986	Dawe	George	Liskeard	1697	
CRO; AP/D/994	Dodge	Degory	St Stephen by Launceston	1697	Fuller
CRO; AP/E/505	Ellyott	John	St Austell	1697	Sailor
CRO; AP/F/439	Favell	Thomas	Paul	1697	Tidesman
CRO; AP/G/1106	Giddy	Esdras	Liskeard	1697	Clothier
CRO; AP/H/2566	Hooper	Ralph	St Austell	1697	
CRO; AP/M/1486	Marrack	Richard	Paul	1697	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/1487	Marshall	John	St Gennys	1697	
CRO; AP/M/1498	Moone	John	Liskeard	1697	
CRO; AP/R/1480	Richards	Ralph	Madron	1697	Tinner
CRO; AP/S/2029	Stacy	Peter	St Gennys	1697	
CRO; AP/T/1584	Tanck	Thomas	Liskeard	1697	Husbandman
CRO; AP/V/310	Vercoe	John	St Austell	1697	
CRO; AP/W/1545	Whinacott	Christopher	St Gennys	1697	
CRO; AP/W/1559	Webb	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1697	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2484	Bovett	Matthew	St Austell	1698	
CRO; AP/C/2369	Coysgarne	John	St Austell	1698	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/2372	Crocker	Richard	Liskeard	1698	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/F/447	Francis	Henry	Liskeard	1698	Seaman

CRO; AP/H/2546	Harris	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1698	Fishmonger
CRO; AP/H/2591	Hill	John	St Austell	1698	Tinner
CRO; AP/H/2597	Honniwell	William	St Austell	1698	
CRO; AP/M/1504	Markes	Elizabeth	St Stephen by Launceston	1698	Widow
CRO; AP/M/1509	Marten	Walter	Egloskerry	1698	
CRO; AP/M/1518	Morshead	Thomas	Liskeard	1698	
CRO; AP/R/1479	Rescorla	Robert	Madron	1698	
CRO; AP/R/1485	Rodda	Martin	Madron	1698	
CRO; AP/T/1610	Taylor	John	St Thomas by Launceston	1698	
CRO; AP/T/1639	Tremarne	Nicholas	Paul	1698	
CRO; AP/B/2506	Bond	Matthew	St Austell	1699	
CRO; AP/C/2387	Commin	William	St Austell	1699	Tinblower
CRO; AP/C/2388	Congdon	William	St Austell	1699	Tinblower and yeoman
CRO; AP/C/2389	Coombe	Edward	Linkinhorne	1699	
CRO; AP/C/2394	Crosman	Mary	Egloskerry	1699	Widow
CRO; AP/E/518	Ellis	Joseph	Linkinhorne	1699	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/2613	Hicks	Christopher	St Austell	1699	
CRO; AP/K/517	Knight	Richard	Linkinhorne	1699	Husbandman
CRO; AP/M/1522	Marshall	Josias	St Gennys	1699	Yeoman

CRO; AP/M/1528	Moone	Mary	Liskeard	1699	Spinster
CRO; AP/N/415	Nacivall alias Keeble	Thomas	St Austell	1699	
CRO; AP/N/424	Noye	Thomas	Madron	1699	
CRO; AP/R/1515	Rawle	John	St Gennys	1699	
CRO; AP/S/2064	Smeeth	John	St Gennys	1699	
CRO; AP/T/1648	Taylor	Stephen	St Austell	1699	
CRO; AP/V/324	Vigurs alias Vigers	William	Liskeard	1699	
CRO; AP/W/1601	Whitford	Thomas	St Austell	1699	
CRO; AP/B/2528	Blake	John	St Austell	1700	
CRO; AP/B/2536	Bray	William	St Gennys	1700	
CRO; AP/B/2542	Bunt	Roger	Liskeard	1700	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/2545	Byland	William	Liskeard	1700	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/2384	Cloake	Nicholas	Madron	1700	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/C/2400	Chapman	Peter	Liskeard	1700	Bargeman
CRO; AP/C/2414	Crabb	John	Linkinhorne	1700	Weaver
CRO; AP/C/2419	Chapman	Benjamin	Liskeard	1700	Mercer
CRO; AP/C/2427	Congdon	Gregory	St Gennys	1700	
CRO; AP/D/1021	Daddow	Peter	St Austell	1700	Tinner
CRO; AP/D/1022	Davy	Jerome	St Austell	1700	

CRO; AP/D/1029	Dimsly	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1700	Husbandman
CRO; AP/D/1030	Downing	Andrew	Egloskerry	1700	
CRO; AP/E/522	Eaton	Thomas	Egloskerry	1700	
CRO; AP/F/459	French	Thomas	St Gennys	1700	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/2648	Higman	Joan	St Austell	1700	
CRO; AP/H/2654b	Honeycombe	William	St Austell	1700	
CRO; AP/L/1005	Leach	Andrew	Paul	1700	
CRO; AP/M/1532	Marrack	Thomas	Paul	1700	Husbandman
CRO; AP/M/1533	Marshall	William	Bodmin	1700	
CRO; AP/P/2306	Pollard	John	Madron	1700	
CRO; AP/R/1533	Rawling	Thomas	Madron	1700	
CRO; AP/R/1537	Richards	Charles	Madron	1700	
CRO; AP/T/1658	Tregoweth	John	St Gennys	1700	
CRO; AP/B/2548	Barrett	John	Linkinhorne	1701	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/2422	Clemence	Mary	St Stephen by Launceston	1701	Spinster
CRO; AP/C/2433	Couch	Honour	Liskeard	1701	Widow
CRO; AP/C/2435	Cowling	Joan	Liskeard	1701	Spinster
CRO; AP/C/2436	Crabb	Penetcost	Liskeard	1701	Widow
CRO; AP/D/1035	Davy	John	Linkinhorne	1701	

CRO; AP/D/1041	Doidge	John	Liskeard	1701	
CRO; AP/E/529	Ellery	Arundell	Madron	1701	Tailor
CRO; AP/F/461	Favell	Julian	Paul	1701	
CRO; AP/H/2774	Hean	Elizabeth	St Thomas by Launceston	1701	
CRO; AP/M/1555	Maure	Richard	Liskeard	1701	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/1561	Michelmoor	Phillipa	Liskeard	1701	Singlewoman
CRO; AP/O/338	Olliver alias Body	Peter	Liskeard	1701	Yeoman
CRO; AP/O/342	Opie	Francis	St Austell	1701	Yeoman
CRO; AP/V/326	Vine	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1701	
CRO; AP/B/2566	Baron	Jonathan	Egloskerry	1702	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/2569	Blag	William	St Stephen by Launceston	1702	tanner
CRO; AP/C/2447	Cleere	Humphry	St Austell	1702	
CRO; AP/C/2455	Congdon	Degory	St Austell	1702	
CRO; AP/D/1047	Dill	Mary	Liskeard	1702	Widow
CRO; AP/D/1051	Downing	William	Liskeard	1702	Mason
CRO; AP/E/533	Eacham	Edward	Paul	1702	Husbandman
CRO; AP/F/464	Ferrett	William	St Gennys	1702	
CRO; AP/F/469	French	Grace	Egloskerry	1702	
CRO; AP/M/1572	Martin	Thomas	Egloskerry	1702	Blacksmith

CRO; AP/M/1582	Morris	Amy	Madron	1702	Spinster
CRO; AP/Q/39	Quiller	William	Liskeard	1702	
CRO; AP/R/1558	Rawling	John	Madron	1702	
CRO; AP/R/1564	Roberts	Charles	Madron	1702	Yeoman
CRO; AP/R/1566	Rodda	Nicholas	Madron	1702	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/T/1688	Thomas	Rebecca	Liskeard	1702	Widow
CRO; AP/B/2586	Beard	Mattew	Bodmin	1703	butcher
CRO; AP/C/2464	Carne	Elizabeth	St Austell	1703	Widow
CRO; AP/C/2483	Couch	William	Liskeard	1703	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/1059	Dawe	John	Liskeard	1703	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/1063	Dill	Henry	Linkinhorne	1703	Yeoman
CRO; AP/F/473	French	Thomas	St Gennys	1703	
CRO; AP/H/2807	Hall	John	Paul	1703	
CRO; AP/H/2814	Harper	John	Linkinhorne	1703	
CRO; AP/J/1055	James	Henry	Paul	1703	
CRO; AP/M/1569	Marshall	Mary	St Gennys	1703	
CRO; AP/P/2138	Perry	John	Paul	1703	
CRO; AP/T/1720	Tooker	Abraham	Liskeard	1703	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/2491	Champion	Joseph	Liskeard	1704	Clothier

CRO; AP/G/1195	Gimlett	Mary	St Gennys	1704	
CRO; AP/H/2846	Harvey	John	St Thomas by Launceston	1704	Farmer
CRO; AP/H/2884	Heard alias Uglow	George	St Gennys	1704	
CRO; AP/H/2899	Hoskyn	Henry	Madron	1704	Yeoman
CRO; AP/J/1070	James	Roger	Paul	1704	Mason
CRO; AP/M/1598	Moor	Lyonell	Liskeard	1704	
CRO; AP/M/1600	Motten	Jacob	Liskeard	1704	Husbandman
CRO; AP/M/1604	Marshall	John	St Gennys	1704	
CRO; AP/V/337	Vigaurs	Joseph	Liskeard	1704	
CRO; AP/W/1681	Webb	Margaret	St Austell	1704	Widow
CRO; AP/W/1687	Williams	Hannibel	Liskeard	1704	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/2630	Batten	Ralph	Madron	1705	
CRO; AP/C/2517	Cock	Jonathan	St Gennys	1705	
CRO; AP/D/1084	Davy	Walter	St Austell	1705	
CRO; AP/H/2842	Hancock	Matthew	St Austell	1705	
CRO; AP/H/2872	Hambly	Robert	Bodmin	1705	
CRO; AP/H/2888	Hicks	Bernard	Liskeard	1705	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/J/1078	James	Henry	Paul	1705	Seaman
CRO; AP/J/1087	Jones	Edmond	Madron	1705	Innkeeper

CRO; AP/M/1623	Marshall	Jacob	St Gennys	1705	
CRO; AP/N/441	Nutton	John	St Austell	1705	Miller
CRO; AP/T/1747	Tucker	Thomas	Paul	1705	
CRO; AP/T/1751	Tenney	Jacob	St Gennys	1705	
CRO; AP/T/1757	Thomas	Thomas	Madron	1705	
CRO; AP/A/583	Adams	Thomas	Liskeard	1706	
CRO; AP/B/2666	Bond	Richard	Bodmin	1706	blacksmith
CRO; AP/C/2545	Congdon	Robert	St Austell	1706	
CRO; AP/H/2915	Hawking	Samuel	Linkinhorne	1706	Weaver
CRO; AP/H/2924	Hendy	Bennett	St Austell	1706	
CRO; AP/K/550	Kemp or Kimp	Presilla	Linkinhorne	1706	
CRO; AP/K/552	Kelinack	William	Paul	1706	
CRO; AP/L/1060	Lanyon	Hugh	Paul	1706	
CRO; AP/M/1640	Mannell	Joane	St Austell	1706	
CRO; AP/M/1652	Moore	Francis	Liskeard	1706	Widow
CRO; AP/N/452	Nicholls	Henry	Bodmin	1706	Yeoman
CRO; AP/S/2259	Smeeth	Thomas	St Gennys	1706	
CRO; AP/S/2267	Summers	John	Madron	1706	Millwright
CRO; AP/T/1769	Taw alias Hall	Henry	St Gennys	1706	

CRO; AP/W/1716	Ward	Edward	St Gennys	1706	
CRO; AP/A/589	Allen	Matthew	St Austell	1707	Tinner
CRO; AP/B/2680	Barradell	Charles	Liskeard	1707	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2692	Berryman	Nicholas	Paul	1707	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2705	Budge	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1707	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/2560	Charlick	Thomas	Liskeard	1707	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/C/2564	Cloake	Peter	Madron	1707	
CRO; AP/G/2040	Gilbert	John	Madron	1707	
CRO; AP/H/2930	Hicks	John	St Austell	1707	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/2944	Hambly	Edmund	Liskeard	1707	Serge Maker
CRO; AP/H/2958	Heard	Nicholas	St Gennys	1707	
CRO; AP/L/1067	Luke	Jane	Paul	1707	
CRO; AP/M/1666	Martyn	Henry	St Stephen by Launceston	1707	Husbandman
CRO; AP/M/1679	Mulfra	Henry	Madron	1707	
CRO; AP/N/468	Nicholls	John	St Gennys	1707	
CRO; AP/O/361	Olver	Richard	Liskeard	1707	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/R/1660	Richards	John	Paul	1707	Labourer
CRO; AP/T/1778	Tremenheere	John	Madron	1707	Merchant
CRO; AP/W/1737	Watts	Joan	Liskeard	1707	Widow

CRO; AP/W/1742	White	Joan	St Austell	1707	Widow
CRO; AP/W/1743	White	William	Madron	1707	Vintner
CRO; AP/W/1747	Williams	John	Liskeard	1707	
CRO; AP/B/2718	Beckerlegg	Thomas	Madron	1708	
CRO; AP/G/2045	Garland	John	Liskeard	1708	
CRO; AP/G/2052	Giles	Francis	St Austell	1708	Tinner
CRO; AP/H/2963	Hicks	Katherine	Paul	1708	Widow
CRO; AP/H/2969	Hooper	John	Bodmin	1708	Butcher
CRO; AP/J/1124	James	William	Paul	1708	
CRO; AP/J/1134	John	Elizabeth	Linkinhorne	1708	Spinster
CRO; AP/M/1681	Man	William	Paul	1708	
CRO; AP/N/464	Newman	Dorothy	Madron	1708	Widow
CRO; AP/P/2249	Pearce	William	Paul	1708	
CRO; AP/T/1792	Torway	Robert	Linkinhorne	1708	
CRO; AP/T/1796	Trehane	James	Linkinhorne	1708	
CRO; AP/V/348	Vine	Anne	Linkinhorne	1708	Spinster
CRO; AP/W/1761	Williams	Ralph	St Austell	1708	Tailor
CRO; AP/B/2735	Bawden	Thomas	Liskeard	1709	cordwainer
CRO; AP/B/2737	Berryman	John	Paul	1709	Husbandman

CRO; AP/B/2741	Binnick	John	Bodmin	1709	
CRO; AP/B/2745	Bodinner	William	Paul	1709	
CRO; AP/B/2747	Bone	John	St Austell	1709	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2755	Bray	Joan	St Gennys	1709	
CRO; AP/C/2617	Cleomoes	Leonard	St Austell	1709	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/2629	Crapp	William	St Austell	1709	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/1111	Daniell	Jane	Madron	1709	Widow
CRO; AP/D/1118	Dingle	Theophilus	Liskeard	1709	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/D/1120	Dinner	Grace	Linkinhorne	1709	
CRO; AP/E/577	Eva	Edmond	Madron	1709	
CRO; AP/G/2062	Gynn	John	St Thomas by Launceston	1709	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/3038	Higman	Mark	St Austell	1709	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/3048	Honeycomb	Tamsin	St Austell	1709	Widow
CRO; AP/J/1143	Jeffery	John	Paul	1709	
CRO; AP/K/567	Kemp	William	Linkinhorne	1709	Yeoman
CRO; AP/L/1104	Lanyon	Hugh	Madron	1709	
CRO; AP/R/1703	Roberts	Thomas	Paul	1709	Mariner
CRO; AP/T/1823	Treneman	Philip	Liskeard	1709	
CRO; AP/T/1826	Truscott	John	St Austell	1709	Tinner

CRO; AP/W/1773	Whetter	Walter	Liskeard	1709	Yeoman
CRO; AP/A/604	Anger	Matthew	Liskeard	1710	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2765	Bartlett	Francis	Linkinhorne	1710	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/2648	Crocker	Richard	Liskeard	1710	Carpenter
CRO; AP/G/2075	Gwavas	Gregory	Paul	1710	
CRO; AP/G/2076	Gyles	William	St Austell	1710	Sexton
CRO; AP/H/3052e	Hancock	John	St Austell	1710	
CRO; AP/H/3065	Hicks	Margaret	Liskeard	1710	Widow
CRO; AP/H/3068	Hoblyn	William	Liskeard	1710	Chandler
CRO; AP/H/3071	Hodge	Philip	St Austell	1710	Yeoman and Tinner
CRO; AP/H/3078	Howsey	Edward	Liskeard	1710	Butcher
CRO; AP/J/1154	James	Phillip	Paul	1710	Mariner
CRO; AP/M/1726	Marshall	Henry	St Gennys	1710	
CRO; AP/M/1727	Marshall	Honour	St Gennys	1710	
CRO; AP/M/1728	Marshall	Thomas	St Gennys	1710	
CRO; AP/S/2335	Stone	Thomas	Madron	1710	Innkeeper
CRO; AP/V/358	Vansom	Robert	St Austell	1710	
CRO; AP/B/2800	Blewett	Thomas	Bodmin	1711	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/2656	Clemens	Henry	St Austell	1711	

CRO; AP/C/2668	Congdon	Degory	St Stephen by Launceston	1711	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/2670	Coombe	William	Linkinhorne	1711	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/2676	Counter	Sampson	Linkinhorne	1711	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/2679	Crankan	Thomas	Paul	1711	Fisherman
CRO; AP/D/1133	Dawe	Robert	St Austell	1711	Husbandman
CRO; AP/G/2090	Govet	Matthew	Liskeard	1711	Carpenter
CRO; AP/H/3081	Hall	MartIN	Madron	1711	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/H/3097	Hoskyn	Walter	Egloskerry	1711	Yeoman
CRO; AP/J/1163	John	Robert	Linkinhorne	1711	Yeoman
CRO; AP/L/1125	Landry	Edward	Linkinhorne	1711	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/1764	Moon	Philip	Liskeard	1711	
CRO; AP/M/1765	Moon	William	Liskeard	1711	Husbandman
CRO; AP/O/372	Olliver	Ezekiel	Liskeard	1711	Yeoman
CRO; AP/R/1739	Rodda	Ralph	Madron	1711	
CRO; AP/T/1849	Thomas	George	Madron	1711	
CRO; AP/T/1853	Thomas	Thomas	St Austell	1711	Yeoman
CRO; AP/T/1856	Tom	Richard	Bodmin	1711	
CRO; AP/V/360	Varcoe	Jane	St Austell	1711	Widow
CRO; AP/V/363	Vosper	Robert	Liskeard	1711	Husbandman

