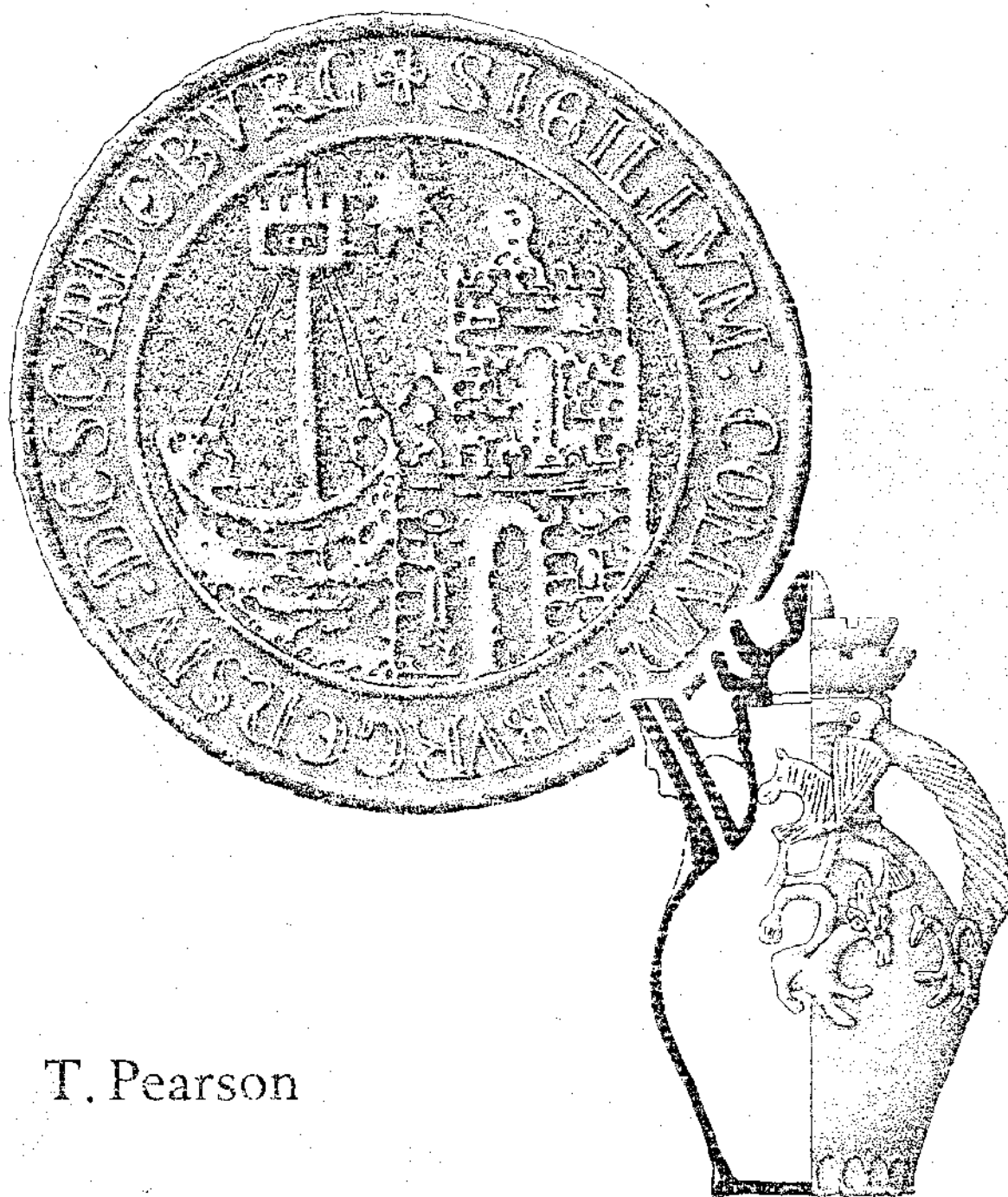


An Archaeological Survey
of
SCARBOROUGH



by T. Pearson

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

OF

SCARBOROUGH

by

Trevor Pearson B.A.

Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit 1987.

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SECTION A: INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

In the 14th century Scarborough was one of the 30 most wealthy towns in the country, its sheltered harbour attracting English and European merchants seeking the produce of northern markets and monasteries. Unlike the castle, which still dominates Scarborough from the east, little survives of the medieval town fabric. Similarly, a reconstruction of its growth and topography from documentary sources is hampered by a paucity of surviving deeds from the middle ages, the principal archive being the hundred or so documents copied in the corporation's White Vellum Book in the 15th-century. However there exists another, largely unexplored, archive of archaeological information buried beneath the modern town, and which can in many ways be more informative than most documents. For example, archaeology encounters all classes of urban society and illuminates periods before written sources exist, whereas documents chiefly record the activities of the wealthy. However, much of this buried archive has been destroyed without record in the past and the rest is under constant threat of destruction by modern development.

As a preliminary to the future excavations, the present survey examines the contexts, likely content and preservation of Scarborough's archaeological record. To establish its content the survey discusses possible areas of pre-medieval settlement (section C), the topography of the medieval town (section D-F), the occupation of its inhabitants (section G) and the stages of the town's development (section H). The best preserved remains are likely in less-developed areas, and where deposits are waterlogged or are deeper and these are outlined in section I. Section J suggests future topics for archaeological research, defines areas containing the most significant information, and makes some suggestions as to potential tourist attractions. The gazetteer briefly records previous encounters with the archaeological record, (although until past excavations are fully published some of the claims are considered speculative) and catalogues possible medieval features surviving above ground. In addition the accompanying maps show terracing walls, demolished buildings and cellared properties, since these affect the preservation of the archaeological record. The castle is not included in the survey apart from discussion of the pre-medieval settlement on the headland. This area is a scheduled ancient monument protected by English Heritage and therefore not subject to the destructive threats facing the rest of the town.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Advice and information for the survey has been given by Scarborough Council's Department of Technical Services, the Rotunda Museum, Scarborough Reference Library, North Yorkshire Archaeology Office and it has incorporated information given by Peter Farmer in 1979. The work owes much to the encouragement and assistance of my colleagues at Birmingham University, particularly Peter Leach for commenting on a draft of the report. Frances Hall assisted in the surveying and the drawings are the work of Sonia Hodges, Tim Watkins and myself. Ann Humphries, Rabia Khanum and Jackie Pearson are thanked for their perseverance with an untidy script.

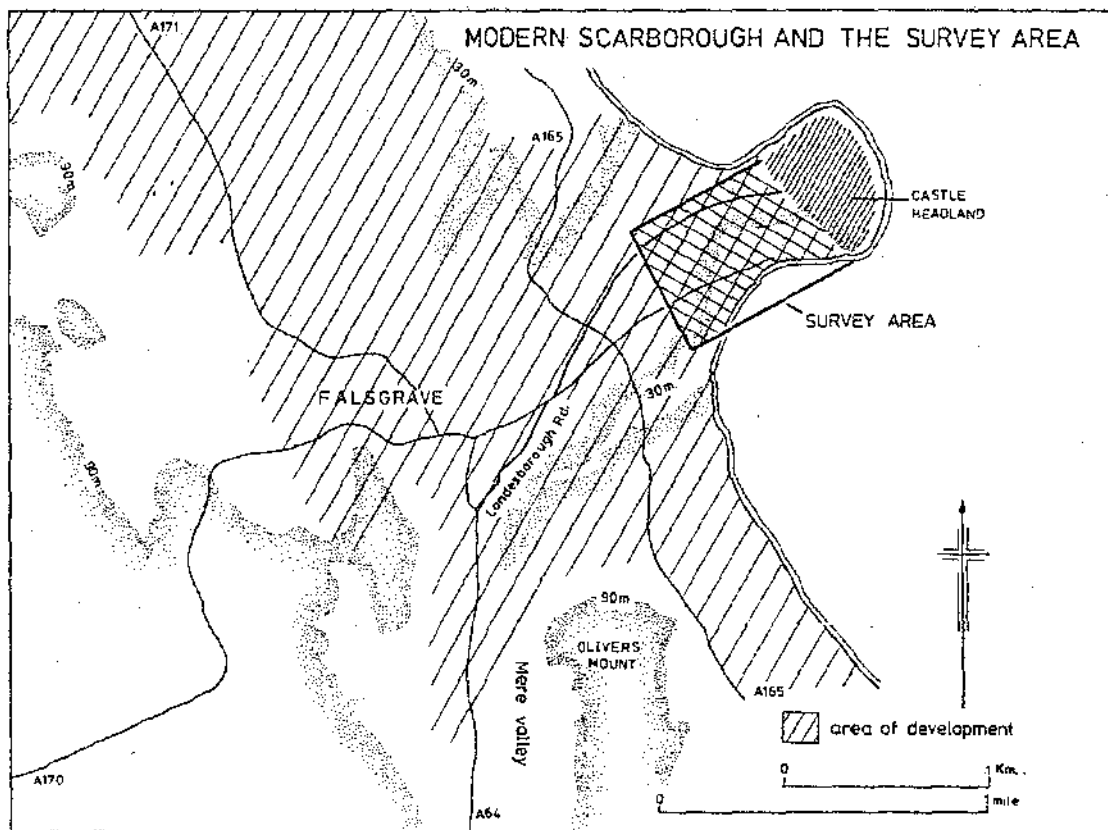


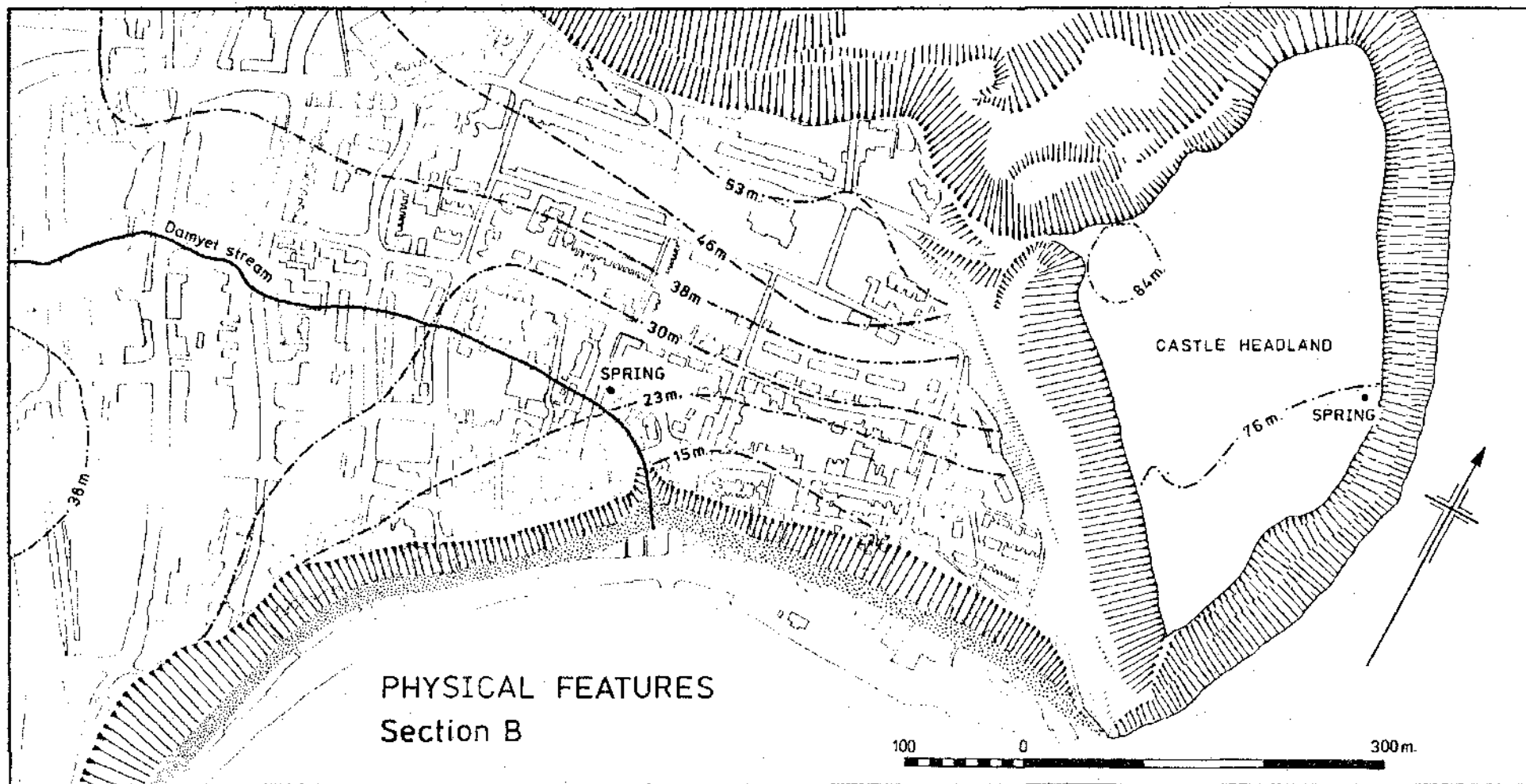
Figure 1

SECTION B : NATURAL TOPOGRAPHY (Fig 2)

B1 Scarborough is situated on the east coast of Yorkshire where a promontory half a kilometre wide divides a rocky bay on the north from a sandy bay on the south. The underlying Jurassic rocks are covered by a mantle of glacial boulder clay only a few metres deep above the North Bay but over 14 metres deep around the southern¹. An even greater depth of 66 metres was recorded below the Grand Hotel indicating the existence of a buried valley here.²

The protection from the elements afforded by the Scarborough peninsula means that the South Bay is one of the few natural harbours between the Humber and the Tyne. The promontory is divided in two by a geological fault, which today separates the higher headland on the east from the rest of the town by a steep scarp slope. The most convenient access on to the level top of the headland is by a narrow isthmus on the north-west where the castle barbican now stands. In contrast, the western part of the promontory rises quite steeply from cliffs as low as eight metres around the South Bay, to some over 50 metres high overlooking the North Bay. The north of the promontory slopes so acutely as to make large scale development impossible without terracing. Surface drainage collected to form a small stream which ran into the sea near the present-day West Sandgate. In the middle ages it was called the Damgeth, Damyot or Damyet stream and its course can be conjectured from the piped alignment shown on the 1852 O.S. plan and the destructions of the 1857 flood, when the stream appeared to re-assert itself.³ There was a spring on the headland near the Roman signal station, and one is mentioned south of Cook's Row in 1342⁴ and at the dissolution of the Franciscan friary.⁵

Figure 2



SECTION C : PREHISTORIC, ROMAN AND EARLY MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT (Fig 3)

C1 Man has probably been exploiting, if not actually settling the Scarborough peninsula for 10,000 years, as it lies within the putative hunting territory of the Mesolithic settlement excavated at Starr Carr.¹ Later, the distribution of Neolithic stone axes and long barrows and Bronze Age burial mounds suggests that the limestone hills to the west and the coast to the north and south of Scarborough were then densely settled.² Indeed, the stone axe discovered in 1950 on the Castle Dykes³ and the Middle Bronze Age spearhead on the foreshore in 1956 (No. 15/2), could point to settlement within the study area as opposed to just casual, isolated losses.

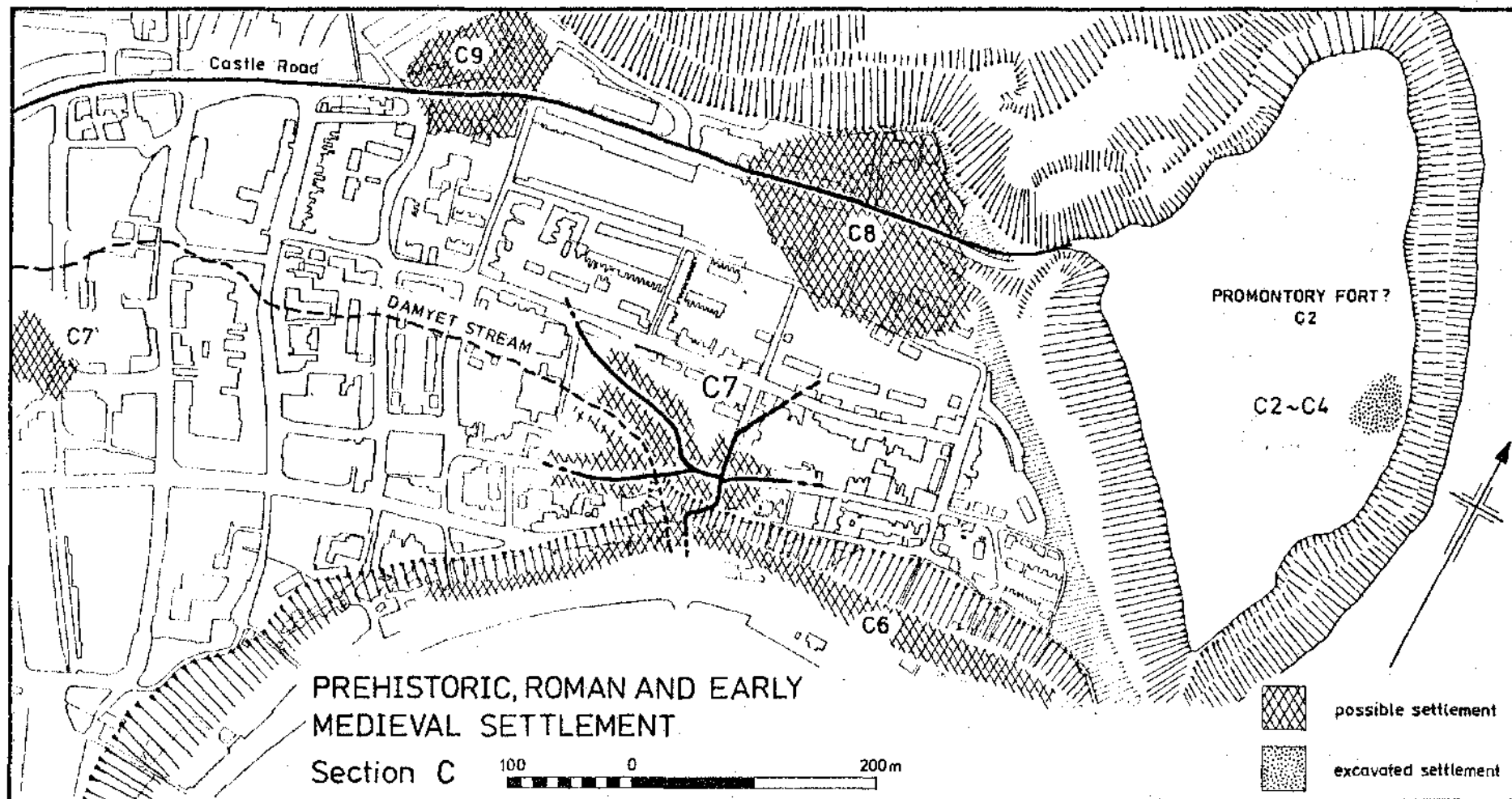
C2 The Early Iron Age site and late 4th-century A.D. signal station, uncovered on the Castle Headland over 50 years ago, still comprise the only excavated prehistoric and Roman settlements at Scarborough.⁴ Further work in 1953 immediately to the south of the signal station uncovered further Early Iron Age features.⁵ It has been suggested that this settlement covered the entire headland and may have been a promontory fort.⁶ The Hallstatt cultural affinities of the associated pottery suggests a site either settled by, or in trading contact with, peoples across the North Sea, through whom the Hallstatt styles penetrated inland.⁷

C3 Understandably the Icelandic and Scandinavian saga accounts of Scarborough in the 10th and 11th centuries, together with its absence from the Domesday Book, have tended to dominate the discussion of Scarborough's pre-Norman development.⁸ The Icelandic Kormak's Saga credits the brothers Kormak and Thorgils with establishing a fort at Scarborough, evidently around the year 966 and called after the latter's nickname of "Skardi" meaning hare-lipped.⁹

A century later a town, not a fort, was reportedly destroyed by the Norwegian king Harald Hadrada¹⁰ in the campaign that led to the capture of York and his death at Stamford Bridge. The destruction of the town by a bonfire cast down onto it from "the mount where it highest was" is thought to explain Scarborough's absence from the Domesday survey some 20 years later.¹¹

It is sufficient for the present discussion to point out the more obvious criticisms of the above sources which show that we are still far from understanding Scarborough's importance in the 10th and 11th centuries. The sagas are first and foremost literary works and not to be taken as reliable in the historical sense. For example Scarborough's name could derive from the Old English or Old Norse meaning gap or notched hill; a reference to the fault scarp now the Castle Dykes.¹² In this case the association with Thorgils may be a subsequent invention. Similarly, Scarborough's status in 1066 could have been exaggerated to inflate the prestige of Harald Hadrada in capturing a settlement as large as a town. The theory that trade between York and Scandinavia in the 10th and 11th centuries stimulated urban growth at Scarborough is unlikely since the bulk of this traffic would have used the Humber and Ouse.¹³ However the discovery of jet working and the bones of sea fish in excavations in York could imply more direct trade between the Yorkshire coast and its capital.¹⁴ Indeed, if Scarborough was predominantly a fishing community, its absence from the Domesday Book could be because it possessed insufficient agricultural land for the commissioners to value and not because of its total destruction in 1066. More controversially, it may appear in the survey under a different name, perhaps Walsgrif, usually identified as Falsgrave, a mile to the west of Scarborough.¹⁵

Figure 3



The significance of the chapel built in the ruins of the Roman signal station on the Castle Headland has yet to be established. It may have been an isolated "beacon chapel", or have ministered to an adjacent community and thus be much earlier in origin than the 11th-century burials identified in its cemetery.¹⁶ Future excavations within the castle could shed more light upon this and the hypothesis that the headland was the favoured area for early settlement on the Scarborough peninsula. However there are a number of other near-by locations where occupation may also have occurred and these, and the headland, are discussed below.

CASTLE HEADLAND

C4 Although the site of one of the most impregnable castles in England, the defensive potential of the headland can be overstressed. Youngsters regularly prove that its sea cliffs are not a difficult obstacle to attaining the top, and the landward approach would have been even less of an obstacle before the excavation of the castle ditch. Only a community sufficiently large to man the entire perimeter of the headland could have relied solely on nature for defence. Though reduced by erosion the perimeter is still 1.2 kms. long today. In fact at times the natural strength of the headland may have been less important in attracting settlement than the spring near the Roman signal station (Fig 2). Writers since the 17th century have remarked upon the unusual phenomenon of a spring so near the edge of a 250 foot high sea cliff.¹⁷ An unusual occurrence such as this could have assumed spiritual significance as springs were commonly venerated in pre-Christian times.¹⁸

OLIVER'S MOUNT

C5 Because of its elongated shape Oliver's Mount could be defended by a much smaller community than the Castle Headland, and although lacking steep cliffs it is some 70 metres higher above sea level. In the 18th century a ditch could still be seen cutting across Oliver's Mount,¹⁹ and correctly located one as short as 40 metres is sufficient to secure the promontory against the gentle southerly approach.

FORESHORE

C6 At times when extensive use was being made of the South Bay as a harbour the foreshore itself might seem a likely area of settlement. Roman coastal shipping may well have used the South Bay as a temporary refuge in bad weather or to supply the signal station in the 4th century, and finds of coins from the foreshore and sands seem to substantiate this.²⁰ [No's. 1/3 and 3/1]. More controversial is the claim that a cobble wall excavated in 1976 at West Sandgate [No. 7/1] is evidence for a Roman harbour installation, since no artefacts were found to date the feature. Viking timber buildings have also been claimed from this site and from Quay Street, suggesting that part of the supposed pre-Norman town spread along the foreshore.²¹ However extensive settlement around the shoreline would have been prone to frequent damage from storms and high tides unless protected by substantial sea defences, and could be limited to structures connected with boat building and berthing.

DAMYET VALLEY

C7 At the south-eastern end of the Damyet valley traces of 10th and 11th-century occupation have been claimed [No's 5/1 - 5/3] including a road running obliquely to the medieval street pattern. The plan of the settlement has been tentatively reconstructed, and includes present day West Sandgate, Saint Sepulchre Street and Cook's Row.²² A community living here would have had ready access along the valley to the seashore for fishing and trade from a more sheltered position, whilst conveniently situated to cultivate the rest of the peninsula. Similarly dated occupation further upstream has been claimed from finds made during the Balmoral excavation (No. 18/2).

HEADLAND APPROACH

C8 The discovery of a Hallstatt bracelet in 1934 [No. 8/4] and possible 11th-century pottery [8/6] in this area complement the Early Iron Age settlement and 11th-century chapel excavated on the headland. This suggests that activity or even occupation connected with these two sites may have spread around the main landward approach onto the headland. It has been argued that the settlement destroyed in 1066 was situated in this area.²³

CASTLE ROAD

C9 Reports of 4th-century Roman pottery and tile from excavations either side of Castle Road (No's 10/2 and 12/1) could indicate settlement beside a Roman road onto the headland along present day Castle Road. This was described as a stoney causeway in 1732²⁴ and aligns to the west on a claimed Roman road also known as Stoney Causeway in the 19th century and which is now Londesborough Road (Fig 1). Castle Road and Londesborough Road may therefore perpetuate the 4th-century route from the signal station inland to the fort at Malton via the Mere valley.²⁵

SECTION D : THE MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY OF THE OLDBOROUGH (Fig 4)

THE DEFENCES

HISTORY OF THE DEFENCES

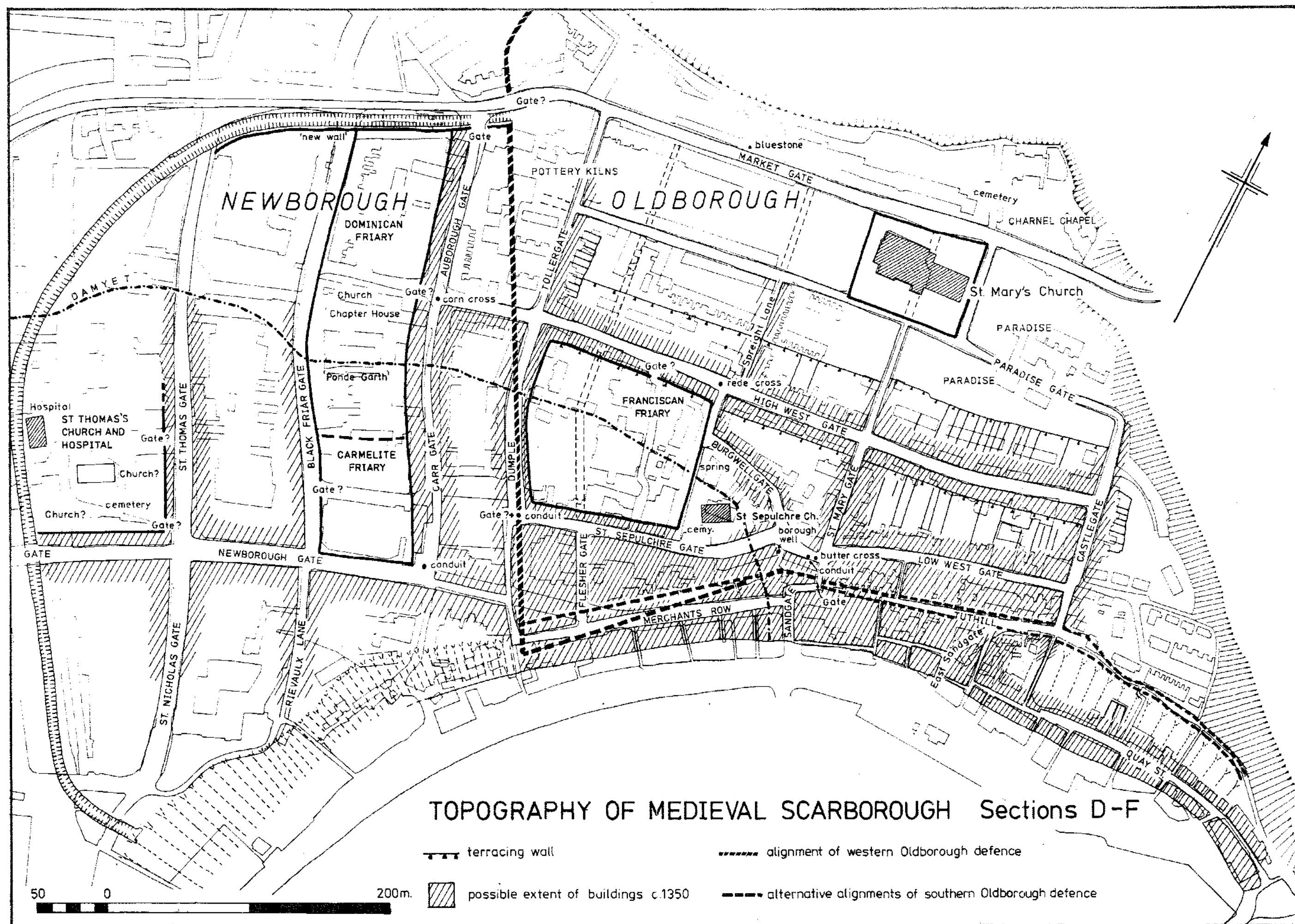
D1 William of Newburgh's description of the town and castle written at the close of the 12th century mentions a wall facing inland,¹ but it is not known if William Le Gros, Henry II or the burgesses instituted the defence of the town, and if the entire western and southern perimetres were built at the same time.

