

Zacharias's: a 14th-century Oxford New Inn and the origins of the medieval urban inn

By JULIAN MUNBY

with J. ASHDOWN, B. DURHAM, D. HADDON-REECE, M. HENIG and C. JEUCKENS

SUMMARY

Nos. 26–8 Cornmarket and St. Michael's Chambers in Ship Street, known for generations as 'Zacs for Macs', and recently restored by Jesus College, were built around 1386 as the 'New Inn'. The medieval courtyard inn is reconstructed from surviving remains and from a large number of drawings and photographs made prior to the demolition of much of the premises in the early years of this century. Its later history and fittings are described, together with an account of the restoration works. The origins of the inns of Oxford are discussed in the context of the rise of the medieval urban inn.

I. INTRODUCTION

Zacharias's, the well-known Oxford shop, closed in March 1983 after being in business for over a century. The opportunity to investigate one of Oxford's few surviving medieval domestic buildings prompted research into the extensive topographical records which exist for so many Oxford buildings, and in extraordinary profusion for this site. The results of this indicated that much was known of the lost buildings of the New Inn (part II below), and were able to inform the whole approach to the restoration of the remaining structure, which brought back to Cornmarket an accurate representation of the medieval frontage (part III). Further research on the complex history of property ownership was able to show how the site had been brought together in the late 14th century by a prominent Oxford vintner to create the inn, and then gradually broken up only to be reassembled piecemeal by Jesus College (part IV). Observations before and during restoration, combined with records of lost parts of the building, allowed the full extent of the stone and timber courtyard inn to be reconstructed, and revealed the wall of a yet earlier building buried within the structure (part V). An early 17th-century wall-painting was discovered and conserved during building work (part VI), and the opportunity was taken to carry out a programme of tree-ring dating, which confirmed the date suggested by documentary evidence, though not quite as expected (part VII); a limited amount of archaeological investigation was possible on the levels predating the creation of the inn (part VIII). Finally, the origins and social context of Oxford's medieval inns was examined, with results that may have general implications for the study of urban inns (part IX). An unusual aspect of this was the discovery of a contemporary description of a visit to an Oxford inn in 1405.

The amount of information that can be collected for one Oxford property is quite

remarkable, and serves as a reminder of how much work remains to be done on Oxford's existing and vanished buildings. An attempt has been made to reduce the bulk of detailed information to what is necessary for an understanding of the building, and some of the more technical passages have been set in smaller type following summaries of their contents.

Acknowledgements

This study could not have been begun or carried through without the interest and encouragement of Jesus College, and in particular the Estates Bursar John Edwards, while the City Planning Department through its Conservation Officer gave encouragement and advice. The architects, John Fryman, Gordon Cousins and Richard Ross of Architects Design Partnership, Freddie Charles and Nick Joyce gave every assistance in allowing access to the building, where it was a privilege to work alongside the staff of Messrs Alfred Groves and Sons on site: Stan Nicks the foreman and the carpenters Paul Symms, Brian Bloomfield and Grahame Collett. At an early stage the involvement of Paul Drury of English Heritage gave the above and below-ground archaeological work a firm backing with grant aid, and secured the assistance of the Oxford Archaeological Unit and the participation of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory. Brian Durham oversaw the archaeological work, assisted by Peter McKeague, while Peter Beard carried out the meticulous stonework survey. Stephen Penney of the Museum of Oxford collected material (incorporated below) and arranged an exhibition of discoveries, and Ahmed Shistawi of Oxfordshire Museums organised the removal and conservation of the wall-painting. Research on the history of the building commenced with the generous assistance of David Sturdy, and Christopher Currie placed his notes and observations at our disposal. Copies of measured drawings were also supplied by Richard Wallis and Graham Reynolds, students of the Oxford Polytechnic, and J.R. Allen of Howes and Allen Architects. Thanks are also due to the archivists of Jesus College, and the staff of the Bodleian Library, Oxfordshire Archives and the Centre for Oxfordshire Studies. Many of the illustrations were prepared by Eleanor Beard, bringing order to very disparate surveys from a century of antiquarian endeavour, and then finished by Danyon Rey of OAU. This publication has been made possible with a grant from English Heritage.

II. THE REDISCOVERY OF THE NEW INN

The premises of Zacharias's, and the corner shop, comprising three timber-framed shops on Cornmarket and a stone and timber range on Ship Street, have always been known to be the surviving parts of a much larger medieval building. Anthony Wood wrote in 1662 of 'that great aedifice of free stone' and imagined it to have been an academic hall, 'having the shape of a little college'.¹ As will be shown, it was in fact a courtyard inn, known first as the 'New Inn', and although over half of it has been demolished and just a small area of the yard survives, (only recently reopened), the full extent of the inn can be reconstructed from an unusually complete series of drawings and photographs made over the last two hundred years.

¹ Wood, *City of Oxford*, ed. Clark, i (O.H.S. xv, 1889), 17, 70; ii (O.H.S. xvii, 1890), 89.

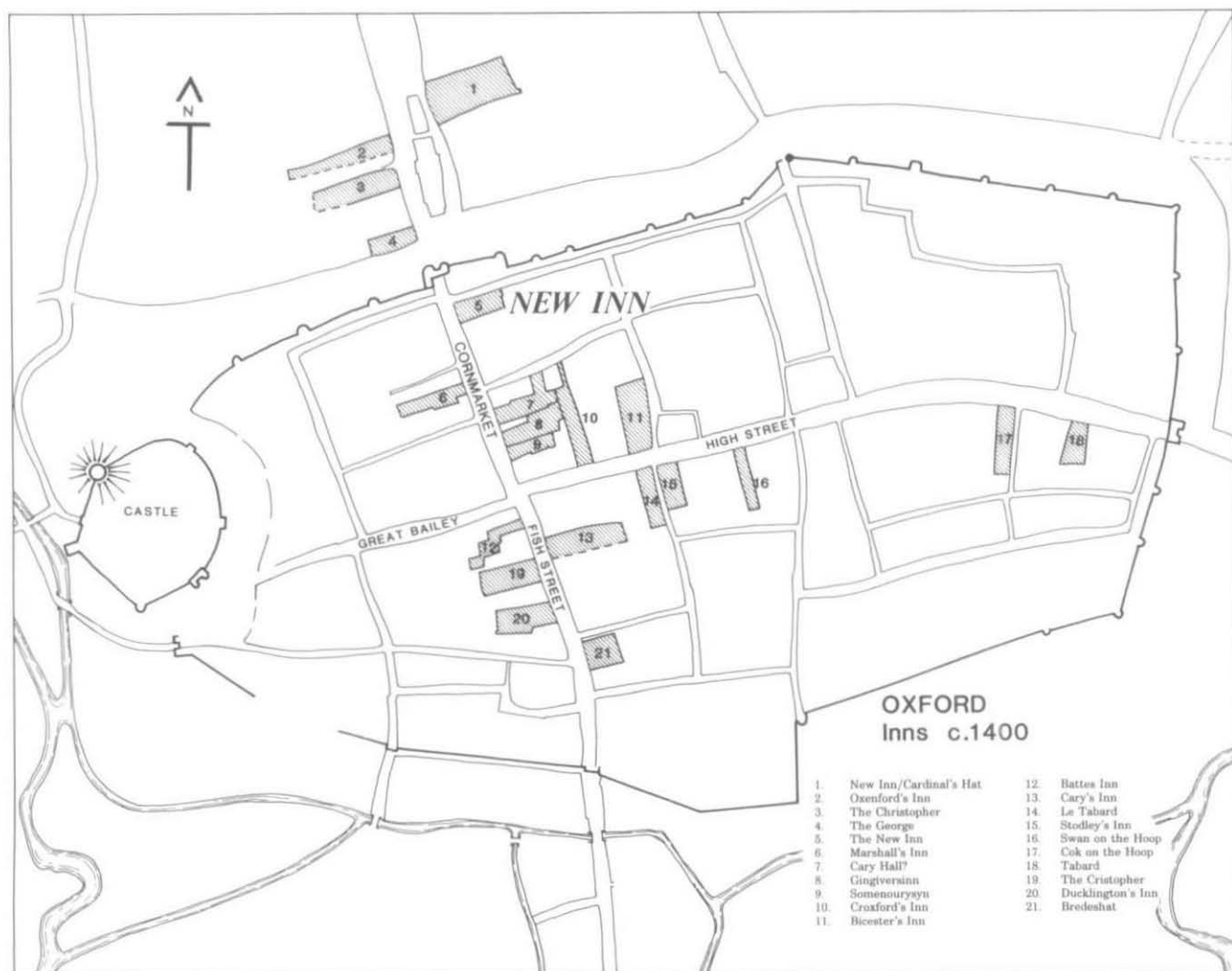


Fig. 1. Location of Zacharias's (The New Inn) and other Oxford Inns in c. 1400.



Fig. 2. Cornmarket looking north in c. 1885, with Zacharias's shop on right. (Centre for Oxfordshire Studies).

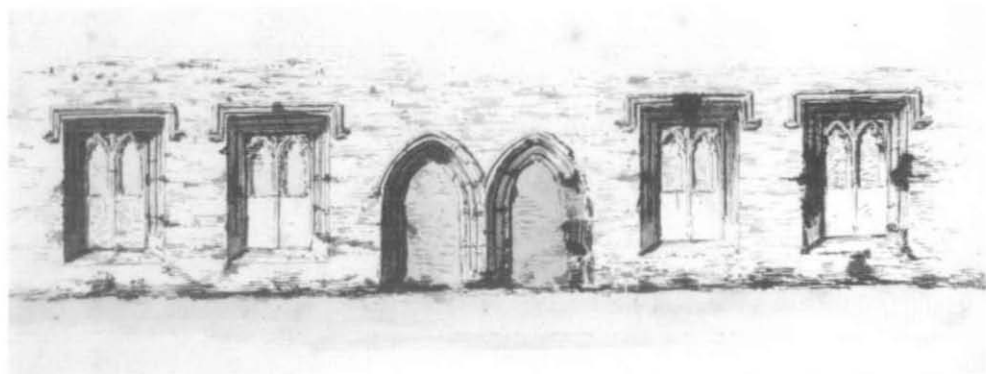


Fig. 3. Drawing of 'Novum Hospitium' in c. 1750, probably showing part of courtyard now demolished. (Bodleian Library).

In the valuable sketch book of views of old Oxford buildings of c. 1750 there is a drawing (Fig. 3) of the ground-floor of a stone building with four gothic windows and a central pair of doors, entitled 'Novum Hospitium' but not otherwise identified, though a possibly contemporary note has added 'opposite St. Michael's Church'.² Skelton, who extensively quarried the sketch book for his picture book of old Oxford, had the drawing engraved to illustrate New Inn Hall, the medieval academic hall that is now incorporated in St. Peter's College,³ but there is every reason to suppose that the drawing actually depicts the internal wall of the New Inn courtyard, described more fully below. J.B. Malchair's drawing of the Northgate, made before its removal in 1771, shows the gables of the Cornmarket shops on the edge of the picture.⁴ Most of the medieval building was still standing as late as 1904, albeit well disguised, and it attracted the attention of more than one architectural antiquary before its final diminution. Their careful records depict the lost portions in some detail, and complement the investigation of the surviving remains made during the recent works.

Foremost amongst those who studied the building in the last century was J.C. Buckler (1793–1894), who examined Nos. 26–7 and St. Michael's Chambers in the 1860s, possibly as part of a rebuilding scheme on behalf of the parish (the owner) or his patron John Parker (the lessee). Buckler's work in Oxford is well known, and he was a practising architect as well as a devotee of medieval buildings.⁵ An earlier pair of drawings, probably by his father John Buckler, and dated 1821 (Fig. 4), show the appearance of the whole building before any changes to the shopfronts or rear wing, and can be compared with a view of Cornmarket by William Turner (of Oxford) at about the same date.⁶ The plans and drawings made forty years later are in the extensive Buckler collection in the British Library, and are partially duplicated in the collection of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society deposited in the Bodleian Library.⁷ They comprise a record of St. Michael's Chambers on Ship Street as a seven-bay structure

² Bodl[eian Library], MS. Gough Oxon a.50, f.24.

³ J. Skelton, *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata* (1823), pl. 53.

⁴ See H.M. Petter, *The Oxford Almanacks* (1974) at 1874.

⁵ See J.T. Munby, 'J.C. Buckler, Tackley's Inn and Three Medieval Houses in Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xliii (1978), 125–8.

⁶ B[ritish] L[ibrary] MSS Add. 36,437, f.108 (= Fig. 4) & 143; watercolour version of latter in Bodl., MS Don a.2, f.29; William Turner's view was reproduced as the Oxford Almanack for 1919, Petter, op. cit note 4.

⁷ B.L. MSS Add. 36,437, ff.106–20, 136, 143, 169; Bodl. Dep. a.25, ff.55–60.



Fig. 4. Buckler view from north-west in 1821, also showing later discoveries. (British Library).



Fig. 5. J.C. Buckler view of courtyard from south in 1864, showing stone windows demolished in 1911. (OAHS, Bodleian Library).

with a stone wall along the street and a timber-framed and jettied wall with traceried windows looking southwards onto the courtyard, above a door and stone windows on the ground floor (Figs. 5, 11 & 12).⁸ At its west end, behind the Cornmarket shops, he shows a timber-framed gallery leading southwards from the north range. His drawings of these buildings seem to show the timberwork being uncovered during alterations, and a drawing of the interior as it might be restored (Fig. 11), whilst a stray sheet of details and instructions suggest that he was actually involved in restoring the range.⁹ Works of renovation were certainly done at about this time, and so he was perhaps responsible for the gothic tracery to the stone windows on Ship Street (which match the courtyard windows), and the careful interior work which included a staircase that opened a medieval timber window and roof to view from the first floor (this has now been removed). Evidence for 'mothballing' of original work elsewhere may imply that he also had a hand in restoring the timber-framed shop of No. 27 Cornmarket, though documentary proof of this has not been forthcoming.

Further information about the state of the building in the 19th century comes from the property records of St. Michael at the Northgate, from which comes an external elevation and plan of the Ship Street range prior to restoration (Fig. 9), illustrating the extent of the complex tenures, and incidentally showing the plainer form of the windows as they then were.¹⁰

The second most important source is a survey carried out by E.W. Allfrey, the author of the standard architectural history of Brasenose College, in the early years of the present century.¹¹ He was an architect with an office in St. Michael's Chambers, and he recorded the buildings as they existed before the major alterations and demolitions in 1909. It is remarkable that although he offered his survey of the 'gothic windows under my old office' to the newly-formed Old Houses Committee of the O.A.H.S. in 1912, they only came to light very recently when, deemed worthless, they were given to the Museum of Oxford following a Phillips Charity Auction.¹² His plans add some details to Buckler's account of the northern range on Ship Street, and in addition provide a unique record of the medieval southern range of the inn, which faced it across the courtyard (Figs. 7, 16, 18). This range was then the Blue Anchor public house, which had a stone wall on its south side, and a timber-framed wall facing the courtyard. Taken together, the drawings of Buckler and Allfrey show that the original building had two long ranges on either side of a courtyard, connected by a gallery at the west end, all standing behind five shops on Cornmarket.

Demolitions undertaken in 1904–11 for the new building of Jesus College and the creation of St. Michael's Mansions were photographed, and the collections of Minn and Taunt add useful information to that of the drawings and plans (Figs. 8, 19). Photographs by them and others also preserve the changing appearance of the street fronts from the last decades of the century.¹³ The only part of the inn that was demolished without some record being made was the two southern shops, which appear on early views of the Cornmarket with modern fronts. Demolition work by Jesus College in 1911 also attracted the interest of the young Oxford archaeologist, T.E. Lawrence,

⁸ Bodl. Dep. a 25, f.55a (= Fig. 5), f.55 (= Fig. 11); B.L. MSS Add. 36437 f.117 (= Fig. 12).

⁹ Parker Portfolio in O.A.H.S. Library, Ashmolean Museum.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *Brasenose College Monographs*, i.iii (O.H.S. lii, 1909).

¹² Bodl. Dep. c.592 (O.A.H.S. Committee letters); Allfrey's drawings are now Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. a.90.

¹³ Principally Minn Collection, Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. d.490 (NE Ward) and d.495 (Cornmarket) and Bodl. MS. Minn 4 nos.1–29; Bodl. G.A. Oxon a.64 nos. 73–88; Bellamy photos in Westgate Library, Centre for Oxfordshire Studies (hereinafter C.O.S.).

who went down from Jesus in 1910, and had a mind to re-use parts of the building in a medieval hall intended to be built by his friend Vyvyan Richards, though nothing seems to have come of this scheme.¹⁴

Without any further information it would have been suspected that these buildings represented the remains of a large courtyard house or inn, but the history of the site, partly preserved in the records of St. Michael's Church, provide clear evidence for the creation of the 'New Inn' between 1386 and 1396. Under the name of the 'Crown' and the 'Blue Anchor', this survived until the middle of the 18th century before being divided into separate holdings, with the much reduced inn lasting into the present century (below, part IV).

The closing of the Zacharias's business in March 1983 provided an ideal opportunity to investigate one of Oxford's few remaining medieval domestic buildings, and to discover what remained of the original structure. A survey of the empty premises was made by David Sturdy and the author, suggesting that much more of the original structure remained to be found than was visible at that time. Subsequent removal of the 19th-century wall coverings revealed, as predicted, the timber framing in the north range as shown on Buckler's drawings, uncovered the roof of the gallery building, and discovered traces of wall-painting on the first floor of the shops (these were subsequently removed and conserved by Oxfordshire Museum Services).

Prior to restoration of the building a detailed survey of the timber framing was undertaken by Nick Joyce. The Oxford Archaeological Unit was then commissioned by English Heritage (HBMG) to survey the surviving medieval stonework, and conduct a limited amount of excavation round the footings. The result of these investigations, together with the earlier surveys, has enabled the original form of the New Inn to be rediscovered, despite the loss of so much of the structure.

It should be said at the outset that this very unusual amount of information about a much altered building, whilst being of exceptional value, also presents considerable problems of interpretation, most simply demonstrated by the fact that no two site plans that have been drawn at any time actually agree with each other in all respects. A certain amount of licence has therefore been necessary to produce a 'best fit' for most of the illustrations accompanying this report, where information from different sources has been combined.

III. THE TOWN PLANNING BACKGROUND TO THE REPAIR AND RESTORATION OF THE BUILDING. By JOHN ASHDOWN

The planning applications

An influential contemporary factor affecting the treatment of historic buildings is the Town Planning Acts and the need to obtain listed building consent for works of demolition, alteration or extension of statutorily listed buildings. In the case of 'Zacharias's', the planning process clearly worked as Parliament intended and proved crucial to the direction the proposed works eventually took. A description of the works as carried out has been published by Freddie Charles, the Consultant Architect,¹⁵ and this account is concerned with the town planning framework and its consequences.

¹⁴ Jeremy Wilson, *Lawrence of Arabia* (1989), 64–5, 74–5 n.74.

¹⁵ F.W.B. Charles, 'Zac's, Oxford: The Restoration of 26, 27 Cornmarket Street and 26 Ship Street', *Trans. Ancient Mons. Soc.* 32 (1988), 46–72, figs. 1–16; see also Oxford Preservation Trust *Annual Report* (1986), 19–21.

In March 1982 Steve Woods, the Quantity Surveyor acting for Jesus College, the building owners, invited the Conservation Officer in the City Planning Office to join him in an inspection of the Zacharias shop premises at 26–27 Cornmarket. This revealed that behind the scenes both business and the structures were very run down and that it was unlikely that the service of a schedule of dilapidations upon the tenant would be effective in improving the situation. The premises appeared to comprise a collection of small rooms on various levels connected by steep staircases, with the attics full of discarded tailors' dummies. However, a number of historic features were visible, including a surprising mix of coupled and purlin trussed roof structures with crown-posts.

In terms of statutory protection, the premises occupied by the Zacharias business were listed as Nos. 26–27 Cornmarket Street (Grade II) and No. 26 Ship Street (Grade II*). The accompanying list descriptions cautiously dating the various buildings as probably 15th-century, altered in the 17th and 19th centuries, were derived from the entries in the 1939 RCHME Inventory (items 104 and 118). While not part of the works described here, the Zacharias premises adjoin on two sides the well-known corner shop No. 28 Cornmarket (listed Grade II and RCHME item 105), restored in 1950–2 by Thomas Rayson, architect.

As knowledge of the likelihood of impending change to 'Zacharias's' became more widely known in Oxford it stimulated Julian Munby and David Sturdy to produced an architectural *Zacharias Report* on Nos. 26–27 Cornmarket in March 1983. Their *Report*, illustrated with some of Buckler's remarkable drawings, was submitted to Jesus College and the City Planning Office. This *Report* made a number of sound recommendations including the following:

Any work on the building should be preceded by a careful stripping ... and survey of visible features. Any major building work should only proceed under the care of an architect with proven experience in the conservation of medieval timber-framed buildings.

What the college authorities thought of this advice at the time is not known to the writer, but they do not appear to have taken it too seriously at first. Its value to the planning authority was more positive in alerting its officers to the importance of the Zacharias premises as the oldest and finest surviving medieval inn in Oxford, and that it was a building of national importance.

Jesus College obtained the surrender of the Zacharias lease in May 1983 after the premises had been empty for some time following the closure of the long-established business. In the following months, while the College assessed the situation with its professional advisers, Julian Munby obtained leave to examine the historic fabric and to open up certain key areas to view by removing plaster. The College itself obtained the City Council's approval to strip out shop rubbish and expose areas of structural importance. This activity led to a fuller understanding of the condition of the fabric, the extent of Buckler's 'mothballing', and the appointment by the College of John Fryman of Architects Design Partnership of Henley and Oxford to produce a feasibility study of the property to realise its economic value through reconditioning and more appropriate use.

Planning and listed building consent applications were received by the City Council in March 1984, for continued shop use of basement, ground and first floors, with seven study bedrooms created above for Jesus College's own use. These rooms were contrived in the attic roofs and in an added tower floor to be supported on steel posts. This was a clever scheme, making use of the pre-existing Jesus podium deck access at the rear, and remained the basis of the scheme as carried out. However, there was considerable

unease felt and expressed that the residential tower could not be constructed without damaging the historic fabric. There was in addition a genuine public conviction, shared by the City Council officers, that this building of all Oxford buildings needed positive specialist advice to establish the condition of the surviving timber framework and to advise on the repair of the surviving timber-frames and the associated floors and roofs. With hindsight there is little doubt that, given the actual structural condition of the building, had the City Council and Department of the Environment approved the 1984 scheme, the Cornmarket shops would have been totally and irrevocably demolished in a standard contract as a consequence. The proposed new Cornmarket facades designed at this time and submitted for approval also illustrated the cosmetic approach considered appropriate for the building before its full character and importance were appreciated by the applicants and their agents.¹⁶ The Oxford Planning Committee therefore decided, upon advice, to welcome the principle of the proposals but to seek the appointment of a consultant by the College to advise on the timber-framed structure. After several false starts F.W.B. Charles' Worcester-based architectural practice was contacted and agreed to examine the task and report to the College.

Freddie and Mary Charles were appointed consultant architects by Jesus College in August 1984, and their assistant, Nick Joyce, began a three-month long survey of the surviving timber frames. In December 1984 at a meeting with the Conservation Officer, John Fryman graphically described Freddie Charles' recommendations as 'driving a coach and horses' through the scheme. Indeed Charles has described his work as seeking to restore the structural integrity of every frame of the building 'and re-expose the timbers, old and new, as the building's architecture'. To its great credit Jesus College accepted the need for substantial revision and dropped the idea of a residential student tower at a high level and thereby agreed to a considerable reduction in accommodation. Revised planning and listed building consent applications were submitted to the City Council in April 1985, which sought to provide only three study bedrooms for the College above the shop.¹⁷ After due process and referral to the Department of the Environment, this scheme was approved in July 1985.

Freddie Charles's proposals as interpreted by Architects Design Partnership were fundamentally different from the first scheme submitted, in that the scheme was based on actual knowledge of the building's condition at the outset before any contract was let. Moreover, Charles's solution was to repair and restore in oak using traditional timber-framing methods with joints, scarfs and pegs. The City Planning Committee, by seeking the appointment of a consultant, played a crucial role in the evolution of this method for the treatment of the building.

The contract

Alfred Groves and Sons of Milton under Wychwood was appointed as contractors, partly it seems from the traditional appearance of its yard. Work started on site on 15 November 1985, and was finished 18 months later, on 27 May 1987. Two months later to the day Laura Ashley the fashion group opened their store, their contribution being that of harmonious tenant well able to afford the rent. The contract cost was in the region of £1.2M. Freddie Charles has written about his experience of the job, which was not as easy

¹⁶ Application reference L/284/84.

¹⁷ Application reference L/271/85.

as he makes it sound.¹⁸ English Heritage gave grant aid and advice to the project, and I understand that the Commission's structural engineer was a tower of strength in supporting Charles against the College's structural advisor's views in what became known as the 'battle of the straps and bolts'.

In a contract for a project of this type the incorporation of archaeological recording both below and above ground before and during the works is essential if a successful outcome is to be achieved. The contract was destructive of all the loose evidence, involving as it did partial demolition and maximum stripping out of non-structural fabric (the full extent of which only became apparent as the contract proceeded). This report is the public record of the work carried out on site by the embryonic Oxford Architectural Survey and the Oxford Archaeological Unit, to preserve on paper the evidence of the building's fabric prior to its destruction by the contract.

