

The Clarendon Hotel, Oxford

PART II : THE BUILDINGS

By W. A. PANTIN

THE purpose of this article is to examine the architectural history of the Clarendon Hotel, Oxford, formerly known as the Star Inn, which was demolished in 1954-5.¹ I am concerned here with the various structures that were examined, that is to say, with the archaeological evidence above ground as distinct from the archaeological evidence below ground, such as the numerous pits that covered the site, and their contents, which throw so much light on late Anglo-Saxon Oxford and on the conditions before the rebuildings of the twelfth century ; that is being dealt with in another article (pp. 1-83).

I. *The Site.* (Cf. Site-plan, FIG. 26)

The area with which we are concerned was bounded by Cornmarket on the east, by Sewy's Lane on the south, and by Bodin's Lane or Frewin Court on the north, and it ran back over two hundred feet to the west.² In the medieval period it was divided into three large blocks, each containing a large house and garden at the back, with a fringe of shops in front ; this no doubt was the way the area was laid out in the twelfth century.³

(1) To the south lay *Pry Hall* (=A on site-plan), later known as the King's Head.⁴ In 1279 it belonged to Thomas Feteplace. There were at least three shops in front, two belonging for a time to Eynsham Abbey, the other belonging to St. Frideswide's. We are not here concerned with the early history of this tenement. Its structural history will be discussed later (p. 114, below). It

¹ I must thank all those whose courtesy and co-operation have made this survey possible, and particularly the proprietors of the site, Messrs. Woolworth, who gave every facility and have kindly contributed towards the cost of publishing this article ; the Ministry of Works, which has made a substantial contribution to the cost of publication ; the various demolition and building contractors, who were most helpful ; Messrs. P. S. Spokes, H. Minn, and the Ashmolean Museum, for help in providing photographs ; the City Architect's Department, Oxford Town Hall, for lending plans ; Messrs. E. M. Jope, E. Clive Rouse, Brian Hope-Taylor, David Sturdy, and members of the Oxford University Archaeological Society and of the Ashmolean Museum staff, for advice and help, particularly in excavation and in rescuing objects such as painted woodwork and plaster-work. Copies of complete plans of all floors of the Clarendon Hotel, as existing c. 1939, are in the Bodleian Library.

² Cf. H. E. Salter, *Map of Medieval Oxford* (Oxford, 1934), Map 2.

³ Cf. the Osney deed of c. 1184-98, cited in footnote 00 below.

⁴ H. E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, North-West ward, pp. 44-7, Nos. 44-6 (Bodleian MS. Top. Oxon., c. 458 : R.13.899/3).

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was not until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century that it came to be made use of by the Star Inn to provide a large coach-entrance and additional stabling for the Star Inn (see below, p. 89). In 1837 and 1849, this tenement was the property of the Duke of Marlborough.

(2) In the middle lay *Marshall Inn* (=BC on site-plan), later known as the Star Inn (15th-19th century) and finally as the Clarendon Hotel. This large tenement, consisting of a house with five shops in front, was given to Oseney Abbey in 1337 by Thomas le Mareshal, hence the name.⁵ By about 1380 this tenement was divided into two parts. The southern part (=B on site-plan) consisted of three shops with a solar above and a very small hall (8 by 15½ feet) at the back.⁶ The northern part (=C on site-plan) was much larger; a lease of 1380 enables us to reconstruct its plan.⁷ It was a timber-framed house built round a courtyard. In front were two shops (2, 3 on plan) flanking an entry (=1), with two chambers above, reached by two stair-turrets (=4, 4) with an 'alure' or gallery between them; across the back of the court was the hall and dispenche (=5, 6), with a chamber above; On the south side of the courtyard there were two chambers (=7) and on the north side, a solar over a cellar (=8); towards the garden on the west (=9) were more chambers and a brewhouse, and presumably the stables. By 1406 Marshall's Inn was already being used as an inn for the reception of travellers; a lease of that year refers to the painted sign (no doubt the Star) hanging outside, and stipulates that the tenants and their lodgers (*hospites*) are not to cause destruction.⁸ By about 1550, and perhaps already in the fifteenth century, the northern and southern halves of the tenement were re-united.⁹ The Oseney repair accounts show some considerable new building in 1457-8 and again in 1477-8, including a new solar.¹⁰ The whole of this tenement seems to have been rebuilt c. 1550, as we shall see (below, p. 94).

⁵ *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S., LXXXIX, 1929), I, 34-50; H. E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, North-West Ward, pp. 48-50, nos. 47-8. In a rental of 1417 it was noted that Marshall Inn was appropriated to the monastic chamberlain of Oseney (*Cartulary of Oseney*, III, 210). Inns were a favourite form of investment for monastic and collegiate corporations, as with The Golden Cross at Oxford, the New Inn at Gloucester, the George Inn at Glastonbury, and the George Inn at Norton St. Philip.

⁶ *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, I, 46.

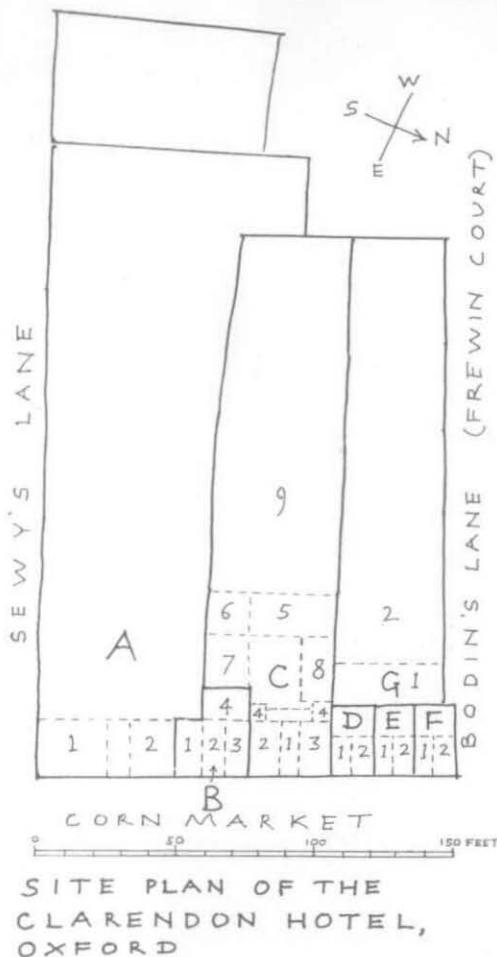
⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 45-6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 47.

⁹ For leases from 1560 to 1863, see *Ibid.*, I, 48-50; for rentals for this and adjoining tenements, 1260-1498, see *Ibid.*, III, 102-276.

¹⁰ Bodleian MS., Wood, F.10, fo. 56v: Item sol. pro novo edificio apud le Sterr' ut patet per parcelas xvij li. x s. j d. (1457-8); fo. 191: Item sol. pro factura duorum novo caminorum apud le Sterre, unde unus in coquina et alter in camera...; fo. 191v: Item sol. pro factura novorum murorum et caminorum pro novo edificio et pro prosternacione antique domus ibidem et murorum eiusdem... Et Willelmo Perkyns carpentario pro factura novi solarii de meremio quercino per taxum ibidem, and other expenses amounting to £15.10.11 d. (1477-8). There are also references to a small stable (fo. 9v: 1452-3) and a great stable (fol. 45: 1456-7) in this tenement.

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- A PYRY HALL, LATER THE KING'S HEAD INN
12 SHOPS
- B-C MARSHALL'S INN, LATER STAR INN (OSENEY)
- B SOUTHERN PART (AS IN 1382):
1 SHOP (GODSTOW)
2-3 SHOPS (ST. FRIDESWIDE'S)
SOLAR ABOVE 1-2-3
4 HALL
- C NORTHERN PART (AS IN 1380):
1 ENTRY
2-3 SHOPS; CHAMBERS ABOVE
4 STAIR CASES WITH 'ALLURE' BETWEEN
5 HALL; GREAT CHAMBER ABOVE
6 DISPENCE
7 TWO CHAMBERS
8 MIDDLE SOLAR; CELLAR BELOW
9 STABLES (?) AND GARDEN
- D SETRETON'S TENEMENT (OSENEY)
1-2 SHOPS; CELLAR BELOW, SOLAR ABOVE
- E MARMION'S TENEMENT (OSENEY)
1-2 SHOPS
- F CORNER TENEMENT (OSENEY)
1-2 SHOPS
- G 'PRINCIPALIS MANSIO IN VENELLA' (OSENEY)
1 HOUSE
2 GARDEN AND BREWHOUSE
- B+C DIVIDED BY C. 1380, UNITED BY C. 1560
- D+G UNITED FROM C. 1317
- B+C+D+G UNITED C. 1783
- E+F UNITED C. 1783
- B+C+D+E+F+G UNITED C. 1839

FIG. 26

(3) To the north lay a block of tenements (=DEFG on site-plan) which had probably all been Oseney property since the twelfth century. One of these tenements consisted of a fairly large house (=G on site-plan), lying back from the street, with a garden and a brewhouse¹¹; this was called in the documents *terra Segrim in venella* or *principalis mansio in venella*, presumably because it was entered from Bodin's Lane (Frewin Court). In front of this were three tenements (=DEF on site-plan), each having two small shops, about seven or

¹¹ *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, I, 60-1; H. E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford, North-East Ward*, p. 54, no. 55.

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eight feet wide, suitable for cordwainers, probably all built by Oseney *c.* 1150-80. The southernmost tenement (=D),¹² known as Setreton's, was built over the twelfth century cellar which survived (with some alterations) until the demolition in 1954-5 (see below, p. 106); above the cellar were two shops, and above them a solar. An Oseney deed of *c.* 1184-98 describes these shops or selds as those *quas edificavimus super terram quam Ricardus Brito de nobis tenuit in magno vico Oxen'*.¹³ This tenement (D) and the larger *principalis mansio* behind (G) were united together to form an L-shaped house at least from *c.* 1317 or perhaps even from the late twelfth century. Of the two other front tenements, the middle one (=E), known as Marmion's, with its two shops, had belonged to Oseney in the twelfth century, passed to St Frideswide's from before 1279 to 1482, and then returned to Oseney¹⁴; while the tenement at the corner of Bodin's Lane (=F), with its two shops,¹⁵ seems to have belonged to Oseney from the twelfth century onwards. For a long time after the end of the middle ages the tenements described above remained grouped as follows: A/BC/DG/E/F. Then about 1783 BC and DG were united, and E and F also united. Finally, by about 1839 BC, DG, EF were all united,¹⁶ together with part of A, and by this time the whole run of these tenements had been given a uniform façade, which would make the casual observer think that the whole of the Clarendon had been built in one piece. By contrast, however, a section through the building from north to south shows the different floor levels within, reflecting the history of the different tenements (FIG. 29).

The middle and northern blocks (B, C, D, E, F, G on site-plan) passed with other Oseney property to Christ Church after the Dissolution, and were sold by Christ Church to the Clarendon Hotel Company in 1863.¹⁷ By that time the southern block (A), formerly the property of the Duke of Marlborough, had passed into the hands of Mr. S. Y. Griffith, who was also lessee of the middle and northern blocks which constituted the hotel (see below, pp. 128-9).

The general pattern that is observable here is very characteristic of medieval Oxford: a fringe of shops masking the larger tenements at the back, of a type that could be used as inns, academic halls or colleges. This particular

¹² *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, I, 50-6; H. E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, North-East Ward, p. 51, nos. 49-50.

¹³ *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, I, 52-3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 56-8; Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, North-East Ward, p. 52, nos. 51-2.

¹⁵ *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, I, 58-60; Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, North-East Ward, p. 53, nos. 53-4.

¹⁶ *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, I, 50.

¹⁷ Note that the four tenements BC, DG, E, F (cf. site-plan) were leased together to a succession of single tenants by Christ Church between 1650 and 1783, but that the four tenements normally had different occupants or sub-tenants; in 1624 and in 1640, the Star (BC) and the next tenement (DG) seem temporarily to have been occupied together; *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, I, 48-50; cf. also the will of Alexander Williams, 1600, where all four tenements are left to various members of his family (below, p. 121).

area on the west side of Cornmarket in early medieval times constituted part of the 'cordwainery', containing shops of the cordwainers or *allutarii* (shoemakers), who had one of the most flourishing of the Oxford gilds.¹⁸ Consequently cordwainers appear among the early tenants of the shops, and among the objects found on the site were many outworn shoes (p. 75) and a small bone stylus which may have been a cordwainer's tool (p. 73). Street frontages in Cornmarket were valuable in the middle ages, which helps to explain the large number and small size of the shops. We do not find here those decayed and derelict tenements which were a feature of the side streets and back streets of Oxford in the later middle ages and made possible the expansion of colleges and college gardens. Some of the shops, however, those in front of the Star Inn and the King's Head, seem to have been taken over and incorporated into the inns by the middle of the sixteenth century, as also happened at the Golden Cross across the way.¹⁹ A medieval English town like Oxford had much more open space than is generally realized—whether we regard this as an amenity, or a symptom of decay or arrested development—and serious overcrowding did not begin till after the sixteenth century. Here as elsewhere in Oxford, the built-up area was concentrated on the street end of the tenements; in the middle ages three-quarters or more of the space was apparently occupied by courts or gardens at the back (cf. site-plan, FIG. 26), and even the plan of c. 1832 shows a large area devoted to garden, yards and stabling (cf. FIG. 31, PL. XVII).

II. *Summary of architectural development* (cf. block-plan, FIG. 27)

(1) The Star Inn (=ABCEFGH on block-plan), consisting of timber-framed ranges, c. 1550, built round a small courtyard (=D), and refronted and generally 'modernized' c. 1783, described below, p. 94.

(2) The house over the twelfth century cellar (=J) and the *principalis mansio in venella* (=K), both rebuilt above ground level, c. 1783; described below, p. 106. The adjoining two houses (=L) were entirely rebuilt after 1783, and became part of the hotel about 1839.

(3) At the back, on the site of the stables of the Star, the Assembly room (=M) was built in 1832; the adjoining rooms (=N, O, P) and the Masonic hall (=Q) were built in the course of the next forty years, and are shown on the Ordnance Survey plan (1876); and further back still, an annexe (=R), connected by a bridge, was built in the early twentieth century.

(4) To the south was the King's Head (=U) with a picturesque back range (=V) and yard; the back range was demolished in the late nineteenth

¹⁸ H.E. Salter, *Medieval Oxford* (O.H.S., C, 1936), pp. 61, 84.

¹⁹ *Oxonienia*, xx (1955), 55.

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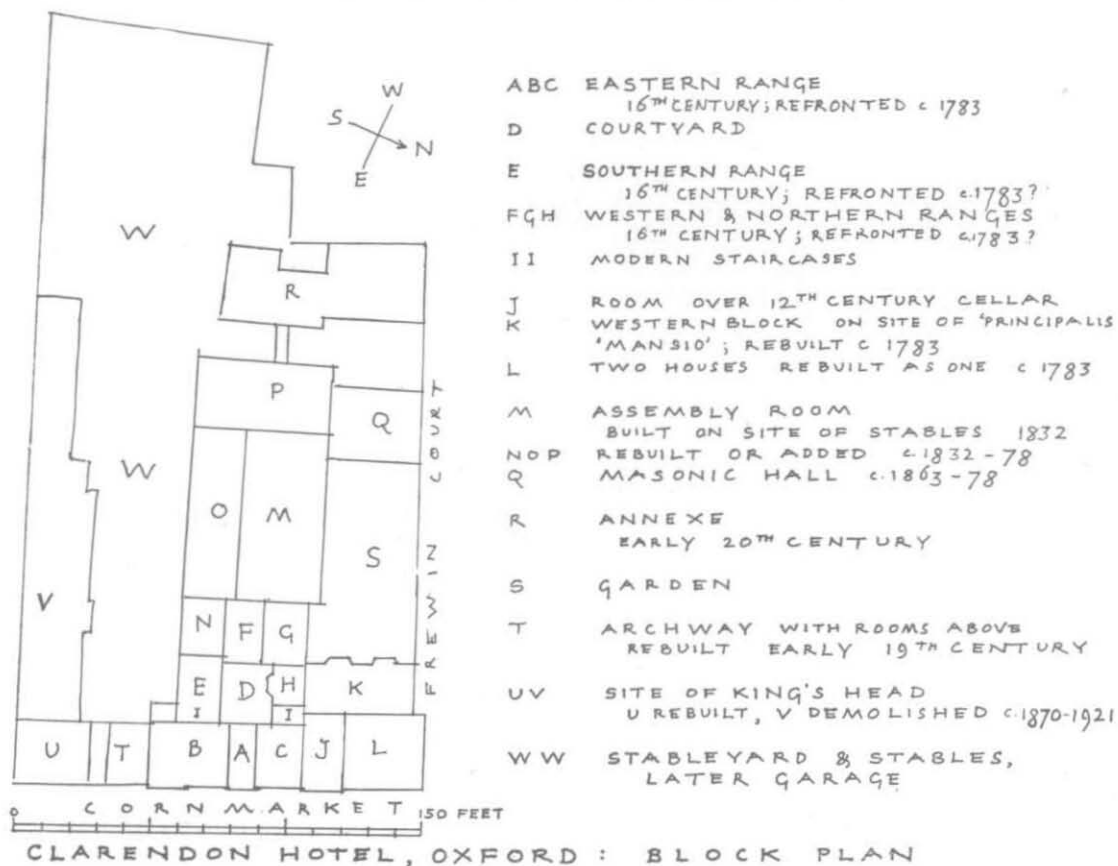


FIG. 27

century and the front part about 1921 (see pp. 114-19, below, PL. XX, and FIG. 37).

