HENRY MILDMAY'S NEW FARMS, 1656–1704

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INTRODUCTION

The study of vernacular architecture generally proceeds along two parallel and separate lines. On the one hand there is the archaeological interpretation of surviving structures, and on the other is the examination of documents such as building accounts and probate inventories. It is rare to find both kinds of evidence in full measure for one building. Such is the case, however, with a group of late seventeenth-century farmhouses in the manor of Twyford and Marwell. They were built to such a standard by Henry Mildmay, an improving landlord, that several of them remain relatively unaltered today. Moreover, in some cases contemporary probate inventories, listing both rooms and their contents, allow us to understand how they were originally used as spaces for living.

Even more remarkable is the survival of detailed account books showing when, how and at what cost the buildings were constructed; and what part their construction played in the overall management of the manor (ac./1–3). This extraordinary richness and diversity of evidence has been drawn upon to examine three contrasting houses in more detail. These are Hensting Farm, an example of a first rate farmhouse at the centre of a farm of some 368 acres; Colden Farm, a more modest house with 85 acres attached to it; and finally, Mildmay's largest farmhouse, originally called 'Uphill'. (See *Appendix C* for a discussion of this name).

THE MANOR OF TWYFORD AND MARWELL

The manor (sometimes called manors) of Twyford and Marwell lay immediately south of Winchester, occupying the historic parishes of Twyford and Owslebury (*VCH Hants iii*, 332, 339; Fig 1). It belonged to the bishopric of Winchester in the Middle Ages when, although under one lordship, there were manor farms at both Twyford and Marwell. At Marwell there was also an episcopal palace whose ruins are incorporated within the modern Marwell Manor Farm (Roberts 1988b; *VCH Hants iii*, 332).

When John Poynet was granted the see of Winchester in 1551 one of the conditions attached to his appointment was that he should surrender the manor, which thus passed into the hands of the Crown. In the same year it was granted to the king's uncle, Sir Henry Seymour, and remained with his family until 1625 when it was bought by William Halliday, an alderman of London (*VCH Hants iii*, 333; Gale 1994, 13).

Halliday settled the manor upon his daughter Anne, wife to Sir Henry Mildmay. Mildmay, a courtier and office-holder under both James I and Charles I, kept his principal residence at Wanstead in Essex and may not have spent much time at the old episcopal house at Marwell. Eventually, he deserted Charles I and was one of the king's judges, although he abstained from signing the warrant for his execution (*DNB xiii*, 373; HRO 46M72/Register/1677, ff.8–11; Gale 1994). At the Restoration, Mildmay's disloyalty was punished with disgrace, imprisonment and the forfeiture of his property. However, his family retained the manor of Twyford and Marwell by virtue of the fact that it had belonged to his wife, who died in 1656 (ac./1 f.6; Gale 1994, 13).

At her death, the manor passed into the hands of Mildmay's son, who was also called Henry. It was young Henry's chief possession in Hampshire; a possession that he would manage resourcefully and upon which he would eventually build his chief country seat, Shawford House. In 1656, he was admitted to Gray's Inn and went on to pursue a highly successful legal career leaving the day-to-day administration of the manor in the hands of his bailiff (*DNB xiii*, 373; Gale 1994, 13; ac./2, ff.6,21).
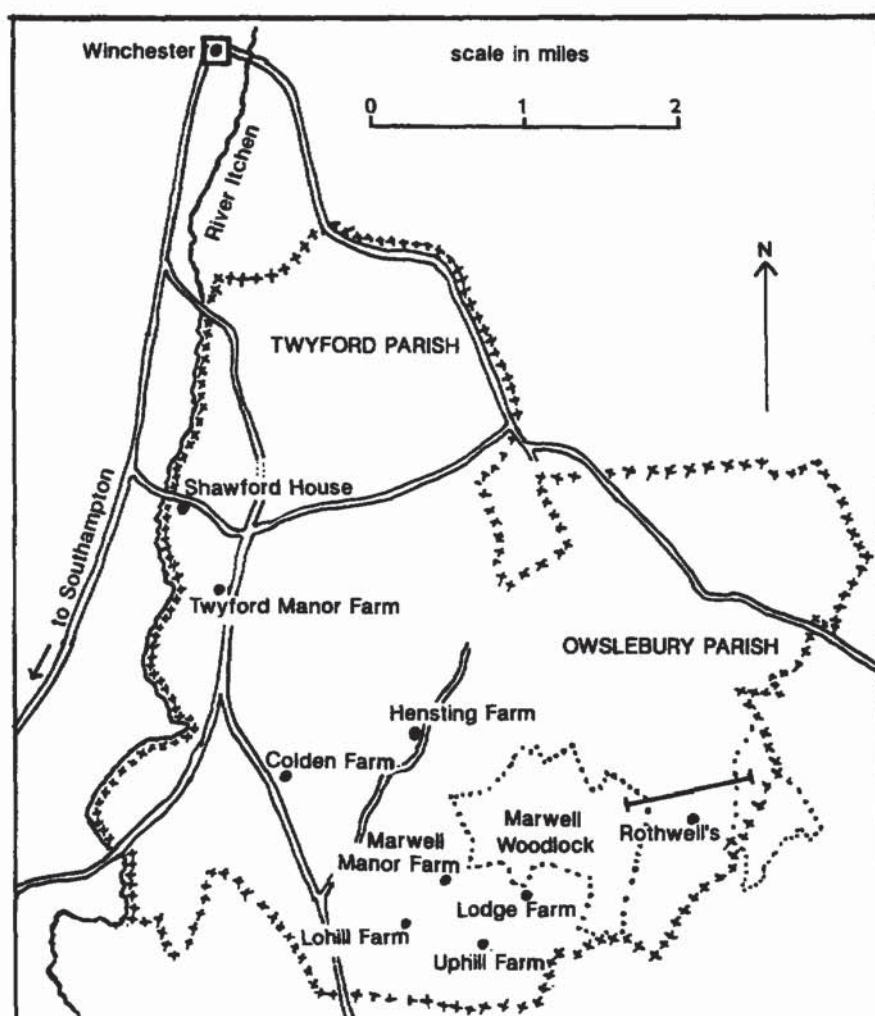
Fig 1. Twyford and Marwell manors in the seventeenth century (HRO Photo-copy 278; 21M65/F7/184 and 237).
    The boundary of Twyford and Marwell manor is marked with crosses, the boundary of Marwell Woodlock with a dotted line. Lodge, Lohill, Uphill and Marwell Manor Farm lay within the ancient park of Marwell. Marwell Woodlock was probably a creation of bishop Henry Woodlock (1305–16) who granted this portion of his manor of Marwell to a kinsman (*VCH iii*, 333). After it was acquired by Corpus Christi College, Oxford in the early sixteenth century, it seems to have been treated as a separate manor.

Mildmay's inheritance at Twyford and Marwell stretched from the fertile valley of the river Itchen in the west, to the sheltering chalk downlands in the north and east, and to the rich clay and loam soils in the south. In the mid-seventeenth century waterlogged and unimproved pasture, known as '*the Moores*', bordered the river (Gale 1985b) but there was much valuable arable land. This was mostly enclosed, as was most of the pasture, except for the downs of Twyford and Owslebury, and Hensting and Colden Commons (Gale 1988, 15). There was a relatively small manor house at

Twyford with some demesne land, and extensive demesne land at Marwell much of which lay within the ancient park, still shown with its park pale in early seventeenth century maps (Laxton 1976, 4b). Mildmay's account books, however, suggest that he inherited a park which had already been divided into several farms (ac./1 and ac./2, *passim*). The clay lands supported fine timber and a thriving brick industry (Gale 1985a) and there were redundant, medieval buildings at the old episcopal manor house at Marwell which could be quarried for their stone.

HENRY MILDMAY: AN IMPROVING LANDLORD

This, then, was Henry Mildmay's manor. It was essentially a prosperous and profitable inheritance but the years following 1650 may be seen as a period of long, agrarian depression. Indeed, landlords commonly complained of falling rents in the 1660s and '70s. The man who was solely dependent on his rent roll for his social and economic position could experience severe difficulties, while those with an additional income from a non-agricultural source were at an advantage (Coleman 1977, 111–129). Mildmay, for example could supplement his rents with his legal fees and this enabled him to embark on a programme of agricultural improvement.

These improvements took three main forms: the improvement of land and crops, of farm sizes and tenures, and of farm buildings. Firstly, he transformed the marshes beside the Itchen to create approximately one hundred acres of valuable water meadow (Gale 1985b). Water meadows significantly increased agricultural productivity by supporting larger flocks of sheep which were then folded on the arable. Their dung enhanced the fertility of the soil and consequently the size of the crop. It has been claimed that, while improved meadows were three or four times more valuable than unimproved ones, the benefit which they imparted to the farm as a whole was "beyond computation" (Bowie 1987, 157). In other ways, too, Mildmay embraced agricultural innovation. Like other gentlemen farmers of the time, it was on those farms which he kept in direct management that he experimented with new crops to improve the fodder supply: he grew "trefoil" (by which he probably meant lucerne) and clover. He also grew hops, a crop whose geographical distribution was very limited before the mid seventeenth century, and there is even mention of tobacco although its growth was then forbidden by law (ac./3, ff.7,26; Bowden 1985, 97; Thirsk 1985, 343, 553–5).

