

**SMALL HOUSES  
IN LATE MEDIEVAL YORK AND NORWICH**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates small houses in late medieval York and Norwich.

There have been no previous city-wide investigations of small houses in Norwich. It is nearly thirty years since the standing rows of York were subject to detailed investigation. There has never been a documentary-based investigation of this house-type in either city before now. Using both standing and documentary evidence, this thesis compares and contrasts their construction, form, layout and adaptation across the course of the late medieval period. This study is also the first to investigate the occupants of urban small houses. Throughout, it will draw into question the current perception of a lack of diversity in the built environments of late medieval cities, through an assessment of the impact of locally available building materials on their appearance.

Part 1 investigates a rare building account for the construction of small houses in York and a selection of standing rows of small houses in York and Norwich, demonstrating their popularity with ecclesiastical and secular developers in all parts of the cities. An analysis of the building accounts will argue that rows of small houses were not built in a single operation. The differences in the construction methods across these two cities are also explored through the standing evidence, highlighting the diversity among small houses in terms of internal layout and fixtures and fittings.

Part 2 looks in detail at documentary evidence for small houses, shops and stalls owned by four institutional landlords across York and Norwich. It contrasts their maintenance strategies, the reasons behind the additions of new features, such as chimneys, and argues that location had a significant influence on houses' adaptation. It reveals that it was not only those of low social means who lived in small houses. A re-assessment of property vocabularies and internal arrangements also demonstrates that terms such as 'hall', which now tend to be associated with larger properties, were also applied to small dwellings.

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## AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

Some of the material used in Chapter 1 has been presented before in J. Rimmer, 'A Re-assessment of the Use of Building Accounts for the Study of Medieval Urban Houses', in M. Dunkeld, J. Campbell, H. Louw et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Construction History, Queen's College, Cambridge University 29<sup>th</sup> March – 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2006*, vol. 3 (2006), pp. 2599-612. However, the analysis and argument has since been revised and developed.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- BIA Borthwick Institute for Archives.
- CVCYM* N. J. Tringham (ed.), *Charters of the Vicars Choral of York Minster: City of York and Its Suburbs to 1546*, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society 148 (1993).
- GH The Great Hospital, Norwich (St Giles's Hospital, Norwich).
- NFR* J. L'Estrange (ed.), *Calendar of the Freemen of Norwich from 1317 to 1603*. Ed. W. Rye. London, 1888.
- Norfolk 1 N. Pevsner and B. Wilson, *Norfolk 1: Norwich and North-East*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, The Buildings of England (1997).
- NRO Norfolk Record Office.
- PIYD* P.M. Stell (ed.), *Probate Inventories of the York Diocese, 1350-1500*, The Archaeology of York: Historical Sources for York Archaeology after AD 1100 2/3 (2006).
- RCHME York, vol. 3* Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, Volume 3, Southwest of the Ouse* (London, 1972).
- RCHME York, vol. 5* Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, Volume 5, The Central Area* (London, 1981).
- VCH* Victoria County History.
- YBA* P.M. Stell (trans. and ed.), *York Bridgemaster's Accounts*, The Archaeology of York 2/2 (2003).
- YCA York City Archives.
- YFR* F. Collins (ed.), *Register of the Freemen of the City of York, From the City Records, vol. 1, 1272-1558*, Surtees Society 96 (1897).
- YMA York Minster Library, Archives Department.
- Yorkshire: YER* N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, The Buildings of England (1995).

## INTRODUCTION

And al aboute the contres enviroun,  
 He made seke in every regioun  
 For swiche werkemen as were corious,  
 Of wyt inventyf, of castyng merveilous;  
 [...]

And, as I rede, the walles wern on highte  
 Two hundred cubits, al of marbil gray, [...]

Among the marbil was alabaster white  
 Meynt in the walles, rounde the toun aboute,  
 To make it shewe withinne and withoute  
 So fresche, so riche, and so delitable,  
 That it alone was incomparable  
 Of alle cities that any mortal man  
 Sawe ever yit, sithe the world began.  
 [...]

And euery hous, that was bilt withinne,  
 Euery paleys and euery mancioun  
 Of marbil werne thoroughout al the toun,  
 Of crafty bildyng and werkyng most roial.<sup>1</sup>

New Troy was built to the most grand of designs. Nothing but the finest craftsmen were used in its creation. The most expensive building materials were twined expertly to create the most imperious, breath-taking buildings. Every minute detail in each crevice of every building was lovingly created and sculpted. The result was a magnificent city, rich in every detail, stunning in its effect.

However, King Priam's endeavours in the construction of his ideal city do not match the realities of the everyday urban building project. Practical issues such as cost, time, resources, limitations of space and environmental factors impose unwanted, costly, but inevitable constraints on the construction of urban buildings. Lydgate's description of New Troy may reveal the medieval aspirations of the ideal city, but this study is not concerned with the ideologies to which people aspired. Instead it will focus on the everyday reality of the development and appearance of the built environment of late medieval cities, in which those that dreamed of fantasy cities lived, worked and died.

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<sup>1</sup> R.R. Edwards, *John Lydgate Troy Book: Book 2*, *Teams Middle English Texts*, <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/tmsmenu.htm>, accessed 1<sup>st</sup> December 2007, lines 489-491, 577-87, 637-40.

Practicalities over money, time and space forced the hand of every craftsman and builder. The most pronounced examples of such pragmatism were to be found where interior space was most limited, rather than in the sprawling town houses or mansions, which are so often the focus of studies into the built environment of late medieval towns and cities.

Standing buildings, documentary records and excavations shed light on measured construction and adaptation. Indeed, this thesis will be focussed on these extant sources, rather than high literature, in its study of the late medieval city through small houses and their variation in form and occupants.

### *The Identification of 'Small' Houses*

The use of the term 'small' as a means of identifying a particular type of medieval house for investigation requires explanation. First and foremost, it provides an uncomplicated description for urban houses that were modest in both size and layout. The term 'small house' is not precise in its application, but will be used here in favour of categorisations based solely on layout or social standing, such as 'one-up, one-down' or 'lower-status', as it will later be argued that there are instances where such terms can be highly misleading, and that the terms themselves can lead to imprecise generalisations.

The term 'small houses' will also be used as a means of avoiding rigid size-type classifications such as those devised by R.W. Brunskill, which argue size is indicative of '... the sort of person for whom the house was originally intended'.<sup>2</sup> The term 'small' is therefore used to identify modestly sized houses in Norwich and York because it avoids any pre-empting of construction standards, residency patterns or a pre-conceived alignment between design and function, allowing these issues to be re-opened for debate and clarification.

Small houses of the late medieval period tend to survive in rows constructed under one continuous roof. An early fourteenth-century example can be found at 64-72 Goodramgate,

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<sup>2</sup> R.W. Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture: An Illustrated Handbook*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn (London, 2000), p. 26.

York (known as 'Lady Row'); a row of small houses dated by documentary evidence to 1316 (figure 1). A further example can be seen in York at 1 and 2 All Saints Lane, North Street, dated to the fifteenth century (fig. 2). In Norwich, examples of small houses can be seen at 15 Bedford Street, 8-12 Charing Cross (Strangers' Hall) and 2-12 Gildencroft (figs. 3-5). Internally, these houses are simple in plan, consisting of a single open space to the ground and first floor. These examples may not have been the smallest houses of the medieval period,<sup>3</sup> but they represent the smallest form of medieval housing for which standing archaeological evidence survives. It so happens that all the examples to be drawn upon (unless otherwise stated) form part of a row of small houses. The largest extant house to be categorised as a 'small house' in this thesis is the two-storey cottage at 10 Gildencroft, Norwich, at 8.35m x 4.18m (approx), although most are much smaller. However, it is not always possible to deduce the size of houses that are evidenced only in documentary records. Instead, small houses can be identified through a specific vocabulary.

Small houses across the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are identified in documentary accounts as rents (*domos rentales*), cottages (*cottagium*),<sup>4</sup> and shops, (*shoppa*) in order to differentiate them from larger dwellings, which were identified as tenements (*tenementum*) or messuages (*messuagium*).<sup>5</sup> Small houses were also sometimes described by their constituent parts, such as chamber (*camera*) and *solar*. That descriptions such as 'rents' were used specifically in relation to rows of small houses is corroborated by the rare example of a documented standing row at 11 and 12 College Street, York, which will be investigated in Chapter 1 (fig. 6).

It is also important to note that modern terms used to describe small houses differ from the medieval vocabulary. The term 'row' is often applied to medieval small houses, primarily

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<sup>3</sup> J. Grenville, *Medieval Housing* (London, 1997), p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> The term 'cottage' was also used in a rural context in the later middle ages, as highlighted by R.K. Field, 'Worcestershire Peasant Buildings, Household Goods and Farming Equipment in the Later Middle Ages', *Medieval Archaeology* 9 (1965): 105-45 see appendices pp. 125-45. The etymology of the term 'rent' has been traced by D. Keene, 'Landlords, the Property Market and Urban Development in Medieval England', in F-E. Eliassen and G.A. Erslund (eds.), *Power, Profit and Urban Land* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 98: 'Within any house plot the strip next to the street had the highest potential to generate rent, by virtue of its use as a trading space and the shops or small houses that could be built there to let. Consequently, that part of the property and by extension any row of small houses, came to be known as 'the rent' '.

<sup>5</sup> The use of a vocabulary to describe properties of different sizes has also been discussed by Keene, in the context of late medieval Winchester: D. Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester* (Oxford, 1985), 1: 137-9.

because they tend to survive in multiples.<sup>6</sup> A more recent commentator has suggested that the term ‘terrace’ can be applied to medieval rows of houses.<sup>7</sup> References to small houses in documentary sources will endeavour to use the terms by which they were described in the medieval period, but will also acknowledge that the use of terms such as ‘row’ and ‘unit’ have a functional merit in the description of small houses, despite not being contemporary terms. Medieval and modern descriptions of small houses in records from Norwich and York will be subject to further scrutiny throughout this investigation.

### *Comparisons and Contexts: Region, City, Neighbourhood and Plot*

There have been several investigations into late medieval small houses in both an urban and rural context. Small houses have been studied through the archaeological record in the cities and larger towns of York, Coventry and Tewkesbury,<sup>8</sup> and through documentary and archaeological evidence in the village of Bishops Clyst in Devon and the town of Much Wenlock in Shropshire.<sup>9</sup> Records from the high medieval period have also revealed evidence for cottages across the country.<sup>10</sup> However, the study most often referred to as the authority on urban small houses is Philip Short’s 1979 investigation into the chantry rows of York.<sup>11</sup> As a result of this article, the row of small houses at 64-72 Goodramgate (Lady Row), York, became especially renowned, to the point where it is often referred to as the definitive example of the ‘small house’ type.<sup>12</sup> However, there is a danger in using this row

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<sup>6</sup> P. Short, ‘The Fourteenth-Century Rows of York’, *Archaeological Journal* 137 (1979): 86.

<sup>7</sup> A. Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain* (New Haven and London, 2003), pp. 255-6.

<sup>8</sup> R.A. Hall, H. MacGregor, M. Stockwell, *Medieval Tenements in Aldwark and Other Sites*, *The Archaeology of York* 10/2 (1988); *RCHME York*, vol. 5, pp. 143-5, 225-6, 171; *RCHME York*, vol. 3, pp. 82-3, 98-99; Short, ‘Rows of York’, pp. 86-137; S.R. Jones and J.T. Smith, ‘The Wealden Houses of Warwickshire and their Significance’, *Transactions of The Birmingham Archaeological Society* 79 (1964): 21-35; N.W. Alcock, ‘Warwick and Coventry’, in P. Oliver (ed.), *Vernacular Architecture of the World, Volume 2, Cultures and Habitats* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 1295-6; C.R. Elrington (ed.), *The VCH of Gloucester, Volume 8* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 129-30.

<sup>9</sup> N.W. Alcock, ‘The Medieval Cottages of Bishops Clyst, Devon’, *Medieval Archaeology* 9 (1965): 146-53; M. Moran, ‘A Terrace of Crucks at Much Wenlock, Shropshire’, *Vernacular Architecture* 23 (1992): 10-14.

<sup>10</sup> C. Dyer, ‘Towns and Cottages in Eleventh-century England’, in H. Mayr-Harting and R.I. Moore (ed.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis* (London, 1985), pp. 91-106.

<sup>11</sup> Short, ‘Rows of York’, pp. 86-137.

<sup>12</sup> In a study of medieval houses in London, John Schofield concludes that rows of small houses would have been similar in form to Lady Row: J. Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven and London, 1994), pp. 55, 71; a more recent discussion on medieval houses, restates Lady Row as the primary example of its type: Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, pp. 255-8.



of small houses as a benchmark, when the variation and diversity in small houses, both within and between cities, has not been fully explored.

This investigation will address this imbalance, expanding our current understanding of urban small houses of the late medieval period in both York and Norwich. An interdisciplinary approach, combining an examination of the archaeological evidence with the analysis of documentary sources, will allow a more detailed investigation into the scope and diversity of urban small houses. This will provide an opportunity for the re-consideration of Short's investigations in York nearly thirty years ago, and the means through which the first detailed study of small houses in Norwich can be conducted. Furthermore, an interdisciplinary study will allow a range of issues to be investigated, including the design, ownership and occupancy of small houses. Previous studies of small houses have tended to focus on individual buildings or houses within a limited geographical area. A comparison between York and Norwich provides the opportunity to explore the differences in the form, function and meaning of urban small houses across the country, shedding light on the appearance and experience of the built environments of these cities as a whole.

However, there are several issues which must be taken into consideration when comparing houses across these two cities. York and Norwich are situated within very different regional landscapes (see map 1), which affects the availability of local building materials for the construction of small houses. Small houses were positioned in different areas across the city, and it must be considered to what extent location affected their form and design. A recent critique of investigations into medieval houses has observed that location is often neglected in their analysis.<sup>13</sup> This study agrees with Christopher Dyer's proposal that plot, settlement, parish and region should be used as frameworks for the examination of medieval houses.<sup>14</sup>

However, this study will adjust these categories to assist the comparison of small houses in York and Norwich. When examining the variation and diversity in their form, function and

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<sup>13</sup> C. Dyer, 'Vernacular Architecture and Landscape History: The Legacy of 'The Rebuilding of Rural England' and 'The Making of the English Landscape'', *Vernacular Architecture* 37 (2006): 24-32.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p. 27.

meaning, small houses in York and Norwich need to be understood in terms of what can loosely be classified as the region, city, neighbourhood and plot in which they reside. What follows is an outline of how small houses and their surrounding built environment can be investigated within these contexts.

### Region

Historical investigations into medieval cities have acknowledged the importance of regions in the interpretation of urban markets and trade,<sup>15</sup> but this context tends not to be taken into consideration in the examination of the built environments of medieval cities. The distribution of different types of stone, flint, brick, clay and timber across England has been studied in detail by R.W. Brunskill.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, Nikolaus Pevsner's nationwide study of buildings draws attention to the different types of materials available from county to county.<sup>17</sup> Despite the identification of regional building materials, these studies do not fully assess the impact of their availability and use within late medieval towns. Archaeological studies of buildings have also investigated regional styles of construction, particularly in relation to timber-framed buildings,<sup>18</sup> but the extent to which regionally accessible building materials influenced the appearance of urban buildings and the urban environment from city to city has received comparatively little attention. A recent appraisal of the built environment of late medieval cities acknowledged that urban houses were constructed out of a range of materials as well as timber, such as flint and clay, but an intense investigation of houses within any given city should be aware of the locally available materials that were available within its region.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> M. Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge, 1995); J. Galloway (ed.), *Trade, Urban Hinterlands and Market Integration c. 1300-1600* (London, 2000); M Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: Economic and Social History 1200-1500* (Woodbridge, 2007).

<sup>16</sup> Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture*, pp. 172-9, 196-211; R.W. Brunskill, *Traditional Buildings of Britain: An Introduction to Vernacular Architecture* (London, 1992), pp. 131-80.

<sup>17</sup> See for example: *Yorkshire: YER*, pp. 23-9; *Norfolk I*, pp. 20-9.

<sup>18</sup> J.T. Smith, 'Timber-Framed Building in England Its Development and Regional Differences', *Archaeological Journal* 122 (1965): 133-58; D.F. Stenning and D.D. Andrews (eds.), *Regional Variation in Timber-Framed Building in England and Wales Down to 1500*, Proceedings of the 1994 Crossing Conference (Essex, 1998); R. Harris, *Discovering Timber-Framed Buildings*, 3rd edn (Princes Risborough, 1993).

<sup>19</sup> J. Schofield and G. Stell, 'The Built Environment 1300-1540', in D.M. Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Volume I, 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 389-90.

York has access to a local supply of good quality building stone, along the western edge of the Vale of York.<sup>20</sup> High quality white magnesian limestone was obtained from the Thevesdale quarry at Hazelwood (near Tadcaster), nine miles to the south west of the city, for the construction of principal medieval buildings such as the Minster, St Mary's Abbey, the Precentor's House and the city walls.<sup>21</sup> Limestone from quarries at Huddleston (near Sherburn-in-Elmet), Stapleton (near Pontefract), Doncaster, Bramham and Hampole (near Doncaster) was also used in the fifteenth century, in the construction of the Minster.<sup>22</sup> Late medieval domestic buildings in York were generally constructed out of timber, which was also locally available in good supply. Evidence from place-name and Domesday Book analysis has shown that extensive areas of woodland were attached to most vills in the Vale of York, to the north of the city.<sup>23</sup> York was also surrounded on all sides by the forests of Galtres, Ouse and Derwent and Ainsty.<sup>24</sup> However in the later part of the middle ages, monastic woods became the prime source of timber. York Minster, the vicars choral and the Ouse Bridgemasters bought timber and scaffolding poles from woods in the ownership of St Mary's Abbey, Selby Abbey and Fountain's Abbey.<sup>25</sup> Many medieval timber-framed houses and public buildings in York still stand testimony to the sophisticated use of this material in secular structures, such as in the Merchant Adventurers' and Merchant Taylors' Guildhalls and houses on Low Petergate, Goodramgate and the Shambles.<sup>26</sup> The building accounts for the construction of the Merchant Adventurer's Hall in Fossgate also reveal large amounts of timber for this building were bought from within the county at Bolton Percy, to the south-west of York, and Thorpe Underwood, to the north-west.<sup>27</sup>

Alongside these two predominant building materials, brick was also commonly used throughout York in the late medieval period. Although there is evidence that Flemish brick

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<sup>20</sup> H. Arnold, 'Medieval Building Materials Used at York Minster: An Enquiry into Sources of Supply', *Medieval Yorkshire* 25 (1996): 9; *Yorkshire: YER*, p. 23.

<sup>21</sup> E. Gee, 'Stone from the Medieval limestone Quarries of South Yorkshire', in A. Detsicas (ed.), *Collectanea Historica, Essays in Memory of Stuart Rigold* (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 247-48; *Yorkshire: YER*, p. 23; Arnold, 'Medieval Building Materials', pp. 10-11.

<sup>22</sup> Gee, 'Stone from the Quarries of South Yorkshire', p. 247.

<sup>23</sup> T. Gledhill, 'Medieval Woodland in North Yorkshire', in M.A. Atherden and R.A. Butlin (eds.), *Woodland in the Landscape: Past and Future Perspectives* (Leeds, 1998), p. 110.

<sup>24</sup> J. Kaner, 'Historic Woodland in the Vale of York', in M.A. Atherden and R.A. Butlin (eds.), *Woodland in the Landscape: Past and Future Perspectives* (Leeds, 1998), pp. 121-7.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 127-31.

<sup>26</sup> Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, pp. 167-69; *RCHME York, vol. 5*, pp. lviii-lxii, 82-91, 135-46, 186-99, 212-19.

<sup>27</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 5*, p. 82.

was imported into the country in the late middle ages,<sup>28</sup> the home production of brick was thriving in Yorkshire across this period.<sup>29</sup> From the early fourteenth century at least, the production of brick and tile was active in the East Riding of Yorkshire. A surviving financial account for the brickyard at Hull shows that it was in production by 1303-04.<sup>30</sup> It is believed that the bricks used in the construction of the transepts at Holy Trinity Church, Hull (c. 1300-20) and the town walls (1321) came from this brickworks.<sup>31</sup> Beverley also had a fourteenth-century brickyard, with other medieval tileries also identified along the Beck in Beverley, at Grovehill.<sup>32</sup> These brickworks were believed to have supplied materials for the construction of the vaulting of Beverley Minster nave in the early fourteenth century.<sup>33</sup> The North Bar and walls at Beverley were also constructed from locally produced brick.<sup>34</sup>

Brick was also being manufactured in York during the late medieval period. A brickworks under the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster was situated beyond Micklegate, in an area known as Bishopfields.<sup>35</sup> A reference to the brickwork was made in 1374/5, although the date when it first started production is unknown.<sup>36</sup> A further brickworks was established by the vicars choral of York Minster in the early fifteenth century, on an area of land known as Spitelcroft, to the north-east of York between the River Foss and Layerthorpe.<sup>37</sup> The vicars choral also acquired a brickworks in Blossomgate in 1410-11.<sup>38</sup> Brick was used in the construction of high-status buildings, such as the King's Manor and the ground floor of the Merchant Adventurers' Guildhall.<sup>39</sup> It was also used in the construction of timber-framed domestic buildings. The infilling of medieval

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<sup>28</sup> L.F. Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540, A Documentary History* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 140-1.

<sup>29</sup> T. P. Smith, *The Medieval Brickmaking Industry in England 1400-1450*, BAR British Series 138 (1985), pp. 23-38; a further regional study of the ceramic industry has been undertaken by A.G. Vince, 'The Medieval Ceramic Industry of the Severn Valley' (PhD Thesis, The University of Southampton, 1984).

<sup>30</sup> F.W. Brooks, 'A Medieval Brickyard at Hull', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 4 (1939): 156.

<sup>31</sup> *Yorkshire: YER*, p. 27.

<sup>32</sup> Smith, *The Medieval Brickmaking Industry*, p. 27; *Yorkshire: YER*, p. 27.

<sup>33</sup> *Yorkshire: YER*, p. 27.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> I.M. Betts, 'A Scientific Investigation of the Brick and Tile Industry of York to the Mid-Eighteenth Century' (DPhil Thesis, The University of Bradford, 1985), 2: 335; J. H. Harvey, 'Bishophill and the Church of York', *Yorkshire Archaeological Society* 41 (1966): 380-1, 392.

<sup>36</sup> M. Sellers (ed.), *York Memorandum Book*, Surtees Society 120 (1912), p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> N. J. Tringham, 'Spitelcroft in Late Medieval York', *York Historian* 18 (2001): 2.

<sup>38</sup> Betts, 'Brick and Tile Industry of York', 2: 335-6.

<sup>39</sup> *Yorkshire: YER*, pp. 216-19; *RCHME York, vol. 5*, pp. 82-8.

timber-framed buildings with thin bricks set on edge, known as wall-tiles (*waltigill*), was a common practice in York.<sup>40</sup>

The building materials commonly used in the construction of buildings in Norfolk and Norwich were quite different from those used in Yorkshire and York. Medieval buildings in Norwich were constructed out of flint rubble, timber or clay.<sup>41</sup> Unlike York, Norwich is not favourably placed for good building stone.<sup>42</sup> There are no sources of freestone within fifty miles of the city, and few within a hundred miles.<sup>43</sup> In contrast, flint was readily available locally.<sup>44</sup> The extraction of flint and lime within the city of Norwich itself was an established practice by the late medieval period. Mines in Pottergate, to the west of the city centre, are thought to have been in operation from the twelfth century.<sup>45</sup> Many surviving civic, religious and secular buildings in Norwich were constructed using flint, including churches, the guildhall, the city walls and merchants houses, such as Strangers' Hall.<sup>46</sup>

Furthermore, north Norfolk did not have access to a plentiful stock of good building timber. By the Domesday Survey of 1086, woodland areas in Norfolk had been largely cleared to make way for arable land.<sup>47</sup> The greatest concentration of remaining woodland was located in south Norfolk, while much of the western, northern and eastern parts were practically devoid of wooded areas.<sup>48</sup> A recent investigation into the buildings of New Buckenham, in south Norfolk, has shown the extensive use of the timber-framing method in this part of the county.<sup>49</sup> Oliver Rackham has also argued that the use of underwood as a construction material in the county has been underestimated.<sup>50</sup> Although excavation has uncovered

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<sup>40</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 5*, pp. lxii-lxiii; Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, pp. 64-5.

<sup>41</sup> B.S. Ayers, 'Domestic Architecture in Norwich from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> Century', *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum III: der Hausbau* (Lübeck, 2001), p. 36.

<sup>42</sup> B.S. Ayers, 'Building a Fine City, The Provision of Flint, Mortar and Freestone in Medieval Norwich', in D. Parsons (ed.), *Stone Quarrying and Building in England AD 4-1525* (Chichester, 1990), pp. 217-8.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, p. 218.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 218-23.

<sup>45</sup> M. Atkin, 'The Chalk Tunnels of Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeology* 38 (1983): 317-18.

<sup>46</sup> *Norfolk 1*, pp. 230-56, 260-2, 264-5, 271-75.

<sup>47</sup> B.M.S. Campbell, 'Medieval Land Use and Land Values', in P. Wade-Martins (ed.), *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk* (Norwich, 1994), p. 48.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*, p. 48; A. Longcroft, 'Medieval Clay-Walled Houses: A Case Study from Norfolk', *Vernacular Architecture* 37 (2006): 64-6.

<sup>49</sup> A. Longcroft, *The Historic Buildings of New Buckenham*, *Journal of the Norfolk Historic Buildings Group* 2 (2005).

<sup>50</sup> O. Rackham, 'The Growing and Transport of Timber and Underwood', in S. McGrail (ed.), *Woodworking Techniques before A.D. 1500*, *British Archaeological Reports International Series* 129 (1982), p. 203; O. Rackham, 'Grundle House: On the Quantities of Timber in Certain East Anglian Buildings in Relation to

evidence for fourteenth-century timber-framed buildings in Norwich, fully framed buildings from ground-floor level to roof height are thought not to have been widespread across the city, possibly as a result of the lack of locally available construction timber.<sup>51</sup> In contrast, the technique of using ground-floor walls of flint rubble or brick-and-flint rubble, to support a timber-frame for the upper stories, was more common.<sup>52</sup> Dragon Hall, Norwich, an early fifteenth-century merchant's hall, was constructed in this manner.<sup>53</sup> Further investigation is required into how extensively timber was used in non-extant buildings in Norwich, and where that timber came from.

Clay was also commonly used in the construction of buildings in late medieval Norwich. East Anglia is a region of heavy clay soils, meaning clay was in good supply throughout the county.<sup>54</sup> It was used in the construction of buildings in Norfolk from the eleventh or twelfth century, up until the early sixteenth century.<sup>55</sup> The extraction of clay was common in and around the city of Norwich itself; a fifteenth-century documentary reference records that a clay-pit was situated south of the city in Bracondale.<sup>56</sup> Excavations in the city have also revealed evidence for clay-walled buildings. An excavation at Alms Lane, Norwich, uncovered several fifteenth-century clay-walled buildings.<sup>57</sup> In a recent article, Adam Longcroft has suggested clay was a popular building material because it was likely to have been cheaper than flint, freestone or timber, whilst being renowned for its thermal qualities and for its ease and cheapness in construction.<sup>58</sup> There has been some discussion regarding the techniques used in the construction of clay buildings in this region. It has been presumed clay walls were constructed using clay lump, a process where clay was formed

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Local Supplies', *Vernacular Architecture* (1972): 308; O. Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape: The Complete History of Britain's Trees, Woods and Hedgerows*, Revised edn (London, 1990), pp. 144-5.

<sup>51</sup> R. Smith, 'An Architectural History of Norwich Buildings c. 1200-1700' (DPhil Thesis, The University of East Anglia, 1990), p. 238; Ayers, 'Domestic Architecture in Norwich', pp. 38-9.

<sup>52</sup> Ayers, 'Domestic Architecture in Norwich', p. 39.

<sup>53</sup> R. Smith, 'Dragon Hall: Description and Interpretation', in A. Shelley, *Dragon Hall, King Street, Norwich: Excavation and Survey of a Late Medieval Merchant's Trading Complex*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 122 (2005), pp. 15-25.

<sup>54</sup> T. Williamson, *Shaping Medieval Landscapes: Settlement, Society, Environment* (Macclesfield, 2003), p. 6.

<sup>55</sup> M. Atkin, 'Medieval Clay-Walled Building in Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeology* 41/2 (1991): 179-80; A. Longcroft, 'Medieval Clay-Walled Houses: A Case Study from Norfolk', *Vernacular Architecture* 37 (2006): 64-5.

<sup>56</sup> Atkin, 'Clay-Walled Building in Norwich', p. 171.

<sup>57</sup> M. Atkin, A. Carter and D.H. Evans, *Excavations in Norwich 1971-1978 Part II*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 26 (1985); M. Atkin and S. Margeson, *Life on a Medieval Street: Excavations on Alms Lane, Norwich 1976* (Norwich, 1985).

<sup>58</sup> Longcroft, 'Medieval Clay-Walled Houses', p. 70.

into rectangular blocks within wooden moulds and left to dry in the sun. However, John McCann has argued that clay walls in Norfolk were traditionally constructed with cob - a process of puddling clay with water, chopped straw and other aggregates and applying it in layers, often between timber shuttering - with clay lump not being used as a construction technique in Britain until the 1790s.<sup>59</sup>

Brick was also used in the construction of medieval houses in Norwich, but mainly below ground in the form of domestic undercrofts.<sup>60</sup> Many of these structures were constructed entirely out of brick and have been dated to the fifteenth century.<sup>61</sup> Above ground, it was primarily used in medieval buildings alongside flint, in flint-and-brick rubble construction, and for the detailing of quoins and embrasures in buildings of quality.<sup>62</sup> However, unlike York, brick has not been identified in an external load-bearing capacity in Norwich before the seventeenth century.<sup>63</sup> The sources of supply for brick in Norfolk are not as well documented as those in York. In the thirteenth century, bricks were imported from Flanders for the construction of a curtain wall around the top of the mound at the castle.<sup>64</sup> It is thought brick manufacture may have taken place outside the western walls of the city, where brickfields were identified in the post-medieval period.<sup>65</sup> Bricks for building projects in Norwich were also purchased from St. Benet's Abbey on the river Bure.<sup>66</sup> Whether Norwich used local brick to the same extent as it was used in Yorkshire also requires further examination.

In terms of roofing materials, thatch was used in Norwich until the early nineteenth century, if not later.<sup>67</sup> Norfolk had a good local supply of water reed, which was plentiful in the marshy estuaries of north Norfolk, the Fenland and Dorset.<sup>68</sup> Documentary evidence also

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<sup>59</sup> J. McCann, 'Is Clay-Lump a Traditional Building Material?', *Vernacular Architecture* 18 (1987): 1-16.

<sup>60</sup> R. Smith and A. Carter, 'Function and Site: Aspects of Norwich Buildings before 1700', *Vernacular Architecture* 14 (1983): 6. Fifty-four undercrofts survive and there are reliable records for another thirty-four, which have been destroyed.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6. The late fourteenth-century Cow Tower in Norwich is a notable exception to this rule. See B. S. Ayers, R. Smith and M. Tillyard, 'The Cow Tower, Norwich: a detailed survey and partial reinterpretation', *Medieval Archaeology* 32 (1988): 184-205.

<sup>64</sup> Ayers, *English Heritage Book of Norwich* (London, 1995), p. 86.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> S. Porter, 'Thatching in Early-Modern Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeology* 39/3 (1986): 311.

<sup>68</sup> J. Fearn, *Thatch and Thatching*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Princes Risborough, 2004), pp. 16-17.

suggests thatch was used in large quantities throughout Norwich across the late medieval period. Two major fires in the city in 1507 destroyed 718 buildings; the scale of destruction in the city is believed to have been fuelled by the widespread use of thatch.<sup>69</sup>

Imported materials also impacted on the built environment of York and Norwich. From the thirteenth century onwards, a large amount of timber was imported from the Baltic and North Sea regions to supplement supplies of native timber.<sup>70</sup> Salzman has identified that Customs Accounts for all the ports on the East coast, from Newcastle to Dover, showed large imports of Baltic timber.<sup>71</sup> York merchants are known to have brought wine and building materials from neighbouring ports, such as Easterlings in Grimsby, and Hull.<sup>72</sup> The fifteenth-century customs accounts for Hull show this port regularly imported foreign timber into the region.<sup>73</sup> In Norwich, imported stone was used in the construction of buildings around the city, as a result of the lack of locally available building stone. Flint rubble was used for the wall cores of Norwich cathedral church and claustral buildings, while stone imported from Caen in Normandy and Barnack in Lincolnshire was used to face it.<sup>74</sup> Stone from Roche Abbey in Yorkshire, and further limestones from Clipsham, Ancaster, Weldon and Ketton in Lincolnshire, were also used in the construction of this building.<sup>75</sup> The freestone used in the construction of the parish churches and large merchant houses was also generally imported from other parts of the country.<sup>76</sup>

The identification of regionally available materials, such as freestone, timber, brick and tile in York, and flint, timber, clay and thatch in Norwich, provide an important context through which the built environment of these two cities ought to be investigated. The use of non-timber-framing methods of construction in Norwich draws into question the use of extant timber-framed urban small houses, particularly 64-72 Goodramgate, York (Lady Row), as an indicator of the form and scope of this house type across the country.

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<sup>69</sup> Porter, 'Thatching in Early-Modern Norwich', p. 310.

<sup>70</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, pp. 245-8.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>72</sup> P.M. Tillott (ed.), *The VCH of Yorkshire, The City of York* (Oxford, 1961), p. 103.

<sup>73</sup> W.R. Childs (ed.), *The Customs Accounts of Hull 1453-1490*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society 144 (1986), pp. xxiv, 6, 31, 60.

<sup>74</sup> R. Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close: The Evolution of the English Cathedral Landscape* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 38, citing E. Fernie and A.B. Whittingham (eds.), *The Early Communal and Pitancer Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory with an Account of the Building of the Cloister*, Norfolk Record Society 41 (1972).

<sup>75</sup> Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close*, pp. 38-9.

<sup>76</sup> Ayers, 'Building a Fine City', pp. 220-5.



## City

Across the medieval period as a whole, cities have been compared through their physical development and their relative economic and political circumstances. However, comparisons between cities in terms of the visual impact of their built environments, have not attracted equal attention.

Historical geographers and historians have investigated the topographical development of cities and identified differences in their plan and layout. Some towns were planned as a whole unit, such as the new towns of Edward I, while others developed over a longer period of time; these are known as 'organic', 'composite' or 'agglomerative' towns and cities, of which York and Norwich are examples.<sup>77</sup> In the construction of new towns, factors such as adapting to site conditions and the positioning of the marketplace are thought to have been key to their design and layout.<sup>78</sup> More recently, alternative suggestions have been put forward. Keith Lilley has argued that architects, surveyors and engineers used their geometrical knowledge in the design of new towns, with symbolic as well as pragmatic concerns being important in their layout.<sup>79</sup>

As 'agglomerative' or 'composite' cities, York and Norwich are the result of a more prolonged development. In addition to their diverse regional backgrounds, York and Norwich were also very different in their origins. York is a Roman city,<sup>80</sup> while Norwich originated in the eighth century.<sup>81</sup> As a result, the urban landscapes of the two cities have developed in very different ways. The construction of a Roman legionary fortress in York

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<sup>77</sup> M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London, 1967), pp. 55-97; the terms 'composite' or 'agglomerative' plan, are now favoured over the term 'organic' plan, as a description of towns that developed as a series of units over an extended period of time, T.R. Slater, 'English medieval new towns with composite plans: evidence from the Midlands', in T.R. Slater (ed.), *The Built Form of Western Cities, Essays for M.R.G. Conzen on the occasion of his eightieth birthday* (Leicester, 1990), pp. 60-82; G. Sheeran, *Medieval Yorkshire Towns: People, Buildings and Spaces* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 31.

<sup>78</sup> Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*, pp. 143-60; H. Carter, 'The Geographical Approach', in M.W. Barley (ed.), *The Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns in England and Wales*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 14 (1976), p. 13.

<sup>79</sup> K.D. Lilley, 'Urban Landscapes and their Design: Creating town from Country in the Middle Ages', in C. Dyer and K. Giles (eds.), *Town and Country in the Middle Ages 1100-1500*, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monographs 22 (2005), pp. 239-43; Lilley draws on arguments put forward by D. Friedman, *Florentine New Towns: Urban Design in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), pp. 117-48.

<sup>80</sup> Tillott (ed.), *VCH, The City of York*, pp. 2-24.

<sup>81</sup> B. Ayers, 'The Urban Landscape', in C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Medieval Norwich* (Hambleton and London, 2004), p. 2.

in the third century shaped the landscape of the city, and still influences its development today. In Norwich, the tenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian enclosures to the north and south of the river Wensum initiated both topographical growth and the establishment of a road-system, which the city continues to develop around.<sup>82</sup>

Alongside the analysis of their original form and layout, the development of the town plan over time, has also been contrasted. Whether planned or composite, the analysis of the morphology of the town plan by M.R.G Conzen argued that cities developed in their own unique manner.<sup>83</sup> Using examples of the composite town plan of Ludlow, and the planned town of Conway, he suggested the changing functional requirements of the urban community could be mapped in an examination of three themes. Firstly, the streets and their mutual association in a street-system, secondly, the individual land parcels or plots and their patterns and, finally, the buildings and their arrangements within the town plan as a whole.<sup>84</sup> Regardless of how any city was formed, development across the course of the medieval period would produce many further differences between them.

Cities have also been compared in terms of their economic and political histories. The relative rise and fall of the economic status of cities and smaller towns across the fourteenth and fifteenth century has attracted particular attention from historians.<sup>85</sup> Most cities across the country experienced a period of prosperity between about 1360 and 1400, which was followed by economic recession in the fifteenth century.<sup>86</sup> Many lost trade to London, whose share in imports and exports rose from *c.* forty-five per cent of the national total in the early fifteenth century to *c.* seventy per cent by the 1540s.<sup>87</sup> As a result of this, several east coast ports such as Boston, Lynn and Yarmouth faced severe recession by the mid

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<sup>82</sup> Tillott (ed.), *VCH, The City of York*, p. 3; D.A. Brinklow, 'Roman Settlement around the Legionary Fortress at York', in P.V. Addyman and V.E. Black (eds.), *Archaeological Papers from York Presented to M.W. Barley* (York, 1984), pp. 22-7; Ayers, 'The Urban Landscape', pp. 8-10.

<sup>83</sup> M.R.G. Conzen, 'The Use of Town Plans in the Study of Urban History', in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London, 1968), p. 115.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 116-17, 122-30; M.R.G. Conzen, 'Morphogenesis, morphological regions and secular human agency in the historic townscape, as exemplified by Ludlow', in D. Denecke and G. Shaw (eds.), *Urban Historical Geography: Recent Progress in Britain and Germany* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 253-72.

<sup>85</sup> R. Britnell, 'The Economy of British Towns 1300-1540', in D.M. Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Volume 1, 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 313-33.

<sup>86</sup> J. Kermode, 'The greater towns 1300-1540', in D.M. Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Volume 1, 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 447.

<sup>87</sup> C.M. Barron, 'London 1300-1540', in D.M. Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Volume 1, 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 413.

fifteenth century, while other important commercial centres in the north, such as York, also faced economic decline.<sup>88</sup> In contrast to York, Norwich was a city which maintained its economic success in the fifteenth century, due to its role in the cloth industry and the general prosperity of large parts of East Anglia.<sup>89</sup> By 1525, Norwich was the largest and wealthiest provincial city in the country, second only to London.<sup>90</sup>

The relationship between royal government, town governments and citizens has also been compared across cities. Christian Liddy has recently compared the relationship between the urban elite of York and Bristol and the crown, showing how members of their civic governments became increasingly involved in national affairs across the course of the Hundred Years War.<sup>91</sup> The nature and development of town governments and their relationship with townspeople have also been contrasted across towns in England, Scotland and Wales.<sup>92</sup>

Despite the fact that differences between the town plan, economy and political development of cities have been identified, the overall appearance of the built environment is one aspect of the medieval city that tends not to invite comparison. A recent survey of the built environment of late medieval cities concluded they were generally similar in their composition and appearance:

Towns share recognisable patterns of street plans, market places and burgh plots, and they incorporate to a greater or lesser extent standard components such as parish churches and chapels, religious houses, civic and commercial buildings and ranges of house types that are recognisably, if sometimes indefinably urban. One abiding general impression remains that the differences in the urban built environment from one country or one

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<sup>88</sup> Kermode, 'The greater towns 1300-1540', pp. 448-49; an over-view of the literature on urban decay has been compiled by A. Dyer, *Decline and Growth in English Towns 1400-1640* (Basingstoke, 1991), pp. 12-19; urban decline has also been discussed by R.B. Dobson, 'Urban Decline in Late Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5<sup>th</sup> Series, 27 (1977): 1-22; C.V. Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1979); R.H. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300-1525* (Cambridge, 1986); D.M. Palliser, 'Urban Decay Revisited', in J.A.F. Thomson (ed.), *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1988), pp. 1-21.

<sup>89</sup> P. Dunn, 'Trade', in C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Medieval Norwich* (Hambledon and London, 2004), pp. 213-14.

<sup>90</sup> Dunn, 'Trade', p. 214.

<sup>91</sup> C.D. Liddy, *War, Politics and Finance in Late Medieval English Towns: Bristol, York and the Crown, 1350-1400* (Woodbridge, 2005).

<sup>92</sup> S.H. Rigby and E. Ewan, 'Government, Power and Authority 1300-1540', in D.M. Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Volume 1, 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 291-312.

region to another are principally differences in scale and emphasis, and not essentially differences in kind.<sup>93</sup>

The structural and visual differences between the built environments of medieval cities were probably much more complex and varied than this statement suggests. The difficulty scholars have faced in defining 'the medieval city' also emphasises the fact that creating such an over-arching term is problematic for something so diverse.<sup>94</sup>

Terry Slater has recently argued that a medieval traveller would recognise a town from a village by their physical characteristics, such as streets, boundaries, marketplaces, plot patterns and distinctive buildings.<sup>95</sup> Contemporary descriptions also suggest travellers recognised the differences in built environments from town to town. In his journey around Yorkshire between 1535 and 1543, John Leland made a number of observations about the visual differences between certain towns and cities. On Doncaster, he comments: 'The hole toune of Dancaster is buildid of wodde, and the houses be slatid: yet is there great plenty of stone there about'.<sup>96</sup> On Wakefield, he remarks: 'The building of the toune is meately faire, most of tymbre but sum of stone.'<sup>97</sup> On Beverley he notes: 'The toune of Beverle is large and welle buildid of wood... The toune is not waullid: but yet be there these many fair gates of brike...'<sup>98</sup> On Kingston-upon-Hull he records, '... the toune was wonderfully augmented yn building, and was enclosid with diches, and the waul begon, and yn continuance endid and made al of brike, as most part of the houses of the toun at that tyme was.'<sup>99</sup> These descriptions suggest that the diversity of different building materials used, even between cities and towns in the same region, and particularly in the construction of city walls and domestic buildings, was varied enough to be noteworthy. The extent to which the use of different building materials in York and Norwich created visual

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<sup>93</sup> Schofield and Stell, 'The Built Environment 1300-1540', p. 393.

<sup>94</sup> Definitions of the late medieval city have been formed by historians and archaeologists alike, based on their legal systems, economic structures and physical attribute: Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*, p. 273; M. Biddle, 'Towns', in D.M. Wilson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 100; S. Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (Oxford, 1977), pp. ix-x.

<sup>95</sup> T.R. Slater, 'Plan Characteristics of Small Boroughs and Market Settlements: Evidence from the Midlands', in C. Dyer and K. Giles (eds.), *Town and Country in the Middle Ages 1100-1500*, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monographs 22 (2005), pp. 23-41.

<sup>96</sup> L. Toulmin-Smith (ed.), *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-43* (London, 1964), 1: 35.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid*, p. 42.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, p. 47.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*, p. 48.

differences in their built environments will be explored further through this investigation into small houses.

### Neighbourhood

As well as comparing the differences between small houses across cities, there is also the possibility that the area of a city in which a house was built had an impact on its design, layout, and occupants. In the interpretation of small houses, it is important to remember that they were located in many different areas across the late medieval city. Social and economic variations existed between different areas within each city, which could in turn affect the desirability, value and inhabitants of houses.

From the twelfth century onwards, the nucleation of particular industries was a common feature of the medieval town.<sup>100</sup> In Coventry, the butchers, fishmongers and vintners congregated around the marketing centre of the city, while the need for access to water meant the dyers and tanners were found in close proximity to the river Sherbourne.<sup>101</sup> In Norwich, industrial activity beside the river Wensum was particularly intense. Brian Ayers and Elizabeth Rutledge have identified a concentration of the cloth-finishing process in the western part of the city where dyers, fullers and bleachers lived close to the river.<sup>102</sup> In York, Heather Swanson and P.J.P. Goldberg have identified occupational zones from the 1381 Poll Tax returns and fifteenth-century probate sources.<sup>103</sup> They argue that craft workshops and their associated households also assembled in particular areas of the city, for example, merchants, drapers and mercers were heavily concentrated in the Fossgate area of York, near to the merchant's guildhall.<sup>104</sup> From an archaeological perspective, Kate Giles has argued that the positions of the guildhalls in York were influenced by the contemporary occupational topography, and that they created a devotional focus,

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<sup>100</sup> J. Schofield and A. Vince, *Medieval Towns* (London, 1994), p. 123.

<sup>101</sup> Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of A City*, pp. 159-62.

<sup>102</sup> B. Ayers, 'From cloth to creel- riverside industries in Norwich', in G.L. Good, R.H. Jones and M.W. Ponesford (eds.), *Waterfront Archaeology*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 74 (1990), p. 5; E. Rutledge, 'Economic Life', in C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson, *Medieval Norwich* (Hambleton and London, 2004), pp. 161-62, 165-66.

<sup>103</sup> H.C. Swanson, 'Craftsmen and Industry in Late Medieval York' (DPhil Thesis, The University of York, 1980), pp. 453-62; Goldberg, *Women, Work and Lifecycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in Yorkshire c. 1300-1500* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 64-71.

<sup>104</sup> Goldberg, *Women, Work and Lifecycle*, pp. 64-71, particularly p. 69.

reinforcing the connections between workshop, household and craft community as a whole.<sup>105</sup>

In a study of the social topography of early sixteenth-century Coventry, Phythian-Adams remarked on the considerable degree of intermixing between rich and poor across the wards of the city. Nonetheless, some areas of the city were clearly richer than others and the wards with the highest-value rents were situated towards the centre of the city.<sup>106</sup> In late fourteenth-century York, a number of the impoverished north-eastern and south-eastern parishes were excluded from the 1381 Poll Tax because of the social implications of burdening poor taxpayers, while the central parishes were identified as containing a number of prosperous citizens.<sup>107</sup> The extent to which economic and social distinctions between areas impacted on the architecture of urban houses has not previously been investigated, but this is an area in which this study of small houses across York and Norwich will explore further.

### Plot

At the level of the plot, the differences between the houses of the two cities can be examined, as can their occupants, use and change over time. One of the traditional methods of investigating extant medieval houses has been through the analysis of plan and layout. W.A. Pantin's influential study of medieval urban houses was the first to recognise differences in the orientation of urban houses in relation to the street frontage.<sup>108</sup> He identified a sample of houses from towns and cities across the country that had, 'an open-roofed hall as the principal element in its plan'.<sup>109</sup> From this sample, he distinguished between two general differences in layout; houses with the hall positioned parallel to the street and houses with the hall at right angles to the street.<sup>110</sup> Pantin used this distinction as the basis for the development of a typology of urban medieval houses. These two

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<sup>105</sup> K. Giles, *An Archaeology of Social Identity Guildhalls in York, c. 1350-1630*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 315 (2000), pp. 56-78; K. Giles, 'Framing Labour: The Archaeology of York's Medieval Guildhalls', in J. Bothwell, P.J.P. Goldberg and W.M. Ormrod (eds.), *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England* (York, 2000), pp. 69-79.

<sup>106</sup> Phythian-Adams, *Desolation Of A City*, pp. 164-6.

<sup>107</sup> P.J.P. Goldberg, 'Urban identity and the poll taxes of 1377, 1379, and 1381', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 43/2 (1990): 205-7.

<sup>108</sup> W.A. Pantin, 'Medieval English Town-House Plans', *Medieval Archaeology* 6-7 (1964): 202-39.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, p. 202.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 202-39.

classifications of plan-form were divided further into sub-categories, which acknowledged variations in the layout of hall houses. The typological method was also used for the analysis of medieval undercrofts in Winchelsea, Chester and Southampton. P.A. Faulkner noted differences in the design of undercrofts across these cities.<sup>111</sup> From a sample of vaulted undercrofts, he developed a typology based on the layout and access position of these semi-subterranean spaces, although the typologies developed by Pantin and Faulkner concentrated on houses that were fairly large in size. In an attempt to address the socio-economic imbalance of earlier typologies, John Schofield has more recently suggested an alternative framework based on the layout of London houses, which takes houses of all sizes into consideration. Schofield suggested a typology which divided medieval houses into four categories: courtyard houses; houses with three to six rooms in plan; houses with two rooms in plan and houses one room in plan.<sup>112</sup>

More recent investigations have criticised this method of analysis, largely because it does not adequately reflect the complexity and variability in the design of urban houses. Pantin's typology was based on a theory that urban houses were adaptations of country-house forms.<sup>113</sup> Sarah Pearson has challenged this viewpoint, arguing that urban houses developed a style independent from that of the countryside, with an emphasis on commercial space, workshop space and storage.<sup>114</sup> In contradiction with Pantin, she argues that the design of rural houses was influenced by urban models.<sup>115</sup> Regardless, high population densities in cities and the pressure on space could exert limits on housing that were less of an issue in villages and the countryside, particularly where town walls were restricting expansion.<sup>116</sup> Schofield's typology has also been criticised for using post-medieval surveys that do not necessarily represent the original form and layout of medieval buildings.<sup>117</sup> His typology also focused on the ground-floor plan, failing to take into account rooms on further storeys,

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<sup>111</sup> P.A. Faulkner, 'Medieval Undercrofts and Town Houses', *Archaeological Journal* 123 (1966): 120-35.

<sup>112</sup> Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 60.

<sup>113</sup> Pantin, 'Medieval English Town-House Plans', p. 202.

<sup>114</sup> S. Pearson, 'Rural and Urban Houses 1100-1500: 'Urban Adaptation' Reconsidered', in C. Dyer and K. Giles (eds.), *Town and Country in the Middle Ages 1100-1500*, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monographs 22 (2005), pp. 43-59.

<sup>115</sup> Pearson, 'Rural and Urban Houses 1100-1500', pp. 47-50.

<sup>116</sup> D.M. Palliser, 'Urban Society', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth Century Attitudes* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 138.

<sup>117</sup> Schofield used the surveys drawn by Ralph Treswell for Christ's Hospital and the Clothworker's Company of London in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, many of which are reproduced in J. Schofield (ed.), *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell* (London, 1987). For a discussion of this typology see Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, pp. 169-70.

outside spaces or subsidiary buildings attached to the property, which are all features that need to be understood alongside the form and layout of houses. Reflecting on excavations in Norwich, M. Atkin and D.H. Evans have argued that yards and outhouses are an important feature which is often forgotten in the interpretation of medieval urban houses.<sup>118</sup>

Typologies also have the undesirable consequence of implying uniformity among buildings of the same layout and type, rather than emphasising their differences. Whilst there is no existing typology for small houses, the risk of assuming uniformity is still a concern. Certainly, discussions of rows of small houses tend to stress the uniformity of their design, both in terms of their external appearance and internal layout.<sup>119</sup> As a result, more recent commentators have assumed that all rows of houses, and all units within rows of houses, were of a similar form.<sup>120</sup> A simple comparison of the appearance of the row of cruck-construction small houses in Much Wenlock in Shropshire, and the row of wealden houses in Spon Street in Coventry will make it plain that there are different ways in which small houses were designed and constructed.<sup>121</sup> This investigation will further examine the level of diversity among rows of small houses, both between York and Norwich, and within each of the cities.

Questions of variability in small houses are equally applicable in the investigation of function. In particular, commercial and industrial uses could have a significant impact on the design, form and layout of urban houses. Typologies have also been used in the examination of the relationship between domestic and commercial functions within medieval buildings. David Clark formulated a typology based on a nationwide survey of shops, differentiating between single shop units not connected to other rooms on the same floor, shops connected to other rooms behind, and shops connected to other rooms beside.<sup>122</sup> However, the relationship between commercial and domestic areas in houses and shops were more complex than this typology suggests. Studies of split-level town-houses in

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<sup>118</sup> M. Atkin and D.H. Evans, 'Population, Profit and Plague: The Archaeological Interpretation of Buildings and Land Use in Norwich', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 3/2 (1984): 94-6.

<sup>119</sup> Short, 'Rows of York'; Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, pp. 53, 55-6.

<sup>120</sup> Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, pp. 255-68.

<sup>121</sup> Moran, 'A Terrace of Crucks at Much Wenlock, Shropshire', pp. 10-14; Jones and Smith, 'The Wealden Houses of Warwickshire and their Significance', pp. 24-35.

<sup>122</sup> D. Clark, 'The Shop Within?: An Analysis of the Architectural Evidence for Medieval Shops', *Architectural History* 43 (2000): 58-87; D.F. Stenning, 'Timber-Framed Shops 1300-1600: Comparative Plans', *Vernacular Architecture* 16 (1985): 35-9, has also compared the plan-form of medieval shops.



Chester and Southampton have shown how shops and stalls were incorporated into houses on the street frontage at both undercroft and ground-floor level.<sup>123</sup> In a study of the surviving evidence for shop fronts in East Anglian towns, Leigh Alston has argued that many medieval buildings which have generally been interpreted as shops were, in fact, workshops involved primarily or exclusively with production, rather than retail.<sup>124</sup> The regional context of East Anglia's wool-making industry was an important factor in the interpretation of these spaces.<sup>125</sup> Jane Grenville has also promoted the idea that our understanding of urban workshops is slim, and that further work needs to be undertaken in this area.<sup>126</sup> The relationship between domestic and commercial functions within small houses, and the resulting impact on design, layout, use and residency patterns, is an important context for the study of this type of housing.

### *Small Houses and the Documentary Record*

Alongside the standing evidence, this study will also analyse the form, function and meaning of small houses through the documentary record. Not only will this enable the sample of evidence under investigation to be widened, but it will also allow an interdisciplinary approach for the evaluation of important contextual information about the construction, ownership and occupation of houses. The primary source of information for the elucidation of this house-type will be the property records of institutional landlords.

#### Institutional landlords and their records

By the late medieval period, a substantial proportion of urban houses were owned and rented out by institutional landlords. Prior to 1300, the institutions that acquired property in

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<sup>123</sup> R.B. Harris, 'The Origins and Development of English Medieval Townhouses Operating Commercially on Two Storeys' (DPhil Thesis, The University of Oxford, 1994), pp. 214-44, 248-79; A. Brown (ed.), *The Rows of Chester: The Chester Rows Research Project*, English Heritage Archaeological Report 16 (1999), pp. 15-32; Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, pp. 182-3.

<sup>124</sup> L. Alston, 'Late Medieval Workshops in East Anglia', in P. Barnwell, M. Palmer and M. Airs (eds.), *The Vernacular Workshop: From Craft to Industry, 1400-1900*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 140 (2004), pp. 38-59.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> J. Grenville, 'The archaeology of the late and post-medieval workshop – a review and proposal for a research agenda', in P. Barnwell, M. Palmer and M. Airs (eds.), *The Vernacular Workshop: From Craft to Industry, 1400-1900*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 140 (2004), pp. 28-37.

towns were predominantly ecclesiastical.<sup>127</sup> In the late medieval period, many ecclesiastical institutions were in possession of large urban estates of rented property. By 1312, ecclesiastical landlords in Oxford accounted for seventy five per cent of the total assessed income from rent in the town.<sup>128</sup> In early fourteenth-century Norwich, the Cathedral Priory and St Giles's Hospital together held ten per cent of all the available rented property in the city.<sup>129</sup> By 1304, the vicars choral of York Minster were one of the largest landowners in York, with approximately eighty city properties.<sup>130</sup> By 1395, the estate had trebled in size to over 240 properties.<sup>131</sup>

After 1300, many other kinds of institutions became property holders, including chantries, colleges, lay fraternities and secular corporations.<sup>132</sup> In London, craft organisations emerged as particularly dominant landlords. Keene and Harding have shown that the archives of sixty-nine London Companies contain material relating to property-holding in the city before the Great Fire of 1666.<sup>133</sup> Unlike the estates of religious foundations, the interests of craft organisations were located in a scattering of holdings that were acquired piecemeal, rather than in large blocks of territory.<sup>134</sup> Records of other secular organisations, such as the London Bridgemasters, and the Ouse Bridgemasters and Foss Bridgemasters in York, show they also became significant property holders.<sup>135</sup> The profit from their rented property went, respectively, towards the up-keep of the fabric of London Bridge, Ouse Bridge and Foss Bridge. The urban estates of institutional landlords often comprised of a

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<sup>127</sup> D. Keene, 'The Property Market in English Towns', in J.C. Marie Vigneur (ed.), *D'une ville a l'autre: structures, materielles et organization de l'espace dans les villes europeennes*, Collection de l'ecole francaise de Rome 122 (1989): 214.

<sup>128</sup> Keene, 'The Property Market in English Towns', p. 214. In a later article, Keene argues further that these figures must be accepted with caution because Oxford was somewhat exceptional in its early pattern of ownership and the distinctive institutional composition of the town, Keene, 'Landlords, the Property Market and Urban Development in Medieval England', p. 104.

<sup>129</sup> E. Rutledge, 'Landlords and tenants: housing and the rented property market in early fourteenth-century Norwich', *Urban History* 22/1 (1995): 15-16; C. Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul: The Life, Death and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital St Giles's, Norwich, c. 1249-1550* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 65-102.

<sup>130</sup> S. Rees Jones, 'God and Mammon: The Role of the City Estate of the Vicars Choral in the Religious Life of York Minster', in R. Hall and D. Stocker (eds.), *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals: Cantate Domino* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 193-4.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Keene, 'The Property Market in English Towns', p. 214.

<sup>133</sup> D. Keene and V. Harding, *Sources for Property Holdings*, London Record Society Publications 22 (1985); D. Keene, 'A New Study of London before the Great Fire', *Urban History Yearbook* (1984): 12.

<sup>134</sup> Keene, 'The Property Market in English Towns', p. 214.

<sup>135</sup> V. Harding and L. Wright (eds.), *London Bridge: Selected Accounts and Rentals, 1381-1538*, London Record Society 31 (1995), pp. xvii-xxi; Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents, Some Aspects of the Topography and Economy of Medieval York' (DPhil Thesis, The University of York, 1987), 1: 218-20, 224-8, 265-70; see also *YBA*.

broad range of property types, including tenements, messuages, small houses and shops. As a result, a significant proportion of the urban population, from a diverse range of social backgrounds, were living in rented accommodation across the late medieval period. Rutledge has estimated that at least three quarters of households in the leet of Mancroft, in central Norwich, could have been living in rented accommodation as early as c. 1311.<sup>136</sup>

Through the continued growth of their estates, institutional landlords also played an important role in the topographical development of the late medieval city. In the thirteenth century, St Mary's Abbey in Coventry initiated both the re-organisation of its own precinct and the re-development of the market area of the city, as part of a protracted process of settlement re-organisation.<sup>137</sup> Not all institutions were responsible for the re-development of the city on such a large scale. In the fifteenth century, St Peter's Abbey in Gloucester constructed inns on three prominent city-centre sites and replaced several selds in the commercial quarter.<sup>138</sup> These examples show how institutional landlords could play a significant role in the development of the built environment.

Jurisdictional boundaries and territorial expansion could cause friction between institutions. Lorraine Attreed has argued that civic authorities continuously sought to define their identity as distinct from the rural, noble and ecclesiastical powers that surrounded them, after the basic chartered liberties were conferred upon town governments in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>139</sup> Civic governments in Exeter, Shrewsbury, Norwich and York continuously tried to define their jurisdictional space by contesting the rights of other major landholders in the city.<sup>140</sup> Given that the examples of small houses being studied are under the jurisdiction of institutional landlords, the extent to which competition between institutions over territory impacted on the design and appearance of domestic property across their estates will also be considered later in this investigation.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Rutledge, 'Landlords and tenants', p. 10.

<sup>137</sup> K.D. Lilley, 'Trading Places: Monastic Initiative and the Development of High-Medieval Coventry', in T.R. Slater and G. Rosser (eds.), *The Church in the Medieval Town* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 182-94.

<sup>138</sup> N. Baker and R. Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 282-3.

<sup>139</sup> L. Attreed, 'Urban Identity in Medieval English Towns', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32/4 (2002): 571-92.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> Sheeran, *Medieval Yorkshire Towns: People, Buildings and Spaces*, pp. 40-6; institutions also conducted reviews of their urban estates as a means of re-affirming their land-holdings, such as York Minster in c. 1389 (R.C.E. Hayes, 'The Jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of St Peter in the City of

The property records of institutional landlords are a rich source for the investigation of late medieval urban houses. However, the details regarding the form and fabric of houses within the property records have not been fully explored. Previous investigations into these records have focussed more on the analysis of fluctuating property values, as part of an assessment of the economic history of estates, rather than on the detail concerning the fabric of urban buildings.<sup>142</sup> Institutional deeds have been used to produce detailed tenement histories of property ownership and occupation in individual plots and large blocks of land across the late medieval city, but again these investigations tend not to extend their investigations to the fabric of properties.<sup>143</sup> Derek Keene used the records of institutional landlords in Winchester to provide a summary of the design of houses and their facilities.<sup>144</sup> However, to date, the property records of institutional landlords have not been approached with the primary aim of conducting a full-scale investigation into either the form and fabric of small houses, or the built environment of medieval cities.

The focus of this investigation will be the property records of four institutions across York and Norwich. In York, the records of the vicars choral of York Minster and the Ouse Bridgemasters have been examined. In Norwich, the records of St Giles's Hospital and the city government have also been inspected. This study focuses on three types of administrative documents in particular: building accounts, rent accounts and repair accounts.

Previous investigations have shown how useful building accounts are for the analysis of the construction of medieval buildings. John Harvey's work on the chronological development of the architectural style of English cathedrals used building accounts to identify the dates

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York', in D.M. Smith (ed.), *The Church in Medieval York*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars 24 (1999), pp. 87-96); and Norwich city government in 1397 (W. Hudson and J.C. Tingey (eds.), *The Records of the City of Norwich* (Norwich, 1910), 2: 237-50).

<sup>142</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 181-270; A. King, 'The Merchant Class and Borough Finances in Later Medieval Norwich' (PhD Thesis, Oxford University, 1989), pp. 350-84.

<sup>143</sup> Keene, *Medieval Winchester*, 2; Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 2; S. Rees Jones, 'Historical Background of the Aldwark/Bedern Area', in R.A. Hall, H. MacGregor and M. Stockwell, *Medieval Tenements in Aldwark, and Other Sites*, *The Archaeology of York* 10/2 (1988), pp. 51-62; S. Rees Jones, 'Historical Introduction', in R.A. Hall and K. Hunter-Mann, *Medieval Urbanism in Coppergate: Refining a Townscape*, *The Archaeology of York* 10/6 (2002), pp. 684-98; S. Rees Jones, 'A Short History of the College of the Vicars Choral', in J.D. Richards, *The Vicars Choral of York Minster: The College at Bedern*, *The Archaeology of York* 10/5 (2001), pp. 380-96.

<sup>144</sup> Keene, *Medieval Winchester*, 1: 169-80.

of construction phases and the names of architects and master craftsmen responsible for building projects.<sup>145</sup> Building accounts have also revealed important information about the management and organisation of building projects, financial strategies and the sources of supply of building materials. H.M. Colvin made extensive use of the archives of the Chancery and Exchequer in a study of the administrative background of the construction of castles and houses commissioned under royal authority.<sup>146</sup>

Building accounts also release detailed information about the fabric and design of medieval houses. L.F. Salzman's extensive investigation of over fifteen hundred manuscripts relating to building construction produced a thematic account of the process of medieval construction, from the laying of foundations, walls and roofs, to the introduction for water-supplies and sanitation, and the detail of windows, shutters, doors and fireplaces.<sup>147</sup> Chapter 1 will examine a building account that escaped Salzman's attention, a rare document that focuses primarily on the construction of two rows of small houses in late medieval York. Questions that have been raised in previous investigations of building accounts regarding the organisation and management of urban construction and the form and design of houses will be explored further through this important source.

Further potential for the investigation of the form and fabric of small houses lies in the analysis of rent and repair accounts. Across the late medieval period, institutional landlords were responsible for the maintenance of the fabric of property across their estates.<sup>148</sup> As a direct result, their archives often contain detailed accounts of monies spent on the repair and improvement of property. These accounts are a rich source for the investigation of the form and design of medieval houses and the wider urban environment. The information gained from these records can complement archaeological investigations into the fabric of

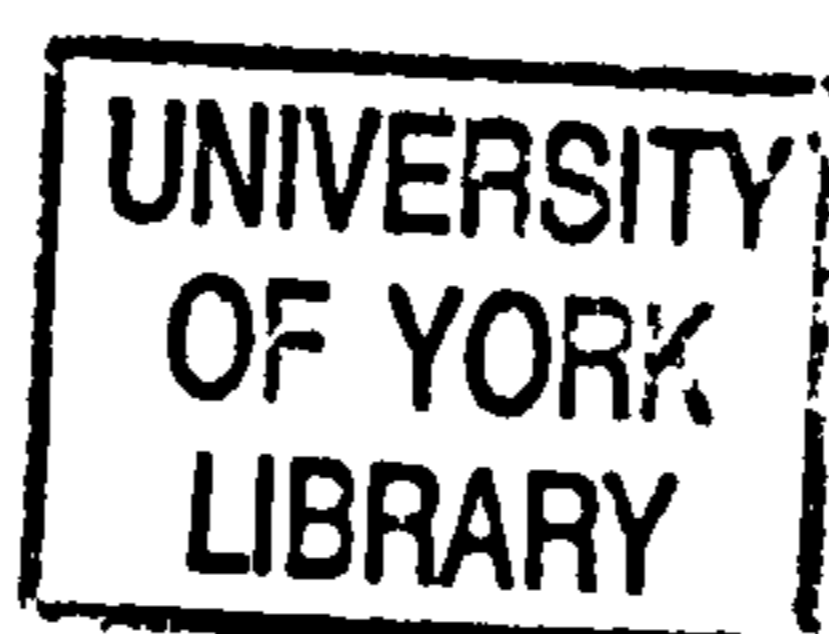
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<sup>145</sup> J. Harvey, *English Cathedrals*, Revised edn (London, 1961); J. Harvey, *The Master Builders, Architecture in the Middle Ages* (London, 1971), pp. 39-51; J. Harvey, *Cathedrals of England and Wales*, Revised edn (London, 1974), pp. 51-64; J. Harvey, *Mediaeval Craftsmen* (London, 1975); J. Harvey, *The Perpendicular Style 1330-1485* (London, 1978), pp. 41-55; Harvey also published a number of studies of the biographies of medieval craftsmen: J. Harvey, *Henry Yevele c. 1320 to 1400: the Life of an English Architect*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London, 1946); J. Harvey, *English Medieval Architects*, Revised edn (Gloucester, 1984).

<sup>146</sup> H. M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of King's Works: Volume I, The Middle Ages* (London, 1963).

<sup>147</sup> Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540*. Salzman included transcripts of building contracts in a substantial appendix to this work, pp. 413-84, 595-602; further building accounts have been published in more recent years, D. Dymond, 'A Fifteenth-Century Building Contract from Suffolk', *Vernacular Architecture* 9 (1978): 10-11; D. Dymond, 'Five Building Contracts from Fifteenth-Century Suffolk', *The Antiquaries Journal* 78 (1998): 269-87.

<sup>148</sup> For a discussion of this see Keene, 'The Property Market in English Towns A.D. 1100-1600', pp. 201-26.



urban buildings, and the changes those buildings were subject to, across the course of the late medieval period. A recent examination of Bowes Morrell House (111 Walmgate), York, an early fifteenth-century 'L' shaped property, showed how its internal layout had been modified across the course of the late medieval period, with the sealing-off of access routes and the sub-division of internal spaces. This analysis revealed the shop, which at one point had been central to the activities of the household, had become less important by the end of the late medieval period.<sup>149</sup> The investigation of 23 Strand Street, Kent, also revealed this fourteenth or early fifteenth-century house was partially re-built in the early or mid sixteenth century to accommodate an extra storey for the storage of goods, which were hoisted up to this upper floor from the street.<sup>150</sup> The analysis of the changes made to these buildings show how the needs and requirements of the occupants changed across time. Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis will investigate the changes and adaptations made to small houses across the course of the late medieval period, through both the archaeological record and the repair accounts of institutional landlords. This will also provide the opportunity to evaluate the motivation behind the repairs, and the extent to which changes were instigated by the landlord or the tenant.

Rent accounts provide more than just information about property types, location and rental values. They also contain the names and the occupations of the tenants across the course of the late medieval period. This allows us to assess the relationship between the locations of the houses, the amount they cost to rent, the standards of living in them, and the social standing of those that rented them. Previous studies have argued that small houses were generally designed for tenants who were poorer and more mobile, in contrast to larger houses, which were rented by more prosperous citizens.<sup>151</sup> The extent to which small houses were occupied by tenants of more affluent social backgrounds will also be assessed. In order to gain as detailed a picture as possible about the tenants of small houses, rental information will also be cross-referenced with enfranchise admissions evidence and

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<sup>149</sup> J. Grenville, 'Houses and Households in Late Medieval England: An Archaeological Perspective', in J. Wogan-Browne, R. Voaden, A. Diamond, A. Hutchinson, C. Meale and L. Johnson (eds.), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 317-21.

<sup>150</sup> S. Pearson, 'Houses, Shops and Storage: Building Evidence for Two Kentish Ports', in C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S. Rees Jones (eds.), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850- c. 1500 Managing Power, Wealth and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 423-4.

<sup>151</sup> S. Rees Jones, 'The Household and English Urban Government in the Later Middle Ages', in M. Carlier and T. Soens (eds.), *The Household in Late Medieval Cities, Italy and Northwestern Europe Compared* (Garant, 2001), pp. 85-6.

testamentary documents.<sup>152</sup> This evidence also provides the opportunity for the examination of household composition within small houses.

The meaning of household in a late medieval context has in itself received much attention. Traditional viewpoints have closely associated the household with the family.<sup>153</sup> However, more recent studies have emphasised that the medieval household could also consist of non-kin members, such as friends and servants, as well as people living alone.<sup>154</sup> A connection has been made between small houses and single women living alone.<sup>155</sup> The gender, age, social status and the relationship between occupants who shared small houses will be the subject of Chapter 4.

Alongside this evidence, wills and probate inventories provide information about the use of space within medieval houses. These documents can shed further light on the organisation of activities within the household when combined with archaeological evidence for the internal layouts of small houses. Investigations of this nature have proved successful in relation to larger dwellings. A recent interdisciplinary examination of larger houses in New Buckenham in Norfolk was effective in combining the analysis of standing evidence with probate inventories in order to draw conclusions regarding room-use within the household.<sup>156</sup> Questions regarding the extent to which spaces were assigned multi-functional uses or reserved for specific activities are particularly important in relation to small houses. Geographical differences in attitudes towards household goods and household spaces have also been revealed in studies of testamentary evidence in Kent. In a study of wills made by the inhabitants of Sandwich between 1460 and 1520, Catherine Richardson found that testators tended not to use location as a means of describing and

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<sup>152</sup> R. Dinn, 'Death and Rebirth in late medieval Bury St Edmunds', in S. Bassett (ed.), *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead 100-1600* (London, 1992), pp. 151-3, has shown how the analysis of high-altar bequests can be used to assess the social status of testators.

<sup>153</sup> D. Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge Mass., 1985).

<sup>154</sup> M. Carlier and T. Soens (eds.), *The Household in Late Medieval Cities, Italy and Northwestern Europe Compared* (Garant, 2001), pp. 4-8; C. Beattie, 'A Room of One's Own?: The Legal Evidence for the Residential Arrangements of Women Without Husbands in Late Fourteenth- and Early Fifteenth-Century York', in N.J. Menuge (ed.), *Medieval Women and the Law* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 41-56.

<sup>155</sup> Goldberg, *Women, Work and Lifecycle*, pp. 303-4.

<sup>156</sup> Longcroft (ed.), *The Historic Buildings of New Buckenham*, pp. 151-4, 196-7.

identifying household objects.<sup>157</sup> In contrast, a further study of wills in Greenwich, Gravesend and Yalding showed some testators were keenly aware of the spatial location of their bequests.<sup>158</sup> This has important implications for the study of houses and households across two very different regional areas.

### *Conclusion*

In 1440, Matilda Gudeale, John Norton and Margaret Cesey were renting small cottages from the Ouse Bridgemasters in the Toft Green area of York.<sup>159</sup> In the same year, Reginald Cobeler, Margaret Freman and William Gardener were living in small houses owned by St Giles's Hospital in Holme Street, in Norwich.<sup>160</sup> Matilda Guedale's house was constructed in an entirely different way to Reginald Cobeler's. The layout of John Norton's house was not the same as Margaret Freeman's. The landlords of Margaret Cesey and William Gardener charged them different rents and made different improvements to their properties over time.

This thesis will explain the similarities and differences between very different sets of small houses in late medieval York and Norwich through their construction, their layout and the improvement work carried out on them over time, while also looking at the sociological evidence to analyse who was living in them, their social standing, occupation and their reasons for taking up tenancy in property of this nature. In doing so, a detailed picture will emerge of why the houses were built where they were, as they were, and why they attracted the tenants they did.

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<sup>157</sup> C. Richardson, 'Household Objects and Domestic Ties', in C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S. Rees Jones (eds.), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850-c. 1500 Managing Power, Wealth and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 433-47.

<sup>158</sup> E.E. Salter, 'Some Differences in the Cultural Production of Household Consumption in Three North Kent Communities, c. 1450-1550', in C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S. Rees Jones (eds.), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850-c. 1500 Managing Power, Wealth and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 397-401; E. Salter, *Cultural Creativity in the Early English Renaissance: Popular Culture in Town and Country* (Basingstoke, 2006), pp. 75-94.

<sup>159</sup> *YBA*, p. 187.

<sup>160</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1440-41.



## CHAPTER 1

### A Building Account for the Construction of Small Houses in Late Medieval York

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the construction of small houses in late medieval York through a fourteenth-century building account.<sup>1</sup> This document provides an opportunity for the close examination of both the strategies and methods employed by a large institutional landlord - the vicars choral of York Minster - in the re-development of two city-centre sites with small houses for rent. Issues regarding the financial management of the project, sources of supply, costs of materials, names of craftsmen and labour expenses will be investigated through this document. Furthermore, the pressures of time, seasonal restraints and limited construction space will also be analysed in the context of this urban building project. Not only does the building account clarify the organisational strategies of the operation, but it also provides evidence for the internal and external design of the small houses under construction and their original features and facilities. Issues concerning the management and organisation of construction examined here provide important contextual information for the investigation of standing evidence for small houses in York and Norwich, which will be discussed further in later chapters.

Several investigations into small late medieval rural houses have made use of documentary evidence where buildings no longer survive. R.K. Field used court rolls, manorial account rolls and rentals to investigate the construction of small peasant houses in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Worcestershire.<sup>2</sup> From these documents, he was able to conclude that houses in this area were generally constructed out of timber, were of cruck-frame construction and had thatched roofs.<sup>3</sup> Through the documentary sources, Field also identified differences in the internal layouts of houses in the area and the negotiation of new construction projects between the lord of the manor and his tenants.<sup>4</sup> N.W Alcock has also brought attention to an important set of documents, which detail the construction of small cottages among the manorial account rolls of the Bishop of Exeter's manor of

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<sup>1</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>2</sup> Field, 'Worcestershire Peasant Buildings, Household Goods and Farming Equipment in the Later Middle Ages', pp. 105-45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 107-11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 105-21.

Bishops Clyst, in Devon.<sup>5</sup> He deduced from the accounts that the cottages were two-room and possibly one-room in plan, with no stairs.<sup>6</sup> Alcock also identified that the cottages were constructed out of cob with stone footings and were covered with thatched and stone-tiled roofs. These studies clearly demonstrate the value of documentary evidence in the investigation of small houses. However, despite further studies that emphasise the potential of documents for the analysis of the construction and design of rural medieval houses,<sup>7</sup> very few studies of this nature have been undertaken in an urban context, and most studies on documents relating to the construction of buildings still focus on prominent examples, such as cathedrals, castles, churches, guildhalls and large domestic buildings.<sup>8</sup>

The majority of the published documentary sources relating to the construction of urban small houses are building contracts, which set out the initial terms and conditions negotiated between an institution and a craftsman in relation to a new development, rather than financial accounts drawn up across the course of a construction project. Salzman identified a building contract of 1335, negotiated between the parishioners of the parish church of St Martin, in Coney Street, York and a carpenter, Robert Giles, for the construction of a row of six small houses next to the church.<sup>9</sup> This contract is particularly detailed and records the measurements, building materials and design of the proposed

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<sup>5</sup> Alcock, 'Medieval Cottages of Bishops Clyst, Devon', pp. 146-53.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 146-7.

<sup>7</sup> C. Dyer, 'English Peasant Buildings in the Later Middle Ages (1200-1500)', *Medieval Archaeology* 30 (1986): 19-45.

<sup>8</sup> Several accounts detailing the construction of cathedrals have been published, for example: J. Raine (ed.), *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Society 35 (1859); F.R. Chapman (ed.), *Sacrist Rolls of Ely* (Cambridge, 1907), 1-2; E.C. Fernie, and A.B. Whittingham (eds.), *The Early Communal and Pitancer Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory with an Account of the Building of the Cloister*, Norfolk Record Society 41 (1972); A.M. Erskine (ed.), *The Accounts of the Fabric of Exeter Cathedral, 1279-1353*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society 24-26 (1981, 83), 1-2. Accounts for the construction of castles have also been published: W. Douglas-Simpson (ed.), *The Building Accounts of Tattershall Castle, 1434-1472*, The Lincoln Record Society 55 (1960); H.M. Colvin (ed.), *Building Accounts of King Henry III* (1971). Accounts for the construction and repair of a churches can be found in: H. Swanson, 'Building Accounts from St Martin's, Coney Street, York, 1447-1452', in D.M. Smith (ed.), *The Church in Medieval York: Records edited in honour of Professor Barrie Dobson*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars 24 (1999), pp. 97-104; C.C. Webb (ed.), *The Churchwardens' Accounts of St Michael, Spurriergate, York, 1518-1548*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province 20 (1997), 1-2. An account of the construction of a guildhall has been published in: M. Sellers (ed.), *The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers, 1356-1917*, Surtees Society 129 (1918). See also J.H. Harvey (ed.), 'Great Milton, Oxfordshire; and Thorncroft, Surrey: The Building Accounts for two Manor-Houses of the Late Fifteenth Century', *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Third Series 18 (1955): 42-56. For an over-view of several of these studies see: J. Rimmer, 'A Re-assessment of the Use of Building Accounts for the Study of Medieval Urban Houses', in M. Dunkeld, J. Campbell, H. Louw et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Construction History: Queen's College, Cambridge University 29<sup>th</sup> March – 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2006* (2006), 3: 2599-2601.

<sup>9</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, pp. 430-2; this contract was later discussed by Short, 'Rows of York', pp. 120-3 and H. Swanson, *Building Craftsmen in Late Medieval York*, Borthwick Papers no. 63 (1983), p. 12.

building. Swanson has also identified a further building contract negotiated between the vicars choral of York Minster and the same carpenter, for the construction of a row of five small houses in Aldwark, York, in 1334.<sup>10</sup> Salzman has also identified several building contracts for the construction of rows of shops in London.<sup>11</sup> However, the extent of the nationwide availability of building accounts dealing with the construction of urban small houses has yet to be determined. A search through several archives of ecclesiastical institutions across the country was unable to identify any building accounts for comparison with the York evidence.<sup>12</sup> No building accounts for small houses survive in either the archive of the Hospital of St Giles in Norwich, or the archives of the city government of York or Norwich.<sup>13</sup> Although this search was limited, it emphasises that the building account for the construction of small houses in the archive of the vicars choral of York Minster is a very special survival. Indeed, this document may well prove to be a unique source.

The archive of the vicars choral of York Minster is also of particular importance because it contains a series of five building accounts. These describe the construction of several timber-framed buildings in York, between 1360 and 1407.<sup>14</sup> The first, which is the subject of this investigation, dated from 1360 to 1364, details the construction of small houses across two city-centre sites, that are referred to as Cambhall and Benetplace.<sup>15</sup> The second and third accounts, dated respectively to 1394 and 1395, record alterations to existing timber-framed buildings in Goodramgate.<sup>16</sup> The fourth account, dated 1396, describes the construction of a latrine block between the east end of the Minster and Goodramgate and the fifth account, dated to 1407, records the construction of a timber-framed house in Petergate.<sup>17</sup> These later accounts provide useful comparative material for the investigation of constructional practices in York at the turn of the fifteenth century. F. Harrison first drew attention to these documents in 1952, in a study of the college of the vicars choral and their

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<sup>10</sup> Swanson, *Building Craftsmen*, p. 12; YMA, M2(4)f f.8v.

<sup>11</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, pp. 418-9, 441-4.

<sup>12</sup> I have undertaken searches in the archives of the vicars choral of Chichester, Wells, Exeter, Hereford and the archives of St Thomas' Hospital, Southwark and the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral.

<sup>13</sup> A building account which details the construction of a single dwelling (rather than a row of small houses) can be identified in the Ouse Bridgemasters' Accounts, *YBA*, pp. 352-3.

<sup>14</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1-5.

<sup>15</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>16</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/2-3.

<sup>17</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/4 records the construction of a latrine block, and VC 6/9/5 describes the building of a house in Petergate.

archives.<sup>18</sup> Since then, these documents have attracted little attention from investigators of medieval houses in York.<sup>19</sup> This current investigation emphasises the importance of documentary sources, and the significance of this particular series of documents, in the study of the construction of late medieval urban houses.

The building account for the construction of small houses at Cambhall and Benetplace was drawn up on both sides of a parchment roll more than ten feet in length (see fig. 7). Accounts between 1360 and 1362 were recorded on the dorse of the roll and accounts between 1362 and 1364 were recorded on the recto of roll.<sup>20</sup> The account is written mainly in Latin, although the vocabulary for building materials includes words of Middle English and Anglo-French origin. Previous studies of the vocabulary for construction materials have been made. Salzman's analysis of building terms is drawn from a wide-range of national sources.<sup>21</sup> Eric Gee has also assembled a glossary of building terms from the examination of building accounts from Oxford and York.<sup>22</sup> A further glossary of building terms has been included here (see Appendix 3), to highlight the vocabulary of building materials particular to the construction of timber-framed domestic dwellings in York during the late medieval period. It can be compared with the modern terms used to describe constructional practice (Appendix 2) and the medieval vocabulary used in Norwich to describe construction and building materials (Appendix 4).

The Cambhall site is located on the north corner of Goodramgate and College Street, York (map 2).<sup>23</sup> A map of 1833 confirms the name and location of the site (fig. 8). The name 'Cambhall', is thought to derive from the surname of a canon of the Minster, John de Caen. In 1298, he rented the stone buildings on the site from the vicars choral, for life.<sup>24</sup> Benetplace was located on the corner of Swinegate and Back Swinegate (map 2). Its name

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<sup>18</sup> F. Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College, The Story of the Vicars-Choral of York Minster* (London, 1952), pp. 153-8.

<sup>19</sup> Only one subsequent unpublished examination of the building accounts has been undertaken by C. J. Fraser, 'The Building Accounts of the Vicars Choral: The development of Benetplace and Cambhall Garth' (MA diss., University of York, 1993-4).

<sup>20</sup> At some point in time the account appears to have been rolled the wrong way around, thus accounts between 1360 and 1362 are on the dorse, rather than the recto of the roll.

<sup>21</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*.

<sup>22</sup> E. Gee, *A Glossary of Building Terms used in England from the Conquest to c. 1550* (Frome, 1984).

<sup>23</sup> College Street was previously known as 'Little Alice Lane' and 'Vicar Lane', Tillott (ed.), *VCH, The City of York*, p. 339; D.M. Palliser, 'The Medieval Street Names of York', *York Historian* 2 (1978): 16.

<sup>24</sup> *CVCYM*, pp. 99-100, note to Charter 162, see also pp. 100-01, Charter 163.

derived from the parish church of St Benedict, which was situated in this area until it was demolished between 1299 and 1307.<sup>25</sup> The nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey map of 1852 shows buildings in this location named Benet's Rents (fig. 9).

Although the building account does not explicitly state that it describes the construction of small houses, further documentary and standing evidence confirms that they relate to the construction of houses of this type. A charter of 1337 confirms that Benetplace was granted to the vicars choral so that they could build rentable houses, or 'rents' (*domorum redditualium*) on the site.<sup>26</sup> This term was usually used to denote rows of small houses. The vicars choral rent accounts describe properties across both Cambhall and Benetplace as 'rents'.<sup>27</sup> The medieval timber-framed houses constructed on Benetplace no longer survive. However, a range of medieval timber-framed buildings still stand at Cambhall, identified as 11-12 College Street and 30-32 Goodramgate (fig. 10 a and b). An investigation by the Royal Commission suggested that the earliest components of this building were dated to the fourteenth century, on the grounds that some of the roof trusses were of a particularly early form.<sup>28</sup> The age of the standing rows of houses on the Cambhall site thus corresponds closely with the date of the building account, which provides further evidence that the surviving rows of small houses relate to the re-development of the site in the 1360s.

### *Project Management, Budgets and the Construction Process*

By the second half of the fourteenth century, the vicars choral of York Minster had become highly experienced property managers and developers. By 1395, the vicars had an estate, of over 240 properties, the majority of which was situated in the city centre of York.<sup>29</sup> From the early fourteenth century onwards, the vicars were acquiring several rows of small houses both within and outside the city centre of York. The re-development of Cambhall and Benetplace between 1360 and 1364 was therefore part of a long-term programme of

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<sup>25</sup> N. Tringham, 'A Redundant Church in Medieval York: A Note on St. Benet's', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 65 (1993): 173-4; *CVCYM*, pp. 211-12, Charters 380-1.

<sup>26</sup> *CVCYM*, pp. 211-12, Charter 380.

<sup>27</sup> See for example YMA, VC 4/1/12-15.

<sup>28</sup> *RCHME York*, vol. 5, p. 143.

<sup>29</sup> Rees Jones, 'God and Mammon', pp. 193-4.

construction, which used obit endowments to fund the re-development of parts of their estate with small houses.<sup>30</sup>

The earliest recorded development of this nature was on the perimeter of the college site where, by 1309, John de Pontebellum, a canon of the Minster, had erected a row of four small houses on behalf of the vicars choral.<sup>31</sup> These properties fronted Aldwark, at the corner of Goodramgate. In subsequent years, the vicars choral erected a number of similar houses in this area. A building contract dated 1334, made between the vicars choral and a carpenter identified as Robert, son of Giles of York, specified the construction of a row of five small houses in Aldwark.<sup>32</sup> Two further rows of small houses, each containing five units, were erected in Aldwark around this time to support the obits of Thomas Ludham, the vicar of the church of St Martin, Coney Street and Henry Cliff, a canon of the Minster.<sup>33</sup> In 1337, John Spirity, vicar choral, paid for houses to be built on the north side of St. Andrewgate in return for an obit.<sup>34</sup> In 1339, Canon Richard de Chester also paid for a row of six houses to be built there, again in return for an obit.<sup>35</sup> The executors of Canon Nicholas de Huggate gave another row of houses to the vicars choral in 1340.<sup>36</sup> This row, situated near to the Bedern in Goodramgate, was referred to in rent accounts as 'Hugaterent', after its benefactor.<sup>37</sup> In 1322/3, a further row of houses was constructed nearer to the city centre on a corner plot fronting Petergate and Stonegate.<sup>38</sup> Outside the city, a row of nine houses was also constructed in Layerthorpe.<sup>39</sup> As a consequence of these developments, the vicars choral had, by the second half of the fourteenth century, gained extensive experience in the development and management of small houses across their estate. This experience was channelled into the re-development of the Cambhall and Benetplace sites.

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<sup>30</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 208-10.

<sup>31</sup> Rees Jones, 'Historical Background to the Aldwark/Bedern area', p. 56.

<sup>32</sup> YMA, M2 (4) f. f. 8v; Swanson, *Building Craftsmen*, p. 12.

<sup>33</sup> Rees Jones, 'Historical Background to the Aldwark/Bedern area', p. 56.

<sup>34</sup> *CVCYM*, p. xxxii, pp. 254-6, Charter 467.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p. xxxii, p. 255, Charter 468.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, p. xxxii, pp. 117-8, Charter 198.

<sup>37</sup> Rees Jones, 'A Short History of the College of Vicars Choral', p. 390; YMA, VC 4/1/10-15.

<sup>38</sup> This building has been dendrochronologically dated to 1322/3, see: Dendrochronological Database: Vernacular Architecture Group, 2000, York, 60 Stonegate, [http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/specColl/vag\\_dendro/d\\_full\\_record.cfm?rn=5](http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/specColl/vag_dendro/d_full_record.cfm?rn=5), accessed 16<sup>th</sup> November 2007.

<sup>39</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 209.

Unlike previous developments where work had been contracted out in full to a master craftsman, the vicars chose to self-manage the construction work at Cambhall and Benetplace, which suggests they had accumulated sufficient experience and confidence by this time to hire labour, purchase materials and undertake the day-to-day management of the building operations.<sup>40</sup> The vicars would probably have made a number of contacts in the building industry during the day-to-day repair and maintenance of houses on their estate.<sup>41</sup> As this is the earliest surviving building account in the vicars' archive, it is not known at what stage they began the direct management of their own building projects. However, the experience gained in instructing the development and maintenance of several small houses across their estate is likely to have been a factor in their decision to self-manage the construction of Cambhall, Benetplace and other properties, during the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

The vicars choral show themselves to be particularly astute, both in the identification of the Cambhall and Benetplace sites for re-development, and in the instigation of a highly organised pre-construction plan. Prior to re-development, there was a large stone house occupying the Cambhall site. When the vicars choral acquired the site in 1298, from Archbishop John le Romeyn, it was described as a 'stone messuage with buildings'.<sup>43</sup> This house would have been of significant size, as it was referred to as the 'great stone house opposite the Bedern' in a marginal note against the cartulary copy of the licence for the property.<sup>44</sup> It was one of three stone houses opposite the Bedern, which together generated a significant income for the vicars. In the Martinmas term of 1336-7, their rental value totalled £6 11s 2d.<sup>45</sup> However, by the mid 1340s the Cambhall property was vacant and, despite extensive repairs, the only rents collected from this building were from a cellar known as the 'Dingges'.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> This has also been highlighted by Swanson, 'Craftsmen and Industry in Late Medieval York', p. 232.

<sup>41</sup> The repair sections of the vicars choral rent accounts show that it was active in the maintenance of property across its estate (YMA, VC 6/2/1-32).

<sup>42</sup> The four other accounts in the archive (YMA, VC 6/9/2-5) show that the vicars also self-managed these projects.

