

IN THE PATH OF THE FLAMES: EVIDENCE FOR DAILY LIFE BEFORE AND AFTER THE GREAT FIRE, FROM EXCAVATIONS AT 11–23 NEW FETTER LANE, 25 NEW STREET SQUARE, 11 BARTLETT COURT, 1 AND 8–9 EAST HARDING STREET, LONDON, EC4

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SUMMARY

The site of 11–23 New Fetter Lane, 25 New Street Square, 11 Bartlett Court, 1 and 8–9 East Harding Street, London, EC4, lies to the west of the City of London. Archaeological work carried out in 2005 revealed an area of open land behind suburban housing that was used during the late 16th and 17th centuries for the disposal of domestic waste. The open aspect of this area was probably important in helping to stop the westward advance of the Great Fire of London, as the Fire damage map produced by Hollar in 1666 shows that the conflagration stopped half-way across the site. Following a summary of the site sequence, the second part of this report focuses on the Tudor and Stuart finds and structures, which provide valuable insight into local commerce, economic activity, horticulture, industry, religion and the status of the residents.

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents the results of fieldwork

carried out near the western edge of the City of London, an area archaeologically less well understood than that to the west (Middle Saxon Lundenwic), the south (the Temple and Lincoln's Inn) or east (the City itself). The site comprised an irregular block approximately 120m north–south by 100m east–west, bounded to the west by New Fetter Lane, to the east by Printer Street and parts of New Street Square, to the north by Bartlett Court and the northern extent of New Street Square, to the south by West Harding Street and Pemberton Row, and crossed by East Harding Street and Great New Street. Most of these streets have existed in some form or other since the 17th century (Fig 1).

The Museum of London site code is NSS05, while the grid reference for the centre of the site is 531363 181352. The London County Council Bomb Damage Maps, 1939–45 (Saunders 2005), show that the entire area of the site (excluding New

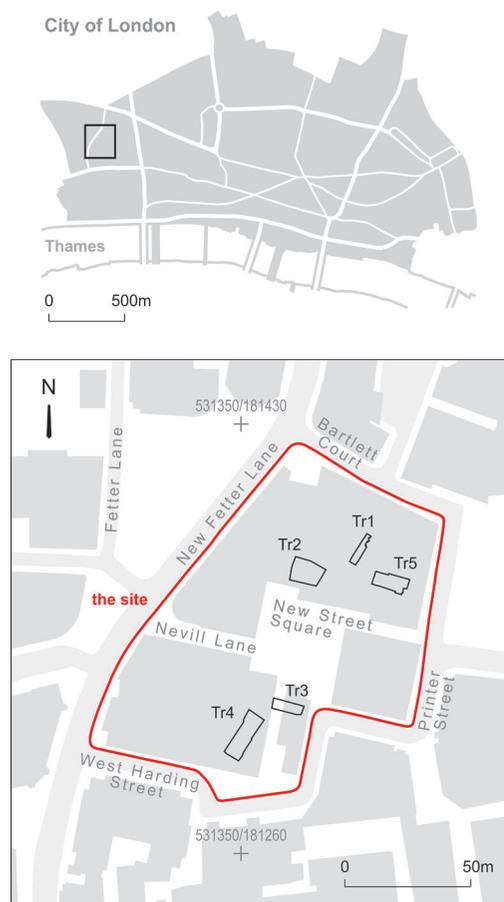


Fig 1. Site and trench locations (scale 1:3,000; inset 1:50,000)

Street Square, which has retained an open aspect to the present day) was damaged beyond repair during the Second World War. Redevelopment of this area in the late 1950s and 1960s involved the construction of seven buildings on the site, designed largely by Richard Seifert, the architect responsible for the Centrepont and NatWest towers. The development included his Newspaper House (1957–9), built in what was then the traditional heart of British journalism. The archaeological fieldwork described here was carried out in advance of the replacement of these buildings and the former street pattern, which comprised a new development of five multi-storey buildings.

Archaeological evaluations carried out in 2001 and 2002 (site code NFL01) had

recorded deposits dating to the 17th century (Elsden 2001; Sankey 2002; Elsdén & Askew 2003), but had also shown that archaeology which may have endured the 1940's bombing was unlikely to have survived the deep basements of the subsequent post-war buildings. The fieldwork carried out between May and September 2005 therefore took the form of a watching brief on the footprints of those buildings, with five excavation trenches located largely in the areas of the roads, thought to have the maximum potential for archaeological survival. Trench 1 was located near the northern end of Great New Street, with Trench 4 towards its southern end; Trench 2 was placed immediately to its west. Trench 3 was located at the western end of East Harding Street, where it joined Great New Street, and Trench 5 was placed at the southern (east–west) edge of New Street Square itself (Fig 1).

The results of the fieldwork are presented as an integrated report, the first part outlining the site sequence and the distribution of the finds, the second considering the evidence for aspects of daily life. In order to be able to relate the text back to the archive, the original building (B) and structure (S) numbers are retained here. Details of the pottery fabrics can be accessed on the MOLA website: <http://www.mola.org.uk/resources/medieval-and-post-medieval-pottery-codes>. The ceramic building material fabric numbers recorded in the text refer to a fabric reference collection held by MOLA, which can be consulted on request.

THE SITE SEQUENCE

Period 1: Prehistoric (17,000 BP–AD 43)

The site is located on the Pleistocene Hackney Gravels, about 250m west of the River Fleet, which now runs beneath Farringdon Road and New Bridge Street. Ground level slopes down steeply from west to east (from 17.94m OD in the west to 15.17m OD in the south-east), but very gently from north to south towards the River Thames, which is situated about 500m to the south. There was a negligible difference in the height of the natural gravel from north to south (average 14.53m OD).

No artefactual evidence for any prehistoric

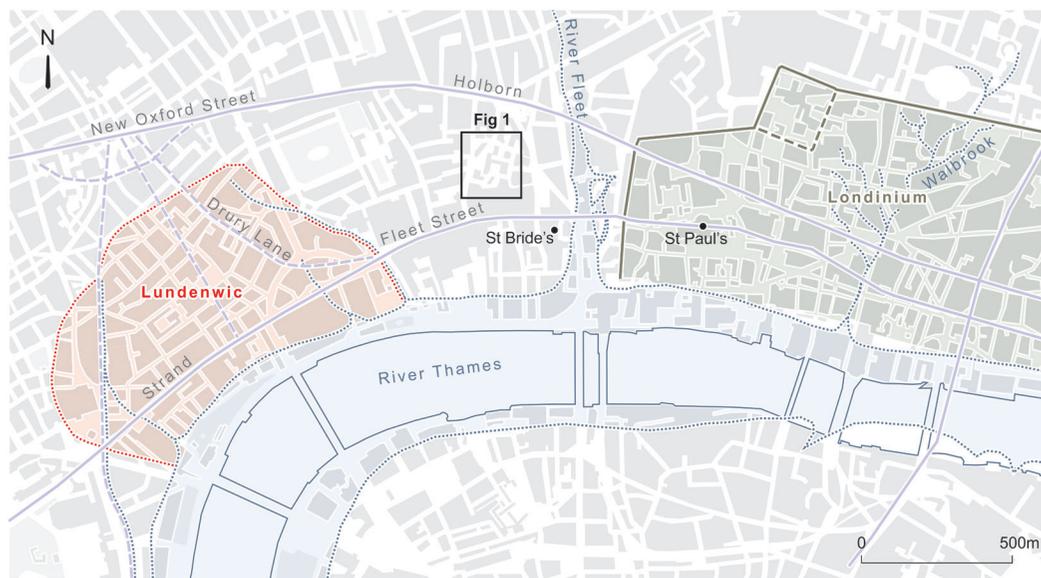


Fig 2. Map of Roman and Saxon centres with the position of the site (scale 1:25,000)

activity was recovered, but evidence for a palaeo-channel (not illustrated), thought to date to the Late Pleistocene, was recorded within the confines of Trenches 2 and 5. As it was not seen in either Trench 1 or 3, it has a maximum possible width of 40m, but was probably much narrower. Its fill was sterile clay sandy silt, sealed by brickearth which had the appearance of being reworked, with inclusions of pea grit and charcoal. The top of the channel was recorded at 14.54m OD; what is thought to be the same feature was seen to a depth of 0.80m in Trench 2. The channel appeared to be orientated east–west and probably flowed into the former River Fleet.

Period 2: Roman (AD 43–410)

In the Roman period, the site was situated to the west of the walled Roman city of Londinium and between two arterial Roman roads; these ran approximately along the lines of modern Holborn to the north and Fleet Street to the south (Fig 2). Roman burials, representing part of the extra-mural western cemetery have been recorded from along the line of the Roman road to the north, at St Andrew's, Holborn Circus and at Barnard's Inn, as well as to the east of the site

at Shoe Lane (Hall 1996, 58–64).

Nearby excavations at Furnival Street (Schofield 1998, 248, 292), have suggested that this area was also used for quarrying, probably for gravel for use in road construction. No evidence for either activity was found on the site, although a human femur (undated) was recovered from a 17th-century context. Roman subsoil (the reworked brickearth mentioned above) was present across much of the site, with Roman features revealed in Trenches 1, 2 and 4. This subsoil was present at c.14.50m OD. It is likely that other Roman remains were truncated in the 17th century.

Two Roman drainage ditches were found near the southern edge of the site (Trench 4), one of which contained the *in-situ* remains of an iron water-pipe collar (Fig 3). Wooden pipes with such metal junctions have been suggested by Wachter to represent 'some form of distributive system for running water' (Wachter 1974, 100) and to be too laborious in design for surface water removal alone (Williams 2003). A third ditch, running east to west, was recorded to the east in Trench 3. The drainpipe trench had been sealed by the remains of a Roman stone structure, possibly a wall (S12; not illustrated), with a couple of postholes located nearby. A



Fig 3. Roman features (scale 1:500), with view of the iron drainpipe collar

stone foundation, likely structural slots and possible hearth remains in Trench 2 (S1) suggest further construction activity, and this is reinforced by a general background scatter of 1st- to mid-2nd-century building material across the site, including flue tiles. The amount of Roman pottery is small, however, with 245 sherds (5.036kg), of which only 107 sherds (3.252kg) are from period 2; most date to the early Roman period, *c.*AD 50–160. The three coins are all residual and date to the 4th century (<175>, <182>, <254>). The evidence, as a whole, suggests some kind of Roman occupation on the site.

Period 3: Saxon and Medieval

Saxon (AD 410–1066)

The site was located to the east of *Lundenwic* and to the west of the walled city (Fig

2), but appears to have remained largely undeveloped during the Saxon period. A number of churches in this locality were founded, however: St Brides, St John Clerkenwell (Cowie & Blackmore 2008) and St Andrew's Holborn, the 17th-century version of which still stands *c.*100m to the north-east of the site.

Finds from the 8th and 9th centuries are also known from the area of the Temple (Bowsher 1999; Butler 2005; Jarrett 2005a, 53–6; Cowie & Blackmore 2012, 115), on the southern side of Fleet Street. A residual sherd of chaff-tempered ware was also found during excavations in the Fleet Valley (VAL88; Blackmore 1993). Earlier finds from Fetter Lane comprise part of a loomweight and the famous late 8th-century sword pommel, now in the British Museum (Webster & Backhouse 1991, 221, no. 173; Cowie & Blackmore 2012, 115, 322, Gaz 99,

100). Although residual, the two sherds of Saxon chaff-tempered pottery and one of Ipswich ware from the site (period 3, Trench 4, [267]; period 4, [186]; period 5, [325]) add to this picture of passing activity in the Middle Saxon period (for pottery fabrics see Cowie & Blackmore 2008, 179–81; 2012, 28–41).

Medieval (1066–1547)

Throughout the medieval period, the area to the west of the River Fleet was a suburb outside the walled city. Several churches, monasteries, and other religious foundations, however, were situated within this area. Other than a gradual ‘ribbon development’ along the main roads, such as Holborn and Fleet Street, much of the area comprised fields and gardens. A reconstructed map of London in the late 13th century (Lobel 1989, *c.*1270 map) shows the area of the site to be mostly open land, lying to the east of houses along ‘*Newstrate*’, which corresponds to modern Fetter Lane. The name ‘Fetter’ may be derived from the Old French *faitor* or lawyer and suggests a connection with the nearby Inns of Chancery; later this word came to mean ‘worthless’ or ‘idle’ people (Stow 1956, 348).

Results from previous excavations at Barnard’s Inn (BAA87), to the north-west, have added to this evidence for an open landscape, revealing medieval garden soil over 1m in depth, with a sequence of rubbish pits cut by a quarry pit. Other medieval rubbish pits have been found at Furnival Street (QLY01), also to the north-west, with a ditch and further garden soil at Pemberton Row (PEM90), which skirts the site to the south. A late 14th-century chalk structure has also been recorded at the southern end of Fetter Lane, which may relate to a property fronting the lane itself (FLE82).¹ Excavations in 2014 at 12–14 Fetter Lane (along the opposite side of the street to the site) revealed a small number of ditches and pits of 14th- and early 15th-century date. More intensive activity here only started during the late 16th century when rubbish pits, probably situated in the backyards of properties fronting into Fetter Lane, were dug (NFT10; Dunwoodie & Jeffries 2016, 254).

Two medieval drainage ditches in Trench 4 were recorded as either cutting or running parallel to the Roman ones (Fig 4). One (S2), aligned north-west to south-east, had a stepped-in double cut, with the remains of a stone wall/structure along its southern edge, possibly representing a property boundary. The northern side had a similar ‘platform’ for some kind of structure, although no building material remained. The second medieval ditch was present at the southern end of the trench, orientated east to west, truncating the earlier Roman drainpipe ditch. Nine sherds of pottery associated with these features date to *c.*1180–1200/50. Dumped deposits in this trench also yielded similar pottery, with large quantities of ceramic peg tile and ridge roof tiles and part of a green-glazed louver with a hooded circular aperture of late 12th-/13th-century date (total *c.*28.7kg); part of the latter was also found in a 17th-century context (period 5; trench 5). Together with still larger amounts from overlying period 4 deposits (*c.*34kg), this debris suggests the existence of a building nearby.

Although peg tiles were made throughout the medieval period and are therefore hard to date, the period 4 finds from Trench 3 include two later medieval floor tiles, one of which has the worn remains of a four-petal design (<T1>, Fig 4). The fabric (type 2324), thickness (21mm) and the presence of fine moulding sand suggest that this belongs to the Eltham/Lesnes group, made at an as yet unknown tiliary in the London area sometime in the late 13th–early 14th century (Betts 2007, 203–4). Similar tiles have been found on a small number of other London sites, but production seems to have been on a smaller scale than that of 13th-century ‘Westminster’ and 14th-century Penn floor tiles, both of which are widespread in London. The other find is a triangular ‘Westminster’ floor tile (fabric 2199) with worn yellow glaze, made in London sometime between the mid-13th century and the first decade of the 14th century.