Of the building contract itself a little more should be said. An important part of the medieval building was outside the Zacharias curtilage. No. 28 Cornmarket was indeed a striking contrast, set on the corner of Ship Street, following its repair and flamboyant restoration by the architect antiquary Thomas Rayson between 1950–2. Rayson worked in situ using oak but stabilised the leaning building with internal steel supports and his work presents a pioneer example of scholarly restoration. The *Architectural Review* of the time was however perplexed by this example of Oxford quaintness, particularly as the Randolph Hotel had just completed its Wilkinson Gothic extension.¹⁹ Rayson was not a purist and indulged a certain freedom in his decorative detail for windows and barge boards, and added two bay windows that cleverly give support to attic floor and gable. However the bay windows obscure the undoubted fact that the medieval fenestration was achieved as continuous bands across the whole front. Charles' reconstruction is purist and has not restored detail unless the surviving fabric provides clear evidence. Where such evidence did not exist, as can be observed at a higher level of the front elevation, plain windows and plain barge boards were adopted. When viewing the completed restoration it will be seen that the building leans into the street. It was not possible to erect the restored facade vertically as its position was dictated by the need to continue and link into No. 28 Cornmarket which had been stabilised but not rebuilt by Rayson. The apparent fossilised picturesque quality of the restoration is entirely practical in origin and a testament to the skill of the site carpenters (Fig. 27).

Timber structure

The first part of the project was the complete survey of all the surviving medieval timbers undertaken by Nick Joyce at a scale of 1:24, as a basis for a series of repair drawings indicating which timbers needed replacing. The general principle was to supply in new oak all missing members (except those few whose presence would hinder circulation in the premises) and repair all rotten or damaged members. This was also done with new oak, scarfed onto the old timber with traditional joints using only oak pegs; no glue or resin was used. The evidence for all parts of the work was supplied by mouldings and mortices in existing timbers, or by Buckler's drawings of what existed in the 19th century. Even on the Cornmarket front, which at a quick glance looks largely new, it will be observed that there were existing enough floor joists, window jambs, and

¹⁸ Charles as above, note 15.

¹⁹ *Architectural Review*, July 1952.

moulded bresumers from which it could be accurately reconstructed. The tracery for the first-floor windows comes (slightly simplified) from a Buckler drawing of windows uncovered on the north side of the building.

The whole building was entirely covered with a roofed scaffold, hoarding and sheeting, allowing work to progress in all weathers. Every timber in the building was marked with a unique number for identification, and Nos. 26 and 27 Cornmarket were then carefully dismantled (Rayson's corner shop remaining in use throughout), and the structural timbers taken to the yard of the contractors Alfred Groves and Sons at Milton under Wychwood. Here the frames were repaired and made up in the yard, before being brought back and rebuilt on the site. The north range at 26 Ship Street was repaired in situ, as it was more complete, though the whole south wall had to be raised several inches to allow the insertion of the repaired floor joists. As the work progressed it was for a time possible to view the full height of the open medieval chamber on the first floor, and the unusual arrangements for the support of the double wall-plate over the timber wall on the south side. In the chamber the restoration retained the 17th-century arrangement with the open roof closed off to create the attics.

Stonework structure

All the stone walls were stripped of their plaster covering, and recorded by the Oxford Archaeological Unit. This work (as with the investigation of the timber frame) involved the removal of much post-medieval stud and plaster, which had obscured the true shape of the medieval fabric and been such a misleading element in the early stages of investigating the building. The early medieval stone wall running across the site from north to south presented certain problems, as it was leaning towards the west, against the later chimney-stacks, and at the south end had been deprived of its support on the ground floor. Consequently, the southern half was taken down and rebuilt (which is why it now stands upright), though the chimney-stacks above it were not replaced. The northern post-medieval chimney-stack was also taken down and rebuilt. The recreated courtyard, on the site of the demolished 19th-century back wing, was dug out and built up in reinforced concrete, and the new high level concrete roof of the courtyard is supported on a boxed steel post. The elevation to Ship Street has been little altered beyond the new roof covering, and indeed the bonding stones of the adjacent college building on the east, left in 1911, still appear to threaten the medieval structure with a westward continuation of that building. In fact the college mansion building performs a reverse function, as an anchor for the rebuilt timber frames and for No. 28 Cornmarket, which are tied back securely to it with metal rods.

Completion

The completed contract fully complied with the many statutory requirements of the present age, and must have one of the most effectively insulated roofs in Oxford. A new staircase at the rear, behind the recreated inn 'courtyard', provides for a means of escape route for the shop floors. This staircase links with the first-floor podium deck, erected by Jesus College in recent years, in such a way that direct access to the student or fellows' accommodation above the Laura Ashley shop may only be obtained from within the college curtilage. As a final touch a plaque recording the restoration dated

1987 is fixed to the barge boards between the two restored gables on the Cornmarket façade. The result is a triumph that enhances Cornmarket out of all proportion to its size, and one that has achieved a unity of preservation and sound commercial value for Jesus College.

IV. THE HISTORY OF THE SITE

The site of the New Inn has a complex history of changes in shape and ownership, as properties were amalgamated to form the inn *c.* 1386, divided after 1775, and eventually brought together again by Jesus College. Its history is not completely known, as the deeds of the inn itself have not been traced, and its ownership can at times only be followed indirectly; only the outline of development will be given here. The principal divisions of the site since 1386 can be tabulated as follows (see site plan, Fig. 6):

- A: 24–5 Cornmarket, Salter NE(17).²⁰
(Jesus College from 1898).
New Inn; The Crown; Blue Anchor; rebuilt as London and County Bank 1904; now fast food restaurant.
- B: 26–7 Cornmarket, Salter NE(18).
(Jesus College from 1884 & 1935).
New Inn; The Crown; Blue Anchor; Zacharias's; now Laura Ashley fashion group.
- C: 28 Cornmarket, Salter NE(18).
(Private freehold).
New Inn; The Crown; various shops; Speedwell Cleaners, now Opticians.
- D: St. Michael's Chambers in Ship Street, Salter NE(20).
(Parish property of St. Michael's; Jesus College from 1883).
New Inn; The Crown; Parish Brewhouse; Dancing School, etc.; part demolished 1911 for St. Michael's Mansions and part now Laura Ashley.
- E: 18–22 Ship Street, Salter NE(20).
(Parish property of St. Michael's; Jesus College from 1883).
New Inn; The Crown; divided into separate tenements; rebuilt 1906–8 and 1909 as Jesus Ship Street Building and St. Michael's Mansions.

The Medieval Tenements

The Cornmarket part of the inn originally consisted of two properties. On the south (perhaps 24–5 Cornmarket) was the house of Dionysia Burwold in the early 13th century, at one time held with the house to its south (No. 23 Cornmarket), but divided from it by a small lane, known as Burwold's, Sumenor's or Dewy's after adjacent landowners.²¹ The lane seems to have had a gate at the Cornmarket end, called 'Stonendor'; it is possible that it also had an exit into Ship Street (which was also known as Somenours Lane). This would explain the complaint that Gibbes's building had blocked a door called *stonendore* and also half of Somenours Lane.²² Burwold granted a rent of 20s. to St. Michael's Church in 1263 for a mass at St. Mary's altar, which began the parish interest in the property.²³ Little is known about the house, except that there were shops

²⁰ H.E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, i (O.H.S. n.s. xiv, 1960), north-east ward.

²¹ Salter, *Survey*, i.28.

²² H.E. Salter, *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael's Church, Oxford* (Oxon. Archaeol. Soc. Trans. 78, 1933) [hereinafter *SMCA*], 6.

²³ *SMCA*, 264.

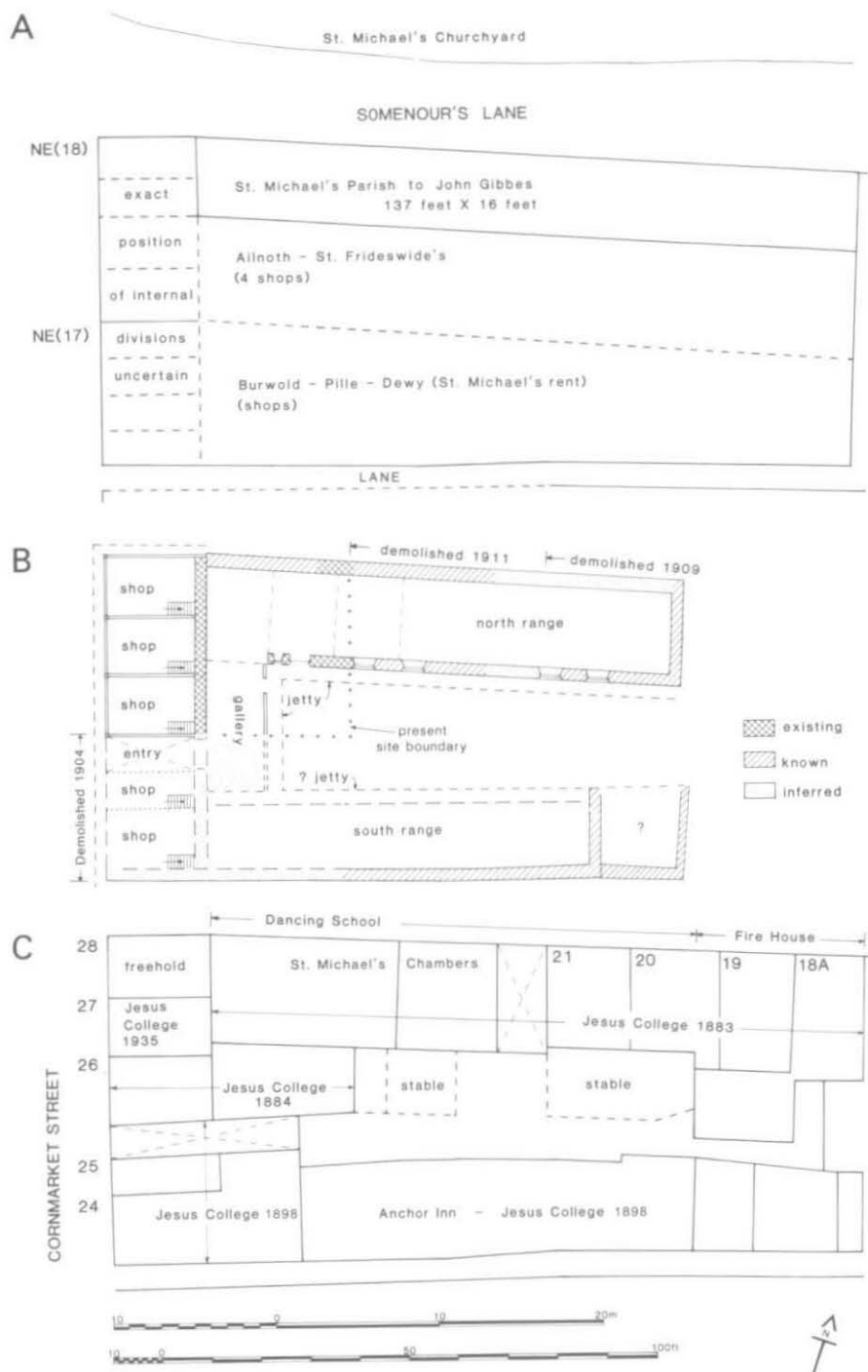


Fig. 6 Site of the New Inn: (A) pre-existing medieval tenements; (B) ground plan of the New Inn (showing present site boundary); (C) the buildings in 1878, before demolition.

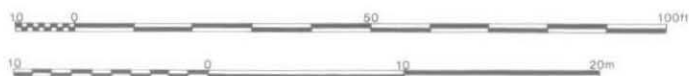
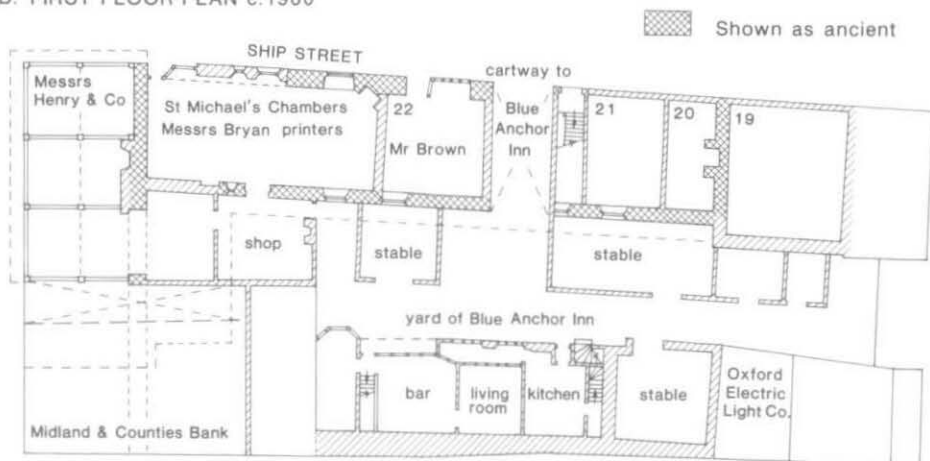
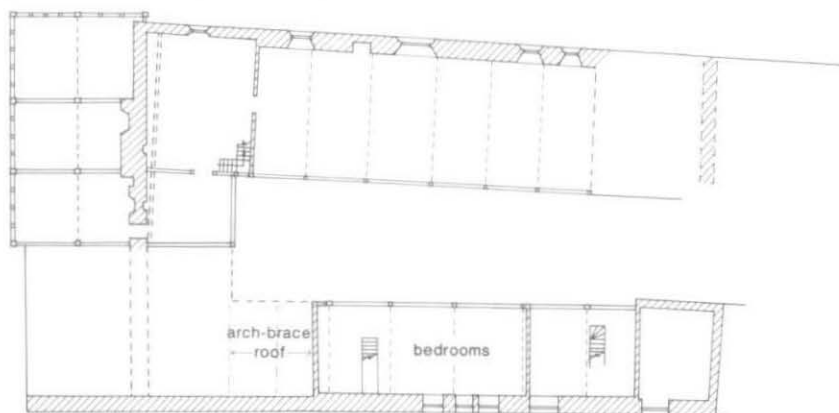
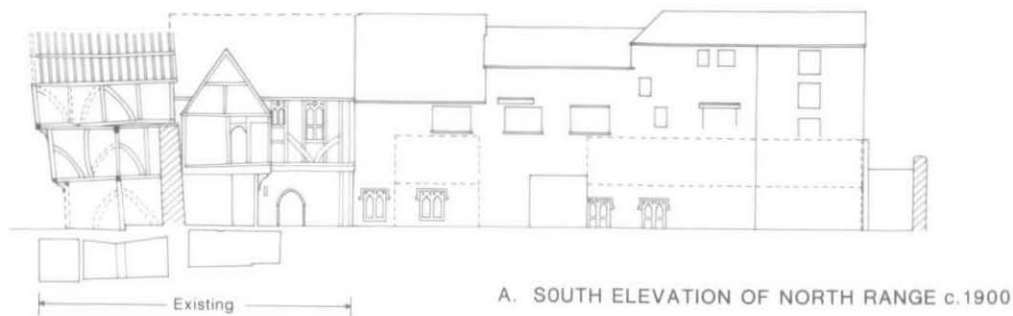


Fig. 7. Buildings of the New Inn: composite survey as existing, with demolished buildings as recorded by Allfrey and Buckler: (A) S. elevation of north range; (B) first-floor plan; (C) ground-floor plan.

and that the rooms over them were held separately; ownership is unknown for much of the 14th century. The rent to the church disappears, but may have been transferred to land in Ship Street.

The northern property (perhaps 26–8 Cornmarket) was the house of John Ailnoth early in the 13th century, when it was a 'messuage with four selds' (shops).²⁴ For a time it belonged to St. Frideswide's Priory, and they retained a rent interest until the 16th century.²⁵

Both properties must have been purchased by John Gibbes in or before 1386, but the circumstances are unknown.

The New Inn/The Crown

The evidence for the building of the New Inn comes not from the Cornmarket properties but from those on Ship Street, where in March 1386 John Gibbes obtained a hundred-year lease from the parish of a strip of land 137 feet long by 16 feet wide (41.8 × 4.9 m.). It is not known how the church came to hold this land, though it was clearly related to Burwold's grant of 1263: in 1430 Burwold's tenement was described as being 'nuper incluso in novum hospitium'.²⁶ Gibbes already owned land at each end of the strip, implying that at least one other property at the east end had already been bought by him. The land was an empty plot, and Gibbes agreed to build new houses ('predictam terram cum domibus competentibus de novo edificabit'), to be held for an annual rent of 13s. 4d.²⁷

John Gibbes was a vintner, who is first recorded in 1349, was mayor of Oxford five times between 1377 and 1386, and represented the borough in Parliament in 1369, 1376 and 1377.²⁸ Amongst his property interests were Knaphall (the wine tavern next the Gildhall), and Ducklington's Inn, also in St. Aldates.²⁹ In the 1380 Poll Tax he and his wife Joan were assessed at 13s. 4d., and had two servants; since he was listed in the south-east ward he perhaps lived at Knaphall.³⁰ He was elected mayor in Michaelmas 1386, but soon after this he was dead and his properties were taken over by his wife Joan, and his sons Thomas and John.³¹ In his will, dated 16 November 1386, he left his wife the house in which he lived and half his tenements and shops at Carfax, both to pass after her death to his son Thomas and then John; there is no mention of the Cornmarket property, but the full text of the will does not survive.³²

The exact dating of the building is somewhat problematical. Three tree-ring dates give felling dates of winter 1381–2 (i.e. before the date of the land grant), but the one is of winter 1386–7 (around the time of Gibbes's death). Either the building commenced before the land was fully acquired, or it was built with old timber.³³ John Gibbes junior must have taken over the project, for in 1396 he granted the 'Neweyn within the

²⁴ S.R. Wigram, *Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide*, i (O.H.S. xxvii, 1894), 351.

²⁵ Salter, *Survey*, NE(18); cf. Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. c.432.

²⁶ *SMCA*, 26.

²⁷ *SMCA*, 266–8 (35).

²⁸ H.E. Salter, *Cartulary of Osney Abbey*, ii (O.H.S. xc, 1929), 70; Wood, *City of Oxford*, iii (O.H.S. xxxvii, 1899), 46–7.

²⁹ Salter, *Survey*, SE(129) & SW(123); see also part IX below.

³⁰ J.E. Thorold Rogers, *Oxford City Documents* (O.H.S. xviii, 1891), 12.

³¹ H.E. Salter, *Cart. Osney*, iii (O.H.S. xci, 1931), 174, 177–8.

³² C.L. Shadwell and H.E. Salter, *Oriel College Records* (O.H.S. lxxxv, 1926), 254; the will is there said to be enrolled before the mayor but is not now to be found in the *Liber Albus* (ed. W.P. Ellis and H.E. Salter, 1909).

³³ See discussion below, in Dendrochronology section.

Northgate and five shops' to feoffees (probably in order to return it to him).³⁴ The inn consisted of the stone range on Ship Street and the range on the south side of the courtyard, and the 'five shops' probably included the three now standing on Cornmarket, and two others to the south, i.e. the whole of the framed building on Cornmarket. The creation of inns was a popular form of investment at the time, and a large courtyard inn on one of the main thoroughfares of Oxford must have been expected to repay the investment with a steady trade. The churchwardens' accounts seem to show that Gibbes never actually paid the 13s. 4d. annual rent.³⁵ Gibbes enters history briefly as one of the rebels against Henry IV in 1400, but was pardoned and like his father rose to become mayor.³⁶ By 1416, in his third year of mayoralty, he was dead, and his widow Katherine owed the debt to the church, which was taken on by his executors. The rent was paid by John Caplan, at whose inn Thomas Chaucer (son of Geoffrey) was entertained in 1419/20.³⁷

From subsequent rentals, and a few other sources, it is possible to reconstruct the ownership of the inn, as it passed through a series of prominent landowners. Richard Clifford, Bishop of London, purchased the messuage with five shops from Thomas Gibbes in 1421 for 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.), intending it as part of the endowment for his proposed London College. Nothing came of this, and his executors sold to a John Delabere soon afterwards.³⁸ William Brampton, a Burford man who was mayor of Oxford seven times between 1420 and 1439, seems to have purchased from Delabere, but had disposed of it by the time of his death in 1443.³⁹ From 1423-9 the tenant was John Hertypole.⁴⁰

In 1430 the parish rentals speak for the first time of the sign of the Crown '*novum hospitium ubi corona est signum*', perhaps to distinguish it from other 'New' Inns (including the Academic Hall after which the street came to be named).⁴¹ The county family of Barentine held the inn from before 1453 until c. 1480, now with eight shops (Drew Barentine also owned Gibbes' tavern at Knaphall, alias the Falcon, next to the Gildhall).⁴² The church rentals record the names of several undertenants of the Barentines, and their sale of the inn in c. 1480 to a relative, Thomas Danvers. Although the 100 years of Gibbes' lease had run out, the rent seems to have remained at 13s. 4d.⁴³ On Danvers' death in 1501 the Crown was ordered to be sold, and it passed to John Archer.⁴⁴ Archer's will of 1524 left his property in Oxford, Rousham and Lower Heyford to St. Michael's Church to maintain two priests after his wife's death.⁴⁵ She was to live for another twenty years, and the parish rentals continue to name a succession of tenants still paying the annual rent of one mark, perhaps implying that the church never acquired the whole of the inn.⁴⁶ In 1546 Alderman Ralf Flexney was paying 13s. 4d. with

³⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls 1396-99*, 498.

³⁵ *SMCA*, 5-7, 9 (arrears of 12 years owing).

³⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 21.

³⁷ *SMCA*, 7; H.E. Salter, *Munimenta Civitatis Oxonie* (O.H.S. lxxi, 1917), 282; M.M. Crow and C.C. Olson, *Chaucer Life Records* (1966), 541-4.

³⁸ Salter, *Survey*, NE(18); W.A. Pantin, 'Before Wolsey', in *Essays in British History presented to Sir Keith Feiling* (1964), 43-5.

³⁹ Wood, *City*, iii, 21-2; *Reg. Chichele* (Cant. & York Soc.), ii, 606-8.

⁴⁰ *SMCA*, 15, 19, 23.

⁴¹ *SMCA*, 26.

⁴² Salter, *Survey*, NE(18) & SE(129).

⁴³ *SMCA*, 45, 49, 53, 57, 111, 117.

⁴⁴ F.N. Macnamara, *Memorials of the Danvers Family* (1895), 168.

⁴⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 395; *Oxon. R.O. MS Wills Oxon* 185, f.423-v.

⁴⁶ R. Graham, *Chantry Certificates* . . . (Oxon. Rec. Soc. i, 1919), 5-6; *V.C.H. Oxon* iv, 395 n.79; *SMCA*, 186, 190, 196, 202 & 209.

an allowance of 6s. 8d. in unpaid rent, for a tenement and brewhouse, though widow Newers, the old tenant, remained for another twelve years.⁴⁷ He had perhaps acquired the freehold of the remaining portion of the inn. Flexney was the son of an Oxford Alderman, admitted to the Council in 1530 as a waxchandler, was chamberlain by 1538, bailiff in 1542, Alderman by 1547, and M.P. in that year.⁴⁸ He was mayor of Oxford four times between 1551 and 1577, and died in 1578 (his memorial brass is in St. Michael's Church).⁴⁹ Although resident in St. Michael's parish, he may not have lived in the Crown, as he leased land at the east end of St. Michael's Church from the City in 1546, renewed in 1565, when it was described as a house in St. Michael's Lane (Ship Street) and a garden in Bocardo Lane (St. Michael's Street).⁵⁰ The earliest surviving lease of the Brewhouse was to Flexney in 1574 for 40 years, by which time the rent had risen to 20s., and he held it until his death, succeeded first by Mrs. Flexney and then by his son Thomas.⁵¹ Thomas Flexney was Episcopal Registrar, and the rental of 1620 says the house was where 'he doth nowe use to keepe the office for the Bishop's Chancellor and for the Archdeacon of Oxon'.⁵² He died in 1623 in St. Giles' parish and was succeeded by his son Thomas, a butcher.⁵³ The property was by now divided into the 'Parish House' and the 'Brewhouse', each at a rent of 20s., the former being held by Mr. Roger Jones. He was Registrar of the Vice-Chancellor's Court and died in 1644.⁵⁴ It is probable that by now the parish's holding was no longer part of the inn. Widow Jones paid the rent in 1644-5, and was succeeded by Thomas Jones with tenants including Thomas Dawson tailor until 1654, taking a new lease in 1650; Thomas Flexney paid the rent on the Brewhouse until 1650, but from 1655 to 1657 the Brewhouse had no tenant.⁵⁵ The 'Parish House' was taken on by Bernard Rawlins, plumber and glazier, in 1655, having been a sub-tenant since at least 1647, and continued until the expiry of the lease in 1676 with Dawson continuing as his tenant. The Brewhouse was occupied by Mr Newman, sadler, from 1657, and from 1661 it was leased to him as 'a Dancing Scoole late the parish Brewhouse' and he was calling himself a 'Dancing Master'.⁵⁶

The Divided Property: parts A-C

The inn itself was in the hands of Thomas Aldridge by 1654 when he had a licence to hang out the sign of the Blue Anchor.⁵⁷ He was assessed for three hearths in 1665, and the Poll tax of 1667 lists his wife and daughter, and William Coxe, 'oasler'.⁵⁸ His probate inventory of 1672 describes the contents of the hall, parlour, 'paradice', 'great chamber', 'the halfe Moone', kitchen, cellar, room over the kitchen and stables (see Appendix).⁵⁹ Evidently by this date the inn was restricted to the southern and western

⁴⁷ *SMCA*, 211, 214, 216, 218 & 220.

⁴⁸ W.H. Turner, *Selections from the Records of the City of Oxford 1509-1583* (1880), 103, 151, 167, 188-9.

⁴⁹ Wood, *City*, iii, 162-3.

⁵⁰ Turner, *Records*, 179 & 310.

⁵¹ Oxon. R.O. MS d.d. Par. Oxford St. Michael c.20 (leases); a.2, ff.39-49 (accounts).

⁵² Oxon. R.O. MS d.d. Par. Oxford St. Michael a.3 (accounts).

