

VI

The Castle of Newcastle upon Tyne after c. 1600

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INTRODUCTION

Between c. 1600 and the present day, the royal stronghold of the middle ages underwent dramatic change; from a dilapidated wreck of fortifications the castle and its precincts became a populous and independent township within the town of Newcastle. At the height of its development, before c. 1810, the site of the castle (known as the Castle Garth), contained at least three public houses, a non-conformist chapel, a theatre, and numerous shops and houses.

Today the Castle Garth is virtually deserted of inhabitants, and the Bridge Hotel alone survives as a reminder of the numerous domestic buildings which once existed there. The gradual expansion of civilian occupation of the Garth, and its more rapid decline, are reflections of economic developments and local politics in the town as whole. Ultimately it was Victorian ideals of progress, bringing Newcastle into prominence as an industrial and railway town, which led to the wholesale clearance of the civilian population of the Garth and an awakening of antiquarian interest in the long neglected remains of the Castle of Newcastle upon Tyne.

The history of the civilian domination of the medieval fortress however spans more than three centuries, and it is with this long period of development that this report is concerned.

Use of Archaeological Evidence

Although this report is based principally upon documentary sources, archaeology has also contributed to an understanding of the area. The areas of excavation which produced post-medieval material are shown on Fig. 1.

Only Area E, excavated between 1982 and 1987, produced significant quantities of post-

medieval finds, structures and deposits. Two features were datable to the last quarter of the 17th century, but the remainder were principally the result of development in the first half of the 19th century, and produced large quantities of redeposited material of all periods.

Areas C and D, where there had been little rebuilding between the mid-17th century and the mid-19th century, suffered a certain amount of levelling and disturbance during railway construction. As a result, well-stratified and uncontaminated deposits were meagre and consisted mainly of post-holes, small pits and scattered fragments of wall footings.

Within the Keep a number of 17th and 18th century features were sealed below the floor of the Garrison Room.

Few of the finds significantly altered the pattern of development and land use suggested by the documentary sources. The FINDS section at the end of this report reflects these limitations, and considers the material remains largely for their intrinsic interest.

THE CASTLE GARTH: ITS PHYSICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDS

The term "Castle Garth" has now come to be applied to a relatively restricted area, extending from the Black Gate along the passage under the railway viaduct, and encompassing the present area to the south and east of the Keep. At its widest, the term is regarded as meaning the entire area enclosed by the defensive curtain wall of the Castle. In the seventeenth century however, and up to the coming of the railways, the name embraced a considerably wider extent—the whole area enclosed within the so-called "outer mantle wall" of the Castle Garth.

This feature is one of the terminological

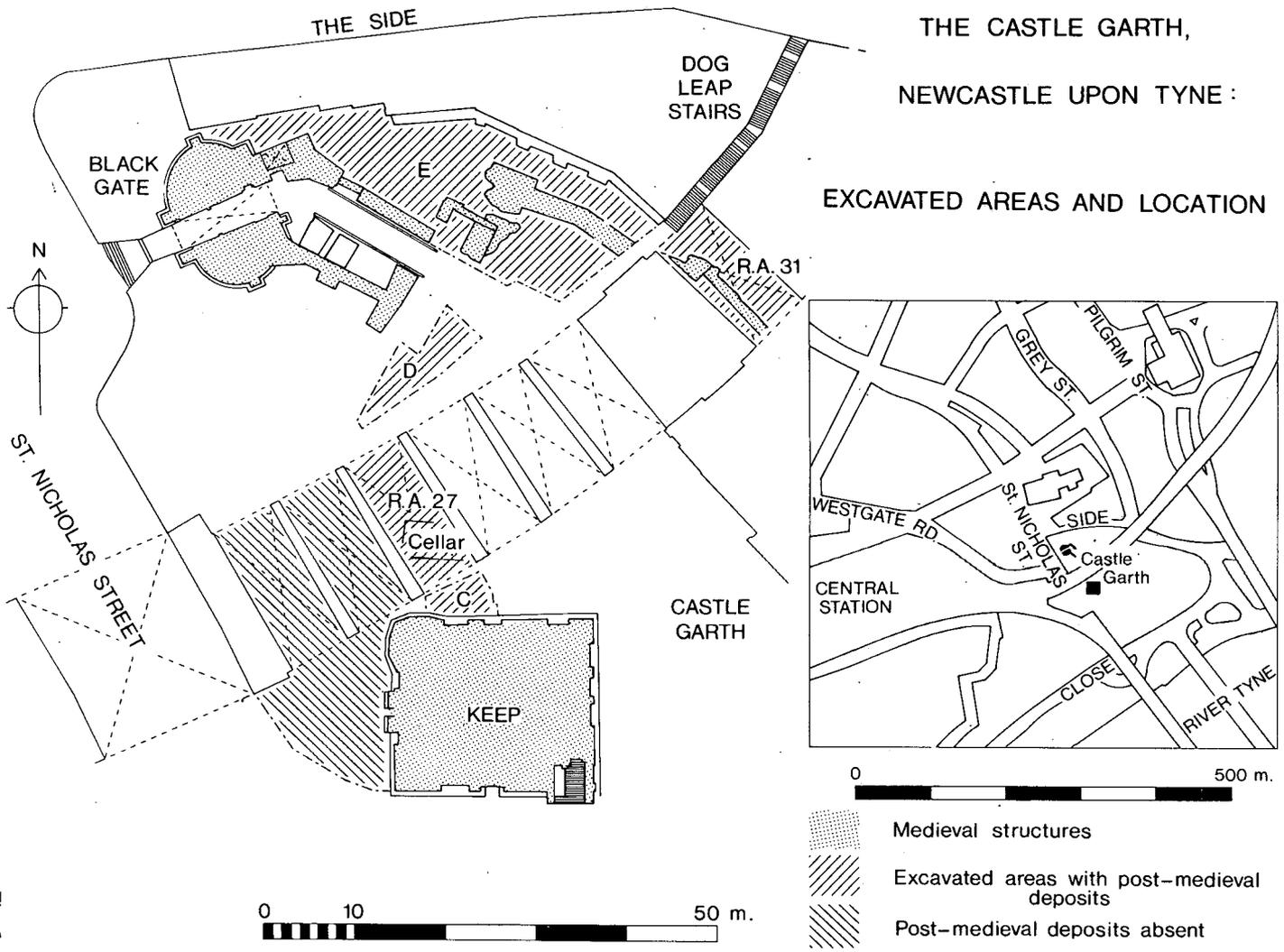


Fig. 1.

ambiguities which must be resolved for a clear understanding of the extents and jurisdiction of the Garth as a separate township within a chartered town.

It is clear from the documentary sources that the medieval curtain wall, towers and gates were, by the 17th century, variously referred to as the "circuit" or "the inner wall of the castle Garth".¹ This boundary is clearly distinguished

from the "outer" or "mantle wall",² which I follow Longstaffe in identifying with the string of massive stone retaining walls which support the south and east sides of the Castle hill, and are evidently synonymous with "the verge of the Castle bounders".³ The known extent of these retaining walls is shown on the phase plans.

In a Royal survey of 1620, the "outer wall" is

THE CASTLE OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE: POST-MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENT OF AREA E.

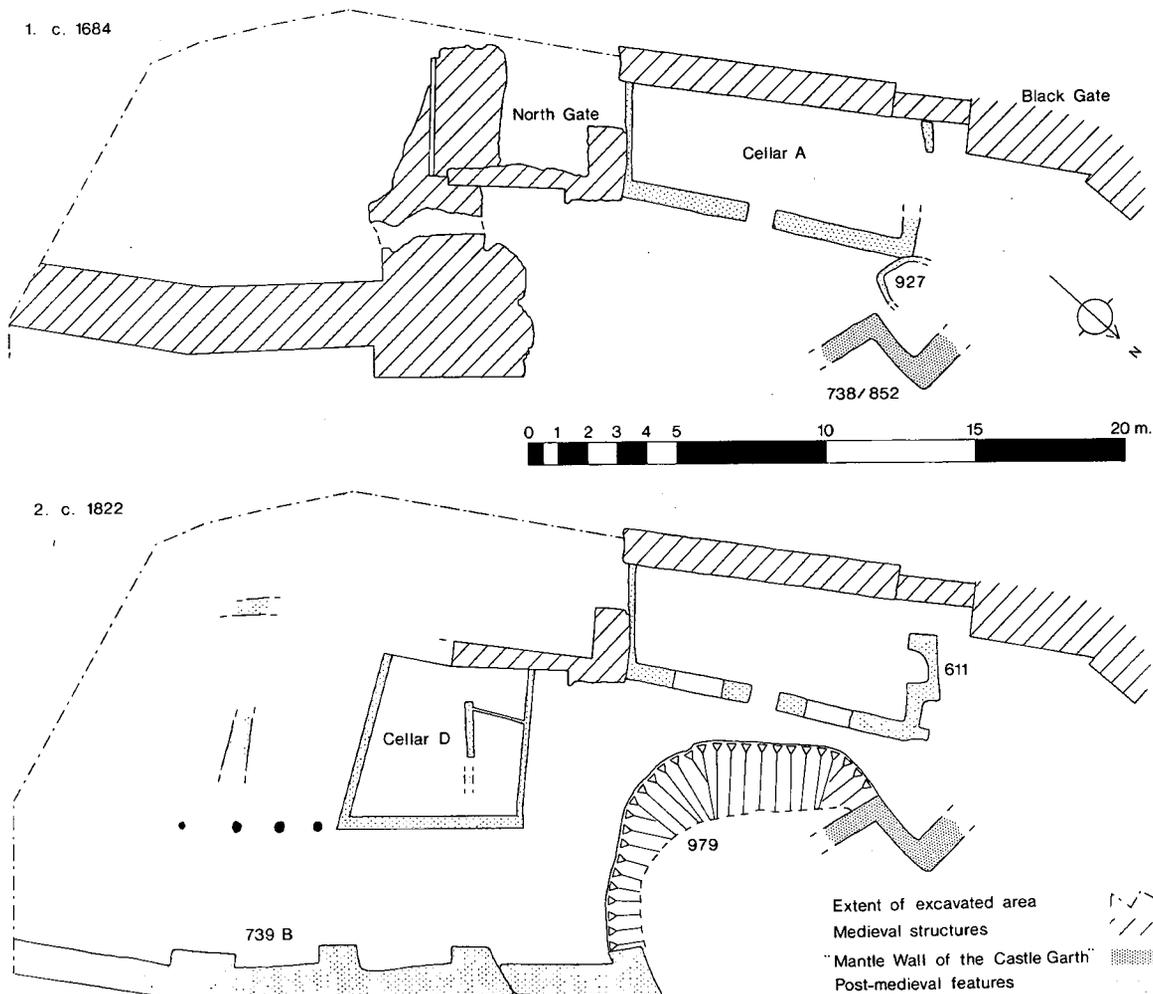


Fig. 2.

THE CASTLE OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE: POST-MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENT OF AREA E.

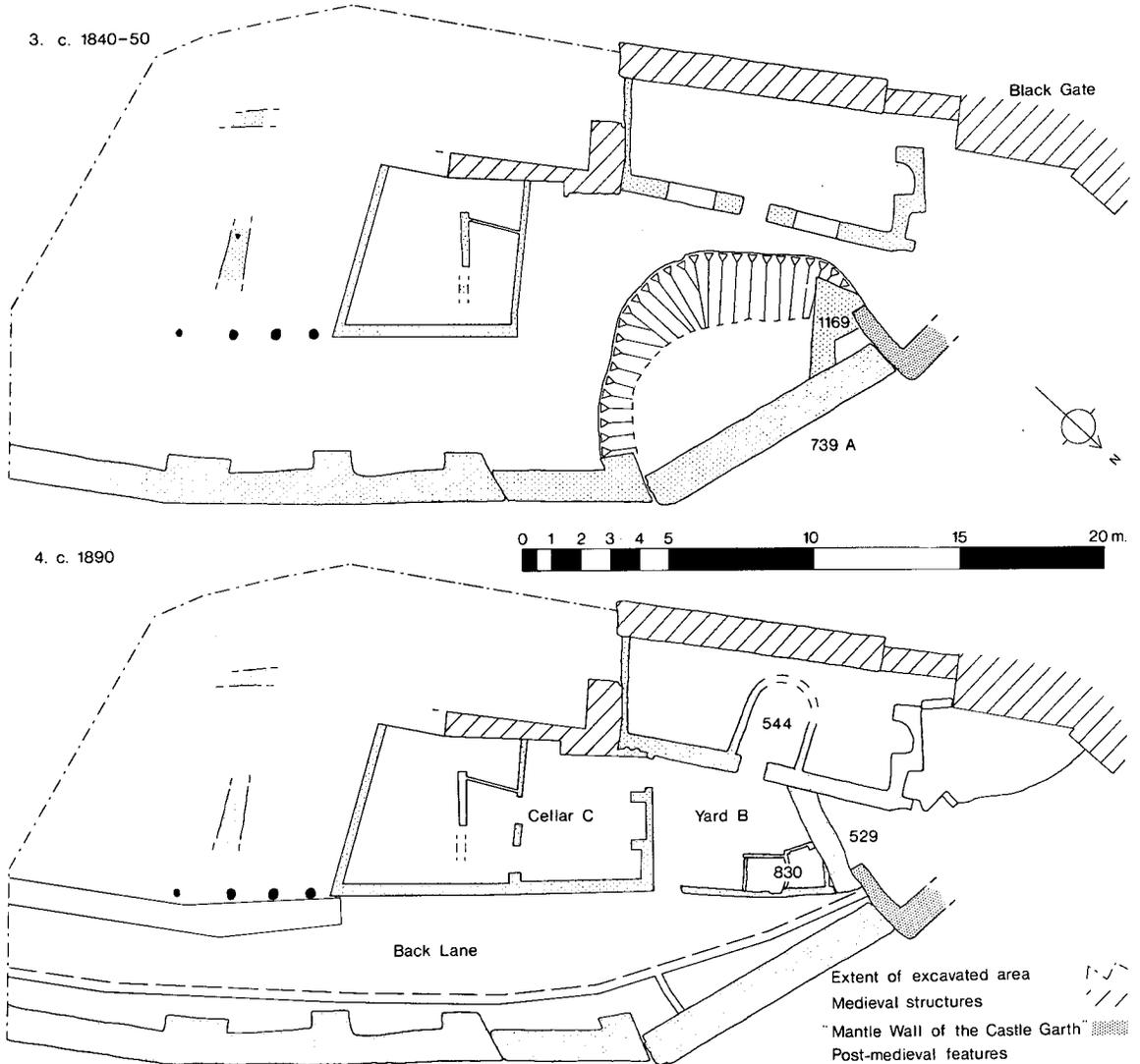


Fig. 3.

described as starting eighteen feet north of the gate leading into the Castle (i.e. the Black Gate), and proceeding along the south-east side of the Castle site, turning westward above the Sandhill and ending twenty-seven feet short of the Long Stairs.⁴ As can be seen from the plans, this description closely corresponds with the line taken by the retaining walls, portions of which may still survive to the rear

of properties in the Close, Sandhill, and the Side.