<sup>43</sup> *CVCYM*, pp. 99-100, note to Charter 162.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 99-100, 150-1, Charters 162 and 268.

<sup>45</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 238-9.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 239-40.

Vacancy and loss of income were undoubtedly a catalyst for the re-development of this particular area of the vicars' estate. The undesirability of the stone building also suggests that it could no longer fulfil the domestic or commercial requirements of a mid fourteenth-century city-dweller. In order to fully realise the economic potential of the land, the vicars choral must have understood the worth in demolishing the property in order to re-develop it with more profitable buildings. Furthermore, the vicars recognised the value of the building materials from the old stone house. Proceeds from the sale of the stone and timber were put towards the re-development of the site (see table 1).<sup>47</sup> Stone which came from Cambhall contributed 10.3 per cent of the total budget raised. Although the origins of the other stone and timber sold to raise money for the development was not specified, it is equally likely that this came from Cambhall. If so, the sale of old building materials contributed in total, a significant 27.2 per cent of the initial budget.

The vicars also shrewdly targeted the vacant land at Benetplace. The re-development of this site with rows of small houses marked a significant change in its use. In an inquiry into the site in 1316, witnesses testified that the walls of St Benet's Church were pulled down at the time of William de Hambleton, who was in office from 1299 to 1307.<sup>48</sup> The same inquiry concluded that the church and its graveyard had never been dedicated and its religious status was thereby declared null and void.<sup>49</sup> Benetplace was subsequently rented out to a carpenter, Roger de Bugthorpe, who could have used the site as a craftsman's yard.<sup>50</sup> By 1337/8, a charter records that the site, still in the ownership of the Dean and Chapter, was 'covered with rubbish', suggesting that no substantial re-development had been made in the intervening period.<sup>51</sup> The same charter granted permission for Archbishop William de Melton to build on the site, although no immediate action was taken.<sup>52</sup> The speculative developments undertaken by the vicars choral must have earned them a reputation and, in 1359, a licence was granted to Archbishop John de Thoresby stipulating that the land was to be transferred to the vicars so that they could build 'rentable houses' on it.<sup>53</sup> The location

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<sup>47</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d.

<sup>48</sup> Tringham, 'Redundant Church in Medieval York', p. 173.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, pp. 173-4.

<sup>50</sup> Tringham, 'Redundant Church in Medieval York', p. 173.

<sup>51</sup> *CVCYM*, pp. 211-2, Charter 380.

<sup>52</sup> Tringham, 'Redundant Church in Medieval York', pp. 173-4.

<sup>53</sup> *CVCYM*, pp. 212-3, Charter 381.



of the new houses, close to Thursday Market, would have lent itself to an opportunity for commercial use as well as domestic use.<sup>54</sup>

The Cambhall and Benetplace sites were probably also targeted because of their suitability for rows of small houses. Houses of this type were particularly suited to long and narrow street frontage sites, as a reconstruction of the arrangement of rows of houses on the perimeter of the vicars choral college precinct in Aldwark, demonstrates (fig. 11). Cambhall occupied a corner plot at the junction of College Street and Goodramgate, which provided two large street frontages for the construction of small houses. Benetplace was also open to two street frontages on the corner of Back Swinegate and Swinegate. This would have provided a substantial area for the construction of rows, or courtyards, of small houses. The plot measurements for Benetplace were recorded in a charter of 1337:

‘...a vacant place called Patrikpole,<sup>55</sup> lying in length 114 feet towards Thoresdaymarket and 80 feet towards Stayngate and in breadth 88 feet towards Potergate and 40 feet towards Swyngail...’<sup>56</sup>

These dimensions show that the area of land available for construction at Benetplace was particularly sizable and, therefore, suitable for a development of several dwellings. The vicars choral obviously foresaw the potential of the Cambhall and Benetplace sites for the construction of small houses.

The re-development of the Cambhall and Benetplace sites also demonstrates the vicars’ awareness of the economic potential of prime city-centre locations. The decision to reconstruct the area with small houses shows that the vicars were conscious of fluctuations in the property market. Smaller and medium-sized property had proved to be a good investment across the fourteenth century, because they maintained their value better than larger properties.<sup>57</sup> Not only that, but the vicars were also capitalising on the demand for

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<sup>54</sup> Thursday Market, named after a weekly market that was held there on Thursdays, is now called St Sampson’s Square (Palliser, ‘Medieval Street-names of York’, p. 16).

<sup>55</sup> Modern Swinegate was called ‘Patrickpool’ in the medieval period. Modern Back Swinegate and Little Stonegate, demark medieval ‘Swinegate’ (Palliser, ‘Medieval Street-names of York’, pp. 10, 13); A. Raine, *Medieval York: A Topographical Survey based on Original Sources* (London, 1955), pp. 125-6, 173-4.

<sup>56</sup> *CVCYM*, pp. 211-2, Charters 380.

<sup>57</sup> Rees Jones, ‘Property, Tenure and Rents’, 1: 236-42.

houses at the cheaper end of the property market, which resulted from a growing population in the late fourteenth century.<sup>58</sup>

Taken together, the Cambhall and Benetplace development was the largest undertaking by the vicars choral in the fourteenth century. Funds were raised to finance the construction of small houses across the two sites in 1360 and 1362 respectively and are presented in tables 1 and 2.<sup>59</sup> An initial budget of £183 9s 5d was raised before construction commenced in 1360. A significant proportion of the money was donated by generous benefactors. A grant from the benefactors of William de Ferriby, for £86 13s 4d, made a significant contribution to the funds. Bequests were also made from Geoffrey de Langhalter (£13 6s 8d), William de Exon and Richard de Cloudesdall (£30) and Hugo de Miton (20s), were also put towards the building projects. The sale of building materials raised a total of £50 9s 5d. The vicars choral also allocated £1 10s from the sale of a house in Warthill, to the project.

The second budget, raised at the beginning of 1362, was larger, totalling £228 5s 4d.<sup>60</sup> This budget was also largely accumulated from endowments, including an exceptionally large grant of £173 6s 8d, from the executors of Thomas Nevill. The rest of the funds were gathered from endowments made by John de Castleford (£13 6s 8d), William de Grantham (£13 6s 8d), John de Alkbarrow (£11) and Emma Sadeller (£16). Further sales of stone (£1 5s 4d in total) were also put towards the second budget.

The accumulation of wealth by ecclesiastical institutions through cash donations was common from the late thirteenth century onwards.<sup>61</sup> The Statute of Mortmain (1279) prevented religious institutions from enlarging their estates through the purchase and acquisition of land.<sup>62</sup> As a result of this, cash endowments, rather than property bequests, became a means by which obits or chantry foundations were negotiated with religious institutions.<sup>63</sup> Cash endowments provided institutions like the vicars choral with instant access to disposable funds, which they could use to re-develop the land they already

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<sup>58</sup> For a discussion of this see *ibid*, pp. 245-9.

<sup>59</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>60</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>61</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 203-5.

<sup>62</sup> S. Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church 1279-1500* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 130-52.

<sup>63</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 203-5.

owned.<sup>64</sup> The majority of the endowments put towards the re-development of the Cambhall and Benetplace sites came from living benefactors rather than in bequests after death. The dates of the wills of William de Exon, Canon of York and Prebendary of Riccall, Richard de Cloudesdall, vicar choral, and John de Alkbarrow, vicar choral, post-date the construction of Cambhall and Benetplace.<sup>65</sup> It was not uncommon for generous benefactors to endow ecclesiastical institutions during their lifetime. In 1399, for example, the Augustinian Priory at Healaugh Park was appropriated by two living lay patrons, John and Elizabeth Depeden, in return for prayers said for their souls.<sup>66</sup> High clerics were also known to make generous endowments to guilds during their lifetimes, such as to the Corpus Christi Guild of York, in order to enhance their political or social position.<sup>67</sup> It is not known whether the political or social position of the living benefactors of the Cambhall and Benetplace re-developments was enhanced as a result of their endowments. However, it is likely that the completed houses would have been a satisfactory visual statement of their generous donations to a prominent religious institution.

In total, the vicars choral raised an extraordinary £411 14s 9d for the re-development of the Cambhall and Benetplace sites. The construction of multiple houses required a confident speculator, but the funds accumulated from benefactors and old building materials put the vicars in a favourable financial position regarding a large-scale project across two sites. A rent account for 1363/4 reveals that eighteen houses were constructed in total across the two sites, twelve at Benetplace and six at Cambhall.<sup>68</sup> Nonetheless, the immensity of this budget is apparent when it is compared with the costs of other building projects. The carpenter responsible for the construction of a row of six small houses next to the church of St Martin, on Coney Street in York, in 1335, was paid a lump sum of 62 marcs (£41 6s 8d)

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid, pp. 203-15, this strategy accounted for an increase in the size and value of the vicars' estate across the fourteenth century.

<sup>65</sup> *Dominus* William de Exton (Exeter) died in 1368 (YMA, L2/4 (Wills 1) f. 48r), *dominus* Richard de Cloudesdall, vicar choral died in 1381 (YMA, L2/4 (Wills 1) f. 72r), and *dominus* John de Alkbarrow, vicar choral died in 1380 (YMA, L2/4 (Wills 1) f. 71r). Although wills could be identified under the names William de Feriby, John de Castleford and Thomas Nevill, there was insufficient evidence to substantiate whether they were correct matches. The wills of Hugo de Miton and Emma Sadeller could not be identified, although Miton had bequeathed land in Bishophill to the vicars choral in 1359, *CVCYM*, pp. 27-8, 311-3, Charters 47, 575-6.

<sup>66</sup> K. Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons: England and Wales, c. 1300-1540* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 74.

<sup>67</sup> D. J. F. Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Guilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire, 1389-1547* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 93.

<sup>68</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/12.

and given a robe for his work.<sup>69</sup> Labour for the construction of a row of three cottages erected in Jewry Street, Winchester, in 1404, cost £10 14s 11d.<sup>70</sup> The construction of three almshouses by the Guild of the Holy Cross of Stratford-upon-Avon in 1411-7 cost £5 9s 9½d.<sup>71</sup> The building fund generated for the construction of a larger dwelling in Petergate, York in 1407, totalled £62 13s 1½d.<sup>72</sup> Against these figures, the Cambhall and Benetplace developments appear to have been very expensive. Even though it is likely that the size and quality of the houses under construction across these developments would have caused differences in costs, these factors do not explain why such a large sum was acquired for the Cambhall and Benetplace developments.

Details within the vicars' building account suggest the funds were also used to finance other projects across their estate. Soon after building work had commenced at Cambhall, they used money from the budget to purchase a house in Hertergate, York, for £60.<sup>73</sup> In 1362, further funds were used to pay for expenses incurred during the purchase of a property in Glover Lane, York.<sup>74</sup> The budget was also used for the repair of houses on their estate; several carpenters were employed to work for three weeks on the kitchen of a house in Goodramgate, rented by Robert de Patrikton, and further work was undertaken on another house in Goodramgate, rented by Thomas Parcemener'.<sup>75</sup> It is not clear whether the initial budget raised in 1360 was deliberately accumulated in order to fund several projects alongside the re-development of Cambhall and Benetplace, although it is probable that the second round of investments in 1362 was necessary, as a result of the manner in which the initial budget was spent. Because of the allocation of funds to other projects, the actual cost of the re-development of Cambhall and Benetplace cannot be accurately assessed.

A close reading of the building account also reveals how the vicars choral organised the re-development of Cambhall and Benetplace across the four-year period. The building account

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<sup>69</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 432.

<sup>70</sup> Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, 2: 655.

<sup>71</sup> T.H. Lloyd, *Some Aspects of the Building Industry in Medieval Stratford-upon-Avon*, Dugdale Society Occasional Papers 14 (1961), pp. 23-4.

<sup>72</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/5.

<sup>73</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d. Hertergate is now known as Friargate (Palliser, 'Medieval Street-names of York', p. 11).

<sup>74</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1. Glover Lane is now known as Girdlergate (Palliser, 'Medieval Street-names of York', p. 10).

<sup>75</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1, Robert de Patrikton is identifiable in a rent account for 1359 (YMA, VC 4/1/11), although Thomas Parcemener' may have been incorrectly named, as the only tenant of that surname listed on the rent account was a Robert Parcemener'.

was drawn-up on a weekly basis. Because of this, each weekly account of the purchase of materials and hire of labour can be read as a summary of the building work that was undertaken on site within that week. Calendar dates are strikingly absent from the building account and, aside from a small number of references to feast days, the time of year in which work was undertaken was not specified. However, each weekly account was assigned a number, which means they can be used to chart the progress of the building work over time. It is not clear why the accounts were drawn up in this manner, although this method was abandoned in later building projects, in favour of a system that firmly linked each weekly account with a feast day, in order to assign a tangible date to each account.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, three main periods of building activity can be identified between 1360 and 1364. A summary of the work undertaken across these periods has been reproduced in tables 3-5. Between 1360 and 1362, two periods of building activity were recorded.<sup>77</sup> The first period (hereafter Period 1) records twenty-five consecutive weeks of building activity, which has been summarised in table 3. The second period (Period 2) records eighteen weeks of building activity, which is summarised in table 4. Between 1362 and 1364, a further period of building activity (Period 3) can be identified, which records expenses across fifty-five weeks of building activity, as summarised in table 5.<sup>78</sup>

The organisation of a building project simultaneously across two sites appears to have been complex. Period 1 commenced at the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist (24<sup>th</sup> June). Building activity recorded in the account suggests that the first six-month phase of construction was located primarily at the Cambhall site. Not until Period 2 were references made to the Benetplace site. The delay in the commencement of construction on the Benetplace site was probably due to the fact the vicars choral did not secure seisin of the site until December 1361.<sup>79</sup> There was a further incentive to start construction work at Cambhall first, as the site occupied a prominent position opposite the vicars choral college precinct in the Bedern. References to the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15<sup>th</sup> August) and the feast of St Matthew (21<sup>st</sup> September) at the beginning of Period 2, suggests that preparations were made towards the end of summer 1361, in advance of the completion of the seisin. In Period 2, fewer specific references to the sites make it difficult

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<sup>76</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/2-5.

<sup>77</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d.

<sup>78</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>79</sup> *CVCYM*, p. 214, Charter 385; Tringham, 'Redundant Church in Medieval York', p. 174.

to ascertain where and when construction work was undertaken; however, building work appears to have been conducted simultaneously across both sites from 1361 onwards. In Period 3, which commenced at the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist (24<sup>th</sup> June) in 1362, building work was also undertaken simultaneously across both sites.

An analysis of the building work across these periods provides information about the manner in which the operations were managed and organised. The relatively high frequency of foundation openings and rearing of timber frames across the four-year period suggests that rows of houses were not constructed in one single operation, but were erected several blocks at a time. Five separate references to foundation openings and seven separate references to the rearing of a timber frame into place were made across the four-year period. It is also apparent that each foundation opening and each raising of a timber frame did not correspond to the construction of a single dwelling, as eighteen rents were collected in total across the two sites after construction work ceased.<sup>80</sup> Therefore, it is probable that houses were completed in blocks of two or three at a time.

The construction of a building in Cambhall can be identified in Period 1. In the first ten weeks, records were made of the purchase of constructional materials such as timber, bricks, plaster and lime, together with the hire of masons, carpenters, sawyers and labourers, for the construction of foundations and the preparation of the timber frame. In week 11, a timber frame was raised into place (*elevacione domus*). This operation involved 'rearing' the trusses of the timber frame into a vertical position and fixing all structural and supporting timbers to it. This activity required the hire of additional carpenters and labourers and the purchase of extra equipment, such as gloves. This was a common requirement both in this project and others. For example, extra labour was sought from the mariners of a ship, as well as general labourers and carpenters, in the rearing of the frame of Trinity House in Hull.<sup>81</sup> Drinks were also traditionally supplied, both as a reward for the hard work and to celebrate the rearing of the frame as a landmark in the building process.<sup>82</sup> In weeks 11 to 15, purchases of timber laths, nails, louvres, louvre boards and the hire of

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<sup>80</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/12.

<sup>81</sup> D. Woodward (ed.), 'The Accounts of the Building of Trinity House, Hull, 1465-1476', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 62 (1990): 157; these accounts document the construction of a new almshouse, chapel and headquarters for the guild of shipmen of Hull.

<sup>82</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 201.

carpenters and tilers suggests the roof was being completed. The employment of labourers, to burn and beat plaster, also suggests that the walls were being finished. In weeks 16 to 20, the construction of doors, windows, locks and door furniture indicates that a building was nearing completion on the Cambhall site, five months after construction work began. However, this was not the final phase of building construction on the Cambhall site, as a further two timber frames were raised into place (*elevacione domus*) in weeks 18 and 30 of Period 3.

A similar pattern of construction can be observed at the Benetplace site in Period 2. The first five weeks describe the purchase of timber and the hire of carpenters, sawyers and labourers. Three large purchases of timber were made from Acaster, including an order worth £11 2s 1d.<sup>83</sup> A house in Huntington was also dismantled and transported to Benetplace for use in the operations, before a timber frame was reared into place in week 7. The following weeks (6-18) record the purchase of louvre boards and roof tiles for the completion of the roof, bricks and plaster for the walls and door furniture to secure the property. In Period 3, a further record of the rearing of a frame in Benetplace was made in week 11, while further foundations were opening in week 25. These sequences suggest houses were completed in blocks across both the Benetplace and Cambhall sites.

Unlike other house-types, rows of small houses were advantageous to the developer because they offered a quick and economical means of providing multiple rentable properties that made maximum use of the available land. As Period 1 demonstrates, the first block of houses constructed at Cambhall took five months to complete. Rows of houses were also particularly economical in building costs and materials, because the units within them shared party walls and only two gables were necessary for a multiple number of houses. Moreover, adopting a strategy that allowed the completion of blocks of houses while work continued in other areas of the site meant an income could be generated from the developments before the whole operation was completed. This demonstrates a sound and practical economic strategy by an experienced developer of urban houses. The construction strategies initiated by the vicars choral could provide important contextual evidence for future archaeological investigations into the construction of very long rows of

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<sup>83</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d. This reference probably refers to Acaster Malbis, a village to the south of York.

houses, such as 34-50 Church Street, Tewkesbury and Castle Bridge Cottages, North Warnborough, Hampshire, which consist of twenty-three units and sixteen bays respectively.<sup>84</sup>

Despite the lack of calendar dates throughout the account, intermittent references to feast days indicate the seasons in which building work was undertaken. Construction work was not always restricted to the warmer months. Period 1, of approximately six months, was undertaken between June and December 1360. In contrast, building work in Period 2, of just less than five months, did not commence until the autumn or winter of 1361, and would have continued through to spring 1362. Period 3, of fifty-five weeks, commenced in June and would have continued through to summer 1363. These time-scales can be usefully compared with the construction dates of the other surviving building accounts. Two building accounts dated to 1394 and 1395, both started at Pentecost just after Easter, and finished around October and September respectively.<sup>85</sup> A further account, dated 1394-6, began at the beginning of July and continued through the winter season until the July of the following year.<sup>86</sup> The building account of 1407 started around March and continued through to August.<sup>87</sup> From these, we can surmise that although building projects for the vicars choral usually commenced in the spring and summer months, work was also undertaken through both the summer and winter months.

Wood was often felled in the winter when the absence of leaves made it easier for the carpenter to ascertain its shape and also to prevent damage to the underwood.<sup>88</sup> Felling could also take place in the spring, because the rising sap was thought to add to the quality of the bark, a valuable by-product used in tanning.<sup>89</sup> Seasoned wood, that is, wood felled in the winter and left to dry-off during the warmer months, was preferred for construction.<sup>90</sup> It

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<sup>84</sup> Elrington (ed.), *VCH Gloucester*, vol. 8, pp. 129-30; E. Roberts, *Hampshire Houses 1250-1700: Their Dating and Development* (Southampton, 2003), pp. 194-5.

<sup>85</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/2 began at Pentecost and went through to the feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude (28<sup>th</sup> October); YMA, VC6/9/3 began at Pentecost and went through to the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary (8<sup>th</sup> September).

<sup>86</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/4 began at the feast of St Martin (4<sup>th</sup> July) and went through to the feast of the Translation of St Thomas of Canterbury (7<sup>th</sup> July).

<sup>87</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/5 began around the feast of St Cuthbert (20<sup>th</sup> March) through to the Assumption of the Blessed Mary (15<sup>th</sup> August).

<sup>88</sup> Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, p. 27.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, citing J.H. Harvey, *Medieval Craftsmen* (London, 1975), p. 115.

<sup>90</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 239.



is perhaps for this reason, that the construction of these timber-framed buildings generally took place in the spring and summer. However, pressure to gain financial return from speculative building projects could have resulted in work being undertaken throughout the year, even though work was reduced during the winter months because of the restricted light conditions. The ordinances and regulations of the masons of York Minster show that the hours of work were reduced between Michaelmas and Easter, because of the short daylight hours.<sup>91</sup> Building work sometimes ceased altogether through the winter months; workmen at Windsor Castle in the mid fourteenth century were dismissed from work because of the short days and damp weather conditions.<sup>92</sup> Building work on domestic property in York appears to have withstood these conditions.

The construction of timber-framed buildings required the prefabrication of the frames on the ground prior to erection. There has been much debate as to where this operation took place. The 'framing' of a timber house was generally thought to have been undertaken in a separate location to the construction site.<sup>93</sup> This was certainly true in the construction of several high status buildings with large budgets. The building account for the construction of Westminster Hall roof recorded that the timber frame was assembled in Farnham in Surrey before it was transported to Westminster for erection.<sup>94</sup> The Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, also employed a carpenter to prepare the frame for a building in Hadleigh, in Essex, before transporting it into London for erection.<sup>95</sup> However, the vicars' building accounts do not indicate that the framing of the small houses at Cambhall and Benetplace were made away from the construction site. The account for Westminster Hall roof refers to the site where the timber frame was prepared as 'the frame'.<sup>96</sup> The same name was also given to a similar site in the account for the rebuilding of Thorncroft Manor in Surrey.<sup>97</sup> A further framing-site in Eltham was referred to as the 'framynplace'.<sup>98</sup> The Dean and Chapter of St Paul's requested that the carpenter should haul and frame (*tractabit et framabit*) timbers in a wood in Hadleigh in Essex before transporting them to the

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid, pp. 56-8.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, p. 59.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, p. 200.

<sup>94</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 200.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid, and pp. 487-2.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, p. 200.

<sup>97</sup> Harvey (ed.), 'Great Milton, Oxfordshire; and Thorncroft, Surrey', p. 53.

<sup>98</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 200; Colvin (ed.), *History of the King's Works: Vol. I*, p. 529.

construction site.<sup>99</sup> There were no references of this nature in the vicars' building accounts. The majority of raw timber purchased for the project was transported directly to Cambhall or Benetplace and craftsmen were employed to work specifically in these locations, which suggests the storage and preparation of materials was undertaken on site, rather than in an external framing yard. The vicars choral also took advantage of the central location of their college precinct in the Bedern for the storage of building materials.<sup>100</sup> There was a lot of movement of materials between Cambhall and Benetplace across the four-year period and it is probable that any available space across the two sites was exploited for storage and construction.

Moreover, the vicars choral prepared the timber frames for all of their building projects in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century on site. The other four building accounts in the vicars' archive make no suggestion that a separate framing yard was used.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, the building contract for the construction of a row of houses in Aldwark does not make any reference to a separate framing yard.<sup>102</sup> The practice of preparing the timbers on site was not unique to this institution. A building account in the York Ouse Bridgemasters' archive, detailing the construction of a house in Thursday Market, York, did not suggest that an external framing yard had been used.<sup>103</sup> The building contracts for the construction of a row of houses next to St Martin's church in Coney Street, York, did not specify off-site preparation.<sup>104</sup> Beyond York, the building accounts for the construction of Trinity House in Hull, do not refer to a framing yard.<sup>105</sup>

There is further evidence that the storage and preparation of materials was undertaken both within a city, and on its outskirts. York Minster kept a store of materials, probably within the Cathedral Close, which it sold off to various building operations in the city.<sup>106</sup> References to the rent of land outside Micklegate Bar in York for 'laying timber', or

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<sup>99</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 481.

<sup>100</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d. A later building account (YMA, VC 6/9/4) refers to a workhouse (*warkhows*) in 'Little Bedern', which could have been used for the storage of materials.

<sup>101</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/2-5.

<sup>102</sup> YMA, M2(4)f f.8v.

<sup>103</sup> YBA, pp. 352-3.

<sup>104</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, pp. 430-2.

<sup>105</sup> Woodward (ed.), 'Trinity House, Hull, 1465-1476', pp. 153-70.

<sup>106</sup> Raine (ed.), *Fabric Rolls*, pp. 13-14, 25, 32, 49, 51, for some examples. No records are made of sales to the vicars choral, but other institutions including the church of St Sampson, purchase supplies from the Minster stores.

‘setting out timber’ (*ad supponend’ meremium; pro meremio ibidem ponendo*) suggests that there were areas outside the city walls which were suitable for the storage and preparation of timber.<sup>107</sup> It is also possible that urban carpenters had their own private spaces for the preparation of timber frames; William Connesburgh, carpenter, rented a plot of land in Micklegate from the Ouse Bridgemaisters for several years in the mid fifteenth century.<sup>108</sup> The location and type of building under construction would probably have been important factors in the decision to use a separate framing yard. The preparation and erection of a timber-framed house on site, rather than in a separate location, would undoubtedly have saved time and transportation costs.

Given that all eighteen houses constructed across the Cambhall and Benetplace sites were easily let soon after they had been completed, it appears the vicars choral had fulfilled their objective of maximising the full economic potential of the Cambhall and Benetplace sites. Building work may even have continued at Cambhall beyond 1364. The rent account for 1363-4 records six rents at Cambhall, by 1366 this had increase to seven, and in the 1370 account, eight rents were recorded.<sup>109</sup> Either new houses were erected on the site, or the existing properties were sub-divided to generate further rents. Regardless, it is clear that the re-development of Cambhall and Benetplace proved to be a successful venture for the vicars choral in the second half of the fourteenth century. The following section will focus on the craftsmen and labourers who worked on the project and the supply of the building materials, to build up a picture of the form and design of the small houses that were constructed across the two sites.

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<sup>107</sup> *YBA*, p. 129; *YCA*, C82.2.

<sup>108</sup> *YBA*, pp. 150, 167, 173, 189, 210.

<sup>109</sup> *YMA*, VC 4/1/12-14.

*Craftsmen, Building Materials and the Design of Small Houses*

The vicars choral employed a wide and varied workforce on the re-development of Cambhall and Benetplace. Various hierarchies and distinctions can be identified among the construction workers. They employed a master carpenter, John Colwyk, to oversee the construction work. Colwyk is easily distinguishable from the other more itinerant craftsmen because he was employed across the whole four-year period. Between 1360 and 1362, Colwyk was paid a set weekly wage of 2s 9d, which was greater than the wages of other carpenters, which varied between 2s and 2s 3d per week.<sup>110</sup> Colwyk's contractual obligation as master carpenter was formalised between 1362 and 1364, when he was paid a lump-sum of £24 in advance, rather than a weekly wage.<sup>111</sup> As master carpenter, Colwyk would have been responsible for the design and implementation of the construction of houses on the Cambhall and Benetplace sites. His previous experience in the construction industry reveals that he had worked on several different urban building projects. In 1357, a few years before he started working for the vicars choral, Colwyk was employed by the fraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, to work on their new hall in Fossgate, York, and on their domestic property situated in the parish of St Denis.<sup>112</sup> He took up the freedom of the city in 1345-6,<sup>113</sup> which suggests he was probably at the peak of his career when he was employed by the vicars choral.

A second master carpenter was employed in c. 1361 for a period of eighteen weeks (Period 2), probably to help with the increased workload after construction work began in Benetplace. John de Cranby, referred to as 'our carpenter' (*carpentar' nostro*), received two advance payments during this period to work on the project.<sup>114</sup> John de Cranby has also been linked to the construction of houses in Pavement, York, in 1366/8, on behalf of the Guild of the Assumption and the construction of houses in the parish of St Denis.<sup>115</sup> He also worked on the repair of the hall of the fraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed

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<sup>110</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d.

<sup>111</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>112</sup> J. Harvey, *English Medieval Architects: A Bibliographical Dictionary Down to 1550* (Gloucester, 1984), p. 68. Trinity Hall, the guildhall of the fraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary was later named The Merchant Adventurers' Hall. References to John Colwyk in the building accounts for this hall can be found in Sellers (ed.), *The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers*, p. 6 onwards.

<sup>113</sup> Harvey, *English Medieval Architects*, p. 68.

<sup>114</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d. Cranby also spelled 'Craneby'.

<sup>115</sup> Harvey, *English Medieval Architects*, p. 75.

Virgin Mary.<sup>116</sup> Cranby also entered into the freedom of the city of York in 1345, which suggests that he and Colwyk were at similar points in their careers.<sup>117</sup> The fact that both of these carpenters were employed by the vicars choral, following work for other fraternities in the city, suggests the likelihood of a close network of reputable building craftsmen working on the domestic houses of religious institutions.

Swanson has noted that master carpenters across York had the flexibility of being able to change between working for a daily wage and working on more permanent contracts.<sup>118</sup> This appears to have been especially true in the case of Colwyk and Cranby. A number of additional nameless carpenters were employed during the operations, in some weeks as many as seven extra. Presumably, the nature of the work at hand determined both the number of carpenters needed and the number of days they were employed. It has already been shown that the raising of the timber frame required the employment of several extra carpenters and labourers. Extra work was also available to more itinerant carpenters and labourers throughout the building process. This adds further weight to the argument that the majority of carpenters in York were employed as journeymen on a daily basis, rather than for extended periods of time, across the fourteenth century.<sup>119</sup>

Alongside the carpenters, sawyers were employed to prepare timbers. These men assisted the carpenters in their work and rather than being paid a daily wage, were generally paid per length sawn. Masons also worked on the construction of the building, but were only employed occasionally, and rarely to do anything other than lay foundations. Numerous plasterers and tilers also were employed to work across the two sites. Between 1362 and 1364, one plasterer in particular, identified as David the Plasterer, was paid a lump-sum of £4 13s 4d to undertake contractual work on a house in Benetplace. Aside from this employee, plasterers tended to be employed on a weekly basis. For example, Robert Leed and William Frost, plasterers, were employed to work alongside David the Plasterer on the floor surfaces of the houses across the two sites, on a weekly basis.<sup>120</sup> An investigation into the crafts of plasterers and tilers in York has argued that the work of these craftsmen was

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Swanson, *Building Craftsmen*, p. 12.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> These craftsmen could not be identified in the Freeman's Register (*YRF*).

very similar.<sup>121</sup> This was based on an examination of the surviving ordinances of the plasterer's craft organisation. However, plasterers and tilers were employed to undertake separate jobs on the Cambhall and Benetplace project. Tilers were employed to lay roof tiles and plasterers were responsible for the application of a coat of plaster to internal and external walls. It is not clear whether the laying of bricks was assigned to one craft in particular. Plasterers were employed more frequently than tilers, with tilers generally employed for days at a time, rather than weeks. Plasterers were also employed in the laying of foundations, which suggests that they had the responsibility for bonding masonry or bricks together on this site, rather than the tilers. A further hierarchy was established between the plasterers and daubers. Daubers were generally employed for between 3d and 4d per day, while plasterers wages varied between 4d and 11d per day. Labourers, at the bottom of the chain of command, were employed to undertake the most thankless tasks on the building site, including the dangerous process of burning and beating lime, and were rarely paid more than 4d per day.

The workforce of the Cambhall and Benetplace sites was predominantly male. Only one woman was employed to work directly on the construction site; in week 26 of Period 3, a nameless woman was employed to carry bundles of fibres (*chiffes*) into the Bedern for two and a half days, for which she was paid 5d. It was not unusual for women to be employed in labouring tasks. Salzman identified several accounts from across the country, which records the employment of women as labourers and assistants, rather than as craftsmen.<sup>122</sup> Women were also paid to carry plaster from the port of Hull for use in the construction of Trinity House in Hull.<sup>123</sup> However, the building sites of Cambhall and Benetplace were predominantly male-only zones. It was more common for women to be involved in the building industry at point of sale, either helping their husbands in the supply of building materials, or taking over his business after his death.<sup>124</sup> Evidence from London suggests many of these widows can be found in the records of craft organisations, paying quarterage for themselves, their apprentices and journeymen, and engaging extra labour when it was

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<sup>121</sup> Swanson, *Building Craftsmen*, pp. 18-20.

<sup>122</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, pp. 71-2.

<sup>123</sup> Woodward (ed.), 'Trinity House, Hull, 1465-1476', pp. 161-2.

<sup>124</sup> L. Clarke and C. Wall, 'Omitted from History: Women in the Building Trades', in M. Dunkeld, J. Campbell, H. Louw et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Construction History, Queen's College, Cambridge University 29<sup>th</sup> March – 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2006* (2006), 1: 36; Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, pp. 64-5.

necessary.<sup>125</sup> In York, John de Heston and his wife sold bricks to the vicars choral for the Cambhall and Benetplace operations. However, aside from this, women tended not to be involved in the construction or supply of this project.

The large quantities of timber purchased during the re-development of Cambhall and Benetplace, in comparison to any other structural building material, confirms that the small houses constructed across the sites were timber-framed. Not only would the change in form have been quite different from the large buildings that previously occupied the sites, but the use of timber would have also marked these buildings out to be very different from their predecessors. Timber had the practical advantages of being less expensive than stone, quicker to construct and more economical on space, because it produced thinner walls.<sup>126</sup> Not only that, but by the fourteenth century it was also more fashionable to use timber, rather than stone, in the construction of domestic dwellings.<sup>127</sup>

The vocabulary used to describe timber within the account suggests it was purchased in a variety of different forms across the course of the four-year period. Oak, in a raw unconverted state, was described as 'wood' (*arbor*) and was thus differentiated from oak purchased ready prepared for constructional use, which was described as 'timber' (*meremium*).<sup>128</sup> The vicars choral made several large purchases of unconverted oak, most noticeably in advance of construction work in Period 2.<sup>129</sup> Even after oak had been sourced and prepared, it had to be transported to York, resulting in a lengthy and costly operation. The felling, preparation and transport of seven oaks and other timber from Acaster, a few miles to the south of York, cost £28 8s 7d and took over a month to complete.<sup>130</sup> The vicars choral therefore appear to have supplemented their bulk-purchases of raw materials with small orders of ready-converted timber. Purchases of 'beams' and 'posts' (*balkes, posta and lignum*) were common across the accounts and were bought in various quantities. For example, in one order, five posts were purchased for 10s 2d, while in another, seventy-five

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<sup>125</sup> Clark and Wall, 'Omitted from History', p. 36.

<sup>126</sup> Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, p. 184.

<sup>127</sup> Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, pp. 175-9; Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, pp. 173-86

<sup>128</sup> Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, pp. 27-8, for a discussion of the conversion process, see pp. 27-30.

<sup>129</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d.

<sup>130</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d. These expenses were incurred from the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary the Virgin (15<sup>th</sup> August) to the feast of St Matthew (21<sup>st</sup> September).

posts were purchased for 54s.<sup>131</sup> The purchase of ready-converted timber would have saved both time and labour costs, and would have been a practical means of sourcing the less bulky elements of the timber frame. It would have also reduced the necessity for storage. This method of purchasing oak and timber in various states of conversion was replicated in the construction of a larger house in Petergate in 1407.<sup>132</sup>

On occasion, timber with a more specific structural purpose was bought, including large, upright supporting timbers (*staunchions*) and tie-beams (*entretays*). However, on the whole, the account did not record the specific part of the frame under construction or its specific design features. For example, it did not describe the construction of the jetty, although the surviving structure at the Cambhall site confirms that the small houses were constructed with jetties at first-floor level (fig. 12a). The joist-ends of the jetty were also carved with pellet decorations, a further feature that was not referenced in the account (fig. 12b).<sup>133</sup> Technical information and stylistic details tended only to be described in the account if they were required during purchase. However, as the vicars choral became even more experienced in the process of house construction across the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, the later building accounts included more technical details. An account of 1394, which documented the re-construction of a house in Goodramgate, made specific reference to jetty-posts (*jetty posts*).<sup>134</sup>

Although the account does not offer technical information, it is a rich source for the identification of the supply of building materials. Timber was bought from a number of different locations both within and beyond York. As well as purchases from Acaster, other bulk orders were made in Fenton, also to the south of York.<sup>135</sup> The transportation of timber from forestry locations to York would have been a complex operation. The timber from Fenton was brought to York via Ulleskelf, which lies on the river Wharfe. Although it is not explicit in the accounts, the timber may have been transported to Ulleskelf in order to continue its journey into York by boat, via the river Ouse. This was a common method of transporting heavy building materials over a large distance. Stone from the limestone

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<sup>131</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>132</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/5.

<sup>133</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 5*, p. 143.

<sup>134</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/2.

<sup>135</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d. Timbers were also purchased from a place by the name of 'Moulay', although this could not be identified.



quarries of Tadcaster, Thevesdale, Huddleston and Stapleton in south Yorkshire were transported by river into York for the construction of the Minster, for instance.<sup>136</sup>

A large amount of timber was also purchased from merchants on the outskirts of York. Purchases of timbers for specific use, such as beams and posts, were made in Bootham, Grimston, Clifton and Toft Green.<sup>137</sup> It was also common for carpenters to act as timber suppliers.<sup>138</sup> The two master carpenters, John Colwyk, and John de Cranby, sold a large number of beams (*lignum*) to the vicars choral throughout the four-year period of construction. In 1362 for example, John Colwyk sold thirty-one beams to the vicars for 25s 8d.<sup>139</sup> The vicars choral also transported timber to the Benetplace and Cambhall project from a dismantled house in Huntington, to the north-east of York, which it took down in c. 1360-61.<sup>140</sup> Unfortunately, the account did not specify what these salvaged materials were used for.<sup>141</sup> The vicars choral appear to have developed a wide network of suppliers within the immediate regional area of York, having generally sourced the timber materials from within a fifteen-mile radius of the city. This network was sustained and further developed across later building operations.<sup>142</sup>

However, foreign timber was also used in the construction of the small houses at Cambhall and Benetplace. Between 1362 and 1364, the vicars choral went to Hull on two separate occasions, in order to purchase sixty 'Riga-boards' (*Rigoldbourdes, rigolds*) at a cost of 26s 8d and 30s 5d respectively. This timber was probably imported from the Riga region of the Baltic. The fifteenth-century customs accounts for Hull record the importation of a variety of raw materials for the building industry, including various hard-woods.<sup>143</sup> Timber from the linden tree (*lyndborde*), Baltic timber (*esteriis*) and fir-wood were recorded, along with

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<sup>136</sup> Gee, 'Stone from the Quarries of South Yorkshire', pp. 247-55; D. Knoop and G.P. Jones, *The Medieval Mason* (Manchester, 1933), pp. 46-7, 51-53, also discuss the sources of the supply of stone for the construction of York Minster.

<sup>137</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>138</sup> J. Kermode, *Medieval Merchants* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 294-5, has also identified that merchants who dealt in building supplies, often made bequests of timber and other building materials in wills, either to their businesses or to other family members.

<sup>139</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>140</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d.

<sup>141</sup> However, these re-used timbers are identifiable archaeologically in the roof of 30-32 Goodramgate and 11-12 College Street. J. Grenville, personal communication.

<sup>142</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/2-5.

<sup>143</sup> Childs (ed.), *The Customs Accounts of Hull*, p. xxiv; W.R. Childs, *The Trade and Shipping of Hull*, East Yorkshire Local History Series 43, (1990), pp. 18, 20, 36.

large quantities of wainscot, Dutch and German oak.<sup>144</sup> However, the two Riga-board purchases were the only purchases that the vicars made directly from the port of Hull itself. It is not clear what these materials were purchased for. Wainscot purchases were also frequently made for the construction of small houses at Cambhall and Benetplace. Although this was probably an imported material, the building account does not specify where it was purchased. Two large transactions of forty wainscot boards at a cost of 8s 4d were made in Period 2.<sup>145</sup> Wainscot is a luxurious type of timber board associated with the panelling of rooms in larger and more expensive projects.<sup>146</sup> However, the wainscot board purchased for these operations may have been of a more simple type, as it was used in small houses for the construction of doors and even floorboards.

The purchase of other materials such as brick, tile, daub and plaster provide further information about the manner in which the timber frame was consolidated. The walls were infilled with brick, wattle and daub. Brick (*walltigill*) in particular, was purchased in large quantities across the accounts and was almost certainly used in the panelling of walls.<sup>147</sup> Although previous commentators have questioned the use of brick-nogging in fourteenth-century timber-framed buildings,<sup>148</sup> this technique was common practice across the late medieval period and was used as an infill material in timber-framed buildings throughout York.<sup>149</sup> Medieval brick is characteristically longer and thinner than modern brick and thus particularly suited to infilling between timbers.<sup>150</sup> The use of brick could also help to carry some of the loads in a wall and might even have been accompanied by a reduction in timber.<sup>151</sup> Its durable and fireproof qualities probably also contributed to its widespread use throughout the city.

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<sup>144</sup> Childs (ed.), *The Customs Accounts of Hull*, pp. 31, 58, 80, 106, 141, 212; Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 246.

<sup>145</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d.

<sup>146</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 258; M. Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London, 1983), pp. 395-7.

<sup>147</sup> For a discussion of the brick-making process, see Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, pp. 64-5.

<sup>148</sup> J. A. Wight, *Brick Building in England from the Middle Ages to 1550* (London, 1972), p. 32 argues that it was not used as a wall-filling material until the late-fifteenth century.

<sup>149</sup> Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, pp. 64-5; Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture*, pp. 72-3; RCHME York, vol. 5, pp. lxii-lxiii;

<sup>150</sup> Betts, 'Brick and Tile Industry of York', 2: 451; R. Brunskill and A. Clifton-Taylor, *English Brickwork* (London, 1977), p. 15.

<sup>151</sup> Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture*, p. 72.

The brick and tile works owned by the vicars choral are thought not to have been active until the early fifteenth century.<sup>152</sup> The building accounts for the construction of Cambhall and Benetplace between 1360 and 1364, confirm that these workshops were not active at this date.<sup>153</sup> The vicars choral purchased brick and tile for the Cambhall and Benetplace re-developments from two main suppliers, one of which was certainly local. Between 1360 and 1362, it purchased brick from the Carmelite Friary.<sup>154</sup> The building account did not specify exactly where the Carmelite Friary brickworks was located, although it is thought to have been next to St Margaret's Church in Walmgate.<sup>155</sup> The vicars choral purchased bricks 'from the place near to St Margaret's Church' (*de placea iuxta ecclesia sancte margarete*), but the account did not indicate whether this was in the ownership of the Carmelite Friars.<sup>156</sup> The brick-making industry was particularly active in the Walmgate area of York. Excavations at 118-26 Walmgate also revealed evidence for a brick or tile kiln.<sup>157</sup> Open clay-pits could have been a common sight to the east of the river Foss across the late fifteenth century; the Ouse Bridgemasters referred to a 'Scarlet Pit' next to Fishergate Bar and Postern, in their rent accounts.<sup>158</sup> Between 1362 and 1364, bricks were also purchased directly through John de Heston and his wife, although it is not made clear whether he was an independent trader or merchant, or if he worked for an organised brick and tile works within the city.<sup>159</sup>

The Carmelite Friary brickworks was a popular place to purchase bricks in York in the fourteenth century. In 1357, the fraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary also purchased bricks from them for the construction of their guildhall in Fossgate, which can clearly be seen in the standing structure (fig. 13).<sup>160</sup> It is difficult to compare brick prices both within and across the vicars' and the fraternity's accounts, because they were not sold for a standard price. However, the fact that bricks were available for different

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<sup>152</sup> Financial accounts survive for the vicars choral brick and tile work in Blossomgate, York, (YMA, VC 6/7/1-4) and have been dated by internal evidence to between 1416 and 1429.

<sup>153</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>154</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d.

<sup>155</sup> Betts, 'Brick and Tile Industry of York', 2: 342.

<sup>156</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d.

<sup>157</sup> Addyman and Black (eds.), *Archaeology Papers From York*, p. 204.

<sup>158</sup> YBA, pp. 156, 197, 220, 242, 247.

<sup>159</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1. John de Heston could not be identified in the Register of the Freemen of York.

<sup>160</sup> Sellers (ed.), *York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers*, p. 15.

prices, could point to a variation in quality. The more expensive bricks, for example, might have been reserved for the more conspicuous areas of a building.

The purchase of lath and daub suggest that some walls were consolidated without the use of brick. A possible use may have been for non-structural internal walls or partitions. A coat of plaster was probably also applied to both daub and brick infill panels, to provide a smooth finish. The vicars choral made several bulk purchases of plaster and lime from Skirpenbeck, to the east of York.<sup>161</sup> The application of a coat of limewash was also essential for its protective and weatherproofing qualities.<sup>162</sup> However, the finish to the Cambhall and Benetplace houses was probably not as high quality as those on some of the other houses across the vicars' estate. A later building account of 1395, which concerns repairs to houses opposite the Bedern, records that Plaster of Paris was bought from the door-keeper of St. Leonard's Hospital.<sup>163</sup> This was an expensive item,<sup>164</sup> and its absence from the 1360s developments, suggests that the houses were finished within a more modest budget.

The roofing material used across both sites was tile (*coueringtigill, rigtigill*). Tile was purchased both within and outside York. 4000 covering-tiles, at a cost of 32s, were purchased from Selby at the beginning of Period 3. Other tiles were 'bought from beyond the Ouse' (*empt' ultra usam*), although their origins were not recorded.<sup>165</sup> Several large purchases of covering tiles were made from a local supplier by the name of John de Hesilbeck, including two orders of 10,500 tiles, at the cost of £5 per order.<sup>166</sup> The vicars choral also purchased 2000 tiles from a tileworks 'next to Clementhorpe' (*Coueringtigill de tegularia iuxta clementhorp*), to the south of the city walls.<sup>167</sup> A tileworks under the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster, believed to have been active in 1374-5, has been identified in an area known as Bishopfields, also to the south of the city

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<sup>161</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>162</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 157.

<sup>163</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/3.

<sup>164</sup> N. Davey, *A History of Building Materials* (London, 1961), pp. 92-4.

<sup>165</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

walls.<sup>168</sup> The reference to a tileworks in Clementhorpe in the vicars choral building account of 1360-64, suggests tileworks were also active in this area of the city at an earlier date.

Houses across both sites were characteristically similar, in the respect that they were fully timber-framed, had brick in-fill panels, some daubed panels, had tile roofs, and were plastered and lime-washed throughout. Other features, such as doors and windows, were likely to have been simple in design. The accounts record the repair of two glass windows between 1360 and 1362, but this is the only reference to glass across the account and it is more likely that they were repaired for use in houses elsewhere on the vicars' estate. The glazing of windows would have been costly in the late medieval period.<sup>169</sup> Moreover glass was an important status symbol. Two glass windows (*fenestr' vitreis*) were purchased for the construction of a house in Petergate (1407), at a cost of 5s.<sup>170</sup> The use of glass in this larger house, as opposed to the smaller houses in Cambhall and Benetplace, would have reinforced their differences in size and social status. A large amount of ironwork for doors and windows was also purchased in the form of ligatures, riders, latches and staples (*ligatures, hespes cum stapils, snekes*), to fix the doors and windows to the timber frame. Although iron was produced within the city at this time, the accounts do not record where these items were bought, or from whom.<sup>171</sup> Purchases of locks and keys were also made for the houses in Cambhall and Benetplace as well as the house in Petergate, which suggests security was also an important issue in the construction of houses, regardless of size or type of occupant.<sup>172</sup> The concern for house-security was common to both rural and urban areas during the late medieval period.<sup>173</sup> The installation of locks and keys in property constructed for rent suggests that the landlord had a genuine concern about security, and wished to reinforce this with their tenants.

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<sup>168</sup> Betts, 'Brick and Tile Industry of York', 2: 335; J.H. Harvey, 'Bishophill and the Church of York', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 41 (1966): pp. 380-81, 392; M. Sellers (ed.), *York Memorandum Book*, Surtees Society 120 (1912), p. 21.

<sup>169</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, pp. 173-86.

<sup>170</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/5.

<sup>171</sup> For a discussion of imported iron, see W. Childs, 'England's Iron Trade in the Fifteenth Century', *Economic History Review* 34 (1981): 25-47.

<sup>172</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1, 5.

<sup>173</sup> C. Dyer, *An Age of Transition? Economy and Society in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2005), p. 56.

Although individual units were not generally differentiated from each other in the accounts, a number of references to internal features suggest that some houses were provided with better facilities than others. Distinctions were made between houses in terms of provisions for heating and smoke extraction. Several references to the purchase of louvre-boards and louvre-strings and the installation of louvres in the roofs of houses, suggest the majority were provided with smoke-extraction facilities.<sup>174</sup> Only one house across the two sites was fitted with a chimney. David the Plasterer was paid 3s 4d to construct a chimney in Benetplace.<sup>175</sup> The fact that a plasterer, rather than a carpenter, was employed to construct this feature, suggests it was made out of brick and plaster. A reference to the addition of a chimney at this date is significant, as previous observations have suggested that chimneys were not common in small houses until the sixteenth century.<sup>176</sup> For houses without chimneys, tenants may well have been expected to provide their own portable heating equipment, such as braziers. A further reference suggests that a hearth was constructed in a house in Cambhall.<sup>177</sup> No other references to hearths were made in the account, and it is not clear whether the mason was employed to construct a full hearth, or a stone or brick base on which a portable brazier could have stood. However, an open hearth may have been more of a fire hazard in a house without an open hall, than a fire contained in an iron brazier.

The accounts do not indicate that any water or sewerage facilities were provided at either the Cambhall or Benetplace sites. Excavations in medieval Winchester revealed that most houses situated on the street frontage had private water-channels running through the building.<sup>178</sup> There was no mention of such provisions in the small houses at Cambhall and Benetplace. The occupants of the small houses at Cambhall and Benetplace would probably have had to rely on communal, rather than private, water supplies and sewerage facilities. A building account of 1396 recorded the construction of a communal latrine block (*longam domum*) between the east end of the Minster and Goodramgate, in York.<sup>179</sup> A budget of £41 16s. 8 d. was raised for the construction of this building, which was timber framed, roofed in tile, and had lath and plaster or wattle and daub infill panels. The substantial timber-

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<sup>174</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1d; louvres were wooden structures consisting of moveable slatted boards, which were opened and closed by ropes or 'louvre-strings'.

<sup>175</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>176</sup> Keene, *Medieval Winchester*, 1: 178.

<sup>177</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>178</sup> Keene, *Medieval Winchester*, 1: 179.

<sup>179</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/4.

purchases recorded in the account, and the two-year time-period taken to construct this building, suggest that it was fairly sizable. The vicars choral might have constructed this communal facility as a means of servicing their increased tenant population in the area. Communal latrines are likely to have been a common sight in late medieval York. For example, the Ouse Bridgemasters were responsible for latrines on Ouse Bridge and Gillygate, which were likely to have been shared by the residents of their estate.<sup>180</sup>

Although the houses across Cambhall and Benetplace were characteristically similar, there were subtle differences between them. The rent account of 1363-4 shows the rental values of individual units within and across the Cambhall and Benetplace sites were set at staggered levels.<sup>181</sup> Out of the twelve Benetplace rents, eight rents were collected at 5s, three rents at 4s 6d and one rent at 3s 4d. At Cambhall, three rents were collected at 5s, one at 6s, one at 6s 8d and one at 3s 4d. Differences in the rental values within sites could have reflected the differences in facilities between properties, or perhaps differences in size. Although the rental values between the sites were very similar, some of the units in Cambhall commanded higher values than Benetplace, which could have reflected the difference in location of the two areas. Cambhall, as it has already been noted, was situated in a highly visible position directly opposite the vicars' college precinct in the Bedern, close to the east end of the Minster. Its proximity to two important ecclesiastical precincts could have allowed it to command higher-paying tenants than those who rented in Benetplace.

The vicars choral thus appear to have carefully selected both craftsmen and materials for the construction of houses across the Cambhall and Benetplace sites. Although these houses were small, they were constructed by reputable local craftsmen whose work was known elsewhere in the city, using quality materials. The building account also demonstrates the interaction between urban developers and regional and local suppliers of building materials. Timber, lime and plaster were purchased from surrounding forests and villages, as well as from suppliers within the city. The building account has also provided further information about the local production of materials such as brick and tile, which was particularly active

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<sup>180</sup> *YBA*, pp. 204, 256; The Ouse Bridgemasters' were also responsible for a latrine referred to as the 'pissinghole' (pp. 355, 377) although the exact location of this facility was not stated.

<sup>181</sup> *YMA*, VC 4/1/12. I am grateful to Sarah Rees Jones for lending me her transcripts of the vicars choral rent accounts.

on the outskirts of York in the late fourteenth century. Although some imported timber was used in the construction of small houses at Cambhall and Benetplace, the vicars choral generally took advantage of the resources that were available to them locally. The building account also identifies that there were subtle differences between the individual houses in the rows in terms of their heating facilities.

*The construction of small houses and the development of the city*

The documentary evidence for the construction of small houses at Cambhall and Benetplace also provides important contextual information for the interpretation of the above- and below-ground evidence across the two sites. Furthermore, a re-examination of the documentary evidence can explain some of the currently unresolved issues raised in previous archaeological investigations. The combined use of documentary and archaeological evidence can, in turn, shed further light on the development of these areas of the city across the late medieval period.

The Royal Commission investigated the buildings which stand on the Cambhall site, at 11-12 College Street and at 30 and 32 Goodramgate (see fig 10a and b).<sup>182</sup> Despite Harrison's early investigations into the building accounts in the vicars choral archive, it did not acknowledge that the building account dating between 1360 to 1364 corresponded with the construction of these standing medieval buildings.<sup>183</sup> Although internal modifications appear to have prevented the dating of 30 and 32 Goodramgate, the Royal Commission assigned an early fourteenth-century date to 11-12 College Street. The re-investigation of the vicars choral building accounts, and the identification of the 1360-4 account with the buildings on the corner of College Street and Goodramgate, provides a more accurate construction date for the medieval buildings which stand on this site. More research is needed to examine the relationship between the standing buildings and the six (and later eight) small houses which were constructed there as part of the vicars choral building

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<sup>182</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 5, p. 143.*

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.* The Royal Commission thought that 11-12 College Street and 30 and 32 Goodramgate were represented in accounts between 1383 and 1399 and did not acknowledge the earlier account.



project.<sup>184</sup> A re-examination of the archaeological evidence could in turn shed further light on the staggered construction of blocks of small houses identified in the building account. There are, for example, alleyways located at intervals between the units fronting College Street. It is not clear what these alleyways would have given access to, although it is possible that the small houses also had access to yards at the rear. A detailed inspection of the alleyways and the partitions between units could reveal evidence for the staggered development of the site across the four-year period.

Some further conclusions can now also be drawn regarding the relationship between 11-12 College Street, 30 to 32 Goodramgate and the gatehouse structure spanning College Street (see fig. 14). The gatehouse structure is thought to have given access from Goodramgate to the east end of the Minster precinct.<sup>185</sup> A photograph of c. 1900 shows that buildings once adjoined the south of the gatehouse, although their construction dates are currently unknown (fig. 15a and b).<sup>186</sup> The remaining large corner-post would have related to this building. The Royal Commission has suggested that the gatehouse was constructed in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.<sup>187</sup> This date appears to have been assigned on inspection of the roof truss, reportedly characterised by a straight tie-beam, a collar supporting clasped purlins and a secondary collar positioned higher up the truss.<sup>188</sup> The vicars choral building accounts did not make reference to the gatehouse structure, although a licence obtained by the vicars choral in 1396, refers to a gatehouse in this area.<sup>189</sup> The Royal Commission did not comment on the fact that the present gatehouse structure appears to have been constructed in two different phases, currently delineated as the timber-framed first-floor structure to the south east, and the brick and timber first-floor structure which was built against it to the south west (fig. 10a and b).<sup>190</sup> A re-examination of the

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<sup>184</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/12-14.

<sup>185</sup> Tillott (ed.), *VCH, The City of York*, p. 339.

<sup>186</sup> The buildings to the south of the gatehouse were demolished in 1903 to make way for the construction of a new street called Deangate, which now runs around south of the Minster from Goodramgate to Petergate, Tillott (ed.), *VCH, The City of York*, p. 340. An indenture of 1903 records the sale of property in Goodramgate from the Dean and Chapter to the City Corporation, in advance of the re-construction of this area, BIA, VC DC 10 YORK/DEA 1.

<sup>187</sup> *RCHME York*, vol. 5, p. 143.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>189</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, Richard II, vol. 5 (London, 1905), p. 712.

<sup>190</sup> *RCHME York*, vol. 5, p. 143. However, this distinction was recognised in the unpublished field-notes RCHME, 'Nos. 30 and 32 Goodramgate, York' (Unpublished field notes held at the National Monuments Record in Swindon, no date).

gatehouse structure would be necessary in order to confirm its age and relationship to the Cambhall buildings. Nonetheless, it is clear from the petition that a gatehouse would have stood in this area in the fourteenth century, which further suggests that the small houses constructed at Cambhall were positioned in an important and highly visual area of the city.

Furthermore, the petition made by the vicars choral in 1396, suggests that it sought to link the Bedern gatehouse and the Minster gatehouse with a private passageway across Goodramgate.<sup>191</sup> The petition specifies that the passageway was to be connected to a solar or chamber above the entrance to the Bedern precinct, as well as an existing solar or chamber above the gate of the entrance to the Minster.<sup>192</sup> The vicars reasoned that it would provide them with a safe passage between the Bedern and the Minster, particularly at night. However, there is no physical evidence, either on the west first-floor wall of the present gatehouse structure, or on the entrance to the Bedern precinct, to suggest that the two elements were connected via a passageway across Goodramgate.<sup>193</sup> Despite the lack of evidence to clarify whether the passageway was built or not, the petition demonstrates that the vicars used this area as a main thoroughfare and were conscious about mixing with the public on Goodramgate. This would in turn impact on the type of tenants who were to reside in the Cambhall property across the course of the late medieval period, which will be considered in further detail in Chapter 4.

In contrast to Cambhall, there are no surviving above-ground remains of any late medieval small houses in the area of Swinegate or Back Swinegate, where Benetplace was situated. Nonetheless, excavations undertaken in the 1990s provided further evidence for the medieval topography of this area.<sup>194</sup> The excavation did not investigate the corner of Swinegate and Back Swinegate, where St Benedict's church and later Benetplace were located.<sup>195</sup> An excavation trench situated on the corner of Little Stonegate and Back

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<sup>191</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Richard II, vol. 5, p. 712.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>193</sup> Richards, *The Vicars Choral of York Minster: The College at Bedern*, p. 540.

<sup>194</sup> A full report for this excavation is yet to be compiled and published by York Archaeological Trust. The following analysis refers instead to the short-reports published in *Interim: Bulletin of the York Archaeological Trust*. I am also grateful to Dr Mark Whyman of York Archaeological Trust for discussing aspects of the site with me.

<sup>195</sup> N.F. Pearson, 'Swinegate Excavation', *Interim: Bulletin of York Archaeological Trust* 14/4 (March, 1990): 6-8; N.F. Pearson, 'Swinegate Excavation', *Interim: Bulletin of York Archaeological Trust* 15/1 (June, 1990): 7-8.

Swinegate uncovered the footings for late medieval buildings.<sup>196</sup> It is not clear whether the small houses constructed on the Benetplace site would have extended into this area. The dimensions of the Benetplace site, specified in the charter of 1337, cannot easily be mapped onto this area. The buildings on the Little Stonegate front were well preserved, with rooms to the street front and small, integral chambers to the rear, one of which had a centrally placed, small but well-constructed hearth or furnace base, with adjacent post-holes which was suggestive of a work bench.<sup>197</sup> It was concluded that these small chambers were used as workshops. Four further structures were uncovered on Back Swinegate, which were thought to be earlier in date. The descriptions of these buildings cannot easily be related to the characteristics deduced from the building account. Nonetheless, the buildings uncovered in the excavation suggest rows of small houses were common to this area of the city in the late medieval period and that some were probably used for both commercial and domestic functions. Benetplace was not in such a high-profile location as Cambhall, but the industrial use of the buildings on Little Stonegate and its close proximity to Thursday Market may in turn have impacted on the use of the Benetplace units.

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<sup>196</sup> Pearson, 'Swinegate Investigation', 15/1, pp. 6-8.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid, pp. 6-7.

## *Conclusion*

The rare survival of a building account for the construction of small houses provides important contextual information for the re-development of two city-centre sites with rows of small houses. It provides an insight into how construction was organised across a four-year period in terms of both the method of house erection and the seasonal construction practices. It also divulges the names of craftsmen who worked on the project, which has furthered our understanding of the networks of craftsmen across the city, providing information about the kinds of materials they used in the construction of small houses in York, and information about where these materials were sourced from. The re-development of Cambhall and Benetplace was not on the same scale as the initiation of re-development of the whole of Coventry marketplace by the Benedictine Abbey of St Mary's in Coventry;<sup>198</sup> nonetheless, the study has shown that the vicars choral of York Minster were shrewd and experienced property developers who realised the economic potential of two inner-city sites and reacted to a demand for houses at the lower end of the market. Moreover, the examination of this account has emphasised that house construction was an important factor in the development of the medieval city and also shows how the topography of an urban area could change quite dramatically through the re-development of two sites alone. The introduction of small houses across Cambhall and Benetplace, coupled with the use of timber in favour of stone, impacted on the function and appearance of these areas of the city. How similar the style of housing at Cambhall and Benetplace was to other designs of small houses will be examined further in the standing evidence, in Chapter 2.

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<sup>198</sup> Lilley, 'Trading Places: Monastic Initiative and High-Medieval Coventry', pp. 182-3.

## CHAPTER 2

### **Archaeological Evidence for Small Houses in York and Norwich**

The documentary evidence for the construction of small houses discussed in the previous chapter reveals important information about the interior and exterior design of rows in fourteenth-century York. This chapter will broaden the study of small houses to include examples from Norwich, where comparative documents have not survived. The survival of several examples of rows of small houses across the two cities also provides an opportunity to investigate examples from the fourteenth and the fifteenth century. Although the documentary sources provided a unique opportunity for the study of the construction of small houses, they do not always contain precise evidence for the size or spatial organisation of properties within rows. It is this detail in particular that will be the focus of this chapter. The common perception of the arrangement of houses within rows is that they were divided into one-up one-down properties, in alignment with the bays. Whether all rows were organised along these lines, or whether the simple design allowed for alternative, more flexible arrangements, will be investigated further. Questions regarding spatial arrangements, facilities, building methods and materials, which will also be dealt with here, are very much informed by the issues raised in the documentary evidence in Chapter 1. This chapter does not endeavour to record every aspect of the standing structures under investigation, but focuses instead on the analysis and interpretation of these important features.

In order to address the imbalance of evidence studied across the two cities thus far, three examples of rows of small houses have been chosen in Norwich and two examples from York. The sites under consideration are: in Norwich, 15 Bedford Street, 8-12 Charing Cross and 2-12 Gildencroft and in York, 64-72 Goodramgate, and 1-2 Church Cottages, North Street (maps 2 and 3). The analysis of these sites will concentrate not only on the comparison of the form of small houses between the two cities, but also how the location within a city could affect the design of this house type.

Rows of late medieval small houses have received very little attention in Norwich. The archaeological investigation of small houses here is therefore particularly important because, unlike York, there has been no synthesised study of the standing evidence for this type of housing in the city. Quiney has recently brought attention to 2-12

Gildencroft, with a brief description of the row.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the analysis of small houses in late medieval Norwich is fragmentary, and mostly unpublished. Alan Carter investigated 15 Bedford Street and 2-12 Gildencroft as part of the Norwich Survey investigations and Robert Smith's unpublished PhD thesis has also investigated the rows as part of a larger project on the architectural history of Norwich.<sup>2</sup> Yet 8-12 Charing Cross and 15 Bedford Street have only attracted attention because they stand in front of larger and more substantial structures of Stranger's Hall and a subterranean undercroft.<sup>3</sup> This chapter will draw together some examples of small houses in Norwich, in order to analyse the form of this building type in the city. The investigation of 64-72 Goodramgate and 1 and 2 All Saint's Cottages in York will also re-assess the conclusions of previous investigations.<sup>4</sup>

### *15 Bedford Street, Norwich*

15 Bedford Street is located in the central area of Norwich, in the parish of St Andrew, close to the marketplace (figs. 16a and b, map 5). The building consists of a two-bay property, in parallel with the street frontage.<sup>5</sup> An alleyway named Websdale's Court runs down the east side of the building. At ground-floor level, the building has an original, although heavily restored, shop front facing directly onto the street frontage, which consists of a central doorway, flanked on both sides by two large windows. This ground floor south wall appears to be timber-framed. A large, nineteenth-century extension has been added to the rear of the building, and the original north (rear) ground-floor wall has been removed (fig. 16b). The construction material of the north, east and west wall may have been masonry.<sup>6</sup> A brick vaulted undercroft lies beneath this extension and two cellars are positioned immediately beneath the original street frontage building. Access to first-floor level is via a nineteenth-century staircase situated in the extension.

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<sup>1</sup> Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, pp. 267-8.

<sup>2</sup> A. Carter, '15 Bedford Street, Norwich' (Unpublished field notes held at the Norfolk Historic Environment Record, Gressenhall, no date); A. Carter, 'The Gildencroft Cottages, Norwich' (Unpublished field notes held at the Norfolk Historic Environment Record, Gressenhall, 1978); Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', pp. 75-8, 90-3, 286-7, 381-3,

<sup>3</sup> Smith and Carter, 'Function and Site', pp. 5-18.

<sup>4</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', pp. 86-96, 124-30.

<sup>5</sup> A glossary of modern building terms has been presented in Appendix 1.

<sup>6</sup> Listed Building Description. The description does not state the type of masonry.

At first-floor level, the building is timber-framed and jettied to the south, onto the street frontage. The frame has been rendered and two sash windows replace the original fenestration. Although the nineteenth-century extension continues at this level, the timber-framed north wall of the original building is still *in situ* (fig. 22). The second floor is believed to be an eighteenth-century addition.<sup>7</sup>

### *Previous Investigations*

15 Bedford Street has been previously examined in two unpublished studies of the site.<sup>8</sup> These investigations made several important observations about layout and access within the building, which require further analysis. Smith has argued that this property was originally part of a longer row of shops, and suggested that an external rear staircase provided access to first-floor level.<sup>9</sup> Carter also made some important observations about the window arrangements at first-floor level.<sup>10</sup> The following analysis will take these interpretations into consideration.

The dating of the building is problematical. Pevsner and Wilson, and Alan Carter independently dated the shop to c. sixteenth century.<sup>11</sup> This assessment was based on the stylistic details of the ground-floor shop window. In contrast, Smith has suggested that it could date to the late fifteenth century.<sup>12</sup> The subterranean vaulted undercroft to the rear of the site was examined as part of a wider investigation into vaulted undercrofts in Norwich, and is thought to have been constructed in two phases.<sup>13</sup> It is believed to have lain beneath a building set back from the street frontage at the rear of the site, although no visible evidence for this survives.<sup>14</sup>

The unvaulted cellars have not previously been examined and their construction date and relationship with the above ground building require further analysis. The following will therefore concentrate on the examination of the spatial arrangements within the

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<sup>7</sup> Listed Building Description.

<sup>8</sup> Carter, '15 Bedford Street, Norwich'; Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', pp. 283-4, 295, 382-3, 344.

<sup>9</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', p. 283.

<sup>10</sup> Carter, '15 Bedford Street, Norwich'.

<sup>11</sup> *Norfolk 1*, p. 323; Carter, '15 Bedford Street, Norwich'; Smith and Carter, 'Function and Site', p. 7, also date the building to the sixteenth century.

<sup>12</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', p. 382.

<sup>13</sup> Smith and Carter, 'Function and Site', pp. 7-9.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p. 8.

above- and below-ground spaces and, in turn, clarify their relationship with the undercroft to the rear of the site.

### *Description*

#### Ground-Floor Level

The ground-floor south wall is dominated by the shop front. The central doorway is characterised by moulded timber jambs, flanked either side by two large, low-silled windows, also with moulded jambs (fig. 17). The shop front has undergone a number of modifications and was, until recently, boxed-in with modern window fittings.<sup>15</sup> The restoration of this window has re-exposed the whole of the south wall, revealing that it is fully timber-framed.

Little internal evidence of the original ground-floor layout survives. The whole of the ground floor is now open into the nineteenth-century extension. Because of this, the layout of the original building has been lost (fig. 18). The walls have been rendered and fitted with modern shop fittings, preventing further inspection of the construction material on the east and west walls at this level. There is no further evidence of the original construction material on the exterior east wall (accessed via Websdales Court), as this has been re-faced in brick. A trap-door in the north-east corner of the extension provides access to the undercroft. A staircase located on the west wall of the extension provides access to first-floor level.

#### First-Floor Level

The jetty reveals that the building has undergone modifications at both the west and east ends. At the west end, the end jetty spur has been cut away and its current position does not appear to represent the end of the original building (fig. 19). At the east end, the bressumer has also been roughly cut away, and the jetty spur has been replaced (fig. 20). The jetty also stops short of the window below, suggesting that the jetty spur is not tenoned into a principal post. Render obscures the relationship between the jetty and first-floor posts.

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<sup>15</sup> Carter, '15 Bedford Street, Norwich', records that the window was boxed-in by modern window-fittings at the time of his inspection.



The proportions and layout of the original building is best observed at this level, consisting of two bays parallel with the street frontage (fig. 21). The floor area at this level is approximately 5.89m x 3.38m.<sup>16</sup> The majority of the original timberwork is still exposed, including the original north wall, which now forms a division between the original building and the extension at the rear (fig. 22). The roof has been ceiled over. A moulded, cambered tie-beam is exposed in the centre of the two bays, locating the position of a central open truss. It is supported on the north wall by a curved principal post. The west truss is closed and framed with braces and studs (shown partially in fig. 23). The east truss is closed but shows no evidence of braces or studs (see fig. 21).

Situated in the west corner of the south wall is a blocked-up mullioned window, which is not visible from the exterior (fig. 23). The sill is tenoned and pegged into the frame, and the mullions are also pegged into the wall-plate and sill, suggesting that this is an original window opening. Any further evidence for the original fenestration scheme on this wall has been obscured by the insertion of large sash windows. On the north wall, in the west bay, there is a further mullioned window (fig. 24). However, unlike the window on the south wall, the sill has been notched into the stud and post to either side and is not tenoned and pegged into the frame. Similarly, the mullions have not been pegged into the sill. Therefore, this appears to be a later window insertion. There is no evidence of any further windows on this wall (fig. 22). An inserted modern door on north wall, in the west bay, leads into the nineteenth-century extension. There is no evidence of an original doorway in this position.

### Second-Floor Level

Access to this floor is no longer available from 15 Bedford Street and an investigation of this area was not permissible at the time of inspection. Previous examinations have noted that this floor is not original and it has been dated to the eighteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

### Basement Level

A survey of the two unvaulted cellars and a re-survey of the undercroft were undertaken at this level to show the relationship between the two areas and the above-ground structures (fig. 25). Access to the two cellars is now obtained from the undercroft, via

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<sup>16</sup> Metric measurements are applied throughout this chapter except where reference is made to standard imperial sizes, such as in the identification of bricks. To convert metres into feet, divide by 0.3048, to convert inches into centimetres, multiply by 2.54.

<sup>17</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', p. 383; Carter, '15 Bedford Street, Norwich'.

the nineteenth-century extension. An entranceway has been crudely cut into the south wall to communicate with the two cellars (hereafter referred to as cellars 1 and 2) (fig. 26). A small turned staircase has been inserted into the area between the undercroft and the cellars to give access to cellar 2 (figs. 25 and 27). Nineteenth-century brickwork in the entranceway shows that this opening is relatively modern. The floor levels of the cellars are higher than the undercroft and it is unlikely that they would have carried a vaulted ceiling. The dimensions and position of these two chambers (approximately 5.08m x 2.73m)<sup>18</sup> confirms that they are located directly beneath the original street frontage building at 15 Bedford Street (see fig. 16b).

The exterior walls of cellars 1 and 2 are of flint and brick rubble construction (figs. 28 and 29a and b). There is no datable material within these walls. The cellars have been partially re-faced with nineteenth-century brickwork and brick columns have been introduced to support the floor joists for the ground floor above, which rest on the original cellar walls. A wall dividing the two cellars is of nineteenth-century brick construction. An opening has been cut into this wall, to provide access from cellar 2 into cellar 1 (fig. 25). The remains of two nineteenth-century brick staircases are present on the south wall, which would have once given direct access from the cellars to the street frontage (see fig. 29b). There is no further evidence for any other access routes between the cellar and the street frontage buildings.

The re-survey of the undercroft revealed that it lies directly beneath the area of the nineteenth-century extension (see fig. 16b). The undercroft consists of a flint and brick-rubble chamber with a brick vault. Direct access to the undercroft is gained by an entranceway on the north wall, and a nineteenth-century brick and timber staircase (figs. 25 and 30). This entranceway could represent an earlier opening, as the partition between the entranceway and the undercroft appears to be constructed in the same style as the flint rubble material of the exterior walls (fig. 30).<sup>19</sup> The bottom three steps of the staircase have been built up against a blocked-up, pointed brick archway (fig. 31). This could have communicated with a further undercroft or chamber to the north. On the east wall there is a small side chamber and on the west wall there is a deep recess.

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<sup>18</sup> The measurement taken for the east wall of cellar 2 was approximately 2.73m, the measurement taken for the west wall of cellar 1 was approximately 2.50m.

<sup>19</sup> Smith and Carter, 'Function and Site', pp. 7-9, suggest that this stairway is modern, and indicate that the south wall of the stairway is a later partition.

Two major phases of construction have been identified in the undercroft (see fig. 25). To the north is a single rib, which has been interpreted as part of an original barrel vault, the date of which has not been ascertained.<sup>20</sup> To the south of this rib, occupying the greater span of the undercroft, is a vault of quadripartite pattern, which has been tentatively dated to the fifteenth century.<sup>21</sup> The re-building of the undercroft has been associated with the construction of the side-chamber and the re-construction of a corresponding above-ground building.<sup>22</sup> Only one corbel is evident at the springing of the north-east rib, which appears to be a re-used piece of moulded masonry (fig. 32).

### *Interpretation*

The relationships between the buildings and the phases of construction at 15 Bedford Street are complex. Nonetheless, it is clear that the site would have included a street frontage building containing a shop at ground-floor level with a room above, most likely with a cellar beneath. This would have stood in front of a building positioned at the rear of the site, probably accessed by an alleyway from the street frontage. Studies of medieval town houses have identified this layout in cities around the country. For example, Pantin acknowledged this arrangement in his 'double-range' and 'courtyard' town-house typologies, exemplified by Tackley's Inn, Oxford and Strangers' Hall, Norwich, where the hall was set back at the rear of the site and a row of shops occupied the front range.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, Derek Keene noted several properties on High Street, Winchester, which were set back from the street frontage behind rows of shops.<sup>24</sup> In these cases, entry to the rear property was also gained via a passageway between two shops.

In a previous investigation of 15 Bedford Street, Smith suggested that the building may have originally been part of a longer row of shops.<sup>25</sup> Although this could not be investigated at ground-floor level, because of more recent modifications to the east and west walls, evidence at first-floor level supports this argument. Modifications to the east and west end of the jetty, indicate that it has been truncated, suggesting that the building was once longer in both directions. Internally, there are further clues in the framing of

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid, pp. 7-9.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Pantin, 'Medieval English Town-House Plans', pp. 203-04.

<sup>24</sup> Keene, *Medieval Winchester*, 1: 156-9.

<sup>25</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', p. 284.

the east and west walls at first-floor level. Although the west wall had exposed studs and braces, suggesting that it is a closed truss, the east wall is completely devoid of any framing. The principal posts could not be inspected for evidence of absent timbers because they were obscured by the infill panel; however, the fact that the east wall does not appear to function as a closed truss, could indicate the building once extended further in this direction. A future investigation of the buildings to either side of 15 Bedford Street would be helpful, as this could provide further evidence for the arrangement of later medieval properties along the street frontage. It is equally possible that Websdales Court passageway had been incorporated into the row to provide access to the rear building.

The presence of an original shop front at 15 Bedford Street is a clear indication that this space was intended for use as a retail or workshop area. The date of the shop front cannot easily be verified because of modifications and restoration work, and its features cannot be directly linked to a specific era. In an analysis of surviving examples of shop fronts, David Stenning argued there were a number of features common in both late medieval and sixteenth-century shop fronts, namely two or more relatively wide, arch-topped openings with low sills, internal rebates for shutters and regular cut-outs for their fixing.<sup>26</sup> Although the shop front at 15 Bedford Street has been heavily restored, several of these features are distinguishable in the present arrangement. For example, the shop front has a central doorway flanked by four low-silled windows that once had arched-top openings, which have recently been removed.<sup>27</sup> The dating of the window cannot be more precisely established because its features are common in late medieval and sixteenth-century examples.

Unfortunately, no further comparative examples of late medieval shop fronts have been identified in Norwich.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, what is particularly interesting about the shop front at 15 Bedford Street is that, unlike the sample examined by Stenning, it survives in a much smaller building of simpler plan form. This particular design would not only have been ideal for the display of merchandise, but would have also facilitated the use of the ground floor area as a workshop, by means of admitting as much light as

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<sup>26</sup> Stenning, 'Timber-Framed Shops 1300-1600', p. 35.

<sup>27</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', pp. 383, 344, observed evidence for arched-topped windows at the time of his inspection.

<sup>28</sup> *Norfolk 1*, p. 91.

possible.<sup>29</sup> Although the interior plan and layout of the building is quite modest, the presence of such an elaborate and ostentatious shop front also suggests a significant investment was made in the construction of this building.

This is all the more evident when comparisons are made with other examples of shop fronts in small houses. The front room of each unit in the row of twenty-three small houses at 34-50 Church Street, Tewkesbury, was designed for use as a shop (fig. 33).<sup>30</sup> The shop front of 15 Bedford Street bears some similarities with this row, as they both have low-level windows across the whole of the front ground-floor wall. Yet the internal layouts of small houses at 34-50 Church Street, Tewkesbury, are very different from 15 Bedford Street, Norwich. The units were narrower, occupying a single bay each, but ran back further, two rooms deep.<sup>31</sup> They have been interpreted as being divided internally into a ground-floor shop, with solar above and open hall to the rear. Thus, although shop fronts can be identified in rows of small houses, the presence of such a large feature at 15 Bedford Street is unusual, in the respect that this building is smaller and simpler in layout than other examples. Further examples of shop fronts in larger rows of shops, such as the three-storey, corner-plot row at Abbot's House, Butcher Row, Shrewsbury and in the sixteenth-century drawing of a three-storey timber-framed row of shops with large shop fronts from Worcester (fig. 34), highlight the fact that more expansive and elaborate shop fronts were more common in larger buildings.<sup>32</sup> In short, the shop front at 15 Bedford Street is unusually elaborate for a two-storey, one-room deep unit.

Previous investigations of the basement level of 15 Bedford Street have dismissed the cellars beneath the street frontage shop as modern insertions.<sup>33</sup> However, the dating of these features, and their relationship with the above-ground building, deserves further attention. Non-vaulted subterranean structures are notoriously difficult to date. As Faulkner noted, 'an unvaulted undercroft, without any architectural features in its side

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<sup>29</sup> Alston, 'Late medieval workshops in East Anglia', pp. 38-59.

<sup>30</sup> Elrington (ed.), *VCH Gloucester*, vol. 8, pp. 129-30; Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, p. 246, reproduces a photograph and a drawing of the internal layout of these units.

<sup>31</sup> Elrington (ed.), *VCH Gloucester*, vol. 8, p. 129.

<sup>32</sup> Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, see pp. 254, 114 for photograph and sketch of these buildings.

<sup>33</sup> Smith and Carter, 'Function and Site', pp. 7-9; Carter, '15 Bedford Street, Norwich'; Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', pp. 283-4, 295, 382-3, 344, did not acknowledge these front chambers in their analysis of the building.

walls, is almost undatable and certainly would not have attracted attention'.<sup>34</sup> It is certainly true that examples of later medieval vaulted undercrofts in Norwich, and other cities such as Chester and Southampton, are better understood than more simple subterranean chambers without vaulting.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, an important article by R.C. Turner has argued that many of the medieval cellars in Chester were ceiled over with beams rather than vaulted structures.<sup>36</sup> In this respect, it is important not to dismiss the cellars beneath the street frontage range as later additions.

Despite the lack of datable evidence in the original flint-and-brick rubble exterior walls of cellars 1 and 2, there are further arguments that these structures were part of the original design of the street-front building. Firstly, the two cellars lie directly beneath the street-frontage range and secondly, the original exterior walls of these structures support the floor joists at ground-floor level. This alignment also suggests that the cellars and ground-floor areas were planned in the same operation. Moreover, it is questionable whether it would be possible to excavate a chamber of these proportions beneath a standing building. The introduction of nineteenth-century brick staircases and reinforcements clearly show that the cellars pre-date the modern period. Even though there is no firm datable evidence in the original flint-rubble walls, it is interesting that they were constructed out of the same material as the walls of the fifteenth-century undercroft. Thus although the walls cannot be precisely dated, they are probably much earlier than has been previously assumed.

There is no evidence within the cellars to suggest how they would have been originally accessed from ground-floor level, nor any evidence to suggest the function of these spaces. The current access through the undercroft via the nineteenth-century extension is not original and the undercroft and cellars do not appear to have been designed to communicate with each other. It is possible that nineteenth-century staircases on the south walls of the cellars may have formalised earlier access routes between the cellars

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<sup>34</sup> Faulkner, 'Medieval Undercrofts and Town Houses', p. 120.

<sup>35</sup> Brown, *The Rows of Chester*, pp. 15-76; Faulkner, 'Medieval Undercrofts and Town Houses', pp. 120-35; Harris, 'Origins and Development of English Medieval Townhouses', pp. 214-47; C. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953-1969: Volume 1, The excavation reports* (Leicester, 1975), pp. 78-124.

<sup>36</sup> R.C. Turner, 'Early Carpentry in the Rows of Chester', *Vernacular Architecture* 19 (1988): 34-41; evidence for timber-ceilings in cellars in Chester are also discussed by Harris, 'Origins and Development of English Medieval Townhouses', pp. 225-6; an earlier example of a 'post-and-beam' roof structure in an undercroft has been identified at Broad Lane, Southampton, dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: the port and trading community, AD 1000-1600* (London, 1973), pp. 99-101.

and ground-floor level. In terms of function, it is also important to take into consideration the fact the cellars were not formally divided into two separate units until the nineteenth century. A subterranean chamber would have provided important extra space in a commercial building for the storage of goods. However, light restrictions in this area would have made its use as a workshop or retail space less likely.<sup>37</sup>

The layout at ground-floor level, with a central doorway, suggests that the shop was arranged as a two-bay property. However, internal shop fittings prevent the inspection of the first-floor beams and the central truss at this level. It is important not to completely dismiss the possibility this space may have been divided into two areas and let individually. The original access to the first-floor level could not be ascertained, although there was no exposed evidence to suggest an external staircase at the rear, at ground or first-floor level.<sup>38</sup> It is more likely that access to the first floor was facilitated by an internal staircase, possibly similar to some of the surviving staircases at Church Cottages, 1 and 2 All Saints' Lane in York and 64-72 Goodramgate, York, which will be investigated later in this chapter.

At first-floor level, the two bays also appear not to have been divided; there was no indication of empty mortice holes or studwork on the underside of the tie-beam of the central open truss, which would have suggested a formal partition between the two bays. However, as with the ground-floor area, it is important to consider alternative arrangements at this level, perhaps with the introduction of portable screens or curtains. There was no evidence for chimney stacks or other heating provisions within the building. Nevertheless, this could have been provided in the form of a portable brazier, rather than fixed equipment. The surviving first-floor window opening on the south wall is sizable and extends from the tie-beam to approximately half-way down the west bay (fig. 23).<sup>39</sup> This would have made the first-floor level very light, potentially facilitating its use as a workspace. The simple, two-bay structure would have been attractive to an occupant who worked and lived on site, or dual occupation with separate tenants at ground and first-floor level. The lack of evidence for an external stairway is also

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<sup>37</sup> The function of subterranean spaces will be discussed further in relation to 8-12 Charing Cross, Norwich.

<sup>38</sup> Argument put forward by Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', pp. 282-3.

<sup>39</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', pp. 383, 44, and Carter, '15 Bedford Street, Norwich', have suggested that windows would have been positioned across the south wall at first floor level, but the evidence for this could not be corroborated in the exposed fabric.

insufficient to dismiss the possibility that the shop was occupied separately at first-floor level.

There is no superficial above-ground evidence for the structure that would have stood behind the street frontage shop. However, the survey of the undercroft and ground-floor area revealed that there would have been a limited amount of space between the two buildings. The survey of the undercroft and cellars reveals the gap between the two buildings is unlikely to have been much more than one metre wide (fig. 25). The dating of the undercroft to the fifteenth century suggests there would have been a structure standing on the rear of the site at the time the street frontage building was constructed. Further evidence that the street frontage range closely abutted a building at the rear of the site is indicated by the design of the first-floor north wall. There was no evidence for any original fenestration on this wall, which would have ensured any rear building was not overlooked. Tall mullioned windows on the south wall would have compensated for the lack of fenestration on the north wall.

Having two buildings closely abutting each other is an unusual arrangement for the late medieval period. It may have been a response to pressure on space in the central area of the city during the fifteenth century. This is very different from the construction of the row of small houses at Cambhall, York (discussed in Chapter 1), where the stone building was demolished on the site in order to make way for a new development. Instead, the row was built in front of an existing structure, perhaps even re-claiming part of the street frontage. Given that the insertion of the quadripartite vault in the undercroft at the rear of the site is dated to the fifteenth century, it is possible the structures and undercroft at the rear of the site were re-built at a similar date to the construction of the street frontage shop. The row of shops would have taken a lot of light away from the rear of the site, which may have prompted a re-modelling of the rear building. However, there is no remaining evidence to corroborate either the extent of the building at the rear of the site, or its relationship with 15 Bedford Street.

At present, 15 Bedford Street has not been linked with its owners, or its occupants.<sup>40</sup> However, it is possible the street frontage was developed by the owner of the property to the rear of the site. This could account for the elaborate shop front in such a small

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<sup>40</sup> NRO, MC 146/52, 684 x 5, Map 72. The buildings could not be easily matched with late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century landholders of Bedford Street identified in the Norwich Survey Reconstructions.



building. The Norwich Survey Reconstructions reveal a number of high-profile traders, including a significant number of goldsmiths and merchants lived in this part of the city, suggesting this was an affluent area.<sup>41</sup> It was also in a prime location near the marketplace and was probably attractive to a number of potential tenants. If the shop frontage range was constructed by the owner of the building to the rear, it may have been undertaken in a style that not only represented the wealth of the owner, but also the prosperity of the area.

### *8-12 Charing Cross, Norwich*

8-12 Charing Cross is situated to the west of the city centre, in the parish of St John Maddermarket and occupies the street frontage position directly in front of Strangers' Hall (figs. 35a and b). The row is delineated to the east by a passageway providing access to the Strangers' Hall, and to the west by a carriageway, which gives access to a yard behind the street frontage (fig. 36a). Between these access routes, the range is divided into three units at ground-floor level, numbered 8 to 12, from east to west. The wall thickness suggests the construction material at ground-floor level is flint rubble. The walls have been rendered over on the north face and re-faced in brick in the passageways, which prevents inspection of the original fabric, except for a small exposed patch of flint-work on the exterior west wall of no. 12. There would have once been a wide courtyard between the street frontage building and Strangers' Hall at the rear of the site, now occupied by additional museum buildings (fig. 35b).

The row is timber framed at first-floor level and jettied on the north side. A brick, pointed barrel-vaulted undercroft is positioned beneath no. 12 and a cellar is located beneath no. 8 (see figs. 36a and b).<sup>42</sup> A further undercroft was located beneath no. 10.<sup>43</sup> The row of houses has undergone significant modifications in the last century, particularly since it was incorporated into the Strangers' Hall Museum.

### *Previous Investigations*

Early studies of this site concentrated on the history of the merchant's house complex set back from the street frontage, rather than the range of houses on 8-12 Charing

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<sup>41</sup> NRO, MC 146/52, 684 x 5, Map 72.

<sup>42</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', p. 78.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

Cross.<sup>44</sup> However, a recent analysis of the chronological development of the Strangers' Hall complex between 1200 and 1700 dated 8-12 Charing Cross to the fifteenth century.<sup>45</sup> Nonetheless, opinions differ on the dating of the row. The Listed Building Description and Pevsner prefer an early sixteenth-century date.<sup>46</sup> The chronological relationship between the row and the undercroft also requires further investigation. The undercroft beneath no. 12 has been dated stylistically to the fifteenth century and the following investigation will consider the date of the other subterranean areas.<sup>47</sup> It will also examine further the relationship between the undercrofts and above-ground units, paying particular attention to their alignment and access routes.

A ground plan of the row was undertaken by the city architect in 1922 (see figs. 36a and b).<sup>48</sup> Although the general layout of the building has remained largely the same since this date, recent modifications have been made to entranceways and the survey plans are not up to date, especially at first-floor level. Because of this, a partial re-survey, at first-floor level, was made of the exposed fabric in no. 8 (fig. 37).

A recent documentary history of Strangers' Hall by Geoffrey Kelly has traced occupation of the Strangers' Hall site from the thirteenth century onwards.<sup>49</sup> Although no information about 8-12 Charing Cross was uncovered for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it has been suggested the row was under the same ownership as the merchant's hall until the late seventeenth century.<sup>50</sup> This new information provides an important context for the study of the building.

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<sup>44</sup> F.R. Beecheno, *Notes on the Strangers' Hall, Norwich* (Unknown, 1897); L.G. Bollingbroke, *The Strangers Hall, Charing Cross, Norwich* (Norwich, 1900); Anon., 'Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute: The Summer Meeting at Norwich', *Archaeological Journal* 80 (1923): 331 and fig. 5; A.B. Whittingham, 'The Strangers' Hall', *Archaeological Journal* 106 (1949): 80-81; Pantin, 'Medieval Town-House Plans', pp. 224-26; M. Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London, 1983), pp. 190-91; Smith and Carter, Smith and Carter, 'Function and Site', pp. 10-13. A more recent analysis of this building has been undertaken by C. King, 'House and Society in an English Provincial City: The Archaeology of Urban Households in Norwich, 1370-1500' (PhD Thesis, The University of Reading, 2006), pp. 74-81.

<sup>45</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', pp. 75-8, 90-1.

<sup>46</sup> *Norfolk 1*, p. 272; Listed Building Description.

<sup>47</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', p. 78, associates the construction of the undercroft with the fifteenth-century phase of construction as Strangers' Hall.

<sup>48</sup> Further ground-plans of 8-12 Charing Cross were made in 1982 (kept by Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service at Strangers' Hall); however, these were prepared from the early twentieth-century site-plans and as a result, have not been used here.

<sup>49</sup> G.I. Kelly, 'Strangers Hall Norwich, A New History' (Unpublished report held at Norfolk and Norwich Millennium Library, 2004), p. 9.

<sup>50</sup> Kelly, 'Strangers Hall, Norwich', p. 25; the row was not brought back into the ownership of the Strangers' Hall complex until 1922.

