

Transactions

Volume 56 2005



LAMAS



London and Middlesex Archaeological Society

Hon Archaeological Editor:

Kim Stabler
Greater London Archaeological Advisory Service
English Heritage
1 Waterhouse Square, 138–142 Holborn
London EC1N 2ST
020 7973 3215

Production Editor:

Lynn Pitts
5 Whitehead Drive
Kenilworth
Warwicks CV8 2TP
01926 512366

Hon Local History Editor:

Eileen Bowlt
7 Croft Gardens
Ruislip
Middlesex HA4 8EY
01895 638060

Reviews Editor:

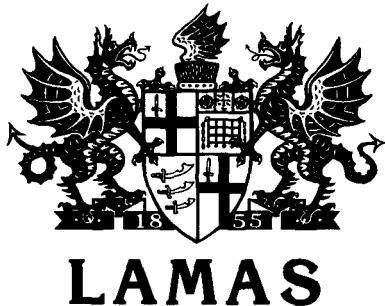
John Schofield
Museum of London
London Wall
London EC2Y 5HN

Editors' note: the editors are happy to consider articles for publication in *Transactions*. New contributors are advised to ask the Production Editor for a copy of *LAMAS Notes for Contributors* before submitting papers.

LAMAS also welcomes the submission of books for review in *Transactions*.

Front cover: The South Kensington Museum in 1857 (*Illustrated London News*, 27 June 1857; by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum)

LAMAS LIBRARY
REFERENCE ONLY



LAMAS

Transactions of the
**London and Middlesex
Archaeological Society**

Volume 56
2005

Museum of London, London Wall, London EC2Y 5HN

© Published by the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 2006

Produced by Past Historic, Kings Stanley, Glos. GL10 3HW
Printed in Great Britain
ISBN 0 903290 59 6

Contents

List of presidents and officers.....	v
150th Annual Report of LAMAS Council for the year ending 30th September 2005	vi
Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September 2005 and Balance Sheet as at 30 September 2005.....	ix
Excavations at Lower Edmonton and the archaeology of the Lower Lea Valley <i>Barry John Bishop.....</i>	1
Roman river bank use and changing water levels at 51–53 Southwark Street, Southwark, London <i>Douglas Killock.....</i>	27
Excavations of a Saxon and Early Medieval occupation site at Saxon County School, Shepperton in 1986 <i>Rob Poulton.....</i>	45
Development and industry in Whitechapel, excavations at 27–29 Whitechapel High Street and 2–4 Colchester Street, London E1 <i>Jon Sygrave.....</i>	77
The Portsoken Presentments: an analysis of a London Ward in the 15th century <i>Christine L Winter.....</i>	97
Papers read at the Lamas Local History Conference held at the Museum of London on 19 November 2005: ‘When LAMAS began: London in 1855’	163
Reviews	
L Dunwoodie <i>Pre-Boudican and Later Activity on the Site of the Forum</i> (reviewed by Dominic Perring)	179
B Yule <i>A Prestigious Roman Building Complex on the Southwark Waterfront</i> (reviewed by Dominic Perring)	179
E Howe & D Lakin <i>Roman and Medieval Cripplegate, City of London: Archaeological Excavations 1992–1998</i> (reviewed by Kathryn Stubbs).	180

J Leary with G Brown, J Rackham, C Pickard & R Hughes <i>Tatberht's Lundene wic: Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London</i> (reviewed by John Clark)	182
S E Kelly (ed) <i>Charters of St Paul's, London</i> (reviewed by Pamela Taylor)	183
J Schofield & R Lea <i>Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, City of London: an Archaeological Reconstruction and History</i> (reviewed by David Stocker)	184
B Cherry, C O'Brien & N Pevsner <i>London 5: East</i> (reviewed by Elizabeth McKellar)	186
G Keevill <i>The Tower of London Moat: Archaeological Excavations 1995–9</i> (reviewed by Chris Thomas)	187
B Barber, S Chew, T Dyson & B White <i>The Cistercian Abbey of St Mary Stratford Langthorne, Essex: Archaeological Excavations for the London Underground Limited Jubilee Line Extension Project</i> (reviewed by Philip Rahtz)	188
H Forsyth with G Egan <i>Toys, Trifles and Trinkets: Base-metal Miniatures from London 1200 to 1800</i> (reviewed by Caroline M Barron)	190
J F Merritt <i>The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community, 1525–1640</i> (reviewed by Penelope Hunting)	191
G Egan <i>Material Culture in London in an Age of Transition: Tudor and Stuart Period Finds c 1450–c 1700 from Excavation at Riverside Sites in Southwark</i> (reviewed by Bly Straube)	192
T Richardson <i>The London Armourers of the 17th Century</i> (reviewed by Hazel Forsyth)	193
B Watson <i>Old London Bridge Lost and Found</i>	194
T Flaxman & T Jackson <i>Sweet & Wholesome Water: Five Centuries of History of Water-bearers in the City of London</i>	194
O Harris <i>The Archbishop's Town: the Making of Medieval Croydon</i>	194
S Brunning, D Cooper, E Gapp, G Missig, T Nicholson and C Willey <i>The Last Hendon Farm: the Archaeology and History of Church End Farm</i>	194
Index to volume 56	195

London & Middlesex Archaeological Society

Registered as a charity

ESTABLISHED IN 1855

Patrons: The Most Rev The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; The Right Rev The Lord Bishop of London; The Right Hon The Lord Mayor of London; HM Lieutenant for Greater London and Custos Rotulorum; The Very Rev The Dean of St Paul's

Past Presidents: Rt Hon the Lord Londesborough, KCH, FRS, FSA (1855–1860); Rt Hon the Lord Talbot de Malahide, FRS, FSA (1860–1883); General A.L.F. Pitt-Rivers, FRS, VPSA (1883–1885); Edwin Freshfield, LLD, FSA (1885–1910); Sir Edward W. Brabrook, CB, Dir.S.A. (1910–1930); Sir Montagu Sharpe, KC, DL (1930–1942); Rt Hon the Earl of Strafford, JP (1943–1946); Col the Rt Hon Lord Nathan of Churt, FSA (1947–1949); William F. Grimes, CBE, MA, FSA (1950–1958); D.B. Harden, FBA, CBE, MA (1959–1964); R. Michael Robbins, CBE, MA, FSA (1965–1970); Arnold J. Taylor, CBE, MA, D.Litt, FBA, Hon VPSA, FR Hist S (1971–1973); Ralph Merrifield, BA, FSA, FMA (1974–1976); M.G. Hebditch, MA, FSA, FMA (1977–1979); Dr Valerie Pearl, MA, D.phil, FSA, FR Hist S (1980–1981); Professor John Wilkes, BA, PhD, FBA, FSA (1982–1985); John Kent, BA, PhD, FBA, FSA (1985–1988); Derek Renn, PhD, FIA, FSA, FSS (1988–1991); Hugh Chapman, BA, PhD, FSA, AMA (1991–1992†); Derek Renn, PhD, FIA, FSA, FSS (1992–1993); Harvey Sheldon, BSc, FSA (1993–1996); Mark Hassall, MA, FSA (1996–1999); Derek Keene, MA, D.phil (1999–2002); Professor Clive Orton, MA, CStat, MIFA, FSA (2002–2005)

President: Dr SIMON THURLEY

Vice-Presidents: Miss E.D. Mercer, BA, FSA; W.J. Smith, MA, FR Hist S; N.M.D. Fuentes, BA; L.S. Snell, MA, FSA, FR Hist S, FRSA; A. Tribe, FCA, FSA, ATII; J.A. Clark, MA, FSA, AMA; K.A. Bailey, MA; D.R. Webb, BA, ALA; Miss J. Macdonald, BA, FSA

Council (*as from AGM February 2006*)

Eileen Bowlt, JP, BA (Chairman); Nikola Burdon, MA, AMA; Tim Carew; John Clark, MA, FSA, AMA; Stuart Forbes, BSc, FCA; Ann Hignell, BSc, BA; Nick Holder, MA; Rupert Morris, BA (Hons), Grad ICSA; Faye Simpson, MA; Barney Sloane, BA; Kim Stabler, MA; Roy Stephenson, BA, MIFA; Karen Thomas, BA (Hons)

Ex officio (the officers mentioned under Rule 9): **Honorary Treasurer** Martin Williams, MBA; **Honorary Secretary** Jackie Keily, BA; **Honorary Editor** (*Newsletter*) Meriel Jeater, MA, AMA; **Honorary Publications Secretary** Karen Thomas, BA; **Honorary Director of Lecture Meetings** Cheryl Smith, MA; **Honorary Librarian** Miss S. Brooks, MA; **Honorary Subscriptions and Membership Secretary** Patricia Clarke; **Production Editor** (*Transactions*) Lynn Pitts, MA, D.phil, FSA

Publications Committee: Chairman, Kim Stabler, MA

Archaeological Research Committee: Chairman, Harvey Sheldon, BSc, FSA

Historic Building and Conservation Committee: Chairman, J. Finney, DipArch, DipTP, IHPCC

Local History Committee: Chairman, Mrs Eileen Bowlt, JP, BA

Honorary Auditor: Mr A. Buss

Bankers: Barclays Bank Ltd (211 Regent Street Branch)

London and Middlesex Archaeological Society

150th ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL FOR THE SUBSCRIPTION YEAR ENDING 30th SEPTEMBER 2005

Council met five times during the year.

2005 was the 150th anniversary year and was marked by a number of very successful events: a series of celebrity lectures and in the summer, a number of guided walks. The anniversary was also marked with colour covers on the Newsletter.

Members of Council and others continued to represent the Society at meetings of the Standing Conference on London Archaeology, the Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Excavation Committee, the London Archaeological Forum and the Victoria County History (Middlesex).

Lecture meetings

Meetings on Wednesday evenings at the Museum of London continued to be organised by Cheryl Smith. The season started on 13th October 2004 with Dr John Schofield, Curator (Architecture) Museum of London speaking on 'The Myth of the Great Fire: Recent Thinking about Buildings in 17th-century London', followed on 10th November by Jane King of the Foundling Museum, on 'Coram's Children: the History of the Foundling Hospital in London, 1739–1926'. On 8th December 2004 John Brown spoke about "Where there's muck, there's brass": Doulton Pottery and the Sanitary Movement in the 19th Century and, in a change to the programme, Les Capon, Project Officer at AOC Archaeology spoke on 'Recent Excavations at Blackwall Way — a 17th to 19th-century Dock Site' on 12th January 2005.

At the AGM in February Professor Clive Orton's third, and final, Presidential Address, 'Maybe it's because I'm a Londoner', was shown on video, as he was in Japan.

150th Anniversary events

The first of the 150th Anniversary Celebrity Lectures was given on 9th March by Julian Richards, who spoke on 'Archaeology on TV: Past, Present and Future'. This was followed by Professor Martin Biddle on 'London in the First Millennium' on 11th May and Maev Kennedy on 'Broadsheet Archaeology: a Narrowing Space?' on 15th June. These three lectures were held in the lecture theatre at the Museum of London and were very well attended.

Council decided that an interesting way to celebrate LAMAS's 150th anniversary would be to organise guided tours. The 'Exploring Middlesex' walks examined the antiquities in various parts of Middlesex, as our forebears had done in the 1850s and 60s. The four places visited — Ruislip, Harmondsworth, Uxbridge, and Twickenham — all lay in the western part of the county and were chosen for their diversity: a scheduled motte and bailey site, the oldest timber barn standing in Middlesex and the embankments of the Domesday Park at Ruislip; a town with a market charter dating from the 12th century, with a market hall hard against the medieval church, and archaeological sites of national importance at Uxbridge; a secluded village on Heathrow's doorstep with a church with a Norman doorway, a great barn (unfortunately not open), and 18th-century houses, all under threat from a third runway, at Harmondsworth; and a wealth of 18th- and 19th-century buildings, some with literary associations, and a church full of monuments to men of affairs at Twickenham.

The Historic Buildings and Conservation Committee also ran a series of walks, 'Exploring Central London'. The first, 'World Squares for All', started at Somerset House, with its transformed courtyard — a scheme that had been enthusiastically supported by the Committee — and continued on to the Royal Opera House and Covent Garden, an important conservation battleground. From there to Leicester Square, past the Sainsbury Wing and into Trafalgar Square with its pedestrianised north side and new broad flight of steps leading down from the National Gallery into the Square (also enthusiastically supported by the Committee). The walk continued along The Mall and then into St James Square, one of the oldest (and in its time 'poshest'), across Piccadilly and ended in the new Courtyard of the Royal Academy.

The second walk was around the City, starting at Liverpool Street Station, past the Bishopsgate Institute (Art

Nouveau) to Brushfield Street, allowing a view of Christchurch Spitalfield and the impact that Foster's new building on the market site has had. The Committee had called for a lower frontage building even if the middle part of the block had been higher and seems to have been right. Down Artillery Lane to admire the 18th-century shop fronts and into Middlesex Street; past the Cutler Street Warehouses and then pausing to look along Houndsditch to the site of the proposed new Heron Tower which the Committee supported. The walk also visited the Bevis Marks Synagogue and St Helen's Church, then, via Leadenhall Market, to St Mary Woolnorth and St Stephen Walbrook at Bank. After lunch it continued through James Stirling's No.1 Poultry and up to the Guildhall (visiting the Roman Amphitheatre and, of course, the Hall itself), along Wood Street (adjoining Foster and Rogers office blocks), across London Wall and into The Barbican (to visit St Giles). A walk along the high level walkway (looking down on the remains of the Roman walls) led to the Museum of London. Then the 'Postman's Park', into St Barts Hospital, admiring the central square and Gibbs' gateway along with the Hospital Church, and on to Smithfield Market, parts of which are currently under threat. Finally down Cowcross Street to Farringdon Station, itself facing radical alteration because of the Thameslink 2000 proposals.

The September walk in Southwark started at London Bridge Station, across to Southwark Cathedral and from there to the Golden Hinde, the Bishop of Winchester's Palace, The Clink, Globe Theatre, Tate Modern and views of Blackfriars Bridge across which the Thameslink Station will extend with its platforms, lights and signs over the river. Returned via Park Street and the Rose Theatre with a visit organised by Harvey Sheldon, and passed the real site of The Globe and, on to Borough Market through which the Thameslink route will pass. The walk ended with a visit to The George, a galleried Elizabethan inn on Borough High Street.

In July Dr Jane Sidell organised and led a walk, 'The Archaeology of the River Thames', which explored the history of the River Thames between Trafalgar Square and Southwark.

This year also marked the 400th anniversary of the death of John Stow in April 1605, and the John Stow Memorial Service was held at St Andrew Undercroft Church, Leadenhall Street on 12th April. The address was given by Dr Julia Merritt of Sheffield University. The Master of the Merchant Taylors Company replaced the quill in the hand of Stow's effigy and the Merchant Taylors provided a delicious buffet lunch afterwards.

In July, thanks to the kindness of Mr Christopher Moran, members were able to visit Crosby Hall in its present Chelsea riverside location. The inaugural meeting of LAMAS had been held on 14th December 1855 in Crosby Hall, when it was located on Bishopsgate. It was, therefore, particularly fitting that, to mark our anniversary year, this visit took place and members were able to appreciate the history and significance of the building.

Publications and Newsletter

The *Newsletter* appeared three times under the editorship of Meriel Jeater, continuing to include a wide range of reviews and short articles as well as news of the activities of our own and other societies. *Transactions* volume 54 appeared; Council continues to appreciate the hard work carried out by our Production Editor Lynn Pitts.

The Society's website, ably managed by Francis Grew, continues to attract attention and new membership.

Research Fund

This year a Research Fund was inaugurated, with a deadline for applications of 30th September. There were two submissions: 'Ebenezer Church: C19th clay pipe manufacture in Pentonville' by Peter Hammond and 'Tudor metalwork from Trump Street' by Bruce Watson/MoLAS.

Membership

Paid-up membership for the year was 619, compared with 662 last year and 659 for 2003. 42 new members joined the society, including 21 by way of the Society's website.

Archaeology Committee

The Archaeology Committee met three times during the year, in January, April, and September. Sadly, the death of Professor Dennis Hill robbed the Committee of one of its most stalwart and respected members, and condolences were sent to his daughter by the Chair, Harvey Sheldon.

Reports on archaeological fieldwork and related matters were received as usual from MoLAS, GLAAS, SCOLA, and LAARC. The Committee took particular interest in the whereabouts of the archaeological archive relating to the excavations conducted at South Mimms by the late John Kent. Further issues which fell to the Committee to comment on included the future of the Greater London Archaeological Advisory Service and recent unsupervised work conducted at Old Ford, LB Tower Hamlets, and Manor Farm, Ruislip, LB Hillingdon. The Committee's Secretary also sat on the Society's sub-committee dealing with applications for research grants.

The Committee organised the 42nd Annual Conference of London Archaeologists, which was held in the

Museum of London Lecture Theatre on Saturday 19th March 2005. Around 150 delegates witnessed the presentation of the ninth Ralph Merrifield Award jointly to the Central London Young Archaeologists Club and the Pumphouse Educational Museum Young Archaeologists Club. The morning session continued with a round-up of recent archaeological work in London, including the excavations at Sanderson's, Uxbridge, Bankside, Southwark, and Syon House, Brentford. Other contributions outlined the work of the Portable Antiquities Scheme and the background to the new Medieval Gallery at the Museum of London.

In honour of the Society's 150th anniversary, the afternoon was given over to a celebration of the top five archaeological sites excavated in London since 1855. A range of excellent speakers championed the London amphitheatre, the Temple of Mithras, the Rose Theatre, Saxon Lundenwic, and St Mary Spital, with the audience given the job of determining the all-time site of sites by way of a secret ballot. The clear winner was Saxon Lundenwic, which earned its champion, Bob Cowie, a bottle of bubbly!

Local History Committee

The Committee held a total of four meetings, in October 2004 and January, June, and September 2005.

The Annual Conference on 20th November 2004 took as its subject: 'St Paul's and the Diocese of London: Fourteen Hundred Years', and was well attended. The morning session started with a talk by the Bishop of London, the Right Reverend Richard Chartres, who spoke on 'Missionary Work of the Diocese of London in Victorian Times'. He was followed by The Venerable William Jacob, on 'St Paul's and Anglicanism in the 18th Century', James Raven on 'St Paul's Precinct and the Book Trade', and the Reverend Hugh Mead on 'John Colet and St Paul's School'. After lunch the audience heard Martin Stancliffe on 'The Fabric of Wren's St Paul's', Dr Pamela Taylor on 'The Foundation and Endowment of St Paul's', and John Schofield closed the day with 'Reconstructing St Paul's Before the Fire'.

Following up a talk by Drs Neave and Turner at the previous year's conference, the Committee devised and issued to all Affiliated Societies a questionnaire about people's experience of and emotional response to wartime evacuation. The form was also put up on the LAMAS website, and gained a good and interesting response. Results are currently being assessed.

The first Annual Publications Awards were made at the 2004 conference, with first prize going to Brentford and Chiswick LHS, and with three joint runners-up: Southgate District Civic Trust; Camden HS; and the Borough of Twickenham LHS. The Award is ongoing, and the Committee received thirteen submissions for the 2005 Award.

Historic Buildings and Conservation Committee

The Historic Buildings and Conservation Committee now meets monthly. It has been a busy and challenging year with some 116 cases being dealt with. The case load from October 2004–September 2005 is as follows: 19 cases from Westminster, 18 from Hackney, 13 from Kensington and Chelsea, 9 from Harrow, 8 from Tower Hamlets, 7 each from both Bexley and Hounslow, 6 each from Lambeth and Wandsworth, 4 from Richmond, 2 each from Camden, Ealing, and Waltham Forest, and 1 each from Bromley, Redbridge, Hammersmith & Fulham, Enfield, Newham, City, Lewisham, Islington, Hillingdon, and Havering.

Some of the more controversial cases include: an appalling scheme for an external lift at Kew Palace; a fairly awful Quinlan Terry proposal at the Royal Hospital Chelsea (since controversially approved); the difficult case of re-roofing St James Church, Piccadilly in different materials; Twyford Abbey and land adjacent to the park at Lambeth Palace (which links up with other sites along the railway up to Waterloo); the proposed re-building of the Battersea Power Station chimneys; and a scheme for a 64-storey tower in the City, which the Committee objected to.

Other issues include Thameslink 2000, which has been an ongoing problem; the implications of PPS1 (Delivering Sustainable Development); a report on the re-organisation of English Heritage particularly the four London Groups; the Heritage Protection Review; and a programme of considering Buildings at Risk.

The Buildings at Risk project has been a new initiative this year. Committee Members have taken a group of Boroughs and selected one (or sometimes two) buildings for each Borough. The idea is to choose small, maybe quirky, buildings which could be being over-looked – and to see if the Committee can make a difference by stirring things up. A fair amount of progress has been made and the CBA have shown great interest in this initiative. A Report has therefore been written outlining progress so far, and this will be updated at regular intervals.

Finally, the Committee's Secretary, John E Clark, is at present unwell, and the Committee would like to thank him for his help over the last year, and wish him a speedy recovery and good health for 2006.

BY DIRECTION OF COUNCIL

John Clark

Chairman of Council

Jackie Keily
Honorary Secretary

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30th SEPTEMBER 2005
AND BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30th SEPTEMBER 2005

EXCAVATIONS AT LOWER EDMONTON AND THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE LOWER LEA VALLEY

Barry John Bishop

SUMMARY

Excavations at Plevna Road and Montagu Road, Lower Edmonton, both bordering the Lea Valley floodplain, have produced evidence for the exploitation of this area from the Mesolithic through to the present. Although little of the evidence can be interpreted unequivocally, it possibly best demonstrates a sequence that begins with a localised and piecemeal opening up of the woodland cover during the Mesolithic and Early Neolithic periods. The clearance is followed during the Early Neolithic by attempts to delineate and demarcate the landscape involving the construction of ditches adjacent and parallel to tributaries of the Lea. Also during the Early Neolithic two large curvilinear ditches were constructed which may represent a large enclosure. The latter was succeeded by a series of large postholes, possibly representing an arrangement of timber uprights. None of these features fit happily within a simplistic 'domestic' interpretation and the possibility that they represent 'ceremonial' structures is discussed. Towards the end of the Bronze Age and into the Iron Age the archaeological record changes character and becomes dominated by pits, postholes, gullies, and boundary ditches. These are interpreted as representing the development of a more permanently settled and formalised agricultural landscape. By the end of the prehistoric period the area seems to have been largely abandoned to archaeologically visible activities. Post-medieval ditches and post-alignments in the north-west corner of Plevna Road may mark the boundary of Edmonton village from the 17th century onwards, with the rest of Plevna Road and Montagu Road only being utilised for agriculture and marginal activities such as quarrying, until urban development subsumed the sites during the 19th and 20th centuries.

INTRODUCTION

This report details the findings of two excavations conducted in Lower Edmonton in the London Borough of Enfield. Plevna Road is located immediately to the east of the centre of Lower Edmonton (TQ 3450 9345) and Montagu Road is situated approximately 700m east of Plevna Road (TQ 3530 9360) (Fig 1). It was decided to publish the results of the two excavations together as the sites complement and contrast with each other in terms of the topography, environment, and cultural exploitation.

All of the archaeological work was commissioned and generously funded by Green Horizon Housing and undertaken by Pre-Construct Archaeology. The specifications for all the archaeological works were approved and monitored by Mr Rob Whytehead of the Greater London Archaeological Advisory Service, English Heritage, on behalf of the London Borough of Enfield.

The excavation at Plevna Road (site code PVA99) was conducted during August and November 1999 and that at Montagu Road was undertaken in three phases, lasting from August 1999 to September 2000. At Plevna Road nine trenches were opened. The first phase of archaeological excavation at Montagu Road (site code MGU 99) comprised one large open area excavation towards the south-east of the site and a series of smaller trenches to the west, on land previously known as the Meadowville Day Centre. The second phase was conducted on land immediately to the south of the first phase, at the former Waste Depot. This comprised

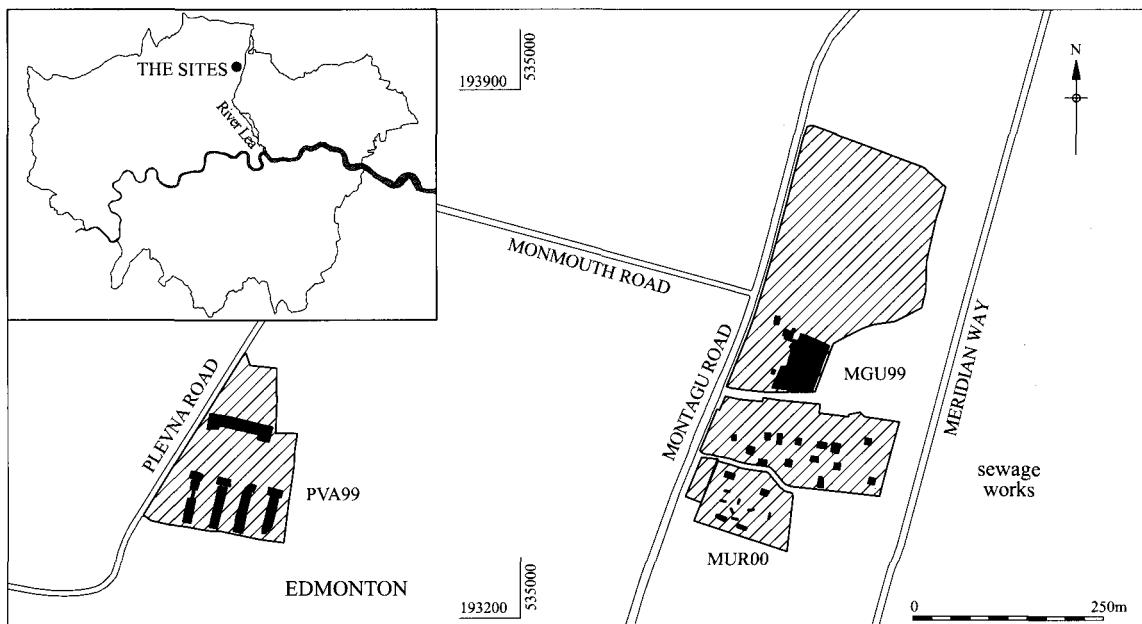


Fig 1. Site locations

a series of 14 small trenches and 18 trial pits. Phase 3 (site code MUR 00) concerned a block of land immediately to the south of the Phase 2 excavations. 11 trenches and 7 trial pits were opened; these revealed only relatively modern quarrying and refuse dumping and, although some alluvial clays were encountered, no features of archaeological interest were present.

METHODOLOGY

Following the principles of preservation *in situ* (Department of the Environment 1990), where practical the excavations at both sites were limited to the areas where surviving archaeological deposits would be severely impacted on by the proposed development. This often resulted in relatively small and discontinuous areas being examined. Although the remaining archaeological deposits have been preserved for examination at some later date, the piecemeal nature of the present investigations has presented problems in the interpretation of some of the features and phases of activity identified. The nature of the programme also resulted in many of the trenches being investigated at different times and, even when adjacent trenches were open at the same time, it was often impossible to

view the trenches together. This frequently made it difficult to establish relationships between features in different trenches or permit anything more than basic interpretations whilst in the field. This has resulted in the nature, phasing, and often the potential importance of many features only being recognised during the post-excavation programme. In addition, and also in keeping with English Heritage's guidelines, many of the larger features were only partially excavated and this, combined with the general lack of stratigraphically associative features and the generally low quality and quantity of datable finds excavated, has resulted in many of the individual features remaining undated. Therefore, discussion of the limited artefactual and stratigraphic evidence will show the broad development of the landscape over time but cannot demonstrate exact chronological relationships between all individual features.

A note on the prehistoric pottery from Edmonton

Small quantities of mostly small and fragmentary sherds of pottery were examined by Alex Gibson (2000a and 2000b). The examination revealed that they were generally featureless and/or undecorated; identification was tentative and

undertaken on fabric alone. None of the sherds was sufficiently diagnostic to warrant illustration. Nevertheless, possible Earlier Neolithic material, comprising a black to brown fabric with quartz sand inclusions, was present which, if identified correctly, would indicate a manufacturing date of around 4000–3000 BC. Other sherds, varying in colour from grey to reddish brown and containing crushed calcined flint inclusions, were also recovered, which, in the absence of diagnostic forms, could only be dated to the later second or first millennium BC.

GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

Montagu Road and Plevna Road lay approximately 400m and 1000m respectively west of the River Lea floodplain in areas now fully urbanised. The level on the top of natural terrace deposits at Plevna Road sloped down from 12.14m OD in the north-west to 11.23m OD in the south-east, and at Montagu Road from 10.34m OD to 9.31m OD, again from the north-west to south-east.

The most prominent topographical feature of the area remains the River Lea; this is the largest of the tributary rivers of the lower Thames and in the London region its floodplain is seldom less than 800m wide (Gibbard 1994, 109). In the Enfield area, the western margins of the lower Lea Valley comprise wide Pleistocene gravel terraces frequently capped by brickearths of the Enfield Silt Deposit; further to the west London Clay and other Tertiary deposits become predominant. In the London region, the Lea appears to have experienced an eastwards migration that has resulted in a steeper eastern valley side, composed predominantly of London Clay. The whole area to the west of the Lea is dissected by numerous shallow river valleys, generally showing a west to east drainage pattern; these formed throughout the Pleistocene, and many of them continued as prominent features throughout much of the prehistoric and historic periods. Recent water management and urban development have meant that most streams have been diverted, canalised, or culverted, and little evidence of original drainage patterns is now evident.

Pleistocene deposits along the western side of the floodplain primarily consist of Devensian Leyton Gravels, a Lea equivalent to the lower Thames East Tilbury Gravels or middle Thames Kempton Park Gravels. Immediately to the east of Plevna Road, the gravels and brickearths are

blanketed by alluvial deposits thought to be of late Glacial or Holocene age; alluvial deposits probably continued to form until recently when canalisation, water management, and the construction of a series of large reservoirs precluded the Lea from flooding. Beneath the floodplain alluvium, organic plant-bearing beds containing cold climate or full glacial plant assemblages are present; known as the Lea Valley Arctic Bed or Ponders End Stage, these have been dated to c.21–28,000 BP. These were first identified at Pickett's Lock, immediately to the north-east of Montagu Road, and may equate with, or pre-date, the Shepperton Gravels of the Thames Valley. As their exact relationship is uncertain, they have been termed Lea Valley Gravels (Gibbard 1994, 109).

Locally, the Montagu Road site lies on the Lea Valley floor on Warren's low terrace, which is situated c.1–2m above the contemporary floodplain of the Lea. Its immediate underlying geology would appear to consist of Leyton Gravels, overlain by silty-sandy gravels, probably equating with the Lea Valley Gravels, and capped with Enfield Silt deposits. At Plevna Road Enfield Silt deposits were observed to overlie brownish sands and gravels. It was not possible to excavate fully through the terrace sequence to establish whether these represent the Leyton Gravels or the Lea Valley Gravels. Immediately to the south of Plevna Road, running west–east and continuing towards Montagu Road before sharply diverting to the south, is Salmon's Brook, once one of the principal tributaries flowing from the west into the Lea. This stream has now been rerouted, canalised, and partially culverted, although it still appears to follow the course of an earlier channel.

Palaeolithic handaxe

The earliest indication of human activity recorded during the excavations was a handaxe recovered from a Neolithic or Bronze Age ditch at Plevna Road; this forms the subject of a separate paper (Bishop 2002a). It measured 115mm long, 86mm wide and 26mm thick, weighed 262g, and was carefully flaked, probably using a soft hammer, to produce a sub-triangular or cordiform shaped implement (Fig. 2.1). Specifically, it has very close parallels with the distinctive *Bout Coupé* handaxe of the Middle Palaeolithic (Roe 1981, 252). Although the *Bout Coupé* has been questioned as a cultural or

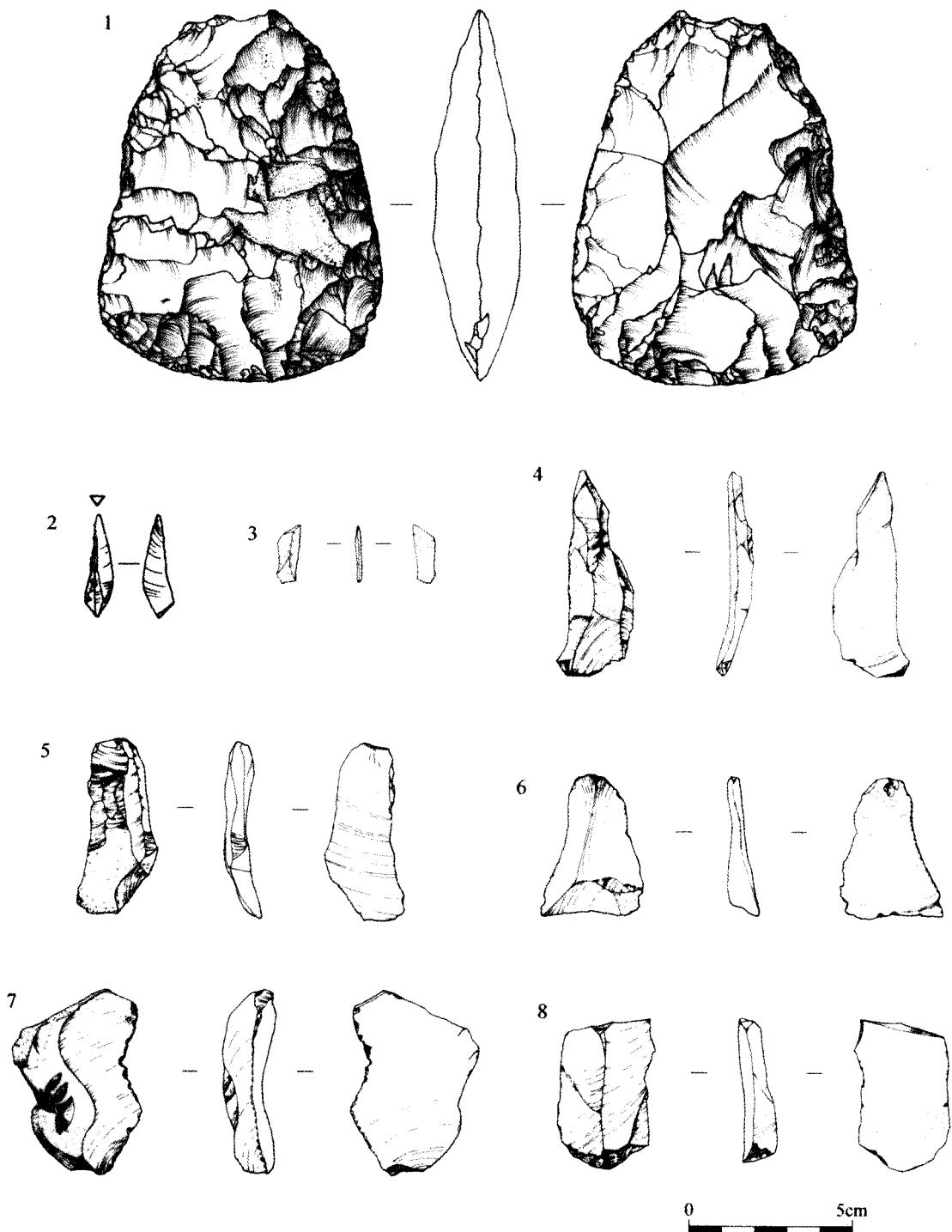


Fig 2. 2.1: Bout-Coupé handaxe; 2.2: microlith (MGU); 2.3: microlith (PVA); 2.4–5: burins; 2.6–7: serrated flakes; 2.8: long end-scaper

typological marker (Coulson 1986), the handaxe conforms to Tyldesley's (1987) rigid definition of the type. A recent survey of the *Bout Coupé* by White and Jacobi (2002), also emphasising the need for employing tight typological parameters, concluded that most of the rigorously defined *Bout Coupé* bifaces with reasonably secure provenances came from Devensian deposits, mainly from Middle Devensian OIS 3 contexts, and that many of the others either possibly or probably came from similarly dated contexts; this suggests a manufacturing date for this implement between c.60,000BP and c.30,000BP. However, White and Jacobi also warn that they cannot conclusively demonstrate that *Bout Coupé* handaxes only originate from Middle Devensian contexts, and that they 'should not be used uncritically as a Mousterian marker fossil' (2002, 123).

Although the possibility that the handaxe had been accidentally incorporated into the ditch fill cannot be entirely discounted, it was considered by the excavator to have been deliberately placed on the base of the ditch, and therefore may originally have been found at some distance from the site. The Quaternary deposits of the Thames Valley and its tributaries have provided a wealth of Palaeolithic implements and several earlier, Acheulean, handaxes have been recovered from the area, although no great concentrations have been identified. The handaxe could potentially have derived from the Leyton Gravels, the primary constituent of the gravel terraces in the area and thought to be of Devensian date. Alternatively, an origin from within the Lea Valley Gravels may be possible; they are highly fossiliferous, but have yielded few artefacts and their exact geological history is unknown. However, flakes attributed as Levalloisian in style have been found from similar deposits at Enfield Lock and Ponder's End, as well as from further north in the Lea Valley (Warren 1938). An assemblage containing Levalloisian flakes and at least one *Bout Coupé* handaxe has been identified at Creffield Road in Acton (Roe 1981, 216–18, 262), there associated with the Kempton Park Gravels.

LANDSCAPE DEVELOPMENT

Mesolithic and Neolithic activity

At both sites, the earliest confidently attested activity was represented by single microliths,

which, although recovered from later features, could themselves be dated to the Mesolithic period. The example from Montagu Road (Fig 2.2) comprises a finely worked, basally retouched type of 'Horsham' affinities, suggested as a transitional type datable to the middle of the Mesolithic (Ellaby 1987, 62). The fragment from Plevna Road (Fig 2.3) consists of a narrow, obliquely truncated type of Later Mesolithic affinities (Switsur & Jacobi 1979). To these may be added a number of cores, blades, and possibly other tools found scattered across the two sites, including burins, serrated flakes, and a long end scraper (Fig 2.4–8). The presence of microliths and other flintwork may indicate intermittent and sporadic activity over a considerable period during the Mesolithic.

The earliest evidence of actual landscape change at both sites consisted of numerous tree-throw hollows. The identification of some of these was problematic as, although some were clearly tree-throws, it was occasionally difficult to differentiate between the more regularly shaped tree-throw hollows and bush and shrub clearance from deliberately cut but heavily weathered pits. At Plevna Road at least 13 tree-throw hollows could be confidently identified (Fig 3) and over 70 were recognised at Montagu Road (Fig 4). They varied in size from 1m to nearly 5m in maximum dimension and, of those excavated, the root systems could be traced for up to 0.8m in depth. Some of the smaller examples were sub-circular in shape and probably indicate deliberate bush and shrub clearance, whilst many of the larger ones were ovoid or semi-circular, probably indicating the up-cast from fallen trees (eg Moore & Jennings 1992, fig 6).

Several of the hollows contained *in-situ* lenses of charcoal, small quantities of burnt flint and other indications of burning, which may suggest the use of fire to burn the fallen trunk and separate it from the root system. Only one from Plevna Road contained any struck lithics — a transverse core rejuvenation flake, broadly datable to the Mesolithic or Neolithic periods. A tree-throw hollow from Montagu Road contained an assemblage of four blades, three flakes, and two core rejuvenation flakes (Fig 5.9–10) that were all in a sharp condition and, although not refitting, probably originated from the same nodule. Another tree-throw hollow contained four flints in sharp condition, also almost certainly originating from a single

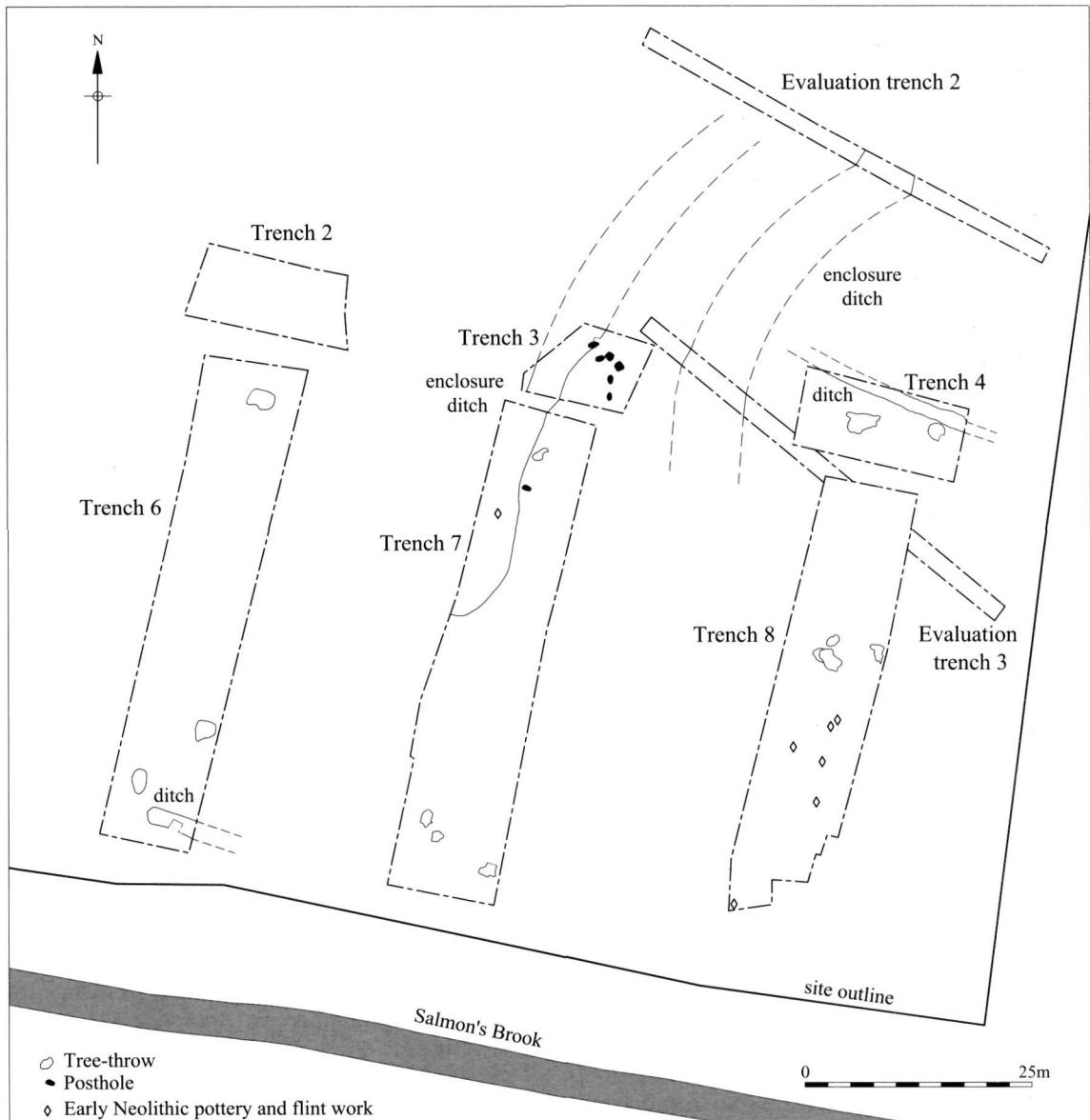


Fig 3. Plevna Road: tree-throw hollows, parallel ditches, enclosure ditches and post arrangement

nodule. Both of these assemblages would be most consistent with Mesolithic or Early Neolithic industries. Struck flints were recovered from a further 10 tree-throw hollows at Montagu Road. These were generally undiagnostic, although the high proportion of blades and core rejuvenation flakes present would suggest that at least some dated to the Mesolithic or Early Neolithic (Fig. 5.11–14). Only one hollow

contained pottery — a small sherd from a vessel identified as probably Early Neolithic in date. Where stratigraphic relationships existed, the clearance hollows at both sites could be shown to pre-date any deliberately cut features, indicating that at least some clearance occurred prior to any other development of the landscape. There was no direct evidence at either site for deliberate contemporaneous clearance however,

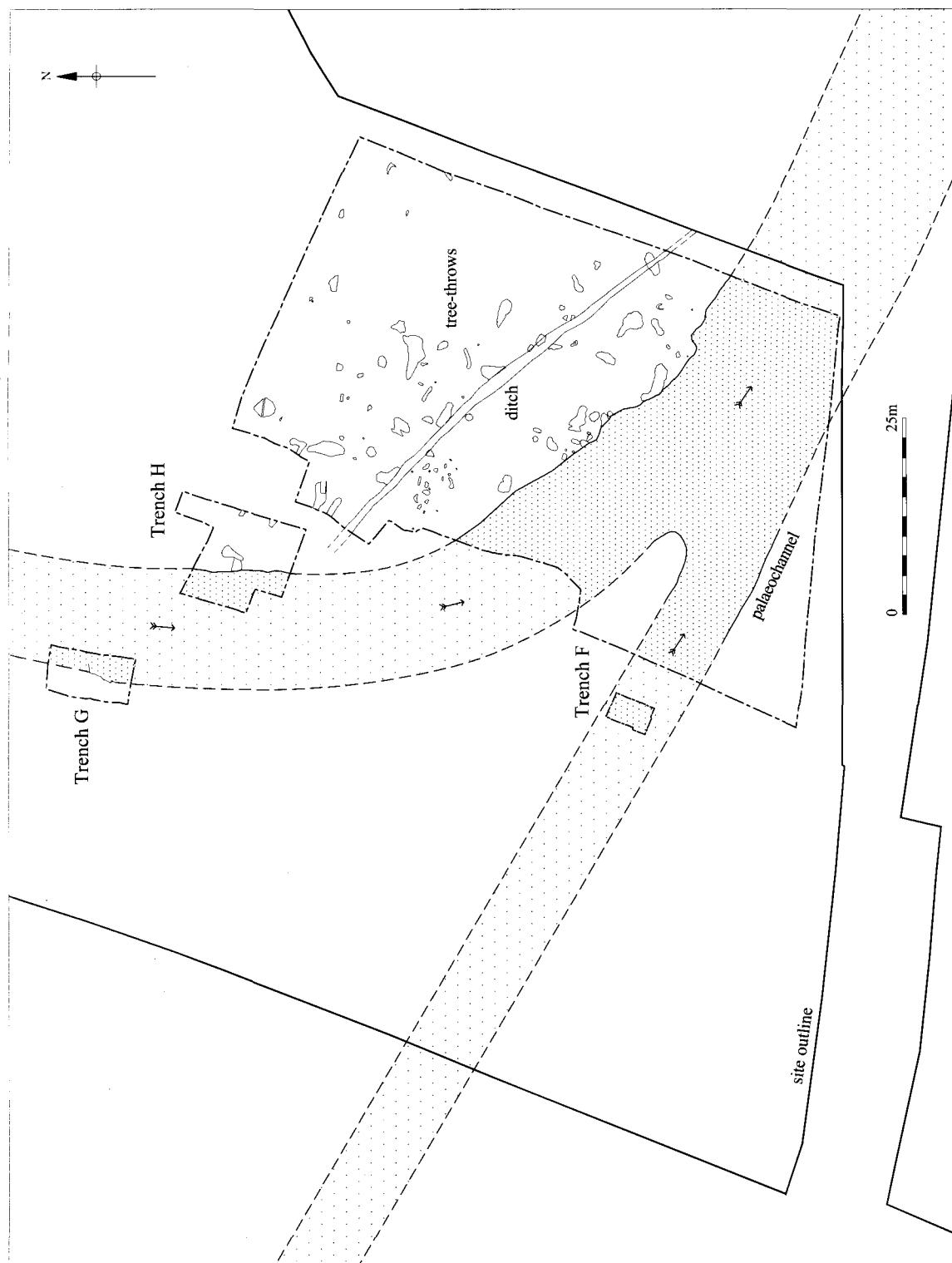


Fig 4. Montagu Road: tree-throw hollows, ditch and palaeochannel

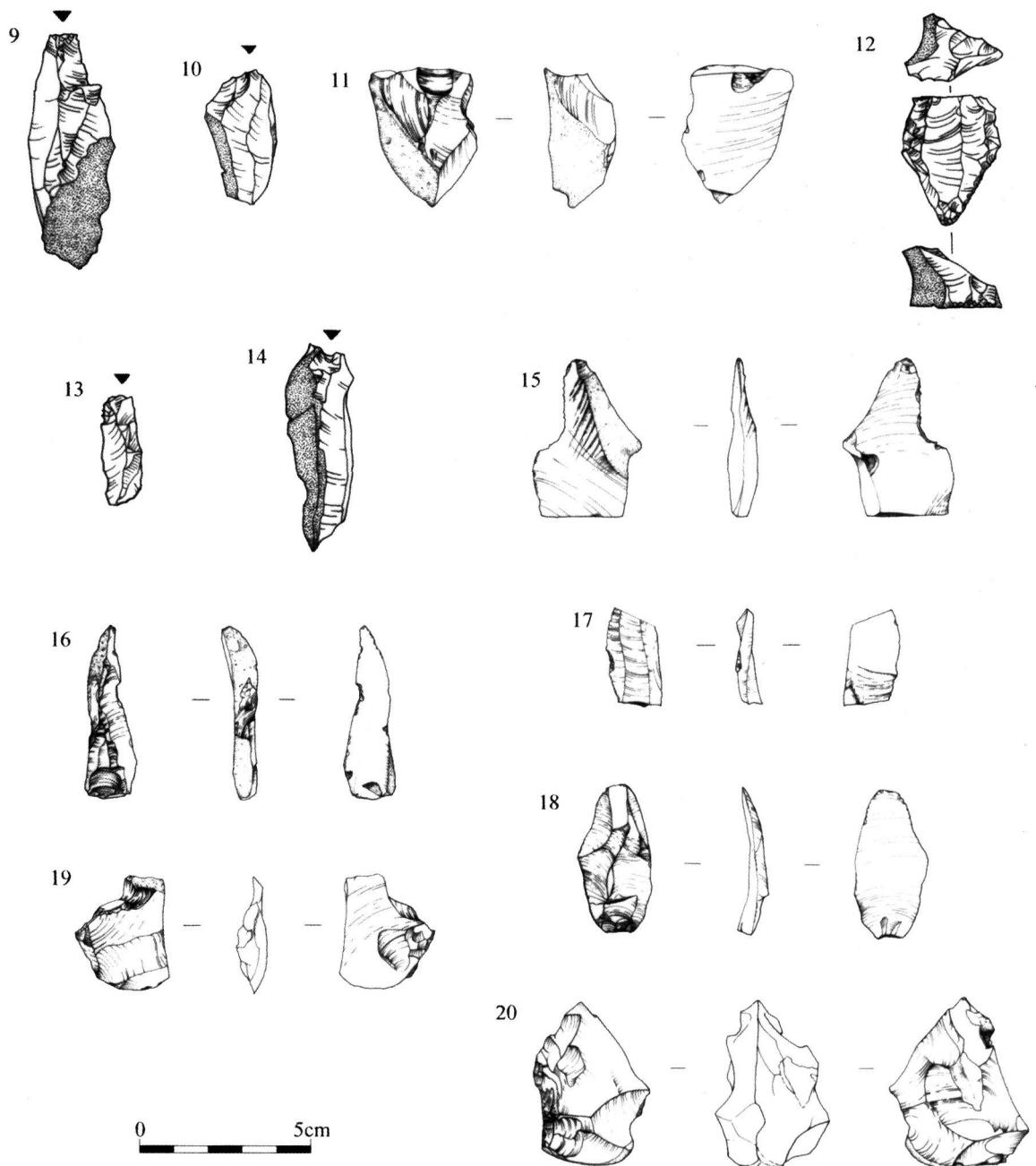


Fig 5. 5.9–10: blades; 5.11–12: core rejuvenation flakes; 5.13–14: blades; 5.15: burin; 5.16–17: utilised blades; 5.18: utilised flake; 5.19–20: core rejuvenation flakes

and regrowth may have occurred with small-scale clearances successively undertaken over a long period.

Several of the hollows created by fallen trees appeared to have been used, possibly as temporary shelters, and, along with traces of charcoal and burnt flint, several also contained struck flint, some indicative of *in-situ* knapping. Evans *et al* (1999) have suggested that such hollows may have served as important landscape markers and settlement foci during the Mesolithic and Neolithic, when it is assumed that much of the country was still blanketed by dense woodland. Such hollows would also provide ideal temporary shelters for activities such as flint knapping, and it has been suggested that on gravel terraces hollows created by fallen trees could provide easy access to lithic raw materials (Bagwell *et al* 2001).

Palaeochannel

Running through the centre of the site at Montagu Road were several elements of a large drainage system (Fig 4). These cut into natural brickearth and, in some cases, truncated or eroded tree-throw hollows. The largest channel was aligned roughly north-south along the western edge of the site but curved around before continuing towards the east. It was recorded for a distance of 110m, with the larger element being approximately 15m wide and 1.6m deep. This merged with a shallower channel to its south, being initially separated by a gravel bank, forming a watercourse up to 20m wide. Smaller channels were also recorded to the west and south, and together these represented a complex, braided and shifting drainage system, generally draining towards the south-east.

Filling the lower levels of the larger channel were coarse sands and gravels indicating an early period of turbulent fluvial activity. Later fills appear to represent calmer activity with pooling occurring. Sedimentary analysis (Green *et al* 2000) suggested that the flow was intermittent, with rapidly flowing water occurring for at least a short period during the earlier stages of its existence. The accumulation of finer grained, structureless, clayey sediment in the upper fills of the main channel and throughout the smaller channels represents a change in the waterflow regime. This material was probably mostly of colluvial origin but possibly

included some deposition by floodwater. These sediments had been substantially affected by pedological processes, representing the eventual restabilisation of ground surface conditions. Similar deposits also covered the site, sealing the tree-throw hollows and indicating substantial, although probably intermittent, flooding events and channel overbanking across the site. These and later flood deposits suggest that the drainage pattern was persistent, the main channel probably continuing as a seasonally affected stream or marshy brook throughout much of the prehistoric period.

Radiocarbon dating of the earlier fills of the main channel indicates that it had formed prior to 2885–2605 cal BC (Beta 137883; 4170±40BP), during the Neolithic period. If the channel's formation preceded this by only a short period, then its initial strength of flow may reflect land degradation associated with woodland clearance as represented by the numerous tree-throw hollows. Human activity adjacent to the channels, at least during the calmer periods of flow, is testified by the presence of charcoal and occasional struck and burnt flints, as well as a few fragmentary pieces of pottery of a possible Early Neolithic date, within the channel's upper fills.

NEOLITHIC FEATURES

Parallel ditches

Two of the apparently earliest deliberately cut features consisted of ditches that ran parallel to the present course of Salmon's Brook at Plevna Road (Fig 3). Although they were only revealed for short stretches, they appeared to be parallel, approximately 70m apart, had a relatively high cultural material content, and were on a slightly different alignment to any of the other ditches identified at that site. They were between 1.70m and 2.02m wide and 0.59m and 0.78m deep, both being 'U'-shaped in profile with wide, flat bases. The southern ditch terminated to the west with a slightly rounded end. Both were filled with material similar to the underlying geological deposits, although the fills of the southern ditch suggested a period of primary silting prior to deliberate backfilling. Its primary fill contained a small quantity of burnt flint and a flint scraper, while the backfill contained over 2.5kg of burnt flint, a burin, and several utilised blades and flakes (Fig 5.15–18). The fill of the northern ditch contained nine sherds of probable Early

Neolithic pottery as well as other unidentifiable pottery sherds, a relatively large quantity of mostly undiagnostic struck flints, nearly 1.5kg of burnt flint, and fragments of burnt daub. The relative high quantities of cultural material present within the ditches compared to all other features identified suggest the possibility of some form of deliberate disposal; the pottery suggests this occurred between 4000 and 3000 BC.

A north-west–south-east aligned ditch, at least 44m long by 1m wide and up to 0.43m deep, truncated several of the tree-throw hollows and appeared to respect the curve of the main palaeochannel at Montagu Road (Fig 4). The ditch was filled with a sandy silt-clay of probable alluvial origin, although it was uncertain whether this was caused by *in-situ* silting of the ditch or from overbank flooding of the adjacent channel. Recovered from the fill were small quantities of pottery of probable Early Neolithic date and a small assemblage of burnt and struck flint. The struck material was mostly undiagnostic, although the presence of several blades and blade cores (Fig 5.19–20) would be consistent with the suggested date of the pottery, indicating that, like the ditches at Plevna Road, it was backfilled around 4000 to 3000 BC.

Curvilinear ditches

Another early feature at Plevna Road comprised a large ditch with a rounded butt-end. It was between 3.60m and 4.60m wide with concave sides and a slightly concave base, and varied in depth from 0.60m to 0.69m. It could be traced for at least 36m, although it did not reappear in evaluation Trench 2, c.70m north-east of its terminal (Fig 3). Parallel to it, and located approximately 10m to the east, was a further ditch. It was only recorded in two of the evaluation trenches, but appeared to be at least 30m long, and was 8.50m wide and up to 0.75m deep, with concave sides and an undulating base. No evidence of recutting could be discerned, although the rather irregular shape in plan of the western ditch may tentatively suggest that it was initially cut in segments. The depositional history of the ditch fills is far from clear; both had primary fills which may have been waterlain, and in one of the sections of the western ditch a secondary fill may suggest the remnants of a collapsed bank, eroding into the ditch from the west. Their upper fills may indicate either natural silting or deliberate backfilling and levelling.

Apparently deliberately placed near the terminal of the western ditch, prior to any primary silting and presumably shortly after the ditch's construction, was the Palaeolithic *Bout Coupé* handaxe (see above). The only other finds from its lower fills consisted of a few fragments of burnt flint, although small quantities of struck flint of Later Neolithic or Bronze Age characteristics and a single abraded sherd of Iron Age/Romano-British pottery were recovered from the uppermost fill. The eastern ditch produced several sherds of Early Neolithic carinated bowl(s), a single abraded sherd of Late Bronze Age pottery, and a serrated flint flake.

Dating the construction of these features is problematic. They would appear to be associated, by both their unusually large size and their parallel alignment. The only artefact from the lower fills of the western ditch must substantially pre-date its construction, while lithic material from the upper fills suggests that it had largely silted up by the Bronze Age. The most plausible date for the construction of the eastern ditch, as indicated by the majority of the pottery, would be during the Early Neolithic. Individual fragments of later pottery were also present in each ditch, but in both cases they had been substantially degraded, and may have entered the ditch fill intrusively through activities such as ploughing, presumably after surface traces of the ditch had all but disappeared.

Post arrangement

Scattered beside the western ditch, and in one case cutting its fills, were six large postholes (Fig 3). They were remarkably regular, varying between 0.80m and 1.00m long by 0.50–0.60m wide, and between 0.47m and 0.55m deep. No dating evidence was recovered from any of them, although a transverse arrowhead of Later Neolithic date was recovered from the soil horizon in the vicinity, as well as other struck flints of similar date (Fig 6.21–3). Assuming these were all associated, stratigraphically they post-date the large ditches but pre-date a smaller field boundary ditch of later Bronze or Iron Age date (see below).

The postholes would appear to represent an arrangement of substantial timber uprights, although no coherent ground plans could be discerned. They were in a roughly linear arrangement, aligned north–south, although two were located slightly to the west of this. If

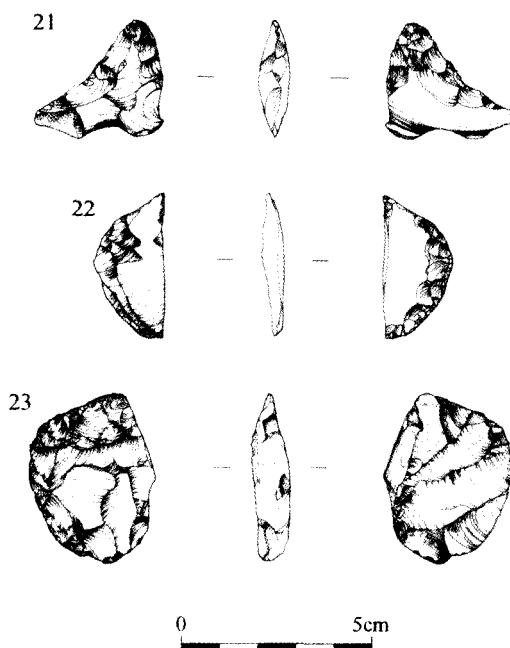


Fig 6. 6.21: tranverse arrowhead; 6.22–23: bifacially retouched implements

a similarly sized pit to the south was included a near perfect circle, c.22m in diameter, could be conjectured, although many other arrangements would be possible and they are perhaps more likely to have been 'randomly' positioned. The size of the postholes and their arrangement, as well as a paucity of domestic rubbish in the vicinity, would appear to preclude a function as a purely 'domestic' type structure, such as a roundhouse. They were quite substantial in size and, in the absence of any obvious 'domestic' interpretation, it is possible that they represented some form of ceremonial marker or structure. Again, due to the small areas excavated and the lack of securely associated finds, any such interpretation must be regarded with caution.

Agricultural features

The remainder of the prehistoric features identified consisted of postholes, pits, ditches and smaller gullies, features most characteristically associated with agricultural and settlement-type activities. The dating evidence that was recovered would suggest that they could mostly be assigned to the Middle to Late Bronze Age or Iron Age.

Virtually all the features were recorded at Plevna Road (Figs 7–8), with only boundary

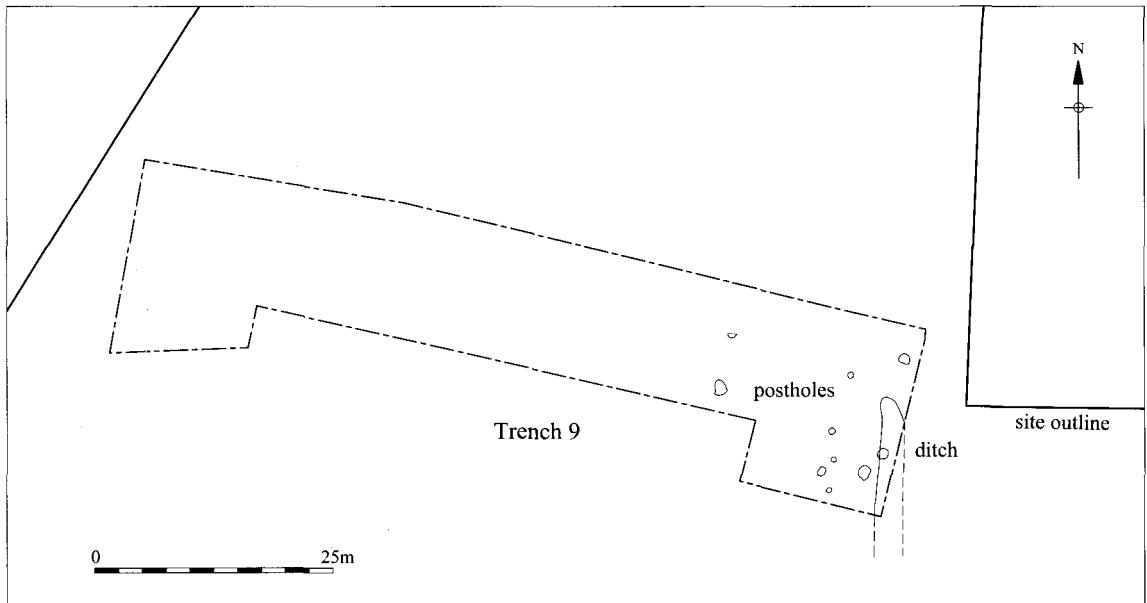


Fig 7. Plevna Road: ditch and postholes

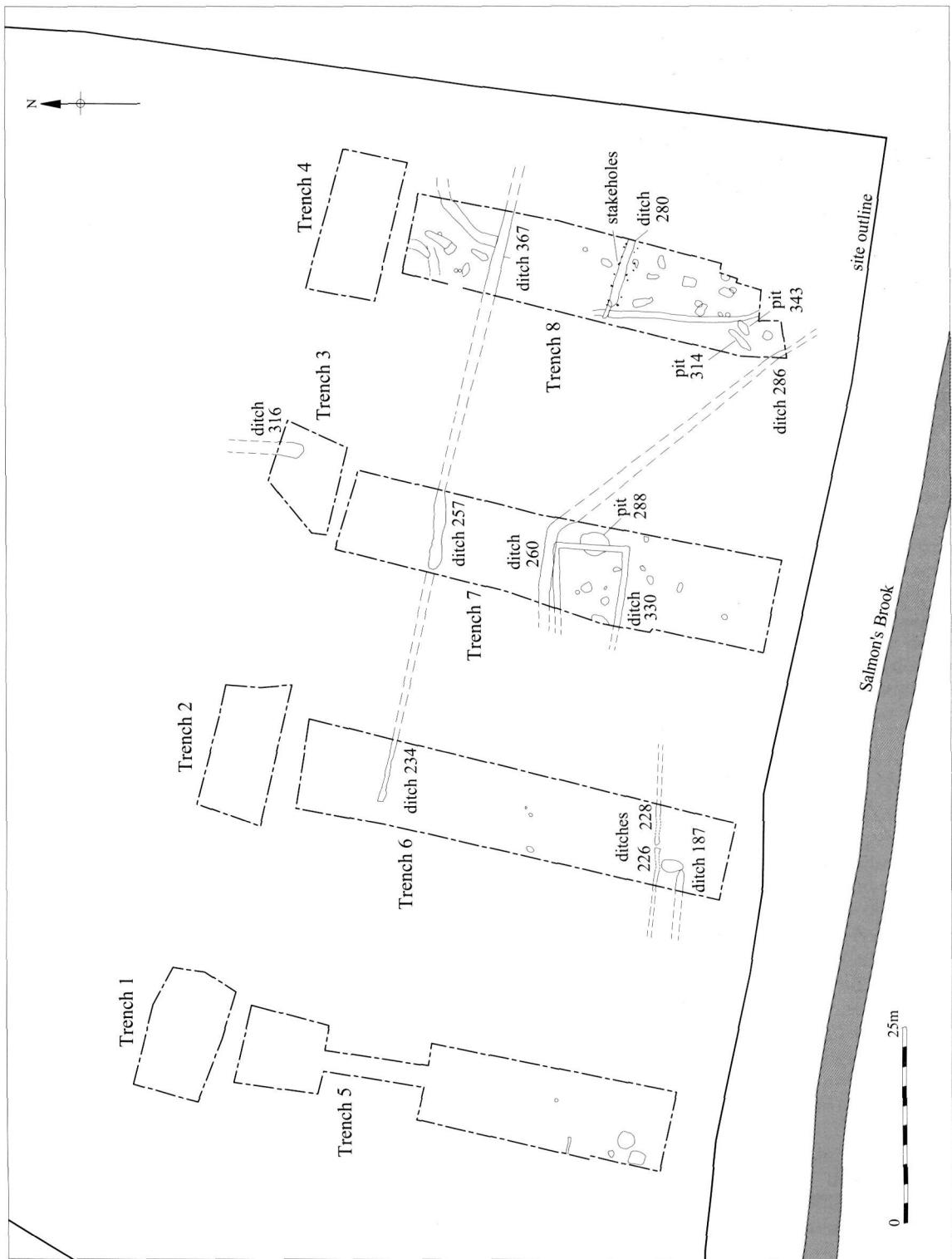


Fig 8. Pleyna Road: settlement features, ditches, and pits

ditches being identified at Montagu Road (Fig 9); any more intensive occupation here would presumably have been severely limited due to the periodic flooding apparent throughout most of the prehistoric period. At Plevna Road, situated on a slightly higher elevation than Montagu Road and where flooding appeared to have been less of a problem, more diverse activities could be discerned. Despite the number of features identified, the relatively long period of potential occupation would not suggest very intense activity, although it was not possible to ascertain how many features were concurrent at any particular time; moreover, few obvious structural features could be identified, a problem often encountered on later prehistoric settlement sites.

Pits

Twenty-one pits were identified, although a few of the smaller pits may actually have represented weathered postholes, and some of the more irregularly shaped pits may actually have been small tree-throw hollows. However, the majority had well defined, steep sides and flat bases, were ovoid or sub-rectangular in shape, and measured an average of 1.70m long by 1.00m wide and 0.35m deep. They were mostly filled with material similar to the underlying geology, although several contained darker more clayey primary fills, suggesting that some at least had remained open for some time before being back-filled.

Although a comprehensive environmental sampling programme was undertaken, only in one pit had any significant plant remains survived and this contained seeds indicative of a disturbed ground environment, including stinging nettle (*Urtica dioica*), fat hen (*Chenopodium album*), and celery-leaved crowfoot (*Ranunculus sceleratus*). This latter species grows in muddy ditches and shallow ponds that are mineral rich, confirming that this pit at least had remained open for some time and had become waterlogged in its base (Carruthers 2000).

Few finds were recovered; approximately two-thirds of the pits contained nothing at all, whilst the others mostly contained a few struck or burnt flints and small pottery sherds. The datable fragments of pottery recovered suggested that the pits had been dug throughout the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, and most of the struck flints recovered would be consistent with such dates. Three pits, however, contained small quantities of struck flint of Mesolithic or

Early Neolithic affinities (see above). Associated pottery evidence suggests that these flints had entered the pits residually, but, interestingly, these pits were all located close to each other towards the south-eastern part of the site, and may reflect a focus of earlier activity.

The function of the pits remains enigmatic; the general paucity of artefacts and faunal remains appeared to preclude interpretations as simple rubbish pits, although organic remains did not generally survive the soil conditions of the site. Ovoid or rectilinear pits of a similar size to many of the examples excavated at Plevna Road were recorded from a later prehistoric settlement at the Buttsbury Estate, to the east of the Lea Valley (Lawrence *et al* 1997). Similarly, few finds were present and no diagnostic usage could be suggested, although they were thought to respect a boundary such as a fenceline. A possible alignment may be discerned from a roughly linear row of six pits aligned north-south in Trench 8, crossing the line of a ditch interpreted as a field boundary. Similar sized and shaped pits, sometimes roughly aligned in rows, were also recorded at Reading Business Park. Again, most of these contained little or no artefactual material and it was suggested that they were designed, at least primarily, for grain storage, although no carbonised grains were recovered (Moore & Jennings 1992, 27–8). Similar pits recorded at Aldermaston Wharf were also considered to have had a primary function as grain stores, although many appeared to have been subsequently utilised for the disposal of rubbish (Bradley *et al* 1980, 221–8).

Although the general paucity of finds makes it difficult to ascribe a function to most of the pits, one example, Pit [314], did produce large quantities of burnt flint as well as a crudely struck flint flake. This pit was long and narrow with stepped sides, measuring 3.70m by 0.90m and 0.38m deep. It is possible that this represented a cooking pit or trough; the lack of evidence of burning to its sides suggested that it might have contained water, which was heated by the insertion of hot pebbles. An adjacent pit, [343], also had stepped sides and contained smaller, but still relatively large quantities of burnt flint, and this may have served a similar function. It had been truncated by a later ditch but was likely to have also originally been relatively long and narrow. Pits interpreted as having a cooking function have now been identified at several locations within the London area, almost all

of which were adjacent to sources of water (*eg* Bowsher 1991; Tucker 1996; Heard 2000), and a possible ploughed-out burnt mound has been recorded close to the Turkey Brook, a tributary of the River Lea north of Salmon's Brook (Brown & Cotton 2000, 86). Another pit, [288], was noticeably larger than the others, measuring 3.40m by 2.95m and was 0.78m deep with stepped sides; this may have functioned as a well or sump, an interpretation offered for other large pits from comparable sites, such as Prospect Park near Heathrow (Andrews 1996a, 21).

Postholes

Altogether 25 postholes were identified at Plevna Road. These were spread throughout the site but, as with the pits, tended to concentrate towards the south-east of the site. They were sub-square to circular in plan, mostly with vertical sides and flat bases, and averaged about 0.50m in diameter. No definite postpipes were identified, and the original posts may have been removed once redundant. A few larger examples, up to about 1.00m in diameter, were recorded, and these tended to have rather irregular sides, suggesting that they had either weathered or partially collapsed, probably after the post was removed. As already noted, organic preservation was very poor on the site and biological reworking may have removed traces of any *in-situ* post remains.

In the north-east of the site, a series of postholes formed an approximate north-south alignment, possibly representing a fence-line or boundary marker, parallel with a ditch, located c.5m to its east (Fig 7). No other coherent spatial patterning could be suggested nor structures identified, although this may not be surprising considering the limited areas excavated and the difficulty in archaeologically recognising such features when their fills closely resembled the underlying geological deposits.

At Montagu Road two postholes were identified (Fig 9). These both measured 0.25m in diameter and were 0.15m deep. It was uncertain how these related to other phases of activity identified; no dating evidence was recovered from either of them, although one of them cut the ditch parallel to the palaeochannel and was partially truncated by a field boundary ditch.

Ditches

In addition to the pits and postholes, 19 ditches

were identified at Plevna Road. These varied considerably in size, and although the original lengths could rarely be ascertained due to the limited areas examined, some were clearly relatively short. It is likely that they fulfilled varying functions: some, especially the narrower examples, may have acted as gullies to drain water away, whilst the larger examples may have served as boundaries, possibly delineating fields, routeways, or settlement areas. Consideration of their sizes did not provide a clear-cut means of associating any of them or suggest obvious functional classes, as the ditch sizes, which varied from 2.00m to 0.39m in width and from 0.13m to 0.60m in depth, graded gradually from the smallest to the largest. Some stratigraphic relationships could be demonstrated and some of the ditches may be associated by similarities in their alignments, although few coherent structures and no clear patterns of development could be discerned.

Stratigraphically the earliest sequence of ditches consisted of four in the north of Trench 8. All had 'V'-shaped profiles and were relatively small, varying from 0.90m to 1.40m in width and 0.26 to 0.53m in depth. They were curvilinear in plan and appeared to have been relatively short, although no obvious function could be ascertained. A straighter stretch of ditch in the south of the trench, measuring 0.56m wide by 0.19m deep and traceable for over 24m, may have represented a drainage gully.

Field system

Some of the other ditches may have formed elements of a field system. These were relatively substantial, between 1m and 2m wide, and mostly 'U'-shaped in profile with flat bases and steep sides. Ditches [367] and [257] may have formed a long boundary at least 46m long, with Ditch [234] possibly continuing this boundary further to the west. Perpendicular to this axis, but approximately 18m to the north, was Ditch [316]. It terminated to the south, possibly forming a gap or entranceway, and although it truncated the earlier pit arrangement (see above), it may have respected its position.

Ditch [280] had 17 stakeholes arranged along both of its edges after it had at least partially silted up. These may represent a fenceline demarcating the ditch, or a later boundary respecting the ditch's alignment after it had gone out of use. On a similar alignment was

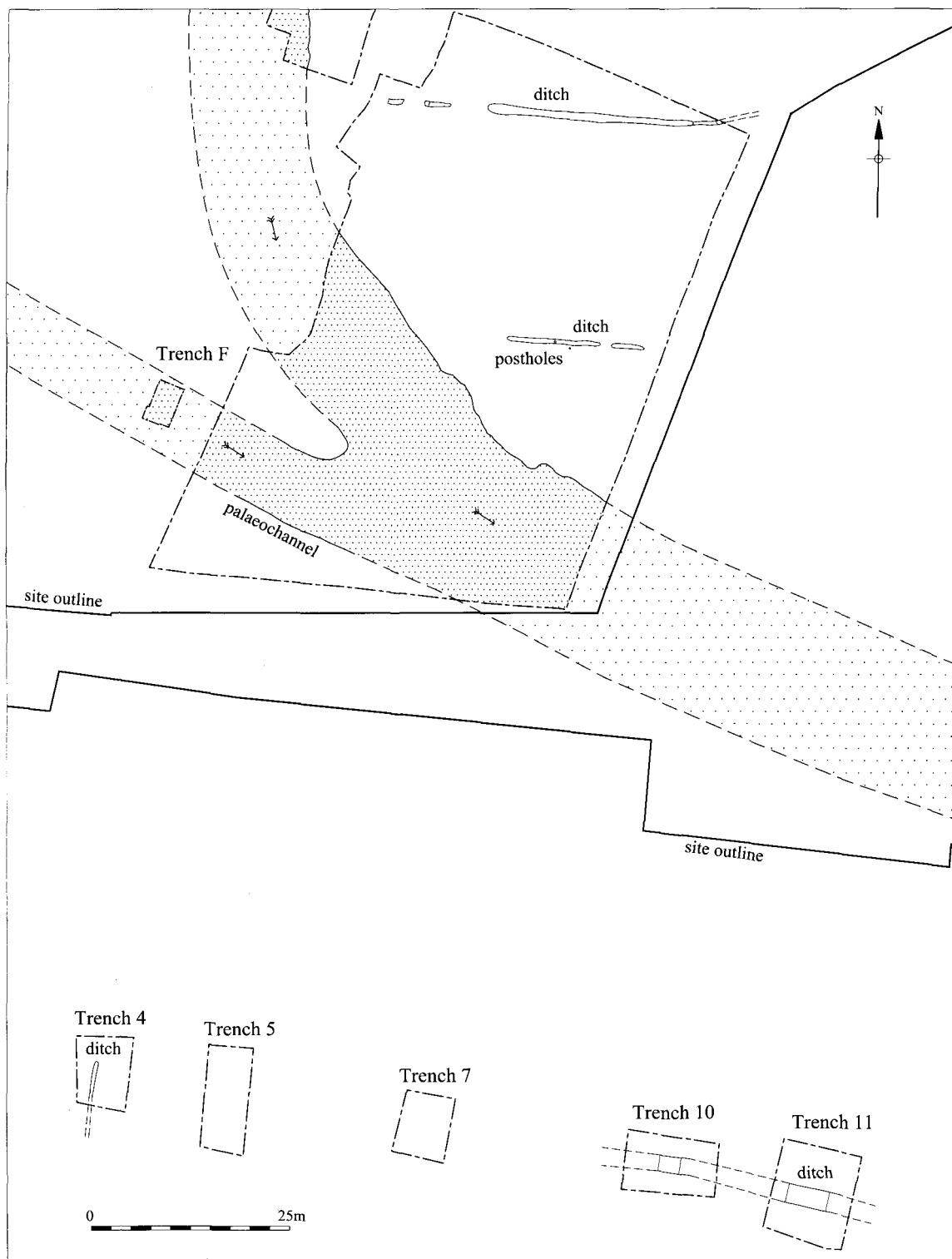


Fig 9. Montagu Road: field boundary ditches

Ditch [260]. This continued west beyond the limits of excavation, and may have continued eastwards as Ditch [286], part of which was recorded in the south-west corner of Trench 8. If so, and in conjunction with the long boundary to its north, it would have formed a large funnel-shaped feature, perhaps to confine the movement of livestock towards the west. Similar attempts at livestock control have been recorded at Flag Fen (Pryor 1996). In Trench 9 to the north, a north-south aligned ditch with a rounded northern termination was recorded for a distance of 11.90m, possibly indicating that the field system continued at least this far (Fig 7).

Truncating the ditch parallel to the palaeo-channel at Montagu Road (see above) was a 17.4m long ditch on a different (east–west) alignment, constructed in two segments. Parallel to it and approximately 30m to the north was a further ditch, at least 42m long and consisting of a series of small ditch segments, the longest being about 3m. Recutting, and mostly obscuring its segmental nature, was a much longer stretch of ditch; this had rounded termini at both ends and measured 25.6m long by 1m wide and was 0.13m deep. The only cultural material recovered from these ditches consisted of occasional charcoal flecks and small quantities of burnt flint; however, all were very shallow, in places only 90mm deep, and had filled with alluvially deposited silt-clays, indicating that flood events may have resulted in severe horizontal truncation of the ground surface, probably not long after they were initially constructed.

Two further ditches, to the south of the main channel, at Montagu Road may also have been part of the same rectilinear system. Although only small areas were investigated, an east–west aligned ditch at least 23m long was recorded in two trenches. Following its silting, at least part of its eastern stretch had been cleaned out and a recut was evident. A dump of mixed gravel and sand was recorded immediately to its south which may represent a bank or up-cast from its construction. A smaller north–south aligned ditch with a northern terminal was also identified further to the west. Other than small quantities of burnt flint, the only artefactual evidence recovered from these ditches consisted of a sherd of otherwise undiagnostic prehistoric pottery.

The similarities in profiles and their co-axial alignments suggest that these ditches were all associated, although their precise roles were

difficult to elucidate. They may have formed part of a ditched rectilinear field system or stockyard, or alternatively the northern parallel ditches may have formed the boundaries of a wide droeway leading from higher ground to the main channel, which was likely to have remained a dominant feature of the landscape.

Smaller enclosures

The stratigraphically latest prehistoric features identified at Plevna Road included Ditch [330] in the southern part of Trench 7. This was 0.80m wide and formed the north, south and east sides of what would appear to be a small sub-rectangular enclosure. No entrances lay within the excavated area, and it was presumably entered via a bridge or from the unexcavated western side. On a very similar alignment in the southern part of Trench 6 were two east–west aligned ditches, [226] and [228], both terminating to form a possible narrow entranceway. Approximately 2.5m to the south of Ditch [226] was a similarly sized ditch, [187], on the same alignment and also terminating to the east. None of these ditches reappeared in either the north of the trench or any of the adjacent trenches, suggesting that they may also have formed a small enclosure, possibly double-ditched, continuing to the south.

Abandonment

At Montagu Road, continued flooding resulted in the formation of deposits of silt-clay alluvium, interspersed with small channels, across the site. From these were recovered small quantities of Middle to Late Bronze Age pottery and struck flint datable to the Mesolithic to the Later Bronze Age/Iron Age. Some of these artefacts may indicate continued, low-key, activity during the later periods, although others had evidently been residually incorporated from earlier land surfaces and features. There is no further evidence of activity at the site until the late medieval/post-medieval period, when small quantities of pottery were incorporated into a soil horizon that had developed across the site. Similar soil horizons also formed at Plevna Road, sealing all of the features discussed above, and it is likely that both sites were either abandoned or used for archaeologically invisible activities such as pasturage, and then probably only seasonally and when ground conditions were appropriate.

A general increase in wetter conditions by

the end of the Bronze Age would have had a significant effect on settlement patterns, and widespread abandonment of the floodplains and low-lying areas has been observed throughout the Thames Valley (*eg* Meddins 1996). Other factors that may have influenced changes in settlement patterns and the economic system include a possible deterioration in the fertility of gravel terrace soils caused by acidification and erosion as a result of clearing the forest cover. This has been suggested for the Late Bronze Age settlement at Hornchurch (Guttmann & Last 2000, 351), and a switch to pastoralism has been suggested for the decline in archaeologically visible settlements and field systems on the west London gravels (O'Connell 1990, 54). Indeed, by the end of the Iron Age it appears that inroads start to be made on to the previously inhospitable London Clays and other poorly drained soils (Hawkins & Leaver 1999; Saunders 2000; Bishop 2002b), possibly encouraged by pressures caused by the abandonment of large tracts of lower-lying areas.

MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL ACTIVITY

Following the formation of soil horizons across both of the sites, the next evidence of activity consisted of a large pit dated to AD 1200–1400 and dug in the middle of the site at Plevna Road. Due to its isolation and the limited area

investigated, its interpretation is somewhat speculative, a brickearth quarry possibly being the most plausible explanation. The only other evidence of activity during the medieval period comes from a few sherds of pottery datable to AD 1080–1380, recovered from a later context in the north of Plevna Road. Plevna Road appears to have remained in either marginal or agricultural use until the 17th–18th centuries, when in the north of the site a succession of large ditches and a post-alignment were constructed (Fig 10). These may represent an individual's property boundary, although the persistence and substantial nature of the boundary may suggest that these formed the eastern boundary to Edmonton Village. They were parallel to and about 5m east of the line of Plevna Road, which itself may have respected the edge of the village.