The space between the inner and outer walls, then, was also part of the Castle precinct,⁵ and appears to have been parcelled up into garden plots for properties in the Side and the Close.

On the west and north-west sides of the Castle, where the ground was more level and

stable, there was no need to provide retaining walls which defined the Castle boundaries. Here the precincts seem to have been bounded by a street running from the head of the Long Stairs to the Head of the Side along the outer edge of the Castle ditch. Until the eighteenth century this was known as "castle mote",⁶ subsequently it became split into two parts called "King Street" and "Queen Street" respectively. The interpretations which may be put upon these names will be discussed later.⁷ From the head of the Long Stairs the Castle boundary ran down the stair "channell" until it joined the western end of the southern "outer mantle wall" described above.

Most of the surviving sections of the outer mantle wall are at present obscured by later buildings or are otherwise unavailable for archaeological examination, and are thus undatable. The stretch to the north of the Dog Leap Stairs has been excavated and shown to be of comparatively recent date. Here the original "outer mantle wall" lay some 4 m further to the east, and is shown on phase plans 1-5.⁸ South of the stairs, a portion of the wall was seen by Col. Spain in the 1930s, who reported it to be six feet high and three feet thick.⁹

Maintenance of this boundary became a responsibility of the tenants whose premises in the Garth adjoined the wall. In 1704, for example, the Corporation granted Robert Bell the lease of a house in the Castle Garth provided he "repair and support the mantell wall of the castle as far as his houses or grounds are erected thereon".¹⁰

Historically then, the "Castle Garth" was the entire area contained within the outer mantle wall and bounds; any house, shed or garden within this boundary could justifiably be described as being "situate in the Castle Garth" and paid rent for the privilege.¹¹

The terms "castle moote" or "mote" already referred to, are applied both to the rear boundary of properties in the Close and the Side as well as the site of the western ditch.¹² Clearly the "mote" in these former cases was the supporting wall and bank of the Castle mound rather than a ditch which would have been

difficult to construct on such a precipitous slope. This is supported by a reference in the Commons Journals for 1646, where it was noted that "the moat of the castle and the wall thereof has fallen and destroyed many houses".¹³

Having described the Castle Garth as a physical entity, it is necessary to consider the administrative division between the Castle and the town of Newcastle which was established in the middle ages and lies at the root of the distinctive post-medieval development of the area.

When, in 1400, the town of Newcastle acquired county status, the royal fortress and its precincts were reserved to the Crown and remained in royal hands, exempt from the jurisdiction of the Corporation.¹⁴ This situation was not unusual—the precincts of Chester Castle and Bristol Castle were similarly exempt from civic authority¹⁵—and may reflect a sense of insecurity felt by governments unwilling to relinquish control over major fortifications strategically sited at the centre of expanding and potentially powerful urban centres. At Newcastle this separation was maintained even after a royal writ of 1587 which empowered the Corporation's officers to enter the Garth in pursuit of felons who had taken refuge there.¹⁶ The Keep was exempt from this warrant.

Being held above the administrative control of the Corporation, the Garth was also spared the restrictions and influence of the numerous trade companies which were regulated by the Corporation. Elsewhere in the town, a new tradesman could only commence business if he compounded with his relevant company for the privilege. Since this writ did not run in the Castle Garth, it drew itinerant traders, those not practising a recognized craft such as cobblers, and especially persons who through differences in religion or nationality might be looked on as "spies, rogues, and traitors".¹⁷ Scotsmen and Dissenters, who in the troubled times of the 17th and early 18th centuries frequently encountered prejudice when trying to establish themselves elsewhere, were particularly attracted by the freedoms offered by the Garth.¹⁸ Both these groups were savagely

discriminated against in the regulations of almost every trade company until well into the 18th century.¹⁹ Nonconformity indeed became so well established in the Garth that a Scottish Presbyterian Meeting House was founded there c. 1705.

For the alien incomer to the town the Garth then offered a degree of immunity from restrictive commercial practices and intolerance. For the Corporation and the Companies, however, the persistence of these freedoms, physically at the heart of the commercial community of the town, was galling. In the Garth, manufacturing and trade could be conducted without regard to the traditional customs and dues which bolstered the wealth and importance of the trade guilds and, thereby, the town and its Corporation. It may also be that the presence of so large an area still with some fortified pretensions, at the centre of the town, in the

hands of a geographically remote and, after the Civil War, potentially untrustworthy monarch, was felt a threat to the corporate power and identity of the town. Certainly in the years following the Civil War the Corporation made strenuous efforts to secure the leasehold of the Garth, and the lack of evidence for financial exploitation during the Corporation's leaseholds strongly suggests that revenue was less a concern than a desire to impose a greater measure of authority upon the area.²⁰

THE CASTLE IN 1600 (phase plan 1, Fig. 4)

With the completion of the town walls in the mid 14th century the Castle lost much of its military significance and rubbish began to accumulate in the defensive ditches.²¹ Occasional repairs were carried out but the Crown maintained only a token interest and, by 1580 the Castle was being described as "old and

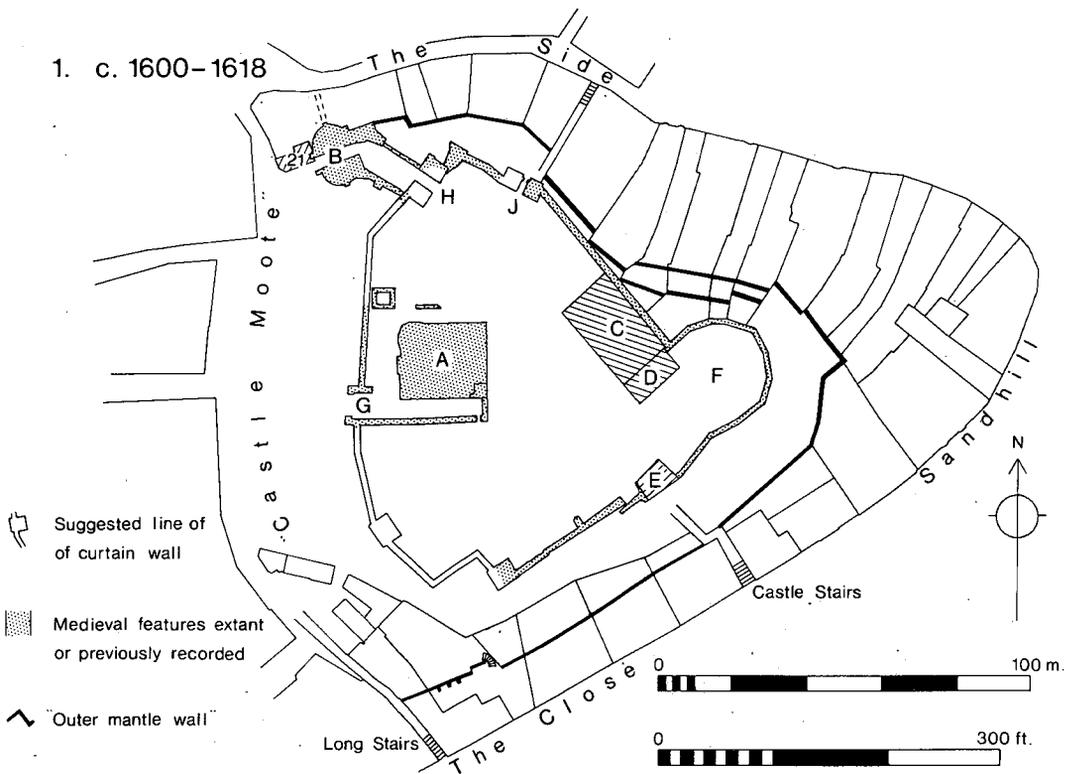


Fig. 4. Castle Garth: phase plan 1.

ruinous".²² By the end of the 16th century the ditch was almost completely infilled.²³ References to houses "in the castle moote" suggest that by this time it was at least partly built over.²⁴

Though the Castle's military functions had been subverted, the County of Northumberland continued to use the basement of the Keep as a prison for border thieves and other felons, who were tried at the regular sessions of assizes held in the Moot Hall, formerly the Great Hall of the Castle (1-5; C and D). The continued usage of such buildings within the precincts of redundant royal castles for judicial purposes was by no means unusual in the post-medieval period.²⁵

The prison was supervised by a part-time Keeper who occupied the Gaoler's "house" above the South Postern (1-6; E). This, and another building inhabited by Thomas Robin-

son, Deputy Herald under Norroy King of Arms, were the only inhabited buildings within the actual Castle Yard at the beginning of the 17th century.²⁶

The "inner" and "outer" mantle walls of the Castle remained substantially intact, if Speed's plan is to be believed.²⁷ The limited areas available for excavation and extensive post-medieval destruction severely restricts the available evidence for the course of the walls,²⁸ but an attempt to extrapolate their line from leases and early surveys has been made on phase plan 1.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY GARTH (phase plans 2-3, Figs 5 & 6)

The first lease of the Castle and its precincts, with the exception of the Keep and the Moot Hall, was made by James I to the Incorporated Company of Tailors in 1605.²⁹ This lease ran

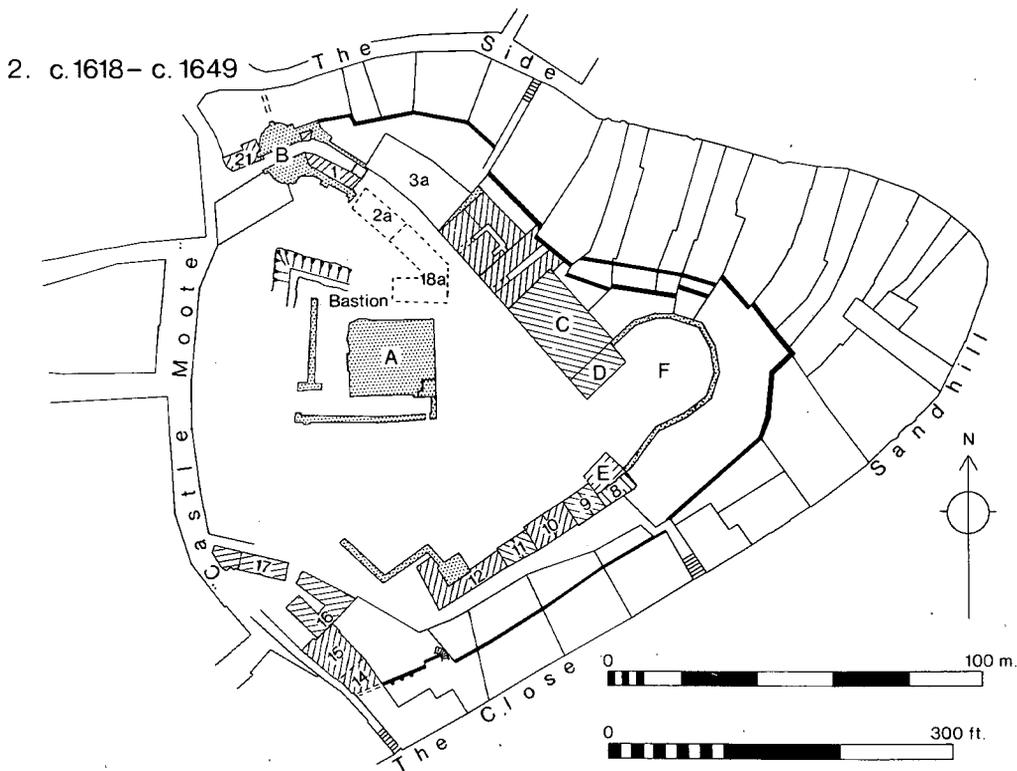


Fig. 5. Castle Garth: phase plan 2.

until 1616, and may be seen as a facet of James's policy of removing all obvious traces of former Anglo-Scottish hostility, marking the formal dissolution of the Castle as a fortified place from which Scotland might be invaded and subdued.³⁰

Subsequently, as a means of rewarding one of those Scotsmen who had followed his progress south eager for favours, James bestowed the lease of the Castle upon one Alexander Stephenson. This man, disparagingly referred to in the Milbanke Mss. as one of the King's "close-stool",³¹ entered on his lease on the 14 April 1619 for a term of fifty years, at the not inconsiderable annual rental of 50/-.³² The Keep, Moot Hall, Gaoler's House, and other places of office were reserved to the Crown. Such grants or leases to royal favourites were not unusual: Worcester Castle was granted to one Giles Clutterbuck in 1628, and the County had to resort to litigation to recover the use of its prison in the inner bailey.³³

At this stage there were still no domestic dwellings within the Garth. The "houses" of the Deputy Herald and the County Gaoler, previously mentioned, were among the reserved premises and their rents did not form part of Stephenson's income.