⁵³ Probate in Vice-Chancellor's Court; M.G. Hobson and H.E. Salter, *Oxford Council Acts 1626-1665* (O.H.S. xcvi, 1933), 40.

⁵⁴ Wood, *City*, iii, 252.

⁵⁵ Oxon. R.O. MS d.d. Par. Oxford St. Michael a.3.

⁵⁶ Oxon. R.O. MS d.d. Par. Oxford St. Michael c.20 (leases); a.3 and a.4 (accounts).

⁵⁷ H.E. Salter, *Oxford City Properties* (O.H.S. lxxxiii, 1926), 341.

⁵⁸ H.E. Salter, *Surveys and Tokens* (O.H.S. lxxv, 1920), 287 (hereinafter *S&T*).

⁵⁹ Oxon. R.O. MS Wills Oxon 76/1/29.

part of the site, Nos. 24–5 Cornmarket and perhaps also Nos. 26–8. Little is known of later innkeepers, since the deeds of the inn have not been found, though Richard Triplett was there in 1692, and was assessed for 14 windows in the 1696 Window tax, and perhaps still there in 1717.⁶⁰ The innkeeper in 1760 was Ralph Bennett, whose frontage on Cornmarket in 1772 was only a seven-foot gateway, and whose widow was still there in 1774.⁶¹ Coaches still called at the inn, for in 1764 the '*Oxford and Bath Machine*' was advertised as leaving on Mondays at 7.⁶² Presumably following Mrs Bennett's death the inn was advertised for sale by auction in March 1775, being described as a 'well-situated good-accustomed Freehold inn, known by the Sign of the Anchor' with five adjacent tenements let at upwards of £54 annual rent, being 'in exceedingly good repair'.⁶³ It may have been soon after this that the property was divided, and the shops (Nos. 26–8) became separate freeholds. The Anchor survived at the rear, and was still one of the minor inns used by country carriers in the 19th century (their waggons can be seen on one early photograph).⁶⁴ On the demise of the Dancing School in 1782 (see below) the inn became for a while a place for public displays: in 1784 Sieur Renaud from Paris exhibited for three days an 'air-balloon made by Montgolfier'; in 1789 the two 'Wonderful Brothers' from the Alps appeared, and in November 1790 there was an exhibition of 'Natural Curiosities from Botany Bay' including 'the surprising, singular, curious Animal the Kongerrew as described by Captain Cook . . . six foot high and eight feet long'.⁶⁵ These are not altogether surprising events, as one of the important functions of provincial inns was to provide public entertainments.⁶⁶

The Anchor last occurred in the 1906 directory as an inn.⁶⁷ The Cornmarket front of Nos. 24–5 was rebuilt in the 18th or early 19th century with two bay windows and continued to be used as shops. They were purchased by Jesus College in 1898, and in 1904 were demolished for new premises of the Capital & Counties Bank, a building whose ornate Portland stone front still survives (now a fast food restaurant).⁶⁸

The remaining three shops on Cornmarket, which have retained their medieval structure, became separate freeholds. Jesus College purchased No. 26 in 1884 and No. 27 in 1935; this last represented the final stage of their acquisition of the land to the west of the College, which now comprises Nos. 21 to 27 Cornmarket, but not No. 28.⁶⁹ Nos. 26–7 became the business premises of Zacharias & Co., better known as 'Zacs for Macs'.⁷⁰ Abraham Zacharias, a Lithuanian, first occurs as a 'hardwareman' at 68 St. Aldate's in 1846, and was living in St Ebbe's parish in the 1851 Census; by 1852 he was established at No. 2 Cornmarket as a silversmith and jeweller (he is also described as a

⁶⁰ M.G. Hobson, *Oxford Council Acts 1666–1701* (O.H.S. n.s. ii, 1939), 359; Oxon. R.O. MS d.d. Par. Oxford St. Michael b.17, f.26 (bounds of 1717 lease).

⁶¹ Oxon. R.O. MS d.d. Par. Oxford St. Michael b.18, p. 9, 38 & 41 (bounds of leases.); S&T, 53; M. Graham, *Oxford City Apprentices* (O.H.S. n.s. xxi, 1987), nos. 2047 & 2110.

⁶² *Jackson's Oxford Journal* 13 Oct 1764; Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d.495 f.115 (Minn).

⁶³ *Jackson's Oxford Journal* 4 March 1775, No. 1140 p. 111.

⁶⁴ J. Betjeman and D. Vaisey, *Victorian and Edwardian Oxford from old photographs* (1971), pl. 70 (pre-1894).

⁶⁵ E.H. Cordeaux (ed.), 'Synopsis and Index of items in Jacksons Oxford Journal . . . 1781–1790' (tss in Bodl. and C.O.S., 1976), 84:54b, 89:339b, 90:319b & 90:331a; see also below.

⁶⁶ See J.A. Chartres, *The Place of Inns in the Commercial Life of London and Western England, 1660–1760*, unpublished thesis, 1973 (Bodl. MS D.Phil d.5766), chap. 11.

⁶⁷ V.C.H. Oxon. iv, 290 & 438; *Kelly's Oxford Directory* (1906).

⁶⁸ Jesus College Estates Bursary schedule of deeds; City Engineer's application no. 540 (NS) in C.O.S.

⁶⁹ Jesus College schedule of deeds.

⁷⁰ Much of the following is based on research by Stephen Penney for an exhibition held at the Museum of Oxford in 1986.

watch and clock maker).⁷¹ His son Joel was operating as a china and glass dealer at No. 27 Cornmarket from c. 1870, under the name of the 'City Glass, China and Furnishing Warehouse'.⁷² He sold domestic wares, and a large quantity of souvenir china for tourists, including a range of pictorial china with transfer views of Oxford specially made for him. Within a few years his business diversified into the sale of waterproof garments, and advertising material painted on the outside of his shop in c. 1885 lists tweed coats, ladies cloaks, mackintoshes, driving aprons, horse clothing and bed linen (Fig. 2).⁷³

In about 1886, when he purchased the freehold of No. 27, Joel Zacharias took a lease on No. 26 and expanded his business, with waterproof clothing being sold at No. 26 and the chinaware from No. 27. In 1894 large windows were inserted on the first and second floors of No. 27 to display the china, as appears on contemporary photographs, but this side of the business was closed in c. 1896, and the shop was devoted to clothing. The display windows, however, remained until the recent works.⁷⁴ Although Zacharias is described in directories as a Waterproof Manufacturer, the waterproof clothing was in fact made under licence in Manchester by Philip Frankenstein & Son at the Victoria Rubber Works, Newton Heath. His clothing was sold direct from the shop, but much business resulted from the appearance of their stand at many agricultural and county shows. There was even a limited export trade: Zacharias sent a display to the Chicago World Fair in 1898.⁷⁵

Joel Zacharias (who adopted the surname of Jessel) was a man of some importance in late 19th-century Oxford, and besides being a prosperous businessman, was a City Councillor and some time Sheriff of Oxford. On his death in 1905 the company was taken over by Henry Osborn King of Wolvercote, a long-standing family friend. The goods illustrated in the company's catalogues clearly show the adaptation of their products to the needs of the new motoring public.⁷⁶ Riding gear, another important part of their range, sold particularly well at the numerous shows where they had a stand. It is said that Zacharias & Co. was at one time represented at nearly every county and one-day show in England and Wales. Early in the present century the shop again expanded, taking over St. Michael's Chambers in Ship Street from Emberlin's the Stationers. The company continued on similar lines under Cecil Osborn King who succeeded his father as Managing Director in 1942. Branches were opened at Cirencester and Marlborough.⁷⁷ The business was sold in 1981 to Pentlow Holdings, after which the shop ceased trading, and in May 1983 Jesus College foreclosed on the lease and repossessed the premises. Following the recent restoration, the shop and first floor was leased to Laura Ashley, with the college occupying the top floor.

The corner shop, No. 28, has never belonged to Jesus College, and has been used for a series of long-established businesses – Harvey's Tea Importers, Speedwell Cleaners and now Dollond and Aitchison, Opticians. In 1950–2 it was sensitively restored by Thomas Rayson, becoming a familiar landmark in the Cornmarket.

⁷¹ Hunt & Co's *Oxford Directory* (1846), 64; P. Betteridge, *Index to Oxford City Census 1851* (1986) ref HO 107/1728. f.322; R. Gardner, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Oxford* (1852), 381.

⁷² Webster's *Directory* (1869); Shrimpton's *Oxford Directory* (1875).

⁷³ Photograph is C.O.S. postcard series 14.2.

⁷⁴ City Engineer's application no. 2347 (OS), in C.O.S.

⁷⁵ Pers. comm., Mr. Cecil Osborn King.

⁷⁶ For illustrated brochures, see in C.O.S. (OXFO 658.8 Zach).

⁷⁷ Business records dating from between 1933 and 1965, found on the premises, are now in Oxon R.O. (Private Deposit Zach. I–X).

The Divided Property: parts D-E

In Ship Street the large holding of the parish was gradually divided, though the leases partly obscure the actual divisions of the property. The main western part, occupying the north range of the medieval inn, was known as the Brewhouse, and in 1676 was again leased to John Newman 'of the University of Oxford' who had, as we have seen, converted it into a Dancing School after the Restoration.⁷⁸ Dancing, which included fencing and vaulting, was very popular in 17th-century Oxford and was considered to be part of a gentleman's education: William Stokes, who ran the famous Bocardo School across the road, was the author of *The Vaulting Master*; it may be noted that at this date vaulting included the use of a live, and not just a wooden horse.⁷⁹ Newman had been apprenticed to Thomas Woods, who ran another school in the Salutation tavern in High Street, but left him to start up his own establishment in 1653.⁸⁰ No doubt the large first-floor room of the inn was a suitable location for this activity, and it may have been Newman who floored-over the attic and added the gabled dormer windows on Ship Street. Anthony Wood records that in July 1660, shortly after the Restoration, 'the yong loyall scholars of Oxford acted a play at the new dancing school against S. Michael's church on purpose to spite the Presbyterians who had been bitter enemies to these things'.⁸¹

Newman's lease was renewed in 1687, and in 1698 part was also held by John Banister, an apothecary, whose widow was still a tenant in 1703 along with William Jones, 'Dancing Master', and Philip Fortnam, a baker. By 1717 Thomas Banister, apothecary, had taken on the lease, and the Dancing Master was now Victor Coignard, while in 1731 another apothecary, Thomas Cave became lessee. The property was formally divided in 1760, the eastern part being leased to Thomas Sayer, apothecary (who had married Banister's widow), and the western part including the Dancing School to Edward Broughton a bookseller, who occupied it; in 1774 Joseph Meysey, apothecary, was lessee of the east part, and Richard Holloway, upholsterer, of the west part.⁸² It is noteworthy that most of the apothecaries, and the bookseller, were described as being 'of the University', and were thus privileged persons, though none of their inventories are amongst the probate records of the Vice-Chancellor's court.

From advertisements in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* during the second half of the 18th century the 'Great Dancing Room' in Ship Lane seems to have been a cynosure for popular entertainments: wire walkers, tumblers, performing horses, comic lectures took their place alongside shows of artificial flowers, birds' eggs, bees, mechanical devices and astronomical machines, moving pictures and a horseless chariot.⁸³ Presumably associated with these events was an advertisement, found as a lining paper on a roof truss in the north range, for 'Hengler's Equestrian Arena'.⁸⁴ In November 1782 the sale of the 'Dancing Room, Ship Lane and house' was announced (not apparently coinciding with a change of lessee) and there follow no more advertisements for events, which did

⁷⁸ Oxon. R.O. MS d.d. Par. Oxford St. Michael b.17, f.7 (leasebook).

⁷⁹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 427; *S&T*, 116-21; see *Town and Gown: Eight Hundred Years of Oxford Life*, Bodl. Exhibition Catalogue (1982), nos.148-9 and illus.

⁸⁰ P. Manning, 'Sport and Pastime in Stuart Oxford', in *S&T*, 121.

⁸¹ Wood, *Life and Times*, ed. A. Clark, i (O.H.S. xix, 1891), 322.

⁸² St. Michael's leasebooks: Oxon. R.O. MS d.d. Par. Oxford St. Michael b.17, ff.7, 11, 14, 21, 26, 28, 34v & 39; b.18, pp. 2, 9, 12, 38 & 41.

⁸³ *S&T*, 121; E.C. Davies, *A Chronological Synopsis and Index of Oxfordshire Items in Jackson's Oxford Journal, 1753-80* (tss in Bodl. and C.O.S., 1967), s.n. 'Dancing Room'.

⁸⁴ Archaeological notes, archive no. 6.7.

however continue in the Anchor.⁸⁵ The lease of 1815 described it as a 'Dancing School now converted to Warehouse' and by the mid-19th century it was unevenly divided into four tenancies, including two separate houses at the east end (Nos. 20-1 Ship Street); the 'Room or Warehouse called a Dancing School' was leased to the architectural publisher J.H. Parker in 1843.⁸⁶

Beyond the inn building, the eastern part 'heretofore known by the name of the fire house' was in 1676 separately leased as a 'new erected messuage or tenement' to Thomas Hall, the cook of Lincoln College. Later lessees included Charles Brittain, Cook of Jesus College, from 1701, and John Peto, 'Common Room Man' of Jesus College, from 1760.⁸⁷ By subdivision it eventually became two separate houses (Nos. 18a-19 Ship Street).

The occupants of these houses in 19th-century trade directories include tailors and robe makers, hatters, tobacconists and lodging-house keepers. The west end, now known as St. Michael's Chambers, held several offices of agents, solicitors, engineers and architects; the warehouse was probably used by Parker for a book-store, and was perhaps still so used when Buckler undertook his investigations in the 1860s. An elevation of the Ship Street range shows the complex tenurial divisions in the mid-century parish property before the alterations (possibly at Buckler's hand) that replaced the plain windows with gothic ones.⁸⁸ Curiously the Diocesan connection was reestablished, and the Diocesan Architect E. Bruton occupied the office later used by the architect E.W. Allfrey, who was to record these buildings before their partial demolition.

The frontages of the houses are well recorded in early photographs (Fig. 9).⁸⁹ Next to St. Michael's Chambers were nos. 20-21, a pair of four-storey houses with rendered fronts and one sash window on each floor, built into the medieval walls of the inn; No. 19 was also of four storeys, rendered and with bay windows on the first and second floors. These were probably all of 18th or early 19th-century date. Beyond them to the east No. 18a was rebuilt for Jesus College in 1897 as a four-storey house of brick with stone windows.⁹⁰ The pair of houses at the west end of Jesus College, Nos. 17-18 were not part of the inn, and were probably Leadenporch of Exeter College; they were substantially built of stone in three storeys, and were illustrated by Buckler with bays and Ipswich windows, though by the time of their demolition they had bays with plain glazing and an added attic storey.⁹¹

Jesus College purchased the whole row from St. Michael's in 1883, which ended the long association of the parish with the property.⁹² Rebuilding took place in three stages from east to west, first for the new building of Jesus College in 1905 (Nos. 17-18a) and then for St. Michael's Mansions, the eastern part in 1909-10 (Nos. 19-21) and the western part in 1911-12 (No. 22 and part of St. Michael's Chambers). The 'Mansions', built to the designs of R. England, has college rooms over a row of shops below, one of which was for many years the renowned A.N.I. Needlework Industries of Mr. H. Kiewe. The remaining part of the medieval inn, only about a third of its original length being

⁸⁵ Cordeaux, 'Synopsis', 82.313a (9 Nov 1782), and see above.

⁸⁶ Jesus College schedule of deeds.

⁸⁷ Oxon. R.O. MS. d.d. Par. Oxford St. Michael b.17, ff.6, 10, 19 & 25; b.18, pp. 2, 15 & 67.

⁸⁸ Op. cit. note 9.

⁸⁹ The clearest is Bellamy's view of c. 1900, C.O.S. no. 28324.

⁹⁰ C.O.S., City Engineer's plan No. 2854 (OS).

⁹¹ Salter, *Survey*, NE(21-2); Bodl. MS Don. a.2, f.28 (Buckler); shown in forefront of Bellamy photograph (C.O.S.), and in course of demolition in Allfrey photographs, MS. Top. Oxon. a.90.

⁹² Jesus College schedule of deeds.



Fig. 8. Ship Street looking south-east in 1911, prior to demolition. (Taunt, Centre for Oxfordshire Studies).



Fig. 9. Ship Street elevation: composite view showing exterior of north range (with alterations) and adjacent houses, with outline of Jesus College buildings (from photographs, Parker drawing and as existing).

left after 1911, was for a while Emberlin's Stationers, and later was added to Zacharias's establishment, as it remained down to the end.

V. THE BUILDINGS OF THE NEW INN

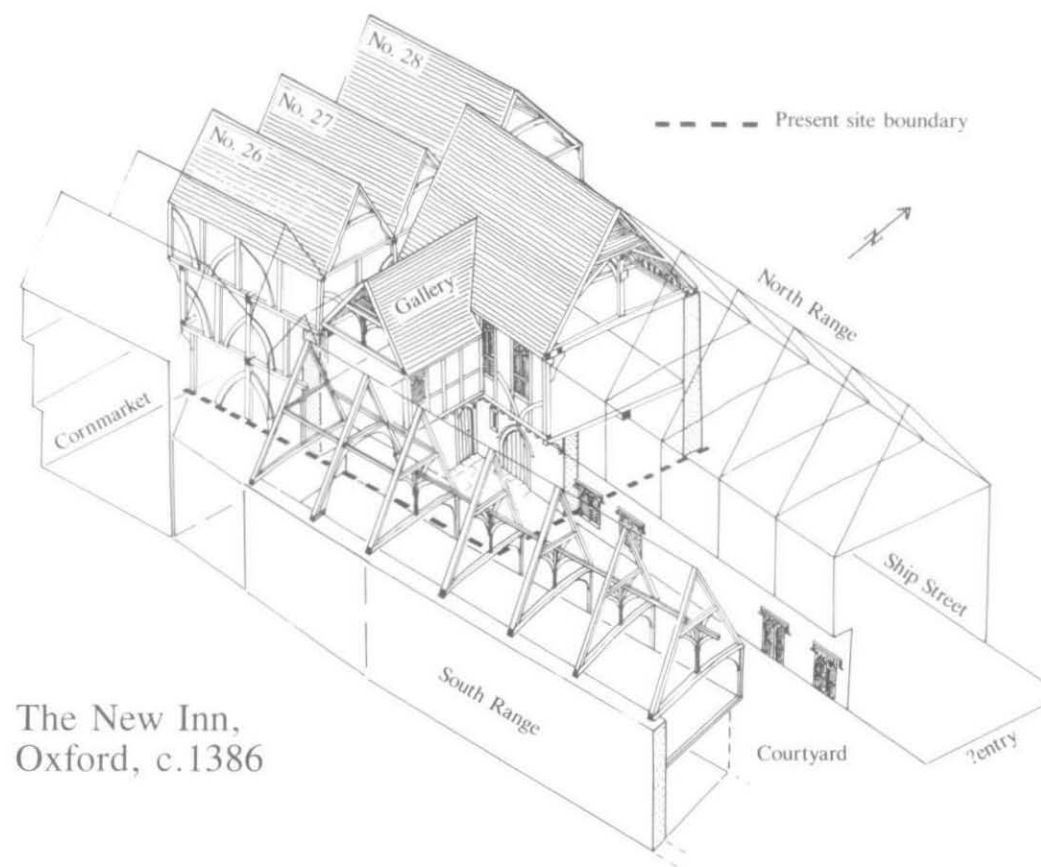
The inn was built round a long rectangular courtyard, with stone and timber ranges along the north and south sides, and a row of timber-framed shops on Cornmarket at the west end. The description will deal first with the rear portion (A: North range, B: Gallery, C: South range), then the stone wall behind the Cornmarket frontage (D), and the shops on the street (E). An outline description of the essential information on each part of the building is given in larger type, which can be followed by reference to the illustrations; a more detailed description and discussion follows in smaller type.

A. THE NORTH RANGE

The north range (Figs. 11–16) was a long two-storey building on Ship Street, with stone walls and a jettied timber-framed first floor on the south side. The ground floor had traceried stone windows and doors on the south side, while the first floor had traceried timber windows. The form of the original windows onto the street is not known, but there must have been a door and probably a vehicular entrance (this may at first have been at the west end but was later moved eastwards). The first-floor was open to the roof, which was of crown-post type. No original fireplaces are recorded, and the use of the range is unknown, but the ground floor may have been public rooms of the inn, and the first floor may have been one large dormitory.

The north range: exterior

As explained above, less than a third of the original length of the north range survives today, that being the western part (Fig. 7). Allfrey's plan, which covers more than Buckler's, shows ancient stonework on the south



The New Inn,
Oxford, c.1386

Fig. 10. The New Inn: reconstruction view of buildings.

elevation extending as far as Nos. 20–1 Ship Street, even though the front of that house had been rebuilt with a thin wall, shown on early photographs as rendering, probably over framing. The rest of the Ship Street elevation was a two-storeyed stone wall, though attics were added to 'St. Michael's Chambers', probably in the 17th century.

On the street elevation (Fig. 9), it is impossible to know what were the original openings in the wall, though the drawing of c. 1750 (Fig. 3) may possibly represent this side. Buckler's view along Ship Street dated 1821 shows plain openings of indeterminate character, though one door may have a pointed head, while the elevation in the Ashmolean shows sash windows on the first floor, and a variety of doors and windows on the ground floor. Mackenzie's view of 1837 also shows a pointed door alone of all the openings.⁹³ Buckler's plans of 1864 show mullioned windows, perhaps to indicate his intention of adding them to the Ship Street elevation. His single sheet of details would appear to be instructions for restoring the range, and include window and door mouldings copied from the south elevation.⁹⁴ The whole front was certainly gothicised at some time in the second half of the 19th century, and early photographs show a gothic door on the ground floor at the west end, and perpendicular windows above. The one first-floor window now surviving in ancient walling is rectangular with an internal timber lintel.

The attic gables also had gothic windows inserted, where Buckler's view of 1821 shows plain square-headed windows with hoodmoulds. The attics, as shown on the Ashmolean elevation and Buckler's view of 1821, consisted of three stone gables, a larger and smaller at the west end, a pair of chimneys next east, and a larger gable east of that. Except for the western one they had ashlar coping. By about 1900 the eastern gable had been partly removed, leaving a low attic wall with a shallower pitched roof, and other alterations were made as the eastern end was demolished (Fig. 9).

The south wall was of stone on the ground floor, with a timber frame jettied over it at first-floor level. The foundation of the wall consisted of large arches with rubble voussoirs; one of these was uncovered in the recent excavations, and the next one to the east was photographed in 1911 when the foundations were being dug (Fig. 19).⁹⁵ Now only a door and small window at the west end remain inside the shop, the door having a plain two-centred arch with an ogee and hollow (the hoodmould has been hacked off), and the window a straight chamfered rectangular opening. To the east of these Buckler drew two large stone windows, with square hoodmoulds, and two cinquefoiled lights with ogival heads in a square frame (Figs. 5, 14). These survived until 1911, and were also drawn by Allfrey, who provides the crucial evidence that there were two further windows behind Nos. 20–1 Ship Street (thus proving the length of the medieval range). The moulding round the window consisted of a double ogee, fillet, casement, roll and hollow, which was employed in the 1390s in the New College cloister (without the ogee); whilst the hoodmould had a roll and hollow below an angular outer member. The drawing of c. 1750 shows a pair of medieval doors between four windows (Fig. 3).⁹⁶ that are most likely to belong here in the courtyard, though it is not entirely clear how they would fit in with the evidence of Buckler and Allfrey unless there is some licence taken with their spacing, or they were yet further east.

The timber wall on the first floor has one traceried timber window (Fig. 14), a remarkable survival, in the perpendicular style of the late 14th century, with trefoiled archlets, supermullions and an ogee quatrefoil in the oculus.⁹⁷ Apart from the square head (necessitated by the timber frame), this is the design of the hall windows at New College, of 1380–6. The narrow width of the window was governed by the adjacent doorway to the gallery, but in the next bay to the east two jambs of a wider window survived, allowing the recent addition of a new traceried head in the same style. Buckler's plan shows a window in each of the next four bays,⁹⁸ and presumably he found evidence for this, though his views show plainer windows of later date, and by Allfrey's time all had been replaced.

The north range: interior

The ground floor consisted of one or more rooms lit from the south by the stone windows described above, and possibly with a number of windows towards the street. The stone wall on the south, unlike the jetty over it, was not continuous for the full length of the range, and ended to the west of the door and small window, where the ashlar jamb of its termination can be seen (Fig. 13). The space to the west of this may at first have been intended as a carriageway (or builders' entry), and the ceiling of the adjacent room in the north range has mortices for a partition here. However, the wall supporting the gallery would have obstructed access to the courtyard, though judging from the way that the gallery is built in front of the jetty of the north range, it

⁹³ 'St Michael's Church', in J. Ingram, *Memorials of the Churches and Parishes of Oxford*, iii (1837).

⁹⁴ Ashmolean Library, Parker Portfolio.

⁹⁵ Bodl. Minn Coll. Neg 4/12–12a (June 1911).

⁹⁶ Bodl. MS. Gough Oxon a.50, f.24.

⁹⁷ J. Harvey, *Perpendicular Style* (1978), 70–1.

⁹⁸ B.L. MS Add. 36437, f.136; Bodl. Dep. a.25, f.58.