By the end of the 13th century the Dominicans and burgesses came to regard the western wall as a quarry,² an obstruction³ and as a suitable foundation for building on.⁴ The rapid decay of the western wall was no doubt prompted by the construction of a re-aligned defence around the Newborough, although its strength was questioned in 1283.⁵ To the north of the town the ditch was still visible at the end of the 14th century and was known as Auborough Dyke.⁶ In contrast, in the lower part of the town the western wall may have totally disappeared by 1322, when it is suggested that Dumble street was re-aligned across its course (D13). Since the seaward-facing wall could obviously not be replaced by a re-aligned route more effort was probably made to keep this part of the Oldborough defences serviceable. The fragment observed in a cellar [No.7/2] was so much more substantial than the 12th-century portion of the western wall excavated at St. Mary's Parish House [No. 10/2] as to suggest a later refurbishment.⁷ However by the end of the 14th century the wall had been built upon near the Sandgate⁸ and elsewhere it had probably proved a useful quarry for the repair of the quay.

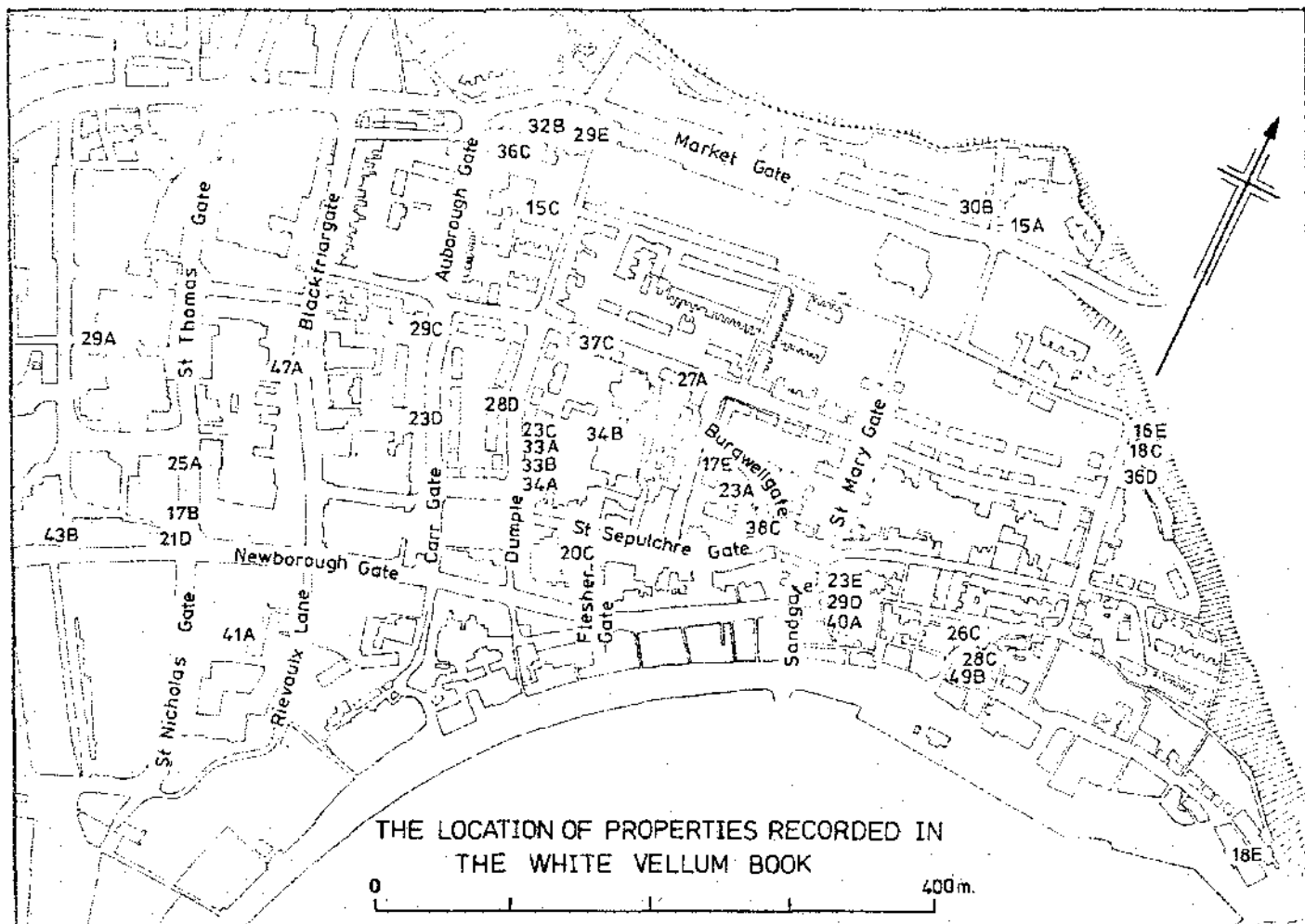
COURSE OF THE WESTERN WALL

D2 In 1798 Hinderwell reportedly traced the foundations of this wall in houses adjoining Cross Street and Auborough Street observing its southern termination at Bland's Cliff, "a little to the south of the market cross".⁹ Confirmation of a more easterly route somewhat oblique to the street pattern came in 1967 when an excavation at St. Mary's Parish House revealed a wall foundation set in a clay rampart, and partially sectioned a ditch at least 4.4 metres deep (No. 10/2). One year earlier, and to the north, a ditch, but no wall was discovered (No.12/1), and the defence probably curved northwards from here to meet the North Bay cliff.¹⁰ A ditch was also observed at the east end of St. Sepulchre Street in 1847 (No. 6/7), and more recently a clay rampart and stone wall have been recorded in two places close by (No's 6/13 and 7/3), although one could have been the Franciscan friary boundary wall (No. 6/13). Hinderwell probably mistook stone property boundaries or surviving portions of the Dominican Friary boundary wall as the town wall. Without the above evidence, the street plan itself suggests more a boundary along Leading Post Street and Friargate than along Cross Street and Auborough Street. The alignment of the latter two streets respects more the plan of the Newborough than the Oldborough.

The entrance known as Auborough Gate on 18th-century maps and a sketch of 1817¹¹ was quite clearly parallel to Castle Road and some distance west of the excavated line of the Old Borough defence. It is more likely that this gate and its predecessor, indicated by the bastions found in 1806 [No. 10/3], were in fact the northern entrance into the Newborough, dating



MEDIEVAL DEEDS AND STREET NAMES Sections D-F



MEDIEVAL STREET NAMES AND THEIR MODERN EQUIVALENTS

Auborough Gate (Auborough Street)
 Blackfriar Gate (Queen Street)
 Burgwell Gate (Cook's Row)
 Carr Gate (Cross Street)
 Duple Street (Friargate)
 Flesher Gate (Globe Street)
 Market Gate (Castle Road)

Newborough Gate (Newborough)
 Rievaulx Lane (King Street)
 St. Mary Gate (St. Mary's Street)
 St. Nicholas Gate (St. Nicholas Street)
 St. Thomas Gate (St. Thomas Street)
 Sandgate (West Sandgate)
 Sepulchre Gate (Sepulchre Street)

Figure 5

perhaps to the reign of Richard III who is credited with building the "New Wall" along the adjacent part of the Newborough defences.¹² Thus the gate in the Old Borough wall across the road to the castle would have been some 20 metres away to the north-east. Since this entrance would be unsuitable for traffic to the lower part of the town a second landward entrance may be suggested at the western end of St. Sepulchre Street.

COURSE OF THE SOUTHERN WALL

D3 To secure the town on the south the wall most likely surmounted or was terraced into the boulder clay slope around the South Bay, and ran eastwards to the foot of the Castle Headland. The only medieval references to it are around West Sandgate¹³ and elsewhere its exact course is a matter of conjecture. For example, Merchant's Row may be an intra-mural road with the wall immediately to the south as suggested by Hinderwell.¹⁴ More likely is that Merchant's Row was outside the town wall which ran just to the north, linking up with the gatehouse excavated at West Sandgate (No. 7/1) and the possible surviving portion of town wall close by (No. 7/6). Other fragments of town wall possibly survive on this alignment [No's 7/10 and 7/7] and one has been observed in a cellar (No. 7/2).

Further toward the Castle Headland a substantial portion of the town wall was reportedly observed in St. Thomas's Church (No. 2/2), and portions of stonework visible further east suggest the town defences may have either run along the south side of Tuthill and Burr Bank (No's 1/8 and 1/10) or on the north side (No's 4/2 and 4/3).

Late 14th-century references to both the Sandgate and East Sandgate¹⁵ point to there being at least two entrances in the town wall, though both need not be contemporary with the first construction of the defences. Sandgate, now West Sandgate, has much the better access to all parts of the Oldborough, the castle and the parish church, and a possible gatehouse was discovered here in 1976 (No. 7/1). It may be the only gate originally planned in the southern perimeter of the town wall, the East Sandgate being a later breach once the eastern part of the sands along Quay Street became more built up in the 13th and 14th centuries (F12).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF THE DEFENCES

D4 In Yorkshire only New Malton and Scarborough acquired stone defences in the 12th century.¹⁶ However more detailed information on the chronology and construction of the Scarborough defences ideally requires exposure of the total width and a substantial length of the wall, rampart and ditch at the same time.¹⁷ Probably no sufficiently large stretch of either western or southern wall survives intact, though the ditch, with a depth of at least four metres, is likely to have survived along most of the western line. The southern stretch probably comprised just a wall with no need for a rampart or ditch, and so may be difficult to distinguish from a terracing wall or property boundary. Excavation of any of the presumed gate structures could enable comparisons to be made with other contemporary defences which the poor preservation of the wall itself prevents.

RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS

ST. MARY'S CHURCH

D5 Late 12th-century fabric survives in the nave of the church (8/38)¹⁸ and excavation has uncovered an earlier, though probably still 12th-century,¹⁹ building 40 feet by 24 feet underneath and associated with six burials (No. 8/1). Other than this the development of the building has been reconstructed in detail from its architecture, which includes 13th and 14th-century work and a chancel of the 15th century. The graveyard probably occupied the same boundaries until the late 18th century²⁰ and objects have been found in it at various times (No. 8/10). Some of the walls bordering this and the 19th century graveyard were probably built from stones quarried from the chancel destroyed in the civil war, judging by the architectural fragments they contain (No's 8/13 and 8/16).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH

D6 The 1538 view of Scarborough clearly shows that St. Mary's was then the most impressive religious structure in the town, but it does not follow that its archaeological potential is equally impressive. The 1970 excavation established archaeological survival underneath the nave floor, although it can be envisaged that sub-floor disturbances over the 800 years of its use will have damaged or destroyed parts of the stratigraphy. Large scale excavation would be needed to maximise the surviving evidence and thereby reconstruct the history of the parish church which would have important implications for that of the town itself. For example the church's origins could lie with the pre-Norman settlement suggested in this area (C8) and its subsequent development would be a measure of Scarborough's growing prosperity and wealth. Small isolated trenches could usefully answer architectural problems posed by the building.

CHARNEL CHAPEL

D7 The chapel was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene and chantries were established in 1394 and 1396,²¹ though the date of the chapel itself is unknown. In 1384 the three chaplains of the Charnel Chapel "dwelling within the cemetery" were granted a licence to build their own houses.²² Six years later four almshouses are mentioned near the cemetery,²³ perhaps the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene mentioned in a 15th-century will.²⁴ In contrast the 1538 view of the town shows the chapel in isolation, having a nave and a short tower, and situated to the north of the parish church. Here, in an area named as Charnel Garth on 19th-century plans, the human bones, architectural fragments and masonry which have been unearthed establish the approximate position of this chapel (No's 8/2, 8/3 and 8/5).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF THE CHARNEL CHAPEL

D8 As the charnel house serving the parish church, its history, like its location, would have been closely associated with the church. Although the site today is relatively open, and has probably been so since the chapel was

destroyed in the civil war, the finds made in the 19th century suggest that the landscaping of the site has disturbed some of the remains. The disarticulated collection of bones to be expected in a charnel cemetery and already commented on here by Hinderwell [No. 8/2] would be of less use for studying the medieval population than a cemetery of articulated skeletons. Excavation of this establishment would therefore complement the history of the parish church and add to our knowledge of the medieval topography but its wider significance is questionable.

ST. SEPULCHRE CHURCH

D9 Little is known of St. Sepulchre Church and it could have a 12th-century origin, although even earlier dates have been suggested,²⁵ associating it with the putative pre-Norman settlement around Cook's Row and St. Sepulchre Street. In 1973 the nave of the building consecrated in 1306 was reportedly observed with an earlier, circular, structure underneath which might support this hypothesis [No. 6/10]. Its fabric was probably also observed in 1801 under the Friends Meeting House (No. 6/6), and finds have been recovered from the church (No's 6/11 and 6/12). Burials from the associated cemetery were found to the east in 1968 (No. 6/3), but the 1725 town plan locates it to the west and it abutted the Franciscan Friarage in 1267.²⁶ The stone wall [No. 6/18] may perpetuate its boundary with the friary even if not the original boundary wall itself.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF ST. SEPULCHRE CHURCH

D10 Archaeology alone can elucidate the history of this church, which, with its adjacent cemetery is probably reasonably well preserved. The site has potentially important information to yield on 12th-century and earlier settlement at Scarborough, enhanced by the likely preservation of waterlogged remains associated with the Damyet stream (13).

FRANCISCAN FRIARY

D11 The Franciscans, prevented from settling in the town in 1245 by the Proctor of Citeaux, re-established themselves in 1267 following a grant of land by Reginal Molindarius adjoining St. Sepulchre's cemetery and the Damyet stream.²⁷ Three grants surviving from 1297, 1299²⁸ and 1300²⁹ testify to the rapid expansion of the friary, which may have occupied low value land because of the flooding of the Damyet. The 1968 excavation (No. 6/3) in St. Sepulchre Street identified what may be the edge of a marsh or, as the excavator thought, a mill pond pointing out that the surname of the original benefactor Molindarius means miller. In the mid-13th century an unlocated property in Scarborough was described as "ultra stagna" meaning beyond the marsh or mill dam.³⁰ The 1538 view shows a spacious church with a four-storied tower here which could be either the friary church or that of St. Sepulchre. At the dissolution the site covered 3.25 acres divided into three separate plots with further land apparently to the south and east.³¹ In 1798 parts of the friary were still visible³² and Meadley writing in 1890 observed the foundations of a spacious building.³³ Nothing other than vacant

land is shown on the various 18th and 19th-century town plans. The digging of foundations for Friargate school in 1894 is reported to have brought skeletons to light (No. 6/8).

D12 Part of the eastern boundary of the friary abutted St. Sepulchre's cemetery³⁴ and is perhaps perpetuated by an existing stone boundary wall (No. 6/18), and elsewhere on the east and north a wall is mentioned in the 14th century,³⁵ the northern possibly contiguous with the terracing wall on the south side of Longwestgate (No. 6/21). There was an entrance on the north 26 feet west of the Rede Cross in 1384.³⁶ On the west the course of the boundary wall is less clear. An earthen boundary is referred to in 1298 but this is prior to the enclosure of the Dumble which would have led to its replacement further west.³⁷ Stonework incorporated in a property boundary may indicate the line of the southern boundary (No. 6/20) although an excavation in St. Sepulchre Street suggested the boundary was nearer to the street (No. 6/4).

D13 The expansion of the friary brought about a change in the street pattern that is probably detectable today. In 1297 John Pickford and Simon Gumer pointed out that the burgesses would be prejudiced if Adam Gumer's house was granted to the friars.³⁸ Their complaint indicates that the friars planned to enclose the lane separating the house from the friary and accommodate both house and lane within the friary precinct. The Franciscans probably obtained the house in 1299³⁹ and in 1322 a request was indeed granted for them to enclose the lane called the Dumble, though stipulating that they had to make an equally good replacement road.⁴⁰ Should this have taken place then it is possible that Fleshergate, now Globe Street, continued northwards as the Dumble before 1322 and that in this year the street and name were moved 50 yards westward to where Dumble, now Friargate, is shown on the 1725 town plan. Furthermore, six years later a new pavement is mentioned between the old and new boroughs, which could be modern Friargate because it clearly runs along and across the line of the defences marking the division between the two boroughs.⁴¹ Its northern continuation, Tollergate, also appears to date from the mid-14th century because it divides the Scarborough Ware kiln site in two and therefore may well post-date the industry.⁴²

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF THE FRANCISCAN FRIARY

D14 Sixty Franciscan friaries are recorded in England and Wales of which 15 have had some excavation⁴³ and in Yorkshire friaries were established at York, Beverley, Doncaster, Hull, and Richmond as well as Scarborough.⁴⁴ The site is shown unoccupied on the 1725 town plan, probably having been so since the dissolution, and substantial parts have escaped development to the present day. Should the school now occupying the site be re-developed and its foundations prove not too destructive, then a rare opportunity would exist to uncover the greater part of an urban friary at one time, rather than the more usual piecemeal reconstructions offered by subdivided sites. This, and the probably waterlogged deposits associated with the Damyet, suggest a site of national importance (I3).

THE HOUSE OF THE PROCTOR OF CITEAUX

D15 The Cistercians were granted the revenues of the parish church by Richard I,⁴⁵ which at first were administered by the Abbot of Rievaulx.⁴⁶ However from 1198 a proctor was appointed directly by Citeaux⁴⁷ and in 1250 the monks residing in Scarborough were confirmed in the possession of their house and enclosure at a rent of four shillings.⁴⁸ Its small value and the fact that, as in 1294,⁴⁹ there were probably just the three monks in residence suggests that the house was fairly small and certainly not the "Scarborough Abbey" imagined by Hinderwell.⁵⁰ Unfortunately this establishment is unlocated, though an enclosed monastic garden is one possible derivation of the name Paradise⁵¹ which occurs to the east of the parish church and is first recorded in the 15th century.⁵² The Cistercians enclosed their house in 1250 when their amalgamation of eight properties into one was questioned because it reduced the gableage due from 3s 10d to 6d.⁵³ The name Paradise alone suggests the Cistercian monks may have lived to the east or south-east of St. Mary's and the grant by the Proctor of Citeaux of a garden here in 1395 establishes a further link with this area.⁵⁴ Building took place subsequent to this grant as in 1546 three cottages are mentioned to the east of the parish church⁵⁵ and one is shown on the 1538 view. The stone wall incorporated in an 18th-century outhouse could be the remains of one of these buildings (No. 8/37).

D16 Alternative locations have been suggested for the Cistercian House. Baker in 1882,⁵⁶ probably following the 1852 O.S. map, locates the Cistercian cell in the western burial ground of the parish church, explaining that the steps leading to it were still visible in the south wall opposite Spreight Lane. However this wall probably dates from the 17th or 18th centuries judging by the architectural fragments it contains, which presumably derive from parts of St. Mary's destroyed in the civil war [8/13].

More controversial is Farmer's identification of a multi-roomed stone-built structure excavated in Tollergate [No.9/1].⁵⁷ Its distance from the church raises one doubt and its proximity to the noxious fumes of the pottery industry raises another. In fact this is more likely to have been a house built on the town waste in the 14th century following the decay of the pottery industry, since the structure was built over several kilns.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF THE HOUSE OF THE PROCTOR OF CITEAUX.

D17 This small cell was the only Cistercian house in the country not to conform to the order's usual pattern of isolation excepting the much later foundation of St. Mary Graces in London.⁵⁸ Excavation could examine the plan, the architecture and the degree of isolation achieved by this unique building and hence mark a significant addition to the corpus of Cistercian houses in this country. This site is therefore of national importance whose potential is enhanced by its probable location in Paradise, an area undeveloped since at least 1725.

STREET PATTERN

D18 It is a reasonable assumption that the 12th-century street pattern resembled that first mapped in 1725 and which largely survives today. The most striking aspect of the street plan is its rectilinear arrangement apart from Cook's Row and St. Sepulchre Street. These could be survivals from a

pre-Norman settlement, one of the streets perhaps being the original "Dam Gate" which gave its name to the nearby stream. Alternatively, these two roads may have been deliberately misaligned in the 12th-century layout to accommodate the marshiness of the Damyet valley.⁵⁹ Apart from these two, Castle Road may also claim a pre-Norman origin since the route onto the headland was possibly in use in Roman times (C9).

If anything the 12th-century "grid pattern" was probably more pronounced, with St. Mary's Street possibly continuing to Castle Road before the enlargement of the parish church obstructed it, and Spreight Lane may have done the same. It is argued above that further west Fleshergate, now Globe Street, continued northwards before its enclosure by the Franciscans and would thus have contributed another north-south element to the grid (D13). On the south side of the Oldborough, Merchants' Row may have been excluded from the defended circuit and could in fact be a later addition terraced into or against the boulder clay slope above the South Bay.

D19 Future excavations could usefully confirm the pattern and chronology discussed above, and it is particularly important to establish whether Globe Street once continued northwards. Not only would this add another north-south element to the grid pattern and thereby increase the apparent planned influence behind the street plan, but it would also provide a precise "terminus ante quem" and "terminus post quem" for any associated features.

MARKET PLACES

D20 The Butter Cross (No. 7/11) is the only surviving example of the two crosses recorded in the Oldborough, the other being the Rede Cross. Both are mentioned in the 14th century and their approximate locations then can be deduced. The Butter Cross was later moved to its present position from around the corner in Low Conduit Street,⁶⁰ and the Rede Cross was in Longwestgate near the Franciscan Friary.⁶¹ These crosses and the natural "Bluestone" now in the museum are thought to have marked the site of the medieval markets. The 'Bluestone' was by tradition the bargain stone of the market held in Castle Road, which was referred to as Market Gate in the 17th century.⁶²

WATER SUPPLY

D21 Although the Damyet stream was initially an important source of water one can speculate that increasing population would have polluted it beyond use. The Borough well was one alternative source [No. 7/4], and the common spring mentioned in 1342 south of Cook's Row another.⁶³ To the Franciscans must go the credit for improving the water supply by establishing three conduits in the early 14th century supplied by water piped from Falsgrave, and buried along the town's streets.⁶⁴ The stone water pipe has been uncovered at Falsgrave⁶⁵ and in the town [No. 10/5], where more information on its route will doubtless come from road works. In such cases preservation should be sought since a piped water supply was a rare feature of medieval English towns.⁶⁶

PROPERTY BOUNDARIES AND HOUSES

D22 Excavations in other towns have discovered that property boundaries first mapped in the 18th and 19th centuries often preserve the outline of medieval burgage plots.⁶⁷ Such survivals have yet to be proved in Scarborough, although some of the terracing walls in the Old Borough could date back to the 12th century. In particular there were originally two extended lines of terracing wall either side of Longwestgate which maintained a uniform distance from the road, and which must have been established in the 12th century before houses and private land ownership could obstruct the line (8/31). 14th-century property dimensions near the Franciscan Friary indicate the southern wall then existed.⁶⁸ Further east it has been twice excavated (No's 5/2 and 6/5) and evidence of its 12th-century origin claimed. Thus the construction of terracing walls along Longwestgate, and perhaps other streets too, could be contemporary with creation of the rectilinear street pattern.

D23 The gableage tax first levied in the 1160s would have influenced the shape of the individual burgage plot. The tax took 6d. from a house lengthwise to the street and 4d. from one sideways, and doubtless plots with a narrow street frontage and long depth would have predominated in the town to accommodate houses gable-side on.⁶⁹ Movements of less than a foot in property boundaries provoked complaints in the 15th century,⁷⁰ and if boundaries were protected with equal rigour throughout the town up until the 19th century then many of the property lines shown on the 1828 plan will be medieval in origin. The map shows the plot shape discussed above along Longwestgate, Tollergate and Castlegate, and some of this suspected medieval pattern survives today.

Patches of stonework visible in many property boundaries are noted in the Gazetteer. In some cases the stonework will be medieval in date but excavation has shown that re-used stones were incorporated in 17th or 18th-century boundaries in St. Sepulchre Street (No. 6/4). A stone wall bordering Bland's Cliff in the Newborough was probably contemporary with the road and built around the year 1722 (No. 15/5).

D24 The most completely excavated medieval structure in the Oldborough is that uncovered between 1969 and 1975 in Tollergate (No. 9/1) and interpreted as the House of the Proctor of Citeaux (though now questioned for reasons given in section D16). No medieval house stands intact in the Oldborough but the timberwork (No. 5/13) or cellars of some could survive within later structures.

SECTION E : THE MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY OF THE NEWBOROUGH (Fig 4)

THE DEFENCES

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE DEFENCES

E1 The defences may date from 1225 when the king granted 40 oaks for the protection of the town,¹ although the Newborough could be a mid-13th-century creation and a similar date for the defences is thus possible (E13). In 1283 an inquisition found that there was no wall behind the Newborough ditch and that the security of the town still depended on the Oldborough wall.² In 1416 a plot of land near St. Thomas's Hospital butted directly onto the ditch,³ again indicating the absence of a wall and no trace of one was found in the Balmoral excavation [No's 18/1 and 18/2]. This is surprising since one is shown on the 1538 view of Scarborough on either side of Newborough Gate, and also further north along the circuit. It is probable that the view exaggerates the amount of stone walling since Leland saw mostly "ditches and walls of earth" in 1539, and what walling there was he credited to Richard III. A reference to the "New dyke" in 1403 near the hospital⁴ suggests refurbishment of this part of the circuit, and the excavation here found that care was taken to keep the ditch clean until the 16th century.

COURSE OF THE DEFENCES.

E2 For most of their course, the defences were visible into the early 19th century and consequently the alignment can be reconstructed with some accuracy.⁵ Newborough Gate was the main entrance through the defences and was demolished in 1890 following rebuildings after the Civil War and in 1843.⁶ Its medieval predecessor would have occupied approximately the same site. South of the gate the defence is shown between Huntriss Row and Bar St. on the 1747 town plan, and finds have been made from this stretch of ditch [No.17/1]. The point at which it met the South Bay cliff is not shown on the 18th-century maps, though the presumed alignment is recorded on the 1852 O.S. plan. There is no evidence that the defences ran along the South Bay cliff to join up with the Oldborough wall, although four examples of stonework could be survivals from such an arrangement. [No's 15/3 and 15/6-8].

Between Newborough Gate and North St. the ditch has been excavated at two places [No's 18/1 and 18/2] and was re-cut on a different alignment in 1745 to incorporate a battery of guns north of St. Thomas's Hospital. The medieval line ran closer to the hospital, probably using the building as part of the defence. The ditch has also been recorded in a shop cellar [No.18/5]. From North St. to the junction with the Oldborough defence at Auborough St., the ditch survived as late as 1828, and parts of the wall may still stand adjacent to Castle Road [No's 13/3 and 13/4]. They could be survivals of the "New Wall" shown on the 1725 town plan and usually attributed to Richard III, although Hinderwell records that the "New Wall" was taken down in 1817.⁷ It has not been established if the break of slope east of North St. and the compacted clay encountered in excavation there represent the remains of a rampart. [No's 14/3 and 14/7].

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF THE DEFENCES

E3 In common with towns such as Shrewsbury, Worcester, Bristol and Norwich, Scarborough in the 13th century saw an extension to its defended circuit.⁸ In other towns they were made to secure the suburbs which had grown up outside the original walled circuit but in Scarborough's case the Newborough defence was probably constructed in anticipation of such growth, being contemporary with the suggested planning of the street pattern and burgage plots. Otherwise there was never sufficient settlement here to merit an 800 metre long defended circuit (H6).

To obtain the maximum amount of information as to the character and history of the defences its total width and as much of its length as possible should be excavated at one time. To the south of Newborough Gate and northwards as far as North St., cellaring has probably destroyed the rampart and most of the ditch. Along the rest of the circuit eastwards to Auborough St., the defence should be better preserved and the wall apparently still stands in one area (No's 13/3 and 13/4). The rampart possibly survives in another area (No's 14/3 and 14/7) and the ditch may still exist throughout. Thus the area between North St. and St. Thomas St., which is now a public car park, is important for the length of the defence potentially available for examination, although the rampart may have been destroyed in places by earlier cellaring. On the opposite side of St. Thomas St. there probably exists an opportunity to examine the chronological and structural relationship of the wall to the rampart and ditch.

RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS

ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL AND CHURCH

E4 No record survives of the foundation of either church or hospital but opinion favours the later 12th century, predating the westward expansion of the town but adjacent to the probable main landward approach to the Oldborough (now the street called Newborough),⁹ and on the site of possible 11th-century and earlier occupation (C7). The partial excavation of the hospital [No.18/2] established that it was in origin an aisled hall, later subdivided into the separate rooms shown on the 1852 O.S. plan. The 1538 view shows that the church comprised a nave, tower and south aisle.

St. Thomas's Hospital was not demolished until 1862¹⁰ and was partially excavated in 1973. The church was demolished in 1649 following damage in the Civil War and its precise location is less certain.¹¹ On the east of modern North St. supposed church fabric was exposed in 1826 (No.14/4), and Hinderwell wrote that the poor house was built on its site.¹² However, remains of the church have also been reported on the opposite side of North St. in 1973 (No.18/4).

The cemetery within the St. Thomas's complex was bounded by a wall on the east, mentioned as 16 feet from the road in 1380,¹³ and westwards probably abutted the defences, as the cemetery is described near Newborough gate in 1416.¹⁴ On the south houses adjoining Newborough Street paid a small church rent for overlooking the graveyard, suggesting that the boundary adjoined these properties,¹⁵ although Hinderwell's statement that it was paid for encroachments onto the cemetery suggests a boundary closer to Newborough.¹⁶

Although human burials were found when digging the reservoir in 1826 [No.14/4] only one was recorded when the adjoining relief road was built in 1979 [No.14/5], suggesting that the northern edge of the cemetery was just south of the new road. An eastern entrance is mentioned in the 1380¹⁷ document, although in a position too far north to be along the present Waterhouse Lane as suggested by Rimington.¹⁸

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL AND CHURCH

E5 Although reliance must be put on archaeology to reconstruct the history of the church, its precise location is in some doubt. Farmer's observation to the west of North St. implies that the church was largely destroyed by the Balmoral development (No.18/4). If Hinderwell correctly located it on the opposite side of North St.¹⁹ then some of the fabric may have survived among the foundations and cellaring of the present buildings and the 19th century reservoir to the east [No.14/4].

The hospital was partially excavated in 1973 and little may have survived the Balmoral re-development, although the site is not actually built on.

Together the church and hospital appear to have little archaeological potential, although questions such as the extent of 12th-century settlement here, and Saint Thomas's relationship with supposed pre-Norman occupation remain to be answered and are important aspects of the town's development.

ST. NICHOLAS'S HOSPITAL (see Gazetteer map 16 for the location)

E6 St. Nicholas's Hospital was founded by licence of King Richard I, and three bretheren and three sisters were appointed.²⁰ A chapel is mentioned in 1280 when the Cistercians claimed its offerings²¹ but little else is known of the establishment other than as a leper hospital it may have comprised individual cells in a single extended range.²²

The 1725 town plan records the location of the hospital and in 1832 it was thought to have been at the north end of the Cliff Bridge.²³ The engraving of Scarborough published in Cent's History of Hull in 1735 shows the ruins perched dangerously on the cliff edge, and periodically remains from the cemetery fell from the cliff. [Gaz. No's 16/1-4]. A battery of guns sited near the hospital in 1745 probably destroyed the last of the standing structure because by 1798 no remains were visible.²⁴

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF ST. NICHOLAS'S HOSPITAL.

E7 Potentially the excavation of a leper cemetery, such as that of St. Nicholas, would shed light on the effects of the disease, and excavation of the hospital would shed light on the routine of its afflicted inhabitants. Leper hospitals are recorded in seven other Yorkshire towns²⁵ and Scarborough's must have low archaeological potential, little probably surviving the landscaping of the cliff and the construction of the Grand Hotel. This is unfortunate since the dedication to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of seafarers, perhaps suggests a forerunner of the Trinity House hospital in Hull established in 1441-2 for 13 poor mariners.²⁶

THE DOMINICAN FRIARY.

E8 The Dominican Friary was founded in 1252²⁷ and though in 1284 a papal bull put a temporary halt to the construction of their church.²⁸ At the dissolution the friary was surrounded on all sides by a wall and divided internally into four plots measuring 1.75 acres, 75 by 57 yards, 35 by 21 yards and 49 by 30 yards, in order from north to south.²⁹ These plots could well perpetuate blocks of land granted in the 14th century. For example grants in 1337 totalling 150 by 100 feet probably made the plot measuring 49 by 30 yards at the dissolution³⁰ and similarly one in 1323 of 100 by 30 feet made one half of the 35 by 21 yard plot.³¹

Properties lay outside the eastern boundary in the 14th century³² and in 1517 four houses in Carrgate, now Cross St., were mentioned next to the Blackfriars' Wall.³³ The rear of houses shown on the 1828 town plan may therefore mark the line of the eastern boundary wall. Modern Friars Way, facing Longwestgate, could indicate the site of the documented eastern entrance,³⁴ and furthermore, if the line of Friars Way perpetuates the boundary between the northern and middle plots, then to accommodate the 1.75 acres of the northern plot the precinct wall must have run along the Newborough defences on the north and on the west along Black Friars Gate, now Queen St. On the south the wall bordered the Carmelite friary.³⁵

The dissolution document mentions that the chapter house was situated in the middle plot and the church probably lay close by, which the 1538 view shows comprised a nave, aisle and tower. Human skeletons, probably from the cemetery, have been found in Friars Way and one or possibly two burials in stone coffins could be from the church itself. [No's 11/1, 11/4, 11/6 and 11/9].

One of the plots was called "Ponde Garth" at the dissolution, which probably confirms that the Damyet stream flowed across the site, perhaps forming the boundary between the middle and two southerly plots.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF THE DOMINICAN FRIARY.

E9 In Yorkshire Dominican friaries were established in York, Pontefract, Beverley and Yarm,³⁶ and 53 are known in England and Wales (of which 22 have experienced excavation).³⁷ Some parts of the Scarborough site appear undeveloped since at least the 18th century and preservation is therefore likely to be good. However the suspected site of the church and main claustral buildings has been built on and probably no complete plan survives. Waterlogged deposits are likely where the Damyet stream crosses the site (I3).

Given that there are over 50 friaries in the country, Scarborough's is not likely to be one of the best preserved, but its archaeological potential is enhanced by the likelihood of waterlogged deposits.

THE CARMELITE FRIARY

E10 The foundation grant of two houses in 1319³⁸ was followed by further grants of land in the 14th-century,³⁹ and by the dissolution the site covered 1.5 acres.⁴⁰ A plot of land adjoining Queen St., and Newborough in 1662 was called the Friarage⁴¹ and so the Carmelite establishment may have extended as far as both these streets. On the north it bordered the Dominican Friary

and on the south could have extended as far as Cross St. The dissolution description refers to a west gate and also a mill and kiln but does not mention a precinct wall. The church is referred to in a will of 1447⁴² and the 1538 view shows a single aisled building with a squat tower. Since the precise line of the northern boundary with the Dominicans cannot be established from documentary evidence, the foundations discovered in 1880 may belong to either establishment [No.11/5]. Skeletons found in 1864 in Market St. could be from the Carmelite cemetery (No. 11/3)

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF THE CARMELITE FRIARY

E11 Carmelite friaries were established in four other Yorkshire towns, Hull, York, Northallerton and Doncaster,⁴³ and 38 are known to have existed in England and Wales (seven have experienced some excavation).⁴⁴ Scarborough's must be one of the most poorly preserved, principally destroyed by the cellaring of the present buildings along Market St. Surviving remains are most likely in the street itself or in the Methodist hall grounds, and its archaeological potential is consequently very limited.

MARKETS

E12 The generous width of Newborough St. probably accommodated the kind of weekly suburban livestock markets common in other medieval towns.⁴⁵ The Corn Cross, mentioned in Auborough St. in the 16th century, may be the site where that named produce was traded.⁴⁶

STREET PATTERN AND PROPERTY BOUNDARIES

E13 Waites has suggested that the street pattern of the Newborough may perpetuate earlier field boundaries,⁴⁷ so the parallel alignment of the three north-south streets is not certain evidence that Newborough was a planned expansion. However it is difficult to explain the regular plots granted to the Dominicans in the 14th century as anything other than planned creations. Two separate plots 200 by 50 feet are mentioned in 1319 and 1326, two plots 100 by 30 feet in 1323 and 1337, and also in 1337 two plots 100 by 60 feet are mentioned.⁴⁸ This strongly suggests that not only the streets but the plots in between were laid out to a plan rather than piecemeal suburban growth accounting for the development of the Newborough.

The Newborough may have been laid out in 1225 when the burgesses were granted 40 oaks to defend the town,⁴⁹ or in 1256 when they were given the manor of Falsgrave to which probably belonged the land it covered.⁵⁰

E14 In the late 14th and 15th centuries houses are referred to in St. Nicholas Gate, Newborough St., and St. Thomas Gate,⁵¹ and land with buildings in Black Friar Gate in 1321.⁵² Elsewhere there were possibly quite large areas of "town waste", particularly adjacent to the Oldborough defences in the 14th century⁵³ and at the northern end of St. Thomas Gate in the 15th.⁵⁴ This, and the existence of a tenter ground west of Black Friar Gate where cloth

was hung to dry after fulling, suggest parts of the Newborough were uninhabited in the late 14th and 15th centuries.

When documented, plot sizes are generally quite spacious, like some of the land granted to the Dominicans mentioned above. Also in 1384 a property extended from St. Nicholas Gate to Rievaulx Lane,⁵⁵ and a plot between Black Friar Gate and St. Thomas St. in 1628 is likely as not its medieval extent.⁵⁶ Indeed, the 1725 town plan appears to mirror reasonably well the late 14th-century character of the Newborough. It shows houses set in fairly large plots along the main thoroughfare and for some distance along the streets to north and south, with land further away divided into substantial closes and gardens.

SUBURBAN GROWTH

E15 There is little evidence of suburban growth along the main roads leading out of the medieval town and which are now Westborough and Castle Road. However, traders and craftsmen would have found more advantage in settling there than on the vacant areas within the town which were remote from the main thoroughfares. A tanner acquired property outside Newborough Gate in 1515,⁵⁷ and on the north of the town traces of earlier occupation have been claimed from around the junction of Castle Road and North Marine Road.⁵⁸ Limekiln Hill, where one kiln may still survive (12/3) was one sort of post-medieval, or perhaps even medieval, industrial activity outside the Newborough ditch.

SECTION F : THE MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY OF THE HARBOUR. (Figs 4 and 6)

INTRODUCTION.

F1 With the present day seafront up to 70 metres from the boulder clay cliff surrounding the South Bay it is clear that a substantial amount of land has been reclaimed from the sea, much of it by the 18th century according to contemporary town plans. This suggests that Scarborough's medieval harbour experienced the kind of reclamation observed in many other medieval urban waterfronts.¹ Medieval harbour facilities also extended for half a kilometre from Bland's Cliff in the west [No 15/1] to the foot of the castle in the east. Probably such a length was achieved by gradual expansion around the margins of the South Bay and was contemporary with the expansion seawards. Archaeological, historical and topographical evidence confirms that both processes occurred but is not yet sufficient to allow a detailed reconstruction of the stages involved. As yet only a few episodes in the physical development of the waterfront can be isolated from these disparate sources.

THE CHARACTER OF THE WATERFRONT.

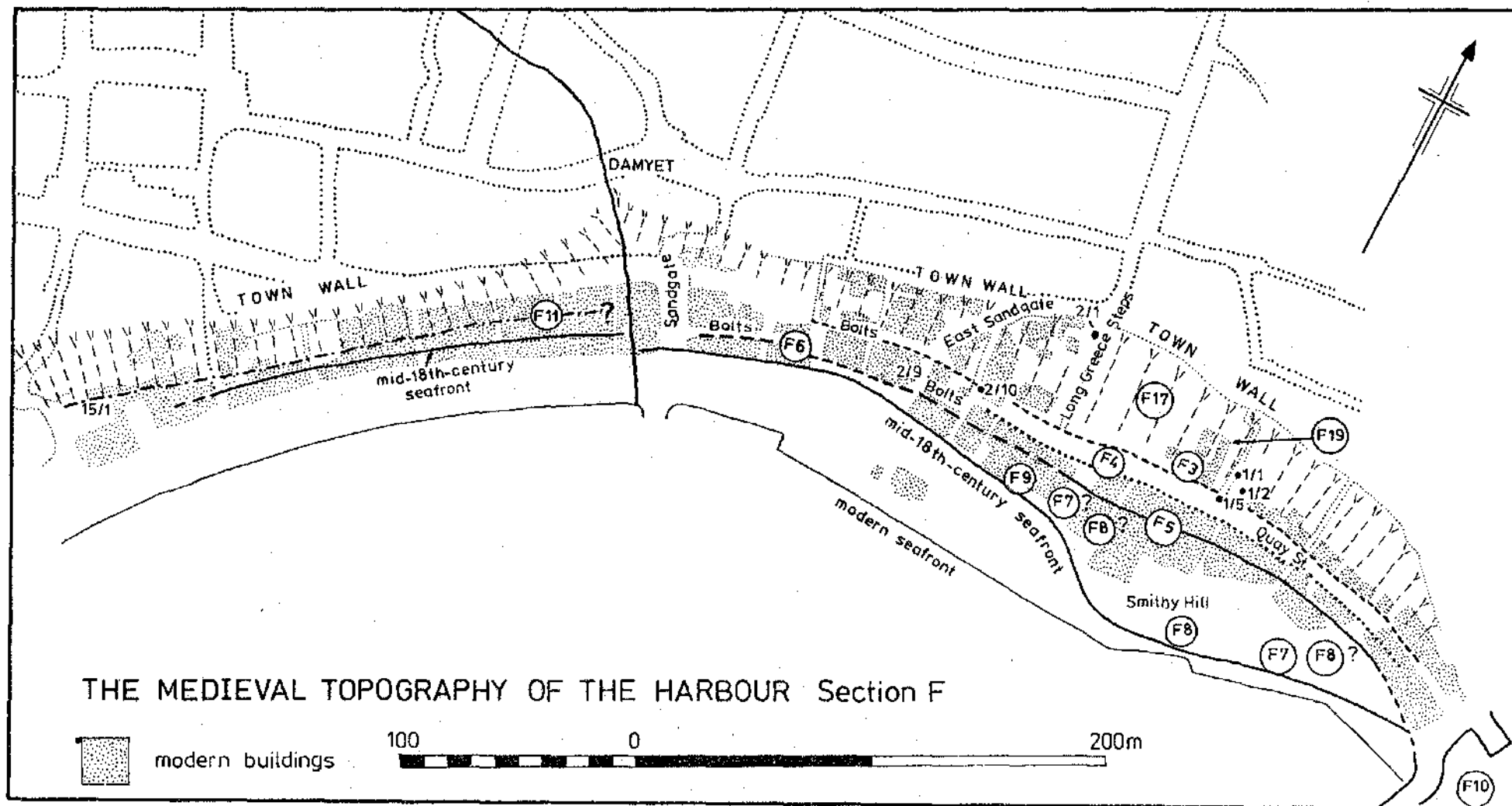
F2 Dyson has pointed out that the word quay implies nothing more in medieval documents than the junction of sea and land,² and it is unlikely that the entire length of Scarborough's harbour was fronted by a continuous sea wall. In some places boats, such as fishing cobbles, would have moored and unloaded on the beach itself, in others localised destructions or reclamations would have interrupted the line of the waterfront. Documents speak of privately owned "stadia", probably jetties, reaching out into the harbour.³

THE PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE HARBOUR.

F3 Mooring rings observed in cellars on the north side of Quay St. in the 19th century,⁴ and more recently in the cellar of No.2. Quay st.⁵ (No 2/10), suggest buildings in part constructed on a disused stone waterfront running to the north of, and earlier than Quay St. The significance of a stone "pavement" found in two places to the north of this street is harder to assess [No's. 1/2 and 1/5]. If simply a solidly constructed east-west routeway at the junction of cliff and seashore, it probably predates the first harbour wall in this area, itself forming an unsophisticated quay. Alternatively it may be the stone foundation of a wholly destroyed timber waterfront on the same line as that discussed above. Perhaps the most northerly part of the Bolts below Tuthill perpetuates the line of this waterfront to the west of Quay St.

F4 It is possible that all, or part of Quay St. constituted the waterfront at some time. Dumps of clay observed in two excavations north of the street suggest consolidation behind a seafront either on this line or the one further south discussed below, [No's. 1/1 and 1/2].

Figure 6



F5 Documentary and topographic evidence coincide to indicate a mid-14th-century waterfront between Quay St. and Sandside. Six documents from 1341 to 1371 refer to distances of 24 to 63 feet separating a road on the north from the sea on the south and some refer to lanes connecting the two.⁶ This is so similar to the modern topography to make it virtually certain that today's Quay St. is the road referred to, with Parkin's Lane and Porrit's Lane two of the streets once connecting it to the sea.

The line of this same waterfront could well be preserved in the marked rise and fall visible in several of the lanes connecting Quay St. and Sandside. [No's. 1/15 and 2/11]. Work in 1970 reportedly confirmed this feature as a stone and timber quay [No.1/4].

F6 In 1312 the alley now known as the Bolts probably formed the harbour front near West Sandgate. In that year an inquisition complained of a blockage to the common way bordering the sea to the east of the Sandgate⁷ (now West Sandgate (D3)). That this was the Bolts cannot be conclusively proved but it is the only east-west route shown here on the 1725 town plan. Further eastwards the Bolts turn inland, but the waterfront must have continued its previous alignment since 13th-century timberwork has been recognised in No.13 Sandside [No.2/9].

F7 Large scale planning is suggested by the similar sizes of five mid-14th-century grants of waste land.⁸ Four have a north to south length of 70 feet, and four an east to west width of 50 feet (one has a length of 60 feet and another a width of 90 feet). Four border more waste to the south, the fifth evidently the sea itself, suggesting that there was a substantial area of land available for development. This was due not so much to storm damage as probably to reclamation from the sea behind a newly advanced waterfront; as one of the two earliest grants from 1343 refers to the new quay.⁹

F8 Building on the Sandhill and Westsandhill is mentioned in the late 14th century¹⁰ and on the Botehill in 1488,¹¹ but these areas are not precisely located and the "hills" could have been made by dumps of mud and rubbish cleared from the harbour or by natural processes of deposition. Like the Smiddy Hill shown on the 1725 town plan first mentioned in 1465,¹² they were probably located at the front of the harbour where there was no continuous quayside wall.

F9 "King Richard III House" [No.2/8], possibly a medieval stone building, is some 10 metres on the seaward side of the waterfront discussed in F5 above and therefore points to further seaward expansion of the harbour front in this area.

F10 The 1538 view shows a short length of pier jutting into the sea at the eastern extremity of the South Bay. Later to be known as the Old Pier, it is probably medieval in origin and evidently from the 1747 town map, used the natural rocky scar called the Naval as a foundation. Medieval references to a pier are principally that in 1320 two stonemasons worked at repairing the quay at the foot of the castle cliff¹³ and in 1362 a quay is mentioned jutting out into the sea to provide a refuge for ships.¹⁴ The findings of the Elizabethan commission that the pier had hitherto been made largely of timber prompted the call for subsequent use of large stones in its construction.¹⁵ It is not clear whether it was the foundation of this 16th-century pier or its medieval predecessor which was exposed in 1816,¹⁶ and the

1747 town plan shows a short length of stone pier to the east which might also be medieval in origin.

F11 In 1392 Newborough Brigg is mentioned which together with a lane leading from Fleshergate to the sands, points to harbour development west of West Sandgate;¹⁷ the "brigg" being perhaps a man-made jetty out into the sea. The quay wall discovered terraced into the boulder clay slope at Bland's Cliff is the furthest west that the medieval waterfront has been observed. [No 15/1] Here there was obviously no room for building on or behind the quay, its main purpose being presumably to provide a dry route along the shoreline.

SUMMARY OF THE HARBOUR'S DEVELOPMENT

F12 The nucleus of 12th-century activity in the harbour was probably around the Sandgate, now West Sandgate. This was the main focus of routes through the town wall from the parish church, castle and Oldborough, to the seashore.

In the late 12th and first half of the 13th centuries the harbour may have gradually developed towards the foot of the castle cliff, accounting for the waterfront suggested at the north side of Quay St. (F3). Buildings to its rear were apparently terraced into the boulder clay cliff fringing the South Bay. [No.1/1]

Subsequently a waterfront may have been established along modern Quay St. (F4), but the first grant of quayage in 1252, repeated in following years,¹⁸ probably inaugurated major changes around the harbour. The grant specified the need for deep water for ships to berth at low tide. This could have been achieved by the construction of the pier [F10] and reclamation of land from the harbour to achieve deeper water, perhaps along the line known to have existed in the mid-14th century (F5). To the west it may have linked up with the waterfront along the Bolts (F6). Quay St. may have been laid out at this time to communicate with both waterfront and pier, its reasonably straight course a testimony to its planned origin. Buildings probably spread along Quay St. in the 14th century as the Sandgate became crowded with structures, although the frequent reference to storm damage suggests development was not without its setbacks.¹⁹

The position of the "King Richard III" house (F9) points to further reclamation seawards of the line discussed above. It could be accounted for by the conjectured "planned" expansion (F7) or development on the Sandhills (F8), though either could mark further stages of eastward expansion.

F13 Although development is referred to west of the Sandgate and a quay wall has been excavated at Bland's Cliff, (F11) this part of the harbour probably never experienced the same scale of development as to the east. The boulder clay cliff surrounding the South Bay is substantially higher along here and consequently the waterfront more difficult to reach. The excavated quay functioned mainly as a dry routeway at high tide, there being no room for building behind it.

CAUSES OF HARBOUR RECLAMATION

F14 The maintenance of a sound harbour frontage, principally to attract shipping, is generally thought to be the main cause of waterfront reclamation.²⁰ At Scarborough, facing a frequently hostile sea, harbour maintenance was important as much for the protection of buildings as for the convenience of ships docking there.

References to storm damage are frequent in the 14th century, and the collapse of wharves built to defend houses from the sea prompted a Royal Commission in 1358.²¹ It is quite likely that a damaged sea wall would have been replaced by a new construction further out to sea.

F15 In the 18th century Hinderwell wrote that the harbour was prone to be "warped up" with sand brought in by the tide, attributing to this the seawards reclamation he had witnessed.²² The same phenomenon probably prompted the writ in 1298 to Thomas de Weston complaining that the port and quay needed cleansing.²³ Dumps of sand probably dredged from the harbour in the 14th century were found by an excavation in East Sandgate.

[No.2/1]. As Hinderwell observed, the lengthening of the pier accentuated this problem, as did refuse heaps obstructing the harbour in the 14th-century.²⁴

Thus the seawards expansion of buildings could have been dictated by the speed at which sand and rubbish accumulated in front of the harbour, followed in some areas by building directly onto the accumulated sand, e.g. the Sandhills (F8). To overcome silting, the waterfront would also have been forced further out to sea to secure the deep water moorings specified in the quayside grant.

F16 A royal inquiry in 1376 established that the sands lying between the town and the quay were part of the town waste.²⁵ The burgesses were granted the right to improve waste land in 1256 as an aid to the town farm.²⁶ It follows that the burgesses may have taken in hand the development of some of the sea front as a way of increasing the town waste so that the rents from buildings subsequently erected could swell the town's coffers. Properties around the harbour paid the highest rents in the 14th century, and such an initiative may explain the extensive area of waste land behind the "new quay" mentioned in 1343 (F7).

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH BAY CLIFF

F17 The spread of buildings onto the boulder clay slope around the South Bay, though poorly documented, is another aspect of the harbour's development. By the middle of the 14th century the small size of waste plots and encroachments onto the town wall around West Sandgate²⁷ imply that the slope either side was already largely terraced and built upon, possibly since the 13th or even 12th centuries. In contrast, further east development was less dense, with several plots of waste land stretching from Tuthill down to the bottom of the slope in the 14th century.²⁸ Similarly an excavation in this area suggested that the slope was unoccupied into the 14th century, until backfilling and terracing created level building plots adjacent to and contemporary with the construction of Long Greece Steps [No.2/1]. Elsewhere along the cliff it was the building of similar flights

of steps between harbour and town, in response to the eastwards and westwards expansion of the quay, which must have brought about the development of vacant areas of the slope.

MARKET PLACES

F18 A Royal Inquisition of 1376 found that fairs and markets were held on the sands,²⁹ and it was here that the 1357 town charter stipulated fish had to be bought and sold. Probably the markets constantly changed location in response to the growth and decay of different areas of the waterfront, thereby leaving little trace in either the archaeological record or street pattern. The reference to West Sandgate as "the port of the Sandgate" in 1312³⁰ suggests greatest commercial activity in this area.

HOUSES AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS

F19 Detailed 19th-century plans of the town show a dense jumble of properties around the harbour. This probably mirrors and may even preserve the disposition of medieval buildings, the pattern doubtless due to the scarcity and high value of land in this area. More typical burgage plots with long depth to narrow frontage (D23) may have existed to the north of Quay St., where two buildings preserve this outline and contain stonework in their fabric. (1/9 and 1/11).

F20 Medieval stone houses are only mentioned in documents³¹ and in fact only survive [No.2/8] around the foreshore, where they would obviously have proved more resistant to storms than timber structures. Perhaps they housed merchants who would have found the stone walls an adequate protection for their money and merchandise and a conspicuous sign of their wealth and status. The cellars of some of these houses may still survive incorporated into 18th and 19th-century structures. No evidence apparently survives of the warehouses also to be expected around medieval ports.

F21 The only public buildings referred to around the harbour are the Common Hall of Pleas in East Sandgate in 1376,³² and the latrines or "Bolts" near the castle cliff in 1390 some 200 metres east of the lanes known today as the Bolts.³³

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF THE HARBOUR

F22 Most medieval ports, and consequently most excavated waterfronts, faced onto rivers or their estuaries; few harbours faced directly onto the sea as at Scarborough. An ability to withstand storms means that the waterfront here might show some differences in construction to those more commonly excavated, and thus be of importance to the study of medieval harbours.

F23 It is possible that the rate of seawards expansion mirrored the economic condition of the town with reclamation indicating prosperity. The development of medieval Scarborough could be deduced from excavations around

the harbour although the causes of waterfront reclamation discussed in F13 - F16 contradict this view. Most notably expansion may have occurred to aid the payment of the town farm in periods of economic hardship (F16).

F24 Lost or abandoned examples of the vast range of goods which passed through the port could be recovered from excavations here (G3). In particular the study of Scarborough Ware could benefit from data recovered in such contexts (G7).

F25 Spoil from terracing work and refurbishment of the town and castle ditches probably provided the bulk of the backfill needed for waterfront reclamation. However the town's everyday rubbish may well have been periodically dumped in the harbour to assist in the consolidation process and its excavation today would provide a rich assemblage of artefacts.

F26 Waterlogged stratigraphy would enhance the range of such an assemblage and would have other important implications. For example excavation of wooden harbour fronts sheds light on medieval carpentry, and the frequent re-use of ships timbers aids the study of medieval boats. Some of the textile, wooden and leather goods which passed through the harbour might be found, and Scarborough Ware stratified with timber waterfronts could be given accurate dendrochronological dates.

However it would be a mistake to predict waterlogged environments everywhere around the harbour since excavation has shown that some areas furthest from the shoreline have quite dry deposits (No's.1/1 and 1/2). Waterlogging is obviously more likely the closer a site is to the sea or to the mouth of the Damyet stream.

SECTION G : TRADE, CRAFTS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF MEDIEVAL SCARBOROUGH

(Fig.7 and 8)

TRADE

G1 Scarborough's trade has been discussed in general by Waites and the fishing industry in particular by Heath and Vasey, principally using customs accounts enrolled in the government archives.¹ To summarise their findings, Scarborough from the 12th century was visited by continental merchants, mainly from the Low Countries and mainly in summer (Fig 7a) and in the mid-13th century the town was granted a 45-day fair. Coastal trade, undertaken largely by English merchants, maintained the livelihood of the port during the spring and winter as did the fishing fleet. This exploited not only the local waters, but fished for herring on the Dogger Bank and even ventured into Icelandic and Norwegian waters.

G2 Inland, Scarborough attracted the agricultural produce and wool of the Vale of Pickering and the North Yorkshire Moors, in fluctuating amounts relative to the competition exerted by the York, Hull and Beverley markets. The villages recorded as sending corn to Scarborough in 1298 gives a measure of the town's hinterland at that particular date (Fig 7b). Agricultural produce would have mainly changed hands at markets, whose locations are indicated by the "Bluestone" and the Corn, Rede and Butter crosses (No.7/11). Elsewhere in the town, Fleshergate points to the centre of the butchery trade first mentioned in 1252,² a baker had a shop in Sandgate in 1390³ and two shops are mentioned in Cook's Row in 1429.⁴

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

G3 Apart from the goods supplying shops, markets and the various industries and crafts, the bulk of merchandise entering Scarborough from inland or abroad would have passed straight through, never circulating within the town. However archaeological evidence for Scarborough's richly documented medieval trade should not have totally disappeared from the town. Warehouses and cellars used for temporary storage of merchandise may survive around the harbour, as might the goods themselves whenever broken or discarded on the waterfront or on the sands at markets or fairs. Furthermore goods not in general circulation within the town may still be preserved at the house sites of those merchants or monasteries trading at the port.