To the east of this boundary were numerous large, roughly rectangular pits, measuring up to 10.50m by 8.50m by 1.30m deep, but rarely intercutting. Pottery recovered from their fills indicated that they were excavated from the early 18th century and throughout the 19th century. These almost certainly represent gravel and brickearth extraction quarries, and may reflect the increase in the rate of redevelopment of Edmonton during this time.

Following the formation of the soil horizon at Montagu Road, the site appears to have remained in agricultural or marginal use. Truncating most of the southern extents of the site were large

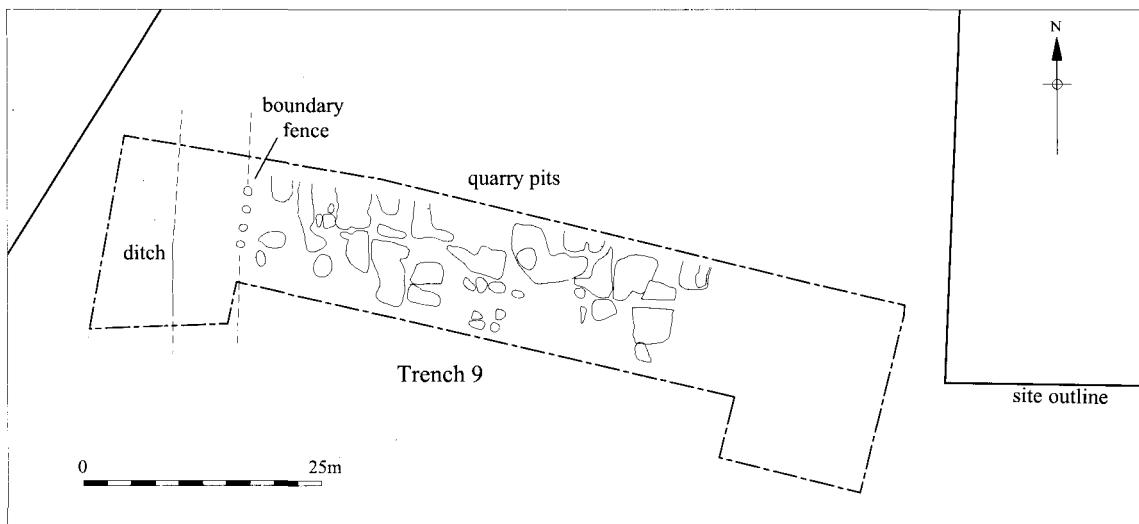


Fig 10. Plevna Road: medieval and post-medieval features

quarry pits, datable to the 19th–20th century. These had frequently been excavated to at least 3.0m below ground level, beneath the level of the impact of the proposed development and therefore the limits of excavation.

DISCUSSION: EDMONTON AND THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE LEA VALLEY

The excavations at Plevna Road and Montagu Road have provided an interesting glimpse of human activity in the lower Lea Valley over several millennia. Interpretations of the findings from the excavations must remain provisional and tentative, partly, at least, due to the limited areas investigated and the paucity of both artefactual dating evidence and stratigraphic relationships. Nevertheless, the data, although limited, do contribute to a reconstruction of this part of the landscape.

Unfortunately, the archaeology of the lower Lea Valley is poorly understood and no serious general accounts or syntheses have yet been compiled. Of the archaeological interventions that have occurred, the majority have been relatively small in scale and, although frequently demonstrating traces of prehistoric activity, tend to reveal small quantities of often poorly datable artefacts and isolated features, perceived as of limited interpretative value. Nevertheless a few, mostly recent and as yet unpublished, sites have produced more extensive information and, if the results of the smaller investigations are combined with these, a wider picture of settlement patterns and landscape exploitation may be proposed. Although this overview by necessity must remain a kind of ‘work in progress’, the desirability of even a preliminary framework is highlighted by the area’s likely future economic fortunes. The lower Lea traverses some of the most deprived areas of the London region, and its post-industrial landscape is likely to experience an unprecedented degree of urban rejuvenation in the near future, not least from major remodelling schemes such as those generated by the Olympic bid.

The excavations in Edmonton demonstrated that this area was visited by Mesolithic and Early Neolithic peoples who utilised the shelter provided by fallen trees and may have actively begun to clear the landscape of its forest cover — an activity which may have resulted in greater water run-off rates, channel formation, and erosion. This accords well with environmental

investigations undertaken in the vicinity (Bedwin 1991; Rackham & Sidell 2000, 21); these have indicated that the open, swampy conditions of the valley floor during the late Glacial were followed at first by the spread of pine woodland and then by temperate mixed oak woodland, with willow and alder carr present along the river margins. Large quantities of charcoal within the environmental sequences also suggested the possibility of natural or intentional woodland burning, and perhaps the presence of campfires associated with occupation along the river margins (*cf* Bennett *et al* 1990). Similar conditions were recorded at a comparable location in west London (Lewis *et al* 1992). Throughout this period patterns of settlement and resource exploitation would have significantly changed as post-glacial sea level rises resulted in the accumulation of alluvium across much of the valley floor, forcing settlement upstream or onto the valley sides (Lewis *et al* 1992, 244).

The lower Lea Valley has long been noted for its evidence of Mesolithic occupation (Lacaille 1961), some sites, such as Broxbourne in Hertfordshire, having produced important early assemblages (Warren *et al* 1934). Individual finds or small assemblages, similar to those recovered from Plevna and Montagu Roads, are known from many locations in and adjacent to the River Lea’s floodplain, the closest probably being Glover Drive, which included Early Mesolithic microliths (Greenwood *et al* 1997, 41), and Angel Road, where Mesolithic/Early Neolithic flintwork was recovered (Greenwood & Maloney 1993, 77). Slightly further afield, to the south of Edmonton, several sites in Hackney, on the western side of the River Lea (Lacaille 1961; Harding & Gibbard 1983), and at Stratford Market Depot, adjacent to the river on the eastern side of the valley (Wilkinson 1993), have revealed Mesolithic flint scatters, and this pattern continues throughout the valley. It is increasingly apparent that the valley was fairly extensively exploited during this period, the evidence probably suggesting short-term and activity-specific camps, exploiting the rich and varied ecological habitats within and adjacent to the floodplain.

Evidence for the clearance of the forest cover comparable to that recorded here can be found at various sites across the London region. A decline in the forest cover around 3800 BC is documented in the pollen record from West Heath (Greig 1992), whilst tree-throw hollows

containing Mesolithic flint have been identified in the Wandle Valley at Beddington (Bagwell *et al* 2001), and tree-throw hollows which pre-date Later Neolithic/Early Bronze Age occupation have been excavated along the margins of the Thames in Southwark (Ridgeway 1999; Proctor & Bishop 2002). Similar patterns of small clearances being opened along the river valleys during the Mesolithic and throughout the Neolithic have been observed in many parts of the British Isles. In the upper Thames 'small clearances arranged like a string of beads along the River Thames' were opened up during the Early Neolithic (Thomas 1999, 184).

There is increasing evidence from the Thames Valley to suggest that Early Neolithic patterns of settlement and resource exploitation remained remarkably similar to those of the Mesolithic, with activity tending to concentrate along the river margins. At Brookway, on the edge of the Rainham marshes, both Later Mesolithic microliths and Early Neolithic flintwork and pottery have been identified in the same layer, although estimating over how long a period the flints were deposited is impossible (Lewis 2000, 53). Similarly, across the Thames at Erith, Later Mesolithic and Early Neolithic material has been found in close association (Bennell 1998). The pattern that is emerging, both from the London region and within Britain generally, is largely one of continuity, with only gradual and piecemeal adoption of the Neolithic 'package'.

As well as settlement, patterns of routine movement through the landscape may also have been maintained across the Mesolithic/Neolithic transition (Edmonds 1999). What may be significant is that such movement may have become increasingly formalised and, in certain circumstances, some traditional routes and landscape boundaries may have required marking out or embodying. Large-scale excavations undertaken on the west London gravel terraces, particularly in the Heathrow area, have provided a clearer understanding of how such patterns may have developed. Here, Neolithic activity has been shown to extend from the traditionally settled floodplain margins on to the gravel terraces. In addition to general occupation, the terraces served as a focus for explicit ritual behaviour and monument construction. This involved the construction of ditches, post-alignments, and enclosures considered to symbolise the demarcation of differing ecotonal zones, and relate to traditions associated with the movement

through, and of particular locations within, the landscape. The interface between the alluvium and the gravel terrace was recognised as being of major importance, both as a line of movement and as a 'ceremonial processional route', ultimately to be monumentalised as the Stanwell cursus (Barrett *et al* 2000). At Prospect Park in Hillingdon, a substantial ditch, up to 7m wide, of possible Neolithic date was recorded running parallel to the River Colne, close to the boundary between the gravel terrace and the floodplain (Andrews 1996a).

The ditches demarcating watercourses and low-lying areas from higher ground as identified at both Plevna Road and Montagu Road may be an expression of similar concerns. They appeared to represent some of the earliest deliberately constructed features at both sites, most plausibly constructed during the Early Neolithic, and their positioning does suggest the possibility that they may have acted to define the landscape. The two ditches at Plevna Road were parallel although widely separated, and were suggestive of a wide zone or corridor following the axis of the high ground / low ground boundary.

The large curved ditches recorded at Plevna Road also appear to have been constructed early within the archaeological sequence. Although any confident interpretation of these features is beset with difficulties, the most plausible date for their construction would be during the Early Neolithic; their curvature suggests the possibility that they formed a double-ditched enclosure which, if the alignment of the western ditch was as extrapolated, could have been approximately 150–200m in diameter. The possible identification of an Early Neolithic enclosure within the London region would constitute a most important development in the prehistoric archaeology of the area, and even the possibility must require some comment. Early Neolithic enclosures are typified by causewayed enclosures, although recent research has demonstrated that they are extraordinarily heterogeneous and extremely diverse in form, as well as in the activities that took place within them (Darvill & Thomas 2001, 10–13). Many enclosures are segmented, and there is some evidence that the ditches here may have been. However, many non-causewayed enclosures are also known, and indeed many are not completely enclosed (*ibid*). The location of a precursor to Salmon's Brook, some 50m to the south of the ditch, would preclude a full circular enclosure unless

the stream was incorporated into, or acted as a boundary to, the enclosure. Rivers were sometimes incorporated as part of the enclosure, as at Abingdon (Avery 1982), Southwick (Palmer 1976), and, interestingly, Waulud's Bank near Leagrave in the upper Lea Valley, which used the Lea as one of its boundaries (Dyer 1964). The only comparably sized Neolithic or Bronze Age earthwork known within the London region is a double-ditched enclosure identified at Mayfield Farm, East Bedfont, on the west London gravels, which has a maximum diameter of c.200m. This was originally thought to be of Late Bronze Age date, based on pottery recovered from the upper fills of one of the ditches (Merriman 1990, 31). More recently it has been argued that, as the pottery was from the upper fills, it could only date the period by which the enclosure had gone out of use, and large quantities of Later Neolithic flintwork recovered from the vicinity may indicate a more plausible date for the use of the monument (Lewis 2000, 73).

The morphology, possible dating, and topographical location of the ditches at Plevna Road are certainly favourably comparable to the nearest known Early Neolithic enclosures, at Staines and at Orsett (Robertson-Mackay 1987; Hedges & Buckley 1978), as well as to others further a field, such as Abingdon and Etton (Avery 1982; Pryor 1999). Interestingly, Plevna Road is virtually equidistant from Staines and Orsett, and the possible location of an Early Neolithic enclosure in the lower reaches of the Lea has recently been postulated (Lewis 2000, 72). Early Neolithic enclosures regularly produce ample evidence of diverse activities in the form of rich assemblages of pottery, bone, and lithics, often of an exotic nature. The only evidence of unusual practices that could be associated with the Plevna Road ditches is the deposition of the Palaeolithic handaxe, which was apparently deliberately placed in the ditch shortly after it was constructed; despite the handaxe's considerable antiquity, it would probably have been easily recognisable as an artefact, although presumably a strange and exotic one, by later prehistoric populations. Only small quantities of other artefactual material were recovered, although, as only small sections of the ditches were excavated and little bone or other organic material survived the soil conditions at the site, this may not be surprising. Many, although not necessarily all, Early Neolithic enclosures have complex series of pits, postholes and gullies located within

their interiors, although rarely can any coherent structures be identified. Most of the other features recorded at Plevna Road were considered Bronze or Iron Age in date, although very little dating evidence was recovered for any period. Some of the features, however, could potentially have been contemporary with the ditches, and perhaps significantly there was a concentration of Early Neolithic pottery and lithics to the south and east of the ditches, even if largely redeposited within later features (see Fig 4).

Evidence of Early Neolithic settlement is generally rare from anywhere in the London region, and, with the exception of the Stanwell cursus, the imposing monuments that characterise the period in other regions are mostly absent. Artefact concentrations have been identified, mostly scattered along the Thames' margins, as at Putney (Warren 1977), Twickenham (Sanford 1970), Kingston (Penn *et al* 1984; Serjeantson *et al* 1992), and Runnymede (Needham 1991), and to the east at Erith (Bennell 1998). During this period, the Thames seems to have been given a ritual, or more probably an accentuated ritual, significance, with numerous examples of polished stone axes from distant sources deposited in the river, apparently as votive offerings. Similar practices are likely to have extended into the Lea Valley, as much of the evidence for this period consists of hoards or isolated finds of axes, frequently recovered from within or adjacent to the floodplain.

Throughout the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age little evidence of permanent settlement or demarcated land tenure has been found anywhere in Britain, and the reality of functionally discreet domestic architecture of the kind commonly identified from the middle of the Bronze Age onwards has largely been discounted (*eg* Brück 1999; Pollard 1999). Instead, ephemeral and probably short-lived habitation sites, as evidenced by pottery and lithic scatters but with a dearth of associated structures, are considered to have been set within a landscape variously described as ritual, ceremonial, or monumental. Although the evidence is ambiguous, the large, possible enclosure ditches and perhaps the pit arrangement recorded at Plevna Road, both of which would defy simplistic 'domestic' interpretations, would not be out of place within such generalised models of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age landscape development. Pottery and lithics scattered across both sites certainly testify to some form of activity during these periods.

Whatever these features may have represented, following their disuse the archaeological record at the two sites, particularly Plevna Road, takes on a different character. As with the earlier phases of activity, dating evidence remains very sparse, but it would appear that by the end of the Bronze Age and continuing through into the Iron Age the archaeological record is dominated by features such as pits, postholes, gullies and ditches, suggestive of more formalised and permanent settlement and agricultural organisation. These features can be most closely paralleled with the systematic and formalised transformation of the landscape observed throughout much of southern Britain during the later parts of the Bronze Age. Excavations along the Thames Valley have increasingly revealed that by this time much of the fertile gravel and brickearth terraces had been transformed into a fully occupied agrarian landscape, consisting of small-scale dispersed settlements set within extensive field systems linked by trackways and geared towards explicit agricultural production (Richmond 1999; Yates 1999; Yates 2001).

In some places, the laying out of this agricultural landscape may have been organised around and focused upon earlier ceremonial monuments (Bradley 1978; Yates 1999). In the London region, such associations have been suggested at Hornchurch to the east (Guttmann & Last 2000, 349) and at Perry Oaks (Barrett *et al* 2000), East Molesey (Andrews 1996b), Imperial College Sports Ground (Wessex Archaeology 1998), and Ashford Prison (Carew *et al* 2006) to the west. In these cases, the development from a ceremonial to an agricultural landscape may not necessarily have been as abrupt as it would often appear in the archaeological record. As Bradley suggests (1998, 147), important themes do continue across this divide, and principles which governed the creation of the new landscape may have drawn heavily upon a symbolic code of considerable antiquity (*ibid*, 158).

The most extensively studied areas remain those on the west London gravels (*eg* O'Connell 1986; O'Connell 1990; Barclay *et al* 1995; Elsden 1997; Andrews 1999a; Barrett *et al* 2001), but evidence for similar agricultural landscapes can also be found along the terraces of east London and south Essex, as identified at places such as Rainham (Greenwood 1982), Upminster (Greenwood 1986), and Ilford (Lawrence *et al* 1997; Greenwood 2001).

Although most obviously apparent along other

tributaries of the Thames, such as the Colne and the Wandle (Yates 2001), similar evidence of landscape reorganisation is increasingly being recognised along the lower Lea Valley. Approximately 6km to the north of Edmonton at Rammey Marsh, gullies and ditches of a Late Bronze Age field system, as well as post-built structures and pits indicative of settlement, were recorded adjacent to a water channel (Maloney & Holroyd 1999, 11). At Aylands Allotments, some 5.5km north of Plevna Road, the Later Mesolithic/Early Neolithic activity that was detected across the entire site was followed by a Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age settlement limited to the higher parts of the site (Filer 1991, 302). Some 2km to the north at Chingford, excavations on the east bank of the River Lea revealed traces of activity in the form of pits, ditches, and postholes dating from the Bronze Age to Late Iron Age, probably agrarian in nature (Bishop *in press*). On the same side of the river, approximately 7km downstream, a series of excavations at Oliver Close have also revealed traces of later prehistoric settlement (Sabel 1993). Evidence of settlement, in the form of pits and postholes, that appeared to commence during the Late Bronze Age and continue into the Roman period has also been recorded at Kingsway, 2.5km west of Plevna Road (Maloney & Gostick 1998, 84). Further downstream at Bow, a series of field boundaries dated to the Middle or Late Bronze Age was replaced during the Late Iron Age by a post-built structure and a small enclosure (Taylor-Wilson 2000; Bishop *in prep*). Immediately across the River Lea from Bow, at Stratford Market Depot, a series of excavations has revealed a significant Late Bronze Age and Iron Age settlement, including evidence of funerary and ritual/ceremonial activity (Wilkinson 1993).

Although the evidence from the Plevna and Montagu Road sites was interpreted as representing agriculturally based activities, virtually nothing was forthcoming that could substantially illuminate the actual economy practised. Both of the sites were located on fertile ground, but in an area that would have been marginal, with the Lea floodplain to the east and the rising, drier ground of the gravel and brickearth terraces to the west. Especially at Montagu Road, anything other than periodic or seasonal settlement would have been severely limited by the effects of flooding. Pollen did not survive and the only floral macrofossils

consisted of alder (*Alnus glutinosa*) seeds and unidentifiable wood fragments recovered from the main palaeochannel fill at Montagu Road, and seeds indicative of disturbed ground from one of the pits at Plevna Road. The presence of alder close to a watercourse is not surprising, and plants indicative of disturbed ground, although consistent with agricultural activity, can shed little further information. Only a few animal bones, mostly from Plevna Road, survived the unfavourable soil conditions. These consisted of sheep, pig, calf and ox, although too few survived to suggest their importance or what ratios of species may have been originally exploited. The more easily tilled and freer-draining gravel and brickearth terraces were traditionally thought to have been preferred for arable cultivation, with a pastoral economy concentrating on the lower-lying floodplain margins.

At Hornchurch in east London, it was apparent that during the Late Bronze Age livestock farming was important, presumably utilising the marginal and low-lying pasturage adjacent to the site (Guttmann & Last 2000, 350). Numerous features were interpreted as animal management devices, and animal bone, spindle whorls, and loomweights suggested sheep were an important aspect of this. A buried ploughsoil that sealed the main settlement phase may suggest that an arable economy prevailed after the Bronze Age, but there was little evidence of earlier cereal growing. Charred plant remains certainly indicated that cereals were being used, but it was suggested that these might have been imported (*ibid*). Similarly, at Reading Business Park, it has been suggested that cereals were imported, and that the economy there may have been dependent on flax production (Moore & Jennings 1992). Relatively large quantities of carbonised cereals have been excavated from the Iron Age Uphall Camp near Ilford (Greenwood 1989), although their presence may simply reflect a distributive role for the monument, and poor preservation precluded assessing the role of a local livestock economy.

As organic matter generally does not survive well on the gravel terraces and there is frequently a paucity of finds from occupation sites, the economic basis of later prehistoric society in the lower Thames remains poorly understood. Organic remains survive much better in the waterlogged floodplain environments, although even here the evidence is ambiguous. A pastoral economy has been shown to be important in the

east London marshes (Meddents & Beasley 1990; Meddents 1996), but in areas such as Southwark there is evidence for arable production in the form of ardmarks (Bowsher 1991; Drummond-Murray *et al* 1994; Bates & Minkin 1999; Ridgeway 1999) and the recovery of an ard-tip (Proctor & Bishop 2002). There is little collaborative evidence, such as from pollen, for extensive or sustained cereal growing in these areas however, and such cultivation may have only been a short-term, possibly even symbolic, phenomenon (eg Rowley-Conwy 1997).

Despite the identification of numerous features of all types, the excavations produced very little artefactual or ecofactual material — a pattern observed from many comparable sites throughout the London region (eg Andrews 1996a; Lawrence *et al* 1997). Hill (1995, 1) has demonstrated that even with later prehistoric sites that have produced rich artefactual assemblages, the actual proportions of materials recovered only represent a tiny fraction of the likely original assemblage. Ethnoarchaeological studies of refuse discard would suggest that, with the exception of a tiny proportion of material that becomes accidentally incorporated within archaeological deposits, 'we should expect to find almost nothing excavating a rural settlement' (*ibid*, 4). Where substantial artefactual assemblages have been produced an explanation involving special depositional practices may need to be considered, such as at Hornchurch, where a proportion of the pottery recovered was considered to have been deliberately placed (Guttmann & Last 2000).

Low-lying marshy ground bordering the Lea and lower Thames also appears to have witnessed intensive exploitation during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, with pollen sequences from these areas suggesting large-scale deforestation and an intensification of arable agriculture at this time (Meddents 1996, 331). In the course of reservoir construction during the 19th and 20th centuries along the River Lea floodplain, a number of wooden structures were revealed, some evidently quite extensive. Although poorly understood and chronologically ill-defined, these structures demonstrate that considerable attention was still being paid to the floodplain during the later part of the Bronze Age and throughout the Iron Age — an interest confirmed by the more recent excavations of a number of Middle Bronze Age wooden trackways that traverse the peat bogs and marshes of east London (Meddents 1996).

There appears to have been a hiatus in activity at both sites from the end of the prehistoric until the medieval period, possibly due to continued wetter conditions compounded by their low-lying positions. Indeed, alluvial deposits continued to form into the medieval period at Montagu Road, although at Plevna Road, on a slightly higher elevation, activities such as pasturage could have continued but have left no trace. The earliest references to the village of Edmonton date from the 8th century, and by the time the Domesday Book was compiled it appears to have been a place of some consequence (Brown 1994, 158). Excavations around the Green, some 500m to the west of Plevna Road, have revealed evidence of almost continuous settlement activity dating back as far as the 11th century (*ibid*). Pottery recovered from Plevna Road also indicated activity during this time, although no actual settlement evidence was recorded, and it seems likely that this area lay beyond the village core and was not settled until urban expansion subsumed the site during the 19th and 20th centuries. The identification of a substantial and long-lived boundary on the west of the site may even be evidence of the village's eastern perimeter, indicating that most of this site and all of Montagu Road lay beyond the village limits and, consistent with the archaeological findings, was only utilised for agriculture and marginal activities such as quarrying.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would firstly like to thank Green Horizon Housing Ltd for generously funding the field and post-excavation work, Gary Brown for his project management, and Robert Whytehead who monitored the work on behalf of the London Borough of Edmonton. Many thanks are also due to the supervisors of the sites: Mark Beasley at Plevna Road and Tim Bradley and Derek Roberts at Montagu Road, as well as to all the people who worked on the sites, often, as usual, in very inclement weather. Thanks are also due to Alex Gibson, Chris Jarrett, Chris Green, P Toms, Nick Branch, Wendy Carruthers, Ken Sabel, and P Armitage for their specialist contributions, and also to Jon Cotton both for his invaluable comments on the text and his advice on the Palaeolithic axe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANDREWS (1996a), P Andrews 'Prospect Park,

Harmondsworth, London Borough of Hillingdon: settlement and burial from the Neolithic to the early Saxon periods' in P Andrews & A Crockett *Three Excavations along the Thames and its Tributaries, 1994* Wessex Archaeol Rep 10, 1–50

ANDREWS (1996b), P Andrews 'Hurst Park, East Molesey, Surrey: riverside settlement and burial from the Neolithic to the early Saxon periods' in P Andrews & A Crockett *Three Excavations along the Thames and its Tributaries, 1994* Wessex Archaeol Rep 10, 51–104

AVERY (1982), M Avery 'The Neolithic causewayed enclosure, Abingdon' in H J Case & A W R Whittle (eds) *Settlement Patterns in the Oxford Region: Excavations at the Abingdon Causewayed Enclosure and Other Sites* CBA Res Rep 44, 10–50

BAGWELL *et al* (2001), M Bagwell, B Bishop & A Gibson 'Mesolithic and Late Bronze Age activity at London Road, Beddington' *Surrey Archaeol Coll* 88, 289–307

BARCLAY *et al* (1995), A Barclay, A Boyle, P Bradley & M R Roberts 'Excavations at the former Jewson's Yard, Harefield Road, Uxbridge, Middlesex' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 46, 1–25

BARRETT *et al* (2000), J C Barrett, J S C Lewis & K Welsh 'Perry oaks – a history of inhabitation' *London Archaeologist* 9 No. 7, 195–9

BARRETT *et al* (2001), J C Barrett, J S C Lewis & K Welsh 'Perry oaks – a history of inhabitation, part 2' *London Archaeologist* 9 No. 8, 221–7

BATES & MINKIN (1999), J Bates & J Minkin 'Lafone Street, Southwark: prehistoric farming and a medieval bridge' *London Archaeologist* 8 No. 12, 325–30

BEDWIN (1991), O Bedwin 'An early flandrian peat in the Lea Valley; excavations at the former Royal Ordnance Factory, Enfield Lock 1990' *Essex Archaeol & Hist* 22, 162–3

BENNELL (1998), M Bennell *Under the Road: Archaeological Discoveries at Bronze Age Way, Erith*

BENNETT *et al* (1990), K D Bennett, W D Simonson & S M Peglar 'Fire and man in post-Glacial woodlands of eastern England' *J Archaeol Science* 17 (6), 635–42

BISHOP (2002a), B J Bishop 'A *Bout Coupé* handaxe from Enfield in the lower Lea Valley' *Lithics* 23, 43–7

BISHOP (2002b), B J Bishop 'Late prehistoric and Roman Brentford: evolution of an agricultural landscape' *London Archaeologist* 10 No. 1, 7–12

BISHOP (in press), B J Bishop 'Late Iron Age/early Roman and early medieval activity in the Lea Valley at Chingford' *Essex Archaeol & Hist*

BISHOP (in prep), B J Bishop 'The Mesolithic to the Iron Age' in B Bishop, G Brown, A Douglas, J Leary, V Ridgeway & R Taylor-Wilson *Crossing the River Lea: from Prehistory to Queen Matilda. Archaeological Excavations at Old Ford, Bow Pre-Construct Archaeology Monograph*

- BOWSHER (1991), J M C Bowsher 'A burnt mound at Phoenix Wharf, South-East London: a preliminary report' in M A Hodder & L H Barfield (eds) *Burnt Mounds and Hot Stone Technology. Papers from the Second International Burnt Mound Conference, Sandwell, 12th–14th October 1990*, 11–19
- BRADLEY (1978), R Bradley *The Prehistoric Settlement of Britain*
- BRADLEY (1998), R Bradley *The Significance of Monuments: on the Shaping of Human Experience in Neolithic and Bronze Age Europe*
- BRADLEY *et al* (1980), R Bradley, S Lobb, J Richards & M Robinson 'Two Late Bronze Age settlements on the Kennet gravels: excavations at Aldermaston Wharf and Knight's Farm, Burghfield, Berkshire' *Proc Prehist Soc* 46, 217–95
- BROWN & COTTON (2000), N Brown & J F Cotton 'The Bronze Age' in *The Archaeology of Greater London MoLAS Monograph Series*, 81–100
- BROWN (1994), R Brown 'An excavation at 1a, The Green, Lower Edmonton' *London Archaeologist* 7 No. 6, 157–63
- BRÜCK (1999), J Brück 'What's in a settlement? Domestic practice and residential mobility in Early Bronze Age southern England' in J Brück & M Goodman (eds) *Making Places in the Prehistoric World: Themes in Settlement Archaeology*, 52–75
- CAREW *et al* 2006, T Carew, B Bishop, F Meddens & V Ridgeway *Unlocking the Landscape: Archaeological Excavations at Ashford Prison, Middlesex Pre-Construct Archaeology Monograph*
- CARRUTHERS (2000), W Carruthers 'Assessment of plant remains' in M Beasley *Phased Summary and Assessment Document of Archaeological Excavations at Plevna Road, Edmonton Green, London Borough of Enfield* unpub PCA report
- COULSON (1986), S D Coulson 'The *Bout Coupe* handaxe as a typological mistake' in S N Collcutt (ed) *The Palaeolithic of Britain and its Nearest Neighbours: Recent Trends*, 53–4
- DARVILL & THOMAS (2001), T Darvill & J Thomas 'Neolithic enclosures in Atlantic northwest Europe: some recent trends' in T Darvill & J Thomas (eds) *Neolithic Enclosures in Atlantic Northwest Europe* Neolithic Studies Group Seminar Papers 6, 1–23
- DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT (1990), Department of the Environment *Planning and Policy Guidance: Archaeology and Planning (PPG16)*
- DRUMMOND-MURRAY *et al* (1994), J Drummond-Murray, D Saxby & B Watson 'Recent archaeological work in the Bermondsey district of Southwark' *London Archaeologist* 7 No. 10, 251–7
- DYER (1964), J Dyer 'A secondary Neolithic camp at Waulud's Bank, Leagrave' *Beds Arch J2*, 1–12
- EDMONDS (1999), M Edmonds *Ancestral Geographies of the Neolithic: Landscape, Monuments and Memory*
- ELLABY (1987), R Ellaby 'Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic' in J Bird & D G Bird (eds) *The Archaeology of Surrey to 1540*, 53–69
- ELSDEN (1997), N J Elsden 'Excavations at Nobel Drive, Harlington, and six sites to the north of Heathrow Airport, Hillingdon' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 48, 1–13
- EVANS *et al* (1999), C Evans, J Pollard & M Knight 'Life in woods: tree throws, "settlement" and forest cognition' *Oxford J Arch* 18 pt 3, 241–54
- FILER (1991), J Filer 'Excavations round-up 1990: part 2, London Boroughs' *London Archaeologist* 6 No. 11
- GIBBARD (1994), P L Gibbard *Pleistocene History of the Lower Thames Valley*
- GIBSON (2000a), A Gibson 'The prehistoric pottery' in M Beasley *Phased Summary and Assessment Document of Archaeological Excavations at Plevna Road, Edmonton Green, London Borough of Enfield* unpub PCA report
- GIBSON (2000b), A Gibson 'Prehistoric pottery' in D Roberts *Phased Assessment Document of Archaeological Evaluations and Excavation at the Former Nursery Site and Meadowville Day Centre, Montagu Road, Edmonton, London Borough of Enfield* unpub PCA report
- GREIG (1992), J R A Greig 'The deforestation of London' *Review of Palaeobotany and Palynology* 73, 71–86
- GREEN *et al* (2000), C P Green, P Toms & N P Branch 'Palaeoenvironmental assessment' in D Roberts *Phased Assessment Document of Archaeological Evaluations and Excavation at the Former Nursery Site and Meadowville Day Centre, Montagu Road, Edmonton, London Borough of Enfield* unpub PCA report
- GREENWOOD (1982), P Greenwood 'The cropmark site at Moor Hall Farm, Rainham, Essex' *London Archaeologist* 4 No. 7, 185–93
- GREENWOOD (1986), P Greenwood 'A Late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age field system and settlement at Whitehall Wood, Upminster' *London Archaeologist* 5 No. 7, 171–5
- GREENWOOD (1989), P Greenwood 'Uphall Camp, Ilford, Essex: an Iron Age fortification' *London Archaeologist* 6 No. 4, 94–101
- GREENWOOD (2001), P Greenwood 'Uphall Camp, Ilford – an up-date' *London Archaeologist* 9 No. 8, 207–16
- GREENWOOD & MALONEY (1993), P Greenwood & C Maloney 'Excavation round-up 1992: part 2' *London Archaeologist* 7 No. 3
- GREENWOOD *et al* (1997), P Greenwood, C Maloney & T J Gostick 'London fieldwork round-up 1996' *London Archaeologist* 8 supp 2, 31–64
- GUTTMANN & LAST (2000), E B A Guttmann & J Last 'A Late Bronze Age landscape at South Hornchurch, Essex' *Proc Prehist Soc* 66, 319–59
- HARDING & GIBBARD (1983), P Harding & P Gibbard 'Excavations at Northwold Road, Stoke Newington, North-East London, 1981' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 34, 1–18

- HAWKINS & LEAVER (1999), D Hawkins & S Leaver 'An Iron Age settlement at Alpine Avenue, Tolworth' *Surrey Archaeol Coll* 86, 141–9
- HEARD (2000), K Heard 'A post-medieval tawyers' yard in Bermondsey' *London Archaeologist* 9 No. 5, 137–43
- HEDGES & BUCKLEY (1978), J Hedges & D Buckley 'Excavations at a Neolithic causewayed enclosure, Orsett, Essex, 1975' *Proc Prehist Soc* 44, 219–308
- HILL (1995), J D Hill *Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex: A Study on the Formation of a Specific Archaeological Record* BAR 242
- HUGGINS (1998), R Huggins 'London and the River Lea' *London Archaeologist* 8 No. 9, 241–7
- LACAILLE (1961), A D Lacaille 'Mesolithic facies in Middlesex and London' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 20 pt 3, 101–49
- LAWRENCE *et al* (1997), D Lawrence, N Truckle & M Beasley 'A multi-period site in Ilford, Essex' *London Archaeol* 8 No. 4, 98–103
- LEWIS (2000), J S C Lewis 'The Neolithic period' in *The Archaeology of Greater London MoLAS Monograph*, 63–80
- LEWIS *et al* (1992), J S C Lewis, P E J Wilshire & R Macphail 'A Late Devensian/Early Flandrian site at Three Wayes Wharf, Uxbridge: environmental implications' in S Needham & M G Macklin (eds) *Alluvial Archaeology in Britain* Oxbow Monograph 27, 235–47
- MALONEY & GOSTICK (1998), C Maloney & T J Gostick 'London fieldwork round-up 1997' *London Archaeologist* 8 supp 3, 75–109
- MALONEY & HOLROYD (1999), C Maloney & I Holroyd 'London fieldwork and publication round-up 1998' *London Archaeologist* 9 supp 1, 1–30
- MEDDENS (1996), F M Meddens 'Sites from the Thames estuary wetlands, England, and their Bronze Age use' *Antiquity* 70 No. 268, 325–34
- MEDDENS & BEASLEY (1990), F Meddens & M Beasley 'Wetland use in Rainham, Essex' *London Archaeologist* 6 No. 9, 242–8
- MERRIMAN (1990), N Merriman *Prehistoric London*
- MOORE & JENNINGS (1992), J Moore & D Jennings *Reading Business Park: A Bronze Age Landscape*
- NEEDHAM (1991), S Needham *Excavation and Salvage at Runnymede Bridge 1978: The Late Bronze Age Waterfront Site*
- O'CONNELL (1986), M O'Connell *Petters Sports Field, Egham: Excavations of a Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Site* Surrey Archaeol Soc Res Vol 10
- O'CONNELL (1990), M O'Connell 'Excavations during 1979–1985 of a multi-period site at Stanwell' *Surrey Archaeol Coll* 80, 1–62
- PALMER (1976), R Palmer 'Interrupted ditch enclosures in Britain: the use of aerial photography for comparative studies' *Proc Prehist Soc* 42, 161–86
- PENN *et al* (1984), J Penn, D Field & D Serjeantson 'Evidence of Neolithic occupation in Kingston: excavations at Eden Walk, 1965' *Surrey Archaeol Coll* 75, 207–24
- POLLARD (1999), J Pollard "These places have their moments": thoughts on settlement practices in the British Neolithic' in J Brück & M Goodman (eds) *Making Places in the Prehistoric World: Themes in Settlement Archaeology*, 76–93
- PROCTOR & BISHOP (2002), J Proctor & B Bishop 'Prehistoric and environmental development on Horselydown: excavations at 1–2 Three Oak Lane, Southwark' *Surrey Archaeol Coll* 89, 1–26
- PRYOR (1996), F Pryor 'Sheep, stockyards and field systems: Bronze Age livestock in eastern England' *Antiquity* 70, 313–24
- PRYOR (1999), F Pryor *Elton: Excavation of a Neolithic Causewayed Enclosure near Maxey, Cambridge, 1982–87*
- RACKHAM & SIDELL (2000), J Rackham & J Sidell 'London's changing landscapes: the changing environment' in *The Archaeology of Greater London MoLAS Monograph*, 11–27
- RICHMOND (1999), A Richmond *Preferred Economies: the Nature of the Subsistence Base throughout Mainland Britain during Prehistory* BAR 290
- RIDGEWAY (1999), V Ridgeway 'Prehistoric finds at Hopton Street in Southwark' *London Archaeologist* 9 No. 3, 72–6
- ROBERTSON-MACKAY (1987), R Robertson-Mackay 'The Neolithic causewayed enclosure at Staines, Surrey: excavations 1961–63' *Proc Prehist Soc* 53, 23–128
- ROE (1981), D A Roe *The Lower and Middle Palaeolithic Periods in Britain*
- ROWLEY-CONWY (1987), P Rowley-Conwy 'The interpretation of ardmarks' *Antiquity* 61 No. 232, 263–6
- SABEL (1993), K Sabel *Archaeological Evaluation at Oliver Close Estate, Layton LE-OC-92 Level III Report* unpub Newham Museum Services report
- SANFORD (1970), R Sanford 'Neolithic Twickenham' *London Archaeologist* 1 No. 9, 199–201
- SAUNDERS (2000), M J Saunders 'Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age settlement evidence from Manor Hospital, Epsom' *Surrey Archaeol Coll* 87, 175–8
- SERJEANTSON *et al* (1992), D Serjeantson, D Field, J Penn & M Shipley 'Excavations at Eden Walk II, Kingston: environmental reconstruction and prehistoric finds (TQ 180 692)' *Surrey Archaeol Coll* 81, 71–90
- SWITSUR & JACOBI (1979), V R Switsur & R M Jacobi 'A radiocarbon chronology for the Early Postglacial stone industries of England and Wales' in R Berger & H E Suess (ed) *Radiocarbon Dating*, 42–68
- TAYLOR-WILSON (2000), R H Taylor-Wilson 'Pre-Roman features and cultural material from two sites in Old Ford, Bow, Tower Hamlets' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 51, 1–19

- THOMAS (1999), J Thomas *Understanding the Neolithic* (2nd edn)
- TRUCKLE *et al* (1995), N Truckle, P Moore & P Thrale 'Excavations at George Mitchell School Playing Fields, High Road, Layton, London E4' *London Archaeologist* 7 No. 15, 397–402
- TUCKER (1996), S Tucker 'Further evidence for prehistoric occupation found on the Purley Way, Croydon' *London Archaeologist* 8 No. 1, 12–17
- TYLDESLEY (1987), J A Tyldesley *The Bout-Coupé Handaxe: a Typological Problem* BAR Brit ser 170
- WARREN (1938), S Hazzledine Warren 'The correlation of the Lea Valley Arctic Beds' *Proc Prehist Soc* 4, 328–9
- WARREN *et al* (1934), S Hazzledine Warren, J G D Clark, H Godwin, M E Godwin & W A Macfadyen 'An early Mesolithic site at Broxbourne sealed under Boreal peat' *JRAI* 64, 101–28
- WARREN (1977), S E Warren 'Excavations of a Neolithic site at Sefton Street, Putney, London' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 28, 1–13
- WESSEX ARCHAEOLOGY (1998), Wessex Archaeology *Imperial College Sports Ground, Sipson Lane, Harlington, London Borough of Hillingdon. Archaeological Excavation; Phase 1 and 2* unpub Interim Assessment Report
- WHITE & JACOBI (2002), M J White & R M Jacobi 'Two sides to every story: *Bout Coupé* handaxes revisited' *Oxford J Arch* 21 No. 2, 109–33
- WILKINSON (1993), D Wilkinson *Stratford Market Depot (North) Phase II Archaeological Field Evaluation 1992–93* unpub Oxford Archaeological Unit Report
- YATES (1999), D Yates 'Bronze Age field systems in the Thames Valley' *Oxford J Arch* 18, 157–70
- YATES (2001), D Yates 'Bronze Age agricultural intensification in the Thames Valley and Estuary' in J Brück (ed) *Bronze Age Landscapes: Tradition and Transformation*, 65–82

ROMAN RIVER BANK USE AND CHANGING WATER LEVELS AT 51–53 SOUTHWARK STREET, SOUTHWARK, LONDON

Douglas Killock

SUMMARY

The excavation at 51–53 Southwark Street, Southwark revealed a previously uncharted watercourse leading northwards into the 'Southwark Street Channel' which divided the northern sand island on which Southwark was founded from the smaller island to the south. The natural stream was canalised using timber revetments and previously marginal land was reclaimed. The results showed the utilisation of land at levels assumed to have been regularly below Mean High Water. There was however nothing to suggest that the newly established ground surface was ever inundated. Analysis of the pottery assemblage provided evidence for the exploitation of the major watercourse to the north as a navigable channel used for the importation of goods directly into this part of Southwark during the late 1st and 2nd centuries AD. The volume of trade apparently fell away after AD 160 and by the middle of the 3rd century the site was probably abandoned. Homogeneous 'dark earth' type formations marked the end of the Roman sequence. This paper attempts to outline the results of the excavation and assess their contribution to our understanding of the development of Southwark and the exploitation of the Thames in the early Roman period.

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological evaluation and excavation were undertaken by Pre-Construct Archaeology at 51–53 Southwark Street, London Borough of Southwark in November and December 1996. The project was commissioned and funded by Lopex Engineering.

The site was situated approximately 420m

to the south-west of London Bridge. The area of excavation was located to the south of No. 53 Southwark Street and to the west of No. 4 O'Meara Street, which delimited the site to the east (Fig 1). The southern limit of the trench was defined by the proximity of the neighbouring railway viaduct, which dictated that a distance of c.5m was maintained from the southern edge of the site to the edge of the excavation area. This area was not fully recorded archaeologically but was the subject of a watching brief following the area excavation.

The evaluation phase of the archaeological investigations had to be suspended due to the possibility of structural problems with the surrounding buildings. These required essential engineering works which involved the presence of heavy machinery on site and precluded the continuation of the evaluation. A watching brief was maintained on underpinning work to the north, south and east of the site and some archaeological information was recovered during these essential works. However, John Dillon, Senior Archaeology Officer for Southwark Council, noted that some stratigraphy had been removed without being recorded. The evaluation was recommenced, followed almost immediately by excavation. The area available for excavation measured c.13m east–west by 12m north–south, with the limit of excavation to the west being dictated by the proposed limits of the redevelopment and the presence of an access ramp for tracked vehicles. Following a Brief prepared by John Dillon the archaeological deposits

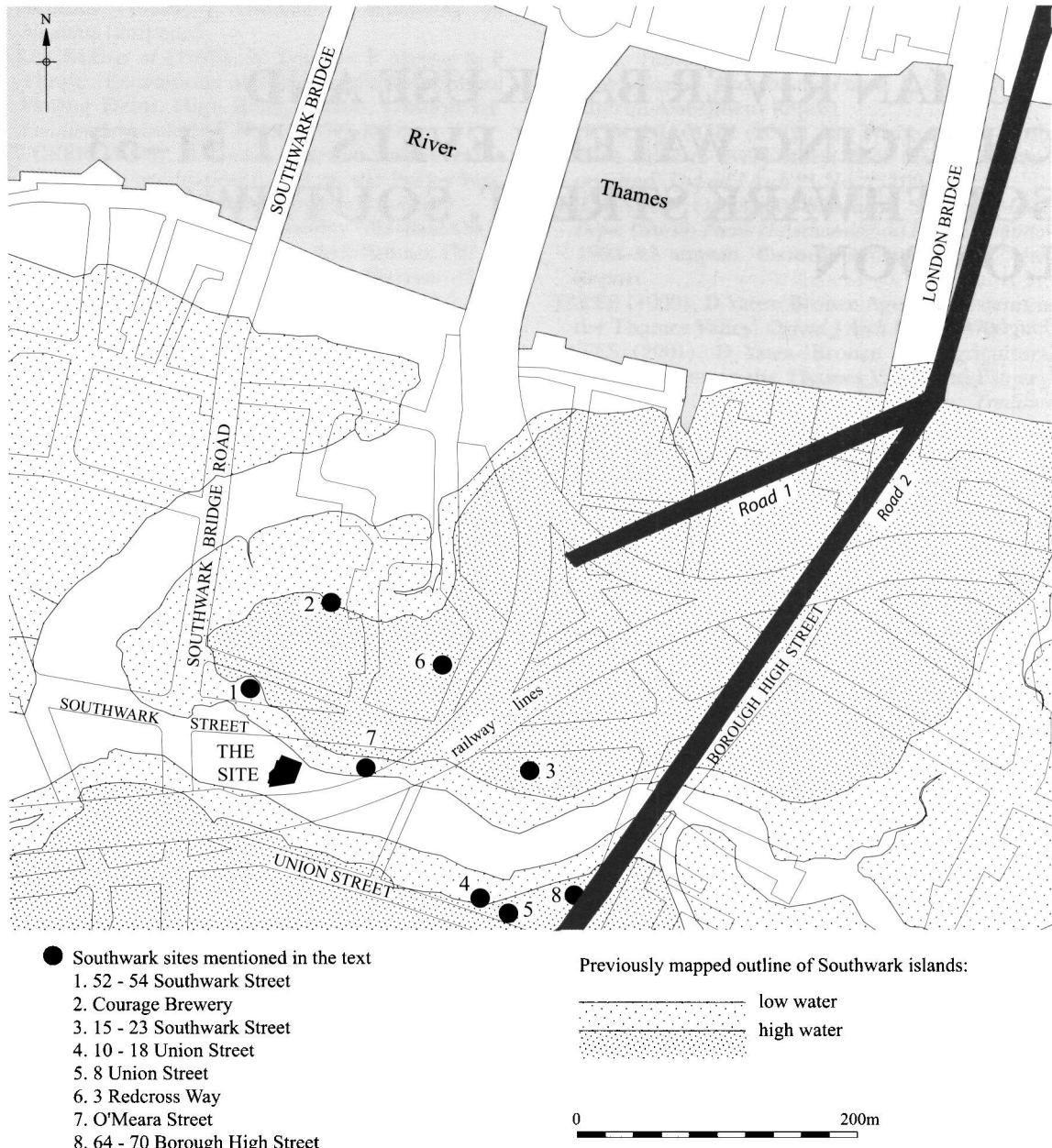


Fig 1. Site location and Roman background topography with the conjectured high water mark based on excavations completed before that at 51–52 Southwark Street

were reduced by a mechanical excavator utilising a toothless bucket until the top of the Roman levels was reached. Thereafter deposits were removed and recorded by hand.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The area in which the site was located formed part of the Thames floodplain in Roman times. It was characterised by multiple channels, small islands, mudflats and marshland, with the river

being subject to tidal influences. The main channel of the Thames had its north bank some 100m north of the current embankment, the southern margin of the channel being close to the modern south bank. To the south of the main body of water was a series of braided channels and islands (Yule 1988, 13–15).

Two major Roman roads were constructed in Southwark in the early 50s AD (Sheldon 1978a, 15). These converged at the southern end of the Roman bridgehead leading to the principal settlement *Londinium*. Road 1 is relatively well documented and ran southward linking the city with the south coast via Stane Street and Watling Street. Road 2 may have linked *Londinium* with a Thames crossing further west at Westminster (Graham 1978, 252–4). The course taken by this road has, however, been the subject of debate; some projected road lines pass very close to the east of 51–53 Southwark Street (Dillon *et al* 1991, 258). Its course has proved difficult to establish away from the bridgehead and it is possible that Road 2 may not have extended beyond the northern island on which much of Roman Southwark was built (Heard *et al* 1990, 610–11).

Much of the early building work required for creating the infrastructure has been attributed to the Roman army and a strong military presence has been suggested for the early Roman period (Hammerson 1978). However, it is clear that a substantial civilian settlement grew up around the southern bridgehead (Sheldon 1978a, 11–48). Much of the expansion dates to the 2nd century but there is little doubt that this had been preceded and facilitated by extensive management of the watercourses which traversed the area. The interpretation of coin loss evidence has led to suggestions that Southwark was the focus of activity in the decades immediately post-dating the conquest (Rhodes 1991, 187). The settlement contracted in the late Roman period and previously occupied areas were abandoned and used as cemeteries. These developments have been demonstrated at 15–23 Southwark Street and the Courage Brewery site (Cowan 1992, 3–191; Dillon *et al* 1991, 262), although there appears to have been a revival of Roman activity in Southwark during the late 3rd and 4th centuries AD.

Apart from the two sites mentioned above, the excavations of note carried out nearest to the site took place at 3 Redcross Way and 52–54 Southwark Street; the latter lies immediately to the north-west, on the north side of Southwark

Street. This excavation uncovered the north bank of the Southwark Street Channel, which had been the subject of two phases of timber revetting. The first phase is believed to have been replaced by the early 2nd century. The process of land reclamation continued with new ground being established to the south and reclaimed areas being consolidated by the dumping of sand (Heard 1989a).

A building with stone foundations was subsequently constructed in an area partially overlying the earlier stream bank. Evidence for the structure survived in the form of robber trenches. A large rectangular pit filled with building material, specifically tile and wall plaster, was found nearby and this material may have derived from the demolition of the building. A construction date in the 2nd century is thought likely, but the demolition date is unknown (Heard 1989a).

The site at 3 Redcross Way showed extensive evidence of Roman occupation. Apart from early ditches, a section of road was uncovered. This was associated with clay and timber buildings, possibly shops, dating from the late 1st or early 2nd centuries. Successive building phases sealed these earlier deposits. The later history of the site was not closely dated but one late pit produced a mid-4th-century coin. No evidence of late Roman burials was uncovered, though these are known from the adjacent Courage Brewery site (Dillon *et al* 1991, 262).

The excavations at 15–23 Southwark Street also produced extensive Roman remains. The earliest phase of Roman building dated to AD 60–70. The clay and timber buildings which comprised the first phase were succeeded by a large masonry structure, which is thought to have had a public or official function. Two later phases of clay and timber buildings post-dated this structure. These were relatively high status buildings as they were furnished with mosaic floors, hypocaust systems, and painted plaster walls. Further masonry building works are recorded for the mid-2nd and 3rd centuries. The site was used as an inhumation cemetery in the late Roman period. The inhumations were sealed by dark grey silt deposits (Cowan 1992, 3–191).

SYNTHESIS OF THE EXCAVATION RESULTS

Sand bar, channels and jetty

The most notable topographic feature was a

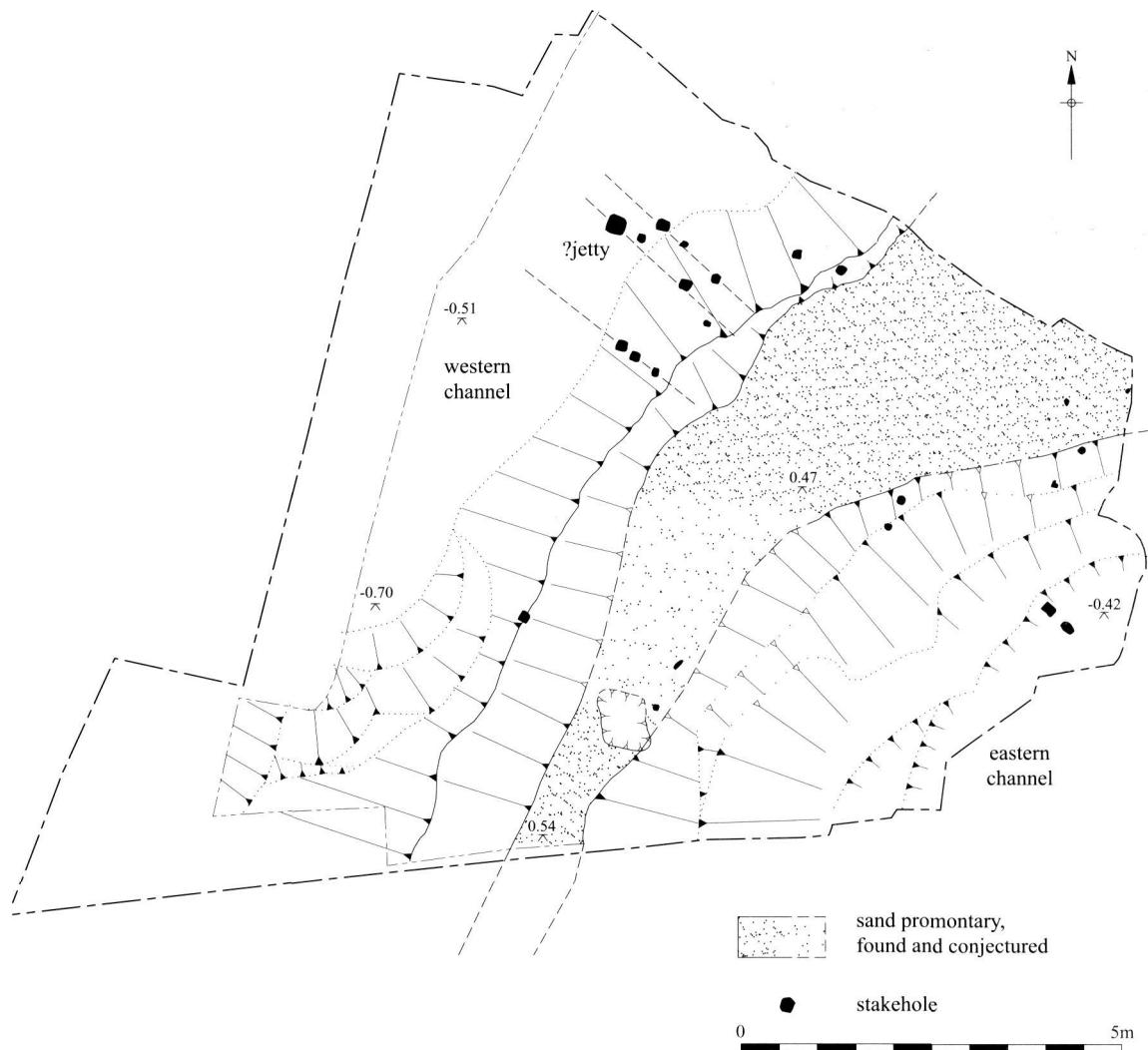


Fig 2. Early Roman sandbar, jetty and channels

small island or sand promontory which extended roughly north-south through the central and eastern parts of the excavation (Fig 2). The earliest deposit within this formation consisted of fine orange gravels which occurred at a height of c.-0.30m OD. These were overlain by an alternating sequence composed of clays and silts, indicating slow water movement, and sand layers, indicating periods of faster moving water. The regularity of these bands was notable and a seasonal cycle of deposition might be inferred. These deposits survived to a maximum height of 0.55m OD.

The original extent of this formation is unknown as it continued beyond the limits of the trench and had undoubtedly been eroded by the north-south-aligned channels which lay to either side. These were slow-moving waterways in the immediate pre-Roman and early Roman periods but had clearly shaped the sand bar which divided them. It is possible that they were once branches of the same stream. Clearly the site and its developments were affected by the active floodplain environment in which it was situated.

The two streams were active contemporaneously

but the eastern channel was the first to become silted up. Pottery dates suggest that this occurred in the mid to late 1st century AD. Large scale alluvial deposition also took place along the bank of the western channel and the course of the stream migrated westward. During the early part of this depositional sequence a few sherds of Roman pottery found their way into the lower fills of the stream. These included part of a Dressel 20 amphora and a stamped samian base, which has been dated to AD 50–65 (Precious 1997). No man-made structures were present on the site at that time.

The early fills of the western channel, along with those of the eastern channel, have been analysed for diatoms and pollen. The results suggest that all fills were deposited under similar environmental conditions, possibly relatively rapidly. Although freshwater conditions predominated, both channels presented evidence that they were connected with the main Thames waterway and that they were, at least periodically, tidal (Cameron & Dobinson 1997).

Pollen analysis suggested an environment in which local woodland was sparse. Limited evidence of arable crops and associated weeds was evident. The dominant elements were herb communities with associated elements deriving from waste ground, aquatic/marsh, wetland, and salt marsh environments. Note has been made of the presence of spruce, not a native to these shores, whilst other exotic tree species known to have been introduced in the Roman period, such as walnut, were absent (Scaife 1997).

The sequence of alluvial deposition continued in the western channel. The earliest tangible human intervention on the site took the form of a series of driven wooden posts which occurred around the periphery of both the eastern and western channels (Fig 2). One cluster of posts was noted in the north-west quadrant of the site. Although interpretation is difficult, this cluster may have represented a small jetty or landing stage which facilitated access from the bankside to boats moored in the channel. The majority of the posts were too small or badly decayed to produce dendrochronology dates but one timber has a provisional felling date of AD 72 (Nayling 1998). No attempt seems to have been made to canalise or control the stream by constructing timber revetments.

It appeared that the site was not frequently exploited in this period. The posts show that it was at least visited but the paucity of finds within

the channel fills demonstrates the absence of occupation. Analysis of the sediments suggested some human activity nearby but cess could have entered upstream and been washed down to the site (Keeley 1997). The timber structure mentioned above was not maintained and successive alluvially deposited layers covered its decaying elements.

The final event in this alluvial sequence was the deposition of an homogeneous clay layer which sealed the fills of both channels and capped the sand promontory which divided them. The topography of the site was radically altered during this early phase of development. The eastern channel ceased to be active. The course of the western channel migrated westward and alluvial clays and silts covered the entire area. The highest points of the new land surface lay at c.0.75m OD. Pottery recovered from the site-wide alluvial layer has been dated to AD 70–100. Among the material were fragments of SLOW ware, a very early local product from the City previously seen in Southwark only at the Park Street excavation (Precious 1997). When found in the City this pottery has been seen as indicative of very early Roman settlement even when it occurs in residual contexts (Milne 1995, 46).

Large scale alluvial deposition was limited to the revetted channel in later periods. The central and eastern areas of the site were therefore no longer subject to transgressions from the surrounding channels. This may imply not only the management of the stream situated to the west of the site but also of the Southwark Street channel to the north (Heard *et al* 1990, 613, fig 4; Cowan 1992, 21, fig 8).

Sand dumping and revetments

Although some of the events described above occurred within the early Roman period, the deposition formed part of a natural sequence and the human impact was very limited. More active Roman intervention is indicated by the dumping of sand, at times mixed with brickearth, especially across the western half of the site, and the construction of a post and plank revetment along the bank of the western channel (Fig 3). Land reclamation using dumped sand or gravel was apparently common practice in Roman Southwark. Parallels from the immediate vicinity of the site can be found at 10–18 Union Street (Heard 1989b, 126–31) and 8 Union

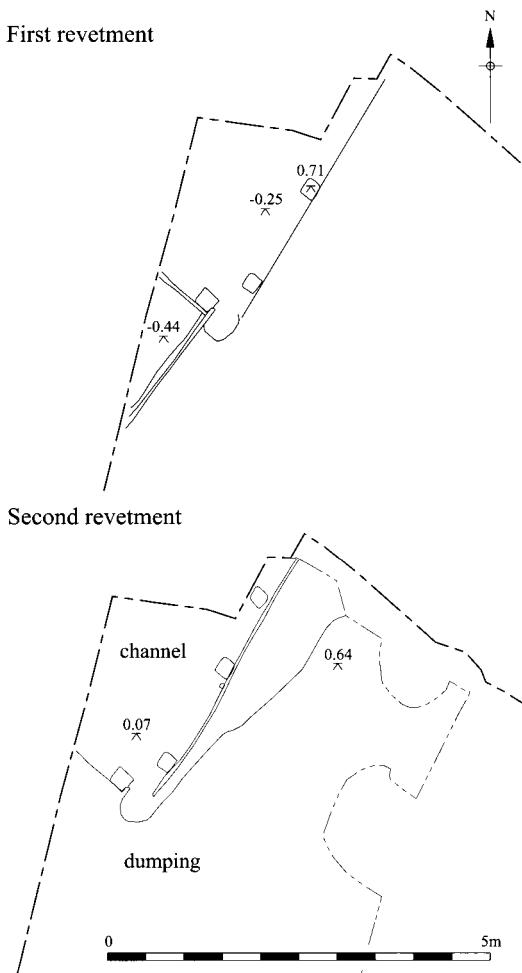


Fig 3. The first and second phases of Roman revetting

Street (Marsh 1978, 223), where dumping and levelling using these materials preceded the earliest occupation phases. This intervention raised ground level by 10–20cm across the area concerned to a maximum height of 0.80m OD. Some postholes were cut into the new surface. Although they formed no discernible pattern, their presence demonstrated that this horizon represents at least a temporary ground surface. The sand deposits had no direct stratigraphic relationship with the first phase of revetting but they may have been associated with it and were undoubtedly *in situ* prior to the construction of the second phase.

Interpretation of the revetment structures was hampered as they extended beyond the limits of

the excavation, but it appeared that the remains uncovered represented two distinct phases of construction. Both phases were built using the same method, which consisted of upright squared posts supporting horizontal planks. This construction method seems very similar to that employed at 52–54 Southwark Street (Heard 1989a) and, with circular rather than squared posts, at 175–177 Borough High Street (Schaaf 1976, 6, fig 4). Dendrochronological evidence for the earlier phase of revetting is not precise, two of the timbers being dated to AD 41+ and AD 58–103 (Nayling 1998).

The second phase of revetting consisted of an open box-type structure with two sets of planking set at roughly 90 degrees to each other (Fig 3). This survived to a height of c.90cm, with the decayed top of the planking lying at c.0.60 m OD. The posts employed in the revetment were quite substantial, measuring over 20cm square and c.2m in length. These would have been capable of supporting a superstructure above the revetment (Damian Goodburn pers comm) and quayside facilities for landing cargo may have been part of this construction project. One of the posts from the revetment produced a dendrochronology date of AD 39+ whilst a post inserted as a later repair has been dated to AD 78–123 (Nayling 1998). Pottery recovered from the construction cut for the second phase of revetting has been dated to AD 70–100 and that from the primary silting of the structure to AD 70–120. The construction cut itself was buried below the dumps which raised and levelled the ground surface.

The dumps consisted of large quantities of sand; these layers were up to 40cm thick in places and a new ground surface was established with the highest points lying at c.0.90–1.00m OD. Although a reasonably horizontal surface had been established over most of the site by this time, the original topography was still reflected by a slope from the central area to the west (above the buried periphery of the western channel) — most noticeable in the south-west quadrant of the site. This dumping was almost certainly contemporary with the second phase of revetting, some material later collapsing above the alluvial fills of the silted-up channel as the revetment decayed. Pottery recovered from these layers covers a wide date range but the latest layer produced material dated to AD 120–160, suggesting that the revetment was still in use during this period.

The earliest fills of the revetted channel were

clearly waterlain and represented natural silting. Pottery dating indicates that the revetment continued in use through the mid-2nd century. The upper fills of the revetment were interpreted as deliberate backfilling, or a combination of backfilling and natural silting. The redeposited nature of the backfilled materials was reflected in the pottery dates, which indicated a range clearly pre-dating the earlier fills and at times the construction of the revetment. This material was obviously residual and demolition debris from earlier structures was probably incorporated in these deposits. If so, the material must have been imported as no buildings pre-dating the revetment were present. The revetment appears to have gone out of use in the mid to late 2nd century, although establishing a precise date is difficult due to the residuality of the finds.

The revetment may have served not only to canalise the stream but also as part of a landing facility. Although no 2nd-century structures associated with the revetment were discovered, the pottery analysis suggested that goods were being imported in amphorae and decanted on site, or very nearby. The pottery as a whole presented 'characteristics typical of a waterfront assemblage' and the suggested comparisons comprise City of London waterfront sites (Precious 1997). This would strongly suggest that the Southwark Street Channel to the north of the site was navigable in the early Roman period. Sand and gravel fills of this channel containing large quantities of Roman pottery, especially amphora, were found during the watching brief which monitored underpinning works on the site. These sand and gravel layers suggested fills of a relatively fast moving stream. They were found below the lowest excavated levels, indicating that the bank must have fallen away very sharply toward the north. Observations made by the site agent suggested that an east-west orientated timber structure had existed in the area where unmonitored ground reduction had taken place immediately to the north side of the excavation area. This could not be verified as the area had been concreted over prior to the resumption of the archaeological investigation. However flimsy this evidence may seem, the need for management of the south bank of the Southwark Street Channel is self evident. Indeed this would suggest a much narrower channel than has previously been conjectured (Fig 7).

Although the revetment found was in no way comparable in size and construction method

with an early City waterfront (Brigham 1990, 99–183), the management and exploitation of the Southwark Street Channel is at present a largely unknown quantity. Later revetments along the banks of the north–south channel may lie beyond the western limit of the excavation and it is possible that the later post-built structures within the area of excavation were associated with these. The most obvious alignments of posts respected the orientation of the revetment, suggesting that it had been perpetuated by a later structure or structures.

Mortar floor bedding

Attempts to establish a more permanent presence on the site may be represented by a mortar preparation recorded in the south-east corner of the site. This had been designed as bedding to fix brick or tile elements, the impressions of which were clearly visible (Fig 4). The preparation had been severely truncated by later intrusions and no associated walls were uncovered. A possible robber cut, which may have represented a wall connected with the floor, was seen in section beyond the southern limit of the excavated area. Pottery from its fill has been dated to AD 120–200 and that from a nearby pit (which had been cut from the same ground surface) to AD 140–200. The structure surviving as the mortar preparation may therefore have been demolished in the late 2nd century. If so the lifespan of the building was very limited. Given the marginal nature of the ground, any structure could have quickly developed structural faults, which may explain its limited period of existence.

Demolition rubble dumping

Large scale dumping, especially of building materials, characterised the next phase of development. The origin of the demolition rubble is unknown but it undoubtedly derived from a high status structure with *opus signinum* and mosaic floors and painted plaster walls. The building material was almost certainly imported to the site but the size of the fragments, especially the wall plaster, suggest a source very close by. The most obvious high status buildings known from the area were uncovered at 15–23 Southwark Street (Cowan 1992, 3–191) but analysis of the mosaic fragments found no direct links between the two (Sheehan 1997).

The dumps covered two almost overlapping



Fig 4. Mortar bedding for tile floor

areas in the north-west and south-west of the site. To the north the dumps were horizontal whilst to the south they were mainly confined to a large pit which measured 5.20m north-south and exceeded 2.90m east-west. The fill of the pit was composed almost exclusively of building material, including fragments of mosaic and large quantities of wall plaster. Although the area covered by the pit was later built upon, it does not seem that the dumping of demolition debris formed part of this building project. The slope down to the west was maintained, and if building in this area had been planned, a more level surface would probably have been sought. The new ground surface lay between c.1.00m and 1.20m OD.

The pottery recovered from these dumps ranges in date from AD 50 to 170. Many of the finds are likely to be residual, a bone-handled knife recovered from one of the dumps being a perfect example (Fig 5). The knife is of intrinsic interest as it is almost certainly the product of a London cutler working in the late 1st century, possibly in the Walbrook area of the City (Crummy & Weinstein 1998). However, the pottery sequence established for earlier events

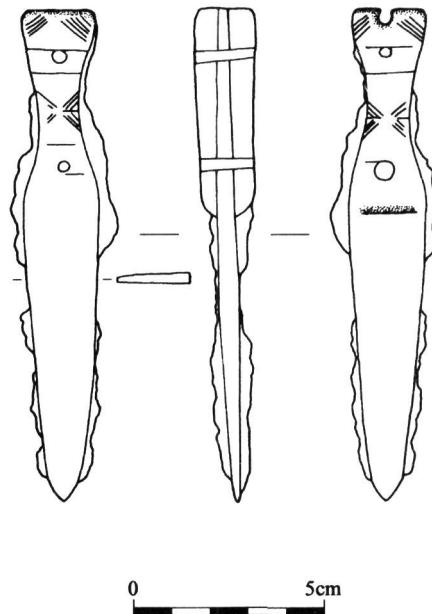


Fig 5. Roman bone-handled knife dating to the later 1st century. The style of decoration on its handle appears to be matched only by other knives from London, and therefore it is almost certainly the product of a London cutler

on the site suggests a deposition date in the second half of the 2nd century.

Second mortar floor

A second mortar base or floor was laid down in the north-west quadrant of the site, directly above the area occupied by the silted-up and backfilled revetted channel. The 'floor' was divided by an irregular linear trench which may have been a robber cut, but this is far from certain as the features extended beyond the limits of the trench. No associated walls were discovered and the purpose of this substantial mortar preparation therefore remains unproven. The position of this structure did however demonstrate that the channel had definitely gone out of use, or that its course had migrated westward beyond the excavated area.

Postholes and well

A large complex of postholes, of a variety of shapes and sizes, completely covered the western part of excavation (Fig 6). These had been cut from the ground surface formed by the dumped building materials mentioned above. Diameters as large as 0.50m were not uncommon and posts of this size could have supported substantial structures. Many of the smaller postholes, at times grouped in pairs, apparently represented partitions and divisions of the complex around these buildings. They may have supported wattle hurdling. More than one phase of building was represented, although clear patterns and building plans were hard to establish. Some lines of single small postholes were almost certainly external fence lines. Other elements were possibly supported by short beams or post-



Fig 6. Roman posthole configurations

pads. No associated floor layers were discovered. Timber floors lying on sill beams are a distinct possibility and have been found *in situ* in the area (Dillon 1989; Dillon *et al* 1991, 261).

A timber-lined well located in the extreme south-west of the site may have been contemporary with these buildings. Most of this structure lay outside the limits of the trench but was recovered in a watching brief which followed the excavation. The well lining was constructed of jointed planks c.1.00m long by 0.45m high. An earlier sub-rectangular pit was found close to the timber-lined well. The fills of this pit had been cut through by later postholes and it is possible that the cut represented an earlier well that had been dismantled before being backfilled.

The dating of these structures is problematic. A very high degree of residuality is probable in the fills of the postholes. A late 2nd- or early 3rd-century date would, however, be consistent both with dates established for earlier phases and with the dumping which sealed the remains of the post-built structures.

The presence of late 2nd-century timber structures is of intrinsic interest. This does not conform to the general trend in Southwark where earlier timber structures were being replaced by stone buildings after the late 2nd century (Sheldon 1975, 278–84; Sheldon 1978a, 39–42; Cowan 1992, 3–191; Heard 1989a). It is possible that the timber buildings erected at the site had a lower status. This may be a domestic complex or the remains may represent ancillary buildings associated with a small port facility.

'Dark earth' dumps

The buildings were demolished or decayed and homogeneous site-wide dumping covered their remains. The phases of dumping were clearly divided as the later deposits took the form of a 'dark earth' type formation. Pottery from the earlier dumps has been dated to the period AD 200–300, although small finds such as bone needles dating to the 1st or 2nd centuries and a coin of Hadrian (Crummy & Weinstein 1998) indicate that much of the material was residual and may have been imported to the site. The later 'dark earth' deposits produced pottery from the period AD 250–400 and two barbarous radiates dated to AD 270–290; no evidence exists for wares which definitely post-date AD 350 (Crummy & Weinstein 1998; Precious 1997). The timber buildings therefore represented the last phase of

permanent occupation prior to the abandonment of the site in the late Roman period.

COMPARISON WITH NEARBY SITES

Comparisons with nearby sites produce notable similarities. A large pit containing demolition debris, possibly of similar date, was found at 52–54 Southwark Street (Heard 1989a). Rubbish pits filled with fragments of painted wall plaster, *opus signinum*, and ceramic building materials are also documented from 10–18 Union Street. Pottery from these pits dated to the 2nd century (Heard 1989b, 126–31).

The early sequence recorded at 51–53 mirrors almost exactly that of 52–54 Southwark Street, where a revetment was constructed on the bank of the Southwark Street Channel, which later became silted up (possibly with an element of backfilling). The alluvial deposits, possibly representing mud-flats, were covered with dumped sand in order to reclaim the land for construction. The resulting building partially covered the area of the earlier revetment. The stone building was subsequently demolished and a large rectangular pit was excavated and backfilled with building material (Heard 1989a). Although the Southwark Street Channel separated the sites, their early histories seem remarkably similar.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of the excavation have an important contribution to make to our understanding of the topographical development and utilisation of this area of Southwark in the Roman period. As the location plans (Figs 1 and 7) show, the excavation area was until recently presumed to lie within the Southwark Street Channel which separated the two major islands upon which the Roman suburb developed (Heard *et al* 1990, 609, fig 2; Cowan 1992, 21, fig 8). The earlier topographical models were developed from archaeological investigations combined with the collation of geophysical data (Graham 1978, 501–16; Yule 1988, 13–17) and attempts to determine the level of the tidal Thames in the early Roman period (Devoy 1979; Devoy 1980; Milne *et al* 1983; Brigham 1990). The case for a mid-1st-century Mean High Water level between 1m and 1.5m OD, as constructed from the archaeological evidence by Milne and Brigham, is a compelling one. It is not the

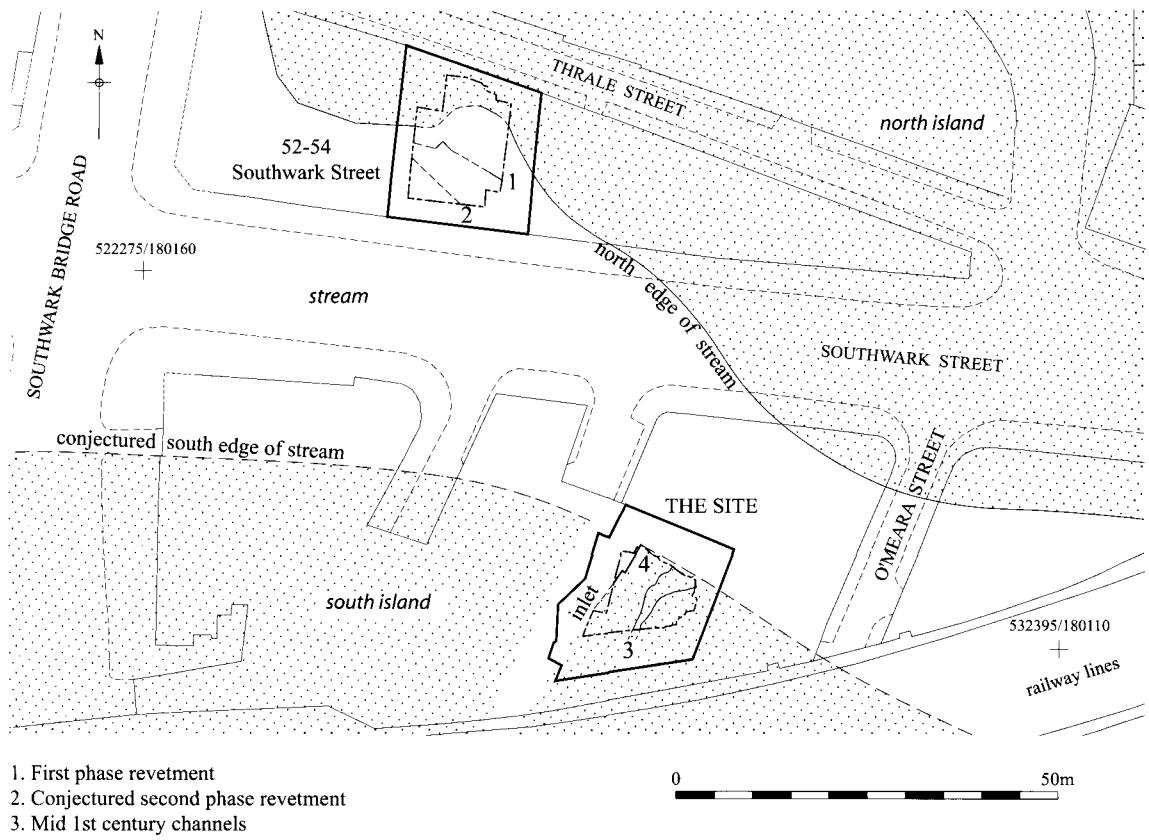


Fig 7. Conjectured southern channel with revised north bank position at projected high water mark

purpose of this paper to disprove the currently accepted orthodoxy in this matter. However, the increasing evidence of the adoption of low-lying areas below the proposed MHW level does beg an answer to the question 'how were these marginal areas reclaimed and sustained?' The construction of extensive embankments and or timber waterfronts on the Thames bank of the northern Southwark island is probable. However this alone would have been of little use if the water level of the major watercourse separating the two largest islands, presumably equal to that of the Thames, was left uncontrolled. Unfortunately a simple answer to this question is not available, but the contradictions in some of the available data are notable. It should be stated that some of the observed problems might be related to an insufficiently precise resolution of the dating of changes in the MHW level. This would be particularly pertinent for periods of relatively rapid change, as the accepted model

suggests, from the mid-1st century onwards (Brigham 1990, 144).

The subject of sea level change in the Thames has been extensively documented and discussed, notably by Devoy whose study of deposits at Tilbury created a model which successive authors have used as a basis for their interpretations of archaeological sequences, particularly those where peat formations were present (Devoy 1979, 355–407). Attempts to establish a precise correlation between the fluctuating sea levels recorded at Tilbury and that of the inner Thames estuary are perhaps misleading. However, the accepted archaeological model suggests that the sea level rose throughout the late Iron Age and peaked in the Thames at London by the mid-1st century before falling dramatically in the following 50 years (Milne *et al* 1983, 22–3; Brigham 1990, 143–5). Establishing exact OD levels for the height of the 1st-century river is vital to our interpretation of early Roman

Southwark. Falling tidal levels may have been more influential than man-made drainage schemes when access to marginal ground was in question. The low-lying south bank must have been more susceptible to changes in sea level than the steeply shelving northern foreshore. The results of investigations from both sides of the river should clearly be considered when discussing the overall tidal regime.

The precise status of the site in the early Roman period is difficult to demonstrate. It is possible that it was only accessible at low tide. This was obviously directly dependent on the height of the Thames to which the main watercourse to the north was connected. There is little doubt that the earliest ground surface, lying at a maximum of 0.55m OD, could have been intermittently used at low tide. The Thames is known to have receded well below this level. First-century pits dug into the foreshore on the north bank at Miles Lane and Pudding Lane were cut from c.0m and -1.28m OD respectively (Milne *et al* 1983, 25), which clearly suggests that considerable areas of marginal ground were exposed at low tide. The tidal nature of the channels recorded at 51–53 Southwark Street has been confirmed by diatom analysis of the sediments (Cameron & Dobinson 1997) which demonstrated the presence of *Cyclotella striata*, a diagnostic brackish water species also found within foreshore deposits at Pudding Lane (Bateman & Milne 1983, 209) and other City sites (Milne *et al* 1983, 25).

The early topography at Southwark Street was characterised by a low-lying area of sand which formed a narrow promontory, protruding northward into the main channel, flanked by small streams to either side. Although this ground surface would undoubtedly have been prone to flooding, discrete fills accumulated in the channels which lay on either side, suggesting that alluvial deposition was limited in the early Roman period to a level below +0.40m OD. Pottery recovered from an early channel fill has been dated AD 50–65 and a group of timber posts and stakes driven into the sands and channel silts provides firm evidence that the site was frequented and utilised by AD 72, although it is not clear to what end. The deposition of a thick homogeneous layer of clay and silt, which covered the earlier fills of both channels and capped the higher sand, marked the end of this early period of development. The highest point of the ground surface formed by alluvial

deposition lay at c.0.75m OD; pottery dating suggests that this event occurred between AD 70 and 100. A preliminary sequence of sandy dumps that covered the clay, presumably an attempt to create a workable ground surface, did not raise ground level above 0.80m OD. No evidence for consequent alluvial deposition could be seen outside of the revetted channel that was then established.

A Mean High Water level of 1–1.5m OD for the Thames in the mid-1st century was proposed following the excavation of the Pudding Lane/Peninsular House site in the City (Bateman & Milne 1983, 226). Here the earliest river defences, consisting of a gravel bank with vertical timber piles and plank and upright revetments, survived to heights of c.1.6–1.8m OD (Bateman & Milne 1983, 209). Evidence from later 1st-century structures on the north bank strongly supports the proposed Mean High Water level. Quays constructed in this period stood to a height of 1.7m OD at Billingsgate Buildings, 2m at Pudding Lane/Peninsular House, and as high as 2.5m at Miles Lane (Brigham 1990, 133, fig 12). This clearly made the understanding of the earliest phases of development at Southwark Street problematic, as the proposed level of the river was much higher than the surface of the alluvial deposits and first phase of dumping.

Evidence from the south bank is both more fragmentary and more difficult to interpret than that from the north. Imposing quayside structures such as those found in the City have not been identified in Southwark. Much of the Thames bank of the northern sand island may have been heavily eroded and consequently any riverside structures would have been destroyed (Heard *et al* 1990, 616). Traces of the early Thames waterfront are known from Winchester Palace, where close-set piles may have supported a bank similar to that found at Pudding Lane/Peninsular House. The waterfront is known to have advanced northward from this early structure in the period AD 80–120 (Yule 1989, 32). The semi-interred base of a well-preserved timber building, assumed to have been a warehouse used in connection with the Thames waterfront, was found at the Courage Brewery site (Dillon 1989, 229–31). The external metalled surface associated with this building lay at 0.75m OD, which has led to suggestions that embankments would have been necessary to protect such low-lying areas (Heard *et al* 1990, 617). This would clearly have

been a requirement if the proposed Mean High Water level is correct. Flooding pre-dating the Roman period is thought to have deposited clays and silts on the south bank up to a level of 1.30 m OD (Yule 1988, 13). The two major Roman roads known from Southwark, constructed c.AD 50–55, were at least in part laid across this newly formed surface (Sheldon 1978a, 15, 20–7). Even the land on which the roads were laid has been presumed to be ‘very marginal’ (Milne *et al* 1983, 21). How quickly the effects of falling tidal levels and/or drainage systems rendered marginal ground usable is the vital question for sites such as Southwark Street.

However, recent work at nearby O’Meara Street may suggest that Southwark Street was not only accessible at low tide. This site lay close to the southern limit of the north island. Excavations there demonstrated the presence of early Roman surfaces at c.0.65m OD, and part of a clay and timber building was also discovered (Woodger 1994, 18). The establishment of a building at such a low level must suggest that at the time it was constructed the site was not regularly covered at high tide. Although subsequently damaged by flooding this event may be seen as exceptional. Either the river did not normally flood above the level at which the earliest building was established or the site was protected by river defences.

The channel bank at 51–53 Southwark Street was canalised and new ground reclaimed in the later 1st or early 2nd centuries. The exact form and function of the earliest timber revetment was unclear but the early phase of associated sandy dumps formed a ground surface rising to c.0.80m OD to the east of this structure. The revetment established in the second construction phase, although badly decayed, retained the bank of the western stream and probably joined with a revetment defining the southern margin of the Southwark Street Channel to the north. A second sequence of sandy dumps raised the ground level to the east and south of this new structure, with the maximum height of this new surface between 0.90m and 1.00m OD. Pottery recovered from the backfilling of the revetment construction cut dates to AD 70–100, suggesting a construction date in the late 1st or early 2nd centuries. Although not precise, the dendrochronological dates support this date range; a post inserted as a repair was dated to after AD 78.

