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The archbishop's 'great stable': excavations and historical research at the Old Palace School, Croydon, 1999

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with contributions by

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This report summarizes the results of a series of archaeological investigations at two sites within the grounds of Old Palace School in Croydon. The school occupies some of the extant historic buildings of the former palace or manor of the archbishops of Canterbury, which are mainly late 14th to early 16th century in date. Archaeological excavation in 1999 prior to the construction of a new Preparatory School building to the north of the historic buildings has added to information from earlier excavations carried out on the site in 1970 (Drewett 1971; 1974). Further evidence was uncovered for two substantial buildings. The earliest with flint and chalk wall foundations, probably Archbishop Arundel's 'great' stable completed in 1399/1400, was replaced by a brick stable, probably built by Sir William Brereton in the 1640s or 1650s. Archaeological evaluation and watching brief work prior to and during the construction of an indoor swimming pool to the east of the historic school buildings revealed a number of walls, which appear to be connected with the pleasure and kitchen gardens of the former palace. Documentary research has been undertaken to assist with the interpretation of the excavated remains in both areas and to set them within the development of the whole palace complex.

Introduction

PROJECT BACKGROUND

Wessex Archaeology was commissioned to carry out a programme of archaeological work in the grounds of Old Palace School, Old Palace Road, Croydon (centred TQ 319 654), prior to and following the granting of planning permission for development. The development involved the construction of two new buildings on two separate areas within the school grounds: an indoor swimming pool in Area 1 and a new Preparatory School building in Area 3 (fig 1). Although a classroom annexe was proposed for Area 2, it was not built.

The programme of archaeological work commenced with an evaluation of the three areas in 1998 followed, in 1999, by an intermittent watching brief during development in Area 1 and by an excavation (20m by 13m) and subsequent watching brief in Area 3. All these stages of work were undertaken according to specifications approved by the Archaeological Officer for the Greater London Archaeology Advisory Service, English Heritage. The results of this work are presented and discussed together below along with the results of an earlier excavation carried out in 1970, when seven trenches were excavated in Area 3 (fig 2) by the Archaeological Section of Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society (CNHSS) (Drewett 1970; 1971; 1974). It is intended that the site archive (including finds) from the recent work will be deposited at the Museum of London (site code OLP 98).

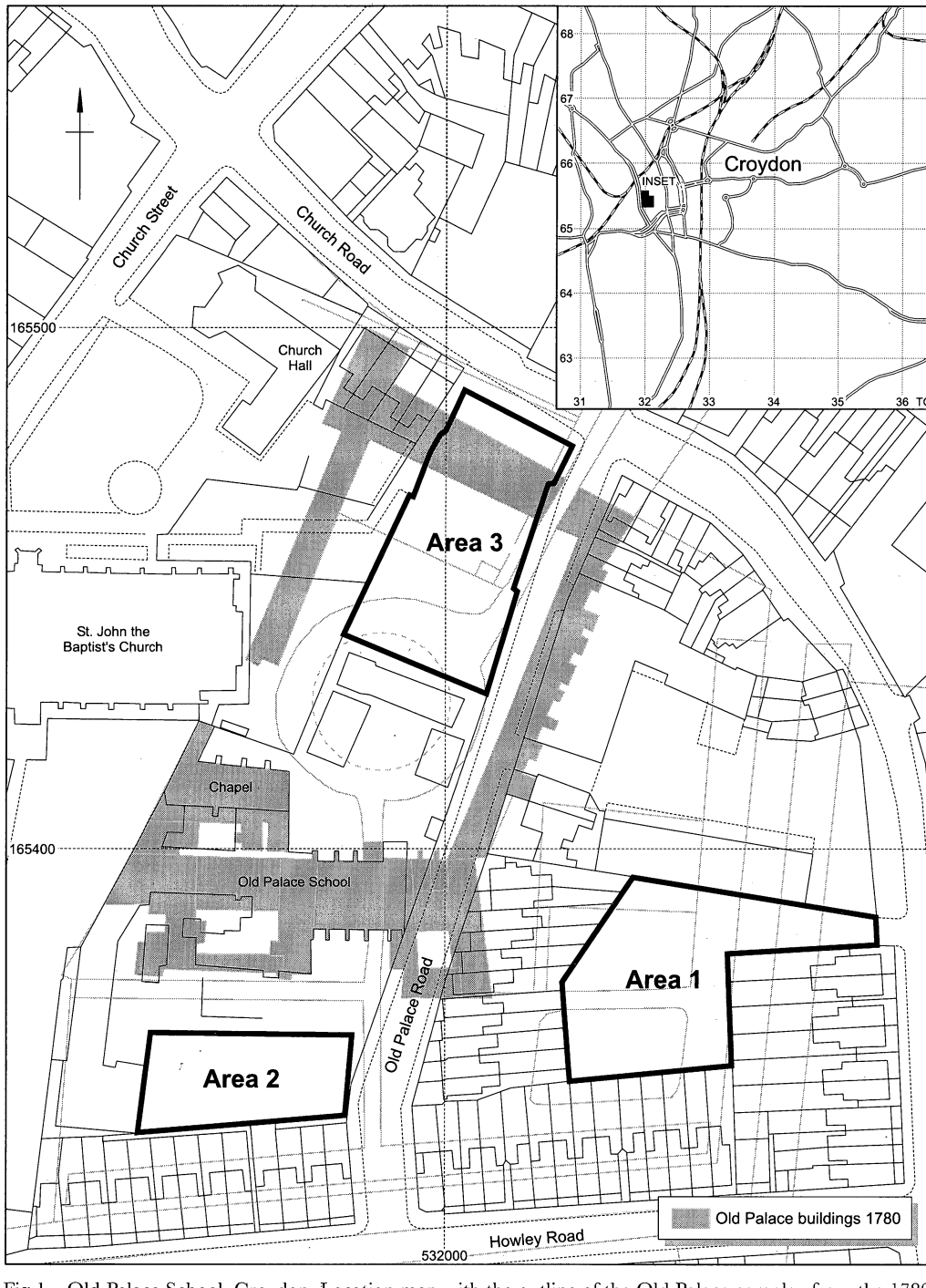

Fig 1 Old Palace School, Croydon. Location map with the outline of the Old Palace complex from the 1780 sale plan superimposed on a plan based on the OS 1:1250 scale map, 1979. (© Crown Copyright. MC 100014198)

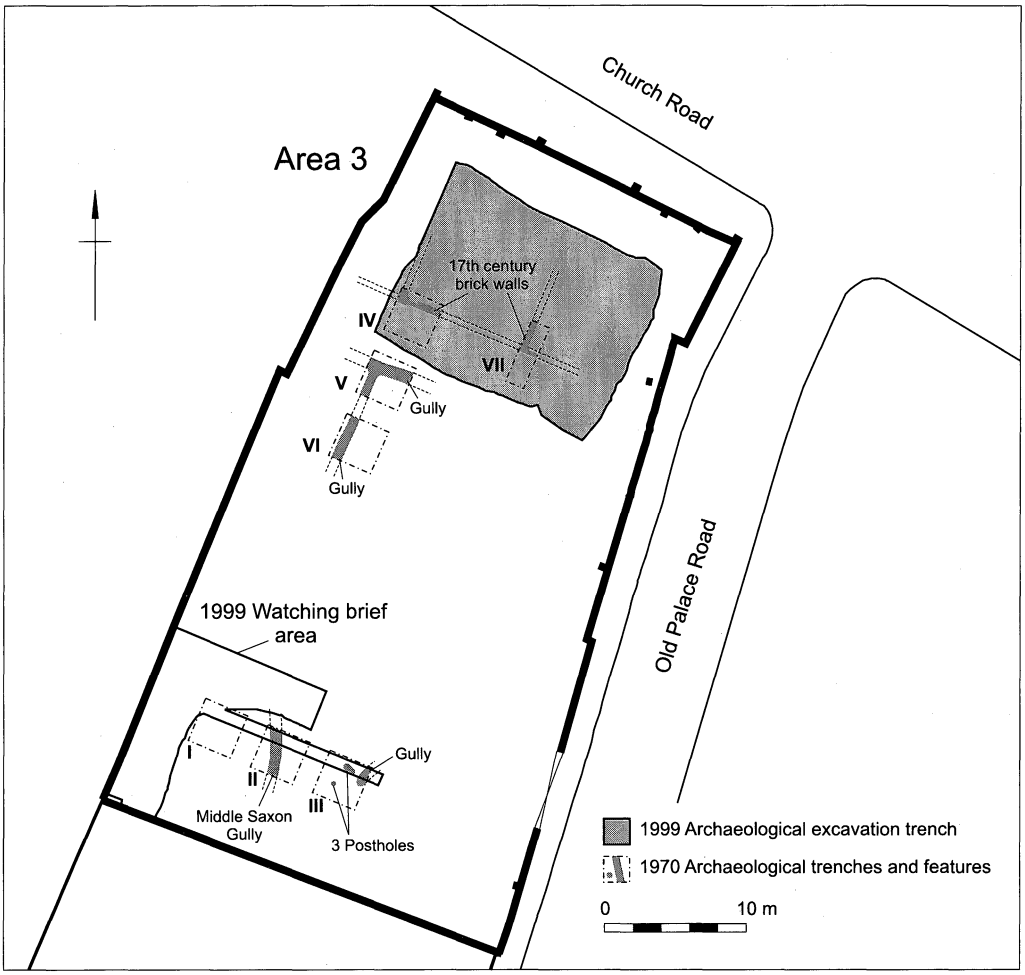

Fig 2 Old Palace School, Croydon. Area 3, showing the 1999 Wessex Archaeology excavation trench and watching brief area and the location of the 1970 CNHSS excavation trenches and features.

LOCATION AND GEOLOGY

Croydon lies 15km to the south of central London, just to the north of an important gap through the North Downs. The river Wandle rises near Croydon, before flowing westwards to Carshalton and then northwards to join the Thames at Wandsworth.

Old Palace School lies west of Croydon centre, on fairly level ground at about 45m OD. The drift geology consists of River Terrace Gravels over Eocene and Palaeocene London Clay, Woolwich and Reading Beds and Thanet Beds over Upper Chalk (BGS 1981). Prior to the archaeological work, the three areas were occupied by various buildings with large areas of hard standing.

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Prehistoric artefacts have been found in the Croydon area, and residual Mesolithic flints were recovered from the 1970 excavations at Old Palace School (Drewett 1974). Croydon lies on a Roman road, which ran from London to Brighton through the gap in the North Downs (Margary 1937), and may have been the site of a posting station, which acted as a

focus for the development of a roadside village. There is considerable evidence for Roman activity within the area of the present town and residual Romano-British material was found during the 1970 excavations at the school (Drewett 1974, 24).

It is thought that the Saxon settlement of Croydon grew up in the Old Town area near the Parish Church of St John the Baptist (fig 1; Drewett 1970, 206). The church, which was rebuilt in the 19th century following a fire, appears to occupy the site of an earlier Saxon minster church, while Old Palace School, just to the east, occupies the site of a Saxon manor house (Gent 1991). A Middle Saxon gully (fig 2) and a residual Late Saxon loomweight were found during the 1970 excavations (Drewett 1974, 24). Evidence for a large cemetery of 5th or 6th century AD date has been found 750m to the south-east of the school (Shaw 1970; Nielsen 1992).

