The Archaeology at 46-50 Sheep Street, Northampton

by

JIM BROWN

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SUMMARY

A possible cellar, perhaps beneath a timber building, had been filled in by the 12th century. It may have been either a building outside the late Saxon town or an early development within the enlarged Norman new borough, which had been established in the later 11th century. It was succeeded by intensive pit digging through the 12th and into the early 13th century. Many pits lay adjacent to the street frontage, indicating that the frontage was not fully occupied by buildings at this time, perhaps reflecting a broader pattern in which many burgage plots within the enlarged town were still unoccupied. A well, constructed in the mid 13th century and in use into the 14th century, presumably served a nearby building that had not survived. The well was in use until the late 14th century and, in its later use, it lay adjacent to a wall corner that may have been part of a boundary wall. It is possible that some of the present property boundaries had been established by this time. The 15th to mid 16th centuries saw less activity, perhaps reflecting the general decline in the fortunes of the town at this time. Cottages were established on the Sheep Street frontage c1540, when the street name first appears in documentary sources. A large clay extraction pit was excavated in c1670 on land to the rear of the cottages and served some of Northamptonshire's earliest clay tobacco-pipe makers. Activity through the 18th and 19th centuries included the refurbishment of the cottages along the frontage, the addition of several ancillary buildings to the rear in connection with resident traders, and the construction of two tenements in Wells Yard in c1871, immediately behind the cottages.

INTRODUCTION

Northamptonshire Archaeology excavated at 46-50 Sheep Street, Northampton between 2003 and 2004 as part of a developer-funded investigation as a condition on planning consent. Archaeological investigation of the site began in 2001 with a deskbased assessment and the following year building recording was conducted on the 1930s Art Deco garage (Soden 2001; Webster & Parry 2003). Trial trench evaluation was conducted in 2003, and the subsequent excavation subsumed four out of five of these trenches into an open area excavation of the frontage of 46 Sheep Street and of Wells Yard to the rear of the plot (Fig 1; NGR SP 7537 6082).

TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

The development lay on a hillside terrace overlooked by Newlands car park and Greyfriars bus station, to the east and south-east respectively. The natural contours of the former hillside sloped sharply downwards from east to west. The plot fronted onto the eastern side of Sheep Street, between the Barrack Road and Campbell Street crossroads to the north and Lady's Lane to the south, and was flanked by numbers 44 and 52 Sheep Street (Fig 1).

Estuarine Clay was encountered across the development area at 82.5m Ordnance Survey Datum. A terrace had been cut into the hillside to form level ground for the building plot during expansion of the former garage outbuildings (Webster & Parry 2003, 2).

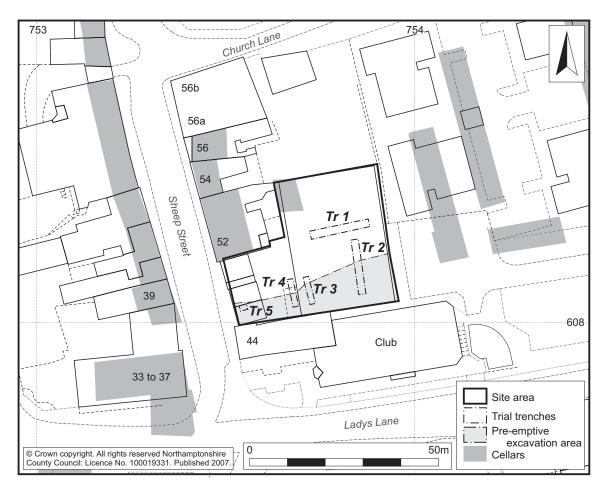


Fig 1 Location of the excavated areas

HISTORICAL AND DOCUMENTARY BACKGROUND

The site is situated to the north-east of the Saxon *burh* of Northampton, north of the precinct of the 13th-century Franciscan Friary, south of the Romanesque round church of the Holy Sepulchre and west of the 13th-century Carmelite Friary (Fig 2). It lay within the new borough, between the north gate and the market centre (J H Williams 1979, 5-6). Other research has shown that the topographical layout for this part of the town originated from the new borough, which was laid out after the Norman Conquest (Foard 1995, 113).

The land was thought to have been open fields prior

to the 11th century, a situation that changed when the town was brought under Norman authority, and the street plan was extended from the old Saxon *burh* to encompass land to the north and east. Sheep Street was the road into town from the north and remained a principal road until the mid 14th century (Jones *et al* 2000, 9). Sheep Street supplanted the original route through the Saxon *burh*, channelling traffic to the east, through the newly established Norman marketplace (Fig 2). The road was likely to have been laid out along the line of former field furlongs, as occurred elsewhere, although it is thought that urbanisation was a gradual and piecemeal process (Foard 1995, 113-114). The name, Sheep Street, was not recorded until 1540 when it was known as

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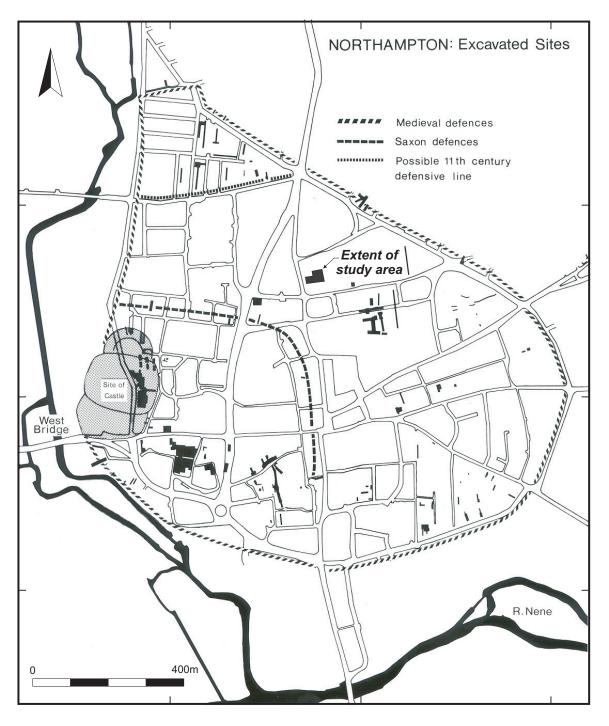


Fig 2 Location within the late Saxon and medieval topography of Northampton

Shepes Market, and in 1545, as Le Shepes Markett (Cox 1898, 526; Gover *et al* 1975, 6).

MAP EVIDENCE

The archaeological desk-based assessment found that the street frontage had changed little from 1610 to 1847, but a new configuration had been laid out by 1885 (Soden 2001). Historic maps show a row of frontage buildings, potentially of late medieval date, which remained relatively unchanged, at least in plan form, in depictions of 1610, 1632 and 1746. On this basis it was argued that the 1610 frontage may have been similar to the street alignment in the later medieval period, given the lack of evidence for redevelopment within Northampton from the 14th century and its poor economic fortunes into the 16th century (Soden 2001, 6; J H Williams 1979, 6-7). The 1885 Ordnance Survey 1st edition map shows a much-altered block with some expansion by way of building accretions to the rear, including two tenements and yards accessed by an alley between 44 and 46 Sheep Street, identified in documentary sources as Wells Yard.

EVIDENCE FOR TRADES DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

Published trade directories and the census records held by the Northamptonshire Record Office (NRO) were consulted to establish any continuity of buildings through the 19th century and to provide evidence of trades. The trade directories consulted comprised: Kelly's Directory of Northamptonshire for 1854, 1862, 1884, 1890 and 1894; Mark's Directory of Northampton for 1928 and 1929, and Whipple's Directory of Northampton for 1936. These trade directories showed that the numbering system of the street existed as early as 1861 and had not changed since (Soden 2001, 4-5).