In all, 126 sherds (35 ENV or Estimated Number of Vessels, 2.462kg) of medieval pottery, mainly London-type wares (23 ENV), but including Kingston-type (4 ENV), South Herts greyware (4 ENV) and Mill Green ware (1 ENV) were recovered from

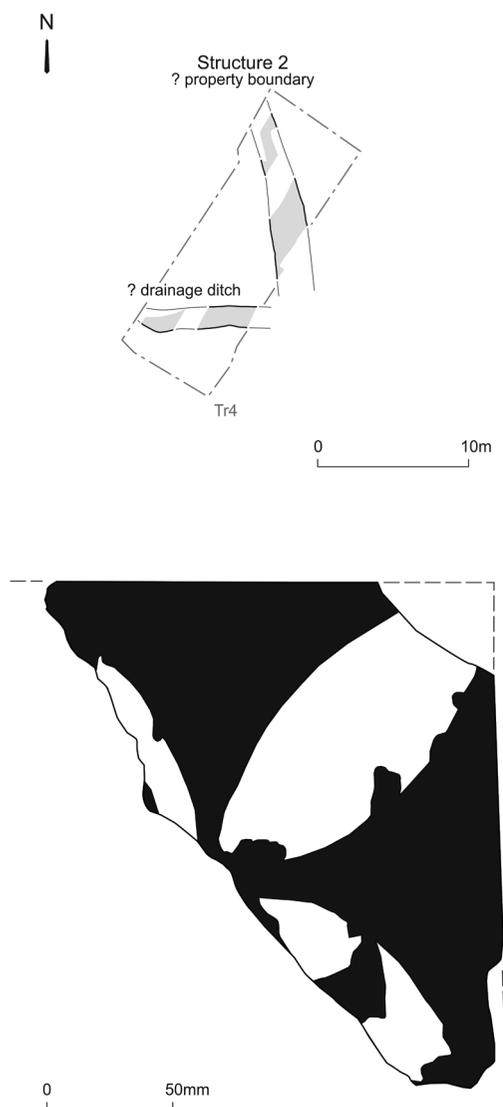


Fig 4. Medieval ditches (scale 1:500) and decorated floor tile <T1> belonging to the Eltham/Lesnes group found in a dump layer in Trench 4 ([230] <260>) (scale 1:3)

nine period 3 features, ranging from 11th- to 14th-century in date. In addition, there are 130 sherds (107 ENV, 1.548kg) of residual medieval pottery from period 4 deposits and 69 sherds (59 ENV, 1.113kg) from period 5, mainly Kingston-type ware, coarse Surrey-Hampshire border ware and Cheam whiteware (total 88 ENV), of 14th- to 15th-century date.

A local landowner who would have been familiar with pottery of this period was Robert Hardinge or Hardying (*c.*1430–1503), who worked as a goldsmith and property dealer. His widow Agas, in 1513 ‘bequeathed lands, tenements and gardens in Fetter and Shoe Lane to the Goldsmiths’ Company so that two poor goldsmiths’ widows could have 1d each a week’ (Weinreb *et al* 2008, 260). It is believed that East Harding Street denotes the location of this bequest, so it almost certainly included part of the site (*ibid*, 260). It has been suggested that by *c.*1520, the Fetter Lane frontage was lined by suburban development (Lobel 1989, *c.*1520 map).

Period 4: The 16th to Early 17th Century

During the Tudor period, economic factors led to the population of London quadrupling in size, although the medieval layout of the City of London did not change significantly (Weinreb *et al* 2008, 656). While the City remained the commercial and Westminster the political centres of London, areas between them and beyond the City walls began to be swallowed up in suburbs. In particular, the wealthy moved into the area of the Strand and the Inns of Court, whilst the poor began occupying suburbs around Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, Aldgate and Southwark (Porter 1994, 67–70).

On the ‘Agas’ map of *c.*1561–70, Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, Holborn and Shoe Lane are all lined with buildings (presumably houses), several storeys high (Prockter & Taylor 1979, pls 6 & 19; Fig 5), while the rest of the rectangular area delineated by these four streets (including the site) was subdivided into a series of garden plots containing only a few free-standing buildings. In detail, the area of the site can be related to four of the gardens associated with properties fronting on the eastern side of Fetter Lane, one of which contained a well (see below). There was one building present within the south-eastern corner of the site (Fig 5).

The majority of the 16th-century features that survived on the site were concentrated in Trench 3, in the southern half of the site, where a large rubbish pit and a circular well were recorded, approximately by the two trees on Agas’s map. The well ([256]), located with a pleasing coincidence in about

the same spot as Agas's stooping figure, reached a depth of at least 2m. Although none of the wood or metal had survived, it was thought to have been lined with barrels and contained a mixed assemblage of finds, including 49 sherds of pottery (41 ENV, 5.132kg), seven of which are of medieval date. The remainder mainly comprise London-area redwares (PMRE, PMSR, PMR;

35 sherds), with five of Surrey-Hampshire border ware and two of Dutch redware that date the fill to c.1550–1600. The most significant find is a near-complete watering pot that may have been dropped into the well as it was being filled (<P1>, Fig 6); part of a sprinkler-type watering pot was also found (<P2>, Fig 6; see below, Horticulture). Sprinklers had a wider distribution across Britain than watering pots with a separate rose, which seem to have been confined to the London area (Pearce 2013, 103). Other finds include a complete copper-alloy casket key (<130>), with a small amount of animal bone (cattle and sheep/goat) also recovered, including a radius from an infant calf.

A similar pottery assemblage was recovered from the neighbouring pit [234], with 62 sherds (51 ENV, 831g), of which 24 are medieval; again the contemporary finds mainly comprise London-area redwares (25 sherds, 21 ENV), with 11 sherds (4 ENV) of Surrey-Hampshire border ware, one tingleazed and one of Raeren stoneware; these finds were probably discarded, together with a piece of copper-alloy waste (<129>), between c.1570 and 1600/30.

Other pits, a posthole and dumped deposits were also recorded in both Trenches 3 and 5, while a contemporary posthole, a pit and a ditch were found in Trench 1 (not illustrated). Most of these features, as well as other general layers in Trench 4, yielded further groups of late 16th-century pottery. Other finds include part of a small spherical glass bead (<89>), part of a plain cylindrical

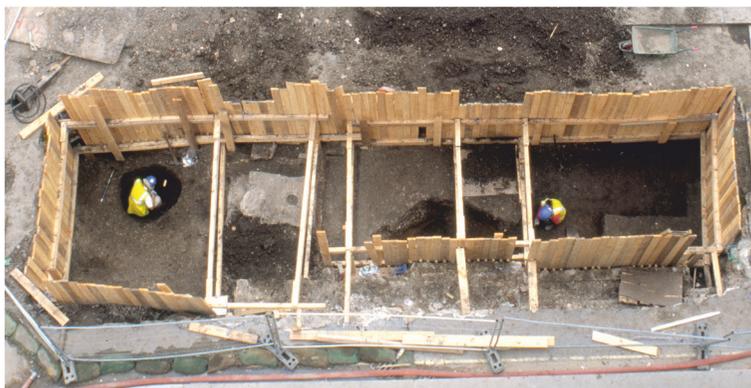
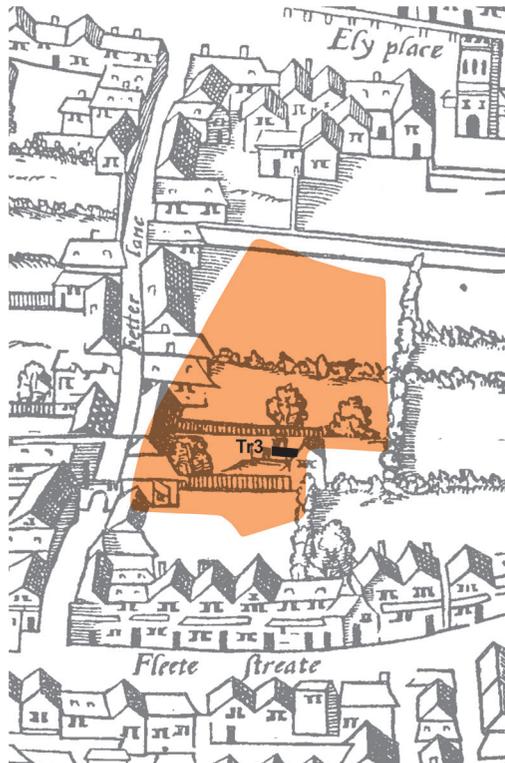


Fig 5. Photo of 16th-century well and pit in Trench 3, plus Agas's map of c.1560 showing the area of the site (site outline approximate)

<P1>



<P2>



0 100mm

Fig 6. Watering pot <P1> and sprinkler <P2> in London area early post-medieval redware, from a well in Trench 3 (scale c.1:4)

beaker or goblet with bucket-shaped bowl (<72>), a complete copper-alloy thimble (<125>) (see below, Dress-Making), and a lace chape (<230>). Iron objects include the remains of a large scale-tang knife (<211>), a buckle (<221>), a lock (<215>), a saw (<222>), and a horseshoe (<213>).

Period 4 Finds Summary

Taking all the contexts together, the amount of pottery is much larger than that from period 3, with a total of 399 sherds (296 ENV, 14.055kg), of which one is Saxon and 130 are medieval. The remainder mainly date to c.1580–1600 and comprise London-area post-medieval redwares (181 sherds, 125 ENV), followed by Surrey-Hampshire border wares (55 sherds, 38 ENV), with a smaller amount of imported pottery (18 sherds, 15 ENV), a few sherds of Cistercian ware, Staffordshire butter pot and tin-glazed ware. The main concentration is in Trench 3 (185 sherds, 128 ENV), with small amounts from Trenches 1 and 5, again reflecting the open aspect of this area.

Ceramic building material was also more abundant than it was in period 3 contexts, totalling 429 fragments (44.51kg) from Trenches 3 and 4; most comprised peg tile that could be derived from buildings used in period 3, but two London-made red bricks (fabric 3046) were found in Trench 4. One brick has a header face which has been exposed to great heat. Both bricks, which measure 220 x 104–10 x 44–8mm, are probably mid-15th- to mid-16th-century in date. The finds from Trench 3 include part of a late 15th-/16th-century Low Countries floor tile with a silty fabric (type 1977) and green glaze over a white slip.

Period 5: 17th Century: Pre-Fire

Stow, writing in c.1600, described 'Fewter Lane' as 'a way leading to Gardens: but the same is now of latter yeares on both sides builded through with many fayre houses' (Stow 1956, 348). By the time Faithorne and Newcourt's map was produced in c.1658 (Fig 7), the character of this area had changed dramatically, as the majority of the site had been developed. Houses covered the western half, with an open area in the north-east and a north-south access track towards the south. Access to these new properties was provided by a trackway that was to become West Harding Street, as well as a series of alleyways. It appears that the alignment and position of these new streets and alleys was largely determined by the boundaries of the earlier gardens.



Fig 7. Pre-Fire features (scale 1:500) and Faithorne and Newcourt map of c.1658 showing the area of the site (site outline approximate)

Trenches 2, 3 and 4

Three phases of early 17th-century activity were recorded during fieldwork in the southern part of the site (Trench 4), the first comprising rubbish pits, postholes and linear cuts, the second a thick layer that sealed them. This in turn was overlain by part of the north-south trackway that appears on Faithorne and Newcourt's map (Fig 7), which had become West Harding Street by the time of Hollar's map (Fig 10). Remains of a building (B1, Fig 7) recorded in Trench 2 are thought to have belonged to one of these pre-Fire properties; a substantial outer wall, surviving at *c.*15.70m OD and measuring 0.58m across, was aligned north-east to south-west. Abutting it to the west was a three-sided brick-lined structure, which may have been a below-floor soakaway or cesspit. The occupants of this building were probably able to look out over the open space at the back.

In all, 67 post-medieval sherds (51 ENV, 886g) and two fragments of clay tobacco pipe dating to *c.*1580–1630 were found in Trench 4 contexts predating the track. A further 157 sherds (99 ENV, 4.182kg) and four pieces of clay pipe were recovered from the track itself; these date to between *c.*1580/1600 and *c.*1630/50, although the latest pipe dates to 1640–60. In both groups, Surrey-Hampshire border wares are the most common, followed by London-area redwares; of note are sherds from two Frechen stoneware Bartmann jugs, one with a reversible Pope-Devil portrait medallion (<P12>, Fig 16) recovered from the track, the other with a female portrait medallion (<P13>, Fig 16), from the backfill of a linear cut (see below, Religion). A large amount of ceramic roof tile and some brick was also recovered from the earlier deposits (total 18.84kg), but much less from the track (3.12kg). The 32 accessioned finds are more evenly distributed; the 15 finds from the earlier features mainly comprise vessel glass, while those from the track are mainly of copper alloy, including a complete thimble (<154>), a James I farthing dated to 1613–14 (<180>), and a Nuremberg jetton of Hans Krauwinckel II (1586–1635) (<181>). The track also yielded a residual Henry VII silver penny (1485–1509; <179>).

Considerably more pottery and clay pipes were present in a possible well, various pits,

linear cuts and postholes post-dating the track (not illustrated) which itself also contained marks left by construction scaffolding dating to the second half of the 17th century, presumably created during rebuilding along West Harding Street after the Great Fire. These features collectively yielded 774 sherds of post-medieval pottery (474 ENV, 25.582kg), of which 503 (283 ENV, 14.084kg) are from five pits ([279], [322], [330], [337], [360]). The dating of the different pit groups varies slightly, depending on the presence or absence of diagnostic types, but all could fall within the date range of 1630–50, while most of the 80 clay pipes date to 1640–60. The largest single group of finds is from pit [360], which contained 326 post-medieval sherds (153 ENV, 9.860kg), including part of a Werra slipware dish (<P11>, Fig 16). The second largest group is from pit [322], which yielded 121 post-medieval sherds (93 ENV, 2.708kg). Taken together, the pottery from the pits differs from earlier features in that although Surrey-Hampshire border wares are still dominant (270 sherds, 190 ENV), London-area post-medieval redwares (160 sherds, 93 ENV) and those from Essex (158 sherds, 82 ENV) are both more common and more equally represented; the amount of tin-glazed ware has also risen slightly (37 sherds, 28 ENV). Imports are well-represented, with 127 sherds (74 ENV). Smaller, but broadly similar groups of pottery and clay pipes were found in the other features in Trench 4.

Ceramic building material from these later features amounts to *c.*11kg, mainly roof tile, but including some brick and two floor tiles. One is a worn brown-glazed tile from the Low Countries dating to the late 15th–16th century, while the other is tin-glazed with a well-known interlocking strapwork design in blue, green and orangey-brown on white (<T4>, Fig 8), measuring 135mm across and 18mm thick (see below, Household Furnishings). Similar tiles were made at the Pickleherring pothouse in Southwark between *c.*1618 and 1650 (Tyler *et al* 2008, 52–3, fig 74.D2) and <T4> may well be a Pickleherring product; a complete example with the same design is illustrated in Betts and Weinstein (2010, 105, no. 83). Other finds are less common (31 accessions), and are mainly of copper alloy, the most impressive being a dress hook (<146>; Fig 12).