The earliest documentary references to Croydon date to the 9th century and show that the estate (at Old Palace School) belonged to the archbishops of Canterbury before the Norman Conquest. At the time of the Domesday survey of 1086, the estate appears to have been flourishing, with a tenant population of 73 households operating 34 ploughs, besides the four ploughs working on the demesne land, or archbishop's home farm. There was extensive woodland and a mill.

The archbishops' manor at Croydon was a temporary residence for them on their journeys between Canterbury and London. It was not until the 15th century that the residences of monarchs, princes and bishops were called 'palaces', before then no building in London except Westminster was called a palace (Phillpotts 1999).

The archbishops played an important role in town life, and six are buried in the grounds of the parish church (Weinreb & Hibbert 1983, 221). The first substantial references to the manor and town date from the later 13th century. The 1270s saw the establishment of a weekly market and a nine-day annual fair, which would have enhanced Croydon's position as a centre for local trade. Further charters extended these privileges in 1314 and 1343. In the later medieval period, the settlement was still small but starting to expand, particularly to the east on to higher ground (the area of the present day High Street and Surrey Street), overlooking the Old Town (Drewett 1970, 207). Archaeological investigation has produced evidence for medieval settlement both within the Old Town (Drewett 1970; Hoad 1991), and to the east and south-east (Miller & Barratt 1991).

By 1809, Croydon had become the largest town in east Surrey partly owing to good communications, with railway (horse drawn) and canal links to London. It had grown considerably by 1886 when it became a London borough.

The excavations, by Adrian M Chadwick

METHODS

The evaluation showed that well-preserved archaeological deposits existed in the northern part of both Areas 1 and 3. Modern overburden and the 19th century school walls were removed by machine in the excavation trench in Area 3. All subsequent archaeological deposits were excavated by hand, apart from archaeological deposits below 1.4m (the depth of excavation required by the construction contractors). Further hand excavation of some of these deeper deposits was carried out by CNHSS after Wessex Archaeology had left the site and their results (CNHSS 1999) are included here.

In the description below, the more limited results from Area 1 have been discussed after those from Area 3.

PHASE 1: EARLIER MEDIEVAL (LATE 11TH–14TH CENTURIES) (fig 3a)

The earliest activity in Area 3 was represented by a variety of shallow features, cut into natural gravel deposits. These features had been truncated by later (phase 2) levelling. Although they did not all produce finds and may not be contemporaneous, they have been

grouped together because of the similarity of their fills, which were all dark brownish-black silts. The features comprised two ditches (0001/0004 and 2101), a gully or post-trench (2077), two pits (2073 and 2083) and two postholes (2079 and 2081).

Shell-tempered pottery sherds, probably late 11th or 12th century in date, were recovered from ditch 0001/0004 (CNHSS 1999) and posthole 2081. Animal bone, typical of domestic refuse, was recovered mainly from the two ditches 0001/0004 and 2101, but also from pit 2073 and posthole 2081. These included bones of cattle, sheep or goat, pig, deer and cat. Ceramic building material included Roman brick fragments, either residual or re-used, from ditch 0001/0004 and an undiagnostic fragment from ditch 2101. Charred oats and possibly contemporary uncharred seeds of henbane and elder were recovered from a bulk sample from posthole 2081.

The earliest activity recorded within the 1970 excavation trenches was also represented by a number of features cut into natural gravel deposits (Drewett 1974). These included a Middle Saxon gully, containing a grass-tempered sherd and part of a loomweight, in trench II; and three undated postholes and a gully, containing an undated pottery rim, Roman tile fragments and residual prehistoric struck flint, in trench III (fig 2). Two gullies were found in trenches V and VI and were thought to be early medieval in origin, although struck flint from one of the gullies may suggest an earlier date. They were interpreted as drainage features and may relate to the two north–south ditches (0001/0004 and 2101), possibly also drainage or boundary features.

PHASE 2: LATER MEDIEVAL (14TH–16TH CENTURIES)

The 'new' or 'great' stable (fig 3b)

The area covered by the excavation trench in Area 3 was levelled (as suggested by the truncation of the phase 1 features) and silt deposits and gravel, probably dredged from a river, were then laid to provide a firm foundation for the overlying building. One of these gravel layers contained 13th–14th century sandy ware sherds, shell-tempered pottery (CNHSS 1999) and intrusive 18th century material, and was thus clearly disturbed or reworked. Though not a formal cobbled surface, it did have later cobbled patching episodes.

Evidence for a substantial rectangular building included the remains of a mortared chalk-and-flint wall (2036 and 2065), probably the south wall. Later robber cuts (2089 and 2094) had removed all trace of the central part of this wall within the trench. Wall 2065 consisted of mortared, roughly dressed chalk blocks, forming the footings (0.7m wide) for slightly narrower flint nodule courses. Walls 2036 and 2065 had previously been recorded during the 1970 excavations (Drewett 1971, 162, figs 3a and 4a). Drewett (1971, 162) interpreted them as the remains of the 'new' or 'great' stable that was built for Archbishop Arundel and completed in 1399/1400. The east wall may have been represented by wall 2109, which consisted of mortared flint and chalk blocks, together with some brick and tile fragments, up to 1.1m wide.

Lapping up against wall 2065 were the remains of sandy clay internal surfaces (2050 (not illustrated) and 2056), which both contained sherds of 13th or 14th century pottery. Surface 2056 also contained one intrusive post-medieval and two possibly medieval fragments of roof tile. This surface lay partially within a shallow cut feature or wear hollow and partially over a fragment of an earlier cobbled surface.

To the north, a shallow drain (2096) cut through a series of thin, interleaving floor surfaces (2090), largely worn away to the south by later activity and cut by a later (phase 3b) brick wall (fig 4a, 2038–9). Other, later remnants of surfaces, also cut by the brick wall, respected the line of drain 2096. Although the construction trench of brick wall 2038–9 cut the drain, the wall was vaulted over the drain to form an outlet. Drain 2096 thus pre-dated the 17th century brick building, but was maintained in use after the latter had been constructed.

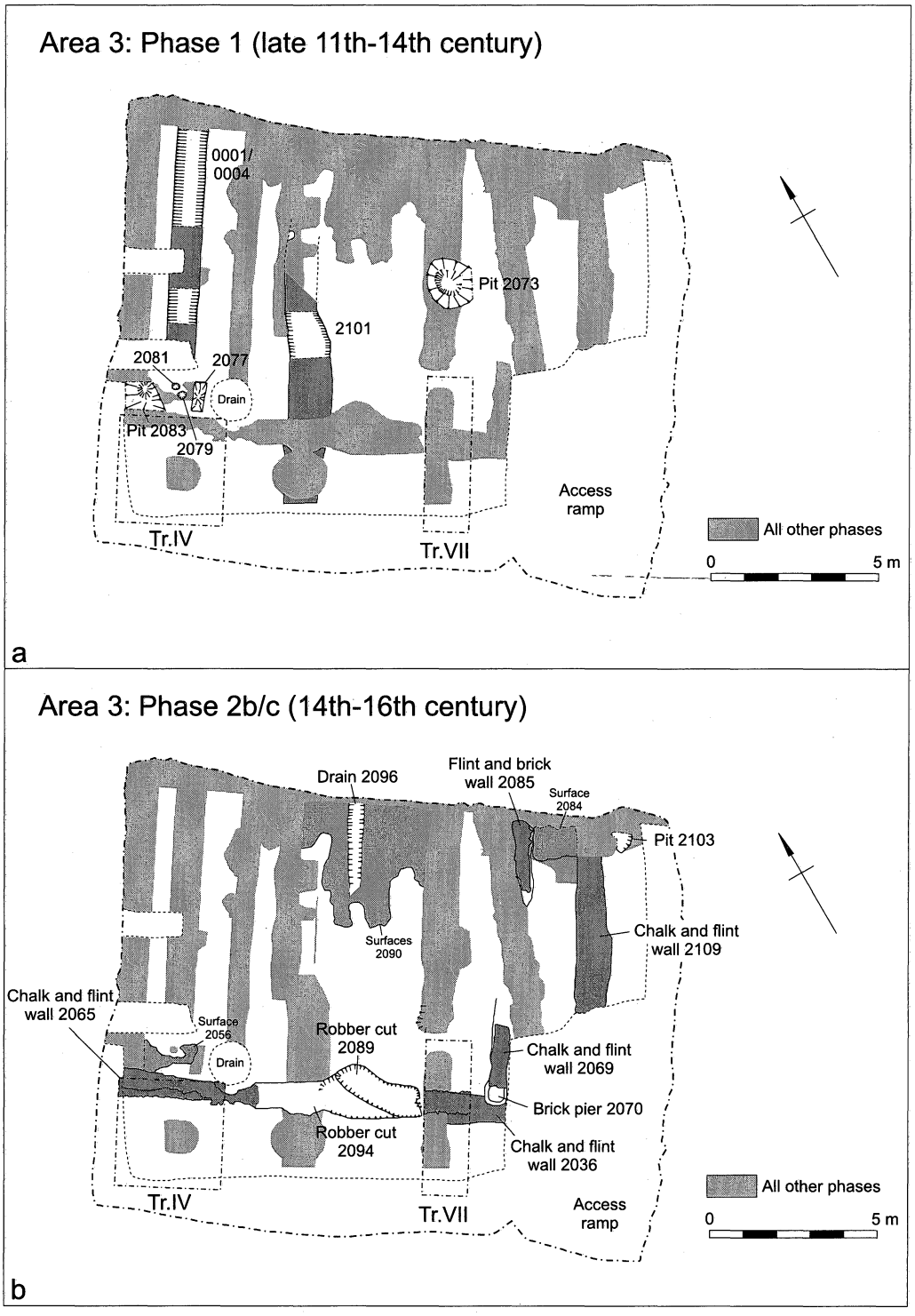

Fig 3 Old Palace School, Croydon. Area 3 excavation trench: a) phase 1; b) phase 2

Remains of beetles and dung flies from a sample of the fill of the drain suggest that the building that it underlay was a stable and that the drain was used to take manure from the stable (see insect remains below). Waterlogged plant remains include many species found in horse dung and indicate that waste products from crop processing and hay were being fed to the animals. Frequent sedge nutlets and rush seeds may derive from floor coverings. The fill of the drain also contained a possible medieval roof tile, a very small quantity of iron slag, and some animal bones, including a possible house mouse.

Wall 2036 was cut by north–south wall 2069, which consisted of mortared chalk blocks and flint with a square of bricks at the southern end that were part of the same build. These bricks, with a late 16th–17th century date range, may have formed a pier base (2070). A later (phase 3a) conduit (fig 4a, 2004) cut wall 2069. To the north, wall 2085, which consisted of mortared flint nodules and bricks (also late 16th–17th century), was again cut by the conduit and by brick wall 2038–9. Wall 2085 may have been the same wall as 2069, but there were differences in the builds, and they were on slightly different alignments. It is possible that they were later internal partition walls within the 'great' stable.

In the north-east corner of the trench, a surviving surface (2084) lapped partially over wall 2085. Both this surface and a small pit (2103) to the east were cut by the later brick wall 2038–9.

