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BADDESLEY CLINTON: ARCHITECTURAL RESPONSES TO SOCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

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In 2002, the National Trust commissioned a detailed survey of the timberwork of the moated manor house at Baddesley Clinton, coupled with an extensive dendrochronology programme. The results have radically revised our understanding of the house and of the way that its complex development reflects the changing circumstances and social expectations of its occupiers from the medieval period to the nineteenth century. The integration of documentary sources, structural analysis and tree-ring dating has enabled the house to be portrayed as the product of a quest for greater comfort and privacy, of social responses to changing family circumstances and of the exercise of dower rights by widows, resulting in several periods of joint occupancy.

The moated medieval manor house at Baddesley Clinton, Warwickshire (SP 19957417), has evoked romantic panegyrics since the eighteenth century, but its complex architectural development has hitherto received scant attention. The only substantial study was published by Baker well over a century ago (1891); it is mentioned in Margaret Wood's *Medieval House* (1965), but only in the context of its latrines and priest-holes. Baker's study has been followed with only minor amendment by other published sources, including the *Victoria County History* (*VCH*) and the National Trust *Guidebook*.[1]

An assessment of the roofs by R K Morris revealed that they were far more complex than anticipated for a building that appeared to have a relatively straightforward development.[2] This observation led the National Trust to commission the authors of this paper to analyse the building, supported by dendrochronology, and to review the documentary sources.[3] The primary objective of the analysis was to understand the roof structures, although ultimately it proved essential to extend the study to cover most of the accessible timber-framed carcass. As a result, it has been possible to revise substantially the building's accepted sequence of construction.

The site

Baddesley Clinton stands within an almost square moat and the only access to the island is by way of a bridge across the north arm (fig 1). Three sides of the island are taken up by continuous ranges of buildings, set around a small central court, but part of the west side is now open to the moat, believed to be the site of the early hall. The house is oriented almost exactly at 45 degrees to the cardinal compass points, with the gatehouse facing north east, but to simplify the description, it is deemed to face north.[4]

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Fig 1. Baddesley Clinton: north front from the air, 1987. *Photograph*: © *Birmingham Post and Mail* (SBTRO, Acc. 2003.20).

PHASE 1: PRE-FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Early history: de Bisege and de Clinton

The island on which Baddesley Clinton sits might be counted among the some 800 'innovatory' moated sites created in England between 1150 and 1200; it might equally have been excavated during the 'apogee of moat construction' from 1200 to 1325.[5] Baddesley is first identified in the early twelfth century, in the hands of the de Bisege family.[6] James, the fourth de Bisege, left as his heiress Mazera who, in around 1225, married Thomas de Clinton, thus giving Baddesley the second part of its distinctive name. Thomas, whose main residence was apparently at Amington (Staffordshire), was the son of Osbert de Clinton of Coleshill (north Warwickshire).[7] Either of these families might have chosen to live on a defensible site; the character of the early buildings and their disposition on the island are unknown.

At the death of Thomas de Clinton in 1277, Baddesley passed to his fourth son, James de Clinton, probably the first member of the family to make it his principal residence, after perhaps the best part of a century as a subsidiary estate. James was followed by his son, Thomas, and his grandson, Leonard, who died without issue before 1349, the manor passing to his two sisters, Joan and Parnel. Although reunited in the

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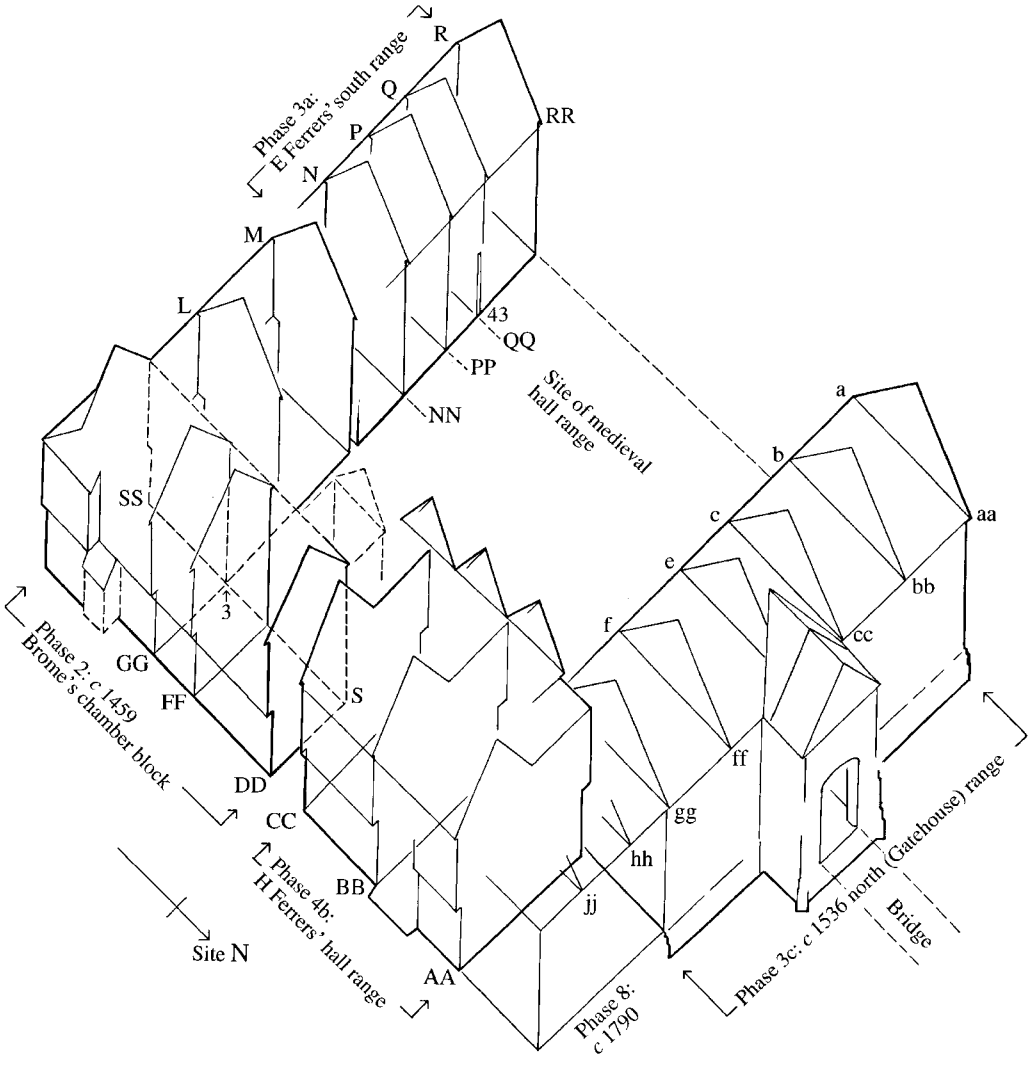


Fig 2. Axonometric drawing of the buildings on the moated island at Baddesley Clinton, showing the location and orientation of the main partition and roof-trusses and the site of the medieval hall (for clarity, **A** to **G**, **g**, **h**, **j**, **LL** and **MM** have been omitted). *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

hands of John Coningsby (husband of Joan) in 1355, several further changes of ownership and occupancy took place before 1400. In that year, it was conveyed to Robert Burdet and his wife Joan. She, as a widow, granted it to her nephew Nicholas Metley (1434) and in his will (1437) he directed it to be sold.

The medieval hall

The acquisition of the site by the de Clintons in 1225 or its occupancy after 1277 are likely contexts for the construction of a new hall. Moated sites show considerable variety

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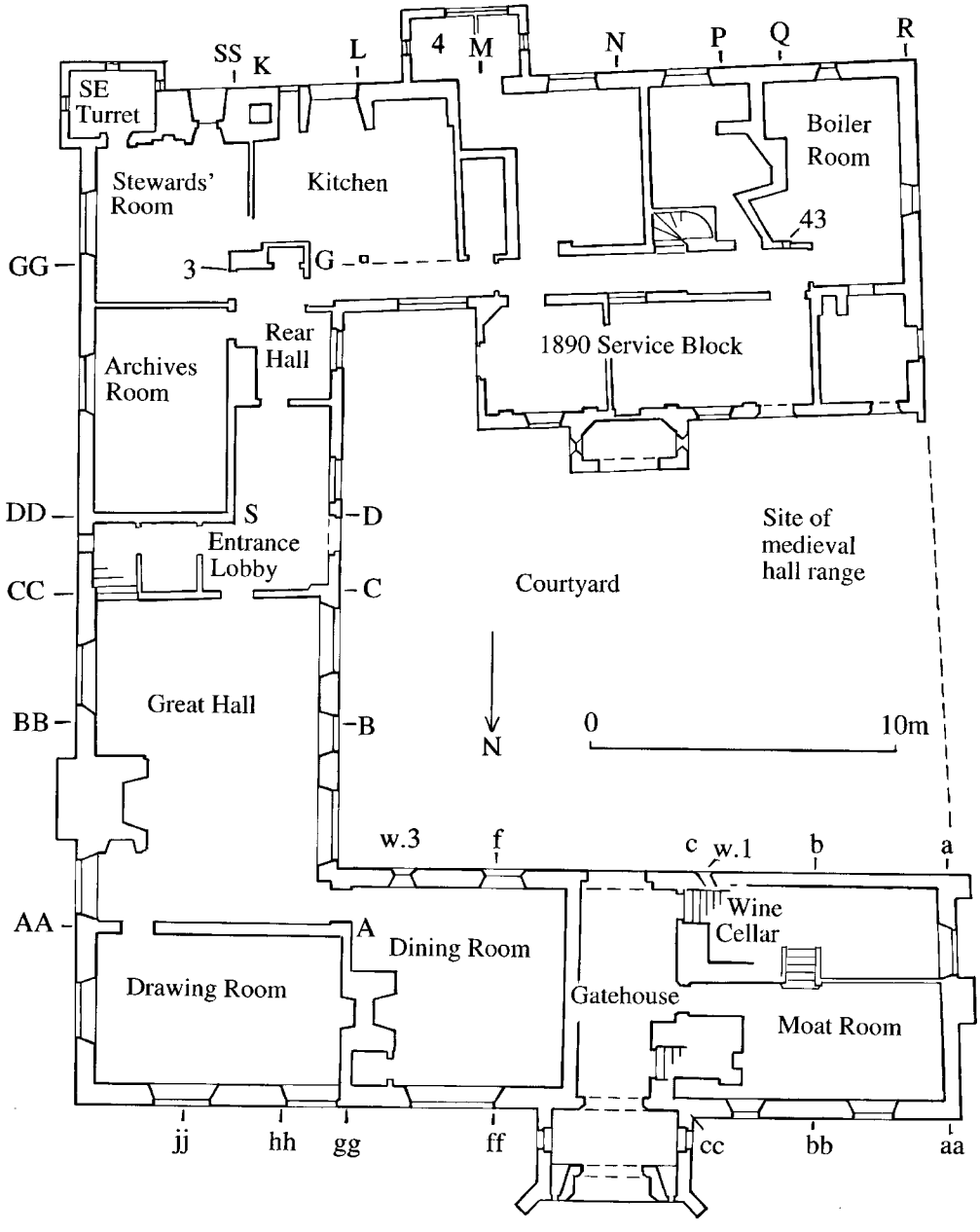


Fig 3. Ground-floor plan with current room names and partition truss locations. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

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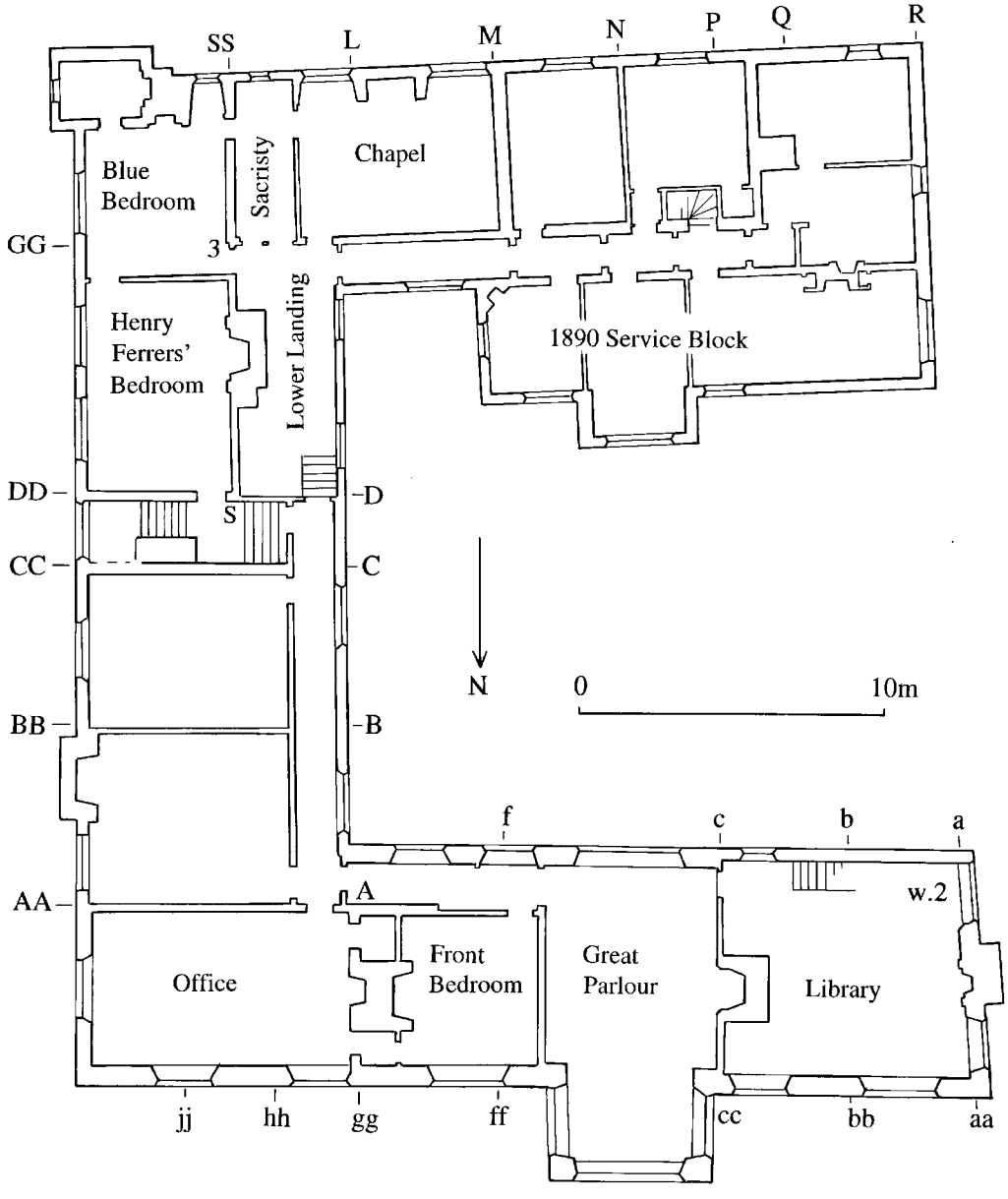


Fig 4. First-floor plan with current room names and partition truss locations. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

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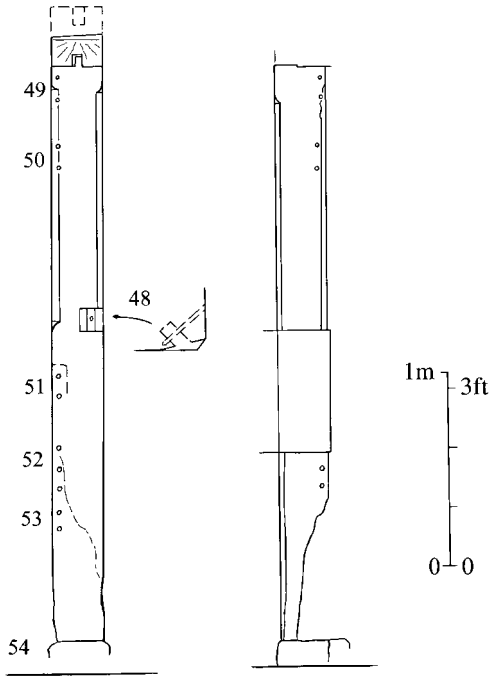


Fig 5. Post 43: a possible fragment of de Clinton's hall. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

in the number and location of their structures, so the first hall at Baddesley Clinton could have been anywhere on the island. Most descriptions of Baddesley Clinton concur that an open hall was located on the western side of the island, in the gap between the north and south ranges; one of the objectives of our site analysis was to test this hypothesis. Locating the oldest identifiable hall in the west range (figs 2 and 3) depends upon documentary evidence, retrogressive analysis and the unexpected discovery of an *in situ* post. Documentary support for a fully enclosed courtyard plan can be found in Thomas Ferrers's probate inventory of 1760 (see below); since the thirty-eight rooms mentioned cannot all be identified with the surviving buildings, some of the rooms, including a kitchen, must have been located on the western side of the island.

Four architectural details in the north range show that it once abutted the end of a vanished west range. In its west wall, the first-floor window (**w.2** on fig 4) is immediately adjacent to the corner of the building, allowing insufficient space for a conventional masonry return; it must have abutted a pre-existing wall on the west edge of the island. On the courtyard side of the north range, the wine cellar window (**w.1** on fig 3) is set at a marked angle, evidently to clear the wall of the former west range. West of this skewed window, the primary masonry lacks fenestration, suggesting that it was built as an internal wall. The upper portion of the same wall is now of brick, probably replacing an internal partition when the west range was demolished.

The medieval open hall is unlikely to have filled all of the available space (some 20m / 66ft long) between the early north and south ranges. If, as argued below, the medieval open hall was at the southern end of the west range, it is likely that the northern end contained service rooms with chambers over. This is supported by several characteristics of the surviving north range. On the courtyard side of this range, no lower-end service

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doorways or upper-end chamber doorway can be seen in the ground-floor masonry. Above, the brickwork on the first floor rises to a height appropriate to the eaves of a storeyed building.

During our analysis of the buildings, post **43** was identified in the south range, encapsulated within the Boiler Room wall, and permission was obtained to expose it (fig 5; location shown on figs 2, 3 and 9). Although it has not been tree-ring dated, it is likely on typological grounds to be the oldest standing fabric on the site; it is interpreted as a fragment of a medieval aisled or base-cruck hall – a form of construction common to many manorial buildings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[8] The post stands directly on a sandstone block (**54** on fig 5), rather than on a sill beam; its upper portion is chamfered on all four arrises, and apparently it supported a short knee-brace (from **50**), rising to a beam or rail (**49**). As viewed from the north side, below the chamfer stops, it has pegs for two, or possibly three mortices; the upper pair (**51**) probably marks the end of a rail, the middle three (**52**) are likely to be for a brace, and the lower pair (**53**) suggest the level of an interrupted sill; other joints shown on fig 5 are secondary. The function of this post and its position relative to the hall can be suggested by elimination. Inside the Boiler Room, the south and west faces of the post appear to be weathered, but the absence of mortices for longitudinal sills, rails or braces on the north or south faces and the presence of chamfers militates against its interpretation as an external corner post. It probably stood to the east of the hall's nave, as there is only room for an aisle to the west (*c* 3.6m to the edge of the island). As it is of rectangular section, rather than square, and lacks appropriate mortices, the post is unlikely to have formed a pier at the centre of an arcade. The pegging militates against its interpretation as part of a spere truss for a hall to its east. This leaves only the walls at the service side of the screens passage or the framing at the high end of the hall open for consideration, and from local parallels the latter location is the most likely. The pegs conform to the pattern of framing that has been suggested for the wall at the upper end of the fourteenth-century Great Hall at Maxstoke Castle (Warwickshire), incorporating three arch-braced central panels.[9] A similar pattern of braces was also employed at the upper end of the fourteenth-century hall in Mancetter Manor House (Warwickshire).[10]

The interpretation of the post **43** as marking the upper end of the hall also conveys information about the south range and its predecessor. This should be the location of the medieval upper-end wing, a proposal consistent with our recognition (below) that the present south range contained the earliest high-status chambers for the private household, even though later these mainly became service rooms. The disposition of other buildings on the island during this early period is unknown.