Fig 8. Tin-glazed floor tiles, 16th- to 17th-century: <T2> probably made at Pickleherring, Southwark; <T3> possibly made at Aldgate; <T4> early Antwerp type; <T5> possible Antwerp tin-glazed floor tile; <T7> later Antwerp type; <T8> London or Dutch manufacture. Earthenware: <T6> London-area peg tile with animal hoof prints (scale 1:2)

In Trench 3, the open area noted in period 4 remained as such, with evidence for early 17th-century pitting and dumping to the immediate east of the 16th-century well (see above), but little pottery (108 sherds, 65 ENV, 3.488kg) and few other finds. The main group is from pit [246] (fill 203), which contained 86 post-medieval sherds (49 ENV, 3.17kg), mostly Surrey-Hampshire border wares (36 sherds, 25 ENV), followed by tin-glazed wares (25 sherds, 9 ENV). Redwares from the London area and Essex amount to 22 sherds (17 ENV), but imports are limited to three sherds from two Frechen stoneware jugs. The group is dated by the

tin-glazed wares and Metropolitan slipware to between *c.*1630–50. The five other finds comprise a Roman coin (<175>), part of an ivory knife handle (<268>), vessel and bottle glass and a copper-alloy pin (<128>). Animal bone from the pit mainly comprises cattle and sheep/goat, with much smaller amounts of poultry, pig and game. The cattle group included infant and juvenile calves, as well as fully adult animals, with an obvious bias towards areas of prime meat-bearing quality. Also present was a single adult rabbit femur.

Five pits ([11], [15], [24], [33], [139]; not illustrated) and other deposits in Trench 2 produced post-medieval pottery (209 sherds,

124 ENV, 5.778kg) dating mainly to between c.1580–1600/30. Most finds are from pit [33] which yielded 85 sherds (34 ENV) of pottery, three pieces of peg tile and a decorated tin-glazed floor tile with a floral and strapwork design painted in blue, yellow and orangey-brown (<T2>, Fig 8); this measures 137mm across and is 18mm thick, with mortar on the broken edge, suggesting reuse. A complete Dutch tile with this pattern is illustrated by Pluis (1997, 306, A.01.30.16), who dates the design to 1580–1600. A small fragment has also been found close to the Aldgate pothouse (Betts & Weinstein 2010, 109, no. 99), so it is possible it may have been one of a number of Dutch tile designs copied by the tile makers working at Aldgate at about the same period (*ibid*, 13–16). Other finds from [33] comprise vessel glass (eight accessions), some with *façon de Venise* decoration (Fig 14; <6>, <10>, <15>) (see below, Glassware), window glass, two pieces of copper alloy (<93>, <94>) and the iron blade of a small knife (<197>). Pottery, building material and small amounts of vessel glass, copper alloy and iron were recovered from the other pits and dumped deposits in this trench, including part of a repaired goblet with lion mask stem (<3>, Fig 12).

Trenches 1 and 5

The rubbish pits and external dumps in these trenches lay to the south of the two houses at the north-eastern edge of the site, the area shown as open land on Faithorne and Newcourt's map of c.1658 (Fig 7). Large amounts of post-medieval pottery (total c.3309 sherds, 1914 ENV, 136.002kg), building material (c.14.5kg), clay pipes and animal bone were discarded in this area in the first half of the 17th century, and it is clear that rubbish tipping continued here after the Fire. The best evidence for

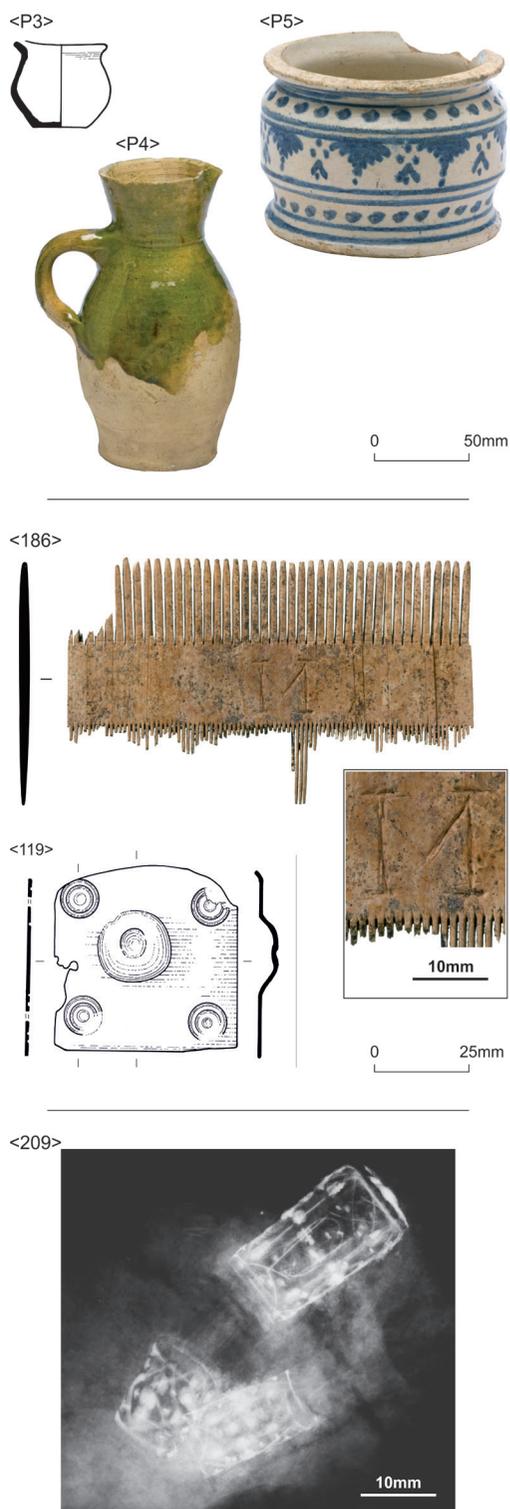


Fig 9. Pottery (scale 1:4) and finds from period 5 pit [173] (Trench 1): Surrey-Hampshire border ware miniature cauldron <P3>; drinking jug <P4> and tin-glazed drug jar <P5>; copper-alloy mount <119> (scale 1:2); part of a double-sided comb with the letter 'M' scratched on both faces <186> (scale 1:2 with detail at 1:1; distorted iron knife handle with damascene decoration <209> (from X-ray, scale 1:1)

the daily lives of the people in this part of London during the early 17th century was recovered from this part of the site, although the distribution of the finds was patchy, with several pits containing relatively little material, while others were more productive. Some of the pits contained wood charcoal, most likely from hearth waste, as well as fig (*Ficus carica*) and grape (*Vitis vinifera*) seeds, indicating the additional presence of cess material. As these plants are cultivated food plants, they are unlikely to have found their way into the archaeological record by any other means.

The largest single group of pottery was from pit [173] in Trench 1 (see Fig 7), dating to c.1630–50, the five fills of which contained 1389 post-medieval sherds (843 ENV, 56.081kg). Most pottery is from the earliest fill [140] (520 sherds, 307 ENV), which also produced a human femur, and the uppermost fill [80] (536 sherds, 308 ENV), but it would appear that the feature was backfilled within a short space of time. The distribution of the 105 fragments of clay pipes follows the same pattern, with 45 fragments from the primary fill and fewer from the later fills (see below, Clay Tobacco Pipes). Surrey-Hampshire border wares are collectively the most common (total 568 sherds), including a miniature flat-based pipkin, possibly a toy (<P3>, Fig 9), a rounded drinking jug (<P4>, Fig 9) and a large straight-sided jar (not illustrated), both near-complete vessels. Essex redwares are in second place (407 sherds), followed by London-area post-medieval redwares (196 sherds); the latter include sherds from a very crudely made bunghole jar, possibly a second or waster. In fourth place are tin-glazed wares (132 sherds), which include a near-complete jar (<P5>, Fig 9). A few other English wares and 62 sherds of imported pottery were also found, mainly German (Frechen and Raeren stoneware, Werra slipware), but including Dutch redwares and one sherd from a Spanish/Italian starred costrel, possibly reflecting the fact that from at least 1600, ‘on the slopes of Holborn Hill there were ... inns for travellers almost up to St Giles’s-in-the-Fields’ (Brett-James 1935, 59). Other finds from pit [173] include part of a crucible for melting copper-alloy (see below, Metal-Working).

Pit [173] also contained a number of 16th- to mid-17th-century domestic objects; these have a similar distribution, with 12 and 13 accessions from the two earliest fills, 14 from the uppermost fill, and only one find from the other two deposits; all are similar in character and of middle- to high-class status. The 12 items of vessel glass derive from a beaker, five goblets, the base of a flask and the rim of a jar, while the copper-alloy assemblage includes a rose farthing of Charles I, 1636–44 (<170>), a possible box/furniture mount (<119>, Fig 9), a complete finger ring (<116>) and other items associated with dress (pins, lace chape). Other finds of note are part of a pair of iron scissors, an iron knife handle with damascene decoration (<209>, Fig 9), two bone bobbins/thread reels, and the remains of three ivory combs, one with the letter ‘M’ incised on both faces (<186>, Fig 9) (see below, Personal Grooming). Animal bone comprises mainly cattle and sheep, with a very small group of poultry, including two adult chicken tibiae (‘drumsticks’) and an adult femur of mallard or domestic duck; game species are limited to an adult fallow deer tibia. Ceramic building material was represented by just four fragments of brick and tile from the uppermost fills.

A large amount of similar post-medieval pottery (823 sherds, 521 ENV, 33.057kg) and smaller amounts of building material were recovered from other contexts in Trench 1, notably a polychrome tin-glazed dish with tulip design (<P7>, Fig 13), and a Werra slipware dish (<P9>, Fig 13) (see below, Domestic Pottery). Other finds include six items of vessel glass, notably a beaker (<56>, Fig 14), a goblet with moulded stem (<50>, Fig 14) (see below, Glassware), a copper-alloy book clasp (<229>, Fig 12) (see below, Household Furnishings), a worn Nuremberg jetton of Hans Krauwinckel II dating to 1586–1635 (<173>) and a rose farthing of Charles I (<171>) dated to 1636–44 (see below, Coins).

Over half of the post-medieval pottery from Trench 5 is from pits [114] (453 sherds, 226 ENV, 17.054kg) and [75] (121 sherds, 68 ENV, 6.434kg), both of which date to c.1630–50. The composition of these groups and others from this part of the site is very like that of [173], but also includes residual 16th-century material. In

addition to general domestic wares, part of an industrial vessel was found in pit [114] which joins with further sherds from period 6 (<P14>, Fig 17; see below, Industry). The pottery from pit [75] and other pits include sherds from watering pots, flower pots and a drinking jug reused as a flower pot (<P18>, Fig 17) that indicate gardening in the area, at least part of which belonged to the Goldsmiths' Company. Also of note are a complete Surrey-Hampshire border ware drinking jug (<P6>, Fig 13) and part of a Raeren stoneware panel jug (<P10>, Fig 13; see below, Trade). The ceramic building material from this area mainly comprises peg tile and brick, but includes part of a green-glazed louver (see period 3) and a worn floor tile with discoloured surface (<T3>, Fig 8). The thickness (22mm) and pinkish-cream fabric (3086) of the tile suggest that it is an early-mid 16th-century import from Antwerp in Belgium. Glass was more common in this trench than in Trench 1, with 30 items (mainly beakers), including <288>, <66> and <68> (Fig 14); also of note is a copper-alloy dress hook (<110>, Fig 12) (see below, Dress Accessories).

Vault and Soakaway

A number of the rubbish pits in Trench 5 were filled fairly quickly and some had been truncated by a brick-built soakaway (S9) and two phases of a brick-built cellar (S10 phase 1; Fig 7). The earlier phase of cellar (S10), measuring 1.00m (north-south) by 3.30m (east-west), top at 15.0m OD, was constructed with unfrosted red bricks and had a vaulted roof, half of which had been destroyed by modern activity. The cellar is thought to be Tudor in date and its western rebuild is dated to the 18th century (see period 7), showing an element of structural continuity on the site. Small amounts of late 16th-century pottery, brick and peg tile were associated with this structure.

The soakaway (S9) also dated to before 1666; its bricks, which have prominent sunken margins, are probably of mid-16th- to mid-17th-century date. This structure measured 1.90m (north-south) by 2.44m (east-west) and had survived to a height of 0.65m (top surviving at 14.38m OD). The 30 sherds (23 ENV) of pottery recovered from the construction trench backfill comprise

mainly London-area redwares, with a few sherds of Surrey-Hampshire border ware and Frechen stoneware that date to *c.*1580–1600 or later. Also present were fragments of post-medieval peg tile. The only other find is a piece of copper-alloy waste, possibly from the rim of a vessel (<127>).

Also associated with the development of the site during the pre-Fire period were the fragmentary remains of truncated brick walls and brick-paved flooring (Building 2), thought to have been associated with East Harding Street (Trench 3; not illustrated). A fragment of tile floor, built over the backfill of the 16th-century well, had incorporated plain unglazed Low Countries floor tiles. Other structures included a brick, flint and chalk post-pad (S6, Trench 4), and two small areas of red brick paving in Trench 1 (S16) and Trench 5 (S13), probably associated with backyards (not illustrated); the latter contained a sherd of Frechen stoneware with a large medallion of the arms of Amsterdam. The relatively small amounts of pottery associated with these features mainly date to *c.*1580–1650 and comprise London-area redwares, with a few sherds of Surrey-Hampshire border ware and Frechen stoneware. Other finds include a curtain ring and a worn Nuremberg jetton of Hans Krauwinckel II (<172>) dating to 1586–1635 from S13.

Period 5 Finds Summary

A large amount of refuse was found in contexts dated to the first half of the 17th century, totalling 200 accessioned finds, 4623 sherds of post-medieval pottery (2763 ENV, 175.898kg), 69 medieval sherds, one Saxon sherd and two crucible fragments. Approximately half of the post-medieval assemblage was derived from the pits in Trench 1 (2213 sherds, 1364 ENV, 89.138kg), nearest to the houses, followed by Trench 5 (1096 sherds, 570 ENV, 46.864kg) and Trench 4 (998 sherds, 624 ENV, 30.630kg). Clay tobacco pipes amount to 279 fragments; most are again from Trench 1 (154 fragments), with 80 fragments from the post-track features in Trench 4 and 36 from Trench 5. Ceramic building material was also abundant, totalling *c.*49.4kg (all trenches), the largest amount being from the pre-

track deposits in Trench 4 (172 fragments, 18.84kg). Most examples comprised peg tile (c.27.7kg), but brick is also well represented (c.15.5kg), with a few fragments of floor tile (532g) and pan tile (560g). The finds are further discussed below.

Excavations at 12–14 Fetter Lane also revealed several early 17th-century brick-built cellared buildings, one of which contained two hearths and a well. This particular building was destroyed by the Great Fire and its cellar infilled with demolition debris (Dunwoodie & Jeffries 2016, 258).