## *Description*

### Ground-Floor Level

The original fabric has been largely concealed by museum fittings. The ground-plan shows the three units vary in width at ground-floor level (see fig. 36a). The internal walls that currently divide the row into units are concealed and it is not clear whether they represent original partitions. The ground floors are at different levels across the row; no. 8 is level with the exterior pavement while nos. 10 and 12 are raised above the current pavement level. Modern air vents on the exterior north wall at pavement level suggest the presence of a basement level.

Extensive modifications to the north and south walls have obscured evidence for any original windows or doorways. No. 8 has been significantly re-modelled; the original north wall has been replaced with a twentieth-century recessed window and a modern extension has been added to the south, at both ground and first-floor level. A mid twentieth-century photograph of the range shows the north wall of no. 8 was once flush with the rest of the range at ground-floor level (compare figs. 35a and 38). No. 10 is fitted with full height twentieth-century shop-front windows on the north wall, which once incorporated a doorway (compare figs. 35a and 38). No. 12 has been fitted with two sash windows. Access into the units is no longer permissible through the north wall.

No. 10 and part of no. 12 are abutted on the south wall by the Sotherton Room (see fig. 35b). This later addition, of unknown date, now links Strangers' Hall with 8-12 Charing Cross. A small brick extension has also been added to the south wall of no. 12 and an inserted twentieth-century doorway (not identified on the plans) now links the two buildings. The current south walls of nos. 10 and 12 probably represent the position of the original rear wall of the range, although it is now encased within later abutments and has been plastered over, preventing full inspection.

A trap-door in the north-east corner of no. 12 provides access to an undercroft beneath. A trap-door in the north-east corner of the Sotherton room provides access to a cellar beneath no. 8. These do not appear to be original access routes, but alternative routes could not be ascertained from this level. Although there was no access to a cellar or undercroft beneath no. 10, a ventilation grill at pavement level on the north wall suggests that subterranean vaults once extended across the whole length of the range.

### First-Floor Level

The jetty is continuous across nos. 8 and 10, but is stepped up across no. 12 (fig. 35a). The jetty has been removed above the carriage entranceway. A decoratively carved fascia panel bearing the date 1621 is fixed to the jetty in no. 8, possibly acknowledging later modification work.<sup>51</sup> The floor level is not consistent with the position of the jetty across the row. Internally, the floor level of nos. 8 and 12 is aligned with the jetty position, but the floor level of no. 10 has been stepped up in alignment with no. 12. The reason for this is not explicit, though it might have been undertaken to raise the ceiling height at ground-floor level.

The fenestration arrangement consists of two sash windows and a small casement window above the east passageway and no. 8, one sash window above no. 10, two casement windows in no. 12 and a further two casement windows above the carriage entranceway to the west. Render obscures evidence for the original fenestration scheme. The roof is a nineteenth-century replacement of king-post construction.

The first floor is currently divided into four rooms of unequal width and a corridor has been created along the south wall, across the length of nos. 8 and 10. All the rooms have been fitted out with period museum furnishings, except for a small room, currently used (and from here on described) as a Display Room, which occupies the west side of no. 8, corresponding with the low north wall casement window (figs. 35a and 37). This is the only unit with construction material exposed and the remainder of the description at this level will concentrate on the internal details of this room (fig. 39).

Internal inspection revealed that the small casement window of the Display Room consists of a seventeenth-century mullion and transom window (fig. 40). This may represent an original window opening, because the stud that forms the left-hand window-jamb contains empty mortice and peg holes suggestive of earlier window framework. A small section of herring-bone brickwork and timberwork has been left exposed beneath the window, showing the original north wall design. It was not

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<sup>51</sup> *Norfolk 1*, p. 272; suggests that the row was remodelled in 1621-2 for the mayor and grocer, Francis Cock, but does not provide a reference for this information.

possible to measure the bricks accurately, although they are characteristically long and narrow, suggestive of medieval brickwork.<sup>52</sup>

Framing indicates the east and west walls of this room represent original partitions. The Display Room is approximately 3m by 4.05m. A horizontal beam runs across the length of the west wall at a height of approximately 2.36m above the floor. A stud, off centre to the left, is tenoned into it and further peg holes along the beam indicate the position of a further stud, suggesting that this wall is an original partition (fig. 41). On the east wall, a corresponding horizontal beam runs at the same height across the length of the wall (fig 42a), continuing beyond the position of the current south wall of the room into the corridor beyond (fig. 42b). The end of this beam represents the original position of the south wall of the row. Given the similarity between the east and west beams, it can be deduced that they both represent original partitions. The current south wall of the Display Room abuts the west wall, rather than being jointed into it, and is a more recent re-positioning in order to create a corridor along the south wall of the units.

The area above the beams on the east and west walls has been painted to represent studwork, but this is not original. The area below the horizontal beam on the east wall has been panelled with vertical planking and a door is positioned to the immediate right-hand side of the wall (fig. 43).<sup>53</sup> Stylistically, this door does not appear to be medieval and may have been introduced at the same time as the panelling. The original wall plates were not exposed on either the front or rear elevations, so the position of the original roof and bay divisions could not be ascertained.

The original roof has been replaced by a nineteenth-century king-post roof.<sup>54</sup>

### Undercrofts and cellars

Access to the cellar beneath no. 8 was granted at the time of inspection. Most of the cellar has been re-faced with twentieth-century brickwork to provide support for the first-floor joists. The exposed parts of the south wall reveal that the original

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<sup>52</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', p. 76, described the original framework, which was exposed for renovation in the 1980s: 'It has relatively widely-spaced studs, varying from 60 cms. to 115cms. centre to centre, and arranged in pairs of approximately equal spacing. Between the principal posts the framing is divided by a rail 2.10 metres above floor level, the resulting panels being further divided by diagonal bracing producing a herring-bone pattern across the wall face. The infill consists of pale pink to orange coloured bricks with an average size of 24cms x 6cms'.

<sup>53</sup> The door is blocked on the west side.

<sup>54</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', p. 76.

construction material was flint rubble (figs. 44a and b). An arched passageway, now blocked up, is situated in the extreme left of the east wall, which would have provided access to a cellar or undercroft to the east (fig. 45). An inspection of no. 4 Charing Cross confirmed that there was an undercroft beneath this building. An arched passageway on the west wall of the undercroft beneath no. 4 could be seen from a ground-floor trap-door, confirming that nos. 4 and 8 Charing Cross had once communicated at subterranean level.

Access to the undercroft beneath no. 12 was not permitted, and could only be inspected from the trap-door at ground-floor level. It consists of a pointed brick barrel vault, which has been dated by Smith to the fifteenth century.<sup>55</sup> A plan of this undercroft shows that it was originally accessed from a staircase on the south wall of the chamber, which surfaced to the rear of the ground-floor south wall, thus functioning as an external access (see fig. 36b).<sup>56</sup> A blocked doorway has also been noted on the east wall, suggesting this undercroft once communicated with another cellar or undercroft to the east, probably beneath no. 10.<sup>57</sup>

### *Interpretation*

The layout at Strangers' Hall, with the main hall set back from the street and fronted by a row of small units, is similar to the arrangement identified at 15 Bedford Street. The main difference, in the case of 8-12 Charing Cross, is a wide courtyard between the row and the hall at the rear of the site. The documentary evidence has suggested that 8-12 Charing Cross was under the same ownership as the merchant's hall behind until the late seventeenth century.<sup>58</sup> This is important for the interpretation of the site, as it is probable that the row was constructed and rented out by the owner of Stranger's Hall. The building materials used in the construction of 8-12 Charing Cross, utilising flint rubble at ground-floor and undercroft-level and a timber first floor, is also similar to the design of 15 Bedford Street.

Unlike the cellars beneath 15 Bedford Street, the undercroft beneath no. 12 Charing Cross is vaulted and there is evidence to suggest that there was a cellar or an undercroft

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p. 78.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Kelly, 'Strangers Hall, Norwich', p. 25.

present beneath every unit in the row.<sup>59</sup> The close alignment of the undercrofts with the row suggests that they are probably contemporaneous, despite all the internal modifications. Moreover, the undercroft beneath no. 12 and the herring-bone brickwork exposed at first-floor level in no. 8 have been dated to the fifteenth century and the late medieval period respectively, suggesting further that the below-ground and above-ground elements are of the same date.<sup>60</sup> Kelly's documentary history of Strangers' Hall did not uncover any further information for the construction date of the range.<sup>61</sup>

The style and design of the building suggests the developer made a significant investment in the construction of this street range. The herring-bone and brick-work pattern is thought to extend across the whole of the first-floor north wall, which in turn is understood to be an unusual design for Norwich.<sup>62</sup> However, the extent of its use in later medieval Norwich is not fully understood at present. The generous use of timber in this design would have been a conspicuous display of wealth. The display of timber is evident in high-profile buildings such as Dragon Hall, a late fifteenth-century merchant's warehouse on King Street, Norwich, in which the exterior first-floor west wall of the street frontage range is crowded with long timber studs (fig. 46). If the owner of the merchant's house had undertaken the construction of the street frontage row, then he was clearly expressing his wealth and status in the design of the building.

Although the medieval occupants of 8-12 Charing Cross have not been identified, evidence from the Norwich Reconstructions provides an impression of the type of people who lived in the Charing Cross area at the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>63</sup> A number of householders associated with the wool and tailoring trades, including merchants, tailors, shoemakers and shear men were attracted to the parish. This was also reflected in Charing Cross' medieval name 'Sheresgate', which may have been an indication of the number of occupants relating to the wool and tailoring trades living in this area. Trades such as these suggest relatively affluent householders lived in this part of the city. The row at 8-12 Charing Cross could have included elaborate timber-framing in order to attract wealthy traders to the new development. The Norwich Survey Reconstructions also show that, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a number of

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<sup>59</sup> The vaulting may have been removed from the cellar beneath no. 8, given that the ground floor level in this unit is lower than the floor level in nos. 10 and 12.

<sup>60</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', p. 78.

<sup>61</sup> Kelly, 'Strangers Hall, Norwich', pp. 7-23.

<sup>62</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', p. 67.

<sup>63</sup> NRO, MC 146/52, 684 x 5, Map 67.

shops were located in this parish, on the corner of Charing Cross and on a passageway leading to St Gregory's Churchyard.<sup>64</sup> Given that there were several commercial properties in the area, it is possible that 8-12 Charing Cross may have also had shops or workshops at ground-floor level. This could not be corroborated in the fabric of the building because extensive modifications to the row, associated with its use as a museum, have obscured evidence for the function of the units at ground-floor level. However, the presence of undercrofts and the wide courtyard at the rear of the site would have provided ample space for commercial and small-scale industrial use.

At first-floor level, the Display room provides an indication of the size and arrangement of no. 8. The west wall of this room is in alignment with the division between nos. 8 and 10 at ground-floor level, but the eastern wall does not correspond with a ground-floor partition. Whether it did originally could not be identified. Nevertheless, it suggests that no. 8 may have been divided into a number of separate living spaces at first-floor level, probably incorporating the area above the ground-floor passageway to the east of the row. The doorway on the east wall of the Display Room may represent the location of an earlier passageway between rooms at this level. There was no indication of the original access route between the ground and first-floor levels. It has previously been suggested that access to the first floor would have been via an external staircase at the rear of the range, but this could not be confirmed in the current exposed material.<sup>65</sup> Original chimney stacks or heating arrangements could not be identified, either in the Display Room or across the rest of the units.

At basement level, the access routes between the undercrofts and cellars and ground-floor level require further consideration. In an examination of a sizable number of medieval undercrofts in Norwich, it was noted that the most common route into an undercroft was via an internal staircase from the ground floor.<sup>66</sup> In the light of this, the external access to the undercroft beneath no. 12 is an unusual arrangement. External access routes are more common in split-level undercrofts, as studies of Chester, Winchelsea and Southampton have shown.<sup>67</sup> However, these structures are more elaborate in their design and usually have external access routes onto the street frontage,

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', p. 91.

<sup>66</sup> Smith and Carter, 'Function and Site', p. 7.

<sup>67</sup> Brown, *The Rows of Chester*, pp. 15-18; Faulkner, 'Medieval Undercrofts and Town House Plans', pp. 120-35; Harris, 'Origins and Development of English Medieval Townhouses', pp. 214-47; Platt and Coleman-Smith, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton Volume 1*, pp. 78-124.



incorporating windows and doorways that were partially exposed above ground to provide light and facilitate access. These features increased the functional possibilities of semi-subterranean undercrofts, which were used as retail units and taverns, as well as for storage. In contrast, the undercrofts in Norwich are typically subterranean and make no provision for natural light, or for street frontage access, suggesting they served a different function to the semi-subterranean undercrofts in Chester, Winchelsea and Southampton.

Nonetheless, the rear external access staircase to the undercroft beneath no. 12 Charing Cross would have reduced the amount of contact between the above and below ground units and could even have been designed to facilitate separate occupation within these areas. An undercroft of this nature is likely to have been used for storage, in which case an external staircase would have also facilitated the loading and unloading of goods from the rear of the building.

Evidence for passageways between the undercrofts beneath nos. 8 and 12 suggest that these subterranean vaults had once communicated with each other. An arched entranceway in the east wall of the undercroft beneath no. 12 suggests this had access to another vault in the range. A further blocked arched doorway in the east wall of no. 8 suggests that perhaps all the vaults along the street range communicated with one another. Furthermore, the subterranean passageway between no. 8 and no. 4 indicates the undercrofts formed links that were not represented in the above-ground building. Documentary evidence has shown that no. 4 was in separate ownership from nos. 8-12 across the medieval period.<sup>68</sup> Despite this, access routes appear to have been permitted between the subterranean vaults. This may have been a common arrangement within undercrofts beneath street-frontage buildings. For example, at Tackley's Inn, Oxford, the street range consisted of five shops, each with its own solar above and undercroft below; however, by 1363, the whole cellar was let as one unit as a wine tavern.<sup>69</sup> The boundaries between undercrofts in rows of houses may have changed and been adapted across the medieval period depending on the needs of the occupants.

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<sup>68</sup> G.I. Kelly, '2 and 4 Charing Cross, Norwich: A History' (Unpublished report held at Norfolk and Norwich Millennium Library, 2004), pp. 5-23; suggests that the undercroft beneath no. 4 was built by a Ralf Segrym, who owned the building from c. 1439.

<sup>69</sup> Pantin, 'Medieval Town-House Plans', p. 217; Harris, 'Origins and Development of English Medieval Townhouses', pp. 164-75; for a discussion of the use of undercrofts as taverns see *ibid.*, pp. 230-47.

There was no surviving evidence for yards or outhouses at the back of 8-12 Charing Cross. However, it is possible that land at the rear was used for the erection of privies or workshops shared by the tenants of the row.

### *2-12 Gildencroft, Norwich*

2-12 Gildencroft is situated north of the river Wensum, in the parish of St. Augustine on the outskirts of the city. This row of houses is located on the south side of St. Augustine's Churchyard, beyond the churchyard boundary (figs. 47a and b). It is currently divided into six cottages. At ground-floor level, flint is the original construction material of the exterior walls. Each cottage occupies two bays, which are parallel with the street, although evidence for blocked up doorways and re-building is extensive across the ground-floor north wall, suggesting the internal arrangement of the row has undergone previous alterations and alignments (figs. 48a-d). The ground-floor fenestration scheme on the north wall is not original, but extensive re-modelling prevents the examination of an original scheme. Several low-set mullioned windows on the south face appear to be *in situ*.

The first-floor of the building is timber framed and jettied to the front. Modern casement windows have been inserted into the north wall, but these do not appear to represent the original fenestration scheme. Additional unused timber sills may correspond with the position of earlier openings, in nos. 2 and 6 for example (figs. 48a and 49). On the south wall, the fenestration scheme consists of modern casement windows, although additional unused timber sills probably represent earlier or original openings (fig. 50).

The present roof is thought to be an eighteenth-century replacement,<sup>70</sup> although a recent inspection confirmed that the original wall plates and tie-beams are still in place.<sup>71</sup> The original rafters would have been positioned at a much steeper pitch than the present roof, suggesting the row was originally thatched.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Carter, 'The Gildencroft Cottages, Norwich'; Anon., '2 and 4 Gildencroft: Findings During Re-Roofing' (Unpublished field notes held at Norwich City Council, 2000), suggest that the roof is of a nineteenth-century date.

<sup>71</sup> Anon., '2 and 4 Gildencroft'; The current roof was constructed above the original wall-plates and tie-beams.

<sup>72</sup> Anon., '2 and 4 Gildencroft'; Carter, 'The Gildencroft Cottages, Norwich'.

### *Previous Investigations*

Previous interpretations have suggested this long row of houses originally contained seven units, each unit occupying two bays, with one bay heated.<sup>73</sup> In each unit, the ground-floor entrance was positioned in the unheated bay and a staircase to first-floor level was located in the heated bay.<sup>74</sup> The units were interpreted as being sub-divided in the eighteenth century to form a row of fourteen cottages, and these are delineated on the 1888 Ordnance Survey map (fig. 51). The cottages were re-modelled as a row of six two-bay units during renovations in 1956, when two cottages were removed as part of a road-widening scheme (see fig. 47b)

The dating of the cottages has proved problematic, and as a result, has been tentatively attributed to the *c.* sixteenth century or, more loosely, to the Tudor period.<sup>75</sup> A more precise date of *c.* 1580 has been suggested, on the grounds that the units were originally arranged as two-bay cottages with integral chimney stacks.<sup>76</sup> This arrangement was believed to be common in post-medieval buildings. The stylistic details of the blocked-up entrance in no. 2, showing chamfered brickwork, and the timber mullioned windows in the south wall were also interpreted as post-medieval features. However, these features are also characteristic of late medieval buildings, and this current examination will re-consider the date and interpretation of the units, specifically through a detailed investigation of no. 10 Gildencroft.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Smith and Carter, 'Function and Site', p. 16; Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', pp. 287, 381; Carter, 'The Gildencroft Cottages, Norwich'; Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, pp. 267-8. A cottage was demolished at the east end in the twentieth century as part of a road-widening scheme, accounting for the current six cottages in the row.

<sup>74</sup> Carter, 'The Gildencroft Cottages, Norwich'.

<sup>75</sup> *Norfolk 1*, p. 290.

<sup>76</sup> Carter, 'The Gildencroft Cottages, Norwich'.

<sup>77</sup> Access to the rest of the cottages in the range was unobtainable.

## *10 Gildencroft, Norwich*

### *Description*

#### Ground-Floor Level

This cottage is the second unit from the west, and occupies a ground-floor area of approximately 8.35m x 4.18m,<sup>78</sup> by far the largest unit studied in this investigation (fig. 48d). The ground floor is currently arranged with a staircase running up the centre of the two bays, flanked by a heated room to the east and a kitchen to the west (figs. 52a and b). Exposed joists, corresponding to the current staircase opening, show an inserted cross-beam, suggesting it is not the original staircase position (fig. 53). The ground-floor walls have been plastered throughout, preventing the inspection of bay divisions. The chimney stack on the east wall of the east bay was obscured by render, but appears to be of brick construction (fig. 54). The current fireplace opening reveals relatively modern brickwork. At the south end of the east bay, a cross-beam suggests the position of an original staircase (fig. 55). A low-set mullioned window is positioned on the south wall (figs. 56a and b). On the exterior south wall a blocked-up doorway is evident below the inserted casement window. The opening was finished with chamfered brickwork, similar to that on the north face of no. 2 (figs. 57a and b, compare with 48a and b). The remains of a doorstep and blocked-up doorway are positioned on the exterior north face of this bay (see fig. 48d). In the west bay, an inserted doorway on the south wall leads to a sizable rear yard.

#### First-Floor Level

The first floor has been recently sub-divided into several rooms and a bathroom. The roof has been ceiled over. The framework is largely obscured by plasterwork, although parts of the west, east and central trusses are exposed (fig. 58).

The roof was not inspected.

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<sup>78</sup> This measurement was calculated from the plan of the cottages included in Carter, 'The Gildencroft Cottages', reproduced in fig. 52a.

### *Interpretation*

Although it is important to avoid generalising from the interpretation of one unit within the row, no. 10 Gildencroft raises a number of questions about the current interpretation of the date and layout of the cottages. Key to the present interpretation of the date of 2-12 Gildencroft is the understanding that the back-to-back chimney stacks are original features and that the cottages were originally divided into seven, two-bay units. However, the construction date of these back-to-back chimney stacks requires further consideration.

The arrangement of back-to-back chimney stacks in small, two-bay cottages has been identified as a post-medieval feature.<sup>79</sup> However, the originality of these features in such a long row is questionable, on the grounds that most examples of post-medieval houses with integral back-to-back chimney stacks have been identified in semi-detached pairs of cottages, rather than long rows such as 2-12 Gildencroft.<sup>80</sup> An example of this is found in Norwich, at 5-7 Timberhill, where two dwellings share a central stack.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, the chimney-stack arrangement is not consistent throughout the row, and only cottages 4 and 6 and 8 and 10 share chimney stacks, while 2 and 12 do not have these facilities (fig. 52a). Rows of late medieval houses may have lent themselves well to the insertion of back-to-back chimney stacks at a later date, especially if all of the units were owned by the same person or organisation, for example at 1 and 2 All Saints' Lane, York, where a back-to-back chimney stack was inserted between the two cottages in the eighteenth century.<sup>82</sup> If the back-to-back chimney arrangement post-date the construction of 2-12 Gildencroft, then the units are probably earlier than the c. 1580 date previously assigned. A closer inspection of all the back-to-back chimney stacks along the row would help to clarify the construction date of the cottages.

The interpretation of the original layout of 2-12 Gildencroft as a row of seven two-bay cottages also requires further consideration. The two-bay cottage layout was common to the post medieval period, which is perhaps why the cottages have been assigned a

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<sup>79</sup> A. Longcroft, 'Plan-Forms in Smaller Post-Medieval Houses: A Case Study from Norfolk', *Vernacular Architecture* 33 (2002): 34-56.

<sup>80</sup> Longcroft, 'Smaller Post-Medieval Houses', pp. 38-9.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, p. 41, citing Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', p. 300.

<sup>82</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 5*, p. 99.

sixteenth-century date.<sup>83</sup> However it is also important to acknowledge that units within timber-framed rows attributed to the late medieval period were also originally arranged as two-bay dwellings. In York, for example, no. 70 Goodramgate (Lady Row) dated to 1316, is believed to have been originally designed as a two-bay house.<sup>84</sup> 87-89 Micklegate, York, which has been dated to the late medieval period, has also been interpreted as such.<sup>85</sup> Arguably, the rows of houses at 8-12 Charing Cross and 15 Bedford Street could have been arranged as two-bay dwellings. It is therefore possible to identify the division of 2-12 Gildencroft into seven two-bay units as part of a late medieval building tradition, which again calls into question the current dating of this building.

2-12 Gildencroft stands out as the longest row in this current examination. However, a late medieval row of similar length has been identified at Castle Bridge Cottages, North Warnborough in Hampshire and has interesting parallels with 2-12 Gildencroft. Castle Bridge Cottages originally contained sixteen bays, fifteen of which remain.<sup>86</sup> Eight are dated to 1477/8, and the remaining seven to 1534/5, by dendrochronological analysis. The cottages are two bays in width, with one unit containing an original chimney stack (fig. 59). Features identified in the Gildencroft cottages as post medieval in date, such as layout and internal chimney stacks, have been accurately dated in other contexts to within the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Therefore, not only is it plausible that the chimney stacks are later additions, but also that they may replace similar earlier features. Further evidence for this has been recorded in the row of twenty-three cottages at 34-50 Church Street, Tewkesbury (fig. 33). This row is dated to the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and is noted for having integral hearth-hoods for the outlet of smoke incorporated into its design.<sup>87</sup>

The internal layout of no. 10 Gildencroft requires further analysis. The current doorways on the north and south walls of the west bay, and the blocked-up doorway in the north wall of the east bay, cannot be dated. Nonetheless, the evidence for entranceways within both the east and west bays of this cottage suggests the possibility that some units in the row may have been originally arranged as one-bay dwellings. The blocked-up door on the south wall of the east bay displays the same characteristics as

<sup>83</sup> Longcroft, 'Smaller Post-Medieval Houses', pp. 34-56.

<sup>84</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', p. 88.

<sup>85</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 3*, p. 82.

<sup>86</sup> Roberts, *Hampshire Houses*, p. 187.

<sup>87</sup> Elrington (ed.), *VCH Gloucester, vol. 8*, pp. 129-30.

the door on the north wall of no. 2 and could represent an original rear doorway. This is the only evidence for rear access in all the examined Norwich rows. The row currently has gardens and yards to the south, which could represent original outside spaces. Moreover, the arrangement of the blocked-up doorway, low-set mullioned window and staircase opening in the east bay of no.10 requires further examination.

The position and alignment of the staircase opening in the east bay of no. 10 suggests the staircase would have been placed along the south wall on an east/west axis (see figs. 52b and 55). The mullioned window in the east corner of this wall may have been placed in a low-set position in order to allow the staircase to run down the wall in a top-east to bottom-west position. The blocked-up doorway on the exterior south wall would therefore have been positioned at the bottom of the staircase (figs. 57a and b). This arrangement would have maximised the use of space in the bay. The close proximity of the rear entrance of the cottage to the foot of the staircase could have been designed to provide a separate entranceway for access to the first floor. This would create the possibility of separate tenancies on the ground and first floors.

The ownership and location of 2-12 Gildencroft warrants further analysis. A number of speculations about the owner have been made, although none have been accurately verified. Despite the row's position on the south side of St. Augustine's Churchyard, there is no surviving evidence to suggest that it was constructed by the church.<sup>88</sup> The Great Hospital has been suggested as the owner of the cottages, because it owned an area of land known as 'Gildencroft', after which the cottages take their name.<sup>89</sup> However, it is not clear whether the Hospital owned the cottages as part of this land. Eighteenth-century maps of Norwich show that the area known as Gildencroft did not directly correspond with the location of the cottages (figs. 60a and b). A search of the fifteenth-century rent accounts of the Great Hospital showed that it owned property in the Parish of St. Clement, next to the gate of St. Augustine, at the top of St. Augustines' Street, and the rents of three farms abutting Gildencroft; but these could not be directly related to 2-12 Gildencroft.<sup>90</sup> The Norwich Survey Reconstructions record the transfer

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<sup>88</sup> A search through the surviving nineteenth- and twentieth-century records in the NRO relating to St. Augustine's Church and the parish of St Augustine was not able to establish any connection with the Gildencroft cottages; NRO, N/TC/D1/861-2; NRO, PD 185/31, 44.

<sup>89</sup> E.A. Kent, 'The Gildencroft In Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeology* 29 (1946): 222; Carter, 'The Gildencroft Cottages, Norwich'; J. Dallinger's 1830 map of Norwich, includes the Gildencroft area as part of the Great Hospital estate.

<sup>90</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60.

of a message from a Robert de Donewye to a Robert Tyby in 1286/87, which relates to the piece of land now occupied by 2-12 Gildencroft; however, this probably pre-dates the current building.<sup>91</sup>

A search through the property records of the city government and the gild of St. George provided no further links with this area.<sup>92</sup> The stylistic details of the chamfered brick doorways and mullioned windows indicate that the owner was adequately positioned to afford finer architectural details. A row of cottages of this length would have required a significant investment. It is more likely that an institution, rather than an individual speculator, would have been able to afford the development of this row. Although no relationship with St Augustine's Church could be established, the close proximity of these two structures is very similar to the chantry rows constructed on churchyards in late medieval York.<sup>93</sup>

The location of these cottages in the suburbs of Norwich is far removed from the prime locations of 8-12 Charing Cross and 15 Bedford Street. The Norwich Survey Reconstructions show that the area was certainly less densely populated than the centre in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.<sup>94</sup> Among those occupying the east of St. Augustine Street at this time were cutlers, dyers, smiths, masons and merchants. However, they may not have been retailing their wares in this area of the city, as there was no formal evidence for shops. Perhaps the modest units in 2-12 Gildencroft, which had the exterior provision for outside yard space, were a speculative development designed to profit from small-time craftsmen who set up in this area of the city. That they were constructed at right-angles to, and at a distance from, the main street frontage of St Augustine's Street, could also suggest they were not originally intended as commercial outlets.

This examination of the standing evidence for small houses will now turn to two examples of rows of small houses in York.

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<sup>91</sup> NRO, MC 146/52, 684 x 5, Map 3.

<sup>92</sup> NRO, NCR Cases 7 a-d, Treasurer's and Chamberlain's Account Rolls, 1381-2 to 1459-60; NRO NCR Case 7h, Various Rent Rolls 1346-1447; NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1384-1448; NRO, NCR Case 17d, Enrolment of Apprentice Indentures 1548-81, containing Chamberlain's Accounts for 1448-58; M. Grace (ed.), *Records of the Gild of St. George in Norwich 1389-1547: A Transcription with Introduction*, Norfolk Record Society 9 (1937).

<sup>93</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', pp. 86-137.

<sup>94</sup> NRO, MC 146/52, 684 x 5, Map 3.



### *64-72 Goodramgate (Lady Row), York*

64-72 Goodramgate, York (Lady Row), is situated in the centre of York, close to the Minster, in the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate (see maps 2 and 4). It is located on the east side of Holy Trinity Goodramgate Church, facing the street frontage (fig. 61).

The row is seven bays long and is currently divided into four units. It is jettied to the east and is of crown-post roof construction. The principal posts are raised off the ground on masonry padstones. At ground-floor level, much of the original infill material has been replaced on the east wall, while the west wall has been re-built with brick. The original fenestration scheme on the exterior east wall has been replaced with later shop fronts. At first-floor level, the original fenestration on the east and west walls has been replaced with modern sash and casement windows. The exterior has been rendered throughout, except for the brickwork on the west wall. A small alleyway to the south of the row provides an access route from Goodramgate to the church behind. The range has been dated by documentary evidence to 1316.<sup>95</sup>

The present investigation concentrates primarily on nos. 64 and 68 Goodramgate, although reference will be made to the other units in the row, where necessary.

### *Previous Investigations*

The row has received a significant amount of attention from archaeologists and historians alike and is often cited as the definitive example of housing of this type.<sup>96</sup> Philip Short's examination of rows of late medieval houses in York included a detailed archaeological survey of 64-72 Goodramgate.<sup>97</sup> His interpretation suggests the units within the row consisted of one-up, one-down properties occupying one bay each, except for the south two bays of no. 70, which he argued were an original two-bay unit.<sup>98</sup> A further examination of the building was conducted by the Royal Commission,

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<sup>95</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, vol. 2, (London, 1898), pp. 476-7; Short, 'Rows of York', p. 91 and RCHME York, vol. 5, p. 143 also cite this charter.*

<sup>96</sup> Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, pp. 192-3; Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, pp. 256-8; Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, pp. 55, 71.

<sup>97</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', pp. 86-137.

<sup>98</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', p. 86.

which put forward an alternative evaluation of the length of the row to Short's.<sup>99</sup> This investigation will re-assess the function of trusses in nos. 68 and 64, while also considering whether property arrangements within the row were rigidly observed along bay-divisions, or if there is evidence to suggest that they were more permeable. It will also consider evidence for heating arrangements.

## *68 Goodramgate, York*

### *Description*

#### Ground-Floor Level

68 Goodramgate occupies a one-bay unit in the row and measures 3m x 4.75m (figs. 62a and b). Modern shop fittings obscure most of the interior fabric. The original window and doorway arrangement on the east wall has been obscured by modern insertions. The remains of a brick chimney stack are present on the exterior west wall, tapering up to roof height (figs. 63a-c). The brickwork sits against the west wall, rather than being flush with it, and thus is probably a later insertion, although its date requires further analysis. The bricks are characteristically long, thin and a pale-dark orange colour, measuring 2 inches in thickness, 8-9 inches in length, and 4-5 inches in depth. A window and doorway have been cut into this brickwork to provide access to the rear of the property (fig. 63a). Despite the rear doorway, there is no provision for a yard at the back of the unit. There is an alcove behind the stairs in the north-west corner, and a protruding area of wall in the south-west corner, which may represent the internal fireplace position (see figs. 62b and 64). Access to the first floor is via a small, steep modern staircase on the north wall (fig. 65).

#### First-Floor Level

The first floor has been sub-divided by modern partitions into two rooms and a landing. A notch, cut into the lower part of a stud on the closed north truss, suggests the current staircase may be in the same position as on the original design. A substantial amount of the original timberwork has been left exposed, although the roof has been ceiled over. On the closed north and south trusses, widely spaced studs separate this bay from the

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<sup>99</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 5*, pp. 143-5. The Royal Commission included nos. 60 and 62 Goodramgate in the interpretation of the row – see fig. 61.

units to either side (figs. 66 and 67). An area of recessed plasterwork between two studs in the middle of the south truss (now partially obscured by a later partition) could represent an opening between this bay and the bay to the south (fig. 68). Two small windows have been cut into the chimney stack on the west wall (see fig. 63a). A sash window has been inserted into the east wall, but no evidence for the original window position could be determined.

The roof space was not inspected, although it is of crown-post construction. Attic floors are thought to have been inserted throughout the range in the seventeenth century.<sup>100</sup> A modern dormer window has been inserted into the west side of the roof.

### *Interpretation*

The current arrangement of no. 68 as a single bay unit has been interpreted as its original layout.<sup>101</sup> At first-floor level, the division of bays by closed trusses with studs suggests formal partitions were designed to separate this unit and the units to either side. The area of recessed plasterwork between the two studs in the south wall at first-floor level could represent an earlier opening, suggesting the unit once communicated with the bay to the south. Unfortunately, this opening cannot be dated and may not be original. However, it provides an indication of permeability between units at first-floor level, despite the presence of closed trusses and studwork. An inspection of the south side of the closed south truss from within no. 70 did not provide any further evidence for an opening between the two units. However, the units in the row may have undergone a series of re-modifications during the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the trusses dividing the unit into bays could have been closed or opened-out depending on the requirements of the occupants.

The brickwork across the west wall of 64-72 Goodramgate has not been previously scrutinised. A late nineteenth-century photograph reveals that the brickwork on the exterior west wall of no. 68 is the remains of an inserted chimney stack, which has since been removed on the interior (fig. 69). The chimney stacks along this row have previously escaped attention, probably because they were interpreted as post medieval

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<sup>100</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 5, p. 145.*

<sup>101</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', p. 86.

additions.<sup>102</sup> However, the date of this feature deserves further consideration. In an attempt to date the bricks used in the construction of this chimney stack, a number of bricks were measured, paying particular attention to the 'edges' of the chimney stack, where the length, breadth and thickness of the bricks were exposed. The measurements obtained were approximate, because of the restrictions caused by heavy pointing. The identification of medieval bricks from size is problematical, because measurements vary across the fourteenth and fifteenth century.<sup>103</sup> However, the approximate thickness (2 in.) and breadth (4-5 in.) of the bricks matched the sizes common to York bricks of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>104</sup> In length, the bricks were slightly smaller (8-9 in.) than a common York brick (approx. 9½-11 in.),<sup>105</sup> although this discrepancy may be accounted for by the heavy re-pointing work. These measurements of the bricks on the west wall of no. 68 Goodramgate are entirely consistent with the size of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century York bricks.

Although it is still important to exercise caution in attributing this chimney stack to the medieval period, given the common re-use of medieval brick in later periods,<sup>106</sup> the brick sizes appear fairly consistent across the face of the chimney stack and showed no signs of interruptions with brick of other dates.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, although the brick chimney stack was not contemporaneous with the construction of 68 Goodramgate, it could be an addition of the late-medieval period, rather than post-medieval. Chapter 3 will show that the addition of chimney stacks in timber-framed houses in York was common in the fifteenth century, providing further contextual evidence for the attribution of this inserted chimney stack to the late medieval period. Even though the fireplace would have probably taken up a significant amount of space at ground-floor and first-floor level (see fig. 62b), the addition of a chimney stack would have greatly improved the standard of living within the unit, providing a permanent heating and cooking facility.

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<sup>102</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 5*, pp. 143-5; Short, 'Rows of York', pp. 86-96.

<sup>103</sup> Betts, 'Brick and Tile Industry of York', 2: 451-9.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 456-8.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 453-4.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 451-2.

<sup>107</sup> The inserted doorway and window at ground-floor level meant that only a small sample of bricks could be measured.

## 64 Goodramgate, York

### *Description*

#### Ground-Floor Level

This unit occupies two bays, which will be referred to hereafter as the north and south bays (fig. 70). The exterior east wall has been re-modelled with modern window and door fittings. Two vertical posts flank the current doorway. Their relationship with either the jetty plate or the lintel could not be ascertained. However, they appear to be original timbers and could therefore represent the position of an original doorway (fig. 71).

The floor joists supporting the floor are exposed at this level. The central truss is open and two mortices are present on the underside of the central truss beam, suggesting the earlier position of a brace and a single stud (figs. 72 and 61). The mortices do not continue along the length of the beam, indicating the truss was not formally partitioned with studwork. A similar arrangement is present in the closed south truss, although plasterwork obscures most of the beams and prevents closer inspection (fig. 73). In contrast, the closed north truss has braces and studwork along its full length (fig. 74).

A staircase to the north of the south bay provides access to the second floor (fig. 75). The ceiling joists have been cut back and two cross-joists inserted. Although the cross-joists are later insertions, evidence for peg-holes in the main joists suggest that they replace original material. The current staircase position may thus represent the original access to the first floor. In the north bay, an area of recent timberwork in the north-west corner suggests the position of a later staircase, now removed. There is no evidence for an original staircase in this bay.

Brick chimney stacks have been inserted into the south-west corner of the south bay and the west wall of the north bay. The exposed brickwork appears to be of c. nineteenth-century date.

#### First-Floor Level

The roof has been ceiled over at tie-beam level. The central truss is now open, although the studs are still *in situ*, emphasising the formal division between the two bays at this

level (fig. 76). The closed south truss shows a brace to the east and studs along its length. The closed north truss is similarly framed (fig. 77). The fenestration scheme on the west wall could not be ascertained because of modern insertions. Peg holes in the west wall may be evidence of small, original windows (fig. 78).

The tie-beams for all three trusses are exposed in the loft, along with the crown posts of the west and central trusses (fig. 79). A small dormer window has been inserted in the extreme north corner of the west wall, above the wall plate.

### *Interpretation*

The inspection of the ground-floor trusses in no. 64 revealed studwork was not used across the central and south trusses at ground-floor level to formally divide the bays into units.<sup>108</sup> This arrangement was perhaps deliberate, to facilitate the flexibility of divisions between bays at this level and allowing the enclosure or opening up of ground-floor trusses as desired, as shown in the current use of no. 64. Short has argued that the south two bays of no. 70 were originally arranged as a two-bay unit; however, it is also possible that the internal arrangements of units within the row may have changed across the medieval period, depending on the needs of the occupant. The only truss showing evidence of studs along the length of the central beam at ground-floor level was the closed north truss of no. 64. This closed truss was probably framed in a different manner to the other trusses because it is at the end of the row.<sup>109</sup> At first-floor level, studs were evident in both the central open truss and closed north truss; however, the wide studs would facilitate the opening-up of trusses between bays, through the removal of infill material. This evidence could suggest living arrangements within small houses were much more flexible than has previously been argued, and entranceways and staircases may not have imposed as many restrictions on space as they tend to dictate in modern household arrangements.

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<sup>108</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', p. 87 fig. 2b, has suggested that a stud was positioned in the centre of the south truss.

<sup>109</sup> The Royal Commission have argued that the north end of the row was re-built as a pair of three-storey brick houses in the eighteenth century (now 60 and 62 Goodramgate), *RCHME York, vol. 5*, p. 144. However, the deed they cite as evidence for this cannot be directly associated with the end of this row (YCA, E95 ff.13b-14). That the north truss of no 64 is the only truss to have studwork at ground floor level suggests further that this was the last truss in the row, and that the brick houses are not part of this structure. Further eighteenth-century deeds referring to property situated near Holy Trinity churchyard were inspected (YCA, E95 f. 93, f.152-152b, f.185b), but these do not suggest that nos. 60 and 62 Goodramgate once formed part of the row fronting the churchyard.

Attempts have been made to identify the occupants of the row using documentary evidence.<sup>110</sup> However, this analysis is problematical, given that the records used have either post-dated the medieval period, or have been inappropriately chosen for the identification of occupants.<sup>111</sup> These attempts also highlight the difficulty in reconciling the documentary evidence for the number of occupants renting units in the row, with the archaeological evidence. That the number of tenants cited in documentary sources and the perceived number of units are not easily correlated, suggests further that the unit arrangements within the row could have been flexible and was subject to change over time.

### *1 and 2 All Saints' Cottages, All Saints' Lane, and 31 North Street, York*

This timber-framed row is located to the south-west of York, close to the river Ouse, in the parish of All Saint's North Street (fig. 80). It is situated on the north side of the churchyard of All Saints' Church. The row is divided into three units; the east unit is accessed from North Street, while the west and central units are accessed from All Saints' Lane. No. 31 North Street is larger than nos. 1 and 2 All Saints' Lane and has an extra hall-wing to the north.

The row is jettied towards All Saints' Lane and North Street, and is supported in the south-east corner by a dragon beam and decorated dragon post. The roof is of crown-post roof construction. Many of the original timbers have been replaced, probably during an extensive renovation programme in 1973.<sup>112</sup> The principal posts are raised off the ground on masonry blocks; some of these elements may have been re-used, while others are clearly later replacements. The external infill material has been replaced with modern brickwork, except for the first-floor north wall and the east and west gables, which have been cement rendered (fig. 81). It is probable that the original infill material

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<sup>110</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', p. 91, 95-6; *RCHME York, vol. 5*, p. 144.

<sup>111</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 5*, p. 144; RCHME, 'Lady Row' Goodramgate, York' (Unpublished field notes held at the National Monuments Record in Swindon, 1955-1973), refer to a late sixteenth-century rental, and the Chantry Lands Survey of 1585 for evidence of the number of units in the row; Short, 'Rows of York', pp. 95-6, consulted the Poll Tax Returns for 1381 for the identification of occupants in the row; however, this analysis is flawed because householders listed in the returns were not directly identified with properties and their locations.

<sup>112</sup> RCHME, 'Church Cottages: 31 North Street and 1 and 2 All Saint's Lane, York' (Unpublished field notes held at the National Monuments Record in Swindon, 1973).

was brick, as internal partitions were found to contain original late medieval bricks.<sup>113</sup> A small, enclosed yard is situated at the rear of the row (fig. 82). The row has been dated to the late fifteenth century.<sup>114</sup>

The present investigation concentrates primarily on the two smaller units: nos. 1 and 2 All Saints' Lane, although reference will be made to 31 North Street where necessary.

### *Previous Investigations*

The row has been subject to previous examinations by the Royal Commission and Philip Short.<sup>115</sup> Each offers a different interpretation of the construction of the building. The Royal Commission argued that the range comprised of six unequal bays, with the three cottages occupying two bays each.<sup>116</sup> In contrast, Short suggested that the bay-rhythm was more complex:

'at ground-floor level 1 and 2 are both one bay in length, but no. 1 has an intermediate truss dividing the upstairs room only....No. 2 lacks the extra truss, but is divided longitudinally...by a long beam...'<sup>117</sup>

This raises questions about the interpretation of nos. 1 and 2 All Saints' Lane and suggests that the framing techniques were not the same across all of the units in the row. This investigation will be mindful of these observations, because they have implications for the understanding of internal arrangements within individual units.

Further observations made by the Royal Commission were recorded in unpublished field notes during the extensive restoration programme.<sup>118</sup> These findings were not absorbed into the published inventory record, but are particularly important for the understanding of the layout and use of the building. It argues there was evidence for a second doorway at ground-floor level, on the south wall in both nos. 1 and 2 All Saints' Lane.<sup>119</sup> The Royal Commission recorded evidence for peg-holes and mortice joints in both the east and west posts on the south wall of nos. 1 and 2, which was interpreted as evidence for door heads. Doorways to the west of no. 1 and to the east of no. 2 were

<sup>113</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', p. 124; RCHME, 'Church Cottages, York', p. 2.

<sup>114</sup> RCHME York, vol. 3, p. 98.

<sup>115</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', pp. 124-30; RCHME York, vol. 3, pp. 98-9.

<sup>116</sup> RCHME York, vol. 3, p. 99.

<sup>117</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', p. 124.

<sup>118</sup> RCHME, 'Church Cottages, York'.

<sup>119</sup> RCHME, 'Church Cottages, York', pp. 4-6.



interpreted as giving access to a ground-floor unit. The doorways to the east of no. 1 and west of no. 2 were thought to have provided screened-off access to the first floor, via staircases. These observations will be considered further in the current investigation.

### *1 All Saints' Lane*

#### *Description*

##### Ground-Floor Level

This is the central unit in the row (figs. 83a and b). The ground floor is open-plan, except for a modern partition creating a vestibule entrance to the front door and staircase. The ground floor measures 4.52m x 3.40m. The walls have been plastered over, obscuring framework and internal divisions. The windows to the south and north walls are later additions. An inserted door in the north wall provides access to the yard behind. The ceiling joists are exposed. The joist nearest the west wall has been cut away in the centre to receive two short cross beams, which represent the position of an inserted chimney stack, now removed (fig. 84). There was no evidence for original chimney stacks or hearth-hoods within the unit. A staircase on the east wall provides access to the first floor. The joist nearest the east wall is jointed and pegged into a cross-beam to receive the staircase. Although the current staircase is a later insertion, this suggests it represents the original staircase position (fig. 85).

A modern doorway and modern windows on the south wall replace original features; however, peg holes in the mid-rail and posts could represent the original positions. A series of notches and peg-holes run across the jetty plate on the exterior north wall of the unit. Evidence for a second doorway to the east of the exterior north wall was no longer visible, but any evidence for the doorway could have been removed during the renovation programme.

##### First-Floor Level

The unit has been recently divided into separate living spaces, including a bedroom and bathroom. The roof has been ceiled over, although a large proportion of the frame is exposed. The truss to the east wall is closed with studwork (fig. 86). A central truss divides the unit at this level, although it appears to be an intermediate truss, rather than

a main truss, because it is not as substantially framed as the east truss of this cottage (fig. 87). Two mortices on the under side of the intermediate truss tie-beam show the position of braces, now removed. There was no evidence for studwork along this truss. The removal of bracing on the south wall, for the insertion of modern windows, prevents interpretation of the original fenestration scheme. Previous investigations suggest that the original fenestration would have consisted of oriel windows.<sup>120</sup> However, given the location and nature of this building, it is more likely the windows would have been simpler in design. Two modern windows have been inserted into the north wall; they are not suggestive of original window positions.

The roof was not inspected.

### *Interpretation*

This inspection confirmed Short's analysis that the central truss in no. 1 was an intermediate rather than a primary truss.<sup>121</sup> Although the absence of mortices for studs on the underside of the beam suggests that it did not function as a formal partition, the presence of this beam in the centre of the bay creates a visual division of space, and may represent the position where a more informal partition could have been erected, perhaps in the form of a curtain.<sup>122</sup> Aside from its structural role, the intermediate truss in no. 1 may have been incorporated into the design of the unit as a symbol of status. The central truss in the hall range of no. 31 North Street is carefully finished and has been described as an important 'show-piece' within the unit.<sup>123</sup> By comparison, the intermediate truss in no. 1 is poorly finished, but it may serve a similar purpose in this smaller unit.<sup>124</sup>

Earlier recorded evidence for separate ground and first-floor accesses could not be verified, either internally or externally in this investigation, because the re-modelling work undertaken during the 1973 renovation had replaced and re-aligned many of the original timbers, on the south wall in particular. However, it is important not to rule out the possibility that the unit was occupied separately at ground and first-floor level.

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<sup>120</sup> RCHME, 'Church Cottages, York'.

<sup>121</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', p. 124.

<sup>122</sup> G. Egan, *The Medieval Household: Daily Living c. 1150 - c. 1450*, Medieval Finds From Excavations in London: 6 (1998), pp. 52-64, esp. pp. 62-6, show some examples of hooks which may have been used for hanging drapes from beams.

<sup>123</sup> RCHME, 'Church Cottages, York', p. 1.

<sup>124</sup> RCHME, 'Church Cottages, York', p. 2.

Similar to the arrangement observed in 10 Gildencroft, the staircase in this unit is positioned in close proximity to the doorway on the south wall, which would have facilitated direct access to the first-floor area. Separate ground and first-floor occupation would have maximised the economic potential of the unit.

The function of the yard to the rear of the row has escaped analysis in previous publications.<sup>125</sup> A ground plan of the row indicates that an alleyway ran from North Street into this yard, along the north side of no. 31.<sup>126</sup> There is no firm evidence for an original doorway on the north wall. It is possible this space was used by the occupants of the row for the erection of a small latrine, or as a workspace, but this is merely supposition.

## *2 All Saints' Cottages, All Saints' Lane, North Street, York*

### *Description*

#### Ground-Floor Level

This unit is at the western end of the row (figs. 88a and b). The ground floor is open-plan. The survey of the ground-floor layout revealed the modern windows and doorways to the front and rear of the unit are in the same position as in no. 1, suggesting both cottages were remodelled to the same specification. The floor joists nearest the east wall have been cut away in a similar fashion to no. 1, to receive a chimney stack insertion, now removed (fig. 89). These chimney stacks would have been back-to-back. There was no evidence for original chimney stacks or hearth-hoods within the unit. Framing to all walls has been obscured by plasterwork. A modern staircase on the west wall provides access to the first floor. However, the joist arrangement is similar to no. 1, and suggests that this is the original stairway position (fig. 90).

Observations made on the doorway and window scheme on the south exterior wall of no. 1 are also applicable to this unit.

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<sup>125</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', pp. 124-30; RCHME, 'Church Cottages, York', pp. 1, 6-7, put forward the argument that an out building was attached to the west end of the north wall of the row, which would have contained a kitchen. However, this could not be verified.

<sup>126</sup> RCHME York, vol. 3, p. 98. Since this inspection, the alleyway had been absorbed into no. 31 North Street and there is now no direct access to the yard from North Street.

### First-Floor Level

Modern partitions divide the floor into separate living spaces, including a bedroom and bathroom. Certain elements of the framework are exposed in the roof. The remains of a horizontal timber, in the centre of the closed east truss, provides evidence for a beam that would have run from east to west, just below the tie-beam (fig. 91). Its relationship with the tie-beam could not be ascertained because of recent plasterwork, although it appears to be an original timber.

Observations made on the window scheme for the south and north exterior walls in no. 1 are also applicable this unit.

The roof was not inspected; however, the Royal Commission have reported that the roof structure consists of common rafters, crown-posts and collar-purlins.<sup>127</sup>

### *Interpretation*

There are a number of similarities between the arrangement in this unit and the arrangement in no.1. In this respect, the interpretation of ground and first-floor accesses stand true for this unit as they do for no. 1, and will not be reiterated here.

The major difference between this unit and no. 1 is that no. 1 has an intermediate truss at first-floor level, and no. 2 does not. Instead, the framing at this level in no. 2 has evidence of a longitudinal beam that would have run across the middle of the room from east to west.<sup>128</sup> A sketch of this beam at full length was made by the Royal Commission (fig. 92). A similar longitudinal beam was identified in a small cottage in no. 15 Newgate, York. The interpretation of this beam suggested it functioned as the top rail of a light partition, which also provided extra support to the long tie-beams.<sup>129</sup> However, the remains of the beam suggest that it was of small scantling, and may have acted as a purlin to provide stability across the unit between the east and west trusses. Whether the primary function of the beam in no. 2 All Saint's Lane was to give structural support for the tie-beams or to provide a rail for a partition is not clear. If it functioned as a rail for a

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<sup>127</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 3, pp. 98-9.*

<sup>128</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', p. 124.

<sup>129</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', p. 120.

partition, it shows divisions in small units could be made at right-angles to the tie-beams, as well as in alignment with them, as in no. 1. This could have created problems regarding light at this level, which may have been overcome by further windows on the north wall, or a reliance on borrowed-light above the level of the partition.

Similarities were noted between the first-floor framing in no. 31 North Street and no. 1 All Saint's Lane; however, no. 2 stands apart from the others insofar as it does not have a central truss at first-floor level. Differences between units in rows were not unusual; a building contract for the construction of a row of houses next to St Martin's Church in Coney Street, York, specifies variation between units, in terms of the positioning of windows and doors.<sup>130</sup> Although a building contract does not survive for All Saints' Cottages, it has been suggested that the rows were originally used to house priests and vicars associated with All Saints' North Street Church.<sup>131</sup> No rental information survives to corroborate this interpretation and it is equally possible that the units were occupied by secular tenants. A study of occupational topography in the area suggested a high density of dyers lived in the parish of All Saints' because of its position near the river Ouse.<sup>132</sup> The units could have attracted occupants who were involved in this trade. Differences in the design of framing between nos. 1 and 2 may have been an attempt to attract a variety of occupants to the row.

*Discussion: variety and flexibility in the design of small houses*

Short's examination of rows of houses in York concentrated mainly on examples that had been built on churchyards to fund chantry foundations.<sup>133</sup> The examples studied here, and those previously studied in Chapter 1, emphasise that rows of small houses were constructed in a number of different religious and secular contexts. 64-72 Goodramgate, and 1 and 2 All Saints' Cottages, York, are situated on the edge of churchyards and were constructed to fund chantry foundations. The rows of houses constructed at Cambhall and Benetplace, as discussed in Chapter 1, were also constructed by a religious institution to fund obits, but were built by a college of vicars rather than a parish church. The rows of houses across these two sites maximised the use of two city-centre sites and were not constructed on churchyards. In contrast, 15

<sup>130</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, pp. 430-2.

<sup>131</sup> RCHME, 'Church Cottages, York', p.1.

<sup>132</sup> Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, pp. 68-9.

<sup>133</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', pp. 86-137.

Bedford Street and 8-12 Charing Cross, Norwich, are less likely to have been constructed by religious institutions. They are both situated in front of larger stone houses that formed the principal messuages of the site. These developments were probably privately funded by the owners of these sites. The origin of the units at 2-12 Gildencroft are unknown, but are situated in close proximity to St Augustine's Churchyard, and could have been the work of either a religious or secular developer. The examples studied here have been designed to highlight the different topographical and speculative contexts in which small houses can be found across the late medieval city.

Furthermore, the study of small houses across two cities emphasises that construction and design of small houses across the country could vary, particularly in the use of building materials. In York, the examples studied are fully timber-framed and had tiled roofs, while in Norwich the small houses are constructed out of flint or flint-and-brick rubble at ground-floor level, and are timber-framed at first-floor level. The steep pitch of the roof at 2-12 Gildencroft, Norwich, also suggests that this row was originally thatched. The availability of local building materials thus impacted on the style and appearance of small houses across the country. The use of two different kinds of construction materials in Norwich could have been a result of a lack of good-quality timber for construction, coupled with the availability of an accessible alternative, namely flint-and-brick rubble, which was commonly used in the construction of domestic buildings throughout Norwich.

There were further differences between small houses within late medieval cities. Location and site restrictions impacted on the design and use of small houses within York and Norwich. Rows of small houses are found in a number of different locations throughout the city. 15 Bedford Street and 8-12 Charing Cross, Norwich and 64-72 Goodramgate, York, and the rows of houses at Cambhall and Benetplace in York, are all located in central areas of the cities. 1 and 2 All Saints' Lane are located within the city walls of York, but are in a less central area, to the west of the city. In contrast, 2-12 Gildencroft is situated in a northern suburb of Norwich. Small houses could be found on major street frontages in central areas of late medieval cities, as well as on less prominent side streets, both on the outskirts and in the suburbs. Rows of houses were a flexible house-type that could also be adapted in length and area to suit any shape or

size of plot. They could be aligned in parallel with the street frontage, or at right-angles to it, and could also occupy corner plots.

Location, in turn, impacted on the use of small houses throughout the late medieval city. The only unit with conclusive evidence for an original shop front was at 15 Bedford Street. The position of this building at the heart of the commercial centre of Norwich was ideal for use as a shop or workshop. Whether or not 8-12 Charing Cross or 64-72 Goodramgate were originally designed with shop fronts could not be established, because of later modification work. Nonetheless, their city centre location, and their position on the street frontage, would have facilitated commercial use. Churchyards were often used for fairs and markets in the later medieval period,<sup>134</sup> and the units on 64-72 Goodramgate could have been used for commercial purposes despite their close proximity to the church. Furthermore, there was no definitive evidence to suggest that 1 and 2 All Saints' Cottages and 2-12 Gildencroft, which were located outside the central areas of the city, were designed for the retail of goods. That both of these rows were set back from the main street frontage could also have inhibited their use as retail outlets. Despite this, it is important not to rule out the possibility that they were used for light industrial work. Yards to the rear of 1 and 2 All Saints' Cottages and 2-12 Gildencroft could have facilitated the small-scale production of goods.

That 15 Bedford Street and 8-12 Charing Cross, Norwich, has cellars and undercrofts, and 2-12 Gildencroft does not, could also have been a result of locational differences. The absence of undercrofts north of the river has been noted in previous investigations of houses in Norwich.<sup>135</sup> Pressure on space in the more central areas of the city could have resulted in the construction of undercrofts beneath 15 Bedford Street and 8-12 Charing Cross, while restrictions on space were probably less acute on the outskirts of Norwich. Furthermore, although the function of undercrofts in the city has been linked to domestic usage,<sup>136</sup> it is also probable that they were used as storage spaces for commercial activities, which would also account for their presence in the city-centre and their relative absence in the suburbs.

Internally, the layout possibilities of units within rows of houses were both more numerous and less rigid than has previously been understood. Units were not

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<sup>134</sup> D. Dymond, 'God's Disputed Acre', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 50/3 (1999): 470-5.

<sup>135</sup> Smith and Carter, 'Function and Site', pp. 6-7.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

necessarily laid out in a uniform manner along a row. For example, 1 and 2 All Saints' Cottages appear to have been designed as one bay units, while 31 North Street occupies two bays and is much larger in size. At 64-72 Goodramgate, no. 68 occupies one bay, while no. 70 was designed as a two-bay unit.<sup>137</sup> The investigations conducted by Short and the Royal Commission in York, and by the Norwich Survey, were keen to interpret these houses as one-up, one-down units.<sup>138</sup> However, this investigation has emphasised that alternative layouts were possible within rows. The close positioning of doorways and staircases in 10 Gildencroft and 1 and 2 All Saints' Lane for example, could have facilitated the use of the first-floor area by a separate occupant to the ground floor. This would in turn have impacted on the perception of space within rows. If horizontal divisions occurred within small houses, it is likely the first floor was a more desirable space than the ground floor, because it would have had the advantages of the extra space provided by the jetty and open roof, extra natural light and added security.

The flexibility of the layout within small houses was also facilitated by the permeability of partitions between bays. The absence of studwork on the ground-floor trusses between nos. 64 and 66 Goodramgate suggested bays could be easily opened or closed depending on the requirements of the occupants. At first-floor level, the wide studwork facilitated the insertion of doorways in closed trusses, such as in no. 68 Goodramgate. This design may have been deliberate in order to maintain a certain degree of flexibility in the use of the row after it had been constructed. In Norwich, the exposed material in the Display Room in no. 8 Charing Cross suggested that partitions were formed in the same manner at first-floor level. Unfortunately, none of the ground-floor partitions in any of the Norwich buildings could be examined because of later modifications and heavy render. A conclusion could not be drawn as to whether they would have been constructed out of flint or timber-based materials. An investigation of the construction of the vicars' houses at Chichester Cathedral, a fifteenth-century row of twelve units, found that the inner divisions between units consisted of a framed timber partition infilled with wattle and daub, despite the outer walls being constructed from masonry.<sup>139</sup> It is possible that half-masonry and half timber-framed buildings had partitions of a similar design. Nevertheless, the passageways in the undercroft beneath 8-12 Charing Cross have shown partitions constructed out of masonry did not always

<sup>137</sup> Short, 'Rows of York', pp. 86-90.

<sup>138</sup> Short, 'Rows of York'; *RCHME York, vol. 3*, pp. 98-9; *RCHME York, vol. 5*, pp. 143-5; Carter, '15 Bedford Street, Norwich'; Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', pp. 75-8; Carter, 'The Gildencroft Cottages, Norwich'.

<sup>139</sup> T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Vicars' Close and Canon Gate', *The Chichester Cathedral Journal* (1991): 15.



evade permeation. The simplicity in the design of rows of houses appears to have facilitated changes and adaptations to layout that could have occurred within the late medieval period. Indeed, rows of houses may have been attractive to landlords and tenants specifically because of the flexible design.

In terms of internal features, a number of interesting observations were made regarding heating provisions. At 68 Goodramgate, the inserted chimney stack to the rear of the building was found to contain medieval brickwork, suggesting the addition was made in the late medieval period, rather than the post-medieval period. This investigation has emphasised that inserted chimney stacks should not be automatically dismissed as post-medieval features. The chimney stacks at 2-12 Goodramgate have not been dated and an insufficient amount of the original material was exposed in 10 Gildencroft to conclude whether or not the chimney stack in this cottage was of medieval origin. As a result, it is also important not to rule out the possibility that small units had fixed heating facilities. Comparative examples of integral chimney stacks have been investigated at the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Castle Bridge Cottages in North Warnborough, Hampshire, and the late fifteenth-century vicars' houses in Chichester, suggesting this was a more common feature of small houses than has been previously assumed.<sup>140</sup> Formal arrangements for original chimney stacks were not found at 8-12 Charing Cross, 15 Bedford Street or 1 and 2 All Saints' Cottages. In these instances, heating and cooking facilities could have been satisfied on portable equipment, such as a small brazier. There was no evidence for any separate kitchen facilities at any of the rows. Martha Carlin has suggested occupants of small houses may have bought their food ready prepared, rather than trying to cook within their own homes.<sup>141</sup> However, this could have been achieved on any fixed or portable heating facilities. There was no evidence for any latrines at any of the sites, although it is important not to rule out the possibility that the yards behind 8-12 Charing Cross, 2-12 Gildencroft and 1 and 2 All Saints' Lane housed latrines. It is equally possible that the occupants of these small houses used the facilities provided by communal latrines, as discussed in Chapter 1.

The documentary evidence for the construction of rows of small houses, discussed in Chapter 1, suggested that the rows at Cambhall and Benetplace were completed in blocks over several years. This method of construction could not be identified in any of

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<sup>140</sup> Roberts, *Hampshire Houses*, p. 187; Tatton-Brown, 'The Vicars' Close and Canon Gate', p.15.

<sup>141</sup> M. Carlin, 'Fast Food and Urban Living Standards in Medieval England', in M. Carlin and J. Rosenthal (eds.), *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe* (London, 1998), pp. 27-51.

the standing examples studied. What initially looked like a building break between 68 and 66 Goodramgate seems more likely to have been caused by the removal of braces at ground-floor level (see fig. 61). Previous investigations of 64-72 Goodramgate also identified a series of carpenters' marks, suggesting that the frame was constructed as one complete endeavour.<sup>142</sup> The length of a row does not appear to have affected the way it was constructed. The row of at least twenty-three timber-framed cottages at 34-50 Church Street, Tewkesbury, was interpreted as having been constructed in one complete endeavour.<sup>143</sup> The only row studied here of comparable length, is 2-12 Gildencroft, Norwich. However, modifications to the façade of this row mean its method of construction cannot clearly be established. A future inspection of all the cottages along the row would be needed to shed further light on this.

### *Conclusion*

A comparison of small houses in York and Norwich has emphasised the differences between rows, both within cities and between them. A study of the archaeological evidence has provided information that could not be ascertained from documentary sources. It has clarified the spatial arrangements within small houses in terms of the area occupied by a single unit, and also the positioning of access routes within the buildings. The permeability of divisions between units emphasises the flexible nature of the layouts of units in a row. Small houses could have been sub-divided or amalgamated in ways that do not conform to modern perceptions of household spaces. The layout of small houses may have been changed and adapted several times across the later medieval period, as previously noted in larger houses such as Bowes Morrell House (111 Walmgate), York.<sup>144</sup> The addition of internal features, such as chimney stacks, suggests attempts were made to improve the standard of living within small houses. It is unclear from the archaeological material alone whether the impetus for these modifications came from the landlord or from the tenant. This question will be considered further in the next section.

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<sup>142</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 5*, pp. 144-5; RCHME, 'Lady Row, Goodramgate, York'.

<sup>143</sup> Elrington (ed.), *VCH Gloucester, vol. 8*, p. 129.

<sup>144</sup> Grenville, 'Houses and Households in Late Medieval England', pp. 317-21; see also p. 26 above.

## CHAPTER 3

### Landlords and Tenants: Property Repair, Adaptation and Improvement

Thus far, this study has focussed specifically on seven examples of rows of small houses across York and Norwich. This chapter will widen the scope of investigation, to take into account further evidence for small houses in the rent and repair accounts of institutional landlords across the two cities. This documentary-based analysis, provides the opportunity to study small houses and shops that no longer survive, such as the timber-framed shops that once lined Ouse Bridge in York and the small clay-walled houses that are known in Norwich through excavation.<sup>1</sup> Several important factors have been identified in Chapters 1 and 2, which highlight the differences in the form of small houses, both within and across York and Norwich, in terms of the use of building materials, availability of facilities, adaptation over time and the impact of location on their design and use. These features will be explored further here, through the property records of the vicars choral in York, St Giles's Hospital in Norwich and the city governments of York and Norwich. The form and fabric of both large and small houses will be taken into consideration, in order to compare the differences in these two types of property, and to allow the appearance of the built environments of these two cities as a whole to be investigated in more detail. Furthermore, the extent to which the institutional agendas of urban landlords affected the appearance of houses throughout the city, and the degree to which tenants were involved in maintenance decisions, will also be addressed.

#### *Institutional Landlords and their Estates*

The property records of the vicars choral of York Minster, St Giles's Hospital in Norwich and the city governments of both York and Norwich have been the subject of several previous investigations. The institutional estates of the vicars choral of York Minster and the Ouse Bridgemasters have been studied by Dr Sarah Rees Jones,<sup>2</sup> who

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<sup>1</sup> B. Wilson and F. Mee, 'The Fairest Arch in England', *Old Ouse Bridge, York, and its Buildings: The Pictorial Evidence*, The Archaeology of York Supplementary Series 1/2 (2002); Atkin et al., *Excavations in Norwich 1971-78 Part II*, pp. 144-78, 245-60. See also Atkin and Margeson, *Life on a Medieval Street*.

<sup>2</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 181-270; Rees Jones, 'God and Mammon', pp. 192-9.

investigated the growth and management of their estates across the fourteenth and fifteenth century. The extent of the estates of St Giles's Hospital, both in Norfolk and Norwich, has been identified by Professor Carole Rawcliffe.<sup>3</sup> The economic history of the city government of Norwich and their acquisition of an urban estate, have been the subject of investigations by Dr Andrew King and Dr Penelope Dunn.<sup>4</sup> However, the property records of these four institutions have not been used as a resource for any detailed investigation of the form and fabric of small houses, either in York or in Norwich. Documentary investigations into houses in both cities have recently been called for, particularly in the examination of clay-walled buildings in Norwich.<sup>5</sup> This chapter will reveal the potential within property records for the investigation of the fabric of late medieval urban houses. The economic backgrounds of institutional landlords will provide an important context for the investigation of property maintenance. This section will therefore outline the estates under discussion, the dates and extent of their repair accounts and provide a brief overview of their relative economic positions across the late medieval period.

The vicars' estate was situated mainly in the Goodramgate, Petergate and Stonegate area of the city, close to their precinct in the Bedern (see map 2) although it also owned property in Micklegate, North Street, the Shambles, Coney Street, Monkgate, Jubbergate and Bootham. Rows of small houses were identified in the rent accounts as 'rents' (*domos rentales*), in order to differentiate them from larger properties across the estate. These were located in Aldwark (Pontebellum, Ludham and Cliffhouse Rents), Goodramgate (Cambhall, Cottingham rents, Hugaterent), St Andrewgate (Spirty and Chester Rents), Swinegate (Benetplace) and Micklegate (Mountsorrell).<sup>6</sup> By 1304, the vicars choral of York Minster were one of the largest landowners in the city of York, with around eighty city properties producing an income in the region of £45 a year.<sup>7</sup> By 1395 their estate had trebled in size to over 240 properties, producing an income of

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<sup>3</sup> C. Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul: The Life, Death and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital, St Giles's, Norwich, c. 1259-1550* (Stroud, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> King, 'The Merchant Class and Borough Finances in Later Medieval Norwich'; P. Dunn, 'After the Black Death: Society and Economy in Late Fourteenth-Century Norwich' (PhD Thesis, The University of East Anglia, 2003); P. Dunn, 'Financial Reform in Late Medieval Norwich: Evidence from an Urban Cartulary', in C. Harper-Bill (ed.), *Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 99-114.

<sup>5</sup> S. Rees Jones, 'Women's Influence on the Design of Urban Homes', in M.C. Erler and M. Kowaleski (eds.), *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2003), pp. 209-10; Longcroft, 'Medieval Clay-Walled Houses', p. 62.

<sup>6</sup> The origins of several of these rows were discussed in Chapter 1, see pp. 34-5.

<sup>7</sup> Rees Jones, 'God and Mammon', p. 193.

about £160 a year from tenements, shops and small houses.<sup>8</sup> The rent accounts of the vicars choral survive from 1304.<sup>9</sup> This investigation will concentrate primarily on accounts between 1350 and 1426, which provide a detailed series of thirty-six accounts, although reference will be made to the earlier records where appropriate.<sup>10</sup>

The income of the vicars choral was subject to fluctuations across the late medieval period, which in turn impacted on their repair programme. In general, the vicars' estate increased in size and value across the fourteenth century.<sup>11</sup> The first epidemic of the Black Death impacted on their income, although it had recovered by 1359.<sup>12</sup> However, by 1380, and more significantly after 1400, their revenue from York rents entered a steady and prolonged decline, which continued across the course of the fifteenth century.<sup>13</sup> As it was shown in Chapter 1, large cash donations had allowed the vicars to undertake major building projects, which in turn enabled them to maintain and increase their income.<sup>14</sup> However, as the income generated from their city-centre rents decreased from the end of the fourteenth century and property across their estate aged, the vicars increasingly felt the financial burden of their commitments to the repair and maintenance of their estate.<sup>15</sup> During times of financial decline, the vicars were more selective about the properties in which they undertook repairs. For example, in an account dated 1390-1400, ninety-three properties across the estate had diminished rental values and a further twenty-three allowances were requested for vacant properties or for properties whose tenants could not afford to pay the rent.<sup>16</sup> Out of the forty-five properties that were repaired in this year, only sixteen repairs were undertaken on decayed properties, and no repairs were carried out on vacant property.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, in 1409, seventy-three properties were listed as having decayed rental values, and allowances were requested for a further thirty-six properties.<sup>18</sup> Out of the thirty-four

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/14-50; cross-references were also made with a series of rent accounts in YMA, VC 4/1/1-16.

<sup>10</sup> The pre-1350 accounts (VC 6/2/1-14) are not as detailed in the repair of domestic property as the post-1350 accounts. 1426 was chosen as a cut-off date because it provided a sample of seventy-five years worth of accounts before the Ouse Bridgemasters' accounts started in the early fifteenth century.

<sup>11</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 207-15.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 210.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, pp. 207-18.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, pp. 229-30.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, pp. 229-30.

<sup>16</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/40. This account is damaged and has been dated on the grounds of internal evidence to between 1390 and 1400.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. Repair and maintenance work that was not identified with a specific property or tenant, was excluded from this survey. Multiple repairs in the same property were only counted once.

<sup>18</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/44.

repairs recorded in this year, only thirteen were undertaken on decayed property and only two repairs were conducted in vacant properties.<sup>19</sup> Thus the vicars choral concentrated their repair programme on occupied property during times of financial decline. Moreover, the rental values and occupancy levels in the smallest and cheapest properties were the most sensitive to change.<sup>20</sup> The repair strategies initiated by the vicars choral across the fourteenth century, must therefore be analysed with this background in mind.

The Ouse Bridgemasters' estate (hereafter bridgemasters' estate) was largely centred on Ouse Bridge, on which it owned forty-four small shops (*shopa*) (see map 2).<sup>21</sup> It also owned property in Micklegate, Ratton Row, Toft Green, Clementhorpe, Skeldergate, Hammerton Lane and North Street;<sup>22</sup> Nessgate, Castlegate, Hertergate, Carregate, Coppergate and Frere Lane;<sup>23</sup> Coney Street, Overousegate, Pavement, Hosiergate and Stonebow.<sup>24</sup> The bridgemasters differentiated between larger properties, which it described as 'tenements' (*tenementum*) and 'messuages' (*messuagium*) and smaller properties, which it described as cottages (*cotagium*). The bridgemasters' rent accounts were organised by area, rather than street, which means that the exact location of a particular property was not always referenced in the account.<sup>25</sup> There are five areas on the bridgemasters' estate where rows, or courtyards of small houses (*cotagium*) and small shops (*shopa*), can be identified. Micklegate Without and Within,<sup>26</sup> Ratton Row and Toft Green were defined as one area (hereafter the Toft Green area). Clementhorpe, Skeldergate and Hammerton Lane formed the second (hereafter the Skeldergate area). Nessgate, Castlegate, Hertergate, Carregate, Coppergate and Frere Lane formed the third (hereafter the Castlegate area). Coney Street, the fourth (hereafter Coney Street). The fifth area was delineated by Overousegate, Pavement, Hosiergate and Stonebow (hereafter the Pavement area). From 1435, a row of four cottages can be identified in the

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Rees Jones 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 242-7.

<sup>21</sup> *YBA*, pp. 191-3. This figure represents the largest number of shops recorded on the Bridge.

<sup>22</sup> Ratton Row stood on Toft Green and Hammerton Lane is thought to have been situated in Bishophill; see Palliser, 'Medieval Street-names of York', pp. 11, 13.

<sup>23</sup> Hertergate is now known as Friargate, Carregate is now delineated by King Street. Frere Lane (Friar Lane) cannot be specifically identified, but is likely to have been located near Friargate; see Palliser, 'Medieval Street-names of York', pp. 7, 11.

<sup>24</sup> Overousegate is now referred to as High Ousegate. Hosiergate is now delineated by the east part of Pavement; see Palliser, 'Medieval Street-names of York', pp. 11, 13.

<sup>25</sup> The streets in which the bridgemasters' owned small houses have been plotted on Map 6, for ease of reference.

<sup>26</sup> Micklegate Without refers to the part of the street outside of the city walls, beyond Micklegate Bar, while Micklegate Within refers to the street within the bar.

Toft Green area and a further row of five cottages was located in the Skeldergate area.<sup>27</sup> The number of properties identified as cottages in the Castlegate area varied across the surviving rent accounts, although a row of nine cottages is particularly discernible from 1440 onwards.<sup>28</sup> A further group of four cottages can be identified in Coney Street.<sup>29</sup> A row of six shops and a further individual shop can be identified in the Toft Green area, a row of three shops were situated in the Skeldergate area; two shops were located in the Castlegate area and a further row of six shops were positioned in the Pavement area of the city.<sup>30</sup> The shops in the Toft Green area were only visible in rent accounts for 1424 and 1428 and the three shops in the Skeldergate area were only evident in the accounts for 1424.<sup>31</sup>

The revenue from the bridgemasters' estate funded the maintenance of the bridge over the River Ouse.<sup>32</sup> The bridgemasters' estate was established independently of the city government.<sup>33</sup> However, by 1400, they had taken over the responsibility of all the city government's estates, except those belonging to the Foss Bridgemasters, which continued to be administered separately.<sup>34</sup> Across the second half of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century, the estates of the civic government of York increased, largely as a result of endowments made to fund chantry foundations.<sup>35</sup> Between 1376 and 1442, the estate grew from 202 properties to over 360, with a corresponding increase in nominal annual rental value from just over £116 to nearly £200.<sup>36</sup> The rent accounts of the bridgemasters' survive from 1400, an edition of which has been published by Philip M. Stell.<sup>37</sup> This investigation concentrated specifically on the bridgemasters' accounts between 1400 and 1488, for which twenty-seven account rolls survive.

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<sup>27</sup> See for example, *YBA*, pp. 148, 151.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, p. 194.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, p. 156.

<sup>30</sup> *YBA*, pp. 130, 136, 133, 154, 193, 142, 195.

<sup>31</sup> *YBA*, pp. 130, 133, 136.

<sup>32</sup> The institution functioned much in the same way as London Bridge, see V. Harding and L. Wright (eds.), *London, Bridge: Selected Accounts and Rentals, 1381-1538*, London Record Society 31 (1995), pp. xxii-xxi.

<sup>33</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 190-2.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 190-7.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, p. 196.

<sup>37</sup> *YBA*.

The bridgemasters' also experienced a decline in income across the course of the fifteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Similar to the observations made in relation to the vicars' estate, the bridgemasters concentrated their repair programme into their occupied property. For example, in 1446-7, forty-nine properties with decayed rents were listed on the account.<sup>39</sup> Out of the twenty-four properties that received repairs in this year, five were either vacant or in decay.<sup>40</sup> In 1488, forty-five decays were listed on the account and out of the twenty-three repairs constructed in this year, five were undertaken on decayed or vacant properties.<sup>41</sup> As evident on the vicars' estate, it was the smallest and cheapest properties whose rental values were most responsive to change and the cottages in Skeldergate and Toft Green areas of the city were often vacant across this period.<sup>42</sup> In contrast, the shops on Ouse Bridge maintained their value and their occupants across this period, as a result of a steady demand for property in this prominent and desirable area of the city.<sup>43</sup> The bridgemasters relieved themselves of some of the financial burden generated by repairs, by passing the responsibility on to the tenant in return for a lower rent under a formal lease for terms of years.<sup>44</sup> This background is equally important in the analysis of the accounts, because it explains why, at times, fewer repairs were recorded for small houses in the Toft Green and Skeldergate areas of the city and why some properties disappear from the repair accounts altogether.

The archives of the civic government and St Giles's Hospital hold plentiful comparative material for the study of urban houses in Norwich. St Giles's Hospital held property in Holme Street, Netherow, Smethirowe, Cokerowe, Cotelerowe, Conesford and Gildencroft (see map 3),<sup>45</sup> and in the parishes of St Martin-at-Palace and St Martin Coslany (see map 5).<sup>46</sup> Thirteen small houses were identified in Holme Street, four in the Parish of St Martin at Palace and four in Smethirowe. Although St Giles's Hospital

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<sup>38</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 217-25.

<sup>39</sup> *YBA*, pp. 224-6.

<sup>40</sup> *YBA*, pp. 228-31.

<sup>41</sup> *YBA*, pp. 449-54.

<sup>42</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 260.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 260-2.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 231-2.

<sup>45</sup> Holme Street is now known as Bishopgate, Smethirowe can be identified as Little London Street, Cokerowe is now known as Wensum Street, Cotelerowe is delineated as the north-west corner of London Street and Conesford is now known as King Street. The modern equivalent of Netherowe could not be identified. M.D. Lobel, *The British Atlas of Historic Towns, Volume 2, Bristol, Cambridge, Coventry and Norwich* (London and Oxford, 1975), Map 6. The spellings of these street names varied through the accounts, but have been regularised here.

<sup>46</sup> The parish of St Martin in Coslany is now known as St Martin at Oak, after an oak tree in the church yard; F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, volume. 4, Containing the History of Norwich, Part Second* (London, 1806), p. 479.



did not use the word *rents* to denote rows of small houses on their estate, small houses were grouped together in threes and fours on the rent account, interspersed with larger tenements and messuages. The Hospital was very specific about describing small houses across their estate. It did not use words such as rents and cottages to denote small houses, but instead provided a description of the component parts of the property. Thus a one-roomed dwelling on their estate was referred to as a chamber (*camera*), a two-roomed dwelling might be listed as a house with a shop and a solar (*domus cum selda et solarario*), or if it did not contain a shop, simply a chamber and a solar (*camere et solarario*).<sup>47</sup> If it had outside space, then it might have been described as a chamber with solar and garden (*camere et solarario et giardino*).

St Giles's Hospital archive contains an almost complete set of twenty-eight account rolls for their urban estate across the period 1430-60, which yields important information about the repair and maintenance of property on their estate.<sup>48</sup> Their city estate was smaller than the estate of the vicars choral of York Minster; the estate of the Hospital of St Giles's was mainly located outside of Norwich, in the county of Norfolk.<sup>49</sup> Between 1430 and 1460, an average of fifty city-centre properties were listed in the rent account.<sup>50</sup> By 1423, gross income from their urban leasehold of messuages, tenements, shops and small houses totalled £24.<sup>51</sup> Just over £10 of this came from eighteen separate properties situated near the precinct of St Giles's Hospital in Holme Street.<sup>52</sup>

A detailed examination of the economic position of St Giles's Hospital in Norwich has not yet been undertaken for the period presently under examination. Nonetheless, Rawcliffe has identified that during the fifteenth and sixteenth century, St Giles's Hospital experienced financial difficulty as a result of unpaid assize rents and vacant farmed rents on their Norwich estate.<sup>53</sup> She explains that in 1455-6, a calculation of arrears in assize rents spanning over two decades reckoned that debts stood at £234.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60.

<sup>48</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60. The account rolls prior to 1430 were not included in this study because many are damaged and prevent cross-referencing between rent and repair sections.

<sup>49</sup> Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul*, pp. 65-102.

<sup>50</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1430-1 to 1460-1. The number of properties listed on the rent account fluctuated from year to year, the largest number of properties listed totalled fifty-three and the least number recorded was forty-five.

<sup>51</sup> Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul*, p. 95.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94-102.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

Despite the debt being written off in 1461, it continued to rise again in the first half of the sixteenth century. At the same time, the Hospital finances suffered because a number of properties on their city centre estate stood vacant.<sup>55</sup> It also leased houses out for terms of years, as a way of relieving themselves of the financial burden of repairs. Between 1430 and 1461, the Hospital leased six properties out each year on long-term leases.<sup>56</sup> The highest number of vacant properties on the St Giles's Hospital estate between 1430 and 1460 was sixteen, and the lowest was four.<sup>57</sup> The Hospital also favoured occupied rather than unoccupied property in their repair programme. For example, in 1437-8, there were fifteen vacant properties on the estate.<sup>58</sup> Out of the thirteen properties to receive repairs in this year, only five were undertaken on vacant properties. Similarly, in 1456-7, nine properties on the estate were vacant.<sup>59</sup> Six repairs were made on identified properties, none of which were vacant.

The estate of the civic government in Norwich consisted mainly of commercial property, most of which was situated in and around the marketplace in the Parish of St Peter Mancroft. The civic government in Norwich played a minor role as a landlord in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.<sup>60</sup> However, by the end of the fourteenth century, after it had instigated a plan of reform to recover their ailing financial situation, it acquired further property in Norwich, to rent out for profit.<sup>61</sup> The rent accounts record details of repairs and maintenance to property on their estate from 1381. A total of fifty-eight account rolls, dating from the end of the fourteenth century to 1464, were surveyed for information concerning rented property, along with two hundred pages of a draft account book between 1384 and 1448 and sixty pages of draft accounts entered into an Apprentice Book covering ten years between 1448 and 1458.<sup>62</sup> Between 1398 and 1460, the civic government let out between twenty-eight and thirty-eight stalls

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, p. 98.

<sup>56</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1430-1 to 1460-1. This is the highest number of properties let out on lease in any year. The lowest number of properties on lease did not fall below five.

<sup>57</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60; sixteen vacant properties were recorded in the account for 1443-4 and four vacant properties were recorded in the account for 1432-33.

<sup>58</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1437-8.

<sup>59</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1456-7.

<sup>60</sup> Rutledge, 'Landlords and Tenants', p. 14; Dunn, 'After the Black Death', p. 291.

<sup>61</sup> For a full discussion of this process, see Dunn, 'After the Black Death', pp. 287-314; Dunn, 'Financial Reform in late Medieval Norwich', pp. 99-114.

<sup>62</sup> NRO, NCR Cases 7a-d, Treasurer's and Chamberlain's Account Rolls, 1381-2 to 1459-60; NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1384-1448; NRO, NCR Case 17d, Enrolment of Apprentice Indentures 1548-81, containing Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58 (hereafter NRO, NCR Case 17d, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58). The Chamberlain's Account for 1459-60 was chosen as an appropriate cut-off point because it provided a rich series of repair accounts covering an eighty-year period.

(*stallum*) in the butchers' market, between twenty-six and thirty-two stalls in the fish market, between ten and fifteen shops (*shopa*) in the wool market and between five and ten shops in the rope market.<sup>63</sup> Some of the shops and stalls in the marketplace had first-floor rooms (*solars*).<sup>64</sup> Aside from the commercial property, the city government had also acquired a small number of larger domestic properties, identified as tenements and messuages. There were eleven such in 1399-1400, which increased to twenty-six in 1493-94.<sup>65</sup> The larger property under discussion here was situated in Cotelerowe, Cokerowe, Conesford and the Parish of St Andrew.

The city government acquired their property in the marketplace relatively late in comparison to the other estates. In 1378, it instigated a programme of purchasing all the shops and stalls in the marketplace, which had previously been in private ownership.<sup>66</sup> It also purchased two other important commercial buildings in the marketplace, the Common Inn and the Worstedseld, where worsted cloth was bought and sold in the city.<sup>67</sup> Penelope Dunn has argued that the aim of the acquisition of these properties was twofold, to increase their revenue from the rent of market stalls and shops, but also, and more importantly, to expand their control over trade in the city.<sup>68</sup> As a result of these acquisitions, the city government experienced financial growth into the early fifteenth century and, aside from a short-lived fall in rental income in the late 1460s, it did not experience financial hardship again until the 1490s.<sup>69</sup> These periods of loss in income lie outside of the current period of investigation, which terminates at 1460.

The repair and maintenance programmes administered by these four institutional landlords across York and Norwich concentrated both on general repairs and improvements to property across their estates. Repairs and alterations fall into several categories. In terms of the maintenance of the fabric of houses, repairs were made to walls and infill panels, roofing materials and gutters, doors and windows. Porches and pentices were also added to property facades and improvements were made to water

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<sup>63</sup> NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1384-1448, fols. 33v-35r, 43v-44r, 59v-60r, 91r-93r; NRO, NCR Case 7h, Various Rent Rolls, 1445-6; NRO, NCR Case 7d Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1458-9. The numbers of rents collected from these areas varied across this period.

<sup>64</sup> U. Priestley, *The Great Market: a survey of nine hundred years of Norwich provision Market* (Norwich, 1987), p. 9.

<sup>65</sup> King, 'Merchant Class and Borough Finances', p. 367.

<sup>66</sup> Dunn, 'Financial Reform in Late Medieval Norwich', pp. 102-5.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-12.

<sup>69</sup> King, 'Merchant Class and Borough Finances', pp. 356-9.

supplies and sewerage facilities. As well as external repairs and additions, improvements were also made to the standards of living within houses, in terms of the addition of heating facilities, screens and furniture. Within these categories, many differences between the fabric and facilities of large and small houses and the impact of location on internal and external modifications become apparent.

### *Houses and Shops in Late Medieval York*

The following section will analyse the repairs and alterations made to houses on the vicars' and the bridgemasters' estates across the fourteenth and fifteenth century. As well as considering the adaptations that were made to property over time, it will refine the current understanding of the chronology of the use of building materials in York, such as brick, wattle and daub and thatch and tile.

#### Walls: the timber frame and infill panels

Houses in York were predominantly timber-framed and the repair and replacement of structural timbers and the consolidation of the infill panels within the timber frame was a priority for both the vicars choral and the bridgemasters. An analysis of these repairs highlights the most vulnerable members of the timber frame and provides evidence for the different infill methods that were employed throughout the city.

The fourteenth-century repair accounts of the vicars choral, show that maintenance work was often needed on substantial upright timbers called 'staunchions' (see Appendix 3 for a glossary of building terms). Repairs to these elements were conducted in both large and small houses across the vicars' estate. In 1382 for example, stanchions were bought for the repair of an internal wall (*enterclosewall*) in a large house rented by Richard Sowerby, in Goodramgate.<sup>70</sup> In 1399, a sill-beam and three stanchions were purchased for the repair of a large house rented by Geoffrey Couper, in Goodramgate, and between 1390-1400, a carpenter was employed to work both on the sill-beam (*sole, soletre*) and stanchions of a large dwelling rented by Henry Taliour, also in Goodramgate.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, in 1389-90, five stanchions were purchased for the repair of a large house rented by Alice de Multon and three stanchions and

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<sup>70</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/31.

<sup>71</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38, 40.

three loads of clay were purchased for the repair of a large house rented by William Smith, in Petergate.<sup>72</sup> Repairs of this nature were frequent, to the extent that the noun 'staunchion' was also used as a verb; carpenters were frequently employed to work in 'staunsonyng' houses across the fourteenth century.<sup>73</sup>

Further repair descriptions show that the corners of the timber frame were also particularly vulnerable to deterioration. In 1352, repairs were made to the corner-posts (*corners*) in the chamber of a large house rented by William Sutton, in Goodramgate.<sup>74</sup> Staunchions and corner-posts carry substantial structural loads and would have been susceptible to damage if those loads were not equally spread throughout the building. Furthermore, the timbers closest to the ground would have been particularly prone to water penetration. Staunchions, corner-posts and other elements such as sill-beams at ground-floor level would have become weak and rotten if they were consistently exposed to water. Timber-framed buildings were raised above the ground on a dwarf wall-foundation constructed out of stone or brick, in order to protect them from that exposure to ground water.<sup>75</sup> However, both sill-beams and foundation walls in larger houses across the vicars' estate, often required repair and maintenance. In 1403-4 for example, a sill-beam was replaced and the dwarf wall foundation (*grundying*) was repaired at a house rented by John Barton, in Goodramgate.<sup>76</sup>

Repairs of this nature were equally common in rows of small houses across the vicars' estate. Forty years after the rows of houses were constructed at Cambhall, a carpenter was employed to repair the sill-beam and replace stanchions in units rented by Juliana Warethorp, William Hull and William Driffeld.<sup>77</sup> Juliana Warethorp and William Hull were listed together on the rent account as the last two tenants in the row and only one other tenant separated them from William Driffeld.<sup>78</sup> This suggests that the sill-beam and stanchions at one end of the building was in need of repair. In 1415-16, further repairs to a unit in Cambhall rented by Robert Dekyn, required not only stanchions,

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<sup>72</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/33.

<sup>73</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38, 40.

<sup>74</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/15.

<sup>75</sup> Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, p. 45.

<sup>76</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/42.

<sup>77</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/40.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* The rent details under Cambhall in this year reads (in order): Thomas Kelet, Robert Broune, *dominus* William de Welton, *dominus* Radolphus, William Driffeld, *dominus* John Aymunderby, Juliana Wirethorp, William del Hull.

but also two timber piles (*pils*) and four *trisons*.<sup>79</sup> In 1415-16, the first reference to the repair of the timber frame at Benetplace since its construction fifty-five years previously, was recorded, when a staunchion was purchased for a unit rented by John Taylour.<sup>80</sup> The fact that the first structural repairs at Cambhall and Benetplace were not conducted until forty years after they were constructed suggests these small houses were robust and had been well maintained.