CRAFTS

G4 The majority of crafts practised in Scarborough are known mainly from surnames and the 18 trade companies listed in 1467.⁵ The crafts so identified are by and large the same as might be expected in most towns. Boat building and the victualling of merchant ships probably stimulated some crafts beyond the level ordinarily encountered in a town of Scarborough's

SCARBOROUGH'S MEDIEVAL CONTACTS: Section G

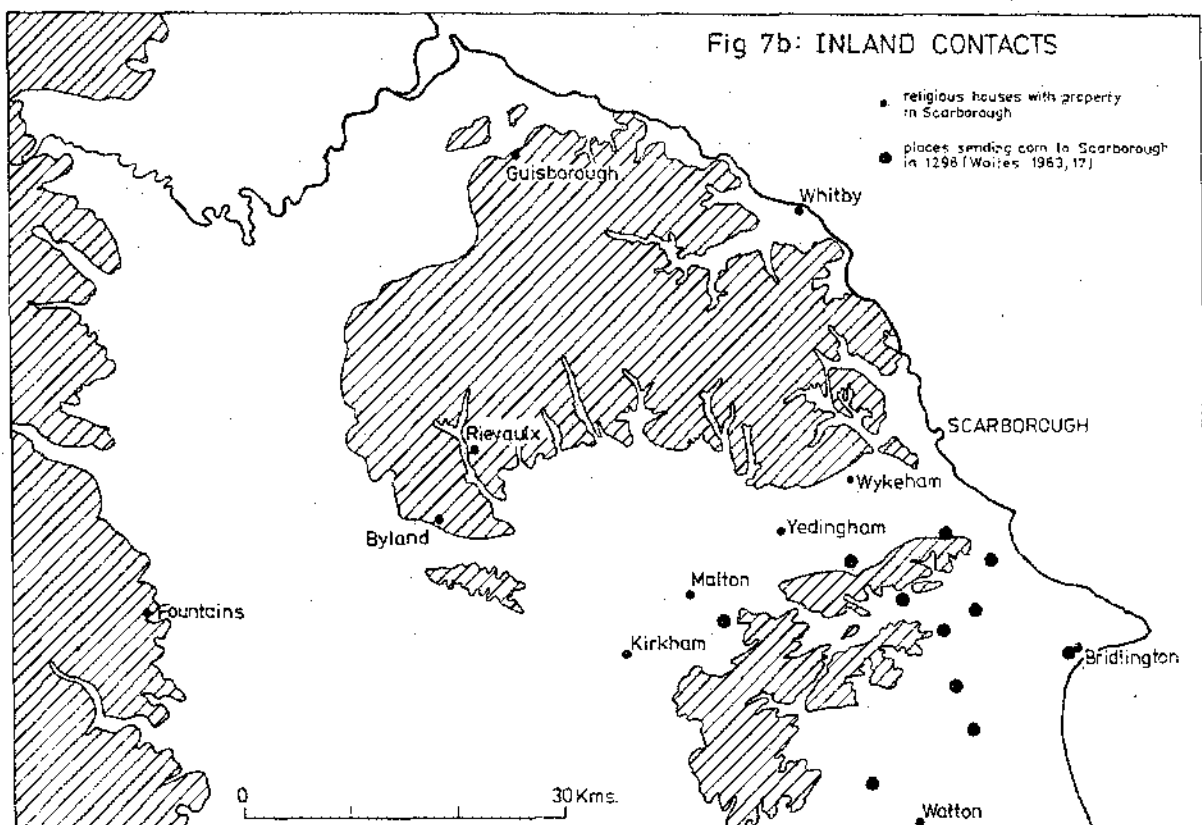
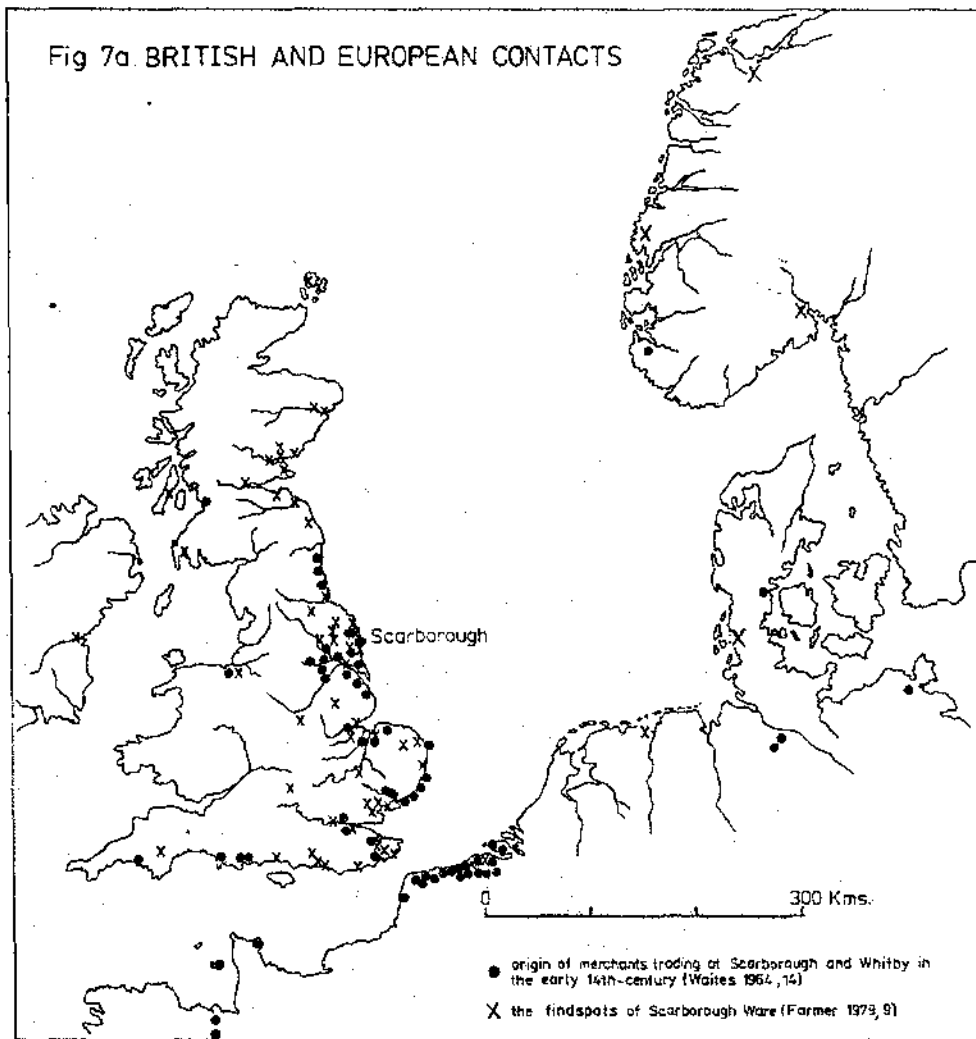


Figure 7

size. Some craftsmen may have used raw material from abroad from time to time, like the Flemish brick observed in Beverley's houses and brought to this country as ballast.⁵ More importantly merchant ships would have carried the products of Scarborough's craftsmen around the coasts of Britain and Europe for resale, as artefacts in use or as gifts at a time when most artefacts had a restricted distribution. The finds of Scarborough Ware pottery have shown how a distinctive Scarborough product can aid the reconstruction of North Sea trade patterns (Fig 7a).

Documentary sources suggest the location of some crafts in Scarborough. The organic raw materials and products of activities such as wood and leatherworking restricts the search for many to waterlogged environments within the town.

POTTERY INDUSTRY

G5 Pottery kilns were first uncovered in the 19th century (No. 10/4) but were more fully explored in the 1960's [No's 9/1, 10/1 and 10/2], and the kilns appear to have clustered around Castle Road just within the Oldborough defences. Although the defences form a clear western limit to the industry, the other boundaries have still to be properly defined. In the 19th century writers suggested that it spread northwards and eastwards to New Queen Street and Mulgrave Terrace⁷ (12/2), and traces of pottery production have been claimed even further east (No. 8/6). Thus the industry may have spread along the North Bay cliff top and southwards could even have reached the Damyet stream.

G6 In two studies of the pottery, Farmer has consistently argued for its 12th-century origin, though admitting such an early date for highly decorated wares is controversial.⁸ This date is deduced from the occurrence of pottery in the Oldborough ditch adjacent to the kiln site. The ditch is probably 12th-century in origin but clearly material contained within it could be much later and thus the beginning of the industry cannot be firmly dated on this basis. Grants of waste land in the vicinity of the excavated kilns seem to indicate its decline by the mid-14th century.⁹

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF THE POTTERY INDUSTRY

G7 Medieval pottery production was as often a rural as an urban activity, with the many kiln sites having very localised markets. One notable exception is Scarborough Ware which has been found along the east coast of Britain and the North Sea coasts of Europe and Scandinavia (Fig 7a) However this industry is never mentioned in Scarborough's medieval records suggesting its negligible contribution to the economy and development of the town, and that it drew its workers from the poorer classes of society.

Medieval archaeologists accord it greater importance; its distinctive products appear to have influenced other pottery styles and prove useful in helping to date sites and indicating trade patterns.¹⁰ Since its products are so widely spread, the study of Scarborough Ware is obviously not restricted to the town, although further work on the kiln site itself could be of national or even international importance.

Gardens to the east of Toller gate and an area south of St. Peter's Church may preserve more of the sequence of kilns already excavated.

TRADE, CRAFTS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE Section G

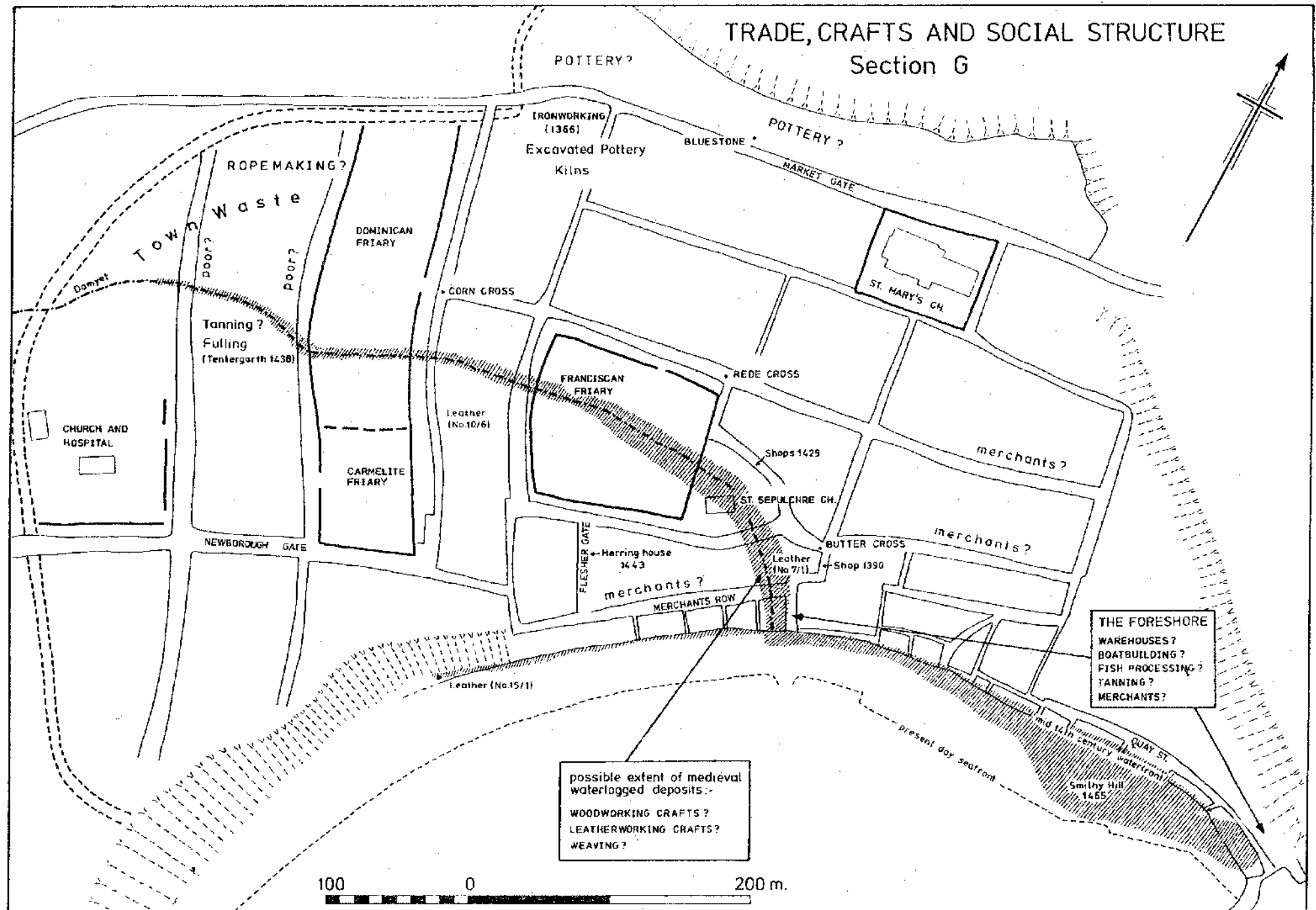


Figure 8

Other than the kiln site, Scarborough's harbour may provide important information on the industry. For example a broken or abandoned cargo could show how the pottery was exported, and might be accurately dated by dendrochronology if associated with waterlogged timber.

IRONWORKING

G8 The roasting, smelting and blooming processes to turn ore into the iron bars used by the blacksmith most probably took place away from Scarborough, close by the ore outcrops and the necessary coal or charcoal supplies. Smithing to turn the bars into implements was probably a common craft in medieval Scarborough since boat building, fishing and quay construction produced a demand above the myriad of other urban activities requiring iron artefacts. The smith leaves various archaeological traces from hearths and water boshes to slags and minute iron scale produced by hammering the implements. The shallow hearths found during the East Sandgate excavation (No. 2/1) may derive from simple refurbishment of tools, which it is thought was an everyday domestic activity. One area of commercial smithing is suggested by the grant of a forge and pair of bellows in 1366 near to, if not actually upon, the abandoned site of the pottery industry.¹¹ Smithy Hill mentioned in 1465, and shown on the 1725 town plan, suggests iron working on the foreshore in the medieval period.

METALWORKING

G9 The surname goldsmith recorded in 1298¹² points to the working of metals other than iron in Scarborough and, like iron smithing, evidence will principally survive as hearths, slags and moulds. Distinct streets and areas of metalworkers are known in other towns and the same might be expected of Scarborough.¹³

WOODWORKING

G10 The work of Scarborough's medieval carpenter and joiners still survive above ground in the examples of medieval timberwork identified in various buildings (No's 1/13, 1/14, 2/9, 2/10 and 5/13), and is likely to be encountered below ground principally in the wooden structuring of the medieval waterfront. Indeed, boat building and quay maintenance might mean this craft was centred around the harbour.

Smaller scale woodworking trades such as coopering and woodturning may have occurred anywhere within the town but their workshops, like their products, are only to be found in waterlogged conditions or recognised by finds of specific woodworking tools.

BONEWORKING

G11 The production of buttons, combs and pins was probably undertaken by most households and is an activity which like its products, could be anticipated anywhere within the medieval town.

ROPEMAKING

G12 An essential occupation in a coastal town, ropemakers are mentioned in Scarborough in the reign of Edward II,¹⁴ and in the 18th century there were roperies along North Street, Castle Road, and the Castle Dykes.¹⁵ Here there was sufficient space to spin and twist the yarn into suitably long lengths of rope and similar locations along the side of unoccupied streets or across waste land are possible in the medieval period. The only surviving trace would be the remains of the regularly spaced posts supporting the ropes.

WEAVING

G13 Weavers are mentioned in Scarborough as early as the 1160s¹⁶ and the spinning and weaving of wool is reckoned to have been the most important of all manufacturing enterprises in medieval England.¹⁷ Since it took place within the home or an outbuilding, it is unlikely to have been centred in one particular area of Scarborough, and most of its tools and products would only survive in waterlogged conditions. Elsewhere bone and pottery spindlewhorls and bone pin beaters are the only trace to be expected.

FULLING

G14 Woven cloth was thickened or fulled in pits or vats in a mixture of water and fuller's earth and would leave obvious archaeological traces, as might the remains of the tenter frames upon which the cloth was hung to dry.

In 1438 a garden called Tentergarth is mentioned in Blackfriargate¹⁸ and, as in Beverley, probably indicates a Tenterground,¹⁹ presumably stretching westwards to St. Thomas Street. The associated fulling pits no doubt used the Damyet stream as a water source.

TANNING

G15 The preparation of hides for leatherworking required the noxious processes of de-hairing and tanning, activities most appropriately situated away from the crowded parts of the town and close to a water supply. In medieval Scarborough the Newborough would have fulfilled both these requirements and medieval antecedents might be suggested for the 17th century tanneries documented in St. Thomas Street.²⁰ A reference to a close called "Le Tanere" on the foreshore in 1374 suggests a second or alternative location.²¹ Archaeological traces of this activity will be principally the timber or brick-lined pits used for de-hairing and tanning the leather.

LEATHERWORKING

G16 Processed leather supplied a variety of crafts such as shoemaker, saddler and sheather. Whilst leatherworkers might have been concentrated along a particular street in the town, the mending of shoes was an everyday domestic activity undertaken by most households. Consequently the leather shoes and offcuts found in Cross Street (No. 10/6), Bland's Cliff (No. 15/1) and West Sandgate (No. 7/1) could derive from domestic waste and not imply an industry centred at any of these locations. The waste, the products and the

tools mean that waterlogged conditions are a prerequisite for any archaeological identification of this industry in Scarborough.

FISH PROCESSING

G17 The preparation of different species of fish for transport to inland markets and monasteries involved processes of varying complexity and hence variable archaeological definition. For example bony cod and white fish dried by sun and wind²² required only simple hanging frames, often erected in the streets to judge by their prohibition in 1485.²³ Herring required more elaborate treatment being a fattier fish. In the 13th century they were gutted, salted and packed in barrels leaving traces as bone waste, whilst the smoking of herrings from the 14th century could leave distinctive structural remains.²⁴

The foreshore would be the obvious location for fish processing. The wood stolen by the Prior of Malton in 1334 for "kippering his herrings" at Scarborough could have been destined for his foreshore property.²⁵ However, a herring house existed in Fleshergate in 1443 and suggests that this activity was more widespread.²⁶

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

G18 It has been calculated that in 1305 four burgesses held 14% of the taxable wealth of Scarborough²⁷ and throughout the 14th century the wealthy tried to keep control of the town government, culminating in the riots of 1381.²⁸ The wealth of such families was probably widely based with revenues from fishing, foreign trade, agricultural land and urban rents. One might conjecture that their town houses might be distinctive in size and style and were perhaps the stone houses mentioned on the foreshore in the 12th century²⁹ of which "King Richard III" house may be a later example (F20). Alternatively the name Merchant's Row, first used in the 16th century,³⁰ suggests the location of merchant's houses or perhaps the seclusion of Princess Street and Longwestgate attracted the medieval shipowner and merchant as it did their 18th-century successors.

G19 We probably have to look to the various waste areas of the town to find the habitations of Scarborough's poorest classes, who otherwise, without land or wealth, receive sparse mention in the documentary sources. The apparently unoccupied street frontages on the north of the Newborough are a particular possibility since it is generally thought that the suburbs housed the poorer classes of society.³¹ Indeed, the lower rents paid on land in the Newborough in the 14th century compared to the Oldborough points to a contrast in wealth between the two parts of the town, which comparison of excavated structures could mirror.

G20 It is in Scarborough's various cemeteries that poor and wealthy alike are to be found. In the absence of grave goods to mark the distinction, privileged individuals may only be identified from the prominent location of their tomb. For example, the will of Lady Mauley in 1438 specified burial on the south side of the altar in the Dominican's church.³² The cemeteries of St. Sepulchre and the Franciscan Friary are likely to be least disturbed and could provide sufficient information to compare with the skeletons already analysed from the castle chapel³³ (D10 and D14).

SECTION H : THE GROWTH OF MEDIEVAL SCARBOROUGH. (Fig. 9)

H1 Scarborough's legal status as a town dates to 1163-5 when Henry II granted the first charter and set the value of the town farm at the relatively high amount of £20.¹ This suggests that a substantial settlement existed prior to the first charter rather than it's grant was to encourage a settlement to grow. The origin of most towns is a complex of factors and interactions. At Scarborough the rectilinear street pattern of most of the Oldborough (D18) and the possibly contemporary lengths of terracing wall required for level house plots testify to a strong element of overall planning in the development of the early town (D22). There are a number of examples in Yorkshire of settlements planted close to a castle, such as Skipsea and Malton,² and we might credit William Le Gros in the 1130s or Henry II in the 1150s with planting a settlement at Scarborough to complement their defence of the Castle Headland.

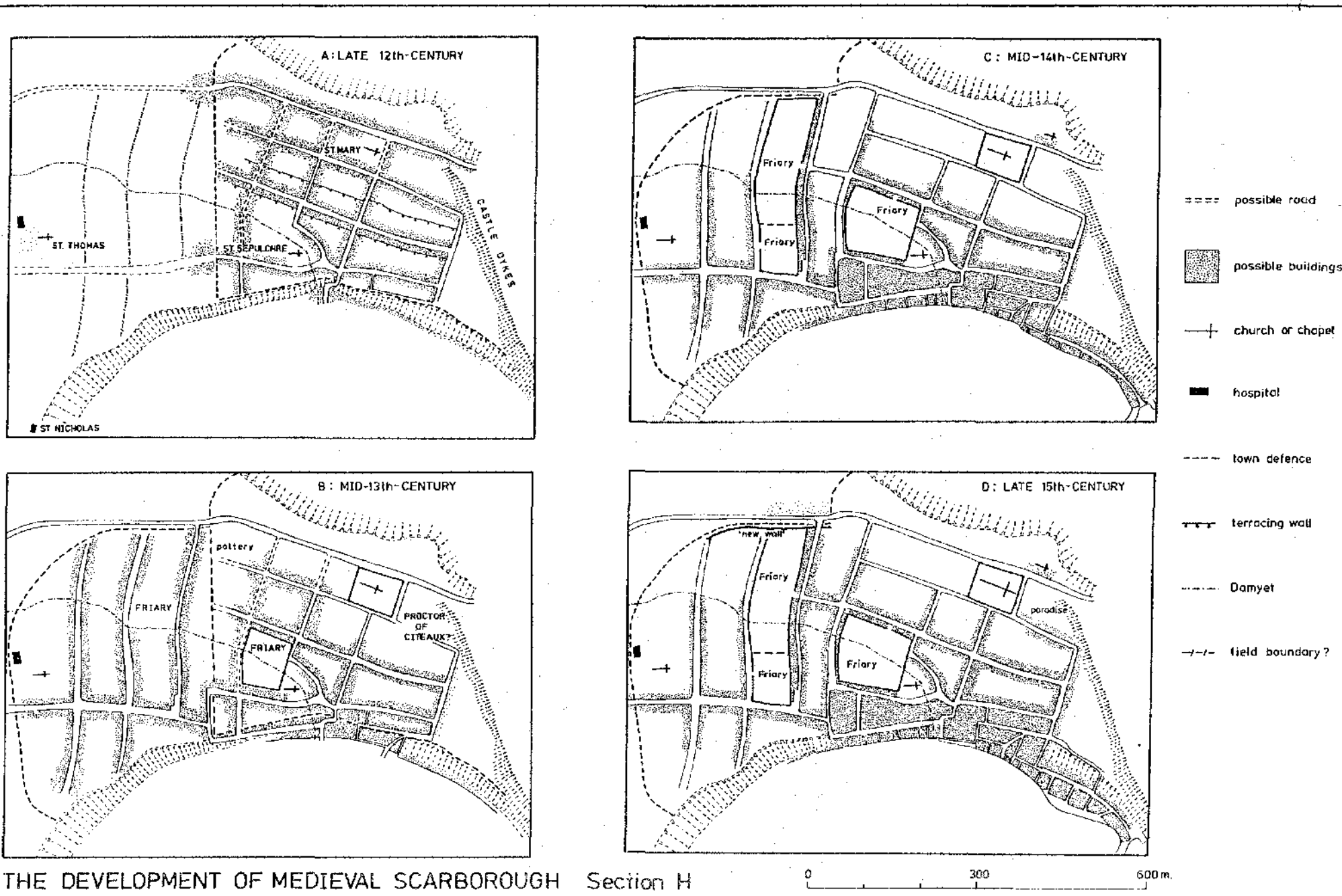
Alternatively the planned streets may have been "grafted" on to an existing settlement dating back to pre-conquest times, as at Leeds where a 13th-century town was laid out on the edge of an existing settlement.³ Possible locations for an earlier settlement at Scarborough are around the harbour (C6), along the Damyet valley (C7) where St. Sepulchre Church may have a pre-conquest origin (D9), or likewise around the parish church and the approach to the headland (C8). Again Henry II or William Le Gros may be credited with this initiative or the inhabitants of the existing settlement themselves. Centrally imposed urban planning was very much in vogue in 12th-century England and it is doubtful whether the latter had the resources or authority for such an undertaking.

H2 The surviving 12th-century documentation is too sparse to establish how rapidly or how densely the Oldborough was settled. Should the 1163 town farm have been raised entirely from the gableage tax of 6d on houses lengthwise and 4d on those gableside on to the street, it would mean most streets were packed with houses. Rushton doubts this, assuming other sources of income to supplement the gableage.⁴ Although 12th-century buildings may be anticipated along and around the main routes to the harbour or castle only excavation along streets remote from either thoroughfare, such as Spreight Lane or the western end of Longwestgate, will establish if houses spread throughout the Oldborough in the 12th century. (Fig 9a)

H3 Initially Scarborough would have drawn it's population from surrounding settlements, the nearest perhaps being around St. Thomas Hospital (C7), and from any community displaced by the construction of the castle (C3 and C4). The important settlement at Falsgrave, with jurisdiction over a wide area at Domesday, may have been in the same relationship to Scarborough in the late 11th and early 12th centuries as the inland medieval market town at Bridlington was to the much smaller harbour community at Bridlington Quay.⁵ However the attraction of Scarborough's castle, chartered town status and port facilities probably drew Falsgrave's population and trade to the South Bay so that by 1256 the settlement was itself included within the boundaries of Scarborough.⁶

H4 The expansion of the Newborough in the 13th century may have been due to one of a number of causes. It may simply mean there had been a steady growth in Scarborough's population throughout the late 12th and early 13th

Figure 9



centuries and that land for development had consequently become scarce in the Oldborough. This does not mean that all land there had been built on. Individual householders would have preserved open spaces at the rear of their properties for crafts activities, cultivation, or rubbish disposal. More importantly the Cistercians may have actively discouraged building around their establishment on the north of the town in pursuit of their doctrine of isolation. Private housing was presumably excluded from at least 7% of the Oldborough judging by the extent of the possible monastic enclosure indicated by the name Paradise (D15), and which may have been created by the amalgamation of eight properties around the year 1250. To achieve maximum isolation it is possible they used their influence to impede settlement around their enclosure leading to abandoned or vacant land on the north of the town and creating an artificial scarcity of land in the Oldborough.

H5 Although some 12th-century settlement may have grown up around Saint Thomas's church or outside the town gates (Fig 9a), the suburban expansion of the Newborough was evidently a planned expansion. Infact the Newborough could have been established in the hope of attracting population and commerce to the town and therefore need not imply any scarcity of land in the Oldborough. Various charters between 1252 and 1256 granted the town a 45 day fair, supressed local markets and ports and made the first grant of quayage⁷ and burgesses may have re-inforced these economic benefits by virtually doubling the area available for settlement within the defences.

H6 It is impossible to judge how much new population the expansion of the Newborough attracted to Scarborough but it may have caused some of the existing inhabitants to move out of the Oldborough. The Franciscan Friary was founded there in 1267 possibly on land abandoned in preference for the Newborough (D11), though this needs to be confirmed by excavation since the area may always have been under-developed because of flooding (Fig 9b).