PHASE 3: POST-MEDIEVAL (17TH–18TH CENTURIES)

Phase 3a: 17th century conduit (fig 4a)

Conduit 2004 clearly post-dated the phase 2 stable building and cut across the line of walls 2069 and 2085. It consisted of a rectilinear cut (2006) running north-east to south-west, lined on the base and sides with dressed chalk blocks, and vaulted with mortared late 16th–17th century bricks. The structure was approximately 1m in width with an internal space up to 0.45m wide and 0.3m high. It ran for approximately 7m, and further excavation under the access ramp revealed that it began to turn eastwards at its southern end (CNHSS 1999). Much of its central section had been disturbed by later activity and had largely collapsed and become filled with consolidated rubble, including remains of the vaulting. The conduit was much better preserved in the north, where the later east–west brick wall (2038–9) had been carefully vaulted over it, and to the south.

Some surviving patches of later surfaces and make-up deposits that respected brick wall 2038–9 also lapped up against the vaulting of conduit 2004 and it is likely that both were part of the same overall constructional phase.

A tiny sherd of 18th century white salt-glazed stoneware and a number of animal bones were recovered from the fine silty fill of the conduit. The latter included house mouse, bird (possibly fowl), amphibian (including a toad), and fish (including herring, eel and whiting). The fish bones are those most commonly associated with cess deposits, and the conduit may have transported sewage. Nine snail shells recovered from the conduit fill are all typical of habitats such as gardens, disturbed land and walls (identification by M J Allen).

The conduit did not appear to be connected with the drainage of the phase 3b brick-built stable building and was on a different alignment to all phases of building recorded within the trench. It is perhaps best explained as a conduit or drain, taking water from a tributary of the river Wandle further upstream to the south-east, collecting sewage and kitchen waste as it passed through the palace complex, before joining another tributary just to the north of the building which flowed west to the river.

Phase 3b: the brick stable of the 1640s and 1650s (fig 4a)

This phase involved the construction of a large brick stable building. The north wall (2038–9) was up to 0.6m wide, at least 13.4m long and survived to a height of 0.8m or thirteen courses. The late 16th–17th century bricks were laid in an irregular English bond,

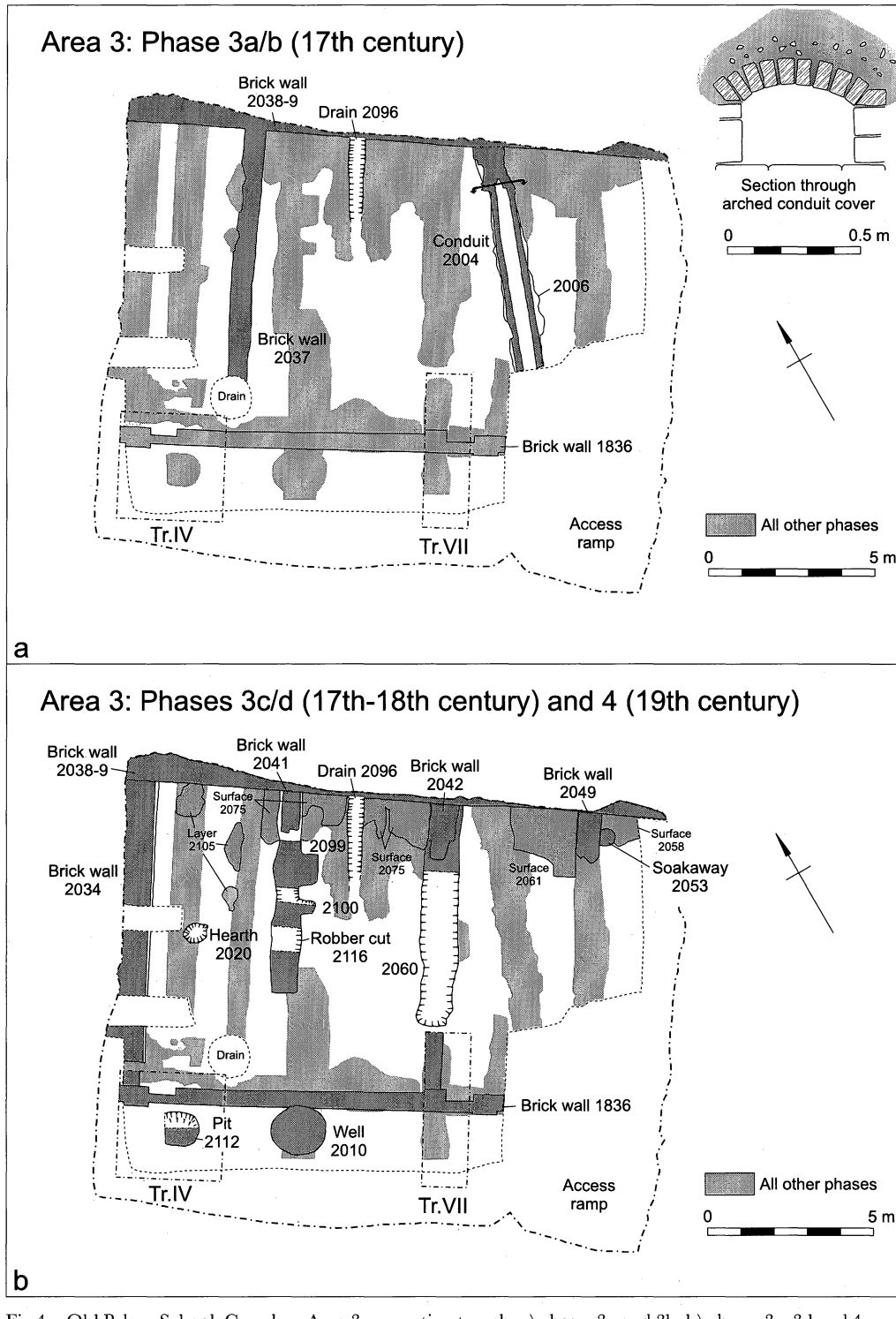

Fig 4 Old Palace School, Croydon. Area 3 excavation trench: a) phases 3a and 3b; b) phases 3c, 3d and 4 .

where the header courses also contained some stretchers. There was a difference in mortar colour and texture between the lower four courses (2038) and the upper courses (2039). It was not clear whether the differences reflected a separate build or, more likely, different mortar mixes used by different work gangs. The inner south-facing elevation had been damaged near the centre of the wall and repaired with a mixture of chalk, clay and brick or tile fragments. No settings for doorways or windows were observed. Wall 2038–9 was vaulted over conduit 2004 and the earlier drain 2096 and at the western end, there was a rectangular hole, 0.26m wide and 0.18m high, near the base of the wall which may have been another drain, or a ventilation hole.

North–south brick wall 2037 was bonded into wall 2038. Although it was an internal wall, no evidence for a door was found. This implies separate entrances into two different bays from the south, as might be expected in a stable block. At a later date, wall 2037 was robbed down to two courses, leaving a stump and brick scars at its northern end where it joined wall 2038.

The south wall (1836) of the stable building was recorded in 1970 (Drewett 1971, 162, figs 3b, 4b) and again during the recent investigations. It had been built over the southern edge of, and just to the south of, the demolished flint-and-chalk south wall (2036 and 2065) of the earlier phase 2 building. Cuts 2089 and 2094 (fig 3b) appear to represent robbing of this earlier wall associated with the construction of the brick stable building. The former contained a tiny sherd of 17th century tin-glazed earthenware.

Phase 3c: reorganization of the brick-built stable (fig 4b)

Following the demolition of wall 2037, the building was reorganized with a series of north–south internal partition walls. These were also built of late 16th–17th century bricks and butted the north (2038–9) and south (1836) walls of the building (which were retained). Wall 2034, the most substantial of these partition walls, was 8.65m in length, 0.45m wide, and survived to a height of 0.65m or eight courses, of which the lower two were clay bonded rather than mortared. At its southern end, this wall was built directly on top of the remains of the earlier (phase 2) flint-and-chalk south wall (2065), and cut earlier floor surfaces. To the east of wall 2034, the building was divided into bays, probably loose boxes, *c* 3.5m wide, by walls 2116, 2042 and 2049, all of which had been substantially robbed out.

In the northern part of the trench, surviving remnants of internal surfaces (2058, 2061 2075 and 2105) can also be attributed to this phase. Surface 2105 was cobbled while the others comprised crushed chalk, flint and brick/tile fragments. Surface 2075 contained two residual 13th/14th century pottery sherds. Although this surface abutted drain 2096, the latter had largely silted up by this phase.

To the south of the brick stable building, a cobbled surface was recorded in 1970. This surface was cut by pit 2112, which contained 17th/18th century pottery and a clay tobacco pipe bowl (*c* 1690–1710; Drewett 1974, 34–5, fig 22b).

Phase 3d (fig 4b)

This phase reflects further remodelling of the brick stable building. Plaster was applied to the eastern face of partition walls 2034 and 2049, although this may have occurred in an earlier phase. Robber cut 2116 was dug to remove the partition wall and a short section of new wall (2041) was built in a foundation trench (2099). This wall, again built with late 16th–17th century bricks, was only 1.3m long, thus creating a larger space or room within the stable building. A small hearth (2020) was constructed close to the west wall (2034) and some droplets of lead were found associated with it. Soot deposits, probably related to use of the hearth, were observed on the east face of wall 2034, the south face of wall 2038–9 and the west face of wall 2041.

A later floor surface and its patching overlay phase 3c surface 2075, and both contained high proportions of crushed chalk. They produced a residual medieval pottery sherd and some fragments of ceramic building material.

PHASE 4: POST-MEDIEVAL (19TH CENTURY) (fig 4b)

A distinct surface of tile, brick, flint and chalk in a green clay matrix was laid across much of the western excavated area within the phase 3 brick stables, and a soakaway (2053) was dug against the east side of wall 2049. A circular well (2010) lined with bricks was dug in the yard to the south and later backfilled with demolition rubble mixed with some 19th century pottery.