The access to the stables went through an interesting process of transformation. At first access was presumably through the entry A, the courtyard D and the further passageway F; this route would be suitable enough for horses but would not admit vehicles of any large size. Consequently, in the late eighteenth century, with the development of larger stage-coaches, came the need for a larger, alternative entry (=T), as a kind of by-pass, leading through the King's Head yard (=W) to the stables at the back (cf. FIGS. 27, 31). The original archway A would then become simply the entrance hall of the inn, and finally the courtyard D was roofed over. At another Oxford inn, the

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Angel in High Street, a similar by-pass was created to give enlarged access to the stable yard behind.²⁰

The plan of the Star Inn and adjacent buildings in the early nineteenth century survives in two versions. The earlier but less complete version is in Bodleian MS. Top. Oxon. a. 24, No. 62, described as: 'Ground Plan of the Star Hotel, Oxford, the Property of Mr. S. Y. Griffith, purchased 4th April 1837' (PL. XVI B). This plan covers the central and northern portions of the area, that is to say, the Star Inn and the premises adjoining on the north, being those parts that belonged to Christ Church, but it omits the southern portion, that is to say, the King's Head and its yard, which are marked as belonging to the Duke of Marlborough. The plan was presumably made when Griffith took over the lease of the Star, which he renewed from Christ Church in September 1839.²¹ The second version is in Bodleian MS. Top. Oxon. c. 227, fo. 9, described as: 'Plan of the King's Head and premises and the Star Hotel and premises in the City of Oxford' (PL. XVII; cf. FIG. 31). This plan is identical with the previous one, except that it covers a larger area, taking in the premises on the south of the Star, namely the King's Head and yard: accompanying letters show that it belongs to the year 1849. The ownership of the different parts of the site is indicated by different colours on the plan, thus:

'Note. The part tinted yellow is held under lease from the University College by his Grace the Duke of Marlborough.' [This is a piece at the extreme western end of the King's Head yard, measuring 84-89 feet by 46 feet.]

'The part tinted pink is Freehold belonging to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough.' [This is the King's Head and yard.]

'The part tinted blue is held under lease from Christ Church College.' [This is the Star Inn and adjacent premises to the north.]

These two plans are important because they show the buildings before the considerable amount of rebuilding that took place in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. There is reason to think that these plans may have been traced from an older plan made in or before 1832, since the Assembly Room was built on the site of the stables in that year; see below, p. 113. In the Star Inn, one should notice the courtyard flanked by two large semi-circular bays, which no doubt served as bars. Beyond, to the left, is a room with a very large fireplace; this was presumably the kitchen, which remained in this position even when this part was rebuilt later, and it probably represents the kitchen since the rebuilding of the sixteenth century. The position of a

²⁰ See plan of the Angel in 1829, *Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist*, ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S., XLVI, 1914), I, plan VI.

²¹ *Cartulary of Osney Abbey*, I, 50.

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kitchen had a way of 'staying put' in the process of gradual rebuilding. Opposite the kitchen are three rooms, probably used as offices, and a staircase; beyond is a narrow yard flanked by stables. It was on this site that the Assembly room was built in 1832. Beyond the narrow courtyard is a larger courtyard also surrounded by stables. To the north of the Star Inn proper are shown the three adjoining tenements (corresponding to DG, E, F on the site-plan); these by now *c.* (1832-1837) had been rebuilt, the back wing having two bay windows, and were evidently incorporated in the Inn; the numbering of the rooms suggests that they were used as inn parlours. At the end of the garden, backing on to the stables, are the privies. To the south is the King's Head, with its wide archway and yard giving access for coaches to the stables beyond. The plan shows the picturesque range which ran along the south side of the King's Head yard; this had a two-storied gallery with rooms opening off—a very characteristic feature of inns (cf. pp. 114-19 and PL. xx).

The returns of the Hearth Tax (1665),²² the Poll Tax (1667)²³ and the Window Tax (1696)²⁴ give some information about the accommodation and size of the tenements we have been examining, during the seventeenth century. Thus the Star Inn was occupied in 1667 by Robert Gilks, innholder, his wife, son, two daughters, two women servants and four other men (not counting of course the transitory guests, who are not given in the return); sixteen hearths are returned in 1665, and twenty windows in 1696. The next tenement to the north, which was probably still united with the *principalis mansio* at the back to form an L-shaped house (cf. DG on site-plan),²⁵ was occupied in 1667 by Sampson Rawlins, chandler, his wife, two sons, three daughters, an apprentice, and a male and female servant; three hearths are given in 1665, eight windows in 1696. The next tenement (=E on site-plan) was occupied in 1667 by two families: John Wilcocks, barber, his wife, two children, and an apprentice; and Fish Lyne, attorney, his wife and child; in 1665, each family has two hearths; the window tax return is obscure here, but this may perhaps be Robert White's tenement with nine windows (1696). The northernmost tenement at the corner of Bodin's Lane (=F on site-plan) was occupied in 1667 by Richard Court, blacksmith, his wife, four children and an apprentice; in this position, the Hearth Tax return seems to indicate Henry Cornish with

²² *Surveys and Tokens*, ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S., LXXV, 1923), 194.

²³ *Ibid.*, 280.

²⁴ *Oxford Council Acts, 1665-1701*, ed. M. G. Hobson (O.H.S., New Ser., II, (1939), 357. The names given in these three returns quoted in this and the two preceding footnotes should be compared with the tenants given in the *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, I, 48-50, and in the 1772 survey in *Surveys and Tokens*, p. 47.

²⁵ This L-shaped building, to the exclusion of the two remaining tenements in the corner, seems to be still indicated in the 1837 plan (plate XVI B).

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eight hearths, and the Window Tax return, Richard Dodwell with twenty windows—but these seem too many for the corner tenement.

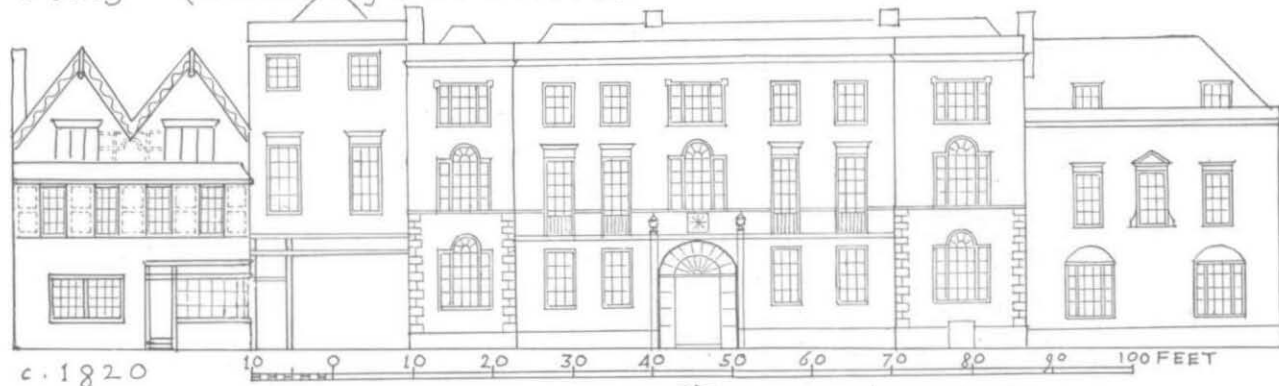
In FIG. 30 an attempt has been made to reconstruct the general appearance of the Star Inn and the adjoining tenements, as seen from the north-west, about the year 1613. The Star Inn is shown as built round a small courtyard. The east range, fronting on to the street, was of two stories, with a cockloft which probably had a row of dormers towards the street; on the ground floor an archway gave access from the street to the courtyard; on the first floor was a gallery giving on to the courtyard, with a staircase at its northern end. All this can be deduced from the structural remains, as will be seen later, except for the dormer windows and the staircase. The south range had on the ground floor a room which was probably the hall, having a continuous row of windows on to the courtyard, with a cellar below; on the north side of the courtyard was another range, and to the west a passageway leading to the stables. All this also can be deduced from the structural remains. What lay west of this, the narrow back-yard flanked by the kitchen and stables, can be deduced only from the early nineteenth century plans, since all this part was swept away when the Assembly room was built in 1832. The general lay-out of the Star Inn, as rebuilt in the sixteenth century, if I have interpreted it rightly, resembled that of the Golden Cross Inn across the way²⁶: a ground floor, one-storey hall lay along one side of a courtyard, having at one end, towards the street, a range containing parlours and chambers, and at the back, kitchen and stables; here, however, the courtyard was a good deal smaller than at the Golden Cross, and it was completely surrounded by ranges of building, whereas the Golden Cross was originally built round three sides of the courtyard only. It may also be noted that whereas in the sixteenth century plan of the Star the hall apparently lay along the south side of the courtyard, in its earlier plan of c. 1380 the hall seems to have lain across the western end of the courtyard, which was perhaps less convenient for allowing access to the stabling beyond.

To the north of the Star Inn, in FIG. 30, is shown the L-shaped house, consisting of two parts: a gabled building abutting on the street, of two stories and a cockloft, above a twelfth century cellar (=Setreton's); and at right angles, at the back of this, a range facing on to the garden (=the *principalis mansio in venella*); this can be deduced from structural remains, except that we do not know whether the back range was of one or more stories. The two remaining tenements (Marmion's and the corner house) probably had gables abutting on the street, as shown, but their form is conjectural; nothing remained of them, and the 1837 plan is not helpful here. To the south of

²⁶ *Oxoniensia*, xx, 1955, fig. 13.



c.1613 (CONJECTURAL)



c.1820



BANK
BUILDING

1955

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FIG. 28

the Star Inn, in FIG. 30, is shown the courtyard and back range of the King's Head, reconstructed from plans and photographs.

The bird's-eye view of the City of Oxford in Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata* (Oxford, 1675), taken from the north, shows Cornmarket running up towards Carfax, with the area occupied by the Star Inn and the adjacent tenements on the right hand side, just below the pillory (PL. v). From south to north, i.e. coming towards the spectator, the following are shown : (A) Sewy's Lane, running through to New Inn Hall street ; (B) the King's Head, with its gabled south range along the courtyard and its stables and garden beyond to the west ; (C) a range of buildings north of the King's Head courtyard (cf. the buildings shown here in the nineteenth century plan, PL. xvii), and to the north of this a narrow strip of garden—this seems to be a mistake, for there can hardly have been room for this between the King's Head and the Star ; (D) the Star Inn, shown with four ranges of building surrounding its small courtyard, and the stable yard beyond ; (E) the tenements north of the Star Inn, with the Inn garden behind ; (F) Bodin's Lane, leading to Frewin Hall. It seems likely that the ranges of buildings along the street had more gables towards the street than Loggan shows ; gables in this position were more difficult to represent on a small scale than, for instance, on the north and south sides of the High Street and Queen Street, where they are more liberally shown by Loggan.

We can now turn to a more detailed examination of certain parts of these buildings.

III. *The Star Inn* (cf. plans, FIGS. 32, 33, and sections, FIGS. 34, 35)

The building with which we are here concerned is the eastern part of the Star Inn, a block of about 60 feet by 70 feet, built round a small courtyard ; this was a timber-framed structure, built c. 1550-60, and refronted c. 1783. The sixteenth century structure was very much disguised and mutilated, and the reconstruction of it has involved a very interesting piece of archaeological detection.

There are several things that suggest a date of 1550-60 for the building. The moulded timbers remaining in the fragments of the east front and in the hall window and hall door in the south range (cf. the details in FIGS. 34 and 35) are at least compatible with this date, though they might belong to almost any time between the mid-sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century. More significant are the fragments of moulded stonework that were found built into the foundations of the northern chimney stack and into the upper part of the southern chimney stack of the eastern range (PL. ix B) ; these were of various dates from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, and in some cases had traces of painting, still fairly fresh ; they must have formed part of the doors,



FIG. 29

windows, etc., of an elaborate, probably ecclesiastical building. Most curious of all was a large piece of stone that tumbled out of the upper part of the southern chimney stack ; this looked at first sight like a large fossil, but on closer inspection it proved to be the mutilated head and shoulders of the effigy, probably late thirteenth century, of a knight in chain-mail, lying on a cushion, with traces of colour (PL. XIX B). It seems clear that these stones had not been left lying about to weather and lose all trace of colour ; they must have been re-used soon after the buildings that contained them were demolished. There is one period when this was most likely to have happened, when men were most likely to chop up the monuments of the dead for secular uses, and that is the decade or two after the Dissolution of the religious houses. These stones may have come from one of the suppressed friars' churches in Oxford, or perhaps more probably from Oseney. The abbey buildings of Oseney became redundant when the Cathedral Church of Oxford was transferred from there to Christ Church in 1546 ; it would have been very natural for Christ Church, which came to own both Oseney Abbey and the Star Inn, to use the stones of the former to rebuild the latter.²⁷ The rebuilding may have taken place shortly before the series of leases begin in 1560.

(i) The *eastern range*, which adjoins the street, measures on the ground floor 60 feet from north to south and originally 22 feet from east to west ; the main structure goes back to c. 1550-60, but it was refronted c. 1783, when the width was increased to about 26 feet, by encroaching upon the street ; the new front was probably made to correspond to a line dropped from the projecting dormer windows of the cockloft, thus producing a flat façade instead of a series of 'jetties' (cf. section in FIG. 34). The north wall of the ground floor consisted of a stone chimney stack, from which the sixteenth century fireplace had disappeared ; the south wall consisted partly of a stone chimney stack (also with a robbed fireplace), partly of a timber-framed wall. The west wall was of stone, partly rebuilt in brick ; this may possibly have replaced an original timber-framed wall, since there was a beam embedded in the wall at ceiling level. The original east wall had been timber-framed, but was almost entirely removed when the range was refronted, c. 1783 ; the original wall could be reconstructed only by a process of detection. The line of the wall could be traced where the lintel had fitted into the overhanging beams above (see section, FIG. 34, particularly detail at (2)). Two posts of the original wall

²⁷ Cf. the accounts for demolition and removal of materials from Oseney and elsewhere to St. Frideswide's (the Cathedral), March 1545-Sept. 1546, Bodleian MS. Top. Oxon. b. 16 (of which extracts are printed in Wood's *City of Oxford*, ed. A. Clark (O.H.S., xvii, 1890), II, 227-8). When Christ Church leased the site of Oseney to William Stump of Malmesbury, 22 March 1547, it was specified that 'the church of Osney and all the stones of the same be reserved to the deane and canons for the buyldyngs at Frydeswydes', Bodleian MS. Top. Oxon., c. 22, fo. 42a ff, 43 ff.