PHASE 2: THE BROME FAMILY

Baddesley was acquired on 8 January 1437/8 by John Brome of Warwick, whose ownership was confirmed by Joan Burdet and by the superior lord, John de Clinton.[11] John Brome already held property in Baddesley since he is recorded owing suit at the manor court of Nicholas Metley in 1434;[12] this prior ownership was probably significant in the family's acquisition of the manor. Some of the land in the manor was granted by Joan Burdet to a relative of her husband, John Burdet, who in 1452 passed it on to John Brome.[13]

Brome was a lawyer, a man of some political significance, locally as Justice of the Peace and MP for various Warwickshire seats and, nationally as Under-Treasurer of the

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Exchequer (1455–7). Dyer has examined his estate management, and Carpenter places him in his regional and political context.[14] He was identified with the Lancastrian side and was involved in many disputes with supporters of the opposite faction.[15] One such dispute, over the manor of Woodloes, near Warwick, led to his murder in 1468.

John Brome's immediate heir was his son Thomas, who died relatively soon after his father; his successor, his brother Nicholas, did not obtain full possession of Baddesley immediately, as the manor was encumbered by the dower rights of their mother Beatrice, who probably lived there until her death in 1483. Like his father, Nicholas Brome was involved in family and political disputes. As penance for the murder of the parish priest of Baddesley, he was required to improve Baddesley church, which perhaps diverted resources that might otherwise have gone towards the house.

Nicholas married Elizabeth Arundel in 1473, and in January 1474 his mother released to Nicholas all her rights in the family's other Warwickshire property, in exchange for her holding Baddesley for life. A month later, she surrendered her life interest in exchange for a rent of £20 per annum, retaining only part of the house (see below).[16] Following her death, Nicholas re-settled the manor in 1485; he granted it to trustees on 15 August, and on the following day it was re-granted to him and his wife Elizabeth. His daughters married in 1491 (Isabel = Thomas Marowe) and 1497 (Constance = Edward Ferrers).[17] He must have thought that he was unlikely to have a male heir, as the settlements made for them and their families included much of his property. Their intended effect is unclear since the final ownership depended on the legal status of earlier settlements, on whether Elizabeth survived Nicholas and on the possible birth of heirs. In outline, it appears that Thomas and Isabel were to have the manor of Woodloes and Edward Ferrers and Constance would, in due course, receive Baddesley. In a further settlement in 1507, Baddesley was confirmed to Edward and Constance; the deed is lost but is referred to in a deed witnessing its execution.[18] In the event, Nicholas remarried and had a male heir, but the grant of Baddesley to Constance and her heirs was confirmed in his will.[19]

In 1503, Nicholas Brome leased Baddesley to Thomas Marowe for twenty-one years at a rent of £13 2s 10d, excluding the park and the groves, but allowing Thomas to take wood and fuel for the manor house, 'as he will spend for fuell and brynging wood for hym, his servantes or adherents within the said manor place'; he was also allowed 'housebote', 'plowebote' and 'cartbote' (in other words, timber supplies needed for maintenance).[20]

John Brome's chamber block

John Brome is the first owner who can be identified with a substantial section of the existing house. His L-shaped timber-framed chamber block, occupying the south-eastern corner of the island, was a substantial step in the evolution of the fully enclosed courtyard plan. The eastern arm of the chamber block is of three bays extending north to truss **D** (shown on figs 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7), the two-bay south range extends to truss **M** (shown on figs 2, 3 and 4), and it has a small stone turret at the outer (south-eastern) corner. The primary post **3** in the internal angle between the two arms is part of the open truss **G** (shown on figs 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8) across the eastern arm and it also retains the tenon that secured the end of the south arm wall-plate – *prima facie* evidence that they were built at the same time. The building can be firmly attributed to Brome because the timber for post **3** was felled in the winter of 1458/9, and other dated samples

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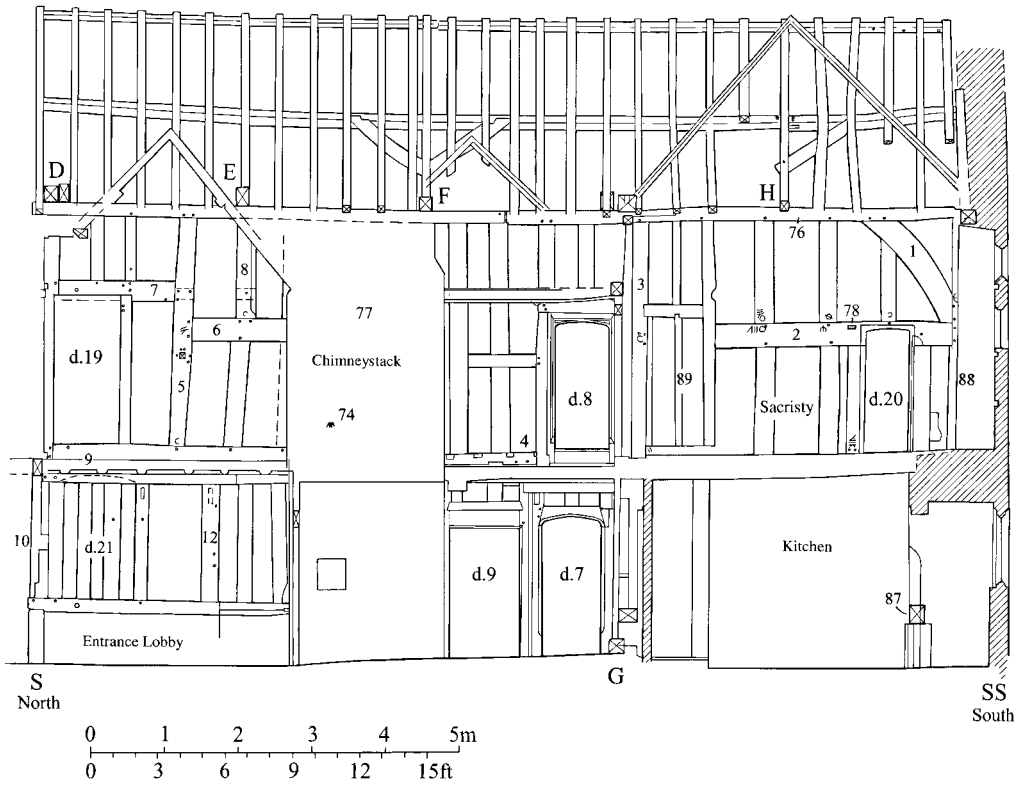


Fig 6. Brome's chamber block: north–south elevation and section S–SS on the courtyard side of the eastern arm. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

(components of trusses **D** and **G**) have felling date ranges spanning this time (a summary of all the dendrochronological results is given in table 1 at the end of this paper).

The form and function that we have attributed to the chamber block is based upon analysis and interpretation of the remaining primary fabric. The outer walls of both arms, overlooking the moat, were originally timber-framed and jettied, presenting an impressive façade to the outside world; the east wall is now of brick and the south wall is of stone. Each arm had a low-ceilinged ground floor, and lofty chambers on the upper floor. The larger of two discrete suites was in the three-bay eastern arm, and a smaller two-bay unit was in the remainder of the south side. Neither of the suites had a primary fireplace, but both were subsequently improved through the addition of chimneys and en-suite latrines (see phase 3b below).

The outer wall of the eastern arm was originally jettied, as can be seen in the much-altered north gable wall (truss **D**, fig 7). Originally truss **D** had tall rectangular panels, as identified by studs **14** and **15**, but in around 1574–8 the framing was adapted to match Henry Ferrers's close-studded east range by inserting extra studs (see below). The primary studs are not placed one above the other, but are offset in a manner consistent with a jettied building. Later still, when the jetty was removed and the outer wall was rebuilt in brick, the ends of the girding beam **20** and the midrail **16** were replaced by timbers **46** and **45**. The tiebeam **13** carries two struts (formerly three) up to a single collar; the east principal is primary, but the rafter to the west is a replacement. Although

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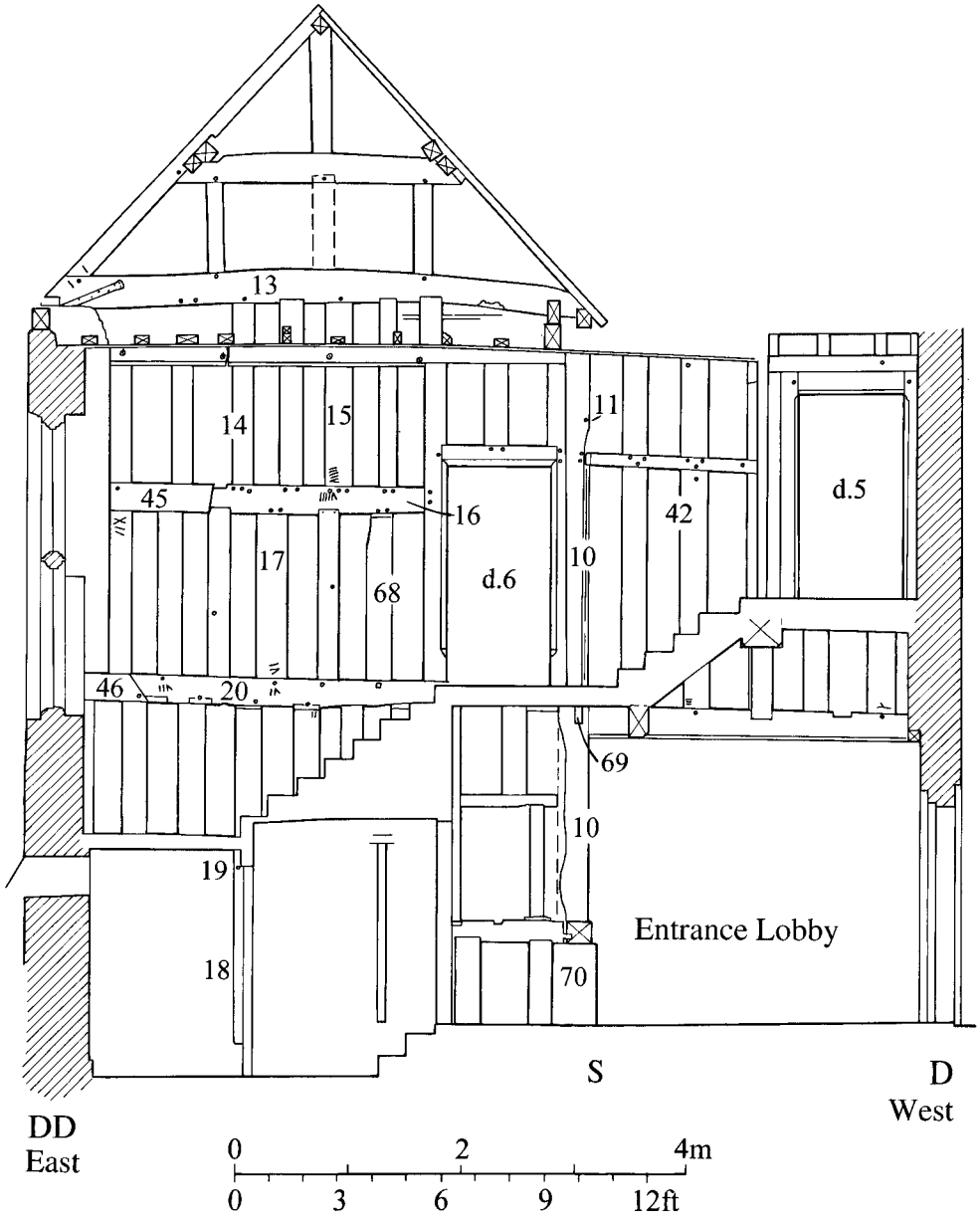


Fig 7. Brome's chamber block: north wall of eastern arm – internal elevation D from the north. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

reset, the side purlins are clasped as originally intended, but the ridge-piece is secondary. This roof-truss defines the width of the building at eaves level, projecting outside the line of the original ground-floor wall, and confirming the primary jettied profile.

The primary turret, which projects across the line of the east and south walls, was also jettied. On the ground floor the turret is entered via the Stewards' Room (see fig 3). The doorway has pyramid-stopped plain chamfers which rise to a four-centred head,

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consistent with a fifteenth-century date. Inside, a similarly stopped plain chamfer marks the left-hand reveal of a former narrow doorway through its projecting north wall, facing along the eastern side of the building. Such a doorway might have given access to an external gallery, or more plausibly, a projecting latrine (as adumbrated on fig 2). Our survey coincided with minor works when floorboards were lifted on the first floor of the turret, exposing a dragon beam. A jettied timber-framed turret can be inferred, the internal floor level coinciding approximately with the junction between the lower masonry walls and the rebuilt brick upper portion. In 1891 Baker described 'stone corbels, which I think must have supported oak brackets, on which the upper portion of timber and plaster once projected'.[21] The outer (south) wall of the southern arm was also jettied, as the line of the original sill beam **87** is well inside that of the first-floor wall **88** (see fig 6).

Some of the primary internal arrangements of the eastern arm of the chamber block can be understood from what remains of truss **G** (fig 8). Visible in the west wall of the Stewards' Room, the eastern face of post **3** retains the redundant mortices **23** and **24** – one for the end of the original floor-beam, the other for the brace underneath it. These joints show that the ground-floor room originally had a much lower ceiling; the soffit of the primary ceiling-beam being only about 2.35m above the present floor. As originally designed, the tiebeam in the first-floor chamber was almost 3.3m above the floor, and, as it probably did not have a ceiling, the total height of the chamber would have been almost 6m from floor to ridge. Clearly the best chambers were upstairs and the ground-floor rooms were of lesser status.

The suite of rooms in the eastern arm of the chamber block occupied three bays. Most of the primary timbers belonging to truss **G** have been removed, but post **3** still supports the original tiebeam. The tiebeam has no soffit mortices for a partition; instead, the triple-pegged mortices (**21** and **22**) for arch-braces show this to have been an open truss, spanning a chamber of not less than two bays (see fig 8). The original roof-truss between the two northern bays has been replaced, but from the proportions of the building it is likely that it marked the line of a partition wall, producing a single-bay room at the northern end of this arm, and another of two bays at the south.

On the ground floor, most of the chamber-block framing has been replaced, but substantial portions of the primary timber frame can be seen at first-floor level (see fig 6). The northern two-thirds of the wall (between trusses **D** and **G**) was external, overlooking the courtyard; the southern portion of the wall (**G** to **SS**) was an internal partition between the two arms of the chamber block. This partition was framed in tall rectangular panels and it includes the dated corner-post **3**, a midrail **2**, several studs and the curved brace **1** rising to the wall plate **76**. Both of the former doorways (**89** and **d.20**) are secondary (see below), so the partition originally separated two discrete suites.

The first-floor suite in the eastern arm was served by a stair turret. A similar external staircase for the south arm of the chamber block is considered likely, as this would be the simplest way to provide access to a second unconnected first-floor chamber, but no direct evidence for this is visible. Exterior access to first-floor chambers was common to many high-status medieval houses, and three main designs were used. The simplest arrangement was like that illustrated on the well-known Buck engraving of Dartington Hall, Devon, where the lodging chambers each had their own stairs up to an external landing, with a pentice over the doorway.[22] External stairs were sometimes enclosed, as

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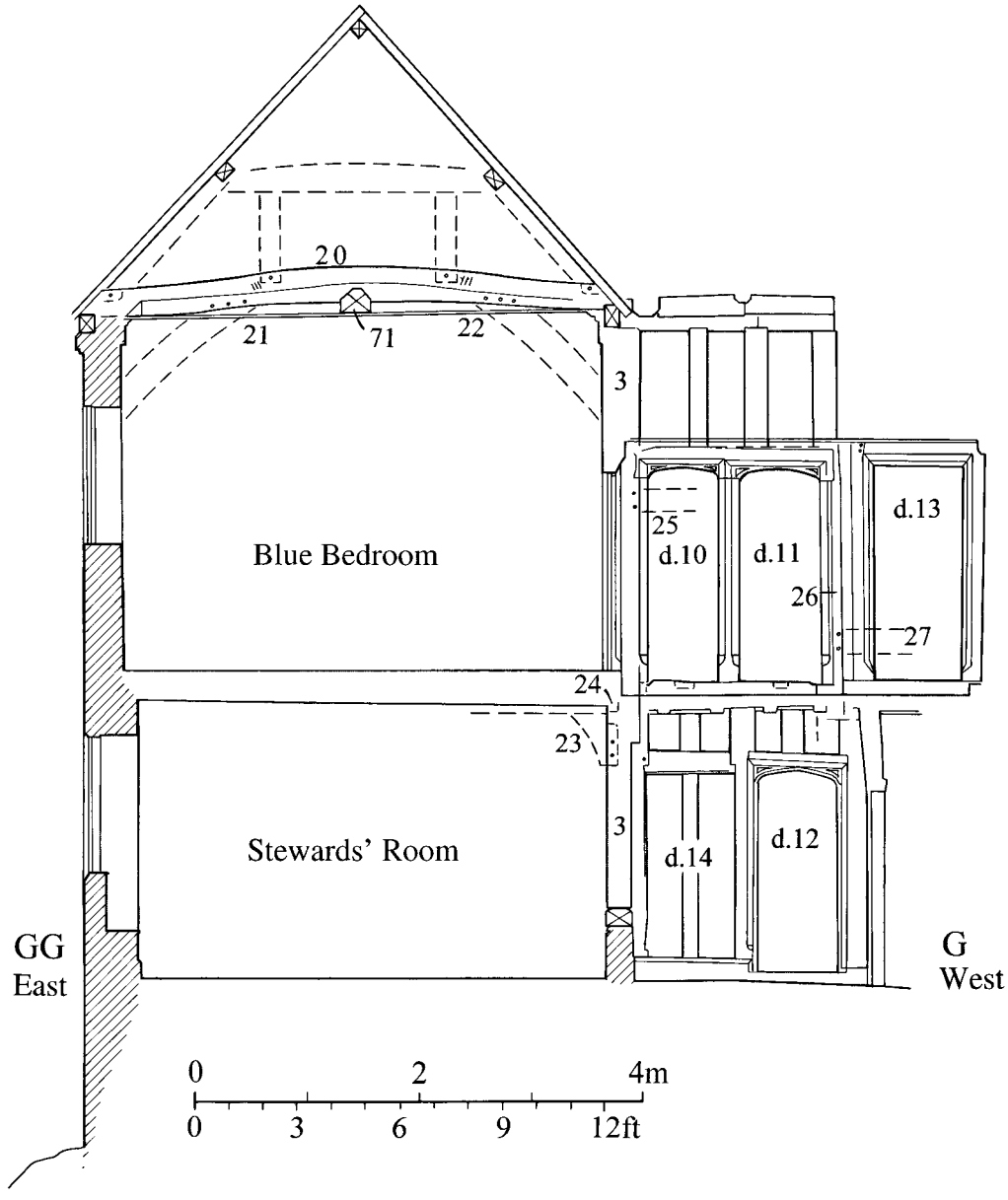


Fig 8. Brome's chamber block: truss **G** from the north. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

for example at the Archbishop's Palace at Maidstone, Kent.[23] The third form of stair led to an extended landing, like that at the Lord Leycester Hospital in Warwick.