Substantial repairs were also conducted on the timber frame of older rows of small houses across the vicars' estate in Hugaterent, Cottingham Rents, and St Andrewgate. In 1399, the timber frame at Hugaterent, specifically in units rented by *Magister* John de St Oswald and John Caterik, required replacement sill-beams and stanchions.<sup>81</sup> These two tenants were listed side by side in the rent account, which suggests that the fault had spread across adjoining houses in the row.<sup>82</sup> In 1401, a unit in a row in St Andrewgate, rented by the wife of Alan Tadcaster, received maintenance work to the foundation wall.<sup>83</sup> In the same year, a unit in the Cottingham Rents rented by Peter de Goldesburgh, required not only the repair and replacement of the sill-beam and staunchions, but also the wall-plate (*panpese*).<sup>84</sup> The wall plate would have been as susceptible to water damage as the timbers nearest the ground if the roof covering had not been well maintained. In support of this, the previous repair account records the employment of tilers to work on the building, indicating that the roof of the row had been in need of significant maintenance work.<sup>85</sup> Maintaining the timber frames of houses of all sizes across their estate appears to have been an unrelenting task for the vicars.

In the fifteenth century, the bridgemasters showed an equal concern for the maintenance of the structural elements of buildings across their estate. Several substantial repairs were described in their repair accounts, on both large and small houses. In a similar manner to the vicars' property, vertical principal posts and horizontal timbers close to the ground often required replacement in the same operation. In 1459 for example, three staunchions and a sill beam were purchased for repairs to the Bull Inn in Coney Street.<sup>86</sup> In 1462, four staunchions, timber boards (*burdes*), four cart-loads of old timber and

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<sup>79</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/45. The meaning of *trison* could not be identified.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/41.

<sup>84</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/41.

<sup>85</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/40.

<sup>86</sup> YBA, p. 254.

three posts were purchased for the repair of a tenement on Bootham Bar, rented by John Buckler.<sup>87</sup> As well as the replacement of important wall and floor timbers, this tenement also required a new wall plate and rafters (*squares*).<sup>88</sup>

On occasion, the bridgemasters took the drastic measure of taking down houses and completely re-building them. In 1454, Thomas Burgh, carpenter, was employed to undertake such a task on a vacant tenement in Coney Street, which had previously been in the tenure of John Canomby.<sup>89</sup> New windows, stairs and louvres, timber, staunchions and laths were purchased for the re-construction of the tenement.<sup>90</sup> The roof was re-covered with tiles and the walls were plastered. The bridgemasters also paid for stones to be sledged to the tenement so that new foundations (*solewales*), could be built. This tenement could have fallen into disrepair simply because the bridgemasters tended not to conduct maintenance work on vacant property.<sup>91</sup> The repair accounts suggest the property had been subject to maintenance work during previous tenancies. At the time that the tenement was rented by John Marshall, cook, along with other property in Coney Street, several repairs and alterations were undertaken on the gutters, roof and timber frame of his tenements, which suggests that the fabric of the building had been in poor condition for several years.<sup>92</sup> The re-building of the tenement was probably more cost-effective than further extensive repair work. The bridgemasters might also have undertaken this work in order to attract a new tenant to the property.<sup>93</sup> However, this did not prove to be an immediate success, as the tenement was not re-let until 1459, five years after the modifications had taken place.<sup>94</sup> At times when institutions were losing income from unlet properties, extensive re-building programmes such as these, could have been a gamble on their resources. That this tenement was situated in a prominent area of the city centre, which continued to attract tenants, was probably influential in their decision to undertake such extensive maintenance work on a vacant property.

The bridgemasters' repair accounts also provide an opportunity to study the form and fabric of the shops that stood on Ouse Bridge in York. Forty-four shops lined both sides

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<sup>87</sup> *YBA*, p. 378.

<sup>88</sup> *YBA*, p. 379.

<sup>89</sup> *YBA*, pp. 291-300.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> It is not clear how long this tenement was vacant for, because the rent accounts for the late 1440s and early 1450s are incomplete.

<sup>92</sup> *YBA*, pp. 220, 228, 256, 291.

<sup>93</sup> *YBA*, p. 291.

<sup>94</sup> *YBA*, p. 343.

of Ouse Bridge and it is likely, given that it would have been roughly 80 to 100 metres in length, that these shops would have had modest footprints. The earliest known depiction of the old Ouse Bridge with buildings on it is dated to 1703 (fig. 93a). The Bridge and its buildings has also attracted interest from antiquarians (fig. 93b). A plan of 1782, shows how small and how tightly-packed the shops on the Bridge would have been (fig. 94). Several fifteenth-century leases for properties on the Bridge also suggest many of the buildings on the Bridge would have been simple in plan and layout, consisting of shops with rooms above.<sup>95</sup> The bridgemasters' repair accounts provide first-hand evidence for the form and fabric of the small shops on the Bridge. There have been a number of recent investigations into medieval bridges; however, these have concentrated more on the origins and construction of the bridges themselves, rather than the buildings that stood on them.<sup>96</sup> Any discussions of buildings on bridges tend to concentrate on chapels and other public buildings, rather than the shops and houses which would have also lined them.

Ouse Bridge was made out of stone and is believed to have had six arches.<sup>97</sup> A lease of 1417 provides details about the erection of a new building on the Bridge.<sup>98</sup> The Mayor and Commonality granted that William Bempton, chaplain, could build one or more timber-framed tenements on the Bridge. The lease discloses that the building had to be carefully positioned '...on the stone piers on either side of the arch', and that it should not project forward beyond the other buildings.<sup>99</sup> Although the stone bridge would in itself have provided a solid foundation for the erection of timber structures, Bempton was advised '... to place stone called *corbilles* on the piers for the support of the timber and tenements without damage and detriment to the bridge'.<sup>100</sup> This method of construction would have in turn created a solid platform, protecting timber buildings on the bridge from water damage and damp. In the light of this evidence, it is particularly revealing that records of the repair and replacement of foundations, staunchions and sill-beams that were common on other areas of the estate, were rarely associated with shops on Ouse Bridge. Fewer records of this type of repair might also be accounted for by the

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<sup>95</sup> J.W. Percy (ed.), *York Memorandum Book*, Surtees Society 186 (1973), pp. 61, 63, 64-5.

<sup>96</sup> A. Cooper, *Bridges, Law and Power in Medieval England 700-1400* (Woodbridge, 2006); D. Harrison, *The Bridges of Medieval England: Transport and Society 400-1800* (Oxford, 2004); D.F. Harrison, 'Bridges and Economic Development, 1300-1800', *The Economic History Review*, New Series 45/2 (1992): 240-61; M. Cook, *Medieval Bridges*, *Shire Archaeology* 77 (1998).

<sup>97</sup> Wilson and Mee, *Old Ouse Bridge, York*, pp. 29-34.

<sup>98</sup> Percy (ed.), *York Memorandum Book*, pp. 54-5.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*



fact that at least five shops on the Bridge were let out on long-term leases, under which the tenant was contracted to undertake the repair and maintenance of the property himself.<sup>101</sup> Nonetheless, Ouse Bridge was a prominent focal point for the city government; beside shops, it was also the home of the civic chambers, St William's Chapel, a prison and a *maison dieu*.<sup>102</sup> The bridgemasters might therefore have been more wary of construction and maintenance standards on the Bridge in order to project an image of institutional efficiency and responsibility into the wider community, perhaps even at the expense of the good condition of other houses across their estate.

As well as maintaining the structural integrity of the timber frames, landlords were also concerned with the repair of infill panels. The Royal Commission reported that the infill panels of late medieval timber-framed buildings in York, were nearly always of thin bricks set on edge.<sup>103</sup> The documentary evidence provides a further opportunity for a closer analysis of the use of infill materials in timber-framed buildings. In agreement with the Royal Commission's conclusions, the building accounts for Cambhall and Benetplace (Chapter 1) and the repair accounts for large and small houses, show that brick was used as an infill material in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. However, the repair accounts provide the opportunity for a more precise investigation into the use of brick and alternative infill materials in timber-framed buildings in York. The building accounts prove that bricks were being used as an infill material in small houses, as early as 1360. In the mid fourteenth century, brick was also used as an infill material in prominent buildings such as the Merchant Adventurers' Hall in Fossgate (dated from building accounts to 1357) and the town house of Nostell Priory (now Barley Hall), in Goodramgate (dendrochronologically dated to 1360).<sup>104</sup> However, the extent to which brick was used as an infill material in York before the mid fourteenth century requires further examination.

The first reference to the purchase of bricks for the repair of domestic property on the vicars' estate was made in an account of 1352.<sup>105</sup> The eight repair accounts prior to this

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid, pp. 60-4.

<sup>102</sup> Wilson and Mee, *Old Ouse Bridge, York*, pp. 39-54.

<sup>103</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 5*, pp. lxii-iii.

<sup>104</sup> Sellers (ed.), *York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers; RCHME York, vol. 5*, p. 82; C. Kightly, *Barley Hall York* (York 1999), p. 8; Dendrochronological Database: Vernacular Architecture Group, 2000, York, 2 Coffee Yard (Barley Hall).

[http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/specColl/vag\\_dendro/d\\_full\\_record.cfm?id=1000351&r=1](http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/specColl/vag_dendro/d_full_record.cfm?id=1000351&r=1), accessed 5<sup>th</sup> November 2007.

<sup>105</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/15.

date made no references to the purchase of bricks in conjunction with the maintenance of domestic buildings.<sup>106</sup> On these grounds, it is questionable whether the rows of small houses in Aldwark, St Andrewgate, Hugaterent, Cottingham Rents and Mountsorrell, which were constructed in the first half of the fourteenth century, would originally have had brick infill panels. There is further evidence to suggest that small houses constructed in the early fourteenth century had wattle and daub, rather than brick infill panels. The examination of 66 Goodramgate in Chapter 2, a unit in the row of houses at 64-72 Goodramgate York, dated to 1316, shows evidence for wattle and daub infill panels at first-floor level. Furthermore, the building contract for the construction of a row of houses next to St Martin's Church in Coney Street, York, in 1335, did not specify the use of bricks.<sup>107</sup> Brick might not have been commonly used in domestic buildings in York as an infill material, until around the middle of the fourteenth century. Perhaps future investigations will provide more clarification on these dates.

Brick repairs to infill panels in the second half of the fourteenth century, could therefore have involved the replacement of older materials such as wattle and daub. Tilers employed to work on the walls of units in Aldwark, the Cottingham Rents and Hugaterent could have been replacing older infill materials with brick.<sup>108</sup> Although the construction dates of larger houses on the vicars' estate have not been identified here, it is also possible that repairs to the infill panels of larger houses rented by Robert de Blaykston in Goodramgate and Agnes de Silkeston in Petergate, John de Poynton next to Ouse Bridge and John Aylesey in Martin Lane, involved the replacement of older materials such as wattle and daub.<sup>109</sup>

However, this is not to say that brick entirely replaced the use of wattle and daub and lath and plaster across the late medieval period. Daub continued to be used in the repair of large and small houses across the vicars' estate. Between 1358 and 1400, daubers were employed to work on, among others, the large houses of Robert de Blaikston, Agnes de Siggston, John Willingham, William Smyth, Thomas Sett' and Richard Ulston in Petergate.<sup>110</sup> Similar wall repairs were also carried out in larger tenements in

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<sup>106</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14.

<sup>107</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, pp. 430-2.

<sup>108</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/32, 34, 38, 40, 50.

<sup>109</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/19, 26, 32.

<sup>110</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/18, 22, 33, 34, 35.

Goodramgate, The Shambles and property within the Minster Close.<sup>111</sup> Walls were also frequently daubed in small houses. In 1399 for example, the walls of the units rented by Agnes Wymplist, Isabell Bulmer and John Melburn in Aldwark were daubed.<sup>112</sup> In the same year, the units of John Catrik and John de St Oswald in Hugaterent, also received repairs to daub infill panels.<sup>113</sup> In 1409, six records were made for the repair of daubed walls in the Cottingham rents.<sup>114</sup> Brick and wattle and daub were thus both used for the infill of timber-panels across the fourteenth century.

The use of both brick and daub continued into the fifteenth century, across the bridgemasters' estate. Purchases of brick and daub were recorded in the repair of their large houses across the city in Goodramgate, Castlegate, Stonebow, North Street and Bootham Bar.<sup>115</sup> Brick and daub were also purchased for the repair of small houses on Ouse Bridge and Ratton Row.<sup>116</sup> Both daubers and labourers were hired to undertake daubing work. Cost might have also determined whether the repair was conducted in brick or wattle and daub. The employment of daubers and labourers was cheaper than that of tilers. The employment of a tiler for one day cost 10d, while the employment of a labourer for a day cost 4d. In 1464, Ralph Pullan, tiler, and his servant were paid 20d to tile roofs and repair walls in the tenement on John Tanfeld in Kergate for two days, and Henry Willott, tiler and his servant were paid 20d to work on the walls and hearths of John Gretham's messuage in Jubbergate, also for two days.<sup>117</sup> In the same year, labourers William Tynley and John Pereson were paid 16d for daubing walls in the house of John Tanfeld in Kergate for two days, and John Pereson was also paid 8d for two days work, daubing walls in the tenement of Robert Thomson in Monk Bar.<sup>118</sup> This indicates that wattle and daub continued to be used alongside brick because it was a cheaper alternative at this time.

It is true that brick was a locally available material and had durable and fireproof qualities but, contrary to the Royal Commission's assertions that brick was most commonly used as an infill material in York across the late medieval period, wattle and daub continued to be widely used. In a building account for the construction of a house

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<sup>111</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38, 41, 42.

<sup>112</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/44.

<sup>115</sup> YBA, pp. 207, 228-9, 351, 379.

<sup>116</sup> YBA, pp. 208, 229, 351, 403.

<sup>117</sup> YBA, pp. 406-7.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

in Thursday Market in 1459, the bridgemasters used lath and plaster as an infill material for the wall panels, for which forty burdens of laths and lime and sand were purchased.<sup>119</sup> Indeed, the only two hundred bricks which were bought for the construction of the house, were used in the chimney.<sup>120</sup> The discerning use of brick and wattle and daub, depending on the use and requirements of the building, might have reduced repair and building costs for the landlord, as well as improving the comfort of the occupant.

Regardless of size, houses across fourteenth- and fifteenth-century York were plastered and coated with lime wash. Both the vicars choral and the bridgemasters made several large bulk purchases of raw materials for making plaster. In 1350, the vicars choral bought a new shovel, six measures (*mele*) of lime and ten quarts of sand in preparation for making plaster.<sup>121</sup> It also bought plaster ready-prepared.<sup>122</sup> The bridgemasters even used one of their cottages for the storage of lime.<sup>123</sup> In buildings where close-studded timber was used as a deliberate display of wealth and authority, such as in the Merchant Adventurers' Hall and St William's College in York, plaster and lime-wash would probably have been kept to a minimum, so as not to obscure their effect.<sup>124</sup> However, in domestic buildings, where the timber frame served a more functional purpose, it could have been plastered or lime-washed, along with the infill panels, in order to protect the exterior of the building from the elements. The repair accounts even suggest the bridgemasters undertook campaigns of re-plastering houses in certain areas of their estate. In 1440, five tons and a barrel of plaster were purchased for work on their properties in Coney Street.<sup>125</sup> Alongside the plaster purchases, John Sharowe was employed to fire a kiln of plaster in Castlegate for work on the Coney Street properties.<sup>126</sup> This would not only have protected the timber frame from water and damp, but would have also impacted on the appearance of houses in the area. Landlords could have initiated the lime-washing of blocks of property as a means of identifying their holdings in a particular area of the city.

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> *YBA*, pp. 352-3.

<sup>121</sup> *YMA*, VC 6/2/14.

<sup>122</sup> *YMA*, VC 6/2/1-50.

<sup>123</sup> *YBA*, p. 216.

<sup>124</sup> Giles, *An Archaeology of Social Identity*, p. 31.

<sup>125</sup> *YBA*, p. 204.

<sup>126</sup> *YBA*, p. 203.

In sum, the repair and maintenance accounts reveal that the timber frame of both large and small houses across the estates of the vicars choral and bridgemasters, required constant maintenance across the course of the late medieval period. Institutions were responsive to the repairs of the fabric of houses across their estate, but were often selective in this process, favouring buildings which were occupied and those that were located in prominent areas of their estate. In the fifteenth century, when landlords such as the bridgemasters were experiencing a decline in the income from their estates, cost also appears to have been a major factor on the choice of materials used in the repair of infill panels.

### Roofs

Roof maintenance was also a high priority for institutional landlords in late medieval York. In their analysis of the use of building materials across the city, the Royal Commission concluded that there was no record of the use of thatch.<sup>127</sup> However, the vicars' repair accounts allow a more precise analysis of the use of thatch in York. In 1312, the house of Thomas Molend', in Monkgate was thatched (*coopertura*) with straw (*stramen*).<sup>128</sup> Monkgate lay just outside the city walls, while a further reference to the thatching of a roof was made in 1382, although this referred to a house in Shipton, four miles to the north-west of York.<sup>129</sup> That there were no references to the use of thatch within the city walls across the accounts, suggests that by the turn of the fourteenth century, the majority of houses in York were tiled. However, it is important not to rule out the probability that houses in the city would have been thatched at an earlier date. Further documentary investigations could clarify the dates of this transitional period and the extent to which thatch was used in the suburbs of York.

The practice of straw thatching was forbidden in London as early as 1212, but there is no surviving legislation concerning the use of this material for York.<sup>130</sup> Nonetheless, regulations do not necessarily mean the absence of use; in 1422, fifteen cottages in Chauserlane in the parish of St Andrew Holborn in London, were presented at the Wardmote court as a fire hazard because they were 'covered with straw'.<sup>131</sup> This parish was located outside of the city walls, but still fell under the jurisdiction of the city.

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<sup>127</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 5*, p. xcvi.

<sup>128</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/7.

<sup>129</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/31.

<sup>130</sup> Swanson, *Building Craftsmen*, p. 20.

<sup>131</sup> A.H. Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: volume 4, 1413-37* (Cambridge, 1943), p. 125.

Thatch continued to be used as a roofing material in the London ward of Portsoken in the fifteenth century, which was located both inside and outside the city walls.<sup>132</sup> Early fourteenth-century York may have shared some similarities with Winchester, where it was not customary to thatch houses within the walls because of the risk of fire, although it continued to be used in subsidiary buildings, such a stable and a bakehouse.<sup>133</sup> These examples suggest that the precise date when thatch ceased to be used in York and other cities around the country, requires further investigation.

Although there were no further fourteenth-century references to thatch in the vicars' repair accounts, the terms 'to cover' (*coopertio*) and 'thatcher' (*thaker*) were retained in the vocabulary for roofing materials as 'coueringtigll' and 'thaktile'. Roof tiles with more specific uses were referred to as 'cornertile' and 'rigtigill'. The prolific use of tile throughout the vicars' and bridgemasters' accounts suggests that both large and small houses across their estates were tiled, in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century. The tiled roofs at Cambhall and Benetplace were particularly durable. It was not until the 1380s, nearly twenty years after they were constructed, that tilers were employed to undertake repairs at Benetplace and Cambhall.<sup>134</sup> Ten years later, and thirty years after its construction, substantial roof repairs were needed at Benetplace when six out of a total of twelve houses received tile repairs.<sup>135</sup> Nevertheless, the repair record suggests that the tile roofs used in the construction of these small houses were of good quality.

### Gutters

The maintenance of gutters was especially important in timber-framed buildings with tiled roofs, to prevent damage from rainwater. Badly maintained gutters were also taken to be a nuisance and court records in London show that householders were often presented for not keeping them in good repair.<sup>136</sup> This could have provided landlords with a further incentive to keep gutters across their estates in working condition.

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<sup>132</sup> C. Winter, 'The Portsoken Presentments: An Analysis of a London Ward in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century' (Unpublished conference paper presented at the International Medieval Congress at Leeds University, 2006).

<sup>133</sup> Keene, *Medieval Winchester*, 1: 172-3.

<sup>134</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/28. This roll is damaged and has been dated to the 1380s by internal evidence.

<sup>135</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/36.

<sup>136</sup> H.M. Chew and W. Kellaway (eds.), *London Assize of Nuisance 1301-1431: A Calendar*, London Record Society 10 (1973), pp. xxii-xxiv; A.H. Thomas (ed.), *Plea and Memoranda Rolls: vol. 4, 1413-37*, pp. 129, 134.

Drawing on evidence from the London Assize of Nuisance, John Schofield has argued that gutters were made of timber, lead or shaped tiles, but rarely out of stone, and were often attached to timber-framed buildings with nails.<sup>137</sup> Timber and lead were generally purchased for the repair and replacement of gutters on the vicars' estate, rather than tile. In 1350 for example, six pieces of lead were purchased for the repair of a gutter and in 1362, a plumber was employed to repair the gutters in large houses rented by Radolph de Romanby and Agnes de Silkeston.<sup>138</sup> In the following year, a carpenter was also employed to work on the gutters at Silkeston's house.<sup>139</sup> These gutters were probably in the form of lead-lined timber gullies. The term gutter (*guttera, gotterum, gutera*) could be used to describe either a gutter that was attached to a wall, or a gutter that was constructed under the ground.<sup>140</sup> The vicars' maintained gutters that were attached to houses at eaves height, as well as those situated on or under the ground. In 1358-9 for example, eighteen boards along with 500 nails (*spykinges and stanebrod*) were bought for raising (*elevat'*) the gutter at the house of *Magister* Thomas de Bulton, which suggests that it was attached to the building at eaves height.<sup>141</sup> Repairs to gutters positioned in the ground are slightly harder to detect, although some gutter repairs required the purchase of clay, which suggest the packing of gutters which were positioned at, or under, ground level.<sup>142</sup>

Although repairs to gutters in large houses in Petergate and Goodramgate were numerous,<sup>143</sup> repair records were less commonly associated with small houses. Three references to the repair of gutters were made in Aldwark between 1358 and 1363, although these repair records were not linked specifically with the rows of houses situated along this street.<sup>144</sup> No repairs to gutters were recorded for Cambhall, Benetplace, Mountsorrell, Cottingham Rents or Hugaterent. This is particularly interesting, given that the building accounts for Cambhall and Benetplace confirm that eaves-height gutters were constructed on these small houses.<sup>145</sup> Evidence for a ground-level drain at the site of the rows of small houses in Aldwark was also uncovered during

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<sup>137</sup> Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, pp. 117-8.

<sup>138</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/14, 21. There are earlier references to gutters in VC 6/2/7, 8, 10, 11, although these refer specifically to the vicars' college precinct in the Bedern, rather than their rented property.

<sup>139</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/23.

<sup>140</sup> Chew and Kellaway (eds.), *London Assize of Nuisance*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

<sup>141</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/18.

<sup>142</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/32, 48.

<sup>143</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/18, 21, 24, 28, 31, 32, 33, 41.

<sup>144</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/18, 21, 23.

<sup>145</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

excavation.<sup>146</sup> The roof structures of small houses would have been less complex than large houses, which in turn could have meant that their guttering system required less frequent maintenance work than larger houses.

Across the fifteenth century, the bridgemasters also conducted repairs to gutters and drainage channels. The descriptions of these facilities suggest that they were more sophisticated than they had been in the fourteenth century. The bridgemasters' accounts refer to the repair of pipes in large properties across their estate. In 1445, a lead pipe in the tenement rented by Richard Brewer in Hertergate and 'gutter and pipes' at the property of John Marshall, cook, in Coney Street, were repaired with solder.<sup>147</sup> Schofield has suggested that downpipes were an invention of the Tudor period and that rainwater would have generally been thrown away from the building by means of a spout.<sup>148</sup> However, these repair descriptions suggest that some fifteenth-century buildings in York had downpipes. Chew and Kellaway identified only one case in London, from 1326, which referred to a leaden pipe draining water from the roof of a house into a leaden gutter.<sup>149</sup> These facilities could have been more common by the fifteenth century.

A further description of a repair to a pipe in a shop on Ouse Bridge, suggests the rainwater facilities in this area were also quite sophisticated. It describes a lead spout 'three ells and a quarter long and three quarters round with le nayle running down from the *camera* in the shop of the same tenement as is the custom'.<sup>150</sup> This description suggests that the spout ran down the side of the building and perhaps either channelled the rainwater from the roof to the ground, or to a water butt, where it would have been collected for use in the household. It is particularly interesting that this reference to a sophisticated rainwater facility should be made to a shop on Ouse Bridge, where it was previously noted that very few repairs or replacements were made to the structural timbers of buildings. It is important not to make generalisations from this one account, but the good condition of structural timbers in buildings on Ouse Bridge could have been, in part, a result of sophisticated rainwater facilities in this area. Furthermore, the provision for gutters would have been particularly necessary in a commercial area, to

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<sup>146</sup> Hall et al., *Medieval Tenements in Aldwark*, p. 95.

<sup>147</sup> *YBA*, p. 256; the exact location of Brewer's tenement is not clear, although he is listed among the decayed rents in Hertergate (now Friargate), p. 252. *YCA*, C83:1.

<sup>148</sup> Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 118.

<sup>149</sup> Chew and Kellaway (eds.), *London Assize of Nuisance*, pp. xxiii, 63-4.

<sup>150</sup> *YBA*, p. 230; *YCA*, C82:11.



prevent rainwater from cascading down on customers and stock. No further references to gutters or pipes were associated with small houses across the bridgemasters' estate. The maintenance of gutters on Ouse Bridge in particular, would have been important for their reputation as a prominent trading-centre in the city.

### Porches

The analysis of the repair of walling and roofing materials across the vicars' and bridgemasters' estates, have thus far suggested that there were many similarities in the external appearance of small and large houses in late medieval York, by the common use of timber, tile and brick. However, the external façades of large houses were subject to further improvements, which were conducted exclusively on houses of this size. The first reference to the construction of a porch was in a vicars' repair account, dated between 1390 and 1400, at the large house of William Coupeland, in Goodramgate.<sup>151</sup> Across the fifteenth century, further references to newly-built porches in large properties, were made in the bridgemasters' accounts. In 1445, a porch was erected at the tenement of Richard Steresaker, in Gillygate.<sup>152</sup> In 1454, porches were built at the tenement of John Smyth, a pewterer, in Coney Street.<sup>153</sup> These entries provide only tentative evidence for their design. Hay was purchased for mixing with daubing clay for Smyth's porches, which suggests that they consisted of a timber structure with daubed panels.<sup>154</sup> A plumber was also employed to work on soldering the porches, suggesting that they had ironwork components, probably in the form of door furniture.<sup>155</sup>

Nonetheless, medieval porches could range from a relatively modest timber canopy above a doorway to a covered and enclosed shelter, with its own door.<sup>156</sup> The style of the porch may have depended on the proximity of the house to the road. In London, pentices, jetties and solars that overhung the street were presented to the city authorities in the assize and wardmote courts for correction.<sup>157</sup> It is equally unlikely that

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<sup>151</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/40.

<sup>152</sup> YBA, p. 257.

<sup>153</sup> YBA, p. 298. This was undertaken as part of a larger repair project on John Smyth's tenement.

<sup>154</sup> YBA, p. 298.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> There are very few known examples of medieval porches in York, the Royal Commission identified a porch canopy at 44 Fossgate, York, (*RCHME York, vol. 5, p. lxxiii*); a further example of a fifteenth-century non-domestic enclosed porch with a wicket-doorway can be found at the Merchant Taylor's Hall, (*RCHME York, vol. 5, pp. lxxiii, 63, 90*). A pair of carved brackets supporting a canopy over the door at Jacob's Well, Trinity Lane, York have also been dated to the late medieval period. These were originally part of the Old W heatsheaf inn, Davygate, York (*RCHME York, vol. 3, p. 109*).

<sup>157</sup> Chew and Kellaway (eds.), *London Assize of Nuisance*, p. xxviii.

overhanging porches would have escaped attention if they caused an obstruction in the street. In 1458, the porch constructed at the house of Thomas Grissop in Gillygate, was probably an enclosed structure; the repair account describes, ‘...a porche with two chekes and two wykettes...’.<sup>158</sup> A ‘cheke’ refers to a doorframe and a ‘wykette’ is a small door or gate within or besides a larger door. The addition of a porch would not only have had a practical benefit, sheltering the occupant from the weather, but would have also been a statement of fashion, altering the external appearance of the property. That porches were reserved for large houses only, also suggests that they were a conspicuous indicator of social status.

### Doors

Whereas the construction of porches were reserved for large houses, the repair of doors was common to houses of all sizes. In 1361-2, for example, repairs to doors were made in small houses in the Ludenham Rents in Aldwark and in a large house in Goodramgate.<sup>159</sup> In 1389-90, repairs were made to doors in small houses in Benetplace and large houses in Goodramgate.<sup>160</sup> In particular repairs to door furniture, such as hinges, locks, latches and keys, were frequently recorded. Security was evidently a concern of householders in late medieval York; large numbers of locks, padlocks and keys were found in excavations across the city in Coppergate, Fishergate and the Bedern.<sup>161</sup> Previous investigations into burglary in fourteenth-century England have suggested that only the wealthiest of homes would have had outside locks.<sup>162</sup> However, in fourteenth-century York, the security of small houses was clearly of concern. Between 1382 and 1399, the vicars undertook a large number of lock and key repairs in small houses across their estate.<sup>163</sup> In 1381-9, six out of ten repairs to door furniture were conducted in small houses in Hugaterent, Benetplace, Cambhall and St Andrewgate.<sup>164</sup> In 1399, out of fifteen repairs relating to door furniture, thirteen were conducted in small houses in St Andrewgate, Aldwark, Benetplace and Hugaterent.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> YBA, p. 329; YCA, C83:7.

<sup>159</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/20.

<sup>160</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/33.

<sup>161</sup> P. Ottaway and N. Rogers, *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Finds from Medieval York*, *The Archaeology of York* 17/15 (2002), pp. 2861-71; For comparisons with London see, Egan, *The Medieval Household*, pp. 88-120. Egan noted that there were a several differences between locks in London and Winchester and has suggested that there may have been regional traditions in lock making across the country in the later medieval period.

<sup>162</sup> B. Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict in English Communities 1300-1348* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), p. 79.

<sup>163</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/31-38.

<sup>164</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/32.

<sup>165</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38.

This poses a question about why this type of repair was a priority for small houses, and not larger houses, at this date.

A large number of the repairs were made in female-occupied small houses. In 1399 for example, eleven of the thirteen ironwork repairs undertaken in small houses, were occupied by women.<sup>166</sup> However, a gendered explanation for the increased awareness in security in small houses is not wholly satisfactory, particularly because this pattern was not replicated in other accounts across the late fourteenth century. In 1381-9 for example, lock and key repairs in small houses were split equally between male and female tenants.<sup>167</sup> Moreover, by the end of the fourteenth century, female tenants were particularly concentrated in small houses across the vicars' estate as a result of their decline in value, which accounts for the high number of lock and key repairs in female properties in 1399.<sup>168</sup>

However, this does not explain why small houses, in particular, were targeted for repairs of this nature. Given that small houses were particularly susceptible to declining rental values and vacancy in the late fourteenth century,<sup>169</sup> the vicars could have initiated the large-scale replacement of lock and keys in defence of the economic vulnerability of this type of housing across their estate. The vicars could have undertaken these relatively cheap replacements as an incentive to encourage tenants to stay in these properties. Furthermore, security in empty small houses could have been a concern and the vicars might have introduced new locks and keys as a deterrent, should the houses have become vacant, against burglars or squatters.

In the fifteenth century, the bridgemasters also exhibited a concern for the maintenance of door furniture in houses across their estate. Although the bridgemasters targeted houses in specific locations, their repair strategy was not as clearly linked to small houses that were vulnerable to a decline in economic value. In 1440, five out of the ten purchases of new locks and keys were allocated to property in Castlegate, although houses in which these were fixed were not specified.<sup>170</sup> In 1454, four of the five records

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<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.* The large numbers of lock and key repairs undertaken by the vicars in this year, has also been discussed by Rees Jones, 'Women's Influence', p. 208.

<sup>167</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/32. A total of six lock and key repairs were conducted in small houses in this term.

<sup>168</sup> Rees Jones, 'Women's Influence', pp. 204-08.

<sup>169</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 246-7.

<sup>170</sup> YBA, pp. 205-9.

of lock and key purchases were undertaken in shops on Ouse Bridge.<sup>171</sup> In one specific repair, ‘five doors together with locks and keys’, were purchased for a shop rented by Thomas Tubbac on Ouse Bridge.<sup>172</sup> These new additions were probably for internal as well as external doors. Very few other repairs to door furniture could be linked with small houses on the bridgemasters’ estate. Two doors were replaced in a cottage rented by Richard Claybruke in Ratton Row.<sup>173</sup> In 1464, a new key was purchased for a small shop rented by a John Teasdale, baker, also in Ratton Row.<sup>174</sup> Thus although both the vicars choral and the bridgemasters undertook lock and key repairs across the late medieval period, the former appear to have been more pro-active in targeting small houses, particularly at the end of the fourteenth century.

### Windows

The repair of windows was a concern of both the vicars and the bridgemasters during the fourteenth and fifteenth century, although the bridgemasters’ accounts were more descriptive about the types of windows that were repaired across their estate.

The vicars’ accounts frequently recorded the replacement of timber and ironwork components on both large and small properties. In 1352-3 for example, ironwork was purchased for the repair of a window in a large house in Petergate, rented by Isabell de Rypon and in 1362, a carpenter was employed to work on the window of a large house rented by Elene de Fulford, also in Petergate.<sup>175</sup> In 1382, wainscots were prepared for the replacement of a window in a house rented by John Widgesmore, in the Minster Close.<sup>176</sup> These descriptions suggest that repairs were undertaken to shutters and iron hinges, elements that are particularly susceptible to wear and tear. Similar repairs were undertaken in windows in the small houses at Cambhall and Benetplace and in the Cottingham Rents.<sup>177</sup> However, aside from these details, no further descriptions of the windows in houses across the vicars’ estate were given. The vicars choral might have limited their repair of windows to the most basic structural elements, leaving window panels as the responsibility of the tenant. Less affluent tenants might have covered their

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<sup>171</sup> *YBA*, pp. 298-303. The location of the fifth purchase was not specified.

<sup>172</sup> *YBA*, p. 302; *YCA*, C83:5.

<sup>173</sup> *YBA*, p. 301.

<sup>174</sup> *YBA*, p. 403.

<sup>175</sup> *YMA*, VC 6/2/17, 21.

<sup>176</sup> *YMA*, VC 6/2/31.

<sup>177</sup> *YMA*, VC 6/2/41, 44, 50.

windows with either fabric, or thin staves within a flexible frame.<sup>178</sup> No references were made to glass panels in the repair accounts, although the building accounts for 1360-64 and 1407, record the repair of these items.<sup>179</sup> Leaden glass panels were often regarded as moveable fittings rather than fixtures and could have been fitted at the discretion of the tenant, rather than the landlord.<sup>180</sup>

The majority of routine window repairs on the bridgemasters' estate also required purchases of ironwork, planks, wainscots and staunchions. In 1444 for example, iron bands and planks were purchased for the repair of a window on a property in Hertergate.<sup>181</sup> In 1454, wainscots and staunchions were purchased for the repair of a window in the tenement of John Smyth, pewterer, in Coney Street.<sup>182</sup> These purchases suggest that shutters and ironwork were being replaced. Similar repairs were also conducted in small shops. In 1468, a wainscot was purchased for the window of Nicholas Grenhode, who rented a shop on Stonebow.<sup>183</sup> However, unlike the vicars choral, the bridgemasters were prepared to undertake significant improvements to the windows of houses and shops in prominent areas of their estate. In 1459, several repairs were made to a shop rented by Henry Arowome on Ouse Bridge. Among the repairs, purchases of a stool or a bench (*scabell*) and two staunchions were recorded for the construction of a bay (probably oriel) window.<sup>184</sup> The account did not specify whether it was at ground or first-floor level. The repair accounts record that Arowome paid for the materials for the construction of this feature himself, for which he was later reimbursed by the bridgemasters. It was thus the tenant, rather than the landlord, that instigated the modification of this shop.

Further references to glazing panels in shops on Ouse Bridge adds weight to the argument that windows were more elaborate in this location than other areas of the bridgemasters' estate. In 1445 and 1446-7, a glass window was repaired in a shop on Ouse Bridge, rented by Robert Skipwith, mercer.<sup>185</sup> In 1449, repairs and alterations were made to glass windows in shops rented by John Davy and John Colynson, on Ouse

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<sup>178</sup> J.R. Armstrong, 'The Closure of Unglazed Windows', *Vernacular Architecture* 8 (1977): 832-3.

<sup>179</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1, 5.

<sup>180</sup> Keene, *Medieval Winchester*, 1: 176.

<sup>181</sup> YBA, p. 245.

<sup>182</sup> YBA, p. 298.

<sup>183</sup> YBA, p. 439.

<sup>184</sup> YBA, pp. 349-50; YCA, C83:8.

<sup>185</sup> YBA, pp. 230, 257.

Bridge.<sup>186</sup> In 1454, new glass windows were purchased for shops rented by Thomas Tubbac and Richard Crocelyn, fletcher.<sup>187</sup> Two glass windows were purchased for Thomas Tubbac, one of which was bought specifically for his hall.<sup>188</sup> Three glass windows were purchased for Crocelyn's shop, which were described in detail in the account:

..a glass window, namely a light, a glass window the length and width of a King's ell, a glass window half a king's ell long and wide and a window pane with an *Ave Maria*...<sup>189</sup>

Although there is insufficient evidence to clarify whether all the windows in buildings on Ouse Bridge were glazed, it is probable that many of the windows in shops and public buildings in this prominent location were fitted with glass panels. The Chapel of St William on Ouse Bridge also had glass windows.<sup>190</sup> The bridgemasters were willing to bear the expense of fitting glass windows in some shops, but the more prosperous tenants of Ouse Bridge itself could have also fitted their own.

Although the bridgemasters were not inclined to glaze windows across the whole of their estate, their repair programme expressed a general concern in the external appearance of commercial property regardless of location. The bridgemasters undertook the construction and repair of pentices – overhanging timber shelters which were erected above a ground-floor shop window, to draw attention to goods and to protect them from the weather.<sup>191</sup> In 1459, thirty-eight boards, a rafter and a wainscot were purchased for the construction of a pentice in the tenement of William Chymnay in Feasegate and stanchions and rafters were purchased for a further pentice for Peter Glover, in Bootham Bar.<sup>192</sup> Repairs were also undertaken on pentices in small shops. In 1446-7, a pentice was repaired in a shop rented by Richard Whitecake, cordwainer, in Stonebow.<sup>193</sup> In 1449, the pentice of a further shop in Stonebow, rented by Helen Wragby, was repaired.<sup>194</sup> In 1459, two pentices were repaired in shops rented by John

<sup>186</sup> *YBA*, p. 266. Davy and Colynson can be identified as tenants of Ouse Bridge on p. 238.

<sup>187</sup> *YBA*, p. 302. Robert Crocelyn (fletcher) was made Master of Ouse Bridge for part of 1424, succeeding a William Elysson who drowned in the river Humber in that year. *YBA*, p. 469.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid*, p. 302.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid*; *YCA*, C83:5.

<sup>190</sup> *YBA*, p. 401.

<sup>191</sup> Keene, 'Shops and Shopping', p. 36.

<sup>192</sup> *YBA*, pp. 352, 354. Rent details for William Chymnay and Peter Glover can be found on pp. 344-5.

<sup>193</sup> *YBA*, p. 229, for rental information see p. 240

<sup>194</sup> *YBA*, p. 265, for rental information see p. 240.

Litster and John Clayton on Ouse Bridge.<sup>195</sup> Thus although the bridgemasters were concerned with the general maintenance of shops across their estate, it was more active in improving the external appearance of property on the Bridge, than in other areas.

### Water Supply and Sanitation

The repair and maintenance accounts also provide the opportunity to examine the water supply and sanitation facilities that houses across the vicars' and bridgemasters' estates had access to. The vicars' accounts show that many of the larger houses on their estate had private wells (*fons*). Between 1350 and 1400, wells were identifiable in houses in Petergate, Goodramgate and Ogleforth.<sup>196</sup> A recent excavation behind 64 Low Petergate, York, uncovered evidence for wells in this area.<sup>197</sup> Two wells were found, both dated to the sixteenth century, one of which was lined with brick and the other with masonry. A further method of lining wells with casks and barrels, was also common in the medieval period.<sup>198</sup> The vicars choral appear to have repaired wells in large houses across their estate using this technique. In 1369, a cask was purchased for a well at the house rented by Emma Saddler.<sup>199</sup> In 1378-9, a further two casks were bought for a well at the house of John Couper, in Goodramgate.<sup>200</sup>

The repair references also suggest that wells were covered with timber structures, perhaps to hold a pulley and a bucket. Two timber boards were bought for covering the well at the house of William Smyth in Petergate.<sup>201</sup> In 1399, wainscot and hoops (*gerthes*), perhaps metal hoops, were also purchased for a well at a house in Petergate, rented by Richard Redhode.<sup>202</sup> There were no descriptions of the construction of new wells, which suggests that the vicars were repairing and renovating structures of earlier date. Despite the association of wells with specific properties, it is also important to bear in mind that large houses often shared wells. Treswell's surveys of property in London, revealed that wells tended to straddle property boundaries.<sup>203</sup> An excavation at 1-5 Aldwark, York, revealed evidence for a late fifteenth-century, square-shaped

<sup>195</sup> YBA, pp. 350, 357.

<sup>196</sup> Petergate: YMA, VC 6/2/14, 19, 23, 37; Goodramgate: VC 6/9/18, 24, 28, 36; Ogleforth: VC 6/2/38.

<sup>197</sup> B. Reeves, 'Excavations at 62-68 Low Petergate, York', *The Archaeology of York, Web Series 7* (2006), <http://www.iadb.co.uk/ayw7/index.htm>, accessed 31 October 2007.

<sup>198</sup> R.A. Hall and K. Hunter-Mann, *Medieval Urbanism in Coppergate: Refining a Townscape*, *The Archaeology of York* 10/6 (2002), pp. 811-12.

<sup>199</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/26.

<sup>200</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/28.

<sup>201</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/40.

<sup>202</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38.

<sup>203</sup> Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 118.

timber-lined well, which had probably been contained within a well-house.<sup>204</sup> The well was an enlargement of an earlier barrel-lined well, and the extension of this facility could have been undertaken to provide a communal facility, for both large and small houses along the street.

However, there appears to have been a divide between large and small houses in terms of access to water supplies. Only one reference to the repair of a well between 1350 and 1426, could be linked with a small house. In 1399, a well was repaired at the house of Andrew Barker, in Hugaterent.<sup>205</sup> Given that he was the only person in this row of houses to be associated with a well, it is likely that he shared this facility with other tenants. Most residents of small houses were unlikely to have access to private wells, not least as a result of the lack of outside space.

In contrast to the vicars' repair accounts, there were no references to the repair or maintenance of wells in the bridgemasters' accounts. However, this should not be taken for the absence of wells in properties across the bridgemasters' estate. In 1443, the repair accounts of the Foss bridgemasters recorded the maintenance of a well-house on Foss Bridge, but this was an isolated case, and they tended not to undertake the repair of wells in properties across their estate.<sup>206</sup> It is likely that the Ouse and Foss bridgemasters were not prepared to finance the maintenance of these facilities.

The repair and maintenance accounts also provide information about the distribution of latrines and privies in houses across York.<sup>207</sup> On the vicars' estate, latrines and privies can be identified in large houses in the same location as wells, that is, the Goodramgate, Petergate and Stonegate areas of the city.<sup>208</sup> As their name suggests, these facilities were probably outside structures, separate from the house. Excavations at 64 Low Petergate, York, found evidence for a fourteenth-century latrine, situated behind the building, at the rear of the site.<sup>209</sup> There were no references to garderobes in repair accounts. The vicars bore the responsibility for the maintenance of the fabric of latrines and privies. In

<sup>204</sup> Hall et al., *Medieval Tenements in Aldwark*, pp. 76-7.

<sup>205</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38. William Ellerker rented two houses in this row between 1399 and 1401, YMA, VC 6/2/38-41.

<sup>206</sup> YBA, p. 67.

<sup>207</sup> For a discussion of environmental samples from medieval cesspits and latrines, see Schofield and Vince, *Medieval Towns*, pp. 180-9; J. Greig, 'Garderobes, Sewers, Cesspits and Latrines', *Current Archaeology* 85 (1982): 49-52.

<sup>208</sup> Goodramgate: YMA, VC 6/2/17, 18, 22, 42, 44; Petergate: VC 6/2/19, 33 Stonegate: VC 6/2/42.

<sup>209</sup> Reeves, '62-68 Low Petergate, York'.



1360, a tiler was employed to work on a latrine at the house of Adam Masune, in Goodramgate.<sup>210</sup> In 1389-90, clay was purchased and daubers were hired to work on a privy at a house rented by Elen Fulford, in Petergate.<sup>211</sup> In the same year, daubers were also hired to work on the privies of John Underwood, John Warrom and John Willingham, in Petergate.<sup>212</sup> These repair records suggest that latrines were probably small, timber-framed structures with tiled roofs. The vicars also took responsibility for cleaning latrines. In 1352-3, a latrine was cleaned at the house of William de Wandesforth, in Goodramgate.<sup>213</sup> Similarly, in 1358-9, a latrine was cleaned at the house rented by a William de Sutton, also in Goodramgate.<sup>214</sup> Evidence from Chester, suggests that reports of privies overflowing into adjoining tenements were common.<sup>215</sup> The vicars choral could have sought to prevent such occurrences by ensuring the proper function of latrines across their estate. Only one reference linked a latrine with a small house. In 1399, staunchions were bought and a dauber was hired to repair a latrine in the small house of William Ellerker, in Hugaterent.<sup>216</sup> This row was thus serviced both by a well and a latrine. However, small houses tended not to have access to their own private latrines and would probably have relied on communal facilities, such as the one erected by the vicars choral near to the east end of the Minster in 1396.<sup>217</sup>

There were also very few references to latrines on the bridgemasters' estate, which suggests further that this institution was not concerned with the maintenance of sanitation facilities. Several references suggest that there was a communal 'latrine house' on Ouse Bridge, which was looked after and lit by a paid warden.<sup>218</sup> However, there were very few references to latrines in individual properties. In 1400, a latrine was repaired in Castlegate, although it is not clear if this was in an individual property.<sup>219</sup> In 1445, horn was bought for lanterns in a latrine in Gillygate, which could also have been a communal facility.<sup>220</sup> The maintenance of private wells and latrines in properties across the bridgemasters' estate, thus appears to have been the responsibility of the tenant, rather than the landlord.

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<sup>210</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/19.

<sup>211</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/33.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/17.

<sup>214</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/18.

<sup>215</sup> Brown, *The Rows of Chester*, p. 85, citing Chester CRO QSF/44, 56.

<sup>216</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38.

<sup>217</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/4.

<sup>218</sup> YBA, pp. 204, 243, 209.

<sup>219</sup> YBA, p. 128.

<sup>220</sup> YBA, p. 256.

## Heating

The repair and maintenance accounts also provide evidence for alterations and improvements that were made within properties. One of the major improvements to the standards of living in York across the fourteenth and fifteenth century, was the repair and alteration of heating and smoke extraction facilities. In larger town houses with open halls, heating facilities were provided by means of an open hearth in the centre of the hall and a louvre in the roof for the extraction of smoke. The hearth and louvre arrangement has also been identified in first floor halls, such as in New College Oxford and Winchester College Hall.<sup>221</sup> Similarly, in timber-framed town houses with first-floor halls, such as nos. 35, 36 Shambles, heavy soot deposits in the roof showed that heating was provided at this level, possibly by means of a small hearth or brazier.<sup>222</sup> The building accounts studied in Chapter 1, also showed that small houses were fitted with louvres and hearths.

One of the major changes in the provision for heating and smoke extraction across the late medieval period was the addition of chimneys. Previous commentators have argued that chimneys were not constructed in town houses until the sixteenth century.<sup>223</sup> However, the documentary evidence in York clearly shows that these facilities were constructed in urban houses at a much earlier date. The first reference to chimneys in the repair and maintenance accounts of the vicars choral, was in 1398-9, when repairs were conducted on chimneys in houses rented by John Clareburgh and Henry Tailor in Goodramgate and John Willingham in Petergate.<sup>224</sup> However, this is not the earliest evidence for chimneys in York. A building contract for a row of houses beside St. Martin's Church in Coney Street, dated to 1335, clearly specifies the construction of a chimney (*caminum*) in a solar of one of the units.<sup>225</sup> The building account for the construction of small houses at Cambhall and Benetplace dated from 1360 to 1364, also recorded the construction of a chimney. The repair and maintenance accounts show that both louvres and chimneys were common heating and smoke extraction facilities in houses across late medieval York.

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<sup>221</sup> E. Gee, 'Heating in the Late Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* 31 (1987): 91.

<sup>222</sup> *RCHME York, vol. 5*, pp. lxxiii, 217.

<sup>223</sup> Keene, *Medieval Winchester*, 1: 178; *RCHME York, vol. 5*, p. lxxiii.

<sup>224</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/37.

<sup>225</sup> Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 430. The chimney specification is also discussed in Gee, 'Heating in the Late Middle Ages', p. 97.

Repairs to louvres were conducted in both large and small houses across the vicars' estate. Larger properties on Petergate and Goodramgate were fitted with louvres.<sup>226</sup> The exact position of these louvres, or rooms in which they serviced, were not recorded in the accounts. Larger houses with multiple rooms were likely to require more louvres than small houses. However, it is possible that the older rows of small houses on the vicars' estate did not have either louvres or chimneys. The earliest reference to the insertion of a louvre in a small house was recorded in 1328-9, in a unit in Mountsorrell.<sup>227</sup> This was a new addition, which could suggest that the row was not originally constructed with smoke extraction facilities. By the second half of the fourteenth century, further references to the repair of louvres in Mountsorrell, suggest that several units in the row had smoke extraction facilities by this time.<sup>228</sup> Small houses in Aldwark and St Andrewgate, were also fitted with louvres. At the end of the fourteenth century, a new louvre was made in a unit rented by Richard Porter, in Aldwark.<sup>229</sup> In 1426, bricks were purchased for the construction of a hearth in a unit rented by Alice Langbothome, in St Andrewgate.<sup>230</sup> In small houses, which did not have open halls, hearths or braziers would probably have been located at first-floor level, in order that the smoke could escape directly through the louvre in the roof. In this respect, the first floor in a small house might have been more desirable as a living area than the ground floor.

The materials purchased for the construction and repair of chimneys on the vicars choral estate, suggest that they were made out of timber and plaster, or brick. In 1398-9, plaster was bought for the repair of chimneys in large houses rented by John Clareburgh and Henry Tailor, in Petergate, while a tiler was employed to work on John Willingham's chimney, also in Petergate.<sup>231</sup> In 1403-4 a new plaster chimney was constructed at the large house of John Scheffurth, in the Minster Close.<sup>232</sup> Thus there were two methods of constructing chimneys in York across the late medieval period. The type of material used could have depended on the availability of space within the property, or the function of the room in which it was placed. A chimney would have been particularly

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<sup>226</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/24, VC 6/2/34.

<sup>227</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/10.

<sup>228</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/22.

<sup>229</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/34.

<sup>230</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/50.

<sup>231</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/37.

<sup>232</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/42.

advantageous in connection with an open hearth, as it would carry smoke directly out of the building while heating it across two floors.

Chimneys in small houses were limited to specific locations. The building accounts for Cambhall and Benetplace (Chapter 1) revealed that only one chimney was constructed in Benetplace, while the other units appear to have been fixed with louvres. The fourteenth-century repair accounts show that the only other chimney insertions made in small houses, were in Cambhall and Hugaterent. In 1399, a new chimney was constructed in Cambhall, at a house rented by Thomas Kelet.<sup>233</sup> In 1399, a plaster chimney was constructed in a unit in Hugaterent rented by William Rede.<sup>234</sup> In contrast, no references were made to the repair or the construction of chimneys in Aldwark, St Andrewgate or Mountsorrell. It was perhaps no accident that the two rows situated nearest to the vicars' college in the Bedern: Cambhall and Hugaterent, were the only small houses to receive chimney insertions. The vicars choral could have deliberately targeted these small houses for chimney additions, because they were located in a prominent and highly visual area of their estate.

In the fifteenth century, houses across the bridgemasters' estate continued to receive chimney and louvre additions. The construction of louvres was the subject of much debate among craftsmen in the city. In the early fifteenth century, a dispute arose between the carpenters and the tilers in York over the erection of louvres.<sup>235</sup> In 1425, it was decided that carpenters would make them, but either craft could erect them. The bridgemasters continued to upgrade the smoke and heating facilities on both large and small houses during the fifteenth century. A repair record of 1464 describes the insertion of louvres in several buildings in one tenement, '...namely two in the *aula*, one in the cottage, [and] in the kitchen there...'.<sup>236</sup> The bridgemasters also undertook campaigns of fixing louvres in houses across their estate. In 1459, it purchased thirty-eight louvres, which were fixed to the roofs of both large and small houses and shops; several larger houses were in receipt of more than one louvre.<sup>237</sup> The large-scale installation of multiple louvres in houses in the fifteenth century, suggests that the acceptable level of smoke in an enclosed space, was more of an issue than it had been in

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<sup>233</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38.

<sup>234</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38.

<sup>235</sup> Swanson, *Building Craftsmen*, p. 13.

<sup>236</sup> YBA, p. 404; YCA, C83:10.

<sup>237</sup> YBA, p. 356.

the fourteenth century. It could also indicate a desire for more light in houses. In 1459, the building account for a new house in Thursday Market, recorded the construction of a chimney and two louvres.<sup>238</sup> This is in contrast to the building account for the construction of a house in Petergate in 1407, which only recorded the construction of one chimney.<sup>239</sup> The acceptable standard of smoke extraction and heating facilities in new houses appears to have been raised across the medieval period. Landlords could have been reacting to the demand of tenants for less smokey houses, by undertaking large-scale campaigns of louvre-insertions across their estate.

By the fifteenth century, chimneys were common in houses both large and small, and were not limited to particular locations. In large houses, chimneys were identified in Colliergate, Coney Street, Goodramgate and Bootham Bar.<sup>240</sup> In small houses and shops, chimneys could be found in Ouse Bridge, Stonebow, Nessgate and Ratton Row.<sup>241</sup> Chimneys continued to be made out of timber and plaster in the fifteenth century, although brick chimneys were very popular. In 1435, the bridgemasters purchased four hundred bricks for the construction of a chimney in a house rented by Roger Joynour in Colliergate.<sup>242</sup> Similarly, in 1488, 250 'best tiles' and eight hundred wall tiles were purchased for the construction of a chimney in a house near to Bootham Bar.<sup>243</sup> Without more detail, it is difficult to conclude whether these were external chimney stacks; however, as chimneys became more common across the late medieval period, they appear to have become more substantial and sophisticated in their construction.

### Partitions

As well as improvements to heating and smoke extraction facilities within urban houses, the repair accounts also show that internal spaces were modified and re-arranged. The vicars' repair accounts show that partitions, or screens, identified as a 'spere' or

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<sup>238</sup> *YBA*, pp. 352-3.

<sup>239</sup> *YMA*, VC 6/9/5.

<sup>240</sup> These chimney repairs can be identified in Colliergate, in the tenement of Roger Joynour (*YBA*, p. 163); Coney Street, in a messuage rented by Thomas Colyns, ostler (*YBA*, p. 406); Goodramgate, in the tenement of Robert Patynere (*YBA*, p. 351); Bootham Bar, in the tenement of Peter Bardeslay, glover (*YBA*, p. 329).

<sup>241</sup> These chimney repairs can be identified in Ouse Bridge, in the shop formerly rented by John Pouchemaker (*YBA*, p. 127); Stonebow, in the shop of Thomas Dale, cordwainer (*YBA*, pp. 265-6); Nessgate, in the shop of John Tanfeld, bladesmith (*YBA*, p. 208); Ratton Row, in the shop of Thomas Tesedale, baker (*YBA*, p. 403).

<sup>242</sup> *YBA*, p. 163.

<sup>243</sup> *YBA*, p. 453.

'parclose' were popular in the fourteenth century. These screens were constructed out of timber, with daub and plaster, or lath and plaster infill and jointed into the timber frame. Some screens were immovable, permanently fixed to the floor and the timber frame, while others required less installation work and could have been moved. The installation of screens and partitions was not only common in large houses, but small properties as well. Previous examinations of screens have considered their function in the open hall;<sup>244</sup> however, they could have also been used at first-floor level, in living rooms and private spaces. The repair accounts indicate that internal partitions were quickly erected and were probably just as easily taken down, accommodating changing requirements within properties over time, responding to the needs of the occupant and providing flexibility in the use of the building.

The first reference to the insertion of a partition in a property on the vicars' estate was identified in an account of 1382, when boards (*plauncherboard*) were sawn for a screen in a large house rented by Richard Sowerby, in Goodramgate.<sup>245</sup> Screens were constructed in both large and small houses. In 1399, screens were repaired or constructed in six large houses and four small houses.<sup>246</sup> Many units within rows of small houses were altered by the addition of screens and partitions across the fourteenth century. Two screens were inserted into small units in Aldwark. In 1399, a screen was constructed in the chamber of a unit rented by Alice Falk.<sup>247</sup> The screen was daubed and fixed to the floor, which also required repair work as a result of the new addition. In 1415-16, a screen was constructed in a unit rented by John Gyrdeler.<sup>248</sup> Whether these insertions were at first-floor or ground-floor level, was not specified in the accounts. Nonetheless, these alterations could have provided the occupant with a separate living and workspace, or divided up a living room from a sleeping area. Screens were also inserted into units in Hugaterent. In 1399 staunchions and laths were purchased for the construction of a screen in a unit rented by Enot Paruyng', which was then finished with daub.<sup>249</sup> Screens were also constructed in the units rented by John Kendale and John Clerk, in Hugaterent.<sup>250</sup> The insertion of a screen into Clerk's unit required the replacement of the wall-plate (*panpece*), which suggests that this was a fixed addition.

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<sup>244</sup> Wood, *The English Mediaeval House*, pp. 139-47; Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, pp. 126-8.

<sup>245</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/31.

<sup>246</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38.

<sup>247</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38.

<sup>248</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/45.

<sup>249</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38.

<sup>250</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38, 41.

The internal layouts of relatively new small houses in Cambhall and Benetplace were also divided-up with screens at the end of the fourteenth century. In 1399, a new screen was erected at the house of William Taillour, in Benetplace and between 1390 and 1400, a screen was constructed at the house of William Hull, in Cambhall.<sup>251</sup> As it was shown in Chapter 2, small houses could be easily adapted to suit the needs of the occupants. The vicars choral could have been particularly responsive to the needs of occupants of small houses at the end of the fourteenth century, when they were experiencing both a loss of income and vacancies in small houses across their estate.<sup>252</sup>

In the fifteenth century, the bridgemasters' accounts reveal that many new partitions were inserted into shops on Ouse Bridge. This appears to have been particularly frequent around the middle of the fifteenth century. In 1454, new partitions were constructed in three shops rented by Robert Esshton, glover, Richard Crocelyn, fletcher, and Thomas Tubbac.<sup>253</sup> The description of Crocelyn's partition suggests that it was designed to create a screen around the stairs.<sup>254</sup> Two partitions were inserted into Tubbac's shop and the repair description suggests that they were designed to separate the hall (*aula*) from a shop and cellar:

'...a parcloyse between the old *aula* and the shop on the right side as one enters, and a parcloyse between another *aula* on the left side and a selour...'.<sup>255</sup>

The positioning of these screens suggests that the living space of the hall (*aula*), was separated from the commercial space of the shop and store-room (*selour*). In 1459, new parcloyses were constructed in the shops of Robert Scawseby and William Hayles.<sup>256</sup> Hayles' parclose was substantial, requiring eighteen wooden boards and two ground-sills (*sele tre, rofe tre*). It also had a door inserted into it, suggesting that it was a fixed partition that created two separate rooms.<sup>257</sup> In 1462, two parcloyses were made in the shops of Thomas Gaunt and Peter Couke.<sup>258</sup> In 1464, two more parcloyses were made in

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<sup>251</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38, records the purchase of a *sper lign'* for the house of William Taillour, but his name does not appear on the rent account for Benetplace until 1401 (VC 6/2/41). William Hull, VC 6/2/40.

<sup>252</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 207-18.

<sup>253</sup> YBA, pp. 299, 302.

<sup>254</sup> YBA, p. 302.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid; YCA, C83:5.

<sup>256</sup> YBA, p. 350.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

<sup>258</sup> YBA, p. 377.

the shops of Thomas Spycer and Robert Cade.<sup>259</sup> The more wealthy tenants of the bridge could have advocated the modification of internal spaces within their shops to create areas for specific functions or to create distinctions between private and public areas. For tenants of more modest means, the extra spaces created by partitions could have been sub-let in order to generate an extra income. Screen insertions thus appear to have been a result of personal, rather than institutional preference and these additions were, in this respect, more likely to have been instigated by tenants, rather than landlords.

### Furniture

Personal possessions and the function of rooms in small houses will be dealt with in further detail in Chapter 4. Nonetheless, it is important to emphasise here, that landlords in York were prepared to provide tenants with some furniture. References to furniture on the vicars' estate were not common, but were associated with both large and small houses. Records of these additions were not evident until the end of the fourteenth century. In 1399, benches (*bynk*) were made for houses rented by John Bukler and John Willingham, in Petergate.<sup>260</sup> In 1415-16, a bench was made for a house rented by John Carlele, in Goodramgate.<sup>261</sup> A bench was also made for a small house in Aldwark in 1415-16, rented by John Gyrdler.<sup>262</sup> The benches in Bukler and Girdlerer's houses were made at the same time that screens were inserted. This could suggest two possibilities, first that the benches were immovable and fixed to the screens, and second that the landlord was prepared to provide new furniture with the creation of a new space. In 1395, the vicars also bought a chest (*arca*) for a Nicholas Wych in Benetplace, but this was the only reference to such an item.<sup>263</sup> Thus rented property in the late medieval period was not necessarily unfurnished. The landlord could have provided basic furniture for tenants, an investment which might not only have encouraged tenants to stay, but also attracted prospective tenants to their property.

In the fifteenth century, the bridgemasters were prepared to provide a wide-range of furniture and moveable items in houses across their estate. However, these items were bought specifically for large houses and shops on Ouse Bridge. Small houses in other

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<sup>259</sup> YBA, p. 405.

<sup>260</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/38.

<sup>261</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/45.

<sup>262</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/45.

<sup>263</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/36.



areas of their estate were excluded from these additions. In 1454, timbers were bought for the construction of benches in a tenement on Coney Street.<sup>264</sup> In 1458, three benches were also bought in the tenement of Thomas Grissop, on the corner of Gillygate.<sup>265</sup> Repair work on the tenement of Thomas Tubbac on Ouse Bridge, also recorded the purchase of a ‘...bynk [bench] under a window...’.<sup>266</sup> Landlords might have been more willing to provide furniture that was fixed, rather than moveable, so that ownership could be clearly established when the occupant came to vacate the property.

The bridgemasters were also willing to improve the kitchen facilities in properties. In 1464, John Collins, labourer, was employed to make a ‘...rawnge and a harth in the kitchen...’ in the tenement rented by Henry Hey in Coney Street.<sup>267</sup> A repair entry for the property of Thomas Tubbac, on Ouse Bridge, records the purchase of a ‘lead synk’ valued at 40d.<sup>268</sup> The bridgemasters also purchased an oven for a property, probably rented by John Marton, mercer, in 1446-7.<sup>269</sup> Even though the bridgemasters experienced economic decline across their estate in the fifteenth century, they appear to have continued to undertake improvements in carefully selected properties in popular areas.

### Conclusion

The repair accounts have identified that there were many similarities in the appearance of small houses and shops across the vicars’ and bridgemasters’ estates. Both large and small houses were timber framed with tiled roofs, and their infill panels, which utilised both brick and wattle and daub materials, were plastered and coated with lime wash. However, there were features that differentiated these properties from one another, such as the addition of porches and access to private wells and latrines in large houses, facilities that were not enjoyed by tenants of small houses. As well as levels of occupancy, the repair programmes of institutional landlords in York were particularly influenced by location. The vicars choral favoured small houses near to their precinct in the Bedern for chimney insertions and the bridgemasters concentrated the introduction

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<sup>264</sup> *YBA*, p. 300. The account records maintenance work on John Canomby’s tenement in Coney Street, and a tenement in Hammerton Lane (which may have been situated in Bishophill Palliser, ‘Medieval Street-names of York’, p. 11). Although it is not explicit, the benches could have been constructed in Canomby’s tenement rather than the tenement in Hammerton Lane.

<sup>265</sup> *YBA*, p. 329.

<sup>266</sup> *YBA*, p. 302; *YCA*, C83:5.

<sup>267</sup> *YBA*, p. 406; *YCA*, C83:10.

<sup>268</sup> *YBA*, p. 302.

<sup>269</sup> *YBA*, p. 228, the oven was bought for Marton’s house as part of a larger renovation programme.

of glass windows in shops located in the prominent Ouse Bridge area. However, institutional practice also differed between landlords. The vicars choral undertook the repair and maintenance of wells and latrines on their estate; in contrast, the bridgemasters did not take responsibility for these features. Although the landlord's agenda is more obvious in these maintenance accounts than the tenant's, there are subtle indications within these records that repairs and improvements were, at times, tenant driven.

### *Houses, Shops and Stalls in Late Medieval Norwich*

The repairs accounts of St Giles's Hospital and Norwich city government provide evidence for the form of large and small properties in this city across the late medieval period. The building materials and construction techniques used in Norwich were very different from the fully timber-framed houses of York. The accounts show that large and small houses, shops and stalls were constructed out of a variety of materials including clay, flint and brick. There is no evidence to suggest that houses on either of these estates were fully timber-framed. However, timber was used to frame houses at first-floor level and in shops and stalls. Unlike York, thatch continued to be used as a roofing material in Norwich throughout the late medieval period. This section will look at the effect of the use of these different building materials on the design of small and large houses and shops and stalls in Norwich.

#### Walls: clay, flint, brick and timber

Investigations into clay-walled buildings in Norwich have previously been undertaken through excavation. A large-scale excavation on Alms Lane uncovered important evidence for clay-walled buildings in the city.<sup>270</sup> Ninety per cent of the walls on the site dated between c. 1275 and 1500, were of clay construction, most of which were built without foundations.<sup>271</sup> The excavation uncovered further evidence about construction methods across the site. The clay-walls were packed around vertical timber studs that rested on the ground surface.<sup>272</sup> The excavators concluded that the role of these timber

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<sup>270</sup> Atkin et al., *Excavations in Norwich 1971-78 Part II*, pp. 144-78, 245-60. See also Atkin and Margeson, *Life on a Medieval Street*.

<sup>271</sup> Atkin et al., *Excavations in Norwich 1971-78 Part II*, p. 245.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid*, p. 250.

posts was to carry a wall-plate in order to support the roof structure.<sup>273</sup> Further evidence for clay-walled buildings on 1-9 Bishopgate, suggested that this material was used for construction in this area of the city between 1200 and 1600.<sup>274</sup> In total, three different methods have been identified in clay-walled buildings in Norwich, including solid load-bearing clay walls built up to eaves level, clay packing between vertical structural timbers that carried the wall-plate, and a short clay-wall functioning as a plinth to carry a timber-framed structure.<sup>275</sup> In this respect, the construction of clay-walled buildings was as sophisticated and complex as any other construction method of the late medieval period. Although the documentary sources tend not to describe the different techniques used in the construction of clay-walled buildings, the repair and maintenance accounts of St Giles's Hospital and Norwich city government, provide important evidence for the form and location of clay-walled buildings across the city. The distribution pattern of clay-walled buildings in Norwich, based on excavation, is currently weighted towards the less-densely populated fringes of the city.<sup>276</sup> However the documentary evidence shows that both large and small clay-walled buildings were also located in the more central areas.

The vocabulary used to describe clay across the accounts could vary and as such, requires explanation. The most commonly used terms were 'argill' and 'terrai'.<sup>277</sup> 'Marl' was also used to denote clay-material in the accounts, along with the Latin word 'fimus', which is translated as clay or dung. Occasionally the English word 'cley' was also used to describe this material, particularly when referring to 'cleymen'.<sup>278</sup> Although these terms now translate with variation in meaning, they tended to be used interchangeably throughout the accounts.

The fifteenth-century repair accounts of St Giles's Hospital revealed that a substantial number of their inner-city properties had clay walls. This was true for both large and small houses. Tenements and messuages probably had more than one building on the

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<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

<sup>274</sup> M. Atkin and D.H. Evans, *Excavations in Norwich 1971-1978 Part III*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 100 (2002), pp. 11-16.

<sup>275</sup> Atkin, 'Medieval Clay-Walled Building', pp. 175-7.

<sup>276</sup> Atkin, 'Medieval Clay-Walled Building', p. 179. In the analysis of the distribution of clay-walled building in Norwich, Atkin acknowledged that the archaeological evidence primarily reflected the pattern of recent development and excavation, which concentrated on marginal areas to the north and west of the city.

<sup>277</sup> See Appendix 4 for a glossary of building terms used in Norwich.

<sup>278</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1448-9.

site and it is difficult to detect whether repairs were associated with the dwelling house, boundary walls or outhouses. However, it is important not to rule out the probability that these repair references referred to the main dwelling on the site. The largest clay-walled building excavated on Alms Lane consisted of three rooms in linear plan.<sup>279</sup> However, the extent to which even larger houses in Norwich were constructed out of clay is unknown at present. It was also common for clay to have been used in less conspicuous areas of large flint buildings; the town house of the Abbey of Creake in north Norfolk, built in St Martin's Lane off Oak Street in 1332, had flint-rubble walls to the street but utilised clay walls away from public view.<sup>280</sup> Methods such as these could have been used in large houses across the Hospital estate. An account for 1444-5, records purchases of clay for the tenement of John Baker, in Holme Street and in the same year, twelve carts of stone were also purchased for the maintenance of his house.<sup>281</sup>

Repairs to clay-walls were recorded in large houses to the north of the city. In an account for 1443-4 for example, two walls of earth were repaired in the messuage of Thomas Kyrton, in the parish of St Martin Coslany.<sup>282</sup> Similarly, in 1456-7 a clay wall was repaired in the messuage rented by Richard Glayser in Holme Street.<sup>283</sup> In 1455-6 and 1459-60, clay walls were repaired in messuages in Holme Street, rented by John Speryng and Edward Hook, shoemaker.<sup>284</sup> Other maintenance records were more specific about which part of the building was under repair. In 1444-5, marl and clay was carted to a messuage rented by John Baker, in Holme Street, for the repair of three 'gables of earth' (*gabell de terra*).<sup>285</sup> Similarly, in 1448-9, John Syro, clayman, was employed to make a new gable on a building in a messuage rented by Henry Spanby in Holme Street.<sup>286</sup> These repair records show that clay was used as a structural material in the construction and repair of buildings in larger tenements and messuages.

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<sup>279</sup> Atkin et al. *Excavations in Norwich 1971-78 Part II*, pp. 252-3.

<sup>280</sup> Ayers, 'Domestic Architecture in Norwich', p. 37, citing M. W. Atkin and H. Sutermeister, 'Excavations in Norwich – 1977/8: the Norwich Survey Seventh Interim Report', *Norfolk Archaeology* 37/1 (1978): 28.

<sup>281</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1444-5.

<sup>282</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1443-4.

<sup>283</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1456-7.

<sup>284</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1455-6 and 1459-60.

<sup>285</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1444-5.

<sup>286</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1448-9.

Unlike large houses, small houses were less likely to have subsidiary buildings attached to them. References to the repair of clay walls in small houses were therefore more likely to refer to a dwelling house, rather than any subsidiary building. Clay-walled small houses can also be identified in the north of the city. In 1449-50, a clayman was employed to work on the earth walls of the small house rented by a John Shopar, in the Parish of St Martin-at-Palace.<sup>287</sup> In 1449-50, a clayman was employed to repair the chamber (*camera*) of the house rented by Alice Burnham, in Holme Street.<sup>288</sup> Although it is not possible to detect how frequently clay-walled buildings required repair, it is worth noting that the clay-walls of this small house required further repairs five years later.<sup>289</sup> References to the repair of clay walls were also linked with small houses in the Parish of St Martin Coslany. In 1436-7, a cart-load of clay was bought for the repair of a wall at the small house of John Turnour, situated in this parish.<sup>290</sup> Further references indicate that some small houses in the city centre also had clay walls. In 1443-4, John Reck carted clay to a small house described as a 'chamber with solar' rented by Edward and Alice Spaldyng in Smethirowe.<sup>291</sup> Straw was also purchased for this repair, suggesting that this material was used as a binder to reinforce the clay before application.<sup>292</sup> In 1441-2, three carts of clay were also transported to Cokerowe for work on houses.<sup>293</sup>

The detailed descriptions of small houses provided in the Hospital's rent accounts indicate that by 1430, many had first-floor rooms, identified as *solars*. Many small houses with *solars* can be identified as clay-walled buildings. The small houses rented by Alice Burnham, John Shopar, John Turnour and Edward and Alice Spalding referred to above, all had *solars*.<sup>294</sup> Excavations on Alms Lane concluded that the original clay walled buildings on the site were single storey.<sup>295</sup> However, evidence for the re-building of walls with more substantial posts in a house on the corner of Alms Lane and Muspole Street in the mid fifteenth century, suggested that a loft had been introduced into the property.<sup>296</sup> Further evidence for internal staircases also suggested that second floors

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<sup>287</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1449-50. This tenant is named John Shepard in the rent account.

<sup>288</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1449-50.

<sup>289</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1455-6.

<sup>290</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1436-7.

<sup>291</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1443-4.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.

<sup>293</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1441-2.

<sup>294</sup> NRO, NCR, Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1436-7, 1443-4 and 1449-50.

<sup>295</sup> Atkin et al., *Excavations in Norwich 1971-78 Part II*, pp. 245-53.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid, pp. 157, 253.

were inserted into houses on Alms Lane.<sup>297</sup> Although it is not clear whether the solars of clay-walled small houses on the Hospital's estate were original features or later additions, repairs to timber elements within clay-walled buildings suggest that they were of substantial construction. In 1438-9, three 'knotts del woud' was purchased for the repair of a solar in a messuage rented by John Foulour, in Holme Street.<sup>298</sup> In 1454-5, John Carpenter was employed to work on properties in Holme Street, and Thomas Boman, carpenter was employed to repair the floorboards of a property in Cokerowe and in a solar in Holme Street.<sup>299</sup> In the same year, Thomas Boman was also employed to work on the small house rented by Nicholas Bedwever in Holme Street and to mend a solar at the small house of Jacob Mason in the parish of St Martin Coslany.<sup>300</sup> From this information it can be speculated that, although these small houses were of clay-walled construction up to ridge level, they also contained load-bearing timber elements which could not only support the roof, but also a first floor. These first-floor rooms might not have been of the same proportions as solars in timber-framed buildings; there was no suggestion, for example, that these buildings had jetties. Nonetheless, solars could have been more substantial than the lofts indicated in the Alms Lane excavation.

Repairs to clay-walled buildings were also recorded in the accounts of the city government in Norwich. However, unlike the Hospital's estate, the use of clay was only associated with larger tenements and messuages. Major repairs to a large property in Conesford, to the south of the city, which had previously been rented by Geoffrey Bixton, recorded several large purchases of clay. In 1425-6, eleven carts of clay (*argil*) were purchased.<sup>301</sup> Then in 1453-4, a further twelve carts of clay were bought and in the following year, another six carts.<sup>302</sup> The repair accounts do not specify what this clay was purchased for, although the amounts suggest that either significant repairs were made to structures on the site, or new buildings were under construction. Further clay purchases were made for the repair of large tenements in the central areas of the city. In 1400-01, carts of clay (*argil, fumi*) were transported to the tenement of Nicholas Malemaker, in Cotelerowe.<sup>303</sup> In 1428-9, two carts of clay (*argil, fumi*) were purchased

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<sup>297</sup> Atkin and Margeson, *Life on a Medieval Street*, p. 14; Atkin et al., *Excavations in Norwich 1971-1978 Part II*, p. 253.

<sup>298</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1438-9.

<sup>299</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1454-5.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid. Nicholas Bedwever had departed this property when the rent account was drawn up, although he is identifiable in an account for 1452-3.

<sup>301</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1425-6.

<sup>302</sup> NRO, NCR Case 17d, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58, fols. xxiv<sup>r</sup> and xxvi<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>303</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a, and b Treasurer's Account Roll, 1400-01.

for the repair of a tenement rented by Stephen Cok', in the parish of St Andrew.<sup>304</sup> In the following year, a further cart of clay (*argil*) and a cart of sand (*arene*) were purchased for the repair of the same tenement.<sup>305</sup>

Unlike the small houses on the Hospital's estate, there is no evidence to suggest that clay was used in the repair of shops or stalls across the city government's estate. These structures appear instead to have been constructed, and consequently repaired, using timber. Although archaeological investigations in Norwich have uncovered evidence for fully timber-framed buildings, the practice of constructing timber-framed buildings from ground to eaves height is thought to have been uncommon due to a perceived lack of adequate construction timber in the county.<sup>306</sup> Instead, the technique of ground-floor walls, consisting of flint rubble or brick-and-flint rubble, supporting a timber-framed first-floor level above, is thought to be a more common constructional practice.<sup>307</sup> A good example of this form of construction can be identified at Dragon Hall, King Street, Norwich (fig. 46), which has been interpreted as a merchant's trading warehouse.<sup>308</sup> Examples of standing rows of houses utilising this construction method at 8-12 Charing Cross and 2-12 Gildencroft, were also examined in Chapter 2.

However, timber repairs in the city government's accounts were so abundant in relation to shops and stalls in the marketplace that they suggest these structures were timber-framed at first-floor level, if not completely timber-framed. In 1410-11, wainscots were bought for the repair of the stalls rented by William Gerard, butcher, John Hede and William Roper, in the butchers' market.<sup>309</sup> In 1415-16, poplar boards (*popelen bordes*) were bought for the repair of a stall rented by the wife of Roger atte Dan and six boards from the Baltic (*estrichtbords*) were purchased for the repair of the stall rented by Edward Hewes, in the butchers' market.<sup>310</sup> In 1419-20, a further three estrichtboards were purchased for the repair of a shop in the wool market, rented by John Bredman.<sup>311</sup> In 1425-6, timber, laths and wainscot were bought for the repair of shops in the wool

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<sup>304</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1428-9.

<sup>305</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1429-30.

<sup>306</sup> Ayers, 'Domestic Architecture in Norwich', pp. 38-9; *Norfolk 1*, pp. 26-7.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39; Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', p. 238.

<sup>308</sup> For an analysis of the Dragon Hall complex, see A. Shelley, *Dragon Hall, King Street, Norwich: Excavation and Survey of a Late Medieval Merchant's Trading Complex*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 112 (2005).

<sup>309</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1410-11.

<sup>310</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1415-16.

<sup>311</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1419-20.

market.<sup>312</sup> Moreover, the repair records suggest that some of the stalls and shops in the marketplace had solars, which were also made out of timber. In 1457-8, for example, John Gilford, carpenter, was employed to reinforce the solar above the stall (*supponend' solar super stall*) of Robert Hynton in the butchers' market.<sup>313</sup> Of particular importance is a repair record of 1429-30, which describes the purchase of timber and 'tabul', and the hire of a carpenter by the name of John Arnald, for the construction of a new solar in the tenement of Richard Davy, cook.<sup>314</sup> These structures would have stood out in their abundant use of timber, in contrast to the small houses constructed out of clay in other parts of the city.

Although the structures in the butchers' and fish market were described in the rent accounts as 'stalls' and the structures in the wool and rope markets were described as 'shops', the presence of solars in stalls suggests that these were equally as permanent, and substantial in their construction, as shops. The shops and stalls in Norwich marketplace were similar in description to the shops in medieval Cheapside, London, which were constructed out of timber.<sup>315</sup> These shops also had rooms described as solars above them, which could have been used for lodging, the storage of goods or as a workspace.<sup>316</sup>

Alongside clay and timber, flint was also used in the repair of domestic buildings across the two Norwich estates. A note must first be made regarding the vocabulary used to describe flint. The first known reference of the use of the English word 'flint' is dated c. 1225.<sup>317</sup> However, flint was not described by this name in either the Hospital's or city's repair accounts. Instead, the Latin terms 'petris' and 'lapideum' were used to describe flint. On occasion, this was qualified further as 'green stone' (*grene lapid'*).<sup>318</sup> The only other term used in the accounts to describe flint was the English word 'gronndestone'.<sup>319</sup> Therefore, aside from this word, the accounts used general Latin terms to describe stone, rather than distinguishing type. As a comparison, in York,

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<sup>312</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1425-6.

<sup>313</sup> NRO, NCR Case 17d, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58, fol. xxxiv<sup>v</sup>; NCR Case 7d, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1457-8.

<sup>314</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1429-30.

<sup>315</sup> Keene, 'Shops and Shopping', p. 35.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>317</sup> Middle English Compendium, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mec/>, accessed 30<sup>th</sup> November 2007. Aelfric's Glossary in Worcester Cathedral MS F. 174.

<sup>318</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a and b, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1384-5.

<sup>319</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1407-8.



'petris' and 'lapideum' were also used to describe limestone.<sup>320</sup> A regional understanding of available stones is, of course, important when analysing the construction and repair accounts.

The accounts of St Giles's Hospital record a large number of repairs using flint. Bulk purchases of stone were often bought in advance of repair work. In 1434-5 for example, St Giles's Hospital purchased twenty-one carts of stone (*petri*) for repairs to their property for that year.<sup>321</sup> Although clay was used for the repair of both large and small houses across the Hospital's estate, flint was used exclusively in the repair of large houses. In 1437-8, a stone wall (*muri petri*) was repaired in a messuage rented by Edward Burnham, in Holme Street.<sup>322</sup> In 1454-5, Jacob Mason, mason, was employed to repair defective walls in tenements on Holme Street.<sup>323</sup> Repair records also describe the repair of gables, which suggests that some of the larger tenements and messuages were constructed out of flint to ridge height. For example, in 1440-1, a mason was employed for eight days to work on a gable (*gebel*) of a building in the messuage in Holme Street, rented by William Wodeherde, butcher.<sup>324</sup> A large property nearer the city centre was also repaired with flint. In 1455-6, two stone walls were repaired in the messuage of John Shakerys, in Cokerowe.<sup>325</sup> No references to the purchase of flint could be directly associated with the repair of small houses. Several bulk purchases of flint were bought for properties in Smethirowe and Cokerowe although the accounts did not specify which houses they were for.<sup>326</sup>

There were very few references to purchases of flint for the repair of houses on the city government estate; however, these were also principally associated with large houses. In 1422-3, a stone wall required repairs at a tenement rented by Clemencie Drewe, which was situated next to the city's Common Crane.<sup>327</sup> In this instance, Clemencie appears to have arranged the repair work herself and the city government reimbursed her 33s 4d in

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<sup>320</sup> Sellers (ed.), *York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>321</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1434-5.

<sup>322</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1437-8. Edward Burnham rented two messuages on Holme Street in this year.

<sup>323</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1454-5.

<sup>324</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1440-1. The property was vacant at the time that the rent account was drawn up, although Wodeherde's name was used as a means of identifying the property.

<sup>325</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1455-6.

<sup>326</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1438-9 and 1449-50.

<sup>327</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1422-3.

costs.<sup>328</sup> In 1453-4, a cart of stone was also transported to the house of Geoffrey Bixton, for repair work.<sup>329</sup> The repair accounts did not record the use of flint in the repair of any of their shops or stalls in the marketplace, which strengthens the argument that they were fully timber-framed structures.

Brick was also purchased for the repair of houses on the Hospital's estate. In 1460-1, two new flint houses were constructed in Holme Street, for which 2000 bricks were purchased alongside flint.<sup>330</sup> Brick was used to create solid apertures for window and door openings in flint buildings and it could have been put to this use in these new buildings.<sup>331</sup> It could also have been used in the construction and repair of flint-and-brick-rubble walls. However, it is unlikely that above-ground solid walls were constructed out of brick alone. Only one known example of internal fourteenth-century brickwork has been identified at Dragon Hall, King Street, where a wall dividing the service rooms of the hall were constructed entirely out of brick.<sup>332</sup> Brick was used most often in the construction and repair of chimneys, which will be considered in a later section.

The city government also made large purchases of brick for the repair of property on their estate. In 1456-7 for example, two large purchases of 7000 bricks were bought from William Tyle in Swanton, although their use was not specified.<sup>333</sup> Brick was most famously used in Norwich in the fifteenth century, in the construction of undercrofts.<sup>334</sup> These structures have not previously been studied through documentary sources; however, the city government's accounts provide evidence for the repair of an undercroft in the marketplace. An account of 1432-3, records the purchase of 3500 bricks for an undercroft (*volta*) beneath a new building in the butchers' market.<sup>335</sup> The account does not record whether this was a new undercroft, or the re-buildings of an old one, but several masons and labourers were employed to work on both the new building

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<sup>328</sup> Ibid.

<sup>329</sup> NRO, NCR Case 17d, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58, fol. xxiv'.

<sup>330</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1460-61.

<sup>331</sup> Smith and Carter, 'Function and Site', p. 6; Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', pp. 217-18.

<sup>332</sup> Smith, 'Architectural History of Norwich Buildings', p. 214.

<sup>333</sup> NRO, NCR Case 17d, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58, fol. xxxii'. There are three places with the name 'Swanton' in North Norfolk, Swanton Abbot, Swanton Novers and Swanton Morley. The account does not specify which one of these places the tile was purchased from.

<sup>334</sup> Smith and Carter, 'Function and Site', pp. 6-7.

<sup>335</sup> NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1384-1448, fol. 86v.

and the undercroft.<sup>336</sup> The account also records that a carpenter was employed to construct a door and a staircase for the undercroft.<sup>337</sup> The city government's rent accounts show that a number of stalls in the marketplace had undercrofts beneath them, which were probably for commercial purposes.<sup>338</sup>

The repair and maintenance accounts also suggest that flint and clay-walled buildings in Norwich were finished with daub and plaster, in a similar way to timber-framed buildings in York. Excavation evidence for the treatment of internal clay-walls, however, recorded a number of different practices. The excavation evidence on Alms Lane suggested that internal walls were not generally treated with mortar or lime wash.<sup>339</sup> However, excavations in the suburb of Heigham revealed the walls of a clay-walled building, dating between the late fourteenth and mid fifteenth century, were finished with mortar.<sup>340</sup> Houses on the Hospital's estate in the city centre and Holme Street were consolidated with daub. In 1434-5, daubers were hired to work on the houses in Cokerowe and Conesford.<sup>341</sup> In 1456-7 daubers were employed to work on a chamber in Smethirowe.<sup>342</sup> In 1443-4 daubers were employed to work on the houses of John Pigot and Katherine Baker who rented messuages on Holme Street.<sup>343</sup> In 1455-6, the walls were plastered (*dealbatio*) at the messuage of John Curtays in Holme Street.<sup>344</sup> It is not clear whether the daub was applied to flint, clay or timber panels, although all three techniques were used in the construction of buildings across these areas. Daub repairs were comparatively infrequent on the city estate. In 1425-6, four carts of straw were purchased for daubing work in the tenement of Geoffrey Bixton.<sup>345</sup> Shops in the wool market could also have had daubed infill panels; in 1457-8 Robert Lyngstede was employed to daub walls in shops there.<sup>346</sup>

Norwich properties were also protected from the weather with a coat of lime. This is especially important for clay walls, which would have disintegrated if they were left

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<sup>336</sup> Ibid.

<sup>337</sup> NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1384-1448, fol. 87r.

<sup>338</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account, 1411-12.

<sup>339</sup> Atkin et al., *Excavations in Norwich 1971-78 Part II*, p. 250.

<sup>340</sup> M. Atkin and D. H. Evans, *Excavations in Norwich 1971-1978 Part III*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 100 (2002), pp. 207, 233.

<sup>341</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1434-5.

<sup>342</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1456-7.

<sup>343</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1443-4.

<sup>344</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1455-6

<sup>345</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1425-6.

<sup>346</sup> NRO, NCR Case 17d, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58, fol. xxxiv<sup>v</sup>; NCR Case 7d, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1457-8.

exposed to the elements. It was also an important bonding material in the construction of flint walls. St Giles's Hospital purchased lime from regular suppliers Edward and Clement Lymbrenere, whose surname appears to have reflected their trade.<sup>347</sup> Chalk, for the production of lime, was readily available within the city.<sup>348</sup> A quarry in King Street, Norwich was an important source for stone and lime in the medieval period.<sup>349</sup> In the late fourteenth century, the city government obtained their lime from one of the main suppliers for the construction of the Cow Tower in Norwich, William Blakehommore, who had a capital messuage and lime kiln in King Street.<sup>350</sup> In 1388-9, the city paid William Blakehonmore £8 7s 8d for a bulk purchase of lime for the repair of domestic and commercial property on their estate.<sup>351</sup> The city government also owned a lime kiln which was situated in Conesford and was related to lime works on the Berstrete escarpment.<sup>352</sup>

St Giles's Hospital purchased lime in relation to work on houses in Holme Street, Smethirowe and Cokerowe. Although clay houses would have required an application of lime as a necessity, it is not clear if flint buildings or any timber-framed elements were also lime-washed. Lime was purchased for the repair of large tenements on the city government's estate rented by John Norwych, Stephen Cok, Geoffrey Bixton and Richard Bedon.<sup>353</sup> In contrast, lime was not generally purchased for repair work in the marketplace. In 1399-1400, two trays of lime were purchased for the repair of a building in the butchers' market; however, there were very few direct references to the purchase of lime for repair work in this area.<sup>354</sup> The application of lime wash would have homogenised the appearance of clay and flint buildings. The shops and stalls in the marketplace could have been deliberately excluded from the application of lime wash, in order to keep the timbers on show.

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<sup>347</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1430-31 and 1432-33.

<sup>348</sup> Atkin, 'The Chalk Tunnels of Norwich', pp. 313-20.

<sup>349</sup> Ayers, 'Flint, Mortar and Freestone', p. 221.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid*, p. 220; B. Ayers, *Digging Deeper: Recent archaeology in Norwich* (Norwich, 1987), p. 21; Ayers, Smith and Tillyard, 'The Cow Tower, Norwich', pp. 194, 206.

<sup>351</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a and b, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1388-89. William Blakehonmore was also involved in the sale of other building materials. In 1392-3 (NCR Case 7a and b, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1392-3), he sold 4000 tiles to the city.

<sup>352</sup> King, 'The Merchant Class and Borough Finances', pp. 374-5. The rent from the kiln had declined in value by 1457-58, which King suggests may have been due to competition from outside of the city.

<sup>353</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1418-19; NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1428-9; NCR Case 17d, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58, fol. xxiv<sup>r</sup>; NCR Case 7d, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1458-9.

<sup>354</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a and b, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1399-1400.

The Hospital's and city government's accounts provide evidence for the diverse use of walling materials across the city in the late medieval period. Clay-walled houses, flint houses, flint and timber houses and timber shops and stalls would have stood side-by-side, creating a visual effect that would have been quite different from York. The repair accounts also provide further evidence for the distribution of clay-walled building in Norwich, revealing that buildings of this design were also situated in the city centre. In particular areas, such as Norwich marketplace, the use of timber appears to have been more prominent than any other material.

### Roofing Materials: thatch and tile

Although the use of thatch in York had ceased to be a common practice by the mid fourteenth century, Norwich retained the use of the material until the early nineteenth century, if not later.<sup>355</sup> Water reed was locally available in the marshy estuaries of Norfolk, although the accounts do not record exactly where landlords in Norwich purchased this material from.<sup>356</sup> Reed thatch is celebrated as the most durable and long lasting thatching material.<sup>357</sup> A Norfolk reed roof could be expected to last 50-60 years, if not longer.<sup>358</sup> It is the stiffest of the thatching materials and tends to give the roof a more angular appearance than straw.<sup>359</sup> The documentary evidence for roofing material is especially important because most surviving medieval buildings in Norwich are no longer roofed with original materials. The organic quality of thatch also means that it is unlikely to be uncovered in excavation.<sup>360</sup> The repair accounts thus provide an opportunity for the analysis of different roofing materials in large and small houses, shops and stalls, across both the Hospital's and city's estates.