Secondly, he enlarged some farms by consolidation; a policy which would have effected economies of scale. For example, Lodge Farm and the neighbouring Hurst Farm were run separately in 1669, but had been joined into one holding by 1693 (Gale 1988, 34). His rent roll was further enlarged by purchases of copyhold tenures, let at traditional and uneconomic rents, and their conversion to leaseholds let at commercial rents (HRO 46M72/Register/1677, ff.2–3, 41–45). For example, he bought the copyhold farm called 'Colden Tenement' in 1665. The prospect of increased rent may have encouraged him to build a new barn there in 1675, and to rebuild the farmhouse (except for the cellar and brewhouse) in 1678. By 1686, the property was leased for an annual rent of £80, and by 1694 it was graced with the title 'Colden Farm' (ac./2, ff.23–7; ac./3 ff.100–1). In the same way, he purchased Rothwell's as a copyhold and converted it to leasehold, building a small house there in 1667 (ac./2, f.49).

Finally, he rebuilt and repaired agricultural buildings and farmhouses to a high standard and in every corner of the manor (Table 1). He built or rebuilt six farmhouses, five other houses (including his own residence, Shawford House), fourteen barns, ten carthouses, nine granaries, six '*reekhouses*' (probably hay shelters), five stables, five cowpens and one fodder house. He also substantially repaired three farmhouses, three barns and two pigeon houses (Gale 1988, ch.2; ac./2 *passim*). Improved farm buildings not only increased efficiency but also tended to attract the more thrusting and successful tenants. As one contemporary put it, "beggarly houses will bring none but beggarly tenants" (Clay 1985, 248; Barley 1985, 639–44).

It is hard to tell how far improvements to farm buildings enabled Mildmay to raise rents. The

Table 1   Henry Mildmay's new farm buildings

The building dates are given only for those farmsteads where Mildmay rebuilt the farmhouses. Where more than one barn was built, only the date of the first is given (ac./2 *passim*; Gale 1988).

Farm	Barn	House	Stable	Cowpen	Carthouse	Granary	Reekhouse
Hensting	by 1658	1659	1658	1689	–	1691	1690
Lodge	1658	1667	1672	1672	1682	–	–
Uphill	1659	1670	–	–	1671	1682	1688
Lohill	–	1671	1671	1671	1673	1697	–
Rothwells	1667	1667	–	–	–	–	–
Colden	1675	1678	1675	–	1676	1694	–

annual rent for Hensting Farm rose from £50 in 1657–8 to £101 in 1662. In the meantime the house had been built in 1659 (ac./1, ff.8,14,46). Lohill Farm was leased for £50 per annum in 1671, the year in which the farmhouse was built, and by 1686 the annual rent had risen to £65. On the other hand, it was not until after Lodge farmhouse was built in 1667, that the annual rent rose from £34 10s in 1671 to £80 in 1686, but this increase must be largely explained by the consolidation of Lodge Farm with Hurst Farm (ac./1, f.46; ac./3, ff.100–1, 162). Clearly, however, the relationship between new buildings and increased rents was part of a complex equation in which improvements of land and crops, and the enlargement and consolidation of farms played a significant role.

MILDMAY'S NEW FARM BUILDINGS

Mildmay's demesne farm buildings were the object of his special attention. Scarcely a farmhouse or outhouse escaped thorough improvement and many were totally rebuilt. The episcopal residence at Marwell was only modernised and remodelled: ancient walls were encased and disguised (Jackson 1961; ac./2 f.42–5) while superfluous, medieval structures were cleared away. Twyford Manor Farm was similarly renovated: a new chequerwork casing of stone and flint concealing substantial remains of an earlier building (ac./2 f.77).

Most of Mildmay's farmhouses, however, were built anew from the foundations upwards: this was so at Hensting, Lodge, Uphill, Lohill and Rothwell's. Of these, Lodge Farm and probably Lohill Farm have long since disappeared; but Hensting, Uphill, Rothwell's and Colden Farm stand substantially as they were when Mildmay built them. This, in part, is a testimony to their high quality. Hensting and Uphill, in particular, were by late seventeenth-century standards well-planned and spacious farmhouses, constructed from first-class materials and with fine outbuildings. Subsequent generations of farmers have seen little reason to make more than modest alterations.

The most immediately striking feature of Mildmay's new farmhouses is their facing of fine ashlar and knapped flint, creating a chequerwork pattern which is especially fine at Hensting (Fig 2). Similar work, which is still visible at Uphill and Colden Farm, is largely concealed at Rothwell's Farm, and was formerly to be seen at Lohill and Lodge Farm which have been destroyed (ac.2, ff.21,31,49). This chequerwork masonry seems not to have been adopted in Hampshire for the better sort of farmhouse until the mid-seventeenth century (Cake and Lewis 1972, *passim*). Its extensive use by Mildmay shows that he was at pains to build houses in the latest style which were thus likely to prove attractive to aspiring tenant farmers. At Hensting, he even installed a stone, front doorcase with fashionable, bolection moulding.

The flints for chequerwork walls were, of course, readily available from local fields and

Fig 2.   Hensting farmhouse from the south-east. The line of the outshot and the later, brick kitchen wing can be clearly seen.

could be knapped by local craftsmen but good freestone cannot be quarried within many miles of Twyford and Marwell. Consequently stone buildings have always signified wealth and high social status in central Hampshire, and Mildmay was fortunate to have redundant stone buildings at the old episcopal residence at Marwell. For building Lodge Farm in 1672, 96 loads of stone were fetched from Marwell, for Colden Farm 118 loads, for Uphill Farm 176 loads, and for Hensting 36 loads (ac./2, ff.21,24,31,49). The stone for Lohill Farm came from the old episcopal kitchen (ac.2. ff.35–6) and other stone may have come from the bishop's chapel (HRO 8M55/4/4). Even without the evidence of Mildmay's *Disbursements Book*, the source of the finely-dressed building stone might have been reasonably guessed, especially as some of it is finished with medieval mouldings (for example, on the wall of an outbuilding at Colden Farm). Hensting farmhouse even carries a stone plaque over the front door bearing the arms of Bishop

Langton (1493–1501) – a cross with five roses thereon (*VCH Hants* v, 54) – and the words "– *Langton Ep*[iscopu]*s*". Curiously, the plaque has been set upside down. This could merely represent an ignorance of Latin and heraldry on the part of the mason. Clearly, however, young Henry Mildmay understood Latin well enough and it is hard to believe that he was unaware of the plaque, placed as it was in such a conspicuous position and on such a prestigious farmhouse. It is tempting to suppose that, as the son of a prominent opponent of the king and his bishops, Mildmay attached political significance to the partial destruction of the old episcopal residence at Marwell and the disrespectful inversion of the plaque bearing a bishop's arms.

While stone and flint provided a prestigious facade, Mildmay's accounts show that this concealed a good deal of brick: for instance, the 36 loads of stone used to refurbish Marwell Manor House should be set beside the 16500 bricks carried to the site (ac./2 f.46). They

formed the bulk of the exterior walls so that the stone and flints were essentially a casing – this was a common building technique for aristocratic houses at the time (Barley 1986, 178). At Hensting, bricks were also used to infill gables where larger stone blocks would have been inconvenient and to infill timber-framed, interior walls. Indeed, timber-framing was confined to internal or rear walls and concealed beneath plaster, signalling the end of a long tradition in which carpentry in walling could be an object of pride and display. When Colden Farm was built in 1678, it was specified that the six-inch inside walls should have "*timber panes* [panels] *filled with bricks and plastered over with 2 coates of hairy morter*" (ac./2, f.24). Even the ceiling joists at Uphill, unchamfered and now bearing rows of broken nails on their soffits, were probably meant to be concealed.

To add to their up-to-date appearance, Mildmay's farmhouses were painted and glazed. Glazed windows were replacing the traditional farmhouse window with only wooden shutters to keep out the cold, and even Rothwell's – probably the humblest of Mildmay's new farmhouses – with only four rooms, had 49 foot of glass in windows of 23 lights (ac./2, f.49). As for painting, Lohill, built in 1671, is typical. "*The Windowes, Linturnes, dores and cases, Beames, Chimney Mantells and Barges of the Gable Ends*" were "*Coloured in Oyle with Read and white Lead*". It is likely, however, that red paint was only the undercoat, for woodwork at Rothwell's was "*twice colloured into a white*" (ac./2, ff.36,49).

Although Mildmay's new farmhouses were all made of similar materials, they differed significantly in size and form. On the one hand were smaller houses, such as Rothwell's with four rooms, and Colden Farm with eight (ac./2, ff.23,49); while on the other were larger houses such as Uphill with thirteen rooms (ac./2 f.31). Of some significance is the fact that Rothwell's and Colden Farm are two-storeyed buildings, whereas the larger Uphill and Hensting have a third storey, to include garrets in the roof. These differences mainly reflect the varying acreages of the farm lands to which the farmhouses were attached; Rothwell's and Colden Farm to farms of forty and eighty-five acres respectively (ac./3,

ff.107,172), and, by contrast, the much larger Uphill and Hensting farmhouses were joined with farms of 223 and 368 acres (ac./3, ff.142,167).