Finally, the brick stable walls were extensively robbed, although the most substantial walls (2034 and 2038–9) were partially rebuilt and patched, in places quite crudely. Both walls had late 19th century walls for the school built directly on top of them. A series of very rough surfaces and make-up deposits, including crushed-brick and crushed-chalk layers, were dumped within the former stable building. These make-up deposits contained 17th to 19th century pottery, 19th century glass fragments from large, thick walled industrial containers, and a branding iron in the shape of the letter W.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPOSITS IN AREA 1 (fig 5)

Four walls were uncovered in Area 1. Walls 009 and 1213 were constructed of roughly dressed, mortared chalk, flint nodules and green sandstone blocks, while wall 2117 was made of dressed green sandstone blocks. Possible rubble surface or wall footing 003 consisted of a rectilinear cut 0.5m deep, containing pale yellow sandy mortar with many brick, tile, chalk and flint fragments, which had been dumped into the cut in a haphazard manner. All the walls were at least 0.5m wide. Most survived to a height of 0.4m although wall 2117 was about 1m high. Both walls 009 and 1213 had been robbed in places. Pottery of 17th century date (green-glazed Border ware and glazed redware (colander)) was

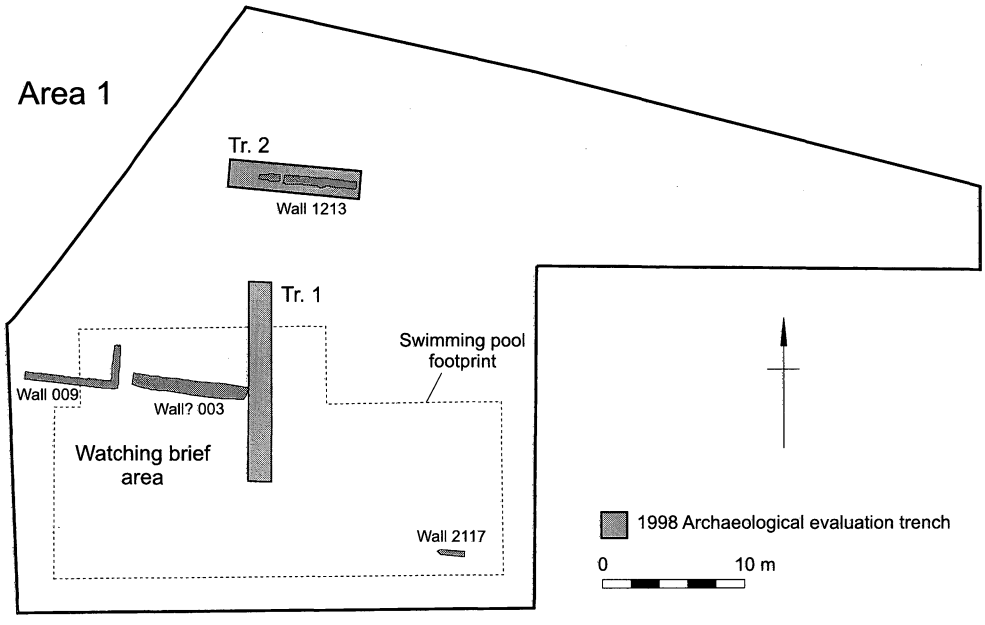

Fig 5 Old Palace School, Croydon: archaeological features in Area 1

recovered from a deposit lapping up against the robbed core of wall 1213. This suggests that the robbing of its facing stone had occurred by this date. Pottery of 17th/18th century date, clay tobacco pipe, tile and brick fragments were recovered from dark grey clayey silt deposits to the south and east of the wall 009, which overlie natural gravel.

Although none of the walls recorded in Area 1 could be dated, the use of flint, chalk and green sandstone rather than brick possibly suggests that walls 009, 1213 and 2117 were built during the 13th or 14th centuries. By the second half of the 15th century, most buildings within the palace complex were being constructed in brick. The walls appear to have been garden walls associated with the kitchen and pleasure gardens which are shown on late 18th century maps (see documentary research below) to the east of the complex of palace buildings.

Finds, by Lorraine Mepham

The small number of finds recovered are quantified by material type in table 1.

The pottery assemblage includes sherds of medieval (10 sherds/128g) as well as post-medieval (47 sherds/647g) date. Medieval fabrics comprised coarse sandy and shelly wares, and finer sandy glazed wares. The shelly wares are probably earliest in date, and were common across Surrey from the late 11th to the late 13th centuries (Jones 1998). The excavated sherds are not diagnostic, but a late 11th or 12th century date is proposed. The sandy wares include probable early Surrey coarsewares as well as probable Earlswood and Ashstead products. There is little diagnostic material apart from two white-slipped, green-glazed jug sherds and an unglazed strap handle base. The date range for the sandy wares is likely to be the 13th to the 14th centuries.

TABLE 1 Finds quantification by material type (presence/absence only for CNHSS finds)

Material	WA Evaluation		WA Excavation		WA Total		CNHSS
	no	wt (g)	no	wt (g)	no	wt (g)	
Burnt flint	–	–	16	484	16	484	–
CBM	79	18020	84	50646	163	68666	Y
Clay tobacco pipe	22	161	4	28	26	189	–
Worked flint	–	–	7	983	7	983	–
Glass	4	170	19	6314	23	6484	–
Pottery	14	240	43	535	57	775	Y
Medieval	–	–	*10*	*128*	*10*	*128*	
Post-medieval	*14*	*240*	*33*	*407*	*47*	*647*	
Stone	2	743	–	–	2	743	–
Slag	–	–	6	534	6	534	–
Metalwork	7	–	10	–	17	–	–
Iron	*6*	–	*8*	–	*14*	–	–
Lead	*1*	–	–	–	*1*	–	–
Copper alloy	–	–	*2*	–	*2*	–	–

Post-medieval wares include coarse redwares, green-glazed Border ware, Staffordshire-type slipware, tin-glazed earthenware, white salt-glaze and later stonewares, creamware and pearlware. None need be earlier in date than the 17th century and most could fit within a date range of the 18th to early 19th centuries.

Fragments of ceramic bricks and roof tiles were recovered as well as twelve complete or almost complete bricks retained as samples from structural elements found in Area 3. Most of the brick samples are very similar: handmade, unfrogged bricks with irregular to extremely rough surfaces. These bricks came from phase 2 features (pier base 2070 and wall 2085 (re-used)), from the vaulting of the phase 3a conduit 2004 (and the rubble infilling of this structure), and from the phase 3b–d walls (2034, 2037, 2039, 2041, 2042

and 2049). The size of these bricks is consistent with the standard 'Tudor' brick size of 1571 (length 230–232mm; width 100–110mm; thickness 55–65mm), with a late 16th–17th century date range. The abrasion visible on some of these bricks suggests a certain amount of re-use.

One brick of similar size, but with a very rudimentary frog, came from the phase 4 well lining 2010, and is likely to be late 18th or 19th century in date. A second brick stamped 'W' in a rudimentary frog, was found among the 19th century rubble backfill of this well. Fragments of brick identified as 'Roman' were recovered by CNHSS from the phase 1 ditch 0001/0004.

Most roof tile fragments were from peg tiles, and derived mainly from the demolition layer 2002. One curved tile, either a ridge tile or pantile, came from the same context, as did all the examples of floor tiles (nineteen fragments). The latter vary in fabric and glaze colour (clear lead glaze, clear lead glaze over white slip, or green glaze); size is uncertain as no complete lengths/widths are present. Plain tiles are notoriously difficult to date, remaining in use from the late medieval well into the post-medieval period, and they are in any case redeposited in this context.

Seven prehistoric worked flints were recovered, comprising one blade, one broken blade and five flakes. All are slightly rolled, and the broken blade is patinated. All were residual in medieval or later contexts. Burnt, unworked flint was found in slightly larger quantities. Again, these are considered to be residual prehistoric finds. Other stone finds included a piece of roofing slate and a piece of walling flint.

The metalwork comprises fourteen iron objects (nails and other structural items), two copper-alloy objects (a wire fragment and a double-looped buckle) and one waste lead strip fragment. All are likely to be of post-medieval date. A branding iron in the shape of the letter W was also recovered. A very small quantity of iron-smithing slag was recovered: five pieces from the fill of the phase 2 drain 2096. Some droplets of lead were found in phase 3d hearth 2020.

Twenty-six clay tobacco pipe fragments were recovered, including five bowls: two dated to 1610–40 (Grove 1984, type 8), both in 19th or 20th century demolition deposit 2002 and three dated to 1640–60 (Grove 1984, type 9) in 18th or 19th century deposits.

The glass was all of post-medieval date and includes seven fragments of window glass, one rolled-over bowl rim in a pale green glass, and eight fragments of green and clear bottle/jar glass. Most of the glass comprised fragments of very large, thick-walled, rounded vessels in pale olive-green glass, from demolition deposit 2002. The fragments were of similar form, and appeared to comprise the discarded (sheared off) tops of these vessels, which were completely closed forms, sealed with a thick 'blob' of glass. These may be large industrial containers for chemicals or other liquids, and were of 19th or 20th century date and probably relate to the use of the site as a calico-printing and bleaching factory.

Environmental evidence

ANIMAL BONES, by Sheila Hamilton-Dyer and Pippa Smith

A small and generally poorly preserved assemblage of animal bones was recovered from a variety of contexts and phases across the site. Fragments of 75 bones were recovered, of which only 38 could be identified to species. Sheep or goat, cattle and pig were all represented, along with one domestic fowl bone and one cat bone. The assemblage is typical of domestic refuse.

In addition, a number of small animal bones were recovered from two bulk soil samples, one from the fill of the phase 2 drain 2096 and the other from the fill of the phase 3a conduit 2004. From the former, 49 mammal bones were recovered which are likely to be from a single individual, probably a house mouse although the skull was absent. Also present were one amphibian bone, one eel cleithrum, and a fish fragment. Small mammal bones were also present in the sample from conduit 2004; in this case the jaw and incisors

could be positively identified as house mouse. The two bird bone fragments could not be identified to species but are comparable in size to fowl. The nineteen amphibian bones are from more than one individual and include a toad. Fish remains number 46 of at least three species: herring, eel and whiting.

CHARRED PLANT REMAINS AND CHARCOAL, by Rowena Gale and Pat Hinton

A one-litre sample from phase 1 posthole 2081 produced charred seeds appearing to consist entirely of oats (twelve examples); the few indeterminate cereal fragments are too small for specific identification. Only six of the grains are sufficiently intact to measure and they range from *c* 3.8 to 5.9mm in length. It is not possible to suggest whether the oats are cultivated or wild species. They may have been for human consumption or represent fodder.

Possibly contemporary uncharred seeds are represented only by brittle, desiccated testa (seed coat) fragments. They comprise four or five elder and two henbane seeds. Elder, which provides edible berries and flowers, is a plant of scrub or hedgerow, and henbane, a poisonous plant which has medicinal uses, was formerly very common on open rough ground, frequently in the nutrient-rich surroundings of middens.

A six-litre sample from the phase 3d hearth 2020 contained only a few charred fragments from dicotyledonous plants (ie not grasses, rushes, reeds, cereals etc) and a single fragment of charcoal provisionally identified as either oak (*Quercus*) or sweet chestnut (*Castanea*).

WATERLOGGED PLANT REMAINS, by Alan J Clapham

A sample from the phase 2 drain 2096 produced a total of 45 plant taxa. Most plant remains were preserved by waterlogging, but small quantities of partially mineralized and charred plant material were also present. The majority of the charred remains are indeterminate cereal grain fragments.

A variety of habitats is represented by the plant remains. These include plants of cultivated, rough and open ground, woodlands and scrub, grasslands and wet/damp places including aquatic environments. The plant taxa suggest that they originated on different soil types: lighter soils are indicated by white campion (*Silene latifolia*), sandy soils by small-flowered catchfly and pill sedge (*Silene gallica* and *Carex* cf *pilulifera*) and heavy soils by stinking mayweed (*Anthemis cotula*).

Notable species recovered include deadly nightshade (*Atropa belladonna*), which may have had medicinal uses, and is usually found in woods, scrub and cultivated ground. The excellent preservation of members of the pea family by mineralization means that it was possible to identify the following species: white clover (*Trifolium repens*), red clover (*T. pratense*) and hop trefoil (*Medicago lupulina*). These taxa are usually associated with grasslands, although they can be found in a variety of habitats.

The majority of the taxa can be found in both arable and grassland habitats. Most seem to represent the remains of animal fodder, which appears to have included weeds from crop-processing waste. The presence of mineralized seeds and other biological matter, which are usually associated with cesspits and other sources of phosphatic minerals, suggests that the plant taxa represent the remains of dung.