CRO; AP/W/1811	Williams	Richard	St Austell	1711	Tin Blower
CRO; AP/B/2819	Bennick	Jane	Linkinhorne	1712	Widow
CRO; AP/B/2830	Bray	John	St Gennys	1712	
CRO; AP/C/2686	Chafe	Nicholas	St Stephen by Launceston	1712	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/2707	Couch	Thomas	St Austell	1712	Tinner
CRO; AP/E/597	Evah	Richard	Madron	1712	
CRO; AP/H/4028	Hodge	William	St Austell	1712	
CRO; AP/J/1178	Jewell	William	St Gennys	1712	
CRO; AP/L/1133	Landry	Grace	Linkinhorne	1712	Widow
CRO; AP/N/485	Nicholls	Elizabeth	St Gennys	1712	
CRO; AP/P/2319	Payner	Jacqualina	Madron	1712	Widow
CRO; AP/R/1751a	Richards	William	Paul	1712	Husbandman
CRO; AP/R/1753a	Roberts	William	Paul	1712	
CRO; AP/S/2379	Skynner	Phillias	Madron	1712	
CRO; AP/W/1819	Warne	Malthias	Liskeard	1712	Carpenter
CRO; AP/B/2831	Bray	Stephen	St Gennys	1713	
CRO; AP/B/2838	Baron	Joanthan	Liskeard	1713	pewterer
CRO; AP/B/2839	Bate	Walter	Linkinhorne	1713	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2843	Bennett	Sam	St Austell	1713	tinner

CRO; AP/B/2848	Boddy	Edward	Linkinhorne	1713	
CRO; AP/C/2720	Charlick	Hames	Liskeard	1713	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/I/77	Isabell	Richard	St Stephen by Launceston	1713	Mason
CRO; AP/R/1747	Rawlings	Nicholas	Madron	1713	Innkeeper
CRO; AP/W/1848	Willimas	Thomas	St Austell	1713	
CRO; AP/A/623	Anstis	John	Liskeard	1714	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2880	Burrow	Mary	Liskeard	1714	spinster
CRO; AP/C/2746	Coombe	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1714	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/2748	Couch	Thomas	St Austell	1714	
CRO; AP/H/4078	Hocking	Michael	Egloskerry	1714	
CRO; AP/M/1799	Marke	William	Liskeard	1714	Yeoman
CRO; AP/T/1916	Triggs	Richard	Liskeard	1714	
CRO; AP/B/2892	Body	John	Liskeard	1715	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/2768	Coombe	James	St Austell	1715	Tinner
CRO; AP/D/1180	Drewe	George	St Austell	1715	
CRO; AP/G/3037	Glasson	John	Madron	1715	
CRO; AP/H/4097	Hearle	John	Liskeard	1715	Apothecary
CRO; AP/H/4102	Higman	Benjamin	St Austell	1715	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/4110	Horsman	Andrew	Bodmin	1715	

CRO; AP/M/1806	Moone	Christopher	Liskeard	1715	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/1811	Marke	Mathew	St Gennys	1715	
CRO; AP/T/1919	Tonken	Thomas	Madron	1715	Tailor
CRO; AP/T/1929	Tucker	Joan	St Stephen by Launceston	1715	Spinster
CRO; CP/C/2774	Cross	Richard	St Austell	1715	
CRO; AP/B/2908	Band	William	St Austell	1716	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2916	Bennett	Soloman	St Austell	1716	tinner
CRO; AP/C/2791	Congdon	Samuel	Linkinhorne	1716	
CRO; AP/C/2799	Couch	Philip	Liskeard	1716	
CRO; AP/C/2800	Courtny	John	St Austell	1716	Weaver
CRO; AP/D/1188	Dawe	Josias	St Stephen by Launceston	1716	
CRO; AP/H/4119	Harris	William	St Austell	1716	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/4128	Helston	Elizabeth	Liskeard	1716	
CRO; AP/H/4137	Hodge	Walter	St Austell	1716	Yeoman
CRO; AP/J/1209	Jacka	Margaret	Madron	1716	Joiner
CRO; AP/J/1217	Jenkyn	Richard	Paul	1716	Fisherman
CRO; AP/L/1210	Luxton	Paul	St Gennys	1716	
CRO; AP/M/1829	Marshall	Henry	St Gennys	1716	
CRO; AP/N/489	Nankevell	Mary	St Austell	1716	

CRO; AP/P/2452	Phillips	William	Madron	1716	
CRO; AP/B/2965	Budge	William	Linkinhorne	1717	labourer
CRO; AP/C/2790	Congdon	Richard	St Gennys	1717	
CRO; AP/C/2808	Carvossow	Peter	Paul	1717	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/2810	Clark	John	St Austell	1717	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/G/3061	Geak	William	Linkinhorne	1717	
CRO; AP/G/3071	Gist	Edward	St Gennys	1717	
CRO; AP/M/1845	Marrack	Alexander	Paul	1717	
CRO; AP/R/1805	Richards	Martin	Madron	1717	Glover
CRO; AP/W/1910	Webb	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1717	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/1914	Wickett	Degory	St Gennys	1717	
CRO; AP/B/3003	Bramwell	Martin	Madron	1718	Butcher
CRO; AP/C/2828	Carne	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1718	
CRO; AP/C/2829	Champion	John	Madron	1718	Tinner
CRO; AP/D/1205	Davy	Margarett	St Austell	1718	Widow
CRO; AP/G/3064	Gilbert	William	St Stephen by Launceston	1718	
CRO; AP/G/3070	Giles [Gyles]	Anne	St Austell	1718	
CRO; AP/M/1864	Moyle	Emblyn	St Austell	1718	Spinster
CRO; AP/N/502	Nicholas	Hugh	Madron	1718	Yeoman

CRO; AP/A/641	Adams	John	Madron	1719	Innkeeper
CRO; AP/B/2990	Bellman	Vincent	Bodmin	1719	mason
CRO; AP/B/3001	Borlase	Sampson	St Austell	1719	tinner
CRO; AP/B/3027	Bennetts	William	Madron	1719	
CRO; AP/G/3078	Gartrell	John	Linkinhorne	1719	Yeoman
CRO; AP/G/3079	Giles	John	St Austell	1719	Yeoman
CRO; AP/L/1222	Leah	Christopher	Paul	1719	Mariner
CRO; AP/B/3025	Bennetts	Robert	Madron	1720	Labourer
CRO; AP/B/3037	Botter	John	Liskeard	1720	barker
CRO; AP/B/3039	Bremible	John	Paul	1720	mariner
CRO; AP/C/2876	Collier	Wiliam	Madron	1720	Surveyor of Customs
CRO; AP/C/2888	Couch	Thomas	Bodmin	1720	
CRO; AP/D/1231	Dingley	John	Linkinhorne	1720	Yeoman
CRO; AP/F/1220	Lanyon	Francis	Madron	1720	
CRO; AP/G/3088	Glanvill	Henry	St Stephen by Launceston	1720	
CRO; AP/G/3090	Govett	Matthew	Liskeard	1720	
CRO; AP/M/1880	Martyn	Ezekeil	Bodmin	1720	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/1888	Moon	Theophilus	Liskeard	1720	Yeoman
CRO; AP/N/508	Netherton	Leonard	St Stephen by Launceston	1720	

CRO; AP/R/1838	Reed	Isaiah	Madron	1720	Husbandman
CRO; AP/T/2011	Tremean	Richard	Paul	1720	
CRO; AP/V/379	Verren	Elenor	St Austell	1720	Widow
CRO; AP/V/380	Vigors	Susan	Liskeard	1720	Widow
CRO; AP/B/3058	Body	John	Liskeard	1721	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/3061	Bond	Thomas	St Stephen by Launceston	1721	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/2893	Cannon	Nicholas	Bodmin	1721	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/H/4215	Harry	Dorothy	Paul	1721	Widow
CRO; AP/H/4261	Hooper	William	St Austell	1721	Yeoman
CRO; AP/J/1331	Jollow	Stephan	St Gennys	1721	
CRO; AP/M/1894	Marke	Elizabeth	St Gennys	1721	
CRO; AP/M/1897	Marshall	Edward	St Gennys	1721	
CRO; AP/N/514	Nicholls	Philippa	Madron	1721	Widow
CRO; AP/R/1867	Rodda	Benedict	Madron	1721	
CRO; AP/S/2534	Stacy	Thomas	St Gennys	1721	
CRO; AP/T/2007	Tippett	Robert	Linkinhorne	1721	
CRO; AP/T/2028	Tooker	Nathianiel	St Stephen by Launceston	1721	Husbandman
CRO; AP/V/382	Vosper	Elizabeth	Bodmin	1721	Widow
CRO; AP/W/1992	Williams	William	Bodmin	1721	Weaver

CRO; AP/B/3092	Boase	John	Paul	1722	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/3098	Bray	Stephen	St Gennys	1722	
CRO; AP/C/2927	Cloak	James	Madron	1722	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/C/2929	Cock	George	Paul	1722	
CRO; AP/C/2937	Cross	Elizabeth	St Austell	1722	Widow
CRO; AP/F/573	Fleming	Dorothy	Madron	1722	Widow
CRO; AP/L/1255	Landry	Edward	Linkinhorne	1722	
CRO; AP/M/1914	Medland	Stephen	St Gennys	1722	
CRO; AP/T/2047	Tonkyn or Tonkin	Brian	Paul	1722	Yeoman
CRO; AP/A/668	Avery	Peter	Egloskerry	1723	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/B/3118	Bligh	Charles	Bodmin	1723	
CRO; AP/B/3132	Budge	Emanuel	Linkinhorne	1723	Yeoman
CRO; AP/T/2055	Thomas	John	Madron	1723	
CRO; AP/U/92	Uren	John	Madron	1723	
CRO; AP/F/580	Ferrett	Henry	St Gennys	1724	
CRO; AP/G/4021	Giles	Philip	Bodmin	1724	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/4335	Hatch	William	Linkinhorne	1724	Yeoman
CRO; AP/P/2605	Pascoe	John	Paul	1724	Mariner
CRO; AP/P/2611	Pentreath	John	Paul	1724	

CRO; AP/R/1885	Richards	Thomas	Madron	1724	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/T/2063	Tozer	Willmot	Liskeard	1724	Spinster
CRO; AP/T/2086	Tinner	Peter	St Austell	1724	Tinner
CRO; AP/B/3180	Bray	Jane	St Gennys	1725	
CRO; AP/C/2984	Cole	John	Liskeard	1725	
CRO; AP/C/2987	Congdon	Thomas	Liskeard	1725	
CRO; AP/H/4357	Hendy	Jane	St Austell	1725	Widow
CRO; AP/H/4364	Higman	Mark	St Austell	1725	Mariner
CRO; AP/H/4365	Hissard	Nicholas	Bodmin	1725	Miller
CRO; AP/H/4375	Hugo	Elizabeth	St Austell	1725	
CRO; AP/N/531	Nancollas	Oliver	St Austell	1725	Yeoman
CRO; AP/R/1925	Roberts	Grace	Paul	1725	
CRO; AP/T/2103	Thomas	Joan	Liskeard	1725	
CRO; AP/W/2040	Watts	William	St Gennys	1725	
CRO; AP/D/1297	Davy	Richard	Linkinhorne	1726	Yeoman
CRO; AP/J/1317	Jelbart	William	Madron	1726	Yeoman
CRO; AP/P/2674	Pyne	Philip	Paul	1726	
CRO; AP/G/4063	Green	Edward	St Gennys	1727	
CRO; AP/M/1979	Martyn	John	St Austell	1727	

CRO; AP/S/2613	Scawen alias Scawn	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1727	Weaver
CRO; AP/T/2146	Thomas	Nicholas	Madron	1727	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/W/2067	Williams	Robert	Madron	1727	Fisherman
CRO; AP/B/3257	Betty	John	St Austell	1728	woolcomber
CRO; AP/F/592	French	John	St Gennys	1728	
CRO; AP/N/549	Noye	George	Madron	1728	
CRO; AP/T/2148	Thomas	Thomas	St Austell	1728	
CRO; AP/T/2153	Tinner	Thomas	St Austell	1728	Tinner
CRO; AP/W/2095	Watts	Melchisdeck	St Austell	1728	Mason
CRO; AP/C/3065	Chappell	William	Bodmin	1729	
CRO; AP/C/3067	Clark	Philip	St Austell	1729	Tinner
CRO; AP/D/1333	Davy	John	Linkinhorne	1729	
CRO; AP/G/4074	Giles	Richard	St Austell	1729	Tinner
CRO; AP/G/4092	Giles	Francis	St Stephen by Launceston	1729	Tailor
CRO; AP/G/4093	Giles	William	Bodmin	1729	Yeoman
CRO; AP/N/548	Nicholls	William	St Austell	1729	Tinner
CRO; AP/N/550	Nancarrow	Robert	St Austell	1729	
CRO; AP/O/422	Olivey	Elizabeth	Paul	1729	
CRO; AP/R/1973	Richards	George	Paul	1729	

CRO; AP/T/2195	Tynner	Peter	St Austell	1729	Tinner
CRO; AP/C/3108	Cowling	Avis	Madron	1730	
CRO; AP/G/5006	Giles	Constance	St Austell	1730	Widow
CRO; AP/H/1752	Harvey	Benedict	Madron	1730	
CRO; AP/H/4488	Harper	William	St Austell	1730	Yeoman and Tinner
CRO; AP/H/4511	Hooper	Barnabas	St Gennys	1730	
CRO; AP/R/2000	Rogers	Henry	St Gennys	1730	
CRO; AP/S/2692	Seccombe	Elizabeth	St Austell	1730	Widow
CRO; AP/S/2704	Stephens	Henry	Madron	1730	
CRO; AP/W/2119	Warrick	Christopher	St Austell	1730	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/2123	Webber	Mary	Bodmin	1730	
CRO; AP/W/2133	Williams	Martin	Madron	1730	Fisherman
CRO; AP/A/714	Angwin	John	Madron	1731	
CRO; AP/B/3348	Body alias Oliver	Matthew	Liskeard	1731	
CRO; AP/B/3352	Bonetto	Walter	Paul	1731	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/3360	Bradlick	Edward	Bodmin	1731	clothier
CRO; AP/C/3137	Congdon	Samuel	St Austell	1731	
CRO; AP/C/3141	Cowle	William	Bodmin	1731	Miller
CRO; AP/C/3485	Carne	Philip	Madron	1731	Yeoman

CRO; AP/D/1361	Davy	William	Linkinhorne	1731	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/1372	Drew	Dorothy	St Austell	1731	Widow
CRO; AP/H/4598	Honeychurch	John	Madron	1731	Clothier
CRO; AP/M/2036	Marshall	Jacob	St Gennys	1731	
CRO; AP/M/2145	Hofford	James	St Austell	1731	Tinner
CRO; AP/O/434	Opie	John	St Austell	1731	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/P/2750	Pidwell	Mary	Madron	1731	Spinster
CRO; AP/S/2717	Sampson	Honour	Madron	1731	Widow
CRO; AP/S/2718	Sampson	John	Madron	1731	Mason
CRO; AP/T/2221	Thomas	Alexander	Madron	1731	Tobacconist
CRO; AP/T/2222	Thomas	William	St Austell	1731	Tinner
CRO; AP/B/3378	Bath	Degory	Egloskerry	1732	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/3384	Bennetts	Sampson	Madron	1732	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/B/3394	Brown	Abel	St Stephen by Launceston	1732	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/3171	Coombe	Matthew	St Austell	1732	Tinner
CRO; AP/C/3175	Crabb	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1732	Tinner
CRO; AP/C/3176	Crapp	Pascoe	St Austell	1732	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/1378	Davy	George	St Austell	1732	
CRO; AP/F/605	Farewell	Mary	Madron	1732	Widow

CRO; AP/M/2156	May	Walter	St Austell	1732	
CRO; AP/T/2248	Thomas	Richard	St Austell	1732	
CRO; AP/W/2170	Wellington	Richard	St Austell	1732	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/3425	Breamble	Richard	Paul	1733	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/3194	Crapp	John	St Austell	1733	Carpenter
CRO; AP/M/2175	Mitchell	John	Egloskerry	1733	Mason
CRO; AP/T/2279	Truscott	Arthur	Bodmin	1733	Grocer
CRO; AP/W/2196	Wellington	Peter	St Austell	1733	
CRO; AP/B/3441	Bennett	John	St Austell	1734	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/3464	Budge	John	Linkinhorne	1734	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/3465	Budge	William	Linkinhorne	1734	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/1411	Dallen	John	St Austell	1734	Husbandman
CRO; AP/D/1417	Davy	Mary	St Austell	1734	Spinster
CRO; AP/G/5057	Goodman	Nicholas	St Austell	1734	Victualler
CRO; AP/L/1296	Luke	Stephen	Madron	1734	Cooper
CRO; AP/S/2805	Stephens	Nowell	Madron	1734	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/B/3479	Blake	Thomas	Bodmin	1735	
CRO; AP/B/3494	Budge	John	Linkinhorne	1735	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/3227	Coad	Joseph	St Austell	1735	Cordwainer

CRO; AP/C/3242	Couch	Sampson	Linkinhorne	1735	Yeoman
CRO; AP/J/1406	Jacka	Humphrey	Madron	1735	Wheelwright
CRO; AP/M/2189	Michell	Susanna	Liskeard	1735	Widow
CRO; AP/S/2819	Shutford	Sarah	Paul	1735	
CRO; AP/B/3502	Beally	Samuel	Madron	1736	Tailor
CRO; AP/B/3516	Bodinner	James	Paul	1736	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/3517	Budge	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1736	tailor
CRO; AP/C/3260	Crapp	Sampson	St Austell	1736	Yeoman
CRO; AP/D/1448	Dinner	William	Liskeard	1736	Carpenter
CRO; AP/J/1439	Jaw	John	St Gennys	1736	
CRO; AP/C/3277	Cossentine	Mary	Liskeard	1737	Spinster
CRO; AP/D/1453	Dabb	Thomas	St Austell	1737	Tinner
CRO; AP/D/1461	Davy	Anne	St Austell	1737	Spinster
CRO; AP/H/4707	Hooper	Nevill	Bodmin	1737	Husbandman
CRO; AP/J/1449	Johns	Richard	Linkinhorne	1737	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/B/3562	Borlase	Jacob	St Austell	1738	tinner
CRO; AP/C/3151	Callynack	Philip	Paul	1738	Fisherman
CRO; AP/C/3288	Chatherine	Thomas	Paul	1738	Yeoman
CRO; AP/E/750	Elford	William	Madron	1738	Maltster