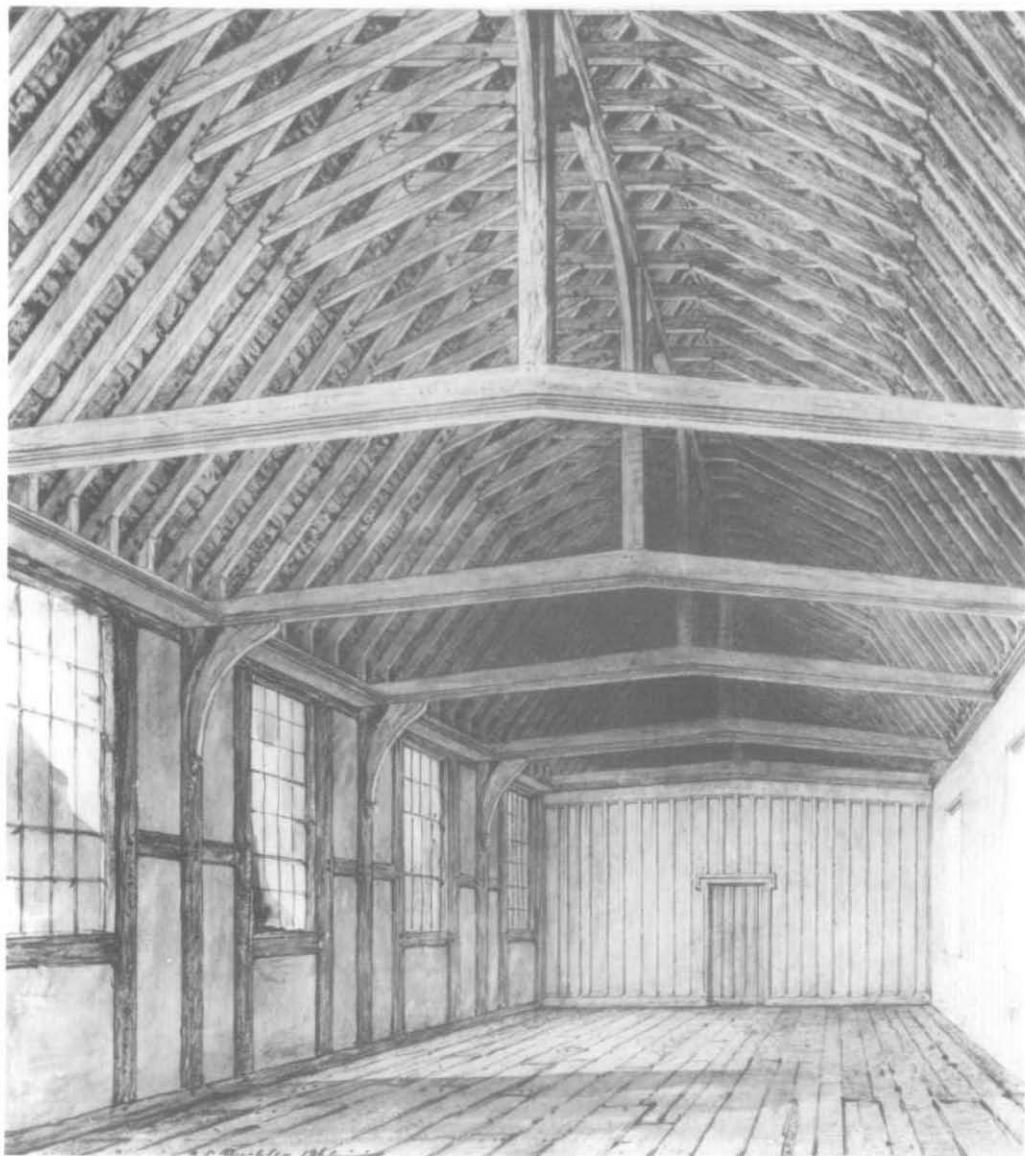
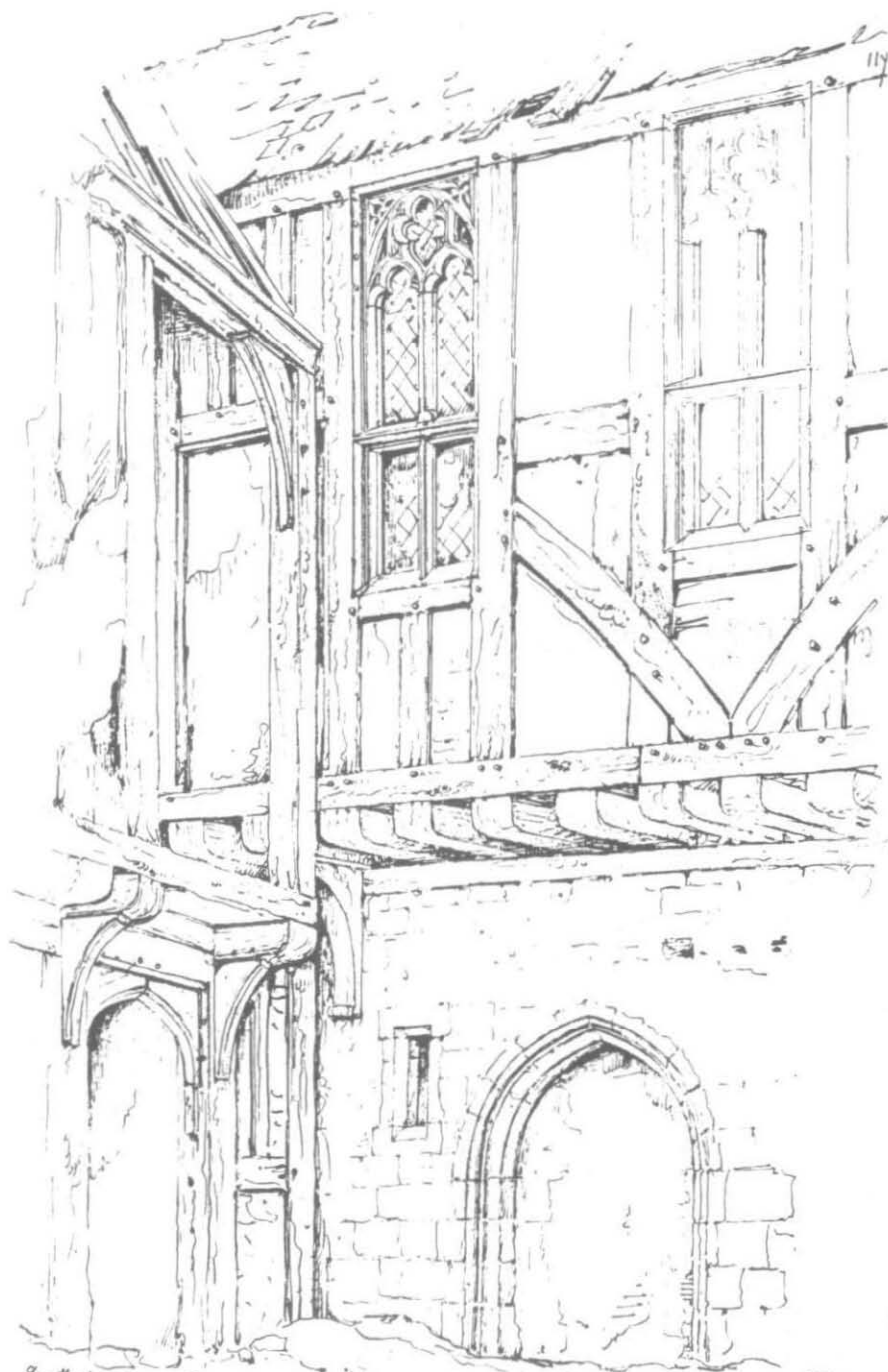


Fig. 11. North range: J.C. Buckler reconstruction view of interior, 1864, looking west. (OAHS, Bodleian Library).

appears that the gallery was not intended as part of the initial scheme, even if it was added soon after. The later carriageway was towards the eastern end of the range, but this is not shown on Buckler's plans, and Allfrey's plan indicates that this opening truncates one of the stone windows, so the entry must have been yet further east. The walls dividing the range are shown on Allfrey's plan as being later work, one being associated with a corner fireplace (and partly blocking a window in the south wall) and the other (not shown by Buckler) forming the west side of the later carriageway. The range may well have been divided in its original state, but perhaps only with framed walls.

The ceiling of the ground floor room has a spine beam between principal joists (all plain chamfered), and the principals and common joists pass over the stone wall to support the jetty. The larger joists are joined with



South view of the remains of an ancient mansion at the corner of Bishop Street in the Cornmarket, Oxford.

Fig. 12. North range: J.C. Buckler view of junction with gallery, looking north. (British Library).



Fig. 13. The New Inn, 1984: section looking north through Cornmarket shops, gallery and cellars, with south elevation of north range. (N. Joyce and OAU).

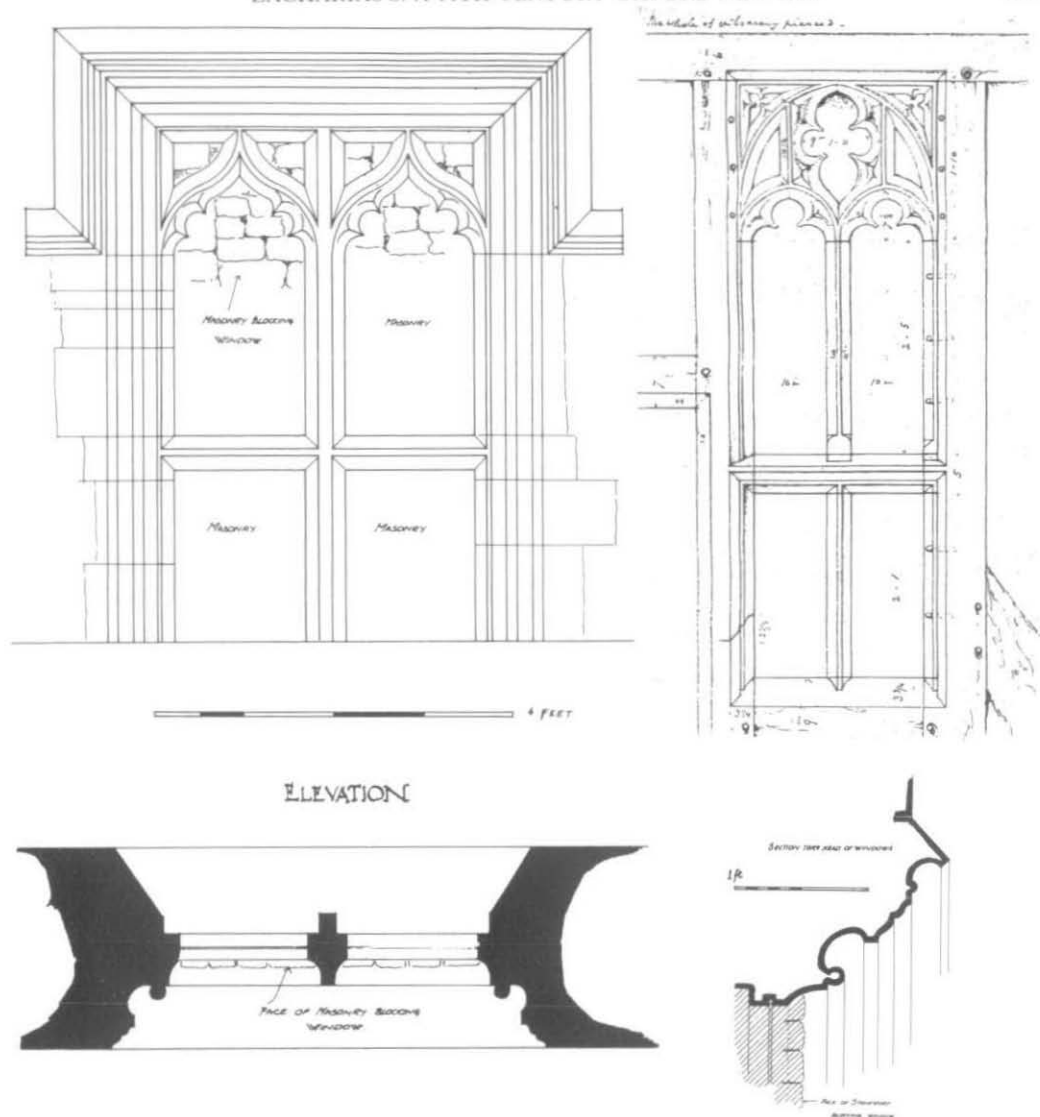


Fig. 14. North range: details of stone and timber windows. (Allfrey, Bodleian Library and Buckler, British Library).

plain double tenons, and a curious detail is the reduction of the ends of the principals to appear the same as the common joists in the jetty. Recent repairs have been scarfed in where the jetty joists had been cut for a modern stair (not shown on Allfrey's plan, and so of later date).

The first floor had a lobby at the west end next the gallery, as the soffit of the first tie beam is morticed for a partition. When the recent alterations commenced there were still *in situ* fragments of the screen shown by Buckler, made of vertical softwood planks, probably of 18th or 19th-century date. Here was also a stair to the attics, probably a replacement of the one shown on Buckler's plans, and possibly designed by him. It had flat balusters, in 17th-century style, and was carefully designed to open the whole view from first floor to attic, showing the inside of the traceried timber window and the crown-post roof; it was removed in the recent works, when access to the top floor was separated from the shop.

The roof (Figs. 11, 16) was originally visible from below, until the insertion of attics in the 17th century. It is

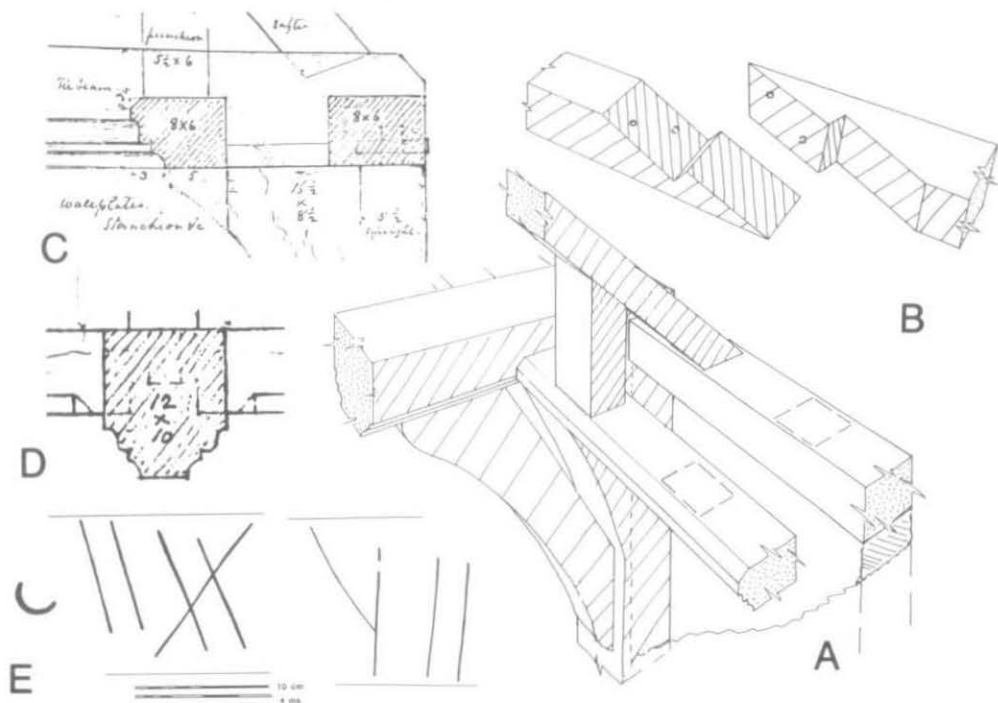


Fig. 15. North range, timber details: (A) double wall-plate over timber wall; (B) scarf-joint in collar plate; (C) wall-plate; (D) tie-beam; (E) carpenters' marks on rafters (south and north sides).

of crown-post type, with plain crown-posts standing on the tie-beams, and longitudinal braces to a collar plate which supports the collars of all the common rafter trusses. The tie beam and wallplates are moulded with an ogee over a hollow chamfer. The surviving length of collar plate is now in two parts, joined with a trait-de-jupiter scarf (Fig. 15). There are five bays shown on Buckler's plan (the western one slightly larger than the rest), and there must have been at least seven originally, but now there are only two and a half remaining. A similar plain crown-post was also employed in New College at about the same time, both in the Warden's Barn and the communal latrine or 'Long Room'. The common trusses all have soulaces to the collars, and ashlar posts at their feet. One idiosyncrasy of the roof construction is the way in which symmetry is maintained both where the roof meets the stone wall on the north and the timber wall on the south. The stone wall, as was the general practice, carries a double wall-plate, with the short ashlar-posts resting on the inner plate. The problem of providing a similar base for the roof on the narrow timber wall is solved by flying a second wall-plate between the tie beams (Fig. 15); this carries the ashlar-posts for the common rafters and continues the moulding of the tie beam. The wall posts have the usual jowls at the junction of wall-plate and tie beam, and a curved brace to the tie beam. Carpenters' marks on the common rafters are illustrated (Fig. 15E).

An attic window above the former stair was undoubtedly the one shown in Buckler's sheet of architectural details in the Ashmolean, with the note that the rafters were not to be cut through in making the window. This, together with a chimney stack nearby, for a fireplace on the ground floor, and a skylight next to it, have both been removed in the recent works.

B. THE GALLERY

The north and south ranges of the inn were joined at the west end by a gallery (Figs. 16–17), a timber-framed passage built against the stone wall that crosses the site at first-floor level. Half the gallery was lost in rebuilding at 25 Cornmarket, and only a small part of the remaining portion survived, but the recent reconstruction is based on

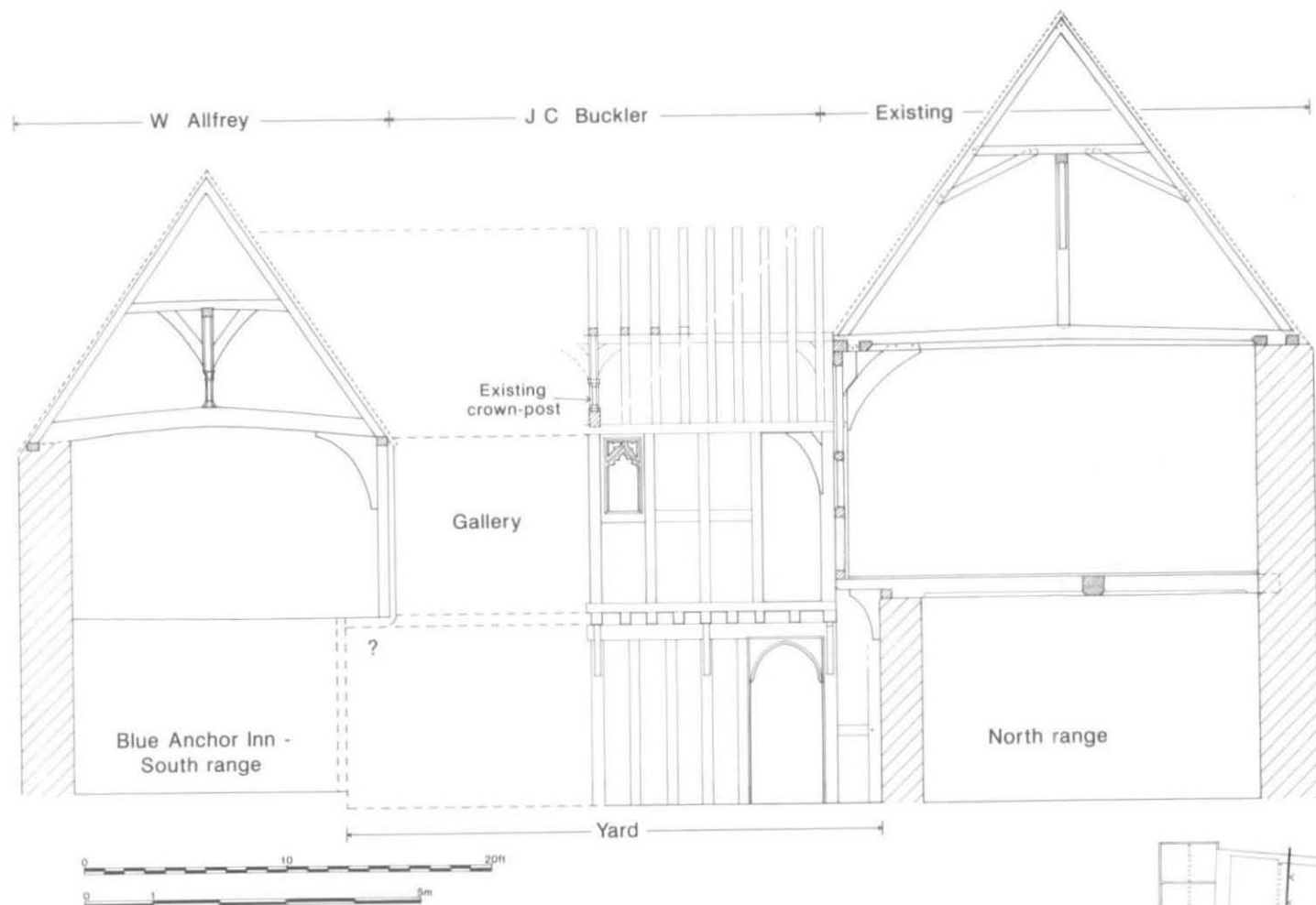
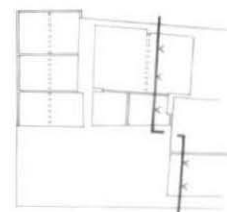


Fig. 16. The New Inn, courtyard ranges as existing c. 1864: demolished south range (Allfrey); gallery roof (Joyce) and demolished elevation (Buckler); existing north range on Ship Street (Joyce).



information in Buckler's drawings. The gallery was jettied towards the courtyard, had a window on the first floor, and a crown-post roof. It may have given access to rooms over the shops, but seems more likely to have been exclusively the province of the inn; there is some evidence that the gallery was added as an afterthought during construction.

The gallery

From the first-floor lobby at the west end of the north range, two adjacent doors lead out into a timber-framed gallery or passage (Fig. 13). The jambs of both doors are formed by posts integral with the framing of the wall, and have a plain chamfered surround, continued over flat lintels. The western door [D2] has in addition a lower arched lintel with a four-centred head that is mortised into the jambs. As the eastern door [D1] was partly obstructed by the front wall of the gallery, it may have been the primary one, perhaps intended for an external stair. As mentioned above, the jetty of the north range continues through the end of the gallery, and it may be that the gallery itself was an afterthought, and that the western door was made to replace the other one.

All that survived of the gallery at the commencement of the recent works was a frame supporting a roof truss with a crown-post in the south wall (i.e. at the original centre of the gallery), part of the roof and a few joists of the first floor, supported on the west by a plate against the stone wall and a large timber corbel. The east wall of the gallery was removed in the last century, when a building was erected in the courtyard, and a new wall was built just inside the jettied wall of the gallery, taking out the wall and truncating the rafters. A Buckler drawing (Fig. 12) shows the junction of the two jetties in the north-west corner, with an arched timber doorhead on the ground floor, and the moulded eave-plate of the gallery above, arch-braced from the post below.⁹⁹ Another drawing shows the south end (i.e. former centre) of the gallery, with a studded wall on the ground floor, the brackets of the jetty, and a timber window on the first floor above a middle rail and tension brace (Fig. 17). The window was a single-light unglazed opening with an ogival cinquefoil head and two trefoiled eyelets.¹⁰⁰

The surviving roof (Figs. 13, 16) has a short crown-post at the south end, with an octagonal post and plain hollow-chamfered capital and base. The braces to the collar and collar-purlin are curved, and the collar-plate has a trait-de-jupiter scarf-joint above the brace.¹⁰¹ This roof probably had only one crown-post, at its centre, as the collar-purlin at the north end was simply supported on a small bracket where it passed into the roof of the north range; this has been restored as a plain crown-strut, matching that shown in photographs of the south wing.¹⁰²

The details of the window and scarf-joint described above suggest a date of construction contemporary with the north range, and if the gallery was an afterthought there can have been little delay before it was added (the one tree-ring sample was undated). The function of the gallery was to provide access between the north and south ranges of the inn at first-floor level, but at one time it also had a door through the stone wall into the first floor of No. 26 Cornmarket, over the shop. The door (described below) was of plain construction and was perhaps only used during the building of the inn, as the shops were self-contained units with their own internal stairs.

No detailed records survive of the southern half of the gallery, behind No. 25 Cornmarket, which was lost by the time of Allfrey's survey.

C. THE SOUTH RANGE

The south range was a long two-storey building with a stone outer wall and timber-framed inner wall to the courtyard; its dimensions were somewhat smaller than the north range (Fig. 16). This was the part that (together with 24–5 Cornmarket) survived as the Blue Anchor Inn after the main property had been divided. It was all demolished early this century, and little is known of it beyond a few photographs and Allfrey's surveys (Figs. 7, 18, 19). There was a crown-post roof of five bays, and an arch-braced

⁹⁹ British Library, MSS Add. 36437, f.117.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. f.118.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. f.113.

¹⁰² Ibid. f.115; Bodl. MS Gough Adds Oxon. a.64 no. 86.