Possibly because of the limited opportunities which his leasehold offered, Stephenson seems to have encouraged settlement within the Garth so that he could derive income from the tenants.³⁴ Another source of revenue was provided by the entry fines which were paid on receiving a new lease. By 1620, when the first Royal Survey was made, there were ten houses and two gardens within the curtain wall of the Castle,³⁵ and Stephenson himself had begun to reconstruct the barbican gatehouse (later called the Black Gate) as a domestic dwelling (1-6; B).³⁶

By the beginning of April 1621 however, he was evidently in financial difficulties and borrowed £1000 from one Patrick Black.³⁷ When the loan was not repaid, Black took his case to Chancery and was apparently granted the Castle as security against the unredeemed bond.³⁸ The Garth was, in effect, mortgaged, though Stephenson remained the leaseholder or tenant

in chief at law, and could redeem his legal interest at any time provided he repaid the debt.³⁹ This dubious judgement proved most unsatisfactory, establishing two rival claims to right in the Castle Garth.

The character of this early development shows certain obvious differences from the medieval burgh layout existing on the eastern and southern sides of the Castle boundaries. This difference is most marked in the western side of the Side and around the Sandhill, where the crowded properties have narrow frontages but extend a long way behind towards the Castle "moat".

By contrast the first housebuilders in the Castle Garth were free to take their pick of the hitherto undeveloped ground, and there appears to have been little restriction or regulation in the size of the plots. Development was largely dictated by the surviving remains of the medieval masonry and the need to maintain access into the Garth. The former proved particularly attractive and useful boundaries, providing at least one ready-made and substantial wall. Consequently many of the early building plots appear squat, rectangular, and of shallow depth, with comparatively wide frontages. This can be clearly seen in the case of the buildings along the South Curtain wall (2; 8-12),⁴⁰ and between the Black Gate and the North Gate (2; 1). Where illustrations exist of these properties, they seem to have been only two storeys and a garret in height.⁴¹

Other buildings erected in the first half of the 17th century, which might perhaps be regarded as the second stage of development, occupied less constricted sites within the open area of the Castle yard and lay on either side of the passage leading south from the North Gate (1; H). One range of buildings, built by a butcher named George Hayroppe between the site of the East Postern (phase plan 1; J) and the Moot Hall, continued the frontage line of the latter, and extended eastwards to the inner face of the curtain wall. These buildings appear on a plan of the castle dated 1638,⁴² and seem from the outset to have comprised the five plots which survived until construction of the first railway (3; 4-7).

More buildings, also existing by 1638, occupied ground north and east of the Keep and seem to have comprised two stories and a garret (2; 18a). They were presumably cleared at the time of the Civil War as they lay close to the North Gate.

Few other properties can be located. Those of Thomas Southeron and John Green are identifiable with the plots numbered 1 and 2a respectively on phase plan 2.⁴³ William Robinson, who also appears in the 1620 Survey, may have been the son of the Deputy Herald previously mentioned. Longstaffe suggested that the building shown in Mathew's plan of 1611, apparently in the open area of the Castle Yard, might have been the Herald's house.⁴⁴ The perspective view used for plans of this date tends to invite such conjecture. Perhaps the building shown is intended to be north of the Keep, and is one of the structures shown on the 1638 plan. If so, it is tempting to draw parallels with a known building in this area, the "Chapel House",⁴⁵ later the "Three Bulls' Heads" public house. This overlay the site of an earlier, medieval building, found during archaeological excavations in Area C in 1981. This appears to have been destroyed, or at least the remains heavily robbed, at the time of the Civil War.⁴⁶ Although no structure identifiable as the "Chapel House" is specifically described in Stephenson's or later leases, an existing building of this type might well have been regarded as exempt from the general lease.

The 1620 Survey also describes a garden, then in the tenure of George Hayroppe, a butcher. This is almost certainly the land on which he subsequently built,⁴⁷ and may have been part, if not the whole, of the garden occupied in 1614 by Christopher Isle, described as "lying and being in the Hy Castle there adjoining upon the mute hall".⁴⁸

Another garden, belonging to Cuthbert Grey in 1620, appears to have been an encroachment since it paid no rent. The site of this cannot be located. Between the inner and outer mantle walls of the Castle, the 1620 Survey recorded nineteen "gardens" and thirteen houses occupying certain "waste lands". Only in a few cases can an attempt be made to

locate these parcels of ground; the "garden and old tower" belonging to Thomas Surtees for example appears to refer to the medieval features in Area E. The rest clearly occupy the eastern and southern slopes of the Castle, and apparently end at the head of the Long Stairs.

The garden plots which were described in the 1620 Survey and again in the Parliamentary Survey of 1649,⁴⁹ mostly belonged to premises in the Side and the Close and occupied the waste grounds called the "castle moote" between the inner and outer mantle walls. The houses in the Side and the Sandhill were medieval developments, and it seems reasonable to suggest that the "gardens" had their origins in the purprestures made during the 13th and 14th centuries by the tenants of houses in the Side. These were described at the time as being upon the "moat" of the Castle.⁵⁰

The Moot or County Hall, was certainly in use for the Court of Sessions for Northumberland before 1600, and was evidently altered between 1604 and 1625. A stone crest bearing the arms of England quartered within those of Scotland apparently existed above the entrance at the north end of the west side of the building and, with the Jacobean-style heavily mullioned windows, this suggests extensive remodelling of the medieval structure at this time.⁵¹

Judicial usage of the Moot Hall, Keep and Gaoler's house extended to the execution of criminals within the Castle Yard on certain occasions. Why this dubious distinction was afforded to only some of the County's prisoners, while others were despatched more publicly on the Town Moor, is uncertain. The hangings specifically recorded as taking place in the Yard suggest a fairly regular practice, but there does not seem to have been a permanent gibbet since, in 1629, the justices authorized expenditure of 13/4d. for erecting "a pair of gallows" there.⁵²

Castle Stairs to Long Stairs

Another small group of buildings, without the curtain wall but within the bounds of the Garth, stood at the head of the Long Stairs. Described as "several small tenements", these

were occupied by Robert Moore in 1620, and Michael Moore in 1649 (2; 14–17).

Long Stair Head to Black Gate

North of the Long Stairs, the street called "castle moat" formed the western boundary of a large open area of ground extending to the face of the curtain wall.⁵³ In 1620 this was at least partly occupied by a huge public dunghill, which had recently been enclosed by a wall. This feature had evidently been long accumulating, since there are references to its existence in the mid 16th century.⁵⁴ Shortly before the 1620 Survey, its size and weight had caused the collapse of 120' of the west curtain. The site of this collapse has not been identified with any degree of certainty. It has been suggested that this was in the area of the Civil War bastion, extrapolating from the obvious absence of the curtain here at the time of the 1644 siege and the presence of post-civil war rubbish deposits.⁵⁵ The absent section here though could not have been as long as the collapse described in 1620. Longstaffe's location, on the wall south of the Bailey Gate (1; G) would be more acceptable in terms of the length of wall destroyed and the documentary references to the dunghill being opposite "Bailigateend" in 1655.⁵⁶ A possible connection between the dunghill and the "Mount" of the eighteenth century will be discussed later. There is an acute lack of reliable information for drawing firm conclusions.⁵⁷

The entrance to the Black Gate was flanked by a waste on the south side of the road and a tenement on the north side, both belonging to William Hatherwick (2; 21).⁵⁸

A "shop or chamber outside the Castle Gate (Black Gate) on the east side", occupied by Thomas Rede may have been part of Thomas Southern's property, while another house belonging to Robert Jordan, seems to be the premises numbered 18a on phase plan 2.⁵⁹ The boundary of the Castle Garth ran along the rear (north) wall of Hatherwick's house, around the drum tower of the Black gate, and then joined the line of retaining walls to the east.

When Stephenson died in October 1640, the remaining twenty-nine years of the original

lease was transferred to his executor, "Mr Auditor" Phillip Darell, apparently to meet debts amounting to £2,500 or more.⁶⁰ At this point the ownership of the Garth becomes problematic.

Patrick Black, and his wife Barbara, were both dead by 1648. Their estate, which included the Castle, had passed to one Jane Langston who now claimed the leasehold of the Garth as hers of right through descent from the Blacks.⁶¹ Not surprisingly, Darell contested this claim, but the political climate was against him.⁶² With the execution of the King, royal grants of land were held to have lapsed and the freehold was vested in the Parliament. Jane Langston resigned her interest in the lease of the Garth to the Corporation in 1652,⁶³ who held it for the following nine or ten years under the administration of a specially appointed Committee.

The Civil War siege of Newcastle, which lasted from August to October 1644, was a period of dramatic change in the Castle Garth and constitutes a distinct hiatus in its development. The archaeological and historical evidence for the impact of the siege upon the Castle and its precincts has been thoroughly treated elsewhere, and it is not proposed to describe this in detail here.⁶⁴

In order to re-establish the Castle as a defensive stronghold houses were cleared away, trenches and other defensive works cut through gardens and wastes, and the Keep and "Half Moon" (1–5; F) temporarily repaired to carry artillery.⁶⁵ Two of the additional defences, a stone-lined pit across the roadway in front of the North Gate and part of a stone-faced bastion and associated ditch to the north-west of the Keep, have been excavated and published.⁶⁶ Both these features were to have an effect upon the subsequent development of the area north of the Keep in the years following the end of hostilities.

THE SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (phase plan 3, Fig. 6)

At the Restoration the Castle reverted once more to the Crown, and tenures established during the Interregnum under authority of

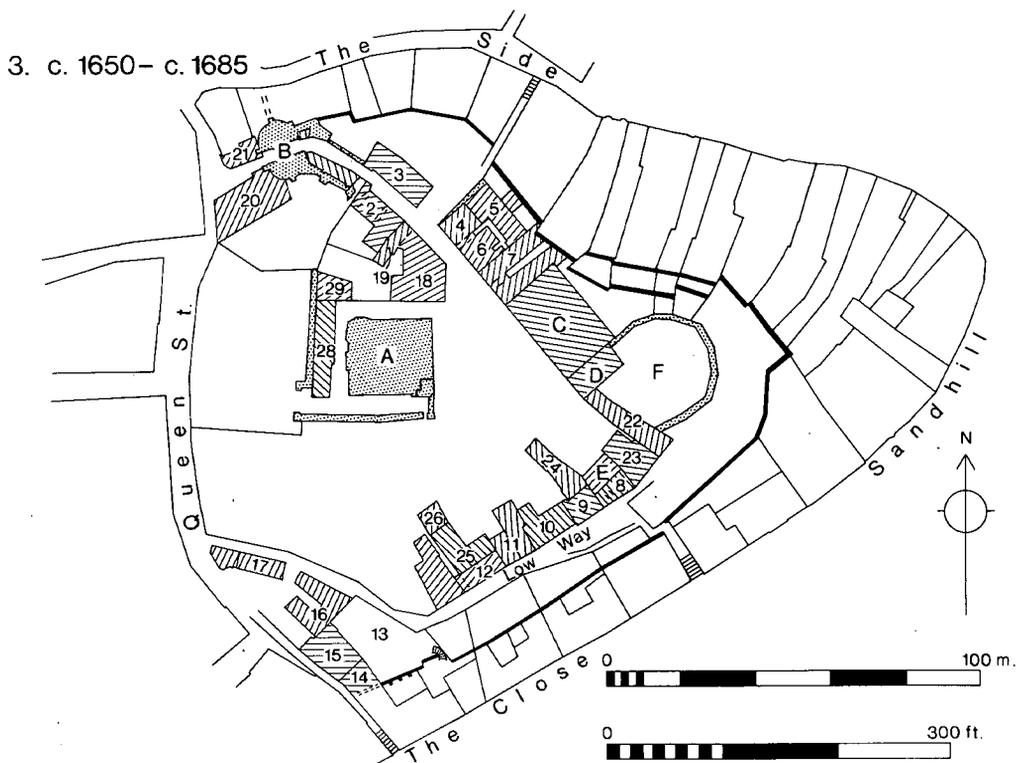


Fig. 6. Castle Garth: phase plan 3.

Parliament were either uncertain or void. Not surprisingly the Corporation fought hard for a new lease of the Castle and its precincts—this time with the royal stamp of approval. Ultimately however, the Garth was used by the crown as a means of rewarding a loyal retainer. This time it was a prominent royalist adherent of Charles I, Lord Gerard, later 1st Earl of Macclesfield, to whom Charles II granted a 99 year lease on the 30 August 1664.⁶⁷ Denial of a lease to the Corporation may be seen as part of Charles' policy of weakening the power of municipal governments, as well as an attempt to restore the pre-war status quo.⁶⁸

Following the death of Charles II, Gerard became involved in the opposition to James II and was forced to flee to the Continent for his part in the Monmouth Rebellion. The following two years saw increasingly blatant attempts at manipulation by the Crown to make the

composition of the Corporation politically acceptable.⁶⁹ With Gerard absent, the Castle Garth was leased by James to a sympathetic and royalist Corporation on the 17 June 1685.⁷⁰

This situation was overthrown three years later by the "invasion" of William III, accompanied by Lord Gerard who was immediately restored to the leasehold of the Garth, and created Earl of Macclesfield.⁷¹ The first earl died in 1694 and was succeeded in both title and leasehold of the Castle by his son, who held it for the remainder of the century.