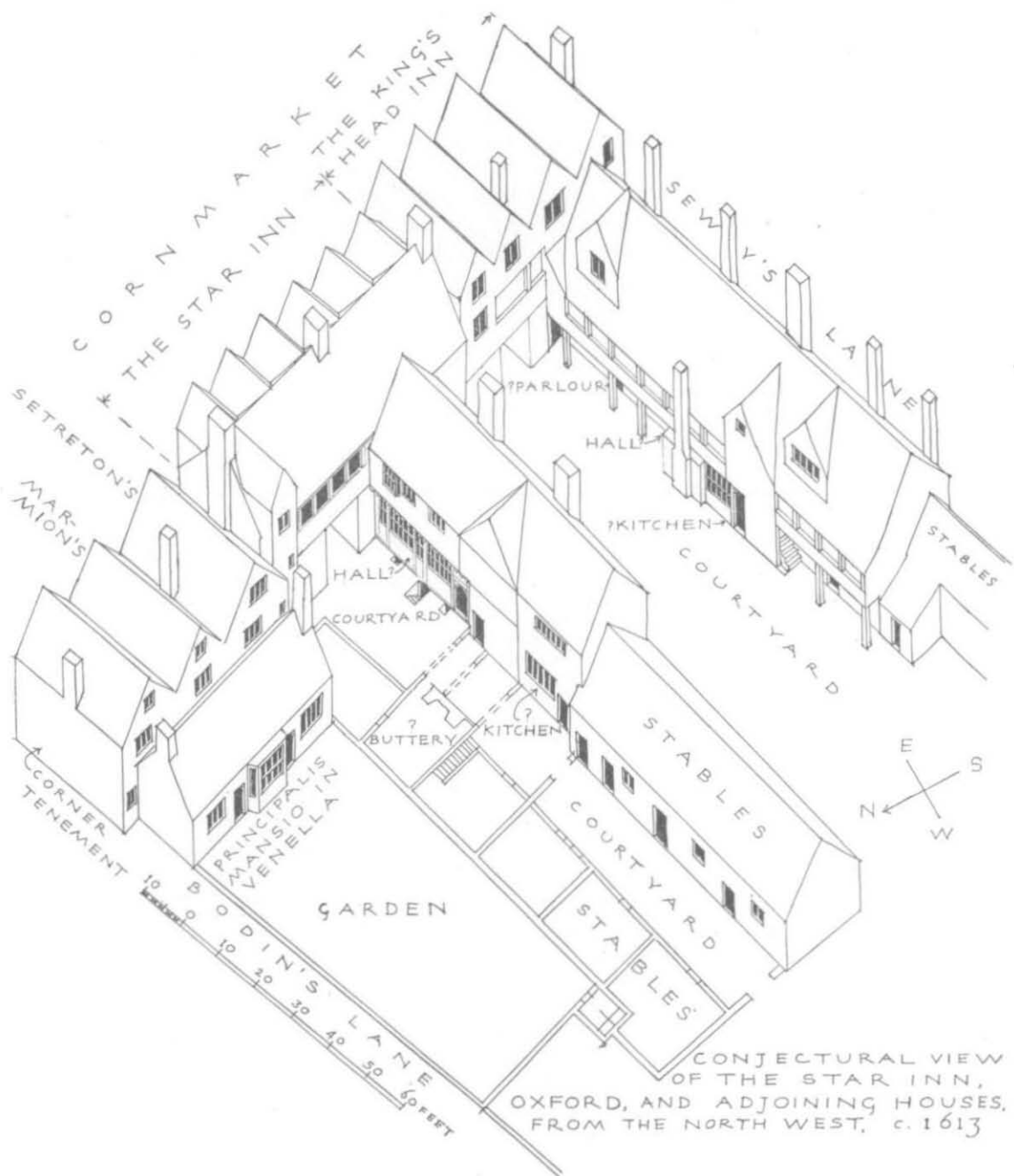


FIG. 30

survived at the extreme north and south ends of the façade. The well preserved post at the north end is shown in PL. IX A (cf. also FIG. 35, detail at 2); note the gap between the post and the later front of 1783. Mortices in the post showed the position of the horizontal timbers of the lost front. Above all, the fragment of moulded lintel embedded in the top of the post is important, for it implies that the lintel was moulded all along the front, and this in turn implies that there was probably continuous fenestration all along the front, as we know there was along the front of the hall in the ground floor of the south range which had a similar moulded lintel (see below). A similar fragment of moulded lintel was embedded in the post that survived at the first floor level at the south end of the façade (cf. section in FIG. 34, detail at 2). It is possible, therefore to make a conjectural reconstruction of the east front of 1550-60 (FIG. 28), showing a continuous fenestration at ground floor and first floor levels, and the same treatment may have been repeated across the dormers of the cockloft; cf. later examples of this treatment in the Old Palace in St Aldates and in Kemp Hall.²⁸ There were probably bay windows at intervals at the first floor level; but we cannot tell whether there were two tiers of lights all the way along (as indicated in the right hand of the façade), or whether there would have been double-tiered bay windows flanked by high windows (as indicated on the left).

The timber framework which formed the ceiling of the ground floor and the floor of the first floor was remarkably well preserved, though completely hidden by plaster (see PLS. X A, X B, and ground plan, FIG. 32). It was divided by large beams into three rows of compartments from east to west, and into four large bays from north to south. Working from north to south, the first bay constituted the northern ground floor room (=A on plan), the second bay the entry (=B), and the third and fourth bays a large south room (=C). These ground floor rooms were on the site of the medieval shops, but from the time of the 1550 rebuilding were probably used as inn parlours.

On the first floor of the eastern range (see plan, FIG. 33, and PL. IX B) there survived three stone chimney stacks, one at each end and one in the middle, and a good deal of the timber-framed walls, disguised under later plaster; but here, as on the ground floor, the east wall had been removed when the house was refronted c. 1783. Here again, the ceiling framework was very well preserved, though concealed by plaster; large beams divided it into three compartments from east to west, and into six large bays from north to south (in contrast to the four bays of the ground floor). Note the alternating direction of the lesser joists. The sloping ends of the transverse beams, and the mortices for queen posts in their upper surfaces, showed that the roof or

²⁸ *Antiquaries Journal*, xxvii (1947), plate xix (b), figs. 10, 11.



GROUND PLAN OF KING'S HEAD
AND STAR INN C. 1832

FIG. 31

cockloft was originally directly over the first floor, and that the second floor was added when the house refronted *c.* 1783 (see section, FIG. 34).

Along the west side of the range was a gallery (=A on plan), giving separate access to the various rooms; this had chamfered posts and originally unglazed openings towards the courtyard, which were afterwards filled with windows (see PLS. VIII A, VIII B). This is a good example of those galleries which were a feature of medieval and later inns, where a desire for privacy and separate access developed comparatively early, whereas in private houses people were content with passage rooms until a much later date. It is not certain where the staircase was that led up to this gallery, but it was probably at the north-west corner of the range, where there was the remains of a door (=6 on plan) which probably led from the north end of the gallery to the stairs. The modern staircase (=F) was in this region. There may possibly have been another staircase at the south-west angle of the range (=E), communicating with the first floor of the south range.

There was no trace of any cellars under the east range, nor are cellars in this part mentioned in the medieval deeds, although cellars at the back, under the north and west ranges, are mentioned in 1380.

The first floor of the eastern range contained three rooms. At the north end was a large room of three bays, which was perhaps the 'Great Chamber' of the house (=B). In the north wall of this was a well preserved sixteenth century fireplace, with a four-centred arch and high stop-chamfered jambs (PL. XI A; =I on plan). The timber framework, which abutted on the chimney stack, was strengthened by braces. To the left of the fireplace the wall was rough and probably covered by wainscoting up to a height of about four and a half feet, above which there was smooth plastering, possibly once covered by a painted canvas frieze (as in some of the rooms at the Golden Cross).²⁹ The wainscoting was probably carried round the north-west corner, with a fixed corner seat below. The west wall of the room was broken in two places by modern doors; the original door had been in the south-west corner. Between the two modern doors (=4 on plan) there was a piece of timber framing, a vertical post crossed by a short section of horizontal beam, covered with paint; this showed that this part of the wall had been covered with an elaborate painted decoration which had covered both timber and plaster, but only the painted timber had survived.³⁰ The painting was of a formal floral pattern, rather like a damask fabric, in light red, dark red (or purple) and light green; at the top, to a depth of about 14 ins., was a border, in green on brown (PL. XII A).

²⁹ *Oxoniensia*, xx (1955), 53, 64, 65 ff, 84 ff.

³⁰ Portions of this painted decoration, and of that in the Crown chamber described below, are now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (A.M. 1957.42-7).

THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

The southern half of this western wall was decorated in a much simpler manner : the timbers were painted green, enclosing plain white plaster panels. It is possible that this space was partly concealed by a bed-head. The eastern wall of this and of the other rooms has disappeared, but it probably consisted of a continuous line of windows, as has been already suggested. This Great Chamber had been divided into two in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and all the original features such as the fireplace, wall paintings, and beams had been covered up.

Next towards the south was a room occupying one and a half bays (=C). This was evidently known as the 'Crown' chamber ; over the outside of the original doorway in the north-west corner (=3 on plan) was a painted plaster panel, containing the word 'Crown' within a charming rococo surround, presumably eighteenth century ; this panel was only discovered during the process of demolition, and it disintegrated when an attempt was made to remove it. Part of the north wall was occupied by a stone chimney stack with a mutilated sixteenth century fireplace of the same type as in the Great Chamber. The south wall was a well preserved piece of studding and lathe and plaster (PL. XIII A). The original door to this room was in the north-west corner, but this was replaced by a modern door further south. On the west wall of the room (=5 on plan) were some remains of painted decoration covering both timber framing and plaster, as in the Great Chamber (PL. XII B, c) ; here the scheme consisted of three parts : at the top a row of arches, forming a kind of frieze, about 20 inches deep ; below that, up to a height of about six and a half feet from the ground, a painted imitation of wainscoting, in a rather fantastic colour-scheme of yellow and dark red, with black lines and white dashes ; and below this, for a depth of about 22 inches from the floor, a floral pattern in light red, dark red and light green, similar to the painting in the Great Chamber ; this may perhaps be the remains of an earlier painting which originally covered the whole wall and was later partly covered by the 'wainscoting' painting. There were also some remains of the 'wainscoting' painting on some canvas attached to the west end of the south wall, which suggest that the painted scheme probably went all round the room.

The southernmost room (=D) occupied a bay and a half ; the south wall was partly occupied by a chimney stack and above the fireplace was the royal arms done in plaster-work (of the mid-sixteenth century).³¹ When this stack was demolished, it was found to contain the mutilated effigy head and moulded stones, probably from Oseney, as already mentioned (PL. XIX B). Another curious feature was that the tie-beam which passed behind this chimney stack had a row of mortices as though to receive joists (PL. IX B). There can hardly

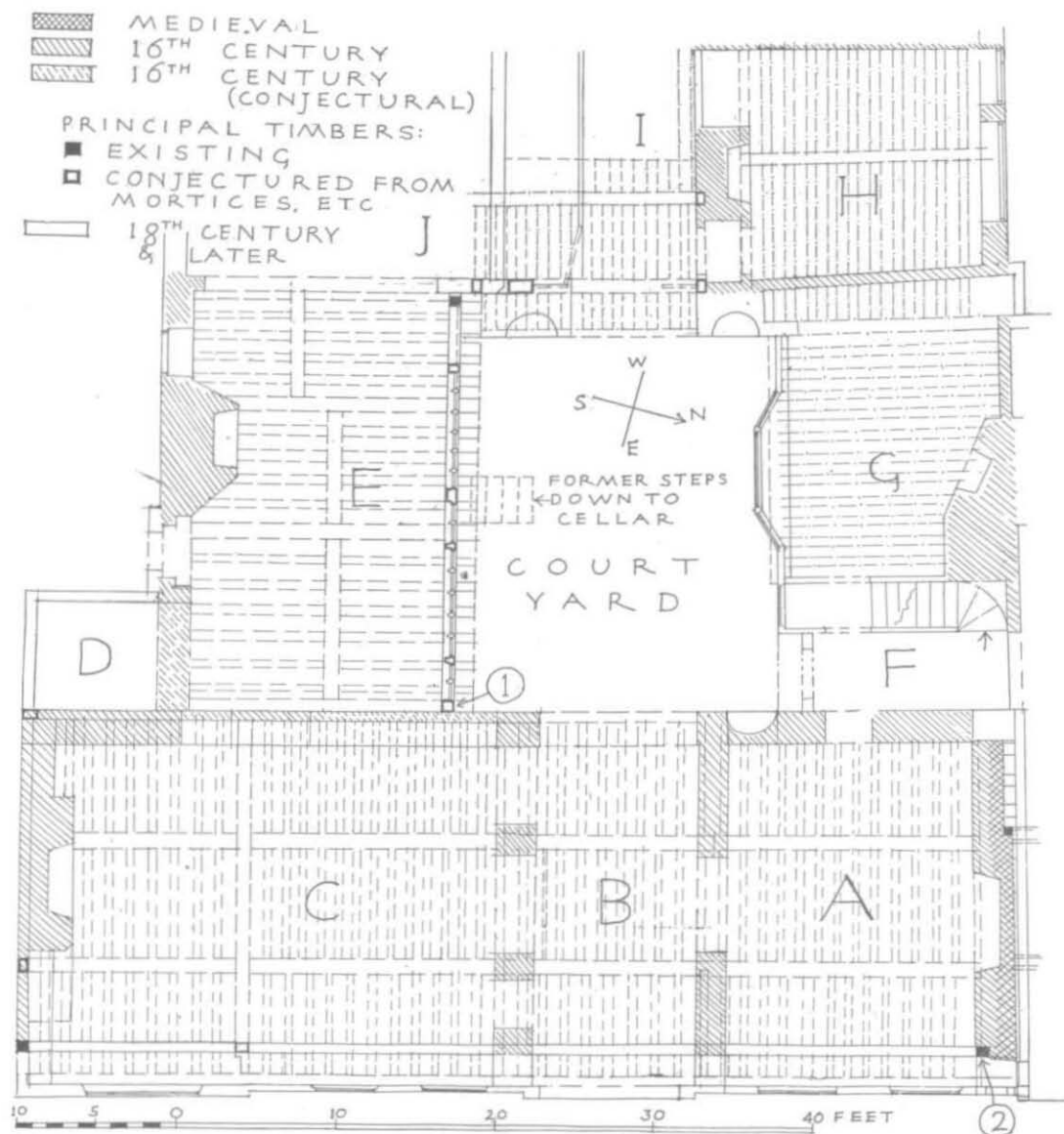
³¹ *Oxoniensia*, v (1940), 169-70, fig. 11.

have been joists in this position, since they would have had to pass through the chimney flues ! One can only suppose that this tie-beam, like the other six tie-beams that ran across the range, was automatically supplied with mortices before it was realized that they would not be used.

(ii) The *south range* contained on the ground floor a room measuring internally about 27 feet from east to west and about 16 feet from north to south (=E on plan). The south wall was of stone, much rebuilt, with a modern door and window, but the chimney stack contained the remains of a fireplace with a four-centred arch. The east end abutted onto the eastern range, but had once had a separate framed wall ; the west wall had disappeared. A modern staircase had been cut through the eastern part of the room. The timber framework of the ceiling was well preserved, as in the eastern range ; it was divided by stout stop-chamfered girder-beams into three bays from east to west and two compartments from north to south (PL. XIII B). The most interesting part of the room was the north wall, looking on to the courtyard. This had been timber-framed, but had been almost entirely destroyed except for a door-jamb at the west end and the moulded lintel running the whole length. These fragments were, however, enough to give one a tolerably good reconstruction of the façade towards the courtyard (FIG. 34). At the west end, the remaining stop-chamfered jamb gave one the clue to a typical sixteenth century door ; while the moulded lintel, containing the stumps or mortices of a series of posts and mullions, made it clear that the rest of the wall consisted of a continuous range of windows. These windows, from west to east, consisted of six lights, then two lights, then five lights, then two lights. The only uncertain factor was the depth of the windows ; I have shown them as consisting of two tiers of lights throughout, but some of the windows, e.g. the six lights nearest the door, may have had only one tier of lights. The whole of the evidence about this façade had been concealed until the time of demolition. Part of the moulded lintel is shown as it lay after demolition, in PL. XIII C. It is most probable that this ground floor room of the south range served as the hall of the Star Inn. It must have been a fine, well lit room, very much like the hall and parlour which now serve as the dining room of the Golden Cross. The screens passage would have been at the west end, where the door was, with the kitchen adjoining further west beyond, as shown in the 1837 plan. The buttery may have been the room in the north-west corner of the courtyard. There was a cellar under the hall, reached by steps leading down from the courtyard and lit by two windows in the north wall ; it was not vaulted, and probably dated from c. 1550.

