

Transactions
Volume 53 2002



LAMAS



London and Middlesex Archaeological Society

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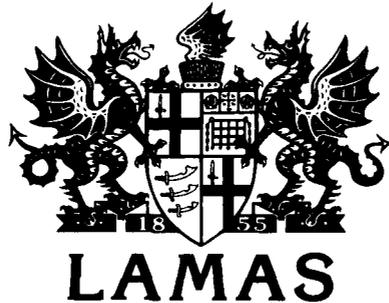
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Editors' note: the editors are happy to consider articles for publication in *Transactions*. New contributors are advised to ask the Production Editor for a copy of *LAMAS Notes for Contributors* before submitting papers. *LAMAS* also welcomes the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

Front cover: *Balsamarium* in the form of the bust of a youth with Ethiopian features from excavations at Bishopsgate. See David Sankey, pp 1–24.
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Transactions of the
**London and Middlesex
Archaeological Society**

Volume 53
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London & Middlesex Archaeological Society

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

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London and Middlesex Archaeological Society

147th ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL FOR THE SUBSCRIPTION YEAR ENDING
30th SEPTEMBER 2002

Council met five times during the year. Matters considered included an application for a grant towards the costs of completing a publication on tin-glazed wares by Jacqui Pearce, to which the Society contributed £1500. An additional request was received from Jon Cotton for a CBA publication on the Neolithic in the South-East. In September, Council met with Vanessa Bunton, the new Community Archaeologist funded by English Heritage, to look at ways of providing support to local archaeological societies in the Greater London area. Council was also involved in discussions about the future role of SCOLA in relation to the CBA.

The new London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC) officially opened its doors in February. The Society has been discussing with LAARC the possibility of a special LAMAS research project based on resources at the Archive. We are currently preparing to launch a project to record and catalogue a large collection of Roman tiles that bear the imprints of the various creatures that wandered across the wet tiles as they were laid out to dry.

Council has noted with some concern the looming financial crisis that threatens the Middlesex Victoria County History. This has been precipitated by the withdrawal of significant funding by local authorities. With at least five volumes still outstanding, representing up to 10 or 15 years more work, a substantial financial commitment is required. Council will continue to monitor the situation.

At the AGM in February, Council offered thanks to the outgoing President, Professor Derek Keene, and welcomed Professor Clive Orton of the Institute of Archaeology as our new President.

It was with much regret that the Society learnt of the death of Arthur Hall, a former Chairman of Council and Vice-President of the Society.

Lecture meetings

The lecture organiser, Cheryl Smith, put together a varied and interesting programme for the season, which began in October with a talk by Bruce Watson of the Museum of London's Archaeological Service (MoLAS) on the medieval London Bridge. November's lecture was given by Dr Anna Snaith of Anglia Polytechnic University on the subject of Virginia Woolf and Bloomsbury. David Dewing, Director of the Geffrye Museum, gave the December talk entitled 'After the Fire – London Furniture 1666–1714', which linked in with an exhibition of the same name. Jon Cotton's Hugh Chapman Memorial Lecture in January was full to capacity. Jon described plans for the Museum of London's new prehistory gallery. In April, Hazel Forsyth, Curator of the Post-Medieval Collections at the Museum of London, gave the address at the triennial John Stow Memorial Service. At the AGM in February, the outgoing President, Professor Derek Keene, battled courageously against adverse conditions (freezing temperature, persistent fire alarms, and even the loud clip-clopping of a passing horse) to deliver his third presidential address 'London and Japan – Metropolises Compared'. Bridget Cherry, editor of the Pevsner Architectural Guides, gave the March lecture on the medieval churches of Middlesex, and in April Angela Evans of the British Museum gave a very popular talk on Sutton Hoo. The final lecture of the season, the George Eades Memorial Lecture, was also very well attended, when Sue Donnelly of the British Library of Political and Economic Science described the superb on-line version of Charles Booth's survey of London's rich and poor in the 1880s.

Publications and Newsletter

The Publication Committee met once formally this past year and was represented on every Council Meeting.

The publication of the *Transactions* was the main focus of the year, and, although the final printing date was later than hoped, all the archaeology papers were subject to a new system of peer review that the Committee hopes to continue. In the future, as well, the *Transactions* will have a slightly different look, with the 'Guidelines for Contributors' printed on the inside covers and from Volume 53 there will be a new section reviewing current archaeological and local history publications. This will be co-ordinated by John Schofield.

In addition, the Committee discussed revising the *Special Papers* series and engaged in correspondence with the Southwark and Lambeth Archaeology Committee and the Surrey Archaeological Society about joint funding of the next edition in the series. The theme of the publication is to be 'Communication in Roman London', and will be presented jointly with a day seminar on the same topic. Discussions are still at an early stage, and if members have any ideas or comments on the above please contact one of the members of the Committee.

Three volumes of the newsletter were produced. Nikola Burdon resigned as Editor following production of the January issue, and Meriel Jeater stepped in as new editor to produce the May and September issues.

Membership

Pat Clarke continued her excellent work as Membership Secretary. Paid-up membership for the year was 651, compared with 654 last year, and 646 for 2000. The breakdown of the figures is as follows:

	Sept 2000	Sept 2001	Sept 2002
fully paid-up & life & hon	646	654	651
left or lapsed	45	57	55
new members	61	54	69
<i>(incl. by internet)</i>	24	19	24)

Archaeology Committee

The Archaeology Committee met twice during the year, in January and May. (September's scheduled meeting was cancelled because of a tube driver's strike.) Reports on archaeological fieldwork and related matters were received from MoLAS, GLAAS, and SCOLA. The CBA initiative to create a new CBA Group for London had foundered, and the Archaeology Committee continued to monitor the situation.

The Committee organised the 39th Annual Conference of London Archaeologists, which was held in the Museum's Lecture Theatre on 16 March. The sixth Ralph Merrifield Award was presented to the Museum of London for setting up the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC). Dr Simon Thurley received the award from three generations of the Merrifield family on behalf of the Museum. The morning session continued with a round-up of recent work in the London area, including the excavations at Woodthorpe Road, Staines, the A13 in east London, Rammey Marsh in Enfield, and two sites in Gresham Street, City. The afternoon session was devoted to the work of LAARC, and to the future of finds research, and was addressed by Hedley Swain, Gustav Milne, John Shepherd, Angela Wardle, Brian Connell, and Jacqui Pearce. LAMAS recruited 21 new members and 1 affiliated society at the Conference, and took over £300 on the bookstall.

Local History Committee

The 36th Local History Conference was held at the Museum of London on Saturday 17 November 2001. It was entitled 'Edwardian London – a new cra?' It was a popular title and attracted a capacity audience.

The opening speaker, Dr David Gilbert of Royal Holloway College, set the scene by highlighting the imperial aspects of Edwardian London. He was followed by Roger Brasier, transport historian, who, in an amusing and well-illustrated talk, showed how the development of trains and tubes and the introduction of the electric tram revolutionised London's transport system in the years before the First World War. John Huntley's commentary on clips from Edwardian films rounded off the morning and was the highlight of the day.

The afternoon session fulfilled the morning's promise. Cathy Ross, Curator of the Later London History Department at the Museum of London, stepped in at very short notice to explain the role played by Suffragettes in the period. Malcolm Jones of the Theatre Museum gave a resumé of Edwardian Theatre, and the day ended with Keith Whitehouse of Fulham & Hammersmith LHS describing the White City Exhibitions at Shepherds Bush between 1908–14.

The Committee discussed ways of encouraging local historians to extend research in the Greater London area.

Historic Buildings and Conservation Committee

During the year the Committee met eight times and considered a total of 156 cases, the majority of which were in Westminster, followed by Kensington and Chelsea, Lambeth, Harrow and Bexley.

Notable cases included that of the Heron Tower, which the Committee supported, and Foster's Baltic Exchange Tower, or 'Erotic Gherkin', which they did not. These views were at odds with those of English Heritage. The debate on high buildings in London is one of the most important issues for urban design and conservation.

A similar major development that was considered in the north-east area was Foster's Spitalfields Scheme, which the Committee felt should be more subservient, and what the Committee thought to be an imaginative initiative for the re-design of Hackney Town Hall Square. The Committee continued to receive information and progress reports on the World Squares for All project, focusing particularly on Trafalgar Square.

In the north-west and west, much time was spent on the unfolding drama of Wembley Stadium, with the Committee calling for wider consideration of the Empire Exhibition site.

Although the Committee does not deal with the south-west, a case involving the United Reform Church in Richmond highlighted the problems of the conversion of redundant churches across the capital. The long-running saga of the Duke of York's HQ in Kensington and Chelsea continues. The Committee considered a number of smaller projects in the south-east.

In Central London, two proposals concerning redevelopments in Regent Street were dealt with, along with a Foster scheme for a new building atop Selfridges.

Three other major schemes that were considered during the year were the Hippodrome, development around the Lots Road Power Station, and Thameslink 2000.

BY DIRECTION OF COUNCIL

John Clark
Chairman of Council

Karen Fielder
Honorary Secretary

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30th SEPTEMBER 2002
AND BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30th SEPTEMBER 2002

	2000/2001	2001/2002		2001	2002
	£	£		£	£
Income			Assets		
Subscriptions	9,978	9,715	Investments	2,006	2,006
Donations Received	0	310	Sundry Debtors	8,062	407
Dividends and Interest	1,232	2,401	Bank & Cash Balances	4,688	3,666
Sales of Publications	214	1,052	Building Society Deposits	53,234	59,549
Grants for Publications	6,152	0			
TOTAL INCOME	<u>£17,576</u>	<u>£13,478</u>		<u>£67,990</u>	<u>£65,628</u>
			Liabilities		
Expenditure			Future Publications	850	850
Transactions	11,152	1,353	Wheatley Bequest	439	439
Newsletter	1,600	1,670	Provisions	7,500	6,000
Grants to LAARC & Publications	0	1,500	Publication Fund	11,321	11,779
Internet Costs	356	282	G.E. Eades Memorial Fund	118	118
Lectures and Visits	180	210	Creditors	11,787	466
Local History Conference	(680)	(543)			
Archaeological Conference	(346)	(408)	ACCUMULATED FUNDS		
Historic Buildings Committee	0	0	General Fund:		
Postage, Printing & Stationery	34	44	Balance at 1.10.01	38,672	35,975
Ralph Merrifield Award	100	100	Transfer to/from Publications Fund	(161)	(457)
Bank Charges	61	70	Transfer to/from Provision for	(7,500)	1,500
Subscriptions	175	100	Transactions	4,964	8,958
Miscellaneous Expenditure	0	142	Surplus/(Deficit) for the Year		45,976
	<u>£12,612</u>	<u>£4,520</u>		<u>£67,990</u>	<u>£65,628</u>
	4,964	8,958			
Surplus/(Loss) for the Year					
	<u>£17,576</u>	<u>£13,478</u>			

ROMAN, MEDIEVAL AND LATER DEVELOPMENT AT 7 BISHOPSGATE, LONDON EC2: FROM A 1st-CENTURY CELLARED BUILDING TO THE 17th-CENTURY PROPERTIES OF THE MERCHANT TAYLORS' COMPANY

David Sankey

With contributions by Charlotte Ainsley, Brenda Dickinson, Tony Dyson, Geoffrey Egan, Sharon Gerber-Parfitt, Lisa Gray, Tony Grey, Richard Macphail, Alison Nailor, David Neal, Susan Pringle, Beth Richardson and Angela Wardle

SUMMARY

Excavations at 7 Bishopsgate revealed Roman remains from the 1st to 4th centuries AD, including evidence of a post-Boudican defensive work, cellared buildings, the Hadrianic fire and subsequent quarrying. The Roman building sequence included both timber-framed and masonry structures; individually important artefacts were recovered from these and part of a mosaic floor was recorded. The post-Roman sequence was represented by an extensive 'dark earth' horizon and pits filled with 'dark earth'; later cesspits, chalk-built cellars, and wells were associated with medieval development. The excavation findings are complemented by a study of the adjacent Merchant Taylors' Hall and by historical research into the Company's records.

INTRODUCTION

During the winter and early spring of 1995–96, a six-month excavation of 7–11 Bishopsgate, City of London (site code ETA89) was carried out by the Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS). The work was generously sponsored by Greycoat plc and took place in advance of redevelopment of the site, which is now known

simply as 7 Bishopsgate. The excavation followed trial work which included the archaeological recording of engineers' test-pits, auger samples, and observations of the party walls of the Merchant Taylors' Hall, a Scheduled Ancient Monument which lies along the west side of the site.

The archaeological work resulted in a substantial archive, including unexpectedly large quantities of finds, particularly pottery. Prioritisation of research aims meant that less than half of the Roman pottery and only three-quarters of the post-Roman pottery was selected for analysis. Further analysis in the future might result in some refinement of the dating presented here. All of the finds and site records, as well as the research archive, resulting from the investigation have been deposited with the Museum of London's London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC) and can be consulted by prior arrangement.

The basic unit of reference used during site recording, assessment, and analysis is the context number, shown within a square bracket []. Contexts have been grouped into land uses, represented by Buildings (B), Open Areas (OA),

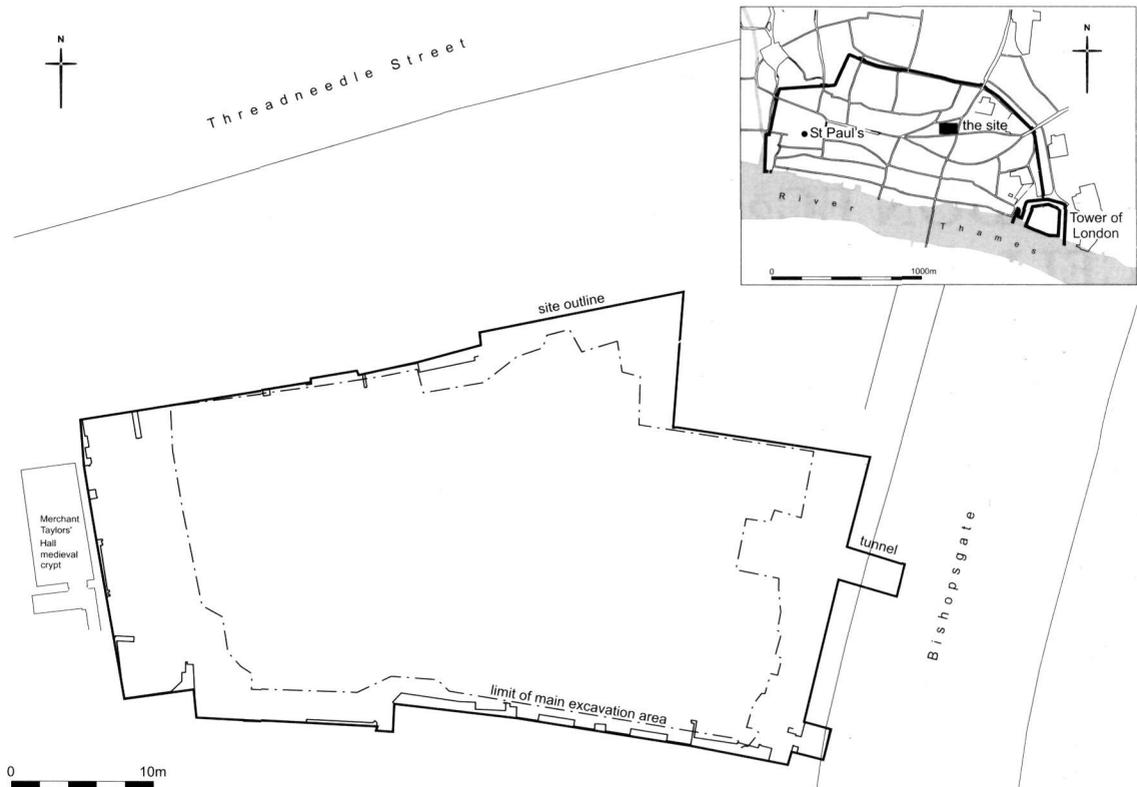


Fig 1. Site location

Structures (S), and Roads (R), with each land use assigned a unique number from 1 onwards. Relevant finds and environmental evidence is presented with its associated land use. Land uses have been allocated to chronological periods 1–10, representing defined periods of time and based on the stratigraphic and dating evidence from the site. Period divisions are defined by major changes in land use, such as an extensive fire resulting in site-wide rebuilding. Significant periods are accompanied by a figure showing the major features found and conjectured. Full expansions of the Roman pottery fabric, form, and decoration codes referred to in this paper can be found in Davies *et al* (1994) for the early periods and Symonds and Tomber (1991) for the later periods. Only those pottery sherds selected for illustration are catalogued in the report and these are uniquely referenced as <P1> onwards. Accessioned finds are shown within angled brackets < > and are uniquely numbered within the site code ETA89.

SITE LOCATION, TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY (PERIODS 1–2)

The site lies between Threadneedle Street and Cornhill, on the west side of Bishopsgate, at the heart of the modern business district in the City of London (TQ 3302 8119) (Fig 1). The Roman forum and basilica, the late medieval Leaden Hall market, and the Elizabethan Royal Exchange all lay near 7 Bishopsgate. Geologically, the site is near the centre of an area of localised high ground at Cornhill, where river terrace gravel is overlain by brickearth. The truncated surface of the Period 1 brickearth was recorded at c.12m OD.

Some evidence of prehistoric activity was found (Period 2), but was severely truncated and survived only as a single, small patch of reworked brickearth that contained some burnt flint, a flint scraper and blade, and very degraded pottery fragments.

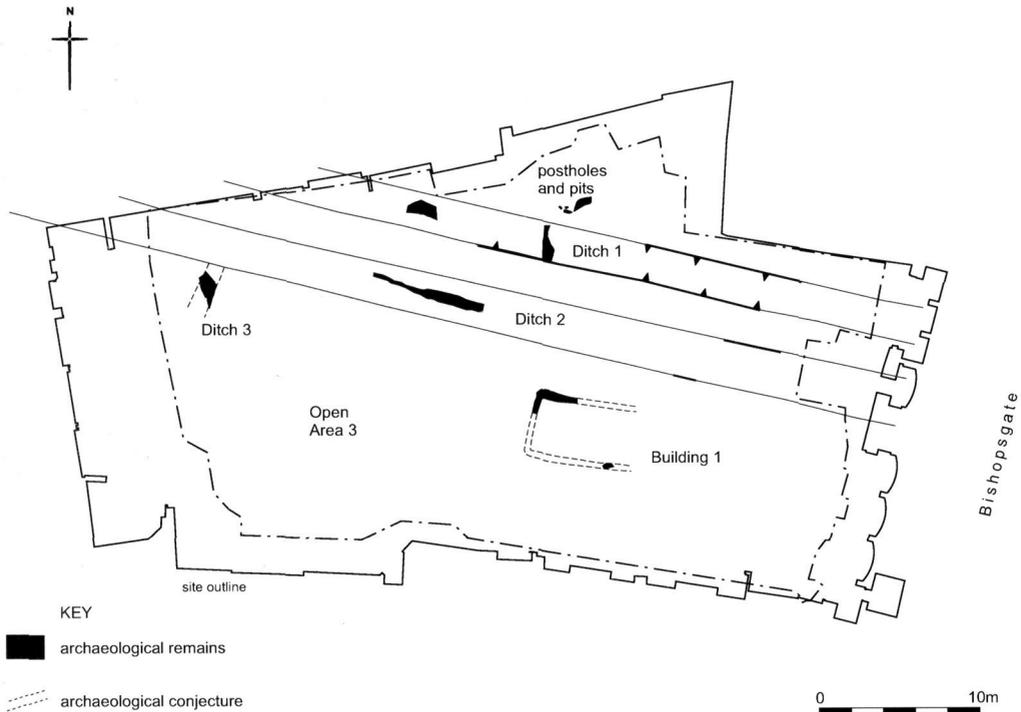


Fig 2. Principal archaeological features, Period 3 c.AD 43–70

ROMAN COLONISATION c.AD 43–70 (PERIOD 3)

The earliest surviving man-made features recorded on the site included the remains of two large parallel ditches in Open Area 3 (Fig 2). The ditches were aligned WNW–ESE and were only 2m apart, extending beyond the eastern and western site limits, a distance of over 50m. The ditches were each originally about 1.4m deep and 2.5m wide, and were V-shaped in profile, with sides tending towards the vertical where they reached a narrow, flat base (a shape sometimes described as an ankle-breaker). The ditches were aligned parallel to, and located immediately south of, a late 1st-century road, which they predated. A smaller ditch ran south-west from the double ditch near the western edge of the site.

Similar double ditches were recorded in 2000 during excavations at Plantation Place (FER97) c.300m to the south-east, where they cut through burnt demolition debris associated with the Boudican revolt of AD 60–61 (pers comm Trevor Bringham; Treveil *et al* in prep). The Plantation

Place double ditch was backed by a turf-fronted mudbrick rampart with levelling courses of timber planking and has been interpreted as the north-eastern corner of a defensive perimeter (*fossa fastigata*). The ditches at Plantation Place and 7 Bishopsgate may be related parts of a wider system of temporary defences that enclosed the heart of the settlement, centred on Cornhill, in the immediate aftermath of the Boudican revolt. A larger, east–west aligned, late 1st-century boundary ditch was located at Baltic Exchange (BAX95) during excavations in 1995 (Howe 2002) but can be identified as a later settlement boundary which would have passed to the north of 7 Bishopsgate.

To the south of the ditches, a few postholes and beam slots made up three sides of a small rectangular building (Building 1) truncated below its contemporary ground level. The long axis of the structure was aligned approximately with the ditches. Other early Roman activity included a bowl furnace and various pits and postholes. Elsewhere on the site the earliest archaeological deposits were disturbed or reworked brickearth, identical to that which filled the three ditches.

CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT c.AD 70–125 (PERIOD 4)

The parallel ditches were open for a very short time before their backfill and the establishment of a road (Road 1) immediately to their north (Fig 3). The road was c.4m wide and was also aligned WNW–ESE, parallel with the main east–west road which lay to the south, along the south side of the forum. On the south side of Road 1 an associated timber box-drain cut through the backfill of the northernmost defensive ditch. A drain along the north side of the road was constructed in masonry, with tile-coursed side walls standing on a rough ragstone foundation above a wooden base. In the main area of excavation the road gravels had been completely removed by medieval quarrying, but they survived at the eastern perimeter of the site where their surface lay at 13.2m OD. This height is a useful indicator of the contemporary Roman ground level, and the ground floor level of contemporary buildings would have been at, or above, this level, although there was no extant evidence because of truncation caused by modern basemending.

Scattered and truncated evidence of buildings and occupation was recorded across the site south of Road 1. The most impressive of these was a domestic cellar¹ measuring 5.2m north–south by 4.9m east–west (Building 3). A largely intact stairway provided access to the south-east corner of the cellar from the south (Figs 4–5). The stairs, which were carved out of the natural brickearth and moulded in brickearth below the level where natural gravels are encountered, were 3m long, 2.3m wide and 2.5m deep with 13 steps – a similar rake and riser height to modern British building regulations. At the bottom of the stairs was a worn *opus signinum* floor 2.7m below the contemporary ground surface. On the west side of the threshold was a hole to take the pivot (*cardo*) of a door. The floor covered the eastern half of the cellar and was divided from the western half by a beam slot 3.3m long, 360mm wide and 130mm deep. The beam is thought to have supported open studs, which in turn would originally have supported floor joists at ground level. The *opus signinum* cellar floor sat upon a bedding layer of brickearth 400mm deep, perhaps intended to provide the concrete with a degree of protection from water penetration through the

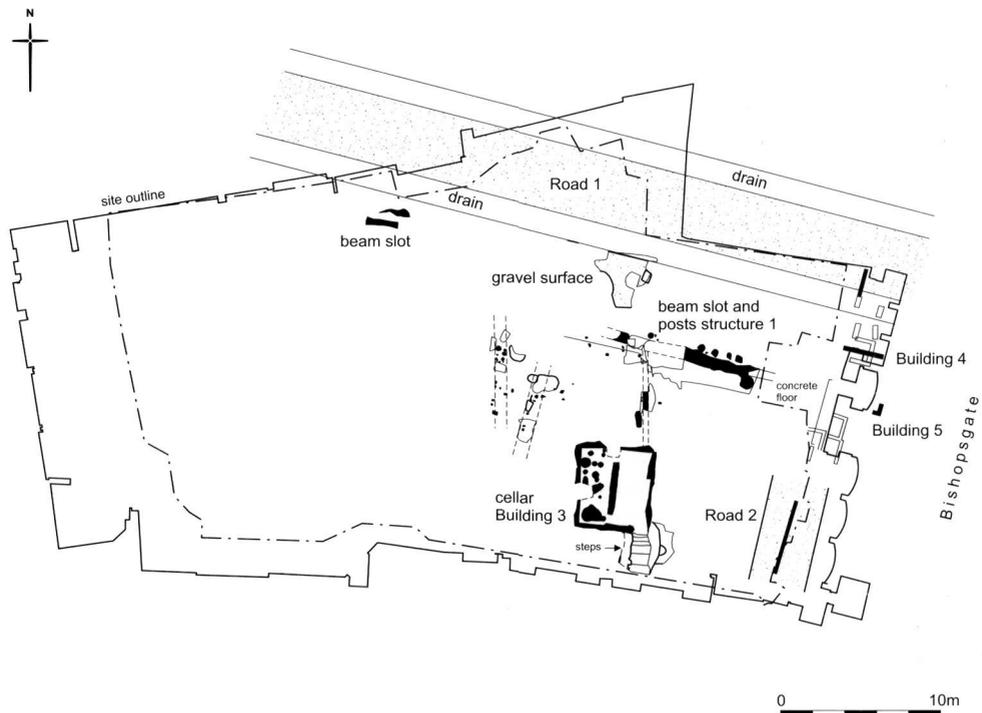


Fig 3. Principal archaeological features, Period 4 c.AD 70–125



Fig 4. View of the Building 3 cellar during excavation, with the stairway entrance visible in the foreground

gravels. The west half of the cellar floor was simply formed from exposed natural gravels. A series of depressions cut into this floor may have held storage jars or barrels, and may have been intended to help in keeping the stored contents cooled by the surrounding ground.

The cellar walls were made of close studs 150mm thick, spaced 400–500mm apart. The studs were driven into the natural gravels at the bottom of a trench, 400mm wide and 400mm deep, which ran along the base of the cellar sides. The studs supported a lattice of wattle covered with brickearth daub and finished with plain white plaster.

A wall trench running north from the cellar and aligned with its east wall was the only surviving evidence of the above-ground layout of Building 3. The alignment of the building differed from that of Road 1, but it is unclear whether this was significant. Interestingly, the alignment of Building 3 was shared by a much later Roman cellar to the west (Building 10 of Period 7). Perhaps their alignment had been influenced by a major, long-lived building or other feature

which lay to the south, beyond the limit of excavation.

Building 3 was burnt down in the Hadrianic fire, a conflagration that destroyed the majority of the city *c.*AD 125. Large quantities of deformed glass vessels were found amongst the burnt remains backfilling the cellar. At least 16 vessels were identified, all in forms which were containers. The group includes one jar, one possible flask or jug, and at least six bottles, all of which date from the late 1st/early 2nd century. There were also 490 sherds of pottery in the cellar backfill, most of it from two contemporary contexts [1374] and [1234]. The pottery, much of it burnt at high temperatures, included kitchen and tablewares appropriate for either a domestic residence or modest-scale catering. Both the glass and pottery may have been stored in a kitchen at ground level, above the cellar.

The pottery assemblage is dominated by Verulamium region white wares (VRW), Highgate Wood (HWB, HWC), Alice Holt Surrey (AHSU), and early Roman micaceous sandy grey wares

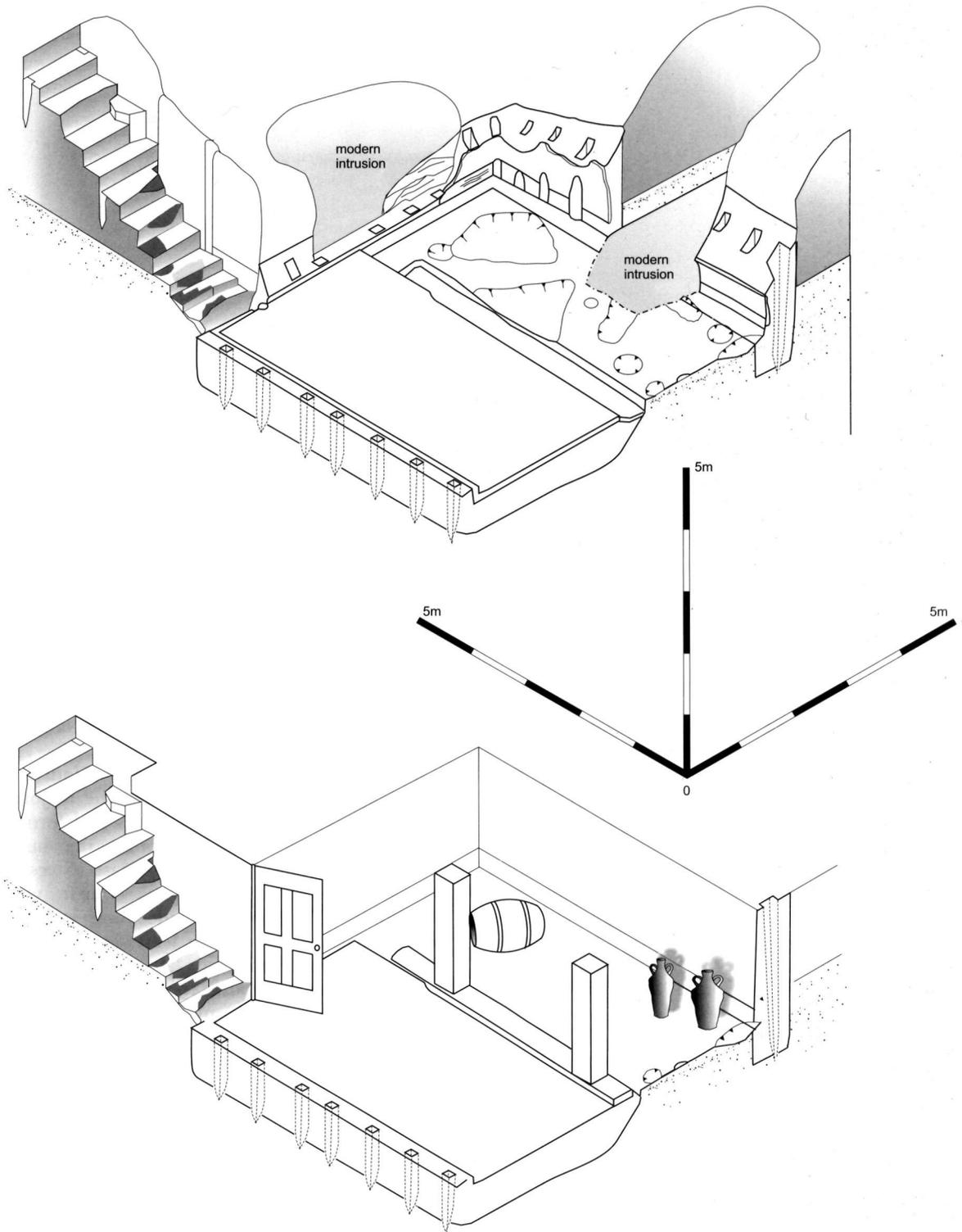


Fig 5. Building 3 cellar: top as found; bottom as reconstructed

(ERMS). The VRW flagons are ring-necked and all have the flared neck and triangular lip characteristic of the period AD 60–120. The VRW mortaria bear the potters' stamps of ALBINVS (generally dated c.AD 65–95) and OASTRIVS (c.AD 55–75). The AHSU, ERMS, and HWB grey- and grog-tempered wares are long-lived forms (bead-rimmed and necked jars, round-bodied bowls) typical of the period c.AD 60–100/120; HWC poppy beakers and HWC (extra sand) everted-rim jars with acute lattice decoration are, however, later and probably Hadrianic. There is some residual South Gaulish samian ware, but most of the samian is from Les Martres-de-Veyre (AD 100–120/130), with one sherd of a Central Gaulish (?Lezoux) Curle 23 bowl (AD 120+). The assemblage also includes small quantities of black-burnished ware 2 bowls (AD 120+), and a sherd from a Cologne beaker (AD 120+). Overall, the group can be dated to the early Hadrianic period (c.AD 120–30).

Several metal items were also present in the Building 3 cellar. One of the more unusual is a fragmentary sheet of copper alloy with a domed boss <948>, which appears to be a cheek-piece from a helmet. This is not the only early Roman military item from the site. A second helmet fragment, a copper-alloy crest-box holder <512>, and an apron mount <742> came from Open Area 6 in Period 5, while a lobate cuirass hinge was found in a 12th- or 13th-century context. With the exception of a copper-alloy key <591> and a fragmentary lock bolt <590>, the other metal objects from the cellar are more enigmatic. Three copper-alloy objects, which are all forms of collar, could well be related. One (not illustrated) appears to be a large ferrule with external mouldings around its circumference, a feature seen on the second <860>, which is a heavy cast cylinder 39mm in length, with a small flange at each end (see Fig 9). The final piece <859> is more decorative with two baluster mouldings and an internal tube, wider at one end than the other and 49mm in length (see Fig 9). These pieces may be structural, but could also be part of an unidentified piece of furniture (Wardle 1999).

Period 4 structures survived best along the eastern border of the site, where there was less truncation. Much of this area was unavailable for excavation as it formed a berm which supported the base of a building façade retained in the redevelopment. The excavated part of the eastern area included the partial remains of a

timber-framed building with a series of internal floors and occupation levels (Building 4). Building 4 was aligned with the road system and the only dating evidence is from an occupation layer containing pottery of AD 50–100 (a votive vessel from context [1679] of the foundations remains undated). To the south, near the eastern edge of the site, was a concrete-floored building with wattle and daub walls and earthfast posts (Building 5). Quarter-round mouldings completed the base of the walls. Building 5 appears to have been occupied for a considerable time as it was refloored in concrete and extended some 6m eastwards, beneath modern Bishopsgate. A north-south aligned access road, alley or yard (Road 2) was contemporary with the building, although its later gravels sealed the building's demolished remains.

Elsewhere on the site, truncation had reduced Period 4 structures to their lower foundation levels. Beam slots and posts aligned east-west and lying to the south of Road 1 were almost certainly part of a building (Structure 1). Another whole pot was recovered from context [1515] within the fabric of the structure. Two other complete pots, from deposits [874] and [941], may also have been votive although truncation meant that it was less clear whether they were directly associated with buildings.

FROM THE HADRIANIC TO ANTONINE FIRES c.AD 125–200 (PERIODS 5–6)

Post-fire quarrying (Period 5)

After the Hadrianic fire, most of the site was given over to the quarrying of brickearth and gravel (Open Area 6). The quarry backfills were mainly green-tinged dirty brickearth (similar to the final fills of the Building 3 cellar) with interposed blackish deposits, one of which contained seeds from plants of semi-aquatic and wasteland habitats including rush (*Juncus* sp), cinquefoil/strawberry (*Potentilla/Fragaria* sp), and sedge (Cyperaceae). This evidence may indicate that the partly backfilled quarries were left open long enough for a marsh-like habitat to form.

The quarry that cut through the Road 1 drain was entirely filled with a blackish deposit, suggesting the dumping of refuse. The rubbish thrown into the quarry backfill included pottery, bone-hairpins, sewing needles, a small bell,

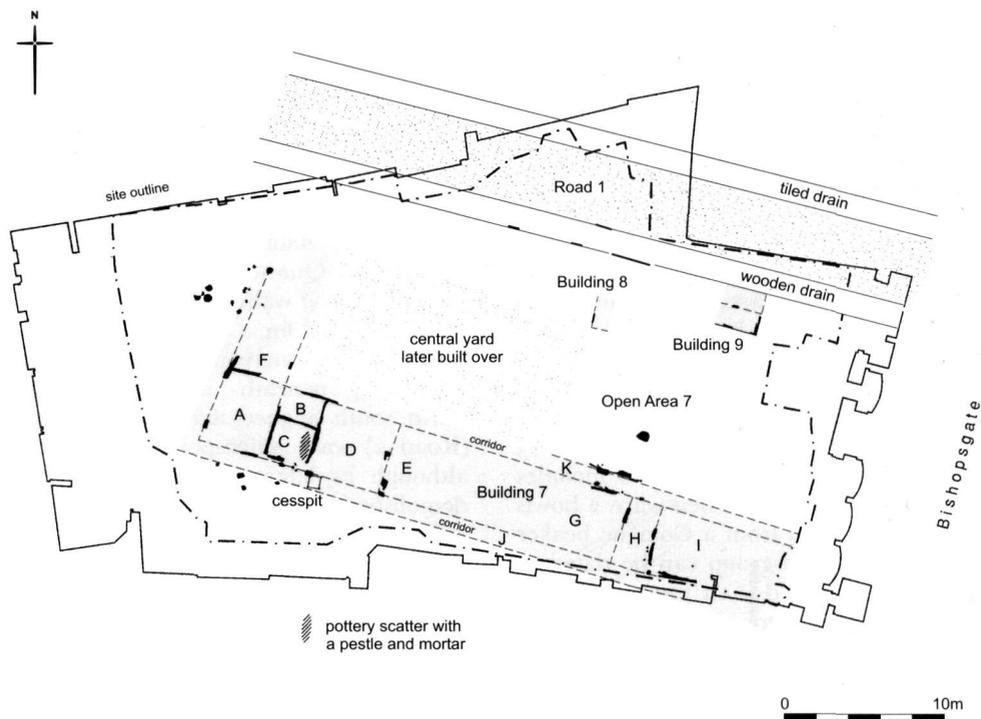


Fig 6. *Principal archaeological features, Period 6 c.AD 140–200*

spoons, a fragment of a stone palette, marble, oil lamps, a fragment of a quern made of imported Niedermendig lava, part of a possible window grille, some knives, copper-alloy nails, fastenings and mounts, metalworking waste, lead droplets and some military equipment, including the metal apron terminal and a forked crest-box holder of Imperial-Gallic (infantry) type (discussed above). This fairly heterogeneous group of material may have been derived from the clearance of debris following the Hadrianic fire.

The majority of pottery from the quarry fills is dated AD 120–160 but there are some large groups dated by one or two sherds to later than the AD 140s or 150s. It is thought that the quarries were exhausted and backfilled within a relatively short time and that these few sherds are giving a misleading date, either because they are intrusive or because the pottery types, fabrics and forms need reviewing. Some of the more unusual pottery included a marbled ware bowl (of unique form, possibly from London, MARB 4), a Verulamium region white ware jar with unusual rim decoration (VRW 2 NCD), a grey ware bowl with incised rim decoration from the same area (VRG 4 NCD), an East Gaulish

samian decorated bowl with ovolo frieze replaced with motifs (SAMEG 4DR37), a black-burnished 1 everted-rim jar with acute lattice (BB1 2FAL) and two with burnished decoration (BB1 2F BUD), as well as a 'BB'-type with burnished decoration (BBS 2 BUD), a colour-coated bowl (CC 4), a north Kent shell-tempered flagon (NKSH 1), an Alice Holt/Surrey carinated jar with 'figure 7' rim (AHSU 2C), two with combed decoration (AHSU 2 COMB) and a flat rimmed jar (AHSU 2Z), a Highgate 'C' sand-tempered carinated beaker with tall upright rim (HWC 3G), a fine reduced short everted-rimmed beaker (FINE 3E), a lid sealed jar (FINE 2Y), and a beaker with sand and quartz decoration (FINE 3 RCDI) (Grey 1997). Only a proportion of the quarry-fill pottery has been examined and the entire group is a potentially fruitful resource for further study.

Timber-framed buildings and a yard (Period 6)

The backfilled Period 5 quarries were overlain by a number of timber-framed buildings and a



Fig 7. Excavating a whole pot <37> discovered beneath a Building 7 wall

single large building complex surrounding a courtyard and lying to the south of Road 1 (Fig 6). The survival of the structural remains was variable, but where they had subsided into large quarry pits there was excellent evidence, particularly as a fire had swept through the area in about AD 200, catching the occupiers unawares and destroying the properties and their contents, the remains of which were buried.

The best-preserved Period 6 remains had slumped into quarries across the southern half of the site, where part of a well-preserved building (Building 7) extended beyond the limits of the excavation to the south, east, and west. It probably formed a single complex, along with more fragmentary remains to the north (Buildings 8 and 9). Building 7 had been constructed over the fragmentary remains of Building 6, which had been deliberately demolished. The main part of Building 7 took the form of a series of rooms along an axis with the same alignment as Road 1. Corridors ran along the south and north sides of the rooms, which may have been residential or service quarters within a large building. The

rooms varied between 5m and 2.5m square and were divided by colour-washed, plastered wattle and daub walls founded on both groundbeams and earthfast posts; this is an unusual construction technique not often noted before.² The substantial nature of these foundations may imply that Building 7 was more than one storey high. Within the foundation deposits were bricks marked with procuratorial stamps, perhaps derived from public buildings destroyed in the Hadrianic fire. Purbeck marble mouldings and wall inlays were also found in foundation deposits and reused as a form of skirting, and isolated fragments of oolitic limestone and ragstone were found in make-up dumps for the building.

Beneath one wall of Building 7 (context [592]) was a small pot (<37>, Fig 7), probably intended as a votive offering or good luck charm. Despite retaining its lid, the contents included only fragments of burnt wood and seeds from the surrounding soil (Gray 1997), similar to other possible votive pots from the site; however its contents may have been more significant to the depositors than is immediately apparent.

A wood lined cesspit was found in the southern corridor of Building 7. The corridor had been truncated below its floor level at this point, but further to the east a tessellated pavement survived at 13.00m OD. The cesspit lay near to a small room (Room C) that contained a collection of burnt and broken table and kitchenwares <Po1> – <Po6>, amongst which were a Purbeck marble mortar <407> and pestle <406> (Figs 8–9, cf Beavis 1970), and 29 smashed but near-complete pots (Table 1). The latter comprised 16 samian cups and 8 bowls (placc settings?) and evidently fell from a shelf or cupboard during the fire. Whilst this may be good *prima facie* evidence that Room C was a kitchen, no evidence of hearths or ovens was found within it.

The samian has a *terminus ante quem* (TAQ) for manufacture of c.AD 175, based on the potters' stamps (Dickinson 1999; Durand-Lefebvre 1963), and this on its own might indicate that Building 7 was destroyed shortly afterwards. However, the



Fig 8. Excavating the broken and burnt pots found in Room C of Building 7, with a stone pestle <406> and mortar <407> visible in the foreground

building was altered at least once, and lay over the remains of at least one other post-Hadrianic building (Building 6), suggesting that it may have continued in use until some time later. The black burnished wares in the assemblage are all late 2nd-century examples and the tankard <Po4> is similar to one from a 3rd-century context in Southwark (Richardson 1999). This small group of pottery can be dated c.AD 160–180/200. Taking the evidence as a whole, a date as late as AD 200 for the assemblage – and therefore for the Building 7 fire – is possible, but would imply that the samian was at least 25 years old when it was lost.

The burnt plank floor of Room C yielded abundant charred seeds from waste ground and grassland, including mallow (*Malva* sp) and clover (*Trifolium* sp) seeds, a moderate amount of waterlogged sedge and fig (*Ficus carica*) seeds, and a small number of charred grain fragments. It is possible that these remains are representative of the preparation and consumption of plant foods. The charred seeds, for example, may be sieving waste. However it is equally possible that the mallow, clover, and sedge were from straw used as a disposable floor covering.

This evidence may be compared with Room I, to the east, which may have been a stable. Room I contained a similar charred layer, but with an assemblage of charred grain, seeds, and chaff more characteristic of food preparation. A small number of charred grass (Poaceae) seeds were present along with a moderate amount of wheat grains and abundant stem fragments – possibly of straw (Gray 1997). However, the results of soil micromorphology and chemical analysis indicate that the same deposit had characteristics of a dung-rich byre floor deposit, which when cemented by phosphate is termed a stable crust. This conclusion is based upon similarities between the deposit and the micro-fabric and chemical characteristics of the Moel-y-gar animal stable at Butser Ancient Farm. The layer contained 4085 ppm of phosphate, at least twice the amount measured elsewhere at Bishopsgate, and phosphate is a coprolitic component (Macphail 1997). Room I had white-painted plastered walls, which may suggest a utilitarian usage. Wooden planking was also detected in part of the Room I floor deposit, and may argue against its interpretation as a stable crust, as the latter would normally be found in association with an earth floor. Direct access from Room I to the cobbled yard (Open Area 7) to the north may have been prevented by the

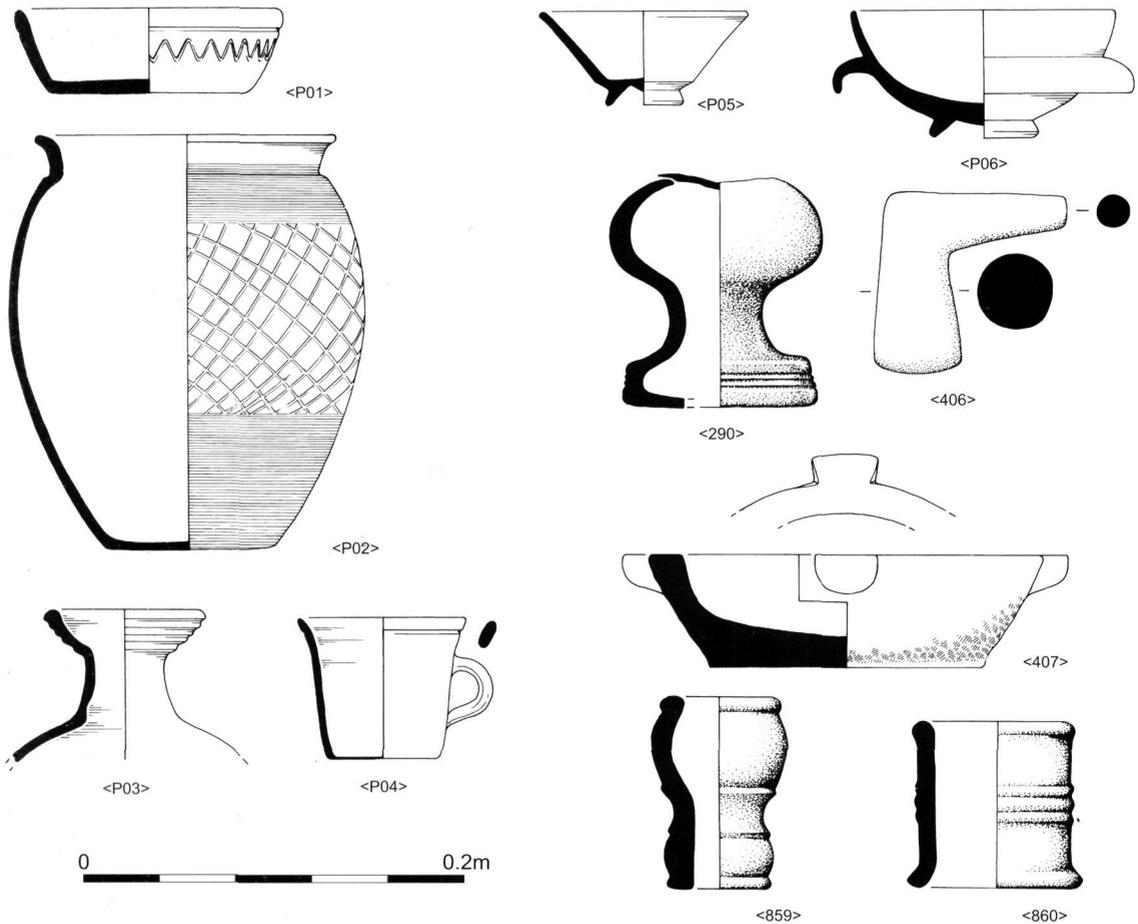


Fig 9. A selection of some of the key finds from the Bishopsgate excavations. From Building 7: pottery from Room C: <P01> plain rimmed BB2 plate; <P02> BB1 with orthogonal or right-angled lattice decoration; <P03> oxidised flagon (fabric source unknown); <P04> handled beaker tankard of typical South-West British design; <P05> Dragendorff 33 cup; <P06> Dragendorff 38 flanged bowl; other finds from Room C: Purbeck marble mortar <407> and pestle <406>; from Room B: a copper-alloy doorknob <290>. From Building 3: copper-alloy mounts <859> and <860> (Scale 1:4)

Table 1. The 29 near-complete pots from Building 7 Room C (see Fig 9)

Estimated No. of Vessels	Fabric	Form	Comments
1	BB2	Plate	Wavy Line decoration <P01>
1	BB1	Everted-rimmed jar	Open Acute Lattice decoration <P02>
1	BBS	Jar	Acute Lattice decoration
1	OXID	Cup-mouthed ring-necked flagon	Fabric source unknown <P03>
1	FINE	Beaker	Tankard <P04>
16	SAMEG	Cup Dragendorff form 33	Stamps: magnu, magnu f, regalis f, ma.t.r.tiani <P05> (Ludovici 1927)
8	SAMEG	Bowl Dragendorff form 38	Stamps: sac[irv]e (2 examples) and maccirram <P06>



Fig 10. Balsarium <196> in the form of the bust of a youth with Ethiopian features rising from a calyx, recovered from fire debris sealing Building 7

corridor (Room K) but truncation in the area adjacent to Room I meant that the evidence did not survive.

Two copper-alloy *balsamaria*, or incense burners, one in the shape of a male bust and the other a globular flask, were found in the burnt

debris overlying Room C of Building 7; these were the most important individual artefacts from the excavation. *Balsamarium* <196> (Fig 10) is in the form of an African youth rising from calyx leaves, and could be interpreted as Bacchic (Batty 1973). However, recent research may indicate that these objects were household items used for bathing, serving as oil containers or distributors (Nenova-Merdjanova 1997).

A copper-alloy doorknob <290> was found near the threshold of Room B, amongst many nails and metal fittings (Fig 9). There has been some doubt over its identification because it is hollow, but given the location of its discovery its interpretation as a doorknob seems reasonable. Along the north side of the courtyard, part of a triple vase was recovered from the burnt demolition debris sealing Building 9. Triple vases are considered to have had ritual use, though it is unclear whether this was usually within a household setting or in a religious building or shrine (Kaye 1914).

Almost no roof tile was found in the demolition debris of Buildings 7–9, which also contained only one flue tile. The buildings could have been roofed with thatch and the flue tile may be intrusive, but most late Roman buildings had tiled roofs and some heating, and the absence of tile may be the result of the debris having been sorted through and the tile salvaged for reuse in antiquity.

LATE ROMAN MASONRY BUILDINGS AND A MOSAIC c.AD 200–400 (PERIOD 7)

The later Roman structural evidence from 7 Bishopsgate was heavily truncated (Fig 11). Isolated surviving remains included a fragment of mosaic, two parallel robbed wall foundations, a truncated cellar, and a robbed pad foundation. Only one definably late Roman pit was identified.

Near the southern edge of the site, a second cellared building was located (Building 10), cutting through burnt demolition debris associated with Building 7. The building lay nearly 20m south of Road 1 and was set on a different alignment from it – but one which it shared with the much earlier cellared building found just to its east (Building 3, Fig 3). The Building 10 cellar measured 4.2m east–west and was in excess of 5.6m north–south, extending beyond the southern limit of excavation. The associated ground level had not survived truncation and is unknown, but

the cellar was at least 1.18m deep. The floor of the cellar lay at 11.3m OD, 1.3m higher than the floor of the Building 3 cellar. Earthfast posts and groundbeams supported wooden retaining walls along the sides of the cellar, the floor of which was made from relatively clean brickearth. The north side of the cellar had a rough stone and concrete rubble wall. A hearth was set in the middle of the floor. Plastered masonry walls survived on either side of entrance stairs on the east side of the cellar, and a stone with a socket hole recovered from the backfill may have been from an impressive doorway. The masonry entrance suggests the cellar was originally associated with a stone building. The cellar backfill contained pottery dated to c.AD 250–400.

A 4th-century mosaic floor, lying to the west of the cellar and sharing its alignment, may have been part of the same building. A tile tesserae border surrounded a curved chain guilloche design in tesserae of chalk, shale, and red and yellow reused ceramic tile, around a unique dentillated design (Fig 12). The form of the mosaic design suggests that it came from an apsidal room (pers comm Dr David Neal).

Parts of two parallel trenches lay to the east and west of the Building 10 cellar but were set on a different alignment, perpendicular to Road 1. The trenches, which may have been associated with the robbing of a late Roman masonry building, contained occasional postholes. It was not clear from the surviving stratification whether the robbed structure pre- or post-dated the Building 10 cellar and mosaic structure, but their differing alignments argue against any direct structural association. The alignment of the late Roman robbing does indicate that Road 1 had probably survived the Antonine fire in some form. A robbed pad foundation, to the west of the westernmost robbing cut, was the only other surviving late Roman structural evidence at the site.

‘DARK EARTH’ OR GARDEN SOIL c.AD 400–1400 (PERIOD 8)

Where not truncated by later intrusions a dark grey silt, or ‘dark earth’, overlay the latest definably Roman remains (Fig 13). The majority of the Roman registered finds and coins, and a large amount of Roman pottery, was recovered from this deposit, which also contained finds up to the 13th century in date. Identical grey silts

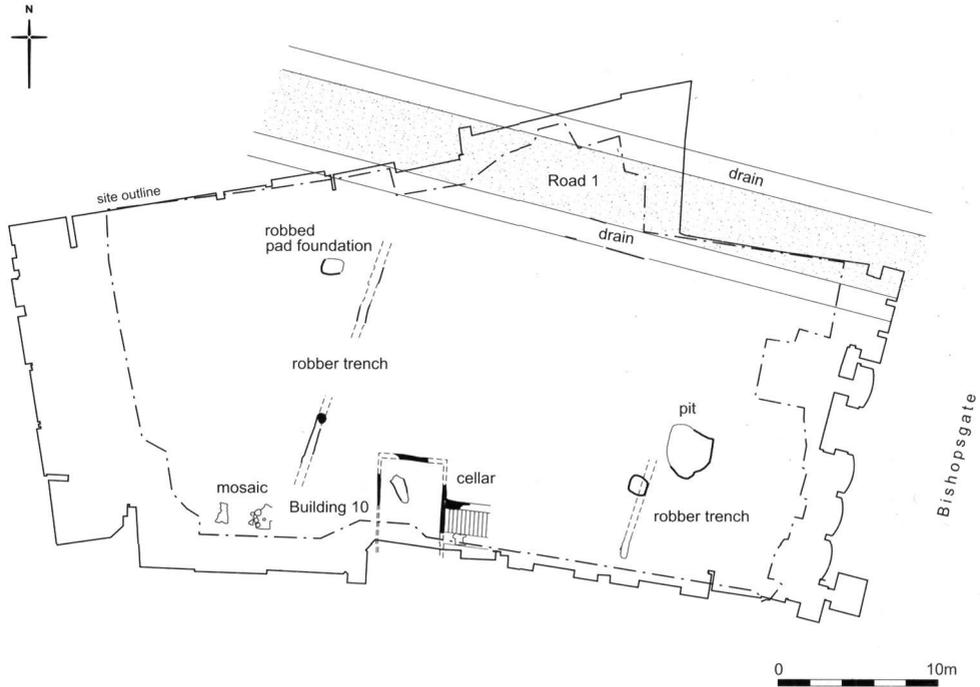


Fig 11. Principal archaeological features, Period 7 c.AD 200–400



Fig 12. In situ fragment of 4th-century mosaic (0.5m scale)



Fig 13. A general view of the site looking east. Later medieval chalk features can be seen here cutting through the 'dark earth'

filled a whole series of cut features, many of them intercutting; the fills included finds dated as late as the 14th century.

Much has been made of London's 'dark earth'. Perring (1991, 78–81) suggests that it marks the 'desertion' of much of the occupied area of the Roman town, and that the soil was produced from the dumping of compost, street sweepings, and nightsoil to form gardens. He considers the material to have been dumped because tip lines were observed within it at both Newgate and Milk Street. Perring notes that 'late 2nd-century dark earth' has been found beneath late Roman floor levels on some sites, but the majority of the 'dark earth' is a heterogeneous deposit containing finds of the 3rd and 4th centuries, which he suggests is the result of subsequent mixing. Perring notes that some 'dark earth' deposits may be as late as the 16th century. The Walbrook valley is cited as the area least affected by the 'contraction' of the city. Yule, examining much the same evidence (Yule 1990; 1992), proposes that the 'dark earth' was produced by the biological reworking of archaeological strata, with a characteristic truncation horizon below.

Both the Perring and Yule interpretations are predicated on the assumption that the dark colour of 'dark earth' is due to a high organic content analogous to modern topsoil. However, garden or agricultural soils commonly suffer from a deficit of organic inputs as more is removed through cropping, weeding, and tidying up (clipping hedges *etc*) than is added through manuring and composting. Historic woodlands in the London region, such as Oxleas and Epping Forest, have shallow topsoils, and it is unclear why thick deposits of dark grey silts should have formed in the city.

An alternative explanation is that 'dark earth' fills a series of intrusions, such as trenches dug to deposit nightsoil mixed with ash, and that the intrusions merged over time as an area of land was worked over. This interpretation would better explain the truncation horizon noted by Yule and the tip lines noted by Perring. It may also help to explain why there is less evidence of apparent 'contraction' in the Walbrook valley, where there was a greater build-up of archaeological deposits to be reworked, and why some similar deposits may contain finds from the 16th

century. 'Dark earth' found beneath Roman floor levels may have been formed by a secondary process where minerals were transported down the soil profile by the action of water and worms. The acidic soil water penetrated through rotting lime-mortar based floors, carrying ash-derived carbon to darken the underlying sediment. Smith (1987) and many others have also argued that later Roman buildings are under-represented in the archaeological record because they have been the subject of greater truncation, and this should be considered in any analysis of the evidence.

To test the 'dark earth' hypotheses, two areas of the site, each measuring 2m by 3m, were selected for intense sampling. The sample areas overlay the burnt demolition debris of Building 7, dated to AD 200. The areas had no observable intrusive pits and were divided into 1m squares and 100mm spits, with the soil sieved through a 5mm mesh. The finds and residues were then compared, and a sequence sought to show diachronous change through the soil column or to isolate previously unrecognised features which may post-date the formation of the silt. Biological reworking of earlier deposits should have left evidence of differences in composition and finds distribution, but there was no discernible pattern to the spread of major residues (gravel, building

material, shell, slag/metal, bone, pot, mortar and chalk) (Gerber-Parfitt 1997).

The data suggest that the 'dark earth' exhibits no upwardly ascending order of dated material for the Roman period. Of twelve squares immediately overlying the AD 200 fire debris, seven contained finds that were later than AD 340, two later than AD 200, and three contained no dated material at all. This implies a more thorough reworking of the deposit after AD 350 than the biological hypothesis would allow for. There were three medieval sherds higher in the column, from which we may determine that medieval disturbance reached down at least this far.

The levels at which the eastern block of 'dark earth' samples were taken could be compared to the adjacent, though physically separated, 4th-century mosaic. The surface of the 'dark earth' fell between 12.99m OD and 13.15m OD and consequently the base of the samples was at 12.69m OD–12.85m OD. The majority of the 'dark earth' was below the level of the mosaic, whose surface lay at 13.08m OD.

A sub-sample of 'dark earth' was subjected to soil micromorphology and chemical analysis. An increased number of voids and worm burrows was noted at the base of the 'dark earth' (eastern

Table 2. Dated finds from 'dark earth' spits by 100mm deep 1m squares

Square	E8/N190	E8/N191	E8/N192	E9/N190	E9/N191	E9/N192
Top	p1050–1150	0	0	0	0	0, c355–365
Middle	p350–400 c340–375	0	0, c270–365 c270?–360	p350–400 c340–347	p350–400 c355–365 c347–350	0
Bottom	0, c379–402	0	p350–400	0, c340–350	c340–350	c355–365 p350–400
Square	E33/N183	E33/N184	E33/N185	E34/N183	E34/N184	E34/N185
Top	No sample	0	0	No sample	0	p1050–1150 c270–273
Middle	p350–400	p300–400	0	p350–400 c287?–293?	p300–400 c270–285 c365?–375?	p1000–1150 p270–400
Bottom	p200–250	0	0	p350–400	p200–400	p350–400 c293?–325

1m squares are represented by their south-west co-ordinate, E8/N190 = 8m East/190m North.
 p300 = pottery date of AD 300; p365? = pottery date probably AD 365
 c270 = coin date of AD 270; c293? = coin date probably AD 293
 0 = no records of pottery

samples), which was characterised as 'typical' 'dark earth': highly humic, with enhanced levels of magnetic susceptibility and phosphate (Macphail 1997). At higher levels of the eastern samples and in the western sample there was more phosphate and even crystalline phosphate (vivianite $\text{Fe}_3 [\text{PO}_4]_2 \cdot 8\text{H}_2\text{O}$) characteristic of saturated soils and soils with both faeces and urine added. A small sample from beneath the mosaic was also analysed and it was noted that the soil was 'strongly worked by soil fauna'. The suggestion that earthworms had burrowed through the poorly preserved parts of the mosaic was supported by a very dark humic soil filling their burrows whilst the surrounding soil was described as 'pale dark earth'.

All of the evidence – artefactual, chemical, soil micromorphology, residues, and relative depths of deposits – is consistent with the interpretation that the 'dark earth' at 7 Bishopsgate was principally a product of the reworking of later Roman deposits in the Middle Ages. This conclusion supports the contention that reworking was a result of the disposal of wood ash and excreta from earth closets in casual pits or trenches. The high organic content of this waste would have encouraged a secondary process where increased populations of soil fauna penetrated below the levels dug over and carried darker humic material below the level even of apparently solid structures such as the 4th-century mosaic at Bishopsgate. Subsequent water penetration is thought to have carried more microscopic ash particles down the soil profile.

MEDIEVAL BISHOPSGATE AND THE BEGINNING OF THE MODERN ERA TO c.1700 (PERIOD 9)

All of the post-Roman archaeological structures at 7 Bishopsgate were truncated below the contemporary ground level, and no associated floors, yards, or building superstructures survived. A similar dark soil to that described as 'dark earth' filled a series of deep, post-Roman cut features which included wells, quarries, rubbish pits, and cesspits. Finds from these features included a Roman emerald and gold chain <529>, a possibly Viking soapstone bowl (Egan 1997), and pottery from the Saxon period to the 14th and 15th centuries.

Investigation of the party wall with the Merchant Taylors' Hall along the western side of the site revealed the outer side of the crypt that

had once supported the chapel³ (Building 12, Fig 14). A series of chalk blocks above the rough stonework marked the transition to foundations bearing the superstructure, which extended beyond the crypt to the south. The superstructure was a plain ragstone wall without openings, windows or doors, or any ornamentation. The top of the foundations lay at 15.0m OD, indicating a ground level 1.5m above the general level of modern truncation across the site.

Although medieval remains on the site only survived to a level far below their contemporary ground levels, some of the recorded evidence is remarkable. In addition to intercutting cesspits dated to the 10th to 12th centuries, a large quarry or cesspit dug into natural gravels, in use during the later 13th or early 14th century, was probably originally over 5m deep and featured wooden cross-bracing. Evidence was also found of square timber wells built from horizontal planks and corner posts. These wells penetrated the natural gravels to below 10.0m OD, apparently sufficient for the extraction of useful amounts of ground water. The disuse of one of the wells dated to sometime after 1140.

The surviving archaeological evidence at 7 Bishopsgate can be compared with documentary sources, which begin in c.1230 when Martin the baker (*pistor*) of Cornhill granted to Holy Trinity Priory a 3s quitrent from land in the parish of St Martin Outwich held of him by Isabel widow of Richard Radyng. According to the Holy Trinity list of successive payers of this quitrent, the Bishopsgate Street property was held by Hugh Mareschall, Ralph Merssh, Henry Merk, the canons of St Mary Southwark, and Peter le Hodere between the 1230s and 1280s. Subsequent payers of this quitrent include occupants recorded in other sources, most notably John and Walter Tottenham and John Chircheman (Hodgett 1971, nos 771–2). It was John Chircheman who granted this property, abutting Bishopsgate Street to the east and the church of St Martin Outwich to the north, to the Merchant Taylors' Company in July 1405, along with premises which fronted north on Broad (Threadneedle) Street to the west of the church (Ancient MS Book 5 'Benefactors' Gifts, 1578'). Chircheman was a major City merchant and collaborator with Geoffrey Chaucer, Comptroller of Customs (Schofield 1984, 104).

The Merchant Taylors' Company's records document the descent of the Bishopsgate Street property before it passed via Chircheman to the Company. The earliest, dated 10 May 1283, is a



Fig 14. The east wall of the Merchant Taylors' Hall. Note the large chalk blocks which form part of the wall foundation above the level of the crypt and which coincide with the top of a modern sloping berm (with coal hole). Modern basements had removed archaeological deposits to below the bottom of this berm

grant by Richard Horn to Ralf de Alegate of part of a garden between Ralf's garden to the west, other property of Richard's to the east, Ralf's garden to the south, and the tenement of the church of St Martin to the north, an area which measured 60ft north-south and 36ft east-west. The same grant was confirmed between late 1285 and May 1286, when the neighbour to the south was Simon de Coventre. On 30 March 1328 Edmund Crepyn granted to John de Totenham a house and plot with gates into Broad (Threadneedle) and Bishopsgate Streets. This was abutted to the south by Henry de Coventre, to the east and west by Edmund's property, and to the north by William de Oteswych. Four years later, on 12 September 1332 John granted a 60s quitrent from the same property (now described as lying between the property once of Sir Henry de Coventre to the south and the tenement of John de Yakesle to

the west, the tenements of William de Oteswych and Broad Street to the north and that of Edmund and Bishopsgate Street to the east). The 60ft dimension of the plot is close to the combined length of two later medieval cellars along the Bishopsgate frontage (20m=65ft, see Fig 15). The other dimension, at 36ft, is a lot smaller than the east-west dimension of the site (150ft) and we are clearly dealing with a smaller parcel of land here, but a property that at times extended beyond the site to Broad (Threadneedle) Street. The corner of Broad (Threadneedle) and Bishopsgate Streets had been occupied by the parish church of St Martin Outwich since 1217 (Schofield 1994) and the site lay south of tenements fringing it.

A large quarry/cesspit near the southern boundary of the site (not illustrated) was dug into natural gravels and was perhaps originally over 5m deep and more than 3m N-S (\times 2.5m E-W).

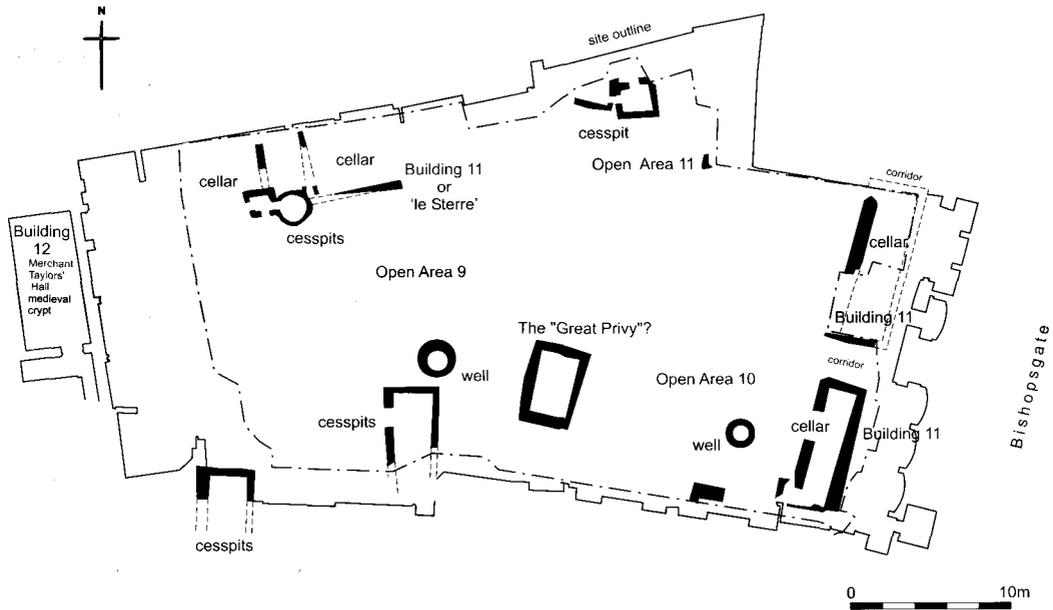


Fig 15. Principal archaeological features, Period 9, 14th to 17th centuries

It had wooden cross bracing; the bottom fill was undifferentiated dark soil but the top 1m was formed from a series of fine laminar soil and brickearth deposits as alternate nightsoil dumps were capped with a less offensive material. The laminar backfills of the pit were extensively sampled and the plant remains predictably included henbane (*Hyoscamus niger*), deadnettle (Lamiaceae family), charred wheat, fig (*Ficus carica*), and weed seeds from the sedge and carrot (Apiaceae) families. The pit contained a very large group of pottery, dated to the last quarter of the 13th century, broadly contemporary with Ralf's tenancy. The pottery included a variety of London and Kingston wares (which predominated), with some Mill Green, south Hertfordshire/Limpsfield grey wares, and green-glazed Saintonge. They were mostly kitchenwares with a large number of jugs and some cooking pots, storage and serving vessels.

In 1388 Chircheman gave a part of his garden to the Fraternity, which corresponds to the area of the little kitchen, scullery or pantry of the Merchant Taylors' Hall. The gift of 1405 included 4 messuages and 17 shops and other tenements in the parish of St Martin Outwich and the wards of Broad Street and Bishopsgate, on the south and west sides of the church and now 'for the most part new builded and made dwelling houses' (Ancient MS Book 5 'Bene-

factors' Gifts, 1578', f 1). This grant describes the properties on Bishopsgate Street as comprising:

one messuage called the *Sterre on the hope* and one messuage within and 9 shops annexed by the king's highway of Bishopsgatestreete between the foresaid church of St Martin's and the churchyard thereof on the north part, and the tenement of Robert Whityngham citizen and taylor of London on the south part, and they abut upon the tenement of the Fraternity aforesaid on the west part (Ancient MS Book 9 'The Wills Book', p 4).

— or in other words large houses, gardens, passage-ways, (forecourts?), and shops (compare with the 17th-century leasehold plan, Fig 17).

The archiving of the Merchant Taylors' leasehold agreements and accounts has preserved important information on who lived where (Dyson 1996), and on activities that may be identifiable in the archaeological record (eg digging wells or cesspits) as well as those that are more ephemeral (eg making pergolas for vines). Surviving archaeological remains from the medieval period included shop cellars on the Bishopsgate frontage and domestic cellars on the north side of the site, the latter including a carved doorjamb and steps. The excavation also uncovered evidence of the successive 'great privies' or cesspits mentioned in the accounts: 'For ferming of the grete prevey and beryng of

the same and casting up of another prevey, 13s 4d' ('Reparations at Sterre' in 1444-45, Accounts III). One of the 'privies' contained pottery associated with its construction, dated 1270-1400, and pottery from its disuse and backfill, dated 1380-1500 (the great privy that was closed), whilst its neighbour had a cessy backfill dated 1500-1600 (its successor 'cast up', Fig 16). The contents of this enormous cesspit are discussed more fully in a forthcoming paper on the Merchant Taylors (Sankey 2003). The pit contained a great variety of pot types and imports, with Dutch and north German wares predominating and cooking as well as serving vessels present. A Spanish vessel from the fills may have contained mercury for medical purposes.

The privy also contained abundant water-logged seeds, wood fragments, and smaller numbers of charred grape seeds and chaff. A sample contained large numbers of puparia, fish bones, and moderate numbers of beetle fragments. Large fragments of cloth and a possible leather fragment were also present, and may have been trade waste.

The basic form of building and occupation identified from the historical records appears to be a large mansion (the 'great messuage' and/or 'le Sterre') which combined shops on the Bishopsgate frontage, a gatehouse, passageways, and (2?) forecourts with a garden to the rear which may be related to leasehold plans of the late 17th century (Building 11). Major City magnates who may have sublet could lease the property as a whole, or it could be leased as a series of smaller holdings direct from the Company. The property was partially rebuilt in or after 1570 following a successful petition by Thomas Random to remit rent of £60 in return for an estimated £400 cost of constructing a new tenement on the south side of the great gate or entry leading into the messuage. It may be that the backfilling of the southerly of the two shop cellars occurred at this date. The cellar backfill contained pottery dated 1480-1550 and was contemporary with the Great Privy to the west.

The main leaseholders during these years included some of the increasingly powerful merchants and political leaders within the City of London. These included Thomas Rowe,



Fig 16. Excavation of the 'Great Privy'

merchant taylor and son-in-law of the wealthy Sir John Gresham. Between 1557 and 1570, when he died, Gresham was variously alderman, master of the Merchant Taylors, sheriff, president of St Thomas's Hospital, and Lord Mayor, and was knighted in 1569. Following his death his son-in-law and widow continued to occupy parts of the property.