At Baddesley Clinton the evidence for the stair turret (see fig 6) includes the *in situ* stud **5**, which interrupts the line of the midrail **6**, allowing the rail **7** clearance over the former doorway **d.19**, which is therefore primary. Just to the right, a pyramid-stopped chamfer on stud **8** marks the position of an aperture – probably a window overlooking the stairs inside the turret. Below, on the ground floor, in what is now the entrance

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lobby, the framing has been heavily adapted; nevertheless, the rail near to the ceiling has been cut to form a low segmental arch, suggesting that at some stage there was a door here too (**d.21**) – directly below **d.19**. Being timber-framed, the walls of the stair turret have left little trace, but further evidence includes two rail mortices on the north-western corner post **10**, including that denoted by the peg **11** (see fig 7). In the entrance lobby, the *ex situ* stud **12**, weathered on the wrong side, retains pegs and a redundant mortice; as there are no visible mortices for the south side of the turret, it probably returned where the later chimneystack **77** now stands.

The southern arm of Brome's chamber block continued from truss **K** to truss **M** – that part of the building now occupied by the Kitchen on the ground floor, with the Sacristy and the Chapel above (see figs 3 and 4). No timbers were identified for tree-ring dating in the roof of this part of the building. Truss **M**, above the west wall of the Chapel, includes a tiebeam, three struts up to a single collar and side purlins clasped under the principals. This roof-truss is almost identical to that in the north gable wall (truss **D)**, including the fact that – contrary to common practice – the principals are not reduced in scantling above purlin level. The upper (western) face of truss **M** is weathered, confirming this as the western end of the south arm. Some of the panels in truss **M** contain red brick nogging, but surviving portions of earlier infill comprise broad laths sprung into continuous grooves and covered by a sandy daub containing straw and rounded pea-gravel; two of the panels below the tiebeam in truss **D** contain similar infill. The internal roof-trusses over this arm (including **L** on fig 2) were replaced in phase 3b.

To summarize, the L-shaped chamber block had ground-floor rooms with low ceilings, but impressive chambers on the first floor, and probably separate external stair turrets on the courtyard side of each arm for private access to each of the two discrete suites. Whether it was first intended for retainers or guests is unclear, but it might be more than a coincidence that the building was under construction soon after the outbreak of the Wars of the Roses. Occupying a site on the opposite side of the island from the hall, the chamber block provided accommodation that was separate from that of the main household. Some degree of social distinction appears between the level of accommodation available in the southern arm of only two bays, and the longer eastern arm with three bays. The latter may well have had, on the first floor, a single-bay reception room, and a two-bay private chamber beyond. Impressive though it was, there is no evidence of primary heating provision, and if there was a latrine at the outset, it must have been in the south-eastern turret. The building remained in this form for about sixty years before it was enhanced by John Brome's affluent successors.

John Brome's building accounts

John Brome's manorial accounts (*compoti*) survive for a short run, from 1442/3 to 1457/8.[24] They suggest that the manor was run-down when Brome acquired it in 1437, though the five-year gap between that date and the first surviving account must make such a conclusion uncertain. The manor had a quarry for which the *compoti* give brief accounts; most of the stone was sold to outsiders, though ashlars were used at the manor. In 1457 a tile house was constructed, from which substantial numbers of tiles were sold in that year. Unfortunately, the last entry in the building accounts (September 1458) is just a year too early to record the felling of the trees used in Brome's chamber block (below). Although the first year's output of the tile house was sold off, a plausible motive behind its construction was to supply tiles for the new building.

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The accounts provide further information about the site. In 1443/4, a new building at the end of the hall was tiled, a new chimney was built, a new gate was made and the hinges of two doors in the kitchen were repaired. The great gate [*porta*] was repaired in 1445/6 and a new door was made for the hall in 1457/8. In the latter year, the sill beams in the gatehouse were also repaired; the addition of a dormer at 'the end of the new stable over the gatehouse' suggests that these were two adjoining buildings, probably with a hayloft over. The accounts also mention the Barn, Deyhous [*Dairy*], Pultrihous, Pryvehous, Oxehouse and Yatehous [*Gatehouse*].

Other fifteenth-century buildings

The weathering on the gables at the end of each arm of the chamber block shows that it was free-standing for some time, although its west wall cannot have been far from the wing at the upper end of the hall. Its corner location and L-shaped plan imply that the island already contained numerous other buildings, as indicated in the accounts; some of these are also named in two deeds. In August 1434, when Joan Burdet granted the manor to Nicholas Metley, she reserved: 'all buildings within the moat from the doors of the hall (*hostiis aule*) as far as the moat on the west side of the manor, with access to the kitchen to prepare food and drink', together with 'half the orchard or garden from the path between the two pits in the said orchard direct as far as the end of the barn in the garden' (presumably outside the moat), with half the dovecote and half the doves, and an acre of woodland to carry wood from.[25]

This deed provides the first evidence at Baddesley of one person reserving some of the buildings with rights of access to other rooms, leaving another occupant in possession of the main portion of the house. Joan apparently did not hold her part for very long: after John Brome acquired the site, she quit-claimed it to him in 1438. A similar circumstance arose in 1474; when the widow Beatrice Brome leased the manor to her son Nicholas, she included all the lands and all the buildings at the upper end of the hall (*ad superiorum fine aule*), but she retained an easement in the brewhouse and kitchen of the manor (*bruera et coquina*) whenever necessary.[26] By combining the architectural and documentary evidence, it appears that there were not less than four discrete groups of buildings on the mid-fifteenth-century island. Despite our uncertainty about what Joan Burdet meant by 'west', it appears that she retained a range of buildings on one side of the moat, probably attached to the lower end of the hall. Although no chamber is specifically mentioned, her share no doubt included one. It seems very likely that Beatrice Brome retained the same section of the court as Joan Burdet, with the upper end of the hall and the buildings beyond it passing to Nicholas.

In these records we find two widows securing their dower right to discrete accommodation while surrendering space for the households of their successors. In both instances, one family was accommodated at each end of the hall, while the chamber block remained isolated. Even within the latter there were two levels of accommodation – a mark of further social separation. This feudal social and physical arrangement of the site would persist for the sixty years after John Brome's death when little if any building seems to have taken place, while Baddesley was encumbered by dower rights or leased to outsiders.

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PHASE 3: SIR EDWARD AND CONSTANCE FERRERS

Inheritance of the manor by the wealthy Sir Edward Ferrers, the husband of Constance Brome, initiated major changes that would reflect a new social order. Edward Ferrers, the son and heir of Sir Henry Ferrers of Hambleton (Rutland), belonged to a junior branch of the family of Ferrers of Tamworth Castle. Sir Henry was appointed keeper of Cheylesmore Park, Coventry, in 1461, and this Warwickshire connection perhaps led to the Ferrers–Brome marriage.

Following Nicholas Brome's death in 1517, the implementation of the settlement by which Baddesley passed to Ferrers proved contentious. The Marowe family presumably continued to occupy the house until their lease expired in 1524. In 1529, the young Edward Brome (most likely just of age) made a 'release of actions' – in effect a quit-claim of his rights in Baddesley – to Edward and Constance.[27] Only in 1531 was their ownership fully confirmed by an agreement that included payment of a substantial annual rent of £12 13s 4d to Francis and Dorothy Cokayne (daughter of Isabel Marowe).[28] The Ferrers' wealth is demonstrated by the extensive properties referred to in Sir Edward's will (1535); these lay in Kent, Cambridgeshire and Rutland, as well as Tamworth, Solihull and Baddesley in Warwickshire. The plate and high-quality furnishings listed in his will and that of Constance (1551) also reveal their luxurious lifestyle (see below).

The ownership of Baddesley Clinton by Sir Edward and Constance Ferrers represents the high point of the family fortunes and, fittingly, they transformed the accommodation. They started in about 1526 with the construction of a new range of private apartments at the upper end of the medieval hall, occupying about half the south side of the island (phase 3a, shown on figs 2 and 9). The stone south wall of that range was extended along the entire length of the island, including Brome's chamber block. Their major achievement came around 1536, with the completion of the imposing gatehouse range, transforming the whole appearance of the house (phase 3c on fig 2).

A small booklet of accounts illuminates some of Edward Ferrers's building activities.[29] The accounts run from July 1533 to early 1534 and must have been compiled by the steward or a similar household official. They include payments to sawyers and carpenters, a mason, a smith and two carvers,[30] for buying lead, solder and plaster, and for casting the lead. Although the total of the payments is not very large, the amounts of material are considerable, including some 3,000ft of boards and 2,000lbs of lead. Plaster would not be purchased, nor lead cast and soldered, until it was ready to be used, so the accounts must relate to the completion in the winter of 1533/4 of a substantial building; this cannot be firmly identified, though a possible candidate is Brome's chamber block, refurbished in phase 3b.

Phase 3a: the south wing at the upper end of the medieval hall

Baker attributed the south wing to the fifteenth century, perhaps on the basis of a casement moulding on a window in the south wall, but such mouldings are now known to have continued in use throughout the first half of the sixteenth century.[31] One doorway (**d.15** on fig 9) has plain-chamfered reveals and a four-centred arch, which might equally be placed in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. This revision of the stylistic dating is reinforced by the tree-ring dating. Samples taken from the second

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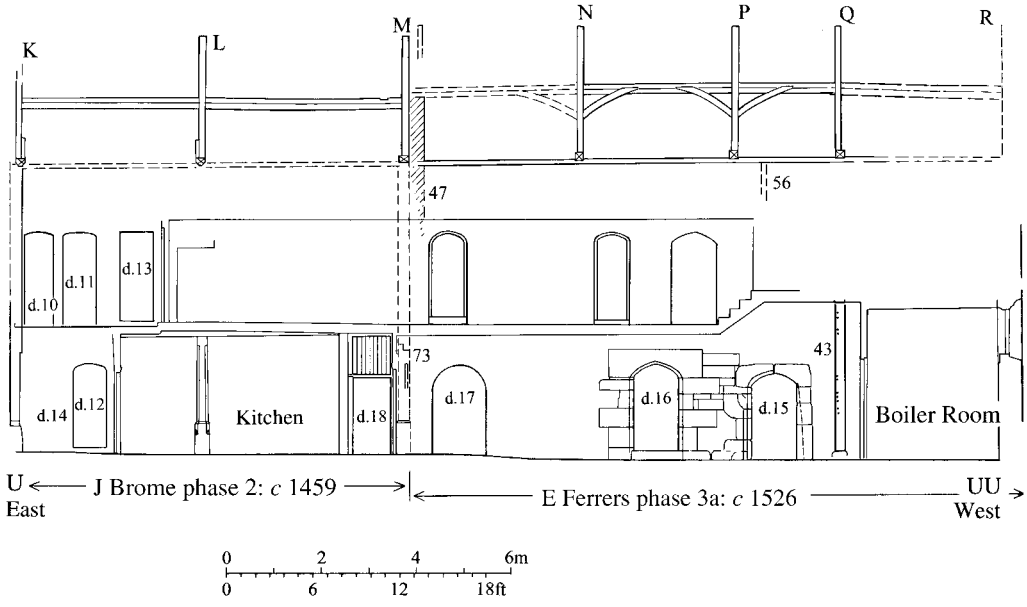


Fig 9. East–west section of the south range, from the north. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

rafter east of truss **N** yielded a precise felling date of summer 1526, consistent with the felling date ranges of other timbers in the same roof. As this date falls just two years after the expiry of the Marowe family lease, the construction of the south range, closely followed by the first remodelling of the former chamber block, can be linked with the acquisition of Baddesley Clinton for their own use by Edward Ferrers and his wife Constance.

The new south wing was built against the end of Brome's chamber block so that – by this stage, if not before – the buildings on the island attained a U-shaped plan. All of the buildings along the southern side of the island have been substantially remodelled, removing or hiding evidence of their original layout, but the primary sectional form is still discernible (fig 10). The roof-trusses in the south range have principals reduced in section above the clasped purlins, and they have slightly cranked collars and queen-posts. Every tiebeam rests on the inside edge of the wide south wall, indicating that when first built its outer edge was topped by a parapet. The parapet was removed in the seventeenth century, when secondary common rafters were inserted, projecting across the outer face of the wall, and creating a shallower roof pitch.

The ashlar south façade (fig 11) is of two storeys with six bays of mullioned windows, accompanied by some small latrine windows, and one in the south-eastern corner turret. How many rooms were lit by these windows is difficult to determine, especially as most of the roof-trusses cannot be shown to coincide with primary partition walls. The only timber-framed partition visible on the first floor, 0.6m west of truss **P** (**56** on fig 9), is not demonstrably primary. The roof-trusses **N**, **P** and **Q** divide the building into three full bays and one half-bay, the latter falling between trusses **P** and **Q**. The half-bay might have been big enough for a first-floor lobby, waiting chamber or ante-room at the head of a staircase. Within this half-bay, the rebate on the ground-floor doorway **d.15** is on the north side of the wall, possibly because any putative stairs inside the

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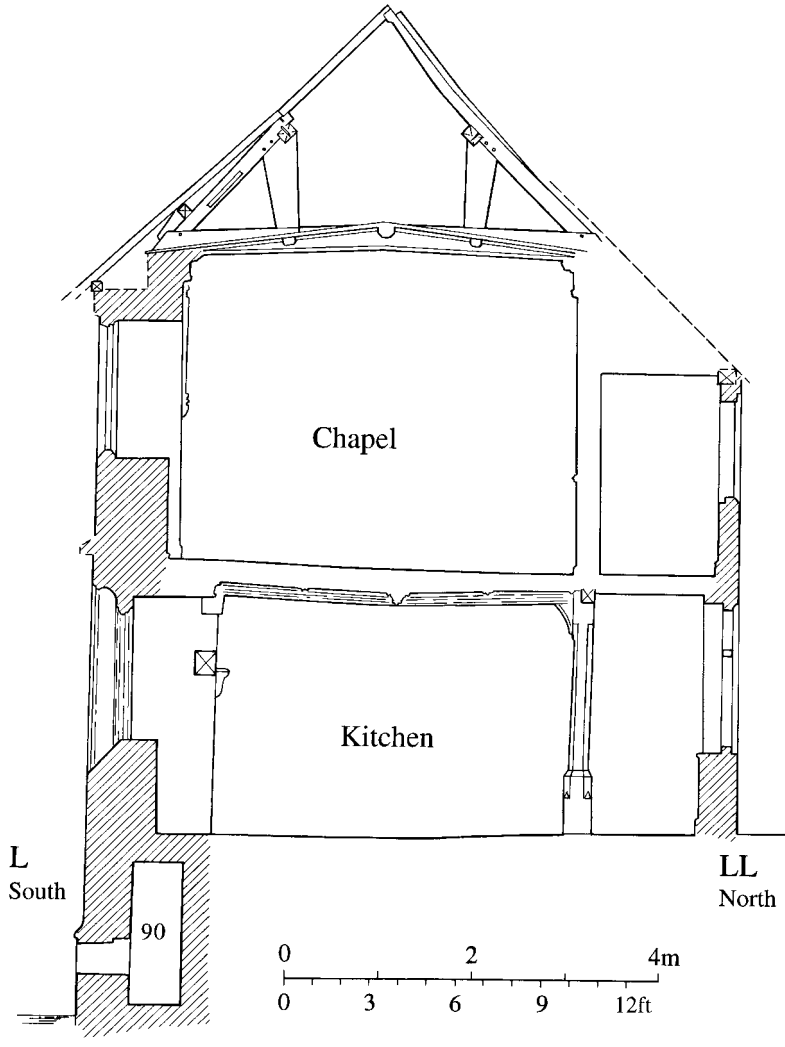


Fig 10. Section L through the south range, from the east. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

wing would have prevented the door from swinging inwards. However, the adjacent doorway **d.16** is the taller of the two and it has the more impressive lintel – both indicators that this led to the socially superior rooms upstairs – and it still serves a staircase today, albeit apparently rebuilt. In any case, one or other of these doorways must have provided access between the hall and the rebuilt first-floor chambers in the upper end crosswing.

Phase 3b: the first refurbishment of John Brome's chamber block

In common with the aspirations of the time, the adaptations made to Brome's chamber block achieved new levels of comfort through the insertion of fireplaces, ceilings and en-suite latrines, while the addition of corridors gave improved access to the private

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Fig 11. Baddesley Clinton: south-east view in *c* 1890 before the building of the service block. *Photograph*: Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Records Office (DR958/41, fol 3v/2).

chambers. Alterations were made to both arms of the building, but whether these were the product of a single large project, or of several smaller schemes, may now be undiscoverable. Most of this work was apparently undertaken between 1526 and 1536, although some alterations may not have been made until the northern (Gatehouse) range was also under construction.

The combined effect of these various adaptations was to increase the accommodation in the wing at the upper (southern) end of the medieval hall by uniting it with the chamber block. The enlarged accommodation provided more heated chambers, some of them also with latrines. Through the addition of a gallery more convenient access was achieved, while maintaining a high degree of privacy. As the gallery from the upper end of the hall passed the best private chambers before connecting with the old chamber block, it is likely that all of this linked accommodation was normally used by the Ferrers family.

When the Ferrers built their upper end chambers, the new stone façade was continued along the entire southern side of the island, replacing Brome's jettied wall. This required the removal of the original roof over this range, since it can have had nothing to support it while the masons were at work.[32] The replacement roof-trusses **K**

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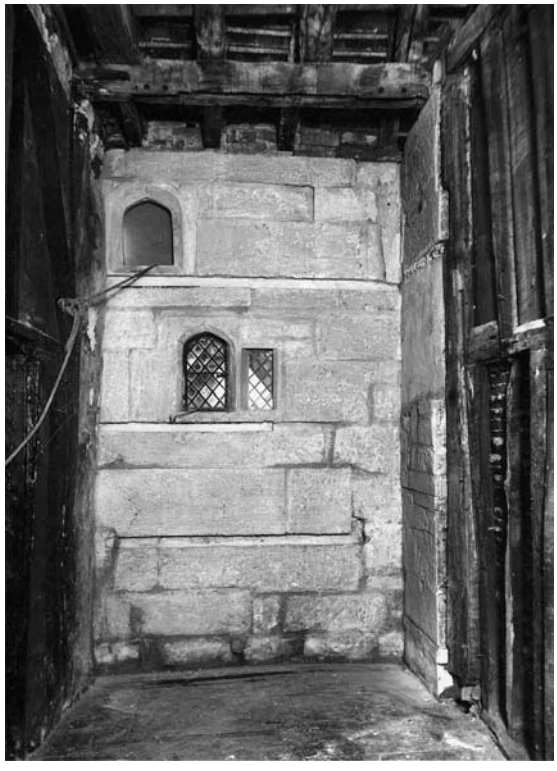


Fig 12. Baddesley Clinton: stonework in the Sacristy, 1940–1. *Photograph*: © reserved, W Marment & Son (SBTRO, DR958 51/50).

and **L** have no collars; their raked struts are tenoned directly into the undersides of the principals, where the purlins are clasped into the angles (see figs 9 and 10). The north end of truss **K** shows more signs of reconstruction; it sits on an applied half-beam rather than the primary wall-plate, and part of a phase-1 wall-plate was reused as the purlin between trusses **L** and **M**. As in the phase 3a south range, both of these roof-trusses rest on the inside edge of the south wall, leaving room for the former parapet. Whereas the primary roof framing was designed to be visible within the first-floor chambers, the crude replacement trusses **K** and **L** were not. Instead, their cambered tiebeams formed part of a smart ceiling which also had chamfered longitudinal beams and transverse joists, all over a large chamber. Over the eastern arm of Brome's chamber block, the present attic floor is of around 1702 (see below), but it is supported by deeply chamfered beams that have been reused upside down. The deep, plain chamfers, creating almost triangular sections, are difficult to date typologically as they have been recorded in buildings ranging from the sixteenth to the late seventeenth centuries,[33] but they are interpreted as the remains of a phase 3b or later ceiling.