The first floor of the south range was occupied by a large room over the hall (=G on plan), with a partition at the west end, and it was probably

THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD



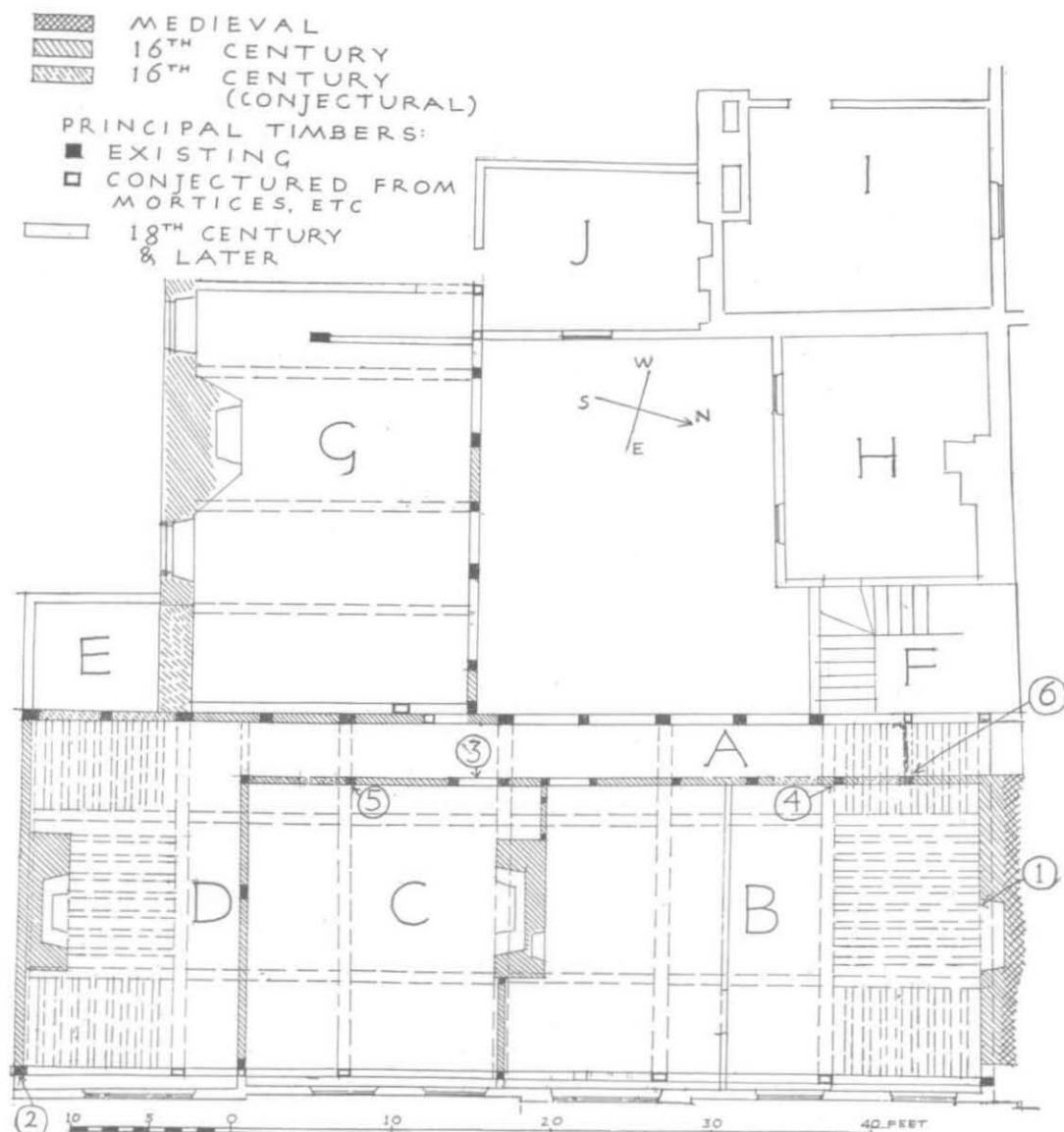
STAR INN (CLARENDON HOTEL) OXFORD
GROUND FLOOR PLAN OF FRONT COURTYARD

FIG. 32

approached either from the west or from a staircase in the south-east corner (=E). This room was at a lower level than the east range, and it is not clear that it had originally any internal communication with the latter. The original timber-framed north wall of this room survived, but was completely disguised by stucco until the moment of demolition, so that the construction had to be worked out from the pieces on the ground—an archaeological jig-saw puzzle. One moulded window jamb survived. At some later date this first floor wall was heightened, and a second story was superimposed as well, the new walling being of a much lighter timber construction; this was probably done about the same time that the east range was refronted and raised (c. 1783). A curious feature is that on top of this new second story of the south range is a roof of much earlier date (FIG. 34); probably this was the original sixteenth century roof, covering the first floor room, which was raised to its present position when the second story was added. It is unlikely that in the sixteenth century the south or back wing would have been a story higher than the east or street range; the proportions were generally the reverse.

(iii) The *north and west ranges* round the courtyard were timber-framed buildings, originally no doubt of two stories like the rest, but having a third story added (c. 1783 ? or later). Here there was a tragic difficulty; this part of the building disappeared before a full record could be made. Most fortunately plans were available, but the construction, the system of beams in the ceilings, and so forth, must remain conjectural. The room on the north side of the court and the room in the north-west corner, with the rooms over them, were demolished before my survey started (PL. VII A shows the gap made here). The ground floor north room (=G on plan) had been used as the reception office of the hotel, and this was the one part of the building where the beams were exposed. I have, however, had to rely on memory and conjecture in indicating the actual disposition of the beams; there may have been a larger beam running down the centre from east to west. The room above (=H first floor) may have been reconstructed c. 1783. The room in the north-west corner (=H ground floor) had a large chimney stack on the south side, and looked northwards on to the garden. Here the ceiling is conjectural; I have based it on the large central beam, with mortices for joists, which was left over from the demolition, and seems to have fitted in here. The room above (=I) may have been reconstructed c. 1783. Either the north-west or north room on the ground floor may have originally served as buttery, as has been suggested. The ground floor of the west side of the courtyard (=I) originally formed a passageway to the stables beyond. In more recent times it had formed the entrance leading up to the Assembly room at the back, with an elliptical arch flanked by two niches. Here the original timber framework

THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD



STAR INN (CLARENDON HOTEL) OXFORD
FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF FRONT COURTYARD

FIG. 33

survived, but completely covered up. I just missed, by an hour or so, seeing it actually demolished, and so I had to reconstruct it, as best I could, from the disjointed beams afterwards. The central beam running north and south had numbered mortices, and about five feet east of this was a lintel, with braces, supporting the deeply projecting joists; a section of this is shown on the extreme right of FIG. 34.

IV. *The house north of the Star : Setreton's tenement* (cf. FIG. 36)

Immediately north of the Star Inn was the house which it may be convenient to call 'Setreton's' (after Thomas Setreton, tenant c. 1380-1405).³² This was temporarily held by the same occupant as the Star in 1624 and 1640,³³ but it was not permanently united to the Star until 1783. The house was almost entirely rebuilt in the eighteenth century, but before and during demolition the remarkable discovery was made of enough material to reconstruct a complete medieval house, with cellar, shops and solar.

The cellar was about 25 feet long by about 12 feet wide³⁴; it was barrel vaulted, being about 10 feet high in the centre. The floor was 4 or 5 feet below medieval street level. It was entered from the east by a door and steps from the street; this was the usual arrangement, as can be seen in the cellars under Tackley's Inn and the Oxford Town Hall and in the numerous cellars at Winchelsea. The cellar was no doubt intended for the storage of merchandise; it may help to explain or make feasible the small size of the shops above. The most remarkable feature was at the west end of the cellar, almost hidden by a modern wooden partition; this was a semi-circular stone arch, resting on square pilasters and simply moulded imposts, apparently of the twelfth century (PL. XIV A). It seems then that this cellar carries us back to the extensive rebuilding of Oxford houses in the twelfth century, when so many tenements came into the hands of neighbouring religious houses; this one probably came to Oseney about 1140, and was probably rebuilt by the abbey c. 1150-80.³⁵ While the twelfth century arch at the west end survived, the cellar was later widened and a good deal of the vault and the eastern wall rebuilt, perhaps in the fourteenth century.

The ground floor was 6 or 7 feet above medieval street level and would have to be reached by steps up from the street; it was about 27 feet long by 13 feet wide. The front part originally formed two very small shops, each about 7 feet wide, which between 1280 and 1317 were united.³⁶ The back part

³² *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, I, 45, 50-6; III, 189.

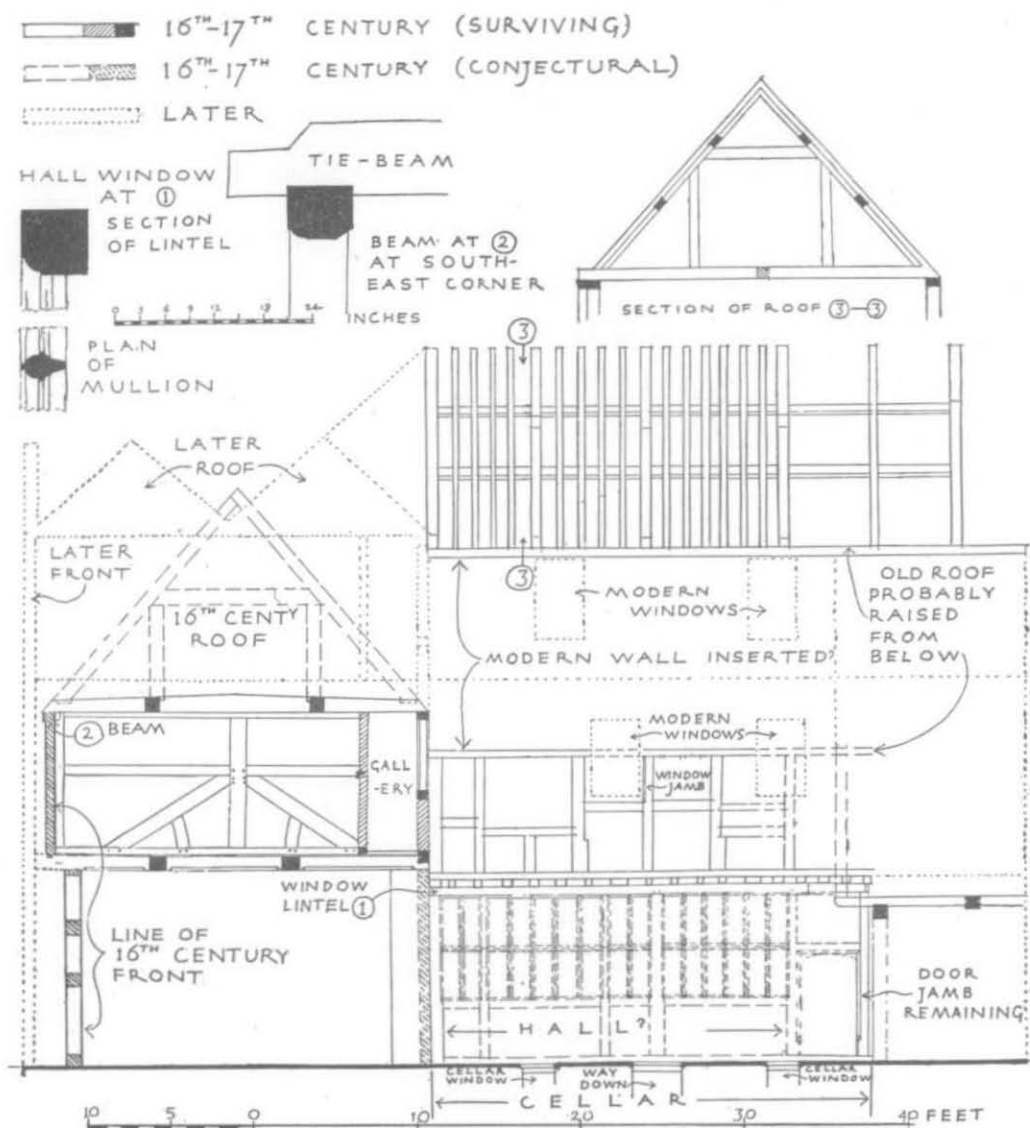
³³ *Ibid.*, I, 48.

³⁴ This cellar is described in more detail above, p. 20.

³⁵ *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, I, 50-1 and above, p. 22.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 51.

THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD



CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD SECTION THROUGH EAST RANGE & COURTYARD LOOKING SOUTH

FIG. 34

perhaps served as a store room. The ground floor was only about 7 feet high, with large, deeply chamfered beams running from north to south. On the first floor was the solar, about 7 feet high, to judge from a post, embedded in the rubble of the south wall, which must have supported one of the ceiling beams or the wall-plate. The solar had a fireplace, corbelled out from the south wall (PL. XV A). It is not clear where the stairs up to the solar were, but they were perhaps near the fireplace, in the south-west corner. The roof probably sprang from immediately above the solar ceiling and contained a cockloft lit from the gable ends east and west. The significant features like the remains of the corbelled fireplace and the sawn-off ends of the beams that supported the first floor, which make possible the reconstruction of the house, were only revealed rather dramatically during demolition; they had been hidden by eighteenth century timber framing put up when the floor levels had been altered (PL. XIV B). This 'modernization' involved raising the height of the ceiling of the ground floor by several feet, and making the shop encroach about 3 feet into the street, the old jettied street front being replaced by a straight front (cf. section in FIG. 36). This refronting must have been done some years before the corresponding refronting of the Star Inn (c. 1783), for it included a narrow window in the south-east corner, looking southwards (see FIG. 36, cf. PL. XV B), and this was inevitably blocked when the new front of the Star was brought forward. At the time of this 'modernization' the medieval north wall of the tenement was demolished above ground level and the wall of the next tenement on the north was rebuilt, so that Setreton's tenement was henceforward about 2 feet wider.

The records show that from at least 1317³⁷ onwards the house which I have just been describing was always held together with another building lying at right angles at the back, the old *principalis mansio in venella*; the two thus formed an L-shaped tenement (see small plan inset in FIG. 36). The back range, the *principalis mansio*, was entirely rebuilt in the eighteenth century (its final aspect is shown in PL. XVIII A), but underneath this later rebuilding, the foundations and cellars of the old *mansio* remained—either in its medieval form or in a sixteenth or seventeenth century rebuilding; they showed a range about 39 feet long by 13 feet wide, with indications of a bay window in the middle of the west side (see PL. XVIII B and small plan inset in FIG. 36), but we cannot tell whether it was of one or two stories above ground. The union of the two buildings into this L-shaped tenement may go back as far as c. 1190, for an Oseney deed of that date³⁸ describes what is apparently this tenement as having two cellars, one vaulted (*ad votam*), which would well describe the front cellar

³⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 135, 152, 189, 192, 207, 210, 226, 236, 238, 247.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 60-1.



under Setreton's, and the other with a boarded ceiling (*plancheatum*), which would describe a cellar at the back under the *principalis mansio*. The same deed of c. 1190 also describes the tenement as containing two selds or shops (retained by Osenev), two solars (probably over the two cellars), and a thatched house within, which may have been the brew-house, referred to in later records, presumably standing in the garden.

When Thomas Setreton granted this house to Richard Watremon in 1405, it is described as consisting of a messuage together with an adjacent curtilage, and with a shop, a cellar (or cellars ?) and a solar (or solars ?) contiguous to the messuage ; Setreton reserves to his own use during his life-time a 'competent chamber' on the south side of the messuage near the door of the hall with free access to the same.³⁹ The main part of the house, the 'messuage' proper, probably corresponded to the *principalis mansio*, that is to say, the range at the back lying north and south (marked C, E, F in the small inset plan in FIG. 36) ; this no doubt contained the hall, with the 'competent chamber' at its south end. The shop with cellar below and solar above would correspond to the part at right angles, abutting on to the street (marked A, B on plan). The curtilage would be the garden at the back, where the brewhouse was situated ; Setreton granted to Watremon all his brewing utensils.

This L-shaped house probably continued much in its medieval lay-out and structure until the eighteenth century. We know that it was occupied by a tallow chandler, Sampson Rawlins, at the end of the seventeenth century,⁴⁰ and there survive two inventories (printed pp. 127, 128 below) of Sampson Rawlins, father (1697)⁴¹ and Sampson Rawlins, son (1699), which seem to be describing this house ; I have suggested a conjectural identification of the various rooms by letters on the small inset plan in FIG. 36. The 1697 inventory begins at the top of the house with the garret or cockloft (over A, B), then goes down to solar on the first floor (over A, B), called 'the chamber up staires' in 1697 and 'the room up one pair of staires to the street' in 1699 ; then apparently down to the ground floor of the back wing, to a room described as 'the further room below staires' in 1697 and 'the room behind the kitchen' in 1699 (=E) ; then to the kitchen (=C) ; then to the warehouse (=B), perhaps the same as the 'little Roome behind the Shopp' in 1699 ; then to the shop (=A) ; then through the 'backside' or yard to the 'workhouse', probably at the northern end of the back range (=F), and perhaps the room described in 1699 as the 'melting room' ; and finally down to the cellar, which perhaps includes both the vaulted cellar under A, B and that under C, E, F. The stairs were perhaps

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 55-6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 49.

⁴¹ For the career of Sampson Rawlins, senior, see *Surveys and Tokens*, p. 433.

THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

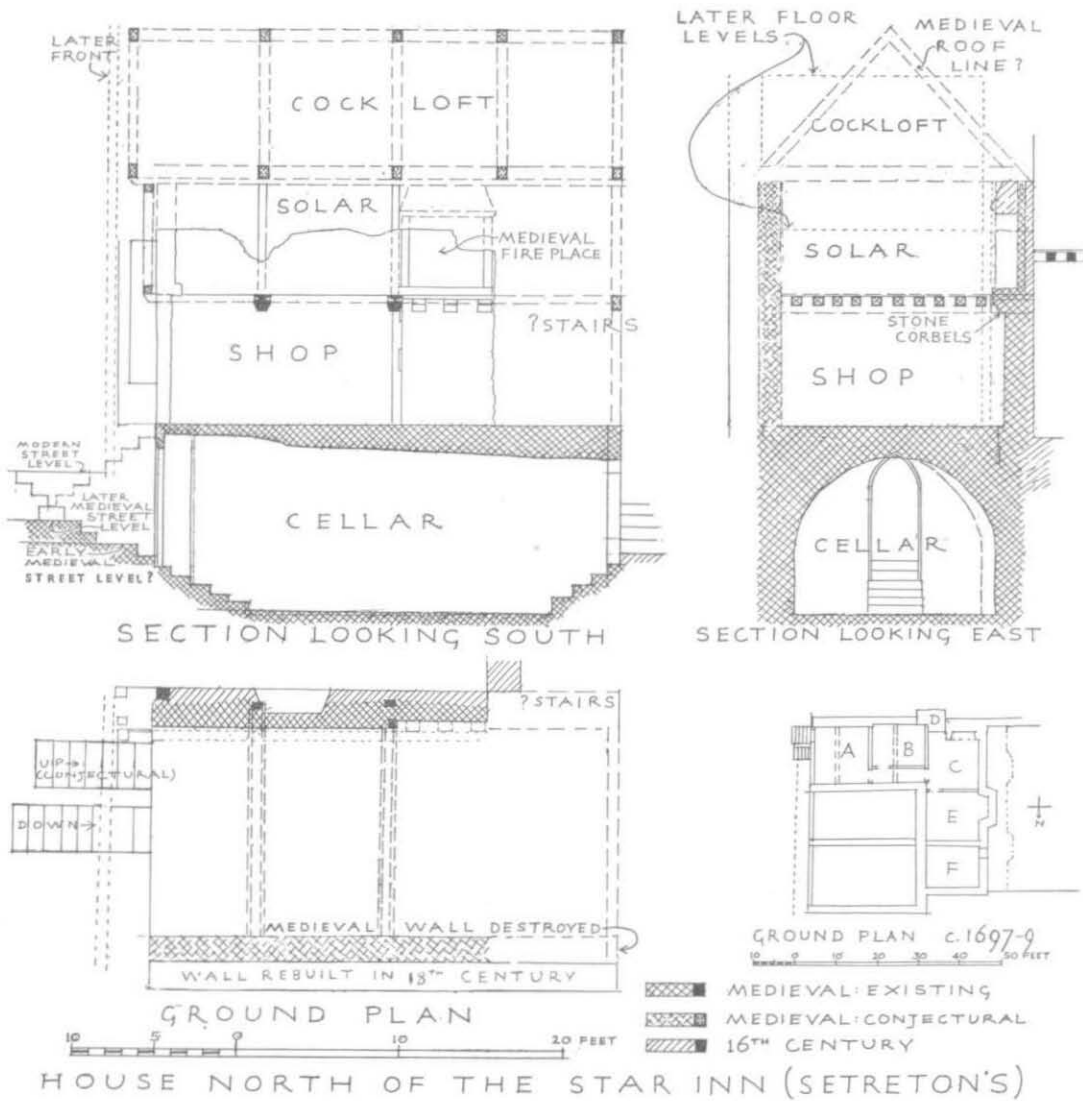


FIG. 36

at D. In 1699 the warehouse (=B) may have been subdivided into the 'little lower Roome' and the 'little Roome behind the shop'. As in both inventories only one upstairs room besides the garrett is mentioned, it seems likely that the back wing (CEF) was of one story only; the whole of this may have constituted one large hall in medieval times. Sampson Rawlins senior, in his will dated 7 May 1695, while leaving the rest of the house to his son, reserved to his wife the first floor room (i.e. over A, B) (p. 127 below).

V. *Later developments* (cf. block plan, FIG. 27, and sections, FIG. 29)

Important alterations and modernizations took place in the late eighteenth century, as has been already mentioned. In 1783 the Star Inn and the tenement adjoining on the north were leased together, 'the two being now converted into one messuage'⁴² (=A-K on block plan, FIG. 27). It was probably at this period that the building was refronted, sash windows and modern doors introduced throughout, new staircases built, and a third story added throughout, and the range facing on to the garden, on the site of the old *principalis mansio* (=K on block plan) entirely rebuilt (PL. XVIII A). The new façade, which encroached several feet into the street, was made into a symmetrical composition: the central bay, containing the entrance, and the slightly projecting end bays, had round-headed 'Venetian' windows (FIG. 28). As the right-hand block in this façade consisted of the northern tenement, the façade could hardly have been made until that tenement was united with the Star c. 1783. Some time towards the middle of the nineteenth century, perhaps about the same time that extensive alterations were made at the back, the street façade was slightly modified for the worse, the rounded heads of the 'Venetian' windows being suppressed. The two tenements at the north-east corner were also converted into one by 1783⁴³ (=L on block plan, FIG. 27); and it was perhaps about this date or a little later that this part of the building also was rebuilt. The new façade was at first of two stories with an attic under an 'M' roof (FIGS. 28, 29); on the ground floor were two large windows under segmental arches, and on the first floor were three windows, the central one with a pediment. At some later date, after c. 1829, a third story was added, and later still, the windows were altered into a rather more banal scheme.

Extensive alterations were made at the back of the premises in 1832; immediately behind the main buildings of the Star Inn, the two ranges of stables flanking the narrow yard were swept away, and on their site was built

⁴² *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, I, 50.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

a block containing a large Assembly Room, raised up on a basement containing domestic offices and cellars (PL. XIX A). The Assembly Room was 63 feet long by 31 feet wide, and 22 feet high, with four large windows giving northwards on to the garden. The opening of this Assembly Room on 17 October 1832 is described in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* as follows :

Grand Entertainment at the Opening of the Large Room at the Star Inn.

On Wednesday last the new and magnificent room at the Star, lately erected by Mr. Staning, was opened by a public Dinner, which was attended by a large number of county gentlemen and inhabitants of this city. . . . Major Wayland . . . took the opportunity of expressing how much he and the Magistrates of the county of Oxford felt indebted to Mr. Staning for the erection of so large and splendid a room, which had been so long desired, and which was calculated to be of such essential service.

The Dinner, which we are told was a ' Venison Dinner ', began at 4 o'clock and broke up at 11 o'clock.⁴⁴ From 1832 to 1863 the Assembly Room of the Star Inn served as the principal music room in Oxford, especially after the weekly meetings in the Holywell Music Room ceased in 1840, and before the building of the Corn Exchange in 1863 ; Lizst for instance performed here in November 1840.⁴⁵ Rooms were also built along the south and west sides of the Assembly Room (=O, P on block plan, FIG. 27 ; cf. section, FIG. 29), two stories of these rooms corresponding in height to the lofty Assembly Room ; it is not clear whether these rooms were built at the same time as the Assembly Room in 1832, or were added later.⁴⁶ At the north-west corner of the Assembly Room was built a block apparently used as a Masonic Hall, with a separate entrance from Frewin Court.⁴⁷ All these buildings were in existence when the Ordnance Survey 1/500 survey was made in 1876. Later still, probably early in the twentieth century, an extra story was built on top of the Assembly Room, and an annexe built on the west, connected by a bridge ; and finally a winter garden was built over the garden on the north of the Assembly Room.

⁴⁴ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 20 and 27 Oct. 1832. This circumstantial account of the opening of the new Assembly Room in 1832 is difficult to reconcile with the plans dated 1837 and 1849 (cf. p. 90, and pls. xvi and xvii), which show the stables, etc., on the site of the Room as still existing ; perhaps these plans were traced from a plan made before 1832.

⁴⁵ Cf. G. A. Thewlis in the *Oxford Times*, 21 Jan. 1955.

⁴⁶ The valuation made in 1863 (pp. 128, 129, below) mentions four sitting rooms and 27 bedrooms above the ground floor of the hotel, and a few more rooms should probably be added to account for the inn-keeper's family and the servants. These rooms might all have been accommodated in the front part of the building, east of the Assembly Room ; the rooms south of the Assembly Room may have been in existence then, but probably not those west of it.

⁴⁷ The Oxford Directory of 1884 mentions the Apollo Masonic Hall in Frewin Court.

VI. *The King's Head* (cf. FIGS. 30, 31, 37)

The buildings of the King's Head, to the south of the Star Inn, had all been demolished long before 1954, the back part having gone in the late nineteenth century, before the Ordnance Survey plan was made in 1876, and the front part about 1921, when it was replaced by an extension of Barclay's Bank, which adjoined on the south. There are, however, some records that make it possible to put forward a conjectural reconstruction of the King's Head (FIG. 37): namely, the '1849' (1832) plan (FIG. 31, PL. XVII); a view of the street front, c. 1835, when it was the Star Coach Office, reproduced in Ingram's *Memorials of Oxford*; a photograph showing the street front, c. 1921 (PL. VI); another photograph showing the yard and back range in the late nineteenth century (PL. XX); and an inventory (printed below, p. 121) of the goods of Mathew Fisher, inn-holder, 1613, whom we know to have been the occupant of the King's Head.⁴⁸ We cannot be certain whether the inventory of 1613 is describing the same buildings that survived into the nineteenth century, or whether the inn was rebuilt after 1613, but the former hypothesis is at least plausible; while the surviving nineteenth century views show that there had been some 'modernizations' like the insertion of sash windows in the street front, the general structure and such features as the carved barge-boards on the front gables and the galleries at the back might well go back to c. 1600 and beyond. If that is so, we may reconstruct the stages of development as follows:

(1) The medieval house (then known as Pyry Hall) was probably an L-shaped building, with a short street range containing at least three shops and an entry on the ground floor with solars above, and a long back range containing the hall, kitchen and stables; then, as later, the general plan would be like that of the Golden Cross.

(2) The back part was probably rebuilt as a galleried range probably in the late sixteenth century, leaving the medieval street range still in use for the time being. The back range as shown in the surviving photograph (PL. XX) shows no trace of medieval work, but might go back to the late sixteenth century; the galleries with their plain, square openings may be compared with the sixteenth century gallery at the back of the George Inn at Dorchester-on-Thames.

(3) The 1613 inventory refers to a 'new building'; I suggest that this probably refers to a rebuilding, c. 1600, of the medieval street range, the old two storey range with shops below and solars above being replaced by a three storey range containing the gateway, parlours and chambers. The southern

⁴⁸ In 1608 the tenement of Thomas Cogan on the north side of Sewy's Lane, i.e. the King's Head Inn, was in the tenure of Mathew Fisher: *Oxford City Properties*, ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S., LXXXIII, 1926), p. 165.

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SECTION AND ELEVATION, LOOKING SOUTH

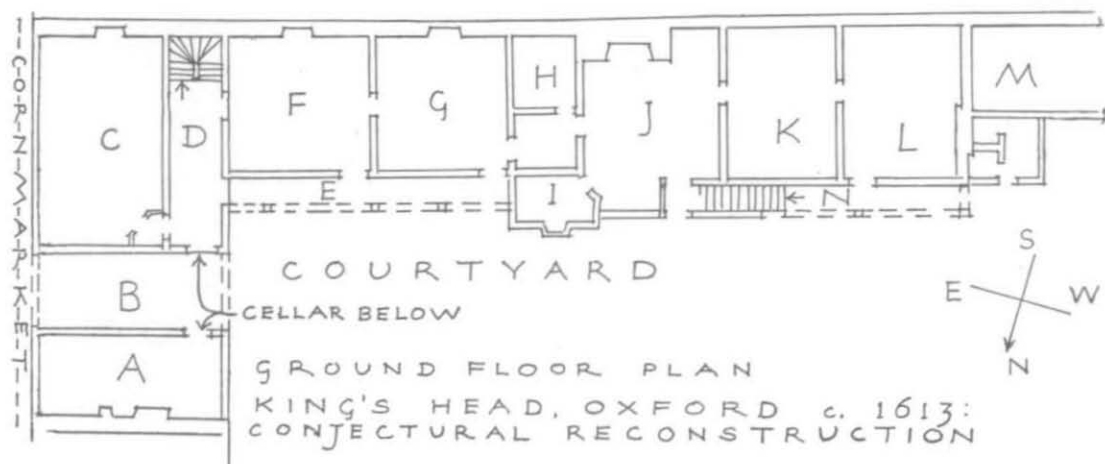
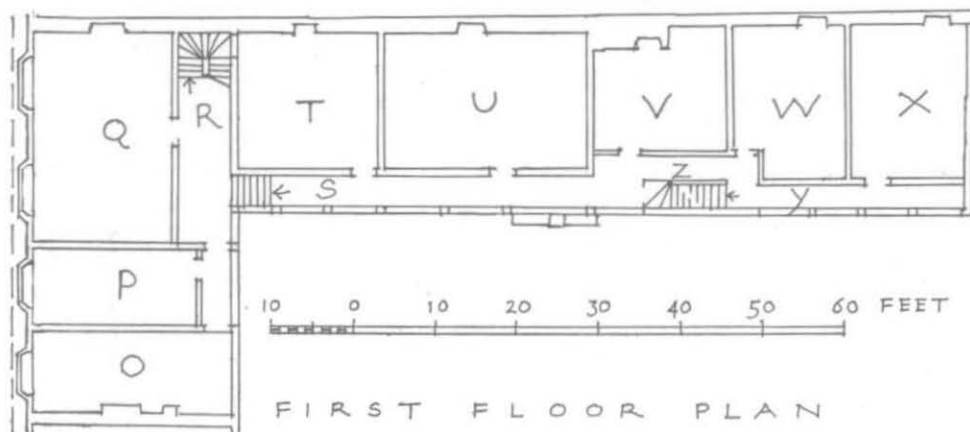


FIG. 37

half of this 'new building' survived until 1921, though shorn of the ornamentation that still showed in the 1835 drawing. It had two gables towards the street, with carved barge-boards (*c.* 1600); the casement windows on the top floor were surrounded (in 1835) by remains of decorative pargetting of the kind that came into fashion about the middle of the seventeenth century, so that this must represent a slightly later re-decoration of the 1600 rebuilding; the first floor had been built out with sash windows in the eighteenth century, probably replacing a row of bay windows. The northern half of the street range, which contained the entrance gateway on the ground floor, had been rebuilt in the late eighteenth century and annexed to the Star Inn; here was probably also part of the 1600 'new building', with a pair of gables similar to those in the southern half, though it is possible that some medieval structure may have survived in this northern half until the eighteenth century rebuilding.

Using the evidence of the '1849' plan and the surviving views, I have tried to reconstruct the plans and elevations of the King's Head as in 1613 (see FIG. 37 and the left-hand part of FIG. 28). Some features like the northern half of the street range and the internal partitions of the first floor are necessarily guess-work. If we take the 1613 inventory and try to apply it to these plans, it seems to fit them reasonably well, and so by this means we can at least conjecture the disposition, position, use and furnishing of the various rooms. The inventory begins, as was common, with the hall, which I have identified with room G in the back range; this was sparsely furnished with two tables, a form and chair. If my identification is correct, it was not a large room (about 16 feet square: *cf.* the hall at the Golden Cross, 17 by 22 feet); in inns of this period the hall was less important than one might expect, since many meals would be served in private parlours or chambers. From the hall I take it that the inventory moves westwards, past the little parlour and the spence (=H, I), to the kitchen (=J), which seems indicated by the large chimney stack shown in the '1849' plan. Beyond the kitchen we come to the larder (=K) and the warehouse (=L), in the western part of the range; this was probably less partitioned up in 1613 than in the '1849' plan. From here I think the inventory goes back eastwards up the yard to the 'new building', which I take to be the ground floor of the southern half of the newly-built street range (=C). This seems to have been a large room (about 26 by 14 feet) and well furnished; it had a 'portall', that is, an internal porch, wainscoting, and benches, which were probably fixed to the wall, and like many of the rooms, it served as a bed-sitting room, having two beds, a wooden bed with hangings and a truckle-bed for a servant or child, as well as a table and stools. The 'men's chamber' (=A) was probably for lodging men-servants; it had two

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beds of small value, and perhaps lay the other side of the gateway (=B).⁴⁹ From here the inventory goes to the great parlour, which I think lay between the new building and the hall (=F); this was well furnished, with two beds, two tables and a court cupboard. At this point I think the inventory must go up the stairs (=D) to the first floor, for the next room is the 'parlour chamber' (=T), that is to say, in the language of inventories, the room over the parlour. From here we go across the landing (=R) to the great chamber (=Q), which I take to be the large room which occupied the southern half of the first floor of the 'new building'; it would look on to the street. This and the parlour chamber were probably the two best rooms in the house; they were sumptuously furnished, and each had two beds, as well as tables, chairs, and carpets. North of the great chamber I think lay the gatehouse chamber (=P), that is to say, over the gateway; this was a rather poorly furnished room with only one bed. Beyond this again, I think, lay the green chamber (=O), more expensively furnished and probably larger, though it only had one bed. At this point the inventory goes up to the second floor, to the row of cocklofts looking on to the street, working from north to south, from the cockloft over the green chamber to the cockloft over the gatehouse chamber and then to the two cocklofts over the great chamber. One of these last two was well furnished, and had a Spanish bedstead and painted cloths (i.e. hangings round walls). The inventory now goes down again to the first floor, presumably along the gallery of the back wing (=S), to the hall chamber (=U), an important room, almost as expensively furnished as the great chamber; it had no less than four beds and it probably extended over the spence and the little parlour as well as over the hall. After this we go further along the gallery to the chamber over the larder (=W); this was a well furnished room, with two beds, and the only two books mentioned in the inventory—a bible and a psalter—as well as a lute, and it may possibly have been the room where the inn-keeper lodged. The two adjoining chambers, that over the warehouse (=X) and that over the kitchen (=V), seem to have been used only as lumber-rooms. After this, the inventory goes up the staircase (=Z), which existed at this point in the gallery, to the cockloft over the kitchen. This probably extended over all three rooms at the west end of the range (=V, W, X) and

⁴⁹ In the plan (fig. 37) I have indicated the 'men's chamber' as being to the north, in position A, and the gateway south of it, in position B, and this suits the sequence of the rooms on the first floor; but it is possible that they were the other way round, that is, with the gateway to the north (=A), in which case the 'gatehouse chamber' on the first floor would be in position O. During the demolition, the remains of a cellar (apparently post-medieval) were found under B. If this cellar replaced a medieval one, it may mean that in the medieval street range there was an entry on the unexcavated ground at the northern extremity of the range; and this may be an argument in favour of a northern position (A) for the gateway in 1613. On the other hand, it may be that when the street range was rebuilt c. 1600, the gateway was put south in position B, in spite of the cellar below.

would thus have been lit by the large dormer window shown on the right hand in PL. XX ; there were two beds in this room. There was probably a cockloft over the rooms in the eastern half of the range (=T, U), lit by another dormer window, but it is not mentioned in the inventory. Next we go to the two cellars, which, as usual, served as a kind of bar or tap-room, being furnished with a table, a form, trenchers and drinking vessels ; one of these cellars was presumably that which was discovered (p. 117, n. 49 above) under the north part of the street range (under B) ; the other may have adjoined it under the southern part of the street range (under C). Finally, we go to the stables, the hayloft, the ' backside ' or yard, where evidently the washing was done, and the ' little garden ', where there was an arbour ; all these would have been at the west end of the site. There are a lot of buildings shown in this area in the 1849 plan ; the stables of the 1613 inventory are probably the buildings next to the back range (=M). The large range of buildings shown on the north side of the King's Head yard in the 1849 plan probably did not exist in 1613, though something like them seems shown in Loggan's view (1675), cf. PL. V and p. 114 above.