The presence of large numbers of sedge nutlets and rush seeds may indicate the remains of the stable floor covering, whilst the other plant taxa that indicate damp conditions may represent the remains of hay which was collected from damp grasslands. The aquatic and riverside species present, such as marsh pennywort (*Hydrocotyle vulgaris*), fine-leaved water-dropwort (*Oenanthe aquatica*), fool's water-cress and lesser marshwort (*Apium nodiflorum* and *A. inundatum*), duckweed (*Lemna* sp.) and common spike-rush (*Eleocharis palustris*) may have arrived in the water that was used either to water the animals or used to clean out the stables.

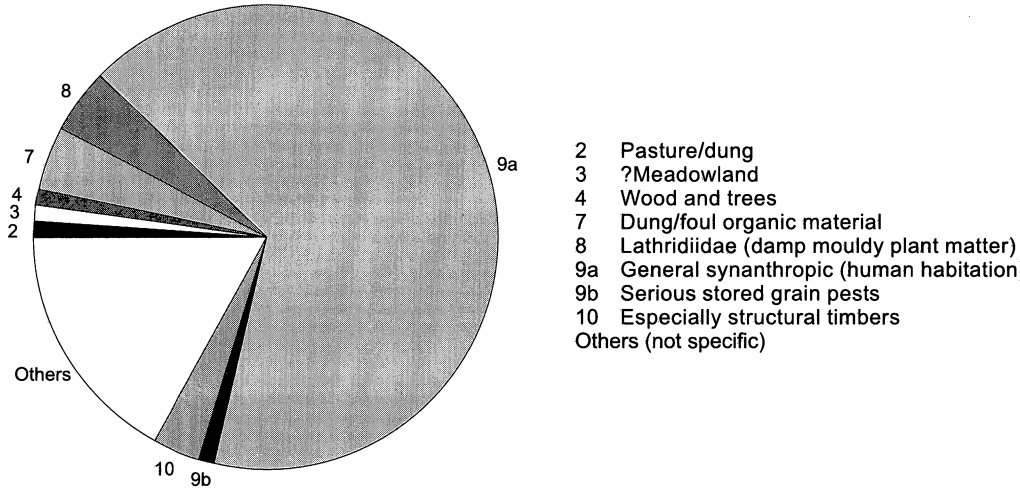

Fig 6 Old Palace School, Croydon: species groups of Coleoptera from phase 2b drain 2096

The possibility that the plant remains in the drain fill represent stabling material or animal feed can be supported by work carried out in Sweden early in the last century. Heinitz (1918) presented a list of plants that were raised from seeds from horse dung. Eight of the 46 species listed by Heinitz were found in the drain sample. Heinitz showed that a large number of seeds can survive being eaten by horses and therefore have a greater chance of being preserved in the archaeological record, with some being mineralized owing to the presence of dung and urine. Larger numbers of seeds pass through the viscera of horses unharmed than those eaten by cattle because horses are greedy feeders and they do not chew the cud (Ridley 1930). The fact that some of the seeds in the sample are badly eroded may indicate that they have passed through the digestive system.

In conclusion, it can be said that the plant remains recovered from the drain fill, which were preserved by waterlogging and partial mineralization, most likely represent the remains of stabling. The presence of large numbers of sedge nutlets and rush seeds may indicate the remains of the stable floor covering, and the other plant taxa the remains of fodder, which had then been passed through the digestive tract of an animal. The presence of a large number of taxa representing arable conditions suggests that waste products from crop processing were probably fed to the animals. The presence of grassland indicators may also suggest that hay was also used as fodder.

INSECT REMAINS, by Mark Robinson

Some insects were found when the sample from the phase 2 drain 2096 was being processed for waterlogged plant remains. The insects, comprising Coleoptera (beetles) and Diptera (flies) were subsequently recovered and identified. Preservation of the remains was not very good, so many of the Diptera puparia could not be identified but it proved possible to identify enough of the Coleoptera sclerites (abdomen) for useful interpretation. The results for the Coleoptera have been displayed by species groups as a percentage of the total number of terrestrial individuals (fig 6) largely following Robinson (1991, 278–81). The synanthropic beetles (those associated with human habitations) of Species Group 9, however, have been divided into Groups 9a, general synanthropic species such as *Typhaea stercorea,* and 9b, serious pests of stored grain, for example *Oryzaephilus surinamensis.*

Most of the Coleoptera belong to just two species: *Tipnus unicolor* and *Typhaea stercorea.* Both are general synanthropic beetles of Group 9a and readily occur inside buildings. *T. unicolor* is an omnivorous beetle which although also occurring in nests is most usually

found in barns, stables and outbuildings (Koch 1989, 281). *T. stercorea* is a fungal feeder which is found in mouldy hay and straw including haystack bottoms and in stable refuse (Koch 1989, 221). Other beetles which occur in decaying plant material, sometimes or even usually inside buildings, include *Ptenidium* sp., *Xylodromus depressus*, *Atomaria* sp., *Lathridius minutus* gp. and *Aglenus brunneus*.

All the fly puparia which could be identified were from species whose larvae live in decaying organic material including stable manure, in which *Musca domestica* (house fly) and *Stomoxys calcitrans* (stable fly) often occur together. *S. calcitrans* is characteristic of urine and faeces (Colyer & Hammond 1951, 252; Edwards *et al* 1939, 116–17; Pont 1973, 263–6; Smart 1948, 58–61). The adult *S. calcitrans* is a blood-sucking fly and can be a nuisance biting both humans and stock. Coleoptera that occur in dung included *Cercyon* sp. and *Hister merdarius*.

There were few insects in the sample from other habitats. Some wood-boring beetles, including *Xestobium rufovillosum* (death-watch beetle) and *Anobium punctatum* (woodworm beetle), are likely to have lived in structural timbers. There was a single grain weevil, *Sitophilus granarius*, which is a pest of stored grain. Scarabaeoid dung beetles were represented by an example of *Aphodius* sp. There were also two beetles whose larvae develop in the pods or seeds of clovers and vetches, *Bruchus* or *Bruchidius* sp. (not *rufimanus*) and *Apion* sp.

The insects can largely be divided into synanthropic beetles and flies of dung. Taken together, these results suggest that the drain contained stable manure that had accumulated inside a building. It is likely that more outdoor species of insects, including a greater range of beetles of decomposing organic material, would have been present if the material had been left outside in a midden for a long period of time. The grain beetle and the beetles of clover and vetches had perhaps been among fodder. The paucity of scarabaeoid dung beetles would be anticipated because they tend to be associated with animal droppings on pasture.

Documentary research, by Christopher Phillpotts

INTRODUCTION

Documentary research was used to assist with the interpretation of the excavated remains by setting them within the development of the whole palace complex. The history of the site was investigated from a variety of printed primary and secondary material, manuscripts, illustrations and maps. The earliest known map of the palace and its vicinity dates from 1780, and a sequence of maps is available for the 19th century. Views are available of parts of the palace in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Manuscript evidence has been accessed by references culled from the printed material and from catalogues to the relevant document classes and collections in the record repositories visited.

Maps, illustrations and manuscripts have been consulted at the British Library (BL), the Public Record Office (PRO) (without result), Surrey History Centre (SHC) at Woking, Croydon Local Studies Library (CLSL) and Lambeth Palace Library (LPL).

The registers of the archbishops of Canterbury survive intermittently from the archiepiscopate of John Peckham (1279–92) onwards. They provide little information about the form and usage of the buildings at Croydon, other than recording when the archbishops were in residence. Only a few building accounts survive for Croydon Palace throughout its history. Excerpts from several of the accounts at Lambeth Palace Library were published by Andrew Ducarel in the late 18th century; he speculated that most of the accounts had been destroyed when William Brereton bought the palace in the 1640s (Ducarel 1783, 33, app xiv 61–8). Ducarel's printed versions of the building accounts contain some errors and omissions, and some of the account rolls have been re-dated since his time. His work has therefore been correlated with the original accounts at Lambeth Palace Library wherever identification is possible. No details of building or repairs appear

to be given for the periods when the palace was in royal hands during archiepiscopal vacancies; the extant accounts at the Public Record Office are merely summaries of receipts. The account of the archbishop's reeve in 1399–1400 provides the most useful detail (LPL: ED 356 mm5 and 6). Later 15th century accounts tend to mention quantities of building materials purchased and labour remunerated, without specifying the locations in which they were applied. Later accounts refer to the detail of separate 'particulars of accounts', which have not survived.

For these reasons, and because of time limitations, some documents have not been consulted. These include some accounts which appear less useful (PRO: SC6/1128/2, 3, 7–9, 12, 14; LPL: ED 1218–21) and those archbishops' registers which remain unpublished and unindexed.

THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL RESIDENCE: 12TH AND 13TH CENTURIES

The manor of Croydon belonged to the archbishops of Canterbury from at least the 8th century onwards, and they may already have had a residence here at this time. There was a *monasterium* here in 809, when King Coenwulf of Mercia and his *witan* used it for a meeting. Some of the architecture of the archbishop's buildings at Croydon suggests a 12th century, even Norman origin (*VCH,* **4**, 206–7; Oswald 1965; Tatton-Brown 2000, 4, 14, 40). They certainly existed by the archiepiscopate of Stephen Langton, who stayed there in 1213 and 1215 (Major 1950, 164–5).

The 12th century residence probably consisted of stone-built main buildings and timber agricultural structures with shingled roofs grouped around a large courtyard. The main buildings comprised a first-floor hall, on the site of the later guard room, a chamber at its west end, and a chapel (fig 7). These were considerably extended in the 13th century (Anderson 1879, 294; Faulkner 1970, 134). They may have been connected by covered ways, as the *claustrum* was provided with ground-beams in 1236/7. Repairs were also made in this year to the kitchen and the bakehouse, at the east end of the hall; the salsary and the wardrobe; the granges, the stable, the ox-houses and the sheep-house (LPL: ED 1193, partly washed out; and Ducarel 1783, app xiv 61, where the account is misdated to temp Edward II). The courtyard was an irregular quadrangle on the eastern side of the churchyard, measuring approximately 67m east–west by 107m north–south at maximum (*GM:* 1834, 250; Faulkner 1970, 133). The evidence of the 1970 excavation suggests that the central part of the courtyard was cultivated between the Late Saxon period and the early 14th century (Drewett 1974, 24, 28). The undated phase 1 postholes found further north may have been part of the agricultural buildings. Four cruck timbers were bought for the buildings of the courtyard in 1236/7 (LPL: ED 1193).

Around the central complex to the south and east were enclosed gardens, including a vineyard. Repairs were made to the vines, and digging and planting work was done in the gardens in 1236/7 (LPL: ED 1193). It is possible that the structures excavated in Area 1 represent the corner of the yard in wall 009, and the south and north sides of the vineyard in walls 003 and 1213 respectively. The 18th century layout suggests this identification (fig 8), although it is difficult to place Area 1 with any accuracy on the 1780 and 1797 maps.

The archbishop's park was beyond the gardens. The church and the manor house were virtually on an island, surrounded by the waters of two streams, which met to the north-west of the church and were linked to the south and east of the manor house by a series of artificial watercourses and fishponds (fig 8; Anderson 1879; Oswald 1965). Some of these ponds lay within the boundaries of the park (LPL: ED 356 m5). Archbishop Walter Reynolds purchased half an acre of land from one of his tenants in 1315, in order to extend the garden, probably to the south and south-west (Ducarel 1783, 68–71).