Similarly, continued population drift westwards into the Newborough may account for the areas of waste land recorded in the 14th century in the Oldborough.⁸ However this waste land is mostly recorded on the northern and western peripheries of the Oldborough and implies that the rest was still fully occupied (Fig 9c). It is likely that no significant movement of population occurred after the creation of the Newborough as this part of town contained the largest amounts of waste land in the 14th and 15th centuries. Evidently not even the expansion of the Dominican and Carmelite friaries had caused any shortage of land in the Newborough and one must conclude that it had failed to attract a large population. Excavation within some of the recorded areas of 14th-century waste might indicate if 13th-century occupation had been any more extensive (9b). In all probability the Newborough was more important to medieval Scarborough for the "industry" than the density of population it contained.

H7 There are fewer detailed property transactions surviving for the 15th century and hence it is more difficult to assess the likely changes in settlement density then taking place. An overall decline in population is most likely to have occurred since Scarborough's economy had evidently been deteriorating since the middle of the 14th century. Houses are mentioned in Paradise in the 15th and 16th centuries (D15) and some settlement may have shifted northwards following the rapid decline in the Cistercian's influence at the beginning of the 15th century.⁹ Similarly occupation spread northwards onto the abandoned site of the pottery industry (Fig 9d).¹⁰

SECTION I : THE CHARACTER OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPOSITS (Fig 10)

I1 This section tries to define areas containing the "best" archaeological deposits (namely those least disturbed, those waterlogged and those deepest) using cartographic and archaeological evidence and by assessing the likely influence of the natural topography. No precision is claimed in the definition of these areas or in predicting the timespan of the deposits. This would require a more detailed survey using information gathered from boreholes, building sites, cellar surveys and archaeological excavations.¹ However boreholes have been infrequent in Scarborough,² there has been no systematic monitoring of building work or pipe laying and the stratigraphy of most past archaeological excavations remains unpublished. Although cellars could be examined in the future for their depth and the stratigraphy through which they cut, without the other categories of information such work would probably not significantly enhance the definition achieved by the present survey.

AREAS OF LEAST DISTURBANCE

I2 The principal attraction of deserted rural settlements to the archaeologist is that they are likely to contain more intact stratigraphy than comparable, continuously occupied sites. The same might be expected of those urban areas which have been undeveloped for centuries. In Scarborough figure 10, based upon cartographic evidence, shows that much of the Oldborough has not been built on since at least 1725. This also testifies to the popularity of the Newborough in the 18th and 19th centuries after the discovery of the spa waters. The higher density of population here means that similarly vacant areas in the Newborough are much scarcer.

Although not built on, these areas in the Oldborough have never been totally ignored and gardening, drainage and landscaping will have interfered with most of the upper and some of the lowest stratigraphy of these sites. Lacking the destructive clutter of Victorian and modern foundations and cellars they are one locality where good archaeological deposits might be anticipated. Those areas with greatest potential are listed in section J9-15. Four locations apparently built on in 1725 but never so since, could represent sites where buildings, possibly medieval in origin, were abandoned in the 18th century and have left well preserved remains.

AREAS OF WATERLOGGED STRATIGRAPHY

I3 Waterlogged stratigraphy will generally preserve an abundance of macroscopic and microscopic floral and faunal remains, and the artefacts made from them, and consequently contain a rich archive of archaeological and environmental evidence. In particular, as is pointed out in section G4, many crafts will only be detectable in waterlogged conditions and their potential around the harbour is discussed in section F26.

Waterlogged stratigraphy has been encountered twice in excavations near to the course of the Damyet (No's.6/3 and 7/1) and is likely along most of its lower reaches. A marshy environment is implied by the name Carr Gate (modern Cross St.). The greatest area of waterlogged deposits probably exists around the harbour but its extent and depth has yet to be defined (F26); the timber waterfront at Bland's Cliff is the only published example (No.15/1).

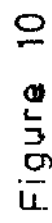


Figure 10

AREAS OF DEEPEST STRATIGRAPHY

I4 The observations which have been made suggest that the deepest deposits exist on the south and east of the town, doubtless testimony to more prolonged occupation here compared to the Newborough and northern parts of the Oldborough. Undoubtedly surface drainage and topography also has played an important part, the former tending to wash and accumulate material down slope, into the Damyet valley and onto the foreshore. Hence it is recorded how Quay St. was buried under thick deposits of silt in 1857 washed downslope by floodwaters,³ and likewise the Damyet stream would have been constantly carrying sediment into the South Bay. Thus, natural processes alone suggest deeper deposits may exist in the Damyet valley and on the foreshore, especially near the mouth of the stream.

I5 The harbour probably contains the deepest deposits in the town because of the dumping necessary to consolidate the rear of waterfronts (F1). The streets here lie four to five metres above sea level and though not all this height will be made of archaeological deposits, some remains could survive even underneath cellared properties.

Elsewhere the silting and backfilling of the town's defensive ditches will preserve deposits to a maximum depth of between four and five metres, and localised areas of deep stratigraphy will often occur to the rear of terracing walls. Material would generally be backfilled behind a terracing wall to provide a level building plot. Such deposits may not be particularly rewarding (No.5/2), especially if of post-medieval origin, but could preserve earlier remains or ground surfaces intact (No.2/1). Subsequently the up-hill side of a terracing wall might serve as a "dam" against which deposits accumulated. This was observed at East Sandgate (No.2/1), and vertical changes visible in the brick and stonework of some terracing walls suggest height increases to accommodate the same phenomenon.

SECTION J RECOMMENDATIONS

PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL AND PRE-MEDIEVAL SCARBOROUGH:-

J1 Detailed surveys should be undertaken of the known medieval structures to record their construction and establish their date. This is particularly important in any consideration of the harbour's development (F6 and F9).

J2 All examples of medieval construction incorporated into the fabric and cellars of later houses should be catalogued (D24). Particularly important could be the identification of surviving medieval stone waterfronts in the cellars of foreshore properties (F3).

J3 Stonework in property boundaries and terracing walls could be stylistically dated. For example the date of No.8/31 is important in the discussion of the 12th-century town (D22), No's 13/3, 13/4 and 7/6 in the discussion of the defences (D3 and E3), and No's 8/13, 8/16 and 8/37 in the discussion of development around the parish church. (D5 and D15)

J4 Remote sensing surveys could indicate the intensity and character of pre-Norman settlement on the Castle Headland (C2 and C3), occupation on Oliver's Mount (C5), and locate structures at Paradise (D15, H4 and H7).

J5 P. Farmer must be encouraged to publish, or release to others to publish, the records and finds from his excavations within the town. The numerous references in this study to his work testify to their potential importance.

Excavation strategies :-

J6 Development sites should be routinely monitored. In other towns such work has provided detailed information on the medieval topography, origins and archaeological survival.

J7 A more accurate assessment of Scarborough's surviving archaeological deposits than that made in Section I could be achieved by a campaign of "test" excavations, boreholes and examination of stratigraphy behind cellar walls. If not feasible for the whole town, such an analysis could answer selected problems such as the extent of waterlogged deposits around the harbour or the state of preservation of Scarborough's friaries.

J8 Some form of archaeological response should be negotiated every time a site is developed within the medieval town, even if it is just a watching brief as outlined above (J6). This survey has pointed out areas which potentially contain the most "significant" information and therefore would repay more detailed excavation. These are listed below :-

J9 THE FORESHORE. The likely depth (I4) and waterlogged nature (I3) of the deposits here offer the greatest potential anywhere within the town (F22-F26):

J10 CASTLE ROAD around St. Peter's R.C. Church may survive evidence for the pottery industry (G5) and Roman occupation (C9).

J11 PARADISE. Largely undeveloped since 1725 (Fig 10), this area may contain evidence of pre-Norman occupation (C8), 12th-century development around the parish church (H4), the House of the Proctor of Citeaux (D17), later medieval development around the parish church (H7), and possibly well preserved pre-1725 building (I2).

J12 THE FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE. An area largely undeveloped since 1725 (Fig 10) which may contain evidence of pre-Norman occupation (C7), St. Sepulchre's cemetery and church (D10 and G20), and waterlogged deposits (I3).

J13 FRIARAGE SCHOOL. An area largely undeveloped since 1725 (Fig 10) which may contain evidence of pre-Norman occupation (C7), the 12th and early 13th-century town (H6), most of the Franciscan Friarage (D14), a road disused in 1322 (D19), and waterlogged remains (I3).

J14 NORTH ST. A substantial length of the Newborough defences may survive here (E3).

J15 FORMER CONVENT SCHOOL. St. Thomas Street. An area largely undeveloped since 1725 (Fig 10) which may contain evidence for 13th-century occupations (H6) and the Newborough defences (E3).

J16 Any redevelopment which covers one or more medieval burgrave plots. Excavation of a number of such sites would allow comparisons of the changing prosperity of particular streets or areas of the town to be made (G19)

Proposals for employing the tourist potential of medieval Scarborough :-

J17 Scarborough can never regain that medieval "character" which attracts tourist to so many other English towns, but it could do more with what survives.

J18 Medieval street names are an immediate contact with activities and people long gone. Where possible former names such as Fleshergate, Blackfriargate and Rievaulx Lane could be indicated on "heritage" plaques near modern street signs.

J19 The Butter Cross achieves nothing hidden away and fenced in behind a forbidding iron railing. Consideration should be given to removing it to the museum for more imaginative display. Comparison with 19th-century engravings show it to be eroding badly. A replica in it's original state could be erected where it will be a focus of attention, such as on the foreshore as a monument to the Scarborough fair of medieval times (F18). There is nothing sacrosanct about its present location as it was originally sited in Low Conduit St. (D20).

J20 More could be made of the possible stretch of town wall adjacent to Castle Road (No's 13/3 and 13/4). Should it's identity be proven it could then be exposed, restored and explained by a plaque or information board.

J21 A colour booklet could be published on the medieval and earlier history of Scarborough. The museum has published several similar guides in the past, although in monochrome.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

J22 From the very first spadeful archaeologists attract curiosity which should be satisfied with at least an information leaflet. Only a large scale and long term excavation would attract many tourists, although a one day, one metre square dig in North St. made front page news in the local press in 1980 and the 1987 excavation at East Sandgate was mentioned on Radio York.

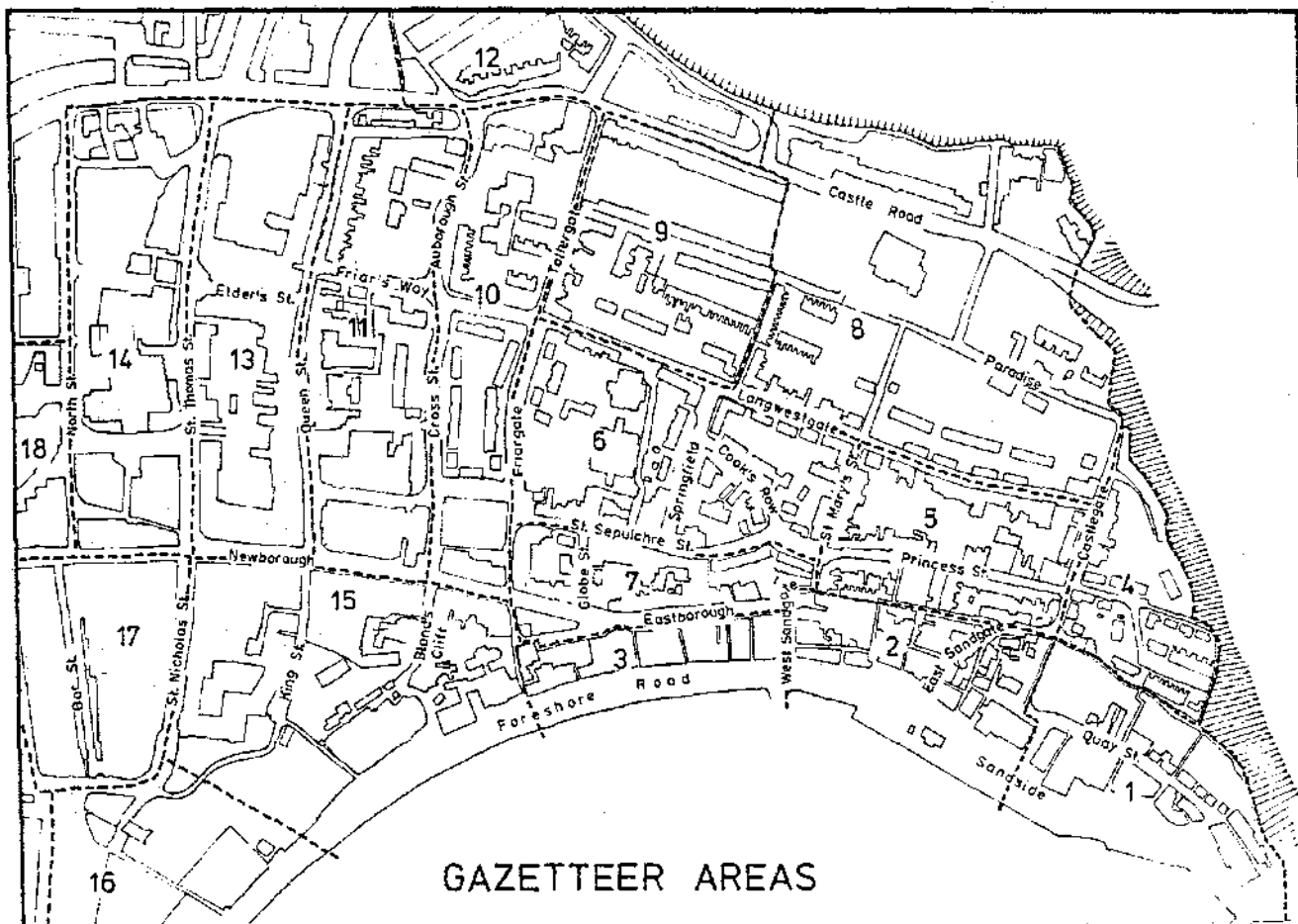
J23 Sufficiently important and substantial excavated structures should be preserved and displayed when at all possible. For example part of St. Mary's Abbey in Winchester or the Carmelite Friary at Ludlow have been restored and explained by information boards following excavation, and so have become another historic feature of these towns. Similar presentation could have been attempted with the possible gatehouse excavated at West Sandgate (No.7/1) and might still be tried at St. Thomas's Hospital, where fabric may survive in an open area adjacent to the Balmoral car park (No.18/2).

More ambitious projects could be based around one of medieval Scarborough's more unique aspects :-

J24 THE POTTERY INDUSTRY. A museum and heritage centre could use this as a theme with working "medieval" potters producing a range of replicas for sale in a heritage shop. If situated near the kiln site itself, it would attract visitors going to the castle.

J25 THE WATERFRONT. Excavated stone or timber waterfronts could be preserved and displayed as the centrepiece of a heritage centre based on the theme of Scarborough's medieval (G1) and earlier (C2) trade. Such a centre could also attract foreign visitors and would be a novel addition to the foreshore's attractions.

J26 ENVIRONS OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH. Future excavation of the Charnel Chapel and its almshouses, (D8) and discovery and excavation of the Cistercian House (D17) and its contiguous gardens presumed from the name Paradise (D15), would constitute a unique series of monuments, together with the parish church, for exploring religious life in urban medieval society. Being so close to the castle visitors would find here an attractive complement to the military and political aspects of medieval life so manifest there, and a heritage centre would further articulate this theme.



Symbols used in the gazetteer











	Buildings		Stonework (D23)
	Buildings demolished 1725-present.		Findspot
	Structures demolished and not built on since c.1725 (12)		Approximate findspot
	Cellars (from external evidence only)		Excavation
	Terracing wall		Approximate site of excavation

Figure 11

AREA ONE

SUB-SURFACE

- (1) EXCAVATION 30 Quay St., 1971. 13th-century structure preceded by earth dumping. 14th-century bakers oven. 15 - 20 century structures. (Scarborough Evening News January 3rd 1972) (F4, F12, F26).
- (2) EXCAVATION 30 Quay St., 1978. Undated stone pavement buried under clay dumps in 14th-century. Post-medieval yard features and a boundary wall. Min. of 2 metres of stratigraphy. (Pearson 1978 pp 15 - 16) (F3, F4, F12, F26)
- (3) FIND Foreshore, 1890. Roman coins recovered during work on an unlocated building site [O.S. Rec. Card TA08NW40] (C6).
- (4) OBSERVATION Quay St., 1970 location unknown. Section of timber and stone quay observed during building work (Farmer, 1976 p.4) (F5, F12).
- (5) OBSERVATION Quay St., 1971. Stone pavement of possible 12th-century date observed at a depth of 2.5 metres. (Farmer, 1976 p.3) (F3, F12).
- (6) FIND Sandside, undated. Medieval pot was recovered from a depth of 4 - 5 feet when digging the foundations of Moody's Arcade. (Trans S D A S. No.13 (1970) p.57)

SURFACE

- (7) WALL with max. of 7 courses of stone.
- (8) WALL with max. of 10 courses of stone in a buttress. (D3)
- (9) WALL with max. of 12 courses of stone. (F19)
- (10) WALL with max. of 8 courses of stone. (D3)
- (11) WALL of a property incorporating several patches of stonework. (F19).
- (12) WALL with max. of 6 courses of stone.
- (13) BUILDING Three Mariners Inn, Sandside. Late 17th-century re-casing of a possible 14th-century structure. (Fieldhouse and Barrett 1973 p.18) (G10, J1).

- (14) BUILDING Lancaster Inn, Sandside. 15th - 16th-century timber framing. (D.O.E. list of buildings of special architectural or historical interest) (G10, J1).

- (15) Rise and fall visible in several lanes connecting Quay St. and Sandside possibly indicate the line of a waterfront. (F5, F12).

PRE-MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT--Fig.3 and C6, H1

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY--Figs.4 and 6 town wall D3, D4 north side of Quay St. F3, F4, F12, F19 Quay St. F4, F12 south side of Quay St. F5, F12 Smiddy Hill F8, F12, F15, G8 Old Pier F10, F12 development of the South Bay Cliff F17 medieval Bolts F21

CRAFTS AND TRADES--Fig.8 and G10, G11, G8.

GAZETTEER AREA 1

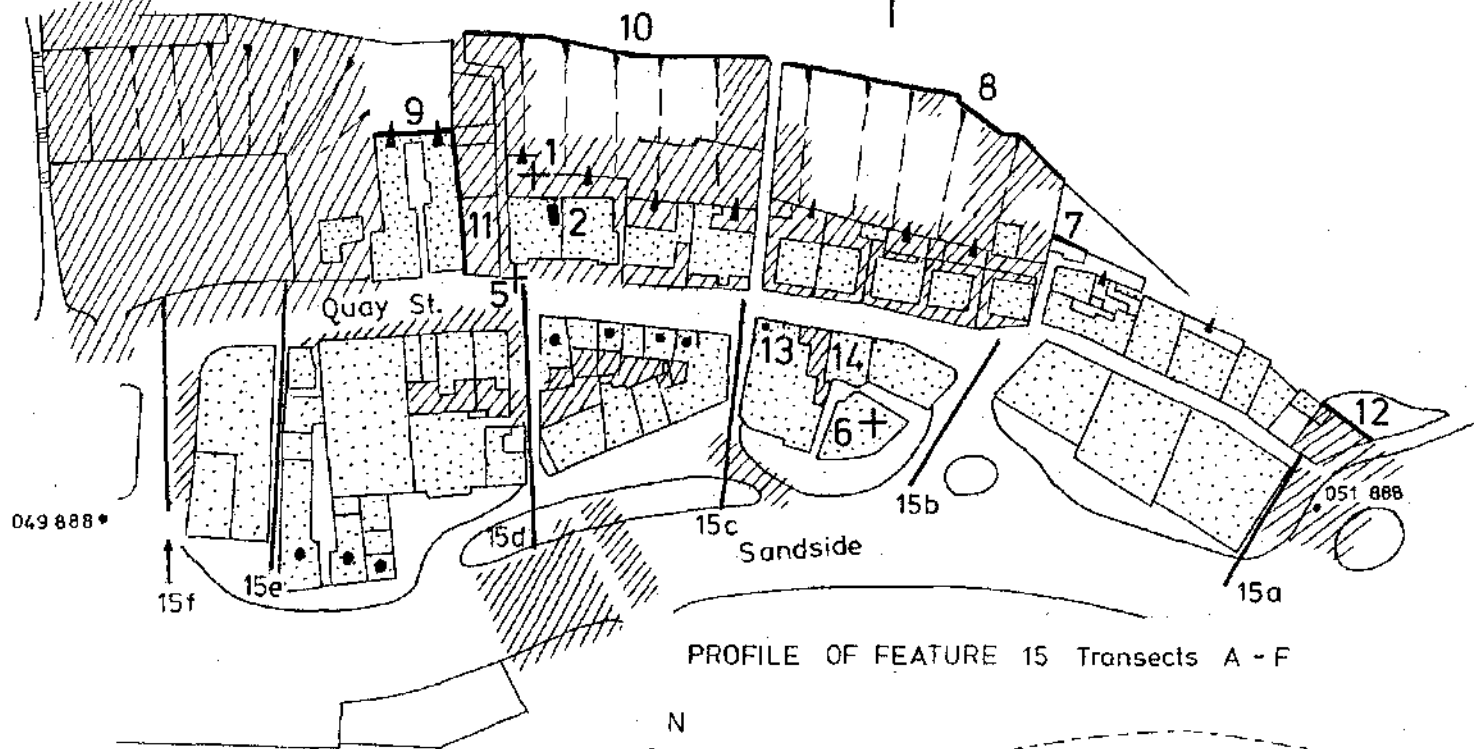
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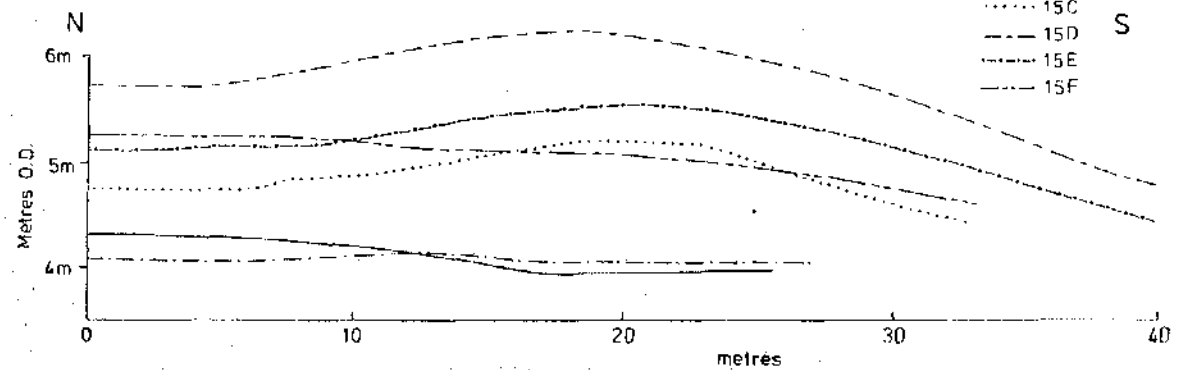
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Long Greece Steps



PROFILE OF FEATURE 15 Transects A - F



AREA TWO

SUBSURFACE

- (1) EXCAVATION 24 East Sandgate, 1987. Sequence of drains running down the natural slope, itself later consolidated and terraced in the 14th-century to accomodate buildings fronting Long Greece Steps. Max. of 2 metres of stratigraphy. (Interim Report S.A.H.S. 1987) (B1, F15, F17, I5).
- (2) OBSERVATION St. Thomas' Church, undated. Town wall recorded by P.Farmer on northern side of this building. (Pers.Comm 1987) (D3).
- (3) FIND Gaz. No. 1/3 could apply here

SURFACE

- (4) WALL with max 8 courses of stone.
- (5) WALL with max 16 courses of stone.
- (6) WALL with max 5 courses of stone at base of an 18th century property.
- (7) WALL with max 14 courses of stone.
- (8) BUILDING "King Richard III House", Sandside 16th and 17th-century features incorporated in a stone structure of possible medieval origin. (Fieldhouse and Barrett, 1973 p 19) (F9, F12, F20, G18, J1).
- (9) BUILDING "Newcastle Packet", Sandside. Possible 13th-century cruck frame skeleton incorporated in the west wall. (Fieldhouse and Barrett, 1973, p 18) (F6, F12, G10, J1)
- (10) BUILDING No. 2, Quay st. Timberwork of possible 15th or 16th-century date. (D.o.E. list of buildings of special architectural or historic interest.) (F3, F12, G10, J1).
- (11) Rise and fall visible in several lanes connecting Quay St. and Sandside possibly indicate the line of a waterfront. (F5, F12).

PRE-MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT--Fig.3 and C6, H1.

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY--Figs.4 and 6 East Sandgate D3, F21 north side of Quay St. F3, F12, F19 Bolts F3, F6, F12, F21 Quay St. F4, F12 south side of Quay St. F5, F12 development of South Bay Cliff F17 origin of Long Greece Steps F17 town wall D3, D4. West Sandgate F12, F18.

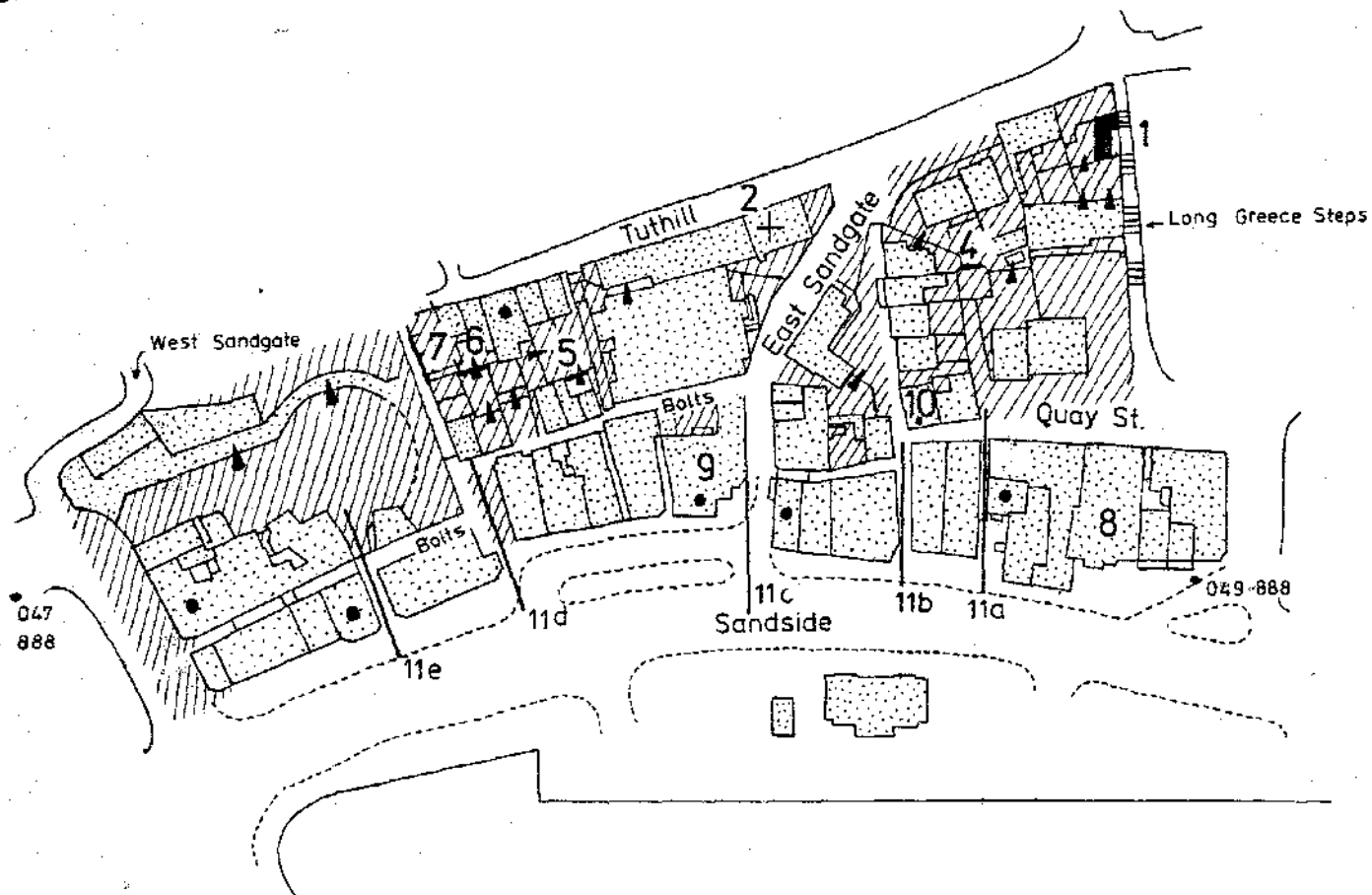
CRAFTS AND TRADES--Fig.8 and G10, G17, G18.