If this reconstruction of the King's Head in 1613 is correct, the general plan was an L-shaped building with a short range on the street and a long back range running along the south side of the courtyard. The low, ground floor hall was in the back range, with the kitchen, offices and stables westwards, away from the street ; at the other end of the hall was the parlour, and beyond that the street range containing chambers and the entrance gateway. The plan thus resembles the Golden Cross at the same period, with this difference however, that the King's Head had galleries all along the courtyard side of the back range, and thus had a rather easier system of circulation and access to the first floor rooms. The rooms on both ground floor and first floor of the back range of the King's Head must have had windows and doors opening on to the galleries, and they probably had windows on the south side as well, opening on to Sewy's Lane, though some of these may have been blocked by later buildings.

The total value of the inn-holder's goods in the 1613 inventory amounted to £235 2s. 8d., of which £87 8s. od. represented linen, wearing apparel, plate and good debts. This meant that the King's Head was quite a prosperous inn, though it cannot compare with the Golden Cross valued at £1,087 17s. 4d. in 1623.⁵⁰ There is, unfortunately, no inventory of the Star Inn available for comparison, except for a note that a tenant's goods came to £268 14s. od. in 1600 (see p. 121 below). But to judge from the rest of the evidence, it looks as though the King's Head was not so very inferior to the Star in the number and

⁵⁰ *Oxoniensia*, xx (1955), 72.

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quality of its rooms, during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, that is, before the Star expanded and absorbed its northern neighbours. According to the 1613 inventory, the King's Head contained twenty-four beds, of which ten were truckle beds and fourteen were beds of a superior sort; it might accommodate some forty or more persons. In most of the inns of this period, the rooms were divided into two classes: chambers, furnished as bed-sitting rooms; and parlours, furnished with tables and chairs, for the serving of meals and drinks. It may be noted that at the King's Head in 1613, all the rooms had beds in them, except of course the hall, kitchen and offices, the little parlour, and two upstairs lumber-rooms. This suggests that the business of the house was mainly the accommodation of travellers rather than the functions of a tavern or eating-house.

In 1588 the tenant of the King's Head, Thomas Cogan, left to one of his daughters 'the howse by his gate adjoyninge next unto the Starr' (p. 121, below). This presumably means that the northern part of the street range, just before its rebuilding c. 1600, was being used as a separate house. In the Poll Tax returns of 1667, the King's Head seems to have been occupied by John Deely, Elizabeth his wife, two sons and three daughters; and possibly part of the house was occupied by William Bayly, the mayor, and his family.⁵¹ In 1665, John Deely is assessed at nine hearths, and William Bayley at five hearths;⁵² and in the Window Tax returns of 1696, Thomas Cooper is assessed at 18 windows.⁵³

VII. *General conclusions*

The first conclusion or lesson to be drawn from this examination of the Clarendon is that this is one more example of the amount of instruction that can be got from surveying and analysing a building, and particularly from making as it were a post-mortem dissection of a building immediately before and during demolition. It is the same lesson that was learnt from the study of the houses in Broad Street, which were demolished for the building of the New Bodleian in 1936-7. One cannot always prevent old buildings being demolished; what is inexcusable is that they should go without an adequate record being made—plans, measured drawings, photographs, etc. One is glad to say that here the owners and contractors gave every facility for the making of such a record. But keeping an eye on a demolition is hard work and a full-time occupation. Unlike more favoured fields of research, the study

⁵¹ *Surveys and Tokens*, p. 217.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 185.

⁵³ *Oxford Council Acts, 1665-1701*, p. 340. Thomas Cooper also held the Star Inn in 1699. (*Cartulary of Osney Abbey*, I, 49), so perhaps the two inns were temporarily united.

of medieval antiquities is not recognized as a full-time occupation. The present writer had to carry on this work in the intervals of teaching ; and it is terribly easy to be absent during the vital half-hour when something interesting comes to light and disappears again. The moral seems to be that every historic town like Oxford ought to have some kind of archaeological official, whose duties should include full-time supervision of demolitions and excavations, and the surveying and recording of threatened buildings. Only so could one really keep pace with the destruction that is going on.

The second lesson is this : one should never judge a building by superficial appearances. Outwardly, the Clarendon seemed just a pleasant but rather undistinguished late Georgian building, so that it could be argued at the time of the discussions and inquiry about its demolition that it was not a building of historic or artistic importance. One would never have guessed what we now know, what I have tried to show in this article, namely that this building contained the remains of a twelfth century cellar and a medieval house, and that behind the late Georgian plaster façade, there lay the complete framework of a sixteenth century timber-framed courtyard house, with interesting details and fragments of fireplaces, doorways, windows, mural paintings, and so forth. And yet we ought to have guessed that from looking at the plan and structure, from such features as the size and position of the chimney stacks and the different floor-levels (cf. FIG. 29), and from comparison with other known buildings of the period. If only we had known a few years ago what we now know about the Clarendon, we could have put forward a much better case and a much better scheme for at least its partial preservation and adaptation. The most interesting parts, the twelfth century cellar and the sixteenth century courtyard house, occupied only a tiny portion of the very large site—a strip about fifty feet deep in a site going back nearly three hundred feet, perhaps one-tenth of the whole area ; and I think it might have been possible to preserve, restore and adapt the front portion, while developing the vast hinterland to any modern purpose desired.

‘ If only we had known ’ : that is the last lesson. The detailed study of old buildings is important not only as an academic, scientific study in its own right—we want to know how our ancestors lived—but it also has a practical, present-day value : if we can acquire, before it is too late, a thorough understanding of these old buildings, if we can know what to expect, if we can learn how these buildings grew, how they were constructed, how they can be adapted, then we can save ourselves from many tragedies, mistakes and losses.

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APPENDIX

- (1) *Extract from the will of Thomas Cogan, of the City of Oxford, 'gent'* [tenant of the King's Head]⁵⁴, 31 March 1588 (proved 1 April 1588).

Bodleian Library, MS. Wills Oxon. 10/5/1.

... In primis I bequeathe to my daughter Fraunces Cogan the howse werein I nowe dwell for and during the tearme of xxjth years painge for the same yearelye duringe the tearme of the said years the somme of foure pounds . . . Memorandum that the xxvijth day of March afforesaid Anno Domini 1588 the afforesaid testatour gave and bequeathed unto his daughter Margaret Walker the howse by his gate adjoyninge next unto the Starr. Also he gave unto her one other peece of grounde called Timberyarde. Alsoe he gave unto the same Margaret two garden grounds lying in Chaynie Lane. Alsoe he gave unto the said Margaret all his debts contayned in his brewer's booke.⁵⁵

- (2) *Extract from the will of Alexander Williams of St Michael's parish, Oxford, Innholder, tenant of the Star Inn, 29 Jan 1600* (proved 11 Oct. 1600).

Bodleian Library, MS. Wills Oxon. 69/3/29.

... Item I geve and bequeath unto Lettice my welbelovyd wiff the use, possession, commoditie and profit of the Inne cawled the Starr, wherein I now dwell, together with all my meadowe and tythe in Botley Meades [the remainder of the lease during her life, and after to Thomas Williams his eldest son] . . . And my minde and meaning is that Lettice my wiff shall have and injoye to her use during her liff all the wanskott and glasse in and about the Starr afforsaid [and after her death to his son Thomas aforesaid] . . . Item I geve and bequeath unto my said sonne John the tenement or house next adjoyning to the Starr afforesaid with all thappurtenances thereunto belonging, wherein Hewe Dow now dwelleth,⁵⁶ for and during all the terme of yeares which I have in the same. Item I give and bequeath unto Henrie Williams my sonne . . . my two tenements and houses next adjoyning to the tenement or house before bequeath unto my son John Williams . . . in one of which two tenements one Joane Stringer latelie did dwell and in thother one Walter Allen taylor doth now dwell.⁵⁶ . . . And . . . my mynde and meaning is that the said Lettice and her assigns . . . shall from tyme to tyme sufficientlie sustayne, mayntayne, repare and uphold all the premisses [i.e. the Starr] att her costs and charges. . . .⁵⁷

- (3) *Inventory of Matthew Fisher, Innholder [tenant of the King's Head], 28 March 1613.*

Oxford University Archives, Inventories.

An Inventorie of all the goods and Chattells moveable and unmovable of Mathewe Fisher late of the Universitye of Oxon⁷ Inholder deceased taken and prised by Henry Niccolls gent Edward Carpenter Timothy Hatten and Bartholomewe Emery the xxvijth daye of Marche 1613.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Oxford City Properties*, pp. 164-5; *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, I, 48.

⁵⁵ i.e. Setreton's tenement.

⁵⁶ i.e. Marmion's tenement and the corner tenement.

⁵⁷ The inventory has not survived, but its total value is given as £268 14s. od.

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In the hall [=G]⁵⁸

Imprimis one longe table wth a frame one forme one square table
and an olde wainscott Chaire

xiiij s. iiij d.

Item a latten Plate for a Candell

xviiij d.

Summa xiiij s. x d.

In the little Parlour and the spence [=H, I]

Imprimis one table wth a frame and a forme

xj s.

Item twee wainscott Cupboards wth desks and Clothes to them

xxxiiij s. iiij d.

Item one paire of little andirons a wirgen Chaire and a paire of
playing tables

vj s. viij d.

Item three lowe stooles

ij s. viij d.

Item one little square table heade, an olde Tubbe, an erthen pan
and a little lowe stoole

xviiij d.

Summa lv s. ij d.

In the kitchen. [=J]

Imprimis a square table wth a frame and a forme fower little
joynd stooles and the bords and benches about the table

xiiij s. iiij d.

Item one paire of iron racks and one iron jacke

xxviiij s.

Item vj spitts, vj potthangers, v paires of potthooks, fower dripping-
pans, ij fryinge pans, an iron barr, iij iron chafinge dishes,
ij gridirons, a cleaver, a fleshforke, a slice of iron, ij tostinge
irons, a fier shovell and tongs, a paringe iron and a paire
of bellows

xlviij s. vj d.

Item one brasen mortar, one iron pestle, ij morters of stone and a
wooden pestle

vj s.

Item iij dressers, iij tubbs, a grater, vj wooden platters, a musterd
mill and five shelves

xj s.

Summa v li. vj s. x d.

In the larder. [=K]

Imprimis one capon coope, iij mouldinge tables, one dresser, iiij
shelves, ij washinge boles, a brake, ij olde lanthornes, an iron
peepe, a wooden settle, a choppinge borde, and a pye peepe

xl s.

Item a beame, scales and weights

xvj s.

Item pewter vessell

vij li. iiij s. iiij d.

Item xij pewter candellsticks, one flagon, xij chamberpotts, ij
basons and ewers, a viniger pott of pewter, ij saltesellers

xxxxvj s. x d.

Item vij brasen candellsticks, iiij ladells, iiij skymmers, a warminge
pann, ij brasen chafingedishes

xxj s.

Item in pann brasse

iiij li.

Item in pott brasse

xlvi s.

Summa xviiij li. xij s. ij d.

⁵⁸ I have added the letters in brackets ; they refer to the suggested identification of rooms in the plans in fig. 37 ; cf. also p. 114 above.

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In the warehouse. [=L]

Imprimis a crabbe presse, xij tressells, vj bords, ij bushells, one pecke and other lumber	xxxiiij s.
Summa xxxiiij s.	

In the Newebuyldinge. [=C]

Imprimis one table w th a frame, the benches, wainscott, mattinge, portall, dore, locke and key, and iij joynde stooles	xxv s.
Item a joynde bedsteede, a truckell bed w th matts and cords, vij curteins and curteine rodde	xl s.
Item ij fetherbedds, ij bolsters, iij pillowes, one flockebedd, iij blankketts, one blewe rugge, and a little yellowe coveringe	vij li.
Summa x li. v s.	

In the mens chamber. [=A]

Imprimis a halfe headed bedsteed, a truckell bed w th matts and cords, ij flockebedds, one olde coverlett and one olde blankett	xxij s.
Summa xxij s.	

In the greate Perlor. [=F]

Imprimis a longe table w th a frame and a forme, a shorte table w th a frame, a courte cupborde, a wainscott chaire and a joynde stoole	l s.
Item ij cast iron andirons	x s.
Item windowe curteins of buckram and rodde	iiij s.
fo. 2	
Item a feilde bedsteed w th a vallence and curteins, a trucklebed w th matts and cords, ij fetherbedds, ij fether bolsters, ij flocke- bolsters, ij coverletts, iij blanketts, and one pillowe	vj li. xiiij s. iiij d.
Summa ix li. xvj s. iiij d.	

In the Perlor chamber. [=T]

Imprimis a table w th a frame, vj joynde stooles, a little chaire	xxvj s. viij d.
Item a standinge bedsteed and a trucklebed w th matts and cords	xl s.
Item a carpett, x cuishions, v curteins and curtein rodde	xxxiiij s. iiij d.
Item ij fether beds and bolsters, one flockebed, iij pillowes, iij blankketts, one coverlett, and one little coverlett	x li.
Summa xv li.	

In the greate chamber. [=Q]

Imprimis a longe table w th a frame and the benches, a shorte table w th a frame, a courte cupborde, ij chaires and viij stooles	iiij li. x s.
Item a carpett, vij cuishions	xxxij s.

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Item a feilde bedsteed w th vallence and curteins, a trucklebed w th matts and cords, ij fetherbedds and ij bolsters, a flockebed, iij pillowes, one greene rugge, iij blancketts and an olde rugge w th the windowe curteins and rodde	x li. xix s.
Item one paire of andirons, fier shovell and tongs, and a payre of bellowes	xxvj s. viij d.
Summa xvij li. vij s. viij d.	
In the gatehouse chamber. [=P]	
Imprimis one table w th a frame and one spanishe bedsteed	xij s.
Item a flockebed, a bolster, a coverlett w th twoe blancketts	xx s.
Summa xxxij s.	
In the greene chamber. [=O]	
Imprimis a little drawinge table w th a frame and a forme, a square table, iij stooles, a little chayre and a close stoole	xxvj s. viij d.
Item a feilde bedsteed w th vallence and curteins, a fetherbed, a bolster, ij flockebolsters, iij pillowes, a rugge and iij blancketts	v li. xij s. vj d.
Item dornixe hangings, windowe curteins and iij cuishions	xl s.
Item a fier shovell, ⁵⁹ ij iron doggs, and a paire of bellowes	iiij s.
Summa ix li. iii s. ij d.	
In the cockelofte over the greene chamber. [above O]	
Imprimis a bedsteed, a trucklebed w th matts and cords, a fetherbed, a bolster, ij pillowes, one olde coverlett, one blanckett, and one olde square table w th a frame	lvij s.
Summa lvij s.	
In the cockelofte over the gatehouse chamber. [above P]	
Imprimis a rounde table, a bedsteed, a flockebed, a bolster, ij blancketts, an old rugge, a matt and cords	xxiiij s. ij d.
Summa xxiiij s. ij d.	
In one of the cockelofts over the greate chamber. [above Q]	
Imprimis a table w th a frame and the benches, a wainscott presse, ij stooles and a cheste	xxvj s. viij d.
Item a spanishe bedsteed, a fetherbed, a bolster, ij pillowes, a rugge, ij blancketts, a matt and a corde	iiij li.
Item painted clothes	xv s.
Summa vj li. j s. viij d.	
In thother cockelofte. [above Q]	
Imprimis a bedsteed, a flockebed, a bolster, a coverlett, a blanckett and olde lumber	xviij s.
Summa xvij s.	