The layout of the whole complex is comparable to that of Winchester House, the residence of the bishop of Winchester in Southwark. Here the early 13th century house had a courtyard of a similar size to the south of the hall and service building range, linked

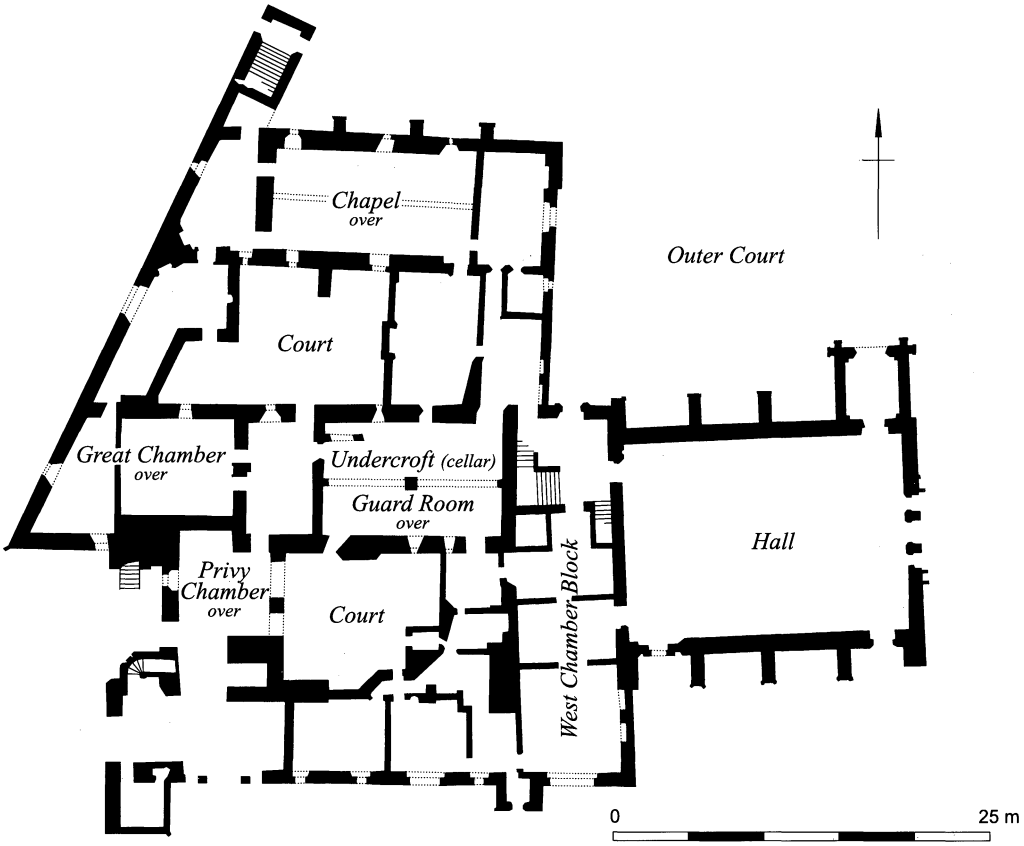

Fig 7 Old Palace School, Croydon: Ground floor plan of existing buildings at Old Palace School (after Faulkner 1970, fig 4 with modifications).

to gardens to the west. These were linked in turn to the bishop's park further to the west (Phillpotts 1999, 48–9).

The function of the archbishops' manor at Croydon was primarily domestic: as a temporary halt for the archbishop and his retinue on his journeys between Canterbury and London; as a venue for the conduct of the affairs of his see and his province; and as a hunting lodge. The archbishops were intimately involved in the inner circles of the government of medieval England and frequently served the king as Chancellors. They also needed access to the law courts and parliaments held at Westminster. They were constantly peripatetic, taking their household retainers and equipment with them in a ceaseless round of journeys. This repeated travelling became a normal pattern in the late 13th century, and extended into the 14th and 15th centuries. Their residences were points on these established itineraries, and were not permanently occupied at full capacity. Croydon was the penultimate stop on the archbishops' regular journeys from Canterbury to Lambeth Palace, which passed through Charing, Maidstone and Otford, all manors belonging to them (Tatton-Brown 2000, 37–9, 44).

At this period the Croydon residence probably served an economic as well as a domestic function, acting as the centre for the management of the archbishop's estates in Surrey, Middlesex and Hertfordshire, and as a depot for the collection of agricultural produce (*VCH*, **4**, 206). Similarly, in the first quarter of the 13th century, the bishops of Winchester were using their Southwark residence as a depot for livestock and produce from their Thames valley manors (Phillpotts 1999, 48).

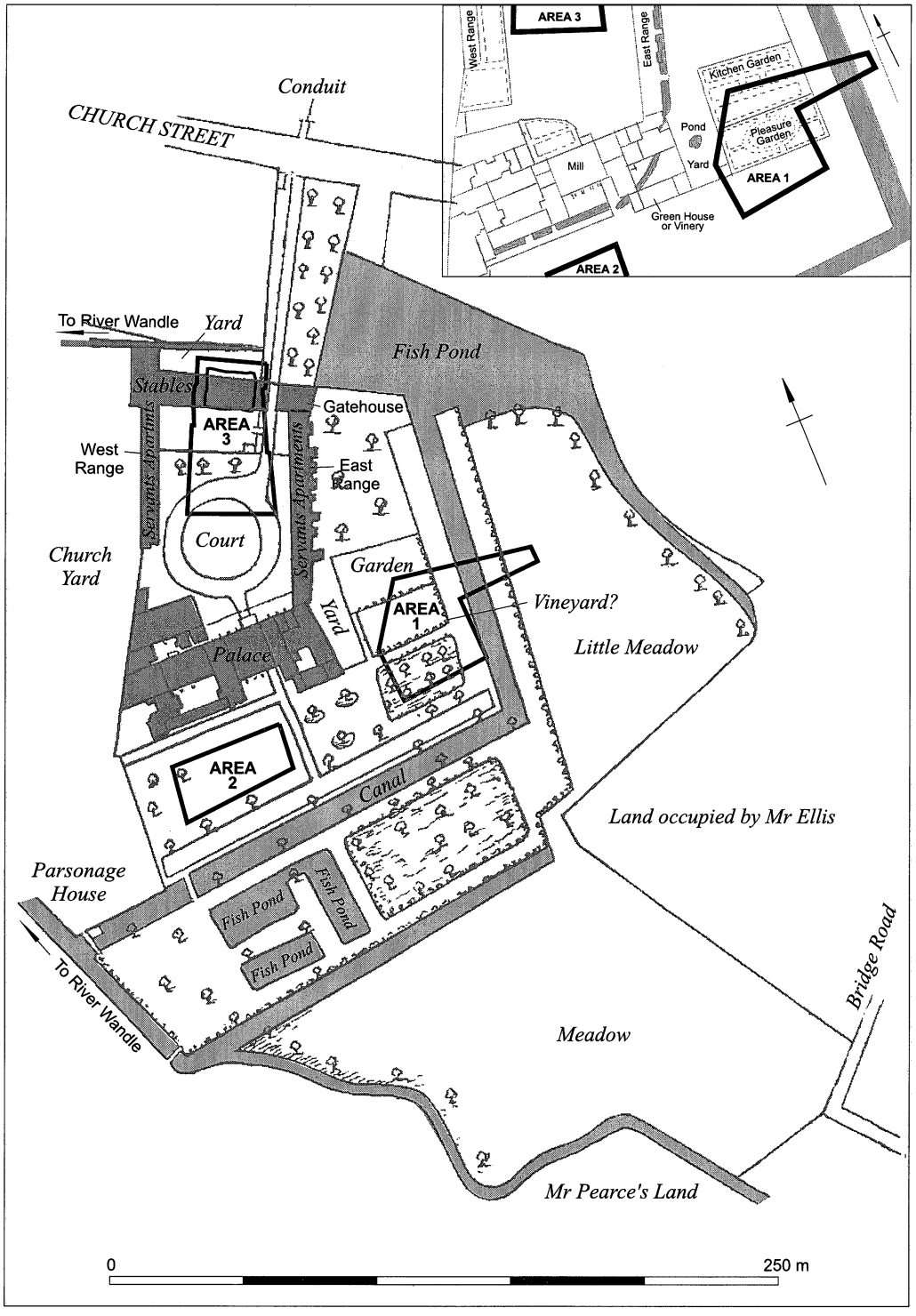

Fig 8 Old Palace School, Croydon: Areas 1 to 3 and the excavation trench in Area 3 superimposed over the sale plan of Croydon Palace 1780 (redrawing of SHC: 4348/1/92/2). Inset shows extract from deed plan of Croydon Palace 1797 (Croydon Local Studies Library).

No building works are noted in the account of 1271/2, when the manor was in royal hands (PRO: SC6/1128/1). The earliest deed known to have been drawn up by the archbishops at Croydon dates from 1273 (*VCH*, **4**, 206).

THE BUILDING CAMPAIGN OF 1397–1400

The principal phase of building at Croydon, known from the documentary evidence, occurred at the end of the 14th century. Archbishop Courtney (1381–96) had built a new chapel by 1390 (Anderson 1879, 295). More extensive work was carried out by his successor, Archbishop Thomas Arundel (1397–1414), in the first few years of his archiepiscopate. This work appears to have continued while he was in exile in 1397 to 1399, and while his see was held by Roger Walden. A total of £33 14d was spent on this work in the year of the surviving account for 1399/1400, but a marginal reference is also made to carpentry work done in the previous year (LPL: ED 356 mm5 and 6).

Most detail is known about the new 'great stable' built by Arundel. Much of the structure had evidently been built by the time of the surviving account, and the work of 1399/1400 was concentrated on its roof, doors and windows; and a timber partition between the old and new stables. The new stable had a private chamber built at one end, and this was similarly divided from the stable by a timber partition. Rafters for the new stable were supported on iron hooks. A total of 41,000 tiles were used to roof the new stable and chamber, bonded with sand and lime. Grooved boards, wainscot boards and iron hinges were bought for the doors and windows. Mangers were made in the stable, supported on posts for which postholes were dug.

The partition between the old and new stables had dug foundations with postholes. Eight cart-loads of sand were bought for these and clay was rammed around its base. It was capped with concave tiles and plain tiles. Both this and the partition with the private chamber were lathed (double lathed in many places), and daubed with red clay and straw.

The foundations of the new stable itself are not mentioned in the surviving account, but presumably details were included in the lost accounts of 1397/8 or 1398/9. However, they may have been stone foundation walls like those built 4 feet (1.2m) high by the mason for the new hall. A foundation wall of this sort appears be represented by the east–west chalk and flint wall of this phase found in 1970 (Drewett 1971, 162, figs 3a, 4a) and (walls 2065, 2036) in 1999. The extended stable facilities were presumably designed to house the horses of an expanded retinue.

Arundel also built a new hall, described as being opposite the cellar and towards the garden. This was built from the foundations upwards in 1399/1400, and was made of timber with lathed and daubed walls. It had a tiled roof (LPL: ED 356 mm 5 and 6). This may have been the original form of the present hall (fig 7).