Other leaseholders belonged to the national ruling élite and no doubt valued the Merchant Taylors' connections with the Court. Thus Lord Wriothesley first Earl of Southampton held the smaller of the two main tenancies from 1546–47, in his last year as Lord Chancellor; this was in addition to other properties, for example his house in Ely Place. The relationship between City and aristocracy is perhaps demonstrated by the marriage of Alderman Halliday's widow Susan, granddaughter of Thomas Rowe and a resident, to the Earl of Warwick. The earl and countess lost their tenancy when the lease was transferred to merchant taylor Sir William Acton in part payment of a debt.

On the whole, pottery and food waste failed

to bear out the residents' high status but a few Penn floor tile fragments, a tin-glazed polychrome floor tile, part of a mullion (all in secondary contexts), and a moulded door jamb (*in situ*, north cellar Building 11) are more suggestive of the wealthy character of the site in the late medieval and Tudor periods.⁴

On the north side of Open Area 9 (shown as a garden in 1688; Fig 17) there was a smaller cesspit noteworthy for its odd construction. It was a chalk structure, with a smallish square box foundation punctuated by thin arched openings, of a form previously interpreted as a soakaway (Schofield *et al* 1990, 175) but which was demonstrated to have been used for collecting liquids (cess) on this site. The 'curious arches' (*ibid*, fig 58) led to channels which led vertically down the outside of the structure. The cesspit was associated with the adjacent, divided cellar which featured a ragstone threshold and moulded doorjamb. The cellar, which is described above, is not securely dated.

In the early 1640s the properties making up the area of the site were acquired by Abraham

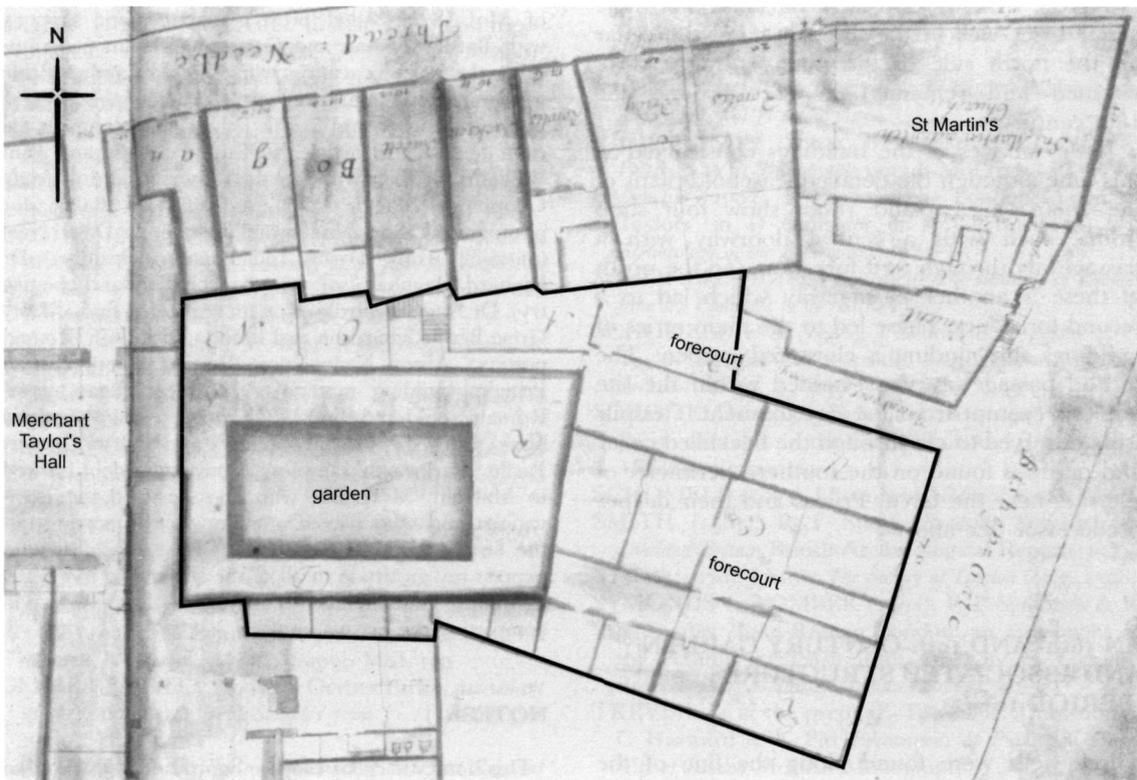


Fig 17. Merchant Taylors' Company leaseholds in 1688

Reynardson, a merchant taylor who was made alderman in 1640 and sheriff for 1640–41, the same year he was master of the Merchant Taylors' Company. Having acquired the leaseholds he then secured permission from the freeholders court (of which he was a member) to demolish and rebuild as one large tenement, and this is acknowledged in the accounts by the amalgamation of rents. For their own reasons the Company abstracted a vault and a well from the lease/s. Reynardson managed to be reimbursed for £600, for part of the works, in the usual form of a rent-free period.

Evidence for the demolition of the old buildings comes from the backfill of a stone well in the rear garden (Open Area 9) (Fig 17) which contained pottery dated to 1600–1650. Other contents of the well included a lead counterweight, the most common sort of candlestick of the time, and a syringe thought to be for the self administration of mercury for venereal disease (pers comm Dr Geoff Egan). In contrast with these lowly finds, a polychrome floor tile in blue, yellow and orange on a white background, and clearly from a superior floor, was also recovered. From the evidence of their backfills, both the major brick well in the forecourt and the cellar on the north side of the main entrance were retained and remained in use through the 18th century.

Little survives of the buildings constructed at this time although the detailed leasehold plans of the 1680s (Fig 17) and 1690s show four shop fronts, each with a central doorway with a passageway through to a forecourt. To the north of these is another passageway which led to a second forecourt. These led to the main series of buildings surrounding a cloistered garden. The second passageway was retained within the site but was exempt from the development. Cesspits were observed to cut through the backfilled cellar and one was found on the southern perimeter of the site, near the Great Privies and their deeper predecessor (see above).

AN 18th- AND 19th-CENTURY GARDEN AND ASSOCIATED STRUCTURES (PERIOD 10)

Three wells were found along the line of the garden wall, which was retained until the last century. All of the wells were built using

unmortared standard bricks. Two new wells were constructed within standing buildings, presumably in the cellars of shop fronts. Together with a few remnants of wall footings and a curious curved foundation which may have been part of a cesspit or the support for a bow window which overlooked the garden to the north, these were the latest extant archaeological remains found on the site (not illustrated).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The excavations at 7 Bishopsgate and the analysis and research work leading to this paper were generously funded by Greycourt plc. The City of London Archaeology Trust have supported research into the site and the Merchant Taylors' Hall. John Towers and Peter Biscoe of the Waterman Partnership helped with the project planning, as did Peter Mills (Mills-Whipp Partnership). We would like to thank Kathryn Stubbs, Senior Planning and Archaeology Officer of the City of London, for her valuable input and support for the work. Thanks must also go to Dominic Perring and Jez Reeve, both formerly of the Greater London Archaeology Advisory Service at English Heritage.

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NOTES

¹ This domestic cellar may be contrasted with those of a cultic significance (even within domestic buildings) discussed in Perring 1989.

² Similar earthfast 'piles' were seen at Watling Court, also supporting a timber-framed building (Building F), though that was only seen where the walls crossed brickearth quarries (Perring *et al* 1991, 68). In contrast Building 7's equivalent 'piles' were observed only where cutting natural brickearth and are presumed to have been driven through quarry backfill but to have been obscured by the general mixed dirty nature of those fills.

³ Dated to the 14th century by the RCHM(E) (1929). The accounts of 1493 clearly indicate that the chapel, and chapel chamber, were amongst the complex of buildings on the east side of the hall ('...Repairing of the hall ende, estwardes the Chapell, the Chapell Chambre, the botery, the pantry' *etc.*, transcribed in Clode 1875, 80) and locate it above the crypt.

⁴ The buildings on the west side of Bishopsgate and Gracechurch Streets, south of St Martin's Outwich, were described in 1598 as '...ye divers fair houses for merchants' Stowe 1970, 157.

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over the information transcribed. Page numbers referred to are page numbers of the transcribed volumes and folio numbers refer to the original text. Neither are always legible, folio numbers repeat and sometimes there is a double system of page numbers. Accounting years are referenced when appropriate.

Other Company records, such as gifts or wills, are also available at the Guildhall Library, listed as Ancient Manuscript Book (volume number).

Specialist assessment and publication reports are kept by the Museum of London.

CHANGING THE LANDSCAPE: EXCAVATIONS AT BLACK FRIAR'S COURT, LUDGATE BROADWAY, LONDON EC4

Kieron Tyler

With contributions by Ian M Betts, Geoff Egan, Lisa Gray, Katherine F Hartley, Kieron Heard, Nigel Jeffries, Jackie Keily, Jane Liddle, Alan Pipe, Kevin Rielly, Mark Samuel, Fiona Seeley and Roberta Tomber

SUMMARY

The Museum of London Archaeology Service undertook excavations at the site bounded by Pilgrim Street, Ludgate Broadway, Waithman Street and Apothecary Street in the City of London during 1999. The underlying geological deposits – floodplain gravels – had been truncated across the whole of the site by medieval quarrying. The sole pre-medieval feature recorded was a Roman well. In 1159 the site was granted to the Knights Templar as part of a plot on the east bank of the River Fleet. This passed to the Dominican Friary at Blackfriars in 1309 and became part of their outer precinct. The friary was founded in 1275 and the City wall was then extended westwards in stages during 1284–1320 to surround their outer precinct. This construction programme had a major impact on the site which was quarried on an unprecedented scale. The site was quickly consolidated, becoming part of the Dominicans' garden ground from 1309 to 1538, and pits within the garden ground dating from the life of the friary were recorded. Following the 1538 Dissolution of the friary the site passed into private hands and was developed. A well and cesspits from the post-Dissolution, pre-1666 Great Fire period were recorded. A number of post-1666 cesspits demonstrated the rebuilding of the area after the Great Fire.

INTRODUCTION

The site was located in the west of the City of London, west of modern Black Friars Lane. It

was open land bounded by Pilgrim Street, Ludgate Broadway, Waithman Street and Apothecary Street (NGR TQ 3172 8109) (Fig 1). Following its clearance after bombing in 1940, the site remained undeveloped until the recent archaeological work by the Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS), supervised by Kieron Tyler (Fig 2).

Redevelopment proposals comprised the construction of two buildings within the site limits. The basement slab of the northern building had a proposed formation level of 2.00m OD. The present pavement level around this area of the site is c.11.00m OD. The basement slab of the southern building had a proposed formation level of 4.90m OD. Pavement level surrounding this area of the site is c.10.40m OD. The new buildings were to have raft foundations without piling, requiring the underlying ground to be stable. Therefore, made ground was to be truncated down to the surface of the underlying geological deposit across the whole of the site. Excavations were undertaken from 28 January 1999 to 9 March 1999 to fulfil archaeological conditions attached to the two (conditional) planning consents in 1998, one given to each redevelopment scheme. Following the completion of the controlled archaeological works a watching brief was undertaken on the contractors' groundworks. The watching brief was terminated at the



Fig 1. Site location

end of October 1999 after contractors completed excavations in advance of casting the new basement slab.

Two factors constrained the extents of the archaeological trenches (Fig 3). Firstly, modern basement slabs truncated archaeological deposits at the west and north-west of the site. Archaeological survival under this slab was limited to an extensive, deep, backfilled quarry pit. The other constraint was the use of a battered slope to support the sides of the site during excavation. This was stepped down to the excavation area. The material in the battered slope was observed during mechanical excavation during the watching brief.

The archaeological sequence is expressed in terms of a period-based sequence of land use. Land-use entities are unique to the site and based upon a combination of stratigraphic development of the site with artefactual and documentary dating. The analysis resulted in a series of specialist research archives under the

site code LUB98. This is lodged with the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre and may be consulted by prior arrangement.

Limited archaeological evaluation was undertaken in both 1988 and 1993 when trial pits were excavated which demonstrated archaeological survival at the site (McCann 1988; McCann 1993a). Further evaluation to refine these findings was conducted in 1998 when five geotechnical test pits were dug alongside a borehole survey. These indicated that the London Clay underlying the site sloped down from east to west, towards the former River Fleet, and from north to south, towards the Thames. The 1998 evaluation also indicated the presence of a series of quarry pits which appeared to have been backfilled during the late 12th to late 13th centuries.

The 1999 excavations revealed that changes in land use occurred during periods when the site passed from one ownership to the next. Furthermore, features were dated to different periods of ownership. Consequently this article



Fig 2. General photograph of the site, looking to the north-east

demonstrates that historic changes in ownership had major impacts on land use at the site. The final change in land use reflected in the archaeological sequence was the Great Fire of 1666. Therefore it is the immediate post-Great Fire period, when the current street pattern was laid out, which defines the cut-off point of this report. Details of the analysis of 18th- and 19th-century material beyond the scope of this article are included in the research archive.

BACKGROUND: TOPOGRAPHY, HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Topography

Two major topographic features are present in the site area: the gravel terrace of Ludgate Hill and the River Fleet, formerly aligned north-south to the west of the site.

The gravel terrace consists of the sands and

gravels of the Middle Thames Terrace (Taplow Terrace) formed by the River Thames and its tributaries. London Clay underlies the gravel terrace. The interface between the gravels and the clay runs through, or just west of, the site (British Geological Survey 1993). To the south of the site the line of interface defines the confluence of the Fleet and Thames.

The Fleet is currently piped beneath Farringdon Street and New Bridge Street. Although street level over the Fleet has been raised, the river valley remains visible as the foot of Ludgate Hill is approached from the east.

Prehistoric

The potential for pre-Roman finds from the site was considered low (McCann 1993a).

Roman

During the Roman period the Blackfriars area saw little construction. It was beyond the limits

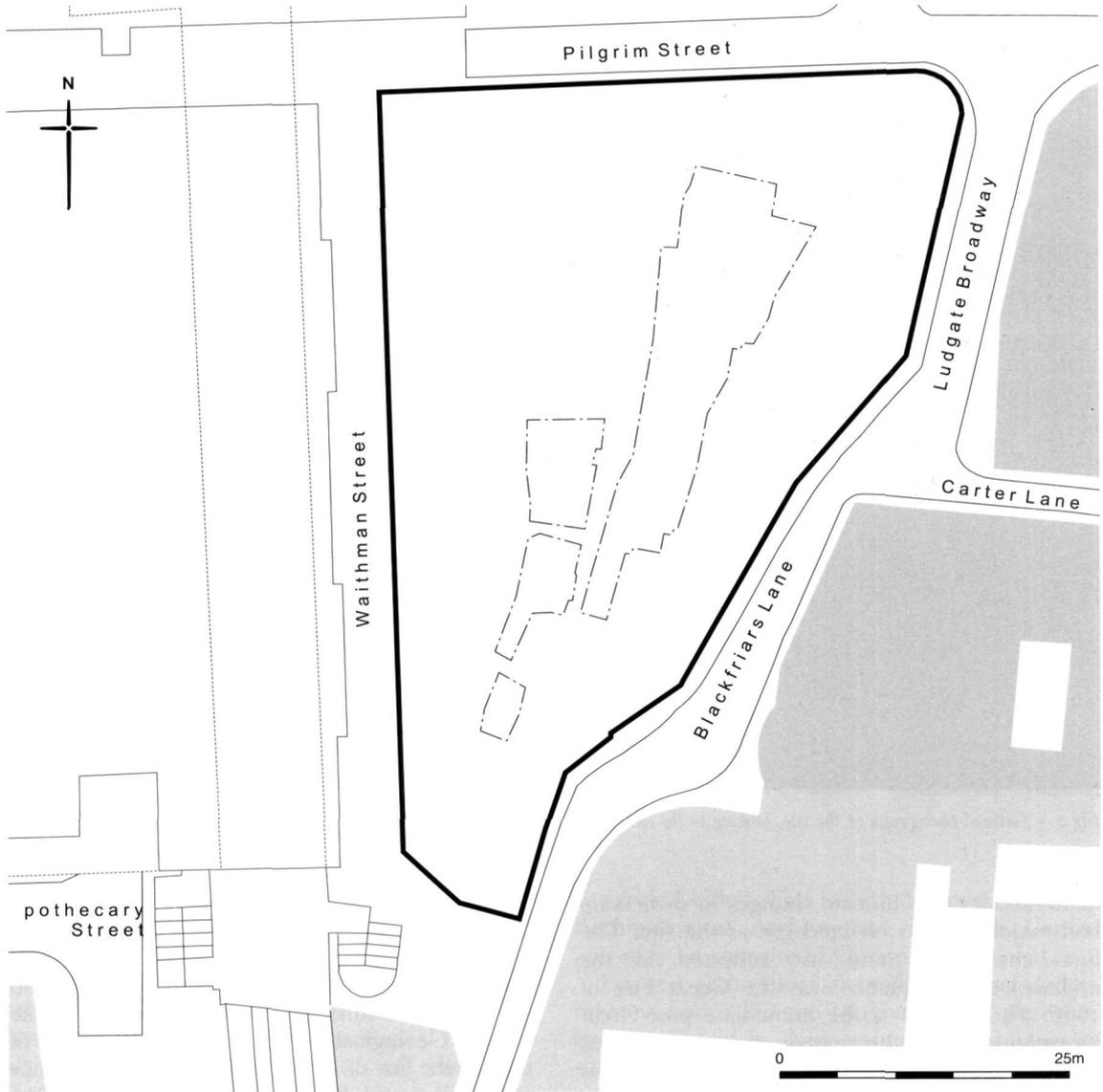


Fig 3. Site outline with limits of archaeological excavation trenches

of Roman *Londinium*, outside the city wall, built c.AD 200. The site is south of the Roman road (aligned along Ludgate Hill) which left the city at Ludgate. Roman law forbade burial within settlement areas and, consequently, cemeteries tended to cluster around the approach roads to Roman towns, including Ludgate Hill. Roman graves – inhumations and cremations – have been recorded both to the north and south of Ludgate Hill (Hall 1996, 58–64).

The nature of Roman activity in the area was clarified during the 1988 archaeological work on

the Fleet Valley Project (site code VAL88), a consequence of the development of the Thameslink railway line between Blackfriars and Farringdon. The Roman road along Ludgate Hill was dated to the earliest years of the occupation before the construction of the city wall. No roadside burials were found during these works. Observations both beneath and to the west of the new railway line suggested a small island stood in the River Fleet to the west of the site (Fig 4). Further south, between the former Apothecary Street and Queen Victoria Street,

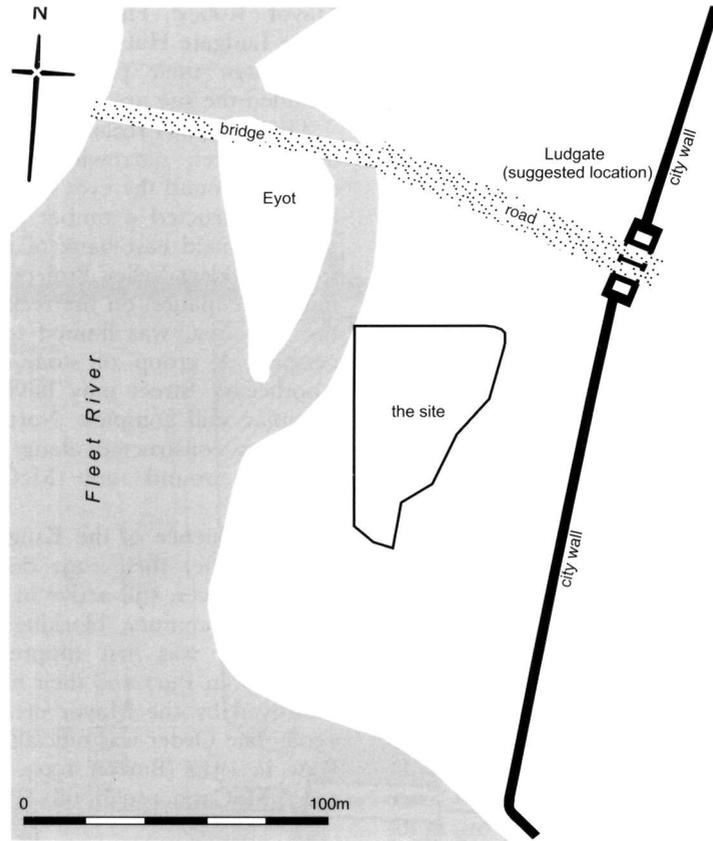


Fig 4. Topography of site area during the Roman period, after the late 2nd-century construction of the city wall. Note island (eyot) in the River Fleet immediately north-west of the site

Roman activity was limited to the excavation of quarry pits (McCann 1993b, 25–36).

Saxon

Although there is no archaeological evidence that the area within the Roman city wall continued to be inhabited after the Roman withdrawal early in the 5th century, documentary sources imply activity by AD 604 when St Paul's Cathedral was consecrated (Schofield 1993, 21). The main trading focus of the early and mid-Saxon settlement was west of the Roman city, around Covent Garden, Aldwych and the Strand in an area known in the 8th century as *Lundenwic*. To date there is little archaeological evidence for activity in the former Roman city contemporary with *Lundenwic*.

The area of the Roman city was re-occupied after AD 886, when King Alfred established a

burh (a fortified urban centre of Saxon administration). Given the paucity of early and mid-Saxon remains elsewhere in the City, it was considered unlikely that archaeological features and artefacts dating from before the city's late 9th-century re-occupation would be found in the site area. Indeed, the area between the city wall and the River Fleet was probably abandoned between the end of the Roman period and the mid-11th century (McCann 1993b, 47).

Although two late Saxon finds have been made close to the site, they provide little evidence for occupation. Both were excavated as part of the Fleet Valley Project. A substantial timber bridge abutment (dated to AD 1032), north-west of the site under Ludgate Circus, was presumably part of the structure which spanned the Fleet. Secondly, a group of human burials, dated to AD 1050–1100, was located on the edge of the contemporary bank of the Fleet, south of the former Apothecary Street, south of the site.

Although eleven individuals were interred, only three skulls were present, and these may have been the bodies of people killed in battle (McCann 1993b, 46–9, 52–3, 56).

Medieval

Edward the Confessor's development of Westminster as a centre of royal government was continued after 1066 by his Norman successors. Building programmes were also initiated within the walled city: Old St Paul's Cathedral dates from the early Norman period, replacing the Saxon church which had burned down in 1087.

As part of the route between the royal palace of Westminster and St Paul's and the City, Ludgate Hill was certainly important. At its foot, the River Fleet became a busy port. Stones for the construction of Old St Paul's were landed here, and coal was imported through the Fleet from the early 12th century.

Areas close to the site, within the walled city, were under development during the 11th to 12th centuries, while the site area remained just beyond the City wall. Castles built by William to control the City included Baynard's Castle (built by 1087) east of the study area, south of Carter Lane, and Montfichet's Tower (built by 1136) also to the east of the site in the Carter Lane area (Schofield 1993, 38–40). Outside the City wall, the King's Prison of Fleet was established north of Ludgate Hill by 1171.

Black Friars Lane, the eastern limit of the site, is known from the mid-14th century: in 1352–3 it was known as Castle Lane, presumably due to the proximity of Baynard's Castle (Lobel 1989, 97). North of the site, the timber Fleet bridge was replaced with a double stone bridge, either constructed or repaired in 1431 (the records are ambiguous); the bridge survived until the 1666 Great Fire.

The site area: ownership by the Knights Templar, 1159–1308

By the end of the 12th century the site area was under the ownership of the Order of Knights Templar. They had a house to the south of Fleet Street at the foot of Chancery Lane in 1128 (Burton 1994, 82). In 1159 Henry II granted them land on the east bank of the Fleet and the 'course of water of the Fleet' to build a mill.

Mayor Robert Fitzwalter granted them land along Ludgate Hill and close to the Fleet bridge to enlarge their property which would have included the site area.

The Templars reclaimed land from the mouth of the Fleet, narrowing it considerably. The channel around the eyot was infilled, after which they constructed a timber revetment along the newly defined east bank of the Fleet. Evidence from the Fleet Valley Project excavations for the initial occupation on the reclaimed land, west of the site area, was limited to pitting, including cesspits. A group of stone buildings south of Apothecary Street may have been part of the Templar mill complex. North of the site stone buildings constructed along Ludgate Hill were dated to around 1200 (McCann 1993b, 57–8, 70–1).

The influence of the Knights Templar began to wane after their 1291 defeat at Acre. They were, however, still active in the site area in the early 14th century, blocking the Fleet in 1306. The order was first suppressed in France by Philip IV in 1307 and their mill on the Fleet was destroyed by the Mayor of London in January 1308. The Order was officially suppressed by the Pope in 1312 (Burton 1994, 268; Honeybourne 1947; McCann 1993b, 68).

The site area: enclosure by the City Wall, c.1284/1303–1320; and ownership by the Dominican Friary (Black Friars), 1309–1538

Further major changes occurred between Ludgate Hill and the mouth of the Fleet in the late 13th century. After an application by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Kilwardy, Edward I granted an extensive site just inside the City walls to the Dominican Friars in 1275. The Dominicans, later known as the Black Friars, were a mendicant order that travelled, preaching and evangelising. The Dominican Friary in the City of London, established 1275, was joined by another at Guildford founded in the same year (Burton 1994, 113; Butler & Given-Wilson 1979, 51–3; Clapham 1912, 58; Poulton & Woods 1984, 5).

The inner precinct of the Dominican Friary was located along the current Carter Lane, immediately east of the site, across Black Friars Lane (Fig 5). South of Ludgate, both the Roman city wall and Montfichet's Tower were demolished to make room for the friars' buildings. In

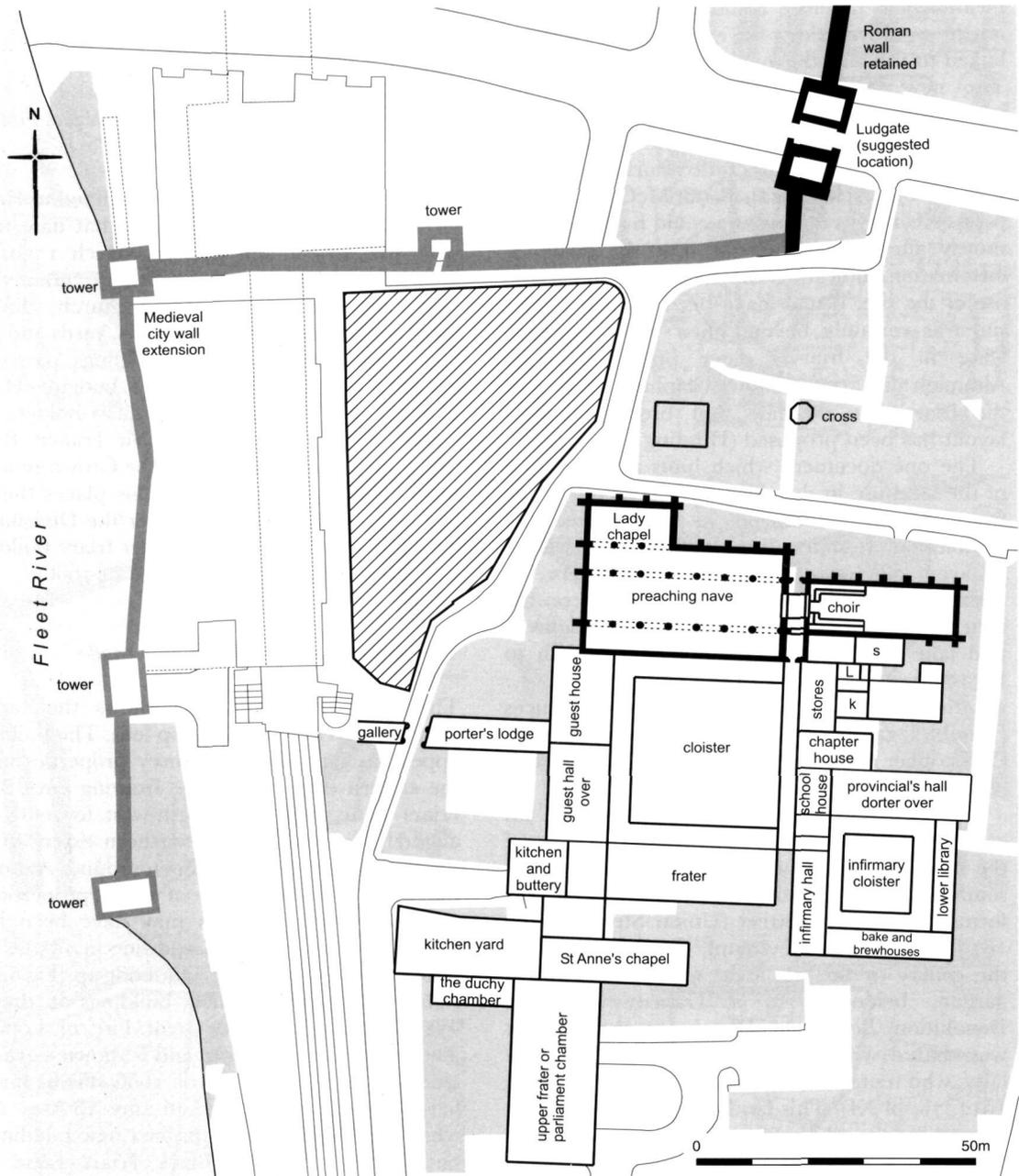


Fig 5. The site area during the medieval period with reconstruction of the plan of the priory of Blackfriars, founded 1274 (after Clapham 1912, pl XI). Note extension of City wall enclosing site area and the priory's outer precinct, completed by 1320

February 1278 Edward I ordered that their precinct be enclosed by a wall (Clapham 1912, pl XI; McCann 1993b, 87).

A new, east-west section of the City wall was built to enclose the friary precinct, between Ludgate and the Fleet, and was possibly complete

by early 1284, certainly by 1303 (Fig 5). This stretch of wall was aligned along the north side of Pilgrim Street, immediately north of the site (McCann 1993b, 88–9).

In 1309, Edward II granted two plots of land next to the former Fleet mill to the friary. This

meant their precinct could be enclosed by a north–south wall along the east bank of the Fleet, linked to the already complete east–west section. The new section of north–south City wall, incomplete in 1315, was completed by 1320. A 50-metre stretch between Pilgrim Street and Apothecary Street was recorded during the Fleet Valley Project (Harben 1918, 78; McCann 1993b, 72, 91). Changes in land use could have followed shortly after 1309. There is little documentary information indicating the nature of the friars' use of the site; it may have been a garden. The site was certainly beyond their inner precinct, lying in the friary's outer precinct (Fig 5). Although this article follows Clapham's layout of the friary, an alternate, but broadly similar, layout has been proposed (Hunting 1998, 74).

The one document which hints at the nature of the land use in the site area is a survey of the friary precinct compiled in 1551 after the Dissolution. It states: 'One void ground with a decayed gateway (rather gallery) therein ... abutting the Bridewell ditch [*ie* the Fleet] on the west side ... abutting to the common highway and lane [*ie* Blackfriars Lane], that guideth to the common stairs to the Thames side, ... abutting to Mr. Harper's garden and also Frances [illegible] garden at the north side and to Sir Christopher More's garden on the south side' (Clapham 1912, 61, 81–2).

Clapham has described the gallery as an east–west structure linking the inner precinct of the friary to the bank of the Fleet, just to the south of the site, along the south side of the former Apothecary Street (Union Street on the 1873 Ordnance Survey map). The land north of the gallery (*ie* the site area) was described as a garden, belonging to a Frances after the Dissolution. Before the Dissolution the precinct was shared with the friars by members of the laity, who rented houses from the prior (Clapham 1912, 76, pl XI). This land was probably garden ground for the whole life of the friary.

Post-medieval

Black Friars Lane was known as Water Lane by 1540 (Harben 1918, 614). The area south of the site, on both sides of the lane, was examined during the Fleet Valley Project excavations. Gardens or open spaces dating from the 17th century were recorded between the rear of the buildings and the east bank of the Fleet. These

contained wells and rubbish or cesspits (McCann 1993b, 115–22).

The Dissolution of the Dominican Friary (Black Friars), 1538

The Dominican Friary was surrendered to Henry VIII on 12 November 1538. At that date there were just sixteen inmates. In March 1550, the bulk of the priory buildings were granted to Sir Thomas Cawardine – the church, cloister, chapter-house, churchyard, closes, yards and part of the guest-house. Other buildings passed to Thomas Godwine (the Ankar's Lodging House in 1544), Paul Gresham and Francis Boldero (the eastern range in 1544), and Sir Francis Bryan (the prior's lodging in 1547). The Crown retained a hall (Clapham 1912, 60). This places the site in the hands of Cawardine after the Dissolution. The superstructure of the former friary buildings was destroyed by the Great Fire of 1666.

The site area: post-Dissolution, after 1538

The Agas map of c.1562 shows the site as partially developed (Fig 6, top left). The buildings appear as one- and two-storey properties along the eastern edge of the site, fronting onto Black Friars Lane, and as a north-west to south-east aligned group across the northern extent of the site. Otherwise, the site is open ground. Although the date of construction of these properties is unknown, some of them may have been built after the site passed to Cawardine in 1550.

By 1658, the site was fully built-up (Fig 6, top right). In September 1666, buildings on the site were destroyed by the Great Fire of London. The site was then cleared and is shown as vacant land on the Leake map of 1666 (Fig 6, middle left). Rebuilding commenced after 18 May 1667 when the foundation of the first new building to be constructed along Black Friars Lane was surveyed. The final foundation was surveyed on 27 July 1676 (London Topographical Society 1967, 11–12). Ten years after the Great Fire, Black Friars Lane was again fully built-up, while the western half of the site stayed as open land (Fig 6, middle right). By 1746, when the Rocque map was compiled, the site was completely built over (Fig 6, bottom left).

The streets which bound the north and south of the site were laid out during the third quarter

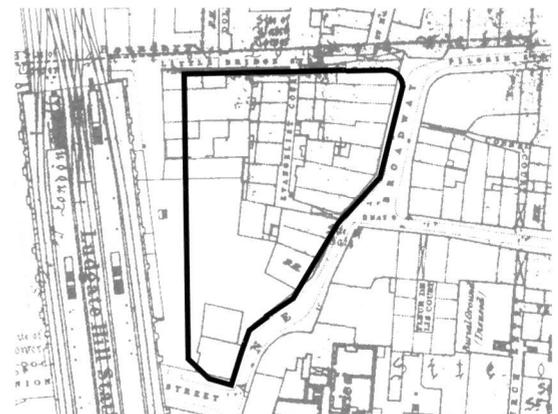
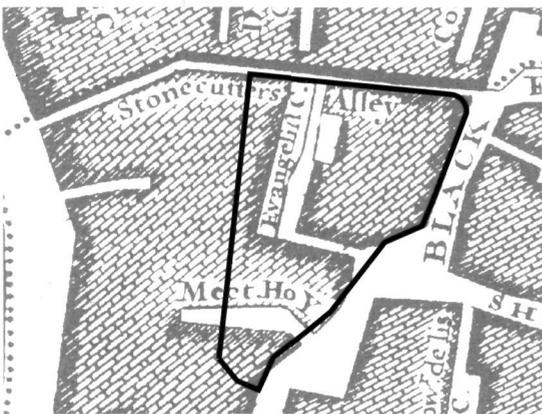
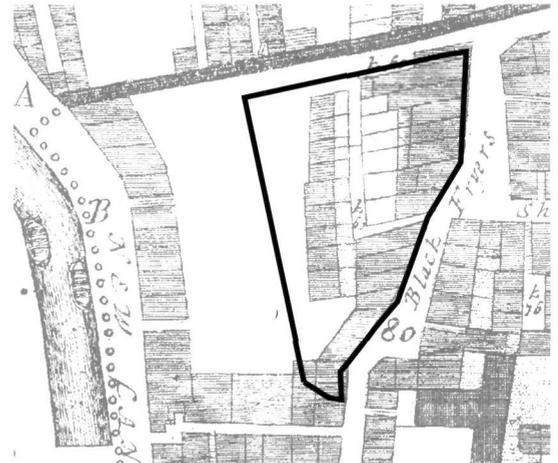
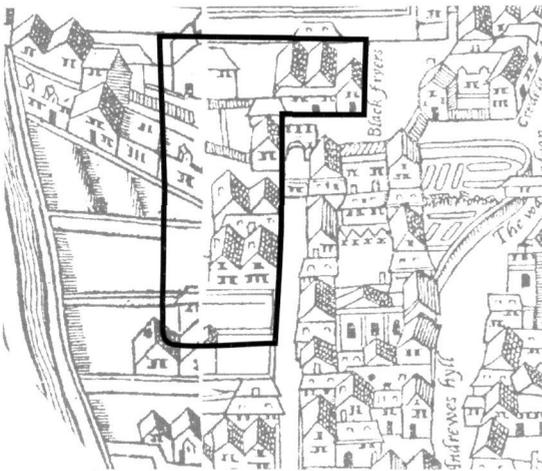


Fig 6. Historic maps with the site outline superimposed. Top left: the Agas map c.1562; top right: the Faithorne and Newcourt map, 1658; middle left: the Leake map, 1666, with the site cleared after the Great Fire; middle right: the Ogilby and Morgan map, 1676, the site built up after the Great Fire of 1666; bottom left: the John Rocque map, 1746; bottom right: the Ordnance Survey map, 1873 (reproduced by kind permission of the Guildhall Library, Corporation of London)

of the 17th century. Apothecary Street (Union Street in 1873; Fig 6, bottom right), to the south of the site, first appears on the Faithorne and Newcourt map of 1658; it was not on the Agas map of c.1562. On the Leake map of 1666 and the Rocque map of 1746 it is called 'paved alley'. Pilgrim Street, to the north of the site, first appears on the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676 adjacent to the inside face of the City wall; the Rocque map of 1746 shows it as Stonecutters Alley. By 1873 it was known as Little Bridge Street (Fig 6, bottom right).

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

Kieron Tyler

With contributions by Ian M Betts (building material), Geoff Egan (coins), Lisa Gray (plant remains), Katherine F Hartley (stamped Roman mortaria), Kieron Heard (tobacco pipes), Nigel Jeffries (post-Roman pottery), Jackie Keily (accessioned finds), Jane Liddle (faunal remains), Alan Pipe (faunal remains), Kevin Rielly (faunal remains), Mark Samuel (worked stone), Fiona Seeley (Roman pottery), and Roberta Tomber (Roman pottery)

Period 1: geological deposits

The underlying geological deposits were London Clay overlain by alluvial gravels. The London Clay survived to a maximum level of 4.39m OD at the east of the site and 1.90m OD at the north-west of the site. The surface of the clay sloped down across the site, from the east towards the River Fleet. The clay was sealed by alluvial gravels, observed across the whole site. In all areas of observation, the gravels were truncated by later activity. At the north-west of the site the surface of the gravel was truncated by modern concrete basement slabs at 2.79–3.89m OD. The gravels survived to 7.35m OD at the east of the site.

Period 2: Roman

A single feature datable to the Roman period was observed. This was a well, which went out of use after AD 120 (Fig 7). A square cut (0.90m by 0.90m) with a base level of 5.41m OD had been made into the Period 1 gravels towards the north-east of the site. It was truncated at 7.12m

OD by a later quarry pit. What appeared to be the remains of a decayed timber lining, between 40 and 60mm thick, adhered to the inside face of the well-cut.

The cut was backfilled with grey-tinged yellow sandy clays. Although the upper backfill included no pottery, it did include three fragments of cattle bone, and a juvenile sheep/goat radius. A cattle calcaneum had extensive butchery marks, suggesting body dismemberment.

The lower backfill included sheep-sized bone fragments and a range of Roman finds, including a sherd from a Les Martres-de-Veyre samian dish, dated to after AD 100, and a Black Burnished ware 2 sherd dated to after AD 120.

Otherwise, the pottery assemblage from the lower backfill chiefly comprised large sherds from two amphorae (81 out of a total of 91 sherds). One vessel is a Baetican Dressel 20 amphora, the most common type found in London during the Roman period. These were used to transport olive oil from southern Spain (Davies *et al* 1994, 9). Most of the Dressel 20 fragments from the well are bodysherds. The other vessel is a Dressel 2-4 amphora, of a type primarily used to transport wine, produced at numerous centres primarily in the western Mediterranean area in the 1st and early 2nd centuries (Peacock & Williams 1986, 105–6) (Fig 8, No. 1). Petrological study suggests that this vessel may be from the Aegean or eastern Mediterranean area.

Also recovered from the backfill was a fragment (244mm maximum height) of painted plaster from a lower section of wall (Fig 8, No. 2). The design indicated that it was originally the upper part of a dado and a border area decorated with red, white, cream and black bands. This was found with early Roman brick and roofing tile.

Discussion

The Roman well was sunk into the floodplain gravels to tap ground water. Examples with similar dimensions have been recorded in the City of London. A square well from Mark Lane, on the east side of the City, was lined with boards 0.96m long and 50mm thick (the decayed lining at LUB98 was 40 to 60mm thick) (Wilmott 1984, 6–7). Allowing for the thickness of the boards this gives an internal width of 0.86m, within the range of the LUB98 example. Roman wells have also been recorded at sites outside the City wall, for example at West Smithfield (site

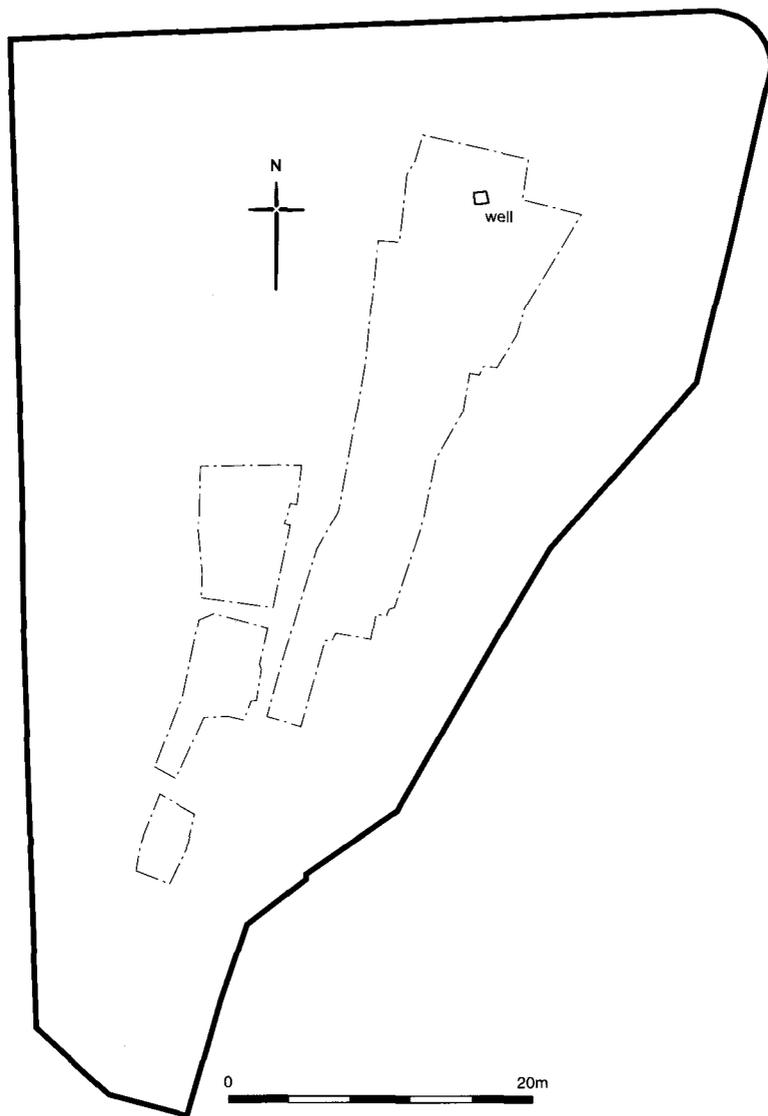


Fig 7. Period 2: Roman well

code WSI97), with backfill dated to the 1st–2nd centuries.

Period 3: medieval quarrying, before c. 1320

In Period 3, the alluvial gravels (Period 1) were quarried. All observed areas of the site were quarried (Figs 9–10). One massive quarry pit extended across the whole east–west width of the site (c.40m) and up to 21m north–south. This cut was dug through the alluvial gravel into the surface of the London

Clay and had a base level of 3.34m OD at the east of the site where the alluvial gravel had been totally removed and the surface of the clay had been exposed. Although truncated at 7.35m OD, the northern slope of this cut was observed dropping to the south at a gradient of 3 in 4.

The remaining quarry cuts were located north of the massive quarry pit (Fig 10). They were smaller, measuring up to 8.50m north–south by 5.30m east–west and had base levels between 5.48m OD and 7.50m OD. They were truncated at levels between 6.21m OD and 7.90m OD.

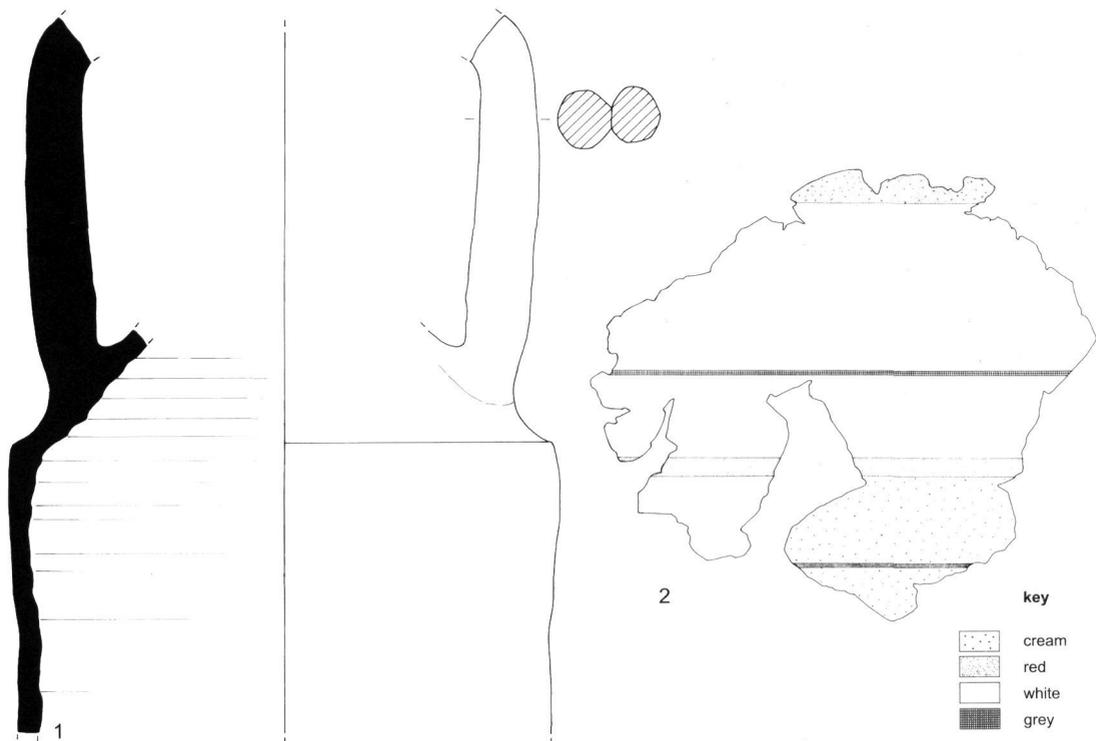


Fig 8. Finds from Period 2, the backfill of the Roman well: 1. Dressel 2-4 amphora; 2. Painted wall plaster (Scale 1:4)



Fig 9. The quarry pits under excavation

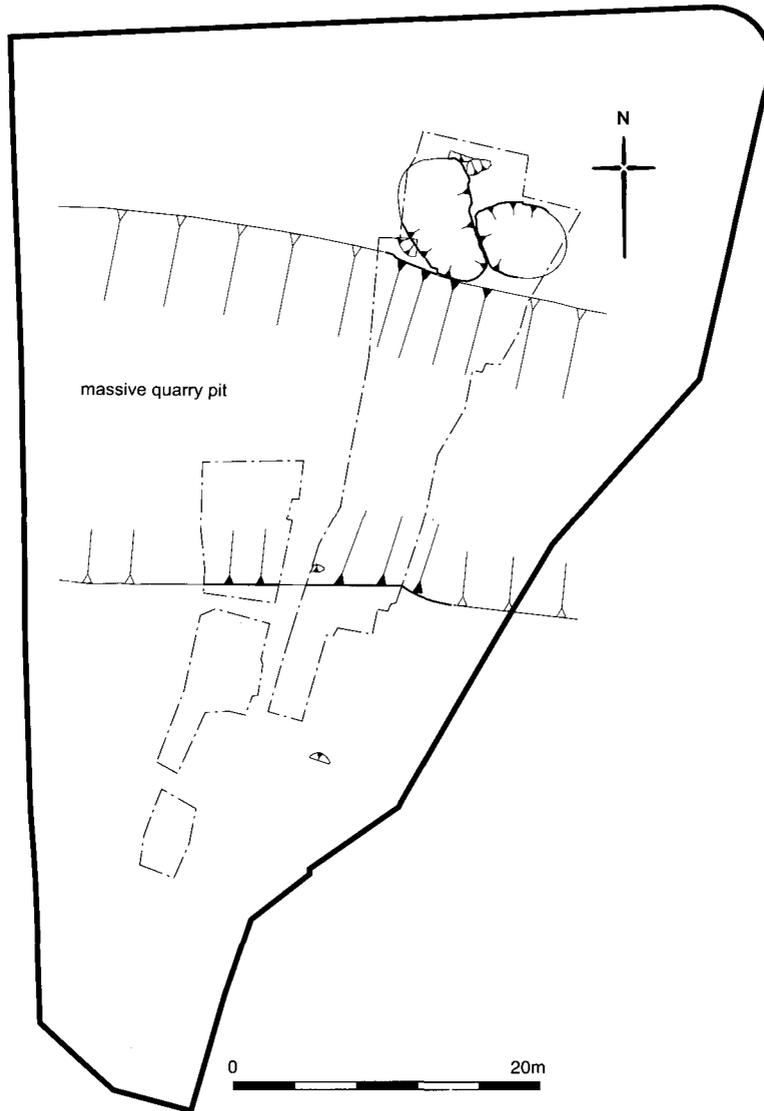


Fig 10. Period 3: medieval quarry pits, dug c.1309-1320

Discussion

The site area, outside the City wall before 1303-1320 and held by the Knights Templar from 1159 to 1308, may have been partially built-up by 1308. Buildings dating to the Templar period have been recorded both to the north and south of the site. It follows that the site area itself may have become partially built-up during the Templars' ownership. In which case, the Templars are unlikely to have undertaken full-scale quarrying.

Although there were no primary fills indicating when the pits were dug, the quarrying – a change

of land use – probably took place after 1308, when the Templars surrendered the site. In 1309 the site was incorporated into the precinct of the Black Friars monastery and would have been a ready source of gravel for building work, specifically for the extension of the City wall, completed c.1320.

Period 4: medieval infill of quarry pits and consolidation, before c.1350

In Period 4 the quarry cuts were backfilled, consolidating the site. The deposition of the

landfill material, recorded across the whole site, was broadly dated to 1080–1350 by pottery. The landfill material spread across the limits of more than one pit. This was wholesale consolidation.

Tip lines, mainly down to the south-west, were apparent, as were slight differences between individual deposits. Overall, however, the landfill was homogeneous and must be seen as evidence for one activity, taking place over a limited period (initially defined by the pot dating). The uppermost landfill deposit had a truncated surface level of 10.75m OD, indicating that the contemporary ground surface was higher.

Backfills of the massive quarry pit

The most complex depositional sequence was the backfills of the massive quarry cut, where 202 separate contexts were recorded.

Although 28 of the backfill contexts of the massive quarry cut contained redeposited Roman pot, medieval pottery in 31 of the fills was entirely domestic. London-type ware and its various decorative derivatives (early style and polychrome) was, not unexpectedly, the most common. It was the major source of glazed jugs in London from the late 12th to mid-14th century (Pearce, Vince & Jenner 1985, 1). Saxo-Norman pottery (Early Medieval Sandy ware, flinty ware, shelly ware and grog-tempered ware) in these fills was residual.

The largest group of pottery from one of these backfill deposits consisted of 130 sherds from up to 52 vessels; the majority was from one vessel – a London ware jug with white-slipped decoration that had broken into 57 pieces. Fourteen, often abraded, sherds of South Hertfordshire greyware were also recovered. Some of these sherds were rare examples with small spots of green glaze applied to their external surfaces. Regional imports also included a Kingston-type ware cooking pot. This white-fired, wheel-thrown, sandy earthenware was one of the main types of pottery used and found in London between the early 13th and the early 15th centuries (Pearce & Vince 1988, 6). This vessel, together with the two sherds of London polychrome ware, gives a *terminus post quem* date of c.1230–1350 for this particular fill. Fragments of mid-12th- to early 13th-century shouldered peg, flanged, and curved roof tiles were also present together with a piece of roofing slate.

Faunal remains included cattle and sheep/goat

lower limbs, and two entire cat long bones. A large male sheep horncore could be indicative of horn-working waste. Some evidence of veal consumption was apparent: very young cattle femurs were excavated, one with evidence for butchery. This is indicative of a fairly high status diet. In addition, a red deer radius is indicative of venison, another high status meat, being consumed.

The remaining quarry pits

The backfills of the remaining, smaller, quarry pits located to the north of the massive pit were similar in character and contained finds comparable to those noted above. The fills comprised grey-brown mixtures of silt, sand and clay and redeposited alluvial gravel.

One backfill, to the north of the site, included an assemblage of 71 sherds of pottery from up to 63 vessels, discarded between c.1180 and 1220. As the source of the material redeposited on the site as backfill is unknown, this dating is little help in establishing when the consolidation of the site occurred. Of all the pottery groups from the backfill sequences, this was in the best condition, consisting of large sherds with little abrasion. In common with the other pits, some Roman material was present, but little earlier medieval pottery was found. The fabrics and forms were similar to the massive quarry group: South Hertfordshire and shelly sandy ware cooking pots and London-type ware jugs were dominant; the last including a range of strap handles with thumbed or slashed decoration and, in one case, a rod handle with applied 'ears'. A few of these London ware vessels were also decorated in the Rouen-style (Pearce, Vince & Jenner 1985, 28) (Fig 11, No. 1). Also recovered was the rim profile from a jug with thumbed and stabbed decoration applied to the handle, a common feature of this industry (Fig 11, No. 2). A South Hertfordshire ware bowl with a hole pierced just below the rim has no parallels from published excavations (Fig 11, No. 3). The lack of sooting on the vessel indicates the vessel had not been heated on a fire; it may have served as some kind of strainer or colander.

This deposit also included one kilogram of animal bone including a sheep metacarpal from a small, medieval-type sheep and a number of horse remains. Two horse tibias, a femur, and an astragalus of similar size and stature may

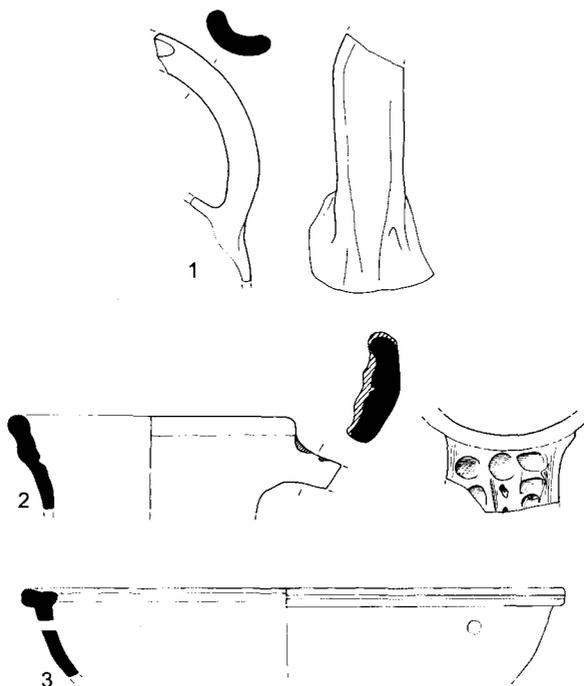


Fig 11. Pottery from Period 4, medieval infill of quarry pits: 1. Handle from a London ware Rouen-style jug; 2. Rim profile from a London ware Rouen-style jug with thumbbed and stabbed decoration applied to the handle; 3. South Hertfordshire ware bowl with a hole (Scale 1:4)

derive from the same individual indicating that the hind legs of the horse may have been deposited together into the quarry pit. Bone-working was evident in the form of a sawn distal cattle tibia and metacarpal.

Another backfill group included four small groups of pottery with high levels of residual contamination from the early medieval or Roman period. One sherd is a 6th- to 7th-century Frankish import and, although residual, is a very unusual find (Fig 12). It is decorated with a linear band of diagonal roller-stamping and appears to be the shoulder of a biconical jar (Vince & Jenner 1991, 113).



Fig 12. Pottery from Period 4, medieval infill of quarry pits: Frankish import, shoulder of a biconical jar with a linear band of diagonal roller stamping (Scale 1:2)

Medieval peg tile was also present (dating to 1180–1480) together with residual Roman pottery and building material.

Plant remains from all these landfills indicate that they had not accumulated over time but were deposited soon after the excavation of the pits. There was no evidence for aquatic plants and thus no evidence for the pits being open long enough to collect water. Furthermore, the range of weed seeds expected from plants growing around and in an open pit was absent.

Discussion

The medieval pottery recovered from the quarry pit backfills is overwhelmingly local in character with little evidence of wares from outside London and its immediate environs. London ware makes up 33.7% of total sherd count of the medieval assemblage while its earlier variant, London coarse ware, provides a further 6.9% and South Hertfordshire ware adds another 24.4%. The only wider English imports found, Thetford and Stamford wares, appear to be residual.

In common with many medieval assemblages the dominant forms are cooking pots and jugs. The pottery found in the quarry fills reflects the disturbance caused by the digging and subsequent rapid backfilling of this feature. Consequently, the condition of the pottery is often poor and usually consists of small-sized, fragmented, groups. The pottery confirms the land use sequence, as no fabrics can be dated beyond the mid-14th century.

The most reasonable explanation is for the Period 4 consolidation to have taken place as a result of the activities associated with the foundation and subsequent building works of the Dominican Friary – Blackfriars. In this case, consolidation may have taken place after the site area was ceded to the Friary in 1309 and possibly before, or shortly after, the completion of the new north–south stretch of the City wall by 1320: a date within the range of c.1230–1350 indicated by the pottery.

The pottery suggests the landfill material came from a local, London, source while the environmental evidence indicates the quarry pits were backfilled quickly after their excavation.

Period 5: later medieval c.1350–1538

Period 5 included evidence for activities undertaken after the deposition of the Period 4 landfills. Features observed were a kitchen waste pit, a lined cesspit (Cesspit 1) and a truncated pit of unknown purpose (Fig 13).

Kitchen waste pit

The kitchen waste pit was recorded towards the north-east of the site (Fig 13). It retained a single fill which included pottery dated to 1380–1500, within the lifespan of the friary. The pottery included 37 sherds of Coarse Border ware (the later products of the Surrey whiteware industry) and three sherds of residual London ware. Amongst the Coarse Border ware was the near complete profile from a flat-topped cooking pot, a fragmented bifid-rimmed cooking pot, and the base from a plain conical jug. The flat-topped cooking pot shows signs of being heated over a fire or stove, which caused the lower part of the body to reduce to a grey colour. The inside of the lower base had tidemark residues, from the boiling and reduction of the liquids it once held.

Its base was also slightly worn and abraded, providing further evidence of use. These flat-topped cooking pots are typologically dated to the late 14th century (Pearce & Vince 1988, 85).

The pit also contained nearly 1,000 animal bones, constituting over a third of all faunal material recovered from the site. There were remains of fish, bird, small and large mammals as well as seafood. All domesticated animals were well represented, with a mix of body parts, mainly upper and lower limbs. Cattle-sized ribs and vertebrae were common. A pair of infant cattle metacarpals may have come from the same individual. Rabbit and cat remains were present. Goose and chicken were common, with chicken in the majority. Fish bones included a large cod, within the 40–50lb range, a good size for a bottom-trawled cod. The fish showed evidence of butchery.

Seafood was also well represented. A total of 1.32kg of marine mollusc shells were recovered by hand-collection. This distinctive shell group was dominated by very well preserved adult and young adult common whelk (*Buccinum undatum*), common/flat oyster (*Ostrea edulis*), common cockle (*Caecostoderma edule*), and common mussel (*Mytilus edulis*). At least one oyster valve from this context was very heavily damaged by the boring sponge *Cliona celata*. All these species were commercially fished and of economic importance. They are available from the outer Thames estuary and adjacent coasts.

Cesspit 1

A typical medieval chalk-lined cesspit was recorded along the eastern edge of the site, opposite the west end of Carter Lane (Fig 13). Although the full north–south length (2.50m) was recorded, the eastern extent was beyond the limit of excavation. Base level was 6.80m OD and the pit was truncated above 8.00m OD. The base was lined with a compact layer of chalk while the sides were lined with squared chalk blocks. Tile levelling courses were laid between the uneven chalk courses. Bonding material was light-yellow sandy mortar. The lined pit contained a primary fill of a soft dark-purple to black deposit, probably cess. This was sealed by a mixed backfill which included one sherd of London ware pottery broadly dated to c.1080–1350.

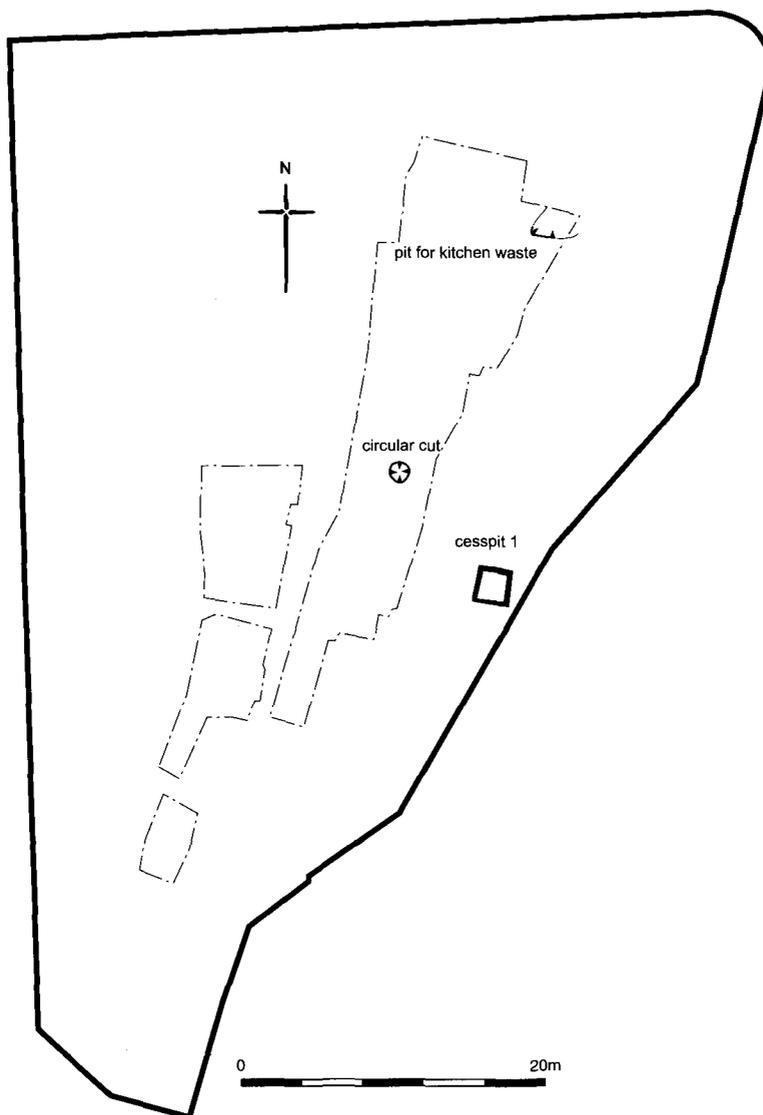


Fig 13. Period 5: later medieval activity associated with the Dominican Friary c.1350–1538

Circular cut

A flat-bottomed circular cut was located near the centre of the site (Fig 13). The diameter was 1.26m, base level was 7.77m OD; the feature was truncated at 8.01m OD.

Although there was nothing (eg a lining or a primary fill) to suggest the purpose of this feature, the backfill included peg tile dated 1480–1800, as well as Tudor-type red brick dating from the mid/late 15th century to 1666. The pottery found in the backfill was one non-diagnostic sherd of

London ware pottery, dated to between c.1080 and 1350. This suggests the feature could have been backfilled before 1538 when the site was still within the outer precinct of the Dominican Friary.

Discussion

These features date from when the site was under the ownership of the Dominican Friars (Black Friars). The site area was within the friary's outer precinct and probably in use as

gardens, certainly until the 1538 Dissolution. Therefore, these cut features can indicate something of the nature of Dominican activities (and diet).

The pottery from the kitchen waste pit, when compared with the animal bone and other environmental evidence also discarded in the pit, represents a group of vessels in use in a medieval kitchen.

Period 6: post-medieval. The site from the 1538 Dissolution to clearance following the Great Fire of 1666

After the dissolution of the Dominican Friary in 1538, the bulk of the monastic buildings were passed to Sir Thomas Cawardine who in 1550 received the churchyard, other yards and closes. The site was redeveloped from 1550, and a series of features dating from this period were recorded (Fig 14). By *c.*1562 the site was partially developed, with stretches of buildings concentrated along the eastern frontage and northern end of the site (see Fig 6, top left). The site remained open behind these properties. By 1658 the site appears to have become fully built-up, with little open ground between each property (see Fig 6, top right).

Any traces of buildings contemporary with Period 6, *eg* foundations, were removed during subsequent clearance, but deeper features – a well and a cesspit – were recorded. The well, and probably also the cesspit, would have been located in a yard behind or between the properties on site.

Brick-lined well

A circular, brick-lined well was located along the eastern edge of the site (Fig 14). Dating evidence indicates that the well was in use by *c.*1650–1700, and possibly backfilled after the 1666 Great Fire. The internal diameter of the well was 1.10m. The well was truncated at *c.*9.00m OD and extended to a depth below *c.*5.50m OD.

The backfill of the well included 64 pottery sherds from up to 14 vessels. Two complete profiles were present. The first is from a green-glazed border ware chamber pot, typologically dated by its flat-topped rim to between *c.*1650 and 1700 (Pearce 1992, 32–4). The second profile is from a red border ware dish with a

sooted base. The other pottery is derived from a number of sources. Other redwares include the substantial upper rim and body profile from a post-medieval redware handled bowl and two storage jars. English pottery from further afield included a Staffordshire ware slip-decorated mug. Continental imports consist of two sherds of Rhenish stoneware and the lower neck of a jug with a Bartmann facemask. A Chinese blue and white porcelain teabowl represents the first example of Far-Eastern wares in the post-medieval assemblage.

The well backfill provided the only evidence for pantile roofing from the excavation. This roof tile is possibly Dutch: pantiles were being imported into London from *c.*1630 and are not thought to have been made in England until around 1695 (Smith 1996).

Cesspit 2

Towards the north-east of the site was a rectangular, brick-lined cesspit (Fig 14). The pit measured 1.54m by 1.50m externally and base level was at 7.94m OD. It was truncated at 8.23m OD. Like the well, the dating evidence suggests use before the 1666 Great Fire.

The primary fill included tobacco pipe dated to 1610–1710, peg tile dated to 1480–1800, and plain glazed Flemish floor tile (*c.*late 15th to *c.*mid-16th century). Bone in the primary fill contained a small number of domesticates, fish bones, three rabbit tibias, and juvenile dove.

The primary fill was sealed by a backfill which included tobacco pipe dated to 1610–1710, one sherd each from a yellow-glazed Surrey/Hampshire border ware dish and bowl, and the pedestal base from an undecorated tin-glazed ware, possibly from either a salt or drug jar. Building material included peg tile (1480–1800) and another plain glazed Flemish floor tile similar in date to that noted above. A fragment of coal was recovered. Bone in the backfill included a human metapodial and the remains of suckling pigs.

*Cesspit 3, disuse *c.*1665–1680*

Cesspit 3 was a rectangular brick-lined structure located south-east of Cesspit 2 (Fig 14). Base level was 7.23m OD. The cesspit was truncated at 8.36m OD.

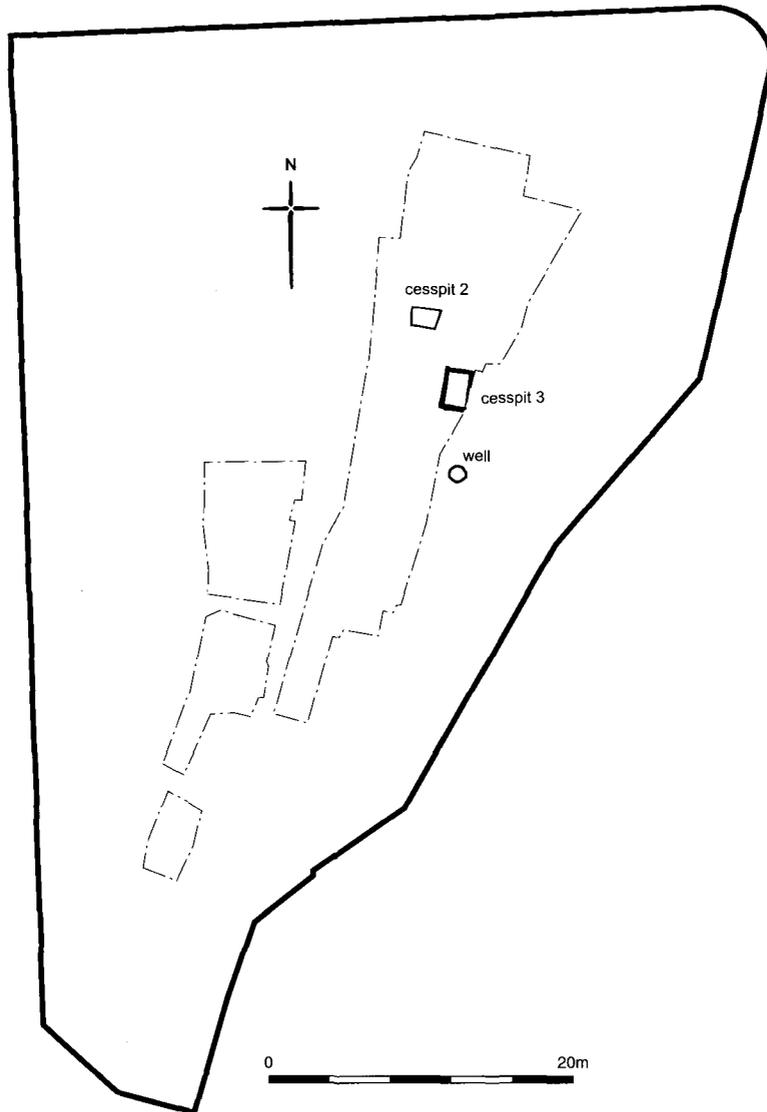


Fig 14. Period 6: post-medieval, the site between the 1538 Dissolution and the Great Fire of 1666

The backfill included 39 sherds of pottery from up to 17 vessels. The pottery included the complete profile from a yellow-glazed border ware dish, decorated with a pie-crust edged rim that is so far unparalleled (Fig 15, No. 1). Continental imports included a Rhenish jug with the interwoven initials *PVA* above an anchor medallion (Fig 15, No. 2). The initials refer to the Dutch merchant, Peiter van den Anker, who was part of a consortium of London-based Dutch traders that monopolised the trade in Rhenish

stonewares between 1660 and 1665 (Gaimster 1997, 82–3). The group also included two border ware vessels that had been directly exposed to fire, causing them to change from their usual red-fired body to a white one.

Clay tobacco pipe was limited to one plain pipe bowl of type AO₁₅ dated 1660–80 (Atkinson & Oswald 1969). Nine fragments of 17th-century green-glass wine bottles with long necks and globular bodies were also recovered.

The material found in this cesspit was

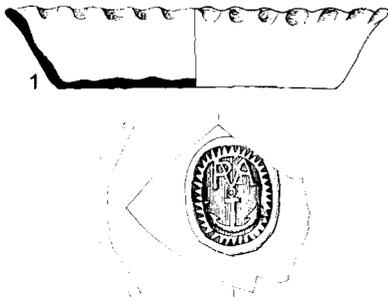


Fig 15. 1. Complete profile from a yellow-glazed border ware dish, decorated with a pie-crust edged rim from Cesspit 3; 2. Rhenish jug with the interwoven initials PVA above an anchor medallion from Cesspit 3 (Scale 1:4)

discarded between c.1665 and 1680. It is probable that the finds were disposed of soon after the Great Fire of 1666 – an interpretation supported by the two border ware vessels.

Period 7: post-medieval. The site following consolidation after the Great Fire of 1666

The Great Fire of 1666 would have destroyed any buildings on the site (see Fig 6, middle right). After clearance Black Friars Lane had been built up by 1676 (see Fig 6, middle right). Features dating from the post-Great Fire period of redevelopment, mainly brick-lined cesspits, were recorded on the site (Figs 16–17). The properties on the site in 1676 had yards to their rear and it is probable the cesspits recorded in Period 7 were located in these open areas (Fig 16). As with Period 6 no traces of the contemporary buildings survived due to subsequent clearance.