Once again the levels of the working surfaces

established in this period appear to be low compared to those in the City, although the difference between the two had at least diminished. The early 2nd-century waterfront at Billingsgate Buildings survived to a height of 1.5m OD (Brigham 1990, 133, fig 12). It is likely that the effects of falling water levels were already being felt in the late 1st century. The height of the quay at Billingsgate itself had been reduced, if only by 20cm, suggesting that regular flooding had not been a problem associated with the original waterfront. Mid-2nd-century waterfronts show further signs of this effect. The new quay at Swan Lane was built to a height of 1.10m OD, and the post and plank revetments at New Fresh Wharf and Old Custom House to 1.30m and 0.70m OD respectively (Brigham 1990, 133–6).

The development of 51–53 Southwark Street, with the construction of a substantial post and plank revetment and associated ground surfaces, presumably for handling waterborne cargo, should be viewed with these and other developments in mind. The southward expansion of the City waterfront, where the quay at Swan Lane was advanced some 20m (Brigham 1990, 135), clearly suggests that the water level had already fallen sufficiently by the mid-2nd century for corrective measures to be required. The effects of the beginning of falling water levels might initially have been insignificant for the City but even a small drop would have had a wide-ranging effect on Southwark. At present it is impossible to demonstrate exactly when the effects of lower water levels began to be felt. It appears that at the time of the construction of the Southwark Street revetment the water had receded far enough to allow the exploitation of marginal ground below c.1m OD.

It would be foolhardy to suggest that falling water levels can be inferred from the remains found at Southwark Street alone. However, the site needs to be seen in its context and decades of archaeological work is gradually piecing together both the limits and development of the major channel which separated Southwark’s two largest islands. The site at 64–70 Borough High Street, situated slightly to the east of 51–53 Southwark Street, showed some similar developments. This is also true of 52–54 Southwark Street, a little to the north and west, where the site lay on the southern extremity of the northern sand island. Much further to the east, an extensive development of the bankside

has been found in the Guy's Hospital area. The results of excavations at 93–95, 175–177, 201–211 and 213 Borough High Street should also be considered.

At 64–70 Borough High Street two phases of revetting were documented. The earliest of these was constructed from wattle hurdling with sandy make-up layers dumped behind it raising the ground level to c.1.20m OD. This intervention has been dated to AD 45–80 (Graham 1988, 57) but as it may be associated with the construction of Road 1 it probably does not pre-date AD 50. Not surprisingly this early revetment collapsed into the channel, indeed the rather flimsy nature of its construction suggests that it was a temporary measure. It was replaced with a more substantial post and plank and upright revetment after AD 75. This structure stood to a height of at least 1.10m OD and sandy dumps to its landward side respected the earlier ground level at 1.20m OD. The uppermost fills of the revetted stream did not exceed 0.80m OD. Second-century dumping sealed both the revetment and the alluvial fills of the channel, indicating that the channel must have become narrower (Graham 1988, 57–65).

The excavation at 201–211 Borough High Street covered an area where Road 1 crossed the north bank of the Borough Channel, a subsidiary of the Thames that separated the southern sand island from the higher gravels to the south. Ditches and posts pre-dating the construction of the road indicate that the site was frequented very early in the Roman period. The road itself was partially built on the alluvial fills of the channel, which did not exceed 0.90m OD (Ferretti & Graham 1978, 59–62). The excavations carried out at 5–7 Long Lane and Tabard Square, situated on either side of the Borough Channel, both demonstrated that there was no sign of alluvial deposition above 0.90m OD (Douglas forthcoming; D Killock pers comm). Excavations at 213 Borough High Street showed the uppermost channel fill at 0.80–1.05m OD (Graham & Hinton 1988, 22).

A deep, north–south aligned revetted channel was discovered at 93–95 Borough High Street. The bottom of the channel was not found but lay below -1m OD. The top of the revetment was decayed and survived to +0.60m OD. The channel was revetted in the late 1st century and sandy fills, presumably deposited by fast moving water, continued to be deposited at least into the Hadrianic period. Later organic fills show that the channel was probably becoming clogged by

vegetation and had silted up to a level of 0.60m by c.AD 150. The uppermost waterlain fill reached 0.70m OD (Sheldon 1978b, 423–30).

The revetted western bank of the same channel may have been found further south at 175–177 Borough High Street where it formed the last in a sequence of three channels. The fills of the earliest unrevetted channel, dated to AD 50–75, were deposited below +0.80m OD (Schaaf 1976, 4). A revetment was then constructed. Alluvial fills of the channel were deposited below +0.40m OD in the late 1st century before it was deliberately filled and levelled, the new ground surface being formed at c.1m OD. Finally a revetment was established on a new alignment similar to that found at 93–95 Borough High Street. The waterlain fills did not exceed 0.50m OD and dated to AD 100–150 (Schaaf 1976, 4–5).

These sequences of events have more than a passing relevance to 51–53 Southwark Street. Those at both 64–70 and 201–11 Borough High Street show a primary intervention in the mid-1st century followed by later 1st-century consolidation. The level of the upper fills of the channels is also of note: mid-1st-century alluvial deposition occurred below 1.05m OD at 213 Borough High Street and possibly at 15–23 Southwark Street (Cowan 1992, 10), mid to late 1st-century alluvial deposition took place below 0.80m OD at 64–70 and 175–177 Borough High Street and 0.75m OD at 51–53 Southwark Street. Early to mid-2nd-century alluvial deposition reached 0.70m and 0.50m OD at 93–95 and at 175–177 Borough High Street respectively. If this evidence can be taken as indicative of the normal late 1st-century Mean High Water level within the channels as a whole, the exploitation of large areas of previously inaccessible ground becomes a possibility. Even if it is not accepted that the highest alluvial deposits within the channels represent the Mean High Water level, the evidence available indicates that the river level and therefore the level of alluvial deposition was falling from the mid-1st to the mid-2nd century.

Far to the east of Southwark Street, excavations at Guy's Hospital in 1989 revealed an extensive waterfront structure along the western bank of the 'Guy's Channel'. A post and plank revetment had been erected in the late 1st or early 2nd century. The original structure was repaired c.AD 160 and possibly reinforced c.AD 240 (Heard *et al* 1990, 616). This site lay 130m

north of that where the remains of a late 2nd-century vessel were discovered in 1958 (Marsden 1965a). A further section of the Guy's Channel embankment, to the south-west of the 1989 site, was excavated in 1998. This produced further evidence of post and plank revetments and associated bankside timber structures (Taylor-Wilson 2002). A collapsed timber jetty and revetment associated with the same channel is known from 179 Borough High Street (Heard *et al* 1990, 616).

The feasibility of adopting Southwark's watercourses for trade has in the past been called into question. It has been stated that 'Apart perhaps from the northern edge of Southwark's island ... the inter-tidal marshland on the southern shore was unsuitable for unloading of goods' (Milne *et al* 1983, 28). However, an increasing body of evidence is coming to light showing that the larger channels between the islands were being exploited for the importation of goods in the late 1st and early 2nd centuries. Although the mass of this evidence comes from the eastern part of the settlement, there seems no reason why the Southwark Street Channel could not have been used in the same way further to the west; the two were after all connected. It is thought that the channel was eventually backfilled where it met Road 1, although it has yet to be shown exactly how and when this took place (Graham & Hinton 1988). The precise area where the road crossed the deepest point of the channel has yet to be excavated but it was probably originally spanned by a bridge and an open channel is thought to have survived into the 2nd century (J Drummond Murray pers comm.).

The exploitation of Southwark's waterways for trade in the late 1st and 2nd centuries seems entirely logical when viewed against the known archaeological background. Land reclamation projects, possibly in conjunction with the onset of falling water levels within the inner Thames estuary, allowed access to and exploitation of hitherto marginal areas within Southwark. It is also assumed that Roman London was expanding and booming in the late 1st and early 2nd centuries when its status was upgraded to that of a provincial capital (Milne 1995, 48–70). There can be no doubt that a large market existed for imported goods within both the city itself and its increasingly Romanised hinterland (Merrifield 1983, 135–40). The southerly extension of the mid-2nd-century quay at Swan

Lane demonstrated that the effects of receding water levels had already begun to be felt. It is therefore possible that the harbour on the north bank was suffering from decreasing functionality at a time when the volume of goods was reaching a peak. Therefore the circumstances seem to have favoured the establishment or extension of port facilities and the expansion of waterborne trade on the south bank.

If it is accepted that the overall economic situation favoured developments such as that proposed for 51–53 Southwark Street, the practicalities of handling cargo must be examined. The results of excavations at Guy's Hospital clearly demonstrate that post and plank revetments were being used for unloading vessels from the banks of Southwark's navigable channels in the late 1st and 2nd centuries. Massive infilled quays similar to those excavated in the City, for example those found at Miles Lane and Pudding Lane (Brigham 1990, 152–3, fig 15), were not required along the channel banks and were costly to construct. As the 2nd century progressed and the waters receded, the early quays may also have been becoming isolated from the river. Although lighter structures could not be expected to have the longevity of the massive quays, 'the adoption of post-and-plank revetments throughout the second century, with one or two exceptions, can be seen as a means of maintaining a working port facility at a time when investment in more extensive types of structure was considered imprudent due to their short life expectancy' (Brigham 1990, 147). The landing facilities established in Southwark may not be comparable with the massive quays on the north bank but this may also reflect the expansion of smaller private ventures as opposed to larger planned civic projects.

The vessels most suitable for unloading at small low quaysides should have been readily available. These would have been lighters which served larger sea-going ships which presumably moored in the river (Milne 1985). The wreck discovered at New Guys House, a flat-bottomed boat around 16m long and 4m wide (Marsden 1965a, 118–31), would seem ideal for use in these conditions. Other examples of flat-bottomed river-going vessels are also known from the North-West of the Empire, notably from Zwammerdam in Holland (Weerd 1978, 15–21). Larger sea-going craft have also been found in London at County Hall (Marsden 1965b, 109–17) and Blackfriars (Marsden 1967).

The interpretation of the 51–53 Southwark Street site as a commercial waterfront is based both on the nature of the sequence excavated and the analysis of the pottery. The latter suggested that a typical waterfront assemblage had been found, comparable to those of City sites such as Pudding Lane (PDN81) and Fish Street Hill/Monument Street (FMO85). Amphorae made up around 25% of the pottery recovered, a wide range of types being represented, and flagons a further 13%. This combination, along with the elevated sherd sizes, led to the conclusion that amphorae were probably being unloaded and decanted on site (Precious 1997). This would mark the first phase of redistribution within Britain.

South Gaulish amphorae carrying wine from the Rhône valley and Provence were the most common type. Southern Spanish olive oil vessels were almost as numerous, and fish sauce and grape syrup were imported from the same area. Amphorae were also imported carrying wine from Campania, fish sauce, wine or fruit from Catalonia, figs and wine from Crete, Rhodes and the Aegean and fermented fish sauce from Cadiz. Small quantities of later Roman North African olive oil amphorae were also present. Continental imports that were not used for transporting goods comprised samian vessels from South, Central and Eastern Gaul, beakers from the Cologne and Moselle regions, and flagons from Northern France. There is also a colour-coated, slip-moulded cup produced in South Gaul. A mere 13 examples of these vessels are known from Roman Britain, including the one from Southwark Street (Precious 1997).

The bulk of the pottery recovered dates from the period AD 120–160 and the heyday of the commercial waterfront probably corresponded with this. A sudden decline in trading can be inferred from the quantities of Dressel 20 amphorae recovered. These were used almost exclusively for carrying South Spanish olive oil, which maintained a predominance in the British market until around the middle of the 3rd century when it was superseded by North African production (Williams & Carreras 1995, 232–5). Only 4 sherds from a total of 108 are of the later type which post-dates AD 170 (Precious 1997). This may be explained by a massive reduction in direct importation.

The Southwark Street site was not abandoned in the late 2nd century, but the timber buildings that were established may have been a small

domestic complex rather than a trading post. Whatever form this occupation took, it was probably very short lived as 3rd-century pottery was relatively uncommon and the majority of it was found within later dumps. The late 2nd-century decline in trading and a contraction of the settled area is a phenomenon widely recognised throughout the Roman city. This has long been demonstrated in Southwark, where clay and timber buildings established alongside the road were falling into disrepair in the period AD 160–170 (Sheldon 1975, 278–84). Apart from the evidence of a decline in imported pottery, the native British industries which supplied London, such as those at Brockley Hill and Highgate, also went into decline and ceased production in the late 2nd century, perhaps as the result of a failing market (Merrifield 1983, 144). A marked decline in the population of the city following AD 150 has been demonstrated by statistical analysis of the quantities of domestic rubbish, food debris, and available water supply (Marsden & West 1992, 138). Southwark Street conforms to the patterns outlined above and the site was abandoned in the early 3rd century and thereafter only used for dumping rubbish.

The results of this small excavation have hopefully cast new light on many aspects of Roman Southwark. The area covered lies outside that which had previously been shown to support Roman settlement. The utilisation of the area for trade is also of great interest and although the excavation is far from alone among recent archaeological investigations in demonstrating the extent to which Southwark acted as port, it is unique in that it lies on the western side of what is known further to the east as the Guy's Channel. The level at which ground surfaces were established also contributes to our attempts to establish a precise record of the development of the river regime in the early Roman period.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks go to Lopex Engineering for generously sponsoring the excavation and publication. The extent of the post-excavation analysis exceeded the original budget and I am grateful to Pre-Construct Archaeology for covering the shortfall. Personal thanks go to John Dillon, who was Southwark Council's Senior Archaeological Officer when the excavation took place, for his support and encouragement; Frank Meddins, who managed the post-excavation project and supported my efforts throughout; Gary Brown, project manager for Pre-Construct Archaeology;

Damian Goodburn for his comments; the staff of PCA who worked on the illustrations; B Precious, R Bendry, N Crummy, R Weinstein, H Keeley, N G Cameron, S Dobinson, N Nayling, F Meddins, K Sabel and P Sheehan for their respective specialist reports and Malcolm Lyne for further information on the amphorae. The author also wishes to thank James Drummond Murray, of MoLAS, for discussing the results of the excavation and making available unpublished material relevant to this paper. Jane Sidell also assisted in editing the text, the author wishes to thank her for reading the paper and pointing out the repetition of some old misinterpretations and providing current information concerning tidal levels in the Thames.

Finally thanks must be offered to the excavation team, without whom none of this would have been possible. Waterfront archaeology can be an extremely unpleasant business, especially when conducted on an uncovered site in the winter months, and Southwark Street was no exception. The team was composed, at diverse times, of six people from: Phil Frickers, Jon Butler, Mark Randerson, David Divers, David Dobson, Adrian Gollop, the late Keith Cooper, Gavin Glover, Robin Taylor-Wilson, and John Lowe. Cate Davies also assisted and produced some excellent section drawings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANONYMOUS, *Preliminary Report on Excavations at 3 Redcross Way, SE 1* unpub report for Department of Greater London Archaeology, Southwark and Lambeth
- BATEMAN & MILNE (1983), N Bateman & G Milne 'A Roman harbour in London; excavations and observations near Pudding Lane, City of London 1979–82' *Britannia* 14, 207–26
- BENDREY (1998), R Bendrey *The Animal Bone from 51–53 Southwark Street, London Borough of Southwark* unpub report for PCA
- BIRD *et al* (1978), J Bird, A H Graham, H Sheldon & P Townsend *Southwark Excavations 1972–74* London Middlesex Archaeol Soc & Surrey Archaeol Soc Joint Publication 1
- BRIGHAM (1990), T Brigham 'The late Roman waterfront in London' *Britannia* 21, 99–183
- CAMERON & DOBINSON (1997), N G Cameron & S Dobinson *Diatom Assessment of Sediments from 51–53 Southwark Street, London* unpub report for PCA
- COWAN (1992), C Cowan 'A possible mansio in Roman Southwark: excavations at 15–23 Southwark Street' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 43, 3–191
- CRUMMY & WEINSTEIN (1998), N Crummy with R Weinstein *FSS 96: 51–53 Southwark Street: The Small Finds* unpub report for PCA
- DEVOY (1979), R Devoy 'Flandrian sea level changes and vegetational history of the Lower Thames Estuary' *Phil Trans R Soc Lond B* 285, 355–407
- DEVOY (1980), R Devoy 'Post-glacial environmental change and man in the Thames estuary: a synopsis' in Thompson 1980, 134–48
- DILLON (1988), J Dillon 'Excavations at Courage's, Park Street, Southwark' *Rescue News* 46, 3
- DILLON (1989), J Dillon 'A Roman timber building from Southwark' *Britannia* 20, 229–31
- DILLON *et al* (1991), J Dillon, S Jackson & H Jones 'Excavations at the Courage Brewery Site and Park Street 1984–1990' *London Archaeol* 6, 255–62
- DOUGLAS forthcoming, A Douglas 'An excavation at 5–27 Long Lane, Southwark, London SE1' *Trans London Middlesex Arch Soc*
- FERRETTI & GRAHAM (1978), E Ferretti & A H Graham '201–211 Borough High Street' in Bird *et al* 1978, 53–81
- GRAHAM (1978), A H Graham 'The geology of north Southwark and its topographical development in the post-Pleistocene period' in Bird *et al* 1978, 501–16
- GRAHAM (1988), A H Graham '64–70 Borough High Street' in Hinton 1988, 55–66
- GRAHAM & HINTON (1988), A H Graham & P Hinton 'The Roman roads in Southwark' in Hinton 1988, 19–26
- GREW & HOBLEY (1985), F Grew & B Hobley (eds) *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire* CBA Res Rep 59
- HAMMERSON (1978), M Hammerson 'The coins' in Bird *et al* 1978, 588–93
- HEARD (1989a), K Heard *Preliminary Report on Excavations at 52–54 Southwark Street, Southwark, SE 1* unpub report, DGLA, Southwark and Lambeth
- HEARD (1989b), K Heard 'Excavations at 10–18 Union Street, Southwark' *London Archaeol* 6, 126–31
- HEARD *et al* (1990), K Heard, H Sheldon & P Thompson 'Mapping Roman Southwark' *Antiquity* 64, 608–19
- HINTON (1988), P Hinton (ed) *Excavations in Southwark 1973–76 and Lambeth 1973–79* London & Middlesex Arch Soc & Surrey Arch Soc Joint Publication 3
- KEELEY (1997), H C M Keeley *A Report on Sediments at 51–53 Southwark Street, London Borough of Southwark (FSS 96)* unpub report for PCA
- MARSDEN (1965a), P Marsden 'A boat of the Roman period discovered on the site of New Guy's House, Bermondsey 1958' *Trans London Middlesex Arch Soc* 21, 118–31
- MARSDEN (1965b), P Marsden 'The County Hall ship' *Trans London Middlesex Arch Soc* 21, 109–17
- MARSDEN (1967), P Marsden *A Ship of the Roman Period from Blackfriars, in the City of London* Guildhall Museum monograph
- MARSDEN (1980), P Marsden *Roman London*
- MARSDEN (1981), P Marsden 'Early shipping and the waterfronts of London' in Milne & Hobley 1981, 10–16

- MARSDEN (1985), P Marsden 'London in the 3rd and 4th centuries' in Grew & Hobley 1978, 99–108
- MARSDEN & WEST (1992), P Marsden & B West 'Population change in Roman London' *Britannia* 23, 133–40
- MARSH (1978), G Marsh '8 Union Street' in Bird *et al* 1978, 221–36
- MERRIFIELD (1983), R Merrifield *London City of the Romans*
- MILNE *et al* (1983), G Milne, R W Battarbee, V Stalker & B Yule 'The river Thames in London in the mid 1st century AD' *Trans London Middlesex Arch Soc* 34, 19–30
- MILNE (1985), G Milne *The Port of Roman London*
- MILNE (1995), G Milne *Roman London*
- MILNE & HOBLEY (1981), G Milne & B Hobley (eds) *Waterfront Archaeology in Britain and Northern Europe* CBA Res Rep 41
- NAYLING (1998), N Nayling *Dendrochronological Spot Dates for 51–53 Southwark Street (FSS 96)* unpub report for PCA
- PLAT TAYLOR & CLEERE (1978), J du Plat Taylor & H Cleere (eds) *Roman Shipping and Trade: Britain and the Rhine Provinces* CBA Res Rep 24
- PRECIOUS (1997), B Precious *An Assessment of the Roman Pottery from 51–53 Southwark Street (FSS 96)* unpub report for PCA
- RHODES (1991), M Rhodes 'The Roman coinage from London Bridge and the development of the City and Southwark' *Britannia* 22, 179–90
- SABEL (1997), K Sabel *Assessment of the Building Materials at 51–53 Southwark Street (FSS 96)* unpub report for PCA
- SCAIFE (1997), R G Scaife *Pollen Analysis of Sediments from 51–53 Southwark Street London* unpub report for PCA
- SCHAAF (1976), L Schaaf 'Excavations at 175–177 Borough High Street, Southwark' *London Archaeol* 3, 3–7
- SHEEHAN (1997), P Sheehan *FSS 96–Southwark St. Mosaics* unpub report for PCA
- SHELDON (1975), H Sheldon 'A decline in the London settlement AD 150–250?' *London Archaeol* 2, 278–84
- SHELDON (1978a), H Sheldon 'The 1972–74 excavations: their contribution to Southwark's history' in Bird *et al* (1978), 11–49
- SHELDON (1978b), H Sheldon '93–95 Borough High Street' in Bird *et al* (1978), 423–30
- SHELDON & SCHAAF (1978), H Sheldon & L Schaaf 'A survey of Roman sites in Greater London' in *Collectanea Londiniensia* London Middlesex Arch Soc Special Paper 2, 59–88
- TAYLOR WILSON (2002), R Taylor-Wilson *Excavations at Hunt's House, Guy's Hospital, London Borough of Southwark*
- THOMPSON (1980), F H Thompson (ed) *Archaeology and Coastal Change* Soc Antiq Occ Paper 1
- WEERD (1978), M D De Weerd 'Ships of the Roman period at Zwammerdam/Nigrum Pullum, Germania Inferior' in Plat Taylor & Cleere (1978), 15–21
- WILLIAMS & CARRERAS (1995), D Williams & C Carreras 'North African amphorae in Roman Britain: a re-appraisal' *Britannia* 26, 231–51
- WOODGER (1994), A. Woodger *O'Meara St., Southwark SE1, London Borough of Southwark Jubilee Line Extension Project* unpub MoLAS document
- YULE (1988), B Yule 'Natural topography of north Southwark' in Hinton (ed) 1988, 13–17
- YULE (1989), B Yule 'Excavations at Winchester Palace, Southwark' *London Archaeol* 6, 31–9
- YULE (1990), B Yule 'The "dark earth" and late Roman London' *Antiquity* 64, 620–8

EXCAVATIONS OF A SAXON AND EARLY MEDIEVAL OCCUPATION SITE AT SAXON COUNTY SCHOOL, SHEPPERTON IN 1986

Rob Poulton

SUMMARY

Excavations took place at the Saxon County School between 14 July and 26 September 1986 in advance of building works. Earlier work on the site by Roy Canham had revealed a cemetery and an associated settlement site occupied between the 6th and 12th centuries AD.

Some artefactual evidence for prehistoric activity on the site was found, with a scatter of worked flints, including a Mesolithic tranchet axe, and sufficient prehistoric pottery to suggest occupation in the near vicinity, perhaps of Iron Age date. It is, however, suggested that an earlier identification of an Iron Age hut was mistaken. Enough Roman pottery and tile was also recovered to indicate that a Roman site may lie nearby. No features of these dates were found.

The precise character of earlier Saxon occupation remains elusive, but a notable discovery was a substantial midden deposit of early Saxon date, which had probably been dumped in a natural hollow. Finds from this included plentiful animal bone and pottery (including stamped and decorated sherds of various types), as well as a number of bone artefacts, including two combs. The main period of occupation was represented by a number of ditches running parallel to those found by Canham; this confirmed his suggestion that the site had been regularly laid out and indicated that this had occurred in the later Saxon period. The site appears to have gone out of use in the 13th century, though a scatter of medieval pottery may be sufficient to suggest that occupation continued in the immediate vicinity, presumably at Shepperton Green, which is known to have existed by 1293.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Excavations took place at the Saxon County School between 14 July and 26 September 1986. The work was directed by the author for the Conservation and Archaeology Section, Planning Department, Surrey County Council and funded by the Education Department. Although some progress was made towards preparation of a report soon afterwards, its eventual completion has been assisted by a grant from the Countryside and Heritage Section, Surrey County Council.

A number of people helped with the work on site, but particular thanks are due to Graham Hayman and Giles Pattison. Thanks are also due to those who have contributed to the final report. Funding was not sufficient to do all that might ideally have been desired, especially in terms of the finds reports, but it has been felt preferable to present the results of the work in the present form rather than delay still further with no obvious prospect of further resources becoming available.

Jon Cotton would like to thank Mark Alexander of the Kingston Heritage Centre for making the flintwork from the earlier excavations available for study.

INTRODUCTION

Saxon County School lies in the parish of Shepperton (Fig 1), in the district of Spelthorne, part of the modern county of Surrey, but formerly one of the hundreds of Middlesex. The

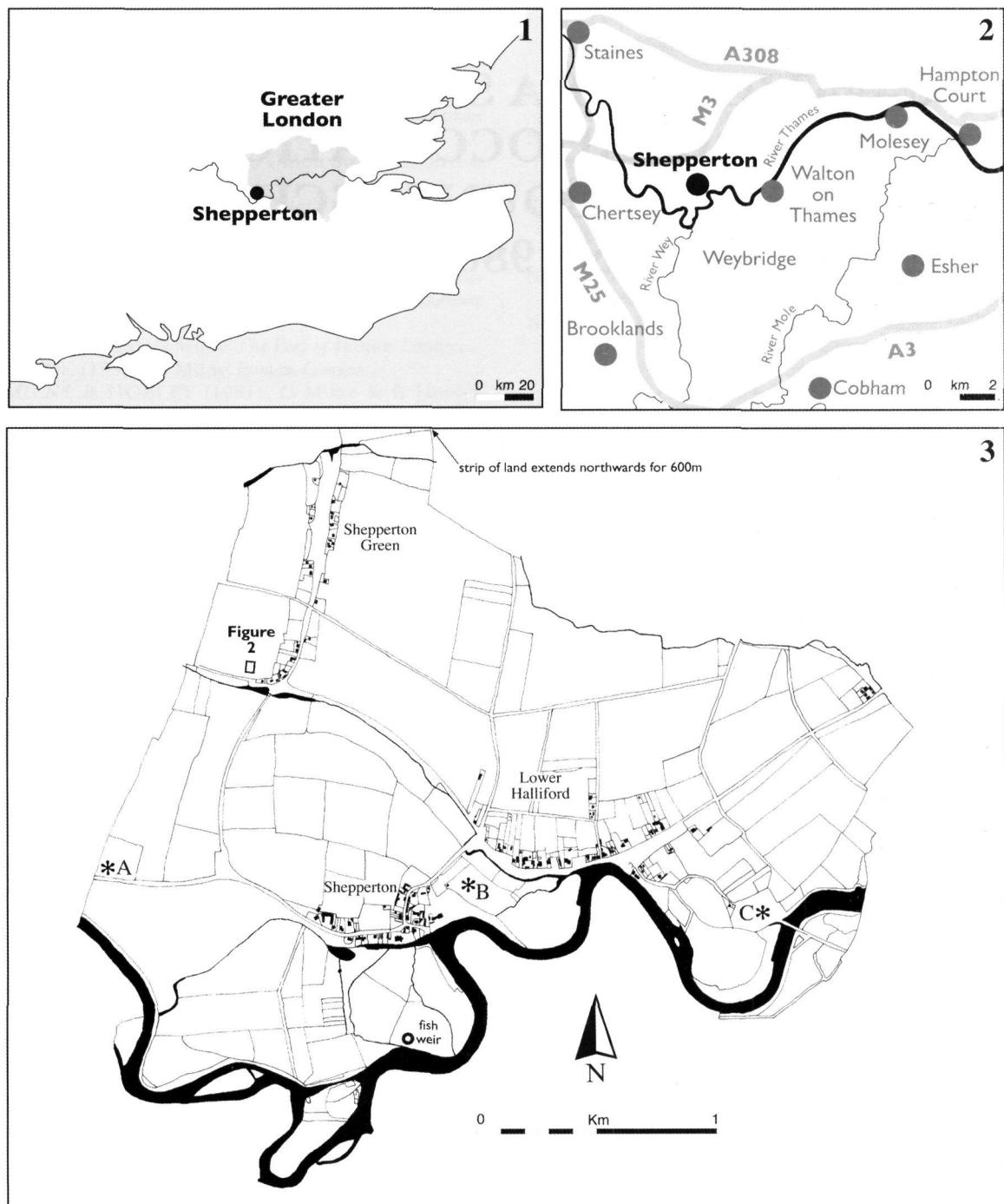


Fig 1. Saxon County School, Shepperton: location of the site. Part 3 of the plan shows the area as it was in 1843, based on the Tithe map. A, B, and C are the (presumed or actual) early Saxon cemeteries at Upper West Field, War Close, and Walton Bridge Green. The fish weir is of late Roman or early Saxon date (Bird 1999)

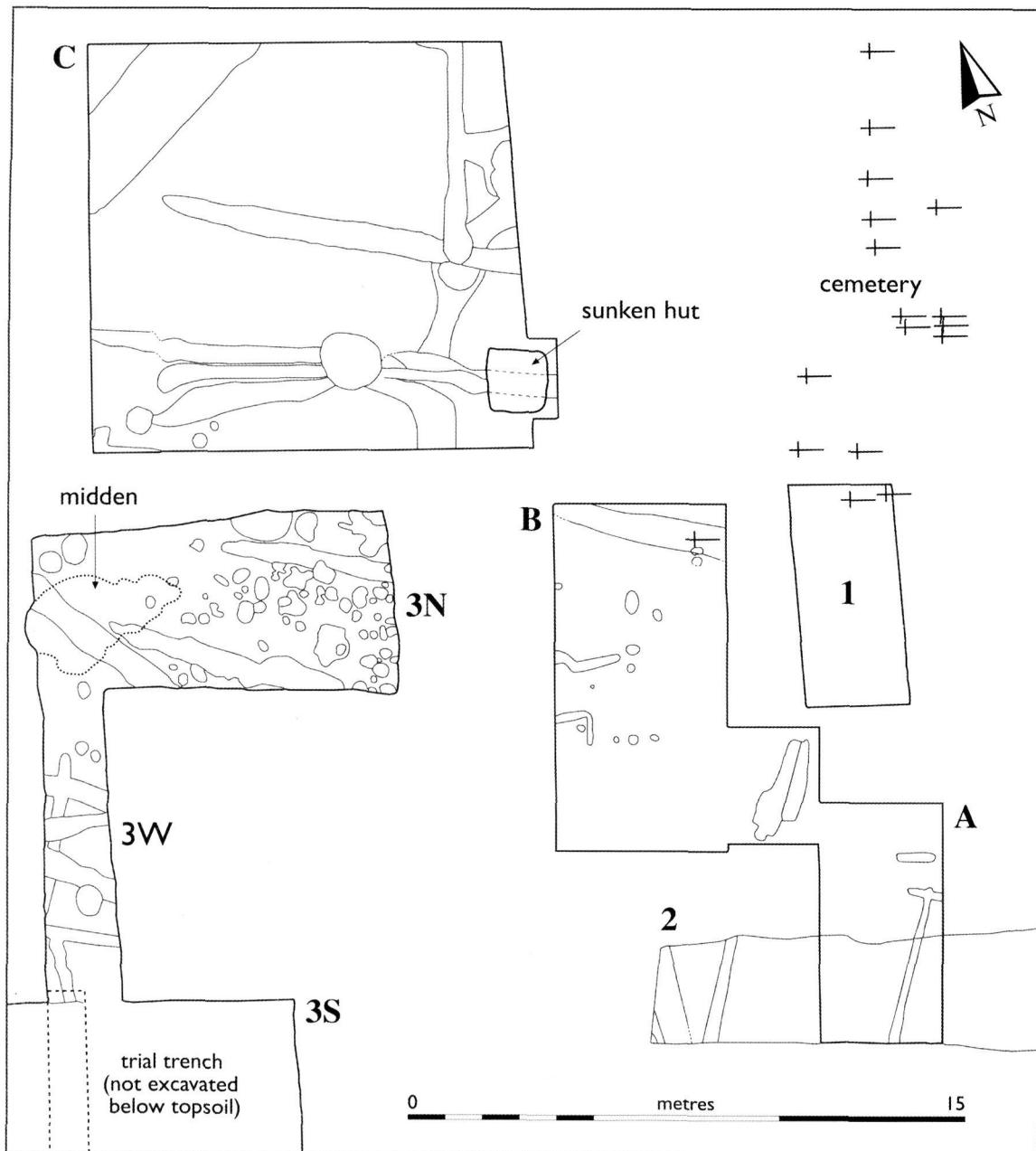


Fig 2. Saxon County School, Shepperton: location of all archaeological work. A, B, and C are trenches excavated in 1967 and 1973 (Canham 1979), while 1, 2 (the east end of which is omitted, see Fig 3), and 3 are the 1986 investigations. All of the certain or probable 6th- to 12th-century features are shown

excavation took place largely because previous work in 1967 and 1973 (Canham 1979) had revealed the existence of a cemetery and what was probably an associated settlement site,

occupied between the 6th and 12th centuries AD. The present trenches were in the same general area (Fig 2) as those of Canham, and it is not surprising that they revealed a similar

range of occupation evidence, although no further burials were identified. The site lies on the Upper Floodplain terrace of the River Thames, and showed the common sequence in this area of brickearth, of variable depth, sealing gravels, which have been extensively quarried in the vicinity. Over much of Trench 3N (Fig 4) the brickearth was calcareous, a feature also observed on other sites in the vicinity, as for example in the excavation of the Neolithic henge at Staines Road Farm, Shepperton (Jones 1990). Inconsistencies and oddities in these natural deposits were identified at a number of points, and are, perhaps, due to periglacial conditions, as previously suggested by Canham (1979, 101).

The following pages present the results of the excavation work, including reports on the finds. This is followed by a more general discussion, which relates the present work to the earlier work by Canham, and sets it in context. It has seemed more natural to present the relevant archaeological background with the discussion, rather than in the more conventional position at the beginning of the report.

THE EXCAVATION

Introduction

Three trenches (Fig 2), whose location was determined by the areas of the proposed building and landscaping works, were opened up. Trench 1 was within the tarmac dammed area of the school playground. After machine removal of the tarmac, and other recent deposits below, it was clear that construction work associated with the building of the school in 1967 had removed any archaeological features that may have originally been present, leaving only clean brickearth at a level well below its upper surviving level elsewhere. Trench 2 was similarly located but the modern disturbance was shallower, and, after its machine removal, a number of 'features' were exposed, cut through brickearth, but with gravel also exposed at the same level (Fig 3). Trench 3 was sited within the grass play area and construction of the school had not damaged it to any significant degree. Although Trench 3 was excavated as a single unit, it falls naturally into three parts. The northern (3N) and western (3W) parts had their turf and topsoil removed by machine down to a point at which the vague outlines of features could be seen

against the brickearth. The area had evidently been ploughed at some date and artefacts of all dates were present in the topsoil. Some of the medieval and earlier pottery was later recovered from the spoilheap. The area was then carefully trowelled in successive spits, with the position of all potsherds and other finds marked on a plan, until the outlines of the numerous cut features could be clearly discerned. It was evident from this that the bottom few centimetres of topsoil contained only pottery dating from earlier than c.AD 1250. It seems reasonable, therefore, to treat all features sealed below this as belonging to occupation before that date. The southern portion (3S) of Trench 3 differed from the rest in that machine removal of turf and thin dark soil cover revealed predominantly gravel deposits which were at first believed to be of geological origin. Subsequent work demonstrated that they were the result of recent infilling and levelling (possibly when the school was established in 1967) and were relatively deep (0.5m+). A trial trench on the north-west side of 3S (Fig 2) showed that the natural deposits had been dug out to a considerable depth (context 266), at a date subsequent to the infilling of the early medieval feature 298 (Fig 5). It is presumed that the feature extended over the whole of 3S, and it is suggested that it was a gravel quarry. It is not clear at what date it was open as the lower fill layers in the trial trench did not yield any finds. No quarry is marked on earlier Ordnance Survey maps, or on the Tithe Map of 1843 (Fig 1), or on John Rocque's map of Middlesex of 1748. Since time was limited and the proposed landscaping would have little effect below the level of recent disturbance it was decided to discontinue excavation of Trench 3S.

The excavated contexts of Saxon and medieval date are described below. They have been divided into three main groups: (1) linear features; (2) pits and postholes; and (3) midden deposits. The descriptions are preceded by comment on features believed to be of geological origin, and a note on how the features were dated.

None of the other features that were recorded require detailed comment. They include a layer (termed subsoil layer) immediately overlying the ancient features. This graded into the overlying topsoil, but seems to have been largely free of any post-13th-century material (Tables 3-4). A few contexts of modern date were noted, but no features of Roman or earlier date were identified with certainty.

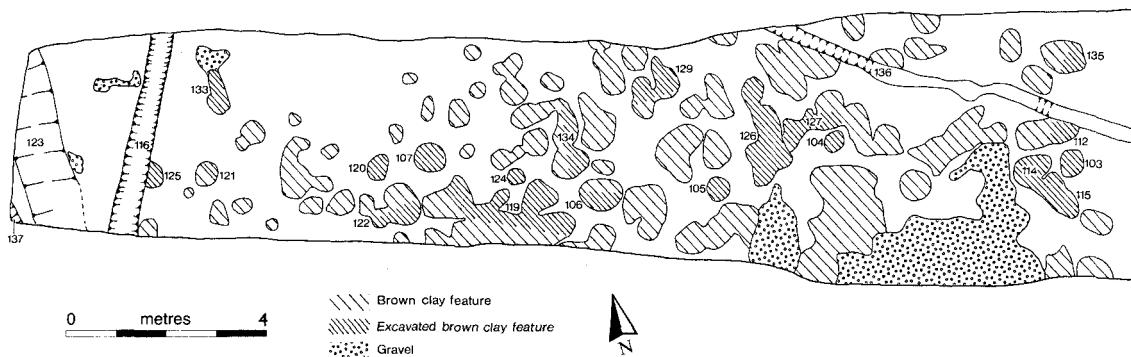


Fig 3. Saxon County School, Shepperton: plan of Trench 2

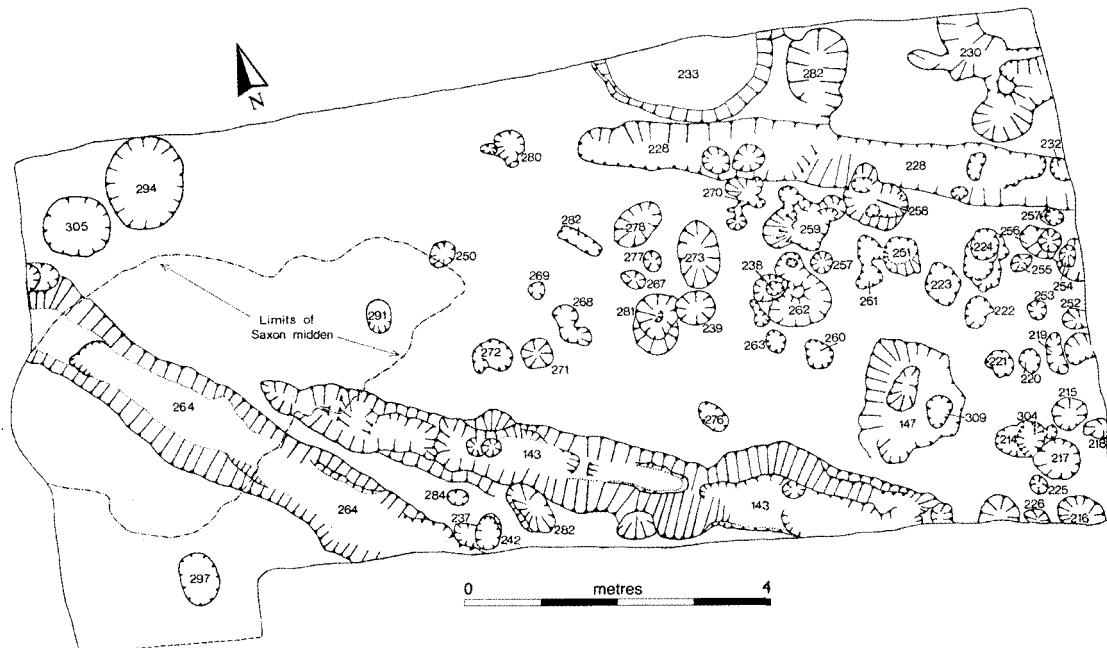


Fig 4. Saxon County School, Shepperton: plan of Trench 3N

Contexts of probable natural origin

A series of features, in plan resembling small pits or postholes, was observed everywhere on site except in Trench 1 (where they may already have been removed in building the school) and Trench 3S (also probably disturbed to too great a depth). Only in Trench 2, however, were they systematically exposed and a proportion of them excavated (Fig 3; note that these features of natural origin are not shown on the plans of other trenches (Figs 4–5)). Here, and elsewhere, such features were found to be cut by traces of Saxon or other occupation wherever the latter was identified. In Trenches 3N and 3W a number of them were clearly sealed by a thin layer of reddish brown sand (through which Saxon and other features were cut), which itself was very irregular and contorted in relation to the brickearth, and was, perhaps, as Canham (1979, 101) noted, the product of periglacial conditions (neither the layer or these features are shown on the published plans (Figs 4–5)). The fill of these features was everywhere identical, consisting of an orangey-buff clay, distinguishable only in colour from the surrounding brickearth. None had any finds within them, if one excepts very rare fragments ($c.4\text{mm}$ in diameter) of soft red clay, resembling lightly fired daub. The range of size and shape is indicated on Fig 3. It was often difficult to define a satisfactory base to these features as they merged with the surrounding brickearth, but depths were generally of the order of 5–15cm.

The absence of finds, the irregularity of shape, and the difficulty of defining satisfactory limits (on occasions) to the features, combine to suggest that they were not a direct product of human intervention. They do not seem to conform to the better known periglacial effects, but it is nevertheless suggested that such is the most likely cause of these features.

Dating the features

The dating of features on sites where there is evidence for several periods of occupation, or continuous occupation over a long period, is often difficult, and the present site is no exception. The dates are generally based on the pottery recovered (Tables 1–4), but are occasionally influenced by other finds or by indications in the context sheets that obviously modern material had been discarded on site.

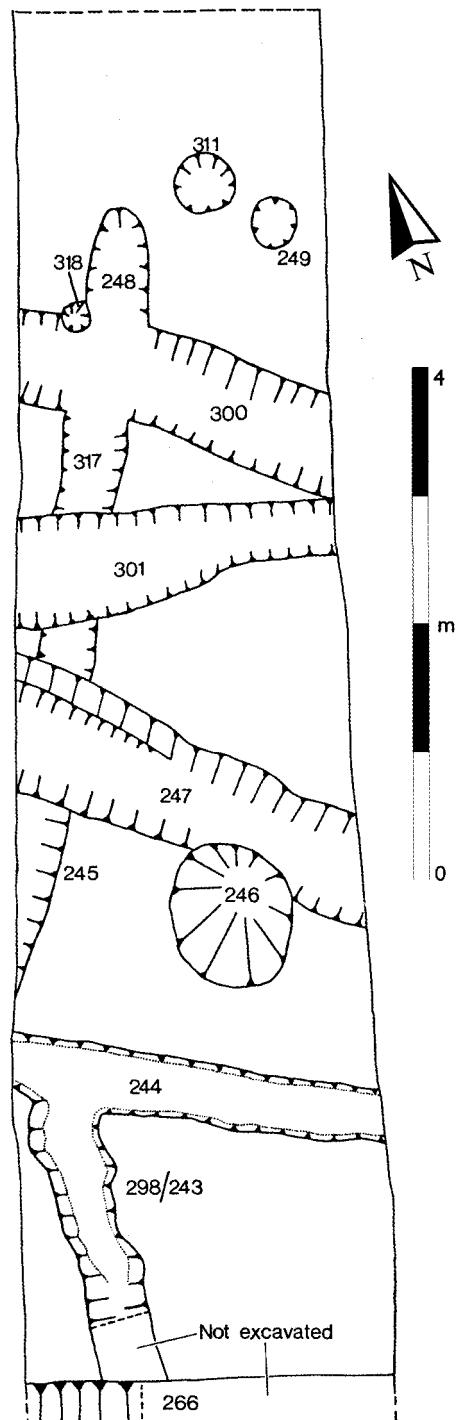


Fig 5. *Saxon County School, Shepperton: plan of Trench 3W*

Where quantities are small, there is always a high degree of uncertainty. Many features produced no datable finds. Those features that were only identified below the subsoil layer have been regarded as of earlier medieval or earlier date (see the comment on the subsoil layers above).

The linear features

A number of linear features were identified. They seem to have been cut at several periods, although where the quantity of finds is small it is difficult to be certain of the date. This applies to most of the features with the exception of 143 (Trench 3N), where it is reasonably certain that its final infilling occurred in the late Saxon period. Many of the other ditches share the general alignment of the ditches excavated by Canham (1979; Fig 2). There can be no doubt that these form a coherent system, which is further discussed below. It seems probable that those ditches/gullies which do not have this broad alignment are of earlier or later date, and the evidence for an early medieval or high medieval date for 247 (Fig 5), 264 (Fig 4), and 301 (Fig 5) hints at developments either towards the end of the main period of settlement, or, less probably, at some time after, since it is just possible that the 13th-century or earlier finds from them could be entirely residual. The difficulty in dating these features with confidence is well shown by ditch 264 (Fig 4). This yielded a total of 70 potsherds (Table 3), of which around 60% are of Saxon date. The 14 sherds (20%) that are of early medieval date may be a better indication of its date, but only if it is assumed that the three high medieval sherds are intrusive. It is at least as probable that the latter are the indicators of the date of the feature, cut at a period when settlement had shifted away from the present site (see p 73).

There is very little to comment on with regard to the individual features. The linear feature in Area A (Fig 2) was identified by Canham (1979, 104) as a probable beam slot, forming part of an early medieval rectilinear building. This was not detected during the excavation of Trench 2, presumably because it had been removed in work associated with the creation of the school playground. Feature 116 (Fig 3) was identified, however, and runs exactly parallel to Canham's beam slot, and is of similar width. Despite this, its rounded profile and greater depth seem to make it unlikely that it is the western beam slot

of the same building. Another possibility is that it is an eaves-drip trench outside a now vanished beam trench. This would give a width of about 6m for the suggested building. The few sherds from contexts 116 and 117 (which belong to the same feature) are of Saxon and late Saxon date, but could be residual in a later feature.

Pits and postholes

The quantity of finds from almost all of these features was small, and hence they cannot be dated any more precisely than early medieval or earlier. It is possible that one or two are of later date, but, despite the fact that two produced only odd sherds of prehistoric pottery and one only a sherd of Roman pottery, it is not believed that any predate the earlier Saxon period.

These features are concentrated in the eastern part of Trench 3N (Figs 4 and 6). The great majority are bounded by ditch 264 and by a line drawn from it through features 291, 250, and 280 to the edge of the trench. These features might represent posts in a genuine fence line, but it is difficult to be certain, given that 280 had been disturbed by animal burrowing, and might have been created by that activity. The features in 3N, beyond these limits, were all very shallow, as were the few such features in 3W. No pits or postholes were identified in Trench 2. This may have been due to modern truncation, but Canham (1979, 109) noted the general reduction in activity in this area, and the possibility that occupation only extended to it in the early medieval period.

It is possible, then, to suggest that the concentration of small features reflects an activity area, within one of the plots that the gullies/ditches seem to mark out (see below). The putative fence line passes through the eastern terminal of 143, and that feature might have been the original southern boundary, which would support a late Saxon or earlier date for this activity.

The nature of the activity is obscure. Many of the features are relatively shallow (10–15cm deep); their shape is quite variable, tending to round or oval, with a high proportion of the right general size for postholes, but with an almost complete lack of examples with clearly diagnostic features (such as packing or distinctive fills where the socket formerly existed). There are no obvious patterns in the features that would suggest the plans of structures, nor does the artefactual evidence provide any clues.



Fig 6. Saxon County School, Shepperton, Surrey: view of Saxon features in Trench 3N, looking west with midden at far end (see Fig 4)

The features outside this area are generally larger. Most are quite shallow, to the extent that the less regular examples, such as 230 (Fig 4), might not be deliberately dug. Only 286 (filled by 233, 285, 287, and 289) (Fig 4) is distinctive enough to require further comment. It was about 2.5m in diameter and 0.6m deep, with near-vertical or steeply sloping sides and a flat bottom directly on the natural gravel. Dirty, gravelly, clays formed the primary silting, which had a level upper surface. The main fill was a homogeneous silty soil, which included nothing of later than early Saxon date. The feature could

have functioned as a soakaway, kept clean while in use, which would explain the thin, level, primary silting. This is a suggestion previously made by Canham for features in his Area C, just to the north.

The midden

At the west end of 3N an irregular area of greenish-grey silt (292) eventually proved to be the final fill of an amorphous feature. The edges of this feature, which had a maximum depth of 0.6m, proved very hard to define satisfactorily,

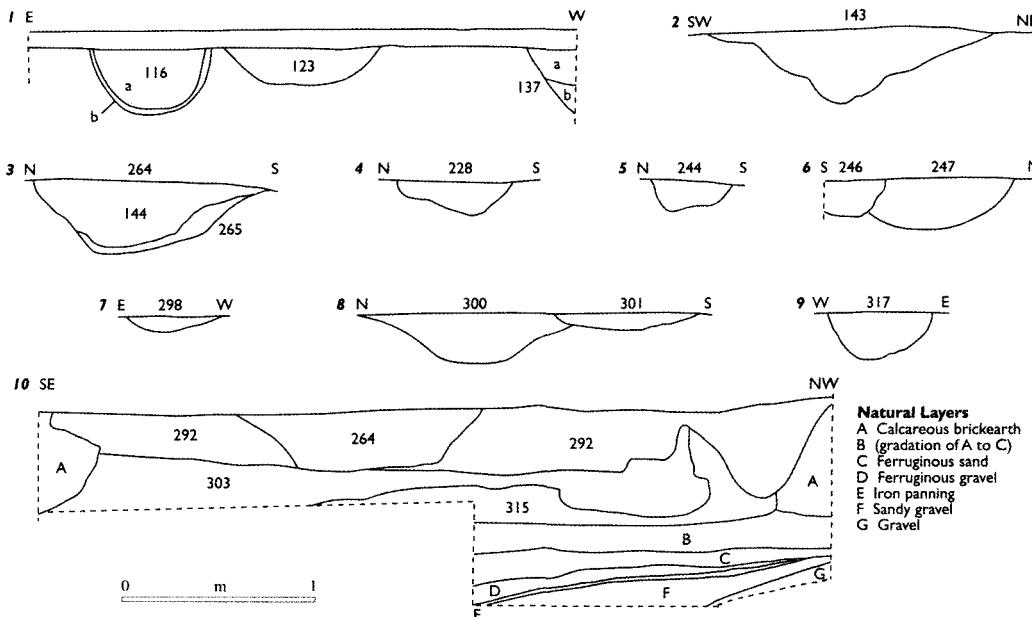


Fig. 7. Saxon County School, Shepperton: sections of linear features and the midden (No. 10)

and were apparently steeply undercut in places. The subsoil was also distinct in this area, with a thick deposit of calcareous brickearth, which became increasingly chalky with depth, until its lowest level was almost pure chalk. The bottom of the feature (or rather the base of the layers containing artefacts) was at the same level as this, which might suggest that the hole was dug to remove it. It is thought more probable, however, that this was not an artificially created hollow. Fig 7, No. 10, shows that below layer 315 a series of sterile layers was identified, the lowest of them, G, extending deeper at a marked angle. This looks like the edge of a palaeochannel, and it may be that the hollow formed naturally above it. Whatever the mechanism of its formation, it is clear that quite early in the Saxon period the hollow was taken advantage of for the dumping of domestic refuse (mostly animal bone and pottery, but with a few other finds), a process that fairly rapidly resulted in its complete infilling. The layer of occupation debris may have extended beyond the hollow since similar material was found over a wider area in the spits of the subsoil layer. The concentration of finds in the subsoil was, however, much greater in the spits over the hollow, suggesting that the artefacts mostly derive from it.

THE FINDS

The notes on the flintwork and the Saxon stamped pottery were both prepared in 1987, and have not subsequently been updated.

The flintwork

Jon Cotton

In all, 45 pieces of struck flint were found during the excavation. Of these, 17 were recovered from the subsoil layer sealing the 13th-century and earlier features (including Fig 8, Nos 3–7), 11 from the Saxon midden (including Fig 8, No. 2), one from the natural ground surface (Fig 8, No. 1), and the remainder from the pits and ditches. All were therefore in disturbed, secondary, contexts.

A large proportion of the raw material which comprises this small mixed collection appears, not surprisingly, to be derived from the local gravels of the flood plain terrace, and the number of pieces bearing cortex (21) suggests that much of it was in the form of small nodules. However, several pieces of cherty, mottled, or pearl-grey flint, together with a fragment of a ground axe of banded grey flint (Fig 8, No. 7), may have been won from the chalk outcrops

which skirt the Thames valley, and through which the main channel has to pass at Goring; a further spall with distinctive greenish cortex is of Bullhead Beds flint, which is to be found at the junction of the Reading Beds and Upper Chalk. The nearest outcrop of the latter deposit upstream from Shepperton occurs at Windsor, some 14km away.

Much of the flint in the collection is in its pristine state, sharp and unpatinated. Exceptional therefore are a handful of some six pieces, including the small tranchet axe (Fig 8, No. 1), which have a pronounced milky-blue patination. One piece in particular, the sub-triangular end scraper (Fig 8, No. 2), has a densely white and somewhat worn surface. Although it has been shown that this effect is produced through contact with alkaline solutions in the surrounding soil (and deposits of calcareous 'tufa' were found to underlie parts of the site), there are usually difficulties in automatically assuming a greater age for the pieces thus affected. However, in this instance the general condition and morphology of the scraper in question suggest that it is genuinely

older than the remainder of the collection from the site. Finally, three flints, including one of the patinated pieces, show traces of contact with fire.

The bulk of the collection consists of small spalls and waste pieces, including the proximal ends of two snapped flakes/blades. Recognisable tools include the tranchet axe, several scrapers, a burnt scraper fragment, a denticulate, and two small flakes/spalls from ground flint axes. Several otherwise nondescript waste pieces show traces of utilisation along their lateral edges. The few complete flakes recovered tend to narrowness; cores are absent, although the faceted butt of one broken narrow flake/blade indicates that it had been struck from a prepared core.

The following pieces merit illustration and further description:

1. Small core axe/adze 76mm in length. The dorsal face has been neatly radially-flaked, while the ventral face bears the traces of the removal of a large transverse sharpening flake. Subsequent damage during use has resulted in the loss of a further shallow flake at right angles to the cutting edge. The artefact has an attractive milky-blue surface patina, and its diminutive size suggests that it was probably inserted

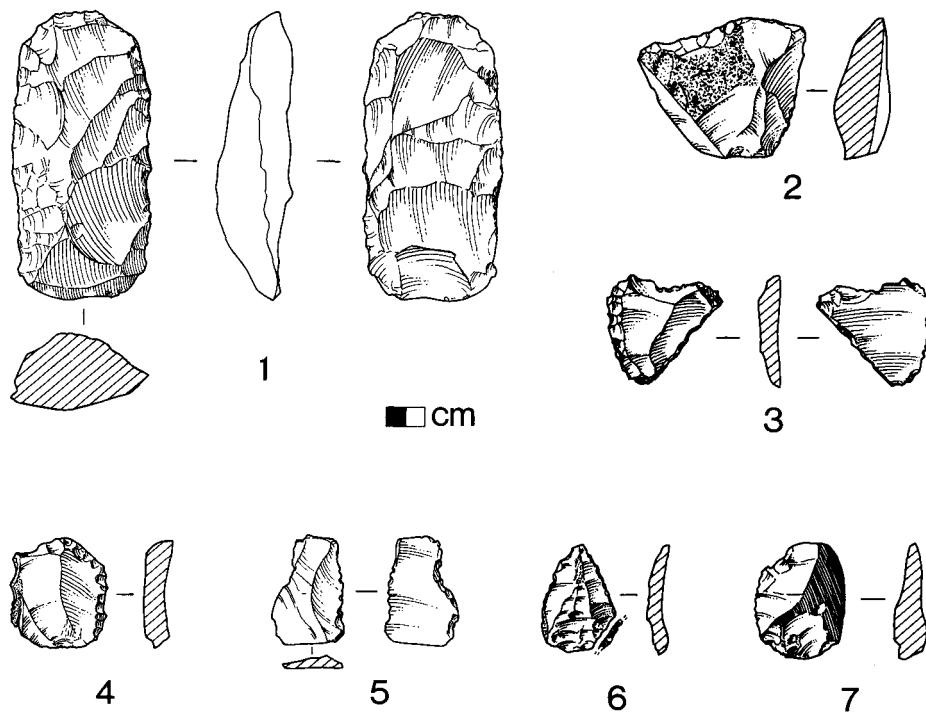


Fig 8. Saxon County School, Shepperton: worked flint (scale 1:2)

- in an antler sleeve. From layer 290, cleaning of the natural ground surface.
2. End scraper made on a thick, squat, cortical flake. The generally worn condition and dense white patination of the piece is quite distinctive, and sets it apart from the rest of the collection. In terms of its patination it can be compared with an unstratified narrow flake/blade recovered from the site in 1967 (Wooldridge 1979, fig 14, no. 9). From Saxon midden 292.
 3. Triangular flake-segment of glossy, smoke-brown flint with steep retouch along all three edges. This tends to rule out its use as a transverse arrowhead, as such artefacts usually retain unadapted one edge of the original flake from which they were made, and suggests rather that the present piece should be regarded as an atypical tanged scraper. From layer 163 immediately over the 13th-century and earlier features.
 4. Small scraper of poor, mottled grey-brown flint retaining a small patch of cortex on its dorsal face, which has shattered on the unillustrated, ventral, face. A combined function as a borer is also possible. From layer 211 immediately over the 13th-century and earlier features.
 5. Notched and denticulated flake/blade segment of cherty, opaque pearl-grey flint. From Saxon gully 248.
 6. Small leaf-shaped flake of transparent smoke-brown flint, with delicate retouch along both long edges, and on the ventral face adjacent to the bulb of percussion. Two small patches of nodular cortex survive on the dorsal face. From layer 179 immediately over the 13th-century and earlier features.
 7. Flake from a ground flint axe of attractively-banded light grey/dark grey flint. From layer 177 immediately over the 13th-century and earlier features. (A spall from a second ground axe of orange-brown flint was recovered from Saxon gully 248.)

Discussion

Though small the collection — together with that recovered during the earlier work (Wooldridge 1979) — is of interest because of the scarcity of comparable recorded finds from the steadily diminishing areas of undisturbed floodplain terrace gravel in the locality (Longley 1976). Typologically, the collection comprises material attributable to both Mesolithic and Neolithic/Bronze Age knapping technologies though, as noted above, the deeply patinated and worn scraper (Fig 8, No. 2) could be older still. Most diagnostic here, however, is the diminutive tranchet axe (Fig 8, No. 1), which has clear Mesolithic affinities, and which can

be related to the few others dredged from local reaches of the Thames (Wymer 1977, 271, 284–5, 287–8). Land finds of Mesolithic material from the area are, by comparison, virtually unknown. Similarly diagnostic are the two fragments of ground axes which, together with the broken leaf arrowhead from the earlier work and (probably) the majority of the scrapers and the denticulate, can be attributed to the Neolithic period. Again, further stray finds of this date have been dredged from the river upstream of Kingston in the past, and are now increasingly recognised in both commercial and archaeological excavations on the adjacent banks (*eg* Needham 1985; Phil Jones pers comm).

The pottery

Phil Jones

The 1986 collection is of several periods, with the majority of sherds being Saxon and of relatively early date. Of great interest is a small collection of later Saxon and Saxo-Norman material, and there are also some medieval sherds of the 13th and 14th centuries. Earlier pottery includes some Roman sherds, mostly of the later occupation, and a small collection of Late Bronze Age material. At least one sherd is of Mid- to Late Iron Age date.

In all, 1,321 sherds (11.12kg) were collected, of which 14% are prehistoric, 5% Roman, 56% early Saxon, 18% late Saxon and Saxo-Norman, and 6% of the high medieval period. Thirteen other sherds are of post-medieval date, of which nearly all came from the topsoil.

The report below mostly describes the assemblage of the early Saxon midden 292, but there are also summary accounts of the other Saxon pottery and of the other period collections.

Midden 292

261 sherds (3.29kg) were recovered, of which eleven each are of prehistoric and Roman fabrics, and the remainder are Saxon except for a tiny, intrusive medieval sherd (Tables 1–2). The greater majority were in the upper layer 292, with smaller amounts in the underlying contexts 303, 307, 308, and 315 (see Fig 7, No. 10). 33% of all Saxon handmade sherds from the site are from this midden, and, just as in the full assemblage, most are of a predominantly

Table 1. Saxon County School, Shepperton: sherd count of pottery from the midden

Context	PREHISTORIC		ROMAN					SAXON				MED	Totals	
	CALC/ q	CALC/ iron	3A	3C	5	10A1	10A3	GT	Q/gt	GQ/gt	Q	Tufa	M OXJ	
292	6	-	2	-	-	1	-	39	94	3	7	3	1	156
303	1	1	2	2	2	-	-	21	48	-	5	-	-	82
307	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	6	7	-	-	-	-	16
308	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	4
315	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
Totals	10	1	5	2	2	1	1	70	150	3	12	3	1	261

Table 2. Saxon County School, Shepperton: weights (gm) of pottery from the midden

Context	PREHISTORIC		ROMAN					SAXON				MED	Totals	
	CALC/ q	CALC/ iron	3A	3C	5	10A1	10A3	GT	Q/gt	GQ/gt	Q	Tufa	M OXJ	
292	41	-	9	-	-	3	-	716	990	43	137	69	1	2009
303	1	3	4	10	10	-	-	428	604	-	51	-	-	1111
307	2	-	1	-	-	-	15	54	47	-	-	-	-	119
308	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	15
315	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	5	-	-	-	-	45
Totals	52	3	14	10	10	3	15	1245	1646	43	188	69	1	3299

sand-tempered fabric, Q/gt. Next most common are sherds of grass/chaff-tempered ware, GT, and there are a few sherds of other fabrics. The illustrated pottery appears on Figs 9 (Nos 1–42) and 10 (Nos 43–54). Numbers in brackets in the following text refer to these figures.

Q/gt sandy fabrics

The 150 sherds of these fabrics are predominantly tempered with abundant quartz sand grains, but they also include sparse to medium quantities of grass and/or chaff. Another three sherds of the GQ/gt variant are similar, but with much larger quartz sand inclusions. The principal vessel form is a jar with an everted rim; these were handmade and then externally burnished. Up to 20 rim fragments of these were recovered, although it is often difficult to distinguish them from other forms because of the similarities of their upper profiles (Nos 16–30). Usually, however, these plain jars are less well burnished than finer forms and are thicker walled. It was only possible to be certain of the diameters of two rims, both of about 16cm (Nos 16 and 21), and the correct orientation of nine others remains uncertain

(those marked with 'OU' above the rim on Figs 9–10). Some rims appear to be upright or inward-sloping, but their small sherd size and the crude nature of their manufacture preclude any positive identification of such a sub-form (Nos 28, 29 and 32). Although some, perhaps most, of these jars could have had bag-shaped bases, three rounded base angle fragments (including Nos 35–36) may belong to some of them, although they could just as easily be from finer vessel types. One variant has a slightly beaded rim (No. 26).

The assemblage of Q/gt also includes a range of finer vessels including jars, bowls, cups, and carinated forms, of which some are plain, and others decorated. The rims of two plain small jars or beakers, both finely burnished inside and out, were recovered (Nos 37–38), and there is a similar rim of an even smaller form, perhaps a cup, unless its apparent diameter is wrong (No. 39). A thicker walled vessel, perhaps also a cup, with a slightly everted rim, qualifies as a fineware vessel because it, too, is finely burnished on both sides (No. 34). Yet another cup, or small bowl, has a simple, curving body wall (No. 42). Two carinated vessels are represented by body sherds



Fig 9. *Saxon County School, Shepperton: pottery from the Saxon midden, Nos 1–42 (scale 1:3)*

(Nos 40–41), of which the first shows the neck to have been concave.

At least five decorated jars are represented in the Q/gt fabric and, as far as can be established, all seem to have been carinated. Another of their characteristics is the multiple grooving of

their upper parts (Nos 43–49), and in addition to those illustrated there are another 13 body sherds with such grooving. It is to be noted, however, that on some this is little more than shallow tooling (Nos 46–47, for example), whereas on others there are relatively broad,

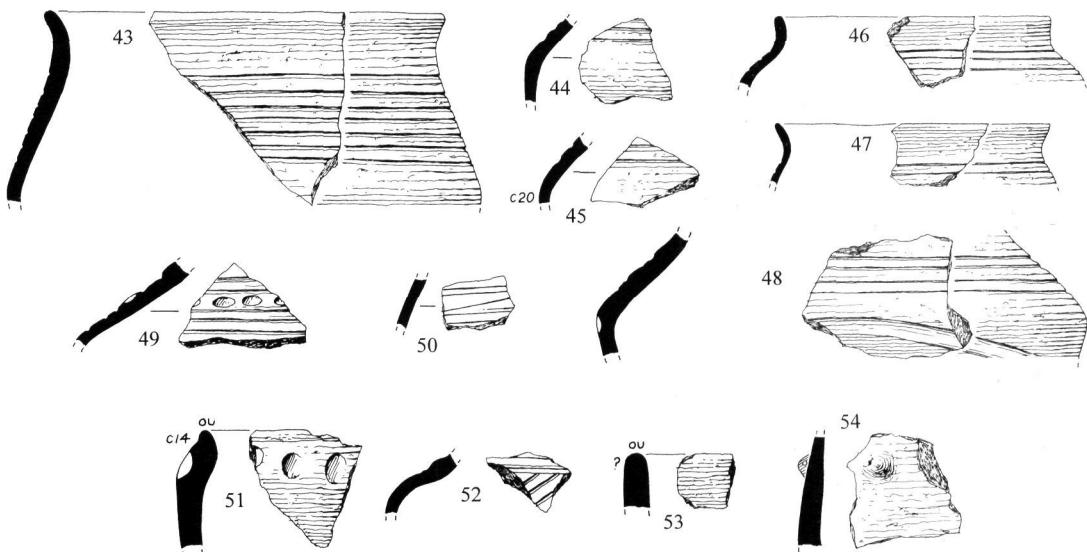


Fig 10. Saxon County School, Shepperton: pottery from the Saxon midden, Nos 43–54 (scale 1:3)

burnished grooves. Body sherds of two of these carinated jars have additional decoration. On one there is part of a broad, diagonal groove below the carination (No. 48); another body sherd from the same vessel, but from a later context (145), shows this to have been one of a series of such diagonally burnished strokes. The other decorated body sherd from a carinated form has a series of shallow, oval indentations on one of the cordons created by the multiple grooves (No. 49). All three rims of these vessels are simply everted, and all sherds from them are finely burnished inside and out. They varied in size, however, with two smaller examples (Nos 46–47), and at least one larger vessel (No. 43). One other decorated body sherd has a series of incised, rather than burnished, lines, but it is not known whether the vessel form was the same as the others.

GT grass/chaff-tempered ware

There are about half as many sherds of this type as of Q/gt, but by weight the proportion is greater as the vessels are usually thicker walled. The temper is a profusion of burnt-out grass and/or chaff strands, and most vessels made from the ware were simple jars with everted rims, much the same as those of Q/gt, except even more crudely made (Nos 1–9). The burnishing,

though extensive on outer surfaces, was also less well executed than for those of Q/gt. The rim diameters of only two of these jars could be accurately measured, and both are about 19cm (Nos 1–2), although some smaller examples are probably present (*ie* Nos 5–6). Whereas most may have been bag-shaped, two sherds with base angles may have belonged to the simple jars. They might, however, have belonged to decorated vessels, since there are 12 body sherds of GT from the midden that bear schemes of finger impressions. These include sherds with multiple series of single gouges (such as No. 14) and others with series of double finger-pinchings (such as No. 15).

Q sandy fabrics

12 sherds contain only quartz sand as a temper, without any grass/chaff filaments. They include the rim of a probable jar, although it is difficult to be certain because of the uncertainty of its correct orientation (No. 51). It has a series of finger impressions just below a slightly beaded rim, and its surfaces are not burnished. Although the vessel might have been Saxon, it is possible that it belongs with the prehistoric material, as such a row of impressions would not be out of place in a Late Bronze Age assemblage. The same doubts might be expressed for the only

other featured sherd in a sandy fabric (No. 53). It could be the simple upright rim of a Bronze Age urn, but may possibly be of Saxon date.

TQ tufa and sand-tempered fabric

Only three sherds were identified, in which a profusion of comminuted tufa grains are accompanied by sparse inclusions of quartz sand. It is possible that a fluvial clay was used, in which both tufa and sand were integral. All three are burnished body sherds, but one includes a cordon above a rounded shoulder or carination that carries three diagonally-burnished strokes (No. 52). This could be from a vessel related to the other decorated forms in Q/gt, but it remains possible that it is from an Iron Age form, since the type of fabric and the diagonal burnishing is known from some local Middle to Late Iron Age assemblages in the district. Those prehistoric vessels, however, do not usually carry cordons.

Prehistoric and Roman sherds

Ten sherds tempered with calcined flint and some quartz sand and another with iron mineral inclusions instead of the sand are from prehistoric vessels, probably of Late Bronze Age date. The only featured sherd is in the majority fabric and includes part of a cordon or lug.

There are also 11 body sherds of Roman fabrics, including the only samian sherd from the excavations. The rest are of late Roman types, of which most are of 3A and 3C grey sandy fabrics of Alice Holt/Farnham type. Two sherds of Group 5 Overwey sandy fabric are from the same Surrey/Hampshire border district, but there is also a sherd from a bowl in 10A3 Oxfordshire red-slipped fineware. (Note: the fabric codes for Roman pottery used here relate to a Surrey type series, originally developed for the nearby Roman town of Staines (Jones & Poulton in prep.).)

Other Saxon sherds from the site (Tables 3–4; not illus)

Q/GT sandy fabrics

Up to 12 more plain jars with everted necks are represented by rim sherds, but there are only three thinner walled and finer finished rims, including one with at least one groove along the

neck (context 200); its diameter is about 13cm. There are, however, six body sherds with multiple grooving (contexts 144 X 2, 145 X 2, 153, 233) and four others with series of grooves (including contexts 145, 203, 297), although on one of the latter the grooves are vertical. Another sherd with multiple neck grooves is part of the vessel with diagonal fluting in the 292 assemblage (context 145). Two other forms are represented — both bowls. One is simple-walled (context 144) and the other has a flanged rim (context 233) that may be a copy of the late Roman Class 5B type (Lyne & Jefferies 1979). Other sherds of note include three with parts of multiple finger impressions (a modification that is only present on GT sherds in context 292); two sherds with parallel incised lines (contexts 102, 130); two pierced lugs (contexts 143, 247); a multiply-perforated sherd (context 300); and four base angles. Two other decorated sherds include one with hatched incised lines that separate grass stalk end (or similar) stamps (context 132), and one from the shoulder carination of a jar with cross-hatched burnished lines on the neck (context 293).

GT grass/chaff-tempered ware

Other sherds of this ware from the 1986 excavations include another 15 everted rims from simple globular jars, and six more with multiple finger impressions (contexts 143 X 2, 145 X 2, 228, 235). There are also five body sherds with parts of multiple grooves (contexts 143, 145 X 3, 248) and two other decorated sherds. One includes several lines of comb impressions loosely surrounding an incised cross (context 143), and the other has two circular stamps, thought by Briscoe to have been done with an antler tip (see p 64).

Late Saxon and medieval pottery from the site

S1 Late Saxon coarse shelly ware

Amongst 90 sherds of this predominantly wheel-thrown type are the rims of seven vessels. Five with everted rims that have beaded ends are from cooking pots (contexts 100, 102, 143, 144, 247), of which one is of 13cm diameter, one of 17cm, and the others of between 22 and 25cm. Another rim is flanged and from a deep bowl (context 100), and there is also a full profile of another open form with a square-ended rim

Table 3. Saxon County School, Shepperton: sherd count of pottery from all contexts other than the midden

	PREHISTORIC			ROMAN							EARLY SAXON			
	CALC	Q/GLAUC		1A	3A	5	7B1	7B2	8A	10A1	10A3	GT	Q/gt	Tufa
Modern	48	-		-	23	-	1	-	-	-	2	48	106	1
Subsoil layer	34	1		-	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	38	50	1
Natural clearance	23	-		1	6	2	-	1	-	-	1	18	36	-
Ditch 116	(116)	-		-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	4	-
	(117)	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ditch	123	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Gully	136	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Ditch 143	(143)	12		-	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	18	21	-
	(146)	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Pit	147	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
PH	215	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PH	217	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
PH	220	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Gully	228	6	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	11	-
Gully 244	(244)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(296)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
PH	242	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Gully	245	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Pit	246	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Ditch	247	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	-
Gully	248	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-
PH	249	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
PH	250	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PH	251	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PH	259	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-
Feature	260	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ditch 264	(144)	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	30	-
	(265)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
PH	262	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
PH	271	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PH	272	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
PH	273	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PH	277	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Pit	281	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Pit 286	(233)	12	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	4	17
PH	291	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
Pit	294	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	-
Pit	297	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Ditch	300	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	-
Gully	301	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Pit	312	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-
Gully	317	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-
	298	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	65	-		1	11	-	-	2	1	-	2	59	135	-
Full				2	47	3	1	3	1	-	5	163	327	2
totals	170	1		2	47	3	1	3	1	-	5	163	327	2

(context 143); it is about 25cm diameter and may be from a spouted variant.

?North French greyware

11 sherds from context 143 and another from context 145 are from the same wheel-thrown

vessel, including part of its base angle and a lightly rilled upper body.

St Neots ware

Two small sherds were identified, including part of the neck of a jar (contexts 144, 290).

LATE SAXON			EARLY MEDIEVAL								HIGH MEDIEVAL			
S1	StN	NFR	SNC	QFL	Q1	FLQ	IQ	GQ1	GQ2	Q2	WW1A	WW1B	PM	TOTALS
30	-	1	15	24	1	1	45	3	-	20	36	-	11	416
7	-	-	2	2	-	-	3	-	3	4	4	-	1	158
1	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	95
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	7
49	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	118
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	1	29
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	8
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
2	1	-	3	3	-	-	5	2	-	1	2	-	-	65
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	6
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
59	1	11	4	4	-	2	13	3	9	5	3	-	1	3
97	2	12	22	30	2	3	63	6	12	29	43	1	13	1060

SNC Saxo-Norman 'chalky' fabrics

The only featured sherds are both rims of cooking pots. One is a simply everted rim (144), and the other is also everted, but has a squared end (context 212).

QFL quartz sand and flint-tempered fabrics

Of two everted rim sherds of cooking pots, one is simple (context 132) and the other has a beaded end (context 132). There is also a body sherd with the diagonal combing (context 212) that is characteristic of the coarsewares of 12th- and

Table 4. Saxon County School, Shepperton: weights (gm) of pottery from all contexts other than the midden

	PREHISTORIC			ROMAN						SAXON				
	CALC	Q/GLAUC		1A	3A	5	7B1	7B2	8A	10A1	10A3	GT	Q/gt	Tufa
Modern	230	-		-	115	-	66	-	-	-	25	488	953	2
Totals	154	2		-	20	10	-	-	-	-	-	261	262	1
Subsoil layer				2	32	8	-	27	-	-	2	136	376	-
Natural clearance	74	-												
Ditch 116	(116)	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	30	-
	(117)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ditch	123	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	4	-
Gully	136	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Ditch 143	(143)	57	-	-	39	-	-	2	-	-	-	208	190	-
	(146)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Pit	147	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
PH	215	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PH	217	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	-
PH	220	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Gully	228	22	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	43	-
Gully 244	(244)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(296)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7	-
PH	242	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Gully	245	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Pit	246	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Ditch	247	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	35	-
Gully	248	6	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	-
PH	249	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	39	-
PH	250	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PH	251	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PH	259	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	9	-
Feature	260	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ditch 264	(144)	29	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	49	240	-
	(265)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	10	-
PH	262	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
PH	271	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PH	272	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	-
PH	273	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PH	277	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Pit	281	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Pit 286	(233)	56	-	-	-	-	-	19	-	-	4	16	139	-
PH	291	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	30	-
Pit	294	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	12	-
Pit	297	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Ditch	300	15	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	29	-
Gully	301	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-
Pit	312	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	11	-
Gully	317	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	-
	298	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	259	-	1	60	-	-	21	1	-	6	388	910	-	
Full totals	717	2	3	227	18	66	48	1	-	33	1273	2501	3	

13th-century pottery production sites in Denham (Farley & Leach 1988).

IQ ironstone sandy ware

There are four everted rims from wheel-thrown cooking pots amongst the 63 sherds of this ware.

GQ2 'gritty' sandy ware

There are three everted rims from cooking pots, all simple-ended (contexts 161, 260, 296).

Q2 grey/brown sandy ware

There are two everted rims from cooking pots

LATE SAXON			EARLY MEDIEVAL						HIGH MEDIEVAL					
S1	StN	NFR	SNC	QFL	Q1	FLQ	IQ	GQ1	GQ2	Q2	WW1A	WW1B	PM	TOTALS
280	-	4	71	174	8	5	359	38	-	139	328	-	100	3385
39	-	-	6	10	-	-	10	-	11	13	18	-	26	843
12	1	-	11	-	10	-	2	-	-	-	-	9	-	702
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39
6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
-	-	-	-	-	5	8	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	19
511	-	111	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	-	1136
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	1	110
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	40	9	5	-	-	-	-	-	63
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
-	-	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
20	-	-	-	-	-	65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	143
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
26	3	-	17	10	-	-	37	29	-	1	22	-	-	465
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	21
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	14
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	235
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	58
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	230	-	-	-	-	235
577	3	111	30	13	-	5	150	38	53	239	24	-	1	2890
908	4	115	118	197	18	10	521	76	64	391	370	9	127	7820

that have beaded ends (contexts 139, 156), and there is also the full profile of a shallow open form, probably a frying pan (context 298).

WW1A coarse white sandy ware

Amongst the 43 sherds are the everted rims

of five cooking pots that have beaded ends (contexts 100, 102, 132 X 2, 145), and there is also a body sherd with part of an applied ribbon strip (context 132) and another from a glazed jug with combed decoration (context 212).

Other Roman pottery (not illus)

Amongst the 3A greyware is the rim of a later Roman Class 3B jar (Lyne & Jefferies 1979) and the flanged rim of a jar (both from context 143); there is also a body sherd from a jar with cross-hatched burnished lines (context 235) and another with part of the cordon from a Class 2 jar. The only mortarium sherd of 7B1 Verulamium district buff sandy ware is the rim of a 2nd-century form (context 138), but there are also two other mortaria rims in 7B2 Oxfordshire colour-coated fineware (contexts 233, 290). In the same fabric (but designated 10A3 since they are not from mortaria) are a ring base and a rim from bowl forms (contexts 102, 130), and a rouletted sherd from a beaker (context 310).

Other prehistoric pottery (not illus)

Most of the 170 sherds of calcined flint-gritted pottery from the excavations are probably of Late Bronze Age date. They include the thick, simple rounded rim of an urn-like form (context 130), two other tiny rim sherds of indeterminate forms (contexts 145, 247), and a thick base angle (context 132). There is also a finger-impressed rim of another large jar form (context 247), in addition to the cordon or lug from context 292.

The only identified sherd of Q/Glauc, with its temper of sand and glauconite grains, is from the neck of a jar that has alternating series of diagonally-burnished lines on the shoulder (context 149). The same fabric and similarly decorated jars are known from local Mid to Late Iron Age sites.

Stamped sherds

Teresa Briscoe

The three sherds were found so close together that it would seem likely that they come from one pot. One sherd, from context 199, immediately above the midden, appears to be from the upper part of the pot going into the neck. The decoration consists of small stamps of concentric rings (Briscoe type A2di). It is a well cut stamp and was probably made from an antler tip, as is an example from Briswell Suffolk. This type of stamp has a widespread distribution, but is not of itself a common type. An example comes from Mucking where it is used on Crem 444 and on a sherd from the reference 760x640, this is

very similar to the present example. The second sherd also carrying this stamp comes from the immediate vicinity, midden context 292, and quite likely belonged to the same pot. It is a very small sherd but shows two stamps on it.

The third sherd, from midden context 292, shows two impressions made by the knob of a cruciform brooch. This would appear to have been a large example — there is no trace of any spring attachment. The cruciform brooch is usually associated with East Anglia, but the use of the knob from one of these as a die is more frequently found at Sancton. The author knows of 11 examples from this site, one from Loveden Hill, and one from West Stow, Suffolk. The Thurmaston example is atypical and belongs to another type of finial. The Shepperton Green stamp is therefore the most southerly to appear to date.

Building materials

K Ayres and Rob Poulton

The building materials have previously been quantified but no other work has been carried out upon them. Therefore, only a brief mention of the materials present can be made.

Ceramic building material

315 fragments of Roman tile (weighing 7142g) and one fragment of medieval or later tile (40g) were collected during the excavations. The Roman tile is very fragmented. The largest piece is approximately 70mm by 65mm, and 43mm thick, but almost all other pieces are very much smaller. Where thickness is measurable, 40mm or a little more is most common, suggesting that these are fragments of floor or structural tiles rather than roof tiles. There is only one definite roof tile fragment, the angle of a *tegula*, although a few other pieces with diameters of 30mm or less may well have been such.

Baked clay

A total of 200 fragments of baked clay, in total weighing 1659g, were collected. Of these, 46 were recovered from early Saxon (625g), 21 from late Saxon (115g), and 117 from early medieval (842g) features. The remainder were recovered from modern features or natural clearance. A number of fragments were clearly shaped or smoothed, and several bore wattle impressions.

Other

A fragment of possible *opus signinum* was recovered from early Saxon midden 306

Other finds

K Ayres

The small finds recovered dated from the Saxon period onwards. In general, the finds are indicative of a small Saxon and early medieval occupation site, with personal artefacts made of worked bone, domestic tools for food preparation and weaving made of stone and bone respectively, and refuse such as food remains.

The finds assemblage from the early Saxon and late Saxon periods was concentrated in two main features, with the majority of the early Saxon finds being recovered from the midden, and those of late Saxon date from ditch 143. Both include a number of items for personal and domestic use made of worked bone. Two composite bone combs were recovered from the Saxon midden and a triangular dress pin from ditch 143. A number of other bone pins were recovered from both periods, some of which could be identified as weaving tools, with the others being too fragmented to be identified as either hairpins or weaving pins. Metal finds were few and consisted mainly of structural items.