GAZETTEER AREA 2
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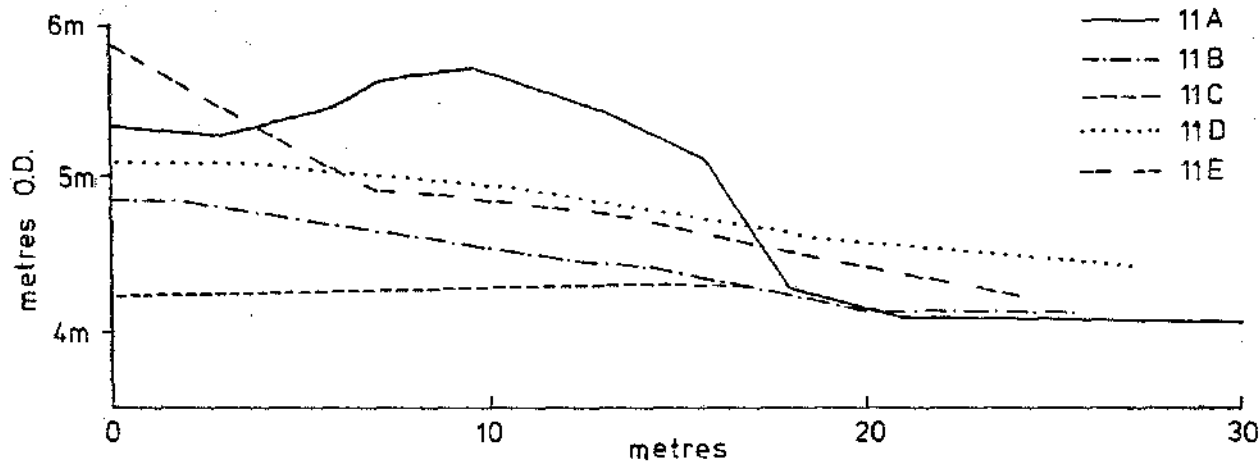


PROFILE OF FEATURE 11

Transects A - E

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Scale 1:200

AREA THREE

SUBSURFACE

- (1) FIND Foreshore undated. Roman coins found in the late 19th-century near the harbour under what is now Foreshore Road. (Clarke, 1935 pp 126 - 7) (C6).
- (2) FIND Gaz No. 1/3 could apply here.

SURFACE

- (3) WALL with max. 10 courses of stone.
- (4) WALL with max 10 courses of stone.

PRE-MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT—Fig.3 and C6.

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY—Figs.4 and 6 town wall D3, D4 course of Damyet B1, D21, F26. harbour development F11, F13.

GAZETTEER AREA 3

scale 1:1250



046 888

047 888

Eastborough

Foreshore Road

Merchant's Row

046 886

047 886

AREA FOUR

SUBSURFACE

- (1) BOREHOLE 5 Castlegate, 1985. Hand auger borings by T.L.P. Ground Investigations established a minimum of 2.9 metres of made ground beneath the property.

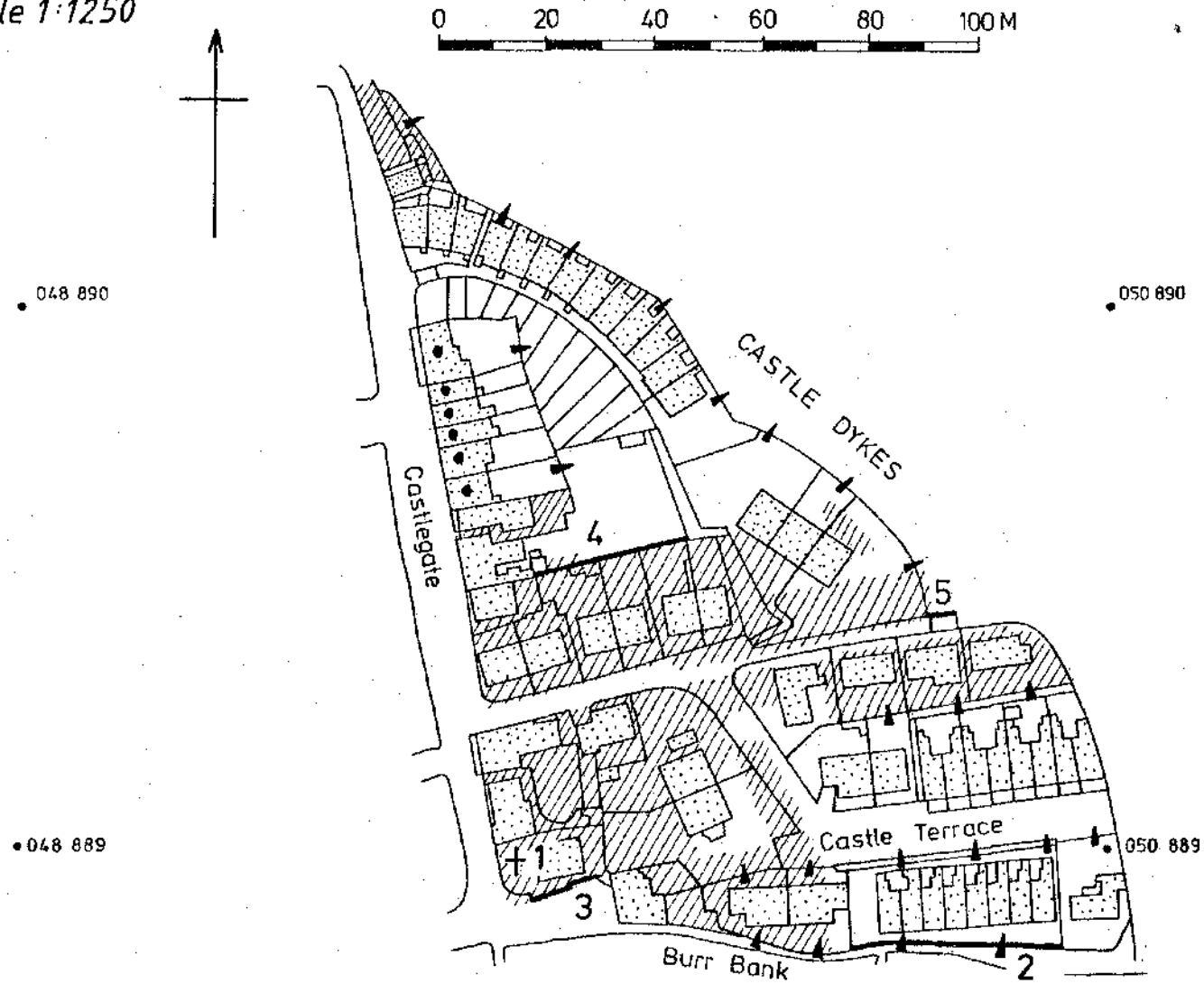
SURFACE

- (2) WALL with max. of 4 courses of stone (D3).
(3) WALL with max. of 8 courses of stone (D3).
(4) WALL with max. of 15 courses of stone.
(5) WALL with max. of 9 courses of stone.

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 Castlegate D23
NATURE OF DEPOSITS - Fig. 10

GAZETTEER AREA 4

scale 1:1250



AREA FIVE

SUBSURFACE

- (1) EXCAVATION 22 St. Marys St., 1963 and 1963. 17th-century and late medieval foundations overlying earlier timber structures and pavement. Max. depth of stratigraphy 11ft. (Trans. S.D.A.S. No. 7 (1964) p38 and No.11 (1968) p 78), S.E.N., 12th February 1976 (C7).
- (2) EXCAVATION 113 Longwestgate, 1975 and 1977. Northern trench excavated in 1975 uncovered a 12th-century terracing wall surmounted by a 13th-century building. Pre 12th-century features consisted of postholes bordering a cambered road. Southern trench excavated in 1977 encountered c12ft. of backfill above natural? clay. (Trans S.A.H.S. No.19 (1976) p 42) S.E.N., 12th February 1976 (C7, D22, I5).
- (3) OBSERVATION St. Marys St. 1975. A road similar to (2) observed during roadworks and running at 30 degrees to present road and c.1m below its surface. (trans S.A.H.S. No. 19 (1976) p.43) (C7).

SURFACE

- (4) WALL with max. of 11 courses of stone.
- (5) WALL with max. of 5 courses of stone.
- (6) WALL with max. of 10 courses of stone.
- (7) WALL with max. of 11 courses of stone.
- (8) WALL with max. of 20 courses of stone.
- (9) WALL with max. of 10 courses of stone.
- (10) WALL with max. of 9 courses of stone.
- (11) WALL with max. of 10 courses of stone.
- (12) WALL with max. of 10 courses of stone.
- (13) BUILDING 40 Princess St. East wall incorporates a possibly medieval timber cruck frame and max. 10 courses of stone at S.E. angle (D24, G10).

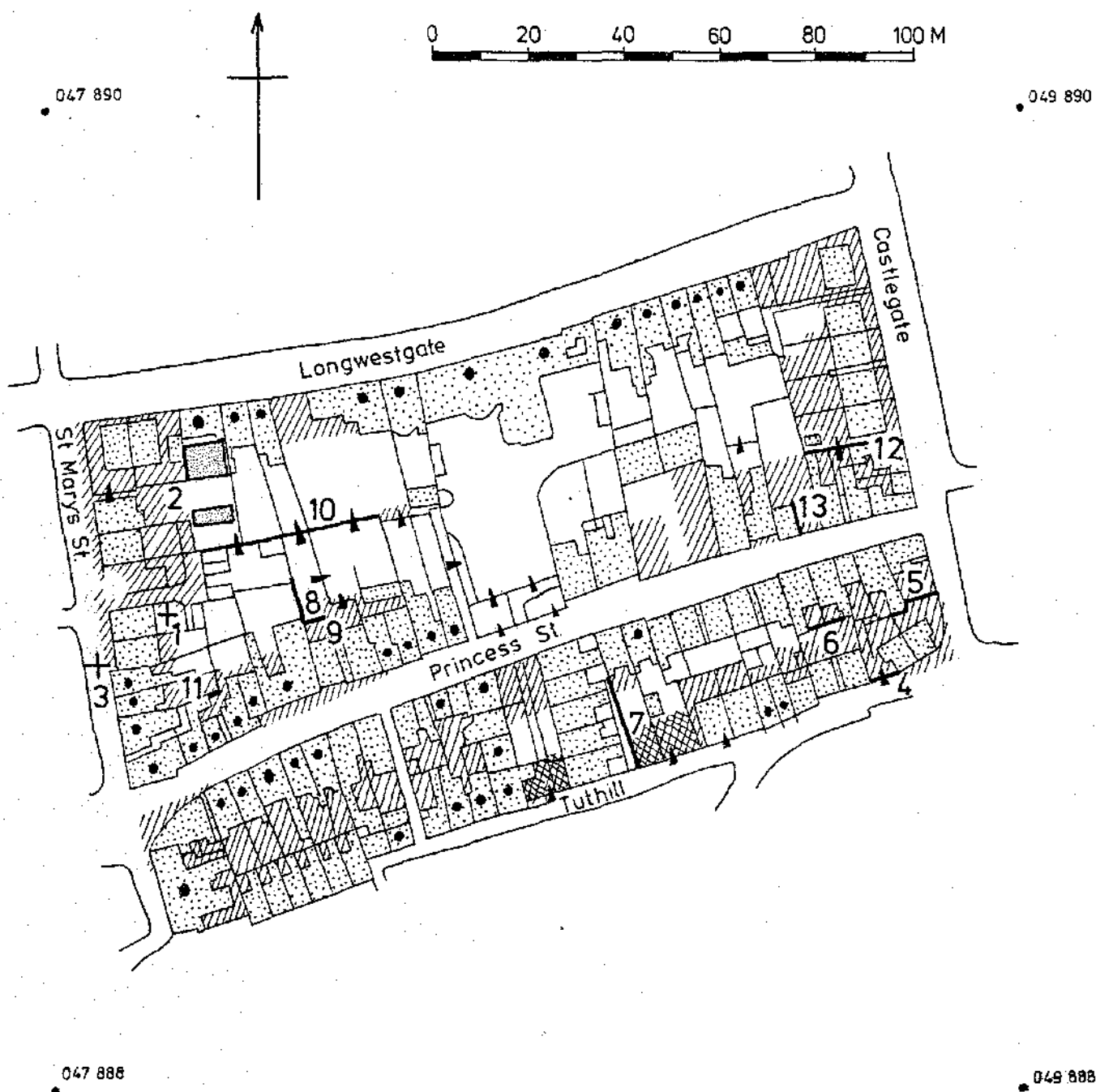
PRE-MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT - Fig. 3 and C7, H1

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 town wall D3, D4 terracing wall bordering Longwestgate D22

CRAFTS AND TRADE - Fig. 8 and G18.

GAZETTEER AREA 5

scale 1:1250



AREA SIX

SUBSURFACE

- (1) EXCAVATION Cooks Row, 1953. Post-medieval brick built baker's oven in disuse by the 18th-century (Trans. S.D.A.S. No 1 (1958) p. 39)
- (2) EXCAVATION 4-9 St. Mary's St., 1962. Pits with 18 pieces of leather and 14th-century and later pottery uncovered at a depth of 6 feet. (Trans. S.D.A.S. No. 5 (1962) p. 22)
- (3) EXCAVATION 46 St. Sepulchre St., 1968. Organic pond? deposits, watercourse and fragmentary human burials uncovered. Depth of gutter from surface 7 feet. (Trans. S.D.A.S. No 11 (1968) p.79 and P. Farmer, Pers comm 1979) (D9, D11, I3).
- (4) EXCAVATION 22 St. Sepulchre St., 1987. Approx. 2 metres of 17th to 18th century backfill above a demolished medieval? building (Interim report S.A.H.S. 1987) (D12, D23).
- (5) EXCAVATION 65-73 Longwestgate, undated. Several walls and a major terracing wall uncovered. (P. Farmer, Pers. comm 1979) (D22).
- (6) OBSERVATION Friends Meeting House, 1801. Wall 3ft. thick and 3ft. deep observed by J. Taylor when the meeting house, was under construction, and recorded in his copy of Hinderwell's History of Scarborough now in the present authors possession (D9).
- (7) OBSERVATION St. Sepulchre St., 1847. Ditch 35ft. broad and 18ft. deep observed when digging a sewer near the Market Hall, the lowest levels of which were filled with organic material (Baker 1882 p.126) (D2).
- (8) FIND Friarage School, 1894. Human skeletons uncovered during the digging of foundations at the school. (Drake 1935 pp27-28) (D11).
- (9) FIND Cooks Row, 1952. Large quantities of 13th and 14th-century pottery recovered during building work. Possibly the same site as (1). [Scarborough Museum medieval collection to 1957]

(10) OBSERVATION St. Sepulchre St., 1973. Nave of church consecrated in 1306 found to overlie a circular building itself above timber buildings. Precise location unknown. (Farmer 1982, p.72) (D9).

(11) FIND St. Sepulchre St., undated and not precisely located. A finial of St. Sepulchre Church found. (10th Report of Scarb. Phil. Soc. p.21) (D9).

(12) FIND St. Sepulchre St., undated and not precisely located. A portable font found on the site of the church. (32nd Report of Scarb. Phil Soc. p. 15) (D9).

(13) OBSERVATION Friargate, undated. Town wall and clay bank observed during construction of public toilets. (P. Farmer, Pers. comm. 1979) (D2)

(14) WALL with max. of 2 courses of stone.

(15) WALL with max. of 8 courses of stone.

(16) WALL with max. of 15 courses of stone.

(17) WALL with max. of 6 courses of stone.

(18) WALL with max. of 10 courses of stone (D9, D11).

(19) WALL of an 18th-century house incorporating patches of stonework.

(20) WALL with max. of 6 courses of stone (D12).

(21) WALL with max. of 7 courses of stone (D12).

(22) A depression within Friarage school playground possibly indicates the line of the Danyet watercourse (B1, D11, D21).

(23) A depression at the east end of St. Sepulchre St. possibly indicates the line of the Danyet watercourse (B1, D11, D21).

PRE-MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT - Fig. 3 and C7, D9, J12, J13, III

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 town wall D1, D2, D4 spring D21

St. Sepulchre Church D9, D10, D11, G20, H1, J12 marsh or millpond D11, H6

Franciscan Friary D11-14, G20, J13, H6 of Dumble St. D13, D19, J13

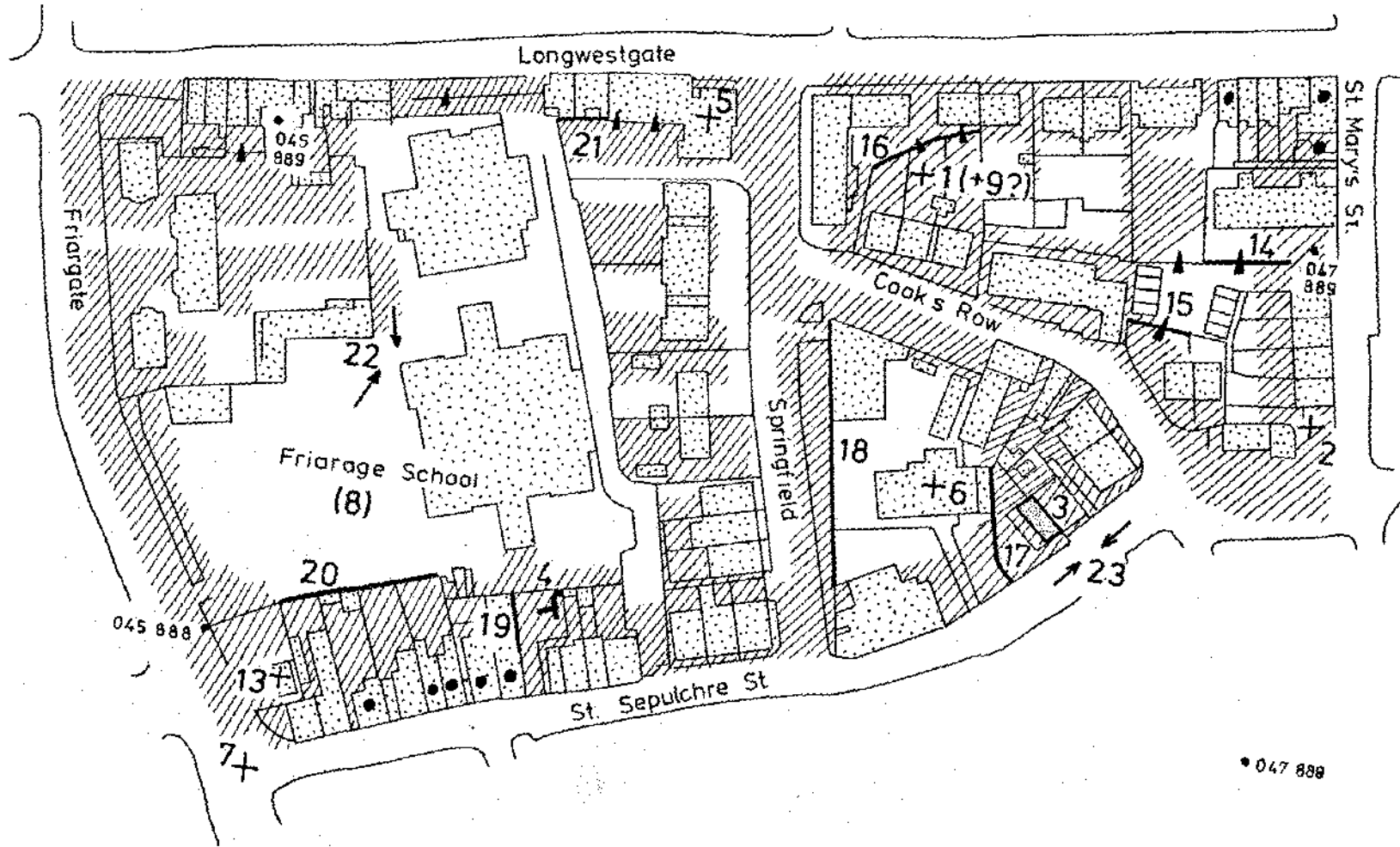
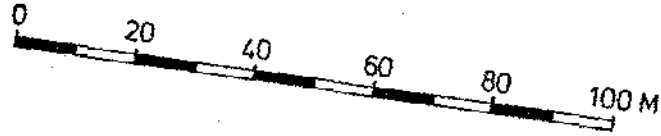
Cook's Row D18, G2 Rede Cross D20, G2 conduits D21 St. Sepulchre St.

D18 terracing wall bordering Longwestgate D2

CRAFTS AND TRADE - Fig. 8 and G2, G20

GAZETTEER AREA 6

scale 1:1250



• 047 889

AREA SEVEN

SUBSURFACE

- (1) EXCAVATION Eastborough/West Sandgate, 1976. A cobbled wall believed Roman overlain by 2.5 metres of waterlogged "dark age/Viking" deposits including leatherwork, fishbones and the remains of 2 structures. Two phases of 12th-century gatehouse and to the west, the course of the Danyet gutter. Maximum depth of deposit 3.2 metres. (P. Farmer, Pers. comm. 1979 and Scarborough Evening News November 5, 18 and 26 1976) (C6, D3, G16, I3, J23).
- (2) OBSERVATION Captain's House, Eastborough, 1968. Town wall 2 metres wide and possessing a chamfered string course recorded in the basement of a public house. (Farmer 1982 p81) (D1, D3).
- (3) OBSERVATION Leading Post St., undated. Outer face of town wall and clay bank recorded, (P.Farmer, Pers. Comm. 1979) (D2).
- (4) OBSERVATION St. Sepulchre St., undated. Top of Borough Well recorded. (P.Farmer, Pers. Comm. 1979) (D21).

SURFACE

- (5) WALL with max. of 15 courses of stone.
- (6) WALL with max. of 13 courses of stone (D3, J3).
- (7) WALL with max. of 3 courses of stone (D3).
- (8) WALL with max. of 5 courses of stone.
- (9) WALL with max. of 16 courses of stone.
- (10) WALL with max. of 5 courses of stone (D3).
- (11) BUTTER CROSS West Sandgate. Base and shaft of a medieval market cross decorated with crocket type leaves and shallow traceried panelling. [D.o.E list of buildings of special architectural or historical interest in Scarborough] (D20, G2).

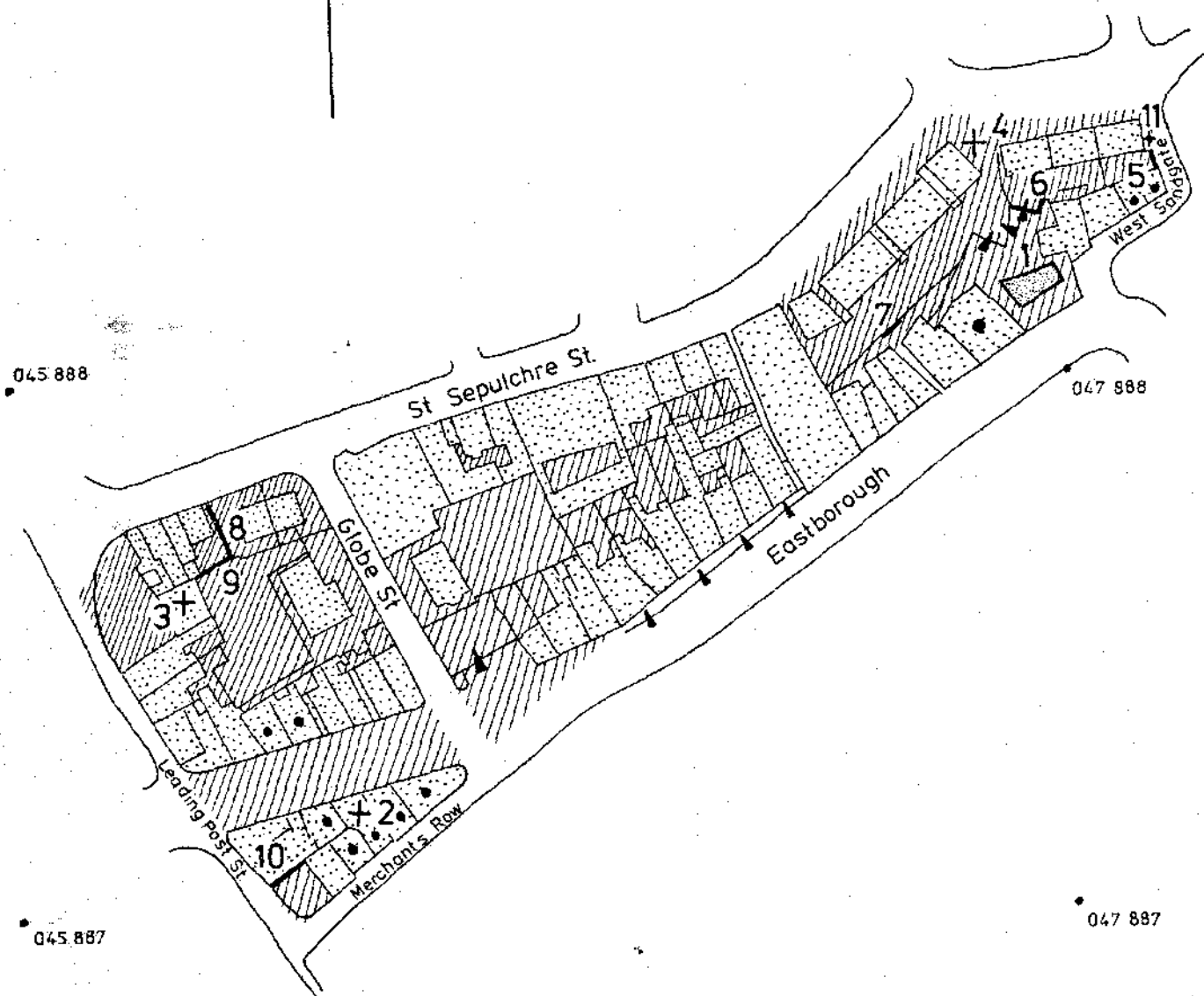
PRE-MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT - Fig. 3 and C7

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 townwall D1-4 development of South Bay cliff
D3, F17 course of Danyet B1, D21 Globe St. D13, D19 Merchant's Row
D18 West Sandgate D3, F17.

CRAFTS AND TRADE - Fig. 8 and G2, G16, G17, G18

GAZETTEER AREA 7

scale 1:1250



AREA EIGHT

- (1) EXCAVATION St. Mary's Church, 1970. Rectangular structure with mortar floor and 6 associated skeletons uncovered beneath floor of the nave. (Trans. S.D.A.S. No.13 p.57) (D5).
- (2) OBSERVATION Mulgrave Place, 1824. 4 feet wide trench uncovered containing some hundreds of human skulls and bones. (Hinderwell 1832 p.37) (D7, D8).
- (3) OBSERVATION "The Towers", 1866. Human bones and several stone coffins uncovered as well as carved stone fragments and walls. (Baker. 1882 p.122-3) (D7).
- (4) FIND Paradise, 1934. Bronze armlet of Hallstatt type from north side of Paradise, 166 yards south - west of castle keep. (Ant. Jnl. Vol.14 (1934) pp.301-2) (C8).
- (5) FIND "Cottage by the Sea", 1957. Skeleton uncovered. (O. S. Rec. Card TA08 NW 33) (D7).
- (6) OBSERVATION 148 Castle Road, 1979. Unstratified Scarborough Ware wasters and kiln waste recorded along with boneworking debris and pits and postholes thought to be 11th-century. (Farmer 1982 p.74) (C8, C5).
- (7) OBSERVATION Paradise House, 1987. Truncated base of a medieval pit observed by T. Pearson cut into natural clay.
- (8) OBSERVATION North Cliff 1987. Max. of 30cms of topsoil observed at cliff edge above natural gravel and rock, by T. Pearson.
- (9) OBSERVATION Coastguard Cottages, undated. Pottery recovered and clay banks observed adjacent to Coastguard Cottages. (P. Farmer Pers. comm. 1979)
- (10) FIND St. Mary's Churchyard, undated. 14th-century folding silver spoon, a silver ring and stone cresset lamp found at different times in the churchyard, precise findspots unknown. (Scarborough Museum medieval collection to 1957) (D5).