CRO; AP/M/2252	Michell	Henry	Madron	1738	Tailor
CRO; AP/R/2241	Row	Peter	Madron	1738	
CRO; AP/S/2885	Shippard	Edward	St Gennys	1738	
CRO; AP/W/2280	Wallis	John	Madron	1738	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/3318	Colliver	Gregory	Bodmin	1739	
CRO; AP/M/2271	May	John	St Austell	1739	Yeoman
CRO; AP/T/2411	Tenney	John	St Gennys	1739	
CRO; AP/B/3603	Bennett	William	Linkinhorne	1740	blacksmith
CRO; AP/C/3344	Cranckan	Elias	Paul	1740	
CRO; AP/D/1498	Doidge	Elizabeth	Linkinhorne	1740	Widow
CRO; AP/E/763	Ellis	John	Madron	1740	Mariner
CRO; AP/G/6011	Glasson	Honor	Madron	1740	Widow
CRO; AP/H/4775	Heard	John	St Gennys	1740	
CRO; AP/M/2284	May	Oliver	St Austell	1740	
CRO; AP/N/611	Nance	John	St Thomas by Launceston	1740	
CRO; AP/B/3640	Bate	Walter	Egloskerry	1741	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/3649	Berryman	James	Paul	1741	
CRO; AP/B/3650	Best	John	Bodmin	1741	tinner
CRO; AP/B/3654	Bond	John	St Austell	1741	Yeoman

CRO; AP/B/3656	Bond	Thomas	St Austell	1741	
CRO; AP/C/3368	Couch	James	St Austell	1741	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/4822	Heydon	John	Madron	1741	
CRO; AP/L/1492a	Luke	John	Linkinhorne	1741	
CRO; AP/N/622	Nicholas	James	Madron	1741	
CRO; AP/P/2993	Paul	William	Paul	1741	Tailor
CRO; AP/S/2952	Shippard	Margaret	St Gennys	1741	
CRO; AP/T/2407	Tank	Abraham	Liskeard	1741	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/3702	Buller	Charles	St Stephen by Launceston	1742	cordwainer
CRO; AP/B/3703	Buller	Jane	St Stephen by Launceston	1742	spinster
CRO; AP/C/3380	Charlick	Catherine	Liskeard	1742	Widow
CRO; AP/K/766	Keigwin	Richard	Paul	1742	Mariner
CRO; AP/K/779	Kent	Christopher	Linkinhorne	1742	Yeoman
CRO; AP/L/1496	Leah	Nicholas	Paul	1742	Mariner
CRO; AP/R/2334	Richards	Ralph	Madron	1742	
CRO; AP/T/2458	Thomas	Stephen	St Austell	1742	Tinner
CRO; AP/W/2369	Williams	Philip	Liskeard	1742	
CRO; AP/C/3430	Cume	Walter	St Austell	1743	
CRO; AP/D/1531	Dingle	Francis	Liskeard	1743	

CRO; AP/G/6066	Gummoe	William	St Austell	1743	
CRO; AP/H/4839	Hallett	Elizabeth	St Gennys	1743	
CRO; AP/L/1511	Leah	William	Paul	1743	Yeoman
CRO; AP/P/3021	Paynter	Thomas	Madron	1743	Carpenter
CRO; AP/Q/71	Quiller	John	Liskeard	1743	
CRO; AP/T/2502	Treweek	Nicholas	St Thomas by Launceston	1743	Dyer
CRO; AP/B/3748	Bennett	Edward	St Austell	1744	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/3751	Billing	William	Bodmin	1744	mason
CRO; AP/B/3757	Boarse	John	Madron	1744	
CRO; AP/B/3761	Bone	Richard	St Austell	1744	tinner
CRO; AP/C/3457	Cowling	Nicholas	Madron	1744	Hatmaker
CRO; AP/E/786	Elliot	Nicholas	St Austell	1744	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/4913	Hancock	Thomas	St Austell	1744	
CRO; AP/J/1555	John	Thomas	Paul	1744	Yeoman
CRO; AP/V/464	Vanson	John	St Austell	1744	Tinner
CRO; AP/B/3771	Bear	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1745	thatcher
CRO; AP/C/3476	Collings	Henry	Liskeard	1745	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/4939	Harry	William	Madron	1745	
CRO; AP/J/1562	James	Elizabeth	Paul	1745	Singlewoman

CRO; AP/L/1536	Leah	Christopher	Paul	1745	Mariner
CRO; AP/R/2406	Richards	Alexander	Paul	1745	
CRO; AP/T/2517	Tonkyn	Michael	Paul	1745	
CRO; AP/T/2533	Thomas	Mary	St Austell	1745	Widow
CRO; AP/B/3807	Burlace	William	St Austell	1746	tinner
CRO; AP/C/3502	Crankan	Thomas	Paul	1746	Fisherman
CRO; AP/D/1552	Daddow	John	St Austell	1746	Tailor
CRO; AP/D/1555	Davey	John	Linkinhorne	1746	Yeoman
CRO; AP/F/696	Ferrett	William	St Gennys	1746	
CRO; AP/H/4968	Harris	James	St Gennys	1746	
CRO; AP/H/4992	Hutchings	Roger	Paul	1746	Mariner
CRO; AP/K/799	Keigwin	Martin	Paul	1746	Mariner
CRO; AP/M/2364	Mann	John	Paul	1746	Mariner
CRO; AP/M/2389	Matthews	James	Paul	1746	Yeoman
CRO; AP/P/3125	Pine	Edward or Richard	Paul	1746	Mariner
CRO; AP/R/2451	Rowe	Elizabeth	Paul	1746	Widow
CRO; AP/W/2459	Williams	Peter	Liskeard	1746	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/C/3529	Curteys	Samuel	St Austell	1747	Soap Boiler
CRO; AP/D/1572	Dunn	John	Madron	1747	

CRO; AP/G/6097	Govet	Samuel	Liskeard	1747	Yeoman
CRO; AP/R/2461	Richards	John	Paul	1747	
CRO; AP/R/2462	Richards	Richard	Paul	1747	Husbandman
CRO; AP/T/2573	Tallack	John	St Austell	1747	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/2463	Warne	Matthew	Liskeard	1747	Yeoman
CRO; AP/W/2472	Williams	John	Paul	1747	
CRO; AP/H/5039	Henwood	Jane	Liskeard	1748	Spinster
CRO; AP/P/3168	Phillips	Tristram	Madron	1748	
CRO; AP/V/481	Vague	William	St Austell	1748	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/3878	Baker	John	St Gennys	1749	
CRO; AP/T/2614	Thomas	William	St Austell	1749	
CRO; AP/V/487	Vosper	Margery	Bodmin	1749	Widow
CRO; AP/B/3883	Barlet	Francis	Linkinhorne	1750	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/3593	Crankan	John	Paul	1750	Fisherman
CRO; AP/H/5096	Hill	George	Egloskerry	1750	Yeoman
CRO; AP/L/1577	Lander	Richard	Paul	1750	Husbandman
CRO; AP/T/2631	Thomas	Ann	Paul	1750	Widow
CRO; AP/T/2642	Trethewy	Joseph	St Austell	1750	Yeoman

1839 inventories

Devon

Reference	Surname	Forename	Location	Date	Status
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F132	Marshall	John	Cockington	1600	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F131	Bennet	William	Cockington	1600	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F130	Martyn	Richard	Cockington	1600	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F129	Boucher	Agnes	Cockington	1600	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F126	Widecombe	Augustyne	Cockington	1600	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F127	Weymouth	Peternell	Cockington	1601	
Uffculme; 35U	Tucker	Davey	Uffculme	1601	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F134	Squary	William	Cockington	1602	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F133	Baker	Johane	Cockington	1602	
Uffculme; 36U	Lomone	Roger	Uffculme	1602	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F135	Walkey	John	Cockington	1603	
Uffculme; 39U	Rawlings	William	Uffculme	1603	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F137	Rondell	William	Cockington	1604	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F138	Cade	Humfrey	Cockington	1606	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F139	Sprye	Richard	Cockington	1606	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F141	Andy	Johane	Cockington	1606	
Uffculme; 40U	Dowdney	Jane	Uffculme	1606	

Uffculme; 41U	Gyll	Mary	Uffculme	1607
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F143a	Phillippe	James	Cockington	1608
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F143b	Cole	John	Cockington	1609
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F144	Bennett	George	Cockington	1609
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F142	Bulleigh	William	Cockington	1609
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F146	Bennett	Elizabeth	Cockington	1609
Uffculme; 42U	Goodridge	Alexander	Uffculme	1609
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F147	Furzeman	William	Cockington	1610
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F148	Hearing	John	Cockington	1610
Uffculme; 46U	Rugge	William	Uffculme	1610
Uffculme; 45U	Stone	Agnes	Uffculme	1610
Uffculme; 43U	Tawton	Humfrey	Uffculme	1610
Uffculme; 44U	Tucker	Thomas	Uffculme	1610
Uffculme; 48U	Horne	John	Uffculme	1612
Uffculme; 49U	Tooker	Nicholas	Uffculme	1612
Uffculme; 47U	Marshall	William	Uffculme	1612
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F153	Morris	Elizabeth	Cockington	1613
Uffculme; 51U	Holwill	Humfry	Uffculme	1613
Uffculme; 50U	Dowdney	Nicholas	Uffculme	1613

DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F150	Jarman	John	Cockington	1614
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F168	Goodridge	Walter	Cockington	1615
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F164	Lange	Walter	Cockington	1615
Uffculme; 53U	Reade	John	Uffculme	1616
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F170	Bickford	John	Cockington	1617
Uffculme; 55U	Reade	Thomas	Uffculme	1617
Uffculme; 54U	Maunder	Robert	Uffculme	1617
Uffculme; 59U	Brooke alias Butson	Anthony	Uffculme	1622
Uffculme; 58U	Starke	George	Uffculme	1622
Uffculme; 57U	Rudge	Beaten	Uffculme	1622
Uffculme; 56U	Keeper	Walter	Uffculme	1622
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F175	Peter	Gilber	Cockington	1623
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F176	White	William	Cockington	1623
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F177	Sampson	Richard	Cockington	1623
DHC; 48/13/2/3/3A	Howe	Robert	Cockington	1624
Uffculme; 60U	Dune	John	Uffculme	1624
Uffculme; 64U	Oland	John	Uffculme	1624
Uffculme; 63U	Holwill	Florence	Uffculme	1624
Uffculme; 62U	Taylor alias Oland	Francis	Uffculme	1624

Uffculme; 61U	Leyman	Mary	Uffculme	1624
Uffculme; 65U	Langbridge	Nicholas	Uffculme	1625
Uffculme; 67U	Brooke	Richard	Uffculme	1625
Uffculme; 71U	Welshe	Anne	Uffculme	1626
Uffculme; 70U	Tawton	Augusten	Uffculme	1626
Uffculme; 69U	Courton/ Courtney	Elizabeth	Uffculme	1626
Uffculme; 75U	Rudge/ Ridge	Robert and Catheren	Uffculme	1627
Uffculme; 79U	Cheeke	Joan	Uffculme	1628
Uffculme; 76U	Lutley	Humfry	Uffculme	1628
Uffculme; 77U	Crosse	Thomas	Uffculme	1628
Uffculme; 82U	Parsons	Phillip	Uffculme	1628
Uffculme; 88U	Welsh	Robert	Uffculme	1630
Uffculme; 90U	Coram	John	Uffculme	1631
Uffculme; 94U	Baker	John	Uffculme	1632
Uffculme; 101U	Oland alias Taylor	James	Uffculme	1635
Uffculme; 100U	Blackmoore	Elizabeth	Uffculme	1635
Uffculme; 98U	Baker	Richard	Uffculme	1635
Uffculme; 97U	Dowdney	Dunes	Uffculme	1635
Uffculme; 95U	Crosse	Elizabeth	Uffculme	1635

Uffculme; 106U	Eastbrooke	Elizabeth	Uffculme	1638
Uffculme; 107U	Keeper	Thomas	Uffculme	1638
Uffculme; 109U	Heathfeild	Luce	Uffculme	1639
Uffculme; 111U	Rudge	Beaten	Uffculme	1639
Uffculme; 110U	Bryar	Edwards	Uffculme	1639
Uffculme; 112U	Mill	Robert	Uffculme	1639
Uffculme; 113U	Bray	Humfrey	Uffculme	1640
Uffculme; 114U	Osmond	John	Uffculme	1641
Uffculme; 117U	Dowdney	Agnes	Uffculme	1642
Uffculme; 118U	Langridge	Elizabeth	Uffculme	1644
Uffculme; 120U	Dowdney	Nicholas	Uffculme	1645
Uffculme; 121U	Cotterell	Ambrose	Uffculme	1645
Uffculme; 122U	Dowdney	Bartholomew	Uffculme	1645
Uffculme; 123U	Andrew	Elizabeth	Uffculme	1647
Uffculme; 124U	Davy	Symon	Uffculme	1648
Uffculme; 125U	Cheeke	John	Uffculme	1657
Uffculme; 126U	Trickey	John	Uffculme	1658
Uffculme; L1U	Jerman	Thomas	Uffculme	1661
Uffculme; 128U	Henson	Humfry	Uffculme	1661

Cash; 208C	Temlett	Benedict	Sandford	1664	
Uffculme; 136U	Francke	Ames	Uffculme	1664	
Uffculme; 133U	Fursdon	George	Uffculme	1664	
Uffculme; 134U	Fryer	Francis	Uffculme	1664	
Cash; 210C	Cobley	John	Sandford	1665	
Uffculme; 137U	Hitchcocke	Williams	Uffculme	1665	
Uffculme; L7U	Holway	Nicholas	Uffculme	1666	
Uffculme; 141U	Welch	George	Uffculme	1666	
Uffculme; 144U	Wyatt	Anne	Uffculme	1668	
Cash; 216C	Cole	Margaret	Staverton	1669	Widow
Uffculme; 156U	Jorden	John	Uffculme	1670	
Uffculme; 155U	Butson	John	Uffculme	1670	
Uffculme; 161U	Rawlings	John	Uffculme	1670	
Uffculme; 152U	Grantland	John	Uffculme	1670	
Uffculme; 154U	Starke	Wylliam	Uffculme	1670	
Uffculme; 153U	Pooke alias Weeks	Robert	Uffculme	1670	
Uffculme; 157U	Palfry	Christofer	Uffculme	1670	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/5	Comens	Marie	Cockington	1671	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/4B	Adams	William	Cockington	1671	

DHC; 48/13/2/3/3B	Hofgood	Robert	Cockington	1671
Cash; 222C	Cobley	Agnes	Sandford	1671
Uffculme; L3U	Ranisford	Gervas	Uffculme	1671
Uffculme; L4U	Sames	Ellen	Uffculme	1672
Uffculme; 162U	Salter	Joanne	Uffculme	1672
Uffculme; 163U	Facy	William	Uffculme	1673
Uffculme; 164U	Moore	John	Uffculme	1673
Uffculme; L5U	Brooke	John	Uffculme	1673
DHC; 48/13/2/3/6A	Hunniwill	Barnard	Cockington	1674
Uffculme; 169U	Ashelford	Adrian	Uffculme	1675
DHC; 48/13/2/3/7A	Cooke	William	Cockington	1676
DHC; 48/13/2/3/8A	Eastly	Richard	Cockington	1676
Uffculme; 170U	Gealard/ Gillard	Thomas	Uffculme	1676
Uffculme; 180U	Parsons	Henry	Uffculme	1681
Uffculme; 182U	Rugg	Elizabeth	Uffculme	1681
DHC; 48/13/2/3/9B	Bockingham	Marie	Cockington	1682
Uffculme; 188U	Butson	John and Elizabeth	Uffculme	1682
DHC; 48/13/2/3/12A	Cooke	Michael	Cockington	1684
DHC; 48/13/2/3/11B	Adams	Margery	Cockington	1685

Uffculme; 192U	Gay	Henry	Uffculme	1686	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/17A	Curtis	Agnes	Cockington	1687	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/18A	Parnell	Sallomy	Cockington	1688	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/16B	Osborne	Susanna	Cockington	1688	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/21A	Wesner	Andrew	Cockington	1689	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/19B	Matthews	John	Cockington	1689	
Uffculme; 200U	Kerslake	William	Uffculme	1689	
DHC; 48/13/2/3/10B	Neck	Jane	Cockington	1690	Widow
Uffculme; 201U	Waldron	Richard	Uffculme	1690	
Uffculme; 202U	Woodrow	Richard	Uffculme	1690	
Uffculme; 205U	Dowdney	Baptist	Uffculme	1691	
Uffculme; 203U	Gill	John	Uffculme	1691	
Uffculme; 206U	Kerslake	Elizabeth	Uffculme	1691	
Uffculme; 207U	Cotterill	William	Uffculme	1691	
Uffculme; 208U	Dowdney	Joane	Uffculme	1691	
Uffculme; L10U	Batt	James	Uffculme	1691	Clothier
Uffculme; 209U	Stephens	Mary	Uffculme	1692	
Uffculme; L8U	Melhuish	Alexander	Uffculme	1695	
Uffculme; 215U	Salkfield	Henry	Uffculme	1695	

Uffculme; 218U	Stevens	Henrey	Uffculme	1696
Uffculme; 220U	James	Sarah	Uffculme	1698
Uffculme; 223U	Wood	William	Uffculme	1699
Uffculme; 224U	Escott/ Arscott	William	Uffculme	1700
Uffculme; 225U	Welch	Humfry	Uffculme	1700
Uffculme; 227U	Marshall	John	Uffculme	1702
Uffculme; 228U	Hellings	Robert	Uffculme	1703
DHC; 48/13/2/3/22	Hutchings	Martha	Cockington	1706
Uffculme; 230U	Speed	Mary	Uffculme	1709
DHC; 48/13/2/3/23B	Slee	William	Cockington	1712
Uffculme; 234U	Piprill	Joane	Uffculme	1713
Uffculme; 236U	Quicke	John	Uffculme	1714
Uffculme; 237U	Rugge	Richard	Uffculme	1719
Uffculme; 239U	Persey	Robert	Uffculme	1720
Uffculme; 240U	Caddy	John	Uffculme	1720
Uffculme; 241U	Mills	William	Uffculme	1725
Uffculme; 245U	Gange	Mary	Uffculme	1732
Uffculme; 247U	Jerwood	Mary	Uffculme	1743

171 inventories

Rural non-gentry inventories with rooms described

Cornwall

Reference	Surname	Forename(s)	Location	Date	Status	Wealth (£)
CRO; AP/F/3	Frost	Richard	St Stephens by Saltash	1601	Surgeon	11
CRO; AP/G/9	Grose	William	Liskeard	1601		300
CRO; AP/D/86	Dabin or Dawbyn	James	Madron	1610		8
CRO; AP/G/122	Green	Walter	St Thomas by Launceston	1610	Cordwainer	
CRO; AP/W/168	Welshe	Henry	Liskeard	1610		63
CRO; AP/C/259	Cooke	Richard	St Stephens by Saltash	1611		20
CRO; AP/P/263	Penfound	Elizabeth	St Gennys	1613	Widow	39
CRO; AP/S/268	Sampson	Katherine	Madron	1614	Mistress	91
CRO; AP/W/220	Wearinge	Robert	St Thomas by Launceston	1614		37
CRO; AP/H/366	Hellier	James	Bodmin	1615		
CRO; AP/L/166	Leane	William	St Stephens by Saltash	1616	Butcher	40
CRO; AP/H/431	Hawke	Florence	Bodmin	1618	Widow	99
CRO; AP/B/256	Bickton	Roger	St Stephens by Saltash	1619		70
CRO; AP/C/462	Condgon	John	St Thomas by Launceston	1619		210
CRO; AP/C/461	Congdon	Katherine	St Thomas by Launceston	1619		203
CRO; AP/E/91	Edwards	George	St Thomas by Launceston	1621	Tanner	99