Period 6: The Great Fire and its Aftermath

The Great Fire

Two events that changed the face of 17th-century London were the Great Plague of 1665–6 and the Great Fire of 1666 (Milne 1986, 14–23). Although the Fire's direct impact on the plague is debatable – it is unlikely that it wiped it out altogether – there is no doubt of its impact on the buildings of central London. The conflagration destroyed an estimated 13,200 houses and 86 parish churches, as well as St Paul's Cathedral and Newgate prison (Baker 2000, 3). It reached the Tower of London in the east, Smithfield in the north and White Friars and Fetter Lane in the west.

On the fourth day of the Fire, 5 September, John Evelyn wrote 'It pleased His Majesty to command me among the rest to look after the quenching of Fetter lane end, to preserve if possible that part of Holborn ...' (Bray 1870, 319). This operation appears to have been successful, although breaking the Fire's path, whether by existing means (*ie* the fact that it was open land) or by the controlled demolition of buildings, probably made a larger contribution to halting its progress than by using water alone. The fact that the brick-built houses and walled gardens in the Fetter Lane area were less combustible and more widely spaced than the closely-packed timber-framed buildings further east (Milne 1986, 26–8, 48–61) would have made a significant contribution to stopping the westward advance of the conflagration.

The extent of the Great Fire destruction is charted on Wenceslas Hollar's map of 1666; it is recorded as stopping roughly

halfway across the excavation site (Fig 10). Comparing the remaining buildings on Hollar's Fire damage plan with those on Faithorne and Newcourt's earlier map from c.1658 (Fig 7), it is clear that the houses in the southern part of the site were destroyed up to the line of what was known as Nevill's Court. What survived of the brick-paved floor of Building 2 exhibited signs of burning to its top surface, most likely as a direct result of the Fire.

In the north-eastern corner of the site are two houses that appear to have survived the Great Fire, but unfortunately not the 1960s' redevelopment. The area of open land to their south that remained the same on both maps – and later became New Street Square – no doubt helped to create the break needed to stop the Fire in this area. There was little other evidence surviving on the site of the actual Fire itself, apart from a couple of ambiguous charcoal-rich dumps. This is probably due to the fact that the surviving archaeology encountered in 2005 was located either along existing roads or in the open land that continued to be used for the dumping of domestic rubbish after the redevelopment following the Fire and remains open to the present day. These areas were also impacted to a much lesser degree by Second World War bomb damage and the subsequent construction of deep basements.

After the Fire

Once the flames had been extinguished, rebuilding was carried out fairly swiftly. A hand-drawn plan from 1670 (not illustrated) shows the new layout of Stephen Mundy's property, located along New Street, between Dean Street and Nevill's Alley, on land owned by Sir Nicolas Bacon, Knight of the Bath (John Goslyng 1670, British Library, Maps Grace Port, 9.109). Stephen Mundy Esquire was an associate of the bar at Inner Temple; his father, also Stephen Mundy, was in service to both James I and Charles I (Hughes & Clarke 1935, 86). Records show that the son's application for rebuilding was dealt with within a day (Jones 1966, ix).

Ten years later in 1676, Ogilby and Morgan produced a map showing rebuilding after the Fire, with West Harding Street shown as surviving in the same location (Fig 10). The



Fig 10. (a) Hollar's 1666 map of the damage from the Great Fire; (b) Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676, both showing the area of the site (site outlines approximate)

new layout of New Street Square (formerly open space) and Middle New Street also appears at this time, located in the north-eastern area of the site, although on the map these have been left un-named and the name 'East Harding Street' has now been

allocated to the street which runs *parallel* to the east (later known as Printer Street). The impression is that the density of properties was increasing and the area of gardens decreasing, but almost every property still possessed some external space, probably a back yard. The Ordnance Survey map of 1873 (Fig 11) renames West Harding Street as Great New Street, with a 'new' West Harding Street meeting it at right angles. Switching street names in this way is unusual and it is possible that confusion may have arisen in the early days after the Fire.

The early 17th-century soakaway (S9) in Trench 5 was backfilled with a large amount of domestic rubbish, mainly dating from before the Fire (*c.*1630–50) and probably redeposited, but including some large sherds of pottery (total 909 post-medieval sherds, 347 ENV, 37.728kg). The primary fill, [139], contained only three sherds of pottery with a broad date range of *c.*1580–1700, while the secondary fill [128], contained 129 sherds (92 ENV, 3.695kg) dating to 1660–1700. Most of the pottery was from fill [91] (707 sherds, 195 ENV, 31.906kg), and dates to 1630–50, including 186 sherds from up to 28 rounded drinking jugs (see discussion). The uppermost fill [93] contained 70 sherds dating to 1620–50. Taking the combined assemblage together, approximately 50% consists of Surrey-Hampshire border ware (455 sherds, 13.547kg), followed by London-area redwares (233 sherds, 65 ENV, 14.311kg), which include four industrial vessels: two mantles, one joining with sherds from period 5 (<P14>, <P15>, Fig 17), a flaring vessel with sections of the rim cut away (<P16>, Fig 17), and a brazier (<P17>, Fig 17; see below, Industry). Essex redwares comprise a further 171 sherds (66 ENV, 7.845kg), while imports are the fourth most common group, although amounting to only 28 sherds (23 ENV), mainly German stonewares; of interest is a Werra slipware bowl/dish with cavalier design and part of the date (<P8>, Fig 13). Tin-glazed wares are surprisingly rare, with only six sherds, notably part of an albarello of late 16th- or earlier 17th-century date. Other fabric types comprise a few sherds of Cistercian ware, Midlands purple ware butterpot, and a sherd of Staffordshire slipware from [128] which dates this deposit to after *c.*1660.

Building material was present in all fills except [139]: mainly peg tile but including part of a tin-glazed floor tile showing a corner of a worn decorative pattern in orangey-brown and blue on a white background (<T5>, Fig 8). This is relatively thick (19–21mm), suggesting that it is an early/mid-16th-century import from Antwerp. Other finds include one fragment of clay pipe ([91]), sherds from two glass goblets and two probable jars, seven items of copper alloy, including two possible coins, both illegible (<271>, <272>), an ornate mount (<256>, Fig 12), a small buckle (<115>), a complete finger ring (<103>), parts of two knives, two pieces of iron, a piece of lead waste and a bone counter (<183>). In the absence of fire-damaged material it is not possible to date the contents of the pit more precisely than as described above, but it is possible that the soakaway started to be filled before 1666, and that this process was completed soon after the Great Fire.

Also in Trench 5, a contemporary dump produced 199 sherds of post-medieval pottery (116 ENV, 5.144kg), including industrial vessel <P16>, and fragments from three glass beakers, a possible perfume bottle, and what appears to be the rounded base of a hanging lamp (<45>). Finds from Trench 3 comprise an Elizabeth I silver sixpence of 1566 (<176>), a stone hone (<265>) and a few fragments of ceramic building material. The latter was more common in Trench 4, where large amounts of peg tile and a smaller quantity of pantile and ridge tile were recovered, some from scaffold holes thought to represent rebuilding after the Fire (see above, period 4/5). These include a peg tile with two small hoof prints deeply impressed into the bottom corner edge, possibly made by a young pig (A Pipe, per comm; <T6>, Fig 8). In addition, a polychrome tin-glazed floor tile from Antwerp (<T7>, Fig 8) was found within a spread of black silt and coal, possibly debris from the Fire, its thickness (14mm) suggesting a date of c.1550 (Dumortier 2002, 188). Tiles with similar geometric and floral patterns have been found on other sites in London, such as Bishopsgate (Betts & Weinstein 2010, 95, nos 27–9).

The animal bones recovered from the period 6 rubbish deposits were heavily biased towards cattle, with slightly fewer fragments

of sheep/goat and much smaller amounts of fish, poultry, pig and game. Dental evidence from 24 complete and fragmented sheep/goat mandibles shows that all were adult animals: one in its third year, seven in their fourth and 16 in their fourth to sixth years of life. Herring, cod and eel were also present. The poultry assemblage was more substantial, however, with a large group of chicken and smaller groups of goose and mallard or domestic duck. Game is mainly represented by rabbit bones, but also includes occasional fragments of partridge (probably grey partridge), unidentified wild duck, teal and woodcock, demonstrating a striking increase in the relative importance and availability of game in the London diet by the end of the 17th century.

A large brick-built building, displaying various phases of construction, was recorded in an area of the watching brief between Trenches 1, 2 and 5 (Fig 11). This building possibly dated to the 17th century, as its bricks were in a fabric introduced in the 1670s, shortly after the Great Fire. It would have been located near the northern end of West Harding Street (latterly the south-western corner of New Street Square). The structure appeared to be industrial, as it possessed what were interpreted as the remains of a large kiln with a vaulted roof, and comprised various walls, floors (some brick, with one made from York stone slabs) and chimney bases. The bricks from this building are of particularly poor quality, however: all are over-fired and some are badly distorted. Despite this, they were still regarded as acceptable for use, suggesting that even fire-damaged building material might have been reused whenever possible.

Periods 7 and 8: 18th Century and After

On Rocque's 1746 map of London, the street layout of the site was the same as in 1676, except that East Harding Street was now known as Great New Street (Hyde 1982, pl 4). Evidence of 18th- and 19th-century occupation was discovered along the newly named Great New Street. This included an 18th-century brick-lined cess pit (Structure 7), which was presumably part of a building fronting the eastern side of the street and evidence of three adjoining brick-built

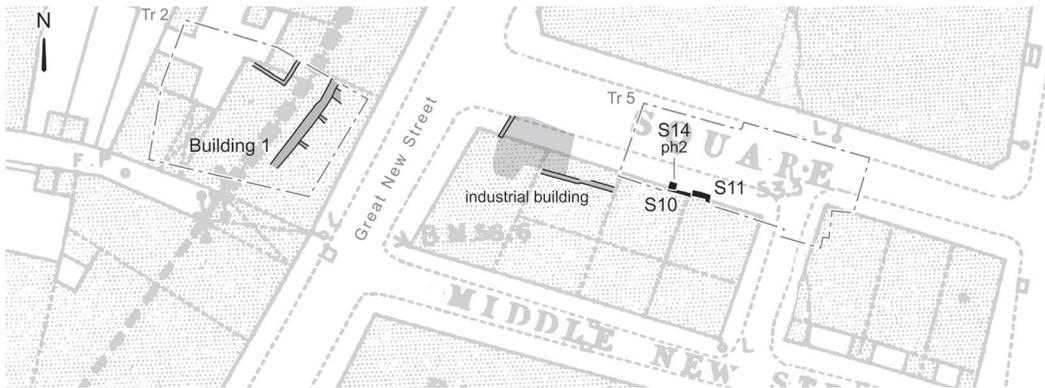


Fig 11. Ordnance Survey map from 1873 showing post-Fire features (scale 1:500) and view of industrial building under excavation

cellars added to the eastern portion of 17th-century Building 1 (Figs 7 & 11). To the rear of this property were remains of another brick cellar dating to the late 19th century or early 20th century.

The cellar (S10) in Trench 5 (Fig 7) was also modified by the addition of two brick buttresses and an area of brick vaulting, measuring 0.24m (north–south) by 1.65m (east–west) (Fig 11). These additions survived at 15.06m OD. A contemporary brick sewer ran the length of the site, north–south.

The first major change to the layout of roads and buildings since the 17th century occurred after the Second World War when New Fetter Lane, Pemberton Row and Goldsmiths Street were constructed, Fetter Lane was widened, and Middle New Street, Dean Street and Nevill's Alley were lost.

FINDS DISCUSSION

Some evidence for medieval activity on the site was recovered, and medieval features have been noted on two other sites in the area (Fetter Lane/Plough Place, FTL98, and the evaluation NFL01). However, while the quantities of dumped medieval peg tile and medieval pottery from period 3 and 4 deposits may indicate occupation on the site, it is possible that some, if not all this material was derived from elsewhere. The medieval site assemblage dates from the 13th to 15th centuries, the later material perhaps representing the beginnings of activity in the area that preceded development in the 16th century.

The emphasis of the following discussion

is on the post-medieval finds from periods 4 and 5, which provide evidence of daily life within the area before the Great Fire. There was continued dumping on the site throughout the 17th century, although the fact that most finds from pre- and post-Fire deposits are very similar in character makes it difficult to date the pits and dumps precisely. There does, however, appear to be a shift in the location of such deposits after the Fire; for example, dumping in the areas of Trenches 1 and 4 appears to cease as West Harding Street became properly established as a thoroughfare during post-Fire rebuilding.

Dress Accessories and Personal Ornament

Evidence for dress is provided by 28 accessioned finds, 22 of which are from period 5, the most common item being the lace chape, used to protect the ends of laces, with 16 examples (14 accessions). Although possibly introduced in the mid-13th century, they are more common from the mid-14th century onwards (for a discussion of their manufacture, use and typology see Egan & Pritchard 1991, 281–90; Egan 2005, 52–3). One example is from period 4, while the others are from period 5, mostly from Trench 4; those from Trench 5, include a complete example found in pit [60] (<95>) containing the remains of the leather or braid it bound (length 35mm, maximum diameter 4mm; no perforation).

Buckles are the second most common find, with four examples from period 5, of which <107>, and possibly also <149>, has a double oval frame and is probably of 16th-century date (Egan & Pritchard 1991, 82–3; Egan 2005, 35). Of note are two spur buckles (<142>), from pit [313]. Both are asymmetrical, of double trapezoidal form with a central bar, but differ in the form of the decorative moulding at the narrow ends; the more complete example has a curved projecting arm. Circular buckles with a central bar are a long-lived form (Egan & Pritchard 1991, 65–6; Egan 2005, 33–4), but the complete example <115> from the period 6 silty backfill [128] of cellar [141] (Trench 5) probably dates to the later 16th or 17th century (*ibid*, 34).