A new door was made for the cellar and the wall around it was mended. A new stone doorway was made for the chamber and installed (not 'of Caen stone', as Ducarel 1783, 56, and Anderson 1879, 296). A granary was described as new and evidently lay on the west side of the courtyard, as a wall next to it towards the cemetery (churchyard) was mended. It had chambers over it; both the granary and the chambers were lathed in 1399/1400, and a ceiling was installed in the chamber. Rafters were re-hung in the old stable and its racks were repaired. The great gate of the manor house was re-hung on iron hooks. This was adjacent to the new stable block. A hedge was made between the pond in the park and the corner of the kitchen, and a palisade around the pond in the garden was mended (LPL: ED 356 mm 5 and 6). These works involved bringing wainscot boards from London, rafters from Bristol, and the purchase of *estrichbords* imported from the Baltic region.

Also in the building programme of these years was an inner or private hall on the site of the upper storey of the original first-floor hall, now called the guard room (fig 7). Arundel's arms appear on the roof corbels. Another structure was built on the site of the privy

chamber, and possibly a chapel on the site of the present chapel (*VCH,* **4**, 207; Faulkner 1970, 135). Arundel was granted an oratory for a new or repaired chapel in 1401 (Anderson 1879, 296, quoting the first volume of Arundel's register f327v).

RESIDENCE INTO PALACE: 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES

No repairs to the buildings are recorded in the manor reeve's accounts for 1427/8 and 1437/8 (LPL: ED 358; PRO: SC6/1011/26). In July 1441, Archbishop Henry Chichele appointed Adam Pykman and Richard Pykman, two members of his household, as keepers of the mansion house and park at Croydon for life (Ducarel 1783, 35, app i 17–18; Jacob 1943, i 318–19). The Pykmans and their successors are known to have made various repairs in 1455–83. Roofs were patched and replaced, walls were re-daubed, lead gutters were mended and doors were replaced, but few details are given of locations within the residence (Ducarel 1783, 58–9, app xiv 64–8; Anderson 1879, 297–8; LPL: ED 361, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216). A dovecote was first mentioned in 1458/9 in a fruit garden called *Culumhousegardyn* (LPL: ED 1213 m1). Racks and mangers were made for the stable and a wall was capped with tiles in the garden in 1473/4 (LPL: ED 1215).

The brick ranges on the east and west sides of the courtyard were probably built in the second half of the 15th century (fig 8), perhaps replacing earlier agricultural buildings such as the granary of the 1390s and the granges. The new east range had a series of staircases projecting to the east, whereas the west range had only one staircase and a long gallery (Ducarel 1783, 45; *GM:* 1834, 251; Oswald 1965; Faulkner 1970, 137 fig 6, 138). These structures are thought to have housed the archbishop's servants and his guests' retainers during his periodic visits. They therefore reflect a further expansion in retinues and a change in emphasis of the function of the residence at this period.

A residence which was becoming palatial in function required a grand entrance. The gatehouse was on the east side of the stable. The lowest stone storey may have been built by Archbishop Arundel or one of his successors. The two upper brick storeys with diaper patterns are thought to have been built by Archbishop Morton (1486–1500), who built similar structures at his other residences. The gatehouse was approached through an avenue from Church Street. There was a gate passage for carriages and a smaller passage for pedestrians. On to the carriage passage a small door and a window opened from a chamber on the western side, adjacent to the stable block. The apartments in the upper storeys were later called the porter's lodge or the housekeeper's residence, and in the 15th and 16th centuries probably housed the keeper of the manor (figs 9–10; Ducarel 1783, plate IV opp p 48; Steinman 1833, 103; *GM:* 1834, 251; Anderson 1879, 311; Oswald 1965; Gent 1991, 6; Tatton-Brown 2000, 49, 55–7; SHC: 4348/1/91/1; 4348/1/96/6; PX/48/9).

The archbishop's residence at Croydon was first called a palace in the register of Archbishop Whitgift in 1599. Thereafter the term Croydon Palace became usual (Oswald 1965; Tatton-Brown 2000, 73). The early manor house had grown by a series of stages into a late medieval palace, a process culminating in the late 16th century when Queen Elizabeth and her entourage stayed there several times (Anderson 1879, 298; Faulkner 1970, 138).

17TH CENTURY CHANGES

The archbishops of Canterbury continued to use Croydon Palace as a summer residence in the 17th century. In October 1622, a list of the archbishop's horses at Croydon noted five grey horses and four coach mares in the stable, besides others at grass, and nine cart-horses and other cattle in Croydon Park (LPL: MS 1730).

By the mid-1640s, Archbishop Laud had leased the palace to the earl of Nottingham. In 1645, the archbishopric was dissolved and its temporalities were surveyed for sale. Croydon

Palace was surveyed in March 1647 and described as the site of the manor, with a granary, outhouses, a courtyard, yards and stables, surrounded by a courtyard on the north, a small stream to the east and south, and the churchyard to the west. It had a large garden with a fruit house, other gardens and orchards, a pigeon house, watercourses and three fishponds (fig 8; Ducarel 1783, app ix 51, app xiv 68). The palace was sold to Sir William Brereton of Cheshire, and recovered by Archbishop Juxon at the Restoration in 1660.

In the early 18th century, it was believed that the stalls of the stable were the work of Brereton, and it was probably he who rebuilt the building in brick at some time in the 1640s or 1650s (LPL: MS 1154). At the time of Archbishop Sancroft (1678–1689) there were two stables with two haylofts over them next to the porter's lodge, which could accommodate four or five horses each (Steinman 1833, 103, quoting BL: Harley MS 3797, 152). The stable block had high windows under the eaves in the north and south walls lighting the haylofts, and at least two doors and two lower windows on the south side. To the south of the building was a walled stable yard, with some small buildings in its south-east corner. To the north of the building was a walled garden with trees, entered by a gateway from the entrance road in front of the gatehouse (figs 9–10; Gent 1991, 6; SHC: 4348/1/91/1; PX48/9).

18TH CENTURY DECLINE

Croydon Palace was neglected by some of the 18th century archbishops, and extensively refurbished by others. Estimates of works required in 1737/8 included work at the granary and the gatehouse, and a wharf and sluice at the entrance to the palace. Brickwork 174 feet 6 inches (53.2m) long was required to underpin the walls of the stable and coach-house. The stable needed repairs to its tiled roof, a new hay-loft floor, new drainpipes and guttering, chains, bolts and staples, and glazier's work. Witnesses to the court case over these dilapidations stated that there was sufficient stable space at the palace fitted up with racks and mangers, and that it would be unnecessary to fit any more. They also stated that it would be more appropriate to pave the stable with clinker bricks, than to lay the joist-and-plank floor that had been proposed. There had been no racks and mangers in some of the stalls of the stable for the previous 30 years, and they had been used as wood-stores, slaughterhouses and for 'other ordinary uses'. A small watercourse had been made about eighteen years previously, running from the 'great' pond westward 8 or 9 yards (7.3–8.2m) to the north of the stable. It was about 12 inches (0.3m) deep, and was revetted with stakes and boards (LPL: MS 1154).

Archbishop Wake (1716–37) and Archbishop Herring (1747–57) put the palace back into a state of repair and improved the gardens (Anderson 1879, 304; Oswald 1965). It was not inhabited by any of the archbishops after Dr Hutton died there in 1758 (*GM:* 1834, 250).

In the late 18th century, the structures excavated in Area 1 (fig 5) formed the boundary walls of gardens extending to the east of the kitchen and the greenhouse or vinery, a building like an orangery at the south-east corner of the core structures (fig 8, inset). The area between walls 003, 009 and 1213 is shown as a pleasure garden, and the area to the north of wall 1213 was laid out with rectangular beds, perhaps as a kitchen garden. The area to the north-west of wall 009 was a yard adjacent to the kitchen. In this south-east corner of the yard there was a small square structure and further to the north was a small round pond.

NEW USES IN THE 19TH CENTURY

By the late 18th century, Croydon Palace was again in a state of disrepair, and its location was regarded as unhealthy. In 1780 Archbishop Cornwallis obtained an act of parliament allowing him to vest the palace and the two adjoining closes in a panel of trustees,

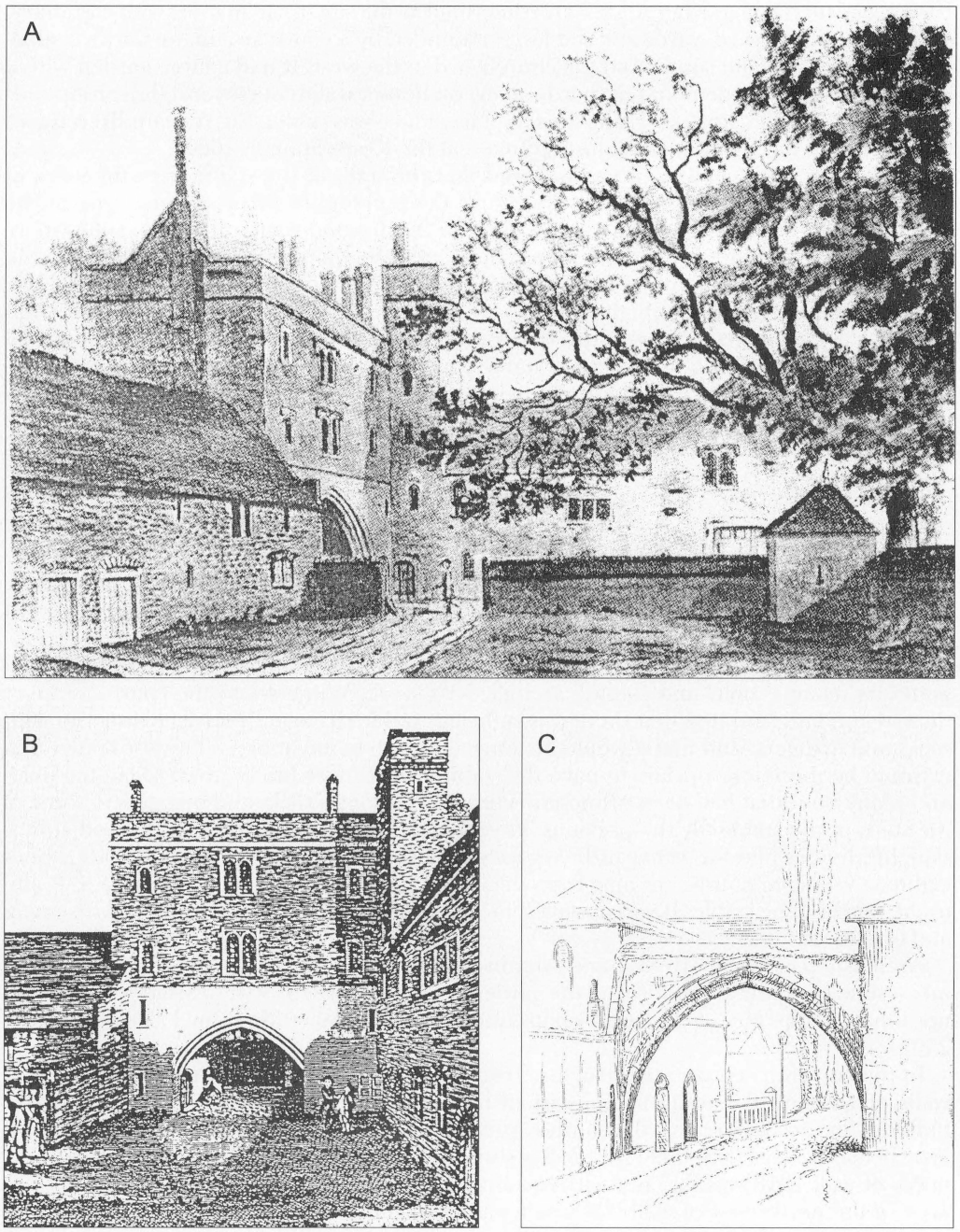

Fig 9 Old Palace School, Croydon. Views of the stable, stable yard, gatehouse and east range – south side: A) copy held by the CLSL from a watercolour dated May 1768, possibly by Grose; B) Ducarel 1783, plate IV; C) Anderson 1879, 311. © Croydon Local Studies Library, reproduced by kind permission.