Why did Mildmay provide larger farmhouses for the farms with the larger acreages? It may be that a difference in size was meant to emphasize a difference in social status, and thus to appeal to an aspiring farmer willing to pay a higher rent. A more practical point is that Mildmay's apparent policy of creating bigger, more efficient farms such as Uphill and Hensting made necessary the employment of many farmhands who would need to be accommodated. True, some might be lodged in outbuildings, as at Twyford Manor Farm where "*a servants chamber was enclosed in* [the] *Hay tallet with a p*[ai]*r of staires on th'outside*" (ac./2, f.83; Sanderson 1978, 27). But this is unusual and it is likely that the garrets which Mildmay built in his larger farmhouses were intended mainly as lodgings for farm servants. In 1666, garrets for "*the Carters Lodgeinge*" were made within Marwell Manor farmhouse (ac./2, f.42). Even existing buildings were remodelled in order to accommodate garrets: in 1694 Brickell Bargain in Marwell Park had the "*House roof raised . . . to gain headroom and 2 garrets*" (ac./2, f.3,28).

Farmhouses with second-floor garrets were almost unknown in sixteenth century Hampshire. A few, which like Sevington Manor at Tichborne belonged to wealthy yeomen or gentry, were built from about 1600 onwards. But it was not until the second half of the seventeenth century that farmhouse garrets became common: for example at nearby Allbrook Farm dated 1659 (Soffe 1990, 12) and at Mariner's Cottage, Exton (Roberts 1990, 28). Precisely the same trend at the same date has been noted in Kent where it has also been related to the greater numbers of farm servants living in (Barley 1967, 737).

Mildmay's new farmhouses were clearly an important part of his improvements but, on almost every site, it was the barn that was built first (Table 1). The implicit importance which Mildmay thus gave to his barns must emphasise the crucial place of corn production on his farms, and the size of the barns must reflect the arable acres attached to each farm. Thus, taking acreages recorded in the 1670s, it is natural that

the largest farm (Hensting with 368 acres) has the largest barn (constructed in nine bays) (ac./3, f.167; Fig 8). The next largest farm (Uphill with 233 acres) had a barn of five bays (ac./2, f.30; ac./3, f.142). Smaller farms such as Rothwell's (40 acres) had a three-bay barn (ac./2, f.25; ac./3, f.172). All the barns adhered to a common medieval pattern, having only one waggon entrance into the threshing floor. Opposing double doors on either side of the threshing floor do not seem to have become a standard feature of Hampshire barns until the eighteenth century. Mildmay's other outbuildings were generally constructed after the farmhouses (Table 1).

[In the following discussion of three of Mildmay's farmhouses, the names of specific rooms are generally those given in the documentary sources. Occasionally room-names are ascribed on structural and comparative evidence. Readers should turn to figures 3–5, 11 and 14 where only ascribed room-names are placed in brackets.]

Hensting Farm

Hensting farmhouse, which still stands substantially intact, was built by Henry Mildmay in 1659 at a total cost of one hundred pounds and a few pence (ac./2, ff.49). This figure excluded the cost of timber and stone which Mildmay procured from his demesne lands and consequently did not need to buy.

The building accounts (*Appendix A*), apart from their general interest, allow a fuller restoration of the original plan and appearance of the house than could be derived from an examination of the surviving structure alone. In particular, they confirm that the cellar was part of the original house (cellars were frequently excavated beneath older buildings), and that the roof was tiled and the windows glazed from the beginning.

The house was built for the tenant, William Futcher (ac./1, f.8) who lived there until his death in the winter of 1673–74. In his will he named two sons and four daughters, one of whom, called Alice Charker, was probably married to another of Mildmay's tenants (H.R.O. 1675 P/13; ac./1, f.46). In his probate inventory his total wealth was assessed at £323 8s – quite a considerable sum and a measure both of his ability and of the relative size of his farm.

The value of the inventory to historians is much enhanced by the relative ease with which it can be matched against the rooms within the farmhouse as it stands today (Figs 3–5). Documentary and archaeological evidence, taken together, allow a confident reconstruction of the building's original appearance in almost every detail.

To begin with, it was – in mid-seventeenth century terms – a modern building. Its modernity lay not only in the virtual replacement of timber-framing by mass-walling in stone and brick (except for internal partitions and stair vyse), but also in its plan. True, the lobby entry with axial stack had been a common form in Hampshire for at least half a century, but it had been combined with an asymmetrical facade that was essentially medieval. This asymmetry reflected a plan in which three aligned rooms were divided two-and-one on either side of a chimney. Hensting's symmetrical facade (demonstrating that at last Renaissance architectural influences had percolated down to a vernacular level) reflects a plan in which a central stack divides two equal rooms and where the service area is removed to a rear outshot.

Futcher's inventory shows that the two main ground floor rooms were the hall and kitchen. Inspection shows clearly which was which. The west room, the kitchen, has plain chamfered joists and spine beam, whereas those in the east room, the hall, bear superior ovolo mouldings. In spite of the rustic note struck by the four quarters of barley that were in Futchers' hall when his inventory was made (Appendix B), this was his main sitting room with chairs and table. It did not double as a bedroom as it might have done a generation earlier or in the houses of humbler farmers.

The stair vyse (or tower) is also an indicator of prosperous yeoman status, for smaller farmers (for instance, at Colden Farm) had to be content with incommodious stairs squeezed between the stack and the back wall of the house. The stair vyse at Hensting separated the outshot into two rooms. Although the inventory does not state the positions of the milkhouse and the little room within the hall, it is clear that the former was the outshot behind the kitchen and the latter the
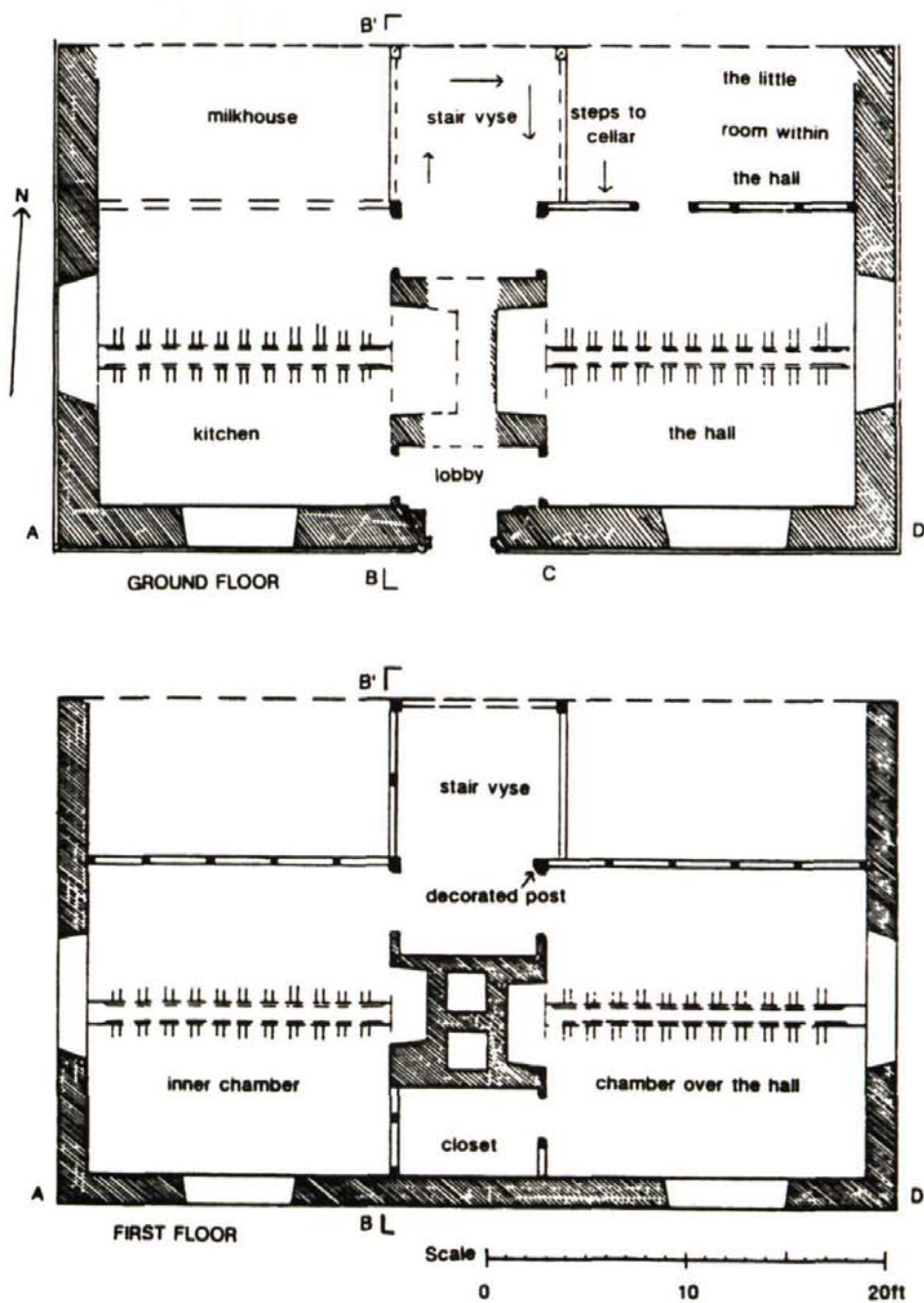
Fig 3.   Ground and first-floor plans of Hensting Farmhouse. The outer wall of the outshot has been largely destroyed and is marked with a broken line. Later additions have been omitted. Masonry walls are shown hatched; timber studs (between brick panels) are shown black.
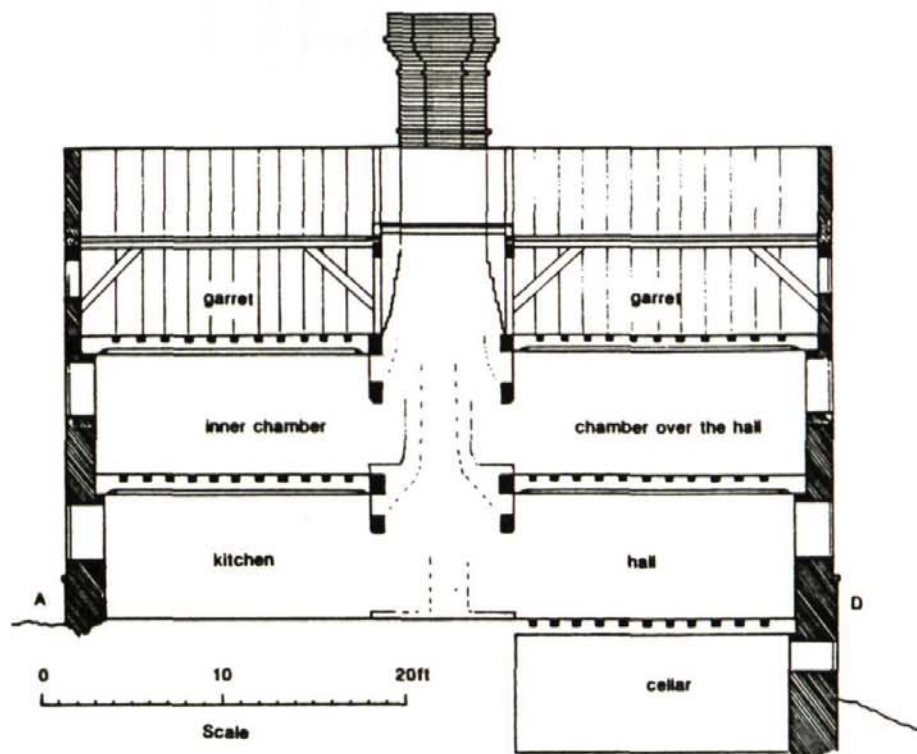
Fig 4.   Long section of Hensting Farmhouse. Note the raised purlin to allow easy access to the garrets. The luxury of four fireplaces – two on each floor – was something of a novelty in farmhouses of this date. The garrets of the building accounts are the upper lofts of the farmer's inventory (Appendix B).