⁵⁹ tongs struck through.

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In the hall chamber. [=U]

Imprimis a table wth a frame and a forme, ij standinge bedsteeds,
 ij trucklebedds wth matts and cords, a chaire and a greate
 cheste iiij li.
 Item ij fetherbedds, ij bolsters, one flockebolster, iij pillowes, a
 coverlett, an olde rugge, ij blanketts and vj olde curteins vj li. x s.
 Item painted clothes xx s.
 Item iij needle worke cuishions and vj thrumbe cuishions liij s.
 Item one greene carpett and a baringe clothe l s.
 Summa xvj li. xiiij s.

In the chamber over the larder. [=W]

Imprimis a table wth a frame and a benche, mattinge, a bedstead,
 a trucklebed wth matts and cords xxxij s. iij d.
 Item a dounbed, a fetherbolster, iij doune pillowes, a flocke
 pillowe, ij flockebedds, a bolster, a rugge, ij blanketts and
 matts and cords vij li. vj s.
 Item iij wainscott chests, ij other chests, ij truncks, vj boxes, a
 bible,⁶⁰ a psalter, a lute and case iij li. iij s.
 Summa xij li. ij s. iij d.

fo. 3.

In the chamber over the warehouse. [=X]

Imprimis ij stills, a table and tressells, a sawe, ij bills, ij close
 stooles, a wheele and other lumber xliij s. viij d.
 Summa xliij s. viij d.

In the chamber over the kitchen. [=V]

Imprimis ij particions, ij kevers, and ij rakes (and ij tubbs).⁶¹ x s.
 Summa x s.

In the cocke loft over the kitchen. [above V, W, X ?]

Imprimis one bedstead and a trucklebed wth matts and cords and
 ij chests xij s.
 Item ij flockebedds, one bolster, iij fether pillowes, iij blanketts
 and an olde coverlett xxxiiij s.
 Summa xlvj s.

In the ij sellars. [under B, C ?]

Imprimis one olde table and a forme, vj stillings, iij tressells, ij
 cupbords, potts, glasses and trenchers, iij upstands and
 vessells for drinck xxxvj s. viij d.
 Summa xxxvj s. viij d.

⁶⁰ and struck through.

⁶¹ Added.

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In the stables [=M], garden and backside.

Imprimis the haye in the hayelofte

Item an olde nagge

Item a hovell, wood and other lumber

Item iiij washing tubbs, a beetle, wedges and an axe

Item an arbor in the little garden

Summa vj li. x s.

iiij li.

xx s.

xl s.

v s.

v s.

Lynnen and Naperye.

Imprimis xvj payre of ordinarye sheets

Item xiiij payre of midlinge sheets

Item xxiiij payre of fine sheets

Item xxiiij ordinarye pillowbers

Item xij fine pillowbers

Item xxviiij ordinarye tableclothes

Item xij fine tableclothes

Item one broad⁶² diaper table clothe and one lesser

Item x dozen and ix ordinarye napkins

Item vij dozen and iiij fine flexen napkins

Item iiij dozen and vij diaper and laydeworke napkins

Item iiij cupborde clothes

Item ix cupborde clothes and ij drinckinge clothes

Item xxiiij ordinarye towells

Item vj finetowells

Item a damaske towell and certeine childebed lynnen

Summa <lvj li. xvij s. iiij d.>

iiij li.

v li. vj s. iiij d.

xv li. iiij s. iiij s.

xxxvj s.

xxxvj s. viij d.

l s.

vj li.

lv s.

iiij li. xj s. vj d.

iiij li.

liij s. vj d.

v s.

iiij li. ij s.

xxiiij s.

xxiiij s.

xl s.

Plate, <readye monye, waringe apparell and good debts>

Imprimis one guilte salte and xv silver spoones

<Item waring apparell and readye monye

<Item in good debts

<Summa xxx li. x s. viij d.>

vij li. x s. viij d.

xij li.)

x li)

<Summa totalis CCxxxv li. ij s. viij d.>

<Item in desperate debts

xiiij li. vj s. viij d.)

Henry Nicolls

Edwarde

Carpenter

Tymothy Hatton

Barth' Emery

Primo die Maii Anno Domini 1613 exhibitum fuit hoc presens inventarium coram venerabili viro magistro Iohanne Hawley in ll. bacchalarario venerabilis viri magistri Thome Singleton, sacre theologie professoris, universitatis Oxon' commissarii deputato per Agnetem Fysher relictam et administratricem bonorum etc.

⁶² table struck through.

THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

Mathei Fysher parochie Sancti Martini civitatis Oxon' dum vixit persone privilegiate ab intestato defuncti pro vero et perfecto inventario omnium et singulorum bonorum dicti defuncti etc. cum protestacione de addendo si etc.

Ita est per me Rogerum Jones notarium publicum Registrarium.

Exhibit' 1^{mo} Maii 1613

(4) *Extract from the will of Sampson Rawlins (senior), chandler, 7 May 1695.*

Bodleian Library, MS. Wills Oxon. 57.

I give to my sonn Sampson Rawlins my house which I now dwell in being a Colledge lease except one Chamber one pair of staires hie which I give to my wife Martha Rawlins during her life and after her decease to my sonn Sampson Rawlins.

(5) *Inventory of Sampson Rawlins (senior), 26 March 1697.*

Bodleian Library, MS. Wills Oxon. 57.

An Inventory of the goods chattels and personall Estate of Sampson Rawlins late of the Citty of Oxon' Tallow Chandler deceased taken and appraised the twenty sixth day of March in the nynth year of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord William the Third over England etc. King Defender of the faith etc. Annoque Domini 1697 by us whose names are hereunto subscribed.

	£	s	d
In primis. In the Garrett [above A, B] ⁶³	012.	10.	6.
Item. In the Chamber up staires [above A, B]	040.	8.	1.
Item. In the further room below staires [=E]	027.	2.	0.
Item. In the Kitchen [=C]	020.	14.	8.
Item. In the warehouse [=B]	051.	19.	6.
Item. In the shopp [=A]	074.	6.	0.
Item. In the backside	011.	10.	0.
Item. In the workhouse [=F]	052.	13.	2.
Item. In the sellar [below A, B and C, E, F ?]	041.	16.	6.
Item. Book debts	100.	0.	0.
Item. Wareing clothes and mony in pokett	040.	0.	0.
Item. An Assignment of a Colledge Lease	120.	0.	0.
	593.	0.	5.

Will: Barnes
William Gould

Exhibit' etc. apud Oxon' 16^{to} die Octobris Anno Domini 1697 Per Sampson Rawlins filium et Executorum unum renunciante altera etc. Pro vero etc. que hactenus etc. sub protestacione de addendo etc. etc. etc.

Geo: Cooper Notarium Publicum.

⁶³ The letters which I have added in brackets refer to the suggested identification of rooms in the plan in fig. 36 ; cf. also p. 110, above.

E. M. JOPE AND W. A. PANTIN

- (6) *Extract from the will of Sampson Rawlins (junior), chandler, 21 Jan. 1699.*

Bodleian Library MS. Wills Oxon. 57.

Item whereas I am entitled unto the messuage and premises where I now live in St Michael's parish in Oxon' held by lease from Mr New which on my marriage with Faith my now wife was settled to me and my said wife and ye survivors of us for so many years as we should live and after the decease of the survivour of us to such children as we should leave behind us . . . [if his wife leaves no child begotten by him, it is to go to his three sisters, Mary Gilbert, Joane Barnes, and Jane Green.]

- (7) *Inventory of Sampson Rawlins (junior), chandler, March 1699.*

Bodleian Library, MS. Wills Oxon. 57.

An Inventory of the Goods Creditts and Chattels of Sampson Rawlins late of ye City of Oxon' Chandler appraised by us whose names are underwrittJn as followeth viz.

	£	s	d
In the Cockloft the goods [above A, B]	8.	0.	0.
In the Room up one paire of staires to the Street [above A, B] and feather bedds	10.	00.	00.
In the little lower Roome [=B ?]	4.	10.	0.
In the kitchin [=C]	5.	0.	0.
In the Room behind the kitchin [=E]	6.	0.	0.
In the little Roome behind the Shopp [=B ?]	20.	0.	0.
In the Shopp [=A]	35.	0.	0.
In the Sellar [below A, B and C, E, F ?]	20.	0.	0.
In the melting Room [=F ?]	20.	0.	0.
In the Backside Wood and other lumber	6.	0.	0.
Due upon the Shopp book debts good and bad	50.	0.	0.
His wearing apparell }	10.	0.	0.
money in Pockett }			
	194.	10.	0.

William Gould

Will: Barnes

Exhibit' etc. 23 Martii 1699 Per Faith Rawlins Relict' et Executricem etc. pro vero etc. que hactenus etc. sub protestacione de addendo etc. etc. etc.

Geo. Cooper Notarium Publicum.

- (8) *Valuation of the Star Inn, 1863.*

[A transcript by Dr H. E. Salter, with a tracing of site-plan.]

Bodleian Library, G. A. Oxon. a. 41, fo. 75.

Valuation of that part of the Star Inn which belongs to Christ Church, Dec. 1863.

The property has a frontage to Cornmarket of 90 ft., and an average depth of about 210 ft. The house and offices are built principally of stone or brick but a small portion is timber built and plastered. It contains on the chamber floor 4 sitting

THE CLARENDON HOTEL, OXFORD

rooms, and 24 bedrooms and part of 3 others. On the ground floor 4 sitting rooms, a large dining room, greater portion of the coffee room, large Assembly Room, retiring rooms, entrance hall, bar, servants' offices and good cellarage. The out-buildings comprise stabling for 30 horses, coachhouses, lofts. There is also a small garden and a yard. The house has been for many years occupied as an Hotel in conjunction with the Freehold premises on the south side belonging to Mr Griffiths, and only about half the premises known as the Star belong to the Dean and Chapter; the boundary line between the two properties would run east to west, cutting off the gateway, about 6 feet of the coffee room, and dividing 3 of the bedrooms and some of the offices. Should the properties be divided, there would be no stable entrance and one would have to be made at some cost by sacrificing a good room at the north end next to the Star Passage, and also destroying the garden.

It is held by Mr Griffiths on a beneficial Lease for 40 years subject to a reserved rent averaging about £13.10.0 and liable to the payment of the Land Tax £15.7.6. and to the whole of the Repairs and Insurance. I estimate the Gross Annual Value £400, Deduct Reserved Rent £13.10.0; Land Tax £15.7.6; repairs £30; insurance £10. Net annual value to lessee £331.2.6.

Annual value to the Lessor, supposing it in hand, £331.2.6 and £13.10.0; total £344.12.6. Say £345. At 25 years purchase, £8,625. Deduct £350 for alterations necessary to obtain £400 rental. Value of the Fee Simple £8,275.

F. Field.

(With this plan and valuation compare a plan and valuation of the adjoining premises now among the Manning Collection.—H.E.S.) [=MS. Top. Oxon. c. 227.]



PLATE V

Part of the view of Oxford from D. Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata* : the Cornmarket, with its pillory in the centre, is shown running up towards Carfax church and conduit ; the letters A-F have been added to mark the area between Sewy's Lane (A) and Bodin's Lane (F) containing the Star Inn and adjoining tenements (pp. 84, 94 ; cf. figs. 26, 27).



PLATE VI

The street front of the Clarendon Hotel, c. 1921, showing the two gables of the former King's Head on the left (p. 114; cf. fig. 28).

Ph.: H. Minn



A

A. The Courtyard of the Star Inn looking south-east, seen through the gap left by the demolition of the north-west corner, with the half-demolished west range on the right (p. 104).



B

B. The courtyard of the Star Inn, looking south-east, during demolition, showing the central chimney stack and tie-beam on the first floor of the east range (p. 98).

PLATE VIII



A



B

- A. The courtyard of the Star Inn, looking south-east : on the left is the east range with the gateway below and the open gallery, later glazed, on the first floor ; to the right is the south range, where the hall with its continuous windows (cf. fig. 34) occupied the ground floor (pp. 92, 102).
 B. The east range of the Star Inn, from the courtyard, showing on the first floor the posts and openings of the gallery, later glazed (p. 100).

Phh.: W. A. Pantin



A

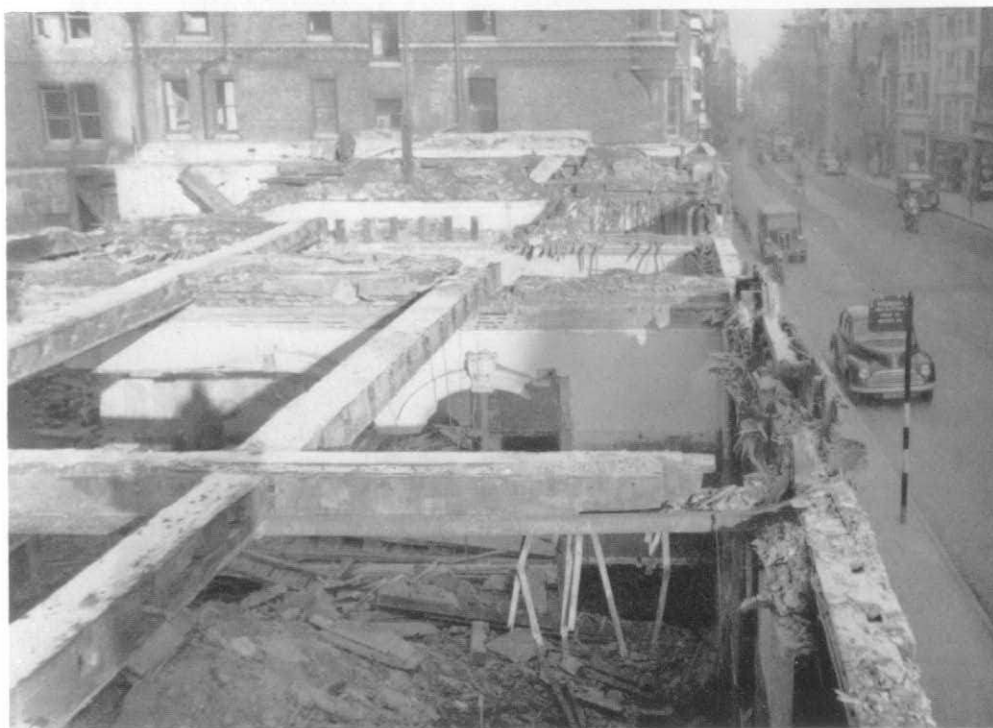


B

- A. Timber post at the north-east corner of the ground floor of the east range, showing a fragment of the moulded lintel at the top (cf. detail 2 in fig. 35) ; note the gap between the post and the later front (1783) on the right (p. 98).
- B. Chimney stack on the first floor at the south end of the east range, showing moulded stones re-used, and tie-beam with mortice holes passing behind the stack ; it was from this stack that the mutilated effigy head (plate XIX B) came (pp. 96, 101).



A



B

- A. The floor structure of the east range (first floor level) looking south, showing the 1783 front on the left ; the southern chimney stack (plate IX B) is in the background, and the central chimney stack has been removed (p. 98 ; cf. fig. 32).
- B. The floor structure of the east range (first floor level), looking north, with minor joists removed ; note the gap between the end of the main beams and the 1783 street front on the right (pp. 96, 98 ; cf. figs. 32, 34).

PLATE XI



A



B

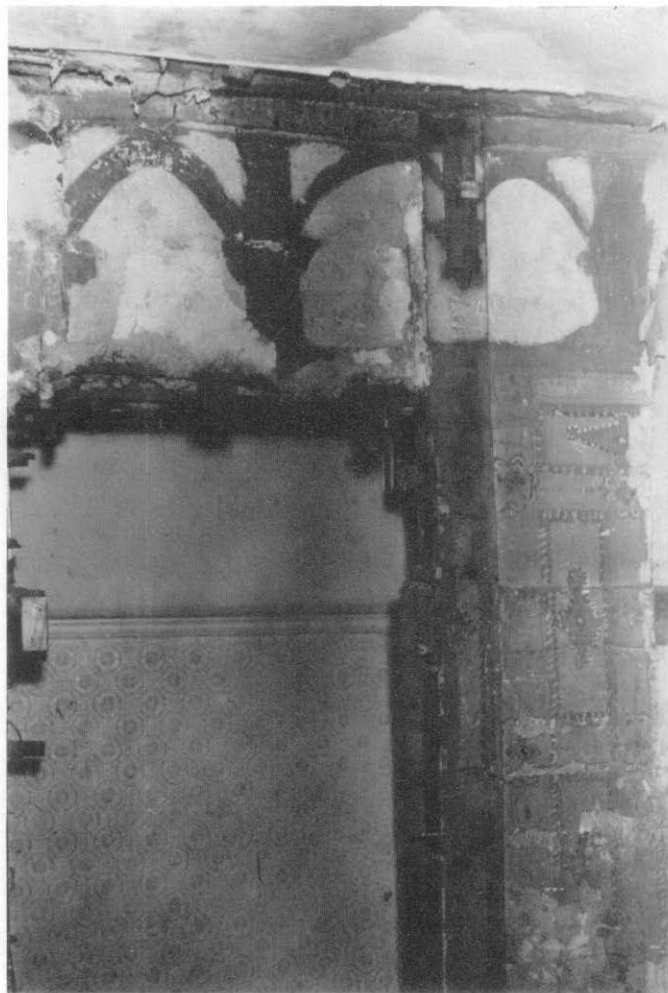
A. The 'Great Chamber' on the first floor of the east range, looking north, showing the four-centred, stop-chamfered fireplace, and on the right, the timber and plaster filling between the stone chimney stack and the corner post (p. 100 ; cf. fig. 35).