The fifty years following the end of the first Civil War saw considerable expansion in the Garth. A detailed survey of the liberties of the Castle, taken in 1649 for the Parliament to assess the condition and value of the former royal estate, suggests that the population within the Castle yard was still little more than it

had been in 1620.⁷² Coming so soon after the Civil War this may be misleading, since there is evidence from some post-war leases that a number of houses in the Garth had been destroyed to make room for the temporary earthwork defences. One unequivocal reference, from 1662, mentions the house of John Dent "of Castlegarth", which was pulled down "to improve the fortifications of the High Castle during the siege".⁷³ The site of Dent's house is unknown, but may have been between the Black Gate and the Keep. Other references to destruction in the Garth come from the rash of new leases granted in the 1650s to inhabitants of the Garth who had rebuilt, or intended to rebuild, their houses. On the 10 May 1658, for example, Christopher Gibson received a grant of ground where "three small cottage houses" formerly belonging to John Green, deceased, had stood (3; 2).⁷⁴ Since Green does not appear in the 1649 Survey, it is probable that his houses were among those sacrificed for the new defence works, particularly since the site of the destroyed tenements lay just within the medieval North Gate and may have compromised the defensibility of that area. The properties rebuilt by Gibson may have involved some reduction of ground levels, removing the remains of the earlier buildings. Fragmentary brick sleeper walls noted during excavation of Area D in 1982 may belong to this rebuilding.

On the east side of the road into the Garth, new houses were built by Ann Isle before 1659 (3; 3)⁷⁵ and by Henry Core before 1655.⁷⁶ The extent of reconstruction and new building immediately following the Civil War is graphically illustrated in a Common Council Minute of the 28 October 1652, prohibiting the supply of lime from one of the Sandgate kilns to the "inhabitants of the high castle" since their demands denied a ready supply to the "free burgesses" of the town.⁷⁷ Again the Corporation was attempting to assert itself through obstructiveness.

The houses on the south side of the passage into the Black Gate appear to have been post Civil War developments on ground, previously waste, belonging to Alexander Veach. There is

no reference to these premises before their lease to Veach in July 1660,⁷⁸ and the archaeological evidence supports an immediately post-Civil War date for construction.⁷⁹

Black Gate

The Black Gate, so named for the first time in 1649 (it was briefly owned by Patrick and Barbara Black⁸⁰), was now the "chief messuage" of the Garth, and occupied by one John Pickles, vintner. Pickles is credited with completing the domestication of the building begun by Alexander Stephenson, and ran a tavern there which may have been the precursor of the later "Two Bulls' Heads".⁸¹ Pickles occupied the Gate until c. 1661.⁸²

Also for the first time, the 1649 Survey describes the Black Gate as having a "garden", situated "upon the works within the Castle Garth". From other references it is clear that this garden had existed before the Civil War, and had been encroached upon by the temporary defence works erected at that time.⁸³ Pickles' garden may be equated with the sharply angled revetment wall "resting on a middenstead" noted by Longstaffe in the 1850s,⁸⁴ which crosses the line of the wartime bastion (2) in two places. This accords with the information given by Pickles in a petition to the Corporation in 1655 for liberty to reinstate his garden by completing the enclosing wall which would cross the "trench" in two places.⁸⁵ That this had not been done immediately after the cessation of hostilities may be a result of the authorities insisting upon the earthwork defences remaining intact during the unsettled times following the war. Now, presumably, normality could be restored.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the Bastion ditch filling spanned the years c. 1650 to c. 1680.⁸⁶ The earlier date would be consistent with what is known of Pickles' garden wall reconstruction. The eastern part of this wall seems to have approximately reinstated the line of the medieval curtain wall, and it is possible that the portion of the Bastion ditch thus enclosed was completely infilled at an earlier date than that to the east. Possibly the

heavy robbing of this part of the Bastion revetment provided stone for the new garden wall. Certainly the presence in this part of the ditch fill of later seventeenth century material than elsewhere suggests that it remained open for some time. This is supported by the alignment of the north wall of the westerly part of the buildings subsequently built on the site (3; 29), which apparently avoids what may still have been an open feature and a receptacle for rubbish.

Interestingly, there appears to have been no obvious attempt to refortify the Black Gate at the time of the Civil War. Possibly Stephenson's alterations had made it impractical to defend this outwork.⁸⁷

Between Black Gate and Dog Leap Stairs

The 1649 Survey describes "two small tenements between the Black Gate and the Drawbridge of the Castle",⁸⁸ then in the tenure of Robert Preston, who married Katherine Southeron in 1644 and produced one (identifiable) heir, Thomas.⁸⁹

In 1660 Robert Preston's widow obtained a new lease of the premises in her son's name.⁹⁰ This makes it clear that the houses described in 1649 lay on the west side of the barbican passage and were those which formerly belonged to Thomas Southeron. Early photographs show these to have been two storied, jetted and timbered buildings.⁹¹ The Prestons also held a small shop on the opposite side of the passage and below the stairs leading up to the Black Gate. These buildings certainly existed before the Civil War, since the west side of the defensive pit clearly follows a change of angle in their facade.

What was meant by the term "drawbridge" in 1649? The weight of evidence is against this being a survival of the medieval drawbridge behind the Black Gate. For houses to have existed between the Black Gate and the North Gate before the Civil War the stone-lined ditch and pits must have been filled and level. Had this not been the case, an extra pit before the North Gate would have been unnecessary. It seems reasonable to suggest that the "drawbridge" actually spanned the Civil War pit,

which was not completely filled until c. 1676 at the earliest.⁹²

On the 1 May 1681, Robert Bell, Cordwainer, took a lease from the Earl of Macclesfield of the waste ground to the east of the barbican passage.⁹³ The site had been part of the Norman castle ditch, isolated by the construction of the barbican in the 13th century, and subsequently used as a rubbish dump.

For the construction of Bell's house (4; 30), which was probably complete by 1684,⁹⁴ the upper part of the ditch slope and an unknown amount of its filling were cut away to form a level building platform. Perhaps as part of the process of making the site usable, revetment walls 734/852, which formed part of the "outer mantle wall", were augmented by another wall, and material containing seventeenth century pottery backfilled behind. These features are shown on Fig. 2/1.

The base chamfers on the north wall of the North Gate were cut back and, where excavation for the platform exposed the foundations of the medieval structures, underpinning and infilling with rubble was needed. On the north and east, new walls of sandstone rubble were added to create a basement room with a door in the centre of the east wall. Possibly in the course of these operations if not before, the east wall of the barbican was taken down to the level of the passageway, and it was now overlain by the facade of the new house. No clear illustrations of Bell's house exist, but it appears to have been a three-storied building with brick facing and a pantiled roof.⁹⁵ The brick facing may have been a later refronting. The ground floor frontage contained two doors and three large windows equipped with shutters, which presumably lit the "shops" referred to in a lease of 1705.⁹⁶

Possibly contemporary with the construction or early use of this building was a stone-lined cess-pit (927, Fig. 2/1). This would have been a very necessary facility in view of the strictures contained in the Corporation's leases for keeping the frontages and open part of the Garth free from rubbish.⁹⁷ Only two sides of this feature survived to be excavated in 1983-4, the rest having apparently fallen away in a collapse

of the embankment. No datable artifacts were recovered from the construction of the pit, which was unmortared and contained a large fragment of medieval window tracery. The pit-fill however produced a large quantity of late 17th to early 18th-century material, including two stamped clay pipestems which suggest a date range of between c. 1678 and c. 1717 for these deposits (see FINDS, Clay Tobacco Pipes).

Within the North Gate, the open space occupied by the temporary Civil War defence works was covered by reconstructed buildings by the third quarter of the 17th century as previously described. On the eastern side of the road, the houses rebuilt by Ann Isle extended south to the range of tenements built by George Hayroppe before the Civil War, and included a "passageway through the Castle wall".⁹⁸ This presumably led to the remains of the East Postern, and subsequently became the passage to Dog Leap Stairs.

Isle's houses appear in early photographs as two separate structures, the northerly two storeys and a garret in height, the rest a long, three-storied block, timber framed with brick nogging.⁹⁹ The south gable wall seems to have been completely of brick in English Garden Wall bond, and may have been rebuilt or faced up at some point. Large shuttered windows on the ground floor presumably lit the "shops" described in a lease of 1704.¹⁰⁰

East Postern to Moot Hall

Hayroppe's and Isle's premises were separated by the curious wedge-shaped feature probably identifiable with the "old wall" in 1704.¹⁰¹ Perhaps this was the remains of some medieval work associated with the East Postern. The form of the stairs leading down from the East Postern to the Side is not known at this period, but there is no reason to suppose they differed greatly from that shown in 18th century surveys and which survived virtually unchanged as late as c. 1893.

The Moot Hall continued to be used both for the regular sittings of the quarterly assizes and as the place for "ordering of matters relating to the County of Northumberland". The Quarter

Sessions Papers for the period 1680–1715 contain regular accounts for cleaning and repair of the building and the Grand Jury Room.¹⁰² By the end of the 17th century houses built by John Bowles and Alexander Young adjoined the latter on the south west side (3; 22–23).¹⁰³ Possibly these were the encroachments upon the liberties of the county complained of by the Justices of the Peace for Northumberland in January 1680, and which prompted concern for the preservation of the integrity of the Gaoler's House.¹⁰⁴ It is possible that the Half Moon Battery was regarded as part of the Moot Hall premises at this time, since in 1694 the Assizes authorized two of the inhabitants of the Garth to store hay there.¹⁰⁵

Castle Stairs to Long Stairs

Little is known of the development of properties in this area before the early 18th century. A plan of Newcastle dated 1686, which shows the Garth suggests that the houses shown in the 1638 plan (2; 8–12) were now extending over the curtain wall and into the Castle Yard.¹⁰⁶

Long Stair Head to Black Gate

One of the principal features of the pre-war Garth, the dunghill, was now a waste. One writer claimed that the huge accumulation of rubbish was removed by order of the Royalist mayor, John Marley, to improve the defences of the town.¹⁰⁷

Only three years after the siege of 1644 Humphrey Boulron, a Skinner and Glover, enclosed the dunghill site and entered into a protracted dispute with the Corporation whether it should reopen as a public tip or not.¹⁰⁸

The wrangling over what was regarded as Boulron's "encroachment" dragged on until 1655, when the Corporation gave way and granted him a "lease paroll" for nine years, provided that he erected no buildings on the site.¹⁰⁹

Evidently there was confusion, then as now, over the precise bounds of the dunghill site. In 1656 Boulron and John Pickles were in dispute over possession of the Black Gate garden which the former claimed, unsuccessfully, lay

within the area of his lease.¹¹⁰

There are no further records of Boulron's involvement with the dunghill, and the leasehold of the Garth passed from the hands of the Corporation before the "lease paroll" fell due for renewal. The evidence from the Bastion ditch suggests that major rubbish dumping continued into the third quarter of the 17th century, but this was apparently coming from the direction of the Black Gate garden and may have been connected with Pickles' restoration works.¹¹¹ There is no evidence that the Corporation's restrictions on building in this area were relaxed during the period of the Macclesfield's leasehold, and presumably it remained an undeveloped waste for the remainder of the century.

East of the Curtain Wall and North of the Keep

At some point during the second half of the 17th century, probably during the Macclesfield's leasehold, a narrow range of buildings appeared against the inner face of the curtain wall west of the Keep (3; 28). These premises were probably erected by one John Wyley, mentioned as their former owner in a subsequent lease, and incorporated the northern "guard-house" or chamber of the Bailey Gate itself.¹¹²

North of the Keep, the range of buildings which later included the Three Bull's Heads seems to have developed towards the end of the century, possibly again during the Macclesfield's leasehold (3; 18). No precise date for their erection can be found, except that its southern facade overlay the remains of the medieval building already mentioned as having apparently been robbed at the time of the Civil War.¹¹³ From the outset this seems to have been a freehold and as such an anomaly in the Garth.¹¹⁴ The eastern part of these premises appears in a number of 19th century illustrations as a three-storied, jettied structure.¹¹⁵

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GARTH (Plans 4-5, Figs 7 & 8)

The 18th century saw the rapid development of the Castle Garth as a community of tradesmen,

their workmen and tenants. By c. 1780 it was crowded with buildings and yards, and thus it remained until the beginning of clearance and improvement in the early 19th century. The broad trends of this development are illustrated by phase plans 4 and 5, much of the information being derived from surveys by John Fryer and Jonathan Bell.¹¹⁶

The leasehold of the Garth remained with the Second Earl of Macclesfield until his death in 1701.¹¹⁷ In the absence of an heir there was open competition for the lease, which fell to the Corporation of Newcastle for a period of 31 years.¹¹⁸

On their resumption of the lease, the Corporation was faced by claims from tenants for dilapidations which they had been forced to make good at their own expense during the Earl's ownership. There were also disputes over possession of premises mortgaged or sublet under the authority of the dead Earl.¹¹⁹ John Clutterbuck, "gentleman", claimed he had paid out over £150 in rebuilding properties which were "falling into decay and ruin", and consequently secured a lease of the same in his own name for 21 years as compensation (3; 12).¹²⁰

The Corporation enjoyed the full term of their lease, which expired in 1732.¹²¹ The following three years are confusing since there is no evidence that the leasehold was either renewed or transferred to another party until the 9 May 1735, when Col. George Liddell (an ancestor of the Earl of Ravensworth) petitioned the Crown for a grant of the Garth. Confusingly, this was followed by another petition from the Corporation requesting a renewal of their "present" lease.¹²² Liddell was ultimately successful, and the Corporation conceded with the request that Liddell's lease should contain a clause preserving such powers as it possessed over the Garth. Since this privilege was vested in the town by letters patent under the Great Seal, such a saving clause was deemed unnecessary.¹²³

