Excavation of Post-medieval Features and a Dump of Late Eighteenth-century Artefacts from 5/6–7 Market Street, Oxford

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with contributions by Paul Blinkhorn, Paul Cannon, Sheila Hamilton-Dyer, Nicola Powell and Jamie Preston

SUMMARY

An evaluation and subsequent excavation at 5/6–7 Market Street, Oxford, led to the discovery of a small number of medieval deposits below post-medieval features and cellars. A substantial dump of later 18th-century material in one of these cellars may represent the complete clear-out of crockery from a nearby household. This is one of the best groups of such pottery ever excavated in Oxford and one of the largest and most complete assemblages of Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware from the city. Also found were several wine-bottle seals, seven of which relate to Jesus College, opposite the site. A survey of the limestone rubble wall on the north side of 8 Cornmarket Street (rear of 3–7 Market Street) showed several undated phases of construction.

A proposal by Boots Properties PLC to redevelop properties fronting Cornmarket and Market Streets led to a series of archaeological investigations on the site. Planning permission, subject to archaeological conditions, was granted by Oxford City Council for the demolition of the standing buildings on 5/6–7 Market Street and the construction of a retail unit to extend the current store on Cornmarket Street, including the destruction of the wall between 8 Cornmarket Street and the Market Street properties. The development site occupied an approximately rectangular area of c. 0.17 hectares in the centre of Oxford (SP 51330626) (Fig. 1).

A desk-based assessment1 suggested that it was possible that Saxon, medieval and post-medieval deposits remained intact at the rear of the plot. The cartographic study illustrated the changing use of the site, with properties fronting Cornmarket and Market Streets and open yards with varying layouts to the rear.2 A search of the Oxfordshire Sites and Monuments Record revealed a considerable number of entries for finds of Saxon, medieval and post-medieval date in the vicinity of the site.

The field evaluation on the Market Street part of the site was carried out in July and August 1999.3 The results of this work led to the excavation of three areas, in September and October 1999, where the depth of development threatened significant archaeological deposits. A rectified photographic survey of the wall was conducted in November 1999 and a watching brief took place in March 2000. These phases of work followed schemes approved by Brian Durham of the Oxford Archaeological Advisory Service (OAAS), and

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2 Ibid.
Fig. 1. Location of site within Oxford.
were carried out in accordance with PPG164 and the Oxford Local Plan. The site code is CSO99/17, and the finds and archive will be deposited with Oxfordshire Museum Service (accession number OXCMS 1999.124).

THE EVALUATION

Two small rectangular trenches were excavated within the proposed development area (Fig. 2). The work was carried out indoors, as buildings formerly occupied by TSB Bank and Mothercare were still standing. Reinforced concrete floors of both buildings were removed by groundworks and the deposits below were excavated by hand.

Trench 1, which was 2 m. by 1.8 m., was located in the SE. corner of the former TSB Bank. Below the modern concrete and 19th-century rubble were a number of stratified features; walls, floor layers and other deposits. The majority of these were shown to be post-medieval but the lowest produced no pottery later than the 13th century. The top of the lowest deposit investigated was 64.17 m. above Ordnance Datum (OD), and auguring suggested that it was 0.65 m. thick and overlay a void, possibly a well.

Trench 2 was towards the rear of the former Mothercare building and was 2.7 m. by 1.3 m. Again, removal of modern reinforced concrete and post-medieval rubble revealed walls, a floor and other deposits. Of particular interest was a piece of stoneware flagon bearing the words 'R. Gurden Roe Buck, Oxford' from a deposit of mid 19th-century building material. The earliest deposit produced 14th-century pottery; the top of the deposit was 63.92 m. above OD and auguring suggested it was at least 0.70 m. thick and overlay limestone.

THE EXCAVATION

Methodology

The excavation was carried out post-demolition and consisted of three areas (A–C), which were to be affected by ground beams, pile caps and an escalator mechanism base, within the area that was known to be uncellared (Fig. 2). Rubble was removed by machine and the areas were then excavated by hand to a depth of 63.60 m. above OD; at least 0.20 m. below the deepest level of development.

Phases

Seven phases of activity were recorded:

Phase I  Late Saxon to 13th-century (residual material only)
Phase II  14th-century
Phase III  15th century
Phase IV  16th-century
Phase V  18th-century
Phase VI  19th-century
Phase VII  20th-century

Area A (Fig. 2)

The presence of an adjacent wall prevented safe excavation of this small area. Pottery of 19th-century date and a number of 18th-century bottles were recovered from the surface.

Area B (Fig. 2)

Detailed plans of Area B are not provided in this report. This U-shaped area, c. 50 sq. m., was positioned around three sides of evaluation trench 2. A significant portion was taken up by modern disturbance, at least as deep as the development level. A number of 19th- and 20th-century footings, soakaways and service trenches truncated the site further.

A small pit (2052) and two layers (2018 and 2035) may date to the 16th century; layer 2018 produced a piece of late medieval decorated glass. Deposits cut by these features appeared to span phases II to III (14th-to 15th-century), but the material within them was very mixed and included several pieces of phase I pottery. The only possible medieval cut feature, pit 2032, produced a single sherd of 14th-century pottery, but cut

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4 Archaeology and Planning (1990), Dept. of the Environment, Planning Policy and Guidance Note 16.
Fig. 2. Location of site, showing evaluation trenches, excavated areas and cellars.
Fig. 3. Plan and section for Area C.
layer 2033, which is late 15th-century in date. This, in turn, butted against a limestone wall, which was founded on a possible late 14th-century layer (2046) and overlay what was perhaps a roughly laid limestone floor. These late medieval deposits are only tentatively dated as the limited nature of the excavation revealed little in plan, and the quantity of datable material recovered was small, with a high degree of residuality possible.

Area C (Figs. 2 and 3)

Area C was 7 m. by 9 m., situated at the rear of 7 Market Street and incorporating evaluation trench 1. Machine-stripping revealed a number of limestone and brick walls parallel or perpendicular to the road. The wall at the rear of the area (3029) was the lower phase of the wall of 8 Cornmarket Street, and was subject to a survey and watching brief during demolition (see below). It met another substantial wall (3028) in the SE. corner, which ran up the E. side towards Market Street. Both walls had been used as foundations for the modern buildings.

Four cellars, demarcated by the earlier limestone walls, could be seen: 3001, 3003, 3005 and 3007. The fills of two, 3001 and 3005, produced 18th-century material, whilst 3003 and 3007 were filled with 19th-century material. In fact, cellar 3003 could clearly be seen to post-date 3005, where wall 3026 had replaced part of wall 3023 and was keyed into 3028.

A significant element of the excavation was the series of dumped deposits within cellar 3001 in the SW. corner of the trench (Fig. 3, section). This contained an assemblage of ceramics, glass, clay pipe and animal bone indicating a late 18th-century deposition date. Although several different layers were clearly visible within the cellar backfill (3000, 3012-4, 3035 and 3039-40) the number of co-joining sherds of pottery, glass and bone suggest that the material had a common origin and had been cleared from another location before being dumped. The majority of the artefacts were recovered from the SW. corner of the cellar.

A few deposits below the base of some of the internal walls may date to the 15th or 16th century but evidence is limited to a small number of sherds of pottery. Seemingly, the majority of medieval deposits are below the level of the excavation and have not been disturbed by the current development. It is probable that substantial walls 3028 and 3029 are 15th-century or earlier. The SW. corner of the site, where the evaluation trench had been located, was taken up by a cobbled surface (3030) and was not further excavated.

THE FINDS

POtTERY by PAUL BLINKHORN

The assemblage comprised 1137 sherds with a total weight of 77,654 gms. The majority is made up of a large dump of later 18th-century pottery, spread between several archaeologically differentiated layers within cellar 3001. It appears to be the result of a total ‘clear-out’ of the pottery assemblage of a single household. Certainly, all the different classes of pottery known to have been in use at that time are present, both tablewares and more utilitarian vessels, and many vessels are near-complete. This represents one of the best groups of such pottery ever excavated in Oxford, and is one of the largest and most complete assemblages of Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware from the city. Such pottery was a household staple of mid to late 18th-century England, but relatively little had been excavated in Oxford before now (M. Mellor, pers. comm.). All the reconstructed vessels have been illustrated. Although most, if not all, of the assemblage has parallels elsewhere, the scarcity of assemblages of this period from Oxford, combined with the fact that the group appears to be the product of a single household clearance, means that it allows us a rare glimpse of a typical domestic pottery assemblage of the time.

Some small groups of medieval wares were also noted, but none were large enough to provide anything beyond a context-specific date. The date range indicates occupation at the site from the 13th century onwards, but there is also limited evidence of late Saxon activity in the form of a single abraded sherd of St. Neots ware, which was redeposited in a later context.