The present Kitchen, then a good-quality parlour, was also refurbished with elegantly moulded ceiling beams, presumably at the same time as the south wall was rebuilt. Later, possibly in phase 7, this room was enlarged to take in the adjoining passage, with the ceiling and the surviving portion of wall on the first floor supported by a moulded transverse beam and a post chamfered on all four arrises.

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Comfort

In both arms, as well as the insertion of ceilings over the upper rooms, new stone chimneys and fireplaces were built. At the south-eastern corner of the chamber block, the first-floor room was given a stone chimneystack that was corbelled out from the south wall; the same chimney probably also contains a flue from the hearth on the ground floor (in the Stewards' Room). The large chimney serving the Kitchen and Chapel may also be of this phase, though it is not directly datable, and the chimney-piece in the Chapel has seventeenth-century decoration. On the courtyard side of the east range, the stone chimneystack (**77** on fig 6) is secondary, as its inside face was built to fit around the pre-existing eaves of the roof. This chimney served the large first-floor room in the northern two-thirds of the eastern arm, though not the ground-floor room. Its association with phase 3 is based upon a mason's mark identical to one on the east wall of the gatehouse passage (of the 1530s), although the mason who worked on the Gatehouse could equally have worked at Baddesley in around 1526 when the south range wall was rebuilt.[34]

On the outer face of the south wall, just above the water level in the moat, several rectangular openings light a drain that extends the entire length of the building; this served latrines all along the south range, but only three chutes can now be identified. One chute can be seen in what is now the Kitchen (see fig 10), and two first-floor latrines can be identified from evidence in the room above the Kitchen, now known as the Sacristy. The east wall of the Sacristy is the primary partition that separated the two arms of Brome's chamber block (see fig 6). In that partition wall, the small doorway **d.20** was inserted to provide access to the latrine cubicle serving the south chamber in the eastern arm; the mortice **78** marks the line of the enclosing partition. From the pair of small windows in the south wall of the Sacristy, two cubicles can be inferred sharing the same chute, with the adjoining latrine serving a chamber in the southern arm of the building. The latrines were tucked under a low ceiling (fig 12), and above that a third small window must have lit yet another space – plausibly a quarter-landing on a staircase to either an attic or the valley behind the former parapet.

Communication

Corridors are still the means of communication along the courtyard side of the south range today (see figs 3 and 4), though their original walls have been rebuilt. A redundant mortice near the top of the stud on the left side of doorway **d.7** (see fig 6) might mark the end of a rail belonging to the outside wall of the first gallery along the south range. Its construction would have occasioned the removal of the inferred south-range stair turret. Any gallery or corridor along the east range of the former chamber block would have been replaced when the surviving lobby arrangement was constructed in phase 4b.[35] The addition of corridors on the ground and first floors prompted the insertion of several doorways at the internal angle of Brome's old chamber block, including **d.10** to **d.14** through the north wall (see figs 8 and 9) and **d.7** to **d.9** through the west wall (see fig 6). It is inferred from the variety of doorway designs that the alterations were carried out piecemeal, albeit over a short period of time.

In the remodelled south range, access was required for the refurbished ground-floor parlour (the present Kitchen) and, we infer, for a convenient internal staircase, replacing those in the former turret(s). The parlour was probably served by **d.12** and the staircase

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by **d.14**. The stairs probably ascended to a doorway to the first-floor gallery, from which in turn a door led to the chamber. However, this arrangement was soon superseded by the double doorway **d.10** and **d.11**, one serving the staircase, the other the chamber. When one end of the large chamber was partitioned off to form a lobby (the present Sacristy) a new doorway was needed (**d.13**). In the east range following the removal of its stair turret, doors **d.7** and **d.8** were inserted at the east end of the south range corridors on the ground and first floors respectively. On both levels of the east range, communication continued from room to room until, *c* 1574, when the doorways **d.6** (see fig 7), and **d.9** were inserted, the former giving access from the new staircase to the northern first-floor chamber, through its north wall, the latter leading from the lobby to the unheated room under this chamber.

Phase 3c: the north (Gatehouse) range

The attribution of building dates from architectural style has always been hazardous – nowhere more so than at Baddesley Clinton. Baker, Pevsner and the *VCH* all suggested that the north range was commenced in the fifteenth century, so it was attributed to John Brome. The roof has been remodelled twice, but tree-ring felling dates have been secured for both the primary trusses and the alterations. Cores taken from surviving primary roof timbers come from trees that were felled in the winters of 1534/5 and 1535/6, leading us to a radical revision of the previously accepted dating.[36] It follows that Sir Edward and Constance Ferrers were the builders of the Gatehouse. As soon as they had finished rebuilding the south range, they turned to the northern side of the island, although Sir Edward died in 1535, leaving his widow to complete the scheme.

The north range now includes the Moat Room, Gatehouse and Dining Room on the ground floor, with the Library, Great Parlour and Front Bedroom on the first floor (see figs 2, 3 and 4). An imposing façade was achieved for the main approach to the island, including a gatehouse bay that projected north into the moat, but the original roof was given scant support and the first floor was probably a long, undivided and unheated space, raising questions about its primary function. Viewed from the bridge across the moat (see fig 1), the ashlar masonry north range, punctuated by the castellated Gatehouse, is clearly of several builds; in particular, it has a straight joint between the main range and the phase 8 building on the north-eastern corner of the island. The north elevation retains its original moulded plinth and string course; both of these return along the projecting sides of the Gatehouse, which must therefore be a primary element, albeit now much altered. Only two windows in the north wall survive from the first build, both of them on the ground floor west of the Gatehouse; one is of two lights, the other of three, each having segmental heads and sunk spandrels. The remaining windows, with square-headed lights, are later. West of the Gatehouse, the steps in the string course match the original window apertures; to the east, if the step in the string course is any guide, the present five-light window probably replaces a pair with two lights each, implying an internal partition between two rooms. On this analysis of the façade, the original five-bay fenestration matched the bays in the roof.

Only the roof-trusses **a** and **g** at each end of the north range have remained *in situ* since 1535/6 (figs 13 and 14). Truss **a** stands adjacent to the stone west gable, with its fair (upper) face to the east; it comprises a tiebeam, queen struts, collar and principals, the latter of reduced scantling above the collar, and not thickened for the joint at the apex. The truss was designed to support only one clasped purlin on each side of the

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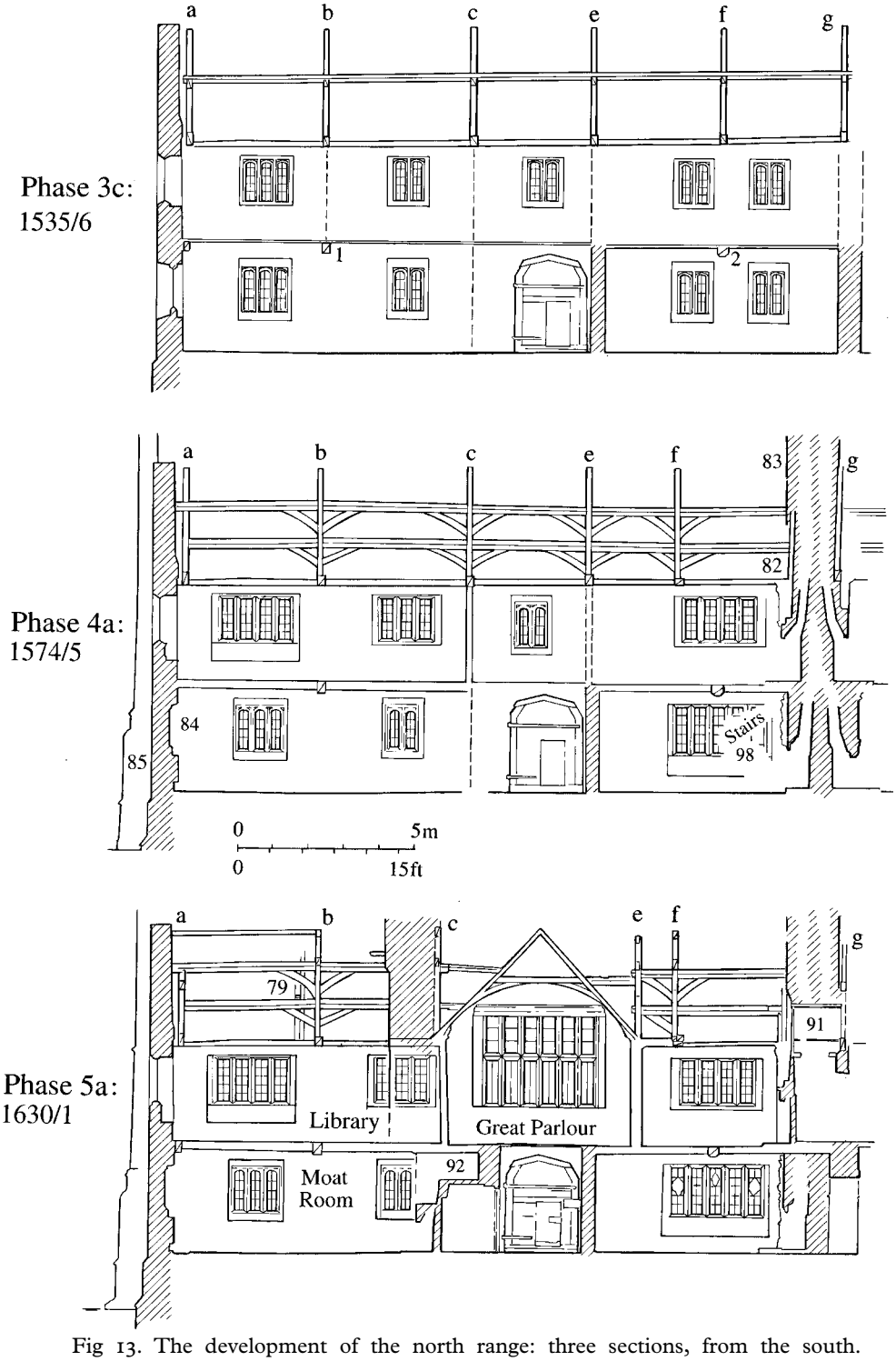


Fig 13. The development of the north range: three sections, from the south. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

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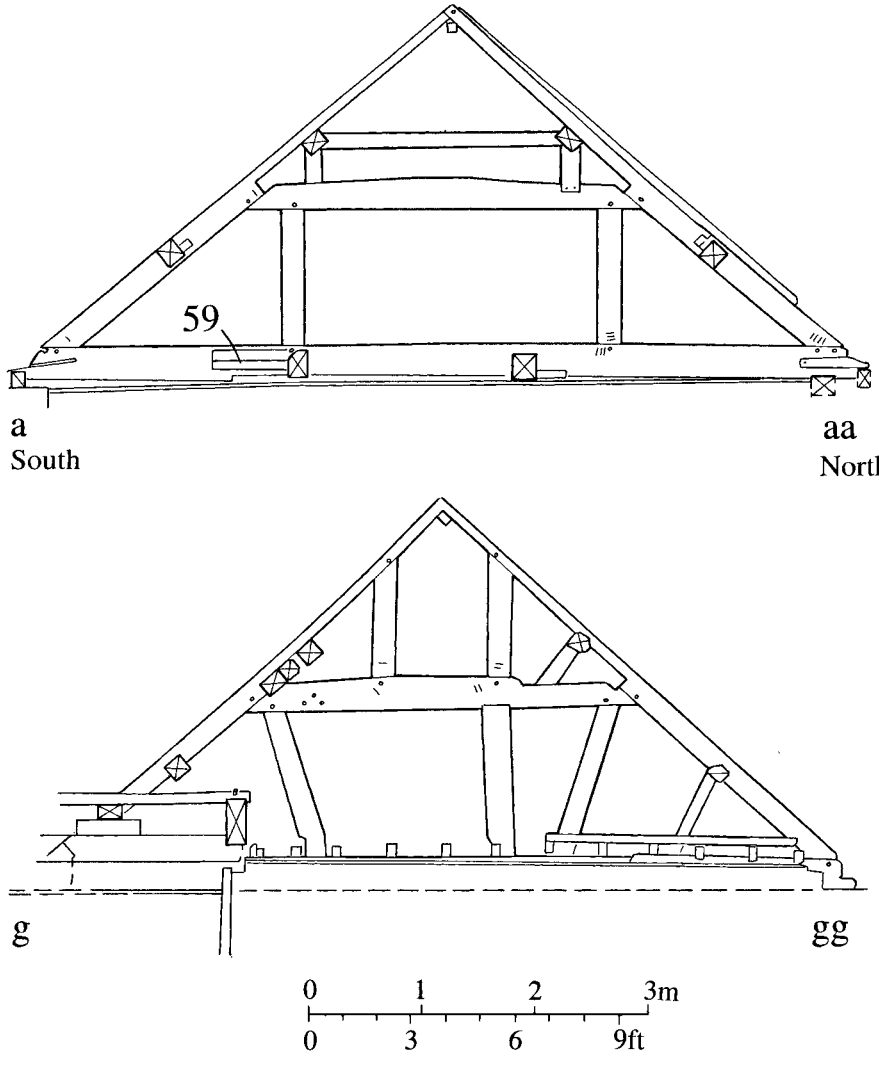


Fig 14. The two remaining primary roof trusses in the north range. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

roof. Truss **g** stands above the wall at the eastern end of the gatehouse range, adjacent to the straight joint in the north elevation. This truss too was originally designed to support clasped purlins; unlike truss **a**, however, we could find no evidence to suggest that it had been built against a stone gable. Truss **g** has raked primary struts below the collar, and two struts above, both securely pegged into the soffits of the principals, both with the carpenter's marks in sequence; neither face is weathered, and there is no sign of primary infill panels. All of this evidence suggests that the gatehouse range was built against an older structure at its eastern end.

The original roof trusses **b** to **f** were replaced in phase 4, but it has been possible to reconstruct the primary five-bay arrangement (see fig 13). When truss **b** was re-framed in phase 4a, the tiebeam was left *in situ*; it retains redundant mortices for queen struts

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that correspond with the original scheme, and it stands directly above a transverse ceiling-beam on the ground floor (**1** on fig 13). The tiebeams in trusses **c**, **e** and **f** might also be primary, but they are no longer in their original locations, and any diagnostic queen-strut mortices are concealed. The transverse beam in the Dining Room ceiling (**2** on fig 13) probably marks the original line of truss **f**, which was moved 1m to the west in phase 4a. Trusses **c** and **e** originally corresponded with the sides of the Gatehouse passage, but in phase 5a, they were moved further apart, to make way for the Great Parlour roof (1630/1).

The plan-form of the north range as first built remains uncertain, since internal alterations and plaster finishes mask much evidence. Clearly the Gatehouse always divided the ground floor into two; the entrance doorway has never been on the central axis of the middle bay, but Baker suggested that this resulted from the provision of an alcove for a porter or access to lifting gear for a drawbridge. No primary staircase remains, but there might have been links at first-floor level with the former hall range, or with the building then occupying the north-eastern corner of the island. One window in the north range (**w.3** on fig 3) is set into the masonry blocking of a former aperture, probably a primary doorway, which might have given access to a staircase.

The most remarkable characteristic of the north range as first built is the complete absence of heating. While this would not have been uncommon in the fourteenth century, household and guest chambers in such ranges generally had fireplaces by the sixteenth, as apparently at Tickenhill Manor.[37] Dame Constance Ferrers's will (1551) shows that the Great Chamber over the gate was finely furnished with decorative textile hangings. It possibly extended for the entire length of the upper floor, and such a substantial undivided space could well have been used as a long gallery, even if not named as such. Although galleries did not become general until the third quarter of the sixteenth century, Agnes Hungerford possessed one at The Vyne before 1527.[38]

Baddesley now provided extensive accommodation of excellent quality, including a Great Hall with service rooms at its northern (lower) end, a large range of private apartments at the upper end of the hall on the southern and eastern sides of the court, and the newly completed impressive gatehouse range to the north. The more mundane but essential kitchen, dairy and bakehouse have not been identified within the existing buildings. Potential locations for these service rooms include the north-eastern quarter of the court, between Brome's chamber block and the gatehouse range, and the western side, adjoining the medieval hall.

The lifestyle of Edward and Constance Ferrers

No early inventories have survived to illustrate how the Ferrers lived at Baddesley in this period, but this lack is mitigated by striking evidence from their wills.[39] When Sir Edward Ferrers died in 1535, his bequests to his grandson Edward Ferrers, son of Henry Ferrers (to take effect after the death or re-marriage of his wife), included:

> A bason & a ewer of silver, two great saltes of silver gilte with a cover, two great bolles, chased, of silver gilt with oon cover and a standing cupp of silver gilte with a cover, and also, my hanginges of great verdurs for the *parlour* and for *the great chamber* and for *the new chambre* of my house at Baddisley Clynton, and for either of the said chambers and for the said parlour a hanging of red and yellow saye [authors' italics]

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The will of Dame Constance Ferrers in 1551 (see Appendix) names the *greate chamber over the seller*, the *hall*, the *parlor*, the *backhowse*, the *kechyn*, the *greate chamber over the gate*, the *deyhouse*, her *chamber*, and the *myddel chamber*. The mention of two great chambers is of particular interest in relation to the evidence for multi-household occupation; that 'over the seller' was probably located in the newly upgraded south range.

Her will is highly significant for the wealth of household goods she divided carefully between her grandson and her three surviving sons. She was very well provided with functional objects, referring particularly to the brassware and latten (candle-sticks, chafing dishes, basins and mortars) and the ironware (pot-hangers, pothooks, spits, gridirons and frying pans). However, the luxury items are particularly remarkable: the hangings with the story of Griselda, the spoon with an angel knop and the great gilt bowls, the fustian bed canopy embroidered with apples, the table carpet with unicorns, the eyrie of swans, as well as immense quantities of linen and soft furnishings. Her will demonstrates that the apparently stark stone-walled rooms of the new ranges were in reality a riot of colour and decoration. More than any other surviving evidence, this gives an impression of Baddesley in its heyday in the early Tudor period, complementing the elegant structures she and her husband had constructed.