Liddell was granted a new lease on the 12 May 1736 and died about four years later. On the 20 November 1740, the Mayor informed the Common Council that Liddell's executors

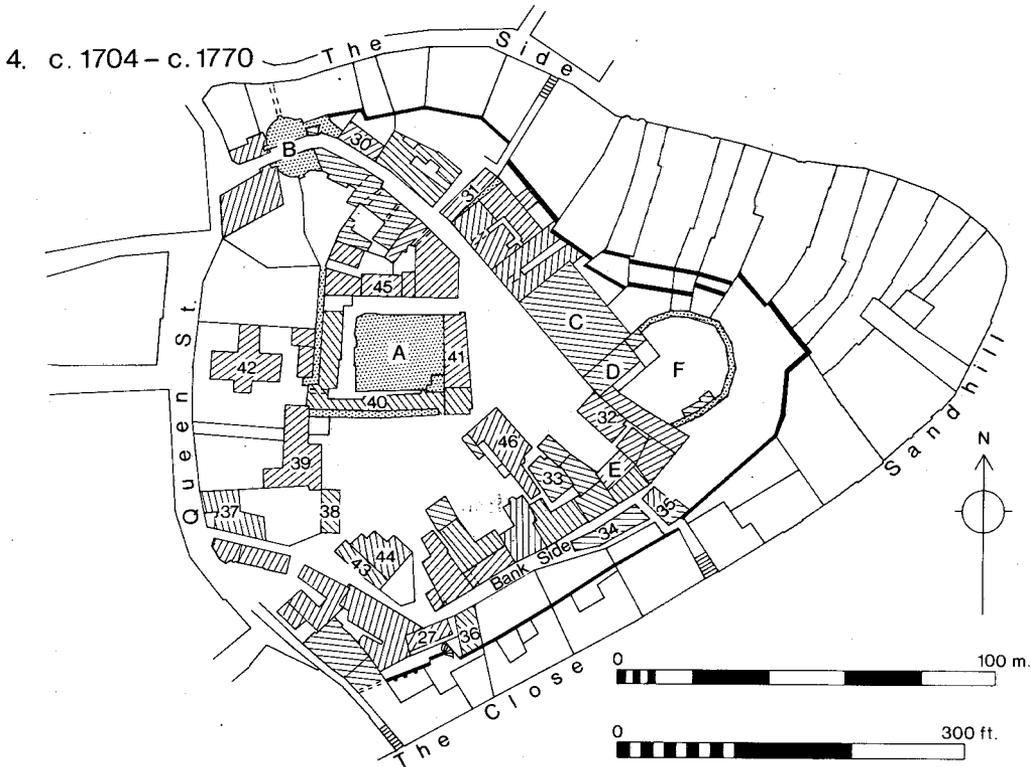


Fig. 7. Castle Garth: phase plan 4.

were seeking an acceptance of liability for repairs needed to the Garth properties at the commencement of his lease, and the Corporation subsequently paid £250 to cover dilapidations.¹²⁴

Sixteen years later the reversion of Liddell's lease was purchased by his nephew, Henry first Lord Ravensworth, in whose family it remained until the 19 May 1779,¹²⁵ when it was sold at auction to John Chrichloe Turner (later Sir John Turner) of Chester Deanery, one of the receivers of rents for Greenwich Hospital who held it for the remainder of the century.¹²⁶ The latter proved the most enterprising of the leaseholders of the Garth, with speculative development on the very edge of the Castle hill, ideas for profitable reuse of upperworks of the Keep itself, and the sale of leaseholds.

Black Gate

The lease of the Black Gate was renewed by

the Corporation on the 14 December 1704 in the name of Mary Warwick, widow of the former owner, Henry Warwick.¹²⁷ Mary held the premises, which included a garden and waste to the south, until at least the end of 1725.¹²⁸ At this time the building was inhabited by Mary Warwick and five others, all men, and perhaps representing five households.

The lease fell due for renewal again in 1732, and at some point after this date the building passed to one Dr. James Ellis.¹²⁹ On the 13 January 1739, possibly as a result of neglect during the Corporation's leasehold, a portion of the rear (south) wall above the passage collapsed. A large area of brickwork can now be seen in this position.¹³⁰

By 1758 the Black Gate and its lands to south and west were in the hands of Thomas Swinhoe, who remained the owner until c. 1777 (5; 53–55).¹³¹

Possibly by this time, if not earlier, the

public house later called the "Two Bulls' Head's" was in existence, built against the western face of the Barbican passage (6; 74). The existence of an access passage cut through the wall of the southern drum tower immediately west of the public house building suggests some connection between the two premises, and it may have been a dependency of the Black Gate. The remains of the entrance are still clearly visible.

Between c. 1787 and 1789 two public houses are associated with the Black Gate, one called the "Blue-bell", and another, unnamed, run by John Fife "bear-brewer".¹³²

In 1790 the former vanished from the records, whilst the latter passed to another John Fife, this time a staymaker,¹³³ and was apparently known as the "Three Bull's Heads, Blackgate";¹³⁴ it disappears from the Directories five years later, only to reemerge the following century as the "Two Bull's Heads".

Black Gate to Dog Leap Stairs

The lease of the house built by Robert Bell towards the end of the previous century was renewed in 1702 for a term of twenty-one years at the yearly rent of £5.¹³⁵ The second Earl of Macclesfield having died the previous year, the new lease was granted by the Right Honourable Lord Charles Mohun (c. 1675–1712), who had been a close personal friend of the deceased Earl and was presumably acting as his executor.¹³⁶ Why this role was not filled by the Earl's brother, Fitton Gerard, is unclear. The new lease was granted under the condition that "Fitton Lord Gerard should live that long", and it is possible that he was on his deathbed.¹³⁷ The lease was confirmed by the Corporation in 1703.

Adjoining Bell's house on the south the range of tenements running down to Dog Leap Stairs were in the occupation of Elizabeth Isle by 1704, and comprised three shops, twelve rooms and six garrets, with a stable and a garden behind.¹³⁸ The North Gate was incorporated into these premises before 1715, when a "shop" was "dug" out of the remains of the medieval structure by Jasper Harrison.¹³⁹

Harrison's house is shown on early photographs as being tall and narrow, two storeys and a garret high.¹⁴⁰

The southern boundary of Isle's premises is described in 1704 as being "an old wall or dog leap now in the possession of Ralph Spraggon and Anne Noble",¹⁴¹ both owners of property south of the Dog Leap Stairs. The description of the boundary is ambiguous, but is the earliest reference to what later became Dog Leap Stairs, a name also given to the street leading from the passage through the Garth to the head of the actual stairs. A "dog-loup" is, apparently, a dialect term for "the narrow passage between two adjoining but detached houses".¹⁴² Brockett elaborates by saying that such a piece of ground is of questionable ownership.¹⁴³ This does not seem to be the case here.

Dog Leap Stairs to Moot Hall

The properties built by George Hayroppe the previous century emerge after 1704 as five separately held tenements (3; 4–7).¹⁴⁴ These premises were occupied principally by tailors and their families, though a "brew-house" belonging to the house adjoining the Moot Hall suggests another source of income.¹⁴⁵ There may be a connection between this brew-house and a public house which apparently existed in the Garth before 1730 called the "Green Dragon".¹⁴⁶ This suggestion is reinforced by the name "Green Dragon Entry", later applied to the entry north of the house numbered 6 on phase plans 3–5.¹⁴⁷

Throughout the 18th century the Moot Hall, Grand Jury Room, Keep and Gaoler's House remained with the County of Northumberland. The Michaelmas Quarter Sessions were held in the Moot Hall itself, where two courts occupied each end of the building. Between Sessions the building hosted less solemn proceedings, doubling as a theatre which itinerant companies rented for short seasons on a surprisingly regular basis. The first notice of this unusual usage appears in 1711, when the Michaelmas Assizes passed an order that "the Moot Hall should not be let for the performance of plays, or other purposes without the

consent of five justices".¹⁴⁸ Perhaps this stricture was to avoid double-booking with the Assizes, or a result of dilapidations to the structure caused by over enthusiastic theatre-goers.

Letting the Moot Hall for theatrical performances presumably brought in some revenue, and the practice continued until at least 1751, at which time the Jury Room was also in occasional use as a dancing school.¹⁴⁹ By 1781–2 plays were being performed in a temporary building called the "New Theatre" in the Castle Garth.¹⁵⁰ Where this stood is unknown. Construction of the Theatre Royal in 1788 provided a permanent and more respectable venue for the play-going public, and the Moot Hall theatre lapsed. After 1781, when not required for its judicial function, it was let to an auctioneer as a sale-room.¹⁵¹

In addition to the Moot Hall theatre, another called the "Great Booth" was operating in Usher's Raff-yard on the east side of Queen Street in 1743 (5; 54).¹⁵² With its playhouses and the occasional diversions provided by men and animals "flying" from the top of the Keep,¹⁵³ the Garth appears at this time to have been a particularly lively entertainments centre.

The Half-Moon Battery remained an open space for most of the 18th century until, in 1785, the enterprising Sir John Turner encased the exterior with a semi-circular range of brick-built, one-roomed tenements some three storeys high (5; 56).¹⁵⁴ Access to these buildings appears to have been from the open area of the Battery, reached from the Garth by the Battery Stairs. Wooden staircases then led to timber galleries encircling the entire structure. These were clearly a speculative development, designed to pack the maximum number of tenants into the smallest possible space. No floor plan exists, but the inference from the encircling galleries is that the tenements were ranged along each side of the block. Since this was only 17' 4" wide throughout its entire length, each apartment could only be 8' deep or less, and extremely cramped.¹⁵⁵ The restricted living conditions suggest that the occupants were single men, perhaps journeymen,

labourers, or incomers to the town.

The remarkable appearance of these buildings, and their apparent instability, was remarked upon by contemporary writers. There was good reason to doubt the latter, since in November 1787, as a result of the construction works, part of the outer mantle wall of the Garth below the Half Moon collapsed in several places, destroying or severely damaging a number of properties at the Bridge End and the Sandhill.¹⁵⁶

West of the "Half Moon" the houses built by John Bowles and Alexander Young in the previous century were considerably remodelled after c. 1750. The buildings here now encroached further westward into the Garth, and were under the single ownership of Nathaniel Bayles, a Surgeon. Between the original buildings and the westward extension ran the Half Moon Entry, leading to a waste on the site of part of Bowles' house and the Battery Stairs giving access to the Half Moon Battery.

Flanking the east side of the Castle Stairs a narrow range of tenements five storeys high was built by William Mills c. 1745 of brick and fir-wood, with its south gable resting on the curtain wall east of the South Postern (5; 57).¹⁵⁷ This building was evidently a speculative development, its height compensating for its lack of ground space. In 1744 Mills owned the large freehold block north of the Keep and a shop on the opposite side of the street,¹⁵⁸ and by 1758 he had acquired a block of buildings called "Clogger's Row" adjoining the Eastern side of the Keep (4; 41).¹⁵⁹ Here, perhaps, was an 18th century property tycoon.

Castle Stairs to Long Stairs

West of the Castle Stairs, buildings which had spilled over the curtain wall during the latter part of the 17th century were extended and adapted in the course of the 18th century.

To the north and east of these buildings another block developed (4; 46), later known as "Parrot's Houses" after John Parrot, their owner in 1777.¹⁶⁰ These were later augmented by a toofall and yard on the west side, belonging to Jonathan Wilson, a clog maker.¹⁶¹ The northern part of Parrot's Houses appears in a

number of illustrations and early photographs, showing them to have been a complex of smaller buildings clustered around a main block.¹⁶² They were brick built, with steeply pitched pantiled roofs.

West of Parrot's Houses, part of the Garth served as a midden heap, known as the "mote or common dunghill" in the early part of the century,¹⁶³ and later refined into "The Mount".¹⁶⁴ In its late form The Mount lay within the area of the former west curtain wall. One reference to buildings here (4; 38 and 5; 49) describes them as being "on the Mount";¹⁶⁵ elsewhere the premises enclosing it to the north and west are themselves called "The Mount".¹⁶⁶ The evidence suggests that the rubbish dump originally extended further west towards Queen Street and may be related to Humphrey Boulron's dunghill. With the expansion of the Garth in the first half of the 18th century this valuable open space was ripe for encroachment, ceased to function as a dump and was subsequently built over.

The presence of the dunghill seems at variance with the previously mentioned strictures contained in the leases for keeping the frontages and streets of the Garth free from rubbish, but these may have been paid little regard in reality. As late as c. 1790 an anonymous writer could graphically describe the area around the Keep as being "in a very nasty state, there being many pigstyes, dunghills, and receptacles of filth all thereabouts",¹⁶⁷ suggesting that the sanitary regulations were not enforced.

By 1746 the Mount was completely enclosed by buildings.¹⁶⁸ To the south, footpaths on either side of a detached block of buildings (4; 44) ran down to a lane variously called the "Bankside" or the "Low Way".¹⁶⁹ On the west a range of tenements belonging to the Protestant Dissenter's Meeting House appeared between 1705 and 1746. South of this lane, much of the bankside within the outer mantle wall remained as wastes or gardens belonging to houses in the Close until the latter part of the 18th century. Towards the Long Stairs however a certain amount of development took place in the first half of the century, including the

appearance of another freehold building (4; 27).