*Exterior of Vestibule - Ancient Building at the corner of Ship Lane, in the
Cor. Market - Oxford.* 118

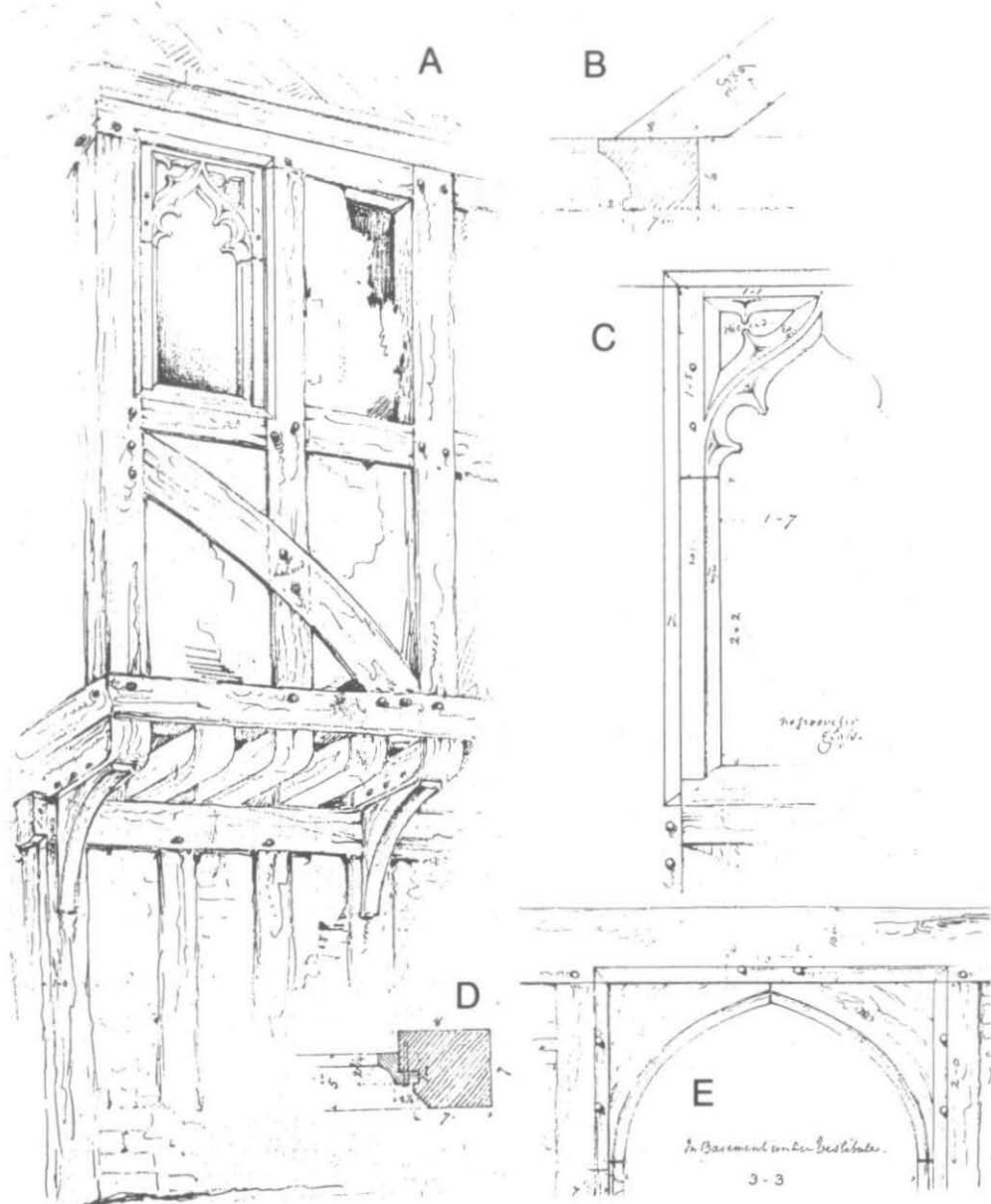


Fig. 17. Gallery, timber details after Buckler: (A) jetty and window; (B) wall-plate; (C-D) window; (E) door. (British Library).

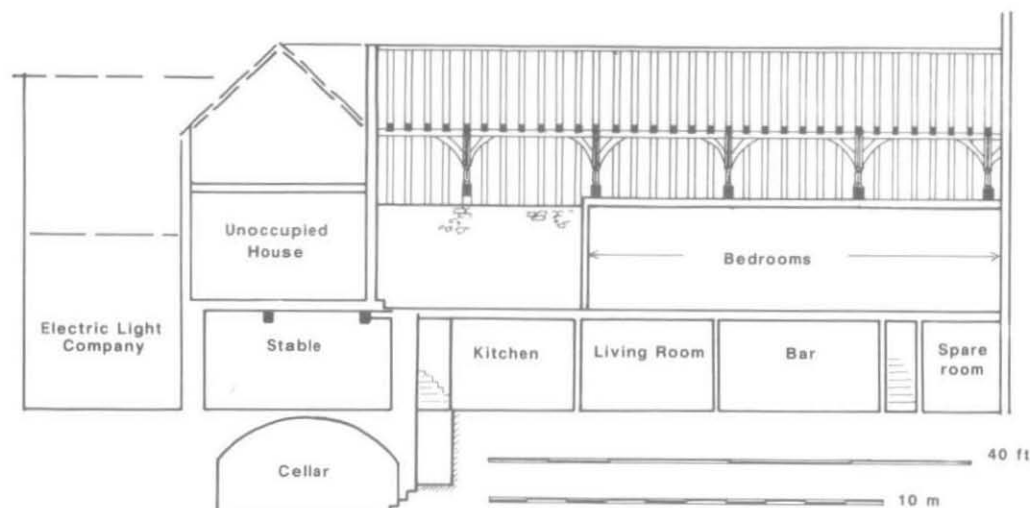


Fig. 18. South range: sectional elevation after 1904 demolition (Allfrey).

roof over two bays at the west end. If the west end was not jettied it might have contained the hall and have been open to the roof from the ground floor, while the rest of the range was probably another large dormitory.

The south range: plan and exterior

No part of this now survives, for the western end was demolished for the new bank building in 1904, and the rest soon afterwards, probably when St. Michael's Chambers was replaced in 1909 and 1911. There are some photographs taken during the works in 1904, and the building was recorded by Allfrey in plan and sections before the rest was demolished.

The south range was connected to the north range by the gallery building at the west end of the courtyard; the nature of the junction to the gallery is unknown. The western end of the south range had a crown-post roof, of which a single truss with a crown-post is shown in photographs taken in 1904 after 24–5 Cornmarket was demolished. The next truss to the east was an open arch-braced truss with side-purlins, i.e. there was no tie-beam and the braces rose to the collar beam (Fig. 19).¹⁰³ This arch-braced roof must have stood at the centre of two bays with side-purlins, and may have been a hall, though it is not clear if it was open to the ground floor. The remaining five bays to the east had a crown-post roof, as surveyed by Allfrey (Fig. 18). The walls to the courtyard were rendered on the first floor, and had sash windows probably of 18th-century date. Below there was brick infilling between the windows of the living room and kitchen, and the bar of the Anchor had a recessed front, which indicates that there was probably a jetty in this part of the range (Fig. 7).¹⁰⁴ The east end of the building was truncated by the construction of a stone/brick building (stable) of indeterminate date, which had a cellar, substantial side walls and stood forward of the rest of the range, though the stone wall continued behind the later construction.

The south range: interior

The section by Allfrey (Fig. 16) shows the south range was of smaller dimensions than the north. As mentioned, there are indications of a jetty in the part with the crown-post roof, but if the western part with the arch-braced roof was not jettied it may have contained the hall, and been open to the roof from the ground floor. The internal arrangements shown on Allfrey's plan (Fig. 7) comprise the apparently modern rooms of the Anchor on the ground floor, that are not aligned with the trusses above. His long section (Fig. 18) has bedrooms in three of the first-floor bays, but the two bays over the kitchen and stairs are shown as open to the crown-post roof, and probably the whole range was so originally. The roof was made to be seen, the

¹⁰³ Bodl. G.A. Oxon a.64, nos. 86 (= Minn Coll. Neg. 4/6 = Fig. 19), 88.

¹⁰⁴ Photographs with Allfrey surveys, Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. a.90; as Bodl. MS Top. Oxon. d.495, f.114.



Fig. 19. *Left*: North range: view of relieving arch in foundation during demolition in 1911. *Right*: South range: view of west end during demolition in 1904, showing arch-braced roof. (Minn, Bodleian Library).

crown-posts having moulded capitals and bases, with curved brackets to the collars and collar-plates. The tie beams were cambered, and the braces to the wallposts were also curved and chamfered; in distinction from the north range, there was only one wall-plate on each side, and the rafters did not have ashlar pieces. No original openings are known, but Buckler's first-floor plan of the whole site indicates several blocked doors and windows towards the east end of the south wall, but without any details;¹⁰⁵ these were not drawn by Allfrey, and may no longer have been visible. Again, there is no information about heating arrangements, but it would seem likely that this range had another long open dormitory room on the first floor.

D. THE STONE WALL

A substantial stone wall crosses the site from south to north, separating the shops on the Cornmarket from the ranges behind (Fig. 20). Several features in the wall suggest that it was older than the inn buildings, and was a relict feature of an earlier house on the site. It was used as a base for the timber framing, and later was much altered by chimney stacks being built against it, and having openings cut through it.

Stone wall: east side

A stone wall over a metre thick stood across the site in coursed rubble, from below the level of the cellars to the second floor level. It was built with courses of large stones at ground level, with a single levelling course of large stones about 3 m. above the ground; the remainder is of finely coursed rubble. Above ground level on the east side it was pointed with masonry lines (only a sample area is shown in figure 20). In the cellar is a door with squared quoins [D6] linking the front and back cellars. The wall is entirely featureless on the ground floor, apart from the insertion of fireplaces [F1-3] and a door [D5] in modern times; the southern end had been cut away [D4] to provide access to the back of the shop, and the opening supported with iron posts. On the first floor were a number of original features which seemed to predate the inn buildings: two windows and a door. The windows were small openings made eastward through the wall; the southern one [W2] with a square frame with a plain chamfer, the northern one [W3] now removed and bricked in, but shown by Buckler (Fig. 20 detail) as having a small trefoil-headed opening.¹⁰⁶ As the windows opened into the north range and gallery respectively from rooms which were connected with the shops and do not seem to have been part of the inn, it would appear that they belong to some previous arrangement, pre-dating the New Inn. Both were blocked, but this need not have occurred before the chimney stacks were built. In the recent works the southern window and adjoining wall were taken down and rebuilt again.

The door [D3] is rather a puzzle, being situated next the southern of the two windows (it has been opened out in the recent works). It was not much of a door, being a plain opening in a patch of secondary stonework, with a simple timber lintel. It must have been blocked when the chimney was inserted in the first-floor room of No. 26, if not before, and may only have been a builders' access formed during construction of the New Inn. It was later replaced by a door [D2] further south, but this truncates one of the chimney flues [F1] from the ground floor, and is likely to be modern.

The top of the wall was levelled to take the wallplates for the second-floor framing of the shops, and was finished with a course of larger stones. This was obscured on the south side where later chimney stacks had been built on it, and a modern stair and door made leading to the top floor of the shops [D1]. The southern chimney stack has not been replaced in the restoration; it was recorded before demolition, and found to be in two phases. The northern part, entirely of stone, served the first-floor fireplace in No. 26; to this had been added the southern part, of stone externally but containing two brick-lined flues, one of which had served the ground-floor fireplace [F1] until truncated by the construction of the door [D2] below. Most of the framing had been removed here, and there was a modern window [W1] on the south. The brick stack of No. 27 was built off the wall and inside the frame, some of the timbers remaining behind it. The chimney of the northern shop was removed in about 1920, and the framing behind it was not uncovered in the recent works.

Stone wall: west side (Fig. 21)

The west side of the wall was largely obscured by plastering and later additions so that no original features were visible. The chimney stacks have already been mentioned and the fireplaces are discussed below.

¹⁰⁵ B.L. MSS Add. 36437, f.106.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* f.114.

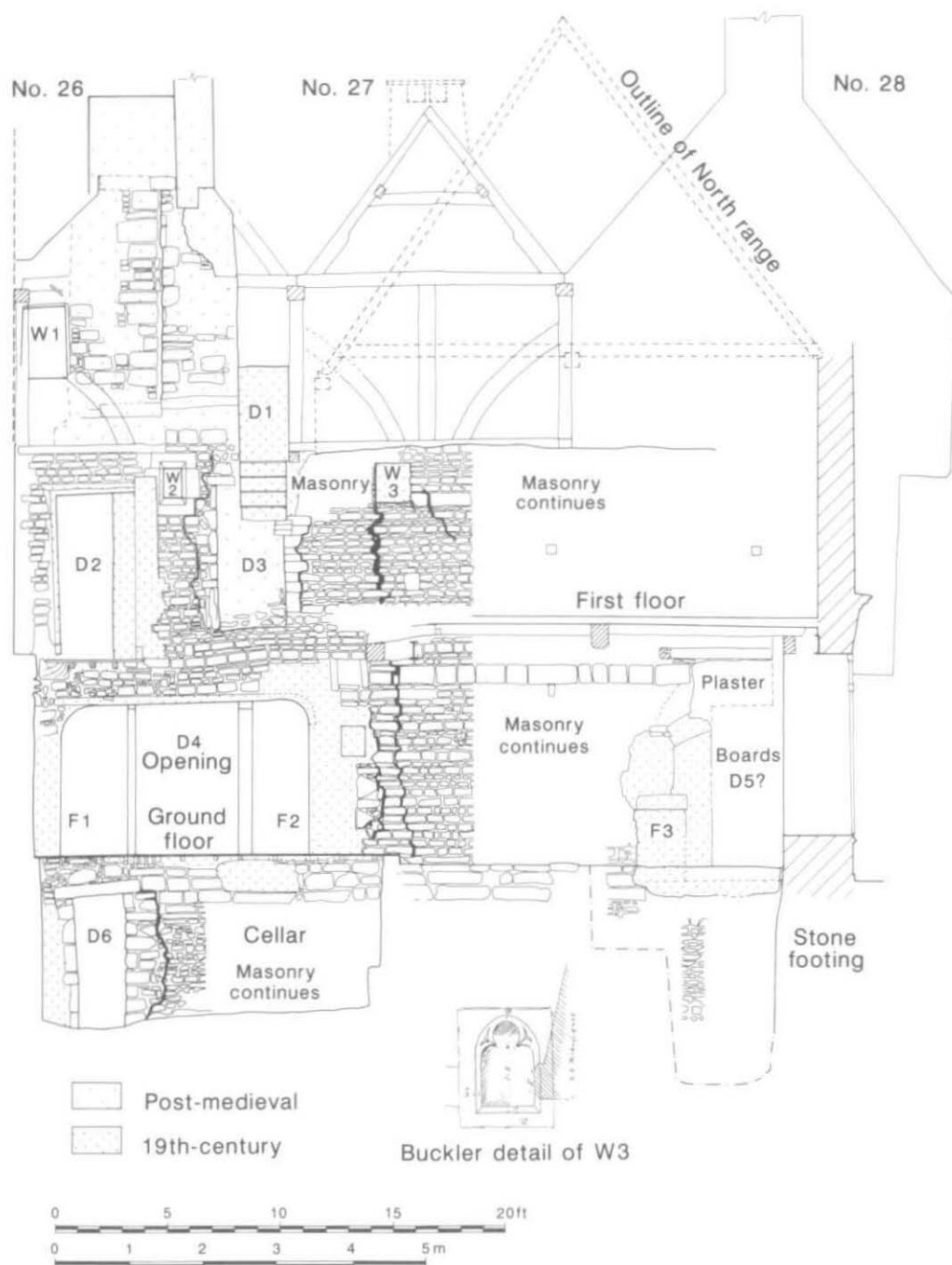


Fig. 20. The New Inn: east elevation of stone wall dividing Cornmarket shops from the inn courtyard, before reconstruction. (OAU).

E. THE CORNMARKEt SHOPS

The original range of five shops on Cornmarket has been reduced to three, but the framing of those three has survived 600 years of alterations and enough remained for the present restoration to have a high degree of certainty, despite its new external appearance (Fig. 27). The shops were originally separate from each other, and each had a first-floor room and attic above, reached by internal stairs; at first there was no provision for heating, though chimney stacks were added in the 16th century. The first floor frontage had continuous fenestration of twenty lights. In most respects the framing is of standard three-storey type, with a jetty both at the front and on the north side, and a dragon-beam at the corner to carry the divergent joists of the two jetties (Fig. 22). The presence of the stone wall at the rear meant that the central part of the frame was the main structural element in its design. One unusual feature is to be found in the doubling of the plates at second-floor level. The roof is of a standard late-medieval type with purlins clasped by collars to the rafters, interestingly distinct from the crown-post roofs employed in the back ranges. Later alterations included the addition of chimney stacks and reordering of the stairs.

1. *The original timber frame*

In the following description, 'first floor' refers to the whole frame at first-floor level, and not the construction of the flooring, unless that is clearly implied.

The cellars (Fig. 13)

The framing of the second and third shops (Nos. 26 & 27) is carried on a prodigious east-west beam below the ground floor, some $15 \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ ins. (38×34 cm.), let into the stone wall at the rear, but also braced to timber posts at front and back. This had failed near the centre, and is now supported on a pillar of concrete, added earlier this century. The ceiling joists forming the ground level flooring run north-south from the great beam; only those in No. 26 survive, and a trimmer in the south-east corner provided for a stair to the cellar. On the street side the cellar was later extended out under the pavement, and it is not apparent what original access there may have been to the street.

The ground floor (Figs. 13, 21)

The framing of the ground floor can be reconstructed from elements present in the three surviving E/W divisions. The frame rises from a joist lying along the great beam and let into the stone wall at the rear. A central post was supported by two tension (i.e. downward) braces, and rises to carry the principal joist at first-floor level. There were probably no intermediate posts, and the front post carried the front wall-plate and a bracket to the jetty. The front wall-plate formed the lintel of the doors to the street and shop windows: from the lengths surviving in Nos. 27 & 28 it would appear that there was a door on the south side of each shop and a wide shop window divided by a central post, with arch-brackets on each side, and a rebate for a shutter for the shop window (Fig. 21).

On the north front only the corner post is visible externally, and this has a moulded capital with arcading below (Fig. 22). The timbers of the side wall are now covered by shop fittings.

The first floor (Figs. 13, 21, 23)

The framing of the first floor is based on the principal transverse joist running through the building from north to south, mortised onto the top of the central post below. It is a substantial member, 13×12 ins. (33×30.5 cm.), and extended for the entire building, though only the length in No. 26 survived; on the division between No. 26 & 27 it was scarfed with a halved and bridled joint (as Fig. 24A). The common floor joists are in two lengths, each tenoned into the central joist with plain soffit tenons; the rear section let into the stone wall and the front section jettied out over the wall-plate below, carrying the bresumer for the front wall (and supported by a bracket at the dividing walls). The majority of original joists survived, though the jettied part of No. 26 had been truncated for the later shopfronts. In the south-east corner of each shop the penultimate joist (or rather its mortice) was absent, indicating the position of the stair, which must have been a single flight, possibly of ladder type.

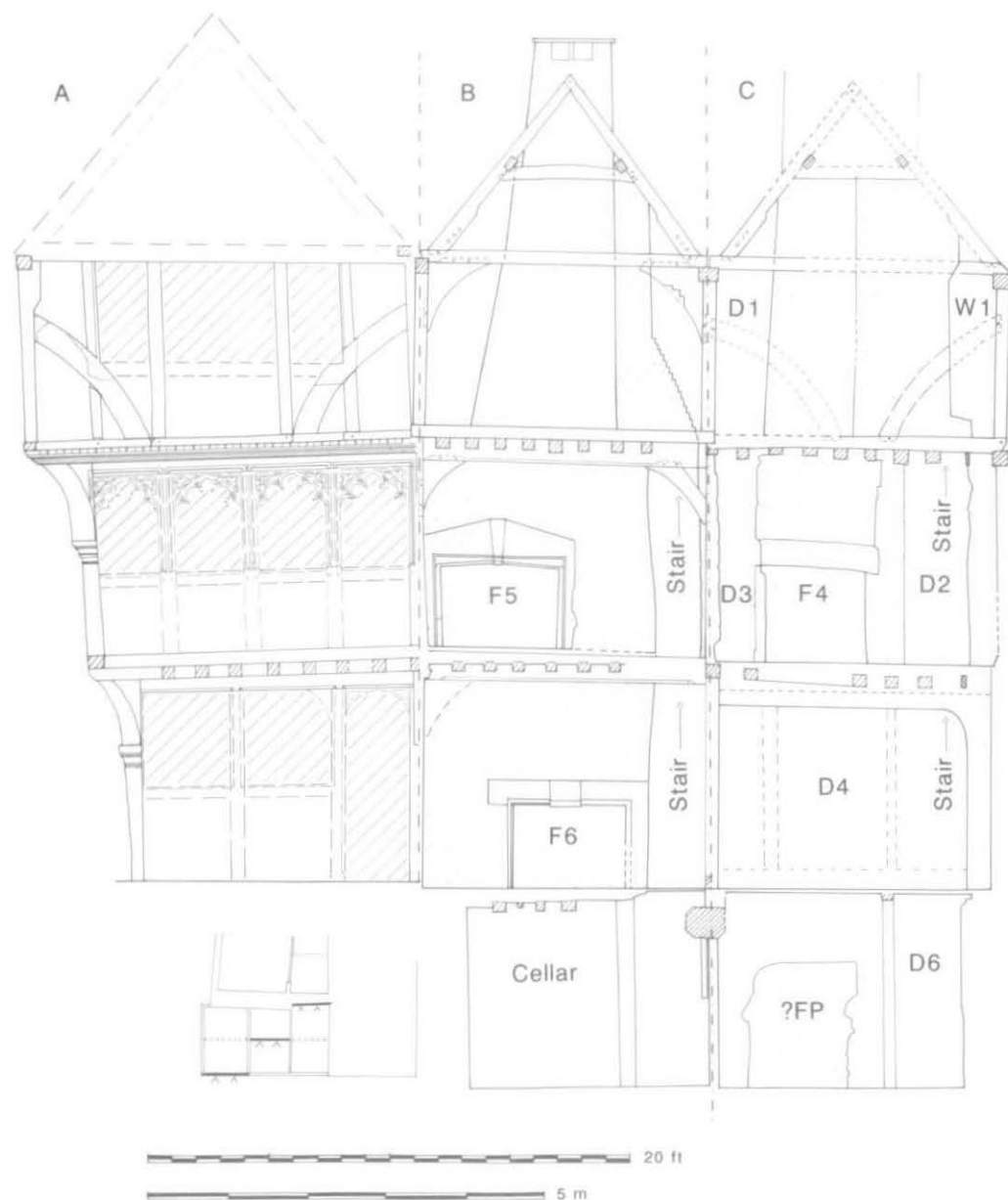


Fig. 21. The New Inn: sectional elevation of Cornmarket front in 1984, from west: (A) No. 28, original framing and reconstruction of first-floor windows and shopfront; (B) No. 27, framing of central wall and post-medieval chimney in rear wall; (C) No. 26, framing in rear wall and post-medieval chimney stacks.

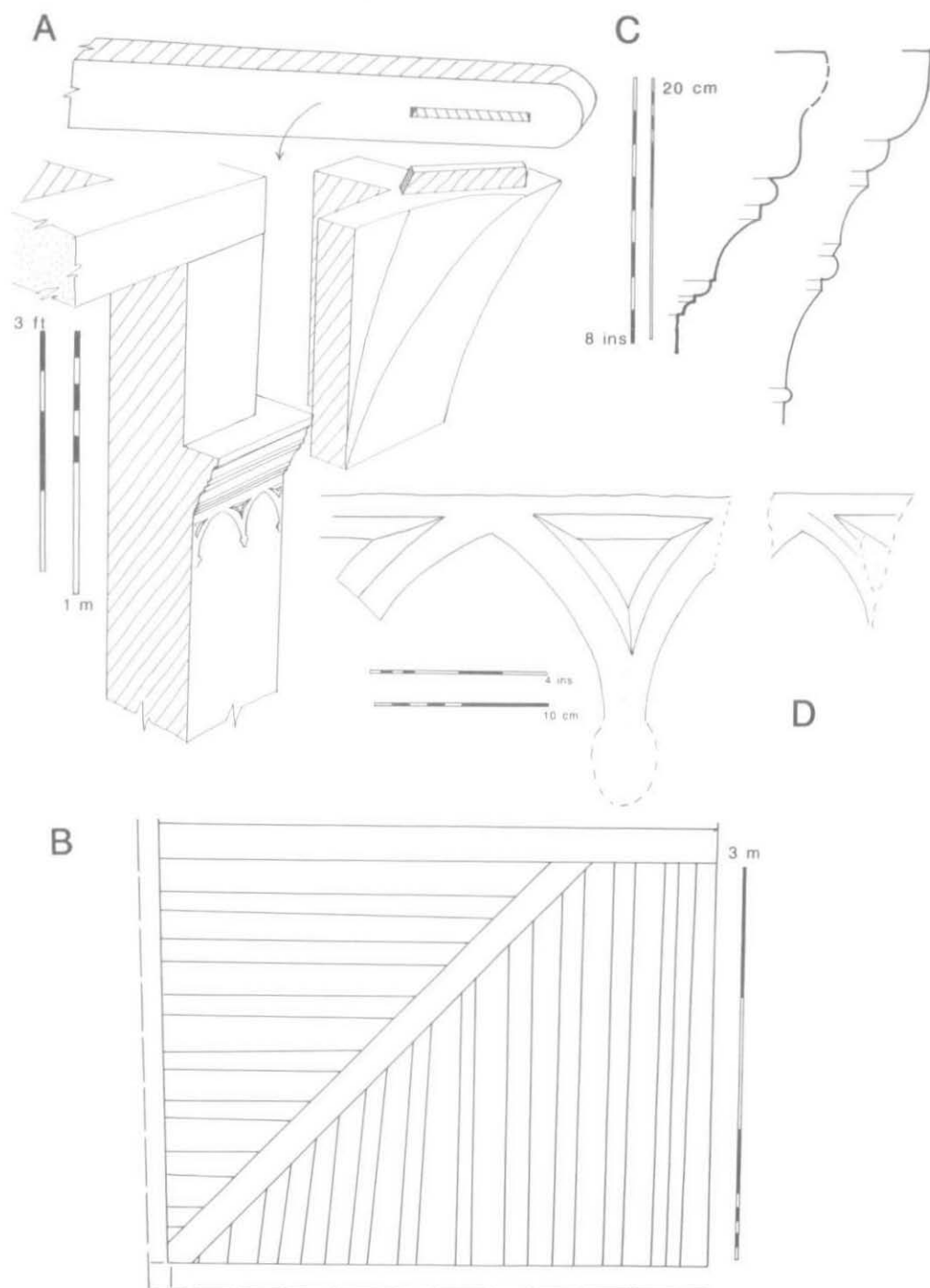


Fig. 22. 28 Cornmarket, details of dragon-beam and posts: (A) post and bracket supporting dragon-beam on ground floor; (B) plan of first-floor ceiling joists; (C) moulding of capitals; (D) decoration below ground-floor capital.