Many of the finds from contexts dated as 'early medieval or earlier' were recovered during subsoil clearance and included a copper-alloy pin and lace tag and a possible rubbing stone. Finds recovered from the modern clearance layers include another copper-alloy pin, and a post-medieval clay pipe.

Few other Saxon settlement sites in this area have been excavated. Earlier excavations on this site produced similar bone points used in weaving, together with copper-alloy and bone dress or hairpins (Clark 1979, 118–21). The site at Duncroft (Robertson 1996) in Staines also produced little metalwork, with weaving tools produced from worked bone being common finds.

Elsewhere in the south of England larger Saxon sites have been excavated, including that of *Hamwih* (Saxon Southampton). (Addyman & Hill 1969). At *Hamwih* the quantity and range of worked bone finds and metalwork were far greater than at Saxon County school, but within the assemblage were parallels to the combs, dress and weaving pins identified at the Surrey site.

The finds are discussed below by material. They are listed by context number, followed by small find (SF) number (if applicable), followed by the catalogue description.

Copper alloy

Few copper-alloy items were recovered. Personal items included the lace tag which was discovered during subsoil clearance and cannot be dated exactly, and the oval-headed pin (SF2). Although the latter was recovered from a modern clearance layer, a similar example was retrieved from a ditch dating to c.1050–1150 in the earlier excavations on this site (Clark 1979, fig 13, no. 5) and they have been noted at a number of other sites including *Hamwih*.

116. SF1. Small roughly made ring, of unknown function. D 17mm; Th 2mm.
130. SF2. Pin with ovoid head. Only small portion of shaft survives; D head 6mm (*cf* Addyman & Hill 1969, fig 26, no. 2).
145. SF4. Lace tag, crushed and bent at one end. Made by rolling sheeting into tube shape; decorated with small depressions, with each row alternating to form a diamond pattern. L (bent) 29mm; W tapers from 4mm to 1mm.
145. SF6. Thin pin shaft, in two pieces. L 28mm; W <1mm.
292. SF55. Three small fragments of copper sheeting. Th 2mm.

Iron

None of the iron objects have been X-rayed which, together with their poor condition, has made the identification of many impossible. Those items which could be identified include a knife blade from an early medieval context and a buckle frame (modern clearance layer). The majority of the iron objects were nails.

102. Possible hinge fitting.
102. Unidentified object.
138. Thin length of iron with square cross section. L 84mm.
139. D-shaped buckle frame (or distorted ring). D 23mm.
296. Knife blade with fragment of whittle tang. L 89mm.
213. SF20. Object of roughly rectangular shape, and unknown function. L 57mm; W c.23mm.
143. SF26. Semi-circular shaped fragment, probably originally part of a ring. Flat, oval cross section. W 8mm; Th 3mm.

143. SF27. Object of unknown function, very corroded. Possibly a hook.
144. SF45. Iron rod of oval cross section. Bent back on itself at one end. L 57mm.

Nails

138. Circular head. Surviving L 49mm.
139. Large circular head, square cross-sectioned shaft. L 68mm.
139. Small circular head, circular cross-sectioned shaft. L 51mm.
139. Circular head, circular cross-sectioned shaft. L 104mm.
140. Small circular head, circular cross-sectioned shaft. L 52mm.
140. Surviving L 21mm.
212. Square cross-sectioned shaft. L 68mm.
266. Square cross-sectioned shaft. L 100mm.
- 198 SF18. Circular head and cross section. Surviving shaft L 11mm.
143. SF29. Surviving shaft L 55mm.
143. SF38. Surviving shaft L 71mm.
213. SF48. Surviving shaft L 28mm.
300. SF49. Surviving shaft L 21mm.
292. SF53. Surviving shaft L 27mm.

Lumps

145. Unidentified x5.
211. Unidentified x5.
212. Unidentified x2.
235. Unidentified x5.
298. SF50. Unidentified x3.

Lead

Two of the objects of lead (SF62, SF70) were recovered from the Saxon midden. One was reminiscent of a fragment of window came (although this is unlikely in a context of this date), whereas the other was an irregular shaped fragment of sheeting, the function of which could not be determined.

292. SF62. Bent and broken strip of lead. Reminiscent of part of a window came. W 7mm.
301. SF73. Offcut of lead sheeting. Circular shapes punched out; score marks.
303. SF70. Irregular sheeting fragment, possibly originally semi-circular. Th 1–2mm.

Worked bone

The worked bone assemblage consisted of combs and pins from the Saxon midden 306 (contexts

292, 303) and pins from a late Saxon ditch (context 143). The possible implement handle (or hinge fragment) came from a modern clearance layer.

Combs

The combs were double-sided composite examples, with partially surviving teeth and fragments of side plates; SF74 was decorated. Combs are one of the most common classes of finds on Saxon sites as they were utilised by all levels of society on a daily basis (MacGregor 1985, 73). Typologically, they are difficult to date as they have a long life (Addyman & Hill 1969, 76) and there is little to differentiate Saxon combs with simple plano-convex side-plates from examples from the early medieval period (MacGregor 1985, 94).

It is thought that there was a preference for antler rather than bone for producing combs in the 8th–11th centuries, with a shift back to the utilisation of bone in the 11th–13th centuries (MacGregor 1989, 107, 113). It must be remembered that, although less common, bone was still utilised throughout the period, and cannot of itself be taken as an indicator of date.

292. SF65. Fragment of double-sided composite bone comb. Teeth survive on one side only (14 complete, 2 partial) and taper towards the tip. Fragment of plain side plate with two rivets survives, as does one of the end plates. Surviving L 50mm; H side plate 11mm; Th 3mm (Fig 11).
303. SF74. Fragment of single-sided composite bone comb. Two complete and two partially surviving teeth on one side, which taper towards the tip. Fragment of side plate exists on one side only, and is decorated with a ring and dot pattern and incised lines which run parallel to the plate as well as diagonally. Surviving L 27mm; H side plate 22mm; Th 5mm (Fig 11).

Pins

In the Saxon and early medieval periods pins were used for fastening clothes (such as loose cloaks or tunics) and as hairpins, but also made up a class of object frequently used by craftsmen. Double-ended pins such as that recovered from the Saxon midden (SF54) are thought to have been used by weavers as thread lifters or beaters (Wilson 1976, 271–2; MacGregor 1985, 186). They have been found at all dates within the Anglo-Saxon period (Addyman 1964, 64).

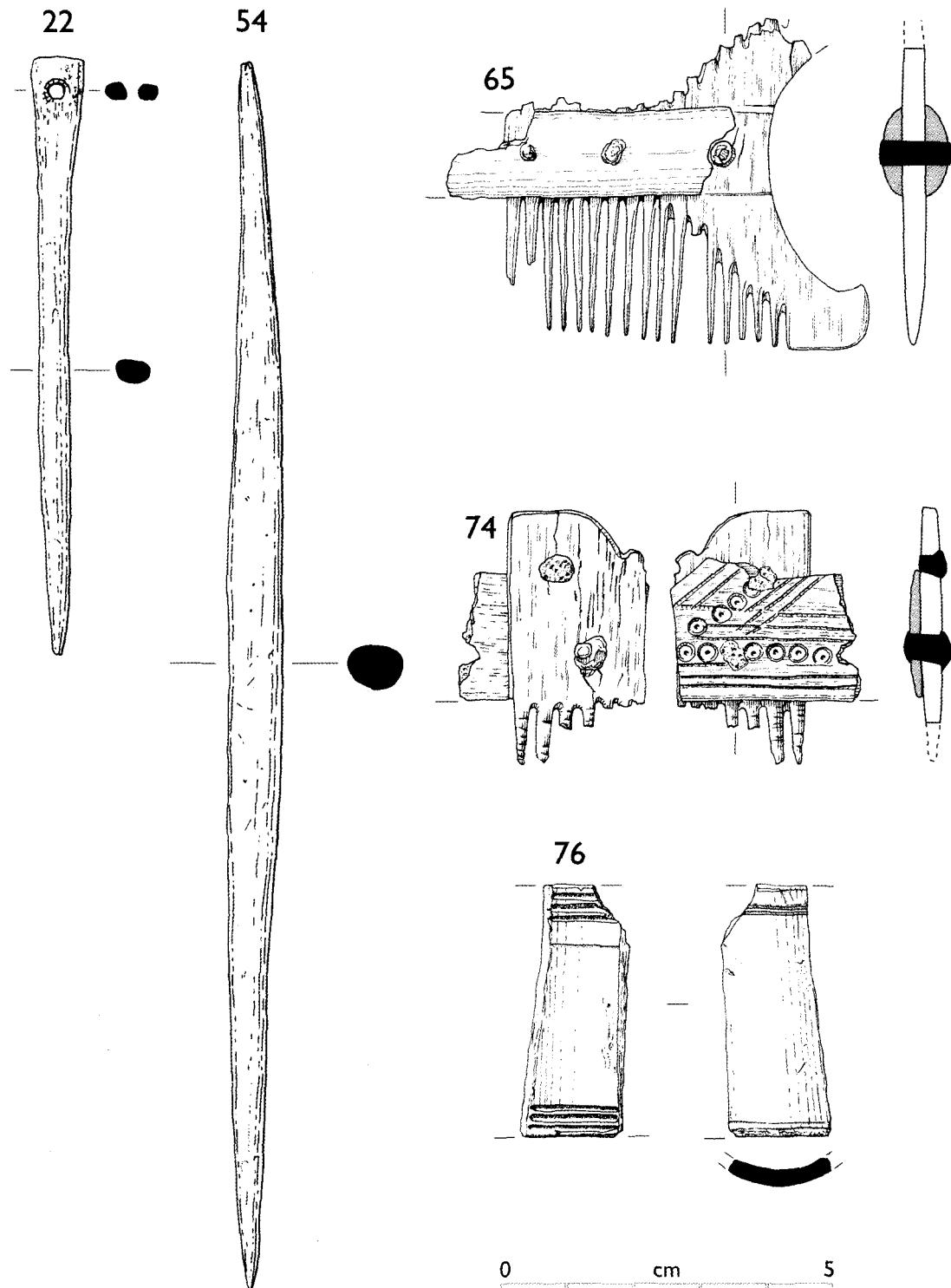


Fig 11. Saxon County School, Shepperton: small finds of bone (pins SF 22 and 54; combs SF 65 and 74; handle or hinge fragment SF 76)

One of the pins from the late Saxon ditch (SF22) had a triangular head which had been perforated. Such pins are often created from pig fibulae (as their shape lends itself easily to this). Again, these were popular during this period with examples from *Hamwih* (Addyman & Hill 1969, 76, pl 6(b)), Shepperton Green (Clark 1979, fig 13, no. 20), and Portchester (Cunliffe 1976, 219, fig 140, no. 66). Suggested purposes have been as dress pins (with a thong or cord secured to pierced head and tied to point once passed through fabric) (Margeson 1983, 13; Clark 1979, 121) or possibly needles for coarse-work or netting (Margeson 1983, 187).

None of the other pins had heads and their exact function cannot be determined.

- 143. SF5. Bone pin, broken into three fragments. Head does not survive. Subangular cross section, widening at centre. L 103mm; widest 6mm.
- 143. SF22. Bone dress pin/needle. Possibly fashioned from a pig fibula. Flattened, triangular head which has been perforated. Oval cross-sectioned shaft. L 91mm. Head W 8mm (Fig 11).
- 292. SF54. Double-ended bone pin. Swelling in centre, tapering to each end. Slightly oval cross section in centre. L 189mm; widest 8mm (Fig 11).
- 292. SF60. Bone point. Broken from pin or similar object. Rectangular cross section. Surviving L 24mm.
- 292. SF66. Bone point. Broken from pin or similar object. Oval cross section. L 55mm.

Other

- 139. SF76. Implement handle (or possibly hinge fragment, cf MacGregor 1985, 204, fig 110, a). Curved fragment of bone object. Grooves cut at each end internally (three each end) and externally (one at one end, two at other end) (Fig 11).

Stone

Both objects of stone were recovered from the subsoil clearance and dated as early medieval or earlier. SF12 may have been a polishing stone, used for the finishing process of textile preparation.

- 138. SF3. Short length of slate rod, worked into shape and smoothed or polished. Five-sided cross section. L 22mm; D 4mm.
- 145. SF12. Possible smoother. Pebble of triangular cross section with one smoothed and ?polished face. L 94mm; W 44mm; H 30mm.

Clay

- 143. SF25. Fragment of baked clay with smoothed, curved face, possibly from a loomweight.

Other

As with the building materials, other categories of material had previously been quantified but, due to budget constraints, these have not been studied further. A brief mention of each material follows.

Stone

Eight fragments of stone weighing 1205g were collected on the site. Preliminary inspection suggests that all are sarsen or other sandstone fragments; none have been utilised and they probably represent naturally occurring pieces which have become incorporated into features.

Charcoal

Charcoal was recovered from the early Saxon midden 306 as well as from late Saxon ditches.

Burnt flint

36 fragments of burnt flint, together weighing 353g, were collected from early and late Saxon as well as early medieval and modern features.

Animal bone

K Ayres

Methodology

Fragments were recorded using a zoning method following Serjeantson (1991), zones being recorded when over 50% was present. Those fragments which could not be identified to species level were classified as 'cattle-size', 'sheep-size', or 'unidentified'. The total number of fragments (NISP, Table 5) was calculated for all species, but the minimum number of individuals (MNI) was not calculated for this assemblage due to the small number of bones recorded from each phase.

Wear stages were recorded for the permanent lower molars of cattle, sheep, and pig using Grant (1982) and grouped into age stages following the methods of Halstead (1985), Payne

Table 5. Saxon County School, Shepperton: number of identified species present (NISP)

Period	Cattle	Sheep/goat	Pig	Horse	Dog	Hare	Domestic fowl	Bird	Rodent	Amphibian	Fish	Cattle-size	Sheep-size	Unidentified	Total
Early Saxon	111	105	96	4	1	6	7	12	1	4	6	184	195	664	1396
Late Saxon	21	21	25	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	45	24	150	290
Early Med	35	48	64	2	-	2	4	5	2	-	3	67	56	385	673
Total	167	174	185	6	1	8	11	20	3	4	9	296	275	1199	2359

(1973), and O'Connor (1988). The fusion stage of post-cranial bones was recorded and related age ranges taken from Getty (1975). Pig canines and alveoli were sexed.

Full tables and data relating to ageing, butchery, and taphonomic processes can be found in the archive.

Condition

The condition of the bones was rated on a scale of 1 to 5, where bone graded as 1 was in excellent condition, and that graded as 5 could be identified only as 'bone'. Table 6 sets out the bone graded by contexts and, as can be seen, it is in relatively good condition. Much of the taphonomic information such as gnawing and butchery marks had been retained.

Table 6. Saxon County School, Shepperton: condition of bone by context

Condition	1	2	3	4	5
No of contexts	10	31	31	21	8

Introduction

A small assemblage of just over 2,700 fragments of bone was recorded, and 48% of the pieces were identifiable. They were retrieved from a variety of features and were grouped into three date bands: early Saxon, late Saxon, and early medieval. The latter band covers many features which have been dated as 13th century or earlier and therefore could contain bones of the early or late Saxon periods. Approximately half the bones were recovered from early Saxon features, 11% were dated as late Saxon, and almost a quarter to the early medieval period. The remainder of the bones were from modern

or unstratified contexts and are not considered further in this report.

Early Saxon

The assemblage of early Saxon bones (1,396 fragments) was dominated by the main domestic species, cattle, sheep/goat, and pig. Although cattle bones were the most abundant in the assemblage (Table 5), the difference in the counts of the three species was minimal.

Bones from all areas of the cattle skeleton were present, with a high proportion of teeth and the main meat-bearing bones (limb bones, scapula, and pelvis) with fewer extremities. Although the number of teeth present was high, only two jaws were available for ageing, representing an adult animal and a slightly younger one of 30–36 months. The fusion data indicated a range of ages, from under 2 years to over 4 years, suggesting the use of cattle for a variety of purposes such as meat, traction, and possibly milk.

A larger proportion of meat bones were present for sheep/goat, although head and feet bones were again recorded in small numbers. Ageing data combined to give a range of ages, from under 2 to 8–10 years, suggesting that the sheep would also have been kept for a variety of uses such as wool, meat, or possibly milk.

The ageing data from the pig bones gave a closer range of between 2 and 4 years, from juvenile to early adulthood, the time at which the animal would have reached its maximum weight (Grant 1988, 158). There were also a number of neonatal piglet bones which may indicate an early death, a liking for suckling pig, or both. There were similar proportions of head and torso bones with far fewer from the feet. This scarcity of feet bones, which can

be noted for all three species, may be due to recovery bias as the phalanges are very small and can be easily overlooked in the ground. Seven male and four female canines were recorded as was a particularly large metacarpal. Size is often used as a criterion for distinguishing wild and domestic pigs but many postcranial elements do show considerable sexual dimorphism (Payne & Bull 1988), and it cannot be said whether this bone was from a wild boar, or merely a large domestic male pig.

Horse and dog were both identified, although few bones were recovered from either. Seven bones of domestic fowl were identified, and twelve other bird bones which could not be identified to species. Wild species were rare with six hare bones present, indicating trapping or hunting, but no deer. Six fish bones were identified but again could not be speciated. The rodent and amphibian bones were probably intrusive.

Late Saxon

Far fewer bones were recovered from features dated to the late Saxon period: 290, of which only 140 were identifiable. Few bones were therefore available for ageing or sexing. The three main domestic species again dominated and were recorded in almost equal numbers. The few cattle bones which did provide ageing evidence were of animals under 3 years. Sheep could be aged to over 2 years and the assemblage again mostly constituted limb bones with fewer head and feet parts. Pig bones were aged to under 4 years; some limb bones and other torso parts were identified but it was mostly teeth which survived, including two male and one female canine. A very large femur was also collected but, as with the metacarpal in the early Saxon period, it could not be identified as wild boar with any certainty. Wild species consisted of one hare bone and three bird bones.

Early medieval

673 bones were collected of which 385 (57%) were identified. Of these, pig was the most abundant, followed by sheep/goat. The few bones of cattle could be aged to between 1 and 4 years, and mainly consisted of teeth and torso parts. The sheep ranged from under 1 to over 4 years and included high proportions of body and teeth. The high proportion of teeth for

all species may be due to the fact that they are enamel and are harder than bone and therefore survive better.

64 pig bones were recovered, 44 of which were from the head, mainly teeth which led to the identification of three subadult and two adult individuals, with seven male and six female canines recorded. All bones which could be aged were from animals less than 4 years, with one aged to under 1 year.

Horse, dog, and domestic fowl were identified and wild species included hare, bird, and fish. The rodents are most likely to have been intrusive.

Pathology

The only pathology identified in the assemblage was a sheep jaw from the early medieval period which had overcrowded teeth resulting in an abnormal p4.

Spatial distribution

As the total assemblage (from all periods) was small, little analysis of spatial patterning of the bone can be carried out, although a few points can be noted on the distribution, particularly for the Saxon period. The majority of the bones had been deposited in either the midden or in ditches and gullies, with a much smaller number in pits and postholes. It was noted that larger fragments of limb and torso bones of cattle were recovered from the ditches, whilst the smaller cattle bones such as phalanges and teeth, as well as bones from smaller species such as pig, were collected from the midden. The pits and postholes also contained more of the bones from smaller species, including bird bones. This could indicate some differentiation in disposal according to size of the bones, which has commonly been observed on other sites, but a much larger assemblage would be needed to conclude this with any certainty.

Taphonomy

Butchery marks were identified in all three groups of bone and occurred solely on the three main domestic species, with both chop and cut marks being identified. The numbers involved were too small to indicate a preference of butchery technique but there is evidence that choppers were used more frequently than knives in this period, and bones were often split

down the length of the shaft suggesting that the extraction of marrow was important (Grant 1987, 56). It is also often the case that knife cuts are more commonly noted on sheep bones than cattle (Grant 1987, 56), and that saws may also have been used on all species (Hagan 1992, 35).

A high proportion of the bones were gnawed by canids, again indicating the presence of dogs on site. Although only one dog bone was found in the whole assemblage, they were often buried whole, away from the food remains, and, as canid marks were found on bones from all three periods, it is possible that such burials were in the vicinity but lay outside the excavated area. Only a few bones from each period showed signs of burning.

Discussion

Although the overall number of bones was not large, the lack of Saxon animal bone reports, particularly from this area, means that all information gathered is of interest. In the early Saxon assemblage, the three main domesticates were recorded in almost equal numbers, with the proportion of pig increasing by the late Saxon period. As the early medieval period may have contained bones from both these periods as well, it is possible that pig was actually plentiful throughout the whole occupation of the site.

It is known from documentary records that pigs were kept in great numbers during this period but their representation on sites as bones has often been poor. This has been attributed to the fact that as pigs are often killed when young, their bones are more porous and, apart from their teeth, do not survive well. They are often therefore present in fewer numbers than cattle and sheep, so it is interesting to note that they are present here in fairly equal, and in one group, greater numbers than either of these two species. Unlike cattle and sheep they are kept solely for their meat and lard, and do not fulfil any other function whilst alive, except perhaps the production of manure. However, because pigs were often left to roam the forests, whilst the cattle and sheep were penned, they were often available in the winter when other stock was low due to lack of fodder (Clutton-Brock 1976, 378). The meat was often boned, salted, and eaten as bacon (Clutton-Brock 1976, 378), which might also explain why the bones are often not found amongst other kitchen waste. Male canines were more frequently found than female in the

assemblage, although at West Cotton this was suggested to be a result of male canines being sturdier and easier to see in the ground (and therefore collect) than female (Albarella & Davis 1994, 17).

No specialisation could be identified in the assemblage. The range of ages provided for both cattle and sheep indicated a variety of uses: some cattle killed whilst young for meat, others kept alive longer possibly for traction and milking, and the hides probably sold after their death. The older sheep would have been kept alive for their wool which grew into Britain's major industry in the Anglo-Saxon period (Clutton-Brock 1976, 380), whilst some were possibly used for milking and the younger ones killed for their meat. The place name Shepperton has Saxon origins, meaning the farm where sheep were raised, but there is no obvious link to the present site.

This emphasis on domestic animals with a mixed economy and little specialisation is typical of Saxon sites, with all three animals contributing, albeit in different proportions. Cattle tended to predominate at urban sites such as Norwich (Crabtree 1994), Ipswich (Crabtree 1994), *Hamwih* (Bourdillon & Coy 1980), and York (O'Connor 1991). At rural sites, however, there is no particular pattern. West Stow, a self-sufficient, rural producer site had a higher proportion of sheep, whilst Ramsbury (Coy 1980), Audlett Drive (Levitian 1992), and Yarnton (Ayres unpub) all had higher proportions of cattle. Two sites whose assemblage showed high percentages of pig were Wicken Bonhunt (Crabtree 1994) and St Albans Abbey (Crabtree 1994, 43). The local environment must also be taken into account. The region within which the Saxon County School site fell had moderate to dense tree cover in the past (Canham 1979, 97), and, as mentioned above, with pigs left free to roam the forests, it is likely that large herds were common in all woodland areas.

The poor representation of horse in this period may be the result of a decline in their importance as a producer of meat, with the consumption of horseflesh being forbidden in AD 732 (Simmoons 1994, 187). Although small numbers have been recorded on most Saxon sites, oxen were the primary animals used for ploughing, and it is likely that horses were kept chiefly for riding purposes. Dogs were frequently found and were valued for their hunting skills.

Whilst there was a variety of wild species

available to be hunted in Britain in this period, for example red and roe deer, hare and wild boar, the proportion here is low. This limited evidence for the exploitation of wild resources is also usual for Saxon sites. There were few recorded at West Stow, Melford Meadows (Powell unpub), and at the various other sites in East Anglia studied by Crabtree (1994, 43). It is very unlikely that no hunting took place at all, but perhaps wild species constituted a small proportion of the diet, only supplementing the meat obtained from the domestic stock.

A variety of domestic and wild birds and fish species were also available. Birds were eaten as well as used for sports such as hawking (Clutton-Brock 1976, 388) and both freshwater and marine fish have been identified from inland Anglo-Saxon sites (Clutton-Brock 1976, 389), including salmon and eel. The identification of a late Roman or early Saxon fish weir nearby (Fig 1; Bird 1999) is of interest in this connection.

CONCLUSION

Prehistoric

The earliest material from the site is of Mesolithic date, a period which is not especially well represented in the local area. Extensive excavations at Home Farm, Laleham (Hayman 2002) produced very little diagnostic flintwork of Mesolithic date and no features. In contrast Neolithic flintwork was more plentiful, much of it recovered from features indicating low intensity and shifting settlement through the period, in the manner suggested for the whole topographic zone (*eg* Barrett *et al* 2000). Similar activity may well account for the presence of this material at the Saxon County School, although the Neolithic hengiform monument identified at Staines Road Farm, Shepperton, lies only 750m to the north-east (Jones 1990).

Evidence for the later prehistoric period from the present excavations was confined to pottery, much of it small sherds and difficult to date accurately. Bronze Age and Iron Age material is present, with the possibility that most of the material is of late Bronze Age date. This agrees broadly with the evidence from earlier work (Canham 1979, 103, 115), with what was then suggested as early Iron Age now given an earlier date. The quantities are such as to imply occupation in the near vicinity. No features believed to be of prehistoric date were

found in 1986, but Canham (1979, 103 and fig 4) suggested that he had identified posthole evidence for an Iron Age hut, in his Area B (Fig 2). The description and appearance of the features involved appears to be identical with those identified as of natural origin above (p 50), which were examined particularly in Trench 2 (Fig 3). A point which deserves special emphasis is the complete absence of any pottery from these features. This would, surely, be impossible if they were genuine Iron Age features, given the frequency with which such sherds found their way into all later features. It is just possible that a primary structure might have postholes free of cultural material, but the claimed structure can only be teased out by assuming that there is a sequence of features. It is concluded, therefore, that the identification of an Iron Age hut is mistaken.

Roman

There is rather less Roman pottery than prehistoric, although there is also a scatter of tile fragments. The latter may have been reused in the post-Roman period, since there seems too much to have derived from material spread in manuring fields. It could come from the Roman site known to have existed in the vicinity of the Upper West Field Saxon cemetery (A on Fig 1.3; Frere 1943; Longley & Poulton 1982, 184), which is about 1km distant, or there might be a nearer site.

Saxon and medieval

Canham (1979) gave a full and stimulating review of the evidence for Saxon settlement in the Shepperton area, and the significance of the results of work at Saxon County School. It is unnecessary to repeat his discussion here, but some comment on it in the light of the further excavation work, and with regard to other subsequent work, is appropriate.

Canham (1979, 109) was able to point to artefactual evidence for early Saxon settlement, but the midden identified in 1986 is the first feature clearly of that date. Two linear features are stratigraphically later, and one of these (143) was finally infilled in the late Saxon period. The remaining features are difficult to date with certainty, a situation equally true of the earlier work (Canham 1979, 109). The indications are that the ditched layout was established in the

mid-late Saxon period, a conclusion which echoes that of Canham (*ibid*, 109). The system continued to develop down to the earlier part of the 12th century, but must have been abandoned before the mid-13th century, in view of the paucity of Whiteware pottery, which becomes abundant in all local collections by that date (*cf* Jones 1998). No clear evidence for structures was found in 1986, and the evidence for these is still limited to the single sunken hut identified by Canham. Despite this, the quantity of miscellaneous features, and of finds, strongly suggests a flourishing settlement.

The relationship between the early Saxon settlement at Saxon County School and the remarkable evidence for early Saxon cemeteries in Shepperton parish is clearly of considerable interest (Fig 1). The cemetery in Upper West Field (Longley & Poulton 1982) lies adjacent to the parish boundary, and close to the Thames, and was a mixed rite cemetery in use in the 5th and 6th centuries, a description which might also fit the cemetery at Walton Bridge Green (Poulton 1987, 199; C on Fig 1.3). The third cemetery, at War Close (B on Fig 1.3) is more dubious, since its identification rests solely on 18th-century references to the discovery of 'spears, swords *etc*' and great quantities of human bones, although deep ploughing in 1960 failed to reveal anything of interest (Surrey County Council Sites & Monuments Record no. 550). Longley & Poulton (1982, 184) suggested that the Saxon County settlement was the successor to one associated with the Upper West Field cemetery, arguing that the former might not begin until the latter had ended, perhaps around the middle of the 6th century. Nothing identified in 1986 need contradict this, but there is, nevertheless, a reasonable possibility of overlap between the two.

An alternative possibility would be that Upper West Field is the cemetery for a community whose settlement was at the present site. There is considerable evidence for the Saxon preference for siting cemeteries on the boundaries of their estates, which were often co-extensive with later parishes (*cf* Canham 1979, 111–13; Goodier 1984; Poulton 1987, 213), and in many cases it is apparent that there was no adjacent settlement, as, for example at the Goblin Works, Leatherhead (Poulton 1989, 93).

Other explanations are possible. One (Poulton 1987, n 17) is that two distinct settlements were involved: a group of Saxon newcomers burying their dead at Upper West Field, and a surviving

British population at Saxon County, burying their dead unaccompanied. In the absence of grave goods, the date of the Saxon County cemetery must remain uncertain, beyond the probability that the cemetery was out of use by c.AD 1000 (Canham 1979, 104). On balance, it may be more probable that it is contemporary with the mid-late Saxon settlement at the site, rather than belonging to the earlier period. This would fit with the identification of a pattern of unfurnished cemeteries appearing for a short while beginning in the early 8th century (Lucy 2000, 181–4), and need not imply that a chapel or church with burial rights existed somewhere close to the excavated area. The cemetery may, however, have gone out of use when a church was established in the area; Shepperton had a priest in 1086, but the earliest mention of a church is 1157 (Reynolds 1962, 10).

The character of this settlement was carefully discussed by Canham (1979, 110–11) who concluded that the ditch system pointed to a well laid out scheme, either similar to the 'toft and croft' arrangement of medieval villages, or with plots forming home fields attached to the settlement. The 1986 work has confirmed and extended the area of organised settlement. The comparatively frequent finds and the appearance of features, in varying quantities, within the plots would seem to argue that the 'toft and croft' interpretation is the more appropriate. Evidence of this type for mid-late Saxon settlement is now widely known, with good evidence for plots and other features, but often very limited evidence for buildings, perhaps because box-frame construction techniques had little below-ground impact. Local sites with similar evidence include Wraysbury, Berkshire (Astill & Lobb 1982; Lobb 1981–2) and Duncroft, Staines (Robertson 1996), which produced one and no clear building plans, respectively.

Both these sites resemble Saxon County School in that occupation continued down to the 12th or 13th century and then ceased. It is possible to see that the decline of settlement at Duncroft, which is on Binbury or Church Island, Staines, is matched by an intensification of settlement on the town island of Staines (Jones & Poulton in prep; Jones 1982). At Saxon County the end of occupation may well result from a refocusing of settlement around the green at Upper Shepperton, first mentioned in 1293 (Reynolds 1962, 2), later called Shepperton Green. It has been suggested (Poulton 1998) that in Surrey

there was frequent re-organisation of settlement in this era, with the emergence of new planned villages and towns, and it seems likely that there was a similar pattern of development in this portion of Old Middlesex.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ADDYMAN (1964), P V Addyman 'A dark-age settlement at Maxey, Northants' *Med Archaeol* 8, 20–73
- ADDYMAN & HILL (1969), P V Addyman & D H Hill 'Saxon Southampton: a review of the evidence. Part II: industry, trade and everyday life' *Proc Hants Field Club Archaeol Soc* 26, 61–96
- ALBARELLA & DAVIS (1994), U Albarella & S J M Davis *The Saxon and Medieval Animal Bones Excavated 1985–1989 from West Cotton, Northamptonshire Ancient Monuments Laboratory Rep 17/94*
- ASTILL & GRANT (1988), G Astill & A Grant (eds) *The Countryside of Medieval England*
- ASTILL & LOBB (1982), G Astill & S Lobb 'Sampling a Saxon settlement site: Wraysbury, Berks 1980' *Med Archaeol* 26, 138–42
- AYRES (unpub), K Ayres *The Animal Bones from Two Anglo-Saxon Settlements at Yarnton, Oxfordshire: Cresswell Field & Worton Rectory Farm*
- BARRETT, LEWIS & WELSH (2000), J C Barrett, J S C Lewis & K Welsh 'Perry Oaks – a history of inhabitation, part 1' *London Archaeol* 9 no. 7, 195–9
- BIRD (1999), D Bird 'Possible late Roman or early Saxon fish weirs at Ferry Lane, Shepperton' *Surrey Archaeol Collect* 86, 105–23
- BIRD & BIRD (1987), J Bird & D G Bird *The Archaeology of Surrey to 1540*
- BOURDILLON & COY (1980), J Bourdillon & J Coy 'The animal bones' in Holdsworth 1980, 79–137
- CANHAM (1979), R Canham 'Excavations at Shepperton Green, 1967 and 1973' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 30, 97–124
- CLARK (1979), J Clark 'The small finds. Saxon–early medieval and undated' in Canham 1979, 118–21
- CLUTTON-BROCK (1976), J Clutton-Brock 'The animal resources' in Wilson 1976, 373–92
- COY (1980), J Coy 'The animal bones' in Haslam 1980, 41–51
- CRABTREE (1994), P Crabtree 'Animal exploitation in East Anglian villages' in Rackham 1994, 40–54
- CUNLIFFE (1976), B Cunliffe *Excavations at Portchester Castle, Vol 2: Saxon*
- FARLEY & LEACH (1988), M Farley & H Leach 'Medieval pottery production areas near Rush Green, Denham, Buckinghamshire' *Rec Bucks* 30, 53–102
- FRERE (1943), S S Frere 'Romano-British finds at Littleton' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 9, 203–4
- GETTY (1975), R Getty *Sisson and Grossman's The Anatomy of Domestic Animals* (5th edn)
- GOODIER (1984), A Goodier 'The formation of boundaries in Anglo-Saxon England; a statistical study' *Med Archaeol* 28, 1–21
- GRANT (1982), A Grant 'The use of tooth wear as a guide to the age of domestic ungulates' in Wilson, Grigson & Payne 1982, 92–108
- GRANT (1987), A Grant 'Some observations on butchery in England from the Iron Age to the medieval period' *Anthropozoologica, Premier Numéro Spécial*, 53–8
- GRANT (1988), A Grant 'Animal resources' in Astill & Grant 1988, 149–87
- HAGAN (1992), A Hagan *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Food: Processing and Consumption*
- HALSTEAD (1985), P Halstead 'A study of the mandibular teeth from Romano-British contexts at Maxey' in Pryor 1985, 219–24
- HASLAM (1980), J Haslam (ed) 'A Middle Saxon smelting site at Ramsbury, Wiltshire' *Med Archaeol* 24, 1–68
- HAYMAN (2002), G N Hayman *Archaeological Discoveries, Principally of Neolithic and Bronze Age Date within the Home Farm, Laleham Mineral Extraction Site, 1991–9* Limited circulation client report by Surrey County Archaeological Unit
- HOLDSWORTH (1980), P Holdsworth (ed) *Excavations at Melbourne Street, Southampton, 1971–6* CBA Res Rep 33
- JONES (1982), P Jones 'Saxon and early medieval Staines' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 33, 186–213
- JONES (1990), P Jones 'Neolithic field monuments and occupation at Staines Road Farm, Shepperton' *Surrey Archaeol Soc Bull* 252
- JONES (1998), P Jones 'Towards a type series of medieval pottery in Surrey' *Surrey Archaeol Collect* 85, 211–38
- JONES & POULTON (in prep), P Jones & R Poulton *Excavations in Staines*
- KEEVIL (1992), G Keevil 'An Anglo-Saxon site at Audlett Drive, Abingdon, Oxfordshire' *Oxoniana* 57, 55–79
- LEVITAN (1992), B Levitan 'The animal bone' in Keevil 1992, 74–5
- LOBB (1981–2), S Lobb 'Wraysbury' *Berks Archaeol Journ* 71, 104
- LONGLEY (1976), D Longley 'The archaeological implications of gravel extraction in north-west Surrey' *Surrey Archaeol Soc Res Vol 3*, 1–35
- LONGLEY & POULTON (1982), D Longley & R Poulton 'The Saxon cemetery at Upper West Field, Shepperton' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 33, 177–85
- LUCY (2000), S Lucy *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death*
- LYNE & JEFFERIES (1979), M A B Lyne & R S Jefferies *The Alice Holt/Farnham Roman Pottery Industry* CBA Res Rep 30

- MACGREGOR (1985), A MacGregor *Bone, Antler, Ivory & Horn: the Technology of Skeletal Materials since the Roman Period*
- MACGREGOR (1989), A MacGregor 'Bone, antler and horn industries in the urban context' in Serjeantson & Waldron 1989, 107–28
- MARGESON (1993), S Margeson *Norwich Households. Medieval and Post-medieval Finds from Norwich Survey Excavations 1971–78* East Anglian Archaeology 58
- NEEDHAM (1985), S P Needham 'Neolithic and Bronze Age settlement on the buried floodplains of Runnymede' *Oxford Journ Archaeol* 4 (2), 125–37
- O'CONNOR (1988), T P O'Connor *Bones from the General Accident Site, Tanner Row* The Archaeology of York 15(2)
- O'CONNOR (1991), T P O'Connor *Bones from 46–54 Fishergate* The Archaeology of York 15(4)
- PAYNE (1973), S Payne 'Kill off patterns in sheep and goats: the mandibles from Asvan Kale' *Anatolian Studies* 23, 281–303
- PAYNE & BULL (1988), S Payne & G Bull 'Components of variation in measurements of pig bones and teeth, and the use of measurements to distinguish wild from domestic pig remains' *Archaeozoologia* 2 (1.2), 27–66
- POULTON (1987), R Poulton 'Saxon Surrey' in Bird & Bird 1987, 197–222
- POULTON (1989), R Poulton 'Rescue excavations on an early Saxon cemetery site and a later (probably Late Saxon) execution site at Goblin Works, Ashtead, near Leatherhead' *Surrey Archaeol Collect* 79, 67–97
- POULTON (1998), R Poulton 'Historic towns in Surrey: some general considerations' *Surrey Archaeol Collect* 85, 239–42
- POWELL (unpub), A Powell *The Animal Bones from the Romano-British and Early Saxon Site at Melford Meadows, Brettenham, Norfolk*
- PRYOR (1985), F Pryor *et al* (eds) *Archaeology and Environment of the Lower Welland Valley East Anglian Archaeol Rep* 27
- RACKHAM (1994), J Rackham (ed) *Environment and Economy in Anglo-Saxon England* CBA Res Rep 89
- REYNOLDS (1962), S Reynolds (ed) *The Victoria County History of Middlesex* 3
- ROBERTSON (1996), J Robertson *An Archaeological Evaluation, Excavation and Watching Brief at Duncroft, Staines (TQ 032 720)* Limited circulation client report by Surrey County Archaeological Unit
- SCHMID (1972), E Schmid *Atlas for the Identification of Animal Bones*
- SERJEANTSON (1991), D Serjeantson "Rid Grasse of Bones": a taphonomic study of the bones from midden deposits at the Neolithic and Bronze Age site of Runnymede, Surrey' *International Journ Osteoarchaeology* 1, 73–89
- SERJEANTSON & WALDRON (1989), D Serjeantson & T Waldron *Diet and Crafts in Towns. The Evidence of Animal Remains from the Roman to the Post-Medieval Periods*, BAR Brit Ser 199
- SIMMOONS (1994), F J Simmoons *Eat Not This Flesh*
- WILSON (1976), D M Wilson (ed) *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*
- WILSON, GRIGSON & PAYNE (1982), R Wilson, C Grigson & S Payne (eds) *Ageing and Sexing Animal Bones from Archaeological Sites* BAR Brit Ser 109
- WOOLDRIDGE (1979), M Wooldridge 'The flintwork' in Canham 1979, 122–3
- WYMER (1977), JJ Wymer (ed) *Gazetteer of Mesolithic Sites in England and Wales* CBA Res Rep 22

DEVELOPMENT AND INDUSTRY IN WHITECHAPEL, EXCAVATIONS AT 27–29 WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET AND 2–4 COLCHESTER STREET, LONDON E1

Jon Sygrave

With contributions by Ian Betts, Lyn Blackmore, Anne Davis, David Dungworth, Geoff Egan, Lynne Keys, Christopher Phillipotts and Kevin Reilly

SUMMARY

The site was situated outside the Roman and medieval cities on the south side of what would become Whitechapel High Street. During the 14th century the site was extensively quarried. The quarrying removed the top of the natural sediments and any Roman archaeological deposits. The empty quarry pits were subsequently infilled with nightsoil and refuse, brought from the City, and the area levelled with made-ground. By the beginning of the 15th century a foundry had been established producing copper-alloy objects and several large casting pits were cut into the backfilled quarries. The foundry ceased production by the beginning of the 16th century and was superseded by buildings associated with iron-working waste. There were seven buildings, one of which was half-cellared, and a cobbled courtyard that were part of the first main period of development on the site. The iron working on site ceased in the late 16th century and a large timber building was constructed over the area. Evidence suggests that knacking, butchery, horn working, and possibly tanning took place on the site from the 16th to late 17th centuries. As the site became densely built upon during the 18th century evidence of industry disappears, as do the refuse dumps and pits, apart from several brick-lined cesspits, which continued in use until the 19th century.

INTRODUCTION

The Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS) undertook an archaeological evaluation, watching-brief, and excavation at the site of 27–

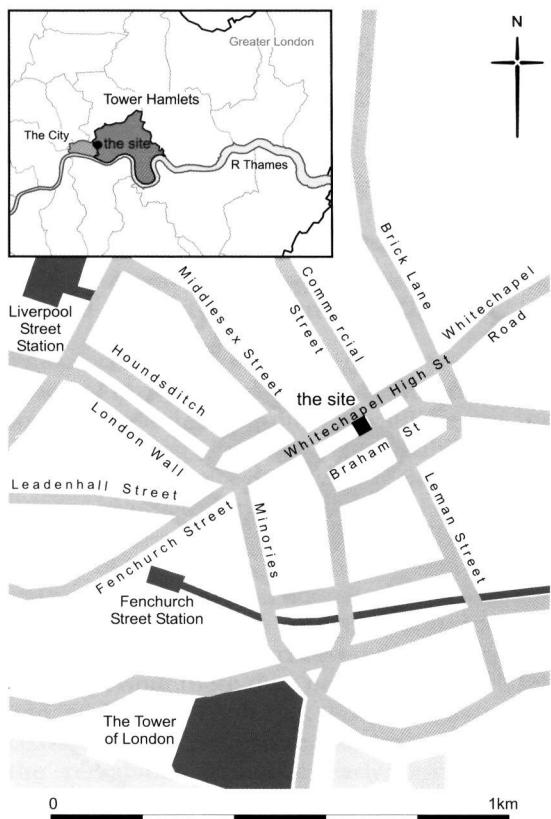


Fig 1. Site location

29 Whitechapel High Street and 2–4 Colchester Street, London E1 (Fig 1). These works, the subsequent reports, and this article were commissioned by Tishman Speyer Properties on behalf of TST Aldgate Holdings, LLC. The archaeological investigations were conducted under the site code WCE01.

An archaeological field evaluation was carried out prior to excavation on a series of evaluation trenches within the existing buildings between 22 and 30 October 2001. The evaluation recorded little evidence of Roman remains but showed that Tudor buildings and large-scale pitting survived under the existing basement slab. After the demolition of the buildings a watching-brief was carried out on the site, as the basement slabs were broken, between 11 and 15 March 2002. The footings of the previous buildings had to be left in place due to their depth (Fig 2). The excavation following on from the watching-brief took place between 18 March and 5 April 2001.

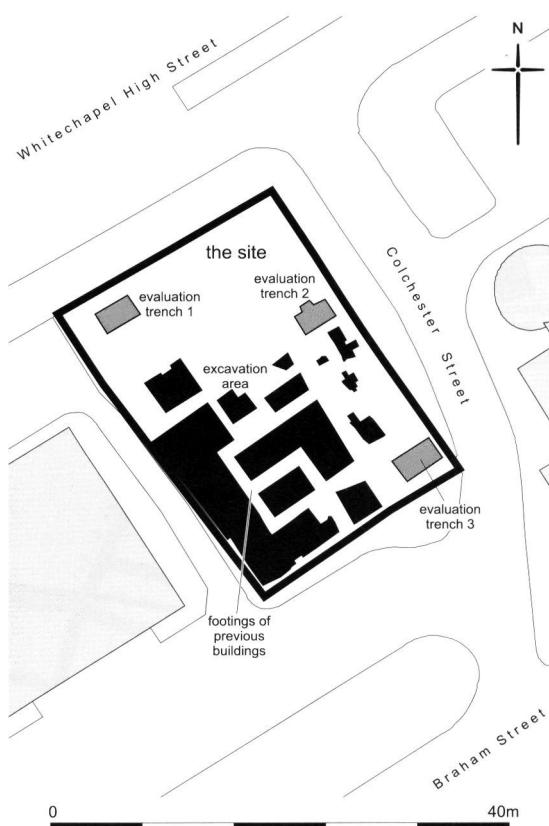


Fig 2. Trench location

GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY (PERIOD 1)

Natural sediments (Open Area 1) (not illus)

Numerous large quarry pits, which covered the entire site, had affected the presence and levels of natural sediments on the site. The only brickearth recorded *in situ* was in the north-west corner within Evaluation Trench 1 (Fig 2); elsewhere it had been removed, presumably by quarrying. The highest natural brickearth was recorded at 11.13m OD. The highest natural gravel was recorded at 11.07m OD, but was truncated in places to a maximum depth of 8.41m OD.

MEDIEVAL QUARRYING c.1300–1400 (PERIOD 2)

Medieval quarrying, backfilling and made-ground (Open Area 2) (not illus)

In the medieval period the site was situated in the extensive manor of Stepney, which belonged to the Bishop of London. It lay to the east of the Bars across *Algatestrete* which demarcated the limit of the City's jurisdiction. The name *Algate* or *Algatestrete* was originally applied to the whole street extending beyond the City boundary into Whitechapel and Stepney (Harben 1918, 10–11; Lobel 1989, 64; VCHM xi, 9). By the 13th century ribbon development was taking place along the street beyond the Bars and a subsidiary chapel of St Mary Matfelon was built by 1282 to serve these new inhabitants. The chapel lay to the east of the site and was known as Whitechapel by the 14th century, becoming a separate parish church by c.1320 (Sharpe 1889–90; VCHM xi, 3, 17, 67).

By 1300 extensive quarrying was taking place across the majority of the site. Brickearth was removed, and with it any potential Roman archaeological deposits. The underlying gravel was also quarried up to 3m in depth and a large volume of material was removed from the site. It is unclear whether the quarry cuts were separate pits or part of a larger entity but their cutting and backfilling seems to have occurred at roughly the same time. In 1408/9 the lord of the manor received 43s 4d from the profits of a *lompette*, a brickearth quarry, half an acre in extent in *Whytechappellane*. This was part of a 25-acre plot leased out to the south side of *Algatestrete* (PRO SC6/1139/23). This may not relate directly to the quarrying that was recorded on the site but

it shows the exploitation of resources that was taking place in the area at the time. The proximity of the quarry pits to Whitechapel High Street suggests that either the site was quarried or gravel to provide materials for the improvement of the High Street or that the location allowed the easy access and transportation of materials.

Evaluation Trench 1 (Fig 2) lay close to Whitechapel High Street and was the only area to contain *in-situ* natural brickearth. The natural ground in this area may have been protected from quarrying by the ribbon development that had spread eastwards during the 14th century (VCHM xi, 15, 17–18, 20). This suggests that quarrying of the area happened between the 14th and early 15th centuries after the initial development along *Algatestrete*.

The quarries appear to have been backfilled, and made-ground laid over them, in the later 14th century, possibly continuing into the 15th century. The quarries were mainly backfilled with a sterile deposit that has been interpreted as nightsoil, brought out of the City and dumped into the redundant pits. The backfilled quarry pits and made-ground produced few finds. Only 31 medium-sized sherds of medieval pottery and a small assemblage of building material were recovered from the large volume of pit fill and dumps. The pottery assemblage was dominated by coarse Surrey/Hampshire border ware (14 sherds) and Kingston ware (7 sherds) and contained two imported sherds; one of the imported sherds is the base of a jar from the Mediterranean or Near East, and may be North African Magrebi ware (Fig 12g). All the pottery dates to between the 12th and 15th centuries. The date range may represent the period over which the quarry pits were backfilled, though the assemblage's size limits any firm interpretation.

While there may have been properties from the 14th century along Whitechapel High Street, no evidence was found of them. This is partly due to the high level of truncation along the site's boundary with Whitechapel High Street, the later widening of the road, and the probable timber construction of the properties (Power 1972, 237–8, 241–2, 245). It is likely that the small assemblage of building materials recovered from this period, like the pottery, was brought to the site within nightsoil and refuse. The most notable pieces are a decorated Penn floor tile ([155]<70>, fabric 2894) of 1350–90 and a plain green-glazed Flemish floor tile associated with pottery of a 1350–1500 date. The Flemish tile

measures 116mm in breadth suggesting a 14th- to late 15th-century date, although it has a silty fabric (3246) which is normally associated with later Flemish tiles. The Penn tile, only a corner of which survives, is either design 2230 or 2231 (Eames 1980). Both would probably originally have paved a church or monastic building.

A series of poorly made decorated floor tiles was found in a later pit, but dated to the 14th century (Eames 1980, 499). Some lack slip, some have only a partially glazed top surface, while others have a green glaze covering both the decorated and non-decorated area making it very difficult to determine the design present. None show any signs of wear and they were presumably rejected because of their poor quality. At least two designs are present, one of which (Eames 1980, design 2801) is also known from Merton Priory (Betts in prep) and Godstow Abbey in Oxfordshire (Eames 1980, 499) where they paved church or monastic buildings (Fig 12a and b). The location of the tilery making these tiles is unknown. They are presumably English, although their silty fabric (2850) is not unlike certain Tudor Flemish tiles, so a Low Countries origin cannot entirely be discounted; however it would seem unlikely that such poor quality decorated tiles would have been exported.

LATE MEDIEVAL FOUNDRY PITS c.1400–1500 (PERIOD 3)

Late medieval backfilling of quarries, made-ground and pitting (Open Area 2)

The process of backfilling the quarry pits and the laying of made-ground over them continued for some time and refuse pits were still in use and dumping taking place when the possible copper-alloy casting pits were dug. Areas of made-ground may also represent material created by the excavation of the copper-alloy casting pits.

Most of the site appears to have remained as waste ground with occasional refuse pits and there is little evidence of occupation. Only 22 sherds of pottery were recovered from deposits in this period; these date between the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Four sherds are of coarse Surrey/Hampshire border ware, while the remainder comprise early post-medieval redware (both monochrome and bichrome-glazed types), with one sherd of early Surrey/Hampshire border whiteware. The last is from a lobed cup, while the remainder are from up

to five cauldrons and/or jars in Tudor redware fabrics.

A copper-alloy dress hook and strap end, which dated from the late medieval to early post-medieval period, were also recovered as residual finds in later pits. The strap end <21> formed part of a distinctive series of high-quality girdle accessories current from the late 14th to the early 16th centuries (Egan & Pritchard 1991, 140, 142–3 nos 653–63). The dresshook <31> (Fig 12h) dated from the late 15th to early 16th century and had rectangular bar flanks, an openwork roundel with a central pellet, and radiating *fleurs de lis*. Although both of the items were of cast copper alloy, it is unlikely that they were made on site as small wares like dress accessories are a completely distinct branch of copper-alloy casting from vessel making.

Late medieval copper-alloy casting (Open Area 3)

In the early 15th century four pits were cut in the south part of the site (Fig 3). The pits were substantial features, one pit [166] measuring

c.3.0m by 2.5m by at least 1.0m deep, and were cut from a height of c.10m OD. The pits were backfilled with foundry waste (pieces of the ceramic mould used to cast copper-alloy objects), which gave them a distinct appearance. A small assemblage of pottery from the pits is similar to that found in the later refuse pits and dumps and suggests a backfilling date of c.1480–1500. The pits may have been casting pits, although the lack of *in-situ* mould and burning might argue against this. However the volume of foundry waste recovered from the site suggests that it had not travelled far. An environmental sample taken from the pits suggests that cereal processing took place in the vicinity of the site and that the area contained wild grasses and clover (*Trifolium* spp.), suggesting the area was undeveloped and close to farmland.

The Whitechapel area has a long history of copper-alloy casting, which has been best documented in relation to the production of bells at the Whitechapel Bell Foundry. The foundry is still working today and can chart its history back to a Robert Chamberlain who was active in the Aldgate area from 1420 (Pickford 1994, 1). Documentary evidence implies that the Aldgate area was also a focus for the production of domestic objects during the late medieval period (Tyssen 1929, 195) and that the bell founding industry may have grown out of this. The association between the Whitechapel area and founding may even date back to the mid-13th century (Stahlschmidt 1884, 13) or the late 14th century as a rental of the Stepney manor lists a William Foundour as a tenant holding two cottages on the south side of Algatestrete (PRO SC12/11/31 f7). ‘Bell-making’ waste has been recovered from several sites, such as 2–3 Philpot Lane, London EC3 (site code PPO87) and Albion House, 34–35 Leadenhall Street, 4 Billiter Street, EC3 (LDL88), though much of the material remains unexamined in detail. The assemblage of foundry waste from the site is one of the few of such an early date to be studied in this important area of copper-alloy casting.

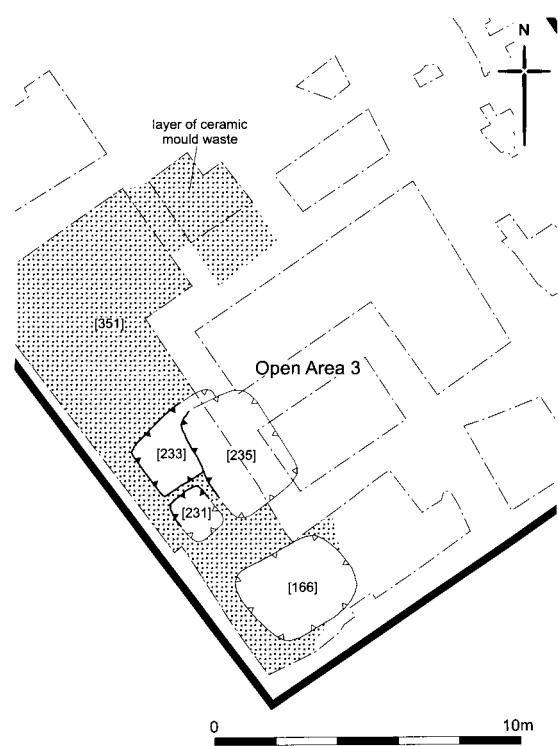


Fig 3. Possible copper-alloy casting pits

Foundry waste

The focus of identifiable mould products amongst the ceramic waste from the entire site, as with other excavated groups in the City, is on food-preparation vessels, such as cauldrons, mortars, and flat-bottomed vessels (some possibly rectangular in outline), though candle holders

are a distinct second possibility. No specific evidence of bell production was found among the total of c.66.5kg of mould fragments. To check whether the more fragmentary mould pieces and dispersed copper slag were evidence of bell making, samples of ceramic mould and copper slag were analysed by David Dungworth of English Heritage's Centre for Archaeology using energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence (EDXRF). EDXRF was used to determine the chemical content of the copper alloys used to cast objects on the site. Many of the samples contain significant levels of arsenic and/or antimony. Such alloys were used in the medieval and early post-medieval period for the casting of domestic vessels (Dungworth 2001; 2002). The alloy used for casting bells is generally a high tin bronze free from arsenic and antimony. The combination of analysis of the mould fragments with the chemical composition of the copper alloy employed has refined the criteria used to suggest bell founding in previous assemblages. On evidence from the assemblage of ceramic mould from the excavation at Baltic Exchange, 14–21 St Mary Axe, London EC3 (BAX95) (Egan 2002), the forms of cope and core rims have been shown to be not necessarily reliable indicators of bell founding.

The content of the assemblage has close similarities to other foundry waste assemblages: the highly friable, lightweight (?) animal-dung and clay fabric of the moulds, fired red (oxidised) on the outer surfaces and blackened (reduced) at the cores and on the casting surfaces; the presence of up to three 'moulding wires' on some fragments, to make parallel, horizontal bands on the outside of the product to give purchase during handling <105>; occasional imprints from straw roping <174> and <129>; the scarcity among the recovered evidence of what must have been universally employed vertical cope seams <102>; and the apparent use of wood as the fuel, judging from occasional survivals of charcoal. Charcoal was also recovered from an environmental sample taken from the casting pits along with charred plant remains, which may have been used as tinder. Cope fragment <156> (Figs 4a and 5a) has the standard profile of the flared rim of a cauldron. There are several mould pieces for single-ribbed feet, one of the signatures of this particular workshop <97> (Fig 4f), and others that may be for the angled handles that characterise the common form of cauldrons <177> and <79> (Figs 4g and

5g). The latter fragment could alternatively be from a decorative, lobed base, perhaps from a candlestick or a salt (cf North 1999, for the potential interchangeability of these in pewter manufacturing). Three of the leg pieces have marks cut by blades, two with paired transverse lines <182> (Fig 4b) and one with what looks like a letter 'V' on its side <90> (Fig 4d), both types of cut may have been signs intended to be read as Roman numerals and presumably indicated batches, or something that the mould temporarily obscured, to the foundry's work force. Two fragments <96> and <170> seem to be for a large handle, which appears to be set at a right angle on a straight-sided vessel such as that represented by fragment <136> (Figs 4c and 5c). Other fragments <132> (Fig 4e) and <137> seem intended to serve the same purpose between slightly rounded surfaces, possibly of shallow vessels or candlestick bases (which would have been cast separately from the cupped stems). Still mysterious are some apparent casting surfaces that survive as completely flat fragments.

The kiln furniture is restricted to a single item: a slab of refractory fabric, paralleled at Baltic Exchange (Egan 2002, 51, fig 52). There are also a couple of possible structural furnace fragments, <143> (Fig 4h) and <150>: corner pieces with an apparently non-enclosed channel at one end funnelling out at the other, perhaps conduits for gases or molten metal, or possibly to accommodate tuyères. The absence otherwise of hearth-like structural fragments differentiates this assemblage from others such as Baltic Exchange (Egan 2002). Fig 5 illustrates how some of the recovered fragments may have combined to form a casting mould for a cauldron.

Beyond this largely familiar material, the assemblage includes a small but significant amount of tubular fragments (less than 1% by weight of all the mould recovered). Inner diameters vary between 19mm, <147> (Fig 6a), and c.30mm, <65>, and <167> flares from 27 to 33mm. Among these <147> retains evidence that it was luted on one side into or onto another component. This could be an enigmatic star-like fragment similar to one recovered from Baltic Exchange (Egan 2002, fig 51), which may have supported a small ring of these during firing. Some of the tubes could possibly have acted as ingates, through which molten metal was poured. The similar fabric to the rest of the moulds, however, means they are more likely to have been for casting candlestick stems — they could have

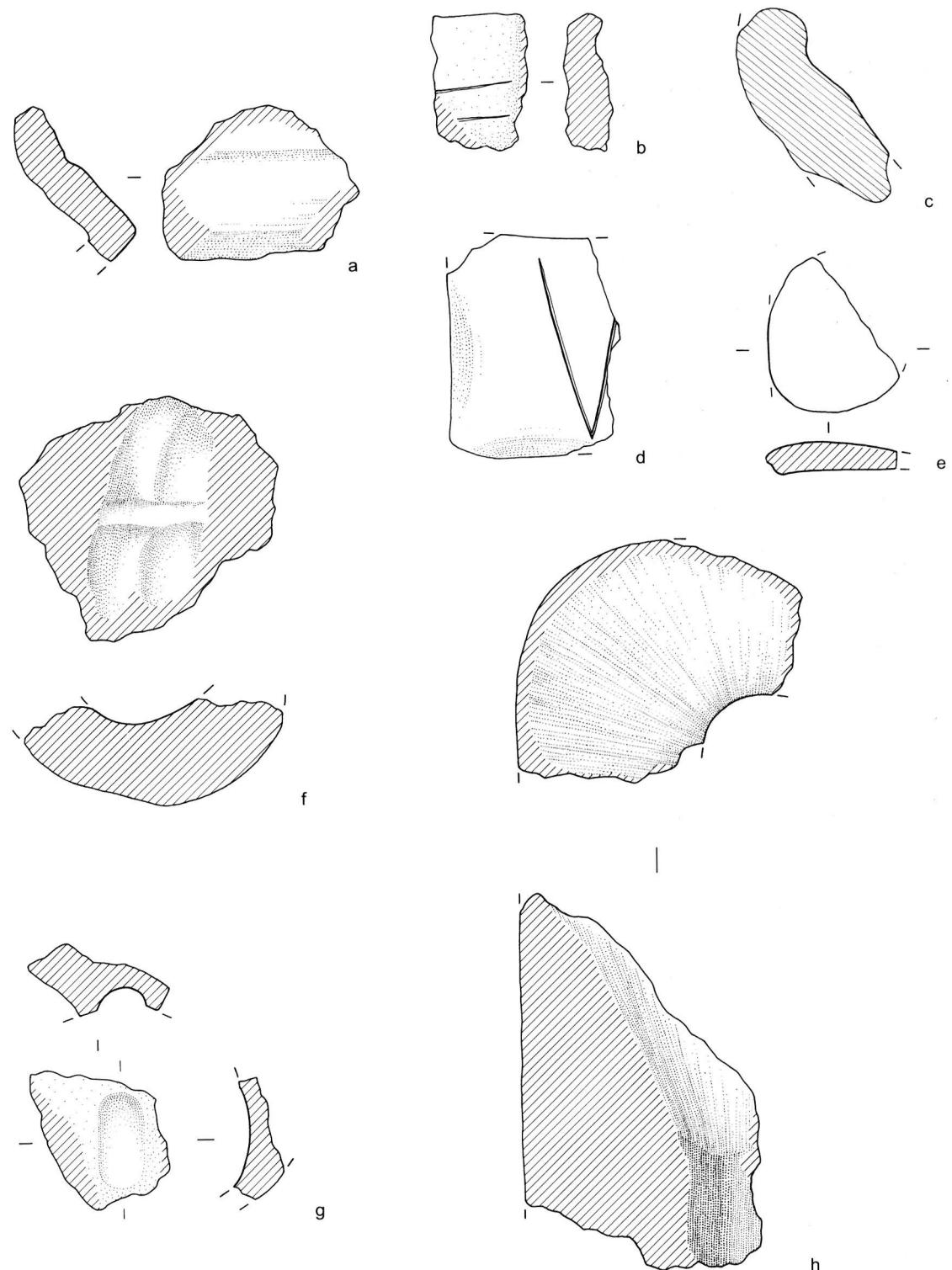


Fig 4. Fragments of ceramic casting mould

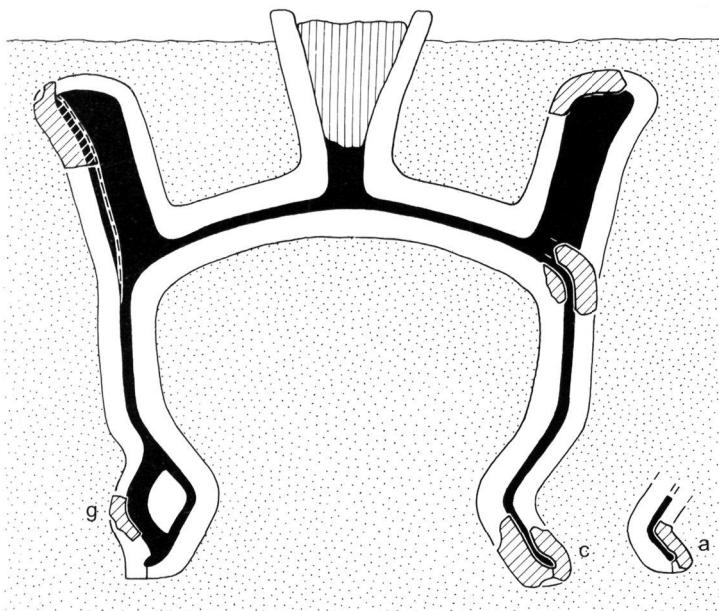


Fig 5. Conjectural cross-section of cauldron casting mould

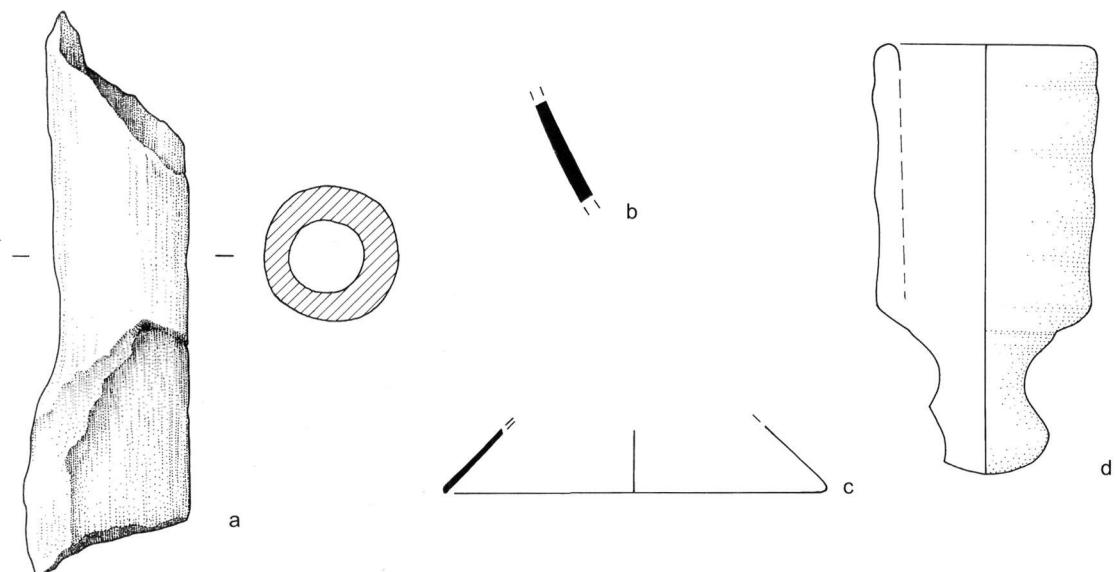


Fig 6. (a) Fragment of tubular ceramic casting mould<147> (perhaps for stem of a candleholder); (b) Fragment of cast copper-alloy vessel <100>; (c) Fragment of cast copper-alloy base <48> (from candleholder or vessel rim); (d) Cast copper-alloy cup <98> (from candleholder)

been slid off the products as found, without the ring breaking. Against this interpretation, their inner surfaces mostly lack the whitish deposit that characterises the casting surfaces of other excavated mould components, the exceptions being <147> (Fig 6a) and <65>. These arguably complement a large candleholder cup <98> (Fig 6d) from the same deposit as the majority of the foundry waste. This suggests that candlesticks might have been a by-product of the industry as was the case at a 14th- to 15th-century foundry at Worcester, where a single candlestick mould and one potential product of this category were found among some 4 tonnes of waste recovered (Taylor 1996, 115–16). Although candlesticks may have been by-products from the ceramic moulding evidence, the very few surviving metal fragments of possible foundry products could suggest a different picture. Registered find <100> (Fig 6b) is a fragment of a vessel, while fragments <98> (Fig 6d) and <48> (Fig 6c) are parts of candleholders. The two fragments thought to be from candleholders together amount to more than twice the weight of the sole item representing vessels. It should be remembered that these figures are derived from just three items, at a very high level of interpretation (the candleholders may not have been products of this foundry). The excavated evidence from other London sites, 72–73 Basinghall Street, EC2 (GYE92) and Riverplate House, 7–11 Finsbury Circus, EC2 (RIV87), for the production of candlesticks, which is slightly later, has in contrast suggested that this took place at separate foundry workshops from those for casting kitchen vessels, at least in the post-medieval period (Egan in prep and 1996, 89–90 fig 5b).

As the casting pits went out of use they were backfilled with the ceramic mould waste and eventually capped with another c.0.25m-thick make-up layer [351] (Fig 3) of foundry waste, which was dated to 1480–1500. This foundry waste layer [351] was a substantial deposit, which covered all the casting pits and sealed the backfilled quarry pits beneath a flue structure and Buildings 1 and 2. Although substantial, the layer of foundry waste [351] was only recorded in the south and west of the site, suggesting that this was the area used for casting.

EARLY TUDOR DEVELOPMENT 1500–1550 (PERIOD 4)

Ribbon development along what would become

Whitechapel High Street had probably begun during the 13th to 14th centuries, prompting the construction of the ‘Whitechapel’ to the east of the site in 1282. The buildings associated with this early development would most likely have been constructed of timber, but no evidence of such early structures was recorded on the site. When the foundry pits were cut in the 15th century they would have been on the edge of farmland, but by the Tudor period the Whitechapel area had become a suburb of the City and increasingly more densely populated. A mark of this was the paving of Whitechapel High Street during the reign of Henry VIII (Weinreb & Hibbert 1983, 983). In the 1590s John Stow commented that, ‘Without the bars both sides of the street be pestered with cottages and allies, even up to Whitechapel Church’ (Stow 1908, 127). The Tudor development of the area is represented on the site by evidence of industry associated with metalworking and butchery and numerous brick and timber buildings. The pottery that was recovered from these features dated to before 1550, and all contexts could date to c.1480–1500. This suggests a date earlier in the 16th century for the development of the site than the traditional building boom that is known to have occurred throughout London in 1570–1580 (Schofield 1995, 26) (Fig 7).

Half-cellared property (Building 1) and associated brick-built flue (Open Area 4)

Building 1 was constructed over the layer of ceramic waste [351] that sealed the copper-alloy casting pits. The building consisted of a half-cellar, revetted by a line of stakes, with a metalled surface, and a north-east to south-west brickearth and wattle wall (Fig 8). The last is not aligned with Whitechapel High Street but shares a common alignment with Buildings 4 and 9, also on the west of the site (Fig 10). This change of alignment in the west of the site may suggest the presence of a side street.

Six sherds of pottery were associated with Building 1. Four are of Cheam ware and coarse Surrey/Hampshire border ware, while two are post-medieval redwares. One is from the rim of a large, externally sooted bowl in a soft redware that could be from London or Cheam, and is contemporary with the late medieval fabrics. The other, from the rim of a thin-walled jug, is problematic in that the coarse sandy fabric is closer to the post-medieval redware (PMR) that

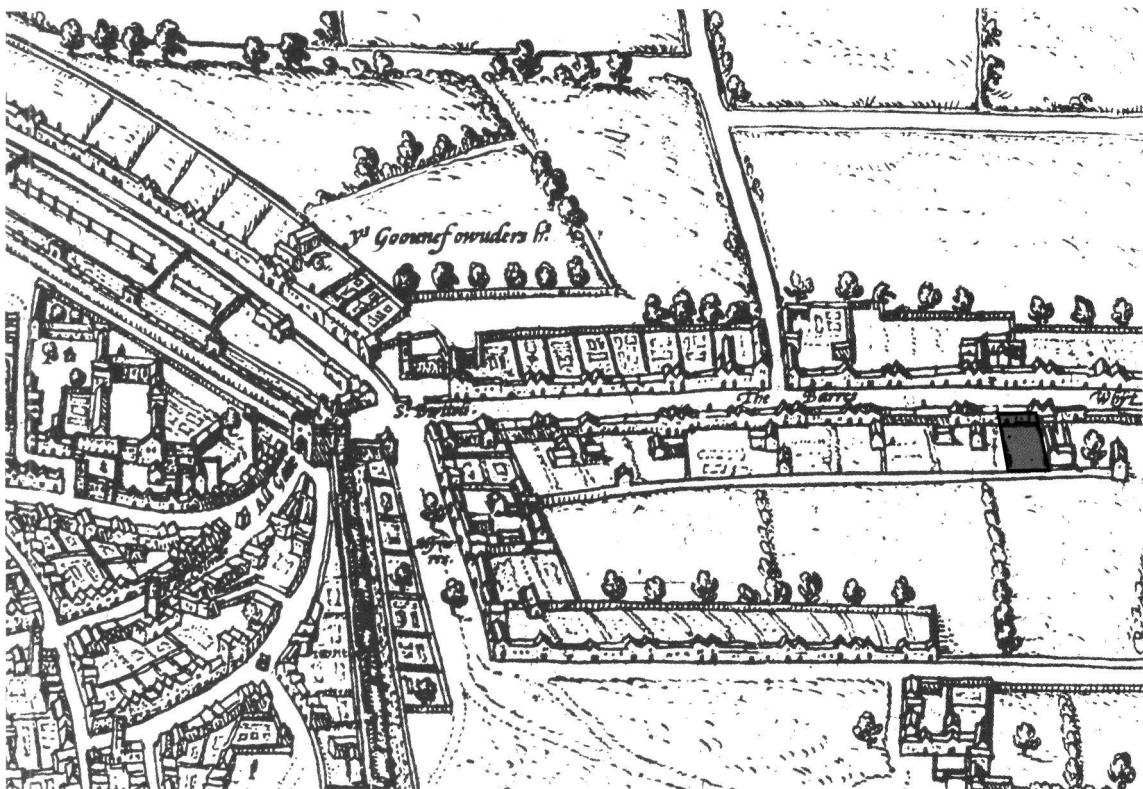


Fig 7. Braun and Hogenburg's map of 1572

developed c.1580 than to the early post-medieval redware fabric PMRE. If so, it must be intrusive.

The building appears to be contemporary with the kiln structure to the east, although they have no direct stratigraphic link other than having both been cut into make-up from Period 3 and having their floors at the same level. The metalled floor of Building 1 could also suggest a craft/industrial area, as it appears to be an internal surface. A patch of intense burning was also recorded in three closely grouped hollows in association with Building 1 and close to the kiln structure (Fig 9).

Brick-built flue (Open Area 4)

The history of metalworking on the site continued with iron workshops becoming established in the early 16th century. The copper-alloy casting had ended before the establishment of the workshops and there is no reason to suspect a direct link between the industries. The evidence recovered from the site includes a large quantity of iron slag, hammerscale, and a brick-built

flue. The remains of the flue consisted of two parallel brick walls, the rest having been either truncated by modern footings to the north and east or dismantled in antiquity (Figs 8 and 10). There were other features that may have been associated with the flue structure, including a series of stakeholes and a barrel that had been set into the ground, possibly to hold water. Of the seven sherds of pottery recovered from the backfill of the barrel, six are of late medieval date (coarse Surrey/Hampshire border ware and Cheam whiteware); the other is from a slipped redware dripping dish with clear/yellow glaze that dates to 1480–1600.

There was evidence for blacksmithing across the site in the form of smithing hearth bottoms and hammerscale. Smithing hearth bottoms are formed in a smith's hearth as the result of high temperature reactions between the iron, iron-scale, and silica through the smith's use of silica as a flux. The predominantly fayalitic (iron silicate) material produced by this reaction dripped down into the hearth base during smithing to form the smithing hearth bottom.

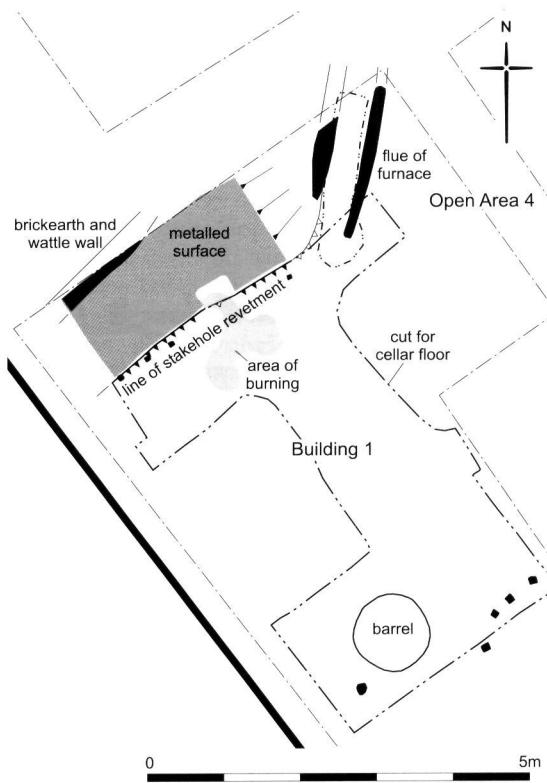
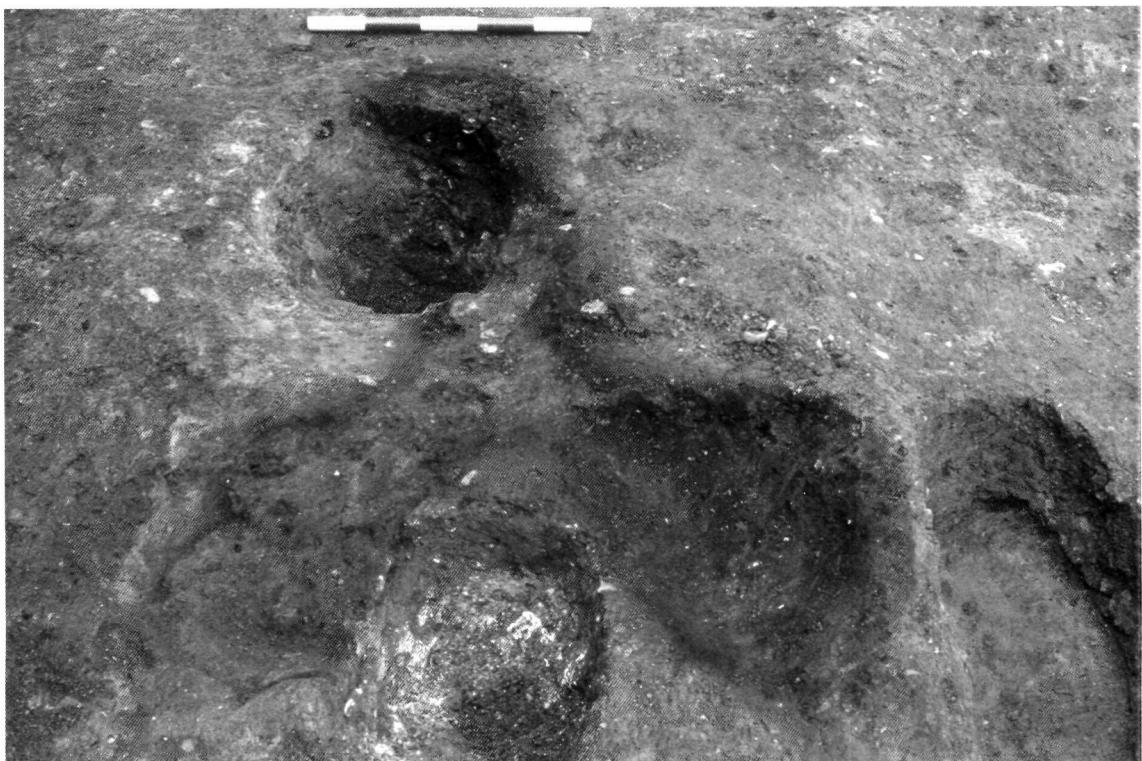


Fig 8. Detail of brick-built flue and half-cellared property (Building 1)

Fig 9. North-west facing view of burnt area within Building 1



The hearths bottoms would have been removed from the hearth and were generally disposed of in the vicinity of the smithy (McDonnell 1986, 47). Hearth bottoms were recovered from across the site: around the flue, to the east of the flue, around a clay floor, and to the far south-east of the site around a feature that was initially interpreted as a kiln or oven but was probably associated with metalworking. After the metalworking on the site ceased the ground around the flue was levelled with large make-up deposits, which were up c.0.5m in depth. These deposits consisted almost entirely of hearth bottoms and other slag and represent waste material produced by the iron industry on the site or nearby.

Hammerscale is a micro-slag produced through the action of a blacksmith hammering a piece of heated iron; it surrounds areas where smithing took place. Hammerscale comes in two forms: hammerscale flakes from ordinary hot working of a piece of iron, or tiny spheres from high temperature welding to join two pieces of iron. Hammerscale is not visible to the naked eye when in the soil but is highly diagnostic of smithing activity, often remaining in the area around the anvil and near the hearth when hearth bottoms have been cleared out of the smithy and dumped nearby. Flake hammerscale in particular is highly magnetic which facilitates its detection in the soil. Hammerscale was found across the site in the areas where hearth bottoms were recovered and in the patch of intense burning near to the brick-built flue and Building 1. Both sphere and flake hammerscale were recovered, suggesting that a range of fabrication techniques were used on the site.

The volume of hearth bottoms and the spread of hammerscale across the site suggest that there were several workshops producing iron objects during the early 16th century. Documentary evidence also suggests the presence of metalworkers in the area around this time, in 1569–1570 John Wale leased out tenement plots on the south side of Whitechapel High Street to a blacksmith and a pewterer (*CAD* iv no A6613; v nos A12194, A12204, A12811, A12910, A12886, A13536). It is unclear whether the tenements lay within the site but the record shows that similar activities were occurring in the vicinity at the time.

Brick buildings (Building 2–Building 7)

Buildings 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 were fragments of

Tudor brick buildings probably constructed in the early 16th century (Fig 10). Many of the buildings consisted of merely a wall or section of brick floor and have been allocated separate building numbers due to their alignment or lack of relationship to other structures. The bricks that were used in their construction may have been produced locally in the Brick Lane area, which was a centre of brick production in the 16th century (Weinreb & Hibbert 1983, 89). The bricks were handmade and many had indented top margins, which had resulted from the production process. Typical brick fabrics employed on the site were those from Buildings 4 and 5. Red bricks (fabric 3033, 3039) made from London brickearth deposits were used for the wall and floor of Building 4, and measured 209–224 by 99–109 by 46–61mm. The red bricks (fabrics 3033, 3042, 3046) used in the construction of Building 5 are similar to those used in Building 4, although a number are slightly larger: they measure 219–229 by 105–113 by 44–55mm. The brick floor from Building 5 also incorporated a reused Flemish-type yellow brick (fabric 3031) of 14th- to mid-15th-century date.

A number of tiles dating to the early 16th century were also recovered from later pit fills and dumps across the site. Although they have no direct connection with these buildings, they may once have been part of their internal furnishings, which were discarded when the properties were demolished. A Spanish *arista* floor tile (<44>, fabric 2292) with an elaborate decorative design in white, brown, green, purple, and blue (Fig 12c) was recovered from a pit fill. This design has not previously been found in London and would have been laid as part of a four-tile pattern. Such tiles are rare in London having only been found in any quantity at All Hallows church and 30–35 Botolph Lane (Betts in prep). The All Hallows and Botolph Lane tiles were made in Seville between 1500 and 1550, and this is probably the source of the Whitechapel example; Seville floor tiles were exported widely during the first half of the 16th century to the Low Countries, Italy and the New World, as well as England (Ray 2000, 367).