Long Stair Head to Black Gate

At the beginning of the 18th century the tract of ground between the west end of the "low way" and the house attached to the south-east corner of the Black Gate was undeveloped. The northern part contained the Black Gate garden and the rest appears to have been parcelled out into broad strips, perhaps for cultivation or use as midden heaps.¹⁷⁰

About 1705 a Presbyterian Meeting House, also known as the Scottish Relief, was founded on part of this waste.¹⁷¹ Possibly both the ground and the lease were taken from the contemporary occupier of the Black Gate, since no record of any lease or licence to build can be found in the Corporation archives. The lack of a licence, which was required by law,¹⁷² may be another example of the Garth's peculiar status. The Chapel almost certainly owed its location to the presence of Scottish "chapmen" and other religious minorities who were becoming numerous in the Garth.¹⁷³

The Chapel was complete by 1711,¹⁷⁴ and until 1746 the Congregation held only this and a Minister's House.¹⁷⁵ Other buildings appeared later (4; 39).¹⁷⁶ At its peak in the mid 18th century, the Chapel could seat 800 worshippers¹⁷⁷ and was thus obviously catering for Dissenters living elsewhere than in the Garth. Only the Baptisms Register survives, with entries beginning in 1708.¹⁷⁸ The rest of the Congregation's documents, covering at least the first thirty years of its existence, having been either "carried off or destroyed".¹⁷⁹

Burials also took place in the building, and perhaps in the attached garth, since as late as 1842 a tomb stone could be seen in the Chapel floor to Margaret, daughter of Sir James Hall of Dunglass, Bart., who died at Newcastle in 1721 aged seven.¹⁸⁰

The first recorded minister (in 1708) was the Reverend Dawson, who held office for some thirty years and was succeeded by the Reverend Edward Aitken (c. 1733-62). Aitken renewed the lease of the premises in 1736.¹⁸¹

By this time there was also a "Schoolhouse, Meeting House Garth, Tenter Garth" and two houses, rented for £7.5.0 p.a. The lease was renewed again in 1779 for £10.10.0 by the then incumbent the Reverend William Dawson,¹⁸² and included another property called "the Mount" (4; 38). This house had been built a little before 1758, and had formerly belonged to a Mrs. Usher.¹⁸³ These premises may have housed the school run by Robert Cay in 1787 at the "Mount".

When John Chrichloe Turner purchased the Garth from the Ravensworths, he determined to increase the Congregation's rental when their lease next fell due for renewal and, in 1790, offered it on such terms that the Congregation were unable to accept. Accordingly, in 1800, the lease of the Congregation's property was assigned to Turner's agent, the Newcastle attorney John Barber.¹⁸⁴

North of the Meeting House, a complex of buildings and Usher's "raff-yard" (5; 53-55) appeared between 1725 and 1746.¹⁸⁵ Since these, like the Meeting House, were built on part of the Black Gate garden, their leases too were presumably taken from the holder of the medieval gatehouse, and their occupants regarded as sub-lessees of the Castle Garth leaseholder.

The Keep

By the mid 18th century the Keep was only used to confine felons during the Michaelmas assizes, and was surrounded by buildings. On the eastern side and actually abutting the walls of the medieval structure, the block of tenements called "Clogger's Row" was in existence by 1746.¹⁸⁶

By the latter part of the 18th century much of the basement of the Keep was in use as beer

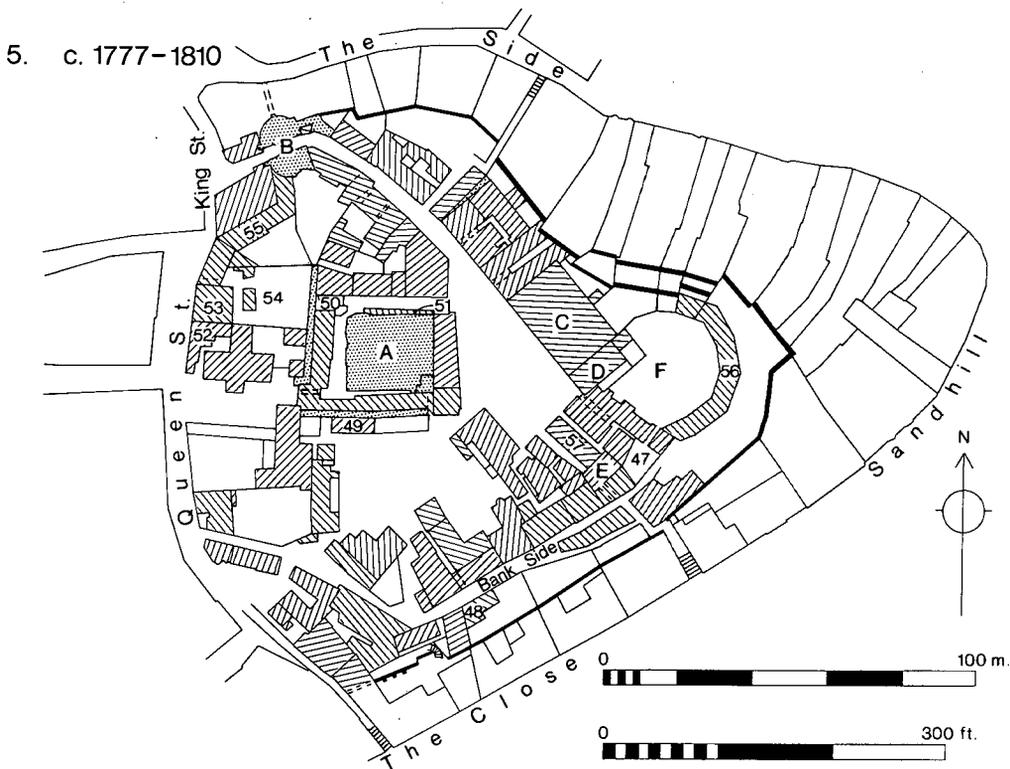


Fig. 8. Castle Garth: phase plan 5.

cellars for the Three Bull's Heads public house which formed part of the properties to the north.¹⁸⁷ Access to the cellars was gained through the enlarged arched window of the Keep chapel.

On the west side of the Keep a confectioner had an ice house, and a currier (William Moody 1782–4), occupied a shop in the room at the head of the forestair.¹⁸⁸

In 1782 the Keep nearly fell victim to another of John Turner's moneymaking schemes. On the 14 September the Newcastle Courant carried an advertisement offering the building for let as the base for a windmill for "grinding Corn and Bolting Flour, or making oil etc." The water supplies in the well, it was claimed, were particularly advantageous for brewing! Turner, it seems, was evidently very well aware that the reserved status of the Keep extended only to the "lower places now used for the common prison and gaol",¹⁸⁹ and was determined to exploit the remainder of the building to his best advantage. Fortunately nothing more seems to have come from this idea.

South and east of the Keep, a section of the curtain wall and the so-called inner bailey wall provided attachments for several narrow blocks of buildings.¹⁹⁰ On the west, adjoining the inner face of the curtain wall, the houses built by Jonathan Wyley in the previous century were let to James Lidster (or Litster) in 1711, on the condition that he was not to "Incroach upon Stopp up or hinder the way or passage leading to the high castle Goal (sic) or prison". Lidster was also to rebuild the premises.¹⁹¹ The lease also reserved the right of access—evidently through the Bailey Gate and along the south side of the Keep—for the Sheriff of Northumberland, his officers, and their "Carts wains carriadges". From this passageway the Keep was entered through a square-headed doorway, possibly inserted at the behest of the Justices for Northumberland as part of the work carried out by Lidster himself, "at about the Bayleys" in 1712.¹⁹² Lidster appears to have been frequently employed by the County both as an overseer of works and watchman at the prison. The appa-

rent ease with which he was able to extend his property within this narrow space may have been a consequence of his position.

Was the strict preservation of access in Lidster's lease inserted by the County in an attempt to assert its privileges which the Corporation were trying to erode? A subsequent lease of 1723 permitted Lidster to erect "a shop or any other building" upon part of the waste at the southern end of his premises, reducing access through the Bailey Gate to a narrow passage some 6' wide.¹⁹³ Clearly there was now no question of vehicular access to the door of the County prison, though the Corporation had not technically stopped up the way. Perhaps a hint of wilfulness may be detected in this latter lease—a determination on the part of the Corporation not to accept the abrogation of its privileges, real or imagined, which had been granted in 1685?

Keep to Black Gate

North of the Keep, the freehold premises previously mentioned included, by 1732 at the latest, a public house known as the "Three Bull's Heads".¹⁹⁴ Longstaffe speculated that the name had its origins in the family crest of the Bolbecs, who held a "house" in the castle during the middle ages which might have occupied the site of the later tavern. Bourne suggests that the premises, also known in his day as "the Chapel-house", had been a chapel for the use of the garrison.

The freehold tenure which this property enjoyed may have allowed a greater measure of freedom in its usage. There appears to be no ale-house licence, nor is there any licence for the lodge of freemasons which was constituted there in 1763 when John Fife was publican.¹⁹⁵ The absence of any form of licencing is curious as both functions involved gatherings of persons with potential for plotting sedition. The lodge appears to have been disbanded in 1784, when Fife's tenure as publican expired.¹⁹⁶

As the principal public house in the Garth, the "Three Bull's Heads" served as a focal point for the community around it, and tradesmen establishing themselves in the Garth were "initiated" at a general meeting of their fellow

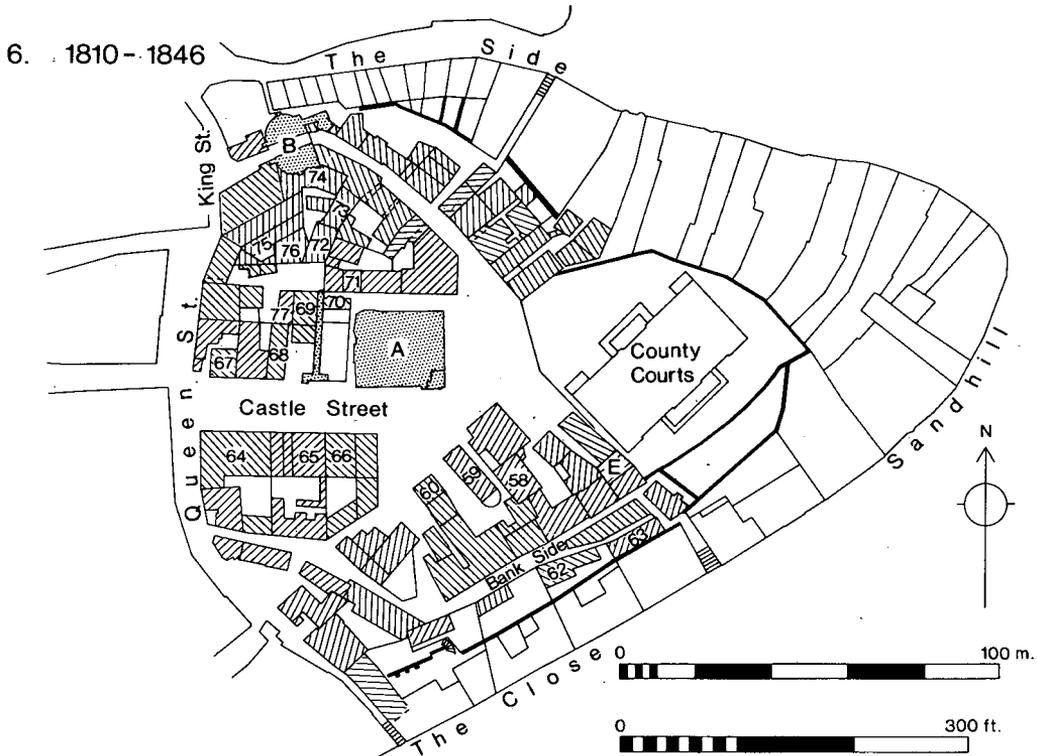


Fig. 9. Castle Garth: phase plan 6.

traders there.¹⁹⁷ A beer cellar was dug for the tavern in 1752,¹⁹⁸ which may be that excavated in 1979 (fig. 1).

North and immediately north-west of the Three Bull's Heads, the 18th century saw little change in the pattern of development begun in the second half of the previous century. Some consolidation of holdings took place, with the houses numbered 1 and 2 on phase plans 2 and 3 coming under single ownership in 1714.¹⁹⁹ Probably at this time the curtain wall adjoining the North Gate, hitherto the division between the two properties, was broken through to form one continuous holding.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY GARTH

By 1800 the population and buildings in the Garth had reached their peak of growth. Comparison of phase plans 4 and 5 shows how the available open space of the Garth had been

steadily encroached upon and built up with houses, shops and too-falls. There were now more than fifty houses within the Castle boundary into which several hundred persons "many of whom are active and industrious" were packed.²⁰⁰

The number of leasehold premises was gradually being reduced by converting them into freeholds, a process encouraged by the leaseholder of the Garth, John Turner of Middle Temple, who had purchased his uncle's interest in the Garth in 1802.²⁰¹ John Turner continued his uncle's practice of milking the Garth for financial benefit. Now it was evidently felt more profitable to realize the cash value of the properties in the Garth than continue extracting the ancient rents and occasional fines. Moreover, the responsibilities for maintenance which the leaseholder of the Garth incurred were probably starting to prove expensive and

uneconomic. Between 1810 and 1811 most of the leasehold properties were sold off in lots, large areas being purchased by the Corporation for projected improvements, subdivided and re-let creating squalid tenement blocks.²⁰²

Black Gate to Dog Leap Stairs

The condition of the Black Gate in the years after 1800 was such that it could no longer justify its title of "chief message".²⁰³ It was almost completely submerged by tenements which clung to its sides, and its walls had been bored and pocked by the occupants of adjoining premises seeking access to the gatehouse or a lodgement for roof and floor beams. Rebuilding and patching over almost two hundred years had left the towering wreck of tottering chimneys, steeply pitched roofs and ill-fitting casement windows clearly shown in early photographs. By the time the first reliably detailed census was taken, in 1851, more than twelve families of sixty persons—adults, children, lodgers and workmen—were crowded into its walls.²⁰⁴

The complex of buildings along the eastern side of the way into the Garth underwent little change in the course of the century, but radical alterations took place in its backlands as a result of improvements in the Side.