CRO; AP/B/586/3	Bermike	William	Linkinhorne	1622	Husbandman	
CRO; AP/C/524	Champion	Simon	Liskeard	1622	Husbandman	122
CRO; AP/F/97	Finch	William	St Stephens by Saltash	1622	Merchant	123
CRO; AP/M/358	Madern	John	Madron	1622		272
CRO; AP/P/433	Penquite	Richard	Madron	1622		
CRO; AP/T/392	Tonkinge	John	St Austell	1622		79
CRO; AP/W/404	Williams	Richard	St Stephens by Saltash	1623		83
CRO; AP/W/386	Williams	Richard	Bodmin	1623		67
CRO; AP/E/115	Edgcombe	Edmond	St Stephens by Saltash	1624	Cordwainer	65
CRO; AP/M/397	Marke	John	Liskeard	1624		760
CRO; AP/M/404	May	Elizabeth	St Austell	1624	Widow	79
CRO; AP/B/386/2	Bridge	William	Liskeard	1625		30
CRO; AP/C/646	Clyes	Alice	Madron	1625	Widow	
CRO; AP/G/310	Grills	Alice	Liskeard	1625		12
CRO; AP/H/622	Hambley	John	St Austell	1625	Yeoman	516
CRO; AP/B/703/2	Billinge alias Trelawder	Robert	Bodmin	1626		50
CRO; AP/P/528	Penquite	Alice	Madron	1626		32
CRO; AP/P/516	Preston	William	St Stephens by Saltash	1626	Weaver	162
CRO; AP/W/432	Warring	John	Bodmin	1626		147

CRO; AP/R/461	Rawle	Edward	St Gennys	1627	Yeoman	
CRO; AP/D/277	Dadowe	William	Madron	1628		117
CRO; AP/E/146	Ellis	John	Madron	1628		315
CRO; AP/G/345	Goodding	John	Linkinhorne	1628	Yeoman	19
CRO; AP/O/84	Oliver	John	St Thomas by Launceston	1628	Tanner	166
CRO; AP/T/494	Thomas	John	Madron	1628	Sailor	7
CRO; AP/D/307	Downing	Christopher	Egloskerry	1629	Yeoman	25
CRO; AP/H/776	Hutchens	Thomas	Paul	1629	Yeoman	27
CRO; AP/K/127	Knight	John	St Stephens by Saltash	1629		64
CRO; AP/D/310	Dunkin	Robert	Madron	1630		60
CRO; AP/M/531	Morcombe	John	Bodmin	1631	Tanner	193
CRO; AP/J/383	James	Richard	Madron	1632	Yeoman	63
CRO; AP/P/626	Parker	Roger	Madron	1632	Cooper	112
CRO; AP/G/388	Grills	Henry	Linkinhorne	1633	Yeoman	493
CRO; AP/M/548	Maddren	Nicolas	Madron	1633		25
CRO; AP/M/547	Myller	Thomas	Madron	1633	Merchant	
CRO; AP/M/562	Martyn	Degory	St Stephen by Launceston	1635	Yeoman	92
CRO; AP/B/908	Barber	Thomas	Madron	1637	Shoemaker	27
CRO; AP/K/165	Kegwyn	Elizabeth	Paul	1637	Widow	113

CRO; AP/R/599	Roe	Richard	St Thomas by Launceston	1637	Yeoman	
CRO; AP/C/926	Cable	Richard	St Thomas by Launceston	1638		26
CRO; AP/S/812	Satchell	Edward	Madron	1639		19
CRO; AP/E/188	Edmonds	William	Madron	1640	Tailor	21
CRO; AP/H/1058	Holden	William	Bodmin	1640		33
CRO; AP/C/978	Came	John	St Austell	1641	Yeoman	253
CRO; AP/W/685	Williams	John	Bodmin	1641		22
CRO; AP/K/203	Kellye	William	Madron	1642	Merchant	98
CRO; AP/B/1070/2	Barrett	Robert	Liskeard	1643		12
CRO; AP/B/1093/3	Bodener	Jenkin	Paul	1643		21
CRO; AP/F/197	Foote	John	Linkinhorne	1643		225
CRO; AP/M/704	Moon	John	St Stephens by Saltash	1643	Cordwainer	45
CRO; AP/N/208	Nute	Sampson	Bodmin	1643		11
CRO; AP/T/733	Tremenheere	Henry	Madron	1643		234
CRO; AP/B/1124/4	Best	John	Bodmin	1644	Yeoman	63
CRO; AP/H/1174	Hellyar	Gregory	Bodmin	1644	Weaver	17
CRO; AP/H/1186	Holman	Walter	St Stephen by Launceston	1644		12
CRO; AP/W/731	Wilcock	Johan	Liskeard	1644		9
CRO; AP/S/957	Stevens	Richard	Madron	1645		66

CRO; AP/F/222	Fosse	Henry	Madron	1648	Butcher	34
CRO; AP/E/252	Esam	Thomas	Madron	1660		128
CRO; AP/W/847	Wills	Thomas	Bodmin	1660	Mercer	313
CRO; AP/A/303/2	Amerideth	Alice	St Stephen by Launceston	1662	Widow	135
CRO; AP/F/245	Finney	James	Madron	1662		62
CRO; AP/J/588	Jenkin	Thomas	Madron	1663		78
CRO; AP/M/886	Moulton	Peter	St Stephens by Saltash	1664	Merchant	931
CRO; AP/R/858	Rowter	John	St Stephens by Saltash	1664		76
CRO; AP/D/609	Davy	John	St Austell	1665		34
CRO; AP/W/898	Wilkey	Dorothy	St Stephens by Saltash	1665	Spinster	64
CRO; AP/O/197	Olliver	John	St Thomas by Launceston	1666		
CRO; AP/B/1499	Bickton	Richard	St Stephens by Saltash	1667	Yeoman	412
CRO; AP/B/1483	Butler	William	St Thomas by Launceston	1667		8
CRO; AP/C/1425	Came	Andrew	St Austell	1667	Mercer	221
CRO; AP/P/1224	Preston	Nicholas	St Stephens by Saltash	1669	Clothier	55
CRO; AP/W/983	Williams	Thomas	St Stephens by Saltash	1669	Mercer	18
CRO; AP/T/1043	Tallack	Oliver	St Austell	1670		19
CRO; AP/C/1564	Congdon	Thomas	Egloskerry	1671		23
CRO; AP/F/301	Fry	Henry	Bodmin	1671		14

CRO; AP/M/978	Maddren	Martin	Madron	1671	Merchant	261
CRO; AP/C/1600	Couch	Thomas	Liskeard	1672	Apothecary	130
CRO; AP/D/682	Dallyn	Walter	St Austell	1672		73
CRO; AP/H/1752	Harvey	Benedict	Madron	1672		87
CRO; AP/H/1744	Hunking	Agnes	St Stephens by Saltash	1672	Widow	577
CRO; AP/W/1045	Williams	Henry	St Stephens by Saltash	1672		48
CRO; AP/C/1652	Chergwin	William	Madron	1674	Yeoman	69
CRO; AP/G/786	George	Blanche	Madron	1674	Widow	37
CRO; AP/H/1771	Horrell	William	St Thomas by Launceston	1674	Yeoman	54
CRO; AP/L/695	Luddra	Richard	Madron	1674		66
CRO; AP/M/1063	Marshall	Edward	St Gennys	1674		18
CRO; AP/W/1099	Whitford	George	Liskeard	1675		97
CRO; AP/C/1733	Chapman	Jacob	Liskeard	1677		530
CRO; AP/N/315	Noye	Elizabeth	Paul	1677	Widow	44
CRO; AP/W/1148	White	Joan	Bodmin	1677	Widow	15
CRO; AP/C/1772	Cary	Nicholas	Liskeard	1678		166
CRO; AP/J/775	Jenking	William	Madron	1679	Yeoman	26
CRO; AP/W/1196	White	John	Bodmin	1679	Fellmonger	3
CRO; AP/B/1942/1	Boase	John	Paul	1681	Yeoman	11

CRO; AP/H/2014	Harry	Robert	Madron	1681	Merchant	485
CRO; AP/P/1469	Peterfield	Richard	St Stephens by Saltash	1681	Cordwainer	4
CRO; AP/T/1251	Toms	William	St Stephens by Saltash	1681	Clerk	51
CRO; AP/B/1985/2	Bennett	Richard	Bodmin	1683	Blacksmith	4
CRO; AP/C/1950	Cudlipp	Richard	St Stephens by Saltash	1683		22
CRO; AP/E/386	Earle	Simon	Bodmin	1683		222
CRO; AP/G/895	Geach	Joseph	Madron	1683	Soldier	48
CRO; AP/H/2112	Herring	John	St Stephens by Saltash	1683		113
CRO; AP/D/833	Dyer	Richard	Madron	1684	Cutler	10
CRO; AP/B/2084/2	Box	Richard	Bodmin	1685	Yeoman	28
CRO; AP/C/1971	Coombe	Walter	Linkinhorne	1685	Yeoman	195
CRO; AP/C/1981	Courtis	Paul	St Stephens by Saltash	1685	Husbandman	53
CRO; AP/H/2183	Heale	Alice	St Stephens by Saltash	1685	Widow	72
CRO; AP/R/1242	Rawlings	Nicholas	Madron	1685		66
CRO; AP/A/479/2	Allen	William	St Austell	1686		
CRO; AP/S/1709	Simmons	James	Madron	1686		73
CRO; AP/B/2187/2	Best	Richard	Bodmin	1688	Yeoman	35
CRO; AP/P/1731	Piper	John	St Stephens by Saltash	1688	Yeoman	24
CRO; AP/R/1282	Rawlings	William	Madron	1688	Cordwainer	35

CRO; AP/B/2184	Bennett	James	Madron	1689		68
CRO; AP/H/2267	Hill	George	Egloskerry	1689		20
CRO; AP/H/2270	Hitchcock	John	Madron	1689	Cordwainer	39
CRO; AP/J/886	John	Thomas	Madron	1689	Blacksmith	39
CRO; AP/P/1753	Pett	Nicholas	St Stephens by Saltash	1689	Cordwainer	46
CRO; AP/T/1427	Tonkin	Uriah	Madron	1689	Merchant	211
CRO; AP/W/1385	Wills	Anna	St Stephens by Saltash	1689	Widow	39
CRO; AP/A/488	Axford	Jacob	St Stephens by Saltash	1690	Cordwainer	10
CRO; AP/B/2214/2	Battens	William	Paul	1690		8
CRO; AP/H/2271	Hutchens	John	Paul	1690		24
CRO; AP/H/2325	Hutchens	Thomas	Paul	1690	Yeoman	69
CRO; AP/J/898	Jasper	Nicholas	Paul	1690		12
CRO; AP/T/1443	Teage	Nicholas	Paul	1690	Yeoman	105
CRO; AP/W/1404	Williams	Ann	Bodmin	1690	Widow	16
CRO; AP/E/454	Elliott	Philip	St Austell	1691	Mercer	291
CRO; AP/H/2371	Huchens	John	Madron	1691		73
CRO; AP/O/298	Oliver	Matthew	St Austell	1691	Carpenter	39
CRO; AP/P/1821	Pearce	John	Madron	1691	Cordwainer	24
CRO; AP/S/1789	Sampson	William	Madron	1691	Victualler	38

CRO; AP/B/2256	Benmer	Thomas	Madron	1692		51
CRO; AP/B/2291/2	Bennick	Duance	Linkinhorne	1692		43
CRO; AP/J/944	John	Roger	Madron	1692	Blower	25
CRO; AP/P/1860	Pearce	William	Madron	1692		12
CRO; AP/H/2393	Hodge	John	St Austell	1693		86
CRO; AP/V/290	Vallett	Charles	St Stephen by Launceston	1693		26
CRO; AP/A/519	Avery	Thomas	Madron	1694	Tailor	36
CRO; AP/M/1425	Moone	Cornelius	Liskeard	1694	Yeoman	365
CRO; AP/C/2263	Collett	James	Madron	1695	Mariner	5
CRO; AP/C/2293	Congdon	Degory	St Stephen by Launceston	1695	Yeoman	180
CRO; AP/S/1950	Salthouse	Thomas	St Austell	1695	Mercer and Merchant	19
CRO; AP/W/1536	Williams	Martin	Bodmin	1695	Pewterer	34
CRO; AP/B/2438/2	Box	John	Bodmin	1696		6
CRO; AP/B/2450/2	Burt	Christopher	Liskeard	1696	Tanner	172
CRO; AP/C/2318	Commin	John	St Austell	1696		48
CRO; AP/B/2456/2	Bennett	William	Bodmin	1697	Fuller	30
CRO; AP/C/2336	Cock	Leonard	Madron	1698	Cooper	35
CRO; AP/W/1615	Warden	Francis	St Stephens by Saltash	1699	Quarryman	12
CRO; AP/B/2532/2	Bradley	Nicholas	Bodmin	1700	Yeoman	67

CRO; AP/C/2385	Cock	William	St Austell	1700		32
CRO; AP/C/2454	Collings	John	Madron	1702	Tailor	8
CRO; AP/B/2581	Boase	Tonkyn	Madron	1703		9
CRO; AP/C/2509	Crossman	Humphry	Bodmin	1703		40
CRO; AP/V/331	Veale	William	Bodmin	1703	Yeoman	66
CRO; AP/W/1685	White	Gabriel	Paul	1704	Blacksmith	14
CRO; AP/B/2668/2	Bond	William	Bodmin	1705	Widower	21
CRO; AP/S/1087	Dingle	Edward	Linkinhorne	1706	Yeoman	263
CRO; AP/M/1644	Martyn	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1706	Yeoman	88
CRO; AP/K/574	Knight	Degory	St Stephens by Saltash	1708	Husbandman	43
CRO; AP/T/1815	Truscott	Walter	St Stephens by Saltash	1708	Blacksmith	17
CRO; AP/B/2750/2	Broadlake	Thomas	Linkinhorne	1709	Yeoman	121
CRO; AP/C/2610	Carpenter	Peter	Madron	1709		55
CRO; AP/J/1143	James	Edward	Paul	1709		15
CRO; AP/P/2271	Pain	George	Paul	1709	Husbandman	16
CRO; AP/B/2802/1	Bond	John	St Austell	1710		18
CRO; AP/H/2072	Hodge	Zacharias	St Austell	1710	Clothier	620
CRO; AP/P/2306	Pollard	John	Madron	1710	Yeoman	91
CRO; AP/J/1162	John	Jacquet	Madron	1711		12

CRO; AP/J/1166	Jones	Elizabeth	Madron	1711	Widow	51
CRO; AP/C/2684	Caines	Stephen	St Austell	1712	Yeoman	58
CRO; AP/H/4030	Hall	Richard	Madron	1713		108
CRO; AP/T/1884	Trubody	John	Linkinhorne	1713	Yeoman	29
CRO; AP/W/1845	Williams	Edward	St Stephens by Saltash	1713		12
CRO; AP/C/2718	Chambers	Honour	Madron	1714	Widow	18
CRO; AP/H/4072	Hawken	John	Bodmin	1714	Barker and Tanner	393
CRO; AP/K/599	Kemp	Francis	Linkinhorne	1714		44
CRO; AP/L/1147	Lobb	George	St Stephens by Saltash	1714	Joiner	11
CRO; AP/P/2389	Pearse	Nicholas	Paul	1714	Fisherman	67
CRO; AP/P/2474	Pearse	William	Paul	1715	Fisherman	53
CRO; AP/C/2784	Cock	Peter	Bodmin	1716		33
CRO; AP/P/2460	Porter	Margaret	St Stephens by Saltash	1716		69
CRO; AP/D/1174	Taddow	Thomas	St Austell	1716	Yeoman	22
CRO; AP/U/84	Uglow	Richard	Bodmin	1716		5
CRO; AP/B/2961/2	Blake	William	Bodmin	1717	Tanner and Barker	16
CRO; AP/H/4177	Hobb	Richard	St Stephens by Saltash	1717	Yeoman	134
CRO; AP/R/1825	Reepe	John	St Stephens by Saltash	1719	Yeoman	33
CRO; AP/C/2881	Common	Patience	St Austell	1720	Widow	362

CRO; AP/C/2882	Congdon	Phillip	St Stephen by Launceston	1720	Tanner	196
CRO; AP/D/1253	Davy	John	St Stephens by Saltash	1721		28
CRO; AP/H/4259	Hodge	Richard	St Austell	1721	Yeoman	269
CRO; AP/W/1985	Wallis	Rebecca	St Austell	1721	Widow	1189
CRO; AP/H/4287	Heard	Thomas	St Stephens by Saltash	1722	Yeoman	563
CRO; AP/P/2573	Polgreane	Bennet	Madron	1722		79
CRO; AP/T/2042	Thomas	Richard	Paul	1722		13
CRO; AP/B/3116/1	Blake	Martin	Bodmin	1723	Currier	71
CRO; AP/R/1905	Roberts	John	St Stephens by Saltash	1724		236
CRO; AP/T/2076	Taylor	John	Linkinhorne	1724	Butcher	48
CRO; AP/J/1309	Jones	Arthur	Madron	1725		193
CRO; AP/M/1958	Moyle	Mary	St Austell	1725	Spinster	115
CRO; AP/S/2619	Smeeth	William	St Gennys	1727		222
CRO; AP/N/538	Nankivell	Henry	St Austell	1728		186
CRO; AP/B/3307/1	Bennett	Augustine	St Austell	1730	Tailor and Shopkeeper	80
CRO; AP/H/4483	Halls	Samuel	St Austell	1730	Yeoman	106
CRO; AP/H/4508	Hodge	Anne	St Austell	1730	Widow	649
CRO; AP/J/1349	Johnathan	John	Linkinhorne	1731	Yeoman	28
CRO; AP/R/2078	Richards	Nicolas	Paul	1734	Yeoman	788