Of similar date are a number of late 15th- to 16th-century glazed Flemish tiles. These later Flemish tiles are distinguished by their larger size and silty fabric (types 2320, 2850, 2063); one complete brown-glazed example measures 194–197mm square by 26mm in thickness and

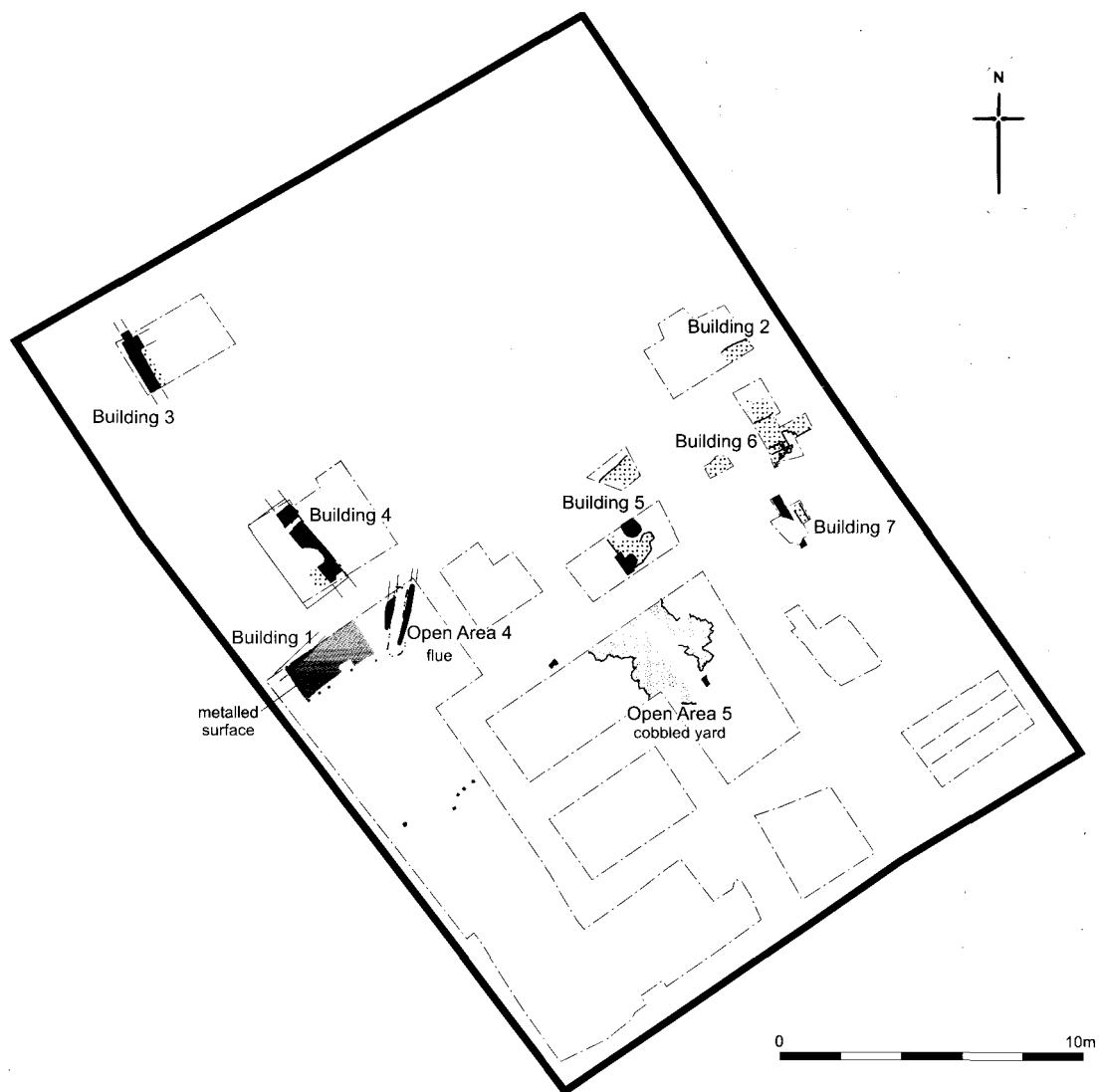


Fig 10. The Tudor buildings

another half complete light green tile is 208–209mm in breadth by 32–33mm in thickness. Both were recovered from a pit fill.

Building 2

Building 2 was a fragment of brick floor recorded in Evaluation Trench 2 (Fig 10). The floor fragment was not recorded in association with any walls and its alignment is unknown.

Building 3

Building 3 was recorded in Evaluation Trench 1 and was the only building on the site to have fronted onto Whitechapel High Street (Fig 10). It consisted of a wall fragment running south-east to north-west, perpendicular to the High Street, and a connecting wall fragment running south-west to north-east, forming two rooms, the southern room containing a brick floor.

Building 4

Building 4 consisted of a north-west to south-east aligned wall fragment, with a brick floor to the west (Fig 10). The building lay to the south-east of Building 3 and seemed to be on the same alignment as Building 1 and later Building 9 (Period 5). This suggests that there could have been an alley or road off Whitechapel High Street onto which it fronted. Two sherds from redware cauldrons/pipkins were found in the brick wall/floor of Building 4; one is of early post-medieval redware, while the other is of bichrome glazed ware.

Building 5 and associated cobbled yard (Open Area 5)

Building 5 may have been associated with Open Area 5, which was recorded to the south-east (Fig 10). The building consisted of a wall fragment aligned perpendicular to Whitechapel High Street and two brick floor fragments. The southerly of the two floor fragments had a square brick-lined inset in the floor, probably in the corner of the room, possibly a space to place a bowl to scrub water into for cleaning purposes.

Building 6

Building 6 comprised a collection of floor fragments constructed of brick and cobble (Fig 10). The floor fragments were of a similar build and did not seem to be associated with any of the neighbouring buildings.

Building 7

Building 7 consisted of two parallel wall fragments, aligned perpendicular to Whitechapel High Street, and an associated soakaway (Fig 10). A total of 37 sherds of pottery was found in the floor/wall of Building 7, but 29 of these are from a Tudor greenware lobed cup (*cf* Pearce & Vince 1988, fig 127, no. 593 for general profile). The others are from cauldrons/pipkins in late London ware and early post-medieval redware.

Open Area 6 (not illus)

As the buildings developed during the early 16th century, backyards and areas of external activity were created where refuse disposal and industry occurred. The heavily truncated nature of the site allowed the identification of separate

buildings, but the backyards and other open spaces were more difficult to define and were combined as Open Area 6. A make-up layer and a pit fill contained single sherds of coarse Surrey/Hampshire border ware, and the latter also contained a sherd of early post-medieval redware.

The alignment of several of the buildings in the western part of the site suggests that there may have been an alley leading from Whitechapel High Street onto which properties fronted. Most of the buildings on the site are aligned perpendicular to Whitechapel High Street or Red Lyon Street, the precursor of modern Colchester Street, but Buildings 1 and 4 and later Building 9 (Period 5), which are located in the western part of the site, are on a different alignment. Buildings 1 and 4 date to the early 16th century while Building 9 dates to the early 17th century, suggesting that the alley to which they were aligned continued in use until at least the 17th century. Documentary and cartographic research supports the notion of an alley running down the west of the site, which is probably to be identified with Winsor Alley, renamed Swan Alley in the late 17th century and Red Cow Inn in the 18th century.

LATER TUDOR DEVELOPMENT 1550–1600 (PERIOD 5)

During the later Tudor period the industrial activity on the site changed and metalworking appears to have come to an end. As metalworking ceased new industries revolving around animal products took its place. These changes occurred over a very short time span and the majority of buildings on the site remained the same. This is shown through the date range of the pottery recovered from features in Period 5, all the sherds, apart from two associated with Building 8, coming from Open Area 6. Out of a total of 148 pot sherds, 112 were recorded as post-medieval. Of the post-medieval sherds, early post-medieval redware amounts to 62%, while the bichrome glazed ware and slipped ware variants comprise a further 10%. This period is dated to after 1550 by the presence of Surrey/Hampshire border whiteware (2 vessels), but the other wares are all typical of the period 1500–1550. Imported wares comprised scattered sherds of green-glazed Beauvais ware, Dutch redwares, Raeren stoneware, South Netherlands maiolica, Italian tin-glazed ware, and Spanish green-glazed ware, one with unusual slip decoration (Fig 12f).

Timber structure in west of site (Building 8)

Building 8 consisted of 7 large postholes, a cut for a timber screen, and an area of brickearth floor (Fig 11). A small sherd of Raeren stoneware and another from a jug or flower vase in Italian tin-glazed ware were recovered from the posthole fills. Some of the postholes were cut through the metalled floor of Building 1 (Period 4) and are on a different alignment to the brickearth and wattle wall of Building 1, being perpendicular to the High Street. Building 8 was also too close to the flue structure (Open Area 4) to have made it practical for the two to be contemporary. The flue structure (Open Area 4) must therefore have gone out of use by this period.

The timber structure would have been substantial yet appeared to stand for only around 50 years. By the early 17th century the timbers had been removed, apart from one *in-situ* post, and the area levelled. Two sherds of pottery from the make-up deposits were of a Spanish green-glazed ware, one with slip decoration (Fig 12f) and the other in a fine red fabric.

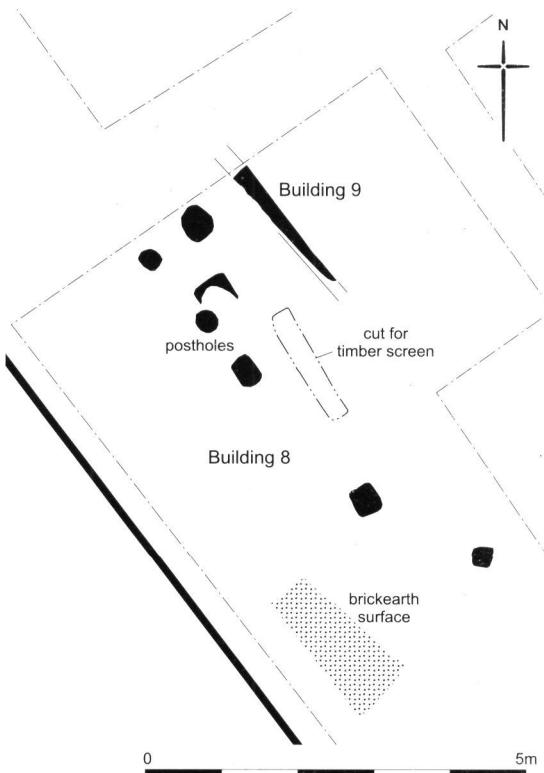
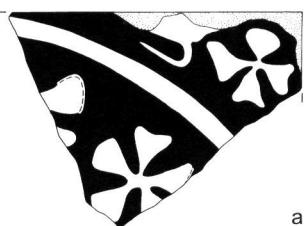


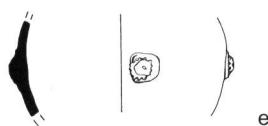
Fig 12. Finds from the excavation



a



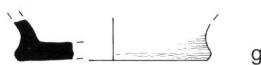
b



e



f



g



c



d



h

0 6cm

0 2cm

Fig 11. Detail of timber building (Building 8) and brick building (Building 9)

Building 9

Building 9 was stratigraphically later than the other buildings in the western part of the site and superseded Building 8 (Fig 11). Building 9 consists of a single south-east to north-west aligned brick wall. The building was built on the same alignment as earlier Buildings 1 and 4 (Period 4) and shows a continuation of the possible side street into the 17th century.

Butchers, knackers yards, and horn workers (Open Areas 5 and 6)

In the centre of the site a large cobbled courtyard (Open Area 5) (Figs 10 and 13) was well constructed on a bedding layer of sand and had a series of surface drain-runs created by the arrangement of the cobbles. It is not thought to be a road because buildings recorded to the north and north-east would have blocked access to Whitechapel High Street and the predecessor of Colchester Street. A tile dump that sealed the courtyard was dated to 1550–1600. The

courtyard may represent part of the knackers or slaughterers yard intimated by the animal bone record on the site.

During Period 5 new external activities took place in Open Area 6, although dumping and refuse pits continued. Several pits contained large amounts of animal bones, such as horse heads (Fig 14) and horn cores, which have been interpreted as by-products of industrial processes such as knackering, butchery, and horn working or tanning.

The site also appears to have been in an area of butchers and those who worked animal products. One of the earliest references to such trades reports the fining of a butcher in Whitechapel High Street in 1526 (PRO SC2/191/64). On the site the first evidence of such activity comes in the late 16th century and relates to pit fills, which contained numerous animal bones (Fig 15). The fill of one pit [210] was largely composed of horse bones, which would appear to comprise the disarticulated remains of a minimum of five individuals. Certain skeletal parts, such as the skulls, are better represented than others and it



Fig 13. North facing view of cobbled courtyard (Open Area 5)



Fig 14. South-east facing view of a pit [210] with a large quantity of horse bone

can be supposed that other parts were disposed of elsewhere. Each of these animals is relatively old and many were suffering from pathologies (Spondylosis deformans and spavin) which may be age or work related. While the aetiology of this condition is little understood (Baker & Brothwell 1980, 129), it can be stated that other archaeological examples, from London sites, tend to be concentrated amongst individuals of advanced age. The height and stature of these animals are comparable to the great majority of horses recovered from other late medieval to early post-medieval sites in London (Rackham 1998; Cowie & Pipe 1998). There would appear to be a small collection of more gracile, possibly riding, animals amongst these other collections (Rackham 1998, 172), but no comparable individuals were represented at this site.

The bones recovered from the pit [210] showed no obvious butchery marks, while those from a contemporary make-up dump [147] had clear cuts. One of the femurs had been chopped through at the proximal end,

while the other is, unfortunately, broken just below this articulation. These bones may well belong to one of the individuals from the pit [210], deposition of body parts occurring across the site. Comparisons can be made with the situation found at Elverton Street (Cowie & Pipe 1998), where all the horses had clearly been dismembered prior to disposal.

It is probable that the horse bones in this area represent animals which have been skinned and possibly dismembered, if not defleshed. Their age would suggest they are the remains of knackered animals. Of interest is the obvious lack of poleaxe damage to the skull recovered from the pit [210], which shows that if they were killed at some nearby knackers yard, the method of slaughter did not imitate that generally used with cattle. Notably the various horse skulls at Elverton Street showed a similar lack of frontal damage (Cowie & Pipe 1998).

The animal bone evidence clearly suggests the presence of various processing and craft workshops in the general vicinity of this site

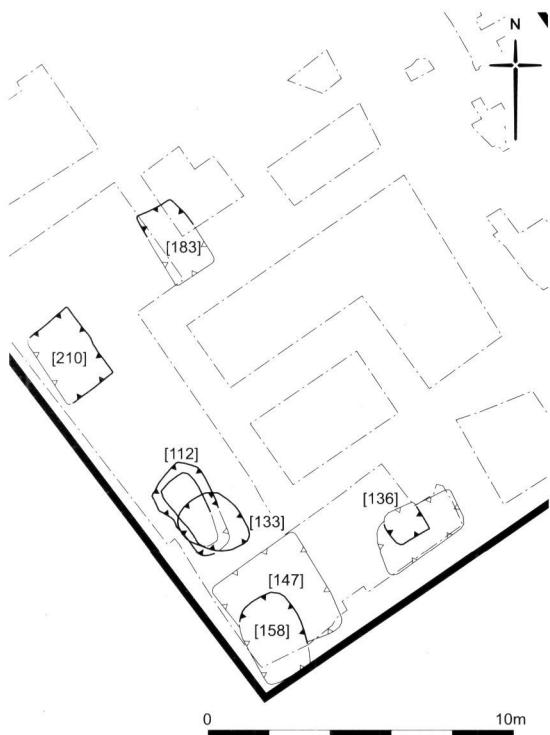


Fig 15. Pits containing animal bone

from the late 16th century. It is possible that the local butchers may also have acted as knackers, however the concentration of horse bones strongly suggests the presence of a specialist establishment.

As well as the horses there were the fragmented remains of four cattle skulls, largely represented by relatively complete maxilla, the posterior half of one skull, and the posterior articulation (occipital condyles). None of these showed cut marks, which is surprising considering the extensive butchery noticed on cattle bones from later periods.

By the 17th century other industries associated with butchery and slaughter appear on the site; of particular interest was the discovery of large collections of cattle horncores. Horncores formed the major part of the fill of one pit [158] and the lining of another [112], both in the south of the site. Unfortunately, it was not possible to lift more than a token quantity from the fill of the pit [158] due to their fragility. A small number of cattle horncores, which had been sawn through at about the midshaft, was also recovered from another pit [136] (Fig 15). These various collec-

tions account for the two main types of horncore waste, including the large scale deposition of cores from which the sheaf has either been soaked, rotted, or cut off, and the less frequently found horncores where the horn was obviously divided while still attached to the core.

Though they are incomplete, it was possible to extrapolate length categories (following Armitage 1982) from the available measurements using comparative data taken from West (1995, 28). This analysis showed that each of the cores was at least medium-horn in size (length between 220 and 360mm), while two were clearly from long-horned individuals (length greater than 360mm). Such sizes are comparable to the majority of horncores recovered from nearby contemporary sites, this probably signifying a certain level of choice (the larger the core the greater the quantity of horn) as well as the availability of long-horned cattle. There is undoubtedly a greater proportion of such horncores amongst post-medieval compared to medieval sites in London. It should be noted that one of the largest medieval horncore collections, from Angel Court, provided few or probably no horncores larger than 200mm in length (Clutton-Brock & Armitage 1977, 95).

There is certainly compelling evidence for horn working activities, with the evidence at this site comparable to major contemporary collections of cattle horncores from Spitalfields Market (Liddle 2002), Aldgate (Armitage 1984, 133), Cutler Street (Armitage 1989, 209), Gardiner Corner, Mansell Street (*ibid*, 210), 8–10 Crosswall (*ibid*), and, somewhat further afield, from the Royal Mint (West 1995). Amongst these collections, it is notable that dumps of horncores, rather than their use as a lining, are restricted to this site and Aldgate. It could be supposed that such dumps may be a better indication of the proximity of hornworking establishments, assuming that waste items would either have been dumped close by, or, if used as a building material, that they would have been transferred to a particular location. It is perhaps of interest, in this respect that there are historical documents of the 17th and 18th centuries which refer to the presence of horn workers in the vicinity of Aldgate (Armitage 1984, 134).

The nearby knackers yard also seems to have still been in operation during the 17th century as horse limb bones from the remains of at least three individuals were recovered from the fill of a pit [158] (Fig 15). Horse bones were also recovered from another pit [133],

comprising a skull from an aged stallion and a scapula, which displayed skinning cuts and either dismemberment or defleshing marks respectively (Fig 15). The sizes of these animals are comparable to other horses found within late medieval to early post-medieval London sites.

Butchery along the south side of Whitechapel High Street continued into the 18th century and the area appears to have become well known for it. Strype remarks that they 'drive a considerable Trade, and kill excellent Beef, Veal, Mutton and Lamb; lying conveniently for driving and carrying Cattel from Rumford Market' (Strype 1720, I, ii, 27).

POST-MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENT 1600–1850 (PERIOD 6)

Backyards and open spaces between buildings (Open Area 6)

The site continued to develop in the late post-medieval period, becoming fully built on by the mid-18th century (Fig 16). Pits containing

animal by-products and refuse continued until the mid-17th century but as the site became more built up and space was at a premium, they disappeared. In the early 17th century, brick-lined cesspits began to appear and these continued in use until the early 19th century when they were succeeded by modern drainage and backfilled. The pottery recovered from this period shows the curtailing of domestic dumps in the later post-medieval period. The largest amount of pottery recovered from the site was from this period, with 415 post-medieval sherds, and 24 of medieval date. Although a large assemblage was recovered, little dates to the later post-medieval period, most dating to the late 16th to early 17th centuries, with smaller amounts of later 17th- and 18th-century material.

The pits and dumps did, however, produce some interesting sherds of pottery and pieces of ceramic building material. Within the pottery assemblage was a 16th-century Spanish green-glazed jug with plastic decoration (Fig 12e). The building material assemblage also produced two tiles of particular significance. Firstly, a

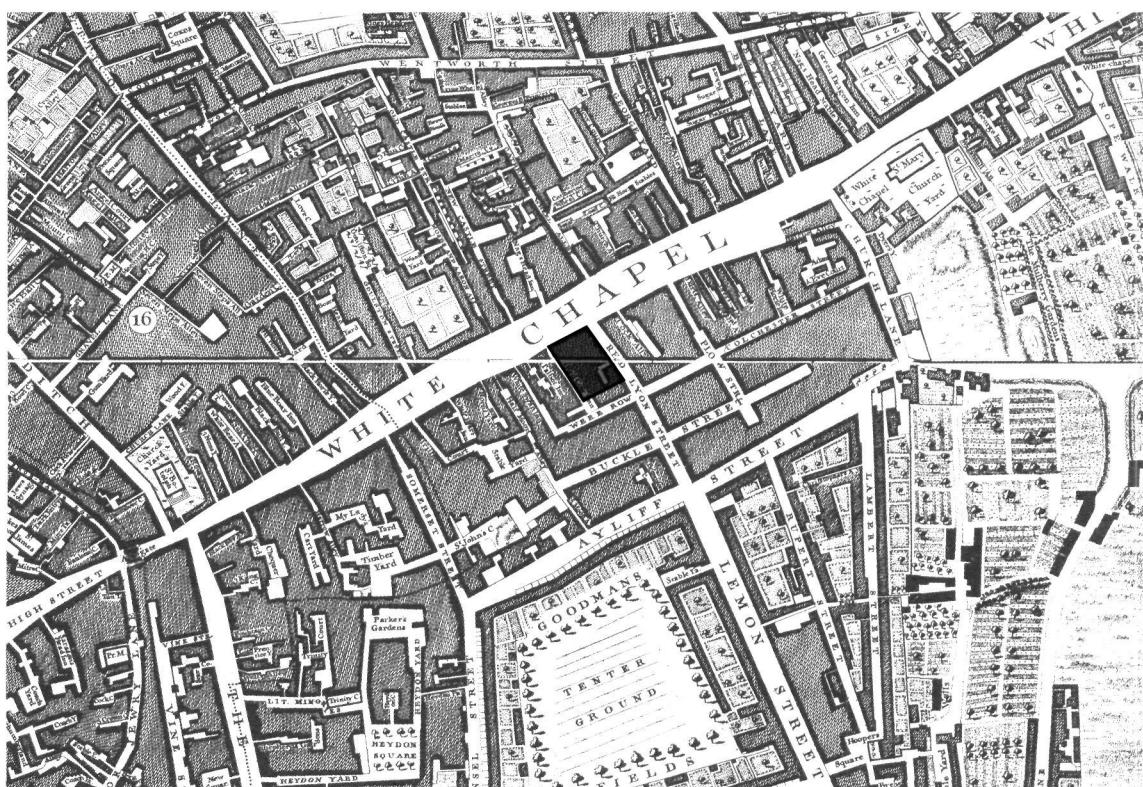


Fig 16. Rocque's map of 1746

polychrome tin-glazed tile (<75>, fabric 2187) with a complex interweaving strapwork pattern (Fig 12d). The only other tile known with this design, which shows a slightly different part of the pattern, came from Bevis Marks, London (BEV80). There are no obvious Dutch parallels for this design so both are probably the products of the same London delftware factory, which would date them to the late 16th to mid-17th century. The second tile (fabric 3064 near 3067) of interest is a small corner fragment of blue on white tin-glazed wall tile found in the backfill of a cesspit [106] (<71>). This has a landscape or biblical scene with a distinctive barred ox-head corner motif similar to that found on Dutch tiles dated to the period 1680–1700 (Pluis 1997, 553, C.07.00.34). It probably came from a fireplace, washstand, or kitchen area.

CONCLUSIONS

Evidence from the excavation has shed new light onto the development of Whitechapel High Street and the industries that became associated with it. Whitechapel High Street was a thoroughfare bringing people and animals into the City and seems to have been an area where smelly or dangerous industries took place. To the present day, Whitechapel's name is synonymous with casting bells, the ancestry of which lies, in part, with the casting pits recorded on the site. The development of the area during the Tudor period saw a new industry emerge between the newly constructed houses of brick and timber, producing iron and fashioning objects in smithies. Whitechapel's association with livestock and its accompanying industries of butchery, horn working, and knacking was also shown on the site. Such industries helped bring people and commerce to an area that had previously only been used for farming, quarrying, and the dumping of nightsoil.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

MoLAS would like to thank Tishman Speyer Properties, and in particular Craig Colclasure, for commissioning the field work, post-excavation assessment, and this publication. Thanks also go to the demolition contractors J F Hunts, and especially Ronnie, for their assistance on site and the construction managers MACE. MoLAS would also like to thank Nick Truckle of the English Heritage Greater London Archaeological Advisory Service for his advice and support.

The author would like to thank all the MoLAS evaluation and excavation team who worked on the site: Ryszard Bartkowiak, Julian Bowsher, Chiz Harward, Richard Hewett, Isca Howell, Will Johnston, Jim Marsh, Natasha Mills, Dave Sankey, Simon Stevens, Chris Trip, Johanna Vuolteenaho, and Mark Wiggins. Thanks to the geomatics team who surveyed the site and prepared the drawings for use in the reports and this article: Duncan Lees, Phil Frickers, Dave Mackie, Anthony Sibthorpe, and Joseph Severn. Thanks also to Maggie Cox for the on site photography, Andy Chopping for the finds photography, Faith Vardy for the finds illustrations, and Peter Hart-Allison for the site illustrations. The author would also like to thank all those who helped in the post-excavation process and the final production of this article: Ian Betts (building materials), Lyn Blackmore (post-Roman pottery), David Bowsher (editor), Anne Davis (botanical remains), David Dungworth (copper-alloy waste research), Geoff Egan (registered finds), Christopher Phillipps (documentary research), Lynne Keys (iron slag), and Kevin Reilly (animal bone). The evaluation, watching-brief, and excavation were supervised by the author. Finally thanks to Chris Thomas (Project Manager) for his help and support throughout the project.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ARMITAGE (1982), P L Armitage 'A system for ageing and sexing the horn cores of cattle from British post-medieval sites (17th to early 18th century) with special reference to unimproved British Longhorn cattle' in B Wilson, C Grigson & S Payne *Ageing and Sexing Animal Bones from Archaeological Sites* BAR British Series 109, 37–54
- ARMITAGE (1984), P L Armitage 'The faunal remains' in A Thompson, F Grew & J Schofield 'Excavations at Aldgate 1974' *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 18, 131–44
- ARMITAGE (1989), P L Armitage 'Gazetteer of sites with animal bones used as building material' in D Serjeantson & T Waldron (eds) *Diet and Craft in Towns*
- BAKER & BROTHWELL (1980), J Baker & D Brothwell *Animal Diseases in Archaeology*
- BETTS (in prep), I M Betts 'Ceramic building material' in I Blair & D Sankey *Excavations at Monument House and Eastcheap, London*
- BETTS (in prep), I M Betts 'Ceramic and stone building material' in P Miller & D Saxby *Excavations at the Priory of St Mary Merton, Surrey*
- CLUTTON-BROCK & ARMITAGE (1977), J Clutton-Brock & P L Armitage 'Mammal bones from Trench A' in T R Blurton 'Excavations at Angel Court, Walbrook, 1974' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 28, 88–97

- COWIE & PIPE (1998), R Cowie & A Pipe 'A late medieval and Tudor horse burial ground: excavations at Elverton Street, Westminster' *The Archaeological Journal* 155, 226–51
- DUNGWORTH (2001), D Dungworth *Seventeenth-Century Copper Alloy Working from Head Street, Colchester, Essex* Centre for Archaeology Report 53/2001
- DUNGWORTH (2002), D Dungworth *Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Bronze Casting from Cowick Street, Exeter*, Devon Centre for Archaeology Report 19/2002
- EAMES (1980), E S Eames *Catalogue of Medieval Lead-glazed Earthenware Tiles in the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities British Museum*
- EGAN (1996), G Egan 'Some archaeological evidence for metalworking in London, c1050 AD–1700 AD' *Historical Metallurgy* 10.2, 83–94
- EGAN (2002), G Egan 'Medieval industry' in E Howe *Roman Defences and Medieval Industry* MOLAS Monograph 7, 48–62
- EGAN (in prep), G Egan *Material Culture in an Age of Transition*
- EGAN & PRITCHARD (1991), G Egan & F Pritchard 'Dress Accessories' in *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London* 3
- HARBEN (1918), H Harben *A Dictionary of London*
- LIDDLE (2002), J Liddle 'The animal remains' in C Thomas, R Aitken, D Bowsher, A Daykin, C Harward, N Holder, M McKenzie, K Pitt & P Thrale *280 Bishopsgate and the Spitalfields Ramp – A Post Excavation Assessment Report*
- LOBEL (1989), M D Lobel (ed) *The British Atlas of Historic Towns iii The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c 1520*
- MAXWELL-LYTE (1890–1915), H C Maxwell-Lyte (ed) *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office*
- McDONNELL (1986), J G McDonnell 'The study of early iron smithing residues' in I Scott & H Cleere (eds) *The Crafts of the Blacksmith*, 47–52
- NORTH (1999), A North *Pewter at the Victoria and Albert Museum*
- PEARCE & VINCE (1988), J Pearce & A Vince *A Dated Type-Series of London Medieval Pottery Part 4: Surrey Whitemares* Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc Specialist Paper 10
- PICKFORD (1994), C Pickford *Whitechapel ... Where the History of British Bellfounding Lives On*
- PLUIS (1997), J Pluis *The Dutch Tile: Designs and Names*
- POWER (1972), M J Power 'East London housing in the seventeenth century' in P Clark & P Slack (eds) *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500–1700* PRO Public Record Office
- RAY (2000), A Ray *Spanish Pottery 1248–1898*
- RACKHAM (1998), D J Rackham 'Appendix: skeletal evidence of medieval horses from London sites' in J Clark (ed) *The Medieval Horse and its Equipment. Medieval Finds from Excavations in London*, 169–74
- SCHOFIELD (1995), J Schofield *Medieval London Houses*
- SHARPE (1889–90), R R Sharpe *Calendar of Wills in the Court of Hustings, London i–ii*
- STAHL SCHMIDT (1884), J L L Stahlschmidt *Surrey Bells and London Bell-Founders*
- STOW (1908), J Stow *A Survey of London*
- STRYPE (1720), J Strype *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster by John Stow (1633)*
- TAYLOR (1996), G Taylor 'Medieval bronze founding at Deansway, Worcester' *Historical Metallurgy* 30.2, 111–15
- TYSSEN (1929), A D Tyssen 'The History of the Whitechapel Bell Foundry' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 5, 195–276
- VCHM, Victoria County History *A History of the County of Middlesex Vol 11*
- WEINREB & HIBBERT (1983), B Weinreb & C Hibbert *The London Encyclopedia*
- WEST (1995), B West 'The case of the missing victuals' *Historical Archaeology* 29(2), 20–42

THE PORTSOKEN PRESENTMENTS: AN ANALYSIS OF A LONDON WARD IN THE 15th CENTURY

Christine L Winter

SUMMARY

The Portsoken presentments are the only surviving ward jury returns for any London ward. They span the period 1465–1483, but are not a complete series. Fourteen are for Edward IV's reign; the fifteenth written under Henry VII is very damaged yet indicates a different format and tone from its predecessors. The presentments list the indictments against nuisance in the ward, which fall into three categories: environmental, public, and sexual. While they do not reveal the fines or punishments inflicted on the perpetrators, the presentments provide us with a fascinating glimpse into life in a London ward in the 15th century.

INTRODUCTION

Much has been written about the structure of civic government within the wards of medieval London, which has given an insight into the officers of the ward and the wardmote where they were empowered to perform their tasks.¹ It is known that a jury was elected to investigate all nuisances and defaults and that their verdict was delivered at the wardmote. The details of these presentments were recorded and indentured. It is believed that the alderman kept one copy in the ward, while the other was passed to the mayor.² Out of all the numerous presentments recorded throughout the medieval period, a few for 1421–1423 survive in print in the *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1413–1437*.³ However, 15 original presentments have survived for Portsoken ward. While A H Thomas referred to them in his introduction to the *Plea and Memoranda Rolls*, and other historians have consulted them for specific purposes, until now nobody has looked at them in their own right.⁴

Some of the membranes are in a poor condition and they are not a complete series for the period 1465–1483, but they can still be used to support or challenge the established knowledge of the intricacies of a London ward. The recurrence of ward officers and jurymen shows there was both 'upward' and 'downward' movement between positions, while longevity of service and continuance of offices by the next generation suggest a relatively stable population. The types of nuisances and defaults presented are indicative of Londoners' concerns and fears at this time, with some indictments possibly increasing or decreasing in relation to national events that were perceived as a threat to the stability of civic government. The indictments against women, for predominantly sexual offences, suggest this was possibly a means of contributing to the family finances or surviving in a largely rural area dominated by religious establishments. It is also possible that by the late 15th century 'prostitution' was not an exclusively female occupation, for three men were also accused of being 'harlots of [their] bodies'.⁵ However, sexual and immoral offences were evidently not the primary concern throughout this period, as the highest incidences of indictments are against 'environmental' issues, especially the prevention of fire.

Some of the entries for the accused have their trades included, others have occupational surnames, while a few of the trades and crafts of the ward officials are mentioned in other sources. Other names can be used to determine the nationalities of some of the alien population of the ward, and a few can be confirmed using the Alien Subsidy Roll of 1483. There is evidence



Fig 1. The location of Portsoken Ward

of the Englishman's love of bowls long before 1588. Consequently, the Portsoken presentments reveal much about the service of ward officers, and expose some of the commercial and recreational activities undertaken in Portsoken. They also provide a tantalising glimpse into life in a London ward in the 15th century.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF PORTSOKEN AND THE CONDITION OF THE PRESENTMENTS

Portsoken was the easternmost ward of the City of London, and took its name from its being a liberty, or franchise, of the City outside the walls.⁶ It was an extensive, largely rural, area that followed the City wall from Bishopsgate in the north down to Tower Hill, and then to the east to include the precinct of St Katherine's Hospital.⁷ There were four religious establishments within Portsoken: St Botolph without Aldgate was the parish church; there were two abbeys, St Mary Grace's and St Clare's, and the Holy Trinity Priory, which in contemporary records was interchangeably called Christchurch.⁸ It is probably because of Christchurch that the Portsoken presentments discussed here have survived.

Portsoken was one of only three wards that were originally identified by name; all the other wards were named after their aldermen.⁹ The prior of Christchurch had held the office of alderman *jure officio* since the reign of Henry I.¹⁰ Unlike the crafts and fraternities, which may have had halls available for their use by the 15th century, there was no purpose-built meeting place for the wardmote and these meetings may have been held at the homes of the aldermen.¹¹ It is believed that ward papers were kept at the alderman's home, where their storage and preservation may have been difficult and haphazard.¹² The Portsoken wardmotes were presumably held at Christchurch, where there were better storage facilities. Very few presentments survive from the medieval period and the preservation of these particular returns is attributed to their being kept among the priory's papers.¹³

Despite this, only 15 membranes remain. They were among papers of the dissolved priory that went to the Court of Augmentations, which later were held at the Public Record Office and are now at the London Metropolitan Archives.¹⁴ Fourteen span the reign of Edward IV from 1465–1483, although the presentments for

1468–1469 (8 Ed IV), 1470–1471 (10 Ed IV, although partly the readeption of Henry VI), 1477–1478 (17 Ed IV), and 1478–1479 (18 Ed IV) are now lost. The 15th is a single membrane dated 23 Henry VII. At some time past a later hand has marked the regnal years in the left-hand margins, taking the date from the precept, 'the year of the reign of King Edward the iiiij ... the v year' and so forth. Unfortunately, on two membranes the part containing the precept is damaged and the membrane cannot be dated by this method. On these somebody has pencilled in '?10 Edward IV' and '?17 Edward IV', although it is not apparent how these dates have been determined. However, the indictment against 'the master of St Katherine's for setting of stulpis in the king's highway on the common ground at the mill door...' is repeated throughout the years 5–19 Edward IV, and specifies how many years this indictment had been issued, 'this viij year', 'this viij year', and so on. If this dating is continued to include the lost membranes, '?10 Ed IV' becomes 9 Ed IV and '?17 Ed IV' becomes 16 Ed IV. While this appears to be a secure way to date the membranes, it is not entirely without problems. By dating the presentments using this indictment three membranes are now a year ahead of the date in their precepts, thus 14–16 Edward IV become 13–15 Edward IV. Nevertheless, only three membranes are affected which suggests the discrepancy may be a scribal error, as by 19 Edward IV the date on the membrane concurs with the date of the indictments against the master of St Katherine's. The transcriptions cited here employ the revised dating supported by the St Katherine indictments.¹⁵

The physical condition of the membranes varies from relatively good to extremely poor. By far the worst is that of 23 Henry VII. The right-hand margin is badly damaged, the centre is very faded through wear or damage, and parts of it are illegible even under ultra-violet light. However, as will be shown, what can be deciphered reveals a distinct change in the wording of the indictments against 'common women', albeit within the still formulaic structure of the ward presentment. Only six membranes have indented left-hand margins, the right-hand margins are either straight or damaged. The presentments vary in length, which may reflect the increased or decreased concerns within the ward, but in the return for 1467–1468, which does not conclude with the names of the ward officials, it would

appear the presentment is incomplete for some reason. The presentments for 1465–1466, 1466–1467, 1471–1472, and 1474–1475 either have, or have evidence of, strips of paper tied to the left margin. Presumably this was the medieval equivalent of a ‘post-it note’, a reminder perhaps of an amendment to be made. Those for 1471–1472 and 1474–1475 also have drawings of a gloved hand pointing to a line in the text, in the left- and right-hand margins respectively, which in all probability were for the same purpose as the strips of paper. The presentments for 1475–1476, 1476–1477, and 1479–1480 have increasingly ornate letters at the beginnings of ‘paragraphs’, while the return for 1480–1481 has certain names ringed with dots. These may be the doodling of a bored scribe, but the former suggests an increased attention to the skill of his art, while the latter implies the scribe may have known the individuals he has highlighted.

There is writing on the reverse of three of the membranes. The presentment for 1465–1466 has nine or ten names of the jurymen and ward officials presiding at this wardmote, but there is nothing to indicate why their names should be repeated. On the back of the return for 1475–1476 there appears to be a copy of the oath sworn by those entering the freedom of the City, while the reverse of that for 1507–1508 details the names of tipplers, both free and foreign. These were men, formerly called ‘aleconners’, who were supposed to be convened whenever ale was being brewed in the ward, to ‘ensure it was of the right quality, sold in the correct measure, and priced according to civic custom’.¹⁶ However, the only mention of aleconners in the earlier Portsoken presentments is at the end of the return for 1466–1467, despite there being considerable evidence of brewers and brewhouses within the ward.¹⁷ Consequently, as with any document, the Portsoken presentments cannot be read in isolation. To appreciate fully the extent of the information they can provide concerning a London ward in the 15th century, they must be read in conjunction with other extant records and compared with what has already been discovered about the people and places of medieval London.

THE ALDERMAN, OFFICERS AND JURYMEN OF THE WARDMOTE

According to Barron, the tripartite substructure of ward, wardmote, and alderman formed the

foundation of City government.¹⁸ The alderman was the cornerstone of this foundation, and his duties were onerous.¹⁹ With few advantages, this was an office that men had tried to avoid.²⁰ Beaven records that Sir Thomas Pomeroy, prior of Christchurch and alderman for Portsoken, held the office of alderman for Portsoken from 1445–1481.²¹ Perhaps it was his long service, in his offices of prior and alderman, which led Edward IV to petition the Pope to allow him to use the crosier and mitre.²² Sir Thomas Percy, alderman and prior from 1481–1495, when the Bishop of London forcibly ejected him from office, succeeded Sir Thomas Pomeroy.²³ His restoration to office after a twelve-year absence suggests a determination to defend himself from the charges against him.²⁴ Throughout the Portsoken presentments there are recurring indictments against the prior of Christchurch for evidently unresolved ‘environmental’ nuisances, such as defective pavements and a large hole in the highway.²⁵ However, as will be shown, the indictments for this type of nuisance seem not to have been detrimental to the offenders, and the prior, as elected alderman for life, was in a very secure position. One of the alderman’s duties was to summon the wardmote for, among other things, the election of ward officers and to select a panel of jurors.²⁶ The men on this panel, which in the 14th century consisted of 12 men but later could be up to 16, were to inquire into any nuisances or misdemeanours in the ward and report back at a wardmote inquest.²⁷

The paucity of documentation makes it difficult to know whether there was a predetermined limit to the length of time an officer could serve, or to assess how long ward officers remained in office.²⁸ But the Portsoken presentments show that out of 56 men listed as officers and jurymen throughout the membranes, just under half appear to have held a position for only one year, and of these two-thirds are from membranes that have a consecutive run over two or three years and would show any re-elections or changes of office.²⁹ It is possible that the remaining third may have served more than once as the membranes are missing either before or after the year they appear. Almost half the numbers of officers show movement between positions, the most common being a juryman becoming a constable.³⁰ John Mersh (*sic*) appears to have made the greatest advancement. He first appears as a juryman in 1465, is listed as a scavenger in 1469, and finally holds the most senior office of

beadle from 1475–1483.³¹ Thus, his career as a ward official spanned at least 18 years. William Stalon alone supersedes this longevity of service. He is recorded as being a common councilman on each of the surviving membranes, hence from 1465–1483, and may well have sat before and after this.

But not all movement was upwards. Richard Sysworth went from being a juryman in 1467 to a scavenger in 1474. He sat as a juryman in 1475 but became the raker for the ward in 1479, returning to the jury a year later.³² Seven of the men listed held more than one office concurrently. These dual responsibilities were generally for only one year, which suggests that these were periods when there was a shortage of suitable men to perform these functions. The single exception to this is William Segrym who was both a juryman and the raker in 1475, and held both offices again from 1480–1482. It is noteworthy that a respectable man elected from the ward as a juryman should also accept the menial post of raker, although Segrym held this position over a ten-year period, which suggests it may have been quite lucrative. The raker, as all the other ward officers, was usually paid by duties levied from residents of the ward,³³ but his earnings could be supplemented by clearing away rubbish from local religious houses.³⁴ Presumably he was entitled to sell anything of value found amongst the rubbish and this would have enhanced his income.³⁵ What the recurrence of ward officers also reveals is that many of these men and their families remained in Portsoken for considerable periods of time, and while those that only held office for a year may have moved on, these documents suggest a relatively stable population.

It is evident that other family members became involved in the administration of the ward. ‘Younger’ men of the same name, who are presumably sons, follow both John Rooke and William Kylby. The three Silvesters — John, Nicholas, and Richard — listed among the jurymen could conceivably have been brothers, or possibly father and sons, or uncle and nephews. John Silvester, the longest serving juryman of the three, was a citizen and butcher,³⁶ and the family connection is confirmed by an indictment against Richard Silvester for throwing offal into the street. Despite this indictment in 1479, Richard was elected to the jury again in 1481. However, there is only one indictment for this misdemeanour, which suggests the offence was

not repeated. Earlier, in 1473, Richard’s name was mentioned in connection with a defective cellar door, but as it was in a house only held by him from the abbot of Tower Hill (Our Lady Grace’s), it was evidently not his responsibility nor did it affect his standing in the community.

It appears that being accused of an offence in the wardmote inquest did not preclude election as either a juryman or a ward officer. Robert Maknard was a constable in 1474, the year he was first indicted for having both a shed covered with reed and a waterway coming out from his house, yet sat as a juryman in 1476. John Mannfeld was indicted for having a chimney of tree in 1476 and 1479, but continued as a constable. Although the repeated indictments reveal that John Gardener never amended the ‘noyous place’ that was regarded as his responsibility, he was still able to continue as a constable and a juryman. And William Stalon, the longest enduring common councilman, was respectively indicted for a dunghill and a layerstore of timber and a ‘grievous dunghill in the middle of the highway’ (1473),³⁷ a layerstore of timber (1474), and great logs against his door (1476 and 1479), without losing his standing. Nevertheless, these are all public nuisance indictments that may not have been considered of a serious enough nature to exclude men who had previously held positions.³⁸ Whilst these misdemeanours were clearly overlooked, it is hard to imagine that sexual indictments would be so readily dismissed. Nonetheless, in 1480 Roger Carpenter was indicted for being a ‘harlot of his body’, yet was appointed one of the scavengers in 1482. Perhaps the alderman deemed this to be a fitting penance. Given the citizen’s fierce protection of the freedom of the City, it is not surprising that the only offence that appears not to have been dismissed was ‘occupying as a freeman’.³⁹ This was the repeated indictment against a John Philip from 1473–1476. Is this the same John Philip who was the beadle from 1465–1474? Or does the entry, ‘John Philip *in the barber’s rent*’ (my emphasis) distinguish this individual from John Philip the beadle? That after 1474 John Mersh is listed as the beadle, suggests it probably does not.

THE INQUEST OF WARDMOTE

In previous periods the wardmote was required to meet four times a year or whenever summoned by the alderman, but by the 15th

century it usually met only once.⁴⁰ In the earlier wardmote presentments, recorded in the *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1413–1437*, the language varies from ward to ward. Some returns are written in French, others in Latin, although there is evidence of a progression towards the vernacular.⁴¹ By 1465, it is evident that the transition at this level is complete, as the Portsoken presentments are completely in English. These are the returns of the winter wardmote, held on 21 December, St Thomas the Apostle's day.⁴² The articles of the inquest ordered the jurors to list the perpetrators of certain offences and misdemeanours. These included women of evil life, nightwalkers, the throwing of dung or other rubbish into the street, obstruction of the highway, ignoring the assizes of bread and ale, the keeping of cows and pigs, lepers, gamesters and riotous persons.⁴³ The indictments in the Portsoken presentments fall loosely into three categories: sexual and immoral (public order), nuisances (environmental issues in modern terms), and foreigners presuming to act as though freemen.⁴⁴ While there are many similarities between these indictments and both those recorded earlier and what can be deciphered from the presentment for 1507–1508, there are also noticeable differences.

The most common indictments in the ward returns for 1421–1423 are of an environmental nature.⁴⁵ As will be shown, the high incidence of such concerns in the Portsoken presentments indicates that such issues were still the primary concern of the wardmote half a century later. This is hardly surprising given the fear of disease, and the responsibility for cleaning the City coming under the jurisdiction of the alderman and wardmote.⁴⁶ The majority of these returns involve the same individuals being repeatedly indicted for the same offences. This supports the idea that these cases were the exceptions not the rule, and that most Londoners were concerned about their environment. As Sabine concludes, 'city cleaning was being carried on persistently and, on the whole, effectively'.⁴⁷ As early as 1297 Londoners were encouraged to keep the areas in front of their houses clean, and from the mayoralty of Gregory de Rokesle (1274–1281) the aldermen were to employ four 'reputable men' in every ward to remove ordure and waste and make repairs as necessary.⁴⁸ The notion of London as a filthy and obnoxious place is further undermined by there being only three indictments against common privies in the 1421–

1423 returns and none in any of the Portsoken presentments, when it is known that there were at least 13 public latrines in the City.⁴⁹

It is evident that while Londoners were concerned with safeguarding their environment, they also wanted to protect their money and rights of fair-trade. The wardmote inquest was used as a means of complaining against victuallers and retailers who contravened ordinances and proclamations and sold short measures or bad food, or were forestallers and regraters.⁵⁰ The 1421–1423 printed presentments for Portsoken include an indictment against 'all brewers, bakers and regraters of bread and ale, and all those that keep common inns throughout the whole ward, [who] are in default against the mayor's proclamation'.⁵¹ Throughout the presentments under Edward IV there are no such indictments, nor are there any discernable for the year 1507–1508. Yet there were breweries in the ward and at least nine drinking-houses, and there must have been some form of retailing, whether by shopkeepers or hucksters.⁵² The disappearance of such indictments does not necessarily mean that the ordinances were being adhered to by 1465. As will be shown, it is more likely that other concerns were taking priority by this time. Throughout the 15th century there was clearly very little concern regarding leprosy, as within all the presentments there are only three indictments against individuals described as lepers.⁵³ This evidence challenges the assertion in the 1472 ordinance that leprosy was on the increase in London.⁵⁴ However, in the later Portsoken presentments the accusations against one particular category have noticeably escalated.

In the recorded presentments for 1421–1423 there are only seven indictments against strumpets,⁵⁵ thirteen people are accused of being bawds (eight women and five men),⁵⁶ and four of being nightwalkers.⁵⁷ This relatively low number compared to the later presentments may be the result of the 1393 proclamation that women of 'ill-fame' were to be forbidden from the City or suburbs, and were to be restricted to the Southwark stews or Cock's Lane, Smithfield, on pain of losing their upper garments.⁵⁸ Similar attempts to expel 'common women' and 'prostitutes' from the centres of towns and cities have been noted in Europe at this time, but whether this was through an increase in moralistic values prior to the Reformation or through concerns for public order is uncertain.⁵⁹

In the earlier presentments it may simply have been that civic authorities were attempting to protect ‘honest women’ (meaning their wives and daughters) by tolerating women of ill fame through marginalisation.⁶⁰ A moralistic tone is undoubtedly evident in the presentment for 1507–1508. Where previously women of ill-fame had been described as merely ‘strumpet’, ‘harlot of her body’, or ‘bawd’, in the presentment for 23 Henry VII the account is much more verbose, ‘women evil disposed of their bodies’, ‘keeping bawdry in the most abominable ways’, and ‘slaving of her body’. It is also apparent that the jury meant to examine two of the women indicted for sexual offences. One woman ‘despised the inquest’ for its actions, the other appears to have fled. This suggests that by the 16th century there had been a change in the prevailing ideologies, and also intimates that the powers of the wardmote inquest had increased by this period.

In 1417, four years prior to the presentments recorded in the *Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1413–1437*, the common council issued an ordinance for the abolition of stews in the City. Nevertheless, there was a clause at the end of this ordinance allowing ‘honest’ stews to remain.⁶¹ Consequently, the stew presented in the return for Bradstreet (?1421) may have merely been a bathhouse during the day, despite it being in the house of a husband and wife indicted for being bawds.⁶² While there is no such ambiguity surrounding the usage of the stew-house presented in the return for Crepulgate Without (?1422), the indictment is worded in such a way that the real concerns of the civic authorities are called into question. This is not merely a ‘common house of harlotry and bawdry’, but ‘a great resort of thieves’, which raises questions over whether the concerns were of a moral nature, or generated by fear of public disorder. However, the indictment also includes ‘priests and their concubines’.⁶³ Consequently, what hope did the City authorities have of controlling the city if their moral leaders were known to be thus debauched and hypocritical?⁶⁴ Karras asserts that the majority of 15th-century wardmote indictments for sexual offences involved ‘fornication and adultery by priests’,⁶⁵ yet there are only three returns that mention priests in the 1421–1423 presentments, and none in those for 1465–1483. While the later Portsoken presentments do not mention priests *per se*, one of the harlots indicted in 1479 is called

‘Christian Brother’. It would seem likely that this dubious given name is a sobriquet that represents this person’s clientele. Some twenty years later, Richard Hill, the Bishop of London, found the prior of Christchurch, Sir Thomas Percy, to have occasioned scandal ‘by his relations with a married woman named Joan Hodgis (*sic*)’.⁶⁶

SEX IN THE CITY

When the indictments within the Portsoken presentments are compartmentalised, there are consistently more against men, which, given that most of the indictments involve property, and that it was more likely to be men who were accused of occupying as freemen, is hardly surprising.⁶⁷ This is consistent with the earlier returns, where there is a 2:1 ratio of men to women. However, this figure is reversed in 23 Henry VII, which has a 2:1 ratio of women to men, although this membrane is so badly damaged and faded that this may not be an accurate reflection of the indictments for that year. Most women, with the exception of widows, were the property of men, thus the women listed in the returns as ‘wives’ were nameless, and were indicted as merely the ‘wife of’ a named man. Therefore, it is interesting to note that in one exceptional year, 1472–1473, the men listed under ‘husband’ were not mentioned by name, but as ‘husband of’ a named woman. If scolding is included as a sexual misdemeanour, as Karras and the regulations of the Southwark brothels consider it to be, then the majority of joint indictments against married couples are for sexual offences.⁶⁸ Both the earlier printed presentments and those from Portsoken concur with the general consensus that women were more commonly accused of being a scold.⁶⁹ In the *Plea and Memoranda Roll, 1413–1437* there is a single male scold, John Kempe, carter of Tower ward, and in the Portsoken returns there are three indictments, but they are against two men. John Yonge was indicted for being a scold and a false beggar in 1473–1474 and 1474–1475, and John Hunt for being a scold in 1482–1483.⁷⁰

However, there is no such gender distinction for bawdry. As brothels are not mentioned within the Portsoken presentments, the men indicted as ‘strumpetmongers’ are presumed to be pimps rather than brothel-keepers. If the figures for indictments against these men are added to the indictments against male bawds, then men and women appear to have shared an almost equal

number of accusations for procuring. The punishments for 'whoremongers' and bawds were much the same for men and women, and were primarily concerned with publicly humiliating the perpetrators.⁷¹ Nevertheless, if the individuals concerned continued to be attainted it was definitely a case of 'three strikes and you're out'. For a first offence of 'whoremongering' or bawdry men would have their beards and heads shaved (except for a fringe two inches wide), while a woman would have her 'hair cut around her head'. They would each be taken to the pillory escorted by minstrels (one wonders how ribald these accompaniments would have been). A woman 'courtesan' would be thus delivered to the pillory, but her head would have been covered with a hood of striped cloth and she would be made to hold a white wand in her hand.⁷² A second indictment for these offences involved the same public humiliation, plus ten days imprisonment. A third meant the same shaming through the City streets and incarceration, but on release they were forsown of the City.⁷³

Despite the missing membranes, there are enough consecutive years of the Portsoken presentments remaining to allow an investigation into the effectiveness of the punishments for sexual misdemeanours. Of course, there are no longer any means of determining how many, if any, of those indicted were subjected to the penalties described above. However, the figures are quite revealing. Of 334 indictments of a sexual or public order nature throughout 1465–1483 (including occupying as a freeman when foreign), two-thirds (221) were against bawds, scolds, strumpets, harlots 'of her/his body', strumpetmongers, and maintainers. Of these, 18 were indicted twice and only two, a scold and a strumpet, were indicted three times and do not appear again. While acknowledging the limitations of these documents, it would seem that for the majority a single session of public humiliation was enough for them either to cease these activities or move on. The disappearance from the records of two 'ladies' (one was called 'French Philip') after three presentments may indicate the instigation of the 'three strike' rule, but, given how few City ordinances were actually effective in practice, there is more likely an entirely different explanation. The laxity of enforcement is suggested by only two presentments of more than three years. Jane Coton, also recorded as Jane Cotton, was indicted

as a strumpet four times before disappearing from the presentments. Angth Okeley, a bawd, was indicted ten times and then disappears after her last return stated 'indicted this xiiij year'.⁷⁴ Maybe this gentle reminder meant she was finally dealt with by the wardmote.

It is evident that while the Portsoken presentments show most strumpets and harlots only being indicted once, there were other women continually taking their places in the returns. The lack of evidence of a formal system of prostitution — no stews or brothels are recorded in the presentments — suggests that the women thus indicted may have been merely trying to make a living.⁷⁵ It may be there were few opportunities for women to work or marry in a largely poor, rural area dominated by religious establishments and these women were supporting their families the only way they could.⁷⁶ In relation to the merchant class, Thrupp has noted that girls were brought up knowing they would be expected to contribute to the household's finances, and this must have been an even greater truism for the women of poorer families.⁷⁷ Within the Portsoken presentments, 29 of the women listed as strumpets or harlots are presented as wives, and three as daughters. However, there is no way of knowing the circumstances that led to any of these indictments. It is possible that a number of the indictments were malicious (a manifestation of discord between neighbours), while some of the women may have considered themselves married and innocent of all charges. Not all unions were entered into in the manner prescribed by the Church, as 'lower-class' parents and families accepted pre-marital sex if it was a precursor to marriage throughout this period.⁷⁸

Throughout England and France there was a 'fundamental ambiguity' in the attitudes towards prostitution.⁷⁹ While the Church taught that sex outside marriage was sinful, the predominantly patriarchal society of medieval Europe recognised that masculine sexuality needed a release. Consequently, prostitutes were tolerated as a 'safety valve' that protected honest women from 'seduction, rape, adultery and sodomy'.⁸⁰ It would appear that young males might also have required protection from lustful men, as the tendency to debauchery did not distinguish between heterosexual or 'homosexual' liaisons.⁸¹ Court records from Renaissance Venice and Florence show that young men were often passive partners to older men, but later made the transition to heterosexual relationships.⁸²

It is possible that men also capitalised on their bodies, or were at least seen as promiscuous. An indictment against a 'harlot of his body' first appears in the Portsoken presentments in 1479–1480. It is not possible to determine whether this is an indictment for 'prostitution' or promiscuity. The 'clientele' this person, or the other male harlots listed from 1480–1483, attracted is impossible to ascertain for certain, although contemporary beliefs held women to be more lustful than men.⁸³ However, the testimony of one male prostitute, a transvestite whose given name was John Rykener, states that many of his clients never discovered he was a man. That his 'clients' were male is confirmed by his being approached by one John Britby, who defended himself by stating that 'Eleanor' Rykener was 'dressed as a woman' and not as a whore.⁸⁴

Nevertheless, the proliferation of homoerotic references in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature seems to suggest that an individual homoerotic identity was already established by that time. In *Michaelmas Term*, London is described as a city full of:

Gallants of all sizes, of all lasts;
Here you may fit your foot, Make choice of those
Whom your affection may rejoice in...⁸⁵

While literature can only ever provide a distorted image of contemporary issues, it is evident that the civic authorities were never successful in their attempts to remove illicit sex from the City.⁸⁶ The Portsoken presentments show a gradual decline in the number of indicted strumpets from 1465 to 1473–1474. However, from 1473–1474 there is a gradual increase in the number of indicted harlots, which, while highlighting the fluidity of the English language, also confirms the ineffectiveness of civic ordinances. What is also evident is that certain indictments against public nuisances continued, sometimes for decades, without being resolved, and that this was true for both individuals and large religious establishments.

PERSISTENT PUBLIC NUISANCES AND THEIR PERPETRATORS

Within the Portsoken presentments there are 31 offences identified as concerning 'environmental' issues. While some are episodic, such as incidences of obstructing the highway, throwing offal into the highway, and casting fish water into

the town ditch, most are recurrent, and against the same perpetrators. The most persistent offenders were John Gardener and Master Cornwales. Repeated indictments held John Gardener responsible for a 'noyous place' in the region of the Bell brewhouse that was perilous for 'horse, men, women, and children', whereas a 'hanging jetty' in Cornwales' rent was also deemed perilous for men and women passing by. Yet despite their respective dangers to the commonalty, these problems were never resolved. They appear in almost every presentment, which suggests that they were still causing problems in the years they were not mentioned, but that they were either overlooked or that the presentments for those particular years are incomplete. If these offences attracted a monetary fine which was less than the cost of rectifying the problem, then the offences were bound to continue, as this arrangement would have suited both the offenders and the wardmote, who would have been guaranteed an annual income. However, this entirely speculative explanation does not extend to cover the Chamber of London itself. In Portsoken, three of the recurring indictments are against the Chamber, which indicates that while most of the ordinances advocating repair and resolution were issued by the Chamber of London, it was itself failing to address faulty pavements, a 'whirlepit' in the town ditch, and a dunghill that the wardmote of Portsoken held it responsible for.⁸⁷

Perhaps the Chamber of London disagreed, and the indictments continued while the question of responsibility was contended. Clearly, any such disagreements concerning encroachment onto common land would have benefited the offender, who would have had continued use of the land until the dispute was settled. In the *Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1413–1437* the master of St Katherine's Hospital is indicted for encroaching on the common soil so that the inhabitants of the ward were prevented from accessing the Thames between the watermill and Tower Wharf. The master's actions were exacerbated by his taking tolls, sometimes violently, from people wishing to use this wharf.⁸⁸ A very similar indictment against the master of St Katherine's occurs in the later Portsoken presentments from 1465 until 1479–1480, because he had installed posts, locked with a great chain, to block the 'common ground at the mill door'. The master's continued attempt to prevent common access to this land suggests that he either believed the land

belonged to the hospital, or that the land would eventually do so by default.⁸⁹ This indictment persisted for 30 years before disappearing from the returns (the 1465–1466 indictment states that the encroachment of this land had been indicted for the previous eight years). Whether through possession or a change in the boundary, it seems likely that St Katherine's would have eventually gained this land.

Another indictment against St Katherine's is for a 'reredos made perilous for fire'.⁹⁰ It would appear that the prevention of fire was the greatest concern of the civic authorities in Portsoken, as it must have been throughout London. This is indicated by the highest number of indictments in any year being against sheds and houses covered with reed, followed by chimneys made of wood. In 1302, under Edward I, there had been an agreement to roof houses with tiles in recognition of thatch being perilous for fire.⁹¹ The Portsoken presentments reveal that by 1465 there were still many buildings that were not tiled, although there are more sheds indicted than houses. In the earlier returns for 1422–1423, printed in the *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1413–1437*, both Bridge and Walbrook wards request ladders, grappling hooks, crooks, iron chains, and ropes to prevent the spread of fire.⁹² Presumably the other wards were already equipped with such fire fighting equipment. A proclamation under Henry VI in 1446 declared that because of the risk of fire from chimneys made of wood, nobody, especially masons or carpenters, was to make repairs to such chimneys within the City franchise, on pain of a 40s fine. While any freeman or foreign caught using wooden chimneys was liable to a fine of 6s 8d, certain trades, such as goldsmiths, coppersmiths, blacksmiths and farriers, were allowed to continue using wooden chimneys if they were in good repair.⁹³ However, it is apparent that the considerable number of wooden chimneys still in use between 1465 and 1483 were not in good repair, else they would not have been indicted in the Portsoken presentments.

While the fear of fire appears to have been the greatest cause of anxiety for the residents of Portsoken, the numbers of indictments involving the town ditch show that it was one of their least concerns, despite it running along almost the entire length of the western border of the ward. The ordinances recorded in Riley's *Memorials* relating to the City fosses are for the 14th century, and are against the dumping of ordure

and rubbish in any of the City's watercourses.⁹⁴ Although these ordinances were not regularly repeated, it appears the town ditch was in constant danger of being obstructed by filth.⁹⁵ However, the scarcity of presentments involving the town ditch in Portsoken between 1465 and 1483 suggests that most people were adhering to these ordinances and the problem, if not the water level, had subsided.⁹⁶ While water would ordinarily wash any waste away, it is possible that an accumulation of rubbish near the postern at the Tower caused a 'whirlepit' that was perilous and caused many people to drown. As early as 1275–1276 an unnamed person was recorded as drowning in this part of the ditch, but this may have been an accident and unrelated to the undercurrents produced by a build up of rubbish and effluent.⁹⁷ In 1321, the commonalty of the City agreed to pay murage for the repair of the City walls and cleansing of the City fosses, and in 1375 money from the will of Thomas Legge, ex-mayor of London, was bequeathed for this purpose.⁹⁸ However, it was not until 1477–1478 that the indictments against the 'whirlepit', which was termed a 'mischievous place' by this time, disappeared from the Portsoken presentments, but whether this was due to the problem being resolved is uncertain. It was unlikely to have been due to gardens encroaching over the now mostly filled in ditch as recorded by Stow, as there was a further indictment for waste being thrown into the ditch in 1479–1480.

THE PEOPLE OF PORTSOKEN: TRADES, ALIENS, AND A PROCLIVITY FOR BOWLING

The Portsoken presentments are, fundamentally, lists. Lists of jurymen, lists of the names of those indicted, lists of offences, and lists of the ward officers. They do not contain information regarding any actions taken after the presentment, or detail the social status of the offenders within the community. However, a few indictments include the trade of the person indicted, while in others their trade, or nationality, is implied by their name. Fortunately, some of these names appear in other documents and printed sources, which can provide further information about their lives.⁹⁹ While it is possible that these are not the same individual but someone with the same name, other information within these sources supports the probability of their being the same person listed in the Portsoken presentments.

What has not yet been ascertained, as this is still a work in progress, is whether there are any surviving wills for any person listed in the presentments. Nevertheless, as some of the ward officers were men of standing within the community, and were probably members of crafts and guilds, it is anticipated that there is still information to be discovered. Consequently, although the Portsoken presentments are only lists, and the research on this area incomplete, it has still been possible to determine what kind of work was being undertaken in the ward, and also the nationalities of some of the aliens residing and working in Portsoken.¹⁰⁰

Through the inclusion of their trade after their name, or through an occupational surname, it is evident that there were numerous manual labourers in Portsoken.¹⁰¹ John Croft, smith (a blacksmith, ironworker, or farrier) was indicted in 1465–1466 for defective pavements and a chimney of tree (which had attracted 12 indictments). Edmunde Legg, pinner (a maker of various kinds of pins and nails), was indicted in 1466–1467 for having a chimney of tree and for setting a mud wall on the common ground. In the same year, James Day, smith, was indicted for defective pavement and John Salopy, ironmonger, was indicted for a chimney of brick set on the common ground at Tower Hill. The following year John Tancraye, ironmonger, was also indicted for a chimney of brick set on the common ground at Tower Hill, which suggests John Salopy had ceased working there and his ‘workshop’ had been taken over by Tancraye. There were at least two carpenters in the ward, Thomas Pynder, whose wife was indicted as a common puterer and a harlot of her body in 1476–1477, and Roger Carpenter, who was indicted for being a harlot of his body in 1480–1481.¹⁰² The preceding year had seen John Johnson, paviour (a workman who lays stone), being indicted for a common baratour and a harlot of his body.¹⁰³

There are a number of work-related names that suggest there was a variety of victuallers supplying a range of products within Portsoken. In 1465–1466 a woman obviously employed by one of the establishments selling ale, Elyn the tapster, was indicted as a common strumpet.¹⁰⁴ Jane Pulter, who presumably worked with poultry or chickens, was indicted in 1467–1468 for being a common strumpet. Bedham Fishmonger was indicted for defective pavement in 1469–1470, while in 1473–1474 Waller Bocher (butcher) was

indicted for a reredos perilous for fire.¹⁰⁵ This was also the year that Elizabeth, the wife of Davy Brewster (a craftsman, male or female, who makes and sells ale), was indicted for being a common scold and a receiver of men’s apprentices and servants at unlawful times. The number of reredoses mentioned in the presentments implies that many people still cooked on an open hearth, but the appearance of William Browne, cook, suggests that the option of eating out was available in Portsoken.¹⁰⁶ And in the event of anyone feeling ill after ingesting any of these products, or any of the labourers injuring themselves, they could visit Margrete a Leche dwelling at the church stile, whose name implies a physician or surgeon, and who was indicted for being a common scold in 1469–1470.

Many aliens were attracted to London ‘because it was a place of freedom and opportunity’.¹⁰⁷ These immigrants migrated to areas where they could work, where their crafts were already practised.¹⁰⁸ Bolton’s study of the Alien Subsidy Rolls for 1440 and 1483 has shown that the alien population of Portsoken rose from 47 in 1441 to 216 in 1483.¹⁰⁹ As with the trades and occupations, the names in the Portsoken presentments can be used to identify nationalities, although in this case names can be more deceptive. Four women are indicted with their last names recorded as ‘Dutchwoman’, but this was a generic term that could encompass Germans or Flemings.¹¹⁰ Among the men indicted for occupying as freemen when foreign, William Johnson might be either Scottish or English, while Peter Hownsow could be mistaken for originating in Middlesex. However, Johnson was a common ‘Doche’ name, and a Peter Houslowe is listed in the Alien Subsidy Roll for 1483 as a German master of a brewhouse with six German servants.¹¹¹ The variations in spellings make any firm conclusions that men with such similar names could be one and the same extremely difficult, but when these are taken with the accusation of occupying as a freeman when foreign the likelihood of it being the same person becomes more probable. Two other such indictments confirm this deduction. Lawrens Gyles, indicted in 1471–1472, appears in the Alien Subsidy Roll as Laurence Gyles, and Paul Godfrey, indicted in 1479–1480, appears as Powle Godfrey. Both these men were masters of brewhouses with large households, as indicated by the number of servants.¹¹²

It is even more likely that the Herman Stale

and Peter Hatmaker indicted in the Portsoken presentments are the same men listed in the Alien Subsidy Roll for 1483, as their names have identical spellings.¹¹³ One of the indictments against Peter Hatmaker, whose occupation is not listed in the subsidy roll but is suggested by his name, was for receiving suspicious and misruled people. The relatively high number of indictments for this offence up to 1472 may reflect the general dislike of alien residents and merchants. This xenophobia led to anti-Italian riots and attacks on the brewhouses of the Dutch and Flemings.¹¹⁴ In this climate of mutual distrust it is hardly surprising that the civic authorities were suspicious of groups congregating together, as they would have posed a threat to public order. However, the presentments for 1465 to 1472–1473 also encompass some of the most turbulent years of the Wars of the Roses. In 1468–1469 there were risings in the North, which led to Edward IV's capture by Warwick, and England was showing 'signs of falling apart'.¹¹⁵ Consequently, the indictments against receivers of suspicious and misruled people may be a manifestation of London's anxieties in the face of events in the realm that threatened the City. After the traumas of 1471, Edward returning to England, winning the Battle of Barnet and being reinstated, and the City arming itself against Fauconberg's rising, the indictments relating to suspicious people take a year to settle down and then disappear from the presentments until 1480–1481, when England was at war with the Scots.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, the decreased numbers of indictments at this time suggest this conflict was not considered a threat to the City.

The other indictment against Peter Hatmaker was for keeping a 'closshlane' with a house covered with reed. This is believed to have been a skittle or bowling alley, although an indictment in 1507–1508 is against a closshlane *and a bowling alley* (my emphasis).¹¹⁷ This activity combined three illegal elements: the congregation of a group of people for possibly dubious reasons, structures with roofs of reed to protect the lane from the elements, and gambling. People were impoverishing themselves through betting on games, and, partly in order to protect these people, ordinances were introduced banning certain recreational activities.¹¹⁸ In 1476 an ordinance forbade 'tenis', 'cloissh', or 'cailes' under penalty of a 40s fine and imprisonment for six days, but this was clearly not enough to deter people from playing. Two years later this

ordinance was repeated, although it seems the people's love of games was recognised through archery being encouraged instead.¹¹⁹ However, this was probably not an entirely altruistic concession, for Edward IV was considering a combined invasion of France with Burgundy at this time.¹²⁰ The punishments for involvement in these games were severe. Those who kept the house faced three years imprisonment and a £20 fine, while those who were playing could expect two years imprisonment and a £10 fine.¹²¹ As with many other ordinances, those against gaming were not effective in practice. The Portsoken presentments show men and women being indicted over two consecutive years for keeping closshlanes. As with the strumpets, other people were clearly willing to take over the running of these establishments, for which there was evidently a demand. There were three closshlanes on Tower Hill, and within most years covered by the Portsoken presentments a minimum of two were in operation throughout the ward. In contrast, there was only one recorded closshlane in Southwark before 1500, which may indicate that sports were specific to different areas.¹²² Like the games, the ordinances continued but they targeted servants, labourers and apprentices and the punishments were commuted.¹²³ Consequently, it would seem that the Englishman's love of sport is hardly a modern phenomenon.

CONCLUSION

Although mentioned by A H Thomas in his introduction to the *Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1413–1437* in 1943, and being consulted by a handful of historians with specific purposes in the late 20th century, the Portsoken presentments, as interesting documents in their own right, have been largely ignored. This may have been because only 15 survive and they are not a completely consecutive set of returns for 1465–1483, so any value they might have has been dismissed. But out of 18 years, only 4 are missing. Through those that remain it is possible to study the recurrence or disappearance of indictments, and in most cases two or three years is enough to reach some interesting conclusions about the effectiveness of the inquest and subsequent punishments.

The survival of these presentments is remarkable, and is accredited to the *jure officio* position of the prior of Christchurch as alderman of

the ward of Portsoken. At the dissolution of the monasteries papers from the priory were removed to the Court of Augmentations. Centuries later they were transferred to the Public Record Office and are now in the care of the London Metropolitan Archives. The condition of the membranes varies; by far the worst is the single presentment for 1507–1508 under Henry VII. Yet what can be deciphered from this document suggests a change in attitude to ‘common women’, through the wording becoming much more moralistic. The powers of the wardmote appear to have increased, as it seems the ward officials were now examining women indicted for sexual offences.

These presentments contain much information about Portsoken in the 15th century, and by association London itself. While they can support, and sometimes challenge, the knowledge already gained regarding the wardmote, officials, jurymen and inquest, the indictments can also increase our understanding of the concerns and fears of this period, and of the people. The indictments with the most consistently high numbers reveal that the primary concern was the prevention of fire. The episodic nature of other offences would seem to suggest that they were attempts to protect the City in response to external events in the realm. The years of increased accusations for ‘receiving suspicious and misruled people’ correspond with periods of political upheaval during the Wars of the Roses, and with outbreaks of xenophobia. Those offences that consistently

appeared suggest the wardmote presentments, as the City ordinances, were not always effective, and show that having an indictment for a public nuisance did not automatically preclude service as a ward official.

Interestingly, in one instance, neither did the accusation of a sexual offence. Roger Carpenter, who was not the only man to be indicted as a ‘harlot of his body’, was later employed as one of the ward scavengers. The indictments against these male harlots may support the idea that there was an independent homoerotic identity at this time. However, John Rykener, in the only other recorded instance of a male prostitute, was a transvestite called ‘Eleanor’ with a clientele apparently ignorant of his true gender.

It is possible to use the names of those indicted to determine some of the trades and occupations undertaken in Portsoken at this time, which included ironmongery, butchery, and leatherwork. However, the use of names to identify nationality can be deceptive. Some scribes clearly spelt phonetically, and the different spellings can make comparisons of offenders with the Alien Subsidy Roll of 1483 difficult, but not impossible if supported by other sources. As with any historical document, the Portsoken presentments cannot be studied in isolation, but when they are considered with other sources they provide a unique opportunity to increase our appreciation of life in a London ward in the 15th century.