In 1822 the old houses along the south side of the Side, between Dog Leap Stairs and the entry to Hage Court (immediately north of the Black Gate) were demolished and rebuilt as much as 4 m further back, allowing the street to be widened (compare phase plans 5 and 6).²⁰⁵ Had the existing outer mantle wall of the castle been retained as the rear boundary of the rebuilt properties their depth would have been greatly reduced, so to allow adequate space for the backlands of the new houses it was necessary to expand westwards up the bank. This necessarily involved cutting back and terracing the potentially unstable escarpment, and a new retaining wall was built some 6 m further west than the ancient wall. The new retaining wall (739B, fig. 2/3) was constructed of large sandstone rubble strongly bonded with lime mortar, its outer face rising sheer some 7.5 m from the ground surface and

heavily buttressed internally. This massive feature must have necessitated a tremendous outlay of time, money and labour in its construction, beyond the capabilities of private individuals, yet there is no reference to this work in the Corporation archives.

The new wall, built c. 1822, served a threefold purpose. The instability of the escarpment, as previously mentioned, threatened both life and property. Evidence for instability was clearly present in Area E, where excavation showed that the medieval curtain wall had broken away from the North Gate and the East Postern. As the Garth filled with inhabitants, pressure on living space grew and provided an incentive to maintain, if not extend, the area of inhabitable ground. The new retaining wall not only stabilized the embankment and prevented further slippage, but also created an opportunity for eastward expansion of the Garth.

Construction of the wall proceeded in a piecemeal fashion until it rejoined the line of the earlier mantle wall opposite the North Gate. There was no attempt to key the two structures together, presumably in the belief that the old wall was still sound. This was a mistake, for a large section of the embankment at this point gave way creating a scooped crater some 9 m wide.

Reconstruction of the embankment followed rapidly, with the insertion of another section of retaining wall (739A) across the gap. This bears the hallmarks of a panic measure, the masonry being rougher than the previous sections and there being no internal buttresses. The new piece of revetment did not precisely follow the line of the original outer mantle wall, and overlay the remains of a small outbuilding belonging to one of the houses in the Side.²⁰⁶ As this wall rose, large quantities of soil and rubbish were tipped in behind. The presence of much residual material in this dumping suggests that some of it may have derived from excavations elsewhere in the Garth, possibly from construction of the first railway viaduct in 1846–9.

The process of infilling behind the retaining walls continued for several years, Mackenzie

describes the area as a “waste” in 1827,²⁰⁷ and the evidence of the finds suggests that the process was not complete until c. 1850. As backfilling proceeded, wall 739A, which had not been keyed into the existing stonework at either end, began to move outwards under the pressure. In an attempt to stabilize it a short spur wall [1169] was added.

As reclamation progressed, another wall [529] was built across the north end of the backfilled area to prevent the spoil falling into the yards around the Black Gate.²⁰⁸ This abutted the east wall of Cellar A, the windows of which were now blocked. This room was clearly no longer habitable, and from the 1840s served as a convenient hole for disposal of household rubbish.

Between Dog Leap Stairs and the Moot Hall

Major changes occurred in this area after 1809, when the site of the Moot Hall and the Half Moon Battery was chosen for the construction of the new County Courts for Northumberland.²⁰⁹ The premises in this area were exempted from the assignment of the Garth by John Chrichloe Turner to his nephew in 1808,²¹⁰ and the Act of Parliament granting the site to the Justices of the Peace for Northumberland was passed the following year.²¹¹

Demolition of the much altered medieval building took place between 1809 and 1810,²¹² leaving only the north wall of the ancient structure supporting part of the adjoining tenements, then in the tenure of Percival Allen. Since Allen also lost the part of his premises which extended round the north-east corner of the old Moot Hall building, he was compensated by the grant of an extra six feet of ground on the south side of his premises, presumably to face up and support the exposed medieval wall.²¹³ This survived until the whole of Allen's house was cleared for construction of the railway in 1846.²¹⁴

Also in preparation for the new Courts, the Half Moon Battery was dismantled and levelled,²¹⁵ removing Turner's houses and the adjoining buildings as far west as the Gaoler's House. At the time of their destruction these included a smith's shop and a waste behind it

used as a midden stead.²¹⁶

Creating a building platform for the new Courthouse affected five burgages in the Side, which lost their gardens which had encroached upon the “mote” of the Castle. New retaining walls were erected on the east and south sides of the Courthouse precincts (see Plan 6). Construction of the new Courts began in July 1810 to a design by William Stokoe, and was completed three years later although the first assize was held in the unfinished building in August 1812.²¹⁷

The block of tenements built by William Mills in the previous century (5; 57) was not affected by the new Courts. They were now freehold, having been purchased by John Spence, Cordwainer, from John Turner in August 1810 for £680.²¹⁸ By 1843 the building, which included the Gaoler's House, had passed to Spence's two sons and was occupied by them and their eleven tenants.²¹⁹

Castle Stairs to Long Stairs

Before 1827 a number of houses at the head of the Castle Stairs (4; 33) were demolished and rebuilt. This “cluster of mean buildings”, as Mackenzie calls them, were known as Dowey's Corner “after a baker called Dowey who long resided there” and enjoyed an unsavoury reputation as “the abodes of wretchedness and prostitution”.²²⁰

The most northerly of the reconstructed houses, which are shown on Plan 6, functioned as a public house called the “Castle”.²²¹ The area of housing further west was known as “Castle Square” by 1829.²²² The passages between the Long Stairs and Castle Stairs were gradually becoming formalized into two streets; the upper called the “Bankside” and the other the “Low Way”. Further west, towards the head of the Long Stairs, these converged and became Sheep Head Alley.²²³

North of the Long Stairs

Great alterations took place between Sheep Head Alley and the Meeting House after 1811, when the existing buildings were pulled down for the construction of Castle Street. This was intended to provide a more fitting approach to

the new Courts for the Sheriff and his officers than the "awkward, unsightly and sometimes dangerous" passage through the Black Gate,²²⁴ and formed part of the Corporation's general improvements to the Keep and its surroundings.

The line taken by the new street lay across the site of the Mount. When the Corporation advertized the cleared ground on the south side of the street for sale as freehold building plots in 1824-5, prospective purchasers were required to lower the hill within their property boundaries, resulting in a reduction of ground levels by between 4' and 5' (6; 64-66).²²⁵ In the course of these works the Meeting House lost its projecting vestibule, Parsonage House, offices, and the house called "The Mount". The so-called "inner bailey wall" south of the Keep and the buildings adjoining its faces were removed at the same time.²²⁶

The lease of the Meeting House was assigned to John Barber in 1800. Henceforth the Congregation only held the Chapel, the Minister's House (referred to as the Parsonage House), and the garths or yards belonging to the same. The annual rent for these diminished premises was now raised to £30.²²⁷

The Reverend Davidson was succeeded in April 1800 by David Gellatley, a minister with a lurid background of controversy and impropriety who quickly entered into a battle of words and legal processes with both Barber and Turner over payment of the increased rent, and established a purchase fund to free the Congregation from avaricious landlords.²²⁸ This dispute degenerated into increasingly acrimonious exchanges which alienated the Minister from his own church officers and culminated in 1811 with Gellatley being physically assaulted outside the Chapel door and having forcibly to recover possession of the building.²²⁹

The Congregation's title to the Chapel site was also being called into question, perhaps in an attempt by Turner to oust the sitting tenants of so much valuable estate and realize the economic potential of the Congregation's property. The absence of documentation for the early years of the Meeting House, pre-

viously discussed, only added to the general insecurity, and prompted Gellatley to publish a history of the Congregation's vicissitudes.²³⁰ The Minister now doubted the wisdom of the Congregation remaining in the Garth, particularly since the construction of Castle Street directly outside the Chapel, and the noise of children and others there during services made it "unsuitable for devotional worship".²³¹ Shortly afterwards Gellatley renounced the living and was succeeded by the Reverend James Chambers (1811-19).²³²

The physical contraction of the Chapel premises continued in 1814 with the conversion of the east and west wings into dwellings, that on the west becoming the Minister's house.²³³ The east wing was sold by Turner in 1818, and became part of the freehold premises previously sold to John Barber (6; 68). In 1831 these became the apartments of the Lock Hospital, a Mendicity Society providing accommodation for the homeless founded in 1814.²³⁴ Even with these losses, the building was still capable of seating between 450 and 551 persons.²³⁵

Chambers was succeeded in the ministry by the Reverend James Arthur in 1819, during whose term of office the freehold fund reached its target of £600 in 1827.²³⁶

The point at which worship actually ceased in the Garth is uncertain. The Rev. Arthur was dead by 29 April 1839, when his widow Elizabeth entrusted the Baptisms register to the Churchwardens of St. Nicholas. The other registers remained in the hands of one of the officers of the Congregation and their subsequent fate is unknown.²³⁷ This surrender may itself indicate the cessation of formal worship at the Chapel, which nevertheless appears on plans as late as 1844.²³⁸ Its mention in White's Directory of 1847 is almost certainly "residual", and the buildings were probably cleared away c. 1846-7 by the railway works.

The Keep

Extensive repairs and alterations were undertaken to this building during the first half of the 19th century. It is not intended to describe these in any detail here since they will form part of the history of the building fabric in the

forthcoming Medieval report.

At the beginning of the 19th century the basement of the Keep still functioned as a "loathsome gaol" for the County of Northumberland.²³⁹ With the decision to erect new Courts containing cells this function technically ceased, and the Government sold the entire building to John Turner in 1808,²⁴⁰ who promptly resold it to the Corporation for £600.²⁴¹

A committee was immediately established to oversee repairs and restoration. The buildings attached to the south and east sides of the Keep were removed, the second storey of the medieval building was roofed and refurbished, and the remaining open part of the structure covered with a brick vault. This supported a stone-flagged floor surrounded by a crenellated parapet, corner towers, and carried guns intended to be fired on ceremonial occasions. Using the guns proved a hazardous procedure, and after one fatality and damage to houses nearby the practice seems to have been discontinued. Some internal restoration was also undertaken at this time.²⁴²

The Corporation's essential repairs were complete by 1812, when the Keep was first opened to the public as a "curiosity", under the supervision of a warder.²⁴³ The following year the Society of Antiquaries was inaugurated in the building, remaining there for some years,²⁴⁴ and in 1828 a Sunday School opened in the second floor rooms.²⁴⁵ Access to the latter was from the forestair through a new door hacked in the east wall. The ice-house in part of the basement continued in use until 1824, when the Corporation refused to renew its occupants' lease.²⁴⁶ Even after restoration the Keep still occasionally functioned again as a temporary debtor's prison and "lock-up" for disorderly persons taken by the night watch.²⁴⁷ This occasional usage continued until the completion of the new gaol in the Carliol Croft in 1823.²⁴⁸

The Keep narrowly escaped destruction at the time of the construction of the first railway in 1846-9, the viaduct passing within feet of the north-west corner. The prominence which the building acquired from the wholesale clearance

of the surrounding premises encouraged further restoration in 1848 at the hands of the architect John Dobson.²⁴⁹

North of the Keep to Black Gate

The large block of premises south of and including the Black Gate was purchased by the Corporation in 1824, when they were leased to Thomas Kirby Fife and his thirteen sub-tenants (6; 72-76).²⁵⁰ Part of these buildings still functioned as the "Two Bull's Heads" or "Black Gate" public house. With the exception of the Lock Hospital, the other houses in this area remained in private hands.

THE COMING OF THE RAILWAY AND THE CLEARANCE OF THE GARTH

During the 1820s and 1840s a number of ambitious improvement schemes were projected for bridging the Tyne and forming grand approaches to the commercial centre of the town through the Castle Garth. Another proposal would have "refortified" the Castle as the County Prison. Had these works been carried through, they would have imposed significantly greater destruction upon the area than was actually inflicted by the railway.²⁵¹

About 1845 the Newcastle and Berwick Railway Company began to purchase numerous properties in the Garth which lay in the path of the proposed northward extension of the line.²⁵² A Bill empowering the company to proceed with construction was passed shortly afterwards and clearance of the acquired premises was underway by 1847.²⁵³ The work cut a broad swathe through the Garth, entering opposite Bailiff Gate and sweeping north-east to skirt the southern side of Dog Leap Stairs, which were unaffected by the changes. More properties were removed from the east side of Queen Street in forming the vehicular approach to the High Level Bridge.²⁵⁴

When the railway was completed in 1849,²⁵⁵ only small groups of buildings survived and the Garth had become fragmented into three distinct areas. North east of the viaduct only a few buildings survived. The "Two Bull's Heads" continued to trade until c. 1871,²⁵⁶ after which part of the building remained in use as a

workshop for the stoneyard established by Walker, Emley and Beall, monumental masons, in 1867.²⁵⁷ This area was further encroached upon by the widening of the railway viaduct in 1892–4.