The properties fronting Sheep Street were included in the 1871 to 1891 census returns and contained inserts between 44 and 46 Sheep Street for Wells Yard. This was presumably named after the proprietor of 48 Sheep Street, John Wells. It contained two tenements around the back, accessed by a small alley between 44 and 46 Sheep Street, depicted upon the 1885 Ordnance Survey map. In 1871 and 1891 these properties were occupied by tenants but no reference appeared in the earlier 1861 census. Wells Yard and the alley continued to be depicted by the Ordnance Survey until the Swan Garage building was constructed in the late 1930s. Almost all of the outbuildings, including the tenements in Wells Yard, were demolished by 1901 indicating that the disuse of these structures coincided with the vacation of the property by T B Wells and Son ironmongery.

Trades at 46 Sheep Street were small, occupying space requiring little more than a garret style shop and dwelling. Records of 48 Sheep Street provided evidence for trades that would benefit greatly from the presence of a cellar for storage of materials and outbuildings for metal-working processes. It was likely that 50 Sheep Street was configured as a private home, as it was for some time the abode of respected, educated professionals whose census records provided details of servants living on the premises. During the 19th century the street was therefore an eclectic mixture of minor gentry, professionals, shops and artisans.

THE DOUGLAS GARAGE LTD AND THE SWAN MOTOR COMPANY

Mr W E Douglas founded The Douglas Garage Ltd in 1919. Originally the garage was situated on the west side of the street at 37 Sheep Street. The enterprise was a success and Mr Douglas moved first to numbers 29-31 and then, in 1928, the garage was moved across the road to number 50, where it occupied a single tenement (Mark's Directories 1928, 426 and 1929, 470). At the same time Mr Douglas rented Lockocks Hill as his family home, this was the adjacent property at number 52. In 1930 the company became distributors for Standard Cars, a relationship that was to last over 40 years, latterly with its successor Triumph.

It was uncertain what modifications were made to the existing structures to accommodate the garage. Access was made to the rear of the property and that of number 52 to allow storage of cars, which adverts proudly proclaimed as the largest garage in the South Midlands with accommodation for 150 cars (Whipple's Directory 1936, 22).

In 1937 the tenements at 46-48 Sheep Street were bought allowing for the enlargement of the premises. The old buildings were pulled down and a new garage was constructed. The success of the company was clearly apparent in the size and embellishment of the new showrooms and living quarters above. When the Swan Garage was built

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DATE & SOURCE	46 SHEEP ST	48 SHEEP ST	WELLS YARD	50 SHEEP ST
1901 Census	Mary Jackson Baker	John Partridge Tailor		Dr John Shaw Surgeon
1894 Trade Directory	John W. Jones Greengrocer	Mark Porchunsky Tailor		Dr Robert Milligan Surgeon
1891 Census	George Emmington Watchmaker	George Emmington Watchmaker	Francis Hall Bootmaker Thomas Coller Postman	Dr Robert Milligan Surgeon
1890 Trade Directory	George Emmington Watchmaker	Weinberg Bros Tailors		Dr Robert Milligan Surgeon
1885 Ordnance Survey	No yard space, alleyway to south accessing Wells Yard	Outbuildings to rear extending behind 46 Sheep Street	Accessed via alleyway, two tenements & yards behind 48 Sheep St	Shared open garden with 52 Sheep St
1884 Trade Directory	Frederick Penn Shoemaker	T.B. Wells & Son, Ironmonger & Brazier		Reverend J Brooke Vicar of St. Katherine's
1871 Census	Edwin Wright Watchmaker	John Wells Ironmonger	Mary Kernow Widow Mark Furness Shoe Closer	Dr George Ashdown Surgeon
1862 Trade Directory		John Wells Brazier		
1861 Census		John Wells Brazier		
1854 Trade Directory		John Wells Brazier		
1851 Census	John Fleat Confectioner	John Wells Ironmonger		Dr Braithewaite Surgeon
1847 Trade Directory		John Wells Ironmonger		
1826 Poll Book		Stephen Wells & William Wells Shopkeeper and Tailor		

Table 1: Summary of historical trade evidence

its frontage was Art Deco in style and remained unchanged thereafter. The architect was Frank Cole of Long Buckby who was clearly aware of the contemporary fashions in architecture and how to apply the principles to commercial buildings. The 1938 edition Ordnance Survey map showed the transformation in the fortunes of the garage with the full extent of the property built over, comprising the garage and covered yards for car storage and maintenance, which were still standing on the site prior to development. In addition to the principal business of selling and repairing cars, the garage also sold petrol to the public from pumps adjacent to the street until new safety regulations prevented the continuation of this practice.

During the Second World War the showrooms and workshops to the rear were used by the Ministry of Supply for storage. The garage continued in business and spent much of the War servicing vehicles for the RAF.

The business and premises were sold by the Douglas family in 1997 and taken over by the Swan Motor Company.

THE EVALUATION

Excavation was conducted in two stages. The evaluation took place in August 2003 and the pre-emptive work in November 2004, following transfer of the property into new ownership and concurrent with the early stages of groundwork for development.

Two trenches, each 15m long, were excavated in the rear yard; two trenches, each 7m long, lay in the rear workshop of the former Swan Garage, and one test pit was excavated through the floor in the front showroom (Fig 1).

The evaluation confirmed the potential for surviving archaeological deposits of medieval and later date in the south of the site. Despite severe truncation at the eastern end of the site, a good proportion of the deposits for 46 Sheep Street had survived at the frontage. Features included medieval wells and the foundations of a mid- to late 16th-century cottage at 46 Sheep Street. Industrial waste products for 17th-century clay tobacco-pipe manufacture had been recovered in small quantities in the east of the property, but expansion of the former garage in 1937 had eradicated all but the most substantial features in this area.

THE WATCHING BRIEF AND PRE-EMPTIVE EXCAVATION

The whole of the development area was monitored during ground clearance works, which used a 360° excavator fitted with a toothless ditching bucket. This confirmed that Trench 1 had encountered the only archaeological feature surviving within the northern part of the site. Excavation subsequently concentrated on the southern part of the site. Records and information from the watching brief are incorporated into the excavation results.

SUMMARY OF CHRONOLOGY

The chronological development of the site is briefly summarised below:

PERIOD	ACTIVITY/EVIDENCE
Norman to later medieval	Norman expansion - the
	New Borough
(Late 11th?-12th centuries)	Cellared building
(12th-early 13th centuries)	Clay pits and refuse
	dumping
(Mid 13th-14th centuries)	Well, buried soil and wall
(15th century)	Little activity
Post-medieval	Cottages established on
	frontage
(16th-17th centuries)	Clay tobacco-pipe
	manufacture
Post-medieval to modern	Cottages used by various
(18th-mid 20th centuries)	traders
(mid 20th century)	Demolition of cottages
	and construction of Art
	Deco garage
(Early 21st century)	Demolition of garage;
•	redevelopment for housing

THE EXCAVATION OF 46 SHEEP STREET

The excavated area at the southern end of the site was 42m long and 14.5m wide at the rear of the plot, tapering to 4m wide on the frontage (Figs 1 & 3).

A NORMAN CELLAR AND PITS (12TH CENTURY)

The earliest features on the site, dated to the 12th century, comprised an isolated pit in Trench 1 and three large pits in the frontage area (Fig 3; 106, 725, 736 & 743).

Pit 736 was obscured in plan within the narrow working area and it extended beyond the boundary wall to the south, indicating that it pre-dated the establishment of the present property boundaries. It lay 5.4m east of the modern pavement and was aligned roughly north to south. It was rectangular, in excess of 6.5m long and 5.5m wide. It had steeply sloping sides, at 80°, and was 2.1m deep with a broad flat base. In form this pit has similarities to late Saxon cellars beneath timber buildings, which might suggest that such a building had been present on the site, but the physical constraints of the excavation made it impossible to test this hypothesis further.

An isolated pit, 106, and two pits near to the possible cellar, 725 and 743, are also dated to the 12th century. They may have been dug to extract good quality clay, and the fills included domestic refuse presumably from nearby occupation.

MEDIEVAL PITS (13TH CENTURY)

A further ten pits are dated to the early 13th century (Fig 3; 312, 314, 316, 318, 627, 659, 714, 727, 746 & 764). They varied considerably in shape extent and depth and they were often irregular in form and profile suggesting that they were not structural features. The pit fills contained household rubbish, including animal bone from kitchen waste.