Fabrics

Where appropriate, the coding system and chronology of the Oxfordshire County type-series has been used, as follows (totals refer to stratified material only):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>AD Date</th>
<th>Sherd Count</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OXAC</td>
<td>Cotswold-type ware, AD 975-1350, 14 sherds, 242 g.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OXAC</td>
<td>Cotswold-type ware, AD 975-1350, 14 sherds, 242 g.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OXY Medieval Oxford ware, AD 1075–1350, 32 sherds, 335 g.
OXAQ East Wiltshire ware, early 12th to early 15th century, 3 sherds, 59 g.
OXBB Ninety ware, early 12th to 15th century, 1 sherd, 8 g.
OXAM Brill/Boarstall ware, AD 1200–1600, 86 sherds, 1490 g.
OXBN Tudor Green ware, late 14th century – c. 1500, 3 sherds, 11 g.
OXAP Brill/Boarstall ‘Midland Purple’ type, c. mid 15th–16th century, 6 sherds, 192 g.
OXCL Cistercian ware, AD 1470–1550, 6 sherds, 179 g.
OXST Frechen stoneware, AD 1550–1700, 23 sherds, 984 g.
OXFH Border wares, 1550–1700, 45 sherds, 2680 g.
OXDR Red earthenwares, 1550+, 225 sherds, 33498 g.
OXDN Midland Blackware, late 16th/early 17th – mid 18th century, 17 sherds, 752 g.
OXCE Tin-glazed earthenware, 1613–1800, 27 sherds, 1480 g.
OXDQ Staffordshire-type slip-trailed wares, 1640–1800, 8 sherds, 1007 g.\(^6\)
OXFI Chinese porcelain, c. 1650+, 74 sherds, 1190 g.
OXEST Brown salt-glazed stonewares (‘dipped salt-glazed stoneware’), 1675–1775, 32 sherds, 4540 g.
OXFM Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware, 1720–1800, 167 sherds, 7360 g.
OXBEW Staffordshire Manganese wares, 18th century, 36 sherds, 2984 g.
OXCRM Creamware, 1740–19th century, 46 sherds, 3055 g.
OXEST Later English Stoneware, c. 1750+, 15 sherds, 1527 g.
OXPW Pearlware, 1765–19th century, 45 sherds, 3055 g.
OXXHEW Mass-produced white earthenware, late 18th century+, 234 sherds, 9772 g.

The following wares were also noted. The numerical codes refer to the column headings in Tables 1 and 2.

F410 Brill/Boarstall ‘Tudor Green’ wares. Also classified as OXAM in the Oxford type-series. Imitations of ‘Tudor Green’ forms in Brill/Boarstall fabrics, AD 1475–1600, 5 sherds, 39 g.
F413 Westerwald/Cologne stoneware. Also classified as OXST in the Oxford type-series. Typical hard, grey Rhenish stoneware, usually with cobalt and/or manganese painted decoration, c. AD 1600 – present, 1 sherd, 187 g.
F416 Slipwares. Red earthenwares with polychrome lip decoration. From a number of sources such as Harlow and Brill. 17th century. 16 sherds, 2560 g.
F438 Later English stoneware. Hard, grey fabric with a ferruginous wash. Commonly used for ink-pots, seltzer bottles etc., c. 1750+, 18 sherds, 3954 g.
F442 Mocha/Yellow wares. White, slightly sandy earthenware. Yellow wares have a thick, glossy lemon glaze, mocha wares the same with a brown, fern-like transfer decoration. Yellow wares 1785–1830, yellow wares 1815–1830, 5 sherds, 577 g.
F454 Whieldon wares. Fine cream earthenware fabric with a range of different coloured, mottled glazes, mid to late 18th century, 1 sherd, 13 g.

The pottery occurrence by number and weight of sherds per context by fabric type is shown in Tables 2 and 3.

**Chronology**

The bulk of the pottery from this site comprised a single group, distributed between several contexts. There are large numbers of cross-joins between contexts 3000, 3012, 3035 and 3089, suggesting that these archaeologically separate groups represent a single event, probably a ‘clear-out’ of the entire pottery assemblage of a household. This seems to have been a relatively common action at the time, with many such groups of this date known from London,\(^7\) although very few of the assemblages have been fully analysed and published. In Oxford, few groups of this date have been excavated, especially one such as this, with a large component of Staffordshire salt-glazed stoneware (Maureen Mellor pers. comm.). Mellor’s publication of broadly contemporary groups of material from St. Ebbe’s in Oxford\(^8\) offers the main comparata for the city.

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\(^6\) D. Barker, Information sheets for English Heritage post-medieval pottery training days (1999).
\(^7\) J. Pearce, ‘A Rare Delftware Hebrew Plate and associated Assemblage from an Excavation in Mitre Street, City of London’, *Post-Medieval Archaeol.* 32 (1998), 104.
The St. Ebbe's site produced three assemblages that are relevant here. Two mid 18th-century groups were discovered in pits 48 and 7, with the former likely to have originated from the household of a 'gentleman', and the latter from a wealthy market-gardener's house. A mid to late 18th-century group occurred in pit 45, behind what was a public house known as the Saracen's Head. A further, small group of late 18th- to early 19th-century date was recovered from the back of a property fronting onto Church Street.

The group from St. Ebbe's pit 48, which was taken over by one Sir Charles Osbaldestone on 15 October 1739, has some similarities with the assemblage from Market Street. It comprised about 40% red earthenwares, including polychrome slip-trailed examples, a large Westerwald tankard and Chinese teawares, all of which can be paralleled here (see Figs. 4-18). However, Staffordshire white salt-glazed wares were very rare, and Creamwares and Pearlwares were absent, suggesting that the St. Ebbe's group is earlier than this one, as they are present in relatively large quantities here.

The assemblage from St. Ebbe's pit 7 comprised around 20% red earthenwares, with a greater amount of regional imports than the group from pit 48, particularly Staffordshire and London stonewares and earthenwares, Chinese and English porcelain, Astbury, Jackfield and Agate wares, and tin-glazed earthenwares. However, Creamwares and Pearlwares were again absent, suggesting that this group also predates the Market Street assemblage.

St. Ebbe's pit 45, dated to the mid to late 18th century, seems to correspond most closely with the group under discussion here, although it, again, seems slightly earlier, as it did not produce any Pearlwares. The assemblage comprised about 30% red earthenwares, including black-glazed examples, and very few Surrey vessels. Small amounts of un-glazed earthenware and Staffordshire slipwares were also noted, along with small quantities of Creamwares. One of the main differences is the tankards; the majority of the vessels from the St. Ebbe's group were English stoneware or dipped salt-glaze stoneware. The Market Street assemblage did contain some vessels in these fabrics, but the bulk of the tankard assemblage comprised Staffordshire white salt-glazed vessels. Four of the English stoneware tankards were stamped 'WR', but could date to any time between 1700 and 1876. The Market Street group does, however, appear to pre-date another of the St. Ebbe's assemblages, from feature 13, which is dated to around 1790 from the presence of transfer-printed Pearlware. Similar dating can be given by the various vessels inscribed with personal names. The Market Street assemblage did not produce any pottery of these types. The crucial dating factor appears to be the presence of small amounts of Creamware and Pearlware in the Market Street assemblage. Mellor notes that the former was not popular in the Oxford region before the 1780s, and was only introduced into the area during the 1770s. The majority of the Creamware from this site was of a relatively dark, 'buttery' colour. Such pottery tended to be more common during the earlier part of the production span of the material. Similarly, the Pearlwares from this site are undecorated and of a distinctly blue tone. This is, again, typical of the earlier vessels in the lifespan of the industry, and the absence of decorated vessels would suggest a date before 1780 at the latest. It would appear, therefore, that this large group of pottery was deposited between c. 1770 and 1780.

Discussion

The source of this group of material, despite the presence of the stoneware cistern inscribed 'R. Gurden Roe Buck Oxford' (Fig. 18), is not perhaps as obvious as it may first seem. Certainly, the inscribed vessel, which came from the evaluation, was found amongst a group of mid to late 19th-century pottery, and is almost certainly of the same date, and thus some 50-75 years later than the assemblage under discussion here.