consisting of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the bishop of London and the bishop of Winchester, who were empowered to sell the property, or pull the buildings down and sell the materials. A survey of the property was made by a Mr Middleton, who drew up a full plan (fig 8). The estate was purchased by Abraham Pitches

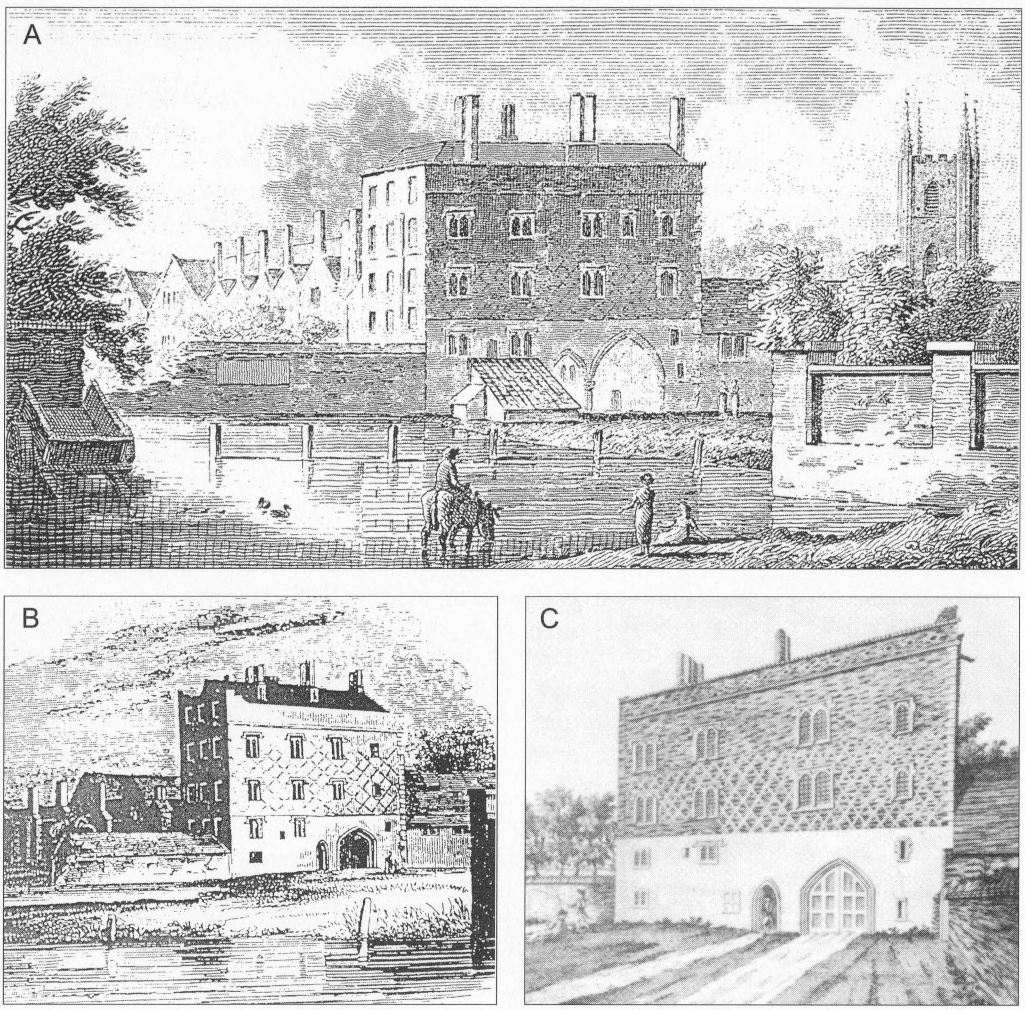

Fig 10 Old Palace School, Croydon. Views of the east range, gatehouse and stable – north side: A) SHC: PX 48/9 An engraving by S Raule from a drawing by J Nixon for the *European Magazine* 1808; B) Steinman 1833, 100 and *GM:* 1834, 249; C) Ducarel 1783, plate IV. © Surrey History Service (fig 10A) and Croydon Local Studies Library (fig 10B and 10C), reproduced by kind permission.

of Streatham in February 1781, and the archbishops built a more modern dwelling nearby at Addington (Ducarel 1783, 78 and plate VIII; Manning & Bray 1804–14, **2**, 537; Anderson 1879, 306; *VCH*, **4**, 206; LPL: TA 68/1 and 2; SHC: 4348/1/92/2).

In 1793, the palace property was acquired by Samuel Starey. Parts of the core buildings were then converted for use as a calico-printing factory (fig 8, inset). The gardens were used as grounds for the washing and bleaching of linen (*GM:* 1834, 250; Anderson 1879, 306). A local historian commented that 'this sumptuous and kingly palace [is] now prostituted to servile uses' (Steinman 1833, 74). The main part of the palace was still a washing and bleaching ground run by the Starey family in 1844 and 1867 (CLSL: Croydon tithe apportionment no 20; OS 6-inch map 1867).

The gatehouse was demolished in 1806, except for its inner stone arch and its ground-floor storey. The arch continued to form the entrance to the grounds of the old palace for most of the 19th century (fig 9C). The remaining ground floor was turned into a house, the

former pedestrian passage adapted as its entrance door (Anderson 1879, 311; BL: Add MS 36388 f230; CLSL: Croydon tithe apportionment nos 22–3; SHC: 4348/1/90/4; 4348/1/96/3).

The west range was demolished in 1808 (Steinman 1833, 103; *GM:* 1834, 251). The cleared ground, part of the courtyard in front of it, and part of the stable yard to the south of the stables, were added to the churchyard to extend it eastwards. The level of the transferred ground was raised with cartloads of earth and rubbish, and a brick wall was built around it (LPL: TA 68/19 and 20). The church was rebuilt in 1867, extending into this new ground.

The peripheral parts of the palace site were sold off by the Starey family in separate lots in 1832. These portions were soon converted into private dwellings (Steinman 1833, 119; *GM:* 1834, 250; Anderson 1879, 306). The stables were converted into a row of cottages in about 1833, and the eastern portion became an infant school. By 1844, the east end (ie to the east of construction cut 2060, fig 4b) had been demolished and a new east end wall had been built with buttresses (Steinman 1833, 103; *GM:* 1834, 251; Drewett 1971, 165; 1974, 27, 31; CLSL: Croydon tithe apportionment nos 13–18). The north gable of the east range had been exposed by the demolition of the gatehouse in 1806. This range survived until 1834, when it was removed and two houses were built on its site (*GM:* 1834, 251; CLSL: Croydon tithe apportionment nos 26–7).

In the garden, a house was formed out of the greenhouse or vinery, at the south-east corner of the core structures. This was extended to include the former bakehouse in 1832, and took in part of the site of the east range to expand its garden in 1834. Walls 009, 003, and 1213 in Area 1 (fig 5) may have been demolished at this time. The Croydon and Merstham railway ran along the north side of the palace site by 1834, along the line of the present Church Road (*GM:* 1834, 251, 253; Anderson 1879, 326; CLSL: Croydon tithe apportionment no 28).

The archbishops' canals and fishponds were filled in during the 19th century. Later in the century the chapel was used as a girls' school of industry and the hall as a laundry. Between 1850 and 1867, the west end of the former stable building (ie to the west of the current school boundary) was demolished and replaced by a terrace of four houses. In 1887, the duke of Newcastle purchased the core structures of the Croydon Palace site and presented them to the Sisters of the Church, who established a girls' school there (*VCH*, **4**, 206). By 1895, the rest (originally the central part) of the former stable building had been demolished and replaced by the Parish Church Primary School.

Conclusions

The excavations in the grounds of the Old Palace School at Croydon provided a rare opportunity to undertake archaeological investigations within this important palace complex. The documentary evidence shows that the archbishops' residence rose in status, from a manor house and estate management centre in the 13th century, to become a late medieval and early post-medieval archiepiscopal palace. It declined in the 18th and 19th centuries when the site was split up for industrial, domestic and educational purposes. Although the excavated areas have produced evidence from the peripheral parts of the palace complex in the stables and garden, they nevertheless reflect its changing fortunes, in the increased provision for the archbishop's expanded retinues in the stables, the recreational aspect of the gardens of the palace, and the subsequent adaptation of both to later uses.

The earliest features from the trench in Area 3 included two drainage or boundary ditches, a gully or post-trench, two pits and two postholes. Shell-tempered pottery from a ditch and a posthole suggest that these two features at least may be late 11th or 12th century in date. The postholes may have been connected with agricultural buildings associated with the early medieval manor.

A silty gravel deposit was laid down to level the site prior to the construction of a large rectangular building with flint and chalk walls, probably Archbishop Arundel's 'new' or 'great' stable which was completed in 1399/1400. These walls may have provided foundations for a timber superstructure. Analysis of insect species and waterlogged plant remains from a drain within the stable confirmed that this was used to remove manure. There was some evidence for later modifications to the late 14th century stable. Late 16th or 17th century brick suggest that these modifications occurred after the east and west ranges and the upper two storeys of the gatehouse had been built in brick in the second half of the 15th century.

No further evidence was found in 1999 for a Tudor stable block, as had been suggested by a robbed-out foundation trench (layer 38) uncovered in 1970 (Drewett 1971, 162, fig 2). The recent excavation showed that the late 14th century stable with walls of flint and chalk was replaced by a large, brick, 17th century stable block. This was probably the work of Sir William Brereton of Cheshire in the 1640s or 1650s. The first stage was the construction of a chalk-lined conduit or drain across the site, which did not appear to be connected with the drainage of the stable block, but seems to have carried water containing sewage and kitchen waste from the palace complex downstream to the river Wandle. The brick-built stable block underwent at least two phases of modifications with changes to the arrangement of its internal space. There was clear evidence for the layout of the loose-boxes, and a larger space was created by the removal of one of the internal partition walls. This may have been a tack room and was heated by a hearth. The external appearance of this stable block is captured on a number of 18th century views (figs 9–10).

Map evidence shows the gradual demolition of the stable block during the 19th century. The east end had been demolished by 1844, the west end between 1850 and 1867, and by 1895 the remaining (central part) had also been demolished. Some evidence for the 19th century use of the palace complex as a calico-printing and bleaching factory was provided by the discovery of fragments of industrial glass vessels, probably containers for chemicals.

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PRO: Public Record Office
SHC: Surrey History Centre, Woking
CLSL: Croydon Local Studies Library
LPL: Lambeth Palace Library

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