Hooked clasps, thought to have been used

in pairs attached to a chain, were introduced in the mid to late 15th century and probably remained in fashion until the mid to late 16th century; they occur in a range of forms and materials (Egan 2005, 42–7). The two examples found in period 5 contexts (Trench 5) were thus carefully curated objects or redeposited. Both were cast in one piece with trapezoidal loops. Clasp <110> (Fig 12; from X-ray), from pit [114], is complete; although heavily corroded, the X-ray shows a slightly trapezoidal loop and

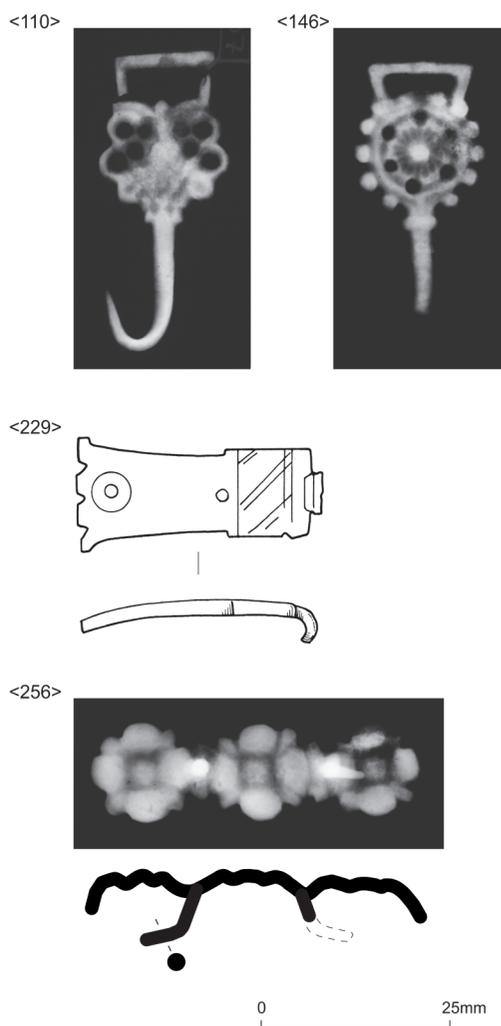


Fig 12. Dress and household objects: X-radiographs of copper-alloy hooked clasps <110> (period 5, Trench 5) and <146> (period 5, Trench 4); book clasp <229> (period 5, Trench 1) and ornate mount <256> (period 6, Trench 5) (scale 1:1)

an openwork butterfly-shaped frame with squared shoulders and V-shaped moulding in the central field. A close parallel (less complete) from Abbots Lane was found with pottery of *c.*1575–1600, while a very similar example was found in Norwich (Margeson 1993, 17). Clasp <146> (Fig 12) (pit [317]) has an openwork six-petalled rosette motif within a circular border, with a series of 12 small knobs around the perimeter. Other possible dress accessories include a complete pin with cast spherical head (<96>; length as bent, *c.*39mm; cf Egan & Pritchard 1991, 297–304, fig 200.1488) and a twisted length of fine wire (<93>), both from period 5, Trench 5; the latter may be from a purse, if not a clasp of some kind (cf Egan 2005, 62–4).

Two of the four items of jewellery are finger rings, of which <116> (period 5, Trench 1, pit [173]), is a plain narrow hoop with slightly D-shaped section (external diameter 18mm, width *c.*2mm, thickness 1mm). Ring <103> from period 6 (Trench 5), by contrast, is a broader hoop with thicker D-shaped section (diameter 21mm, width 6mm, thickness 3mm). The other finds comprise two glass beads, both from Trench 4; that from period 4 is spherical and of dark green glass (<89>, diameter 10mm), while that from period 5 is lentoid and blue-green in colour (<74>, diameter 6mm).

Personal Grooming

The remains of three ivory combs were found in the period 5 pit [173] (in Trench 1) at the northern end of the site (Fig 7). The first is a corner fragment (width 24mm, length 33.5mm) from a single-sided comb with fine teeth (length 22mm) and a plain back that has an unusual hooked/lipped profile <185>. The second comb (<186>; Fig 9; extant width 107mm, length 64mm) from the same fill is of the more typical double-sided form with fine and coarse teeth (cf Blackmore 1989, 131, fig 45, no. 289; Egan 2005, 64–5), but unusual in that it has the letter 'M' incised at the centre of each side; there are also longitudinal and transverse guidelines for cutting the teeth. A smaller fragment from a second comb of this type (<274>) was found in fill [140].

Dress-Making

Of the 21 finds assigned to this category, 15 are pins of varying size, mostly from period 5 (12 examples, seven from Trench 4); for background see Noël Hume (1969, 256–7), Caple (1991) and Egan and Forsyth (1997, 222–4). Although some of these could have been used as dress accessories, more obvious indicators of sewing are also present, notably three thimbles, one from period 4 (<125>), Trench 1, two from period 5, Trench 4 (<125>). Most late 16th- and early 17th-century thimbles were imported from Nuremberg, Germany; their development has been discussed elsewhere (Egan 1998, 265–6, fig 206; 2005, 130–3, fig 126; Noël Hume 1969, 256–7). Thimble <125> dates to after 1650, being tall and made in two pieces, with slightly convex crown (diameter at base 16.5mm, height 22.5mm); it has two plain raised bands around the base, above which are closely spaced horizontal rows of small, closely spaced pits made by a punch with multiple teeth. One of the period 5 examples is of similar form but has a band of ?floral decoration around the base (<154>), while the other is poorly preserved (<135>).

The other finds, from the period 5 pit [173] (Trench 1), comprise two bobbins/thread reels and a pair of scissors (<207>, length 146mm). Both blades survive, secured by a central rivet; the one handle has a short, plain haft with centrally set, slightly oval loop. A close parallel from Jamestown, USA, is dated to the early 19th century, but from the associated pottery this example <207> should be of mid-17th-century date (Noël Hume 1969, 267, fig 87). The bobbins are made of sheep or goat metatarsals, but differ in size; that from [109] was made from a mature animal (<286>, length 119mm), but that from [80] is unfused at the distal end (<287>, length 105mm). Both have incised lines around the proximal end, possibly to help secure them, rather than an unfinished attempt to cut through them, and both are highly polished on the ventral face (cf Egan 1998, 270, fig 208.891).

Household Furnishings and Fittings

Stratified floor tiles have been noted above; in the London area they were principally

used in the houses of rich merchants and members of the aristocracy (Betts & Weinstein 2010, 20–5). Of interest is an unstratified worn tin-glazed floor tile with part of a strapwork pattern in yellow, green and blue on white (<T8>, Fig 8). This may be a badly painted version of Pluis (1997, 200) design A.01.02.16, dated to 1570–1600. If so, part of the strapwork design has been painted over in error. The same mistake can be seen on a tile from the Pickleherring pothouse, Southwark (Tyler *et al* 2008, 53, fig 74 D4). This tile probably dates to the late 16th/mid-17th century and could be of London or Dutch manufacture.

No furniture as such was found, but a few nails, tacks and pieces of iron were probably structural fittings, while a box or cupboard is indicated by a small cast copper-alloy rotary key <130> (length 45mm). The key was found in the period 4 timber-lined well [256] (Trench 3), with pottery dating to 1550–1600. Of Ward Perkins type VIIB (Ward Perkins 1940, 141, 144), it has a flattened oval shank that protrudes beyond the cleft bit to a point, with a collar at the junction with the circular bow (diameter 16mm). Circular bows are usually an early feature of larger keys of this type, but can be later on casket keys, as shown by a similar find from City Road (*ibid*, pl XXX, no. 37). A large group of similarly sized 13th-century cupboard keys with hollow shanks was found at St Mary Spital (Thomas *et al* 1997, 109–10, fig 26; Egan 1997, 202–3, fig 74). From period 5 (Trench 4, pit [313]) is an escutcheon in the form of a cinquefoil star with a central perforation for a drop handle, probably from a drawer (<136>; cf Egan 2000, 29–30, fig 18; Egan 2005, 71–2, fig 61.313).

Five other mounts may be derived from items of furniture, of which the largest, <119> (Fig 9), from period 5, Trench 1, is a roughly square piece of sheet metal (48mm x 40–8mm), with three straight sides and one with a curved edge, suggesting that it clasped or fitted over the edge of whatever it was attached to (perhaps a chest or very large book). Rather crudely made, possibly from a recycled object, it has an off-centre repoussé boss and rivet holes within inscribed double rings in each corner. The more ornate cast bar mount <256> (Fig 12) from period 6 (Trench 5) may also have been used on a

box or casket. It consists of three quatrefoils joined by moulding, each with a circle within a square field at the centre and a cusp in each angle; there are two pointed shanks on the underside for attachment.

The cast book clasp <229> (Fig 12) from period 5, Trench 1, with splayed body, scalloped edge and inscribed decoration (length 33mm, including the hooked catch) is a form that continued into the 16th century; similar examples from St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, have an upper and a lower plate (Henig 1988a, 179, 193, fig 54.3; Henig 1988b, figs 60.23, 60.24).

Soft furnishings are indicated by six curtain rings ranging between 25mm and 32mm in diameter, one from period 4, the others from period 5 (mainly Trench 4), which may have been used for wall hangings rather than window curtains. Most lighting for the period would have been provided by candles, with hanging lamps used only in religious houses and upper class properties. The one example, of dark green potash glass (<45>), is residual in a period 6 context; the form dates to the first half of the 16th century (Willmott 2002, 104, type 35.1), although the quality of the glass suggests 17th-century production.

Household Equipment

Domestic Pottery

A total of 6223 sherds of post-medieval pottery (3585 ENV, 240.439kg) were recovered during the fieldwork, of which 5027 sherds are from periods 4 and 5.² The distribution of the assemblage by broad ware category is outlined in Table 1.

The bulk of the pottery comprises standard domestic forms used for storage, cooking, serving, and the consumption of food and drink, made in local and regional earthenwares. Of note is a large straight-sided jar in Surrey-Hampshire border ware (base diameter 138mm, extant height 174mm; cf Pearce 1992a, fig 44, no. 425). Some of the tin-glazed and imported forms, however, are more aesthetically pleasing and may have been display items, notably bowls and dishes <P7>–<P9>, jug <P10> (Fig 13), and dish <P11> (Fig 16). Of interest is the high number of jugs used for serving (348

Table 1 The distribution of the post-medieval pottery, by broad ware category, in descending order of frequency

Fabric group	Sherds	%	ENV	%	Weight	%
Surrey-Hampshire border wares (white and red)	2780	44.7%	1553	43.3%	79664	33.1%
London-area redwares	1392	22.4%	802	22.4%	76835	32.0%
Essex redwares	1189	19.1%	668	18.6%	53323	22.2%
Continental imports	434	7.0%	294	8.3%	16745	7.0%
Tin-glazed wares	304	4.9%	188	5.2%	7466	3.1%
English stonewares	97	1.6%	56	1.6%	5844	2.4%
Non-local wares	13	0.2%	12	0.3%	231	0.1%
Industrial finewares	10	0.2%	8	0.2%	119	0.0%
Miscellaneous (including crucibles)	4	0.1%	2	0.1%	212	0.1%
Totals	6223	100.0%	3583	100.0%	240439	100.0%

ENV), of which 220, including <P10> (Fig 13), <P12> and <P13> (Fig 16) are German stonewares, a much higher proportion than found at Hare Court (Jarrett 2005b, 76; below, Trade); the others are mainly in Essex fine redwares (67 ENV), and London-area redwares (44 ENV). A particular feature of this group is the high proportion of drinking vessels, most of which are green-glazed Surrey-Hampshire border whiteware drinking jugs (275 ENV) of the tall slender rounded form, that is typical of the late 16th century, or the squatter form that dates to the 17th century (<P4>, Figs 9, 13; <P6>, Fig 13; Pearce 1992a, 24–6, fig 32.209–16; 2007, 64–5, 73–7, 121). Also present are cups (10 ENV) and mugs (44 ENV), in the same ware, with further mugs (89 ENV), tygs (40 ENV) and tankards (7 ENV) in fine redware fabrics from Essex. Much of this material may have come from buildings shown on the Agas map of c.1560 or the terrace of houses shown on Faithorne and Newcourt's map of 1658. Drinking jugs, however, are well represented on sites in the area of the Inns of Court and Lincolns Inn (Matthews & Green 1969; Thorn 1970; Pearce 1992a, 24) and, to the south of Fleet Street, in Hare Court in the Temple (Jarrett 2005b, 69–72, 75; fig 73.1–3; fig 74). Documentary evidence shows that they were ordered, used for drinking wine and beer, and discarded in bulk (Matthews & Green 1969, 1–2; Butler 2005, 32–3; Jarrett 2005b, 76; Pearce 1992, 24–7; 2007, 11, 13, 64–7, 84, 167, 170, 175, 184, 187–8). This suggests another possible source for some of the finds on the present site, or, unless the

finds derive from a hostelry, some form of link with these establishments.

Glassware

No vessel glass was found in period 4 contexts, but sherds from up to 33 beakers, 29 goblets and 13 other forms were recovered from contexts assigned to period 5, the main concentration being in Trench 5 (30 accessions), where 10 finds are from pit [173]. In addition, there are a few finds from period 6. Most beakers are of cylindrical form, with at least 19 examples representing up to 10 of the 12 sub-types identified by Willmott (2002, 36–42). They have a broad date range spanning the late 16th to late 17th century, but the floruit and peak were in the period c.1600–50, which coincides with the greatest variety of decorative techniques. Earlier examples invariably have an applied base-ring with milled or rigaree decoration, while later forms have plain bases. Most of the present finds have optic blown decoration, in some cases with applied trails, as seen on <56> (Fig 14, type 1.5). Up to six examples have an optic-blown mesh design (type 1.6), as seen in <10> and <68> (Fig 14). Of the same date are beakers with *latticinio* decoration or coloured trails in the *façon de Venise* style (type 1.8). These usually occur as blue or white spirals (*vetro a fili*) or twisted trails (*vetro a retorti*) that are marvered into the surface, but <51> and <68> (Fig 14) from pit [114] (possibly from different beakers) have *vetro a fili* decoration of white trails that stand proud of the surface.

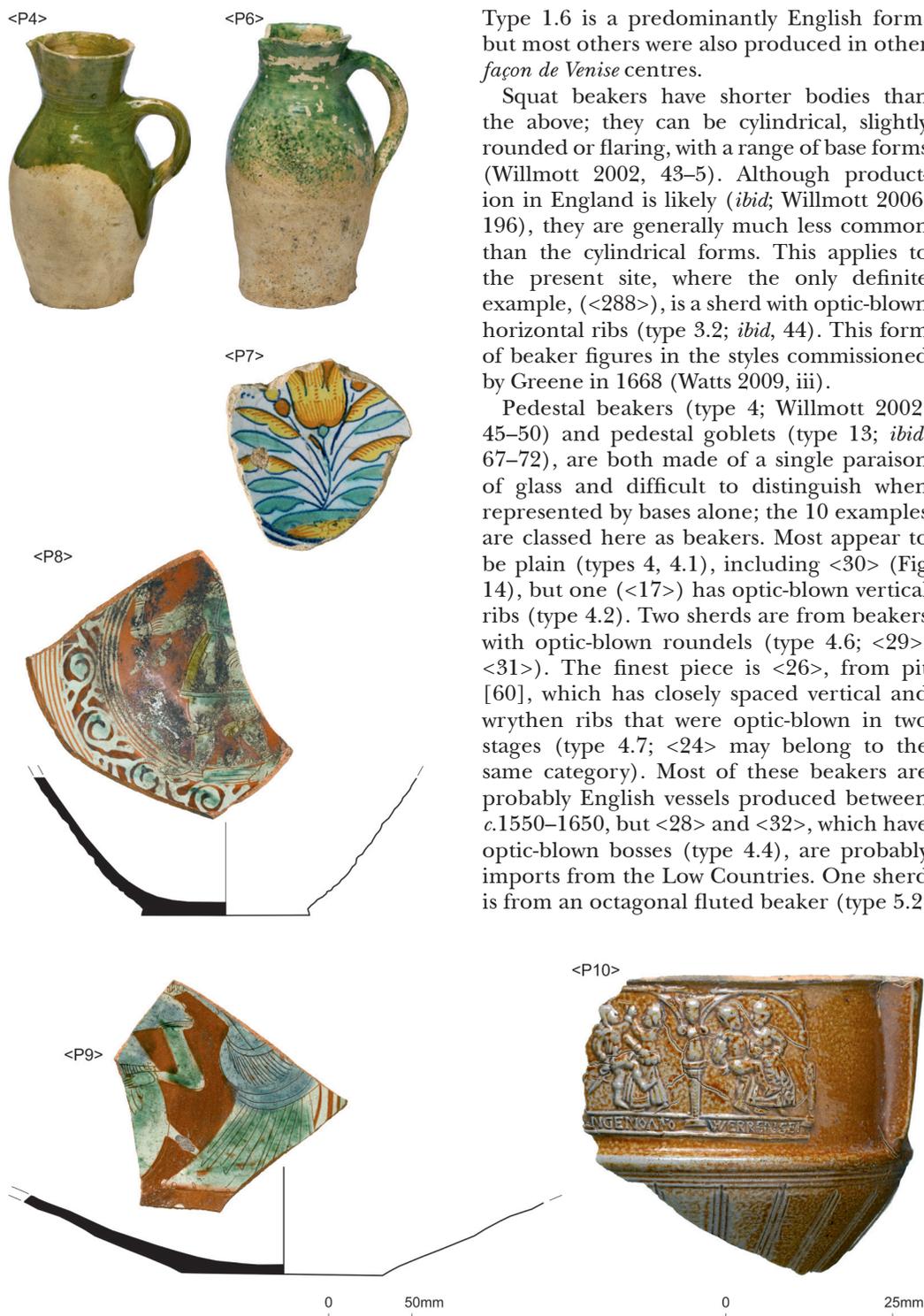


Fig 13. Domestic and imported pottery (scale 1:4). Surrey-Hampshire border ware drinking jugs <P4> and <P6>, tin-glazed dish <P7>, probably from Southwark, Werra-slipware bowl <P8> and dish <P9>, and Raeren stoneware 'peasant dance' panel jug <P10> (scale 1:2)

Type 1.6 is a predominantly English form, but most others were also produced in other *façon de Venise* centres.