In 1507, a series of fires destroyed 718 buildings (40 per cent) in the city.<sup>361</sup> As a consequence of this, the city government imposed a ban, which prohibited the use of thatch on all new buildings.<sup>362</sup> It has recently been argued that the fires were responsible for a change in construction practice, signalling a new preference for the use of tile over

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<sup>355</sup> Porter, 'Thatching in Early-Modern Norwich', p. 311.

<sup>356</sup> Fearn, *Thatch and Thatching*, pp. 16-17; P. Egeland, *Cob and Thatch* (Exeter, 1988), p. 41.

<sup>357</sup> C. Lewis, 'Thatched Roofs – An Introduction', The Building Conservation Directory, [www.buildingconservation.com/articles/thatchrf/thatchrf.htm](http://www.buildingconservation.com/articles/thatchrf/thatchrf.htm), accessed 17th November 2007; Egeland, *Cob and Thatch*, p. 36.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>359</sup> J. Cox and J.R.L. Thorp, *Devon Thatch* (Tiverton, 2001), p. 30.

<sup>360</sup> Atkin et al., *Excavations in Norwich 1971-1978 Part II*, p. 251.

<sup>361</sup> Porter, 'Thatching in Early-Modern Norwich', p. 310.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*

thatch.<sup>363</sup> However, the city government repealed their rule against the use of thatch in the city in 1532.<sup>364</sup> While this study has not investigated the use of roofing materials in the sixteenth century, it can shed light on this subject before 1500. Contrary to previous assumptions, the repair accounts of St Giles's Hospital and Norwich city government, both provide evidence for the common use of tile alongside thatch prior to the fire of 1507.

Reeders (*arundineti, reder*) worked across the St Giles's Hospital estate repairing roofs to the north of the city in Coslany, Holme Street and in the centre of the city in Smethirowe and Cokerowe.<sup>365</sup> The repair accounts also show that large and small houses, and flint and clay-walled houses were roofed with thatch. In 1437-8, a reeder was employed to work on a building in the messuage of Edward Burnham, in Holme Street.<sup>366</sup> Flint walls were also repaired in this messuage, which suggests that flint and thatched buildings occupied the site. In 1448-9, a messuage rented by Nicholas Halle, in Holme Street, was thatched and an earlier repair record noted that a mason was employed to work on his hall.<sup>367</sup> Two new flint tenements constructed in Holme Street, in 1460-1, also had thatched roofs.<sup>368</sup> The messuage of Thomas Kyrton, in the parish of St Martin Coslany received repairs to clay walls and a thatched roof.<sup>369</sup> The small house of Alice Spaldyng, in Smethirowe, also received repairs to clay walls and a thatched roof.<sup>370</sup>

The city government also thatched roofs across their estate. In 1400-01, forty-six bundles (*fadonnes*) of reed were purchased and a reeder was employed to re-roof the tenement of Nicholas Malemaker in Coteleroe.<sup>371</sup> Clay was also purchased for the repair of this property, which suggests that it was a clay-walled building. In 1418-19, seventy-five bundles (*fadonnes*) of reed and a reeder were employed to repair the roof of John Norwych.<sup>372</sup> In 1452-3, two properties in Conesford, rented by John Small and

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<sup>363</sup> Longcroft, 'Medieval-Clay-Walled Buildings', pp. 71-2.

<sup>364</sup> Porter, 'Thatching in Early-Modern Norwich', p. 310; Atkin and Evans, 'Population, Profit and Plague', pp. 97-8.

<sup>365</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1442-3, 1443-4, 1446-7, 1448-9, 1449-50, 1450-51, 1451-2, 1454-5, 1455-6, 1456-7 and 1459-60.

<sup>366</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1437-8.

<sup>367</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1446-7 and 1448-9.

<sup>368</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1460-1.

<sup>369</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1443-4.

<sup>370</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>371</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a and b, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1400-01.

<sup>372</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1418-19.

Robert Boys, were re-roofed with reed.<sup>373</sup> Reed was bought in bulk for the repair of Geoffrey Bixton's tenement, including the purchase of a hundred bundles (*fadonnes*) of reed in 1454-5.<sup>374</sup> Some of the shops and stalls in the marketplace must have also been thatched. In 1384-5, reeders were employed to work on the butchers' stalls.<sup>375</sup> In 1409-10, reeders worked on the butchers' market and the wool shops, and in 1425-6, further roof repairs were made to the wool shops.<sup>376</sup> Thatch was therefore used extensively across the estates of both St Giles's Hospital and the city government.

Furthermore, St Giles's Hospital and the city government also used tile for the repair of roofs on their estates. Although the repair accounts suggest far more thatch repairs than tile repairs were undertaken in Holme Street, two records show that tile was used in a large messuage and a small house along this street.<sup>377</sup> However, the majority of tile repairs on the Hospital's estate were associated with one particular area, Cokerowe, to the north-east of the city. The Hospital owned four properties in this area. In 1443-4, a tiler was employed to repair the roof in a messuage rented by Richard Hare.<sup>378</sup> Further purchases of reed and the employment of reeders to work on roofs in this area, were made in 1449-50 and 1451-2.<sup>379</sup> The name 'Cokerowe', was probably given to this street as a means of distinguishing the cooks that lived and worked there.<sup>380</sup> Tile was probably used in these properties instead of thatch, for fire-proofing purposes. Excavations in Alms Lane revealed that the only evidence for a tiled roof on the site was in a building used as a smithy.<sup>381</sup> It was thought to have been tiled because it needed extra fire-proofing.

Tile was also used for the repair of houses outside the city centre. In 1436-7, extensive maintenance work was conducted on the roof of a small house with a solar and a

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<sup>373</sup> NRO, NCR Case 17d, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58, fol. xx<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>374</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1425-6; NCR Case 17d, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58, fol. xxvi<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>375</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a and b, Liveries and Expenses Account, 1384-5.

<sup>376</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1409-10; NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1425-6.

<sup>377</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1444-5 (John Baker Holme Street, who rented a messuage) and 1443-4 (Nicholas Bedwever Holme Street, who rented a house with a solar and garden).

<sup>378</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1443-4.

<sup>379</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60.

<sup>380</sup> Rutledge, 'Economic Life', p. 162, also suggests that cooks were particularly active in this area of the city.

<sup>381</sup> Atkin et al., *Excavations in Norwich 1971-78 Part II*, pp. 151, 251.

garden, in the parish of St Martin-at-Palace, rented by Henry Bene.<sup>382</sup> Laths, and other materials such as lath-nails and tile-pins were also purchased along with the tile, including an order of 3000 'thaktyles', suggesting that the roof of this property was completely re-covered. After the repair work had been undertaken, the house was referred to in the accounts as 'The Tyldehous' or, 'Tilehous'.<sup>383</sup> It was not clear whether this was a flint, or clay-walled building; however, its new name suggests it stood out from the other thatched buildings in the parish.

Although comparisons between tile and thatch costs are not easily calculated, a comparison between tiler's and thatcher's wages can provide an indication of which craftsman was the more expensive to employ. A general appraisal revealed wages paid to these craftsmen were not standardised, and probably depended on the job at hand. In some instances, tilers and thatchers were paid nearly the same amount of money. In 1443-4 for example, Thomas Tett, reeder, was paid 4s 4d for thirteen days' work and Walter Thaxter, tiler, was paid 2s 4d for six and a half days' work.<sup>384</sup> This roughly calculates as 4d per day, the tiler earning slightly more than the thatcher. Yet other records suggest that it was more expensive to hire a thatcher than a tiler. In 1449-50, John But, tiler and his servant, were paid 4s 2d for ten days' work.<sup>385</sup> This works out as 5d per day. However, in the same year, Thomas Reder and his servant were paid 6d for one day's work. In this instance, the thatcher was paid more than the tiler. Despite problems in verifying the relative wages of these craftsmen, it is interesting that there is no clear indication of which craftsman was the more expensive to employ. Tile might not have been as expensive to use in late medieval Norwich as it has previously been argued. Furthermore, this also indicated that there was a greater degree of choice in the use of tile as a roofing material before the fire of 1507.

Norwich city government also used tile in the repair of large properties on their estate. A number of these properties were situated in the city centre. In 1428-9, a tenement rented by Stephen Cook, in the parish of St Andrew, was repaired with tile.<sup>386</sup> In 1458-9, the roof of a further tenement rented by Richard Bedon in the parish of St Andrew,

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<sup>382</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1436-7.

<sup>383</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1438-9.

<sup>384</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1443-4; 4s 4d for thirteenth days works out as 4 pence per day, 2s 4d for six and a half days works out at 4.3 pence per day.

<sup>385</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1449-50.

<sup>386</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1428-9. Tiles were also bought for this tenement in 1421-2 (NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1421-2).



was repaired with 300 tiles.<sup>387</sup> In 1418-19, a large purchase of 7000 tiles was bought from a tiler in Hempnall for the repair of a building in Cotelerowe.<sup>388</sup> In 1448, a further 4000 tiles were purchased for the repair of another property in Cotelerowe.<sup>389</sup> Orders of this size suggest that all or part of the building was covered with tile. Some of the larger properties could have contained buildings with both thatched and tiled roofs. For example, thatch and tiles were purchased for the repair of buildings in the tenement of Geoffrey Bixton.<sup>390</sup> This could have been quite a common occurrence in larger properties. Excavations on 31-51 Pottergate, revealed that in one particular property, the original structure was thatched but an additional building was tiled.<sup>391</sup> The choice of roofing material could have depended on the use of the building.

The city government also used tile on shops and stalls in the marketplace. In 1399-1400, a large purchase of 4000 tiles and further purchases of 'rostyll' and 'tyallaths', was made for the roofing of a new building in the butchers' market.<sup>392</sup> That the city chose to use tile in the construction of this building, marked a distinction from the use of thatch in this part of the market in earlier accounts.<sup>393</sup> Further changes to the roofing materials used in the marketplace were made in 1457, when the civic government conducted extensive repairs on a pentice in the poultry market, for which a total of 300 'thak-tyles' were purchased.<sup>394</sup> In 1421-2, tiles were purchased for the repair of a shop in the wool market rented by John Walsham.<sup>395</sup> Not only would the shops and the stalls in the marketplace have stood out because they were constructed principally out of timber, but also because tile was increasingly used in this area across the early fifteenth century. At this time, the city government also constructed a new Guildhall in the marketplace.<sup>396</sup> An account recording construction work on the Guildhall from 1411 to 1413, also shows that tiles were used to cover the roof of this building.<sup>397</sup> Tile may not only have been used as a preventative measure against fire, but also as a statement of the city

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<sup>387</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1458-9.

<sup>388</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1418-19. Hempnall is located to the south of Norwich, near Long Stratton.

<sup>389</sup> NRO, NCR Case 17d, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58, fol. x<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>390</sup> NRO, NCR, Case 17d, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58, fol. xxiv<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>391</sup> Atkin et al., *Excavations in Norwich 1971-1978 Part II*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>392</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a and b, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1399-1400.

<sup>393</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a and b, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1384-5.

<sup>394</sup> NRO, NCR Case 17d, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58, fol. xxxiv<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>395</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1421-2.

<sup>396</sup> Priestley, *The Great Market*, p. 11.

<sup>397</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1411-13.

government's increased ownership in the marketplace, from the late fourteenth century onwards.

### Gutters

References to the repair and maintenance of gutters were not as common in the Norwich records as they were in York. This is probably accounted for by the use of thatch in the city, as thatched roofs, unlike tiled roofs, did not require gutters. Larger properties on the Hospital's estate had gutters, although it is not clear if these were ground-level or eaves-height facilities. Masons, rather than carpenters, were employed to repair gutters. In 1438-9, a mason was employed to repair a gutter in Smethirowe.<sup>398</sup> Similarly, in 1449-50, a mason was employed to repair the gutter in a messuage rented by Thomas Warner, in Cokerowe.<sup>399</sup> If these were eaves-height gutters, the fact masons were employed to work on them could suggest that they were made of stone. It has been previously noted that stone roof-height gutters were not common, except in buildings of distinction.<sup>400</sup> However, domestic buildings constructed out of flint could have also had stone gutters. Gutters could in turn have been lined with lead; a plumber was employed to repair a lead gutter in Cokerowe.<sup>401</sup> In contrast to larger houses, the Hospital's accounts did not divulge any evidence for gutters in small houses. A similar observation was made on the vicars' estate in York. The repair accounts suggested that small houses on the Hospital's estate were thatched rather than tiled, which probably accounts for the lack of eaves-height gutters. However, it is equally possible that the infrastructure around small houses was less sophisticated than larger houses and that no ground-level provision was made for the removal of surface water.

Several gutter repairs were also made in the accounts of Norwich city government. At the turn of the fifteenth century, a mason was employed to make a new gutter in the tenement of Nicholas Malemaker, in Cotelerowe.<sup>402</sup> Lead and tiles were also purchased for the repair of this gutter, suggesting that it was quite substantial. Gutters such as these could have been at ground-level, rather than eaves height. As well as repairing gutters, the city government also made improvements to the infrastructure around property by constructing new water channels. An account of 1457-8, recorded the employment of

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<sup>398</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1438-9.

<sup>399</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1449-50.

<sup>400</sup> Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 118.

<sup>401</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1443-4.

<sup>402</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a and b, Treasurer's Account Rolls, 1400-01.

masons for the construction of a gutter opposite the messuage of Bartholemew Splitte in Cotelerowe, which was connected to a drain (*cloaca*) next to the messuage of Edward Wychinghill.<sup>403</sup> Other repair references suggest that some of the larger properties on their estate also had roof-height gutters. In 1458-9, the roof of a tenement rented by Richard Bedon was repaired with tile and, in the same year, a plumber was employed to work on the gutters, suggesting they were added to the roof at the same time it was tiled.<sup>404</sup> A number of references were also made to the repair of gutters in the marketplace, which were undoubtedly essential for the disposal of water and waste at both ground and eaves level.<sup>405</sup> This would have been particularly important in order to maintain the cleanliness of this area of the city, especially around the butchers' market and other food stalls, and to keep stock and customers dry.

### Doors

The fashion for the erection of porches on larger timber-framed buildings in York, was not reflected in either the records of St Giles's Hospital or the city government in Norwich. There is evidence for porches in large merchants' houses in Norwich; at Stranger's Hall, the current sixteenth-century porch replaces an earlier structure, and at Suckling House, further evidence for a sixteenth-century timber-framed porch, or gallery, is believed to have linked the hall and the main courtyard entrance.<sup>406</sup> An account of 1411-13, records that the city government constructed a porch on their new Guildhall in the marketplace.<sup>407</sup> However, porches in Norwich are believed to have been rare, even in large merchant's houses.<sup>408</sup> The extent to which porches were erected on clay-walled buildings is unknown. However, the repair accounts of St Giles's Hospital and Norwich city government suggest that this feature was not common in either large or small houses across their estates during the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

Repairs to doors were recorded in the Hospital's accounts, but usually in association with the maintenance of locks, keys and other door furniture. Repairs of this nature suggest a concern for security; however, the number of replacement locks and keys were far fewer than those recorded in York. Locks and keys were bought for messuages

<sup>403</sup> NRO, NCR 7d, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1457-8.

<sup>404</sup> NRO, NCR 7d, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1458-9.

<sup>405</sup> NRO NCR 7a and b Treasurers Account 1384-85.

<sup>406</sup> King, 'House and Society in an English Provincial City', pp. 77, 91.

<sup>407</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1411-13.

<sup>408</sup> C.N. King, personal communication.

across the Hospital's estate. Geoffrey Taylor, Edward Burnham, John Foulour and Henry Spanby in Holme Street and John Shaker in Cokerowe received new locks between 1415 and 1460.<sup>409</sup> Even fewer purchases of locks and keys were made for small houses. Alice Spaldyng, who rented a chamber and a solar in Smethirowe, Margaret Coke, who rented a chamber with a solar and a garden in Holme Street and John Cosyng who rented a house with a solar and a garden in the Parish of St Martin at Palace, all received new locks and keys in the fifteenth century.<sup>410</sup> Unlike the vicars choral in York, the Hospital does not appear to have initiated a deliberate strategy for the repair of locks and keys in small houses across their estate. It is interesting that two of the three small houses which received new locks and keys were women, but again there is not enough evidence here to suggest whether the Hospital were particularly concerned about the security of their female tenants. It is also possible that security was less of a priority in the areas where the Hospital owned property.

The attitude of Norwich city government towards security was similar to that adopted by the bridgemasters of York, in the respect that they were also particularly concerned with the security of their commercial property. The city government had acquired the marketplace in the late fourteenth century, as a means of establishing a greater degree of control over trade and industry in the city.<sup>411</sup> The installation of new locks and keys in stalls and shops within the marketplace in the early fifteenth century might not only have been a result of increased awareness of security, but also an affirmation of their newly-found control over commerce in this part of the city. Between 1410 and 1429, shops rented by Andrew Mann, John Baker, Robert Slepe and John Gerard in the butchers' market received new locks and keys.<sup>412</sup> Similarly, John Hok and Emma Jernmouth in the wool market received new locks and keys and John Holt in the fish market and William Hereward in Cotelerowe, also received new locks and keys.<sup>413</sup> The installation of locks and keys also segregated internal spaces within properties of multiple occupation. An account of 1410-11, recorded that Richard Lokesmyth was employed to provide a new key for the door of the solar above a shop (*pro hostis solar super shopa*) rented by Matilda Mynchyng, in order that it could be let to a separate

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<sup>409</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1437-8, 1438-9, 1449-50 and 1451-52.

<sup>410</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1442-3 and 1449-50.

<sup>411</sup> Dunn, 'Financial Reform in Late Medieval Norwich', pp. 101-10.

<sup>412</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account Rolls, 1410-11; NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Rolls, 1426-7, 1428-9.

<sup>413</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account Rolls, 1408-09, 1410-11 and 1419-20.

tenant.<sup>414</sup> This would not only have secured the upper floor, but also provided a physical barrier between the separate tenancies at ground- and first-floor level.

### Windows

In general, landlords in Norwich tended to make fewer repairs to windows than the York landlords. Windows in large flint houses such as the Bridewell and Suckling House have stone frames, and there is further evidence to suggest that Suckling House and Bacon's House also had bay windows.<sup>415</sup> Chapter 2 identified several different types of window opening at ground and first-floor level which were present in small houses. At 2-12 Gildencroft, Norwich, ground-floor windows with modest stone dressings were evident to the rear of the property. Further evidence in the first-floor timber frame, suggested that window openings at this level had timber sills and lintels, and that they were modest in size and simple in structure. The mullioned window present in the first-floor frame of 15 Bedford Street was much larger in comparison. Window openings in clay-walled buildings could vary in design. They were generally cut out of a clay-wall after it had been constructed. Investigations into clay-walled buildings on the Solway Plain identified a variety of window openings, ranging from simple holes cut into the walls to more pretentious timber frames and stone dressings.<sup>416</sup>

The only two references to window repairs in the accounts of St Giles's Hospital, were identified in properties in Holme Street. In 1447-8, laths were bought for a window in a small house with a solar and a garden rented by Nicholas Bedwever, in Holme Street, which suggests that the frame was constructed out of timber.<sup>417</sup> The other reference details the repair of a window in a large property. In 1455-6, two carpenters were employed to construct 'wyndowstalles' in the messuage of John Speryng, in Holme Street.<sup>418</sup> The meaning of 'stall' in this context is ambiguous, especially as the floor on which these structures were constructed was not specified. It could imply a window seat, or a stall for laying-out commercial goods. An earlier repair account recorded the use of clay for the repair of walls in Speryng's messuage, although it does not describe the fabric of the wall into which these structures were inserted. Nonetheless, both references suggest that the window-frames in these properties were constructed out of

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<sup>414</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1410-11.

<sup>415</sup> King, 'House and Society in an English Provincial City', pp. 90, 93-4.

<sup>416</sup> N. Jennings, *Clay Dabbins: Vernacular Buildings of the Solway Plain*, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society 30 (2003), pp. 79-80, 89-90.

<sup>417</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1447-8.

<sup>418</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1455-6.

timber. Unlike the York accounts, there was also a conspicuous absence of records of repairs to ironwork in relation to windows. St Giles's Hospital might not have taken responsibility for the general repair of windows in domestic property on their estate.

In contrast, the Hospital appears to have been more willing to conduct repairs to windows in commercial properties. In 1432-3, a carpenter was employed to make a new pentice in a property in the Parish of St Simon and Jude.<sup>419</sup> In 1438-9 and 1458-9, carpenters were also employed to repair pentices in Cokerowe.<sup>420</sup> In 1449-50 a pentice was made in the messuage rented by John Shakers, also in Cokerowe.<sup>421</sup> The Hospital therefore appears to have made repairs to the timber window frames and pentices, rather than repairs to stone window frames or to window panels. Stone window frames might have required less maintenance work than timber window frames, nonetheless the repair or alteration of window panels appears to have been the responsibility of the tenant, rather than the landlord, regardless of whether they took the form of glass or more simple cloth coverings.

The city government also undertook repairs to windows in stalls and shops within the marketplace. These windows were again constructed out of timber. In 1413-14, windows were repaired in a shop rented by Thomas Yernemouth in the wool market.<sup>422</sup> In 1458-9, estrichtboard was purchased for the repair of a further window in the wool market.<sup>423</sup> In the 1420s, two repair records recorded the purchase of 'longhokys' and 'lachynghoks' for shops rented by Robert Slepe, butcher and John Dallyng, butcher, in the butchers' market.<sup>424</sup> These hooks were probably used for hanging meat. Alongside the repair of windows, the city also maintained pentices in the marketplace. In 1453-4, a new pentice was made in a tenement rented by John Cook, barbour.<sup>425</sup> In the following year, a pentice was made for John Rennaway in the rope market, and further pentices were made in the stalls of John Carrowe, butcher, in the butchers' market, and John Clerk, woolman, in the wool market.<sup>426</sup> Therefore, the city government also appears to have concentrated their window repairs into property with commercial function. Some of the larger commercial properties in the marketplace had stone window frames. The

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<sup>419</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1432-3.

<sup>420</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1438-9 and 1458-9.

<sup>421</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1449-50.

<sup>422</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1413-14.

<sup>423</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1458-9.

<sup>424</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Rolls, 1421-2 and 1426-7.

<sup>425</sup> NRO, NCR Case 17d, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58, fol. xxiii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>426</sup> NRO, NCR Case 17d, Chamberlain's Accounts, 1448-58, fols. xxvi<sup>v</sup> and xxvii<sup>f</sup>.

repair to a window in 'Welbornes' - a group of buildings situated in the north of the marketplace - required freestone, ironwork and timber boards.<sup>427</sup> This description suggests that, although the shops and stalls in the marketplace had timber-framed windows, the larger properties in the marketplace had stone windows. No repairs were made to glass windows or window covers, which also suggests that Norwich landlords did not take responsibility for window panels.

### Water Supplies and Sanitary Provisions

Rawcliffe has recently brought attention to the sophisticated drainage systems on the site of the Franciscan Friary, the Cathedral and St Giles's Hospital in Norwich.<sup>428</sup> She also notes that, from at least the early fifteenth century, the cleaning and repair of public latrines and sewers were financed by the treasurers and chamberlains of Norwich, in partnership with the residents of the city.<sup>429</sup> The repair accounts provide some further examples of the implementation of repairs to sanitary provisions and drainage systems across the Hospital's and city government's estates.

Some of the larger properties on the estate of St Giles's Hospital, in Holme Street, had access to their own private latrines. These appear to have been stand-alone structures and were probably located to the rear of properties, in yards or gardens. In 1455-6, Thomas Carpenter was employed to work on a latrine in a messuage rented by Richard Glasyer, and a further latrine was repaired in a messuage rented by John Curteys in Holme Street.<sup>430</sup> However, despite the fact that many small houses in Holme Street had gardens, there were no records of the repair of latrines in these properties. Repairs to latrines in other areas of their estate, including Cotelerowe and Cokerowe, were also confined to messuages rather than small houses.<sup>431</sup>

As Rawcliffe has previously argued, the cleaning and repair of private and communal latrines on the city government's estate was common. In 1400-01, a latrine was cleaned in the property of Nicholas Malemaker, in Cotelerowe and in 1418-19, a latrine was

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<sup>427</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a and b, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1386-7; Dunn, 'Financial Reform in Late Medieval Norwich', p. 103 discusses the acquisition of 'Welbornes', or 'Geywoods', as it was also known. It will be referred to as 'Welbornes' in this discussion for ease of reference.

<sup>428</sup> C. Rawcliffe, 'Health and Safety at Work in Late Medieval East Anglia', in C. Harper-Bill (ed.), *Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 132-4.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid.

<sup>430</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1455-6.

<sup>431</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1432-3 and 1441-2.

also cleaned in the property of John Norwych.<sup>432</sup> In 1388-9, Robert Parker and William George, masons, were employed to construct a latrine at Welbornes.<sup>433</sup> The records give no indication of whether this was built outside the property, or within. Further repairs to latrines in Cotelerowe and Cokerowe were not attached to specific properties, suggesting further that these were communal facilities.<sup>434</sup>

Many properties on the estate of St Giles's Hospital also had access to fresh water. A large property in Holme Street had a well, as did the house known as the 'Tiledhouse', in the Parish of St Martin at Palace.<sup>435</sup> A further well repair was recorded in Smethirowe, which could have been a communal facility.<sup>436</sup> There were fewer references to wells on the city government's estate. In 1428-9 for example, Henry Pescod, carpenter, was employed to construct a 'well-stand' out of timber at the house of Stephen Cok', in the Parish of St Andrew.<sup>437</sup> There were no direct references to wells in the marketplace. In a similar fashion to the city government of York, the city government of Norwich might not have accepted responsibility for wells across their estate.

### Heating facilities

Repairs were also made to improve the standings of fittings within houses in Norwich. Although chimneys were erected in both small and large houses across the estates of St Giles's Hospital and the city government, louvres were conspicuously absent from the repair accounts. Roofs and heating facilities were generally the responsibility of landlords, and the absence of louvres from the accounts of both estates suggests these facilities were uncommon in properties in Norwich, rather than a peculiarity of institutional practice. There is insufficient evidence in the accounts to surmise whether chimneys had completely replaced louvres or more primitive methods of smoke extraction, such as a hole in the roof, by the late fourteenth century. The earliest reference to a chimney across the two estates was in 1392-3, when a new chimney was

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<sup>432</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a and b, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1400-01; NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1418-19.

<sup>433</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a and b, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1388-9. This property is referred to as 'Geywodes' in this account.

<sup>434</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7c, Treasurer's Account Rolls, 1407-08 and 1408-09.

<sup>435</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1438-9 (William Wodeherde, who rented a messuage in Holme Street) 1437-38 (Henry Bene, who rented the Tiledhouse).

<sup>436</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1437-8.

<sup>437</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1428-9.



erected in the tenement rented by Richard Turnour on the city government's estate.<sup>438</sup> The paucity of repair accounts before this date, prevent the examination of chimney insertions earlier in the century. Nonetheless, it is perhaps unlikely that all properties across late medieval Norwich were fitted with chimneys by this period. Excavations on Alms Lane found that chimneys were not inserted into properties in this location until the early sixteenth century.<sup>439</sup> Thatched and tiles roofs without chimneys might therefore have relied on holes in the roof, rather than louvres, for the extraction of smoke.

In the fourteenth-century accounts of the city government, very few references were made to the repair or construction of chimneys. In 1399-1400, a new chimney and a solar were made at the house of Thomas Arwesmyth in Cotelerowe.<sup>440</sup> In 1429-30, a chimney was also repaired in the tenement of Geoffrey Bixton.<sup>441</sup> There were no references to the construction or repair of chimneys in shops or stalls within the marketplace. This is in contrast to many of the timber shops on the bridgemasters' estate in York. Limited space both within and around shops and stalls in the marketplace and the added risk of fire in such a densely populated area, could have discouraged the erection of chimneys. Tenants who lived in these properties across the fourteenth and fifteenth century could instead have relied on portable heating equipment such as braziers.

On the Hospital's estate, flint, lime and tiles were the main materials from which chimneys were constructed, and masons were always responsible for their erection. There was no evidence for timber and plaster chimneys in the accounts. In 1438-9, John Everard, mason was employed to make a chimney in the messuage rented by John Flour, in Holme Street.<sup>442</sup> In 1451-2, a mason was employed to make a chimney at the house of William Sculton, in the parish of St Augustine and in 1455-6, a chimney and two stone walls were repaired in the messuage of John Shakerys, in Cokerowe.<sup>443</sup> Thus the Hospital continued to upgrade property across their estate in the fifteenth century with new heating facilities.

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<sup>438</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a and b, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1392-3.

<sup>439</sup> Atkin et al., *Excavations in Norwich 1971-78 Part II*, p. 253.

<sup>440</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a and b Treasurer's Account Roll, 1399-1400.

<sup>441</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1429-30.

<sup>442</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1438-9.

<sup>443</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1451-2 and 1455-6.

Further references were made to the construction and repair of chimneys in small houses on the Hospital's estate. However, in contrast to the vicars choral, the Hospital does not appear to have favoured small houses in particular locations. In 1446-7, a chimney was repaired in a small house rented by John March in Smethirowe.<sup>444</sup> In 1455-6, a new chimney was made at a small house rented by John Myrigo, smith, also in Smethirowe.<sup>445</sup> In 1435-6, a new chimney was constructed at the small house rented by John Brythmere in Holme Street, and in 1449-50, a chimney was erected in the small house rented by Margaret Coke, also in Holme Street.<sup>446</sup> Earlier repairs to the small houses of Thomas Skynner and Edward Lymebrunner, in 1437-8 and 1442-3, provide evidence that other small houses in Holme Street had chimneys.<sup>447</sup> Chimney additions in small houses were common across the fifteenth century, but the extent to which alternative heating provisions were made for houses without chimneys, were not described in the accounts.

### Partitions

Aside from the addition of chimneys, landlords in Norwich, unlike the institutional landlords in York, did not generally make internal modifications in houses, in terms of the addition of partitions and furniture. Only three references to the construction of partitions were made in the accounts, two of which were in larger houses. In 1437-8, a 'parclose' was constructed in a messuage rented by Geoffrey Davy.<sup>448</sup> In 1458-9, a 'pykewal' was constructed in a tenement in Holme Street.<sup>449</sup> The third record describes the erection of a new partition in a small house in Smethirowe. In 1438-9, Henry Paternoster, dauber, was employed to make a partition (*pykewal*) at a small house rented by John Tongge.<sup>450</sup> The partition could have either created a division between a work and a domestic space, or perhaps created a division between sleeping areas.

There were no further references to partitions in shops or stalls in the marketplace, although it is interesting that a number of parcloes were fitted in two large commercial properties in the marketplace, Welbornes and the Worstedseld.<sup>451</sup> These properties were

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<sup>444</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1446-7.

<sup>445</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1455-6.

<sup>446</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1435-6 and 1449-50.

<sup>447</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1437-8 and 1442-3.

<sup>448</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1437-8.

<sup>449</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1458-9.

<sup>450</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1438-9.

<sup>451</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7a and b, Treasurer's Account Rolls, 1385-6, 1388-9 and 1400-01. 'Welbornes' is referred to as 'The Common Inn' in this account.

divided into small units from which worsted cloth was bought and sold.<sup>452</sup> Size and function would have been contributing factors in the division of space within properties across the city government's estate. Nevertheless, aside from chimney insertions, landlords in Norwich appear not to have taken as much interest in the internal arrangements of their estates' properties, or their internal fixtures and fittings, as the York landlords did.

### Conclusion

There were a number of differences between large and small houses in late medieval Norwich. Although both large and small houses were repaired using clay materials, flint appears to have been used in large houses only. Tile and thatch were used in both large and small houses, although tile was used in significant quantity in the marketplace. Porches do not appear to have been a common addition made by landlords. Although small houses probably had access to communal latrines and wells, private water supplies and sanitation provisions were reserved for larger houses. Landlords in Norwich made internal improvements to houses in the addition of chimneys, although they tended not to conduct internal modifications to screens and furniture.

### *Landlords, Tenants and the Built Environment*

The repair accounts of institutional landlords yield extremely rich information about the form and fabric of late medieval houses and the manner in which they were changed and adapted across the course of the late medieval period. These records reinforce the observations made in Chapter 2, which identified the variability and flexibility in small houses both within and across York and Norwich, in terms of their building materials, facilities and adaptability over time. In Norwich, alongside the standing evidence for flint and timber small houses at 8-12 Charing Cross and 2-12 Gildencroft, the repair accounts disclose that small houses across the city were also constructed out of clay. Furthermore, in addition to 15 Bedford Street, the remaining unit of a partially timber-framed row of shops, the repair accounts show that shops and stalls in Norwich marketplace were also constructed out of timber. In this respect, there was a huge amount of diversity in the style of small houses and shops in Norwich. The timber-

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<sup>452</sup> Dunn, 'Financial Reform in Late Medieval Norwich', p. 103.

framed structures would have also had a very different visual impact to clay-walled buildings, particularly in their use of a jetty at first-floor level. Distinctions between houses were also made obvious by the selective use of thatch or tile as a roof covering material. Although timber framing was the predominant construction method in late medieval York, the external appearance of small houses varied across the city. The repair accounts reveal that alongside the fairly modest external facades of 64-72 Goodramgate and 1 and 2 All Saint's Cottages, other small houses and shops were more elaborate in their external appearance. Shops on Ouse Bridge for example, had bay windows, glass panels and sophisticated drainage systems.

Although there were clear socio-economic distinctions between large and small houses, the location of many small houses and shops in prominent areas of the city meant that this type of housing was not excluded from sophisticated repairs or improvements. In both York and Norwich, differences between large and small houses were reinforced in their fixtures and facilities. Large houses were more likely to have their own private outside spaces, with latrines and wells, while smaller houses and shops had to use communal facilities. In Norwich, distinctions between large and small houses were also expressed in the use of building materials. On the St Giles's Hospital estate, flint tended to be reserved from the repair of large houses. Larger messuages and tenements, and merchant's houses such as Strangers' Hall, Suckling House and Bacon House would have been distinguished from clay-walled small houses and timber-framed shops, in their use of flint. In York, both large and small houses were constructed out of timber, although distinctions between them were reinforced in more subtle ways, such as the construction of porches in large houses. Despite these differences between large and small houses, some small houses and shops were in receipt of significant improvements as a result of their location in prominent areas of institutional estates. In York for example, small houses in Cambhall and Hugaterent, situated directly opposite the vicars choral precinct in the Bedern, were the only small houses across the vicars estate to receive new chimneys. In Norwich, small houses and shops in the marketplace were subject to significant changes in their appearance after the city government claimed ownership of property in this area in the late fourteenth century, such as the re-roofing of the thatched stalls in the butchers' market with tile, and the construction of timber *solars* above stalls.<sup>453</sup> Thus, although larger houses remained superior to small houses in

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<sup>453</sup> Dunn, 'Financial Reform in Late Medieval Norwich', pp. 102-5.

terms of space and facilities, small houses in more prominent areas of the city received improvements as a result of wider institutional concerns over image and self-representation.

As well as exercising institutional agendas in maintenance programmes, landlords also show a general concern for the continued improvement of living standards within their housing stock. Although some landlords were prepared to undertake tasks that others were not, such as the repair and maintenance of windows, latrines and water supplies, the common concerns for chimney insertions, new additions of louvres and changes to the internal layouts within properties, show that large institutional landlords in York and Norwich were reacting to increasing demands on living standards across the course of the late medieval period.<sup>454</sup> Although landlords exercised their own agendas in their repair and maintenance programmes, they also had to react to the demands of their tenants and the property market as a whole.

During times of economic decline, tenants even gained the upper hand in institutional repair and maintenance programmes. When their income was depleted, landlords concentrated their repair and maintenance programmes on occupied property. The link between economic decline and building activity has been the subject of much debate.<sup>455</sup> However, in the management of estates of domestic property, institutional landlords in York and Norwich appear to have taken a conservative approach at times of decreased income. Indeed, re-building to attract tenants did not prove to be successful. In the instance where the bridgemasters re-built one of their tenements in Coney Street,<sup>456</sup> it was not until five years later that a new tenant was found for the property. Instead, institutions appear to have found it more profitable to concentrate their repair programmes on property that attracted tenants and retained its value. The bridgemasters may have undertaken significant repairs in shops on the Bridge, such as the addition of furniture and cooking facilities, and the installation of glass windows, as a means of keeping their most valuable tenants content. This could in turn have provided the opportunity for tenants such as Richard Crocelyn and Thomas Tubbac, who both

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<sup>454</sup> Dyer, *Standards of Living in the later Middle Ages*, pp. 204-7; Dyer, *Making A Living in the Middle Ages*, pp. 311-12, 356-7; Dyer, *An Age of Transition?*, pp. 151-5.

<sup>455</sup> Dobson, 'Urban Decline in Late Medieval England', pp. 7-11; Palliser, 'Urban Decay Revisited', pp. 7-8; R. Tittler, *Architecture and Power, The Town Hall and the English Urban Community c. 1500-1640* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 71-2; A. Dyer, *Decline and Growth in English Towns*, p. 43; I.C. Campbell, 'Late Medieval Urban Decline? The Building Evidence of York' (MA diss., The University of York, 2000).

<sup>456</sup> *YBA*, pp. 291-300.

received extensive improvements to their shops across the course of the fifteenth century,<sup>457</sup> to capitalise on their privileged positions as residents of the Bridge.

Furthermore, a decline in rental value also provided tenants with the opportunity for expansion. The reduced rental values and the availability of vacant property on the vicars' estate for example, gave a number of tenants the opportunity to amalgamate two houses into one.<sup>458</sup> Amalgamations were evident in Benetplace and Hugaterent in the fifteenth century.<sup>459</sup> Negotiating leases also gave more ambitious tenants the autonomy to conduct their own repairs and alterations outside of the financial restraints of the institution. In a case discussed above, William Bempton, chaplain, even went to the extent of completely re-building the shops he leased from the vicars on Ouse Bridge, to suit his own needs.<sup>460</sup> More affluent tenants might have also conducted repairs and improvements out of their own pockets. A dispute arose between the Goldsmith's Company of London and one of their tenants, John Flambard, mercer and alderman, because, on vacating their property in Wood Street, he took with him items including 27 panels of estrichboard, 8 panes of glass and associated ironwork from the parlour and a great pewter laver kept by the hall for hand-washing.<sup>461</sup> Tenants who took advantage of the opportunity to enhance their properties of their own accord, might have found themselves in dispute with landlords over ownership rights when they came to vacate the property.

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<sup>457</sup> *YBA*, p. 302.

<sup>458</sup> Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents', 1: 243-4.

<sup>459</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>460</sup> Percy (ed.), *York Memorandum Book*, p. 54-5.

<sup>461</sup> T.F. Reddaway and L.E.M. Walker, *The early history of the Goldsmiths' Company, 1327-1509; prepared for publication with additional material including the first volume of the Company's Ordinances and Statutes, The book of ordinances, 1478-83* (London, 1975), pp. 136-7. I am grateful to Kate Giles for drawing my attention to this reference.

## *Conclusion*

The built environments of late medieval York and Norwich were very different from each other. York was characterised by timber-framed buildings and tiled roofs, while in Norwich, flint, clay, timber and thatch created a different visual impact. Furthermore, there was also diversity in the landscapes of individual cities. In Norwich, small houses situated north of the river in the Parish of St Martin Coslany and Holme Street, were constructed out of clay with thatched roofs, while in Cokerowe, there was evidence for tiled roofs, rather than thatched. In the marketplace, timber-framed stalls and shops with tiled roofs produced further distinctions in this urban environment. In York, the small shops on Ouse Bridge would have been very different in their appearance to the small houses at Cambhall and Benetplace which, for example, did not have glass windows. Across the estates of institutional landlords differences in building styles, the quality of fixtures and fittings and general maintenance within houses resulted from their attitudes towards property values and location. Although it difficult to detect where tenants initiated their own repairs and alterations, some paid for maintenance work on their own properties while others took advantage of opportunities that arose from fluctuations in the property market. Differences in the form and style of small houses, their internal arrangements and fixtures and fittings, were also reinforced in the types of tenants that lived within them. This will be the subject of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### Living In: Residency, Household Composition and the Organisation of Domestic Space in Rents, Cottages, Shops and Stalls

Previous attempts to define the kind of people who rented small houses and shops in the late middle ages have not been very successful, mainly because the majority of people who lived in houses of this type were poor or of a lowly social standing, which in turn means they have left no trace in the documentary record.<sup>1</sup> That said, an attempt at a systematic investigation of residency patterns in small houses across the fourteenth and fifteenth century has not yet been made. This chapter will examine the evidence for residency patterns in small houses and shops in York and Norwich, through a detailed analysis of the rental information of institutional landlords. However, rent accounts provide a minimal amount of information about tenants, and in order to extend the residential profile further into their financial and social backgrounds, these details will be cross-referenced with testamentary and franchise admissions evidence. One of the major challenges in assessing residency is the issue of whether small houses and shops were occupied by the person who was accountable on the rent account. The second major question raised in this chapter is how the space within small houses and shops was perceived, and used, by the tenants living in them. It will draw on evidence from probate inventories to examine domestic space, both in terms of the vocabulary used to describe different household areas, and the function and organisation of living space within small houses.

#### *Residency*

While small houses, described in rent accounts as *rents* and cottages (*cotagia*), were intended to function as domestic accommodation, this is not always as clear for structures described as shops (*shoppa*). The archaeological evidence suggests that there was sufficient room for domestic space within shops at first-floor and sometimes ground-floor level. For example, 15 Bedford Street, Norwich, had a first-floor room above a ground-floor shop, which could have been used as a domestic area. However,

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<sup>1</sup> Philip Short attempted to establish the occupants of 64-72 Goodramgate (Lady Row) in York, by using the fourteenth-century Poll Tax Returns, but his analysis did not provide accurate results; Short, 'Rows of York', pp. 95-6.



where the use of a first-floor area is ambiguous and there is no evidence of a fireplace or other structurally determinable domestic features, the tendency has been to interpret them as lock-ups and conclude that the tenant lived elsewhere. Leigh Alston has drawn attention to a pair of fifteenth-century semi-detached units at 1 Church Street, Coggeshall, which consists of two ground-floor shops, measuring 10 ft by 11 ft, with a jettied upper floor of two rooms, accessed by a staircase from each shop.<sup>2</sup> In the absence of any heating arrangements, or what he describes as, 'any link with domestic accommodation', he interprets their medieval function as shops with storerooms or workshop space at first-floor level.<sup>3</sup> Admittedly, the function of these smaller spaces is harder to determine from the archaeological record than, for example, the fifteenth-century shops at 34-50 Church Street, Tewkesbury and 119-23 Upper Spon Street, Coventry, where there is evidence for three rooms, which have been interpreted as a shop, solar and open hall.<sup>4</sup> However, even though evidence for function is not always explicit in the fabric of smaller shops, it is still possible that they were used for domestic as well as commercial purposes.

Documentary studies have also drawn into question the function of shops in relation to domestic usage. Derek Keene's study of shops in the Cheapside area of London found that rows of small units consisting of shops to the ground floor and rooms above would have been common in the area during the late medieval period.<sup>5</sup> He suggests that the first-floor space could have been used either for domestic or storage purposes, and also points to the fact that some ground-floor shops were in separate occupancy from the first floor.<sup>6</sup> Although the small shops owned by the bridgemasters in York, St Giles's Hospital in Norwich and Norwich city government have not survived for comparison, documentary descriptions of these structures suggest that they also contained first-floor rooms. A lease of 1421/2, negotiated for a shop on Ouse Bridge, York, for William Stockton, junior, a citizen and mercer, described a shop with rooms.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, in 1423, Thomas Clynt, glover, secured a lease for twenty years on a small shop with a room above.<sup>8</sup> The bridgemasters' repair and maintenance accounts also show that shops on Ouse Bridge had ground-floor and first-floor accommodation. For example, two

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<sup>2</sup> Alston, 'Late Medieval Workshops in East Anglia', pp. 54-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Quiney, *Town Houses in Medieval Britain*, pp. 246, 265; Elrington (ed.), *VCH Gloucester*, vol. 8, pp. 129-30.

<sup>5</sup> Keene, 'Shops and Shopping', p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Percy (ed.), *York Memorandum Book*, p. 61.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 64-5.

properties, described in a repair account as shops, rented by Richard Crocelyn, fletcher and Thomas Tubbac, were revealed to have store-rooms (*selour*), halls and chambers.<sup>9</sup> The bridgemasters' rent accounts also disclose that shops across their estate had first-floor rooms described as chambers (*camera*).<sup>10</sup> The use of descriptions associated with domestic accommodation, such as hall and chamber, suggest that these shops could, and often were, used for living in.

Documentary evidence for shops in Norwich, particularly in the marketplace, also suggests these structures could accommodate domestic functions. Shops in this area were described as both stalls (*stalla*) and shops (*shoppa*), and references in the repair accounts to first-floor rooms (*solar*) suggests that these structures were double-storey and could have accommodated domestic as well as commercial functions.<sup>11</sup> In this respect, the marketplace 'stalls' were more substantial structures than the vocabulary used to describe them suggests.

Despite the archaeological and documentary evidence for potential domestic accommodation within small shops and houses, little is known about the type of people who inhabited these spaces. The form and design of small houses and shops could vary widely across the medieval city and it is questionable to what extent this diversity also extended to the types of people living within them. An investigation into residency patterns must take into account the fact that fluctuations in local economies, rental values and fashion, together with distinctions between different areas of the city, impacted on the kinds of people living in small houses and shops across the course of the late medieval period as a whole. In York for example, the rental values of small houses on the estate of the vicars choral were subject to fluctuations across the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. When the small houses in Aldwark were first constructed in the early fourteenth century, those in the Ludham Rents cost 13s 4d per half-year and those in the Cliffehouse cottages cost 8s.<sup>12</sup> These prices were significantly higher than the price of similar properties in other areas of the city. However, in the decade after the Black Death (1349), the rental values of these houses declined and the units in the Ludham Rents cost only 3s a year and the five houses in Cliffehouse

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<sup>9</sup> *YBA*, p. 302.

<sup>10</sup> *YBA*, pp. 120, 133, 141, 390.

<sup>11</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7h, Various Rent Rolls, 1346- c. 1450.

<sup>12</sup> Rees Jones, 'Historical Background to the Aldwark/Bedern Area', p. 57.

remained unlet.<sup>13</sup> Age may also have been a contributing factor in the declining rental values; in 1409, when the houses were reaching an hundred years old, they were rented out at between 2s and 4s, although many were unoccupied.<sup>14</sup> The declining status of these houses was also reflected in the tenants who lived there; when the houses were new, they were rented to unenfranchised men employed in the clothing and building industry, but by the early fifteenth century, they were rented to women employed in service and prostitution.<sup>15</sup> Location also had a significant impact on rental values and residency patterns. For example, the small shops prominently situated on Ouse Bridge in York, generally commanded much higher rents than shops situated in the Toft Green and Skeldergate areas of the city.<sup>16</sup> A study of the occupants of small houses and shops must therefore take into consideration factors such as rental values and location, when assessing the social status of occupants across the course of the late medieval period.

In a recent article, Rees Jones has proposed that landlords provided two principal kinds of houses, those with a good sized hall for leasing to prosperous citizens, and long rows and courtyards of smaller and cheaper cottages, or 'rents', for tenants who were demonstrably poorer, more mobile and had less control over their tenancies.<sup>17</sup> The evidence of occupancy patterns in Aldwark certainly suggests that some small houses were occupied by poorer tenants. Goldberg has also calculated that two-thirds of all households within York would have been made up of journeymen, servants and labourers, rather than enfranchised craftsmen.<sup>18</sup> However, it should not be presumed that all tenants of small houses and shops were of a low social background. Small houses and shops were located in affluent as well as poorer areas of the city and this had a significant impact on the types of tenants that were able to afford to live in them. In order to establish as detailed a picture as possible of the social status of tenants of small houses and shops, and their motivations for renting houses of this nature, the information provided in the rent accounts will be cross-referenced with registers of the freemen of the city and testamentary evidence.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/44.

<sup>15</sup> Rees Jones, 'Historical Background to the Aldwark/Bedern Area', p. 58.

<sup>16</sup> See for example, the differences in rental values between these two areas in 1444, *YBA*, pp. 237-8, 240.

<sup>17</sup> Rees Jones, 'The Household and English Urban Government', p. 86.

<sup>18</sup> Goldberg, 'Masters and Men in Later Medieval England', in D.M. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (Harlow, 1999), p. 56.

The following discussion will examine the tenants of small houses and shops in York and Norwich, dealing with each city in turn. Taking York first, the fourteenth-century tenants of small houses let by the vicars choral will be considered, followed by a discussion of the fifteenth-century evidence for tenants of small houses and shops on the bridgemasters' estate.

The *rents* constructed by the vicars choral in Cambhall and Benetplace, York from 1360 to 1364, provide a good case study for the analysis of residency patterns in small houses across the fourteenth century. When the rents were first built, the rental values of individual units were staggered. For example, in the first surviving rent account after construction work began, dated to 1363-4, the highest rental value per half year in the six-unit row of Cambhall was 6s 8d, while in the twelve-unit row of Benetplace it was 5s.<sup>20</sup> The lowest rental value across the two properties was 3s 4d. Despite the differences in rental values from unit to unit, the average rental value in each row was exactly the same, at 5s.<sup>21</sup> By 1366 there was a slight differentiation between the two rows and the highest rental value at Benetplace increased to 6s, but it remained the same in Cambhall, at 6s 8d.<sup>22</sup> The lowest rental value increased across both rows, in Benetplace to 3s 10d and to 5s in Cambhall.<sup>23</sup> The number of units let in Cambhall increased from six to seven in this year and the average rental value of 6s 8d was also

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<sup>19</sup> Admission to the franchise of the city government provided citizens with a licence to retail trade, but allowed other privileges such as exemptions from tolls and the right to engage apprentices. It could be obtained by purchase, or by patrimony. Admission to the franchise of York is discussed in Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life-Cycle*, pp. 49-50, and admissions to the franchise of Norwich is discussed in Dunn, 'After the Black Death', pp. 63-90. Searches for enfranchised tenants were made in *YFR*; searches for enfranchised tenants in Norwich were made in *NFR*. Searches for York tenants who left wills were undertaken in the records of the Chancery Courts, The Dean and Chapter Courts and the Exchequer and Prerogative Courts: A. Charlesworth and A.V. Hudson (eds.), *Index of the Wills and Administrations entered in the Registers of the Archbishops at York, being Consistory Wills, etc., A.D. 1316 to A.D. 1822. Known as the Archbishops' Wills*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 93 (1937); F. Collins (ed.), *Index of Wills etc., from the Dean and Chapter's Court at York A.D. 1321 to 1636; with Appendix of Original Wills A.D. 1524 to 1724*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 38 (1907); F. Collins (ed.), *Index of Wills in the York Registry 1389-1514*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 6 (1889). Searches for Norwich tenants who left wills were undertaken in the Consistory Court, the Archdeaconry and Peculiar Courts: M.A. Farrow (ed.), *Index of Wills proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich and now preserved in the District Probate Registry at Norwich, 1370-1550, and wills among the Norwich Enrolled Deeds, 1298-1508*, 3 Parts, Norfolk Record Society 16 (1943-45); P.E. Hamlin (ed.), *Norfolk peculiar jurisdictions: index to probate records 1416-1857, index of marriage licence bonds*, Norfolk and Norwich Genealogical Society 16 (1984); T.L.M. Hawes (ed.), 'Index of Wills and Administrations 1469-1603 In the Archdeaconry Court of Norwich and Norfolk' (Unpublished index held at NRO, 1988).

<sup>20</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/12. The following rental prices for houses on the vicars' estate represent half-yearly values.

<sup>21</sup> The mode was used.

<sup>22</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/13.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

higher in this row than in Benetplace, were rentals ranged between 5s to 6s 8d. The rents remained at much the same level in both sites across the rest of the fourteenth century, except in 1401, when some of the rents in Benetplace were slightly diminished.<sup>24</sup> However, they returned to the 1366 levels again by 1403-04.<sup>25</sup>

Despite similarities in the rental values across the two sites, there were some differences in the types of tenants renting units within them. Across the 1360s, the tenants in Cambhall were predominantly male.<sup>26</sup> In contrast, the tenants in Benetplace were more mixed, in 1363-4 for example, three out of the twelve tenants occupying units in the row were women.<sup>27</sup> In 1366, this had increased slightly and four out of twelve tenants in Benetplace were women.<sup>28</sup> The distribution of male and female occupants in the row, remained at this level across the rest of the fourteenth century.<sup>29</sup> In contrast, it was not until the 1370s, that female tenants began to rent units in Cambhall, when in 1371, three out of the seven occupied units were let to women.<sup>30</sup> There were also differences in the occupations of tenants living across the two sites. The surnames of tenants living in Benetplace, suggest that several worked in the building trades, as masons, tilers and painters, while other craft-specific surnames suggest that tenants worked in the tailoring and leather trades or as smiths.<sup>31</sup> The surnames of tenants in Cambhall, also suggest that a mason, carpenter and a tailor resided there in the period between 1360 and 1380.<sup>32</sup> However, in contrast to Benetplace, between one and three male tenants in Cambhall between these dates were identified as religious men.<sup>33</sup> Residency patterns were even more polarised between the two sites by the turn of the 1390s. By 1389-90, the units in Cambhall were once again let exclusively to male occupants.<sup>34</sup> Between the period 1389 and 1409, the only female tenant recorded on the rent account was a Juliana Wirethorp, who took over the tenancy from her husband, John Wirethorp, after 1403-04,

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<sup>24</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/33, 38, 41, 42.

<sup>25</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/13, VC 6/2/42.

<sup>26</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/12, 13.

<sup>27</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/12.

<sup>28</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/13.

<sup>29</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/15, VC 6/2/33, 38.

<sup>30</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/15. One unit was vacant in this term.

<sup>31</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/12-15, VC 6/2/29, 33, 38, 40, 41, 42.

<sup>32</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/12-15.

<sup>33</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/12-15. Religious men were usually identified under the title '*dominus*', although there were some exceptions, such as Radulph de Clifton and Richard Ottelay (VC 4/1/14-15), who were not identified by title, but were identified in F. Harrison (ed.), 'List of Vicars' Choral' (Unpublished index held at YMA, no date).

<sup>34</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/33.

presumably having been widowed.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, within these years the numbers of identifiable religious men slowly increased and by 1409, at least three out of the eight tenants were identifiable as priests under the title *dominus*.<sup>36</sup>

It was not uncommon for the vicars choral to house priests and vicars outside their college precinct in the Bedern when space was lacking. A row of small houses in 'Little Bedern', also referred to as Hugaterent, and situated next to the college precinct in Goodramgate, was let to religious men as well as lay men and women, across the fourteenth and early fifteenth century.<sup>37</sup> However, unlike Cambhall, Hugaterent continued to house mixed gender tenants across the period 1366 to 1403-04, making the almost exclusively male zone of Cambhall all the more striking.<sup>38</sup> The lack of female tenants in Cambhall may, in part, be due to rental values. After the Black Death, it has been argued that women tenants were, in general, increasingly concentrated into the cheapest properties on the vicars' estate.<sup>39</sup> The rent levels in Cambhall, for example, were far higher than those in Aldwark and St Andrewgate, where a significant number of female tenants rented units.<sup>40</sup> However, some female tenants in Hugaterent were paying the same rental prices as those in Cambhall. Thus in 1403-04, Alice Warde, Margaret King and Alice Clerk paid 6s 8d, 6s and 5s respectively, to rent units in Hugaterent.<sup>41</sup> This suggests that the concentration of male tenants living in Cambhall, was not the direct result of the rental values of units in the row.

Location appears to have been a significant factor in the differentiation between tenants across the two areas. Cambhall, unlike Benetplace, was not only in a predominant position opposite the entrance to the vicars' college in the Bedern, but was also situated on the corner of College Street. This provided a direct link between Goodramgate and the east end of York Minster precinct. At the end of the fourteenth century, the vicars choral undertook an extensive programme of regeneration, both along Goodramgate and within the college precinct itself. At this time, significant alterations were made to the façades of houses on both sides of Goodramgate.<sup>42</sup> These alterations coincided with the completion of new housing for vicars in the college precinct, which replaced the old

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<sup>35</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/40-44.

<sup>36</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/44.

<sup>37</sup> Rees Jones, 'God and Mammon', p. 198.

<sup>38</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/12-14, VC 6/2/33, 38, 41, 42.

<sup>39</sup> Rees Jones, 'Women's Influence', pp. 204-10.

<sup>40</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/12-15, VC 6/2/33, 38.

<sup>41</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/42.

<sup>42</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/2-3.

dormitory-style accommodation with individual dwellings and the construction of a new courtyard with a hall and service range.<sup>43</sup> The re-modelling of the Goodramgate and Bedern area was accompanied by a petition to the King, for permission to construct a bridge over Goodramgate, linking the Bedern with the east end of the Minster precinct, which was described in Chapter 1.<sup>44</sup> Although it is doubtful whether the plans for this bridge came into fruition,<sup>45</sup> the concentration of re-development projects around this area of Goodramgate highlight its importance as a focal point for the reputation and self-image of the vicars choral.

Issues of public image and visibility thus appear to have impacted on residency patterns for the small houses in Cambhall. The concentration of male tenants and, more specifically, religious male tenants in Cambhall was perhaps a deliberate attempt to control the image and reputation of their tenants in this prominent area. The vicars choral appear to have exercised more control over their tenants in Cambhall than it did in less prominently placed small houses on their estate. Goldberg has suggested that a number of women living in Aldwark from the end of the fourteenth century may have worked as prostitutes.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, it is perhaps all the more significant that very few identifiable priests and vicars appear to have rented properties in Aldwark across the fourteenth and fifteenth century, apart from one rather conspicuous exception, *dominus* Henry de Capell, who rented a unit there in 1409.<sup>47</sup> Although the vicars may have turned a blind eye to disreputable women tenants in less prominent areas of their estate, they appear to have been more obviously concerned for the moral welfare and reputation of their religious men living in the community. Attempting to separate religious men from tenants who worked as prostitutes was perhaps a strategy to try and moderate the numbers of clergymen who were frequently presented in the church courts, for engaging in commercial sex.<sup>48</sup>

None of the secular tenants living in small houses across the vicars' estate in Aldwark, St Andrewgate, Cambhall, Benetplace, Hugaterent, Cottingham Rents and Mountsorrell

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<sup>43</sup> S. Rees Jones and J.D. Richards, 'The Plan of the Bedern', in J.D. Richards, *The Vicars Choral of York Minster: the College at Bedern*, *The Archaeology of York* 10/5 (2001), pp. 538-40.

<sup>44</sup> A petition was made by the vicars choral for a passageway across Goodramgate, recorded in the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Richard II, vol. 5, p. 712; Tillott (ed.), *VCH, The City of York*, p. 339.

<sup>45</sup> Rees Jones and Richards, 'The Plan of the Bedern', p. 540.

<sup>46</sup> Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life-Cycle*, pp. 151-2.

<sup>47</sup> YMA, VC 6/2/44, see also 40.

<sup>48</sup> Goldberg, 'Masters and Men', p. 67.

between 1350 and 1426 could be identified as members of the franchise.<sup>49</sup> It is therefore more likely that these men worked as servants, journeymen and day labourers. Despite the lack of determinable franchise members, it is important not to presume that all the tenants were poor. Many secular tenants living in Cambhall and Benetplace who worked in the building trades would not have needed to join the franchise because they did not offer their goods for sale on the open market.<sup>50</sup> These tenants were probably better off than the poorer and disreputable men and women living in Aldwark. The vicars who lived in small houses in Cambhall and Hugaterent, could have also been comparatively affluent. Evidence from archaeological excavations and probate inventories, suggest that although their means were modest, they were certainly not poor.<sup>51</sup> No further information about the secular tenants could be accurately identified in testamentary evidence. The close examination of the rent accounts across the vicars' estate thus reveals that residency patterns in small houses were complex and influenced by the factors of location, rental value and the agenda of the landlord.

Further diversity among tenants of small houses and shops in York can be identified in the fifteenth century, on the bridgemasters' estate. The areas of the city in which the bridgemasters owned small houses and shops were identified in Chapter 3; however, they have been recapitulated here, for ease of reference (also see Map 6). Alongside the shops on Ouse Bridge, there are five areas across the bridgemasters' estate where rows, or courtyards of small houses (*cotagium*) and small shops (*shopa*), can be identified. Micklegate Without and Within,<sup>52</sup> Ratton Row and Toft Green were defined as one area (the Toft Green area). Clementhorpe, Skeldergate and Hammerton Lane formed the second (the Skeldergate area). Nessgate, Castlegate, Hertergate, Carregate, Coppergate and Frere Lane formed the third (the Castlegate area). Coney Street, the fourth (Coney Street). The fifth area was delineated by Overousegate, Pavement, Hosiergate and Stonebow (the Pavement area).<sup>53</sup> From 1435, a row of four cottages can be identified in

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<sup>49</sup> Approximately 800 tenants were listed under these properties between 1350 and 1426. While some name matches were made, without any supporting evidence, such as occupation, these matches could not be verified.

<sup>50</sup> Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life-Cycle*, pp. 49-51.

<sup>51</sup> Among the archaeological finds from excavations in the Bedern were jewellery and foreign coins, silk textiles and prestigious glass tableware, all suggesting high status; they also appear to have enjoyed a varied diet, see Richards, *The Vicars Choral of York Minster*, pp. 613-20. The probate inventories of several vicars will be discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>52</sup> Micklegate Without refers to the part of the street outside of the city walls, beyond Micklegate Bar, while Micklegate Within refers to the street within the bar.

<sup>53</sup> The distribution of small houses and shops throughout these areas have been repeated here for ease of reference.



the Toft Green area and a further row of five cottages was located in the Skeldergate area.<sup>54</sup> The number of properties identified as cottages in the Castlegate area varied across the surviving rent accounts, although a row of nine cottages is discernible from 1440 onwards.<sup>55</sup> A further group of four cottages can be identified in Coney Street.<sup>56</sup> In terms of small shops, a row of six shops and a further individual shop can be identified in the Toft Green area, a row of three shops were situated in the Skeldergate area; two shops were located in the Castlegate area and a further row of six shops were positioned in the Pavement area of the city.<sup>57</sup> For most tenants, the bridgemasters listed a person's trade or occupation alongside their name. This extra information also increases the accuracy of identifications in franchise admission's evidence and testamentary evidence.

Residency patterns in small houses, referred to in the accounts as cottages (*cotagia*), will be discussed first. The rental values of cottages, and the types of tenants living in them, varied from area to area. The cottages in the Toft Green and Skeldergate areas commanded the lowest rental values across the estate, being in the region of 2s to 3s per year.<sup>58</sup> A substantial number of tenants living in these cottages were women. Between 1435 and 1449, all the occupied units in Skeldergate were let to women tenants.<sup>59</sup> The tenants of cottages in the Toft Green area were more mixed, although three of the four cottages listed in a row between 1435 and 1444 were rented to women.<sup>60</sup> In 1436, all the tenants in this row were women.<sup>61</sup> The surnames of the women living in Skeldergate do not reveal their occupations, except for Agnes Wright, who may have worked in the building trade and Matilda Walker in the fulling, or dyeing industry.<sup>62</sup> The majority of tenants' surnames in the Toft Green area do not suggest occupation, except for John Mason and Isabel Gardyner, who lived in cottages there between 1428 and 1435.<sup>63</sup> In 1449, three men living in cottages in the Toft Green area, John Lorymer, John Ostiller

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<sup>54</sup> See for example, *YBA*, pp. 148, 151.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, p. 194.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, p. 156.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 130, 136, 133, 154, 193, 142, 195.

<sup>58</sup> *YBA*, see for example, pp. 129-31, 132-34 (1424), pp. 135-37, 138-39 (1428). The bridgemasters collected their rents on a yearly basis.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 150-51, 167-68, 189-90, 235-36, 262-64.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 164-66.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 147-49, 186-188, 232-34.

<sup>62</sup> By the fifteenth-century, surnames were not necessarily indicative of occupation, and these are cautious assessments.

<sup>63</sup> *YBA*, p. 136.

and William Leste, ostler, probably worked with horses and bridle equipment.<sup>64</sup> However, they could not be identified as members of the franchise. Indeed, the majority of tenants living in this area across the fifteenth century could not be identified as members of the franchise. There was only one notable exception to this; in 1458, Edward Middial, dyer (litster), rented a cottage there for 3s and can be identified as a freeman of the city.<sup>65</sup> Nonetheless, the majority of residents in the Skeldergate and Toft Green areas were waged journeymen, labourers and servants, rather than enfranchised craftsmen.

Within the nine cottages in the Castlegate area of the city, and the five cottages in Coney Street, the numbers of enfranchised tenants was higher. Cottages in the Castlegate area commanded rental values of between 3s and 5s, although they had fallen to 3s by the mid fifteenth century.<sup>66</sup> Several male tenants in the Castlegate area can be identified as members of the franchise between 1440-4. In 1440, out of the nine cottages in the row, three were let to enfranchised tenants; Richard Bukler, glover, rented two cottages for 6s and John Carlele, cordwainer, rented a cottage there for 5s.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, in 1444, three further enfranchised tenants, John Saxton, saddler, John Cuke, shipman and John Kyrkham, plasterer, rented cottages in the row at 3s for the year.<sup>68</sup> On average, the rental values of cottages in the Coney Street area were higher than the Castlegate area and ranged between 3s and 7s per year.<sup>69</sup> However, only two enfranchised tenants can be identified in the five cottages in this area across the fifteenth century; Gilbert Dorem, skinner, who had rented a cottage there for 3s 4d in the early fifteenth century,<sup>70</sup> and William Downom, skinner, who rented a cottage there for 3s in 1440.<sup>71</sup> Thus, in general, tenants of small cottages on the bridgemasters' estate tended not to be members of the franchise. Nevertheless, the distribution of free and unfree tenants in small houses across the bridgemasters' estate requires further consideration.

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid, p. 260.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, p. 310; *YFR*, p. 169. He entered the franchise in 1449-1450.

<sup>66</sup> *YBA*, pp. 141-2, 154-5, 193-4, 239-40, 288.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, pp. 193-4; *YFR*, Richard Bukler, glover (p. 141) and John Carlele, cordwainer (p. 119).

<sup>68</sup> *YBA*, p. 240; *YFR*, John Saxton, saddler (p. 102), John Cuke, shipman (p. 167), John Kyrkham, plasterer (p. 114).

<sup>69</sup> *YBA*, pp. 156-7, 197-8.

<sup>70</sup> Although Dorem could not be identified as a freeman in the published rolls, his will of 1432, confirms that he was. *BIA*, Prog/Exch. Prob Reg 3, 351v.

<sup>71</sup> *YBA*, p. 198; *YFR*, p. 89.

The Castlegate and Coney Street areas of the bridgemasters' estate were located in the centre of York. In their own right, Castlegate and Coney Street formed a major thoroughfare following the River Ouse from north-west to south-east through the city centre.<sup>72</sup> Both the Skeldergate and Toft Green areas were positioned south-west of the River Ouse. Although the cottages in the Skeldergate area occupied a more visible position near to the south side of the river than the cottages in the Toft Green area, neither was as centrally placed as the Castlegate and Coney Street areas. Coney Street was home to the Guildhall of the city government, a number of larger tenements, shops and inns, and three common lanes, which lead down to staiths on the river Ouse.<sup>73</sup> These distinctions were reflected in the rental values and subsequently the types of tenants that rented cottages in these four areas. Enfranchised craftsmen may have been attracted to the Castlegate and Coney Street areas because of its occupational links. Richard Bukler, glover, and John Carlele, cordwainer, could have been drawn to the Castlegate area to facilitate regular contact with the leatherworkers and cordwainers, who were concentrated in the parishes around Ouse and Foss Bridge.<sup>74</sup> Swanson found that although cordwainers were generally dispersed across the city, fourteen of the fifty-eight cordwainers whose wills survive lived in the parish of St. Crux, to the south-east of the city and close to the Castlegate area (see map 4).<sup>75</sup> The saddlers and skimmers were concentrated in the parishes of St Michael Spurriergate and St Martin Coney Street and thus the enfranchised tenants John Saxton, saddler, who rented a cottage in Castlegate, William Downom and Gilbert Dorem, skimmers, who rented cottages in Coney Street, could have also chosen to live in these locations because of the topographical links with their trades.

Yet this does not explain why these craftsmen chose to rent small houses over any other house-type, nor whether they were living there in person or sub-letting them out. Previous examinations of admissions to the franchise have suggested that some trades were in decline in the fifteenth century, and a modest decline in the proportion of tanners, saddlers and other leather-workers entering the freedom of the city was observed.<sup>76</sup> Enfranchised members of these craft groups may have rented cheaper accommodation as a consequence of the decline in their trades. It is also important to

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<sup>72</sup> Rees Jones, 'Historical Introduction', pp. 692-3.

<sup>73</sup> Raine, *Mediaeval York*, pp. 145-56.

<sup>74</sup> Swanson, 'Craftsmen and Industry', pp. 475-6.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 457.

<sup>76</sup> Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life-Cycle*, p. 63.

take into account the fact that the franchise was not exclusively open to the richest of craftsmen. Goldberg has suggested that the civic government of York may have operated an 'open-door' policy regarding admission to the freedom, in contrast to cities such as Nottingham, where the franchise was weighted towards the higher-status crafts and trades, whose members tended to be of more than average wealth.<sup>77</sup> The social status of these craftsmen requires further analysis.

Further personal information about the enfranchised tenants of the Castlegate and Coney Street areas can be deduced by comparing the dates supplied in the freeman's registers and the rent accounts, and in a search for their wills. Four out of the five freemen living in cottages in the Castlegate area had been admitted to the freedom twelve or more years before they appeared on the bridgemasters' rent accounts; moreover, three had obtained their freedoms more than twenty-seven years earlier.<sup>78</sup> It is possible that these men were at the end of their careers, or had ceased trade entirely by the time they were renting cottages. However, no wills could be identified for any of the five freemen living in cottages in the Castlegate area. Thus, although these tenants were of sufficient means to purchase membership to the franchise, they might not have been affluent enough to leave wills at the time of their death.

Similar observations were made in relation to the two enfranchised craftsmen identified in the Coney Street area. Although Dorem could not be identified in the freeman's register, his will identifies that he died in 1432 and a rent account of 1435 records that he was as a 'former' tenant of the cottage, which suggests that he lived out his last days in this cottage.<sup>79</sup> William Downom, skinner, who rented a cottage on Coney Street in the first half of the fifteenth century, entered the freedom of the city in 1389-90 and died in 1426, which suggests that he was over fifty years of age by the time of his death.<sup>80</sup> He also appears to have lived out his last days in this cottage.<sup>81</sup> Modestly priced and

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid, pp. 50-5.

<sup>78</sup> Richard Bukler, glover, entered the freedom in 1427-28, John Carlele, cordwainer, in 1412-13, John Kyrkham, plasterer, in 1409-10, John Saxton, saddler, in 1398. The one exception, John Cuke, shipman (mariner) entered the freedom in 1446-7, after he resided in the cottage in the Castlegate area, which he gained by patrimony from his father John Cuke, barbour, *YFR*, pp. 141, 119, 114, 102, 89.

<sup>79</sup> BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, 351v. Gilbert Dorem, skinner, is listed as a former tenant of the cottage in Coney Street in 1435 (*YBA*, p. 156). Incomplete rent accounts for the first half of the fifteenth century prevent the identification of the date when he entered this property.

<sup>80</sup> *YFR*, p. 89; *YBA*, pp. 198; BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 2, fol. 515v, continued on fol. 505.

<sup>81</sup> Downom is listed as a former tenant of the cottage in Coney Street in 1440 (*YBA*, p. 198). Incomplete rent accounts for the first half of the fifteenth century prevent the identification of the date when he entered this property.

ideally located among their trade community for companionship, charity and security, small cottages in the Coney Street and Castlegate areas could have provided ideal homes for retired craftsmen.

The wills of these two craftsmen reveal further information about their personal circumstances. Gilbert Dorem, skinner, requested burial in his parish church, St Martin Coney Street, which links him to the parish in which he rented the cottage.<sup>82</sup> The will does not indicate that Dorem owned any other property.<sup>83</sup> It details his family; Dorem had a wife, Elene, a married son, Robert, a grandson, John, and a married daughter, Matilda, the wife of a William Ward, tailor. Dorem also left money to two servants, John Wright and John Hewett. However, the will does not give any indication of who, apart from his wife, lived with Dorem in the cottage on Coney Street. Having families of their own, Dorem's children may have lived in separate houses to their parents, and it is not clear whether his servants lived with him. Dorem's high altar bequests in lieu of unpaid tithes, can be used as a general guide to his social status.<sup>84</sup> According to Dinn's schedule of high altar bequests, Gilbert Dorem's bequest of 2s, suggests that he was from a relatively poor social group.<sup>85</sup> Dorem may not have been among the poorest tenants of small houses living in the bridgemasters' estate, especially since his monetary bequests to his family and servants ranged from 12d to 6s 8d; nonetheless, the evidence from his will suggests that he was a craftsman of fairly modest means.

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<sup>82</sup> BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, 351v.

<sup>83</sup> Although property bequests were settled outside the will, the modest nature of the will suggests that the rented cottage in Coney Street was the only property he was associated with at the time of his death. Property bequests in wills have been the subject of much discussion in: C. Burgess, 'Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered', in M. Hicks (ed.), *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 14-33; P. Heath, 'Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: the Evidence of Hull Wills', in B. Dobson (ed.), *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 212-13; P. Maddern, 'Friends of the Dead: Executors, Wills and Family Strategy in Fifteenth-Century Norfolk', in R.E. Archer and S. Walker (eds.), *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England* (London, 1995), pp. 155-9; Richardson, 'Household Objects and Domestic Ties', p. 435. Limitations in the use of wills as assessors of wealth have been discussed in: C. Burgess, 'By Quick and by Dead': Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol', *The English Historical Review* 102/405 (1987): 837-58.

<sup>84</sup> R. Dinn, 'Death and rebirth in late medieval Bury St Edmunds', pp. 151-3. Dinn has argued that a comparison of high-altar bequest with trade and status description, with the total wealth in wills suggests that high altar bequests do provide an indication of relative social status.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 151-3, Dinn has suggested three broad high altar bequest groups, which correspond to a wealthy elite (leaving 6s 8d and above), a middle stratum of quite prosperous traders and craftspeople (3s 4d – 6s) and a relatively poor social group which included people such as weavers, tailors and labourers (up to 3s). Dinn's schedule was compiled using wills from 1380-1399 and 1439-1530 and has been used for comparison here, because the wills under discussion in this chapter are within these date ranges.

The will of William Downom, skinner, suggests an alternative scenario.<sup>86</sup> Unlike Dorem, Downom did not request burial in St Martin Coney Street, but in St Martin, Micklegate. Downom was married and, although no children were listed, he appears to have had a large household, comprising of two servants and two apprentices. This calls into question whether Downom had rented the small cottage in Coney Street as his principal dwelling. He did not make a high altar bequest, from which an assessment of his status could be made, although his monetary bequests of between 6s 8d to 18d, suggest that his disposable income was similar to Dorem. It is therefore possible that Downom could have taken advantage of the cottage's prominent position in Coney Street for alternative means, perhaps to house his apprentices and for use as a workshop or for the sale of skins.

The enfranchised craftsmen that rented small cottages were therefore of diverse social backgrounds. In general, the evidence suggests that the enfranchised craftsmen who lived in small houses were mature in age and modest in means; however, there were probably exceptions to this rule, and other craftsmen appear to have taken advantage of the relatively cheap rents of cottages in prominent areas of the city for alternative uses.

Residency patterns in shops (*shoppa*) on the bridgemasters' estate provide equally interesting information about the tenants of small properties across York. The row of six shops and a further individual shop in the Toft Green area were only visible in rent accounts for 1424 and 1428.<sup>87</sup> These shops were let at 5s per year, except for two shops, which were both rented to William Lyghtfote, smith, for 17s. Three women rented shops in this area between these two dates, but the majority were male. None of the tenants could be identified as freemen. The three shops in the Skeldergate area, described as 'shops with cameras', were only visible in the 1424 account and were listed as vacant.<sup>88</sup> It is not clear what happened to these properties in subsequent years; although it is possible that they ceased to be used for commercial purposes. Whether these non-enfranchised shopkeepers preferred to pay annual fines to trade retail in the city, or whether they were deliberately avoiding the annual payment for a licence to

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<sup>86</sup> BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 2, fol. 515v, continued on fol. 505r.

<sup>87</sup> YBA, pp. 130, 136.

<sup>88</sup> YBA, p. 133.

trade retail, can only be speculated;<sup>89</sup> however, a large proportion of the shopkeepers in other areas of the bridgemasters' estate could not be identified as freemen of the city.

The two shops in the Castlegate area were both let to a single tenant in 1435 and 1440 for 13s 4d.<sup>90</sup> One of these tenants, John Tanfeld, bladesmith, was identified as a freeman.<sup>91</sup> The six shops in the Pavement area of the city, commanded slightly higher rents than the shops in the other areas, and were let at 8s each. In 1428, Robert Gousehill, tailor and Richard Croghlyn, fletcher, rented a shop each in this area and John Yngylby, cordwainer rented four shops.<sup>92</sup> All four men were identified as members of the franchise.<sup>93</sup> In 1440, the situation was slightly different, Helen Wragby and Richard Fletcher rented a shop each, while Davy Fletcher and Richard Whitecake, cordwainer, both rented two shops each.<sup>94</sup> In this year, only Whitecake was identified as a freeman. Nevertheless, in a similar manner to the cottages, the shops in the Toft Green and Skeldergate areas of the city tended not to be let to freemen, while shops in the central areas of Castlegate and Pavement commanded higher rental values and attracted freemen tenants.

Furthermore, two of the tenants of the Castlegate and Pavement areas, Richard Whitecake (d. 1445) and John Tanfeld (d. 1478), left wills. Although this suggests that they were of a reasonably comfortable means, their bequests were fairly modest and made no mention of property, servants or apprentices. Richard Whitecake (d. 1445) specified a high altar bequest of 12d, suggesting that by the time of his death, his income was also quite modest.<sup>95</sup> It is likely, therefore, that these men would have lived and worked in these shops. They may even have expanded into two properties in order to increase their living and working areas. Whitecake, like Gilbert Dorem and William Downom, also appears to have lived out his last days in his shop in the Pavement area,

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<sup>89</sup> Goldberg, *Women, Work and Lifecycle*, pp. 50-1; R.B. Dobson, 'Admissions to the Freedom of the City of York in the Late Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series 23 (1973): 16.

<sup>90</sup> *YBA*, pp. 154, 193.

<sup>91</sup> *YFR*, p. 150.

<sup>92</sup> *YBA*, p. 142.

<sup>93</sup> *YFR*, Robert Gousehill, tailor (p. 105), Richard Croghlyn (Crocelyn), fletcher (p. 179), John Yngylby, cordwainer (p. 96).

<sup>94</sup> *YBA*, p. 195.

<sup>95</sup> Richard Whitecake, cordwainer (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 2, fol. 110r); John Tanfeld, bladesmith (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 5, fol. 93v), did not make a high altar bequest from which an assessment of his financial position could be made. Two wills were identified under the name Richard Croghlyn, fletcher, however, a definite match could not be ascertained from the internal evidence.

as his will discloses that he died in 1445, and he was not listed on the rent accounts beyond 1444.<sup>96</sup>

Across the late medieval period, as many as forty-four shops lined Ouse Bridge.<sup>97</sup> The shops in this location were let for much higher rental values than the cottages and shops in other areas of the city. In 1428 for example, out of the thirty-seven shops on the Bridge, the highest rental value for an individual shop was 50s per year.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, approximately half were priced at 20s for the year, with the lowest rental value being 5s, which related to only five shops. Moreover, in contrast to the tenants of cottages and shops elsewhere on the estate, a significantly higher proportion of shop tenants on Ouse Bridge were identified as freemen of the city and left wills. In a rent account for 1428, thirty-seven shops were listed on Ouse Bridge, with ten enfranchised craftsmen renting eighteen of them.<sup>99</sup> Out of these ten men, five left wills.<sup>100</sup> This is particularly significant when considering that only six out of the thirty-one cottages and shops recorded across the Toft Green, Skeldergate, Castlegate and Pavement areas of the city in the same year were rented to freemen, none of whom left wills.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, in 1440, sixteen enfranchised craftsmen rented twenty-two of the forty-four shops listed on Ouse Bridge.<sup>102</sup> Out of these sixteen men, five left wills.<sup>103</sup> In contrast, out of the forty

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<sup>96</sup> *YBA*, p. 240.

<sup>97</sup> *YBA*, pp. 191-3. The numbers of shops recorded on the rent account under Ouse Bridge fluctuated across the fifteenth century. This figure represents the highest number of shops recorded on the Bridge in this period.

<sup>98</sup> *YBA*, pp. 140-1, this figure represents the number of shops, rather than the number of tenants renting shops, because some shops were rented to more than one tenant.

<sup>99</sup> These men were identified as: John Beswyk, glover (for one shop), Thomas Clynt, glover (for three shops), William Ward, barbour (for one shop), Roger Colynson, mercer (for one shop), William Kirke, mercer (for two shops), John Tutbag (for two shops), *Dominus* William Bempton (for one shop), Robert Mason, clerk (for three shops), John Elys, goldsmith (for two shops), Richard Croghlyn, fletcher (for two shops). *YFR*, pp. 116, 117, 123, 124, 125, 128, 134, 144, 152, 155.

<sup>100</sup> Wills were identified for: Thomas Clynt, glover (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, fol. 567r), William Kirke, mercer (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, fol. 620r), *Dominus* William Bempton, chaplain (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 2, fol. 474r), Robert Mason, clerk (BIA Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, fol. 448r), John Elys, goldsmith (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 2, fol. 561v).

<sup>101</sup> *YBA*, pp. 135-39, 141-43. These men were: Richard Gousehill, tailor (one shop), Richard Crocelyn, fletcher (one shop) and John Yngleby, cordwainer (four shops). *YFR*, pp. 96, 105, 152.

<sup>102</sup> *YBA*, pp. 191-3. These men were: John Colynson, cutler (for two shops), Thomas Clynt (one shop), William Ward, barbour (one shop), Robert Scawseby (two shops), John Hutchonson, glover (one shop), Roger Colynson (one shop), Robert Mason, clerk (one shop), John Swathe, fletcher (two shops), John Hert, barbour (one shop), John Catlogh, barbour (one shop), William Bempton, chaplain (three shops), Robert Colynson, mercer (one shop), Hugh Hurkok, mercer (one shop), Thomas Barton, mercer (one shop), Thomas Burgh, clerk (one shop), Richard Crocelyn (for two shops). *YFR*, pp. 88, 105, 123, 125, 128, 134, 137, 143, 146, 149, 151, 153, 155, 179.

<sup>103</sup> Wills were identified for Thomas Clynt (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, fol. 567r), Robert Mason, clerk (BIA Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, fol. 448r), *Dominus* William Bempton (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 2, fol. 474r), chaplain, Robert Scawseby, glover (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 5, fol. 5r), Thomas Burgh, clerk (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 2, 194r).



cottages listed across the Toft Green, Skeldergate, Castlegate, Coney Street and Pavement areas of the city in 1440, eight cottages and shops were rented by five freemen, two of whom left wills.<sup>104</sup> Thus, although there were more enfranchised craftsmen renting cottages and shops in the Toft Green, Skeldergate, Castlegate and Pavement areas of the city in 1440 than in 1428, the number of enfranchised craftsmen renting shops on Ouse Bridge across these two dates was significantly higher than in these other four areas.

Despite the proportionately higher number of freemen tenants in shops on Ouse Bridge than in cottages and shops elsewhere in the city, it is important to note that in 1428 and 1440, no more than half of the shops on the Bridge were let to freemen, and the affluence of the freemen who were renting shops on the Bridge across the fifteenth century is drawn into question. In 1428, out of the eighteen shops priced at 20s, nine were rented to freemen tenants, and out of the seven shops priced at 5s or less, three were rented to freeman.<sup>105</sup> By 1440, fewer freemen were renting the higher-priced shops and more freemen were renting the lower-priced shops. Out of the twenty shops priced at 20s, five were let to freemen and out of the six shops priced 5s or less, five were rented out to freemen.<sup>106</sup> Proportionally, the number of wills made by freemen tenants of the Bridge decreased from five out of ten in 1428, to five out of sixteen in 1440. Thus although more freemen were renting shops on the Bridge than in other areas, these tenants were not necessarily among the wealthiest citizens. In addition, the unenfranchised tenants of Ouse Bridge might not have been of modest means. In London, many fifteenth-century journeymen appear to have achieved the same status as craftsmen and even tried to form guild organisations of their own.<sup>107</sup> Thus, by 1440, the gap between enfranchised and non-enfranchised tenants in terms of wealth might not have been that easily defined.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> *YBA*, pp. 187-91, 193-6, 197-8. These men were John Tanfeld, bladesmith (two shops), John Carlele, cordwainer (one shop), Richard Buckler, glover (one shop), Richard Whitecake (two shops) and William Downom, skinner (one shop). John Tanfeld and Richard Whitecake left wills (discussed above). *YFR*, pp. 89, 119, 141, 150.

<sup>105</sup> *YBA*, pp. 140-1.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 191-3.

<sup>107</sup> Rees Jones, 'Household, Work and the Problem of Mobile Labour: The Regulation of Labour in Medieval English Towns', in J. Bothwell, P.J.P Goldberg, W.M. Ormrod (eds.), *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth Century England* (York, 2000), p. 152.

<sup>108</sup> For a discussion of the status of journeymen, see Rees Jones, 'Household, Work and the Problem of Mobile Labour', pp. 149-152, in particular p. 152; Rees Jones, 'The Household and English Urban Government', pp. 71-81.

It is questionable whether the tenants of Ouse Bridge lived, as well as worked, in their shops. The more wealthy shop holders might have been able to afford to live elsewhere. For example, one tenant, by the name of Hans Goldsmith, rented a shop on Ouse Bridge with a Henry Markett for 20s and a further capital messuage in the Castlegate area for £3.<sup>109</sup> He probably used his shop on the Bridge as a lock-up and lived in the messuage in Castlegate.<sup>110</sup> However, no further examples of this nature were identified. The wills of craftsmen renting shops on Ouse Bridge suggest that these tenants were of mixed social backgrounds. Out of the twelve tenants whose wills could be correctly identified, seven made high altar bequests in lieu of unpaid tithes, which can be used to assess their relative wealth.<sup>111</sup> The high altar bequests of two tenants suggest that they were among the wealthy elite. Thomas Clynt, glover (d. 1439), rented a number of different shops on Ouse Bridge between 1428 and 1440, ranging in value from 4s to 50s and left a high altar bequest of 40s.<sup>112</sup> His will identifies him as a merchant, which suggests that his social status had also improved by the end of his career. Clynt's high altar bequest was significantly larger than those left by other craftsmen. John Roger, glover (d. 1447), rented a shop on Ouse Bridge from 1435 to 1446 x 1447, for between 20 and 25s per year and left a much lower high altar bequest of 6s 8d.<sup>113</sup> Two further tenants of shops on Ouse Bridge who left wills can be classified within the middle stratum of quite prosperous craftsmen and traders. William Kirke, mercer (d. 1430) and Robert Mason, clerk (d. 1436), both left high altar bequests of 3s 4d.<sup>114</sup> Three tenants out of the twelve who left wills, are classified under Dinn's schedule as being from a relatively poor social group. Robert Scauceby, glover (d. 1476), who rented a shop between 1435 and c. 1468 for 20s, left a high altar bequest of 20d and John Bene, capmaker (d. 1476), who

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<sup>109</sup> *YBA*, pp. 140-1.

<sup>110</sup> His will could not be identified.

<sup>111</sup> These twelve men were identified as: Robert Pykeryng, goldsmith (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, fol. 93r), William Kirke, mercer (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 2, fol. 620v), Robert Mason, clerk (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, fol. 448r), Thomas Beleby, barbour (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 5, fol. 146r), John Bene, capmaker (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 4, fol. 90r), John Elys, goldsmith (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 2, fol. 561v), Thomas Burgh, clerk (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 2, fol. 94r), William Wallesgrave, glover (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, fol. 516v), John Roger, glover (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 2, fol. 167r), Thomas Clynt, glover (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, fol. 567r), Robert Scauceby, glover (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 5, fol. 5r) and *Dominus* William Bempton (BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 2, fol. 474r). See footnote 85 for Dinn's schedule of unpaid tithes.

<sup>112</sup> *YBA*, pp. 141, 153, 154, 175, 177, 182, 183, 192, 193; will reference: BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, fol. 567r. Thomas Clynt's will has also been discussed by Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, p. 73.

<sup>113</sup> John Roger, glover, see *YBA*, pp. 153, 176, 182, 213; will reference: BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 2, fol. 167r.

<sup>114</sup> William Kirke, mercer, rented a shop for 20s from 1428 to the 1430s, his wife Agnes appears to have taken over his shop by 1438, *YBA*, pp. 141, 153-54, 177, 183; will reference: BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 2, fol. 620v. Robert Mason, clerk rented shops for between 13s 4d and 40s from 1428 to 1446 x 1447, see *YBA*, pp. 140, 141, 153, 176, 177, 182, 192, 213; will reference: BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, fol. 448r.

also rented a shop there from 1435 to 1438 for between 26s 8d and 40s, also left a high altar bequest of 20d.<sup>115</sup> William Wallesgrave, glover (d. 1437), who rented a shop for 5s from 1435, left a high altar bequest of 12d.<sup>116</sup> A comparison of the high altar bequests made in lieu of unpaid tithes by tenants of Ouse Bridge suggests further that they were from disparate social backgrounds. Furthermore, the tithe payments suggest that some of these craftsmen were probably on low annual incomes, but were paying relatively high annual rents. It is therefore unlikely that these tenants would have been able to afford to live anywhere other than in their shops.

Some of the affluent tenants could have also chosen to live on the Bridge because it provided them with a conspicuous opportunity to display their wealth and status. Chapter 3 showed how decorated the external facades of shops on the Bridge were, in comparison to shops elsewhere in the city. Furthermore, for tenants with lower incomes, living in their shops on the Bridge could have been a matter of necessity, rather than choice. Nonetheless, gaining access to shops in this prime location must have been very prestigious for less wealthy traders. Shopkeepers on the Bridge appear to have enjoyed being part of a close-knit community, who, even after death, wanted to continue their association with the area.<sup>117</sup> Seven out of the twelve tenants whose wills could be identified requested burial in the parish churches situated either side of Ouse Bridge - St Michael Spurriergate, and St John Ouse Bridge.<sup>118</sup> Out of these seven tenants, three left high altar bequests in lieu of forgotten tithes, all of which classified for the middle and lower status tithing schedules, suggesting further that the Ouse Bridge community supported citizens of diverse backgrounds.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Robert Scauceby, glover, see *YBA*, pp. 153, 176, 192 (for two shops, from here on), 214, 276 (for one shop from hereon), 315, 336, 363, 388, 416, 424; will reference: BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 5, fol. 5r. John Bene, capmaker, see *YBA*, pp. 154, 177, 183; will reference: BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 4, fol. 90r.