9 Ibid. 198-204.
10 Ibid. Fig. 14.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
14 Mellor, op. cit. note 8, p. 207.
15 Ibid. 217.
16 Barker, op. cit. note 6.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
The Market Street assemblage shows several notable differences from groups of contemporary pottery in Oxford, including some associated with public houses. For example, the assemblage from pit 45 at St. Ebbe's, the Saracen's Head public house, had a very high proportion of tankards in English salt-glaze stoneware, including several with sprig-moulded public house signs. The former are very much in the minority amongst the Market Street assemblage. It should also be considered that the majority of the mugs and tankards from this site are in Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware. These vessels did not bear 'ale-marks', despite the fact that from June 1700 the Act for Ascertaining the Measures for Retailing Ale and Beer made it illegal to retail ale or beer in unstamped vessels. Thus, it appears likely that the Market Street vessels were used for private rather than public consumption. Sherds from four vessels with the 'WR' stamp were noted amongst this assemblage, but this cannot be taken as evidence of a tavern, as the assemblage from pit 7 at St. Ebbe's, the market gardener's holding, also produced one of these vessels. Further evidence of pottery from public houses being used in a private context came from feature 13 at St. Ebbe's. This produced a relatively large number of named plates, which once belonged to inns or eating houses, including two which were the property of a coffee-house keeper on Cornmarket, one William Musgrove. However, there is no evidence of there having been an inn or eating house in the vicinity of the St. Ebbe's site at the time.

The nature of post-medieval domestic pottery assemblages has been scrutinized in some detail in the last decade, particularly in America, where analysts such as Anne Yentsch and Mary Beaudry et al. have considered, amongst other things, the function and symbolism of what the former refers to as 'earth-toned' (i.e. earthenwares) and 'white-toned' (porcelain, Creamware, salt-glazed, Pearlware) pottery in the household. The latter category, which was used for formal dining, is by far the commonest in the Market Street assemblage (Table 1).

It can be seen from the data in Table 1 that by far the majority of the vessels used for the consumption of food and drink from this site are ‘white-toned’, and thus related to formal dining, rather than the pattern suggested from the assemblage from the Saracen's Head, where a much higher proportion of such vessels were ‘earth-toned’.

Yentsch notes that tea-drinking, originally a prestigious, male preserve in the later 17th to early 18th centuries, had become very much a social activity for women by 1740, who, by utilizing expensive or exotic pottery, used it to publicly convey the wealth of their household. This is perhaps reflected in the assemblage from St. Ebbe's pit 7, associated with a wealthy gardener and his family, and comprising 293 vessels, of which 22 were Staffordshire white salt-glazed tablewares, and 27 were Chinese porcelain, including 13 tea-bowls. Mugs and tankards were absent from the assemblage. By comparison, the group of pottery from the pit behind the Saracen's Head inn produced 531 vessels, with a similar proportion of Staffordshire white salt-glazed tablewares, including tea-ware, but a much lower proportion of Chinese porcelain (19 vessels), and all except two of the many mugs were in English stoneware. It has been suggested that dipped English stoneware tankards were largely used in taverns after 1730 and these were not produced as domestic vessels or tablewares after the 1760s. Finally, the assemblage from pit 48, Sir Charles Osbaldestone's residence, produced a wide range of cooking, serving and storage pottery, but very little Chinese porcelain or Staffordshire white salt-glazed tablewares.

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19 Mellor, op. cit. note 8, p. 204
20 Bimson, op. cit. note 13, pp. 165-6.
21 Mellor, op. cit. note 8, Fig. 26.1.
22 Ibid. 207-8.
23 Ibid. note 22.
25 M. Beaudry, L.J. Cook and S. Mzorowski, 'Artifacts and Active Voices: material culture as social discourse', in McGuire and Paynter, Archaeology of Inequality, 150-91.
26 Yentsch, op. cit. note 24.
27 Ibid. 223.
28 Mellor, op. cit. note 8, p. 204.
29 Barker, op. cit. note 6.
30 Mellor, op. cit. note 8, in fiche.
TABLE 1. VESSEL TYPES BY FUNCTIONAL CLASS, 5/6-7 MARKET STREET, OXFORD
(AFTER YENTSCH26)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functional class</th>
<th>Earth-toned no.</th>
<th>White-toned no.</th>
<th>Total no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food, preparation and storage vessels</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pancheons</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipkins/skillets</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jars</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food distribution</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishes/bowls, large</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Platters</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauce boats</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jugs</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food consumption</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plates</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowls, small</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soup plates</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Traditional beverage consumption</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cups</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tankards</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tea consumption</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teapots</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea bowls</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saucers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ointment pots</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamber pots</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vases</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horticultural pottery</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whilst it is obviously very difficult to ascertain the levels of social interaction that took place in the two private residences at St. Ebe's, it is likely that these, rather than wealth, would have been the deciding factors in pottery consumption, and a different pattern can be seen in each of the St. Ebe's groups. The material from the wealthy household of the market gardener and his family produced a relatively large amount of pottery associated with formal dining, that from the inn was skewed towards the sale and consumption of drink from what can be regarded as more utilitarian pottery, whereas that of the single 'gentleman' suggests that dining was a more private affair, with few socially-related 'frills'.
This is not without precedent; Beaudry et al.\textsuperscript{31} analysed 19th-century pottery assemblages from boarding houses and tenements in Lowell, Massachusetts, and results were similar. The pottery from the tenements, although the property of relatively poor families, comprised a range of vessels and wares which were reflective of those found in more prosperous households, whereas those in the boarding houses could be seen as more functional, i.e. the range of vessels was sufficient to allow dining at its most basic level, but no more.

The assemblage from Market Street would appear to have more in common with the first of these groups. The lack of tankards from the St. Ebbe’s group is slightly problematic, but could perhaps be the result of factors such as temperance. The relative absence of brown stoneware tankards at the Market Street site suggests that the pottery did not in the main originate from an inn, and that the assemblage came from a domestic context, and perhaps one of some status.

\textit{Pottery catalogue}

\textit{Dishes/bowls}

Figure 4:

Figure 5:
9. Context 3000. Polychrome red earthenware. Brick red fabric with white slip design on interior surface showing yellow under the orange glaze. Random dots of green glaze over some of the slipped areas.

Not illustrated:
Sherds from four polychrome tin-glazed earthenware vessels.

\textit{Pancheons}

Figure 6:

Figure 7:
20. Context 3004. Polychrome earthenware. Brick red fabric with vertical white slip stripes showing yellow under the orange glaze. One stripe is covered with a green glaze. Upper outer surface is heavily sooted.

\textsuperscript{31} Beaudry et al., op. cit. note 25, pp. 170-1.
Fig. 4. Dishes/bowls (1-7) (scale $\frac{1}{4}$).
Fig. 5. Dishes/bowls (8-10) (scale 1/4).
Fig. 6. Pancheons (11-15) (scale $\frac{1}{4}$).
Fig. 7. Pancheons (16-20) (scale $\frac{1}{4}$).
Figure 8:

Teapots
Figure 9:

Not illustrated:
Sherds from one vessel, Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware.
Sherds from one vessel, Chinese porcelain.

Teabowls
Figure 9:

Figure 10:

Not illustrated:
Sherds from two vessels, Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware.
Sherds from two vessels, Chinese porcelain.

Cups
Figure 11:
37. Contexts 3000, 3035. Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware.

Saucers
Figure 11:

Not illustrated:
Sherds from at least four vessels, Chinese porcelain.

Plates
Figure 12:
44. Contexts 3012, 3035. Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware, shell-edged.
47. Context 3035. Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware.
Fig. 8. Pancheons (21–22) (scale $\frac{1}{4}$).
Fig. 9. Teapot (23) and teabowls (24–28) (scale 1/2).
Fig. 10. Teabowls (29-36) (scale 1/2).
Fig. 11. Cups (37-40) and saucers (41-43) (scale $\frac{1}{2}$).
Figure 13:

Not illustrated:
Sherds from two plates, Chinese porcelain.
Sherd from one vessel, Creamware.

Soup plates
Figure 14:

Sauceboat
Figure 14:

Tankards
Figure 14:
60. Contexts 3000, 3012. Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware. Handle missing.
64. Context 3012. Staffordshire brown salt-glazed stoneware. Grey fabric with brown iron wash on interior and upper half of exterior. Stamped 'WR'.

Not illustrated:
Sherds from six vessels, Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware.
Rimsherd, Staffordshire brown salt-glazed stoneware. Stamped 'WR'.
Sherds from two vessels, Creamware.

Chamber pots
Figure 15:
67. Contexts 3012, 3035. Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware.
70. Context 3012. Creamware.

Not illustrated:
Sherds from one vessel, Manganese glazed red earthenware.
Sherds from one vessel, Pearlware.
Sherds from one vessel, tin-glazed earthenware.
Sherds from two vessels, Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware.
Fig. 13. Plates (49-53) (scale 1/4).
Fig. 14. Soup plates (54-57), sauceboat (58) and tankards (59-64) (scale $\frac{1}{4}$).
Fig. 15. Chamber pots (65–73) (scale $\frac{1}{4}$).
Fig. 16. Ointment pots (74–77), jars (78–82), jug (83) and pipkin (84) (scale $\frac{1}{4}$).
Ointment pots
Figure 16:

Not illustrated:
Sherd from one vessel, Pearlware.