Squat beakers have shorter bodies than the above; they can be cylindrical, slightly rounded or flaring, with a range of base forms (Willmott 2002, 43–5). Although production in England is likely (*ibid*; Willmott 2006, 196), they are generally much less common than the cylindrical forms. This applies to the present site, where the only definite example, (<288>), is a sherd with optic-blown horizontal ribs (type 3.2; *ibid*, 44). This form of beaker figures in the styles commissioned by Greene in 1668 (Watts 2009, iii).

Pedestal beakers (type 4; Willmott 2002, 45–50) and pedestal goblets (type 13; *ibid*, 67–72), are both made of a single paraison of glass and difficult to distinguish when represented by bases alone; the 10 examples are classed here as beakers. Most appear to be plain (types 4, 4.1), including <30> (Fig 14), but one (<17>) has optic-blown vertical ribs (type 4.2). Two sherds are from beakers with optic-blown roundels (type 4.6; <29>, <31>). The finest piece is <26>, from pit [60], which has closely spaced vertical and wrythen ribs that were optic-blown in two stages (type 4.7; <24> may belong to the same category). Most of these beakers are probably English vessels produced between c.1550–1650, but <28> and <32>, which have optic-blown bosses (type 4.4), are probably imports from the Low Countries. One sherd is from an octagonal fluted beaker (type 5.2;



Fig 14. Vessel glass (mostly scale 1:2). Beakers with optic-blown decoration <56>, <10>, <68>; beaker with applied trails <66>, pedestal beaker <30>; goblet stems <3> (with lead repair; scale 1:1) and <50>. Beaker <66> (scale 1:2) and goblet bowl fragments <15> and <6> (scale 1:1) with *façon de Venise* decoration

Willmott 2002, 51) from a pit associated with building B1 in Trench 2 (<9a>).

Five goblet stems can be assigned a form type (see Willmott 2002, 57–67): an inverted baluster stem (type 10.2; <251>), two elongated inverted baluster stems (type 10.4; <49>, <63>) and two mould blown stems with lion mask decoration (type 11.1; <3>, <50>, Fig 14). Of these, <3>, is of interest in that it has been repaired with a blob of lead between the stem and the upper merese, which is now lopsided (for background see Willmott 2001).

Three sherds from Trench 2 are from 16th-century goblets or larger vessels in the *façon de Venise* style (*ibid*, 16), one with horizontal *vetro a fili* decoration, with a trail of white glass that stands proud of the surface (<13>); the other (<15>, Fig 14), a sherd from a thick-walled vessel with alternating stripes of plain white canes (*vetro a fili*) and a lattice of thicker and thinner canes (*vetro a reticello*). Similar but more elaborate decoration can be seen on a sherd from a pit associated with building B1 ([14], <6>, Fig 14).

Other vessel forms, both from pit [173], comprise the base and wall of a shallow, thick-walled pedestal bowl/tazza (type 27; Willmott 2002, 92–3; fig 120, upper) or a dish (type 30.1; *ibid.*, 95–6), probably a mid-17th-century English copy of the forms imported from Venice and other *façon de Venise* production centres, and the upper part of a small handle, <42>, probably from a posset pot (type 19; *ibid.*, 78). Forms used for storage comprise a small oval flask with optic-blown wrythen ribs (type 20; <61>), up to eight jars (type 31), three of which are squared and could be case bottles, three bottles (type 25), and part of a small phial with long, narrow neck (type 26; <21>), possibly a perfume bottle, from a period 6 context (*ibid.*, 80, 82, 98).

Utensils

Utensils and associated items are limited; only one hone was found in a period 6 pit in Trench 3 ([205], <265>). There are, however, the remains of up to eight knives. The one example from period 4, Trench 1 (<211>), is typical of the 16th century (Egan 2005, 84, 86, fig 72.348), being of scale-tang form with a rounded terminal that was slightly expanded on one side; the handle plates of bone or wood were held in place by a collar at the junction with the blade, two tubular rivets, an eye for suspension and a curved tang plate, all of copper alloy.

The most important of the five finds from period 5 is a whittle tang knife (<209>, Fig 9), from pit [173] in Trench 1, represented by the remains of the haft. X-ray shows that the handle (probably of bone or ivory) had a tubular finial, bolster and central band of copper alloy inlaid with geometric patterns in silver or gold, indicating that it came from an affluent household; a pair of similar knives in the Victoria & Albert Museum are dated to 1635 (Moore 1995, 12; 1999). Also from this area are a small whittle-tang knife from pit [114] (<205>, extant length 84mm), probably of late 16th- to early 17th-century date, and part of a copper-alloy hilt plate (<97>); the narrow bone handle of <205> swells slightly towards the terminal, which probably had a metal cap (see below, *Utensils*).

The other finds comprise a complete small

blade from Trench 2 (<197>, length c.65mm) and a small ivory knife-handle, straight-sided but with a slight kick on one side of the terminal (<268>; length 78.5mm), from Trench 3. Two probable knife terminals of copper alloy (<114>, <121>; cf Egan 2005, 95–5, fig 80.415) were found in the period 6 backfills of the soakaway, which also contained a slightly flaring rim fragment with a probable diameter of 150mm, possibly from a thin-walled cauldron (<127>; cf Egan (1998, 161–3, fig 131; 2005, 98–9). Glass is not well preserved, but sherds from two jars were found in period 6 contexts.

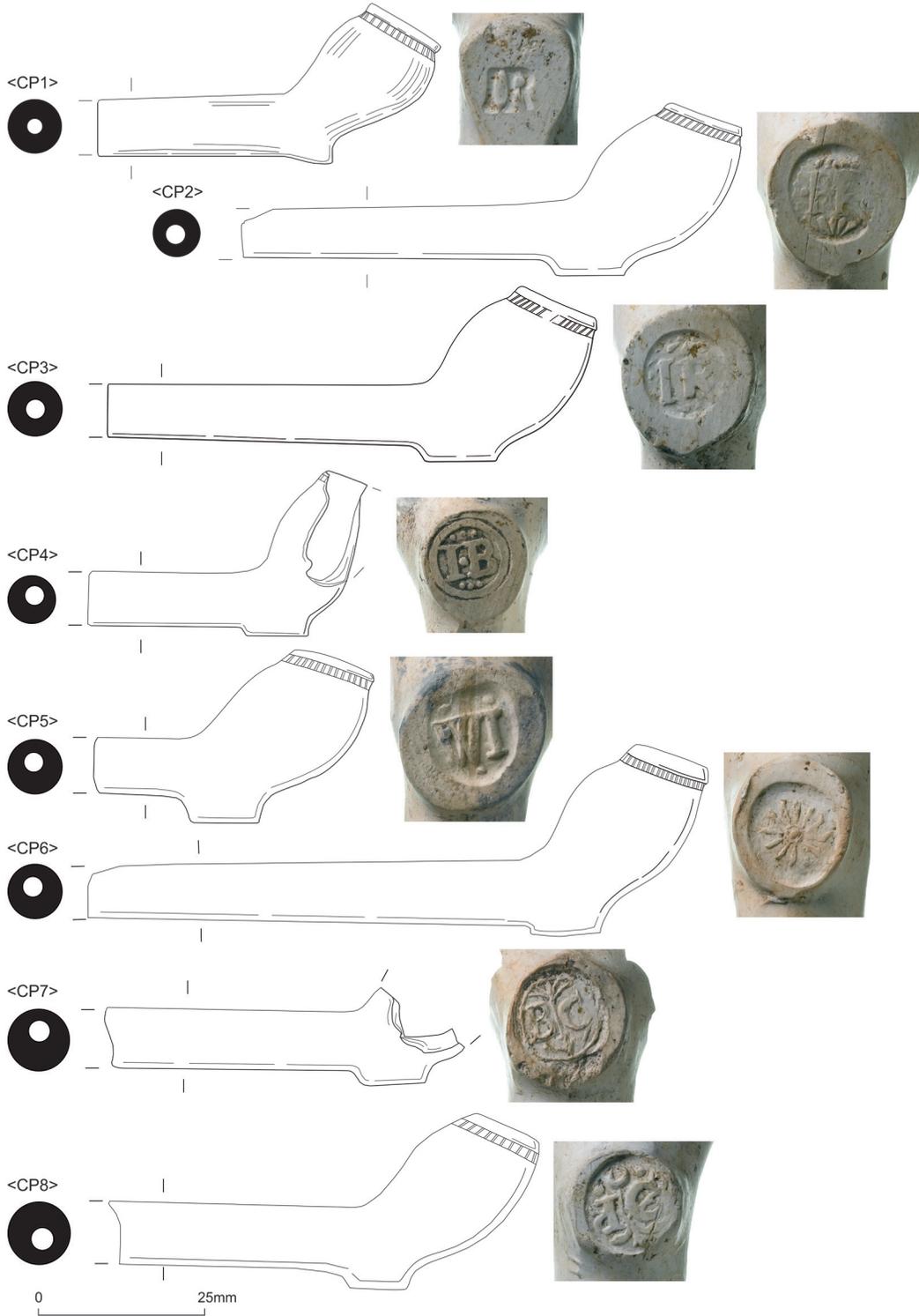
Recreation

The main indicators of leisure activities are clay tobacco pipes and glass wine bottles (the latter were not analysed). Other finds comprise a miniature ceramic pipkin (<P3>, Fig 9), possibly a toy, and two gaming pieces of bone and ivory from period 7 contexts.

Clay Tobacco Pipes

A large number of pipe bowls were recovered from the rubbish pits; these were classified and dated as far as possible according to the typology devised by Atkinson and Oswald (1969), prefaced by the letters AO, and comprise a fine collection of early to mid-17th-century examples of London manufacture (see Fig 15). Various types of pipe bowl made between c.1610 and 1660 were identified, with one example of a London type AO3 dating to c.1580–1610. This is the earliest pipe found on the site, and has the maker's initials IR stamped incuse on the heart-shaped heel. These probably stand for John Rosse, one of the original signatories of the Charter of Incorporation of the Tobacco Pipe Makers of Westminster in 1619, and recorded as Master of the Company in 1634 (Oswald 1975, 144). There are two further examples of pipes marked IR, both later types, dating to c.1610–40. All three pipes are fully milled and the AO3 example is also finely burnished. Other examples of early pipes marked with these same initials, stamped using a range of different dies, are known from various excavated contexts in the City of London.³

The largest group of clay pipes from the



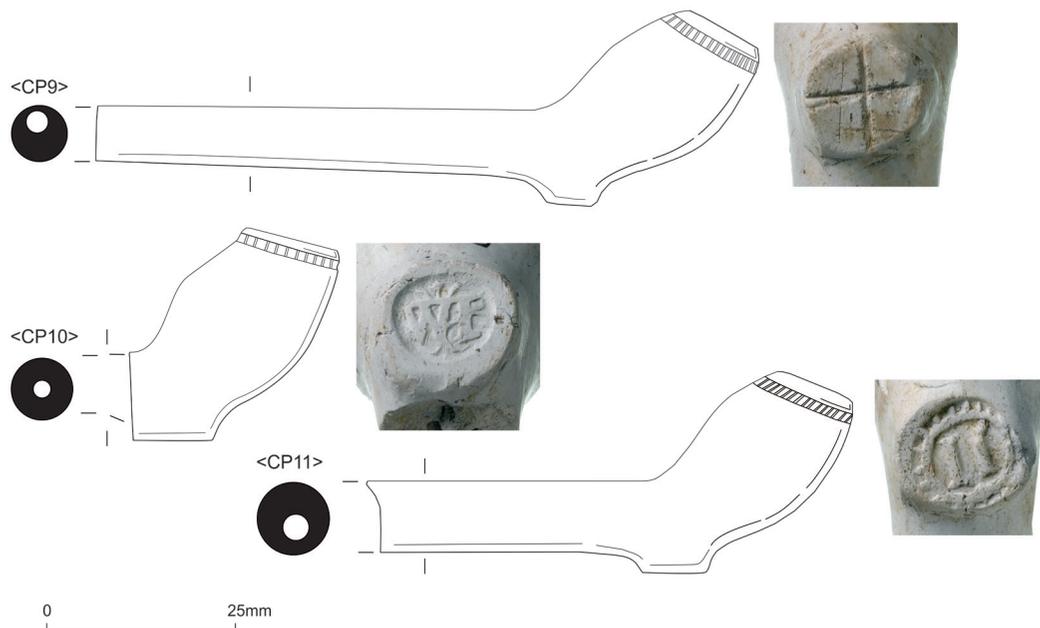


Fig 15. (facing and above) A selection of late 16th- to mid- 17th-century marked clay tobacco pipes from Period 5: type AO3 (CP1); AO5 (CP2, 4–5); AO5/10 (CP3, 7, 10); AO10 (CP6, 8–9, 11) (see Table 5 for identifications and dating) (scale: profiles 1:1, details 2:1)

early 17th century comes from the fills of pit [173] (Trench 1). It includes a wide range of 50 London-made bowl types, dated between *c.*1610 and 1660, as well as 55 stem fragments. Amongst these are seven marked pipes with the maker's initials or symbol stamped in relief on the base of the heel. A type AO5 bowl has the initials IB in a circular surround, separated by a single raised dot, with three dots above and below. A second similar mark was recorded on a pipe of the same type, found in the same pit fill, differing slightly in having only a single raised dot between the initials. This stamp may stand for John Bower, who signed the second Charter of Incorporation in 1634 (Oswald 1975, 131).