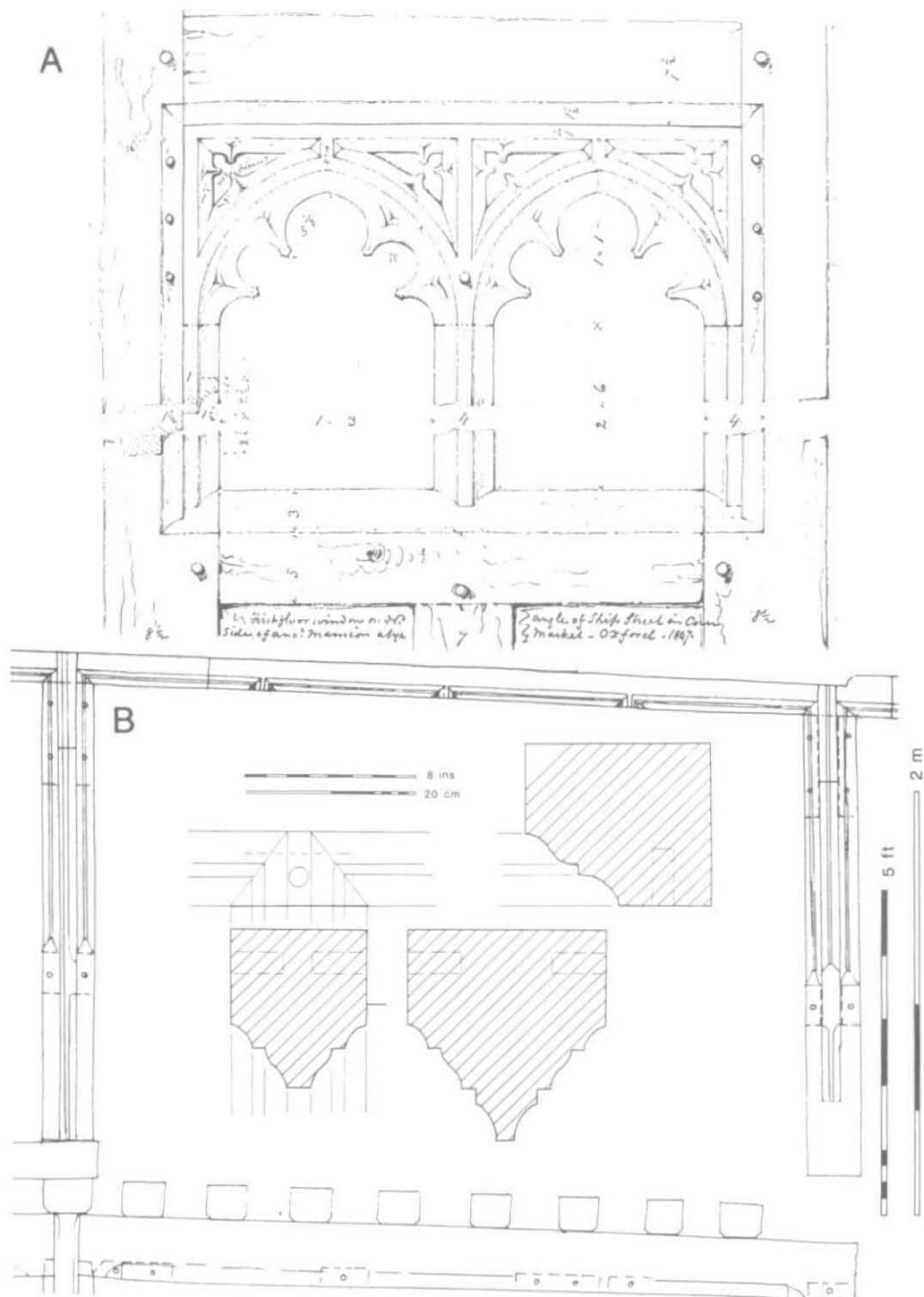


Fig. 23. The New Inn, windows on street front: (A) Buckler drawing of window uncovered on north side in 1847 (British Library); (B) first-floor windows of No. 27 as existing 1984 (Joyce).

The jetty makes the first floor deeper than the ground floor, and the greater length of the party wall framing is reflected in the spacing of the two intermediate posts on either side of the principal post, which being above the post below is necessarily off-centre. As below, there are tension braces to the principal post, and another supporting the front wall.

In each bay the front wall had three intermediate posts making four window openings, their position being indicated by the intermittent mouldings of the wall-plate or lintel (Fig. 23). Parts of two of the intermediate posts survive in No. 26; the window jambs on these and the principal posts are moulded down to the sill level with an ogee and hollow, like the lintel. No original sills survive, and they have been restored with a plain chamfer but may originally have been moulded. The original number of window openings has now been restored in Nos. 26 and 27, but in the corner shop this arrangement has been obscured by Rayson's insertion of a square bay window to give support for the upper floor. As first built, the appearance of a continuous row of twenty windows on the first floor must have been a quite striking display of opulence that marked this as no ordinary building, though it cannot be certain whether the windows were glazed or merely shuttered.

In the north wall the original framing is complete (Fig. 9), and consists of seven evenly spaced wall-posts, with two window openings, one forward and two rearward tension braces. The corner post for the dragon beam has a moulded cap (Fig. 22) and carries the usual large protruding bracket overhanging the corner. Buckler's 1821 view of the building has been altered to show a window in the eastern half of the wall 'discovered 1847' (Fig. 4). This must be the same one shown in another drawing dated 1847 with two trefoiled heads and spandrels (Fig. 23) which, in simplified form, has now been used as the basis for reconstructing the windows on the Cornmarket frontage.¹⁰⁷ There is a slight problem with this drawing in that the dimensions of the window do not appear to fit any existing opening exactly, and it calls for a stud below the sill: the width between jambs of 3 ft. 3 ins. (99 cm.) is at least 8 in. wider than either of the existing openings, though the overall proportions are not greatly dissimilar. Unless the spacing of the wall posts has been altered, it is possible that the dimensions of the window were estimated by Buckler rather than being measured.

The second floor (Figs. 13, 21)

A similar construction is used for the second floor as had been used below, with another transverse principal floor joist running north-south through the building, but here chamfered, and scarfed over the partition walls with a trait-de-jupiter joint (Fig. 24C), and supported by pairs of short curved braces.¹⁰⁸ Again, the common joists are in two lengths, and tenoned into the principal; the rear joists pass into the upper course of the stone wall, while the front joists jettied out with a moulded bressumer tenoned into their ends to carry the front wall above (Fig. 24D).¹⁰⁹ As in the floor below, the south-east corner of Nos. 26 and 27 had a gap in the floor joists for a stair.

Above floor level there is a departure from the expected construction practice, in that the framing of the attic storey is based on a second set of wall-plates resting on top of the floor joists. These plates carried a second bressumer at the jetty, a plain one resting on the moulded one already described, while at the rear they pass over the top of the stone wall to meet the wall-plate carrying the posts of the rear wall. The reason for this doubling is not entirely clear. Since the roof is shown by dendrochronology to be the original one (see below in part VII) the attic storey cannot be a later replacement, and it is unlikely that the roof was raised by the insertion of the second floor, even as a change of plan during construction. There is, however, no doubling of joists and plate in the south wall of No. 26, which suggests that the purpose may have been to level up the walls in the first two bays. But it may simply be that this was felt to be the most secure way of building the top floor, where there was a timber rather than stone rear wall, and the overall depth of the frame was greater than below.

At this stage the framing is linked with the roof design, and the three principal posts occur beneath the tie beams of the roof trusses, so the central post stands further forward than those below. The bracing to the central post and front wall is the same as the first floor. Both the lower and upper plates are in two lengths joined with a halved and bridled scarf joint (Fig. 24A). On the front wall no original timbers remained except the front posts of the partition walls, but the Buckler view of the building (Fig. 4) was emended in 1856 when the front of No. 26 was uncovered. There was one small central window flanked by two posts, and two other posts with tension braces passing in front of them; the braces have been restored, but the new windows are much wider, matching Rayson's bay with side lights in No. 28.

The north wall has its complete original framing (Fig. 9): five posts with a window on either side of the central post, and symmetrical pairs of tension braces rising on either side of the first and fifth posts. The central windows are original, having a chamfered lintel, but another window further east is a later insertion, lacking a chamfer and being flanked by modern timbers (though Buckler does show a small window in this position).

¹⁰⁷ B.L. MSS Add. 36437, f.119.

¹⁰⁸ One of the braces is in the Museum of Oxford.

¹⁰⁹ A section of the moulded bressumer is in the Museum of Oxford.

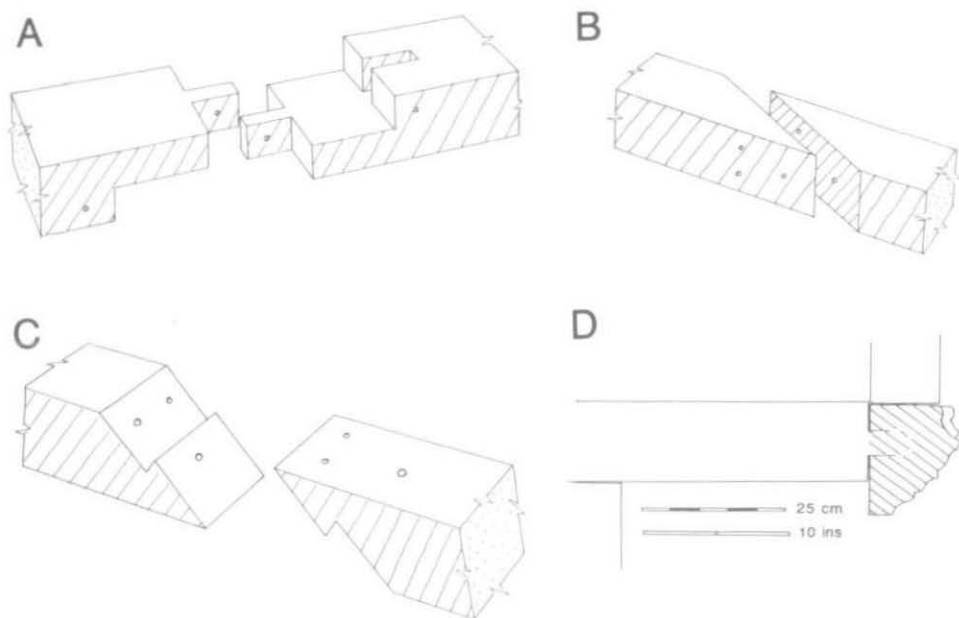


Fig. 24. The New Inn, timber details of Cornmarket front: (A) scarf joint of second-floor wallplate; (B) scarf joint of purlin; (C) scarf joint of first-floor joist; (D) detail of second-floor jetty.

The roof

Each of the shops was separately roofed, so that a row of gable ends faced onto Cornmarket; none of these survived complete, so the form of the gable must be conjectural. In 1821, when they were still entire, Buckler shows the purlins protruding as if to carry bargeboards, and faint traces of a collar beam, but no more (Fig. 4). Each roof had three principal trusses of clasped-purlin type, with tie-beams dovetailed to the wall-plates, and the principal rafter and the collar beam trapping the two side purlins (Figs. 13, 20, 21). This inner structure supports the common rafters that rest on the purlins (seven couples in each bay). The purlins run lengthways down the roof, and are in two lengths joined at the central truss with a splayed scarf (Fig. 24B); they are also strengthened by windbraces rising from the principal rafters. These principals are diminished, having a lower end of greater breadth to carry the windbraces, but narrowing above this point.

2. Later additions

The chimneys, stairs and windows in the building were all subject to repeated changes in the post-medieval period, from which it is no longer possible to give an account of the development of each part as the original inn was sub-divided. The sequence of later alterations was somewhat obscured by the amount of rebuilding (especially in No. 27), while No. 28 had been extensively refitted in the course of Rayson's rebuilding. When first investigated, the premises contained the shelves and storage for the clothing business of Zacharias's, and a number of modern stairs and doors. The amount of visible medieval framing varied between the rooms. Most of the ground floor (except for ceiling beams) was covered over for shop fittings. Above, the first and second-floor rooms in No. 27 had most of their medieval framing revealed (together with the fireplaces), but the southern rooms had not been uncovered. Thus it would appear that No. 27 had been purposely opened to display in the 19th century, but No. 26 had been left untouched; thus more original features were left to be discovered in No. 26.

Chimney stacks (Figs. 20, 21)

There was no sign of any arrangement for heating in the front part of the original building, though Nos. 26 and 27 had chimney stacks built inside the rear wall in the 16th or 17th century. The stack in No. 26 has been described above, and had no surviving fireplaces. That in No. 27 is of brick, with plainly moulded stone fire surrounds on the ground and first floors; it had been built within the timber framing. The stack, which probably dates to c.1600, was demolished and rebuilt in 1986, reusing the old bricks and stonework. In No. 26 a pair of stone stacks had been built against the stone wall, blocking the earlier door and window in the wall, as described above. The northern one was built first, and served the fireplace on the first floor, but no original surrounds survived in No. 26.

Stairs

No trace remained of any original stairs, apart from gaps in the floor joists already mentioned. On the south wall of No. 26 there were fragmentary traces of a stencilled decoration, which seemed to follow the diagonal course of a rising stair on the first floor, suggesting that the stair had continued to follow the line of the earlier stair (see below in part VI). The re-arrangement of Nos. 26-7 for shop fittings had removed any trace of stair joinery earlier than the 19th century. The stairs of that date consisted of one rising on the south wall of No. 26 to the gallery, where a pair of stairs led out to the room over the courtyard and back to the top floor of the shop; these have all been removed. The proposed rearrangement of No. 28 in 1920, in turn swept away in the 1950s, is recorded in the application drawings.¹¹⁰

Windows

Early views of the Cornmarket front show bay windows on the first floor with arched central lights (Fig. 4), that is 'Ipswich windows' of late 17th-century type. In the course of the 19th century these were removed when a new front was dropped from the top floor, obscuring the jetty and removing most of the original front walls. They were replaced by plain sashes in No. 26 (perhaps the occasion for Buckler's drawing in 1856) and the large display windows were added in 1894 to No. 27, but the remnants of one of the previous windows had survived on the first floor of No. 26, boxed in when the front of the building had been moved out. It was the side light of a square-profiled bay, did not appear to be of any great antiquity, probably of 19th-century date, and has now been removed.

VI. WALL PAINTINGS AND DECORATIONS. By MARTIN HENIG*The Wall-painting*

The north wall of the first floor room of No. 26 retained traces of a wall-painting, preserved under several layers of whitewash above which again was an early 19th-century paper of elaborate floral design. On the south wall a plain paper overlay the same paper, both hung on newspaper (dated 1823) and hessian, tacked to the beams. The painting was initially revealed by the investigators using spatulas to ease off the whitewash, and when sufficient had been revealed to demonstrate its extent and interest, the painting was cleaned, removed from the wall and remounted by Mr Ahmed Shistawi of the Oxfordshire Museum Service and his assistants. The painting now comprises part of the permanent collection of the museum service (Inv. no. 1985.161.2).

The painting represented panelling (Fig. 25). Although only a relatively small section remained in good enough condition to be lifted (86 cm. high by 82 cm. wide), one complete and parts of seven other panels survived. The panels are separated from one another by imitation styles rendered in a rich brownish red, and terminating in mitred corners. Small black circles in the resultant triangles imitate the peg holes in real panelling.

The panels each contain a strapwork cartouche executed in black, brown, grey and

¹¹⁰ C.O.S., City Engineer's plan No. 2558 (NS).

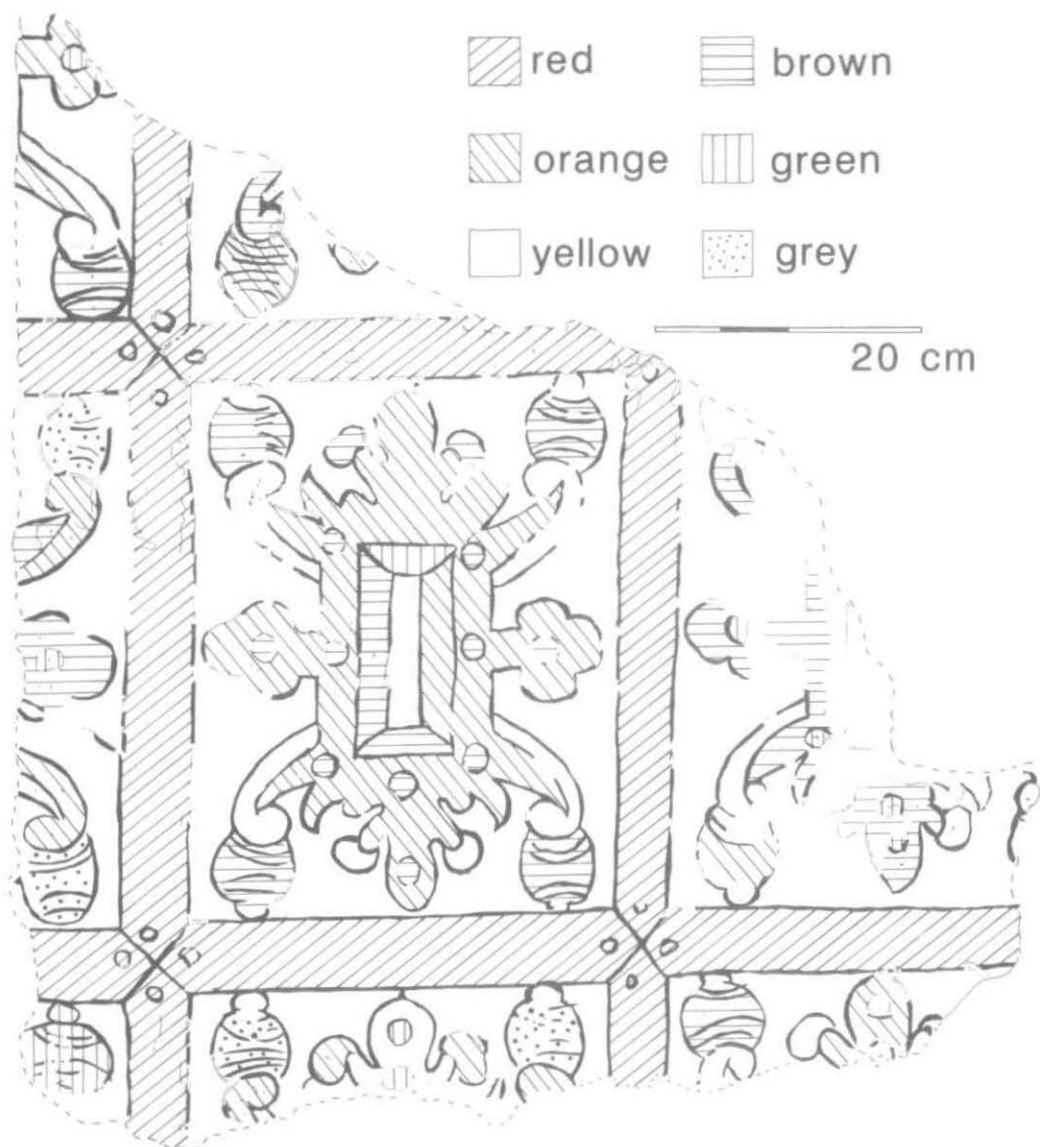


Fig. 25. No. 26 Cornmarket: 17th-century wall painting.

dark green on a beige ground; in some instances the colours may well have changed over the centuries. The basic design in each case is a rectangle imitative of a table-cut boss in relief set in a surrounding frame with trilobate cross-pieces on each side and a more complex cresting at top and bottom. Each corner supports a scroll with a barrel-like terminal upon it. As with the styles, black circles on the sides and ends of the frame, the cross-pieces and the crests give the illusion of pegs, or perhaps studs, to fasten it to its background.

Such imitation panel schemes are stated by Reader to comprise one of the commonest classes of painting and he illustrates a number mainly from the south eastern part of England.¹¹¹ Of particular note for us is the scheme from the Crown Inn at Hockerill, Essex, with the same pegged styles, and Bennett's Castle Farm, Dagenham which seems to have table-cut insets in the strapwork cartouches, and is conveniently dated 1618.¹¹² In its Oxford context the painting does not stand alone for an example carefully recorded in colour by Herbert Hurst from 59–61 Cornmarket (Falkner's shop, formerly the Crown Inn, demolished in 1890) was very nearly identical, differing mainly in that the top and bottom crestings of the cartouches were provided with brackets. The imitation styles of the panels are treated in exactly the same way.¹¹³ A similar cartouche painting was recorded by H.W. Drinkwater in a house on the site of Balliol College, though this differs in detail from the Cornmarket examples.¹¹⁴ Actual examples of painted panelling are known from Oxford, notably at 3 Cornmarket, where panels now mainly reset in the room next to the 'Painted Room' come from the demolished south wing, where they overlay a wall-painting dated between 1564 and 1581; one example is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹¹⁵ The panels are painted with flower motifs in red and green, set within strapwork frames. In Oxford too are the painted heraldic ceilings in the Bodleian Library and the Old Library at Christ Church, dated between 1598 and 1619, which demonstrate that in higher social circles one of the purposes of such strapwork was to embellish armorial shields.¹¹⁶

Strapwork was very much part of the visual ornament of mannerism. It is found on engraved plates, which more often than not provided inspiration, in jewellery and upon stone monuments as well as wall-paintings.¹¹⁷ The Zacharias painting can be regarded as portraying framed table-cut gems. Paintings elsewhere depict diamond-shaped or cabochon studs in similar framing.¹¹⁸ The colours and forms of jewellery were carried over into marble inlay upon walls and monuments, a typical renaissance conceit which

¹¹¹ F.W. Reader, 'A Classification of Tudor domestic wall paintings, part I', *Archaeol. Jnl.* xcvi (1941), 202–11.

¹¹² *Ibid.* pls. xiv.5 and xiii.1.

¹¹³ Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. c.312, f.41.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* f.45.

¹¹⁵ E.T. Leeds, 'A second Elizabethan mural painting at No. 3 Cornmarket', *Oxonienia*, i (1936), 146.

¹¹⁶ J.N.L. Myres and E. Clive Rouse, 'Further notes on the painted frieze and other discoveries in the Upper Reading Room and the Tower Room', *Bodleian Library Record* v.6 (Oct 1956), 303–8; E. Clive Rouse, 'The Painted Roof of the Old Library at Christ Church', *Oxonienia*, xxvi/xxvii (1961/2), 219–28, col. frontispiece and pls. xiv–xxiii.

¹¹⁷ See for example Reader (as note 111), 206; M. Corbett and R.W. Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece. The emblematic Title-page in England 1550–1660* (1979), no. 2 (Sidney's *Arcadia* of 1593) to 13 (Drayton's *Poly-obion* of 1622); N. Nicholson, *The counties of Britain. A Tudor Atlas by John Speed* (1988), 145–8 for Speed's map of Oxfordshire. For jewellery see V. & A. exhibition catalogue, *Princely Magnificence. Court Jewels of the Renaissance, 1550–1630* (1980), *passim*, and especially no. 26, a pendant within a figured cartouche containing an emerald in a rectangular frame and traditionally associated with Marie de Médicis, the English Drake Jewel, no. 40, jewelled strapwork with an oval sardonyx cameo, and Etienne Delaune's design for a belt with jewels in frames surrounded by strapwork, no. G25; A. White, 'Westminster Abbey in the early seventeenth century: a powerhouse of ideas', *Church Monuments*, iv (1989), 16–53, e.g. figs. 3 (Anne, Duchess of Somerset) and 30 (Thomas Owen) for strapwork cartouches.

¹¹⁸ Reader (as note 111), pl. xiii.1 from Bennett's Castle Farm, Dagenham and 2 from Stratford St. Mary, Suffolk seem to show table cuts; pl. xii.1 & 2 for oval cabochons in cartouches on paintings from Heston, Middlesex and Wendover, Bucks; pl. xii.3 and 6, pl. xiii.5 and pl. xiv.1 for paintings from Canterbury, Chalfont St Peter, Ipswich and a door in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

probably deliberately follows the example of *opus sectile* of Roman antiquity.¹¹⁹ The shading of the top of the central rectangle of our painting hints that the central device on the painting is conceived as a great marble 'jewel', though this is less clear than it is with the imitation veined marble panels in the centre of the strapwork cartouches from a room on the first floor of the Crown Hotel, Amersham.¹²⁰

Although not precisely dated the comparanda cited above suggest a date for the painting in the first two decades of the 17th century, and probably in the reign of James I rather than before.

Stencils and other painting

A fragmentary stencil decoration of green leaves and darker green twisted stems was found in the south wall of the building, at the back of the first floor of No. 26, on plaster applied to the original timber framing, and on the reveal of the door cut through the stone wall at the back. The decoration had evidently been applied to the side of a stair, as the plain green dado rose at an angle, and traces of the same design were found at a low level in the room above. The second floor room had a section of similar painting surviving between two timber posts. This and a sample of the other were removed for conservation.

While stencilling does indeed go back to the 17th century, the style of the design here looks 18th-century, probably relatively early in the century, and is somewhat comparable with the decoration from No. 5 Market Hill, Saffron Walden.¹²¹

One further decorated area was the ceiling inserted at collar level in the second floor of No. 26, which had been painted with a dark orange 'ruddle', probably of post-medieval date. On the exterior of the building, traces of red wash are still to be seen on the ground-floor dragon post of the original frame at the corner of Ship Street and Cornmarket. This may well be primary, providing valuable evidence of how exterior woodwork was treated in the later Middle Ages.