PHASE 4: HENRY FERRERS, 'THE ANTIQUARY'

Henry, the son of Sir Edward and Constance Ferrers, predeceased his parents and Edward, their grandson, only came of age in 1547. His wardship was acquired by Sir Thomas Inglesolde, then by Lord Windsor, his future father-in-law; even apart from Constance's dower rights, this minority would have drawn off the profits of the estate. In 1561, Edward made what was apparently a mortgage of Baddesley (the first of many for the estate) for £1,500.[40]

Edward's son, Henry Ferrers, 'the Antiquary', lived away from Baddesley for much of his life, including the time he was at Oxford in the 1560s;[41] he was later in London and bought a house there in 1589. He was living in Temple Balsall in 1616, at Packwood in 1629, and he died at Kingswood in Lapworth in 1633 (all within about ten miles (16km) of Baddesley). He was, however, at Baddesley during the periods in 1622 and 1629 for which his detailed diary survives; possibly the diary was kept there, so the entries may indicate exactly when he was in residence.[42] Despite these absences, he carried out extensive alterations to the house in the 1570s and 1580s (phase 4) and again around 1630 (phase 5). Henry's mother Bridget, and her second husband, Andrew Ognell (or Ugnall), lived at Baddesley until her death in 1582; and their presence must have affected the form of Henry's work, as once again the house had to accommodate two households.

Phase 4a: the first remodelling of the north range *c* 1574

Despite their luxurious lifestyle, what Sir Edward and Constance Ferrers considered seemly in the 1530s clearly did not meet the family's needs or aspirations four decades later. Between 1574 and around 1585 the scale and standard of accommodation was transformed. The north range was enhanced (phase 4a), and the construction of an ambitious new east range followed immediately (phase 4b); that scheme was curtailed, allowing Brome's chamber block to survive, but with a new front added to its courtyard side.

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In phase 4a the north range was re-roofed, provision was made for comfortable ceiled and heated private chambers and at least one new staircase was inserted. The tree-ring samples from the secondary roof timbers include a core from the south principal rafter in truss **b** (see fig 13), which provided a felling date of spring 1574; two other samples have felling date ranges consistent with this date.[43] Instead of single clasped side purlins, the substantial new structure included two tiers of trenched side purlins with tenoned wind-braces (figs 13 and 15), and most of the trusses were re-framed. Trusses **c**, **e** and **f** were smartly finished, with stopped chamfers on the principals, struts and collars. The queen struts rise directly to the principals, and the collars are set very high, to allow for easy passage along the entire length of the roof.

Although the original roof was under-designed and its clasped purlins were beginning to bow, it is likely that the alterations were prompted by the general refurbishment of the entire range, which included the construction of new chimneys. In the bay between **f** and **g**, the side purlins that belong to the roof of *c* 1574 are supported by a supplementary truss (at **82** on fig 13); this is integral with the brick chimneystack, **83**, showing that they both belong to phase 4a. The insertion of this stack also prompted the repositioning of truss **f**, which originally stood directly over the ground-floor ceiling-beam, but was now moved to equalize the bay lengths. The stone chimney against the west gable **85** is obviously not original as it blocks the window, **84**, in the Moat Room. Although it is impossible to determine the sequence stratigraphically, it is likely that the chimneys at both ends of the north range were built at the same time. Accordingly, in around 1575, the formerly unheated north range was provided with fireplaces at each end, those to the west serving chambers close to the north end of the medieval hall range. The east chimneystack, **83**, has four flues, so it was designed to serve ground- and first-floor hearths in the north range, and two others to the east, implying refurbishment of the building then standing there. Indeed, the removal of a staircase from that location might have prompted the construction of that in bays **f** to **g** (**98** on fig 13).

Most of the primary windows in the north elevation were replaced. East of the Gatehouse, the dining room was given a single five-light window, apparently replacing a pair of smaller lights and suggesting that it was formed out of what had been two separate cells. This window is similar to those lighting the front bedroom and the library. In the latter room, the east window is tucked in behind the chimneybreast that was introduced when the Great Parlour was built (see below), suggesting that this scheme of fenestration was part of the remodelling of *c* 1574.

On the first floor in the partition that divides the front bedroom from the corridor, a number of the studs are supported by a curved timber marking the ceiling of an old stairwell; an *ex situ* portion of a balustrade here might have been taken from this former staircase. In addition, at the south-eastern corner of bay **e** to **f**, a trimmer in the attic floor probably marks the position of another smaller staircase, connecting the first floor with the attic. In view of the ready access along the redesigned roof, this stair was plausibly for access to space intended for storage or a servants' dormitory. Although truss **e** has mortices for joists, the absence of contemporary floorboards in the attic implies that such intentions were never fully implemented; access along the roof was curtailed in around 1630/1 with the construction of the Great Parlour (see below).

A drawing of the gatehouse range, attributed to Henry Jeayes, *c* 1790–1800,[44] confirms that the Gatehouse then had a north gable, rather than the present crenellated parapet, and it shows plain bargeboards over side purlins. However, repairs to some of

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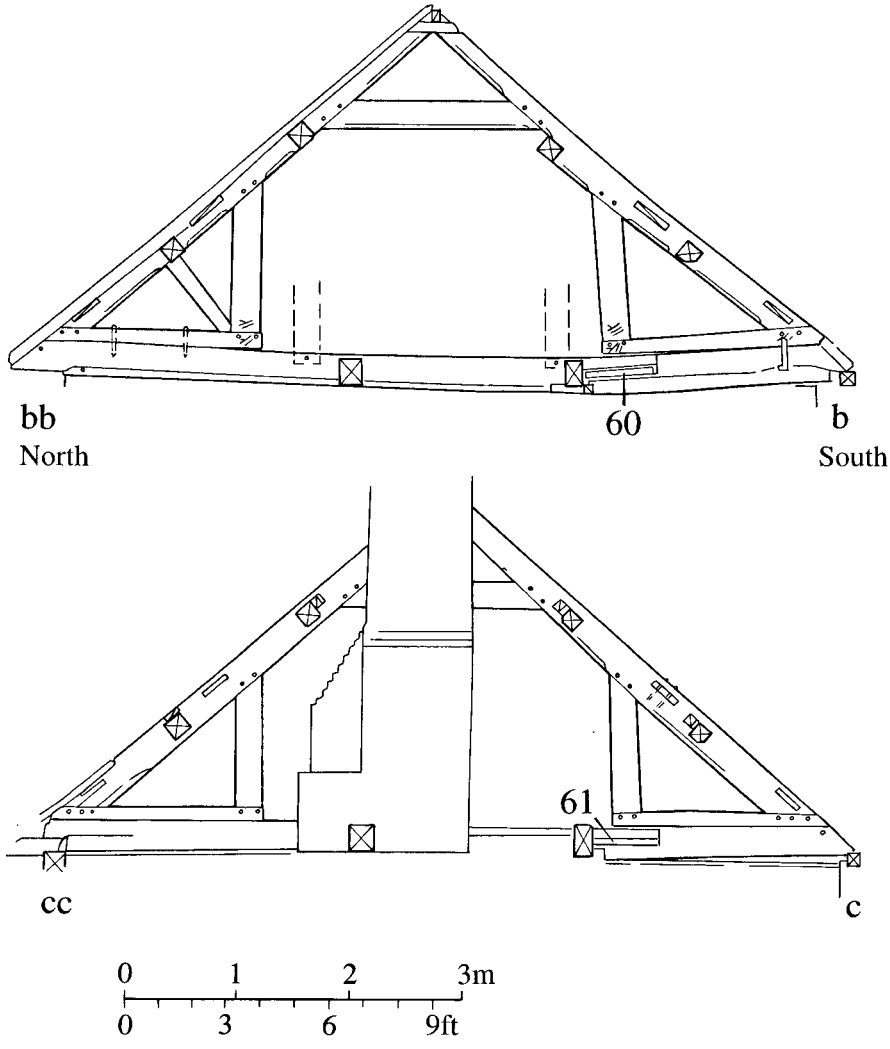


Fig 15. Trusses **b** and **c**, belonging to the second roof over the north range. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

the common rafters in the north slope of the north-range roof employed lengths of cusped and moulded bargeboards (cf **79** on fig 13), the most likely source being the outer and inner gables of the Gatehouse as rebuilt to accommodate the Great Parlour.

Phase 4b: the east range and the low hall, *c* 1579–85

When built, the sixteenth-century east range was timber-framed and jettied on both sides; now the exterior walls are of brick, apart from the gables overlooking the courtyard and the stone chimneystack. The range was floored throughout from the outset. Its construction completed the fully enclosed courtyard plan and simultaneously improved access around all the buildings on both floor levels. The ground floor includes

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the present Great Hall, the Entrance Lobby and the main staircase (see fig 3). Because the walls were later rebuilt in brick, the hall retains little of its original character, but the double ovolo mouldings on the ceiling-beams and on the door-jambs at the foot of the main staircase are consistent with its late sixteenth-century construction date. The room is 10.1 × 7.1m (33 × 23ft) in plan, but it feels relatively long and narrow due to the enormous chimneybreast set halfway along its east wall, though this chimney-piece might have been moved from the north range in 1752.[45] Although it was a principal reception room, the hall was also the main link between the northern and southern ends of the house. The best staircase rises directly from the hall to a first-floor corridor, extending along the west side of the building and serving two private chambers; the corridor also forms part of the main circuit round the first floor (see fig 4). As well as creating this impressive new hall in the jettied and gabled east range, Henry Ferrers decorated it with panelling and ornamental chimney-pieces (see below), and he indulged his antiquarian enthusiasms to the full by adorning its windows with coats of arms in stained glass, some dating from 1585 and 1588.[46]

Detailed examination of the structure shows that Henry Ferrers's original very ambitious scheme involved a new range along the entire eastern side of the island, which would have included the replacement of Brome's old chamber block. In the event, this block was retained, and a fashionable new staircase was inserted into the space of 2.1m (7ft) between the older building and the new hall range, covered by a short length of new roof. Some of the timbers employed in the new building had been pre-assembled to suit the more ambitious scheme before the project was scaled down, and the frame had to be adapted to fit its new purpose. Under the revised scheme, the north end of the new hall overlapped the east end of the north range, creating a direct link between the two blocks. At the other end of the range, new distribution lobbies were built on the courtyard side of the old chamber block behind a twin-gabled front, providing a direct link between the new hall and the apartments in the south range and completing the circulation around the entire courtyard house at both floor levels. The south end of the new lobbies replaced part of Edward Ferrers's south-range corridor.

Thirteen core samples were obtained from primary timbers in the east range (including two duplicate samples). Of these, eight provided precise felling dates. In the south wall of the Great Hall, the collars and struts of truss **C** (figs 16 and 17) were felled in summer 1574, while the collar of roof-truss **A** in the north wall was felled in summer 1573, and a stud was felled in summer 1574. One of the common rafters from the short section of roof over the main stairs produced a felling date of summer 1577. A rafter located behind the northernmost of the three side gables overlooking the courtyard was felled in winter 1577/8. The precisely dated timbers in the main trusses **A** and **C** might suggest that they were constructed as early as *c* 1574. However, the structures of this block are completely integrated, with the tiebeams extending into the gables (see fig 16), so assembly of the frame cannot have taken place before 1578. Allowing for its complexity, the carcass might have been completed during the spring or summer of 1579, in readiness for fitting-out the interior in the following year.

Painted plaster over the doorway at the north end of the first-floor corridor probably formed part of the primary decoration of the east range, a scheme that might have been undertaken around 1580–5. Similar painted plaster can be found on all three walls of the cupboard at the side of the chimneystack in the Office, which must therefore have been an alcove in the building on the north-eastern corner of the island. A length of wall-plate belonging to that building remains *in situ* (**66** on fig 17).

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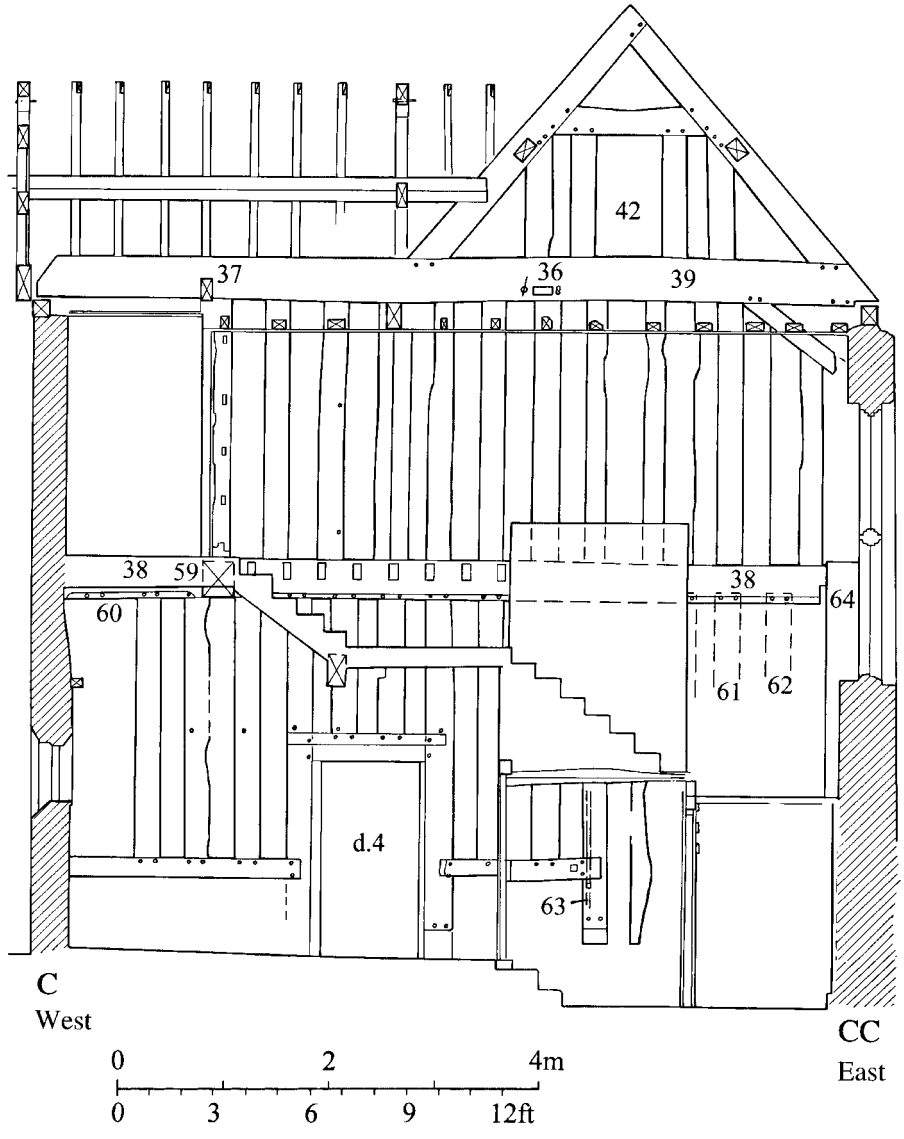


Fig 16. The south wall of Henry Ferrers's hall range: section C from the south. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

The complex evidence of a departure from the original scheme is only summarized here. Evidence of the jettied form of the east range can still be seen in the close-studded wall at the south end of the hall (see fig 16); the east end of the girding-beam **38** was cut off at **64** when the former jetty bressumer was removed. Evidence that the west wall was also jettied can still be seen in the north-eastern corner of the courtyard where the profile of a former jetty was left imprinted in the angle between the north and east ranges when the timber-framing was replaced by brickwork. Evidence of the character

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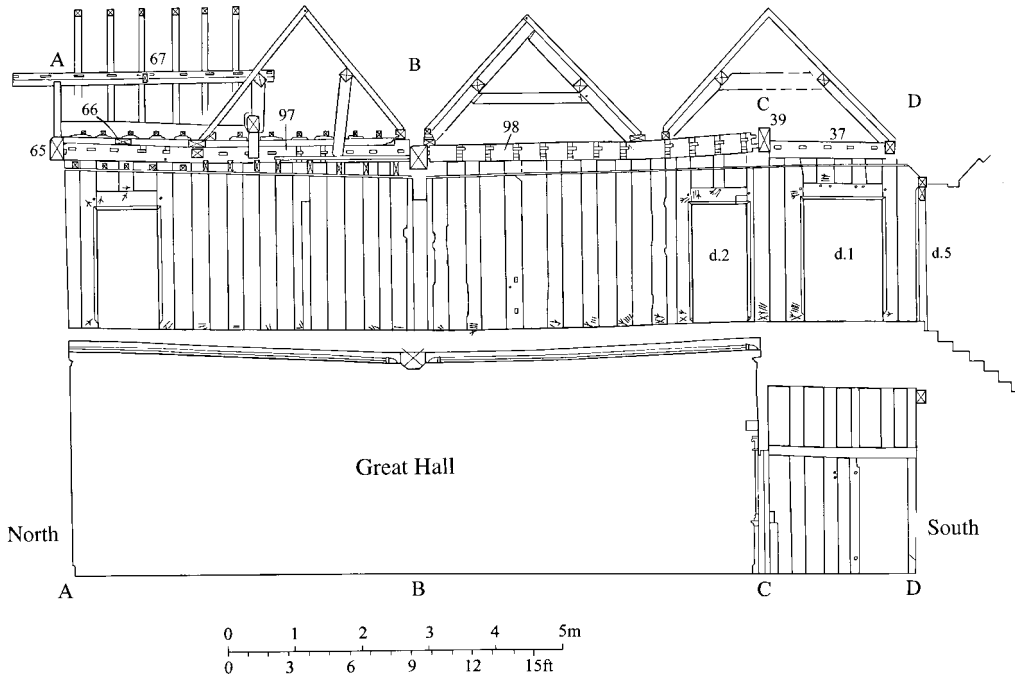


Fig 17. Henry Ferrers's east range of 1579–85, including the Great Hall: north–south section, from the west. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

of one of the original windows in the east range was saved when several of its mullions and transoms were reused as ceiling joists during alterations to the south-eastern turret.

The roof carpentry provides the most remarkable evidence of the curtailment of the east range building programme after the timber carcass had been pre-cut. The east range was too wide to be spanned by conventional roof-trusses. Instead, the Tudor carpenters devised a roof with two large bays defined by three enormous extended tiebeams, each of them *c* 8.2m (27ft) long. The main roof over the east half of the building was carried by threaded side purlins and cranked wind-braces of shallow arched form. The west side of the roof was to have been covered by three long transverse dormers, presenting side gables to the courtyard (see fig 17), and the combined width of the gables was intended to match that of the two main bays below. When the pre-framed building carcass was assembled north of the intended footprint, it overlapped the end of the north range, making it impossible for the gables to be built as planned. Instead, the dormers and their gables were shifted south, clearing the end of the north range and also providing a roof over the new staircase. The two outer gables are close-studded, but the one at the centre has herring-bone framing; each of them contains a small square window aperture, plausibly intended to light servants' rooms. However, the attic was never floored; on the first floor the partition wall at the side of the corridor has a head-beam (**37**, **97**, **98** on fig 17) with numerous empty unused joist mortices.

By moving the new east range slightly to the north, the space between trusses **C** and **D** became available to accommodate the new main staircase; this area reveals more

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evidence that the original intentions were not followed. In the partition wall **C** (see fig 16), the girding-beam **38** retains a row of blocked mortices for a floor that was intended but never built. The joist mortices do not continue along the entire length of the girding-beam, suggesting that originally a square stairwell was intended, rather than the somewhat grander staircase now there. On the same wall, the extended tiebeam **39** has a mortice **36** on its east face, apparently intended to house a soffit tenon at the end of a longitudinal floor-beam, but there is no corresponding mortice on the older truss **D** (see fig 7).

The framed carcass of the east range included a close-studded wall on the northern side of the stairwell, but the framing in the opposite wall – the northern end of Brome's chamber block – used tall rectangular panels. The old wall was adapted to match by inserting alternate studs into the original panels (see fig 7). The second landing on the new staircase was designed to coincide with the floor level inside the chamber block so that a new doorway (**d.6**) could be inserted in the old wall. A further flight of five steps was then required to take the staircase up to the level of the west corridor over the new hall.

