II

BLACK FRIARS, NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

Barbara Harbottle and R. Fraser

INTRODUCTION

THIS REPORT is concerned with Black Friars from 1539 to *c.* 1974, and is in three sections. The first is a narrative history of the friary, and of its surrounding precinct, since both assumed their present form as a result of their fate in the 16th century. The second is a tale not just of the rescue of Black Friars but also of changing attitudes to the conservation of historic buildings during the last sixty years. The final section is an attempt to explain the development of the buildings by using a combination of archaeological, architectural, documentary and pictorial evidence. An account of the medieval friary will follow on another occasion.

That part of the investigation which is described here took place in 1973–7 and 1979–80 at the instigation of the City of Newcastle prior to the restoration of the buildings: the work was financed by the City, and the County of Tyne and Wear. The City has moreover contributed generously to the cost of publication. Though she left the North-East before this report was begun, Margaret Ellison shared the on-site direction of the project in almost every season with Barbara Harbottle, who will always remain grateful for her collaboration and companionship. Barbara Harbottle has written the account of the history and archaeology of the friary and Richard Fraser, as well as preparing reports on all the pottery except the redwares, has edited the section on the finds, and shared the proof correcting.

Without assistance from a veritable host the work would never have been completed. We are glad to be able to thank all the diggers, in particular Peter Clack (1973) and Edmund Tullett (1979); the architect in charge of the restoration, James Wales, for much kindness on site and permission to use his drawings; the authors of the specialist reports; for the drawings Francis Burton (plans, sections, illustrations of some of the pottery, all the metal and bone objects), Margaret Finch (pottery and glass), and Carol Hawman (figs. 5 and 6; various friends, relations and colleagues who have commented on the text, namely Eric Cambridge, Richard Harbottle, Brian Jobling, Bill Lockwood, Grace McCombie, Norman McCord, Ivan Stretton and John Weaver; and the Tyne and Wear archivist for arranging permission to reproduce new versions of two drawings.

1. *History*

The friary was surrendered to the Crown on 10 January 1539.[1] The king's visitor at once began its dismantling by selling the floor tiles of the church and other moveable furnishings to the then mayor, Henry Anderson,[2] who became the temporary keeper.[3] In 1544, at the mayor's request, the house was sold to the mayor and

burgesses for £53 7s 6d, the usual rate of twenty times its annual value. The king reserved only the bells, the stone, iron, and timber of the church, and all the lead, except for gutters and windows, in both the church and other buildings.[4] While it can, perhaps, be inferred from this that the church was still standing in 1544, though probably defaced by the removal of its windows, its demolition must surely have been completed before the town leased out its site a few years later.

Urban religious houses were sought after by the towns in which they were situated for purposes as diverse as an ordnance depot, a town hall, or the control of a friary conduit,[5] and Newcastle was therefore no exception. Though it is nowhere stated that the mayor and burgesses asked for Black Friars in preference to the other houses, they presumably had an immediate purpose in mind for which it was adequate. Over half of the large precinct was already let and so was an immediate source of income, and indeed the largest tenants were two ex-mayors, Andrew Bewicke and James Lawson. The remainder of the precinct and the three claustral ranges were vacant, and hence available to lease in 1552 to the nine craft companies[6] who, with the three companies of merchants, provided the electors of the mayor and aldermen. The ease and speed with which the nine found meeting halls under one roof must have been a matter of envy for all the by-trades, some of whom were still on the move as late as the 19th century.

The mayor and burgesses' purchase was described in some detail in the royal grant, and by combining this with later documentary and cartographic evidence it is possible to produce an outline of the precinct and at least some details within it (see fig. 1). Thomas Oliver's map of Newcastle in 1830 shows the property of the nine companies, and the boundaries of the close (a field or garth) outside the walls, called Wardell's Close in the 16th century and Warden's in the 17th,[7] which came to accommodate various public institutions. Oliver also provides the clue to the location of Horte, or Hart, Close in his list of occupiers in the south end of Stowell Street. There were originally two closes in the area south of the friary and their perimeter appears in leases of the 18th century.[8] It is probable that Benny Chessye's Close was the eastern of the two, Bennet Chessye succeeding Dr. Davell as tenant,[9] and Davell's property being described as west of the Tanners' garth. The orchard noted on the north part of the precinct in the grant of 1544 seems to be coterminous with the Cordwainers' close, since 17th-century deeds relating to the property to the north refer to "the great orchard" at this point.[10]

To complete the layout, it remains to locate "the gatehouse in the king's highway", and the three burgages described as adjacent to it. There are several clues to their possible situation. First, the only highway in an appropriate position was Shod Friar Chare (today Low Friar Street) and, secondly, the only piece of land not allocated to a company in this area was the space between the Cordwainers' close and the strikingly straight northern boundary. A study of the leases which survive from the 17th century, and which relate to this spot, not only shows that the town owned the southern half of it, but also that there were originally three burgages here, two lying end on to one another.[11] Since the northern half of this space was apparently never in the possession of the mayor and burgesses, (and to that extent the straight northern boundary is misleading), the gatehouse presumably lay on the south side of the three

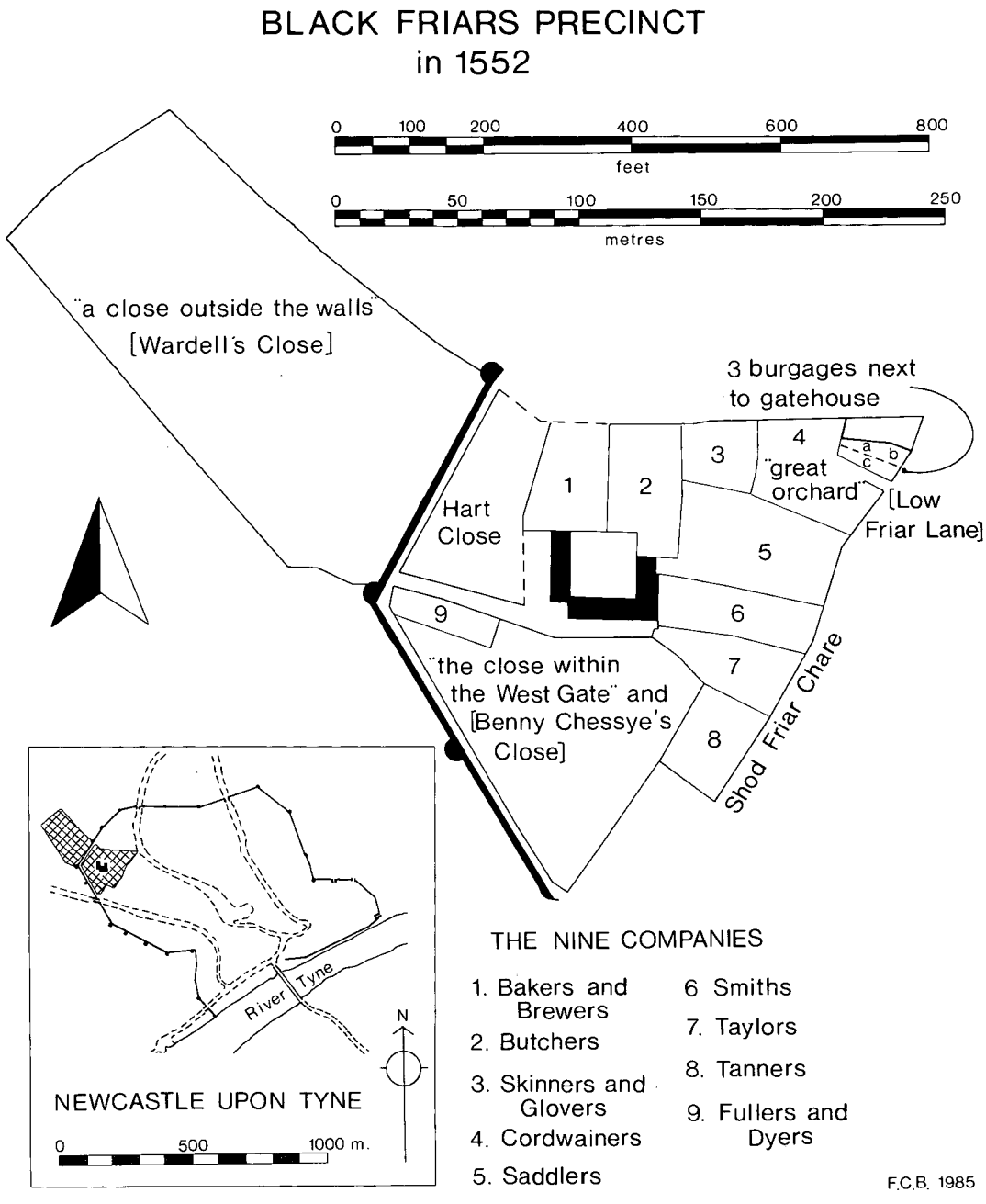

BLACK FRIARS PRECINCT
in 1552
0 100 200 400 600 800
feet
0 50 100 150 200 250
metres
"a close outside the walls"
[Wardell's Close]
3 burgages next
to gatehouse
4
"great
orchard"
a
b
c
[Low
Friar Lane]
3
1
2
Hart
Close
5
6
9
7
8
"the close within
the West Gate" and
[Benny Chessye's
Close]
Shod Friar Chare
River Tyne
N
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE
0 500 1000 m.
THE NINE COMPANIES
1. Bakers and Brewers
2. Butchers
3. Skinners and Glovers
4. Cordwainers
5. Saddlers
6 Smiths
7. Taylors
8. Tanners
9. Fullers and Dyers
F.C.B. 1985

Fig. 1.

burgages. Its position is perhaps marked today by Low Friar Lane.

The outline of the friary buildings was probably much the same in 1552, the year of the lease to the nine companies, as it is today (fig. 2). Most of the domestic accommodation survived the destruction which followed the Dissolution, that is the whole of the west and south claustral ranges, and about two-thirds of the east range. The buildings which were demolished were largely those with a ritualistic significance—the church, which had formed the north side of the cloister, the sacristy at the north end of the east range, and the eastern half of the chapter house, together with the cloister arcades. The archaeological evidence for their destruction will be presented in the next report, and it is sufficient to say here that the robber trenches of these buildings produced no artifacts later in date than the 16th century. Furthermore, the boundaries of three of the company closes could not have been laid out until the ground north and north-east of the cloister had been cleared.

The three claustral ranges did not survive unscathed the destruction of the adjacent buildings. No medieval masonry remained in the upper half of the north wall of the west range after the church had come down and, across the cloister, the east range must have been even more ruinous. Here the demolition of the sacristy (with dormitory over) to the north, and part of the chapter house to the east, would have left little original stonework in position. While the emergence of the open space in the angle between the west and south ranges is part of the medieval story of the friary, its existence probably implied that the walls which flanked it were in a state of disrepair.

The nine companies were presumably left to divide as they pleased the surviving buildings and their share of the precinct. Even though it would entail two or three of the companies obtaining poorer accommodation than the others, they decided to split the ranges into nine two-storey units, three in each range, and to use where possible the existing internal walls on the ground floor as bases for first floor partitions (figs. 2 and 3). It was therefore only necessary actually to reach an agreement on the division of the south range where the friars' refectory had occupied the whole of the ground floor, and so in this wing all the party walls were new. This overall arrangement, while structurally sound except where the first floor wall between the Butchers' and Tanners' meeting houses (at least from the 18th century) rested on a joist, appears inequitable. Did the companies feel it so, and how were the meeting houses finally allocated? Did they draw straws, or did they choose by an unrecorded order of precedence? We shall never know, and it may well be misleading to point out that the two who received the dilapidated north ends of the west and east ranges, the Skinners and Glovers, and the Bakers and Brewers, were the earliest to disappear.

The companies' division of their ground was influenced only to a very limited extent by existing medieval walls. They must have agreed from the outset to maintain the cloister, or Friars Green as it came to be called, as a communal open space, and no doubt they made this decision more because it was needed for access than because it was still outlined by remains of the south wall of the nave and the west wall of the sacristy. It seems likely, as said above, that the Cordwainers acquired the friars' orchard, and this may have been separately fenced before the Dissolution, and it seems certain that the ruins of the north wall of the chapter house determined the south-east angle of the Butchers' boundary, and the stub of its south wall the west end

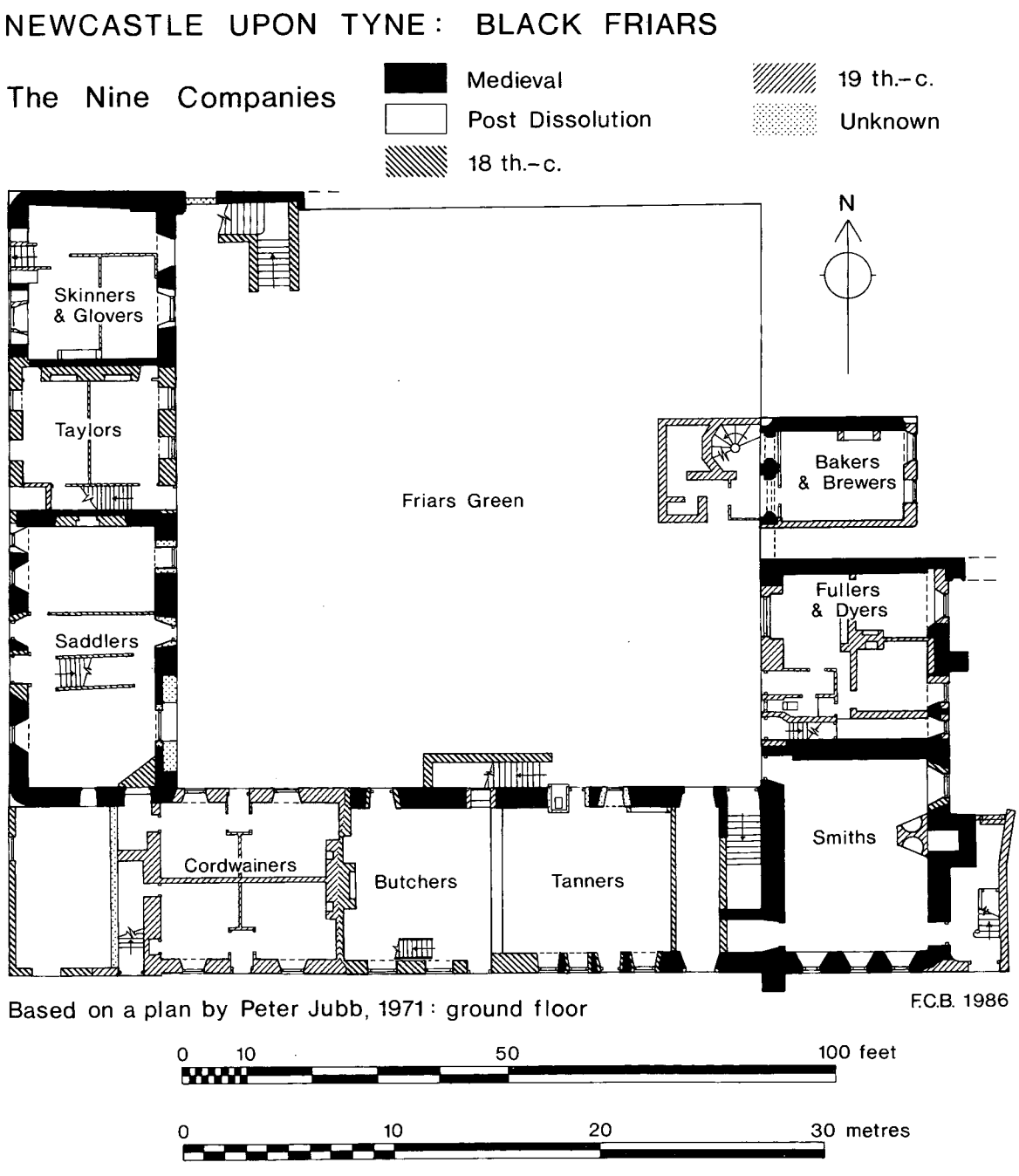


Fig. 2 Plan of ground floor.

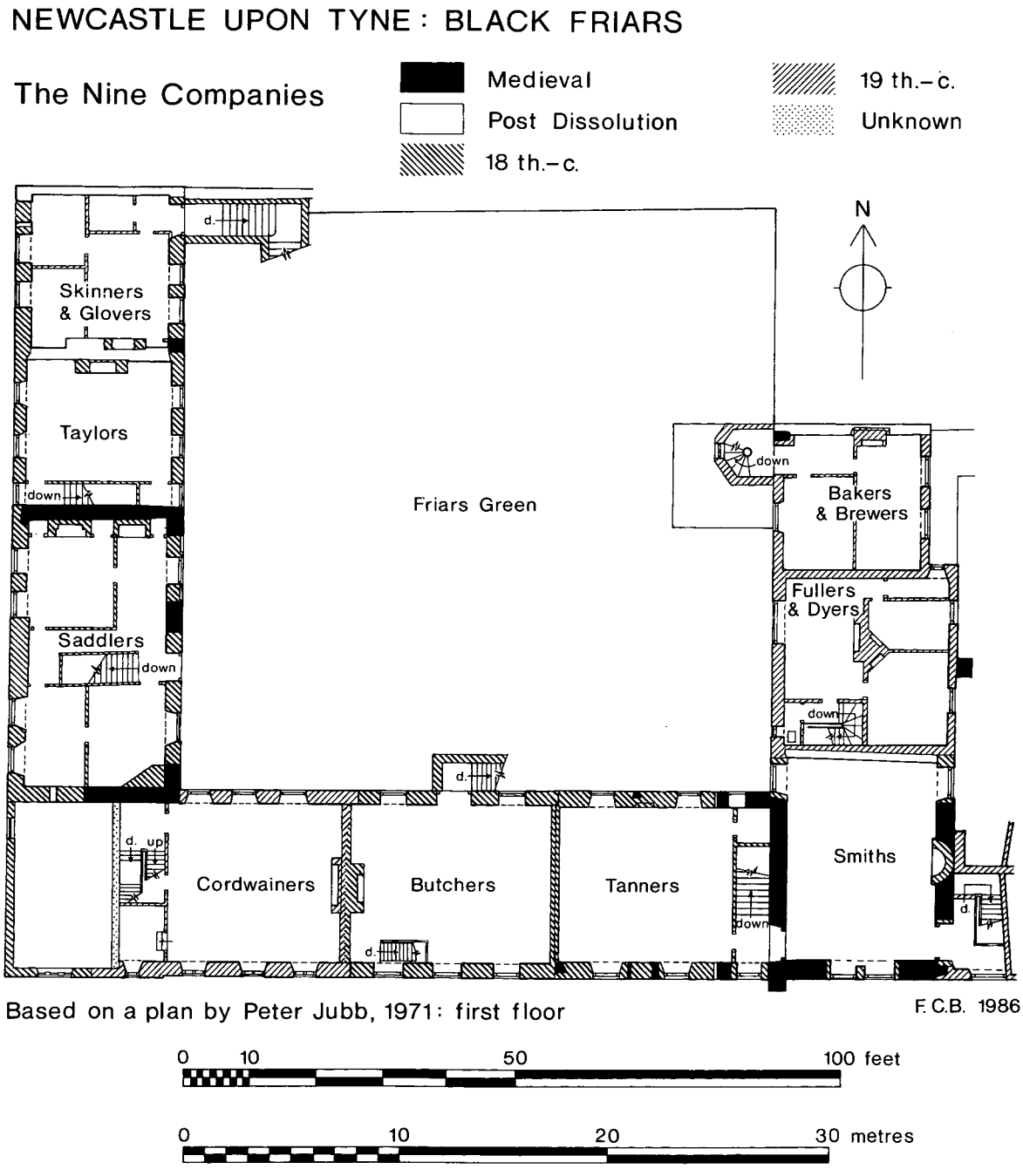


Fig. 3 Plan of first floor.

of the Smiths'. Though the Fullers' and Dyers' garth appears to have been carved out of a bigger enclosure it is improbable that this happened in 1552 since it was usual for the new landowners, in this case the mayor and burgesses, to honour existing leases. The other divisions were presumably new, and we are again presented with an unequal allocation. Difficult access perhaps made the Butchers' and Skinners' garths the least desirable; only the Smiths had their meeting house and garth next to one another, and as this was to prove a convenience, though admittedly many years later, does it imply that they chose first?

For two hundred years after the Dissolution the closes and garths of the mayor and burgesses, their tenants, and sub-tenants, remained largely open land, leased out for various agricultural and horticultural purposes. Only on the Tanners' garth were there houses as early as the 17th century.[12] The Cordwainers' close was probably used as a garden into the 18th century,[13] the Saddlers' was let to a gardener in the 17th,[14] and the Butchers' was actually described as a garden until it became a stackyard in the 1780s.[15] It may be supposed that the commonest use was perhaps grazing for horses and cows, but in only one case was the tenant explicitly required to keep the land as grass.[16] Two less usual conditions of lease were, first, that the Skinners' and Glovers' tenant in 1656 should return the close to the company if "the sickness should fall in the town",[17] and, secondly, that the lessee of Warden's Close (Wardell's until the mid 17th century) in 1718 should vacate the plot if the mayor and burgesses have need of it "in case of Wars and Commotions" or "for Safeguard of the said Town".[18]

For the first hundred years at least the mayor and burgesses' tenants of the four closes administered by the Common Council were drawn from a very few merchant families. The Lawsons continued to hold Wardell's Close into the 17th century, Michael Milburn and later his widow had the close within the West Gate from 1558 or earlier for fifty years or more, William Selby and subsequently his son Sir William succeeded to Bennet Chessye's tenancy after his death in 1587,[19] and retained it at least until 1644, and William Greenwell, his widow, and finally Matthew Chapman rented Hart Close from before 1590 to the arrival of Sir Alexander Davison in *c.* 1637.[20] About their sub-tenants—and these merchants must surely sometimes have sub-let—there is no information at all.

The early 17th-century evidence for the administration of these four closes, and indeed the rest of the one-time Black Friars precinct, suggests that there was inefficiency in the town's book-keeping and rent collection some time before documents were destroyed by fire in 1639 and by the Scots in 1644.[21] No rents, for example, were recorded for the close within Westgate and Wardell's Close for the years between 1616 and 1644. By 1647 the Common Council were sufficiently concerned about the situation to send a committee to view the Black Friars, and report on the condition of the properties, their rents and tenants.[22] Of the four closes, they found the one within Westgate to be of little use because of the late war, and Benny Chessye's Close to be tenanted by one Peter Haddock, the Selbys' long lease having at last expired. They were obviously puzzled about Hart Close which, though rent for it continued to be paid to 1643, had in 1637 been settled on his sons by Sir Alexander Davison.[23] Was this why the committee suggested that the town records should be consulted? Warden's Close was not mentioned. It does not appear that this

muddle resulted in any lasting damage except for the town's loss of title to Hart Close which, for some reason, disappeared from the town records at this time.

From the middle of the 17th century Benny Chessye's and its neighbouring close were let as one.[24] The latter was occasionally referred to as "the midden stead" so it is possible that it was for a time the site of a dunghill within the West Gate. And there were a few references in the 17th century to a house and a thatched cottage on this ground,[25] though neither were mentioned in a lease of 1747.[26] The other relevant matter concerning the Common Council was the need to maintain access to and from Black Friars, both by the lane along the inside of the town wall, and by another which led from the Heber Tower to the friary.[27]

The Council showed little interest in Warden's Close after 1647, when they sent a party of workmen to restore the water supply through the friars' aqueduct,[28] and the whole field remained a single open space until 1765. The surface of the ground within it was obviously very uneven, though the local historians could not agree why. Bourne thought he saw the remains of fishponds[29] and, though there is some documentary evidence to support this view, Brand preferred instead to believe that there had been a small fort and breastworks there dating from the siege of 1644.[30]

Although their closes were a potentially important source of income the companies were, like the Common Council, content for many years to rent them out as unimproved, presumably agricultural, land. When on a few occasions we are told the tenants' occupations, it is clear that from the 16th to the early 18th century the companies might sometimes let their land to one or more of their own number, such as Gerrerd Armestronge of the Tanners (1550s),[31] the Boulrons and Harops of the Skinners and Glovers (1647–69),[32] the Fletchers and George Alder of the Cordwainers (1707–30).[33]

The only unusual aspect of this semi-rural scene was the renting of several of these closes, often at the same time, by a William Yeilder. Since this name was current from the late 17th to the early 19th century, and was borne by at least three men, it cannot be guaranteed that this account of their activities is correct. While it is certain that the story began in 1694 when William I, a butcher, rented the Butchers' close,[34] it is not clear whether it was he, or his son William II, (probably admitted to the Butchers Company in 1705), or even both of them, who went on to lease four more closes, the Bakers' and Brewers', Skinners' and Glovers', Tanners', and Smiths', some for long periods, in the first half of the 18th century.[35] Though both men were alive in 1742–3,[36] one certainly, and the other probably, died in the early 1750s.[37] The rise of William III overlapped with the latter years of the others. Described as the son of John, a butcher, he was admitted to the Tanners Company in 1744,[38] and if—as seems possible though unusual—he was the same William, son of John, as had become a butcher in 1731, then he was a grandson of William I.[39] He leased the Smiths', Tanners', Taylors' and half the Cordwainers' closes for much of the second half of the century, part of the Saddlers' from 1780, and the Skinners' and Glovers' from 1791 to his death.[40] His activities are considered in more detail below.

Though they made a slow start, the companies were to show greater, if spasmodic, interest in their shares of the friars' buildings than in their shares of the precinct during these first 200 years after the Dissolution. A more detailed study would be

needed to determine whether this concern was contemporary with the majority of the brothers of a company still pursuing that craft, and perhaps having a stronger corporate feeling then than later. Whatever may be the truth of this it does seem that, after the Middle Ages, changes to the fabric of Black Friars were subject to certain controls and, at the same time, spurred on by the companies vying with one another. First, although each company repaired or rebuilt their meeting house independently, the site, by virtue of its small size and compact layout, was a constraint on possible development. Neighbouring meeting houses had to be respected, the cloister was a shared open space and the buildings faced outwards on to private land or public rights of way. Secondly, there can be little doubt that the companies kept a close watch on each other's activities, and so when the Smiths remodelled their house in 1709 most of the rest soon followed suit.

It is uncertain when this controlled development began since it is by no means clear when the companies took possession of Black Friars or, after they had, how soon they adapted the buildings for secular uses. Though the date of their original lease appears to be 1552,[41] it was not until 1569 that the "9 crafts" were recorded as paying 44s annual rent for their property.[42] For at least the ten years before that, and quite inexplicably, the named tenant was one William Dykynsonne, who held not only "the great garth", (presumably the companies' share of the precinct), but also "the garth towards the town walls", (Hart Close).[43] Furthermore, there was a short period, during the autumn of 1563, when accommodation was available in Black Friars for soldiers from Newhaven, who were supplied by the town during their stay with bread, mutton, cheese, butter, fish, beer, candles, soap, coals, hay, and the services of a tailor.[44] Even though the companies were paying rent from 1569, no archaeological evidence was found within the buildings to suggest they were occupied in the late 16th century, though it must be said that stratified pottery of this period was recovered from an external rubbish dump (Area 12 on fig. 6).

Though there is thus no precise date for the initial adaptation of the three claustral ranges, the rather sparse architectural evidence suggests that the work was carried out in the late 16th or early 17th century. After the ranges had been partitioned, and essential repairs completed, a considerable number of minor alterations must have been made to render the buildings usable by nine separate bodies for two distinct functions, that is a meeting room upstairs and one or more dwellings below. New doors would be needed by the Saddlers, Butchers and Tanners, and new stairs by most of the companies except the Tanners. Some must have inserted new fireplaces and chimneys, some certainly broke out new windows. Only a few traces remain of the work of this first, post-Dissolution, phase—a blocked first floor door in the west wall and a mullioned east window on the ground floor of the Skinners' and Glovers' meeting house, the lintel of a mullioned window in the east wall of the Smiths'. The amount of external change was probably small, and it is likely that the buildings still had a medieval appearance into the early 18th century.

By the 17th century the companies' possession and use of the friary is altogether clearer. The Common Council recognized them as tenants, though with disapproval. "We do find the 9 Companies have 9 houses for their meetings and every company had a large garden. The house belonging to the Tailors in decay. The Saddlers houses

needed repairs, the slates had fallen off. The rent of 40s due from each Company had not been paid for several years".[45] It must, however, be said in support of the companies that the poor condition of the buildings was not necessarily the result of neglect, but might have been an effect of the Civil War. It does appear that the rooms on both floors of the meeting houses were at least sometimes let during the 17th century,[46] and presumably for the same purposes as noted in the 18th (see below), but this cannot be confirmed since there is no documentary evidence at all for the activities of four of the companies until after 1700.[47] Archaeological evidence for occupation, in the form of stratified deposits, is only a little more plentiful than in the late 16th century, but the total quantity of 17th-century finds is much greater than from before 1600.

Early in the 18th century there began a remodelling of Black Friars so thorough that much of its medieval fabric, particularly of its upper storey, was completely destroyed. Seven of the nine companies, though in different ways, altered their meeting houses between 1709 (Smiths) and 1739 (Butchers), (fig. 3). The changes to the Fullers' and Dyers' house cannot be precisely dated and, though certainly after 1736, could have been 18th- and/or 19th-century. Because the Taylors met elsewhere at this time they did not rebuild at the same time as the others.[48]

Modernization of the upper rooms in which most of the companies met was carried out by six of them. These rooms were enlarged by lowering the floors, which then cut across the heads of the medieval lancets below (e.g. the Smiths' and Tanners'); the lighting was improved by the breaking out of large windows (e.g. the Smiths', Tanners' and Butchers') of a typical early 18th-century pattern with a single, wooden, mullion and transom; new fireplaces were constructed; and big doors, with two rows of panes in the heads, were inserted to make imposing entrances (e.g. the Bakers' and Brewers', Skinners' and Glovers', and Saddlers'). It is, however, not known whether the external stairs, which once led up to the first floors of the Skinners' and Glovers', Bakers' and Brewers', and Butchers', dated from this period or earlier. The work was often commemmorated by a stone plaque bearing the company's arms and the names of the stewards set over the door, or by a painted wooden panel in the room itself. It was possible to be too hasty, and the Tanners fined Thomas Anderson, one of the outgoing stewards, 2s 9d "for putting his name upon the stone above the door of the Meeting House without their leave".[49]

The principal alterations to the "low rooms" of the ground floor were the insertion of new windows, (horizontal sliding sashes are suggested by early illustrations), probably the making of new fireplaces, and in at least six cases the raising of the floors. This had become necessary because the dumping of household rubbish and the keeping of pigs and hens in the cloister[50] had raised the ground level outside the buildings until it was uncomfortably above that inside. To overcome this problem large amounts of ash, soil and building debris were brought into most of these low rooms as a base for new floors. The types of pottery and clay pipes found in these deposits support the early 18th-century date derived from the companies' minute and account books for this building work.[51] More surprising was the number of joins between sherds of pottery found in widely separated areas (fig. 4), so indicating not only common sources for this floor make-up in different rooms, but also in some cases

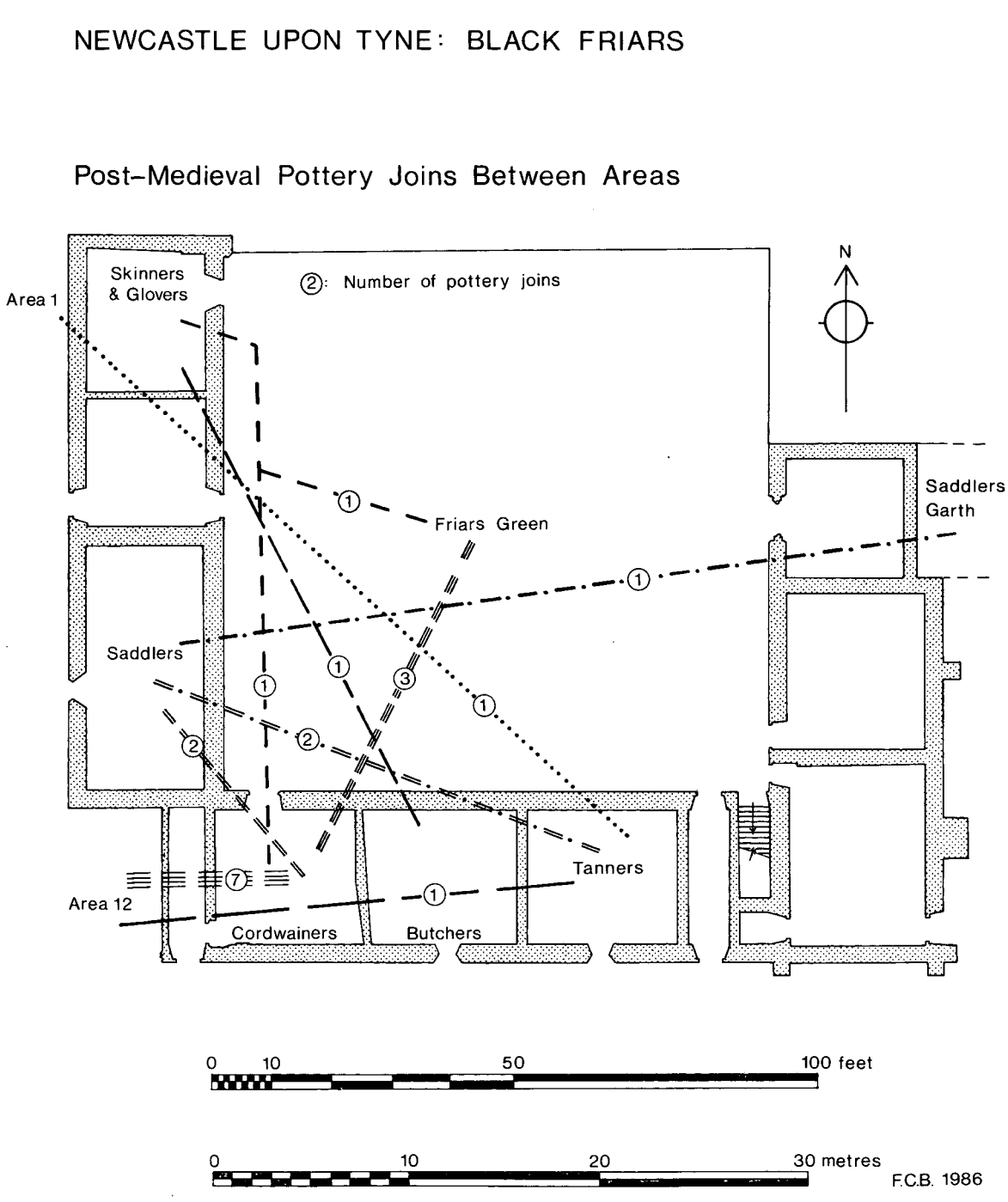

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE: BLACK FRIARS
Post-Medieval Pottery Joins Between Areas
Skinners & Glovers
Area 1
②: Number of pottery joins
N
Friars Green
Saddlers Garth
Saddlers
Tanners
Area 12
Cordwainers
Butchers
0 10 50 100 feet
0 10 20 30 metres
F.C.B. 1986

Fig. 4.

the location of these sources. The cloister was an obvious place from which to obtain soil, and since the Cordwainers claimed the open south–west corner (Area 12 on fig. 6) the rubbish there was readily accessible to them. The Saddlers had to work much harder since there was no easy route between their garth, opening on to Low Friar Chare, and their low room with its west door. It is likely that there was at least one source of refuse beyond Black Friars altogether since a great quantity of leg and foot bones of sheep were found (see report on animal bones below), suggesting tanning, for which there is no evidence within the precinct before the mid 18th century. Only if the tanners' waste had been first deposited on the middenstead inside the West Gate, and then carted to the friary, could it have come from within the medieval boundary.

Although most of the companies never again built on such a scale, the Taylors and Cordwainers decided on the total replacement of their meeting houses when they made a late return to Black Friars.[52] The Taylors' old building was demolished to the bottom three courses and replaced in large neat ashlar between July 1787 and May 1788.[53] The Cordwainers, who had left Black Friars in *c.* 1729, and had subsequently flitted about the town ahead of the then equivalent of compulsory purchase orders, from the Flesh Market to High Bridge to Nelson Street, finally and irreconcilably fell out with Richard Grainger in 1842–3. At a meeting in the Sun Inn, in April 1843, the stewards told the company "that they were arranging a plan for appropriating part of the Property of the Company in the Friars for the purposes of a Hall . . .", and they and their architect, John Wardle, proceeded with such expedition that they were able to meet in their new hall only a year later.[54] The Smiths, always the best housekeepers, were the only company to make regular and substantial improvements after the main phase of remodelling. The replacement of their south gable by a hipped roof in, perhaps, 1803,[55] the refurnishing of the actual meeting house in 1823,[56] and the new entrance and stair designed by Thomas Oliver in 1827,[57] were the most important alterations to the appearance of their building.

From at least the 17th century until decay set in in the 19th, the meeting houses were well used, both floors normally being let. Since the companies met only quarterly the upper rooms were available for much of the time for other purposes though the fixed furnishings limited the possibilities. The most common use was as a schoolroom, and private, ragged, and Sunday schools were accommodated, particularly in the first half of the 19th century, by the Butchers, Saddlers, Skinners and Glovers, Smiths and Taylors. Another compatible function was as a chapel, and religious bodies of one sort or another met upstairs in the premises of the Butchers, Cordwainers, Skinners and Glovers, Smiths and Tanners at various times in the 19th century.[58] On only one occasion is there a record of a meeting house being borrowed by another company when, from 1799 to 1821, the Slaters and Tylers shared the hall of the Bakers and Brewers.[59] And there is a single reference to the presence of soldiers at Black Friars in 1745.[60]

The "low room" or "low house", as the ground floor of the meeting house was often called, usually formed one or more dwellings. Sometimes the occupants were deserving of charity and lived rent free. In 1705 William Winshipp, a tanner, and his family were allowed the Tanners' low room "dureing the Company's pleasure",[61] and

there were several instances of widows being allocated rooms in the Cordwainers' meeting house.[62] On other occasions, however, the tenants paid rent in the normal way. Barbara Trumble, widow of an earlier tenant, not only paid £1 p.a. for the Cordwainers' low room for nearly 30 years but was also required to keep the premises in repair.[63] And there were instances of service tenancies when a company's beadle, caretaker or cleaner might have one of the rooms as part of his or her wages. In 1728 the Tanners' beadle was allowed "the House below the Meeting House to live in or otherwise dispose of as he thinks fitt",[64] and in 1895 the Taylors' beadle was living downstairs. He was rebuked for allowing lodgers to sleep in the company's hall, and was forbidden to let them into the building, the company's minutes saying, rather primly, that it was not advisable to turn the premises into a lodging house.[65]

At a point which cannot be precisely determined, but was probably in the first half of the 18th century, the companies ceased to pay their rent. The Common Council certainly thought in 1731 that they had control of Black Friars since they were contemplating rehousing all "9 misteries" in the workhouse in the Manors,[66] and they made no protest about any non-payment of rent at that time. Nevertheless, in due course title to the friary buildings and all nine closes was lost. So it was that in 1922 the Saddlers' secretary wrote, "No title deeds are held, or have ever existed",[67] and in the 1950s the City had to buy back the friary buildings and two of the closes before restoration could begin.[68]

In the 17th century the friary precinct began to be developed for a variety of purposes as part of the general process of urbanization then under way. Because of the number of different owners and separate plots this exploitation took place in piecemeal fashion, some of the closes not being built up until long after 1800, and it produced a diverse pattern of neighbouring but ill-matched activities. The land within the town wall was densely occupied by the middle of the 19th century (fig. 5), and Warden's Close had disappeared beneath much of its present burden of roads and buildings before 1900.

The extreme north-east corner of the precinct had, of course, been occupied by houses since before the Dissolution. By the 18th century the mayor and burgesses' three messuages in this area had been amalgamated to form a single plot which is today the Newgate Leather Centre.[69] After periods of renting it first to Matthew White and then to Matthew Ridley, the Corporation leased it to William Yeilder III in 1770 when the property is described as a dwelling house, with a stable and hayloft, and with adjoining ground which had formerly been a garden, but was by this time a tanyard.[70] The Corporation finally sold this land in 1863,[71] and by 1910 it was occupied by shops and a warehouse.[72]

Two areas of illicit development or squatting are represented by the new service block in the south-west angle of the friary (Area 12), and by the small brick sheds on the west side of the lane along the west range. This lane, which must always have been needed to give the Saddlers access to their meeting house and the Bakers and Brewers to their close, separated the friary from Hart Close which, in 1647/8, was said to be unwalled along its east side.[73] It seems clear that the companies could not resist encroaching on to these tiny unfenced pieces of ground, and in 1750 the Common Council asked for an enquiry into the house and stables erected by the Cordwainers

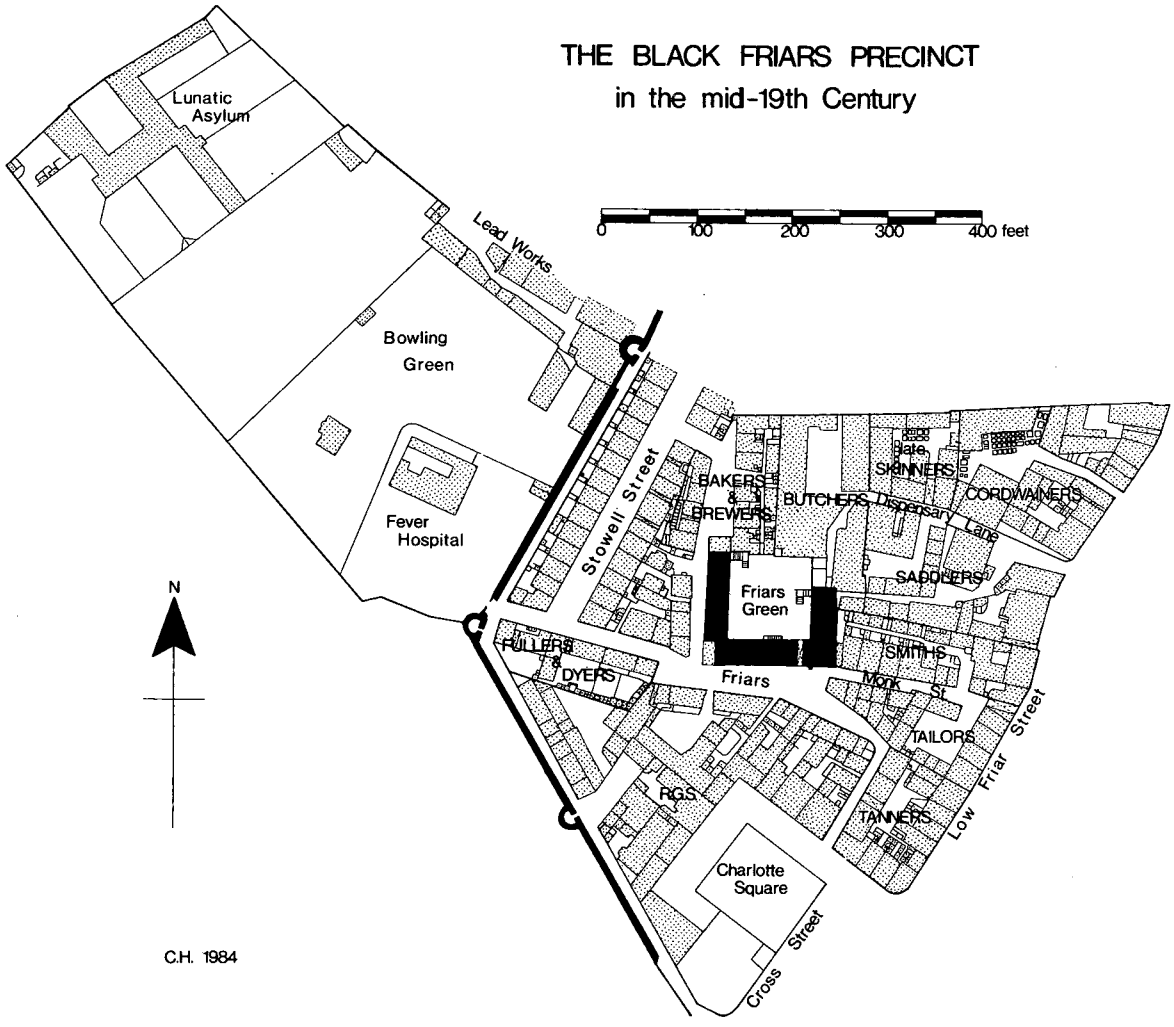


Fig. 5.

and Butchers, and believed to be built on ground formerly belonging to the Friars.[74] It does not seem that any action was taken against these two, and so the Tanners, Taylors, and Skinners and Glovers followed suit. The uses of the plots changed from time to time—the Butchers' and Cordwainers' buildings becoming paunch or tripe houses in the late 18th century[75]— but the companies remained, and as late as 1910 three were still in possession of what were by then described as a dwelling house and rooms in Stowell Square.[76]

It is likely that the earliest legitimate development by the companies was in those closes which opened on to Low Friar Street. For a time the Tanners were ahead of

most of their fellows since houses are mentioned in their 17th-century accounts,[77] and their garth was shown partly built up on the maps of both Corbridge (1723) and Hutton (1770). The Smiths too had probably erected at least one substantial brick house on their plot in the 17th century. Mackenzie's illustration of the Dispensary shows such a building,[78] with Dutch gable and, over the entrance, their stone shield of arms, dated 1679, which we now see above the door to their meeting house.

There was then probably a pause until the mid 18th century when the Cordwainers set about exploiting the commercial possibilities of their plot. They split their close into two in about 1730,[79] and by 1751 there were on one part a bark kiln, tan pits, a smoke house and a stable.[80] In 1760 they leased the second part, for 63 years at a steadily rising rent, to William Yeilder III on which to build "one good and substantial Brick Messuage of Six good Fire Rooms . . . and that the Windows thereof shall be sashed except the back Windows and the Windows of the upper Story, . . . and that the Floors and Roofs shall be . . . timbered dealed and Tiled and sclated, . . . the Heights of Storys thickness of Walls and scantlings of Timbers shall be at least such as are usually made and used in second rate Buildings in Newcastle".[81] Yeilder was already a sub-tenant of the neighbouring plot, held by Sir Matthew White, where he had a messuage and a tanyard,[82] and he was later a tenant of part of another nearby close, the Saddlers'.[83] From the 1750s to the 1780s he also held the Taylors' yard,[84] and since in 1816 this was still only occupied by a stable, coach-house etc., it was perhaps here that Yeilder kept his carriage.[85] From 1791 until his death he leased the Skinners' and Glovers' garth, probably though not certainly a tanyard by this time, and he had other properties just outside the boundaries of Black Friars in Fenkle Street, Newgate Street and the opposite side of Low Friar Street.[86] He had thus built up a substantial urban estate which could meet all his needs, and in doing so showed that fortunes could be made in the growing leather industry in Newcastle.

There were to be two other significant developments in Low Friar Street in the 18th century. In 1777 a handsome house was built on the Saddlers' ground "by the society of free and accepted masons, of the lodge of St. John".[87] In 1790 this building was leased for use as the Dispensary,[88] an important institution for the provision of medical care to the public, and so gave its name to Dispensary Lane. The lane seems to have developed into a public footpath (but never a public road) earlier in the century as a result of the tenants of the Butchers' close continually trespassing across the Saddlers' property to gain access to the street. Their only alternative route was "through the Friars", that is across the cloister, and this was obviously impossible for a horse and cart.[89]

While the companies were beginning to build on their property on the east side of the medieval precinct, the town was being persuaded to make some of its open ground available on the west and south. The demands they were asked to meet were three: more provision for the care of the sick, space for good quality housing at a time when the well-to-do were moving away from the lower part of the town, and land for recreation. Because it was outside the wall Warden's Close was considered in 1765 to be eminently suitable as a site for a Hospital for Lunatics for Northumberland, Newcastle and Durham,[90] and in 1805 for the location of a Fever Hospital.[91] These buildings were needed to accommodate two classes of sick people who were not

admitted to the Infirmary. In 1824 a group of citizens who included Emerson Charnley, the bookseller, asked for the north-east corner of the close for use as a bowling green,[92] and both they and the committee for the Fever Hospital were allowed to break new gates through the town wall. A more attractive area for new houses was Benny Chessye's Close, and this was leased in 1769 to the architect, William Newton, with permission to build the eight houses and to enclose and plant the garden of Charlotte Square.[93]

The companies' principal new venture in the early 19th century was the construction of tenement dwellings. The Fullers and Dyers were the first, possibly as early as 1805, but certainly by 1810 when they let their close to John Stoker who was "to lay out in buildings on the premises the sum of £300".[94] The Smiths and Taylors were next, after they had agreed in 1826 that they should both give up a strip of land along their common boundary for the construction of a street (now Monk Street), and that both should build along this street "good & respectable houses".[95] An undated plan shows some two-thirds of the Taylors' ground laid out with four houses opening on to Low Friar Street, (these "may have shops in Front"), and three behind.[96] The Smiths were more ambitious and their activities better recorded. Their intention was to build a new staircase to their meeting house and seven "double tenement" houses opening on to Monk Street, together with three houses (one a public house) fronting Low Friar Street, all to the design of the architect, Thomas Oliver. They were successful only to a limited extent, since they exhausted their available funds on just the staircase and two houses, completed 1827–8. A third house was approved, and paid for with a loan, "so as to receive the old tenant from the front house that it may be converted as early as possible and opened out a public house", to be called the Elephant and Castle.[97] The fourth company to develop their close in this manner were the Bakers and Brewers, who also in 1828 received tenders for the building of, initially, two houses "to Plan and Specification by Mr. Oliver Architect".[98] Like the Smiths and Taylors, they too had been hampered by the poor access to their ground, and the laying out of Stowell Street had presented them with a long-sought opportunity.