APPENDIX 1. TRANSCRIPTION OF THE PORTSOKEN PRESENTMENTS

[The Warde of Portsoken of London]¹²⁴

4 March 1465–3 March 1466 (5 Edward IV)

[This is the] verdict of the inquest of wardmote holden and taken before Sir Thomas Pomeroy, prior of Christchurch [and alderman] of the ward of Portsoken of London, on Saint Thomas's Day, the apostle, the year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth [after] the con[quest] the fifth year, by the oaths of us Robert Knygth, Thomas Brokehole, William Tretherns, Phylipl Tomson, William Chariar, Valantyne [damaged], Richard Tyrwyn, Robert Bolton, William Gylmyn, John Kebull, John Mersth, and John Arborie which presents and indicts the noyannces¹²⁵ and defaults¹²⁶ singly expressed by us found within the said ward that is to whit

First we the said inquest present and indict Thomas master of Saint Katherine's for setting of stulpis¹²⁷ in the king's highway on the common ground at the mill door with a great chain locked stopping the highway, the which is great noyannce to the people coming and going by that way common defective this eight year

Also we indict Elizabeth, wife of Stephen Wade, for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Thomas Dyrwin for a common extortioner of the king's liege people, and a withdrawer of mens apprentices and servants, and also indicted out of another ward common defective

Also we indict Richard Shapett for a common strumpetmonger¹²⁸ common defective

Also we indict Elyn Herte for a common bawd and as a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Joan Athille for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Marion Oleton for a common scold common defective

Also we indict Agnes Crane for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict John Poore for a common baratour¹²⁹ and a common breaker of the king's peace common defective

Also we indict Elyn Flynt for a common strumpet and for a scold common defective

Also we indict the wife of John Wake for a common scold common defective

Also we indict William Parys' wife for setting of a mud wall upon the common ground, and so he hath encroached to him [*sic*] the common ground of the king's highway, and also for laying of dung in the king's highway great noyannce to all that come that way common defective this ten year¹³⁰

Also we indict a swelow¹³¹ in Grace's alley which is perilous for men women and children common defective [Also we indict erased]

Also we indict Elizabeth, the daughter of Robert Jenet, for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Rayneld Edward for a common strumpetmonger common defective

Also we indict Elyn the tapster with William Graunt for a common strumpet common defective

Also we present William Graunt for mayntening¹³² of the said Elyn the tapster common defective

Also we indict Maud Moke for a common scold and hereby for indicted out of this ward and is common again common defective

Also we indict William Malmayne for a common baratour and a common breaker of the king's peace and a night walker and for a privy picker¹³³ common defective

Also we indict John Batyn for a common baratour and a nightwalker, and his wife for a common strumpet, and also they be indicted out of another ward common defective

Also we indict Annes Morley for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict William Hynde for a common receiver of misruled¹³⁴ people and of suspicious people common defective

Also we indict Elizabeth Ballyng for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict the wife of Thomas Castyle for a common strumpet and a common bawd and for occupying as a freewoman and is a foreign

Also we indict Thomas Stutfold and Trewde his wife she for a common bawd and he for a mayntenour common defective

Also we indict Angh¹³⁵ Okeley for a common bawd and a receiver of suspicious people common defective this twelve-year

Also we indict John Johnson and Marion his wife he for a bawd and she for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict the wife of John Brian for a common bawd common defective

Also we indict Alson James for a common bawd and a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Beatryx Adylfey for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Michell Milpekkar for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign common defective

Also we indict Thomas Moreys and his wife him for a privy picker and she for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Margrete Singlewoman for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict John London for a receiver of suspicious people, and for keeping of cattle and pigs great noyance to the towns ditch common defective

Also we indict Davy White for a receiver of suspicious people, and for keeping of cattle and pigs to the great noyance of the town ditch, and also for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign common defective

Also we indict Peter Hatmaker for keeping of a clossthlane¹³⁶ and there over a house covered with reed, and a receiver of suspicious people and misruled people common defective

Also we indict Lambert Johnson and his wife for keeping of a clossthbane and there over a house covered with reed and receiver of misruled people common defective

Also we indict Godfrey Wantherst for keeping of a clossthbane and thereon a house covered with reed and a receiver of misruled people common defective

Also we indict Marion Nores for a common bawd common defective

Also we indict a chimney of tree¹³⁷ in the prior's rent of Christchurch the which that Lovell Formyth [sic] common defective this twelve year

Also we indict all the pavement that the prior of Christchurch hath within the ward of Portsoken common defective and also a chimney of tree in the same rent common defective

Also we indict the pavement against the grate in Houndsditch common defective

Also we indict all the pavement that John Wellys hath within the said ward common defective this ten year

Also we indict all the pavement that John Bolle hath within the said ward common defective

Also we indict all the pavement that Thomas Bryan hath within the said ward common defective this six year

Also we indict all the pavement that John Crofte smith hath within the said ward and also within his house a chimney of tree and a house covered with reed common defective this twelve year

Also we indict all the pavement belonging to the Chamber of London being in the said ward common defective

Also we indict a chimney of tree in Symkyn Drayton's rent which is dreadful for fire common defective

Also we indict a chimney of tree there as William Towker dwelleth common defective

Also we indict two sheds [covered] with reed in Thomas Brokeholes rent common defective

Also we indict four chimneys of tree in the church rent before The Ship common defective

Also we indict a channel and a gutter coming out of The Menories into the town ditch perilous for man and beast and also great noyance to the town ditch common defective

Also we present a gutter coming out of Christchurch great noyance to the town ditch common defective
 Also we indict a hanging gete¹³⁸ in Cornwales rent which is perilous for men [and] women coming and going common defective

Also we indict a shed within the house of Thomas Stufold covered with reed common defective

Also we indict seven sheds covered with reed and two chimneys of tree in the abbots rent of the Tower Hill there as Edyn Man dwelleth common defective

Also we indict all the pales and gardens and brick walls that the abbot of the Tower Hill hath from the Hart's Horn unto the corner house against the seven sterris¹³⁹ that [stands] on the common ground of the city common defective

Also we indict eleven sheds and five chimneys of tree in the abbot's rent on Saint Katherines side common defective

Also we indict four chimneys of tree in Edmunde Legg's rent at Tower Hill before the Cock common defective

Also we indict two houses covered with reed there as Arnold Williamson dwellyth common defective

Also we indict two houses and three sheds covered with reed there as John Days dwellyth common defective

Also we indict six sheds covered with reed there as Cornelys Claysman dwellyth common defective

Common Council	Constables	Scavangers	Beadle
William Lemynge	Thomas Dalston	John Mychyll	John Phylip
Perre Jordon	John Gardener	Richard Raafe	
John Rooke	William Pywale		Raker
William Stalon	Symond Drayton		Robert Davy

In witness whereof we the said inquest have set our seals to this our present verdict

[The Warde of Portsoken of London]

4 March 1466–3 March 1467 (6 Edward IV)

This is the verdict of the inquest holden and taken before Sir Thomas Pomeroy, [prior of Christchurch and] alderman of the ward of Portsoken of London, on Saint Thomas's Day, the apostle, the year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth after the conquest the sixth year, by the oaths of us John Bull, Thomas Brokehole, William Trethern, Philip Thomson, Robert Boltynge, John Kebull, Richard Petman, Robert Bane, Richard Kays, John Michall, William Cutson, John Manneseld, which present and indict the common noyances and defaults singly expressed by us found within the said ward that is to whit

First we the said inquest present and indict the master of Saint Katherine's for setting of stulpis in the king's highway by the common ground at the mill door with a great chain locked stopping the highway, the which is great noyance to the people coming and going by that way common defective this nine years

Also we indict Stephen Wade and his wife her for a common strumpet and him for a mayntenour and for a receiver of suspicious and misruled people common defective

Also we indict Thomas Dyrwyn for casting out of straw and dung into the town ditch and also indicted out of another ward common defective

Also we present Robert Lye clerk for a common strumpetmonger common defective

Also we indict William Towker and Jone his wife, her for a common strumpet and him for a mayntenour common defective

Also we indict William Graunt for a common strumpetmonger common defective

Also we indict William Malmayne for a common baratour and a common breaker of the king's peace, and a night walker, and for a privy picker common defective

Also we indict William Wytforde for a common baratour and a privy picker common defective

Also we indict Margret Hewes for a common strumpet common defective

Also we present Jone Haynes for a receiver of suspicious people common defective

Also we indict William Taylor for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign, and for a receiver of faytoner¹⁴⁰ beggars common defective

Also we indict John Smert for a common strumpetmonger common defective

Also we indict Jone Trewoman for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Thomas Clerke and Jone his wife for common bawds and for receivers of suspicious people common defective

Also we indict Roger John and his wife her for a common bawd and him for a mayntenour

Also we indict John Haryngton for setting of stulpis in the king's highway and for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign common defective

Also we present Alson [sic] Gyles for a common scold common defective

Also we present the wife of John Dod for a common scold common defective

Also we indict John Clerke and his wife her for a common bawd and him for a mayntenour common defective

Also we indict on Isabel dwelling with this said John Clerke for a common bawd common defective

Also we indict John Cotswayn for a common baratour and a common breaker of the king's peace and for a nightwalker common defective

Also we indict John Poore for a common baratour and a common breaker of the king's peace common defective

Also we indict William Paris [sic] tailor for setting of a mud wall upon the common ground of the king's highway, and so he hath encroached to him the common ground of the king's highway

Also for laying of dung in the king's highway great noyannce to all that come and go by that way common defective this eleven years

Also we indict Jone, the wife of William Russell, for a common bawd, and Gylion her daughter for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Maude Mok for a common scold common defective

Also we indict Maude, that dwelleth with John Thomas, for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict John Ego and his leman¹⁴¹ him for a common strumpetmonger and her for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Davy White for a common baratour, and for a receiver of suspicious people, and for keeping of cattle and pigs to the great noyannce of the town ditch, and for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign common defective

Also we present Herry Boteler for a receiver of suspicious people common defective

Also we indict Thomas Stufold, and Trewde his wife, her for a common bawd and him for a mayntenour and a receiver of suspicious people common defective

Also we indict Thomas Combe for a common strumpetmonger common defective

Also we indict Isabell Thorneton otherwise called Beele Paddok for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Thomas Danyell and his wife her for a common strumpet and him for a mayntenour and a receiver of suspicious people common defective

Also we indict William Boteler and his wife for receivers of suspicious and misruled people and for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign common defective

Also we indict Jane Coton for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Jane Pulter for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Margrete Bray for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Avys Augustus for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict one Swan Duchewoman for a common strumpet and a common bawd common defective
 Also we indict Trewd Duchewoman for a common strumpet com [sic] defective

Also we indict Angh¹⁴² Okeley for a common bawd and a receiver of suspicious people and murderers of the king's liege people common defective this thirteen year

Also we indict Cristyan a Duchewoman for a leper defective

Also we present Edmunde Legge pinner for setting of the mud wall at the Tower Hill on the common ground defective

Also we indict Lambert Johnson for keeping of a clossthbane and thereupon a house covered with reed and for a receiver of suspicious people common defective

Also we indict Godfray Wanthyse for keeping of a clossthbane and thereupon a house covered with reed and a receiver of suspicious people common defective

Also we indict a swelow in Grace's Alley which is perilous for men women and children common defective

Also we indict a swelow in the prior's rent of Christchurch which is perilous for men women and children common defective

Also we indict a noyous¹⁴³ place between the corner of the abbot's place of Cocksale¹⁴⁴ and the Bell brewhouse the which John Gardener should amend great peril for horse men women and children going by that way common defective

[20 or so words crossed through — Also we indict French Philip for a common strumpet common defective Also we indict Michell Milpekker for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign]

Also we indict a chimney of tree in the prior's rent of Christchurch the which that Lovell Formyth [sic] common defective this thirteen year

Also we indict all the pavement that the prior of Christchurch hath within the ward of Portsoken common defective

And also a chimney of tree in the same rent common defective

Also we indict the pavements against the grate in Houndsditch common defective

Also we indict all the pavements that John Wellys hath within the said ward common defective this eleven year

Also we indict all the pavements that John Bull hath within this said ward common defective

Also we indict all the pavements that Thomas Brian hath within the said ward common defective this seven year

Also we indict all the pavement that James Day smith hath within the said ward and also within his house a chimney of tree and a house covered with reed common defective this thirteen year

Also we indict all the pavement belonging to the Chamber of London common defective

Also we indict a shed covered with reed within the Two Nuns common defective

Also we indict a chimney of tree in Symkyn Drayton's rent common defective [five words crossed through — which is dreadful for fire]

Also we indict a chimney of tree in the abbess's rent of The Menories common defective

Also we indict two sheds covered with reed in Thomas Brokeholes rent common defective

Also we indict four chimneys of tree in the church rent beside The Ship common defective

Also we indict a hanging gete in Cornwales rent which is perilous for men women and children coming and going common defective

Also we indict a channel and a gutter coming out of The Menories into the town ditch perilous for man and beast and also great noyannce to the town ditch common defective

Also we indict a shed within the house of Thomas Stutfold covered with reed common defective

Also we indict four sheds covered with reed and two chimneys of tree in the abbot's rent of the Tower Hill there as [Edyn Man crossed through and another name added which is illegible] dwelleth common defective

Also we indict all the pales gardens and brick walls that the abbot of the Tower Hill hath from the Hart's Horn to the corner house against the seven sterris that stand on the com [sic] ground of the city common defective

Also we indict eleven sheds covered with reed and five chimneys of tree in the said abbot's rent on Saint Katherine's side common defective

Also we indict two houses covered with reed where Arnold Williamson dwelleth common defective

Also we indict four chimneys of tree in Edmunde Legge's rent at the Tower Hill before The Cock common defective

Also we indict two houses and three sheds covered with reed there as John Doys [sic] dwelleth common defective

Also we indict six sheds covered with reed there as Cornelys Claysman dwelleth common defective
[One line crossed through – Also we indict John Salopy ironmonger for a chimney of brick set upon the common ground at the Tower Hill common defective]

Also we indict a whyrlepit¹⁴⁵ at the Tower Hill in this watering place perilous for man and beast, all the mending of which belongs to the Chamber of London common defective

Also we indict the wife of Thomas Arsmer for a common strumpet com [sic] defective

Also we indict the wife of John Fisher for a common scold and a common bawd

Also we indict the wife of Herry Hill for a common scold common defective

Also we present Robert Bono for a receiver of suspicious and misruled people out of due time against the rule of the city common defective

Common Council	Constables	Scavengers
William Lemng	Thomas Dalston	William Kylby
Perre Jordon	John Gardener	William Som
William Stalon	Robert Knygth	
John Rake	William Claver	
Beadle	Aleconners	
John Philip	William Gylmyn	
	Richard Raafe	
Raker		
John Mathewe		

In witness whereof we the said inquest set our seals to this our present verdict

[The Warde of Portsoken of London]

4 March 1467–3 March 1468 (7 Edward IV)

This is the verdict of the inquest of wardmote holden and taken before Sir Thomas Pomeroy, prior of Christchurch and alderman of the ward of Portsoken of London, on Saint Thomas's Day, the apostle, in the year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth after the conquest the seventh year, by the oaths of us Philip Thomson, John Mandevyle, William Gylmyn, John Michell, John of Bourne, Richard Raafe, William Cutson, John Merrsh, Robert Dene, Thomas Russell, Richard Breche, and Richard Sisworth, which present and indict the common nuisances and defaults singly expressed by us found within the said ward that is to whit

First we the said inquest present and indict the Master of Saint Katherine's for setting of stuples in the king's highway on the common ground at the mill door with a great chain locked stopping the highway, the which is great noyance to the people coming and going by that way common defective this ten year

Also we indict William Graunte for a common baratour and a mayntenour of quarrels common defective

Also we indict William Malmayne for a common strumpetmonger common defective

Also we indict William London for a common strumpetmonger common defective

Also we indict Margret Hewes for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Alyson Haynes for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict the wife of John Dod for a common scold defective

Also we indict William Parys for laying of dung in the king's highway common defective this twelve year

Also we indict Maude Mok for a common scold defective

Also we indict Davy White for a common baratour and a receiver of suspicious people, and for keeping of cattle and pigs to the great noyance of the town ditch and for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign common defective

Also we indict Herry Boteler for a receiver and a mayntenour of suspicious and misruled people common defective

Also we indict the wife of John Edge for a common strumpet and him for a common baratour and a nightwalker defective

Also we indict Herry Endyrby and his wife her for a common strumpet and him for a mayntenour

Also we indict French Philip for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Charles Gentilman [*sic*] for holding and supporting of the said French Philip common defective

Also we indict Cristyan Bat for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict William Boteler for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign common defective

Also we indict Jane Pulter for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Trewde Duchewoman for a common bawd and a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Edmond Legg, pinner, for setting of a mud wall on the common ground at Tower Hill defective

Also we indict John Tancraye, ironmonger, for a chimney of brick on the common ground at Tower Hill defective

Also we indict Joye Florence for keeping of a closshbane and for a receiver of suspicious people common defective

Also we indict Petyr Clerke for keeping of a closshbane and for a receiver of suspicious people common defective

Also we indict Reynold Fremet for a common strumpetmonger common defective

Also we indict a swelow in Grace's Alley which is perilous for man and beast common defective

Also we indict a swelow in the prior's rent of Christchurch which is perilous for man and beast common defective

Also we indict a noyer¹⁴⁶ place between the corner of the abbot's place of Koksale and the Bell brewhouse the which John Gardener should amend perilous for man and beast common defective

Also we indict a chimney of tree in the prior's rent of Christchurch the which that Lovell Formyth common defective this fourteen year

Also we indict all the pavement that the prior of Christchurch hath within the ward of Portsoken common defective and also a chimney of tree in the same rent common defective

Also we indict the pavement against the grate in Houndsditch common defective

Also we indict all the pavement John Wellys hath within the said ward common defective

Also we indict all the pavement that John Bull hath within the said ward common defective

Also we indict all the pavement that Thomas Brian hath within the said ward common defective

Also we indict all the pavement that Jamys Day, smyth, hath within the said ward common defective and also within his house a chimney of tree and a house covered with reed common defective this fourteen year

Also we indict all the pavement belonging to the Chamber of London common defective

Also we indict a shed covered with reed within the Three Nuns common defective

Also we indict a chimney of tree in Symkin Drayton's rent common defective

Also we indict a chimney of tree in the abbess's rent of The Menories common defective

Also we indict two sheds covered with reed in Thomas Brokehole's rent common defective

Also we indict four chimneys of tree in the church rent beside The Ship common defective

Also we indict a hanging gete in Cornwales' rent which is perilous for man and beast common defective

Also we indict a shed coned with reed where that William Harrison dwelleth common defective

Also we indict four sheds and two chimneys the sheds covered with reed and the chimneys made of wood in the abbot's rent of Tower Hill there as Waderof dwelleth common defective

Also we indict all the pales gardens and brickwalls that the abbot of Tower Hill hath from the Hart's Horne to the corner house against the seven sterries that stand upon the common ground common defective

Also we indict eleven sheds covered with reed and five chimneys of tree in the said abbot's rent on Saint Katherine's side common defective

Also we indict two houses covered with reed there as Arnold Williamson dwelleth

Also we indict four chimneys of tree in Edmonde Legg's rent at Tower Hill

Also we indict two houses and three sheds covered with reed there as John Doys dwelleth

Also we indict six sheds covered with reed there as Cornelys Claysman dwelleth

Also we indict a whorlepit¹⁴⁷ at the Tower Hill in the watering place perilous for man and beast, the mending of which belongs to the Chamber of London common defective

[No names listed at end of membrane, or any other information]

[The Warde of Portsoken of London]

4 March 1469–3 March 1470 (marked as ?10 Edward IV, editor's dating: 9 Edward IV)

This is the verdict of the inquest of wardmote holden and taken before Sir Thomas Pomeroy, prior of Christchurch and [alderman] of the ward of Portsoken of London, on Saint Thomas's Day, the apostle, in the year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth after the con[quest] [damaged] year, by the oaths of us John Gardener, William Chariar, John Manneveld, William Sylmyn, John a Borne, Ric [sic] Raafe, Thomas Russell, John Mich[ell], Thomas Semath, Robert Noore, Robert Slater, and Robert Seman, which present and indict the common noyances and defaults singly expre[ssed] by us found within the said ward that is to whit

First we the said inquest present and indict the master of Saint Katherine's for setting of stulpes in the king's highway on the common ground at the mill door with a great chain locked stopping the highway the which is great noyance to the people coming and going by this way common defective this twelve year

Also we indict William Parys for casting of ordure and rubbish in the town ditch to the great mischief of the city and to all the people that dwell thereby common defective

Also we indict John Werke for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Also we indict Robert Freman and Katyn his wife her for a common scold and him for a maytenour defective

Also we indict John Walker for a common baratour and a common breaker of the king's peace defective

Also we indict John Fyge and his wife her for a common scold and him for a mayntenour defective

Also we indict on Margrete a Leche dwelling at the church style for a common scold defective

Also we indict John Hysolet for a faytoner beggar and his wife for a common scold defective

Also we indict John Fysher and his wife her for a common scold and him for a mayntenour of quarrels defective

Also we indict Robert Lyl and his wife for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign and her for a common scold and for receiver of suspicious and misruled people defective

Also we indict Thomas Syrwyn for a common baratour and for a receiver of suspicious and misruled people that is mens apprentices and servants common defective

Also we indict Katryn May for a common strumpet defective

Also we indict Edward Edwyn and his wife for common bawds and for receivers of suspicious and misruled people defective

Also we indict Marion Johnson for a common strumpet defective

Also we indict Alyn Barchilnew and his wife for occupying as freefolk and is foreign and for common bawds and her for a common strumpet and for receivers of suspicious and misruled people defective

Also we indict George Fletcher and his wife her for a common strumpet and him for a mayntenour defective

Also we indict John Bonnyngton and his wife her for a common scold and him for a mayntenour defective

Also we indict Jone Coton for a common strumpet defective

Also we indict Eden Bradowe for a common strumpet defective

Also we indict Davy White for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign and for keeping of cattle and pigs to the great noyannce of the town ditch

Also we indict Herry Boteler and his wife for common bawds and for receivers of suspicious and misruled people defective

Also we indict French Philip for a common strumpet defective

Also we indict Charles Gentilman for a common strumpetmonger and for holding and supporting of the said French Philip common defective

Also we indict Cristian Batte for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict William Boteler's wife, called Chatton, for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Also we indict John a Caleys and his wife for common bawds and him for a common strumpetmonger and her for a common strumpet defective

Also we indict Margrete Selby for a common strumpet defective

Also we indict John Bryan and his wife for common bawds defective

Also we indict William Harryson and his wife for keeping of cattle and pigs to the great noyanne of the town ditch and her for a common scold defective

Also we indict Godfray Cosyn for a receiver of suspicious and misruled people common defective

Also we indict Katyn Wylforde for a common scold defective

Also we indict a swelow in Grace's Alley which is perilous for man and beast common defective

Also we indict a swelow in the prior's rent of Christchurch common defective

Also we indict a noyous place between the corner of the abbot's place of Coksale and The Bell late a brewhouse which John Gardener should amend perilous for man and beast common defective

Also we indict a chimney of tree in the said prior's rent common defective
Also we indict the pavement that John Wellys hath within the said ward common defective
Also Also [sic] we indict all the pavements that John Bull hath within the said ward common defective
Also we indict all the pavements that Thomas Brian hath within the said ward common defective
Also we indict all the pavements that James Day hath within the said ward common defective
And within the same rent a chimney of tree and one house covered with reed defective
Also we indict the pavement that belongs to the Chamber of London any part thereof defective
Also we indict a shed covered with reed within the Two Nuns defective
Also we indict Also we indict [sic] a chimney of tree in the rent that Symond Drayton late held common defective
Also we indict a chimney of tree in the abbess's rent of The Menories [sic] common defective
Also we indict two sheds covered with reed in the rent that Thomas Brokehole late held defective
Also we indict three chimneys of tree in the church rent beside The Ship defective
Also we indict a hanging gete in Cornwales' rent which is perilous common defective
Also we indict a shed covered with reed there as William Harrison dwelleth common defective
Also we indict four sheds covered with reed and two chimneys of tree in the abbot's rent at the Tower Hill common defective
Also we indict all the pales gardens and brick walls that the abbot of the Tower Hill hath from the Hart's Horn unto the corner house against the seven sterres that stand upon the common ground common defective
Also we indict eleven sheds covered with reed and a chimney of tree in the said abbot's rent on Saint Katherine's side common defective
Also we indict two houses covered with reed there as Arnold Williamson dwellyth defective
Also we indict four chimneys of tree in Edmund Legg's rent at the Tower Hill common defective
Also we indict two houses and three sheds covered with reed there as John Doys dwelleth common defective
Also we indict six sheds covered with reed there as Cornelys Claysman late dwelleth defective
Also we indict a whorlepitte at the Tower Hill in the watering place perilous for man and beast of the which [sic] the mending belongs to the Chamber of London common defective
Also we indict all the pavements before the church stile that belongs to the church defective
Also we indict the pavements that Bedham Fysthmonger hath before the church stile
Also we indict all the stuplis and stakes before the Three King's unto the corner house of the abbots of Coksale defective

Common Council
William Lemynge
William Stalon
John Rooke
Thomas Dalstone

Constables
Robert Symson
William Pywale
Philip Tomson
Robert Boltynge

Scavengers
John Merssh
Rychard Wellis

Beadle
John Phylip

Raker
Robert Marke

In witness whereof we the said inquest have set our seals to this our present verdict

[The Warde of Portsoken of London]

4 March 1471–3 March 1472 (11 Edward IV)

This is the verdict of the inquest of wardmote holden and taken before Sir Thomas Pomeroy, prior of the Christchurch and alderman of the ward of Portsoken of London, Saint Thomas's Day, the apostle, in the year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth after the conquest the eleventh year, by the oaths of us Robert Boltyn, Thomas Russell, Robert Nore, William Gylmyn, John a Borne, John Michell, Ric Raafe [*sic*], Robert Seman, William Farnham, Richard Sisworth, William Cutson, and John a Strete, which present and indict the common nuisances and defaults expressed by us found within the said ward that is to whit

First we the said inquest present and indict the master of Saint Katherine's for setting of stulpes in the king's highway on the common ground at the mill door with a great chain locked stopping the highway, the which is great noyance to the people coming and going by that way common defective this fourteen year

Also we indict William Graunte for a common baratour and a common breaker of the king's peace and for a common strumpetmonger common defective

Also we indict Julian Reedere for a common strumpet defective

Also we indict Robert Wilford, the servant of William Wilforde, for a privy picker and the said William for a mayntenour defective

Also we present Ric Wellis and his wife for receivers of suspicious and misruled people that is men's apprentices and servants defective

Also we present John Ardorne and his wife for keeping and maintaining of a young maid that is a privy picker defective

Also we indict John Hayne and his wife her for a common strumpet and him for a maytenour defective

Also we indict John Browne and his leman him for a common strumpetmonger and her for a common strumpet defective

Also we indict John Edward and his wife for common bawds defective

Also we indict William Robert for a faytoner beggar and a privy picker defective

Also we indict John Bulle for a common baratour and a common breaker of the king's peace defective

Also we indict Alson Haryngton for a common bawd defective

Also we endite Savuwr Wavse and his wife for occupying as free folk and be foreigns and for receivers of suspicious and misruled people and her for a common strumpet defective

Also we indict the wife of Kervays for a common strumpet defective

Also we indict Robert Lygh, clerk, for a common strumpetmonger defective

Also we indict William Towkar and his wife her for a common strumpet and him for a maytenour defective

Also we indict William Chamberleyn and his wife her for a common strumpet and him for a maytenour defective

Also we indict Pers Blake and his wife for common bawds and her for a common strumpet and him for a privy picker defective

Also we indict Jone Hewet for a common strumpet common defective

Also we present Thomas Harrison and his wife for occupying as free folk and be foreigns, and be receivers of suspicious and misruled people that is men's apprentices and servants defective

Also we indict the wife of John Mokke for a common strumpet defective

Also we indict Herry Goodwyn and his wife for common bawds defective

Also we indict the wife of Robert Heyfolde for a common bawd and a common strumpet defective
Also we indict Annes Grove, widow, for a common bawd defective

Also we present John Maundebold for a noyous and a sklaunderous¹⁴⁸ man to his neighbours and will not pay lot and scot according to his oath and to his word of the city and of the ward common defective

Also we indict Wymonde of Colen¹⁴⁹ and his wife for common bawds common defective

Also we indict Joys Florens for a receiver of suspicious and misruled people defective

Also we indict William Boteler, otherwise called William Chatton, for a receiver of suspicious and misruled people defective

Also we indict John a Campe for a common hasardour¹⁵⁰ and a receiver of suspicious and misruled people

Also we indict Herry Roeche for a receiver of suspicious and misruled people defective

Also we indict Dyryk Brain for a receiver of suspicious and misruled people

Also we indict Neme Stranng for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Jane Cotton for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict Robert Yonge and his wife for common bawds defective

Also we indict Wat White for keeping of geese and ducks and for making of a ditch in the king's highway defective

Also we indict William Harrison for keeping of cattle and pigs to the nuisance of the town ditch

Also we indict Joys Florens and John a Campe, Herry Roeche, and Dyryk Brian, for keeping of closthlane and on there houses covered with reed common defective

Also we indict the wife of William Gunnslay for a common bawd and a common strumpet defective

Also we indict a swelowe in Grace's Alley which is perilous for man and beast common defective

Also we indict a swelowe in the prior's rent of Christchurch common defective

Also we indict a noyous place between the corner of the abbot's place of Cockside and The Bell late a brewhouse common defective

Also we indict a chimney of tree in the prior's rent of Christchurch common defective

Also we indict the pavements against the grate in Houndsditch common defective

Also we indict all the pavements that John Wellys hath within the said ward common defective

Also we indict all pavements that John Bulle hath within the said ward common defective

Also we indict all the pavements that Thomas Brian hath within the said ward defective

Also we indict all the pavement that James Day hath within the said ward defective And within the same rent a chimney of tree and a house covered with reed defective

Also we indict all the pavements that belong to the Chamber of London defective

Also we indict a shed covered with reed within the Two Nuns defective

Also we indict a chimney of tree in the house there as the coroner dwelleth defective

Also we indict a chimney of tree in the abbess's rent of The Menories common defective

Also we indict two sheds covered with reed there as John Browne, butcher, dwelleth defective

Also we indict four chimneys of tree in the church rent beside The Ship defective

Also we indict a hanging gete in Cornwales' rent which is perilous for men common defective

Also we indict a shed covered with reed there as William Harrison late dwelleth defective

Also we indict four sheds covered with reed and two chimneys of tree in the abbot's rent at the Tower Hill defective

Also we indict all the pales gardens and brick walls that the abbot of the Tower Hill hath from the Hart's Horn unto the corner house against the seven sterries that stand upon the common ground defective

Also we indict eleven sheds covered with reed and five chimneys of tree in the said abbot's rent on Saint Katherine's side common defective

Also we indict four chimneys of tree in Edmunde Legg's rent at the Tower Hill

Also we indict six sheds covered with reed there as Lawrens Gyles dwelleth common defective

Also we indict a whirlepitte at the Tower Hill in the watering place perilous for man and beast, of the mending of which belongs to the Chamber of London common defective

Also we indict all the stulpis and stakes from the Three King's to the corner house of the abbots of Coksale defective

Common Council	Constables	Scavengers
William Chester	John Rooke	[no names listed]
William Stalon	Thomas Dalstone	Beadle
John Rooke	John Gardener	[no names listed]
Thomas Dalstone	William Pywale	Raker [no name listed]

In witness whereof we the said inquest have set our seals to this our present verdict

[The Warde of Portsoken of London]

4 March 1472–3 March 1473 (12 Edward IV)

This is the verdict of the inquest of wardmote holden and taken before Sir Thomas Pomeroy, prior [of Christchurch and] alderman of the ward of Portsoken of London, on Saint Thomas's Day, the apostle, in this year of the reign of King [Edward] the Fourth after the conquest this twelve year, by the oaths of us Thomas Sewidgh, John Copyn, William Segeram [*sic*], William [damaged], Richard Raafe, Richard Eysseworth, Manyrd Luke, William Cotteson, Richard Wellys, John Ardyng, William Kylleby the younger, [damaged] Synnet, which present and indict the common nuisances and defaults singly expressed by us found within the [said ward that is to whit]

First we the said inquest present and indict the master of Saint Katherine's for setting of stulpes in the king's [highway on the] common ground at the mill door with a great chain locked stopping the highway, the which is great noyance [to the people coming] and going by that way common defective this fifteen year

Also we indict William Graunte for a common bawd common defective

Also we indict Annes Sexcetyl for a common stru[mpet] [damaged] privy picker defective

Also we indict Margettis Frannkees [*sic*] for a common strumpet defective

Also we present John Yonge for [damaged] faytoner beggar defective

Also we present Water [*sic*] Richard for a faytoner beggar defective

Also we present John Brokedste for a fay[toner] beggar defective

Also we present Margrete Whyteway for a common scold, and her husband for a mayntenour common defective [damaged]

Also we indict Katrine Frynge for a common strumpet defective

Also we indict Rose Boner for a common strumpet, and her husband [damaged] for a mayntenour common defective

Also we present John Clefforde for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Also we indict [damaged], the wife of Davy Fye, for a common strumpet common defective

Also we indict William Schateton for a common strumpetmonger defective

Also we indict John a Campe for a common hasadour and a receiver of suspicious and misruled people common defective

Also we indict Henry Roche for a receiver of suspicious and misruled people common defective

Also we indict Dereke Braymore for a receiver of suspicious and misruled people common defective
Also we indict Neme Strange for a common strumpet common defective
Also we indict Jane Cotton for a common strumpet common defective
Also we indict Wat Whyte for keeping of geese and ducks and for making of a ditch in the king's highway common defective
Also we indict Joyes Florence and John a Campe, Henry Roche, and Dereke Braymore for keeping of Closthbanys and on them houses be covered with reed common defective
Also we indict Ellyn Howett for a common strumpet common defective
Also we indict Alison Grene for a common strumpet defective
Also we indict John Lynpton for a common baratour and common breaker of the king's peace, and for a receiver of misruled people men and women common defective
Also we indict the wife of John of Delffe for a common bawd, and her husband for a mayntenour common defective
Also we present John of Strete for a mayntenour of suspicious and misruled people as well by night as by daytime common defective
Also we indict Crystean Downs for a common strumpet common defective
Also we indict William Cloyer for a common strumpetmonger common defective
Also we indict a swelow in Grace's Alley which [is] perilous for man and beast common defective
Also we indict a swelow in the prior's rent of Christchurch common defective
Also we indict a noyous place between the corner of the abbot's place of Cocksale and The Bell late a brewery common defective
Also we indict a chimney of tree in the prior's rent of Christchurch common defective
Also we indict the pavement against the grate in Houndsditch common defective
Also we indict all the pavement that John Wellys hath within the said ward common defective
Also we indict all the pavement that Thomas Brian hath within the said ward defective
Also we indict all the pavement that James Day hath within the said ward defective and within the same rent a chimney of tree and a house covered with reed within the Three Nuns defective
Also we indict a chimney of tree in the house there as the coroner dwelleth
Also we indict a chimney of tree in the abbess's rent of The Menories common defective
Also we indict two sheds covered with reed that John Browne butcher dwelleth in common defective
Also we indict four chimneys of tree in the Church rent beside The Ship defective
Also we indict a hanging gete in Cornwales rent which is perilous for men common defective
Also we indict a shed covered with reed there as William Harrison late lived defective
Also we indict four sheds covered with reed and two chimneys of tree in the abbot's rent at the Tower Hill defective
Also we indict all the pales gardens and brick walls that the abbot of the Tower Hill hath from the Hart's Horn to the corner house against the seven steris that stand upon the common ground defective
Also we indict eleven sheds covered with reed and five chimneys of tree in the said abbot's rent on Saint Katherine's side common defective
Also we indict four chimneys of tree in Edmunde Legge's rent at the Tower Hill defective
Also we indict six sheds covered with reed there as Lawrens Gyles dwelleth common defective
Also we indict a whirlpitte at the Tower Hill in the watering place perilous for man and beast, the mending of which belongs to the Chamber of London common defective
Also we indict all the stulpis and stakes from the Three King's to the corner house of the abbot's of Cocksale defective

Common Council	Constable	Scavengers
William Chester	John Gardener	Richard Wellis
William Stalon	William Pywale	William Kylby the younger
John Rooke the Younger	Robert Boltynge	
Thomas Dalstone	Robert Norre	
Beadle	Raker	
John Phelipp	Thomas Felde	

In witness whereof we the said inquest have set our seal to this our present verdict

The Warde of Portsoken of London

4 March 1473–3 March 1474 (original 14 Edward IV, editor's dating: 13 Edward IV)

This is the verdict of the inquest of wardmote holden and taken before Sir Thomas Pomeroy, prior of Christchurch and alderman of the ward of Portsoken of London, on Saint Thomas's Day, the apostle, in the [reign] of King Edward the Fourth the fourteenth, by the [oaths of us] [damaged] Seven, Richard Holdbroke, John Brice, Will[iam] [damaged], Richard Raafe, Thomas Crocheman, [damaged], Thomas Oliver, and John Michell of the [defaults found by us in the said ward]

First we present and indict a cellar door of Lovell's rent in Houndsditch [defective Item we] present and indict a chimney made of tree in the same rent defective

Item we present a cel[lar door] belonging to the rent of Christchurch defective

Item we present and indict cross barres belonging to the same rent defective

Item we present and indict the pavement of John Wellys in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict a well before the tenement of John Wellys belonging to the Chamber of London defective

Item we present and indict all the pavements of the rent of Master Brian's rent in Houndsditch defective

Also we present and indict all the pavement of James Days' dwelling at Saint Anthony's within this ward defective

Item we present and indict a house of the same James covered with reed defective

Item we present and indict two chimneys of timber belonging to a rent of the prior of Christchurch defective

Item we present and indict a chimney of tree in the kitchen of John of Borne in the rent which Master Chester holdeth [defective]

[Item we] indict a reredos¹⁵¹ in the church alley in the house of Richard Weller defective

Item we [indict the pavement] of the west end of the church ruinous perilous and defective

Item we present and indict a shed covered with reed in the garden of William Parys joining upon the house where Robert Hudson dwelleth defective

Also we present and indict a cellar door of the tenement of William Bentley holden by Richard Keen sergeant defective

Item we present and indict two sheds in the tenement which William Flete holdeth covered with reed defective

Item we indict a cellar door in the church rent next to The Ship defective

Item we present a reredos in a house in the churchyard which Waller Bocher holdeth defective

Item we indict four chimneys in the church rent made of mud and laths¹⁵² beside The Ship perilous for fire and defective

Item we indict a low jetty¹⁵³ in the rent of Master Cornwales and in the which house Master John dwelleth defective

Item we present a shed covered with reed in the rent where Robert Makenard dwelleth defective

Item we present a waterway coming out of Robert Makenard's house with stulpes there to the common noyannce of all people coming and going defective

Item we indict four sheds in the rent of the abbot of Tower Hill defective

Item we indict a chimney of tree in the house that John Mannfeld holdeth defective

Item we present and indict Thomas, the abbot of Tower Hill, for the encroaching of the common ground by the abbey with gardens walled with brick walls [*sic*], and with pales and a long pale under his hall paled on the common ground defective

Item we present and indict two chimneys of tree of the said abbot in his rent beyond Tower Hill on Saint Katherine's side defective

Item we present a tenement of Saint Katherine's for a reredos made perilous for fire defective

Item we present four chimneys of tree in the rent belonging to the craft of barbers in London against the Cock on Tower Hill perilous and defective

Item we present a barrier before the same rent of barbers standing in the king's highway to the noyannce of all people defective

Item we present and indict three houses and two sheds in the rent that Clay Smyth holdeth covered with reed and perilous for fire defective

Item we present and indict a swalowe (see n. 131) in Grace's Alley perilous and defective

Item we present and indict a noyous place before the rent which John Gardener holdeth of the abbot of Cokkeshale¹⁵⁴ and The Bell on Tower Hill defective

Item we indict a chimney of tree in the abbess's rent of the Menories defective

Item we present and indict a cellar door belonging to the abbot of Tower Hill, the which Richard Silvester holdeth defective

Item we present and indict a perilous and a mischievous place in the town's ditch in which much people have been drowned fast by the postern defective

Item we present and indict the Master of Saint Katherine's for setting of posts in the king's highway on the common ground at the mill door with a great chain locked stopping the highway, in likewise as it hath been indicted sixteen year a gone defective

Also we indict the bridge of the same mill perilous and defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement that the Chamber of London hath in Houndsditch ruinous and perilous defective

Item we indict a shed within the Three Nuns covered with reed defective

Item we present and indict a brick chimney standing in the common ground in the king's highway in the rent that Claye Smyth holdeth defective

Item we present and indict three closhbanes on Tower Hill defective

Item we present and indict an house and a shed covered with reed in the rent that John Deux holdeth defective

Item we present John Tyson for making of a dunghill in the king's highway to the common nuisance defective

Item we present Thomas Cohnan for making of a dunghill in the king's highway afore the rent called The Ship to the common nuisance defective

Item we present Robert Nore for laying of his wood in the king's highway to the common nuisance defective

Item we present William Stalon for making of a dunghill and a layerstore¹⁵⁵ of timber and other wood to the common nuisance defective

Item we present the same William Stalon for making of a grievous dunghill in the middle of the king's highway, with hog's hair and other filth to the nuisance of the king's people defective

Item we present a dunghill made in the king's highway before Gardener the chandlers place defective which he holdeth of the abbot of Cockshale

Also we present a dunghill lying on the east side of Saint Katherine's made by beermen next dwelling and joining to the same dunghill, to the common nuisance of all the king's people and destroying of the highway defective

Also we present a dunghill belonging to the Chamber of London next to the barriers to the noyance of the king's people and defective

Item we present and indict John Philip in the barbers rent on the Tower Hill occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present Henry Fekeman for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present in likewise Sote Dochewoman for occupying as a freewoman and is a foreign defective

Item we present John a Campe for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present John Ferhofe for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present Henry Roche for occupying as a freeman as is a foreign defective

Item we present John Tyson for occupying as a freeman as is a foreign defective

Item we indict Elizabeth Selfe, the wife of John Selfe, for a common bawd defective

Item we indict Elizabeth Barcrofte for a common strumpet defective

Item we present and indict the wife of John Lincoln for a common strumpet

Item we present and indict Agnes Foster for a common strumpet and scold defective

Item we present Florens Boner, the wife of Robert Boner, for a common scold and a great nuisance of all her neighbours defective

Item we present and indict Thomas Wynter for a faytoner beggar a privy picker a common baratour defective

Item we present and indict John Yonge for a faytoner a beggar [*sic*] and a common scold to the noyance of all his neighbours defective

Item we present Johan Laurence for a common scold defective

Item we present Thomas Haryson for a common baratour, and his wife for a scold defective

Item we present Emmote Hill, the wife of Roger Hill, for a common scold and a great noyer of all her neighbours

Item we present and indict Elizabeth Brewster, the wife of Davy Brewster, for a common scold defective

Item we present and indict Emmotte Rygdowne for a common harlot and indicted out of another ward the last year defective

Item we present William Flete for a common baratour and a picker of quarrels to the noyance of all his neighbours, and a prowler and an enticer of men's apprentices and servants contrary to the will of their masters defective

The Common Council

William Chester

Thomas Dalston

William Stalon

John Roke the Younger

Scavengers

John Devconx

Thomas Egleston

Beadle

John Philip

Constables

John Gardener

Richard Stutfold

Nicholas Silvester

John Mannfeld

Robert Maknard

Raker

William Segrym

In witness whereof we the said inquest have set our seals to this our present verdict

The Warde of Portsoken of London

4 March 1474–3 March 1475 (original 15 Edward IV, editor's dating: 14 Edward IV)

This is the verdict of the inquest [holden and taken] before Sir Thomas Pomeroy, prior [of Christchurch and alderman] of Portsoken of London, [on Saint Thomas's Day, the apostle], in the year of the reign of King Edward the [Fourth the fifteenth?], by the oaths of us Andrew Tuck, William Bowns, Richard Tysson, John B[damaged], William Purler, John Kyng, Robert Coke, John Copyn, John Silvester, John Man, Richard Raafe, Richard Silvester, Hugh Baldok, John a Strete, William Salet, [and William Kelby the younger, of the defaults found by us in the said ward]

First we present and indict a cellar door of Lovell's rent in Houndsditch

Also we present and indict a chimney of tree in the same rent defective

Also we present a cellar door belonging to the rent of Christchurch defective

Item we present and indict the cross bars belonging to the same rent defective

Item we present and indict the pavement of John Wellys in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement of Master Bryan's [rent in Houndsditch defective]

Item we present and indict all the pavement of John Days' dwelling at [Saint Anthony's within this ward] defective

Item we present and indict a house of the same James [*sic*] [covered with reed defective]

[Item we] present and indict two chimneys of tree belonging to a rent of the [priory of Christchurch defective]

Item we present and indict a chimney of tree in the kitchen late in the holding of [John of Borne] which Master Chester holdeth defective

Item we indict a reredos in the church alley in the house where in Richard Weller dwelled defective

Item we indict the pavement of the west end of the church ruinous perilous and defective

Item we present and indict a shed covered with reed in the garden of William Parys joining upon the house that Robert Hodson holdeth defective

Item we present and indict a cellar door of the rent of William Bentley, which Richard Keyn holdeth defective

Item we present and indict two sheds in the rent which John Fisher holdeth covered with reed defective

Item we indict a cellar door in the church rent next to The Ship defective

Item we present a reredos in a house in the churchyard which Walker dwelleth in defective

Item we indict four chimneys in the church rent made of loam and lath beside The Ship perilous for fire defective

Item we indict a low jetty in the rent of Master Cornwales defective

Item we present and indict a shed covered with reed in the rent where Robert Maknarde dwelleth defective

Item we present and indict a waterway coming out of the house which Robert Maknarde holdeth with stulyps there to the common nuisance to all the king's people coming and going by that way defective

Item we indict four sheds in the rent of the abbot of Tower Hill defective

Item we indict a chimney of tree in the house that John Manfeylde [*sic*] holdeth defective

Item we present and indict Thomas, abbot of Tower Hill, for encroaching of the common ground by the abbey with gardens walled with brick and with pales and a long pale under his hall paled upon the common ground defective

Item we present and indict two chimneys of timber of the said abbot in the tenement upon Tower Hill on Saint Katherine's side defective

Item we present and indict a tenement of Saint Katherine for a reredos made perilous of fire defective

Item we indict four chimneys of tree in the rent belonging to the craft of barbers in London against The Cock on the Tower Hill perilous and defective

Item we present and indict a barrier before the same tenement of barbers standing in the king's highway to the nuisance of all people defective

Item we present and indict three houses and two sheds in the rent that Claye Smyth holdeth covered with reed and perilous for fire defective

Item we present and indict a swallow in Grace's Alley perilous and defective

Item we present and indict a noyous place before the rent which John Gardener holdeth of the abbot of Cocksale and The Bell defective

Item we indict a chimney of tree in the abbess's rent of The Menories defective

Item we present and indict a cellar door belonging to the abbot of Tower Hill the which Richard Silvester holdeth defective

Item we present and indict a perilous and a mischievous place in the town ditch in the which much people have been drowned in fast by the postern defective

Item we present and indict the Master of Saint Katherine's for setting of stulpes in the king's highway upon the common ground at the mill door with a great chain locked stopping the highway, in like wise as it hath been indicted seventeen year ago defective

Item we indict a bridge of the mill place perilous defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement that the Chamber of London hath in Houndsditch ruinous and perilous defective

Item we present Master Chester for stopping of the king's highway with his lead which is to the noyannce of all the king's people riding and going defective

Item we present and indict a shed within the Three Nuns covered with reed defective

Item we present and indict a chimney of brick standing upon the common ground in the king's highway in the tenement that Claye Smyth holdeth defective

Item we present and indict three closshbanes on the Tower Hill defective

Item we present and indict an house and a shed covered with reed in the rent that John Dewse [sic] holdeth defective

Item we present and indict John Tyson for making of a dunghill in the king's highway to the common nuisance defective

Item we present William Stalon for making of a common layerstore of timber and other wood to the common noyannce defective

Item we present and indict a dunghill made in the king's highway before Gardeners' place which he holdeth of the abbot of Cocksale defective

Item we present a dunghill lying on the east side of Saint Katherine's made by beermen next living and joining to the same dunghill to the common nuisance of all the king's people and destroying of the way defective

Item we present and indict a dunghill belonging to the Chamber of London next to the barriers to the noyannce of the king's people defective

Item we present a John Waserey occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present and indict John Philip in the barber's rent on the Tower Hill occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present Henry Fekman for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present John a Campe for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present John Forhose for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present Henry Roche for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present John Tyson for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present and indict John Yonge for a faytoner beggar and a common scold to the noyannce of all his neighbours defective

Item we present and indict Soutte Dochewoman for a common harlot defective

Item we present and indict John Bette and Agnes his wife for common bawds defective

Item we present and indict Alys Brown for a common harlot defective

Item we present Elizabeth Brewster for a receiver of men's apprentices and their servants at unlawful times, reselling and withdrawing of their master's goods defective

Item we present Mildrede Taillor, otherwise called Mildrede Pynner, for a common scold and a bawd defective

Item we present Alys, the daughter of the said Mildrede, for a common puturer¹⁵⁶ defective

The Common Council	Constables
William Chester	Richard Holbroke
William Stalon	Richard Stutfold
Thomas Daulston [sic]	Nicholas Silvester
John Gardener	John Mannfeld
	Robert Maknarde
Scavengers	Raker
Richard Sysworth	William Segrym
John Bull	
Beadle	
John Philip	

In witness whereof we the said inquest have set our seals to this our present writing

The Warde of Portsoken of London

4 March 1475–3 March 1476 (original 16 Edward IV, editor's dating: 15 Edward IV)

This is the verdict of the inquest of wardmote holden and taken before Sir Thomas Pomeroys, prior of Christchurch and alderman of the ward of Portsoken of London, on Saint Thomas's Day, the apostle, in the year of the reign of King Edward the fourth the sixteenth year, by the oaths of us William Bound, Robert Nore, Robert Boltynge, William Puckles, Thomas Olyver, John Morth, William Segrym, William Broughton, Stephen Smyth, John Michel, John Silvester, John Man, William Gylmyne, Richard Sissworth, and John a Strete, of all the defaults found by us in the said ward

First we present and indict a cellar door of Lovell's rent in Houndsditch defective Also we present and indict a chimney made of tree in the same rent defective

Also we present a cellar door belonging to the rent of Christchurch defective

Item we present and indict the bars before the same rent defective

Item we present and indict the pavement of John Wellys in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement before the tenement of Master Brian's rent in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement belonging to the Chamber of London in Houndsditch ruinous and perilous defective

Item we present all the pavement of James Deys' [sic] dwelling at Saint Anthony's within the ward defective

Item we present and indict an house [sic] of the same James covered with reed defective

Item we present and indict two chimneys of timber belonging to a tenement of the prior of Christchurch defective

Item we indict a chimney of tree in the kitchen late in the holding of John a Borne, and the which the executors of Master Chester now hold defective

Item we indict a reredos in the church way in the house where Richard Weller dwelled defective

Item we indict the pavement at the west end of the church ruinous perilous and defective

Item we present and indict a shed covered with reed in the garden of William Parys joining upon the house that Robert Laddson holdeth defective

Item we present and indict a cellar door of the tenement of William Bouthy which Richard Kene [sic] holdeth defective

Item we present and indict two sheds in the tenement which John Fysher holdeth covered with reed defective

Item we indict a cellar door in the church rent next to The Ship defective

Item we present a reredos in an house in the churchyard which Waller dwelleth in defective

Item we indict four chimneys in the church rent made of loam and lath beside The Ship [perilous] for fire defective

Item we indict a low jetty in the rent of Master Cornwales defective

Item we present and indict a shed covered with reed in the tenement where Robert Maknarde dwelleth defective

Item we present and indict a waterway coming out of the house which Robert Maknarde [holdeth], with stulpes there to the common noyanne of all people coming and going by the same way defective

Item we indict four sheds in the rent of the abbot of Tower Hill defective

Item we indict a chimney of tree in the house that John Manselde holdeth defective

Item we present and indict Thomas the abbot of Tower Hill for encroaching of the common ground by the abbey with gardens walled with brick and with pales and a long pale under his hall paled upon the common ground defective

Item we present and indict two chimneys of timber of the said abbot in this tenement upon Tower Hill on Saint Katherine's side defective

Item we present and indict a reredos in a tenement belonging to Saint Katherine's perilous for fire defective

Item we indict four chimneys of tree in the tenement belonging to the craft of barbers of London against The Cock on Tower Hill perilous and defective

Item we present and indict three houses and two sheds in the rent of The Swan covered with reed and perilous for fire defective

Item we present and indict a chimney of brick standing upon the common ground in the king's highway in the tenement of The Swan defective

Item we present and indict a noyous place before the tenement which John Gardener holdeth of the abbot of Coggeshale (see n. 144) and The Bell defective

Item we indict two chimneys of tree in the abbess of The Menories rent defective

Item we present and indict a cellar door belonging to the abbot of Tower Hill the which Richard Silvester holdeth defective

Item we present and indict a perilous and a mischievous place in the town ditch in the which much people have been drowned fast by the postern defective

Item we present and indict the Master of Saint Katherine's for setting of stulpes in the king's highway upon the common ground at the mill door, with a great chain locked stopping the highway, in the likewise as it hath been indicted eighteen years ago defective

Item we indict a bridge of the mill perilous and defective

Item we present and indict a shed within the Three Nuns covered with reed defective

Item we present and indict three closshbanes on the Tower Hill defective

Item we present and indict an house and a shed covered with reed in the tenement that John Doyse [sic] holdeth defective

Item we present a dunghill lying on the east side of Saint Katherine's made by beermen next dwelling and adjoining to the same dunghill to the common noyanne of all the king's people and destroying of the highway defective

Item we present and indict a dunghill belonging to the Chamber of London next to the barriers to the noyance of the king's people defective

Item we indict a well in Houndsditch before the tenement of John Wellys perilous and defective

Also we indict a gate on the north pentice¹⁵⁷ of the Bellhouse, which the executors of Master Chester now hold defective

Item we present and indict John Phelyp in the barber's rent on Tower Hill for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present Henry Fekeman for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present John a Campe for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present Henry Roche for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present John Tyson for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present Thomas Powlson for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present and indict Alice Brown for a common harlot defective

Item we present Mildrede Taillor, otherwide called Mildrede Pynner, for a common scold and a bawd defective

Also we present Johane the wife of Cornelys Dorante for a common scold and a great noyer of her neighbours

Also we present and indict Anneys, the wife of Thomas Pynder, carpenter, for a common puterer and an harlot defective

Also we present and indict Johane, the wife of Robert Dalke, for a common scold defective

Item we present William Entson for keeping in the house Johane, the wife of John Reynold, contrary to the will of her husband defective

The Common Council	Constables	Raker
Thomas Dawston [sic]	Andrewe Todde	William Sygrym [sic]
William Stalon	John Buce	
John Gardener	John Manselde	
Andrewe White	Thomas Crouchman	
Scavengers	Beadle	
Richard Welles	John Mersh	
John Bulle		

[No further writing at end of this membrane]

[On the back appears to be the oath sworn by those entering into the franchise of the City:]

Ye shall swere that ye shalle be good and trewe unto owre sovrayne lorde the kynge [of Yenglond] and to his [illegible] king's And ye shalle not make no ffraye no congregacion ayenste the king's peace And ye shalle not steale the king's [illegible] whereby the kyng shall loose his right And ye shall com to the constabylles and to the mynesters of the citee at all tymes whan ye be warned Soo helpe ye god [illegible] holden and by the booke

The Warde of Portsoken of London

4 March 1476–3 March 1477 (marked as ?17 Edward IV, editor's dating: 16 Edward IV)

This is the verdict of the inquest of wardmote holden and taken before Sir Thomas Pomeroy, [prior of Christchurch] and alderman of the ward of Portsoken, upon Saint Thomas's Day, the apostle, in the year of the reign of [King Edward the fourth the ? year], by the oaths of us John Saunden, Richard Stutfolde, Nicholas Sylvester, Robert Maknard, William Farnam, Stephen Smyth, John Silvester, Richard Welles, William Broughton, Wil[liam] [damaged], of all the defaults found by us in the said ward

First we present and indict a cellar door of Lovell's rent in Houndsditch defective Also we pre[sent a chimney of tree in the] same rent defective

Also we present a cellar door belonging to the rent of Christchurch defective

Item we pre[sent] [damaged] in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict all the pavements belonging to the Chamber of London in Houndsditch ruinous and perilous [damaged]

[Item we present and indict] all the pavements of James Deye [*sic*] within the said ward defective

Item we present and indict two chimneys [of timber] of the prior of Christchurch defective

Item we present and indict a chimney of tree in the kitchen late in the [holding of John of Borne] defective

Item we indict a reredos in the church alley in the house wherein Richard Weller dwelleth in defec[tive]

[Item we indict the pavement] at the west end of the church ruinous perilous defective

Item we present a reredos in the rent of the prio[r] [damaged]

Item we present and indict a cellar door of the tenement of William Bentley which John Wolflete [holdeth defective]

[Item we indict] two sheds in the tenement which John Fysher holdeth covered with reed defective

Item we indict a cell[ar door in the church rent next to The] Ship defective

Item we present a reredos in an house [*sic*] in the churchyard which Walker dwelleth in [defective]

[Item we indict four chimneys] in the rent of the church made of loam and lath beside The Ship perilous for fire defective

Item we present a [low jetty in Master] Cornwayles [rent] defective

Item we present and indict a shed covered with reed in the tenement wherein Robert [Maknard dwelleth defective]

[Item] we present and indict a waterway coming out of the house which Robert Maknard dwelleth in defective

Item w[e indict four sheds in the rent] of the abbot of Tower Hill defective

Item we indict a chimney of tree in the house that John Mannfeld holdeth defec[tive]

[Item we present and indict] Edmunde Kyng the abbot of Tower Hill for encroaching of the common ground by the abbey with gardens walled [with brick and with pales and a long pale] under his hall paled upon the common ground defective

Item we indict four chimneys of tree in the tenements belonging to the craft of barbers of London against [The Cock on Tower Hill perilous and] defective

Item we indict three houses and two sheds in the tenements of The Swan covered with reed perilous for fire defective

[Item we present and] indict a chimney of brick standing upon the common ground in the king's highway in the tenements of the said Swan [defective]

[Item we present] and indict a noyous place beside the tenements which John Gardener holdeth of the abbot of Coggeshale against The Bell def[ective]

[Item we] indict two chimneys of tree in the rent of the abbess's of The Menories defective

Item we present and indict a cellar door in [the rent belonging to the] abbot of Tower Hill the which Nicholas Silvester holdeth defective

Item we present a perilous chimney of stone in th[e] [damaged] Nicholas Silvester defective

Item we present and indict a perilous and a mischievous place in the town ditch in the [which much people] have been drowned fast by the postern defective

Item we present and indict the master of Saint Katherine's for setting of [stulpes in the] king's highway upon the common ground at the mill door with a great chain locked stopping the highway as it [hath been indicted] nineteen years afore this defective

- Item we indict a bridge of the mill perilous defective
Item we indict three closshbanes [on Tower Hill] defective
Item we present and indict an house and a shed covered with reed in the house that Edwarde Doyse dwelleth in defective
Item [we present] a dunghill lying on the east side of Saint Katherine's made by beermen next dwelling and joining to the same dunghill [to the common] noyannce of all the king's people and destroying of the highway defective
Item we present and indict a dunghill belonging to [the Chamber] of London next the barriers to the noyannce of the king's people defective
Item we indict a well in Houndsditch afore [the tenement] of John Wellys perilous defective
Item we present a dunghill in the highway against The Menories gate defective
Item [damaged] gutter at The Menories gate perilous for the king's liege people defective
Item we present a gutter against the door of [damaged] the king's liege people defective
Item we present great logs lying against the door of William Stalon defective
Item [we present and indict] all the pavement in the highway from the east end of Saint Botolph's unto the bars defective
Item we present John Fysher for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
Item we present and indict John Tisson [*sic*] for occupying as a free[man] [damaged]
[Item] we present William Herryson [*sic*] for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
It[em] we present and indict John Philip for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign [damaged]
Item as present and indict Herry Fekeman for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
Item we present Deryk Demay for occupying as a free[man] [and is a foreign]
Item we present John Leflaimder for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
Item we present Peter Hownslow for occupying [as a freeman and is a] foreign
Item we present James Matlowe for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
Item we present Herman Stale for occupying [as a freeman and is a] foreign
Item we present Symon Hermanson for occupying as a freeman as is a foreign
Item we present John Jamysson for occ[upying as a freeman and is] a foreign
Item we present John Vynsente for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
Item we present and indict Johane, the wife of Corneles Dorante, for a common scold and a great noyer of her neigh[hours]
[Item we present and] indict Agnes, the wife of Thomas Pynder, carpenter, for a common puterer and an harlot of her body living in [damaged] the last year passed was indicted for misgovernance
Item we present and indict the said Thomas Pynder her husband [damaged] Agnes his wife defective
Item we present Alice Grace for a common harlot defective
Item we present Agnes Calis [for a common harlot defective]
Item we present Henry Foreste for a bawd defective
Item we present and indict Alson Fyge for a scold and a bawd [damaged] Metkalf for a common bawd defective
Item we present Besse Stogan for a common bawd defective
Item we present [damaged] wife for a receiver of men's servants by her goaded defective
Item we present John Wolflete and his wife the same John [damaged] his wife for keeping of his council in bawdry defective
Item we present a new gate late made at Trewmann['s lane end damaged] of the common way defective

Item we present Richard Ardyn for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign

Item we pres[ent] [damaged] rent a house covered with reed defective

Item we present a shed covered with reed in the house that William Brown hol[deth] [damaged]

The Common Council	Scavengers	Constables
Richard Chester	John Salter	John Bryce
Thomas Dalston	William Cutson	Thomas
William Stalon	William Asbery [sic]	William Puckles
John Gardener		Robert Boltynge
Beadle	Raker	
John Mersh	William Segrym	

In witness whereof we the said inquest to this our verdict have set our seals

[This membrane is attached to/rolled in part of a document proclaiming an act for enabling the mayor, aldermen, and commons to purchase the present tolls and duties payable for navigating the river Thames. This proclamation was made in the seventeenth year of the reign of King George the Third]

The Warde of Portsoken of London

4 March 1479–3 March 1480 (19 Edward IV)

This is the verdict of the wardmote holden and taken before Sir Thomas Pomeroy, prior of Christchurch and alderman of the war of Portsoken of London, on Saint Thomas's Day, the apostle, in the year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth the nineteenth, by the oaths of us Andrew Todde, Richard Stotfold, Robert Nore, Richard Silvester, Robert Boltynge, William Segrym, John Silvester, Thomas Wareyn, John Mighell, John Skalton, John Strete, and Thomas Plough, of all the defaults found by us in the said ward

Item we present and indict a cellar door of Lovell's rent in Houndsditch defective Item we present and indict a chimney made of tree in the same rent defective

Item we present and indict a cellar door belonging to the rent of Christchurch defective

Item we present and indict the bars before the same rent defective

Item we present and indict the pavement before the rent of John Wellys in Houndsditch defective

Item we indict the well before the said tenement perilous defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement before the tenement of Master Bryan's rent in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict all the pavements belonging to the Chamber of London in Houndsditch ruinous and perilous defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement of James Dey within the ward defective

Item we present and indict two chimneys of timber belonging to a tenement of the priory of Christchurch defective

Item we indict a chimney of tree in the kitchen late in the holding of Richard Bryce defective

Item we present and indict a reredos in the church way within the house that Richard Weller occupied defective

Item we present and indict the pavement at the west end of the church perilous and ruinous defective

Item we present and indict a reredos in the rent of the priory of Christchurch where Agas dwelleth

Item we present and indict a cellar door of the tenement of William Bentley in which John Wolflete dwelleth defective

- Item we present and indict two sheds in the tenement which John Fysher holdeth covered with reed defective
- Item we indict a cellar door in the church rent next The Ship defective
- Item we present a reredos in an house of the churchyard in which Waller dwelleth
- Item we indict four chimneys in the rent of Christchurch made of loam and lath beside The Ship perilous for fire
- Item we indict a low jetty in the rent of Master Cornewalys defective
- Item we present and indict a shed covered with reed in the rent where Robert Makenard dwelleth defective
- Item we present and indict a waterway coming out of the house that the same Robert Makenard dwelleth in defective
- Item we indict four sheds in the rent of the abbot of Tower Hill defective
- Item we indict a chimney of tree in the house that John Mannfeld holdeth defective
- Item we present and indict Edmond Kyng abbot of Tower Hill for encroaching of the common ground by the abbey with gardens walled with brick pales and a long brick wall under his hall upon the common ground defective
- Item we present and indict two chimneys of timber of the said abbot in the tenement upon Tower Hill on Saint Katherine's side defective
- Item we present and indict a reredos in a tenement belonging to Saint Katherine's perilous for fire
- Item we indict four chimneys of tree in the rent belonging to the craft of barbers of London against The Cock at Tower Hill perilous defective
- Item we present and indict three houses and two sheds in the tenement of The Swan covered with reed perilous for fire defective
- Item we present and indict a chimney of brick standing upon the common ground in the king's highway in the said tenement of The Swan defective
- Item we present and indict a noyous place before the tenement which John Long holdeth of the abbot of Coggeshale against The Bell defective
- Item we indict two chimneys of tree in the abbess of The Menories rent defective
- Item we present a perilous chimney of stone within Richard Silvester's house defective
- Item we present and indict the Master of Saint Katherine's for setting of stulpes in the king's highway upon the common ground at the mill door with a great chain locked stopping the highway twenty-two times indicted
- Item we indict a bridge of the mill perilous defective
- Item we present and indict an house and a shed covered with reed in the house that Edward Doyce dwelleth in defective
- Item we present a dunghill lying on the east side of Saint Katherine's made by beermen dwelling and joining next to the same dunghill to the common noyannce of the king's people and destroying of the highway defective
- Item we present and indict a dunghill in the highway against The Menories gate noyous for the king's liege people defective
- Item we present great logs lying against Stalon's door defective
- Item we present and indict all the pavement in the highway from the east end of Saint Botolphs to the bars defective
- Item we present and indict a new gate made at Trewman's Lane end for stopping of the common way defective
- Item we present and indict an house covered with reed in the abbot's new rent defective
- Item we present and indict a shed covered with reed in the house that William Brown holdeth defective

- Item we present two stulpes before The Menories gate defective
 Item we present a dunghill before John Tyson's door and long logs lying before the same door defective
 Item we present Thomas Steward for a vagabond [writing ends]
- Item we present John Fysher for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
 Item we present and indict John Tysson for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
 Item we present William Harryson for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
 Item we present Peter Hownslow for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
 Item we present Harman Stale for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
 Item we present Joyse Happyes for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
 Item we present John Jameson for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
 Item we present Richard Arden for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
 Item we present Godfrey Harmanson for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
 Item we present Samyell Skynner for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
 Item we present Powle Godfrey for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
 Item we present Lawrence Bell for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign
- Item we present and indict Cornelys Dorant and his wife for a common scold and a great noyer of her neighbours
 Item we present and indict Agnes a Caleye for a common harlot defective
 Item we present and indict John a Sampson for keeping of a suspicious hostelry and a feyter beggar defective
 Item we present and indict John Donnyng and his wife for a bawd and an harlot
 Item we present and indict Elizabeth Gerves for an harlot of her body
 Item we present John Tromy and his wife for an harlot of her body
 Item we present and indict John Johnson, paviour,¹⁵⁸ for an harlot of his body and a common baratour
 Item we present and indict Cristian Brother for a common harlot
 Item we present and indict Maryon a Wode for a common harlot
 Item we present and indict Johane Catworth for a common harlot
 Item we present and indict Geffrey Warbulton and his wife for a feyter beggar
 Item we present Richard Silvester for laying of his offal within his place to the nuisance of his neighbours
 Item we present and indict William Asshbury for casting out of fish water in to the ditch and the stinking water out of the ditch into the highway to the noyance of the king's people and a baratour and a great noyer of his neighbours
 Item we present and indict the church alley noyous to the people
- | The Common Council | Constables |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| Richard Chester | William Pewett |
| Thomas Dalston | Thomas Crowcheman |
| William Stalo | John Bolzar |
| Andrew Todde | John Mannfeld |
| Scavengers | Beadle |
| John Lucair | John Merssh |
| Richard Wells | |
| Raker | |
| Richard Sysworth | |

The Warde of Portsoken of London

4 March 1480–3 March 1481 (20 Edward IV)

This is the verdict of the inquest of the wardmote holden and taken before [Sir] Thomas Pomeroy, prior of Christchurch and alderman of the ward of Portsoken of London, on Saint Thomas's Day, the apostle, in the year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth the twentieth, by the oaths of us William Segrym, John Scafton, Robert Boltynge, Thomas Wareyn, John Silvester, Thomas Olyver, Thomas Plouge, John Mighell, Richard Wellys, Richard Syssworth, John a Man, John Lewcas, William Asshebery [*sic*], and John Bulle, of the defautes found by us in the said ward

Item we present and indict a cellar door of John Bolt's rent in Houndsditch defective Item as present and indict a chimney of tree in the same rent defective

Item we present and indict a cellar door belonging to the rent of Christchurch defective

Item as present and indict the bars before the same rent defective

Item we present and indict the pavement before the tenement of John Wellys in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement of Master Bryan's rent in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement that belongs to the Chamber of London in Houndsditch from John Michell's house to the cross there defective

Item we present and indict the pavement that James Day holdeth in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict two chimneys of tree belonging to the prior of Christchurch defective

Item we present and indict a chimney of tree in the kitchen of Richard Bryce defective

Item we present and indict a reredos in the church alley defective

Item we present and indict the pavement at the west end of the church perilous and ruinous defective

Item we present and indict a reredos there [as] Agas dwelleth in defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement from the church stile unto the bars defective

Item we present a perilous chimney of stone within Nicholas Silvester's house defective

Item we present and indict a new gate made at [?Truemans] Lanes end for stopping of the common way defective

Item we present and indict two sheds in the rent which John Fysher holdeth covered with reed defective

Item we present and indict a cellar door in the church rent next The Ship defective

Item we present and indict four chimneys of tree in the church rent made of loam and lath beside The Ship perilous for fire defective

Item we present and indict a dunghill before The Menories gate defective

Item we present a great gutter at The Menories gate noyous for the king's people defective

Item we present and indict a shed covered with reed in the house that William Browne holdeth defective

Item we present and indict a shed in Thomas Plouge's house covered with reed defective

Item we present and indict a waterway coming out of the house that Thomas Plouge holdeth defective

Item we present and indict a shed in Hugh Maynard's house covered with reed defective

[Item we present and indict Jane Fynch, otherwise called Jane Stratton, for a bawd – this line crossed through on membrane defective]

Item we present Johane Byrche [name ringed with dots in different coloured ink on membrane] for a bawd defective

Item we present Richard a Water for a feyter beggar, and his wife for a common scold and a noyer of her neighbours defective

Item we present Geffrey Warbilton for a feyter beggar defective

Item [ringed with dots] we present and indict the wife of Nicholas Couper [ringed with dots] for a harlot of her body defective

Item we present Johane Marten for an harlot of her body defective

Item we present and indict Alyce Roger for an harlot of her body defective

Item we present and indict William Hyll for a feyter beggar defective

Item we present Elizabeth Sutton [name ringed with dots] for a harlot of her body defective

Item we present John Moresse [name ringed with dots] for a nightwalker and an eavesdropper and a common baratour defective

Item we present Roger Carpenter [name ringed with dots] for a harlot of his body defective

Item we present John Hunt for a feyter beggar defective

Item we present Richard Arden [name ringed with dots] for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign

Item we present Reynold Heynes for casting of his offal in the king's highway defective

Item we present the wife of William Browne [ringed in dots], cook, for a common scold and a noyer of her neighbours

Item we present William Johnson, carter, for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present John Fysher for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present and indict John Johnson [ringed in dots] for a common baratour and a harlot of his body defective

Item we present Margret Respett, otherwise called Margret Bewett, for a harlot of her body defective

Item we present John Tysson for occupying as a freeman and is a for[eign] defective

Item we present Thomas Sanndell [ringed in dots] for receiving of suspicious people defective

Item we present William Boys for occupying as freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present Hugh Maynard [crossed through on membrane] for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign [defective]

Item we present and indict three stulpes standing before the tenement of Richard Chester in Houndsditch perilous defective

The Common Council

Richard Chester
Thomas Dalston
William Stalon
Andrewe Todde
Scavengers
John Salter
John Bulle
Raker
William Segrym

Constables

John Manfeld
Thomas Crowcheman
Nicholas Silvester
John Bolzer
Beadle
John Mersh

[No further writing at the end of this membrane]

The Warde of Portoken of London

4 March 1481–3 March 1482 (21 Edward IV)

This is the verdict of the inquest of Wardmote holden and taken before Sir Thomas Percy, prior of Christchurch and alderman of the ward of Portsoken of London, on Saint Thomas's Day, the apostle, in the year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth the twenty-first year, by the oaths of us Robert a Nore, Robert Boltyng, Richard Stuttsfold, John Bolfore, William Segrym, John Sylvester, Robert Winte

[sic], Robert Coke, Richard Wellys, John Mychell, William Asshebury, and Richard Sylvester, of the defaults found by us in the said ward

First we present and indict a cellar door of the prior of Christchurch rent in Houndsditch defective
Item we present and indict Alys Smyth for a harlot of her body, and receiver of suspicious people defective

Item we present indict Richard a Water for a feyter beggar, and his wife for a common scold and a noyer of her neighbours defective

Item we present and indict Geffrey Warbylton for a feyter beggar and a harlot of his body, and his wife for a common scold defective

Item we present and indict the wife of John Rolles for a harlot of her body defective

Item we present and indict Kateryn Kelsave for a common bawd defective

Item we present and indict a chimney [made] of tree in the rent belonging to the Christchurch defective

Item we present and indict Bell's Alley for a noyous place for the king's peop[le] defective

Item we present and indict another cellar door belonging to the rent of Christchurch defective

Item we present and indict the bars before the same rent defective

Item we present and indict the pavement before the tenement before the tenement of John Wellys in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement belonging to the rent of Master Bryan in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement belonging to the Chamber of Guild Hall in London in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict the pavements that James Day holdeth in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict two chimneys of tree in the rent belonging to the prior of Christchurch defective

Item we present and indict the gate that goes into Christchurch garden defective

Item we present and indict a chimney of tree in the kitchen of Richard Bryce defective Item we present and indict the reredos in the church alley defective

Item we present and indict the pavement at the west end of the church perilous and ruinous defective

Item we present and indict a reredos where Agas dwelleth in defective

Item we present and indict John Cohne for a nightwalker, and his wife for a harlot of her body defective

Item we present and indict Crode Wydowe for a common scold and a noyer of her neighbours defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement from the church stile unto the bars there defective

Item we present and indict a chimney of stone within the house that Nicholas Sylvester holdeth right perilous defective

Item we present a chimney of stone in the house that John Merrsh dwelleth in defective

Item we present and indict a swalowe in Grace's Alley defective

Item we present and indict a new gate at Treweman's lane end in stopping of the king's highway there defective

Item we present and indict a chimney of tree in the house that John Strete dwelleth in defective

Item we present and indict a chimney of tree in the house that Edmunde Layfete dwelleth in defective

Item we present the wife of Robert Duk for a harlot of her body defective

Item we present and indict John Fysher for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present and indict two sheds in the tenement which John Fysher holdeth covered with reed defective

Item we present and indict a cellar door in the church rent next The Ship defective

Item we present and indict four chimneys of tree in the church rent made of loam and lath beside The Ship defective

Item we present and indict the wife of Robert a Bower for a harlot of her body defective

Item we present and indict a dunghill before the Menories gate noyous to the king's people defective

Item we present and indict a great gutter at the Menories gate noyous for the king's people and coming by defective

Item we present and indict all the posts and stulpis from the Three King's unto the watering place defective

Item we present and indict Thomas Hamberg for a receiver of misruled people defective

Item we present and indict William Brye for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present and indict the jetty in Cornwales' rent common defective

Item we present and indict all the sheds within The Cock and The Lamb defective

Item we present and indict a waterway coming out of the house that Thomas Plouge holdeth defective

Item we present and indict Neel Anghell for a harlot of her body defective

Item we present and indict two sheds covered with reed in the rent belonging to the abbot of Tower Hill next by The Bell defective

Item we present and indict Maryon a Wode for a harlot of her body defective

Item we present John Smyth for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present and indict four sheds and chimney in the rent that John Manfeld dwelleth in and belonging to the abbot of Tower Hill defective

Item we present and indict four closebands¹⁵⁹ four sheds and two chimneys in the rent belonging to the abbot of Tower Hill upon Saint Katherine's side defective

Item we present and indict an house [sic] covered with reed that Edward Doye dwelleth in defective

Item we present and indict Edmunde Kyng abbot of the monastery of Our Lady Grace beside the Tower of London for encroaching of the common ground right about the said monastery and making of the said common ground gardens walled with brick by his hall window and pales defective

Item we present and indict all the posts railed that there by the said monastery founded upon the common ground right noyous and perilous for the king's people riding or coming thereby defective, except and reserving all the posts there put by the abbess of the council of our lord the king

Common Council	Constables	Scavengers
Richard Chester	Nicholas Sylvester	Robert Lyndson
Thomas Dalston	Thomas Ploughman	William Swanneston
William Stalon	Thomas Wardyn	
Andrewe Todde	Thomas Oliver	
Beadle	Raker	
John Mersh	William Segrym	

The Warde of Portsoken of London

4 March 1482–3 March 1483 (22 Edward IV)

This is the verdict of the inquest of wardmote holden and taken before Sir Thomas Percy, prior of Christchurch and alderman of the ward of Portsoken of London, Saint Thomas's Day, the apostle, in the year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth the twenty-second year, by the oaths of us William Segrym, John Sylvester, William Asshbury, Richard Wellys, John Mighell, Thomas a Plough, Richard

Wadelake, John Man, Richard Syssworth, John Bull, Thomas Wodewose, William Swanneston, and Robert Hutson, of the defaults found by us in the said ward

First we present and indict a cellar door in Houndsditch in the priory of Christchurch rent defective
Item we present John Olyvere and his wife for an harlot of her body defective and him for a mayntenour of her defective

Item we present and indict Alis Weston for a bawd and an harlot of her body defective

Item we present and indict a chimney made of tree in the rent of Christchurch defective

Item we present and indict Bell's Alley for a noyous place for the king's people defective

Item we present and indict another cellar door belonging to the said rent of Christchurch defective

Item we present and indict the bars before the same rent defective

Item we present John Wellys for keeping of petty¹⁶⁰ hostelry defective

Item we present and indict the pavement of the same John Wellys in Houndsditch defective

Item we present Marjery Marbilton for a scold defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement belonging to the rent of Master Bryan in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement before the rent in Houndsditch belonging to the Chamber of Guild Hall in London defective

Item we present and indict the pavement before the house that James Day holdeth in Houndsditch defective

Item we present and indict two chimneys of tree in the rent belonging to the prior of Christchurch defective

Item we present and indict the gate that goeth in to Christchurch gardens right perilous and noyous for the king's people defective

Item we present and indict a chimney of tree in the kitchen of Richard Bryce defective

Item we present and indict the said Richard Bryce for an harlot of his body defective

Item we present and indict a reredos in the church alley defective

Item we present and indict the pavement at the west end of the church defective

Item we present and indict a reredos in the house of William Crough defective

Item we present and indict all the pavement from the church stile unto the bars gate defective

Item we present and indict a chimney of stone within the house of Nicholas Sylvester right perilous defective

Item we present and indict a chimney of stone in the house of John Maston defective

Item we present the wife of John Maston for a harlot of her body, and the said John Maston for the mayntenour of her defective

Item we present and indict John Hunt for a common scold and a baratour defective

Item we present and indict a new gate at Trueman's Lane end in stopping of the common way there defective

Item we present and indict a chimney of tree in the house of John a Strete defective

Item we present and indict a chimney of tree in the house of William Baynton defective

Item we present the same William Baynton for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present Anneys Dwell, the wife of Thomas Dwell, for receiving of suspicious people, and the said Thom[as] for a mayntenour defective

Item we present and indict a shed covered with reed for peril of fire in the house of Reynold Haynes defective

Item we present and indict the wife of Thomas Kepsey for an harlot of her body, and the same Thomas for a mayntenour of her defective

Item we present Richard Edwyn for an harlot of his body defective

Item we present and indict John Fysher for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present and indict two sheds covered with reed within the house of the said John Fysher defective

Item we present and indict Johane Bugle for a bawd, and her daughter for an harlot of her body defective

Item we present and indict a cellar door in the church rent next The Ship defective

Item we present four chimneys of tree in the same rent made with loam and lath defective

Item we present and indict a dunghill before The Menories gate right noyous to the king's people coming thereby defective

Item we present and indict a great gutter coming out of The Menories defective

Item we present all the posts and stulpes from the Three King's door to the watering place defective

Item we present a great gutter coming out of John a Mans door defective

Item we present and indict a shed covered with reed in the house of John Walssh [sic] for peril of fire defective

Item we present and indict a low jetty in Cornwales' rent common defective

Item we present and indict William Boys for occupying as a freeman and is a foreign defective

Item we present and indict all the sheds within The Cock and Lamb for peril of fire defective

Item we present and indict a waterway coming out of the same house defective

Item we present and indict Margaret Oluston for an harlot of her body, and her husband for her mayntenour defective

Item we present and indict two sheds covered with reed in the rent belonging to the abbot of Tower Hill next by The Bell defective

Item we present and indict four sheds and a chy[mney] in the rent that John Manfeld dwelleth in and belonging to the abbot of Tower Hill defective

Item we present three closshbands four sheds and two chimneys in the rent belonging to the abbot of Tower Hill upon Saint Katherine's side defective

Item we present and indict a house covered with reed that Edward Dewes dwelleth in defective

Item we present and [indict] John Baron abbot of the monastery of Our Lady Grace's beside the Tower of London for the encroaching of the common ground right about the said monastery, and making of the said common ground gardens walled along with brick by his hall window and palace defective

Item we present and indict all the posts railed that thereby the said monastery be found upon the common ground right noyous and perilous for the king's people coming and going thereby defective except and reserved all the posts there set by the abbess of the council of our lord the king

Item we present and indict Alys Mego for a common bawd defective

Item [we] present Annes Forster for an harlot of her body defective

Common Council	Constables	
Richard Chester	Robert a Nore	
Thomas Dalston	Robert Rooke	
William Stalon	Thomas Wareyn	
Andrewe Todd	Thomas Olyver	
Scavengers	Beadle	Raker
Roger Carpenter	John Merss	John Barard
Roger Gardyner		

[No further writing at the end of this membrane]

[The Warde of Portsoken of London]

22 August 1507–21 August 1508 (23 Henry VII)¹⁶¹

Here ensues the verdict of the wardmote and inquest held before Sir Thomas Percy, prior of Christchurch in London and alderman [damaged –? of the ward of Portsoken of London], the epiphany of Our Lord in the twenty-third year of the reign of King Henry VII, by the oaths of us Fulke Walwyn, John Fysher, John Petman, John James, William [damaged], Andrewe Rooke, William Harrys, George Rogerson, John [illegible], Thomas Mowryg, John Wright, Thomas Rankoo, John Deboys, and Robert Halle, sworn and [illegible] [damaged] inquest in the same way that is to say

First we present Alis Parker, Elizabeth Thomson, Johan Worley, Richard Leonard, and his wife, for women [*sic*] evil disposed of their bodies, reputed and taken as [damaged] suspicious presence, and then keeping bawdry in the most abominable ways

Also we present the wife of Gilbert Smyth for a common scold and a great noyance¹⁶² of all her [damaged –? neighbours] [illegible] slaving of her body and occupying evil rule in great noyance of her neighbours

Also we present Gerrold Hely for occupying as a freeman and is foreign in tippling of a[le – damaged]

[damaged] her body and a woman greatly noyous of her tongue, the which before the [illegible] been the cause of murder, and also there resorteth unto therein [*sic*] men and women of evil dis[damaged – ?disease/?disposition], sent for to the inquest then to be examined she [illegible] right [illegible] despised the inquest unto a great [illegible] unto them all

Also we present a reredos in Sko[damaged] there appertaining to the prior of Saint Mary Spyall

And also we present the ward ground belonging to Sir William ?Harpol knight perilous and jeopardous for the king's liege peo[ple – damaged]

And also we present a well being in the [illegible] Alley perilous for children

And furthermore we present the wife of Roger Spayse for a common scold and a great noyance of all her neighbours

Also we present Robert Bertlot tailor for keeping of bawd [damaged]

Also we indict John West for occupying misrule with his own body and two times presented before this time

Also we present William Aleyn and his wife Agnes [damaged] [illegible] and his wife two times presented Agnes Harrys presented Thomas [illegible] and Kateryn his wife four times presented before this time Kateryn Harman beside the [illegible] of the same Bell at Tower Hill

And also we present Agnes ?Brian/?Briars otherwise called Agnes Pauker at Tower Hill also the [illegible] common and abominable bawds and [illegible] woman living [damaged] king's liege people

Also we present all the pales standing upon the common ground appertaining to the franchise of the city at the new abbey gate

Also we present John Henry [damaged] [illegible] taking toll at Algate [*sic*] more than [illegible] days, seen and proved evidently and [illegible] been great crimes of poor men and women of the country, and he and his wife at [damaged] and scolding with their neighbours, unto great noyance of their said neighbours and other the king's liege people [*sic*]

Also we present thirteen reredos [*sic*] being within the [illegible] in the [damaged] chimney of timber belonging to the ladies of The Menories [*sic*] in the which [illegible] Reveley dwelleth in

And we present a reredos in the next house of The Menories to the same [damaged] Three Nuns gate perilous and jeopardous for the king's liege people

Also we present a gutter coming out of the [illegible] house in [*sic*] noyance to all the neighbours there about [damaged] [illegible] in the [illegible] on the west side and the broad gates of The Menories aforesaid

Also we present three reredoses by the Three King's belonging to the new abbey and in likewise [illegible] [damaged] [illegible] Alley's rent

Also we present all the dunghills and [illegible] gardens made in the street between the house of Richard Doyle and the Tower Hill, in great noyance of the king's liege people [damaged]

[damaged] Thomas Butler for occupying as a freeman and he is a foreign, and also keeping in his house a suspicious woman, and their misrule in his house and thereupon [illegible] a great crime and [damaged] he has been presented

Also we present Barbara Duchewoman for misliving of her body and [illegible] not [illegible] to the inquest to be examined but disobeyeth and noto [*sic*] fly is [illegible] this [damaged]

[damaged] present Jane Manefinnder for enslaving of women of her body [*sic*]

Also we present the bars that be broken at the watering place in the town ditch nigh the postern perilous for hor[?se – damaged] [illegible]

Also we present six reredoses in the rent belonging to the Abbot of Cokkeshale¹⁶³ defective

And also in like eleven reredoses in the [illegible] belonging to the Abbot at [damaged] house that Thomas Essex dwelleth in unto the [illegible]

[Transcript abandoned at this point due to time constraints. Indictments in the remaining text include:]

[Chimney] of brick set upon the ground of the same franchises of London

Barbara Duchewomen for keeping of goats

Godfrey Doyce for his closshbane and likewise Martin Drayman for keeping of a closshbane *and a bowling alley* [my emphasis] contrary to the king's [damaged]

Also we present a ducking stool set in [illegible] ... belonging to the said franchise of the city

[Membrane concludes:]

In witness whereof we the said inquest to this our verdict sundrely hath set their seals this day and year abovesaid [*sic*]

Common Council	Constables	Scavengers
Thomas Bullesdon	John Higgens	William Barrowe
John Skate/Scace?	William Lea	William Perse
Robert Coke	Robert Doubleday	
Thomas Roke	Lawrens John	
Beadle	No raker listed	
John Gailom		

[Three groups of tipplers listed on back: tipplers, named in four groups (6/4/5/1); free tipplers, 15 names; foreign tipplers, 11 names]

APPENDIX 2. THE OFFICERS OF PORTSOKEN WARD 1465–1483

Name	Position and which years held
Ashbery (Asshebery) William*	Scav. 16 Edward IV (Jury 20, 21, 22 Edward IV)
Barard John	Raker 22 Edward IV
Boltyng Robert*	Const. 9, 12 16 Edward IV (Jury 6, 11, 15, 19, 20, 21 Edward IV)
Bolzar John	Const. 19, 20 Edward IV
Bryce John	Const. 15, 16 Edward IV
Bull(e) John**	Scav. 14, 15, 20 Edward IV (Jury 6, 20, 22 Edward IV)
Carpenter Roger	Scav. 22 Edward IV
Chester Richard	C. C. 16, 19, 20, 21, 22 Edward IV
Chester William	C. C. 11, 12, 13, 14 Edward IV
Claver William	Const. 6 Edward IV
Croucheman Thomas*	Const. 15, 16, 19, 20 Edward IV (Jury 13 Edward IV)
Dalston Thomas**	C. C. 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22 Edward IV / Const. 6, 11 Edward IV
Davy Robert	Raker 5 Edward IV
Devconx John	Scav. 13 Edward IV
Drayton Symond	Const. 5 Edward IV
Egleston Thomas	Scav. 13 Edward IV
Felde Thomas	Raker 12 Edward IV
Gardener John*	Const. 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 Edward IV (Jury 9 Edward IV)
Gardyne Roger	Scav. 22 Edward IV
Gylmyn William*	Alecon. 6 Edward IV (Jury 7, 9, 11, 15 Edward IV)
Holbroke(Holdbroke) Richard*	Const. 14 Edward IV (Jury 13 Edward IV)
Jordan Perre	C. C. 5, 6 Edward IV
Knygth Robert	C. C. 5 Edward IV / Const. 6 Edward IV
Kylby William	Scav. 6 Edward IV
Kylby William the Younger	Scav. 12 Edward IV
Lemyng William	C. C. 5, 6, 7 Edward IV
Lyndson Robert	Scav. 21 Edward IV
Maknard(e) Robert*	Const. 13, 14 Edward IV (Jury 16 Edward IV)
Mannfeld John*	Const. 13, 14, 15, 19, 20 Edward IV (Jury 6, 7, 9 Edward IV)
Marke Robert	Raker 9 Edward IV
Mathewe John	Raker 6 Edward IV
Mersh (Mersth) John	Scav. 9 Edward IV / Beadle 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22 Edward IV (Jury 5, 7 Edward IV)
Mychell John*	Scav. 5 Edward IV (? Jury 6 22 Edward IV)
Norre (Nore) Robert*	Const. 12, 22 Edward IV (Jury 9, 11, 15, 19, 21 Edward IV)
Oliver Thomas**	Const. 20, 22 Edward IV (Jury 14, 15, 20 Edward IV)
Pewett William	Const. 19 Edward IV
Philip John	Beadle 5, 6, 9, 12, 13, 14 Edward IV
Ploughman Thomas	Const. 20 Edward IV
Pywale William	Const. 5, 9, 11, 12 Edward IV
Raafe Richard*	Scav. 5 Edward IV (Jury 7–14 Edward IV)
Rooke (Rake) John**	C. C. 5, 6, 9, 11 Edward IV / Const. 11 Edward IV
Rooke John the Younger	C. C. 12, 13 Edward IV
Rooke Robert	Const. 22 Edward IV
Salter John	Scav. 16, 20 Edward IV
Segrym William**	Raker 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21 Edward IV (Jury 12, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22 Edward IV)
Silvester Nicholas	Const. 13, 14, 20, 21 Edward IV (Jury 16 Edward IV)
Som William	Scav. 6 Edward IV
Stalon William	C. C. 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22 Edward IV
Stutfold Richard*	Const. 13 Edward IV (Jury 6, 19, 21 Edward IV)
Swanneston William	Scav. 21 Edward IV
Symson Robert	Const. 9 Edward IV
Sysworth Richard	Scav. 14 Edward IV / Raker 19 Edward IV (Jury 7, 11, 15 20, 22 Edward IV)
Todde Andrew**	Const. 15 Edward IV / C. C. 19, 20, 21, 22 Edward IV (Jury 19 Edward IV)
Tomson Philip*	Jury 5, 7 Edward IV/ Const. 9 Edward IV
Wardyn (Wareyn) Thomas**	Const. 20, 22 Edward IV (Jury 19, 20 Edward IV)
Wellys (Wellis/Wells) Richard*	Scav. 9, 11, 15, 19 Edward IV (Jury 12, 16, 20, 21, 22 Edward IV)
White Andrew	C. C. 15 Edward IV

Key:

C. C. Common Council; Const. Constable; Scav. Scavenger; Alecon. Aleconner.

* Individuals holding more than one position.