Despite the curtailment of the east-range building programme and its differing floor levels, better integration of the new hall with the south range was achieved through the construction of lobbies on the west side of Brome's chamber block. These now house the Entrance Lobby and Rear Hall on the ground floor, and the Lower Landing on the first floor (see figs 3 and 4). This new front (fig 18) must be of around 1578/9 or shortly after, since its west wall is integrated with the new hall frame, and its decoration matches the latter's chamfer stops and the style of several doorway lintels. Side gables were provided over these lobbies, but since they stood in front of Brome's chamber block they were set at a lower level than those above the Great Hall. The gables stand on a wall-plate which retains pegged mortices for a timber-framed wall. The panelled ceiling over the lower landing has moulded wooden ribs of similar profile to those in a sixteenth-century ceiling at Compton Wynyates.[47]

The remodelling of the north range, the construction of the new Great Hall with chambers above, and of the lobbies and staircase around the old chamber block, completed the main elements of the surviving courtyard plan. The extensive remodelling of the house might have included the cooking arrangements, but the location of the kitchen(s) remains uncertain. By this stage, part of the medieval hall range might have functioned as a kitchen, even though direct evidence for this change is only found two centuries later. Over time, the status of the rooms on the ground floor of the south range began to decline, so that by the eighteenth century they had become the Servants' Hall, Nursery, Servants' Chambers, Wash House and Brewhouse (see 'Living in the house in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' below). Although these service rooms separated the complex into two parts, it was possible on one floor or another to make a complete circuit of the house, via corridors or by passing through rooms; however, when occasion demanded, the buildings could equally serve two discrete households.

If, as suggested, when the north range was built in 1535/6 it contained a long gallery on its first floor, the subdivision of that space as early as 1574/5 is informative. Given the option, and the social expectation to entertain important visitors and their households, the gallery might have been retained while it remained fashionable. The early adaptation of this part of the building implies a strong need to find space for a suite of first-floor heated chambers within the constraints of the moated house. Until Bridget Ognell, the remarried mother of Henry Ferrers, died in 1582, she maintained a household at Baddesley under her dower rights, and on those rare occasions when he was at home the

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Fig 18. Baddesley Clinton: the courtyard, 1941. *Photograph*: © reserved, W Marment & Son (SBTRO, DR958/51/65).

manor was jointly occupied. At these times, the new east range could have been coupled with the chambers in the remodelled chamber block and along the first floor of the south range, while the new apartments in the north range may have been linked with additional rooms in the now-demolished west range.

Recusancy, the Vaux sisters and the priests' hiding places

The first remodelling of the north range *c* 1574, quickly followed by the new hall, chambers and lobbies in the east range, belies the relative impoverishment of the family during much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the sudden reduction in the scale of the east range in 1574–80, and the time taken to complete it, may reflect financial constraints. Henry does not appear to have made Baddesley his main residence after his mother's death, and the house was leased to Eleanor Brooksby and her sister Anne, the staunchly Catholic daughters of William Vaux, during the 1590s.[48]

Despite the Act of Uniformity in 1559 and subsequent legislation, Jesuit priests migrating back from France after about 1580 sought the protection of sympathetic rural Catholic gentry.[49] The response at Baddesley, in *c* 1580–90, was the creation of several priests' hiding places[50] – a process fraught with difficulties, as anyone employed to construct them had to be both sympathetic and trustworthy. Several hiding places were

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created, probably by the master of this art, Nicholas Owen, a servant of the Jesuit superior, Father Garnet. One hiding place was in the sewer system within the outer stone wall of the south range, apparently making use of a latrine chute for access (**90** on fig 10). Another, secreted alongside the chimneystack at the east end of the north range, remains accessible today via a cupboard in an alcove in the north-east corner room (**91** on fig 13). A third hiding place has also been suggested, located on the west side of the gate-passage (**92** on fig 13).[51]

PHASE 5: REMODELLING IN 1620–42

Phase 5a: the Great Parlour

Henry Ferrers often lived elsewhere, and he did not possess the resources for extensive new building at Baddesley Clinton, but it seems that his interest in the house was rekindled in the 1620s when, in common with the spirit of the age, he could express his breeding and knowledge through the refitting of interiors in the latest taste. Just as the north range of the 1530s failed to meet the family's needs or aspirations in the 1570s, so again in the seventeenth century the accommodation fell short of new ideals. Thus, at the end of his long life, when he was an eighty-year-old widower, Henry Ferrers 'the Antiquary' embarked on a second remodelling of the north range, involving the insertion of the Great Parlour over the main entrance passage; however, the work was probably completed by his son Edward after Henry's death in 1633.

Life at Baddesley and some of his work there is illuminated by Henry's extraordinary diary.[52] Although this covers only two short periods, November 1622 and February to March 1628/9, it extends to 110 pages, and it includes some records made every few minutes, at which times his activities can hardly have involved much more than writing the diary. Some entries indicate how the house was being used. Thus, 'I dyned in my chamber; After dinner I was below in my son's chamber' (1 February 1629) suggests that the latter room was on the ground floor. On 2 March 1629 he supervised the carving of an armorial chimney-piece – apparently that now in Henry Ferrers's Bedroom: 'I went to the Radcliffs being at woork in the Great Chamber, who have finished and set up the chimney peece in the new chimney which I like well', but his expert eye looked for perfection: 'the unicorn is not set up for the crest and is as I think made to big and the horne to big and to upright and the eyes set ill and sydelonge'. An entry for the following day demonstrates the involvement of his son Edward: 'I went to the joiners and found my son with them they have finished the chimney-piece and set latches and catches in the doores that my son bought at London'.

It appears that Henry began work on the Great Parlour shortly afterwards. Since the Great Parlour is wider than the Gatehouse passage, new transverse partition walls were needed, and the design of the ceiling also required further alterations to the roof. This is aligned north–south, using numerous coupled rafter trusses with single collars and double arch-braces, supporting the laths of the arched ceiling. To make space for it, the 1574 truss **c** (see fig 13) had to be moved 0.6–0.8m (2ft–2ft 6in.) to the west and truss **e** *c* 1.2m (4ft) to the east of their original positions, much reducing the sizes of bays **b** to **c** and **e** to **f**. The sectional form of the building thus reached its present form. The work has been securely dated from two rafters and the north-western valley board, with felling dates of summer 1630, while a third rafter is dated to winter 1630/1.

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The Great Parlour is a handsome panelled room with an elliptical plaster ceiling, and after the manner of its time, it is extremely well lit, with a large mullion-and-transom window at each end, supplemented by smaller three-light windows over each side of the projecting gatehouse. However, there is no visible evidence that the ceiling was ever decorated with moulded plasterwork, as might be expected. Part of the east wall, opposite the fireplace, is plastered and hung with tapestry. Taper-burns and graffiti, just above table-height, imply that there was an interval between its assembly and the introduction of the wall hangings. The Great Parlour was undoubtedly heated from the outset, its fireplace being served by a new chimney which also carries a flue from the fireplace in the Moat Room on the ground floor.

When the parlour was built, a doorway connected it directly with the Front Bedroom, but the inconvenience of room-by-room access was soon overcome by introducing a corridor along the south side of the first floor, and probably also a staircase; this increased privacy, and improved communication with the north end of the old west range. The fireplace in the middle of the Library west wall was in place before the partition was built; otherwise, it would surely have been sited further north to achieve internal symmetry. Evidence from the carpentry in the attic confirms that the construction of the corridor was carried out separately from any other alterations. In bay **a** to **b** (see fig 13), the plate which formed the head of the corridor partition was tenoned at both ends into the tiebeams, but the mortices were cut with wide, curved edges to enable it to be swung into place; a similar arrangement was used in bay **b** to **c** (**60**, **61** on fig 15). This device would have been unnecessary if the framing had been carried out at the same time as the Great Parlour was constructed, so the corridor can be dated to shortly after 1631; it might have been an enhancement of the scheme at Edward's behest, following his father's death.

The insertion of a similar corridor west of the Great Parlour implies that the former west range was still standing at this time, and that it had first-floor rooms at its northern end. East of the Great Parlour, the corridor still survives, but after the demolition of the west range the passage west of the Great Parlour no longer led anywhere, so the partition was eventually removed to enlarge the room now used as the Library. In the partition wall between the surviving corridor and the Front Bedroom, a redundant balustrade and evidence of a former lath and plaster ceiling, curving over a former stair-well, marks the location of a staircase (see fig 13); this was probably replaced by the 'New Staircase' (that now in the Library) shown on the plan of the house made by Rebecca in 1869.

Phase 5b: further alterations to the south range

The felling date of winter 1641/2, obtained from one of the new rafters in the south-range roof, provides a *terminus post quem* for a general remodelling. The alteration of the roof was probably occasioned by the removal of a stone parapet, but this was just one of several changes in response to the earlier construction and remodelling of the east and north ranges. The most obvious change was the improvement of the 1520s Great Chamber (the later Chapel) by fitting a new chimney-piece to what may have been an existing fireplace; its overmantel bears the arms of Edward Ferrers (1585–1651). The function of the room below (the present Kitchen) seems to have varied; it might be the 'Seller' referred to in Constance Ferrers's will of 1526; by the early eighteenth century it is clearly identified as the Servants' Hall and it may have gained this role as early as the 1570s.

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PHASES 6–9: LATER BUILDING PHASES

Throughout the seventeenth century, the Ferrers seem to have been impoverished, despite (or perhaps because of) their building programme. The potentially profitable marriage of Edward with Ann Peyto seems hardly to have helped the family fortunes, perhaps because of the previous indebtedness; in 1643, they suffered losses recorded at more than £500 from the depredations of parliamentary troopers.[53] From 1665 to 1674, further mortgages were being taken out, that in 1669 being noted specifically to be for the purpose of paying George Ferrers's debts (he had just come of age).[54] A writ of debt was taken out in 1670, charged on Henry's lands; in 1680, an agreement was reached relating to George's debts and in 1684, the widow, Bridget Ferrers, sued George for her dower and the annuities due according to her 1639 marriage settlement.[55] The family occasionally chose to reside away from Baddesley at this period. Edward Ferrers was living in Sutton Coldfield at his death in 1729 and his widow, Theresa, continued to live there, as indicated by her will,[56] but those of Bridget Ferrers (1697) and of George (1711) indicate that they were at Baddesley.

Phase 6: alterations to the east range *c* 1703

Based on felling dates of 1700 to 1702 for the replacement roof-truss **G** (see figs 2 and 3), alterations to the east range took place around 1703. The most visible change to the exterior elevations was the replacement in brick of the jettied walls from the eastern side of the fifteenth-century chamber block and the sixteenth-century east range, initially as far as the hall chimney.[57] Consistent with the tree-ring date for the replacement roof timbers, the brickwork there is in Sussex bond, which has been recorded in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century buildings in Warwickshire.[58] This major operation must also have involved the temporary removal of the panelling from much of the Blue Bedroom and Henry Ferrers's Bedroom and the partial re-assembly of truss **D**; the ceiling beam in the Stewards' Room also belongs to this phase.

Truss **F**, part of the replacement roof over the former chamber block, is illustrated in fig 19; trusses **E** and **G** are very similar. They are simple collar trusses with threaded purlins and ridge-piece, but they are surprisingly well finished for timberwork that would never be seen. Complex scarf joints were employed where the purlins are threaded through the principals, and the expanded heads of the neatly chamfered principals were tenoned together above and below the clasped ridge-piece. Joists from an earlier ceiling were reused over the Blue Bedroom and Henry Ferrers's Bedroom and, as they are tenoned at both ends into the tiebeams belonging to the later roof, they must have been put there at the same date. The lath-and-plaster ceilings applied to these joists are discontinuous over the partition between the two bedrooms, indicating that the earlier panelling was also re-erected at this time. Other reused frame elements are found in the inserted ceiling over the first floor of the south-eastern turret; this contains joists made out of the remnants of a Tudor mullion-and-transom window, including a moulded corner mullion from a projecting bay window that once overlooked the courtyard or the moat. Thus, the alterations to the turret took place at the same time as the Tudor bay windows were replaced in brick. It was probably at about the same time that the single-storey block projecting over the moat from the south wall was added (**4** on fig 3); the only direct dating evidence lies in the stone arches of classical form on which it is supported, but its upper part is of stuccoed brick, similar to that of the turret. It includes

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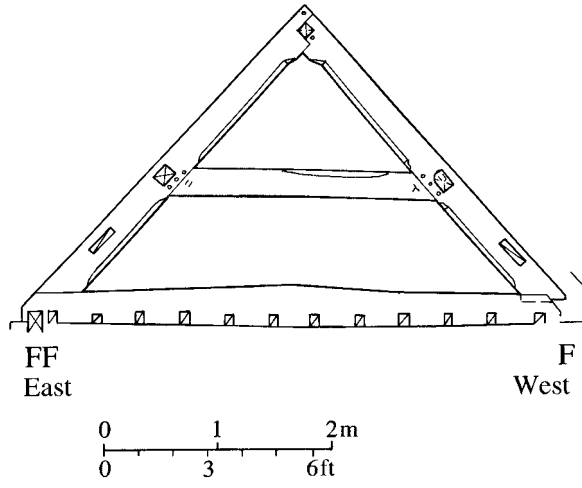


Fig 19. One of the phase 6 roof trusses (*c* 1703) over the eastern arm of Brome's chamber block. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

no early internal features and is now a disused bathroom, but in 1869 it contained two water-closets.[59] Its appearance and position strongly suggests that it originated as a double latrine, built to replace the medieval ones.

Phase 7: mid-eighteenth-century renovations

Little information has survived concerning the family finances in the eighteenth century, though more money was raised after George's death in 1712. Between 1712 and 1752, the activities of Edward Ferrers and his son Thomas are recorded principally in their account book.[60] Edward was responsible for a new farm courtyard outside the moat but did relatively little work on the house itself. He spent about £10 in each of three years, on a cellar and larder, and on a house for bottles (which might equally have been part of the main house or in the farm courtyard). The most substantial change made by Thomas was the conversion of the former Servants' Hall into the Kitchen (1747). This is the most likely stage for the enlargement of the Kitchen to take in the adjoining part of the ground-floor passage; the first-floor wall is supported on a chamfered post braced to a timber beam and standing on a stone stylobate. The fitting-out of the Kitchen probably also included the replacement of the existing stone fireplace on the south wall by a new fireplace and brick chimney against its east wall, rising through the Sacristy; the back of the chimney there and its projection at roof level are visible on early photographs (see fig 11).[61] In 1752, Thomas also moved a chimney-piece to the hall from the 'Great Dining Room' (now the Great Parlour).

Phase 8: rebuilding the north-eastern corner of the island

The building on the north-eastern corner of the island contains the Drawing Room on the ground floor and the National Trust Office above. Its front (north) wall is of ashlar

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masonry, the straight joint at the junction with the north range being emphasized by the termination of the latter's moulded plinth and string course. The pegged timber window-frames in that elevation are of a type that was employed during the late eighteenth century (and after), as, for example, in a building of 1795 at Marden (Kent).[62] The style of these windows is consistent with the felling dates of winter 1789/90 obtained from the roof. The wall along the east side overlooking the moat is of brick in English Garden Wall bond, with a header row between every three stretcher courses. This bond has been used from the sixteenth century, but the type employed here became dominant in the nineteenth. The contrast between this bond and the Sussex bond used on the east face suggests that the casing of this side of the range in brick belongs to the late rather than the early eighteenth century. The same brick bond was employed in the reconstruction in brick of the courtyard wall of the east range, and for the patching of the rear wall of the gatehouse range after the removal of the medieval hall, suggesting that these alterations were also the work of Edward Ferrers at the end of the eighteenth century.

The chimney built on the east end of the north (Gatehouse) range around 1574/5 contained ground- and first-floor fireplaces on both sides, so by this date the building occupying the north-eastern corner of the island had heated rooms upstairs and down. In its successor, the phase 8 building, the roof-trusses **h** and **j** (fig 20) are asymmetrical, with the king posts placed off-centre to line up with the ridge of the adjoining building. Trussed rafter king-post roofs first appeared in England during the seventeenth century, but no general description of their structural behaviour was published in English before the end of the eighteenth, so it is not clear how well the carpenters who built them understood the forces involved.[63] In principle, the king post should act in tension, suspending the centre of the tiebeam, but at Baddesley Clinton the head of the post was not splayed, and no pegs are visible for the tenon at its foot, so its carpenter probably conceived of the tiebeams as a means of support, after the manner of those king-post roofs that were preferred by northern carpenters in the late Middle Ages.[64]

Phase 9: the nineteenth century

The nineteenth century saw a rack of mortgages taken out, starting in 1839, and the house was then leased, first to Colonel (or Major) Sandys (starting between 1841 and 1851, finishing in 1856), and thereafter to J D Muntz;[65] it may well be that Marmion Ferrers could not afford to live at Baddesley before the family finances took a turn for the better on his marriage to Rebecca Orpen in 1867. Two years later, the other members of the remarkable *ménage à quatre*, known as 'the Quartet', took up residence: Georgiana, Lady Chatterton (Rebecca's aunt) and her husband, Edward Dering, both of whom wrote romantic fiction. All four were deeply religious, and they lived in spiritual harmony at the manor for seven years until Lady Chatterton's death. Rebecca married Dering after Marmion's death in 1884 and the latter paid the mortgages off in 1890.

Relatively little work was undertaken on the house during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Only in the time of 'the Quartet' did Edward Dering's wealth improve the situation. During this period, the Chapel was created in a former bedroom (1875),[66] and in 1890 the service block was added in front of the south range.[67] Norris also notes that a doorway in the west wall of the hall, presumably inserted when it was rebuilt in brick, was made into a window in 1894.[68]

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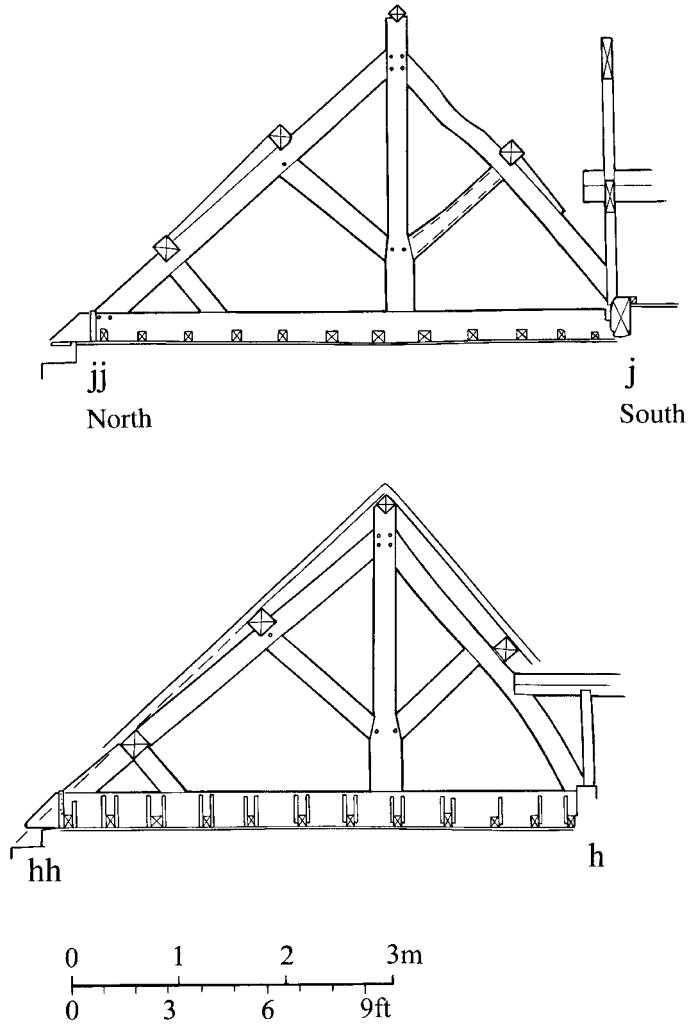


Fig 20. The roof trusses over the phase 8 building on the north-east corner of the island. *Drawing*: R A Meeson.