outshot behind the hall. The fact that the little room within the hall contained drinking vessels and led down to the cellar is entirely consistent with arrangements found in other Hampshire farmhouses of this date, where stores of alcohol could only be reached through the farmer's private room. Such security was no doubt an important consideration at a time when more servants were being lodged within the house.

On this point, it is noteworthy that both Futcher and his servants would have had to use the same stairs, a more familiar arrangement than in some contemporary farmhouses where separate stairs emphasised the social gulf between master and men (Carson 1976,29). But social distinctions were made more subtly at Hensting's first-floor landing. Here, the farm workers

climbing the stairs to their second-floor garrets would have seen a finely-chamfered post, with a decorative chamfer stop, beside Futcher's bedroom door. It is an unusual feature in an otherwise fairly undecorated house and it is not difficult to see it as intentionally marking a social barrier that was not to be crossed.

The two garrets on the second floor (called 'lofts' in Futcher's inventory) are reached from the top of the stair vyse where a short length of purlin is raised on blocks to allow greater headroom. This consideration for the comfort of servants should be set beside the beds filled with hulls on which they slept while their social betters slept on a feather bed in the room below (*Appendix B*).

The other building of outstanding interest at Hensting Farm is the great barn with adjoining
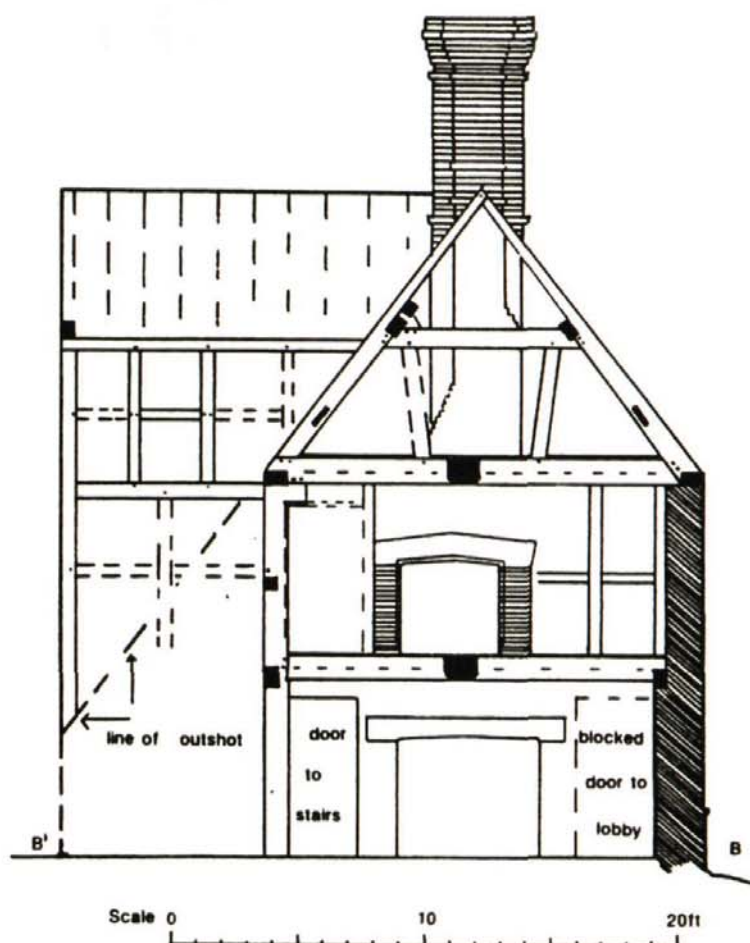
Fig 5.   Cross section of Hensting Farmhouse. (All names on the drawing are based on
structural and not documentary evidence.)

stable (Figs 8 and 9). According to one local
tradition, it dates from the Middle Ages. This is
improbable for three reasons. Firstly, on
bishopric estates, barns of this size were
generally built only within the manorial *curia*
which in this case was at Marwell Manor Farm.
Secondly, the walls of the barn are made from
good building stone which was rarely used in
medieval barns in central Hampshire where
there were no stone quarries nor inexpensive
means of transporting heavy loads. Thirdly, the

timber-work of the barn is stylistically akin to
the general run of mid-seventeenth century
buildings in the county. In particular, it shares
with Hensting farmhouse diminished principal
rafters, short and straight wind braces, and
raking queen struts (Figs 4 and 5). None of these
features is typically medieval.

It is likely, then, that the barn dates from the
mid-seventeenth century and that its stone walls
were transported from the ruins at Marwell
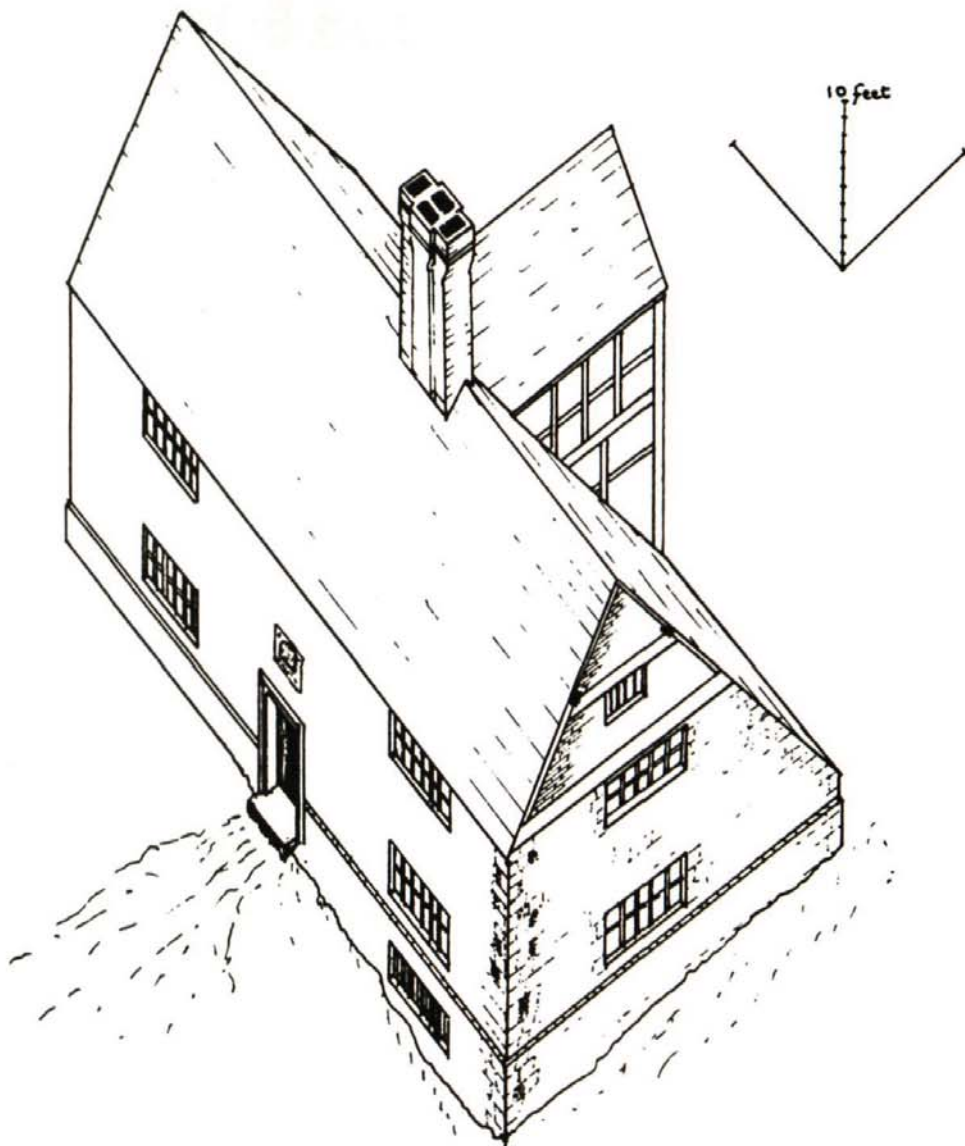Manor Farm. Unfortunately, the relevant building