<sup>116</sup> William Wallesgrave, glover, see *YBA*, p. 152, the 1436 account is incomplete and does not list the Ouse Bridge rents; however, Wallesgrave had ceased to rent the shop by 1437; will reference: BIA, Prog/Exch., Prog Reg 3, fol. 516v.

<sup>117</sup> Remembrance within the community, was an important concern of medieval testators. C. Burgess, 'Longing to be prayed for': death and commemoration in an English parish in the later Middle Ages', in B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds.), *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 44-65.

<sup>118</sup> St Michael Spurriergate: Robert Pykeryng, goldsmith, William Kirke, mercer, Robert Mason cleric, Thomas Beleby, barbour, John Bene capmaker; St John Ouse Bridge: John Elys, goldsmith, Thomas Burgh, clerk. Most people within medieval cities sought burials within their parishes: V. Harding, 'Burial choice and burial location in later medieval London', in S. Bassett (ed.), *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600* (London, 1992), pp. 119-35; C. Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (London, 1997), pp. 87-102.

<sup>119</sup> William Kirke, mercer, Robert Mason, cleric, and John Bene, capmaker.

Turning now to Norwich, the following discussion will concentrate firstly on small houses and shops on the St Giles's Hospital account, and then on the shops and stalls let by the city government.

The majority of the small houses on the St Giles's Hospital estate were situated on Holme Street.<sup>120</sup> It was similarly placed to the Cambhall units in York, in that Holme Street was in close proximity to the Hospital precinct. Most property let by St Giles's Hospital along Holme Street, was small in size. Out of the nineteen properties listed in the rent accounts, thirteen were described as either 'a house with shop and solar' (*domus cum shoppa et solar*), 'a house with solar and garden' (*domus cum solar et gardino*), 'chamber, solar and garden' (*camera cum solar et gardino*), 'chamber and solar' (*camera et solar*), or 'chamber' (*camera*). In contrast, only six properties were described as 'messuage and garden' (*messuagium et gardino*).<sup>121</sup> Thus, smaller houses, consisting in general of a single room to either floor, out-numbered larger properties described as messuages, in a ratio of just over 2:1. The organisation of the rent accounts suggests that some of the smaller houses may have formed rows along the street frontage, with three or four dwellings in each block. The messuages commanded higher rental values than the smaller houses. For example, in 1434-5, the highest price for a messuage along the street was 20s per year, and the lowest value 10s, while the highest value for a house with solar and garden was 10s, and the lowest value was 6s.<sup>122</sup> A chamber cost only 3s for the year. These figures diminished slightly, across the fifteenth century. In 1459-60, the highest price for a messuage with garden was 18s per year, while the lowest value remained the same, at 10s.<sup>123</sup> The highest and lowest prices for a house with a *solar* and garden decreased to 8s and 4s respectively. These decreasing figures were coupled with the reduction of the number of tenants living in these properties.

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<sup>120</sup> Holme Street is now referred to as Bishopgate, see map 3.

<sup>121</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60; in most rent accounts, nineteen properties were listed on the street. However, this was sometimes reduced to eighteen, such as in the years from 1444-5 to 1451-52. This may have been the result of a property amalgamation. Nonetheless, the ratio of messuages to smaller properties in these years was exactly 2:1, as six messuages and twelve smaller properties were recorded. A further exception can be found in 1455-6, when twenty-two properties were listed along the street, although this reduced back to nineteen in the subsequent account and may have been a result of sub-divisions in that year.

<sup>122</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1434-5.

<sup>123</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1459-60.

The shift in rental levels in Holme Street during the fifteenth century impacted on the type of people living in small houses. Across this century, only a very small proportion of tenants renting small houses on Holme Street were women. Indeed, in most years, only two or three female tenants were listed. However, although women tenants were few, they were not necessarily transient and some rented for long periods at a time. For example, Matilda Lavender, Katherine Styrtup, and Isabell Isabell, rented chambers with solars and gardens in Holme Street for a period of between five and ten years each.<sup>124</sup> Alicia Burnham could have even rented her small house on Holme Street for over twenty years.<sup>125</sup> The reasons why these women chose to rent their small houses for long periods are not explicit. However, it is probable that rental values and accessibility to regular work was influential in their decisions to stay for this duration.

Between 1449 and 1453, the number of female tenants of small houses in Holme Street increased, from three to four. This slight increase could have been a result of the decrease in the rental values of a number of properties around 1440 and the increasing number of vacant properties in the area.<sup>126</sup> Nevertheless, the number of females renting property in the Holme Street area across the fifteenth century was, in general, low. This begs the question whether the Hospital was as equally cautious about the reputation of their tenants on Holme Street as the vicars choral of York Minster was of their tenants in Cambhall. The rent accounts suggest that, unlike the vicars' precinct, St Giles's Hospital had sufficient room within their dormitories to accommodate not only their own priests and inmates, but also visiting religious dignitaries and important officials connected with the Hospital. Between two and seven chambers within the Hospital itself were rented out to tenants across the period 1430 to 1461.<sup>127</sup> These chambers tended to be rented to chaplains, rectors and clerics, rather than lay people. As a result of this, there was probably a higher degree of segregation between the tenants of the Hospital and Holme Street than was evident between the Bedern and Cambhall in York. St Giles's Hospital also appear to have been more relaxed about the kind of tenants living directly opposite their precinct than the vicars. Edward Burnham and his wife, who rented a messuage and garden in Holme Street the ten years up to 1442, were presented

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<sup>124</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60; Matilda Lavender rented her small house in Holme Street from 1430-1 to 1437-8, Katherine Styrtup from 1432-3 (known as Christiana in this account) to 1436-7, and Isabell Isabell from 1440-1 to 1449-50.

<sup>125</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60; Alicia Burnham rented her small house in Holme Street from 1441-2 to 1460-1.

<sup>126</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, see for example accounts for 1440-1 to 1449-50.

<sup>127</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1430-1, through to 1460-1.

in front of the local court not only for brewing ale and selling it in contravention of the assize, but also for harbouring 'common prostitutes' from outside the city.<sup>128</sup> This presentment suggests that the street had its share of unwholesome characters. Despite this, the rents may still have been too high for many women tenants, particularly single women tenants living alone.

Other tenants on Holme Street rented more than one property at a time. John Spynk, mason, stood apart from the other tenants on the street, and rented three properties there in 1430-1, which included a messuage and garden, for 13s 4d, a house with a shop, chamber, and garden, for 10s, and a chamber with *solar* and garden, for 6s 8d; paying in total £1 10s per year to the Hospital, in rent.<sup>129</sup> All three of these properties were listed together in the rent account and it is probable that they stood side-by-side in Holme Street. This could well be an example of an enterprising craftsman, who has a sufficient amount of disposable income to rent more than one property along the street. Although it is not clear which property he was living in, or whether he amalgamated the properties into one large dwelling, it is equally possible that Spynk was making a profit by renting two of the three properties out to sub-tenants. John Busch, smith, also rented two properties in Holme Street from 1434, both of which were described as houses with shops and solars and he could also have amalgamated them, or sub-let one of them.<sup>130</sup> They may even have been using the extra properties for storage or as workshops. The flexibility of small houses, in terms of their potential for adaptation and simplicity in design, would have meant that any of these options would have been feasible. Indeed, the bridgemasters used cottages on their estate for the storage of building materials from time to time.<sup>131</sup> That said, the sub-letting of low rent small houses and shops would have provided an ambitious craftsman with a lucrative second income and, as a consequence, some of the small houses on Holme Street might not have been occupied by the same person who was listed on the rent account.

Many of the tenants in Holme Street also worked for the Hospital. Rawcliffe had shown that John Busch, smith, supplied the Hospital with large quantities of wrought iron, for

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<sup>128</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1432-3 to 1441-2; Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul*, p. 38, citing NRO, DCN 79/3 (Holme Street court leet, 18 Henry VI).

<sup>129</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1430-1.

<sup>130</sup> Prior to 1434, Busch had rented only one house with shop and solar, but had taken over the second in this year, from a William Bene, fuller. NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1432-3, 1434-5.

<sup>131</sup> *YBA*, p. 216; a small cottage in the Castlegate area was used for the storage of lime in an account dated 1446 x 1447.

bolts, locks and keys.<sup>132</sup> Payments were often made to him for work undertaken in the Hospital precinct and on the Hospital's city-centre property.<sup>133</sup> A number of masons working on the Hospital also lived in the larger messuages in Holme Street across the 1430s, such as Richard Walpole, John Brythmere and John Ecclys and the roofer, Robert Stuggy.<sup>134</sup> Tenants of small houses on Holme Street also worked for the Hospital. John Haukewode worked as a labourer and Nicholas Reynauld also worked as a reeder across the estate.<sup>135</sup> It is possible that many of the labourers and servants living in the small houses on Holme Street worked with, and perhaps for, the craftsmen renting the larger messuages on Holme Street. In this respect, the tenants of Holme Street could have formed a tight-knit community, working for, and renting from, their landlord and each other.<sup>136</sup> There were some exceptions to this, as the location was also popular with craftsmen associated with the leather and cloth trades, such as Thomas, Edward and John Skynner, and William Bene, fuller.<sup>137</sup> This could have been a result of the close proximity of Holme Street to the River Wensum on the east side of the city, where a number of tanners owned property.<sup>138</sup>

Given that tenants' occupations were not generally listed on the rent account, cross-referencing with freemen's registers and testamentary evidence could not be accurately achieved for the tenants of Holme Street.<sup>139</sup> Indeed, the only tenant in Holme Street who could be correctly identified in the freemen's register, was John Busche, smith.<sup>140</sup> Some of the tenants working in building trades might not have needed to take out the freedom of the city because they were not involved in the sale of goods on the open market. However, many of the tenants renting small houses on Holme Street might not have been members of the franchise, because their social and economic position prevented them from having access to it. Many of the tenants living in small houses appear to have worked as labourers or servants, and would therefore have been excluded from it.

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<sup>132</sup> Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul*, p. 39.

<sup>133</sup> See for example, NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-1460, accounts for 1452-3, 1455-6, 1460-1.

<sup>134</sup> Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul*, p. 189.

<sup>135</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-1460, accounts for 1430-1, 1432-3.

<sup>136</sup> Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul*, p. 189, has previously commented on the fact that the Hospital tended to draw its workforce from among its own tenants.

<sup>137</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1432-3 to 1438-9.

<sup>138</sup> Rutledge, 'Economic Life', pp. 160-2, particularly Map 9.

<sup>139</sup> Further problems occurred because occupations were not consistently recorded on the Freeman's Registers. See Rutledge, 'Economic Life', p. 161, for a discussion of this.

<sup>140</sup> *NFR*, p. 25. Other name matches were made, but a lack of additional information meant that matches could not always be clarified.

The will of only one tenant in Holme Street was identified; that of John Spynk, mason.<sup>141</sup> It provides an insight into what appears to have been an enterprising craftsman, who rented three properties in this location, including a small house and a shop. Spynk died in 1430 and it is probable that he lived in Holme Street for some time before this.<sup>142</sup> His wife Agnes, initially took over all three of the properties they rented there; however, by 1434-5 she had relinquished the shop, but continued to rent the messuage and garden for 13s 4d and the chamber with *solar* and garden for 6s 8d.<sup>143</sup> This may have been due to financial constraints, although it is not clear which property she resided in, or to what use she put the second.<sup>144</sup> John Spynk's will does not mention any children and it is possible that Agnes Spynk lived alone as a widow in Holme Street, until 1436-7, when her tenancy ended.<sup>145</sup> It is not known how old Spynk was when he died and he could not be traced in the freemen's register.<sup>146</sup> His will shows that he had a strong allegiance to St Giles's Hospital. He requested burial in the cemetery of the church of St Giles's Hospital (St Helen's Church) and made a number of bequests to clergymen within the Hospital, including the head of the Hospital, to whom he left 8d, the Hospital chaplain, to whom he bequeathed 3d and to a cleric of the church, he left 2d. Therefore, Spynk not only had close residency and occupational links with the Hospital, but was also part of their devotional regime. His monetary bequests suggest that he was of modest means at the time of his death. As well as making small bequests to the religious community of the Hospital of St Giles, he left the remainder of his goods to his wife and one other, an Edward Snetesham.<sup>147</sup> Moreover, his high-altar bequest of 12d suggests that Spynk's tithe payments and therefore yearly profit, was relatively low. In a similar manner to some of the tenants on Ouse Bridge in York, this indicates that Spynk might not have accrued a significant profit, despite his investments in multiple rented properties.

St Giles's Hospital also owned a number of centrally located properties outside their precinct, including a group of four small houses in Smethirowe, situated to the north of

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<sup>141</sup> NRO, DCN Will roll 67/8m, 1d.

<sup>142</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1430-1, the accounts between 1415-1430 are very badly damaged.

<sup>143</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1434-5.

<sup>144</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1432-3, 1434-5.

<sup>145</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1436-7.

<sup>146</sup> This is perhaps because he was a mason.

<sup>147</sup> His relationship with Snetesham was not defined.



the marketplace, at the heart of the metalworking industry in the city centre.<sup>148</sup> Between 1430 and 1440, and 1447 and 1461, the rents within this area were relatively stable and the residents of the small houses in this area were predominantly male.<sup>149</sup> As their surnames suggest, many tenants worked in the metal industry, such as Robert Tonge, John Thurward, locksmith, Thomas Mygo, smith and William Keys, smith.<sup>150</sup> They appear to have been well placed to find work with another major landlord in the city; smiths John Thurward and William Keys, often worked for the city government repairing their properties in the city centre.<sup>151</sup> Other tenants included patten-makers (shoe makers) and tailors, such as Nicholas Patynmaker and John Taylour, whose work was perhaps well serviced by the cloth industries around the marketplace.<sup>152</sup>

Up until 1439, the four properties in Smethirowe consisted of two chambers with solars, a chamber with a *solar* and garden, and a chamber. However, after 1440, all four properties were listed as chambers and solars, indicating that some re-arrangements within the houses had taken place, and that the outside space was perhaps built on, or used for another unspecified purpose, by the Hospital.<sup>153</sup> During these years, the Hospital experienced problems letting their properties in the row. Between 1440 and 1450, at least one property was vacant for all or part of the year, and rental values were particularly unstable.<sup>154</sup> In the three years between 1443 and 1446, the situation was worse, when between two and four properties were vacant for all or part of the year.<sup>155</sup> Interestingly, this period of instability was coupled with an influx of female tenants into this area, and it was in this very short and rather conspicuous period alone that female tenants rented property here. The reduction in rental values thus appears to have been a significant factor in the gender of tenants renting small houses in this area. In general, the rental values in these central areas were nominally too high for female tenants to afford; however a reduction in rental value provided women with the opportunity to rent in prominent areas of the city centre. Perhaps ambitious women tenants pursued

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<sup>148</sup> Rutledge, 'Economic Life', p. 160-2. Smethirowe is now delineated by Little London Street, see map 3.

<sup>149</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1430-1 to 1440-1, and 1447-8 to 1460-1.

<sup>150</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1430-1 to 1460-1.

<sup>151</sup> See for example NRO, NCR Case 7d, Treasurer's Account Roll, 1421-2, 1426-7.

<sup>152</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1438-41; Rutledge, 'Economic Life', p. 160.

<sup>153</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1438-9, 1440-1, 1441-2. In 1440-1, there were five properties listed in Smethirowe; this may have been a temporary arrangement, or perhaps a mistake made by the rent collector, because only four properties were listed in subsequent years.

<sup>154</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1440-1, 1450-1.

<sup>155</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1443-4, 1446-7.

opportunities to exploit the rental market in this manner. After about 1455 the rental situation appears to have stabilised and the properties once again attracted regular, male tenants, as rentals moved to between 9s and 12s. Residency patterns were clearly very strongly linked with rental values of properties in the centre of the city.

The evidence for small houses owned by St Giles's Hospital, at the heart of the commercial centre of Norwich, can be compared with the city government's rent accounts for shops and stalls in the main marketplace, situated in the central parish of St Peter Mancroft. This analysis will focus on four markets, held within the marketplace; the butchers' market, fishmongers' market, wool sellers' market and rope makers' market.<sup>156</sup> Evidence from deeds, and from the city government repair and maintenance accounts, suggests the rows of stalls and shops in the marketplace could be fairly substantial, some having solars above and cellars below.<sup>157</sup> The analysis of the repair accounts in Chapter 3 established the materials used in the construction of these structures, namely timber, tile and thatch, also suggests that they were relatively sturdy structures. Previous investigations of Norwich marketplace have considered the layout of the stalls in relation to each other, the city government's acquisition of property there and economic trends in the rental values of the shops and stalls, across the late medieval period.<sup>158</sup> However, no study has, to date, considered whether the stall and shop holders were living, as well as working in these buildings. The following analysis will also concentrate on the type of tenants renting shops and stalls in the marketplace.

The city government rent accounts suggest that a complex hierarchical relationship existed across the different markets. Between 1398 and 1459, the number of stalls let in the butchers' market, ranged from thirty to forty-nine, a significantly higher amount than the fishmongers' stalls, where between nineteen and thirty-four stalls were let across this period.<sup>159</sup> However, these two markets were significantly larger than the city government's holdings in the wool sellers' market, where between twelve and fourteen shops were let across this period, and the rope makers' market, where between three and

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<sup>156</sup> There were other specialised markets in the marketplace apart from these.

<sup>157</sup> Priestley, *The Great Market*, p. 9; see Chapter 3 above for a discussion of this.

<sup>158</sup> For a reconstruction of the layout of Norwich marketplace, see Priestley, *The Great Market*, pp. 8-11; Dunn, 'After the Black Death', pp. 288-306; King, 'Merchant Class and Borough Finances', pp. 360-66.

<sup>159</sup> This is based upon the analysis of seven years worth of accounts within this period, NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Account Book 1384-1448, fols. 33v-35r (accounts for 1398-9), fols. 43v-44r (1402-03), fols. 75r-76r (1422-3), fols. 91r-3r (1431-2), NRO, NCR Case 7h, Various Rent Rolls, 1445-6, and NRO, NCR Case 7d, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1458-9. Alternative accounts have sometimes been used where damage to the manuscript prevents evaluation of figures.

six shops were let. As well as varying in number, the stalls were also differentiated by description; the structures in the butchers' and the fishmongers' market were always referred to in the accounts as stalls, and the structures in the wool sellers' and rope makers' market were always referred to as shops. Distinctions between the stalls were also reflected in their varying rental values. The butchers' stalls were let at between 7s and 33s 8d and the fishmongers' stalls were let at between 4s and 20s per year.<sup>160</sup> The rental values for shops in the rope market were fairly consistent at 5s, and the wool shops were let between 8s and 13s 4d per year. Thus, although the butchers' and the fishmongers' stalls commanded the highest rents, there was a greater difference between the highest and the lowest rent for these stalls than for the wool sellers' and rope makers' shops. The rental values of stalls and shops in the marketplace were relatively stable across the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>161</sup> However, there was a very short period of declined rental values and vacant plots in the butchers' market from 1442-3, which was also mirrored across the other three markets.<sup>162</sup>

The rent accounts provide some information about the type of people renting stalls and shops in these markets. Tenants in the butchers' and the fishmongers' markets tended to be identified by their occupations as butchers and fishmongers, suggesting that the goods sold in these areas were very specialised. In contrast, the tenants of the wool sellers' and rope makers' shops were mixed, and not only housed wool sellers and rope makers, but also traders selling other goods. In the wool market for example, a breadman, chapman, spicer, fishmonger and smith also rented there across the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>163</sup> Although the majority of tenants in the rope market appear to have been trading in this material, an ironmonger, butcher, cook and a smith also rented shops there in this period.<sup>164</sup> The butchers' market was exclusively male-only. The only time women rented stalls in this market, was during the short period of decline in the 1440s, when in 1445-6, for example, two out of the forty-nine stalls were let to women.<sup>165</sup> The tenants of the rope market also tended to be male throughout the first

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> King, 'Merchant Class and Borough Finances', pp. 360-4.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, p. 363; NRO, NCR Case 7h, Various Rent Rolls, 1445-6. The rents had recovered by 1458-9 (NRO NCR Case 7d, Chamberlain's Account Roll).

<sup>163</sup> See for example, NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Account Book 1384-1448, fols. 75r-76r (1422-3); NRO NCR Case 7h, Various Rent Rolls, 1445-6; NRO NCR Case 7d, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1458-9.

<sup>164</sup> See NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Account Book 1384-1448, fol. 51v. (1407-08), fol. 68v. (1417-18); NRO, NCR Case 7h, Various Rent Rolls, 1446-7.

<sup>165</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7h, Various Rent Rolls, 1445-46.

half of the fifteenth century, and the numbers of women renting stalls in the wool market were equally low, with a single female tenant renting a stall there in 1422-3, 1431-2 and 1458-9.<sup>166</sup> The only market with a significant proportion of female tenants was the fishmongers', where the ratio of female to male tenants ranged between just under one third (eight out of twenty-six), in 1402-03, to only two out of twenty-three, in 1432-3.<sup>167</sup> Female fishmongers are known to have operated in many cities across the country.<sup>168</sup>

Further interesting dichotomies are revealed in an analysis of the number of enfranchised tenants renting shops and stalls in the marketplace. The marketplace was the only area in Norwich where traders who were not members of the franchise were allowed to sell goods.<sup>169</sup> The highest number of freemen tenants across all four markets, was in the butchers' stalls. The highest proportion of freemen to non-freemen tenants was identified in 1431-2, when almost half (seventeen out of thirty-eight) of the stalls were let to freemen.<sup>170</sup> The highest proportion of freemen to non-freemen in the fishmongers' stalls occurred in 1458-9, when a third (six out of nineteen) of the stalls were let to freemen.<sup>171</sup> The proportions were lower still in the wool sellers' shops. The number of freemen tenants there peaked at four out of the fifteen tenants in 1431-2.<sup>172</sup> No tenants in the rope market could be identified as freemen across the first half of the fifteenth century. It is important to be cautious when reckoning the number of freemen and non-freemen in this area, because a number of affluent, property-owning artisans were known to have operated outside the franchise system, preferring instead to pay

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<sup>166</sup> Rope market, see for example, NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Account Book 1384-1448, fols. 35r, 44r, 60r; NRO, NCR Case 7h, Various Rent Rolls, 1445-6; NRO, NCR Case 7d, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1458-9. Wool market: NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Account Book 1384-1448, fols. 76r, 92r; NRO, NCR Case 7d, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1458-9.

<sup>167</sup> NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Account Book 1384-1448, fols. 43r, 93r (taken from 1432-3 because of damage to rent accounts for 1431-2).

<sup>168</sup> Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life-Cycle*, pp. 107-08; M. K. McIntosh, *Working Women in English Society, 1300-1620* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 192-6.

<sup>169</sup> King, 'Merchant Class and Borough Finances', p. 361 (in relation to butchers).

<sup>170</sup> NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Account Book 1384-1448, fol. 91r. The freemen identified were: John Spycer, Henry Toftes, butcher, Robert Gleme, John Thaxter, Roger Brasenhed, butcher, John Marchant, butcher, John Maghald, John Gerard, butcher, John Dallyng, butcher, William Woodhirde, butcher, William Gebbes, butcher, John Rumburgh, butcher, Edward Hewe, Andrew Mann, John Baly, Robert Brown, butcher, John Wellys, skinner, *NFR*, pp. 9, 19, 22, 40, 58, 59, 60, 73, 91, 92, 118, 129, 136, 138, 147, 150.

<sup>171</sup> NRO, NCR Case 7d, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1458-9. The freemen identified were: John Hurry, fisherman, Walter Rycheford, fisherman, John Sherman, fishmonger (for two stalls), Thomas Jamys, William Porter, fishmonger, *NFR*, pp. 77, 79, 111, 116, 123.

<sup>172</sup> NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Account Roll, fol. 92r. The freemen identified were: John Payn, cordwainer, Thomas Yernmouth, shearman, Thomas Bredman, woolman, John Symondes, cook, *NFR*, pp. 20, 80, 107, 134.

small regular fines in the leet court instead.<sup>173</sup> Therefore, these figures may over-emphasise the number of non-freemen operating in the area. That said, it is interesting that the highest proportion of freemen were located in the butchers' and fishmongers' stalls, as opposed to the wool sellers' and rope makers' shops. This suggests that some of the tenants in the butchers' and fishmongers' stalls were of an affluent status, while the majority of tenants renting shops in the wool and rope markets were of a lower status.

Further indications about tenants' backgrounds can be deduced from testamentary evidence. Five wills were accurately attributed to the tenants of Norwich marketplace, two of which were made by butchers, Andrew Mann and William Fysser, a further two were identified for fishermen Simon Baburgh and Clemens Rassh, and one was identified for Agnes, the wife of Thomas Fyttyng, fisherman.<sup>174</sup> It is particularly revealing that wills could only be correctly sourced for tenants in the butchers' and fishmongers' stalls, as opposed to the wool and rope shops. This may stand testimony to the higher status of some of the tenants in the butchers' and fishmongers' stalls. The wills also provide further indications of the relative wealth of these stallholders. Andrew Mann (d. 1438) left the largest high altar bequest at 20s, followed by Clemens Rassh (d. 1447), who left 6s 8d.<sup>175</sup> William Fysser (d. 1466) and Agnes Fyttyng (d. 1429) both left smaller, but still substantial high altar bequests, at 3s 4d and Simon Baburgh (d. 1445) left the smallest amount of 20d.<sup>176</sup> Moreover, all of the testators except Agnes Fyttyng made bequests of land or property in their wills, which strongly suggests that they were not living in the marketplace, but resided elsewhere in the city. Indeed, these tenants also requested burial in the parishes of St Stephen, St Peter Southgate and St Gregory, which, apart from St Gregory, were not located in close proximity to the marketplace.

In the light of this, it is also questionable whether those tenants who could not be identified as freemen, and who did not leave wills, were able to afford to rent property elsewhere in the city, as well as renting their stalls in the marketplace. In a similar

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<sup>173</sup> Dunn, 'Trade', pp. 231-3.

<sup>174</sup> Andrew Mann (NRO, NCC Will register, Doke 45), William Fysser (NRO, NCC Will register, Cobald 98,99), Simon Baburgh (NRO NCC Will register, Wylbey 61), Clement Rassh (NRO, NCC Will register, Aleyn 51,52), Agnes Fyttyng, wife of Thomas Fyttyng, fisherman (NRO, NCC Will register, Surflete 45).

<sup>175</sup> Andrew Mann (NRO, NCC Will register, Doke 45), Clement Rassh (NRO, NCC Will register, Aleyn 51,52).

<sup>176</sup> William Fysser (NRO, NCC Will register, Cobald 98,99), Agnes Fyttyng, wife of Thomas Fyttyng, fisherman (NRO, NCC Will register, Surflete 45), Simon Baburgh (NRO NCC Will register, Wylbey 61).

pattern to the shops on Ouse Bridge in York, those tenants who could not afford to rent elsewhere may have used their commercial properties for living in, especially if their stalls or shops had a *solar* above. There is perhaps a further important distinction to be made between the butchers' and the fishmongers' stalls and the wool sellers' and rope makers' shops. The terms 'stall' and 'shop' will be debated later in this chapter, although it is necessary to make the distinction between the two here. The shops in the wool and rope markets may have been differentiated from the butchers' and fishmongers' stalls, because they all had first-floor rooms. This may also signal a further hierarchy among the tenants of the marketplace. The shops in the wool and rope markets were not only of a lower status because their buildings commanded smaller rents, but also because they provided on-site accommodation for tenants who could not afford to live elsewhere. In contrast, the stalls in the butchers' market provided two options, those with and without a *solar*, so that those tenants who were sufficiently affluent to live elsewhere, were easily recognisable by the types of stalls they rented. In support of this, none of the five tenants who rented stalls in the fishmongers' and butchers' markets were identified in the rent accounts as having a *solar*, and three stalls in the butchers' markets which had solars, were let to un-free tenants who did not leave wills.<sup>177</sup> Some properties, which had solars and cellars, were sub-divided into separate tenancies. Thus a shop let by Matilda Swopham, was let separately from the cellar beneath it, which was let to John Heed, butcher.<sup>178</sup> Similarly, a shop was let to a Matilda Myntelyng, but the solar above it was let separately to an Alexander Wayte.<sup>179</sup> None of these tenants could be identified as freemen, nor did they leave wills, which again draws into question whether they could afford to live elsewhere.

Residency patterns in small houses and shops in York and Norwich were complex. Modestly sized property appears to have been attractive to tenants from a wide social background. In particular, it is evident that enfranchised craftsmen, as well as labourers and servants, rented and lived in small cottages. Equally important are the high-rent small shops, situated in important areas such as Ouse Bridge in York, which attracted non-free tenants as well as members of the franchise. The social stratigraphy of tenants

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<sup>177</sup> These tenants were: John Carlowe, who rented a stall and a solar in the butchers' market (NRO, NCR Case 7h, Various Rent Rolls, 1446-7), Robert Hynton, who rented a stall which had a solar, also in the butcher's market (NRO, NCR Case 7h, Various Rent Rolls, 1446-47). For references to the solar in the repair accounts see: NRO, NCR Case 17d, Chamberlain's Account Book 1448-1458, fol. xxxiv<sup>v</sup>, and NRO, NCR Case 7d, Chamberlain's Account Roll, 1457-8). William Cole, butcher, also rented a solar there (NRO, NCR Case 7h, Various Rent Rolls, 1445-6).

<sup>178</sup> NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Account Book 1384-1448, fols. 54v, 56r.

<sup>179</sup> NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Account Book 1384-1448, fol. 56r.

renting stalls and shops in Norwich marketplace was equally complicated, but may also have been reflected in the architecture of the structures in the area. These patterns suggest that living in modestly sized property was not just about necessity, but also about choice. Some landlords, such as the vicars' choral of York, were concerned about the type of tenants living on their estates, ensuring that the most desirable candidates were concentrated in prime locations. Reduced rent levels, such as on the St Giles's Hospital estate, also provided the opportunity for less affluent tenants to rent small houses and shops in centrally located areas of the city.

### *Household Composition*

The composition of the late medieval household has received much attention from scholars in recent years.<sup>180</sup> However, the households that occupied small houses and shops have not previously been studied in depth. This is due in part to the lack of evidence for people at the lower end of the social scale. There are also further problems with trying to substantiate household composition from sources such as rent accounts and wills. In general, rent accounts are frustrating documents for the analysis of household composition, tending only to record the member of the household who was responsible for paying the rent. In some cases, a reference might be made to a tenant's spouse, which provides further information about the household group. Evidence for married couples and dependent children can be obtained from wills, as some of the cases in the previous section have indicated. However, it can be difficult to establish whether other family members, such as older children, elderly parents and non-family members, such as servants and friends, were living in the same household as the testator. Discussions about household composition tend to centre on the family group, even if this has been further defined as a co-resident group in order to take into account non-family members such as servants and apprentices.<sup>181</sup> However, the extent to which non-family members formed the core of the late medieval household, either as housemates or non-married couples, is less well understood. Rent accounts suggest that

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<sup>180</sup> Herlihy, *Medieval Households*; P. Fleming, *Family and Household in Medieval England* (Basingstoke, 2001); M. Carlier and T. Soens (eds.), *The Household in Late Medieval Cities, Italy and Northwestern Europe Compared* (Garant, 2001); C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S. Rees Jones (eds.), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850-1550: Managing Power, Wealth and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003).

<sup>181</sup> One recent exception is C. Beattie, 'Governing Bodies: Law Courts, Male Householders, and Single Women in Late Medieval England', in C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S. Rees Jones (eds.), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850- c. 1500: Managing Power, Wealth and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 199-220.

a proportion of tenants in small houses and shops could have lived in these circumstances.

The rent accounts of the bridgemasters of York record a number of non-related tenants sharing the rent on a single small house or shop. On Ouse Bridge, for example, a John Glover and John Lilly, capmaker, rented a shop together in 1435.<sup>182</sup> A John Patenmaker and a John Boiss also shared the rent of a shop there in 1453.<sup>183</sup> Some tenants shared cellars. John Cardmaker and Robert Westowe shared a cellar on Ouse Bridge for 10s a year.<sup>184</sup> Similar arrangements were found in the rent accounts of St Giles's Hospital in Norwich. John Taylour and Robert Patener shared the rent of a chamber and a *solar* in Smethirowe for a number of years.<sup>185</sup> Similarly, John Skynner and John Fuller also rented a house together in Holme Street.<sup>186</sup>

In the case of John Glover and John Lilly, capmaker, in York, the arrangement may have been for business, rather than domestic purposes. Besides sharing the rent on this shop, John Glover also rented two further shops on the Bridge, for a total of 12s, and it is possible that they had entered into a business partnership.<sup>187</sup> The two men shared a shop for one year and then John Lilly appears to have taken on the rent by himself.<sup>188</sup> Their respective trades as a glover and a capmaker would have provided a complementary service for customers, which could in turn have increased their popularity and revenue. Sharing a shop could have also been advantageous in the respect that tenants could share raw materials or equipment. Although it is unclear whether John Taylour and Robert Patener (patten maker) traded retail from their shared chamber and *solar* in Smethirowe, Norwich, they might have become housemates at least, as a result of their work in the clothing business.<sup>189</sup>

For tenants who did share the rent of a small house but whose craft groups were not either the same or complementary, the relationship is harder to define. A number of tenants who shared the rent of houses with solars and gardens in the Parish of St Martin

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<sup>182</sup> YBA, p. 154.

<sup>183</sup> YBA, p. 276.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid, p. 153.

<sup>185</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1436-7, 1437-8, 1438-9.

<sup>186</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1438-9.

<sup>187</sup> YBA, p. 153.

<sup>188</sup> YBA; in 1437 and 1438 (pp. 177, 183) the shop was vacant, but from 1440, (p. 193) John Lilly capmaker, rented the shop by himself.

<sup>189</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1436-7, 1437-8, 1438-9.



at Palace, in Norwich, did not appear to have trades in common. In 1430-1, Philip Thaxtere and Thomas Speryng, shared the rent of a property there for 8s.<sup>190</sup> Similarly, in 1434-5, Nicholas Bedwevere and Simon Tubbard shared the rent of a property for 6s, and in 1437-8, John Labourer and Henry Bene also shared the rent of a property there for 6s.<sup>191</sup> It is not clear whether the two tenants shared the space within these properties together, or whether they subdivided it into two separate areas. It is probably more likely that they shared the space between them, since subdivided properties were often recorded in the rent accounts under two separate arrangements. For example, the stall let to a Matilda Myntelyng in the fishmarket for 10s, was listed separately to Alexander Wayte, who rented the *solar* above the stall for 3s.<sup>192</sup> The tenants of small houses in the parish of St Martin at Palace could have shared properties together because they could not afford to rent on their own. Perhaps this provided them with the opportunity to increase their standards of living at an affordable cost.

Shared arrangements were also found between women and mixed-sex couples, but these appear to have been less common. Some female tenants on Ouse Bridge in York also appear to have grouped together in order to share a shop. In 1438, Agnes Elys rented a shop there with other women, for 20s, although the names of the other women were not recorded.<sup>193</sup> Their trades were not specified and it is not clear whether this was a shared business arrangement similar to the cases described above. Previous studies of female-headed households have drawn attention to single women who lived with friends or younger relatives, for companionship.<sup>194</sup> This may have been just as important a motivation as business and commercial purposes. Only a few examples of non same-sex couples sharing small houses were identified; Isabel Lounesburgh and Robert Hynderwell, shared the rent of a cottage in Skeldergate in 1424 and in 1454 John Peper and Agnes Hoppam, shared a cottage in the Castlegate area.<sup>195</sup> It is unknown whether these were non-married couples, relatives, or simply housemates.

Links between the households of small houses and shops within a community are also evident. Indeed, new households were formed out of people living in close proximity to

<sup>190</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1430-1.

<sup>191</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1434-5, 1437-8.

<sup>192</sup> NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain's Account Book 1384-1448, fol. 54v.

<sup>193</sup> *YBA*, p. 182, Elys continued to rent the shop for several further years, although the other women she shared with were not recorded in subsequent accounts.

<sup>194</sup> C. Beattie, 'Women Without Husbands in Late Fourteenth- and Early Fifteenth-Century York' (MA Diss., The University of York, 1995-96), pp. 25-34; C. Beattie, 'A Room of One's Own?', pp. 47-56.

<sup>195</sup> *YBA*, pp. 133, 288.

each other. Previous investigations into the relationship between testators and their executors have revealed evidence for friendship networks within a community.<sup>196</sup> The majority of these studies have concentrated on the wills of higher-status testators, who owned property. A recent study of fourteenth-century women's wills in the parish of St Michael le Belfrey, in York, has revealed that this formation of relationships is also evident for people who lived in rented property.<sup>197</sup> The fifteenth-century wills of the craftsmen who lived on Ouse Bridge in York provide further evidence for community networks among people who rented shops in close proximity to each other.

Two wills of Ouse Bridge tenants, John Bene, capmaker (d. 1476), who rented a shop from 1435 to 1438 for between 26s 8d and 40s, and Thomas Beleby, barber (d. 1479), who rented a shop for from 1435 to 1468 for 20s, reveal important information about reciprocal exchange among tenants of Ouse Bridge.<sup>198</sup> John Bene's will records three witnesses, one of whom was Thomas Beleby, the others were Nicholas Vycars and Robert Denton. Three years later, Thomas Beleby's will records witnesses Nicholas Vicars (previously recorded as 'Vycars'), Robert Denton, William Jakson, and his son John Beleby. Nicholas Vicars, William Jakson and Robert Denton all rented property on Ouse Bridge within their lifetime, and Robert Denton also became a warden of the Bridge.<sup>199</sup> The reciprocal exchange of executors strongly suggests that these two craftsmen shared the same friendship group, which may have been formed through craft organisations, or fraternities and parish guilds.<sup>200</sup> There was a further reason why Bene and Beleby may have favoured each other in their wills and were probably good friends; John Bene made a bequest to his daughter, Alice Beleby, suggesting that the two

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<sup>196</sup> P. Maddern, 'Best Trusted Friends': Concept and Practices of Friendship among Fifteenth-Century Norfolk Gentry', in N. Rogers (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1994), pp. 100-15; Maddern, 'Friends of the Dead', pp. 155-74; J. Beauroy, 'Family Patterns and Relations of Bishop's Lynn Will-makers in the Fourteenth Century', in L. Bonfield, R.M. Smith, K. Wrightson (eds.), *The World We Have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure: Essays presented to Peter Laslett on his Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 23-42; J. Kermode, 'Sentiment and Survival: Family and Friends in Late Medieval English Towns', *Journal of Family History* 24/1 (1999): 5-18; M. Spufford and M. Takahashi, 'Families, Will Witnesses, and Economic Structure in the Fens and on the Chalk: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Willingham and Chippenham', *Albion* 23/3 (1996): 329-414.

<sup>197</sup> B. Hamblen, 'Gender, Social Networks and Testamentary Giving in Fourteenth-century York: The Women of the Parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey before and after the Black Death' (MA Diss., The University of York, 2003-4), pp. 42-4, 47.

<sup>198</sup> John Bene, capmaker, see *YBA*, pp. 154, 177, 183; will reference: BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 4, 90; Thomas Beleby, barbour, see *YBA*, pp. 153, 183, 192, 214, 238, 277, 286, 316, 337, 364, 389, 417, 425; will reference: BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg. 5, fol. 146r.

<sup>199</sup> *YBA*, pp. 425-36, 444, 471.

<sup>200</sup> See G. Rosser, 'Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in late Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies* 33 (1994): 430-46; G. Rosser, 'Crafts, Guilds and the Negotiation of Work in the Medieval Town', *Past and Present* 154 (1994): 3-31 for a discussion of guild communities.

families had become related by marriage. Since Bene and Beleby had both been tenants of Ouse Bridge property since the 1430s, it is possible that this marriage was made as a consequence of the close relationship formed by the two men as they worked, and perhaps lived, on Ouse Bridge. Other tenants of Ouse Bridge also chose each other as executors of their wills. Robert Scauceby, glover, (d. 1476) who rented a shop on Ouse Bridge, made Richard Crocelyn and Thomas Bene his executors, alongside his wife Agnes.<sup>201</sup> Crocelyn and Thomas Bene both rented shops on Ouse Bridge and also held low civic offices as wardens of the Bridge, a position held by a number of the bridge's more affluent tenants.<sup>202</sup>

Household composition is not easily definable for small houses and shops. Nonetheless, the evidence from rent accounts suggests the relationships between tenants living in property of this nature were complex and were not necessarily based around the family unit. Non-related groups could have lived together as friends, or as colleagues. It is equally difficult to judge the ages of people living in small houses, although it seems generally that small houses and shops appealed to a wide range of tenants in terms of age and social status.

### *Domestic Space*

This section will turn its attention to the vocabularies and conceptions of space in medieval small houses and shops. Archaeological and architectural studies of the plan form and organisation of medieval houses demand the classification of rooms in order to understand the way in which a building was used by its occupants. A general vocabulary is used to describe the plan form of medieval houses, which includes terms such as hall, chamber, *solar*, shop, kitchen and parlour. In some cases, especially in larger medieval houses, differences in architectural features between rooms can help with room classification. However, spaces are not always easily defined, especially in small houses where the function, and therefore the room description, is not made

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<sup>201</sup> BIA, Prob. Reg. 5 fol. 5r.

<sup>202</sup> YBA, pp. 469-70. The Bridgemaster was responsible for collecting the rents of properties on the Bridge, as well as overseeing the upkeep of St William's chapel and the payment of the chapel priest's fees, C. Carpenter, 'The Formation of Urban Élites: Civic Officials in late medieval York 1476-1525' (DPhil Thesis, The University of York, 2000), p. 26. The post of Bridgemaster acted as a point of access to the top civic offices, and may have been a position aspired to by many tenants of the Bridge, C.E. Carpenter, 'The Office and Personnel of the Post of Bridgemaster in York 1450-1499' (MA Diss., The University of York, 1995-96), pp. 33-4.

explicitly clear in the fabric of the building. The following analysis will reconsider the classification of spaces within medieval houses by comparing contemporary and modern descriptions of small houses and shops. It will suggest that distinctions were subtler than the current tendency of identifying small houses simply as 'one-up-one-down' dwellings, both within and between cities. The second problem addressed here is the extent to which room classification determined room function. Drawing on evidence from fifteenth-century probate inventories from York, it will consider the different contemporary contexts in which room descriptions were used and whether the same terms were used to describe spaces with the same function in properties of different sizes.

Problems with the classification of rooms in medieval houses were first discussed in a rural context in relation to the first-floor hall. In 1993, John Blair suggested that structures that had previously been identified as post-conquest first-floor halls should more accurately be described as chamber-blocks.<sup>203</sup> He suggested this on the grounds that contemporary descriptions of rural houses made no indication that rooms in storeyed buildings were defined as halls.<sup>204</sup> He argued further that terms such as chamber and *solar* were, as a rule, used to describe storeyed buildings. Blair argued that first-floor halls should therefore be re-defined as chamber-blocks, which would have once been attached to open halls. The comparison between documentary sources and archaeological evidence in this analysis was problematic, because the written evidence did not directly correspond with the first-floor halls under discussion. However, Anthony Quiney has suggested a means by which the documentary and archaeological evidence can be reconciled, arguing that first-floor rooms, classified as chambers, may have also functioned as halls.<sup>205</sup> There are two important issues brought to light from this discussion, which have implications for the study of room classification and room function, not only in rural houses, but also in urban houses. Not only might there be difficulties in reconciling documentary descriptions of houses with archaeological plans, but more importantly there is also the possibility that room classifications are not accurate indicators of room function.

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<sup>203</sup> J. Blair, 'Hall and Chamber: English Domestic Planning 1000-1250', in G. Merion-Jones and M. Jones (eds.), *Manorial Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France* (London, 1993), pp. 1-21.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 2-5.

<sup>205</sup> A. Quiney, 'Hall or Chamber? That is the Question. The Use of Rooms in Post-Conquest Houses', *Architectural History* 42 (1999): 24-46.

In urban houses, a ground-floor room open to the roof is also distinguished as the hall. In the absence of this architecturally defined space, it is often concluded by architectural historians that the house did not have a hall. Thus, Pantin's typology of urban house-plans, based on the identification of the open hall, only included houses in which this space could be clearly identified within the fabric of the building.<sup>206</sup> Yet there are examples of medieval houses of all sizes in which an open hall is not architecturally or archaeologically distinguishable. Several examples have been identified in Winchester.<sup>207</sup> For example, 42 High Street, dated between 1316 and c. 1352, which is a three-storey house standing over an undercroft. In 1380, the undercroft was used as an inn called 'le Taverne de Paradys' and is described as having shops and chambers above.<sup>208</sup> An open hall was not specified in the fabric of the building and no reference to a hall was made in the documentary description. Similarly, the three-storey house at 43 High Street, dated to 1508, and the three-storey front range of 'Godbegot' in the High Street, dated to 1462/3, did not provide evidence for open halls.<sup>209</sup> However, just because no open hall could be distinguished, either in the fabric of the building or the contemporary description, we should not discount the possibility that one of the rooms was used as a hall at some point in time. Defining the function of a hall is key to our understanding of the identification of that space, and something that needs further exploration.

In this respect, it is also helpful to consider the use of the term 'hall' in the sixteenth century, when the space within medieval houses was being modified and adapted. It is interesting that the term 'hall' continued to be used in this period, despite the enclosure of open halls to create an extra room at first-floor level. Moreover, it was the ground-floor component, no longer open to the roof, which appears to have been assigned the description 'hall', rather than the upper component. For example, among the probate inventories surviving for Guildford in Surrey, from 1560-1603, the inventories of Richard Ford, shoemaker (1560/61), Margaret Smallpece, widow (1589) and Thomas Key, clerk and parson (1597), described goods in rooms including the 'hall' and the 'chamber over the hall'.<sup>210</sup> Similarly in Bristol, the probate inventory of John Gorwey

<sup>206</sup> Pantin, 'Medieval English Town House Plans'.

<sup>207</sup> Roberts, *Hampshire Houses*, pp. 186-7.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid, citing Keene, *Medieval Winchester*, 2: 567-8.

<sup>209</sup> Roberts, *Hampshire Houses*, pp. 186-7. There was no surviving documentary evidence for comparison.

<sup>210</sup> D.M. Herridge (ed.), *Surrey Probate Inventories 1558-1603*, Surrey Record Society 39 (2005), pp. 19-20, 266-67, 350-2.

(alias Le Gaunt, 1542), recorded items in the 'hall' and the 'chamber over the hall'.<sup>211</sup> Thus a ground-floor, ceiled room was defined as a hall, which adds a further dimension to the use of this term. There is further evidence to suggest that the term 'hall' was applied to spaces of ambiguous classification; the inventory of John Mors, a musician of Guildford, Surrey (1603), records goods listed under the title of 'the owtewarde chamber called the Hall'.<sup>212</sup> More importantly, the re-modelling of the open hall could have occurred in the fifteenth century. The study of Hampshire houses noted that the earliest example of a floored hall in a town centre was The George Inn, Odiham, dated to 1486/7.<sup>213</sup> This strengthens the argument that the term 'hall' was used in a variety of different contexts across the later medieval period. It is important to be aware that the term was not always applied to a strictly defined architectural space.

The analysis of the use of the term 'hall' calls into question the extent to which room descriptions in urban houses were standardised across the later medieval period. Derek Keene suggested that the vocabulary used to describe small houses in Winchester changed across the Middle Ages.<sup>214</sup> He argued that from the early twelfth century, the term 'shop' was usually used to denote a small structure with a commercial and possibly domestic function. However, after c.1350, the local terminology changed and small properties that had once been described as shops (*shopa*) with solars above were increasingly referred to as cottages (*cotagia*). For example, a property in Wongar Street, Winchester, was described in 1328 as 'three shops with solars above', but in 1379 as 'three cottages'. Whether or not the cottages retained their commercial function, is not made explicit. A similar pattern was noticed in London, providing further evidence to suggest the terminology used to describe small houses and shops could change across time. Yet this was not true for all cities. As we have already seen in Norwich, the use of the term 'shop with solar', continued into the fifteenth century.

However, the terminology used to describe small houses in York also changed across the fourteenth and fifteenth century. The vicars' choral described small houses in their fourteenth-century rent accounts as *rents*, without distinguishing between commercial

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<sup>211</sup> E. George, S. George and P. Fleming (eds.), *Bristol Probate Inventories 1542-1650*, Bristol Record Society 54 (2002), pp. 1-2.

<sup>212</sup> Herridge, *Surrey Probate Inventories*, p. 425.

<sup>213</sup> Roberts, *Hampshire Houses*, pp. 148-9.

<sup>214</sup> Keene, *Medieval Winchester*, 1: 137-9.

and domestic properties.<sup>215</sup> This term does not appear to have been used in the fifteenth century. The York bridgemasters preferred the terms ‘cottages’ and ‘shops’ to describe small houses on their estate.<sup>216</sup> Shops were sometimes further specified as ‘shops with cameras’, that is, with first-floor rooms. However, this terminology was not static and by the second half of the fifteenth century, the term ‘tenementa’, which had previously been used to denote larger properties, was also used to describe shops.<sup>217</sup> For example, the majority of the properties on Ouse Bridge, up until and including 1444, were described as shops;<sup>218</sup> however, by 1453, tenement was used to describe many of these properties.<sup>219</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that the change in terminology reflected a structural change, but rather, that a different vocabulary was being used to describe properties previously denoted as shops. What is equally striking here is that the descriptions of small houses not only changed over time, but also differed between cities.

Differences also occur in the use of the term ‘shop’ and ‘stall’ between York and Norwich. In York, shops appear to have been more substantial structures than stalls, especially on Ouse Bridge where shops were the primary structures lining the Bridge. Some of these had stalls set up in front of them, often rented to separate tenants.<sup>220</sup> In Norwich marketplace, a distinction was made in the rent accounts, between the stalls (*stalla*) of the butchers’ and fishmongers’ markets, and the shops (*shoppa*) of the wool seller’s and rope maker’s markets. However, some of the stalls appear to have evolved across the late medieval period to resemble small shops in themselves, with ground and first-floor rooms (*solar*). Although the formality of the rent accounts continued to reserve the use of the term ‘stall’ for the butchers’ and the fishmongers’ markets, and ‘shop’ for the wool sellers’ and rope makers’ markets, it is clear by the fifteenth century that they were not as rigidly applied. In a rent account of 1409-10, Matilda Swopham paid 10s in rent for a stall (*stalla*) in the fish market.<sup>221</sup> However, alongside this record, John Heed, butcher, paid 40d for the rent of a cellar (*volta*), described as being beneath

<sup>215</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/1-15 (Rent accounts) and VC 6/2/1-44 (Chamberlain’s Accounts) VC 6/9/1-5 (Building Accounts).

<sup>216</sup> YBA.

<sup>217</sup> Keene, *Medieval Winchester*, 1: 137-8: The use of the term became more precise over the course of the later medieval period and by the mid-fourteenth century, ‘tenementa’ came to denote built-up property of a certain minimum size, in contrast to other smaller properties such as shops and cottages.

<sup>218</sup> YBA, pp. 237-8. A roll dated by internal evidence to 1446x47 (pp. 213-14) also uses this terminology.

<sup>219</sup> YBA, pp. 275-8.

<sup>220</sup> See for example the stallage let to a William Gaunt on Ouse Bridge, in an account dated to 1446 x 1447, (YBA, pp. 213-14).

<sup>221</sup> NRO, NCR Case 18a, Chamberlain’s Account Book 1384-1448, fol. 54v.

the shop (*shoppa*) of Matilda Swopham. Thus the terms 'stall' and 'shop' were both used within the same paragraph to refer to the same structure. The use of terms to describe structures across the later medieval period is, therefore, more complex than has previously been appreciated.

The terminology used in the fifteenth-century rent accounts of St Giles's Hospital, Norwich, stand apart from the York and Winchester evidence. St Giles's Hospital was very precise in their property descriptions, differentiating properties from each other by listing their component parts. Small houses were described in terms of the number of rooms they contained and whether they had outside space. For example, a single-roomed property let in the Hospital was described as a 'chamber' (*camera*), a two-roomed property in Smethirowe was described as a 'chamber and solar' (*camera cum solar*) and a two roomed property with outside land attached, in Holme Street, was described as a 'chamber and solar and garden' (*camera cum solar et gardino*).<sup>222</sup> The term 'cottage' (*cotagia*), unlike York and Winchester, does not appear to have been used at all. These terms were also fairly constant throughout the period 1430-1460, for which an almost complete set of rent accounts survive.

One of the most apparent differences in the terminology used to describe rooms in small houses between York and Norwich, was the use of the terms *camera* and *solar*. The term *solar* is usually used to describe a first-floor, rather than a ground-floor room, whereas a *camera* was used to describe rooms on either floor. Yet the term *solar* does not appear to have been used to describe rooms in small houses in York across the later fourteenth or fifteenth century.<sup>223</sup> The York rent accounts preferred to describe the first-floor room in a small house or shop as a chamber (*camera*), rather than a *solar*. In contrast, as the above examples show, the Norwich rent accounts used the term *solar* to denote first-floor rooms in properties, across the late medieval period. This was further emphasised in Norwich marketplace, where a number of *solars* were described as being located above stalls (*stalla*). Where the ground-floor room in Norwich was not used as a shop, it appears to have been described as a chamber (*camera*). This calls into question the terminology used to describe ground-floor rooms in York; were both first-floor and ground-floor rooms in non-commercial properties described as chambers? The rent

<sup>222</sup> NRO, NCR Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, account for 1430-1.

<sup>223</sup> YMA, VC 4/1/1-15 (Rent accounts) and VC 6/2/1-44 (Chamberlain's Accounts) VC 6/9/1-5 (Building Accounts), YBA, PIYD.



accounts do not provide any further evidence for the classification of ground-floor rooms.

There is only so much information that rent accounts disclose about descriptions of rooms in houses. It is also clear that, although changes and adaptations were made to the internal arrangements within small houses and shops by means of screens and partitions to divide up space into smaller areas, these modifications did not affect the descriptions used when referring to property in the rent accounts. Occasional descriptions within the repair records also suggest that more precise terms would have been used in a different context. For example, a repair to a property rented to Thomas Tubbac on Ouse Bridge, and described in the rent account as a shop, referred not only to the shop, but also two halls and a chamber.<sup>224</sup> Therefore, it is possible that the tenants of small houses could have referred to the internal spaces in a different manner to the administrative records of institutional landlords, thus emphasising that the vocabulary for space could have been different in formal and colloquial contexts.

Rent accounts can only provide a limited amount of information about the categorisation of rooms in small houses. However, further contemporary descriptions of household spaces can be obtained from probate inventories. York is fortunate in the respect that it preserves a large collection of fifteenth-century probate inventories, which have recently been published.<sup>225</sup> Unfortunately, the series of probate inventories in Norwich do not start until 1553.<sup>226</sup> Nonetheless, the York evidence is sufficient, not only for an analysis of the terms used to describe rooms in medieval houses, but also for the consideration of room function.<sup>227</sup> The first part of this chapter acknowledged that a number of residents of small houses and shops left wills and it is thus equally possible that probate inventories for this type of housing can be sourced. Probate inventories should nonetheless be approached with caution, as their primary function was to record

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<sup>224</sup> *YBA*, p. 302 (repair), p. 285 (rent details). Note this account (dated 1454) was after the change from describing property on the bridge as 'shops' to tenements, so although Thomas Tubbac's property was listed here as a tenement, in previous accounts it would have been described as shop.

<sup>225</sup> *PIYD*; an earlier edition of the inventories was produced as: P.M. Stell and L. Hampson (eds.), *Probate Inventories of the York Diocese 1350-1500* (York, 1998), references will be made here to the 2006 edition.

<sup>226</sup> Early modern probate inventories from Norwich have been analysed in: U. Priestley and P.J. Corfield, 'Rooms and room use in Norwich housing, 1580-1730', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 16 (1982): 93-123.

<sup>227</sup> A previous study of the York probate inventories was undertaken by K.D. Smith, 'Room Use and Function in Late Medieval Urban Houses: An Archaeologically Informed Investigation of Probate Inventories' (MA Diss., The University of York, 2004).

the goods left by the deceased, rather than to offer a description of household space.<sup>228</sup> A room may have been left out of the inventory if it did not contain items of value. The assessors were not obliged to list all the rooms in the house, and may have missed some out.<sup>229</sup> In the following analysis of probate inventories, reference will also be made to the will, where it has survived, to ensure that all the householder's goods are taken into account.<sup>230</sup> Unlike the information given in rent accounts, probate inventories do not provide details about where properties were located, their relative size, or their relationship with other buildings. The property under evaluation was not, for example, distinguished as a cottage, shop or messuage and no details were given as to whether it consisted of a single structural unit, or was part of a shared building that had been subdivided into smaller units.<sup>231</sup>

Even when probate inventories have been matched to surviving structures, various problems have come to light. In a study of houses in the Norfolk town of New Buckenham, testamentary evidence was linked with surviving medieval structures; however, there were difficulties in attempting to match-up the rooms referred to in the inventory with the plan of the surviving structures. For example, the archaeological survey of The Pleasance, Queen Street, New Buckenham, dated to the early sixteenth century, suggested two possible original ground-floor layouts, either consisting of a small, central one-bay hall with a large shop or warehouse at the north end and parlour to the south end or, alternatively, the central bay could have been part of the shop or warehouse to the north.<sup>232</sup> The probate inventory of one of its residents, Robert Turner, dated to 1592, listed a hall, buttery, parlour, chamber, chamber over the hall, cheese-house and kitchen.<sup>233</sup> The surveyors concluded that if the buttery was ignored, this description fitted the first layout suggested in the survey, of a small central hall with

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<sup>228</sup> M. Overton, J. Whittle, D. Dean and A. Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (Abingdon, 2004), p. 15; M. Spufford, 'The limitations of the probate inventory', in J. Chartres and D. Hey (eds.), *English Rural Society, 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 139-74; T. Arkell, 'Interpreting Probate Inventories', in T. Arkell, N. Evans and N. Goose (eds.), *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 85-95.

<sup>229</sup> Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, pp. 15, 121-2; Priestley and Corfield, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich', pp. 94-7.

<sup>230</sup> Spufford, 'Limitations of the probate inventory', pp. 144-5, studies of probate inventories have drawn attention to the issue that goods that had already been dealt with in the will, would not be included in the probate inventories.

<sup>231</sup> Priestley and Corfield, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich', pp. 99-101.

<sup>232</sup> A. Longcroft (ed.), *The Historic Buildings of New Buckenham*, pp. 151-154, 196-97; although a sample was taken from this building for dendrochronological analysis, this proved unusable and the date was suggested from the survey evidence.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid*, p. 151.

parlour at one end, each with a chamber above, and the cheese-house and kitchen in the yard behind. The documentary and archaeological evidence were not easily reconciled, because probate inventories only provide details of layout and room-use at a specific point in time and do not reveal change over time.

The repair and maintenance programmes of institutional landlords discussed in Chapter 3 have also shown that small houses and shops underwent several adaptations across the course of the late medieval period. Chimney insertions and the construction of screens were common alterations made to small houses from the late fourteenth century onwards. Similarly, the archaeological evidence in Chapter 2 suggests that rows of small houses could be easily adapted and amalgamated to suit the needs of the tenant, thus houses could have been constantly changing shape, either increasing or decreasing the number of rooms or spaces within them. The requirements of an occupant's craft could have also motivated change within the property. Excavations on Alms Lane in Norwich uncovered evidence for brewing and iron-working crafts across the late medieval period.<sup>234</sup> The demands of these industries, which were practised at different times across this period, could have instigated changes in the arrangements within the domestic buildings on the site. However, where shops were organised to facilitate a particular craft, the arrangements within properties might have stayed the same over a number of years. For example, one particular shop on Ouse Bridge was let predominantly to glovers over a traceable period of twelve years; in 1428, a John Beswyk, glover, rented a shop there for 5s.<sup>235</sup> By 1435, it had changed hands to another glover, a William Whallegrave.<sup>236</sup> In 1437, a Thomas Clynt, glover, took over the premises.<sup>237</sup> In 1438 it had changed hands to a seamstress, Agnes del Hyll,<sup>238</sup> but by 1440 it has reverted back to a glover, John Hutchonson.<sup>239</sup> It is therefore important to bear these issues in mind in the investigation of probate inventories.

The probate inventories for York record goods in properties of various sizes. The number of rooms described in these records ranged from one to over twenty-eight.<sup>240</sup> The inventories with fewer rooms can provide further evidence for smaller houses in the

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<sup>234</sup> Atkin et al., *Excavations in Norwich 1971-1978 Part II*, pp. 144-260.

<sup>235</sup> *YBA*, p. 140.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid*, p. 152.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid*, p. 175.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid*, p. 182.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid*, p. 191.

<sup>240</sup> *PIYD*, pp. 636-9, lists goods in twenty-eight rooms.

city. In a study of probate inventories in the counties of Cornwall and Kent from 1600-1750, smaller houses were identified from probate inventories with three rooms or fewer.<sup>241</sup> Inventories that did not directly mention rooms, but provided a list of goods only, were thought to denote smaller houses and were therefore included in this category. It is very difficult to establish how many rooms were contained within smaller houses of the late medieval period. However, the rent accounts suggest that there were probably one or two rooms in a small house or shop in both late medieval York and Norwich. The standing evidence also suggests that at least two rooms, one to each floor, would have been included in small houses. The plan of slightly larger rows of fifteenth-century houses, at 34-50 High Street, Tewkesbury and 119-23 Upper Spon Street, Coventry, suggest that they were divided into three rooms, which have been interpreted as a hall, shop and solar.<sup>242</sup> Further larger rows of houses in York, such as 85-89 Micklegate, which has three storeys, could have contained as many rooms as this.<sup>243</sup> In order to provide as much comparison as possible, inventories describing goods in houses with between one and four rooms were selected for investigation. In total, this provided a sample of sixteen inventories for analysis. Two inventories listed goods in one room only, three inventories listed goods in two rooms, five inventories listed goods in three rooms and six inventories listed goods in four rooms. A list of the inventories and a breakdown of the rooms within each property have been summarised in table 6.

Several observations can be made regarding the vocabulary used to describe rooms in fifteenth-century probate inventories from York. The most common descriptions given to rooms across all sixteen inventories were hall (*aula*) and chamber (*camera*). More importantly, the survey suggests that small houses with one or two rooms were just as likely to use the terms hall (*aula*) and chamber (*camera*) as houses with three or four rooms. Furthermore, the classification of one- or two-roomed dwellings was not as fixed as the descriptions for three- or four-roomed dwellings. Out of the two probate inventories describing goods in one-roomed dwellings, one was described as a chamber (*camera*), and the other as a hall (*aula*). Out of the three examples of two-roomed dwellings, one was described as a chamber (*camera*) and a study (*studium*), while two were described as a hall (*aula*) and a chamber (*camera*). There is no indication whether the terms hall and chamber were used as a means of differentiating the architectural

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<sup>241</sup> Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, pp. 123-4.

<sup>242</sup> Quiney, *Town Houses in Medieval Britain*, pp. 246, 265; Elrington (ed.), *VCH Gloucester*, vol. 8, pp. 129-30.

<sup>243</sup> *RCHME York*, vol. 3, pp. 82-3.

spaces of Henry Thorlthorpe and John Gaythird's one-roomed dwellings. Similarly, it is not known whether there were architectural distinctions between the two-roomed dwellings of Peerson and Brown, which had halls, and Ledale's two-roomed property, which did not. This diversity among the vocabulary used to describe small houses suggests further that the term 'hall' (*aula*) was not necessarily used to describe a space that was open from the ground to the roof.

Interestingly, the term 'hall' (*aula*) was used in probate inventories to describe one- and two-roomed dwellings, even though it was not generally used to describe small houses and shops in the rent accounts of institutional landlords. This suggests that different people classified rooms in different ways, especially if the room was not architecturally distinctive as an open hall. The use of the term 'hall' by tenants of small houses could be an indication of their aspirations to occupy a space of this description. A further example of a one-roomed dwelling described as a hall has been identified in Hampshire. The probate inventory of John Sutar of Micheldever (1553) listed goods in a single room, described as a hall.<sup>244</sup> Furthermore, the term 'hall' was used in both small and large houses in Norwich through the early modern period.<sup>245</sup> Priestley and Corfield found that between 1580 and 1654, several two- and three-roomed houses contained halls that functioned as multi-purpose living rooms.<sup>246</sup> These examples reinforce the argument that small houses of the late medieval period could also contain rooms described as halls.

Room descriptions appear to have been more consistent across three- and four-roomed dwellings. Out of the eleven probate inventories listing houses with three and four rooms, nine used the standard descriptions hall (*aula*), chamber (*camera*) and kitchen (*coquina*) and all eleven inventories described one room as a hall.<sup>247</sup> In contrast to one- and two-roomed dwellings, the most common extra rooms, after hall and chamber, were

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<sup>244</sup> E. Lewis, E. Roberts and K. Roberts, *Medieval Hall Houses of the Winchester Area* (Winchester, 1988), pp. 25-7.

<sup>245</sup> Priestley and Corfield, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich', pp. 104-05.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>247</sup> A detailed analysis of kitchen using probate inventories, has been undertaken by H. Arnold, 'The Kitchens of Medieval York – The Evidence of the Inventories', *York Historian* 16 (1999): 2-9. Although there has been much debate about detached kitchens in buildings of size, for example, D. and B. Martin, 'Detached Kitchens in Eastern-Sussex, a Re-assessment of the Evidence', *Vernacular Architecture* 29 (1998): 85-91; J.T. Smith, 'Detached Kitchens or Adjoining Houses', *Vernacular Architecture* 32 (2001): 16-19, the form of kitchens in small houses is less well understood. The archaeological examination of small houses and shops in Chapter 2 of this thesis, did not reveal evidence for kitchens. The form and function of kitchens in relation to urban small houses will require further analysis in the future.

kitchens and shops. The exception among the inventories of three-roomed dwellings was William Coltman, shoemaker, whose property was described as a shop (*shoppa*) with hall and parlour (*parlorium*). Among the four-roomed dwellings, additional terms were used to describe rooms, such as store-room (*celarium*), chapel (*capella*) and buttery (*butlaria*), which were not used in any other inventories. This suggests that different areas could be used for more specific functions as the number of rooms increased. Catherine Richardson has argued that room function became more specialised across the course of the late medieval period, and that by the sixteenth century the association between objects and the places in which they were kept were much stronger than they had been previously.<sup>248</sup> Although it is difficult to identify change over time within this sample of York inventories, a study of the types of items kept within dwellings of one, two, three or four rooms can shed light on multi-functionality and segregation in room-use across the city.

Probate inventories, which recorded goods in four rooms, tended to show a high degree of specialisation between spaces. The probate inventories of Thomas Baker, stringer (1436), and Thomas Grysshop, chapman of York (1446), listed goods in a hall, chamber, kitchen, and shop.<sup>249</sup> The goods listed within these rooms, suggest that the spaces were fairly well defined. Cooking utensils, such as pots and pans, were listed in the kitchen, beds and bedding in the chamber, goods for retail in the shop, and halling, tables, basins and candlesticks in the hall. The arrangement of goods suggests that the activities of food preparation, sleeping and trade were separated from the living area, into specialised rooms within the house. However, not all four-roomed dwellings were so well organised; the probate inventory of Richard Hawkesworth, vicar (1466), listed a hall, buttery, chamber and kitchen.<sup>250</sup> He used his chamber not only for sleeping in, but also for storing food items, including fish, a barrel of verjus (*i vertjus barell*),<sup>251</sup> oats (*avena*) and some instruments such as scales (*wallscales*). In this respect, the chamber did not denote a specialised sleeping area. Similarly, the probate inventory of Robert Tankard, girdler (1439), recorded items in a shop, chamber, hall and kitchen; however, he also appears to have used his *camera* for multiple purposes. As well as containing his bed and bedding, he also used it for the storage of furniture 'for the shop' (*ii tablis pro*

<sup>248</sup> Richardson, 'Household Objects and Domestic Ties', pp. 441-3, 446-7.

<sup>249</sup> *PIYD*, pp. 552-3, 569-73.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 622-3; BIA, D/C Original Wills.

<sup>251</sup> 'Verjus' is an acidic juice extracted from unripe or sour fruit, usually grapes, but also crab-apples.

*shoppa*) as well as a salt vat, trough and two sieves (*i salt fatt, i trogh, ii syfes*).<sup>252</sup> The chamber did not necessarily define a space that had a singular function. In four-roomed dwellings that did not have a designated shop or workshop space, evidence for work can be found in other rooms. For example, the probate inventory of Geoffrey and Idonea Couper (1402), recorded a spinning wheel (*spynnyngqwhele*) in the kitchen.<sup>253</sup> In houses with four rooms, the hall appears to be the only room that was not encroached upon if extra space was needed.

The hall was also kept as a formal living area in some examples of probate inventories describing three-roomed dwellings. The inventory of John Cotom (1426) recorded goods in a hall, kitchen and a further unnamed room, which was probably a chamber.<sup>254</sup> Among the items in his hall were dorsers,<sup>255</sup> cushions (*qw[is]yschyns*), chairs (*cathedra*), stools (*scabell*); in the chamber, a bed (*lectus*) and bedding and in the kitchen, a dressing board, pots and pans. Each room appears to have been arranged as a definite eating, sleeping or living area. The inventory of Robert Danby, vicar of St Mary Bishophill, York (1480), also listed goods in a hall, chamber and a kitchen.<sup>256</sup> In his hall were furniture and soft furnishings and in his chamber were mattresses and bedding, soft furnishings, furniture, clothes, four silver spoons (*quatuor coeliaribus argenti*) and books. Listed in his kitchen were utensils, pots and pans and other kitchen implements, including a gridiron (*caraticula*) and a pair of tongues (*tanges*).<sup>257</sup> Danby also kept a wooden bed, which had a lock, in his kitchen. Beds were not uncommonly listed among kitchen items, especially in early modern probate inventories, suggesting perhaps that they also functioned as auxiliary living rooms.<sup>258</sup>

However, these spaces were not always as clearly defined across three-roomed dwellings. The inventory of Katherine North (1461) listed goods in a hall, chamber and kitchen.<sup>259</sup> Among the items in her kitchen were utensils, pots and pans and a small sack of wool (*sacula cum lana*). Clothes were the most prominent items listed in her

<sup>252</sup> *PIYD*, pp. 557-8; BIA, D/C Original Wills.

<sup>253</sup> *PIYD*, p. 507; YMA, L1 (17) 24.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 549-50; this edition of the probate inventory lists Cotom as a mason, although his craft was not included in the original document YMA, L1 (17) 22.

<sup>255</sup> 'Dorsers' are ornamental clothes, used either to cover the back of seats, or as wall hangings.

<sup>256</sup> *PIYD*, pp. 642-44; YMA, L1 (17) 35.

<sup>257</sup> Danby also bequeathed kitchen equipment to three women, a Margaret Rothom and his two unnamed sisters, YMA, L2/4 (Wills 1) 347r.

<sup>258</sup> Priestley and Corfield, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich', p. 107.

<sup>259</sup> *PIYD*, pp. 617-18; BIA, D/C Original Wills.

chamber, along with bedding and cloth. A pair of scissors (*forsp*) was also listed, at a value of 1d. Listed in the hall were soft furnishings, some basic furniture items, a wheel and a stool (*rota cum scabello*). Although Katherine North's occupation was not stated in the inventory, the scissors, sack of wool and 'wheel and stool' suggests that she worked from home as a spinster. In contrast to the house of Geoffrey and Idonea Couper, North kept her spinning wheel in her hall, rather than any other room in the house. The fewer rooms there were in the house, the less rigid the function of the hall may have become. Couper appears to have kept the formality of the hall, perhaps for eating and the entertainment of guests, while North used the space for her work as well as her general living area.

The inventory of William Coltman, shoemaker (1486), from York, details a three-roomed dwelling, consisting of an unnamed room, which was probably a shop or workshop, a parlour and a hall.<sup>260</sup> It is clear that Coltman was not only retailing shoes from his shop, but also manufacturing or mending shoes, given that the items listed in that space included a number of pairs of ready-made shoes (*schoues*), boots (*botnys*) and slippers (*slyppers*), as well as tools, including a rasp (*respe*) and knives (*knyfes*), and other items to do with leather-work, such as a clamp (*clames*), or vice for working with leather and a shaping board (*shapyng borde*).<sup>261</sup> It is interesting that the shop or workshop was a very specialised area, even in houses with three rooms. It does not appear to have doubled-up as a living space, but rather the family used the remaining two rooms for sleeping, cooking and living areas. A chamber was absent from the inventory and, instead, the hall appears to have been used as a sleeping and living area. Furniture and soft furnishings, linen and hangings were listed in the hall, alongside a number of brass pots and kettles, mattresses and bedding, feather beds and a tester (*testur*).

Unlike other examples of three-roomed inventories, the kitchen was also conspicuously absent. Instead, cooking appears to have been undertaken in the parlour; a verjus barrel (*verius berrell*), a salting tub (*saltyng kytte*) and an ale vessel (*alle vessayll*) were listed

<sup>260</sup> *PIYD*, pp. 658-9; *YMA*, L1 (17) 17. Headings for the hall and parlour are given in the inventory, but the third room, described here as a shop or workshop, does not have a heading, although it is clear that it had this function. This inventory has therefore been classified as relating to a three-roomed dwelling. Smith, 'Room Use and Function in Late Medieval Houses', Appendix 1, identified that the house of William Coltman consisted of 2 rooms, although it is clear that there were three in total.

<sup>261</sup> For a discussion about shops and workshop space, see Alston, 'Late medieval workshops in East Anglia', pp. 38-59.



there, along with items for cooking meat, such as a meat hook (*flech croke*) and pot hooks (*potte hewkes*), for over a fire. This room may have also doubled-up as a living room, as soft furnishings and furniture were also listed in the inventory. This was the only house of its size to use the term parlour to describe a room. Out of the other four York probate inventories to describe a room as a parlour, three were included in houses with over five rooms, and one was used in a house of four rooms.<sup>262</sup> The inventory also records details about Coltman's family; he was married, and his wife was pregnant with their third child at the time of his death. The two other children were named John and Beatrice.<sup>263</sup> The way that space was used within a house may have been determined, not only by the number of rooms, but also by the number of people living there. The Coltman family appear to have used their parlour and hall for a number of multi-functional activities.

Even in houses with two rooms, a degree of specialisation among areas can be identified. For example, the probate inventory of Thomas Peerson, toller, suggests that he assigned specific functions to the two rooms listed in his inventory.<sup>264</sup> Among the items listed in the hall, valued in total at 18s 1d, were a meat-board (*mett board*), salt-cellar (*salt saler*), a water can (*water kan*) and a barrel for verjus (*barell pro verjus*), brass pots and a kettle (*brasyn' potes et un ketyll*), and two spits (*ii spetis*). Two wheels and a pair of cards (*ii qwelys et un par cardes*) were also itemised. In the chamber was a mattress (*materes*) and bedding, along with other items such as twelve bushels of wool and an axe (*berying ax*). The goods in the *camera* totalled £1 3d. Peerson appears to have had modestly valued goods and it is unknown whether he was married or lived alone.<sup>265</sup> Peerson seems to have used his hall for the preparation and cooking of food, and also for work – in this case carding and spinning, in a similar fashion to Katherine North. The chamber appears to have been used not only as a sleeping area, but also for storage. Thus, although activities were divided between the two spaces, both rooms had multifunctional uses.

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<sup>262</sup> *PIYD*, parlours were listed in probate inventories with five rooms or more in the case of John Carter, p. 649, John Collan, p. 664, and William Coltman, brewer, p. 645; a parlour was also listed in the four-roomed inventory of William Welwyk, vicar choral, p. 609.

<sup>263</sup> The will of John Coltman, shoemaker, could not be identified, although the probate act survives in YMA, L2/4 (Wills 1) 365r.

<sup>264</sup> *PIYD*, p. 610; BIA, D/C Original Wills.

<sup>265</sup> A wife, or widow, was not referred to in the probate inventory, and a will has not been traced.

The inventory of William Ledale, chaplain (1438), of the parish church of St Martin, Coney Street, York, also describes a two roomed dwelling, consisting of a study (*studium*) and a chamber.<sup>266</sup> Among the items listed in the study were a spruce fir lectern (*lecteron' de prewce*), a writing chair (*cathedra scriptoris*), books and paper. These items suggest that it was used not only for reading and writing, but perhaps also for devotional use. Under the same heading was a note stating that the assessors did not account for household utensils or bedding because they have been bequeathed to his sister. This was confirmed in Ledale's will, although it is not clear what these items may have constituted.<sup>267</sup> Nonetheless, it is important not to rule out the possibility that he also cooked and slept in this room. It is interesting that the two rooms were described as a chamber and a study and not, as in Thomas Peerson's inventory, as a chamber and a hall. Perhaps the presence of devotional materials and lack of furnishings associated with a living area, made the term 'study' more appropriate. The lack of furnishings and kitchen utensils was also noted in a further inventory of a religious man, Simon Lastyngham, cleric (1399).<sup>268</sup> His inventory suggested that he was a man of modest personal goods, which were not organised into rooms. Instead it provides a list of items, which totalled £5 10s 3d.<sup>269</sup> It is possible that these items were contained within one or two rooms. The list included, a mattress (*matris*), a coverlet and a hanging (*coverlet cum tapeta*), items of clothing and silver spoons, and several religious books. Lastyngham's will makes no further references to household furniture or cooking utensils.<sup>270</sup> He requested burial in the graveyard of St Michael the Belfrey, next to York Minster, and it is possible that both religious men lived in a communal setting, where their meals were provided for them in a communal dining room, perhaps in the Bedern.

Two inventories described one-roomed dwellings. The probate inventory of John Gaythird, a husbandman (1494), grouped goods together in a hall (*aula cum aliis necessariis*), totalling £2 7s 3d.<sup>271</sup> The items listed, suggest that Gaythird performed all his household activities within this one room, described as a hall (*aula*). Cooking pots and pans and utensils for tending to and cooking over a fire, such as a pair of iron gallows (*yeron' gallows*) and three spits (*verutur'*), suggest that he was preparing his

<sup>266</sup> *PIYD*, pp. 556-7; BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, 532v, 533r.

<sup>267</sup> BIA, Prog/Exch., Prob Reg 3, 532v.

<sup>268</sup> *PIYD*, pp. 496-7; BIA, D/C Original Wills.

<sup>269</sup> It is for this reason that he has not been included in Table 6.

<sup>270</sup> YMA, L2/4 (Wills 1) 121r.

<sup>271</sup> *PIYD*, pp. 671-3; BIA, D/C Original Wills. Stell states that Gaythird was from York, although the manuscript has been damaged and does not identify where he came from. It has been included here for comparative purposes.

food in this room. Alongside these items were a mattress, a tester, a coverlet (*couerlet*) and sheets (*lintheam*), which suggests that he was also sleeping there. Among his other furniture items were chests (*cista*), chairs (*cathedra*) and cushions (*whisyng*), perhaps associated with a general living area. The presence of cooking utensils among this sample of probate inventories also provides further evidence to contradict Carlin's argument that tenants of small houses did not cook their own meals in their homes, but rather bought them ready-prepared from cook-shops and stalls.<sup>272</sup> Gaythird may have called his living space a hall because of its architectural features, but it is also equally possible that this room did not conform to our modern conception of an open hall and the term could have been used to describe a different type of space. The use of this description might also suggest that Gaythird aspired to live in a room of this composition.

The inventory of Henry Thorlthorpe, vicars choral (1426), also grouped his goods together, rather than providing a room-by-room survey.<sup>273</sup> However, an incidental record of a payment to a labourer for carrying a chest to his chamber (*camera*), suggests that he may have lived in a single-roomed dwelling.<sup>274</sup> His goods were assessed at £11 11s 10d, most of which was valued in books (£4 6s) and cash (£3 8s 7d). Among his other goods were a mattress and covers, a desk for books (*deske pro libris*), a writing chair (*wrytyngchauer*), two lecterns (*lecterons*), chairs, stools, a table, an iron chimney (*chimney de ferreus*) and iron utensils for the fire. This suggests that he slept and studied in this room. Although he had heating arrangements, there was no indication that he undertook any cooking in his room. This iron chimney was probably a portable heating facility, perhaps similar to a brazier, especially as he treated it as a moveable item, bequeathing it to a Catherine Thorlthorp.<sup>275</sup> This indicates that his accommodation did not have a formal fireplace. It may have been similar to the accommodation constructed by the vicars' choral at Cambhall and Benetplace between 1360 and 1364, which had smoke outlets but no formal heating arrangements. Also listed among his items was a panel of wainscot (*sylor de waynescotte*), which could have been fixed to the walls for decoration, or perhaps as a portable screen to divide the space into smaller, more specialised, areas. If Thorlthorpe lived in accommodation provided by the vicars

<sup>272</sup> Carlin, 'Fast Food and Urban Living Standards', pp. 27-51.

<sup>273</sup> *PIYD*, pp. 546-9; *BIA*, D/C Original Wills.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 548.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*

choral, then perhaps this formal and regulated context may have preferred the use of the term chamber, in favour of hall.

The term 'hall' was thus used to describe rooms in houses of varying sizes, although its function was not necessarily the same. In houses of three and four rooms, the goods listed in probate inventories suggest the hall was to some extent reserved as a formal living area. In contrast, the inventories of Katherine North and Thomas Peerson suggest that work such as carding, spinning and weaving was also undertaken in the hall. Unfortunately, the physical space represented by these halls cannot be reconstructed from the documentary evidence and it is important to take into account the fact that these descriptions may have represented very different architectural spaces. In single-roomed dwellings, the hall functioned as a multi-purpose room that was not assigned a specific function, in contrast to the larger houses. Thus, although the term permeated household sizes, its function changed across them. More work needs to be done to try and reconcile probate inventories of one and two-roomed dwellings with actual physical spaces, so that the architectural differences between these spaces can also be compared.

## *Conclusion*

This chapter has shown that patterns of residency and household composition can be identified for small houses and shops of the late medieval period. It acknowledges that the majority of tenants of small houses would have been of a poor social background and that only information for the minority can be recovered. Nonetheless, the use of rent accounts, testamentary evidence and admissions to the freedom can enhance our understanding of the tenants who rented small houses and shops. This is a model that could be employed in future investigations of houses and shops of this size. An analysis of the vocabulary for domestic space has also revealed that the terms 'hall' and 'chamber' were just as commonly used in properties consisting of one or two rooms as they were in larger houses across the fifteenth century. In this period, the term 'hall' was not only applied to an architecturally defined open hall, but was also used to describe less physically distinct spaces, especially in small houses. It has also shown that room descriptions could vary from city to city and that different terminology was used to describe the same spaces across York and Norwich. The extents to which other cities used different vocabularies to describe space requires further investigation. This study has also highlighted that the contemporary usage of a vocabulary to describe structures and space was not static and the conception of space changed across the late medieval period. This should be borne in mind in the interpretation of rooms and their function in future investigations of standing buildings of all sizes.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis has investigated the form, function and meaning of small houses in late medieval York and Norwich through the analysis of their construction, layout, adaptation and patterns of occupancy. The contexts of plot, street, neighbourhood and region have emphasised their diversity, widespread distribution across the city and differences in this house-type between cities. Moreover, the comparison between the style and design of domestic housing in York and Norwich has revealed that the urban built environment would have been very different from region to region. This challenges the recent conclusion that urban environments from one country, or one region to the next, were principally 'differences in scale and emphasis, and not essentially differences in kind'.<sup>1</sup> While scholars have acknowledged that there are many differences between cities in terms of their political and economic development,<sup>2</sup> differences between the built environments of towns are less well understood. Only in the use of archaeological and documentary evidence together can a wide-range of information for small medieval houses and such rich descriptions of the built environment of late medieval cities be uncovered. Future interdisciplinary projects on the built environment would not only shed light on domestic houses, but also help to recreate the contemporary experience of the late medieval city. The following conclusion will not only pull together the major strands of this investigation, but also suggest agendas for further research.

Part One of this thesis established that rows of small houses were constructed in a number of different contexts by several different developers. Architectural accounts of small houses in the late medieval period have relied heavily on Philip Short's examination of the rows of chantry houses in York.<sup>3</sup> The analysis of building accounts and re-examination of standing evidence in York and Norwich, has emphasised that rows of houses were not only constructed by the church on churchyard ground, but also as speculative developments by large-scale ecclesiastical and secular institutions and smaller private developers. These groups capitalised on the many practical advantages of the row-house form - adaptability of size and length, ease of construction and cost-effectiveness. As a result of these factors, rows of small houses were found in many

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<sup>1</sup> Schofield and Stell, 'The built environment', in D.M. Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Volume 1, 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 371-93, especially p. 393.

<sup>2</sup> Such as in the essays drawn together by Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History, Volume 1*.

<sup>3</sup> Short, 'Rows of York'.

different topographical settings, on corner-plots, fronting larger houses, on main thoroughfares as well as in more secluded areas of the city.

Furthermore, rows of small houses were identified as being flexible in design and adaptable in use. It is important to resist the temptation of categorising small houses simply as one-up-one-down properties, as their layout was much more variable than previous studies have appreciated. The permeability of party-walls between units, provided the opportunity for amalgamation and the simplicity in internal layout also meant that horizontal divisions could also be easily created. This house-type could also be adapted to suit the demands of the neighbourhood, in terms of facilitating domestic as well as commercial usage.

Part Two considered how these factors impacted on the way in which small houses were adapted and used by landlords and tenants across the late medieval period as a whole. Small houses were located in both affluent and poorer neighbourhoods. Differences in location resulted in differences in design, standards of fittings and tenants. In general, small houses in less prominent areas of the city were not treated to the same alterations and improvements as small houses and shops in the central areas. Landlords favoured small houses in strategic locations not only to ensure the good condition of their more popular properties, but also as a means of promoting their institutional identity. Small houses and shops on Ouse Bridge and Goodramgate in York and the marketplace in Norwich, received special attention because they were located in highly visible areas of landlord's estates.

The use of different building materials in Norwich and a selective repair programme in York reinforced hierarchies between houses of different sizes. However, the desirability of small houses and shops in prime locations and among tenants of more affluent social backgrounds, suggests that these hierarchies were sometimes compromised. On the bridgemasters' estate, shops on Ouse Bridge attracted tenants who were by no means poor. The social backgrounds of some of these tenants were probably not that different from the tenants of larger properties. As a result, social divisions expressed in houses of different sizes, would have become less distinctive. The addition of porches in large houses only, could have been an attempt by tenants of larger householders, to restore the social divisions between houses of different sizes.

Social distinctions were also maintained between large and small houses on the estates of St Giles's Hospital and the city government in Norwich, in the use of flint in the repair of large properties only. However, the standing evidence at 2-12 Gildencroft and 8-12 Charing Cross, revealed that rows of houses outside of the management of these estates were constructed using flint at ground-floor level. Thus although hierarchies between large and small house were maintained in the use of building materials across the St Giles's Hospital and the city government estates, elsewhere in the city, developers were not enforcing such rigid boundaries between property sizes. This might have been a deliberate attempt to narrow the distinctions between large and small houses and make them more attractive to tenants from diverse social backgrounds. Furthermore, the appropriation of small houses in desirable locations by tenants of upper-middling status suggests that their qualities of flexibility and multi-functional use offered a viable, if not more attractive alternative, than larger houses with open halls.

Agency among tenants of small houses was not only evident at the top end of the market. Factors such as age, gender, household composition and fluctuating rental values also impacted on the types of people that lived in small houses across the city. Tenants also took advantage of the decreasing rental values of small houses in more prominent areas. Women capitalised on the fall in rental values of small houses in Holme Street and Smethirowe in Norwich, which provided them with an opportunity to rent houses in the central area of the city. Similarly, the decreased rental values of small houses in York, provided some tenants with the opportunity to rent more than one house at a time and increase their living spaces. In York and Norwich, tenants also shared small houses and shops in order to meet the expense of a property. Ambitions were also expressed in probate inventories. Terms which are usually associated with larger houses, such as 'hall' were also used to describe spaces in smaller dwellings. Thus even tenants of modest means were appropriating the use of small houses in innovative ways. In order to fully understand the form, function and meaning of houses across the late middle ages, it is not only important to understand their structure, but also the types of people that lived within them.



There are many potential further avenues of research into small houses and the built environment that have been exposed as a consequence of this investigation. The most pressing agendas will be outlined below.

Further comparisons into the built environment of cities would increase our understanding of the visual impact of urban areas across the country. There have been a number of regional studies of medieval houses, which have elucidated the design of houses in particular areas,<sup>4</sup> but the significance of these regional traits in comparison to other areas of the country demand further attention. How were the built environments of medieval cities in Devon and Kent, for example, different from Yorkshire and Norfolk? Furthermore, to what extent were the built environments of cities in regions that shared borders, such as Lancashire and Cheshire, or Suffolk and Essex, similar, or different to each other? The building materials available in these areas and access to ports and imported materials could have also created nationwide differences between the built environments of medieval cities. It is equally possible that there was further diversity among cities within regions. York for example, had tiled roofs from the early fourteenth century at least, while thatch might have been used in Hull until 1577, when it was prohibited.<sup>5</sup> Interdisciplinary investigations that make use of both standing and documentary evidence for urban housing would enable us to understand the landscape of cities across the country in further detail.

Comparisons between urban areas and the houses of their immediate hinterlands also deserve attention. Chapter 1 showed that York was dependant on rural villages in its hinterland for building materials. Recent investigations have discussed the relationship between rural and urban buildings, but these have focused mainly on form, rather than comparing the use of specific materials and their sources.<sup>6</sup> The design of buildings within cities utilised local resources, but to what extent were these houses similar or different in appearance from the surrounding countryside? The use of thatch in Norwich, was replicated in houses in surrounding villages in Norfolk,<sup>7</sup> but the use of tile in York, was not replicated in outlying villages. The roofing material in the Vale of

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<sup>4</sup> For example, J.T. Smith, *English Houses 1200-1800: The Hertfordshire Evidence* (London, 1992); S. Pearson, *The Medieval Houses of Kent: An Historical Analysis* (London, 1994); S. Pearson, P.S. Barnwell and A.T. Adams, *A Gazetteer of Medieval Houses in Kent* (London, 1994); P.S. Barnwell and A.T. Adams, *The House Within: Interpreting Medieval Houses in Kent* (London, 1994); Roberts, *Hampshire Houses*.

<sup>5</sup> *Yorkshire: YER*, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Pearson, 'Rural and Urban Houses 1100-1500', pp. 43-63.

<sup>7</sup> *Norfolk 1*, p. 29.

York and the East Riding was wheat or rye straw until the mid eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, were these boundaries defined by the city walls, the suburbs, or further afield?

In themselves, the design, layout, adaptation and occupation of urban small houses across the country requires further examination. A recent commentator has concluded, on very sketchy evidence, that rows of small houses were probably not as widespread in other cities as they were in York.<sup>9</sup> While it is true that there are not that many known examples of small houses, this investigation, particularly in Norwich, has shown that there are probably more examples that have escaped attention. Furthermore, a documentary-based survey of the property records of ecclesiastical and secular landlords, or guilds, would probably uncover yet more evidence. This investigation has emphasised the diversity in this house-type and further investigations into extant and documentary evidence could improve our understanding of their form and function. An interdisciplinary re-assessment of other known standing examples such as 34-50 Church Street, Tewkesbury and 157-62 Upper Spon Street, Coventry and further documented, but less well-known examples, to the corner of Magdalen Street and Northampton Street in Cambridge,<sup>10</sup> in the context of plot, street, neighbourhood and region, could also shed further light on their meaning.