LIVING IN THE HOUSE IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

Regrettably, no probate inventories have survived from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, but buildings, plans and inventories can be combined to offer insights into the operation of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century house, complementing the evidence of wills for the sixteenth century. The earliest surviving inventory is that of Edward Ferrers (13 July 1730), who was living in Sutton Coldfield.[69] Following the inventory's main section is a list of twenty-four rooms headed 'At Baddesly'. These appear not to include the main reception rooms at Baddesley, suggesting that their furniture had been moved to Sutton Coldfield; rather, they seem to relate to the first-floor rooms and the service ranges, including the Servants' Hall, the Brewhouse and the Kitchen.

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Thomas Ferrers's inventory of 1760

A full probate inventory survives for Edward's son Thomas, dated 12 October 1760.[70] After fifteen entries for the farm buildings, yard, garden, etc, located outside the moat, it names some forty rooms in the house; these can mostly be located by comparison with the plans of the house. Although the room names at Baddesley seem to have been used very conservatively, those on recent plans have undoubtedly been affected by changes in function following construction of the 1890 service block. Crucially, two plans pre-date that alteration. The earliest was made by Rebecca Ferrers in 1869 to plot the drains; although it is only a sketch plan, much foreshortened in the easterly to westerly direction.[71] This is supplemented by Baker's ground-floor and basement plans (dated 1885).[72] Between them, the plans name a dozen of the twenty or so ground-floor rooms. Thus, they provide fixed points from which room locations and functions can be suggested for the inventory. It was taken in two sequences on each floor, each starting from the south-eastern corner (by the present Kitchen and Chapel) (as illustrated in fig 21).

The first sequence starts with the Kitchen (**16**), moved by Thomas Ferrers to its present location. The Brewhouse (**20**), still identifiable from its fittings, was located at the west end of the south range by 1869. The Scullery (**17**), Meal House (**18**) and Wash House (**19**) are listed between the Kitchen and the Brewhouse (corresponding to the Larder and Scullery in 1869). The third cooking room listed, the Old Kitchen (**21**), finds no obvious place in the present building, but sequentially it should be on the west side of the courtyard, and thus can be identified with the original medieval hall (or part of it). From the contents listed in the inventory – fire dogs, a grate, an old plate warmer, old bench, old stool, old chair, and two hen coops – it was more or less disused in 1760. Thus, its later demolition (perhaps as part of the 1790 improvements) is understandable. The following service rooms, comprising Larder, Ale Vaults and Dairy (**22** to **26**), probably occupied the remainder of the ground floor in the west range, perhaps with the Vaults and Cellar in the lowest level of the north (Gatehouse) range.

The second sequence covers the major entertaining rooms of the house, including the Great Hall. Its interpretation is made difficult by our ignorance of the building in the north-eastern corner of the site prior to its reconstruction in 1790. Starting the new sequence, the Common Pantry (**27**), with its extensive contents, must surely have been close to the Kitchen for practical reasons, so it has been placed where the Pantry is shown in 1869 and 1890 (the present Archives Room), with the Little Cellar (**28**) adjoining it.[73] After going along the Passage (**29**), which was a rather low-status area, whose contents included a broken chair, the Servants' Hall (**30**) is reached in the south-eastern corner of the house – its 1885 position (the Housekeeper's Room in 1869); the Small Beer Cellar (**31**) can then be placed in the corner turret.

For the Little Parlour (**33**), two alternative positions are possible. As it is next in sequence, it might have been the not otherwise identified Outer (1869) or Little Hall (1885) (Entrance Lobby on fig 3);[74] however, this area lacks a fireplace, while the extensive contents of the Little Parlour include fire irons. Thus, more plausibly, the appraisers passed through the Great Hall into the north-eastern corner rooms, finding there two rooms and a closet (rather than the present single room); they first visited the Little Parlour (**33**) and the adjoining Dram Closet (**32**);[75] they returned to the Great Hall (**34**) and then went into the far corner room for the Further Pantry (**35**). Finally they visited the Great Parlour (**36**) and then, crossing the gate-passage, the Laundry (**37**).

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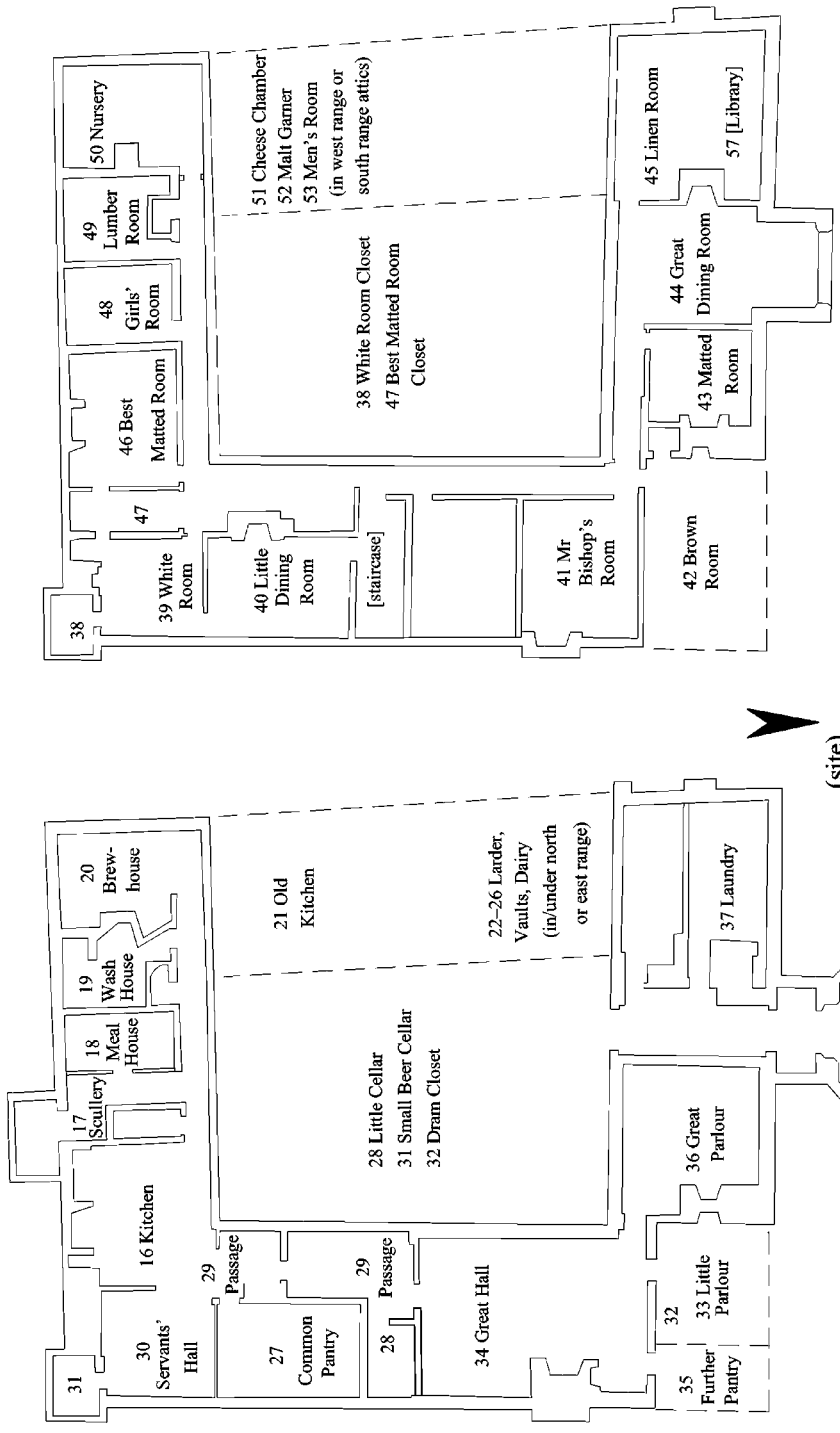


Fig. 21. Rooms and enumeration sequence in the 1760 probate inventory of Thomas Ferrers (SBTRO, DR3/742; spellings modernized). *Drawing*: N W Alcock.

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On the first floor, the sequence starts with the White Room (**39**) and its Closet (**38**); the former is the room in the south-eastern corner (the present Blue Bedroom)[76] and its Closet would be the small room in the turret. The next series of rooms (**40** to **45**) apparently runs in sequence along the east and north ranges. Again, we have a problem at the north-eastern corner, since fewer rooms are listed than now exist; the Great Dining Room (**44**) must surely be the present Great Parlour over the gate (the Banqueting Room in 1885),[77] but the precise assignment of the others is less certain; the present room north of the stair-head lacks a fireplace, so has possibly been subdivided off the adjacent one since 1760. The Linen Room (**45**) should be beyond the gate-passage (or perhaps down the minor stair here), conveniently placed near the Laundry.

The final sequence runs along the first floor of the south range. The Best Matted Room (**46**) and its Closet (**47**) can surely be identified as the present Chapel and Sacristy, with the Girls' Room (**48**), Lumber Room next the Nursery (**49**) and the Nursery (**50**) along the rest of the range;[78] the Cheese Chamber (**51**), Malt Garner Room (**52**) and the Men's Room (**53**) were in either the west range or the attics of the south range. Finally, the inventory returns to list the contents, including press and chest, of the Linen Room (**55**) and the Kitchen Linen (**56**), presumably in another chest. The last group of entries relate to the books (**57**) but, following them, the book cases, a writing table and an arm chair are listed (**58**), so they were in the Library, very probably where it still is, at the west end of the north range.

In 1760, the house was fully equipped for a lifestyle befitting the family's status. The Kitchen, Scullery, Common Pantry and Servants' Hall provided everything needed for their service, from spits, stew-pans and Dutch ovens to tea-kettles and thirty-two jelly glasses. The more elegant accessories were in the Little Parlour and the Further Pantry; the former held all the silver, the punch bowls and ladles, the coffee and tea pots, the tea caddies and the blue-and-white tea service; in the latter were the Delft plates and best glasses (including another sixteen jelly glasses), as well as the mahogany cistern, presumably for cooling wine.

Of the family living rooms, the Little and Great Parlours were particularly well furnished. The former had mahogany and oak tables, the spinet and its music (as well as the fish-shaped counters used in playing the game of quadrille), while the latter's tables were of mahogany and yew; both had looking glasses. These and all the main rooms had window curtains, while pictures were scattered over the whole house. In contrast to the two parlours, neither the Great Hall nor the upstairs Great and Little Dining Rooms were well furnished; the first held only a set of china chamber pots and basins. Similarly, though the inventory lists thirteen rooms with hearth equipment,[79] these do not include the Great Hall and the Great Dining Room which can therefore only have been used occasionally. Clearly, at this point in the family's life cycle, the use of the house was relatively contracted, with no need to allow for more than one household. However, five main bedrooms seem to have been in commission, as well as the Nursery (with two beds and a crib) and the Girls' and Men's Rooms. Thus, large groups of visitors could have been accommodated.

For the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries no inventories survive, though wills exist for both Helena (1840) and Harriet Ann Ferrers (1845).[80] The former was living at Aylesbury House, Packwood, but the latter was at Baddesley, where she is also recorded in the 1841 census. However, a significant series of later inventories are recorded in the notebooks of Margetts, the land agents, from 1856 to 1923.[81] They include a list of dilapidations at the termination of a tenancy by Colonel Sandys (1856),

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an inventory prior to that of John Muntz (1856)[82] and probate valuations for each of the nineteenth-century Quartet of occupants.[83] Some of these listings include only small parts of the house, but those of 1857 and 1923 appear fairly complete, respectively before and after the 1890 addition in the courtyard, which probably contained the 1923 Wash House. The ground-floor reception rooms and the service rooms correspond fairly well to the names on the plans of 1869 and 1885. The first-floor rooms are more problematic since the chambers are numbered rather than being described and it has not been possible to identify them firmly. The Chapel and Sacristy are only named in 1923.

Census enumerations 1841–1901

The census listings from 1841 to 1901 reveal who was actually living in the house.[84] The 'family' varied from Rebecca Dering, as an elderly widow on her own in 1901, to the household of John Muntz in 1861, with his wife, three young children and a visitor. The family was generally supported by two men-servants – usually a butler and a groom – and typically four women – a housekeeper, a cook and a couple of maids. The rather small establishment recorded in 1871 (a butler, footman and two housemaids) was supplemented by a family who had separate accommodation in the stable yard. Apart from that group, the servants no doubt all lived in the down-graded accommodation in the south range, convenient to the service rooms in that part of the house.

CONCLUSION: THE REFLECTION OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The long sequence of development at Baddesley illustrates not only the responses to changing circumstances particular to the site (especially occupation by multiple households), but also reactions to national and regional social trends. These reactions themselves help identify the underlying forces behind the observed trends, as well as informing our knowledge of plan developments and the use of space. The changes at Baddesley are concentrated in a period of great social change, from the mid-fifteenth to early seventeenth centuries.[85]

Of the earliest phases, we know that by the early fifteenth century, the house included all the functions expected in a substantial manor house – gatehouse, hall, kitchen, chambers, service rooms – mostly in separate buildings. Of this early structure, only a single post from the hall survives, but around 1459, John Brome began to develop the house, by adding a chamber block, which he elected to place in the south-eastern corner of the island, detached from his own accommodation (phase 2). This could have been for guests, or retainers, or it could have served a dual function. Although they ate together in the hall, the occupants of the chamber block retired to a separate building, either as a mark of their different status or for privacy, and it might be more than coincidence that the two suites within it were markedly different in size. Furthermore, the ground-floor rooms were of mean proportions when compared with the tall chambers above, and this distinction was originally emphasized by the jetties on the south and east elevations, making the upper rooms not only taller, being open to the roof, but also wider than those below. The ground-floor rooms might have accommodated the principal occupants' retinues, servants, or lesser members of their households. The social distinctions may have been further emphasized by having separate external staircases for each discrete chamber, and by there being no internal

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connection between each range. By this period, the house was well suited to accommodate not only the senior member of the Brome family, but also the household of whoever held dower rights (or their equivalent). When necessary, it seems to have been partitioned into northern and southern sections, both containing private chambers, with shared kitchen and service rooms.

The alterations made by Sir Edward and Lady Constance Ferrers to the south range from 1526 onwards imply different expectations from those of John Brome, both for their own accommodation and for guests. The upper-end chamber block was rebuilt in stone with a parapet, possibly crenellated. It was extended to link with Brome's chamber block, also partly remodelled in stone. The latter was also improved by the addition of three stone chimneys and several en-suite latrines. Guests accommodated in Brome's building were now under the same roof as their hosts, providing for greater comfort, with less social segregation of equals, though perhaps more separation from servants. The removal of external stair turrets and their replacement by a two-storey gallery along the courtyard sides of the south range and the old chamber block provided covered access, and by superseding room-by-room communication it simultaneously increased privacy (compare the gallery of *c* 1525 at Ightham Mote).[86] The creation of suites of chambers accessed from corridors must also have prompted the removal of servants to collective accommodation elsewhere.

Ten years later, Sir Edward and Constance Ferrers set about the construction of the north range, incorporating the Gatehouse. It stood in marked contrast with the new south range, its austere upper floor being devoid of heating or, apparently, of latrines, raising questions about its function, although plausibly a long gallery was intended. However, by 1551 it was furnished with surpassing elegance, as is revealed by Constance Ferrers's will.

The late sixteenth-century phase (*c* 1574–85) saw a transformation from what was still essentially a medieval house, though with a number of up-to-date features, to one thoroughly modernized and of its period. The work may have been prompted at least in part by the remarriage of the widow Bridget Ferrers to Andrew Ognell, creating the need again for two separate households to be accommodated on the site. The most innovative component of the new east range was the Great Hall, not open to the roof but fully floored over, heated by a lateral fireplace with a splendid chimney-piece, and decorated to match. In making this change, Henry Ferrers was precisely in tune with the fashion of the period which saw floored halls in gentry houses from Dorset to Cumbria.[87] He would also have been able to reserve the new buildings and the updated north range for his own use, leaving the southern part of the house for his mother's household – the reverse of the fifteenth-century position.

Although the original ambitious scheme was curtailed, the new east range also provided a good staircase, an entrance lobby and, on the first floor, a series of chambers all connected by a corridor. These improvements demonstrate the continuing imperative of improving circulation around the house. In the north range, the vital requirement was an increase in its level of comfort, through the addition of fireplaces. The primary function of the best room in this range was probably as a dining parlour, another innovative space. This new range took the place of the medieval kitchen and other services, which were transferred to the medieval hall range across the courtyard.

The only major change to the seventeenth-century house was a second remodelling of the north range to enlarge and beautify the Great Parlour (1630–1), though its use as a grand dining room appears to have remained unchanged. Rather than satisfying a

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specific functional need, this improvement was a response to the fashion for bigger windows to provide more light, and for better decoration. In identifying its rationale, it is also worth remembering that this work was initiated by the aged Henry Ferrers rather than by his son, whose only recognizable contribution to the house involves the repair of the south range and the upgrading of one fireplace. Although his finances hardly allowed it, Henry may well have sought to emulate on a small scale the prodigy houses of a generation before, such as Hardwick New Hall (1590–7) or Westwood (*c* 1600).[88] After Edward's marriage in 1611, the house was again divided between the households of father and son, though this seems to have been on a less formal basis. Because Henry was very rarely at Baddesley, he may have been satisfied by reserving some of the main rooms for his use when needed.

In the eighteenth century, maintenance rather than innovation seems to have been the watchword – no doubt the rationale for the brick re-fronting of the east range and the reconstruction of its roof (*c* 1702). However, it was probably a change in the organization or size of his household that led Thomas Ferrers to move the kitchen into a more convenient space in the south range, pushing out the servants' hall into a smaller room. With this transfer, the medieval hall, latterly the kitchen, fell out of use, to be demolished later in the century – regretted by later antiquaries, but greatly improving the cramped courtyard.

The last substantial change to the entertaining rooms (phase 8, *c* 1790), in the north-eastern corner, was perhaps driven primarily by maintenance needs, since it involved the replacement of what was probably an old timber-framed range by a stone- and brick-walled block. However, it also provided an improved retiring room, the favoured nineteenth-century Drawing Room, instead of the earlier parlour, closet and pantry. The final structural change, Dering's wing (1890), reflects a typical Victorian approach to the rationalization of the service functions. The final instance of the sharing of the house, after 1869, seems to have been even less formal than that of Henry and Edward Ferrers, with a small body of household staff and no more than individual chambers for the members of the Quartet.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors were introduced to the roofs at Baddesley Clinton by Richard K Morris, on whose recommendation the client report was commissioned by the National Trust, for whom Jeffrey Howarth managed the project; we also thank the National Trust for a generous publication grant. Alan Langstaff (the Property Manager) and all of his colleagues, including Ian Russell and Lin Howe (then Head Steward and Conservation Assistant respectively), gave willing support during our sometimes disruptive survey work. The rigorous survey and analysis of the timber-framing would have been impossible without Jean Meeson's continuous involvement. The precise dating of numerous building phases was facilitated by the thorough tree-ring dating work undertaken by Dr Dan Miles and Michael Worthington. Others who assisted include Alan J Mayes of Warwick District Council and staff at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Records Office, who were unfailingly helpful in identifying sources among their collections. The text has benefited greatly from the work of the journal's editors, and the astute observations of the referees. Nicholas Cooper helped to make our archaeological analysis of a highly complex building intelligible.