Fig 6.   A restoration of Hensting Farmhouse as seen from the south-east. (The original dimensions of the windows have been derived from photographs and measurements taken during renovations in the late 1980s.)
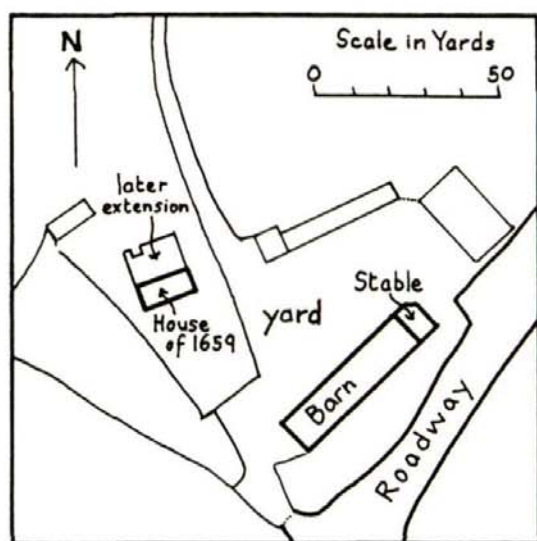
Fig 7. A plan of Hensting farmyard. A road and early farm buildings are marked in a thicker line. The fine barn fronts the road at the entrance of the farmyard.

accounts cannot be found in Mildmay's account books unless they are disguised in bills for unspecified carpenters' and masons' work recorded on Lady Day 1657 (ac./1, f.7–8). On the other hand, it may be that it was built shortly before Mildmay inherited the estate, and thus before the start of the surviving accounts. It was certainly built by 1658 when a stable was added to its east end (ac./2, f.46). Inspection of the barn's timber-work shows that it was all built in one campaign and with the two threshing floors mentioned in 1676 (ac./3 f.168).

The stable of 1658 is entirely timber-framed and built, in part at least, from twelve loads of old timber carried from Marwell (ac./2, f.47). The stable door is set at the corner of the building with a loading door above giving access to a hay loft. The barn and stable, with other farm buildings, border a rectangular yard which must be negotiated in order to reach Mildmay's farmhouse (Fig 7). Thus, in spite of its fashionable exterior, the essential function of the house was not disguised. Indeed, as has been noted in Suffolk (Johnson 1993, 129), barns were as much objects of display as houses, and the barn at

Hensting, built in fine ashlar, proudly fronts the road leading to the farm.

Both barn and stable have been little altered, but the farmhouse was somewhat modified in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The nature of these alterations was revealed during refurbishment in the late 1980s. Essentially, the axial stack was hollowed out at ground-floor level to produce a hallway leading directly to the stairs. The back wall of the outshot and the lower part of the stair vyse have been opened up to create larger back rooms (Figs 3 and 5). However, the original line of the outshot roof could be traced on interior walls and can still be clearly seen on the eastern, exterior wall (Fig 2). Finally, most windows have been lengthened and their splays reduced, while a few have been blocked altogether. The original appearance has been restored in figure 6.

Colden Farm

Hensting farmhouse is a fine, large building which was at the centre of a 368 acre farm. Colden farmhouse (so-called in Mildmay's time and until the first 6-inch Ordnance Survey map, but now called Colden Manor) is a much smaller building which, in 1672, went with a holding of 85 acres (ac./3 f.107). Thus acreage was reflected in house size. Even the house plans are significantly different. Hensting presents an up-to-date symmetrical facade while Colden farmhouse retains an older plan with an unequal distribution of rooms around the lobby entry.

This asymmetry was partly the outcome of economy. Mildmay had bought out the copyhold tenant, Samuel Hewson, in 1665 (ac./2 f.24) and, rather than demolish Hewson's house completely, used part of it to create a wing containing a brewhouse and cellar in 1668 (ac./2 f.C and 24). This wing was totally encased in the chequerwork walling so typical of Mildmay's other buildings. However, unusual and attractive features of Colden farmhouse are the surviving door and window heads *"with a straight Arch of Stone"* (ac./2 f.24; fig 10).

The rest of Hewson's house was rebuilt in 1678 when a carpenter agreed *"to take downe the old building for the use of the materialls as will serve the new"*
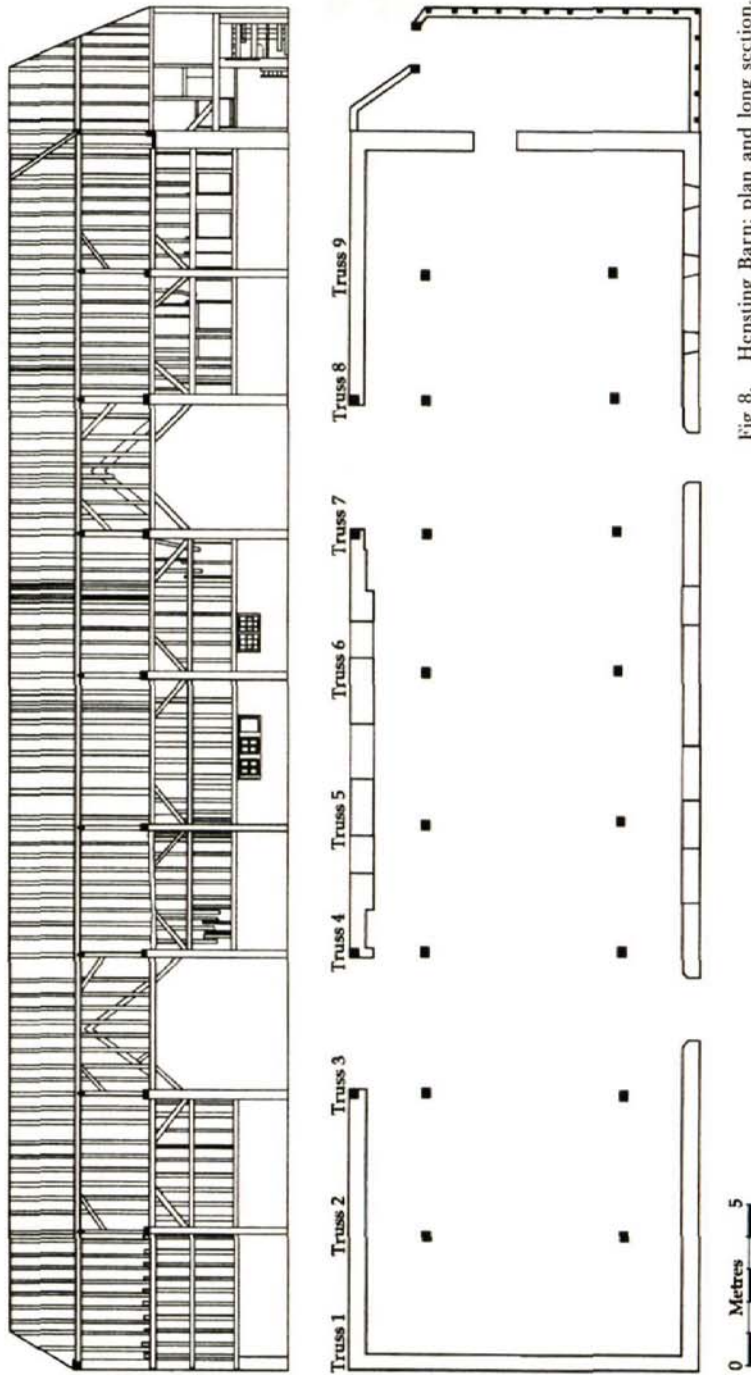
Fig 8. Hensting Barn: plan and long section. The small, timber-framed stable is at the far right (east). [Drawings by Alex Turner]
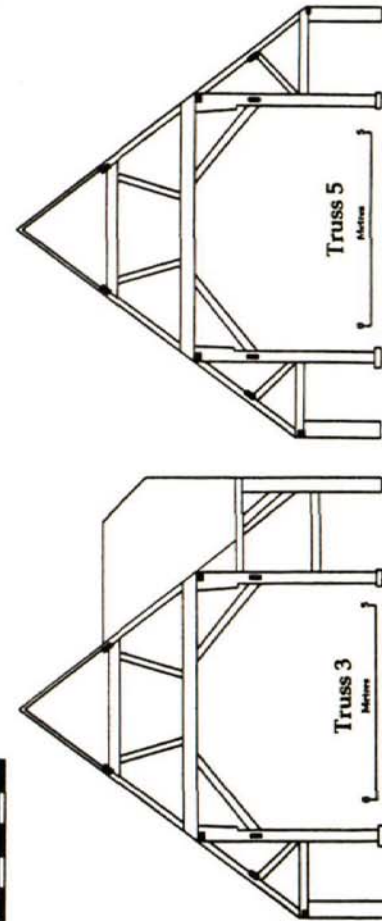
Fig 9. Hensting Barn: cross sections. [Drawings by Alex Turner]

Fig 10.   Colden Farm (now called Colden Manor). The modern porch hides the door to the lobby entry beside the original stack. Note the need for dormers in a much smaller house than Hensting and Uphill.