Regional differences in small houses were not only expressed in the appearance of buildings, but also in terms of the vocabularies used to describe property and the spaces within them. Further studies could identify the vocabularies of space used in cities in other regional areas, particularly in the use of the term hall (*aula*) in relation to small houses.

The investigation into small houses also has implications for the study of the development of the English terrace. A recent study of late medieval urban small houses has suggested that this house-type was the precursor of the modern terrace.<sup>11</sup> The basic concept of a row of houses constructed beneath one roof with its eaves aligned parallel to the street, enclosing units that share party walls, can be identified in rows of medieval

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<sup>8</sup> *Yorkshire: YER*, pp. 26-7.

<sup>9</sup> Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, pp. 256-60.

<sup>10</sup> Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, pp. 246-7, 264-5; Elrington (ed.), *The VCH of Gloucester, Vol. 8*, pp. 129; RCHME, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Cambridge, Part 2* (London, 1959), pp. 345-6.

<sup>11</sup> Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, pp. 255-68.

small houses as well as modern terraces. However, the chronological development of the terrace and the links between rows of small medieval houses from the late medieval period and the eighteenth century brick-built terrace also requires further analysis.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> A study of the terrace from the eighteenth century has been undertaken by S. Muthesius, *The English Terraced House* (New Haven and London, 1982).

## APPENDIX 1

## TABLES

**TABLE 1:** Details of the budget raised by the vicars choral for the re-building of Cambhall and Benetplace, York, in 1360.<sup>1</sup>

<b>ORIGIN OF FUNDS RAISED</b>	<b>£</b>	<b>s</b>	<b>d</b>
William de Ferriby	86	13	4
Hugo de Miton		20	
Geoffrey de Langhalter	13	6	8
William de Exon and Richard de Cloudesdall	30		
Stone from Cambhall	12	15	8½
Further stone from Cambhall	6	4	3
Other Stone	3	3	5½
Timber	28	6	
House in Warthill		30	
Horse		10	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>

**TABLE 2:** Details of the budget raised by the vicars choral for the re-building of Cambhall and Benetplace, York, in 1362.<sup>2</sup>

<b>ORIGIN OF FUNDS RAISED</b>	<b>£</b>	<b>s</b>	<b>d</b>
John de Castleford	13	6	8
William de Grantham	13	6	8
Thomas Nevill	173	6	8
John de Alkbarrow	11		
Emma de Sadeller	16		
Stone sold to William Dalton		3	4
Stone sold to Robert Coke		2	
Stone sold to Peter de Thorp'		20	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>228</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>

<sup>1</sup> Derived from YMA, VC 6/9/1d.<sup>2</sup> Derived from YMA, VC 6/9/1.

**TABLES 3-5:** Summaries of the construction work recorded in the building account for Cambhall and Benetplace, York (1360 to 1364).<sup>3</sup>

**TABLE 3. PERIOD 1:** 25 weeks of construction work, commencing 24<sup>th</sup> June 1360.<sup>4</sup>

<b>WEEK NUMBER</b>	<b>SITE</b>	<b>SUMMARY OF WORK UNDERTAKEN</b>
1-5	Cambhall	Purchases of timber and tools such as picks, shovels and gloves. Hire of labourers, carpenters, sawyers and masons.
6-10	Cambhall	Purchase of timber and bricks, plaster and lime. Hire of carpenters, sawyers, labourers and masons.
11-15	Cambhall	Elevation of timber frame (week 11). Purchase of timber laths, nails, plaster, bricks, louvres and louvre-boards, lead, locks and keys. Hire of carpenters, labourers, masons, sawyers, tilers, wallers.
16-20	Cambhall	Purchase of timber laths, tiles, bricks, plaster, lime, nails, locks. Making doors and windows. Hire of carpenters, plasterers, labourers, tilers, labourers, wallers and a plumber.
21-25	Cambhall	Purchase of timber laths, lime (and burning of), bricks, straw, door furniture including locks and keys. Hire of carpenters, plasterers and labourers.

<sup>3</sup> Derived from YMA, VC 6/9/1.

<sup>4</sup> Derived from YMA, VC 6/9/1d.

TABLE 4. PERIOD 2: 18 weeks - continuation of building work between c. 1361-2.<sup>5</sup>

WEEK NUMBER	SITE	SUMMARY OF WORK UNDERTAKEN
(Advance purchases)	Patrickpool	Purchase of large amounts of timber from outside the city and transportation of material into the city. Hire of carpenters, sawyers and labourers.
1-5	Benetplace	Purchase of trees, timber posts, laths, lintels, floorboards, nails, door furniture, roof tiles, stone cobbles, plaster. Hire of carpenters, labourers and sawyers. Dismantling of a house in Huntington and transport of timber to Benetplace.
6-10		Elevation of timbers (week 7). Purchase of plaster, lime, louvre-boards, louvre strings, timber laths, floorboards, wainscots, roof tiles and nails. Hire of labourers, sawyers, daubers, tilers and masons.
11-15		Masons working around foundations (week 14). Purchase of timbers, wainscot boards, large timbers for louvres, nails, door furniture, steps, bricks, lime, locks and keys, plaster, roof tiles, floorboards and straw. Hire of sawyers, daubers, labourers and masons.
16-18		Purchase of sand and lime. Hire of labourers.
(Purchases at the end of Period 2 <sup>6</sup> )	Benetplace	Purchase of timber, timber boards and nails. Hire of carpenters and labourers.

<sup>5</sup> Derived from YMA, VC 6/9/1d.

<sup>6</sup> A number of other details regarding other payments are also made at the end of this period, but these were not concerned with building operations in Cambhall and Benetplace and therefore have not been included here.

TABLE 5. PERIOD 3: 55 weeks of construction work, commencing 24<sup>th</sup> June 1362.<sup>7</sup>

WEEK NUMBER	SITE	SUMMARY OF WORK UNDERTAKEN
1-5	Cambhall and Benetplace	Opening of foundations in Patrickpool (week 2). Elevation of a house (week 4). Purchase of roof tiles, large timbers, timber posts posts, beams, bricks, gravel, nails, locks and door furniture and a ladder. Hire of carpenters, sawyers and labourers.
6-10	Cambhall and Benetplace	Making foundations in Benetplace (week 7). Purchase of timber, timber laths, louvre-boards, floor-boards, plaster, lime, gravel, sand, nails, roof tiles, bricks and scaffolding poles. Hire of labourers, sawyers, carpenters and plasterers.
11-15	Cambhall and Benetplace	Elevation of a house in Benetplace (week 11). Purchase of timbers, beams, floor-boards, bricks, nails, straw, louvre-boards, sand and roof tiles. Hire of labourers and sawyers. Laying floors with earth in Benetplace.
16-20	Cambhall and Benetplace	Elevation of a house in Cambhall (week 18). Foundations in Cambhall (week 19). Purchase of chimney, timber, timber beams, tie-beams, laths, wooden poles, louvres, louvre-cords, lime, roof tiles, bricks, door furniture, sand, nails and plaster. Hire of plasterers, sawyers, labourers and masons.
21-25	Cambhall and Benetplace	Foundations made in Benetplace (week 25). Purchase of large timbers, timber boards, laths, wainscot panels, bricks, roof tiles, lime, floor boards, nails, plaster, stones, louvres, lead for gutters and door furniture. Hire of masons, labourers, carpenters, plasterers, sawyers, tilers and plumbers. Floors lain in Benetplace.
26-30	Cambhall and Benetplace	Elevation of a house in Cambhall (week 30). Purchase of timbers, floorboards, laths, beams, roof tiles, nails, bricks, locks, lime and straw. Construction of louvres. Hire of plasterers, daubers, labourers, a mason, a carpenter and a tiler.
31-35	Cambhall	Elevation of a house (week 33). Purchase of bricks, beams, plaster, floorboards, nails, timber, timber laths, louvre-boards and lime. Carrying earth for foundations. Hire of labourers, a sawyer, a carpenter and a plaster.
36-40	Cambhall and Benetplace	Purchase of lead, plaster, roof tiles, floor boards and bricks. Hire of sawyers, plumbers, plasterers, carpenters, tilers and labourers. A carpenter hired to work on the small chamber in Cambhall.

<sup>7</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1.

41-45	Cambhall	Purchase of bricks, timber posts, laths, lime, covering tiles, nails, sand and plaster. Hire of tilers, carpenters, labourers, daubers, sawyers and plasterers. Construction of chamber-floors and other floors lain.
46-50	Cambhall	Purchase of roof tiles, timber laths, plaster, sand, bricks and lime. Hire of a carpenter, a mason, a dauber and a plasterer.
51-55	Cambhall and Benetplace	Purchase of lime, timber boards, timber laths, beams, sand, plaster, timber posts, straw, cobble stones, bricks, nails, louvres and door furniture. Hire of masons, daubers, carpenters, labourers and a sawyer. A carpenter hired to make doors.



TABLE 6: York Probate Inventories describing properties with between one and four rooms.<sup>1</sup>

OCCUPANT'S NAME	OCCUPATION	DATE	NO. ROOMS	HALL	CHAMBER	KITCHEN	SHOP	STUDY	STORE-ROOM	BUTTERY	PARLOUR	CHAPEL
Henry Thorlthorpe <sup>2</sup>	Vicar Choral	1426	1		Y <sup>3</sup>							
John Gaythird <sup>4</sup>	Husbandman	1494	1	Y								
William Ledale	Chaplain	1438	2		Y			Y				
Thomas Peerson	Toller	1454	2	Y	Y							
John Brown <sup>5</sup>	-	1474	2	Y	Y							
John Cotom <sup>6</sup>	-	1426	3	Y	Y	Y						
Katherine North <sup>7</sup>	-	1461	3	Y	Y	Y						
William Gale	-	1472	3	Y	Y	Y						
Robert Danby	Vicar	1480	3	Y	Y	Y						
William Coltman <sup>8</sup>	Shoemaker	1486	3	Y			Y				Y	
Geoffrey Couper	-	1402	4	Y	Y	Y			Y			
Thomas Baker	Stringer	1436	4	Y	Y	Y	Y					
Robert Tankard	Girdler	1439	4	Y	Y	Y	Y					
Thomas Grysshop	Chapman	1446	4	Y	Y	Y	Y					
William Welwyk	Vicar Choral	1454	4	Y	Y						Y	Y
Richard Hawkesworth	Vicar	1466	4	Y	Y	Y				Y		

<sup>1</sup> Source: *PIYD*; *YMA*, L1 (17); *BIA*; *D/C Original Wills*. The probate inventories of John Gaythird, husbandman, John Brown, William Gale and Robert Tankard, girdler, also recorded goods in stables, but these were not counted as domestic rooms in this survey.

<sup>2</sup> Although the inventory does not list goods in this one-roomed dwelling under the title 'chamber', internal evidence within the probate inventory refers to Thorlthorpe's dwelling as a chamber.

<sup>3</sup> Y = indicates presence of a particular room.

<sup>4</sup> The inventory does not explicitly state that Gaythird is from York, although it has been included here for comparison.

<sup>5</sup> Although the inventory does not list goods under room-headings, his goods were arranged into two separate spaces, which have been identified here as a hall and chamber.

<sup>6</sup> Stell states that Cotom is a mason, however, this information is not provided in the original, *YMA*, L1 (17) 22. The inventory includes room-headings for hall and kitchen, but not chamber, although it is clear from the goods listed that this third room would have been a chamber.

<sup>7</sup> The inventory does not explicitly state that North is from York, although it has been included here for comparison.

<sup>8</sup> The room-heading 'shop' is not included in the inventory, although the goods listed strongly suggest that they were associated with a shop.

## APPENDIX 2

GLOSSARY OF MODERN BUILDING TERMS<sup>1</sup>

**Assembly marks (also Carpenter's marks):** Incised numerals or symbols, normally made with a knife, chisel or spoon bit, used in prefabricated construction to indicate matching timbers in a truss or frame.

**Bay:** The portion of a framed building between open or closed trusses, conveniently used as a unit of measurement to indicate the length of a building or part of it, eg. One-bay unit.

**Beam:** Major horizontal timber.

**Box-frame:** Form of construction in which roof trusses are carried on a frame composed of posts, tiebeams and wall plates.

**Brace:** Subsidiary timber, curved or straight, normally running between vertical and horizontal members of a frame. May be distinguished by its direction in relation to the post, eg. Downward brace or Upward brace.

**Cambered:** Used of a smoothly curved transverse beam higher at its centre than at its ends.

**Carpenter's marks:** see Assembly marks.

**Chamfer:** Surface formed by cutting off a square edge, usually at a 45 degree angle.

**Closed truss (see also Open truss, Roof truss and Truss):** One in which spaces between timbers are filled, as between rooms and at the ends of a building.

**Crown post:** The upright timber standing on a tie-beam or occasionally a collar, supporting the Crown plate and not rising beyond a collar.

**Crown plate:** Plate in a crown post roof, supporting on crown posts and bearing the collars; commonly called collar purlin.

**Dragon beam (see also Dragon post):** Beam running diagonally across the ceiling of a room to support jetties on two adjacent sides of an upper floor.

**Dragon post (see also Dragon beam):** Post supporting dragon beam at the corner of a building.

**Gable:** The triangular upper part of a wall at the end of a ridged roof.

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<sup>1</sup> This glossary has been compiled largely from: N.W. Alcock, M.W. Barley, P.W. Dixon and R.A. Meeson, *Recording Timber-Framed Buildings: An Illustrated Glossary*, Practical Handbooks in Archaeology 5, Rev. Edn. (1996). Some definitions have been modified in order to make their meanings clearer in the present context.

**Herring bone:** A pattern consisting of columns of short parallel lines, with all the lines in one column sloping one way and all the lines in the next column sloping the other way.

**Intermediate (or Secondary) truss** (see also **Roof truss**): Truss of slighter construction between principal trusses in an elaborate roof.

**Jamb:** One of the vertical sides of an opening (literally, leg).

**Jetty:** Cantilevered over-hang of one storey over the storey below it.

**Jetty bracket:** Bracket under a jetty bressumer.

**Jetty bressumer:** Sill beam of the jettied upper floor resting on projecting ends of joists or on jetty brackets.

**Jetty plate:** Wall plate of the lower storey on which the joists rest.

**Jetty spur:** A short timber tenoned into a post behind the jetty.

**Joist:** One of a series of horizontal timbers supporting a floor or carrying a ceiling.

**Lath:** The smallest size of timber (1-2 in (2-5 cm) across) used in building, employed in a partition as a base for plaster or on rafters to support the roof covering.

**Light:** Section of a window between mullions; hence for example, three-light window.

**Lintel:** Horizontal beam over a door or window opening.

**Louvre:** Opening in the ridge of a roof for the escape of smoke from a central open hearth, and the hood over such an opening, to keep out rain.

**Mortice and tenon-joint** (see also **Tenon**): The commonest form of joint between two timbers meeting at right-angles or at an oblique angle, the mortice being a socket cut in one timber to receive the tenon on the other.

**Moulding:** The shaped decorative profile of the edge (arris) of a timber or stone element.

**Mullion:** The vertical member between the lights in a window opening. A mullion may be of square section set diagonally.

**Open truss** (see also **Closed truss**, **Truss** and **Roof truss**): Truss in which spaces are left open, as in the centre of a hall of two bays or in an undivided building such as a barn.

**Oriel window:** A window projecting and resting on brackets.

**Padstone:** Large stone placed at ground level underneath a main post.

**Pentice:** Narrow roof projecting from a wall, eg. over a window or gallery.

**Plate:** Longitudinal timber, set square to the ground, on top of a wall or in a roof truss.

**Plank-walling:** Type of construction in which the wall is filled with heavy planks.

**Post:** Vertical timber, usually substantial and usually forming part of the main framework.

**Purlin:** Longitudinal timber set in the plane of a roof slope and supporting common rafters.

**Rebate:** Rectangular recess along the edge of a timber to receive a shutter, door, window, etc.

**Rib:** A curved member supporting a vault or defining its form.

**Ridge piece:** General term for the longitudinal timber at the apex of a roof.

**Roof truss** (see also **Closed truss**, **Intermediate truss**, **Open truss**, **Truss**): Rigid transverse framework constructed across a roof at bay intervals, to prevent the roof from spreading and to carry longitudinal timbers that support common rafters.

**Sill:** The lower horizontal member of a window or door frame.

**Stud:** Subsidiary member, usually vertical, in a framed wall or partition. In close studding the spaces between studs are approximately the same width as the studs.

**Tenon** (see also **Mortice and tenon-joint**): Rectangular projection from the end of a piece of timber.

**Tiebeam:** Main transverse timber connecting the tops of walls or arcade posts and plates.

**Transom:** Horizontal member dividing an opening.

**Truss** (see also **Closed truss**, **Open truss**, **Roof truss**): Used to describe a complete cross-frame from ground level to ridge piece in a box-framed building.

**Unit** (alternatively **Cell**): One room in a plan (ignoring axial subdivisions). Contrast **Bay** (identified by truss position rather than dividing wall position).

**Wall plate:** The plate on top of a wall frame or a masonry wall, on which roof trusses rest.

**Wattling:** Interwoven arrangement of staves and rods filling a panel in the frame, usually clad in daub.

## APPENDIX 3

GLOSSARY OF MEDIEVAL BUILDING TERMS  
COMPILED FROM YORK RECORDS<sup>1</sup>

This glossary has been compiled from the building accounts and the chamberlain's rent and repair accounts of the vicars choral of York Minster.<sup>2</sup>

It includes both Latin and Middle English terms for building materials, structural members of a timber-framed building, craftsmen and other useful vocabulary commonly used across these accounts.

**Arbor:** Tree.

**Archbande:** ?A brace for an arch.<sup>3</sup>

**Arena:** Sand.

**Balke** (see also **Wyndbalkis**): A beam of wood suitable for use in the framework of a building; a tie-beam.

**Blokke:** A large piece of wood.

**Bord, borde, bourde, burde:** A board, plank.

**Bosca:** Wood (material).

**Brag, bragges:** A kind of large nail or spike.

**Broddes** (see also **Strebrod**): Flattened nails with no head or slight lip on one edge.

**Bynk, bink:** A bench, seat.

**Calcea:** Lime, chalk.

**Caminus, chimne, chymnay:** Stove, fireplace, chimney.

**Caretta, carecta:** Cart.

**Carriagium:** Carriage, transport.

**Carpentarius:** Carpenter.

**Cataracta, cateracta:** Drain, conduit.

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<sup>1</sup> Definitions in this glossary has been compiled using: Middle English Compendium, Middle English Dictionary, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mec/>; E. Gee, *A Glossary of Building Terms Used in England from the Conquest to c. 1550* (Frome, 1984); R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List From British and Irish Sources* (Oxford, 1999); L.F. Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540* (Oxford, 1952).

<sup>2</sup> YMA, VC 6/9/1-5 (1360-1407), VC 6/2/1-50.

<sup>3</sup> A degree of uncertainty in a definition is indicated by a question mark.

**Cementarius:** Mason.

**Cera, cerura** (see also **Sera**): Bolt, lock.

**Cerura pendens:** Hanging lock, padlock.

**Chiffes, shiffes:** Bundle of ?fibres.

**Chyppe, chippe:** Stake, post.

**Clavis:** Key.

**Clavus:** Nails.

**Cobils:** Small stones.

**Coopertio:** Roofing - a general term that was used for either thatch or tile.

**Corbill:** A projection jutting out from a wall, supporting weight imposed upon it; a corbel.

**Cornerpost:** A principal post situated at the corner of a building.

**Cornertyle:** A tile intended to fit into a corner, nook or recess of a roof; ?a hip tile.

**Coueringtigill:** A roofing tile.

**Croke** (see also **Dorbande, Hengle**): A hinge (of a door or shutter), or the hook on which it turns.

**Daubatio** (see also **Dealbatio**): Whitewashing, plastering, daubing.

**Daubator:** Whitewasher, plasterer, dauber.

**Dealbatio** (see also **Daubatio**): Whitewashing, plastering, daubing.

**Dicenayle:** ?A cube-headed or square-headed nail.

**Dolium:** Cask, barrel.

**Dorbande** (see also **Croke and Hengle**): A door hinge.

**Enterclowall:** A dividing wall or partition.

**Entretays:** Large pieces of timber, possibly tie-beams.

**Esingbord:** Eavesboards.

**Estrichbord:** Baltic timber.

**Fenestra:** Window.

**Ferrum:** Iron.

**Flore, flure:** The floor of a room or building; the ground.

**Fons, fonte:** Well.

**Foramen:** Window-pane.

**Fundamentum:** Foundation.

**Garth, gerth:** A hedge or fence; also, **gerth:** a hoop, a hoop for a barrel.

**Getepost:** Jetty-post.

**Gradus:** Step, stair.

**Grecia:** Staircase.

**Gressus:** Step.

**Gretspikyng:** A large-sized iron nail.

**Grunde:** The foundation of a building.

**Grundyng:** The action or work of strengthening the foundation of a building or wall.

**Gumphus:** Hook of a hinge.

**Gutter, guttera:** Gutters.

**Gutterbord:** Timber boards or planks used in the construction of gutters.

**Gyste, giste:** One of the timbers supporting a floor; a joist.

**Hengle** (see also **Dorbande, Croke**): Rider (of a door), or a complete hinge.

**Herthe:** Hearth.

**Hespa, haspa:** Hasp (of door).

**Hingloke, hynglokes, henglok:** Padlocks, literally: 'hanging locks'.

**Hostium** (see also **Ostium**): Door.

**Iunctura, junctura, juncta:** Joint, fastening (carpentry or metal-work).

**Janitator:** Door-keeper.

**Kendalbord:** Wooden boards or planks from ?Kendal.

**Knytig, knyttinges:** Fastenings; connecting piece.

**Kylnhale, kylneale:** The building in which a kiln is housed.

**Laborarius:** Labourer, workman.

**Lada, loda:** Load (measurement).

**Lapidis** (see also **Petra**): Stone.

**Lattes, lathes** (see also **Strelat**): Thin strips of wood nailed across rafters to carry roofing materials; also in walls for supporting plaster.

**Lednaill, lednayll:** A nail made out of lead.

**Ligatura:** Bindings, fastenings.

**Lignum:** Trunk, beam, post.

**Lintel:** The lintel of a door or window.

**Litera, littera:** Straw, possibly mixed with daub.

**Louer, louver:** Louvre - opening in the ridge of a roof for the escape of smoke.

**Louverbordes:** Timber boards used in the construction of louvres.

**Louvercordes:** Ropes used to open and close louvres.

**Luteo:** To daub, plaster.

**Lynde, lynden, linden:** Wood from the Linden (Lime) tree.

**Mell, mele:** A measure (of lime).

**Meremium:** Timber.

**Midelspikyng:** A middle-sized iron nail.

**Mundo:** To clean.

**Murus** (see also **Paries**): Wall.

**Operarius:** Workman.

**Ostium** (see **Hostium**): Door.

**Palacium, palicium:** A fence.

**Panpese, panpece:** A horizontal timber fastened upon or in a wall to support joists or rafters; a wall plate.



**Panyng** (see also **Panpese**): The action of working on horizontal timbers of a timber-framed building.

**Parclose, parclosewall**: A screen used to form a partition or enclosure.

**Pargetto**: To parget, rough-cast.

**Paries** (see also **Murus**): Wall.

**Pavimentum, pavementum**: Pavement.

**Petra** (see also **Lapidis**): Stone (as building material).

**Pil(e)**: A pile; a timber pole, or stake.

**Plasterarius**: Plasterer.

**Plastrum, playster**: Plaster.

**Plauncherbord**: Floorboards.

**Plauncheryng**: The construction floors.

**Plumbarius**: Plumber.

**Plumbum**: Lead.

**Popelenboard**: Poplar Board.

**Porticus, porcius**: Porch.

**Poste**: A wooden post; a principal upright post.

**Postebandes, postebondes**: ?A beam between two or more principal posts of a building carrying the floor of an upper room or storey.

**Purgatio**: To clean.

**Pykewal**: ?A wall made out of stakes.

**Pype, pipe**: A tube or hollow cylinder employed as a receptacle or passage for liquid, smoke, etc.; flue of a chimney.

**Quercus**: Oak.

**Ramell**: Brushwood, small branches.

**Rigging, riggyng**: Material for roofing.

**Rigold** (see also **Rigoldbourdes**): A kind of wood, perhaps oak, imported from the Baltic.

**Rigoldbourdes, Rigoldbordes:** Boards or planks made from Rigold.

**Rigtigill, rygtyele:** A tile for the ridge of a roof.

**Rodde, rodd:** A measure of timber.

**Sabulo:** Sand, gravel.

**Sapplynge:** A young tree, sapling.

**Sarrarius:** Sawyer.

**Scabellum:** Stool or bench.

**Scala:** Ladder.

**Scotsemnayll:** A kind of nail, possibly used in conjunction with laths.

**Selings, sealings:** Panelling.

**Sera, serura (see also Cera):** Bolt, lock.

**Snekes, snek, snekkes, sneckes:** A latch, bolt.

**Sole, solle, soile:** Heavy horizontal timber used as a foundation of a wall, wooden or stone window-sill.

**Solyng (also see Sole):** Working on heavy horizontal timbers.

**Souder, sauder:** Solder.

**Sparre, spare, sperre, spere:** A piece of timber used in building; a rafter, beam; a board.

**Spere, sperre:** A wooden partition or screen.

**Spikyng, spiking (see also Midelspikyng, Gretspikyng):** A large iron nail.

**Sporta:** A basket.

**Stanbrod, stonbrod:** A nail for fastening roof tiles.

**Stapil:** A bent piece of metal with pointed ends which are driven into a surface to hold a hook or bolt; also, a bar or fastener used to secure a door or gate.

**Staunchoun, stauncion, stanchon, stonchon:** A large upright supporting timber in timber-framed buildings.

**Staurum:** Store, store-room.

**Stillicidia:** Spouts.

**Stramen:** Straw for thatching.

**Strebrod:** A ?straight nail.

**Strelat:** A ?straight lath.

**Tegilarius, tigurarius:** Tiler.

**Tegul, tigel, tigel, teghel, tiele, tyle** (see also **Thaktyle, Tigilpinne**): Roofing tile.

**Terra:** Earth.

**Thakbourd, thakbord:** A board fastened to the roof on which tile or other covering material was laid.

**Thaker:** Thatcher.

**Thaktyle:** Roofing tile.

**Tigilpinne:** A wooden pin used to attach a roofing tile to a lath.

**Tranyson:** A cross-beam.

**Vitrum:** Glass.

**Wainscot, wainscote** (also see **Wainscotesbord**): Wood; used to describe fine oak for use in cabinetry and panelling.

**Wainscotes bord:** An oak plank; used for the construction of doors, windows and floors and not necessarily as superior in quality as **Wainscot**.

**Waltigill, walteill:** A tile for a wall, bricks.

**Wyndbalkis:** A tie-beam, ?a windbrace.

**Wyver:** A support beam, girder.

## APPENDIX 4

GLOSSARY OF MEDIEVAL BUILDING TERMS  
COMPILED FROM NORWICH RECORDS<sup>1</sup>

This glossary has been compiled from the rent and repair accounts of St Giles's Hospital in Norwich, 1430-61.<sup>2</sup>

Many Latin and Middle English terms for building materials were common across both the York and Norwich records and this glossary should therefore be used in conjunction with Appendix 3. However, further terms were exclusive to the Norwich records, mainly as a result of the differences in building materials across the two cities, which merit a word-list of their own.

**Argillum:** Clay.

**Arundinarius (harundinarius):** Reeder.

**Arundo (harundo):** Reed.

**Baste:** A rope made of bast (the inner bark of a tree), or ?a mat.<sup>3</sup>

**Byndyng, woud byndyng:** Something that ties or joins, or is tied or joined; a stake (in wattle).

**Clata:** Hurdles.

**Cley:** Mud, soil, earth.

**Cloaca:** Privy, drain, sewer.

**Crista, cresa:** Ridge (of a roof).

**Fadme, fadom:** A measure of length equivalent to six feet or thereabouts. Reed was sold by the 'fathom' – five or six bundles contained within a cord 6 feet in circumference.

**Fagot dil firre:** A bundle of fir wood.

**Fathom:** See Fadme.

**Fimus:** Clay, dung.

**Gabell, gabul:** A gable of a building.

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<sup>1</sup> Definitions in this glossary has been compiled using: Middle English Compendium, Middle English Dictionary, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mec/>; E. Gee, *A Glossary of Building Terms Used in England from the Conquest to c. 1550* (Frome, 1984); R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List From British and Irish Sources* (Oxford, 1999); L.F. Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540* (Oxford, 1952).

<sup>2</sup> NRO, NCR, Case 24a, GH Accounts, 1415-60, accounts for 1430-61.

<sup>3</sup> A degree of uncertainty in a definition is indicated by a question mark.

**Groundstone:** ?Stone dug out of the earth, probably referring to flint.

**Knott del woud, knocch del wod:** A small bundle of wood.

**Latomus, latimus:** Mason.

**Marl:** A friable substance consisting of clay mixed with calcium carbonate.

**Pentice, pentys:** A projection, sloping roof, or continuation of the eaves of a building over a window, gate, wall, etc.

**Penynayle:** A nail classified by its price per hundred.

**Polea, pulia, poleyn:** Pully (eg. to lower a bucket into a well).

**Popyl:** The wood of a poplar tree.

**Reder:** Reeder.

**Scapulatio:** 'Scappling', trimming (of timber).

**Sparra:** Spar.

**Splenta, spentes:** Splint, lath.

**Stagyng:** A raised structure or platform used to support workmen, scaffolding.

**Tabula:** Plank, board.

**Teisa, teys:** Fathom.

**Terra:** Earth, soil.

**Thakker:** Thatcher.

**Vertmell:** ?Underwood.

**Virga:** Twigs.

**Volta:** Undercroft.

**Wyndowstalle:** ?A post or pillar, a handle.

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DCN Will Roll	Probate Records of the Dean and Chapter peculiar court of Norwich.
MC 146/52, 684 x 5	Reconstructions maps showing property ownership within the city walls in medieval Norwich.
N/TC/D1/861-2	Title deeds 1551-1976.
NCC Will register	Probate records of the Consistory Court of Norwich.
NCR Cases 7a-d	Treasurer's and Chamberlain's account rolls.
NCR Case 7h	Various rent rolls.
NCR Case 17d	Enrolment of apprentice indentures 1548-81, containing Chamberlain's accounts, 1448-58.
NCR Case 18a	Chamberlain's accounts, 1384-1448.
NCR Case 24a	Great Hospital accounts, 1415-60.
PD 185/31, 44	Parish Records of St Augustine, Norwich.

#### York, Borthwick Institute for Archives,

CC/DC	Records of the Church Commissioners of York, Dean and Chapter estate records.
CC/VC	Records of the Church Commissioners of York, Vicars Choral estate records.
D/C Original Wills	Probate Records of the Dean and Chapter peculiar court of York.
Prog/Exch., Prob. Reg. 2-5	Probate records of the jurisdiction of the exchequer and prerogative courts of York.

## York, York Minster Library: Archives Department,

E3 1-15	Dean and Chapter accounts.
L1 (17) 1-3	Probate inventories.
L2/4	Probate register of wills proved in the Dean and Chapter peculiar court of York.
M2 (4)	Registrum Antiquum 1339-1343.
VC 4/1	Vicars choral rent rolls.
VC 6/2	Chamberlain's account rolls.
VC 6/7	Vicars choral tileworks accounts.
VC 6/9	Vicars choral building accounts.

## York, York City Archives,

C82- C83	Ouse Bridgemasters' Accounts.
E95	Register of deeds.

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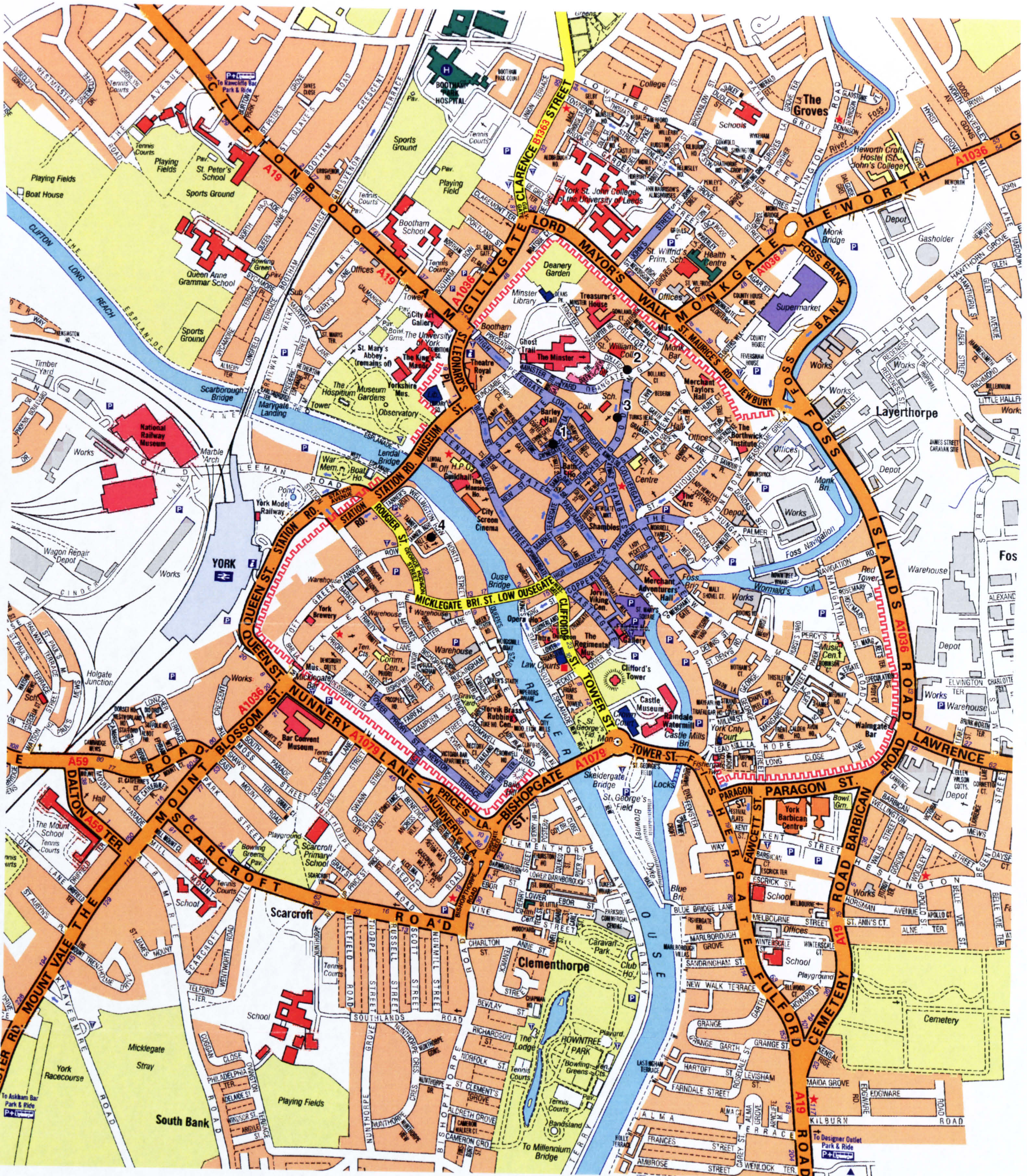
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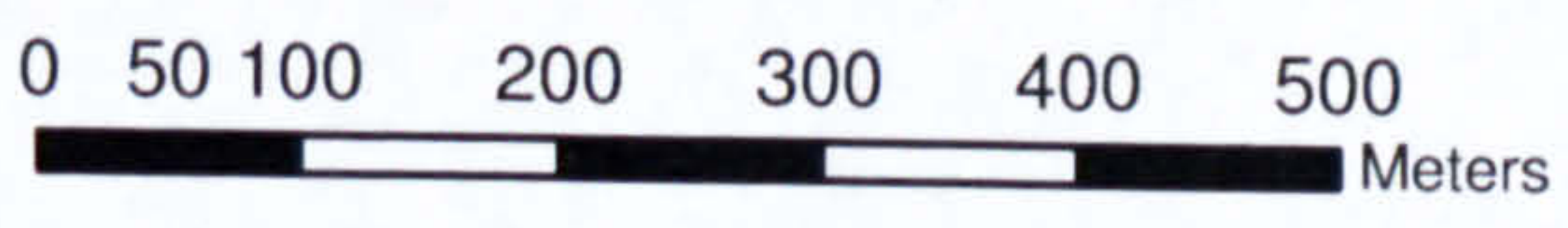
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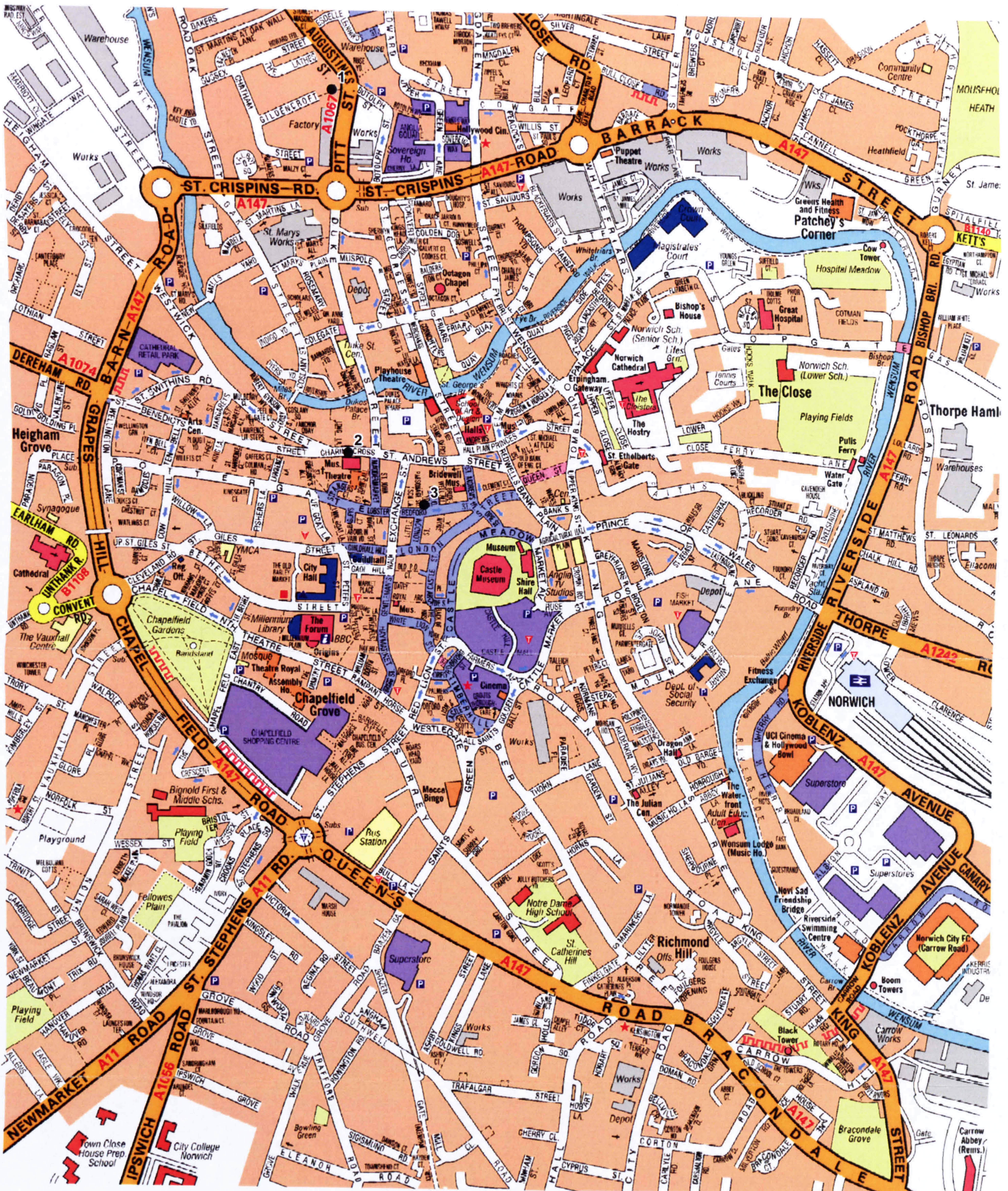
# Map 2. YORK CITY CENTRE



- KEY**
- 1= BENETPLACE
  - 2=CAMBHALL
  - 3= 64-72 GOODRAMGATE
  - 4= 1 and 2 ALL SAINT'S COTTAGES

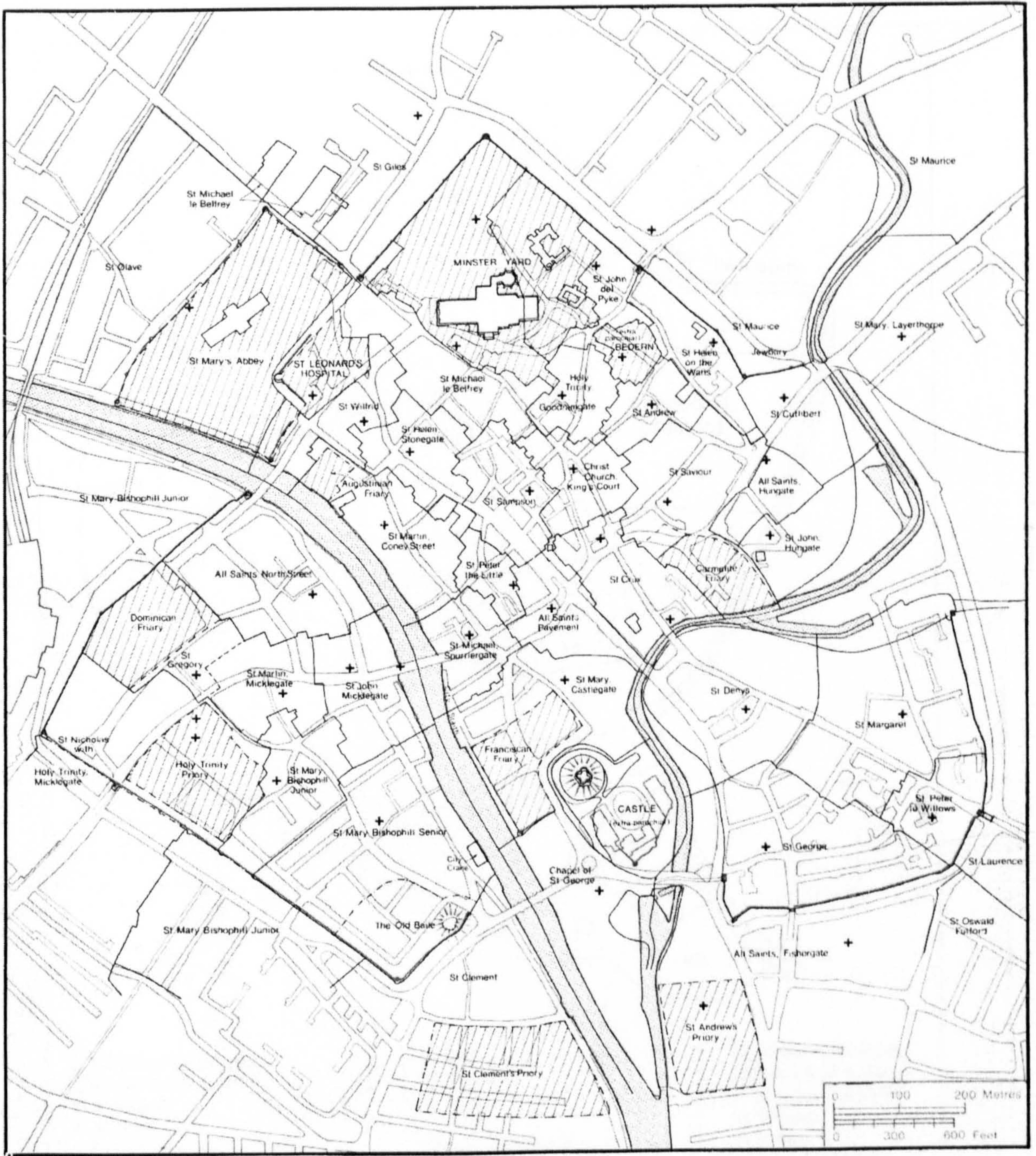


# Map 3. NORWICH CITY CENTRE



- KEY**  
 1= 2-12 GILDENCROFT  
 2= 8-12 CHARING CROSS  
 3= 15 BEDFORD STREET

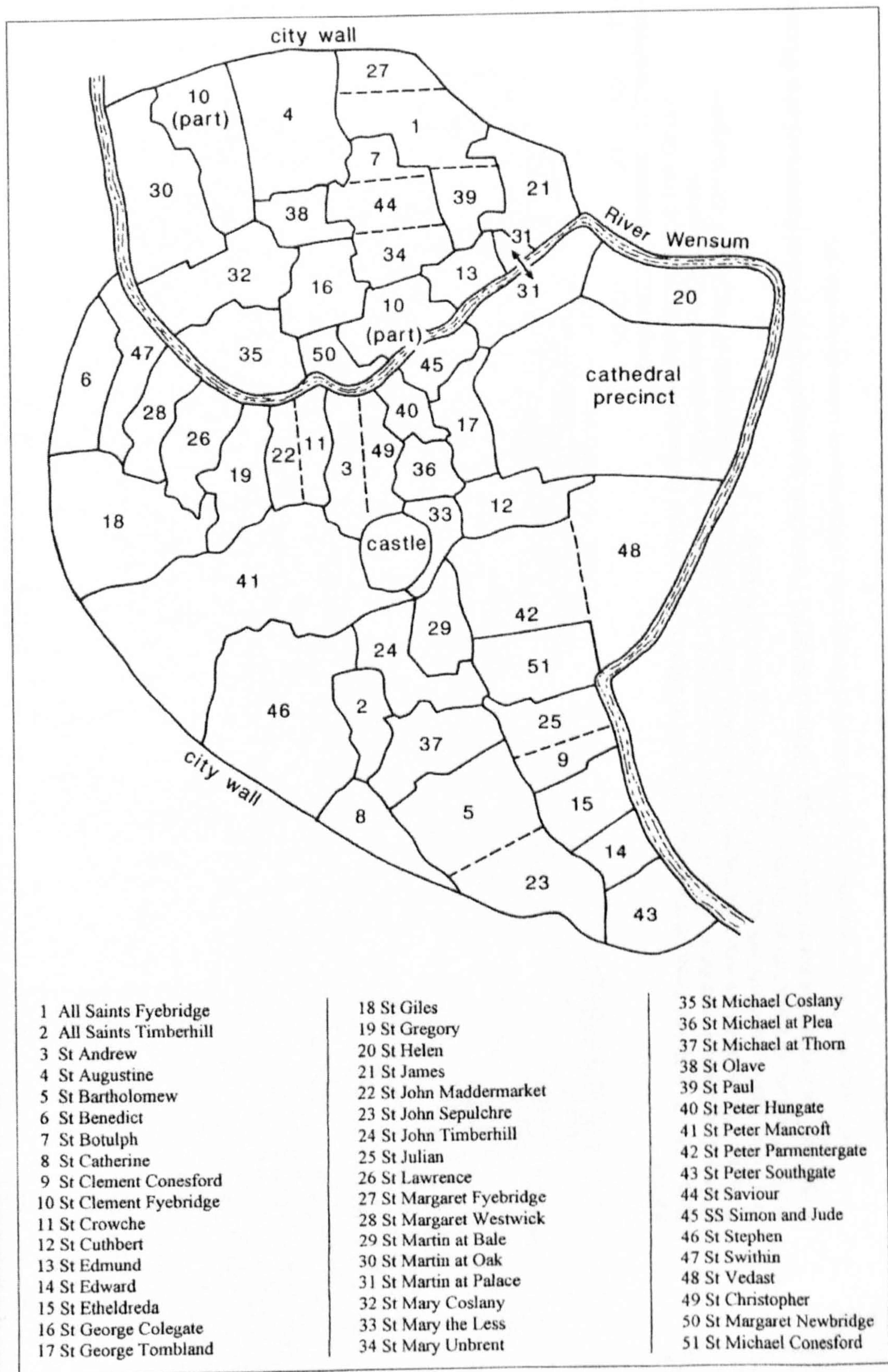
Map 4. Parish Map of Late Medieval York.



From: P.V. Addyman and V.E. Black (eds.), *Archaeological Papers from York Presented to M.W. Barley* (York, 1984), p. 193.

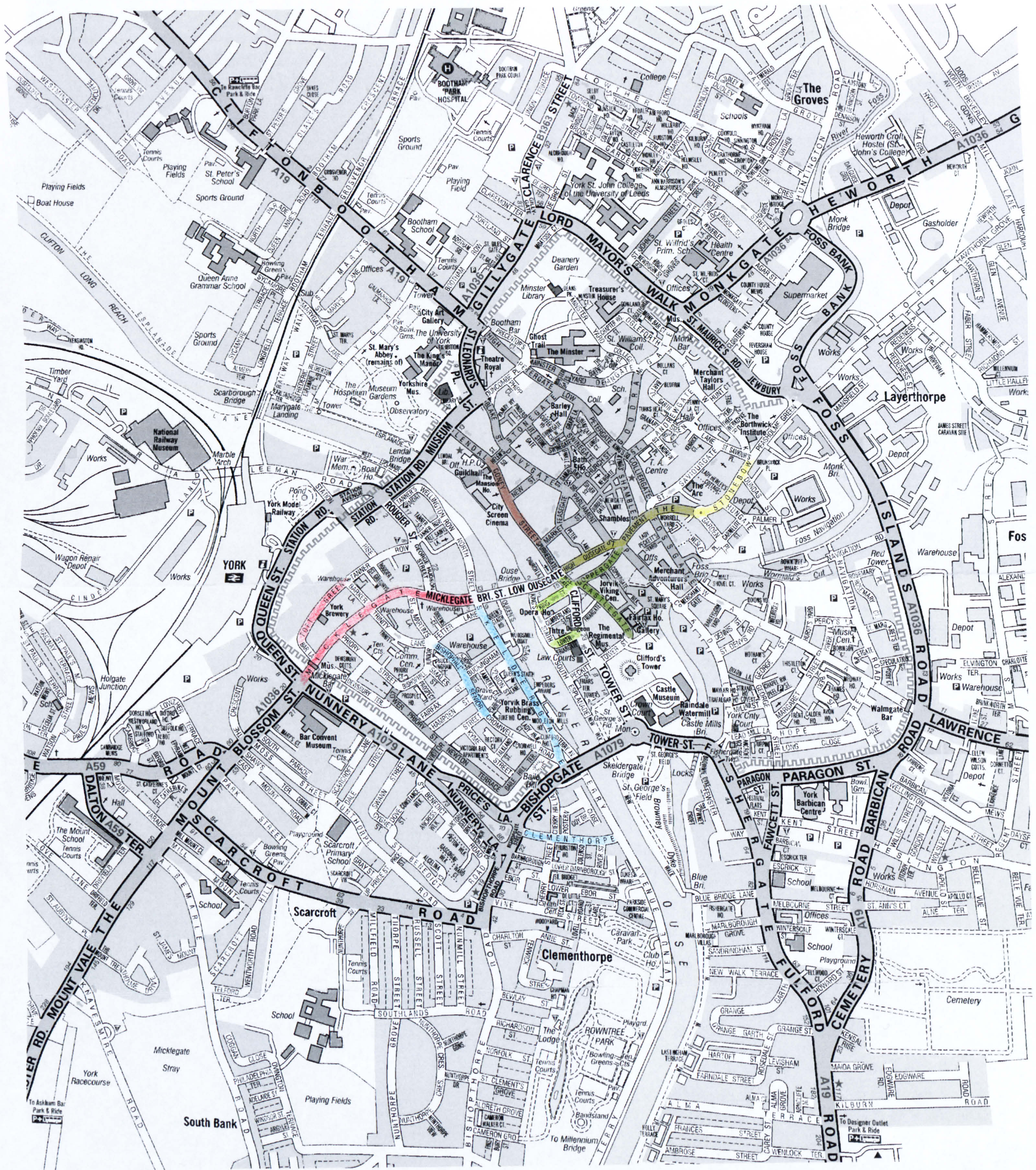


Map 5. Parish Map of Late Medieval Norwich.



From: C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Medieval Norwich* (Hambleton and London, 2004), p. 163.

# Map 6. SHOWING THE AREAS OF YORK IN WHICH THE OUSE BRIDGEMASTERS OWNED ROWS OF SMALL HOUSES



0 50 100 200 300 400 500 Meters



- KEY**
- Red = The Toft Green Area: Micklegate Without and Within, Ratton Row (situated on Toft Green) and Toft Green.
  - Blue = The Skeldergate Area: Clementhorpe, Skeldergate and Hammerton Lane (situated on Bishophill).
  - Green = The Castlegate Area: Nessgate, Castlegate, Hertergate (Friargate), Carrogate (King Street), Coppergate and Frere Lane (unidentified, but likely to have been near Friargate).
  - Pink = The Coney Street Area: Coney Street.
  - Yellow = The Pavement Area: Overousegate (High Ousegate), Pavement, Hosiergate (east part of Pavement) and Stonebow.

Figure 1. 64-72 Goodramgate (Lady Row), York.



Fig. 2. 1 and 2 All Saints' Lane (Church Cottages), North Street, York.



Fig. 3. 15 Bedford Street, Norwich.



Fig. 4. 8-12 Charing Cross, Norwich.



Fig. 5. 2-12 Gildencroft, Norwich.



Fig. 6. 11-12 College Street, York.







Fig. 9. 1852 Ordnance Survey Map of York, showing Benet's Rents to the corner of Swinegate and Back Swinegate, York, on the former site of St Benedict's Church (north at top, not to scale).

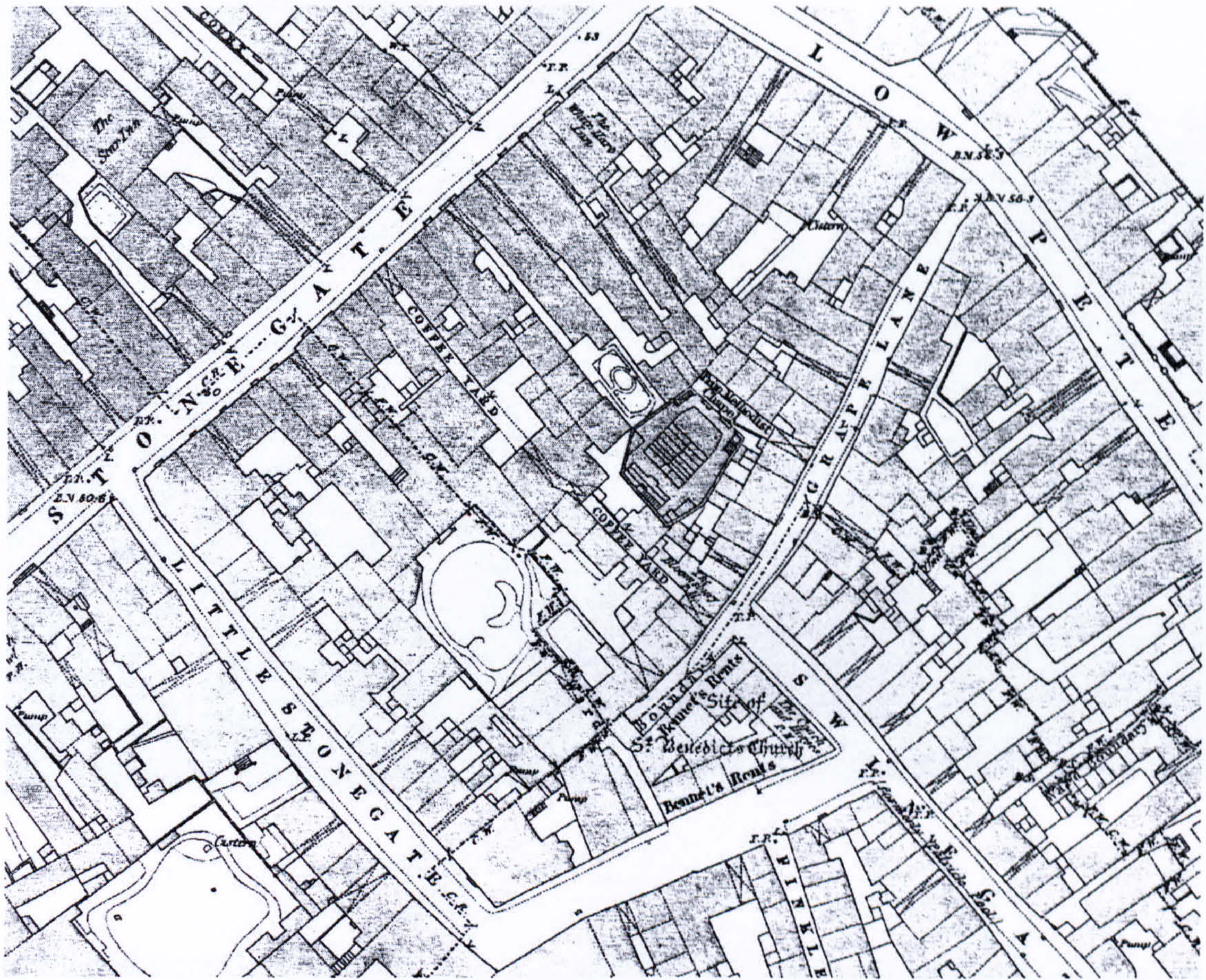




Fig. 10. 11 and 12 College Street and 30 and 32 Goodramgate, York.

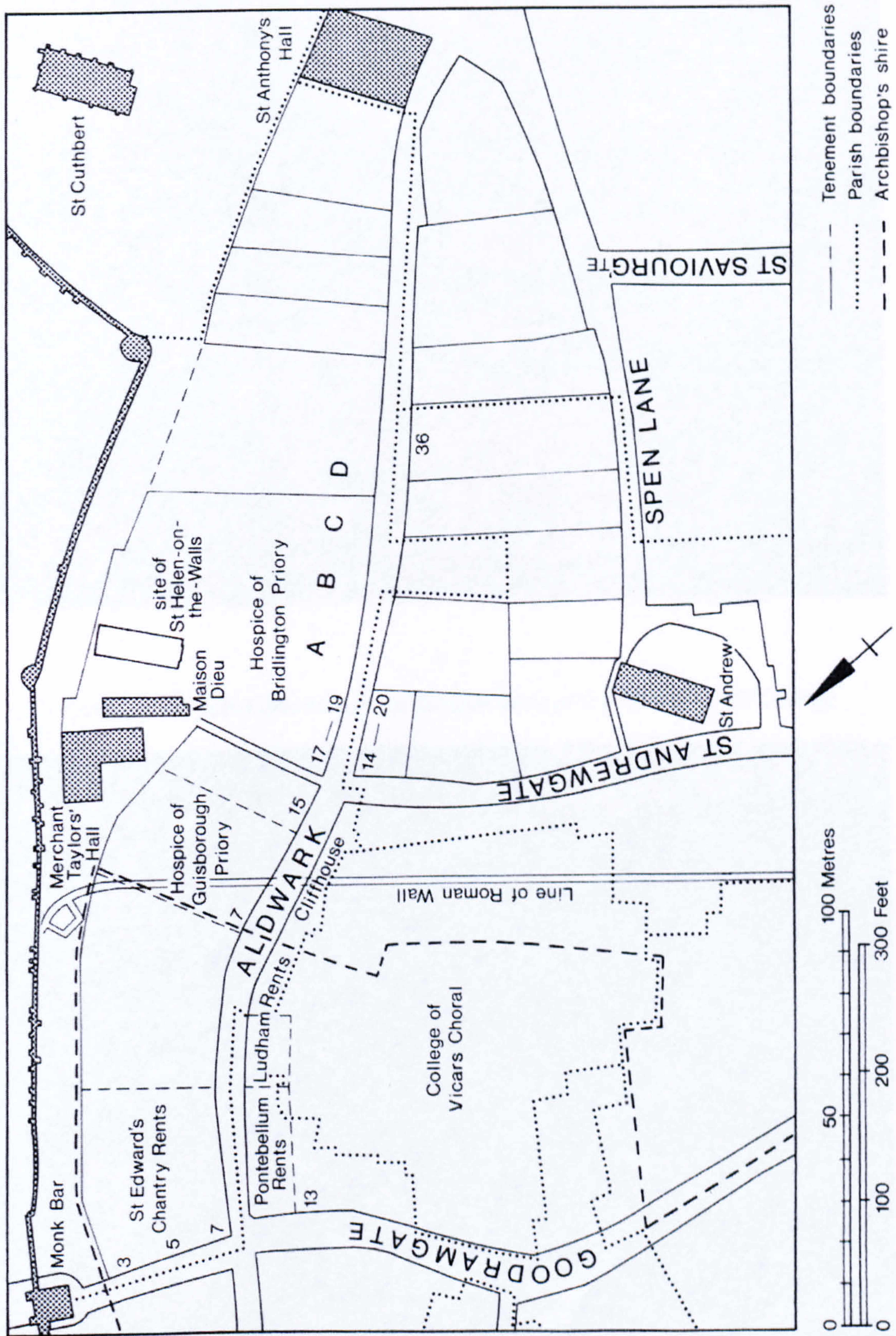
a. Viewed from College Street.



b. Viewed from Goodramgate.



Fig. 11. Plan of the Aldwark/Bedern Area, showing the location of the Pontebellum, Ludham and Cliffhouse Rents in Aldwark, York.



From: R.A. Hall, H. MacGregor and M. Stockwell, *Medieval Tenements in Aldwark, and Other Sites*, *The Archaeology of York* 10/2 (1988), p. 54.

Fig. 12a. Remains of the Jetty at 11-12 College Street, York.



Fig. 12b. Detail of the pellet decorations on the joist-ends of the jetty at 11-12 College Street, York.



Fig. 13. The Merchant Adventurers' Hall, Fossgate, York.



Fig. 14. The gatehouse structure at 11-12 College Street and 30-32 Goodramgate, York.



Fig. 15a. 1893 Photograph of Goodramgate, York, before the creation of Deangate. The opening half-way along on the left leads to College Street.



From: B. Law, *York A Time to Look Back* (York, 1992), p. 22.

Fig. 15b. 1895 Photograph of College Street, York.



From: B. Law, *York A Time to Look Back* (York, 1992), p. 21.

Fig. 16a. 15 Bedford Street, Norwich.



Fig. 16b. 15 Bedford Street: Ground-floor and basement-level plan.

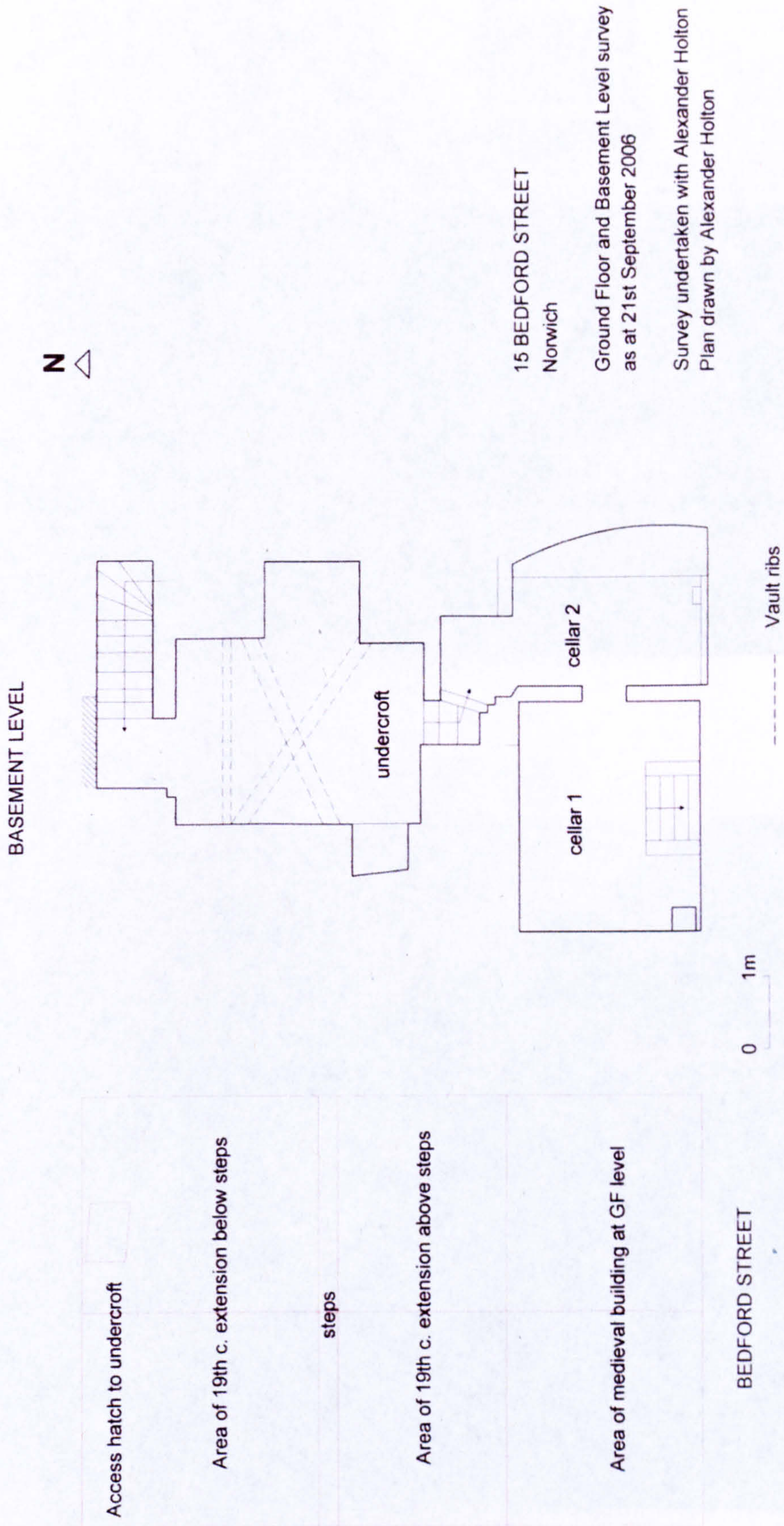


Fig. 17. 15 Bedford Street: shop front.



Fig. 18. 15 Bedford Street: ground floor facing south.





Fig. 19. 15 Bedford Street: west end of jetty.



Fig. 20. 15 Bedford Street: east end of jetty.



Fig. 21. 15 Bedford Street: first-floor perspective, facing east.



Fig. 22. 15 Bedford Street: exterior view (from extension) of original north wall at first-floor level.



Fig. 23. 15 Bedford Street: mullioned window on south wall.



Fig. 24. 15 Bedford Street: mullioned window, north wall.



Fig. 25. 15 Bedford Street: Plan of undercroft and cellars.

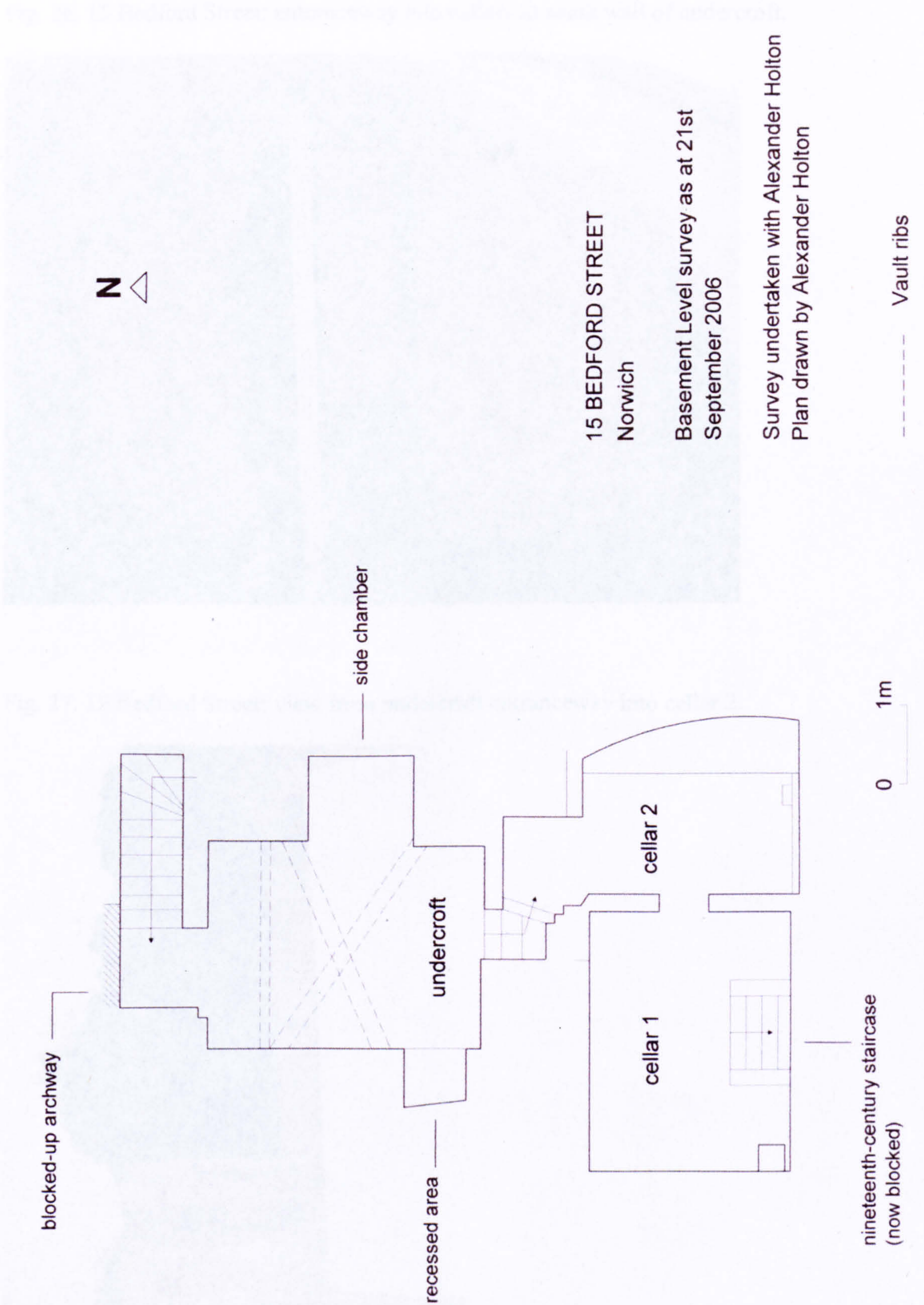


Fig. 26. 15 Bedford Street: entranceway into cellars in south wall of undercroft.



Fig. 27. 15 Bedford Street: view from undercroft entranceway into cellar 2.



Fig. 28. 15 Bedford Street: flint walls in cellar 2; remains of north wall in foreground, and on east wall above brickwork in background.



Fig. 29a. 15 Bedford Street: north-east corner of cellar 1, showing flint north wall to left.



Fig. 29b. 15 Bedford Street: south-west corner of cellar 1 showing flint south wall and inserted staircase.



Fig. 30. 15 Bedford Street: stairway into undercroft.



Fig. 31. 15 Bedford Street: blocked up archway in north wall of undercroft.



Fig. 32. 15 Bedford Street: side chamber in east wall of undercroft; re-used corbel at spring of north-east vault.



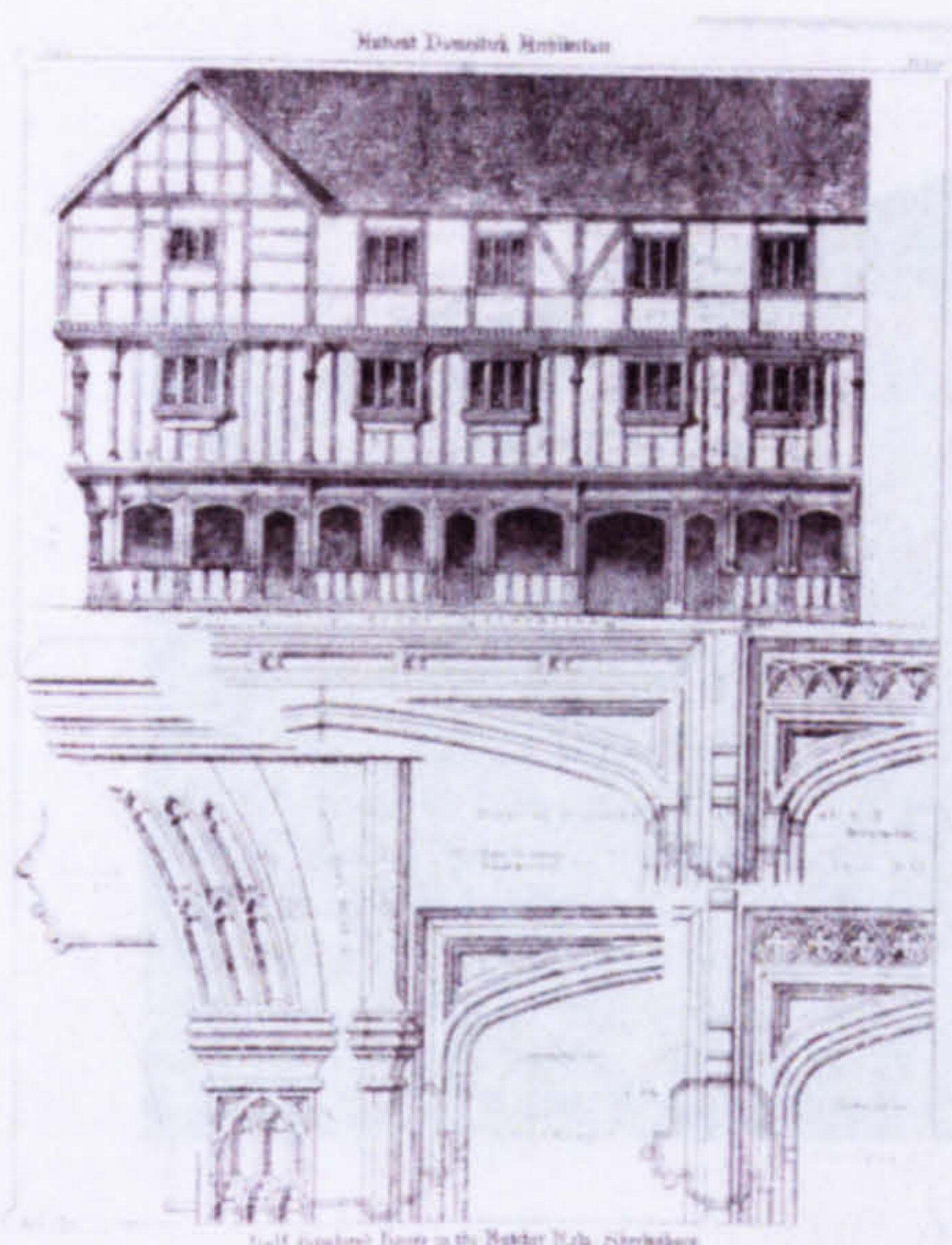


Fig. 33. 34-50 Church Street, Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire.

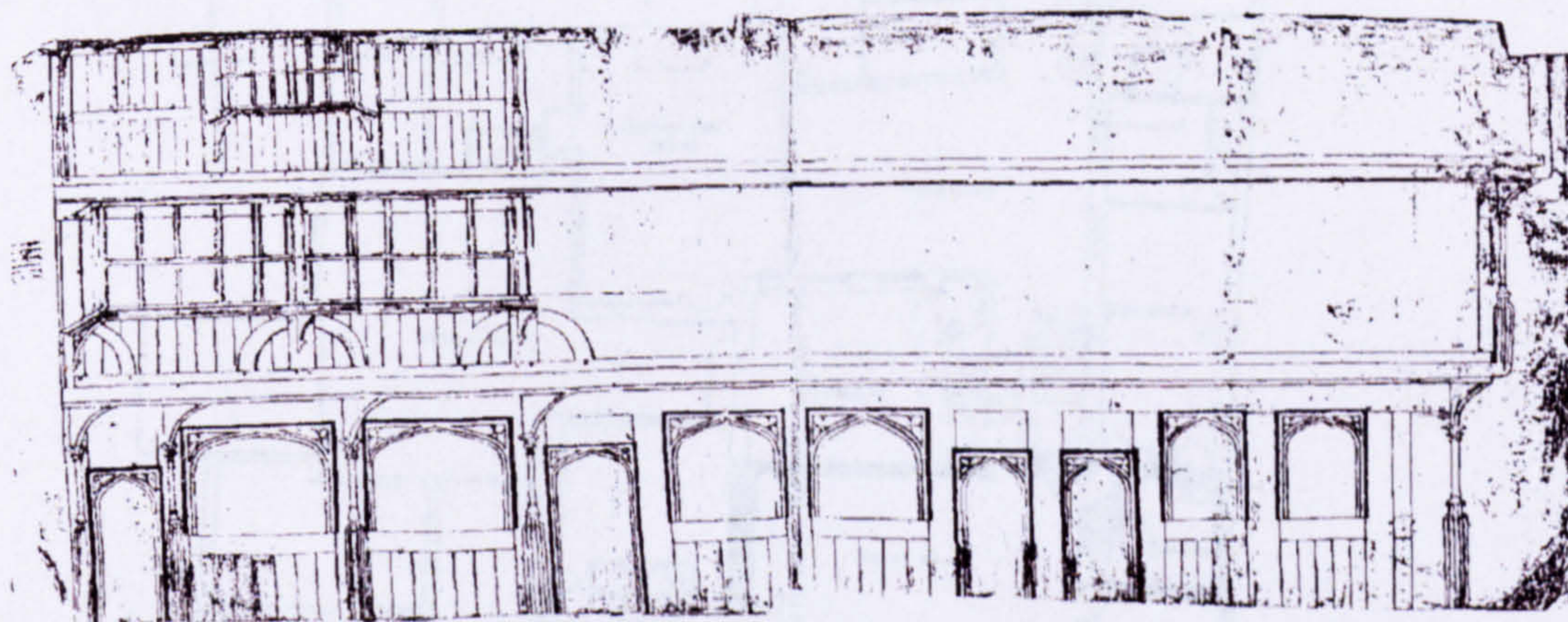


From: A. Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain* (New Haven and London, 2003), p. 246, fig. 297.

Fig. 34. Abbot's House, Butcher Row, Shrewsbury and (below) a sixteenth-century drawing of a three-storey shop from Worcester.



From: Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, p. 254, fig. 310 and 311. (Fig. 310 after F.T. Dollman and J.R. Jobbins, *An analysis of ancient domestic architecture in Great Britain*, vol. 2 (London, 1863), Pl. 125.

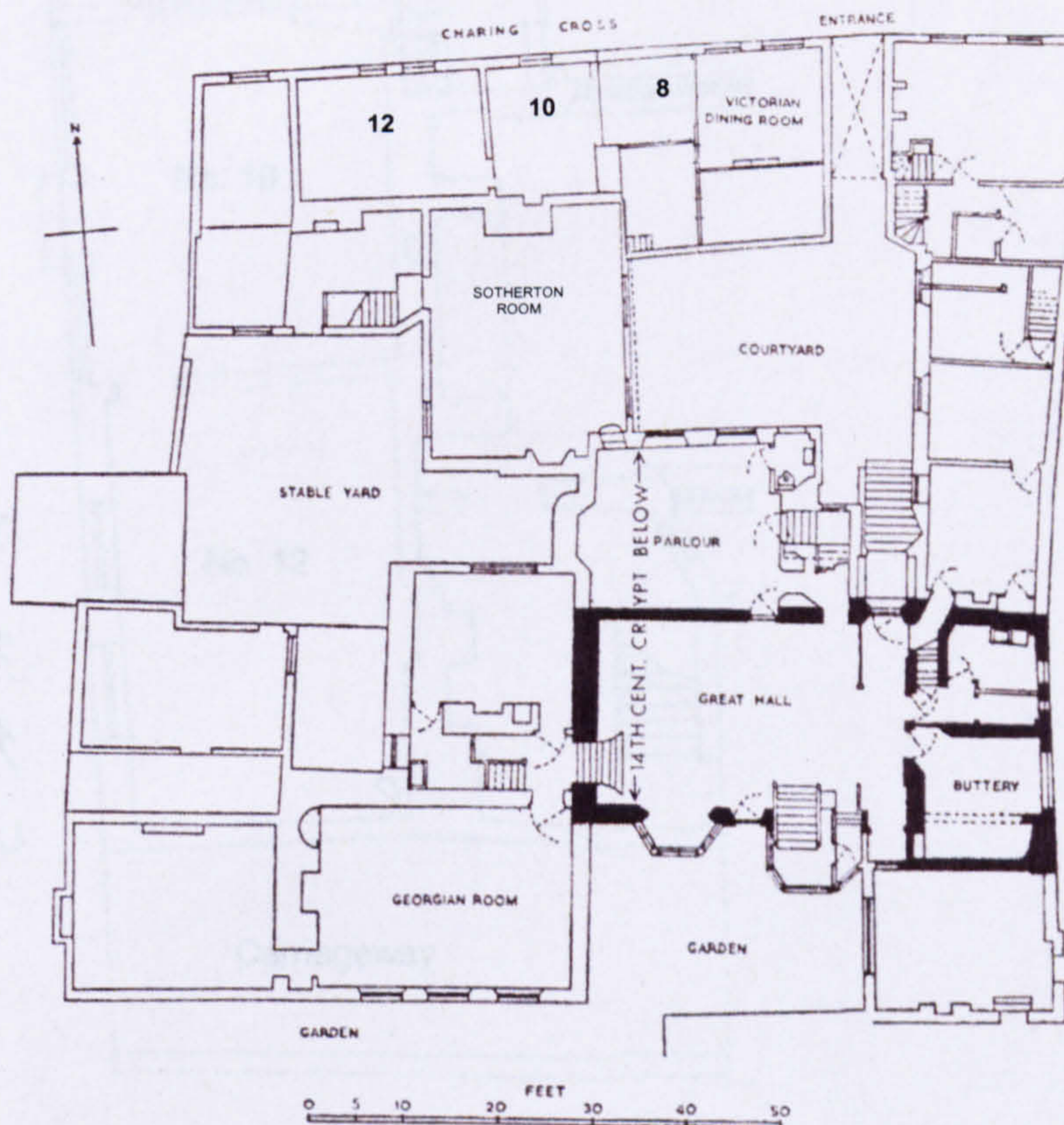


From: Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, p. 114, fig. 112. (After F.W.B. Charles and K. Down, 'A sixteenth-century drawing of a timber-framed town house', *Trans. Worcestershire Archaeological Society* 3/3 (1970-2): 67-79, Pls. 8-9).

Fig. 35a. 8-12 Charing Cross, Norwich.

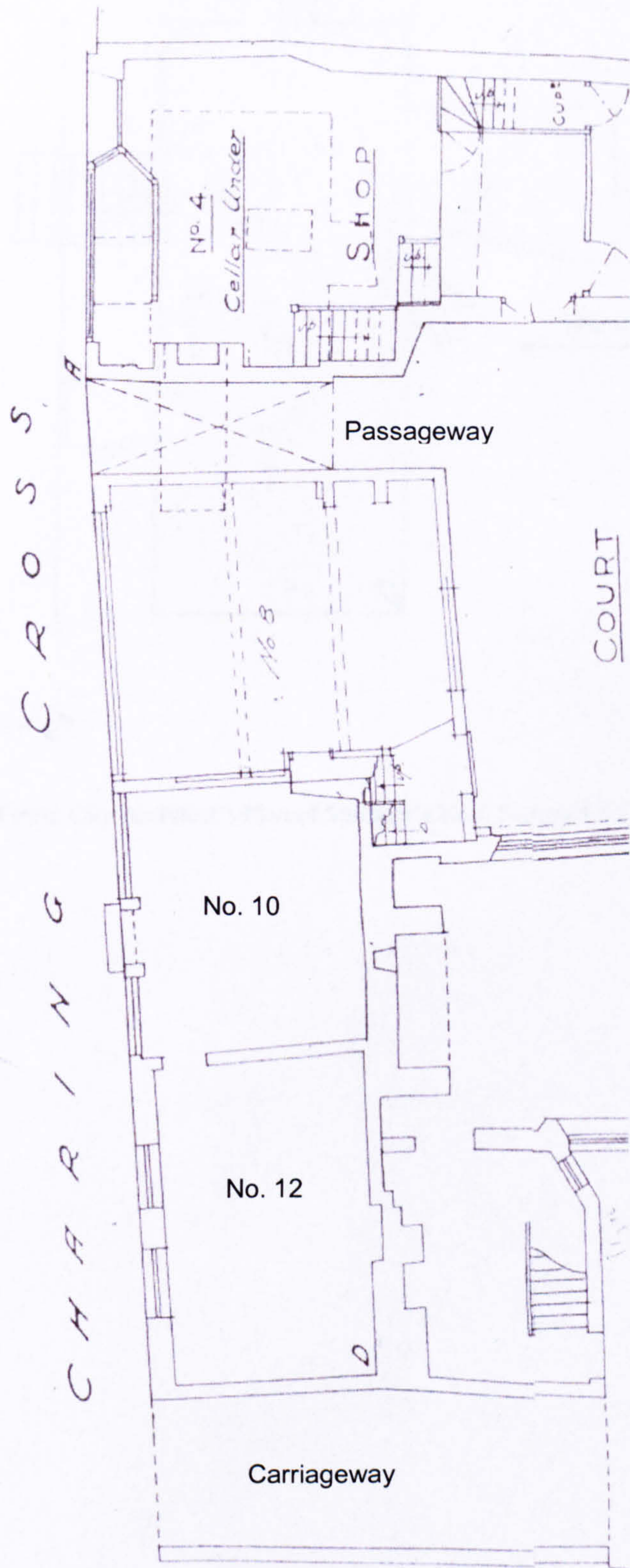


Fig. 35b. Plan of Strangers' Hall, with 8-12 Charing Cross to the north of the complex. (Note: because of the uneven lie of the land across the site, the plan shows ground-floor level in the 'Great Hall', but first-floor level in the Charing Cross range).



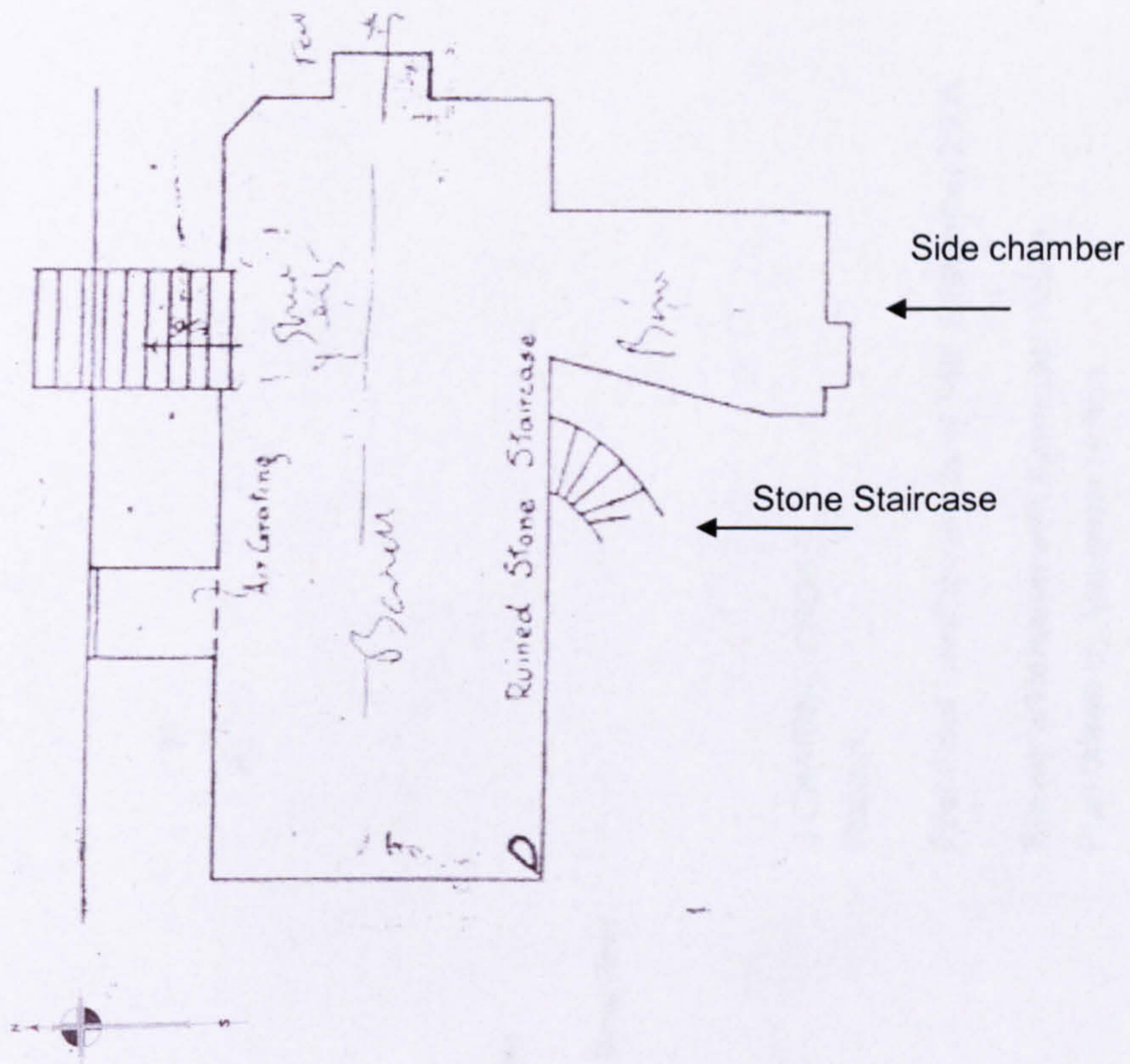
From: M. Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London, 1983), p.191, fig. 59.

Fig. 36a. 8-12 Charing Cross: ground-floor level plan and (over) undercroft beneath no. 12. (Not to scale).