Another pipe is stamped with the initials WI, probably with tobacco leaves (indistinct). The bowl represents the development of Atkinson and Oswald's type 5 into the later type 10, marked by an increase in size and probably dating from the 1620s to the 1640s. The initials may stand for William Jeffes, one of the original signatories of the 1619 Charter (Oswald 1975, 140).⁴ Another type AO5 bowl from the same group has the

initials WS, possibly William Sterridge, who also signed the second Charter of 1634 (*ibid.*, 146). Finally, a type AO10 bowl has a stamped wheel or star design under the heel. Although similar examples are relatively common on 17th-century pipes excavated in London, it is impossible to attribute them to any known pipe maker. All of these pipes are fully milled and two have burnishing of average quality.

Another pit fill ([117]) yielded 17 pipe bowls and 21 stem fragments, giving an overall date of *c.*1640–60. The earliest of the four marked pipes is a developed form of type AO5 stamped in relief on the heel, with the initials BC on each side of a tobacco plant. There are no recorded pipe makers matching the initials at this date. Two pipe bowls of type AO10 have the initials IC and a tobacco plant. They share the same die, and the initials may stand for the pipe maker James Cornish, recorded in the Finsbury Plague Lists in 1658. Other possibilities are Joseph Crumpton, recorded in 1659, or John Culpepper, who signed the 1634 Charter (Oswald 1975, 133). Similar examples have also been found on the Thames foreshore,

including an example dated to the 1680s, found in Stepney (Le Cheminant 1981, fig 21.20). A more unusual find from this pit is a type AO10 pipe bowl with a simple incised cross on the base of the heel. This example, along with one of the IC pipes, is fully milled, while the other marked pipes from the same context are not milled at all; none is burnished. The remaining unmarked pipe bowls in this group are all fully milled and consist of types AO5 and 8.

There are two other marked pipes from smaller contexts. One, a fully milled type AO5 bowl is stamped WI in relief, probably standing for William Jeffes, as noted above. The other is a type AO10 bowl, fully milled and stamped II in relief under the heel. This may stand for John Johnson, who signed the 1619 Charter, if he was still making pipes by the 1640s.

Overall, the clay pipes found in contexts pre-dating the Great Fire constitute an assemblage of relatively high quality. Almost all have been smoked. The most common types of pipes are AO5 (53 examples) and AO10 (38 bowls), with several examples each of types AO6, 7, 8 and 9, more-or-less spanning the first half of the 17th century. At least eight different pipe makers are represented, most of them signatories of the first two Charters of the Pipe Makers Company, whose work is known from excavated sites and chance finds throughout the City and beyond. The number of fully milled pipes is comparatively high (*c.*75%), usually regarded as an indicator of quality, although only eight examples show signs of burnishing, mostly of average quality.

Trade

Pottery

In London, most imported pottery is concentrated on sites along the city waterfront and to the east (Blackmore 1994; 1999a; 1999b, 38–9, 48–54; 2010a, 105–6; Jarrett 2005) and in areas around the city walls, notably on the eastern side of Moorgate (Malcolm 1997; Blackmore 2009, 54–6, 58–9) and in the eastern part of the City ditch (Pearce 1992b; Blackmore 1994). The present site is at some distance from the city, but the number of imports is relatively high, amounting to

*c.*7–8% of the total post-medieval assemblage (see Table 1); of the 431 sherds, 365 are from period 5 deposits. In keeping with other parts of London, there is a very strong bias towards German wares (397 sherds, 262 ENV), especially Frechen stonewares (332 sherds, 212 ENV), as would be expected for the date of the site (Gaimster 1997, 80; 84–7; Blackmore 2010a, 105–6). Of interest are a number of German slipware bowls and dishes with figurative designs (<P8>, <P9> and <P10>, Fig 13; Hurst *et al* 1986, 242–60; Hurst & Gaimster 2005), and stoneware jugs with medallions. Some are common types, such as the arms of Amsterdam or of the dukes of Jülich-Kleve-Berg (Gaimster 1997, 368), others rarely found in London, such as <P10> (Fig 13), <P12>, <P13> (Fig 16; see below, Religion). Three of the Werra slipware vessels have partial dates, dish <P11>, a dish with the numbers '612' (not illustrated), and a bowl showing the greater part of a 'cavalier' holding a torch (head missing) and the numerals '16..' (<P8>). The latter is of interest, as the costume differs from the norm; the jerkin has a much longer skirt than usual and the breeches are narrower, although tied at the knee in the usual way (<P9>, Fig 13). 'Cavaliers' also figure on two dishes, while another shows the lower left leg of a dancing or running man with a sash around the knee. The amount and range of pottery from other sources is more limited than on sites within or to the east of the city, and while Italian and Spanish wares are never abundant, it is perhaps surprising Dutch wares are not more common on the site.

Coins

Sixteen coins and jettons were found in the excavations (see site archives), ranging from the 4th (Roman) to the 18th centuries.⁵ Of the three Roman pieces, two <182>, <254> were contemporary copies of well-known Valentinian (AD 364–78) types and the third may well have been the same, albeit largely illegible <175>. These were all found residually in medieval and post-medieval deposits of periods 3–5.

The earliest post-Roman example is a silver penny of Henry VII (1485–1509) minted in York <179>; and a scarce find for London. This and a silver sixpence of Elizabeth I

dated to 1566 (<176> from Trench 3) were both worn and found in later 17th-century deposits: the lack of copper-bronze from these reigns explains their longevity in the archaeological record. However, three private farthings from the reigns of James I (Harington) <180> and Charles I ('rose') <171>, <170>, came from contemporary period 5 deposits. Also contemporary were three different Nuremberg jettons of Hans Krauwinckel II (<172>, <173>, <181>) which illustrate his broad output and the first two are in particularly fine condition. The fabric of two further illegible post-medieval pieces from period 5 (<174>, <274>) may also suggest a Nuremberg origin. These jettons were very common and used for everyday reckoning at a time when little base metal coin was available. The latest coins are two English halfpennies; the first of George II (1729–54), from an 18th- or 19th-century deposit (<169>), the other an illegible issue of the same broad date (<177>), intrusive in the period 4 well.

Religion

A few finds are of special interest for the insight they give into religious beliefs and iconography during a time of dramatic ideological change across Europe – the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the end of traditional religion, state sponsored iconoclasm and the Reformation in England (1534–53). These dramatic changes were followed by the Marian Roman Catholic revival, which ended abruptly in 1558 with the re-establishment of a Protestant Anglican Church, while the new Elizabethan government promptly initiated the persecution of Catholics (Wilson 2012, 142–365). On the continent the development of Lutheranism and other Protestant sects sparked conflict and the savage persecution of religious minorities, and in the 1560s and 1570s, this persecution led to the migration of Protestants from the continent to England and particularly to the capital. These included glassworkers and potters, notably a redware potter, Richard Dyer, from Portugal, who set up a pottery just outside Moorgate (see below, Industry), and the first London tin-glazed ware potters, working within the former precinct of Holy Trinity Priory,

Aldgate (Britton 1987; Blackmore 2005, 237–42, 246–7; 2006, 138; Betts & Weinstein 2010, 13–16). Possible products of both industries were found on the present site.

Aspects of these social conditions and religious beliefs were also reflected in the decoration of contemporary ceramics, both on tin-glazed wares and slipwares. The former, from Italy and the Netherlands, mainly show the I-H-S monogram on vases and dishes (Korf 1981, 201–16; Blake 1999; Blackmore 2011, 141–2, fig 89, <P28>, <P29>); a rare find is a jug from Regis House, King William Street, which shows the instruments of the passion (Blackmore 2010b, 121–3). Popular designs on late 16th- and 17th-century slipwares, particularly those made in Werra ware (north Germany) and at Enkhuizen (north Holland) depict Adam and Eve, saints and angels. Adam and Eve dishes are quite frequent in London, and include finds from the Royal Mint (Blackmore 2010a, 103, fig 75, <P70>) and Fastolf's Place/the Rosary (Whittingham 2009, 181, 183, fig 143). Images of saints are much less common and it is frustrating that it is not possible to identify the figure represented on <P11>, as the side with the identifying attribute is largely missing. Examples from Enkhuizen, however, include St Laurence, a Roman deacon martyred on a gridiron in AD 258 (Bruijn 1992, figs 27, 132), St Peter, holding a key (*ibid*, figs 41–3, 133–4) and St Thomas the Apostle (*ibid*, fig 98). A waster from the Witzenhäuser pottery shows a male wearing a chiton and holding a spear, described by Stephan (1981, 17) simply as a man, but possibly also St Thomas.

Stonewares were particularly suited for use as a didactic media, as the nature of the fabric was ideal for casting in ceramic moulds made from sandstone matrices, the designs inspired by woodcuts, coins and metalwork (Gaimster 1997, 37–40). This technology, which enabled the application of complex decorative motifs in relief with remarkable sharpness and clarity, evolved alongside the development of the printing process, which allowed for the rapid transmission of ideas and images. As a result, religious or social scenes, often accompanied by text or mottos, were widely used on pottery of the 16th and 17th centuries as a medium of religious propaganda, whether devotional, allegorical or satirical (*ibid*, 148–9).

The most complex examples occur on

drinking vessels made at Siegburg, which are rare in England (Gaimster 1997, 148–52). Other forms include panel jugs from Raeren and Westerwald (eg <P10>, Fig 13), with Bible stories in a frieze around the girth (eg Blackmore 2010a, 104, fig 17, <P41>; fig 23, <P45>). The production of Bartmann jugs made in Cologne and Frechen started well before the unpopular Cardinal Bellarmine entered the church in 1560, or gained influence there, but they are commonly associated with him, and later examples may have had a satirical role. By the mid-16th century, images mocking the behaviour of the clergy were appearing, such as <P12> (Fig 16), a popular reversible Pope-Devil portrait showing the Pope as the anti-Christ, wearing the papal tiara on one side of the vessel and with the devil's horns and ears of a satyr on the other (Gaimster 1997, 148–50, figs 5.14, 5.15). The Pope-Fool medallions work on the same principle, with a profile in

which the nose of one head is the chin of the other (*ibid*, figs 5.16, 5.17); both are so far extremely rare in London. Another portrait from a Bartmann jug that may also be satirical in nature shows a bust of ambiguous sex, wearing a cross but with a garland around the head that forks into what appear to be horns (<P13>, Fig 16). Other examples of stoneware used as religious propaganda are noted by Gaimster (*ibid*, 148–52).

Fieldwork at 133–137 Fetter Lane (FET76), formerly part of Clifford's Inn, revealed a small (height 71mm) bronze figure of Christ being crucified, believed to be of late 15th- or 16th-century date on stylistic grounds. It was found within a 16th- or 17th-century garden soil horizon (Siegel 1978, 81). The figure was originally secured to a cross by three rivets (Cherry 1978) and its small size suggests it had formed part of a crucifix, probably intended for private devotion. Such objects were popular before the Reformation.



Fig 16. Pottery and religion: Werra slipware dish <P11> showing a saint and part of the date (scale 1:4); Frechen stoneware medallions with reversible Pope-Devil <P12> and bust wearing a cross <P13> (scale 1:2)

Industry

Ceramic Industrial Vessels

Four objects found in period 4 and 5 contexts in Trench 5 fall into this category, all in London-area early post-medieval redware (PMRE) and quite clean, with minimal sooting and no residues. Two forms are wheel-thrown open cylinders, with distinctive grooved surfaces and a convex profile that is flaring or tapering depending on orientation. Joining fragments of <P14> (Fig 17) were found in two contexts, with three sherds from a period 4 pit, the remainder from the period 5 soakaway and presumably redeposited. Together these make a large, squat oval cylinder (height *c.*115–18mm) with an externally thickened rim at the lower/wider end (diameter 245–55mm) and internally expanded rim at the upper/narrower end (diameter 230–40mm). There are no recesses in either rim, but large opposed rectangular cut-outs of slightly different size in the wall (*c.*105 x 70mm, *c.*125 x 75–80mm), flanked by single and paired compass-incised ring and dot motifs of different sizes (18mm and 32mm across); as these are bisected, they may have showed where to cut the openings, but as the two sides differ, these motifs could also indicate the front and the back.

The other cylinder (<P15>, Fig 17) is taller (*c.*190mm). The upper/wider rim is externally thickened like that of <P16/17> (average diameter *c.*240mm), with at least two cut-out ledges in the upper surface, presumably designed to help secure another piece of equipment. The complete example has obliquely cut sides (outer width 60mm, inner width 55mm, maximum depth 5mm) and two knife-cut notches at the centre, with two opposed notches in the wall below the rim. The lower/narrower rim is knife-trimmed around the top and also on the inner wall (diameter *c.*220mm).

A large vessel with flaring profile (<P16>, Fig 17; diameter 240mm) has a deep, externally collared rim (depth 40mm) that is also an internally lid-seated rim; the rim has broken at the edges of two cut-outs, the same depth as the rim; as only *c.*25% of the rim is present, this could mean that there were either two wide opposed ledges,

or perhaps more likely, given their spacing, three ledges of *c.*8% of the circumference (or *c.*5–6mm across) around the rim (*ie* the same arrangement as on <P17>). This is not an alembic, but could perhaps be a new form of a distillation base.

The brazier <P17> (Fig 17) has a large pedestal base (diameter on underside 185mm, at outer edge 195mm) with internal patchy reduced clear glaze; the lower body is concave, flaring out towards the top. There is a large, crudely trimmed trapezoidal cut-out on one side (width at base *c.*75mm, maximum height *c.*55mm). Some 50mm above this is a horizontal groove, and at 62mm, the base of a second cut-out (width at least 97mm, height unknown); a non-joining sherd suggests that the upper profile becomes wider and convex, with horizontal grooves, but the upper body and rim are missing.

There are no exact parallels for the cylindrical forms in the survey by Moorhouse (1972), or among the published finds from London, but the brazier can be compared to finds from Lambeth and Woolwich, both with opposed vertical rod handles. The former, from a mid-17th-century pit, has a pedestal base with cut-out section, a raised base with three vents in it and a cylindrical body with roughly square cut-outs (*ibid*, 120–1, fig 33.13, 33.14). The Woolwich find is a large unstratified vessel which was described as a chafing dish, but which may have had an industrial function, as it is unusually tall and bowl-shaped, and seems to lack the usual internal base; the rim is also thickened and slightly inverted, and the lugs are heavier than usual (Blockley 1978, 77, fig 19.108).