Stowell Street was a private housing venture completed between 1824 and 1827 by Thomas Milburn Young, merchant, the southern part of it being laid out on what had once been Hart Close.[99] The fact that it was not carried through the Fullers' and Dyers' property to Bath Lane, or even Westgate, was seen as a breach of an undertaking made by the Common Council, and several petitions begging for its speedy extension reached the mayor in the 1830s.[100] It was said the trade of the town would benefit by an easy road between the east and west parts of the town "instead of going by Low Friar and Cross Streets which are nearly choaked up by Carts which lead Riversand, Lime and Stones from the Westgate quarries to the no small injury of Gentlemen's Carriages . . .'. Nothing was done until 1877 when Stowell Street was finally connected to Bath Lane and, at the same time, the Corporation bought the land behind Charlotte Square for "a central establishment" to stable all their horses.[101]

By the middle of the 19th century that part of the old precinct which lay within the town wall was tightly built up and, in places, densely occupied. In 1851, for example, nine households, or 39 people, were recorded in "Black Friars" alone, with another

family of three in "Smiths Hall".[102] Near the northern boundary the tanneries on the Cordwainers' and Skinners' and Glovers' closes[103] were joined in 1844 by slaughter-houses laid out on the Butchers' ground.[104] As if this were not noxious enough, smoke from the Gallowgate lead works of Locke Blackett, which lay immediately outside the wall, had rendered the grass in part of Warden's Close "injurious to the health of the [mayor's] horses" which once were pastured there.[105] It is perhaps not surprising that the houses of Charlotte Square began to be converted to commercial uses in the 1840s.[106] By the end of the century the appearance of Warden's Close too showed a marked change. The Lunatic Asylum, after complaints over many years, was closed, largely removed and replaced by small commercial undertakings.[107] In 1860 John Rutherford, "preacher, doctor, educationist and friend of the poor", began his interest in the site, later to be Rutherford College, by building the Bath Lane Church,[108] and towards the end of that decade Corporation Street was laid out to connect Gallowgate with Bath Lane.[109]

By late in the 19th century the companies' proprietorial interest in the area was much reduced, and only the Cordwainers considered large-scale redevelopment of their site. They were almost certainly influenced by George Laidler's project on what had once been the Saddlers' ground for which his architect, Matthew Graham, submitted drawings of proposed warehouses and stables in 1897, (the present Galen House and the building behind it).[110] The Cordwainers' property, by now without the tanyard, was a confusion of small and dangerous buildings listed in 1894 thus: dwelling houses, shops, warehouses, lofts, workshops, storerooms, offices, boiling house or tripery, stables, cartshed, privies, coalhouses and a manure pit.[111] Stimulated by the activity of Laidler and Graham across Dispensary Lane, the company commissioned the architects Badenoch and Bruce to design six warehouses, the details of which bore a marked resemblance to those of Galen House. In the event only two of the six were built.[112]

The conditions of squalor and decay which prevailed in the "tenement dwellings" were to become worse before all were swept away by 20th-century street clearance orders. The Taylors' minutes are a landlord's record of their struggle to keep the buildings tenanted and in at least minimum repair, to collect the rents, and to meet the complaints of the sanitary inspector about floors, drains and ventilation.[113] The mixture of commercial and private tenants at such close quarters was unsatisfactory, and led to strange incidents. In 1912 Mr. Coverdale, of the Newcastle Paint and Varnish Co., complained about the roof and floors, and said his paint mill was under water. The company put repairs in hand, and also agreed to give notice to quit to the tenants above the paint shop because of their quarrelling, their bad language, and the shaking of the floors which damaged the goods in the shop below. In 1934 the sanitary authorities closed the Taylors' property on Low Friar Street for human habitation, and in 1935 street clearance orders were issued for the Smiths' and Taylors' houses in Monk Street, as well as for dwellings in the Friars and in Stowell Square.[114] In a few months this part of the City ceased to be residential and became dotted with empty plots.

The dilapidation of the actual friary buildings began in the 19th century. The smaller companies were the more liable to succumb to temptation, and either sell off

their close and split the proceeds, like the Skinners and Glovers in 1836 when eleven members pocketed £70 each,[115] or spend the rents on dinners and dividends like the Fullers and Dyers. Between 1876 and 1889 this company paid out £4 11s 3d on repairs to their meeting house and spent £96 13s 5d on themselves.[116] Once a company stopped maintaining their building, whether for lack of interest because they had stopped meeting in it, or for lack of money so that they soon could not, deterioration set in. The buildings then became difficult to let, and when eventually they were closed by the sanitary authorities, they became storerooms for local firms with no interest in their upkeep. This was essentially what happened to the Saddlers', and Skinners' and Glovers' in the west range, and the Butchers' in the south. On the east side the Bakers' and Brewers', and the Fullers' and Dyers' had a different fate, being rebuilt as dwellings by George Laidler as part of his warehouse project. That it did not have to end like this was shown by the determined efforts of the other four companies to stay in their meeting houses.

2. *Rescue and Restoration*

In spite of its unfashionable situation and increasingly squalid appearance Black Friars never wholly disappeared from the consciousness of antiquaries and local historians. From Gray onwards through the 18th and 19th centuries no one writing about the town failed to mention the friary, and a view of its south front was even published by Grose. Few of these writers, however, did more than repeat the dates and descriptions they found in the works of Bourne and Brand, and we must still return to the latter for the fullest presentation of the important medieval documents, and to the former for the first, and for a long time the only, comment on the need for repairs, and the friary's potential as a tourist attraction. "Tis a Pity that those People who are permitted by the Companies to reside in some of those Rooms are not threatned (*sic*) into more Cleanliness, and that the Companies themselves are not at the Expence of repairing the Area; were these Things done, it would be a Beautiful Piece of Antiquity, and an Entertainment to the Curious, from whencesoever they came".[117]

There were, however, two important contributions in the 19th century to our understanding of Black Friars today. In the summer and autumn of 1843 G. B. Richardson produced over fifty sketches of the friary, exteriors, interiors, details and one or two fanciful views. Though these are particularly valuable as a record of the east range, and of the Cordwainers' hall before and during demolition, they have been little used by subsequent antiquarians.[118] Some years later Father Palmer, a prolific writer on Dominican friaries, published an article on the Newcastle Black Friars in which he made useful additions to the available documentary evidence.[119]

Concern for the actual fabric of the friary is evident from the end of the 19th century. The proposals of George Laidler, and his architect Matthew Graham, for the two meeting houses in the east range prompted Philip Mather in July 1898, to write in alarm to the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, "I learn that Mr. Laidler .... has purchased the halls .... with the assumed object of pulling them down and building warehouses on the sites".[120] Since the demolition of these buildings is not indicated on any of Graham's submitted plans,[121] it is perhaps unlikely

that this was ever his intention. The Antiquaries did, however, maintain a close interest in his scheme, and he showed them his plans, probably near their final form, at their meeting in September 1898. "He shewed that there would be no interference with the old features of the buildings, but that some hitherto hidden would be opened out".[122] Though today his restoration appears heavy-handed, his work did indeed reveal early details and in 1899 W. H. Knowles donated to the Antiquaries a photograph of the newly uncovered window of the chapter house.[123]

Knowles, a leading Newcastle architect who devoted much of his spare time to architectural history and archaeology,[124] continued to concern himself with Black Friars, and in 1920 read a paper on the subject to the Society of Antiquaries.[125] In this paper he provided for the first time a plan and elevations, and even today his interpretation of the buildings needs only additions, not corrections. One of his last acts before retiring to the south in 1922 was to lead members of the Society on a visit to the friary.[126]

We do not know to what extent Knowles was responsible for the public protests in the 1920s about the condition of Black Friars, and what role he may have played in the proposal for its restoration and reuse. It must at least be likely that through him the existence of the friary became known to a wider audience, and hence that during the 1920s Black Friars grew to be a matter of concern to other people and institutions. Councillor R. Strother Stewart deplored its condition in a speech to the City Council in 1921,[127] and in 1925 Professor R. G. Hatton, speaking at the R.I.B.A. conference at Newcastle and Durham, said, "There is great sentiment in Newcastle for 'Old Newcastle', but there is little regard for the relics of it. Another instance of this neglect is the state of the Friars .... the buildings are falling into disgusting squalor".[128] More interesting, because of its practical proposals, was a paper read to the Northern Architectural Association by J. Douglas Mitchell, a founder and the first secretary of the Newcastle upon Tyne Society, formed in 1924. He suggested leasing the buildings from the companies, who would continue to use their meeting halls, repairing the structure in an appropriate manner and, along the north side of the cloister, erecting an extra-mural working-class college attached to Armstrong College. Drawings to illustrate this scheme were prepared by Leeson, of Knowles' old firm, Knowles Oliver and Leeson, and the cost was estimated at £15,000.[129] Mitchell did not mince his words when he concluded by saying, "It is a blot on the fair reputation of Newcastle any longer to leave these ancient buildings in their present mouldering condition".

Although Mitchell received no support from the Newcastle upon Tyne Society, who "considered the buildings not in a condition to justify their restoration for such a purpose",[130] he persevered with the scheme and, supported by Sir Theodore Morison, Principal of Armstrong College, put it to the Stewards Committee of the Freemen in 1927 or 1928.[131] This course of action may have been suggested by J. R. Andrews, a member of the Saddlers Company and the representative of the Stewards Committee on the Society's Council, and Mitchell's proposal was duly forwarded to those companies who still had an interest in Black Friars. The Tanners' reaction was probably typical of them all; they resolved that "the matter be not entertained".[132]

Ten years later the six surviving companies adopted a very different attitude. Black

Friars was now, they believed, threatened with demolition as part of the City's slum clearance, and they thought that, if this did indeed come to pass, they as the owners would have to bear the expense. Andrews, by now the chairman of the Stewards Committee of the Freemen, suggested that the friary should be put on the list of Ancient Monuments, thus safeguarding it, but that to achieve this the buildings would have to be restored. The Stewards Committee agreed to provide, in the first instance, the £3,000 required for the restoration, and not surprisingly the six companies gave the proposal their wholehearted support. Whether or not the Office of Works actually approved the plans for the scheme is unknown, but by 1939 the buildings were scheduled ancient monuments.[133] Nothing more is recorded of this proposal, and it was probably lost in the outbreak of war.

Public interest in ancient monuments revived before the war was over, and on 26 March 1945, the Town Planning Committee met the president of the Society of Antiquaries, C. H. Hunter Blair, and a representative of the Stewards Committee of the Freemen, J. D. Walker, to discuss the town wall, the castle, the Holy Jesus Hospital, Shieldfield Green and, of course, Black Friars.[134] A few councillors were soon talking openly about preservation,[135] and the City Engineer began to fend off unsuitable proposals for new buildings close at hand.[136] It was never explicitly stated that the Freemen were incapable of organizing and financing the restoration of the friary, but it must have been quite obvious to J. R. Andrews, who had talked to the City Engineer about the possibility of the City acquiring and preserving "Friars Court"[137] even before his own company, the Saddlers, had resolved to sell their meeting house to the Corporation.[138] Before the end of 1946, therefore, the Town Planning Committee were involved in discussions to this end with the Stewards Committee.[139]

More than six years were to pass before the Corporation were able to recover all the property which had once been theirs, that is the nine halls and Friars Green. It was not until June 1948, that the six surviving companies agreed to sell,[140] and it was October before this was reported to the Town Planning Committee.[141] The mill of local government then began to grind, and so silently that there was no entry in the minutes of either the Town Improvement and Streets Committee or the Town Planning Committee for the whole of 1949. Finally in March 1950, "with a view to their preservation as historic buildings", the City Council agreed to buy the property of the Taylors, Butchers, Tanners, Smiths and Saddlers Companies at prices ranging from £225 to £300,[142] and these transactions, together with the purchase of the old halls of the Skinners and Glovers, Bakers and Brewers, and Fullers and Dyers, were completed in the course of 1951.[143] The Cordwainers held out, first until they had seen and approved the Corporation's scheme for the restoration,[144] then, in 1952, "until a definite schedule had been formulated".[145] In October that year, when Reed's scheme (see below) had been under discussion for some months, the company said that though it was not reasonable for the Corporation to acquire their hall on the same terms as the others, they would sell on certain conditions.[146] The Corporation agreed to these, which were remarkably similar to those negotiated with the other companies including the price of £300, and the conveyance was completed in April 1953.[147] These prolonged negotiations gave rise to at least one risible rumour, Andrews (of the

Saddlers Company) telling a member of the Antiquaries in 1947 that the Corporation were considering the demolition of Black Friars to make way for a new municipal mansion house.[148]

The notion of restoring Black Friars as a contribution to the Festival of Britain in 1951 proved hopelessly optimistic[149] since there was no indication in 1950 that the City had any idea how they would proceed in the matter. It is not clear whether the offer of advice from the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in the spring of 1951 had been prompted or was spontaneous,[150] but it was smartly accepted,[151] and the report prepared for the Society by the London architect, Alan Reed, was approved in principle by the Town Improvement and Streets Committee in February 1952.[152]

Reed's report, though merely an introduction, was to form the basis for all subsequent proposals for the next fifteen years, and Reed himself continued to be consulted and involved, though in varying degrees. He addressed himself to the two principal questions, that is the nature of the restoration, and the future use of the friary. In answer to the first he believed that "the buildings should be preserved in their present form and no attempt made at conjectural restoration of any features", though he did propose the removal of the top (second) floor of the Cordwainers' hall. With regard to use, he favoured the return of "the original nine Guilds" or, failing that, the letting of the rooms as offices to societies or professional bodies. In both cases a resident caretaker would be needed, and the buildings should be open to the public and house a small exhibition. And he was the first to suggest that archaeological excavation might reveal the cloister walks and the foundations of the church.

It is clear that there was still some uncertainty as to how to proceed. The Ministry of Works agreed to the scheme in principle in April 1952,[153] and after a visit their inspector, though not prepared to estimate the cost, suggested that the work should be entrusted to "a small force of skilled craftsmen directly employed by the Corporation".[154] The Town Improvement and Streets Committee then appointed "a Sub-Committee as to Black Friars", and this body agreed that "the work should be carried out in easy stages in relation to an overall plan", and directed the City Architect to prepare a scheme for the restoration.[155] In the event it was agreed to re-roof the buildings in temporary materials first,[156] and it was not until November 1954, that he was able to present his outline proposal.[157]

The City Architect's scheme was concerned with the restoration of the east range, a "convenient and practical" place to start. The necessary repointing of the masonry and replacement of roofs, windows and floors was uncontroversial, and the excavation of cloister and chapter house had already been accepted in the Reed report. He had, however, quite grandiose ideas of getting "back nearer to the original" by reconstructing the great Decorated dormitory window, demolishing the Smiths' entrance and stair, and resiting their door at the foot of the day stairs, and possibly "complete restoration of the Chapter House". All the 19th-century windows of the east range were to be replaced by lancets on the ground floor and square-headed oblong windows above, as in the first floor of the west range. The work was delayed, first by the difficulty of finding the £9,000 required,[158] and later by the Ministry of Works, who did not approve the details of the proposal and asked for excavation by the Society of Antiquaries.[159]

After fairly dilatory negotiations between the City and the Society, a small excavation under my supervision was begun by labourers from the City Engineer's Department in May 1957.[160] Trial holes were dug in an alley across the supposed nave of the church, revealing its south wall and, further north, footings then thought to mark the north wall but now known to be those of a pier in the north arcade. Work in the cloister uncovered parts of the cloister walls and its walks. Although, in view of the inexperience of the director, it was as well the excavation was so limited, the results were enough to excite considerable interest. The City Architect recommended that work should continue by further removal of the overburden in the cloister, some of it mechanically, and by the demolition of the three post-medieval stone stairs which encumbered the cloister walks.[161] Clearance therefore went on into the spring of 1958.[162] He also recommended the purchase of the plot of land within which much of the nave and quire of the church was known to lie, and this was achieved in December 1957.[163]

By 1958 the City was coming under growing pressure to do something about the friary. The Taylors' hall had been vandalized, the Cordwainers' was in increasing disrepair,[164] and the Historic Buildings Council had asked for a programme of proposals for Black Friars and the City's other buildings.[165] Into the midst of this came a letter from the Ministry of Works (14.x.1958) suggesting that, because of the substantial medieval remains revealed by excavation, and the continuing decay of the companies' halls, Reed's recommendation to accept the friary as it then was should be abandoned. Black Friars should, instead, be exhibited as "an intelligible monastic site", and the halls retained "as ruins and not as roofed buildings".[166] The companies objected strongly to this proposal,[167] and the City must have turned with relief to the Dominicans, by then showing some enthusiasm for coming back to Black Friars.[168] The letter, however, remained on the file, ticking away like a time-bomb.

The initial suggestion that St. Dominic's Priory, Newcastle, should come home, and that the cost of restoration should be met by public appeal, was made to the Town Improvement and Streets Committee on 10 December 1958, by the Prior (Fr. Bede Bailey) and Fr. St. John, head of the Dominican Order in mainland Britain.[169] The matter was referred to the Sub-Committee, and on 20 February 1959, with representatives present from the Dominicans and five of the companies, it was agreed that the Corporation would restore the buildings in consultation with the other parties and that an Appeal Committee should raise the required £80,000 to £100,000.[170] The Town Improvement and Streets Committee stipulated that the proposed work should accord with the Reed report, modified where necessary to display the excavated discoveries, and in May this was duly confirmed by the City Council.[171] There was not universal support for the new scheme, some councillors doubting whether the appeal would be successful,[172] and the *Evening Chronicle* having reservations about the propriety of rehousing the Dominicans.[173]

While the Appeal Committee busied themselves with preparing a publicity brochure and a list of patrons, the newly formed Panel of Architects consulted with Alan Reed and agreed on the allocation of space in the friary so as to satisfy all parties, but without damage to either the medieval fabric or the better preserved company halls. The Dominicans were to occupy the whole of the west range, with

seven study bedrooms below a chapel and sacristy, and in the south range they were to have a refectory below the Cordainers' hall, and a common room below three more study bedrooms in the Butchers' old meeting house. A kitchen beneath a library in the south-west angle would complete their requirements. The Cordwainers', Tanners' and Smiths' halls were to remain, with a museum below the Smiths', and a store for the Freemen's archives below the Tanners'. The chapter house would be preserved as a medieval room, and a caretaker's flat would be provided in the Fullers' and Dyers' old quarters. The Panel were not, however, merely concerned to bring the buildings back into use. They were also committed to its display as a medieval Dominican house, and hence recommended setting it in "a greensward", completing the excavation, and possibly lowering the streets to the original level. These suggestions did not meet with the total approval of the Sub-Committee who asked the Panel to consider dispensing with the caretaker's and archives store, moving the chapel to the east range, and providing larger study bedrooms but only on the first floor.[174]

The Panel made these alterations in a further report in November 1960. "The Chapel has been located in the East range in such a position that the Chapter House . . . may be preserved as an interesting ruin", and by using part of the Smiths' hall as a gallery. The companies were allocated the whole of the first floor of the south range, and the Dominicans the remaining space.[175] This solution, though much more damaging, and in some respects disliked by Alan Reed,[176] was accepted by the Sub-Committee, who agreed that Reed should be invited to be the Co-ordinating Architect, as the Panel had recommended.[177] By the summer of 1962 he had successfully persuaded the Ministry of Works to grant £5,000 towards the cost of repairs, estimated at £52,400,[178] although he does not seem to have carried out the detailed survey and specification required before work could begin.[179]

This scheme was, however, effectively dead by the spring[180] though the Dominicans did not formally pull out until July 1962. The new Prior of St. Dominic's, Fr. Hubert Edgar, explained that there was now neither the personnel nor the money to establish a cell in Newcastle, and so the City was once again faced with the problems of the future use of the friary and the cost of its repair. Yet, before the meeting on 18 July broke up, it had been agreed that Reed should submit a new scheme and that the appeal should be launched to raise a minimum of £25,000 with which work could start.[181]

His next proposal, of 1 October, was to convert Black Friars into a record office. He felt that this would bring in the public, that the Smiths' and Cordwainers' halls could be retained, and that to provide for such a function would require less alteration, and hence less money, than for domestic use. It is possible that this was not Reed's own idea since a report on the future use of the buildings was written by the City Archivist as early as 27 July.[182] Be that as it may, the Sub-Committee gave approval in principle and asked Reed and the Archivist for more details.[183]

The scheme for a City Archive Office had been further developed by January 1963. Apart from making all the rooms on the ground and first floors of the south and west ranges inter-communicating, and demolishing the wall between the Butchers' and Tanners' halls to create one big search room, little alteration was needed. The work

was to be carried out in three phases at a cost of £63,260 and, if begun soon and without breaks between the phases, could be finished by the middle of 1965.[184] Reed also asked for more excavation in the church in the coming summer, and two short seasons of digging took place in 1963–4. His scheme was accepted at the same time as the idea of raising money by appeal was finally abandoned, and the Town Improvement and Streets Committee decided that the scheme should be financed by the Corporation, the Historic Buildings Council making a grant of £6,000, and loan sanction being obtained for the balance.[185]

The will to start work was there in 1963; four years later, for reasons which cannot be given here, it had been lost.[186] This delay, coupled with the onset of one of the country's regular economic crises, led to the abandonment of the scheme, the Town Improvement and Streets Committee deciding in January 1967 that "because of the restrictions on capital expenditure the project should be taken out of their estimates for 1967/68".[187] While the City's anxiety was plain they had no credible explanation to offer the public for the delay, and the longer it continued the more dilapidated the buildings became. The City Archivist summed it all up in September, 1966. "I was sorry on my return from 2 years absence to find Black Friars so very much more ruinous than when I left".[188]

It is interesting, if pointless, to speculate on how long this situation might have prevailed if the Secretary of State for Housing and Local Government, Richard Crossman, had not intervened in February 1968, when he "expressed grave misgivings about the way in which the City Council were failing to implement their undertakings to restore the historic buildings in the City". His junior minister, Lord Kennet, made it clear that the City would not receive permission to replace the original 19th-century Royal Arcade with a facsimile unless they agreed to the preservation and restoration of the Keelmen's Hospital, the Holy Jesus Hospital and Black Friars. He would be satisfied with the speedy restoration of one, and making the others wind and watertight.[189] Although Black Friars was put at the end of the queue, the Holy Jesus Hospital receiving immediate attention in 1969–71 with the Keelmen's planned to follow, the City's undertaking did include the friary, and their officers were not averse to so reminding the councillors.[190]

The discussion of a future use for Black Friars and a starting date for its repair continued in a desultory and inconclusive way into 1971. In January the City Architect, responsible from March 1970 for the restoration,[191] submitted yet another scheme for an archives centre, by now estimated to cost £170,000. The Management Committee "resolved that in view of the present need for stringent economy, no action be taken at the present time in relation to any restoration or conversion of the Black Friars".[192]

That the subject was raised again as soon as September 1971 must be attributed to initiative from the Planning Department who, having recently substituted houses for warehouses in the plans for the open spaces near Black Friars, were now anxious to transform the eyesore into an attraction.[193] The City Planning Officer put three choices before his committee—full restoration of the friary as an archives centre, partial restoration to provide a meeting hall for the companies, or the Ministry of Works' suggestion of 1958, preservation of the buildings as open ruins; the committee

decided to pursue the third option.[194] On this occasion, however, the Department of the Environment took a different line. "The proposal to treat the remains of the Blackfriars as an open ruin, removing roofs, floors, windows and all extraneous masonry is a drastic solution which would destroy as much of value as the scheme would preserve. A detailed inspection . . . convinces us that it would be nothing short of disastrous. Some buildings do lend themselves to the treatment suggested by the City . . . The Blackfriars buildings, however, . . . are not grand and impressive; rather, they are small in scale, humble in treatment and essentially domestic . . . To strip them to their bare walls would simply result in an unattractive and unintelligible ruin". They suggested instead a partial restoration which would retain the roofs and upper floors of the buildings and some of the companies' meeting halls, and they recommended the excavation of the church and the lowering of Stowell Square.[195] Such treatment, however, would have had the disadvantage of still leaving the buildings empty and, though the City Planning Officer supported these proposals, the committee postponed a decision by asking him to discuss the matter with Bruce Allsopp, a local architect and architectural historian.[196] That "appropriate use" was still an unsolved problem was obvious to the Historic Buildings Council who, while Allsopp was preparing his report, intervened to suggest that their architect should prepare a scheme for the conversion of Black Friars into housing.[197] As will appear, the Planning Committee were to prefer a wider range of uses, and this idea was not pursued.[198]

Bruce Allsopp's report brought together various ideas then current both inside and outside the Corporation but in a style all his own. He recommended that a financially viable modern use should be found for the whole friary, and suggested a restaurant, studios or workshops, even a branch registry office for weddings in the Smiths' hall. Black Friars should be a place for hospitality, conversation and meetings. His other principal recommendation was the redevelopment of the immediate neighbourhood for housing and small businesses, an "in-town village". The report was adopted in principle by the Planning Committee, and the City Planning Officer and City Architect were authorized to produce a scheme and estimates.[199]

Until a "suitably experienced architect" was chosen, the City had not made the final commitment to proceed with the restoration, and another twelve months passed before such an appointment was approved. The Department of the Environment asked for this, together with some archaeological investigation, in April, and Allsopp followed up in June by pointing out that parts of the south range were now in danger of collapse, a comment seized upon by the City Planning Officer.[200] In September the Department of the Environment expressed concern about the fallen tie-beam in the south range and again requested a survey by a suitable architect. At last, in December 1973, the Planning Committee appointed Wales, Wales and Rawson, a firm of Skipton architects, to report on the immediate measures required to make the buildings safe.[201]

Nineteen seventy four was a year of preparation during which James Wales' report was approved,[202] the essential repairs he recommended were carried out, negotiations were begun with potential tenants, the first being a group of local craftsmen, and the containment of all the companies in the Smiths' hall was proposed.[203] In September,

and in spite of certain internal opposition to the whole scheme,[204] the Development, Planning and Highways Committee approved a rolling programme of restoration, to begin on the west range in 1975 under the direction of Wales, Wales and Rawson.[205]

The programme, which was begun in August 1975, and finished in the spring of 1981, was split into four consecutive phases. In each phase the restoration of a distinct part of the friary was the subject of a separate contract paid for by a particular combination of grants. Excavation, and discussion about the future function of the various rooms, continued ahead of the building work. The sometimes daunting financial and structural problems which were encountered were overcome with such success that there was no pause between contracts, and Messrs. J. and W. Lowry, the contractors, never left the site. In phases I (Skinners' and Glovers', and Taylors', finished in June 1976) and II (Saddlers', ready by June 1977), the whole of the west range was made available to the Black Friars Craftworkers' Trust. Phase III lasted from July, 1977, into the spring of 1980, and encompassed the restoration of the south range, the new building in the south-west corner of the friary, and the laying out of the west and south cloister walks. This work provided a restaurant on the ground floor of the range, and exhibition and lecture rooms above, with a caretaker's flat on the second floor of the Cordwainers' hall. The east range was restored, and the remaining cloister walks paved, in phase IV from April 1980 into the spring of 1981. Here a tourist information centre was installed in the room below the Smiths' hall, with the remainder of the ground floor accommodating an office in the Fullers' and Dyers' old low room, and a small museum in the medieval chapter house, later the Bakers' and Brewers' low room. Above were two schoolrooms, later acquired by Architecture Workshop. The restoration, commissioned by the City Council, was grant-aided by Tyne and Wear County Council, the Department of the Environment and the English Tourist Board, and the overall cost was in the order of £600,000. This figure does not include the cost of the archaeological excavations and subsequent landscaping.[206]

3. *The Buildings: their archaeology and architecture*

Four types of evidence have been used in this attempt to explain the structural history of the surviving buildings of Black Friars up to, but excluding, the restoration of 1974 onwards.

a. Architectural, or what is visible today.
b. Archaeological— the information recovered during excavation and the removal of internal plaster by the archaeologists and, occasionally, by the unpicking of parts of the fabric during restoration by the masons.

   Apart from work in 1957 (the non-archaeological clearance of much of the cloister), 1973 (the removal of internal plaster etc. in the east range) and 1974 (the stripping of plaster, and digging of exploratory trenches in the north and south rooms of the west range), most of the excavation proceeded immediately ahead of the restoration by Messrs. J. and W. Lowry. The order in which areas were dug, the size of trenches, and the return to complete the clearance of some rooms were only rarely determined by archaeological considerations, and were usually carried out at the request of the Consulting Architect. The scale of the work thus depended on the time and money available, the needs of the

contractors and the dangerous condition of parts of the structure. For example, it was possible to excavate areas 14–16 completely, though in two sessions, but trench 19 had to be fitted between props supporting the joists of the floor above. In almost all cases excavation stopped at medieval floor level, and removal of soil beneath this point was carried out by the contractors only where necessary for the insertion of new services and laying of some of the new floors.

The numbered areas of excavation with which this report is concerned are shown on fig. 6, and in any description of contexts the area number will appear first, followed by the layer number, e.g. 6/10. For the four areas most thoroughly investigated, 9–11, 12, 14–16, 20–21, we have chosen to present a summary of the principal groups of finds, the pottery and clay pipes, in parallel with the area matrix (a diagram of the relationship of the (numbered) deposits and features), and so provide instantly visible evidence for the dates in the right-hand margin.

c. Documentary. The minute and account books of several of the companies preserve details of expenditure on their meeting houses.

d. Pictorial. This is not an exhaustive list of views and drawings of Black Friars, but includes everything found useful.

i. John Brand, *History of Newcastle* (1789), I, opp. p. 122. View of the east front of the west range, and a detail of the tracery in the south window of the Smiths'.

ii. W. H. Knowles, "Monastery of the Black Friars, Newcastle-upon-Tyne", *Arch. Ael.* 3, XVII (1920), opp. p. 317, a poor reproduction of a late 18th-century view of the south front by R. Johnson. The whereabouts of the original picture is unknown; there is a photographic print of a modern watercolour copy (not identical) in NCL.

iii. T. M. Richardson, *Memorials of Old Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (1880), plate VI. This shows the Smiths' meeting house from the south-east in *c.* 1827.

iv. TWAS 22/157, 158. Architect's drawings by T. Oliver, *c.* 1827, for the new buildings on the Smiths' close, including plans of the low rooms of both the Smiths, and the Fullers and Dyers.

v. NRO ZAN M13/F12, G. B. Richardson, Sketches of Newcastle, II. Most are dated to 1843. There are drawings of both exteriors and interiors of the west and south ranges, including the Cordwainers' during demolition; and in the east range the Smith's, and the west front of the Bakers' and Brewers', but nothing of the Fullers' and Dyers'.

vi. TWAS T 186/17435, 17975. Architect's drawings by M. H. Graham, 1898, of the Bakers' and Brewers', and Fullers' and Dyers' meeting houses before their rebuilding, and three sets of designs for their restoration.

vii. NCL, Local Studies Section. Photographs from the late 19th century to the present, including three, dated 1897, of the Fullers' and Dyers' house before rebuilding.

viii. TWAS T 253/52–66. Photographs of the exteriors of the buildings, 1957.

ix. City Engineer's Department. Photographs of interiors and exteriors before and during the restoration of 1974–81, from 1965.

x. TWAS T 297/1/1–38. Photographs of interiors and exteriors, 1968–76.

xi. TWAS T 253/6, 36, 37. Architect's plans showing external stairs and internal partitions before their removal.
xii. James Wales, Consulting Architect for the 1974–81 restoration. Architect's drawings of the buildings before restoration, 1976–9, nos. 599/29–31, 48–52, 120–22.

The conclusions are summarized on phased floor plans, figures 2 and 3, on the successive elevations of the Smiths' south gable, figure 13, and on the elevations of the west and south ranges, figures 7 and 11. On the last two, the stonework which appears to be post-Dissolution in date has been drawn in detail, the medieval masonry left blank.

The Skinners' and Glovers' Meeting House (*Areas 1, 5–7*) (figs. 2, 3, 6, 7)
The Skinners and Glovers acquired the battered north end of the west range, and were faced with a considerable amount of rebuilding and adaptation to make their meeting house usable. The demolition of the church certainly necessitated the construction of a quoin at the north-west angle on the remains of the nave wall. It probably also required the reconstruction at first floor level of the north wall since this, before its recent consolidation, was found to be thin and poorly made. There already existed a south wall on the ground floor, but a new partition of clay-bonded rubble had to be inserted on top of it upstairs to complete the shell of the building.

There were no problems about access to the low room which had a medieval door from the cloister, but it was in need of better lighting. A new three-light mullioned window was broken through the east wall, and it is likely—though not certain—that a window was provided in each of the two arched openings in the west wall. The new masonry in the southern of the two was based on the remains of an earlier medieval blocking. In the northern arch a heap of rubble, probably resulting from the destruction of the church, was revetted on the inside to form the foundation for the post-Dissolution blocking. And it was probably in this initial phase that the low room was provided with a south fireplace with stone jambs, its stone stack rising through the floor above. There is little to say about the upper room at this early date, but the door (later filled in) in its north-west corner must post date the destruction of the church and is probably late 16th-century. It thus appears that the company originally reached their meeting room by an external stair on the west side of the range.

Limited excavation in the low room revealed no trace of a medieval tiled floor, perhaps wholly removed after the Dissolution, and indeed no evidence of occupation before the 17th century. There is then a hint that a medieval drain within the room was opened and inspected before brown mortar, a base for a new threshold in the doorway and perhaps for a partly flagged floor, was laid over the whole area. Sooty black soil subsequently accumulated over the mortar. Datable objects from this early period of occupation were just three 17th-century sherds (from 7/8, 10, 11) and some unstamped clay-pipe stems.

In 1712 the Skinners and Glovers remodelled their meeting house, and an inscription once existed to that effect.[207] In October of that year they agreed that the brothers should contribute individually towards the cost of the repair and that, in

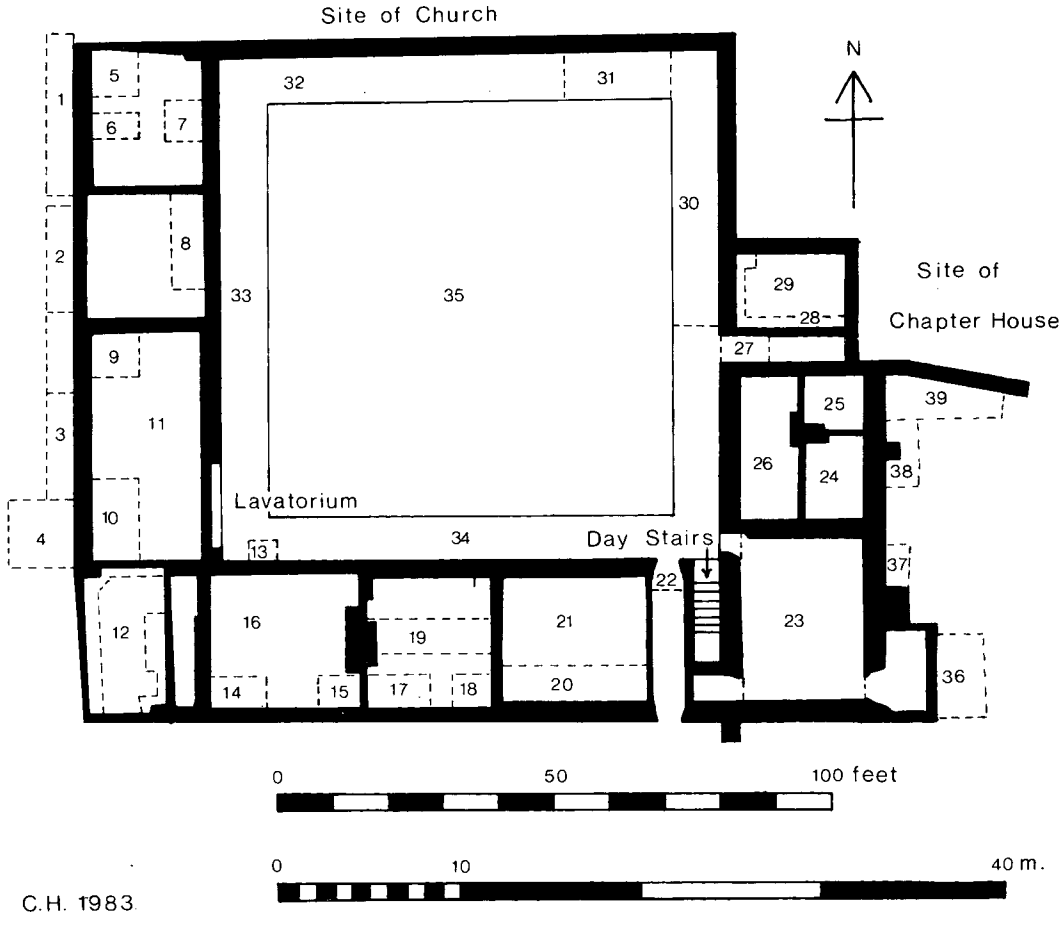


Fig. 6 Plan of the excavated areas.

addition, the company should borrow £25. Their accounts for the period 1712–13 show payments of some £12 to joiners and a painter.[208] In fact the work was much more extensive than one would suppose from these references since the absence of any trace of medieval upper windows, and the more regular masonry at this level, particularly on the side facing the cloister, both suggest that the east and west walls of the first floor were almost completely rebuilt. By comparison with the Saddlers' meeting house it is apparent that the overall height of the Skinners' and Glovers' was slightly reduced, and hence that their roof was also renewed, at this time. The way in which they improved their meeting room was typical of several of the companies. The

room was heightened by lowering its floor level *c.* 0.60 m, and it was given a new fireplace of brick, the old west door was blocked and access was made on the east side by a new door at the head of an external stair, and it was provided with four new, mullion and transom, windows, two on each side. A 19th-century drawing of this room furnished for company meetings shows the presiding steward's seat between the two west windows.[209]

Other than the reglazing of the low room's east window, which probably lost its mullions and became either a casement or a horizontal sliding sash window at this time, the principal alteration downstairs was the raising of the floor. The dumping of clay and stones (5/3, 6/2, 7/3) brought the level up by about 0.30 m within the room, with possibly a new stone threshold at the entrance. Apart from four 19th-century sherds, which almost certainly belong to the layer above, this dump produced the same mixture of early 18th-century pottery (e.g. fragments of Staffordshire white-dipped tankards), and residual 17th-century and medieval material as is treated in detail from the three meeting houses which were fully excavated.

The Skinners and Glovers Company were one of those which disposed of their property at Black Friars before the end of the 19th century. Having sold their close in 1836,[210] the next stage in 1852 was to lease their meeting hall, and remove their chattles.[211]

> "Henry Angus has the 2 Coates of arms. . . . Jos. Cook Angus has three Oak Boxes the Green Cloth that covered Large Table and the portrait of Lord Eldon", John Halliday has Brand's History of Newcastle.

Since, in 1863, they were receiving rent for two rooms upstairs and two below,[212] it may be presumed that the upper floor at least was partitioned after the company ceased to meet there. It is probable, however, that the two ground-floor openings in the west wall were altered rather earlier in the century. One became a door, the other an arched window, and it was possibly for these alterations that the company paid £15 6s to a builder in 1825.[213] Before 1899 they had sold the meeting house, presumably direct to the Mrs. Angus from whom the Taylors tried to buy it.[214] She was probably one of the Angus family who had for many years dominated the Skinners Company and rented the building, and she still owned it in 1918 when a fire damaged both it and the Taylors' property next door.[215] There is then a gap in its history, during which it ceased to be occupied and was used for storage, until 1951 when the City finally acquired it from the representatives of G. R. S. Baker.[216]

The Taylors' Meeting House (*Areas 2 and 8*) (figs. 2, 3, 6, 7)

Apart from needing a new division on the first floor between themselves and the Skinners and Glovers, the Taylors acquired a ready made house, with its opposing doors on the ground floor giving them access to both the cloister and the lane to the west, a better arrangement than any company except the Smiths. It is, however, unlikely that they inherited either a medieval stair or fireplaces and, though there is no clue to the location of a new stair after the Dissolution, Brand's view, together with the patch of brickwork in the south wall of the low room, perhaps suggest fireplaces at this end of the house. Though the upper room was probably adequately

WEST RANGE (1–11)

Based on drawings by James Wales, 1976

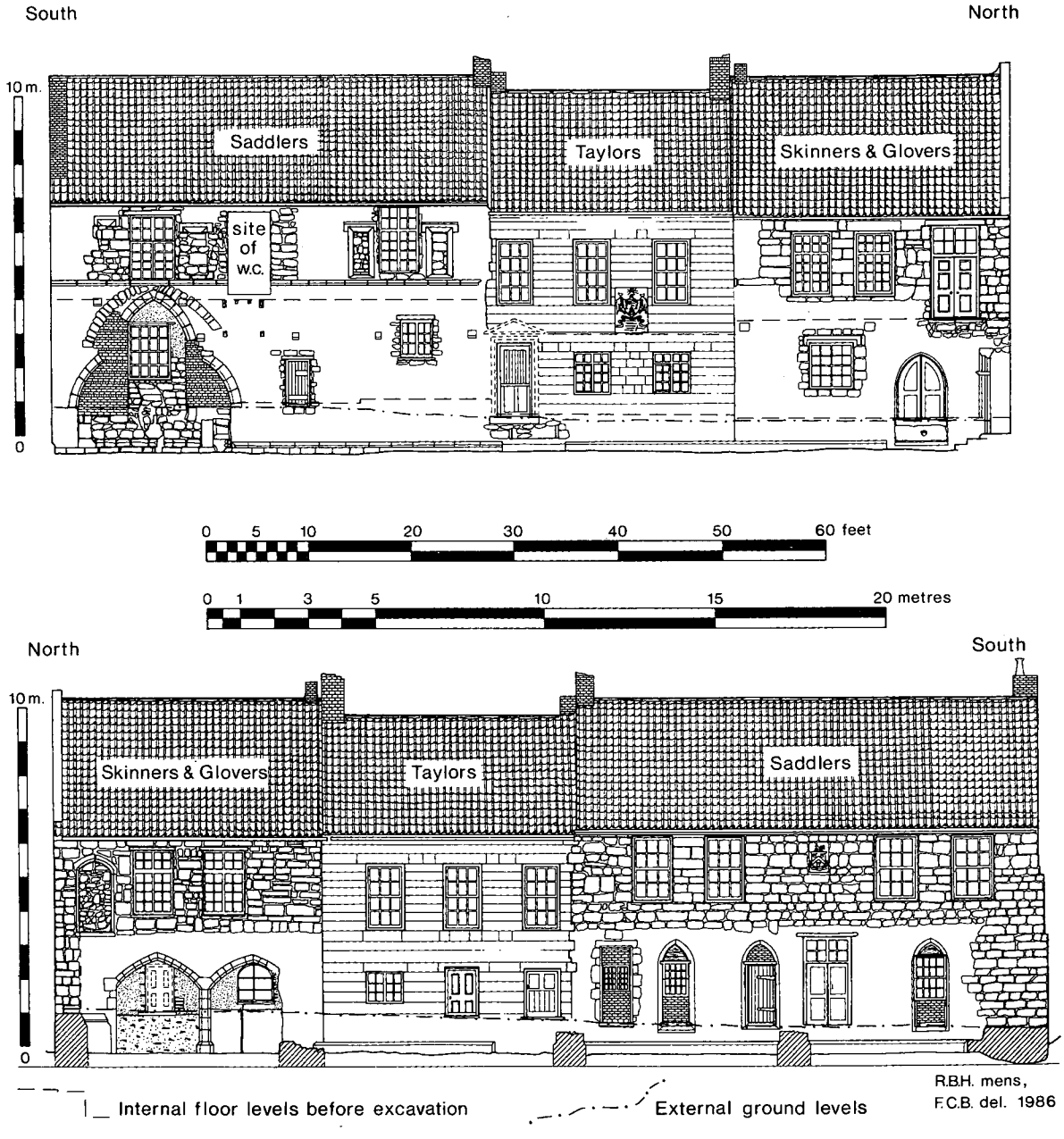


Fig. 7.

lit, the company did not bother to provide the low room with an east window.[217]

There is very little information about their use of the house before the late 18th century. The occupants downstairs continued to live on the medieval tiled floor, patching it when necessary with flags and bricks, and at least keeping the interior clean. The small excavation inside the room yielded only two 17th-century sherds (from 8/6, 7), though outside (2/3) there is a hint of a gradual accumulation of rubbish against the wall. Though in 1647 the house was reported to be in decay,[218] there is no record of repairs until 1693 when the company set up an inscription to this effect.[219] In the first half of the 18th century, when most of the other companies were modernizing their property, the Taylors let theirs to some poor widows and went elsewhere for their meetings.[220]

There is no explanation for the company's decision to return to Black Friars, and to replace their old meeting house with a new one. In 1787, however, the existing structure was demolished down to the last two to three courses above the chamfered offset, the doors were filled in but so as to leave visible the bottom of the jambs, and the new building rose on the remains of the old. Its walls of large ashlar blocks, its sash windows and its pedimented door must suddenly have made its neighbours look very old-fashioned. Receipted bills and specifications from various tradesmen, a joiner, a mason, a painter and glazier, and the principal builders, Joshua and John Stephenson, record progress during 1787–8, and the work was successfully concluded in November 1788 with payment to Richard Farrington of £8 – 18 – 0:

"To Carving the Coat of Arms with Stone etc.	£6 – 0 – 0
To Ornaments for the Door & Chimney Piece	18 – 0
To the Crest and Motto	£2 – 0 – 0"[221]

Within this rebuilt house the Taylors now had a properly furnished meeting room upstairs and two rooms below, all three with north fireplaces and the two storeys linked by a straight stair against the south wall. Downstairs the ground level was raised by 0.30 m of soil and rubble (8/5), and a new flagged floor laid on top. Even at this height the level inside the room was some 0.60 m below the sill of the new door, which had been set more than 0.60 m above its predecessor to counter the ever rising ground in the cloister. It was, therefore, not long before yet another flagged floor was laid, this time to match the door sill. As originally designed, it is likely that the east room downstairs had two casement windows, and the west room also two windows, possibly casements, one on each side of a central door.

The Taylors were one of the four companies which continued to use and maintain their meeting houses, in this case until 1974 when they agreed to relinquish it and meet in the Smiths.[222] The only alteration after 1788 to affect the fabric was the conversion of the south-west window on the ground floor into a door to give access to a w.c. contrived under the stairs. This piece of modern sanitation became a modest source of income, earning 2s 6d p.a. from the Saddlers who in 1890 were allowed to share it.[223] An enquiry by the City Property Surveyor in 1915 about the possibility of renting the place for use as a civic museum was not pursued,[224] and the building continued to be used as before until probably shortly before 1939 when domestic occupation of the ground floor seems to have ceased.[225] The company sold their house

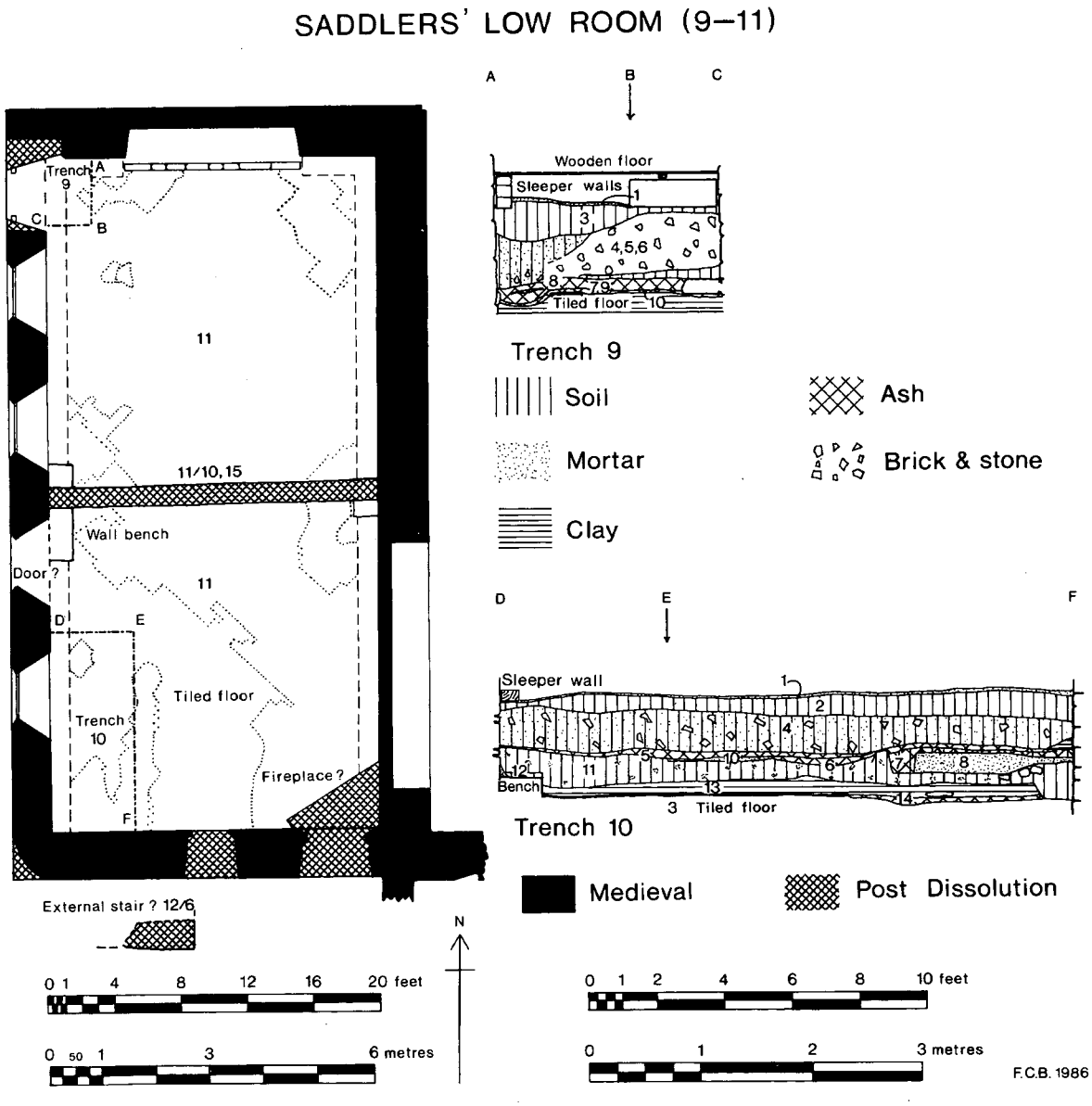


Fig. 8.

to the Corporation in 1951,[226] though, as said above, they continued to meet in it until 1974.