Cesspit 4: disuse after c.1580–1710

Cesspit 4 was located close to the south of the excavation area (Fig 16). Base level was 6.11m OD and the pit was truncated at 6.70m OD.

The backfill contained coal and coal dust. A small, fragmented, group of pottery from the infilling dates to c.1580–1700. Tobacco pipe was dated to 1580–1710. Also found were fragments from the rim and neck of a glass urinal, part of the rim of a mould-blown beaker, and a fragment of corroded sheet iron, possibly part of a vessel. Urinals were used in the study and analysis of

urine (uroscopy) as an aid to medical diagnosis and were common from the 13th/14th centuries to at least the 17th century (Shepherd nd; Charleston 1984, 258).

Cesspit 5: use late 18th century–early 19th century

Cesspit 5 was north of Cesspit 4 (Fig 16). Base level was 8.03m OD. The cesspit was truncated at 8.22m OD.

Within the cesspit was a loose, red-brown, humic, primary fill. This was the only fill; there was no backfill. Although the finds were mainly deliberately dumped domestic rubbish, some were probably accidental discards, such as a virtually complete patch box, a night-light holder, and a group of coins.

The primary fill contained uncharred plant remains preserved by waterlogging. Abundant raspberry (*Rubus ideas* L) and elderberry (*Sambucus nigra* L) seeds were present along with moderate quantities of blackberry (*Rubus fruticosus* L) seeds and low numbers of fig (*Ficus carica* L) seeds. Plant remains preserved by mineralisation consisted of low numbers of cherry (*Prunus avium/cerasus*) kernels and unidentifiable leguminous (*Fabaceae*) seeds. Mineralisation occurs when organic remains are exposed to faecal material, bones or lime which replaces the organic compounds in the remains with calcium phosphate (Greig 1982, 49), calcium carbonate, or silica (Zohary & Hopf 1993, 6).

Faunal remains included chicken and fish bones, an infant cattle radius and a foetal/neonatal pig tibia. The latter indicate veal and suckling pig consumption. Fly puparia and small rodent remains were also recovered.

The primary fill contained finds deposited during the life of the cesspit. These included redeposited Roman tile and pottery, and tobacco pipe and peg tile which can be only broadly dated (1780–1910 and 1480–1800 respectively). A group of 69 pottery sherds, from up to 21 vessels, consisting of a range of Creamwares, decorated Chinese porcelain, and coarse red earthenwares, dated the infilling of this cesspit to between c.1745 and c.1800. The most complete Chinese porcelain vessels were two teabowl profiles, further decorated by being painted dark green over the existing red under-glaze chrysanthemum pattern. This decoration style, known as klobbering, was applied after these pieces had been exported from China. This was

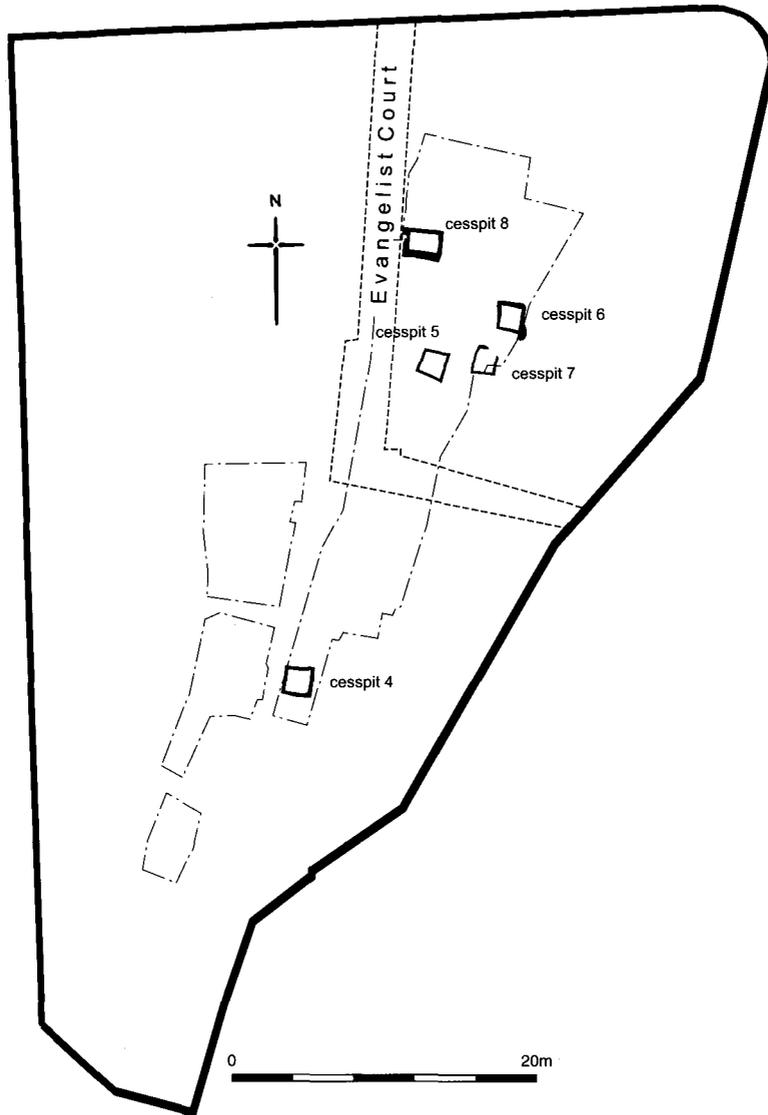


Fig 16. Period 7: post-medieval, the site after the Great Fire of 1666, with overlay of Evangelist Court showing relationship of cesspits to street pattern

common practice on pieces of imported Chinese porcelain during the 18th century, which were altered in Britain and Europe to suit contemporary tastes (Sheaf & Kilburn 1988, 182). The post-medieval redwares include two profiles from unusual, small, unglazed, rounded dishes (Fig 18, Nos 1–2). No parallels for these vessels have been found, but their unglazed, coarse fabric suggests they were horticultural vessels.

The primary fill of Cesspit 5 also produced an

enamelled, copper-alloy patch box. The outside of the lid was decorated with a disintegrated transfer-printed design of a kissing couple and the words 'I Love Too Well To Kiss And Tell'. The inside contained the remains of a mirror, indicating that this was a patch rather than a snuff box. Such small boxes, often with sentimental or romantic designs and mottoes, were produced in large numbers from the late 18th to the early/mid-19th century (Benjamin



Fig 17. *Cesspit 6 under excavation*

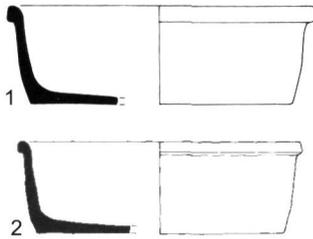


Fig 18. *Pottery from Period 7, the site after the Great Fire of 1666: Post-medieval coarse redware, profiles from two small, unglazed, rounded dishes from Cesspit 5 (Scale 1:4)*

1978, 10). Other copper-alloy finds include drawer or cupboard handles, a cutlery handle, a plain, round box lid or base, part of a stud, and 37 badly corroded George III halfpennies (1760–1820). Also found was a silver George I half crown.

Another find was a complete 19th-century glass nightlight holder with a globular body sitting on a small stem (identification by John Shepherd). Such objects were mass-produced from the 18th to the 20th centuries (O’Dea 1958, 47).

Cesspit 6, disuse c.1800

Cesspit 6 was a rectangular brick-lined structure located to the north-east of Cesspit 5 (Fig 16). Base level was 7.61m OD. The cesspit was truncated at 8.40m OD.

Pottery from the backfill of Cesspit 6 included the base of a plain tin-glazed ware jar and the base from a post-medieval redware flower pot. Also recovered were peg tile dated to 1480–1800, plain unglazed Flemish floor tile (mid-16th/17th to 18th century), and fragments of brown-glazed Victorian machine-made drain pipe with the impressed letters of the manufacturer. The cesspit disuse is after 1800, perhaps c.1850.

Cesspit 7, use after c.1665–1680

Cesspit 7 replaced Cesspit 3 (Fig 16). Base level was 8.29m OD. The cesspit was truncated at 8.46m OD.

The backfill included demolition debris, but no objects of note. Dating is based on it being later than Cesspit 3.

Cesspit 8, disuse c.1830–1850

Cesspit 8 was located to the north-west of Cesspit 7 (Fig 16). Base level was 7.61m OD. The cesspit was truncated at 8.34m OD. The pit measured 1.90m east–west by 1.25m north–south internally.

The fill was a peaty, grey-brown deposit mixed with demolition debris (brick, mortar). Presumably some primary fill remained in the pit at its backfilling.

The pottery from this cesspit consists of 74 sherds, from up to 34 vessels which date to between c.1830 and 1850. The pottery consists of English and Chinese porcelain with larger quantities of industrial finewares, such as Creamware and Pearlware. These are either transfer-printed or under-glazed hand painted. With a narrow range of fabrics and forms, closely dated to within twenty years, the assemblage might be part of a selective clearance from a nearby domestic household (Pearce 2000, 145–6). However this group does not match the criteria established for a clearance group and it is difficult to discuss this group beyond the source and chronology of the wares represented.

More dating evidence came from an assemblage of tobacco pipe dated 1830–1850. There were 30 19th-century pipes with moulded marks on the sides of the heel or spur. Some of these have an additional stamped mark on the back of the bowl, facing the smoker. The products of at least 12 different pipe makers are represented but there is nothing to indicate that any of the makers was working in the vicinity of the site. It is not unusual for large groups of pipes of this date to have been derived from a number of sources.

Some of the pipe makers can be positively identified. John Hurst was working in Cowcross Street, West Smithfield during the period 1808–49 (Atkinson & Oswald, 1969). There are two pipes with his name and address stamped on the bowl (with the City of London Arms) and the initials *JH* moulded on the spur (Fig 19, No. 1). There are four type AO28 bowls (from three different moulds) and a type AO29 bowl with the initials *JH* moulded on the spur (Fig 19, Nos 2–3). William Williams had a workshop at 295 Kent Street, Borough in 1823–51 (Tatman 1994, 144–5). His surname (with the City of London Arms) is stamped on the back of a type AO28 bowl that has the initials *WW* moulded on the spur (Fig 19, No. 4). There are five examples of the *HC* mark, on type AO28 pipes from three

different moulds (Fig 19, Nos 5–7). This mark does not seem to have been recorded previously. The pipes might have been made by one of the following makers, taken from the List of London tobacco pipe makers 1800–99 (Atkinson & Oswald 1969): Hannah Clark, Queens Court, Holborn (1832); Henry Cox, High Holborn (1837–40); Mrs H Cox, Queens Court, Holborn (1840–53). The other makers' marks have all been recorded in small numbers on sites elsewhere in the City and surrounding boroughs. They cannot be attributed with any degree of certainty.

The non-ceramic finds included objects of a personal or domestic nature, comprising buttons, parts of a copper-alloy purse frame (Fig 20, No. 1), an incomplete bone or ivory needle case (Fig 20, No. 2), a broken drinking glass, a key, a slate pencil (Fig 20, No. 3), and a coin. Virtually all of the objects are broken or damaged. All of the objects are mass-produced, everyday items and do not indicate any great degree of wealth, and were probably accidental losses.

CONCLUSIONS

Roman activity beyond the limits of the city wall is well documented and the site was certainly no exception, even though evidence was limited to a single well which fell out of use after AD 120. There may have been Roman burials in the area, but the evidence was missing due to later truncation.

The site was subject to development from 1159 to 1308 when it was owned by the Knights Templar. Although archaeological excavations in the vicinity have demonstrated that buildings dating from the Templar period existed both north and south of the site, evidence for similar structures was completely missing from the site. Once again this was a result of later truncation.

It is the first half of the 14th century which provides convincing evidence for exploitation, when quarry pits were excavated across the whole site. The City wall was lengthened down to the bank of the River Fleet just beyond the north limit of the site by c.1284–1303. The wall was then extended north–south along the bank of the Fleet from 1309–1320, after the site was granted to the Dominican friars. The archaeological work has shown that any Templar-period buildings on the site would probably have been

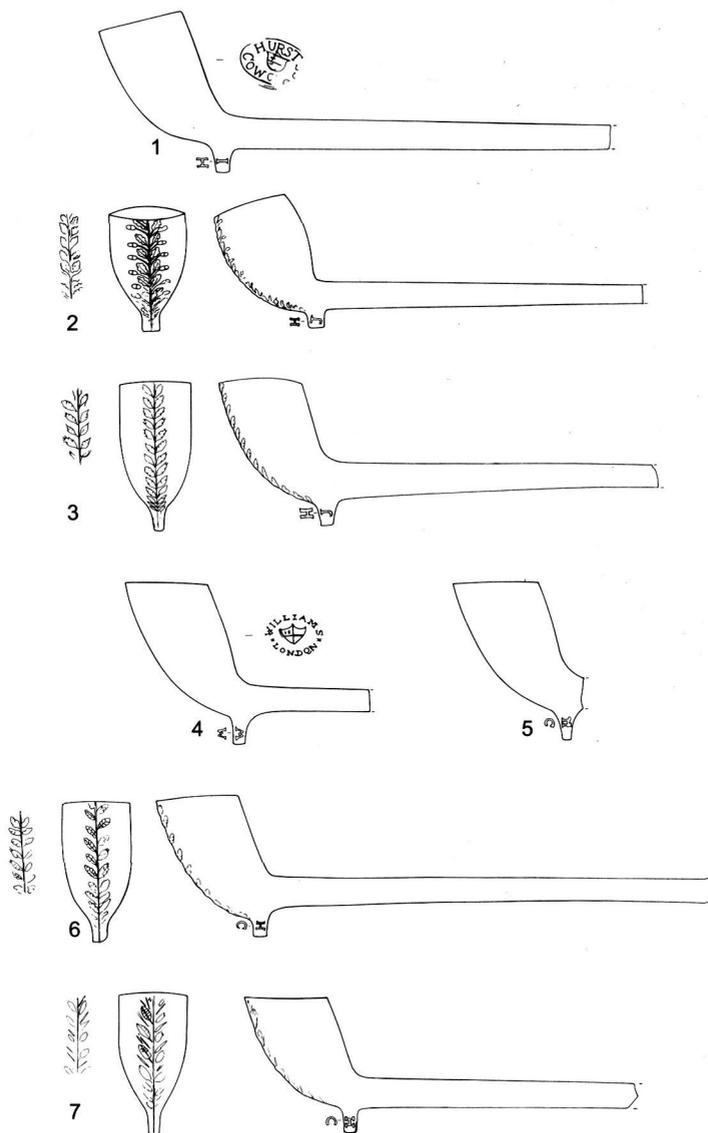


Fig 19. 19th-century tobacco pipe from Period 7, the site after the Great Fire of 1666. 1. Marked HURST COW X STR/IH; 2. Marked JH; 3. Marked JH; 4. Marked WILLIAMS LONDON/WW; 5. Marked HC; 6. Marked HC; 7. Marked HC (Scale 1:2)

demolished when the site was quarried for its gravels for use in the construction of the new City wall.

Once the wall was completed the site was quickly infilled – probably soon after 1320 – with soils containing pottery, mainly from the London region. Although the origin of the landfill is unknown, it had not been imported from far afield. The site then became a garden ground within the outer precinct of the Dominican

friary. Part of the garden was used for the disposal of the friary's kitchen waste including the remains of geese, cod and seafood from the Thames estuary. Mundane foodstuffs included chicken, beef and rabbit. A late 14th-century cooking pot which had been used for boiling liquids was found with the kitchen waste.

The range of foods represented by this assemblage is broad, with seafood and fish well represented. Monastic meals generally consisted

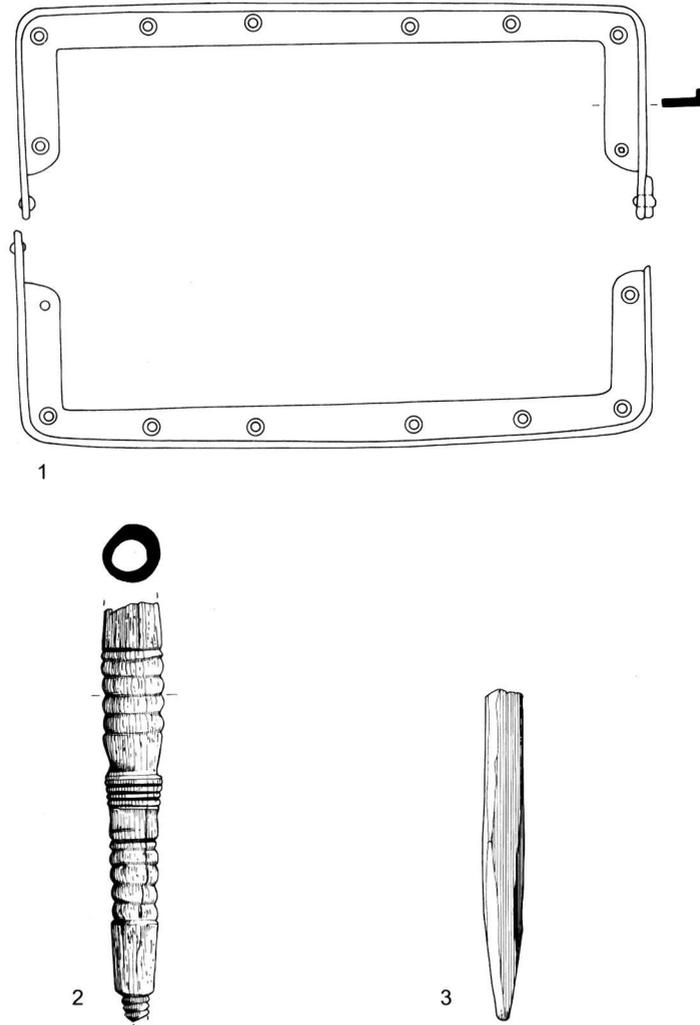


Fig 20. Non-ceramic finds from Period 7, the site after the Great Fire of 1666. 1. Copper-alloy purse frame; 2. Ivory/bone needle case; 3. Slate pencil (Scale 1:1)

of bread, cheese, vegetables, beans and cereals with pittances (extra dishes) of fish and eggs on special occasions (Burton 1994, 166). As Dominicans were subject to a vow of poverty, the site assemblage might not necessarily derive exclusively from monastic food waste, but may include material left after interaction with the secular world. The eating of meat with guests would presumably have occurred and it is probable that the restriction on the eating of flesh varied from house to house and, although some houses adhered to the rules on the eating of meat on only certain days of the year (which applied to the regular clergy), partial abstinence

appears to have been the popular compromise (Burton 1994, 167). Indeed, the Luttrell Psalter of c.1325 depicts Dominican friars at the table of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, so it is clear that when travelling and preaching the friars did not exist in isolation. Similar activities may have taken place at the Ludgate friary.

Following the Dissolution of the friary in 1538 the garden ground passed to Sir Thomas Cawardine in 1550. Some development must have ensued. Features constructed under this ownership included a well and a cesspit. The primary fill of the cesspit included some food waste in the form of fish and rabbit bones. Both

the well and cesspit were infilled soon after the Great Fire of 1666.

Building after the Great Fire was on a more intensive scale, as demonstrated by the six cesspits recorded at the site. Finds from the cesspits were overwhelmingly domestic in nature, either rubbish or chance losses. Amongst the food waste (seeds and bone), tobacco pipes, domestic and Chinese pottery in Cesspit 5 were bones from small rodents and fly pupae. Clearly, regular emptying was not a priority.

The excavations at Black Friar's Court have shown how the nature of exploitation of the landscape changed under different ownership. In the early 14th century it became a quarry then garden grounds. By the second half of the 16th century there was evidence for limited residential usage. This intensified after the Great Fire, with the site eventually becoming fully built-up by the mid-18th century.

APPENDIX: STAMPED MORTARIA FROM PERIOD 4

Katherine F Hartley

Amongst the residual Roman pottery recovered from the medieval backfill of the massive Period 4 quarry pit were stamped fragments of two mortaria.

The fabric of both fragments is at the finer end of the range produced in the Verulamium region (Verulamium region white ware). One was from a well-worn and slightly burnt mortarium; the clay added to form the spout has flaked off. The broken left-facing stamp reads]OO[.]; further examples will show whether the initial O is the beginning of the stamp (Fig 21, No. 1). The other was the flange and bead from a mortarium fired to cream at the surface, but otherwise pink, with buff-brown slip. The partially impressed stamp reads [.]OMX (Fig 21, No. 2).

Both stamps were from the same die. Other examples are known from Keston, Lower Warbank, in Kent, and Wallsend along Hadrian's wall (neither

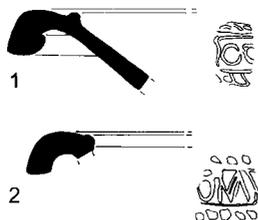


Fig 21. 1. Stamped mortarium fragment]OO[.]; 2. Stamped mortarium fragment [.]OMX (Scale 1:4)

published). No pottery from Wallsend dates from before the construction of Hadrian's Wall. The end-borders do not survive on any examples, but the full stamp may read OOMX. However, this interpretation is uncertain. X is often used as a space-filler, but it could possibly be VA ligatured. Likewise the second O has little horns at the top and could be interpreted as Q if the stamp is reversed. There is also an indication that the diagonal bar visible in part of the second O continues across the first O. This is one of many semi-legible, but readily identifiable, stamps produced in the Verulamium region in the first half of the 2nd century. The optimum date for this potter's rim-profiles is AD 110–140. Few if any mortaria were being stamped in the Verulamium region after AD 140.

This is an uncommon potter and it is surprising that two of his stamps should be found on the same site if they are not from the same vessel but, in view of the considerable difference in rim-profile, it is unlikely that they are from the same vessel.

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EXCAVATIONS AT CREEDY'S YARD, HIGHBRIDGE WHARF, GREENWICH, 1997: MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL THAMES-SIDE SITES

Nicholas Cooke and Christopher Phillpotts

With contributions by Rowena Gale, Sheila Hamilton-Dyer, Pat Hinton, Moira Laidlaw, and Lorraine Mephram; illustrations by S E James

SUMMARY

Excavations by Wessex Archaeology in advance of redevelopment of land at Creedy's Yard, Highbridge Wharf, Greenwich (site code HBR 97) revealed evidence for small-scale settlement on or close to the site in the 11th and 12th centuries, and a continuation of similar activity into the 14th century. Two relatively substantial 16th-century buildings were recorded beyond the road known as East Lane (now Eastney Street) — one within the bounds of the excavation and a second extending beyond — along with a third, smaller structure. The limited excavated evidence for the main building suggests a relatively high status house, whilst documentary evidence indicates a succession of owners, including Sir Thomas Cavarden, Henry VIII's master of revels.

Excavation of yard surfaces to the rear of the main building identified evidence for pin making in this area, in the form of both sharpened and unsharpened pins and pinners' bones. Although no evidence for metalworking was recovered, the pin blanks are likely to have been made locally. The dating evidence indicates that this activity was contemporaneous with the occupation of the main building to the north and may have continued after its demolition and the subsequent construction of a new central building on the site. Documentary evidence points to the yard behind these buildings — Bear Yard — forming a separate property. Pin making appears to

have ceased within Bear Yard in the 17th century and to have been replaced by further industrial activity involving the use of brick-built tanks.

Documentary evidence points to the decline in status of this area of the river front with the fading significance of Greenwich Palace. Late 17th- and 18th-century documents show a vast increase in the number of tenements in the area. The later post-medieval period saw the demolition of the second central building, followed by the construction of two cellared houses on the site in the 19th century. These were demolished early in the 20th century to create Creedy's Yard, behind Highbridge Wharf.

INTRODUCTION

Wessex Archaeology was commissioned by Berkeley Homes (Kent) Limited to carry out an archaeological excavation of land due for redevelopment at Creedy's Yard, Highbridge Wharf, London Borough of Greenwich (centred on Ordnance Survey Grid reference TQ 387 781; site code HBR 97). The development area lay to the west of the Trinity Hospital and to the north of the Aylmer House Estate and was bounded to the west by Eastney Street (Fig 1). Highbridge Wharf itself fronted directly onto the River Thames. The two

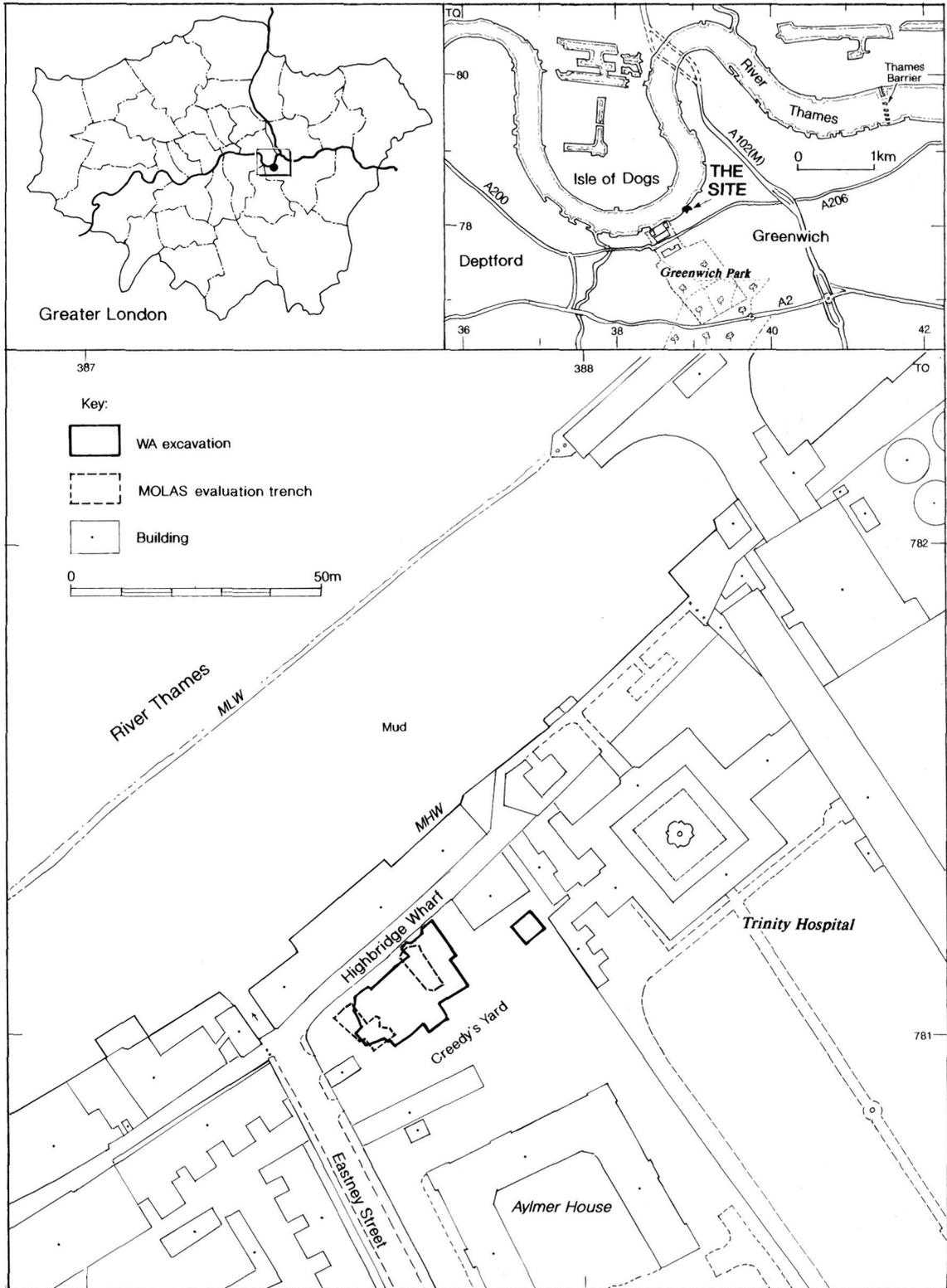


Fig 1. Site location

excavation trenches were located to the south of the wharf itself, in an area known as Creedy's Yard.

Geological background

The Site lies at a height of 4.0m–5.0m above Ordnance Datum (aOD). The 1:50,000 Geological Survey Map (1981 Solid and Drift Edition Sheet 270) shows the site Drift geology to comprise gravels of the Woolwich and Reading Beds. These underlying deposits were not revealed during the course of the excavation, but were overlain by naturally deposited sands. These sands were therefore regarded as 'natural' during the course of the excavation. Excavation revealed a gradual slope of the upper surface of these sands, with the western half of the site (at *c.*2.27m) slightly higher than the eastern half (at *c.*1.83m).

Archaeological background

An evaluation, comprising two trenches in Creedy's Yard, was undertaken in January 1997 by the Museum of London Archaeology Service. This identified significant archaeological remains dating from the 12th century (Bowsher 1997).

Medieval activity, dating to the 12th to 13th centuries, comprised pits and stakeholes that cut the surface of the natural sands and gravels at a depth of 2m below the modern ground surface. These features were sealed by an ashy lens, in turn sealed by 0.5m of reworked subsoils, which also contained lenses of charcoal.

The remains of substantial late medieval or Tudor buildings were found in both evaluation trenches. The western trench contained a ragstone wall aligned north–south. This appeared to represent the western extent of a building, as abutting the eastern face of the wall were mortar surfaces indicative of bedding for internal floors. In the eastern trench two walls of similar construction were identified running east–west and north–south, although a later cellar wall obscured the junction between them. Sealing the floor surfaces in the western trench was a substantial deposit of demolition debris, which contained decorated window glass, glazed floor tiles and building materials.

Post-medieval and modern activity consisted of the construction of brick-built cellars, cisterns, and drains. This had caused severe truncation of earlier deposits, particularly along the northern edge of the site. An 18th-century cobbled surface was recorded in the western trench.

THE EXCAVATION

The excavation took place in February and March 1997, and comprised the excavation of two trenches — one of *c.*450m², the other of 25m² (Fig 1).

The eastern, smaller, trench was excavated to a depth of 3.2m using a mechanical excavator. The layers excavated contained substantial quantities of modern demolition rubble. There was no evidence for the survival of any archaeological deposits. In view of this and the limited available area, it was decided that no further work would be undertaken in this trench.

The larger, western trench, which incorporated the areas examined in the evaluation, revealed evidence for activity from the medieval to modern periods.

Two sherds of late prehistoric pottery, one unstratified and the other recovered from the fill of post-medieval pit [506], represent the only evidence for pre-medieval activity on the site. Both are likely to date to the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age.

Phase 1. Medieval: 11th to 14th centuries

(Figs 2–3)

The earliest archaeological features were cut into the natural sands. These mainly comprised pits, stakeholes and small gullies, some of which are dated to the medieval period (11th–12th centuries). Although a number of the features assigned to this period did not contain closely dated material, they have been phased by their stratigraphic relationships. It is possible that some of the features described here may represent earlier phases of activity.

The most significant medieval feature was pit [510]. Associated with it were features [479], [488], [490], [499], [501], and [503]. This large, steep sided pit measured *c.*4m by *c.*3.5m, and was sub-rectangular in plan. Substantial quantities of medieval pottery were recovered from the fills, notably from layer [509], a dark organic peaty silt (Fig 3), which contained 49 sherds from at least three vessels (Fig 12, 1–3). This pottery largely dates to the 11th and 12th centuries. The association between the pottery and layer [509], which was clearly a water lain deposit, suggests that the pit may have functioned as a waterhole or a primitive soakaway.

It appears that this pit was allowed to silt up gradually once it fell into disuse. The later construction, in Phase 4, of the north–south wall of a building across the centre of this pit led to compaction and slumping of the upper fills, and the 'dishing' of

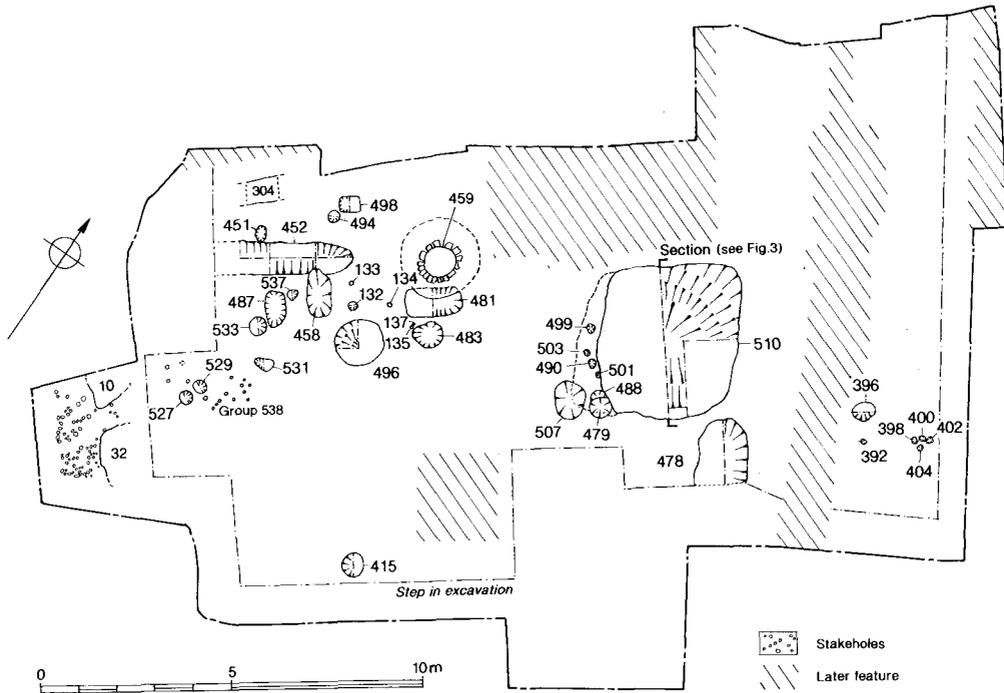


Fig 2. Phase 1 (11th–14th centuries)

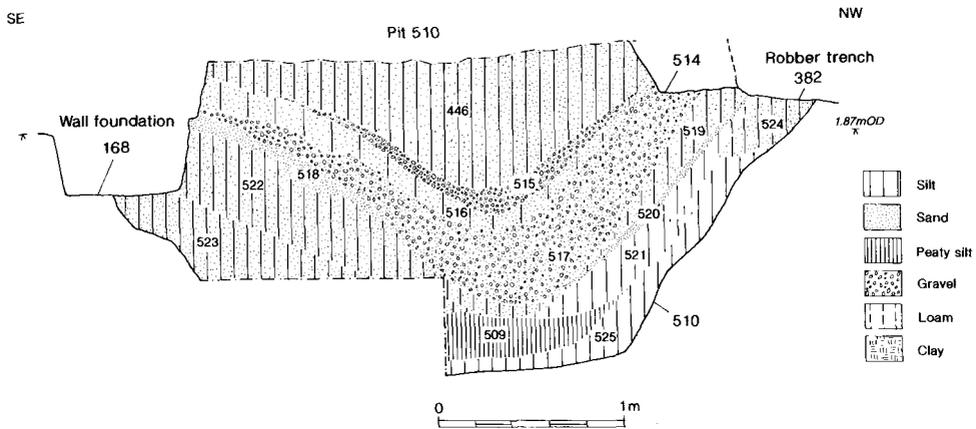


Fig 3. Medieval pit [510]

the Phase 4 mortar floor bedding within the building — layer [161]. This may have a bearing on the presence of later pottery in the upper fill of pit [510] (layer [446]), which contained a single sherd of, presumably intrusive, 16th-century Raeren Stoneware, along with sherds of medieval pottery.

Of the pits and postholes excavated along the western edge of pit [510], [490], [499], [501], and

[503] were all relatively small, whilst [479] and [488] were more substantial. These may indicate some form of fence line or structure around [510]; similar features to the north, east, and south may have been truncated by the construction of later walls. The largest posthole, [488], adjacent to the south-west corner of pit [510], was replaced by a second posthole, [479]. This may indicate the

continued use of that structure or may have been no more than a 'running repair'.

Two small pits ([507] and [478]) were also excavated adjacent to [510]. The latter contained a single sherd of shell-tempered pottery dated to the 11th or 12th century. A small group of features lay to the east of pit [510]. This consisted of a small pit [396] and five small stakeholes. None of these contained artefactual material and they are phased on stratigraphic grounds.

The western edge of the site showed a greater density of small pits, postholes or stakeholes. These features contained few or no finds, and their dating is generally based on their stratigraphic relationship to other dated features or layers. Ditch [452] was aligned north-east to south-west, running parallel to the modern course of the river. The north-eastern terminus of this feature was excavated and it continued beyond the extent of the excavation to the south-west. A ditch on a similar alignment ([304]) was recorded just to the north of this ditch. Both may represent successive property boundaries parallel to the river. The majority of the pits lay beneath the floor of a modern cellar and are likely to have been truncated by its construction. Pit [453] cut the fill of ditch [452]. The greatest concentration of stakeholes (Group [538]) lay in the south-western area of the site, in close proximity to those uncovered during the MoLAS evaluation (Bowsher 1997).

Sufficient evidence for 11th- and 12th-century activity was recovered to suggest that these features represent the remains of a small riverside settlement. The dominant feature is pit [510], along with its associated pits and postholes. Other features, notably the group of pits and postholes in the west, and the large numbers of stakeholes to the south-west, point to the presence of wooden structures. Unfortunately, no clearly defined structures can be identified. Although relatively little evidence for domestic activity was recovered in context (with the exception of [510]), enough medieval pottery was present as residual material to suggest a significant truncation of medieval deposits and a greater degree of activity than apparent *in situ*; this includes medieval pottery and coins recovered in the fills of Phase 4 pit [324], near the western edge of the site. The excavations have clearly shown evidence for 11th- and 12th-century occupation close to the southern bank of the River Thames, which extends beyond the limits of the excavated site.

There was very little evidence for use of the site in the 13th and 14th centuries. Pottery sherds were

recovered from the upper fill of pit [510] (layer [446]) and also occurred as residual material in later contexts. A chalk lined well, [459], in the central area is likely to date to this period. This well was neatly constructed with the inner lining, mostly of faced chalk blocks, set in mortar. The upper two rows of the facing were made up of shaped limestone and sandstone blocks. Although no datable finds were recovered, its stratigraphic relationships were secure. The well cut [481], one of the medieval pits, and was itself cut by the line of the southern wall of a Phase 2 building (represented by robber trench [126]). The construction of this well and the recovery of pottery of this period as residual finds indicate continued activity on the site into the late medieval period, almost certainly associated with nearby settlement remains.

Phase 2. Post-medieval: 16th century to early 17th century (Fig 4)

The second major phase of activity on the site recorded archaeologically involved the construction of three buildings. Two were heavily truncated by later activity and only survived as foundations or robber trenches, while the third was too close to the eastern limits of the site to be fully excavated.

Building A

The largest of these three buildings (A) ran roughly parallel to the north-eastern edge of the excavation, and therefore the river (Fig 4). The majority of the walls of this building survived only as robber trenches [126] and [382]. Small areas of the footings survived where they were incorporated into those of later buildings; [383] and [384] consisted of well-laid sandstone and limestone facing blocks with a mortared rubble core. Wall [384] was faced along its south-eastern edge, while [383], which clearly formed a corner of the building, was faced along its south-eastern and north-eastern edges (Figs 4 and 7). It is likely that wall [218] represented a continuation of this building as it was of a similar build. The MoLAS evaluation recorded the junction of walls [218] and [383] (Bowsher 1997, 12 and fig 5).

The north-eastern extent of this building was unclear — there was considerable later disturbance in this area. A small fragment of wall, [357], heavily damaged by a later pit, represents a continuation of the line of [218], probably the eastern corner of the building.

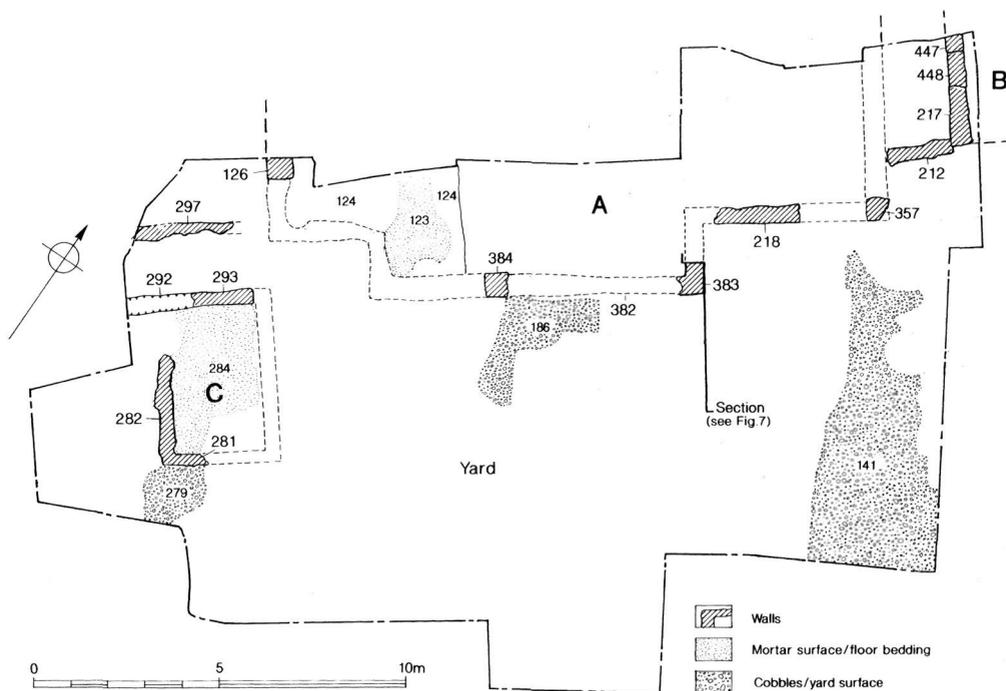


Fig 4. Phase 2 (16th century–early 17th century)

A single mortar surface associated with Building A survived *in situ* (layer [123]). It may represent bedding for a secondary tiled floor. Two clay pipe bowls recovered from this context date to the early 17th century. This layer sealed a thin layer of charcoal rich occupation debris (layer [124]). No other traces of the internal features or divisions of Building A were recovered.

The precise chronology of the construction of this building is unclear. Pottery and glass recovered from the fills of Phase 4 robber trench ([126]) date to the 15th–16th centuries, whilst material from the associated yard surfaces dates from the 16th–17th centuries. It is likely that the building was initially constructed in the 16th century, and continued in use into the 17th century.

Building B

Walls [217] and [447] formed the south-western extent of Building B and represent the only remains of this structure on the site (Fig 4). Both of these walls are faced on their western side, and originally framed an entrance in this wall — presumably a doorway. This entrance was later filled in with a blocking wall (wall [448]). Walls [217] and [447]

were both built of large, roughly shaped greensand blocks and occasional chalk and flint blocks lain in a bed of mortar, with large, rectangular shaped blocks defining either side of the doorway. The blocking wall ([448]) was less well coursed than the other two walls, and contained a number of re-used stones. The doorway is likely to have been in use for the duration of the period in which wall [212] was extant. This wall was very insubstantial, consisting of a single row of stones lain in a mortar bedding. It is unlikely to have formed an original part of either Building A or B. It may have acted as part of a later boundary wall.

Building C

The third structure (Building C) lay in the south-western corner of the site, and was bounded by walls [281], [282], and [292/3]. This was the building identified in the western evaluation trench (Bowsher 1997, 8–9). The eastern limits of this structure were not defined by a wall but were evident from the limits of a number of internal layers associated with the building. Given the relatively shallow foundations of the surviving walls, the absence of foundations along this side of the building may not be significant.

A number of internal layers were excavated. None of these appeared to represent *in situ* floor surfaces, although some contained quantities of charcoal and mortar and clearly represented some level of activity. It is possible that these represent layers associated with the construction of the building, with successive layers being used as working surfaces during this time. This is supported by the presence within these layers of discrete dumps of tile (layer [422]), mortar (layer [420]), and possible limestone chippings from shaping or dressing stones (layer [418]). These layers were all sealed by a mortar surface (layer [284]). This may have acted as bedding for a floor of tiles, in conjunction with layer [283], a very clean layer of yellow sand, which overlay it. No finds were recovered from these layers, although Phase 4 pit [385] would have cut the projected line of the eastern wall. Demolition material sealing this building and removed during the evaluation contained 17th–18th-century pottery, 14th–16th-century ceramic building material, and 14th–15th-century glass (Bowsler 1997, 19, layer [11]).

A short distance to the north of [292/3] ran a parallel short stretch of wall footing — [297]. This was a relatively insubstantial footing, and may have been associated with either Building A or Building C, both of which contain walls on similar alignments. However, it contained no evidence of internal features and may have acted as a boundary wall in similar fashion to wall [212].

Yard surfaces

A number of areas of cobbling and other surfacing were associated with these structures. Spreads of compacted gravel were recorded to the east of the site (layer [141]) and to the south of Building A (layer [186]). These seem likely to have formed yard surfaces behind the buildings and are phased both by the finds within them and by their stratigraphic relationship to other dated contexts. A small area of well laid cobbling was recorded butting the southern face of wall [281] (layer [279]). Much of the area outside the buildings is likely to have been covered in such a gravel surface. Indeed, 17th-century records indicate that the area was called Bear Yard.

Summary

All the walls of the three buildings were built of shaped sandstone blocks with a rubble core. Most appear to have been well faced only along one

side — presumably the external face. Whether these represent the remains of footings to support timber framed structures or even brick buildings is unclear. The foundations of Buildings A and B are noticeably more substantial than those of Building C. Buildings A and B are probably the remains of largish houses fronting onto the river. Building C is likely to have been a small outbuilding or workshop, either associated with Bear Yard or possibly with the construction of one of the two other buildings on the site. Whilst there is no strong evidence for the date of construction of any of these buildings, stratigraphic evidence and associated material suggests that they may have been built in the 16th century (or possibly in the late 15th century).

There is a dearth of non-structural features closely dated to this period, with most of the 16th-century finds surviving as residual material in later features or layers. The lack of finds from the yard surfaces at the back of Buildings A and B probably indicates that this area was well maintained as a yard.

Phase 3. Post-medieval: late 16th to mid-17th century (Fig 5)

This phase overlaps chronologically with both Phase 2 and Phase 4, beginning when the Phase 2 buildings were still extant, and continuing after the demolition of Buildings A and C, and has been created to describe a distinct phase of activity, probably unrelated to the buildings themselves. This concerns the use of the large yard to the south of Buildings A and B for light industrial activities, specifically the use of the area for pin-making. The evidence for this practice appears to be focused on the yard area to the south of the main building. The pottery assemblage, however, shows no indication of a shift away from domestic forms, and it seems likely that the industrial activities were divorced from the continued domestic use of the buildings. Much of the pottery dating for this phase overlaps with that in Phase 4, and to a lesser extent, Phase 2. Much of the phasing therefore relies on stratigraphic or, in this case, functional relationships.

The Phase 2 yard surface covering the eastern portion of the site (layer [141]; Fig 4) was sealed by two layers of sandy silts, [121] and [138]. The former contained two worked pinners' bones and part of a leather shoe. Pinners' bones are animal bones (Fig 16) which have been modified to hold copper alloy pins (mainly used as clothes-fasteners) while the points were filed during manufacture (see Laidlaw and Hamilton-Dyer, below). Pottery from these two layers dates from the 16th–17th centuries.

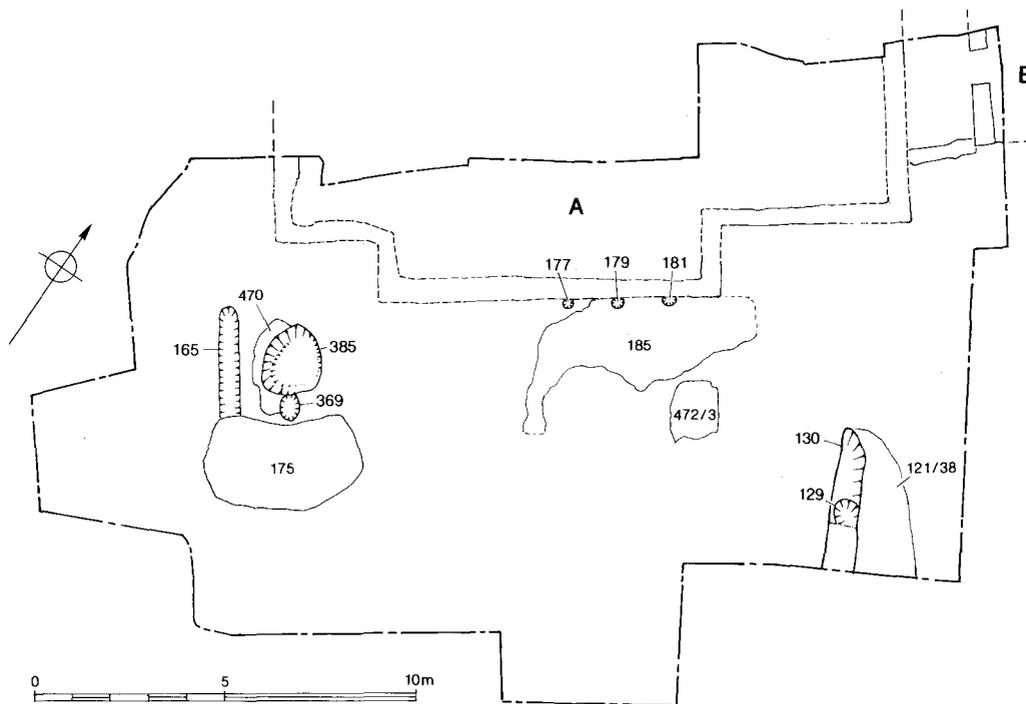


Fig 5. Phase 3 (late 16th century - mid-17th century)

Two small features cut these layers (pit [129] and gully [130]). The finds from the latter included five pinners' bones from the primary fill [127], and 48 pins from the upper fill [111] along with a number of fragments of a leather shoe (Fig 17, 1). The associated pottery all dates to the 16th–17th century, and seems to indicate that the pin making started whilst the Phase 2 houses were still standing.

Immediately adjacent to the south-eastern wall of Building A, a line of three postholes ([177], [179], and [181]) was dug through Phase 2 yard surface [186]. These postholes may have been associated with the demolition of, or repairs to, Building A. Two were later sealed by a clay layer apparently representing the first internal layer of the Phase 4 building (layer [185]). Further pinners' bones and pottery were recovered from layers [472] and [473], which partially covered layer [185], indicating continued pin making activity during this period. All of the pottery from these postholes and layers dates to the 16th or 16th/17th centuries. Other Phase 4 contexts containing pinners' bones include yard surface [201] and layer [161], whilst layer [273] contained bronze pins (Fig 5).

In the western half of the site, pit [385] was dug through layer [470], a localised deposit containing significant quantities of mortar and wall plaster,

which appears to relate to the final disuse of Building C. Finds from this pit included both residual medieval and 16th–17th-century pottery, ceramic building material, and a single pinners' bone. A small posthole ([369]) was associated with this pit.

Summary

The yards behind the two main buildings on the site appear to have been used for pin making during the later 16th and early 17th centuries. The excavations uncovered no evidence for bronze smithing on the site itself, but the number of pinners' bones recovered seems to indicate that the sharpening of pins took place either within the yard to the south of Buildings A and B or possibly within buildings nearby with waste being dumped in the yard. In total, some 61 copper alloy pins were recovered, the majority of which came from the Phase 3 yard areas — within the area known as Bear's Yard on contemporary maps.

The pin making activity appears to have continued after the likely demolition of two of the three Phase 2 buildings. Building C was unlikely to have been in use when pit [385] was dug through the eastern extents of its internal layers. The recovery

of pinners' bones from layer [185], which was the first of a number of similar layers of make-up material for the internal floors of the Phase 4 building, indicates continuity of this activity after the demolition of Building A. Pins and pinners' bones recovered from Phase 4 contexts clearly indicate continuing pin making activity during the 17th century.

Phase 4. Post-medieval: 17th century
(Figs 6-7)

Building A appears to have been demolished early in the 17th century. The only internal surface to survive — layer [123] (see Fig 4) — contained a clay pipe bowl dating to the early 17th century, whilst the pottery recovered from robber trench [382] dated to the 16th-17th century. The dating evidence for pit [324], which cut wall [357], and which contained material dating from the medieval period through to the 16th-17th centuries, supports this phasing. As with the features in Phases 2 and 3, much of the pottery could not be very closely dated, and phasing is based on stratigraphic grounds

supported, where possible, by evidence provided by the dated clay pipes.

Building C was probably demolished in the late 16th or early 17th century, with wall [281] cut by pit [175] and the floor surfaces cut by the associated gully [165] (both shown on Fig 5). These both contained pottery dating to the 15th and 16th/17th centuries, and are likely to be the earliest Phase 4 features. Layer [285] sealed both these, either partially or wholly. The precise chronology of Building B could not be established, as it lay largely beyond the limits of the site, although it may have been at this time that blocking wall [448] was built (Fig 3).

The demolition of Building A was followed relatively shortly afterwards by the construction of a new building (D, Fig 6). The excavated remains had a roughly north-west to south-east axis. John Rocque's map of 1741-6 indicates that this structure formed a wing of a larger building which extended to the north-west and west. Walls [149], [224], [236], [238], [253], and [259] formed the extent of this structure within the site. The bowl of a clay pipe, recovered from the footing trench for wall [149] ([159]), dates to 1610-1640.

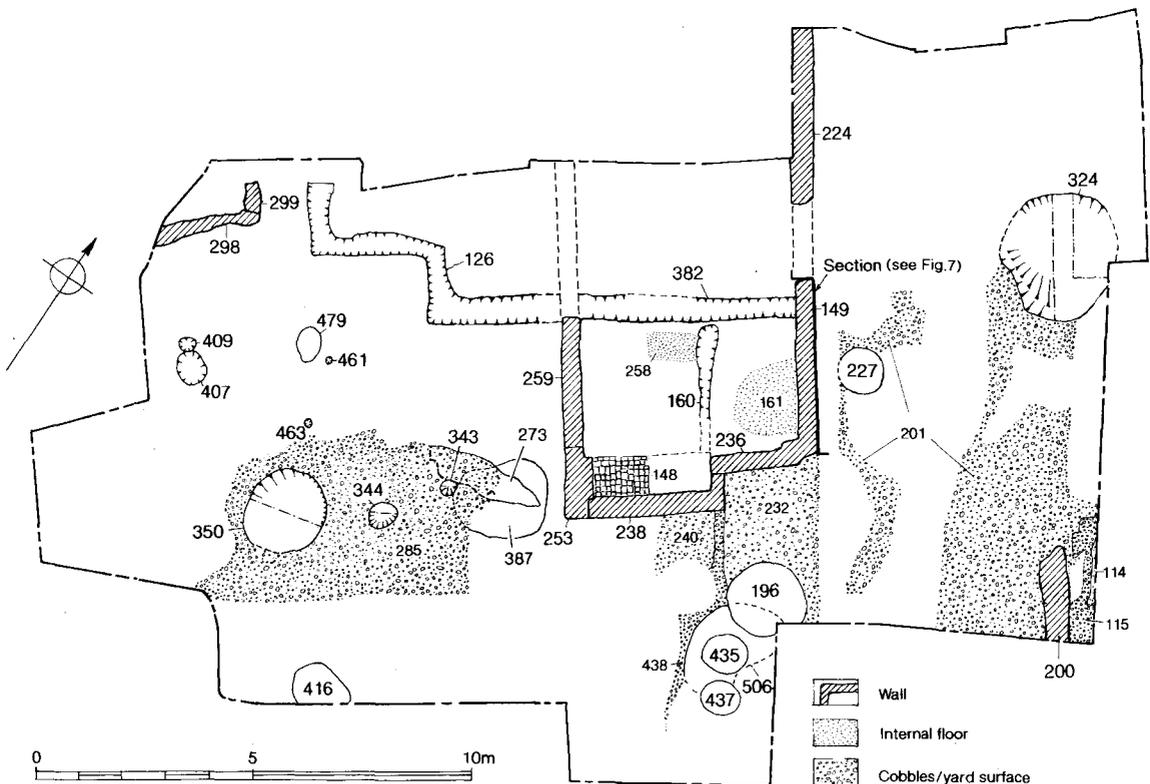


Fig 6. Phase 4 (17th century)

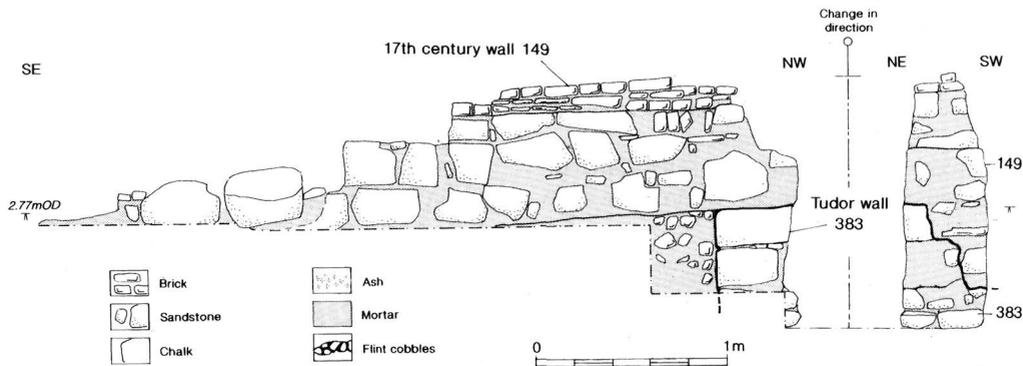


Fig 7. 17th-century wall [149]

The main load bearing walls of Building D were of brick lain on sandstone footings. Much of the stone used in these footings may well have come from the earlier building. Walls [149] and [259] incorporated portions of Phase 2 walls [383] and [384] (Fig 7). This suggests that construction of Building D took place prior to, or contemporary with, the robbing of the foundations of Building A. The southern corner of Building D projected outwards, and contained a single fireplace, with an *in situ* brick flooring ([148]).

The internal area of Building D appears to have been built up using layers of building and occupational debris (including layers [185], [473], and [472], described in Phase 3 above). The latest of these were two mortar surfaces (layers [161] and [258]). Both of these may represent remnants of flooring deposits, although they are more likely to represent bedding for brick or tile floors. A shallow gully ([160]) defined the north-eastern limits of mortar layer [258], and may indicate the position of an internal timber division. The survival of layer [161], and its uneven form, was the result of slumping of the fills above medieval pit [510]. Following this slumping, the internal area was re-levelled with further dumping of material (layer [256], which covered the entire internal area) containing quantities of residual material, including medieval and 16th-century pottery.

Further structural remains of this date were recorded both to the east and west of Building D. To the east, a brick wall [200], laid on chalk and limestone footings, cut into the top of surface [201]. It was not associated with any other structural remains, but did contain evidence for internal make-up layers, the latest of which was a cobbled surface ([115]) partially sealed by a mortar surface ([114]). Walls [298/9] (in the western corner of the

site) were of similar construction. These may have formed the corner of a structure, although the absence of obvious internal deposits and the rough nature of their construction make this seem unlikely.

Yard surfaces

Much of the area outside these structures continued in use as yard surfaces. New gravel layers sealed the earlier surfaces and activities. Layer [201] covered much of the eastern third of the site, whilst gravel surfaces were also excavated butting the building (layers [232], [240], and [438]) and to the west of the building (layer [286]). All of these comprised relatively thick layers of compacted gravels, and their distribution suggests that the building was surrounded by yards. Layer [286] showed some evidence of slumping into the soft fills of feature [175]. These yard surfaces were all subsequently cut by pits containing domestic debris, possibly associated with the occupation of the building. The single pinners' bone recovered from layer [201] may represent evidence for the continuation of the manufacture of pins somewhere on the site in this period. Of these surfaces, only layer [201] contained significant amounts of residual material, suggesting that the gravel used was brought in to the site from elsewhere.

Pits

The earliest pit of this phase in the western half of the site was pit [387], which was cut through gravel yard surface [285]. It contained similar amounts of domestic debris to the other pits excavated in this

area. After the pit had been backfilled a layer of domestic debris built up over the western half of the site. This layer ([273]) was up to 0.3m deep and contained large amounts of domestic refuse and building debris, including 16th–17th-century pottery and glass vessels, a 17th-century token, clay pipe fragments (including a bowl dated to 1640–1660), and window glass.

The largest pit, [324], was relatively well dated by pottery of the 16th–17th centuries, although a few sherds were 17th-century in date. Residual material was recovered from this pit, notably medieval pottery and coins, as were large amounts of building debris (including architectural fragments and window glass), 17th-century vessel glass, pottery, and animal bone.

Four intercutting pits were dug through the yard surfaces butting the main building. Of these, pits [196], [435], and [437] were cut through the fill of [506]. Pottery from pit [196] dated to the 17th century, as did the pottery from the upper fills of [435] and [437]. Other finds recovered from these pits included a bone knife handle, animal bone, clay pipe fragments (including one bowl dated to 1610–1640), and building material.

Pits [344] and [350] were dug through this build up of debris, and contained very similar levels of domestic and demolition debris. The large proportion of residual material in these features and layer [273] suggests that they represent the material from the demolition of the Phase 2 building, possibly initially used to level up areas where yard surface [285] had slumped into pit [175]. Much of this material (notably the glass vessels and pottery) points to fairly high status 16th-century occupation (see 'Finds' below). This residual material included glazed and decorated floor tiles, vessel glass, a glass urinal, and window glass in addition to quantities of earlier pottery. The range and variety of the residual pottery is representative of higher status activity than is evident in other phases. It is likely that this material is related to one or all of the Phase 2 buildings excavated on the site. The substantial amounts of occupational debris in these pits contrast sharply with the scarcity of such remains during Phases 2 and 3. This implies that the disposal of waste associated with the use of the buildings involved removal of household waste from the site and that the residual material recovered from these Phase 4 contexts represents demolition and clearance debris.

Of the other small pits in this area, only pit [407] contained dated material (16th–17th-century pottery). Pits [227], [409], [416], and [479] are phased on stratigraphic grounds alone, as are a number of small postholes in this area ([343], [461], and [463]).

Summary

This phase saw the demolition of Building A, probably in the first half of the 17th century, with large quantities of residual material associated with this structure appearing as levelling spreads or in pit fills. Shortly after its demolition, a new building, D, was built, on a different axis, incorporating some of the foundations of the earlier building. During the construction of Building D, earlier foundations were robbed for stone, presumably to be incorporated into the new building. (Much of the worked stone recovered was re-used as foundation material in Building D). Although none of the floor surfaces of Building D survived intact, the make-up layers for the floors did, along with a brick floored fireplace, indicating the level at which the floors were probably lain.

The yard surfaces appear to have been lain early in Phase 4, and were subsequently cut by a number of large pits, possibly dug to contain demolition and domestic material, and never re-lain. It is possible that this marked the end of pin making in this phase. Although pins and pinners' bones were recovered from a number of Phase 4 contexts, there was no evidence for the continuation of this activity into Phase 5, where there appeared to be a different form of light industrial activity on the site.

Phase 5. Post-medieval: late 17th and early 18th century (Fig 8)

Later in the 17th century or early in the 18th century a number of modifications were made to Building D. The fireplace in the southern corner of the building was altered, with a dividing wall inserted, and a second deeper fireplace constructed in the eastern half. The western half appears to have been deliberately filled in with gravel at the ground floor level, perhaps to support the angled flue constructed as part of wall [250]. This altered fireplace (fireplace [360] consisting of walls [250], [255], [169], and [267]) was subsequently filled with large quantities of wall plaster, perhaps associated with the final demolition of this building.

The construction of a series of brick built structures in the yard behind Building D may indicate a new phase of industrial activity. The function of these structures is uncertain. The first of the three connected structures — [305] — butted the south-eastern end of Building D (wall [238]). Some attempt had been made to partially key the brickwork into that of [238], but with little success. This structure may initially have been built as a

Summary

The later post-medieval period is characterised by additions to, and modifications of, extant buildings, which may indicate a change away from purely domestic activities on the site. The construction of lined tanks and pits may indicate a shift to a more industrial emphasis, although the precise nature of this industry is hard to gauge. A number of the features of this phase appeared to have been later filled with demolition debris, notably the modified fireplace, structure [305], and pit [313]. This is likely to have been the result of demolition of Building D and an attempt to level the surrounding area.

Phase 6. Modern: 19th and 20th centuries (Fig 9)

Much of the site was heavily truncated by construction work in relatively modern times. During the 19th century these disturbances included a large brick built drain or sewer ([203]) aligned NW–SE, a cellared building built against the north-eastern edge of the site (wall [210]), and a brick soakaway ([219]). These three features were responsible for a considerable degree of truncation in the eastern third of the site.

Much of the stratigraphy in the central portion of the site was damaged by the construction of two cellared buildings in the late 19th or early 20th century (walls [156], [262], and [266] form part of the eastern cellar and [272] the western).

The buildings related to these cellars were demolished in the mid-1930s prior to the levelling and surfacing of the area for use as a yard.

FINDS

Introduction

Lorraine Mepham

The overall quantity and range of artefactual material recovered from Highbridge Wharf is relatively small. It is perhaps worth pointing out that recent excavation of a single late 17th/early 18th-century pit in Guildford, Surrey, produced a larger assemblage than the whole of this site (Fryer & Selley 1997). Dating evidence derives largely from the pottery assemblage, which indicates a potential date range of 11th century to the modern period, although the bulk of the material dates from the 16th and 17th centuries (stratigraphic phases 2–4). The pottery, however, does not lend itself to close dating within the post-medieval range, since the

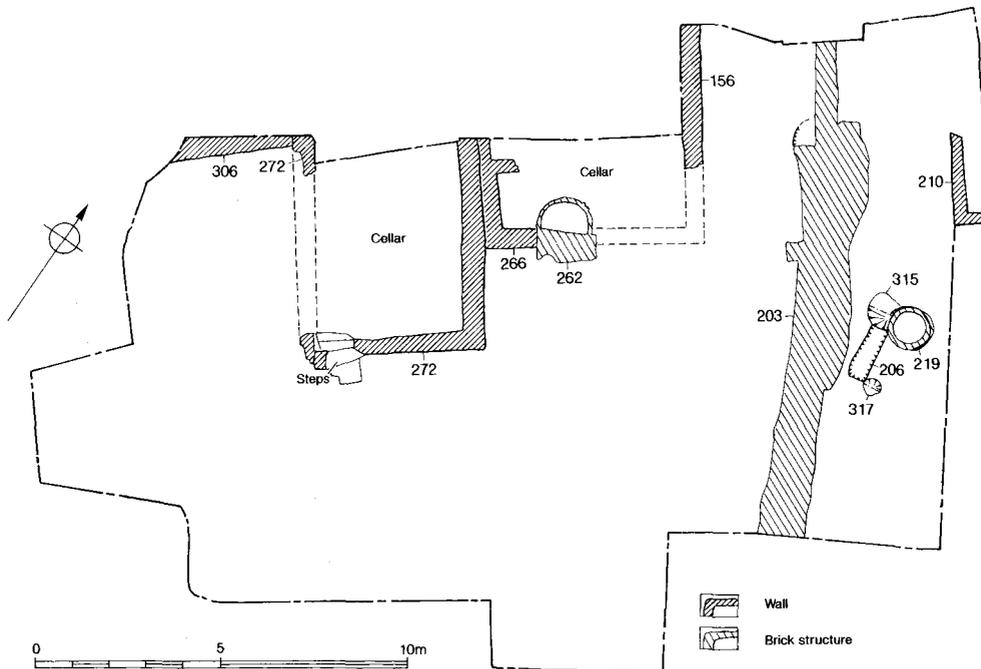


Fig 9. Phase 6 (19th and 20th centuries)

majority of the assemblage consists of coarsewares; closer dating is provided by the small quantity of clay pipe bowls, vessel glass, and coins. Moreover, it is apparent that residual material forms a significant component of the assemblage from Phase 4 onwards, where large dumps of domestic refuse were encountered (in particular from spread [273], pit [350], and pit [324]), which appear to derive from demolition and clearance of an earlier structure.

The artefacts fall into three broad categories: domestic refuse; structural material; industrial refuse. The majority of the artefacts fall into the first category, and the largest quantities derived from pits and layers in Phase 4. Of particular interest within the third category, however, is a group of pinners' bones, relating to the manufacture of brass pins in the Phase 3 yards behind the major buildings.

There is also some indication of the status of the main Phase 2 building (Building A). Material recovered from Phase 4 contexts, probably representing clearance of debris from this building, includes a small quantity of 'exotica' in the form of a small group of 16th/early 17th-century glass vessels, including probable imports, and imported Italian maiolica and German stonewares. Architectural fragments from this phase also indicate a structure of some status.

Table 1 presents a summary of the datable artefacts and selected other finds categories by phase. Artefacts from Phase 6 (modern) and clearance levels will not be discussed in this section unless of intrinsic interest.

Coins and tokens

Nicholas Cooke

Eight coins or tokens were recovered: two silver, five copper alloy and one lead.

Three of the copper alloy coins are heavily corroded and completely illegible. The remaining two are tokens. The first is a small circular token struck for 'John Homes at the Ball in Deptford', recovered during the initial site clearance. The second is a decagonal token (spread [273], Phase 4). Both are likely to date to the 17th century.

Of the two silver coins one, a clipped, hammered coin (context [273], Phase 4), is heavily corroded and cannot be closely dated. The second is a hammered silver halfpenny with a 'Long Cross' reverse, which is too worn and corroded to enable the identification of the king for whom it was minted. This was recovered from one of the upper fills of pit [324] (Phase 4). Full details of all coins and tokens have been archived.

The lead token was found unstratified (Fig 10, 8). One side bears a lion rampant within a circle formed by the royal motto '*Honi soit qui mal y pense*'. On the reverse the French arms are flanked by two fluted columns, both supporting small stylised crowns, whilst a third, larger, crown is depicted above the arms. A simple knot pattern is depicted in a shallow exergue, whilst traces of further designs can be seen between the edges of the token and the columns. A similar, although slightly smaller, token is known from London; the type is thought to date from the 1570s (Hawkins 1885).

Metalwork

M Laidlaw and Lorraine Mephram, with a contribution by Nicholas Cooke

The stratified metalwork (Phases 1–5) consists of 65 iron and 76 copper alloy objects; in addition one unstratified lead object is described here. All iron and copper alloy objects have been X-radiographed, and all are listed and briefly

Table 1. *Presence of selected finds types by phase*

Phase	Pottery used for dating	Other finds datable	Other selected finds
1	EMSS, EMSH	clay pipe bowls	
2	RAER, CBW, SAIN, KING, CHEA, LLON, BORD		
3	TGW, RAER, MART, KOL FREC, MART	clay pipe bowls	leather shoe, pinners' bones, cu alloy pins
4	?METS, TGW, KOL FREC, MART, RAER, SAIN [post-med]	coins (4-6), vessel glass, clay pipe bowls	cu alloy lock and vessel, stone moulding and voussoir, pinners' bones, cu alloy pins, ceramic floor tile (inc. dec.)
5	FREC, TGW, SGSW	clay pipe bowls	ceramic floor tile, stone voussoir

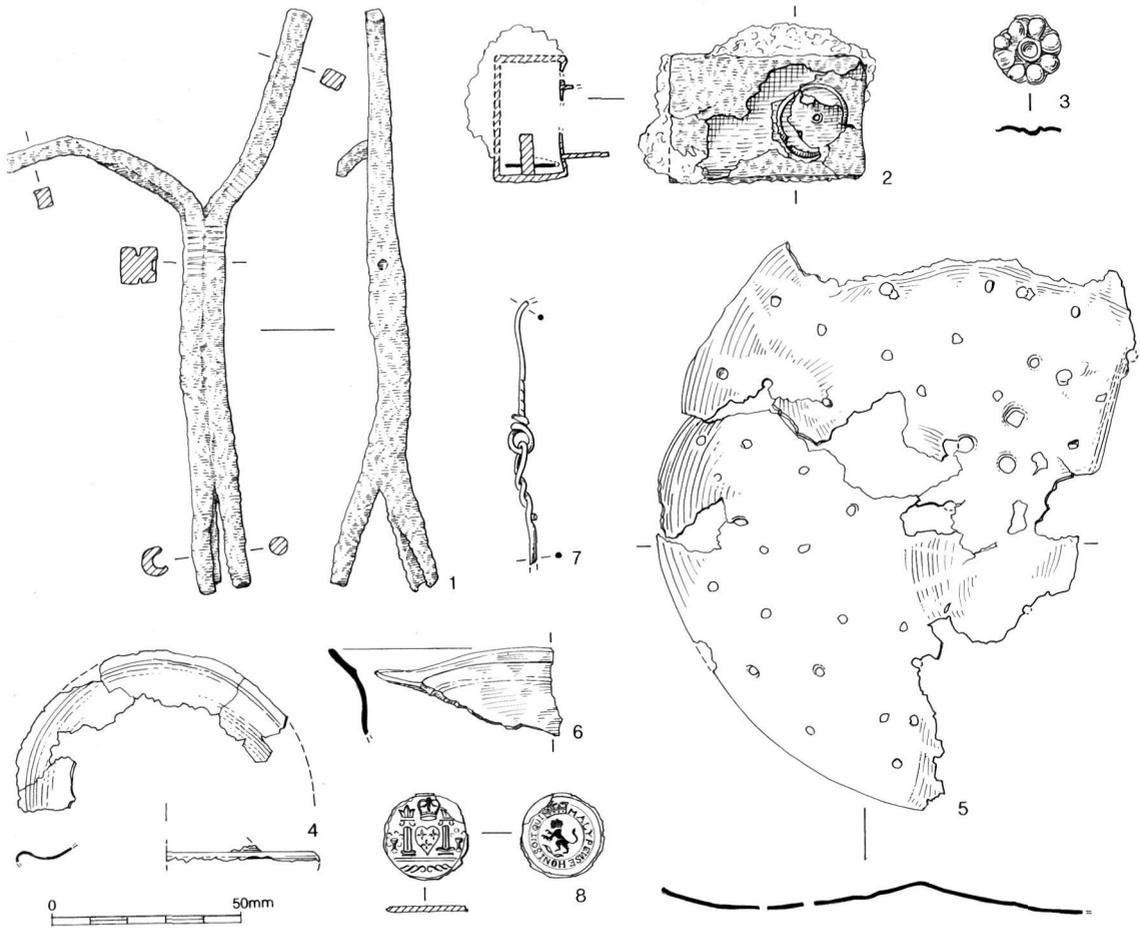


Fig 10. Metalwork

described in archive catalogues. One iron and four copper alloy objects were selected for investigative conservation, carried out by the Salisbury Conservation Laboratory.