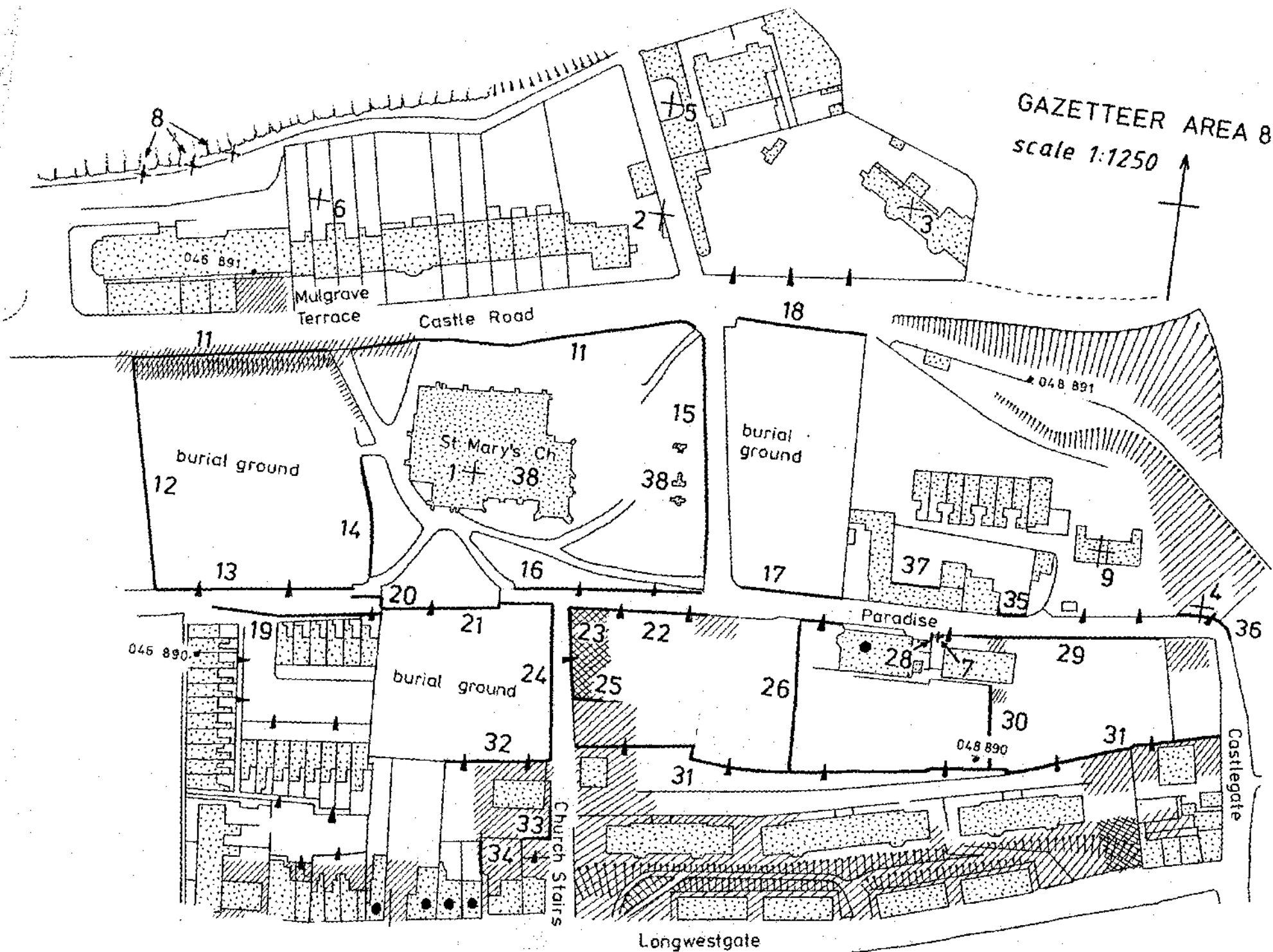
PRE-MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT Fig. 3 and C8, C9, H1

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 Paradise D15, D17, H4, J4, J11, J26 Proctor of Cliteaux D15-17, J11, J25, H4 Charnel Chapel D7, D8, J25 St. Mary's Church D5, D6, D16 12th-century development H2 15th-century development H7 pottery industry C5, C7 Bluestone D20, C2 terracing wall and property boundaries bordering Longwestgate D22, D23 Castle Road D18 Spreight Lane D18, H2 Church Stairs D18 buildings east of St. Mary's Church D15, J11, H7.

CRAFTS AND TRADE - Fig. 8 and G2, G5, G7, G18.

SURFACE

- (11) WALL with max. of 15 courses of stone.
- (12) WALL with max. of 14 courses of stone.
- (13) WALL with max. of 23 courses of stone (D5, D16, J3).
- (14) WALL with max. of 5 courses of stone.
- (15) WALL with max. of 6 courses of stone.
- (16) WALL with max. of 19 courses of stone (D5, J3).
- (17) WALL with max. of 2 courses of stone.
- (18) WALL with max. of 5 courses of stone.
- (19) WALL with max. of 12 courses of stone.
- (20) WALL with max. of 16 courses of stone.
- (21) WALL with max. of 7 courses of stone.
- (22) WALL with max. of 10 courses of stone.
- (23) WALL with max. of 16 courses of stone.
- (24) WALL with max. of 6 courses of stone.
- (25) WALL with max. of 20 courses of stone.
- (26) WALL with max. of 10 courses of stone.
- (27) WALL with max. of 7 courses of stone.
- (28) WALL with max. of 10 courses of stone.
- (29) WALL with max. of 20 courses of stone.
- (30) WALL with max. of 3 courses of stone.
- (31) WALL with max. of 20 courses of stone (D22, J3).
- (32) WALL with max. of 1 course of stone.
- (33) WALL with max. of 4 courses of stone.
- (34) WALL with max. of 3 courses of stone.
- (35) WALL with max. of 8 courses of stone.
- (36) WALL with max. of 11 courses of stone.
- (37) BUILDING Paradise c. 10 ft. high stone wall forming north side of an 18th-century outhouse. One stone part of a 13th-century grave slab identified by Prof. R. Bailey 1987 (D15, J3).
- (38) BUILDING St. Mary's Church. Earliest surviving fabric late 12th-century. Portion of ruined 15th-century choir survives to east of churchyard. (V.C.H. of the North Riding 1923 p.554-6) (D5, D6).



AREA NINE

SUB SURFACE

- (1) EXCAVATION 101 Castle Road, 1969-75. 12th-century pottery kilns overlain by a multi-roomed stone building dated to between 1200 and 1400 and interpreted as the House of the Proctor of Citeaux. Max. 1.5 metre depth of stratigraphy. (Farmer 1979 pp.20-24, Farmer 1982 pp.82-3, S.E.N., 16 June 1972) (D16, D24, G5).

SURFACE

- (2) WALL with max. of 6 courses of stone.
- (3) WALL with max. of 9 courses of stone.
- (4) WALL with max. of 10 courses of stone. Recently refaced.

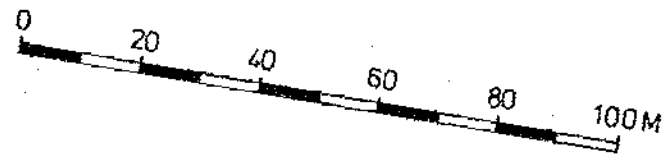
MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 pottery industry G4-7, J10, J24 course of Dimple St. D13, D18, D19 Tollergate D13, D23 Longwestgate D22, H2 Spreight Lane H2 Castle Road C9, D18

CRAFTS AND TRADE - Fig. 8 and G18.

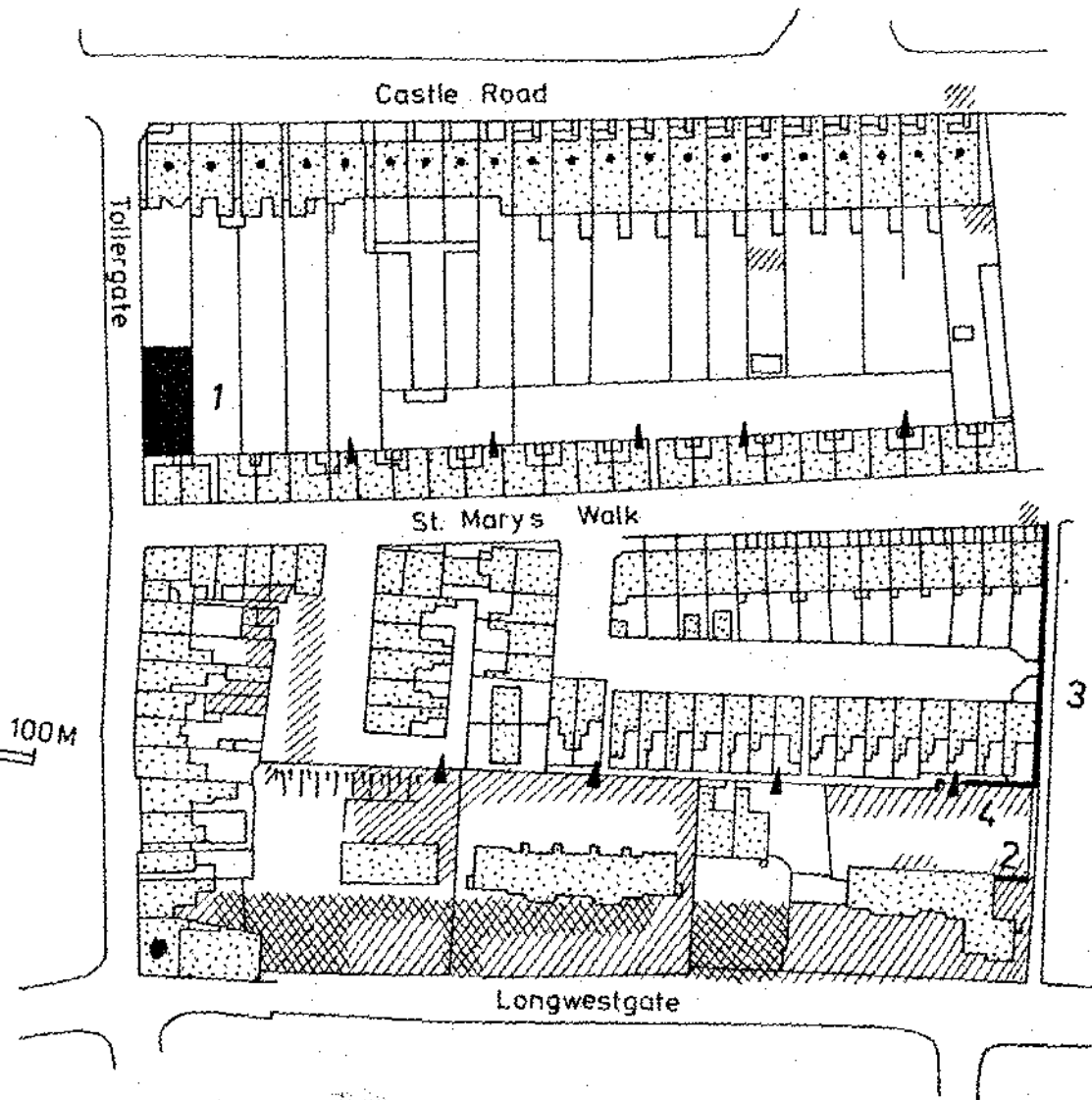
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GAZETTEER AREA 9
scale 1:1250

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AREA TEN

SUB SURFACE

- (1) EXCAVATION St. Peters Church, 1967. Pottery kilns and kiln waste uncovered. (Trans. S.D.A.S. No.10 (1967) p. 36, Farmer 1979 p.12) (G5).
- (2) EXCAVATION St. Mary's Parish House, 1967. Roman tile, 12th-century town defences, 12 - 14th-century pottery kilns and a late 14th-century stone structure found. Max. of 1.75 metres depth of stratigraphy increasing to 4.4 metres in partially sectioned ditch. (Med. Arch. Vol.12 (1968) p.167, Farmer 1979 pp.10-16 Farmer 1982 p.80) (C9, D1, D2, G5).
- (3) OBSERVATION North end of Auborough St., 1806. Widening of Castle Road uncovered both 12 ft. diameter bastions of Auborough Gate. (Baker 1882 p.389) (D2).
- (4) OBSERVATION 95 and 97 Castle Road. In 1854 Nesfield uncovered a long series of brick arches believed to be medieval pottery kiln of the Scarborough Ware industry. Much medieval pottery also found. (24th Report of Scarb. Phil. Soc. p.27) (G5).
- (5) OBSERVATION Market Way, 1932. 30-40 ft. length of stone conduit 2 ft. below the surface found running parallel to north wall of market. (Letter from A.H. Poole to Mr. Witty in 1970 in Scarborough Central Library) (D21).
- (6) FIND Cross St. Friarsgate, 1938-9. Medieval pottery, leather shoe fragments and a bone recovered. Precise location unknown. (Scarborough Museum Medieval Collection to 1957) (G16).
- (7) OBSERVATION St. Mary's Parish House, 1955. Top of a ditch, burnt areas and 2 parallel brick walls observed prior to construction of the parish house. (Farmer 1979 p.10 and Farmer 1982 p.80)
- (8) FIND Cross St. undated. Human skeleton found during clearance on east side of Cross St. Precise location unknown. (Scarborough Museum Gazetter for the North Riding.)

SURFACE

- (9) WALL with max. of 7 courses of stone.
- (10) WALL with max. of 7 courses of stone.
- (11) WALL with max. of 10 courses of stone.
- (12) WALL with max. of 19 courses of stone.
- (13) Break of slope in Cross St. Friargate is perhaps a surface indication of the course of the Damyet watercourse (B1, D21, G5).

PRE-MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT - Fig. 3 and C9, J10

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 pottery industry G4-7, J10, J24, D13 Corn Cross E12, G2 Damyet B1, D21, G5 town wall D1, D2, D4, G6 Friargate D13 Tollengate D13 Castle Road C9, D18

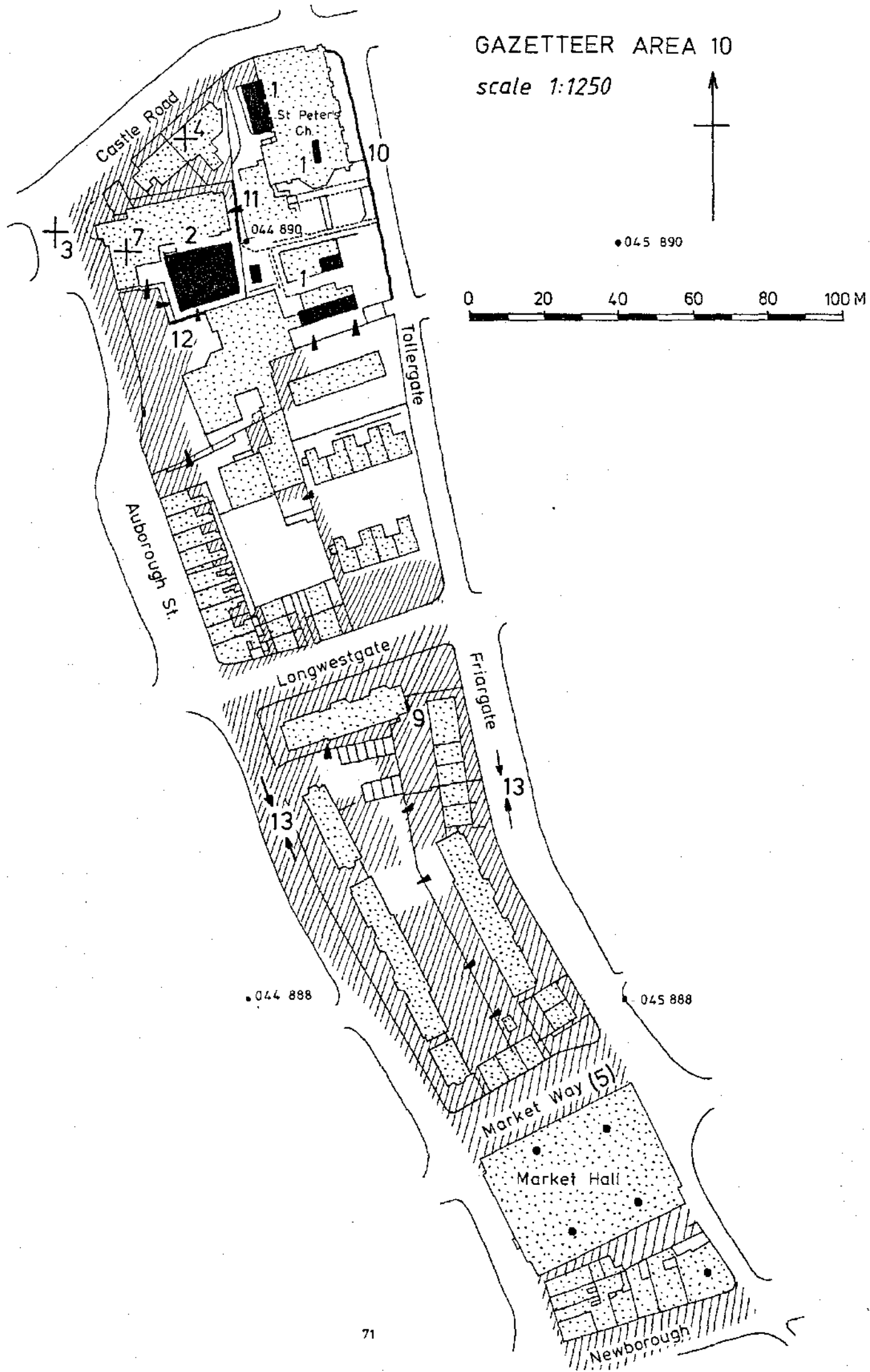
CRAFTS AND TRADE - Fig. 8 and G4-7, G8, G16, G18.

GAZETTEER AREA 10

scale 1:1250



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AREA ELEVEN

SUB SURFACE

- (1) FIND Friars Way, 1798. A stone coffin was removed from a garden adjacent to former friarage and placed in west burial ground of St. Mary's Church. Precise location unknown. (Meadley 1890 p.18) (E8).
- (2) FIND Friars Way, 1826. Several burial urns uncovered. Precise location unknown. (Baker 1882 p.132)
- (3) FIND Market St., 1864. Between 20 and 30 skeletons found. (Baker 1882 p.124) (E10).
- (4) FIND Friars Way, 1876. A stone coffin was removed from a garden adjoining former friarage and placed in west burial ground of St. Mary's Church. Same as (1) above ?. Precise location unknown. (Baker 1882 p.132) (E8).
- (5) OBSERVATION Queen St. 1880. Foundations believed to be of the Carmelite friary encountered during extensions to the Wesleyan Sunday School. (Baker 1882 p.136) (E10).
- (6) FIND Friars Way, 1958. Skeleton found at a depth of 6 ft. near footing of a stone wall. Precise location unrecorded. (Scarborough Museum Gazetter for North Riding.) (E8).
- (7) OBSERVATION Auborough St. 1962. Scatter of medieval pottery but no structures observed. (P. Farmer, Pers. comm. 1979)
- (8) OBSERVATION Cross St., 1968. A well produced 2 medieval pots. (P. Farmer, Pers. comm. 1979)
- (9) FIND Friars Way, undated. Human bones encountered in digging a cellar. Precise location unrecorded. (Baker 1882 p.132) (E8).
- (10) WALL with max. of 5 courses of stone.
- (11) WALL with max. of 10 courses of stone.
- (12) Break of slope in Queen St. is perhaps a surface indication of the course of the Damyet watercourse (B1, D21, E8).

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 town wall D2, Damyet B1, D21, E8 conduit D21 Dominican Friary E8-10, E13-14, G20, Newborough defences E1-3, E8 Cross St./Auborough St. E8, E10, E12 Friars Way E8 Queen St. E8, E10 Newborough St. E10, E12 Carmelite Friary E8, E10-11.
CRAFTS AND TRADE - Fig. 8 and G20.

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GAZETTEER AREA 11

scale 1:1250



0 20 40 60 80 100 M

Queen St

Castle Road

Angerburgh St

Friars Way

10

11

13

8

Cross St

Methodist
Hall (5)

Market St (3)

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Newborough

AREA TWELVE

SUB SURFACE

- (1) EXCAVATION Castle Road, 1966. 4th-century Romano-British pottery, medieval "industrial" complex with evidence for pottery manufacture, lime burning and/or iron smelting, medieval town defences. (Farmer 1982 p.81, Trans. S.D.A.S. No. 10 p.36) (C9, D2).
- (2) OBSERVATION Castle Road, 1850's. Scarborough Ware pottery recovered between New Queen St. and Mulgrave Terrace (shown on Area 8 map) and said to indicate extent of kiln site. (24th report of Scarb. Phil. Soc. p.27) (G5).
- (3) OBSERVATION Castle Road, 1972. Limekiln visible in rear of a shop at the corner of Limekiln Hill and Castle Road. (Farmer 1982 p.82) (E15).

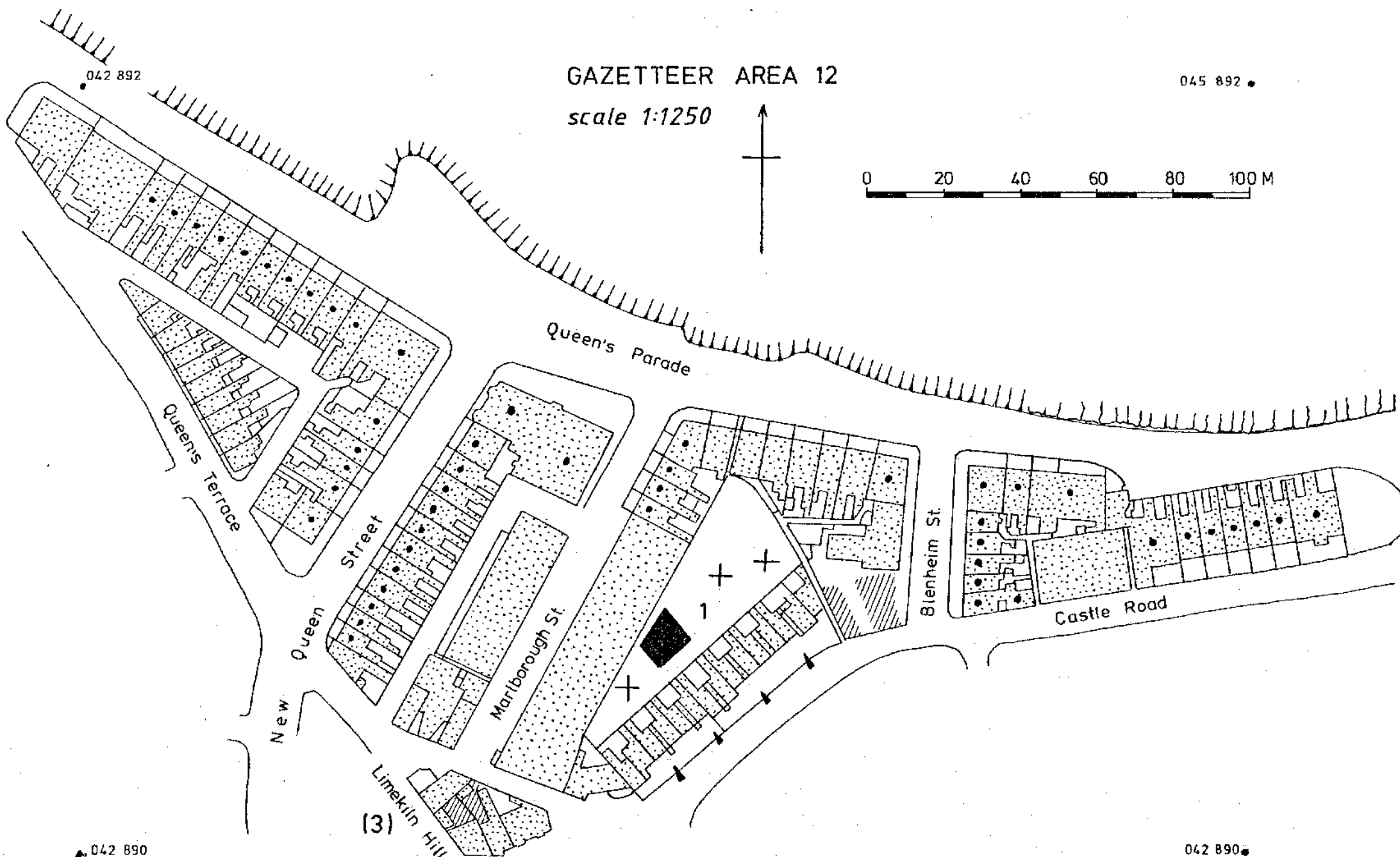
PRE-MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT - Fig. 3 and C9, J10

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 Castle Road D18 town defences D1, D2, D4
pottery industry G5, G7, J10, J23

CRAFTS AND TRADE - Fig. 3 and G5, G7.

GAZETTEER AREA 12

scale 1:1250



AREA THIRTEEN

SUB SURFACE

- (1) OBSERVATION Castle Road, undated. Town defence and herringbone masonry observed in the car park on the former site the police station. (P. Farmer, Pers. comm. 1979)
- (2) OBSERVATION Queen St., undated. Scatter of medieval pottery but no structures observed in grounds of Convent school. (P. Farmer, Pers. comm. 1979)

SURFACE

- (3) WALL with max. of 15 courses of stone (E2, E3, J3, J20).
- (4) WALL containing stonework exposed in 1971 and now rendered, of which (3) above is part. (Scarborough Mercury April 20 1971) (E2, E3, J3, J20).
- (5) Break of slope in Queen St. and St. Thomas St. possibly indicates course of the Damyet gutter (B1, B21, G14).

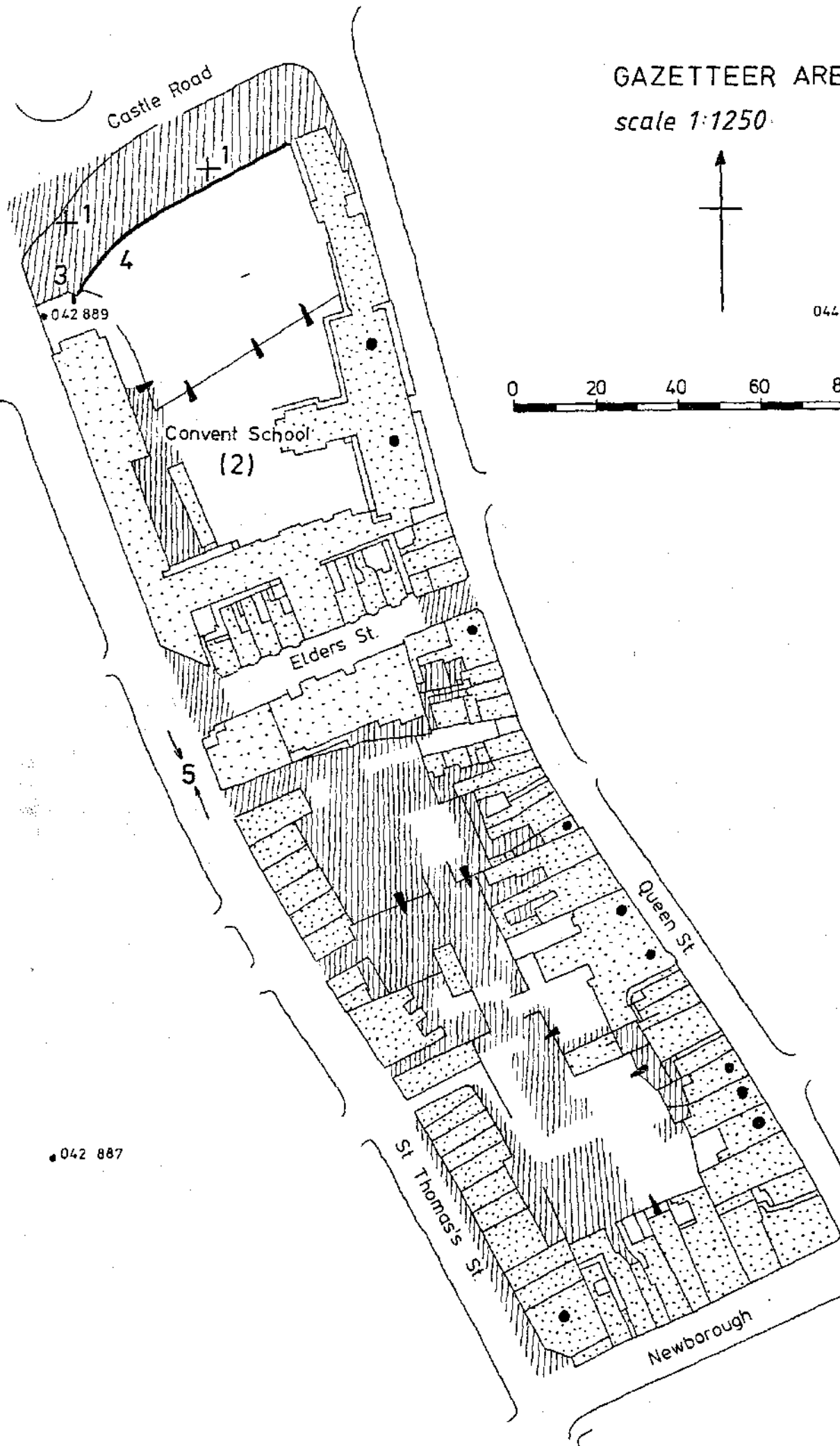
MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 Castle Road C9, D18, Queen St. E14 St. Thomas St. E13, E14 Newborough St. E12, E13 tenterground E14 town defence E1-3, J15, J20 Damyet B1, D21, G14 13th-century development H6 CRAFTS AND TRADE - Fig. 8 and G14, G15, G19.