A note on conservation of the painting, by Christiane Jeuckens

The Conservation Department of the Oxfordshire Museum Service was requested to recover the wall-paintings from the site in the spring of 1985, since they were on a wall that was being rebuilt. The aim was to stabilise, lift and remount the paintings for future display. The work was carried out by Ahmed Shistawi, Menaka Vachet-Beeston, Wendy Hillman and Christiane Jeuckens.

Remains of wallpaper, size and whitewash were painstakingly removed with scalpels to expose the painted surface. The condition of the paintings was good, the existing

¹¹⁹ See White (as note 117) for monuments in an ecclesiastical setting, but the effect was also found in domestic contexts, cf. M. Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House* (2nd edn, 1983), pls. 84 for one of the Long Gallery chimney pieces at Hardwick, col. pl. XIII for the chimney piece in the Chamber of the Little Castle at Bolsover, also pls. 149–56; Serlio was evidently a source and the use of coloured marbles is ultimately Mediterranean.

¹²⁰ Reader (as note 111), pl. xii.4, and idem, 'Tudor mural paintings in the lesser houses in Bucks', *Archaeol. Jnl.* lxxxix (1932), 132–4.

¹²¹ Reader, 'The use of the stencil in mural decoration', *Archaeol. Jnl.* xcv (1938), 112–25, esp. pp. 119–20 pl. vii.A.

pigment adhered well to the base paint and areas of loss or damage were few. It was therefore decided to remove the paintings by the 'strappo' method, lifting the paint layers only, leaving the wallplaster behind.

The cleaned painted surface was consolidated with an acrylic resin (Paraloid B72®) in industrial methylated spirit. Non-woven polyethylene tissue was applied with polyvinyl acetate emulsion (Vinamul 6858®) to fragile areas. Two further layers of washed butter muslin and a final layer of canvas were applied in the same way to the whole of the painted area. When each layer had dried in turn the painting was ready to be gently pulled away, the painted surface adhering to the facing cloth leaving only the wallplaster behind.

In the laboratory the paintings were temporarily mounted face down on wooden boards, before a new backing support could be created. All traces of wallplaster were removed from the back of the base paint layer. Two coats of an acrylic resin paste (Elvacite® and marble powder) create a reversible layer which allows the painting and the final layer of polyester resin reinforced with glass fibre matting to be separated in the future. A jointed wooden frame was fixed with glass fibre matting and polyester resin to allow safe handling and future mounting. The canvas and muslin layers were then carefully removed with a solvent (IMS); the exposed painted surface was further swabbed with methylated spirit to remove excess consolidant and reduce its shiny appearance.

VII. DENDROCHRONOLOGY. By D. HADDON-REECE

Summary

A representative group of samples was collected for tree-ring dating from all parts of the building, and most were dated with a high degree of certainty by cross-matching with reference curves from other parts of England. Four felling dates were provided, by samples with the full sapwood complement to the bark edge. Three were dated to winter 1381-2, from both parts of the building, and one rafter from the Cornmarket shops dated to winter 1386-7. The discrepancy with the documentary date of building raises the question of whether part-seasoned timber was used.

Twenty five samples were collected as slices sawn from timber off-cuts at Groves' yard at Milton under Wychwood and were taken for dating analysis to the Ancient Monuments Laboratory of English Heritage, where the writer then worked. All samples were of Oak, *Quercus* sp. The aim was both to date the front and rear portions of the building. It was also hoped that the data would add to the Oxford mean chronology being compiled by the writer on the basis of the late Dr. John Fletcher's work on Oxfordshire buildings and recent sampling in the area.¹²²

The samples were belt-sanded through a range of grits from 60 to 1200 until sufficiently well polished for measurement of the ring-widths on a travelling stage under a microscope with x30 magnification. This system displays measurements electronically to a precision of 0.01 mm, and these are then manually recorded. The ring-width series ('curves') were then compared both *visually* as graphs of ring-width against serial year on semi-transparent graph paper, and *numerically* using the CROS computer program of Baillie and Pilcher.¹²³ This program slides a pair of curves past each other, calculating at every position of overlap the product-moment correlation coefficient, *r*. The statistical significance of each *r*-value is assessed with Student's *t*: *t*-values of *t*=3.5 or greater are expected to have arisen by chance alone less than 1 in 1000 times and are deemed highly significant. The visual similarity at every position giving such values is then also carefully

¹²² D. Haddon-Reece, D.W.H. Miles and J.T. Munby, forthcoming in *Oxoniensia*.

¹²³ M.G.L. Baillie and J.R. Pilcher, 'A simple cross-dating program for tree-ring research', *Tree-ring Bulletin*, 33 (1973), 7-14.

checked. ('Student' was W.S. Gosset, who devised the *t*-test in 1908 but was obliged by his employers to publish pseudonymously.)

Initial comparisons (not included here) showed significant and acceptable agreement between many of the samples. The curves were combined as 'sub-master' curves in the categories of joist, jetty and rafter, the last representing the Cornmarket Street element. In general, the sub-masters cross-matched acceptably (see table VII.1) and were averaged to make a site master curve. The apparently poor matching of the rafters against the jetties and the post is offset by their strong correspondence with the joists both statistically and visually. The site master curve was then compared with a large number (over 100) of previously dated standard reference curves.

Of the 25 samples taken (see table VII.2) two had too few rings for analysis, and five (one, No. XVI, with complete sapwood) could not be dated despite comparison with individuals, sub-masters, site master and reference chronologies. The remainder could be dated: eleven had sapwood, including four with the full sapwood complement to the bark edge, hence yielding felling dates. In the winter months of AD 1381-2, three timbers were felled - a joist and a rafter from the Cornmarket side and a Ship Street jetty joist - while one Cornmarket rafter was taken from a tree felled in the winter of AD 1386/7. It should perhaps be explained that this calendrical imprecision is because the oak's growth halts between about October and the following March. As can be seen from Figure 26 the undated timbers have estimated felling date-ranges which cover either or both dates.

Table VII.3 gives an abbreviated list of *t*-values for the cross-matching of the overall site master at AD 1386. The match with Reading Abbey waterfront is especially high (and that of jetty bracket XVII with it is even higher - $t = 10.5$). This may indicate a common source for the timbers for Reading Abbey Waterfront and Zacharias but since both are in towns served by the river Thames that source may not be local. In any event, the cross-match is sufficiently well replicated over an extensive array of reference curves for a secure determination of the date.

The writer is grateful to Mr. D.W.H. Miles for practical assistance. The results given here have previously been listed in *Vernacular Architecture*.¹²⁴

Discussion [J.M.]

There can be little doubt that both parts of the building are contemporary, which is of interest given their physical separation and the different detailing of the carpentry in each part. The actual date of construction is rather less certain. Three samples give a felling date of winter 1381-2, i.e. some time before the documented purchase of land in Ship Street in March 1386, but one rafter is of winter 1386-7. Medieval building timber was often felled shortly before use, so that it could be worked while 'green', but seasoning is not unknown; the usual method of prefabrication meant that there might be some delay between working the timber and its actual raising.¹²⁵ Oxford building accounts confirm that timber was brought to the site soon after being felled, and there can have been no great delay before it was worked.¹²⁶ Timber for the New College Bell Tower was felled and used in 1396,¹²⁷ at All Souls College timber was felled from 1438 and the buildings were partly occupied in 1442,¹²⁸ and at Cardinal College (Christ Church) timber was selected, felled, and carted in 1525 and the college was in part ready for occupation by December 1526.¹²⁹

It is of course possible that the building of the New Inn commenced in advance of legal clearance (perhaps off-site in the carpenter's framing yard), or was in fact carried out under an existing lease, renewed during completion of the building. It is perhaps more likely that work commenced some time in 1382 than that the whole operation started in 1386 with part-seasoned timber, but the question must remain open. It is perhaps significant that the one timber dated to 1386-7 is a rafter, and so could have been one of the last pieces to be put in place.

¹²⁴ D. Haddon-Reece, D.W.H. Miles and J.T. Munby, 'Tree-ring Dating List 23', *Vernacular Architecture*, 19 (1988), 43-4.

¹²⁵ J.T. Munby, 'Wood', in J. Blair and N. Ramsay (eds.), *English Medieval Industries* (1991), 382; L.F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (2nd edn., 1967), 237.

¹²⁶ See in general E.A. Gee, 'Oxford Carpenters, 1370-1530', *Oxoniensia*, xvii/xviii (1952-3), 112-84.

¹²⁷ J.E. Thorold Rogers, *Oxford City Documents 1268-1665* (O.H.S. xviii, 1891), 306-14.

¹²⁸ E.F. Jacob 'The Building of All Souls College 1438-43', in J.G. Edwards, V.H. Galbraith, E.F. Jacob, *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait* (1933), 121-35.

¹²⁹ J.G. Milne and J.H. Harvey, 'The Building of Cardinal College', *Oxoniensia*, viii-ix (1943-44), 137-53.

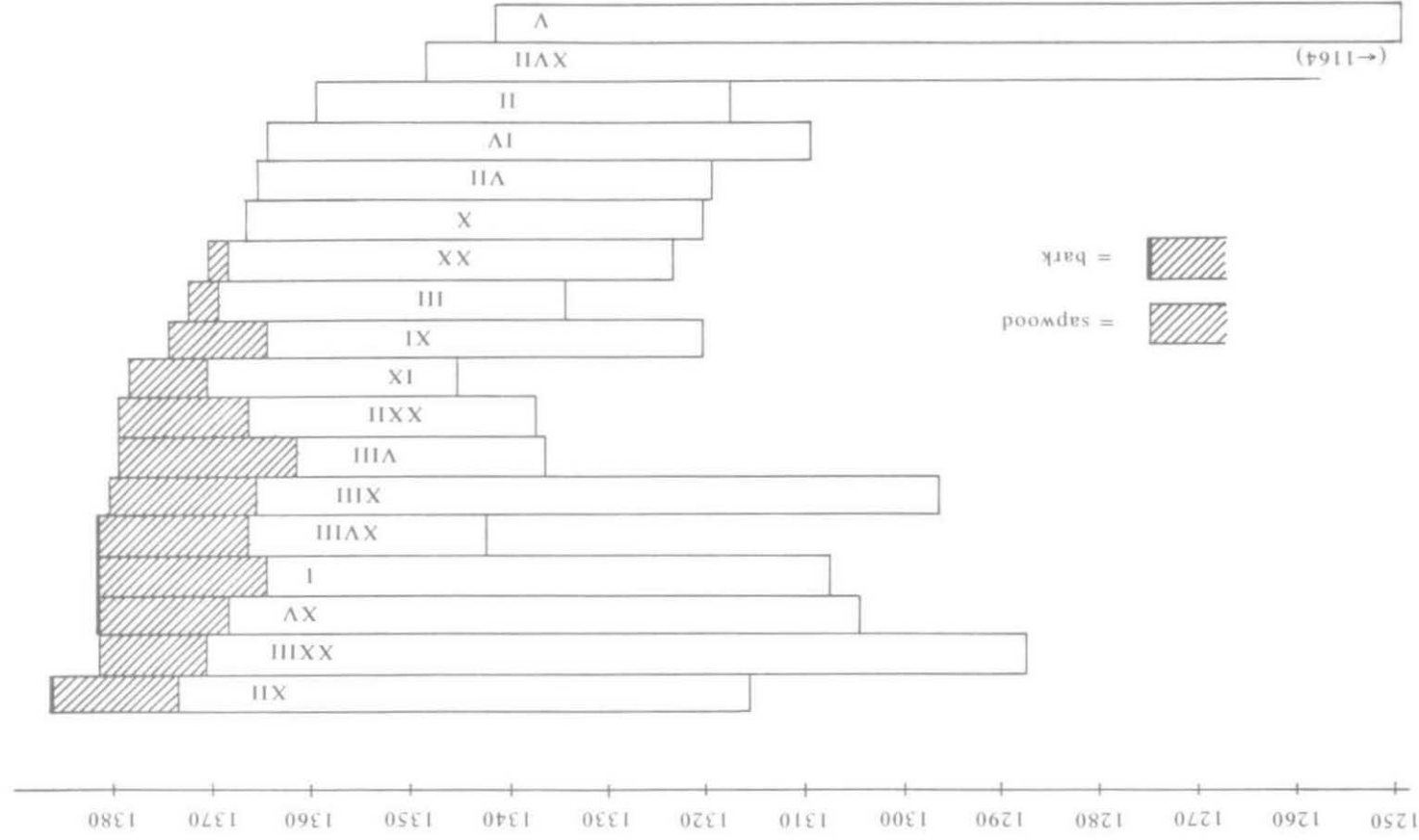


TABLE VII.1: CROSS-MATCHING AND T-VALUES

	<i>Cornmarket samples</i>		
	joists	rafters	post V
<i>Ship Street jetties</i>	5.97	1.33	3.72
<i>Cornmarket joists</i>	—	4.76	4.99
<i>Cornmarket rafters</i>	—	—	1.74

TABLE VII.2: MEASURED SAMPLES FROM ZACHARIAS

<i>Timber</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>A.M. Lab no.</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date range</i>
THE CORNMARKEt SHOPS				
Post	V	871399	1F main post	AD1250-1341
Joists	I	871396	1F principal	AD1308-1381*
	II	871379	1F joist	AD1318-1359
	III	871382	1F joist	AD1335-1373
	IV	871401	?F joist	AD1311-1364
	VII	871395	?F joist	AD1320-1365
	VIII	871394	1F joist	AD1337-1379
	IX	871391	?F joist	AD1346-1378
	X	871387	?F joist	AD1321-1366
			<i>Mean for joists:</i>	AD1308-1381
Rafters	XI	871400	rafter	AD1321-1374
	XII	871384	rafter	AD1316-1386*
	XIII	871404	rafter	AD1297-1380
	XV	871403	rafter	AD1305-1381*
			<i>Mean for rafters:</i>	AD1297-1386
Undated	VI	871386	2F principal joist	(78 rings)
	XIV	871381	purlin	(38 rings)
	XVI	871385	wall-plate	(75 rings)
THE SHIP STREET NORTH RANGE				
Jetty	XVII	871390	jetty bracket	AD1164-1348
	XVIII	871388	jetty joist	AD1343-1381*
	XX	871402	jetty joist	AD1324-1370
	XXII	871392	jetty joist	AD1338-1379
	XXIII	871397	jetty joist	AD1288-1381
			<i>Mean for jetties:</i>	AD1164-1381
Undated	XIX	871398	jetty joist	(<30 rings)
	XXI	871393	jetty joist	(39 rings)
	XXIV	871389	jetty joist	(28 rings)
THE GALLERY				
Undated	XXV	871383	'vestibule'	(39 rings)

Initial site sample numbers are given as well as the final Laboratory ones; IF = first floor; * = complete sapwood (bark edge present) - uncertain for sample XXIII.

TABLE VII.3: CROSS-MATCHING OF ZACHARIAS SITE MASTER CURVE

<i>Reference Curve</i>	<i>t-values</i>
Nantwich (Leggett)	3.5
Tiverton Castle (Haddon-Reece)	4.1
St Cuthbert's Wick (Bridge)	4.2
Ref 7/5 (Fletcher)	4.9
Exeter Cathedral (Mills)	5.5
Droitwich (Hillam)	5.5
Yorkshire (Hillam)	5.8
Bradwell Abbey (Bridge)	6.4
Bredon Barn (Giertz)	6.6
Great Coxwell Barn (Fletcher)	6.8
East Midlands (Nottingham Univ.)	7.9
Reading Waterfront (Groves <i>et al.</i>)	9.5

VIII. ARCHAEOLOGY BELOW GROUND. By BRIAN DURHAM

Summary: Small scale excavation and salvage recording by the Oxford Archaeological Unit provided an extra dimension of the project, giving a sequence of events and some tentative dating for the structures which preceded the New Inn. It also posed questions about the inn itself, which could be investigated in more detail as the building contract progressed, and it culminated in the discovery of the Robert Wharton 'time capsule', which commemorated the building's first connection to main drainage in 1874.

Aside from our part in the recording of the surviving structure of the New Inn, the Unit took every opportunity to record the below-ground archaeology of the property. The result was to demonstrate that the internal floors of the ground storey of the Ship Street hall range contrasted with the 'carriage entry'; to make a record of the superficial layers of the courtyard, which was augmented as the project proceeded; to make an archaeological assessment of pits, etc. in the eastern basement; to record all underfloor deposits exposed by the contractors in both basements and all other groundworks; and to record all new exposures in the above-ground structure during the building contract.

Four trial trenches and an excavation for a new stair well were dug by Messrs Knowles in the ground floor room of the north range in Ship Street. Trenches I, IV and V were of minimal interest, being affected by modern footings, but the remaining two were productive (II & III). Trench VI was dug in the area of the former courtyard, and trenches VII and VIII were dug as part of drainage works in the cellars at the front and rear of 26 Cornmarket, and trench IX at the connexion to the main drainage in Cornmarket itself. Site records (not illustrated here) will be deposited in C.O.S.

Trench I, against the north wall just east of the door onto Ship Street showed post-medieval disturbance to a depth of over a metre below the floor.

Trench II, in the middle of the north range, provided an E.-W. section through at least three medieval floors, the earliest being at a depth of 1 m. below existing. The earliest may have been limited by a N.-S. wall, which was itself dug into two pits. The earlier of the two pits was dug from a horizon 0.45 m. above original topsoil. It is not possible to be certain whether any of these floors related to the 14th-century inn, but it seems unlikely considering that the uppermost was 0.6 m. lower than the threshold of the surviving doorway, so it seems possible that this long stratigraphic sequence is showing events before 1386. If nothing else this indicates that the south frontage of Ship Street had buildings on it well before the arrival of the New Inn, and this is confirmed by the findings in the yard to the south (Trench VI, 628).

Trench III, against the back wall of the Cornmarket Street range, provided an E.-W. section at its south end, which was on a very similar line to that recorded in Trench II, but with a different story. This south end of the trench was occupied by a timber-lined pit or cellar (326) which the excavator believed to have been cut by the south wall (829) of the north range and by the stone wall to the west. So this would belong to a building earlier than 1386. Logically it should have been covered by stone metalling if there had been a carriage entry, but this perhaps had already been stripped off to lay the modern concrete floor. What survived was a stone surface (322) at a level of 0.45 m. below the floor, which might have been the entry into the previous phase of courtyard (see Trench VI). Under this were two and possibly three further metallised surfaces (320-1, 323) which might have been yet earlier generations of entry, and under them a pit-like feature (323-4). So it would seem that before the Ship Street range was integrated with the inn, there had been a long tradition of buildings on the same sort of plan, with entries in the same area too.

Trench IV, in the south-west corner of the north range, showed the north face of the south wall to be rough and not finished as it might have been for a cellar wall, while the north section produced no convincing stratification.

Trench V, below the former stairwell in the south-east corner of the north range, revealed little except the outline of a large relieving arch in the footings of the south wall (Fig. 13).

Trench VI: A small trench 2 × 1 m. was excavated by hand through the yard surface outside the stone doorway in the north range, and the excavator, Peter McKeague, went on to augment his findings with regular observations of the contractor's excavations in this area. The exposures were inevitably very incomplete, but the principal findings are summarised here.

Below the modern surface of flagstones and floorboards were a series of post-medieval deposits 601-04 against the range wall 623, and beneath this were mortar, clay and loam 607-09 all overlying the construction trench 611 for the medieval range.

The sequence of earlier deposits had to be reconstructed from working faces left by the contractors from time to time, and are therefore described here in apparent sequence of deposition. At the deepest level (1.55 m. below floor) a fragment of original topsoil 619 above gravel confirmed the level of the primary surface. It was cut away by a loam filled feature 620, into which had been inserted a rectangular oven or furnace 621, which with its fills 622, 624-6 was heavily burnt. Above the furnace was a gravelly loam makeup 630 for a cobbled surface 627.

An area of the cobbles was exposed archaeologically. To the N. they were found to respect the line of a deep cut 628 parallel to the range wall 623. This was initially thought to have been the construction trench for the range, but the range wall was subsequently shown to have been trench-built, with a massive relieving arch (Fig. 13) and it became apparent that 628 could only be explained as the robber trench of a previous range lining the courtyard at the level of cobbles 627. The courtyard at this stage may have been accessed by way of an entry from Ship Street at its N.W. corner, because its cobbling (617) was at a similar level to the uppermost stone layer seen in Trench III (322, see above), where there was evidence that the cobbling coincided with the level from which the E. wall of the Cornmarket Street range was built (layer 304).

The salvage work also showed a post-medieval wall 617 running parallel to 623 within the courtyard, and a well 618 of similar date.

Trenches VII and VIII: Salvage recording in the existing basements included observations on a pipe trench dug from the cellars out to the street. Trench VII, in the front basement of No. 26 Cornmarket, revealed earlier cellar floor levels (705-7) sealing earlier occupation in the form of shallow features cutting natural gravel, and a large pit (703-4) into which the floor levels had slumped. A stone-lined cesspit (701) on the east side of the front cellar of No. 26, was later than the cellar walls, but may predate the New Inn, if the cellar walls are older than the framing. The cellar walls continued for up to 1.2 m. below the existing floor levels.

Trench VII, in the rear basement of No. 26, revealed pit fills below the existing floor surface, cut by the construction trench for the principal north-south wall of the building. One sherd of Fabric AC (Oxford early Medieval Ware) was found in the lower level of the trench, in the pit fill (817). The east wall of the rear basement appeared to be of post-medieval date, from glass found below the wall footings. Thus, as was suspected from examination of the cellars, only the front cellars were medieval.

Trench IX: In remaking the connexion to the sewer in Cornmarket a glass mineral water bottle was found about 2 m. in front of No. 27 at a depth of over 2 metres.¹³⁰ It contained an 1825 sixpence and three handwritten notes:

¹³⁰ We are grateful to Stephen Penney for information regarding this find, now in the Museum of Oxford.

- [1] (On reverse of GWR excursion leaflet to Goodwood Races, 1874.)

Oxford July 27 / 74

This drain was opened on the above date to the new culvert and placed by Robert Wharton, 26 Cornmarket St.

- [2] (Written on headed bill of R. Wharton (fruit and wine etc.), 26 Cornmarket St. Oxford.)

Mr Galpin
Mayor

July 17th 1874

This drain was opened on the above date to the new culvert just made a[t] great expense it will be to the debt of [Oxford?] tradesmen and others.

Place by Robert Wharton

N.B. The old culvert is now 42 years before the above
Robertus Wharton

- [3] (Single sheet of paper signed Robert Wharton.)

The main drainage of Oxford was built from 1873, following decades of controversy, to which the second note presumably refers.¹³¹

Conclusions from the below-ground archaeology

The general conclusion from the pre-inn deposits is that there was considerable activity on the site, with pits behind the Cornmarket Street building, then a possibly independent dwelling constructed along Ship Street with a floor level initially 1 m. below existing. It seems likely that an access was retained through to the yard at the corner, perhaps interrupted by the construction of a timber-lined cellar (326), eventually formalised with the construction of the stone wall behind the Cornmarket frontage in the early 14th century. The building of the wall perhaps followed the infilling of a below-ground oven or furnace (621) in the yard, and coincided with the laying of a cobbled surface (617) on a level with the latest recognisable cobbling of the entry (322). Thus access would be maintained. This relationship provides a slender thread of archaeological dating for the stone wall.

IX. THE NEW INN AND THE HISTORY OF OXFORD INNS

An Inn is a house, the owner of which holds out that he will receive all travellers and sojourners who are willing to pay a price adequate to the sort of accommodation provided, and who come in a situation in which they are fit to be received

Coke's Reports.¹³²

The restoration of the New Inn has returned to public view one of Oxford's less well-known medieval buildings, in a town which has few domestic remains from before the mid-16th century. While there is only a handful of surviving medieval buildings, others have been recovered in excavations; there is also a not inconsiderable number which have been reconstructed from written descriptions, and even more are known only

¹³¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 239, 354.

¹³² *Reports*, iv (1826), 202, quoted by Chartres, as note 66, 47.



Fig. 27. 26–28 Cornmarket after restoration. (B.J. Harris).

from topographical drawings.¹³³ Oxford houses have played an important part, through the writings of W.A. Pantin, in the study of medieval town houses, and inns have formed a significant part of that study.¹³⁴

The origins of Oxford inns

Oxford inns are prominent amongst the historic buildings which have survived in the town, and have been the subject of detailed investigation (though not all of them are medieval). The Golden Cross, also in Cornmarket, has undergone a complete refitting and repair at the same time as the New Inn, though a re-examination of the fabric has led to the conclusion that it was probably built in the middle of the 16th century, and is thus not strictly 'medieval'.¹³⁵ The demolition in 1954–5 of the Clarendon Hotel in

¹³³ E.g. W.A. Pantin, 'The Halls and Schools of Medieval Oxford . . .', in *Oxford Studies Presented to D. Callus* (O.H.S. n.s. 16, 1964), 31–100; and J.T. Munby, 'J.C. Buckler, Tackley's Inn and three Medieval Houses in Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, 43 (1978), 123–69.

¹³⁴ W.A. Pantin, 'Medieval English Town-House Plans', *Med. Archaeol.* 6–7 (1964), 202–39; idem, 'Medieval Inns', in E.M. Jope (ed.), *Studies in Building History . . .* (1961), 166–91.

¹³⁵ W.A. Pantin and E.C. Rouse, 'The Golden Cross', *Oxoniensia*, 20 (1955), 46–89; J.M. Steane, 'The Golden Cross', *South Midlands Archaeol.* 17 (1987), 56–60.