Jars
Figure 16:
82. Context 3012, 3035. English stoneware. Grey fabric, brown iron-wash on upper half of exterior and all over the interior.

Jug
Figure 16:

Pipkin
Figure 16:

Vase
Figure 17:

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Fig. 17. Vase (85) (scale 1/2).
?Plant holder
Figure 18:
86. Context 3000. Red earthenware. Brick-red fabric. Pools of orange brown glaze on base, and runnels on the lower body showing that the vessel was fired upside-down.

?Watering pot
Figure 18:

Pottery from the evaluation
Figure 18:
88. Trench 2, context 58. Inscribed English stoneware flagon. Pale grey fabric with purple iron rich slip on upper body, brown iron wash over all.

Fig. 18. ?Plant holder (86), ?watering pot (87) and pottery from the evaluation (88) (scale 1/4).
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**Total**: 167 7360 32 4540 8 1007 46 3055 45 2680 1 13 27110990
GLASS by PAUL CANNON

The assemblage consisted largely of wine bottles with smaller amounts of drinking glasses, phials, miscellaneous vessels and window glass. The majority of the glass was recovered from the fills of cellar 3001 in Area C and was mostly of 18th-century date. From the evidence of joining sherds of glass between several of the layers within this cellar it is probable that the whole was derived from a single source. Joints were found between contexts 3000 and 3012, and between 3000 and 3035. Many of the post-medieval contexts, however, produced some glass. Of greatest significance were perhaps the group of bottle seals, which may help to explain the source of the cellar fill. Haslam's type series\(^3^2\) for the various categories of glass from St. Ebbe's have been followed wherever possible.

**Wine bottles**

Glass of this category was virtually all fragmentary. There were, however, two complete wine bottles. One was an unsealed bottle of Haslam Type 42, \(c.\; 1675\text{–}1690\) (3012), the other was an 'onion' of Haslam Type 6\(^3^3\) with a 1695 dated seal still attached (3012). What may be the earliest wine bottle from the site is a base from a transitional 'shaft and globe' 'onion' of Haslam Type 3/4.\(^3^4\) The relatively narrow base and shallow basal kick suggests \(c.\; 1655\text{–}1690\) (3000). Several bottles could be partly reconstructed, which means their form could be identified. This included two 'mallets' of Haslam Type 9,\(^3^5\) \(c.\; 1730\text{–}1760\) (3012/14 and 3035). The presence of several typical short, squat necks attest early 18th-century examples. Hand blown 'cylindricals' of mid to late 18th-century date were present. There were a small number of case bottles, probably of the 18th century (surface of Area A).

Mould-blown bottle glass was relatively scarce and confined to a few 19th- and 20th-century contexts. This included what would have been a bottle from a three-piece mould. The base is embossed 'H RICKETTS & CO, GLASSWORKS, BRISTOL' but still retains a pontil scar, \(c.\; 1820\text{–}40\) (20th-century context). The latest bottle glass is probably a mould-blown example with a 'pimple base', \(c.\; 1840\) (cellar 3003). Refinements in the manufacture of bottles meant that the pontil rod was no longer necessary after this date.

**Wine bottle seals**

Of the eight bottle seals recovered, six were complete. Seven were seals relating to Jesus College and the eighth to a well-known Oxford inn not far from the site. All of them came from the same cellar fill. Dimensions in the following relate only to the seal itself and not to any of the bottle glass that may be attached. One was still attached to a complete wine bottle.

1) Complete bottle seal (40 mm. x 40 mm.) in olive green glass, still attached to an undamaged and complete onion-shaped bottle of Haslam Type 62. Crowned bust of Charles II right between 'RW' and '1695'. Relating to the King's Head Inn, which at this date occupied a site on the eastern side of Cornmarket Street. This seal is one of a large series and the initials on it are those of Richard Walker who occupied the King's Head from 1687 to 1704\(^3^6\) (3012) (Fig. 19, 89).

2) Complete detached bottle seal (34 mm. x 37 mm.) in amber glass. Voided cross, in quarters 'I: C: / C: R:', for Jesus College Common Room.\(^3^7\) A body sherd, also in amber glass, was found (in 3000), which joined onto the seal. This showed that the bottle had been straight sided. The similarity between the cross-shaped element of this seal and the earliest known sealed Jesus College bottle to survive might suggest a similar date of \(c.\; 1730\text{–}1740\)\(^3^8\) (3035) (Fig. 19, 90).

3) Incomplete detached bottle seal (41 mm. x 18 mm.) in amber glass. Voided cross, in quarters [I: C: / C: R:], from the same die as above.\(^3^9\) (3000).

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\(^3^3\) Ibid. 233, Fig. 41.

\(^3^4\) Ibid.

\(^3^5\) Ibid.

\(^3^6\) Ibid. 229, Fig. 6.20: AM 1915.246.

\(^3^7\) Ibid. 131, Fig. 6.20, upper right illustration and photograph.

\(^3^8\) Ibid. 131, Fig. 6.20; AM 1915.246.
4) Complete detached bottle seal (42 mm. x 39 mm.) in amber glass. 'IC / CR', for Jesus College Common Room, c. 1770–1810 (3000) (Fig. 19, 91).

5) Complete detached bottle seal (40 mm. x 41 mm.) in amber glass. 'IC / CR', from the same die as above for Jesus College Common Room (3000).

6) Incomplete detached bottle seal (39 mm. x 18 mm.) in amber glass. '[IC/] CR', from the same die as above for Jesus College Common Room (3000).

7) Complete detached bottle seal (46 mm. x 40 mm.) in amber glass. 'IC / C.R', for Jesus College Common Room. This is clearly from a different die to other recorded seals for the college, c. 1770–1810 (3000) (Fig. 19, 92).

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40 Ibid. 131, Fig. 6.20, lower right illustration.
41 Ibid. 131, Fig. 6.20, lower right illustration.
42 Ibid. 131, Fig. 6.20, lower right illustration.
8) Complete detached bottle seal (41 mm. x 41 mm.) in a stained emerald green glass. 'R.E. / J. C.' This is a previously unrecorded four letter seal. The initials 'JC' and the seal's discovery alongside so many others clearly of Jesus College strongly points to this being the source. The initials 'RE' have tentatively been attributed to Robert Eyton.\(^{43}\) He is listed amongst those who subscribed to the building of new cellars beneath the Common Room of Jesus College in 1771. Robert Eyton paid the exceptional figure of five guineas as opposed to the standard two guineas which most of the other subscribers paid. He also appears in the College buttery Books of the 1780s and in the list of members of Common Room who approved its accounts, heading this list from 1776 to 1782. This significant figure clearly has a strong claim to being the 'RE' of the seal (3000) (Fig. 19, 93).

These seals are significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, they were all recovered from several of the layers within the same fill of a cellar. That seven of the seals relate to Jesus College may have possible implications for the source. Secondly, two of the seals are new and apparently unrecorded. They are, therefore, important additions to the known corpus of wine bottle seals relating to the city and its colleges.

**Drinking glasses**

Remains of several wine glasses and tumbler-style glasses were recovered. None were complete and all were in clear heavy glass. Most were from 18th-century contexts but a few were 19th century.

1) Fragment of conical foot of drinking/wine glass. Diam. = 95 mm. (cellar 3003).
2) Three rim fragments of plain drinking/wine glasses, possibly from the same glass. Diam. = 80 mm. (cellar 3003).
3) Fragment of conical foot with pontil mark and plain cylindrical stem. Diam. of base = 70 mm. (3040).
4) Two joining fragments of a wine glass with conical foot and pontil mark. The stem is a plain cylinder which widens slightly towards the top. Diam. of base = 70 mm. (3000 and 3012).
5) Fragment of conical foot. Diam. = 68 mm. (3035).
6) Ogee shaped wine glass bowl with knop, stem detached (cellar 3003).
7) Incomplete wine glass with folded conical foot and cylindrical stem with tear drop. Majority of bowl is missing. Diam. of foot = 78 mm. (3012/14).
8) Rim fragment of drinking glass. Diam. = 80 mm. (20th-century context).
9) Incomplete moulded pedestal stem with long tear drop. The four sided stem widens at the shoulders where it is decorated with diamonds and stars, c. 1715-1765\(^{44}\) (3012).
10) Base of tumbler-style glass with pontil mark. Diam. = 55 mm. (3000).
11) Base of tumbler-style glass. Four joining fragments with reconstructed original height of 90 mm. Diam. of base = 70 mm. (cellar 3003).