Table 2 presents the metalwork by stratigraphic unit; no metalwork was recovered from Phases 1 and 2.

Objects of iron

The bulk of the ironwork consists of nails (54), which are quantified separately in Table 2. The majority derived from Phase 4 contexts, with just over half coming from spread [273]. Other structural objects include four large clench bolts (pits [385], Phase 3 and [324], Phase 4), such as were used in ship-building or other double-thickness timber construction *eg* doors (Goodall 1987, fig 113,

105–7), and sheet and strip fragments, possibly also structural in origin.

Non-structural objects include a pair of tongs (Fig 10, 1), a horseshoe fragment, a blade fragment (spread [273], Phase 4), and a possible knife (spread [472/473], Phase 3). Other objects are unidentifiable.

Objects of copper alloy

Pins

Amongst the copper alloy objects are a group of 61 pins. Pinners' bones from the site (see Laidlaw and Hamilton-Dyer, below) indicate the presence of a small-scale industry manufacturing these objects in Phase 3. 46 pins came from gully [130], with further examples from the large dumps of domestic refuse

Table 2. *Metalwork by stratigraphic unit*

Object numbers are given in brackets; sample numbers are given in < >

Phase	Unit	Copper alloy	Iron objects	Iron nails (no.)
3	Layers 121/138		unidentified (2028)	1
	Gully 130	46 pins (2024), wire (2024), needle (2024)		
4	Spread 472/473		knife (2068)	
	Layer 185	vessel (2059)		2
4	Pit 385	twisted wires (2052)		
	Pit 175/gully 165	vessel (2056)		
4	Layer 195	tack (2097)		
	Pit 324	cu alloy/iron lock (2018)	unidentified (2017)	4
4	Pits 196 & 350	fitting (2012), 8 pins (2095, <3001>, <3002>)	unidentified (2021), blade (2079), horseshoe (2103)	4
	Spread 273	vessel (2037), pins/twisted wire (2041), 7 pins (2011, <3004>), 3 lace tags (<3004>)	unidentified (2090), tongs (2091)	29
5	Pit 506		2 unidentified (2096, 2070)	1
	Pit 313			2
5	Layer 155	chain (2048)		
	Layer 208			2
5	Fireplace 360		unidentified (2032)	8
	Layer 377			1
6	Pit 206	hinge (2014)		
	TOTAL	76	11	54

in Phase 4 (pit [350], spread [273]). Small pins, used mainly as clothes-fasteners, were made from the medieval period onwards.

Two forms are present, which may reflect the distinction between pins made on site, and subsequent incidental losses. The pins from gully [130] have simple wire-wrapped heads and are relatively consistent in length (30–32mm). This group includes a significant number of what appear to be unsharpened ‘blanks’, and also two additional items: a short length of wire (46mm) and a probable needle (length 64mm).

As far as can be ascertained, all the other pins from the site have heads formed by wire wrapped around the shaft and then shaped to a globular form. Lengths vary from 24mm to 32mm, and there are no apparent ‘blanks’.

Other objects

A composite copper alloy and iron plate-lock came from pit [324] (Fig 10, 2). This survives relatively complete, with the lock mechanism attached to the rear of the lock-plate. Other items comprise a small decorative octofoil mount (Fig 10, 3; Egan & Pritchard 1991, fig 122), and a tack (layer [195], Phase 4). A third fragment probably derives from

a decorative roundel (Fig 10, 4). Such items could have been used to decorate harness or belts, or possibly the bases of vessels (*eg* Margeson 1993, 93–4).

Fragments of two vessels were found. These comprise a roughly circular perforated sheet, presumably a strainer or skimmer (Fig 10, 5; Egan 1998, figs 125, 127), and a small, everted rim from an unknown open form (Fig 10, 6).

Other identifiable objects include a short length (12 links) of fine chain (layer [155], Phase 5), two fragments of twisted and looped wire (Fig 10, 7; pit [385], Phase 3; spread [273], Phase 4), and three lace tags (spread [273]).

List of illustrated objects (Fig 10)

1. Iron tongs. Obj No. 2091, spread [273], Phase 4.
2. Iron/copper alloy plate-lock. Obj No. 2018, context [332], pit [324], Phase 4.
3. Decorative copper alloy rosette fitting. Obj No. 2012, context [276], pit [350], Phase 4.
4. Decorative copper alloy roundel. Obj No. 2059, layer [185], Phase 3.
5. Perforated copper alloy sheet (?strainer). Obj No. 2056, context [174], pit [175], Phase 4.
6. Copper alloy vessel rim. Obj No. 2037, spread [273], Phase 4.
7. Twisted copper alloy wire. Obj No. 2052, context [288], pit [385], Phase 3.
8. Lead seal, context 100, clearance.

Glass

M Laidlaw and Lorraine Mephram

The glass assemblage from Highbridge Wharf consists of both vessel and window glass fragments and dates from the 16th century onwards.

Vessel glass

Drinking vessels

The earliest vessels are represented by fragments of a minimum of six vessels, four of them Venetian or *façon de Venise*. Fragments of five vessels came from spread [273] and pit [350], and joining fragments between the two contexts suggest that these vessels form a single group, although they must be residual in these Phase 4 contexts. A mould-blown lion-mask wine glass stem from clearance levels may originally have formed part of the same group. All six vessels are of types which are relatively common on early post-medieval sites in this country, and find parallels in form if not in exact details of decoration within 16th- or early 17th-century assemblages from, for example, Exeter, Basing House (Hants), Southampton, and London (Charleston 1975; 1984; Moorhouse 1971; Oswald & Phillips 1949).

Three of the stratified vessels comprise a small beaker, probably a pedestal form in translucent pale green glass, with optic-blown ribbed decoration (Fig 11, 1; Willmott 2002, type 4.2, 47); a cylindrical beaker in a clear glass with applied thin cut trailing (Fig 11, 2; *ibid*, type 1.10, 41); and the foot from a pedestal flask (Fig 11, 3), also in clear glass, decorated with marvered *lattimo* (opaque white) bands alternating with composite bands each comprising four thin stripes (*vetro a filigrana*).

The latter vessel can be compared with a neck fragment from Exeter dated to the 16th century (Charleston 1984, fig 148, no. 49). A fourth vessel is represented by a small base fragment from a beaker with an applied, milled footring (not illus; cf Charleston & Vince 1984, fig 45, 11).

Two additional small body fragments from pit [350] (not illus) derive from a further one or possibly two flasks or beakers with optic-blown decoration.

Mould-blown lion-mask stems comparable to the example from clearance (Fig 11, 4) were made at virtually every large glass-producing centre in Europe, and were current from the mid-16th into the 17th century. They are relatively common finds in this country, recorded for example at Basing House, Exeter, and from the Gracechurch Street 'hoard' in London (Moorhouse 1971, fig 27, nos 1-3; Charleston 1984, fig 151, no. 118; Oswald & Phillips 1949).

Urinal

Also from pit [350] came two small rim fragments from a urinal (not illus), as well as a small body fragment which may derive from the same vessel. These fragments are all in a very decayed, almost opaque glass. These vessels, used primarily for uroscopy, are very thin-walled and generally only survive as rim or base fragments. This rim is identifiable by its characteristic form, horizontal and turned up slightly at the edge (Willmott 2002, type 34.1, 103). Urinals were certainly made from the medieval period, but continued in use in very similar forms into the early post-medieval period; they were particularly common in Tudor and Stuart households.

Wine bottles

Fragments of green wine bottles were recovered from six contexts from Phases 4 and 5. The only

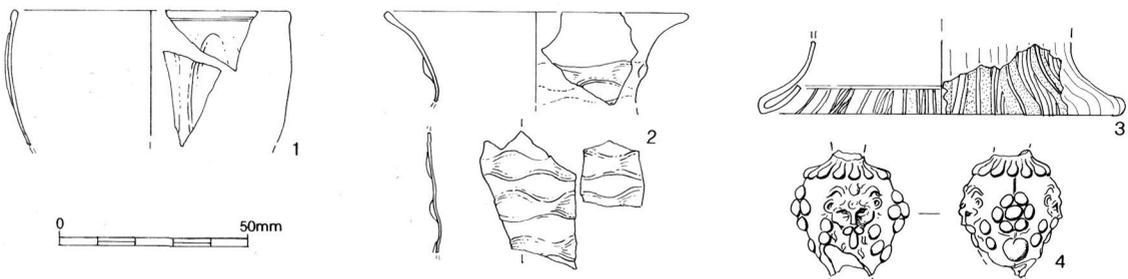


Fig 11. Glass vessels

closely datable vessel is the almost complete example from brick-lined tank [191] (Phase 5), which is of early 18th-century type (Hume 1961, type 12); other fragments may only be dated broadly to the mid-17th century or later.

Window glass

A total of 29 fragments of window glass was recovered from stratified post-medieval contexts, mostly from the large dumps of material in Phase 4 (spread [273] and pit [350]). The fragments are all small and range in colour from very pale green to dark green; several are in a poor condition with iridescent and flaking surfaces. In only one instance can the original shape of the quarry be determined — a diamond-shaped quarry (125mm by 95mm) from fireplace [360] (Phase 5). It may be noted that no lead fragments were recovered from the site.

List of illustrated vessels (Fig 11)

1. Rim and body sherd from beaker or bowl, pale green, mould-blown ribbed decoration. Obj Nos 2026/2035, spread [273]/pit [350], Phase 4.
2. One rim with impressed ribbing and two similar body sherds, all in clear glass. Obj No. 2035, spread [273], Phase 4.
3. Foot from a flask with *lattimo* decoration. Obj No. 2039, spread [273], Phase 4.
4. Mould-blown lion-mask stem. Obj No. 2006, context [100], clearance.

Pottery

Lorraine Mephram

A small quantity of pottery was recovered (897 sherds; 40,391g), including both medieval and post-medieval material, as well as two sherds of probable prehistoric date.

All sherds have been assigned to fabric types, following the Museum of London type series. Terminology for vessel forms and component parts follows nationally recommended guidelines (MPRG 1998). Quantification of pottery by fabric type, recording also details of vessel form, decoration, surface treatment and manufacture, has been carried out; details are held in archive (paper records and Access database).

Prehistoric pottery

Two possible prehistoric sherds were recovered, one in a coarse flint-tempered fabric, residual in the

fill of pit [506] (Phase 4); and the second, in a coarse calcareous fabric, in the topsoil. Both are plain, undiagnostic body sherds which, on the grounds of fabric, are likely to be of later prehistoric date, probable Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age.

Range of medieval and post-medieval wares

The quantities of medieval pottery recovered are relatively small (182 sherds; 4324g), and much of this material occurred as redeposited sherds in later contexts. Nineteen fabric types were identified (see Table 3), which fall into five groups:

- early medieval coarsewares
- Surrey whitewares
- London type wares
- later medieval coarsewares, various sources
- imports

The bulk of the assemblage consists of post-medieval material, most of which falls within a date range of late 15th/early 16th century to very early 18th century. The types identified fall into five groups:

- coarse earthenwares
- stonewares (English and German)
- tinglazed earthenware (English and imported)
- other imported wares
- industrial wares

The accepted dating for these various fabrics (Pearce *et al* 1985; Vince 1985; Hurst *et al* 1986; Orton 1988; Pearce & Vince 1988; Vince & Jenner 1991; Pearce 1992) has been used, in conjunction with other datable artefactual material, to phase the stratigraphic sequence and, subsequently, to refine that broad dating wherever possible.

Pottery by phase

Phase 1 (medieval)

The earliest stratified material (Phase 1) came from the lower fills of a large pit [510]. This pit produced just under half of the total medieval assemblage from the site by weight — 59 sherds (2292g) from three separate fills [509], [523], [515]. These sherds derived from a minimum of four vessels, all hand-made necked jars of similar size and probably of shouldered profile (Fig 12, 1–4), two in EMSH and two in EMSS. All four vessels show signs of sooting residues from use as cooking vessels.

This small group has a potential date range of early 11th to late 12th century; both EMSS and

Table 3. Pottery fabric totals

Date/group	Fabric	No. sherds	Weight
PREHISTORIC	fabric unspec.	2	23
MEDIEVAL			
Coarsewares	calcareous	1	33
	SHER	2	25
	sandy	2	36
	shelly/organic	1	23
Surrey whitewares	CBW	19	495
	CHEA	11	270
	KING	2	8
	TUDG	1	8
Early med.	EMSH	42	1909
Coarsewares	EMSS	21	477
	ESUR	9	151
	SHER	5	137
	SSW	1	3
London wares	LCOAR	34	302
	LLON	3	69
	LLSL	2	25
	LOND	6	106
Imports	SAIN	19	237
	NFM	1	10
Total medieval		182	4324
POST-MEDIEVAL			
Coarsewares	BORD	57	1008
	PMSR	73	4047
	METS	12	672
	PMBL	19	383
	PMR	389	23,079
	SUND	1	88
	micaceous	1	6
Stonewares	KOL FREC	36	1001
	FREC	29	741
	LONS	6	533
	RAER	10	580
	ENGS/SBLB	10	1221
Tinglaze	TGW	22	91
Imports	MART	6	144
	SAIN	1	18
Industrial	SGSW	4	25
	CREA	3	20
	PEAR	6	1038
	REFR	1	8
	REFW	22	1185
	NBW	2	77
	whiteware (?import)	3	79
Total post-medieval		713	36,044
TOTAL		897	40,391

EMSH cover a similar date range, but both are more commonly found in late 11th- to mid-12th-century contexts (Vince & Jenner 1991).

The only other Phase 1 feature to contain pottery was pit [478], which produced a single body sherd of EMSH.

Phase 2 (16th century to early 17th century)

Very little pottery derived from Phase 2 contexts (79 sherds), and this came largely from areas of cobbling and others surfaces associated with the three buildings of this phase, *eg* mortar layer [123], gravel layer [186], as well as wall trenches [126] and [282]. Sherds are relatively small and abraded (mean sherd size 14.2g). A variety of later medieval fabric types are represented, including London-type wares, Surrey whitewares, and Saintonge monochrome, as well as a very small amount of early post-medieval coarse redwares and one Raeren vessel.

Phase 3 (late 16th to mid-17th century)

Pottery from Phase 3 originated from layers sealing the earlier yard surface (layers [121], [138], [472], [473]), and from features cutting these layers (pit [129], gully [130], and pit [385]). Overall quantities again are not great (222 sherds), although more than from Phase 2, and condition is better (mean sherd size 37.0g). The majority of this small phase group is made up of coarse redwares; interestingly only one sherd of Border Ware (whiteware) is present. There are small quantities of Cologne/Frechen and Raeren stonewares, and two sherds of Martincamp flasks (Hurst's type I: Hurst 1966).

More diagnostic forms are identifiable in this phase, and a selection of these are illustrated by feature/context group (Fig 13, 5-10); these are primarily coarsewares in a range of food preparation and food serving forms. There is nothing amongst the pottery assemblage which might reflect the industrial activities in the area.

Phase 4 (17th century)

Just under half of the total pottery assemblage was recovered from contexts and features of this phase. This includes several relatively large groups from pits [324] and [350] as well as from layers of occupation or demolition [273]. These contexts are probably associated with the demolition of an

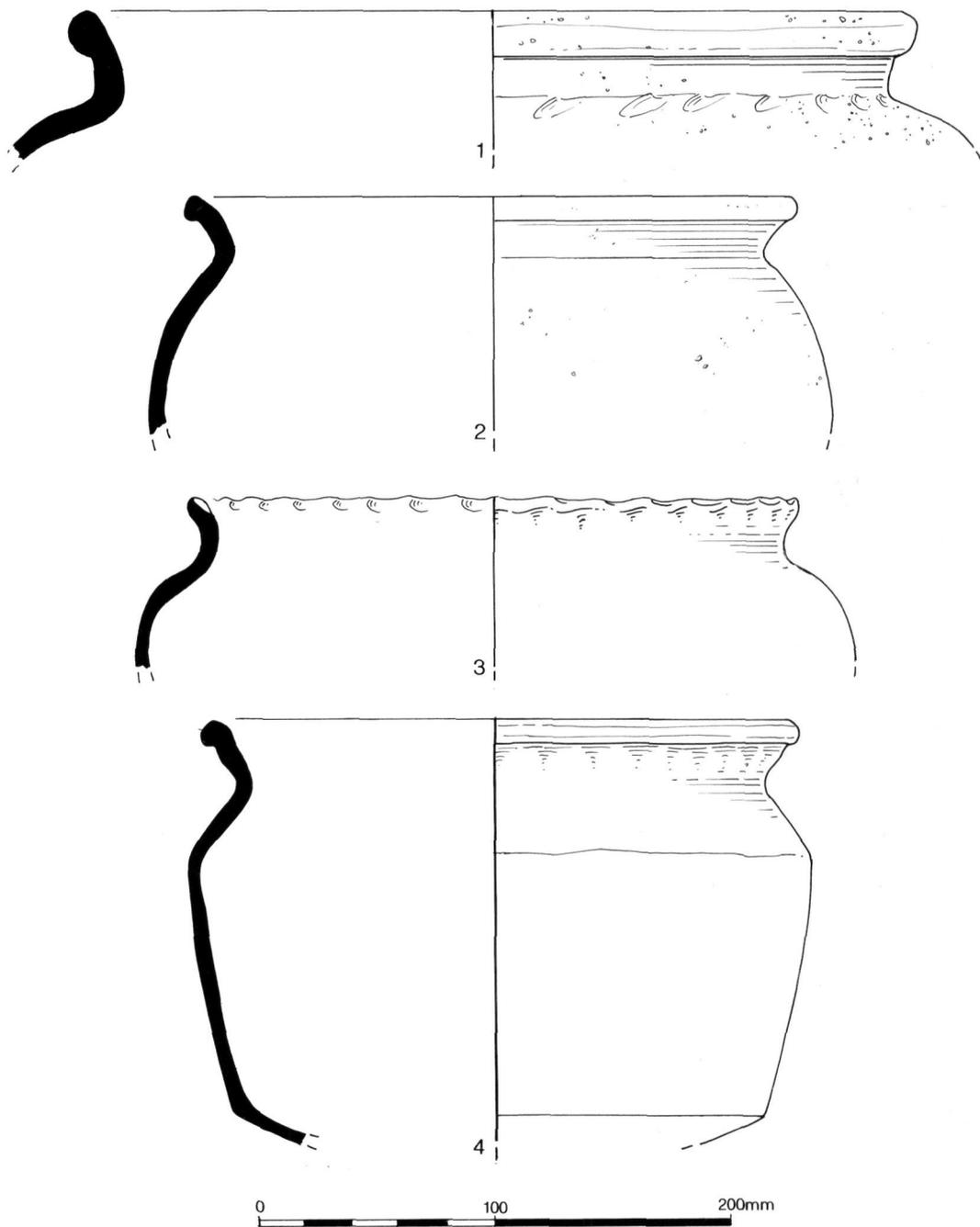


Fig 12. Medieval pottery

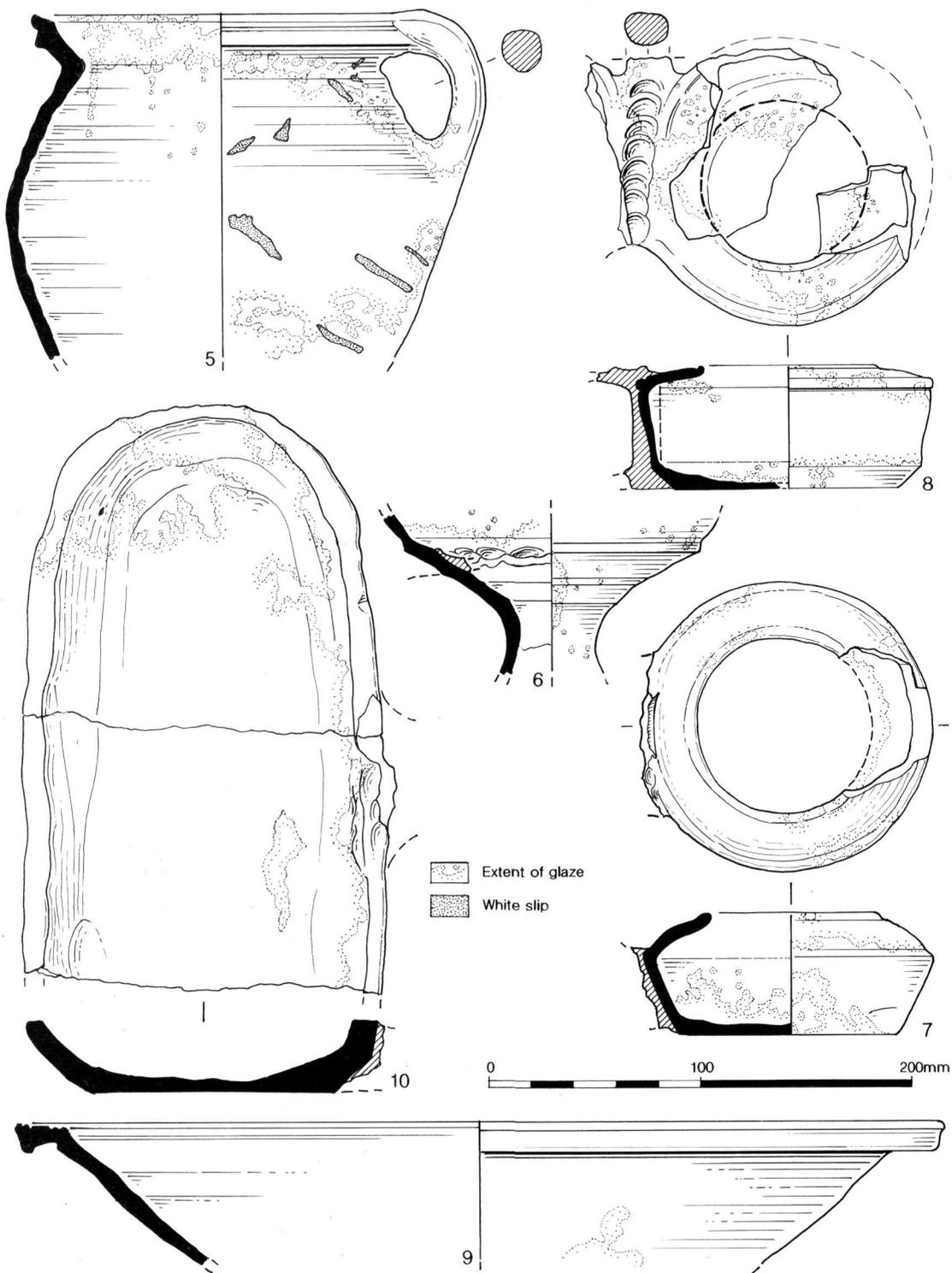


Fig 13. Late 16th- to mid-17th-century pottery

earlier building and construction of a new building and much of this may be residual material from activity in Phases 2/3. Both chronological and functional aspects should be considered here.

The proportion of coarse redwares is down (just over half the total for this phase), and Border wares are more apparent. Small quantities of Raeren and Cologne/Frechen stonewares are again present, and tinglazed earthenwares appear, including one sherd of Montelupo polychrome. Pit [350] and, in particular, layer [273] appear to contain a significant proportion of residual material; this includes slipped wares (PMSR), and German stonewares (RAER, KOL FREC, FREC), as well as other material types such as vessel glass (see above, Laidlaw and Mephram), all of which could be dated within the second half of the 16th century or, at the very latest, to the early 17th century.

Selected groups from layer [273] and pit [350] are illustrated (Fig 14, 11–20). Once again, the majority of the vessel forms represented relate to food preparation and serving, but a greater variety of forms are present than for Phase 3; the presence of imported vessels such as a Montelupo polychrome dish, a Saintonge chafing dish, and a small group of decorated Frechen or Cologne/Frechen jugs/bottles, coupled with the vessel glass, indicates an assemblage which reflects slightly higher status activity than that observed in previous phases.

Phase 5 (late 17th/early 18th century)

Only a very small quantity of pottery came from contexts of this phase. The only new fabric type represented is white salt-glazed stoneware, which is the latest closely datable type present — this was widely available from the 1720s. Indeed, the dearth of any wares which can be dated later than the early 18th century is noticeable. Industrial wares of the 18th century are represented only by the four sherds of white salt-glaze from Phase 5, plus three of creamware and six of pearlware from Phase 6 and clearance contexts, and later industrial wares are similarly scarce.

List of illustrated sherds (Figs 12–14)

Phase 1: Vessels from Pit [510]

1. Jar, EMSH. Context [509] [rim 6], pit [510].
2. Jar, EMSH; heavily sooted exterior. Context [509] [rim 7], pit [510].
3. Jar, EMSS; finger impressed rim. Context [509] [rim 8], pit [510].
4. Jar, EMSS. Context [523] [rim 9], pit [510].

Phase 3: Vessels from spread [472/473] and pit [385]

5. Handled jar, PMR, partially glazed. Context [288], pit [385].
6. Lower part of chafing dish, PMR, glazed internally. Context [288], pit [385].
7. One element of multiple (double) bowl, PMR, glazed inside and out, handle broken off. Obj No. 2049, context [288], pit [385].
8. One element of multiple (double) bowl, PMR, glazed inside and out, looped handle broken. Spread [472/473].
9. Dish, PMR, glaze spots inside and out. Spread [472/473].
10. Dripping dish, PMR, glazed internally. Spread [473/473].

Phase 4: Vessels from pit [350] and spread [273]

11. Jug or bottle, FREC; portrait medallions, acanthus palmettes and central motto; motto reads WAN GOTS VILT SOIS [MEIN ZEIL(T)] ('When God wills it, then my time is up'). Context [276], pit [350].
12. Jug or bottle, FREC; portrait medallions, acanthus palmettes and central motto; motto reads WAN GOTS VILT SOIS [MEIN ZEIL(T)] ('When God wills it, then my time is up'). Spread [273].
13. Jug or bottle, FREC; portrait medallions and acanthus palmettes. Context [276], pit [350].
14. Jug or bottle, KOL FREC; portrait medallions and acanthus palmettes. Context [276], pit [350].
15. Mug/jug, RAER. Context [276], pit [350].
16. Flask, MART. Context [276], pit [350].
17. Pipkin, BORDY, yellow glaze internally. Context [276], pit [350].
18. Large handled jar, PMR. Context [276], pit [350].
19. Money box, BORDG, green glaze externally. Spread [273].
20. Dish, BORDY, yellow glaze internally. Spread [273].

Ceramic building material

M Laidlaw

The ceramic building material recovered from the site includes roof and floor tile fragments and bricks. The bricks consist of samples taken from each structural element, as well as other brick fragments encountered in feature fills and other contexts. A total of 746 fragments weighing just over 208kg was recorded. The whole assemblage is of post-medieval date. A breakdown of the assemblage by type is presented in Table 4.

Roof tiles

The roof tile fragments consist mainly of peg tile fragments, with a small number of pantile and

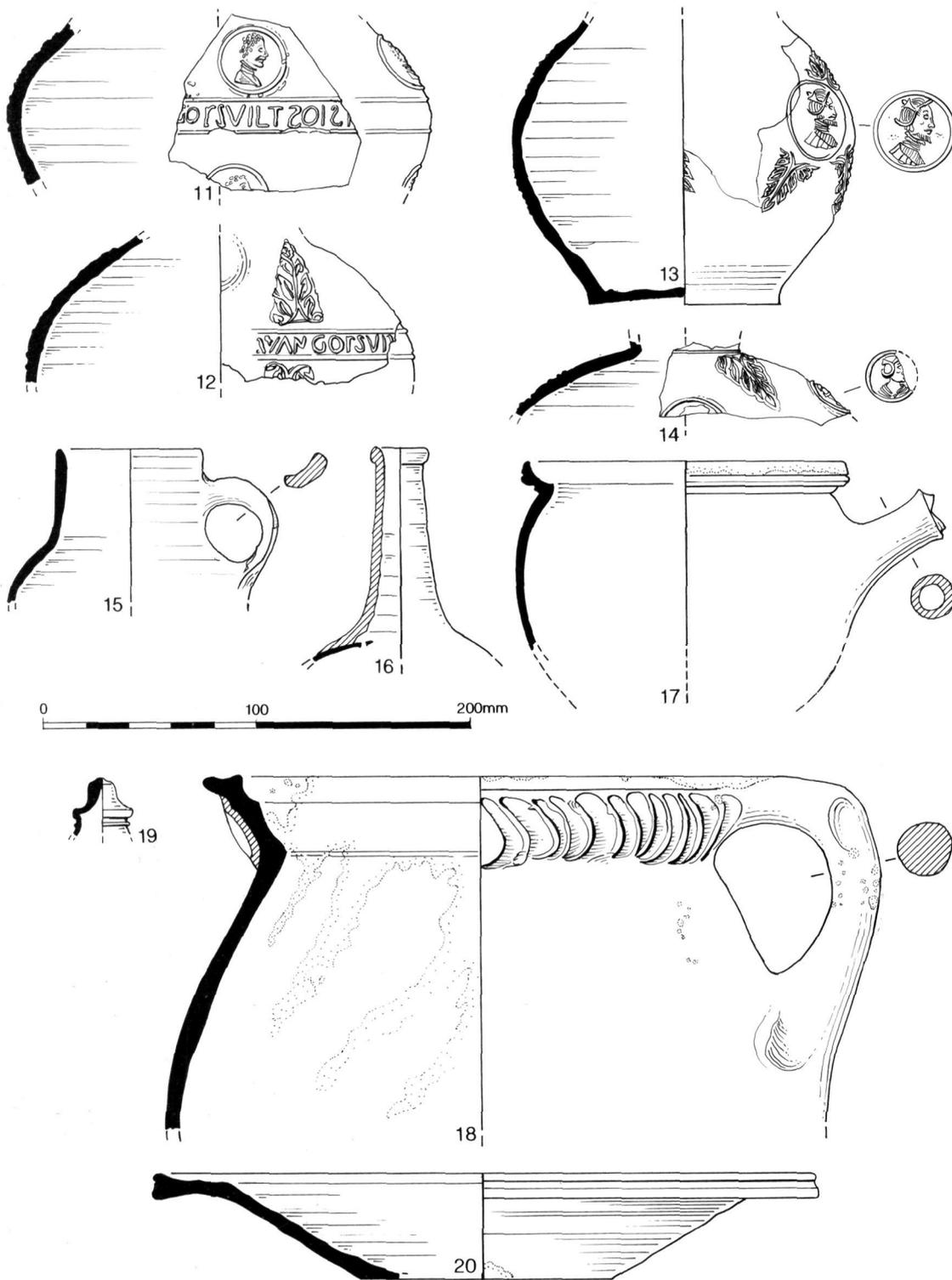


Fig 14. 17th-century pottery

Table 4. Ceramic building material by phase excluding brick samples

Phase	Bricks	Roof tiles	Floor tiles
1	5/977	11/1057	—
1/2		3/250	
2	2/926	59/5798	—
2/3	5/830	6/407	—
3	22/14729	95/10009	—
4	30/8149	311/33395	4/822
5	10/3706	107/16223	1/1392
TOTAL	74/29317	584/66514	5/2214

other curved tile fragments. All of the roof tile fragments are very similar in fabric type. Three broad types were identified:

- Q601 Hard moderately fine matrix, well-wedged with moderate quartz <1mm, mostly 0.5mm. Fired pale to dark orange, occasionally with an unoxidised core.
- Q602 Moderately hard matrix, moderately-wedged with moderate quartz 0.5mm, sparse red iron oxide <2mm, sparse black iron oxide <1mm. Fired pale brownish orange.
- Q603 Hard moderately fine matrix, well-wedged with sparse quartz <2mm, rare ?chalk <7mm. Fired orange to reddish orange.

The majority of roof tiles were attributed to the moderately fine fabric Q601 (96% of roof tiles by weight). This fabric group covered a broad variation of fabrics from hard fired to a small number of very hard fired fragments and a moderate variation in colour. Small quantities of fragments were attributed to the two other fabric types mainly on the presence of distinct inclusions of iron ore and ?chalk. The tiles in the above three fabrics are likely to have been manufactured at various kiln sites around London using the readily available deposits of sandy clay found in Quaternary deposits throughout the Thames Valley.

The bulk of the fragments (583) are derived from peg tiles. No complete tiles were recovered, although surviving widths are fairly consistent in size (150–160mm, with the majority around 155mm, and 10–15mm thick). One complete length was observed (264mm). A total of 72 fragments have round perforations, half of which occur in pairs, with an average diameter of 14mm. The distance between the peg holes ranges from 25mm to 65mm. A smaller quantity of fragments have square holes, often paired and ranging in size from 9mm to 17mm.

The peg tile fragments were distributed in a large number of features ranging from Phases 1–5, with

the majority from Phase 4, including a large dump in pit [324]; another tile dump was noted in Phase 2 (layer [422] — a make-up layer within Building C).

In addition, five pantile fragments and seven other curved fragments were recorded. One pantile was recovered from drain [165] (Phase 4) and four from pit [407] (Phase 4). Pantiles superseded peg tiles as the most common roof tile form during the 17th century. The curved fragments could derive from further pantiles, or from ridge tiles. One fragment is perforated on the crest of the tile. The curved fragments were from pit [407] (Phase 4) and layers [422] (Phase 2), and [273] (Phase 4) and [377] (Phase 5).

A small number of roof tiles including one curved tile and 13 peg tile fragments have splashes of glaze on their upper surface, and two peg tile fragments from gully [108] (Phase 5) have, unusually, splashes of glaze on their underside surface.

Floor tiles

The floor tiles recovered consist of four plain fragments, all glazed, and one decorated. Floor tile fragments were recovered from pits [350] and [437] and spread [273] (Phase 4) and wall [225] (Phase 5). The decorated tile fragment also came from spread [273].

Bricks

The brick assemblage consists of fragments recovered from features as well as complete bricks retained as representative samples from 13 structural elements, including walls and floors. The bricks are all handmade and unfroged, and were divided into four broad fabric types on the basis of dominant inclusions and the nature of the clay matrix:

- Q610 Hard, compact matrix with moderate to common clay pellets/lumps <5mm, moderate quartz <1mm. Fired mainly reddish brown.
- Q611 Hard, compact matrix with moderate quartz <2mm, rare pebbles <15mm, sparse ?chalk flecks. Fired dark red to purple.
- Q612 Moderately hard, fine matrix with moderate quartz <1mm (mostly 0.5mm). Fired orange.
- Q613 Moderately hard, a less compact matrix with moderate quartz <2mm, moderate to common clay pellets. Fired orangey brown.

Due to the similarities of the fabric types it was often difficult to attribute bricks to a particular fabric as each covered a wide variation and a slight degree of overlap. The majority of bricks (77 fragments) are attributed to the moderately coarse fabric Q610, distinctive due to the presence of common clay pellets. A moderate quantity (34) are attributed to Q613 which is similar to Q610 but has a less dense matrix. Smaller quantities are attributed to the finer sandy fabric Q612 and the hard compact fabric Q611 characteristically fired dark red to purple (14 and 13 fragments respectively).

The dimensions of the bricks are also very similar. Average dimensions for the bricks are 221mm by 105mm by 57mm thick, dimensions which are closely comparable to the standard 'Tudor' brick as set out in the charter of 1571: 228mm by 108mm by 57mm (9in by 4¼in by 2¼in).

Clay pipes

M Laidlaw

The small assemblage of clay pipes includes 10 datable bowls from stratified contexts within Phases 2–5, one with a maker's mark (rosette heel stamp), as well as one bowl fragment with a second maker's mark (heel stamp HR). The bowls cover a restricted date range within the 17th century, the majority dating to 1610–40 (8 examples).

Worked stone

M Laidlaw

Twenty-seven stone fragments were retained, consisting of three portable objects and 24 architectural fragments.

Portable objects

The portable objects consist of one mortar (clearance), one whetstone (spread [273], Phase 4), and one possible quernstone fragment (context [474]). The mortar fragment (Fig 15, 1) is in a shelly limestone, possibly Purbeck marble. Its internal surface is smooth and worn, the upper surface is scratched and pitted, and the external surface has visible tool marks. The possible quernstone fragment consists of two conjoining fragments in a coarse lava type stone with one smoothed surface, a curved outer edge, and a rough external surface. The fragments are too small to attribute to a specific form.

Architectural fragments

The architectural fragments can be divided into four categories:

1. ashlar with at least one surface (8)
2. mouldings (5)
3. voussoirs (2)
4. roofing tiles (9)

One of the mouldings has the outline of a pointing hand incised lightly onto one face (Fig 15, 2). The fragments were recovered from clearance and pit [324]. The voussoirs were recovered from walls [149] (Phase 4) and [321] (Phase 5). The voussoirs and other architectural fragments may have been reused in later structures, but it is likely that at least some of the fragments derive originally from the Phase 2 building.

A total of nine fragments possibly derived from stone roofing tiles, consisting of three slate, one shelly limestone, and five sandstone fragments. These were recovered from gullies [130] and [165], soakaway [243], spread [273], and pit [483].

List of illustrated objects (Fig 15)

1. Mortar fragment. Obj No. 2063, context [100], clearance.
2. Fragment of moulding with incised hand. Obj No. 2087, context [100], clearance.
3. Fragment of moulding. Obj No. 2016, pit [324], Phase 4.
4. Voussoir. Wall [321], Phase 5.

Worked bone

M Laidlaw and Sheila Hamilton-Dyer

The bone objects recovered comprise one plain knife handle, recovered from context [195] (Phase 4), one die (pit [350], Phase 4), and 26 pinner's bones (Fig 16, 1–3), 21 from Phase 3 contexts, 5 from Phase 4, and 1 from clearance.

The pinner's bones are all metatarsi (3 horse and 23 cattle), cut off proximally and modified in order to hold copper alloy pins while they were sharpened during manufacture. Several pins offer direct evidence of this activity.

There is a high degree of standardisation in the modification, although size selection does not seem to have taken place as large bones have been cut down in size. Each bone had been sawn off below the proximal articulation (there is one proximal offcut). This operation had not been carried out from one side in the manner of Saxon bone working, *eg* at Southampton, or early Tudor bone working, *eg* at Baynard's Castle, but from all round the shaft. The desired end result was the shaft tube.

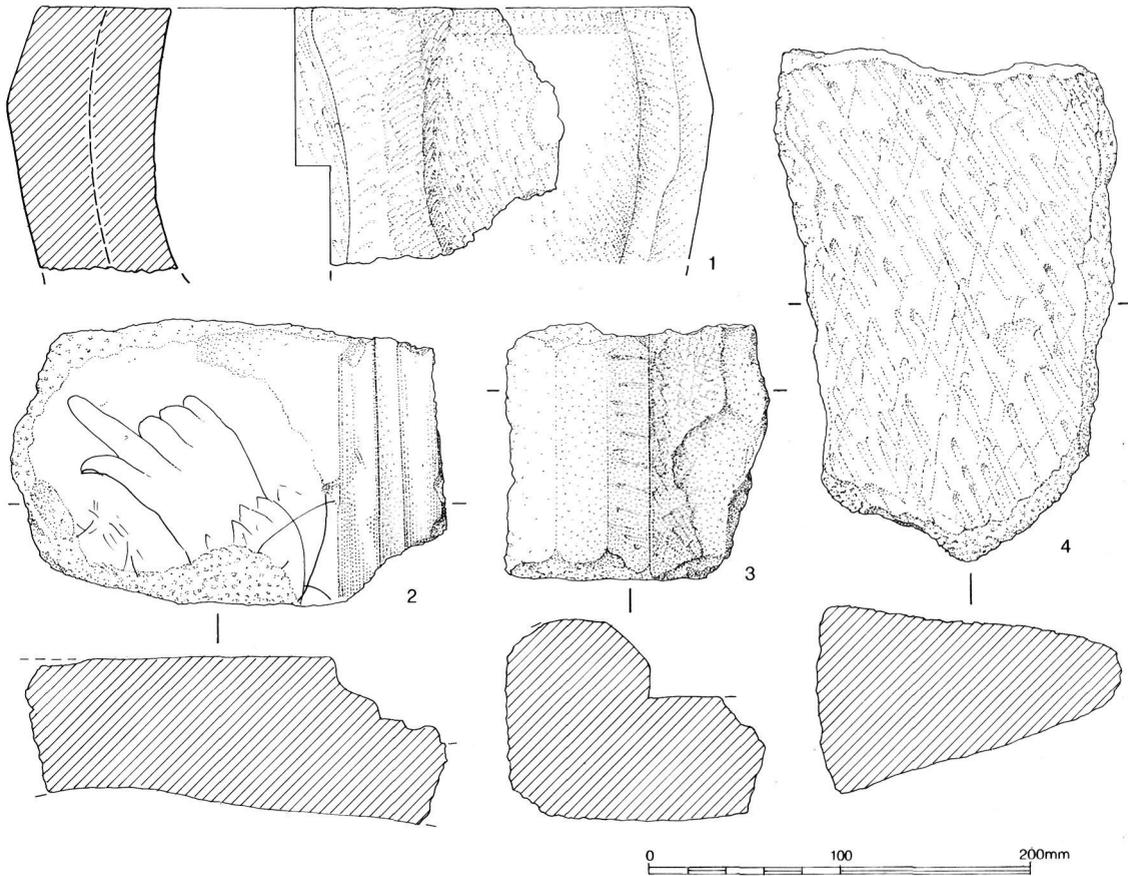


Fig 15. *Worked stone*

The cut end of the shaft was then formed into a rough square, not in alignment with the naturally square shaft but at 45 degrees. Several grooves were cut into the four sides of this square to hold the pins during the filing procedure. File marks are clearly visible on most of the bones from Highbridge Wharf, indicating that this was done at a slight angle. The largest of the bones had been trimmed on the sides of the distal articulation, either on one side or both. This may have been to make them more comfortable to hold, or perhaps easier to fit in some type of vice, while filing the pins. The three horse metatarsi have been modified in a similar way but one had been made five-sided rather than square.

There is evidence of both use and re-use of these bones. Several of the bones, particularly those recovered from spread [472] (Phase 3), are stained green at the proximal end from the copper salts from the pins. Most of the examples are quite worn, and some have been remodelled to a shorter length

after being broken when worn thin. They were probably thrown away when too short or worn to be of any use. Two small end fragments have transverse grooves marking the desired shortened length, but were presumably discarded when the bones broke during sawing. One other bone had also been broken and was being re-shaped, but was ultimately discarded when it broke during sawing. This suggests that they were worked on site rather than supplied ready made.

These objects were used for pin manufacture from at least the mid-16th century until the process was mechanised in the late 18th century (MacGregor 1985, 171). They are apparently known from several sites within London, including Baynard's Castle (MacGregor 1985, 171, citing Guildhall Museum 1908; Armitage 1977). At Highbridge Wharf they were found mostly in contexts of Phase 3, in particular silting layer [121] and spread [472]. One example from gully [130] was associated with a small group of copper alloy pins, including blanks

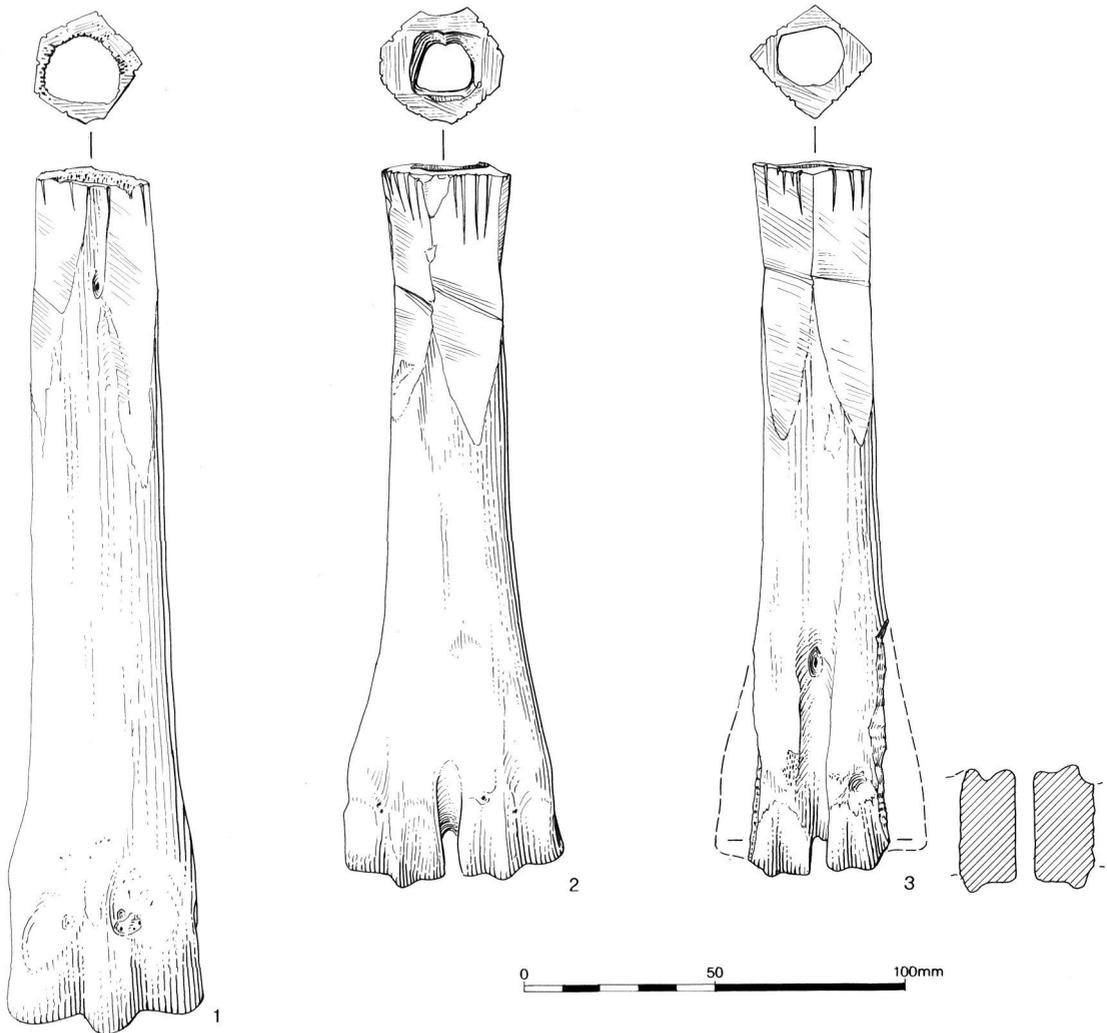


Fig 16. Worked bone

(see Laidlaw and Mephram, above). The focus of this activity, then, seems to be largely confined to Phase 3; further fragments from Phase 4 may be residual or may indicate continued activity for a limited time.

List of illustrated objects (Fig 16)

1. Pinner's bone, horse metatarsus, five flat facets with longitudinal grooves and diagonal file marks. Obj No. 2081, spread [472], Phase 3.
2. Pinner's bone, cow metatarsus, four flat facets with longitudinal grooves and diagonal file marks. 190mm x 55mm x 28mm. Obj No. 2093, silting layer [121], Phase 3.
3. Pinner's bone, cow metatarsus, four flat facets with longitudinal grooves and diagonal file marks, trimmed at the distal articulation. 187mm x 35mm x 28mm. Obj No. 2093, silting layer [121], Phase 3.

Leather

Lorraine Mephram

Fragments of leather came from two contexts, both in Phase 3. From the upper fill of gully [130] came fragments of probably a single welted shoe (Fig 17, 1). These comprise parts of the sole and insole, a separate heel insert, as well as welt and possible upper fragments. In addition, a single fragment, probably part of an upper, came from silting layer [121] (Fig 17, 2).

List of illustrated pieces (Fig 17)

1. Nine fragments, probably from single shoe; sole and welt, and possible upper. Obj No. 2025, context [111], gully [130], Phase 3.

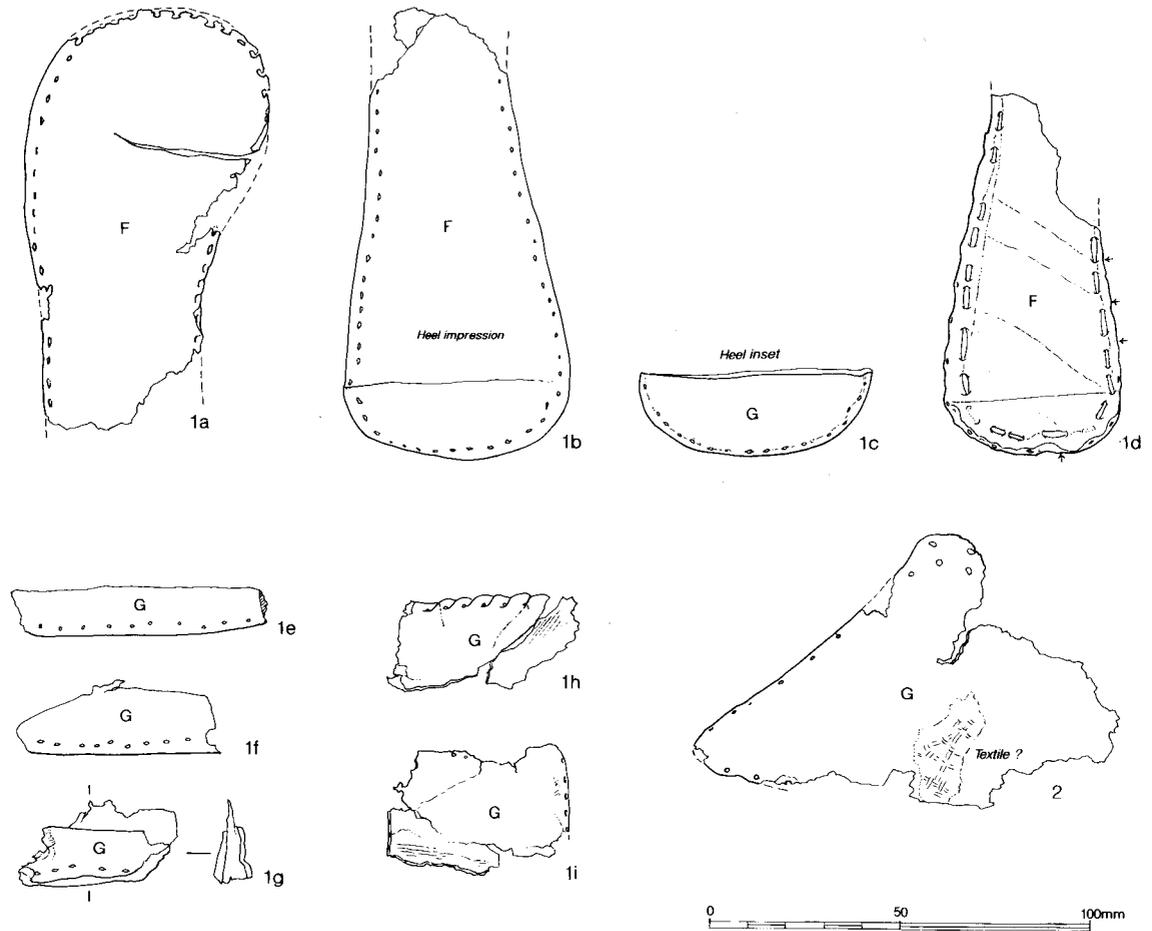


Fig 17. *Leather*

2. Single upper fragment. Obj No. 2030, silting layer [121], Phase 4.

ENVIRONMENTAL EVIDENCE

Plant remains

Pat Hinton

Samples from four contexts were selected for detailed analysis of plant remains, one from the medieval period and three post-medieval. A smaller sub-sample (c.2 litres) was taken from the Phase 4 posthole [343] to ascertain the extent of preservation by waterlogging and to allow comparison with the dried results from the standard flotation procedure.

All samples included both charred and uncharred seeds. Uncharred seeds in dry deposits can usually be dismissed as contamination from more recent vegetation but in this case, apart from some which are obviously far too recent and have been discounted, the seeds are very similar in appearance to those from the waterlogged sample, and are dried, brittle and hollow. There is no root material to suggest disturbance and therefore, although their age may not be certain, these seeds are recorded with the charred seeds in Table 5.

The results in the table are separated into two parts since not only do the plant remains fall into the two distinct categories of charred and uncharred but they indicate different original habitats. The charred remains in the first part of the table are those of cereals, pulses, and plants which are most likely to have been crop weeds. The uncharred seeds in the second part are those of

Table 5. Plant remains

Period		Medieval		Post-medieval		
Feature		Pit 510	Fireplace 360	Spread	Pit 343	
Context		521	254	273	343	
Phase		1	5	4	4	
Preservation		Dry	Dry	Dry	Dry	Waterlogged
Charred Seeds						
Cultivated plants						
<i>Triticum aestivum</i> s.l. - grains	bread wheat	3(2)	1	3(2)	2	
- rachis fragments				3		
<i>Secale cereale</i>	rye	2(1)			2(2)	
<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> L.	hulled barley	2		2	2	
<i>Avena</i> sp.	oats	2		3	3(1)	
Cerealia indet. - grains	indet. cereals	5	1 ml	2	2	
- fragments		0.5ml		7ml		
<i>Vicia faba</i> L.	broad bean			1		
<i>Vicia/Pisum</i> sp.	bean or pea			1		
Arable weeds						
<i>Polygonum lapathifolia</i> (L.) Gray	pale persicaria				1	
<i>Vicia hirsuta/tetrasperma</i>	hairy or smooth tare	3				
<i>Galium aparine</i> L.	cleavers			2		
cf Apiaceae	carrot family				1	
<i>Bromus</i> cf <i>secalinus</i>	rye brome	1			3	
Poaceae indet.	grasses	1		1		
Uncharred Seeds						
Ruderals, Weeds						
<i>Ranunculus acris/repens/bulbosus</i>	buttercups				1	
<i>Fumaria</i> sp.	fumitory		2			
<i>Urtica dioica</i> L.	stinging nettle		1		7	
<i>Chenopodium album</i> L.	fat hen	1	1		24	
<i>Chenopodium</i> sp.	goosefoot	1			4	
<i>Atriplex</i> sp.	orache	1	1			
<i>Euphorbia pepus</i> L.	petty spurge		1			
<i>Hyoscyamus niger</i> L.	henbane			4	191* 109*	
<i>Lapsana communis</i> L.	nipplewort				1	
Edible plants						
<i>Ficus carica</i> L.	fig		1		1	
<i>Vitis vinifera</i> L.	grape		1			
Edible plants - Wood margin/scrub						
<i>Corylus avellana</i> L. - nut shell fragment	hazel				1	
<i>Rubus fruticosus</i> agg.	blackberry	3	6	1	3840* 600*	
<i>Fragaria vesca</i> L.	wild strawberry				1	
<i>Prunus spinosa</i> L - fruit stones	sloe				15	
cf <i>Prunus</i> sp. - fruit stone frags.	sloes/plums etc.				5	
<i>Sambucus nigra</i> L.	elder	1	3	2	2	
Damp ground						
<i>Carex</i> spp.	sedge		1	1	1	
Unclassified						
cf Caryophyllaceae - embryo	pink family			1		

Key: () = identification uncertain. * = estimated.

plants which may merely represent the more immediate environment, but some may have had a use as food or medicine.

Comparing the totals from the two parts of Sample 3005 from pit [343], in view of the different sample sizes (the wet sample equals about one-ninth of the dried), the results as far as the charred seeds are concerned are not surprising. A greater contrast is seen in the uncharred seeds where some species occur in proportionately greater numbers in the smaller waterlogged sample, presumably reflecting better preservation. The estimated total of *Hyoscyamus niger* (henbane) seeds in the waterlogged sample is slightly more than half the total in the much larger dry sample. The difference is less with *Rubus fruticosus* (blackberry), when the waterlogged seeds equal slightly less than a sixth of the dry seeds.

The totals of blackberries and henbane seeds from pit [343] were estimated from sub-samples but the entire sample was searched for other species. All taxa are represented by seeds (which term includes nutlets, caryopses *etc*) unless other stated and nomenclature follows Stace (1991).

Discussion

The charred crop plant seeds from medieval pit [510] differ very little from those from the three post-medieval contexts. The same range of cereals occurs in both periods, and one of the three rachis fragments in the post-medieval spread [273] indicates a hexaploid free-threshing bread wheat. Pulses, represented only by one *Vicia faba* (broad bean) seed and by one cotyledon, possibly of *Pisum* sp. (pea), were found only in the same sample. The charred wild plant seeds are few and are typical field weeds. *Bromus* sp. (rye brome) and unidentified smaller grass seeds occur in both phases and there is unlikely to be any significance in the presence of *Vicia hirsuta/tetrasperma* (tares) only in the sample from the earlier period and *Polygonum lapathifolia* (pale persicaria) and *Galium aparine* (cleavers) only in the later period. The cereals, pulses, and weeds were probably derived from the disposal of burnt domestic refuse. The few uncharred seeds are mainly unremarkable ruderal species.

Sample 3003, from the post-medieval fireplace [360] included only one recognisable cereal grain, *Triticum aestivum* s.l. (bread wheat), and some cereal fragments. The greater part of the sample consisted of small pieces of coal, with some fragments of charcoal and uncharred wood. Uncharred seeds, as before, include ruderal species, but the fruit seeds *Ficus carica* (fig) and *Vitis vinifera* (grape) are frequent

items in medieval contexts, usually waterlogged cesspits.

Spread [273] produced slightly more cereals, and also traces of pulses such as broad bean and possibly a pea. Charred seeds again suggest crop weeds and probably derive from domestic fires. The very few uncharred seeds seem more likely to be chance occurrences.

The two samples from pit [343] include cereals and weed seeds similar to those in the previous samples (with the exception of the probable Apiaceae), but their greater interest is in the uncharred seeds. These, as before, are from plants which grow in waste or disturbed ground, or are fruits from woodland or scrub areas, and the most noticeable are blackberry and henbane.

Blackberries are of course appreciated fruits and have always been gathered, and the large numbers of seeds may reflect this. On the other hand they are always present in large quantities in the soil beneath thickets of brambles, and also where berry-eating birds have perched. (An experimental 0.5 litre sample of soil from below an established area of brambles yielded more than 150 seeds, *ie* almost exactly matching the estimated total of *c.*600 seeds from 2 litres of waterlogged soil from pit [343]). Henbane is a very poisonous plant though its leaves have a use as a narcotic and it has a long history of cultivation in herb gardens (Pierpoint Johnson 1862) but here it may only represent local surroundings; it prefers dry nutrient rich soil and now occurs mainly by roadsides or in other disturbed areas. Henbane produces large numbers of seeds, usually more than 300 to a capsule, and perhaps *c.*6,000 to a plant (Salisbury 1961). The presence of both blackberry and henbane seeds in a pit, however, argues for deliberate disposal rather than chance accumulation. Blackberry seeds were found in all samples but henbane, apart from four seeds in spread [273], only in pit [343], both post-medieval.

The charred cereals, pulses, and weeds provide no indication of where they were cultivated. Rye and barley suggest lighter soils than bread wheat and pulses but the weeds are non-specific and it is probable that more than one source is concerned. The uncharred seeds may do more to illustrate the closer environment. *Prunus*, *Sambucus*, *Corylus*, and *Fragaria* species (sloes, elder, hazel, and wild strawberry) are plants of hedges and wood margins and may well have been gathered. The other wild plants such as *Urtica*, *Chenopodium*, *Atriplex*, *Fumaria*, and *Euphorbia* species (nettles, goosefoot, orache, fumitory, and spurge), like the blackberry and henbane, are characteristic plants of open disturbed places,

usually nutrient rich, and *Carex* spp. (two species of sedges) in three post-medieval samples suggest at least some damp areas.

ANIMAL BONE

Sheila Hamilton-Dyer

Species identifications were made using the modern comparative collections of S. Hamilton-Dyer. Some fragments could be identified only to the level of cattle/horse-sized (LAR), sheep-sized (SAR), or just as mammalian. The few measurements follow von den Driesch (1976) and are in millimetres. Withers height estimations of the domestic ungulates are based on factors recommended by von den Driesch and Boessneck (1974). The archive contains further details of individual bones.

This small collection of 291 bones was recovered from features of medieval and post-medieval date. The bones include several associated with the manufacture of brass pins. The taxa identified are horse, cattle, sheep, pig, fallow deer, rabbit, domestic fowl, goose, and duck. Over 64% of the bones (187) could be identified to species, the material consisting mainly of large pieces which were often extremely well preserved. The distribution of taxa in each context is given in Table 6.

Medieval material is restricted to 16 bones from pit [510]. These are of cattle (8), cattle-sized fragments (5), and sheep (3). The sheep bones include a complete metacarpus which gives an estimated withers height of 0.525m. This is typical of the small values for medieval sheep found at other sites such as Southampton (Bourdillon 1980). None of the bones exhibited butchery marks but three had been dog gnawed and all are slightly weathered. A cattle maxilla has a third premolar which is impacted on the first molar.

The bulk of the bones (275) are from post-medieval deposits. Given that most contexts contained less than ten bones it is inappropriate to discuss these by context and the analysis treats the material as a single assemblage.

In eight contexts (marked on Table 6) 26 pinners' bones, or fragments thereof, are present. These account for 3 of the 6 horse bones and 23 of the 107 cattle. They are discussed in detail above (Laidlaw and Hamilton-Dyer). The presence of these bones results in a notable bias in the cattle remains. Over 21% of the cattle bones recovered are pinners' bones; of 27 metatarsi in total only four are unmodified. In comparison there are just four metacarpi, all unmodified. Tarsals, toes, and distal tibiae are

almost absent (one of each) and it therefore seems clear that the metatarsi had been brought in from elsewhere specifically for industrial use; as at Baynard's Castle, where cattle metapodials appear to have been specially selected for this purpose (Armitage 1977).

Excluding the 23 pinners' bones most of the cattle bones are of good meat areas: the scapula, pelvis, humerus, radius, and femur. A few head and foot bones are present. Most of the cattle-sized fragments are ribs and vertebrae. A high number of the bones (41%) have butchery marks. These are mostly clean chopping by a cleaver but also include knife marks on jaws indicating removal of cheek and tongue and along scapula blades from stripping the meat from the shoulder. There is also a hole in a scapula blade probably made when hanging up the meat, perhaps to cure it. One of the stripped scapulae is of a young calf and there are six other bones from calves, reflecting the increased interest in veal in the post-medieval period. Three of the cattle metacarpi are complete and estimates of withers heights are calculated as 1.225m (gully [130]), 1.256m and 1.5m (layer [100]). The first two would be acceptable, though large, for medieval material but the last is very large. The latter two were, however, recovered from the clearance layer and are not closely stratified. Other measurements are also of comparatively large animals and are representative of the improved cattle of the late 16th century onwards (Armitage 1977).

The 58 sheep bones are also dominated by the best meat bones, often butchered. A mixture of ages is represented with animals of around six months, under three years, and over three years, as indicated by epiphyseal fusion and tooth eruption and wear. No aged animals are represented indicating a selection for meat of high quality.

Almost no pig bones are present and remains of other taxa are also uncommon. There are three bones of fallow deer but two of these are the meatless metatarsi. The single rabbit bone is not butchered but could be meal remains. The nine bird bones are of fowl, goose, and duck, probably all domestic. Only one of these bones, a goose radius, has been cut. Dog bones are not present but some of the bones have been gnawed, suggesting their presence on the site; these are scattered throughout the material and not concentrated in any one feature.

The proportions of taxa and of anatomical elements vary quite widely from context to context. Layer [273] contains more cattle and sheep jaws than other contexts and the pinners' bones are

concentrated in layers [121] and [472]. Generally the numbers of bones are too small to detect real differences in disposal practices, any differences owing more to random statistical effects.

Animal bone recovered from samples taken was dominated by fish bones. Common eel (*Anguilla anguilla*), conger eel (*Conger conger*), small cyprinids (carp family), small gadids (cod family), flatfish (*pleuronectidae*), and salmonids (trout family) were all retrieved. A few small bird bones were also retrieved along with small mammal and amphibian bones.

THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Christopher Phillpotts

Manuscript sources for the history of the site of Creedy's Yard and its predecessors have been consulted at the British Library Manuscripts Department, Greenwich Local History Library, London Metropolitan Archives, and the Public Record Office. The surviving medieval and post-medieval records of Greenwich manor are mostly held at the PRO. These have been consulted selectively, together with deeds and surveys in all these repositories.

Some secondary works and primary printed sources were also used, and these are listed in the Bibliography. Detailed maps and engravings of Greenwich are available from the 16th century onwards. The research into this area of Greenwich has not been conducted exhaustively, but further work would be unlikely to add materially to the interpretation of the excavation site offered below.

The Saxon period

Recent analysis suggests that a series of barrows in Greenwich Park was constructed for burials in the mid-6th to mid-8th centuries. Other burials are known from the north-east part of the National Maritime Museum grounds at TQ 3869 7785. One grave contained three enamelled discs from a hanging bowl of Celtic design, dated to c.AD 700, and three others contained bronze pins and 'ring money' (Montmorency 1910–11, 125; Webster 1902, 15–16; RCHME 1994, i, 5, 7 fig 2, gazetteer no. 57; ii, 3–8).

The place-name Greenwich is thought to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon for 'green port'. The

'green' element may be compared to Greenhithe lower down the Thames; the 'wic' element appears to indicate a substantial port (Field 1980, 53). The first known mention of Greenwich was as part of the large estate of Lewisham. This estate, including Greenwich and Woolwich, was granted to the Abbey of St Peter at Ghent by King Edgar in AD 964; an earlier grant in AD 918 by Aelfthryth, daughter of King Alfred, is now known to be a later forgery. After a period in which the Abbey lost control of the lands, the grant was confirmed by King Edward the Confessor in accordance with a promise he had made in 1016, and by William the Conqueror in 1081 (Birch 1887, ii, 337–9 no. 661; Round 1899, i, 500–2 nos 1373–5; Martin 1927, 104–5, 125–6; Grierson 1941, 86–95; Sawyer 1968, 236 no. 728, 299 no. 1002).

The Lewisham estate was of the type known as 'multiple estates', in which different agricultural and pastoral functions were spread over a wide area to take advantage of the variation in local land resources. Each of these estates formed a unit of exploitation which comprised upland and lowland zones of arable, pasture, and woodland, and sometimes marshland zones, which provided resources for fishing, fowling, and reed harvesting. It has been suggested that these estates were utilised continuously from the Romano-British period onwards, or even from the Iron Age. Their extents and operation can often be traced in later manorial structures (Everitt 1986, 72–5).

There is likely to have been some settlement shift within this land unit during the course of the middle or late Saxon period. The mechanism by which these shifts of settlement occurred is unknown, but in the context of the division of the landscape into a series of multiple estates, they are likely to have been seigneurially directed. The considerable distance between the parish church and the later manorial centre suggests a change of focus in settlement at Greenwich in the late Saxon or early medieval period.

The Greenwich settlement probably formed the river port element of the Lewisham estate. The estate as described in *Domesday Book* included a port worth 40 shillings a year, probably on the Thames at Greenwich (Morgan 1983, 8.1; Watson 1987, 110). There was a manorial wharf at Greenwich in 1293 (Martin 1927, 108).

In 1012–1014 and 1016 Danish Viking fleets lay moored at Greenwich. During the time that the Danes were there, they captured and killed Alfege, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1012. The archbishop's body was transported from St Paul's Cathedral to Canterbury in 1023 (Garmonsway

1972, 142–5, 156–7). The church of St Alphege was built in commemoration at the reputed place of his martyrdom, on the west side of Greenwich Church Street. The grant of AD 964 included churches and churchyards within the Lewisham estate.

The medieval period

In the *Domesday Book* survey of 1086, the present Greenwich was not mentioned by that name. The bulk of Greenwich was included in the entry for the large estate of *Levesham*, held by the Abbey of Ghent, while *Grenviz* referred to West Greenwich, the present Deptford (Morgan 1983, 8.1; Watson 1987, 109–10).

The lordship of the manor of Lewisham and Greenwich, with the advowson of St Alphege church, remained with the Abbey of Ghent until the early 15th century. It was administered from its buildings in Lewisham, called the Priory of Lewisham and Greenwich. There were also priory buildings in Greenwich, but few monks were ever in residence on either site. Greenwich continued to function as a river port. Receipts of the manor in 1267–70 included quay dues. In 1293 and 1299 the abbot levied a toll on carts carrying wood along the high road to his quay at Greenwich.

The changing economic circumstances of the 14th century did not favour direct farming by a distant absentee landlord, particularly one whose estates were liable to confiscation by the Crown because of the Anglo-French wars. The Greenwich lands were leased out in 1346 for fifteen years to John de la Rokele, in order to satisfy a debt. The whole manor was leased out for twenty years in 1376. In an inquisition of 1380 the manor stock was noted as consisting of pigs, barley, rye, wheat, oats, beans, and cart-wheels. The Abbey retained ownership until the Crown confiscated the lands of alien religious houses in 1414 (BL Additional MS 6164 f416; *CPR 1345–8*, 72–3; Drake 1886, 43 n 7, 95; Montmorency 1906, 22, 24, 33; Mandy 1910–11, 134; 1912, 208–9; Martin 1927, 110–19; Mills 1993, 26–7, 39).

The manor of Lewisham and Greenwich was immediately used by Henry V to endow the new Charterhouse he had founded at Sheen. In 1415 the Prior of Sheen was permitted to sue for the arrears of rent in the manor at the Court of Exchequer. The Priory leased out the manor to a tenant for three years in 1428 (PRO E41/79; *CPR 1413–16*, 367; Drake 1886, 43 n 12, 95 n 5; Martin 1927, 119–20).

The fundamental feature of the history of all the manors and parishes along the banks of the Thames below London in the medieval and early modern periods was the struggle to reclaim the marshes from the river. Earthen banks or *walls* were constructed along the riverside, and the land behind was drained by ditches. This was enclosed and drained in a series of units divided by cross-walls, built out from the gravel *uplands* or *inlands* and running perpendicularly to the river. The reclaimed land behind the walls was utilised for meadow and pasture, and also for sowing corn. The unenclosed marshes in front of the walls were used for fishing and fowling.

It is not known at what date the lower Thames was embanked but it may have been as early as the Saxon period. The grant of some marshland in East Greenwich in 1238 included the obligation to maintain the Thames walls and marsh ditches (CLRO Bridge House Deeds C17). The grant of a field called Trinmad by Walkelin de Grenewiz in the reign of Henry III (1216–72) was subject to a similar service (*CAD* iv, 44 no. A6483; PRO E40/6483). The Thames walls were referred to in the manorial account of 1268 (Drake 1886, 43 n 7). In rentals of the manor in the late 13th and early 14th centuries, tenants paid rents for inlands and for pieces of reclaimed marshland called *Michelefotteshope* or *Muthenateshope*, *Beleshope*, *Walleshope*, and *le Hoke* (PRO SC11/349, 350, 351; SC12/9/25).

There were *walreves* to watch over the river walls in 1325 and 1329. Two tenants were fined 3d each for damaging the walls in the marshes in these years (PRO SC2/181/15 and 57). The obligation to maintain the walls was included in the leases of Ghent Abbey's property in Greenwich in 1346 and 1376 (*CPR 1345–8*, 72–3; Martin 1927, 114, 116).

The earliest of the series of royal commissions to review and repair the river walls on the south side of the Thames was dated 1315, but they may have functioned satisfactorily for some centuries before this. The part of the Thames frontage including Greenwich received the attention of the commissions particularly in 1315 24 and 1377–1410 (*CPR 1405–8*, 357; Dugdale 1772, 59–62; Montmorency 1906, 23–5). Flooding by the Thames caused a permanent loss of 60 acres of arable land to the manor at Greenwich in the 14th century (BL Additional MS 6164 f416).

Rising river levels caused particular problems for the river walls in the 15th and 16th centuries. However, it appears that new marshes were being drained for arable exploitation in the manor of Greenwich in the 15th century (BL Cotton MS Otho Bxiv ff79v–80).