GAZETTEER AREA 13

scale 1:1250



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AREA FOURTEEN

SUB SURFACE

- (1) EXCAVATION North St., 1977. Post-medieval cellar backfill and a fragmentary cobbled yard encountered. (R.Palmer Pers. comm. 1987)
- (2) EXCAVATION St. Thomas St., 1978. Post-Medieval backfill encountered to a depth of 1.5 metres by T. Pearson.
- (3) EXCAVATION North St., 1980. Solid clay, possibly town rampart, encountered at a depth of 50cms. (Report submitted by T.Pearson to Scarborough Museum) (E2, E3, J22).
- (4) OBSERVATION Waterhouse Lane, 1826. Part of St.Thomas's Church and human skeleton uncovered when digging a reservoir. (Cole 1828 pp.10-11) (E4,E5).
- (5) FIND St. Thomas St., c.1979. Human skull found during road construction. (R. Palmer. Pers. comm. 1987) (E4).

SURFACE

- (6) WALL with max. of 7 courses of stone.
- (7) Break of slope along part of eastern side of North St. possibly indicates the line of the rampart behind the town ditch. See (3) above. (E2, E3).

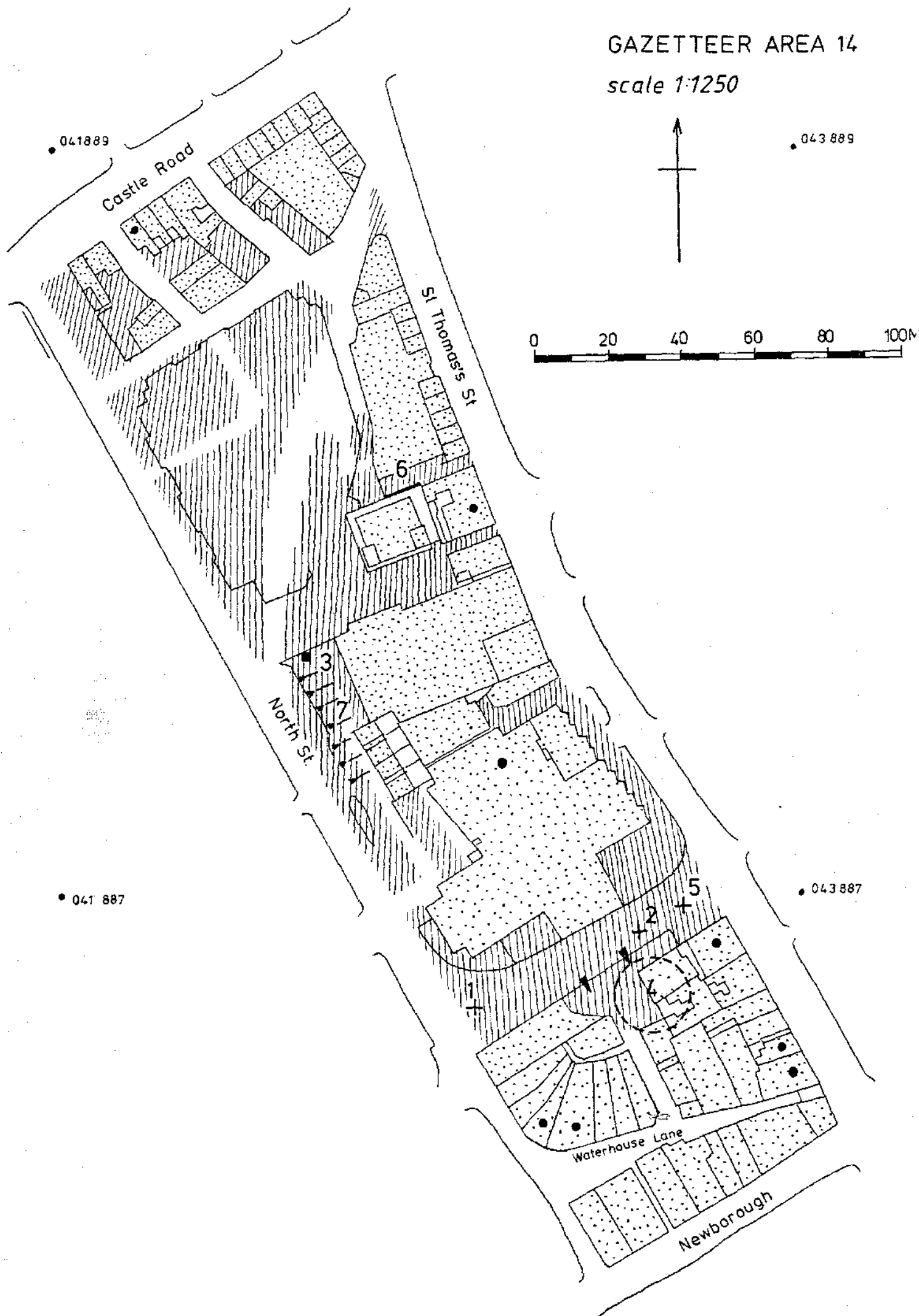
PRE-MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT - Fig. 3 and C7, E5, H3.

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 Castle Road C9, D18 Damyet B1, D21 town defence E1-E3, J14 St. Thomas's Church and cemetery E4, E5 Newborough St. E12, E13 St. Thomas St. E13, E14 13th-century development H6.

CRAFTS AND TRADE - Fig. 8 and G19.

GAZETTEER AREA 14

scale 1:1250



AREA FIFTEEN

SUB SURFACE

- (1) EXCAVATION Blands Cliff, 1975. 13th and 16th-century stone and timber quays preserved in waterlogged conditions. (Farmer 1976 pp.7-10) (F1, F11, F13, G16, I3).
- (2) FIND Foreshore Road, 1956. A middle bronze age spearhead found at a depth of 5 ft. between Blands Cliff and New Steps. Precise location unknown. (O.S. Rec. Card. TA08NW3) (C1).

SURFACE

- (3) WALL with max. of 12 courses of stone (E2).
- (4) WALL with max. of 10 courses of stone.
- (5) WALL with max. of 22 courses of stone (D23).
- (6) WALL with max. of 7 courses of stone (E2).
- (7) WALL with max. of 5 courses of stone (E2).
- (8) WALL with max. of 10 courses of stone (E2).

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 town defences D2, E2 harbour development
F11, F13 St. Nicholas St. E14 King St. E14.
CRAFTS AND TRADE - Fig. 8 and G16.

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Newborough

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St Nicholas St

King St

Bland's Cliff

Foreshore Road

GAZETTEER AREA 15

scale 1:1250



AREA SIXTEEN

SUB SURFACE [All findspots not precisely recorded]

- (1) FIND St. Nicholas Cliff, 1786. Human skeleton found in the edge of the cliff. (Hinderwell 1882 p.152) (E6).
- (2) FIND St. Nicholas Cliff, 1791. Human bones found when levelling the terrace. (Hinderwell 1832 p.152) (E6).
- (3) FIND St. Nicholas Cliff, 1810. Copper plate "appertaining to a tombstone" found in the cliff. (Hinderwell 1832 p.152) (E6).
- (4) FIND St. Nicholas Cliff, undated. Tombstone found in the cliff "some years since." (Hinderwell 1832 p.152) (E6).

NATURAL TOPOGRAPHY - B1

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 town defence E1-3 St. Nicholas's Hospital E6, E7.

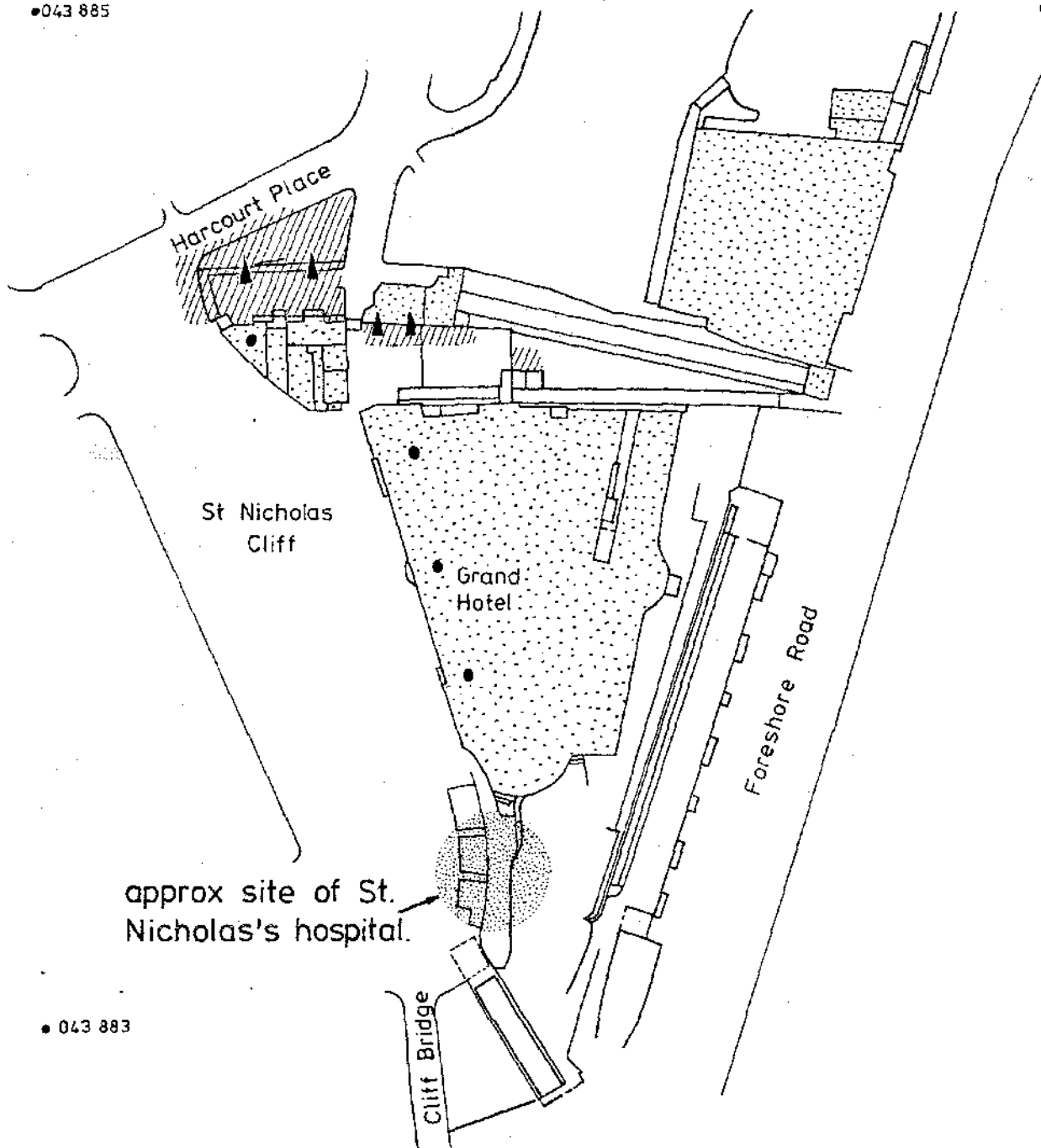
GAZETTEER AREA 16

scale 1:1250



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■ 045 885



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• 045 883

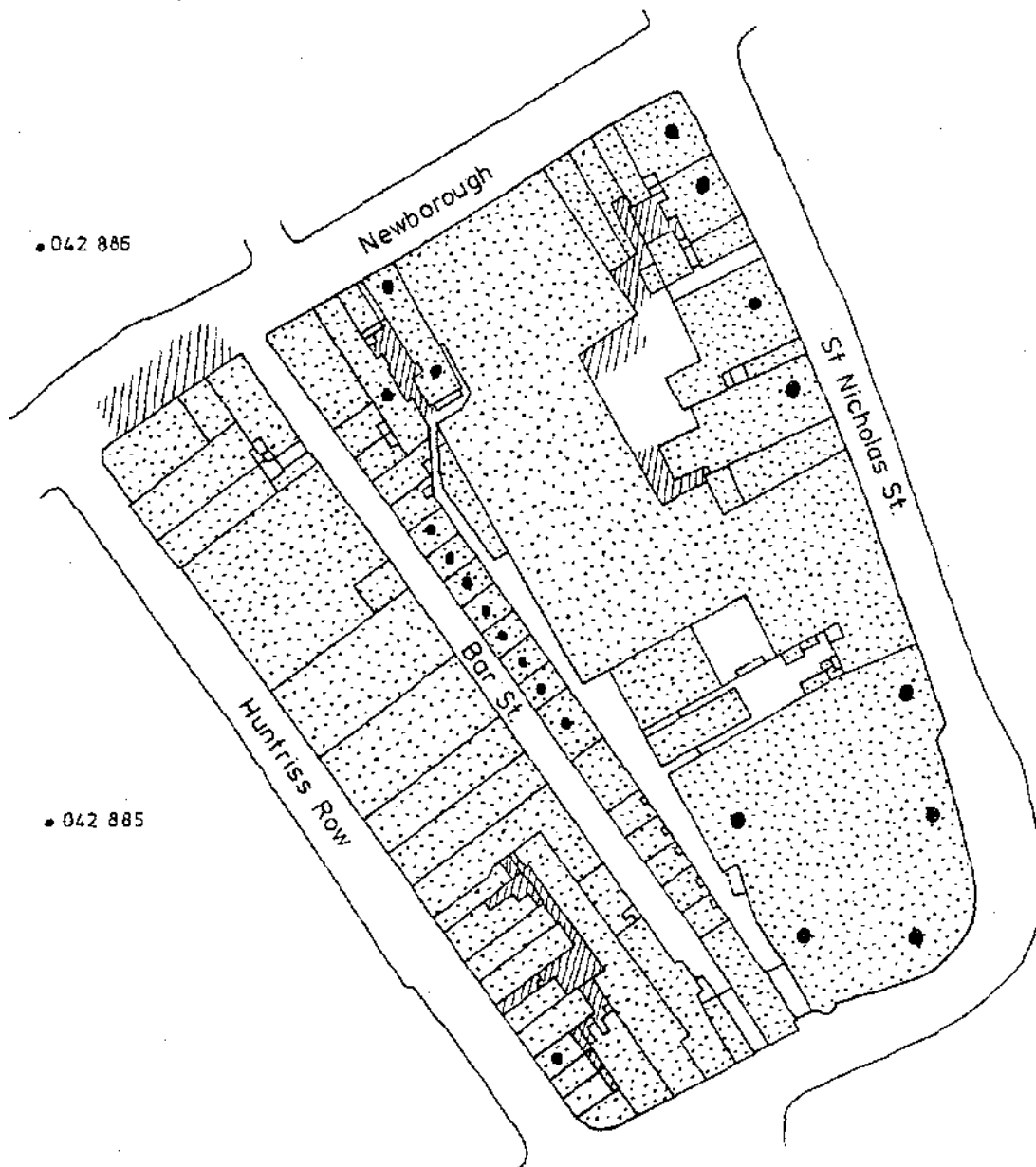
AREA SEVENTEEN

- (1) FIND Huntriss Row, undated. Green glazed jug found in town ditch between Bar St. and Huntriss Row. Precise location unrecorded. (Scarborough Museum Medieval Collection to 1957) (E2).

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 and E1-3

GAZETTEER AREA 17

scale 1:1250



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044 885 •

• 042 885

044 885 •

AREA EIGHTEEN

SUB SURFACE

- (1) EXCAVATION North St., 1973, Trench 1. Pre-13th-century pottery, 13th and 18th-century town defences and 18th-century structures. (Farmer 1973 pp.27-29) (E1, E2).

- (2) EXCAVATION North St., 1973, Trench 2. Saxon and earlier occupation. Town defences. Hospital of St. Thomas. Max. 2 metres of stratigraphy increasing to 4.5 metres in partially sectioned ditch. (Farmer 1973 pp.29-34) (C7, E1, E2, E4, E5, J23). (Farmer 1979, 16-20)

- (3) EXCAVATION North St., 1973, Trench 3. Medieval pottery scatter, 14th-century culvert and 18th-century town defence. (Farmer 1973 pp.34-36)

- (4) OBSERVATION North St., 1973. 13th-century ditch and foundation of St. Thomas' Church recorded during development of the Balmoral site. Possible locations shown on figure 4. (Farmer 1973 p.34) (E4, E5).

- (5) OBSERVATION 6 North St., undated. Town ditch observed in basement of a shop. (P. Farmer, Pers. comm. 1979) (E2).

- (6) FIND North St., undated. Inscription stone dated 1575 recovered from St. Thomas's Hospital. (31st report Scarb. Phil. Soc. p.17)

SURFACE

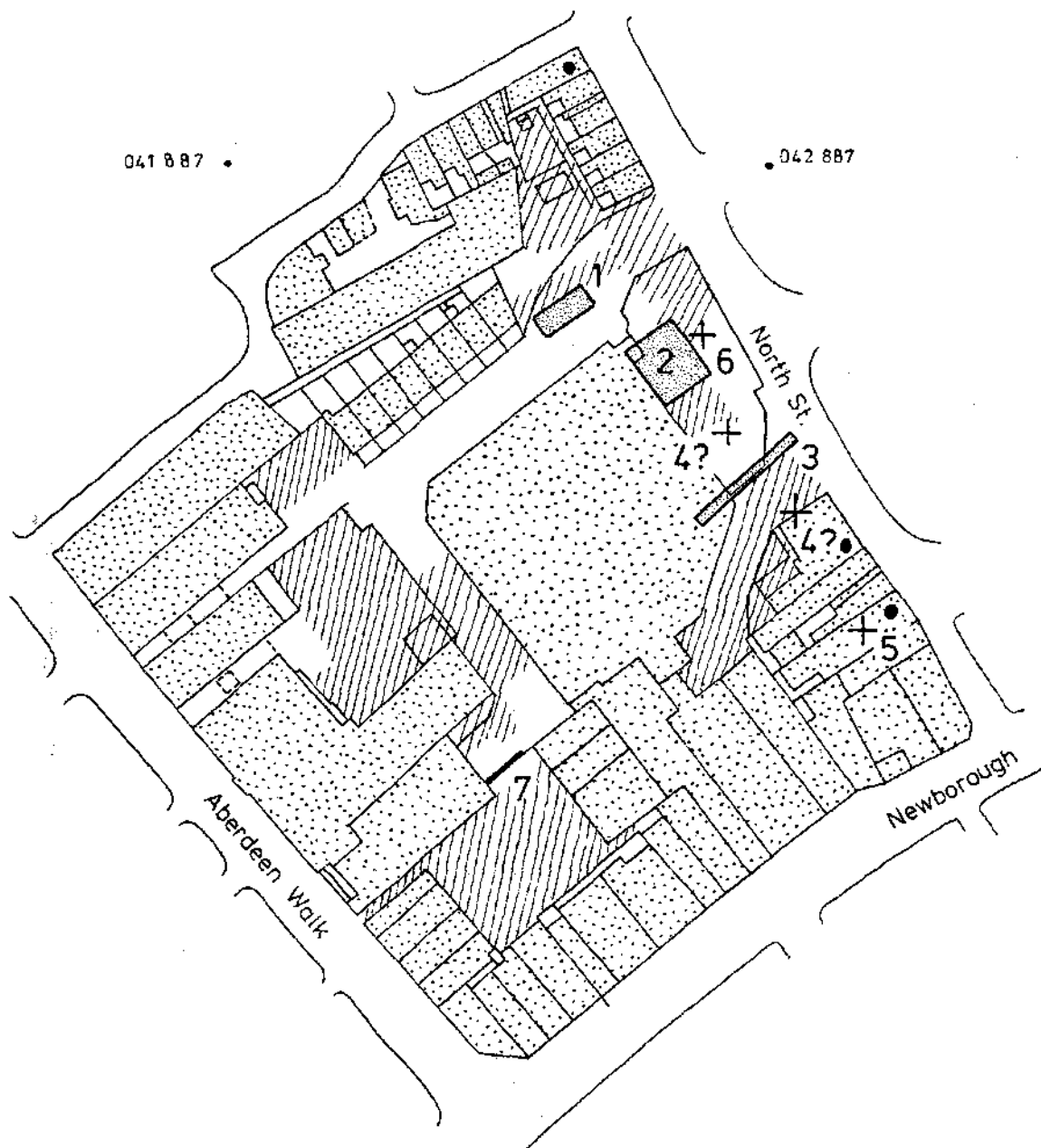
- (7) WALL with max. of 20 courses now obscured by rendering.

PRE-MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT - Fig. 3 and C7, E5, H3

MEDIEVAL TOPOGRAPHY - Fig. 4 town defences E1-3 Newborough Gate E1-3
St. Thomas's Church, Hospital and cemetery E4, E5.

GAZETTEER AREA 18

scale 1:1250



ABERREVIATIONS

Ant. Jnl.	The Antiquaries Journal (Journal of the Society of Antiquaries)
B.A.R.	British Archaeological Reports, British Series
Cal. Inq. Misc.	Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous
Cal. Pat. Rolls	Calendar of Patent Rolls
Med. Arch.	Medieval Archaeology (Journal of the Society of Medieval Archaeology)
O.S.	Ordnance Survey
S.E.N.	Scarborough Evening News
Scarb. Merc.	Scarborough Mercury
Scarb. Phil. Soc.	Scarborough Philosophical Society
R.C.H.M.	Royal Commission on Historic Monuments
Trans. S.A.H.S.	Transactions of the Scarborough Archaeological and Historic Society
Trans. S.D.A.S.	Transactions of the Scarborough and District Archaeological Society.
V.C.H.	Victoria County History

MAPS AND PLANS

1538	View of Scarborough (Edwards 1966, 46, and Binns, 1983, 13-18)
1725	A new and Exact Plan of Scarborough by J. Cossins (Edwards 1966, 58)
1747	A Plan of Scarborough by W. Vincent
1798	A Plan of Scarborough published in Hinderwell, 1798
1828	A Plan of the Town and Environs of Scarborough by J. Wood
1852	Ordnance Survey Plan of Scarborough at a scale of 1:1056

REFERENCES : Section 3

- (1) Borehole at site 2/1 in August 1987 by D. Elliott
- (2) Fox-Strangways 1880, 31
- (3) Haviland 1883, 26
- (4) Jeayes 1914, 17E
- (5) Hinderwell 1832, 354

REFERENCES : Section C

- (1) Clark 1972, 24
- (2) Spratt 1982, Figs. 24, 25, 32 and 33
- (3) O.S. record card TA08NW34
- (4) Rowntree 1931, 9-50
- (5) Rutter 1959, 32-44
- (6) Ramm 1978, 11
- (7) Challis and Harding 1975, 45-50 and 54
- (8) Binns 1966a, 9-15
- (9) Ibid, 11
- (10) Binns 1966b, 17- 23
- (11) Rowntree 1931, 5
- (12) Gelling 1972, 168
- (13) Farmer 1979, 4
- (14) MacGregor 1978, 40 and Kenward 1978, 64
- (15) Farmer 1979, 4
- (16) Rowntree 1931, 52
- (17) Wittie 1660, 4
- (18) Cunliffe 1978, 323
- (19) Hinderwell 1798, 17
- (20) Clarke 1935, 126
- (21) Farmer 1976, 1
- (22) Ibid 1976, 2
- (23) Farmer 1982, 74-5
- (24) Scarborough Miscellany 1734, 4
- (25) Clarke 1935, 126

REFERENCES : Section D

- (1) Rowntree 1931, 142
- (2) Yorkshire Inquisitions Vol. 2 1898, 9-11
- (3) Cal. Inq. Misc. 1307-49, 35
- (4) Cal. Pat. Rolls. 1301-7, 220
- (5) Yorkshire Inquisitions Vol. 2 1898 9-11
- (6) Jeayes 1914, 15c
- (7) Farmer 1982, 81
- (8) Jeayes 1914, 23E, 29D, 40A
- (9) Hinderwell 1832, 36
- (10) The "ancient moat" referred to by Hinderwell (1832, 37) was probably dug in 1745 to house a battery of guns shown on the 1747 town plan
- (11) Rowntree 1931, 298
- (12) Baker 1882, 395
- (13) Jeayes 1914, 23E, 29D, 40A
- (14) Hinderwell 1832, 37
- (15) Jeayes 1914, 26C, 28C, 49B, 23E, 29D, 40A
- (16) Jones and Bond 1987, 98-9
- (17) Ibid, 108
- (18) V.C.H. 1923, 554-556
- (19) Farmer 1982, 71
- (20) Hinderwell 1832, 137
- (21) Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391-6, 415 and 722
- (22) Jeayes 1914, 15A
- (23) Ibid 30B
- (24) Rowntree 1931, 379
- (25) Farmer 1982, 72
- (26) Jeayes 1914, 34B

- (27) Ibid, 34B
- (28) Yorkshire Inquisitions Vol. 3 1902, 62 and 111
- (29) Baker 1882, 127
- (30) Whitby Abbey Chartulary 1878, 91
- (31) Hinderwell 1832, 353-4
- (32) Ibid, 138
- (33) Meadley 1890, 15
- (34) Jeayes 1914, 34B
- (35) Ibid, 17E and 37C
- (36) Ibid, 27A
- (37) Yorkshire Inquisitions vol. 3 1902, 81
- (38) Ibid, 62
- (39) Ibid, 111
- (40) Cal. Pat. Rolls 1321-24, 139
- (41) Jeayes 1914, 47D
- (42) Farmer 1979, 12
- (43) Butler 1984, 126
- (44) Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 222-3
- (45) Talbot 1960, 96
- (46) Ibid, 98
- (47) Ibid, 98
- (48) ibid, 102
- (49) Ibid, 106
- (50) Hinderwell 1832, 118
- (51) Oxford English Dictionary
- (52) Scarborough Wills, 100
- (53) Cal. Inq. Misc. 1219-1307, 87
- (54) Talbot 1960, 112

- (55) Yorkshire Chantry Surveys Vol. 1 1893, 137-38
- (56) Baker 1882, 129
- (57) Farmer 1979, 20-24
- (58) Butler 1987, 167
- (59) Farmer 1976, 2 and S.E.N. Feb. 12th 1976 11
- (60) Rowntree 1931, 299
- (61) Jeayes 1914, 37C
- (62) Ibid, 146A
- (63) Ibid, 17E
- (64) Ibid, 47D
- (65) Med. Arch. Vol. 20 1976, 192
- (66) Carver 1987, 97
- (67) Ibid, 70
- (68) Jeayes 1914, 27A and 37C
- (69) Rowntree 1931, 105
- (70) Jeayes 1914, 46F

REFERENCES : Section E

- (1) Cal. Pat. Rolls 1216-25, 508
- (2) Yorkshire Inquisitions Vol. 2 1898, 9-11
- (3) Jeayes 1914, 43B
- (4) Ibid, 29A
- (5) Baker 1882, 117
- (6) Ibid, 388
- (7) Hinderwell 1832, 35
- (8) Jones and Bond 1987, 112
- (9) Rushton 1966a, 28
- (10) Farmer 1979, 16
- (11) Hinderwell 1832, 155
- (12) Ibid, 154
- (13) Jeayes 1914, 25A
- (14) Ibid, 43B
- (15) Baker 1882, 120
- (16) Hinderwell 1832, 154
- (17) Jeayes 1914, 25A
- (18) Scarb. Merc. Dec. 4th 1971
- (19) Hinderwell 1832, 154
- (20) Monastic Notes Vol. 2 1932, 39
- (21) Talbot 1960, 104
- (22) Butler 1987, 175
- (23) Hinderwell 1832, 151
- (24) Ibid, 152
- (25) Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 313-9
- (26) Ibid, 324
- (27) Rowntree 1931, 64

- (28) Talbot 1960, 105
- (29) Hinderwell 1832, 355
- (30) Cal. Pat. Rolls 1334-8, 457
- (31) Cal. Pat. Rolls 1321-4, 336
- (32) Jeayes 1914, 23D and 29C
- (33) Baker 1882, 76
- (34) Jeayes 1914, 29C
- (35) Hinderwell 1832, 356
- (36) Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 213-20
- (37) Butler 1984, 126
- (38) Cal. Pat. Rolls 1317-21, 395
- (39) Cal. Pat. Rolls 1327-30, 105 and 1330-34, 11
- (40) Hinderwell 1832, 356-7
- (41) Scarborough Wills, 767
- (42) Baker 1882, 138
- (43) Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 232-37
- (44) Butler 1984, 126
- (45) Keene 1976, 73
- (46) Jeayes 1914, 87E
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