The end of this period of pit digging and rubbish disposal was marked by the excavation of a construction pit, 674, closely associated with a stone-lined well (Fig 3, 671). The pit was

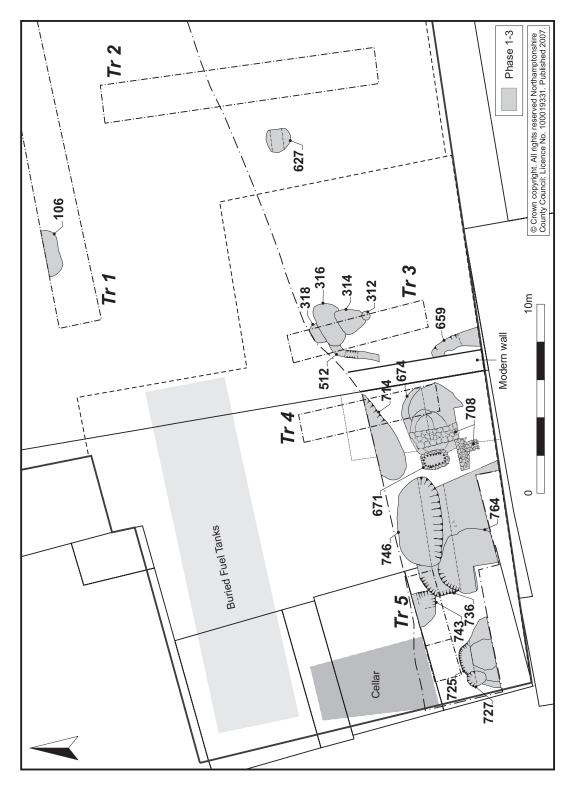


Fig 3 Norman and later medieval features

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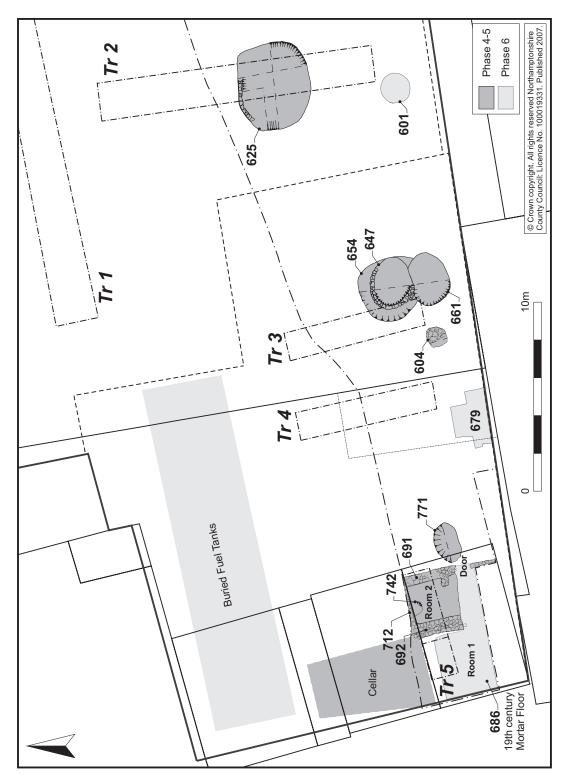


Fig 4 Post-medieval features

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sub-circular, approximately 3m in diameter and had steep sides descending towards a flattish base. The pit was 1.3m deep on its eastern side, and the stonework of the well lining was built into the fills on the western side of the pit. The well lining comprised roughly squared blocks of ironstone, roughly coursed and without bonding material. The well was 1.15m wide by 1.55m long, and the upper 1.2m was excavated.

THE LATE MEDIEVAL SOIL HORIZON (14TH CENTURY)

Subsequent to the digging of the well, a soil horizon accumulated across the whole of the excavated area. It comprised firm midgreyish-black silty clay, 672, containing frequent charcoal flecks, and was 0.17-0.32m thick. The deposit respected the edges of the well but sealed the construction pit, 674. This horizon was subjected to considerable mixing as it formed a homogeneous layer, which subsequently became a garden soil in the early postmedieval period.

An L-shaped length of wall (Fig 3, 708), cut into the soil horizon, flanked the southern and eastern sides of the well. It was 0.8-1.1m wide, built in roughly cut ironstone, un-mortared, and faced on both sides. The survival of only a single corner leaves it uncertain whether the wall was part of a building or simply a boundary wall.

Both the wall and the well were disused by the end of the 14th century. The medieval wells at the site of Kingswell Street, Northampton have a similar date of disuse (Brown, forthcoming).

No features can be dated to the 15th to mid 16th centuries, although there is a little residual pottery, suggesting that some evidence was lost to later development.

THE POST-MEDIEVAL COTTAGE AND WELL (16TH CENTURY)

A stone cottage was constructed at 46 Sheep Street. The surviving wall foundations comprised the back wall of the main cottage (Fig 4, 692), and the back and side wall of a lean-to extension, 691 and 712, at the rear. These walls were directly comparable to the surviving imprint of former buildings visible on the elevation of the adjoining 44 Sheep Street (Fig 5). The line of the original cottage roof of 46 Sheep Street was clearly visible as three iron roofing pins. Discolouration of the outer wall plaster and the continuation of a rear extension building were also visible.

Wall 692 was 0.78m wide with a doorway at the southern end. It comprised ironstone, roughly cut, shaped and faced on both sides. The larger stones formed the facing and there was a rubble core bonded with an orangey-yellow sandy clay mortar. Three courses survived, and these were laid with one thinner band of ironstone slabs set between courses of thicker squared blocks. The party wall to the north, between 46 and 48 Sheep Street, was visible at the edge of the excavation area, but had been heavily damaged by the construction of a later brick-lined cellar within 48 Sheep Street.

The main room, Room 1, was at least 4.0m wide, but the western wall lay beyond the excavated area. Any earlier floors had been removed in the 19th century, when a mortar floor, 686, with brick steps was laid. This floor continued through the doorway to cross Room 2, forming a short corridor to the back door

The back and end walls of the lean-to extension, 691 and 712, were similar in construction to the main wall, but were narrower, at 0.64m wide, and had less substantial foundations; only one course of stone survived. The back wall had a doorway at the southern end, a little beyond an internal buttress. A shaped stone and a hinge were found within the doorway. The end wall, 712, was visible at the edge of the excavation.

Room 2, within the rear extension, was 2m wide, and a small area of early deposits survived abutting the end wall, 712. These contained pottery dated to the mid to late 16th century. Clay tobacco-pipes indicated that the mortar floor, 686, was added post 1730-1780.

To the rear of the cottage a stone-lined well, 647, had been constructed within a well pit, 654, up to 2.25m in diameter at the surface. The well shaft was 1.1m in diameter and was lined with ironstone, roughly cut, squared and fitted together in an irregular dry stone pattern. The southern side was disturbed by a pit, 661, which was dated to the 17th century.

POST-MEDIEVAL CLAY TOBACCO-PIPE MANUFACTURING (17TH CENTURY)

An irregularly shaped pit, 625, lay to the rear of 46 to 48 Sheep Street, cutting the natural clay (Fig 4). It measured 4.82m by 3.75m wide, and the sides were almost vertical and stepped. Hand sampling was conducted to a depth of 1.66m after which a machine was used to reveal the base of the feature and its general profile to a depth of 3.8m. Given that the ground level in this area of the site was already truncated by up to 3m below the level of Newlands car park, the original depth of the pit could have been as much as 7m. The north side of the pit was partially retained by a revetment wall.

It seems probable that the pit was used for clay extraction. Such an operation would have required considerable engineering in the form of winding gear and superstructure, the evidence for which must have been destroyed by the truncation of the site.