The Saddlers' Meeting House (*Areas 3–4, 9–11*) (figs. 2, 3, 6–8, Table 1)
The Saddlers' house was the biggest of the nine, its size being determined by the existing medieval layout on both floors. Some immediate repairs were probably

required at the south end since there is no doubt that the quoin of the south-west angle was built after a medieval wall, which had extended westwards from this point, had been demolished. The date of demolition is uncertain, but was earlier than the deposition on the ruins of the wall of a fragment of blackware, which dated at the earliest from the late 16th century. It may be inferred, therefore, that the quoin was probably constructed after the Dissolution. Furthermore, there must be doubt about the condition of some 8 feet of the west end of the south wall on the first floor since no medieval masonry survived here in the north face: the south face was hidden by later alterations. There were instead patches of brick and stonework, and the possible significance of these is discussed below.

It is not certain how the company solved all the problems presented by the need to adapt their building. They divided the room on the ground floor into two by building a solid wall (11/10) across it, in places re-using stones from the old wall bench. In the northern of these rooms the medieval fireplace and two of the lancet windows remained in use, and the room was entered by a new door through the west wall.

The south room is more difficult to understand, and the question of access cannot be answered with certainty. Of the two doors in the south wall the smaller, into the supposed friary kitchen, may have been finally closed before the Dissolution, but in any case appears to have been obstructed by an external stair (12/6) for the company, and hence to have been unusable for one reason or another. The larger door, into the slype, was probably rendered inaccessible from the south by a new stair for the Cordwainers, and on the north by an early fireplace for the Saddlers. Since no evidence survived elsewhere for a fireplace of this date, it must be assumed that it had been replaced by the later hearth found in this position. The only other way in which the Saddlers could have contrived access into this room was by converting one of the two lancets into a door, and this is probably what they did. The northern of these windows was certainly an entrance by the 18th century. The room would, in consequence, have been poorly lit for many years since the only opening to be made in the blank east wall between the Dissolution and the late 18th century was a tiny window under the arch of the lavatorium.

The upper room was adequately lit from the start, the medieval windows in its east wall surviving to the 18th century, and presumably those in the west also, though there was no evidence for these. The problem was again one of access, and it was probably solved by an external stair leading to a new door in the south wall. A corner of substantial stonework (12/6) which could have served as the base for such a stair was found in an appropriate place, and there were above it not one but two openings of suitable size, separated by masonry which appeared to be post-medieval, and blocked by 18th-century brickwork. No evidence for an early fireplace remained in this room.

After this initial burst of activity it does not appear that the Saddlers did much, if anything, to their building for nearly 200 years. In 1647 the Common Council complained about them, as they had about the Taylors, saying that the house was in disrepair and the slates had fallen off. The company perhaps reroofed with pantiles at this time but, within, their tenants continued to live into the 18th century on the medieval tiled floor. The occupants of the north room tolerated more rubbish under

their feet (9/7–10), while those of the south room dug a hole (11/40) through the floor, but few artifacts were abandoned by either group.

The Saddlers remodelled their meeting house in 1729.[227] On the first floor they filled in the openings in the south wall, and substituted an internal wooden staircase for the old stone one outside. The medieval lights in the east wall were blocked, and replaced by three large single mullion and transom windows. Since no evidence survived of medieval openings on the opposite side, it is assumed that refenestration here required the complete rebuilding of the west wall of the upper storey. The roof timbers may have been renewed at this time, the floor was probably lowered a little, and new brick fireplaces were constructed. The whole area was then divided with timber-framed brick partitions. It is uncertain which space became the new meeting room but the north-west room is perhaps the most likely.

In the low room the floor level was raised 0.60 to 1 m by the dumping of soil, ash, and brick and stone rubble on both sides of the stone dividing wall (11/10, 15), the upper part of which was demolished when the levelling up was complete. The quantities and types of pottery and clay tobacco pipes found in these layers are summarized in Table 1. The large quantities of sherds are in marked contrast to the sparse finds from the lowest layers of occupation, so supporting the view that the room was filled with material from a nearby rubbish dump. A join between a sherd found in this room and another found in the Saddlers' garth (fig. 4) suggests that the latter was the source of at least some of the soil needed, and the scarcity of Low Countries' redwares (the earlier of the two types) among the pottery shows that it was the upper layers of rubbish which were being brought in. Furthermore, the types of finds shown on Table 1 were much the same in each layer, and the date of deposition, whether provided by pottery such as Staffordshire slipware, or by the later pipe bowls and stamps, was a constant late 17th to early 18th-century one. In other words, there was no significant change in the artifacts and hence no reason to suppose that the tipping had occurred over a long period of time.

Several other alterations followed the raising of the level of the floor, the actual surface of which did not survive. The new staircase rose through the centre of the low room, so separating a chamber to the south from an east–west passage and another room to the north. The internal partitions were of the same type as those upstairs, and though it was now possible to move about within the building there were still two doors in the west wall. The lancet, which had probably been a door since the Dissolution and was opposite the foot of the stair, was widened and squared off to become a grand entrance for the company, who inserted in the wall above the lintel a stone carved with their arms. It was probably also at this time that the lower parts of the post-medieval doorway, and of the northern and southern lancets, were bricked up to make a smaller, squarish, window in each, and the remaining lancet was turned into a second entrance. The construction of a new fireplace in each room, to correspond with the raised floor level, completed the rearrangement.

The Saddlers continued to let and maintain their building until late in the 19th century. The only changes to the fabric of any significance were the making of new openings, or enlargement of old ones, in the east wall of both storeys. Thus, at an unknown date after Brand's view, they broke out a new door and window on the

TABLE 1 Matrix and finds of Saddlers.

POTTERY: NUMBER OF VESSELS											CLAY TOBACCO PIPES										SADDLERS' HALL: Ar. 10&11
Resid. Medieval	L.C. Redware	Eng. Redware	Blackware	Cistercian	Weser	Rhen. Stoneware	Eng. Whiteware	Delft	Staffs.	Late 18 th./19 th.c.	Pipes present	Bowls 1b, 4	Bowls 2a, b	Bowls 3a, b	Bowl 8	Bowl 9	Bowl 11	Stamps C, D	Stamp E	19 th.-c. stamp	South ( ): no relevant finds Modern floor
✓	2	38					✓	5	1		✓	3	3	1	1		1	1		1	10/1=11/4
		1																			10/1a
								1			✓										11/8
		2							1	3								1			11/11
		✓				✓					✓				1	1					11/9
		20	1			✓		4			✓	1	1	1				2	1		10/2=11/12
✓		4				✓		1					1					1			10/3
✓	1	10					1	8			✓			1		1	1	1			10/4=11/14
	1	9				✓		4			✓		1								10/5=11/19
✓	✓	27		1		1	2	8	1		✓						1	2			10/6=11/20, 22
																					(Fl.10/2)
		1						✓			✓										10/7
		✓									✓										10/8,10
		1				1															10/9
✓	3	35			1	1		2			✓										10/11=11/23
✓		18				1		3			✓		2								11/33
		✓																			11/34
✓		3																			10/13
✓	2	37			✓	1	2	1			✓	2	1			1					11/35
																					(11/38)
							2														11/39
✓				1	1																10/14=11/37
	1		✓	1																	11/40
																					11/10,15
												1									Medieval fl.: 11/41

Wall

TABLE 1 (*cont.*)

SADDLERS' HALL: 9 & 11	POTTERY: NUMBER OF VESSELS										CLAY TOBACCO PIPES								
North ✓: present Modern floor	Resid. Medieval	L.C. Redware	Eng. Redware	Cistercian	Rhen. Stoneware	Eng. Whiteware	Delft	Staffs	Porcelain	Late 18th./19th-c.	Pipes present	Bowls 1b, 4	Bowls 2a, 2b	Bowl 6	Bowl 8	Bowl 9	Bowls 10–12	Stamps C, D	
11/3		1			1	1	✓		1	4						1	1	2	19th-c. Sleeper walls
9/3=9=11/5	✓		2			1		1	2	2	✓					1	1	3	
11/7,7a,13		2	19			2	1				✓		1					1	Group 2: redeposited in early 18th-c.
11/7a			13		1	1	2												
11/6	✓	1	1	1									1					1	
11/13,16,18	✓	1	66		4	2	7				✓		3	1	3			6	
11/5a	✓	1	7		1		4				✓	1						1	
9/5=11/7	✓		9		1		2				✓		4	1			1	5	
Wall																			
(9/7)																			Late 16th. to 17th-c.
(9/8)=11/21	✓		13			1	3				✓	1							
(9/9)																			
(9/10)																			
					1	2													
Med. floor: 11/41																			

ground floor, and enlarged the tiny opening under the arch of the lavatorium. More dramatically, they converted the central upstairs window into a door to a brick w.c. cantilevered out from the face of the wall. By 1900, however, they seem to have stopped meeting in the house, and it was agreed that, because it was in bad condition, it should be sold.[228] This course of action was prevented by a senior brother, J. C. Halliday, stipulating that "a covenant should be imposed on the purchaser not to directly or indirectly sell or deal with intoxicating liquors on or off the premises". Though it was pointed out to him that this condition would be "practically prohibitory", he "nevertheless firmly adhered to it".[229] As a result the company continued to struggle to keep the property tenanted and in repair until 1937 when it was finally condemned as unfit for human habitation.[230] It was, however, still suitable for warehousing, and was let in 1938 to Christie Malcolm.[231] Largely because the senior steward of the company, J. R. Andrews, had been involved in the Freemen's proposals of 1938 for the preservation of Black Friars, the Saddlers were probably the only company after the Second World War to make an unprompted offer to sell their meeting house to the Corporation,[232] an offer which was finally accepted in 1951.[233]

Area 12 (figs. 2, 4, 6, 9 and Table 2)

Area 12 was the site of a difficult and imperfect excavation in which, because of a raking shore supporting the Cordwainers' gable, it was possible to clear only very short stretches of the medieval walls. This area was outside the company meeting houses, and yet within the angle where one would have expected the friary ranges to meet. It proved to have a history quite different from that of the other buildings.

Before the Dissolution, perhaps in the 15th century, rubbish began to accumulate in this corner, and the original south and east walls either fell down or were demolished:[234] the position of the medieval west wall is uncertain. It is, however, not known if the north door, into what became the Saddlers' meeting house, ceased to be used at this time. It was probably after the friars had gone that a new wall (12/C) was built along the east side of the area, presumably by the Cordwainers, on the remains of the old, though the earliest layer (12/20) to be deposited against this wall produced no datable finds. It was certainly after the Dissolution, and indeed after there had been more dumping of rubble, that the supposed stair of the Saddlers (12/6) was constructed, cutting a thick layer of clay and stones (12/17). The deposits of rubble and ash in the area (12/11–19) form the only undisturbed 16th and 17th-century sequence to be excavated at Black Friars, and the principal finds are summarized in Table 2. These primary deposits (Group 1) are easily distinguished from the redeposited material (Group 2) by the Low Countries' redwares being almost totally confined to the former group, and the English redwares and clay pipes to the latter.

At some point, though perhaps not until the 18th century, Area 12 was claimed by the Cordwainers. It is possible that they did this in 1729, the year in which the Saddlers abandoned any external stair they may have had here and in which the Cordwainers departed from their own meeting house. On the other hand, the discovery in this house (Areas 14–16) of so much pottery similar to that found in Area 12 does not necessarily mean that they had already acquired the plot: it may just have been the closest source of soil with which to raise their floor. It is, however, certain

TABLE 2 Matrix and finds of Area 12.

	POTTERY: NUMBERS OF VESSELS														CLAY TOBACCO PIPES								BLACK FRIARS AREA 12		
	Resid. Medieval	Greenware V & VI	L.C. Redware	Eng. Redware	Blackware	Cistercian	Martincamp III	Weser and Werra	Rhen. Stoneware	Eng. Whiteware	Delft	Staffs.	Porcelain	Late 18th./19th.c.	Present	Bowls 1a-b.4	Bowl 2a	Stamp A	Bowl 6	Bowl 8	Bowl 9	Bowl 11	Stamps C & D		
Redeposited in 19th-c.															15	✓									1
						9							4		1	✓									7
					✓	✓						✓		1	5	✓									2
					✓	3							2	1	5	✓	1		1	1	1				9
Group 2: redeposited in late 17th.-early 18th-c.					✓	✓						✓	2												4
	✓		5	47	4	1		4	5	✓	5						3	1		1	1	2	1	9	5
	✓		8		1		✓	5	✓	3	1		1			✓									11
			1		1					✓															13
			1	1?				3								✓									12
Group 1: primary deposits of late 16th-early 17th-c.	✓		3	1?	1		1	4	✓	2															14
	✓		28		3	1	2	4	2	4	2														15
			5		✓				1	1	1														(6) 16
	✓	✓	7			✓			3	2															17
	✓		✓	1?		1																			18
		✓	1																						19 (20)

( ): no relevant finds

✓ = present ?= uncertain provenance

↓ (Wall C)

that in 1735, if no earlier, they considered that they owned it since in that year they leased it to John Rutlidge, a mason, with permission to build.[235] Whether layers 12/4–5, which in their contents not only resembled the layers of floor-levelling found inside the houses, but also produced pottery which joined that in the Group 1 layers below, were dumped by the Cordwainers in perhaps 1729, or by Rutlidge, is unknown. By 1743/4, however, he had built a house here,[236] presumably the three-storeyed brick structure which appears in drawings of the 18th and 19th centuries, and in later photographs.

This building continued in use as a ground floor shop, with dwelling above, into this century.[237] It was then for a time a barrow store until, in 1925, it was, like the Saddlers', let to Christie Malcolm.[238] Sold by the Cordwainers to the City in 1953,[239] it was demolished in stages from *c.* 1965, and replaced by a wholly new brick structure.

The Cordwainers' Meeting House (*Areas 13–16*) (figs. 2–4, 6, 10, 11 and Table 3)
The Cordwainers were allotted the west end of the friars' refectory. A new east wall divided their meeting house from the Butchers' on both floors and, as said above, it is

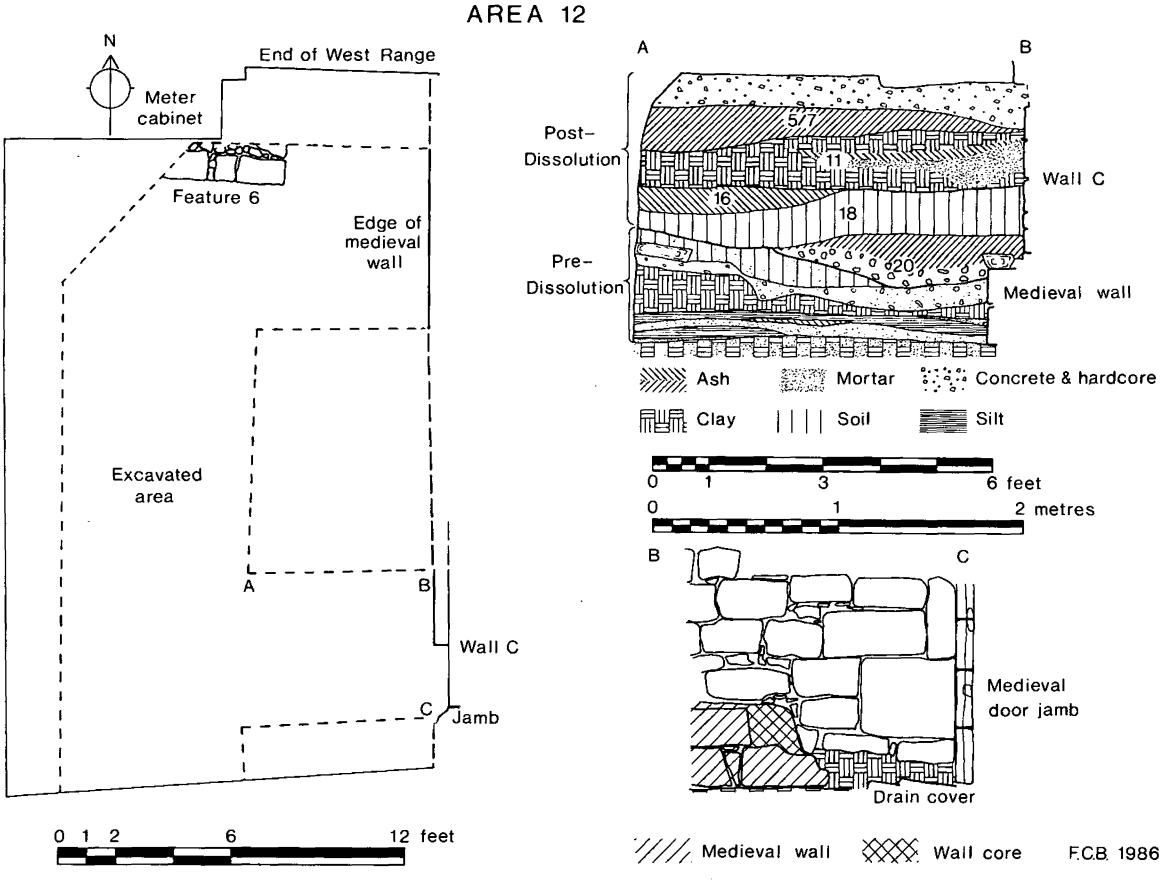


Fig. 9.

probable that they rebuilt their west gable (12/C), and so kept possession of the space which had been a passage through the south range. While access to the low room continued to be from the cloister, it is likely that the main entrance to the building was by the medieval door at the south end of the passage, later views showing the company's arms and a plaque above its lintel. It is, however, not certain how the meeting room was reached. Though Bourne saw "a Pair of winding Stairs, which they told me (before they were walled up) led by a Vault as far as the Nunnery. . . .",[240] thus suggesting the survival of an early stair, no evidence for such a feature was found during the excavation, and there is, indeed, no obvious place in which to site it. If he had seen something no longer in use, then it is possible that the passage was converted into a straight stair much earlier than 1843 when it certainly assumed this function.

Because this building was destroyed in 1843 and the only evidence for it is in the form of drawings, principally those of G. B. Richardson done before and during demolition,[241] it is impossible to be sure what else the company did to adapt it in the

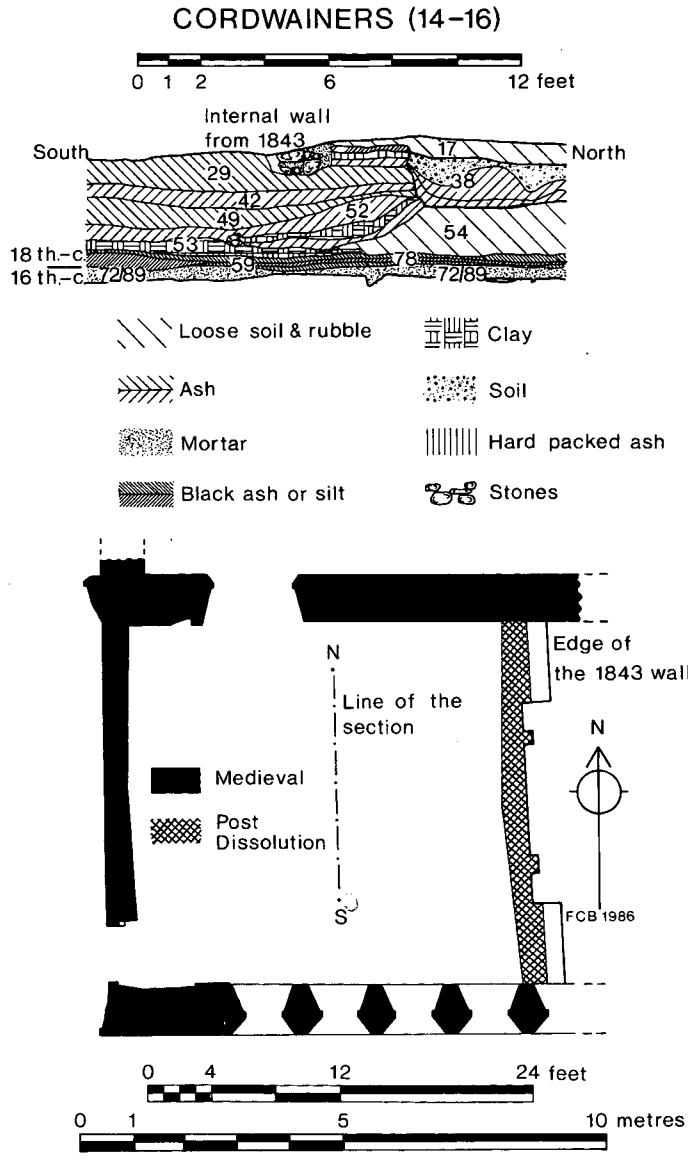

CORDWAINERS (14–16)
0 1 2 6 12 feet
Internal wall from 1843
South
North
17
29
38
42
49
52
54
53
59
78
72/89
18 th.–c.
16 th.–c.
Loose soil & rubble
Clay
Ash
Soil
Mortar
Hard packed ash
Black ash or silt
Stones
Edge of the 1843 wall
N
Line of the section
S
Medieval
Post Dissolution
FCB 1986
0 4 12 24 feet
0 1 5 10 metres

Fig. 10.

POTTERY: NUMBER OF VESSELS												CLAY TOBACCO PIPES										
Residual Medieval	L.C. Redware	English Redware	Blackware	Cistercian	Weser	Rhenish Stoneware	English Whiteware	Delft	Staffs	Porcelain	Late 18th.–19th.–c.	Present	Bowls 1a–b	Bowls 2a–b, 5	Bowls 3a–b Stamps A & B	Bowls 6 & 7	Bowl 8	Bowl 9	Bowl 11	Stamps C & D	19th.–c	
								1		2	3										1	
												✓										
								1		3	4			1								
		1																				
												✓										
					2					2	3	✓										
												✓						1				
												✓										
					1			1			2	✓										
	2	2				1				2	9											
											1	✓										
												✓										
		2									9				1					1		
		1	1					2				✓								1		
	1	17	✓		1	1	4	4			11	✓			3	1				3		
												✓				1						
		10					1	2				✓			1			1				
✓		7		1	2	1		✓	3		3	✓										
												✓										
	1	10	1			1		1				✓			1							

CORDWAINERS HALL
AREAS 14–16

Numbers without prefix
numbers are from Area 16
( ): no relevant finds
✓ : present

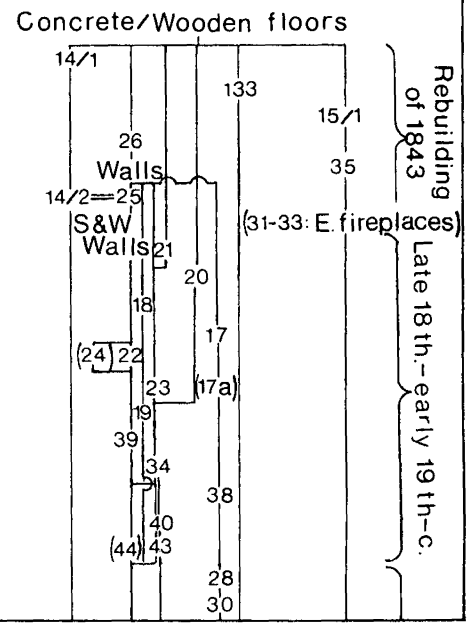


TABLE 3 Matrix and finds of Cordwainers

✓	10	55	3		3	3	6	9				✓		4	3	6	3	2		4	
✓	1	14			1	4	4	2	1			✓			2		1			2	
												✓								1	
✓	28	60			9	3	10	7				✓	1	3	2	3	4	1		6	
												✓									
						✓											1				
	6	24	✓		✓	✓		1				✓					3			1	
					1	✓	1					✓									
✓	1	19	✓		✓	2		1				✓				1					
✓	1	2				1	2					✓								3	
						1						✓			1						
✓		8	2					2				✓				1	1		1	3	
												✓					1				
								✓				✓									
												✓									
✓		20	1			1	3	8	2			✓			1	2	2	2		4	
		1										✓		1							
✓		2				1	1	1				✓		1							
								✓				✓								1	
✓	1	12						1				✓		1		1					
												✓									
												✓									
		2										✓									
✓												✓									
								1						1							
		1										✓									
	1																				
✓						1															
✓	1	3																			
✓																					
✓		2						✓				✓					2				

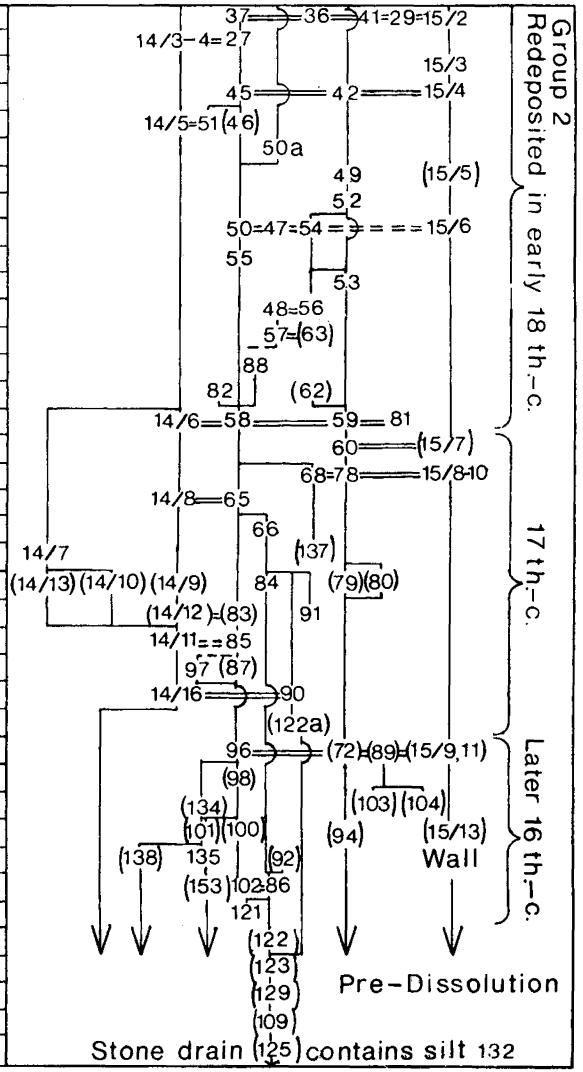


TABLE 3 (*cont.*)

early days after the Dissolution. It is likely that the low room was given a new north window to complement the southern lancets, and on the first floor the medieval windows, four in the north wall and possibly one in the south, were probably augmented by two two-light mullioned openings, also on the south side. Though, rather oddly, no trace was found of a post-Dissolution hearth downstairs, it is clear that a fireplace, almost certainly of this date, was constructed in the south wall of the meeting room upstairs.

Unlike several of the other low rooms where reoccupation after the Dissolution may have been represented by well-swept medieval floors, most of the earliest activity in the Cordwainers' was destruction. All the floor tiles were lifted, the furnishings such as the screen and the stone edge of the clay platform against the walls were removed (135, 121), inexplicable pits were dug (103, 104) and the surface was well trampled (98). Some 16th-century window glass was recovered from these early deposits, however, suggesting that there was also some prompt refurbishment. The whole room was then covered with a thick layer of buff-yellow mortar (96 etc.), though whether this was intended to provide a new floor, or was the result of building work is not clear.

The stratification which appeared to be 17th-century consisted of patches of mortar (87, 83, 14/12) and stones (90, 84), spreads of clay (14/9 and 10) and black ashy trampled areas (97, 91, 85, 14/7, 68 etc.). None were wholly continuous but, if taken together, they presented an accumulation of horizontal surfaces, and so were presumably a series of occupation layers. If there had ever been a hard floor it did not survive. A few artifacts of this period were also found in the silt (132) filling a medieval stone drain.

The Cordwainers were reported by Bourne to have stopped meeting in their house in 1729, and to have repaired it for occupation by three widows.[242] It seems clear that they did indeed move their headquarters in that year to the Charity or Correction House at the foot of the Flesh Market, a building they had leased from the town since 1668.[243] There is, however, no evidence for work on the old house in the Friars in 1729, and the company's accounts show that repairs worth more than £11 were carried out a little later, between 1736 and 1743.[244] All the main classes of tradesmen were employed—carpenter, bricklayer, mason, slater, glazier and painter.

The general nature of what they accomplished is clear, though not all the details. They obviously had no need to improve the upstairs room in the customary manner by enlarging the windows and lowering the floor, but it is possible nonetheless that the southern windows were converted into casements and that a new fireplace and brick chimney stack were built at this time. The company did, however, solve the principal problem downstairs in the same way as their fellows: they raised the floor level about 1 m by leading in substantial amounts of ash (37), rubble (48) and gravelly soil (50). These deposits produced the same large quantities and repetitive types of pottery, clay pipes and glass, most dating from the 17th and early 18th centuries, as have already been noted in the Saddlers' meeting house. Joins between sherds, and the presence of Low Countries' redware in unusually large quantity, suggest the Cordwainers obtained their floor make-up from the cloister garth and from Area 12, where they had probably already been exercising squatters' rights. Once the floor had

been raised it was possible to complete the internal arrangements. Drawings by Richardson and others show that the low room was then divided into a north room and a south room, each being given a corner fireplace against the east wall. Three of the south lancets were also altered, possibly at this time, to provide a door and two small square windows, and the fourth was blocked to form the back of the south-east fireplace. Though there is no evidence to prove it, it may also have been during this phase of improvement that a fine cobbled yard was laid outside the north door to the cloister.[245]

Marked only by minor repairs and a slow turnover of tenants, a hundred years were to pass before the company decided to return to the Friars. The first suggestion that they should was made in April 1843, it was agreed in July to erect a new building, in August the estimates were approved, in October the old house was demolished to existing ground level, in December construction was in progress and in April 1844 they held their first meeting in the new hall.[246] This was a three storey building, with four rooms on the bottom floor, the meeting room in the middle and an attic on the top. While the builders did little to disturb the layers which had accumulated since the 1740s, the demolition of the east wall of their original meeting house allowed the Cordwainers to acquire additional space since a void had been left between their old wall and the Butchers' new west wall of 1739.

The Cordwainers were one of the largest and richest of the nine companies, and having kept their meeting house in good order they were, for several years after 1950, reluctant to sell it.[247] In 1953 they finally agreed to convey it to the Corporation on condition that they could continue to meet there, and that the Corporation would maintain the building.[248] Because of the delay in starting the programme of restoration, and the consequent deterioration of the whole of Black Friars, the Cordwainers were constantly complaining that the City had failed to keep their part of the bargain.[249] The company's association with their meeting house came to an abrupt end on 3 May 1966, when a fire rendered the building unusable.[250]

The Butchers' Meeting House (*Areas 17–19*) (figs. 2–4, 6, 11)

The Butchers might be thought to have drawn one of the shorter straws when they acquired the middle portion of the friars' refectory. Partition walls were needed on both sides and both floors before they had a house which they could call their own and, at the beginning, the building lacked most of the essential amenities, having no doors, fireplaces or staircase. Unfortunately most of the details of the initial adaptation are unknown since so much was destroyed during the large-scale alterations of the 18th century. The company's new west wall has already been noted in Areas 15 and 16. Their new east wall on the ground floor was also of stone, and indeed contained some reused architectural fragments in a rubble matrix. The arrangement upstairs was different, not to say odd, since the Butchers and Tanners had agreed on a more equitable division of the available space by siting the party wall on a double joist 2·25 m east of the division below, a situation which presumably dated from the original split of the range. Though no traces survived of any doors, windows or staircase which might have been inserted in the post-Dissolution period, small-scale excavation (17) in the low room did reveal one substantial stone jamb of a

SOUTH RANGE (14–22)

Based on drawings by James Wales, 1977

Fig. 11.

fireplace against the south wall. If the lancet windows of the medieval refectory had ever run in an unbroken sequence along this wall then one or more must have been blocked to create a back for this fireplace and a flue for its chimney.

The underlying question of just when the companies adapted, and began to occupy, their meeting houses is posed as clearly here as anywhere. After the Dissolution the tiled floor had been partly removed, a number of small pits had been dug and a heap of stone roof tiles (17/7) had accumulated along the south wall all before the new fireplace was constructed. There were no datable finds associated with any of these early activities. The stones of the hearth, however, sealed a fragment of clay pipe stem, and subsequent deposits, for example ash (17/4, 5; 19/7), which spread from the hearth across the remains of the medieval floor, and localized floor patching (19/4–6), produced pottery and pipes which were undoubtedly 17th-century. It could thus be argued, though perhaps not conclusively, that for a time this company made little or no use of their meeting house, which may have stood empty, even derelict, into the early 17th century.

When the Butchers remodelled their house in 1739–40 it was on a far more ambitious scale than the work by the six companies who had preceded them.[251] The mason, joiner, house carpenter, glazier and provider of a chimney cost the company £74, and they had to compensate their tenant for the time he was kept out of the meeting house. The £6 15s 6d they obtained for the sale of second-hand timber from the old house was but a small contribution to such a total.

Their old building was largely demolished. The roof-trusses and joists ("baulks"), floor boards ("deals") and an old door were removed and sold, the south wall was taken down to the ground, and the north wall to first floor level. They rebuilt those walls in ashlar, and constructed an entirely new brick wall, with a central fireplace on each floor, between themselves and the Cordwainers, so leaving the void found in Areas 15–16. How a partition was maintained between themselves and the Tanners is a mystery, since the latters' modernization in 1717 had included dropping their first floor by *c.* 0·5 m, and this must have necessitated rebuilding the party wall on a new and lower joist. All that is certain is that, in its final form, this division consisted of two leaves, the Butchers' side being timber-framed with brick panels.

Within, the result of all this work was a well-proportioned meeting hall upstairs, of which the floor, though not the roof, had been lowered to coincide with the Tanners'. This room was entered via a stair from the cloister through a north door, it was lit by five mullion and transom windows, and heated by a new fireplace flanked by painted wooden panels, on which the remodelling was suitably commemorated. In the low room the floor, as in the other houses, was raised some 0·75 m with dumps of clay and rubble, and new openings and fireplace were made to accord with the higher level. The south door and flanking (? casement) windows clearly belonged to this period, and the north door was probably also 18th-century. The gap in the north wall beneath the external stair may have begun as a window, since a small opening appears in Brand's view, and only in the 19th century, after being blocked on the outside, been enlarged into an internal w.c.

Few details are available about the later history of the Butchers' meeting house. It is not known when the company ceased to meet there, or how long it was used as

tenement dwellings.[252] At an unknown date the north windows of the upstairs hall were neatly bricked up and the building was abandoned. When it was sold to the City in 1951 the vendors were the Black Friars Estates Ltd.,[253] and the Butchers took no part in the subsequent negotiations concerning the restoration and the right to meet in Black Friars.

The Tanners' Meeting House (*Areas 20–21*) (figs. 2–4, 6, 11, 12, Table 4)
The Tanners' share, the east end of the refectory, included the medieval day stair, so giving the company ready-made access to their meeting room. As has been said above, new internal walls were needed to partition the Tanners' house from the Butchers', and there was archaeological evidence to suggest that the party wall on the ground floor was 17th-century. The construction trench (21/24=20/48) for this wall cut a layer (20/25) which produced clay pipes. Since the area over the entrance passage formed part of the Tanners' upper room the Butchers were allowed to include in theirs a small space over the Tanners' low room.

An essential requirement in the initial adaptation was a ground floor door and, in the absence of an opening in the north wall at this date, it must be assumed that one of the four southern lancets was converted into an entrance. The 18th-century views certainly show such a door, though they disagree on its precise position. Though the other medieval windows continued to light the low room after the Dissolution, no fireplace remained from this time.

In the meeting room upstairs, little structural evidence for either the medieval or the post-Dissolution periods survived the 18th-century remodelling. It is likely that most of the original windows continued in use in the early days of the company's possession, and there were certain traces of three, possibly four, until the recent restoration. The blocked opening in the south wall is the only one now visible.

The day stair was lit in the Middle Ages by the square-headed window at the east end of the north wall. It was probably blocked soon after the Dissolution, and replaced by one of a different design slightly to the west: the reason for this alteration is unknown.

The archaeological evidence for the early use of the Tanners' low room was as sparse as elsewhere and the picture it presented was much the same, particularly in its similarity to the Cordwainers'. Almost all the medieval tiled floor was missing, and most of the immediate post-Dissolution contexts were pits and post-holes which suggested the destruction of earlier fittings rather than the creation of new ones. Such possible floor surfaces as there were, the discontinuous mortar and trampled areas of 21/22, 25b and 20/25, 21/20, all appeared to be 17th-century, and to predate the construction trench for, and building debris (21/19) which may have resulted from, the erection of the west wall. These deposits differed from those of the same date elsewhere in that they produced considerably more fragments of medieval window glass.

On 4 February 1716/17, the Tanners decided that "the Company's Meeting House shall withall Convenient speed be altered and repaired into a commodious manner at the charge of the Company". Two months later they agreed to raise the money required by borrowing £25, this sum and its interest to be repaid by contributions of

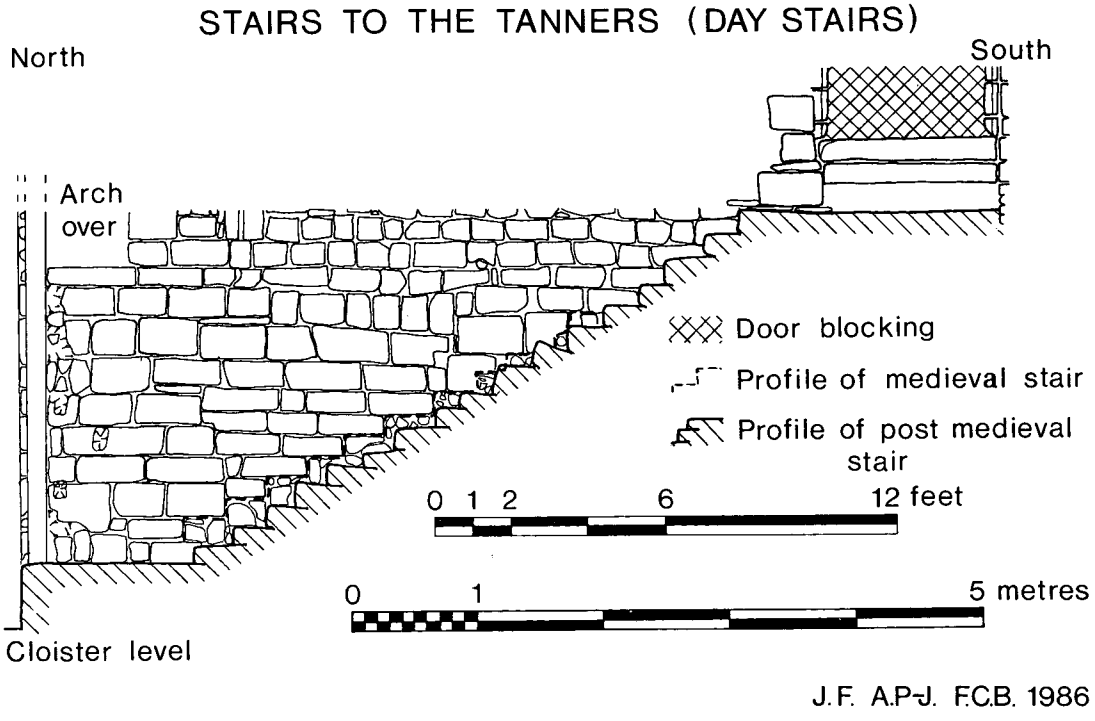


Fig. 12.

2s 6d a quarter by each brother, 5s for each new apprentice and 10s "for every Turn Over". This was a conservative estimate of the eventual cost which amounted to £52 9s 7d over the three years 1717–19. As much as half was spent on carpentry and joinery, a quarter on stonework, and presumably brickwork, and the remainder was paid to slaters, glaziers and painters, and for re-hanging "Mr. Barkers picture & the Tanners Coat of Armes".[254]

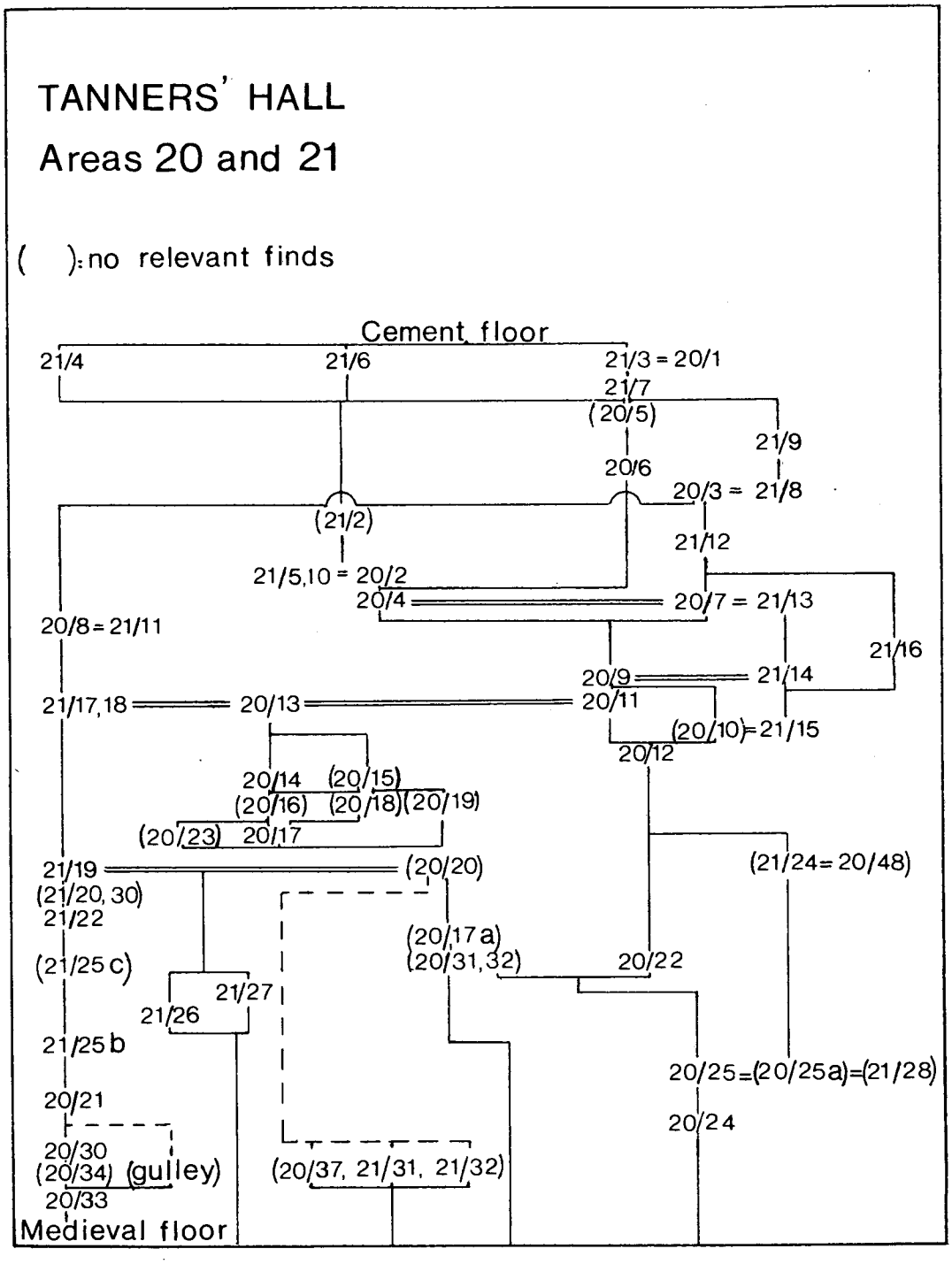
The result of this work was to produce a remodelled building of much the same appearance as those already described. The upper floor was lowered *c.* 0·55 m, so necessitating for the meeting room a new, timber-framed, west wall and a new north fireplace of brick. The room was then replastered, and refenestrated with mullion and transom windows. The landing at the head of the old day stairs had to be reduced in height to match this new floor level, and evidence in the side walls suggests that the stone steps were renewed at a slightly steeper gradient. Finally, the stair was separated from the meeting room by a new, timber-framed, brick partition.

Downstairs the floor level was raised some 0·60 m by the usual dumping of ash (20/12, 21/17 etc.) and mixed clay and soil (21/14). The finds were few compared with those from the Saddlers' and Cordwainers', and largely residual. Though it might be inferred that the Tanners obtained this material from their own garth, which was nearby, there were joins between pottery found in this house and in the Saddlers'. As

TABLE 4 Matrix and finds of Tanners

	POTTERY: NUMBER OF VESSELS													CLAY TOBACCO PIPES						
✓: present	Med. Window Glass	Resid. Medieval	L.C. Redware	Eng. Redware	Blackware	Cistercian	Weser	Rhen. Stoneware	Eng. Whiteware	Delft	Staffs.	Porcelain	Late 18 th./19 th. c.	Present	Bowl 1a	Bowls 2a, 2b, 5	Bowl 8	Bowl 9	Stamp D	Bowl/Stamp 19 th. c.
Redeposited in 19 th. c.																				
		✓						1	1		3		4		✓					1
			1	7		1									✓					
	✓			1											✓					
														1						
Sleeper Walls	✓			6				2	1	2					✓				1	
				1											✓					
Floor				4	✓			1		2		2	19		✓					1
					1					✓			3		✓					
				1		1				✓			2		✓		1			
Group 2: redeposited in early 18 th. c.			✓							1	1				✓					
	✓	✓	✓	1						1					✓			1		
	✓	✓	4	7		9	1	3		3					✓		2			
			1	2				1							✓					
																	1			
Mid-17 th. c.															✓					
	✓																			
		✓		1																
	✓	✓				4														
															✓					
				1						1							1			
															✓					
	✓														✓					
					1										✓					
	✓									1					✓	1				
			1																	
	✓																			
										✓										

TABLE 4 (*cont.*)


TANNERS' HALL
Areas 20 and 21
( ): no relevant finds
Cement floor
21/4
21/6
21/3 = 20/1
21/7
(20/5)
21/9
20/6
20/3 = 21/8
(21/2)
21/12
21/5,10 = 20/2
20/4
20/7 = 21/13
20/8 = 21/11
21/16
20/9
21/14
21/17,18
20/13
20/11
(20/10) = 21/15
20/12
20/14
(20/15)
(20/16)
(20/18)
(20/19)
(20/23)
20/17
21/19
(20/20)
(21/24 = 20/48)
(21/20, 30)
21/22
(20/17 a)
(20/31, 32)
20/22
(21/25 c)
21/27
21/26
21/25 b
20/25 = (20/25a) = (21/28)
20/21
20/24
20/30
(20/34)
(gulley)
(20/37, 21/31, 21/32)
20/33
Medieval floor

an inevitable result of raising the floor, most of the other features in the room had to be renewed, but it is not certain whether all those found at the recent restoration were necessarily early 18th-century. It is, however, possible that a new door, window and fireplace were made in the north wall, and certain that the heads of the south lancets were filled in and their sills raised, at this time. Whatever may have been the type and arrangement of the windows and door in these lancets in the 18th century, a late 19th-century photograph shows one door, two sash windows and one casement. Like the meeting room, the low room also had a brick east wall, and though this had undoubtedly replaced a medieval stone partition the reason for such an alteration remains a mystery. The Tanners completed the exterior of their house with a larger door at the foot of the stairs, by renewing the roof at a lower level, and by inserting a commemorative stone over the entrance to the cloister garth.

Like the Taylors and Cordwainers, the Tanners continued to meet in their hall, and to let and repair the house to the middle of the 20th century. Minor alterations, such as the renewal of floors and the insertion of internal partitions and an external w.c., were apparent in the excavation, and in the fabric of the building before its restoration. Fortunately, however, plans in 1873 for its total rebuilding to a height of three storeys, with two tenements of two rooms each on both the ground and first floors, and the hall above, were never implemented.[255] The company nevertheless continued to view the property as a financial asset and in 1948, when members believed it was threatened with compulsory purchase, they resolved that they "should not accept anything below the potential value of the property which when invested would guarantee an income equal to the present valuation"—£2,080, which invested at 2½% would produce £52 p.a., or 10s per week each for the hall and the warehouse, as the low room had become.[256] In the event they sold it to the Corporation in 1950 for £300, and a promise of the building's restoration and the use of the hall for their meetings.[257] The Tanners last met in their own house on 28 May 1951,[258] and they thereafter assembled in safer premises elsewhere.

The South Slype (*Area 22*) (figs. 2, 6, 11)

Responsibility for this medieval passage seems to have been shared by all nine companies. Its structure was altered twice between the Dissolution and the recent restoration, the arched south entrance being rebuilt with a flat lintel at a date unknown, and the arched recess beneath the day stairs filled in, perhaps by the Tanners in the course of renewing the steps above. The floor level of 1977 was some 0·45 m above a mortar spread (22/6), which had probably been the base of the medieval floor. Because the space between the two surfaces had been disturbed at different times by the insertion of a stone drain, a 12-inch earthenware pipe and two iron pipes, it was uncertain whether the ground level had been raised in one operation, and indeed when this raising had taken place.