Fishing probably formed an important part of the economy of Greenwich. In 1349 Greenwich fishermen were found guilty of using nets of too fine a mesh (Riley 1868, 244–5). There are also indications of wider-ranging trade at Greenwich. A Greenwich mariner was licensed to trade in Gascony as early as 1229 (Montmorency 1906, 21). In 1326 the men of Greenwich were exempted from military service on land because they had sent ships to serve with the king's admiral (*VCHK* ii, 337).

The Abbey of Ghent's buildings in Greenwich served as a manorial centre, collecting the produce of the tithes of the parish, and the manor's courts were sometimes held there. They were already described as 'the old house' in 1268. In 1281 there was a grange and a courtyard enclosing three acres, including apple trees (Drake 1886, 43 n 7). The lease of the Abbey's lands in Greenwich to John de la Rokele in 1346 included buildings and enclosures. The Abbey was to repair the buildings, one of which was a stable, but Rokele was to provide the straw to thatch them. A grange called Tendebarn (probably the tithe barn) was reserved from the lease (*CPR* 1345–8, 72–3). In 1370 the Abbey through its Priory of Lewisham held buildings described as 'a capital message' in Greenwich, which were not leased out (BL Additional MS 6164, f416). In 1396 the easternmost building in Greenwich when approached up the Thames was the guest-house (*hostel*) of the Abbey's establishment there. This comprised a group of buildings entered from the landward side through a gatehouse. The gatehouse had a tiled roof, but the rest of the buildings were thatched. They were in the custody of a one-eyed caretaker called Henry Brioul (Martin 1927, 120–1). In the lease of the manor in 1428, the premises were described as a grange with small house with chambers annexed to it, assigned to the farmer of the manor as his residence (PRO E41/79). This became known as the manor house of Old Court by 1468 (PRO E40/4923). It lay at Ballast Quay, to the east of the excavation site along the waterfront.

Highbridge

There are no certain references to Highbridge by that name in the medieval period, but there are some other place-names which might be equivalent. In 1281 an extent of the Abbot of Ghent's manor mentioned 16 acres at *Strandbrugge* (Drake 1886, 43 n 7). In 1303 Walkelin Dat paid rent for land at *Notesbrugge* and the heirs of William Martin for land at *Stondbrugge* (PRO SC11/351). In 1322 the

Martin heirs were in arrears for their rent for the land at *Stranbregge* (PRO SC12/9/25). This name implies a jetty on the shore. In 1419 a wharf at *Estgaitte* was in need of repair, the responsibility lying with the tenant Stephen Schorham (PRO SC2/181/60). This can be compared to the wharf at Billingsgate, further to the west in Greenwich.

In 1453 a decree of the Venetian Senate ordered the captains of its annual trading galleys which sailed to England and Flanders to avoid delay and loss of crew members at London by mooring at Gravesend or Greenwich. Goods destined for London were to be forwarded from there up the river at the expense and risk of the captains (*CSPVI*, 77–8 no. 313). It has been surmised that the point at which the galleys were instructed to halt was a jetty or *bridge* at Highbridge (Stone 1912, 192; Barker 1993, 115). The line of the present Eastney Street probably served as a route to bring goods from the wharf here, although no evidence survives for it at this period, except perhaps the reference to *Estgaitte*.

Between Old Court and Highbridge a series of tenements and gardens had been built by the late medieval period. Property deeds surviving from the late 14th century onwards provide evidence for these, although more detail is available for those at the east end of the row than those near Highbridge (Fig 18).

The property immediately to the west of Old Court is known from land transactions dating back to 1372, when Walter Sprot sold it to Thomas Bakere. By 1390 two shops had been built on it. The premises came into the hands of John Gunthorpe, Dean of Wells and member of the Royal Chapel, in 1483, for the purposes of building. It was then flanked by ditches to the east and west, and included a stretch of the Thames wall with a wharf on the foreshore in front of it. The parishioners retained a right of way along the wall when perambulating the parish bounds. Another house lay on its west side (PRO E40/4756, 4898, 4901–2, 4912, 4919–24, 4926; Drake 1886, 77, 80, 95 n 5, 277).

Further to the west William Folton sold land and two tenements to John Brightwode in 1475. Brightwode's widow gave them to the parish of Greenwich in 1508. This property later formed the nucleus of the Trinity almshouses site. On the west side of it Henry Petit the waterman held land which comprised all or some of the excavation site. It later passed to Henry Abyngdon of the Royal Chapel, and in 1494 to Robert Cosyn (PRO E326/10504; Drake 1886, 277). On this property or adjacent to it Cosyn held a tenement and garden, measuring 7.5m by 22.6m, formerly belonging to John Read and his wife Joan of Lewisham. The Reads also

held the Sprot property in 1390–3, and later a garden or toft from the Prior of Sheen (Drake 1886, 95 n 5). Cosyn's house probably lay near the centre of the excavation site and is possibly represented by the foundation walls and robber trenches of Building A, although there is no evidence to suggest a 15th-century date for the construction of this building.

Somewhere in the vicinity of the excavation site or Eastney Street John Fox held two tenements with a wharf on the River Thames in 1439. Other tenements and gardens lay to its east and west, and the property stretched southward to a footpath leading to All Saints Chapel, but it cannot be located precisely (PRO E211/512E).

Beyond the footpath to the south of all these tenements and gardens lay *Custelotfeld*, divided between several of the manorial tenants (PRO E40/4756). On the south side of this ran the road from Greenwich to Woolwich, now represented by Old Woolwich Road.

Further to the west, on the site of the later royal palace, chalk and limestone sleeper walls of a 14th-century rectangular building have been excavated. The site was granted to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester in 1417, and he built his residence Bella Court there c.1427. He enclosed and laid out Greenwich Park in 1434, and built a tower in its centre on the site of a pre-existing building called Mirefleur. This was later the site of the Royal Observatory. Duke Humphrey's residence passed to the Crown in 1447 and was occupied by Henry VI's queen, Margaret of Anjou. A house of Observant Friars was established within the precincts in 1482. The residence was expanded from c.1500 onwards by Henry VII, who renamed it Placentia, and by Henry VIII as Greenwich Palace (*CPR 1429–36*, 369; Drake 1886, 55–6; Webster 1902, 3, 11–13; Montmorency 1906, 33).

The post-medieval centuries

The manor of Lewisham and East Greenwich returned to the Crown by one of Henry VIII's enforced exchanges of land with Sheen Priory in 1531 (PRO E40/4758; E41/149). It has remained a royal manor ever since. The manor house of Old Court was sold to the Crown by the Earl of Warwick in 1550 (*CPR 1549–51*, 277–8). The Crown sold it to Sir John Morden in 1699, and he left it in his will to Morden College in Blackheath (Drake 1886, 46). The freeholder tenants continued to owe small quit-rents to the Crown as lord of the manor

at the end of the 17th century, but they were considered archaic and not worth collecting (PRO C205/20/6; MPE 245).

The struggle to reclaim the marshland from the River Thames at the east end of Greenwich continued into the 16th century. Fourteen acres of marshland in the New Marsh, and thirteen acres three roods in Cowemershe, were included in a lease of 1540 (*CAD v A12995*; Montmorency 1906, i, 32).

The growth of the Palace became the dominant factor in the economy and development of the settlement of Greenwich. It was one of the chief homes of an expanded royal entourage in the Tudor period. By 1522 many of Henry VIII's courtiers had established their own town houses in Greenwich, including a series along the river to the east of the Palace frontage (Drake 1886, 58 n 10; Thurley 1993, 129).

One of these town houses, known as Compton House, was owned by Sir William Compton from 1512 onwards. This probably lay immediately to the west of the excavation site. Sir William was Groom of the Stole from 1509 to 1525 and Keeper of Greenwich Palace for Henry VIII from 1519 to 1527 (Drake 1886, 56 n 5, 64, 80, 108; Thurley 1993, 83).

The Compton family acquired much of the land between Greenwich Park and the river in this area (Drake 1886, 45 n 10). The Comptons owned the house at the corner of East Lane and Highbridge Wharf for the remainder of the 16th century. It probably had its own wharf to give access to the Thames. It appears in a mid-16th-century view of the Palace from the north by Wyngaerde as a two-storey structure with a central gable and chimney-stack.

Sixteenth-century deeds record the houses occupied along the waterfront between Highbridge and Old Court; again most information is available about those at the east end and relatively little about the immediate area of the excavation site (Fig 18).

To the east of Compton House, Robert Cosyn's tenement and garden passed to Thomas Shelton, who sold it in 1547 to Sir Thomas Cawarden, Henry VIII's Master of the Revels. To the east and south of this was the property later known as Bear Yard (represented by the yard surfaces excavated), and then another house with a garden stretching south to the Woolwich Road (PRO E326/8201 and 10587; E328/225; Drake 1886, 80, 106, 278). All of these lay partly in the excavation site, but no details are known of them except some of the owners' names. It is not clear if any of them became incorporated into Compton House.

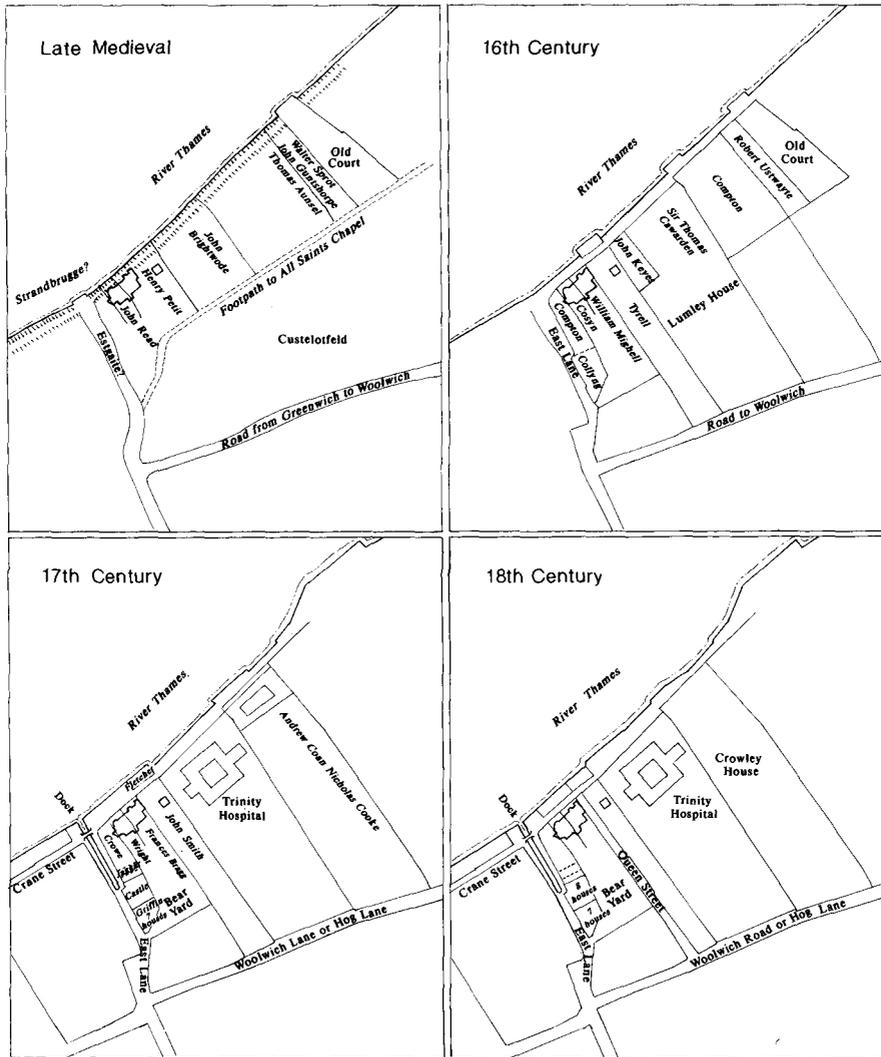


Fig 18. Interpretative maps of the site area

The next tenement to the east was Brightwode's former house, which was acquired by William Cornysse, Master of the Royal Chapel, in 1512. He was followed by Richard Pigot, also of the Royal Chapel, in 1529 (PRO E326/10503; Drake 1886, 109, 277-8). Cawarden bought the premises in 1546, when it is known to have been a large house with a garden and an orchard on its south side (PRO E326/8200 and 12151; SC12/9/28; Drake 1886, 106). Cawarden leased the small house and garden in the north-west part of the property (adjacent to the excavation site) to John Keyes of the Royal Chapel (PRO E326/11734). Cawarden also acquired temporary control of the Compton estate

in 1545, during the minority of its heir (PRO E326/8754). He sold his properties in Greenwich in 1552 to John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland, who owned them only briefly before he was attainted for high treason and executed in 1553 (PRO E328/225; Drake 1886, 79-80). The Brightwode house was then granted to the Duke of Norfolk in 1558 (CPR 1557-8, 286-8).

Beyond this to the east lay other properties acquired by the Comptons and held by them throughout the 16th century. The former Gunthorpe house next to Old Court passed to Robert Ustwayte, who sold it to Henry VIII in 1518. It was at that time on lease to the Earl of Worcester (BL

Additional Charter 23780; PRO E40/13088; Drake 1886, 77, 79, 108, 278).

The road now called Eastney Street, and then known as *Estlane*, was first mentioned in the 1530s, but probably had a continuous existence from the medieval period. Henry VIII had a wooden *cock cope* with six rooms built here in 1533 to house his fighting cocks. They were moved in the following year because the noise they made disturbed the peace of Queen Anne Boleyn (Kirby 1954–6, 26, 44; Thurley 1993, 190–1). Other contemporary properties are known in *Estlane*, barns and stables intermixed with dwelling houses. Yards, gardens, and orchards lay to the rear of the street frontages (eg PRO E326/6894; SC12/9/28). A barn on East Lane leased by Hugh ap Harry from the Compton estate in c.1545 may have lain to the rear of Compton House.

To the south of Compton House on the east side of East Lane were two tenements sold by Robert Hawkyngs to Edward Collyng in 1539. By 1567 these had become three houses (Drake 1886, 106–7, 109).

There were several inns on East Lane in the 17th century, including the Rowe Buck, first mentioned in 1602 (PRO E40/5533); the Kings Arms, sold in 1686 (Drake 1886, 80 n 3); and the Red Lion, which existed in 1590. Its site had been divided into seven tenements by the 1690s (BL Additional Charter 71745; Drake 1886, 107). Two water conduits ended in cisterns in this street at this time, and a dock reached part of the way up the street from the riverside, to the west of the excavation site (PRO C205/20/6). A footbridge crossed it at the waterfront. This is shown on Travers map of 1695, where the lower part of East Lane is named as Bridge Lane. The buildings of the excavation site are not shown, but the prominent surrounding structures such as Norfolk College and the buildings on the Old Court site, are shown (see Fig 5, from PRO MR 253).

William Lord Compton, great-grandson of Sir William, sold several houses, a stable and a wharf, and other property in East Greenwich to Innocent Lanierie in 1612. This included the house at the corner of East Lane and Highbridge, and probably the adjacent properties to the east. The Lanierie family were musicians to the royal court. Drake stated that the house was taken down and the site sold, but there appears to be no evidence for this. The structures may have been rebuilt at this time however (Drake 1886, 64, 80 n 2, 81 n 3).

The Cawarden house became Lumley House in 1599 when it was bought by John Lord Lumley. It was purchased from Lumley by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, in 1611 to provide the site for

the almshouses he intended to found. Lumley House was demolished, the small adjoining house was removed, and the Trinity Hospital almshouses were built in 1614. They were intended to house twelve poor men from East Greenwich and eight from Shottisham in Norfolk. The building was later known as Northampton or Norfolk College. It was placed under the administration of the Mercers' Company in 1615, according to the terms of the founder's will. Following a rebuild in 1812 in the Gothick style it is still standing (Drake 1886, 79–80, 90, 91 n 10; RCHME 1930, 38–49; Imray 1981, 119; Barker 1993, 115; PRO CRES5/420).

The royal use of Greenwich Palace effectively ended with the Civil War of the 1640s. During the course of the 17th century most of the aristocrats, royal chaplains, and courtiers moved away, to be replaced by a maritime class of sea-captains and merchants. Tenements were divided into rows and alleys of smaller houses. Captain Anthony Crowe bought the former Compton House from the Lanieres. In 1695 Captain William Wright occupied the house to its east, represented in the excavation by walls [149], [236], [238], and [259]. Of the three properties along East Lane to the south of Crowe's house, one had been divided into three tenements and another into seven. To the rear of these and to the east of Wright's house was the Bear Yard, property of Frances Bragg, widow, comprising two tenements, a barn, a backside, and a wharf. This may have housed some industrial function. Most of the pinners' bones and pins appear to have been found within its limits. On its east side, at the east end of the excavation site, the house and garden of John Smith stretched back to the Woolwich Road. It was empty in 1696 (PRO C205/20/6; Kimbell 1816, 183ff, partly analysed in GLHL Greene MSS; Fig 18).

Beyond this lay the almshouses of Trinity Hospital. The house on their east side was sold by Henry Lord Compton in 1621, and rebuilt in the 1640s as a substantial courtyard house by Sir Andrew Cogan, a London merchant. It later passed to George Boreman and in 1677 to Nicholas Cooke (Drake 1886, 79).

In the early 18th century a needlemaker called John Loe held property on the east side of East Lane (PRO CRES5/420, undated rental, no. 19). Needle and pin making was introduced into England in the 16th century, and was organised on a cottage industry basis.

The street frontages of East Lane and Highbridge Wharf were fully built up in the 18th century. There was further sub-division of tenements in East

Lane as the density of occupation increased and the status of the area declined. The Bear Tavern and the Swan Tavern appeared in East Lane by 1735. The dock remained open until at least 1770 (PRO CRE5/420; Fig 18). Structures were established along the waterfront side of Highbridge by the 1740s. Queen Street had also been laid out to run north-south on the west side of Norfolk College on the site of John Smith's tenement, later occupied by Colonel Joseph Bell (Hawksmoor map 1720; Rocque's map 1741). This crossed the east end of the development area; the trial trench to the east of the main excavation may have been sunk into the cellars of its houses. On its west side lay an irregular yard, the successor of Bear Yard, later known as Crown Court. Sewer 203 was later inserted to run through this yard.

On the east side of the Trinity Hospital almshouses Nicholas Cooke's house was sold in 1704 to Ambrose Crowley, an ironmaster from Newcastle. He rebuilt it as Crowley House and also constructed warehouses. Fire destroyed 60 houses adjacent to Crowley's warehouses in 1770. The house was demolished in 1854, and the site subsequently passed to Trinity Hospital (Drake 1886, 79, 104).

Modern developments

In the 19th century East Lane or East Street contained chapels for Roman Catholics and Baptists (Drake 1886, 98 n 3, 105). The street frontages of East Street and Highbridge Wharf were fully built up. The Three Crowns Tavern had been established on the waterfront, opposite the north-west corner of the excavation site, and the Crown and Sceptre at the east end of the site by 1800 (GLHL Greenwich Parish Rate Books; Morris's parish map 1832; title map 1844). Both these public houses remained into the 20th century. They were weather-boarded structures rising from brick-built lower storeys. The Three Crowns housed the Conservative Club and the Curlew Rowing Club until it was demolished in 1936 (Kelly 1900, 1920, 1929-30).

The East Lane and Highbridge Wharf area of the 19th century was crowded with working-class dwellings, housing fishermen, watermen, dockers, shipwrights, labourers, tailors, shoemakers, brick-makers, plasterers, bricklayers, and carpenters. In East Lane (later East Street) there were a number of shops, including grocers, bakers and blacksmiths;

and at the north end of the street a corset-maker, a fishmonger, and a pork butcher in 1861, replaced by a purveyor of horse flesh in 1871. The area was poor, housing some Greenwich pensioners (retired sailors) and others in receipt of parish relief (PRO HO107/489/2, HO107/1587, RG9/401, RG10/757, RG11/723, RG12/511; see Fig 9). By 1891 Alonzo Manchester was running a boarding house for labourers. This occupied the north-west part of the excavation site, on the former Compton House property.

The area was flooded by unusually high tides in 1841, 1874, and 1881. Several new streets were built in this part of Greenwich, to the east of the Hospital, in the late 19th century (Drake 1886, 91 n 1, 104).

In the early 20th century there were still shops on the east side of East Street, towards the waterfront, including a fried fish shop and a fishmongers. By 1916 the road had been re-named Eastney Street. By 1920 the shops included a scrap metal merchant and a marine stores run by Ernest Freak, who had also taken over the running of the lodging house on the corner with Highbridge Wharf, which remained open until 1935-6. By 1937 this and the adjacent buildings to the east had been demolished to form Creedy's Yard. On the waterfront side of Highbridge Wharf were lightermen and barge-builders (Kelly 1900, 1920, 1929-30, 1935-6; OS map 1916).

DISCUSSION

Nicholas Cooke

The excavations undertaken at Highbridge Wharf Greenwich have revealed evidence for medieval, post-medieval, and modern development on the site. The absence of prehistoric and Roman deposits from the site (with the exception of two sherds of late prehistoric pottery) is interesting in the light of the evidence for Neolithic and Roman activity in the vicinity. Some doubt, however, has previously been cast on the authenticity of some of these records (Bowsler 1997, 14), and the absence of remains of this date may be a reflection of the site's proximity to a river prone to periodical flooding.

The earliest archaeological remains excavated on the site belong to the medieval period. Although these contained little in the way of finds they do point to activity, and settlement in the vicinity, although no identifiable structures were excavated. Pit [510] is likely to have been dug to act as a

waterhole or as a primitive soakaway. The proximity of this activity to the river is perhaps surprising, and might indicate that there were riverside banks or revetments reliable enough to ensure that the site rarely flooded.

The pottery recovered from these features is consistent with relatively low status land use of the area in the medieval period. This is highlighted by the fact that a high proportion of the medieval pottery on the site was recovered either from pit [510], or as residual material in later features. The evidence indicates that the site formed part of a pattern of relatively 'low status' riverside settlement. For example, the plant remains from pit [510] might indicate a primarily agricultural settlement. It may also have acted as a safe anchorage for boats, although there is no evidence from the site to link it to the medieval port attached to the Lewisham Estate and mentioned in the Domesday Book. The features may however have been related to other activities of this estate.

The chalk and limestone built well [459] is the only evidence for later medieval activity on the site, although a number of sherds of pottery dated to the 13th or 14th centuries were recovered. The construction of such a well so close to the river may indicate that the water from the Thames itself was not considered suitable as drinking water. Indeed, if pit [510] is a waterhole, then it is possible that this was the case as early as the 11th–12th centuries.

The earliest excavated buildings on the site are the three buildings probably built during the 16th century. Of these, only Buildings A and B are likely to represent the remains of individual houses. Building C may be a small outbuilding or workshop. A panorama of Greenwich by the Dutch artist Anthony Wyngaerde in 1558 shows the area of the excavation occupied by a two-storey structure with a central gable, the main axis of which lay parallel to the river and which was partially obscured behind a covered wharf. This is almost certainly Building A, the building owned by Robert Cosyn and Thomas Cawarden in the 16th century. To the west of this lie two buildings on the corner of East Lane, one of which is likely to have been Compton House, which lay just beyond the area of excavation. A partially obscured building to the east of the main building may be that identified as Building B in the excavation and possibly that owned by William Mighell in the 16th century.

The construction of these houses was roughly contemporary with, and likely to be associated with, the growth of the royal palace of Placentia.

The limited evidence recovered for high status occupation came from dumps of material and rubbish pits dug in the early 17th century. These contained earlier material, including quantities of imported pottery vessels, along with vessel and window glass and floor tiles. These almost certainly represent residual material related to Building A. The architectural voussoirs and mouldings recovered from later Phase 4 and Phase 5 walls may also have originated in this building, and are indicative of quality construction. The buildings themselves only survived at foundation level or as robber trenches. The foundation walls all consisted of mortared sandstone and limestone blocks, although the visible portions of the buildings may have been brick built.

Sixteenth-century deeds relating to land ownership in the area suggest that the area of land to the east of Compton House, occupied by Building A, was owned by Robert Cosyn, before passing into the hands of Thomas Shelton, who sold it to Sir Thomas Cawarden in 1547. This is unlikely ever to have acted as his home, as he owned a much larger house slightly further to the east (later known as Lumley House). The yards extending to south and south-east of Buildings A and B probably represent Bear Yard, which was owned by a William Mighell in the 16th century. The buildings themselves may have had enclosed yard areas of their own, but no evidence for these was recovered during the course of the excavations.

It is within Bear Yard that much of the evidence for pin making was recovered. This is likely to be contemporary with the occupation of Buildings A and B. The assemblage of pinners' bones recovered from these contexts is thought to be the largest known from London. No evidence was recovered for any *in situ* metalworking, although the manufacture of the pins is likely to have taken place in the vicinity, and some of the pins recovered during the excavations were unsharpened blanks.

Records indicate that William Lord Compton sold Compton House and a number of other houses in the area to Innocent Lanieri in 1612. This may have included Buildings A and B. They also record that Compton House was pulled down and the site sold. The demolition of Building A is also likely to have taken place at this time. This demolition and clearance, along with the subsequent construction of a new building on the site is likely to be responsible for the large quantities of residual material recovered from Phase 4 deposits.

The construction of a large building (D) with a south-east to north-west axis in the 17th century was

associated with a newly lain external yard. This building was of brick on sandstone and limestone footings and incorporated re-used material from the earlier buildings. None of the floor levels of this building survived, although there was evidence for a possible internal division in the one room excavated, and the surviving floor of the fireplace was likely to have reflected the original floor level.

Industrial activity continued in Bear Yard into the 18th century, with some evidence for the continuation of pin making into the 17th century in the form of pins and pinners' bones in early Phase 4 deposits. This appears to have ended shortly after the construction of Building D. There was no apparent attempt made to maintain the gravelling of Bear Yard after the construction of this building.

During the life of Building D, a number of brick built structures were added to its southern extent. These may have lain within the limits of Bear Yard, and may have been unrelated to the house itself. Their exact function is uncertain, although they may have served as a series of interconnecting tanks. This indicates a continuation of industrial activity within Bear Yard during the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

Building D appears to have been demolished during the 18th century, as there is a marked absence of 18th-century pottery from the site. An Ordnance Survey Map of 1869 shows the site occupied by buildings corresponding to the two modern cellars. The construction of the large 19th-century drain and soakaway, along with the demolition of the two modern buildings, represents the last archaeological phases prior to the levelling associated with the yard in the 1930s.

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STANMORE PARK: FROM MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL RIBBON DEVELOPMENT TO COUNTRY HOUSE AND ESTATE

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SUMMARY

An archaeological excavation at Stanmore Park (centred on National Grid Reference TQ 1670 9200), in north-west London, provided an opportunity to record the remains of the 18th-century country house, designed by the prestigious architects Vardy and Chambers, as well as its predecessors and its subsequent development. In 1938 it was demolished down to the height of the basements. Some residual Roman ceramic building material was found, suggesting nearby Roman activity, but the earliest archaeological features were medieval. While the medieval remains had been truncated by later building, enough was left to be able to infer ribbon development along the main east–west road out of the village of Stanmore, the properties being defined by ditches. The deposition dates of associated artefactual material were from the 12th to the 14th centuries, but after the mid-14th century there was a break in occupation of about 150 years.

Reoccupation occurred in the late medieval period, with a number of buildings dated from then until the mid-18th century. These appear to have been comfortable but modest. One had a traditional medieval ground plan, with solar, hall, and a service end. The road was now defined by a ditch, and subsequently by a wall, and development was again seen alongside it, with some of the medieval boundaries continuing in use.

A marked step upwards in the social status of the site occupants was seen in the late 17th century to very early 18th century, when a small classical country house was built. This structure was totally rebuilt into a very much larger country

house, in 1763–c.1770. This was a classical double pile, nine bays wide with a central front portico. It had two main storeys, a basement, and an attic. The house shows that its architect, Vardy, must have been more aware of contemporary fashionable trends than he is generally given credit for. Documentary sources indicate that the site was amalgamated into a single property between 1729 and 1763 through piecemeal purchase by the banker Andrew Drummond and his son John. This is confirmed by the archaeological evidence, as additions to the older properties ceased and some of them were demolished. The park landscaping was probably undertaken by Lancelot Brown (generally known as ‘Capability’ Brown).

The facilities, comfort, and prestige of the country house and its park were further enhanced up to the early 19th century, by some remodelling but principally by the construction of additions to the service complex. Around 1800 land was acquired to enable the road to be diverted to its present course along the north side of St John’s church. In 1938 it became an RAF base.

INTRODUCTION

In 1997 the RAF closed its base at Stanmore Park, and the process of converting the site to residential use was initiated. Stanmore is about 20km north-west of the centre of London, and Stanmore Park is 500m to the west of the modern centre of Stanmore, now within the London Borough of Harrow (Fig 1). The RAF’s association with Stanmore Park

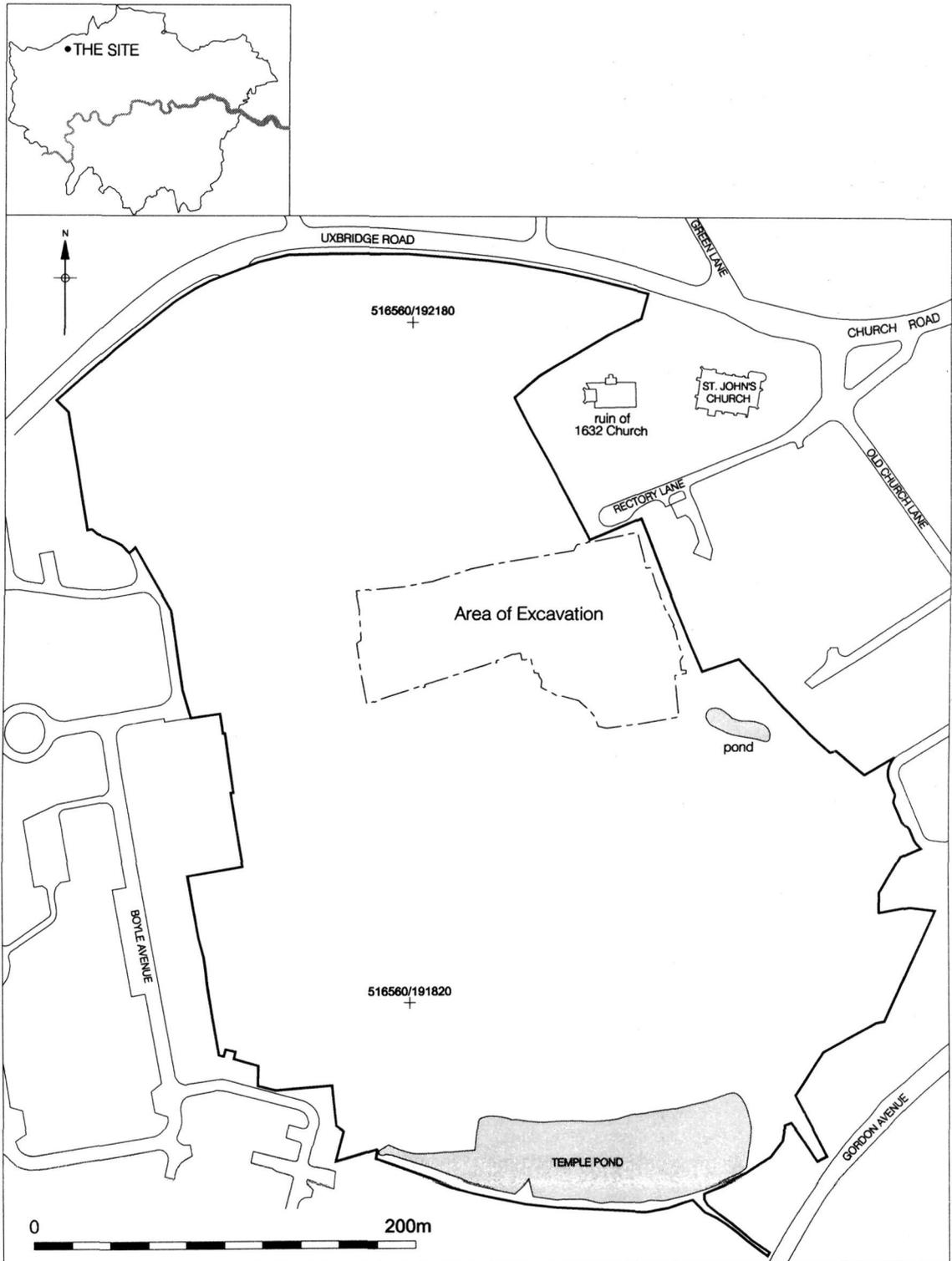


Fig 1. Site location and excavation area

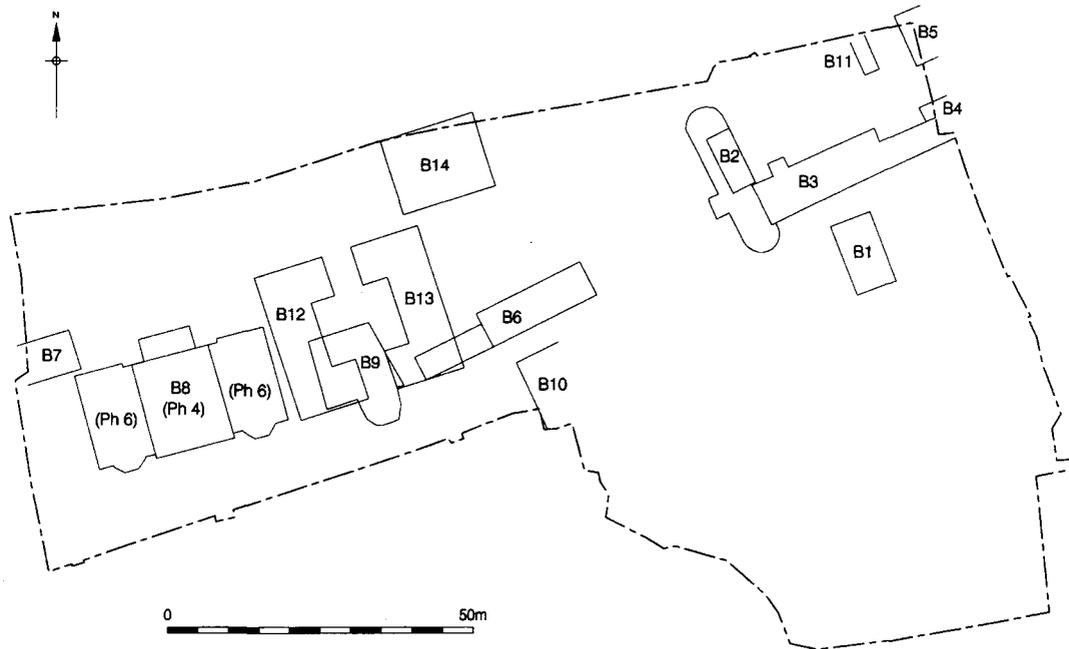


Fig 2. Building locations

began in 1938, when they bought it and demolished all the existing buildings in order to build a barrage balloon hangar and other buildings, as part of the preparations for war. The principal building demolished was the 18th-century country house.

Because of the known presence of this building in Stanmore Park, and the proximity of the site to the historic core of Stanmore, archaeological investigations were required before the land was redeveloped by Laing Homes, on whose behalf Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd undertook an evaluation in April 2000, followed up by an open area excavation in part of the site between August and November 2000. A watching brief continued until December of that year. Standing building recording of the noteworthy RAF structures had been done by CgMs Consulting at an earlier stage (Lowe 2000).

Stanmore Park lies on an extensive area of London Clay. There is a moderate slope across the site down to the south-west, and the level of the clay within the area of excavation was between 82m and 83.5m OD. The excavation covered about 1.1 hectares and measured 160m east-west, and between 50 and 100m north-south, and was adjacent to the church and churchyard of St John's, including the ruin of the 17th-century church. It included the footprint of the 18th-century country house, most

of its ancillary buildings, and the eastern side of the site, towards the core of Stanmore, which had not been available for evaluation earlier due to standing buildings (Fig 2). Standing building, building material, and dating expertise was incorporated into the project from the start.

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Stanmore Park is within the parish of Great Stanmore within the Gore Hundred. The Domesday Book records that in the late Saxon period nine and a half hides of land in Stanmore were granted by Offa to St Albans and held by Algar, although no church is recorded (VCH 1976). Great and Little Stanmore are believed to be pre-Conquest names, although the first documentary reference to the villages by name occurred in 1354. It is suggested that within Great and Little Stanmore a low density dispersed settlement pattern prevailed at the time of the Domesday survey (*ibid*). The site formed part of the 'Hither Field' of the Manor of Great Stanmore, which was acquired by the monks of St Bartholomew's Priory in London during the medieval period. Between 1536 and 1550 the land passed between private ownership and the Crown. In 1550

one of the freeholders was murdered and the land reverted to the Crown, which held it until 1713, leasing it to a series of tenants until the freehold was bought by the Earl of Caernarfon, the First Duke of Chandos.

The principal focus of medieval Stanmore was around St Mary's church, 900m to the south of the centre of present Stanmore (VCH 1976). By 1754 this location was marked only by the moat of the manor house, and the settlement had moved to near its present position. At that date the new manor house, the rectory, and St John's church stood around the intersection of Old Church Lane and Green Lane, with many of the other houses along the road to the east of this, in the present centre of Stanmore (Rocque 1754). A number of post-medieval buildings have been recorded along Old Church Lane, just to the east of Stanmore Park, but the most significant standing building is the original church of St John's. This was built in 1632 and remained in use until 1849 when it was stripped and another church built within the same churchyard, leaving the older structure as a ruin.

In 1729 Andrew Drummond was admitted to a copyhold tenement called Hodgkins, which he had bought from John Shepherd, a London merchant (Thompson 1992). He was a Scot who came to London between 1707 and 1712 and founded Drummond's Bank at Charing Cross. The exact boundaries of Hodgkins are not clear, but evidence from the manorial court rolls and later Poor Rate book suggests that at this time approximately the western half of the area archaeologically excavated was part of Hodgkins, while the eastern half was within a property called Goodalls (*ibid*). The manorial records show that Drummond was very active in acquiring contiguous properties for a number of years before he built his country house, and at his death in 1769 he was seised of at least 56 acres of copyhold land, including three of the manor's head tenements. Goodalls was bought by a James Dalton in 1752, but a strip of it was sold to Drummond in 1763 in order for him to build stables and offices for his new house, finally bringing the whole of the excavated site into one property.

The Drummond family accounts inform us that the main building work to create the country house was done between 1763 and c.1770 (Royal Bank of Scotland, hereafter abbreviated to RBS: DR/427). The payments for the house itself were mostly handled by Andrew's son John (*ibid*), who may have been the main motivating force behind the work, especially as his father was by this time in his seventies. Drummond's bank account ledger also shows some building work in 1736, but this work appears

to have been relatively minor compared with that of 1763 to c.1770.

The timing of these two building operations is significant, and Drummond seems to have been in no hurry to build his new country house. There was a major economic slump from the late 1730s until 1748 which meant that very few houses were built during that period, and a second slow down in country house building between 1756 and 1763, for the duration of the Seven Years War, partly resulting from an increase in land tax that in turn led to an increase in interest rates (Worsley 1995, 223–6). When the war ended there was a 'sudden and dramatic' building boom (*ibid*). Seen in its context, the rise in interest rates would to some extent have protected the Drummonds' banking income so that they would not have been as badly affected as those dependent entirely on their income from land. They also did not need to borrow money to finance the work. Andrew and John Drummond were therefore in a position to embark on designing the country house from 1760, when they employed the architect John Vardy to do this (RBS: DR/427/40, f.123).

This employment continued until Vardy's death in 1765, when, as the house was not finished, the architect William Chambers was employed for its completion. Chambers' work at the house continued until at least 1770, with John Drummond paying him £600 in 1771 (RBS: DR/427/62, f.195). All contemporary architectural plans or other drawings are believed to have been lost. Both Vardy and Chambers were significant architects. Chambers held the then newly created post of Architect of the King's Works jointly with his rival Robert Adam from 1761; this was the most prestigious architectural appointment in the land, and Chambers was, and is, considered more accomplished than Vardy. Vardy was a Clerk of the King's Works, and had worked on Horse Guards and designed much of Spencer House in St James's (Pearce 2001).

Small parcels of land were added to the estate by Andrew's son, John. He only outlived his father by five years, dying in 1774, and the estate was left to his son George, who was then a minor. George was 33 or 34 when he died in 1789 (RBS: DR/321, 103), so he did not come of age until 1776 or 1777. The executors' accounts for 1777 register many payments to George, indicating that he relied on them for his income (RBS: DR/427/75, 636).

George also added land to the estate, and was alleged in the accounts to have been profligate in his expenditure (RBS: DR/321, 101). They state:

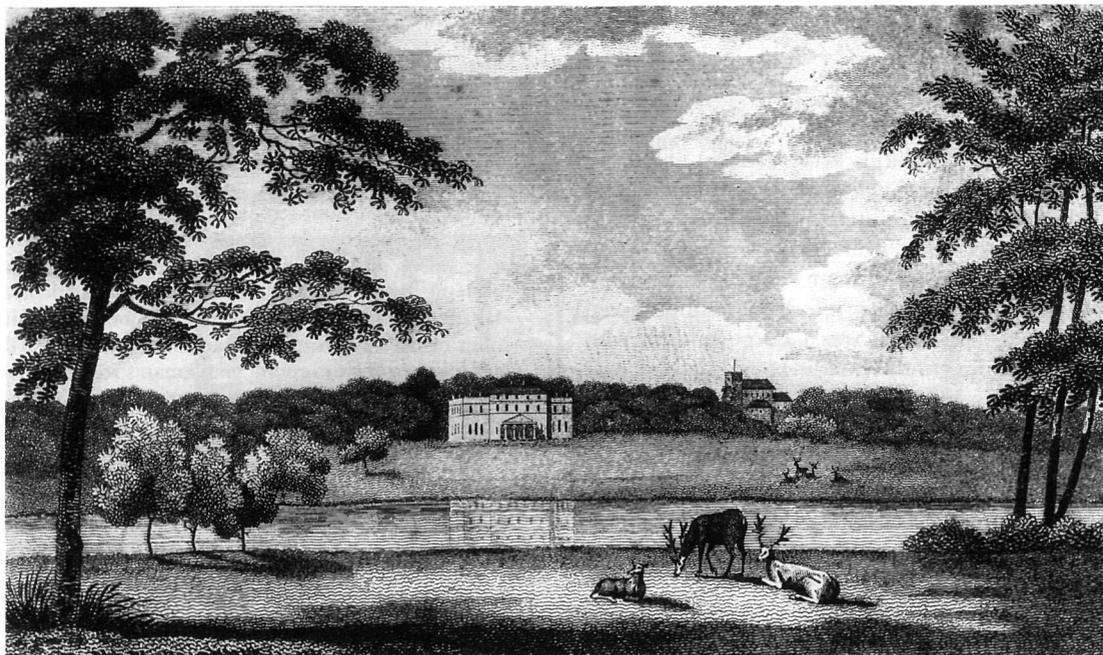


Fig 3. An 1806 print of the park and rear of the country house, reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Bank of Scotland Group

‘[he] had particularly indulged in improvement buildings and alterations, to an extensive degree; and peculiarly partial to Stanmore he had expended a considerable fortune in the execution of his plans for the beautifying and improving of that estate’. They also state that ‘[he] formed the South Park at the back of the House out of mere’ (RBS: DR/321, 103 and 107). At his death in 1789 there was building work on the house that was unfinished (RBS: DR/321, 103–4).

George Drummond’s son, George Harley Drummond, inherited the property in 1789, also as a minor, and the estate was in financial crisis between then and 1793 (RBS: DR/321, 103 and 106). At that date the death of George’s wife released a legacy to George Harley from the Duke of St Albans. This enabled the trustees, who handled George Harley’s affairs until he came of age in 1804, to settle George’s bills, amounting to ‘some thousands’ of pounds. The trustees ‘were certainly not inattentive to the improvements — particularly as to Stanmore’. They purchased ‘the land of Lord Temple and thus secured to the son the benefit of the father’s taste and improvements. This cost £7000. They also purchased different parcels of land at Stanmore and Harrow Weald now forming part of the farms for about £5000’ (RBS: DR/321,

107–8). They seem to have been vigorous in maintaining and expanding the estate, despite the fact that there was a national economic crisis in the 1790s, or possibly exploiting the opportunities this presented. George Harley continued with this activity after he came of age.

Who was employed to landscape the park, and when, is not explicit in the accounts, but a print of 1806 shows it had been done by then (Fig 3). Repton carried out some work and mentioned ‘Capability’ Brown’s earlier involvement (Turner 1999, 188). Brown died in 1783 and Repton’s career commenced soon after this. Chambers was a known critic of Brown’s (Fleming *et al* 1966, 73) and is unlikely to have collaborated with him during his period as the Drummonds’ architect at Stanmore. The reference in the accounts to George creating the ‘South Park’ makes it probable that much of the landscaping was done between 1774 and 1789.

Another member of the family, and one of the executors of John’s estate, Robert Drummond, paid Brown £11,200 between 1775 and 1780 (RBS: DR/427/84, f.488). A print of 1780 shows that Robert lived at Cadland Park in Hampshire at the time (RBS, DR/201/10) and it is highly likely, considering that the print was commissioned to show that house in its landscaped park, that Brown

had undertaken work there. This was a very large payment, considerably higher than those attributed to Brown's other clients, many of whom were peers and owned larger estates (although many payments into the account were unattributed cash payments). It may have been for landscaping work in Stanmore Park as well, which would mean Brown landscaped the estate while the family finances were controlled by John's executors, from 1774 probably up to George's majority in 1776 or 1777. This to some extent conflicts with the information in the accounts that state that it was George himself who spent large sums on the buildings and park, but as the spending appears to have continued after his majority this may be splitting hairs.

From the mid-18th to the mid-19th centuries a number of gentlemen's residences were built or enlarged in the parish of Great Stanmore. The village, being on a slope and having fine parkland, was considered attractive and genteel. The original line of the main road ran south of the churchyard, and continued west-south-west, across the site, and was called Colliers Lane (VCH 1976). Land purchases enabled the Drummonds around 1800 to divert the road to the present Uxbridge Road, skirting the north side of the church. By 1807 the Drummonds' private property at Stanmore had grown to approximately 1,600 acres, excluding land rented from New College Oxford (RBS: DR/321, 80). An Act of Parliament in 1813 covered the enclosure of Great Stanmore (VCH 1976).

In 1815 the country house was rented out by the Drummond family to Lady Aylesford and subsequently to Lord Castlereagh. In 1838 the Drummonds held 408 acres in Great Stanmore, twice as much as the next largest landowner, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. On 2 August 1839 George Harley Drummond sold the country house by auction to the Marquis of Abercorn, who had his own seat at Bentley Priory. The specification of the lot comprised: Stanmore Park; Mansion; Pleasure Grounds; Kitchen Garden; Home or Park Farm; Residence called Hill House; Sundry cottages and nursery ground, containing in whole 617 acres.

The country house was described as a:

capital and substantial building of chaste elevation, and the main fronts composed in imitation of stone and approached from the road by a neat lodge, with a handsome carriage drive, skirted by luxuriant plantations, and the house is entered from under an Ionic portico containing:

On the upper floor — nine sleeping apartments, dressing rooms and closets.

On the principal or one pair floor — a spacious bed room, boudoir and dressing room, en suite, and two other large bed rooms communicating with a passage or corridor, in which is a water closet. Also two other bed rooms, morning room and a dressing room in front of the house, and at the rear are four other bed rooms and a dressing room, and another water closet.

On the ground floor — a spacious vestibule or hall paved with marble, inner hall and noble stone staircase; saloon and breakfast room 40ft by 16ft, opening onto the lawn, passing under an Ionic portico; an elegant drawing room 28ft by 21ft; and a capital dining room of like dimensions, a handsome library 25ft by 21ft, all en suite; anti room, gentleman's room, billiard room, bath room and water closet.

The basement floor — butlers pantries, housekeepers room, still room, larder, sitting room, water closet and several capital wine, beer and ale cellars and other apartments. (RBS: DR/101, 4)

Stanmore was sold again in 1848, to George Carr Glyn, and again in 1884. At this date the agents, Daniel Smith, Son and Oakley, prepared floor plans of the main buildings, which survive (Fig 4), and described the site as follows:

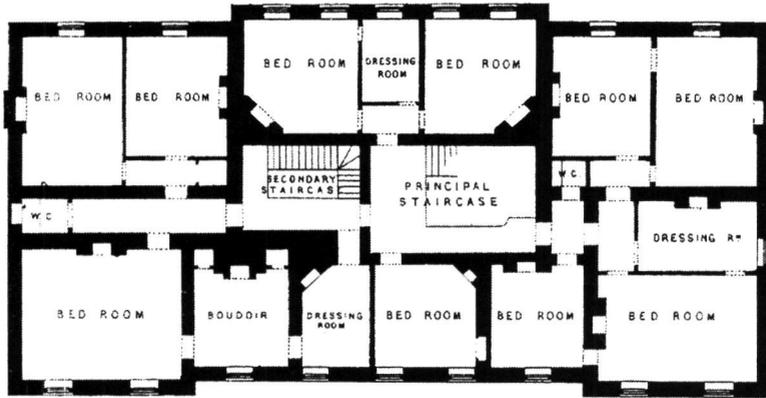
A large classic family mansion with well arranged pleasure grounds, walled and other gardens, containing various glass houses, stabling and carriage houses, occupying a sheltered and delightful position in its richly timbered park which contains several small lakes or ornamental fish ponds, embracing an area of about 57 acres, very handsomely timbered, interspersed with belts of ornamental woodland and plantation, affording delightful walks and commanding a most extensive and delightful prospect in all directions.

The site was bought by Mr Frederick Gordon who leased it out as a boys' school from this time until 1937. An abortive attempt to sell it was also made in 1909 and similar florid descriptions are found in these sale particulars, with a detailed schedule of the buildings.

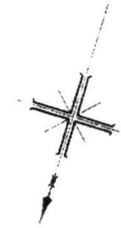
The site was occupied in turn by the Royal Auxiliary Air Force No 3 Balloon Centre, Bomber Command HQ, and groups of Transport and Fighter Commands. After the War, Stanmore Park continued to be used as a training camp. In 1971 it was given over to Strike Command No 11 (Fighter) Group.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

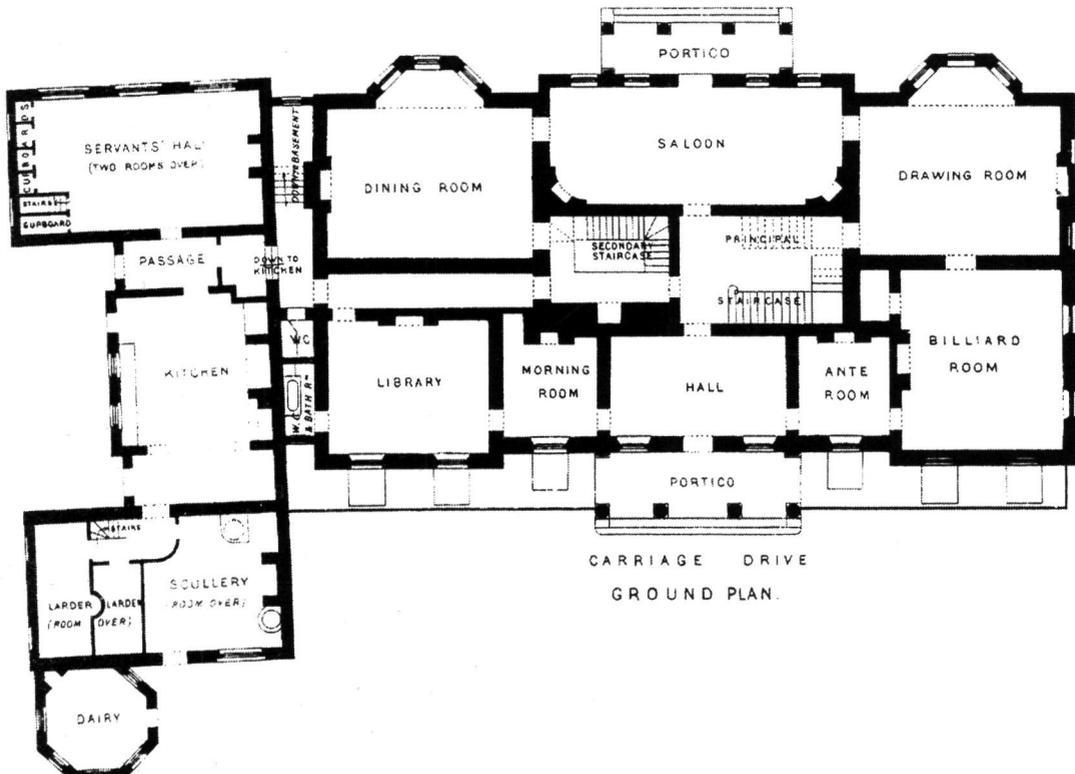
All parts of the excavated area were subject to severe horizontal truncation of archaeological deposits under the site's RAF ownership. In some



1ST FLOOR PLAN.



THE PARK FRONT.



CARRIAGE DRIVE
GROUND PLAN.

Fig 4. The plan of the ground and first floors of the country house and part of the service complex in 1884

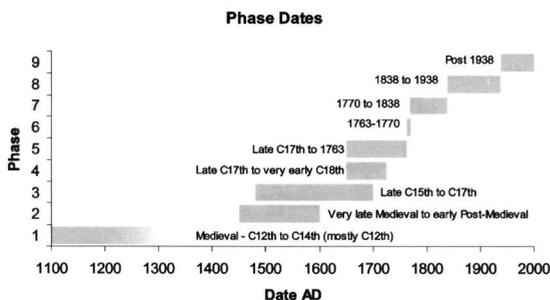


Fig 5. Phase date ranges

places this was almost total, *eg* in the centre of the excavated area. However, elsewhere survival was better, *eg* towards the north-east corner of the excavation, and in the areas around the country house.

Fig 5 shows the date ranges for the phases, based principally on artefact and building material dating. There is considerable overlap in the date ranges for Phase 2 to Phase 5.

Roman artefacts

No features were found on site dating before the medieval period, but there was some Roman ceramic building material, dated AD 55–200. This suggests that there was either occupation nearby, or that Roman materials were being reused. The fact that the Roman ceramic building material was especially frequent within the Phase 1 features, compared to later phases, suggests that it represents reuse rather than residuality. This material may have been brought directly from the brick and tile kiln at Brockley Hill or another local source.

Phase 1: 12th century to 14th century

A number of features had fills with pottery dating to the 12th to 13th centuries, with deposition dates leaning more towards the 12th century. The earliest features contained South Hertfordshire greyware (12th–13th centuries) and some shellyware. In two cases the date range extended into the 14th century. The main early features were a building, [B1], three north-west to south-east ditches, and two ponds. The Phase 1 features were in the north-east corner of the excavated area (with one small exception). Fig 6 shows an interpretation of the layout of the site during Phase 1.

The remains of [B1] were beam slots and post-holes indicating the positions of two walls set at right angles, and a posthole in a third wall. The north-west wall was represented by a beam slot and a posthole, separated by a possible door, while the south-west wall was represented by a beam slot and two postholes, one within another beam slot that ran off to the west. These formed a simple rectangular building measuring at least 12.5m by 6.5m. The three north-west to south-east ditches were probably boundary ditches or combined boundary and drainage ditches, about 18m and 11m apart (boundaries 'B', 'C', and 'D' in Fig 6). Their orientation was down the natural slope. Because of the clay subsoil the area would have needed draining if it was to be used for occupation.

Plant macrofossils indicate an environment that was both damp and marginal, with open woodland, shrubland, and hedgerows growing in close proximity to the ditches and ponds (Branch & Vaughan-Williams 2002). These conditions persisted through to at least Phase 3, with bramble occurring frequently in the samples, and water flea eggs, indicating open freshwater habitats, present in some of them. Evidence for cultivation was slight. Conditions may have been different during the gap between Phases 1 and 2 (see below). The wetness of the land on and around the site is highlighted by the reference to the 'mere' that pre-dated the landscaping of the 'South Park' during Phase 7.

It may well be that there were other medieval buildings in the north-east corner of the site, especially near the suggested road (see below), but that these were fully truncated by later activity. The division of the area into at least three properties also implies that there would have been more than one building: [B1] fits neatly along the side of one property, but no matching structure was found within the others. [B1] was not necessarily even the principal building on its plot, later buildings were situated more to the north-west.

The Phase 1 features were found in areas that had not suffered truncation by later buildings. Many of the Phase 1 features were shallow, especially those making up Building [B1], and similar features in the area to the north of [B1] would not have survived the post-medieval activity and RAF truncation. Two features within this area did survive, because of their greater depth, and are interpreted as ponds. This is more tentative for the smaller kidney shaped feature, 6m by 2m and 1m deep, which could have been a large pit with some other function, such as clay extraction. The larger pond, also kidney shaped, was 12m by 6m and 0.6m

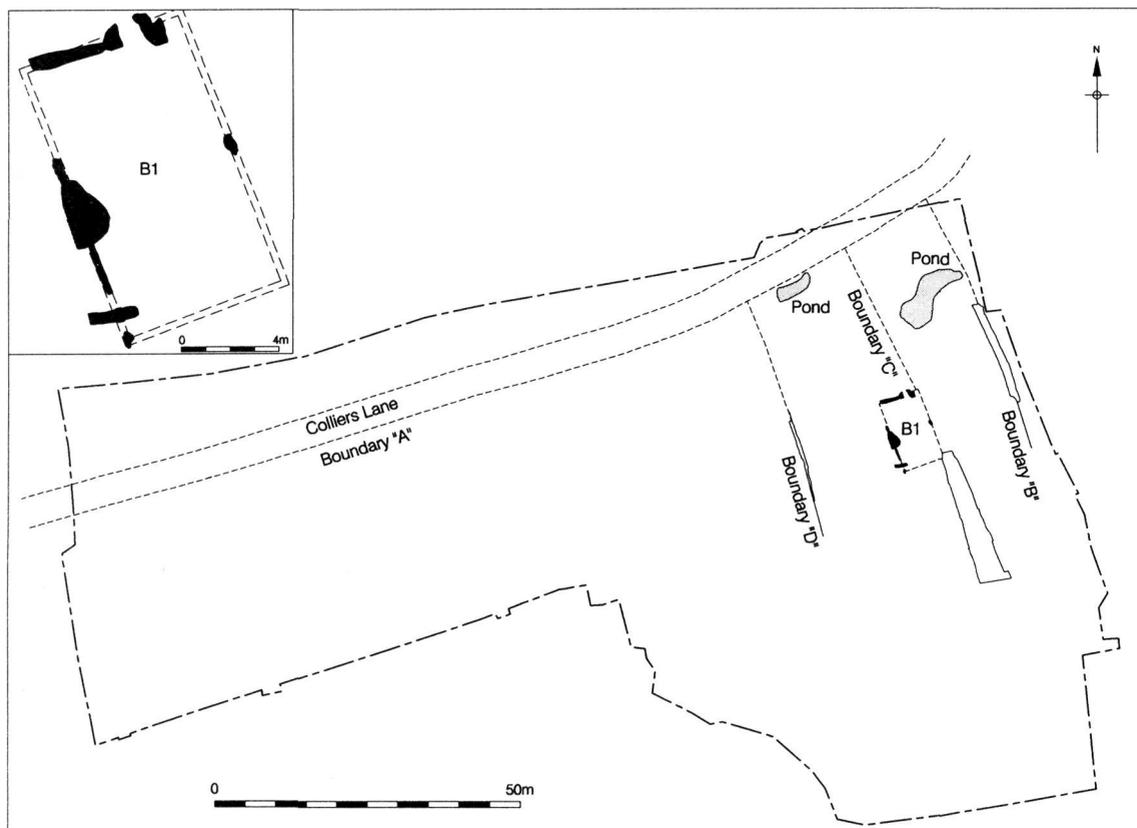


Fig 6. Phase 1: interpretation of site layout (inset: [B1])

deep. Its lower fill, only present on the north side of the excavated slot, was very gravelly and is interpreted as metalling around that side of the pond, which eroded into it while the metalled surface was in use. Insufficient pottery was recovered from it to be confident that it was deposited in Phase 1, but on balance this is the preferred conclusion. The upper fill was deposited by silting, and contained pottery dating to Phase 2, so the feature was open for a considerable period, consistent with it being a pond.

During the gap between Phases 1 and 2 a layer of soil up to 0.25m thick formed in the north-eastern part of the excavation as a result of a change of use to agricultural or horticultural activity.

Phase 2: very late medieval to early post-medieval

The main features of Phase 2 were a ditch and a building, [B2] (Fig 7). The ditch ran east-west and

was 2.5m wide, 0.35m deep, and over 45m long, but the finds density in its fills was very low, with no pot recovered, and their dating is imprecise — the ditch is included in Phase 2 partly because the eastern end of the ditch and [B2] respected each other's position. This ditch had two smaller recuts, suggesting a reasonably long life, but again with little cultural material.

It is interpreted as the ditch along the south side of Colliers Lane, marking boundary 'A' in Fig 7. No metalled surface or other direct evidence for Colliers Lane was found, but the documentary sources show that it was approximately on the north side of the excavation, and there is indirect evidence that it was on the north side of this ditch. No buildings or other features were found within this area predating Phase 7, when the road was moved, and all the later buildings and property boundaries, up to Phase 7, had positions and alignments that would be consistent with the road being there. This includes the slightly curved boundary wall that replaced or supplemented the roadside ditch in Phase 3 (see below).

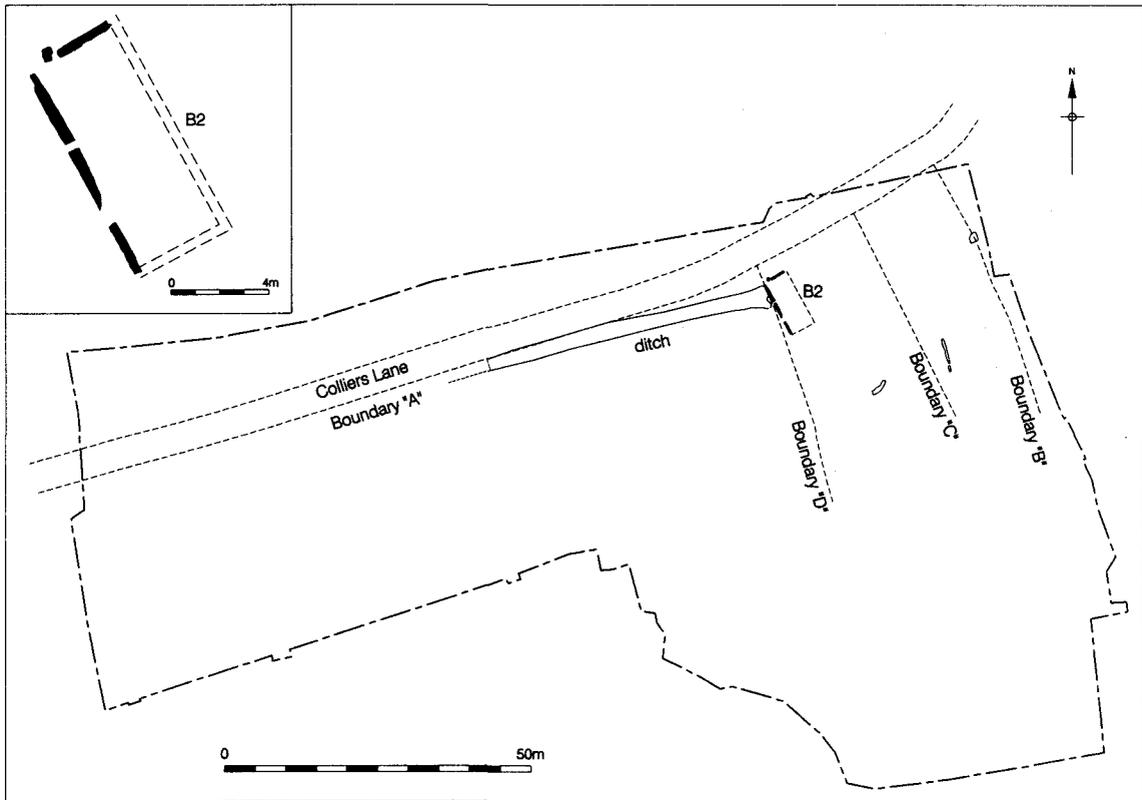


Fig 7. Phase 2: interpretation of site layout (inset: [B2])

The position of major roads tends to be long lasting and the presence of this road can probably be inferred back to Phase 1, as [B1] and the Phase 1 boundary ditches ('B', 'C', and 'D') were on an orientation that was consistent with it, and the smaller pond, or large pit, in Phase 1 seems to have respected it. In addition, it is suggested below that there was continuity of the boundaries between the properties in Phase 1 and Phases 2–5, and, if so, it is reasonable to suppose continuity of the road as well.

Building [B2] (Table 1) consisted of traces of a timber framed structure, aligned north-west to south-east. It fitted into the same property as [B1], although it would not have been a direct replacement. It was represented by the very bottoms of the plinths of two walls, mostly of tile, but with a single brick fragment that may be a later repair. Other repairs were seen in the south-west wall, suggesting some longevity. The tile gives a relatively wide date range for the building: very late medieval to early post-medieval. Building [B2] overlay the soil that formed between Phases 1 and 2, and is

likely therefore to represent the re-expansion of the village onto the site.

Four other small cut features belong to this phase, but it is unclear what activities they represent.

Phase 3: late 15th century to 17th century

Phase 3 provides evidence for buildings, walls, and other features that indicate the layout of much of the site, with a number of properties forming a ribbon development along Colliers Lane (Fig 8). The evidence for the boundary along the south side of Colliers Lane becomes more certain from Phase 3, as a number of masonry fragments show that it was now marked by a wall for at least 135m. This either replaced or complemented the Phase 2 ditch.

Building [B3] (Fig 9) was a very late medieval to early post-medieval brick building with an internal floor plan divided into three rooms, in accordance with the traditional medieval house plan. This was dated by its brick type, as were the other Phase 3

Table 1. Summary of very late medieval and post-medieval buildings predating the country house (excluding [B8] during Phase 4)

Build	Dimensions	Phase	Comments
[B2]	Timber-framed 10m × 4m (min)	2	Fragmentary remains, no internal layout.
[B3]	Brick 15m × 6m + 6.5m × 4m (to SE) + 26m × 5.5m (to SW) + 16m × 4m (to NE)	3 5 8 8	Internal layout of Phase 3 house survived (see text).
[B4]	Brick 2.5m × 2m (min) 4m × 3m (min)	3 5	Small ancillary of [B5].
[B5]	Brick 7m × 2m (min)	3	Main building within one property, with [B4] and [B11] as ancillaries. Fronted onto Colliers Lane. No internal layout.
[B6]	Brick & timber-framed 18m × 6m (min) + 12m × 4m (to SW) + 9m × ?4m (min to SW) 11m × 4m (to SE)	3 3 3 8	Part furthest to the SW probably separate structure from rest of [B6]. No internal layout.
[B7]	Brick 8m × 6m (min)	3, 5	Fronted onto Colliers Lane. Substantial chimney and one internal wall.
[B9]	Brick ?	5	Probably two buildings on either side of a wall. Position of external walls of building(s) not clear. Chimney and several external/internal walls.
[B10]	Brick 8m × 4m (min)	5	Ancillary of [B6].
[B11]	Brick 6m × 2.5m	5	Half-basemented, fronted onto Colliers Lane. Ancillary of [B5].

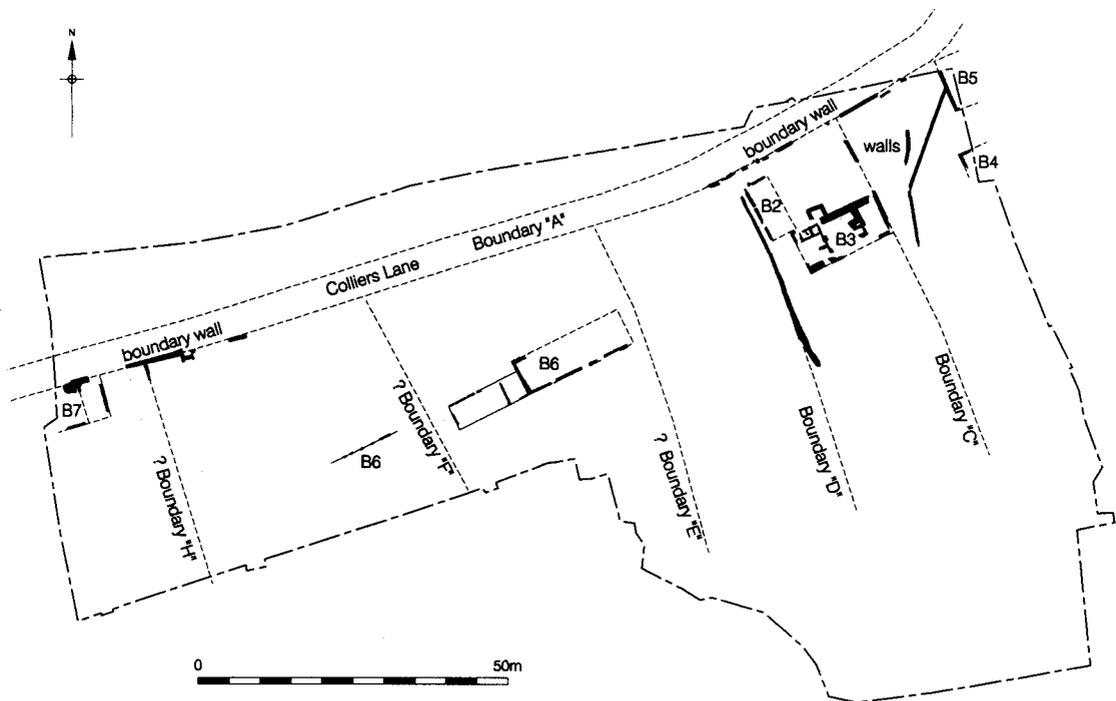


Fig 8. Phase 3: interpretation of site layout

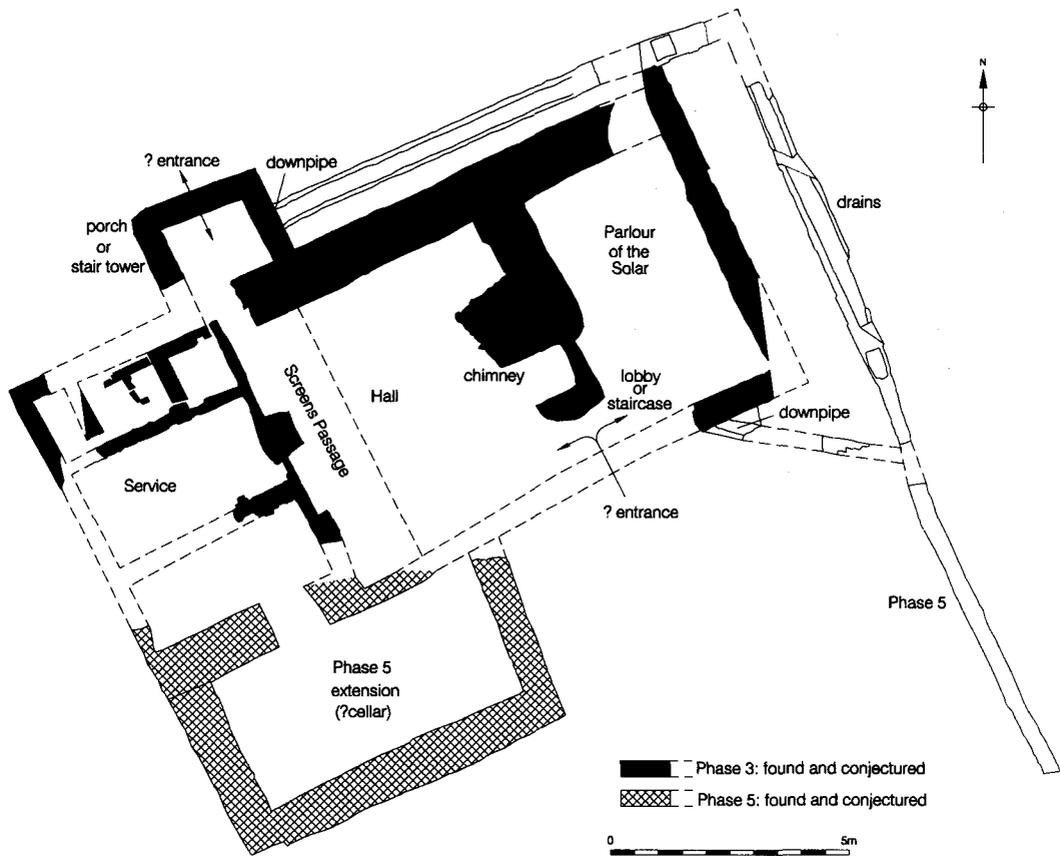


Fig 9. Phases 3 and 5: Building [B3] — floor plan interpretations

buildings. The service functions were housed in the building's south-westernmost 4m. Below the service room or rooms there was a cellar for storage. In the middle of the building, taking up 6m of its length, was the hall, and at its north-east end was probably the ground floor parlour of the solar, taking up the remaining 4.5m of the building's length. Between the hall and the solar a substantial spread of brickwork showed where there had been a chimney.