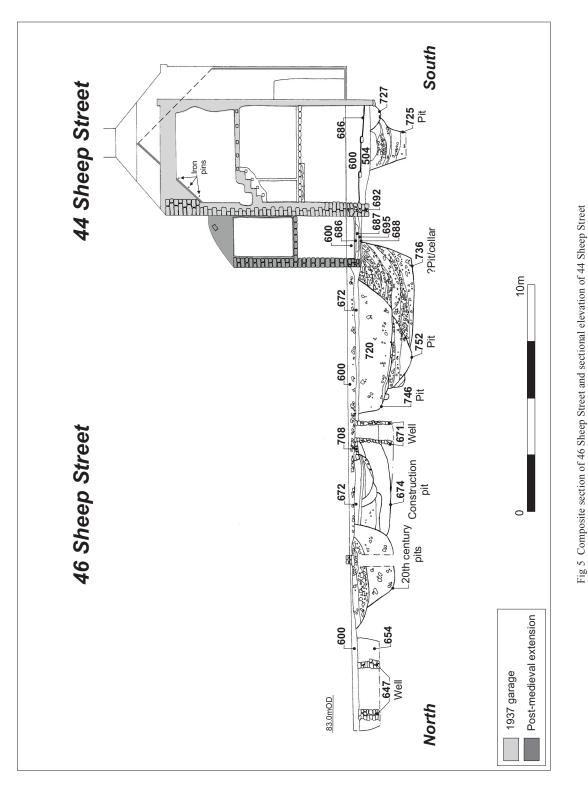
A large assemblage of waste from clay tobacco-pipe making, including pipes and fragments of the muffle in which they were fired, came from the fill of this pit. Although no other evidence was recovered relating to the presence of a clay pipe manufacturer at 46-50 Sheep Street during the 17th century, the pit assemblage does indicate the presence of at least one workshop in very close proximity. Map evidence does not show property divisions of the land to the rear of the street frontage until 1746. Later 19th-century depictions by the Ordnance Survey show the extension of the property with new developments but indicated that the 17th-century clay extraction pit had lain beyond the rear boundary.

LATE POST-MEDIEVAL TRADE

Within Room 1 of the cottage, any earlier floors were removed and a compact coarse gritty dark brownish-black clay loam containing brick, tile and ironstone, 504, formed a levelling layer for a mortar floor and brick steps, 686, that also ran across the rear extension, Room 1 (Fig 5).

To the east of the cottage, against the southern boundary of the site, there was a T-shaped stoking pit for a furnace, constructed out of ironstone and lined with brick on its southern side (Figs 4 & 6; 678, 679 & 680). The northern arm, 684, may have been a stoking pit serving a furnace built above the southern side, where the surface of the brickwork along the rear wall, 680, had been vitrified. These bricks exhibited no maker's marks, although the horizontal skintling and the standardised size of the brick were indicative of manufacture after the repeal of the Brick Tax in 1853. The brick ash box, 683, and brick foundation post, 681, were later additions to the structure. The ash box was filled with friable reddish black silty ash, 682, that included 19th-century transfer printed pottery. Both the pit and the upper portion of the ash box, 683, were filled with rubble, 682 & 684, from the

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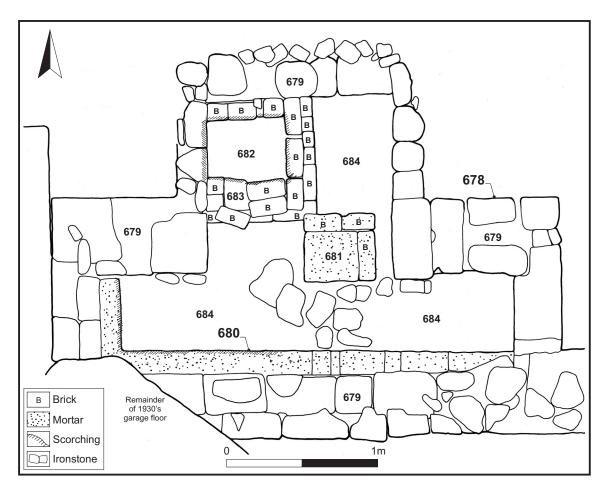


Fig 6 Plan of the stoking pit for the ironmonger's furnace

demolition of a superstructure that had included large quantities of heavily burnt ironstone, fire-brick, coal, 19th-century clay tobacco-pipe, and bottle glass marked "Solution of magnesium". However, artefacts recovered from the demolition fill did not contain any distinctive material to identify the industry served by the furnace.

The structure appeared on the Ordnance Survey maps of 1885 and 1887, built against the side of the party wall and located in an alleyway between 44 and 46 Sheep Street that provided access to Wells Yard. It is likely that the structure was in use at the time the property was owned by T.B. Wells & Son ironmongers. No other trades requiring a furnace were identified in the census records.

A well at the rear of the site (Fig 4, 601) had been constructed using a drilling technique, and it was lined with ironstone blocks. The upper fill comprised firm mottled greyish-brown and black silty loam, 613, which included domestic refuse, brick, tile and 19th-century pottery.

THE DOUGLAS GARAGE LTD

In 1937 the cottage buildings, 46 to 50 Sheep Street, were demolished and the hillside was partially terraced and then levelled with a brick and ironstone rubble demolition layer (Webster & Parry 2003, 2). This process had removed the majority of post-medieval deposits, leaving only the base of the most substantial features. The 1937 garage building, with its distinctive Art Deco exterior, was established on top of the demolition layer. Later extensions and alterations were made to the building, which in 2004 was demolished to make way for the modern residential development (Webster & Parry 2003).

SAXON, MEDIEVAL AND EARLY POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY by Paul Blinkhorn

INTRODUCTION

The pottery assemblage comprises 1080 sherds with a total weight of 17,630g. The estimated vessel equivalent (EVE), by summation of surviving rim sherd circumference is 8.8. A range of pottery types present suggests that there was activity at the site throughout the medieval period, with less material surviving for the mid-16th century onwards. The most substantial post-medieval pottery groups of any period are from the period of the clay tobacco-pipe manufactory.

The terminology used was defined by the Medieval Pottery Research Group's Guide to the Classification of Medieval Ceramic Forms and the standards laid out in the Minimum Standards for the Processing, Recording, Analysis and Publication of postroman Ceramics (MPRG 1998; MPRG 2001). All statistical analyses were carried out to the minimum standards suggested by Orton (1998-9, 135-7).

FABRIC

The late Saxon and medieval pottery was quantified using the chronology and coding system of the Northamptonshire County Ceramic Type-Series (CTS):

The range of fabric types is fairly typical of medieval and later sites in Northampton, although the presence of the Pingsdorf ware is unusual. This pottery was mainly manufactured in the Vorgebirge region near Cologne in Germany and at sites in South Limburg in the Netherlands (Keller 1995, 19). It is fairly common at east coast ports in England, such as Norwich and London, but is rare at inland sites (ibid, fig 2). This occurrence marks one of only a handful from Northampton. Single sherds have been noted at the Moat House Hotel, St. James' Abbey, St. Peters' Street, Kingswell Street and two from the 1972 Greyfriars' excavations (Blinkhorn 2001, 99; McCarthy 1979, 165; Gryspeerdt 1978, 134). The only other instances in Northamptonshire are four sherds from the Saxo-Norman manorial settlement at Nassington and a residual piece from a tenement with associated ironworking at Weldon (Blinkhorn 2003). Pingsdorf ware may have been related to the early medieval wine trade and its presence may be an indicator that persons of more than usual wealth were living in the vicinity during this period.

A near-complete Brill/Boarstall "Tudor Green" vessel was present (Fig 7, SS5). This is a rare find in Northampton, as the Surrey/Hampshire type is generally more common.