(ac./2 f.26). Mildmay's *Disbursements Book* tersely states, "*Colden Tenement new built Except the Brewhouse & Sellor and over itt*" (ac.2/ f.23). The same book also gives the precise areas of all ground-floor rooms (which were paved, presumably with brick) thus enabling sure identification of the rooms today (fig. 11; ac./2 f.23). The house was built to the then-fashionable, lobby-entry plan, according to which, the entrance lobby (originally called 'the porch') and an axial stack divide the house in two. This stack contained "*2 Chimneys (one to drie Bacon) not to smoake downewards*" (ac./2 f.24).

To one side of the stack, the brewhouse (11 feet 6 inches long) and the cellar (10 feet long) occupy the south end of the house. To the north of the stack is the kitchen, which is both the largest room (16 feet by 13 feet 9 inches) and the central room of the house; and the only one for which Mildmay's carpenter was required to make fitted furniture, "*a dresser uppon a Frame, a Setle & Benches*", suggesting that it was both the main sitting and dining room (ac./2 f.26). It was also the only heated, ground-floor living room and has the most finely moulded bressummer and joists. As such, students of vernacular architecture would commonly name it 'the hall' and it is instructive that, to the seventeenth-century mind, it was in fact a kitchen. This is not easy to explain, but comparison with Hensting Farm may

N ←

stairs

inner chamber

kitchen chamber

(closet)

0   5   10   15   20 ft

cellar

plain chamfers

milkhouse

kitchen

little hall

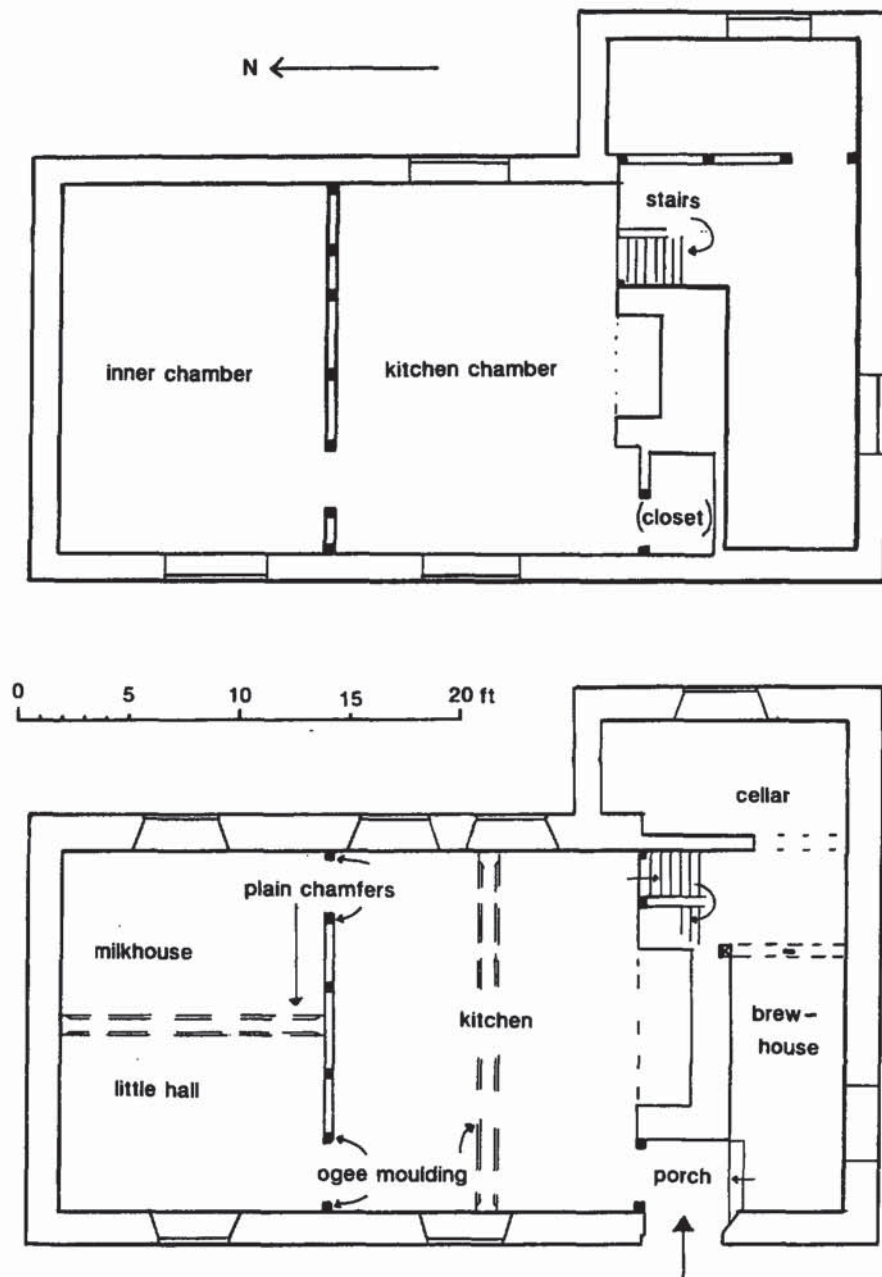brew-
house

ogee moulding

porch

Fig 11.   Ground-floor (below) and first-floor plans of Colden Farm, showing the original stairs as they were in 1980. Later additions have been omitted.

be significant. At Hensting, a back-to-back chimney heats two rooms, the superior one begin the hall and the inferior the kitchen. At Colden Farm there is only one heated, living room and – as cooking was a necessity – this was designated the kitchen.

The next largest living room was called the hall, or the little hall, even though it was at the end of the house and unheated (ac./2 f.23 and 26). It is a fairly small room (8 feet by 11 feet 9 inches) and shared the north end of the house with the milkhouse or dairy (7 feet 3 inches by 11 feet 9 inches) (ac./2 f.23). This division of one end between a service and living room was unusual, although not unknown elsewhere in seventeenth century Hampshire – for example at Forge Cottage, East Meon (Roberts forthcoming). It was clearly a somewhat cramped arrangement and presumably more typical of smaller farmhouses. In the case of Colden Farm it may have been dictated by the need to have the dairy on the cool north-western side of the house.

The sure identification of the original room names and, by implication their functions, is particularly important in that it allows us to understand subtle meanings in the framing and decoration that would otherwise be overlooked or, at best, be the subject of mere speculation. For example, high status is marked by the fashionable ogee mouldings on the bressumer and joists in the kitchen ceiling, and on the door-frame leading into the little hall. This door-frame is taller than the one leading from the kitchen to the milkhouse which bears only a plain chamfer. There is also a plain chamfer on the spine beam which separated the little hall from the low-status milkhouse (Fig 11). The partition below has been removed and was not tenoned into the beam – a late feature noted elsewhere in England (Johnson 1993, 115).

The original stairs occupied a cramped space (5 feet by 2 feet 6 inches) between the stack and the back wall of the house. Mildmay's carpenter agreed to make "*a paire of Staires to wind upp att East end Chimney Gaume*" (ac./2 f.26) – an apt description of the stairs before recent renovation.

They led up to one or two small rooms over the brewhouse and cellar, and to the chamber over the kitchen – the main first-floor room with access to a small closet over the porch. An inner chamber was reached from the kitchen chamber. The typical absence of a corridor reflects the lack of privacy common in the seventeenth century. These, in any case, were probably family bedrooms. A smaller acreage belonged to Colden Farm than to Hensting and there may have been no need for farmhands to live within the house.

The house had but one outer door, was painted in red and white lead paint, and had iron frames for its casement windows. It was built at a total cost of £63 1s 2d (ac./2, f.26). However, this excludes the value of stone and timber which were found on Mildmay's demesne: 118 loads of stones were brought for the first phase of rebuilding the house, and some of these stones "*served the barn and stable also*". In 1672, a barn was repaired with stone walls on all sides except the east – which was presumably timber-framed (ac./2, f.24,25). This small barn still stands, although its east wall has recently been built up in stone.

Uphill Farm

Uphill was built in Marwell park in 1670, replacing an earlier farmhouse. At that time, the tenant was John Friend who paid £93 10s *per annum* for the farm buildings and 223 acres of land. It was Mildmay's largest farmhouse with a compass, or perimeter, of 144 feet; it was also his most expensive, costing the considerable sum of £211 4s 6½d (ac./2, ff.30–31; ac./3, f.142). Like Hensting, it has a main block with three floors to accommodate garrets, and a symmetrical facade reflecting the single room on either side of the axial stack. But whereas the service rooms at Hensting are contained within an outshot, Uphill has a two-storey, kitchen wing (Figs 12–14).

The walls at Uphill are faced with 176 loads of stone from the old palace at Marwell, interspersed with knapped flints; and 41,400 bricks from Mildmay's kilns at Marwell line the interior of the outer walls, fill the timber-framed panels of the inner walls, and form the window jambs and arches. The three chimneys in a single stack are also built of brick (Fig 14; ac./2, f.31).