Outside the main building, there was a 2.5m square brick structure next to the west corner of the hall. To the south-east of the chimney the dividing wall between the hall and the solar returned to the south-west, creating a small area between this return and the external wall, at the east corner of the hall. The preferred interpretation is that the external brick structure was a porch, so that the entrance was in the standard position for the traditional house plan of the period, at the service (or low) end of the hall, away from the chimney. This

would have led into a screens passage at this end of the hall. The area at its east corner may have housed a staircase. It is also possible that the entrance was next to the east corner of the hall, making the area there a lobby, which allowed access to the hall, on turning left, or to the solar, on turning right. The external structure would then represent a stair tower.¹ The upper floor would have housed the Great Chamber. The hall was probably not open to the roof as a continuous upper floor was an increasingly common feature of post-medieval houses.

Any interpretation of the layout and functioning of [B3] as a house depends to some extent on whether [B2] was still standing. If so, together they form a substantial complex, if not [B3] alone was of more modest size, although it was by no means the residence of an 'average' householder. There was no stratigraphic evidence to resolve this, but the positions of the two buildings suggest that they stood contemporaneously, as they would then have

formed two ranges of a complex set at right angles, meeting at their corners.

An L-shaped wall shows the position of the west corner of Building [B4] during this phase. Identification of what type of structure this was is uncertain; the wall was truncated to the south-east by later rebuilding, and extended beyond the limit of excavation to the east. Although the Phase 3 remains were truncated, it is clear that it was a small building of about 2.5–3m in width, as the remains did not extend to the south beyond the truncation.

As with [B4], only part of Building [B5] was found within the area of excavation. It is interpreted as a brick house fronting onto Colliers Lane. A series of drains ran south-west and then south from it, down slope. It may have been the main building within one property, with [B4] (and subsequently [B11]) as ancillaries, and with drains that ran within the property to the drainage associated with its south-west boundary. Two walls in this area did not appear to be part of buildings. One could well have been part of the south-west boundary for the property, as it was approximately on the line of the Phase 1 boundary ditch. The other was curved and may have been a sub-division of the property.

The main part of [B6] was a brick building, which had a timber framed addition, extending to the south-west, shown by the remains of its masonry plinths. Another wall extended discontinuously for a further 19m south-west on the same line, making [B6] either a substantial structure if this represents one side of another addition, or more likely two separate structures which were built contemporaneously. The fact that a boundary wall was built at right angles between the two parts suggests the latter may be correct, although the wall belongs to Phase 5 (see below), so this depends on boundary 'F' being older than the wall.

Further west again, Building [B7] dates from the 16th to 17th centuries, and fronted onto Colliers Lane. It was brick built and had a substantial chimney on its north side; the remains of one internal wall also survived. The existence of buildings along the north side of Colliers Lane is suggested by the presence of drains to the north of [B6], which would have served properties there.

The one cut feature in this phase was a recut of the ditch marking property boundary 'D', although towards its south end the recut diverged somewhat from the original Phase 1 ditch.

During the late 16th to late 17th century the traditional medieval house plan was being superseded by new, more symmetrical plan forms that increasingly displayed the influence of classical

ideas. If [B3] was built in the later years covered by Phase 3 its layout would imply a low to middle status vernacular building. If it was built earlier in the period it may have been more fashionable, although its size, even including [B2], would not indicate a status above that of the lower gentry.

Phase 4: late 17th century to very early 18th century

During Phase 4 there is the first evidence for a fashionable country house, Building [B8] (Fig 10). This house marks a sharp increase in the status of the site, even though it was a much smaller structure than it was to become later. Evidence of any earlier buildings at this location is likely to have been truncated by its substantial foundations.

This house, dated by its brick type and architectural features, was built with thin dull red bricks with sunken top margins and uneven bases, indicative of a pre-*c.*1700 date. The original external brickwork survived on the south wall, where there were red brick dressings on the quoins and openings, a characteristic of most late 17th- to early 18th-century houses around London. The internal brickwork is characterised by the absence of bonding timbers, which were more a facet of later, Georgian, building. A timber in the west wall of Room 14 very likely represents the internal sill of an original window opening.

The substantial foundations suggest a building of three or more storeys, including the basement. A chimney stack was located on the west wall of Room 17 (but the one in the corner of Room 14 was added later, as was the doorway into Room 9). The lowest steps of a staircase in Room 10 were built integrally to the walls, so belonged to this phase. The steps were of Portland stone (a broken fragment was found *in situ*) and were set onto Cumberland slate in the brickwork.

Later remodelling meant that much of the north side of this phase of [B8] and much of its east and west walls were missing, therefore the size and orientation of this building are uncertain. The remains consisted of: the southern external wall; the southern ends of what were almost certainly the eastern and western external walls; Rooms 10, 14, and 17; part of Room 9; and a north to south spine corridor, Room 16. At 4.95m, Rooms 14 and 17 were wider (north–south) than the rooms to their north, which Room 10 shows were 3.55m wide. All of the rooms would have been approximately 5m east–west.

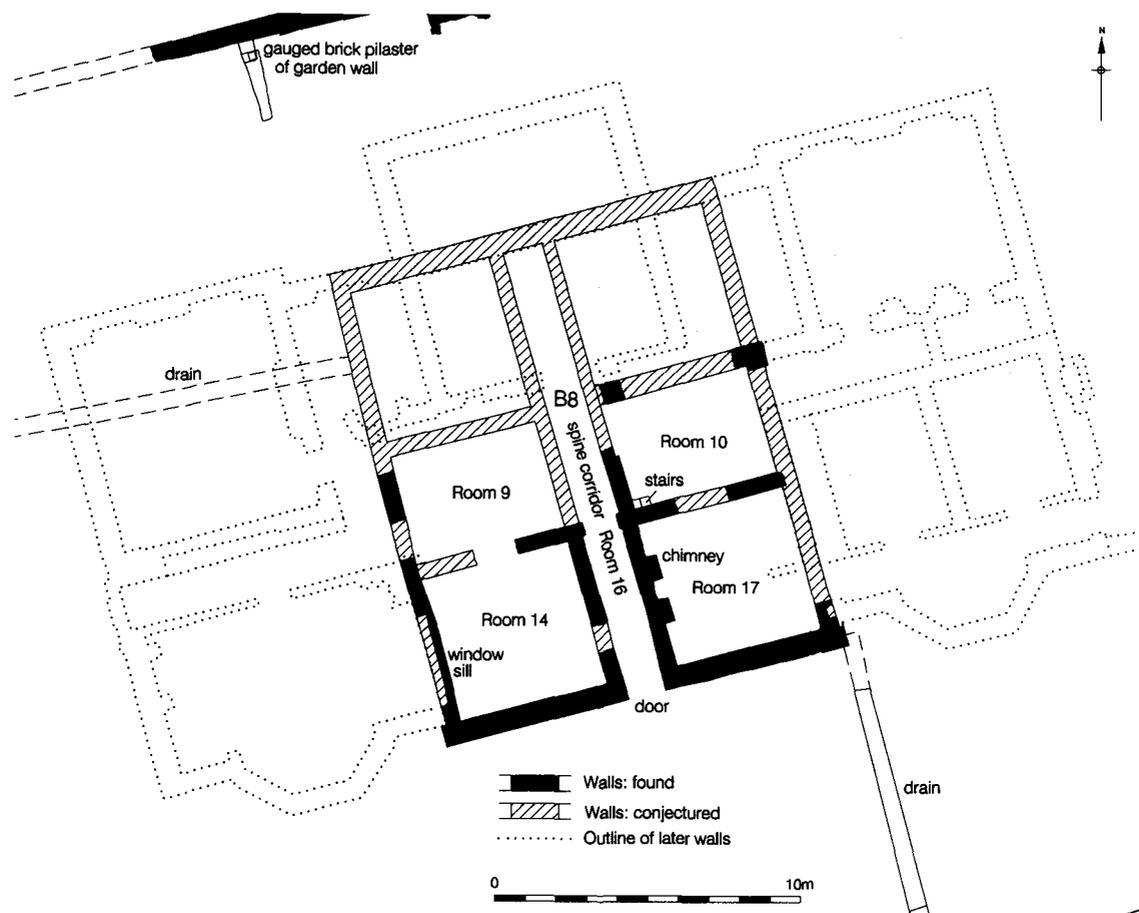


Fig 10. Phases 4 and 5: Building [B8] — floor plan interpretations (with outline of later building)

Although the floor plan that we have is partial, a reconstruction can be suggested given that the remains tell us the approximate date and that it was a building of quality, and given the known architectural repertoire of houses of a similar date and status. It is likely that the floor plan had three rooms each at the front and back and a spine corridor from side to side. This would be symmetrical on both axes. The rooms to the north of Rooms 9 and 10 would have mirrored Rooms 14 and 17, and been 4.95m north-south, so that there would have been four larger rooms on each floor at the ends of the building and two smaller central ones. The north exterior wall would then have been in the same location as the north wall of Rooms 3, 4, and 5 from Phase 6. The house would have been 16m wide (seven or more probably five bays) and 13.5m (five bays) from front to back. The room above Room 10 would have been the entrance hall holding the

staircase, so the house would have been east facing. The position of the house in relation to the church and village of Stanmore would have meant that it would usually have been approached from this direction, along Colliers Lane.²

There are several architectural reasons why this reconstruction is the most likely. It maximises symmetry, avoiding irregularity of the bays on the sides of the house, and places the staircase in the central position, *not in one corner of the house*. It also has the house wider than it is deep, and the spine corridor running from side to side not front to back. All of these were normal in a classical design, although not universal.

The remains of the north wall of Room 10 support the idea that it was internal rather than external. While this was remodelled in Phase 5 there is no reason to suppose that there was a major alteration to the building. Its north face did not

have quoin dressings, and header bond was used, so it was not intended to have been visible, and was either internal or below ground. It is unlikely to have been below ground both because it was built to a very even face and because its surviving top was above the level of other pieces of Phase 4 brickwork that clearly were intended to be visible; these were on the southern external wall, which had red dressings to its base, and the pilaster of a garden wall to the north of the house, which had gauged brickwork that shows it was a display feature.

The fashion for a corridor dividing the front from the rear rooms was inspired by the design of Coleshill, Berkshire, in *c.*1650 (Girouard 1978, 123), possibly designed by Roger Pratt (Cooper 1999, 184–5), and was frequently used in houses that were two rooms deep. Coleshill and other houses also conformed to the classical arrangement of having the entrance hall, often containing the staircase, and dining room or saloon in the centre of the house.

Late 17th-century culverts drained the rainwater from the downpipes off to the west and south (Fig 10). The lightwells would have been restricted to the areas immediately around the basement's openings, as the culverts were set high relative to the windows of the south wall. The gauged brickwork pilaster on the wall near to Colliers Lane represented a high status classical garden wall feature, reflecting the ostentation of this classical building.

The functions of the various basement rooms are not known, although they normally housed the service areas. The central doorway on the south elevation may be original and may have provided external access to the service rooms. The Housekeeper's room was usually located close to the basement entrance so as to control the movement of personnel, food, and goods and was often close to the kitchen. This arrangement appears in a 1660s house design by Wren (Cooper 1999, 288) and in many later houses (Sambrook & Brears 1997), and it is possible that these functions were housed in the two southern rooms. Although not a large country house, this building would have been sufficiently grand to serve as the country retreat of a city businessman or the main house of a country gentleman. Many small country houses were built in this period in the hinterland around London and some other cities.

Buildings of this size were much in demand in the early 18th century when the villa form became popular as a result of the work of Lord Burlington as patron and Colen Campbell as his architect; they were instrumental in the establishment of

the fashion for Palladianism and responsible for the construction of a number of villas in the 1720s. The villa was a relatively informal form of house that was generally built more for pleasure than as the hub of a large landed estate. When Andrew Drummond took over the estate in 1729 this house would have provided him with a small but fashionable house that would have conferred a prestige out of proportion to its size.

Phase 5: late 17th century to 1763

During Phase 5 there was some new building work, but mostly there was a series of piecemeal alterations to improve existing buildings on the site. It seems probable that these improvements were executed by the various occupants before Andrew Drummond's ownership of the properties.

One exception to this is some work within [B8] (Fig 10). There two small areas of brickwork showed that there had been a rebuild of part of the Phase 4 structure (see above).

Two walls are interpreted as boundaries because of their length, 'F' and 'G' in Fig 11. The one marking 'F' was at least 35m long and had a north-west to south-east alignment, which matches the structures on the east side of the excavation, including [B6]. This wall would have divided the two elements of [B6] into different properties, assuming that the western part of [B6] was not demolished first. Three masonry fragments 12m to the west of this wall, and in the same build as it, although not on the same orientation, show the position of the foundations of a timber framed or light, single storey building.

The wall marking boundary 'G' was 31m long and aligned north-north-west to south-south-east, matching the structures to the west. Building elements were located on both sides of it; on the east there was a chimney and on the west was an element represented by walls 10.5m apart, perpendicular to the long wall. The similarity of the bricks and mortar suggests that the elements on both sides of the wall were the work of the same builder. There were also several other wall fragments that were both in a rectilinear arrangement with this masonry and of the same build. Together, this makes up Structure [B9] (Fig 11), which is rather fragmentary and enigmatic. It is most easily explained as two separate buildings, but it is not inconceivable that it was one. To the east of 'G' it may have been built in a wedge shape against the wall of 'F'. An extension had been added to the south side of this part of the structure.

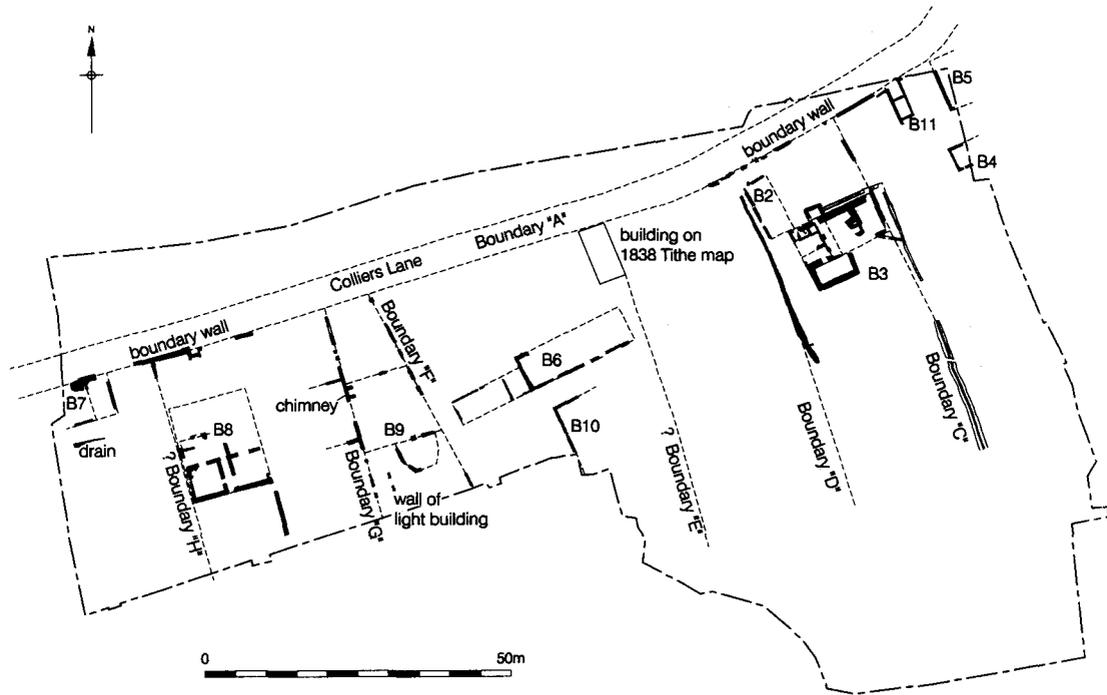


Fig 11. Phase 5: interpretation of site layout

The date ranges for the masonry in the two boundary walls overlap, but as they were only between 8.5m and 15m apart, they could not have marked property limits concurrently. It is more reasonable that 'F' marked the properties while 'G' was an internal boundary separating the garden of [B8] from other areas. Both parts of [B9] would then have been outbuildings of [B8], one inside and one outside the garden wall. This would mean the outbuildings were of a considerable size, especially with the extension, and an unusual arrangement, which slightly weakens the case for this interpretation.

It is also plausible that they were sequential property boundaries, with one of the walls not lasting very long, even if the boundary itself pre-dated it. The one marking 'F' would have been earlier as it retained the common orientation in the eastern part of the site, whereas the direction of 'G' represents the imposition of an orientation dictated by that of the more prestigious building, [B8]. This scenario is less likely, as it implies the area of land belonging to [B8] was reduced, not enlarged.

An L-shaped wall showed the position of [B10], which was brick built. It was an ancillary of [B6], or they were at least part of the same complex of

structures. While the main part of [B6] survived until Phase 7 (see below), the part to the west of 'F' occupied the same area as [B9] so was demolished before or during Phase 5. A drain was added to the south side of Building [B7], running south down the slope, demonstrating its continued use.

Drains were also added to Building [B3] during this phase, around two sides of it and then running south-east down the slope for at least a further 37m (Figs 9 and 11). The positions of the downpipes can be inferred, and were just to the north-east of the probable external porch, and near the east corner. This drain ran down the centre of the Phase 1 boundary and drainage ditch that marked boundary 'C'. It therefore indicates that this boundary persisted until at least Phase 5. In a different build [B3] was extended to the south-east from its service end, and this new part included a basement.

Building [B4] was rebuilt, just outside the original build. Although there was still little within the limit of excavation, two returns survived, which were less than 4m apart. This was still a small structure, probably the slightly larger rebuild of an outbuilding belonging to [B5]. Building [B11] was very small and next to Colliers Lane, with two rooms at split levels (the front room higher than the back);

it had been built onto and against the Phase 3 walls. The small size of [B11] suggests that it was an outbuilding of [B5].

Phase 6: 1763 to c.1770

Phase 6 represents a second major change to the site, when the Drummonds converted [B8] from a small into a large classical country house. The expanded Vardy/Chambers house was nine bays wide and two rooms deep, approximately trebling its footprint (Figs 4 and 12).

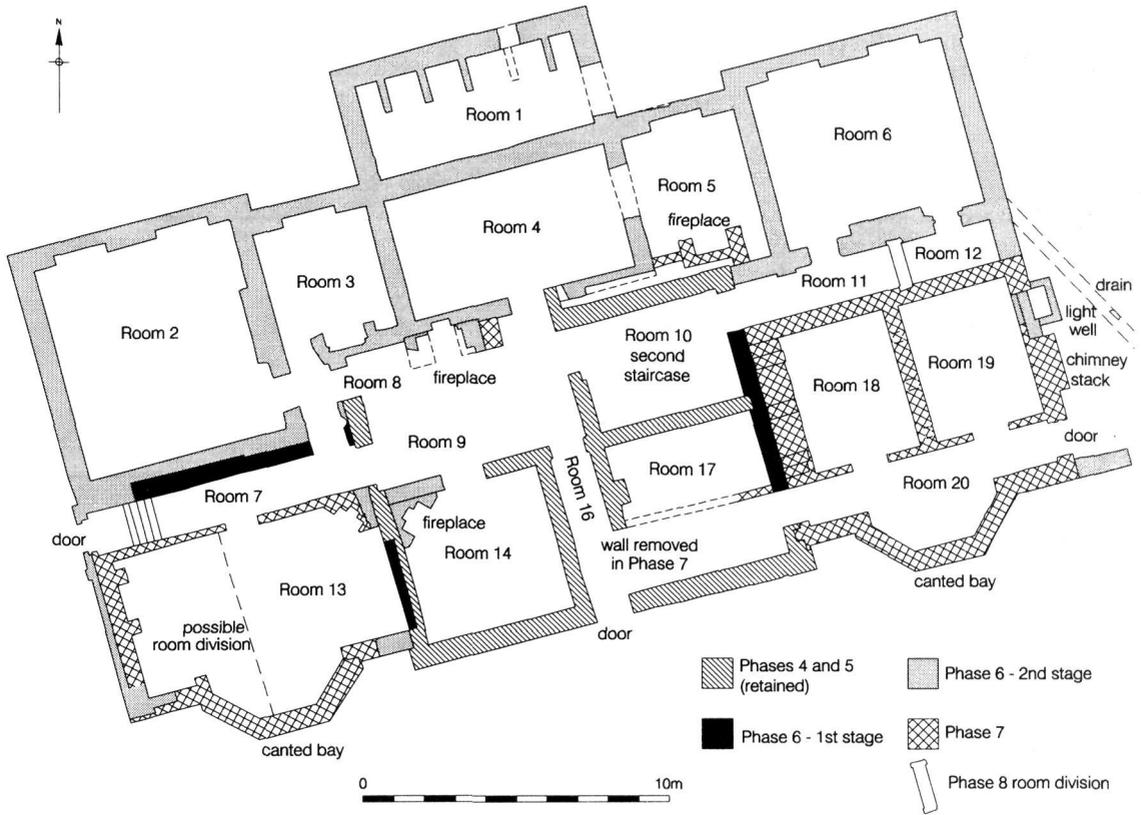
The relationships of the masonry builds show that this work was done in two stages. In the first stage three stretches of masonry were added to Building [B8], two of which were rebuilds of parts of pre-existing Phase 4 walls. The rebuilds were adjacent to two of the intended chimney stacks in the corners of the saloon on the ground floor above, and would have improved the load bearing capacity of the walls by the removal of earlier window and door openings. The third stretch was a new wall outside of the footprint of [B8] in Phases 4 and 5, which shows that this build was the first part of the conversion of the villa into a country house. In the second stage of the conversion more brickwork was added to this wall, and so it ended up unusually thick compared to the others in the basement, and almost certainly thicker than it needed to be for the load on it. This suggests that the conversion was not straightforward, and that there may have been at least one change of plan. The earliest part of this wall was aligned with the south side of the east–west spine corridor on the east side of the expanded building. It may have been the initial intention to create a more symmetrical basement plan, with a spine corridor crossing the whole building on the north side of the Phase 4 staircase in Room 10. Had this been done the corridor would have run to the north of this wall, rather than to the south as actually happened.

The Phase 6 basement floor plan is not complete because of the alteration of the two rear corners of the country house in Phase 7. It seems likely that the spine corridor running across the width of the building dated to this phase, and it was offset slightly both to re-use the earlier staircase in Room 10 and to have a large room on the front of the building on this floor, Room 2. The corridor can definitely be traced only in the eastern half of the building in Phase 6 (Rooms 11 and 12), and it is possible that it did not stretch to the west side (Room 7) until Phase 7. The western side door does, however,

appear to date to this phase, although the external access routes to it were truncated by later work. There was no external doorway at the end of the eastern spine corridor, but there could have been one at the southern end of this side elevation, where from Phase 7 there was access to a servants' staircase. During Phase 6 a door there would have provided access to any outbuildings to the east of the house. However, the 1884 house plan (Fig 4) suggests that this access route may have been through the ground floor rather than the basement. The ground floor door in the eastern wall would have given access to the basement via the secondary staircase, without the servants disturbing the family, who would have been able to access the eastern corner rooms from adjacent rooms. The influence of the earlier villa is also seen in the preservation of the corridor running from the centre of the basement to the middle of the rear elevation, Room 16. It was only present in the basement; on the ground floor this position was in the middle of the saloon. The main, family, staircase is shown in Figs 4 and 13 as starting at the ground floor level, above Rooms 9 and 8.³

There was no physical evidence for the location of the kitchen, with its attendant scullery and storage rooms, in Phase 6. The remodelling of the rear corners of the building during Phase 7 may have removed evidence of the original uses of these rooms, making the identification of these and other rooms tentative. The kitchen and scullery were most likely to have been located in either of the rear corner rooms or, conceivably, in the front eastern corner room. There was a distinct line in the paving of Room 13 showing the location of a partition that may have divided the kitchen from a scullery. Alternatively Rooms 18, 19, and 20 may have contained the kitchen and Room 17 the scullery. The lightwell in the east wall of Room 19 dates to this phase and the presence of a window on the east wall as well as those on the south wall would have maximised the light and ventilation in to the kitchen if it was located there. There was also an external stack in this room.

The Housekeeper's room and Butler's pantry usually controlled the routes into the building in the service areas or controlled the route to the dining room or saloon, both often also controlling the division between predominantly male and female spheres of activity (Sambrook & Brears 1997, 41–9). Room 2, in the north-west corner of the basement, is a possible location for the Housekeeper's room, or it may have been an office used for the management of the estate or the owner's business. Likely locations for a Butler's pantry are Rooms 14 and 6,



	Phase 6	Phase 7
Room 1	Storage	Storage
Room 2	Housekeeper's room or Estate/owner's office	Housekeeper's room or Sitting room
Room 3	Still room	Still room
Room 4	Storage	Storage
Room 5	Still room	Still room or Water closet
Room 6	Kitchen and scullery or Butler's pantry	Butler's pantry
Room 13	Kitchen or scullery	Housekeeper's room
Room 14	Butler's pantry or Family room	Butler's pantry or Sitting room
Room 17	Scullery	Scullery
Rooms 18 and 19	Kitchen or Storeroom	Wine, beer and ale cellars

Fig 12. Phases 6 and 7: the country house

both controlling access to the stairs to the ground floor. Room 6 gave exclusive access to a silver vault, or plate safe, added in the 19th century. It would make sense for this strong room to have been accessed from the Butler's pantry, a use that may have extended back to Phase 6. Room 14 had a corner fireplace that was added during this phase. It still contained the remains of a Bath stove grate, embossed with a neo-classical urn motif, typical of the decoration on grates produced by the Carron company in Falkirk, from 1759 onwards (see below). This is a quality fitting, and it is therefore possible that this room was used by the Drummond family.

Rooms 1 and 4 had fittings for storage, and these may have been wine and/or beer cellars. There is reference to a still room in the basement in the 1839 sales particulars (RBS: DR/101). This is likely to have been an original feature and may have been in Room 5 or 3. By the late 18th century still rooms were used by the Housekeeper. They were used for making 'preserves, cakes, biscuits and perhaps pastry work ... tea and coffee' (Sambrook & Brears 1997, 27). If Room 2 were the Housekeeper's room,

Room 3 would be the prime candidate for a still room. Room 5 contained extensive 19th-century drainage and ventilation features as well as a fireplace. The later insertions removed any evidence of its original use. Other rooms usually found in the basement of a house of this size at this date would be the Servants' Hall, and possibly the Steward's Room (Sambrook & Brears 1997), but there is insufficient information to determine their location.

The flooring in the basement consisted of Portland stone blocks and laminated sandstone blocks. The former are likely to be original, as Portland stone was imported in large quantities for the construction of the house. The demolition debris found within the rooms of the basement produced fragments of chimney (Fig 14), many of which had lead covered wrought iron cramps that tied the stones together. The stacks above roof level were made of Portland stone, all of which showed signs of internal sooting. The photograph of the staircase (NMR: BB75/3679; Fig 13), shows the wrought iron 'S' shaped balusters and Portland stone stairs, both of which were found in the excavation. In the debris



Fig 13. An historic photograph of the main staircase of the country house (NMR: BB75/3979)

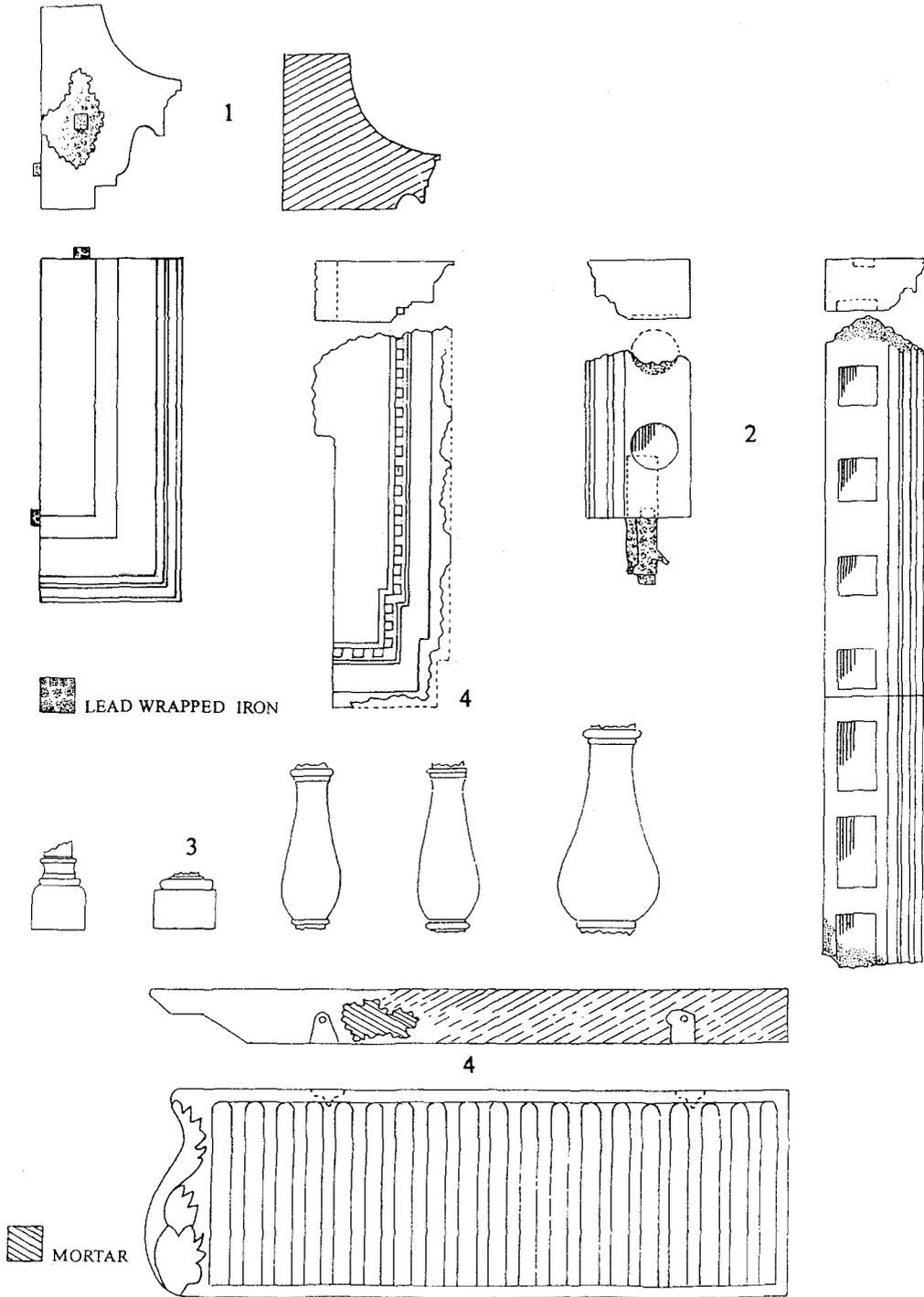


Fig 14. Some of the stone found in the excavation: (1) Two fragments of Portland stone chimneys (one in profile and one in end view) showing the two types of moulding found; (2) Two patterns of balustrade entablature; (3) The range of balusters found; (4) Fragments of marble fireplace



Fig 15. An historic photograph of the rear elevation of the country house (NMR: BB75/3675)

filling Room 2 there were fragments of ribbed marble fireplace architrave and plain marble hearth slabs, a style that became popular in the 1770s (Callow 1996, 155). Among these fragments of fireplace was a fragment of a marble mantelpiece (Fig 14). These fragments probably came from the fireplaces in the rooms above, either on the ground or first floor. Fragments of Portland stone balustrade were also found, including two sizes of baluster (Fig 14). The smaller balusters were relatively slim and were probably from the roof of the house; they appear particularly narrow on a photograph of the rear elevation (Fig 15). Fragments of plaster recovered from the demolition debris (Fig 16) show the high quality of the interior decoration.⁴

The lightwell on the east wall showed that ground level was above the existing remains, even towards the back of the building where the natural ground slopes away, although the slope may have been reduced by terracing. A drain ran from a probable rainwater pipe on the northern side of the lightwell to the south-east, which truncated the foundations of Building [B9]. [B9] would not necessarily have been demolished by this time, but it is likely. Building [B7] would definitely have been demolished to build the Vardy/Chambers house.

Prints published in 1806 and 1815 (RBS: DR/201/10; Figs 3 and 17) show the house much as it appeared in later photographs (NMR: BB75/3672–3677, 3681 and 3682; Fig 15). The front of the house had two principal floors, ground and first, as well as the basement and an attic. The central five bays at the front of the building were slightly recessed from the outer bays. There was a dentilled cornice above the first floor, above which there was a ballustrated parapet in the central five bays, behind which were five dormer windows. On the outer projections there were triangular pediments, each with a central oculus, above the cornice, that were also decorated with dentilation. There was a central ground floor Ionic portico occupying three bays at the front of the building; this had a plain entablature and no pediment. There was a string course between the ground and first floors.

On the rear elevation the central five bays of the earlier building broke forward from the flanking bays and were occupied by the saloon on the ground floor. The primacy of this part of the building was emphasised by the fact that the central five bays were topped by an attic storey. A dentilled cornice, separating the first floor from the attic storey, continued over the first floor of the recessed

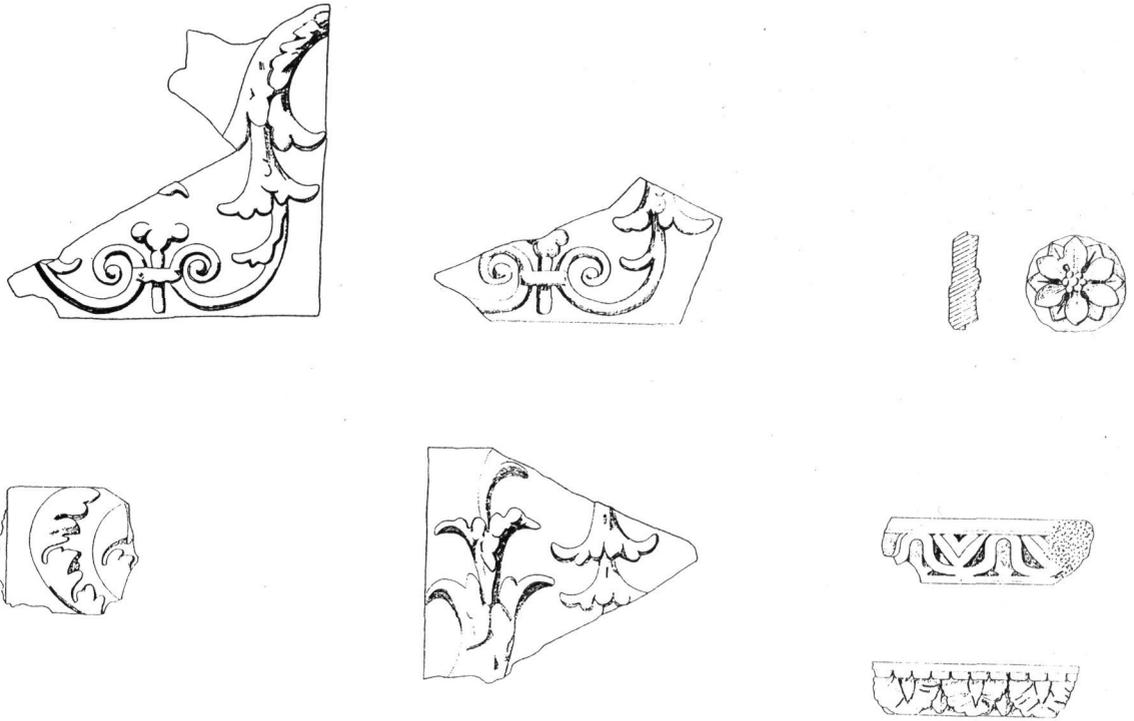


Fig 16. Some of the plasterwork found in the excavation



Fig 17. An 1815 print of the front of the country house, reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Bank of Scotland Group

flanking bays, and the attic storey was topped by a plain entablature. The recessed flanking bays either side of the attic storey were topped by balustrades.⁵

The fact that the outer first floor windows on the rear elevation are widely set, compared with those of the central closely set fenestration originating in Phase 4, reflects the desire to have the same number of bays on the rear as on the front elevation (Fig 15). The width and style of the outer windows are very different from those on the front elevation and were probably altered at a later date to provide more light to the bedrooms.

The outer walls of this phase of the building were probably not originally rendered as the external faces of the walls were built using good quality purple facing-brick with yellow surfaces, and laid in Flemish bond, which was used for decorative effect rather than strength.⁶ As was often the case with houses built by bricklayers who were used to speculative building, the facing brickwork was a half brick thick skin of regularly laid bricks with narrow mortar joints. This skin was applied onto a wall of inferior brick laid with thick mortar joints, with the two walls only tied together in places. This practice was a cheap alternative to sound construction techniques, rife in London, and was criticised by Batty Langley in 1748 (Langley 1748, 10). The inner wall had bonding timbers in its inner face, a common practice in Georgian building. The stuccoed finish shown in the early 19th-century prints was therefore not original. Its use was popularised by the Adam brothers who used it from the mid-1770s (Kelsall 1989, 20–1).

It seems reasonable to consider the two different builds in Phase 6 as two stages within what is essentially one process of rebuilding the original fabric and extending it. The possibility that the first may represent the building work recorded in the accounts for 1736 is slight, as the surviving elements show no signs of truncation and would represent much more significant work than the records indicate.

The strip of the property called Goodalls purchased to provide stables and offices for the new house is believed to be in the area of [B2] and [B3], but there was no physical evidence of new building in this area during this phase. Possibly there were new buildings there that left no traces, but it is more likely that [B2] and [B3] were just converted from a house into offices and stables from above ground level.

Vardy was ‘a Palladian of the Burlington school’ (Pearce 2001), a movement characterised by the restraint shown in the design of buildings and the

strict adherence to a style that harked back to Inigo Jones’ 17th-century interpretations of Palladio’s 16th-century classicism. Chambers was also fairly traditional compared with his contemporary Robert Adam, and would probably not have altered Vardy’s design of the exterior much, the building of which would have been quite advanced by the time he took over the work.

The original height of the surrounding ground level relative to the house is not known. In the Palladian ‘system’ the main floor, or *piano nobile*, was usually raised up over a semi-sunken basement, or ‘rustic’. Robert Adam and the landscape architects, such as ‘Capability’ Brown, to some extent freed English architecture from Palladian constraints. Houses became increasingly integrated with their parks in the 1760s and 1770s, with fully sunken basements, if there was a basement at all. The earliest pictorial representation of the building, of 1806 (RBS: DR/201/10; Fig 3), shows the garden at the level of the ground floor. However, the likelihood that the garden was landscaped after Phase 6 means that this may not have been the original conception. Vardy’s Palladian credentials suggest that the original design is likely to have had a semi-sunken basement, which was then altered to fully sunken, either during Phase 6 while Chambers was the architect, or subsequently. It is also unclear whether a garden was laid out to the south of the house before this alteration or not.

60m to the east of [B8] there was an irregular pit, 14m across and 1.60m deep. The pottery from the secondary fill is dated to c.1740–1780, but the primary fill had only a few fragments of one fabric dated to 1580–1700, which may well be residual. The date range for the secondary fill suggests that this was a claypit dug to make the bricks that were used in the enlargement of the country house, and backfilled soon after the construction was finished. Brick manufacture was often done on or near to the building site, where clay was available. Brick was also commercially available locally, Stanmore being a known brick manufacturing centre (Hammond 1984).

Phase 7: c.1770 to 1838

The Phase 7 activity consisted of: remodelling of the rooms in the rear (south-east and south-west) corners of the country house (Fig 12); construction of a large service complex, Buildings [B12] and [B13], as well as Building [B14] (Fig 18) and a large extension to Building [B3] (Fig 19); moving the

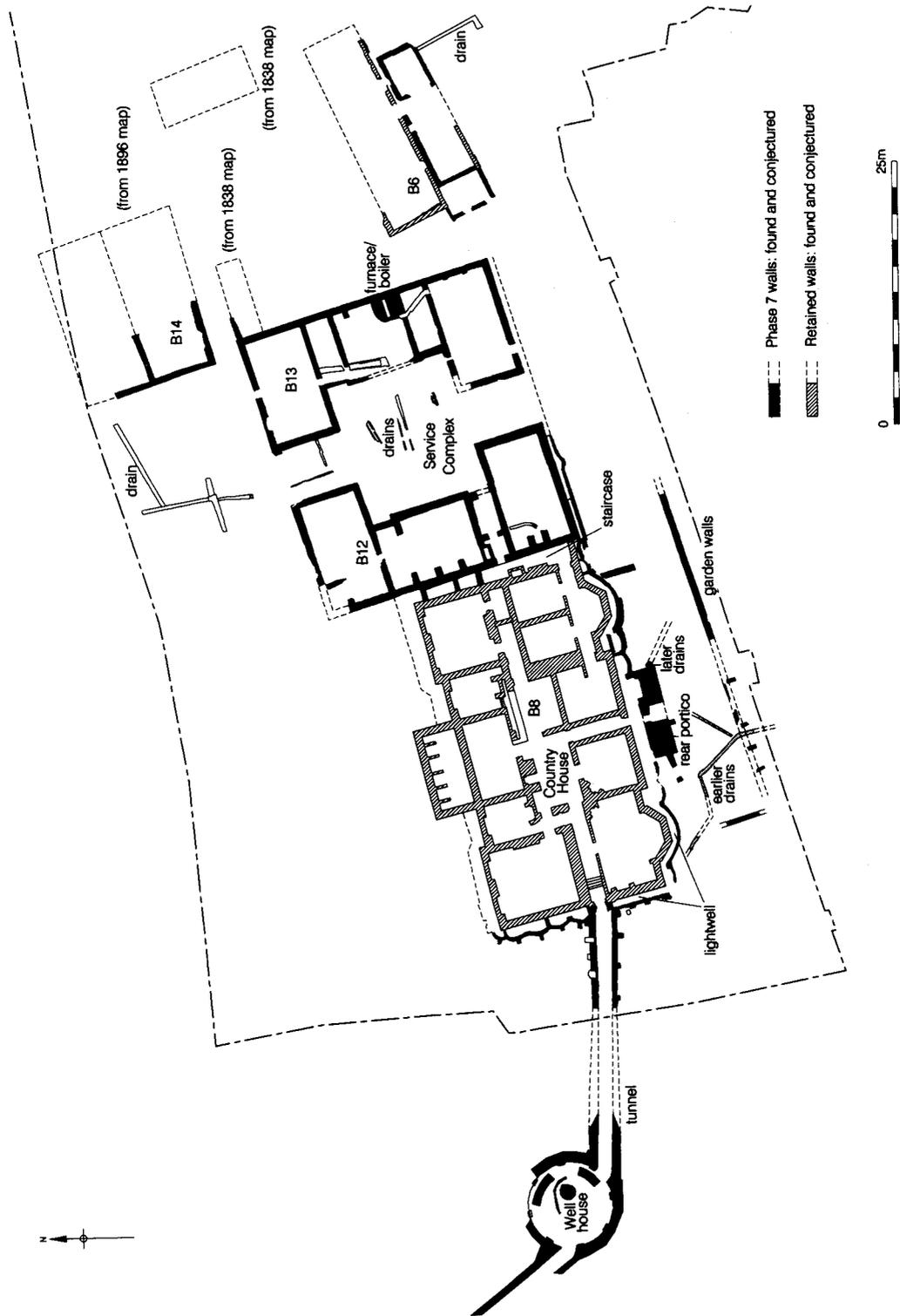


Fig 18. Phase 7: development of the country house and its outbuildings

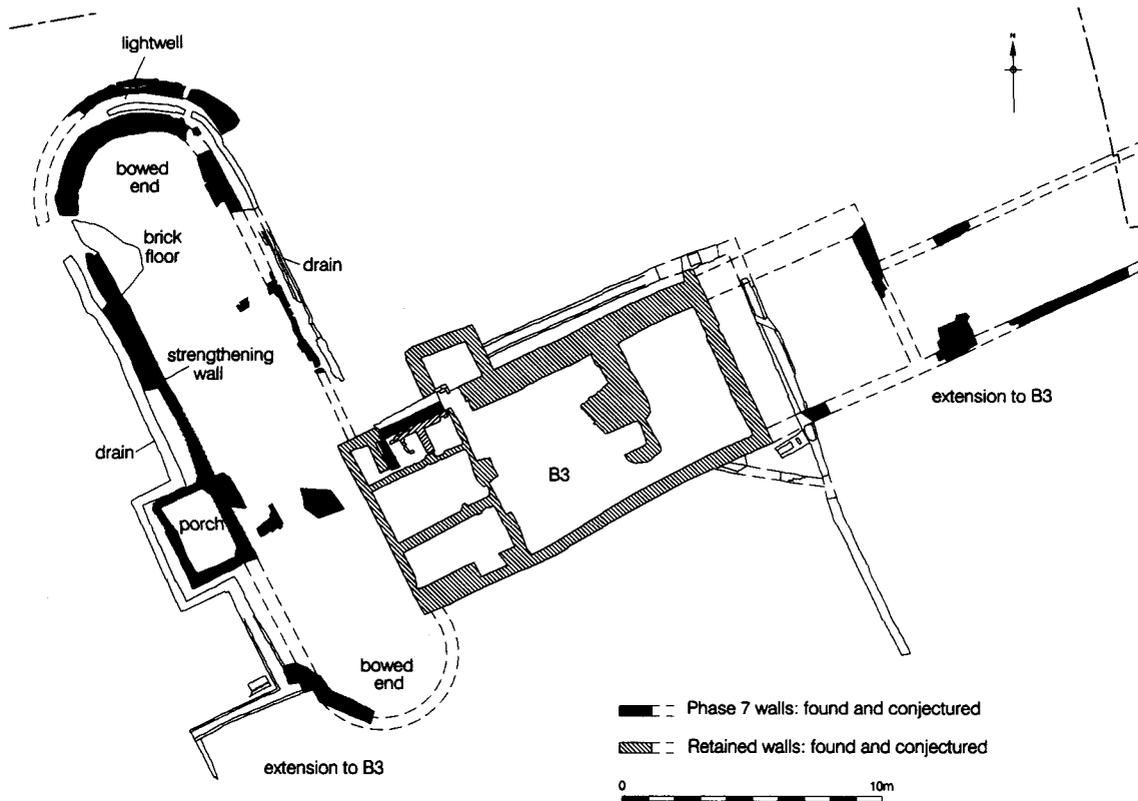


Fig 19. Phase 7: development of [B3]

main east-west road from Colliers Lane to the north of Stanmore Park; and landscaping of the park. Little trace of the latter survived; almost all of the information about it is documentary (above). The bulk of this activity pre-dates a print of 1806 (RBS: DR/201/10). This all represents a major upgrading of the services to the house, and a change in its setting, being no longer next to a public road but now enclosed well within its own designed parkland.

Some of the rebuilding work on the structure of [B8] in Phase 7 is indicated by the presence within the demolition rubble filling the central rooms at the front of the house of numerous hollow earthenware 'bottle bricks', with sub-cylindrical coiled construction and squared-off bases (Fig 20). These were developed in 1785 by the French architect St Fart, as a lightweight vaulting material (Ayres 1998). They may have been made locally at Stanmore and must have been considered a novelty by the manufacturers, as there was little standardisation in their manufacture. Two main types were found. They either had central holes at the

circular end and sometimes at the squared end as well, or were completely closed but with a small hole, or holes, stabbed through their sides to prevent them exploding in the kiln. It seems likely that a timber floor in the entrance hall, or one of the ground floor rooms either side of it, was replaced by something heavier, which would have required the more solid support of a vault. The use of bottle bricks would have reduced the amount of additional weight on the basement walls. The 1839 sale particulars record that the entrance hall was paved in marble, and a photograph shows a black and white marble tiled floor (NMR: BB75/3678), fragments of which were recovered from the demolition deposits.

From the list of rooms within the basement of [B8] in the 1839 sale specification (above) the 'still room' was still probably in Room 3, or perhaps Room 5 (Fig 12). The 'several capital wine, beer, and ale cellars' can almost definitely be located in Rooms 19 and 18, and possibly in Rooms 1 and 4, which had low arched recesses supporting shelves around their walls. The 'Butler's pantries' may have

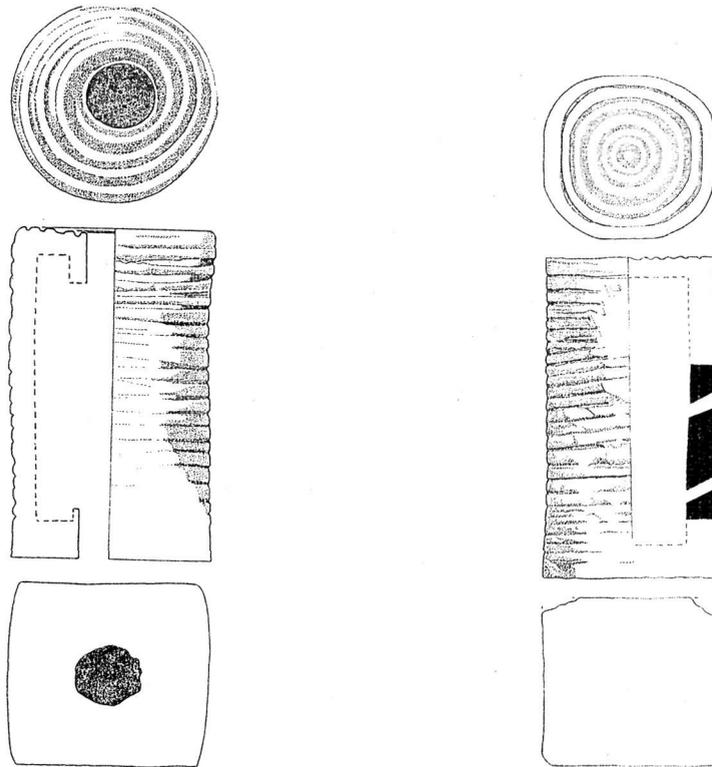


Fig 20. Bottle bricks found in the excavation; scale 1:4

been in Rooms 6 or 14, and the 'Housekeeper's room' may have been Room 13 or 2. The 'sitting room' was probably either Room 14 or 2. The extensive drainage and waterproofing in Room 5 was probably inserted during the 19th century, the damp proof mortar being Roman Cement or a similar render (Parker's Roman Cement was patented in 1796 and was used as a stucco or to bond masonry in areas prone to damp). This room may have been used as the 'water closet'. The locations of the 'larder' and 'other apartments' are more uncertain.

The basement and ground floor canted bays at the rear of the building, shown on the 1806 print, may have been original features belonging in Phase 6, but on balance the likelihood is that they were introduced in Phase 7 and replaced a flatter, more traditional, elevation. The fact that all of their brickwork belonged to Phases 7 and 8 suggests that they may not have been original. Canted bays, although banished from English classical architecture by the early Palladians, such as Lord Burlington and Colen Campbell, had been absorbed into the Palladian repertoire by the 1750s (Worsley

1995, 240). The extent of the later brickwork around each of these bays means that there could have originally been two windows which were flush with the rear elevation, set beneath the two windows on the first floor. This is supported by evidence that Room 13 was partitioned into two rooms, each of which would have been lit by a single rear window. Their Phase 7 brickwork would have contrasted with that of the rest of the country house and it can be assumed that the exterior walls were stuccoed by this time. The stucco found was painted and scored to imitate ashlar stonework.

The rebuild of the eastern rear corner room or rooms involved the insertion of a pair of barrel-vaulted cellars, Rooms 18 and 19, with a southern passage, Room 20, that gave access to a door in the east wall. In Room 19 the vaulting was constructed in a way that showed that the possible fireplace had been blocked, but that allowed light in from the window and its lightwell. The western abutment of the vault in Room 18 was separated slightly from the earlier load bearing wall that ran alongside it, so as not to overload it, with three short bracing walls between them to provide stability. The door at the

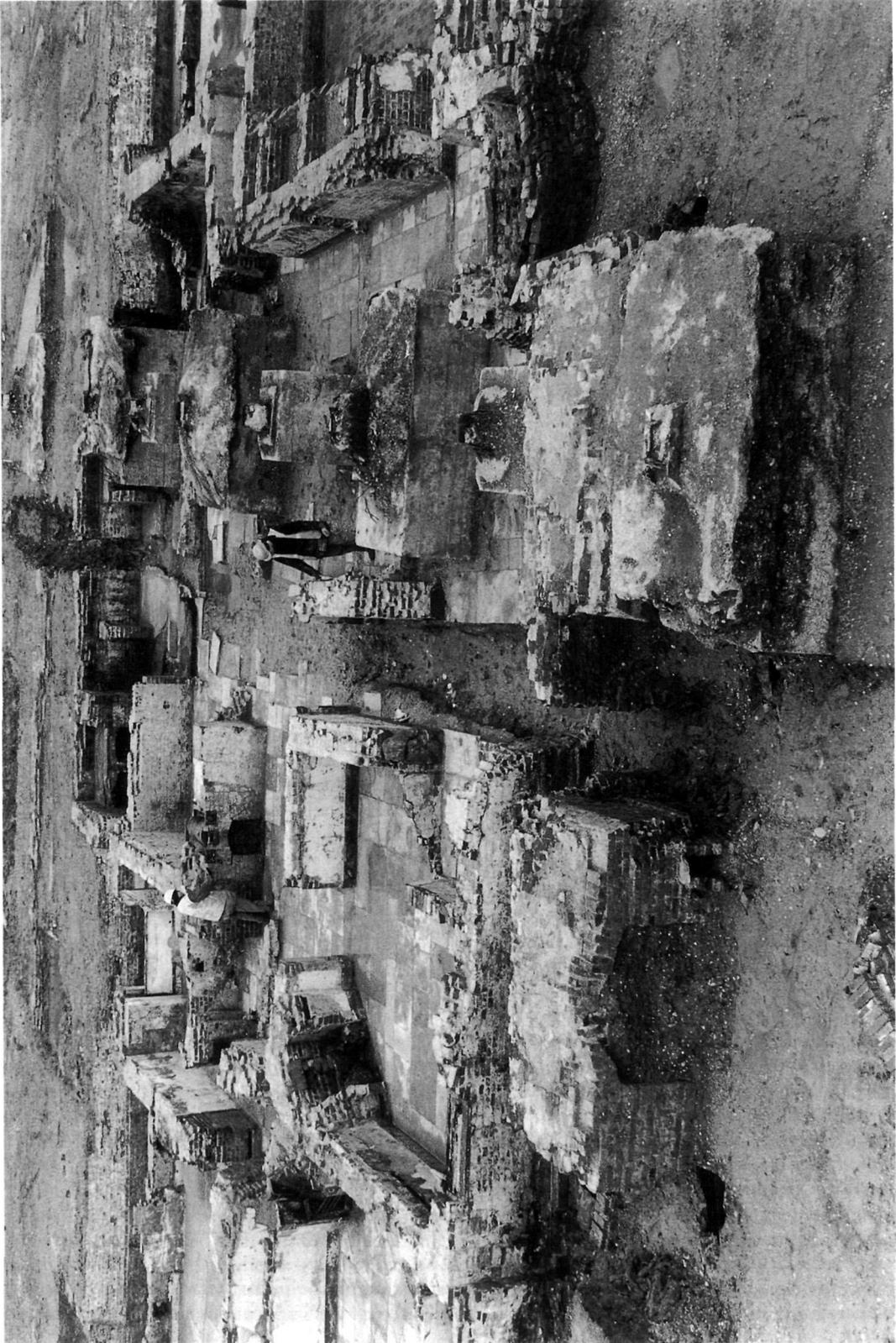


Fig. 21. Excavation of the country house (Building [B8]), the central five bays from the rear (south)

end of Room 20 must initially have led outside, as the service complex was only built there slightly later. The rebuild of the western corner included the internal walling of much of Room 13, and the dividing wall that separated it from the corridor, Room 7, so that by the end of this phase the spine corridor definitely extended to the western side door.

The rear portico was built with four Greek Ionic orders topped by a plain entablature, beneath a triangular pediment; it occupied the three central bays. The brickwork shows that it was not part of the Phase 6 house, but it is clearly shown in the 1806 print. Although the front portico foundations date to Phase 6, the columns may have been remodelled, as the Ionic capitals on the front portico are also shown photographically to have been Greek in style. Although Greek motifs had been introduced into English architecture by the 1760s the 'Greek Revival' was a later development, post-dating the Phase 6 work. The remodelling may well have been done when the rear portico was built, to achieve stylistic harmony.

As an integral part of the same build as the rear portico, a lightwell was inserted continuously along the south side of Buildings [B8] and [B12], and presumably [B13], although the evidence for this had been lost. As well as the structural relationship, the rear portico and lightwell were built with identical bricks and mortar. The rear portico, lightwell, and Buildings [B12] and [B13] were therefore contemporary.

This new lightwell was also extended around the west side of the country house, removing whatever had been there before. From the arrangement of the masonry at the front west corner, it can be deduced that it extended around the front as well, although the physical evidence for this was removed by a yet later rebuild. The lightwell along the west and south sides of the country house was built using curved sections of a mostly one brick thick retaining wall, with occasional fingers of brickwork extending outwards. The curves worked like horizontal arches, which were sprung from more substantial piers of brickwork. These were themselves braced against the main house wall by vertical arches. This form of construction economised on bricks.

The area to the immediate east of the country house was excavated for the construction of bracing walls joining [B8] and [B12], and then backfilled. A staircase was found in the southern end of the gap between the old and new buildings, connecting the two service areas (Fig 18). Material was also

dumped in the southern half, at least, of the footprint of [B12] and [B13] before their construction. This dumping was probably done in order to build [B12] and [B13] at a level respecting, if slightly lower than, the ground floor of [B8], for both architectural and practical considerations.

The service complex had a central courtyard, 11.5m by 13m, with 5m wide entrances to the north and south, and [B12] and [B13] on either side of it (Fig 18). Truncation around the walls of [B12] and [B13] extended lower than the level of their floors and the courtyard surface, so these were not found, but the walls beneath floor level and documentary sources allow full reconstruction of the floor plan. Following their description of the country house (above), the 1839 sale particulars list the service buildings:

The domestic offices — though attached to the Mansion are virtually quite independent thereof, and comprise large servants hall with sleeping rooms over, a spacious and excellent kitchen, good scullery and dairy and two larders with sleeping room over. (RBS: DR/101, 4)

The use of 'attached' means these must be in [B12], and the description emphasises the importance of separation between the family and service areas. [B12] and its mirror image [B13] had hipped roofs and were low; Fig 4 shows that [B12]'s ground floor was three steps below that of the house. The later maps and plans confirm that they were two separate blocks, and not joined at the first floor. Fig 17 shows [B12] as three bays wide at its north end with Diocletian windows set high on its ground floor and long narrow windows on its first floor. Although they were low, their north and south ends accommodated two storeys with low ceilings, while the central kitchen was open to the level of the first floor ceilings. The 1839 description and the 1884 plan (Fig 4) are consistent as to the uses of the rooms in [B12], although the dairy may have been moved to the extension built for it (see below).

The 1839 sale particulars continue:

The detached offices are situated at a suitable distance from the house, comprising an extensive range of brick-built and slated stabling of remarkably neat elevation towards the yard, containing a capital six stall stable, a three stall stable, two spacious boxes formerly a six stall stable, harness room, saddle room with three bed rooms for stable servants, and loft. (RBS: DR/101, 4)

The reference to the 'yard' means that these are almost certainly in [B13]. Even allowing for sales hyperbole, the implication is that some attention



Fig 22. Service building [B12] and the east side of the country house, from the south

had been given to the appearance of this complex, which is confirmed by the fact that the elevations facing the courtyard had central projections.

Within [B13] there was a large curved area of masonry with a linear slot in it, which, given the stabling functions, may be the enclosed furnace of a forge, although it could also have been the base of the boiler in a brewhouse. Remains of a small extension to [B13], shown on an 1838 Tithing Map (Fig 23), were also found.

The service complex [B12] and [B13] cannot be seen on the 1806 print, which depicts the house from the south. Nevertheless, it must have been built by then, as the rear portico is shown and this service complex, the lightwell, and the rear portico are contemporary. It was either screened out by trees and bushes in reality, or was simply left out by the artist. Both of these were common practices in the late 18th to early 19th century. The Picturesque and Romantic movements, which then held sway, idealised the naturalistic environment of the house in its landscaped park, usually created at

vast expense. Only one small building is shown in front of the church in the 1806 print, with just foliage visible between the house and the church. Similarly a late 18th- to early 19th-century print showing the view from the north obscures any buildings to either side of the house behind foliage (RBS: DR/201, undated). The later photographs mostly show mature trees that obscure the service complex.

Within the limits of the years 1770 and 1806, it is not totally clear from the physical or documentary evidence when the rear portico, lightwell, [B12] and [B13] were constructed. However, some indications are given by the family personal and financial history. John Drummond was involved in the Phase 6 build and so was unlikely to have wanted to make alterations between its completion in 1770 and his death in 1774. Trustees managed the finances until his son George came of age in 1776 or 1777, and at first sight it would seem unlikely that they would instigate major programmes of expenditure, even if this may have been what happened with the

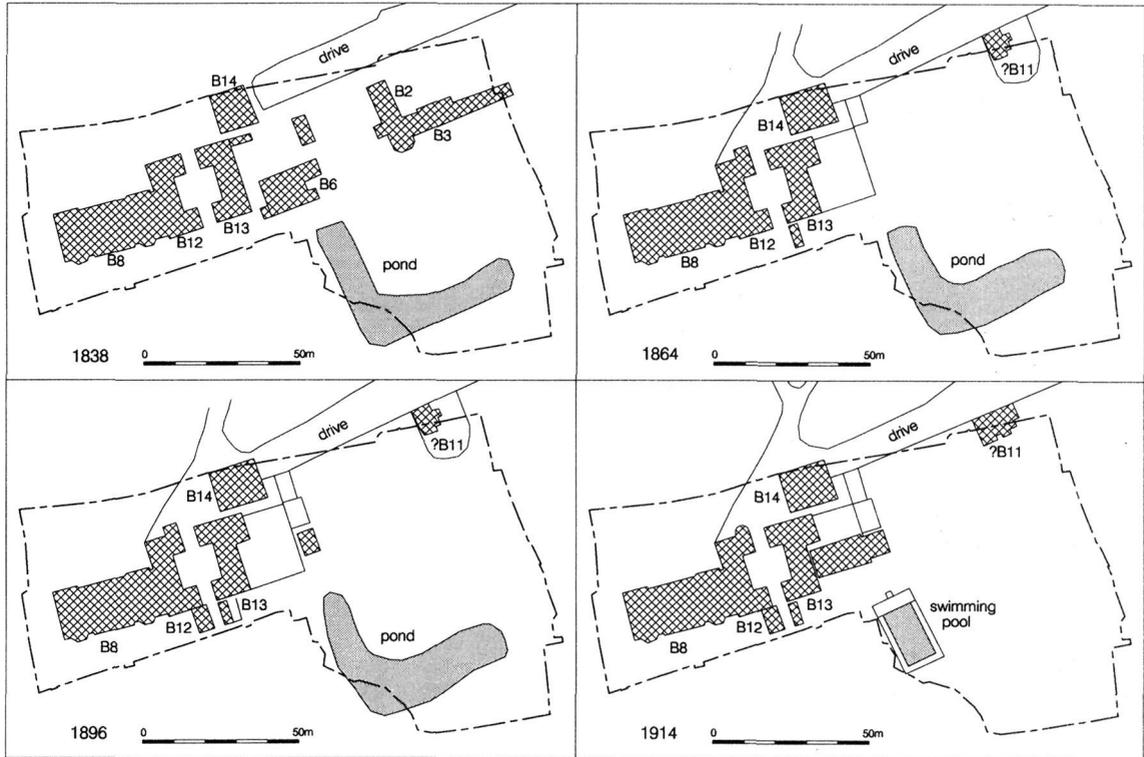


Fig 23. Site layout from the 1838 Tithe Map and subsequent Ordnance Survey maps

landscaping. The fact that George is alleged to have been profligate and left unfinished building work at his death in 1789 makes the period from 1777 to 1789 the best candidate for the construction work. The family financial crisis between his death and that of his wife in 1793 means little would have been done then, other than possibly finishing off the uncompleted projects. Between then and 1804 George Harley was still a minor, so again the trustees should not have spent large sums during these years, and their accounts show they largely just acquired land and settled debts. That leaves 1804 to 1806, which is the second best candidate for the work.

Two sets of drains were seen behind the country house belonging to this phase, to carry waste water off down slope to the south (Fig 18). The earlier set was at a higher level than the windowsills of the rear elevation. This means that when they were built the lightwells at the back of building [B8] must have been limited to the area of the windows themselves, and did not stretch along the full length of the back wall. These drains led from at least two downpipes on the back of the country house. A Phase 6 date

for this set is improbable, as these drains were in a different build from that used for the house, although this possibility is not precluded by the dates of the bricks or the stratigraphy. The later set was at a lower level, below the Phase 7 lightwell and rear portico, and built as an integral part of their construction. The height needed to be reduced to reflect the lower level of the bottom of the downpipes. Four downpipes were located on either side of the two canted bays, and from there the water flowed to drains beneath the rear portico on its east side and thence off towards the south-east.

These two sets of drains very likely relate to the two major programmes of work in this part of the site during Phase 7; firstly the alterations inside [B8], and then the rear portico, lightwell, [B12] and [B13]. These events were separate, as not only were the bricks and mortar of the two builds different, but also the lightwell in Room 19 was still in use after the internal alteration of [B8], proving that [B12] had not yet been built. The 36 years between *c.*1770 and 1806 is a relatively short time following the house's initial completion for two major construction programmes. Either George's

profligacy was the cause, or the quick turnover of ownership, due to premature deaths, from John to George to George Harley, may have prompted more activity than would otherwise be expected, as each sought to make their mark on the estate.

Building [B14] (Fig 18) was badly affected by the severe truncation in the centre of the site, and only survived in its south-west corner, together with one internal wall and a drain. However its size can be seen on the 1838 Tithe Map and subsequent Ordnance Survey maps (Fig 23). It is interpreted as having had a service function, and would have been close to the main drive. A photograph (NMR: BB75/3674) shows that it was topped by a cupola,

suggesting it was meant to be seen from the main drive. The 1839 sale particulars specify another part of the service complex, which is the best candidate for [B14]:

Another brick-built and slated detached building containing four coach houses, laundry behind, and servants apartments over. (RBS: DR/101, 4)

The Tithe Map shows a building in the position occupied by [B11], but rather bigger, so [B11] may have been part of a larger structure that extended north beyond the edge of excavation.

Building [B3] now underwent a major alteration (Fig 19) with the construction of extensions on

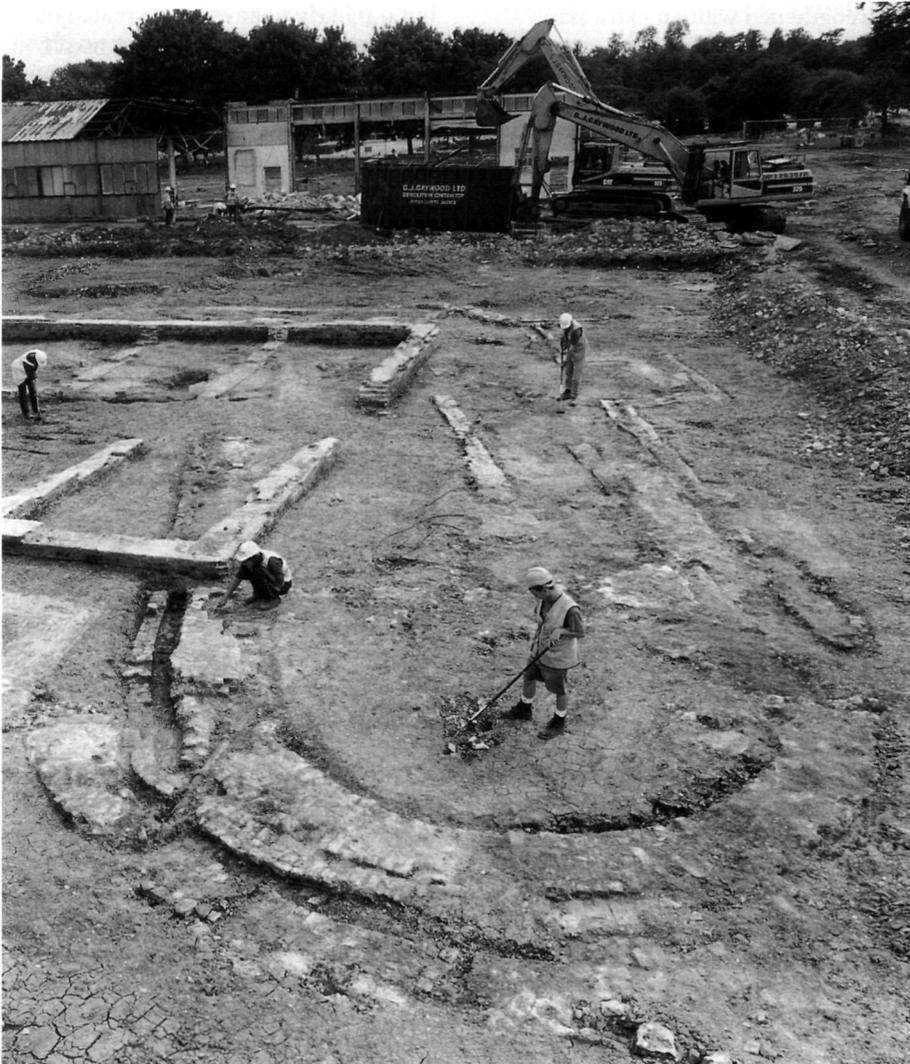


Fig 24. Bow-ended extension of Building [B3], from the north

both its south-west and north-east sides, more than doubling its footprint. The south-west one was 26m long, and occupied the same position as [B2]. Unless this was coincidental it may have been an enlarged replacement for it, with [B2] surviving up to Phase 7. This extension had bowed ends and the north-west façade had a lightwell, although the slope meant that one was not required to the south-east. Part of a brick floor survived within it, and slight traces of walls show the locations of its internal partitions, although insufficient to reconstruct the floor plan. An asymmetrically placed projection may have been a porch, and as this was a different build from the rest of the extension it may have been a later addition. The drain along the outside of this wall respects this projection, and this elevation was strengthened with an extra skin.

Two heavily truncated walls of the north-east extension to [B3] were found. The 1838 Tithe Map shows [B3] with both extensions, although curiously the one to the south-west is shown with a bowed wall only at its south-east end, and a rectangular north-west end (Fig 23). The Phase 5 extension to the south-east had been removed, at least above ground, before the construction of the south-west extension, as their footprints overlap. A section of drain was added to the north-west of the original part of Building [B3]. This truncated one side of the porch or external stairwell, which therefore probably went out of use.

The newly enlarged [B3] is another contender for the building listed as containing coach houses, laundry, and servants apartments in the 1839 sale specification. However the long, bowed side was only 5.5m wide, which does not seem sufficient depth for the storage of coaches. The large bow-ended extension must have been a building of architectural merit, and it would have been visible from the main drive. If it is not that building it would have been a service or office building, probably used by the family. The substantial bowed ends and relatively light side wall foundations are also suggestive of an orangery, with an at least partly open south-west wall that would have provided good exposure to the sun.

The rerouting of the main east-west road must have preceded the Phase 7 activity on Buildings [B3] and [B14], as these infringe on the area occupied by Colliers Lane. The north elevations of Buildings [B12] and [B13] appear to have respected Colliers Lane, but this could either have been because the road was still functioning or for aesthetic considerations; had the service buildings been further forward they would have dominated

the front of the house. The new drive with its avenue of trees, for the use of the family and guests, now ran from the front of the country house, north around the churchyard, then north-east to the road (Fig 23). The stone gateway had survived the RAF's ownership in this corner of the site. The old road, now a dead end called Rectory Lane, was kept to provide access to the service areas to the east of the country house.

Behind the country house were garden walls, the largest of which would probably have retained a terrace against the fall in the natural ground to the south, and some of the landscaping soil had also survived later truncation. The creation of the very large L-shaped pond towards the south-east of the excavation is poorly dated by artefactual evidence, but it is likely to have been created during the landscaping of the park. There was no physical evidence to explain its slightly curious shape, and if it was not purely for effect then it may have been to exploit some pre-existing cut feature. No other evidence for the landscaping of the gardens was found within the excavation.

A barrel vaulted tunnel was attached to the western lightwell, both being part of the same build. This started opposite the door at the end of the spine corridor and ran west for 25m. The tunnel was almost but not completely buried, as the roof of the vaulting was punctuated by openings for light and ventilation. It led to a sunken circular well house, containing a well with a horse driven pump (outside the excavation but observed in the watching brief). A further tunnel ran north-west from the well house, for at least another 12m. This would have provided access for the horses and an alternative service route into the house without impinging on the family's private enjoyment of the gardens.

The gap between Buildings [B6] and [B10] was now bridged by another structure, forming an extension of [B6] to its south-east. The Tithe Map of 1838 shows [B6] and this extension, but not [B10]. One wall of [B10] was incorporated into it, so it seems likely that the rest of [B10] was demolished when the extension was built. A drain ran south-east from the extended [B6], near its east corner, feeding into the L-shaped pond.