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Table 1. Summary of tree-ring dating (see also Meeson *et al* 2002)

Phase	Location and building	Felling dates and ranges
2	Southern half of east range and eastern half of south range (Brome's chamber block)	Winter 1458/9
3a	Western half of south range (Edward Ferrers's chambers)	Summer 1526
3c	North (Gatehouse) range primary roof	Winter 1534/5; winter 1535/6
4a	North (Gatehouse) range secondary roof	Spring 1574
4b	Northern half of east range (Great Hall)	Summer 1573; summer 1574; spring 1576; summer 1577; winter 1577/8
5a	Great Parlour roof in north (Gatehouse) range	Summer/autumn 1630
5b	Reconstruction of roof over south range (E Ferrers's chambers)	Winter 1641/2
6	Reconstruction of roof over south half of east range (Brome's chamber block)	Spring 1702; 1700–2
8	North-eastern corner block	Winter 1789/90

APPENDIX

The will of Dame Constance Ferrers dated 1551 (TNA, PROB 11/34, fol 220): sections bequeathing household goods

I bequeathe to my cosen Edward Ferrers, the yonger sonn of Henry Ferrers [*ie her grandson*], my second bason and ewer of silver, a standing cupp of silver gilt with a cover, a gilt spone with an angell over the knappe [*knob*] thereof, and the fether bed with the bolster, the tester of Redd and Yelowe saye with belles and the curteyns of the same, the trussinge bedsted, one peyr of blankettes, the counterpoynt [*counterpane*] of verdeuis [*'verdure', tapestry ornamented*], the cubbord and a carpet of lisynges [*lozenges*] of redd and yelowe over the same cubboard, the hangings of redd and yelowe saye with the border of the story of Grysill, the greate coffer and the andyrons, all which be in the **greate chamber over the seller**.

And also one other fetherbedd, two mattress, thre bolsters and the coverlettes to the same. The hanginges of redd and yelowe saye in the **Hall**, the syde tabull with the greate forme and benche thereunto in the seyd **Hall.** The table and the lowe cubbord in the **Parlor**, and all such leades in the **backhowse** as be sett in furnys [*furnace*] there, and three pott hangynges in the **Kechyn**. The eyriars [*nests*] of swannes usynge over the Blacke Poole and sixe score of shepe or lambes.

And I bequeathe to my sonne Edward Ferrers, all such plate cattell and household stuff hereafter rehersyd, that ys to wyte, my best bason and ewer of sylver, the mydell pott of sylver, the greate gilt bowle pounsed [*pounced*] with thewer therof, the greate salt of silver gilt with the cover, one gilt spone and sixe other sylver spones, one iron bound wayne with all thinges thereunto belonging, foure kyne, foure heyffers and a bull and eight swyne or hoggys, the fetherbedd, the bolster, one peyre of fustions, the coverynges of redd and yellow satten abridges [*satin from Bruges*], the sperver [*canopy for the bed*] of fustion in aples ymbrodered, six curteynes of redd and yelowe sarsinet, the hanginges of

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Tapestry worke and the cubborde nowe in the **greate chamber over the gate in Baddesley**, the greate iron bound chest and two other coffers, foure other fetherbeddes, thre mattres, seven bolsters, seven coverlettes to the same, sixe pillowes, sixe blankettes, my greate carpet with unycorns for a tabull, two carpettes for cubbordes wherof one ys of damaske work, two lyttel carpettes for wyndowes, the greate longe quysshen of damask, two peyre of shetes of two breyds and a halfe, a fyne christenynge shete of the same breyde, fyve other payre of flaxen shetes, sixe payre of course shetes, one payre of fyne pillowe beares, the greatest tabull clothe and towelles of dyaper [*diaper*], tenne dyapur napkyns, two smale dyaper towelles, two playne towelles, one diaper cubbord clothe, one playne cubbord clothe, two playn flaxen tabull clothes, three course tabull clothes & thre course towelles, halfe a garnysshe [*collection of pewter of graded size*] of vessell, foure candle stickes, the greate brason chaforn [*chafing dish*] in the **kechyn**, the brason morter with the pestell, the greate brasse pott, a lyttill pott, a greate kettyll, a posnett [*small cooking dish*], the greate pann in the **backhouse**, and a lyttill pann in the **deyhouse**, a lattyn bason in **my chamber**, two greate spyttes, one peyre of pothokes, a gryddyron, the peyre of andyorns, the fyre pan and the peyre of tonges used in the **parlor,** and also all such other household stuff, goodes and cattelles that were myne which he hath at Rowyngton or elles where of my gifte and deliverye beforetyme […]

And I bequeath to my son George Ferrers […] my greatest sylver pot, a playne sylver bowle gilt with the cover having losinges thereon, a playne white bowle of sylver with the cover, a salver of sylver parcell gilt with a cover, one gilt spone and sixe other sylver spones, one iron bounde wayne with towes, yokes and all thynges therunto belonging […*stock*]

The fetherbedd with the bolster, one payre of fascyons [*uncertain*], the quylt of sylke, the testor of fustyon in aples embrodered and curteynes of redd and yellowe saye, the hangyngs of Tapestry worke of the **myddel chamber**, the cubbord and carpet theron and the andyerns in the same chamber, foure other fether beddes, three mattris and seven bolsters to the same, sixe pillowes, sixe blankettes, seven coverlettes, a carpet for a table of yelowe and redd, one carpet for a wyndowe, sixe quysshens with unycorns on them and one damaske quysshen, one payre of shetes of two breydes and a half, fyve payre of other flaxen shetes, sixe payre of course shetes, one payre of fyne pillowe beares, one tabull clothe and one towell of dyaper, two playne flaxen tabull clothes, three course tabull clothes, two smale dyaper towelles and two playne towelles, foure course towelles, one dossen of flaxen napkyns and one dosen of course napkyns, two flaxen cubbord clothes with half a garnyshe of vessell, one dripping pan, one greate brasse pott, a little brasse pott, a postnet and a little kettyll, two little pannes now in the **deyhouse**, foure candelstickes of latten, a chaffron of lattyn, two spyttes, one payre of pothokes, three greate coffers, and also such houshold stuff goodes and cattelles as I have at any time heretofore delyvered and given hym. […*corn and stock*]
And I bequeath to my son Nicholas Ferrers, the best sylver pott, a salt of sylver gilt without a cover, a bowle of silver gilt and pownsed withoute a cover, a playne bowle of silver gilt withoute a cover, a whyte sylver bowle withoute a cover, one gilt spone and sixe other sylver spones, an iron bounde wayne with towes, yokes and all thinges therunto belonging […*stock*]

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and also the fether bedd, the bolster, one payre of fustions [of] counterpoynt with the greate unycorne thereon, the sperver and curteynes of redd and grene sarsnet with the hanginges of redd and yelowe saye, the cubbord and the andyerns in the **myddell chamber** and the hanginges of tapstry worke nowe in the **parlor,** three greate chestes, foure other fetherbedes, three mattris, seven bolsters, seven coverlettes to the same, sixe pillowes, sixe blankettes, a carpet for a tabull of turkey makinge, and a carpet for a cubbord of damaske worke, and a lyttle carpet for a wyndowe, foure quysshens of grene vurdeoure wherof he hath two alredy, one quysshen of damask, one payre of shetes of two breydes and a half, fyve payre of other flaxen shetes, six payre of course shettes, one peire of fyne pillowe beares, one table clothe and one towell of dyaper, two playne flaxen table clothes and three course table clothes, two smale dyaper towelles, two playne towelles and foure course towelles, one dossen of flaxen napkyns and one dosen of course napkyns, two flaxen cobberd clothes, half a garnysshe of vessell, one greate brasse pott, a lytle brasse pott, one posnet, one kettyll, two pannes in the **deyhouse**, a brason chaforn and a greate lattyn bason, the little lattyn bason in the **deyhouse**, foure candlestickes, two spyttes, one payre of pothokes and a grydyron, and also such other houshold stuff goodes and cattelles as I have at any time heretofore delyvered and given hym.

NOTES

1. Several articles have appeared in *Country Life* – **1** (8 Jan 1897), 20–2; **18** (30 Dec 1905), 942–52; **71** (30 Apr 1932), 498–500; **163** (1978), 1802–5, 1866–9; **167** (1980), 1005 – but only the 1978 series gives any substantial information about the structure, and that mostly parallels earlier sources. Tyack (1994) gives a full description. He discusses in particular the architectural affinities of the chimney-pieces, but otherwise relies on earlier sources. Emery (2000) has a short analysis of the development of Baddesley, but with a number of inaccuracies. The National Trust *Guidebook* (1983, 1998) includes details about specific building activities not noted elsewhere, some of which may derive from family traditions, as earlier references have not always been found. The latest revision of the *Guidebook* (2002) reflects the results of the 2002 survey in part, but still retains some of the traditional dating.
2. Baker 1891, 99, comments specifically that his paper would have been more complete if he could have examined the roofs, but that they were inaccessible to him.
3. Meeson *et al* 2002. The report includes full information on the dendrochronological analysis.
4. This orientation is used in the *Buildings of England* (Pevsner 1966) and the *VCH*, though not the National Trust *Guidebook*.
5. Le Patourel and Roberts 1978, 51.
6. *VCH* is the principal source for the early ownership of the manor.
7. He was 'of Amington' in 1246–7: Dugdale 1730, 1142; see also ibid, 992.
8. Alcock and Barley 1972, 134–6; for the dating of base-cruck halls, see Alcock 2002 and for aisled halls, Walker 1999.
9. Alcock *et al* 1978, 209.
10. Alcock and Meeson 1999.
11. SBTRO, DR3/228–9; DR3/227.
12. SBTRO, DR3/787.
13. SBTRO, DR3/239–40, 255–7.
14. Dyer 1972; Carpenter 1992, 188–91, 304, 502–5, 685.
15. One dispute is recorded in *The Complaint of John Brome* of 1450 (SBTRO, DR3/628), and another led to the loss of Brome's manor in Lapworth to the Catesby family. This was later recovered by Nicholas Brome but finally lost again following arbitration in 1501 (BCA, 427896).
16. SBTRO, DR3/265–6.
17. Settlements: SBTRO, DR3/275–6; DR3/286.
18. SBTRO, DR3/291.

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19. SBTRO, DR3/294–5; Nicholas's original will has not survived, but parts of it are recited in his inquisition post mortem (DR3/294). The information on his marriages in published pedigrees (Dugdale 1730, 971; *Visitation*, 97; Norris 1897, 25–8) is inconsistent. However, a series of settlements for the manor of Woodloes (WCRO, CR26/W29–31) provides contemporary evidence. His deceased first wife, Elizabeth, and his current wife, Katherine, are named in 1506; the latter is also mentioned in 1507 (SBTRO, DR3/291) and with her he had two sons, Edward (the elder, aged eight in 1517, so born in about 1509) and Ralph, and three daughters (mentioned in Nicholas's will). Katherine died before July 1513, when the next deed (probably executed shortly after his final marriage) calls her his 'late wife' and Lettice his 'now wife'. An endorsement on SBTRO, DR3/291, made by Edward Ferrers (*c* 1630), gives the full names of the wives as Elizabeth Arundle, Lettice Catesby and Katherine Lambecke (named in this order, incorrectly).
20. SBTRO, DR3/289–90.
21. Baker 1891, 85.
22. Beaumont James 1990, 131.
23. Wood 1965, 160.
24. SBTRO, DR3/799–805.
25. SBTRO, DR3/216.
26. SBTRO, DR3/268. On the basis of parallels elsewhere, the brewhouse and kitchen were probably detached from the hall range; see, for example, Page *et al* 2005, 157–64.
27. SBTRO, DR3/298.
28. SBTRO, DR3/613.
29. SBTRO, DR3/731a.
30. The payments to Will Carver and Edmond Harper follow a heading 'Carvers', implying that, like a payment to James Carpenter, Will's name indicated his craft. The carvers were each paid 4½d a day, a higher rate than the master carpenter (4d).
31. Baker 1891, 82; Forrester 1972, 31.
32. Truss **M**, which was closed and so self-supporting, was retained.
33. Jones and Smith 1971.
34. Not all masons' marks were unique to specific individuals but the majority of masons' banker marks are unique to particular craftsmen on specific sites: Alexander 2000.
35. Baker 1891, 82, refers to an oral tradition that an open gallery once extended along the courtyard sides of the east and south ranges. No evidence is now visible in the existing outer wall of the south-range corridor to indicate whether it might have been open. However, the surviving corridor at the Lord Leycester Hospital, Warwick, has an open arcade at first-floor level.
36. A sample taken from the gatehouse door itself failed to provide a date.
37. Colvin 1982, pl 2 and 279–82. However, examination of Colvin's drawing raises the possibility that the chimneys are secondary. If so, even this royal gatehouse might have been unheated initially.
38. Cooper 1999, 300–2.
39. Edward Ferrers: SBTRO, DR3/307; Norris 1897, 133–6; Dame Constance Ferrers, TNA, PROB 11/34; Norris 1897, 138–9. Norris's transcript of Constance's will is misleadingly incomplete as far as the household contents are concerned.
40. SBTRO, DR3/315.
41. The evidence for him at Oxford is sparse; in Wood 1815, 572, he is stated to have been a student at Hart Hall but he apparently never took a degree. An intriguing reference in 1586, which may refer to Henry, places a *Henry Ferris* on the fringes of Babington's plot to replace Queen Elizabeth by Mary, Queen of Scots; he was noted as being among students (?) from Oxford who tried to convert one Hugh Davies to Catholicism: *Cal S P Dom*, II, 347, 24 Aug 1586.
42. For the diary, see Berry 1965 and below.
43. The range of felling dates obtained for phase 4b indicates that no reliance can be put on the dating precisely to 1574, though the two date ranges obtained support felling dates close to this. Allowing for possible stock-piling of timber, construction in the later 1570s seems most likely.
44. *Guidebook*, 8.
45. Ibid, 16.
46. Ibid, 16.
47. Lloyd 1931, 422.
48. Discussed fully in the context of the search for Catholic priests in 1591 by Hodgetts 1974. There seems to be no confirmation in the family papers of the Vaux sisters' tenancy of Baddesley.
49. Cross 1999, 124–6.
50. Hodgetts 1974, 174–84.
51. Hodgetts 1974 only mentions the first two hiding places. That beside the gate-passage is described in the *Guidebook*, but access to it was apparently from below the fireplace

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in the Great Chamber which was only constructed in the 1630s.
52. Bodleian, Rawl D 676. Elizabeth Berry made a heroic transcript of the virtually illegible text (SBTRO, DR241/4) from which the quotations are taken. Cf Berry 1965.
53. *Guidebook*.
54. SBTRO, DR3/404–17.
55. SBTRO, DR3/621; DR3/636; DR3/622.
56. LJRO, proved 5 Mar 1734/5; the will was dated 19 Sept 1734 and she was to be buried at Baddesley.
57. The short portion of the Great Hall exterior brickwork north of the chimney is in a different bond, continuous with the wall of the Drawing Room. Presumably, therefore, the timber-framed wall here was left undisturbed by the work at the other end of the range; the possibility of brickwork here having been rebuilt when the Drawing Room was rebuilt cannot be excluded.
58. Brian 1980, 4.
59. Drain plan at the house.
60. SBTRO, DR3/731b. Two paragraphs on the first page summarize work done and money expended by Edward Ferrers from 1712 to 1723, and work done by his son, Thomas Ferrers, from 1747 to 1752.
61. SBTRO, DR958/51/52, 60, of *c* 1940; see also the 19th-century photographs: SBTRO, DR953/41, p 6, and DR958/51/5, 7, 9. The brickwork in the Sacristy has a broadly 18th-century appearance, though its bond cannot be distinguished. The chimney was removed during renovation in the 1940s.
62. Lloyd 1931, 268.
63. Yeomans 1999, 242–3.
64. Barley 1986, 54.
65. Identified from the evidence of inventories (see note 83).
66. *Guidebook*, 26. No independent confirmation of this date has been found, although a shield in the chapel states that it was restored by Georgiana, Lady Chatterton, wife of Edward Heneage Dering. We have seen no evidence to suggest that there had previously been a chapel here, nor indeed anywhere in the house. Baker (1891) gives no date for the creation of the chapel and *VCH* suggests 1634.
67. Norris 1897, 62.
68. Ibid, 65.
69. SBTRO, DR3/474.
70. SBTRO, DR3/742; we thank John Jarman for providing us with a copy of his transcript which has been checked and extended from the original.
71. At the house.
72. Baker 1891, unnumbered pages following 77 and 98.
73. On the 1885 plan a doorway connected these rooms, though in 1869 they appear undivided (probably incorrectly).
74. The central door to the Great Hall is shown on both the plans, so the present Outer Hall would only have been used by the servants, and therefore it could well be included as part of the Passage (**29**).
75. Any evidence for the inferred door leading from the Hall to the Little Parlour is now hidden by panelling. The Dram Closet is no doubt the 'Closset by the Little Parlor' that Thomas Ferrers floored and shelved in 1752.
76. Named the White Room by Baker (1891, 95).
77. Ibid, 94.
78. The Nursery's two sets of window curtains confirm its position in the south-western corner, a room with two windows.
79. The Hearth Tax assessment of 1674 lists 20 hearths at Baddesley: WCRO, QS75/59.
80. No will has been located for Hester Ferrers who died in 1822 (no reference in the Death Duty Registers for 1822–3; TNA, IR27); Helena Ferrers, TNA, PROB 11/1924, fol 166; Harriet Ann Ferrers, TNA, PROB 11/2025, fol 186v.
81. WCRO, CR2433.
82. The 1858 lease to Muntz shows that two rooms in the 'west' [south] wing were retained by M E Ferrers for furniture not included in the lease.
83. A further list of rooms is included in the 1939–40 catalogues for the sale of the estate and house contents (SBTRO, ER6/8/1–2) and several house inventories were prepared in 1955–71 (SBTRO, DR958/5–8).
84. Listed in microfilms and fiche at WCRO.
85. Just that period examined by Cooper (1999).
86. Cooper 1999, 65–8.
87. Ibid, 277–9.
88. Ibid, figs 120, 124.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

BCA	Birmingham City Archives
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, Oxford: Rawl D 676
Cal S P Dom	*Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, James I* (1856–72) (ed M Everett Green), 12 vols, London
Guidebook	*Guidebook to Baddesley Clinton*, by Jeffery Haworth (1983) and Claire Norman (1998, revised 2002), published by the National Trust
LJRO	Lichfield Joint Record Office
SBTRO	Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Records Office, Stratford-upon-Avon. The principal Baddesley Clinton archive is DR3, with other relevant material in DR241, DR422, DR495, DR759, DR953 and DR958
TNA	The National Archives: IR27; PROB 11/34, PROB 11/1924, PROB 11/2025
VCH	*Victoria County History Warwicks*, 1947, IV, 13–19 for Baddesley
Visitation	Camden, W 1877. *The Visitation of the County of Warwick in the year 1619: taken by William Camden* (ed J Fetherston), Harleian Soc 12, London
WCRO	Warwickshire County Record Office: CR26, CR2433; ER6; QS75

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