The building accounts say little about the

Fig 12.   Uphill Farm (curiously renamed 'Low Hill' about forty years ago) from the south-west.

internal plan of the house, except that two steps led down from the main block to the milkhouse in the kitchen wing, which is still the case (ac./2, f.31). However, ample evidence is supplied by the probate inventory of John Eyer a tenant of Uphill in 1683 (ac./3 ff. 142–3; *Appendix C*). This allows a sure identification of the rooms that still exist today.

The house conforms to the lobby-entry plan, with a small lobby or porch giving access to (what in John Eyer's time were) a kitchen and hall on either side of the central stack (Fig 14). The hall was a heated dining and sitting room with a table and six leather chairs. Apart from numerous cooking utensils, the kitchen had but a table and a form. Both rooms have bressummers with ogee mouldings which were clearly meant to be visible, but the joists are unchamfered and bear nail-holes for what was probably an original, plaster ceiling.

A door from the kitchen leads to a service wing. This must have contained the buttery and also the cellar (presumably the milkhouse of the building accounts for it contained nine milk trays). There is no subterranean cellar beneath the kitchen wing and the somewhat unusual name may simply imply that the milkhouse was two steps below the main wing. It is probable that John Eyer's cheese loft was the room above the cellar.

Stairs wound up from the kitchen to two, first-floor bedrooms. These were the chamber over the
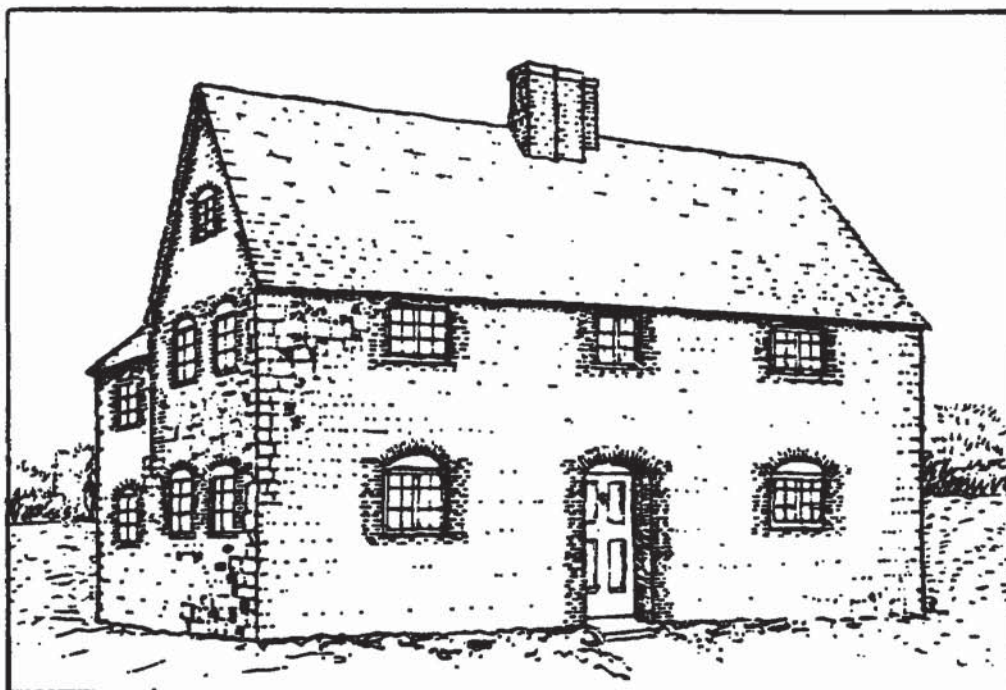
Fig 13. An impression of Uphill Farm as it may have appeared originally. (From an old painting and a photograph belonging to Miss H Best.)

kitchen and the best chamber over the hall from which there was access (as at Hensting) to a closet over the porch. The best chamber, which had the luxury of carpets and cushions, was the only heated room above the ground floor. In this latter respect and also in having a smaller space for the stairs, Uphill was inferior to Hensting.

In 1682, Mildmay spent the considerable sum of £25 on planting an orchard at Uphill with apple and pear trees and with *"Gillye Flowrs & Margaretts"* (ac./2, f.32). This was perhaps for his own benefit rather than the tenant's. In 1695, an outlet or skelling was added to the north side of the house, apparently attached to the dairyhouse (or cellar). This outlet formed a brewhouse with a chimney in which there was *"an oven to lie dry and a furnace to burn bushes"* (ac./2, f.2). The house remains largely as it was in Mildmay's time but, within the last forty years, the kitchen stairs have been removed, the closet has been blocked in,

and a dormer raised above the former closet window (Figs 12 and 13).

CONCLUSION: ROOM NAMES AND FUNCTIONS

Mildmay's investment in fine new farmhouses and his careful record-keeping have given the historian a snapshot of vernacular architecture in the third quarter of the seventeenth century which shows how far the medieval house-plan had been developed and discarded.

The typical medieval hall had been central to the house in that it was the entrance (often through screens) from the outside world, but also in that it was the room that joined the service area to the private chamber of the head of the house and his family. Thus it was a room in which visitor and host, master and servant could meet.

garret

garret

chamber over the kitchen

best chamber

kitchen

hall

N

buttery and dairy or cellar

? cheese loft over

0   5   10   15 ft
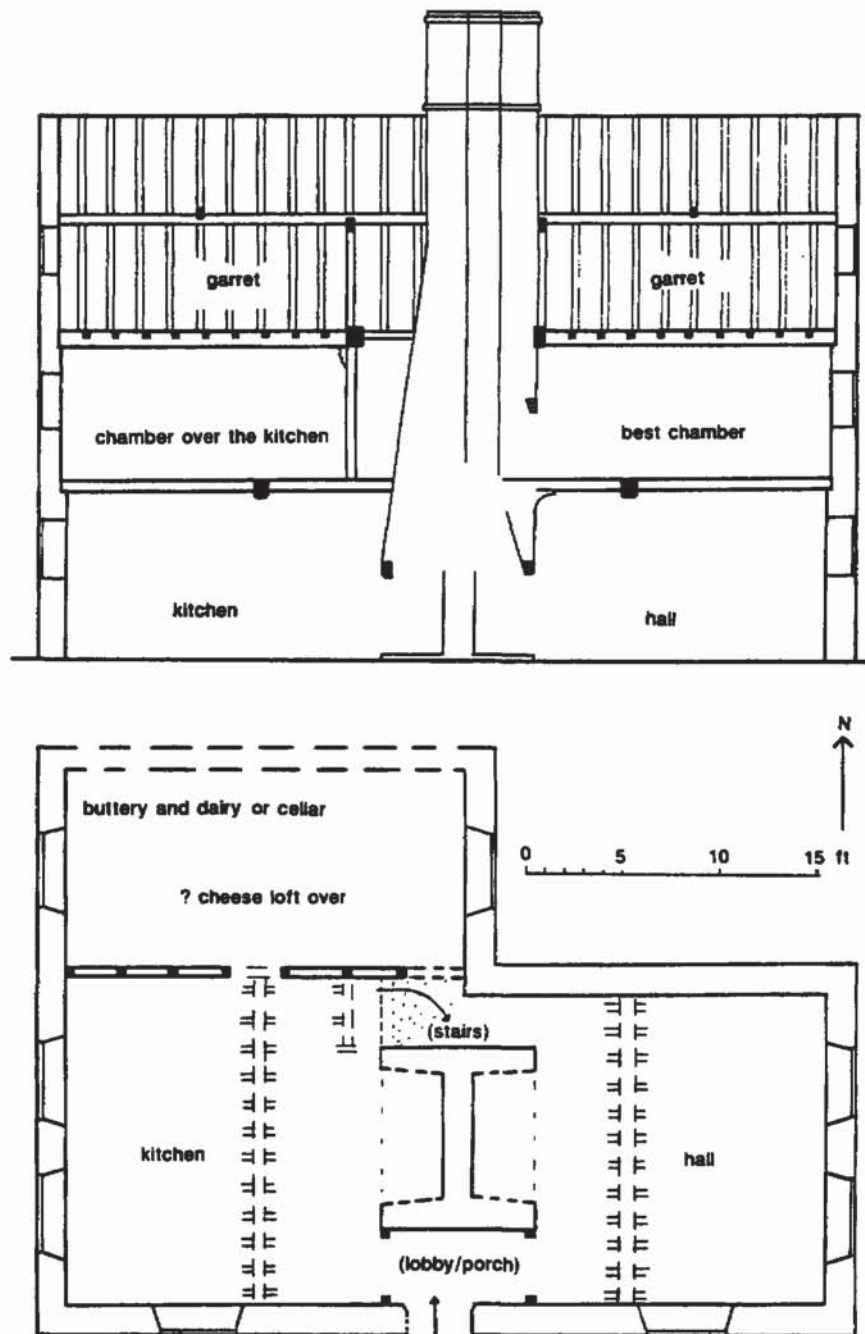
(stairs)

kitchen

hall

(lobby/porch)

Fig 14.   Ground-floor plan (below) and long section of Uphill farmhouse, showing the original stairs as they were until about 1975. Later additions have been omitted. It is assumed that the cellar of the farmer's inventory (Appendix C) is the dairy of the building accounts. (See the discussion of this point in the text.)