CRO; AP/T/2299	Treweeke	Nicholas	St Thomas by Launceston	1734	Dyer	18
CRO; AP/W/2208	Williams	Josepth	St Stephens by Saltash	1734	Plumber	14
CRO; AP/D/1447	Dingle	John	Linkinhorne	1736	Yeoman	311
CRO; AP/B/3534/1	Bishop	Francis	Bodmin	1738	Goldsmith	215
CRO; AP/J/1442	Jenkin	Walter	St Stephens by Saltash	1738		157
CRO; AP/W/2290	Williams	David	St Austell	1738		
CRO; AP/W/2291	Williams	Edward	Paul	1738	Yeoman	64
CRO; AP/W/2317	Wood	Jasper	Bodmin	1739		6
CRO; AP/C/3340	Commin	Stephen	St Austell	1740		55
CRO; AP/C/3352	Clemace	Grace	St Austell	1741	Spinster	75
CRO; AP/L/1478	Lampen	Jane	St Stephens by Saltash	1741		60
CRO; AP/W/2263	Westlake	Thomas	St Austell	1741		22
CRO; AP/B/3707/2	Burl	Frances	St Stephen by Launceston	1742		19
CRO; AP/B/3716	Betty	Edward	Madron	1743	Mason	13

CRO; AP/C/3417	Chappell	William	Liskeard	1743	Tanner	93
CRO; AP/G/6052	Grendell	Richard	Paul	1743	Yeoman	180
CRO; AP/H/4986	Hill	Christopher	St Stephens by Saltash	1745	Surgeon	129
CRO; AP/W/2445	Wills	William	Paul	1745		18
CRO; AP/H/4989	Hore	Samuel	St Austell	1746	Shopkeeper	69
CRO; AP/H/5081	Halls	Elizabeth	St Austell	1747	Widow	105
CRO; AP/N/657	Newton or Nuton	Thomas	St Austell	1747		35
CRO; AP/B/3859/2	Pourts	Samuel	St Thomas by Launceston	1747	Mason	101
CRO; AP/C/3455	Couch	Edward	St Stephens by Saltash	1749	Joiner	39
CRO; AP/B/3895/2	Borlare	Elizabeth	St Austell	1750		213
CRO; AP/H/6003	Hooper	William	Linkinhorne	1750	Tinner	20

250 inventories

Devon

Reference	Surname	Forename	Location	Date	Status	Wealth
Uffculme; 37U	Rudge	Thomas	Uffculme	1602		23
Uffculme; 38U	Welshe	John	Uffculme	1603		33
Uffculme; 52U	Tucker	Barnard	Uffculme	1613	Weaver	65
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F154	Ball	Gervis	Cockington	1613		21
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F157	Holye	William	Cockington	1613		97
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F166	Hyne	Nicholas	Cockington	1614		8
DHC; 48/13/2/3/2/F160	Ball	Mary	Cockington	1615		60
Uffculme; 66U	Marshall	Christopher	Uffculme	1625		61
Uffculme; 68U	Culliford	John	Uffculme	1626		14
Uffculme; 72U	Cadbury	Matthew	Uffculme	1627		124
Uffculme; 73U	Hurley	Thomas	Uffculme	1627		72
Uffculme; 74U	Shilds / Sheild	Simond / Simon	Uffculme	1627		37
Uffculme; 78U	Hurley	Thomas	Uffculme	1628	Fuller	28
Uffculme; 80U	Norton	John	Uffculme	1628		32
Uffculme; 81U	Cole	Edmund	Uffculme	1628		62
Uffculme; 83U	Starke	Alexander	Uffculme	1628		7
Uffculme; 84U	Hurley	Alice	Uffculme	1628	Widow	74
Uffculme; 86U	Sanders	John	Uffculme	1629		36

Uffculme; 87U	Norton	Dorothy	Uffculme	1630	Widow	20
Uffculme; 89U	Read	Robert	Uffculme	1631		39
Uffculme; 91U	Rawlins	John	Uffculme	1631		87
Uffculme; 92U	Sander	Joan	Uffculme	1631	Widow	45
Uffculme; 93U	Rugg	Henry	Uffculme	1632	Yeoman	274
Uffculme; 96U	Champeneys	Mary	Uffculme	1635	Widow	20
Uffculme; 99U	Pearsey	Dorothy	Uffculme	1635	Widow	14
Uffculme; 102U	Satchell	Edmund	Uffculme	1636	Husbandman	23
Uffculme; 103U	Cornish	John	Uffculme	1636		52
Uffculme; 104U	Leyman	Francis	Uffculme	1637		86
Uffculme; 105U	James alias Slade	Samuel	Uffculme	1638		101
Uffculme; 108U	Pooke	James	Uffculme	1639		121
Uffculme; 115U	Rawlins	Benjamin	Uffculme	1641	Yeoman	54
Uffculme; 116U	Branch	Edward	Uffculme	1641		26
Uffculme; 119U	Cape	William	Uffculme	1644		72
Cash; 195C	Lane	Roger	Sandford	1655		54
Uffculme; 127U	Dowdney	Margaret	Uffculme	1660		219
Uffculme; 129U	Carter	Thomasine	Uffculme	1663		76
Uffculme; 130U	Cheeke	John	Uffculme	1663	Yeoman	12

Uffculme; 131U	Gill	Henry	Uffculme	1663	Yeoman	366
Uffculme; 132U	Goodridge	Richard	Uffculme	1663	Yeoman	198
Uffculme; 135U	Baker	Bridgett	Uffculme	1664	Widow	405
Cash; 213C	Tiddaford	Richard	Staverton	1665		141
Uffculme; 139U	Wheddon	Attewill	Uffculme	1666		20
Uffculme; 140U	Andrew	Edward	Uffculme	1666	Whitebaker	20
Uffculme; 142U	Crosse	William	Uffculme	1667	Yeoman	186
Uffculme; 143U	Marshall	Edward	Uffculme	1668	Fuller	197
Uffculme; 145U	Goodridge	William	Uffculme	1668	Husbandman	11
Uffculme; 146U	Hodge	William	Uffculme	1669	Tailor	67
Uffculme; 147U	Bishopp	Edmont	Uffculme	1670	Husbandman	5
Uffculme; 148U	Croyden	Thomas	Uffculme	1670	Yeoman	77
Uffculme; 149U	Cotterell	Agnes	Uffculme	1670	Widow	35
Uffculme; 150U	Vosse	John	Uffculme	1670	Yeoman	8
Uffculme; 151U	Fursdon	Elizabeth	Uffculme	1670	Widow	45
Uffculme; 158U	Minifie	Henry	Uffculme	1670	Tailor	21
Uffculme; L2U	Mills	John	Uffculme	1670	Yeoman	1481
Uffculme; 159U	Kent	William	Uffculme	1671	Dyer	12
Uffculme; 160U	Prince	Bernard	Uffculme	1671		9

Uffculme; 165U	Dowdney	Francis	Uffculme	1673	Yeoman	40
Uffculme; 166U	Prince	George	Uffculme	1674		39
Uffculme; 167U	Merson	Ann	Uffculme	1674	Widow	55
Uffculme; 168U	Tanner alias Howe	William	Uffculme	1675		21
Uffculme; L6U	Holway alias Andro	Richard	Uffculme	1675	Widow	19
Uffculme; 171U	Gill	Robert	Uffculme	1676	Yeoman	223
Uffculme; 172U	Smith	William	Uffculme	1676		195
Uffculme; 173U	Marshall	Christopher	Uffculme	1676	Yeoman	179
Uffculme; 174U	Patch alias Pagey	Richard	Uffculme	1676	Carpenter	58
Uffculme; 175U	Bishopp	Samuel	Uffculme	1677	Yeoman	32
Uffculme; 177U	Smeath	Joan	Uffculme	1678		30
Uffculme; 178U	Waldron	Richard	Uffculme	1679	Yeoman	109
Uffculme; 179U	How alias Tanner	John	Uffculme	1681	Husbandman	22
Uffculme; 181U	Stevens	Arthur	Uffculme	1681		222
Uffculme; 184U	Crosse	William	Uffculme	1682		67
Uffculme; 185U	Starke	John	Uffculme	1682	Clothier	122
Uffculme; 186U	Rise	Walter	Uffculme	1682	Malster	7
Uffculme; 187U	James	Samuel	Uffculme	1682		80
Uffculme; 183U	Jurdin/ Jorden	Anne	Uffculme	1683	Widow	18

Uffculme; 189U	Welche	Simon	Uffculme	1683		130
Uffculme; L9U	Callow	Edward	Uffculme	1683		341
Uffculme; 190U	How alias Tanner	Mary	Uffculme	1684	Widow	8
DHC; 48/13/2/3/13A	Hingson	John	Cockington	1685		37
Uffculme; 191U	Matthew	Richard	Uffculme	1686	Vicar	119
Uffculme; 193U	Barnfield	John	Uffculme	1687	Husbandman	45
DHC; 48/13/2/3/15B	Honywill	Mary	Cockington	1687		29
Uffculme; 194U	Bishop	Elizabeth	Uffculme	1688		79
Uffculme; 195U	Dowdney	Arthur	Uffculme	1688	Tailor	17
Uffculme; 196U	Leaman	John	Uffculme	1688		88
Uffculme; 197U	Dunne	John	Uffculme	1688	Yeoman	421
Uffculme; 198U	Salkeld	John	Uffculme	1688		134
Uffculme; 199U	Dulin	John	Uffculme	1689	Fuller	15
Cash; 252C	Jeffery	Thomas	Dunsford	1690		19
Uffculme; 204U	Woodruffe	Humfrey	Uffculme	1691		73
Uffculme; 210U	Mogford	William	Uffculme	1693		20
Uffculme; 211U	Barnfield	Margaret	Uffculme	1694	Widow	14
Uffculme; 212U	Butson	John	Uffculme	1694		34
Uffculme; 213U	Tidbury	James	Uffculme	1695		137

Uffculme; 214U	Salkfield	Thomas	Uffculme	1695	Yeoman	54
Uffculme; 216U	Cunnant	John	Uffculme	1695		43
Uffculme; L11U	Dyer	John	Uffculme	1695		972
Uffculme; L12U	Burrow	Robert	Uffculme	1695		1088
Uffculme; 217U	Bishop	Samuel	Uffculme	1696	Yeoman	80
Uffculme; 219U	Dunne	Justin	Uffculme	1697		30
Uffculme; L13U	Dunne	Thomas	Uffculme	1697		609
Uffculme; 221U	Rose	Richard	Uffculme	1698		26
Uffculme; 222U	Welsh	Jane	Uffculme	1698	Widow	62
Uffculme; L14U	Marshall	Edward	Uffculme	1699		770
Uffculme; L15U	Westron	Mark	Uffculme	1699		502
Uffculme; 226U	Gay	Margaret	Uffculme	1700		164
Uffculme; L16U	Batt	Robert	Uffculme	1703		696
Uffculme; 229U	Bishop	Humfrey	Uffculme	1704	Yeoman	172
Uffculme; 231U	Bishop	Giles	Uffculme	1709	Yeoman	439
Uffculme; 232U	Blackaller	John	Uffculme	1713		5
Uffculme; 233U	Gill	Richard	Uffculme	1713		57
Uffculme; 235U	Davy	William	Uffculme	1714	Husbandman	152
Uffculme; 238U	Bishop	Christoper	Uffculme	1719	Yeoman	253

Uffculme; 242U	Marshall	Ann	Uffculme	1731		15
Uffculme; 243U	Callow	Henry	Uffculme	1731		20
Uffculme; 244U	Tucker	Nicholas	Uffculme	1731		108
Uffculme; 246U	Holway	William	Uffculme	1733	Mason	17

116 inventories

Urban inventories without rooms described

Cornwall

Reference	Surname	Forename	Location	Date	Status
CRO; AP/B/2	Baker	John	Truro Borough	1601	
CRO; AP/B/7	Batten	Alice	Truro	1601	Widow
CRO; AP/A/6	Abbott	John	Launceston	1602	Chandler and Weaver
CRO; AP/B/27	Batten	William	Launceston	1602	
CRO; AP/B/38	Bethewin	Thomas	Launceston	1602	Barber
CRO; AP/B/40	Bonney	John	Liskeard Borough	1602	Tailor
CRO; AP/B/41	Bounsal	Alice	Launceston	1602	Widow
CRO; AP/D/9	Drake	Anthony	Truro	1602	
CRO; AP/F/5	Francis	Thomas	Liskeard Borough	1602	
CRO; AP/W/21b	Wise alias Cogger	Margerie	Launceston	1602	
CRO; AP/D/22	Drewe	William	Launceston	1603	
CRO; AP/D/9	Drake	Anthony	Truro Borough	1603	
CRO; AP/G/28	Gilbert	Walter	Launceston	1603	
CRO; AP/H/87	Hobb	John	Bodmin Borough	1603	
CRO; AP/N/7	Nicholas	Francis	Truro	1603	
CRO; AP/C/71	Collings	Roger	Truro	1604	

CRO; AP/B/90	Baker	Henry	Launceston	1605	
CRO; AP/H/110	Hoskyn or Hocking	Robert	Launceston	1605	
CRO; AP/H/88	Hambly	John	Launceston	1605	Butcher
CRO; AP/N/16	Nicholas alias Nansmere	Mary	Truro	1605	
CRO; AP/B/133	Bounsall	John	Launceston Borough	1606	Labourer
CRO; AP/D/50	Davy	Stephen	Truro Borough	1606	
CRO; AP/F/18	Fulford	Thomas	Truro	1606	
CRO; AP/H/119	Harvye	Nicholas	Bodmin Borough	1606	
CRO; AP/H/129	Hocken	William	Launceston Borough	1606	Yeoman
CRO; AP/V/23	Vincent	Mary	Truro	1606	
CRO; AP/A/33	Alexander	Thomas	Launceston	1607	
CRO; AP/G/67	Govett	William	Liskeard Borough	1607	
CRO; AP/F/34	Fursman	Laurence	Launceston	1608	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/138	Michell	Walter	Truro	1608	
CRO; AP/B/234	Bligh	Margery	Launceston Borough	1610	Widow
CRO; AP/C/228	Cleeve	William	Launceston	1610	
CRO; AP/H/259	Hocking	John	Truro Borough	1612	
CRO; AP/M/228	Moorton	John	Launceston	1613	
CRO; AP/H/303	Hewitt	Thomas	Launceston	1614	Glazier

CRO; AP/W/195	Wadge	Richard	Launceston	1614	
CRO; AP/C/362	Collins	James	Launceston	1615	Saddler
CRO; AP/H/373	Hocking	Margaret	Launceston	1615	Widow
CRO; AP/N/77	Newman	Nicholas	Launceston	1615	Merchant
CRO; AP/V/46	Vivian	Nicholas	Bodmin Borough	1615	
CRO; AP/W/238	Wall	Nicholas	Truro	1615	
CRO; AP/W/244	Weston	Thomas	Launceston	1615	
CRO; AP/W/246	White	Degory	Launceston	1615	
CRO; AP/G/179	Grenfield	John	Truro	1616	
CRO; AP/H/420	Hunt	David	Liskeard Borough	1616	
CRO; AP/Q/7	Quint	John	Launceston	1616	
CRO; AP/B/434	Bennett	Sibley	Launceston	1617	Widow
CRO; AP/B/455	Buckingham	Jane	Truro Borough	1617	Spinster
CRO; AP/G/203	Godfrey	Thomas	Truro	1617	Sailor
CRO; AP/W/280	Williams	Gregorie	Truro	1617	
CRO; AP/F/78	Fuidge	Richard	Liskeard Borough	1618	Yeoman
CRO; AP/G/213	Gilbert	Margaret	Launceston	1618	Widow
CRO; AP/W/299	Wynter	Richard	Truro	1618	
CRO; AP/H/468	Hambly	John	Bodmin Borough	1619	

CRO; AP/W/302	White	Richard	Truro	1619	
CRO; AP/C/483	Clearkes	Paul	Truro	1620	cooper
CRO; AP/C/489	Cornie	John	Launceston	1620	
CRO; AP/D/183a	Daniell	Jenkin	Truro	1620	
CRO; AP/D/191	Daniell	John	Truro	1620	
CRO; AP/F/88	Flynger	Simon	Launceston Borough	1620	Carpenter
CRO; AP/W/321	Walter	Thomas	Launceston	1620	
CRO; AP/W/333	Worthen	Roger	Launceston	1620	
CRO; AP/B/570	Browne	Margery	Launceston	1621	Widow
CRO; AP/C/497	Chanler	Richard	Launceston	1621	
CRO; AP/C/513	Couch	James	Launceston	1621	Yeoman
CRO; AP/H/548	Hocken	John	Launceston	1621	
CRO; AP/N/119	Noble alias Swen	Richard	Launceston	1621	Husbandman
CRO; AP/T/373	Tozer	Mary	Launceston Borough	1621	Widow
CRO; AP/A/134	Ashcombe	Barbary	Launceston	1622	
CRO; AP/G/266	Gynne	William	Launceston	1622	Yeoman
CRO; AP/G/288	Gunn [alias Pascowe]	Elizabeth	Bodmin Borough	1623	
CRO; AP/H/617	Horsam	Phillipa	Launceston	1623	
CRO; AP/M/369	Michell	Christabell	Truro	1623	

CRO; AP/B/630	Bastian	Stephen	Truro	1624	
CRO; AP/C/600	Couch	Thomasine	Launceston Borough	1624	Widow
CRO; AP/G/280	Govett	Gillian	Liskeard Borough	1624	Spinster
CRO; AP/H/650	Hobb	Margery	Launceston	1624	Widow
CRO; AP/B/661	Bagwell	William	Truro	1625	
CRO; AP/C/608	Clearke	William	Truro	1625	
CRO; AP/C/623	Cottell	John	Launceston Borough	1625	
CRO; AP/A/161	Angilly	Gregory	Truro	1626	Shopkeeper
CRO; AP/B/694	Bannick	Arthur	Launceston	1626	Tanner
CRO; AP/G/350	Gardiner	Robert	Truro	1626	
CRO; AP/D/283	Dawe	Tristram	Launceston	1627	
CRO; AP/T/452	Tawley	Henry	Liskeard Borough	1627	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/743	Berry	John	Bodmin Borough	1628	
CRO; AP/C/694	Collins	Mary	Liskeard Borough	1628	Widow
CRO; AP/N/155	Newel	Thomas	Launceston	1628	Tanner
CRO; AP/T/506	Trethewy	Barnard	Truro	1628	
CRO; AP/D/309	Drew	John	Launceston	1629	
CRO; AP/C/729	Cardew	Richard	Liskeard Borough	1630	cordwainer
CRO; AP/H/803	Horson	Edward	Launceston	1630	Tanner