The Smiths' Meeting House (*Areas 23 and 36*) (figs. 2, 3, 6, 13, 14)

The Smiths' house was probably the most desirable of the nine. It was conveniently situated for access to the cloister and the company's close, and it needed less adaptation than most of the others. Adequately supplied with doors and a fireplace,


SMITHS' (23): Changes to the South Gable
Based on a survey by James Wales, 1979
At the Dissolution
1709–1803
1803–1827
After 1827
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 feet
0 1 3 5 10 15 20 metres
F.C.B. 1986

Fig. 13.

the low room was improved by the substitution of a new mullioned window of two lights for a lancet in the east wall. Upstairs, once a new north wall had been built, the company had a meeting room brilliantly lit by the great south window of the friars' dormitory, and it was simple to contrive a new east fireplace above that in the room below, and connect it to the same flue in the medieval buttress.

And so the only question left to answer is the site of their stair. Although, in theory, the Smiths could have shared the day stair with the Tanners it is unlikely that they did so. Not only do all the other companies seem to have created self-contained meeting houses, but the blocking of the door into the Smiths' premises at the head of that stair contained a worked stone of the 14th century, an object which would probably not have been available for re-use nearly 200 years later. A more likely answer is that they built a new stair in their close to reach the upper room by an east door, the date of which cannot now be determined with certainty. The 18th-century views suggest that this might have been the arrangement, and there was perhaps some supporting archaeological evidence. Running at an angle to the building in area 36 there was a probable construction trench which appeared to have been robbed out and backfilled after the deposition of 36/52, a layer containing sack bottles of the 17th or 18th century. It is, furthermore, certain that there was a stair here in the early 19th century when it had to be demolished to make way for a new one.[259]

When the Smiths first entered their house they found the low room floored with 9-inch square tiles, larger than the type normally used in Black Friars and dating from the later Middle Ages. This floor continued in use, certainly into the 19th century and possibly into the 20th, and its repairs with both regular and random patches of bricks and stone flags were in sharp contrast to the even diagonal lines of the tiles. It will thus be clear that this company differed from all the others, except perhaps the Fullers and Dyers, in not raising their early floor level in the 18th century. This was probably because the ground surface was lower in the south-east corner of the cloister than elsewhere, and this in turn may have been the result of the constant use of the adjacent slype.

The Smiths are reported by Bourne to have remodelled their meeting house in 1709.[260] Bourne is usually reliable, and the principal alterations appear, on architectural grounds, more likely to be early 18th-century than to relate to the date of 1770 on the plaque between the windows in the south wall. The meeting room was improved by lowering the floor almost 1·20 m, and by inserting four large mullion and transom windows, two into the medieval south window, and one in each of the side walls. Such a change to the floor level would have necessitated remaking the fireplace, and also the door to the stairs if it is correct to suppose that this was an earlier feature. Downstairs a new casement window replaced the earlier mullioned one in the east wall, and it was perhaps at this time that both the door to the cloister and the east door were given new lintels. Though the south lancets survived in outline, Johnson's view appears to show the openings reduced in size to small casements.

The Smiths were unlike most of their neighbours not only because they kept their building in repair after the large-scale remodelling of the early 18th century, but also because they continued to modernize it. Taken together, the pictorial evidence, minute books and commemorative plaques explain most of the later visible altera-

SMITHS' MEETING HOUSE (23): LOW ROOM

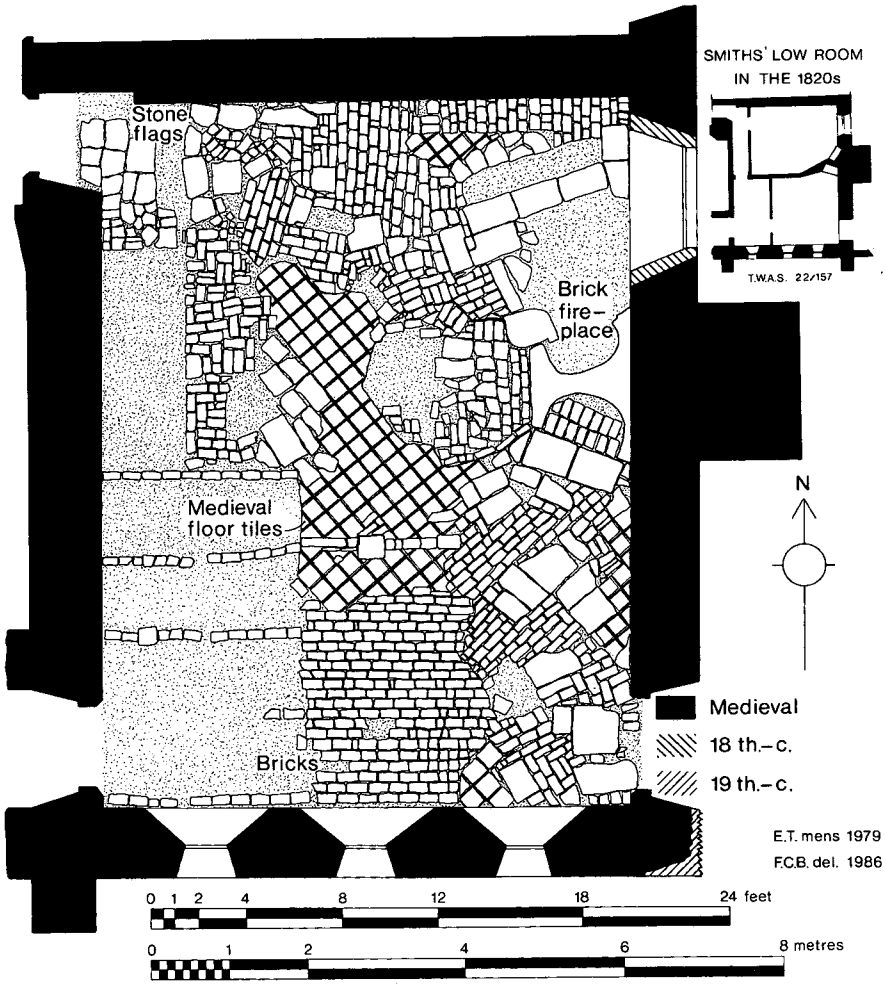


Fig. 14.

tions, though with a lack of clarity in some cases. For example, it is uncertain what happened in 1770 (the plaque on the south front), or 1771 (the plaque, now illegible, over the west door), to justify the erection of inscriptions. The stone of 1803, however, at the head of the existing stairs, almost certainly refers to the same work as an invoice of 1804 for £49, the cost of a new roof to the meeting house.[261] What was meant by a new roof was probably the removal of the old south gable, and the head of the 14th-century window, which was noted by Brand as late as 1789,[262] and its replacement by the hipped roof shown in T. M. Richardson's drawing of 1827. The company's records indicate that the inscription of 1823, over the upstairs fireplace,

marked extensive redecoration and refurbishment of the actual meeting room, which assumed the appearance it has now, and probably the insertion of new fireplaces and partitions in the low room. (See fig. 14 for a comparison of Oliver's plan of the room of *c.* 1827 and the plan of the actual floor surface where most of these divisions can be detected). In the minutes there are references to tradesmen's bills in excess of £80, spent on partitions, a closet, decorative ironwork and the marble tablet itself.[263]

The last significant alteration to this meeting house was in 1827–8. As part of the redevelopment of their close the Smiths took the opportunity to demolish "the present stone stairs to the Hall", and to include a new flight of steps in Thomas Oliver's design for the whole street.[264] As built, the stair (which survives today) was fully enclosed, and occupied a single bay between the meeting house and the terrace of tenement dwellings. It was, indeed still is, entered from the street beneath a lintel of 1679 carved with the Smiths' arms, a stone which had been moved from an earlier building in Low Friar Street.[265] Above the two-storeyed stone facade of the stair there was a third, brick, storey in which there was a bedroom. Since these new houses were covered with slate it is possible that the slate roof of the meeting house, visible in photographs of the late 19th century, was also renewed in the same material at this time.

Other than the reconversion of the ground floor into one room, and the replacement of its old floor with a new cement surface, there is no information available about the Smiths' meeting house between 1827–8, and its sale to the City in 1951.[266] The company continued to meet there, and in 1974 the other companies with rights in Black Friars agreed to share this hall, so clearing the way for a reuse of those meeting rooms which survived in the west and south ranges.

The Fullers' and Dyers' Meeting House (*Areas 24–6, 37–9*) (figs. 2, 3, 6, 15, 16)
In taking the central portion of the east range, the Fullers and Dyers acquired a ready-made room on the ground floor but needed new partitions to north and south across the old dormitory upstairs. There were two other immediate tasks. A late medieval east porch which, after the Dissolution, opened on to the Smiths' close, was demolished and replaced with a window, and part of the sill/lintel of a mullioned window, which was used as the base of the blocking above the medieval tiled floor (39/5) of the porch, is still visible, (fig. 16). Secondly, they needed a staircase, and it is possible that the internal one shown against the west wall in the 19th-century plan (fig. 15) originated in the post-Dissolution period. In other respects the two rooms of this house were fairly well-furnished. They were adequately lit, the earlier windows apparently continuing in use on both floors, and the low room already had that rare feature in a friary, a fireplace. As in the Smiths' meeting room, it would have been simple enough to construct another one above it using the same flue. The only inexplicable feature was the shape of the medieval door to the cloister: this appears ridiculously low and squat on the 1897 photographs since its lintel must have been 0.50 m lower than the neighbouring entrance into the Smiths'.

Archaeological evidence for the use of the low room after the initial adaptation was even more enigmatic than usual. There was no trace of the medieval floor, and no finds of the later 16th century. The only sign of activity by the company before the

BAKERS' & BREWERS' (27, 28, 29) AND FULLERS' & DYERS' (24, 25, 26) MEETING HOUSES IN 1898

Drawn by M.H. Graham, Architect, Westgate Road, 1898
Traced by F.C.B. 1986

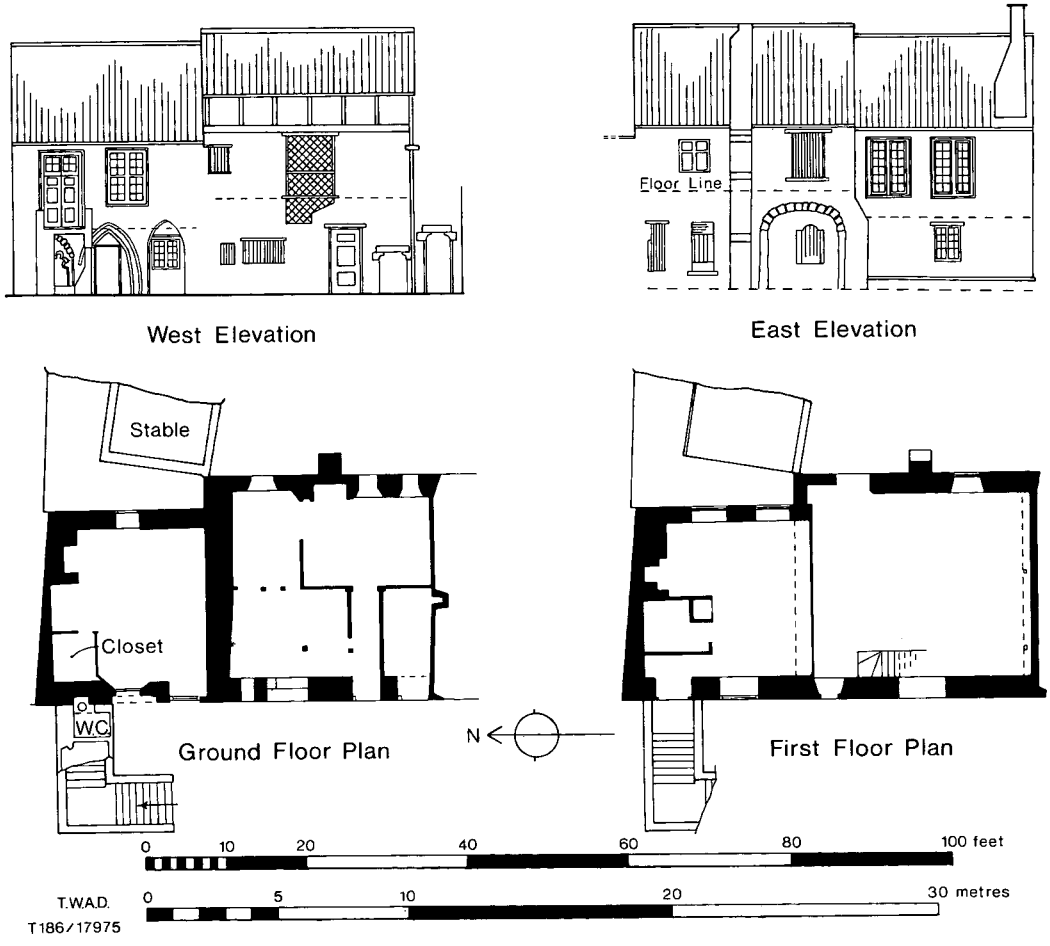


Fig. 15.

19th century was the partial re-opening of a medieval drain, three clay-pipe stems and one 17th-century sherd being recovered from the new filling of the trench (24/29, 31, 37). In the course of this work they actually tunnelled through the east wall, removing the sill of one of the lancets as they went, and the ragged replacement of this masonry, including one or two bricks, is still visible in the wall's outer face.

There is no doubt that the Fullers' and Dyers' building was eventually altered since the photographs of 1897 show so few medieval features—only the door to the cloister, and two, much altered, eastern lancets. It is equally certain that this house was not

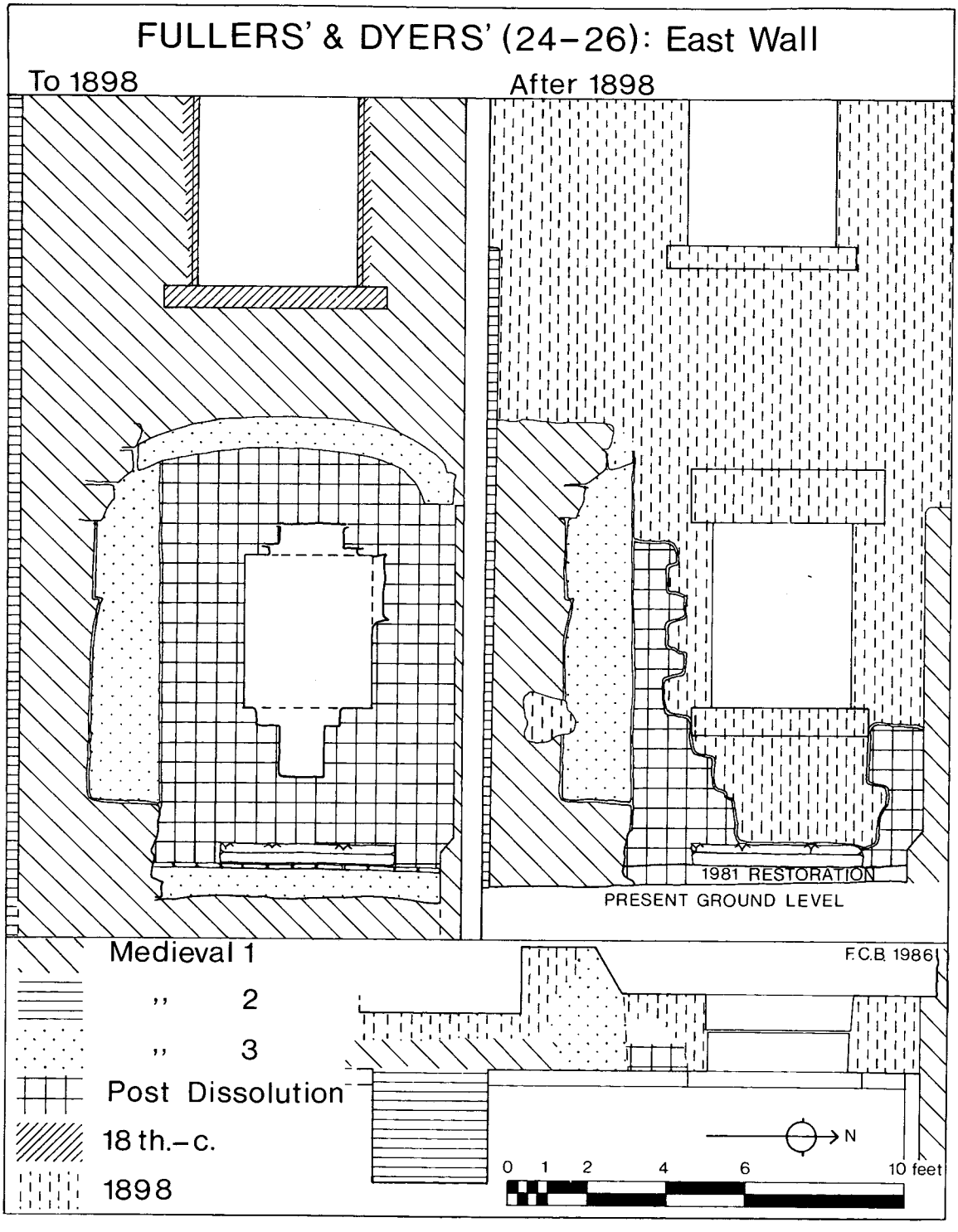

FULLERS' & DYERS' (24–26): East Wall
To 1898
After 1898
1981 RESTORATION
PRESENT GROUND LEVEL
Medieval 1
,, 2
,, 3
Post Dissolution
18 th.–c.
1898
F.C.B. 1986
N
0 1 2 4 6 10 feet

Fig. 16.

remodelled like the others. The upper floor remained in position, presenting the low room with "a curious wooden ceiling, about the pannels of which are arms, or punning devices, thought to be expressive of the names of its ancient benefactors".[267] The room upstairs was refenestrated but not with big mullion and transom windows, and over the new door there were neither the familiar double row of panes nor the company's arms. Finally, there was no evidence for the raising of the floor level in the low room though it is theoretically possible that the later restoration could have removed this. This architectural evidence, coupled with Bourne's omission of the Fullers and Dyers from his list of repairs to meeting houses before 1736, suggests that the building was not modernized for the company's comfort and hence that they stopped meeting in it at an early, but unknown, date. Some of the alterations could have been made in the 18th century, but others could as well be 19th, and associated with the later use of the house.

From 1793 to 1889 "the old meeting hall" was let to a succession of joiners or house carpenters. The tenancy passed from Robert Storey to Edward Storey, probably his son, and then in 1865 to George Willey.[268] It seems clear that the upper room at least was used as a workshop, and it was probably the need to provide better natural lighting for the activities within it that led to the raising of the roof over the western half of the building, and the insertion of a row of narrow lights in timber between roof and wallhead. The very large hole in the centre of the wall beneath this new window, and visible in the photograph of 1897, was described in 1898 as "a sad partial demolition", though whether deliberate or accidental is not stated.[269]

As said earlier, the Fullers and Dyers spent little on the house in the latter part of the 19th century and after 1889, when Willey gave up the tenancy,[270] it became impossible to find permanent tenants for such dilapidated property.[271] Though regularly reminded by their estate agent, James Hindmarsh, that repairs were necessary,[272] the company could find no money.[273] They were nevertheless willing in 1896 to pay 5 guineas to an architect "to report upon the condition of the Old Hall and if necessary prepare plans for conversion of the same".[274] But events were overtaking them. In early May 1897, the Corporation served the first notice ('Sanitary Order') of the dangerous condition of the building, and there had to be immediate work to make it safe.[275] Though the architect, S. D. Robins, reported in the same month that the required repairs could probably be done for £300[276] the company had not decided how to raise the money before, in November, they received a second notice from the City Engineer.[277] There followed eleven days of brisk argument between Robins, for the Fullers and Dyers, and G. G. Laidler, the new owner and developer of the Saddlers' old close behind, and his architect, M. H. Graham, as to who was responsible for the latest damage. On the twelfth day (20 November) the company sold Laidler their meeting house for £300.[278] This sum was then divided between the eight remaining members,[279] who met for the last time in 1902.[280] The conversion of the house by Laidler and Graham will be considered below with that of the Bakers' and Brewers'.

The Bakers' and Brewers' Meeting House (*Areas 27–9*) (figs. 2, 3, 6, 15)

The Bakers and Brewers acquired the shattered north end of what was left of the friars' east range. Three medieval walls survived to form the north, west and south

sides of the low room, though northern quoins would have been needed, but upstairs only the west wall remained. The windows and door of the chapter house presented a ready-made and handsome front to the cloister, but a stair, fireplaces and other lights would have had to be found. Unfortunately there is nothing to illustrate how this house may have been restored and adapted after the Dissolution and, while excavation of Areas 28 and 29 showed that the medieval tiled floor had continued in use for a time, it produced no evidence for a hearth, or for a stair which was probably always external.

In 1711 the Bakers and Brewers remodelled their meeting house in the customary way.[281] The meeting room was heightened by lowering the floor, the filled-in joist holes of which are visible in the north wall below the modern floor. The room was then given a new north fireplace, three large windows, each with a single mullion and no transom, and a panelled door at the head of the outside stair. The ground level downstairs was raised to the same height as the medieval door sill with some 0·25 m of stony brown soil (28/4) and clay (29/30), which seemed to have formed an earth floor. Associated with this refurbishment were the remnants of a small north-south wall (29/29) which was perhaps part of a porch within the entrance, and a possible hearth (29/32) at the east side of the room. The two sherds retrieved from this dumped material were late 17th-/early 18th-century in date, and the trampled ashy layer (28/3, 29/25) over the floor produced three fragments of redware of the 18th or 19th centuries.

There is almost no information about the use of this house during the 18th and 19th centuries. Since the Company of Slaters and Tylers borrowed the upper room for their meetings from 1799 to 1821[282] it may be supposed that it was at that time fit for the Bakers and Brewers to gather in. When they ceased to do so is unknown, and their story came to an abrupt halt with the sale of the building in 1898 for £410. The purchaser was none other than Mr. George Laidler, painter, decorator and property developer, of Northumberland Street.[283]

The modernization of these two last meeting houses was part of the redevelopment of the Saddlers' one-time close by Laidler, and his architect Matthew Graham. These men were already on the scene when Laidler was presented with the opportunity of buying the houses of the Fullers and Dyers and the Bakers and Brewers, and so enlarging the area he had already acquired. Though there is no direct evidence to explain his motive, it is difficult to believe that his original intention was to convert these ruinous two-storey buildings into dwellings. The rents he could have obtained from such an investment in this part of the city would have been a poor return on his initial outlay. Indeed, in July 1898, the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle was actually told that Laidler wanted to build warehouses on the site.[284] Nevertheless, the Society's informant may have been wrong for, as early as 20 April 1898, Graham's first set of drawings *for the restoration of the two houses* had been submitted and passed. His design for the repair and conversion of the Fullers' and Dyers' hall into two flats was more or less realized. The Bakers' and Brewers' hall, however, gave him much more trouble. Three sets of drawings survive, but even the latest does not wholly correspond with what was eventually done.[285] Though he tried to provide a two-storey dwelling, and a through passage to connect the buildings to the east with

Friars Green, and at the same time to preserve the rediscovered window of the medieval chapter house, all within the existing structure, he chose in the end to abandon the attempt to maintain the 18th-century character of the building. Instead, much of the east wall of both these meeting houses, and the whole of their west wall at first floor level, were rebuilt, and a new and ugly enclosed stone stair replaced the old one against the front of the Bakers' and Brewers'.

Both these houses continued in the same ownership as the new warehouses to the east, and it was therefore from Wilkinson and Simpson, commercial chemists, that they were bought by the Corporation in 1951.[286]

The Cloister (*Areas 30–35*) (figs. 2, 4, 6)

In the Middle Ages the cloister of Black Friars consisted of an open garth some 21 m square bordered on each of the four sides by a 3 m wide covered walk. Since nothing more than fragments of the footings of the arcades and of the tiled floors were found *in situ*, and very few worked stones, it seems likely that here, as in other religious houses, the cloister was razed at the same time as the church and chapter house. It thus became an unencumbered space available for reuse by the nine companies.

Because it was in the companies' interest, Friars Green, as the cloister came to be called, remained an open and communal area. It was needed for access, principally to the meeting houses, but also for a time to the Butchers' close.[287] It was undoubtedly used as a midden and in parts of the square, particularly the north and west, the ground level rose by *c.* 1·20 m over some four hundred years. Although most of this overburden was removed in a non-archaeological fashion in 1957, the excavation of two sections across the north cloister walk (Areas 30, 31) revealed the familiar dumps of ash, soil and building debris against the church wall. It was no doubt this practice, together with the keeping of pigs and hens on the Green,[288] that prompted both Bourne and Brand in the 18th century to complain about the lack of cleanliness.[289]

In the 19th century the companies began to show a desire for better sanitation. Perhaps shocked on their return to the Friars in 1843, the Cordwainers suggested that the nine should combine to build "a Midding Stead and necessaries in the Centre of the Quadrangle".[290] Whether this ever happened is not clear, but in 1864 the Skinners and Glovers organized at least one removal of ashes and refuse by the Corporation.[291] It was in this century too that there were intermittent demands (1828, 1894–5) to divide the Green,[292] perhaps provoked by such minor encroachments as the Cordwainers' w.c. and the Saddlers' coalhouse.[293] What the residents may have thought about all this is not recorded and no doubt life went on much as before, the women hanging out their washing,[294] and "ragged urchins" continuing to play "in the puddly square".[295]

THE FINDS

R. Fraser

On the basis of the archaeology, four distinct assemblages could be defined by the depositional nature of the layers in which they occurred.

(a) A late 16th- early 17th-century sequence of deposits of rubbish, designated Group 1.
(b) A series of occupation layers, in several areas, dating from the late 16th to the late 17th century.
(c) A series of deposits relating to the early 18th-century remodelling of a number of the buildings, designated Group 2.
(d) A series of deposits relating to the subsequent remodelling operations of the late 18th–20th century.

Although finds from all four assemblages are illustrated in the following reports, only a and c, Groups 1 and 2, are discussed in detail. These two, partly because of sample size, their method of deposition, and their date range could be compared and contrasted to give some insight into the differences between rubbish deposits of the late 16th/17th century and the 17th/18th century.

Group 1 is derived solely from a small, but well-stratified, sequence of deposits in Area 12. The lowest levels here contained finds similar to those from the latest phases in the *Castle Ditch*,[296] e.g. the later reduced greenwares, Rhenish stonewares, Low Countries redwares, and crown glass. The upper levels, however, contained distinctly early 17th-century wares, e.g. Werra and Weser, but, significantly, almost no clay pipes.

Group 2 is derived principally from contexts in Areas 9–11, 12, 14–16 and 20–21. Deposited in the early 18th century, they contained finds dating from the 16th to the 18th century, e.g. Raeren stoneware, Cistercian ware, English slipwares, Staffordshire-type slipwares, early Staffordshire stonewares, clay pipes and crystal glass. An overwhelming proportion of the finds, however, date to the second half of the 17th century. Despite being redeposited, this group is of great value, partly because of its size, but also because it is broadly comparable with the other excavated rubbish deposits from Newcastle of this date.

The contexts for the finds have been noted as—area no./layer no. Where reference is made to finds from other sites the name of the site is given in abbreviated form, e.g. *Castle Ditch* above, and the full title of the report appears in the notes. * indicates a find is not illustrated.

THE POTTERY: AN INTRODUCTION

R. Fraser

Only two major groups of pottery from Black Friars contained significant numbers of vessels in stratified deposits. Group 1 comprised a well-stratified assemblage of 107 vessels, dating from the late 16th to the early 17th century. This group is very important since it continues the pottery sequence beyond the latest phases in the *Castle Ditch*, and because it contains a much larger number of vessels than the

robber-trench fill of Building A, in the *Bastion*,[297] (the only other published context of this date from Newcastle). Group 2 derived from a sequence of layers deposited in the early 18th century, which contained a substantial quantity of pottery, *c.* 790 vessels, dating largely to the second half of the 17th century. This group is broadly comparable with the pottery from the *17th-century Pit*[298] and from phases 2 and 3 of the *Bastion*. There were also a number of late 16th and 17th-century occupation layers in several areas, but these contained very little pottery, making meaningful comparison with the two main groups impossible. The 19th-century deposits contained considerable quantities of earlier pottery, but these were only found useful where they provided more complete examples of forms that were better stratified in the two main groups.

Groups 1 and 2 (Table 5)
Contrary to what has previously been stated for the *Bastion*,[299] it would appear that the metropolitan wares did not immediately take the place of local pottery. Neither group from Black Friars contained evidence of a local pottery industry. Only occasional sherds of reduced greenware types 5 and 6 occurred in the lowest layers of Group 1, which suggests that these fabrics had become residual by the late 16th century. Yet, both English redwares and tin-glaze wares are conspicuous by their almost complete absence from Group 1. It would seem that the Low Countries and Rhenish wares, which gradually replaced much of the local industry in the 15th and 16th centuries, had come totally to predominate by the early 17th century. Some new fabric types appear at this time, notably Werra and Weser wares, and some of the late 16th-century English fabrics, Surrey whitewares and Blackwares, continue. Imported wares make up approximately 80% of the pottery in Group 1.

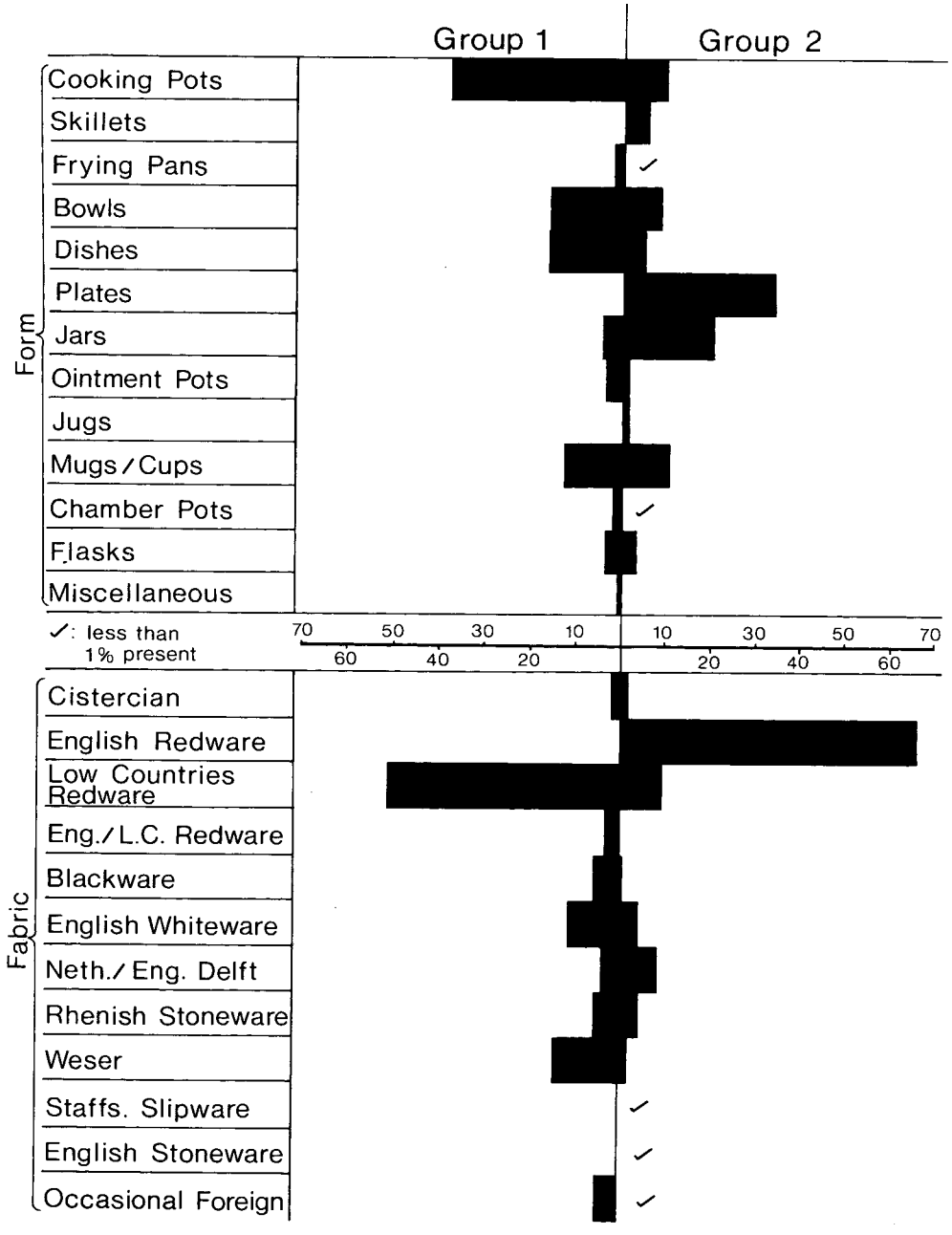
In contrast, in Group 2, the wares familiar from the *17th-century Pit* and the *Bastion*, phases 2 and 3, mainly from the London area, predominate. If the types of vessels involved are examined, it is evident that this later change in fabric types is parallelled by a change in the range of forms. As noted previously in the *Bastion*,[300] certain forms in imported fabrics are replaced by English equivalents, e.g. mugs and cups, but the major change is made up of completely new forms—plates, jars and skillets.

Unfortunately, due to the redeposited nature of the pottery in Group 2 contexts, it is impossible to be certain to what extent the early 17th-century fabrics and forms continued in use, or to know when they were discarded. Consequently, some of the totals for Group 2 fabrics and forms in Table 5 must include some late 16th- and 17th-century pottery, and must therefore be treated with some caution.

As in the *Castle Ditch*, a maximum vessel count proved the most appropriate method for dealing with large quantities of redeposited material. Vessel numbers were calculated after all visible joins, and links between fragments which were obviously part of the same vessel, had been made. Chips and very small fragments were not included in this count.

The authors wish to acknowledge the preliminary work of Margaret Ellison in the preparation of the pottery report, and although it represents a continuation of her work in Newcastle she can in no way be held responsible for the conclusions presented here.

TABLE 5 Pottery histogram.



REDWARES

Janet E. Vaughan

Both Low Countries redwares and English redwares were found at Black Friars, as well as some vessels which could not be ascribed to either category. The Low Countries wares tended to be brighter and more orange in colour, as a result of the clear lead glaze covering a sandy, rather orange, fabric. The English wares were characterized by a smoother, light red, fabric, which after glazing, was often a darker brown, a colour not usually seen on the imports.

Low Countries Redwares

In Group 1, where they formed the major fabric group, there were 54 vessels, some 50% of the total (see Table 5). In Group 2 there were 74 vessels, but these represented only 9% of the vessels there. In both groups the principal form was the cooking pot/cauldron, with 35 in Group 1, and 49 in Group 2 contexts. The range of other forms (bowls, frying pans, collanders, dishes and chamber pots) is broadly similar to that in the latest phases of the *Castle Ditch*.[301]

English Redwares

No redware vessels in Group 1 could be positively identified as English, although three could have been English/Low Countries. In contrast, there were 521 English redwares in Group 2 contexts, where they were the major fabric type, totalling 66% of all vessels. Of these, 229 vessels were plates, some 29%, which is very close to the proportion in the *17th-century Pit*,[302] where redware plates formed 31% of the total vessels. Jars were the second most numerous form, 149 vessels, a situation which is unparalleled in both the *17th-century Pit*[303] and the *Bastion*.[304]

Although, due to its small overall size, the Group 1 sample must be treated with some caution, the absence of distinctly English redwares there, when taken together with the small proportion of Low Countries redwares in Group 2, suggests that a major change away from the Low Countries product and towards the English Metropolitan redwares took place at some time towards the end of the second quarter of the 17th century. Certainly, by the time the fill of the *17th-century Pit* and the later phases of the *Bastion* ditch were deposited English redwares dominated the Low Countries product by a factor of at least 2:1.

Vessels probably used for cooking

Two vessel forms are included in this category. The largest group appear to be cauldrons, a type of pot which, when complete, can be described as a large jar with three feet and two handles. Most of this group were probably imports from the Low Countries: the precise rim forms of over half could not be determined. It was noticeable that few cauldrons were recovered from Areas 9–11.

The second group are represented by nos. 5, 6 and perhaps 10. Though no. 6 is in form a chamber pot it has apparently been used on a fire.

1. Similar to the early collared-rim form, *Castle Ditch* 167–9, but more finely thrown and sharply angled. Light, greenish-brown, glaze extending down below body angle on the outside with fine crazing. 19/6, 17th/early 18th-century context.

2. Red-brown glaze, with small iron flecks, extends over the upper, ribbed, part of the body. 19/6, 17th/early 18th-century context. *Cf. Norwich* 952.[305] There were ten others from Black Friars, none from Group 1. The form does not appear at any of the Castle sites.

3. Yellowish-brown glaze. 12/15, Group 1. Somewhat similar to *Castle Ditch* 172, but with a slight collar, and ridging on the upper body. Similar, larger, vessel in 16/31, Group 2.

4. Clear yellow glaze. 16/29, Group 2.

5. Unglazed externally except for small splashes. Yellow-brown glaze internally, very thin on upper part. 19/4, 17th/early 18th-century context. Like *Castle Ditch* 166, but with a flat base, unusual in Low Countries vessels which this otherwise appears to be.

6. Chamber-pot form as *Castle Ditch* 240, sooted externally. Smooth, internal, orange-brown glaze, patchy cover externally. 12/15, Group 1. Rim of same form in 16/42, Group 2, and also a thumbed footring found on vessels of this form. A fragment of rim, and a footring with an internal deposit, found in 12/14 and 12/15, Group 1, was possibly a vessel like *Norwich* 954, used as a chamber pot.

No. 5 and the vessels mentioned above are the only apparent exceptions to the tripod form.

7. Orange-brown glaze, though a section round the rim is stained dark green. 16/29, Group 2. This form is dated to the early 17th century at

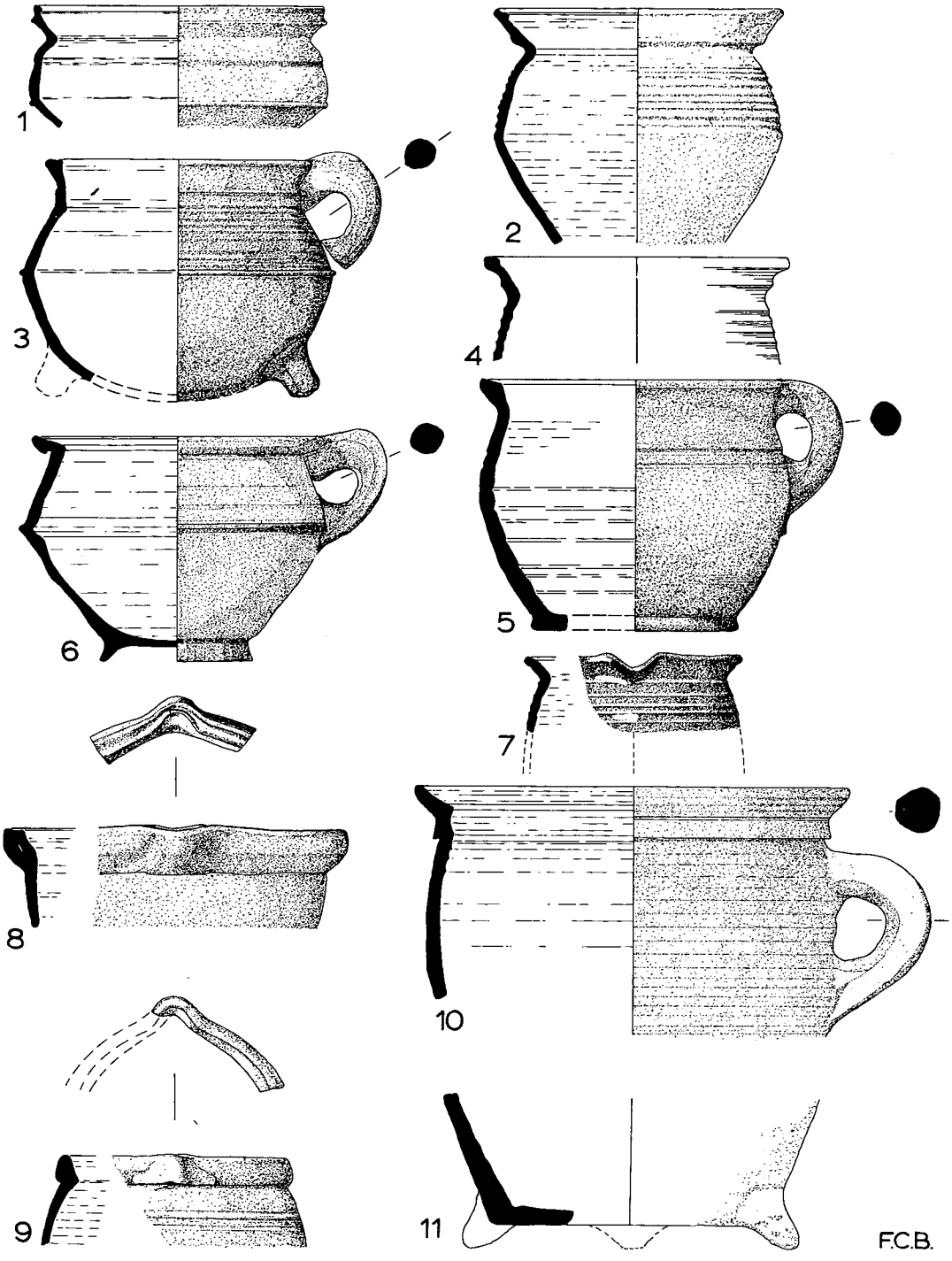


Fig. 17 Redwares ($\frac{1}{4}$).

Southampton, no. 1235.[306] A rim in 12/15, Group 1, may be a similar vessel.

8. Light, yellow-brown, glaze, rather abraded. 12/17, Group 1.

The lighter fabrics, indicated by the yellow glazes, on some of the above vessels are found on the later 16th-century vessels from the *Castle Ditch*. Brighter red fabrics seem to prevail again in the 17th.

9. This is an English form of cauldron. 21/3, 19th-century context. Rim form is as jar, *17th-century Pit* 24. There were three other rims of this form from vessels with external sooting. One from 16/42, Group 2, has a hole pierced about 30 mm below the rim.

Of uncertain provenance:

10. ? Chamber Pot. Slightly sandy, light orange-red fabric, the part reduced turning the full cover of glaze green in blotches round the handle. 11/14, Group 2. Similar vessels seen in the Netherlands.[307]

11. Tripod vessel with sharp basal angle. Patches of glaze on underside of base, otherwise the external surface is unglazed and abraded. Internally glazed, the partial reduction of the fabric giving the glaze a light greenish appearance with orange-brown spots. 11/35, Group 2. *Cf. Bastion* 1. Nos. 10 and 11 could be from the same vessel, and are similar to material currently being studied from the Lower Rhine area.[308]

Jars

These vessels are English in origin. Most are of relatively hard-fired Metropolitan-type fabrics, and the fabric is only described below when it differs from this norm. The unglazed external surfaces are often a dark red or greyish colour. Glaze is usually internal only, and the colour given is the appearance of the glazed surface, not the colour of the glaze itself. The rim form of no. 12 is the commonest, occurring twenty-two times. The lid-seated form, see no. 9, occurs a further eight times on unsooted vessels, and nos. 13–15 are variations of this.

12. Form similar to jar with handle, *Bastion* 15. Body fire-blackened. Greenish-brown, uneven, internal glaze. 11/35, Group 2.

13. Hard fabric with some bloating, dark brown glaze. 190 mm diam. 11/7, Group 2.

14. Dark, olive-brown glaze. Not measurable. 11/4, 19th-century context.

15. Mottled light green and brown glaze. 240 mm diam. 11/13, Group 2.

16. Brown flaking glaze. 190 mm diam. 32/unstratified.

17. Rich brown glaze. 210 mm diam. 16/50, Group 2.

18. Brown glaze, rather thin on inner surface of rim. Not measurable. 23/40, 17th-century context.

19. Orange-brown glaze, partly chipped off. Not measurable. 7/1, 19th-century context.

20. Rough brown glaze begins below inner surface of rim. 270 mm diam. 31/3, 19th-century context.

21. Coarse fabric part reduced giving the glaze a greenish colour. 11/35, Group 2.

22. Jar or large jug. Coarse, sandy, red fabric, olive-green glaze with external splashes and runs. 35/unstratified.

23. Very coarse, red fabric with occasional small stones. Vessel appears to be lopsided. Large bunghole in the same fabric, presumably from the same vessel. Brown internal glaze. 16/42, Group 2.

24. Small rim fragment with heavily sooted exterior. 31/4, 19th-century context.

Skillets

The term skillet is here used to describe the English redware form, a small bowl with the spout at right angles to the handle. All the vessels were glazed internally only.

25. Smaller than usual, and unsooted, so it may have served as a ladle. Brown glaze rough and uneven. 11/35, Group 2.

26. The spout begins to swell out below the body angle which is not usual. Glaze as for no. 25. 11/35, Group 2.

27. Full internal cover of greenish-brown glaze. 21/17 and 21/18, Group 2.

28. Sooted externally. Rich brown internal glaze, rough and uneven near rim. 11/21, 17th-century context.

Bowls

Low Countries wares:

29. Small bowl form, usually found sooted.[309] Light, orange-brown, internal glaze with iron flecks, sooting restricted to part opposite the handle, perhaps used for warming rather than cooking. 12/11, Group 1. Only one other vessel was represented by more than a few fragments, and it too was from 12/11. It has been suggested that some of the function of these small vessels may have been taken over by the skillets.[310]

30. Internal slip and copper-green glaze below the lid seating, plain lead glaze above. 16/39,

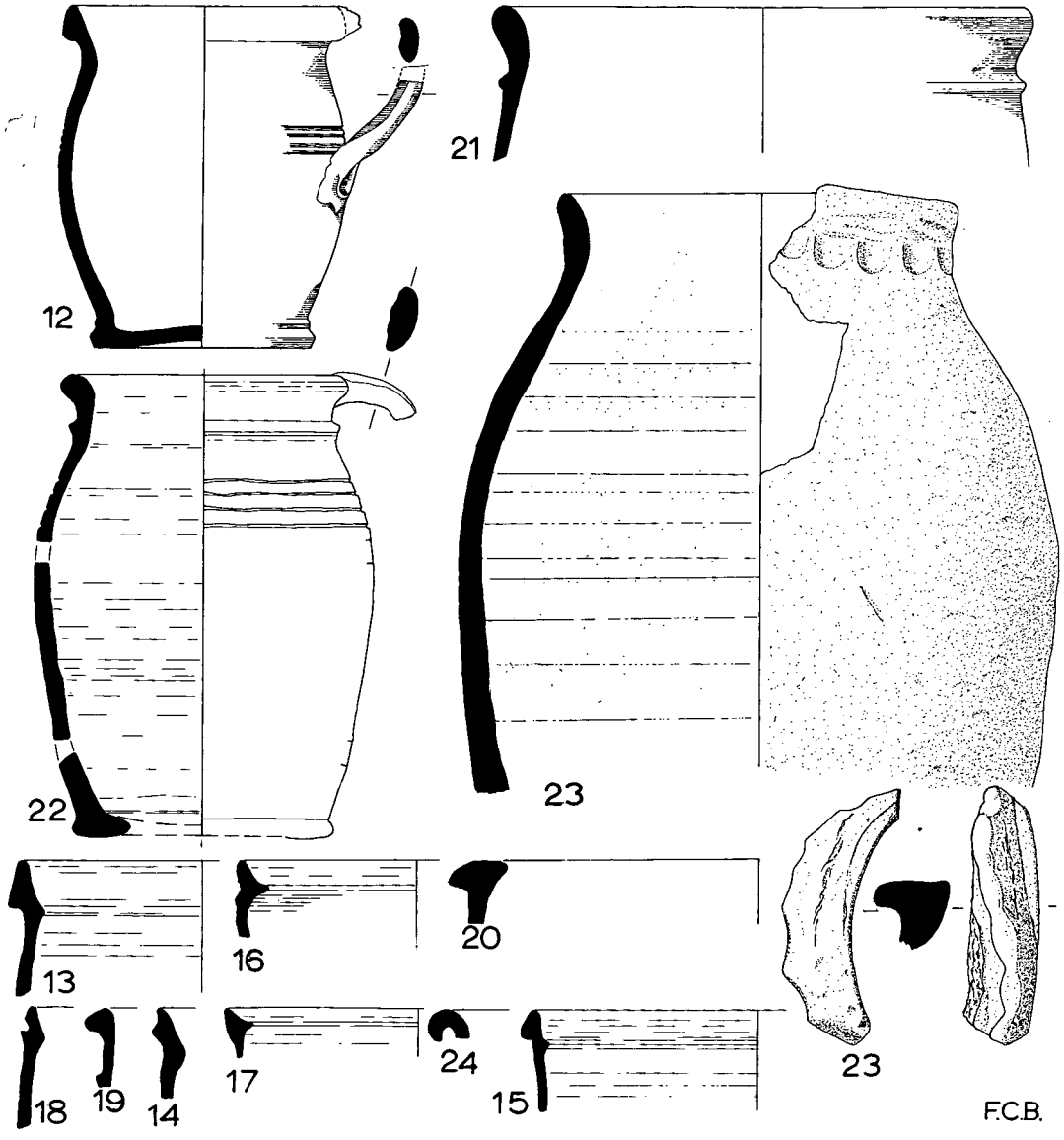


Fig. 18 Redwares (¼).