The development of the house and its outbuildings in Phase 7 shows the increased preoccupation with comfort and a movement towards the removal of the service functions from the main house that was a result of the increased desire for privacy amongst the landed élite. This is shown particularly in the construction of the sunken well house and outbuildings concealed behind trees.

Phase 8: 1838 to 1938

In comparison to Phases 6 and 7, the construction activities during Phase 8 were relatively minor. These created garden walls and small outbuildings, with the exception of one substantial range that dates to when Stanmore was used as a school. They were also confined to the heavily truncated centre of the excavation, so little evidence of them survived. Fig 23 confirms that the successors to the Drummonds were firstly not as active as builders, and secondly that the demolition in this phase was more extensive. The 1864 Ordnance Survey map shows that [B3] with its extensions and [B6] with its extension had both been removed by this date. When it was within its own grounds [B3] had been relatively prestigious, but, even with the Phase 7 alterations, by Phase 8 it presumably either became increasingly unsuitable for its function as an outbuilding of the country house, or became too old fashioned in appearance, or most likely both.

The lightwell's retaining wall at the front of the country house was rebuilt with a sloping face, to maximise the light in the front basement rooms. This masonry was bonded with Roman Cement, to waterproof it and prolong its life.

A wall was built across the east end of the country house's eastern spine corridor that created a room accessible only from Room 6. The remains of a wrought iron door surround and the late 19th-century use of concrete in the door sill and jambs indicates that the room was a silver vault, built for the storage of plate. In the 19th to early 20th century many of the internal walls in the house's basement were rendered using Roman Cement. Contemporary with this was extensive racking in many of the basement rooms. The western canted bay was also rebuilt in the basement and sinks added, and in the late 19th to early 20th century a lavatory was added in Room 15.

Therefore the late 19th to early 20th century saw the house well maintained, which can be seen from the use of Portland cement based mortar in rebonding much of the roof top masonry, such as the balustrades. When the photographs were taken of the interior of the house it was very comfortable. A hot air central heating system installed in c.1890 probably related to the use of the house as a school, when there was also provision of an extra water closet, new doorways, and the widening of other doorways. The skirting boards in the basement were all removed and replaced with plain render skirtings. Some of the floors were also concreted over.

An octagonal dairy, 5m across, was built on the north side of Building [B12] before 1864, when it appears on the Ordnance Survey map. It does not appear on the 1838 Tithe Map, but this cannot be relied on to prove it was not there. The dairy listed in the 1839 sale specification was within [B12], but it could have been in one of its original rooms. The fashion for the picturesque led to the popularity of 'rustic' buildings in the style of the *cottage omée* in the late 18th to early 19th century. Dairies could act as a licence to design in this style, and were fashionable as semi-ornamental features. If it post-dated 1839 it would have been late for this fashion, but not out of the possible range. A wall 1m to the north-west of the new dairy was probably contemporary terracing for it, separating it from the main drive area.

A 2m by 8m extension was added to the rear (south) elevation of [B13]; this had an arched culvert projecting from its west side. At the end of the building's life, at least, it was used as a lavatory block, as there were substantial drainage facilities and a quantity of sanitary ceramic ware in the demolition material. This block was then extended on its east side with the building of what was shown as a garden wall in the Ordnance Survey map of 1896. The north-western corner of [B12] was rebuilt during this phase, using Roman Cement to bond the brickwork of its foundations. Between 1896 and 1914 a swimming pool was inserted into the north-west end of the L-shaped pond and the rest of the pond backfilled. A small basemented structure was built adjacent to [B6], but seemingly not actually attached to it, which is almost certainly the square structure attached to the swimming pool area shown on the 1914 map, and connected to the pool's use.

The 1864 map shows a large rectangular area on the east side of [B13] enclosed by a new garden wall. This left physical evidence in the form of wall fragments, and the truncation of [B6]. The map also shows that what had been a very small extension of [B13] inside this area was enlarged, but it left no trace on the site.

Another outbuilding had been added to the east side of this garden wall by 1896, when it is shown on the Ordnance Survey map, but no trace of it survived the 1938 truncation. This map also shows the addition of a substantial new building outside the area of excavation, about 75m to the north of the country house, near the boundary with the churchyard. Several landscape features disappear between the 1864 and 1896 maps, although this

could reflect the cartography. The large areas of formal gardens to the south-west of the country house were changed to blank areas, presumably as a school had less use for them and they required maintenance, and several paths or tracks were no longer marked.

The 1914 Ordnance Survey map shows that the arrangements to the east of [B13] had been changed again. The garden wall had gone, and within the area that it had enclosed there was a new range, c.25m long, incorporating the outbuilding dating from 1864–96 and almost butting up against [B13], but none of this structure was found. The 1935 Ordnance Survey map is essentially unchanged from this, except that the grounds are now marked as ‘Playing Fields’.

Phase 9: post-1938

In 1938 the RAF demolished all the buildings on the site, levelled the ground off, and built new structures on it; this is believed to have been done rapidly. The demolition material, especially in and around the country house, supports this view, as it included items that might have been salvaged in other circumstances, such as marble and architectural fragments, and even included lead and iron that would normally have been reclaimed for scrap.

The levelling destroyed the country house, [B8], to about 1.20m above the basement floor. Because of the natural slope of the site from north to south, the levelling truncated the north side of the site more severely, generally to the London Clay, while the south side was cut down to earlier landscaping layers. Following the removal of the made ground, there was a slight depression in the 30–40m wide area in the centre of the site (between Buildings [B3] and [B6]), which also had less archaeology surviving in it than the areas to either side. It can be assumed that there were post-medieval, and possibly even medieval, remains there that were completely removed.

During the RAF occupation of the property, the east side of the excavated area saw a variety of buildings constructed, including an air raid shelter, and the western half of the site was covered by a massive hangar, originally used for barrage balloons. This was supported by four north–south rows of large stanchions, one of which was along the west edge of excavation. One row ran through the country house, and one through [B13], causing localised damage.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Medieval occupation and abandonment

Although the focus of medieval Stanmore was some distance from the site, around St Mary’s Church, ribbon development along the major roads could have resulted in the occupation area extending that far, or alternatively outlying farmsteads associated with the settlement could have been situated in the vicinity of the site. The Phase 1 activity is interpreted as taking place on the periphery of the village with properties developing in a low density manner along the main east–west road.

It would be expected that most of the buildings existing in Phase 1 would have been close to Colliers Lane, and so in an area that suffered truncation from both post-medieval and RAF construction. It is not surprising therefore that there was only a single Phase 1 building found, but the presence of the ditches, ponds, and other features, as well as a quantity of pottery, indicates denser occupation. However the truncation means that there is very little evidence about the size, nature, and status of the buildings of this period.

The dates, principally from the pottery and building materials, of the features in the north-east corner of the excavation cluster fairly clearly into two groups, the first of which is mainly in the 12th and 13th centuries but extends up to the early or mid-14th century, Phase 1, and the second from the late 15th century onwards, Phases 2–8. Where there was residual pottery within later contexts this clustering was still there, showing that there was very little, if any, pottery on the site between Phases 1 and 2. This means that this part of the site was almost certainly unoccupied for a period of about 150 years. This, with the formation of a soil over some Phase 1 features, means that there was a less intensive use, such as agriculture or horticulture. The implication is that Stanmore village and its outlying settlement contracted. This would be consistent with the known period of national population reduction and economic downturn starting around the middle of the 14th century, which is associated with outbreaks of the Black Death (Bolton 1980). A movement of people to elsewhere in the village is an alternative explanation.

Late medieval and post-medieval reoccupation

Near the very end of the medieval period or early in the post-medieval period occupation began to

expand once more (Table 1). The pattern appears to have been a ribbon development at a low density. Even though there had been changes of use, firstly to agriculture or horticulture and then back to occupation, there was strong continuity of the properties. In the case of boundary 'D' this is shown by the recutting of the ditch, on almost exactly the same alignment, during Phase 3. In the case of 'C' it is shown in Phase 3 by the position of one side of [B3], and another stretch of wall, which both run alongside the boundary, and in Phase 5 by the insertion of a culvert into the middle of the Phase 1 ditch fill.

The occupation density, or perhaps rather the property density, may have been lower than during the medieval period, as the third boundary, 'B', had gone out of use by Phase 3, when [B4] was built over the Phase 1 ditch fill. Building [B5] sat to the east of this ditch and within one of the original Phase 1 plots of land, but the layout of its drainage and outbuildings in Phases 3 and 5 makes it clear that its property included the whole of the Phase 1 plot to the west of 'B', and at least part of the plot to the east of it. Given that the main building on the new property was [B5], it is very likely that it included the whole of the original plot to the east, although the rest of it was outside the area of excavation.

Therefore, enough evidence survived to show that the basic structure in land holdings was intact between the medieval and post-medieval periods, even if there had been some consolidation of the properties. That said, the pattern of properties on the site during Phases 3–5 is not complete (Figs 8 and 11), as their survival is restricted to the two areas of the site that were least damaged by later truncation, firstly the north-east corner of the site, and secondly the area within and around the later buildings [B12] and [B13], which was protected to some extent by their very substantial footings. The presence of boundary walls in these areas only, on boundaries 'C', 'F', 'G', and possibly 'H', suggests that there were more across the site that did not survive. Any boundaries in the middle of the site, such as postulated boundary 'E' (Fig 8), would have been removed by the severe truncation there, and any in the footprint of the country house would also have been destroyed.

The record is more complete from the post-medieval period than Phase 1, as the building methods were more substantial, using brick or tile plinths even for the timber buildings; the buildings spread across the whole site from east to west in Phase 3,

and as the remains were later they were less truncated. Figs 8 and 11 show that there is sufficient evidence to point to a series of separate properties, most likely in a ribbon pattern, along the south side of Colliers Lane, and some changes in the positions of their boundaries.

In addition, a relatively low pressure on space is implied as at least some of the buildings were oriented sideways to Colliers Lane, as would be expected near the edge of a village. While the size of the properties cannot be established accurately, especially their extent southwards from Colliers Lane, they mostly appear to have been relatively substantial without being large enough to indicate high status. This impression is confirmed by the buildings themselves, as these are consistent with being the houses of middle status people, with the exception of [B8], and possibly [B3]. It also fits with Andrew Drummond purchasing Hodgkins from a London merchant, although his may well have been the best of the properties there.

How long it was between the demolition of [B2] and the building of the bow-ended extension to [B3] in its place is unresolved. [B2] and [B3] together would have formed a coherent unit with two ranges, and the repairs to [B2]'s south-west wall also hint at its longevity. Further circumstantial support for [B2] surviving well beyond Phase 2 is that the footprint of [B2] and the bow-ended extension are very similar in position, even if the latter is very much larger. This implies that the extension was a direct replacement for [B2].

If it is correct that [B3] and [B2] were standing concurrently as a single residence, this house would appear to be particularly comfortable and spacious. This could even have been the house of a member of the lower gentry. Before 1632 the church had been some distance to the south of the post-medieval centre of habitation of the village, but when it was moved to the present churchyard it would have made the site a far more prestigious and desirable location. Changes to the positions of one or more boundaries are likely to be a symptom of dislocation caused by a rise in status of the properties.

The Phase 3 boundary wall ('A' in Fig 8) dividing the road from the plots to the south curved slightly. The road ran north-east to south-west at the north-east corner of the limit of excavation, but east-north-east to west-south-west at the west limit of excavation. This dictated the alignments of the structures on the site, which fall into these two clear groups. In the centre of the site (around Buildings [B6] and [B9]) there was an area where the two

orientations overlapped, during different phases. However, as the higher prestige house, [B8], was on the east-north-east to west-south-west orientation this one began to dominate, as seen during Phase 5.

The 1838 Tithe Map informs us of a medium-sized building that did not survive at all, in the heavily truncated centre of the site (Figs 11 and 23). Little can be deduced about it, but as it was on a north-west to south-east alignment, it is a good candidate for a house that pre-dated the imposition of the orientation of [B8] over this area of the site, and therefore probably dates to Phase 5 or earlier. It would have been within the same property as Buildings [B6] and [B10].

The construction of [B8] was a major change and meant that there was now a different type of building, and therefore very likely a different type of occupant, on the site. However at that time the properties had not yet been consolidated into a single holding. Two new buildings, [B10] and [B11], were built in phases that were later than the villa, even if the chronological imprecision means that there is some overlap of the phase dates in both cases. Both [B10] and [B11] were probably ancillary structures associated with earlier buildings, rather than being new houses, but they nevertheless show that these buildings were occupied separately, and were being actively improved.

The Drummonds' country house

The 1760s country house was commissioned at a time of transition in architectural fashion, even if Vardy was essentially a Palladian architect of the Burlington school (Pearce 2001). The style in which he designed the house, although conservative for its time, was not as traditional as his design for the exterior of Spencer House, which he built in the 1750s, referred to by Pearce (*ibid*) as his most important private commission. Stanmore Park shows an awareness of then current architectural trends. Country house design had to some extent broken free from the strictures of Palladianism as practised by Lord Burlington's circle in the 1720s and, although Palladianism continued to dominate English architecture until at least the 1770s, other styles had become acceptable and new fashions had modified the Palladian repertoire.

Thus, Walpole (the 'first Prime Minister') and Sanderson Miller had employed a non-archaeological⁷ form of the gothic style at the end of the 1740s and during the 1750s. Robert Adam and his immediate predecessors and contemporaries,

such as James Paine, James Stuart, and Robert Taylor had expanded the range of classical motifs and forms that were acceptable. Robert Adam revolutionised interior design during the 1760s and 1770s. His plasterwork decoration was flatter than earlier, more realistic, work and the available forms of decoration expanded. He also helped to establish stucco as a practical render for external elevations. The Picturesque movement, which arose at about this time and was led by garden design, encouraged a more eclectic, informal, and naturalistic approach to country house design. Houses became increasingly integrated with their more naturalistic gardens. The semi-sunken basement with its windows partially visible above the surrounding ground level was no longer obligatory. Asymmetry had crept in to house design and comfort became more important. The 'Neo-Classical' movement introduced architectural forms and motifs collected archaeologically from the wider ancient classical world, rather than the more limited palette identified by the codifiers of the Renaissance, such as Palladio.

The increasing informality of country house living meant that the villa had displaced the great house as the most fashionable form of country house for the landed élite in the 1750s and early 1760s (Worsley 1995, 228). Another fashion of the 1750s, which fitted the informality and sociability of villas of the period, was the introduction of an internal plan consisting of a circuit of rooms set around a central top lit staircase. This first appeared in an urban setting in Norfolk House, London, and soon became very fashionable in country houses (Girouard 1978, 196–8), such as Stiff Leadbetter's Langley Park, of 1755, where all sides of the building became of equal status, effectively creating four fronts (Worsley 1995, 236). Robert Taylor, who built villas for many City clients in the counties around London (Rowan 1996, 85–7), took the circuit of rooms a step further and at Harleyford House, Buckinghamshire, in 1755, gave each elevation separate architectural treatment, creating an asymmetric plan, with unusually shaped rooms. Taylor also used canted bays and bows extensively in his work (Worsley 1995, 236). Taylor's Danson Hill, Bexley, and Asgill House, Richmond, both *c.*1760, had asymmetric canted bays that did not extend up to the full height of the building. Worsley states that Taylor's villas epitomised the 'concept of movement', which is a sense of advance and recession and a variation in height, partly through his use of canted bays. This concept was only articulated by the Adam brothers in the 1760s (Worsley 1995, 256). Vardy's Spencer House also shows some 'movement' on its elevation onto Green Park.

Vardy's house showed some concessions to the fashion for villas. The house was not large and its south elevation, towards the garden, resembled that of a villa with its five central bays breaking forward and emphasised by an attic storey, with two recessed bays either side, rather than the central pediment which would have been more usual beforehand. The north elevation, towards the front, was less villa like, with projecting flanking bays. The elongated plan was also more the shape of a country house than a villa. The internal plan of Stanmore took the development of plans with a circuit of rooms on board, and was built with a circuit around a central staircase (Fig 4), although the exterior remained traditionally axial, with the main elevations facing front and back.

The canted bays at Stanmore may not have been original to Vardy's work. Even if they were, the house's external symmetry and the symmetrical use of canted bays meant that their effect would not have been as fashionable as it was in other houses. Vardy's house to some extent showed a sense of 'movement'; the projecting pedimented flanking bays on the front of the house step forward and up from the recessed central five bays. The central portico also displays 'movement'. At the rear of the building the flanking bays are recessed and lower than the central bays. The canted bays, original or not, contributed to this sense of 'movement'. Overall, although Vardy's designs for Stanmore accepted contemporary trends to some extent they did not do so wholeheartedly. The house as it was commissioned was therefore moderately fashionable, but cautiously designed.

The interior plasterwork shows a very Adamesque flatness and may not be original to Vardy's design. The historic photographs show the Ionic orders on the front and rear porticos to be Greek in style. These probably represent later remodelling by George Drummond, although Vardy was probably aware of the newly discovered Greek motifs; he had worked with James 'Athenian' Stuart at Spencer House. Stuart was one of the chief exponents of a more archaeological and eclectic approach to classical architecture and can be seen as one of the initiators of what became the Greek Revival of the late 18th century. Stuart was responsible for some of the Spencer House interiors while Vardy had designed others, Stuart eventually taking over all of the interior work and supplanting Vardy on the project (Pearce 2001).

Successful businessmen often bought large country estates in an attempt to establish themselves and their heirs as part of the landed ruling élite, thus giving a degree of permanence to their wealth and

power. Owning a country house at the centre of a working estate provided local influence and a power base. Agriculture was also seen at the time as a secure source of income. The Drummonds' purchase of Stanmore and the building activity in the 1760s can be seen as an attempt to buy into the established landed élite, a social circle with whom they dealt on a regular basis through the Drummond bank. This may explain the conservative nature of the initial design and the relentless acquisition of farmland by the Drummonds and their trustees. The average annual income of a peer in the late 18th century was about £10,000, which mostly derived from land. The more important landed aristocrats had incomes of £40,000 to £50,000 (Wilson & Mackley 2000, 18). In 1807 George Harley Drummond's total income from land (including all of the estates in other parts of the country) was £5,784, with the Stanmore estate providing only £1,200, according to Drummond's agent. Their non-landed income was £2,275 (RBS: DR/321, 84-7). This demonstrates that the family was only moderately successful in its attempt to buy into the landed élite. The Stanmore estate was small compared with many country estates and they failed to achieve the traditional power base of the large country house with many surrounding dependent tenants.

In its social context, the moderately conservative style of the original house can be seen as an attempt to replicate other landed estates and adopt the image of established landowners, rather than copying other rich city businessmen by building a flamboyant villa. In employing Vardy who had built famous buildings and who was known for his adherence to the Palladian norms, the Drummonds were employing a 'safe' architect who would design a building that was acceptable to the élite and could function as the centre of a large estate. The house was therefore designed by Vardy with an awareness of contemporary architectural developments in a basically traditional manner and shows that he was more in tune with current architectural developments than he is generally given credit for. Worsley (1995, 290) cites William Chambers as participating in a movement towards simpler decoration in the 1770s and gives his work at Gower House, London, and Milton Park, Northamptonshire, in 1770 as examples of this. The fact that he was also working that year at Stanmore may have added to the austerity of the house's exterior.

The work probably undertaken by George Drummond between 1774 and 1789 brought the house up to date for its time. If there was a semi-sunken basement originally, it was fully

sunken after the garden was landscaped in the naturalistic style portrayed in the early 19th-century prints. He may also have been responsible for the Greek Ionic columns of the porticos, the interior Adamesque plasterwork, the stucco, and probably the canted bays. The construction of the service complex, the service access from the horse-drawn water pump, and the other outbuildings in Phase 7 would have created a much more luxurious house with room for better facilities within the house. It would also have isolated the family further from their servants, as much of the service-related activity was removed from the house and many of the servants who had earlier slept in the house would now have lived in the outbuildings. This extra accommodation would also have allowed for an increase in the number of staff servicing the house.

It seems that most of the building activity of Phase 7 was completed before the Drummonds leased the house to Lady Aylesford in 1815. However, the improvement of the estate continued both before and after the transfer of the estate to Lord Abercorn in 1839, albeit on a greatly reduced scale. The three early to mid-19th-century fireplaces and cooking ranges in the house are evidence of the need to update the house's facilities regularly. The fixtures, fittings, and materials used were always fashionable for their time. Thus the house had an indoor bathroom and several water closets by the 1830s. The need for a silver vault reflected the opulence of the owners' lifestyle.

SPECIALIST REPORTS

The pottery

F M Meddens^b

Introduction

The pottery assemblage discussed below consists of a total of 3,021 potsherds with a weight of 84,004gr and an estimated vessel equivalent of 59.46 based on rim Eves. The pottery derives from 67 contexts.

The material

The medieval component comprises 1,870 sherds (61.9%), weighing 46,907gr (55.8%). The post-medieval assemblage constitutes 1,151 sherds (38.1%), weighing 37,081gr (44.2%).

An early medieval group is present, dating between the 11th and 13th centuries, with a likely

deposition time during the 12th century. A small amount of possible redeposited or residual material dates to the 13th–14th centuries. A likely late medieval group dating to the 15th–16th centuries could be identified and further post-medieval assemblages dating to the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries were also present. It is perhaps of interest to note that the ceramic assemblage did not include any element that could be ascribed to the known RAF presence here.

With the early medieval material South Hertfordshire greywares (SHER) predominate — with 242 sherds, weighing 3,500gr, they constitute 75.4% of the total number of this group and 75.9% of the weight. The total number of sherds pertaining to the early medieval period is 321 with a weight of 4,609gr. Common fabrics include post-medieval Red Wares, Staffordshire wares, Tin Glazed Wares, Cream Wares, Transfer Printed Wares, Refined White Wares, and Stone Wares (both English and imported German ones).

A small number of the South Hertfordshire/Limpsfield greywares (SHER) dating to 1140–1300 merit further description. These comprise a jar (formerly cooking pot CPOT) rim from context [402] with a sharply everted rim. This vessel is comparatively large with a diameter of *c.*30cm. A second jar from the same context has an everted and clubbed rim and a similarly large diameter of *c.*31cm. There is a fragment of a jar from context [422] with a sharply everted rim (Fig 25.1) and a more common diameter of *c.*20cm (Havercroft *et al* 1987, 50, fig 9), as well as a sharply everted rim fragment from a bowl from the same context, and a piece of a large bowl with an everted rim with a diameter of *c.*28cm, and carinated body (Fig 25.2). The latter vessel has been in contact with fire and may have been used in cooking as demonstrated by the presence of external sooting.

A rim and handle fragment from a late medieval Hertfordshire greyware (LMHG) jug (Fig 25.3) from context [409] dating to 1340–1450 is present. The diameter could not be measured but the handle was vertically placed and shows evidence of stabbing to ensure even firing. The presence of significant quantities of Hertfordshire greywares is no surprise as the site is in close proximity to two known kiln sites at Elstree Hill South and Barnet Lane Elstree (Turner-Rugg 1988, 18–19).

A handle fragment of an Oxfordshire Brill medieval ware jug dating to 1200–1550 (Fig 25.4), from context [439], was found. It comprises a vertical strap handle with thumb impressions running along the external crest of the handle.

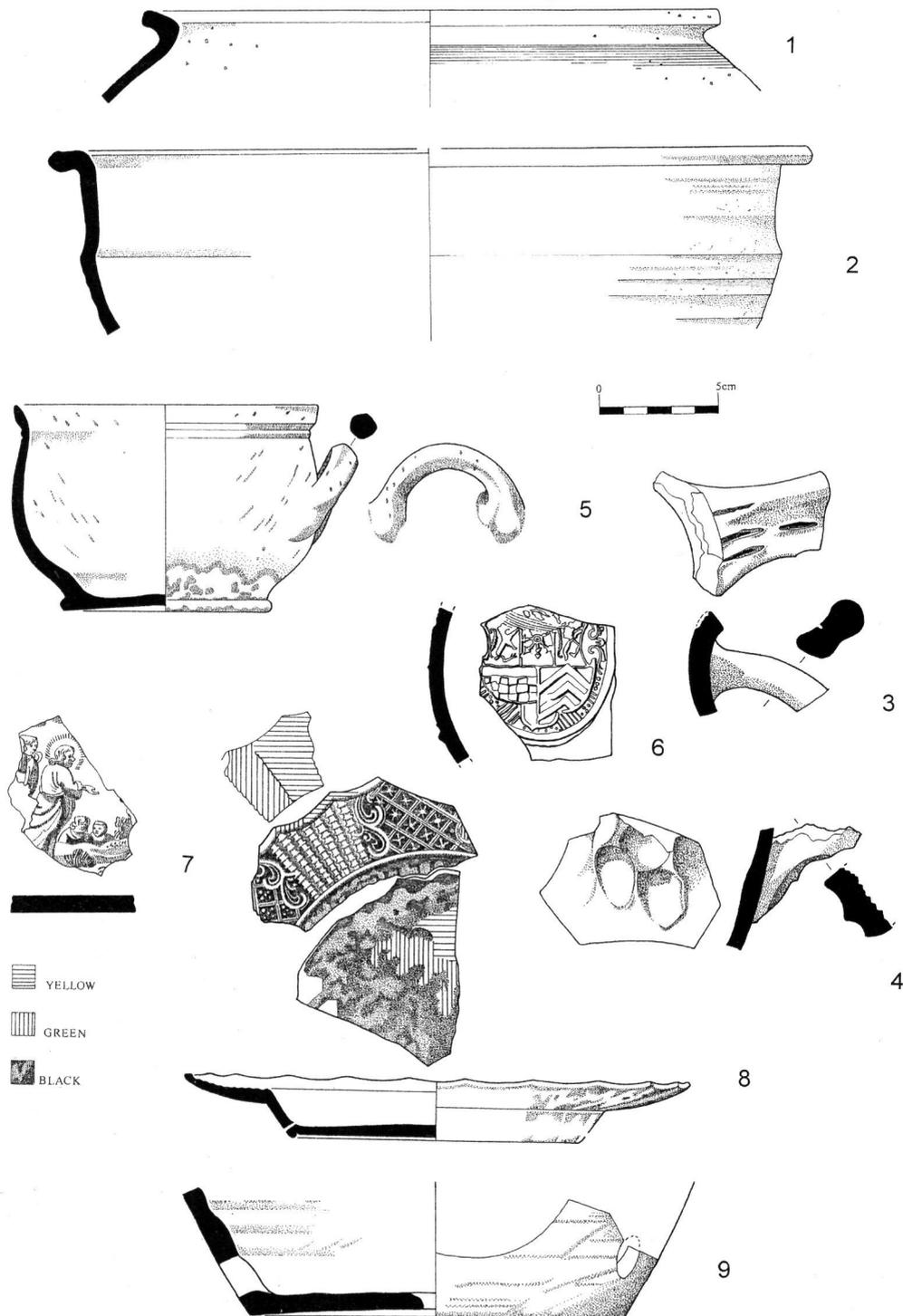


Fig 25. Some of the pottery found in the excavation

Context [409] produced a piece of Red Brown-glazed Red Border ware (RBORB) dating to 1580–1800 (Fig 25.5). This represented the rim, base, and handle of a small porringer, with a slightly everted exterior thickened rim. The vessel diameter is 12cm and the handle comprises a small horizontally-placed loop-shaped rod, the base is slightly concave.

Context [208] included a body sherd from a Frechen (FREC) bellarmine dating to 1600–1700 with an armorial design (Fig 25.6).

A rim to base sherd from a Donyatt ware dish (DONY) dating to 1700–1800 came from context [251]. The rim was everted with exterior thickening, the base flat. The interior slip-trailed design comprised slip-trailed filled circles around the interior edge of the rim with a fine-line linear design as a central design. The diameter of the dish was 35cm. Another slipware comprised the flat base of a Metropolitan slipware plate dating 1630–1700 from context [261] with an interior central curvilinear design.

Context [349] produced a fragment of a Tin Glazed ware tile dating to 1660–1800 with a blue on white design representing a biblical scene (Fig 25.7). A central figure with a halo appears to be addressing two figures in the distance with a further figure, possibly an angel, behind him. Unfortunately not enough survives of the design to be certain about the precise biblical theme represented.

Context [476] produced some fragments of Whieldon-type ware or Tortoiseshell glaze (CREA TORT) plate dating to 1740–1770 (Fig 25.8). The pieces represent the rim to the flat base, with the rim diameter being *c.*20cm, the rim is everted and the edge scalloped. The interior of the rim has a moulded ‘diamond, dot and basket’ pattern as frequently seen on Staffordshire white salt glazed ware pieces.

Context [409] produced the rim to base of a small Staffordshire mottled brown glazed ware (STMO) porringer dating to 1700–1800. The diameter was *c.*12cm, the rim everted with exterior thickening, the base flat, and a small horizontal rod handle attached to the body.

From context [476] a base from a post-medieval redware plant pot (PMR) dating to 1730–1780 was recovered. The base is flat and has central and side drainage holes (Fig 25.9).

It should be noted that, despite the clear evidence for the wealth of the inhabitants of the site from the 18th century onwards, the ceramic assemblage has very little to demonstrate this affluence, neither in the variety nor quality nor range of origins of the wares represented.

18th- and 19th-century fireplaces and heating appliances

Ken Sabel¹

Introduction

During the excavation a number of fireplaces and other heating appliances were recorded in the basement rooms of the country house. These are of interest, and described here.

The fireplaces and heating appliances

Room 14 had a corner fireplace with the remains of a Bath stove grate, embossed with a neo-classical urn motif, typical of the decoration on grates produced by the Carron company in Falkirk, from 1759 onwards (Eveleigh 1983, 4).

Room 6, the possible Butler’s pantry, contained a fireplace with an iron register grate that was set forward in the chimney opening with the fire relatively close to the floor. It had a heat resistant fireclay brick back and dated to *c.*1810–1820. This fireplace was of an efficient design that took on board the advances made in fireplace design introduced by Count Rumford in America in 1797 (Eveleigh 1983, 6–7).

In the 1840s a cooking range was inserted into the fireplace of Room 3. The range had a back boiler, oven, and stove with adjustable cheeks. It was manufactured at a foundry in Tottenham Court Road. Its design relied heavily on that patented by Thomas Robinson in 1780 (Sambrook & Brears, 1997, 105–6, 110). Another simpler hob grate was inserted into the corner fireplace of Room 13. This had ‘cc’ written on one of the hobs indicating that it was manufactured at the Carron foundry. The fire was set relatively high off the floor. It had a cast iron back plate. At the back of the flue the fireclay tile was stamped with ‘HARRIS & PEARSON, STOURBRIDGE’. The fireplace in Room 2 was late Victorian with red glazed tile cheeks, used purely for heating the room. It had a florally decorated adjustable iron canopy.

Within the fireplace in the central hall in the basement (Room 8) was a *c.*1890 heating system. It consisted of a fire that heated a cylindrical iron tube, which was laid on its side. This was a hollow jacket that contained water. The hot water heated the air in the space within the jacket that passed up the building via a flue within the wall. It is not certain but likely that the hot water was used for

other purposes. There were three inspection windows with cast iron frames to monitor its workings and a cast iron door allowed the fire to be maintained.

Environmental archaeology

N P Branch and A Vaughan-Williams¹⁰

Discussion

The plant remains recovered from RAF Stanmore, from contexts in Phases 1–3, represent two broad plant communities: (1) *Rubus idaeus/saxatilis*, *Sedum* sp., and *Stachys arvensis* indicate a marginal environment with open woodland, shrubland, and hedgerows growing in close proximity to the ditches and ponds; (2) *Carex* species and *Ranunculus sceleratus* represent a damp, possibly marshy, environment. This interpretation is supported by archaeological evidence for a stream running along the western edge of the site and entering Stanmore Marsh to the south-east. The naturally high water table would undoubtedly have led to saturation of the soil and episodic fluvial inundation of the site necessitating the construction of drainage ditches and gullies. These features, and the stream edge, would have created ideal conditions for the colonisation of plant communities adapted to disturbed and damp ground environments. The presence of water flea eggs in three samples confirms the presence of open freshwater habitats in the local area.

The site at RAF Stanmore was clearly a damp place to live during the medieval and earlier post-medieval periods, and was situated within a relatively open landscape, with scattered trees, shrubs, and possibly hedgerows. There is no evidence for any major changes in vegetation composition and structure between these different phases of occupation. The identification of a few barley grains in samples 4 (Phase 1), 14 (Phase 2), 17 (Phase 2), and 11 (Phase 3) provides only circumstantial evidence for localised cultivation.

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NOTES

¹ There are two other, less likely, possibilities. The first is that both features were entrances at different times. If so, as the west entrance is the more traditional position and the east arguably makes better use of the space, the implication is that the former was original and the latter was the replacement. In addition, the original entrance would be more likely to face the road than away from it. The second is that the entrance was always to the east and originally led into a screens passage which was later removed to make way for the chimney. The high end of the hall would therefore have been to the south-west.

² There are also less likely possibilities. The first is that it had the same six room plan but with the front elevation on the north side, facing Colliers Lane, so that the central corridor ran from front to back. The second is that it had four rooms on each floor, faced north and had a central front to back corridor. The front rooms would have been smaller than the rear rooms, so the house would be symmetrical in one axis only. It would have been five bays wide by three or four irregular bays deep. While this would represent a smaller house, it would still have been substantial, when its likely height is considered.

³ While these records date from later than Phase 6, there is no archaeological or architectural reason to suppose it ever extended down to the basement.

⁴ Photographs of the interior of the building show the entrance hall as being panelled. The walls in this room were topped by a Doric entablature. Its frieze was decorated with triglyphs (each with six guttae beneath) separated by medallions, similar decoration to that used by Vardy on the external west elevation of Spencer House in the 1750s (Pearce 2001). The cornice was also highly decorated in such a way as to emphasise the frieze decoration (NMR: BB75/3679). The saloon had a curved chimney on each of its northern corners. The entablatures above the doors and at the top of the walls in this room both had friezes decorated with a guilloche pattern (a pattern of interlocking circles encompassed by two 'ropes') with a rosette within each circle. The cornices were dentilled (NMR: BB75/3683). The saloon fireplaces had vertically elongated friezes with a central medallion on a projecting panel. The entablature broke forward over pilasters arranged either side of the opening. The fireplaces themselves were arched. The decoration shown on the historic photographs appears generally to have been applied in relatively high relief on the doorway in the saloon but in

low relief in the entrance hall, saloon plasterwork, and on the fireplaces. The high relief decoration shows a more traditional Palladian influence, while the less prominent decoration is more Adamesque.

⁵ The photographs and prints indicate that there was a hipped east–west roof running over the front range of rooms and two similarly orientated hipped roofs over the flanking additions at the rear of the building. The higher attic storey had its own east–west hipped roof. Certainly by the time the photographs were taken the front and rear flanking roofs, which rose to the same height, were joined on at least their west side by a north–south roof with a central west facing dormer (NMR: BB75/3674). The higher attic storey at the rear of the building extended at least as far forward as the secondary staircase. This would have created a series of rooms in the attic that did not have sloping ceilings, making them more suitable for use by the family.

⁶ The facing-brick type was 3032 in the Greater London archaeological system of building material classification.

⁷ The later Greek and Gothic revivals were characterised by an archaeologically studied approach, whereby architects recorded ancient remains, and incorporated the results into their own work. In precision and detail their recording was pioneering, and largely unmatched by contemporary antiquarians.

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THE HAWTREYS, ROGERS AND DEANES OF EASTCOTE HOUSE, RUISLIP: MIDDLESEX COUNTRY GENTRY WITH LONDON CONNECTIONS

Eileen M Bowlt

SUMMARY

This paper is based upon information largely derived from the Hawtreys Papers at the London Metropolitan Archives and explains the long association of the Hawtreys family with Eastcote House in the parish of Ruislip, Middlesex, between 1527 and 1935. It looks at the London connections of the Ruislip branch of the Hawtreys and their descendants the Rogers and Deanes, through Livery companies, the Law and property ownership, concentrating particularly upon the 17th and 18th centuries. They were a rather inconspicuous country family, unusual in coming into Middlesex before forming a London interest and in residing at Eastcote House from 1527 until 1878 and owning it until 1935, while similar gentry houses in north-west Middlesex changed hands after three or four generations.

INTRODUCTION

Several gentry houses in north-west Middlesex were occupied from the 16th to the late 19th century by gentlemen of varying degrees, whose wealth and influence derived not only from those properties, but from connections with the City of London, the Inns of Court, and occasionally with the Royal Court and central government.

Many people moved to London from distant parts of the country from medieval times onwards and, once established in the City or at the Inns

of Court, sought a country estate within reach of their interests. Those that were situated in rural Middlesex were often held by one family for a relatively short time, three or four generations.

This paper examines the case of the Hawtreys and their descendants, the Rogers and Deanes. The Hawtreys were unusual in coming into Middlesex before forming a London connection and in retaining ownership of Eastcote House in the parish of Ruislip for more than 400 years. The descent was carried twice through the female line (see family tree), but the Hawtreys name had such resonance for the family that it was included in the names of the later Deanes. Ralph Hawtreys Deane (1884–1966), who sold Eastcote House in 1930, was the great-great-great-great-grandson of Charles Hawtreys who died in 1698 the last of the direct line.

The Hawtreys remained esquires throughout the period. Very few were in Parliament. Only one of the Ruislip branch of the family entered the Church. Although members of Livery Companies in the 17th century, they did not get into the higher echelons of City government, unlike their contemporaries and neighbours at Swakeleys and Pinner Hill.

Perhaps because of their long tenure the Hawtreys and their descendants kept a vast number of family papers, dating from the 16th century, covering aspects of estate management, social life, and correspondence. These were

lodged in the Middlesex Record Office and were designated 'The Hawtrey Papers', Accession 249. They passed to the London Metropolitan Archives. When Florence Hawtrey published *The History of the Hawtrey Family* in 1903, she quoted letters *etc* that are now in the LMA, but were then 'lying in a chest at Eastcote'. They provide tantalising glimpses into the lives of this quiet gentry family.

THE NORTH-WEST MIDDLESEX BACKGROUND

Major estates in parishes neighbouring Ruislip were owned by City men in the 14th century. Nicholas Brembre, Mayor of London, who was attainted and executed in 1388, had Northolt, Down Barns, Uxendon, and Roxeth. John Charlton, a London merchant, was in possession of the manors of Ickenham, Swakeleys, Hillingdon, and Southall. Change of ownership was frequent except in the case of Ickenham Manor, which was conveyed to Nicholas Shorediche as a marriage portion when he married Juetta Charlton *c.*1385. After a polished beginning in the royal service and having produced a sheriff of London in the 14th/early 15th century, the Shorediches declined into quiet country gentlemen making no ripples in the outside world. They finally relinquished ownership of the Ickenham estate as a result of gambling debts and litigation, in 1819.

Several north-west Middlesex manors were in ecclesiastical hands until the great upheaval in land ownership caused by the dissolution of religious houses under Henry VIII. The lands of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Harrow and Hayes, the property of the Chapter of St Paul's at West Drayton, and the Stanmores owned by the Augustinian canons of St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, passed to lay people. Apart from West Drayton, where the Pagets remained until 1869, the former Church property changed hands frequently.

The 17th century saw a movement of newly-rich City gentlemen into Middlesex with a tendency to completely rebuild old houses. The present Swakeleys at Ickenham was completed in 1638 by Sir Edmund Wright, grocer and, later, Lord Mayor of London, who had purchased the medieval and moated Swakeleys some nine years earlier. Robert Clayton and Robert Vyner, goldsmith, both City men and future Lord Mayors of London lived there in turn in 1665. Robert Vyner had purchased Swakeleys before

Pepys visited him there in September of that year. Sir Robert Vyner died in 1688, leaving Swakeleys to his nephew, Thomas. The latter's son, Robert, inherited in 1707 and sold it to the guardians of Benjamin Lethieullier.¹

About the same time as Edmund Wright was acquiring Swakeleys, another City merchant, Christopher Clitherow, purchased land called Spinnells on Pinner Hill and most likely built the first Pinner Hill House.² The earliest part of the present Pinner Hill House dates from the late 18th century. Sir Christopher Clitherow (1570–1642), an ironmonger, was Lord Mayor and was knighted in 1635 and held other City offices. His son, Christopher, also a merchant, and his son, Christopher, a lawyer, inherited Pinner Hill. After the death of the third Christopher in 1685, the property went to his widow and she and her second husband sold it a few years later.

Harefield Park, now famous as Harefield Hospital, was built by Sir George Cooke (1675–1740), prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, replacing an old house called Rythes. Cooke's son, who held the same legal position as his father, succeeded him in Harefield and had property in Hare Court, Inner Temple, and a house in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The next two generations were soldiers and in 1837 Harefield Park descended to the Vernons who retained ownership until 1908.

Also in Harefield, the Ashbys of Breakspears were akin to the Hawtreys in the length of time they remained in the parish, but they held a more exalted position in society. George Ashby, the first of the family to live in Harefield, was Clerk of the Signet to Margaret of Anjou and his great grandson was Elizabeth I's Clerk of the Spicery. Thereafter the court connection ceased, but Robert Ashby who died in 1618 was knighted and his son, Francis, was created a baronet in 1623. The male line died out in 1769 with the death of Robert Ashby. His daughter married a London apothecary, John Joseph Partridge, and had a son, who himself died childless in 1857 and the estate passed to relatives of his wife.

The use of the county of Middlesex as a playground for those seeking relief from town life was perhaps even more marked in the southern part of the county near to the River Thames, where villas proliferated from Chelsea to Hampton, particularly in the 18th century. As Horace Walpole put it in 1747, having purchased

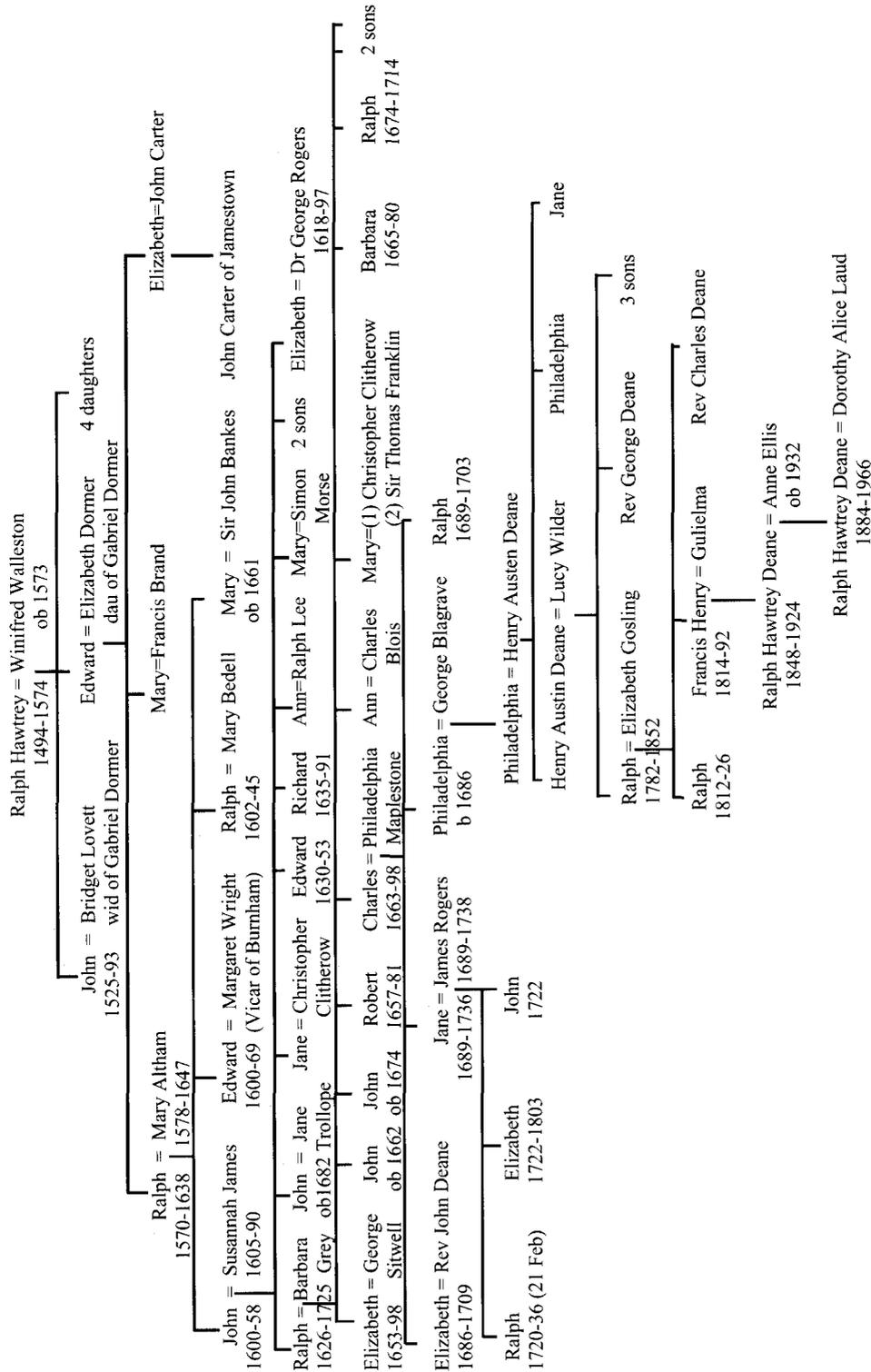


Fig 1. Hawtreys family tree showing descent to Rogers and Deanes

Strawberry Hill, it was 'only two hours by coach from London yet completely rural in its aspect'.

When even more country houses were embellished or newly built in the 18th century, it is noticeable that there were far more gentry houses in places like Twickenham with river as well as road connections, or Stanmore situated close to a major road out of London, than Ruislip or Harefield that were more difficult of access. The ideal of a country house in reasonable proximity to the delights or work opportunities of 'town' has continued into the 21st century and has led to the disappearance of the county under bricks and mortar.

An exception to the general trend of short-term settlement was the case of the Hawtrey family of Eastcote House in the parish of Ruislip whose members made it their home from the early 16th to the late 19th century and retained ownership of the property until the 20th century.

THE HAWTREY FAMILY

Their estate in Ruislip

The Hawtrey family was settled at Chequers, Buckinghamshire (now the Prime Minister's country house) by the late 13th century.³ Ralph, fourth son of Thomas Hawtrey, graduated as a Bachelor in Civil Law at Oxford in 1521 (Fig 2).⁴ Five or six years later he became a property owner in the manor of Ruislip through his marriage with Winifred Walleston. The Wallestons had property in Ruislip in the 15th century⁵ and they had leased the Rectory of Ruislip from the Dean and Canons of Windsor from 1476.⁶

A house called Hopkyttes situated close to the River Pinn in Eastcote, a hamlet of Ruislip, seems to have been Winifred's dowry. John Walleston Esq had received the cottage from Edmund Amery in 1507⁷ and he, or possibly a relative with the same name, surrendered it to the use of Ralph Hawtrey and 'Wenifred his wife' in 1527.⁸ In default of heirs of the marriage the house with 4 acres around it and 13 lands in the common fields were to go to her right heirs. It became the main family residence.

Ralph (1494–1574) and Winifred (ob 1573) founded the Ruislip branch of the Hawtrey family. Their descendants retained Hopkyttes, later known as Eastcote House, until 1930, when Ralph Hawtrey Deane sold it and the surrounding park to the Wembley (Comben and Wakeling) Land Company for building development.⁹

During the intervening 400 years the family



Fig 2. Ralph Hawtrey (1494–1574) and his wife, Winifred (*née* Walleston), shown on a monumental brass at St Martin's church, Ruislip

created an estate of about 2000 acres in three ways: by leasing the Rectory of Ruislip from the Dean and Canons of Windsor from 1532–1867; by leasing the demesne of the Manor of Ruislip from King's College, Cambridge, from 1667–1872; and by acquiring land and farms, mainly on the Eastcote side of Ruislip. In the absence of a resident Lord of the Manor the Hawtreys became the most influential gentry in the parish and the local squires.

The descent¹⁰

When Ralph Hawtrey died in 1574, aged 79, his estate passed to his son, John Hawtrey.¹¹ He died in 1593 without legitimate issue and was succeeded by his nephew, Ralph Hawtrey (1570–1638). That Ralph's son, John (1600–58), died in 1658, to be followed by his son, another Ralph Hawtrey (1626–1725). Dying at the age of 99, this latter Ralph had outlived seven sons and a grandson.

His granddaughter, Jane Hawtrey, married James Rogers as his second wife in 1719 and their daughter, Elizabeth, was their sole heiress.



Fig 3. The building on the edge of St Martin's churchyard, Ruislip, that Ralph Hawtrey (1570–1638) converted into ten dwellings for the poor

When she died in 1803 she left all her estates to her cousins, Philadelphia and Jane Deane, during their lifetimes, with remainder to their nephew, Ralph Deane. He was in full possession by 1810. Ralph Deane lived at Eastcote until his death in 1852. The succession passed to his son Francis Henry Deane, then in turn to Francis's son and grandson, both named Ralph Hawtrey Deane.

Country gentry

So far as their lifestyle and activities in Ruislip were concerned the Hawtreys were typical of their class. The male members of the family were educated at Eton, Harrow, and various Oxford and Cambridge colleges and several entered the Inns of Court. As Justices, the male members of the family were able to supervise law and order in the area, supervise the election of parish officials, and view parish accounts. Ralph Hawtrey (1570–1638) organised and paid for the conversion of a private dwelling house on the edge of St Martin's churchyard into ten small

houses for the poor in 1616 (Fig 3).¹² They still stand, now five dwellings, let by a housing association. The same Ralph was Deputy Lord Lieutenant for the County of Middlesex. John Hawtrey (1600–58) headed the list of 15 men who signed 'an agreement mead between nayebours for the renewing and maintaining of ouer orders of ouer fields of Ruislip' in 1651.¹³ Ralph Hawtrey (1626–1725) served as MP for the County of Middlesex in 1688–9. Their role as local leaders continued until the last years of Victoria's reign. Francis Deane (1814–92), the last of the line to live locally, served as Chairman of the Uxbridge Bench.

CITY CONNECTIONS

The connections of the Hawtreys with the City of London, as property owners, members of Livery Companies, and so far as the women were concerned as wives of merchants, were strongest in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Ralph Hawtrey (1570–1638) and his children – John, Edward, Ralph and Mary

Ralph Hawtrey (1570–1638), grandson of the first Ralph, entered Gray's Inn in 1600 (Fig 4). He owned a house in Red Cross Street¹⁴ (now under the Barbican) in the City of London in 1621 and one in Whyte Rose Street a few years later. In 1633 he acquired leases on property in the parish of St Katherine by the Tower and in Blue Anchor Alley, Bermondsey Street. The Anchor, described as 'three tenements and a yard on the back of Bermondsey Street'¹⁵ belonged to Magdalen College, Oxford and had been leased to Abraham Pooke, citizen and haberdasher, for 40 years in 1624. He had assigned it to John Jackson, who had since died. His widow, Jane Jackson, had remarried and the leases had become the property of her new husband, Richard Crane. In March 1634 the lease was assigned to Ralph Hawtrey for £500.¹⁶ When Dame Jane Crane died c.1647 she



Fig 4. *The monument of Ralph and Mary Hawtrey in the chancel of St Martin's, Ruislip*

appointed Ralph's son, John (1600–58), as executor of her will.¹⁷

It is not possible to tell how long the Red Cross Street and Whyte Rose Street houses remained in Hawtrey hands. The Assessments and Taxes lists that have survived go back only to the 1660s and no Hawtrey appears in those of the Red Cross Street/Whitecross Street precincts.¹⁸ However, the assessments were sometimes paid by the landlord and sometimes by the inhabitants and, as only the names of those paying were listed, the Hawtreys may have continued in possession.

Ralph Hawtrey bound his third son, Ralph (1602–45), apprentice to William Field of St Paul's Churchyard, a merchant taylor, in 1618 for eight years.¹⁹ The Master died and 'William Desson and Rafe Hawtrey late apprentices to William Field deceased' were assigned to Henry Clarke in April 1622.²⁰ The following February Ralph went to a new master, Osias Churchman of Watling Street, 'by assent of all parties according to the City of London'.²¹ He was made free of the Merchant Taylors' Company in January 1627²² and shortly afterwards married Mary Bedell, daughter of Matthew Bedell, also a merchant taylor.²³ They settled at Purley in Sanderstead, Surrey, and started a new branch of the Hawtrey family.

It is clear from a number of letters and bonds surviving among the Hawtrey papers that Ralph (1602–45) established his own shop in the City and did business with his old master Osias Churchman. Trade was bad in 1630 and young Ralph had to pay the rent of his father's house in Whyte Rose Street, which the owner had demanded, as he tells his father, because 'people are so fully possessed with fear that all our trading for cloth is gone'.²⁴ In the same letter, dated 27 May 1630, he complains that he does not expect to take more than £20 that week.

Ralph's cousin, John Carter, had settled in Virginia and had established a business in Jamestown. In 1622 he was in England and in need of financial assistance. He had apparently been receiving money from his wife in Jamestown, who was expecting him back, but he had managed to spend it all and had nothing left to pay for his passage. He wrote to his uncle, Ralph Hawtrey of Ruislip, asking for a loan, explaining that his wife was well and their business profiting well, 'but no supply comes over'.²⁵ His cousin John Hawtrey lent the money, and repayment of the £6 was promised by way of a consignment

of a hundredweight of the best Virginia tobacco.²⁶ The passage money was handed over to Mr Thomas Littleton, Master of 'The Faith', by Osias Churchman. Could it be that John Carter was known to be profligate with money?

John Hawtreay (1600–58) (Fig 5), who provided the money, had matriculated from Oriel College, Oxford in 1615²⁷ and entered Grays Inn as a student in 1617. He was the eldest brother of Ralph, the merchant taylor. He dealt with legal business such as the paying of annuities under Lady Crane's will. He inherited the Ruislip estate from his father in 1638 and also the leases of the property in Bermondsey and in St Katherine's by the Tower. By 1646 he was also in possession of buildings in Addle Hill,²⁸ Bell Alley, and Coleman Street²⁹ and the Swan tavern in Knightryder Street and he was having new houses built in St Katherine's.³⁰

The Hospital there, a medieval charitable foundation established about 1147 by Queen Matilda, nestled beside the Tower where St Catherine's Dock is today. The land around the Hospital buildings had long been let to tenants and became crowded with tenements. The Hawtreay property had formerly been one

messuage with a garden called the Great Garden, lying between Butcher Row, Bath Alley and Brush Alley.³¹ John Hawtreay built at least 17 dwellings between 1646 and 52 (Fig 6). Some had wharves.³²

As an example of the transactions involved, Richard Markernes, a bricklayer, and Jonah Lewis, a carpenter, put up the new houses. Markernes received £270 for ten houses in the back alley at St Katherine's in 1647 and £2 for making a pump there and £6 8s 6d for three houses of office and 'mending the cellar walls that fell in of the high house'.³³ Six years later Jonah Lewis paid the illiterate Thomas Floyd £1 5s 'for emptying the privies of the tenants of John Hawtreay Esq'. In 1648 five new houses 'at the steps that do lead down into the back alley at St Katherine's Great Garden' were being finished by Markernes and Lewis³⁴ and papered.³⁵ These two men seem to have worked for John Hawtreay fairly constantly until the mid-1650s, either building or carrying out repairs.

The first ten houses had cost £27 each, but two erected in 1652 cost £60 a piece, suggesting grander houses. Overall the materials recorded suggest timber-framed houses with brick nogging and pantile roofs and lath and plaster dividing walls. There is an early reference to the use of deal.³⁶ A glazier's bill mentions casement windows divided into quarries.³⁷

A new 40-year lease was issued to 'John Hawtreay of Grayes Inn' in 1681.³⁸ He was the second son of John Hawtreay who built the tenements and died the following year, leaving no issue. There appears to be no further record of the property in the family's hands.

John Hawtreay's marriage to Susannah James, co-heiress of Jacob James of London, suggests another City connection. The marriage took place in 1624 at the church of St Thomas the Apostle.

Ralph made provision for his second son, Edward, to enter the Church by purchasing the Rectory of Denham, Bucks, from Sir William Bowyer. According to Ralph's monument in St Martin's, Ruislip, Edward, having been educated at Eton College and King's College, married Margaret Wright, a widow of Burnham, and was Vicar of that place and Rector of Denham.

The only daughter, Mary, married Sir John Bankes, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas and a Privy Councillor. Lady Bankes (Fig 7) became something of a heroine during the Civil War because of her famous



Fig 5. *John Hawtreay (1600–58)*

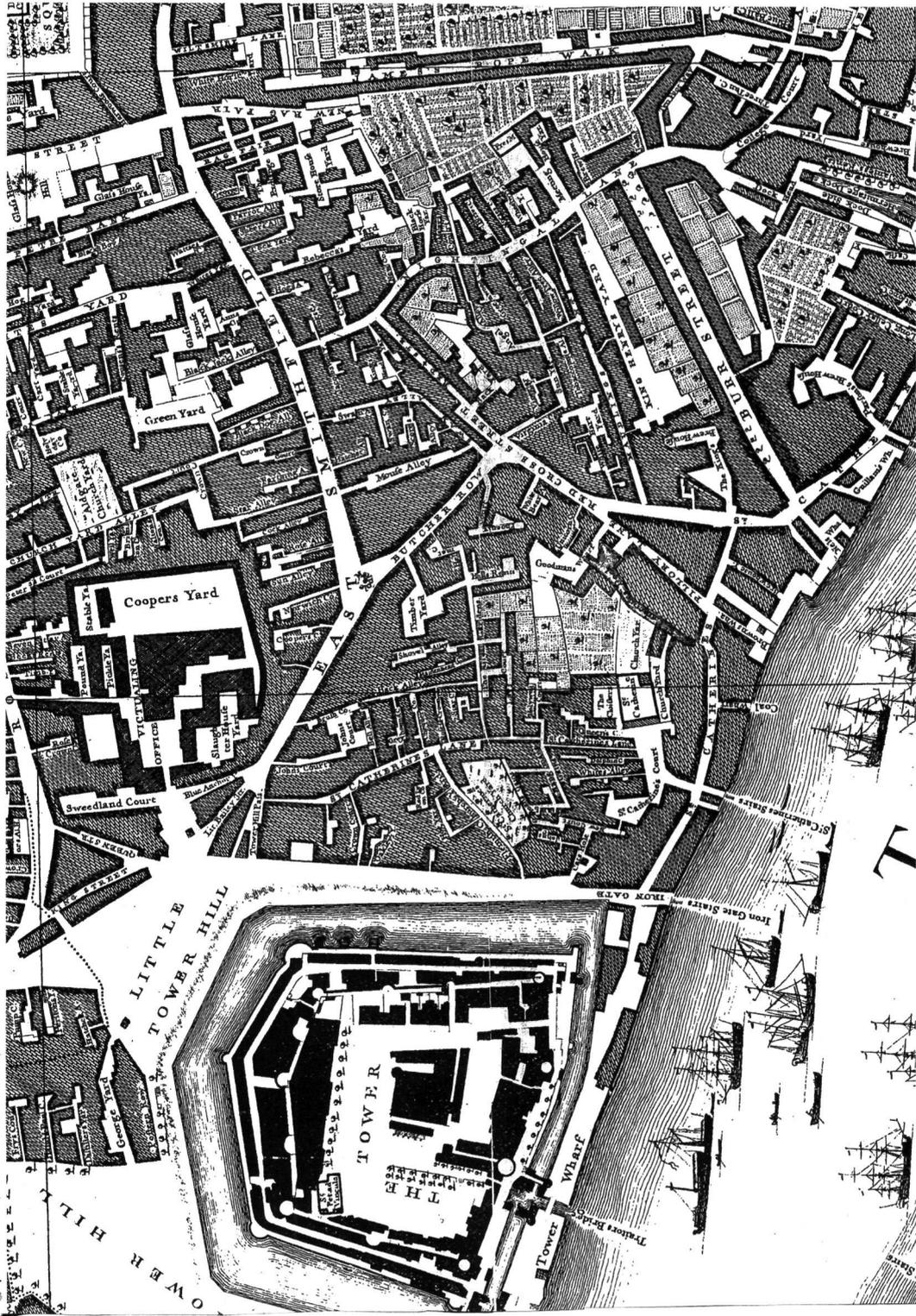


Fig. 6. St Katherine's by the Tower as it appears on Rocque's Map of the Cities of London and Westminster and the Borough of Southwark (1747). Shovel Lane leads into the Great Garden where John Hastyrey built houses in the 1640s and 50s (Reproduced by permission of Guildhall Library)



Fig 7. Statue of Lady Banks at Kingston Lacy, showing her holding the key of Corfe Castle

spirited defence of Corfe Castle while under siege by the Parliamentarians on two separate occasions.³⁹ She is buried in St Martin's Ruislip and is remembered in the name of Lady Banks Primary School in Ruislip Manor. Lady Banks was the only member of the Hawtreys family to achieve national fame.

During the Civil War Lady Banks's brother, John Hawtreys, supported the Parliamentary side, as did many of the gentry around London. There is a family tradition reported by Florence Hawtreys that he entertained Oliver Cromwell at Eastcote House and received the gift of a watch from him.

John Hawtreys's children

John and Susannah Hawtreys produced four sons and four daughters. The second son, also called John (died 1682, buried at Pinner), was educated

at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, graduating as BA in 1650 and MA in 1654, the same year that he became a Barrister-at-Law at Gray's Inn.

He married Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Trollope and widow of Christopher Clitherow, while his sister Jane married James Clitherow. Christopher and James were brothers, sons of Sir Christopher Clitherow, ironmonger and Lord Mayor of London in 1635-6, of Pinner Hill House.⁴⁰ These marriages betokened friendship with neighbours in the country as well as in the City. The inter-familial relationships continued into the next generation when John Hawtreys's younger stepson, another Christopher Clitherow married his niece, Mary Hawtreys. Christopher like his stepfather, was a member of Gray's Inn.

Ann and Mary Hawtreys married London merchants, Ralph Lee and Simon Morse. Their sister Elizabeth changed the pattern by marrying a medical man Dr George Rogers, a member of the Royal College of Physicians. However his father, also a doctor, was described as 'of the City of London'.⁴¹ Ralph Hawtreys (1626-1725) (Fig 8), the eldest son of John and Susannah and the longest lived of the entire recorded family, married Barbara de Grey, daughter of Sir Robert de Grey of Merton, Norfolk. When she fell into 'a violent fitt of the wind colic mixed with the

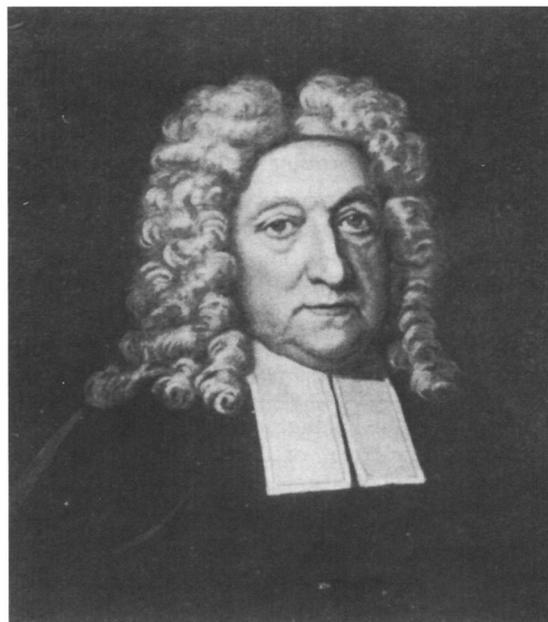


Fig 8. Ralph Hawtreys (1626-1725)

vapers' during one of her many pregnancies, Ralph was sent some pills 'fro bro Rogers' that made her reasonably well again.⁴² It was useful to have a doctor in the family.

Barbara's sister, Ann, married Sir John Gawdy who was a deaf mute, described by John Evelyn in his diary in September 1677, as 'a very handsome person, but quite dumb, yet very intelligent by signs and a very fine painter'. Letters among the Gawdy Papers⁴³ reveal much social intercourse between Ann, Lady Gawdy, and her brother-in-law, his sisters, their husbands and their children. He advised her on business and legal matters and acted as her London agent. The women executed commissions for one another in London shops. 'I intend for London on Tuesday with my sister Clitherow if you have any commands lett me be your servant who am allsoe your very loving sister, Barbara Hawtrey' 16 August 1657.⁴⁴

In the same letter Barbara Hawtrey makes a tantalising reference to 'our shop'. 'My taylor who I had a very good opinion of hath taken up in my name at our shop 5 or 6℥s worth of silks for his own use and about 3℥s for my sister Hawtrey's name and has gon I know not wither this will I think prevent my having a new gowne to wait on you.' Perhaps Ralph Hawtrey's (1602–45) draper's business was still a going concern. In December 1657 she writes, 'I used to buy cloth of one Mr Martin whom my brother Ned was with'.⁴⁵ This seems to be a reference to Edward Hawtrey (1630–83) about whom little is known. He died unmarried at the age of 53. He left bequests to his sisters, brothers-in-law, and several nieces and nephews and speaks in his will of his 'kind brother Ralph'⁴⁶ the head of the family.

The children of Ralph and Barbara Hawtrey

Ralph and Barbara Hawtrey had four daughters, three of whom married into propertied families. Elizabeth, the eldest, chose George Sitwell, an ironmaster from Eckington in Derbyshire and a citizen and mercer of London. Her mother wrote, 'I think Betty is now resolved for Mr Sittwell as she tells me for I leave it to her chois'.⁴⁷ Elizabeth was 16 or 17 at the time. They married at St Andrew Undershaft in 1668 and bought Haydon Hall in Eastcote just across the road from Eastcote House in 1675.⁴⁸ Although a mercer, Mr Sitwell seems to have

relied for his income more upon forges at Pleasley and Stavely, which were losing money in the 1690s.⁴⁹ George Sitwell was declared bankrupt in 1693 despite a loan of £1025 on security of Haydon Hall, from Ralph Hawtrey.⁵⁰ He failed to repay it and eventually Sir Thomas Franklin, second husband of Elizabeth's sister Mary, purchased the house for £2500 in 1698. Mary had previously been married to Christopher Clitherow as mentioned above.

Ralph and Barbara had seven sons, three of whom died as infants and there is no record of any commercial activity or other occupation for the others. John (1655–74) died whilst at King's College; Robert died aged 24; Ralph (1668–1713) was unmarried. He was evidently a keen sportsman, leaving his pack of dogs to his huntsman, John Owen, in his will.⁵¹ Charles (1663–98) had one son who died as a youth and three daughters, through whom the Hawtrey's Ruislip property descended to Elizabeth Rogers and the Deanes.

The Rogers

Jane Hawtrey (1688–1736), Charles's daughter, married James Rogers (1689–1738) in 1719. He was the son of John Rogers, a goldsmith, and his wife Elizabeth née Herriott. John Rogers was a partner of Francis Child, goldsmith and banker, at the Sign of the Marigold at Temple Bar and a man of property.⁵² He bought the Manor of Great Stanmore in 1700, which he sold to James Brydges, later Duke of Chandos, in 1714⁵³ and owned houses in Bushey and Kensington. Some genealogists have suggested that he was the son of Dr George Rogers who had married Elizabeth Hawtrey two generations earlier. This is unlikely as Burke's *The Landed Gentry* (1937), under the entry for the Deanes, says that this branch of the Rogers's family came from Bryanston, Dorset, whereas Dr George Rogers's family was from Dartford, Kent, according to the Roll of the Royal College of Physicians. There were also connections with the Rogers of Hedington, Wilts.

James Rogers was at Trinity College, Oxford, where he 'did for seven years behave himself soberly and piously and attaine the character of an ingenious good humoured gentleman'.⁵⁴ He became a bachelor in Common Law in 1711. Several business letters, apparently dealing with property, were addressed to him at Mr Robert Child's house at Temple Bar and people went

there to meet him.⁵⁵ The two families were clearly on good terms.

He had married Frances Arundell of West End, Northolt at St Mary le Bow in February 1714/15.⁵⁶ A daughter, Frances, was baptised in November the same year and a son, John, in September 1716, but he died a few weeks later. The mother, Frances died shortly afterwards and was buried at Northolt in January 1716/17, leaving her daughter Frances, who was about 14 months old. At the time of his marriage to Jane Hawtreys in 1719, this little girl was being looked after at Bushey by her grandparents and continued to live with them. In 1722 James was being assured that 'your daughter thanks you for her pocket book and is praised for her work at school'.⁵⁷ The property at West End, Northolt, devolved upon him under the terms of his first marriage settlement.⁵⁸ He also held leases of six houses in Cleveland Row, adjoining St James's Palace, the leases having been granted by Sir Francis Child *et al.*⁵⁹

Upon his new marriage James and his father arranged a jointure of £300 secured upon the house at Bushey and a leasehold estate in Kensington. A letter was addressed to James Rogers at 'his house in Great Marlborough Street' in 1725,⁶⁰ another property, but whether owned or rented by him is not known. The scheme drawn up for the marriage settlement intended that after the death of both Jane's grandparents, her husband should have a life interest in Eastcote House and that it should revert to her should she be widowed.⁶¹ Instead the actual settlement⁶² shows that Ralph Hawtreys made a free gift of the house to James Rogers and his heirs after the decease of himself and his wife.

The three children of Jane and James's marriage were born in the first three years. Ralph, the eldest, who died aged 16, went to Harrow School in 1727 at the tender age of six.⁶³ Elizabeth who lived on into the early 19th century was baptised on 4 November 1721 at St Martin's, Ruislip. The youngest, called John, died a few weeks after birth in December 1722 and the grandmother at Bushey lamented that she had not seen the baby and sympathised with her daughter-in-law 'seeing how tenderly she loves her children'.⁶⁴ Perhaps the father remembered his first son called John, who had died at a similar age six years earlier.

Letters from Jane at Eastcote to her husband in London suggest that he spent time there,

whether dealing with his property or on other business is not indicated.

My dear, I am glad that you got safe to London. Ye men came home about half an hour after seven. They met with a calf which run against the chariot and pull off one of ye fore wheels and broke the excelluce. The chariot is left to be mended. I think this was done by Kinsington wall. Your men were sober when they came home. Evans is to be with you on Thursday morning when you will have a full account of it. I think you had better take noe notice to Evans that I sent you word of it. They desire to make ye man pay for it if they can find him out. They say he knows his master's name and where he lives. I beg you will not fail when you come home for I shall be in a fright if you do. Beg you to believe me your ever obed wife.⁶⁵

Jane was buried on 5 February 1736, followed to the grave three weeks later by her son, Ralph.

James Rogers's death less than two years after the decease of his son and wife was probably unexpected, for he made his will only on his deathbed and failed to name a guardian or trustee for his daughter, to whom he left the Ruislip part of his estate.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Elizabeth, although a minor, succeeded in keeping the leases of the Manor of Ruislip and the Rectory of Ruislip. James had bequeathed the Cleveland Row houses to his elder daughter, Frances,⁶⁷ and all this property also descended to Elizabeth Rogers, his younger daughter, after her grandmother and half sister died within days of each other in August 1739. Elizabeth, still only 17 years old, not only had the Eastcote House estate and farms, the Ruislip manorial and rectorial leases, but also London property to manage.

From the letters in the Hawtreys Papers it is clear that she had strong links with cousins on her father's side, the Needhams, Richards, and Hopes of Devizes, Wiltshire, and several other men and women who called themselves cousin, but it is not known in what degree. They formed a strong network of helpers who executed her commissions or offered her hospitality and she sent them gifts and provisions in return and entertained them at Eastcote. Sara and Susannah Needham, unmarried sisters, who were about 20 years older than Elizabeth, lived with her at Eastcote, perhaps in turn. Sarah died in 1775, aged 76, and Susannah died in 1776, aged 75. They are commemorated together on the south side of the altar in St Martin's chancel, Ruislip, among the Hawtreys and Roger family monuments.

When Elizabeth Rogers went to London she

often stayed at Mrs Aspin's house in Southampton Row and sometimes had letters and packets addressed to her there. Lucy Aspin, who signed her letters 'your affectionate cousin', was related to the Hawtreys and was older than Elizabeth and commented in April 1743 that 'there is so great a difference in your age and mine that I must always be disagreeable to you, but when any business call you to Town, I think my house may be serviceable for you to come to any day, any hour...'.⁶⁸

Provisions were sent to Elizabeth from London and she exchanged gifts with the relatives in Devizes. In March 1745 Ben Richards had 'procured a fresh cod fish of 7s 6d price and a Barrell of Oysters green finn at 3s 6d both which are warranted to be exceeding good'.⁶⁹ Following Miss Rogers' instructions he had had them delivered to the Devizes Caravan at the White Horse, Holborn Bridge, for dispatch to the Needhams. Hampers for her arrived at the Swan, Holborn Bridge, via the Devizes Wagon.