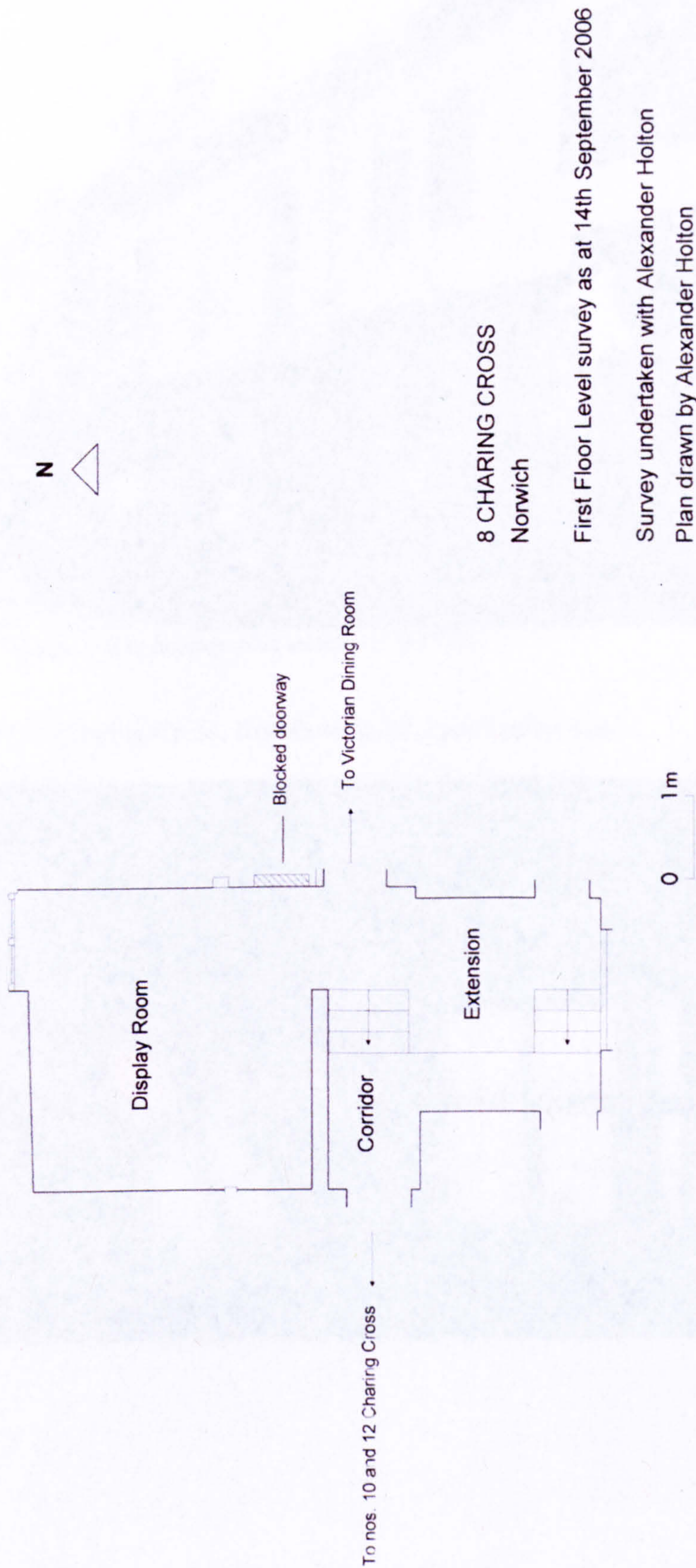
From: City Architect's Plan of Strangers' Hall, Norwich, 1922.

Fig 36b. Plan of undercroft beneath 12 Charing Cross. (Not to scale).



From: City Architect's Plan of Stranger's Hall, Norwich, 1922.

Fig. 37. 8 Charing Cross: first-floor level, plan of the Display Room.



8 CHARING CROSS  
Norwich

First Floor Level survey as at 14th September 2006

Survey undertaken with Alexander Holton  
Plan drawn by Alexander Holton

Fig. 38. 8-12 Charing Cross: exterior north wall, c. mid twentieth century.



From: Strangers' Hall photographic archive: SCN17761.

Fig. 39. 8 Charing Cross, first-floor level, the Display Room.



Fig. 40. 8 Charing Cross: first-floor level, north wall window and exposed herring-bone design beneath.



Fig. 41. 8 Charing Cross: first-floor level, west partition.





Fig. 42a. 8 Charing Cross: first-floor level, east partition.



Fig. 42b. 8 Charing Cross: first-floor level, east partition showing extent of horizontal beam beyond current south wall.



Fig. 43. 8 Charing Cross: first-floor level, east wall, showing panelling and old door.



Fig. 44a: 8 Charing Cross: south-east corner of cellar, showing flint south wall.



Fig. 44b. 8 Charing Cross: continuation of south wall, showing flint material behind brick pillars.



Fig. 45. 8 Charing Cross: north-east corner, showing blocked-up arched entranceway in east wall.



Fig. 46. Dragon Hall, King Street, Norwich.

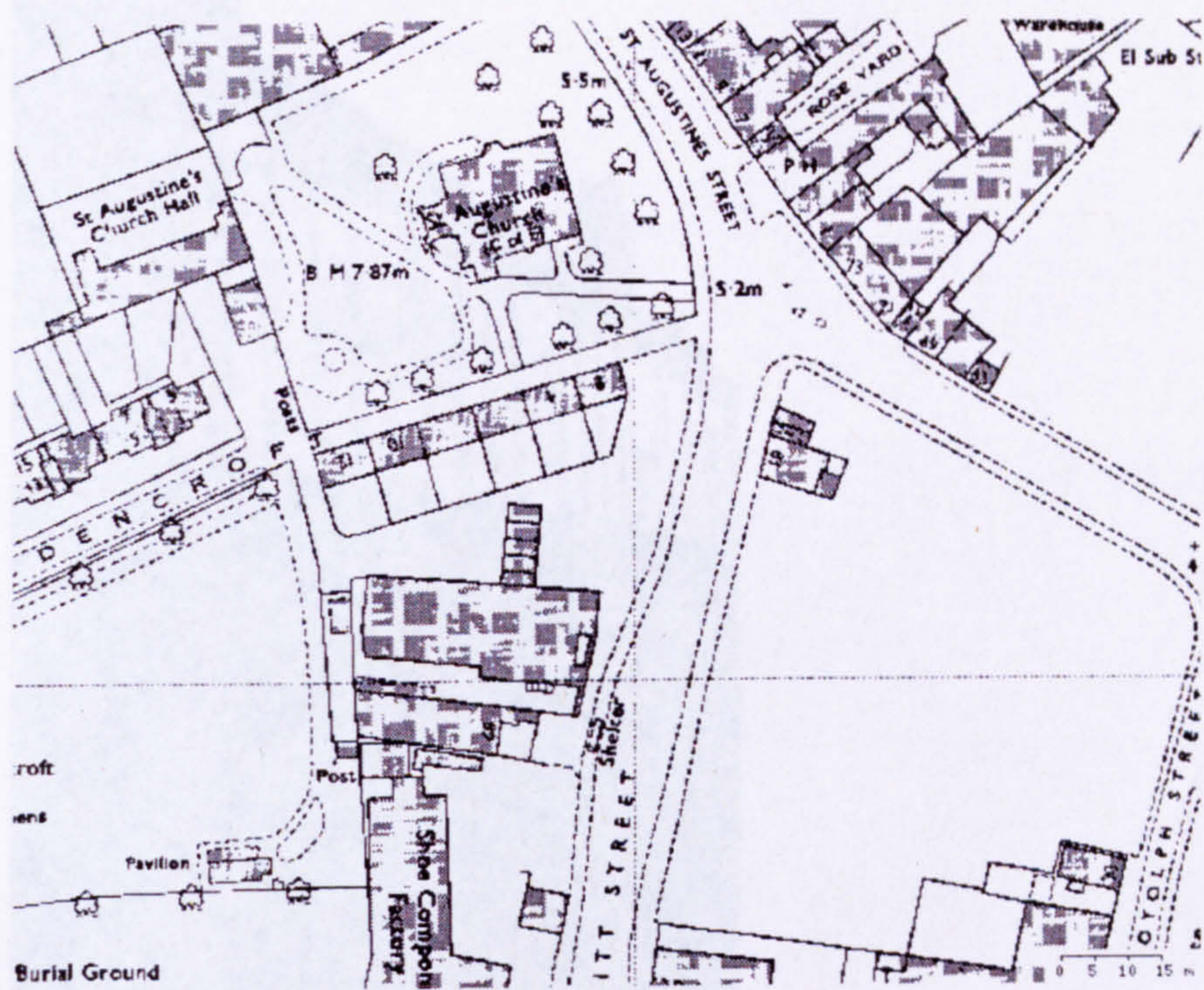


Fig. 47a. 2-12 Gildencroft, Norwich.

Original in Colour



Fig. 47b. 1974 OS Map showing 2-12 Gildencroft on south side of St. Augustines' Churchyard (orientated with north at the top).



Map Series: National Grid 1:1250 1943-1993.

Map Edition: 2<sup>nd</sup> Revisions 1946-1993. Crown Copyright Reserved.

Fig. 48a. 2 Gildencroft: current and blocked-up ground-floor doorways.



Fig. 48b. 2 Gildencroft: blocked-up ground-floor doorway.



Fig. 48c. 4 Gildencroft: current and blocked-up ground-floor doorways.



Fig. 48d. 10 Gildencroft: current and blocked-up ground-floor doorways (between the two windows).





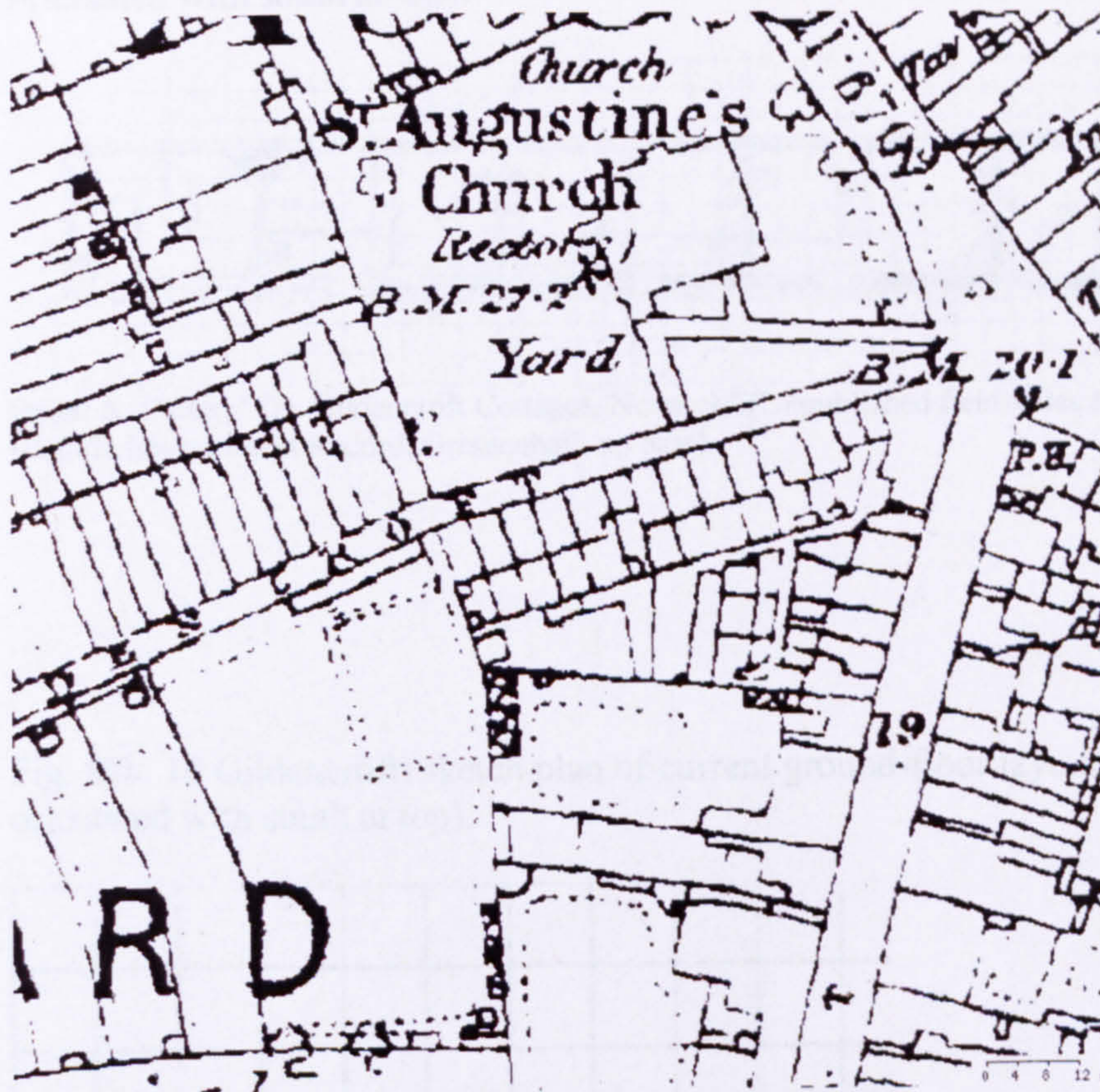
Fig. 49. 6 Gildencroft: remains of former timber window-sills at first-floor level.



Fig. 50. 6 Gildencroft: remains of former timber window-sills at first-floor level (rear).



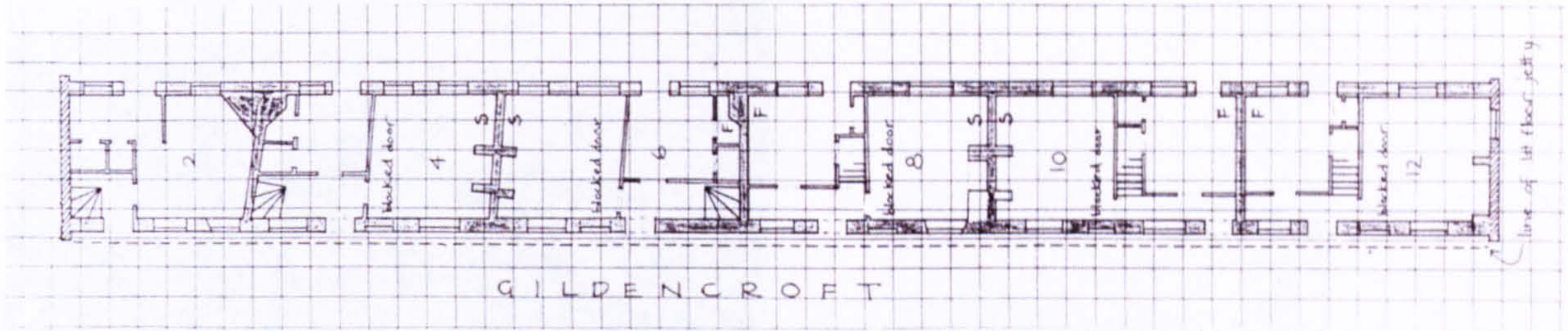
Fig. 51. 2-12 Gildencroft: 1886 OS map delineating the row as fourteen units on the south side of St Augustine's Churchyard. (Orientated with north at top).



Map Series: County Series 1:2500 1854-1949.

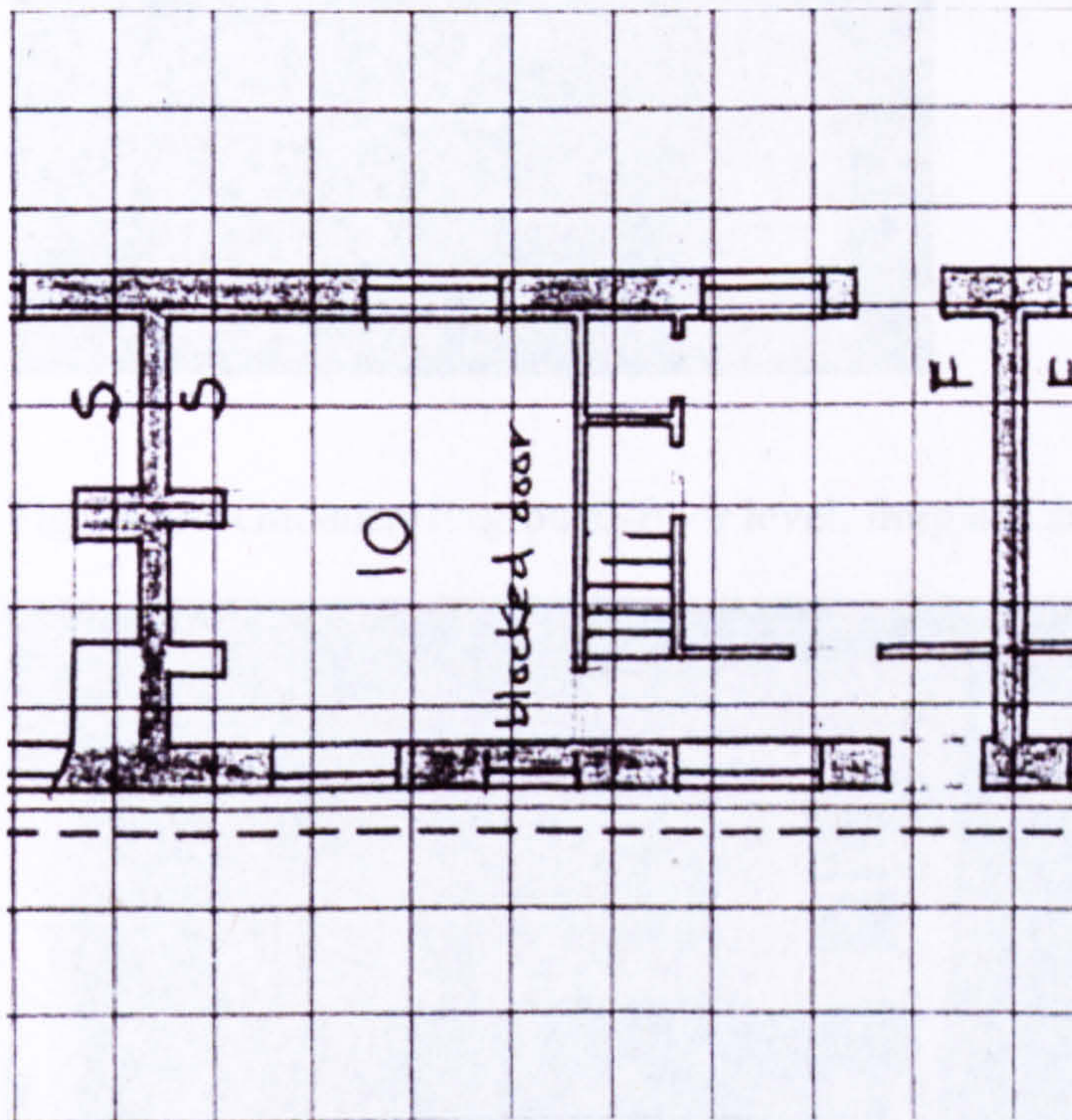
Map Edition: 1<sup>st</sup> Edition 1854-1901. Crown Copyright Reserved.

Fig. 52a. 2-12 Gildencroft: sketch plan of current ground-floor layout. (Not to scale, orientated with south at top).



From: A. Carter, 'The Gildencroft Cottages, Norwich' (Unpublished field-notes held at the Norfolk Historic Environment Record, Gressenhall, no date).

Fig. 52b. 10 Gildencroft: sketch plan of current ground-floor layout. (Not to scale, orientated with south at top).



From: A. Carter, 'The Gildencroft Cottages, Norwich' (Unpublished field-notes held at the Norfolk Historic Environment Record, Gressenhall, no date).

Fig. 55. 10 Gildencroft: ground-floor level, cross-beam in east bay delineating a former staircase opening.



Fig. 56a. 10 Gildencroft: ground-floor level, mullioned window on south wall, interior view.



Fig. 56b. 10 Gildencroft: ground-floor level, mullioned window on south wall, exterior view.



Fig. 57a. 10 Gildencroft: ground-floor level, blocked-up doorway on south (rear) wall.



Fig 57b. 10 Gildencroft: detail of blocked-up doorway on south (rear) wall.



Fig. 58. 10 Gildencroft: first-floor level, central truss.

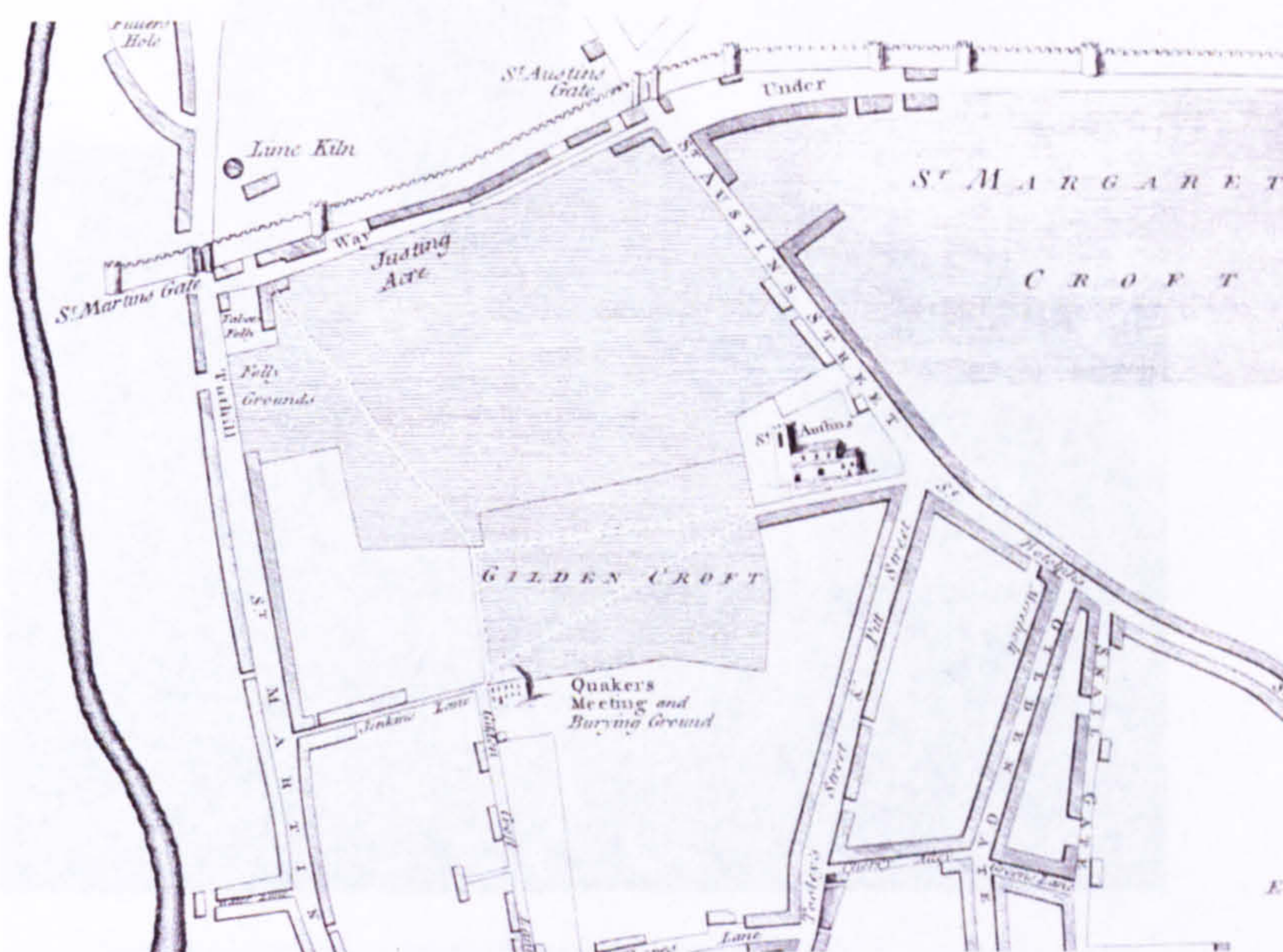


Fig. 59. Castle Bridge Cottages, North Warnborough, Hampshire.



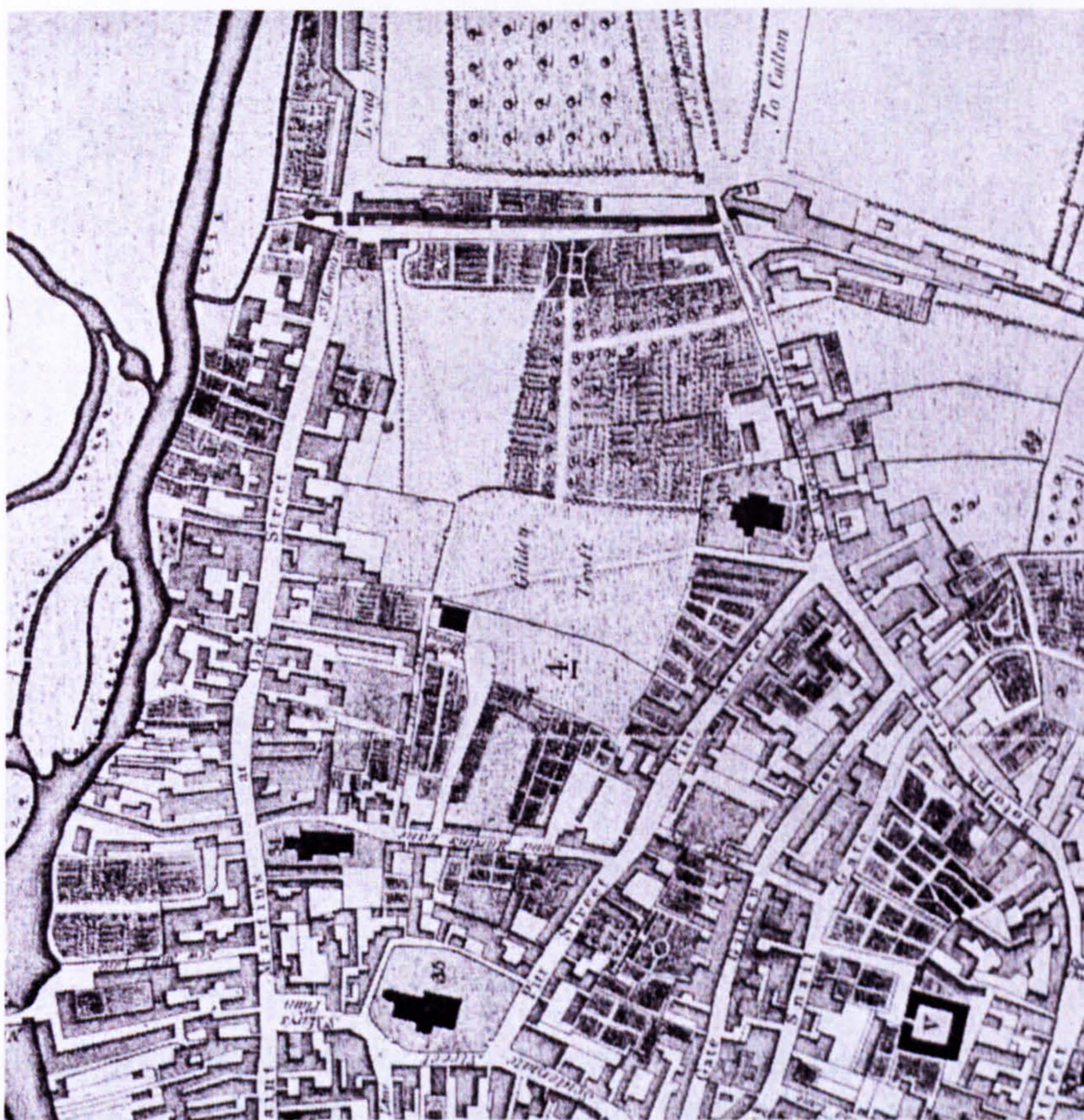
From: E. Roberts, *Hampshire Houses 1250-1700: Their Dating and Development* (Southampton, 2003), Pl. 7.

Fig. 60a. 1766 Map showing the area known as 'Gildencroft'. (Not to scale, orientated with north at top).



S. King, *City and County of Norwich* (1766).

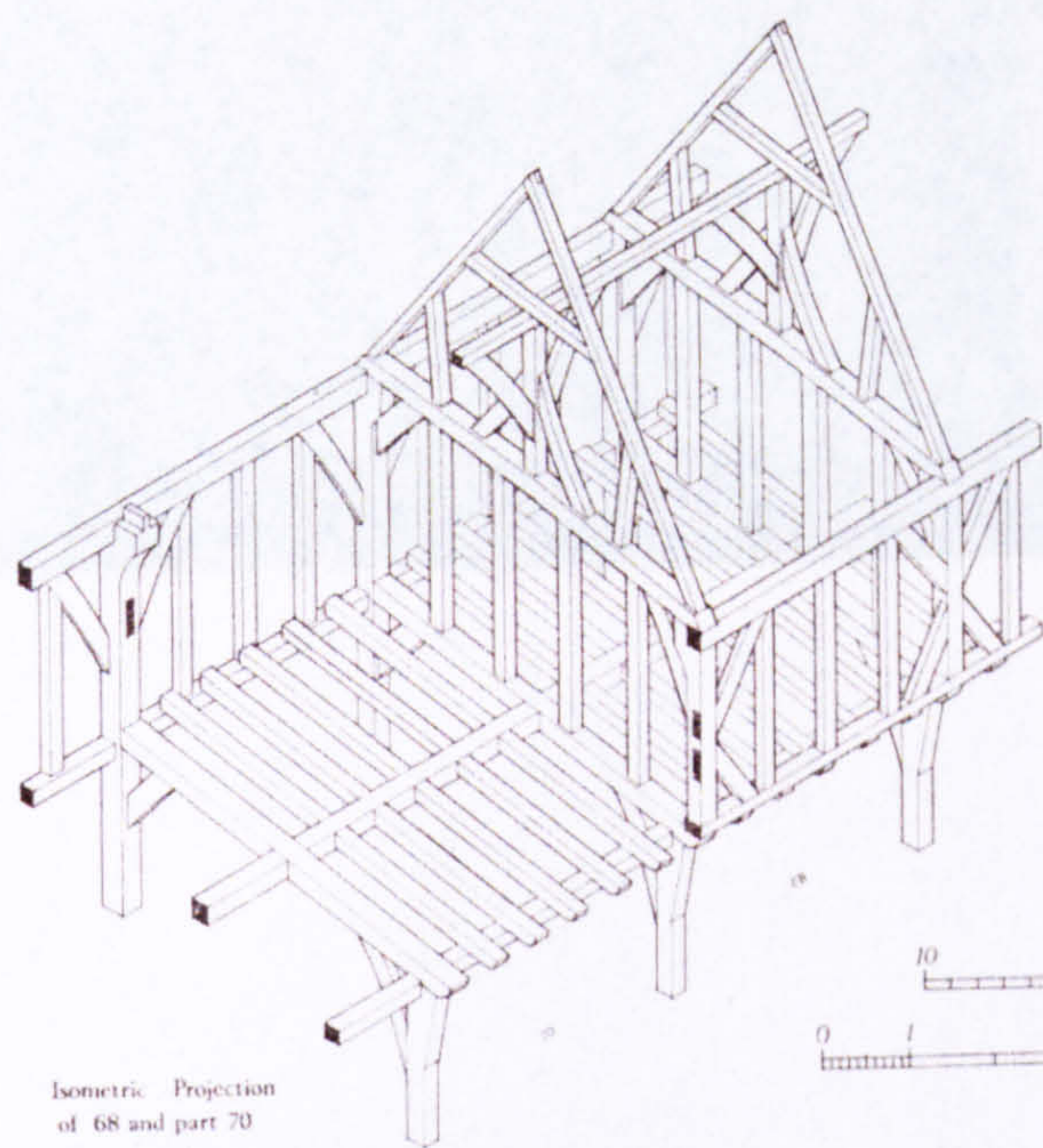
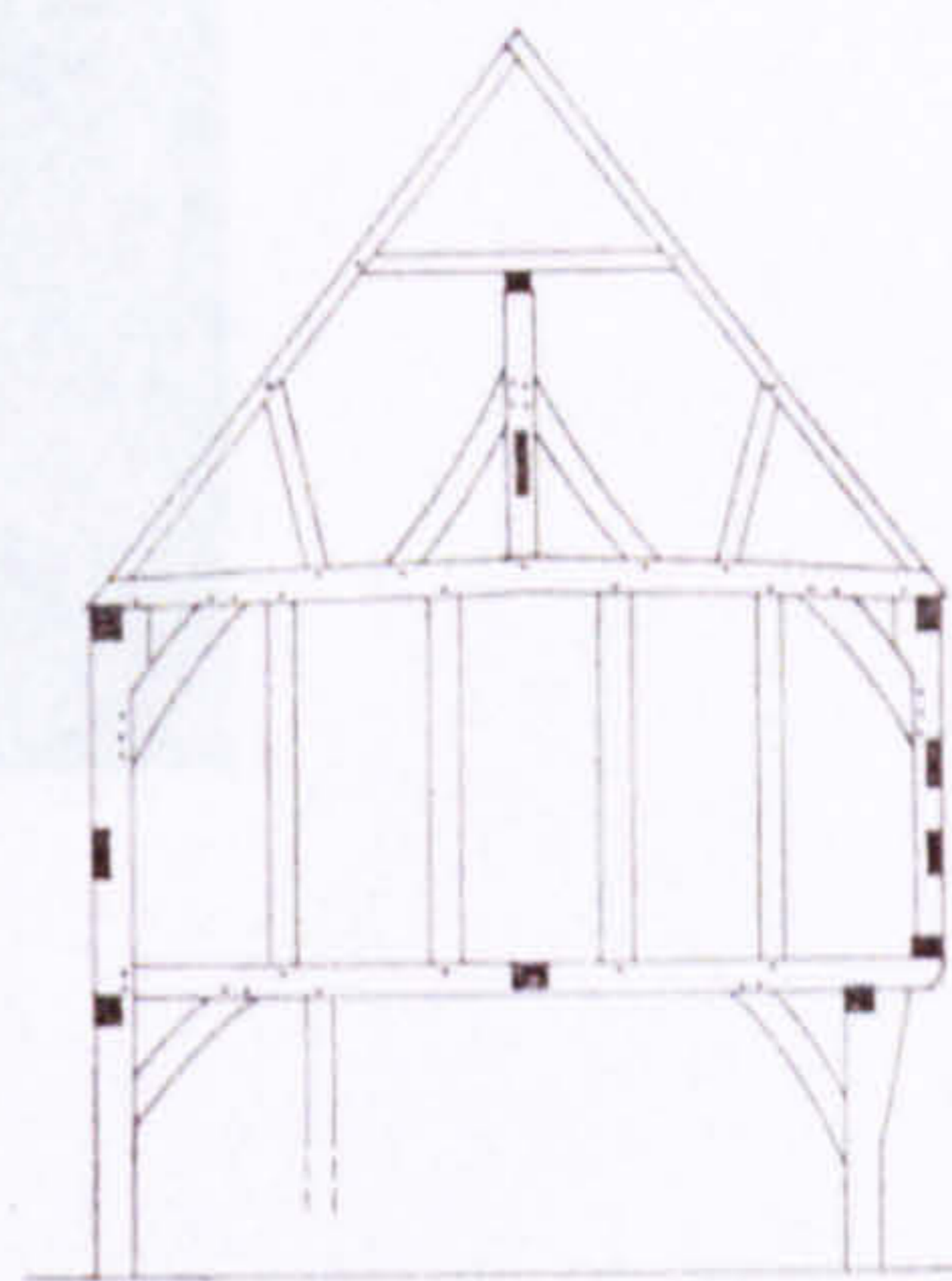
Fig. 60b. 1789 map showing the area known as 'Gildencroft'. (Not to scale, orientated with north at top).



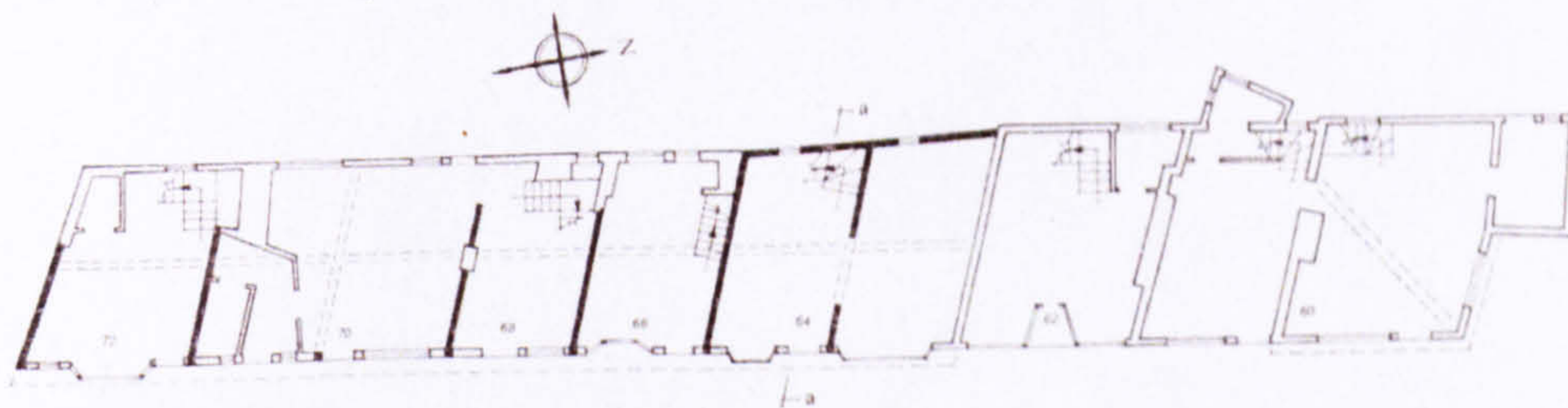
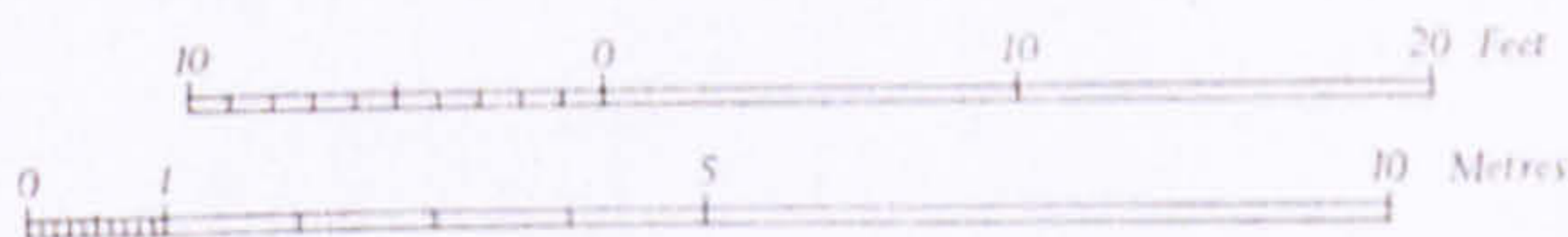
From: A. Hochstetter and S. J. Nede, *Plan of the City of Norwich* (1789).



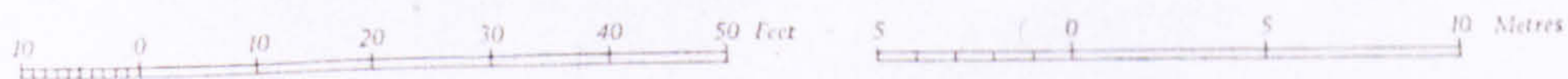
Fig. 61. 64-72 Goodramgate (Lady Row), York.

Isometric Projection  
of 68 and part 70

Section a-a



Ground Plan



From: *RCHME York*, vol. 5, p. 144, fig. 86. Note that in this plan, some of the units are incorrectly numbered. No. 66 should be labelled no. 68 and no. 68 should be labelled as part of no. 70.

Fig. 62a. 68 Goodramgate, York.

Original in Colour

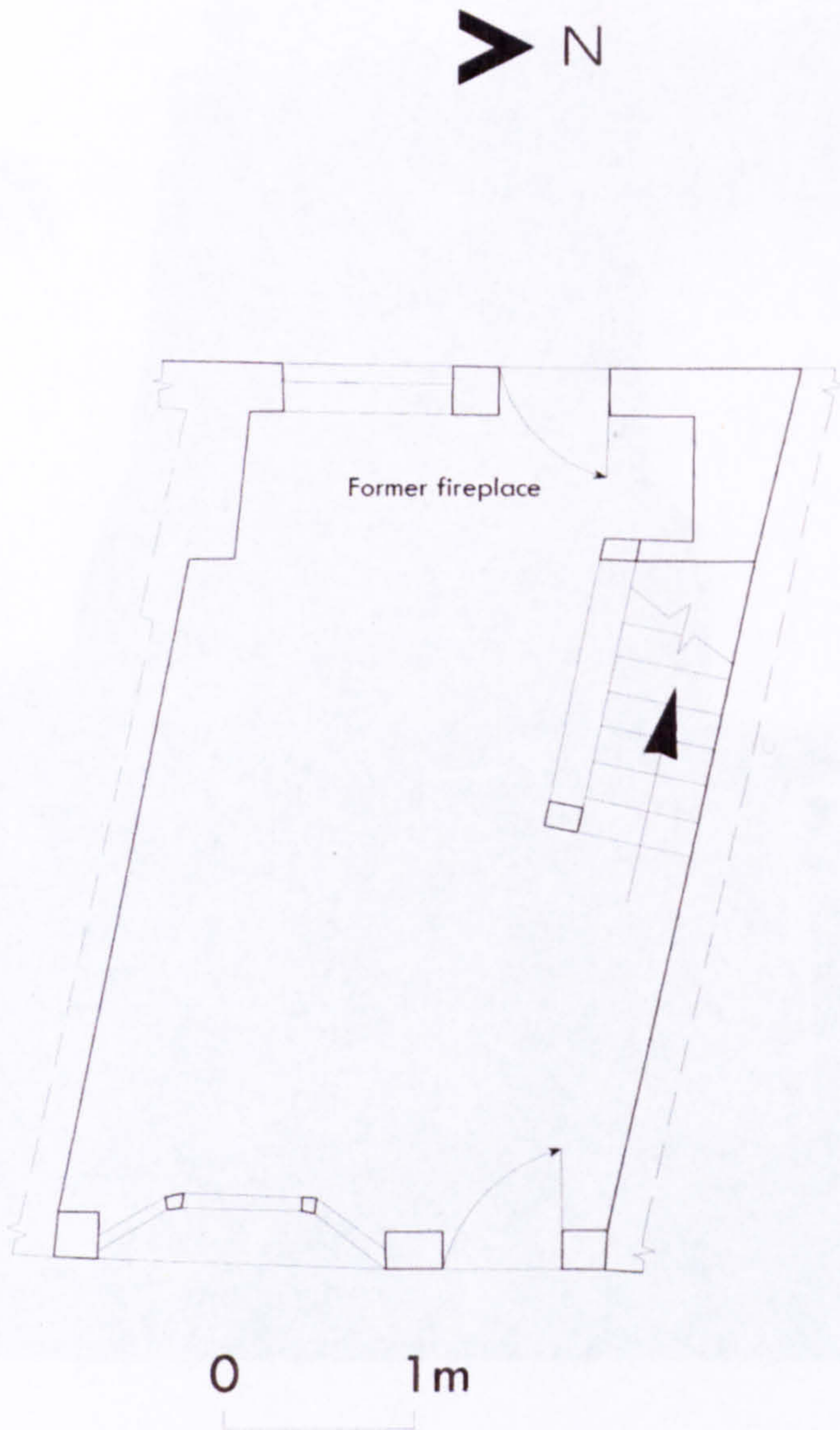


68 GOODRAMGATE (Lady Row)  
York

Ground Floor Level survey as at 5th September 2006

Survey Undertaken with Alexander Holton  
Plan drawn by Alexander Holton

Fig. 62b. Ground-floor plan, 68 Goodramgate, York.



68 GOODRAMGATE (Lady Row)  
York

Ground Floor Level survey as at 5th September 2006

Survey Undertaken with Alexander Holton  
Plan drawn by Alexander Holton

Fig. 63a. 68 Goodramgate: remains of chimney stack on west wall.



Fig. 63b. 68 Goodramgate: detail of brickwork on west wall at first-floor level.



Fig. 63c. 68 Goodramgate: detail of brickwork on west wall at ground-floor level.



Fig. 64. 68 Goodramgate: ground-floor level, west wall, interior.

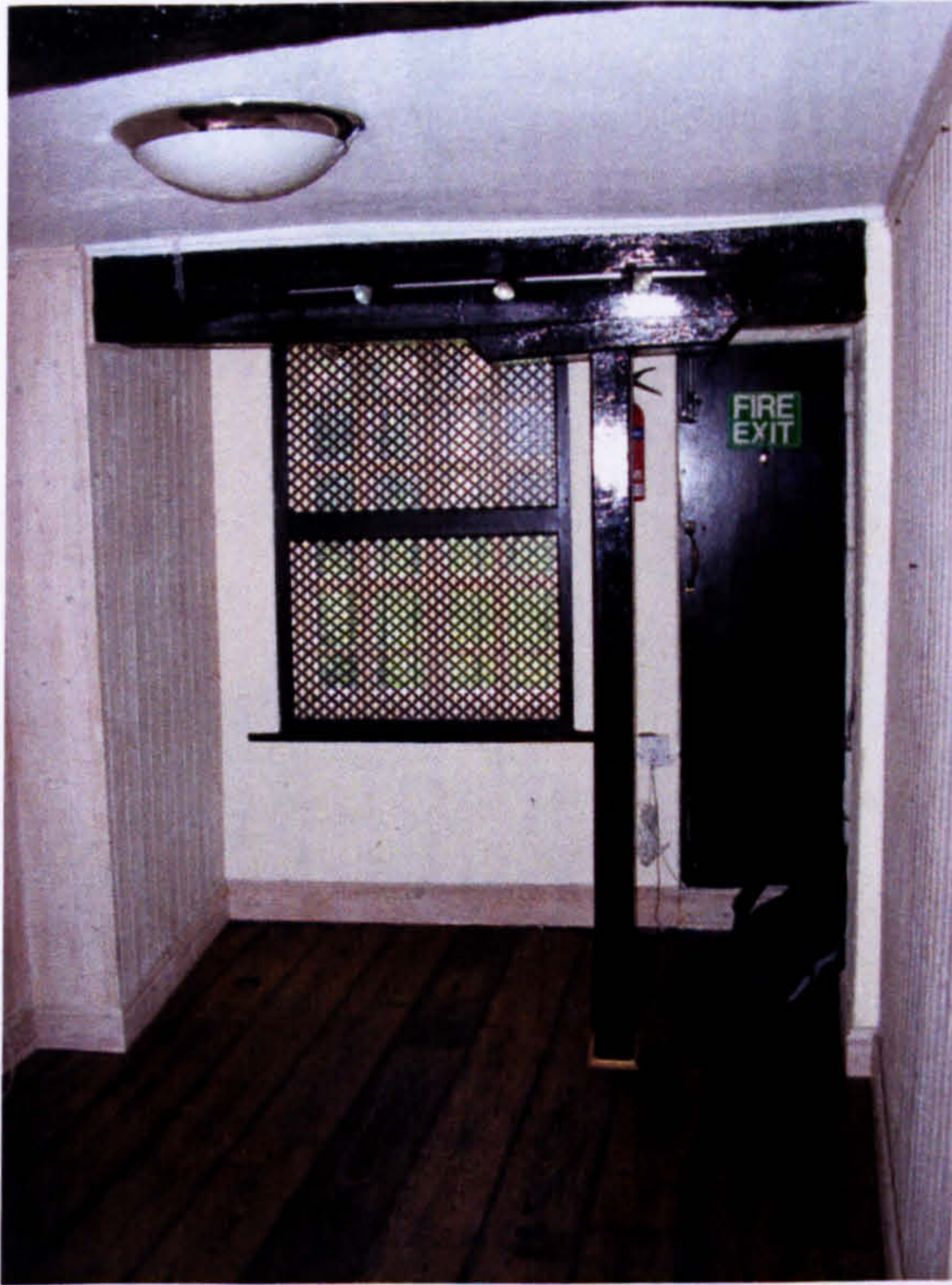


Fig. 65. 68 Goodramgate: staircase leading to first-floor level.



Fig. 66. 68 Goodramgate: first-floor level, north-west corner.

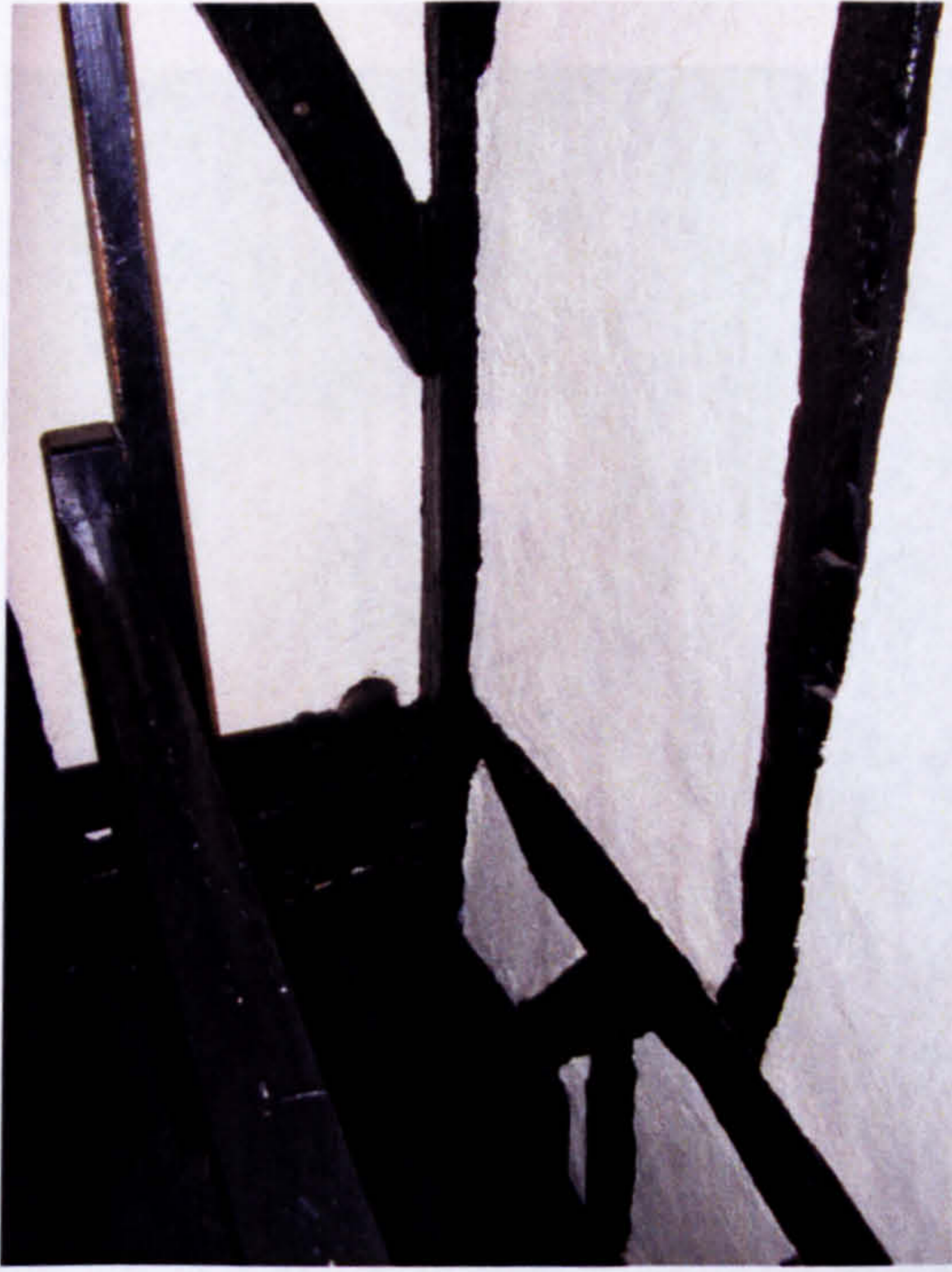


Fig. 67. 68 Goodramgate: first-floor level, south-east corner.



Fig. 68. 68 Goodramgate: first-floor level, area of recessed plasterwork between two studs in south truss.



Fig. 69. 64-72 Goodramgate: showing chimney stacks along west wall, c. 1971. Note complete chimney stack to no. 68 Goodramgate.



From: RCHME, 'Lady Row' Goodramgate' (Unpublished field notes held at the National Monuments Record, 1955-1973), YF 233.



Fig. 70. 64 Goodramgate, York.



Fig. 71. 64 Goodramgate: interior view of ground-floor door posts.



Fig. 72. 64 Goodramgate: empty mortice holes at the east-end of the ground-floor central truss.



Fig. 73. 64 Goodramgate: empty mortice holes at the east-end of the ground-floor south truss.



Fig. 74. 64 Goodramgate: north-west corner of north bay, showing ground-floor north truss with studs (behind merchandise).



Fig. 75. 64 Goodramgate: staircase opening in the south bay, leading to first-floor level.



Fig. 76. 64 Goodramgate: first-floor level, central truss studs.



Fig. 77. 64 Goodramgate: first-floor level, north truss with studs.



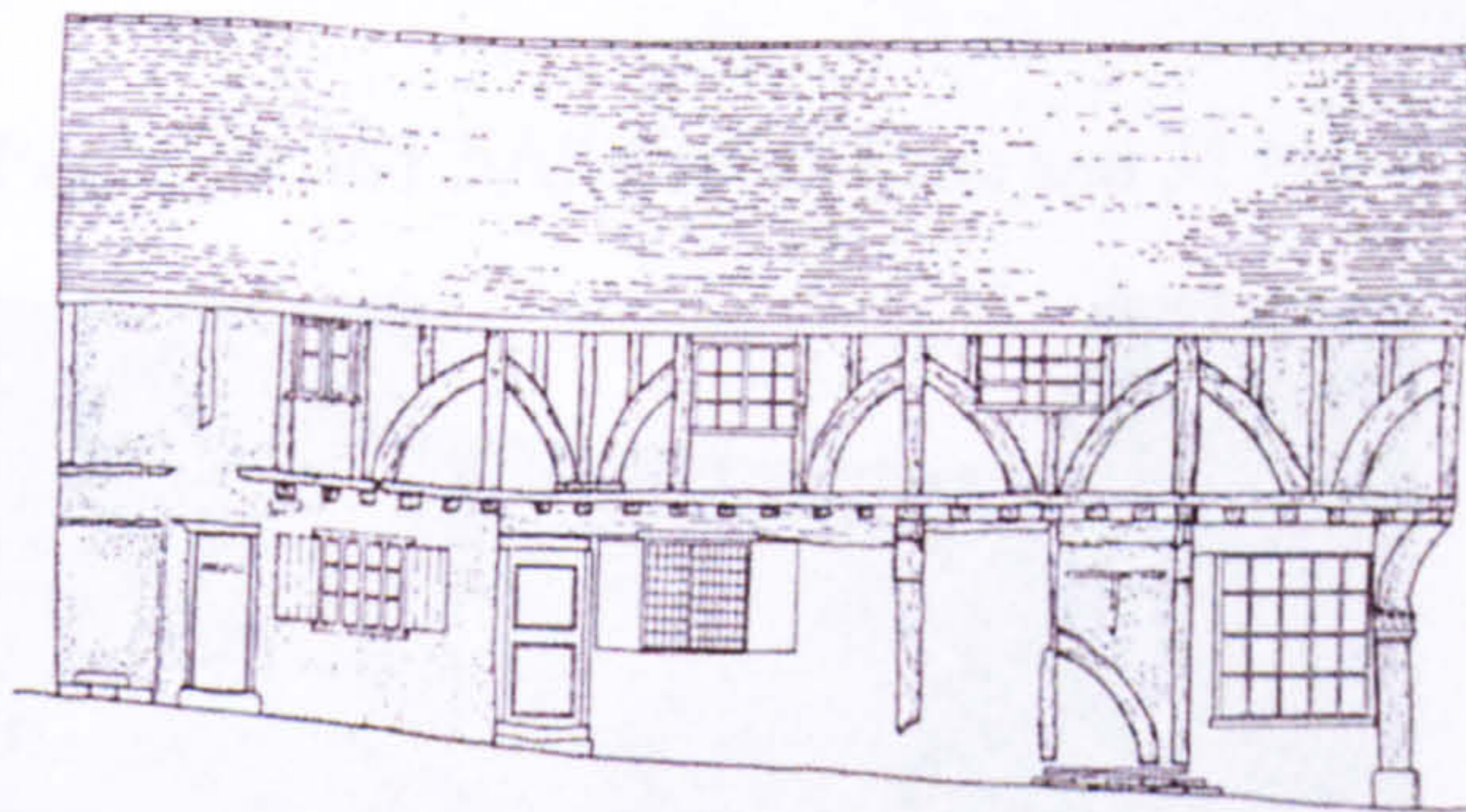
Fig. 78. 64 Goodramgate: first-floor level, west wall.



Fig. 79. 64 Goodramgate: tie-beams and crown post trusses exposed in loft.

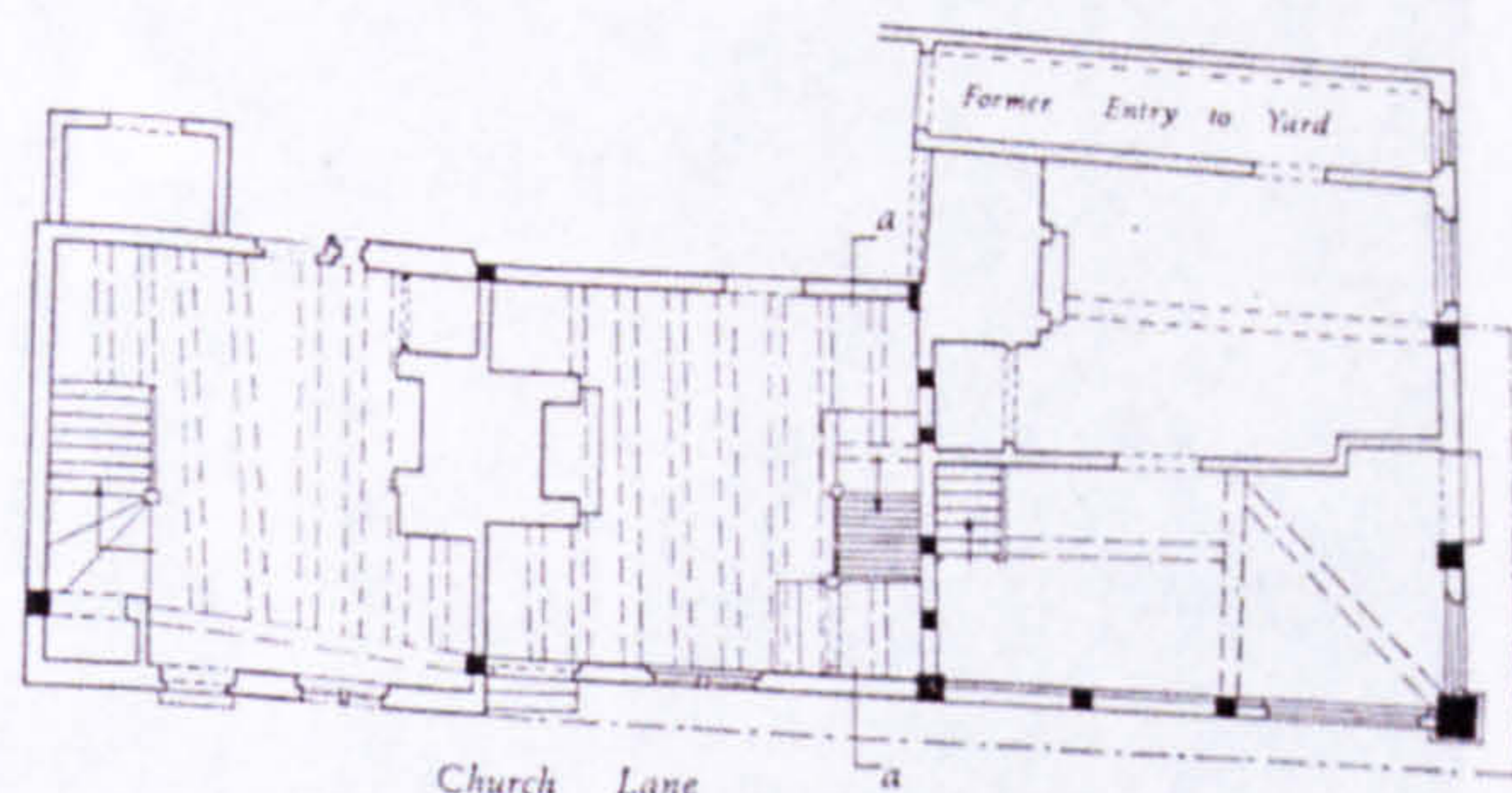


Fig. 80. 1 and 2 All Saints' Lane (Church Cottages), 31 North Street, York.

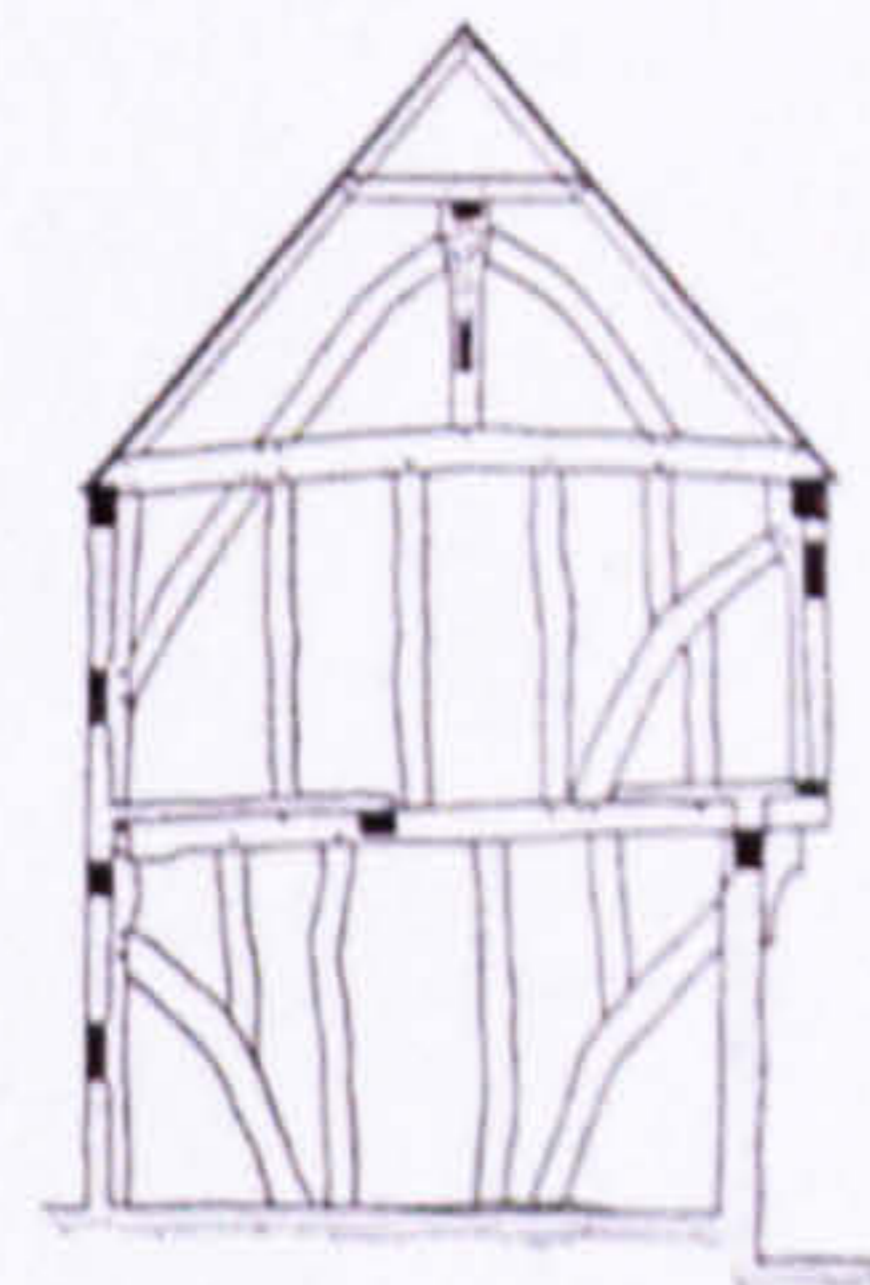


Elevation to lane

Elevation to North St.



North St.



Section a-a



Fig. 81. 1 and 2 All Saints' Lane, first-floor north wall.



Fig. 82. 1 and 2 All Saints' Lane and 31 North Street: yard to north.

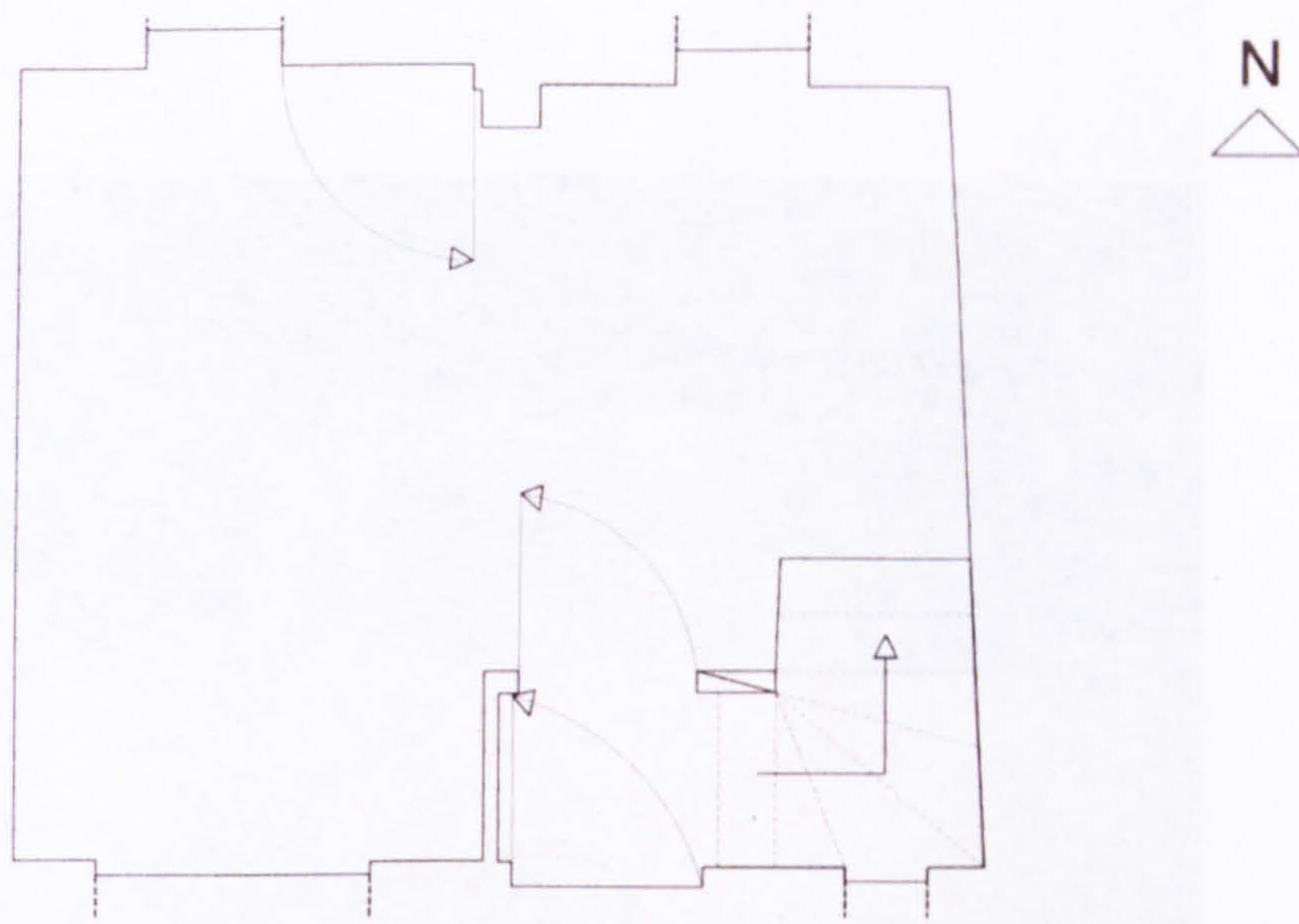


Fig. 83a. 1 All Saints' Lane, York.





Fig. 83b. 1 All Saints' Lane: ground-floor plan.



ALL SAINTS' LANE

0 1 m

----- Unsurveyed material

Ground-floor level survey as at 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2006.

Fig. 84. 1 All Saints' Lane: ground-floor level, position of inserted chimney stack to the west of the unit.



Fig. 85. 1 All Saints' Lane: ground-floor level, staircase opening to the east of the unit.

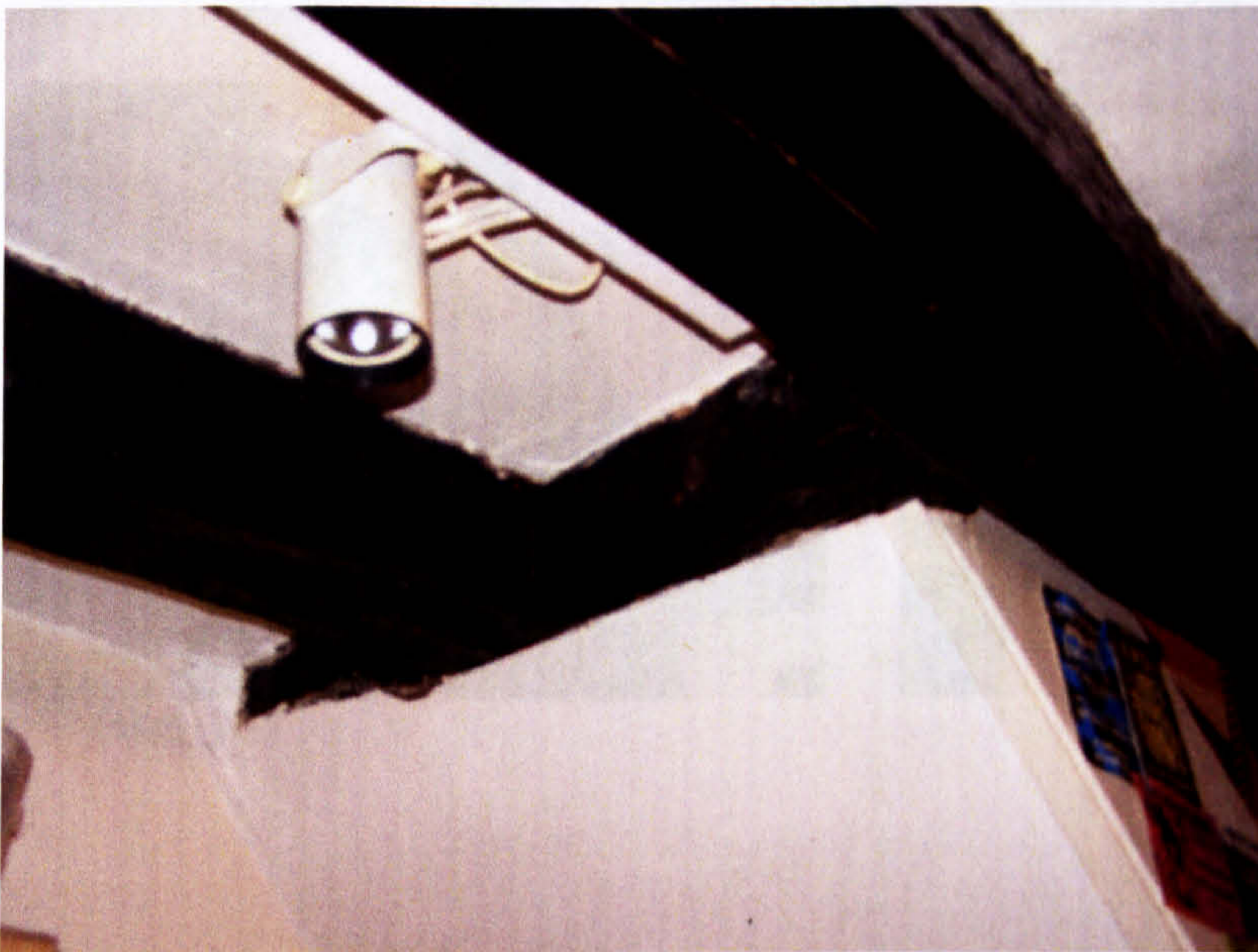


Fig. 86. 1 All Saints' Lane: first-floor level, east truss.



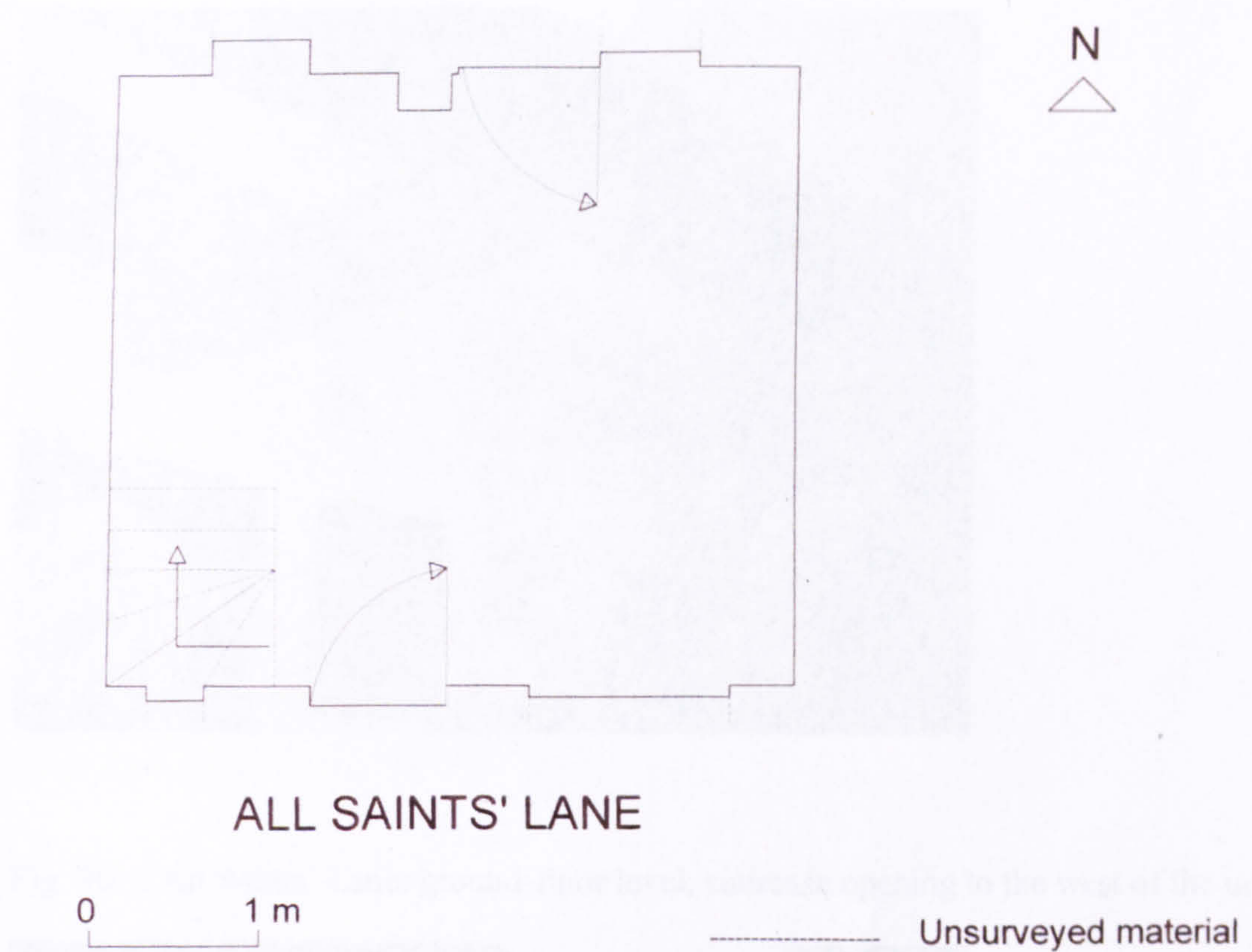
Fig. 87. 1 All Saints' Lane: first-floor level, south end of central (intermediate) truss.



Fig. 88a. 2 All Saints' Lane, York.



Fig. 88b. 2 All Saints' Lane: ground- floor plan.



Ground-floor level survey as at 1<sup>st</sup> October 2006.

Fig. 89. 2 All Saints' Lane: ground-floor level, position of inserted chimney stack to the east of the unit.



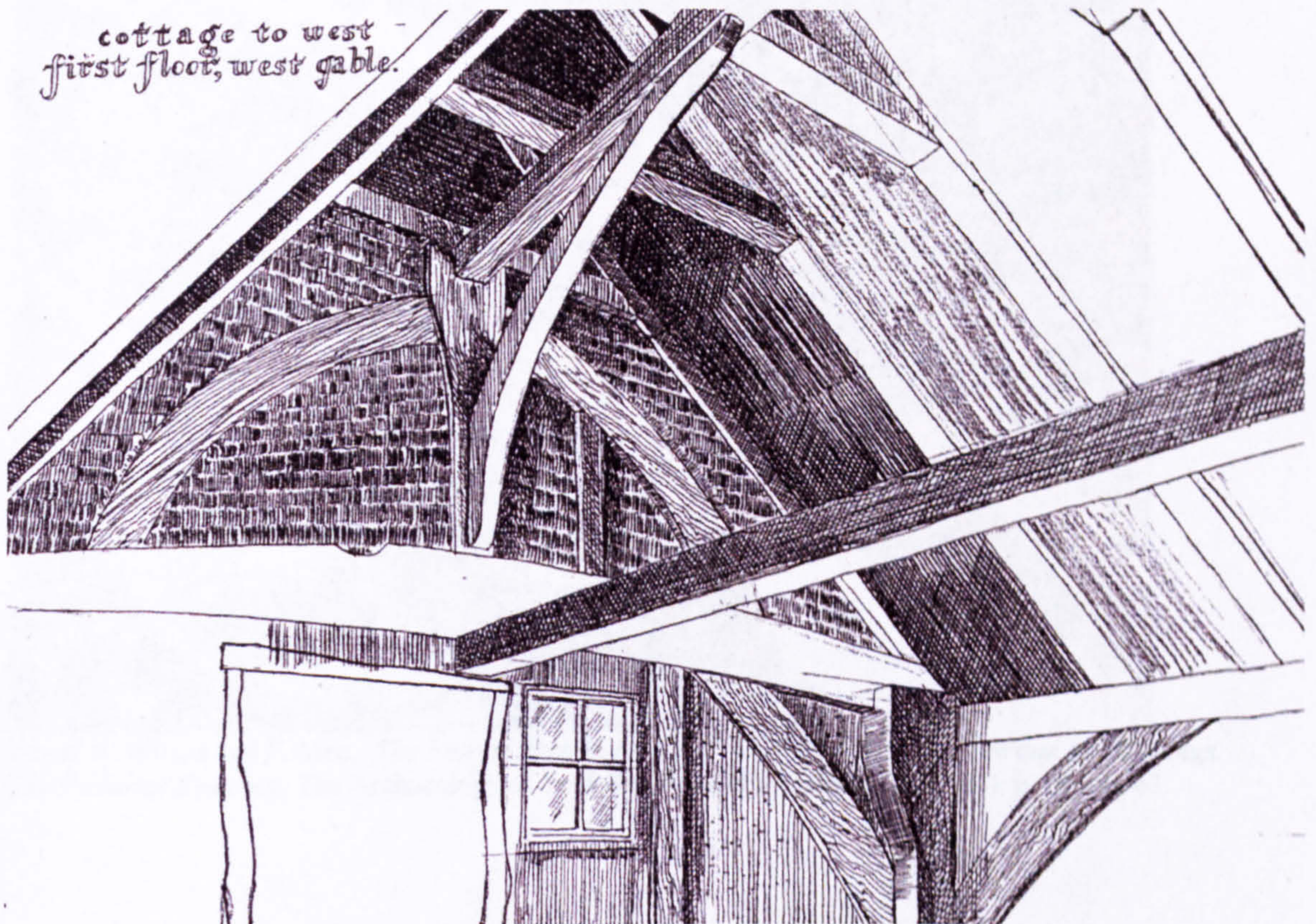
Fig. 90. 2 All Saints' Lane: ground-floor level, staircase opening to the west of the unit.



Fig. 91. 2 All Saints' Lane: first-floor level, remaining piece of longitudinal truss in the centre of the east wall.

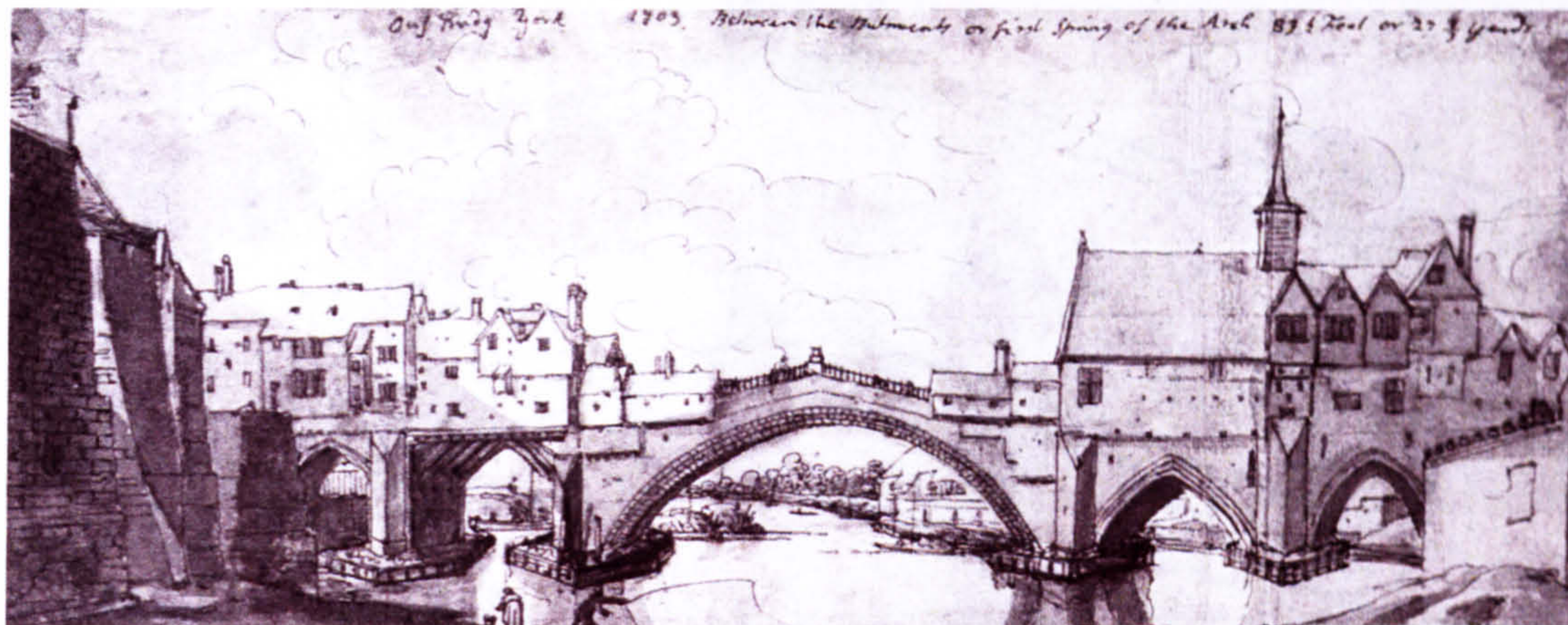


Fig. 92. 2 All Saints' Lane: first-floor level sketch showing longitudinal beam *in situ*.



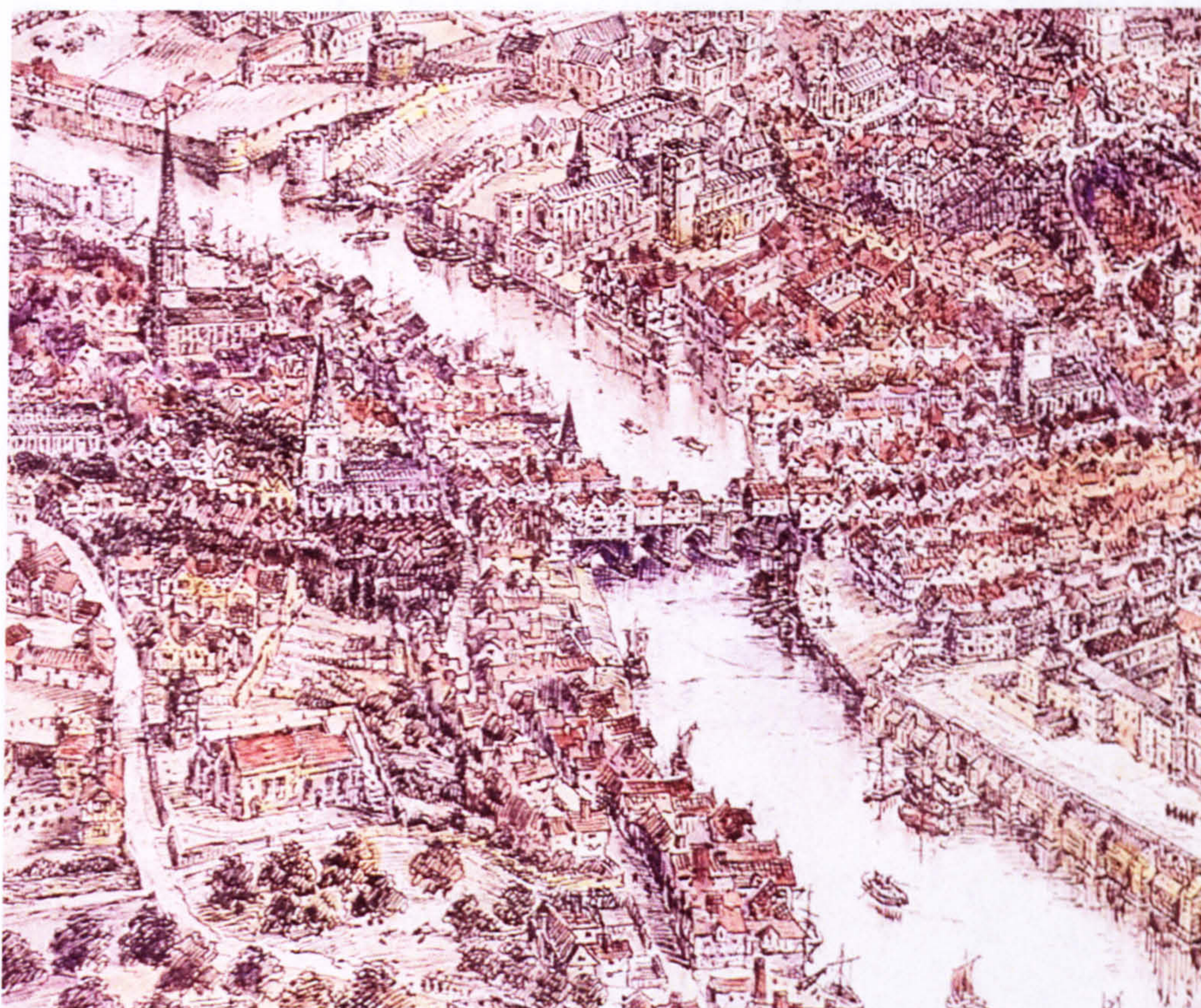
From: RCHME, 'Church Cottages, 31 North Street and 1 and 2 All Saints Lane' (unpublished field notes held at the National Monuments Record, 1973).

Fig. 93a. Francis Place's 1703 depiction of old Ouse Bridge, York. It is the earliest known depiction of the Bridge.



From: B. Wilson and F. Mee, *'The Fairest Arch in England', Old Ouse Bridge, York and its Buildings: The Pictorial Evidence*, The Archaeology of York Supplementary Series 1/2 (2002), p. 56, fig. 38.

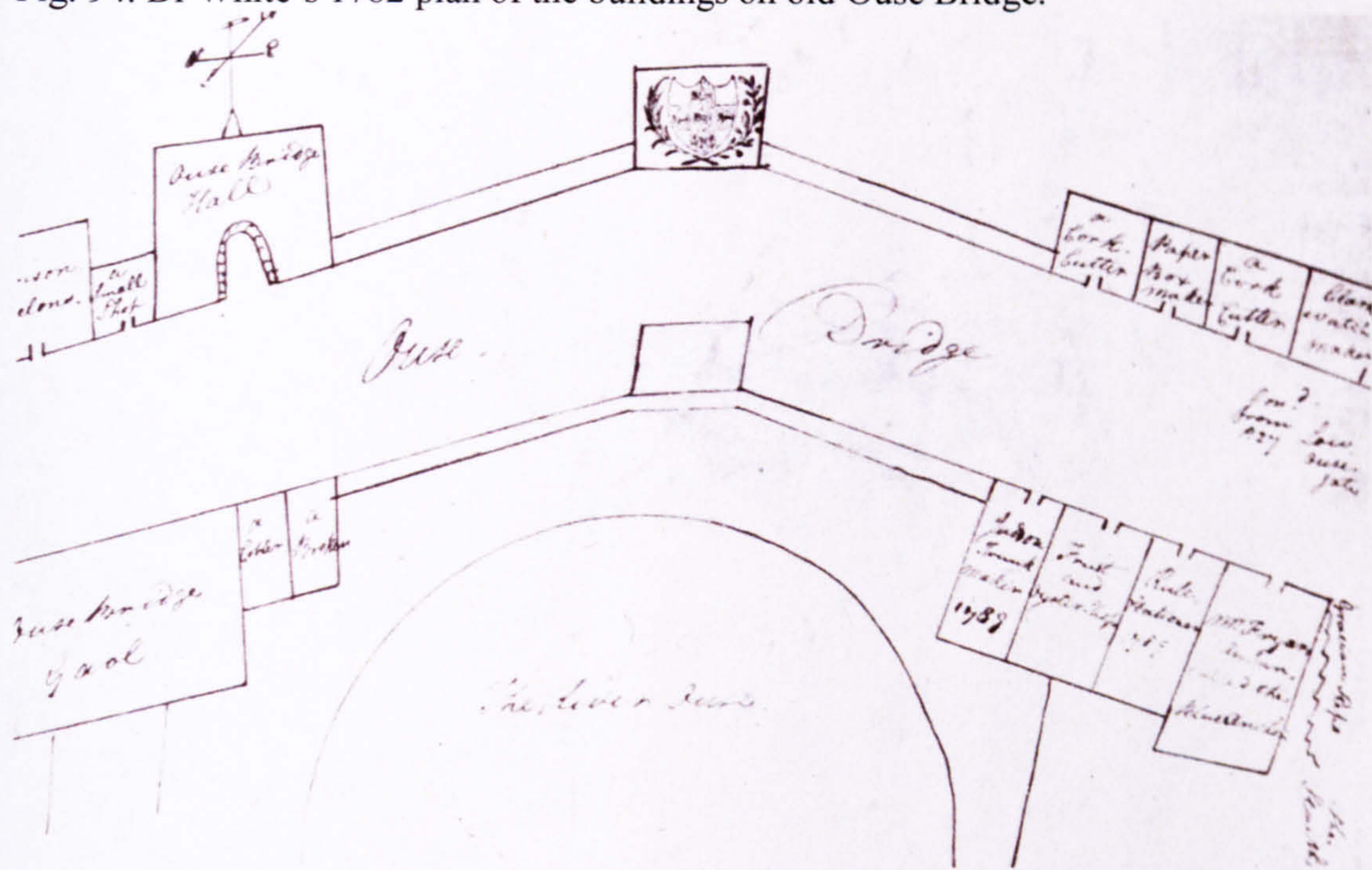
Fig. 93b. Detail from Edwin Ridsdale Tate's 1914 conjectural reconstruction of 'York in the Fifteenth Century', showing old Ouse Bridge, York, to the centre.



From: B. Wilson and F. Mee, *'The Fairest Arch in England', Old Ouse Bridge, York and its Buildings: The Pictorial Evidence*, The Archaeology of York Supplementary Series 1/2 (2002), p. 79, fig. 63.



Fig. 94. Dr White's 1782 plan of the buildings on old Ouse Bridge.



From: B. Wilson and F. Mee, 'The Fairest Arch in England', *Old Ouse Bridge, York and its Buildings: The Pictorial Evidence*, The Archaeology of York Supplementary Series 1/2 (2002), p. 34, fig. 22.