CHRONOLOGY

The medieval pottery was dated using the relative seriated phase chronology (RSP) as specified in the County Type-Series. The system attributes to each ceramic group a phase date rather than

F111: Pingsdorf-type Ware	11th-13th century	1 sherd, 8g	EVE = 0		
F200: T1 (2) type St. Neots Ware	AD 1000-1200	4 sherds, 93g	EVE = 0.15		
F205: Stamford Ware	AD 850-1150	1 sherd, 7g	EVE = 0		
F330: Shelly Coarseware	AD 1100-1400	509 sherds, 6,753g	EVE = 4.49		
F360: Misc. Sandy Coarsewares	AD 1100-1400	6 sherds, 134g	EVE = 0.14		
F319: Lyveden/Stanion 'A' Ware	AD 1150-1400	10 sherds, 109g	EVE = 0.10		
F324: Brill Boarstall Ware	AD 1200-1500	25 sherds, 365g	EVE = 0		
F331: Developed Stamford ware	late 12th- early 13th century	1 sherd, 9g	EVE = 0		
F320: Lyveden/Stanion 'B' Ware	AD 1225-1400	5 sherds, 204g,	EVE = 0		
F329: Potterspury Ware	AD 1275-1600	261 sherds, 4628g	EVE = 2.80		
F345: Medieval Oxford ware	AD 1400-1500?	26 sherds, 485g	EVE = 0.26		
F369: Brill/Boarstall 'Tudor Green' type	AD 1475-1600	2 sherds, 94g	EVE = 0.35		
F401: Late Medieval Oxidized ware	AD 1450-1550?	12 sherds, 251g	EVE = 0.08		
F403: Midland Purple ware	AD 1450-1600	16 sherds, 703g			
F404: Cistercian ware	AD 1470-1700	31 sherds, 374g			
F405: Tudor Green ware	AD 1450-1600	17 sherds, 40g	EVE = 0.17		
F406: Midland Yellow wares	AD 1550-1700	4 sherds, 412g			
F407: Red Earthenwares,	AD 1550+	24 sherds, 551g			
F408: Rhenish Stonewares	AD 1450+	2 sherds, 43g	EVE = 0.19		
F409: Staffordshire Slipwares	AD 1680-1750	2 sherds, 29g			
F410: English tin-glazed earthenwares	17th -18th century	2 sherds, 5g			
F411: Midland Blackware,	AD 1550-1700	13 sherds, 375g			
F413: Staffs. Manganese Glazed wares	late 17th-18th century	3 sherds, 25g			
F415: Creamware	AD 1740-1820	14 sherds, 120g			
F417: Nottingham Stoneware	AD 1750-1900	1 sherds, 13g			
F426: Iron-glazed earthenware	late 17th-19th century	7 sherds, 498g			
F429: White Salt-glazed Stoneware	AD 1720-1780	4 sherds, 110g			
F1000: Mass-produced wares	19th century	67 sherds, 880g			
The following not provide included in the CTS, was also noted:					

The following, not previously included in the CTS, was also noted:

AD1550-1700

F451: Border Wares

This is a generic term for the mid 16th-century pottery industry of the Hampshire and Surrey border area (Pearce 1992). The range of fabrics comprised fine, sandy whitewares with an off-white to buff fabric and with yellow, green olive or brown glaze, and fine redwares with clear green to olive or brown glaze. The manufacture of whitewares ceased during the 18th century. A wide range of post-medieval vessel types were produced which are rare finds in Northampton.

8 sherds, 298g

an absolute chronology. The phases were based on the presence and absence of 'major wares' within each individual assemblage, with the earliest known date of the latest ware within each group defining the date (Table 2).

Table 2: The chronology of the RSP Ceramic Phasing System

RSP Phase	Defining Wares	Chronology
Ph 0	F330, F360	<i>c</i> AD1100 - 1150
Ph 1	F319	c AD1150 - early 1200s
Ph 2/0	F320, F324	c early 1200s - late 1200s
Ph 2/2	F329	c late 1200s - AD1400
Ph 4	F365, F403	<i>c</i> AD1400 - 1450
Ph 5	F369, F401, F404	<i>c</i> AD1450 - 1550

A full index of the data is maintained in the site archive. The data indicates that there was unbroken activity on or close to the site throughout the medieval period. The lack of pottery from mid-12th to early 13th-century contexts is likely to be because Northampton is on the western edge of the distribution of Lyveden 'A' wares, and consequently the material is less frequent than on sites in the north-east of the county. The major wares were present in similar proportions to those found at other medieval sites excavated in Northampton. Residual pieces were common in 14th-century contexts and, particularly, late 15th to mid-16th century contexts, suggesting that there was considerable disturbance of the ground during that period. This observation is consistent with the construction of the cottages along the frontage and was illustrated by the cross-fit data below. The joining sherds of a Potterspury lid linked the buried soil horizon, 672, with the 18th-century mortar floor, 688, in Room 2 of the cottage (Fig 7, SS1).

The post-medieval pottery was phased in a similar manner and showed a pattern of pottery deposition for the period between the mid-16th and the late 17th century, before the period of clay tobacco-pipe manufacture, when just 147g of pottery was deposited at the site. The peak of post-medieval pottery deposition corresponded with the establishment of the clay tobaccopipe manufactory near the site. By the mid-18th century, pottery deposition all but ceased. Such a small amount of pottery is unusual for an urban site, suggesting strongly that these levels were removed when the site was landscaped in 1937.

VESSEL TYPES

The pattern of vessel consumption at the site is fairly typical of the medieval period in Northamptonshire despite the relatively small assemblage size. In the earliest phases, jars dominate, with jugs becoming more common through time, a typical pattern. Fragments of two lamps noted in early to mid 12th century contexts are not uncommon in Northampton.

The high proportion of early 13th-century jugs is most likely due to the assemblage size and the proportion of later 13th to 14th-century jugs seems rather low. It may be that the inhabitants were somewhat wealthier than the average, using metal rather than pottery vessels for serving at the table.

There are no jug rims from the early 15th century. The pattern is distorted by the presence of two largely complete vessels, an unusual, highly decorated Potterspury ware lid and a Brill/ Boarstall 'Tudor Green' lobed cup (Fig 7, SS1 & SS5). These accounted for nearly 70% of the rims from the phase. The lid is very unusual, and no obvious direct parallel for it has been found, although pottery lids do sometimes occur on medieval sites in the region.

The data for mid 15th to mid 16th-century contexts is fairly typical. Cups are a little more common than usual. There seems little doubt that activity was largely domestic in nature. Fragments of a bottle and two dripping dishes are present, specialist vessels which were used to catch the fat from spit-roasting meat for the preparation of sauces or for the broiling of fish. These are not common finds in Northampton, and suggest that the inhabitants in parts of the town were living well at the end of the medieval period.

THE LATE 17TH-CENTURY ASSEMBLAGE

The largest post-medieval pottery group is dated to the late 17th to early 18th centuries, a time when clay pipes were being manufactured near the site. It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the pottery was being used by the pipe makers. The stratified pottery of this date came mainly from a quarry pit, 625. A large quantity was recovered from the upper fill of the pit during trial trenching and two sherds were also recovered from the backfill of a well, 601. The whole assemblage was examined for cross-fits, but none were made.

The pottery from this period of activity is exactly what one would expect from an industrial complex. Good quality table and display wares such as Tin-glazed earthenware, Staffordshire White Salt-glazed stoneware and trailed slipware are all but absent, with the assemblage comprising almost entirely Red Earthenwares, Border wares, Midland Purple, Black and Yellow wares and Cistercian ware. The vessels reflect this, comprising mainly large bowls or pottery associated with the storage or consumption of drink, such as cups, a costrel, and a cistern (Fig 7, SS 6-10). Drinking pottery is often plentiful at industrial sites in the later medieval and post-medieval periods, presumably due to the physical nature of the work and in this case, the heat.

The illustrated pottery (Fig 7)

- SS1: F329 Potterspury ware, highly decorated lid. Pale orange fabric with a grey core, mottled green glaze on upper surface. Context 688, layer beneath Room 2, disturbing the medieval soil and Context 708, a wall associated with the medieval well 671.
- SS2: F329 Potterspury ware, upper part of jug. Buff fabric with a grey core. Pale, glossy, apple-grey glaze with sparse copper-spotting on upper body, next and rim. Context 720, fill within pit 746 and Context 724, fill within pit 736.
- SS3: F324 Brill/Boarstall ware, handle terminal from highly decorated jug. Orange fabric with buff margins, glossy green glaze on outer surface. Context 757, fill within pit 736.
- SS4: F329 Potterspury ware, small jar. Grey fabric with pinkbuff outer surface, glaze as SS2. Context 672, a medieval soil horizon.
- SS5: F369 Brill/Boarstall "Tudor Green" type, lobed cup. Pale orange-buff fabric with glossy, copper-spotted green glaze on whole of inner and upper part of outer body. Context 768, fill within pit 736.