**Phials**

A total of six complete phials were recovered, along with the partial remains of at least 12 others. These were used to hold medicines and potions and would have been stoppered with corks. One contained the brown stained residue of its original contents. All were hand blown in relatively thin glass with kick-ups and pontil scars. The majority had flattened rims, a style which became common from the early 18th century onwards.\(^{45}\) Virtually all of this glass type was recovered from 18th-century contexts.

1) Medium bodied phial in pale blue/green glass with flattened rim, Haslam Type 11.\(^{46}\) Overall ht. = 106 mm., diam. = 39 mm. (3000).
2) Long bodied phial in pale blue/green almost turquoise coloured glass with funnel shaped neck. For body cf. Haslam Type 14.\(^{47}\) Overall ht. = 150 mm., diam. = 27 mm. (3012).
3) Short bodied phial in pale blue/green glass with flattened rim, Haslam Type 7.\(^{48}\) Interior stained brown. Overall ht. = 63 mm., max. diam. = 31 mm. (3012).

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43 I am extremely grateful to Dr. Brigid Allen, Archivist of Jesus College, for this suggestion and the information about Robert Eyton.
45 Haslam, op. cit. note 32, p. 240.
46 Ibid. 239, Fig. 43.
47 Ibid. 239, Fig. 43.
48 Ibid. 239, Fig. 43.
4) Narrow bodied phial in bubbly pale blue/green glass with flattened rim, Haslam Type 9.\textsuperscript{49} Overall ht. = 70 mm., diam. = 32 mm. (3012).
5) Long bodied phial in pale blue/green glass with flattened rim, Haslam Type 13.\textsuperscript{50} Overall ht. = 137 mm., max. diam. = 42 mm. (3039).
6) Medium bodied phial in pale blue/green glass with flattened rim, Haslam Type 11.\textsuperscript{51} Overall ht. = 106 mm., diam. = 48 mm. (3039).
7) Upper part of medium bodied phial in pale blue/green glass with flattened rim. Diam. of body = c. 50 mm. (3012).
8) Upper part of medium bodied phial in clear glass with flattened rim. Diam. of body = c. 50 mm. (3035).
9) Base from medium bodied phial in pale blue/green glass. Diam. = 45 mm. (3012/14).
10) Base from narrow bodied phial in clear glass. Diam. = 30 mm. (3000).
11) Base from medium bodied phial in clear glass. Diam. = c. 50 mm. (3012).
12) Rim and neck from phial in clear glass (3035).
13) Two body sherds from different phials in pale blue/green glass (3039).
14) Part of long neck from phial (3040).
15) Base from medium bodied phial in very thin pale blue/green glass. Diam. = 47 mm. (cellar 3003).

Miscellaneous glass

The rim and neck with wrythen decoration may be the earliest glass from the site (Area B, layer 2018). This has close similarities to late medieval glass recovered from London.\textsuperscript{52}

A minimum of three wide-necked flasks in pale blue/green glass were present. Two were decorated with vertical ribbing (3000) and one with moulded 'diamond' patterns (3012/14). Vessels of this type were also recovered at St. Ebbe's, Haslam Type 18,\textsuperscript{53} where they appeared to have been current during the second half of the 17th century. There were several body sherds also decorated with moulded diamond patterns (3000, 3012 and 3035).

Recovered from cellar 3003 were a number of 19th-century bottles: an almost complete egg-shaped mineral water bottle embossed 'BROWN/CHYMIST/ OXFORD' – Henry Brown was operating as a chemist and druggist at 101 High Street, Oxford in 1854;\textsuperscript{54} a fragment of a Schweppes's egg bottle embossed [J. SCHWEPPES & Co/ 51 BERNERS STREET/ OXFORD STREET] – Jacob Schweppes and his company moved to these new London premises in 1832 or a little earlier,\textsuperscript{55} early carbonated drinks were considered to have medicinal and curative properties, hence their manufacture by chemists and were even prescribed by physicians; several mould-blown octagonal bottles in pale green or blue-green glass, common 19th-century bottles used for sauces and similar foods.

A 20th-century context produced a large and complete pale green bottle embossed close to the base 'RD 84953' and the design must have been registered in the year 1887.

Window glass

Very small amounts of window glass were recovered from some contexts (layer 2018, cellar 3003 and the various fills of cellar 3001). A 19th-century soakaway in Area B produced the largest quantity.

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid. 239, Fig. 43.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid. 239, Fig. 43.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid. 239, Fig. 43.
\textsuperscript{53} Haslam, op. cit. note 32, p. 236, Fig. 43.
\textsuperscript{54} *Billing's Oxfordshire Directory* (1854).
CLAY TOBACCO PIPES by PAUL CANNON

Primary use has been made of the published results of the St. Ebbe's excavations. This is to date by far the largest excavated group of pipe material from Oxford. Standard works are referred to where necessary, notably the London bowl typology and that for Broseley. The excavations and evaluation produced a total of 536 pipe fragments consisting of 101 bowl, 417 stem and 18 mouthpiece fragments, ranging in date from c. 1620 to the late 19th century (Table 4). There were a small number of 'imported' pipes (see below). These were better finished or more decorative than those produced locally. Their presence is mirrored on other Oxford sites where marked Broseley pipes were also found.

There were two major deposits of clay pipes. Cellar 3003 contained numerous 19th-century decorated pipe fragments by George Norwood and Benjamin Huggins, both of Oxford. Another large deposit was recovered from the deposits within cellar 3001. These were largely late 17th/18th century.

Bowl forms

Bows of the first half of the 17th century were only present in very small numbers. The earliest was probably a small incomplete bowl of uncertain type, c. 1620-1640 from the surface of Area A. Locally-manufactured bowls of the second half of the 17th century were, however, found in large numbers, notably from the various layers making up the fill of cellar 3001. These were made up of Oxford Type B, with their distinctive angular profiles, c. 1650-1690. Pipes of Oxford Type C and London Types 25 and 26 reflect the first half of the 18th century, but were present in much smaller numbers than those of the late 17th century. The 19th-century assemblage included some elaborate and decorated stems and bowls.

Marked pipes

Thirty-eight marked pipes were found.

G/E [x1] Relief moulded either side of a circular pedestal foot on a London Type 25 bowl, c. 1700-1770. This may have been made by George Edwards of Charbury, Oxon, whose will was proved in 1759 (3000).

T/G [x1] Relief moulded either side of a long neatly trimmed and forward projecting spur. The bowl, of London Type 26, is large and elegantly shaped with a beautiful overall polish and an internal cross-shaped bowl mark, c. 1740-1800. This is possibly the work of Thomas Gadney (II) of Oxford who died in 1757. No less than nine members of this Oxford family are recorded as pipemakers from the mid 17th to mid 18th centuries (3012/3014).

59 Oxfordshire Record Office, MS Wills Oxon 126/3/51.
60 Atkinson and Oswald, op. cit. note 57.
61 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
64 Ibid.
65 Oxfordshire Record Office, St. Thomas's, Oxford, par. reg. 11 Nov. 1757.
66 Research by this author (Paul Cannon).
A/G [x1] These crowned initials in fairly large serif upper-case letters were relief moulded either side of a pointed spur. This occurs with plain bowls decorated with stylized oak leaves front and back plus ornate bowls decorated with bunches of grapes and vines. In addition there are relief moulded stem marks 'HUGGINS &. SON/ OXFORD', in between sprigs of leaves, which also probably accompany 'B/H' spur marks. These are the work of Benjamin Huggins and his son, both of Oxford, c. 1841–1885. Large numbers of these were also found at St. Ebbe's (19th-century contexts).

Benjamin Huggins [x8] Two different types of mark are represented – 'B/H' relief moulded either side of a pointed spur. This occurs with plain bowls decorated with stylized oak leaves front and back plus ornate bowls decorated with bunches of grapes and vines. In addition there are relief moulded stem marks 'HUGGINS &. SON/ OXFORD', in between sprigs of leaves, which also probably accompany 'B/H' spur marks. These are the work of Benjamin Huggins and his son, both of Oxford, c. 1841–1885. Large numbers of these were also found at St. Ebbe's (19th-century contexts).

George Norwood [x14] Two different types of mark are represented – 'G/N' relief moulded either side of a pointed spur and 'NORWOOD' marked incuse along the stem. These occur with plain bowls decorated with stylized oak leaves front and back and also with bunches of grapes and vine leaves. These are the marks of George Norwood (I) or (II) of Oxford, c. 1821–1863. St. Ebbe's also produced a number of these (19th-century contexts).