CRO; AP/H/822	Hodge	William	Liskeard Borough	1631	Saddler
CRO; AP/V/101	Vigurs	Stephen	Launceston	1632	
CRO; AP/B/847	Bennick	John	Liskeard Borough	1633	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/C/824	Cripps	Andrew	Truro Borough	1633	
CRO; AP/D/349b	Daniel	William	Truro	1633	
CRO; AP/H/870	Hamley	Peter	Liskeard Borough	1634	Hellier
CRO; AP/H/874	Hawkes	John	Launceston	1634	
CRO; AP/C/867	Camelford	Jasper	Launceston	1636	
CRO; AP/A/210	Adam	Agnes	Launceston	1637	Widow
CRO; AP/B/933	Browne	William	Liskeard Borough	1637	Tanner
CRO; AP/T/639	Twiggs	Grace	Truro	1637	Widow
CRO; AP/H/987	Herbert	Jane	Launceston	1638	Spinster
CRO; AP/C/970	Cossens	Phillip	Truro	1639	Widow
CRO; AP/E/181	Every	John	Liskeard Borough	1639	Pointer
CRO; AP/G/457	Greete	Joan	Liskeard Borough	1639	Widow
CRO; AP/C/985	Champyn	Simon	Liskeard Borough	1640	chandler
CRO; AP/D/424	Dannall	Joan	Truro	1640	
CRO; AP/T/687	Triplett	Digory	Launceston	1640	Labourer
CRO; AP/B/1023	Bailey	Richard	Launceston Borough	1641	

CRO; AP/C/1032	Castle	Edward	Truro	1642	vintner
CRO; AP/C/1045	Cable	William	Launceston	1643	chandler
CRO; AP/D/472	Dollacke	Sisley	Truro	1643	Spinster
CRO; AP/G/532	Gyn	John	Launceston	1643	
CRO; AP/V/133	Veale	William	Liskeard Borough	1643	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/N/202	Norish	John	Launceston	1644	
CRO; AP/E/213	Elliott	Thomas	Liskeard Borough	1645	
CRO; AP/C/1146	Cocke	Thomas	Launceston	1646	
CRO; AP/G/569	Ginn	Nicholas	Launceston	1646	
CRO; AP/H/1235	Hayman	Robert	Launceston	1646	Barber
CRO; AP/C/1234	Carulsh	John	Truro Borough	1660	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/1246	Coll	Nicholas	Liskeard Borough	1660	merchant
CRO; AP/W/834	Wooldridge	Symeon	Launceston	1660	
CRO; AP/C/1273	Chaffe	James	Launceston	1661	cordwainer
CRO; AP/M/830	Moone	John	Liskeard Borough	1661	Husbandman
CRO; AP/D/577	Dunning	William	Launceston	1662	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/C/1331	Carverth	Jane	Truro	1663	Widow
CRO; AP/W/884	Wilcocke	Roger	Launceston	1663	
CRO; AP/F/251	Fuidge	Martin	Liskeard Borough	1664	Tanner

CRO; AP/G/654	Gregor	Honor	Truro Borough	1664	Widow
CRO; AP/T/922	Tonkin	Edward	Truro	1664	
CRO; AP/V/160	Veosey alias Voysey	Matthew	Launceston	1664	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1438	Bolt	Susan	Bodmin Borough	1665	Widow
CRO; AP/C/1390	Cory	Elizabeth	Bodmin Borough	1665	
CRO; AP/D/620	Davie	William	Liskeard Borough	1666	Carpenter
CRO; AP/D/622	Daw	Mary	Launceston Borough	1666	
CRO; AP/H/1516	Hoblyn	Lore	Liskeard Borough	1666	
CRO; AP/N/262	Nicholl	Joseph	Liskeard Borough	1666	
CRO; AP/P/1148	Penlease	David	Penzance	1666	
CRO; AP/B/1491	Bath	John	Launceston	1667	Feltmaker
CRO; AP/B/1500	Binnick	Richard	Liskeard Borough	1667	Husbandman
CRO; AP/C/1442	Cornish	Francis	Truro Borough	1667	Yeoman
CRO; AP/M/929	Mabyn	Mary	Launceston	1667	Widow
CRO; AP/P/1151	Pet	Sampson	Liskeard Borough	1667	Clothier
CRO; AP/A/344	Avery	Thomas	Liskeard Borough	1668	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1544	Bounsall	John	Launceston Borough	1668	cordwainer
CRO; AP/C/1447	Cardue	Thomas	Liskeard Borough	1668	
CRO; AP/G/712	Grills	Alice	Launceston Borough	1668	Spinster

CRO; AP/H/1552	Hewett	Richard	Bodmin Borough	1668	
CRO; AP/H/1560	Hockyn	Samuel	Bodmin Borough	1668	Barker
CRO; AP/M/945	Moone	Mary	Liskeard Borough	1668	Spinster
CRO; AP/B/1560	Bannick	James	Launceston Borough	1669	Tanner
CRO; AP/C/1497	Coram	Wilmot	Launceston Borough	1669	Widow
CRO; AP/H/1583	Hender	Jane	Bodmin Borough	1669	Widow
CRO; AP/H/1608	Hayne	Sampson	Launceston Borough	1669	Hellier
CRO; AP/M/967	Martyn	John	Bodmin Borough	1669	
CRO; AP/N/272	Newman	Nathaniel	Launceston Borough	1669	Glover
CRO; AP/T/1018	Thorne	Thomas	Liskeard Borough	1669	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/G/739	Grills	Richard	Launceston	1670	
CRO; AP/N/279	Nottle alias Nettell	Robert	Launceston Borough	1670	
CRO; AP/S/1293	Symons	Thomas	Penzance	1670	
CRO; AP/V/194	Veale	Wilmot	Bodmin Borough	1670	Widow
CRO; AP/A/358	Abraham	Pascoe	Liskeard Borough	1671	
CRO; AP/B/1614	Bawden	John	Liskeard Borough	1671	
CRO; AP/B/1626	Borrow	Mattew	Liskeard Borough	1671	Cooper
CRO; AP/B/1633	Brooming	Robert	Launceston	1671	
CRO; AP/O/217	Olliver	Thomas	Launceston Borough	1671	Yeoman

CRO; AP/B/1664	Bolitho	Mary	Launceston Borough	1672	
CRO; AP/T/1103	Trefry alias Tremeere	Robert	Bodmin Borough	1672	Tailor
CRO; AP/A/368	Anderton	Jacob	Launceston	1673	Tanner
CRO; AP/A/373	Avery	Martin	Truro Borough	1673	Chandler
CRO; AP/B/1684	Bennick	John	Liskeard Borough	1673	
CRO; AP/B/1707	Bunts	Joan	Liskeard Borough	1673	Spinster
CRO; AP/H/1761	Hill	Judith	Launceston	1673	Widow
CRO; AP/H/1769	Hodge	Margaret	Truro	1673	
CRO; AP/H/1772	Hugh	Joan	Liskeard Borough	1673	
CRO; AP/O/229	Opie	Richard	Bodmin Borough	1673	
CRO; AP/O/231	Osgood	Francis	Truro Borough	1673	Vintner
CRO; AP/W/1060	White	Martin	Liskeard Borough	1673	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/W/1062	Williams	Gabriel	Truro	1673	
CRO; AP/C/1658	Cocke	Solomon	Penzance	1674	
CRO; AP/H/1791	Holden	Tamsin	Bodmin Borough	1674	Widow
CRO; AP/M/1050	Marten	William	Truro Borough	1674	
CRO; AP/T/1128	Trick	Thomas	Launceston Borough	1674	Maltster
CRO; AP/V/203	Veasey	William	Bodmin Borough	1674	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1750	Bennett	John	Bodmin Borough	1675	Mason

CRO; AP/B/1764	Browne	John	Launceston Borough	1675	
CRO; AP/B/1767	Burges	Thomas	Truro Borough	1675	Tailor
CRO; AP/C/1674	Casier	John	Truro	1675	boatman
CRO; AP/G/800	Gliddon	John	Launceston Borough	1675	Yeoman
CRO; AP/N/298	Newman	Katherine	Launceston	1675	Widow
CRO; AP/T/1123	Teverall	Anne	Launceston	1675	Spinster
CRO; AP/B/1769	Badcock	Robert	Launceston	1676	
CRO; AP/H/1848	Hearle	Oliver	Liskeard Borough	1676	
CRO; AP/H/1850	Hewett	Ann	Bodmin Borough	1676	Widow
CRO; AP/H/1854	Hill	Thomas	Liskeard Borough	1676	
CRO; AP/V/215	Veosey	Jane	Launceston	1676	Widow
CRO; AP/H/1867	Honeycombe	John	Liskeard Borough	1677	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/T/1158	Thomas	Ralph	Truro	1677	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/1837	Baker	Grace	Launceston Borough	1678	Widow
CRO; AP/B/1849	Best	Justinian	Launceston Borough	1678	Innkeeper
CRO; AP/H/1930	Hayne	Thomas	Launceston	1678	
CRO; AP/B/1896	Buckingham	Walter	Truro	1679	
CRO; AP/M/1140	Marke	Thomas	Liskeard Borough	1679	Tanner
CRO; AP/B/1920	Bray	Henry	Bodmin Borough	1680	

CRO; AP/B/1926	Buckingham	Edward	Truro	1680	
CRO; AP/H/1976	Horle or Horwell	Richard	Launceston Borough	1680	Husbandman
CRO; AP/M/1161	March	Martha	Liskeard Borough	1680	
CRO; AP/F/353	Fall	Joan	Truro	1681	Widow
CRO; AP/H/2025	Hicks	Dorothy	Launceston	1681	Widow
CRO; AP/H/2027	Hill	Joan	Truro	1681	
CRO; AP/W/1228	Welch	George	Launceston	1681	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/B/1960	Bayly	Elizabeth	Truro	1682	
CRO; AP/B/1967	Bligh	Agnes	Bodmin Borough	1682	
CRO; AP/D/823	Drew	Thomas	Launceston	1682	Yeoman
CRO; AP/A/421	Allen	John	Truro	1683	
CRO; AP/B/1980	Bandlyn	Samuel	Truro Borough	1683	
CRO; AP/B/1999	Briant	Maudlen	Truro	1683	
CRO; AP/D/827	Daw	John	Launceston	1683	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/2037	Hambly	Peter	Launceston	1683	
CRO; AP/C/1942	Corham	John	Truro	1684	Baker
CRO; AP/C/1943	Cornish	Honour	Launceston	1685	Widow
CRO; AP/B/2103	Beauford	Henry	Launceston	1686	Tailor
CRO; AP/B/2106	Best	Joan	Launceston Borough	1686	Widow

CRO; AP/D/853	Daniell	Robert	Truro Borough	1686	
CRO; AP/F/392	Fuller	William	Truro	1686	Mariner
CRO; AP/T/1374	Tregoss	Mary	Bodmin Borough	1686	Widow
CRO; AP/B/2141	Blake	Christopher	Bodmin Borough	1687	weaver
CRO; AP/M/1283	Murley	Alex	Launceston	1687	Carpenter
CRO; AP/T/1369	Tonkin	Thomas	Truro	1687	Chandler
CRO; AP/V/259	Veale	Richard	Truro Borough	1687	
CRO; AP/C/2045	Couch	Matthew	Truro	1688	
CRO; AP/B/2195	Bourne	William	Bodmin Borough	1689	
CRO; AP/H/2247	Ham	Francis	Bodmin Borough	1689	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/T/1417	Tawley	Armanell	Liskeard Borough	1689	Widow
CRO; AP/C/2084	Carpenter	John	Launceston	1690	
CRO; AP/D/912	Dunning	Robert	Launceston	1690	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/F/409	French	Edward	Launceston	1690	Haberdasher
CRO; AP/M/1341	Moyse	Thomas	Launceston	1690	
CRO; AP/B/2259	Binnick	Ann	Truro Borough	1691	spinster
CRO; AP/E/457	Ellis	Robert	Launceston	1691	
CRO; AP/H/2367	Hoskyn	Mary	Bodmin Borough	1691	Widow
CRO; AP/M/1353	Maye	Digory	Launceston	1691	Tailor

CRO; AP/T/1485	Tucker	William	Liskeard Borough	1691	Labourer
CRO; AP/H/2376	Hawkyn	Christopher	Bodmin Borough	1692	
CRO; AP/T/1496	Tom	Andrew	Bodmin Borough	1692	
CRO; AP/A/503	Allen	Ann	Truro Borough	1693	Widow
CRO; AP/A/505	Anger	Richard	Truro Borough	1693	cordwainer
CRO; AP/A/509	Anstis	Titus	Liskeard Borough	1693	Husbandman
CRO; AP/H/2411	Harell	Charity	Liskeard Borough	1693	
CRO; AP/M/411	Moulton	Nathaniel	Liskeard Borough	1693	
CRO; AP/H/2461	Harris	Samuel	Bodmin Borough	1694	Cooper
CRO; AP/H/2482c	Horsham	Anstice	Launceston	1694	Widow
CRO; AP/A/523	Anstis	Elizabeth	Liskeard Borough	1695	
CRO; AP/H/2510	Husband	Joan	Truro Borough	1695	Butcher
CRO; AP/W/1538	Wills	Nicholas	Launceston	1695	Tanner
CRO; AP/B/2429	Bennett	John	Bodmin Borough	1696	mason
CRO; AP/D/979	Dill	John	Liskeard Borough	1696	Maltster
CRO; AP/H/2495	Hearl	John	Liskeard Borough	1696	Mercer
CRO; AP/H/2522	Hawke	Henry	Launceston Borough	1696	Tanner
CRO; AP/T/1589	Thomas	Simon	Liskeard Borough	1696	
CRO; AP/B/2468	Burges	Honor	Truro	1697	spinster

CRO; AP/B/2470	Burrow	Priscilla	Liskeard Borough	1697	spinster
CRO; AP/C/2340	Congdon	Nicholas	Launceston	1697	Innkeeper
CRO; AP/C/2342	Corham	Anne	Truro	1697	Widow
CRO; AP/M/1491	May	Philip	Truro	1697	
CRO; AP/B/2478	Best	Nicholas	Liskeard Borough	1698	
CRO; AP/D/1001	Davy	Phillippa	Liskeard Borough	1698	Widow
CRO; AP/D/1005	Dowling	Joan	Liskeard Borough	1698	
CRO; AP/H/2590	Hicks	Hannah	Liskeard Borough	1698	Spinster
CRO; AP/V/322	Vincent	John	Liskeard Borough	1698	
CRO; AP/D/1019	Dodge	Sampson	Liskeard Borough	1699	
CRO; AP/M/1520	Mungey	Hannah	Liskeard Borough	1699	Widow
CRO; AP/B/2543	Bunts	Martha	Liskeard Borough	1700	spinster
CRO; AP/M/1525	Martyn	Richard	Truro	1700	Labourer
CRO; AP/M/1535	Martyn	Walter	Bodmin Borough	1700	
CRO; AP/A/563	Avery	Robert	Liskeard Borough	1701	Innkeeper
CRO; AP/B/2552	Beauford	Joan	Launceston	1701	Widow
CRO; AP/G/1156	Gibben	Philip	Launceston	1701	Glazier
CRO; AP/A/565	Allen	John	Liskeard Borough	1703	Grocer
CRO; AP/T/1718	Thomas	John	Launceston	1703	Mercer

CRO; AP/W/1660	Wannell	Elizabeth	Launceston	1703	Widow
CRO; AP/B/2615	Bickford	Alice	Bodmin Borough	1704	Widow
CRO; AP/D/1073	Dawney	John	Truro	1704	
CRO; AP/C/2520	Congdon	John	Launceston	1705	Yeoman
CRO; AP/C/2547	Couch	Thomasine	Launceston	1706	Widow
CRO; AP/C/2556	Carlyon	Tristram	Launceston	1706	Widow
CRO; AP/T/1768	Taprell	Thomas	Truro	1706	Joiner
CRO; AP/B/2703	Brent	Nicholas	Launceston	1707	blacksmith
CRO; AP/C/2615	Chenoweth	Nathaniel	Truro	1707	Tailor
CRO; AP/D/1098	Daw	William	Liskeard Borough	1707	Baker
CRO; AP/A/597	Allen	John	Liskeard Borough	1709	
CRO; AP/H/2988	Hawke	John	Truro	1709	Mason
CRO; AP/B/2760	Baker	John	Launceston	1710	yarn buyer
CRO; AP/M/1743	Mill	Richard	Launceston	1710	
CRO; AP/W/1786	Warren	Roger	Truro	1710	Blacksmith
CRO; AP/C/2689	Chub	Walter	Launceston	1712	
CRO; AP/H/4046	Hayne	Henry	Launceston	1713	Husbandman
CRO; AP/B/2895	Bond	William	Launceston	1715	Yeoman
CRO; AP/B/2903	Brown	Edward	Truro	1715	

CRO; AP/M/1803	Mayow	John	Truro	1715	
CRO; AP/B/2939	Burgess	Thomas	Truro	1716	
CRO; AP/D/1195	Dyer	John	Liskeard Borough	1716	Labourer
CRO; AP/G/3045	Giddy	James	Truro	1716	
CRO; AP/C/2807	Carnsewe	Jane	Truro	1717	
CRO; AP/W/1937	Williams	William	Truro	1718	Cordwainer
CRO; AP/B/3033	Blake	Joan	Launceston	1720	Widow
CRO; AP/C/2872	Clemoe	George	Truro	1720	
CRO; AP/C/2896	Carnsew	Jane	Truro	1721	Widow
CRO; AP/W/1984	Wakeham	Elizabeth	Truro	1721	Widow
CRO; AP/D/1265	Daniell	Robert	Truro	1723	Shoemaker
CRO; AP/G/4030	Gadgcombe	Degory	Launceston	1724	
CRO; AP/G/4047	Gilden	Ann	Launceston	1726	
CRO; AP/M/1945	Mallett	William	Launceston	1726	
CRO; AP/G/4055	Gadgcombe	Richard	Launceston	1727	
CRO; AP/B/3270	Buckingham	Justinian	Truro	1728	
CRO; AP/C/3063	Ceely	Alice	Launceston	1729	Widow
CRO; AP/D/1365	Derry	Richard	Launceston	1731	Yeoman
CRO; AP/T/2220	Tayler	Thomas	Truro	1731	

CRO; AP/D/1379	Davy	Gerrance	Truro	1732	
CRO; AP/W/2185	Wilson	John	Truro	1732	
CRO; AP/A/727	Atkins	Francis	Bodmin Borough	1733	Tinner
CRO; AP/B/3440	Bennett	Henry	Launceston	1734	tanner
CRO; AP/D/1463	Dawney	Jane	Truro	1737	Spinster
CRO; AP/W/2271	Withiell	Charles	Truro	1737	
CRO; AP/B/3627	Buckingham	Julian	Truro	1740	Widow
CRO; AP/C/3366	Connor	George	Launceston	1741	Cooper
CRO; AP/B/3737	Bounsall	Stephen	Launceston	1743	innkeeper
CRO; AP/B/3780	Blight	Richard	Launceston	1745	
CRO; AP/N/652	Neale	Elizabeth	Launceston	1748	Widow
CRO; AP/N/658	Napton	Benjamin	Truro	1749	Tinman