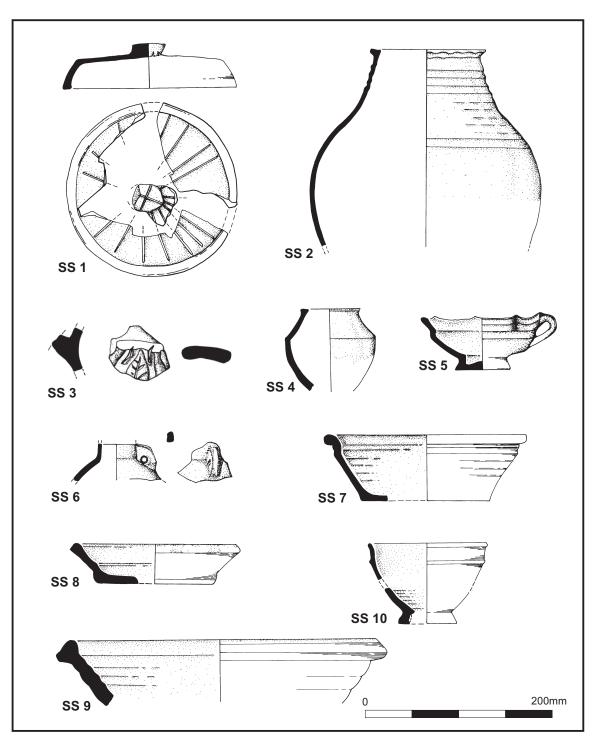


Fig 7 The medieval and post-medieval pottery

- SS6: F404 Cistercian ware, neck and shoulder from a lugged costrel. Brick red fabric with a dark purple brown glaze on the outer surface. Context 644, fill within pit 625.
- SS7: F411 Midland Blackware, full profile of bowl. Brick-red fabric with grey outer surface, very dark, glossy, green-brown glaze on inner surface. Context 644, fill within pit 625.
- SS8: F451 Border ware, full profile of bowl. Buff fabric with glossy yellow glaze on both surfaces. Context 644, fill within pit 625.
- SS9: F451 Border ware. Rim from very large bowl. Buff fabric with glossy yellow glaze on the inner surface. Context 644, fill within pit 625.
- SS10: F451 Border ware, rim and base from small bowl or cup. Buff fabric with glossy, bright green glaze on inner surface. Context 644, fill within pit 625.

THE CLAY TOBACCO PIPES AND MUFFLE by Tora Hylton

INTRODUCTION

A group of 495 clay tobacco-pipe fragments was recovered, the majority coming from a large clay extraction pit, 625, together with a quantity of structural material from a pipe kiln muffle. The remaining pipes were located within a series of features dated to the 19th-20th centuries. The assemblage comprises 175 complete or fragmented pipe-bowls and 320 stem fragments. Very few of the pipe fragments display signs of abrasion and 26 of the bowls appear to be partially blackened on their internal surface, suggesting that they may have been used. The remainder are unused wasters that were deposited soon after manufacture.

A total of 151 bowls are sufficiently complete to enable dating, following Oswald's typology using bowl and foot/spur forms and Moore's typology for Northamptonshire (Oswald 1975, 37-41; Moore 1980, figs 6 & 7). Chronologically the earliest bowl form

represented is Oswald's Type G5, which dates to c1640-60. There are two examples and one has been used. The majority of datable bowls provide a closely-dated range c1660-1680, and most of these were recovered from deposits associated with the clay extraction pit [625]. They are dominated by 35 of Oswald's Type G6 and 101 of Oswald's Type G18 pipe forms. All the bowls are unmarked, and therefore cannot be attributed to an individual maker. The majority of bowls and stems are burnished and all the bowls are ornamented with a partial or complete milled band/groove set just below the lip of the bowl, a common motif until c1710 (Moore 1980, 6). Three Oswald's Type G22 bowls were recovered from deposits within Room 2 immediately beneath the mortar floor and date to c1730-80.

The stem fragments are up to 115mm long, and 10 examples retain their mouthpieces. Two stem fragments are decorated with a rouletted motif around the stem and one of these examples is on a stem fragment set within a piece of pipe kiln debris.

Two pipe fragments preserve maker marks, both of which were recovered from deposits post-dating the 18th century. One bowl fragment recovered from the demolition fill of a 19th-century stone and brick lined stoking pit [679] is furnished with the makers initials on the spur. It is only possible to decipher one of the letters 'S'. A stem fragment recovered from the same demolition layer is furnished with '...NS CUTTY...' on one side of the stem and '...LET ST OME...' on the other. Stem fragments with similar marks from Northampton have been recorded by Moore (1980, 30). The full motifs would have been 'BURNS CUTTY' and 'FIOLET ST.OMER DEPOSÉ'. Pipes with these marks date from c1830-1920 and are French imports made by JC Fiolet of St Omer.

MUFFLE KILN DEBRIS

The presence of fragments of a muffle from a clay tobaccopipe kiln is of particular interest. Industrial debris of this type is not uncommon; Peacey (1996) has traced and recorded 145 assemblages. A muffle is "a large refractory pot set inside a firing chamber forming an inner chamber to contain the pipes firing, free from direct contact with the flame" (Peacey 1996, section 5).



Plate 1 Muffle wall reinforced with clay tobacco-pipe stems (Scale 100mm)

In total 120 pieces, weighing 4,815g, were recovered from the 17th-century clay extraction pit. Distinctive reconstructable fragments survive to 150mm by 150mm size and were manufactured from light coloured clay reinforced with pipe stems. The clay matrix contains small voids, a result of burnt-out organic matter. The exterior surfaces are fired-damaged, leaving a pale grey surface, often with patches of fire glazing, and the interior surfaces are covered in a white/cream coloured clay slip (lute) to make the surface impervious. On some fragments up to five separate layers of lute are visible, indicating repeated applications and firings.

The assemblage is dominated by fragments of pipe reinforced muffle wall, manufactured with a single layer of diagonal or vertical stems (Plate 1). Within the same piece of debris the spacing between the reinforcing pipes is always consistent, but there are variations between different pieces, with distances ranging from 2-12mm apart. The thickness of the wall ranges from 13-25mm, but most fragments are 17-20mm thick. Three fragments join together to form a segment of wall that measures 150mm by 150mm, the curvature of the piece suggests that the diameter of the muffle may have been in excess of 400-450mm.

The assemblage includes a small number of fragments that display external features; these include a prop-type buttress and two examples of the upper element of a base/wall junction. The former is a diagnostic feature of external buttressing with "protruding radial extensions from the outer surface of the muffle wall, which acted as supports, bearing against the inner surface of the firing chamber" (Peacey 1996, glossary 2). The prop type buttress extends from the wall about 30mm, has a circular cross-section and is manufactured from a piece of tile or stone that is just visible at the surface of the surviving piece. This has been covered in clay, shaped and then applied to the surface of the muffle; it measures 35-40mm in diameter and splays out towards the terminal.

There are two examples of the upper element for a base or wall junction, as illustrated by and recovered from 11 Benthall Lane, Benthall (ibid 1996, Section 5.1, fig 6). None of the wall fragments display internal features. There are two base fragments with clay pipes set at right angles in a chevron motif.

Other kiln/workshop sites are already known in Northampton, these include: 4 Derngate, 18 Horseshoe Street, and Chalk Lane, thought to have been dumped from the workshop of Mr F Street who worked in nearby Pike Lane (1835-40).

CONCLUSION

The majority of the clay tobacco-pipes recovered from the excavations are dated to c1660-80, when the clay tobacco-pipe industry was a flourishing and expanding trade (Moore 1980, 1). Although this small assemblage is unremarkable, containing only generic types of clay tobacco-pipes of the period, of particular interest is the pipe kiln muffle, which provides evidence for a kiln/workshop in Sheep Street.

THE OTHER FINDS by Tora Hylton

The excavations produced 34 medieval and post-medieval finds of intrinsic interest in five material types (copper alloy, iron, stone, bone and glass). Each object has been described and measured, and a descriptive catalogue is retained in the site archive. None have been illustrated.