B. The 'Great Chamber', looking north-west ; the corner left of the fireplace, left rough, was probably fitted with wainscoting and a fixed bench, with smooth plastering above ; note the fragment of painted timber (shown in plate XII A) on the extreme left (p. 100 ; cf. fig. 35).

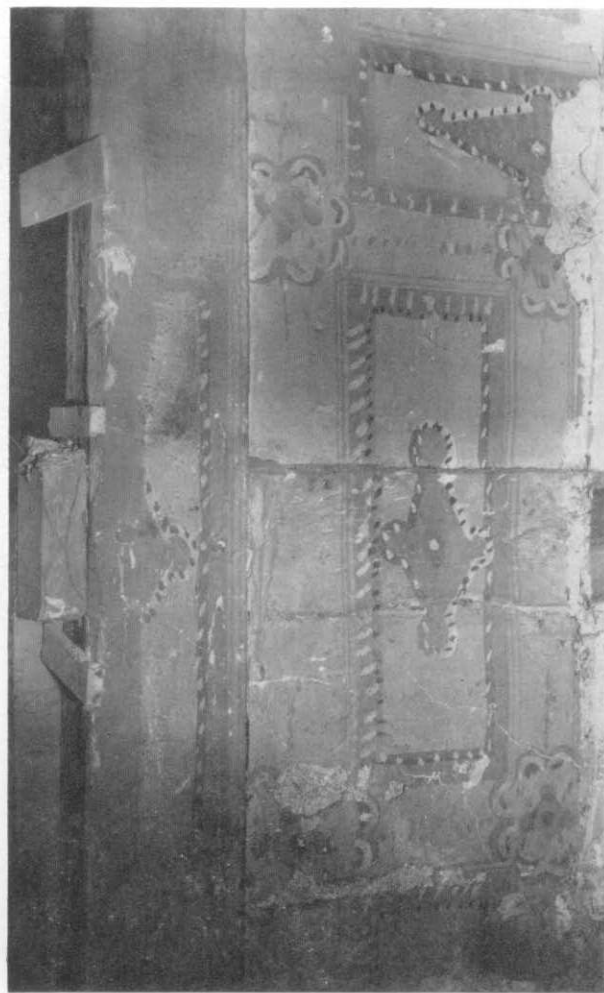
Phk.: P. S. Spokes



A



B



C

A. Detail of painted timber on the west wall of the 'Great Chamber', shown on the extreme left of plate XI B; cf. detail 4 on figs. 33, 35 (p. 100).

B. Painted decoration on timber and plaster on the west wall of the 'Crown Chamber'; cf. detail 5 on figs. 33, 35 (p. 101).

C. Detail of plate XII B, showing painted imitation of wainscoting (p. 101).

*Phh.: A, Ashmolean Museum
B, C, P. S. Spokes*

PLATE XIII



A



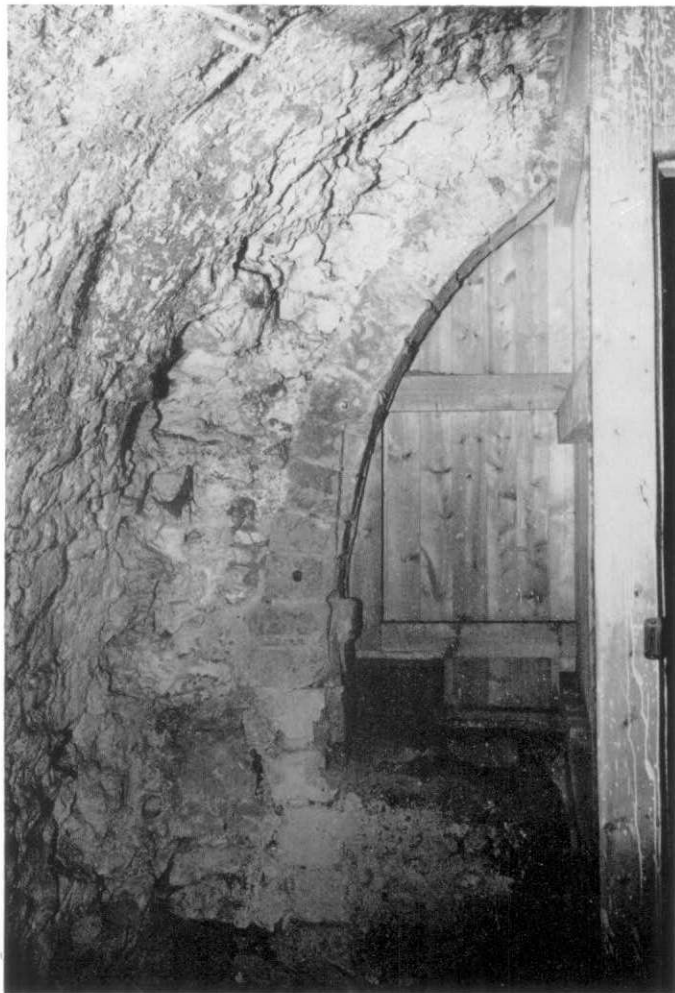
B



C

- A. Timber-framed south wall of the 'Crown Chamber' (p. 101; cf. fig. 33, 34).
 B. Stop-chamfered ceiling beams of the ground floor room (hall) in the south range (p. 102; cf. fig. 32).
 C. Moulded lintel of the windows in the north wall of the ground floor room (hall) in the south range; note the stump of a post (left) and the mortices of mullions and stanchions (p. 102; cf. fig. 34).

Phh.: W. A. Pantin



A



B

- A. Twelfth century arch, impost and pilaster in the south-west corner of the cellar under Setreton's tenement (pp. 20, 106; cf. figs. 5, 36).
 B. Remains of Setreton's tenement from the west, showing the medieval wall, corbel and fireplace, masked by eighteenth century timber framing on the right (cf. plate xv) and the opening to the twelfth century cellar (cf. plate xiv A) below (p. 108; cf. fig. 36).

*Phh.: A, P. S. Spokes
 B, W. A. Pantin*



A



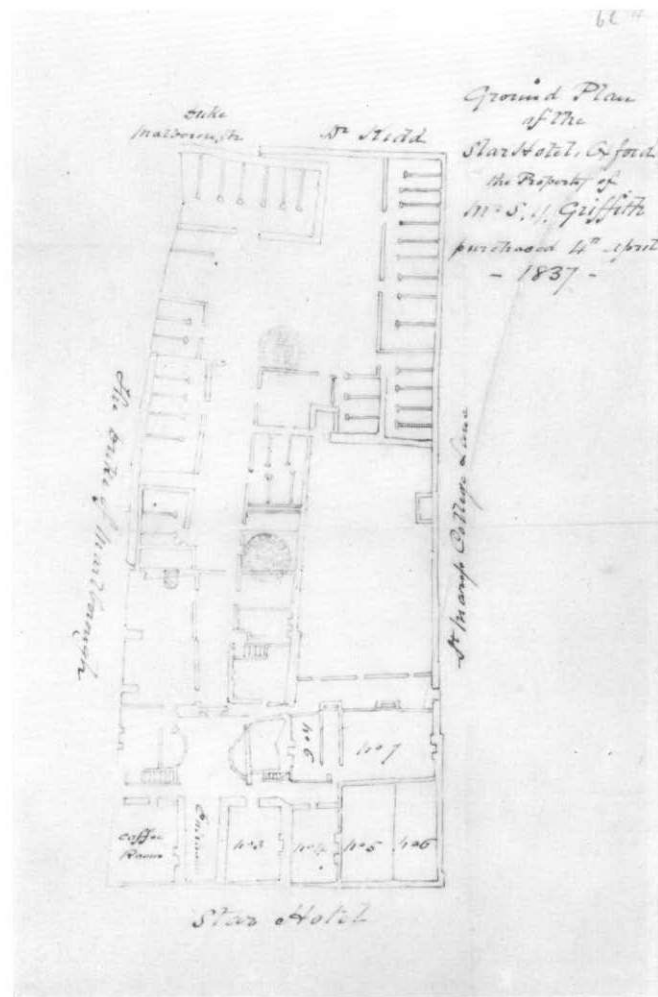
B

- A. The west part of the south wall of Setreton's tenement, showing the corbelled-out fireplace (blocked with bricks) and sawn-off beam-end revealed on the removal of the eighteenth century timber framing (p. 108 ; cf. fig. 36).
- B. The east end of the south wall of Setreton's tenement, showing the line of the original street front, and on the left, the window of the eighteenth century extension, made before the adjoining tenement, the Star, was refronted *c.* 1783 (p. 108 ; cf. fig. 36).



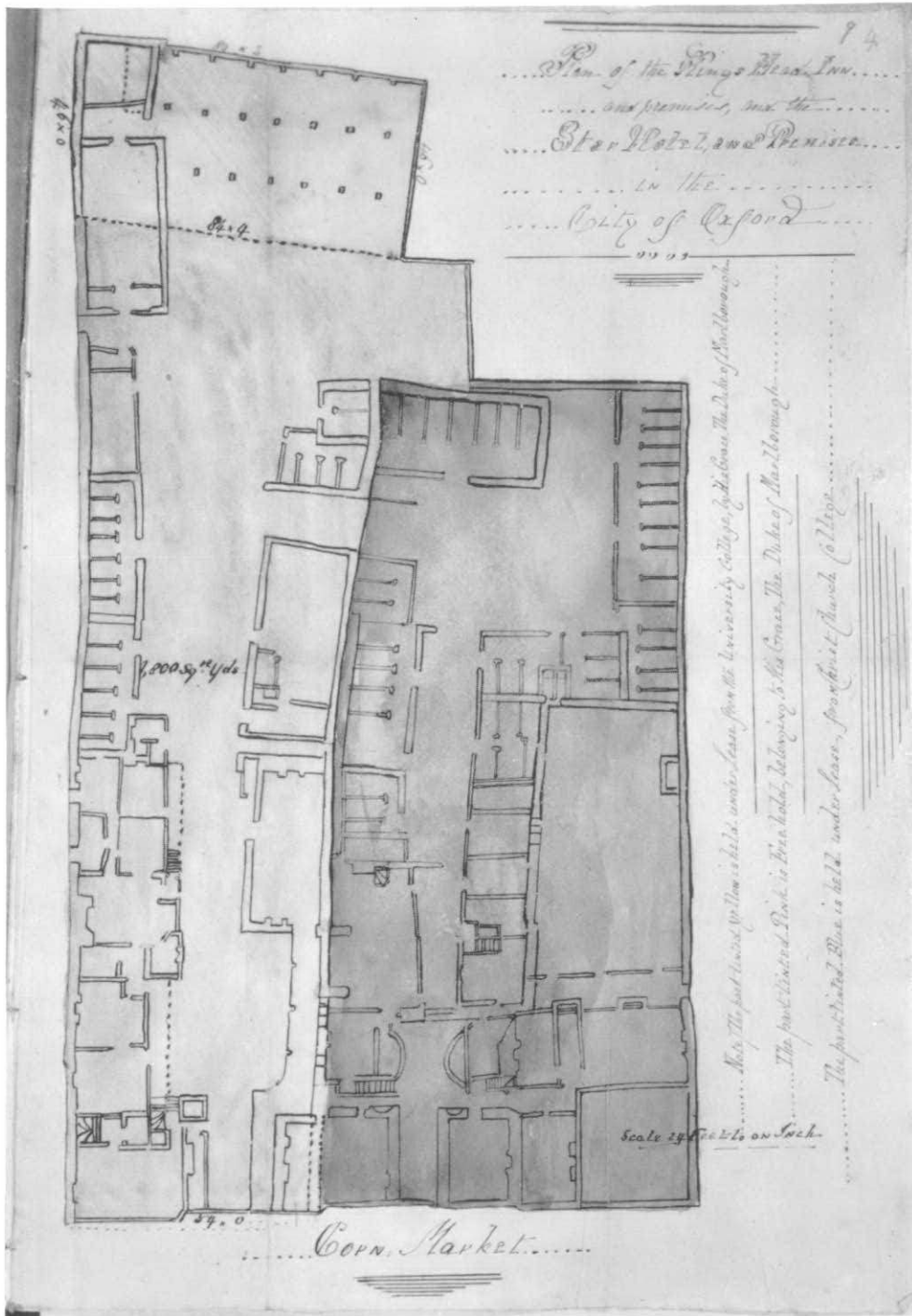
Ph.: W. A. Pantin

A



B

A. The east range of the Courtyard of the Star Inn, during demolition, showing in the foreground the elliptical arch and flanking niches which concealed sixteenth century timber framework, and beyond, the archway leading into the Assembly Room (pp. 104, 113; cf. figs. 27, 29).
 B. Ground plan of the Star Inn before the construction of the Assembly Room in 1832, though the plan is dated 1837. Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Oxon. a. 24 (62) (p. 90; cf. fig. 31).



Ground plan of the Star Inn (right) and of the King's Head Inn (left) as existing c. 1832, though the plan was made c. 1849. Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Oxon., c. 227, fo. 9 (p. 90 ; cf. fig. 31).



A



B

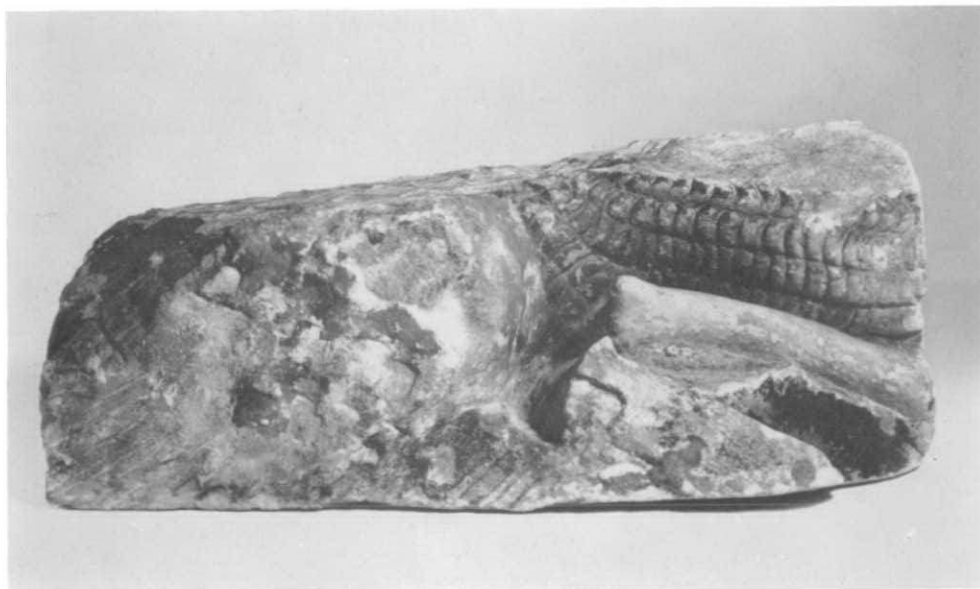
- A. West or garden front of the northern block (K on block plan, fig. 27), rebuilt *c.* 1783 on the site of the *principalis mansio in venella* (p. 108 ; cf. inset plan in fig. 36).
 B. Foundations of the *principalis mansio in venella*, below the 1783 northern block, looking north-west, showing probable bay window in centre (p. 108 ; cf. inset plan in fig. 36).

Phk.: W. A. Pantin

PLATE XIX



A



B

- A. The north side of the 1832 Assembly Room, with the partly demolished Masonic Hall on the right, and the site of the Inn garden in the foreground (p. 113).
 B. Mutilated head of an effigy of a knight in chain-mail (c. 1300 ?), found built in to the southern chimney stack of the street range shown in plate IX B (pp. 96, 101).

*Phh.: A, W. A. Pantin
 B, Ashmolean Museum*



Courtyard of the King's Head, looking south-east, showing the galleried back range (W, V on block plan, fig. 27); a late nineteenth century photograph (p. 114).