Similar forms found on a redware production site at Moorgate site also resemble chafing dishes, but differ in having very shallow bowls and/or no internal bases and the fact that they are crudely made in a redware fabric that also contains organic matter (Sudds 2006, 95, fig 75.1, 75.2, 75.4). As these finds were wasters, there is no evidence for their use, and although it can be taken that they were associated with heating, it cannot be proven that they were intended for an industrial purpose. Of particular interest in this context is documentary evidence for the production of 'earthen furnaces, earthen firepots and

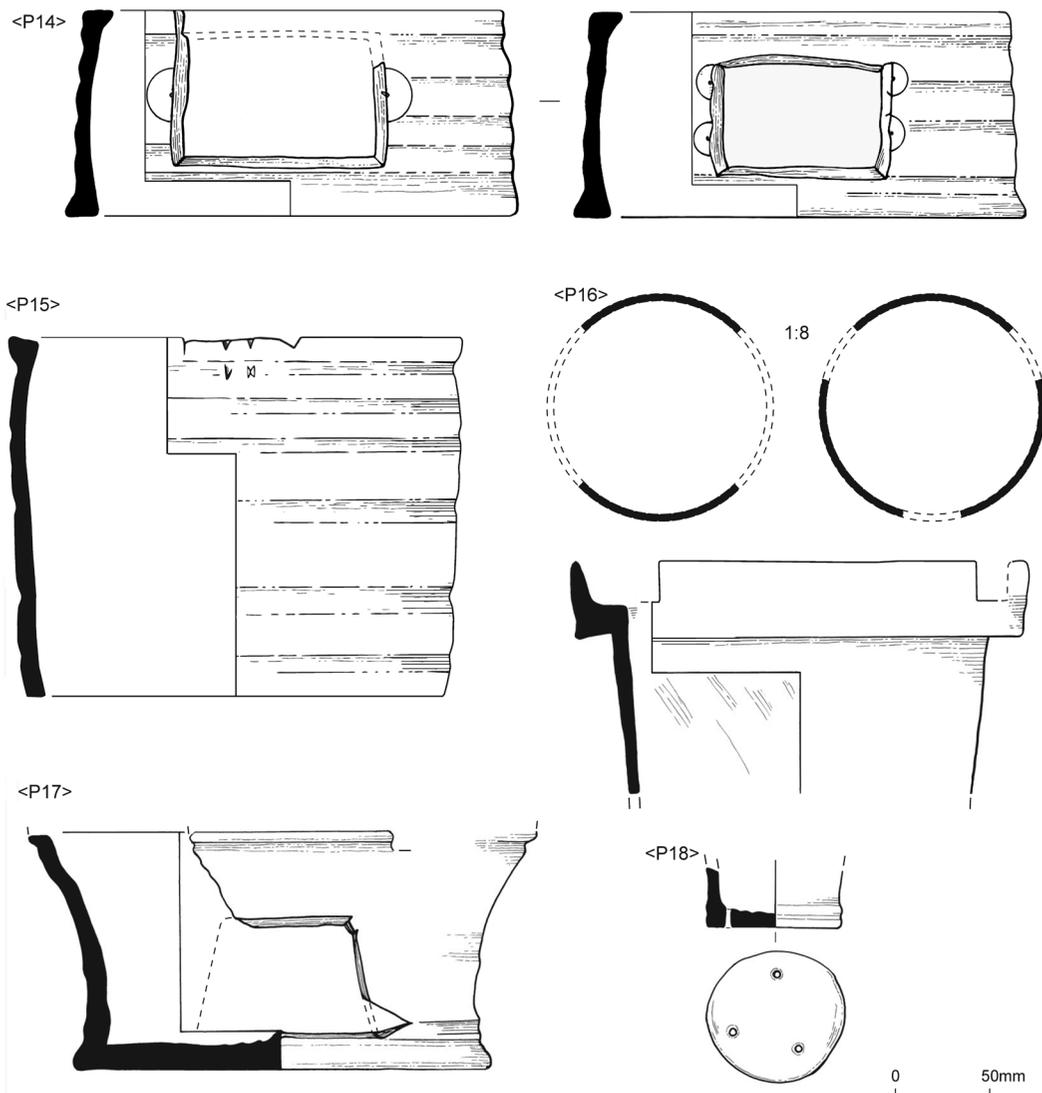


Fig 17. Industrial and horticultural ceramics: mantles <P14>, and <P15>, flaring vessel <P16>, with possible reconstructions for the cut-away sections of the rim, brazier base <P17>, all in London-area early post-medieval redware, and base of a Surrey-Hampshire border ware drinking vessel reused as a flower pot <P18> (scale 1:4)

earthen Ovens, transportable' at Moorgate by Richard Dyer, who was working there from 1568 and into the 1580s (Edwards 1974, 56; Haslam 2006, 67–8; Sudds 2006, 84–6, 96, 98–9). The finds from New Street Square may also belong to this class of object.

Other 'industrial' ceramics comprise part of a sugar mould from a post-Fire context, and sherds from three possible collecting jars, thought to have been dumped before

the Fire, all of which could have been used in a domestic context. Both forms were made at Woolwich and at Deptford (Blockley 1978, fig 13.64; Jarrett 2004, 105–9).

Metal-Working

Joining rim fragments and part of the base of a large crucible (diameter at rim 115mm, at base c.60mm) used for copper alloy working

were recovered from the earliest ([140]) and latest fills ([80]) of the large period 5 pit [173] in Trench 1 (<262>, <264>), while a lipped rim fragment from the same crucible (<263>) was found in another pit ([83]). A piece of copper-alloy slag was also found in pit [173] (<118>) and other waste and small unidentified fragments were found in pits [114], [154] and other non-selected contexts, but the quantities are too small to indicate industry on any scale.

Recycling is suggested by a copper-alloy disc (<178>) from a period 4 pit in Trench 3 ([258]), the face of which has three transverse incised lines cut by two oblique lines that meet at the top, and a series of arcs across the upper half, suggesting that it was cut from another object. For a similar, but thicker, disc with a perforation for use as a pendant see Henig (1988b, 196, fig 60.54).

Horticulture

Gardening is indicated by possible bedding trenches and a range of ceramic equipment made in red earthenwares from the London area. Sixteenth-century finds include a near complete watering pot with decorative thumbing around the base of the rose <P1> (Fig 6) and part of a sprinkler <P2> (Fig 6) found in the period 4 well in Trench 3. Sherds from five other sprinklers and eight flowerpots were found in contemporary deposits. The early 17th-century finds include two watering pots, one near complete in PMRE, with two horizontal bands of rilling on the shoulder, the other in PMR, and the base of a sprinkler in PMR. There are also 37 sherds from 23 flowerpots, of which 17 are in PMRE, four are in PMR and two in PMSRG/Y. Of note in this period is the whole base of a Surrey-Hampshire border ware drinking jug, which has three neatly drilled secondary perforations in triangular formation in the base and others in the wall, and so may have been reused as a flowerpot or sprinkler <P2> (Fig 6). The later 17th-century finds are limited to sherds from two flowerpots, two sprinkler bases and part of the rose from a watering pot. Sprinklers were made in the phase 1 (?late 16th-/early 17th-century) production at Woolwich (Blockley 1978, 51, fig 10.5), while watering pots were made in phase 3 (c.1660–80; *ibid.*, 70, fig 17.95).

Neither form was recorded in the wasters from Deptford. The flowerpots are present in a range of forms, some glazed and/or with applied strips, 'fluting', combed horizontal and wavy lines. Flowerpots were made at Deptford (Jarrett 2004, 12–13) and possibly in phase 3 at Woolwich, although described as a strainer in the report (Blockley 1978, 65, fig 14.69).

CONCLUSIONS

The type and quality of the artefacts discovered reflect the site's location in this relatively prosperous area, with its proximity to the Inns of Court. During the early 17th century, this locality has been described as the 'haunt of lawyers and leisured gentry' (Porter 1994, 70). Residents also appear to have had the luxury of space for waste disposal, adjacent to their properties, at a time when other parishes were obliged to employ 'scavengers' to remove domestic rubbish periodically from their streets. For instance, 'the Liberties of the Duchy of Lancaster' (the Strand area) employed 'four scavengers' (Stow 1956, 398). The open space used for rubbish disposal from the early post-medieval period has continued as modern-day New Street Square.

A great deal of the pottery that was dumped here after the Great Fire of London in 1666 dates to between c.1580 and 1650. The pottery does not exhibit signs of actual burning, but as properties were pulled down locally in an attempt to stop the Fire, there is likely to have been substantial damage to house contents.

Although the exact source of these finds is unclear, the number of serving and drinking vessels is consistent with that from several other sites in the area. This suggests that, if not from local houses or taverns situated along either Fetter Lane or Shoe Lane, perhaps cleared in the wake of the Fire, they could be from the Inns of Court, either Lincolns Inn to the west or the Inner and Middle Temple to the south.

All of the buildings constructed after the Great Fire conformed to the new building regulations laid down in 1667. Brick was used and the number of storeys permitted varied from two to four (plus cellars and garrets), depending on the size of house

(Milne 1986, appendix 1, 118). An increase in the number of maps and associated documentary evidence after 1666 allows the more accurate location of post-medieval and early modern properties and their

subsequent development. This excavation has highlighted a fascinating glimpse into London life just before these important changes.

APPENDIX: ILLUSTRATED FINDS

Table 2 Concordance of the illustrated pottery

Fig no.	<P> no.	Period/Trench	Context	Fabric	Form	Comments
6	<P1>	4/3	[254]	PMRE	watering pot	85% whole; missing part of rim/rose
6	<P2>	4/3	[254]	PMRE	sprinkler	base
9	<P3>	5/1	[80]	BORDG	skillet	miniature ?toy; profile with lip
9, 13	<P4>	5/1	[140]	BORDG	rounded drinking jug	complete
9, 13	<P5>	5/1	[140]	TGW D	jar	90% whole; missing part rim; blue/white decoration
13	<P6>	5/5	[158]	BORDG	rounded drinking jug	near whole, missing lip
13	<P7>	5/1	[105]	TGW D	dish	large base sherd
13	<P8>	6/5	[91]	WERR	bowl	cavalier; part of date '16..'
13	<P9>	5	[97]	WERR	dish	cavalier
13	<P10>	5/5	[99]	RAER	panelled jug	peasant dance; motto reads 'NGENOATO..WERRENSEI'
16	<P11>	5/4	[378]	WERR	dish	saint; part of date
16	<P12>	5/4	[327]	FREC	<i>Bartmann</i> jug	large reversible pope-devil portrait
16	<P13>	5/4	[325]	FREC	<i>Bartmann</i> jug	large female portrait <i>c</i> 60 x 50mm
17	<P14>	5/5	[107]	PMRE	mantle	cylindrical with opposed rectangular cut-outs and impressed circular stamps
		6/5	[91]			
17	<P15>	6/5	[91]	PMRE	mantle	cylinder with stepped rim
17	<P16>	6/5	[56]	PMRE	industrial vessel	large collared rim, cut away
17	<P17>	6/5	[91]	PMRE	brazier	most of pedestal base with cut-out
17	<P18>	5/5	[59]	BORDG	drinking jug	whole base; secondary perforations in base and wall

Table 3 Concordance of the illustrated finds

Fig no.	Accession no.	Period/Trench	Context	Material	Object
9	<119>	5/1	[130]	copper alloy	mount
9	<186>	5/1	[80]	ivory	comb
9	<209>	5/1	[140]	iron/bone	knife
12	<110>	5/5	[107]	copper alloy	dress hook

Fig no.	Accession no.	Period/Trench	Context	Material	Object
12	<146>	5/4	[316]	copper alloy	dress hook
12	<229>	5/1	[119]	copper alloy	book clasp
12	<256>	6/5	[91]	copper alloy	mount
14	<3>	5/2	[3]	glass	goblet, type 11.1
14	<6>	5/2	[14]	glass	goblet, <i>façon de Venise</i>
14	<10>	5/2	[32]	glass	beaker, type 1.5
14	<15>	5/2	[32]	glass	goblet, <i>façon de Venise</i>
14	<30>	5/5	[59]	glass	beaker, type 4.1
14	<50>	5/1	[100]	glass	goblet, type 11.1
14	<56>	5/1	[117]	glass	beaker, type 1.6
14	<66>	5/5	[143]	glass	beaker, type 1.8
14	<68>	5/5	[143]	glass	beaker, type 1.5

Table 4 Concordance of the illustrated tile

<T> no.	Period/Trench	Context	Accession no.	Type
<T1>	4/3	[230]	<260>	medieval floor tile
<T3>	5/2	[32]	<258>	tin-glazed floor tile
<T4>	5/5	[99]	<285>	tin-glazed floor tile
<T2>	5/4c	[298]	<266>	tin-glazed floor tile
<T6>	6/4	[310]	<267>	peg tile with hoof prints
<T5>	6/5	[91]	<259>	tin-glazed floor tile
<T7>	6/4	[277]	<261>	tin-glazed floor tile
<T8>	0	[+]	<257>	tin-glazed floor tile

Table 5 Concordance of the illustrated clay tobacco pipes, with mark identifications and dating

No.	Context	Acc. No.	Form	Date range	Mark	I/R	M/S	Ps	Comments
CP1	[123]	<236>	AO3	1580–1610	IR	I	S	H	John Rosse 1619–34
CP2	[140]	<239>	AO5	1610–40	IR/tobacco leaves	R	S	H	John Rosse 1619–34
CP3	[140]	<238>	AO5/10	1630–40	IR/tobacco leaves	R	S	H	John Rosse 1619–34
CP4	[80]	<235>	AO5	1610–40	IB/dots	R	S	H	John Bower 1634
CP4	[130]	<283>	AO5	1610–40	IB/dots	R	S	H	John Bower 1634
CP5	[82]	<278>	AO5	1610–40	WI/dots	R	S	H	William Jeffes 1619
CP6	[80]	<234>	AO10	1640–60	wheel?	R	S	H	12-spoke wheel or star
CP7	[117]	<282>	AO5/10	1610–40	BC/tobacco plant	R	S	H	bowl missing
CP8	[117]	<279>	AO10	1640–60	IC/leaves	R	S	H	James Cornish 1658?
CP9	[117]	<280>	AO10	1640–60	cross	I	I	H	incised cross
CP10	[130]	<237>	AO5/10	1630–40	WI/leaves	R	S	H	William Jeffes 1619
CP11	[275]	<242>	AO10	1640–60	II	R	S	H	John Johnson 1619

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NOTES

¹ For details see Museum of London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre online catalogue.

² The pottery was recorded using standard Museum of London codes for fabrics, forms and decoration; these are available as part of the research archive and are also posted on the LAARC and MOLA website: www.museumoflondonarchaeology.org.uk. Numerical information comprises sherd count, estimated number of vessels (ENV) and weight. From this an Excel file was created to manipulate the data.

³ For example, a type AO2 from New Broad Street, EC2 (NEB87 <175>): see http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/claypipes/pages/pipe.asp?sitecode=NEB87&context=703&acc_no=175&form=AO2 (accessed 28 April 2010).

⁴ Oswald 1975, 140. See also http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/claypipes/pages/mark.asp?mark_name=WI (accessed 6 May 2010).

⁵ The coins have been entered into the MOLA Oracle database having been fully described, weighed and measured. The identifiable (post-Roman) coins have been catalogued according to North 1991, Peck 1964 and Mitchiner 1988.

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