MEDIEVAL FINDS

Eleven domestic artefacts include a buckle frame, a thimble, a rumbler bell and two whetstones. Most of the finds were recovered from pit 746 and the medieval cellar 736.

A small plain copper alloy buckle from cellar 736 has a trapezoid frame, with a rectangular cross-section, and a nodule of corrosion indicates that the pin would have been made from iron (for a similar, 14th-century example, see Whitehead 1996, fig 126).

A copper alloy thimble, domed with hand-punched indentations in concentric circles, was recovered from pit 746, together with an incomplete rumbler bell, which would have been manufactured in two halves, hammered together with a small pea inside; the loop at the top and was made from a parallel-sided strip of sheeting. Similar examples recovered in London date from the late 13th through to the early 15th century (Pritchard 1991, 339 & 1645).

Two whetstones, one each from pit 746 and pit 736, are worked from rectangular-shaped pieces of grey micaceous stone: one complete example is 180mm long. Both have worn faces, with a distinct concavity on one face created by excessive wear.

Other finds from medieval deposits include two binding strips, a looped fitting and three nails.

POST-MEDIEVAL FINDS

Twenty-one objects were recovered from post-medieval deposits. Finds from the 17th-century clay extraction pit 625 include, a bone handle for a whittle tang knife or fork (cf Allen 1984, fig 195, 33), a fragment from a single-sided saw blade and two nails. Finds from 19th-century deposits include a fragment from a hinge, the base of an iron and a nail, all from the fill of a stone and brick-lined stoking pit 679. A hinge pivot was found within Room 2, comprising a circular-sectioned pivot or guide arm and a tapered rectangular sectioned shank that would have been driven into a wood frame leaving the pivot free to retain the hanging eye of a strap hinge attached to a door.

Other post-medieval finds include two complete lace chapes, similar to Oakleys Type 2 (1979, 263), which date from the mid 16th-17th centuries, a whetstone and two fragments of glass from pit 661. An ivory comb came from a 20th-century pit, 629, together with a ceramic cup from a child's tea set and two fragments of vessel glass. The comb is a simple, double-sided one piece type; one terminal and most of the teeth are missing. The central bar is flanked by fine teeth (c12 per 10mm) on one side and coarse teeth (c3 per 10mm) on the other, which measure 18mm long. The extant teeth display signs of significant wear. Similar examples have been recovered from 16th and 17th-century deposits in Northampton (Oakley 1979, fig 137, 44), Southampton (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig 149, 1944, 1946-47) and Norwich (Margeson 1993, fig 35).

THE FAUNAL REMAINS by Karen Deighton

A total of 571 fragments of animal bone was recovered, including animal bone from wet sieving residues. Fragmentation of the bone is fairly moderate and surface condition is reasonable. Only six examples of canid gnawing are present suggesting rapid burial of material following deposition. There is a single burned bone. Seven instances of butchery comprise chops marks, a dismembering mark and filleting marks.

MAJOR SPECIES

Cattle, utilised for meat, milk and hides, was dominant in the 14th-15th century and in the late 17th-century deposits. It is assumed that the ovicaprids were sheep, husbanded for meat, milk and wool, and they dominated in the 16th century. Earlier and later assemblages are too small to establish a dominant species.

Small groups are associated with domestic husbandry. Pigs were kept for meat and had the added benefit of disposing of rotting or waste foodstuffs as part of their diet. Animals were reared in backyards on kitchen waste although the lack of neonatal elements suggests this was not the case here. Chickens and geese can also be kept in backyards to provide eggs and meat. Geese have a high meat yield and provided excellent down, whilst the wing feathers were used in fletching. At Sheep Street the numbers are too small to suggest which was favoured.

AGEING AND SEXING

Three neonatal cattle bones are present from different periods. Only three mandibles can be aged. These are a sheep right mandible from the late 17th century (2 years plus), a left sheep mandible from the 16th century (6-8 years) and a cattle mandible from the 16th century (1-8 months). One male pig tusk is noted for the 14th-15th centuries. Fusion data alone can be unreliable due to the number of gaps and overlaps in fusion stages and was not used.

DISCUSSION

The largest concentrations of bone were for the 13th-14th centuries, the 16th century and the late 17th century. During the 13th-14th centuries the immediate area was open ground around a well that appeared to accumulate domestic rubbish. The building of the stone cottage in the 16th century corresponds with the largest concentration of animal bone, which is possibly butchery and kitchen waste from the cottage. Late 17th-century waste was deposited in the clay quarry pit, possibly at the end of its life. Little significant change is seen in the state of preservation through time and this suggests that regardless of where the deposition took place the bone waste was always rapidly buried.

The 14th-15th centuries have the broadest taxonomic range. The dominant species fluctuates between cattle and sheep. Pig remains at a low constant through time. No statements can be made concerning age at death due to a lack of suitable material and therefore no statements on herd stature or husbandry can be made, and an urban assemblage is often more of a reflection of diet and status than of husbandry. High numbers of cattle combined with low numbers of pig suggests a robust market economy (Bourdillon 1980). Cattle were more demanding on resources, requiring large areas of pasture and regular attention, whereas pigs can be left to forage on stubble and in woodland. The lower numbers of "backyard" stock such as geese, chickens and pigs, together with those wild species can be reflective of an area's wealth. If an area's occupants can afford to rely on markets for their meat supply, such taxa will be less evident.

A study of the meat cuts consumed as a gauge of wealth is not possible since body-part analysis would be unreliable due to the small numbers of each species per phase. The material appears to be predominantly limb bones suggesting secondary butchery in food preparation and therefore disposal of kitchen waste.

Comparisons with other sites in Northampton show a prepond-

erance of sheep and cattle, but suggest a slightly different picture than the fluctuation between sheep and cattle seen at Sheep Street. St. Peter's walk *Phases 2b* and *3* showed the same range of species dominated by sheep then cattle (Armitage 1998). At Greyfriars both phases were dominated by sheep, with lower numbers of cattle (Harman 1978). Black Lion Hill was dominated by sheep with numbers becoming greater though time (Harman 1985). Chalk Lane was dominated by sheep (Harman 1981). Slightly further away, 9th-13th century sites in Bedford were dominated by sheep (Grant 1979). Pigs remained of tertiary importance at all these sites.

At Marefair the species showed a slightly wider range with the presence of horse, red deer and duck (Harman 1979). The absence of deer may be a combination of the urban status of the site, and the status of deer during the medieval and early post-medieval periods as a food source restricted by the hunting rights of the nobility.

DISCUSSION

Given the absence of archaeological evidence dated to the 11th century, the land here would appear to have remained open until the 12th century, even though it lay within the New Borough that had been created by the Norman authorities in the later 11th century.

A deep rectangular pit, which may have been a cellar beneath a timber building, had been filled in during the 12th century, leaving its date of origin undefined. It is possible that it was constructed as early as the 11th century, either as a building outside the late Saxon town or as an early development within the new Norman borough. The series of pits dated to the 12th century and into the early 13th century, may have originally been dug as clay extraction pits, but they later accumulated quantities of domestic waste within the fills, indicating some nearby occupation. However, they lay immediately adjacent to the street frontage, indicating that at least parts of the frontage were not occupied by buildings at this time. This lack of intensive occupation along the frontage of one of the main town streets may reflect a broader pattern in which many burgage plots within the much enlarged town also remained unoccupied at this time.

The construction of a well in the mid- to late 13th century may have marked a turning point, with occupation of the frontage perhaps intensifying, although no certain remains of contemporary buildings survived. A single corner of a stone wall belonged to either a building or a boundary wall, but probably does relate to a more formalised organisation of the street frontage. The southern arm of this wall lay slightly north of the present property boundary, and suggests that at least the principal property boundaries were in existence by the 14th century.

The well was broadly contemporary with the formation of a soil layer, identified as the medieval ground surface, and the substantial contemporary pottery assemblage of 13th and 14th century date demonstrates dense nearby occupation. There was a decline in the use of jugs as the period advanced, perhaps reflecting a growing wealth of the inhabitants in the use of more valuable metal tableware, which does not often appear in the archaeological record (Blinkhorn this report).