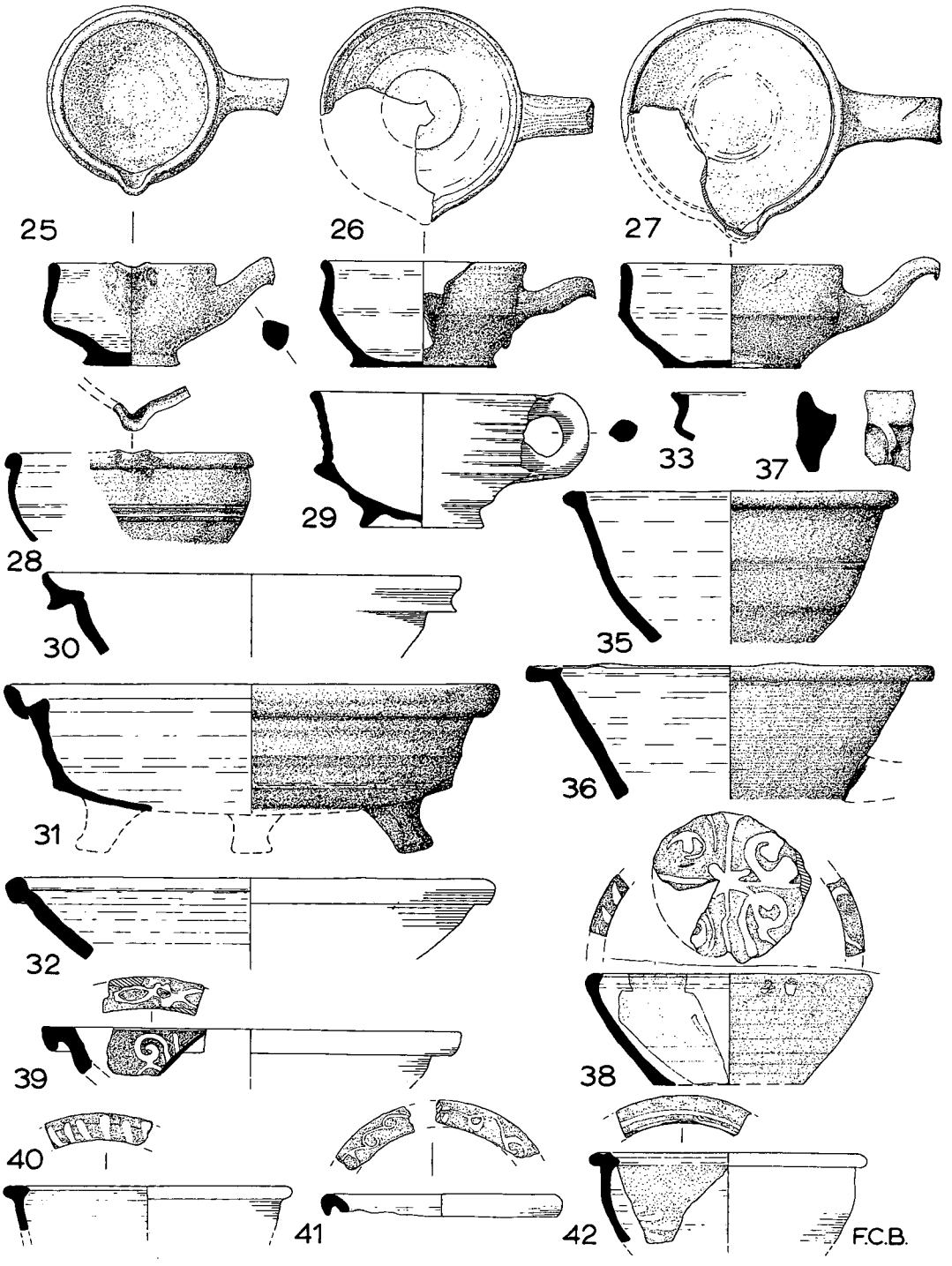


Fig. 19 Redwares ($\frac{1}{4}$).

19th-century context. *Cf.* vessels illustrated in the *Norwich* report, fig. 56.

31. Coarse red fabric with white inclusions. Internal glazed surface rather gritty, and finely speckled yellow and brown. Core reduced in parts. 21/17, Group 2.

Uncertain provenance:

32. Rolled rim form, as is common on the flatwares, see below. Full internal cover of white slip and a copper-green glaze. 19/3, Group 2.

33. Fully glazed, lid-seated vessel. 33/unstratified.

34.* Rim as *Bastion* 47, and a base which appeared to be from the same vessel, indicating a deep bowl. Fabric a softish, light red, internal slip and yellow glaze. 35/unstratified.

English wares:

35. *Cf. 17th-century Pit* 10. 11/23, Group 2. Eight others of this form.

36. *Cf. 17th-century Pit* 13. Vertical handle scar. 16/42, Group 2. Both nos. 35 and 36 were sooted externally.

37. *Cf. Norwich* 1171. Hard, coarse, light red fabric, reduced in a line along the lid seating. Exterior abraded. 16/43, 19th-century context.

Slip decorated bowls

English wares:

There were fragments of about thirty vessels with rim diameters ranging from 160 to 250 mm. The most common form was as *Bastion* 55 (ten vessels). In addition to the illustrated forms there were three vessels similar to *Bastion* 54.

38. From 11/13 and 11/16, Group 2. One other vessel of this form from 16/56, Group 2.

39. Hooked form. 32/unstratified. Other vessels in 11/7 and 12/5, both Group 2.

40. From 35/unstratified. *Cf.* no. 42 below.

41. Slip trailing very faint in parts. 16/30, Group 2.

42. From 34/unstratified. Another vessel in 16/49, and similar in 11/7, both Group 2.

Frying Pans

Low Countries type wares:

43. Rich, yellowish brown, internal glaze with iron flecks. 11/35, Group 2. Fabric looks very like the Metropolitan redware type, but the form is Low Countries, see *Norwich* 983.

44. Rather abraded, brown internal glaze with splashes externally. 11/5, 19th-century context. *Cf. Norwich* 981.

Fragments of two other frying pan type vessels occurred in Areas 14–16, and a third in Area 11, all in a Low Countries type fabric.

45. Tripod frying pan. Both form and fabric are quite unlike any others of the Low Countries vessels. The rim is very similar to one of the common English bowl forms (see no. 35), but the fabric is not like the Metropolitan type either, being a harder, darker red. The internal glaze is thin, and roughened by fine bubbles. 12/11 and 12/15, Group 1.

Plates

Slip decorated plates (flatwares) dominate the pottery from Black Friars as they did the *Bastion* assemblage. There were very few plain examples. The vessels show the usual range of browns and dull greens for the glazed interior, with the slip trailed pattern appearing as light brown, orange or yellow. The fabric of most of the vessels is very similar, the smooth light red Metropolitan type.

About three-quarters of the identifiable rims were of the rolled form typical of the Metropolitan flatwares (see below). Many of these are likely to be from the Essex kilns. However, it should not be ruled out that, as these wares are found in the early 18th-century contexts, a proportion of them may be the products of kilns which carried on this decorative technique in the late 17th or early 18th century, i.e. after the Essex kilns closed down. The "reversed" type (see below nos. 55 and 56), which occurred in the *17th-century Pit* too, also originate elsewhere.[311]

The rims have a wider range of diameters than on similar vessels found in the castle. The biggest group contains those of 280 mm, but there are many much larger, and also several around 240–250 mm, a size not noted amongst the flatwares from *Norwich*.[312]

46. Glaze brown, darkening on the flange. Exterior partially sooted. 11/35, Group 2. Form as *17th-century Pit* 1a. Fabric and glaze were very similar to the illustrated example of 1a, which was probably from Harlow, but the stylized bird here has not been noted on any other Metropolitan flatwares though it is very common on the imported Dutch slipwares.

47. Rim form and fabric appear as *Bastion* 43 (possibly Harlow), but the slip trailing on this one is thicker. Unusual pattern. 11/33, Group 2.

48. Similar form to the above on a smaller vessel, with a harder fired and darker red fabric. Thick slip trailed pattern on a dark brown ground. 11/7 and 11/13, Group 2.

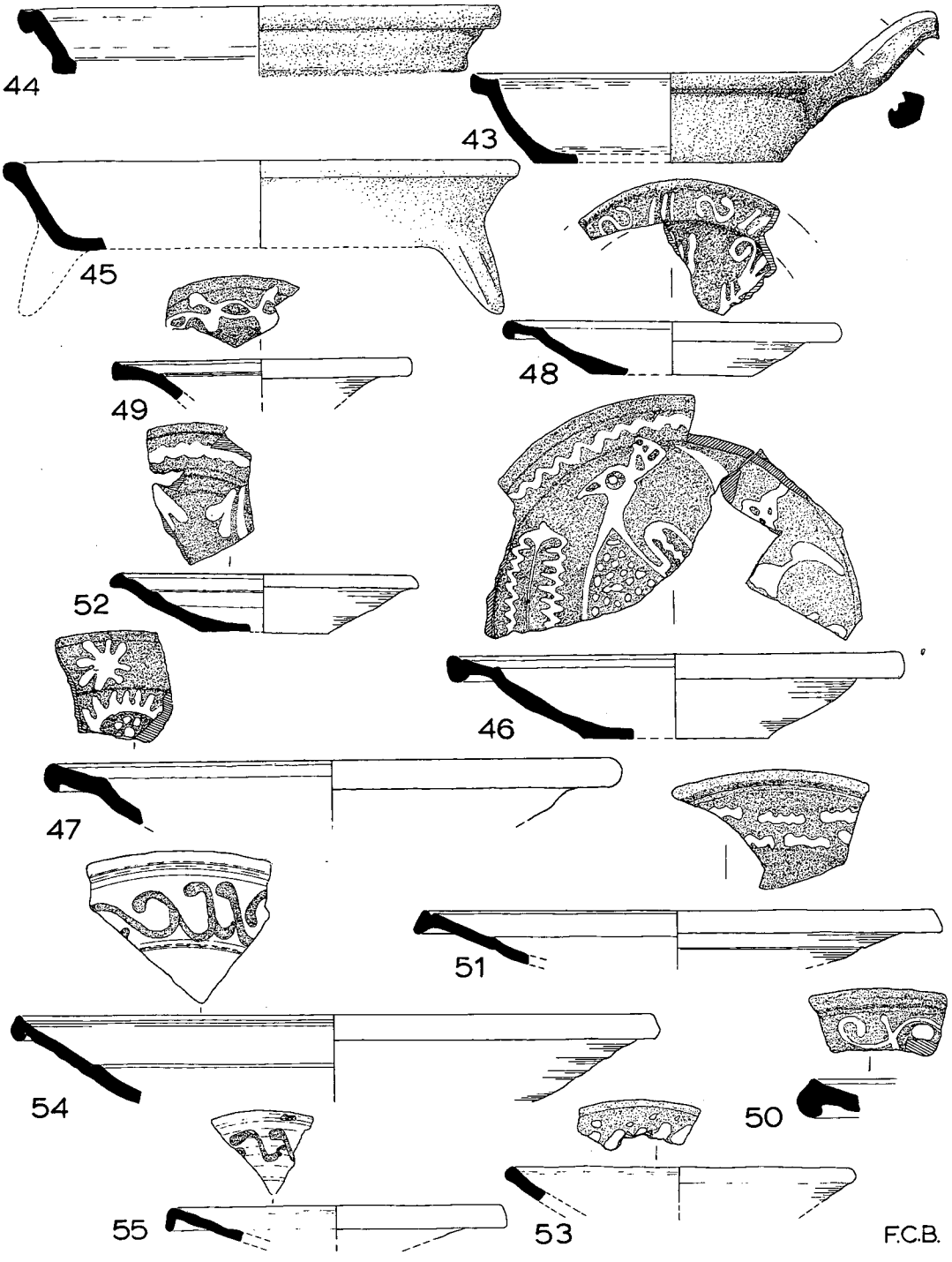


Fig. 20 Redwares ($\frac{1}{4}$).

Three large diameter (340 and 360 mm) plain plates from 11/20 and 11/33, Group 2, were as *Bastion* 44.

49. Thick glaze giving a bright yellow pattern on a rich orange-brown ground, with a few dark brown flecks. 16/29, Group 2.

50. *Cf. Bastion* 48. Slip trailing a light orange-brown. 11/35, Group 2.

51. Form similar to *Bastion* 46, though the fabric is not, being a fine hard light red. 16/29, Group 2.

52. Glaze and pattern as no. 49 above. 11/20, Group 2.

There were some twenty rims like nos. 51 and 52 in form. This form is not typical of the Metropolitan wares. There is a certain similarity with some of the Potovens products.[313]

53. Bright orange-brown glaze with yellow slip. Coarser and softer fabric than most of the flatwares. 11/20, Group 2.

54. Full internal cover of white slip, appearing pale yellow under the glaze, with brown trailed decoration. 16/58, Group 2.

55. The only example with this rim form. 11/13, Group 2.

The fabrics of these two examples of reversed slipware were markedly different. No. 55 had a fine, hard, light red fabric, while that of no. 54 was coarser and more orange. There were several other fragments like the latter, sometimes including quite large white grits. Another group had a very soft fired, light red fabric with badly flaking slip and glaze. Two rolled rims in this group appeared to have more random marbled brown slip trailing. The rest had a fine, light red fabric, unlike Metropolitan in that it was marred by occasional large grits and voids.

56. Glaze a bright orange-brown. The pattern does not respect the border round the rim in the usual Metropolitan style, and the folded rim does not occur again. 16/29, Group 2.

Possibly Low Countries:

57. Some similarity to *Bastion* 36, a Low Countries import. The fabric is a similar sandy orange too. Glaze a reduced olive-green. 16/42, Group 2.

Lower Rhine:

58. Simple rim typical of some of the Lower Rhine products.[314] Sandy orange fabric, rather abraded. 16/42, Group 2.

59. Internal white slip and lead glaze with sgraffito decoration and patches of green glaze. Hard red fabric with no visible inclusions. 34/unstratified.

60. Internal white slip in centre and in bands on rim and flange. Top of rim unglazed, the rest lead glazed with pattern in copper wash. Fabric hard and red with small quartz inclusions. 7/3, Group 2. For other examples see *Kings Lynn* 290.[315]

Low Countries:

There were four vessels with slip trailed decoration, collared rims, and feet like *Bastion* 34 and 35 in addition to the illustrated examples. Undecorated, collared rim forms were found in 12/19, Group 1, as *Castle Ditch* 207, and in 16/42, Group 2, as *Castle Ditch* 213, and were probably 16th-century.

61. Light brown pattern on a brown ground. 12/15, Group 1, and 12/5, Group 2.

62. Internal slip and copper green glaze, with patches of yellow lead glaze. 32/unstratified.

63. Internal white slip and yellow glaze with speckles and faint mottling in dark brown, although much of this internal surface has flaked off. The fabric is a hard, light, orange-red with some fine quartz inclusions. Possibly 18th-century.[316] 35/unstratified.

Jugs and Flasks

English redwares:

64. Full cover brown glaze, on the lower half darkened and crackled with a greenish tinge, burnt base. Hard, smooth, light red fabric, part reduced. 11/23, Group 2.

65. Rich, red-brown, swirly glaze. Sandy fabric. 10/9, Group 2. Fragments of the same or similar vessels occurred in several contexts in Areas 9–11, indicating that the vessel may have had a thin, slip trailed decoration, and a band of ridges round the body.

A jug rim, with form as *Bastion* 8, occurred in 11/35, Group 2. Two Metropolitan slip decorated vessels, probably like no. 69 below but too big to be drinking vessels, were also found.

66. Costrel. Rather patchy, external glaze, bubbled in places. 11/23, Group 2. Fragments of another in 11/7a, Group 2, and 4/unstratified.

67. Flask? Thick, rich brown, external glaze. 9/3, 19th-century context.

Low Countries:

Castle Ditch form 184 was found in 16/47, Group 2.

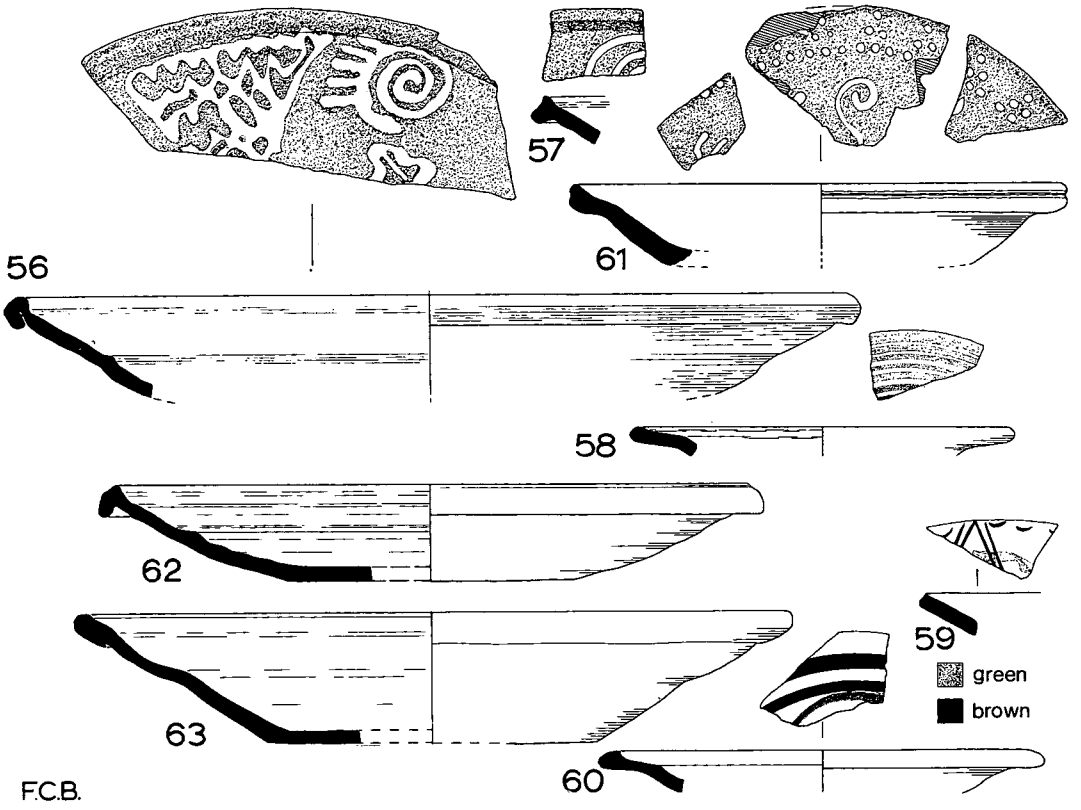


Fig. 21 Redwares ($\frac{1}{4}$)

68. *Cf. Castle Ditch* 178. Heavily sooted exterior, rich red-brown internal glaze. Rim not circular. 14/3, 4, Group 2.

Slip decorated miscellaneous vessels
These are all English wares.

69. The Common Metropolitan mug or jug form. 11/35, Group 2. Fragments of about ten other vessels were found. The background to the pattern on these vessels ranges from rich brown to a dark greenish-brown as on this illustrated example. There were two bases of more globular vessels, both with a greenish glaze.

70. Form similar to the above, but with more everted neck. Pattern orange-yellow on a light brown ground. 11/12, Group 2.

71. Tankard or mug in quite coarse, light red fabric, but with traces of a lighter firing clay incompletely mixed in. The margins are a darker red. Partly burnt round base so the glaze is partly blistered and crazed. Otherwise the background colour is a rich brown. 9/5, Group 2.

72. Tankard or mug in soft, light red fabric. Light brown glazed background, with dark brown speckles. 11/19, Group 2.

73. Tankard or mug. Rich brown glaze. 11/23, Group 2.

74. Base of similar vessel, burnt, with discoloured glaze. 11/33, Group 2.

75. Money box. The glazed surface is rough with the glaze unevenly applied, and partly speckled dull green. 11/13, Group 2. There was another money box fragment in 16/59, Group 2, in a reduced fabric, showing the side of the coin slot.

76.* Two pieces of a candlestick. 9/11, unstratified, but probably Group 2. This form is known from the Harlow kilns.

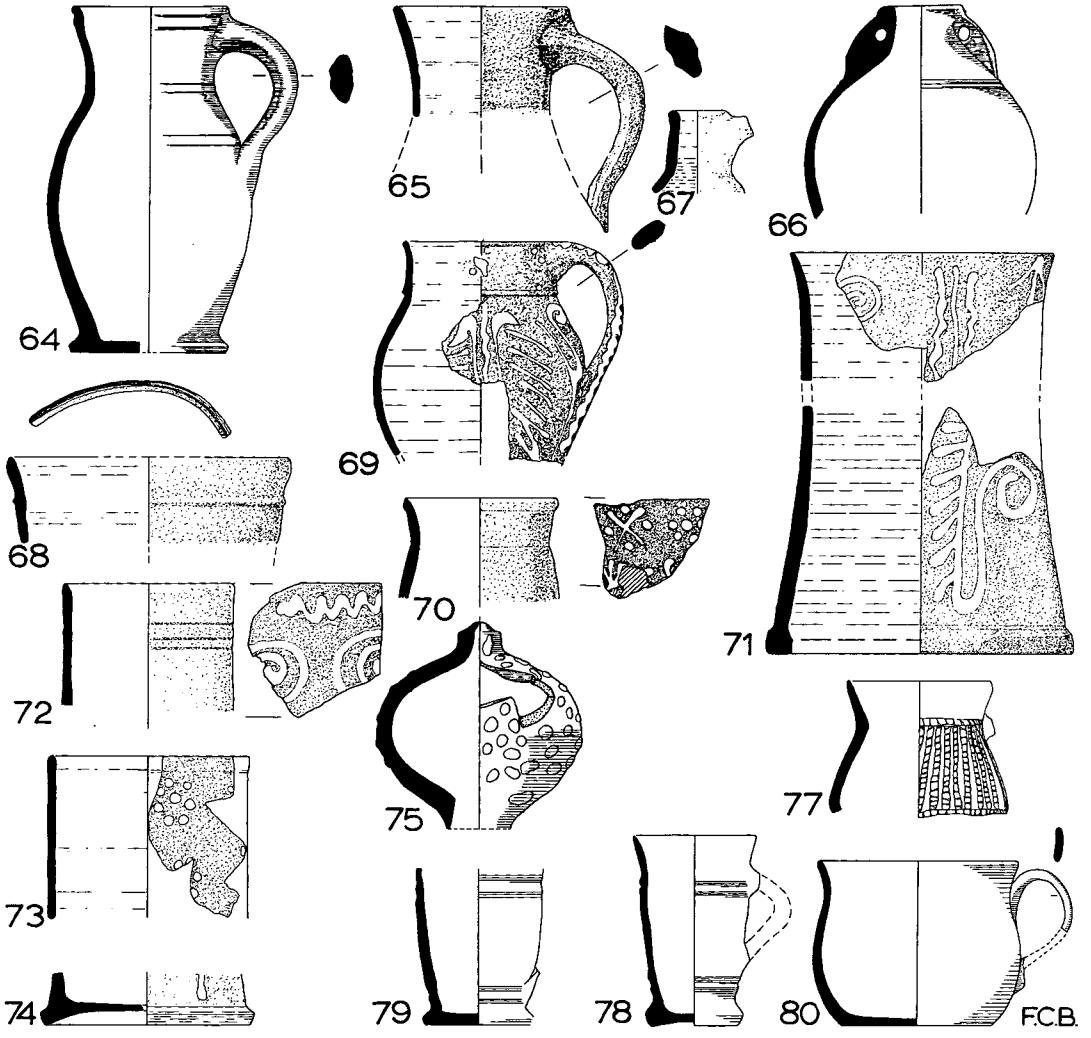


Fig. 22 Redwares, nos. 64–75; Cistercian ware no. 77; Blackwares nos. 78–80 ($\frac{1}{4}$).

CISTERCIAN WARE

Carol Hawman and Janet E. Vaughan

About ninety sherds of this 16th-century type were found in 17th-century and later contexts, with a major concentration in Areas 20–21. Elsewhere, apart from a vessel in 4/6 and 4/12, 16th-century?, only odd fragments occur. The general range of fabric, form and decoration was very much as found in the *Castle Ditch*.[317] Three undecorated vessels from 20/11 and 21/17, both Group 2, were considerably over-fired.

77. Cup, possibly two-handled, in light red fabric with a chestnut brown glaze, decorated with rouletted, applied lines of white clay. 20/11, 21/17, Group 2.

BLACKWARES

Carol Hawman and Janet E. Vaughan

The black-glazed red earthenwares fall into two main groups: the late 16th- to 17th-century drinking vessels, and a group of vessels with, usually, a fine red or dark red fabric, and a more uniformly high quality, glossy black glaze. Though the forms in this group suggest a date range continuing into the 18th century, only Area 11 produced one of these forms in a Group 2 context, and that in a grittier fabric than the usual, being similar to that of the majority of the 16th/17th-century vessels.[318] The other vessels in this group, appearing in 19th-century contexts, may then represent the long continuation of this tradition through and beyond the 18th century.

16th/17th-century type

78. Mug, in fine red fabric, with brownish-black glaze and internal copper green stained sediment. 12/5, Group 2.

79. Mug similar to the above, but in a coarse red fabric. 12/15, Group 1.

There were ten other fragments from ridged drinking vessels, though only four from pre 19th-century contexts. Two straight-sided, three-handled vessels occurred in 16/48, 56, Group 2, in a smooth, light red Metropolitan type fabric.

Later type

80. Cup, in smooth, dark red fabric, with full cover of glossy black glaze. 21/3, 4, 7, 19th-century context. A fragment of a vessel of similar size and form was found in 11/12, Group 2, but with a coarse red fabric (see above). Several other vessels occurred in 19th-century contexts. A similar form was made at Potovens into the 18th century,[319] and see too *Norwich* 1079, dated late 17th to early 18th-century.

The other form occurring among the later types is a chamber pot, *cf. Albion Square* 128 from an 18th-century context.[320] Black or dark brown glazed chamber pots were also made in the early 18th century at Potovens.[321] None of the Black Friars examples were found in pre 19th-century contexts.

ALL OTHER CONTINENTAL AND ENGLISH POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY

R. Fraser

WERRA WARE

Compared with Weser ware, there is very little of this fabric from the site, amounting to only four vessels in total. Only one fragment in this fabric occurred in a primary (Group 1) context, 12/14, which was higher than the lowest in which Weser occurred.

81. Dish, orange-red fabric with small, white inclusions. Internal white and manganese-brown slip-trailed decoration, white slip dashes on rim and full internal lead glaze. 16/45, Group 2.

82. Dish, orange-red fabric with white inclusions. The central motif has details in sgraffito, surrounded by a large spiral zone. The rim is decorated with white slip dashes separated by a long line. 31/4, 18th-century context; 31/1, 19th-century context. *Cf. Norwich* 544.

WESER WARE

In total, fragments of forty-four vessels were recovered—twenty-four dishes, fifteen bowls and five hollow vessels. By comparison with other excavated sites in Newcastle, [322] this represents a relatively large sample, the norm being usually only a handful of sherds. Both Groups contained significant quantities—eight dishes, six bowls and one hollow vessel in Group 1, and twelve dishes, seven bowls and two hollow vessels in Group 2 contexts. Some 75% of the total, i.e. thirty-three vessels, is concentrated in just two areas, 12 and 14–16. Both areas were, by the 18th century, the property of one company, the Cordwainers, and while the unusual quantities here may simply be because of the date of the deposits, equally they could also be due to the economic status of the Cordwainers, or the occupier(s) of their low house, or both. Furthermore, the presence of vessels in Group 1 contexts suggests, contrary to what Sarah Jennings infers for *Norwich*,[323] that vessels in this fabric do not necessarily have a long life. Indeed, this may partly explain their absence from later rubbish deposits in Newcastle.

Hollow wares

Of the five hollow vessels, which were represented by six sherds, two were cooking vessels while the other three could have been cups or jugs.

83. Tubular handle, from a tripod cooking pot, buff-pink fabric, external green-tinted lead glaze. The fracture shows the impression of square notch rouletting applied to the body of the vessel, prior to the application of the handle. 16/42, Group 2.

84. Rim and body sherd (not joining) from a cup or small tripod cooking pot, buff-white fabric, white slip over the edge of the rim internally and externally almost to the base. Decoration consists of groups of four vertical strokes interspersed by groups of horizontal zig-zag lines, both in alternating green and brown. The rim is collar-shaped and decorated with two horizontal grooves. Lead glazed internally, and externally almost to the base where there are traces of sooting. 12/11, Group 1. *Cf. Norwich* 558.

Flatwares

85. Bowl, with hammerhead rim and horizontal loop handles, buff fabric with orange-brown and manganese-brown slip decoration and a very large spiral zone. Internal lead glaze and external sooting. 12/12, 14, 15, Group 1, with joining sherds in 16/42, Group 2. There are three other examples in Group 2 contexts.

86. Carinated bowl, pink fabric with orange-brown and manganese-brown slip decoration and a very large spiral zone. Internal lead glaze and external sooting. 12/12, Group 1. There are four other examples, two in Group 1 and two in Group 2 contexts.

87. Carinated bowl, buff-orange fabric, with large white inclusions and alternating groups of dots and lines in green and orange-brown slip between horizontal lines. Internal lead glaze and external sooting. 12/15, Group 1, and joining sherds in 12/5, and 16/42, 45, 47, 50, Group 2.

88. Carinated bowl, orange-pink fabric, with alternating groups of lines and zig-zag in green and orange-brown slip between horizontal orange-brown bands and internal lead glaze. Externally unglazed and very slightly sooted. 16/29, 42, Group 2. Fragment of similar/same vessel from 35/unstratified.

89. Dish, orange-pink fabric, continuous band of vertical lines in orange-brown and green slip between horizontal orange-brown bands. Full internal lead glaze. 16/25, 19th-century context. Fragment of similar/same vessel in 12/11, Group 1.

90. Dish, orange-pink fabric, zone of alternating groups of four lines and zig-zags in green and orange-brown, between horizontal orange-brown bands and full internal lead glaze. 14/2, 19th-century context; 14/3, 4 and 16/42, 45, Group 2.

91. Dish, red-brown fabric with a laminated structure and reverse slip decoration. Internal lead glaze extends over rim. 33 and 35/unstratified.

RHENISH STONEWARES

Langerwehe

In total, only three vessels, all jug types, were recovered. All the sherds were residual in the contexts in which they occurred.

Raeren

From a total of twelve vessels, only one sherd was found in a Group 1 context (12/17), although two others in Areas 14–16 could be from immediately post-Dissolution surfaces. Five vessels, four mugs and a jug, occurred in Areas 20–21, and one, no. 92, had links in Areas 9–11, which would indicate a common source for at least some of the levelling-up material used in both these areas. Areas 9–11 also produced two fragments of a late 16th-century panelled jug with cobalt blue decoration, from Group 2 contexts, 10/2 and 11/33.

92. Mug, light grey fabric with iron wash over most of the exterior and frilled base. 20/12, 21/6, 21/17–18, 11/9, Group 2. *Cf. Norwich* 751 and 755.

Cologne Frechen

Although there were fragments of only four vessels in Group 1 contexts, out of a total of forty-six from the site, the sequence of deposition reflects the pattern seen in the later phases of the *Castle Ditch* where the oak motif occurred prior to the acanthus and medallion decoration, first seen in phases 12 and 14 respectively.[324] Fragments of a distinctive, underfired Bellarmine occurred in three separate areas, 7/3, 19th-century context, 16/58, Group 2, 16/78, 17th-century, and 33/unstratified, which again points to the cloister being the main source of Group 2 material.

93.* Mug, light grey fabric, internal pale orange-brown glaze and external thin brown glaze with applied tendrils and stamped pads of acorns and oak leaves. 12/17, Group 1, mid 16th-century. For form and decoration *cf. Castle Ditch* 292 and *Norwich* 785.

94. Jug?, grey fabric, mottled dark brown salt

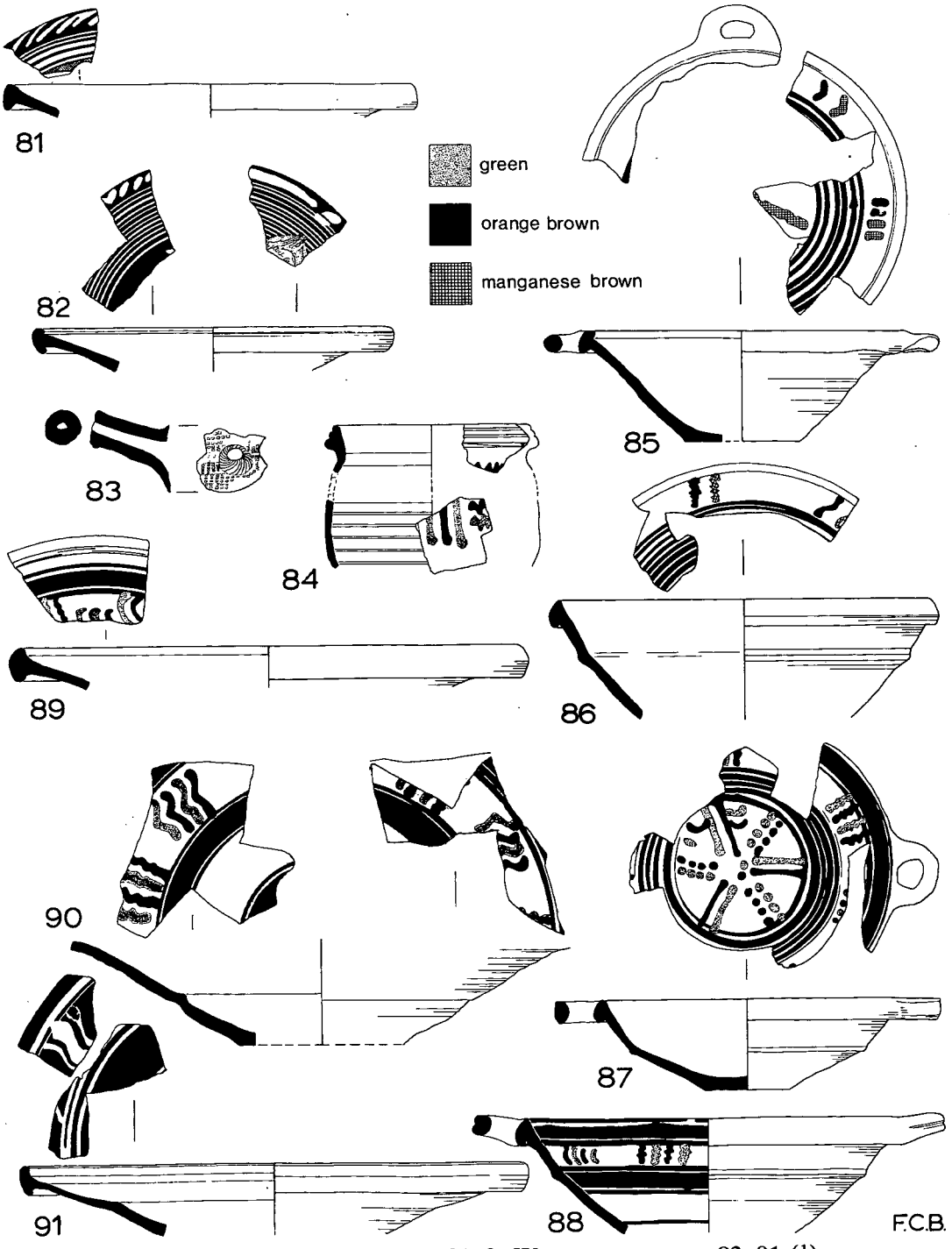


Fig. 23 Werra ware, nos. 81–2; Weser ware, nos. 83–91 ($\frac{1}{4}$).

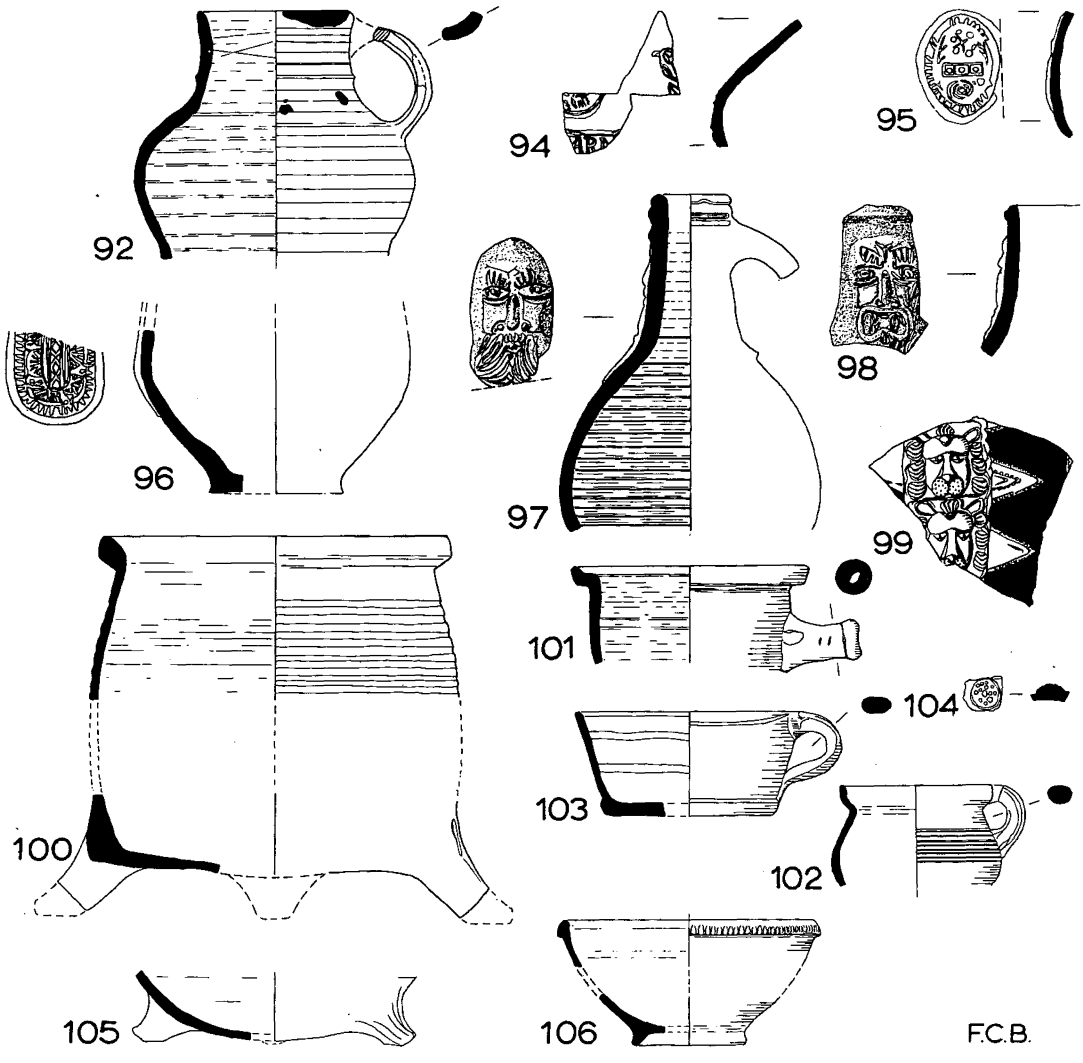


Fig. 24 Rhenish stoneware, nos. 92–9; English whitewares nos. 100–6 (¼)

glaze externally, with acanthus and medallion motif and legend on a stamped central band—ARM—. 12/14, 15, Group 1. For more complete examples *cf. Norwich* 790, 791, 797.

95. Fragment of a Bellarmine, grey fabric, and applied oval medallion incorporating a rose, diadem and star. 11/13–16, Group 2.

96. Base of a Bellarmine, grey fabric, external "orange-peel" textured brown salt glaze and applied medallion. 10/9, Group 2. The design on the medallion with three saltires appears to be a schematic representation of the arms of Amsterdam,[325] probably 17th-century, and is similar to *Norwich* 823.

97. Fragment of a Bellarmine, dark blue-grey fabric and applied stamped mask. 35/unstratified. Mask very similar to *Norwich* 817 and 825.

98. Fragment of a Bellarmine, light grey-brown fabric and applied stamped mask. 35/unstratified.

Westerwald

Of the eight vessels recovered, the majority were jugs rather than tankards. Two fragments of a tankard occurred in Group 1 contexts, 12/11, 16, although in the second context the sherd may be intrusive, since this fabric was only imported into England in large quantities from the beginning of the 17th century.

99. Fragment of a jug?, light grey fabric, applied lion mask and stamped decoration with light grey and blue salt glaze in the decorated areas. 11/20, Group 2. This high quality piece is likely to be early 17th-century.[326]

ENGLISH WHITEWARES

In total, fragments of some seventy-seven vessels, mainly in the Surrey tradition, but with a few possible Midlands wares, were found. Of these, nine were in Group 1 contexts and thirty-two in Group 2.

100. Tripod cooking pot, hard, fine grained buff fabric, with full internal olive-green glaze and external splashes. Slight sooting near base. Surrey-Hants. type. 12/11, 13, Group 1, with joins in 12/5, Group 2, and 12/2, 19th-century context. *Cf. Norwich* 887.

101. Cooking pot, pale buff, sandy fabric with full internal copper-green glaze extending slightly over the rim and tubular handle. Surrey-Hants. type. 11/35, Group 2. The form is similar to *Cove* 92, 93,[327] and *Basing House* 3.[328]

102. Small cooking pot, sandy pale buff fabric, with internal and external copper-green glaze. External ribbing on shoulder. 12/11, Group 1, and joins in 16/42–45, Group 2.

103. Cup, hard off-white fabric with red inclusions, internal yellow glaze and external copper-green glaze. Surrey-Hants. type. 11/13, Group 2, and join in 11/4, 19th-century context.

LOW COUNTRIES WHITEWARE

104. Fragment, buff sandy fabric with black inclusions and applied roundel in sandy red fabric in the form of a raspberry with internal and external copper-green glaze. 11/7a, Group 2. This type of motif is more common on Frechen Bellarmines, e.g. *Castle Ditch* 302, although the fact that Low Countries whitewares were made in the same potteries as the redwares has been noted before in Newcastle.[329]

105. Tripod cooking pot, granular buff-brown fabric with internal and external mottled green glaze. 33/unstratified. *Cf. Bastion* 4.

106. Small bowl, sandy buff-pink fabric with internal yellow glaze and external copper-green glaze. Notched decoration on rim. 16/42, Group 2.

ANGLO-NETHERLANDS TIN-GLAZE

After the redwares, tin-glazed wares formed the second largest fabric group from the site. While there were a large number of vessels in Group 2 (sixty), Group 1 contained only three, all of which were ointment pots, and probably Dutch. This may suggest that tin-glazed wares were not arriving in Newcastle in substantial quantities before the mid 17th century.

107. Plate with knife-trimmed octagonal base, off-white fabric, internal and external white tin-glaze and internal blue painting. Probably Dutch. 12/5, 15/8–10, Group 2.

108. Plate, off-white fabric, internal pink-white tin-glaze and chinese style blue painting, and external thick green tin-lead glaze. 11/13, Group 2.

109. Base fragment with footring, light orange-brown fabric with red inclusions, internal white tin-glaze with polychrome painting. External tin-lead glaze. 11/22, Group 2.

110. Dish, light orange-brown fabric, internal white tin-glaze and polychrome painting. External tin-lead glaze. 11/33, Group 2, 11/4, 19th-century context, 11/unstratified.

111. Fluted dish, cream fabric and internal and external white tin-glaze. 12/5, 16/58, Group 2.

112. Bowl, cream fabric, internal white tin-glaze and blue painting, and external white tin-glaze. 21/16, Group 2.

113. Bowl, cream fabric, internal pale blue tin-glaze and polychrome painting. External tin-lead glaze and turquoise staining. 11/13, Group 2, and 21/3, 19th-century context.

114. Large dish/bowl, cream fabric, internal and external white tin-glaze, and two rivet holes below the rim. 15/4, 16/58, Group 2.

115. Ointment pot, orange-brown fabric, internal and external pink tinted tin-glaze. 20/21, 17th-century context.

116. Ointment pot, orange-brown fabric, internal and external white tin-glaze. 16/53, Group 2.

117. Ointment pot?, cream fabric, internal and external white tin-glaze and external blue painting. 12/15, Group 1.

118. Jar or ointment pot, cream fabric, internal and external white tin-glaze (not on rim),

with blue painting and manganese speckling beneath the rim. 16/42, 16/50–56, Group 2.

119. Fragment, possibly a cup, off-white fabric, internal and external white tin-glaze and external blue painting. 16/88, Group 2.

120.* Mug, cream fabric, internal and external white tin-glaze and external sprinkled manganese. 11/33, Group 2. This form has previously been illustrated in the *17th-century Pit*, 35, and *Bastion*, 69.

121. Chamber pot, yellow-brown fabric, internal and external, pink-tinged white tin-glaze. 10/2, Group 2.

LOW COUNTRIES MAIOLICA?

122. Base fragment of an albarello, off-white fabric, with internal and external ochre tin-glaze (very badly flaked). 12/15, 16, Group 1.

NORTH ITALIAN MARBLED WARE?

123. Fragment of a lion mask costrel, fine orange fabric, white and brown marbled external slip and applied lion mask. Internal and external lead glaze. Early/mid 17th-century. 12/5, Group 2. For more complete examples see *Norwich* 634 and *Southampton* 1363. To date, this form has no close parallel in Italy.[330]

CHINESE PORCELAIN

124. Burnt fragment of a tea cup, hard light blue paste, with internal and external blue painting. 12/11, Group 1. This piece is unlikely to date before 1730, or after 1780,[331] and is almost certainly intrusive.

STAFFORDSHIRE TYPE SLIPWARE

From a maximum of twenty-eight vessels from the site, only eleven occurred in Group 2 contexts, the majority coming from Areas 5–7. The presence of sherds of this fabric, together with sherds of Staffordshire white dipped salt-glaze tankards, in Group 2 contexts, given the absence of later wares, suggests an early 18th-century date for the deposition of this Group 2 material.

125. Scalloped edged, press-moulded dish, hard laminated cream-buff fabric with red inclusions. Internal marbled red and white slip, which appears dark brown, tan and yellow under the glaze. 21/16, Group 2. *Cf. Albion Square* 303.

SAINTONGE

126. Costrel, buff-white earthenware, with only slight external splashes of lead glaze. Possibly late medieval. 10/11, 11/18, 23, Group 2.

UNKNOWN

127. Base of ointment pot, hard, overfired, light brown fabric, internal and external white slip and lead glaze. 19/5, 17th/early 18th-century context. Possibly a redware copy of the tin-glaze form.

THE GLASS

Carol Hawman and Janet E. Vaughan

The glass has been divided into four categories: window, green vessel, crystal and bottle glass. While the site produced over 400 fragments of glass, less than 50% of these occurred in pre 19th-century contexts. The quantities do not, therefore, provide a large enough sample to make statistical analysis worthwhile. In the following tables only the numbers of fragments are recorded.

	Window	Green Vessel	Crystal	Bottle	Total
19th cent.	41	52	21	132	246
17th–18th cent.	22	4	1	3	30
Group 2	41	40	4	67	152
Group 1	6	2	—	—	8
Total	110	98	26	202	436

Window Glass	Medieval	Type 1	Type 2	Coloured	Clear
19th cent.	6	28	2	1	4
17th–18th cent.	14	3	—	5	—
Group 2	10	22	3	2	4
Group 1	4	1	1	—	—
Total	34	54	6	8	8

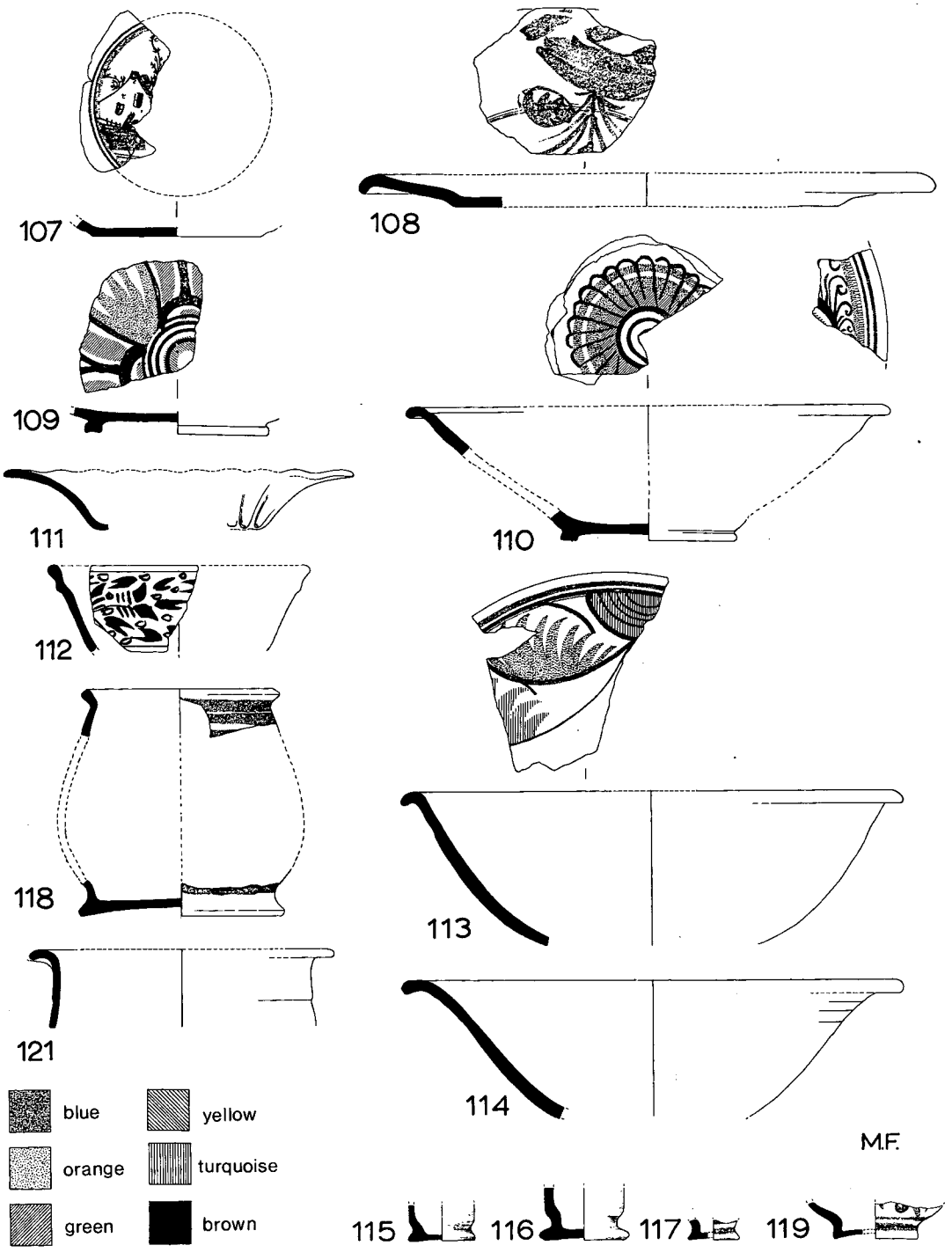


Fig. 25 Anglo-Netherlands tinglazed wares ($\frac{1}{4}$).