Cornmarket, for the short-lived Woolworth's store (now the Clarendon Centre), brought to light the extensive remains of the Star Inn, dating to the later 16th century.¹³⁶ The Mitre, in High Street, mostly of the 17th century and later, has been refitted several times in the 20th century, and currently its fine medieval cellar is no longer a public part of the establishment.¹³⁷

Many of Oxford's inns have vanished in the last century or so: the Bear and the Angel in High Street, the Maidenhead in Turl Street, the Coach and Horses in Merton Street, and the Greyhound on the site of Magdalen College; the Crown, the Roebuck, and the Star in Cornmarket, the Ship in Ship Street, the George on the corner of George Street, and the Catherine Wheel in St. Giles; the Blue Boar and the New Inn in St. Aldate's.¹³⁸ With the end of the coaching age one major function of inns disappeared, though the country carriers continued to call at public houses and inns (including the Blue Anchor in Cornmarket) down to the early years of the present century.¹³⁹ Perhaps only the King's Arms retains some of its old character and functions, with its galleried wing at the rear, though others still recall a spurious past with foundation dates of dubious validity.¹⁴⁰

But it is less with the end than with the beginning of Oxford's inns that we are concerned here, and the way in which a large number of retail outlets for drink became transformed into the late medieval pattern of tavern, ale-house and inn.¹⁴¹ The suppliers of food and drink always formed the largest trade group in Oxford, partly because of the presence of the University. The university factor both enlarges the amount of evidence (the well-documented and never ending quarrels over supply, quality and price of victuals), and obscures some of it (the invisible activities of privileged persons).¹⁴² After decades of argument, the Mayor and Chancellor had to share the regulation of brewing from 1327 until 1355, in the twice-yearly Assize of Ale.¹⁴³ The regular totals of over 200 brewers and sellers of ale answering to the Assize of Ale in the first half of the 14th century is not such a surprising figure when compared with those for Winchester and Colchester.¹⁴⁴ Scholars were prohibited from frequenting taverns from before 1313, but no doubt within academic halls manciples brewed for their students, and the bibulous student has a long history.¹⁴⁵

Where did public drinking take place? Cases from the coroner's rolls of the late 13th and early 14th century mention people having got drunk at ale taverns, and a death that arose from the removal of the sign from a tavern.¹⁴⁶ More salubrious entertainments

¹³⁶ E.M. Jope and W.A. Pantin, 'The Clarendon Hotel', *Oxoniensia*, 23 (1958), 84-129.

¹³⁷ R.C.H.M. *City of Oxford* (1939), 162 (54).

¹³⁸ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 437-8; there are still extant partial remnants of the Bear, the Crown, and the New Inn (St Aldate's).

¹³⁹ [W. Bayzand], 'Coaching in and out of Oxford from 1820 to 1840', *Collectanea*, iv (O.H.S. 47, 1905), 267-309; *Kelly's Directory*, var. dates for lists of inns and carriers.

¹⁴⁰ R.C.H.M. *Oxford*, 180 (196); Pantin, 'Medieval Inns', 189.

¹⁴¹ P. Clarke, *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830* (1983), 6-14.

¹⁴² *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, 45-8.

¹⁴³ H.E. Salter, *Monimenta Civitatis Oxonie* (O.H.S. 71, 1917), 53 (60); idem, *Mediaeval Archives of the University of Oxford*, i (O.H.S. 70, 1917), 154.

¹⁴⁴ H.E. Salter, *Mediaeval Archives of the University of Oxford*, ii (O.H.S. 73, 1919), 129-265; D. Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, (1985) i.265ff; R.H. Britnall, *Growth and Decline in Colchester 1300-1525* (1986), 90-91.

¹⁴⁵ Strickland Gibson, *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis* (1931), 152; for the date, see G. Pollard, 'The Oldest Statute Book of the University', *Bodleian Library Record*, VIII (1968), 69-91; for student drinking see J.I. Catto, 'Citizens, Scholars and Masters', in Catto (ed.), *The History of the University I: The Early Oxford Schools* (1984), 151-92, esp. 185.

¹⁴⁶ H.E. Salter, *Records of Mediaeval Oxford. Coroner's Inquests, etc.* (1912), 5, 13 and 16.

might be enjoyed at wine taverns, to which the mayor and aldermen went to entertain important guests, or from which they purchased wine. A breakfast was held at the tavern under the Gildhall in 1345 for the under-sheriff, and on other occasions there was Croydon's tavern at Carfax (the notorious Swindlestock, where the riot of St. Scholastica's day began).¹⁴⁷ Taverns were of no great size, often being vaulted cellars, half below ground.¹⁴⁸ Knap Hall, or the Falcon, still survives as the plate room in the Town Hall,¹⁴⁹ the cellar below the old Gildhall was demolished in 1751,¹⁵⁰ a cellar perhaps belonging to the Swindlestock was recorded before its demolition in the last century,¹⁵¹ and the long cellar of Tackley's Inn in High Street, if not actually built as a tavern, was later used as one.¹⁵² This must have been much as the Crypt wine bar in Frewin Court functions today.

When accommodation was required, larger establishments were patronised. In 1327/8 the King's Justice was put up at Maugerhall (later the Cross) in Cornmarket, and Battes Inn by Carfax was popular: a King's Clerk was entertained there in 1351/2, the King's Justice and the Sheriff took fruit and wine there in 1368/9, and another Justice and Eschaetor were sent two gallons of Gascon wine for a breakfast there in 1394/5.¹⁵³

It is from the mid-14th century that inns come regularly to be named as such, and indeed it seems as if the institution came into existence then, or greatly increased in numbers. Perhaps there was a decline in private and charitable hospitality, while the need to stay in public accommodation will have increased with the leasing-out of demesnes on great estates, so that landowners were less likely to stay on their own manors when travelling; large numbers of retainers also made greater demands on the accommodation provided.¹⁵⁴ The appearance of 'inns' at this time has also been noted at Winchester and in London, though it has been suggested that the phenomenon is perhaps more a change of name than representing a new type of establishment.¹⁵⁵ The Oxford evidence on this point is illuminating, and does seem to suggest a more general innovation. There were, of course, already 'inns', *hospitia*, which might be large private houses or academic halls (such as Burnell's, Charlton's or Trillock's Inn, which belonged to wealthy scholars, or Tackley's Inn, always an academic hall).¹⁵⁶ It may be significant that Cary's, Mauger's and Battes were each known as 'hall' before they were called inns,¹⁵⁷ the word 'hall' probably having the sense of a large house, a usage not unknown in Oxford alongside its frequent academic connotation. What can be said is that by 1400, when the New Inn was trading, it is possible to name 21 inns that were certainly in existence then or soon after (Fig. 1 and Table IX.1), and that despite the excellent documentation for late 13th-century Oxford, the same cannot be said of 1300 (or 1279,

¹⁴⁷ Salter, *Mun. Civ. Oxon.*, 267, 270 (Chamberlains' Accounts); idem, *Survey* SW(135); Catto (as note 145), 167.

¹⁴⁸ Keene, *Winchester*, 166.

¹⁴⁹ Salter, *Survey*, SE(129); R.C.H.M. *Oxford*, 174 (148).

¹⁵⁰ Bodl. MS Top. Oxon b.14, f.17; MS Gough Drawings a.2, no. 110; Salter *Mun. Civ. Oxon.*, 261: 'taberna sub aula communi'.

¹⁵¹ *Archaeologia Oxoniensis* (1892-5), 273-5; cf. Bodl. MS Top. Oxon c.313, p. 33 and G.A. Oxon a.64, no. 372; Salter, *Survey* SW(135).

¹⁵² W.A. Pantin, 'Tackley's Inn, Oxford', *Oxoniensis*, vii (1942), 80-92.

¹⁵³ Salter, *Mun. Civ. Oxon.*, 265, 267, 269, 273 and 277 (Chamberlains' Accounts); idem, *Survey*, NE(6), SW(134).

¹⁵⁴ Clark, *Alehouse*, 26-7; C. Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages* (1989), 99-101.

¹⁵⁵ Keene, *Winchester*, i.167 and 274; and pers. comm.

¹⁵⁶ See Salter, *Survey*, index iii.

¹⁵⁷ 'Karihall' (1349), W.P. Ellis, *Liber Albus Civitatis Oxoniensis* (1909), 44 (118), Salter, *Survey*, NE(8); 'Maugershall' (1311), *Survey* NE(6); 'Bates Hall' (1349), *Survey* SW(134).

the year of the Hundred Rolls survey). The description of the Oxford street market in c.1370 uses several such establishments as landmarks: Maugerhall, Somenourshyn, Knap Hall and Baptys (=Battes) Inn.¹⁵⁸

The very names of some of these Oxford inns, Cary's, Croxford's, Ducklington's, Marshal's, Oxenford's and Stodley's seem to imply creation by their eponymous owners, who were alive in the decades around 1350. Marshal's may also have been an instance of the institutional type of name derived from owners or donors, since it had been given by him to Osney. It must be said, however, that names could change with new owners, and that several of these inns had previously been owned by individuals connected with the wine trade (e.g. Nicholas of Kingston).¹⁵⁹ Creations that can certainly be dated to the 14th century include another New Inn in St. Giles (1349 – later the Cardinal's Hat), our New Inn (1386), and the George (1395).

TABLE IX.1: OXFORD INNS c.1400 AS SHOWN ON FIG. 1; SITE OWNERS AND NAMES OF INNS.
(Sources: Salter's Survey unless otherwise stated.)

Map	Salter	Name	Notes
1	N(33)	New Inn (later Cardinal's Hat)	Site assembled by John de Oxonia of London, 1340–45; who in 1349 sold 'le New Inn'; site enlarged 1361.
2	N(106)	Oxenford's Inn (later The Belle Inn)	Acquired by Richard atte Broke alias Oxenford, 1366; named in 1389 Inquest (<i>RMO</i> , 44); Wykeham granted Oxenford's Inn to New College in 1391/2.
3	N(110) –(111)	The Christopher	Site assembled by Thomas Houkyn by 1387; first named 1468/9.
4	N(116)	The George	Osney property, 'new inn called the Jorge Inn' in 1395; see N(133).
5	NE(18)	The New Inn (later The Crown)	Site assembled by John Gibbes, vintner by 1386; 'New Inn' by 1396.
6	NW(48)	Marshall's Inn (later The Star)	Site granted to Osney by Thomas le Marshall in 1337; Osney leased 'Marshals[yn]' in 1380; (Ref. as note 136 above.)
7	NE(8)	Cary Hall? (later The Roebuck)	Richard Cary, c. 1330; 'Cary Hall' in will of John fil. Ric., 1353; possibly the Cary Hall of Chamberlains accounts (<i>MCO</i> , see no. 13 below); briefly an academic hall, and later an inn.
8	NE(6)	Gingiversinn (later The Cross)	Mauger the vintner in c. 1193; Maugershall in 1311/12 and 1371; John de Croxford in 1317; William Gingiver in 1362; John de Stodley in c. 1370; 'Gingiversinn' of New College in 1387/8; (Ref. as note 135 above.)
9	(NE(5)	Somenourysyn alias Patesynne (later Crown Tavern)	'Somenourysyn' in John de Stodley's will, 1371.
10	NE(146)	Croxford's Inn (later Dagvile's Inn)	John de Croxford 1312–1357; formerly 'Romeynhall' and now 'Croxfordeshynn' in 1357.

¹⁵⁸ Wood's *City of Oxford*, i, ed. A. Clark, (O.H.S. 15, 1889), 475–8 (there wrongly dated to 1318).

¹⁵⁹ Mayor in the 1270s and a prominent landowner with interests in NE(5) & (146); SW(130), all of which were later inns (nos. 9, 10 & 19 on Table IX.1).

11	NE(150)	Bicester's Inn (later The Mitre)	Site acquired by Philip of Wormenhale in c. 1310; later William of Bicester, bequeathed in 1340 to found a chantry; to Lincoln College at foundation, 1429 (Lincoln deeds, MS. Top. Oxon c.396, <i>Liber Albus</i> no. 57).
12	SW(134)	Battes Inn (later Fleur de Luce)	'hospitio Battes' in 1338/9 (<i>MCO</i> , 267); Ric. Cary bequeathed Bates Hall in 1349; 'Battesyn', 1351/2 (<i>MCO</i> , 269); to Merton College 1374.
13	SE(131)	Cary's Inn (also in Cornmarket)	Richard Cary to 1349; inhabited by John fil Ric. at death, 1353 (<i>Liber Albus</i> no. 145); Carysyn in 1383 (<i>MCO</i> , 275); Carys Inn in 1398; but see above at No. 7.
14	SE(15)	Le Tabard (later The Bear)	John of Ducklington, 1306; 'Le Tabard' in 1432.
15	SE(16)	Stodley's Inn	John de Stodley from 1356; New College from 1379; repairs from c. 1384 (Pantin, <i>Med. Archaeol.</i> vi-vii (1964), 234-6).
16	SE(22)	Swan on the Hoop	Granted to Oriel College, 1392; 'Swanonthehope' in 1397 (Munby, <i>Oxon.</i> xliii (1978), 143-59).
17	SE(42)	Cok on the Hoop	'Cok-on-the-Hope' in 1383/4.
18	SE(47)	Tabard (later The Angel)	John Chiddesle in 1375 rental of Hosp. St John; Roger Chiddesle in 1384 rental; his widow had lease of 'le Tabard' in 1418.
19	SW(125) -(130)	The Christopher (later The New Inn)	John of Croxford in adjacent tenements in 1327, and perhaps made the inn; certainly by 1517 [see SW(124)].
20	SW(123)	Ducklington's Inn (later The Swan)	John of Ducklington senior enlarged site in 1307; died 1336, JD junior in 1349; Gibbes family, 1357-1427; 'Doclytonesyn' in 1404.
21	SE(136)	Bredeshat (later The Pike)	Held by a taverner in 1307; 'Bredeshat' in 1367; 'Pike' by 1472.

The late 14th-century inns must have been grand affairs when occasion demanded. The Duke of Lancaster stayed at Cary's Inn in 1391/2 (though the Duke of Gloucester was entertained at St. Frideswide's Priory).¹⁶⁰ Thomas Chaucer, J.P., stayed at the Cardinal's Hat in St. Giles, and wine was sent to both him and the Sheriff at our New Inn.¹⁶¹ A most remarkable insight into life in Oxford inns is provided by a French conversation manual written by the writing master William of Kingsmill in about 1415 for his pupils.¹⁶² It includes a model dialogue amongst a company riding towards Oxford (one of them recently returned from France, bearing news of the Agincourt campaign) and making for the probably fictional Mill-on-the-Hoop in Cornmarket as the 'best inn in town', offering good cheer and victuals for men and horses, but cheap.

On arrival, the Hosteller (either innkeeper or ostler) greets the six travellers with their three servants and nine horses. He enquires after the horses (boasting that he has room for a hundred), and learns of the hard ride they have had from Tetsworth to Shotover

¹⁶⁰ Salter, *Mun. Civ. Oxon.*, 275.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* 281-2.

¹⁶² P. Meyer, 'Les Manuscrits Français de Cambridge', *Romania* xxxii (1903), 47-58 (from Trinity Coll. Camb. MS B.14.40); see H.G. Richardson, 'Letters of the Oxford Dictatores', in H.E. Salter et al., *Formularies which bear on the History of Oxford c. 1204-1420*, ii (O.H.S. n.s. 5, 1942), 339-41.

pursued by robbers; the horses are provided with straw, hay, horse-bread and oats. The hostess (*Dame*) next comes, exchanges pleasantries, and asks if they want to enter the hall (*sale*) or go up to the chamber; she is asked to make a good fire in the chimney to warm them, and bring them her bread and a tankard of ale, since they are wet and weak after riding 40 leagues in a day. She goes off to broach the best cask, offering to send for wine to a tavern at Carfax where a pipe of good red wine has been opened, or to the Corn-on-the-Hoop for a wide selection of exotic wines. They inquire what there is to eat, and she asks whether they want to eat in or from the cook-shop (*kewes*); they will eat from her kitchen or the fireplace before them. Her best victuals include, as might be expected in a conversation manual, every imaginable kind of fowl from swan to starling, apples and pears, cheese and eggs, 'a good candle and a fair damsel in your bed' (apparently a proverbial rather than literal offer).

After supper they talk of bed and breakfast; the beds are ready for sleeping in without nightmares, with feather pillows, white sheets, mattress, coverlets and blanket, curtains, tester and celures. They drink up and prepare for bed, asking the host to make up the bill. The stable lad is sent to feed and clean the horses, cover them for the night and told to be up early to fetch the best smith to shoe them. The host reckons up the account with jettons before the valet William and the chaplain, Sir Hugh, and it comes to 5s. less a penny. More drink is called for, roast apples and toast, and enquiry made after tomorrow's breakfast. They will have boar with mustard, beef, mutton and boiled pork. The evening ends with an account of the master's trip to Woodstock fair to make purchases, and a conversation with his twelve-year old son, who has been studying writing, accounting and French speaking with William Kingsmill, the scrivener, and now seeks a position in London, and demonstrates his fluency in French.

For all the engaging detail of this exercise, the Mill-on-the-Hoop is not a known Oxford inn, though Kingsmill's brother John was connected with one establishment in Cornmarket.¹⁶³ The picture is much as we would expect of an inn, though it is interesting that it did not necessarily provide wine, and that food could be brought from outside. As codified by statute from the 16th century, and no doubt representing earlier practice, inns 'sold wine, ale and beer, together with quite elaborate food and lodging to well-heeled travellers', as distinct from taverns (which sold wine) and alehouses (which sold ale and beer), though these might also have food and offer more ordinary accommodation.¹⁶⁴

Inn Buildings

The New Inn in the Cornmarket was built behind a fringe of shops, as with so many central Oxford tenements, and had a narrow pedestrian access between two shops. It was built on a plot which had previously carried a similar arrangement of buildings, and with a stone wall which was good enough to be retained at the back of the new shops. Its long frontage to Ship Street gave it ample rear access, and plenty of room for stabling. It has been argued on structural grounds that the Cornmarket frontage was wholly devoted to the shop premises in the early years, so that the upper floors were probably let with them rather than being part of the inn. The two long ranges in the courtyard, joined by a first-floor gallery at the west end, formed the main accommodation of the

¹⁶³ Salter, *Survey*, NW(44).

¹⁶⁴ Clark, *English Alehouse*, 5.

inn. How this was used cannot easily be explained for lack of evidence for doors and fireplaces. There must have been a hall, and this may have been in the south range if that was partially open to the roof, or on the ground floor of the north range, with its impressive stone windows. The first floor on the north side may have been an open dormitory for guests, or have been divided into chambers, though there is no evidence for any gallery or passage running along it (nor at this date would one be expected). Kitchen and stables must have been further down the yard, and although a carriage entrance was perhaps first located at the west end, this must soon have been moved eastwards, leaving only a pedestrian entrance.

Despite the lack of evidence for the use of particular buildings, the New Inn can be described as a typical courtyard inn. Pantin proposed two main types of medieval inn plan, the courtyard and gatehouse type, one with buildings arranged round a courtyard and the other with a block of buildings on the street front.¹⁶⁵ In the absence of extant Oxford examples of the courtyard plan Pantin used a plan of Stodley's Inn from New College archives, and a plan of Marshall's Inn reconstructed from a description of 1380 as examples of the courtyard plan.¹⁶⁶ To these can now be added the plan of the New Inn. The other type of plan is less well represented in Oxford, except in the Swan-on-the-Hoop rebuilt by Oriel College in 1469–72, where an inn was built on the normal house-plan with a hall immediately behind the street front.¹⁶⁷

As was entirely appropriate for a commercial establishment, the New Inn conspicuously advertised itself with a bold corner jetty and dragon-beam, a row of five gables with continuous fenestration on the first floor. Thus while there is little elaboration now surviving on the inside (though most fittings have been lost), and much of the building is commonplace in character, its external appearance will have marked it out from most other buildings on Cornmarket. The internal elevations, with matching stone and timber windows in the courtyard, will have been rather sumptuous. The framing adds another example to the small number of medieval framed buildings in Oxford. It has some old-fashioned tendencies, such as the use of trait-de-jupiter scarfs and plain crown posts in the north range, though the latter is matched in the New College 'Long Room' (latrine), and the window tracery also derived from the latest work in the same college. But alongside this are the more usual branching crown-posts with moulded caps and bases, as used in the 'gallery' and south range. By contrast is the rather more utilitarian roof of the Cornmarket front, with clasped purlins and diminished principals; here also were used bridled scarfs. The framing of the Cornmarket front can be compared with other Oxford examples at Nos. 108–9 and 126 High Street, in which the framing was also dependent on rear stone walls.¹⁶⁸ One unusual feature is the arrangement for framing the top floor, which may indicate a change of plan. Another change during construction is suggested by the 'carriage entry' at the west end of the north range being subsequently blocked by the gallery. The evidence of dendrochronology raises the possibility of construction having begun in 1381, before the whole site was acquired, or alternatively the use of old timber, which would be unusual.

The later developments at the New Inn are of little architectural significance. The insertion of chimney stacks on the Cornmarket front perhaps represents the partial reclamation of the upper rooms for the inn, and the early 17th-century wall-painting

¹⁶⁵ Pantin, 'Medieval Inns', as note 134, 168.

¹⁶⁶ Pantin, 'Town-House Plans', as note 134, 223–4 and 234–5.

¹⁶⁷ Munby, as note 133.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. 137–59; and idem, '126 High Street: The Archaeology and History of an Oxford House', *Oxon*, xl (1975), 254–308.

would be consistent with this. But the contraction of the inn to the south part of the site, and the sale of 1775, left the remaining buildings to be gradually altered and extended at the whim of private owners, in which the expanding commercial enterprises did much damage. It is only from the copious records of previous architectural antiquaries, and with the recent reconstruction, that something of the layout of the last remnants of this fine building can again be appreciated for what they are.

APPENDIX: INVENTORY OF THOMAS ALDRIDGE, OWNER OF THE BLUE ANCHOR (1654-72)

*The Inventory of all & singular the goods Chatles and Creditts of Thomas Aldridge of the Citty of Oxon decease*d¹⁶⁹

In the Hall

2 Tables, 2 Formes, 1 s[e]ttle, 1 Chest, 3 Chaires	}	
1 Fire shovl, 1 p[ai]r of Tongs, 1 paire of	}	£ s d
Andirons, 1 paire of Doggs, 2 Stooles	}	01-04-02
1 Iron Barr, A paire of Hangers & a Jack	}	

In the Parlour

1 Fether Bed, 3 Blankets, 1 Rugg	}	
2 Flock Bolsters, a Bedsted, Curtains	}	
& Pallows, 5 Chests & 3 Joyn'd Stooles	}	
A Table, 1 paire of Fire Irons, 4 doz &	}	06-17-06
a ½ of Napkins, 18 paire of Sheetes	}	
& 6 Table Cloaths, 12 Towels 6 pair	}	
of Pillow-beares & 2 Cushons	}	

In Paradise

1 Fetherbed, 2 Flock-bolsters, 1 pair	}	
of Blankets, 2 Ruggs, 1 Bedsted	}	
2 Curtains, 2 Curtaine Rods, 1 Forme	}	00-17-00
1 table, 1 doz: of Napkins, 1 Press	}	
1 Box, 2 doz: of Trenchers	}	

In the Great Chamber

2 Fether-beds & 2 Fether Bolsters	}	
3 Fether pillows, 3 Blankets, 2 Ruggs	}	
2 sets of Curtaines & Palows, 2 Bedsteds	}	
with Matts & Cords & Curtain Rods	}	
1 doz: of Lether Chaires, 4 Joyn'd stooles	}	07-18- 6
2 Tables, 1 Co[u]rt Cubbard, 2 Carpets, one	}	
Window Curtaine & Iron Rod & 1	}	
Cupboard Cloth, 1 Cushon, 1 paire	}	
of Andirons, Fire Shovl & Tongs	}	
& Bellows & a looking Glass	}	

In the halfe Moone

1 Feather bed & bolster, 1 Flock	}	
bed, 2 Bolsters, 3 Blanketts & 2	}	
Ruggs, 2 setts of Curtains & Valons [?]	}	
2 Bedsteds with Matts & Cords and	}	5- 9- 0
Curtain Rods, 2 Tables & 8 Joyn'd	}	
stooles, 2 Carpets, 1 Cushon, 2 Flock	}	
beds & 3 Bolsters & 2 bedsteds	}	

¹⁶⁹ Oxon R.O. MS Wills 76/1/29.

In the Kitchen

3 Pewter Dishes, 7 Chamber Potts	00-10-00
13 Flagons, 2 Iron Potts & 1 brasspott	0-10-00
5 Skillets, 4 Kettles, 4 p[ai]r of Pott hooks [?]	1-07-06
2 Skimmers & 2 Frying pans	0-02-08

 24-16- 8

[verso]

2 Warming pans, 5 Pewter Candelsticks	0-10-00
1 Dripping pan, 4 spits, 1 bred Grater	- 4-00
1 flesh fork, 1 Cleaver, 1 hamper	0- 1-00
½ a 100 of Faggots, 2 p[ai]r of Andirons	0- 3-00
1 forme, 1 Table, 1 drinking bowle	0- 2-00
2 salt sellars, ½ a doz: of Porringers	}
2 brass Ladles, 1 jack, a Quart pott	
a Pint Pott, 1 settle, 1 Twigon [?] Chair	
	0-11-00

In the Sellar

9 Barrells of Beere, 1 Barell of Ale	5-00-00
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In the Roome over the Kitchen

2 Flock-beds & 3 Flock Bolsters	1-10-00
1 downe Pillow, 2 Coverledds, 4 Blankets	}
2 Bedsteds with Matts & Cords, 2 Old trunks	
½ a Q[uarte]r of Oates & 2 bushells of Beanes	
	1-00-00

In the Stables

1 maire & 3 Pigs, 2 loads of Hay	}	2- 7- 6
½ a load of Wood		
8 Pewter Platters, 2 Pewter Basins		1- 0- 0
& a Plate	}	
His wearing [?] Apparrell		1-10-00

 13-18-02

Summa Tot[alis]

 38-15-02

[Note in Latin of grant of probate to Ann Aldridge, 4 October 1672]

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