333 inventories

Devon

Reference	Surname	Forename	Location	Date	Status
DHC; 189M/Add/F6/ and Cash; 47C	Sture	Jane	Exeter	1616	Widow
PWDRO; 1/425/1b	Rawlyn	Robert	Plymouth	1627	Merchant
Cash; 74C	Gedger	John	Plymouth	1633	Sailor

Cash; 75C	Wrren	Thomas	Crediton	1633	Tanner
PWDRO; 81H/5/16	Hele	Alice	Plymouth	1637	
Cash; 96C	Reed	Thomas	Crediton	1640	Husbandman
Cash; 95C	Northcott	Frances	Crediton	1640	Widow
Cash; 104C	Dicleg	Robert	Crediton	1643	Husbandman
Cash; 123C	Cleife	John	Crediton	1644	
Cash; 142C	Pearse	Thomas	Barnstaple	1646	Weaver
Cash; 146C	Blackmoore	Walter and Margeret	Barnstaple	1646	
Cash; 147C	Dyar	John	Plymouth	1646	
Cash; 157C	Hawkinges	Gamaliel	Barnstaple	1647	
Cash; 158C	Joanes	Robert	Barnstaple	1647	Merchant
Cash; 165C	Barrie	Joan	Crediton	1648	Widow
Cash; 169C	Kingwill	John	Crediton	1648	
PWDRO; 570/69	Ford	Dorcas	Plymouth	1679	Widow
PWDRO; 81R/8/3/19	Davies	William	Plymouth	1693	Drayman
Cash; 257C	Cooke	Nicholas	Barnstaple	1694	Apothecary
Cash; 264C	Griffin	Richard and Charity	Exeter	1699	

23 inventories

Urban inventories with rooms described

Cornwall

Reference	Surname	Forename(s)	Location	Date	Status	Wealth
CRO; AP/A/5/2-3	Avery	Michael	Truro	1601		0
CRO; AP/H/107	Horsham	Gregory	Launceston Borough	1605	Tanner	175
CRO; AP/T/218	Trehane	Peter	Launceston	1613	Tanner	55
CRO; AP/N/73	Noble	William	Launceston	1614		
CRO; AP/B/383	Burkingham	John	Launceston	1615	Carpenter	100
CRO; AP/H/372	Hockin	John	Launceston	1615	Tanner	191
CRO; AP/T/289	Treweek	John	Bodmin Borough	1616		30
CRO; AP/D/170	Dunnall	Richard	Truro	1618		109
CRO; AP/P/370	Phillipps	William	Truro	1619	Cordwainer	10
CRO; AP/B/536/6	Bowsage	Boniface	Truro	1620		48
CRO; AP/D/198	Dallock	John	Truro	1621	Surgeon and apothecary	17
CRO; AP/F/95	Friggens	Tamsin	Truro Borough	1621	Widow	
CRO; AP/J/266	Jagowe	Philip	Tregony	1621		306
CRO; AP/C/574	Cozens	Peter	Truro	1623	Tanner	225
CRO; AP/E/116	Edgecombe	Stephen	Tregony	1624		38

CRO; AP/C/638	Cary	Henry	Launceston	1626	Mercer	200
CRO; AP/G/317	Gennis	Nicholas	Launceston Borough	1626	Draper	319
CRO; AP/B/722/2	Beilies	Martin	Bodmin Borough	1627		79
CRO; AP/G/338	Grudgery	Simon	Launceston Borough	1628	Yeoman	65
CRO; AP/F/136	Fuidge	Martin	Liskeard Borough	1629	Yeoman	390
CRO; AP/B/809	Brushe	Anthony	Tregony	1630		102
CRO; AP/B/810	Brushe	Richard	Tregony	1631		104
CRO; AP/H/807	Hambling	Stephen	Launceston	1631	Yeoman	41
CRO; AP/O/96	Ollyver	Henry	Launceston	1631	Weaver	45
CRO; AP/J/376	Jane	John	Tregony	1632	Blacksmith	79
CRO; AP/J/385	Jenkin	William	Tregony	1632	Barker	80
CRO; AP/H/881	Hockin	Martin	Launceston	1634		83
CRO; AP/T/582	Toser	Richard	Launceston Borough	1634	Husbandman	21
CRO; AP/A/198	Adams	Andrew	Launceston	1636		25
CRO; AP/O/117	Ollyver	Mary	Launceston	1636		34
CRO; AP/N/179	Nettle	Christopher	Tregony	1637	Shopkeeper	
CRO; AP/T/630	Treleague	Henry	Truro Borough	1637	Yeoman	18
CRO; AP/G/444	Gyne	Thomas	Launceston	1638		5
CRO; AP/H/990	Hobb	Edward	Bodmin Borough	1638	Barker	66

CRO; AP/B/962	Balhatchett	William	Tregony	1639		12
CRO; AP/C/971	Couch	John	Launceston	1639		26
CRO; AP/C/979	Candy	Thomas	Launceston	1641		5
CRO; AP/M/651	Middleton	William	Launceston Borough	1641	Feltmaker	43
CRO; AP/A/252	Axwothy	Richard	Launceston	1643	Carpenter	28
CRO; AP/H/1121	Headon	William	Launceston	1643	Husbandman	42
CRO; AP/J/488	Jagoe	Henry	Tregony	1643	Haberdasher	45
CRO; AP/H/1145	Hoskins	James	Launceston	1644	Merchant	
CRO; AP/T/729	Trefrye	Charles	Tregony	1644	Shopkeeper	95
CRO; AP/F/211	Fuidge	Elizabeth	Liskeard Borough	1645	Widow	44
CRO; AP/E/229	Eyme	Robert	Launceston	1646		52
CRO; AP/P/951	Pomery	Elizabeth	Tregony	1646	Widow	31
CRO; AP/T/800	Tampson or Tamson	Robert	Bodmin Borough	1647	Haberdasher	72
CRO; AP/G/606	Grosse	Edward	Truro	1649	Haberdasher	268
CRO; AP/M/775	Mare	William	Bodmin Borough	1649	Saddler	29
CRO; AP/J/601	Johnson	Roger	Tregony	1653	Innkeeper	18
CRO; AP/R/847	Reynolds	Stephen	Tregony	1663		
CRO; AP/V/165	Vigurs	Rose	Launceston	1663	Widow	104
CRO; AP/A/313	Abbott	Nowell	Launceston	1664		41

CRO; AP/H/1438	Hamell	William	Tregony	1664		162
CRO; AP/N/253	Newton	James	Bodmin Borough	1664	Glover	93
CRO; AP/T/910	Trescowack	Ralph	Tregony	1664		20
CRO; AP/H/1454	Hicks	Henry	Launceston	1665	Haberdasher	68
CRO; AP/B/1485	Bagwell	John	Truro	1667	Tailor	16
CRO; AP/B/1542	Bounsell	John	Launceston	1667		20
CRO; AP/C/1469	Crapp	John	Bodmin Borough	1668	Cordwainer	69
CRO; AP/S/1208	Sladder	John	Tregony	1668		35
CRO; AP/T/1006	Tom	Richard	Penzance	1668		9
CRO; AP/W/963	Welsh	Simon	Liskeard Borough	1668		39
CRO; AP/F/281	Finny	John	Penzance	1669		64
CRO; AP/B/1611/2	Ball	Jane	Launceston	1670	Spinster	35
CRO; AP/C/1478	Cocke	Francis	Truro	1670	Widow	48
CRO; AP/D/675	Dawe	William	Launceston	1671	Yeoman	87
CRO; AP/F/294	Finney	Walter	Penzance	1671	Merchant	479
CRO; AP/D/684	Daniell	Humphry	Truro	1672		
CRO; AP/D/685	Daniell	Katherine	Truro	1672	Widow	334
CRO; AP/M/1025	Michell	Joan	Bodmin Borough	1672	Spinster	196
CRO; AP/B/1698	Bramstone	William	Tregony	1673	Weaver	98

CRO; AP/C/1575	Carnes	Williams	Truro Borough	1673		41
CRO; AP/M/1021	Meager	William	Bodmin Borough	1673	Yeoman	165
CRO; AP/G/805	Gubbs	Alice	Penzance	1675	Widow	50
CRO; AP/T/1151	Tyack	Thomas	Penzance	1675	Merchant	140
CRO; AP/C/1718	Crabb	John	Launceston	1676		3
CRO; AP/H/1859	Hobbs	Samuel	Liskeard Borough	1676	Feltmaker	2
CRO; AP/T/1155	Thomas (alias Land)	Joan	Tregony	1676	Widow	12
CRO; AP/M/1087	May	Nathaniel	Truro	1677		319
CRO; AP/D/772	Denneys	Justinian	Truro Borough	1680		162
CRO; AP/C/1860	Collins	Florence	Tregony	1681	Widow	477
CRO; AP/D/803	Doubt	Henry	Tregony	1681	Tailor	83
CRO; AP/N/340	Norrish	George	Launceston Borough	1681	Chandler	6
CRO; AP/H/2039	Hancock	John	Truro	1683		19
CRO; AP/B/2068/2	Bawden	John	Truro	1684		108
CRO; AP/B/2098/2	Burges	John	Truro	1684	Joiner	60
CRO; AP/T/1352	Trescowick	William	Tregony	1684		78
CRO; AP/T/1352	Trescowick	Walter	Tregony	1684		78
CRO; AP/B/2062	Barnicott	William	Tregony	1685		13
CRO; AP/C/1932	Chattly	Margaret	Truro	1685	Widow	70

CRO; AP/M/1250	Mould	George	Tregony	1685		15
CRO; AP/B/2112/2	Bounsall	Henry	Launceston	1686		5
CRO; AP/F/395	Freeman	Richard	Truro	1687	Merchant	782
CRO; AP/C/2029	Carnsew	John	Truro	1688	Barker	75
CRO; AP/C/2015	Colliver	Roger	Tregony	1688		5
CRO; AP/S/1754	Slader	Peter	Tregony	1688		93
CRO; AP/B/2154/2	Bagwell	Anne	Truro	1689	Widow	21
CRO; AP/B/2190	Betty	Francis	Tregony	1689		524
CRO; AP/G/979	Gaylord	William	Tregony	1689		15
CRO; AP/C/2079	Cadbury	Thomas	Launceston	1690	Soap Boiler	22
CRO; AP/D/902	Dawney	John	Truro	1690	Victualler	84
CRO; AP/H/2285	Hambly	Nicholas	Truro Borough	1690		9
CRO; AP/H/2309	Hocking	Samuel	Bodmin Borough	1690	Cordwainer	11
CRO; AP/N/384	Nottell	Peter	Liskeard Borough	1690	Cordwainer	11
CRO; AP/W/1417	Wills	Nicholas	Launceston	1690	Tanner	90
CRO; AP/C/2237	Cottell	Jane	Launceston	1692	Widow	64
CRO; AP/F/418	Flamack	John	Tregony	1692		35
CRO; AP/T/1489	Taprell	Richard	Launceston	1692	Carpenter	30
CRO; AP/W/1455	Weeks	John	Truro	1692	Stationer	30

CRO; AP/T/1531	Tregoweth	Tristram	Truro Borough	1693	Fuller	
CRO; AP/C/2250	Cary	Edward	Tregony	1694	Barker	13
CRO; AP/W/1526	Werryn	Hester	Launceston	1695	Widow	22
CRO; AP/W/1530	White	Rebecca	Launceston	1695	Widow	244
CRO; AP/G/1091	Gilberd	James	Truro Borough	1696	Millkeeper	34
CRO; AP/M/1469	May	Nicholas	Launceston	1696	Mercer	197
CRO; AP/D/994	Dennis	Joan	Truro	1697	Widow	56
CRO; AP/E/507	Every	Richard	Launceston	1697	Cutler	50
CRO; AP/H/2578	Hancock	Margarett	Truro Borough	1698	Widow	11
CRO; AP/M/1511	May	Diana	Launceston	1698	Widow	348
CRO; AP/H/2649	Hicks	John	Truro Borough	1699	Shipwright	15
CRO; AP/M/1645	Mask	Frances	Penzance	1699	Widow	119
CRO; AP/P/2056	Pedlar	Bennet	Tregony	1700		15
CRO; AP/H/2667	Hamly	John	Bodmin Borough	1701	Mason	8
CRO; AP/H/2653	Hokkin	Samuel	Bodmin Borough	1701	Cordwainer	46
CRO; AP/B/2572	Boase	Jacob	Penzance	1702		22
CRO; AP/D/1045	Dawney	Margery	Truro	1702		7
CRO; AP/A/570/2	Axworthy	Ezekias	Launceston Borough	1704		30
CRO; AP/S/2174	Sandercombe	Roger	Tregony	1704		3

CRO; AP/B/2642/2	Bunniface	John	Launceston	1705	Weaver	30
CRO; AP/J/1086	Jenkins	Peter	Penzance	1705	Merchant	1444
CRO; AP/R/1620	Ripping	Nicholas	Tregony	1705		228
CRO; AP/W/1700	White	John	Truro	1705	Saddler	17
CRO; AP/A/686/2	Austin	Margaret	Liskeard Borough	1706	Shopkeeper	37
CRO; AP/H/4620	Hancock	John	Penzance	1706	Apothecary	205
CRO; AP/T/1767	Tanner	Cecilia	Truro	1706	Widow	279
CRO; AP/H/2961	Heydon	Samuel	Penzance	1707		45
CRO; AP/M/1670	Matthews	Richard	Penzance	1707	Currier	54
CRO; AP/W/1734	Wakeham	George	Truro	1707	Pipemaker	38
CRO; AP/V/345	Vivian	Thomas	Truro	1708		1018
CRO; AP/L/1105	Lanyon	William	Penzance	1709	Cordwainer	6
CRO; AP/M/1691	May	John	Launceston	1709	Barber	100
CRO; AP/M/1730	Martyn	Henry	Launceston	1710	Tallow Chandler	182
CRO; AP/T/1836	Trehawke	John	Liskeard Borough	1710		1039
CRO; AP/R/1721	Ripping	Patience	Tregony	1711	Widow	4
CRO; AP/H/4052	Hicks	Jennifer	Truro	1713	Widow	29
CRO; AP/H/4083	Howe	Thomas	Truro	1714	Tailor	76
CRO; AP/D/1181	Dunkyn	Richard	Truro	1715	Labourer	25

CRO; AP/G/3041	Grible	William	Truro	1715		58
CRO; AP/T/1925	Tremenheere	Henry	Penzance	1715	Merchant	115
CRO; AP/A/627/2	Allen	Ellinor	Liskeard Borough	1716	Widow	744
CRO; AP/C/2795	Corham	John	Truro	1716		239
CRO; AP/G/3060	Gubbs	Marlyn	Penzance	1716	Shopkeeper	25
CRO; AP/W/1890	Webber	Peter	Truro	1716	Merchant	1404
CRO; AP/M/1872	Mayowe	Jane	Truro	1719	Widow	213
CRO; AP/B/3046	Bastard	William	Penzance	1720	Merchant	1066
CRO; AP/B/2825/1	Bone	Walter	Truro	1720	Apothecary	412
CRO; AP/G/3094	Gubbs	Catherine	Penzance	1720	Widow	712
CRO; AP/A/654	Andrew	Andrew	Tregony	1721	Blacksmith	90
CRO; AP/L/1249	Lawrence	Stephen	Tregony	1721	Shopkeeper	991
CRO; AP/C/2926	Clise	John	Truro	1722	Yeoman	163
CRO; AP/D/1268	Dawney	John	Truro	1722		47
CRO; AP/D/1262	Dunkin	Elizabeth	Truro	1722	Widow	116
CRO; AP/C/2969	Crossman	Pascoe	Launceston Borough	1724	Cordwainer	21
CRO; AP/C/2971	Casier	Charity	Truro	1725	Widow	101
CRO; AP/T/2118	Taprell	Cordelia	Truro	1726	Widow	83
CRO; AP/C/3071	Cloake	Peter	Penzance	1729	Cordwainer	19

CRO; AP/T/2176	Treffry	Margaret	Tregony	1729	Widow	118
CRO; AP/D/1353	Donithorne	Hugh	Truro	1730	Cordwainer	112
CRO; AP/M/2017	Mann	George	Launceston	1730	Tailor	74
CRO; AP/Q/58	Qunitrell	Peter	Tregony	1730		45
CRO; AP/V/413	Vickers	James	Truro	1732		12
CRO; AP/C/3196	Cunnack	Roger	Penzance	1733	Butcher	45
CRO; AP/C/3203	Clise	William	Truro	1734		165
CRO; AP/J/1365	James	Thomas	Penzance	1734	Tanner	32
CRO; AP/E/725	Edwards	William	Penzance	1735	Tallow Chandler	83
CRO; AP/H/4648	Hore	Roger	Truro	1735		35
CRO; AP/M/2203	May	William	Truro Borough	1735		138
CRO; AP/C/3247	Champen	William	Penzance	1736	Cordwainer	33
CRO; AP/D/1440	Donnithorne	Richard	Truro	1736	Glazier	253
CRO; AP/G/5074	Geach	Joan	Launceston	1736	Spinster	7
CRO; AP/H/4720	Harris	William	Tregony	1738	Butcher	37
CRO; AP/W/2283	Walters	Zacharias	Penzance	1738	Sadler	536
CRO; AP/C/3317	Collins	Peter	Liskeard Borough	1740		48
CRO; AP/M/2287	Medlyn	John	Penzance	1740	Cordwainer	13
CRO; AP/H/4822	Heydon	John	Penzance	1741	Potter	107

CRO; AP/N/627	Nott	James	Tregony	1741		19
CRO; AP/R/2275	Read	Matthew	Penzance	1741	Cordwainer	98
CRO; AP/S/2948	Symons	John	Tregony	1741	Clothier	108
CRO; AP/T/2409	Teage	Roger	Tregony	1741	Carpenter	29
CRO; AP/B/3704	Burley	Charles	Tregony	1742	Butcher	21
CRO; AP/C/3378	Chalwell	Charles	Tregony	1742	Woolcomber	19
CRO; AP/J/1516	Jenkin	Richard	Tregony	1743	Blacksmith	14
CRO; AP/W/2396	Wills	Edmond	Truro	1743	Gunsmith	67
CRO; AP/C/3479	Crews	John	Tregony	1746		76
CRO; AP/T/2589	Tyeth	John	Launceston	1747	Malster	66

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Devon

Reference	Surname	Forename	Location	Date	Status	Wealth
Portman; PortmanVI	Spicer	Merchant	Exeter	1604	Merchant	3823
Cash; 98C	Austyn	Stephen	Exeter	1641	Dyer	31
Portman; PortmanVIII	Austyn	Stephen	Exeter	1641	Dyer	31
Cash; 99C	Stevens	Phillip	Crediton	1642	Whitebaker	81
Cash; 103C	Clase	Robert	Crediton	1643	Yeoman	73