*/* [x6] These unidentified 'stock' marks are mould impressed either side of a pointed spur, c. 1830–1880 (19th-century contexts).

JOHN/BRADLEY [x1] This stem mark is one of several known for John Bradley of Broseley, c. 1720–1740. The same mark was also recovered from St. Ebbe's (3013).

TR [x1] Neat serif upper-case letters applied to end of a cylindrical spur on a bowl of Broseley Type 4A, c. 1690–1720. This is no doubt the work of Thomas Roden of Broseley, who was working c. 1700–1720 (3035).

S/P [x1] Large serif upper-case letters mould impressed either side of an untrimmed square shaped spur, c. 1800–1840. The identification of the maker is unknown. It is evenly black all over (3000).

WOOD & T/W [x1] An incuse mark on the back of a London Type 27 bowl, 'WOOD' in sans serif letters within a dotted frame and simple swags above and below. In addition, 'TW' mould impressed either side of a neatly trimmed square spur. This is probably by Thomas Wood of Whitecross Street, London, c. 1780–1820 (3059).

L Fiolet ... [x2] From two different pipes with incomplete incuse stem marks 'L. Fiolet/ à St Omer/ Dépose'. Pipes from this firm at St. Omer in northern France were produced throughout the 19th century and are not uncommon finds in Britain (cellar 3003).

?/? [x1] Unidentified initials either side of a pointed spur, c. 1840–1880 (19th-century context).
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<td>c. 1660–1800</td>
<td>T/G &amp; int. bowl cross (x1); A/G crowned &amp; int. bowl cross (x1)</td>
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<td>c. 1780–1820</td>
<td>T/W &amp; WOOD (x1)</td>
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<td>c. 1690–1800</td>
<td>TR on Broseley bowl (x1)</td>
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<td>c. 1780–1820</td>
<td>T/W &amp; WOOD (x1)</td>
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<td>3036</td>
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<td>c. 1690–1800</td>
<td>TR on Broseley bowl (x1)</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>3039</td>
<td>3001</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>c. 1690–1800</td>
<td>TR on Broseley bowl (x1)</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>3040</td>
<td>3001</td>
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<td>c. 1690–1800</td>
<td>TR on Broseley bowl (x1)</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>3050</td>
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<td>3055</td>
<td>3005</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>c. 1690–1800</td>
<td>TR on Broseley bowl (x1)</td>
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**Total**: 92 396 18 34 67
Internal bowl marks

Five bowls had internal marks in the form of a simple cross. Two were in London Type 25 bowls \(79\) \((3012 \text{ and } 3012/3014)\) and three in London Type 26 \(80\) \((3000; 3012 \text{ and } 3035)\). Crosses are the most common of these enigmatic and little understood marks, which occur inside a small proportion of 18th-century bowls. \(81\)

Discussion

The most significant group of pipes was that recovered from the various layers of fill of cellar 3001. Joining sherds of glass and pottery from its different layers do seem to suggest that they represent what had been a single deposit. Virtually all of the pipe bowls from this were complete and undamaged, and many had long lengths of stem still attached. This, along with the large numbers present, fits well the interpretation that the pipes are probably part of a clear-out from a nearby building. The latest glass and pottery point to this taking place c. 1770/1780. Most of the pipes, however, are considerably older than this. Assuming the layers are not derived from mixed sources, most of the pipes were being disposed of when they were a very old-fashioned style. From the evidence of the bottle seals it has been suggested that the ultimate source of the clear-out may have been Jesus College (see glass report). Smoking in college was a communal activity often associated with drinking wine in the Common Room. Colleges would purchase wine that was then sold on (at a profit) to college members in bottles marked with the college initials. There is some evidence that they did the same with tobacco and also clay pipes. \(82\) In the context of an Oxford college it is not hard to imagine how a group of old pipes might remain in a cupboard or box for many years before eventually being discarded. Fay Banks records that in 1771 Jesus College built new cellars beneath its Common Room. \(83\) It is possible that this may be the actual occasion associated with the clear-out.

WIG CURLERS by PAUL CANNON

A total of six pipeclay wig curlers were recovered during the evaluation and excavation, five of which were complete. All were of the symmetrical 'dumb-bell' type. Three were of the more common solid variety, whilst half had rudimentary holes. It has been suggested that those with holes or are hollow were originally used in the actual manufacture of wigs and the solid types were used by barbers who dressed their customers' wigs or by the wig owner himself. \(84\) One retained the maker's mark 'W.B' beneath a crown or coronet. Of all marked wig curlers this is the most common known and examples have been found in Colonial America, London, Lincolnshire, Bristol \(85\) and now in Oxford. These neatly symmetrical 'dumb-bell' wig curlers belong to the 18th century.

1) Complete 'dumb-bell' type pipeclay wig curler 58 mm. in length, max. width = 13 mm. Rudimentary holes at either end, 7 mm. and 9 mm. in depth (evaluation).
2) Complete 'dumb-bell' type pipeclay wig curler 62 mm. in length, max. width = 11 mm. Rudimentary holes at either end, 2 mm. and 4 mm. in depth (3039).
3) Incomplete 'dumb-bell' type pipeclay wig curler of surviving length 38 mm, max. width = 12 mm. Rudimentary hole at surviving end, 3.5 mm. in depth (3000).
4) Complete solid 'dumb-bell' type pipeclay wig curler 56 mm. in length, burnt (3039).
5) Complete solid 'dumb-bell' type pipeclay wig curler 60 mm. in length, burnished (3035).
6) Complete solid 'dumb-bell' type pipeclay wig curler 57.5 mm. in length and marked incuse either end 'W.B' beneath a crown (3040).

\(79\) Atkinson and Oswald, op. cit. note 57, pp. 179–80.
\(80\) Ibid.
\(82\) Banks, op. cit. note 36, p. 119.
\(83\) Ibid. 130.
\(84\) R. Le Cheminant, 'The Development of the Pipeclay Hair Curler – a preliminary study', in P.J. Davey (ed.), The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe, VII (BAR 100, 1982), 349, 351.
\(85\) Ibid. 352.
ANIMAL BONE by SHEILA HAMILTON-DYER

The evaluation and excavation produced 553 faunal remains comprising 511 individual bone specimens and a fragment of a crab claw. The material ranges from medieval to recent and includes a large group of 18th-century date. The remains were identified using the modern comparative collections of S. Hamilton-Dyer. Undiagnostic fragments have been divided into cattle/horse-sized and sheep/pig-sized fragments with some classified only as mammalian. The few measurements are in millimetres and follow the methods of von den Driesch. Withers heights are calculated using factors recommended by von den Driesch and Boessneck. The archive gives full details of each specimen.

Results

The condition and colour of the material is very variable but the bone is mostly well preserved; 58% of the bone could be identified to taxon. Some erosion and burning was noted but the main agents of destruction appear to have been dogs and rats. A total of eleven taxa could be identified in the bone collection: horse, cattle, sheep/goat, pig, dog, cat, rabbit, rat, goose, duck, domestic fowl, and crow. Sheep was positively identified but no bones could be attributed to goat.

Phase II, 14th century: Bones from deposits of this date number just 36. Cattle, sheep and pig are present in small amounts, along with an occasional fragment of rabbit, fowl, goose and the single fragment of crab claw. Although no dog bones were recovered, several fragments had been gnawed. The four bones from context 55 in the evaluation are likely to be of mixed date as they include a sawn sheep pelvis, a butchery style of the 18th century and later.

Phase III, 15th century: There are 63 bones in this phase group; these include cat, fowl, goose and duck in addition to the domestic ungulates. Again, gnawing indirectly indicates the presence of dog. Five of the six cat bones are almost certainly from a single, subadult animal (3018). The sheep remains include a pair of male, or castrate, horn cores; these had been chopped from the skull.

Phase IV, 16th century: The 97 remains include a fragment of horse jaw, the only bone of horse in this collection. Rabbit, goose, and rook/crow are present in addition to cattle, sheep and pig. There are also quite a number of dog-gnawed specimens, although no actual bones of dog were recovered. The sheep bones include two complete radii from which withers heights of 0.501 m. and 0.553 m. can be estimated. These are relatively small values and would be acceptable for material of earlier date.