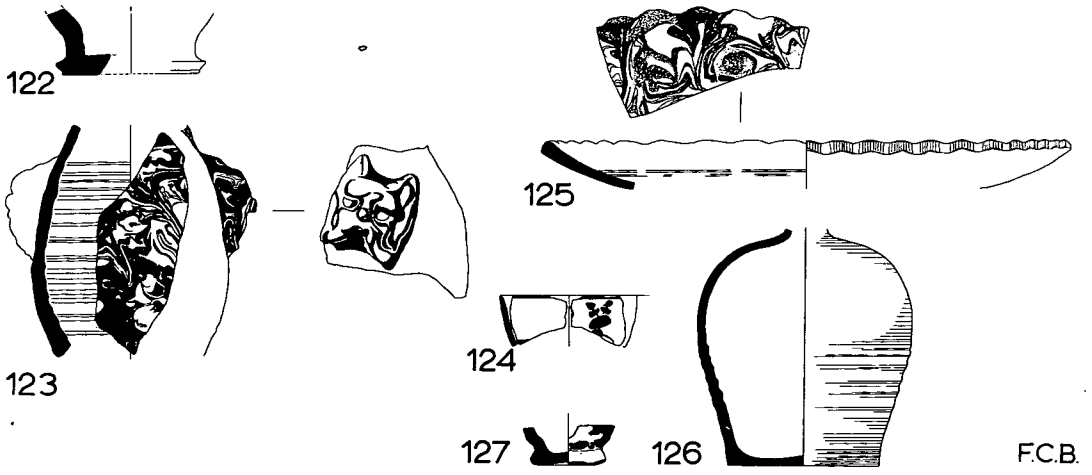


Fig. 26 Low Countries maiolica?, no. 122; North Italian marbled ware?, no. 123; Chinese porcelain, no. 124; Staffordshire-type, no. 125; Saintonge ware, no. 126; unknown, no. 127 ($\frac{1}{4}$).

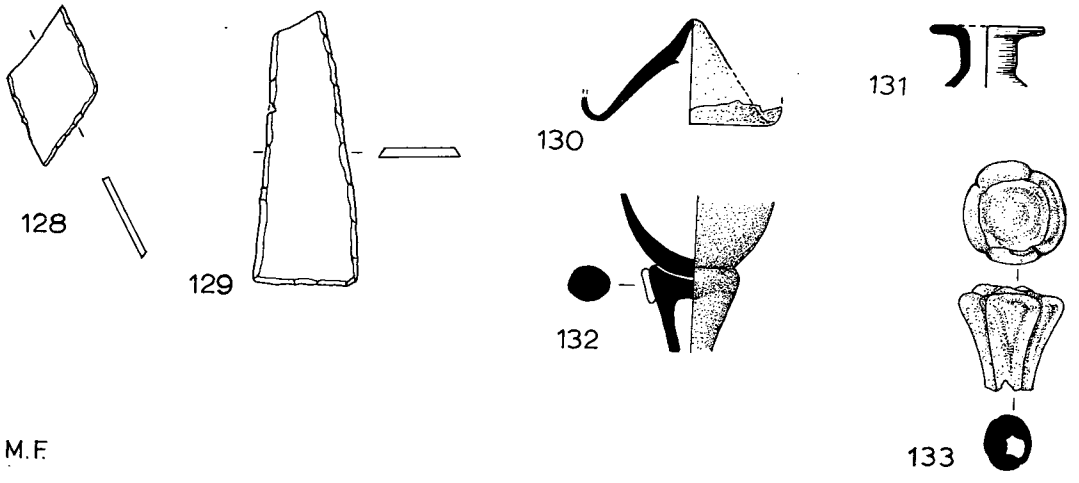


Fig. 27 Glass, ($\frac{1}{2}$).

The medieval window glass was largely residual, and will be discussed in detail in the forthcoming medieval report for Black Friars. Interestingly the majority of fragments were from Areas 20–21, with thirteen fragments occurring in 17th-century contexts, which possibly suggests that the ground floor windows retained their medieval glazing for some time in this room at least.

The majority of fragments were the light green *17th-century Pit* type 1 metal, and are probably of local manufacture.[332] Very little could be identified as crown glass, the majority being the thin (1–1·5 mm) even thickness of broad glass. It was not possible to determine any quarrel sizes since only one fragment had grozed edges. A number of large fragments, in Areas 14–16 and 20–21, which were also of much greater clarity, may reflect the change from lattices of quarrels and lead cames to larger panes set in wooden glazing bars, which took place during the 17th century.[333]

Only six fragments of window glass could be identified as the thicker (2 mm), blue-green, *17th-century Pit* type 2 metal. These appeared to be largely crown glass, and would seem to date to the second half of the 16th century.[334] Two fragments from Areas 20–21 with grozed edges suggested diamond quarrels with tip angles ranging from 65 to 77 degrees, a wider range than was found in the *17th-century Pit*.[335]

There were eight fragments of coloured, "flashed" glass, similar to the type found in the later phases of the fill of the *Castle Ditch*, where it was most common in the first half of the 16th century.[336] Examples include red, blue and orange fragments, which varied from 2–3 mm in thickness. Four fragments had the heat sealed edges of crown glass.

128. Red "flashed" glass, trapezoidal quarrel. 21/18, Group 2.

129. Diamond-shaped quarrel, metal similar (but darker than) green potash type 1 metal, slightly devitrified, 2 mm thick. Possibly crown glass. 16th-century. 12/17, Group 1.

Green Vessel Glass

The majority of fragments were in a light green metal, though there were examples in blue-green and blue metal. Most were fragments of 19th-century bottles, while the material as a whole was predominantly pharmaceutical, there being very few domestic vessels.

130. Pushed-in base of a beaker or bottle, in a light green metal with surface weathering. First half 17th-century. 17/5, 17th/early 18th-century context. *Cf. 17th-century Pit* 43.

131. Neck of a small pharmacy bottle or phial, in a light green metal with surface weathering. Possibly 17th-century. 16/45, Group 2.

Crystal Glass

132. Fragment of the stem and bowl of a wine glass. Extensive "crizzling" on both stem and bowl. 11/22, Group 2. Probably an example of the early lead crystal produced in Newcastle in the 1680s, initially by the Dagnia family.[337]

133. Wine glass stem, lead crystal, possibly early 18th-century. 10/4, Group 2. The four-sided, moulded pedestal form is similar to early 18th-century Silesian stems, although these are usually sharply incised.

Bottle Glass

Over half the bottle glass from the site derived from wine bottles, mostly dark green sack bottles, dating from the 17th century onwards. The majority of these were 4–5 mm thick, in a dark green metal, with heavily devitrified surfaces. There were also fifty-eight fragments of brown or dark green glass, commonly termed "black" glass. Although some fragments could be from wine bottles, the majority were from beer bottles. The remaining fragments of bottle glass were in a thick (4–5 mm), aqua-coloured metal, presumably from mineral bottles. Embossed legends on a number of bottles from these two types identify them as being of local manufacture.

THE CLAY TOBACCO-PIPES

Lloyd J. Edwards

For almost twenty years the main reference work for the study of the clay tobacco-pipe in the north-east has been "The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco-pipe in the North-East" by the late J. E. Parsons.[338] His researches led him to believe that the industry in the north-east commenced in Gateshead *c.* 1645, and enabled him to formulate both bowl and stamp typologies for north-eastern pipes. Recent documentary research has shown that the local clay-pipe industry commenced in Newcastle during the 1630s, be-

fore spreading to Gateshead by the mid 1640s at the latest.[339] Adrian Oswald identified a series of bowl types and stamps from the Black Gate excavations which were of local manufacture, *c.* 1635–75, and proposed a bowl typology comprising nine types for the material he had examined.[340] Of these, Types 5, 6, 7 and 9 all had equivalent Parsons' Types. In order to clarify the situation I propose a bowl typology for Newcastle and Gateshead pipes, created from an amalgamation of those formulated by Parsons and Oswald, to be named "Tyneside".

Bowl Type Conversion

Parsons	Oswald	Tyneside	Date
	1a	1a	*c.* 1635–50
	1b	1b	*c.* 1635–50
	2a	2a	*c.* 1645–60
	2b	2b	*c.* 1645–60
	3a	3a	*c.* 1650–75
	3b	3b	*c.* 1650–75
1	5	4	*c.* 1630–45
2	6	5	*c.* 1645–60
3,4	7	6	*c.* 1650–80
	8	7	*c.* 1660–80
5	9	8	*c.* 1670–90
6		9	*c.* 1680–1710
7		10	*c.* 1680–1720
8		11	*c.* 1680–1720
9		12	*c.* 1680–1720
10		13	*c.* 1710–50
11		14	*c.* 1700–80
12		15	*c.* 1700–80

In addition there were six examples of bowls of mid to late 19th-century date.

Parsons' stamp typology included three pre-1820 types. The recent research outlined above has revealed a further three stamp types. I suggest a new typology, also named "Tyneside", to accommodate these new types.

Tyneside Stamp Types

Type A, *c.* 1635–75
Heart-shaped relief stamps on heart-shaped bases. Normally comprising the maker's initials over another symbol. Stamp Type A occurs on bowl-types 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 3a, and 3b produced by "G.C.", John Grayson and "N.W." of Newcastle, and John Bowman and William Sewell of Gateshead.

Type B, *c.* 1655–75
Circular-shaped stamps in relief on heart-shaped or circular bases, comprising the maker's initials between other symbols. The Type occurs on bowl-types 2a, 3a and 3b produced by "G.C.", John Grayson and "N.W." of Newcastle.

Type C, *c.* 1670–80
Lozenge-shaped stamps in relief on the stems. The stamps are quartered, with the maker's initials in the left and right quarters. The upper and lower quarters are occupied by fleur-de-lis in one sub-type, and by a crown and rose in another. The Type occurs on bowl-types 6 and 8 produced by John Bowman, George Carter, Leonard Holmes, Luke Maxwell, Thomas Parke, Henry Walker, Edward Craggs and Michael Swaddel of Gateshead.

Type D, *c.* 1675–1710
Parsons type "a". Oval-shaped stamps, normally incuse, on the stem, comprising the maker's name with foliate design above and below. The Type occurs on bowl-types 6, 8, 9 and 13, produced by Edward Craggs, John and Robert Colling, Joseph Fawell, William Harle, Arthur and John Hastings, Henry, John and Leonard Holmes, Robert Mould, George, Michael and Thomas Parke, John Pattison, John Rodchester, Michael Swaddel, Thomas Taylor, John Thompson and Henry Walker of Gateshead, plus Roger Rain of Newcastle.

Type E, *c.* 1680–1750
Parsons type "b". Moulded stamps in relief on the sides of heels and spurs. The Type occurs on bowl-types 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14, produced by John and Robert Colling, Edward Craggs, John Hastings II, Henry Holmes II, Arthur and Robert Mould, Michael Parke and John Rodchester of Gateshead.

Type F, *c.* 1780–1820
Parsons type "c". Incuse rouletted stamp, comprising a vine design above and below the maker's name, on the stem of pipes produced by Hugh Coates of Gateshead.

In addition to those pipes which can be attributed to Newcastle and Gateshead, there were examples from Yorkshire and London. The former comprised five pipes of Hull Type II, other-

wise known as "Yorkshire Bulbous", dated to the late 17th century.[341] The London pipes comprised three examples of London Type 4, *c.* 1610–40; one London Type 5, *c.* 1610–40; and one London Type 23, *c.* 1690–1720.[342]

The Pipemakers

The dates attributed to pipemakers in this report are their known working lives determined from documentary evidence. The makers "G.C." and "N.W." are still unidentified, although the nature of their pipes and the fact that they are predominantly found in the Newcastle area and north-east, suggest that they are Newcastle pipemakers. The producer of the pipes stamped "I.G."[343] can now be identified as Newcastle pipemaker John Grayson, recorded in 1653–4.[344]

Conclusion

With the exception of those listed below under the heading, *Nineteenth-Century Pipemakers*, this group of pipes can be dated by bowl typology to *c.* 1635–1720. However, the stamps suggest a terminal date of *c.* 1700. The vast majority of the pipes can be attributed to Newcastle and Gateshead pipemakers.

Note. Contexts are not given for the numbered pipes in the list which follows. The quantities of specific bowl and stamp types are, however, shown in Tables 1–4. The stamps are illustrated at a scale of 2:1.

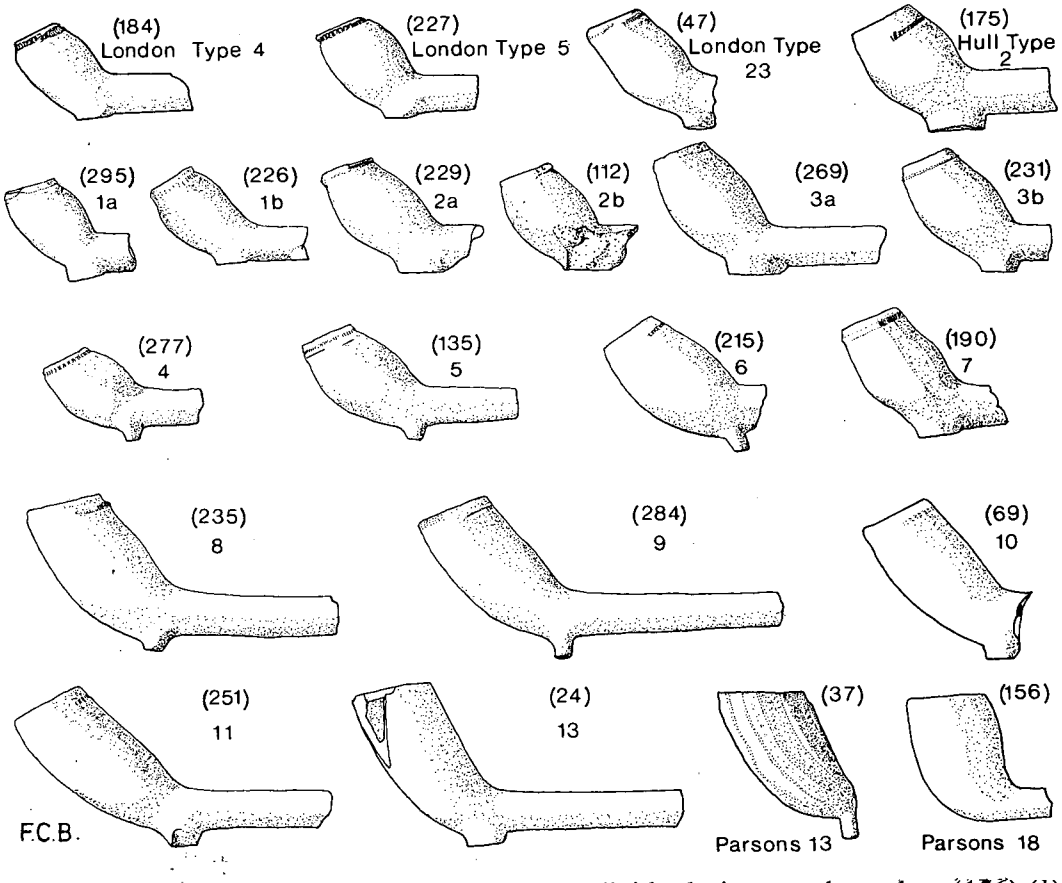


Fig. 28 Types of clay tobacco pipes. Individual pipe numbers thus (156) (½).

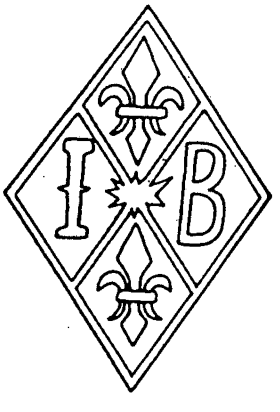
Newcastle Pipemakers

Maker's name	Maker's mark	Pipe no.	Tyneside Bowl type	Stem bore	Tyneside Stamp type	Mark description
"G.C."		298	N/A	7/64	A	Large letters over 5 sepal rose. Plain inner border.
		127	2a	7/64	A	Large letters over Cross-fleurie.
John Grayson *c.* 1653–4		272	2a	8/64	A	Medium letters over 5 pointed star. No inner border.
		180	2a	7/64	A	Medium letters over 5 pointed star. Plain inner border.
		148 229 269	3a 2a 3a	7/64 7/64 7/64	A	Medium letters over fleur-de-lis. Inner border.
		185 271	2a 2a	7/64 8/64	B	Large letters. Star above and below.

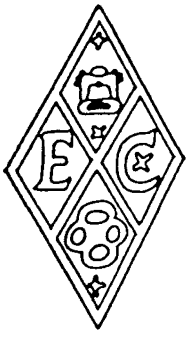
Newcastle Pipemakers (cont.)

Maker's name	Maker's mark	Pipe no.	Tyneside Bowl type	Stem bore	Tyneside Stamp type	Mark description
"N.W."		1 228	2b 2a	8/64 6/64	A	Large letters. 2 pellets above, 4 below.
		188	N/A	7/64	B	Medium letters with N reversed. Foliage above and below.
Roger Rain, 1698		12 74	N/A N/A	7/64 6/64	D	Foliate design above and below the name.

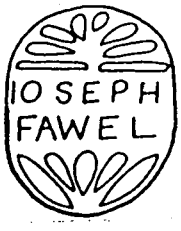
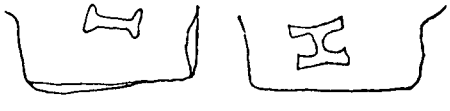
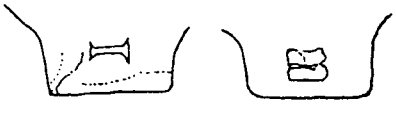
Gateshead Pipemakers

John Bowman *c.* 1645–89d		176 287	N/A N/A	7/64 7/64	C	I B in a lozenge between 2 fleur-de-lis.

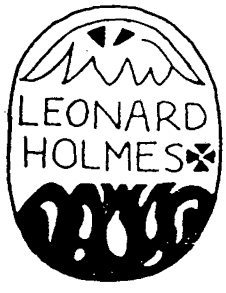
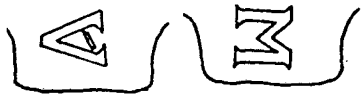
Gateshead Pipemakers (cont.)

Maker's name	Maker's mark	Pipe no.	Tyneside Bowl type	Stem bore	Tyneside Stamp type	Mark description
Edward Craggs *c.* 1678–1717d		102 159 220	N/A N/A N/A	8/64 8/64 8/64	C	E C in a lozenge between a crown and a rose.
		99 118 121 144 145 153 154 157a 235	N/A N/A N/A N/A N/A N/A N/A N/A 8	7/64 7/64 8/64 8/64 8/64 7/64 7/64 6/64 8/64	D	Foliate design above punctuated name.
		134 236 247 288	9 N/A N/A N/A	7/64 7/64 7/64 7/64	D	Foliate design above and below name.
		223	N/A	8/64	D	Foliate design above and below name.

Gateshead Pipemakers (cont.)

Maker's name	Maker's mark	Pipe no.	Tyneside Bowl type	Stem bore	Tyneside Stamp type	Mark description
Joseph Fawell *c.* 1693–1708d		101	N/A	6/64	D	Foliate design above and below name.
William Harle *c.* 1679		199	N/A	7/64	D	Foliate design above and below name.
Arthur Hastings *c.* 1680–1722d		206	N/A	7/64	D	Foliate design above and below name.
John Hastings II *c.* 1710–45		22	12 or 13	U	E	I on left heel. H on right heel.
		30		6/64	E	

Gateshead Pipemakers (cont.)

Maker's name	Maker's mark	Pipe no.	Tyneside Bowl type	Stem bore	Tyneside Stamp type	Mark description
Leonard Holmes, *c.* 1671–1707d		152 291	N/A N/A	8/64 7/64	D	Foliate design above and below punctuated name.
		35 82 292	N/A N/A N/A	7/64 7/64 7/64	D	Foliate design above and below name. Cross after name.
		65	N/A	6/64	D	Name only.
Arthur Mould *c.* 1713–36		25 26	13 12	6/64 6/64	E	A on left heel. M on right heel.
George Parke *c.* 1695–1706d		123 252	N/A N/A	6/64 7/64	D	Foliate design above and below punctuated name. Cross after name.

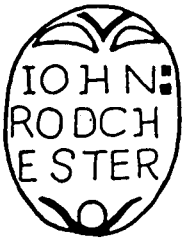
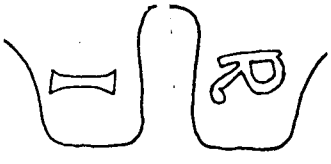
Gateshead Pipemakers (cont.)

Maker's name	Maker's mark	Pipe no.	Tyneside Bowl type	Stem bore	Tyneside Stamp type	Mark description
George Parke (*cont.*)		70	N/A	6/64	D	Two stars above name.
Michael Parke *c.* 1692–1737d		143 284	N/A 9	7/64 7/64	D	Foliate design above and below punctuated name.
		217 289	N/A N/A	6/64 6/64	D	Foliate design above and below punctuated name.
		86 146	8 N/A	7/64 6/64	D	Foliate design above and below name.
		43 81 238 253 261	N/A N/A N/A N/A N/A	7/64 6/64 7/64 7/64 6/64	D	Foliate design above and below name.

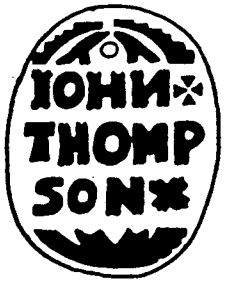
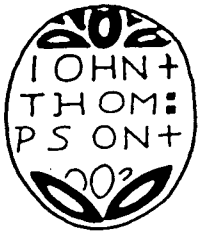
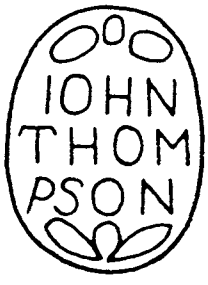
Gateshead Pipemakers (cont.)

Maker's name	Maker's mark	Pipe no.	Tyneside Bowl type	Stem bore	Tyneside Stamp type	Mark description
Michael Parke (*cont.*)		87 89	N/A N/A	6/64 6/64	D	Foliate design above and below name.
		24	13	6/64	E	M on left heel. P on right heel.
Thomas Parke *c.* 1667–87		58 97 171 248 259 293 294	N/A N/A N/A N/A N/A N/A N/A	7/64 7/64 7/64 8/64 7/64 7/64 7/64	D	Foliate design above and below punctuated name.
		200	N/A	7/64	D	Foliate design above and below punctuated name.
		71 115 126 240 242	N/A N/A N/A 8 N/A	6/64 6/64 6/64 6/64 8/64	D	Foliate design above and below punctuated name.

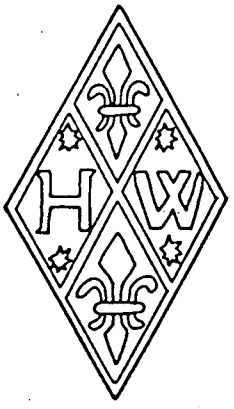
Gateshead Pipemakers (cont.)

Maker's name	Maker's mark	Pipe no.	Tyneside Bowl type	Stem bore	Tyneside Stamp type	Mark description
Thomas Parke (*cont.*)		262	N/A	8/64	D	Foliate design above and below name. Cross and heart after name.
		33	N/A	7/64	D	Foliate design above and below name.
John Rodchester *c.* 1688–1718d		52 167 251 290	9 N/A N/A N/A	6/64 8/64 6/64 6/64	D	Foliate design above and below name.
		13 59 80 105 201	N/A N/A N/A N/A N/A	6/64 6/64 7/64 7/64 6/64	D	Foliate design above and below punctuated name.
		23	N/A	6/64	E	I on left heel. R on right heel.
		20	N/A	6/64	E	I on left spur. R on right spur.

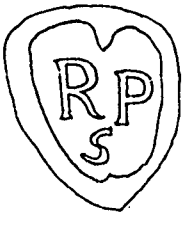
Gateshead Pipemakers (cont.)

Maker's name	Maker's mark	Pipe no.	Tyneside Bowl type	Stem bore	Tyneside Stamp type	Mark description
William Sewell *c.* 1646–51d		108	2a	6/64	A	Crude letters. No inner border.
John Thompson *c.* 1683–90d		182 254	N/A N/A	7/64 8/64	D	Foliate design above and below punctuated name. Cross after name.
		100	N/A	7/64	D	Foliate design above and below punctuated name. Cross after name.
		120 140 187 246	N/A N/A 8 N/A	6/64 7/64 7/64 7/64	D	Foliate design above and below punctuated name. Cross after name.
		155	N/A	7/64	D	

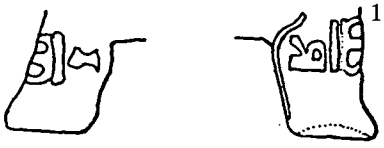
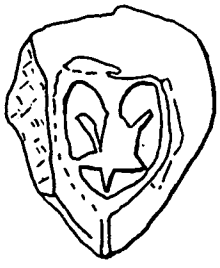
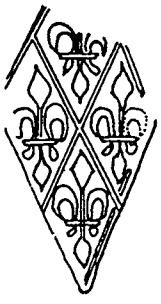
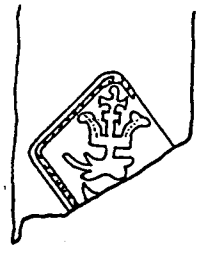
Gateshead Pipemakers (cont.)

Maker's name	Maker's mark	Pipe no.	Tyneside Bowl type	Stem bore	Tyneside Stamp type	Mark description
Henry Walker *c.* 1674–99d		79 96 219 286	N/A 8 N/A N/A	6/64 6/64 8/64 6/64	C	HW in a lozenge between two fleur-de-lis. Star above and below each letter.
		98 168 172 260	N/A 8 8 N/A	6/64 7/64 6/64 6/64	D	Foliate design above and below name.

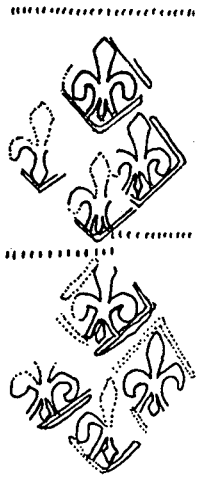
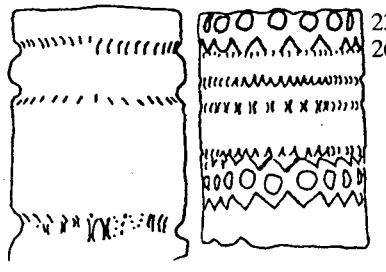
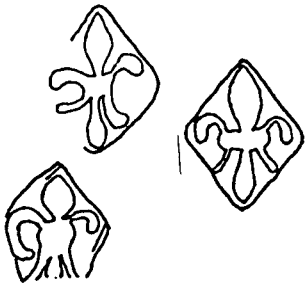
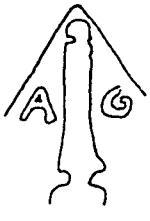
Unidentified Stamps

Maker's mark	Pipe no.	Bowl type	Stem bore	Mark description	Comment
	21 29 31	N/A	6/64 6/64 6/64	Tyneside type E. R on left heel. H on right heel.	
	128 213	2a	6/64	Tyneside type A?	Cf. Black Gate pipe no. 547.[345]

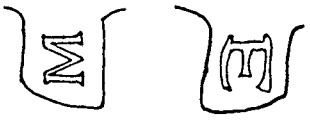
Unidentified Stamps (cont.)

Maker's mark	Pipe no.	Bowl type	Stem bore	Mark description	Comment
	114	N/A	6/64	Initials surmounted by crown	*c.* 1700–80
	227	London type 5[346]	7/64	Initials within a circle of strokes	*c.* 1610–40
	273	N/A	8/64	Initials incuse on the stem	*c.* 1630–1710. Cf. marks from London & Lincs, Black Gate pipe no. 525.[347]
	122	N/A	7/64	? a trident	Cf. Black Gate pipe no. 592.[348]
	42 164 193 218	 N/A	7/64 7/64 7/64 8/64	Four fleur-de-lis in a lozenge-shaped stamp	Possibly N.-E. or Yorks., *c.* 1650–80. Cf. *17th-C Pit*, no. 69.[349]
	224	N/A	8/64	Crowned rose in a lozenge. Similar to circular stamp, cf. Duco, no. 50.[350]	Possibly Dutch, *c.* mid 17th C.

Unidentified Stamps (cont.)

Maker's mark	Pipe no.	Bowl type	Stem bore	Mark description	Comment
	221	N/A	7/64	Fleur-de-lis in lozenge-shaped groups, with single rouletted bands between the groups.	Cf. Duco no. 118.[351] Dutch. Cf. Black Gate pipe no. 541.[352]
	239 268	N/A 5	7/64 8/64	Roulette designs	
	38 237 267	N/A N/A N/A	6/64 8/64 7/64	Fleur-de-lis on stem: 3 on pipe 38, 1 on pipe 237, 2 on pipe 267.	Cf. Duco no. 107, made by Jan Muur of Amsterdam, *c.* 1640.[353]
	264	6	7/64		

Nineteenth-Century Pipemakers

Maker's name	Maker's mark	Pipe no.	Bowl type/ decoration	Stem bore	Mark description
Michael Elsdon *c.* 1841–63		315	Decorated, fluted beneath swags	5/64	Initials on spur, Tyneside Type E.
Thomas Elsdon *c.* 1841–90		305 309 311 314	Lion & unicorn Fluted & swags Rose & thistle	5/64 5/64 5/64 5/64	Initials on spur, Tyneside Type E.
P. Mount & Co.		156	Plain bowl		Tobacconists. Had premises at 30 Nun St., between 1855 and 1877.[354]
Wm. Tennant 1875–1925		66	N/A	5/64	Name and town on stem. Parsons type d.

BUILDING MATERIALS

FLOOR TILES

The Bakers and Brewers (27–9), the Saddlers (9–11) and just possibly the Butchers (17–19) continued into the early 18th century to use the medieval tiled floors they found in their low meeting houses. These floors were composed of the most common tile found in the friary, approx. 125–30 mm square, 25–30 mm thick, glazed dark brown/green or yellow and with bevelled sides. A stretch of much bigger tiles, *c.* 230 mm square and 30–37 mm thick, formed with later patches the floor of the Smiths' low room (23) into the 19th century or even later.

Floor tiles were found as residual material in post-medieval contexts from the 16th to the 19th century, in Areas 1, 3, 5–7, 10–12, 14–16, 19–21, 29–35, 39.

BRICKS

Fifty-eight fragments of brick were identified as types i–xvi, using and extending the type series of bricks found in excavations in the castle of Newcastle.[355] Of these, however, only type xiv was found *in situ*, laid as part of the floor in the Smiths' low room (23). Examples of other types also occurred in pre-Dissolution contexts, and should therefore be regarded as medieval in date. A more detailed re-evaluation of the type series

will be a part of the forthcoming report on the medieval friary.

xiv. Hard-fired, dark red fabric, with occasional large sandstone inclusions. Traces of a border and wipe marks on the upper face, while the lower has a thumbed line along its centre. Dimensions vary between 50–55 mm in thickness, 118–120 mm in width, and 243–50 mm in length. 23/24, 17th-century context.

ROOFING MATERIALS

Since examples of the first four groups were also recovered from medieval deposits they were probably all residual when found in post-Dissolution contexts, which are summarized below. They will therefore be dealt with more fully in the forthcoming report on the medieval friary. The clay ridge tiles and pantiles were found only in post-Dissolution contexts.

Stone Flags

Seven fragments of sandstone roof flags, and one example of a wrestler (notched stone ridge tile) were found in Areas 7, 11, 19 and 29.

Glazed Clay Ridge Tiles

Some thirty fragments of green-glazed, clay ridge tiles were found, all in the local reduced greenware fabrics. Areas 2, 5, 6, 11, 12, 16, 21, 30, 36, 38 and 39.

Clay Plain Tiles

Two fragments of red earthenware tile, one with part of a square peg hole, were found in Areas 16/29, Group 2, and 20/from the partition wall.

Glazed Clay Plain Tiles

Three fragments, very similar to clay plain tiles, but with a streaky brown lead glaze on part of the upper face, were recovered from Areas 16 and 30.

Clay Ridge Tiles

Two half-round ridge tiles, one with a central peg hole, were found in Areas 12/17, Group 1, and 16/29, Group 2.

Pantiles

Though pantiles were undoubtedly the principal roofing material at Black Friars from at least as early as the 18th century, none were found in 17th-century or Group 1 contexts. A number were recovered from Group 2 and other 18th-century contexts in the west range in Areas 5–8, 10–11, and in the south range in Area 16. Elsewhere they were in 19th-century deposits in Areas 21, 23, 26, 30 and 31.

Worked Stones

Twenty-nine fragments of medieval worked stones were found, eleven by the masons during restoration work and eighteen in the post-Dissolution contexts of the excavations. Areas 11, 16, 20, 31 and 35. These pieces will be considered in detail in the next report.

COINS

G. D. Robson

134. Base ⅊R Groat; Henry VIII, third coinage, 1544–7; Canterbury Mint; 2·40 gm. 10/13.

135. ⅊R Penny (or sterling); 14th-century type. 11/13.

136. Æ Penny; Victoria, 1900. 12/2.

137. Æ Halfpenny; Victoria, 1861. 12/5.

138. Æ Halfpenny; George V, 1927. 14/1.

139. ⅊R Halfcrown; Victoria, 1875. 14/1.

140. Æ 2 Kopeck?; Russian, *c.* 1845. 14/1.

141. Æ Halfpenny; Victoria, 1875. 14/1.

142. Æ Farthing; George V, 1920. 14/1.

143. Æ Scottish Burner; Charles II, first coinage. 14/6.

144. Æ Halfpenny; Victoria, 1861. 16/19.

145. Æ German Jeton; 17th-century type. "It is a brass *Rechenpfennig* issued by Hans Krauwinckel between 1580 and 1610".[356] *Rechenpfennig* is the term used for these German jetons of the 14th to 16th/17th centuries. 16/30.

146. Æ Farthing; Charles I? 16/45.

147. Æ Scottish Bawbee; Charles II—1678. 16/56.

148. Base metal, type consistent with 14th-century jeton; fragmented. 16/82.

149. Lead token; cinquefoil/anchor; medieval type of unknown date. These pieces are now generally considered to be of the second half of the 16th century. 21/unstratified.

150. Æ Penny; George V, 1915; 31 mm, 9·02 gm. 39/1.

METALWORK

Janet E. Vaughan

COPPER ALLOY

151. Pin, 24 mm long but incomplete. 14/7, 17th/early 18th-century context.

152. Pin, 24 mm long. 16/42, Group 2.

153. Pin, 60 mm long. 16/83, 17th/early 18th-century context.

Three other pins were found in 17th-century contexts. Nos. 152 and 153 represent the extremes in size. All except no. 154 have heads made of coiled wire. Medieval pinheads were made of a single or double twist of wire, and this form persisted to the end of the 18th century although by then it had been refined into a neat coiled sphere produced by stamping the double coils on to the shank.[357] No. 151 has a more crudely formed head.

154. Pin. 20/1, 19th-century context.

155. Thimble, with rolled rim. 16/19, 19th-century context.

156. Thimble. 7/1, 19th-century context.

Thimbles of bronze, and later brass, have a long history. There is a gradual change in shape from more rounded, squat, thimbles of the Middle Ages to straighter-sided ones, with closer spaced, more regular, indentations. These indentations were being made on a lathe by the 15th century,[358] but this was not widely used until the 18th.[359] The rolled-up rim of no. 155 is a feature introduced late in the sequence, in the 19th century.

157. Shoe buckle (incomplete) with iron bar. Probably 18th-century. 16/34, 19th-century context.

158. Buckle, with possible remains of iron pin. 16/62, Group 2.

159. Buckle, with bar and iron pin. 11/13, Group 2.

160. Brooch?, there are traces of the missing pin. 16/89, late 16th-century context.

161. Hook, perhaps from a belt-end fitting. 16/66, 17th/early 18th-century context.

162. Hook fastener. 7/1, 19th-century context.

Small hooks with decorated plates, called variously strap terminals, tags and dress fasteners, are common from Saxon times to the post-medieval period. Most of the earlier ones have perforations for attachment, see no. 163. Two with bars, linked by a length of chain, were found at Wharram in a post-medieval context.[360]

163. Hook fastener. 4/12, ? 16th-century context.

164. Book clasp.[361] It has broken across the two rivet holes at one end. 11/21, 17th/early 18th-century context.

165. Decorative strip fitting, possibly for mounting on a flat surface, e.g. a box. 12/16, Group 1.

166. Casket fitting. 12/16, Group 1.

167. Octagonal object. 12/12, Group 1.

168.* Tack or nail with a flat head. 12/5, Group 2.

169. Hilt plate of a small tool or knife. 10/13, Group 2.

170. Object incomplete or crudely finished. It is broken at the narrow end; the other end seems to be intentionally shaped. 29/25, early 18th-century context.

I would like to thank Alison Goodall for her comments on the copper alloy objects, and the identification of nos. 164, 166 and 168.

LEAD AND PEWTER

Of a total of seventeen pieces of lead, seven were window cames.

171.* Musket shot, 17 mm diam., 25 gm weight. 11/5a, Group 2.

172. Grating from drain. Recovered during restoration of the lavatorium.

173.* Strip, 53 mm by 120 mm, possibly part of a roof clip. 21/25b, 17th/early 18th-century context.

174.* Rod, 115 mm by 7 mm, of semi-circular section, 5 mm maximum thickness. 16/42, Group 2.

175. Pewter spoon. 23/39, 19th-century context.

176. Bowl of pewter spoon showing "fig" shape characteristic of late medieval spoons.[362] 11/35, Group 2.

IRON

Though the iron was, in general, very badly corroded, it was possible to sort about half the nails into types by the apparent form of the head. The largest group seemed to be "sprigs"—rectangular or square-sectioned nails with heads being a slight, sometimes lop-sided, expansion of the shanks.[363] Their length varied from 50 mm to 110 mm. There was a second, similar, group but with more distinct heads. A group of flat-headed nails ranged from those which looked like tacks to three with very large heads. There were also three with long, narrow, rectangular heads.[364]

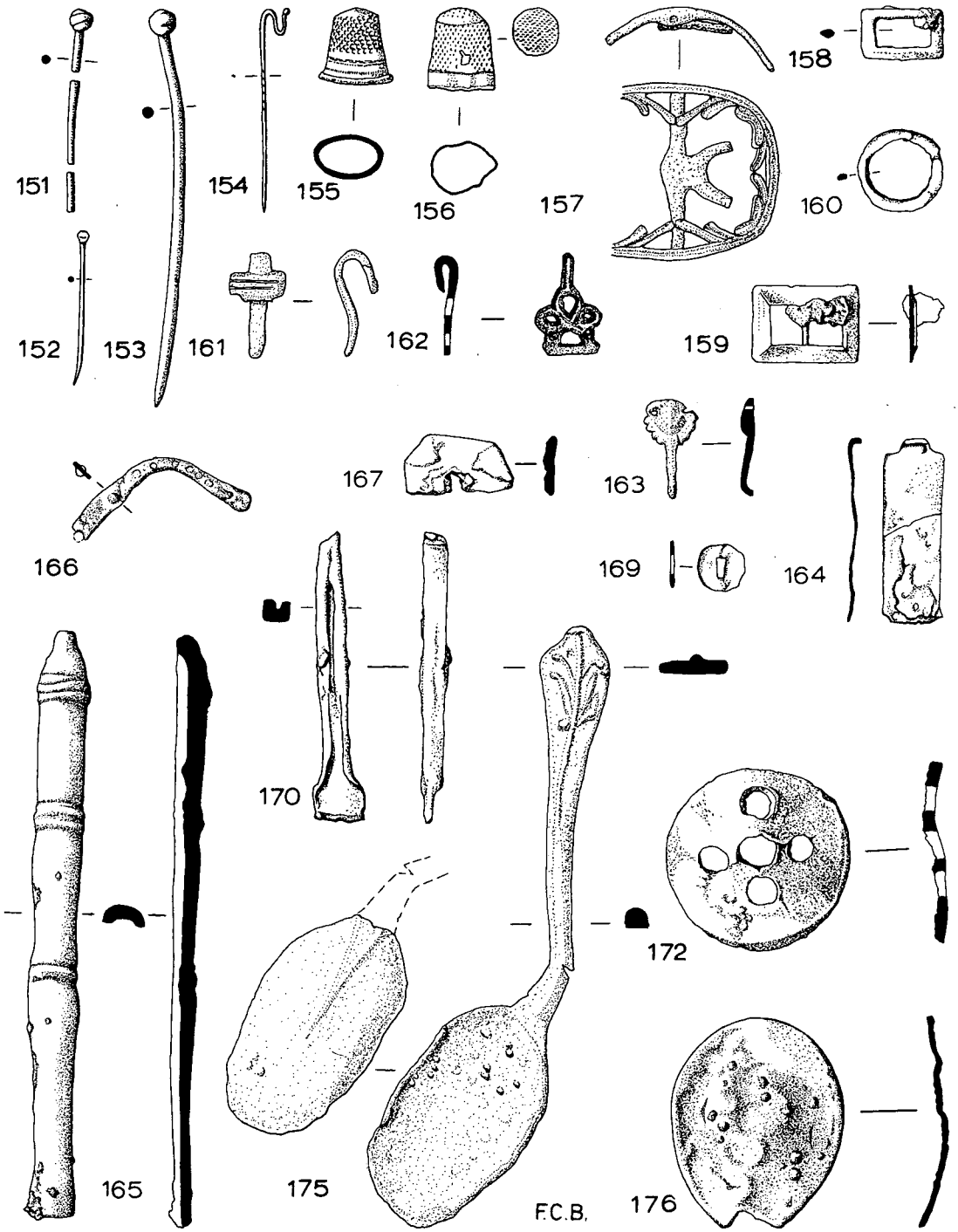


Fig. 29 Objects of copper alloy, lead and pewter, nos. 151–4 ($\frac{1}{1}$); 155–76 ($\frac{1}{2}$).

177. Key, with bow, apparently asymetric bit and plain stem. 11/12, Group 2. The kidney shape is characteristic of the 15th century;[365] an asymmetric bit could only be used from one side.

178. Key, with symmetrical bit and moulded stem. 16/19, 19th-century context. Moulding is a post-medieval feature.[366]

179. Scissors. 16/58, Group 2.

180.* Small scissors. 19/3, Group 2.

181.* Fragment of an iron vessel. 10/8, Group 2. *Cf. Bastion* 115.

182. Cast-iron leg of a cooking pot. 10/11, Group 2.

183. Multi-pin buckle. 16/17, 19th-century context.

184. Whistle?, there are signs of tin plating. 14/11, 17th/early 18th-century context.

185. Spur. 14/7, 17th/early 18th-century context.

186. Cock's head hinge plate, with the rivet head still in place. 14/3, Group 2.

187. An awl, or other small tool, with the remains of a wooden handle. 16/62, Group 2.

188.* Iron bar set in lead, probably a hinge pivot. 11/14, Group 2. This would be set in lead to stop the rusting which would split the stonework.

189. Chape.[367] 11/7, Group 2.

190.* Scale-tang knife with wooden handle. Three other blades had round-sectioned tangs but no handles remaining; all were very corroded and broken, and all were from Area 20–21. A fourth broken blade, 21/18, Group 2, had traces of green at one end. This may be the remains of the maker's mark which it was the practice to inlay with copper until about the third quarter of the 16th century, after which it was just struck on the blade.[368]

I should like to thank Ian Goodall for his helpful comments on nos. 184, 185, 187, 188 and 189.

KNIVES AND KNIFE HANDLES

Janet E. Vaughan

191. Ivory-handled knife. 16/56, Group 2.

192. Bone-handled knife. 11/22, Group 2.

In about the middle of the 16th century a change in hafting took place whereby the shoulders of the knife were made in one piece with the blade and tang, as on nos. 191 and 192. Before this they had been made separately of a copper alloy. A tapering cylindrical handle was current in the second half of the 17th century, fitted with a silver ferrule and cap.[369] No. 191 has this shape, but both the above are plain utilitarian knives.

193. Ivory handle. 11/21, 17th/early 18th-century context.

194. Ivory handle, with remains of iron tang. 11/22, Group 2.

195. Ivory handle, with remains of iron blade. 11/23, Group 2.

196. Ivory handle. 16/27, Group 2.

197. Handle of two pieces of bone riveted over an iron tang. From the long bone of an ox-sized animal. 16/29, Group 2.

198. One section of a double-leaved knife handle with three rivet holes. Probably from the long bone of an ox-sized animal. 16/30, Group 2.

199. Ivory handle, with pierced and incised decoration. 16/40, 19th-century context.

200. Ivory handle, unusual in that it is African, the others all being Indian. 16/43, 19th-century context.

201. Bone handle, double-leaved with four rivet holes. From the proximal front of the shaft of the metacarpus of an ox. 16/45, Group 2.

202. Polished ivory handle. 16/49, Group 2.

203. Bone handle. From the shaft of the long bone of an ox-sized animal. 20/9, Group 2.

OTHER BONE AND IVORY OBJECTS

Janet E. Vaughan

204. Napkin ring. Possibly made from a piece of red deer antler beam. 14/1, 19th-century context.

205. Bone pin or parchment pricker, in two pieces. Turned head and moulded neck, tip missing. Probably made from the shaft of a long bone. 14/11, 17th/early 18th-century context.

206. Fragment of flat ivory board with incised decoration. Four rivet holes at one end, one with a bronze rivet still in position. 16/42, Group 2.

207.* Parchment pricker? From worked chicken radius, broken. 16/86, late 16th-century context.

I am grateful to James Rackham for the identification of the bone and ivory.

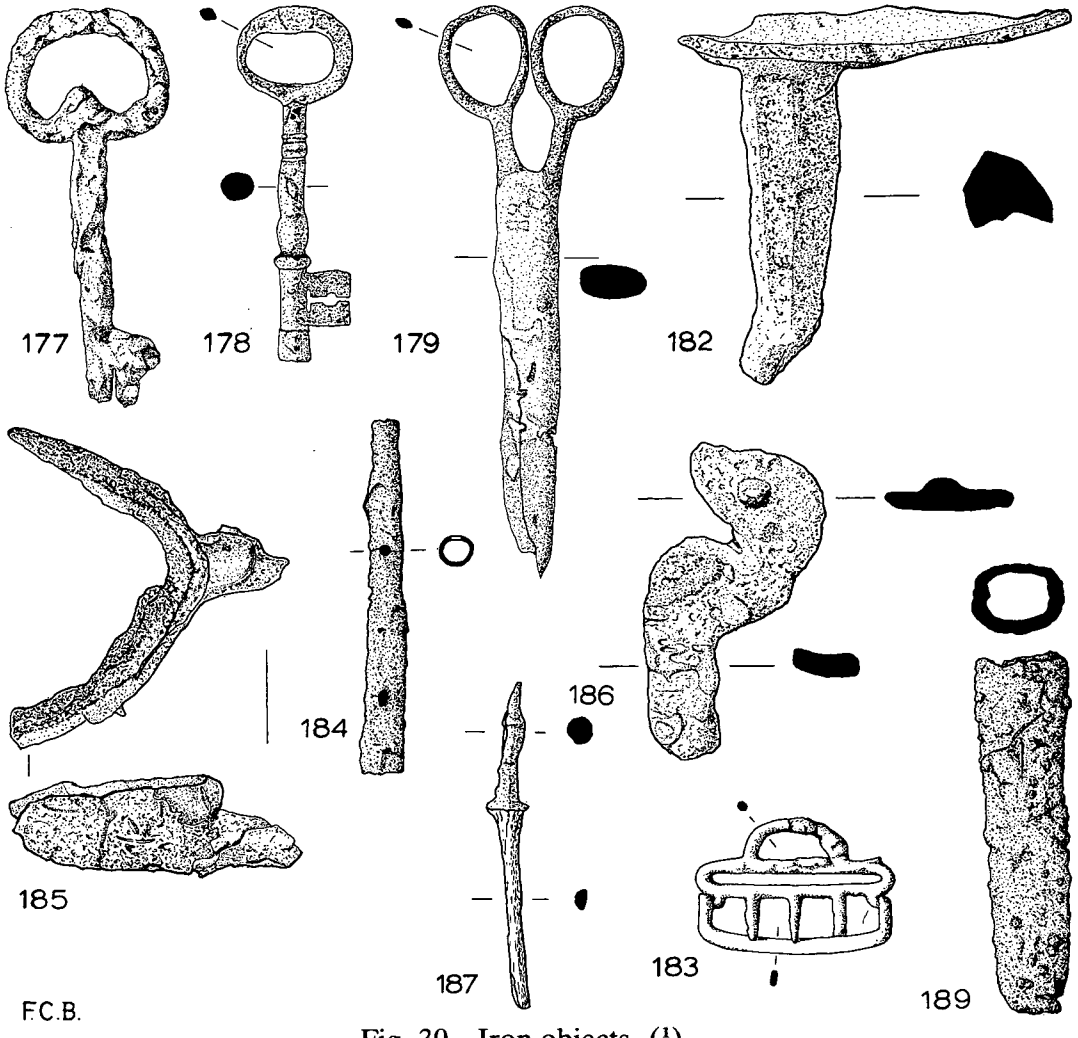


Fig. 30 Iron objects, (½).