Elizabeth Rogers never married, although letters⁷⁰ to her man of business suggest that she, a substantial *parti*, was troubled by unsuitable suitors in her youth, and the letters from Devizes are full of arch suggestions about a likely marriage especially with a 'Mr B'. Ben Richards sends her Christmas and New Year greetings at the end of 1743 and continues 'if you prove a loser in any sense ... it may be in nothing more material than the exchange of your name which when you doe I hope will be an addition to your felicity'.⁷¹ Mrs Aspin wrote in July 1741, 'I have had a little variety lately, for a cousin of ours, Ralph Hawtreys is come from Ireland and has been very much with our cousin Blois who brought him to see me, he is a very agreeable young gentleman and in very good circumstances. They dined with me three times. We always drank your good health. I told him what a great fortune and what a charming pretty lady you was. He seemed mighty attentive at the hearing an account of you and that he heartily wished you the best lord in the land might be your husband'.⁷²

She received parcels of books, such as Mrs Haywoods's novels, from London, also through the good offices of Ben Richards and a playbill for Drury Lane Theatre⁷³ suggests that she enjoyed the usual social activities available in the capital.

Elizabeth Rogers conducted some of her business through Richard Lynch of Bennet Street, St James's, presumably a solicitor, in her

early days and through J. Smith and Abel Jenkins in the 1770s. She continued the family tradition of banking at Child's. She wrote to Rowland Rogers in December 1742:

The woman I deal with for wine whose name is Mareon and lives in Ludgate Street and has sent in her bill and desires payment in London so thought you would be so good as to doe it for me the sume is fifty-six pound eight shillings ye which I desire you to pay her a Friday morning and the underwritten order is for you to receive the money to pay yourself when you are at leasure at Temple Bar. I desire you to take a receipt for me in full of all demands and I will order the Mrs Mareon to come to your house and show you my last letter to you. As I have writ to her as you may think you pay it to ye right person ye letter bearing date December ye first 1742 and am sir, your humble servant Elizabeth Rogers⁷⁴

The order was addressed to Samuel Child Esq & Co.

Neither James nor Elizabeth Rogers appear to have been good landlords, judging by the number of letters of complaints from their tenants. A Mrs Smith of Cleveland Row could get no response from Mr Rogers, even after writing and going twice to Mr Roger's shop, perhaps a goldsmith's. She next used an agent as go-between, who wrote, in June 1721, on her behalf and left the letter at Robert Child's house near Temple Bar. The problem was an overflowing well which 'never having been cleansed since the house was built, there were several loads of mud taken out for the draynes of the whole Row ran into it'.⁷⁵

When Elizabeth Rogers was in full control things were little better. Cat (presumably Catherine) Stevens, who lived in the house next door to Mrs Smith, sought an abatement of rent in 1745, on the grounds that the rent of that house had been reduced by £5 per annum since the death of Mrs Smith in 1737 and had still been difficult to let.⁷⁶ She also complained of the darkness of the house and smoking chimneys and asserted that 'the house is what nobody likes the new is much better and cheaper'.

Elizabeth Rogers developed into a formidable woman, well able to argue her case whether with the Provost & Scholars of King's College over fines on renewal of her leases, or with the Dean & Canons of Windsor over the vexing matter of wood tithes.⁷⁷ She gave the Rev Daniel Lysons short shrift when he sent a questionnaire to local landowners whilst preparing his histories of



Fig 9. Eastcote House. The stucco was probably added by Ralph Deane, who was said by Brewer in 'The Beauties of England and Wales' published in 1816, to have recently modernised the house

Middlesex parishes, not liking his 'somewhat impertinent questions'.⁷⁸

Childless, she ensured by her will that the Ruislip leases and estates passed to a descendant of the Hawtreys. Ralph Deane was the residuary legatee of her will.⁷⁹ He was the great-great grandson of Charles Hawtreay and was in full possession by 1810.

The Deanes

There are no records of the Deanes, who were Barristers-at-Law at Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn, having any involvement in City affairs or trade.

Ralph Deane (1782-1852), who inherited Eastcote House (Fig 9), was a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford and a Barrister-at-Law.

Francis Henry Deane (1814-92) graduated from Wadham College in 1836, becoming a Barrister-at-Law at Lincoln's Inn in 1846 (Fig 10). He moved from Eastcote to East View, Uxbridge

Common in 1878 and thereafter leased out Eastcote House. Francis's son, Ralph Hawtreay Deane (1848-1924) was at Trinity College, Cambridge and Barrister-at-Law at Lincoln's Inn.⁸⁰ His son and grandson, Ralph Hawtreay Deane (1848-1924) and Ralph Hawtreay Deane RN (1884-1966), sold off the estate piecemeal during the Metroland developments of the early 20th century.

Hopkittes/Eastcote House was enlarged and altered over the years, especially in the 18th century by James Rogers⁸¹ and again c.1812 by Ralph Deane⁸² (1782-1852). The Ruislip-Northwood Urban District Council purchased it from Comben and Wakeling in 1931, preserving the park and using the house as a baby clinic and general community centre. Following many years of neglect it was declared unsafe in 1962 and the new Hillingdon Borough Council ordered its demolition in 1964, during which the timber-framed structure was revealed. The walled garden, an 18th-century dovecote and a timber-



Fig 10. Francis Henry Deane (1814–92), photographed when he was Chairman of the Uxbridge Bench

framed stable (known as the Coach House) remain in the public open space called Eastcote House Gardens.

NOTES

¹ London Metropolitan Archives (in future LMA) MDR 1741 2 209-12.

² P A Clarke 'The story of Pinner Hill' in Pinner Local History Society *A Pinner Miscellany* (1980).

³ Florence M Hawtreay *The History of the Hawtreay Family Vol I* (1903), 16.

⁴ Registrum Universitatis Oxon.

⁵ King's College Muniments: RUI 182 (formerly R36), fol 42.

⁶ St George's Chapel, Windsor: XV. 31. 65.

⁷ LMA: Acc 249/6.

⁸ LMA: Acc 249/7.

⁹ LMA: MDR 1930 50 816.

¹⁰ Descent compiled from Hawtreay *op cit* (note 3); brasses and monuments in St Martin's church, Ruislip.

¹¹ LMA: Acc 249/64.

¹² LMA: Acc 249/234-5.

¹³ LMA: Acc 249/4113.

¹⁴ LMA: Acc 249/241.

¹⁵ LMA: Acc 249/286.

¹⁶ LMA: Acc 249/286.

¹⁷ LMA: Acc 249/1147.

¹⁸ Corporation of London Record Office: Ass Box 29/1; Ass Box 110/19.

¹⁹ Guildhall Library: MF 324 (index) and Merchant Taylors' binding books.

²⁰ Guildhall Library: MF 327.

²¹ LMA: Acc 249/248.

²² Guildhall Library: MF 328 (Minute Book).

²³ Hawtreay *op cit* (note 3), 68.

²⁴ *ibid*, 62.

²⁵ LMA: Acc 249/4269.

²⁶ LMA: 249/4270.

²⁷ Foster: *Alumni Oxonienses*.

²⁸ LMA: Acc 249/1076.

²⁹ LMA: Acc 249/1677.

³⁰ LMA: 249/1675-96 and 1106, 1112, 1115, 1117.

³¹ Guildhall Library: MS 9688, Vol 1, fol 11.

³² LMA: Acc 249/1173, 1229.

³³ LMA: Acc 249/1675-6.

³⁴ LMA: Acc 249/1679.

³⁵ LMA: Acc 249/1106.

³⁶ LMA: Acc 249/1119.

³⁷ LMA: Acc 249/1694.

³⁸ Guildhall Library: MS 9688, Vol 1, fol 11.

³⁹ Hawtreay *op cit* (note 3), 43-57.

⁴⁰ Clarke *op cit* (note 2).

⁴¹ Roll of the Royal College of Physicians.

⁴² British Library: Egerton MS 2717, Vol V, fol 311.

⁴³ British Library: Egerton MS 2717, Vol V.

⁴⁴ British Library: Egerton MS 2717, Vol V, fol 156.

⁴⁵ British Library: Egerton MS 2717, Vol V, fol 159.

⁴⁶ Hawtreay *op cit* (note 3), 70.

⁴⁷ British Library: Egerton MS 2717, Vol V, fol 161.

⁴⁸ British Library: Add MS 9367, fol 197.

⁴⁹ LMA: Acc 249/779-782.

⁵⁰ LMA: Acc 249/779-782.

⁵¹ Hawtreay *op cit* (note 3), 77.

⁵² F G Hilton Price *The Marygold by Temple Bar* (1902).

⁵³ LMA: Acc 262/17, Bundle 1.

⁵⁴ LMA: Acc 249/2248.

⁵⁵ LMA: Acc 249/2266.

⁵⁶ International Genealogical Index.

⁵⁷ LMA: Acc 249/2227 *et al*.

⁵⁸ LMA: Acc 249/2223.

⁵⁹ LMA: Acc 249/3465-6.

⁶⁰ LMA: Acc 249/2233.

⁶¹ LMA: Acc 249/2322.

⁶² LMA: Acc 249/2223.

⁶³ LMA: Acc 249/2388.

⁶⁴ LMA: Acc 249/2223.

⁶⁵ LMA: Acc 249/2354-7.

⁶⁶ LMA: Acc 249/1773.

⁶⁷ PRO: Prob 11/690, fol 184.

⁶⁸ LMA: Acc 249/2366.

⁶⁹ LMA: Acc 249/2661.

⁷⁰ LMA: Acc 249/1768, 3842.

⁷¹ LMA: Acc 249/2659.

⁷² LMA: Acc 249/2367.

⁷³ LMA: Acc 249/1656.

⁷⁴ LMA: Acc 249/3847.

⁷⁵ LMA: Acc249/2240.

⁷⁶ LMA: Acc 249/3852.

⁷⁷ St George's, Windsor: XVII. 4. 39.

⁷⁸ Ruislip Library L.M.Morris Collection.

⁷⁹ PRO: Prob 11.

⁸⁰ Burke *The Landed Gentry* (1937).

⁸¹ LMA: Acc 249/1760.

⁸² J Norris Brewer *Beauties of England and Wales Vol X Part IV* (1816).

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF TWICKENHAM IN THE 18th CENTURY: AN ANALYSIS OF LAND TAX ASSESSMENTS FOR 1767

Roland Pearson

SUMMARY

Twickenham is renowned as the home of many 18th-century celebrities. The land tax return for Twickenham in 1767 has been analysed using computer spreadsheets to reveal the complex social structure surrounding this cultural and aristocratic élite.

INTRODUCTION

During the 20th century Twickenham became widely known as the home of English Rugby football; in the 21st century, it also retains the ambience of a sought-after suburban retreat. One reason for the attractiveness of the town, which was linked in the 1960s with its sister borough of Richmond, is its historical reputation as the home of many important people. Twickenham attracted notable persons from the medieval period onwards, but the 18th century was the settlement's cultural heyday. The village, as it then was, became for a time a microcosm of London's intellectual and social life.

Twickenham played host to courtiers, actors, poets, artists, merchants, lawyers, scientists, and diarists. Out of all proportion to its size, its population included some of the brightest and best in Georgian society. Clearly, an analysis of Twickenham's social structure during this period has implications for the study of 18th-century society as a whole.

Standing in the way of a balanced account of

Twickenham's history, however, is the tendency to romanticise its past. To walk in the footsteps of Alexander Pope or the Countess of Suffolk is, understandably, more attractive than associating oneself with poverty-stricken cottagers. It is the well-known people (referred to later as 'notables') who by definition have received most attention from local and cultural historians. Both, however, were following a long-established tradition, traceable to enthusiastic descriptions by 18th-century writers. For example, Alexander Pope himself eulogised: 'Twit'nam, The Muses fav'rite seat, Twit'nam, the Graces Lov'd retreat'.¹ Isabella Wentworth had described 'charming Twit'num'² as early as 1700, and Horace Walpole, one of the many publicists for Twickenham, likened the village to the Roman resort of Tivoli.³ The geographical similarity is slight, so we must assume that Walpole was making a cultural point: both Tivoli and Twickenham were to be seen as resorts for educated and influential persons from the capital city.

This way of seeing Twickenham overlooked the fact that it retained its similarity with many a country village throughout the land (see Fig 1). In this paper, an attempt is made to get beneath the cultural gloss to demonstrate that many members of Twickenham's local community, both rich and poor, existed alongside the 'great and the good', and may moreover have been ignored by them.

I refer later to additional research using local

parish records, Poll Books, Poor Law records, and the rolls for the Quarter Sessions for Middlesex.⁴ Here, however, we are principally concerned with evidence that may be gleaned from the land tax return for the year 1767, a document in the care of the London Metropolitan Archive,⁵ which is susceptible to analysis by computer spreadsheet.

LAND TAX ASSESSMENTS AS A HISTORICAL RESOURCE

The usefulness of land tax assessments as a source of population and economic data has been summarised by Chapman as follows:

The tax was assessed on the real and personal estates of persons owning land having an annual value of above twenty shillings, and also on certain public salaries and pensions. Thus poorer people were exempt and were not included on the lists ... Even tenants paid this tax, but they deducted it from their rents; thus most assessment lists have the names of landlords and tenants. The amount paid, which should have been calculated at the rate of four shillings in the pound, was shown on the returns alongside the names of the owners and occupiers of the houses and land. This data is useful to the social and family historian to give an indication of the economic status of a named individual.⁶

Land tax returns, therefore, provide information about landlords and their tenants, regardless of the social strata occupied by either. The quality and consistency of the land tax returns improved after an Administrative Act of 1798, thirty years after the source considered in this paper was written. The 1798 Act also permitted the payment of redemptions, exempting owners from further taxation, a cause of possible omissions from the records, but it may be assumed that these did not apply in 1767.

The validity of land tax assessments since 1798 when calculating personal wealth, and in making comparisons between regions, has been hotly debated.⁷

The principal problem is lack of consistency in assessing the tax among counties and districts. Unwin⁸ has listed the possible errors within the returns themselves. These include columns with no headings, names of owners and occupiers in the wrong columns, and information about the

same person appearing in different parts of the return. Unwin's advice is that returns before 1798 'may be useful in genealogical research'. As Riden⁹ puts it, 'in simple terms the land tax assessments are a useful *Who's Who* for a particular community at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth'.

Nevertheless, the return for Twickenham in 1767 appears vulnerable only to the third category of errors listed by Unwin. Given the legibility of this document, and the possibility of cross-checking the data against other records and within the spreadsheets, its use in research which attempts no comparison with other districts can be justified.

ANALYSIS BY COMPUTER SPREADSHEET

In its entirety, the land tax return for 1767 includes the names of 182 owners, immediate evidence that Twickenham's population, in the second half of the 18th century, included a significant propertied class. But the more detailed social implications of the return are revealed by cross-comparison, and by ordering the data in various ways. Two computer spreadsheets were used for this purpose.

The first of these (see Appendix 1 for an illustrative sample) lists the persons who were assessed for tax, showing where possible the notional rental value of their personally-occupied property, and differentiating between housing and land. The values of property rented to others, derived from Appendix 2, were also entered in Appendix 1, allowing the total notional income of each owner to be computed. The frequencies of surnames in the Register of Baptisms (1720-1761)¹⁰ are also listed for later analysis. Rental values, originally in pounds and shillings, were converted to decimal equivalents to permit calculation within the spreadsheet.

The second spreadsheet (see Appendix 2 for an illustrative sample) was used to analyse the land tax return from the point of view of the tenants. It lists the assigned values of the tenancies, and the name of the landlord. Property in multiple occupation was identified, together with the number of co-tenants, the rent for each property being recorded only once. Land-only tenancies were listed as such. Surnames of tenants appearing in the Registers of Baptisms (1720-1761)¹¹ were also identified.

TWICKENHAM'S PROPERTY OWNERS IN 1767

Table 1 summarises the conclusions which may be gleaned from an analysis of the spreadsheet illustrated in Appendix 1. About half the owners had been assessed for tax on the rental value of their own houses and gardens. Half again of this group had surnames which had appeared in the Register of Baptisms between 1720 and 1761, indicating the likelihood of settled residence.

Of those assessed for property which did not include their own houses, 63% had surnames to be found in the Register of Baptisms between 1720 and 1761, and these once again are likely to have been Twickenham residents. 20% of owners did not pay tax on their own houses or land, but let domestic property to others; of these, 59% had surnames occurring in the Register of Baptisms.

Despite this accumulating evidence for a settled population, however, Table 1 also suggests that a significant minority of landlords resided outside Twickenham or were newly arrived. Additional evidence for absentee landlords may also be found in the Middlesex Poll Book for 1747;¹² three voters held property in Twickenham, but resided and voted elsewhere. Twickenham, in addition to agriculture, horticulture, brewing and the manufacture of gunpowder, also supported a *rentier* economy.

Table 2 lists the top 20% of house-owners by

their assessed income. Among these are names in bold type, the 'notables' whose reputations have stood the test of time. Durability can be measured by references in the following sources: the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the correspondence of their fellow-Twickenham resident, Horace Walpole, or the 20th-century publications of the local history society.

The Countess of Monrath, the owner of Twickenham Park, tops the list of notable and well-off people, with an assessment of £150 per annum. Horace Walpole wrote that the Countess was as 'rich and tipsy as Casofogo in the comedy. What a jumble of avarice, lewdness, dignity and claret!'.¹³ The next three in order of assessed wealth, Charles Pavey, Stephen Cole, and Edward Styles, are less well known. Stephen Cole was a local brewer whom the Poll Book of 1749¹⁴ confirms as a householder, and who in 1782 briefly owned the Fox public house, among many other licensed premises.¹⁵ Pavey is mentioned *en passant* by Walpole as a churchwarden.

The next on the list is the ageing Countess of Suffolk, Henrietta Howard, who was to die in the year of this land tax assessment. She was at one time mistress of George II, and both she and her Palladian mansion at Marble Hill are well-known features of Twickenham's history.

The same goes for her confidant, Horace Walpole, who resided from 1747 at his Gothic mansion at Strawberry Hill, a tourist attraction even in his own day. Richard Owen Cambridge

Table 1. Analysis of property owners from 1767 land tax assessment

Owners by category	Surname in baptismal register 1720/1761?	Number	Percentage	
			Of total	Of group
Total number of owners		182	100	—
Assessed for own house	Yes	53	29	54
	No	45	25	46
		98	54	100
Not assessed for own house	Yes	53	29	63
	No	31	17	37
		84	46	100
Assessed for own land, but not own house	Yes	27	15	69
	No	12	7	31
		39	21	100
Assessed for tenants in dwellings, but not for own house or land	Yes	23	13	59
	No	16	9	41
		39	21	100

Table 2. Top 20% of owners by total notional income

Name	Total notional income £	Rank order	Surname in baptismal register 1720/1761?
Montrath, Countess	150.0	1	no
Pavey, Charles*	122.0	2	yes
Cole, Stephen	121.5	3	yes
Styles, Edward	106.0	4	yes
Suffolk, Countess	77.0	5	no
Shirley, Hon. George	72.0	6	no
Walpole, Horace	71.0	7	no
Cambridge, Richard	65.0	8	yes
'Lord of the Manor'	65.0	9	?
Pocock, Sir George	60.0	10	no
Manly, Mr	60.0	11	no
Reeves	56.5	12	no
Prime, Sir Samuel	55.0	13	no
Spyers, Joshua	54.5	14	yes
Izard, Mr	52.0	15	no
Benison	51.0	16	yes
Holmes, Robert	48.5	17	yes
Harvey, Mr	48.0	18	yes
Swann, Mr	47.0	19	yes
Strafford, Earl of	45.0	20	no
Hindley, Fred	44.6	21	no
Twining, Mrs Ann	41.0	22	yes
Tuiter, Nicholas	40.0	23	yes
Tweeddale, Marchioness	40.0	24	no
Campbell, Colonel	37.0	25	no
Heddington, Mrs	37.0	26	no
Prado, Abraham	35.0	27	no
Shelburn, Lady	35.0	28	no
Dawson (?)	34.5	29	yes
Harding, Mr	33.5	30	yes
Stanhope, Sir William	33.0	31	no
Goodwin, John	30.5	32	yes
Waller, Henry	30.0	33	yes
Whitchurch, James	30.0	34	no
Hudson, Robert	26.0	35	yes
Hawkins, Sir John	25.0	36	no

'Notables' in bold

**Minor reference by Walpole*

was another prominent 18th-century figure, living at Cambridge House from 1750, writing books on India and military history, and involving himself in 18th-century social and intellectual life.

Of the rest, historians have taken note of Sir Samuel Prime, the Earl of Strafford, Fred Hindley (a neighbour of Walpole's), Mrs Twining (of tea merchant fame), the Marchioness of Tweeddale, Abraham Prado, Lady Shelburne, Mrs Dawson (possibly),¹⁶ Sir William Stanhope, and Sir John Hawkins. Sir Samuel Prime lived at Kneller Hall and, according to Leatitia Hawkins, was 'representa-

tive of a by-gone age'.¹⁷ Walpole mentions him only as a 'visitor' to Strawberry Hill.

The list of notables includes sixteen names, leaving over half of the richest people in the village outside that category. It is already apparent that any account of the social history of Twickenham in the 18th century would be distorted if we concentrated solely on its historically – or culturally – feted figures. We might expect this distortion to become even more evident as we investigate the less well-off members of the Twickenham community.

TWICKENHAM'S RECORDED TENANTS IN 1767

Table 3 takes our study of the social structure of 18th-century Twickenham one stage further. The characteristics of rented property, both houses and land, were analysed in the spreadsheet exemplified in Appendix 2. The 1767 land tax return lists 279 occupiers of rented property, 166 being singly-occupied dwellings. 76 domestic tenants (31%) shared occupancy of dwellings with between one and three others.

Multiple occupancy does not, of itself, indicate poverty or plebeian status: two such dwellings were assessed severally at £10 and £15 per annum. 23 of the properties, however, were assessed at £4 or less, consistent with a low rental for each tenant. 48 (63%) of the tenants in multiple occupation had surnames which appear in the Registers of Baptisms (1720–1761), suggesting a settled connection with Twickenham for many of the less prosperous tenants and their families. Over half of the single tenancies were also probably held by tenants having a settled connection. But there is evidence from the 'new' names that the population of Twickenham was

expanding, and possibly also becoming more transient. The land-only tenancies have been disregarded for the remainder of this analysis, because domestic occupation is our relevant concern.

Table 4 indicates that there were professionals (half-pay officers?) whose annual rentals were assessed at no more than £4. To a first approximation some 40% of multiple occupiers, in dwellings valued at £3 or less, were probably below the status of gentry or professionals.

THE HIDDEN POPULATION IN 1767

It appears that the better-known Twickenham residents in the 18th century were not, whatever their pretensions, living in a rural Arcadia. Neither were they living in splendid isolation. At the very least, they dwelt alongside many people of commensurate wealth or social status, but of lesser historical importance. But to what extent was the idyll also marred by the poverty so evident elsewhere in 18th-century Britain?

Land tax returns, by their very nature, have much more to say about the better-off, either as landlords or tenants, than about the very poor. Table 5 presents a speculative estimate of the size of the population not named in the land tax return. This would include not only the poor, but also servants working in the better-off households. The accuracy of this estimate depends upon the size of the total population in 1767, conservatively assumed here to have been about 2,200,¹⁸ and also upon the number in the average family.

Following Laslett¹⁹ we might assume that an average of 70% of householders had children, and that within these the average family size was five persons. Even if all childless households consisted of two persons, the total number of people per 100 households would have been 410. An overall average of four persons per household has been assumed in Table 5, which demonstrates that there could reasonably have been around 500 people in the hidden population.

How this number would have been distributed between servants and the indigenous poor is more difficult to assess. The larger households might have employed at least half a dozen live-in servants, but the number per household would have decreased rapidly with the level of assessed wealth (see Table 2). Even if the number of live-in servants for the village as a whole were 200,

Table 3. Analysis of occupiers of rented property

Tenancies and occupiers by category	Number
Total number of occupiers (dwellings or land)	279
Single tenancies	
Total	199
Dwellings	166
Land only	33
Single tenants having surnames in the Baptismal Register 1720/1761	118
Multiple tenancies	
Total multiple occupiers (dwellings or land)	80
Dwellings with two tenants	28
Dwellings with three tenants	4
Dwellings with four tenants	2
Land tenancies only	2
Multiple occupiers of dwellings	76
Multiple occupiers of land	4
Multiple tenants having surnames in the Baptismal Register 1720/1761	48
Multiple tenancies in dwellings assessed at £3 or less	26

Table 4. Rental values attributed to 'middle class' tenants

Tenant	Surname in Baptismal Register 1720/1761?	Landlord	Assessed rental value £
Battie, Dr	yes	Walpole	15.00
Leicester, Colonel junior and land	yes	Lloyd	11.00
Fisher, Captain	yes	Jordan	10.00
Lord Carey's	no	Hindley	10.00
Twinning, Rev Mr (<i>sic</i>)	no	Hassett	9.00
Jeffery, Dr	yes	Izard	8.00
Gosper, in Montpelier Row	no	Lloyd	6.00
Leicester, Colonel in Montpelier Row	yes	Lloyd	5.00
Leicester, Colonel, senior	yes	Lloyd	5.00
Saviour, Captain	no	Lloyd	5.00
Clark, Captain	yes	Mrs May	4.00
Gilchrist, Dr	no	Herbert	4.00
Waterhouse, Captain	no	Reeves	4.00

Table 5. An estimate of 18th-century Twickenham's 'hidden' population

Category	Number
House owners (assuming all resident)	182
Single tenants of dwellings assessed at £4 or above	50
Single tenants of dwellings assessed below £4	116
All tenants in multiple occupation	76
Total house owners and occupiers	424
Corresponding population (assuming average family of four persons)	1696
Estimated total population in 1767	2200
'Hidden' population (live-in servants and the poor)	504

there could nevertheless have been 300 indigenous poor in 1767.

The earlier calculations in this paper carry conviction, based as they are directly on the land tax record. Estimates of the hidden population, however, require informed guesswork. But additional support can be found for the estimate of family size used in Table 5.

The most frequent family name in the Register of Births (1720/61) was Smith.²⁰ This surname nevertheless occurs only once in the land tax assessment. One family of Smiths gave birth to eight children during this period, only four of whom survived. For the Smiths as a whole, there were 35 children of whom 25 survived. At any

one time there would have been an average of 30 children among 14 families, each with two parents, corresponding to an average family size of four.

The land tax return is principally a list of names and assessments, but there are also explanatory comments, some of which bear upon the 'hidden population', those at the margins of housing provision. For instance, there is reference to the 'other small tenants' of William Beck. A Mr Goose was taxed for 'cottages on the common', and for 'three [cottages] next the Bulls Head'. Mr Goodwin, similarly, was credited with 'small tenants on the common', and a Mr Jordan with '4 houses' in the same location. 'Styles' pays tax on 'three cottages', not further specified. 'Mrs Twinning' (*sic*) had 'Love and the tenement in the alley' included in her assessment.

The Smith family name is not the only one which appears in the baptismal records but not in the land tax return. This evidence, like the marginal comments in the land tax return, suggests that there was a tranche of low-quality housing, with its occupants, which can be inferred but not identified.

The existence of an impoverished sector of Twickenham society in the 18th century, though not its extent, is confirmed by reference to the disbursement accounts of the Overseers of the Poor. Cashmore has reviewed the eight volumes that survive, covering the period 1748 to 1801.²¹ These describe the management of a workhouse which had been constructed on the Green in the 1720s, and the steady stream of acts of charity towards those considered worthy of out-relief.

The Report of the Charity Commissioners (1819–1837)²² recorded the construction of almshouses in 1704, and the establishment of a free school in 1726.

If the rural 'Arcadia' was no stranger to poverty, neither was it a stranger to crime.²³ The court records from Middlesex Quarter Sessions, in both their judicial and administrative roles, contain accounts of sharp practice and crime by members of Twickenham society, both high and low. The following are illustrative examples. Middlesex magistrates were required to investigate in 1723 the apparent disappearance of money intended for the Poor Rate.²⁴ In 1729, a Colonel Gardner and Lord Powlett, then living in Twickenham, were accused of breaking the law by granting a licence to an innkeeper without consultation with fellow justices and, furthermore, that the innkeeper was suspected of keeping a 'disorderly house'. By the time that the Middlesex bench came to investigate the matter Colonel Gardner was dead, and Lord Powlett haughtily refused to attend the hearing, despite an invitation to dinner beforehand.²⁵

Horace Walpole and Lady Browne were famously held up by a highwayman on their way to play cards with the Duchess of Montrose in 1781. Walpole believed that the highwayman was 'a gentleman who would shortly leave to raise a regiment'.²⁶

'THE GRACES' LOV'D RETREAT'?

The land tax return which is the subject of this paper was completed in 1767. Six years earlier, Henrietta Pyc,²⁷ in a description of the larger houses and gardens in the Thames Valley, had written:

The genius of the inhabitants inclines not towards commerce; architecture is their chief delight; in which if anyone doubts their excelling, let him sail up the river, and view their lovely villas beautifying its banks...

... Their Laws and Customs are dictated by Reason, and regulated by Social Love. Thrice happy they, to whom it is permitted to spend their lives in such a Country, such a Society, and under such a government.

Pyc's book is strong on adoration but weak on information. Even her reports on Twickenham houses were highly selective.

It would be easy to dismiss the work as useless

for historical purposes, if it were not for the attitude which it reveals. The 'lovely villas', and the river frontage, were celebrated also in the contemporary landscape prints by Heckel and others.²⁸ But in Henrietta Pyc we have a writer who was prepared to eulogise not only the scenery, but also the moral stature of the people situated within it. As the other authors quoted in my introduction testified, she was not alone.

The cold facts to be gleaned from the land tax return, and from the other sources referred to above, suggest a different reality. The Twining family, to take one example, was certainly not inclined to reject commerce, nor was the brewer Stephen Cole. Even Horace Walpole, usually another Twickenham eulogist, wrote of 'coal barges, stately as Lords of the Treasury' trespassing on Henrietta Pyc's idealised river view. Walpole also recorded the explosion of the gunpowder mill, and recognised the parish poor in his will.

But what was the case for Twickenham's residents during the 18th century was probably also true of the educated élite throughout the United Kingdom; the ability to experience an Augustan vision whilst closing their eyes to the less salubrious aspects of their environment.

Twickenham, even in its ordinariness, was paradise compared with the fetid 'rookeries' of Seven Dials and the East End of London. But it could not contain a Kedleston or a Chatsworth: 18th-century Twickenham was Augustanism on a human scale. As Gascoigne and Ditchburn put it:

Most of the new arrivals were of more modest means than the great landed aristocrats such as Burlington, so many of them were content with smaller properties.

This meant that more people of distinction, both from the aristocracy and the arts, could be accommodated on the same stretch of river bank, sharing a way of life as well as a charming view.²⁹

It is an interesting speculation that 18th-century Twickenham may have exhibited the first signs of a phenomenon which would come to dominate both the built environment and social relationships over the next couple of centuries; the 'suburb', in its modern sense.

The 'suburban dream' is no idle phrase; Twickenham dwellers in 1767 were imagining an Arcadia. Today's occupiers of 'villas' in many parts of suburbia hark back to 'rural retreats'

which are nowadays largely covered in brick. As estate agents recognise, myths are powerful things, especially if underpinned by literary associations.

This has not, of course, dissuaded the local historians of Twickenham from reporting such workaday topics as the lives of the railwaymen of the 19th century, or the effects on the town of the Second World War. Nevertheless, Twickenham has attracted high-flown language down to the present day. Pearce wrote poetically in 1992 that, proceeding by the riverside path:

... is to feel the elegance and leafy ease of a setting that has changed little since the poets of the 18th century enjoyed it. Its order, its graciousness, its relaxed 'country' style of living passed into their poetry as into their lives.³⁰

Twickenham bustles a great deal more today than it did 200 years ago. Traffic congestion is a problem, and the 19th and 20th centuries filled much of the available land with housing. Yet, if property prices are to be believed, it remains one of the most desirable residential areas in London. To that extent, it has changed little since the 18th-century notables chose to live within its boundaries, and to pay their land tax.

was much more of a social mix than the history of its most celebrated residents would imply. There were certainly a number of well-off people, celebrated at the time, whose reputations have survived the intervening centuries. There were others of equal wealth whose riches did not prevent them from falling into obscurity. There were 182 occupiers of their own houses, and a total of 246 tenants in assessed housing; 50 of these occupied single tenancies valued at £4 per annum or higher. There were 116 tenants in accommodation which was assessed below £4, and 76 tenants in multiple occupation. In all, the visible population contained aristocrats and other celebrated people. There were also well-off and not so well-off representatives of the middling sort and, in the cheaper tenancies, yeoman stock. Based on reasonable assumptions about the total population of Twickenham at this time, and about the average number of persons in a household, there was a hidden population of at least 500 people, of whom 200 are assumed to have been live-in servants. The residue represents Twickenham's poorest people, whose presence may also be inferred from other sources.

By comparison with the names recorded in the parish Register of Baptisms, it is possible to discern that some 20–30% of the recorded owners and tenants were either recently arrived or transient members of Twickenham's population.

CONCLUSION

Analysis of the land tax return for 1767 demonstrates that the population of Twickenham

APPENDIX I. LIST OF PROPERTY OWNERS WITH ASSESSED INCOME FROM HOLDINGS

(Sample from larger spreadsheet)

Name	1767 Assessed Income				(£ decimalised)			Surname in Baptismal Register 1720/1761?	
	Own property		Tenancies		Unidentified occupiers	Commercial premises	Total		Rank order
	House	Land	Houses	Land					
Adams, Mrs	0.00	0.00	4.00				4.00	134	yes
Andews	0.00	5.00					5.00	125	yes
Ansell	0.00	0.00	1.00				1.00	178	no
Anstead	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.15			2.15	156	yes
Archambo, J	5.00	0.00	9.00				14.00	60	no
Archambo, P	5.00	0.00	0.00				5.00	126	no
Armyand	20.00	0.00					20.00	40	no
Ash	0.00	0.00	5.00	2.00			7.00	99	yes
Aycliff	0.00	2.00	0.00				2.00	157	yes
Baker, Robert	0.00	0.00	24.00				24.00	37	yes
Ball	0.00	1.50					1.50	170	yes
Beck, William	2.50	2.00	5.50		5.00		15.00	55	yes

Beef, Mrs	0.00	5.00			5.00	127	no	
Bell	0.00	2.50			2.50	155	no	
Benison	0.00	50.00	1.00		51.00	16	yes	
Birchill	0.00	6.00			6.00	104	yes	
Breeze	0.00	0.00	2.00		2.00	158	no	
Bretton	6.00	0.00			6.00	105	no	
Brown, Peter	0.00	1.50			1.50	171	yes	
Cambridge	65.00	0.00			65.00	8	yes	
Campbell, Colonel	0.00	0.00	0.00	37.00	37.00	25	no	
Campbell, Dr	0.00	0.00	12.00		12.00	67	no	
Carpenter, Mrs	10.00	0.00			10.00	77	yes	
Champness, Mrs	0.00	6.00	9.00		15.00	56	no	
Clark, Thomas	0.00	7.00			2.50	9.50	83	yes

APPENDIX 2. LIST OF TENANTS WITH AN ANALYSIS OF TENANCY AND NAME OF LANDLORD

(Sample from larger spreadsheet)

Name of single or joint tenants (each name is listed alphabetically)	Joint occupiers	Multiple occupation	Landlord	Rent (£ decimalised)	Land only	Surname in Baptismal Register 1720/1761 ?
Adams/Jordan for land	2	M	Stanhope	1.00	L	yes
Alder/Milner/Holmes	3	M	Eastman	3.00		yes
Aldom/Barker	2	M	Holmes, Robert	2.00		yes
Aldridge/Maybank	2	M	Twinning	4.00		yes
Allen	1		Taylor, R	4.00		yes
Allen	1		Singfield	3.00		yes
Allum	1		Heddington, Mrs	2.00		no
Armistead, Richard	1		Beck, Wm	3.00		yes
Ash	1		Harding	2.00		yes
Askew	1		Armistead	1.00		no
Austall	1		Dawson	4.00		no
Ayles	1		Cole, Stephen	4.00		no
Ballantine	1		Swann	7.00		yes
Ballantine, field	1		Heddington, Mrs	3.00		yes
Ballantine, for land	1		Spyers, Joshua	6.00	L	yes
Ballantine, house and garden	1		Spyers, Joshua	8.00		yes
Ballenjain	1		Izard	3.00		no
Barker	1		Hindley	8.00		yes
Barker	1		Spyers, Joshua	3.00		yes
Barker	1		Cole, Stephen	2.00		yes
Barker/Aldom	2	M	Holmes, Robert	3.00		yes
Barkers	1		Cole, Stephen	2.00		yes
Barns, John	1		Holmes, Robert	3.00		yes
Bates/Hamilton/Palmer	3	M	Twinning	7.00		yes
Battie	1		Holmes, Robert	3.00		yes
Battie, Dr	1		Walpole	15.00		yes

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My thanks are due to Dr Richard Cashmore, of the Twickenham Local History Society, for advice and criticism during the preparation of this paper. The opinions expressed, and any residual errors, remain my responsibility.

NOTES

Abbreviations:

LMA: London Metropolitan Archive

SOG: Society of Genealogists

¹ Quoted in S Reynolds (ed) *A History of the County of Middlesex Vol III* (1962), 153. This despite a smelly tannery next to Pope's Grove: D H R Cashmore (2003) private communication.

² D H Simpson *Twickenham Society in Queen Anne's Reign* Twickenham Local History Society Paper 35 (1976), 2.

³ W Lewis *Horace Walpole* (1961), 155.

⁴ R W Pearson *Beyond the Arcadian Landscape: Real Life in Eighteenth Century Twickenham* MA dissertation Birkbeck College, University of London (2000).

⁵ LMA Document MR/PLT. *Twickenham in the County of Middlesex: An Assessment made this 4th day of June 1767*.

⁶ C R Chapman *Pre-1841 Censuses and Population Listings* (4th edn, 1994), 48.

⁷ L Soltow 'The distribution of property values in England and Wales in 1798' *Economic History Review* 34 no. 1 (1981), 60–70; G J Wilson 'The land tax problem' *Economic History Review* 35 no. 3 (1982), 422–6; D E Ginter 'A wealth of problems with the land tax' *Economic History Review* 35 no. 3 (1982), 416–21.

⁸ R W Unwin *Search Guide to the English Land Tax 1693–1963: Historical Background* (1982), 9.

⁹ P Riden *Local History: A Handbook for Beginners* (1998), 67.

¹⁰ SOG document MX/R205. *The Parish Registers of Twickenham, Middlesex. Baptisms 1538–1794*. Indexed from 1720. (Analysed in note 4).

¹¹ See note 10.

¹² See note 10.

¹³ W S Lewis (ed) *Walpole's Correspondence. Vol 9* (1980), 135: Letter to Lady Diana Newport.

¹⁴ LMA Document ACC 790/81. *An Alphabetical Poll taken for the County of Middlesex, 8th of March 1749, for the*

Election of One Knt. Of the Shire in ... of Sir William Smithson Bart., created Earl of Northumberland.

¹⁵ E A Morris & T H R Cashmore *Church Street, Twickenham Borough of Twickenham Local History Society Occasional Paper 7* (1999); The Cole Papers Vol 56 Appendix A: Borough of Richmond and Twickenham Local History Library.

¹⁶ *The Dictionary of National Biography* is unclear on this point.

¹⁷ L H Hawkins *Memoires, Anecdotes, Facts, and Opinions Collected and Observed by Laetitia Matilda Hawkins* (1824).

¹⁸ D Lysons *The Environs of London Vol 3* (1795). Dr Lysons estimated that the population of Twickenham had risen to approximately 3,500 by the end of the century. According to Dr Cashmore, the 1801 census puts the size of the population at 3,138 (private communication).

¹⁹ P Laslett *The World We Have Lost – Further Explored* (1983), 119.

²⁰ See note 4.

²¹ T H R Cashmore 'The Twickenham poor in the 18th century: the evidence of the Poor Law overseers' disbursement accounts 1748–1800' *Research Memorandum for the Twickenham Local History Society* (1994/6).

²² *The Reports of the Commissioners Appointed in Pursuance of Various Acts of Parliament to Enquire Concerning CHARITIES in England and Wales, Relating to the County of Middlesex 1819–1837*.

²³ See note 4.

²⁴ Middlesex Session Books and Orders of the Court Calendar April: 1722 to Feb: 1726/27 (60.225) 800–849. Session Book – no 871. Sessions held at Westminster October 1723, p. 103.

²⁵ Middlesex Session Books and Orders of the Court Calendar April: 1727 to Dec: 1729. (60.225). Sessions Book – no 871. Sessions held at Hicks Hall May 1729. Orders of the Court, Vol. III.

²⁶ W S Lewis (ed) *Walpole's Correspondence Vol 29* (1980), 160: Letter to Rev William Mason 9 October 1781.

²⁷ H Pye *The Principal Seats in and about Twickenham* (1775).

²⁸ B Gascoigne & J Ditchburn *Images of Twickenham with Hampton and Teddington* (1981).

²⁹ *ibid*, 11.

³⁰ B Pearce (1992) *The Fashioned Reed: Poets of Twickenham Borough of Twickenham Local History Society Publication no. 67* (1992), 9.

A SUMMARY OF PAPERS READ AT THE LAMAS LOCAL HISTORY CONFERENCE HELD AT THE MUSEUM OF LONDON ON 16 NOVEMBER 2002: 'BUYING AND SELLING IN METROPOLITAN LONDON'

SHOPS AND TRADING BUILDINGS IN LONDON, 1200–1700

John Schofield

London had streets lined with shops in the 13th century. Changes in their function and character over the five centuries can be worked out from archaeological evidence, comparison with surviving buildings elsewhere in England, documentary sources, maps and plans. Cheapside was the centre of the retail area by 1300. Selds, individual small bazaars possibly specialising in single commodities, were to be found up alleyways off the main street.

We expect that medieval shops were very like those which survive in Tudor buildings, such as at Lavenham. The first plans of shops for London are in the Treswell surveys of around 1610. They show different types, ranging from the single room lock-up to the combined shop/warehouse/private dwelling.

Some undercrofts may have been used as shops; but, from the 15th century, use of the ground-floor warehouse seems to have been spreading. The access to domestic, trade, and storage areas of the larger houses was explicitly controlled.

The Great Fire of 1666, though destructive, has been over-emphasised by historians. Apart from a few public buildings, there were no new building forms, only the same houses and shops

now clothed in brick. However, by 1700 flat bottle-glass windows were being introduced, providing greater opportunity for display and the better-class shops were moving towards the Court and the new fashionable squares developing in that quarter.

RETAIL TRADE IN MEDIEVAL HARROW ON THE HILL AND PINNER

Patricia A Clarke

Harrow on the Hill and Pinner, about three miles apart, were two of the nine rural settlements of the Manor of Harrow. Harrow on the Hill occupied some 300 acres at the top of the hill and had about 25 to 30 families, while Pinner consisted of about 3,000 acres with a population of about 500 or 600 people, almost a third of the total in the manor.

Information about trading in the period 1300–1600 is drawn from the court rolls of the manor. They contain the assizes of bread and ale, which regulated quality, marketing, and price, and also record penalties imposed for similar offences in the sale of some other goods, plus occasional references to occupations in property transactions.

The goods traded were comestibles – bread, ale, meat, and victuals (usually small quantities

of items like eggs, cheese, poultry, spices) – leather goods including footwear, clothing, and smith's goods – never specified but implied from the presence of smiths.

The impetus for trading in these items, rather than all of them being produced at home, was probably threefold. For example, capital and economy of scale would make the use of a commercially sized oven worth while, because by no means every household had an oven. The same might be true for meat animals, the intermediary butcher smoothing out both supply and demand, particularly of the larger beasts. Skills would be another good reason for trading, the smith being the foremost example in the village, followed by the shoemaker and the tailor. The smith would also need capital for tools and furnace. The third force was in regard to goods not available locally – preservatives, spices, sugar, currants, maybe even candles of quality – and the victualler was usually the purveyor of these. He was probably the only true retailer in the village, at a time when the ethos of trade was still for it to be a direct transaction between producer and customer. The butcher may have been a retailer, in whole or in part, according to whether he killed for specific customers or sold meat from several sources.

Because the sources depend so heavily upon the reporting of offences, the picture may be biased and incomplete. They do not indicate whether any type of trade was regularly present. The one most commonly mentioned is ale-selling. The number of brewers and sellers fluctuated widely, reaching nearly 40 on some occasions in the late 14th century, but settling to an average of six to ten thereafter. Common brewers or sellers were usually fined for three offences at 2d. each, others for one or two. A good many females appeared in both categories, sometimes forming the majority, and it was the only occupation where they were sometimes shown in their own right, and not as someone's wife or widow. Offences included: using measures not yet certified by the aletaster (Richard Waps of Pinner, April 1430), refusing to let the aletaster make his tests (Richard Smith of Pinner, April 1436), overcharging (almost everyone), selling lower grade as higher grade (William Danby of Pinner, April 1425), selling without putting up the customary sign of the alehoop (John Danby of Pinner, 1419), selling after the sign was taken in (all of them from time to time), refusing to sell

(Matilda Tailour of Pinner, April 1388), adulterating ale with filthy water from the ditch (Richard Tanner of Harrow Weald, April 1422). The examples given are not the only ones.

For most trades except the ale trade, offenders did not feature as frequently; there were seldom more than two at a time, and the normal offence was overcharging.

Different sorts of bread were sold. William Wyke was selling white bread (superior) in April 1428, while William Heat, Alice Edward, and William Prest were baking or selling cocket bread (second quality) and cribble bread (coarse) at Harrow on the Hill in April 1477. Some bakers were from outside the manor, coming from Uxbridge and Ruislip.

The butchers tended to come from just a few families, one in particular, the Downers, carrying on with few breaks throughout the 15th century, sometimes in Harrow on the Hill, sometimes in Pinner. Very occasionally a butcher was fined for selling bad meat.

Victuallers were not mentioned in the records until the 15th century. Some alternated as victualler or aleseller. William Downer of Pinner traded also in Harrow on the Hill – and once he was called a spicer, once a candlemaker, and once a victualler and cookshop owner (*pistenarius*).

There were tanners in Harrow on the Hill, two on one occasion, overcharging. Shoemakers or cobblers were in both places, usually two in Pinner, one of whom, John Danby, was fined for using improperly cured leather in April 1457. Tailors were twice fined for overcharging in 15th-century Pinner, both from the same family. No smith was fined.

Apart from some of the bakers these were local men, but there is no way of telling whether they derived their whole livelihood from trade. They usually had a house, either owned or rented, and a little common field land, but were not yeomen with substantial amounts of land. There was a tendency for skilled trades to stay in a family for two generations – it is observable with butchers, shoemakers, smiths, and tailors; but was less often the case with alesellers and bread sellers. Diversification did occur, usually the combination of an aleseller or brewer with a victualler or butcher.

Pinner and Harrow on the Hill were the chief places in the manor for traders, well placed geographically to serve the two halves of it. Most, but not all, the other hamlets had an aleseller,

and once or twice a baker or butcher was recorded in one or other. Harrow on the Hill and Pinner each had a weekly market and an annual fair, the only ones in north-west Middlesex, which may be an indication that customers also came from outside the manor, though there is no direct evidence that they did. Trade must have been more important to Harrow on the Hill, only a quarter of whose residents had land, than to Pinner. It had a 'Pie Powder House', and its market seems to have flourished, whereas there is no indication that Pinner's market did. Both places maintained their business supremacy into modern times, but Harrow on the Hill pulled further ahead.

As to the fairs, Harrow's has gone while Pinner's survives, but apart from their foundation, nothing is known about either before modern times.

CLOTHING SHOPS IN PRIMROSE HILL, NW1: THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO LOCAL AND NATIONAL TRENDS

Caroline Cooper

People living in the new Victorian suburb of Primrose Hill had three obvious places to shop: the local streets, a little further away in Camden and Kentish Town, or the West End. Primrose Hill was a socially mixed area right from the start, so its inhabitants are likely to have used all three – variably, and perhaps according to class. It is about clothing and footwear that they are likely to have been most particular, to have perhaps gone further afield, and this talk explores their options.

By 1868 the area as we know it today was substantially built. It had one main shopping street, Regent's Park Road, and various short retail terraces in the side streets – a total of about 80 shops. All essentials could be bought within five minutes of home: food, household goods, pharmaceuticals *etc.* For clothing there were three milliners, three tailors, two haberdashers, and a bootmaker. There were no drapers, so people must have bought fabric elsewhere; the nearest option would have been the busy and competitive high streets of Camden or Kentish Town, both with several drapers and street markets. (Those men who commuted to central London would have bought clothes near their place of work.)

The main lure of the West End from the 1870s was department stores, their innovation perhaps not coincidental with the rise of white-collar workers, the very class which had moved into much of Primrose Hill. They were cheaper than small retailers, displayed prices (unlike more exclusive boutiques), and demanded immediate cash payment. Ready-made, up-to-date clothing was a major attraction and women could browse there. With restaurants where a lady could be seen alone, and – very important – lavatories, department stores facilitated a whole day's 'outing' for the Victorian housewife: shopping as indulgence rather than necessity.

However it took time – 40 minutes' walk south through Regent's Park – or money to get there: a hackney cab from Primrose Hill to the West End cost about two days' wages for most people. Trams ran only as far as the Euston Road, and even bus fares were too high for the poor. Besides, once you had walked to Chalk Farm or Camden Town in search of public transport, you might as well shop there. On the other hand, making your purchases just up the road had the attraction of convenience, neighbourliness, and opening hours even longer than in the West End. Because of the small scale of retailing, prices would be higher than elsewhere; but, in competition with each other, the shops might be nervous about refusing credit.

Small shops are a barometer of social change. Towards the end of the 1800s, Primrose Hill was pretty poor. Booth's Map of London Poverty, 1889, shows its larger houses as 'upper-middle and upper class: comfortable to wealthy, the servant-keeping class'. But most of the smaller terrace houses register in the Directories as 'apartments' or 'lodging houses' and were crammed with people, usually one large family per two-roomed floor. There must have been much demand for clothing. By 1889 three linendrapers had come to Primrose Hill, so you could at last buy your fabrics locally. Any of three dressmakers or three tailors could make them up for you. There was a milliner (though no haberdasher) and no fewer than six bootmakers. The first, and so far only, shop selling ready-made clothes was a juvenile outfitter, perhaps because of residential schools nearby. The one dyer probably did quite well, as people spent much of their lives in mourning. And so you could look smart at the funerals, there were then two hairdressers.

At the death of Queen Victoria in 1901,

Primrose Hill had two drapers and a furrier. But there were no fewer than eighteen services. Bootmakers were up from six to seven. There was the usual spread of half a dozen dressmakers and tailors, but the milliner had gone. There was one dyer, a laundry, and a staymaker. They were rivalled by two new nearby West End stores: from 1907, Debenham & Freebody in Wigmore Street; and from 1909, Selfridges, the largest store in England.

By the 1920s the chain stores were multiplying fast – though Primrose Hill has always been too small to have any. In 1929, signs of the beginning of the Depression can be seen. The small amount of clothing retail consisted of two linendrapers, and one ladies' outfitter, whereas people offering skilled services had increased to twenty-three. The most telling statistic is that there were no fewer than five boot *repairers*, a new classification. There was also one *repairing* tailor.

In 1945 there was a draper, a ladies outfitter, and the usual spread of cobblers and needleworkers. But apart from various food outlets, the other premises seem to have been occupied by small industrial workshops.

By 1957, the year in which Macmillan said 'You've never had it so good', Primrose Hill had one ladies outfitter and one draper. Ready-made clothes were cheap and plentiful – the great age of Marks & Spencer – so there was no dressmaker. However services were plentiful: notably, there were no fewer than seven laundries/cleaners – not surprising now sooty engines passed by so frequently on the Euston line through Chalk Farm.

In the 1960s, supposedly the time of Swinging London, Primrose Hill was seedy. Clearly no one bought their clothes there, as in 1965 there were no dress or shoe shops, merely two haberdashers. There were the usual twenty or so people offering services, including – new and exciting – a launderette.

Today Primrose Hill is very fashionable and expensive – getting cleaner and coming up in the world ever since the electrification of the railway in 1965. Trendy designers and architects work there, and ready-made clothes have reappeared – probably, for the first time ever, expensive and highly fashionable ones, displayed (often unpriced) in the windows of the ten boutiques. About the only thing that has remained roughly constant over the 140 years or so is the number of hairdressers: there are now

four. But there is something quite new. There are three beauty parlours...

KNIGHTSBRIDGE NEIGHBOURS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HARVEY NICHOLS AND HARRODS

Alan Cox

Both Harvey Nichols and Harrods began in single shops and gradually expanded into adjacent properties.

The overwhelming number of department stores had their origins, like Harvey Nichols, as drapery stores, but Harrods, which started in groceries, was a major exception. This made it vulnerable to competition from the two great middle-class co-operatives which originated in the 1840s, the Civil Service Stores and the Army & Navy Stores. These were amongst the earliest form of department stores, and Harrods responded by demanding immediate full payment in cash, and thereby lowered its prices to compete with the co-operatives. The emphasis at this time was on cheapness, and one customer at the time found Harrods a 'dirty place but cheap'.

Harvey Nichols preferred to be more exclusive, and, unlike Harrods, did not advertise before the 1920s, preferring to rely on the word-of-mouth recommendations of its well-to-do customers.

Department stores were therefore presented with the dilemma of how socially inclusive or exclusive they should be. One solution in the 1890s was to be found at Marshall & Snelgrove, where there were virtually two stores under one roof. That part entered discreetly from Vere Street catered for the 'more select' customers, while the 'less-exalted' entered from Oxford Street. And, of course, as happened with Harrods, the same store might be cheap and cheerful at one stage in its history and expensive and fashionable at another.

The 1890s saw the completion of the total rebuilding of Harvey Nichols and the beginning of a much longer but equally comprehensive rebuilding of Harrods, not completed until 1912. These rebuildings were part of a more general rebuilding of the metropolis in a much grander manner thought suitable for a great imperial power. The architect of both new stores was Charles William Stephens, a lesser-known architect but very locally based. This was crucial, because in both cases construction had to be

carefully phased, to allow trading to continue throughout the rebuilding period. Harrods interiors were particularly lavish and opulent, although an American store manager complained that he found himself 'admiring the fixtures and really not seeing the goods'. In recent years these interiors have been restored and indeed augmented by the new Egyptian halls. In contrast Harvey Nichols has obliterated or concealed all vestiges of the older fabric. Instead its interiors are totally anonymous, so that the focal points are the counters and their designer goods, and, to some extent, the customers themselves.

While Harrods has a steel-framed structure, it is clad in masonry to resemble a conventional building of the time. It was the American, Gordon Selfridge, who more fully exploited the steel frame in the first part of his Oxford Street store, erected very rapidly in 1908–9. Its impressive three-storey, metal-and-glass infill panels pointed the way forward, and were precursors of the fully glazed curtain-wall. Thus, when Harvey Nichols and Harrods came to add large inter-war extensions, these aped Selfridges rather than their own earlier buildings.

Comparison of the two Knightsbridge stores raises the question of what actually constitutes a department store. By 1912 Harrods had become a 'Universal Provider', where it was quite literally possible to buy anything from a pin to an elephant. Harvey Nichols on the other hand continued to describe itself as a drapers, and right up to the present day has concentrated on a much narrower range of goods, with a strong emphasis on fashion at its most chic.

After the First World War the department stores found themselves under threat. In particular, there was a massive increase in mass-produced goods, which relied upon nationally advertised brand names, rather than the individual reputations of department stores. Linked to this was the new retailing phenomenon of the chain store, such as C & A, British Home Stores, or Burtons the Tailors. There were, therefore, a host of mergers and take-overs amongst department stores. Harrods was one of the predators, and its acquisitions included Dickens & Jones, Swan & Edgar, D H Evans, and Shoobredes. Harvey Nichols, on the other hand, was taken over in 1919–20 by Debenhams, to whom it was already heavily in debt.

After the Second World War, department stores had to take account of the new 'Youth Culture', becoming less stuffy and offering

in-house boutiques. They also resorted with great success to the 'shop-within-shop', with the perfumery or couturier houses having their own counters, manned by their own staff.

There is one last major contrast between the two stores. Harrods has from quite early on used its history as a means of publicity, and promotes itself as an important part of Britain's heritage. Harvey Nichols, however, has consistently ignored its history, and has only been concerned to be the place of the moment, offering all that is the newest and latest in fashions.

'GENTLEMEN, MERCHANTS, AND SHOPKEEPERS, IN TOWN OR COUNTRY': THE IMPORTANCE OF LONDON IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF DISTANCE SHOPPING

Nancy Cox and Karin Dannehl

This paper is a draft for a chapter in *Perceptions of Retailing in the Early-modern Period* by Nancy Cox and Karin Dannehl, to be published by Ashgate in 2005. Its purpose is to focus upon the way London influenced changing practices of shopping in the 18th century.

The concept that the retail sale of goods was once tied exclusively to the direct exchange of real goods for actual money between seller and buyer has long been eroded by solid evidence to the contrary. It remains a mode of exchange still used by retailers and customers today, and our familiarity with it in turn provides the confidence to experiment with forms of distance acquisition involving the virtual reality of e-shopping and banking on the web. In many ways, these may seem startlingly new and different, seemingly sufficient grounds to argue for yet a new consumer and retail revolution.

This would be folly. It could cut off the modern retailing world from that of our forebears, who in the early-modern period were already experimenting with complex notions of retail trade, notions that have themselves played a part in fashioning modern concepts of acquisition and exchange. For the last three centuries at least, the concept of acquisition as a face to face encounter between the buyer and the seller has ceased to be anything more than merely one way of shopping in many. The basic activity has given rise to manifold alternative ways to make

profit for the retailer, and to satisfy the desires of the consumer. Like the use of credit for example, most forms involve managing a physical space separating the people involved in the transaction, the goods themselves, and the money that is paid for them.

For many London in 1700 was an idealised and distant city where the streets were paved with gold and where even poor Dick Whittington could rise to be Lord Mayor. For those with neither a direct experience of visiting London nor a network of friends and relatives to pass on information and advice from the capital, the printed word began to provide an alternative conduit for appreciating the place of London in the real world. Newspapers, pocket books, and the promotional literature of the trading community all worked to make London central to most aspects of life, but particularly to fashion. At the same time, these sources of information allowed people, who may not have thought of doing so, to adopt or to modify London modes to their own circumstances and to acquire London goods.

One consequence of this broadened experience was an expansion in what may usefully be called 'distance shopping in reverse'. Provincial retailers attempted to counteract the impact of London by suggesting that the quality of their wares and the prices they charged compared favourably with those offered in the capital. Some even went further and attempted to bring London to the provinces by stressing their own privileged access to the fount of fashion. Others advertised their own metropolitan experience or employed London-trained workers. Ironically the same advances in information technology that made it possible for provincial retailers to bring London

to the provinces, also gave similar opportunities to their London rivals to attract country customers and to entice them to buy direct from the capital.

London retailers had probably long offered a service of distance shopping to wealthy customers who had their own networks of communication using residents as informants and proxy buyers. The 18th-century ventures of London retailers into distance shopping had two distinctive features. Firstly, some apparently adapted their promotional literature better to inform the inexperienced country shopper, although at present little is known about how hand bills and trade cards came to the knowledge of these potential distant consumers. Secondly, in the last few decades of the 18th century some retailers started to produce extensive catalogues of their wares similar to those associated with mail order in the 19th century. These catalogues contained detailed instructions about packaging and charges for carriage and included information about how long the goods would survive in other climates, where appropriate. If most of these catalogues were intended primarily for those going overseas, at least some seem to have had the home market very much in mind.

Distance shopping was not a simple process. It developed, and develops still, in the context of the dissemination of knowledge. In the 18th century it took many forms, some of which were the forerunners of 19th-century mail order, and all were in direct ancestral line to the present adventures into virtual reality and e-shopping. In the complicated interplay between the dissemination of knowledge and the development of new forms of distance shopping during the 18th century, London played an important part.

REVIEWS

Excavations at Medieval Cripplegate, London: Archaeology after the Blitz, 1946–68. By Gustav Milne, with Nathalie Cohen. English Heritage Archaeological Reports, 2002. Pp. xiv + 153, 149 figs. ISBN 1 85074 771 7. Price: £35.00 pb.

This book bears a second subtitle, 'Based on the work of Professor W F Grimes for the Roman and Mediaeval London Excavation Council, and related research by the Museum of London and by University College London'. The lion's share of the raw material for the book is from Grimes, who will always, deservedly, be identified with the post-Second World War campaign of excavations in the City of London, of which he wrote his own substantial account, *The Excavation of Roman and Mediaeval London*, in 1968. When Grimes entrusted the records and finds of this campaign to the Museum of London, in the 1990s, it was understood that, with English Heritage's generous support, the material would be suitably published. The present volume, the fourth in a series of five, is in fact an up-to-date area study, as well as a sensitive exposition of old material, and as such is a model of its kind, amply illustrated from a variety of sources.

Cripplegate, in the north-west corner of the City, was probably the City's archaeological hot spot, thanks to Grimes, until the Museum of London's own archaeologists, Milne prominent among them, began fieldwork in the 1970s. Covering perhaps one-eighth of the area within the city walls, it contained a concentration of evidence for the medieval city's defences, domestic and civic buildings of many kinds, churches and graveyards, which Grimes could only sample. This new book, written some 30–50 years after Grimes' fieldwork, does three main things with respect to this evidence. Firstly, it presents certain information for the first time. Grimes was excavating the site of St Mary Aldermanbury, for example, while his 1968 book was being published,

after the standing remains of the church had been dismantled to be rebuilt in the USA, and he later published only the merest summary. The book therefore devotes more space to this than to any other site, and describes how Grimes worked, or, to be more exact, supervised in phone calls and weekly visits the work of one assistant and a couple of labourers. Grimes usually augmented his field-notes with plans and sections, which he drew and lettered for publication with beautiful neatness and graphical logic. In this case there seem to have been few drawings, and the interpretation of the development of the church, in eight successive phases, is necessarily Milne's rather than Grimes's. Unfortunately the need for economy meant that the buried human remains of medieval Londoners, in this as in the other church sites Grimes excavated, were ignored; and in some respects Grimes did not improve, as he might have done in the 1960s, on his methods, tried, tested and relatively cheap, of the late 1940s.

Secondly, the book brings together a variety of information that has already appeared in different, scattered forms, and, crucially, takes advantage of the opportunity to reconsider this information in the light of the most recent discoveries and interpretations, including analysis and recording of standing remains associated with Grimes's sites, which he had been forced to leave undone, and re-examination of the pottery he collected. This constitutes the bulk of the book, some of the detail being contributed by others. Thus Mike Webber reassesses the evidence for an outer ditch, redug when the Roman defences were reinstated, and Jacqui Pearce re-examines the surviving pottery. Some readers may doubt that the evidence for dating the recutting of the defensive ditch to the 'tenth century, certainly by the early eleventh century' is as definite as is claimed, although in the context of the reoccupation of the walled site of Roman London such a date makes sense. Nathalie Cohen reviews the evidence for

Neville's Inn, a town house centred on a courtyard and hall, and for the halls of the Brewers' and the Barber Surgeons' companies, recent elevation drawings bringing the record of the latter up to date. Cohen scrupulously reinterprets Grimes's archaeological evidence for the church of St Alban, Wood Street; Grimes's original six phases are amplified to ten, as his multiphase plan is anatomised and reassembled phase by phase (figs 98, 99 and 100 tell this story). As with the livery hall, so the histories of the church of St Alphage and Elsing Spital, a hospital for blind men and women, are refined as a result of recent analysis and recording of the latter's standing remains, beside modern London Wall.

Thirdly, the book ends with an essay on the early topographical development of the medieval town, focusing on Cripplegate, and this will probably be of widest, as well as most immediate, interest. Milne expands on his existing thesis for a core area in the town, laid out after the Alfredian reoccupation, c. AD 900, to plot the progressive advance of occupation across the Cripplegate area, using a variety of evidence, including pottery from pits and the layout of buildings and streets. The Roman streets were lost but, as the gates in the walls remained, the line of the streets leading through them tended to be resurrected, doubtless by animals as well as by humans – it's a shame that Addle (or 'cow-dung') Street went in post-War redevelopment. He suggests that the dedication of churches to Olaf and others with Danish connections coincides with an expansion of settlement into the zone between the Alfredian core and the pre-existing walls, in the 11th century, though whether with pro- or anti-Danish sentiment, who knows? Similarly he traces the expansion of the City's wards across this zone, completed by the 12th century. No hard evidence has appeared to support the supposition that there was a Saxon palace in the Cripplegate area, and Grimes's assertion that St Alban's church was of Saxon origin, and therefore might have been the palace chapel, is unfounded. A royal outpost would have been better situated somewhere to the south or west, nearer St Paul's, and Milne mentions possible structural evidence excavated by the Museum of London in 1976. This search, now widened, will continue. We can also look forward to more on the fate, and topographical influence, of the Roman fort underlying medieval Cripplegate, in the last volume in this series, by John Shepherd.

This volume, especially its concluding essay, is

the fruit of a continual process of augmenting and interrogating an archive of archaeological information. The cumulative, transparent nature of this archive is central to our ability to understand the archaeology of London, to making a coherent history from so many different pieces of information gathered at different times by various people, among whom Grimes is most eminent. This book, as we would expect from its authors, is exemplary both as a statement of what is archived and of how this is currently interpreted.

Andrew Westman

London Under Ground: the Archaeology of a City. Edited by Ian Haynes, Harvey Sheldon and Lesley Hannigan. Oxbow Books Monograph, 2000. Pp. 327, 75 figs. ISBN 1 84217 030 9. Price: £35.00 hb.

Late in 1999 I was working on the final edits of the *Archaeology of Greater London (AGL, MoLAS, 2000)* the final stages of which I was managing. Harvey Sheldon, visiting the MoLAS offices then at Queen Victoria Street, popped in briefly to say hello. In the talk that followed we both realised that the other was working on the very final elements of a book that would summarise aspects of the advances of the last quarter century or so in London's archaeology. Both, of course, knew that each other's book was in preparation, but neither knew the extent to which their releases might coincide, nor the extent to which the content would compare or contrast. It was, for me at any rate, a slightly nervous time, since resources to publish archaeological assessments and syntheses are not exactly thick on the ground, and I really did not want to see duplicated work.

It is probably an inherent quality of the breadth of London's archaeology and the numbers of the people who are involved in it, that the two books would contain sections written by the same authors on essentially the same broad subject. It is also a fact of archaeological life that some programmes of work are held up while others accelerate. So with some of the contributors to the lectures that created this volume who were then asked to provide a similar review for *AGL* less than a year later. Or others who had written their contributions for the latter prior to finalising their pieces for *London Under Ground*. Neither book can claim priority or pre-eminence. There are similarities in places (how could there not be?), and

because of this, I wanted readers to be aware of my particular viewpoint.

The book is that relatively rare breed for London's archaeology, a published set of papers originating in a 1997 public lecture series in the Faculty of Continuing Education at Birkbeck College, about the last 25 years of London's archaeology. In this alone, it is to be congratulated, joining the CBA Mid Anglia group's proceedings on Roman London in 1998 and on medieval London in 1999; I hope that this trend can be maintained.

London Under Ground is a well-crafted, hardback volume organised into a broadly chronological sequence of chapters. It is introduced by a detailed look at how the archaeology of London has evolved along with London's identity over the last 150 years and how we have come to be where we are, ending on an upbeat note about the future of archaeology in the context of on-going redevelopment. I shall return to this point. It also ends with a wonderful piece of research detailing key events, discoveries, and publications along the 25-year timeline covered by the volume.

The chronological chapters display a considerable imbalance in treatment, partly, as the editors admit, 'due to the different rate at which current syntheses have been undertaken'. With two chapters on prehistory, six on Roman London, one on the Saxons, three on the medieval, and two on the post-medieval period, there is also, surely, a little bit of bias towards the Romans? Perhaps to be expected from the specialisms of two of the editors, and I don't think an admission of this sort would have been out of place, as this freedom to address a number of facets of Roman London and its hinterland is one of the book's strengths.

Some of the chronological chapters have illustrations, some do not, and unaccountably in my view. For example, Nick Merriman's otherwise exciting offering remarks on a number of new site types or monument classes of the late Bronze Age that have been recognised. For the non-specialist (me), some basic plans might have helped, even if they have been published elsewhere. Mark Hassall's paper introducing the Roman city would also have benefited from a plan at least showing a selection of the sites he mentions. Alan Vince's clear and helpful explanation of the whys and wherefores of tackling London's medieval pottery, again, has not a single sherd to break up the text. Perhaps this uneven treatment is the reason why the book has no figure list.

These gripes aside, how does the book stack up

in terms of content? The chapters on the 4th–1st millennia BC are, as we have come to expect from Messrs Cotton and Merriman, concise, clear, and interesting. These sections provide a perfect springboard to the more detailed treatments in the *Archaeology of Greater London*, and they show comprehensively that we are not very far away from being able to look at the whole London region with a spatial and chronological coherence that begs a new (pre)history to be written. The Roman chapters are something of a grab-bag, covering the nature of the city, Southwark, and the hinterland, and themes of art, religion, and death. Of these, I particularly enjoyed the piece by Martin Henig on art in the capital some 1,700 years ago, and the synthesis of death and burial by Bruno Barber and Jenny Hall. Like the prehistory chapters, one receives a sense of new confidence in writing history, rather than reporting archaeological findings. There are clear indications that the story unfolds still; how would Sheldon have treated the 2nd-century trader's tablet from Southwark, naming LONDINIENSIS? How would parts of Bird's chapter on the Roman environs of London have read if it could have included the reappraisal of the Shadwell 'signal station' (D Lakin *The Roman Tower at Shadwell, London: a Reappraisal* (MoLAS, 2002)), compounded by the amazing find of a possible 2nd-century palace next door, in the autumn of 2002?

Early and Middle Saxon London is synthesised by Cowie for the whole region, in much the same way as was the prehistory, and readers will see a distinct similarity between his offering here and that in *Archaeology of Greater London*. Like the later prehistory chapters, the need to synthesise for a lecture does strip away much of what could be said, but leaves the skeleton of the advances clear to the reader. Despite place-name evidence, very few of the Saxon settlements along the Thames had been located before 1980, and yet Cowie's distribution plan of the whole Greater London area is surely the beginning of regional coherence.

John Clark, departing from overview or theme, provides an account of the history of late Saxon and Norman archaeology in the City of London, and skilfully weaves the array of recent discoveries together with the people and bodies that found them. His plea to reconsider the potential of material long-known in the light of new findings is important. I shall return to this point too. The later medieval period for the City is tackled by John Schofield, who makes it clear that he draws upon work done for *AGL* (modestly playing down

his own very large contribution through books such as *The Building of London* and *Medieval London Houses*). Alan Vince looks carefully at the pottery of medieval London, both through methods of study, and through broad interpretative themes. Taken together, these three medieval essays would provide any student continuing their education (as was the underlying goal behind the lectures) with a solid start in overview, historiography and specialist approaches.

The post-medieval period is, unfortunately, poorly served. Not that there is anything wrong with the papers, far from it. There is just no attempt whatever to summarise what has been achieved in the archaeology of the 17th–19th centuries, the time when London dons its mantle of a truly world-class city. Without this, the paper by Simon Blatherwick on the playhouses sits in splendid isolation. It is an absorbing read providing a powerful reminder of the ability of archaeology to reach hearts and minds. It is also a good assessment of the character of playhouses of this period (thus filling the gap in *AGL* which he so forcefully pointed out in his review in a recent journal). An overview outlining more of the important industrial, commercial, domestic, and religious sites that have been examined would have helped set a wider scene in which to place this archaeology of leisure (and in this *AGL* would have benefited more, too).

The other (principally) early modern paper is exceptionally good. Vanessa Harding examines what can be done with the increasing amount of excavated material from London's burial grounds, using a historian's eye, and any group involved in such a project would do well to take on many of her comments. In particular, she flags up the unique nature of each cemetery or church burial group, and its concomitant skew or bias according to the social, economic, and religious status of its

catchment. The paper also makes the strongest case for multi-disciplinary research using documents, art historical studies, anthropology, osteology, and spatial analysis, with no particular preserve or privilege attached to any strand.

Following the chronological chapters is a useful summary of the work that has been undertaken in the realms of environmental archaeology. It appears as something of a tacked on piece though, and much of this is to do with the nature of the material. As Sidell points out, when dealing with the botanical remains, animal bones, pollen, molluscs and all the other elements of environmental archaeology, 'it is difficult to make statements about London as a whole due to the sheer scale of the area and the time frame involved'. Given this, the results in areas of geoarchaeology, climatic change, and dendrochronology are breathtaking.

The book overall is a very useful introduction to the last 25 years of London's archaeology. It combines historiography with method, thematic synthesis with fresh overview. I think it is pricey at £35, but it will endure, and it has relevance to all involved in archaeology, if only to show that different perceptions of the future abound. Here I return to those points I picked out earlier. The optimism for the next 25 years expressed in the introduction by Sheldon and Haynes is heavily tempered by Sidell who concludes that the competitive basis of current archaeological work and limited funding makes environmental archaeologists 'part of a mechanistic process to transfer basic data from the ground to a filing cabinet'. Clark's plea for us to re-assess some of the older findings in the light of current discoveries is likely to go unanswered if the data from those current discoveries are themselves remaining essentially untapped. So who is right about the future?

Barney Sloane

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