Phase V, 18th century: This collection of 240 specimens forms the largest group from the site. Most of the bones are of cattle and sheep, and fragments of these sizes. Other taxa are pig, dog, cat, fowl, goose, duck, and rat. Many of the bones are gnawed, by dog and also by rat, sometimes traces from both are visible on the same specimen. A single rat bone is present but cannot be attributed to species; the brown rat was introduced during the 18th century and therefore the bone could be of either black or brown rat. Bones of a small/medium dog are also present in addition to the canid gnaw marks. The dog bones, and several other specimens, are mixed in colour; partly brown and partly ivoried, often with concretions adhering. Similar effects can be seen in modern compost heaps. Most of the cattle, sheep and pig bones are from the major meat-bearing areas of the body, but not exclusively; there are some pieces of chopped cattle skull and jaw and a few cattle and sheep foot bones. Butchery marks are frequent and clearly executed. Few measurements were available from this material but the impression is of relatively large cattle and sheep. The two complete sheep metacarpus from 3035 and 3039 offer the only withers height estimates from this phase group: 0.665 m. and 0.634 m. respectively. While still small by modern standards, these are larger than medieval and early post-medieval values for Oxford and southern England and thus consistent with a late post-medieval or early modern date. Several of the cat and dog bones appear to be from carcasses scattered between several contexts; the ceramic finds are similarly distributed, implying that the

material does not represent primary deposition, but clearance and disposal of material that accumulated elsewhere. The skeletal distribution, fusion, and number of chop marks suggest that the bones mainly represent good quality beef, veal, lamb, mutton, pork, and poultry. The few bones from heads and feet may represent soup or stews. The high incidence of dog and rat gnawing shows that the bones were available to scavengers and were not immediately covered. The disarticulated remains of dog and cat imply that these bodies were part of the primary accumulation, perhaps dying or being thrown into an unoccupied building or yard, rather than being deposited as complete carcasses at the time of clearance and secondary deposition in the cellars.

**Phase VI, 19th century:** The 71 bones from this phase include cat and domestic fowl, in addition to the main domestic ungulates. No dog bones are present but the coprolite from 53 can be attributed to dog. A number of bones had been gnawed, one by rat rather than dog, and two pig bones are charred. Several bones exhibited the sawn butchery characteristic of early modern and recent material.

**Discussion**
This is not a large assemblage and, therefore, analysis is necessarily limited. Much of the material is as would be expected from small excavation areas and can be regarded as 'background'. The majority of the bones identified to taxon are of the expected main domestic ungulates, cattle, sheep and pig. Dog is indicated by gnawing as well as by remains. Birds are represented by a few bones of domestic fowl, goose and duck.

The phase V group is of more specific interest. It appears to derive from the clearance of a building or yard where the material accumulated, final disposal being spread across the excavated cellars. Although rats and dogs had access to the material, it does not appear to have been long exposed, as many of the bones have a fresh, ivoryed appearance. Low quality or waste bones are few, but the elements are not restricted to small 'snack' bones such as those from chops: several substantial joints are also represented. There are few published reports on assemblages of this date and this group, although not large, contributes to the understanding of this area of Oxford in the 18th century and has a more general application.

**METALWORK by NICOLA POWELL**

Sixty-two pieces of metalwork were collected from the site; two from the evaluation and 60 from the excavation. The assemblage comprises 31 pieces of ironwork and the same number of copper-alloy artefacts. All are in very poor condition, with soil conditions causing massive corrosion. Consequently, x-rays were used to aid identification.

**Iron**
Identifiable objects include four from cellar 3001: the heel-piece and the rowel or prick mount of a spur; a spade-shaped piece of ironwork that may have been used in agriculture or as hearth equipment; a long, thin corroded object, probably a punch; and a flat fragment that may be either a piece of knife blade or strapping.

Seventeen nails and nail stems, all heavily corroded, are included in the assemblage. Most of the heads are lost and the three most complete examples, from cellar 3001, have rectangular sections, flat or slightly domed heads and are probably post-medieval in date.

A complete horseshoe, in good condition, was an unstratified find from Area C. Its shape suggests a post-medieval or early modern date and its condition and the lack of nail holes suggest it was never used. Also found was a fastening or hooked tag from a 19th-century soakaway in Area B, with another corroded to it. These fastenings were used for a variety of purposes, for example, as a hook attachment for a spur leather.\(^{90}\)

Part of a knife blade came from a 15th-century pit (2032) and a small concave object, probably the head of a button or mount, came from 19th-century cellar 3007. A double-hooked object, the hooks curving inwards at opposite ends to the strip of iron, may be a staple or fitting and so form part of the household furnishings or equipment.\(^{91}\)

**Copper alloy**
Many of the copper-alloy artefacts are dress accessories and pieces of personal adornment. The 19th-century assemblage from a soakaway in Area B yielded a number of these, including a small ring, a button and a pin. The ring is a simple and undecorated strip of copper wire. It is small and quite fine and may be a finger ring.

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91 Ibid. 139.
The button is made up of two pieces of sheet metal fixed together with a wire shank passing through a hole in the back. The front of the head is decorated with a basket-weave incised pattern and the back is plain. Another object, which may be the head of a button or stud, is in very poor condition. The pin is complete, with the head and tip present. It too, is in poor condition, but the head appears globular and solid. Other items from this context include a fastening and several pieces of copper-alloy sheet, in poor condition. A possible coin from 19th-century cellar 3003 is broken into three pieces and too badly corroded to be identifiable.

The late 18th-century deposits in cellar 3001 produced several items. The rim of a vessel or dish or a handle is in several fragments and badly corroded. A large spoon is in a similar condition, but the entire bowl is present. The bowl is square-shouldered and rounded at the tip. What remains of the handle is straight and of uniform thickness. Its shape suggests it is probably post-medieval. A corroded strap end or mount was x-rayed to determine form and to see if it was decorated. There appears to be small areas of gilding on the surface, suggesting it was a decorative piece, either for personal adornment or as a mount, perhaps for a book or casket. A thimble of the 'modern' type is cast with overall indentations and a slightly domed profile. There is a plain band at the shoulder and a 3 mm. rim, with recessed band around the bottom. It is in poor condition, with a large area of damage to the body. A bone button with a copper-alloy rim has four stitching holes. Finally, there is an unidentified curved piece of copper alloy in very poor condition. Two possible coins were too encrusted to be identifiable.

Deposit 3015, which may be late 15th-century in date, produced two pieces. A small S-shaped item is probably a hooked fastener, of which a more complete example was found in Exeter.93 A W-shaped piece may be the remains of a buckle.

**STONE OBJECTS by PAUL CANNON**

Three stone objects were recovered. A slate pencil of circular cross-section with numerous cut marks, including a rudimentary cross on the flat end, came from a 19th-century soakaway. A fired (?)clay playing marble decorated with concentric red circles and red (?)flowers with green leaves also came from a 19th-century soakaway. Very similar marbles, which were decorated with brown rings and flowers, were found in a mid 19th-century context at St. Ebbe's. A stone playing marble came from cellar 3003.

**OTHER FINDS**

A small number of artefacts of other types were recovered. Two pieces of leather, a shoe heel and a small strip with a hole punched through came from deposits in cellar 3001. Two fragments of slag were also recovered from the same location. A number of pieces of limestone, quartz and shell, both oyster and cockle, were collected from various deposits across the site.

A total of 124 pieces of brick, tile and mortar were recovered during the evaluation and excavation. Most of the assemblage is made up of tile fragments, with 18 pieces and samples of brick and three small pieces of mortar. Several other fragments are too small for a positive identification. The identified tile includes both roof and floor tile. Many of the roof tiles show partial or complete pegholes and there is one ridge tile. One piece shows evidence of burning and four are partly glazed. Glazing was also observed on several of the floor-tile surfaces and on one edge. There is no other decoration. Of the 18 pieces of brick, one has a glazed edge and two show evidence of burning.

**BUILDING SURVEY AND WATCHING BRIEF by JAMIE PRESTON**

A rectified photographic survey was carried out on a rubble stone boundary wall between 8 Cornmarket Street and 3–6 Market Street (Fig. 2). At least three, possibly four, phases of build were visible in the elevation of the wall. The observed phases were an initial limestone rubble construction at modern ground-floor level, the addition or re-modelling of the upper storey, possible infilling of ground-floor openings with rubble stone, and finally insertion of timber beams at the western end of the wall. No datable features were observed.

Four timbers were recovered during the watching brief. These were all re-used in the construction of the wall and may have been taken from an earlier timber-framed structure on the site; they are all horizontal components of a timber-framed building. A detailed record is in the site archive.

92 M. Biddle and L. Elmhurst, 'Sewing Equipment', in M. Biddle, Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester (Winchester Studies 7ii, 1990), 804–17.
DISCUSSION

Excavation of this site was initially proposed to examine medieval deposits. Although this investigation has indicated the survival of small pockets of medieval material, in spite of extensive 19th- and 20th-century disturbance, these have not been examined in detail as they remain largely preserved in situ below the formation level of the current development. The material of greatest significance on this site is clearly post-medieval.