** Individuals holding two or more positions concurrently.

APPENDIX 3. JURYMEN 1465–1483**JURYMEN**

	REGNAL YEARS SERVED
[damaged] John	14 Edward IV
[damaged] Valantyne	5 Edward IV
[damaged] William	12, 13 Edward IV
[damaged] William	16 Edward IV
Arborie John	5 Edward IV
Ardyng John	12 Edward IV
Asshebery William	20, 21, 22 Edward IV
Baldock Hugh	14 Edward IV
Bane Richard	6 Edward IV
Bolfore John	21 Edward IV
Bolton Robert	5 Edward IV
Boltyng Robert	6, 11, 15, 19, 20, 21 Edward IV
Borne John of	7, 9, 11 Edward IV
Bound William	15 Edward IV
Bowns William	14 Edward IV
Breche Richard	7 Edward IV
Brice John	13 Edward IV
Brokehole Thomas	5, 6 Edward IV
Broughton William	15, 16 Edward IV
Bull John	6, 20, 22 Edward IV
Chariar William	5, 9 Edward IV
Coke Robert	14, 21 Edward IV
Copyn John	12, 14 Edward IV
Croucheman Thomas	13 Edward IV
Cutson William	6, 7, 11, 12 Edward IV
Dene Robert	7 Edward IV
Eysseworth Richard	12 Edward IV
Farnam William	11, 16 Edward IV
Gardener John	9 Edward IV
Gylmyn William	5, 7, 9, 11, 15 Edward IV
Holdbroke Richard	13 Edward IV
Hutson Robert	22 Edward IV
Kays Richard	6 Edward IV
Kebull John	5, 6 Edward IV
Knygth Robert	5 Edward IV
Kylby William the younger	12, 14 Edward IV
Kyng John	14 Edward IV
Lewcas John	20 Edward IV
Luke Manyrd	12 Edward IV
Maknard Robert	16 Edward IV
Man John	14, 15, 20, 22 Edward IV
Mannefeld John	6, 7, 9 Edward IV
Mersth John	5, 7 Edward IV
Michell John	6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22 Edward IV
Morth John	15 Edward IV
Nore Robert	9, 11, 15, 19, 21 Edward IV
Oliver Thomas	14, 15, 20 Edward IV
Petman Richard	6 Edward IV
Plough(e) Thomas	19, 20, 22 Edward IV
Purler William	14, 15 Edward IV
Raafe Richard (Ric)	7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14 Edward IV
Russell Thomas	7, 9, 11 Edward IV
Salei William	14 Edward IV
Saunden John	16 Edward IV
Sewidgh Thomas	12 Edward IV
Segrym William	12, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22 Edward IV
Seman Robert	9, 11 Edward IV
Semath Thomas	9 Edward IV
[damaged] Seven	13 Edward IV

Silvester John	14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22 Edward IV
Silvester Nicholas	16 Edward IV
Silvester Richard	14, 19, 21 Edward IV
Skalton John	19, 20 Edward IV
Slater Robert	9 Edward IV
Smyth Stephen	15, 16 Edward IV
Strete John a	11, 14, 15, 19 Edward IV
Stutfold Richard	16, 19, 21 Edward IV
Swanneston William	22 Edward IV
[damaged] Synnet	12 Edward IV
Sysworth Richard	7, 11, 15, 20, 22 Edward IV
Todde Andrew	19 Edward IV
Tomsom Phylip	5, 6, 7 Edward IV
Tretherns William	5, 6 Edward IV
Tuck Andrew	14 Edward IV
Tyrwyn Richard	5 Edward IV
Tysson Richard	14 Edward IV
Wadelake Richard	22 Edward IV
Wareyn Thomas	19, 20 Edward IV
Wellys Richard	12, 16, 20, 21, 22 Edward IV
Winte (<i>sic</i>) Robert	21 Edward IV

APPENDIX 4. NUMBERS OF INDICTMENTS 1465–1483*

INDICTMENTS	5 E IV	6 E IV	7 E IV	9 E IV	11 E IV	12 E IV	13 E IV	14 E IV	15 E IV	16 E IV	19 E IV	20 E IV	21 E IV	22 E IV
Men	31	44	28	34	40	29	30	29	23	35	38	26	18	22
Women	24	29	9	23	25	12	11	6	5	8	10	9	11	11
Daughter	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Husband/wife	5	9	2	13	12	2	1	1	0	2	4	1	3	5
Husband	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wife	4	7	1	1	4	1	5	0	3	2	0	2	3	0
Rel. hse/Cham. of Lond	11	13	12	11	9	8	16	16	17	17	19	12	19	17
Widow	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Inns	0	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	0	2	2
Beermen	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
Mill	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
Craft of Barbers	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	0
Servant	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indict. out of another ward	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SEXUAL														
Strumpet	16	16	8	10	14	9	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Harlot (female)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	3	7	5	7	7
Harlot (male)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	2
Bawd (female)	5	8	1	5	9	2	1	2	1	3	0	2	1	3
Bawd (male)	3	2	0	5	5	1	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	0
Scold (female)	4	5	2	9	0	1	5	1	3	2	1	2	3	1
Scold (male)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Strumpetmonger	2	5	3	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Puterer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Mayntenour	2	6	2	6	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Nightwalker	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Leper	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Baratour	3	5	3	2	2	1	3	0	0	0	2	2	0	1
Break. of king's peace	2	3	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rec. of susp. peop.	7	12	4	5	6	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1
Extortioner	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
With. of men's appr. & serv	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Privy Picker	2	2	0	0	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eavesdropper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Hasadour	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Keep. another man's wife	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Keeper of petty hostelry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Unsafe bridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0

* Sheds, houses, chimneys counted individually

Women/men counted as both male/female and husband/wife.

APPENDIX 5. NAMED INDIVIDUALS, INDICTMENTS AND YEARS PRESENTED

Named Individual	Indictment	Regnal year indicted under Edward IV
Adylfey, Beatryx	Common strumpet	5
Anghell, Neel (<i>sic</i>)	Harlot of her body	21
Ardome, John & wife	Keeping & maint. maid who is a privy picker	11
Ardyn, Richard	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	16, 19, 20
Arsmer, wife of Thomas	Common strumpet	6
Athille, Joan	Common strumpet	5
Augustus, Avys	Common strumpet	6
Ballyng, Elizabeth	Common strumpet	5
Barchilnew, Alyn	Common bawd	9
Barchilnew, Alyn & wife	Occ. as free & rec. of suspc. & misr. people	9
Barchilnew, wife of Alyn	Common bawd & common strumpet	9
Barcroftte, Elizabeth	Common strumpet	13
Bat (Batte), Cristyan	Common strumpet	7,9
Batyn, John	Common baratour & nightwalker	5
Batyn, wife of John	Common strumpet	5
Baynton, William	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	22
Bell, Lawrence	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	19
Bette, John & wife	Common bawds	14
Bewett, Margret	Harlot of her body (aka Margret Respett)	20
Blake, Pers	Common bawd & privy picker	11
Blake, wife of Pers	Common bawd & common strumpet	11
Boner, Florens (wife of Robert)	Common scold & nuisance to her neighbours	13
Boner, husband of Rose	Mayntenour	12
Boner, Rose	Common strumpet	12
Bonnyngton, John	Mayntenour	9
Bonnyngton, wife of John	Common scold	9
Bono, Robert	Receiver of suspicious & misruled people	6
Boteler, Herry	Receiver of suspicious & misruled people	6, 7
Boteler, Herry & wife	Common bawds & receivers of susp. & misr. people	9
Boteler, William	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	7,9
Boteler, William & wife	Receivers of susp. & misr. people & occ. as freemen	6
Bower, wife of Robert a	Harlot of her body	21
Boys, William	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	20, 22
Bradowe, Eden	Common strumpet	9
Brain (Braymore), Dyryk (Dereke)	Receiver of suspicious & misruled people	12
Brain, Dyryk	Receiver of suspicious & misruled people	11
Brain, Dyryk	Keeping of a closshlane with houses cov'd with reed	11,12
Bray, Margrete	Common strumpet	6
Brewster, Elizabeth	Rec. of men's apprentices & servants at unlawful times	14
Brewster, Elizabeth (wife of Davy)	Common scold	13
Brian, wife of John	Common bawd	5
Brokedste, John	Faytoner beggar	12
Brother, Christian	Common harlot	19
Brown, Alys (Alice)	Common harlot	14, 15
Browne, John	Common strumpetmonger	11
Browne, leman of John	Common strumpet	11
Browne, wife of William	Common scold & noyer of her neighbours	20
Bryan, John & wife	Common bawds	9
Bryce, Richard	Harlot of his body	22
Brye, William	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	21

Named Individual	Indictment	Regnal year indicted under Edward IV
Bugle, daughter of Johane	Harlot of her body	22
Bugle, Johane	Bawd	22
Bull(e), John	Common baratour & breaker of the king's peace	11
Byrche, Johane	Bawd	20
Caleys (Calis) wife of John a	Common bawd & common strumpet	9
Caleys (Calis) Agnes	Common harlot	16, 19
Caleys (Calis), John a	Common bawd & common strumpetmonger	9
Campe, John a	Common hasadour & rec. of susp. & misr. people	11,12
Campe, John a	Keeping of a closshlane with houses cov'd with reed	11, 12
Campe, John a	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	13, 14, 15
Carpenter, Roger	Harlot of his body	20
Castyle, wife of Thomas	Common strumpet & bawd & occ. as freewoman	5
Catworth, Johane	Common harlot	19
Chamberleyn, wife of William	Common strumpet	11
Chamberleyn, William	Mayntenour	11
Chatton, William	Rec of susp. & misr. people (aka William Boteler)	11
Clefforde, John	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	12
Clerke, John	Mayntenour	6
Clerke, Jone (wife of Thomas)	Common bawd & rec. of susp. & misr. people	6
Clerke, Peter	Keep. of clossthlane & rec. of susp. & misr. people	7
Clerke, Thomas	Common bawd & rec. of susp. & misr. people	6
Clerke, wife of John	Common bawd	6
Cloyer, William	Common strumpetmonger	12
Cohne, John	Nightwalker	21
Cohne, wife of John	Harlot of her body	21
Colen, Wymonde of & wife	Common bawds	11
Combe, Thomas	Common strumpetmonger	6
Cosyn, Godfray (<i>sic</i>)	Receiver of suspicious & misruled people	9
Coton (Cotton), Jane	Common strumpet	6, 9, 11,12
Cotswayn, John	Common baratour & breaker of the king's peace	6
Couper, wife of Nicholas	Harlot of her body	20
Crane, Agnes	Common strumpet	5
Dalke, Johane wife of Robert	Common scold	15
Danyell, Thomas	Mayntenour & rec. of susp. & misruled people	6
Danyell, wife of Thomas	Common strumpet	6
Delffe, John of	Mayntenour	12
Delffe, wife of John of	Common bawd	12
Demay, Deryk	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	16
Dod, wife of John	Common scold	6,7
Donnyng, John & wife	Bawd & harlot	19
Dorante, Cornelys & wife	Common scold and noyer of her neighbours	19
Dorante, Johane wife of Cornelys	Common scold & great noyer of her neighbours	15, 16
Downs, Crystean	Common strumpet	12
Duk, wife of Robert	Harlot of her body	21
Dutchwoman, Cristyan a	Leper	6
Dutchwoman, Sote (Soutte)	Occupying as a freewoman & is foreign	13
Dutchwoman, Sote (Soutte)	Common harlot	14
Dutchwoman, Swan	Common strumpet & common bawd	6
Dutchwoman, Trewde	Common strumpet	6
Dutchwoman, Trewde	Common bawd & common strumpet	7
Dwell, Anneys wife of Thomas	Receiver of suspicious people	22
Dwell, Thomas	Mayntenour	22

Named Individual	Indictment	Regnal year indicted under Edward IV
Dyrwyn, Thomas	Common extortioner & withdrawer of men's appren.	5
Dyrwyn, Thomas	Casting straw & dung into town ditch	6
Edge, John	Common baratour & nightwalker	7
Edge, wife of John	Common strumpet	7
Edward, John & wife	Common bawds	11
Edward, Rayneld	Common strumpetmonger	5
Edwyn, Edward & wife	Bawds & rec. of susp. & misr. people	9
Edwyn, Richard	Harlot of his body	22
Elyn the tapster	Common strumpet	5
Endyrb, Herry	Mayntenour	7
Endyrb, wife of Herry	Common strumpet	7
Entson, William	Keeping Johane wife of John Reynold against his will	15
Fekeman, Henry	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	13, 14, 15, 16
Ferhofe (Forhose), John	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	13, 14
Fisher, John	Mayntenour of quarrels	9
Fisher, John	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	16, 19, 20, 21, 22
Fisher, wife of John	Common scold & a common bawd	6
Fisher, wife of John	Common scold	9
Fletcher, George	Mayntenour	9
Fletcher, wife of George	Common strumpet	9
Flete, William	Common baratour & picker of quarrels	13
Flete, William	Enticer of men's appren. & serv's against master's will	13
Florence (Florents), Joy(s)	Keeping of a closshlane with houses cov'd with reed	11, 12
Forence (Florens), Joye	Keep. of clossthlane & rec. of susp. & misr. people	7
Florence (Florens), Joye(s)	Receiver of suspicious & misruled people	11
Flynt, Elyn	Common strumpet & scold	5
Foreste, Herry	Bawd	16
Forster, Annes	Harlot of her body	22
Foster, Agnes	Common strumpet & scold	13
Franncees (<i>sic</i>), Margettis	Common strumpet	12
Freman, Katyn (wife of Robt.)	Common scold	9
Freman, Robert	Maytenour	9
Fremet, Reynold	Common strumpetmonger	7
Frynge, Katrine	Common strumpet	12
Fye, wife of Davy	Common strumpet	12
Fyge, Alson (<i>sic</i>)	Scold & bawd	16
Fyge, John	Maytenour	9
Fyge, wife of John	Common scold	9
Gentilman (<i>sic</i>), Charles	Maytenour of French Philip	7
Gentilman (<i>sic</i>) Charles	Common strumpetmonger & hold & supp. Fren. Philip	9
Gerves, Elizabeth	Harlot of her body	19
Godfrey, Powle	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	19
Goodwyn, Herry & wife	Common bawds	11
Grace, Alice	Common harlot	16
Graunt(e), William	Mayntening Elyn the tapster	5
Graunt(e), William	Common strumpetmonger	6
Graunt(e), William	Common baratour & maytenour of quarrels	7
Graunt(e), William	Com. baratour & break. of kings peace & str'monger	11
Graunt(e), William	Common bawd	12
Grene, Alison	Common strumpet	12
Grove, Annes	Common bawd	11
Gunnsley, William	Common bawd & common strumpet	11

Named Individual	Indictment	Regnal year indicted under Edward IV
Gyles, Alson (<i>sic</i>)	Common scold	6
Hamberg, Thomas	Receiver of misruled people	21
Happyes, Joyse	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	19
Harmanson, Godfrey	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	19
Harrison (Haryson) Thomas	Common baratour	13
Harrison, Thomas & wife	Occ. as freefolk & rec. men's appren. & servants	11
Harrison, wife of Thomas	Scold	13
Harrison, William	Keeping of cows & pigs to noyance of town ditch	11
Harryson, wife of William	Common scold	9
Harryson, William & wife	Keeping of cows & pigs to noyance of town ditch	9
Haryngton, Alson (<i>sic</i>)	Common bawd	11
Harynton, John	Setting stulpes in highway & occ. as freeman	6
Hatmaker, Peter	Keeping a clossthlane with a house cov'd with reed	5
Hatmaker, Peter	Rec. of suspicious & misruled people	5
Hayne, John	Mayntenour	11
Hayne, wife of John	Common strumpet	11
Haynes, Alyson	Common strumpet	7
Haynes, Jone	Receiver of suspicious & misruled people	6
Hermanson, Symon	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	16
Herryson (<i>sic</i>), William	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	16, 19
Herte, Elyn	Common bawd & common strumpet	5
Hewes, Margret	Common strumpet	6, 7
Hewet, Jone	Common strumpet	11
Heyfolde, wife of Robert	Common bawd & common strumpet	11
Hill, Emmote wife of Roger	Common scold and great noyer of her neighbours	13
Hill, wife of Herry	Common scold	6
Howett, Ellyn	Common strumpet	12
Hownslow, Peter	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	16, 19
Hunt, John	Feyter beggar	20
Hunt, John	Common scold & baratour	22
Hyll, William	Feyter beggar	20
Hynde, William	Common receive of susp. & misruled people	5
Hyolet, John	Faytoner beggar	9
Hyolet, wife of John	Common scold	9
James, Alson (<i>sic</i>)	Common bawd & common strumpet	5
Jamysson, John	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	16, 19
Jenet, Eliz. (daughter of Robt.)	Common strumpet	5
John, Roger	Mayntenour	6
John, wife of Roger	Common bawd	6
Johnson, John	Bawd	5
Johnson, John	Harlot of his body & common baratour	19, 20
Johnson, Lambert	Keep. a clossthlane with reed cov'd & rec. sus. ppl	6
Johnson, Lambert & wife	Keep. a clossthlane with reed cov'd & rec. sus. ppl	5
Johnson, Lambert & wife	Rec. of suspicious & misruled people	5
Johnson, Marion (wife of John)	Common strumpet	5, 9
Johnson, William	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	20
Kelsave, Kateryn	Common bawd	21
Kepsey, Thomas	Mayntenour	22
Kepsey, wife of Thomas	Harlot of her body	22
Kervays, wife of	Common strumpet	11
Laurence (Laurens), Johan	Common scold	13
Leche, Margrete a	Common scold	9

Named Individual	Indictment	Regnal year indicted under Edward IV
Leflaimder, John	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	16
Legge, Edmunde	Setting of a mud wall at Tower Hill on com. ground	6, 7
Lincoln, wife of John	Common strumpet	13
London, John	Rec. of susp. & misr. people & keep. cows & pigs	5
London, William	Common strumpetmonger	7
Lye, Robert	Common strumpetmonger	6, 11
Lyl, Robert	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	9
Lyl, wife of Robert	Common scold & rec of susp. & misruled people	9
Lynpton, John	Com. barat. & break. of king's peace & rec. of sus. peo.	12
Malmayne, William	Common baratour & breaker of the king's peace	5, 6
Malmayne, William	Common strumpetmonger	7
Marbilton, Marjery (<i>sic</i>)	Scold	22
Marten, Johane	Harlot of her body	20
Maston, John	Mayntenour	22
Maston, wife of John	Harlot of her body	22
Matlowe, James	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	16
Maundebold, John	Noyous & skaunderous man & will not pay lot & scot	11
May, Katyn	Common strumpet	9
Maynard, Hugh	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	20
Mego, Alys	Common bawd	22
Metkalf [damaged]	Common bawd	16
Milpekkar, Michell	Occ. as a freeman & is a foreign	5, 6
Mokke (Mok), Maud	Common scold	5, 6, 7
Mokke, wife of John	Common strumpet	11
Moresse, John	Nightwalker & eavesdropper & common baratour	20
Moreys, Thomas	Privy picker	5
Moreys, wife of Thomas	Common strumpet	5
Morley, Annes	Common strumpet	5
Nores, Marion	Common bawd	5
Okeley, Angth	Common bawd & rec. of susp. & misruled people	5
Okeley, Angth	Common bawd & rec. of susp. people & murderers	6 (indicted this xij year)
Oleton, Marion	Common scold	5
Oluston, husband of Margaret	Mayntenour	22
Oluston, Margaret	Harlot of her body	22
Olyvere, John	Mayntenour	22
Olyvere, wife of John	Harlot of her body	22
Paddok, Beele	Common strumpet (aka Isabel Thoretton)	6
Parys (Paris), William	Setting of a mud wall on the common ground	6
Parys, wife of William	Setting of a mud wall on com. gr. & laying dung	5
Parys, William	Laying of dung in the king's highway this xij year	7
Parys, William	Casting ordure & rubbish in town ditch	9
Philip, French	Common strumpet	6, 7, 9
Philip, John (in barber's rent)	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	13, 14, 15, 16
Poore, John	Common baratour & breaker of King's peace	5, 6
Powlson, Thomas	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	15
Pulter, Jane	Common strumpet	6, 7
Pynder, Anneys wife of Thomas	Common puterer & harlot	15, 16
Pynder, Thomas	[presentment damaged]	16
Pynner, Alys (daug. of Mildrede)	Common puterer	14
Pynner, Mildrede	Common scold (aka Mildrede Taillor)	14, 15
Reedere, Julian	Common strumpet	11
Respett, Margret	Harlot of her body (aka Margret Bewett)	20

Named Individual	Indictment	Regnal year indicted under Edward IV
Robert, William	Faytoner beggar & privy picker	11
Roeche (Roche), Henry	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	13, 14, 15
Roeche, Herry	Receiver of suspicious & misruled people	11, 12
Roeche, Herry	Keeping of a closshlane with houses cov'd with reed	11, 12
Roger, Alyce	Harlot of her body	20
Rolles, wife of John	Harlot of her body	21
Russell, Gylion (daugh. of Jone)	Common strumpet	6
Russel, Jone (wife of William)	Common bawd	6
Rygdowne, Emmote	Common harlot indicted out of another ward last year	13
Sampton, John a	Keeping a suspicious hostelry & a feyter beggar	19
Sanndell (<i>sic</i>), Thomas	Receiver of suspicious people	20
Scateton, William	Common strumpetmonger	12
Selby, Margrete	Common strumpet	9
Selfe, Elizabeth (wife of John)	Common bawd	13
Sexcetyl, Annes	Common strumpet & privy picker	12
Shapett, Richard	Common strumpetmonger	5
Singlewoman, Margrete	Common strumpet	5
Skynner, Samyell	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	19
Smert, John	Common strumpetmonger	6
Smyth, Alys	Harlot of her body	21
Smyth, John	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	21
Stale, Herman (Harman)	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	16, 19
Steward, Thomas	Vagabond	19
Stogan, Besse	Common bawd	16
Strannge (<i>sic</i>), Neme	Common strumpet	11, 12
Strete, John of	Mayntenour of susp. & misr. people by day & night	12
Stutfold, Thomas	Mayntenour	5
Stutfold, Thomas	Common bawd & rec. of susp. & misruled people	6
Stutfold, Trewde (wife of Thomas)	Common bawd	5, 6
Sutton, Elizabeth	Harlot of her body	20
Syrwyn, Thomas	Com. baratour & rec. of men's appren. & servants	9
Taillor, Mildrede	Common scold (aka Mildred Pynnner)	14, 15
Tancraye, John	Chimney of brick on com. ground at Tower Hill	7
Taylor, William	Occ. as a freeman & rec. of faytoner beggars	6
Thorneton, Isabel	Common strumpet (aka Beele Paddok)	6
Towker, Jone (wife of William)	Common strumpet	6, 11
Towker, William	Mayntenour	6, 11
Trewoman, Jone	Common strumpet	6
Tromy, John & wife	Harlot of her body	19
Tyson (Tisson), John	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20
Vynsent, John	Occupying as a freeman & is foreign	16
Wade, Elizabeth wife of Stephen	Common strumpet	5, 6
Wade, Stephen	Mayntenour & rec. of susp. & misruled people	6
Wake, wife of John	Common scold	5
Walker, John	Common baratour & breaker of the king's peace	9
Wanthrest, Godfrey	Keeping a closshlane with a house cov'd with reed	5, 6
Warbylton, Geffrey	Feyter beggar	20
Warbylton, Geffrey	Feyter beggar & harlot of his body	21
Warbylton, Geffrey & wife	Feyter beggar	19
Warbylton, wife of Geffrey	Common scold	21
Waserey, John	Occupying as a freeman and is foreign	14
Water, Richard	Faytoner beggar	12, 20, 21

Named Individual	Indictment	Regnal year indicted under Edward IV
Water, wife of Richard	Common scold & noyer of her neighbours	20, 21
Wavse, Savuwr & wife	Occ. as freefolk & receivers of susp. & misr. people	11
Wavse, wife of Savuwr	Common strumpet	11
Wellis, Ric (<i>sic</i>) & wife	Rec. of susp. & misr. people (men's app. & serv's)	11
Werke, John	Occupying as a freeman and is foreign	9
Weston, Alis (<i>sic</i>)	Bawd & harlot of her body	22
Whith (Whyte), Wat	Keeping of geese & ducks & making ditch in highway	11, 12
Whith, Davy	Rec. of susp. & misr. people & keep. cows & pigs	5
Whith, Davy	Occ. as a freeman and is foreign	5
Whith, Davy	Common baratour & rec. of susp. & misr. people	6, 7
Whith, Davy	Keep. cows & pigs & occ. as a freeman	6, 7, 9
Whyteway, husband of	Mayntenour	12
Whyteway, Margrete	Common scold	12
Wilforde, Robert (servant)	Privy picker	11
Wilforde, William (master)	Mayntenour	11
Wode, Maryon a	Common harlot	19, 21
Wolflete, wife of John	Keeping of his council in bawdry	16
Wydowe, Crode	Common scold & noyer of her neighbours	21
Wylforde, Katyn	Common scold	9
Wynter, Thomas	Faytoner beggar & a privy picker & com. baratour	13
Wytforde, William	Common baratour & a privy picker	6
Yonge, John	Faytoner beggar	12
Yonge, John	Faytoner beggar & common scold	13, 14
Yonge, Robert & wife	Common bawds	11

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Professor Caroline Barron and the Arts and Humanities Research Council. This analysis was enabled through the vision and supervision of the former, and the financial assistance of the latter. My thanks to both for their confidence and support, and to the London Metropolitan Archives for allowing the publication of my transcription.

NOTES

- ¹ Barron 2001; 2004; Sabine 1937.
- ² Barron 2004, 123.
- ³ CPMR 1413–37, 115–41, 150–9.
- ⁴ CPMR 1413–1437, xxiv; Barron 2001, 220; Carlin 1987; Karras 1996a, 17.
- ⁵ ‘Harlot’, as a general term of execration, was first documented in the late 15th century. The indictments ‘harlot of her body’ and ‘harlot of his body’ may be the earliest application of the word in a sexual sense as ‘harlot’ could also mean vagabond, knave, or beggar (OED II, 927). It is possible that these indictments were for promiscuity rather than for ‘prostitution’ in terms of monetary gain.
- ⁶ Elmes 1831, 341–2; Harben 1918, 481–3.
- ⁷ For evidence that St Katherine’s was part of the liberty of the City see Sharpe 1911, *Letter-Book K*, 81. Although still recorded as ‘hospital’ on a map of 1520, St Katherine’s ceased to be a ‘nursing’ establishment in 1273, see Rawcliffe 1984, 3, 20.
- ⁸ Stow 1908, I, 124; II, 138. Throughout the Portsoken presentments Holy Trinity is referred to as Christchurch, and will be referred to as such henceforth. St Clare’s was commonly called The Minories after the nuns (*minoresses*) who originally resided there. See also Elmes 1831, 308–9.
- ⁹ Barron 2001, 219.
- ¹⁰ Beaven 1908, I, 179.
- ¹¹ Barron 2004, 123.
- ¹² Barron 2001, 222. See Sharpe 1912, *Letter-Book L*, 238, for an ordinance in 1486 directing the aldermen to take indentures and verdicts to the Guildhall but to leave the inquests at home.
- ¹³ Barron 2001, 220.
- ¹⁴ *ibid.*
- ¹⁵ For this and all further references to the Portsoken presentments see Appendix 1 for a full transcription.
- ¹⁶ Barron 2004, 126–7.
- ¹⁷ Bolton 1998, 77–80.
- ¹⁸ Barron 2004, 122.
- ¹⁹ Barron 2004, 137–42.
- ²⁰ Riley 1868, 601–2; Barron 2004, 142.
- ²¹ Beaven 1908, I, 181. Sir Thomas Pomeroy’s election was disputed and his position was finally confirmed in 1446: Beaven 1908, II, 164.
- ²² Page 1909, 471.
- ²³ Beaven 1908, I, 181.
- ²⁴ *ibid.*
- ²⁵ The earliest recorded indictment against the prior was for a forge standing on the king’s highway, see Chew & Weinbaum 1970, 151.
- ²⁶ Barron 2001, 224.
- ²⁷ Barron 2004, 122. Over 50% of the Portsoken presentments record juries of 12 men; only the return for 1474–1475 had 16. The presentments for 1473–1474 and 1476–1477 appear to have less than 12 men, but this is probably because some names are missing through damage.
- ²⁸ Barron 2004, 127.
- ²⁹ See Appendix 2; this table relates to all further references to the ward officers. See Appendix 3 for a list of the jurymen.
- ³⁰ Constables were subordinate to the beadle. Their duties included pursuing offenders, raising the hue and cry, and the assembly of juries. Barron describes them as ‘the maids of all work in the wards’ (Barron 2004, 124).
- ³¹ See Barron 2001, 225 or 2004, 124 for a description of the beadle’s duties. For the beadle’s oath, see Riley 1861; Sharpe 1904, *Letter-Book F*, 126. Scavengers were responsible for pavement repair, fire precautions, and street cleaning.
- ³² The raker held the most menial office. The first recorded rakers were simply street-sweepers, but later they were responsible for removing waste from the ward.
- ³³ Barron 2004, 126; Barron 2001, 228. However, the 1422 and 1423 ward presentments for Colman-strete state that their raker used to be paid 26s 8d by the Guildhall: CPMR 1413–1437, 117, 158.
- ³⁴ Burgess 1999, 28–84.
- ³⁵ Within the Portsoken presentments there are also indictments against people described as ‘privy pickers’, but whether this is someone combing privies for saleable items or whether it has sexual connotations is unclear.
- ³⁶ Carlin 1987, 105.
- ³⁷ When timber is stored it has to be stacked a certain way, and this may be what a ‘layerstore’ describes.
- ³⁸ Just what constituted a nuisance was never defined by the London Assize of Nuisance, see Shaw 1996, 450.
- ³⁹ Apart from the benefits of retailing and selling, citizens were exempted from tolls throughout England and from ordeal by battle. They also had rights of chase in Middlesex, Surrey, and the Chilterns, and, apart from the most serious cases, could not be compelled to plead outside the city walls, see Williams 1963, 2.
- ⁴⁰ CPMR 1413–1437, xxv.
- ⁴¹ CPMR 1413–1437, xii, 115–41, 150–9.
- ⁴² Cheney 1948, 41.
- ⁴³ CPMR 1413–1437, xxvii; Barron 2001, 223; 2004, 123. It appears that the concerns of the wardmote inquest did not change very much over time, see Pulling 1842, 219. The sequencing of the indictments

may indicate the more pressing concerns in any one year. From March 1465 to March 1473 the opening indictments are predominantly for sexual offences, while from March 1473 to March 1483 they are environmental. Most of the indictments for 1507–1508 are for sexual offences.

⁴⁴ Any English person not born in London was considered a foreigner. 'Aliens' were people from other countries.

⁴⁵ CPMR 1413–1437, 115–41, 150–9.

⁴⁶ Riley 1868, 295–6; Sabine 1937, 19.

⁴⁷ Sabine 1937, 31, 42.

⁴⁸ Sharpe 1899, *Letter Book A*, 18; 1900, *Letter Book B*, 242.

⁴⁹ Sabine 1934, 309.

⁵⁰ CPMR 1413–1437, 118–59.

⁵¹ CPMR 1413–1437, 121. See Riley 1868, 347 for proclamations as to sale of victuals within the City.

⁵² The named drinking-houses are the Ship (1465–66), the Hart's Horn (1465–66), the Bell (1466–67), the Two Nuns (1466–67, this is possibly a scribal error for the Three Nuns), the Three Nuns (1467–68), the Three Kings (1471–72), the Cock (1474–75), the Swan (1475–76), and the Lamb (1481–82). The Portsoken presentments in the CPMR 1413–1437 mention the Helme, which does not occur in the later returns, and the Ship, which does (pp 120, 150).

⁵³ CPMR 1413–1437, 124, 132; Portsoken presentment for 1466–1467 (6 Edward VI).

⁵⁴ Honeybourne 1963, 8.

⁵⁵ CPMR 1413–1437, 121, 122, 123, 132, 151, 152, 154.

⁵⁶ CPMR 1413–1437, 123, 124–5, 131, 134, 151, 154, 157.

⁵⁷ CPMR 1413–1437, 117, 118, 122, 124–5.

⁵⁸ Riley 1868, 535; Karras 1996a, 15. That this proclamation failed in practice is evident from an identical proclamation being issued c.1483. See Sharpe 1912, *Letter-Book L*, 206.

⁵⁹ Otis 1985, 20; Geremek 1987, 213.

⁶⁰ Geremek 1987, 222; Otis 1985, 111; Karras 1996a, 6, 22.

⁶¹ Riley 1868, 647; Karras 1989, 408–9. That stews continued in the City is evident through the proclamation in 1475, which decreed that stews must not 'harbour men and women at night': Sharpe 1912, *Letter-Book L*, 136. This dichotomy between legislation and common practice is also evident in Paris, see Geremek 1987, 221.

⁶² CPMR 1413–1437, 131.

⁶³ CPMR 1413–1437, 154.

⁶⁴ Prostitution was greatly criticised by the medieval church. See Geremek 1987, 211; Otis, 1985, 5.

⁶⁵ Karras 1996a, 17.

⁶⁶ Page 1909, 471.

⁶⁷ See Appendix 4, for a table listing the numbers and type of indictments made in each of the presentments.

⁶⁸ Karras 1996a, 139; 1989, 433.

⁶⁹ McIntosh 1996, 91; Karras 1996a, 139.

⁷⁰ Scolds could be punished by standing in the pillory for an hour, or by a small fine, although the 'ducking stool' might be used for repeat offenders: see Riley 1868, 385 and McIntosh 1996, 91. A ducking stool is first mentioned in the presentment for 1507–1508. The women of the Southwark stews were customarily fined for most of their offences: see Post 1977, 428.

⁷¹ Sexual offences attracted fines at local courts throughout England: see McIntosh 1998, 72. In France, procurers who were householders would have their property seized; those without property were fined 20 livres, see Otis 1985, 27.

⁷² The striped hood was a mark of a prostitute: see Karras 1996a, 19, 21, and 22. Prostitutes were not permitted to wear furred hoods or aprons, as these were the ornaments of 'honest' women: Sharpe 1907, *Letter-Book H*, 176; Riley 1868, 20, 458; Geremek 1987, 222.

⁷³ Riley 1861, 394–6.

⁷⁴ See Appendix 5.

⁷⁵ This is unlike Southwark, which had licensed brothels (or stews) and where prostitution was highly regulated: see Carlin 1996, 209–23; Post 1977, 422–8.

⁷⁶ Karras 1989, 400; 1996a, 6, 49, 57, 63. Over a century later, Thomas Middleton, in *Michaelmas Term*, states a woman's position regarding work and earning potential:

Women ne'er rise but when they fall;
Let a man break, he's gone, blown up,
A woman's breaking sets her up;
Virginity is no city trade,
You're out o'th' freedom, when you're a maid...

(Thomas Middleton, *Michaelmas Term*, II.i.40–8).

⁷⁷ Thrupp 1968, 169.

⁷⁸ Ruggiero 1993, 10–29; Karras 1996b, 124.

⁷⁹ Geremek 1987, 212; Otis 1985, 9; Karras 1989, 399; 1996a, 6.

⁸⁰ Karras 1996a, 6.

⁸¹ Bray 1982, 16–17; Ruggiero 1993, 16. 'Homosexuality' is a modern concept that was characterised by Carl Westphal in 1870: see Foucault 1990, 43.

⁸² Ruggiero 1993, 24.

⁸³ Karras 1996a, 6.

⁸⁴ Karras 1996a, 70–1, 82.

⁸⁵ Thomas Middleton, *Michaelmas Term* I.i.44–6. See also Christopher Marlowe, *Edward II*, in *The Complete Plays*, ed M Thornton Burnett (1999), 148–242.

⁸⁶ Otis 1985, 111; Geremek 1987, 239; Karras 1996a, 142.

⁸⁷ www.dictionary.oed.com Whirlpitte: A place where the water is in constant (and usually rapid) movement due to the configuration of the channel or bottom, to some obstruction, or to the meeting of adverse currents.

⁸⁸ CPMR 1413–1437, 119–21; 150–1.

⁸⁹ A record in the Memorials relates to a disagreement over ownership of land between the City and St Katherine's, but whether this is the same piece of land encroached upon in the Portsoken presentments is uncertain: Riley 1868, 487–8.

⁹⁰ A reredos was a stone, brick, or iron plate forming the back of a fire-place or hearth (*OED*, 1804).

⁹¹ Riley 1868, 46.

⁹² CPMR 1413–1437, 135, 139, 152, 158.

⁹³ Sharpe 1912, *Letter Book K*, 319.

⁹⁴ Riley 1868, 299, 389.

⁹⁵ Barron 1989, 47.

⁹⁶ Stow records that by the 15th century the town ditch had been largely encroached upon by gardeners, cited in Barron 2004, 47.

⁹⁷ Sharpe 1900, *Letter-Book B*, 260.

⁹⁸ Sharpe 1903, *Letter-Book E*, 146; Riley 1868, 385.

⁹⁹ In Sharpe 1912, *Letter-Book L*, Thomas Dalston(e), common councilman and constable, is mentioned in relation to the goods of orphans, and is recorded as a glover (58, 153), Andrew Tod(de), juryman, is recorded as a mercer and Richard Stutfold, constable and juryman, as a blacksmith (both in relation to goods of orphans, 153). In Carlin 1987, John Silvester (juryman) is recorded as a butcher (105), and John Mannfeld (constable and juryman) as a greytawyer (73).

¹⁰⁰ There is mention of a sergeant and a coroner living in Portsoken, but whether these men were Robert Molineux, Common Sergeant at Law, and either Lord John Wenlock or John Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire is uncertain. See Masters 1967–68, 385; Kellaway 1969, 89.

¹⁰¹ All occupational definitions in parenthesis are from the Middle English Dictionary online, www.ets.umdl.umich.edu. Some of the men and women detailed within this section were indicted in subsequent years but are only mentioned once for the purpose of this discussion.

¹⁰² www.dictionary.oed.com Puterer: unchastity, harlotry, prostitution.

¹⁰³ www.dictionary.oed.com Baratour: 1. One who deals fraudulently in his business or office. 4. One who fights. 5. A quarrelsome person, one given to brawling. 6. One who from maliciousness, or for the sake of gain, raises discord between neighbours.

¹⁰⁴ This was an occupation that was frequently associated with prostitutes. See Karras, 1996a, 72; McIntosh 1998, 77.

¹⁰⁵ Earlier in 1471–1472, John Browne, butcher, was indicted for having two sheds covered with reed and for being a common strumpetmonger. Bocher could mean butcher, or could mean ‘botcher’, a tailor who repaired and sold second-hand clothes: see Bolton 1998, 47.

¹⁰⁶ William Browne was indicted in 1480–1481 for having a shed covered with reed. His wife was also accused of being a common scold.

¹⁰⁷ Barron 1989, 56.

¹⁰⁸ Bolton 1998, 11.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid*, 15 — most of those listed are German, but there are also a small number of Scots and Dutchmen.

¹¹⁰ Karras 1996a, 56.

¹¹¹ Carlin 1996, 155; Bolton 1998, 78.

¹¹² These men had seven and eleven German servants respectively, but may have had other servants of different nationalities. Bolton concludes that by 1483 alien households were probably employing English servants (1998, 16).

¹¹³ Bolton 1998, 79, 81.

¹¹⁴ Ross 1975, 358–9; Carlin 1996, 161.

¹¹⁵ Carpenter 1997, 175.

¹¹⁶ Carpenter 1997, 179; Barron 2004, 43; Ross 1975, 282–3.

¹¹⁷ Carlin 1996, 60. Closch: one who bowls (Middle English Dictionary online).

¹¹⁸ McIntosh 1996, 101.

¹¹⁹ Sharpe 1912, *Letter-Book L*, 140, 163.

¹²⁰ Carpenter 1997, 198.

¹²¹ McIntosh 1998, 99.

¹²² Carlin 1996, 60.

¹²³ McIntosh 1998, 99.

¹²⁴ Throughout this transcription names and indictments have been spelt as written in the presentment while letters have been modernised. Words in parenthesis [] are missing on the original through extreme fading or damage and reflect the names and phrasing from other presentments. The dating of the regnal years has been taken from Cheney 1948, 23.

¹²⁵ www.dictionary.oed.com Noyannce: the condition or fact of being annoyed, troubled, or harmed; irritation, vexation, distress.

¹²⁶ *ibid* Defaults: n. Failure of something; want, defect, want, lack, scarcity, absence; v. to be wanting.

¹²⁷ *ibid* Stulpes (Stuplis): a post, pillar.

¹²⁸ No OED definition, presumed to be a pimp.

¹²⁹ www.dictionary.oed.com Baratour: 1. One who deals fraudulently in his business or office. 4. One who fights. 5. A quarrelsome person, one given to brawling. 6. One who from maliciousness, or for the sake of gain, raises discord between neighbours.

¹³⁰ This may not be a scribal error, for although it is William Parys's wife that is indicted, her husband would have been held responsible for her actions.

¹³¹ www.dictionary.oed.com Swelow: a deep hole or opening in the earth; a pit, gulf, abyss.

¹³² *ibid* Mayntenour: 1b. A person who fosters or supports wrongdoing, sedition, false quarrels. 4b. A person who keeps a mistress.

¹³³ This could describe someone who searches privies for saleable items, or have sexual connotations.

¹³⁴ www.dictionary.oed.com Myrsuled: disorderly, lawless, unlawful, unruly.

¹³⁵ As document. This may be an abbreviation for another name.

¹³⁶ www.dictionary.oed.com Closhe: one who bowls; Closshbane/Clossthlane: a bowling alley. I am indebted to Martha Carlin and Sheila Lindenbaum for this definition.

¹³⁷ Taken to be a chimney made of wood.

¹³⁸ www.dictionary.oed.com Getee (gytee): 2. a projecting part of a building, especially an overhanging story.

¹³⁹ As document, taken to mean stairs.

¹⁴⁰ Middle English dictionary online: www.ets.umdl.umich.edu Faiten, v.: (a) to act or speak falsely, to dissemble; (b) to beg under false pretences; (c) to deceive.

¹⁴¹ OED, 1197. Leman: 1. A lover or sweetheart; a husband or wife. 2. An unlawful lover or mistress.

¹⁴² See note 135 above.

¹⁴³ www.dictionary.oed.com Noyous: causing annoy-ance, vexatious, troublesome; also causing harm or injury.

¹⁴⁴ Taken to be Coggeshall, Essex.

¹⁴⁵ www.dictionary.oed.com Whirlepitte: A place where the water is in constant (and usually rapid) movement due to the configuration of the channel or bottom, to some obstruction, or to the meeting of adverse currents.

¹⁴⁶ See note 143.

¹⁴⁷ See note 145.

¹⁴⁸ Middle English dictionary, Sclaundrous, adj.: (1a) calumnious; defamatory, also blasphemous; (b) scandalous, outrageous, horrible; (2c) constituting a scandal or an offence.

¹⁴⁹ Possibly Cologne.

¹⁵⁰ www.dictionary.oed.com Hasardour: n. a game at dice, v. to put anything to the risk of being lost in a game of chance. Therefore, a hasardour is taken to be a gambler.

¹⁵¹ OED II, 1804. Reredos: the brick or stone back of a fireplace or open hearth; an iron plate forming a fire back.

¹⁵² OED II, 1180. Lath: A thin narrow strip of wood used in building to form a wall or partition.

¹⁵³ OED II, 1132. Jetty: A projecting part of a building.

¹⁵⁴ See note 144.

¹⁵⁵ Wood has to be stacked a certain way during storage to stop it warping and twisting and 'layer-store' is taken as describing this method.

¹⁵⁶ www.dictionary.oed.com Puterer: unchastity, harlotry, prostitution.

¹⁵⁷ This word is abbreviated on the original as 'pntic' and has been taken to mean pentice.

¹⁵⁸ OED II, 1531. Paviour: one who paves or lays pavements.

¹⁵⁹ See note 136.

¹⁶⁰ OED II, 1566. Petty: 3. Minor, inferior, subordinate.

¹⁶¹ This membrane is in a very poor condition. The centre is extremely faded and the right-hand margin is damaged. Parts of it are extremely difficult to read, even under ultra-violet light.

¹⁶² See note 143 above.

¹⁶³ See note 144 above.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

London Metropolitan Archives:

COL/AD/05/001: *Portsoken Ward Presentments* 5, 6, 7, ?10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, ?17, 19, 20, 21, 22 Edward IV; 23 Henry VII

Plea and Memoranda Roll A50

Plea and Memoranda Roll A51

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BARRON (1989), C M Barron 'The later Middle Ages: 1270–1520' in M D Lobel (ed) *The British Atlas of Historic Towns, Volume III, The City of London: From Prehistoric Times to c.1520*, 42–56

BARRON (2001), C M Barron 'Lay solidarities: the wards of medieval London' in P Stafford, J L Nelson & J Martindale (eds) *Law, Lay and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds*, 218–34

BARRON (2004), C M Barron *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200–1500*

BEAVEN (1908), A B Beaven *The Aldermen of the City of London*

BOLTON (1998), J L Bolton (ed) *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century: The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 & 1483–4*

BRAY (1982), A Bray *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*

BURGESS (1999), C Burgess (ed) *The Church Records of St. Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap, c.1450–1570*

CARLIN (1987), M Carlin (ed) *Historical Gazetteer of London before the Great Fire: St. Botolph Aldgate*

CARLIN (1996), M Carlin *Medieval Southwark*

CARPENTER (1997), C Carpenter *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c.1437–1509*

CHENEY (1948), C R Cheney *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*

CHEW & WEINBAUM (1970), H M Chew & M Weinbaum (eds) *The London Eye of 1244*

CPMR 1413–1437, *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1413–1437* (ed A H Thomas, 1943)

ELMES (1831), J Elmes *A Topographical Dictionary of London and its Environs*

FOUCAULT (1990), M Foucault *The History of Sexuality: an Introduction*, 1

GEREMEK (1987), B Geremek *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*

HARBEN (1918), H A Harben *A Dictionary of London*
HONEYBOURNE (1963), M B Honeybourne 'The leper hospitals of the London area' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 1, 3–61

- KARRAS (1989), R M Karras 'The regulation of brothels in later medieval England' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14, 2, 399–433
- KARRAS (1996a), R M Karras *Common Women. Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*
- KARRAS (1996b), R M Karras 'Two models, two standards: moral teaching and sexual mores' in B A Hanawalt & D Wallace (eds) *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*, 123–39
- KELLAWAY (1969), W Kellaway 'The coroner in medieval London' in A Hollaender & W Kellaway (eds) *Studies in London History*, 75–91
- MASTERS (1967–8), B R Masters 'The common sergeant' *Guildhall Miscellany* 2, 379–87
- MCINTOSH (1996), M K McIntosh 'Finding language for misconduct: jurors in fifteenth-century local courts' in B A Hanawalt & D Wallace (eds) *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*, 87–123
- MCINTOSH (1998), M K McIntosh *Controlling Misbehaviour in England, 1370–1600*
- OED, *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, I & II (3rd edn, ed C T Onions, 1983)
- OTIS (1985), L L Otis *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc*
- PAGE (1909), W Page (ed) *The Victoria History of London* I
- POST (1977), J B Post 'A fifteenth-century customary of the Southwark stews' *Journal of the Society of Archivists* v, 418–28
- PULLING (1842), A Pulling *A Practical Treatise on the Laws, Customs and Regulations of the City and Port of London*
- RAWCLIFFE (1984), C Rawcliffe 'The hospitals of later medieval London' *Medical History* 28, 1–21
- RILEY (1861), H T Riley (ed) *Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London*
- RILEY (1868), H T Riley (ed) *Memorials of London and London Life in the XIII, XIV, and XV Centuries*
- ROSS (1975), C Ross *Edward IV*
- RUGGIERO (1993), G. Ruggiero 'Marriage, love, sex, and Renaissance civic morality' in J G Turner (ed) *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images*, 10–29
- SABINE (1934), E L Sabine 'Latrines and cesspools of medieval London' *Speculum* 9, 3, 303–21
- SABINE (1937), E L Sabine 'City cleaning in medieval London' *Speculum* 12, 1, 19–43
- SHARPE (1899–1912), R R Sharpe (ed) *Calendar of the Letter Books of the City of London, A, c.1275–1298; Letter-Book B, c.1275–1312; Letter-Book E, c.1314–1337; Letter-Book H, c.1375–1399; Letter-Book K, c.1422–1461; Letter-Book L, c.1461–1497*
- SHAW (1996), D Shaw 'The construction of the private in medieval London' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 26, 447–66
- STOW (1908), J Stow *A Survey of London* I & II (intro. C L Kingsford)
- THRUPP (1968), S Thrupp *The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300–1500* (2nd edn)
- WILLIAMS (1963), G A Williams *Medieval London: from Commune to Capital*
- www.dictionary.oed.com Oxford English Dictionary
- www.ets.umdl.umich.edu Middle English Compendium

PAPERS READ AT THE LAMAS LOCAL HISTORY CONFERENCE HELD AT THE MUSEUM OF LONDON ON 19 NOVEMBER 2005: 'WHEN LAMAS BEGAN: LONDON IN 1855'*

1855: ARCHITECTURE IN LONDON

*Charles O'Brien
(Pevsner Architectural Guides)*

This paper looks at the development of London's architecture by 1855, the buildings that gave it its specific and unique character, and some of the significant changes taking place in the 1850s that had implications for the city's architecture for the rest of the century.

A good representation of London's development by 1851 in geographic and architectural terms is Tallis's map (Fig 1), produced for visitors to the 1851 Great Exhibition; a reminder that the 1850s were the dawn of an age of mass tourism for London. By this period the city and its suburbs were home to 2.5 million people, with a working population entering it each day numbering into the hundreds of thousands. The map not only shows us how recent so much of the city's expansion had been, with streets built up from Paddington in the west to Poplar in the east, but also how much open territory still surrounded the metropolis, all of which was consumed in the ensuing 50 years. Around the border of the map is a selection of 1849 views of all the principal public buildings and places of amusement in the metropolis and suburbs, thus 'furnishing the visitor to the Great Exhibition

... with ... a faithful representation of the most important edifices and places of entertainment'.

What the map really shows us is the character of the Late Georgian and Early Victorian metropolis with the emphasis on several very recently completed major institutions, notably Sir John Soane's Bank of England (1788–1827); University College (1826–8 by William Wilkins); the National Gallery (1833–8 by Wilkins), and the monumental British Museum of 1823–52 by Sir Robert Smirke. It was the round Reading Room of the latter, begun in 1854 and completed in 1857, that drew most attention among the handful of major buildings illustrated in *The Builder* for 1855. The latter was the most important of the 19th-century architectural periodicals (founded 1843) and the one to which all local historians should look when researching.

But was it simply 'the most important edifices and places of entertainment' that drew the attention of visitors to mid-19th-century London? Certainly not. Several features of the 1851 map give a clue to its less obvious attractions.

By 1855 London was a world city, a status achieved largely in the previous five decades. From the beginning of the 19th century visitors to London came to marvel at its system of enclosed docks, clearly visible on the map along the eastern stretch of the Thames. These had been rushed into existence in two periods of activity,

*Two other papers read at the conference were published in the 150th anniversary edition of *Transactions* (Volume 55): B Sloane 'Archaeology in London: annual round-up and news for 1855/6' and E M Bowlt 'Some early Lamas meetings and outings'.



Fig 1. Map produced by Tallis for visitors to the Great Exhibition in 1851

the first in the early years after 1800: on the river's north side alone were the London Docks, the West and East India Docks, and the Regents Canal Basin at Limehouse to link the river-borne trade with the Midlands. A second phase of activity spread these docks over an even greater area, consuming much of Wapping and Shadwell and, by the 1860s, the barren marshes of Millwall. In the year of LAMAS's foundation, the last work was being completed on the London Dock system with the New Shadwell Basin.

Connecting trade along the river was matched by trade across it to the expanding urban districts on the Surrey side. Several new river crossings appeared in the first half of the 19th century, including toll bridges at Southwark, Waterloo, and Vauxhall and the rebuilding of London Bridge in 1823–31. Beneath the river ran the Thames Tunnel, initiated in 1825 using the revolutionary process, patented by Marc Isambard Brunel, of tunnelling just below the surface of the Thames using a shield to protect

the workers. In spite of inundations the work was finally completed in 1843 and its popularity instant. *The Builder* in 1855 records the large numbers of foot passengers who passed through each month.

The railways, marked by looping lines across the 1851 map, brought new and ambitious building types to the capital in the form of the railway termini — notably at Paddington, completed 1850–54 by Isambard Kingdom Brunel, for the Great Western Railway, and King's Cross (Lewis Cubitt, 1851–2, for the Great Northern Railway).

More generally, Tallis's map presents a picture of London after several decades of housing development, the legacy of the series of building booms in the period up to 1830 and its resumption in the early decades of Victoria's reign. This was one of the most interesting periods in the history of English urban planning, the showpiece of which was John Nash's improvements in Westminster, tracing a line from St James's Park to the

new Regent's Park, ringed by villas. Its influence was immense and its impact was felt throughout the suburbs with the rushing up of streets and squares of terraces, their brick façades often concealed behind creamy stucco — a material whose versatility for modelling achieved the appearance of stone on the cheap.

The area enjoying the greatest vogue for developments of the 1840s and 1850s was West London. By 1855 Belgravia and Pimlico linked Westminster to Knightsbridge, Chelsea, and Brompton, while streets of houses also spread between Paddington, Bayswater, and Kensington. In the latter the major planned development was that of the Ladbroke estate; begun in the 1840s and typified by Stanley Gardens, laid out in 1852 by Thomas Allom, who also designed the convincingly Italianate St Peter's church to terminate the view along the street (Fig 2). These new developments were not only designed with gardens and crescents of private green space, but also took advantage of their proximity to the open space of Hyde Park. Also visible on the 1851 map at its eastern and southern extremities are two of the major new 'green lungs' provided as an antidote to the unrestrained development of large areas of mid-Victorian London not served by the Royal Parks. Victoria Park, between Bethnal Green and Hackney, was laid out by Sir James Pennethorne in 1841–5; the slightly smaller Battersea Park (on the south side of the river) was planned by Pennethorne in 1844 but not laid out until 1854. Although much of South London was still relatively undeveloped even by 1855, it is clear from the map that the north-east corner of the city was already heavily built-up. Here the social profile of development was very different.

In the East End, the cumulative effect of the docks and the railways allied to the demands of an increasingly prosperous capital city had created a large industrial suburb. But these enterprises had destroyed as much housing as they encouraged, while drawing in workers in ever greater numbers. In the '40s, '50s and '60s certain districts around the City—Bethnal Green, Whitechapel, and Spitalfields—and the riverside districts of Wapping and Shadwell became synonymous with slumdom. Perhaps indicative of the built environment of these areas are the illustrations which appeared in *The Builder* in 1855 accompanying an article on housing in Bermondsey—much of it ancient and of pre-urban type but also including cheap terraced



Fig 2. View of Stanley Gardens with St Peter's church at far end

houses with open sewers lovingly detailed by the illustrator. Of course not everywhere was like that. Modest but decent streets of terraced houses had been erected in numerous areas of the less fashionable parts of London in the period after 1815, but these were overtaken to some degree by the problem of overcrowding. What survives of this period is inevitably the best of its kind, spared the major slum clearances of the 20th century. Cyprus Street, just south of Victoria Park in Bethnal Green, is a good example from the mid-1850s.

The article in *The Builder*, it should be said, was less concerned with the question of housing design and more with the issue of sanitation — a matter that dominated the investigations of health reformers, who by 1855 had reported extensively on the state of the slum areas and the effect of the series of cholera outbreaks that befell London in the first half of the 19th century. A small number of modest but significant East End buildings provide evidence of the reforming spirit of the mid-century, for example the remains of a washhouse and public baths in Old Castle Street, Whitechapel (its façade now incorporated into the Guildhall University's Women's Library), opened in 1851 by Prince Albert. It was designed by P P Baly, engineer, for the charitable Committee for Promoting the Establishment of Baths and Washhouses for the Labouring Classes. In the same year the first Baths and Washhouses Act was passed, allowing

local authorities to erect such institutions, but provision remained largely in the hands of philanthropists. So too was the provision of the growing number of small medical institutions that would have been a visible feature of the poorer districts of 1850s and 1860s London. The provision of free medicine for the poor had a long history and numerous free dispensaries were set up by medics in deprived districts in the 18th century. But purpose-built institutions are a feature of the mid-19th century. Two good examples are the Eastern Dispensary, Leman Street, Whitechapel (founded in 1783; rebuilt by G H Simmonds in 1859) and the Queen Adelaide Dispensary, Pollard Row, Bethnal Green (built in 1865–6, by Lee & Long, a firm who subsequently specialised in hospital design — a modest example of the increasing specialism among mid-Victorian architects) (Fig 3).

In spite of local efforts to address the im-



Fig 3. The Eastern Dispensary, Leman Street, Whitechapel

mediate needs of the more overcrowded districts of mid-Victorian London, there was a desperate need by 1855 for administration of matters on a



Fig 4. The Pumping Station at Abbey Mills, Stratford

city-wide scale. In that year was established the Metropolitan Board of Works as the first London-wide authority — one of several initiatives of the 1850s to reform local government as a whole. Its lasting built legacy was the Main Drainage project, perhaps the most celebrated engineering success of the period, planning for which got underway from 1855. In that year Michael Faraday described the Thames as 'an opaque, pale brown fluid. Near the bridges the feculence rolled up in clouds so dense that they were visible at the surface, the whole river was for a time a real sewer'. Three years later in 1858 the stench during the hottest summer on record drove the members from the Houses of Parliament and forced the passing of an act to allow work to begin to the designs of Sir Joseph Bazalgette. A visible consequence of this grand scheme were the pumping stations, including that at Abbey Mills, Stratford of 1865–8 by Charles Driver in an extravagant Byzantine style (Fig 4).

The Board of Works also began to play an instrumental role in slum clearance in the 1850s, though more often than not as a by-product of street improvements, which led the way for the appearance of another new urban building type that would become a distinctive feature of London for the rest of the century: improved working class dwellings. Small schemes of dwellings had first been erected in the 1840s. Prototype examples of two-storey cottage dwellings had been exhibited by Henry Roberts at the Great Exhibition and the principle can be seen reworked into a surviving five-storey scheme at St George's Buildings in Bourdon Street, Mayfair (1852–3), with a communal, open staircase and cast-iron balconies providing access to the flats at each level (Fig 5). But the ten years after 1855 saw the emergence of several charitable societies and philanthropic building companies such as the Peabody Trust (founded 1863) who built on a more ambitious scale. The first Peabody buildings, at Commercial Street, Spitalfields, by H A Darbshire, still survive.

So much then for some of the distinctive new building types to emerge in the years before and after LAMAS's foundation; what can be said of the style of this period? The answer, as the buildings already noted here can attest, is entertainingly diverse. After the dominance of classicism in the public buildings and polite architecture of the early 19th century, the early Victorian decades saw a proliferation of more ornate styles. The Grecian style of the British



Fig 5. St George's Buildings in Bourdon Street, Mayfair

Museum, for example, though very much in vogue in the 1830s when building began, was out of step by the time it was completed in the 1850s. The New Palace of Westminster (1837–69) provides a complete contrast in style but a similar experience in the speed of passing fashion. The competition for its design in 1834 had required submissions in 'Gothic or Elizabethan' dress and was won by Sir Charles Barry, one of the leading architects of mid-19th-century London, who was assisted in the details of the design by the fervent and scholarly Gothicist A W N Pugin. The latter's publications, *Contrasts* (1836) and *True Principles* (1841), provided the ideological rigour to promote Gothic as a 'national', patriotic style which through its medieval associations connoted a chivalric tradition — the law, learning, and religion. By 1855 the Palace of Westminster was still only partially complete and even by then its particular brand of Tudor or Perpendicular Gothic was passing from favour. It is clear from the diversely treated façades of the proliferation of purpose-built town halls, vestry halls, and district boards of works offices, which emerge after the Metropolitan Management Act of 1850 throughout the suburbs, that this 'Battle

'of Styles' was not easily resolved. Classicism maintained its popularity but now through revival of Italian Renaissance styles, most famously in the design of the Foreign Office (competition 1856–7, built 1862–75), which was begun to a Gothic design by George Gilbert Scott but was eventually executed, for pragmatic reasons, in the style of the Cinquecento.

Although in such secular buildings there was no determination about the appropriateness of a single style, debates around church architecture were by 1855 far more clearly defined. London's suburban expansion by this date had required new churches but the products of the early 19th-century church building acts were notable chiefly for their economy of construction and emphasis inside on large galleries designed for hearing sermons. By 1855 churches of a very different character had begun to emerge. Many were concentrated in the poorer districts, such as those erected by the Bishop of London's Metropolis Churches Fund (established 1836) in North and East London (ten of them in Bethnal Green alone). Some of these started to exhibit the principles of design espoused by the Roman Catholic Pugin for buildings more medieval in character and specifically in the 'Middle Pointed' style of the later 13th and 14th centuries. These ideas were communicated to the Anglican Church by the Cambridge Camden Society (founded 1839, but from 1845, when it based itself in London, known as the Ecclesiological Society) for the study of ecclesiastical architecture and the promotion of church building and restoration. Churches conforming to these principles can be seen all over London and share common features: they are built of stone (of which London's medieval churches were constructed), with a deep, externally visible chancel; traceried windows with stained glass; and solid and emphatic towers and spires. Their interiors were to be axially arranged, focused on the altar, in its own distinct chancel. Planning was to allow for processions and congregations were to be marshalled into open benches facing east. A typical, perhaps minor, example is St John, Notting Hill, which provides the focus for the Ladbroke estate development but, in contrast to the essentially Italianate character of the surrounding houses, poses as a stone-built village church.

But the 1850s was a transitional period for the Gothic Revival and saw a move away from churches content simply to follow medieval

precedent towards a version of Gothic that was avowedly of the 19th century. Two major monuments to this change belong to the 1850s: the Ecclesiological Society's model church, All Saints, Margaret Street, by William Butterfield (1849–59), and G E Street's St James the Less, Pimlico (1859–61), both of which fused German and Italian Gothic. Both churches exploited the aesthetic potential of coloured brick on the exterior, 'structural polychromy', which continued inside with even greater richness in combination with tiles and mosaic. Such treatment can be seen even in quite minor buildings in unexpected parts of London such as a former Presbyterian church, built for Scottish shipbuilders on the Isle of Dogs in 1853 by T E Knightley, which takes the form of a polychrome North Italian brick basilica, or the (now demolished) Crown Life building, designed by the Dublin architects Deane & Woodward in Venetian Gothic for a site in New Bridge Street (1858). The style of the latter in particular shows the growing influence in architecture at this time of the writer and critic John Ruskin, whose publications *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and *The Stones of Venice* (1851–3) were well known by 1855. But there can be no finer example of the freer forms of Gothic initiated in the 1850s than Scott's colossal Midland Grand Hotel (1865–74) with its striking assemblage of French and Italian Gothic motifs.

These buildings, though drawing on historical sources, were the very essence of modern buildings both in the materials and the manner of their construction and function. New varieties of stone and coloured bricks were imported to London by the railways, which also exploited for their own buildings the mid-Victorian innovations in iron and glass construction to achieve the dramatic spans of the roofs covering their platforms and concourses. Iron was widely used also in the construction of the Palace of Westminster, but concealed in Gothic finery. Elsewhere in the 1850s, however, a functional tradition was being established in which these materials could be used without reference to historical styles.

We return to where we began with Tallis's map, which we must remind ourselves gave pride of place in its surrounding illustrations to Paxton's Crystal Palace, built entirely of mass-produced iron and glass. Perhaps we should recognise that this was the greatest monument of the 1850s. Although demounted from its original location

in Hyde Park shortly after the Exhibition, it was in the year of LAMAS's foundation that its immediate legacy was realised with construction of the first museum at South Kensington from the proceeds of the Exhibition. This comprised a tripartite cast-iron frame construction with bow-string trussed roofs and cladding of corrugated iron: an appearance which earned it the cruel soubriquet the 'Brompton Boilers'. It survives, remarkably, reclad in a brick skin by J W Wild (1865–8), as the Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood — one reminder of the diverse and innovative character for which London's architecture in 1855 should be remembered.

LONDON MUSEUMS OF THE 1850s

Anthony Burton

We readily assume nowadays that when someone digs up something interesting, the right place for it is in a museum. But, of course, archaeologists themselves took time to come round to this view, and, in the early days of archaeology, there were not many museums that were interested in receiving archaeological material. That was certainly the case in the 1850s. So my examination of London museums at that time will reveal a rather negative picture, so far as archaeology and local history are concerned. All the same, it will be interesting simply to survey the small group of museums that were around in London in the 1850s, and to notice a brash newcomer which then appeared.

Before focusing on London, a quick glance across Britain as a whole will help to set the scene. The first public museum in England, and arguably in the world, was the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, founded by Elias Ashmole in 1677 to house the collections of the Tradescant brothers, and opened to the public in 1683. By the 1850s it had settled into its new building, constructed in 1841–5 to the designs of C R Cockerell. In 1845 the same architect also completed the building begun by George Basevi to house Cambridge University's Fitzwilliam Museum, which grew from collections bequeathed by Viscount Fitzwilliam. The Ashmolean and the Fitzwilliam Museums included antiquities, coins, and paintings. A somewhat earlier university museum was the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow, built in 1804 to

house the collections of William Hunter, which embraced natural history and geology, as well as art. These three university museums all adopted a neo-classical style of architecture, presenting themselves as temples of the muses.

Aside from these important public museums, Britain in the early 19th century saw quite a vigorous growth of small private museums, created by the 'Lit-and-Phil' movement. From the mid-18th century onwards, cultured people, usually of the middle classes, came together to found local associations for the study of literature, history, science, and art. They often acquired their own premises, where they would gather together not only libraries (of literature, history, and philosophy) but also collections — of science (usually geology and natural history), of local archaeological material, of local history (ducking-stools and scolds' bridles were favourite items), and indeed of anything that seemed interesting. They called themselves by some such name as 'Literary and Philosophical Institution' (hence the abbreviation 'Lit-and-Phil'), and usually housed themselves in modest neo-classical buildings (such as those in York, Bristol, or Scarborough).

A brief list of the 'Lit-and-Phil' museums set up in the first half of the 19th century will indicate the rapid spread of such museums. There is no comprehensive account of the 'Lit-and-Phil' movement, so this list is mostly derived from a 20th-century directory of museums (Markham 1931):

- 1813 Newcastle on Tyne
- 1814 Liverpool
- 1818 Truro
- 1820 Bristol; Leeds
- 1823 York; Whitby
- 1825 Bath; Canterbury; Inverness
- 1828 Scarborough
- 1829 Plymouth
- 1830 Halifax
- 1831 Chichester
- 1832 Saffron Walden
- 1833 Ludlow
- 1834 Kelso
- 1835 Chelmsford; Kendal
- 1836 Sunderland; Warwick
- 1840 Huntingdon; Penzance
- 1842 Stamford
- 1845 Frome
- 1846 Lewes
- 1849 Taunton
- 1850 Caerleon

These museums witness to a real grass-roots effort of self-improvement in provincial Britain. But inevitably their collections tended to be small, miscellaneous, and easy to make fun of. An art critic in 1855 emphasised the jarring contrasts to be found in such collections.

... Pictures and objects of natural history, sculpture and New Zealand war clubs and paddles, bronzes and stuffed birds, illuminated manuscripts and Indian pagods [sic], are jumbled together. They contribute nothing to the formation or benefit of ... artists, or for the guidance of public taste.

Furthermore, because these museums belonged to private institutions, it was hard for the general public to gain admission to them. Our critic says that they 'are as difficult of access as princesses in enchanted castles' (Heath Wilson 1855, 8). Still, they helped to establish a nationwide museum culture in the Victorian period, and provide a background for what we now look at in London.

Moving in on London, we find, pre-eminent in the foreground, the British Museum. This opened to the public on 15 January 1759, and at that time consisted of the core collection of Sir Hans Sloane, bequeathed in 1753, together with two libraries, the manuscripts of the Earl of Oxford and the Cottonian Library. The Government set up the British Museum by Act of Parliament, and housed it in Montague House, Bloomsbury. Though public funds were only grudgingly bestowed on it, it grew rapidly, with the addition of the Royal Library, Sir William Hamilton's Greek vases, Sir Charles Towneley's classical sculpture collection, the Elgin marbles, ethnographical and botanical material collected by Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks, and much more in the way of antiquities and natural phenomena. By 1825 it needed larger accommodation, and a new building, designed by Sir Robert Smirke, was begun. It was only completed in the 1840s, so its revised displays would still have been fairly novel for visitors in the 1850s. Still more novel would have been the great round Reading Room, which was constructed between 1852 and 1857 in the central courtyard.

The British Museum had a reputation for being unwelcoming to visitors. Sir Henry Ellis, who was Director from 1827 to 1856, thought that the museum was too much used, and was against opening in Easter week because, as he said, 'the most mischievous portion of the population is abroad and about at such a time ... the more

vulgar class would crowd in ...' (Miller 1973, 139). A member of the vulgar class remembered trying to pay a visit to the Museum on a Saturday: 'Sir Henry Ellis ... very speedily came up to him with, "How dare you, sir, enter *our* house on a Saturday?" and the intruder, with a whispered protest against the pronoun, was glad to escape from the threats of the irate knight' (*The Builder*, 26 July 1873, 579). The British Museum was gradually prised open to visitors. In 1856 it was open free on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, at varying hours depending on daylight: 10 till 4 from November to February; 10 till 5 in March, April, September, and October; 10 till 6 in summer; it also opened on Saturday afternoons in May, June, and July.¹

The British Museum also incurred criticism because, although its collections ranged over classical and oriental antiquities, natural history, and ethnography, not to mention the national library, it seemed to have no interest in British history, in British antiquities. This neglect evoked vigorous protest from archaeologists, for example Thomas Pettigrew, writing in 1851:

We are absolutely at this time, in the middle of the nineteenth century, without any collection that can be called truly British. It is true that we have a British Museum, but in vain will you seek, within the walls of that now gigantic building, any collection of British remains. (MacGregor 1998, 128)

And Charles Roach Smith:

Foreigners had long reproached us for the neglect with which we treated the valuable remains of ancient art illustrative of our history ... They asked, when they visited the British Museum, for the halls and chambers consecrated to British, to Romano-British, to Saxon, to Norman, and to English antiquities; and were astounded when told that such apartments existed not. (MacGregor 1998, 131)

In the course of the 19th century, the neglect was remedied, largely through the efforts of a single curator, Augustus Wollaston Franks. It is just as well that he had a private income, and combined great tact with great persistence, for he had quite a struggle to establish his speciality. At first he had to squat in a corner of the Department of Antiquities. Then, amazingly, after a re-organisation in 1860, he and his British collections were for six years part of the Department of Oriental Antiquities. He finally

became Keeper of a new Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities in 1866 (Miller 1973, 213, 299, 313ff).

Notwithstanding its lapses in coverage, the British Museum prides itself on being a ‘universal’ museum — one of those museums that tries to embrace the whole of human culture. It fails, inevitably — and in one respect especially it is unlike other universal museums such as the Louvre: it does not embrace Western Fine Painting. That function in London belongs to the National Gallery, which the Government set up as a national museum in 1824. A new building for it, designed by William Wilkins, was opened in Trafalgar Square in 1838. I do not propose to discuss picture galleries. Let us proceed with museums.

The only other London museum in the 1850s that was directly funded by the Government was Sir John Soane’s Museum, a curious anomaly. The great architect Soane turned his house, and adjoining houses, in Lincoln’s Inn Fields into a highly personal museum, which contained much more than the architectural drawings and models that one might expect an architect to collect. Its constricted rooms accommodated, in artful though bewildering confusion, antique sculptures, vases, and bronzes; stained glass and Gothic fragments ‘arranged to resemble a ruined cloister’; sarcophagi from Thebes and Egypt; ancient gems and intaglios; paintings and drawings; busts of Soane’s contemporaries; and such personalia as ‘a richly-mounted pistol, taken by Peter the Great from the Turkish Bey at Azof, 1699’, Napoleonic relics, ‘the watch, measuring-rods, and compasses used by Sir Christopher Wren’, and gilt ivory furniture that had belonged to Tippoo Sahib (Timbs 1855, 543–4). Remarkably, Soane obtained an Act of Parliament to preserve this museum in perpetuity, and there it still is. It has always been something of a hidden treasure, visited by few. In 1856 you could visit it free on Tuesdays, from 1 February to 31 August, and additionally on Thursday and Friday in April, May, and June, between 10 and 4. Tickets had to be applied for previously, and were sent by post.

A museum that started out as a private enterprise but was eventually taken over by the Government was the India Museum. The East India Company was founded in 1600, to promote trade with India and South-East Asia, and by the end of the 18th century was administering most of India. The Company’s headquarters were at

East India House in Leadenhall Street, rebuilt in 1799. Here worked Charles Lamb and John Stuart Mill. And here, at the start of the 19th century, a library and museum stumbled into existence, and proceeded to grow, as museums and libraries do. After the Indian Mutiny in 1857–8, the Government nationalised the Company and directly ruled India as a colony. The administration, along with the museum, moved to Whitehall, and eventually, after endless controversy, the museum was dispersed in 1879, the greater part going to the South Kensington Museum. The museum had been first conceived as an aid to trade, which was the main concern of the Company. It aimed to collect natural materials and products from India, but it soon found that enthusiastic servants of the Company were unloading on it all sorts of stuff: ‘a long-nosed tapir and birds with exotic plumage from Java; cases crammed with iridescent insects; the “Babylonian Stone” and five bricks which a label credulously described as being “the original bricks which the Israelites were compelled to make without straw”; ... an Oriental opulence of gold and silver ornaments, pearls and gems; spun and woven silks and woollens, canopies, carpets and rugs hanging and draped everywhere’ – and what can only be described as colonial loot, such as plunder from the Battle of Seringapatam, including the footstool of Tippoo Sultan’s throne, and Tippoo’s mechanical tiger, which was always the most popular exhibit (Desmond 1982, 1, 3). In 1856, the Museum was open free every Friday, from 10 to 4.

A smaller museum with a similarly exotic atmosphere was the museum of the London Missionary Society, which had been open to the public from the 1820s. One might visit this to marvel at ethnographical curiosities, but of course it was chiefly intended, as its catalogue stated, to ‘excite, in the pious mind, feelings of deep compassion for the hundreds of millions of the human race, still the vassals of ignorance and superstition’ and to ‘act as a powerful stimulus to efforts ... for the conversion of the heathen’ (Altick 1978, 299).

The exotic could also be pursued in London’s military museum, the museum of the United Service Institution in Whitehall Yard, setup in 1830 to receive contributions from officers returned from service. It aimed to be, and succeeded in being, ‘a microcosm of British military and naval history’, but it also had a strong ‘ethnological-scientific representation consisting of Chinese

trophies, a range of minerals and mounted birds and animals, and, most prominently, arms and armour from the Eskimos, New Zealanders, Polynesians, and Africans' and 'from Borneo, Java, Ceylon, Punjab and Afghanistan', along with many personal mementoes (Altick 1978, 300). In 1856 this museum was open daily from 10 till 4, provided that you could get a ticket from a member of the Institution.

In London in the 1850s, there were a couple of scientific museums, indirectly funded by the Government. One, the Museum of Practical Geology, was housed in the Government School of Mines in Jermyn Street. Here, in a new building opened in 1851, were to be found not only teaching accommodation for the School, but also the Geological Survey, under the direction of Sir Henry de la Beche, and the Museum of Practical Geology, which he had set up in 1835. This museum provided not only a systematically classified exposition of geology, but also demonstrated what useful products might be made from mineral substances. Thus it had a most interesting collection of English ceramics, which eventually came to rest in the Victoria and Albert Museum. In 1856 you could visit this museum free from 10 till 4 on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays.

A museum with a similar mission to demonstrate the usefulness of natural materials was the Museum of Economic Botany at Kew Gardens. The Royal Botanic Gardens, which, as their name implies, had belonged to the royal family, were taken over by the Government in 1841, and the first Director, Sir William Hooker, created this museum in 1847. The collections still exist, and some small displays drawn from them were visible the last time I looked. In 1856 this museum was open from 1 till 6 on weekdays and from 2 till 6 on Sundays.

As you will realise, there was quite a wide range of museums for a London visitor to see in the 1850s. (Incidentally, I have omitted several medical museums associated with hospitals.) But such a visitor would not have found museums of British and local history. Historic buildings were all around, however. You could visit the Tower of London and see the Armouries. Windsor Castle and Hampton Court were open to the public. The Queen granted free admission to Hampton Court in 1838, though visitors were very strictly disciplined. At first, it was reported, 'the company are led by a guide, who allows them to remain before each picture only during the time

spent in pronouncing its subject and painter'. The guides, who deployed a special 'tone of authority', were eventually discontinued, so that visitors could wander at their own pace, but they were still only allowed to look at each picture once (Altick 1978, 417).

You could also seek out the tombs of great men in the cathedrals. By 1856 Westminster Abbey and St Paul's had relaxed their admission charges and let the public in free for the most part. But again discipline could be strict. A *Punch* cartoon (of 25 October 1845) shows a party being taken round Westminster Abbey. Entitled 'A Scamper through Westminster Abbey', the cartoon shows visitors being hustled along by a verger at what was topically described as a 'railroad pace'.

There was in fact one museum devoted to the history of London, and that had been set up by the Corporation of the City of London in the Guildhall in 1826, two years after the foundation of the Guildhall Library. This museum, however, remained very small and obscure, not much of a public attraction. What ought to have gone into it, no doubt, were the great collections of London archaeology made by Charles Roach Smith. But Smith alienated the Corporation, and his collections went instead to the British Museum. The Guildhall Museum eventually received better accommodation in the Guildhall's new buildings of the 1870s, but continued to operate on a very small scale until it was eventually caught up in the creation of the Museum of London.

I have given you a quick tour of virtually all the London museums of the 1850s, with one important exception. We now look at a new museum which arose in that decade: the museum which eventually became the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Its ultimate origins can be traced back beyond the 1850s: in fact, back to 1836, when a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Arts and Manufactures published its report. We need not go into the political background of this: it was the usual mixture of high-minded concern, self-interested lobbying, and sheer chance. But what came out of it was a government-sponsored educational institution. The Government School of Design opened in 1837 in rooms in Somerset House that had previously been occupied by the Royal Academy. For many reasons it failed to flourish, but it did manage to keep limping along. An illustration in the *Illustrated London News* in 1843 shows the students at their drawing-boards.

We can be fairly sure that they were not engaged in inventing ingenious new consumer goods, but just learning to draw. At that time, drawing was learned by copying, so the School bought some pictures and objects for the students to copy. Around the upper walls of the gallery were plaster casts of ancient sculpture. Lower down was a set of copies of Raphael's decorations (the 'grotesques') in the *Loggia* of the Vatican. Packed away in cupboards somewhere were examples of modern manufactures: ceramics, silverware, stained glass. All this material constituted a little museum for the private use of the students. It was to be the nucleus of the V&A.

Probably nothing would have come of the little collection but for a minor civil servant in the Public Records, called Henry Cole. At first glance, you might have dismissed him as no more than a dusty archivist. But he was a friend of John Stuart Mill, and associated with the political group known as the 'Philosophic Radicals'. It turned out that he had a genius for agitation and propaganda. He exercised this in reforming the Public Record service, in helping to set up the Penny Post, and in various interventions in the railway boom of the 1840s. He was a keen journalist, and soon got into publishing. He had antiquarian interests, and in the early 1840s wrote and published a pioneering series of cheap illustrated guidebooks to heritage sites such as Westminster Abbey, Hampton Court, and Canterbury Cathedral. He published attractive and unpatronising children's books; and one of his *jeux d'esprit* was the first Christmas card, which he published in 1843, and which seems to be the feat for which (notwithstanding his huge achievements in other fields) he is still best remembered — on the internet, at any rate.

Through his artist friends, Cole became involved in trying to reform the still struggling Government School of Design, and, to this end, between 1849 and 1852, he published a magazine, *The Journal of Design*, a sort of *Which* guide to good taste. The great opportunity of his life came with the Great Exhibition of 1851. He was one of a group of activists in the Society of Arts who first proposed this exhibition of the consumer goods 'of all nations', and who recruited Prince Albert as their patron. When the Exhibition was over, it was generally acknowledged that Cole had done more than any other man (save the Prince, of course) to make it a success. His reward was to be made head of the Government School of Design, with a free hand to reform and revitalise it.

First of all, he moved it, from cramped quarters in Somerset House to Marlborough House in the Mall (Bonython & Burton 2002; Burton 1999; Physick 1982). This was a royal residence, but surplus to royal requirements at the time. Its ground floor was being used as an art gallery, an overflow from the National Gallery, and Cole took over the first floor and the service wings. A crucial step in his reform programme was that he contrived to elevate the Government School of Design into a minor Civil Service department — the Department of Practical Art, soon renamed the Department of Science and Art. Cole became Secretary of the Department, a top-level civil servant with direct access to ministers. This was to be his power-base for the rest of his career, as he set up a nationwide system of art and science education.

What we are interested in, however, is his establishment in Marlborough House of a public museum, known as the Museum of Manufactures, or the Museum of Ornamental Art (Fig 1). The core of this was the little collection which the School of Design had made for its students. Why did Cole set up this museum? The aim of the School of Design had been to improve the quality of British consumer goods by providing a supply of better-trained designers, but this strategy did not have much effect. Cole realised that it would be unavailing to provide better-designed goods if no-one wanted to buy them. So he set about educating public taste, the taste of the consumers, and the museum was the means by which he hoped to do this. He believed that people would look at the exhibits — furniture, pottery, textiles, silverware, would like what they saw, and would go out and buy the same sort of thing in the shops. He envisaged that the museum would promote the best in modern design, as the Design Council and the Crafts Council do today.

Very soon, however, the museum turned away from the present and towards the past. Cole was not unsympathetic to the view that improvement in the present could be achieved by learning from the past, but it was the young curator whom he appointed to the museum, John Charles Robinson, who pursued the past with an urgent passion. The transformation of Cole's campaigning museum into a historical museum of 'antiques' is not, however, a story to be pursued in this paper. Cole, in his missionary zeal, wanted his museum to extend its influence up and down the country, so he sent out on the



Fig 1. A watercolour view of one of the museum rooms in Marlborough House in the early 1850s (By courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum)

road a travelling exhibition, the 'Circulating Museum'. And, at the main museum in London, he wanted to bring the people in and engage their interest. The museum was open free to students always, and to the general public on

Mondays, Tuesdays, and Saturdays. On Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays the public had to pay sixpence for admission, but, on these days, for another sixpence, they could ask for any object to be taken from its case for closer

examination. Cole was determined that his exhibits should be thoroughly used.

The museum grew and flourished for four years. Then Marlborough House was needed as a residence for the Prince of Wales, and, anyway, his father the Prince Consort had a new scheme in view. The Great Exhibition of 1851 had made a profit, and Prince Albert contrived that this profit should be invested in land in Brompton, in west London — land not yet built upon, and devoted mostly to market gardens. The Prince intended that these acres, now renamed 'South Kensington', should be developed as a new cultural quarter, with museums, learned institutions, and colleges, perhaps a university. There was a good deal of haggling about this project, and, since Albert unexpectedly died in 1861, it never developed quite as he would have wished. At any rate, the first institution to establish itself on this site was Henry Cole's museum: now the 'South Kensington Museum'.