In Mildmay's houses, the kitchen assumed the role of the medieval hall, giving access to service rooms through one door and to the farmers' private chamber (often via a porch or lobby) through another. At Uphill and Hensting, this private chamber or best room is a heated room, shielded from direct contact with the servants' part of the house. At Colden Farm, the little hall is an unheated room and uncomfortably situated next to the dairy. However, the kitchen still forms the access route between the two and

considerable trouble has been taken to mark the social superiority of the door to the little hall.

In all three houses, stairs rise from the more public room (the kitchen). Hence servants did not have to invade the privacy of the farmer in order to reach upper floors. At Hensting, as a further refinement, the stairs could be reached from the hall as well as the kitchen. This degree of privacy was only one stage away from the segregated house-plan in which servants were confined to the back stairs (Carson 1976).

Appendix A: Hensting Farm – Building Account (ac./2, f.46).

1659 –   Henstinge Farme House built
         paid by Richard Lyons then Bailiffe:

		£	s	d
Sequitur acc[oun]t Mr Lyons				
Item	as Carpenter Rob[er]te Harefell	9	12	09
Item	*xx* tunne Timber cutt and fitted *xx s*: Carr' att *xxx d*	3	10	–
Item	2m. 8c. 50 fo[ot] sawed: *ij s viij d per C*. Wm. Wilson 6 da[y]s *xvij d*	4	04	06
Item	Waull Tylings and insyde worke Tho. Edw[a]rds	26	15	–
Item	sellor digged *X*topher Collis: *ix s.* Richard Yeomans 6	–	14	–
Materialls of stone and Kell Ware w[i]th the Carr'				
Item	stones dugge at Marwell and sand	3	19	02
Item	13 da[y]s: 36 lo[ads] Carr' stones Lau: Barber 5 *s*: dugge at *xij d*	5	01	–
Item	15 lo[ads] Lyme cont. 69 qu. at *iij s per* qu.	11	2	–
Item	58 lo[ads] sand & Morter the Carr' att *xij d*	2	18	–
Item	16500: Bricks: *xiij s per m*: exc[ept] *j m*: at Upham Carr' *&c*:	14	4	08
Item	13 *m*: Tyles: *xvij s vj d* w[i]th Carr'	11	07	06
Item	3¹/₂ doz. Crests Tyles Carr' *xij d.*	–	09	09
Glazier and Smith				
Item	91 fo[ot] glasse at 6¹/₂ *d.* Nayles *viij d.*	2	9	11¹/₂
Item	Windowe barres w[i]th 150 *lib.* at – *per lib.*	2	2	03
Item	19 *lib.* w[i]th iron the oven and furnace at 3 *d.*	–	4	09
Item	*j* p[air]e hookes and Twistes w[i]th *xij lib.* at 4*d*, 4*s*.	–	06	06
Item	*j* Locke and key Outer dore: 2*s* 6*d*.			
Item	11/12 p[air]e Jymers at *xx d*: Tubbe: 2 eares, *vj d.*	–	18	10

Garretts 2; and Chimney Winges the boards plowed and Nailed, and a furnace.

[Some cryptic interpolations, which apparently refer to an earlier disbursement book, have been omitted]

Appendix B. Transcript of the Probate Inventory for William Futcher of Hensting. (HRO 1675 P/103)

A Invitary taken the 19th day of February 1673 of the goods and chatels of William Futcher of the p[a]rish of Owselbury in the County of South[amp]ton who desessed the 13th day of February Last past.

		li	s	d
Item	his waring Apparell	5	0	0
Item	in the hale 4 quartars of barly one side[e] tabel three chairs	3	13	0
Item	in the litell rome within the hale, old Ieron two beer vessels one tub and other small things in that rome	0	7	0
Item	in the Chichin two brasse pots three Cittels two bras panes three spits wooden vessells one salting troo one tabell and other small things in that rome	3	0	0
Item	the Furness	0	12	0
Item	in the milke house eight trees one Buttar Charne one tub and other small things in that rome	0	10	0
Item	in the seller six beer vessels one Colder two Ciffirs and other small things in that rome	2	0	0
Item	in the Chamber over the hall three beeds with all that belong to them, two chests fouer Coffers two sid[e] tables and other small things in that rome	6	17	0
Item	in the in[n]er Chamber two q[uar]tes of peason twelfe bushelse of wotes two bushels of beanes twelfe pewter disshes one grate one Chest one Fether bed and all things belonging to him one sake of barly	9	14	0
Item	in the up[p]er loft two beds fild with hulls and other old lumber in that loft	1	0	0
Item	Twenty two rowther bests	40	0	0
Item	seven store hoogs	04	0	0
Item	seven horse bests	11	0	0
Item	Carts plows and harros and drage and harnes and other materials of smale valu[e] for tillige of Land	13	0	0
Item	the well bucket and chaine and the rope	00	5	0
Item	wheat in the straw	50	0	0
Item	Barly in the straw	36	0	0
Item	Wots in the straw	16	0	0
Item	eight q[ua]rts of peason	08	0	0
Item	eight tunes of hay	06	0	0
Item	wood great and smale	10	0	0
Item	wheate this yeare food	10	0	0
Item	the flook of sheepe	82	10	0
Item	the provision in the house	02	0	0
Item	Twenty old sakes	01	0	0
Item	one Tabel and frame Thereof now standing at John Hewards at the Hurst	1	00	0
The Sume Tottall is		323	8	0

(Signed by)   Thomas Twynam
                  John Chandler
                  Daniell Charker

[Note: according to the modern calendar, the date of this inventory was 12th February, 1674.]

Appendix C: A Transcript of the Probate Inventory of John Eyer of Uphill Farm (HRO 1684 Ad49)

October the 5th 1683
The Inventory of the goods and Chattels of John Eyer of Owssellbury in the County of Southton as
Followeth

	£	s	d
Imprimis in the hall one table six lether Chairs & two stools two angiers [andirons],	1	10	0
Item in the kichen one table and forme 13 dishes of pewter 10 poringers 4 brase skillets one brase pot 2 brase kittles 2 Iron pots one Iron kittle one paire of angiers fire pan and tongs 2 spits 2 driping pans one sacke one brase morter with other Lumber,	5	3	0
Item in the buttery 5 barrels 2 stands 2 Civers with other Lumber,	1	0	0
Item in the Seller 3 barrells one stand 9 milke trayes one Joyne stoole,	0	10	0
Item in the best Chamber one bed and bedsted with all belonging to it 2 tables 4 Chairs 2 Carputs 2 Cussions one paire of angiers one trunke,	4	16	0
Item in the chamber over the kitchen one bed and bedsted and all belonging to it one trunckle bed and bedsted and all belonging to it one prese 2 Chests one trunke 4 boxes one table,	4	4	0
Item in the 2 garrets 2 beds and bedsteds,	1	0	0
Item in the cheese loft 4 hundred weight of Cheese,	3	0	0
Item 6 horses and mares,	20	0	0
Item 7 hogs & 14 pigs,	10	0	0
Item 19 Cowes one bull 6 bulloks 9 weaning Calves,	60	0	0
Item Corne and hay in the barnes,	50	0	0
Item one Ricke of oates and fitches [vetches],	10	0	0
Item 3 Cokes of hay,	5	0	0
Item one Waggon one dung Cart and wheeles one plowe and harrowes,	7	0	0
Item his wearing aparrell and mony in his purs,	3	0	0
Sume is	201	19	0

Appraised by us Daniel Charker, Thomas Eyer

[A note on the name 'Uphill':
The name Uphill was lost by the mid-nineteenth century and the farm was called 'Park Farm' on the 1st edition 6-inch Ordnance Survey map. The name Park Farm (and sometimes Up Park Farm) remained current until about forty years ago when, inexplicably, the farm was renamed 'Low Hill'. There are several reason for believing that this is a misnomer.
(i) The farm went with 222 acres 2 rods and 4 perches in 1841-2 (HRO 21M65/F7/184). Uphill farm went with 223 acres in 1670 (ac./3, f.142).
(ii) The original structure of the farmhouse can be easily traced and it has a compass, or perimeter, of 144 feet (Fig 14). As built, Uphill farm had a compass of 144 feet, whereas Lohill farm was much smaller at 111 feet and 8 inches (ac./2, ff.31,35).
(iii) Leases recorded in 1677 contain topographical evidence which shows that Uphill farm was in the area of the farm discussed above and that Lohill farm was further to the west (HRO 46M72/Register/1677, f.7).
  The only objection that might be advanced to our identification of Uphill Farm is the fact that in the building accounts it is said to have 13 rooms. But the same difficulty arises with the smaller Lohill Farm which had 12 rooms (ac./2, ff.31,35). The only explanation for this apparent superabundance of rooms must be that small spaces, such as lobbies, closets and stair heads, were included.]

A note on authorship

The bulk of the original documentary research for this paper was first undertaken by Maureen Gale in preparation for her dissertation (Gale 1988). Further research was undertaken by Edward Roberts who wrote the article and produced the drawings of Uphill, Colden and Hensting farmhouses, the latter based on a survey which he made with Elizabeth Lewis. Alex Turner produced the drawings of Hensting Barn where he and Martin Doughty led a survey team of students from the Archaeology Department at King Alfred's College, Winchester.

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46M72/account/1: *Bailye Booke 1665.*
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46M72/account/3: *Sundreys 1681.*
[In order to save space, references in the text to the three Mildmay account books have been abbreviated thus: ac./1, ac./2, or ac./3 so that (HRO 46M72/account/1 folio 1) is abbreviated to (ac./1, f.1).]

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