The 15th to mid 16th centuries saw less activity on the site, although there is some residual domestic pottery. This apparent stagnation is consistent with the view of a town struggling with economic hardship, given its lesser importance following the decline in the use of the Royal castle through the 13th and 14th centuries (Williams J H 1979, 6).

New cottages were built along the frontage in the mid 16th century, consistent with the earliest available map data and the first recorded use of the street name in 1540s, as Shepes Market or Le Shepes Markett (Cox 1898, 526; Gover *et al* 1975, 6). The street name denotes formal recognition of a stock market close to hand and coincided with the period in which sheep bones were most dominant amongst the domestic waste (Deighton, this report).

During the 400 years that the cottages were maintained, they underwent continual changes in use, being added to and altered as the occupants required until their demolition in 1937. They had been heavily renovated in the 18th and 19th centuries and the stripping of the interior to lay a mortar and brick floor had destroyed most earlier remains.

A transition in pottery forms into the post-medieval period was related to 17th-century material dumped within a large clay extraction pit at the rear of the plot. The assemblage included drinking vessels, storage jars, clay tobacco-pipes and fragments of a clay tobacco pipe kiln muffle. Clay was once more being dug from the site, this time to provide raw materials to the clay tobacco-pipe industry within the parish. No evidence for a muffle kiln was proven amongst the excavated features; although a 19thcentury furnace or kiln belongs to the period of occupation at 48 Sheep Street by T.B. Wells & Son ironmongery.

THE BIRTH OF A CLAY TOBACCO-PIPE MANUFACTURING TRADITION

Although none of the 17th-century pipe fragments preserve maker's marks, the presence of substantial amounts of muffle debris confirm the presence of a kiln close by and make it possible to postulate who the manufacturer may have been. Earlier work on Northamptonshire clay tobacco-pipes and makers provides a list of documented Northamptonshire tobacco-pipe makers that are mentioned in various registers, wills and documents (Moore 1980). The list includes two master tobacco-pipe makers who had properties in Sheep Street during the mid to late 17th century and early 18th century, a period of manufacture corresponding with the dates of the excavated clay tobacco-pipes.

John Wilby (Master pipemaker) 1663-1735 (ob.)

Northampton. Apprenticed to his father, William, in 1663 (Apprentice Rolls). Freedom granted in 1676 (Freedom Rolls). Took J. Judkins as apprentice in 1691 and W. Ager in 1706. Buried at St. Sepulchre's in 1735 (Parish Register). Will made in 1727, mentions a house in Sheep Street (N.R.O. 5th Series, 7th May 1735; Moore 1980, 26).

John Margetts (Master pipemaker) 1659-95 (ob.)

Northampton. Took R. Cave as apprentice in 1687. Will made in 1689 and proved 1695, mentions his three houses in Sheep Street (N.R.O., 3rd series N. 139; Moore 1980, 21).

THE BUSINESS AND THE APPRENTICES

Wilby and Margetts both took apprentices as their businesses succeeded. John Judkins had previously been an apprentice in 1688 for John Wilby's father, William Wilby (1), and had trained alongside John and five other apprentices: William Wilby (2), Thomas Bott, Valentine Roberts, Richard Wilby (1) & Richard Wilby (2) (see below). Old man Wilby had founded the business after receiving his own freedom of the town in 1648 (Freedom Rolls). He had been baptised at Holy Sepulchre in 1624 (Parish Register) and was apprenticed as a poor boy from the parish to Andrew Guill in 1641, who was the first recorded tobacco-pipe maker in Northamptonshire (Apprentice Rolls, Moore 1980).

The Wilby boys were all brothers, with the exception of Richard Wilby (2) who was the grandson of William Wilby (1) and son of Richard Wilby (1), the youngest brother. The Holy Sepulchre parish register continued to show the Wilby family's residence in the North Ward right up to the burial of John Wilby in 1735, who had inherited the business from his father, but whose Will divided the wealth of the family business between his sons and passed the property on to his daughter Mary Wilby (N.R.O. 5th Series, 7th May 1735). A search of the marriage register for the Holy Sepulchre in the ten years following her father's death did not identify a spouse (Parish Register). The Wilby family name does not appear on Sheep Street in the Great Election of 1768 and its whereabouts thereafter is unknown (NRO Map 1114).

Thomas Bott moved to the parish of All Saints in 1666 where he took his own apprentice, William Peters, after being granted freedom of the town (Freedom Rolls; Apprentice Rolls). He married that year and his eleven children were subsequently baptised between 1666 and 1686 at All Saints church (Parish Register). William Peters was recorded as running a clay tobacco-pipe maker's shop in St. Mary's Street between 1666 and 1715.

Valentine Roberts married at the Holy Sepulchre in 1671 and was granted the freedom of the town in 1672 (Parish Register; Freedom Rolls). He trained four apprentices and went on to found a dynasty of master tobacco-pipe makers in the Roberts family who continued to make pipes for eight generations over a period of 250 years (Moore 1980, 18). It was likely that he moved to the East Ward, being buried at All Saints in 1715 (Parish Register). His grandson, William Roberts, occupied premises on the north side of St. Giles Street in 1763 (NBC Deeds, 646, Will of T. Fisher of Rushden, proved 1766). His great grandson Robert Roberts (1) was a notable man of the town, Keeper of the Town Gaol in Fish Lane c1798-1818 and Town Crier c1785-1818 (Moore 1980, 25). His great-great-great grandson, Edward Roberts (1), founded the renowned Northampton clay pipe manufactory at 63 Scarletwell Street in 1831 and this was operated by the family until 1913 (Moore 1980, 22 & 25; Census; Rate Books).

John Wilby's other apprentice, William Ager (1), was not recorded as taking apprentices after being granted freedom of the town in 1714 (Freedom Rolls). The family name remained resident in the parish of Holy Sepulchre. In the Great Election of 1768 the Ager family occupied two properties, one opposite the Holy Sepulchre on the west side of Sheep Street belonging to William Ager (2), son of William Ager (1), and the other on the south side of Church Lane belonging to James Ager, which may have backed onto the rear of the site containing the clay extraction pit. William Ager (1) was not the first of that family name to have dealings with the clay pipe makers of Holy Sepulchre parish. One Richard Ager, had moved to the parish from St. Giles and married Mary Margetts on the 26th September 1689 (Parish Register). Mary Margetts was the daughter of the clay tobacco-pipe maker John Margetts, who was so keen to see her married to Richard Ager that in his Will he granted her five years of rent free lodgings in the front room of his own dwelling, presumably where his workshop was based, and the household goods that she would need on the condition that she marry him "...or she shall have none of it" (NRO, 3rd series N 139). John Margetts' three houses he bequeathed to his wife Anne Margetts and his son Daniel Margetts, or in the event of his son's death, his grandson Charles Margetts. The Margetts did not continue as tobacco-pipe makers and it may be that some years after her father's death Mary and her husband, Richard Ager, acquired the house with the former workshop from her brother Daniel. The other married daughters Elizabeth Reeve and Anne Morgan received money to support their own households, one of whom, Anne Morgan, was married to the master clay tobacco-pipe maker, James Morgan, who was a resident in Holy Sepulchre parish c1715-1722 and was buried at the church in 1732 (Moore 1980, 21; Parish Register).

CONCLUSION

The documentary record provides a wealth of information for the historic foundation of clay tobacco-pipe manufacture in the parish of the Holy Sepulchre from the apprenticeship of William Wilby to Andrew Guill in 1641, through the 17th and 18thcentury boom years of the Wilby family business and the foundation of the town's clay tobacco-pipe industry entrepreneurs, the Roberts family. It is highly probable, given the size, period and location of the clay extraction pit, that it may have been shared between several clay tobacco-pipe makers living and working in and around the Holy Sepulchre parish, which included John Margetts, William Wilby and his sons, particularly since many of these families were related by marriage. It is not uncommon to observe in the parish registers, the marriage of an apprentice pipe maker to the daughter of a master pipe maker.

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