While Cole was on leave, a rather unprepossessing temporary building was run up. Made on a cast iron frame, and clothed in corrugated iron, it was nicknamed 'The Brompton Boilers', because, with its curved roofs, it looked like three huge steam boilers lying side by side. This was to be the new home for Cole's museum collections. Naturally, the art collections which had been on show in Marlborough House occupied a prominent central space. But they were now joined by a great deal of other material which Cole, an inveterate empire builder, gathered in.

There was a Food Collection, originally put together by Thomas Twining as part of an 'Economic Museum', which was intended to instruct the working classes in how to live cheaply but wholesomely. Another new section of the museum was the Educational Collection. This had started out as an Educational Exhibition, promoted in 1854 by the Society of Arts, the campaigning body in which Cole always remained a leading light. A further initiative from the Society of Arts had been a collection of Animal Products, showing all the useful things that could be made from the skin, bone and other spare parts of animals. This too came to South Kensington. At one end of the 'Boilers' was a museum of machinery. This had been created by Benjamin Woodcroft at Prince Albert's behest. It came under the same roof as Cole's collections, but was separately administered, by the Commissioners for Patents.

Cole allotted space to another independent

museum, the Architectural Museum, which had run out of room in its current accommodation in some ramshackle lofts in Westminster. This was a museum of plaster casts of architectural ornament, set up by a group of architects headed by Sir Gilbert Scott, in order to train architectural craftsmen for the booming Gothic Revival. It transferred to more spacious accommodation in the new building at South Kensington. Here also could be found a collection of building materials (the 'Museum of Construction'), and an exhibition of contemporary sculpture. Finally, there arrived a collection of paintings, the Sheepshanks gift. This came along at the last minute and was set up in its own building, added to the 'Boilers'. The Sheepshanks Gallery was the first purpose-built museum gallery at South Kensington, and Cole was very proud of it.

The new museum at South Kensington offered to visitors a rather extraordinary mixture of exhibits. In due course, the art collections would come through as the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the machinery collections as the Science Museum, while the other collections were dispersed elsewhere or faded away. The museum had to overcome the disadvantage that it was situated in what then seemed the rather distant suburb of South Kensington. A wood-engraving from the *Illustrated London News* of 1857 (Fig 2) shows the 'Boilers' embosomed in trees, and visitors alighting from carriages in the foreground. Cole went to some trouble to improve the omnibus service from central London.

Cole succeeded in attracting visitors, and not only people from the cultivated and leisured classes. He was particularly keen to attract working people. In an often quoted passage he claimed that 'the working man comes to this Museum from his one or two dimly lighted, cheerless dwelling-rooms, in his fustian jacket ... accompanied by his threes, and fours, and fives of little fustian jackets, a wife, in her best bonnet, and a baby, of course, under her shawl' (Burton 1999, 77). A little patronising, perhaps, but undoubtedly enlightened.

Cole tried to provide orderly and comprehensible displays for his visitors, and also aimed to educate them by various strategies, including lectures. An illustration of a lecture on metal-work (from the *Illustrated London News*, 1870) shows the lecturer surrounded by objects specially brought from the galleries for use as visual aids; these times were, of course, before



Fig 2. The South Kensington Museum in 1857: in a rural setting, and serving the carriage trade (Illustrated London News, 27 June 1857; by courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum)

the day of the slide lecture. Sympathetic to visitors' bodily as well as intellectual needs, Cole also provided a restaurant, and was apparently the first museum director ever to offer this now obligatory service.

A guidebook to the museum, published in 1860, shows a bird's-eye view of the museum as it was then. The 'Boilers' are in the right foreground, and in front of them the little restaurant. Across the middle of the site are some old buildings used by the School of Design. Behind, more galleries are gradually extending across the site. Plans in later guidebooks show how the museum gradually expanded under Cole's direction. Cole's problem was that he could get money from the Government only in dribs and drabs, so he had to build in fits and starts. Although he caused many ambitious plans to be made, he never achieved one grand, complete building for the museum. He did succeed in building an imposing main entrance. This survives today, but, far from being the main entrance, is now buried deep in the V&A, overlooking the garden. It was some considerable time after Cole's retirement

that the building was finished off. From 1899, the whole of the front of the site was filled up, so that the museum now presents to the world the long façade designed by Aston Webb, which was completed in 1909. Back in the 1850s, the museum was just beginning to grow from the eastern end of this façade.

Henry Cole expressed his views on British museums in a lecture to the Society of Arts in 1873. He asserted that there were three types of museum. One was

that of the British Museum ... Museums like this ... contain ... vast numbers of useful specimens buried in drawers and cases, adorned with Latin labels; museums wherein the populace rove about with awe, partly at the monstrous objects displayed to their gaze, and partly at the tremendous names which they bear. These museums are only fitted for scientific [i.e. intellectual] persons; they are next to useless to others, unless ... superintendents and curators are willing to descend from their high level.

Perhaps this reminds us of something we heard

about earlier in this paper. Cole went on to describe another type of museum, which, he said,

is usually seen in small country towns, where dusty cases are arranged in ill-lighted rooms, and are made the receptacles of rubbish brought by resident gentlemen from all parts of the world – one giving a collection of minerals for which he has not room; another, a few drawers of butterflies of which he has grown tired. South Sea islanders' weapons, elephants' tusks, and other spoils of the chase are scattered about in corners and on walls, and the collection of oddments is dubbed a museum.

That too may remind us of something we heard about earlier. In contrast to these is the type of museum exemplified by Cole's own museum at South Kensington — what he called

the actually useful museum, where the artisan may see illustrations of manufacturing operations, and the artist may find examples of the masterpieces of old. Here everything is neat, orderly, and simple; no object is without a label, which explains clearly what it is; and spectators need not wander about among collections of incomprehensible curiosities...

This, the visitor-oriented, educational museum, was the latest thing in the 1850s, a new development which not only changed the museum scene in London, but was to have an international influence.

NOTES

¹ These and other opening times are derived from *The Almanak of Science and Art Anno Domini 1856*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALTIICK 1978, R D Altick *The Shows of London [A Panoramic History of Exhibitions 1600–1862]*
- BLACK 2000, BJ Black *On Exhibit: Victorians and their Museums*
- BONYTHON & BURTON 2002, E Bonython & A Burton *The Great Exhibitor: The Life and Work of Henry Cole*
- BURTON 1999, A Burton *Vision and Accident, the Story of the Victoria and Albert Museum*
- DESMOND 1982, R Desmond *The India Museum, 1801–79*
- HEATH WILSON 1855, C Heath Wilson *On the Formation of Provincial Museums and Collections of Works of Art* (A paper read at a meeting of 'our Institute in Glasgow' on 25 January 1855)
- MARKHAM 1931, S F Markham (ed) *A Directory of Museums and Art Galleries in the British Isles compiled by the Museums Association*
- MACGREGOR 1998, A MacGregor 'Antiquity inventoried: museums and "national antiquities" in the mid nineteenth century' in V Brand (ed) *The Study of the Past in the Victorian Age*
- MILLER 1973, E Miller *That Noble Cabinet: A History of the British Museum*
- PHYSICK 1982, J Physick *The Victoria and Albert Museum. The History of its Building*
- SHEPPARD 1991, F Sheppard *The Treasury of London's Past: an Historical Account of the Museum of London and its Predecessors the Guildhall Museum and the London Museum*
- TAYLOR 1999, B Taylor *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public, 1747–2001*
- TIMBS 1855, J Timbs *Curiosities of London: Exhibiting the Most Rare and Remarkable Objects of Interest in the Metropolis*
- WILSON 2002, D M Wilson *The British Museum, A History*

REVIEWS

Pre-Boudican and Later Activity on the Site of the Forum. By Lesley Dunwoodie. Museum of London Archaeology Service Archaeology Studies Series 13, 2004. Pp. xii + 67, 49 figs, 23 tables. ISBN 1 901992 53 5. Price: £7.95 pb.

A Prestigious Roman Building Complex on the Southwark Waterfront. By Brian Yule. Museum of London Archaeology Service Monograph 23, 2005. Pp. xiv + 189, 111 figs, 49 tables. ISBN 1 901992 51 9. Price: £16.95 pb.

These two splendid volumes in the Museum of London's attractive and affordable monograph series add significant new information to our understanding of the public architecture of Roman London. The first volume, on excavations undertaken at 168 Fenchurch Street between 1995 and 2000, refines our understanding of the south range of the Roman forum. When the Museum of London started its selective investigation of test pits and pile locations, in a programme designed to preserve most surviving remains *in situ*, the site had already been the subject of three earlier archaeological excavations. It seemed unlikely that much would emerge from this cautious return to such well-trod ground. Instead old evidence and new findings are brought together to add valuable detail. Whilst there are no surprises here, our understanding of matters of sequence, location, date, and architectural form are all brought into sharper focus.

The reconstructed story confirms the planned layout of an area at the heart of the settlement that housed military or commercial stores prior to the Boudican revolt of AD 60–61, including a store of imported grain that was torched in the rebellion. A decade-long hiatus after the revolt was followed by the construction of the early forum, which was replaced by the massive complex of AD 100–130. Foundations associated with 4th-century buildings add to

our awareness of the extent of the late antique transformation of this civic space. What makes this report such a pleasure is the close dialogue established between the site sequences and the artefactual and ecofactual assemblages, the tight focus of the report on a clearly understood structural sequence, and the constant high quality of the illustrations. This is also an advert for the operation of planning policy in the City of London: the site was redeveloped, the archaeological monument preserved, new information gained, and the results of research published speedily and in full. What more could one want? It consequently seems almost churlish to note my minor disagreement with some of the conclusions reached, but the discussion of contrasting military and civilian influences in the early organisation of the settlement may be beside the point. Civilian contractors were engaged in military supply, and this is perhaps how London originated: a site that was both military and civilian, administrative and mercantile.

The publication of the report on Brian Yule's excavations at Winchester Palace represents an even more valuable contribution to our understanding of the archaeology of Roman London, although it also serves as a reminder of how differently archaeology was organised in the late 1980s. Although the site was a Scheduled Ancient Monument, a rescue excavation was organised with funds that proved insufficient for the task in hand. Not all areas were completely excavated and the post-excavation enterprise was unusually complicated and demanding. These problems are reflected in the density and complexity of the volume reviewed here, and in the selective approach adopted to the analysis of some artefact assemblages. This is consequently a less 'perfect' volume than the Fenchurch Street report, but it is undoubtedly the more important.

Here, for the first time, we are given the full account of the palace complex built on the south bank of the Roman Thames. The post-Roman findings are to be published elsewhere. The first half of the volume describes the structural history of the site, whilst the second presents a series of detailed specialist appendices. Amongst many useful contributions those on the painted wall plaster (Richenda Goffin) and soil micromorphology from dark earth deposits (Richard Macphail) stand out as particularly interesting. The architectural sequence included roads, waterfront reclamation, and clay and timber buildings, laid out in a planned fashion in the decade after AD 50. The possibility of a military involvement in this large-scale and ordered episode of town planning is admitted. Destruction debris found on the waterfront derived from a precociously early masonry building, dated AD 60–80, that had been decorated with unusually fine painted wall plaster in a decorative scheme of provincial fashion that finds closest parallel at Cologne. A later phase of masonry construction, dated c.AD 80, included a building with raised floors and an associated circular building. Yule suggests that these buildings may have been part of a granary, although the alternative hypothesis that they were part of a heated building seems more convincing.

A major programme of rebuilding, dated c.AD 125, involved the construction of a range of rooms overlooking the river. A bath-house built to the rear of the building complex incorporated richly decorated wall-paintings (one of which is now on display in the Museum of London) and imported marble veneers. The high status nature of the occupation is confirmed by the report on the animal bone, which describes a prevalence of pig matched in Britain only by the villa-palace at Fishbourne. Stamped tiles of the *Classis Britannica* and rib-vaulting voussoirs of the type normally only found associated with military or official establishments were used in the construction of this building complex. A 3rd-century marble inscription listing a detachment of soldiers by cohort was recovered from debris within the baths. Although much of this epigraphic information has already been published elsewhere this report sets it in context.

The evidence leads inexorably to the conclusion that these palatial buildings were associated with the military and provincial administration. Although Yule favours the idea that the palace of

the provincial governor would have been located elsewhere in London, within easier reach of the troops stationed in the Cripplegate fort, we are left in little doubt that important officials were quartered here in a palace that commanded views across the Thames towards the city that was laid out around the civic buildings found at Fenchurch Street. If encouraged to speculate, I would guess that most of this stretch of the south bank had been Imperial property from the outset: incorporating the domestic quarters and reception facilities where even emperors might have made home when passing through London. But we cannot really know, and Yule sensibly avoids going further than the evidence permits. What is certain, however, is that the excavations at Winchester Palace have considerably advanced our understanding of élite and public architecture in Roman Britain, and raised a series of new and exciting questions about how Southwark may have differed from the settlement on the north bank of the Thames, and how in turn London served the needs of the Roman administration. My congratulations to all involved in the production of both of these excellent volumes.

Dominic Perring

Roman and Medieval Cripplegate, City of London: Archaeological Excavations 1992–1998. By Elizabeth Howe and David Lakin. Museum of London Archaeology Service Monograph 21, 2004. Pp. xiv + 144, 93 figs, 22 tables. ISBN 1 901992 42 X. Price: £13.95 pb.

This MoLAS monograph describes a series of excavations undertaken in an area within and to the south of the Roman fort. The results of five excavations carried out between 1992 and 1998, as well as those from other excavations within and close to the fort, are discussed. Re-development of a number of sites has allowed the examination of an extensive area and added to the significant discoveries made by Professor Grimes and the Roman and Medieval Excavation London Council. The excavations also revealed medieval development including substantial masonry buildings, bone working and metal working, and high status finds.

War-time bombing and subsequent demolition left a large part of this area of the City vacant. The investigations of the Roman defences by Grimes led to the discovery of the Roman fort

and an understanding of its relationship with the later Roman defences, described by Grimes as his most satisfying archaeological achievement. Whereas Grimes focused on the defences, with some work on the internal arrangements of the fort, MoLAS investigated a wider area, part of the southern defences, the area to the south, and, most importantly, the internal planning of the south-west area, previously less well understood. This has added considerably to Grimes' work, enhancing understanding and interpretation of this major feature of Roman London, and providing more precise dating evidence. Also considered is the possible relationship of the fort and the Roman amphitheatre and possible construction of the fort within a public building programme.

The sites excavated are in areas where it was once thought that 1950s office developments had severely truncated deposits. Part of the western fort wall, internal turrets, and the city wall are preserved in a garden, however the exact alignment of the southern fort wall, and whether it had survived, was not known. In fact, the level of survival in many areas, below basements and between piled foundations, would have surprised Grimes.

Within the fort, evidence for parts of six buildings, five roads, and a section of the southern robbed wall was recorded. Another section of *in-situ* south wall was investigated at 25 Gresham Street. The overall dimensions of five of the six buildings could be established and painted plaster gives a hint of interior decoration. As elsewhere, there is a difficulty in interpretation of finds on military sites and there is a low number of finds with a military association — six military artefacts and two with a probable military function recovered by MoLAS, and only four military objects by Grimes. Also lacking is any epigraphic evidence.

Of great importance is new dating evidence for the fort. The establishment of roads was integral with the fort construction and pottery from deposits forming the primary metalling of one road is dated to AD 100–160, or possibly 100–120. In addition, there is evidence that pre-fort, Flavian, buildings went out of use c. AD 100, pottery from pits below one fort road and building is dated AD 60–100 and 70–100 respectively. PPBR(I)LON stamped tiles may have been used in the fort construction; if so, building is unlikely to have occurred much after AD 125. The possible use of stamped tiles

indicates public works or procurement; this is a cautious suggestion as no tiles were found within an *in-situ* fort structure and they may have come from an unrelated building. The third decade of the 2nd century is now suggested for construction of the fort, slightly later than the date suggested by Grimes.

The proximity of the fort to the amphitheatre, its construction at the same time as the rebuilding of the amphitheatre in stone, and the location of both on the periphery of the Roman town is discussed. The presence of tile stamps suggests a link between the fort and amphitheatre and other public building work, such as the Huggin Hill baths and the forum and basilica. The function and administrative role of the fort is also considered.

The date of the abandonment of the fort presents difficulties due to truncation; it may have fallen out of use about the end of the 2nd century. The area appears to have been marginal, and largely abandoned until the late 11th or early 12th century, with construction of masonry buildings in the later 12th century. The establishment of a number of streets and churches and Goldsmiths' Hall in the 12th century is known from documentary sources. The structural evidence for these later periods is limited, but occupation was dense, including cellared buildings, and it is complemented by the finds assemblages and environmental evidence. Domestic occupation, as well as industrial activity such as metal working, butchery or a secondary animal products activity, was recorded. Falconry and high status occupation is indicated by the presence of bones from a peregrine falcon. In the later medieval period there is a concentration of churches, Livery Company Halls, and townhouses. The street pattern established in the 12th century survived largely unchanged until development in the post-War period.

The monograph is, like others in this series, readable and well illustrated. It is set out as a chronological narrative, and, although there is some repetition in the phase discussions, the development of the fort and the later history is clear to follow. The medieval and later evidence is enhanced by the range of finds which build up a picture of this part of the City. The principal importance of the monograph is the fort, and it would have been helpful to include a suggested reconstruction of the defences and buildings to illustrate the character of the structure; however,

limited evidence of the superstructure of the barrack buildings would not make this easy.

The work complements and adds to that of Grimes, and restates the importance of his findings, obtained in less than ideal circumstances. The ability in the 1950s and again in the 1990s to investigate a wider landscape is very beneficial. As ever, the monograph has to be read with a number of other publications, but is not diminished by this, and usefully includes results from other sites. Clearly, the interpretation and understanding of this area will change with new evidence.

Inevitably, questions remain about the history and development of the area, which may be elucidated by further work. In addition to outstanding aspects of the fort, the relative absence of evidence from AD 400–1000, the rapid development of the early medieval street pattern, and the concentration of Livery Company Halls and churches, are all interesting factors, made more so by their proximity to Guildhall, and the fact that the fort and amphitheatre formerly occupied the area.

Kathryn Stubbs

Tatberht's Lundewic: Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London. By Jim Leary with Gary Brown, James Rackham, Chris Pickard and Richard Hughes. Pre-Construct Archaeology Monograph 2, 2004. Pp. xvi + 162, 78 figs, 49 tables. ISBN 0 9542938 1 9. Price: £14.95 pb.

From the back cover of this book we learn that 'Tatberht lived on a farmstead on the outskirts of Lundewic between the 8th and 9th centuries ...'. One may be forgiven for thinking this sounds like the opening of a story for children set in Saxon London. In fact the title *Tatberht's Lundewic* belies the contents — the book is about both more, and less, than Tatberht and his town.

Twenty-five years ago, the concept of a whole book devoted to excavations in 'Middle Saxon London' would have been unthinkable. Since the realisation in the mid-1980s that the Saxon trading town that contemporaries called 'Lundewic' stood not within the old Roman walls of *Londinium* but further to the west, we have become used to the idea that any archaeological investigation on a site between Trafalgar Square and Aldwych is likely to produce evidence of settlement in the 8th and 9th centuries, and

usually earlier. This publication is a worthy addition to the growing corpus of site reports from this area.

It deals with four excavations, scattered across the area: at the National Portrait Gallery, on what is generally assumed to be the western outskirts of the Saxon settlement, amid brickearth quarry pits; at Maiden Lane, adjacent to one of the first sites on which the Museum of London's Department of Greater London Archaeology recorded Saxon features in 1986; at James Street, north of the Royal Opera House; and at the Lyceum Theatre, closer to the supposed eastern edge of the town. The sites were of different sizes and complexity; the Lyceum site in particular was heavily truncated, with 9th-century levels surviving only where they had slumped into earlier pits. None of them was very rich in finds, as a glance through the illustrations shows, although all produced a good range of local and imported pottery, loomweights, traces of bone and antler working, and important environmental evidence.

But each of the sites had its own special features. At James Street an early burial underlay buildings, while the discovery of charred remains of bees inspires a useful digression on the evidence for bee-keeping and the economic importance of honey. The Lyceum site seems to have housed a pork butcher. Maiden Lane allows the reconsideration of the earlier DGLA excavation, with its late defensive(?) ditch. Philip Armitage, discussing the animal bone from the National Portrait Gallery site, argues that this site was 'a net livestock producer' rather than 'an urban consumption site' like the others; hence it is characterised in a chapter heading as a 'suburban farmstead'.

The National Portrait Gallery also produced the mutton bone on which Tatberht and his friend 'Dric' had scratched their names in runes. Ray Page provides a scholarly report on these inscriptions. Sadly the find cannot be dated closely either by stratigraphy or by the form of the runes. We cannot be sure that Tatberht lived on the site; we cannot even be sure that he was a Londoner, although we — and the authors of this book titled in his honour — would like to think so. These names bring us extraordinarily close to real individuals in a society that was largely illiterate — perhaps Tatberht is the first Saxon Londoner we know by name.

The book also contains a valuable (if unexpected) chapter by Richard Hughes on wattle and

daub, arising from a technical study of fired daub from the National Portrait Gallery site and extending to the results of experiments in construction and burning of wattle and daub.

So what is it that links these scattered sites — apart from the fact that they were excavated over a period of seven years by one archaeological unit? In an introduction, Ian Riddler suggests that their value lies particularly in demonstrating the localisation of activities within the area of *Lundenwic* — and the final chapter, titled 'Facets of Tatberht's *Lundenwic*' returns to this theme, especially in James Rackham's contribution on the environmental evidence. Jim Leary's own contribution to the final chapter places the sites within a useful overall assessment of the sequence of settlement in *Lundenwic*. These general discussions give the report a significance beyond London, and allow comparisons to be made with contemporary patterns of settlement elsewhere.

The index is fairly exhaustive (with 22 references for 'pig bones' for example) but eccentric. Unusually, it contains entries for authors cited in the text, but only if they occur there in the form 'Smith (1994, 123) argues that ...' and not if their name is in brackets as in 'It has been argued (Smith 1994, 123) that ...'. An entry for 'Rackham and Snelling' takes us to page 42 where we read 'Rackham and Snelling set out below detailed analysis of the faunal and botanical data' (a cross-reference to the section on environmental archaeology later in the same chapter). This is a harmless quirk that does not detract from the usefulness of the index — not so long ago we would have lamented the usual lack of an index in an archaeological report like this.

The book is well-produced, with good illustrations, including the now quite common ration of colour photographs and plans. At a very reasonable price, it warrants a place on any archaeologist's bookshelf.

John Clark

Charters of St Paul's, London. Edited by S E Kelly. British Academy and Oxford University Press, Anglo-Saxon Charters Vol X. Pp. xxvi + 243, 2 figs, 2 maps. ISBN 0 19 726299 6. Price: £45.00 hb.

The aim of this British Academy series, which started slowly in the 1970s but has picked up impressive speed during the last decade, is to provide a comprehensive modern edition of England's Anglo-Saxon charters. Each volume so

far has covered a separate religious house, with St Paul's the tenth in the series and the sixth to be edited by Dr Susan Kelly.

It has proved her most challenging assignment, partly because of London's uniquely complex historical framework, but also because of the lamentable state of the archive. The study of charters depends ideally on single-sheet originals, though these are always rare, and then on medieval cartularies which can be assessed for date, reliability and so on. St Paul's has no originals, and its main (indeed only) reliable cartulary for pre-Conquest material vanished during the Commonwealth period, leaving only incomplete extracts by three 17th-century antiquaries. One of Dr Kelly's most impressive pieces of detective work is to reconstruct a significant part of the cartulary from these overlapping fragments.

Detective work is really the key to this volume, both to its importance and to its fascination. The study of diplomatic (the phraseology of charters) may sound forbidding, and indeed it is not something that everyone can usefully try at home, but watching an expert at the top of her game, and seeing exactly how the pool of knowledge is widening and deepening as the series proceeds, is both enjoyable and heartening. Dr Kelly and her colleagues are developing a tool of sufficient precision to make archaeologists weep with envy.

The volume includes 31 'charters' relating to St Paul's (No. 25, the list of contributions towards manning a ship c. AD 1000, is hardly a charter), plus one relating to the London *cnihtengild*; appendices also provide Bishop Wealdhere's letter of 704 x 705, Bishop Theodore's will of 942 x 953, and two post-Conquest vernacular agreements concerning land in the chapter manor of Sandon (Herts). English translations are only provided where the texts are exclusively in Old English and the absence of translations from Latin is obviously a handicap, although it is still possible to follow the substance of the texts as well as the run of the argument in the long individual commentaries. Providing translation from Latin probably needs reconsideration, but one would certainly have to pity the translator: some of the extremes of the 10th-century 'educated' style are neatly caught in listing the range of pretentious words employed for bishop and archbishop (No. 19).

Since the layout is standard across the series, one thing that the steering committee definitely does need to reconsider is the bibliography.

The list of contents provides no hint of one, but includes 'Abbreviations', a section in fact divided into 'Abbreviations' and 'Bibliographical abbreviations'. Since most of the footnote references are abbreviated, the latter functions as a fairly complete bibliography, and, or but, looks misleadingly like the complete one that it is not. Some important unabbreviated references are excluded.

The bibliography is particularly important because this series is so much more ambitious than the pioneering 19th-century editions it is at last replacing. Not only do the editors describe and collate the various manuscript and published versions with exemplary care, and analyse the charters' wording minutely for authenticity, but they also provide detailed histories of the given church. Dr Kelly's section on the early history of London and St Paul's occupies the first 60 pages of the book, and her separate section on the estates of the bishop and cathedral a further 27. These are essential and rewarding reading. Dr Kelly provides an assured summary of the extremely complicated political context within which Anglo-Saxon St Paul's had always to operate, not least its recurrent need to serve two, or more, temporal masters simultaneously — East Saxon, Mercian, West Saxon, Viking. Her interest in London's early trade means that she pays more solid attention to *Lundenwic*, the extramural 8th- and 9th-century trading settlement along the Strand, than a less generous series might have allowed her.

Charters record grants, usually of land or of liberties (judicial rights and privileges). Since liberties changed over time, so did the wording of grants, making them fairly easy prey for fake-spotters. The same rigour can and must be applied to grants of land, and it has long been known, for example, that the post-Conquest canons' favourite title deed, an alleged confirmation of their estates by King Aethelred, is a total forgery of the early 12th century. It is arguable, however, that a primary, and mistrustful, fascination with documents *per se*, rather than with the lands they represent, can lead to some unwillingness to contemplate the overall wood as well as its constituent trees.

Dr Kelly provides an oversimplified antithesis between her own view of estate accumulation, always in small chunks and easily lost, and an alternative of larger blocks and one-way enhancement. In fact there is unanimity that estates were always added to, exchanged or

lost, but also significant acceptance of a real difference between early endowment and later and lesser grants. Ros Faith's *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (1997) is not cited. Dr Kelly's summary of the evolving separation of the bishopric and chapter endowment is excellent, but she ignores the likely division of early endowment, even though it might help explain the canons' resort to forgery. Any early grant mentions only one place, the estate centre, but covers a wide area; division and the creation of a new estate centre is easy, but the single original deed still carries the single place-name. She also assumes that both sides found it necessary to create missing titles, without explaining the apparent absence of anything for episcopal Stepney or Clacton. And she forgets that it was only the chapter endowment that weathered the Reformation unchanged.

But these are minor caveats, and alternative perspectives are available in Derek Keene *et al* (eds), *St Paul's: the Cathedral Church of London 604–2004* (2004). St Paul's was well served in its centenary year, and particularly on the documentary side Dr Kelly's contribution will remain unmatched.

Pamela Taylor

Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, City of London: an Archaeological Reconstruction and History. By John Schofield and Richard Lea. Museum of London Archaeology Service Monograph 24, 2005. Pp. xvii + 285, 214 figs, 33 tables. ISBN 1 901992 45 4. Price: £32.95 pb.

This is a hard-working and attractively produced report, and its importance is out of all proportion to the relatively small area excavated. Holy Trinity was a particularly interesting house of Augustinian Canons. The earliest founded and most wealthy of London houses, its contemporary significance was marked by the burial here in 1147 x 8 of royal children Baldwin and Matilda. However, the two well-known surveys by John Symonds, dating from shortly after the Dissolution (re-dated here to c.1585), give the site an additional value to monastic scholarship and to our understandings of the early modern town. Carefully studied here, they reveal significant details, both about the original monastery and about the way in which its buildings were converted into a great house and other properties after 1534.

Symonds' surveys are also critical when interpreting the twelve interventions within the precinct studied in this monograph; particularly those between 1977 and 1990, which included fabric study of the remains of the south transept chapel and the south choir wall. Along with other drawings showing fragments of the buildings made during 18th- and 19th-century redevelopment (particularly those by John Carter), this wealth of evidence is used to propose detailed reconstructions of the 12th-century east end of the monastic church. The reconstructions prompt parallel studies of the building's architectural context, which are careful, and well-justified. If they occasionally sound less plausible than they might, it is because such similar conclusions are repeatedly reached by different authors. Indeed this complex report really does call out for a single voice collecting together the many important points being made in disparate 'conclusion' sections.

Such reconstructions alone would mark the report out amongst its peers, but there are also studies of the priory's physical location within this part of the City, and of its place within the local parish structure. The latter turns out to be quite complex and is, perhaps, not fully resolved here. Also included is an important discussion of burial behaviour in London between the 11th and 16th centuries and another on architectural competition amongst the various London monastic houses. From the section called 'Conclusion', however, you might get the impression that the minutiae of ecclesiastical layout, architecture, and dating are the most important results of the project. In fact these other studies, and the detailed reconstruction of the large townhouse built in the western cloistral range by Sir Thomas Audley and the Duke of Norfolk, are just as significant. Rather than the excellent reconstruction of the monastery at c.1500 (fig 140), I can see the computer-generated colour reconstruction of the site in c.1570 (fig 147) becoming a new perennial in books on monastic archaeology (and, indeed, on urbanism and architectural history more widely).

Audley's house had a long gallery above the former north nave aisle (with loggia below), leading to an enormous 'banqueting house' at first floor level within the crossing, with huge windows looking east and west. That to the west, in particular, facing back down the un-roofed nave, overlooked a garden created within its

ruins, the gradual demolition of which is also charted. One could take a purely functional view of this; the monastic buildings being merely convenient shells in which to build a cheap townhouse. But those huge windows were created to capture a vista and the view was literally one of the dissolution of the Old Religion — almost nothing else was visible through them. After 1536, Audley might have created such a view specifically to please his monarch and, even if it was not this reforming protestant's doing, Norfolk accommodated both Elizabeth the First and John Fox here. Though we do not know where in the house Fox actually lived, you have to wonder what the author of *Acts and Monuments* must have thought as he looked down on the ruins of the church of the Old Faith beneath him.

Whilst Fox lived in Norfolk's converted nave and cloister, the former outer court was occupied by (amongst others) the immigrant potter Jacob Jansen, who pioneered tin-glazed earthenware manufacture in England, and this ceramic assemblage sheds vital new light on his work. Nor was Jansen the only 'stranger' living here; this was also home to the Jewish community invited to immigrate by Cromwell in 1657, and the material culture of this early settlement is also of great potential significance (though, admittedly, not fully exploited here). The report also includes a section on the conservation of this chapel within the new building on the site, which many will remember from news broadcasts in 1985.

In an archaeological report of less importance, the short study of the Museum's group of 'Cologne-style' stove tiles by David Gaimster would stand out, but here it is just one more thing that makes this report a 'must-have' for students of monastic and post-medieval archaeology alike. So is it five-in-a-row for MoLAS? Although it is invidious to compare the five reports on monastic houses produced since 1997, they have given us a remarkable assemblage. Holy Trinity adds further glamour to the series; it is up there with St Mary Spital and St John Clerkenwell amongst the more important contributions made in this generation to monastic archaeology.

David Stocker

London 5: East. By Bridget Cherry, Charles O'Brien and Nikolaus Pevsner. The Buildings of England series, Yale University Press, 2005. Pp. xxi + 864, 128 colour pls, maps. ISBN 0 300 10701 3. Price: £29.95 hb.

London 5: East completes the Buildings of England's coverage of the Greater London area, replacing Pevsner's original three volumes (*London 1*, *London 2*, and *Middlesex*) with a series of six. Unlike most areas of the country, where the original county boundaries have been maintained, the London books include those parts of Kent, Surrey, and Essex which have formed part of Greater London since 1965. The result is a magnificent series which for the first time provides a really detailed survey not just of the centre but of the outer areas and suburbs as well.

East London has been particularly neglected in conventional architectural histories and although it has a strong local history tradition, there have been few works in which the two strands have been brought together. Pevsner in the original *London 2* which covered Stepney, Poplar, and Bethnal Green gave them only a fleeting and sceptical glance. He wrote of Bethnal Green that 'it does not call for a proper perambulation' especially for 'those who are not interested in C19 and C20 mass housing'. Mass housing, public and private, remains of course a dominant theme, along with trade and immigration. While behind everything lies the Thames and its histories of trade, industry, and transport. Even the rural Essex villages were shaped by their role as retreats for wealthy City escapees, while the River Lea created a second industrial channel inland. Given the inescapable physical presence of trade and manufacture in the area, the volume pays far greater attention to the social, economic, and political context than most others. The authors specifically place themselves in a tradition of research that began with the *Survey of London* and while the guides undoubtedly remain surveys, the depth and range of interpretation offered here, particularly in the introductory essays, to my mind marks the maturing of a new-style Buildings of England approach.

This particularly comes to the fore in discussions of the vicissitudes of housing policy through the 20th century. Nowhere perhaps have these been so dramatically and vividly played out as in East London. The authors outline the history

of the eastern suburbs from their original role as a combination of low-quality over-spill in the inner areas and genteel retreats in the outer, through their rapid urbanisation in the 19th century, to slum clearance and model housing schemes in the pre-War period, and then post-War reconstruction. This history can be traced in a sequence of famous pioneering developments from the LCC Boundary Estate 1893–96, to exhibition housing at Gidea Park in 1911 and 1934, through to the new garden city at Becontree of 1935 — the first of the LCC's 'out-county' estates. After the War the contrast between the Festival of Britain showpiece Lansbury Estate with the two brutalist monuments straddling the entrance to the Blackwell Tunnel — Goldfinger's Balfron Tower and Robin Hood Gardens by the Smithsons — showed the varied directions which British modernism took in the 1950s and 60s. The turn away from modernism was galvanised by the collapse of Ronan Point in Newham in 1968. This substantially contributed to a climate in which not just high rises but the whole concept of social housing came into question. The most significant monument to Thatcherite privatisation is unarguably the redevelopment of Docklands by the LDDC from 1981 culminating in Canary Wharf. This is a process which continues to this day, especially with the now successful Olympic bid and increased housing pressure along the Thames corridor and in the South-East more generally. East London has always been a laboratory for new housing types and as the authors write 'remains a lively focus for debate on what form suburbs should take'.

The industrial archaeology and history of Docklands in this volume is a condensed version of that to be found in the 1998 Buildings of England paperback *London Docklands*. For those wanting the fullest possible account the latter will remain the definitive guide, especially as it can incorporate the south bank. All the Pevsner guides require the drawing of artificial boundaries. Many might wish to see Hackney included in an East London volume, for example, but it is the outer Essex areas that perhaps suffer most under the arrangement adopted here. There is inevitably more emphasis given to the denser inner areas than the outer villages. Aspects such as developments in Essex parish church architecture, for instance, do not receive as full a treatment as they might if they were considered alongside the rest of the county which has a remarkable ecclesiastical heritage.

Religious buildings in general are another dominant type, as they were often the only monumental architecture to be found in relatively poor areas prior to the institutional building wave of the 19th and 20th centuries. As with housing, the volume contains some notable examples from the complete Norman survival of St Helen and St Giles, Rainham through to Hawksmoor's magnificent 'Stepney Three'. There are the great 19th-century Anglican churches, such as Teulon's St Mark's, Silvertown, and also less well-known remarkable 1960s churches at Bethnal Green and Bow. The history of religious building naturally brings in the theme of immigration beginning with non-conformism in the 18th century which included, besides home-grown varieties, meeting houses for Lutherans, Danes, and Huguenots. The chapel of the latter group is now the Great Mosque in Fournier Street, evidence of a more recent history of immigration. From the 19th century there is the wonderfully evocative former synagogue in Spitalfields and completing the story to date the East London Mosque in Whitechapel Road.

In conclusion, besides echoing the praise that the series has already deservedly received, one can only add heartfelt thanks on the completion of a remarkable feat, one for which students and lovers of London's architecture will be grateful for generations to come.

Elizabeth McKellar

The Tower of London Moat: Archaeological Excavations 1995–9. By Graham Keevill. Oxford Archaeology and Historic Royal Palaces, Historic Royal Palaces Monograph 1, 2004. Pp. xix + 315, 183 figs, 15 tables. ISBN 0 904220 33 4. Price: £14.99 pb.

Published by the Historic Royal Palaces in conjunction with Oxford Archaeology, this well-produced book is a welcome addition to archaeological monographs on London's archaeology and hopefully an example of an increasing appreciation of high quality production values in archaeological monographs, although quite why the figure and table numbering sequence is changed for the appendices is something of a mystery.

The book details the history of the Tower of London moat from its origins in the 11th century right up to the present day and also includes an introduction which briefly summarises the

history of the area prior to the construction of the Tower, a brief summary of the history of the Tower itself, and the background to the current phase of work: the proposal to reflood the moat. Efforts have also been made to include the results from previous archaeological investigations in the Tower moat, particularly those by Peter Curnow, although as so often is the case, the records are not always of the same quality as those produced today.

The inclusion of the moat's history in the 19th and 20th centuries is to be applauded but perhaps the most significant new information relates to Henry III's moat. This includes stone and timber elements interpreted as the foundation of a 13th-century bridge and tower which collapsed later in the 13th century. The extensive dendrochronological work carried out on the beech piles by Ian Tyers proves conclusively that they were cut down as part of a single campaign in the winter of 1240–41. Other possibilities for the function of this structure are considered, including that the tower was part of a curtain wall rather than an independent structure, which would certainly have rewritten the history of the Tower and, indeed, the influence of Edward I and his engineers on concentric castle design. This latter interpretation is probably rightly dismissed eventually, but the discovery of a 13th-century gate tower and bridge is still of considerable significance and provides archaeological evidence to support and explain contemporary documentary evidence that has long puzzled historians.

Other new discoveries of particular interest relate to the mill and the massive 14th-century Iron Gate causeway that replaced it in the southwest corner of the Tower moat and the Lion Tower on the opposite side, although the latter investigations were carried out for television purposes rather than as part of the research evaluations in the moat itself.

The book provides a generally highly readable synthesis of the excavations, although it sometimes falls between two stools: on the one hand giving a layperson's explanation of dendrochronology and on the other providing frequent detailed descriptions of soil micromorphology and construction details which might have been summarised and the detail left to the archive. A particular example of this is Ch 9, 'Six Hundred Years of Water Depth and Quality: 1240–1843'. This section takes account of all the available data — historic, stratigraphic,

and environmental — but presents them as separate pieces of work without integrating them. The level of detail in some of these sections is far greater than in others which gives a rather unbalanced look and the resulting concluding statement is rather short. The chapter does tell us, however, that water from the city ditch and from general 'run-off' played a significant part in the filling of the moat and that it was not all Thames derived. Slightly less surprising is the discovery that the moat became increasingly stagnant and polluted: after all this was the reason for Wellington's insistence that the moat be drained in the first place. The historical information is, however, much more successfully integrated.

The plans and drawings are excellent, although a conjectured plan of Henry III's moat should have been included as the text can be quite hard to follow without it, and the quality of the site photographs often leaves much to be desired.

One slight criticism is the lack of a concluding statement: one paragraph on p 220 does not do the work or the scheme justice. I would have liked to have known Keevill's views on the Heritage Lottery Fund's rejection of the scheme to reflood the moat, how he thought research on the moat or indeed the Tower as a whole might be further advanced, and whether his work had met the aims that they must have set before they started.

The main concern with this work is not what it contains but whether such limited evaluation warranted such a voluminous publication. There must surely be a gap in the archaeological publication market for a full synthetic study of the Tower of London including its moat but this volume is not intended to be that book and perhaps this data should have been published in shorter format elsewhere. Nonetheless one should not be too churlish about archaeologists publishing detailed examinations of their work especially when they are as generally well written as this.

Chris Thomas

The Cistercian Abbey of St Mary Stratford Langthorne, Essex: Archaeological Excavations for the London Underground Limited Jubilee Line Extension Project. By Bruno Barber, Steve Chew, Tony Dyson and Bill White. Museum of London Archaeology Service Monograph 18, 2004. Pp. xiv + 197, 194 figs, 26 tables. ISBN 1 901 992 38 1. Price: £18.95 pb.

When I was becoming alert to the wider background to my own activities, in the middle decades of the last century, there was general concern about excavations not being 'written up', either not at all or only after lengthy delay. London had a large backlog, while there was ever-increasing archaeological activity, dictated by the pace of redevelopment. The general impression was that while massive amounts of data were being recovered from very large excavations, it was being 'archived', undigested and accessible (in pre-computer days) only to the privileged few. Since then, much has changed, especially through the role of the Museum of London Archaeology Service as a major publisher of monographs.

St Mary Stratford Langthorne is another MoLAS volume on major research projects relating to all periods in the London area; and the third on its monastic sites, the preceding one being that on the London Charterhouse (MoLAS Monograph 10, 2002). These both illustrate the fundamental changes that have been seen in modern archaeological work on monastic houses (especially those of the Cistercians), eschewing the methods of the 19th and earlier 20th centuries that consisted principally of 'clearance and consolidation of the remains for public preservation and edification'.

Research on St Mary's was initiated by the Passmore Edwards Museum in 1973–74 and continued more recently by MoLAS. The latter was necessitated by the impending construction of the Jubilee Line Extension. In an area of Greater London which was heavily disturbed by Victorian buildings and railways, it was not possible to examine the whole Cistercian precinct in the manner that has developed in open countryside such as Bordesley (Redditch, Worcs). The excavation areas were nevertheless extensive enough to recreate the layout of the buildings and monastic areas. The report follows what is now an 'integrated' triple structure of chronological narrative (prehistoric to post-Dissolution), thematic sections, and specialist appendices.

Prehistoric, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon features and finds are few. The site as a monastic house began as a Savigniac foundation in 1135, only 12 years later being affiliated with the other monasteries of this order to Citeaux. The text proper begins with the historical background of monastic settlement on flat marshlands, with St Mary Stratford, although only three miles from London, 'secluded' by its topography and marshy ground. The extent of destruction of the area and the limited evidence of truncated stratification might well have discouraged excavation; but the reconstruction of the plans of the precinct and those of the church and other buildings are skilfully achieved. The chronology of the site is summarised in two main phases: the original foundation in the late 12th–early 13th centuries, and the expansion of the monastery in the later 13th–mid-14th centuries. There is clear discrete discussion of the evidence of the written sources and that from archaeological evidence.

The 50 pages comprising the main part of the book discuss 'aspects of the medieval monastery'. This is a very readable account of the plans of the precinct and church, the demography of the community, the cemeteries, and the role and economy of the monastery in the London and wider Cistercian worlds.

The excavation of the first unaisled church was restricted to its north-eastern area, comprising the north transept, chapels, and part of the adjoining wall foundations. Nevertheless, it was possible to suggest a reconstruction of the whole plan of the 'modest' church, in a traditional Benedictine plan, built *c.*1147–70. Other parts of the monastic layout of this phase are reconstructed only in outline. The church was 'substantially rebuilt' after *c.*1180. A north aisle was added, as well as works probably associated with a crossing tower; the north transept and its chapels were extended north. The appearance of the church can to some extent be envisaged from stone, ceramic, glass, and other materials found in the destruction levels; features associated with the construction process include a lead-working hearth and a lime-kiln.

Cemeteries developed outside, to the north-west and north-east of the church. These are discussed in the context of the development of the precinct. The dead have survived better than the buildings. They provide important evidence for 'the people of the monastery', although it is not easy to be sure which burials were actually of monks; male skeletons do outnumber females

by 19:1. General discussion is of the overall recovered population — a total of over 600 individuals. Such a number allows comparison with other Cistercian cemeteries, such as Bordesley and St Mary Graces in London. The section on health, disease, and medical care emphasises the relatively low expectation of life — possibly shortened by malaria in the marshland setting and by the general hard labour expected of Cistercian monks. Medical care, as evidenced by the treatment of fractures, was relatively poor in comparison with other monastic cemeteries. There is an interesting discussion of the possible effect of a passage from the letters of Bernard of Clairvaux relevant to the early fundamentalist Cistercians: '... I consider the sickness of the soul is much more to be feared and avoided than bodily sickness.' In contrast to 'spiritual cures and simple medicines', one adult male skeleton at Stratford had a perforated copper-alloy disc between the knees, interpreted as a permanent splint, a feature noted elsewhere in monastic cemeteries.

The form of burial ranged from simple graves (some no more than 'scoops'), to a small number of wooden coffins and a few lead or stone coffins. There were three 'charcoal' burials and two stone 'pillows' and head niches. Alignments were west–east, although with a wide range between 56 degrees and 105 degrees around the east end. There was a range of body positions, dominated by 'hands over pelvis'. One skeleton was prone, for which ingenious reasons are put forward; another had reversed orientation. There is evidence of shrouds (pins), 'lace ends', and buckles. Amongst the rare grave finds were chalices and patens and a gold finger ring. The Stratford Langthorne mortuary evidence and its wide discussion are a valuable addition to the enormous data that have been recovered from the many thousand London Christian graves — what is clear is that individual graves and areas were not all the same. As discussion of medieval mortuary practice is consolidated, the Stratford data will become more important; they provide an excellent model and foretaste of what will be more fully realised elsewhere.

After all the structural and mortuary data, the sections on artefacts and other aspects of material culture seem rather the routine descriptions to be found in any monograph on a medieval excavation. They are however necessary, succinct, and, like the major parts of the report, clearly set out.

My only difficulty is one shared by many octogenarians like myself: that of pulling together the evidence that ranges through summary discussion, primary data, and detailed appendices. For instance, the reader interested in the archaeology of the dead will find that a full appreciation will require three parts of the volume, with some repetition of details. In other words, one needs to study the *structure* of the volume as a necessary prelude to actually reading the text; a structure that has obviously been carefully put together but which needs a clear mind to relate the different parts. But overall, Bruno Barber and his colleagues have produced a fine report on St Mary Stratford Langthorne and to me a reassurance that one's students do become the academics of the next generation.

Philip Rahtz

Toys, Trifles and Trinkets: Base-metal Miniatures from London 1200 to 1800. By Hazel Forsyth with Geoff Egan. Museum of London and Unicorn Press, 2005. Pp. 479, 725 illus, tables. ISBN 0 906290 74 0. Price: £45.00 hb.

In this attractive book Hazel Forsyth, ably assisted by Geoff Egan, has opened up a whole corpus of new archaeological material for analysis and discussion. Until the 'mudlarks' (independent researchers using metal detectors) got to work in the 1970s on the Thames foreshore, these small trinkets, largely made of lead, had escaped the notice of archaeologists. The Museum of London collection, which incorporates the collection of A G Pilson, is fully catalogued here for the first time. It numbers some 600 items, yet only 30 of these were found on archaeological sites. But these 30, which come from securely dated contexts, have provided the corroborative dating evidence for the vast majority of the objects which were chance finds by 'mudlarks'.

These small lead objects, ranging in date from the 15th to the 18th century, must at one time have been ubiquitous in London, although, oddly, very few have been found elsewhere. Some, such as the gun carriage (1.17) are comparatively skilled work, but most appear to have been mass produced from moulds (a few of these have been found). Forsyth has divided the objects into 15 categories: Arms and Armour (50); Cooking vessels (34); Cutlery (15); Figurines (51); Household fixtures (28);

Furniture (89); Shies (5); Tableware (158); Tools (3); Transport (mostly anchors) (39); Twirlers (2); Watches (70); Whirligigs (10); Windmills (5); Miscellaneous (29). Forsyth believes that most of these objects were not lost accidentally in the river but, rather, were thrown away in the rubbish that was used to backfill the revetments which were being continually rebuilt as the river was pushed southwards and, when the revetments were damaged, the backfill was washed into the river.

The meticulous work of Forsyth and Egan has sorted, dated, and analysed these objects and, in the future, it will be possible for 'mudlarks' and archaeologists to place their own trinket finds within a secure dating sequence. But what is the historian to make of this material? If these objects were indeed toys then their existence serves to drive yet another nail into the Aries coffin, since the existence of toys presupposes the existence of childhood. Certainly it seems likely that many of these objects were used as toys by children, and contemporary paintings (mostly Dutch and Flemish) do show young children playing with miniature objects such as lead soldiers and toy windmills. But there are some curious gaps. Why are there so few female figures (12 out of 51) among the figurines and no babies, although we know that babies or dolls were imported into England from Germany and the Low Countries in the 15th and 16th centuries (p 42)? Among the numerous furniture items there are no cradles. And if these were toys one might have expected more animal figures, musical instruments, marbles, and balls. Moreover so far no toys or playthings made of wood or bone have been found in London, although our dependence upon the metal detector might explain that. So the distribution of the surviving objects suggests that if these were toys, then boys played with soldiers and small weapons and girls spent their time arranging the furniture and tableware in 'baby houses' (p 48). But they may have been more than childrens' playthings. Forsyth took the trouble to search through the records of the London Pewterers' Company and found that company members (see Appendix 3) were called to account for failing to use the correct alloy in making these trifles. This might suggest that these objects were 'collectibles' bought by adults for their own enjoyment and not simply for children to use as toys. Moreover the fact that watches form one of the largest group of objects, many of which were

made in deliberate imitation of the real thing (*i.e.* they are not miniatures but replicas), does suggest that they were seen as cheap substitutes for the expensive object. These lead watches may, in fact, have been a form of 'costume jewellery' and so been worn for deliberate effect.

Forsyth's illuminating introduction explains how this collection was assembled and the use that can be made of it. She has interesting things to say about the rise and fall of the toy market and relates this to the percentage of children in the London population at different times. She has found appropriate comparative material on the Continent, where the manufacture of these items appears to have begun earlier than in England: indeed a box of 'japes' was imported into England as early as 1481. Her interesting and scholarly essay oddly has no conclusion and we are propelled directly into the substantial and detailed catalogue. I was left wondering about the format of the volume. Clearly considerable effort has gone into making this an attractive volume (15 colour plates, wide margins, coated paper and lots of blank spaces), but the marriage of a general introduction (60 pages) with a detailed catalogue of 600 objects (329 pages), with a further 62 pages of technical appendices, has resulted in a rather unwieldy volume. The cost (£45) is reasonable, but the weight (5lb) is not. In effect this appears to be a slightly uncomfortable marriage of an attractive short book for the interested amateur with a serious catalogue for the working archaeologist, and it might have been better to provide two separate publications for these two markets. Trinkets and trifles, perhaps, deserved a lighter touch. But the material revealed here, almost for the first time, opens up important avenues of sociological and cultural enquiry for historians and archaeologists.

Caroline M Barron

The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community, 1525–1640. By J F Merritt. Manchester University Press, 2005. Pp. xiii + 378, 4 figs. ISBN 0 7190 4986 6. Price: £55.00 hb.

If you thought the history of Westminster was exhausted, you were mistaken. With a broad sweep of the brush over the detail of a thumbnail sketch Dr Merritt presents the social world of early modern Westminster during the 115 years between 1525 and 1640. When you remember

that this period covers the reigns of six monarchs in all their disparity, with the reversals of religion and policy from the last decades of Henry VIII's rule to the opening years of Charles I's reign, turbulent is the right word.

The author builds on the work of Gervase Rosser (*Medieval Westminster*, 1989) and Ian Archer (*The Pursuit of Stability; Social Relations in Elizabethan London*, 1991). Whereas many histories of Westminster have focused on the abbey and the palaces, the recent trend has been to concentrate on the community — the parishioners, their corporate lives and preoccupations, where they worshipped and shopped, their daily rituals and personal loyalties, and the impact upon them of radical changes in the monarchy, religion, and government.

The most important parish in Westminster — possibly in the country — was St Margaret's, with an estimated population of 3,500 in the mid-16th century. This was a cohesive, conservative community devoted to its patron saint: St Margaret's day on 20 July was a highlight of the calendar. The church was decorated with garlands of flowers and draped with hangings for a day that began with mass, followed by a parade of parish virgins and a re-enactment of the legend of St Margaret involving a bonfire and a dragon. The revels culminated in a feast with wine and ale flowing. Wake up ye churchmen, burgesses and councillors of Westminster to the revival of St Margaret's day!

Worthy burgesses of Westminster served on a Court established in 1585 — a typically Elizabethan tool of local government. The Westminster Court of Burgesses was unique; it met weekly to hear and judge cases of illegal building, market regulation, vagrancy, sexual immorality, and other unacceptable acts of disorder. Incredibly, this pillar of the establishment continued to function throughout the Civil War, interregnum and into the 18th century, reinforcing the stability of the community in good times and bad.

Neither the spate of anti-Catholicism in the 1620s nor the reforms of Archbishop Laud nor the threatening number of MPs in the pews of St Margaret's church during the 1630s unhinged the conservative parishioners. Compared to the City, Catholics were few on the ground in Westminster: a survey of 1628 counted just 65, mostly in the parish of St Clement Danes. Yet anti-Catholicism was a strong theme in the early 17th century — the treacherous Gunpowder Plot

shook the neighbourhood and St Martin in the Fields was renowned for anti-Catholic sermons.

The parishioners of St Martin's showed their solidarity with generous gifts and donations to the rebuilding of 1542 and displayed admirable corporate initiative in the refurbishment of 1606–9. St Martin's was an increasingly fashionable parish with links to the Cecils and their extensive network of connections. Salisbury House was situated in St Martin's, with Burghley House nearby in the parish of St Clement Danes, and here too Cecil patronage was strong. At a more humble level St Clement's housed a large proportion of butchers (whose trade offended élite sensibilities); brickmaking, brewing, and market gardening were other activities that flourished in response to the demands created by the aristocratic urban development of the area.

The author touches upon many subjects that could be explored further, and here the footnotes are exemplary, offering not just references but comments too. One subject that might be pursued is triumphal arches — in this instance the huge structure representing Westminster that was erected at Temple Bar for the coronation procession of King James I. Similarly, the reader is presented with a tempting morsel about Britain's Burse in the Strand. Its opening in 1609 was attended by all the royal family and called for an entertainment from Ben Jonson and scenery by Inigo Jones. This brings us to shopping (the Burse housed shops for haberdashers, linendrapers, stocking-sellers, milliners, seamsters, jewellers, goldsmiths, perfumers, silk mercers, and vendors of luxury goods). The aristocrats, lawyers, courtiers, and politicians of Westminster were well-catered for — it seems that the early modern man-about-town was more interested in his attire than his early 21st-century counterpart. The same might be said of eating and drinking: in 1620 nearly 120 taverns could be found in the short walk between Charing Cross and Temple Bar.

There is background here for archaeologists and historians in terms of social history, urban development, changing geographical boundaries, trades and occupations. Above all this is a study of how the people of Westminster lived and how they responded to the events thrown at them in the years between 1525 and 1640. It is a good and rare example of how a PhD thesis can be transformed into a book, although the publisher might have been meaner with the

editing, more attentive to the index, and more generous with the illustrations. In 378 pages of tightly typed text there are just four figures: Agas, Norden, Hollar, Newcourt and Faithorne, which most readers will have seen many times before. Moreover, there is little use in drawing attention to Tart Hall, Berkshire House, and the Gaming House when the lettering is too blurred to locate these interesting buildings.

Penelope Hunting

Material Culture in London in an Age of Transition: Tudor and Stuart Period Finds c 1450–c 1700 from Excavation at Riverside Sites in Southwark. By Geoff Egan. Museum of London Archaeology Service Monograph 19, 2005. Pp. xix + 257, 219 figs, 11 tables. ISBN 1 901992 39 X. Price: £17.95 pb.

This long-awaited addition to the MoLAS series of monographs is unique in its primary focus: everyday non-ceramic objects found in London dating from the mid-15th century through the 17th century. Centuries of urban development have resulted in relatively little material culture from this important time period, which covers England's transition from the medieval era and the beginnings of her colonising efforts in the New World. By a fortuitous set of circumstances 'the fullest range of non-ceramic post-medieval finds from central London — and probably in the country as a whole — has survived in the waterfront area on the south bank of the Thames'.

Produced jointly by the Museum of London Archaeology Service and English Heritage, the study encompasses the non-ceramic material from fourteen years of excavation on eight sites located in Southwark along the Thames facing the Tower of London. Most of the finds were retrieved from waterlogged deposits, resulting in excellent preservation, as can be seen by the incredible survival of a largely intact 16th-century saddle. Closely dated by their contexts, the leather, bone, wood, glass, and metal objects reflect many functional categories of common everyday life.

This monograph is outstanding, not only for its subject matter of ordinary finds from tightly datable, and largely unrepresented, contexts, but also because of its author. Geoff Egan is a finds specialist *extraordinaire*. Known in America chiefly for his extensive and very useful work on cloth seals, Egan has a wealth of knowledge

on all manner of non-ceramic archaeological material that he shares in this volume. He is able to identify artefacts from their smallest elements and has the depth of understanding of material culture that enables him to place objects fully within their contexts of Tudor and Stuart England. As a result, this is much more than a catalogue of finds.

The artefacts are presented in functional categories of dress, dress accessories, fixtures and fittings, furnishings, security equipment, heating and lighting equipment, knives, kitchen equipment, serving and display vessels, cutlery, medical, writing and reading equipment, leisure, tools and production, trade items, horse equipment, arms and armour, religious objects, and miscellaneous. Within each category the objects are considered in order of date based upon archaeological context. Throughout the catalogue, Egan demonstrates how the most mundane objects have the potential to reveal the most interesting and important aspects of life. There is evidence of repairs and adaptations, trade, and innovations. Several industries are represented such as metalworking, leatherworking, woodworking, and bone and glass working. Although not within the scope of this study, documentary research of the sites for information relating to industrial activities may explicate these finds.

The artefacts are illustrated by very clear black and white photographs on a clear background that makes them appear to pop off the page. Images are supplemented by drawings to show important details or to illustrate objects that would be difficult to understand with a photograph. In some cases x-rays illustrate artefacts with poor preservation. Unfortunately not all catalogue entries are illustrated, which is understandable considering budgetary constraints but frustrating nonetheless for those seeking parallels.

Metalurgical analysis of 122 of the artefacts, included in the final chapter of the monograph, provides extremely important data for identifying imports and for establishing dating markers based on chemical composition. The analysis reveals discrepancies with the documentary record which raises important questions for future study.

In preparing this study Egan faced the dilemma and frustration experienced by many of us who are writing up finds from sites that are still in the process of being excavated. It is a shame that the largest site located within the area of study, Tooley Street (TYT98), was not included in this

publication as it was still being excavated when the text was finalised. It is hoped that this very productive site, with its survival of many organic finds such as wooden bowling balls and at least 500 leather shoes, will be the subject matter of an upcoming monograph.

In sum, this publication is extremely important for fleshing out the material world of London's under-represented 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. By Egan's admission it does not cover the whole range of objects in use during the time period, but it is an excellent starting point. Archaeologists working on sites of this time frame on both sides of the Atlantic will find the information useful for identifying their finds and for establishing artefact biographies. In turn, American sites of the early 17th century with their tightly dated contexts can supplement this growing data base. For instance, there are many parallels at Jamestown, Virginia (established 1607) with the material culture in this study. Some London finds thought to be residual from 16th-century contexts are in fact found in Jamestown's early contexts. Does this mean that the objects have a longer life than presently believed, or are they 'old' when they arrive in the New World — perhaps comprising outdated and inexpensive material collected for the Indian trade? Only more studies like *Material Culture in London in an Age of Transition* will help answer these questions.

Bly Straube

The London Armourers of the 17th Century. By Thom Richardson. Royal Armouries Monograph 7, Royal Armouries and Armourers' and Braziers' Company, 2004. Pp. 104, 150 figs. ISBN 0 948092 5 6. Price: £10.95 pb.

This volume is a welcome addition to the growing number of Royal Armouries publications on weaponry and warfare for the specialist and general reader. Written by a leading authority, it throws light on a neglected if somewhat esoteric subject: the workmen of the Armourers' Company of London and their products. The study is based on an analysis of workmens' names and recorded marks in the 17th-century accounts of the Armourers' and Brasiers' Company (now lodged in the Guildhall Library Manuscripts Section) with extant 17th-century London armour bearing makers', guild, arsenal, and government marks.

The book is divided into two parts. The first section deals with the two main types of armour represented in the study: that designed for pikemen and that for the harquebusier (cavalry soldiers armed with a short-barrelled firearm known as a harquebus). The second and main part of the book is devoted to the various letter marks and devices used by London armourers. The marks are listed in alphabetical sequence and each entry is accompanied by a photograph of the mark itself with a list of identically marked armour from public and private collections. Where possible photographs of key pieces of armour are shown and short biographies of the workmen are given. The main section is prefaced by a few pages devoted to Company, state, and arsenal marks. The book finishes with a couple of pages on various miscellaneous symbols, and this is followed by an appendix with a useful alphabetical list of the collections cited in the text and a page of references.

This book makes a very important contribution to arms and armour literature and brings together for the first time a wealth of information about the armour produced and worn during a period of great military and political upheaval. It also provides a fascinating glimpse into the lives of those engaged in armour manufacture in London, and although the biographical entries are necessarily sketchy, they do provide a basis for further research. While *The London Armourers of the 17th Century* may interest the general reader, it will undoubtedly prove to be an invaluable research tool for curators and collectors of arms and armour, and as such should find a place on museum library shelves.

Hazel Forsyth

Also received:

Old London Bridge Lost and Found. By Bruce Watson. Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2004. Pp. 61, numerous illus. ISBN 1 901992 48 9. Price: £7.99 pb.

A well-illustrated popular account of the various London Bridges since the Roman period, incorporating the work by the DGLA and MoLAS now reported as MoLAS Monograph 8 in 2001. The Thames at various periods, the uses of London Bridge for pageantry, and its place among the other Thames bridges are all considered.

Sweet & Wholesome Water: Five Centuries of History of Water-bearers in the City of London. By Ted Flaxman & Ted Jackson. Published by E W Flaxman, Cottisford, Oxfordshire, 2004. Pp. ii + 108, maps, 37 illus. ISBN 0 9548986 0 5. Price: £7.50 pb (£9.00 with p&p in the UK, from E W Jackson, Wall Garden House, Tehidy Park, Tehidy, Camborne, Cornwall, TR14 0TN).

Two Past Masters of the Water Conservators Company have published this brief account of the water-bearers in the City of London, with notes on their medieval history, the formation of a fellowship of St Christopher in 1496, and their decline and disappearance in the 17th and 18th centuries. Appendices include discussions of water quality and the City's aqueducts and conduits.

The Archbishop's Town: the Making of Medieval Croydon. By Oliver Harris. Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society Proceedings Vol 18 part 9, 2005. Pp. 57, 5 figs. ISBN 0 906047 20 4. Price: £3.75 (inc p&p) pb (from CNHSS, c/o 68 Woodcote Grove Road, Coulsdon, Surrey CR5 2AD).

This issue of the Croydon Society's *Proceedings*, in booklet form, comprises a study of the origins, the social and economic context, and the development of the medieval centre of Croydon, around the medieval archbishop's palace. A thorough and scholarly treatment for historians and medieval archaeologists, which could be read as a contribution to the archaeological research framework for Surrey.

The Last Hendon Farm: the Archaeology and History of Church End Farm. By Stephen Brunning, Don Cooper, Elizabeth Gapp, Geraldine Missig, Tim Nicholson and Christopher Willey; edited by Jacqui Pearce. Hendon and District Archaeological Society, n.d. [2005]. Pp. viii + 95, 73 illus. ISBN 0 9503050. Price: £11.99 pb (from the Society).

Written and produced by HADAS, with the Museum of London and Birkbeck College, this is a colourful but careful reconstruction of Church End Farm, Hendon, from the 17th century to the present, based on the excavations of the late Ted Sammes and Ian Robertson, to whose memory it is dedicated. Pottery and other post-medieval finds are exceptionally well illustrated and studied. A model for other local societies (and professionals) to follow.

INDEX

L F Pitts

Page numbers in italic denote illustrations

- '1855: architecture in London'
(Charles O'Brien) 163–9
- Abbey Mills pumping station,
Stratford 166
- agricultural features, Bronze Age/
Iron Age 11–13, 21
- aldermen 100
- aleconners 100, 115
- Algatesstrete* 78–9, 80
- Alien Subsidy Rolls 107–8, 109
- All Saints, Margaret Street 168
- amphorae 42
- animal bone:
medieval 68–72
post-medieval 91–3
prehistoric 22
Saxon 68–72
- Architectural Museum 175
- architecture in London (1855)
163–9
- arrowhead, Neolithic 10–11, 11
- axes, Mesolithic 54, 55
- Ayres, K, reports on finds from
Shepperton 64–72
- baratours 110–56
- Barber, Bruno, Steve Chew, Tony
Dyson and Bill White *The
Cistercian Abbey of St Mary
Stratford Langthorne, Essex:
Archaeological Excavations for
the London Underground Limited
Jubilee Line Extension Project*
(reviewed by Philip Rahtz)
188–90
- Barron, Caroline M, reviews Hazel
Forsyth with Geoff Egan *Toys,
Trifles and Trinkets: Base-metal
Miniatures from London 1200 to
1800* 190–1
- Barry, Sir Charles 167
- bawds 102–4, 110–56
- beadles 101, 112, 115, 119, 122, 124,
126, 129, 131, 134, 136, 138,
140, 142, 144, 145
- Bell brewhouse 105
- bell founding 80–4
- Bishop, Barry John 'Excavations
at Lower Edmonton and the
archaeology of the Lower Lea
Valley' 1–26
- blacksmith 87
- Bocher, Wallace 107
- bone objects 34, 66–8
- Borough Channel 40
- Bout Coupé* handaxes 3–5
- bowling alley 108
- breweries 102, 105, 107
- Brewster, Davy 107
- Brewster, Elizabeth 107
- brick, Tudor 87
- brickearth quarries 17
- Briscoe, Teresa, reports on pottery
from Shepperton 64
- Britby, John 105
- British Museum 167, 170
- 'Brompton Boilers' 169, 175
- Browne, William 107
- Bunning, Stephen *et al The Last
Hendon Farm: the Archaeology
and History of Church End Farm*
194
- buckle 65
- Burton, Anthony 'London
museums of the 1850s' 169–
77
- butchers 101, 107
- butchery 91, 93, 94
- candlestick manufacture 81–4, 83
- Canham, R, work at Shepperton
47–8, 50, 51, 72–3
- carpenter 107
- Carpenter, Roger 101, 107, 109
- cauldron manufacture 81–3, 83
- cellars 84
- cemetery, Saxon 47, 73
- cesspits, post-medieval 94
- Chamber of London 105, 119, 121,
123, 124, 125, 128, 132
- Chamberlain, Robert 80
- channel, revetted 31, 32
- Cherry, Bridget, Charles O'Brien
and Nikolaus Pevsner *London
5: East* (reviewed by Elizabeth
McKellar) 186–7
- Chew, Steve *see Barber, Bruno*
chimneys, wooden 106, 107
- Christchurch 99, 100, 108, 110–44
- Clark, John, reviews Jim Leary
*et al Tatberht's Lundene wic:
Archaeological Excavations in
Middle Saxon London* 182–3
- clay moulds 80–4, 82
- 'closshlane' 108, 111, 114, 116, 128,
133, 144
- coins, Roman 36
- Cole, Henry 173–7
- combs, bone 66–7
- constables 101, 112, 115, 119, 122,
124, 126, 129, 131, 134, 136,
138, 140, 142, 144, 145
- cooking pits 13–14
- copper alloy casting 80–4
- copper alloy objects 65, 80
- copper slag 81
- Cornwales, Master 105
- Cot(t)on, Jane 104
- Cotton, Jon, reports on flints from
Shepperton 53–5
- Croft, John 107
- Crystal Palace 168–9
- 'dark earth' 36
- Day, James 107
- dendrochronological dates 31, 32
- 'Development and industry in
Whitechapel, excavations at
27–29 Whitechapel High Street,
and 2–4 Colchester Street,
London E1' (Jon Sygrave)
77–96
- Dillon, John 27
- ditches:
medieval 51
Neolithic 9–10, 19
prehistoric 3, 14–16
- Domesday Book 23
- dress hook 80, 90
- Dunwoodie, Lesley *Pre-Boudican and
Later Activity on the Site of the
Forum* (reviewed by Dominic
Perring) 179–80
- 'Dutchwoman' 107
- Dyson, Tony *see Barber, Bruno*

- Eastern Dispensary, Leman Street 166
 Edmonton 23
 Edward I 106
 Edward IV 99, 100, 102, 108
 Egan, Geoff *Material Culture in London in an Age of Transition: Tudor and Stuart Period Finds c 1450–c 1700 from Excavation at Riverside Sites in Southwark* (reviewed by Bly Straube) 192–3; *see* Forsyth, Hazel
 Ellis, Sir Henry 170
 Elyn the tapster 107
 environmental indictments 97–161
 environmental sampling 13, 18
 'Excavations at Lower Edmonton and the archaeology of the Lower Lea Valley' (Barry John Bishop) 1–26
 'Excavations of a Saxon and early medieval occupation site at Saxon County School, Shepperton in 1986' (Rob Poultton) 45–75
 field system, prehistoric 14–16, 21
 fire fighting equipment 106
 fire, prevention of 106
 Fishmonger, Bedham 107
 Flaxman, Ted, and Ted Jackson *Sweet & Wholesome Water: Five Centuries of History of Water-Bearers in the City of London* 194
 flint knapping 9
 flints 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10–11, 11, 13, 18, 53–5, 54, 68
 flue 85–7
 Foreign Office 168
 Forsyth, Hazel, reviews Thom Richardson *The London Armourers of the 17th Century* 193–4
 Forsyth, Hazel with Geoff Egan *Toys, Trifles and Trinkets: Base-metal Miniatures from London 1200 to 1800* (reviewed by Caroline M Barron) 190–1
 Foundour, William 80
 foundry pits 79–80
 foundry waste 80–4
 Franks, Arthur Wollaston 170
 Gardener, John 101, 105
 Gibson, Alex 3
 Godfrey, Paul 107
 Gothic Revival 168
 Government School of Design 172–3
 grain stores (pits) 13
 Great Exhibition 163, 173
 Guildhall Museum 172
 Guy's Channel 41
 Gyles, Lawrens 107
 hammerscale 87
 Hampton Court 172
 Hamwih 65
 handaxe, Palaeolithic 3, 4, 5, 10, 20
 harlots 104–5, 107, 129, 131, 133, 136, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142
 Harris, Oliver *The Archbishop's Town: the Making of Medieval Croydon* 194
 Hatmaker, Peter 107
 Henry VI 106
 Henry VII 99, 103
 Hill, Richard, Bishop of London 103
 hinge 65
 Hodgis, Joan 103
 Holy Trinity Priory 99
 horn working 93
 Howe, Elizabeth, and David Lakin *Roman and Medieval Cripplegate, City of London: Archaeological Excavations 1992–1998* (reviewed by Kathryn Stubbs) 180–2
 Hownslow, Peter 107
 Hunt, John 103
 Hunting, Penelope, reviews J F Merritt *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community, 1525–1640* 191–2
 immigrant workers 107
 India Museum 171
 indictments, sexual and immoral (public order); nuisances (environmental issues); foreigners acting as freemen 97–161
 ironmonger 107
 iron objects 65–6
 Jackson, Ted *see* Flaxman, Ted
 jetty, timber 31, 41
 Johnson, John 107
 Johnson, William 107
 Jones, Phil, reports on pottery from Shepperton 55–64
 jurymen 97–156
 Keevill, Graham *The Tower of London Moat: Archaeological Excavations 1995–9* (reviewed by Chris Thomas) 187–8
 Kelly, S E *Charters of St Paul's, London* (reviewed by Pamela Taylor) 183–4
 Kempe, John 103
 Killock, Douglas 'Roman river bank use and changing water levels at 51–53 Southwark Street, Southwark, London' 27–44
 knackers yard 91–2, 93
 knife blade 65
 knife, bone-handled, Roman 34, 34
 Kylgy, William, 101
 lace tag 65
 Lakin, David *see* Howe, Elizabeth
 latrines 102
 Lea, Richard *see* Schofield, John
 Lea Valley *see* 'Excavations at Lower Edmonton and the archaeology of the Lower Lea Valley'
 lead objects 66
 Leary, Jim, *et al Tatberht's Lundewic: Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London* (reviewed by John Clark) 182–3
 Leche, Margaret a 107
 Legg, Edmunde 107
 Legge, Thomas 106
 leper 114
 leprosy 102
 'Lit and Phil' Movement 169
 London Missionary Society Museum 171
 'London museums of the 1850s' (Anthony Burton) 169–77
 Lower Edmonton *see* 'Excavations at Lower Edmonton and the archaeology of the Lower Lea Valley'
 Maknard, Robert 101
 Mannfield, John 101
 mayntenours (maintainers) 104, 110–56
 McKellar, Elizabeth, reviews Bridget Cherry, Charles O'Brien and Nikolaus Pevsner *London 5: East* 186–7
 Mean High Water Level, Thames 36–40
 medieval occupation site 45–75
 Merritt, J F *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community, 1525–1640* (reviewed by Penelope Hunting) 191–2
 Mersh, John 100, 101
 Mesolithic axe 54–5
Michaelmas Term 105
 midden, Saxon 52–3, 55–9, 72
 MoLAS 77
 mortar floor, Roman 33, 35
 mosaic 33–4
 Museum of Economic Botany at Kew Gardens 172
 Museum of Manufactures 173–5, 174
 Museum of Ornamental Art 173
 Museum of Practical Geology 172
 museums 169–77
 nails 66
 Neolithic hengiform monument 72
 Neolithic settlement 20
 New Palace of Westminster 167
 nightsoil 79
 nightwalkers 102–3, 110–56
 O'Brien, Charles '1855: architecture in London' 163–9; *see* Cherry, Bridget

- Okeley, Angh 104
opus signum 33, 65
- palaeochannels 9
 Palaeolithic handaxe 3, 4, 5, 10, 20
 pavilion 107
 Percy, Sir Thomas 100, 103
 periglacial features 50
 Perring, Dominic, reviews Lesley Dunwoodie *Pre-Boudican and Later Activity on the Site of the Forum* 179–80; Brian Yule *A Prestigious Roman Building Complex on the Southwark Waterfront* 179–80
- Pettigrew, Thomas 170
 Pevsner, Nikolaus *see* Cherry, Bridget
 pewterer 87
 Philip, John 101
 pinner 107
 pins (bone) 66–8; (copper-alloy) 65
 pits:
 Bronze Age 13–14
 Iron Age 13–14
 medieval 17, 79
 post-medieval 91–3, 94
 Roman 34
 Saxon 51
 pollen analysis 31
 Pomeroy, Sir Thomas 100
 Portsoken *see* 'The Portsoken Presentments: an analysis of a London ward in the 15th century'
 postholes:
 medieval 51
 prehistoric 10–11, 14
 Roman 35
 pottery:
 Bronze Age 10, 16, 72
 medieval 16–17, 55–6, 60–3, 79, 80, 84, 85
 Neolithic 4, 6, 10
 post-medieval 17, 85, 89, 90, 94
 prehistoric 3–4, 55–6, 60–3 58–9, 60–3, 64
 Roman 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 42, 55–6, 59, 60–3, 64
 Saxo-Norman 61
 Saxon 51, 55–64
 Poulton, Rob 'Excavations of a Saxon and early medieval occupation site at Saxon County School, Shepperton in 1986' 45–75
 Pre-Construct Archaeology 1, 27
 prehistoric enclosures 19–20
 prehistoric occupation 9–11, 18–19
 prehistoric tree clearance 5–9, 18
 presentments 97–161
 privy pickers 110–56
 prostitution 97–156
 Pugin, A W N 167
- Pulter, Jane 107
 Pynder, Thomas 107
- quarry pits, medieval 78–9
 quays 32, 33, 38, 39
- Rahtz, Philip, reviews Bruno Barber, Steve Chew, Tony Dyson and Bill White *The Cistercian Abbey of St Mary Stratford Langthorne, Essex: Archaeological Excavations for the London Underground Limited Jubilee Line Extension Project* 188–90
- rakers 101, 112, 115, 119, 122, 124, 126, 129, 131, 134, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144, 145
- Richardson, Thom *The London Armourers of the 17th Century* (reviewed by Hazel Forsyth) 193–4
- Roach Smith, Charles 170
 roads, Roman 29, 40, 41
 Robinson, John Charles 173
 'Roman river bank use and changing water levels at 51–53 Southwark Street, Southwark, London' (Douglas Killock) 27–44
- Rooke, John 101
 Rykener, John 105, 109
- St Botolph without Aldgate 99
 St Clare's 99
 St George's Buildings, Bourdon Street, Mayfair 167
 St James the Less, Pimlico 168
 St Katherine's Hospital 99, 105, 106
 St Mary Grace's 99
 St Mary Matfelon 78
 Salopy, John 107
 Saxon occupation 45–75
 scavengers 100, 101, 112, 115, 119, 122, 124, 126, 129, 131, 134, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144, 145
- Schofield, John, and Richard Lea *Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, City of London: an Archaeological Reconstruction and History* (reviewed by David Stocker) 184–5
- Science Museum 175
 scolds, 103–4, 107, 110–56
 Scott, George Gilbert 168
 sea level change in the Thames 36–40
- Segrym, William 101
 sexual offences indicted 97–156
 Sheepshanks Gallery 175
 Shepperton *see* 'Excavations of a Saxon and early medieval occupation site at Saxon County School, Shepperton in 1986'
- Silvester, John 101
 Silvester, Nicholas 101
- Silvester, Richard 101
 Sir John Soane's Museum 171
 smith 107
 smithing hearth bottoms 85–7
 South Kensington Museum 169, 175, 176
 Southwark *see* 'Roman river bank use and changing water levels at 51–53 Southwark Street, Southwark, London'
- Southwark Street Channel 27, 29, 31, 33, 36, 41
- Stale, Herman 107
 Stalon, William 101
 Stanley Gardens 165
 Stepney manor 78, 80
 stew-house 103
- Stocker, David, reviews John Schofield and Richard Lea *Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, City of London: an Archaeological Reconstruction and History* 184–5
- stone objects 68
 Stow, John 84
 strap end 80
 Straube, Bly, reviews Geoff Egan *Material Culture in London in an Age of Transition: Tudor and Stuart Period Finds c 1450–c 1700 from Excavation at Riverside Sites in Southwark* 192–3
- structures, brick:
 medieval 85–9
 post-medieval 91
 Tudor 87–9
- structures, timber:
 medieval 84
 post-medieval 90
 Roman 29, 36, 39
- strumpetmongers 110–56
 strumpets 102–4, 107, 110–56
- Stubbs, Kathryn, reviews Elizabeth Howe and David Lakin *Roman and Medieval Cripplegate, City of London: Archaeological Excavations 1992–1998* 180–2
- Surrey County Council 45
 Sygrave, Jon 'Development and industry in Whitechapel, excavations at 27–29 Whitechapel High Street and 2–4 Colchester Street, London E1' 77–96
- Sysworth, Richard 101
- Tallis's map 163–4
 Tancraye, John 107
 Taylor, Pamela, reviews S E Kelly *Charters of St Paul's, London* 183–4
- Thames, 29
 'The Portsoken Presentments: an analysis of a London ward in the 15th century' (Christine L Winter) 97–161

Thomas, Chris, reviews Graham Keevill *The Tower of London Moat: Archaeological Excavations 1995–9187–8*
 tile, ceramic:
 medieval 64, 79, 87
 post-medieval 94–5
 Roman 64
 timber revetment of river bank 32–3, 39, 40, 41
 tipplers 100
 ‘toft and croft’ settlement 73
 town ditch 106
 trade indicated by Roman pottery in Southwark 42
 transvestite 105
 tree-throw hollows 5, 18–19

Victoria and Albert Museum 172–7
 Wale, John 87
 wall plaster, painted 33–4
 wardmote 97–161
 wardmote council 112, 115, 119, 122, 124, 126, 129, 131, 134, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144, 145
 wards, London 97–161
 Wars of the Roses 108
 Watson, Bruce *Old London Bridge Lost and Found* 194
 wells, Roman 36
 Westminster Abbey 172
 White, Bill *see* Barber, Bruno
 Whitechapel Bell Foundry 80

Whitechapel *see* ‘Development and industry in Whitechapel, excavations at 27–29 Whitechapel High Street and 2–4 Colchester Street, London E1’
 window came 66
 Winter, Christine L ‘The Portsoken Presentments: an analysis of a London ward in the 15th century’ 97–161
 Yonge, John 103
 Yule, Brian *A Prestigious Roman Building Complex on the Southwark Waterfront* (reviewed by Dominic Perring) 179–80

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. Contributions should be sent to the Archaeology/Local History Editors (see inside front cover).
2. Submission of articles on computer disk is usual. A clean print-out should also be supplied for editorial use; this should be on A4 paper, printed on one side only, in double spacing throughout, with generous margins all round. The disk and hard copy should be identical.
3. Editing is done using Word. Disks using other standard systems may be submitted, but to avoid loss of formatting it is recommended that whenever possible authors output onto the disk in Word.
4. *Transactions* style should be followed, but complex layout should not be attempted. For style refer to previous copies of *Transactions* (contact Production Editor for detailed style sheet). All papers should start with a summary of their aims, main points and conclusions. Tables usually need rekeying; they should be supplied in a separate file and a clear print-out on separate sheets provided. Figure and table positions should be noted in the margin of the print-out.
5. The type area of a page in *Transactions* measures 208 x 149 mm. All artwork should be designed to be reduced to or within such a space. Fold-outs are very expensive and should be avoided. Scales in metres should be provided on plans. Electronic submission of artwork is welcome but this must be on CD and a printed version must also be supplied. Files should be Tiff or Jpeg and designed for black and white reproduction. Line drawings in particular should be saved at the highest resolution possible – ideally 1200 dpi or above.
6. On submission papers should be complete in every particular. Every alteration made by an author in proof means higher production costs. Unless there are exceptional circumstances first proofs only will be submitted to contributors.
7. Contributors will receive 6 offprints of articles gratis. Additional copies may be ordered at cost price.

Contents

List of presidents and officers.....	v
150th Annual Report of LAMAS Council for the year ending 30th September 2005	vi
Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th September 2005 and Balance Sheet as at 30 September 2005.....	ix
Excavations at Lower Edmonton and the archaeology of the Lower Lea Valley <i>Barry John Bishop.....</i>	1
Roman river bank use and changing water levels at 51–53 Southwark Street, Southwark, London <i>Douglas Killock.....</i>	27
Excavations of a Saxon and Early Medieval occupation site at Saxon County School, Shepperton in 1986 <i>Rob Poulton.....</i>	45
Development and industry in Whitechapel, excavations at 27–29 Whitechapel High Street and 2–4 Colchester Street, London E1 <i>Jon Sygrave.....</i>	77
The Portsoken Presentments: an analysis of a London Ward in the 15th century <i>Christine L Winter.....</i>	97
Papers read at the Lamas Local History Conference held at the Museum of London on 19 November 2005: 'When LAMAS began: London in 1855'	163
Reviews	179
Index to volume 56	195