LEATHER

Janet E. Vaughan

208. Fragment of shoe upper. This is part of the vamp, with tongue extension, of a "drawbridge" shoe with large open sides. The holes at the base of the tongue were for the attachment of decorative ribbons. The style became fashionable about 1610, while the rose-shaped cut decoration was most common around 1620. 11/35, Group 2. The piece was identified and dated to *c.* 1620 by June Swann, Keeper of the Shoe Collection, Northampton Museum.

In addition to the above, a small amount of shoe leather, mainly fragments of soles and heels, was recovered from other contexts in Area 9–11, viz. 11/21, late 16th/early 17th century; 9/5, 10/9, 11/13, 14, 23, 17th/early 18th century.

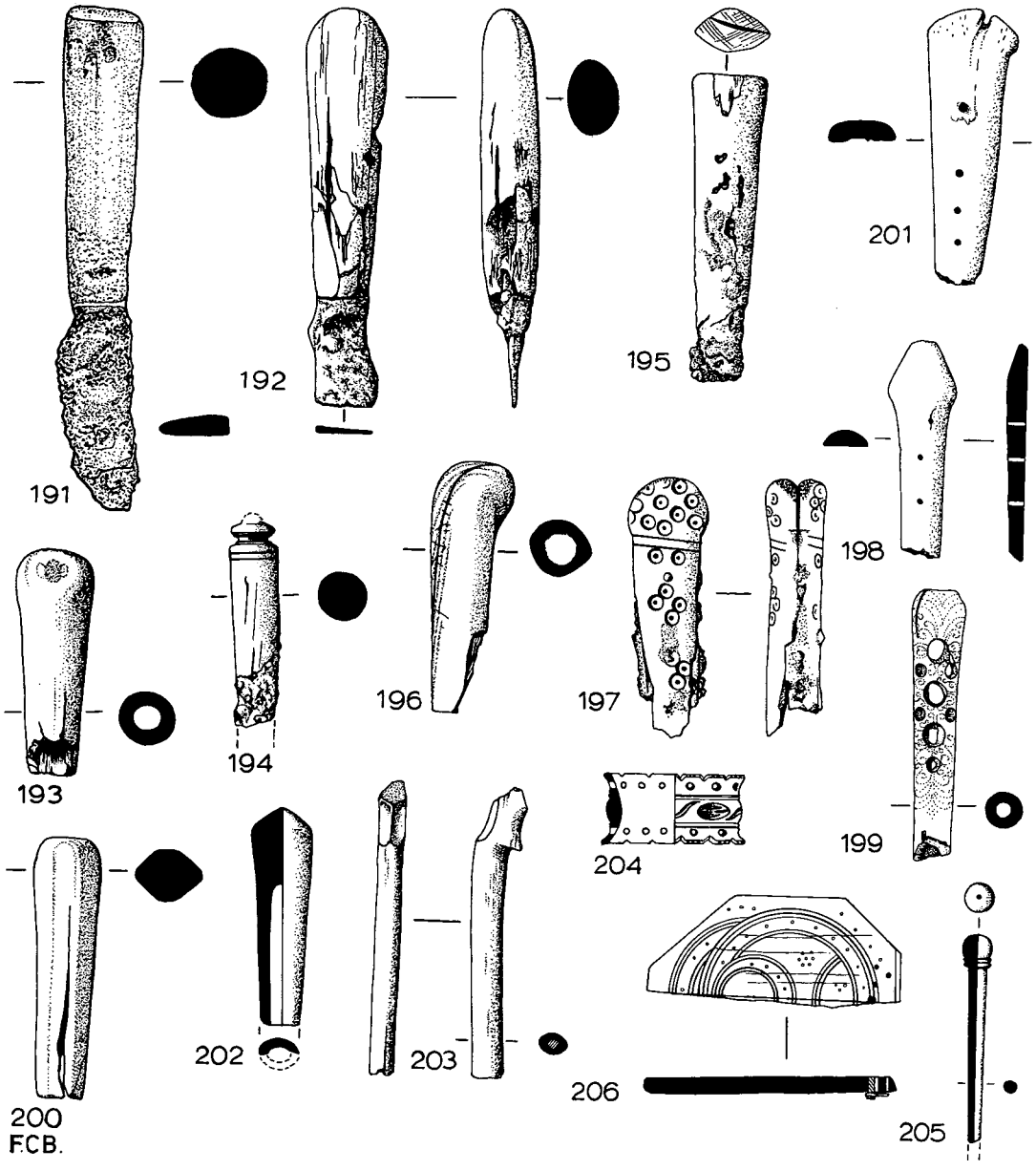


Fig. 31 Knives, knife handles, and objects of bone and ivory, (½).

THE TEXTILES

Penelope Walton

A small group of textile fragments was recovered from the make-up of floors within the Black Friars buildings. The earth of these floors seems to have been dug up from elsewhere, since it contains residual material of the 17th century mixed in with 18th century, i.e. Group 2. The textiles are therefore not firmly dated but most probably belong to the 17th or 18th century.

There were five separate finds, T1–5, three of which consisted of more than one textile. T2 and T3 were excavated from the same layer and T1–4 from the same room, while T5 was found separately.

Contexts: T1 11/14, T2 and T3 11/22, T4 11/35; T5 20/13.

Catalogue of the finds

"Z" and "S" are used to indicate the direction of spin in the yarn.[370]

T1 consists of short lengths of yarn, T1a, mixed with raw fibre, T1b, the whole matted together in a flat pad, 14·0 × 9·5 cms.

T1a. Coarse woollen yarn, 2·0–5·0 mm in diameter, loosely twisted in the Z direction from two S-spun threads. No dye detected.

T1b. Raw wool fibre. Similar in appearance to T2b.

T2 consists of a coarse textile T2a overlying another flat pad of raw fibre, 11·0 × 8·0 cms, T2b. Two fragments of a finer textile, T2c, were found roughly rolled up amongst the fibre.

T2a. 3/1 twill (fig. 33a) worked in plied woollen yarn, the yarn Z-twisted from two S-spun threads, 2·5–4·0 mm in diameter. The textile is loosely woven, 2–3 threads per cm in both warp and weft. No dye detected.

T2b. Raw wool fibre. Measurement of the diameters of 100 fibres gave the following figures: range 12–84 microns, mode 30, mean 36·3 ± 14·3, skewed distribution, 8% of fibres with medullas. According to Ryder's guidelines[371] this is a hairy medium fleece type.

T2c. Woollen tabby weave (fig. 33b). Yarn S-spun, 0·6 mm diameter in both warp and weft, 12 × 11 threads per square cm. The textile may have been lightly fulled as warp and weft interlock closely. The fragments were impregnated with a black substance presumed to be soot.

T3. A silk textile in tabby weave, 20·0 × 3·5 cms, 44–8 × 66–70 threads per cm. The yarn of both warp and weft has been reeled without giving any twist to the silk filaments. The fragment is a very dark brown with occasional pale spots which may have been caused by fungal attack. Dye tests were attempted but the results were ambiguous: possibly a combination of more than one dye, one of which is probably a yellow.

T4 consists of two pieces of twill, T4a, found in association with two ragged pieces of tabby, T4b. Both black with soot.

T4a. Two fragments, 4·5 × 3·5 cms and 3·5 × 3·0 cms of wool textile in 2/2 twill (fig. 33c), 16 × 16 threads per cm, yarn S-spun in warp and weft, approximately 0·4 mm diameter. The surface of the textile is rather worn, but it is possible that the yarn was originally of "worsted" type, that is, spun from combed wool. Dyed with indigotin.

T4b. Two fragments, 9·0 × 7·0 and 6·0 × 3·0 cms of woollen tabby; 9 × 9 threads per cm, yarn S-spun in both warp and weft, 0·5–0·6 mm in diameter. Possibly lightly fulled. No dye detected.

T5. A triangular fragment of woollen tabby, 26·0 × 8·5 cms; 10 × 11–12 threads per cm, yarn S-spun in warp and weft, 0·5–1·0 mm in diameter. Occasional paired threads in warp and weft, probably weaving faults. Lightly fulled. A yellow substance was detected, probably a dyestuff. One edge appears to have been cut and some stitch holes are visible along part of another edge. The whole fragment impregnated with soot.

The raw wool

The raw fibre of T1 and T2 is sheep's wool, "hairy medium" in type—that is, consisting of fine and medium fibres, 12–55 microns in diameter, with a few "hairs" of over 60 microns. This is a primitive type of fleece, found nowadays in white-faced (or sometimes dun-faced) hill sheep such as the Welsh Mountain and the Cheviot.[372] It is quite unlike the more advanced fleeces of the shortwool and longwool breeds of the downs and lowlands, nor is it as coarse as the fleece of the hairy black-faced sheep which are also to be found on northern hills.

The Cheviot, of course, originates in the borderlands north of Newcastle, where a small dun-faced horned sheep, almost certainly the Cheviot's ancestor, was to be found as early as the 16th century.[373] The wools of Northumberland have been channelled through Newcastle

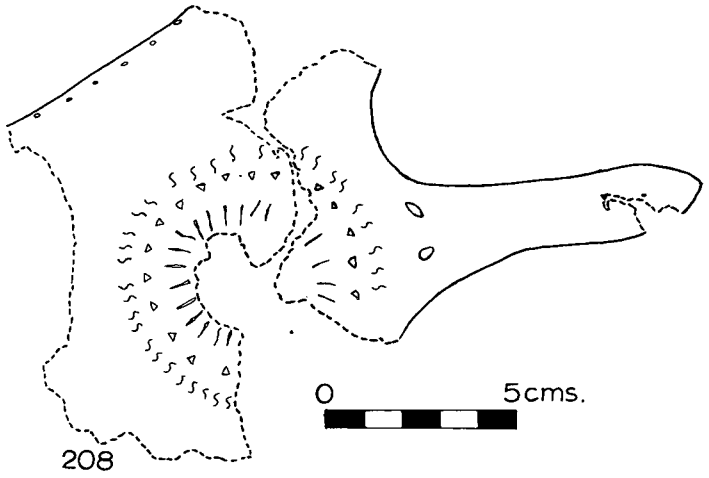


Fig. 32 Fragment of shoe ($\frac{1}{2}$).

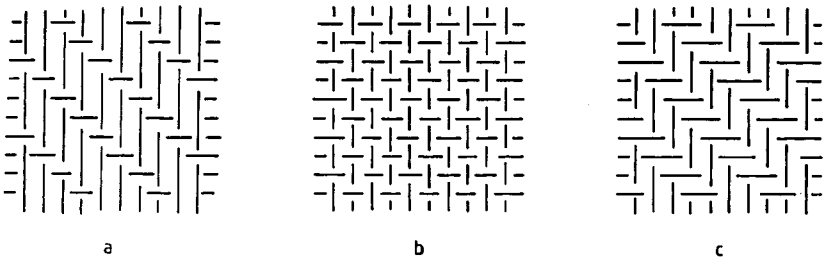


Fig. 33 Textile diagrams: a) $\frac{3}{1}$ twill, b) tabby, c) $\frac{2}{2}$ twill.

from at least the Tudor period[374] and must have been readily available for use in the town.

The woollen tabbies

The three woollen tabbies, T2c, T4b, T5, are very similar in appearance. They all have S-spun yarn in both warp and weft and similar thread-counts, 9–12 per cm. When first excavated they were also all black with soot, a feature which they shared with twill T4a, but not with any of the other textiles. Only a trace of what may have been a yellow dyestuff differentiates T5 from the others.

When these tabbies are compared with the large collection of 17th-century textiles from the excavation of the *Bastion*,[375] it can be seen that in weave and yarn type they are typical of the period. 155 of the 213 woven textiles from that site were woollen tabbies, of which 102 were woven in S-spun yarn, their thread-counts 5–14 per cm, with an average of 8.8 per cm.[376] However, over half of these woollens had been given a smooth dense nap (by teasling and shearing the surface of the cloth).[377]

The Black Friars tabbies, with their lack of any "finish" and with their obvious weaving faults, are not therefore to be compared with the standard coat or cloak fabric of the late 17th century, which made up the bulk of the tailor's offcuts from the castle site. They may instead be a poorer quality coat material, or perhaps a strictly functional fabric, used where the appearance did not matter.

The wool twill

Yarn spun with an S-twist is rare in worsteds, although not unknown. There was one example of an S-spun worsted twill, count 18 × 14 per cm

among the numerous finds from the 15th–16th century *Castle Ditch*,[378] and another much finer example, count 20 × 50 per cm, from the 17th-century *Bastion*.[379] The 17th-century site also provided some worsted twills with mixed Z and S yarns, some of them with thread-counts in the region of the 16 × 16 of the Black Friars fragments. Several of them were also dyed with indigotin (that is, woad and/or indigo) as was the case with the Black Friars twill.

Such fabrics are lighter and finer than the woollens and were probably used as everyday dress fabrics or for the more lightweight articles of men's costume.

Wool twill in plied yarn

The coarse, loosely spun and woven wool twill is more unusual, having no parallels among the *Castle Ditch* or *Bastion* textiles. Textiles woven from plied yarns are known from medieval excavations of other cities, for example Perth[380] and London.[381] However, all of these are in tabby weave.

The 3/1 weave, because it has few binding points (fig. 33a) allows warp and weft to lie more closely together than in, say, a tabby weave, thus giving a very thick cloth. Moreover the general impression of the loosely spun and plied yarn is that the aim has been to produce bulk rather than strength. Perhaps this is an example of "wad" or "wadding" which Samuel Johnson describes in his *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) as "a kind of stuff loosely woven with which the skirts of coats are stuffed out".[382] The Black Friars textile may not necessarily have been used to pad a coat, but the raw fibre with which it was found certainly has the appearance of stuffing of some sort.

The silk tabby

The silk tabby is fine and lightweight, an area of 30–35 square cms weighing only 22 mg. It is however quite a strong fabric and not as diaphanous as some silks can appear. Three silk tabbies, one of them almost as fine as this one (count 60 × 40 per cm), were recorded at the *Bastion*, but all of them had a twist in one or both yarns of warp and weft. However, another even finer fabric (count 45 × 112–24 per cm) excavated at Usk in South Wales had no twist in either warp or weft: the piece is of uncertain date, but possibly 16th–17th century (unpublished).

It was interesting to note that the Usk and Black Friars fragments both have a similar very dark appearance, although in neither was it possible to identify the dye. A good black dye is difficult to achieve and is usually produced by combining more than one dye with inorganic substances.[383] Unfortunately the presence of small amounts of several dyes causes difficulty in identification in our tests. However, in view of the dark colour of the silk, it is interesting that in 1669 the Frenchman Colbert observed that "The Black Dye ... is used in the finest Stuffes which are worn by people of the best quality".[384]

The uses of the textiles

J. Ledgerwood, a former weaving manager of a Bradford textile mill, kindly examined the textile remains and expressed his opinion that the raw wool and coarse plied textile were probably stuffing for a chair, and that the silk may also be from a chair covering. I therefore took the finds to L. Dickinson, a York upholsterer who specializes in antique furniture. He pointed out that the raw wool and short lengths of yarn of T1 are very similar to the "shoddy" (spinning waste or shredded wool textiles) which he uses in his workshop. He also informed me that he has removed fine silks similar to the Black Friars piece from chairs of Victorian date.

It therefore seems possible that the silk, coarse twill, raw fibre and yarn-ends may all come from an upholstered item, although it is not possible to be sure what this was. A document of 1680, *Britannia Languens; or, a Discourse of Trade*, records that silk, having once been worn very little was now "the ordinary material for Bedding, Hanging of Rooms, Carpets, Lining of Coaches and other things".[385] Sherry Doyal of the Textile Conservation Centre also informs me that silk was sometimes used in the construction of saddles and that these of course were also padded.

Date and origin

All of the finds apart from the coarse 3/1 twill have parallels among 17th-century textiles from other excavations. However, they are all simple fabric types in popular weaves which may well have continued in use into the 18th century. Unfortunately, the textiles which have survived from the 18th century are mainly those which adorned the gentry or their furniture and there is little with which to compare the coarse wool textiles from Black Friars. One example of the costume of poorer people in the 18th century has survived in Scotland,[386] but this is made from

woollen twills unlike the Black Friars pieces.

Similarly it is difficult to suggest a place of origin. Some wool textiles seem to have been produced locally,[387] but as inland transport improved in the 17th and 18th centuries, it became increasingly easy to obtain goods from beyond the immediate locality. Newcastle would have had easy access to the woollens and worsteds of the thriving West Riding mills[388] or the smaller, newly developed Scottish industry.[389] The products of other more distant weaving centres such as the West of England and East Anglia would also have been available, probably channelled through London.[390] However, the relatively coarse fabrics from the Black Friars site are perhaps more likely to come from the north.

Silks were being imported into England from France, Italy, Spain and East India[391] but by the end of the 17th century silk weaving was firmly established in this country.[392] Since the Black Friars silk lacks any design or features of technical significance, it is impossible to say from which of these sources the piece may have derived. However, it is true to say that if the silk was used as an upholstery fabric, as seems likely, this is indicative of the increase in prosperity which could be seen in England from the Restoration period onwards.

THE ANIMAL REMAINS

D. James Rackham

Introduction

The sample comes from four areas of the post-Dissolution deposits at Black Friars. The collection has been analysed by period for each of the four areas.

The material from three of these areas is summarized in Table 6 and falls into two main groups. The earlier includes the Group 1 material from the midden in Area 12, and from occupation deposits elsewhere which date from the mid 16th into the 17th century, are stratified and contain few residual finds. The later group is derived from the rubbish which was dumped in the early 18th century to raise the floor levels (Group 2), and in which 25% of the pottery was residual. The material from the fourth area, 29, is very small in quantity, containing 19 bones and 4 shells from a single layer deposited in the early 18th century. It also includes a single human rib bone.

Because the other bones found during the excavation came either from contexts of the 19th century and later, or from contexts containing an unduly high proportion of residual material, they have not been included in the analysis or catalogued.

The collection is small, but nevertherless does yield information of interest in terms of activities on or near the site, and variations in the diet of post-medieval Newcastle.

The major domestic species

The domestic animals include the five common species exploited as food—cattle, sheep, pig, fowl and goose, and also horse, cat and dog for which there is no evidence of consumption. These latter species are almost certainly domestic pets and functional or working animals. The number of fragments of each species in each period is given in Table 6.

The largest figures in Table 6 are the totals for sheep (or goat), and when these are broken down (Table 7) to show the numbers of particular bones it is clear that there is a superabundance of metapodials (i.e. metacarpus and metatarsus, foot-bones) and phalanges (toe-bones). The archaeological implications of this are discussed in the next section. More immediately, it biases the sample for some of the calculations which follow.

In assessing the proportions of the three major domestic species the traditional method of minimum numbers of individuals has not been used for this very reason. The totals of the two most common bones of sheep in this collection, the metacarpus and metatarsus, produce 65 and 67 individuals, far more than the next most numerous bones. It thus appears that the metapodials of sheep are present on this site for a particular reason.

The results of using the method of fragment percentages are listed in Table 8, and the results of the other two methods for assessing species proportions, relative frequency and relative abundance, are shown on Fig. 34. These latter methods can only be used for the sheep and cattle remains since the pig bones from this site are too few.

All the figures (except relative frequency on the whole sample, once again biased by the superabundance of sheep metapodials in the 18th century), indicate a slight increase in the proportion of cattle to sheep between the 17th and 18th centuries. The magnitude of this difference is

TABLE 6. Table of the species and bone numbers found in each period of the three areas.

Species	Area 12		Areas 9–11		Areas 14–16			Totals	
	c. 16–17th	17–18th	17th	17–18th	17th a	17th b	17–18th	16–17th	17–18th
Horse	4	4		10			34	4	48
Cattle	107	32		83	2	10	109	119	224
Sheep	18	1		19			6	18	26
Sheep or goat	311	72	3	221	9	23	357	346	650
Goat				1					1
Pig	15	3		25	2	1	15	18	43
Dog	1	1		1		1	8	2	10
Cat	4						4	4	4
Rat	1							1	
Rabbit	2						1	2	1
Hare	1			1				1	1
Roe deer		1							1
Human							1		1
Chicken	17	1	1	6	22	6	12	46	19
Goose	8			2	2	4	3	14	5
Grouse							1		1
Woodcock							1		1
Swan, sp indet.							1		1
Bird, indet.		1		2	1			1	3
Haddock	1						3	1	3
Cod	1			19	2		1	3	20
Ling				1					1
Whiting				2			1		3
Gadidae, indet.			1				2	1	2
Fish, indet.	7	1		33	6		7	13	41
Large animal	69	12		33	4	9	44	82	89
Large ungulate	57	13		29	9	24	53	90	95
Small ungulate	133	21	3	53	62	26	93	224	167
Indet. mammal	94	39		36	5	8	76	107	151
TOTALS	851	202	8	577	126	112	833	1097	1612
								Grand Total	2709

between 0·7 and 11% and could reflect variability in the sample. However, the consistency of the different methods suggests that the trend is real, the scale of difference in each case being significantly increased when calculated without the metapodials and phalanges. The ratio of the two species in the sample approximates from 1 ox:1·6 sheep to 1 ox:2·7 sheep. This is less than the 1:3·0 and 1:3·1 figures produced using fragment counts (Table 8), and very considerably less than the figures if minimum numbers of individuals had been calculated. The former figures represented the approximate proportions in terms of food, and are largely independent of the sheep material that is arriving on the site as a result of commercial and floor-raising activities. The pig must have contributed little to the diet, occurring with approximately one fifth to one sixth of the frequency of cattle (Table 8), although boned meats such as bacon are not represented in bone collections. Except after removal of the foot bones, the fragment percen-

TABLE 7. Table of the fragment numbers of particular bones of sheep/goat, and small ungulate for each period and area.

	Area 12		Areas 9–11		Areas 14–16		TOTALS	
	c. 16–17th	17–18th	17th	17–18th	16–27th	17–18th	16–17th	17–18th
Horn core	13			6		2	13	8
Skull fragments	35	2		25		9	35	36
Maxilla	5			5		2	5	7
Mandible	30	5		28	1	30	31	63
Upper teeth	12	1		5		10	12	16
Lower teeth	4	3		10		6	4	19
Hyoid	3			1		2	3	3
Atlas	1		1		1	3	3	3
Axis	2	2		2		4	2	8
Cervical vert.	9	1		1	4	4	13	6
Thoracic vert.	10	2		2	3	2	13	6
Lumbar vert.	13	3		10		4	13	17
Sacrum					1	1	1	1
Caudal vert.	2						2	
Rib fragments	91	11	2	34	77	75	170	130
Scapula	27	2		18	5	9	32	29
Humerus	8	1		4	3	13	11	18
Radius	6	5		6	1	15	7	26
Ulna	7			2		7	7	9
Carpals								
Metacarpus	38	18		52	5	77	42	147
Phalanx 1	55	10		12	3	25	58	47
Phalanx 2	8	1				2	8	3
Phalanx 3	1			1		2	1	3
Innominate	7	4		6	2	13	9	23
Femur	9	3		4	1	11	10	18
Patella								
Tibia	16	7		2	2	14	18	23
Astragalus	4			1		4	4	5
Calcaneum	5					6	5	6
Tarsals	2				1	1	3	1
Metatarsus	29	11	2	47	7	96	38	154
Metapodials	7	1		7	1	2	8	10
Sternal frags.	1			2	1		2	2
Costal cartilage					1	1	1	1
TOTALS	460	93	5	294	120	452	584	848

TABLE 8. Table of the fragments of horse, cattle, sheep and pig as a percentage of the total number of bones identified to these species.

	Area 12		Areas 9–11	Areas 14–16		TOTALS	
	c. 16–17th %	18th %	18th %	16–17th %	18th %	16–17th %	17–18th %
Horse	0·9	3·6	2·8		6·5	0·8	4·8
Cattle	23·5	28·6	23·2	25·5	20·9	23·6	22·6
Sheep	4·0	0·1	5·3		1·1	3·6	2·6
Sheep/goat	68·3	64·3	61·7	68·1	68·5	68·5	65·6
Pig	3·3	2·7	7·0	6·4	2·9	3·6	4·3
N =	455	112	358	47	521	505	991

tages failed to register the slight change in utilization of cattle and sheep between the early and late periods.

The RF (relative frequency) figures for Black Friars (based on identified bones only) can be compared with contemporary material from the 17th-century deposits at the *Bastion*.[393] There the samples from phases 2 and 3 of the ditch filling give a ratio of cattle to sheep of 1:2·25, a slightly greater frequency of sheep than both periods represented at Black Friars if the metapodials are not included, 1:2·1 in the 17th- and 1:1·8 in the 18th-century group. This variation is, however, still acceptable as sample variability and cannot be shown to be a real difference between the sites. As we have seen, the variation between the results of different methods of calculation at Black Friars is greater than that between the sites. Pigs were equally infrequent at the *Bastion*, and it would appear that the major species were being slaughtered in order to supply both sites at this period in the approximate proportions 1 pig:5 cattle:10 sheep, the cattle by virtue of their size contributing the most meat to the diet.

Skeletal representation

The frequency of some skeletal elements may have been affected by the degree of efficiency in their recovery, but the evidence does not suggest that this was serious and other factors appear to be more important. The preservation of the sample is good, with little evidence of erosion or scavenging.

Cattle

The collection of cattle bones from each area and period is small, and therefore has limited potential for analysis. The fragments have been considered in terms of the proportion of different units of the body, and are tabulated as a percentage in Table 9 with the information from the 17th-century deposits at the *Bastion*.[394]

The figures in Table 9 illustrate a difference in carcass distribution between Black Friars and the *Bastion*. The head and feet, of low meat value, constitute over 50% of the fragments at Black Friars, and the good joints of shoulder, rump and loin etc. are represented by only 10% of the fragments. In contrast, at the 17th-century *Bastion*, the poor parts of the carcass make up only 33% of the fragments, and the better meat parts, such as the neck, ribs, sirloin, limbs etc. constitute over 65%. It would appear from this evidence that the occupants whose dietary rubbish is incorporated in the deposits at Black Friars used a higher proportion of the poorer parts of the beef carcass than those at the *Bastion*.

Sheep

The unusually large numbers of metapodials, phalanges and mandibles are readily apparent in Table 7 and, though they form 28·9% of sheep and small ungulate bones in the early period in Area 12, by far the largest concentration (48·5%) is in the 18th-century deposits in Areas 9–11 and 14–16. It should be noted that 178 distal metapodials were found, providing a possibility of 356 1st, 2nd and 3rd phalanges, but that only 92 were recovered.

There can be little doubt that these particular bones, when found in large numbers, are evidence of butchery. The absence of toe bones suggests that skins with feet were being treated differently, and were either removed from or never arrived at the place of deposition of the rest of the carcass. Since the 18th-century layers containing this material were redeposited to level up for internal floors, and since there is no documentary evidence for butchers actually working anywhere within the precinct, it is likely that this waste comes via a nearby midden.

The majority of the remainder of the sheep bones appear to be food debris, and are probably unassociated with the elements discussed above although a small proportion of the latter may also be food debris. A comparison of the sheep material with that from the *Bastion* (phases 2 and 3), where the most frequently occurring parts of the skeleton were scapulae, humeri, radii, innominates, femora and tibiae (although metapodials were nearly as abundant), illustrates the contrast and reinforces the domestic (food debris) interpretation of the latter, and the commercial origin of a proportion of the material at Black Friars.

The remaining species occurred with such low frequency that little can be said on those parts of the skeleton represented. However, certainly in the 18th-century deposits in Areas 14–16, numbers of the horse bones came from the same individuals, at least two and possibly three animals being indicated.

Age structure of the cattle and sheep sample

The analysis of the age structure of the two most common species is based upon the state of epiphysial fusion of the post-cranial skeleton, and the eruption and wear on the mandibular and

Frequency plot of the percentage of sheep and small ungulate fragments in a sum of sheep, small ungulate, cattle and large ungulate bones.

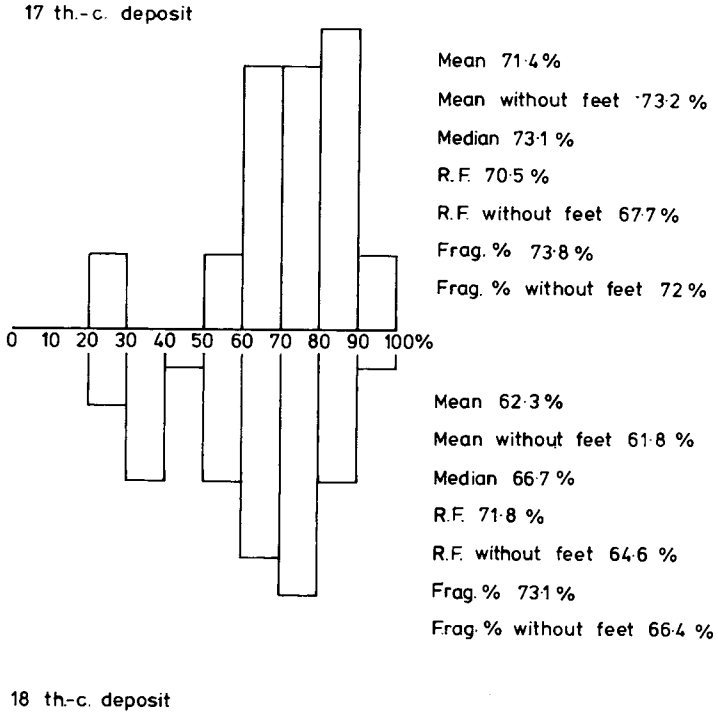


Fig. 34.

maxillary teeth. The tooth wear has been recorded in the detail advocated by Grant[395] only for sheep, and cattle have been recorded merely under general categories, i.e. no wear, slight, medium and extremely or very worn.

Cattle. Only 140 fragments carried a fused or unfused epiphysis, and this is too small a sample for a reliable estimate of the age at slaughter. However, the number of early, middle and late fusing epiphyses can be assessed in a manner that assists in estimating the ages at which animals were killed (Table 10).

At Black Friars, though the percentage of animals slaughtered in each year of life steadily increased for the first four years, as many as 41% survived to be seven years or older (Table 10).[397]

The teeth and jaws constitute an even smaller sample and they have been analysed in terms of the proportions of each tooth type that is erupted or unerupted (Table 11). Loose teeth are counted in the analysis but teeth lost from jaws are not. This ensures no duplication of the same tooth. Jaws with only deciduous teeth are counted individually for each unerupted tooth, i.e. M1, M2 and M3. The figures are given in Table 11.

In a small proportion of jaws the M1 was unerupted, by about 2·25–2·5 years a further 17% had been slaughtered, all of these probably in their second year. A further 9% were slaughtered before 3 years but the majority, some 56%, survived beyond this. This would appear to be a slightly higher proportion of juveniles than is indicated by the post-cranial bones (Table 10) but it would be unreasonable to attempt to attach significance to these variations on such a small sample size.

The epiphysial data suggests a slightly diffe-

TABLE 9. Percentage of the fragments of cattle and large ungulate in particular carcass units from Black Friars and the 17th-century deposits, phases 2 and 3, at the *Bastion*.

	Black Friars	*Bastion*
Head, jaws, teeth and hyoid	28·3%	13·53%
Vertebrae and ribs	38·0%	45·5%
Shoulder, rump and limbs	10·46%	21·6%
Ankles and feet	23·3%	20·0%
	N = 516	532

rent slaughter pattern to that at the *Bastion* (Table 10) with fewer juveniles being slaughtered and a higher proportion of beasts in the age classes over 2 years but less than 7 years.

Sheep. The epiphysial fusion data for sheep is presented in Fig. 35 where the bones are arranged in their approximate order of fusion. The 17th and 18th-century data show some suggestion of an increase in the proportion of younger animals being slaughtered in the 18th century but the sample sizes are small and discussion is based on both groups together (fig. 35a).

Figure 35a suggests approximately 13% of the animals were slaughtered before one year of age, and the presence of just fused bones suggests that some of these animals were killed at ages from 3 months upwards. A further 16% were slaughtered between 1 and 2 years, a large proportion of which were killed before the distal tibia fused, which on modern figures is about 16 months. The remaining animals represented in the collection had all their appendicular elements fused, corresponding to an age in excess of 3·5 years in modern sheep. Forty-three per cent of the sample population were killed between this age and the time the epiphyses of the vertebrae fuse, between 4 and 5 years old, and the remaining 27% had reached complete skeletal maturity and

TABLE 10. Proportions of fused and unfused epiphyses of cattle at Black Friars and the *Bastion* (phases 2 and 3).

		Black Friars			*Bastion*		
	Age*	U:F	%unf.	%killed	U:F	%unf.	%killed
Early fus.	0–2 yrs	4:55	6·8	6·8	2:51	3·8	3·8
Middle fus.	2–2·5	6:24	20	13·33	1:18	5·3	1·6
Later fus.	3–4·5	5:6	45·5	25·45	11:18	37·9	32·7
Vertebrae	7–9	24:17	58·5	13·1	31:21	59·6	21·7
After	7–9 yrs			41·4			40·4

* Approximate age in modern animals at which fusion occurs.[396]
U = number unfused; F = number fused.

TABLE 11. Number and percentage of erupted and unerupted teeth of cattle at Black Friars in approximate order of eruption.

	M1	M2	P3	P2	M3	P4	
Unerupted	3	3	3	2	3	8	
Just in wear		1	1		2	1	
Worn	16	13	8	4	7	10	
%unerupted	18·75	17·6	33·3	25	25	42·1	
%killed before eruption	18·75	0	8·33	8·33	0	8·9	56
Approx. age	6 mths	1·25	2	2·25	2·25	2·75	>2·75

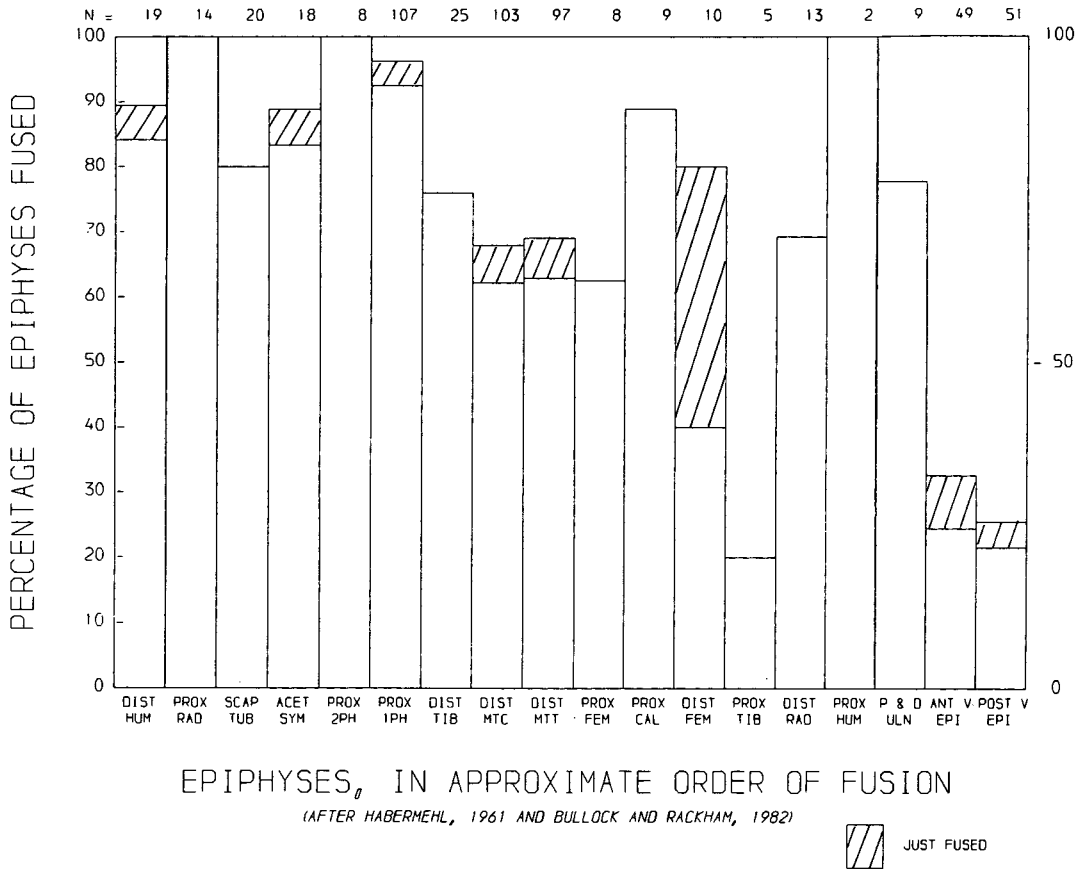


Fig. 35a Black Friars: sheep epiphyses.

were probably slaughtered when in excess of 5 years old.

Without detailing the slaughter pattern from the *Bastion* (phases 2 and 3) it is nevertheless apparent from Fig. 35b that a much higher proportion of younger animals occur in the sample from this site. Many of the later fusing epiphyses have over 50% unfused in contrast to the collection from Black Friars although the number of animals at skeletal maturity is similar if not a little more common at the *Bastion*. Overall however, it is likely that poorer quality meat (by modern standards) was eaten at Black Friars, the *Bastion* being supplied with a higher proportion of lamb and prime mutton.

An analysis of the teeth from the site supports the data from epiphysial fusion. Figure 36 shows the percentage of each tooth erupted for Black Friars and the *Bastion* (phases 2 and 3). The data are arranged in order of eruption. The apparent high proportion of juvenile P2s and P3s can be explained as a result of the loss of adult teeth due to fragmentation. If these two teeth are excluded from the figure then the pattern shows approximately 76·5% of the sample from Black Friars possessed an adult dentition in wear. The *Bastion* data again shows a higher proportion of juveniles, but only slightly and this perhaps suggests that the major part of the difference in slaughter observed from the epiphyses occurs after the fusion of the distal tibia and eruption of the P4 but before skeletal maturity. This is therefore not revealed in Fig. 36 and can only be assessed by consideration of tooth wear on the adult mandibular dentition. This has been recorded for the Black Friars jaws (fig. 37),[398] but is not available

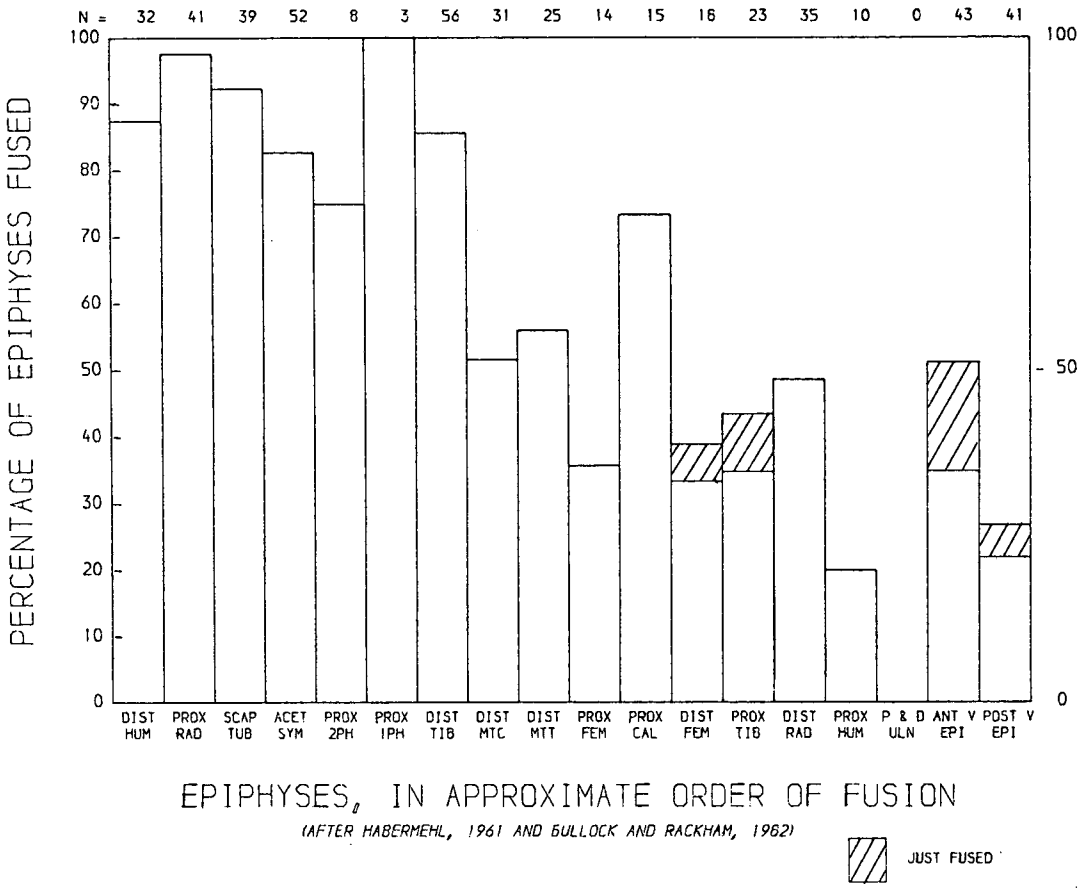


Fig. 35b Bastion: sheep/goat epiphyses.

for the groups from the *Bastion*. This figure shows a small proportion (17%) of lambs with the M1 erupted and the M2 unerupted (with dp4 at wear stage e, f or g), perhaps 6–15 months old,[399] and three individuals with heavy wear on all teeth indicating aged adults probably over 6 years old. The majority fall in between in a pattern suggesting slaughter at all ages between 30 months and 6 years, although some of the variability in tooth wear may be due to animals grazing on different pastures. This group includes two peaks in the older part of the range, 28·3% of the sample suggesting animals killed at 4–6 years and a further 30·2% at about 3–4 years. This data compares well with that from the epiphyses, the older peak and aged animals being 34% of the jaw sample corresponding with the approximately 30% of the sample with fused vertebral epiphyses (fig. 35a), i.e. older than about 5 years. The 30–35% with the distal metapodials unfused would correspond with those animals represented by jaws up until wear stage 12 of M1+M3 on Fig. 37,[400] indicating an age of perhaps 2 years.

Other species

Few of the pig remains are from adult animals, and among the juveniles one or two specimens indicate very young animals, one bone was so small and undeveloped as to suggest a prenatal specimen. The horse bones in contrast are all, barring one, from adult animals and all vertebral epiphyses had fused suggesting ages in excess of 5 years. One bone only, an ulna with the proximal epiphyses unfused, suggested an animal younger

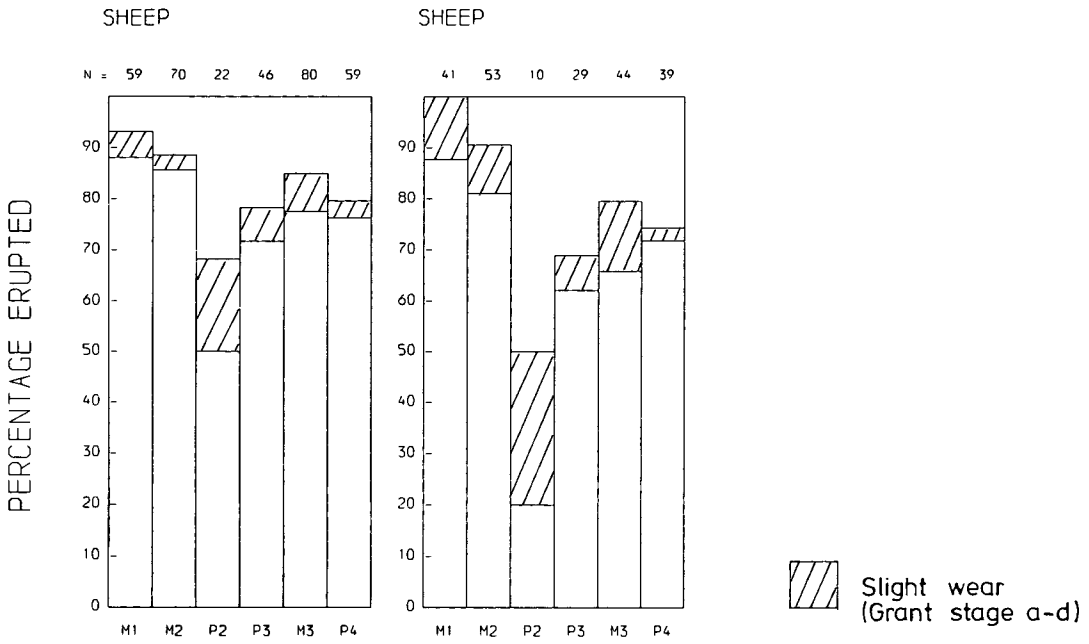


Fig. 36 Black Friars and the Bastion: Sheep teeth, in approximate order of eruption.

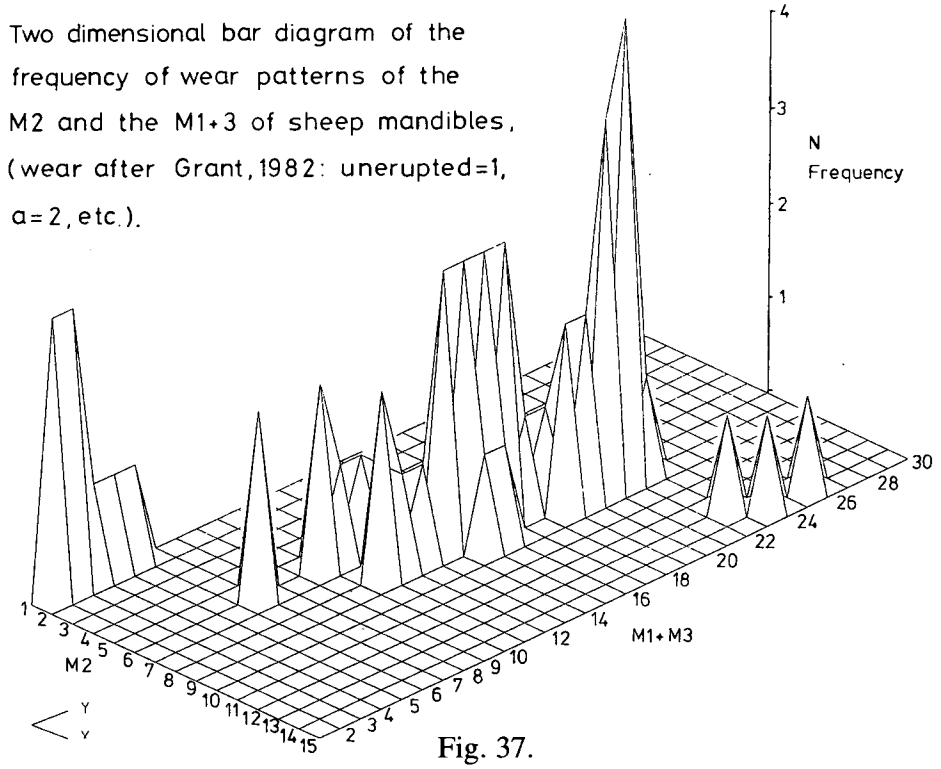


Fig. 37.

than this, although a maxilla had very large teeth with very little wear.

Measurements

Although measurements were taken on the bones of cattle, sheep, pig, horse, dog and fowl, only sheep bones occurred with sufficient frequency for metrical analysis. The metapodials of sheep were the most abundant remains and these have been analysed in an attempt to determine the sex structure of the animals represented by the measured sample. Figures 38 and 39 show a small group of large individuals that may be interpreted as tups. The remaining part of the sample is more diffuse although a large middle group can be recognized with a number of smaller cases. Although some of these differences could be associated with different populations or stock types it seems plausible to interpret the middle group as wethers and the diffuse smaller group as ewes. Specimens that were known to be from juveniles were also plotted on Fig. 39 and one may possibly be a juvenile ram, but the remaining juveniles would appear to be both wethers and ewes, although the size range is likely to extend lower for the juveniles of both groups. If these interpretations are correct then the sample of metapodials derives from a sample in which adult wethers predominate with some ewes and a small number of tups. As such they probably represent the cull from populations kept principally for wool production. Since this group or at least a large proportion of it is interpreted as being commercial in origin rather than domestic, the sex structure may vary from the remainder of the sheep sample. Unfortunately the other skeletal elements do not occur with sufficient frequency for analysis.

Pathology

Pathological conditions are most abundant on the bones of sheep. These are restricted to the horn cores, jaws and feet. Six horn cores possess a "thumb print" on the medial proximal side, a common feature of archaeological material and variously interpreted, including its attribution to castration and malnutrition. Five jaws show pathological features; two have lost the M2 antemortem with subsequent closure of the alveoli; in one the alveoli of the PM2 lies at right angles to the axis of the jaw and indicates malalignment of this tooth; a single jaw carries a swelling below the M2 and M3 associated with an inflammation during life and the last specimen carries a large pathological foramen on the buccal side of the diastema with associated porosity and destruction of the surrounding bone tissue. A number of metapodials carry another common feature—a swelling on the anterior proximal part of the shaft of the medial metacarpus or metatarsus of the metapodials. This is often associated with porosity and may result from extensive bruising and inflammation of the periosteum. This condition was found among the 18th-century material from Walmgate, York,[401] and is illustrated in that work. Two bones have what may be arthritic conditions, the anterior articulation of a metatarsus shows some lipping in association with the condition just described and the distal articulation of a 1st phalanx carries slight exostoses around the facet.