Area C produced the most coherent plan, with four limestone-walled cellars or cess pits and an area of cobbles. Two of the 'cellars' were backfilled with 19th-century material and two with 18th-century material. Of the latter, one produced a very small assemblage, whilst the other, 3001, contained artefactual and ecolofactual material that constitutes the bulk of this report.

Of the later material, the most interesting piece is the large fragment of stoneware flagon inscribed 'R. Gurden Roe Buck Oxford'. Trade directories of the mid 19th century show that a Richard Gurden was proprietor of the 'Roebuck family and commercial hotel and posting house' in Cornmarket Street.

The assemblage recovered from the backfill of cellar 3001 appears to have been deposited in the late 18th century; the pottery and clay tobacco pipe typologies indicating a date of c. 1770-80. However, some co-joins in the ceramics, glass and faunal material, between the various layers in the cellar, suggest that the material is not in its primary location, i.e. it accumulated elsewhere before being dumped in the cellar and became mixed in the process. The evidence for rat and dog gnawing on some of the animal bones supports this hypothesis, indicating that these were initially available to scavengers before being buried and then protected from further predation.

Cellar 3001 lay at the rear of 7 Market Street and in the later 18th century this plot was occupied by the Abingdon Arms. The site was owned by Halls Oxford Brewery Company Limited until it was bought by the TSB in 1958. However, as demonstrated by the ceramic assemblage, the deposits in cellar 3001 do not appear to have come from a public house.

The nature of the ceramic material suggests that this assemblage is a deliberate total household clearout, with all classes of vessels, from pancheons to tea bowls and chamber pots, disposed of at the same time. This was apparently not an unusual practice in this period. The variety of vessel types, the near-completeness of many vessels, and the size of the assemblage itself, makes this one of the most significant groups excavated in Oxford and has allowed detailed analysis of the collection and comparison with, amongst others, the material from the site at St. Ebbe's. This has allowed, not only the close dating of the Market Street deposits, but also a discussion about the origin of the material. The assemblage would appear to be domestic in character, rather than from a public house, as the tankards present are of a fine fabric and do not bear the 'ale-marks' required by law for the retail of ale. In addition, following analysis of the social significance of different types of food vessels in post-medieval households, the food and drink consumption vessels in this assemblage suggest formal dining rather than consumption in the more 'rough-and-ready' surroundings of an inn. In particular, the large number of vessels associated with tea drinking indicate an element of social display and perhaps the household in question was of some standing. The animal bone assemblage also indicates relatively high status dining, the bones mainly representing good quality meat, including several substantial joints. These factors further suggest that the material does not come from the Abingdon Arms but from a domestic context.

Examination of the glass recovered from cellar 3001 sheds more light on the nature of the deposits. Although the incidence of glass drinking vessels is somewhat lower than would perhaps be expected from a total household clearout, the inclusion of several wine-bottles and seals from wine bottles is

94 E.g. Kelly's Oxfordshire Directory (1848), 2207.
95 Ibid.
97 Thanks to John Stroud, Boots Legal Services, for information from the deeds of 7 Market Street.
98 Mellor, op. cit. note 8.
The activities of college common rooms regarding the consumption of wine is discussed by Fay Banks in her study of the bottles and seals of taverns, inns and colleges. The distribution of wine was heavily controlled in England by a system that dictated that only a certain number of licensed persons could supply wine to the public. Their premises were called taverns, as opposed to the inns or ale houses, which only sold beer or ale. Oxford gave out six licences, three from the city and three from the university. These taverns not only sold wine on their own premises but distributed it in their own sealed bottles, intended to be returned, to inns, colleges and individuals around the city. By the mid 18th century the licence system had broken down and, in 1752, it was abandoned as unworkable. Wholesale wine vaults, coffee houses and inns kept and sold wine themselves and the colleges began to build their own cellars. Wine was, therefore, bought in large volumes by the college common rooms, rebottled in their own bottles and sold on to their members, as required.

The records of Jesus College Common Room, held in the college archives, reveal some of its activities, financial transactions and employees. The earliest account book starts in 1770, the period to which the assemblage from Market Street appears to date. In 1771 new cellars were constructed below the senior common room and wine was bought, bottled and sold, providing considerable profits for the common room. The first mention in the accounts of the purchase of bottles is in 1772, suggesting that there was already a large stock of Jesus College bottles in existence before the new cellars were built. This is confirmed by Banks' examination of the Jesus College bottle seals, some of which are of a style dating to 1730–40. It is likely, therefore, that the college was laying down wine several decades before the construction of the dedicated wine cellars, presumably in other college cellars.

The date of 1771 for the construction of the new cellars corresponds with the 1770–80 date for the ceramic assemblage. It seems reasonable to imagine that this project would have involved the clearance of the rooms or cellars previously used by the common room for the storage of wine (and other items?), which could provide an explanation for the disposal of a number of clay tobacco pipes that would have been old at the time. Clay tobacco pipes were also bought by common rooms at this time and may have been part of the suggested clearout. Had the then 75-year-old, but still unbroken, Kings Head Tavern bottle been discovered during this exercise, it may well have been thrown out too, it being probably too late to return it for the deposit! The recovery of six 18th-century wig curlers would perhaps further indicate that the dumped material on the Market Street site derived from a domestic or institutional establishment of some status.

The individual operating the Jesus College Common Room wine sales in the 1770s was Jeff Neal. He was responsible for rebottling the wine bought in by the common room and for the purchase of bottles. The accounts for 1772–3 contain a memo that five bottles were broken and 4d. allowed to Neal as a result. However, no direct relationship can be demonstrated between Neal and the Market Street site as his residence in 1772 is recorded as being next door to the college, on Ship Lane.

The reconstruction of property occupation for 1772 by Salter shows that, whilst Mr Preece and Mr Gibbons occupied the frontage of the Abingdon Arms, numbers 3–6 Market Street were occupied by Mr Hore and Mr Hall. A single lease from the Feoffees of St. Michael's parish covered numbers 3–6

100 Thanks to Brigid Allen, archivist at Jesus College, Oxford.
101 Banks, op. cit. note 36.
102 Jesus College Archives, CR:AC 2, Common Room Accounts bk. 2.
103 Banks, op. cit. note 36, p. 130.
104 Jesus College Archives, CR:AC 3, Common Room Accounts bk. 3.
105 Salter, op. cit. note 96, p. 56.
106 Ibid. 57.
and David Sturdy has compiled a list of the holders of the lease between the 1530s and the 1940s. This shows that Richard Hoare, a baker, having previously been a tenant of the property, was lessee from the 1760s till his death in 1790. He worked as a resident master-baker, taking three apprentices between 1756 and 1773, and let out parts of the property to various tenants (including Mr Hall). On 10 August 1776 he moved away from Market Street, advertising the property to let in Jackson's Oxford Journal, a local paper. Perhaps this departure prompted him to throw out all his household crockery? Richard Hoare’s dining habits are, of course, unknown, but he appears to have been a fairly successful man and an active member of the community, serving as Constable of the North-East Ward in 1749/50. The property had a history of occupancy by a succession of well-to-do bakers, the first being Richard Jennings in 1611, the lease being passed down both male and female family lines. Particularly notable is John Kerry, who, rather than follow his father John into the baking trade, became a country parson and married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Penyston of Cornwell Manor. They let out the bakehouse and some living accommodation and only lived at Market Street occasionally, but would have moved in fairly high social circles. Their sons also became parsons and their daughter, also Elizabeth, married the Hon. Charles Bertie, younger son of the earl of Abingdon. Although they did not live in Oxford the lease was kept by Elizabeth Bertie until her husband’s death in 1748, when it was sold, eventually being taken by Richard Hoare.

It is not known why cellar 3001 was filled in, nor is it known where the material first accumulated before being buried. The faunal evidence suggests an environment like a compost heap, perhaps in an open yard where rats briefly had access to the material. Presumably this was in the immediate vicinity of cellar 3001; it is difficult to envisage this refuse being transported any distance. If it was in a publicly accessible place the material may well have originated in a number of different locations, with perhaps the ceramics and faunal material coming from a private residence and the bottles and the majority of the clay pipes from Jesus College. Perhaps Richard Hoare’s residence in the eastern part of 3–6 Market Street stood empty for a while as he waited for new tenants in 1776? Nineteenth-century maps clearly show that an alleyway between 6 and 7 Market Street gave access to both yards. One of the yards could have been used to dump rubbish from his property and also from the Jesus College Common Room storeroom, finally cleared out five years after the new cellars were completed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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107 D. Sturdy, ‘Nos. 3–6 Market Street, Oxford between the 1530s and the 1940s’ (2000).
108 E.g. 1st edn. Ordnance Survey (Oxon XXXIII.15, 1:25000, 1876).