Cash; 112C	Buckingham	Phillip	Crediton	1643		480
Cash; 113C	Thomas	Mary	Crediton	1643	Widow	248
Cash; 130C	Elston	Philip	Crediton	1645		666
Cash; 134C	Lane	Katherine	Crediton	1645		126
Cash; 152C	Jewell	William and Joanna	Barnstaple	1647	Shoemaker	24
Cash; 181C	Beaple	Grace	Barnstaple	1650	Widow	385
Cash; 182C	Thorne	John	Barnstaple	1650	Cooper	141
PWDRO; 372/27/4	Gayer	Humfry	Plymouth	1651	Merchant	2333
Portman; PortmanXI	Hingston	John	Exeter	1675		740
Cash; 256C	Tucker	Deborah	Exeter	1684	Widow	185
Cash; 243C	Parr	Anna	Exeter	1686		437
Cash; 244C	Terrill	John	Exeter	1686	Clothier	405
Cash; 260C	Good	George	Exeter	1696	Yeoman	904
Portman; PortmanXII	Rewallin	Charles	Exeter	1697	Virginal Maker	41
PWDRO; 81V/1/5	Watts	William	Plympton St Maurice	1699	Butcher	51

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Gentry inventories without rooms described

Cornwall

Reference	Surname	Forename	Location	Date	Status
CRO; AP/O/15	Opye	Richard	Bodmin	1607	Gentleman
CRO; AP/B/270	Boyer	Nicholas	Bodmin	1611	Gentleman
CRO; AP/H/484	Higgens	John	Bodmin	1619	Gentleman
CRO; AP/C/797	Courteney	Richard	Bodmin	1632	Gentleman
CRO; AP/T/765	Tooker or Toker	John	Bodmin	1645	Gentleman
CRO; AP/W/842	Willcocks	John	Bodmin	1662	Gentleman
CRO; AP/F/247	Flamank	William	Bodmin	1663	Gentleman
CRO; AP/O/221	Opy	William	Bodmin	1672	Gentleman
CRO; AP/O/232	Opey	Edward	Bodmin	1674	Gentleman
CRO; AP/M/2392	May	Thomas	Bodmin	1747	Gentleman
CRO; AP/B/876	Bligh	Anthony	Egloskerry	1635	Gentleman
CRO; AP/B/1427	Baron	John	Egloskerry	1665	Gentleman
CRO; AP/B/1905	Baron	Degory	Egloskerry	1680	Gentleman
CRO; AP/B/2296	Bligh	John	Egloskerry	1692	Gentleman
CRO; AP/U/96	Upton	Thomas	Egloskerry	1728	Gentleman
CRO; AP/B/1749	Bennett	Henry	Launceston Borough	1675	Gentleman

CRO; AP/H/1822	Hickes	John	Launceston Borough	1675	Gentleman
CRO; AP/L/813	Laa or Lae	Benedict	Linkinhorne	1683	Gentleman
CRO; AP/O/341	Oliver	John	Linkinhorne	1701	Gentleman
CRO; AP/M/253	Marke	John	Liskeard	1615	Gentleman
CRO; AP/G/389	Grosse	Thomas	Liskeard	1632	Gentleman
CRO; AP/C/1085	Carew	Hobby	Liskeard	1644	Gentleman
CRO; AP/C/1200	Carew	Katherine	Liskeard	1648	Gentlewoman
CRO; AP/B/1260	Bowse	John	Liskeard	1648	Gentleman
CRO; AP/C/1271	Cary	William	Liskeard	1661	Gentleman
CRO; AP/M/834	Moulton	Thomas	Liskeard	1661	Gentleman
CRO; AP/M/933	Marke	James	Liskeard	1667	Gentleman
CRO; AP/W/1156	Williamson	Anthony	Liskeard	1677	Gentleman
CRO; AP/V/229	Vincente	John	Liskeard	1679	Gentleman
CRO; AP/G/972	Greenwood	Hunt	Liskeard	1688	Gentleman
CRO; AP/C/2295	Coode	Thomas	Liskeard	1695	Gentleman
CRO; AP/G/1188	Gye	Thomas	Liskeard	1703	Gentleman
CRO; AP/T/55	Trenere	Richard	Madron	1604	Gentleman
CRO; AP/L/160	Lanyon	George	Madron	1616	Gentleman
CRO; AP/C/766	Cowling	Thomas	Madron	1631	Gentleman

CRO; AP/T/561	Trewryn	William	Madron	1632	Gentleman
CRO; AP/L/360	Levelis	William	Madron	1633	Gentleman
CRO; AP/P/843	Penrose	Thomas	Madron	1641	Gentleman
CRO; AP/G/526	Grosse	William	Madron	1642	Gentleman
CRO; AP/L/441	Lanyon	David	Madron	1642	Gentleman
CRO; AP/T/734	Treneere	Robert	Madron	1644	Gentleman
CRO; AP/C/1312	Chinalls	Thomas	Madron	1652	Gentleman
CRO; AP/B/243	Nosworthy	William	Madron	1662	Gentleman
CRO; AP/F/267	Fleming	John	Madron	1666	Gentleman
CRO; AP/C/1427	Chinalls	Henry	Madron	1667	Gentleman
CRO; AP/C/1423	Cowling	John	Madron	1667	Gentleman
CRO; AP/D/645	Daniell	Alexander	Madron	1668	Gentleman
CRO; AP/C/1571	Cowling	John	Madron	1671	Gentleman
CRO; AP/P/1450	Penhallow	William	Madron	1679	Gentleman
CRO; AP/P/1520	Paynter	Arthur	Madron	1682	Gentleman
CRO; AP/B/2038	Bolitho	Thomas	Madron	1684	Gentleman
CRO; AP/A/452	Arundell	Francis	Madron	1688	Gentleman
CRO; AP/N/376	Nicholls	William	Madron	1689	Gentleman
CRO; AP/M/1483	Maddren	William	Madron	1698	Gentleman

CRO; AP/C/3230	Cocke	Thomas	Madron	1735	Gentleman
CRO; AP/B/2562	Boson	William	Paul	1701	Gentleman
CRO; AP/B/2594	Boson	NIcholas	Paul	1703	Gentleman
CRO; AP/L/1371	Lanyon	John	Paul	1734	Gentleman
CRO; AP/M/238	Menhinicke	John	St Austell	1614	Gentleman
CRO; AP/M/239	Menhire	John	St Austell	1614	Gentleman
CRO; AP/V/136	Vivyan	John	St Austell	1643	Gentleman
CRO; AP/C/1229	Carne	Thomas	St Austell	1649	Gentleman
CRO; AP/M/881	Menhire	Thomas	St Austell	1664	Gentleman
CRO; AP/H/1624	Hodge	John	St Austell	1670	Gentleman
CRO; AP/V/245	Vyvian	Josias	St Austell	1683	Gentleman
CRO; AP/A/430	Allen	John	St Austell	1684	Gentleman
CRO; AP/D/869	Dinham	John	St Austell	1687	Gentleman
CRO; AP/H/2595	Hodge	Samuel	St Austell	1698	Gentleman
CRO; AP/Y/62	Young	William	St Austell	1710	Gentleman
CRO; AP/T/1966	Trewbody	Philip	St Austell	1717	Gentleman
CRO; AP/M/2149	Moyle	David	St Austell	1732	Gentleman
CRO; AP/H/4703	Hodge	John	St Austell	1737	Gentleman
CRO; AP/E/787	Elliot	Richard	St Austell	1744	Gentleman

CRO; AP/F/327	French	Paynter	St Gennys	1676	Gentleman
CRO; AP/M/1243	Marten	Thomas	St Gennys	1685	Gentleman
CRO; AP/B/2458	Bewes	Digory	St Stephen by Launceston	1697	Gentleman
CRO; AP/B/2570	Bligh	John	St Thomas by Launceston	1702	Gentleman
CRO; AP/T/976	Turney	Richard	Bodmin Borough	1666	Gentleman
CRO; AP/H/1935	Hender	William	Bodmin Borough	1679	Gentleman
CRO; AP/H/2327	Hambly	Roger	Bodmin Borough	1691	Gentleman
CRO; AP/A/671	Arnold	Richard	Bodmin Borough	1724	Gentleman
CRO; AP/B/805	Bray	John	Launceston	1631	Gentleman
CRO; AP/O/184	Osea	Francis	Launceston	1663	Gentleman
CRO; AP/C/1791	Cottell	Walter	Launceston	1678	Gentleman
CRO; AP/H/384	Hunckinge	Jonathan	Liskeard Borough	1616	Gentleman
CRO; AP/M/1478	Moore	James	Liskeard Borough	1696	Gentleman
CRO; AP/B/2450	Burte	Christopher	Liskeard Borough	1696	Gentleman and Tanner
CRO; AP/B/2625	Burt	Joseph	Liskeard Borough	1704	Gentleman
CRO; AP/M/330	Michell	John	Truro	1620	Gentleman
CRO; AP/H/2868	Huddy	John	Truro	1704	Gentleman and Apothecary
CRO; AP/U/79	Upcott	William	Truro	1707	Gentleman
CRO; AP/H/1048	Hill	Richard	Truro Borough	1640	Gentleman

CRO; AP/T/1534	Trengrove	Reynold	Truro Borough	1693	Gentleman

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Devon

Reference	Surname	Forename	Location	Date	Status
Cash; 77C	Fownes	Richard	Plymouth	1633	Gentleman
Cash; 126C	Beare	John	Morchard Bishop	1644	Gentleman
Cash; 153C	Levermore	John	Exeter	1647	Gentleman
DHC; 48/13/2/3/20	Terry	Anne	Cockington	1690	Gentlewoman

4 inventories

Gentry inventories with rooms described

Cornwall

Reference	Surname	Forename(s)	Location	Date	Status	Wealth
CRO; AP/W/21b	Wise	John	Launceston	1602	Gentleman	10
CRO; AP/L/28	Lanyon	Ralph	Madron	1605	Gentleman	121
CRO; AP/M/392	Morton	Thomas	Launceston Borough	1623	Gentleman	146
CRO; AP/C/666	Crosman	Richard	Bodmin	1626	Gentleman	382
CRO; AP/R/515	Reskimer	William	Madron	1631	Gentleman	29
CRO; AP/C/823	Cowling	John	Madron	1633	Gentleman	129
CRO; AP/E/170	Edye	John	Bodmin	1637	Gentleman	
CRO; AP/N/219	Nicholls	William	Madron	1644	Gentleman	94
CRO; AP/C/1126	Clyes	Thomas	Madron	1644	Gentleman	550
CRO; AP/M/874	Maddren	William	Madron	1663	Gentleman	17
CRO; AP/T/238	Fleming	Thomas	Madron	1663	Gentleman	33
CRO; AP/W/908	Wills	Thomas	St Stephens by Saltash	1664	Esquire	189
CRO; AP/W/911	Warringe alias Warren	William	Bodmin	1666	Gentleman	193
CRO; AP/B/1540/2	Blight	John	Bodmin Borough	1666	Gentleman	47
CRO; AP/T/974	Trewolla	Thomas	Truro Borough	1666	Gentleman	
CRO; AP/B/1527/2	Beauchamp	Francis	Bodmin	1668	Gentleman	24

CRO; AP/F/275	Fleming	Nicholas	Madron	1668	Gentleman	36
CRO; AP/B/1689/3	Blight	Gilbert	St Austell	1672	Gentleman	93
CRO; AP/M/1048	Moyle	David	St Austell	1673	Gentleman	413
CRO; AP/C/1581	Chattey	John	Truro Borough	1673	Gentleman	73
CRO; AP/P/1381	Pentire	Richard	Tregony	1676	Gentleman	127
CRO; AP/W/1163	Wallis	Robert	Madron	1678	Gentleman	34
CRO; AP/S/1586	Somers	William	Madron	1681	Gentleman	201
CRO; AP/W/1236	Wills	Nicholas	St Stephens by Saltash	1681	Gentleman	81
CRO; AP/B/1984/2-3	Bennett	Adam	Liskeard Borough	1682	Gentleman	419
CRO; AP/P/1484	Paynter	William	Madron	1682	Esquire	49
CRO; AP/F/386	Fleming	Thomas	Madron	1682	Gentleman	215
CRO; AP/K/417	Kegiwin	John	Madron	1684	Gentleman	15
CRO; AP/P/1721	Polkinghorne	Roger	Madron	1687	Gentleman	128
CRO; AP/H/2204	Harry	Martyn	Paul	1687	Gentleman	55
CRO; AP/B/2178	Burrell	Arthur	St Stephens by Saltash	1688	Esquire	
CRO; AP/D/896	Dunkin	William	Liskeard Borough	1689	Gentleman	62
CRO; AP/P/1747	Penhallow	Jacob	Madron	1689	Gentleman	275
CRO; AP/W/1396	Webber	John	Bodmin	1690	Gentleman	22
CRO; AP/B/2329	Berrell	James	St Stephens by Saltash	1693	Gentleman	73

CRO; AP/H/2486	Hambly	William	Liskeard Borough	1695	Gentleman	44
CRO; AP/A/537	Arundell	Francis	Madron	1697	Esquire	
CRO; AP/T/1622	Turner	John	St Stephen by Launceston	1697	Gentleman	29
CRO; AP/D/1010	Daniell	Elisapth	Madron	1699	Gentleman	71
CRO; AP/A/459	Avert	Richard	Tregony	1700	Gentleman	28
CRO; AP/M/1557	May	John	St Austell	1701	Gentleman	205
CRO; AP/J/1044	Julian	Henry	Tregony	1701	Gentleman	848
CRO; AP/M/1591	Mayowe	Edward	Truro	1703	Gentleman	88
CRO; AP/W/1758	Williams	Humphry	Bodmin	1708	Gentleman	705
CRO; AP/T/1809	Thomas	Richard	Truro Borough	1708	Gentleman	145
CRO; AP/R/1683	Robins	John	Tregony	1709	Gentleman	247
CRO; AP/C/2725	Cocks	Joshua	Truro	1713	Gentleman	203
CRO; AP/T/1952	Trewbody	Charles	St Austell	1716	Gentleman	175
CRO; AP/G/3054	Gregor	Francis	Truro	1716	Gentleman	176
CRO; AP/H/4066	Hals	Granville	Truro	1718	Gentleman	172
CRO; AP/W/1960	Walter	Richard	St Stephens by Saltash	1720	Gentleman	252
CRO; AP/T/2061	Tonkyn	Thomas	Tregony	1723	Gentleman	568
CRO; AP/G/4066	Grosse	John	Penzance	1727	Gentleman	215
CRO; AP/G/4075	Giles	Thomas	St Austell	1728	Gentleman	1167

CRO; AP/G/5067	Gregor	Thomas	Truro	1735	Gentleman	451
CRO; AP/G/6005	Gregor	Francis	Truro Borough	1739	Gentleman	304
CRO; AP/H/4991	Hurdon	Richard	Truro	1746	Gentleman	16
CRO; AP/B/3185	Blake	John	St Stephens by Saltash	1747	Gentleman	
CRO; AP/I/102	Incledon	John	Tregony	1748	Gentleman	218
CRO; AP/Q/76	Quarne	Thomas	Truro	1749	Gentleman	

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Devon

Reference	Surname	Forename	Location	Date	Status	Wealth
DHC; 1120Z/FZ/1	Gould	Edward	Staverton	1628		1816
Uffculme; 85U	Champneys	John	Uffculme	1628	Gentleman	16
Cash; 90C	Beare	Roger	Morchard Bishop	1637	Gentleman	54
Cash; 206C	Holder	John	Exeter	1663	Gentleman	1085
PWDRO; 69/M/7/1			Plympton St Mary	1664	Esquire	
Uffculme; 138U	Moulton	Thomas	Uffculme	1666	Gentleman	43
DHC; Z1/44/55	Tuckfield	Roger	Thorverton	1686	Esquire	5822
PWDRO; 72/226	Strode	Richard	Plympton St Mary	1707	Esquire	292
PWDRO; 372/27/1	Calmady	Josias	Wembury	1714	Esquire	15149

PWDRO; 349/3/10	Strode	Martha	Plympton St Mary	1720	Spinster
PWDRO; 69/M/7/2			Plympton St Mary	1721	Esquire

11 inventories

Bibliography

Primary

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AP/A/459, Will of Richard Avert of Tregony, Gentleman, 1700

AP/A/537, Will of Francis Arundell esquire, of Madron, 1697

AP/A/654, Will of Andrew Andrew, blacksmith, of Tregony, 1721

AP/B/256, Will of Roger Bickton, of St Stephens by Saltash, 1619

AP/B/536/6, Will of Boniface Bowsage, of Truro, 1620

AP/B/1984/2-3, Will of Adam Bennett of Liskeard Borough, Gentleman, 1682

AP/B/2450/2, Will of Christopher Burt, tanner, of Liskeard, 1696

AP/B/2532/2, Will of Nicholas Bradley, yeoman, of Bodmin, 1700

AP/B/2802/1, Will of John Bond, of St Austell, 1710

AP/B/2961/2, Will of William Blake, tanner and barker, Bodmin, 1717

AP/B/3534/1, Will of Francis Bishop, goldsmith, of Bodmin, 1738

AP/C/524, Will of Simon Champion, husbandman, of Liskeard, 1622

AP/C/574, Will of Peter Cozens, tanner of Truro, 1623

AP/C/1397, Will of Elizabeth Cruse, widow, of Badharlick, Egloskerry, 1665

AP/C/2610, Will of Peter Carpenter, of Madron, 1709

AP/C/3340, Will of Stephen Commin, of St Austell, 1740

AP/D/86, Will of James Dawbyn of Mardon, 1610

AP/D/684, Will of Humphry Daniell, of Truro, 1672

AP/D/1440, Will of Richard Donnithorne, glazier, of Truro, 1736

AP/D/1447, Will of John Dingle, yeoman, of Darley, Linkinhorne, 1736

AP/E/91, Will of George Edwards, tanner, of St Thomas by Launceston, 1621

AP/E/507, Will of Richard Every, cutler, of Launceston, 1697

AP/E/725, Will of William Edwards, tallow chandler, of Penzance, 1735

AP/F/197, Will of John Foote, of Pengelly, Linkinhorne, 1643

AP/G/317, Will of Nicholas Gennis, draper, of Launceston Borough, 1626

AP/G/388, Will of Henry Grills, yeoman, of Beneathwood, Linkinhorne, 1633

AP/G/786, Will of Blanche George, widow, of Madron, 1674

AP/G/3054, Will of Francis Gregor, gentleman, of Truro, 1716

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