In the other species, two cattle bones, a tibia and metatarsus, have a swelling with porous bone tissue on the diaphysis, and three vertebrae of horse have extensive exostosis and lipping around the cranial and caudal epiphyses of the centrum which has progressed so far in two specimens that the vertebrae are fusing together. This latter condition was common at the castle[402] and appears to be due to advanced age and also possibly due to stresses incurred by work.

Other species

The other species in Table 6 occur in insufficient numbers for detailed discussion but are nevertheless of interest. The goat is identified from only one bone, a metatarsus, which may derive from an unprocessed skin or from food debris. Domestic dog and cat were identified from ten and four bones respectively. These included a number of bones from one dog, a bone from a small terrier-sized dog, a kitten and a jaw from a very old, almost toothless, cat. The remaining species probably represent the debris from occasional meals of species other than the common domesticates. One or two bones of rabbit, hare and roe deer were recovered and a single tibia of a rat. Chicken and goose bones are present in small numbers with single finds of grouse, woodcock and swan. The more commonly eaten fish, cod, ling, haddock and whiting also occur, with one individual of cod being represented by a number of vertebrae in one layer. The greatest variety of fish and bird occurred in the 18th-century layers of Areas 14–16, with a few in the 17th-century deposits in Areas 9–11. Recovery may have affected the frequency of these remains but it appears characteristic of the post-medieval de-

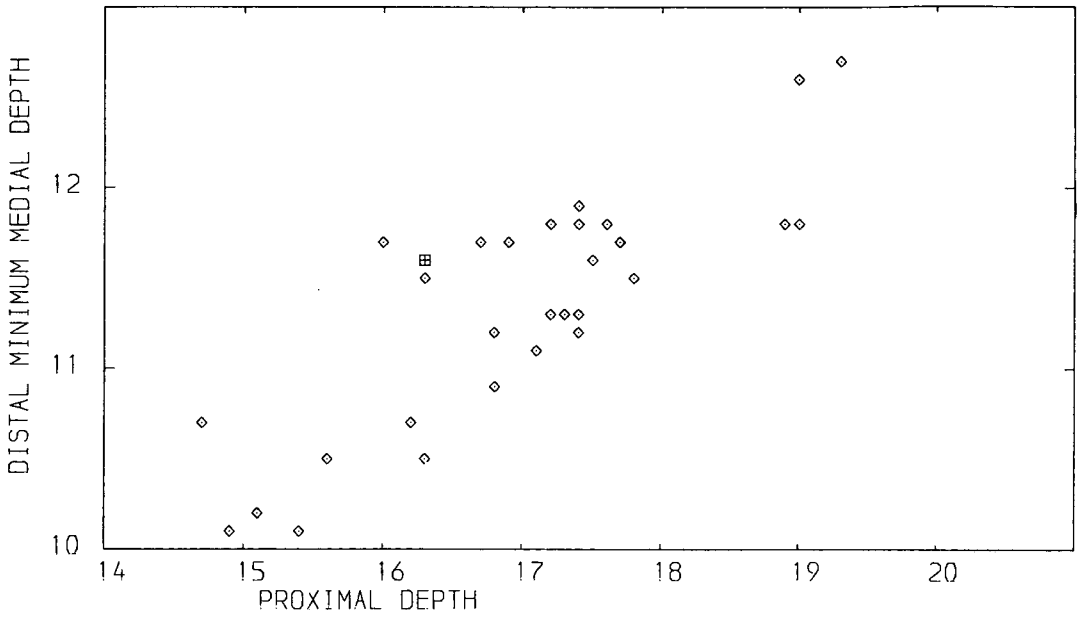
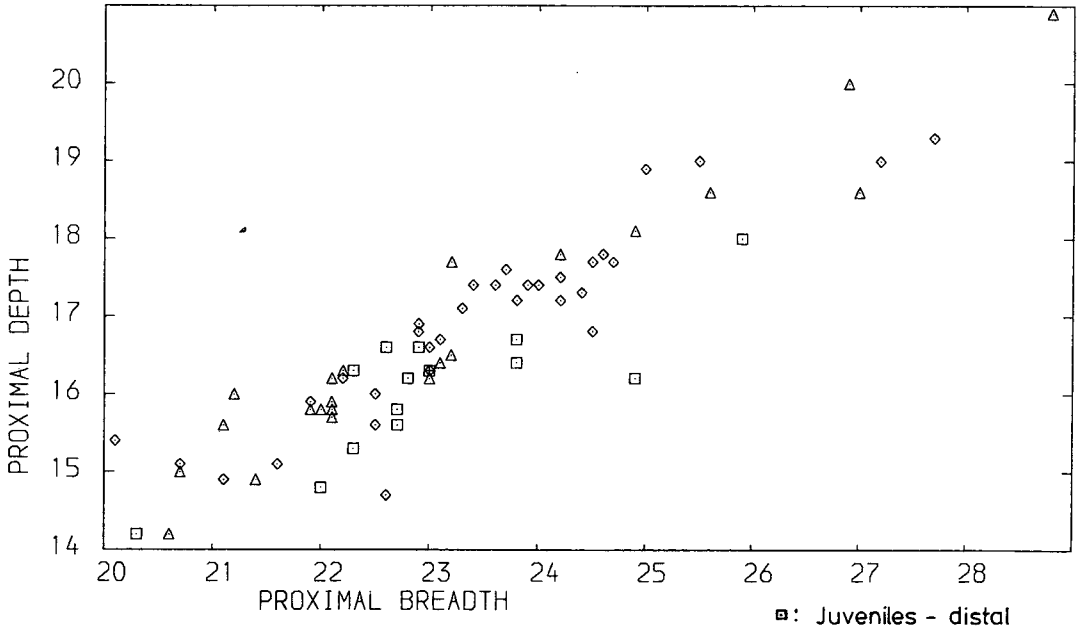


Fig. 38 Scattergram of the distal minimum medial condylar depth against the proximal depth of sheep metacarpals.



scattergram of proximal depth against proximal breadth of sheep metacarpals

⊡: Juveniles - distal epiphysis unfused.
◇: Group 1
△: Group 2

Fig. 39

posits in Newcastle[403] that large fish are infrequent and must either have been purchased filleted, the bone debris being restricted to the fish market, or little eaten. Given the situation of Newcastle one is inclined to think fish was being bought already filleted at this time and so not leaving any remains on the site.

Other dietary refuse included the shells of a number of shell fish. Oyster were the most abundant (47 upper and 47 lower valves), with cockles (15 valves), periwinkles (6 shells), a mussel and a limpet also present.

Soil samples

Two 2·5 kg samples from 18th-century deposits 16/52 and 16/53 were collected and processed. The samples were washed and sieved, and all material caught in an 850 um sieve was dried and sorted for bones and shells etc. Both samples contain a suite of terrestrial snails characteristic of gardens and damp calcareous places which included *Discus rotundatus*, *Cecilioides acicula*, *Carychium tridentatum*, *Vallonia* sp., *Vitrea crystallina*, *Oxychilus* sp. and *Cochlicopa lubrical lubricella*. A number of fragments of shell and bone were found including cockle, a rodent tibia and a few small fish bones, such as haddock and herring. It is probable that many small fish species that are purchased whole have not been recovered and this part of the local population's diet must be considerably underrepresented in this collection. The fish from the excavation are the larger specimens and one measurement from a cod bone in 16/153 indicates a fish of over 1 metre in length, approximately 9–10 kg live weight.

Conclusion

The sample from this site, despite its fairly limited size, has proved of some interest. In respect of activities being carried out on the site, as well as dietary waste, there is a collection of sheep material indicative of commercial butchery or skin processing, in fact perhaps both. Since the 17th/18th-century layers dumped to raise the floors were brought into the buildings, the bone material reflects activities which occurred outside the companies' low rooms, and which may well have taken place beyond the precinct altogether.

A comparison with the material from the *Bastion* suggests a similar proportion of domesticates being slaughtered although differences in the skeletal representation and age structure of the samples perhaps suggests social differences between the originators of the rubbish at each site.

A brief consideration can be given to the farming economy producing these collections by a consideration of the age structure discussed above. Much of the cattle farming must have been orientated towards supplying prime beef. Over 40% (Table 10) of the sample population were slaughtered between 2 and 4·5 years of age. Trow-Smith[404] records steers not fattening until they were 4 or 5 in the early 18th century although heifers were ready at 3. However, a further 40% of the collections from both sites survived to 7 years and beyond. We have no data on the sex of these older animals, but 17th-century milch cows were kept up to about 12 years and occasionally beyond.[405] Some of these animals may have been retired plough oxen but it would appear that both beef and dairy were important local farming economies.

The data from the sheep bones would suggest a similar pattern, with both lamb and mutton production being important as well as wool. Using the mandibles the lamb and "old" lamb accounts for some 36% of the sample from Black Friars, and a large proportion, 40%, were killed for mutton but only after two or three seasons of wool crop. A further 24·6% of the sample were probably animals over 4 or 5 years and are probably predominantly wethers kept on for two or three more wool clips. The measurements in Fig. 39 suggest that many of these mature animals and a high proportion of the "old" lambs are wethers with a few adult ewes at the end of their usefulness being supplied to the Newcastle market. Contemporary treatises[406] suggest that ewes were not generally kept after 6 years and wethers were not slaughtered for the butcher until 4 years old. This is consistent with the data from Black Friars and the *Bastion*.

The contemporary treatises assign little importance to the pig and its relative scarcity in the post-medieval deposits in Newcastle presumably reflect the fact that the intensive husbandry of the present day did not really start developing until the 18th century.

Although numerically the sheep are the most important animal, in terms of meat contribution beef is obviously the major source. Other items such as rabbit, game and fish make some contribution but are of little significance.

Acknowledgements

I should like to thank Mrs. Alison Locker, Ancient Monuments Laboratory (DoE) for her

identification of the fish bones. G. Milburn and R. Brunini of the Biological Laboratory Dept., of Archaeology, Univ. of Durham processed and sorted the soil samples while working under an MSC scheme. This work was sponsored by the DoE and HBMC.

PRIMARY SOURCES

1. Tyne and Wear Archives Service (TWAS)
   - 22 Records of the Smiths Company
   - 23 Land Tax
   - 98 Records of the Taylors Company
   - 118 Records of the Smiths Company. This group is missing, and only the catalogue entries are available.
   - 143 Records of the Tanners Company
   - 401 Records of the Cordwainers Company
   - 499 Records of the Bakers and Brewers Company
   - 543 Newcastle Chamberlains' Account Books. Of these, nos. 14 and 15 have been consulted only in calendared form, and no. 16 is being repaired and so is unavailable.
   - 544 Newcastle Enrolment Books
   - 574 Newcastle Borough Charters, Grants etc., including the Liber Cartarum.
   - 589/4–6, 12–21 Newcastle Common Council Books, consulted only in calendared form.
     - /517 Town Improvement Committee
     - /557–9, 732–4, 871 Town Improvement and Streets Committee 1944–67
     - /567–70 Town Planning Committee 1937–50 (sub-committee of above)
     - /571–5, 735–7 Sub-Committee as to Black Friars 1952–63
     - /598–600, 738–9, 874–81, 934 Town Planning Committee 1949–74
     - /799–800 Civic Services Committee 1967, 1969–71
   - 859 Records of the Butchers Company
   - 954 Records of the Cordwainers Company
   - 1172 Inland Revenue Valuation Department, "Domesday Books"
   - 1197 Records of the Skinners and Glovers Company
   - 1262 Records of the Smiths Company
   - 1363 Records of the Tanners Company
   - 1587 Records of the Taylors Company
   - 1591 Records of the Saddlers Company
   - T 186 Building Control Plans
   - T 253 Drawings and files from the City Architect's Department
   - T 297 Photographs from the City Engineer's Department
   - Long Boxes 9, 10, 31
   - Census returns on microfilm

2. Northumberland Record Office (NRO)
   ZAN M12/A11, C26, C26a Records of the Fullers and Dyers Company
   ZAN M13/A3, A3b Records of the Saddlers Company.
   ZAN M13/F12 G. B. Richardson, Sketches of Newcastle, II
   ZAN M17/53, 125 Records of the Bakers and Brewers Company
3. Newcastle City Library, Local Studies Section (NCL)
   Insurance Plans, Vols. 1 and 2
   Photographic collection
4. Black Gate, Library of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle
   The Society's Minute Book, 1944–50
5. City of Newcastle upon Tyne, Civic Centre
   a. Engineers Department
      Photographic collection
   b. Estate and Property Department (CEPD)
      1876 Records relating to Black Friars
      The Terrier
      Civic Services Committee 1968
   c. Environmental Health Department
      Street Clearance Orders
   d. Planning Department
      B/9/2 Records relating to Black Friars

NOTES

[1] *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of Henry VIII* (hereafter *L & P*) XIV, pt. 1, no. 43, p. 21; *Eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, Appendix II, p. 32.

[2] Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, "The Friar-Preachers, or Blackfriars, of Newcastle-on-Tyne", *The Reliquary*, XVIII (1877–8), p. 165.

[3] *L & P*, XIV, pt. 1, no. 394, p. 150.

[4] Palmer, op. cit., p. 166; John Brand, *History of Newcastle upon Tyne* (1789), I, pp. 597–9, for a full version, in Latin, of this important document.

[5] F. A. Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* (1890), II, pp. 273–4.

[6] Brand, op. cit., I, pp. 133, 599–600.

[7] TWAS 543/15, p. 122; 544/76, p. 179 (1655).

[8] TWAS 544/11, pp. 160–1.

[9] TWAS 543/14, pp. 267, 377.

[10] TWAS Long Box 9, 19/2/50; 401/55, lease of 1.ii.1670/1.

[11] TWAS Long Box 9, 19/2, 5, 6/50.

[12] TWAS 143/1: receipts of rent for houses from 1664.

[13] TWAS 401/13: receipts of rent from Tho. Gibson, gardener, 1703–8.

[14] NRO ZAN M13/A3: receipts of rent from Wm. Hewetson, gardener, 1664–90.

[15] TWAS 859/1: "Rec'ed of Mr William Yeildert one years rent for the Garden", 24.ii.1730/1; 859/5: reference to stackyard, 11.x.1787.

[16] TWAS 1197/4: lease, 5.i.1656/7.

[17] As note 16.

[18] TWAS Long Box 10, 24/45/50.

[19] Brand, op. cit., I, p. 123 note z.

[20] TWAS 574/95, p. 43; 543/14, 15, 17, 19–21, 23, 24, 26, 27. The Black Friars rents usually appeared as a group, but the last entry for Hart Close, 1642–3, is separate from the others, 543/27, p. 58.

[21] M. Hope Dodds ed., *Extracts from the Newcastle upon Tyne Minute Book 1639–1656* (Newcastle upon Tyne Records Committee, I, 1920), p. xviii.

[22] TWAS 589/4, pp. 97–8.

[23] W. H. D. Longstaffe, "Some account of the house in the Close, Newcastle, on the East Side of the Tuthill Stairs", *Arch. Ael.* 2, I (1857), p. 141.

[24] TWAS 589/5, p. 74.

[25] Ibid., pp. 74, 125.

[26] TWAS Long Box 9, 18/47, 48/50.

[27] TWAS 589/12, p. 203.

[28] Dodds, op. cit., pp. 73–4.

[29] Henry Bourne, *History of Newcastle upon Tyne* (1736), pp. 146–7.

[30] Brand, op. cit., I, p. 420 note n.

[31] Ibid., pp. 599–600.

[32] TWAS 1197/4.

[33] TWAS 401/13, 1709–10; 401/3: 17.xi.1730.

[34] TWAS 859/1, stewards' account 1693/4–1694/5. The first Yeilder to appear in the company records is a William Yeildert (*sic*), admitted in 1694. It would be convenient to equate this man with William I, but the interval between this date, and the admittances of the first of four men described as sons of William (John 1699, William (?II) 1705, Robert 1707, Thomas 1709) seems too short.

[35] NRO ZAN M17/125: he leased the Bakers' and Brewers' close for 21 years, 1722. TWAS 1197/4: he is named as tenant of the Skinners' and Glovers' close for most of the period 1703/4–1752/3. TWAS 143/1: he paid rent for the Tanners' close 1716–42. TWAS 118/1: he leased the Smiths' close for 21 years, 1741. TWAS 859/1 and 859/4: he rented the Butchers' close 1649–50; in 1752 the rent was paid by his executors; in 1754–5 a William Yeilder again had the close.

[36] TWAS 859/4: names of stewards and the twelve, 1740/1–1742/3.

[37] Ibid. On 13.ii.1750/1 Yeilder paid the rent for the close; on 5.ii.1752 it was paid by his executors.

[38] TWAS 143/2.

[39] See note 34.

[40] TWAS 118/2–4: leases of Smiths' close, co-lessee Rev. N. Clayton, 1753, 1763, 1783. TWAS 23/1102–1127, 1753–85: the Land Tax is an erratic source of information, but Yeilder is recorded as paying the tax for the Tanners' yard 1754–6, 1775–81, and for the Taylors' almost every year 1753–84. TWAS 401/57: lease of part of Cordwainers' close for 63 years, 1760. TWAS 1591/1: see under 5.vii.1827 for note of lease dated 1780; payments of rent by Yeilder 1793–1806, and by his representatives or executors from 1808. TWAS 1197/5: payment of rent 1791–1808. In addition, a William Yeilder paid land tax for the Bakers' and Brewers' close 1754, 1756—TWAS 23/1103–1104.

[41] See note 6.

[42] TWAS 543/15, p. 361.

[43] TWAS 543/14, pp. 85, 159, 267, 377; TWAS 543/15, pp. 122, 198, 287.

[44] TWAS 543/14, pp. 505–07, 509–10, 514–5, 573. Although "the Friars" is qualified by "Black" only in the last of these references, there is no reason to suppose that any of the other friaries is involved. I am grateful to Christopher North for drawing my attention to these references.

[45] See note 22.

[46] References among the annual receipts in TWAS 859/1, 401/13, 143/1, 1197/4, and NRO M13/A3.

[47] Bakers and Brewers, Fullers and Dyers, Smiths and Taylors.

[48] Bourne, op. cit., pp. 21–2. TWAS 859/1: 1738/9–1739/40.

[49] TWAS 143/1: 6.iv.1719.

[50] Brand, op. cit., I, engraving opp. p. 122; NRO ZAN M13/F12, p. 9.

[51] The MSS references for alterations to the buildings are given for each company in Section 3.

[52] During their absence from Black Friars the Taylors met in a house they owned in Manor Chare, Brand, op. cit., I, p. 344 note r.

[53] See note 221.

[54] Brand, op. cit., II, pp. 317–18 and note y; TWAS 589/6, p. 49, 401/13, 401/5.

[55] There is a plaque at the head of the Smiths' stair commemorating the repair of the hall in 1803 and, in TWAS 22/71, an invoice of 1804 for £49 for a new roof to the meeting house.

[56] See note 263.

[57] TWAS 1262/1, in particular 5.ix.1827 to 17.xii.1827; TWAS 22/34, building specifications, each section of which is signed, "Exd. T. Oliver", 22/157, 158, plans and elevations.

[58] TWAS 859/8: 1846–8, 1869; TWAS 1591/1: 1811, 1813, 1818; NRO ZAN M13/A3b: 1812; TWAS 1197/5: 1845, 1849; TWAS 1262/1: 1795, 1817; TWAS 98/96: 1818; TWAS 1363/1: 1894, 1924; NCL, Insurance Plans, Vol. 1 (1896), p. 12—Cordwainers' hall was being used by the Salvation Army.

[59] NRO ZAN M17/125.

[60] TWAS 1197/4: 1745–6.

[61] TWAS 143/1: 7.x.1705.

[62] TWAS 401/5: e.g. 12.iv.1815, 27.xii.1825.

[63] TWAS 401/13: 1703/04–1730/31; TWAS 401/55, lease of 1716.

[64] TWAS 143/1: 24.vi.1728.

[65] TWAS 1587/1: 19.xi.1895.

[66] TWAS 589/13, p. 267.

[67] TWAS 1591/1: 19.vi.1922.

[68] CEPD: the Terrier.

[69] The three burgages of 1544 are presumably the same as the three messuages for which 17th-century deeds exist. These three were still separate in 1670, TWAS Long Box 9, 19/2, 5, 6/50. In 1709, when they seem to have been reduced to two, but within the same boundaries as the three, they were leased to White, TWAS 589/12, pp. 238–9.

[70] TWAS 544/11, pp. 230–3.

[71] TWAS 544/31, pp. 645–7.

[72] TWAS 1172/46, assessment nos. 72, 73.

[73] TWAS 589/4, p. 98.

[74] TWAS 589/14, pp. 170–1.

[75] TWAS 401/4: 27.iv.1775.

[76] TWAS 1172/46, no. 43 (Cordwainers); 1172/47, nos. 1311 (Taylors), 1322 (Tanners). The Butchers once had the plot between the Cordwainers and the Tanners (TWAS 401/58: lease of 26–27.ix.1829), and the Skinners and Glovers probably the plot north of the Taylors, described as "the ground behind the Meeting House", TWAS 1197/3: 4.iii.1814, 3.x.1815.

[77] TWAS 143/1, 1664–81.

[78] E. Mackenzie, *History of Newcastle upon Tyne* (1827), opp. p. 501.

[79] TWAS 401/55: lease of part of the close to Thomas Marshall, 21.xii.1730, and another, 25.ix.1742, referring to an earlier lease of the remaining part to George Alder, 23.xii.1730.

[80] TWAS 401/57: lease to Ann Marshall, 27.ii.1751 (*sic*), 1752.

[81] Ibid., 29.xi.1760.

[82] See above, and note 70.

[83] TWAS 1591/1: payments of rent from 1794–1806.

[84] See note 40.

[85] TWAS 98/4854. Note, however, that in 1765 he is recorded as paying land tax for a coach house in Fenkle Street, TWAS 23/1107.

[86] TWAS 1197/5: payments of rent from 1791; TWAS 23/1102: land tax from 1753.

[87] Brand, op. cit., I, p. 134.

[88] Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 514.

[89] NRO ZAN M13/A3b.

[90] TWAS 589/14, pp. 428–9.

[91] TWAS 589/17, pp. 132–3.

[92] TWAS 589/19, pp. 371–2.

[93] TWAS 544/11, pp. 160–5.

[94] NRO M12/C26.

[95] TWAS 98/103.

[96] TWAS 98/1/8 (old number).

[97] See note 57.

[98] TWAS 499/215–229.

[99] TWAS 589/20–21, pp. 3, 66.

[100] TWAS Long Box 31, 57/2–5/52.

[101] *Proceedings of the Town Council of Newcastle, 1874–75*, pp. 209–10, and *1875–76*, p. 311; TWAS 589/517, pp. 104–05.

[102] Census return, 1851.

[103] The Skinners' and Glovers' close, which had become a tannery, was sold in 1836 to Jonathan Priestman, tanner, and tenant of the Cordwainers', TWAS 1197/3: 15.iii.1836; TWAS 401/59: lease of 1.viii.1827.

[104] TWAS 859/8: 21.vi.1844.

[105] TWAS 589/18, p. 305.

[106] Cf. census returns of 1841 and 1851; *Ward's Directory of Newcastle* etc. (1855), p. 351.

[107] The asylum "remained in use until about 1855", S. Middlebrook, *Newcastle upon Tyne* (1951), p. 282. Its site was sold in 1866, *Proceedings of the Town Council of Newcastle, 1865–6*, pp. 58–9; and redeveloped, 2nd ed. O.S. 10·56″ = 1 mile; TWAS 1172/46, 47.

[108] The Corporation applied for permission to sell land in this area to Rutherford in 1859, TWAS 544/31, pp. 24–5; Middlebrook, op. cit., p. 269.

[109] Corporation Street first appeared in the street directories in 1869–70, *Ward's Directory of Newcastle* etc., p. 178.

[110] TWAS T 186/17435.

[111] TWAS 401/58: 10.xii.1894.

[112] Ibid., plans and elevations of proposed warehouses, 30.vi.1905; TWAS 954/1.

[113] TWAS 1587/2: in particular entries for 5.x.1912, 11.vi.1934.

[114] Newcastle Department of Environmental Health, accession nos. 34517, 34612, 34681.

[115] TWAS 1197/3: 15 and 18.iii.1836.

[116] NRO M12/A11.

[117] Wm. Gray, *Chorographia* (1649/1884), pp. 72–3. Gray described these friars as "Grey" in error. F. Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales* (1783), Vol. 4, pp. 59–63. Bourne, op. cit., p. 22.

[118] NRO ZAN M13/F12. For a biographical note see *Arch. Ael.* 3, X (1913), pp. 222–4.
[119] See note 2.
[120] *P.S.A.N.* 2, VIII (1899), p. 175.
[121] TWAS T 186/17435, 17975.
[122] *P.S.A.N.* 2, VIII (1899), p. 218.
[123] *P.S.A.N.* 2, IX (1901), pp. 2, 4, 8.
[124] C. H. Hunter Blair, "William Henry Knowles", *Arch. Ael.* 4, XXI (1943), pp. 248–53.
[125] W. H. Knowles, "Monastery of the Black Friars, Newcastle-upon-Tyne", *Arch. Ael.* 3, XVII (1920), pp. 315–36.
[126] *P.S.A.N.* 3, X (1923), pp. 159–60.
[127] Ibid., pp. 93–4.
[128] R. G. Hatton, "The RIBA Conference at Newcastle and Durham. The Architectural Visitor to Northumbria", *The Builder*, July 10, 1925, p. 60. Hatton was Professor of Fine Art, and the founder of the Architectural Section, later the School of Architecture, in Armstrong College.
[129] J. Douglas Mitchell, "Newcastle: what it might become. A plea for the City Beautiful", ibid., pp. 68–70. The chairman of the Tanners Company increased the figure to £50,000, TWAS 1363/1: 11.vi.1928.
[130] *Report of the Newcastle upon Tyne Society*, 1925–6, p. 8.
[131] TWAS 1587/2: 9.v.1928.
[132] TWAS 1363/1: 11.vi.1928.
[133] *Northumberland and Newcastle Society, Annual Report 1938*, p. 11. TWAS 1363/1: 20.vi.1938, 12.vi.1939.
[134] TWAS 589/568: 30.iv.1945, pp. 44–5.
[135] Ibid.: 28.v.1945, p. 57.
[136] TWAS 589/557: 11.ix.1946, p. 249.
[137] TWAS 589/568: 24.vi.1946, p. 207.
[138] TWAS 1591/1: 4.vii.1946.
[139] TWAS 589/569: 30.xii.1946, p. 52.
[140] TWAS 589/570: 21.vi.1948, p. 106.
[141] Ibid.: 25.x.1948, p. 163.
[142] *Proceedings of the Council of the City of Newcastle, 1949–50*, pp. 853–5.
[143] CEPD, the Terrier, where the vendors of the Butchers' hall are given as the Black Friars Estates Ltd.
[144] TWAS 589/558: 8.xi.1950, pp. 212–13.
[145] TWAS 401/74: letter from the Town Clerk to the Company's solicitors, 4.iii.1952.
[146] TWAS 589/558: 8.x.1952, p. 360.
[147] TWAS 954/2.
[148] Black Gate, Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, Minute Book 1944–50: 15.i.1947.
[149] TWAS 589/598: 27.ii.1950, p. 90.
[150] TWAS 589/558: 14.iii.1951, p. 240.
[151] Ibid.: 11.iv.1951, p. 246.
[152] Ibid.: 13.ii.1952, p. 310. For a copy of Reed's report see TWAS 401/74.
[153] Ibid.: 9.iv.1952, p. 324.
[154] Ibid.: 9.vii.1952, p. 343.
[155] TWAS 589/571: 26.ix.1952, p. 105.
[156] Ibid.: 7.x.1952, pp. 107–08.
[157] TWAS 589/559: 10.xi.1954, pp. 101–02. Drawings TWAS T 253/11, 13.
[158] TWAS 589/559, *passim.*
[159] Ibid.: 14.xii.1955, p. 228.
[160] Ibid.: 11.i.1956–8.v.1957, pp. 247, 269, 341, 421.
[161] TWAS 589/600: 27.v.1957, p. 271.
[162] TWAS 589/573: 19.iii.1958, p. 94.
[163] CEPD, the Terrier.
[164] TWAS 589/732: 11.vi. and 9.vii.1958, pp. 46, 57.
[165] CEPD 1876/1: 9.x.1958.
[166] TWAS 589/732: 12.xi.1958, p. 96.
[167] CEPD 1876/A: 19.xii.1958.
[168] TWAS 589/732: 9.iv.1958 and 12.xi.1958, pp. 19, 96.
[169] Ibid.: 10.xii.1958, p. 110.
[170] TWAS 589/574: 20.ii.1959, pp. 89–90.
[171] *Proceedings of the Council of the City of Newcastle 1958–9*, pp. 890–5: 22.iv.1959.
[172] Ibid.: pp. 969–71: 6.v.1959.
[173] *Evening Chronicle*, 7.ii.1959, p. 14; 13.iii.1959, p. 3; 8.v.1959, p. 3.
[174] The Panel reported to the Town Improvement and Streets Committee, TWAS 589/732: 9.xii.1959, p. 291, report and plans attached, who referred it to the Sub-Committee as to Black Friars, TWAS 589/575: 21.i.1960, p. 104.
[175] CEPD 1876/1: Further Report of the Panel of Architects. There are plans for this scheme, 24.xi.1960, in TWAS T 253/25, 26.
[176] CEPD 1876/1: Report by Alan Reed, April 1961. This was submitted to the Sub-Committee as to Black Friars on 15.v.1961, TWAS 589/736, pp. 14–15.
[177] TWAS 589/735: 23.xi.1960, p. 104.
[178] TWAS 589/737: 18.vii.1962, pp. 109–110, £52,400. It is not clear where this figure comes from. In his report of April, 1961, Reed suggested £73,275, i.e. £60,000 (total cost) + £5,000 (contingencies) + £8,275 (fees).
[179] TWAS 589/737: 18.vii.1962, pp. 109–10.
[180] TWAS 589/733: 14.iii.1962, p. 201.
[181] See note 179.
[182] CEPD 1876/1.
[183] TWAS 589/737: 31.x.1962, pp. 216–17.
[184] CEPD 1876/1: Alan Reed's report of January, 1963. This was submitted to the Sub-Committee as to Black Friars on 13.ii.1963, TWAS 589/737, p. 282.
[185] TWAS 589/733: 13.ii.1963, 10.iv.1963, 8.v.1963, pp. 315–16, 349–50, 355. Project confirmed by the City Council, 29.v.1963.
[186] TWAS 589/734: 8.vii.1964–11.v.1966; 589/871: 17.vi.1966–11.i.1967. Summary of this period of meetings in a report to the City Estate and Property Surveyor, March, 1968, in CEPD 1876/D.
[187] CEPD, Report of the City Legal Adviser, 10.x.1968, attached to the Civic Services Committee Minutes of 11.xi.1968.
[188] CEPD 1876/1A: 12.ix.1966.
[189] TWAS 589/878: 19.ii.1968.
[190] TWAS 589/881: 9.ix.1971.
[191] TWAS 589/800: 16.iii.1970.

[192] CEPD 1876/D, Management Committee: 12.i.1971. There are drawings for this scheme in TWAS T 253/30, 33.

[193] TWAS 589/881, Conservation Area Advisory Committee: 7.ii.1972.

[194] Ibid.: 9.ix.1971.

[195] Planning Department, B/9/2, 2nd file, and CA/24/5: 11.ii.1972.

[196] TWAS 589/881: 13.iv.1972.

[197] TWAS T 253/1, letter from the secretary of the Historic Buildings Council to the City Architect: 30.x.1972.

[198] Ibid., letter from the City Planning Officer to the secretary of the Historic Buildings Council: 17.i.1973.

[199] TWAS 589/934: 14.xii.1972.

[200] CEPD 1876/D, miscellaneous correspondence: 25.iv.–27.vi.1973.

[201] TWAS 589/934: 13.xii.1973.

[202] CEPD 1876/D, Development, Planning and Highways Committee: 9.iv. and 7.v.1974.

[203] Ibid., miscellaneous correspondence etc.: 10.v.–3.vi.1974.

[204] Ibid., Land and Property Committee: 10.vi.1974, and a memo. 11.vi.1974. CEPD 1876/E, memos. between the City Treasurer and City Planning Officer: 29.viii.1974.

[205] Ibid., Development, Planning and Highways Committee: 12.ix.1974.

[206] I am grateful to Brian Jobling, then leader of the Joint Conservation Team of Tyne and Wear County Council, for providing the summary represented by these last two sentences.

[207] N.C.L., R. J. Charleton, *Streets of Newcastle* (a collection of newspaper articles), p. 89.

[208] TWAS 1197/4, 1712–13.

[209] NRO ZAN M13/F12, p. 21.

[210] TWAS 1197/3: 15.iii.1836.

[211] Ibid.: 4.x.1852.

[212] TWAS 1197/5: 1863.

[213] Ibid.: 1825–6.

[214] TWAS 1587/1: 9.vi.1899; 10.vii.1899.

[215] TWAS 1587/2: 2.ii.1918.

[216] CEPD, the Terrier.

[217] The engraving in Brand is the only illustration of the Taylors' house before it was rebuilt. The door is wrongly positioned in this view, being shown as an entry to the Saddlers' property.

[218] See note 22.

[219] At an unknown date this stone was reset in the 18th-century west wall of the low room.

[220] Bourne, op. cit., p. 21.

[221] TWAS 98/1418–1466, particularly nos. 1436, 1450, 1460.

[222] CEPD 1876/E, Development, Planning and Highways Committee: 12.ix.1974.

[223] TWAS 1591/1: 14.ii. and 3.vii.1890.

[224] TWAS 1587/2: 8.v., 11.v. and 23.xi.1915.

[225] TWAS 1587/2: 6.v.1939.

[226] CEPD, the Terrier.

[227] Bourne, op. cit., p. 21.

[228] TWAS 1591/1: 5.vii.1900.

[229] Ibid.: 7.viii. (1908 *sic*), 1907.

[230] Ibid.: 1.vii.1937.

[231] Ibid.: 7.vii.1938.

[232] Ibid.: 4.vii.1946.

[233] Ibid.: 6.vii.1951.

[234] But see Bourne, op. cit., p. 20. "On the South may still be seen the Ruins of a curious Front...."

[235] TWAS 401/55: 1.vii.1735.

[236] TWAS 401/13: 28.v.1744.

[237] NCL, Insurance Plans Vol. 2, p. 15 (1927).

[238] TWAS 954/1: 2.vii.1925.

[239] TWAS 954/2: 17.iv.1953.

[240] Bourne, op. cit., p. 20.

[241] NRO ZAN M13/F12, particularly pp. 8, 9, 16, 25.

[242] Bourne, op. cit., p. 21.

[243] Brand, op. cit., II, pp. 317–18 and n. y. References to meeting in "the High Meeting House" in the Friars cease in 1728, TWAS 401/2, and the first reference to "the new Meeting House" occurs on 17.xi.1730, TWAS 401/3.

[244] TWAS 401/13: 13.vi.1737, 25.vi.1739, 9.vi.1740, 6.vi.1743.

[245] Found in 1957 while lowering the ground level in the cloister.

[246] TWAS 401/5, and Richardson's dated drawings.

[247] *Proceedings of the Council of the City of Newcastle, 1949–50*, p. 854; TWAS 589/558, p. 360.

[248] TWAS 954/2.

[249] CEPD 1876/1.

[250] CEPD 1876/1A.

[251] TWAS 859/1: 1738/9–1739/40.

[252] NCL, Insurance Plans Vol. 2, p. 15 (1927), records shops below, tenements above.

[253] CEPD, the Terrier.

[254] TWAS 143/1: accounts dated 24.vi.1717, 16.vi.1718, 1.vi.1719.

[255] TWAS 1363/1: 8.iv.1873, 16.vi.1873.

[256] Ibid.: 31.v.1948.

[257] Ibid.: 12.vi.1950. The Terrier records the date of acquisition by the City as 19.x.1951.

[258] Ibid.: 28.v.1951, 17.vi.1952.

[259] TWAS 22/34.

[260] Bourne, op. cit., p. 21.

[261] See note 55.

[262] Brand, op. cit., I, p. 133 n. w, and the foot of the engraving opp. p. 122.

[263] TWAS 1262/1: 5.xi.1823; TWAS 22/73.

[264] See note 57.

[265] See note 78.

[266] CEPD, the Terrier.

[267] Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 172. This was also noted by Brand, op. cit., I, p. 134 n. w, who "particularly noticed a tun", but by reporting that the ceiling was below the workshop of Edward Storey, housecarpenter, Mackenzie locates it in the Fullers' and Dyers' house where Storey was a tenant, see note 268.

[268] NRO ZAN M12/C26, receipts of rent from Robert Storey and later Edward Storey, 1793–1827; ZAN M12/C26a, receipts of rent from Edward Storey

from 1827 to 1841 certainly, 1843 probably; ZAN M12/A11, receipts of rent from the same 1844–65, from George Willey 1865 to 1881 certainly, 1889 presumably.

[269] See note 118.

[270] NRO ZAN M12/A11: 5.iii.1889; ZAN M12/C26a: 6.v.1889.

[271] NRO ZAN M12/C26a: 17.v.1894.

[272] NRO ZAN M12/A11: 18.iv.1896, 15.iv.1897.

[273] NRO M12/C26a: 17.v.1894, 6.v.1895.

[274] Ibid.: 13.v.1896.

[275] Ibid.: 18.v.1897.

[276] NRO ZAN M12/A11: 14.v.1897.

[277] Ibid.: 3.xi.1897.

[278] Ibid.: 9.xi.–20.xi.1897.

[279] NRO ZAN M12/C26a: 27.i.1898.

[280] Ibid.: 6.v.1902.

[281] Bourne, op. cit., p. 21.

[282] See note 59.

[283] NRO ZAN M17/53.

[284] See note 118.

[285] TWAS T 186/17975. Drawings of the two meeting houses before alteration: 7 April 1898. Proposed alterations 1: 7 April 1898. Subsequently withdrawn in favour of proposed alterations 2: 6 October 1898.

TWAS T 186/17435. An amended plan of the whole block on the Saddlers' close included the two meeting houses, and is therefore proposed alterations 3: February 1899.

[286] CEPD, the Terrier.

[287] See note 89.

[288] See note 50.

[289] Bourne, op. cit., p. 22, Brand, op. cit., I, p. 133 n. w.

[290] TWAS 401/5: 27.xii.1843.

[291] TWAS 1197/5: 7.xii.1864.

[292] TWAS 401/5: 9.vi.1828; TWAS 1587/1: 20.vii.1894, 12.ii.1895.

[293] The Cordwainers' w.c. appears on all views of the north front of their house. TWAS 1587/1: 13.iv.(*sic*), vii?.1897 to 6.ii.1899.

[294] Ibid.: 21.xi.1899.

[295] Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, *Old Newcastle: Lectures* (Newcastle, 1904), p. 49.

[296] Margaret Ellison, "The Pottery", in Barbara Harbottle and Margaret Ellison, "An Excavation in the Castle Ditch, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1974–6", *Arch. Ael.* 5, IX (1981), pp. 95–165.

[297] Margaret Ellison, "The Pottery", in Margaret Ellison and Barbara Harbottle, "The Excavation of a 17th-century Bastion in the Castle of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1976–81", *Arch. Ael.* 5, XI (1983), pp. 150–80.

[298] Margaret Ellison, Margaret Finch and Barbara Harbottle, "The Excavation of a 17th-century Pit at the Black Gate, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1975", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 13 (1979), pp. 157–67.

[299] Ellison (1983), op. cit., p. 150.

[300] Ibid., p. 150.

[301] Ellison (1981), op. cit., pp. 130–46.

[302] Ellison etc. (1979), op. cit., p. 158, table 1, forms 1 and 2.

[303] Ibid., p. 158, table 1, forms 7 and 8.

[304] Ellison (1983), op. cit., p. 153, table B.

[305] Sarah Jennings, *Eighteen centuries of pottery from Norwich*, East Anglian Archaeology, Report No. 13 (1981).

[306] Colin Platt and Richard Coleman-Smith, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton, 1953–1969* (1975), Vol. 2, The finds.

[307] Personal communication, Margaret Ellison.

[308] Personal communication, David Gaimster.

[309] Ellison (1981), op. cit., p. 142.

[310] Ellison (1983), op. cit., p. 175.

[311] Ellison etc. (1979), op. cit., p. 161.

[312] Jennings, op. cit., p. 97.

[313] Peter Brears, "Excavations at Potovens, near Wakefield", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 1 (1967), fig. 8.

[314] Personal communication, David Gaimster.

[315] Helen Clarke and Alan Carter, *Excavations in King's Lynn, 1963–1970*, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series: No. 7 (1977).

[316] Personal communication, J. G. Hurst.

[317] Ellison (1981), op. cit., pp. 154–9.

[318] Ellison (1983), op. cit., p. 155.

[319] Brears, op. cit., fig. 11, no. 10.

[320] F. S. C. Celoria and J. H. Kelly, *A post-medieval pottery site with a kiln base found off Albion Square, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire*, City of Stoke-on-Trent Museum Archaeological Society, Report No. 4 (1973).

[321] K. S. Bartlett, "Excavations at Potovens, near Wakefield, 1968", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 5 (1971), fig. 13, nos. 4 and 7.

[322] Ellison (1983), op. cit., p. 156; no Weser was found in the *17th-century Pit*.

[323] Jennings, op. cit., p. 78.

[324] Ellison (1981), op. cit., p. 151.

[325] Personal communication, J. G. Hurst.

[326] Personal communication, J. G. Hurst.

[327] Jeremy Haslam, "The Excavation of a 17th-century Pottery Site at Cove, E. Hampshire", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 9 (1975), pp. 164–87.

[328] Stephen Moorhouse, "Finds from Basing House, Hampshire (*c.* 1540–1645): Part 1", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 4 (1970), pp. 31–91.

[329] Ellison (1981), op. cit., p. 147, and Ellison (1983), op. cit., no. 4.

[330] Hugo Blake, "Pottery exported from northwest Italy between 1450 and 1830: Savona, Albisola, Genoa, Pisa, Montelupo", p. 105, in G. Barber and R. Hodges, eds., *Papers in Italian Archaeology* 2, BAR International Series 102 (1981).

[331] Personal communication, Craig Clunias, the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[332] Ellison etc. (1979), op. cit., p. 169.

[333] R. W. Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture* (1970), pp. 114–20.

[334] Margaret Ellison, "The Glass", in Ellison etc.

(1983), op. cit., p. 181.

[335] Ellison etc. (1979), op. cit., p. 169.

[336] Margaret Ellison, "The Glass", in Harbottle etc. (1981), op. cit., p. 167.

[337] W. A. Thorpe, *English Glass* (1961), p. 161.

[338] J. E. Parsons, "The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco-Pipe in North-East England", *Arch. Ael.* 4, XLII (1964), pp. 231–54.

[339] L. J. Edwards, *Tobacco-pipes, Pipemakers and Tobacconists in Newcastle and Gateshead until* c. *1800: An Archaeological Study* (M.A. thesis, University of Durham, 1986).

[340] Adrian Oswald (1983), "Clay Tobacco-Pipes", in Ellison etc. (1983), op. cit., pp. 186–95.

[341] G. Watkins, "Hull Types: A Typology", in *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe*, I (BAR, 1979), pp. 85–122.

[342] D. Atkinson and A. Oswald, "London Clay Tobacco Pipes", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3, XXXII (1969), pp. 171–227.

[343] Oswald (1983), op. cit., pp. 191–2.

[344] Edwards, op. cit., p. 45.

[345] Oswald (1983), op. cit., p. 193.

[346] A. Oswald, *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist* (BAR, 1975), p. 88.

[347] Oswald (1983), op. cit., p. 194.

[348] Ibid., p. 195.

[349] Adrian Oswald (1979), "Clay Tobacco-Pipes", in Ellison etc. (1979), op. cit., p. 175.

[350] D. H. Duco, "The Clay Tobacco Pipe in Seventeenth-Century Netherlands", in *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe* Vol. V, Part 2 (BAR, 1981), p. 247.

[351] Ibid., p. 249.

[352] Oswald (1983), op. cit., p. 194.

[353] Duco, op. cit., pp. 248 and 457.

[354] R. Ward, *Directory of Newcastle* etc., various years.

[355] Harbottle etc. (1981), op. cit., pp. 171–2, and Ellison etc. (1983), op. cit., pp. 196–7.

[356] Personal communication, J. E. Cribb, British Museum.

[357] R. F. Tylecote, "A Contribution to the Metallurgy of 18th- and 19th-century Brass Pins", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 6 (1972), pp. 183–90.

[358] Sylvia Groves, *The History of Needlework Tools and Accessories* (1966), pp. 36–7.

[359] Edwin F. Holmes, *Thimbles* (1976), p. 26.

[360] I. H. Goodall, "Iron Objects", in J. G. Hurst, ed., *Wharram, A Study of Settlement in the Yorkshire Wolds*, I, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series: No. 8 (1979), pp. 110–11 and no. 25.

[361] Charmian Woodfield, "Finds from the Free Grammar School at the Whitefriars, Coventry, *c.* 1545–*c.* 1557/58", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 15 (1981), p. 94.

[362] *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* (1954), pp. 129–30.

[363] Stephen Moorhouse, "Finds from Basing House, Hampshire (*c.* 1540–1645): Part Two", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 5 (1971), p. 51.

[364] Ibid., p. 50.

[365] *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* (1954), p. 141.

[366] Moorhouse (1971), op. cit., pp. 39–41.

[367] Ian H. Goodall, "Iron Objects", in Philip Mayes and Lawrence Butler, *Sandal Castle Excavations 1964–1973* (1983), pp. 248–51, Fig. 9, nos. 201–4.

[368] J. F. Hayward, *English cutlery sixteenth to eighteenth century* (1956), p. 5.

[369] Ibid., p. 8.

[370] For a more detailed explanation of terms see P. Walton and G. Eastwood, *A brief guide to the cataloguing of archaeological textiles* (privately published, York, 2nd ed. 1984).

[371] M. L. Ryder, "Changes in the fleece of sheep following domestication", in P. J. Ucko and G. W. Dimbleby (eds.), *The Domestication and Exploitation of plants and animals* (1969), pp. 495–521.

[372] M. L. Ryder, "British Medieval sheep and their wool types", in D. W. Crossley (ed.), *Medieval Industry* (CBA Research Report 40), pp. 16–17.

[373] M. L. Ryder, "The history of sheep breeds in Britain", *Agric. Hist. Rev.* XII (1964), p. 71.

[374] P. J. Bowden, *The wool trade in Tudor and Stuart England* (1962), p. 108.

[375] P. Walton, "The textiles", in Ellison etc. (1983), op. cit., pp. 217–40, 262–3.

[376] Ibid., p. 220.

[377] Ibid., p. 225.

[378] P. Walton, "The textiles", in Harbottle etc. (1981), op. cit., p. 217, T 289.

[379] Walton (1983), op. cit., p. 233, T 57.

[380] Personal communication, Dr. Helen Bennett.

[381] F. Pritchard, "Textiles from recent excavations in the City of London (A.D. 850–1450)", in L. Bender Jørgensen and K. Tidow (eds.), *First Neumünster Textilsymposium* (Neumünster, 1982), p. 204.

[382] Quoted in S. W. Beck, *The Drapers Dictionary* (1886), p. 363.

[383] T. Packer, *The Dyer's Guide* (1830), pp. 5–6, F. Celoria, "Archaeology and dyestuffs", *Science and Archaeology* part 1, No. 6 (1971), p. 25.

[384] *Rules for the encouragement of Manufactures and dyeing* quoted in C. Bolton, "Contributions on the history of dyeing", *Dyer and textile printer* Vol. 75, no. 12 (5.6.1936), p. 549.

[385] Quoted in Beck, op. cit., p. 309.

[386] H. Bennett, "A murder victim discovered: clothing and other finds from an early 18th-century grave on Arnish Moor, Lewis", *P.S.A.S.* XVI (1974–5), pp. 172–82.

[387] F. W. Dendy ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, I (Surtees Society 93, 1894), p. 177, and II (Surtees Society 101, 1899), p. 20.

[388] K. G. Ponting, "Introduction", in E. Baines, *The woollen manufacture of England* (1858, republished in 1970), pp. 26–9, 35–6.

[389] C. Gulvin, *The tweedmakers: a history of the Scottish fancy woollen industry 1600–1914* (1973), pp. 35–9.

[390] T. S. Willan, *The Inland Trade* (1976), pp. 128–30.

[391] R. Davis, "English Foreign Trade, 1660–1700", and "English Foreign Trade, 1700–1774", in W. E. Minchinton, *The growth of English overseas trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, pp. 95–8.

[392] Beck, op. cit., pp. 307–9.

[393] D. J. Rackham, "The animal remains", in Ellison etc. (1983), op. cit., pp. 240–56.

[394] Ibid.

[395] A. Grant, "The use of tooth wear as a guide to the age of domestic ungulates", in B. Wilson, C. Grigson and S. Payne, *Ageing and Sexing animal bones from archaeological sites* (BAR BS 109, 1982), pp. 91–108.

[396] I. A. Silver, "The ageing of domestic animals", in D. Brothwell and E. S. Higgs, eds., *Science in Archaeology* (2nd ed., 1969), pp. 250–268.

[397] Ibid.

[398] D. J. Rackham and B. A. P. Alvey, in preparation, Graphical analysis of animal dental data for relative and absolute age assessment.

[399] Silver, op. cit.

[400] I. E. Grant, op. cit., stages c and d on the M3.

[401] T. P. O'Connor, *Selected groups of Bones from Skeldergate and Walmgate* (Archaeology of York, 15/1, CBA 1984), pp. 1–60.

[402] Rackham (1983), op. cit., and D. J. Rackham, "The animal remains", in Harbottle etc. (1981), op. cit., pp. 229–43.

[403] Ibid.

[404] R. Trow-Smith, *A history of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700* (1957), p. 239.

[405] Ibid., p. 238.

[406] Ibid.