South of the viaduct the Keep now stood isolated, though two new buildings appeared on the eastern side of the Garth to the north of the County Courts. The largest of these was the new “Three Bull’s Heads”, occupying the site of the house numbered 7 on phase plan 3, and generally respecting boundaries of its predecessor.²⁵⁸ North of this, a new meeting house for the Company of Wallers, Bricklayers and Plasterers was built between 1849 and 1852 to a design by John Dobson.²⁵⁹ Construction was undertaken by the North East Railway company presumably in compensation for earlier premises at Denton Tower destroyed by their works. For the remainder of the century this meeting house functioned variously as a Reading Room and Infant’s School for the Parish of St. Nicholas.²⁶⁰

Creation of the new road approach to the High Level Bridge, replacing King Street and Queen Street, was proposed towards the end of 1849 as railway works neared completion.²⁶¹ In 1855, with its construction already underway, suggestions for a realignment of the intended route suddenly presented a threat to the Black Gate.²⁶² Some members of the Town Council were sufficiently strongly in favour of preserving the structure that, with the Mayor’s qualified support, a “premium” of £50 was offered for its retention.²⁶³ Other Councillors were not convinced. In 1856 Alderman Grgson advocated the speedy removal of the Black Gate on the grounds that it was a “great nuisance”.²⁶⁴ Even the preservationists on the Council, unable to completely forget their corporate responsibilities, believed that the land around the Black Gate should be resold for housing, subsuming it once again under gloomy tenements.

Now the Society of Antiquaries stepped into the discussion with expressions of alarm and dismay that the recently exposed portions of the building should be concealed yet again. The Duke of Northumberland himself voiced

concern that “for the honour of the town and the sake of archaeology” the Black Gate should remain exposed to view.²⁶⁵ The possibility of purchasing the building was mooted in 1856 on the grounds that with the buildings to the north and west, it would form “an architectural relic not to be equalled in any other quarter of Newcastle”.²⁶⁶ The matter was referred to the Finance Committee of the Corporation for consideration.

The wheels of local government ground slowly, then as now, and even in 1883 parts of the building were still occupied. In January 1883 the Society undertook to become tenants of the Black Gate, on the understanding that £1,000 worth of work was undertaken by them in restoring the building.²⁶⁷ By July that year the costs of repairs had risen to £1,440, but the lease was signed in August and work began immediately to clean and restore the structure, to a design by the architect R. J. Johnson.²⁶⁸ It had already been decided that the Black Gate should house a museum when the work was finished, but tentative moves to transfer the Library and monthly meetings were initially unsuccessful.²⁶⁹ The refurbished Black Gate, housing a “loan collection”, was opened on 31 January 1884.

South and east of the Black Gate, the back-filled area between the buildings and the retaining walls (Area E) was laid out as a street either contemporary with, or just after construction of the first railway viaduct (fig. 3/4).²⁷⁰ This was surfaced with a mixture of granite setts, whinstone and sandstone fragments, with a short section of pavement and an open drain running down the centre. The new street was called “Black Lane” by 1881.²⁷¹

Creation of a formal street and final stabilization of the embankment allowed development and extension of the existing building (Cellar D, fig. 2/4), and another room, Cellar C, was added after 1876 (see THE FINDS: Coins). At the same time, the open space to the north of the new building became a cobbled yard (Yard B). Between 1881 and 1896 a brick privy and coalhouse were added to the north-east corner of this yard, which was subsequently concreted over.²⁷²

The basement room [Cellar A] continued to be used as a below stairs rubbish dump. At some point after 1862²⁷³ an apsidal sub-cellar (544 on fig. 2/4) was formed around the door leading from the cobbled yard. This too gradually filled with rubbish, and by the early 20th century the whole room was sealed by a floor of wood and linoleum.

Clearance of the buildings between the Black Gate and Dog Leap Stairs began in 1892–4 with the demolition of the southernmost house for widening the railway. The house above Cellar A was removed by 1929²⁷⁴ and the site became a dump for builder's waste, with wooden sheds enclosing the remains of the North Gate.²⁷⁵ Construction of air raid shelters at the Head of the Side in 1939 further encroached upon this area, and removed part of the original outer mantle wall near the Black Gate.

Dog Leap Stairs themselves were completely buried within the extension of railway viaduct. Although described as being "demolished" in 1893²⁷⁶ substantial sections survived between the piers of the arches, and the upper landings were excavated under Railway Arch 31 in 1987.

On the west side of the road through the Black Gate, the old houses were demolished by the North East Railway Company c. 1903 and replaced by a low-roofed display area for the Society of Antiquaries' carved Roman stones. The Heron Pit and Drawbridge Pit, excavated by Knowles in 1905,²⁷⁷ were covered by a reconstructed road carried on iron girders, and could be entered by steps from the display building.

In the open area of the Garth, the "Three Bull's Heads" and Bricklayers Meeting Hall gave way to new offices for the County Council in 1906. By this time the latter was apparently known as the "Bricklayer's Arms".²⁷⁸

The block of freehold tenements on the east side of Castle Stairs, together with the Gaoler's House, were purchased by the County Council in 1862 for £1,800.²⁷⁹ They were demolished shortly afterwards to improve the appearance of, and access to, the Courts, and to provide space for a strong room. At the time of purch-

ase the buildings were still in the hands of the Spence family and occupied by fifteen tenants occupying twelve "houses" and four shops. As a condition of the sale, the Spences' insisted upon retaining a "chimney piece" from one of the rooms.²⁸⁰ The rubble filled cellars of these houses were partly exposed in 1986 during construction of a sunken passageway on the west side of the Courts.

West of the Castle Stairs, the mass of houses called Castle Square disappeared gradually. The building numbered 60 on Plan 6 was called the "New Bridge Inn" in 1861, and the "Bridge Hotel" by 1896.²⁸¹ It was rebuilt in its present form c. 1899.²⁸² The narrow range of buildings between High Bank Side and the Low Way were rebuilt and reduced in extent c. 1872.²⁸³ The remains of these, and the premises to the north (6; 58–59), survived as late as c. 1946 when they were acquired by the County Council and demolished.²⁸⁴ Their site lay waste for almost twenty years until creation of the present car-park. The isolated block of buildings at the head of the Long Stairs (3; 17) were still occupied in 1925,²⁸⁵ and the date of their demolition is unknown. The site is now waste ground.

Between 1933 and 1935 Beall's stone-yard was laid out as a garden,²⁸⁶ and the site of the buildings to the south and west was covered with wooden sheds. These remained until 1981–2, when they were removed as part of the City Council's improvements, and the site excavated before landscaping (fig. 1, Area D).

North west of the Black Gate, the houses flanking its approach were demolished between 1861 and 1881.²⁸⁷ The site was laid out as a landscaped area, part of the infilled medieval ditch being removed to lessen the gradient at the head of the Side and to expose more of the northern drum tower of the gate-house.

Clearance of the Garth has continued to the present day. Since 1960, archaeological excavation and landscaping has resurrected substantial portions of the medieval fortress from the debris of the tenements with which it was so long obscured. Occasional fragments of brickwork and joist holes still scar the faces of

the curtain wall, scant evidence now for nearly three centuries of domestic life within the Castle bounds.

THE FINDS

Lucy Bown and John Nolan

The areas of excavation which produced significant post-medieval assemblages revealed structures and features which do not fall readily into one stratigraphic sequence. This report deals with the finds for their intrinsic interest and discusses their contextual significance where applicable.

THE POTTERY

The bulk of the pottery derives from rubbish dumping which contained a high incidence of residual material. The archive contains records of all the types present including residual Roman and medieval types which will be examined in future reports. Many of the earlier (late 16th and 17th c.) post-medieval wares also occurred residually. These include Southern and Midlands type whitewares, red slipwares and early tin-glazed wares and imports such as Rhenish stonewares, Weser slipware and Low Countries Redwares: all these wares with the usual range of forms. Some of the English wares are illustrated. The dumping predating the railway produced large quantities of later red earthenwares (or "brown wares") of presumably local manufacture. Other Tyneside or Sunderland products are noted for their local interest and dating possibilities.

Southern Whiteware

- 1 Jar, glazed internally. Residual in 18th–19th century contexts (2532 & 2528, Railway Arch 31)
- 2 Bowl or chamber pot with full cover of copper green glaze. Probably residual in 18th–19th century context (2528, Railway Arch 31)

English slip decorated redwares

These are of 17th-century type.

- 3 Whistle in the form of a bird. 19th-century context (783, Cellar A).²⁸⁸
- 4 Small cup with single handle. Early 19th-century context (660, Cellar A).
- 5 Jar with slight cordons on the rim exterior and at the base of the neck. Primary in Feature 1, Garrison Room.
- 6 Mug. Slightly reduced fabric giving the glaze a green colour. Early 19th-century contexts (938 and 1389, West of 529; 1328, Below Back Lane).
- 7 Large shallow dish. 18th to 19th-century context (2527, Railway Arch 31).

Tin Glazed Earthenwares

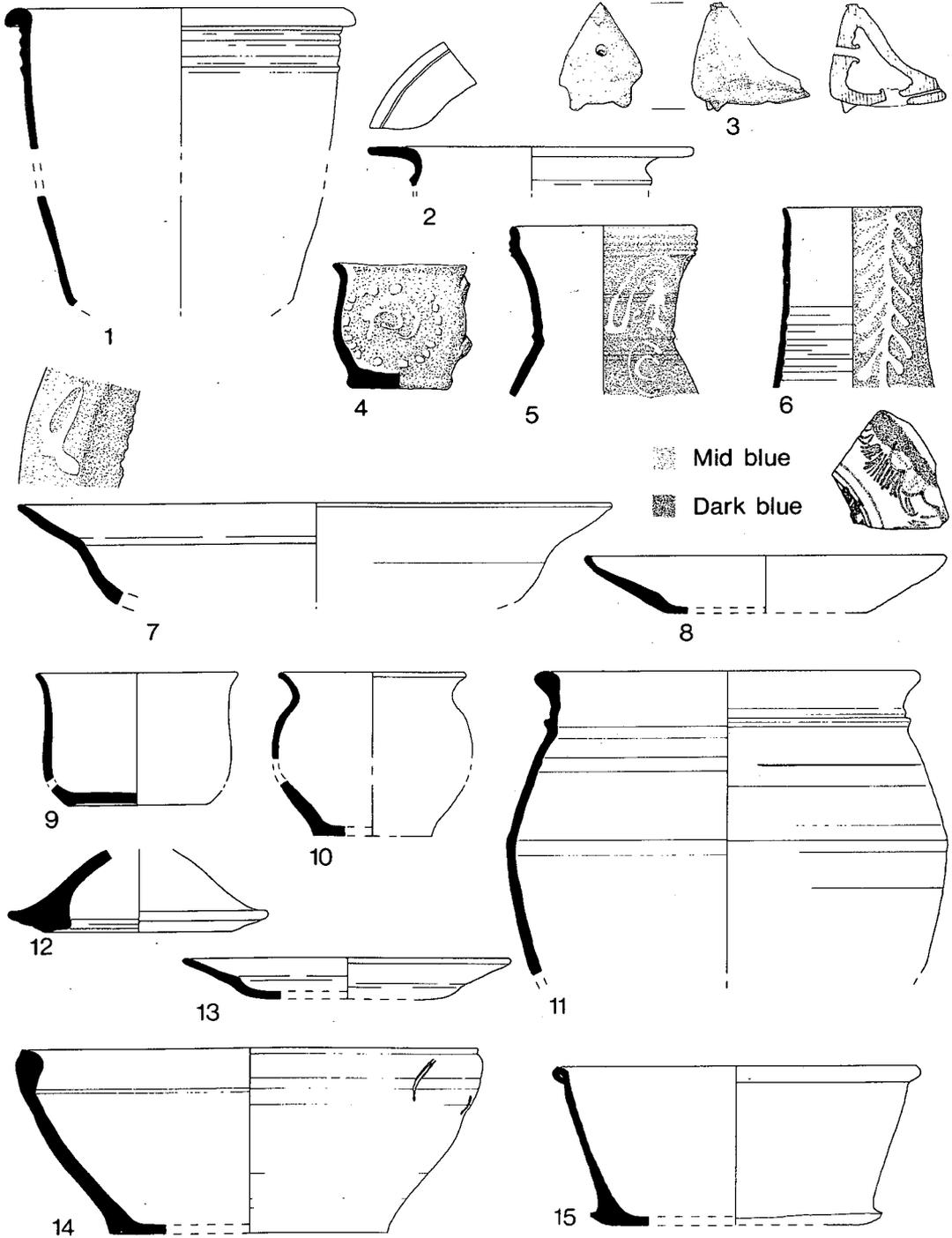
- 8 Shallow dish decorated with mid and dark cobalt blue on the interior. Probably primary in late 17th–early 18th century context (931, Cess Pit 927).

Wares of Tyneside or Sunderland manufacture

Pearlware, a late 18th to 19th-century fabric, is well represented. The most common decoration is blue and white transfer-printing. Identifiable local patterns are "Willow" by Fell & Co (1830–40), "Tyneside Willow" (1850–1880), "Asiatic Pheasants" used by T. Fell (1817–1890), "Wild Rose" derivative border patterns usually used in association with country scenes of c. 1830/1834 and "Forest" used by Seaham Pottery, Sunderland (1838–1841). Transfers in red, green, black, purple and brown are less common. One example in green is "Companions", used by John Wood of Stepney Pottery, Ouseburn (c. 1872).

Other decorative techniques represented are hand painted underglaze blue patterns imitating porcelain, and cobalt blue edging usually found on plates.

There were some cups and plates of Pratt Ware common in the first half of the 19th century and also possibly a Tyneside product.



This uses green, blue, and occasionally red enamels in over and under glaze painting.

A small number of 19th-century white china vessels with transfer-printing marked "Semi-China", made by Dawson's of Sunderland (1800–1867/8), and "Sewells Donkin" (Newcastle c. 1853–1878). A plate with "Ironstone" impressed on the back may be a product of T. Fell's pottery (1870–1890). There is a complete example of a Sunderland Garrison Pottery mug, dated by its transfer printed motto to c. 1807–1865.²⁸⁹

Some examples of yellow glazed mugs with black transfer printed scenes of Waterloo might be early 19th century Sunderland products. This type of white earthenware was made throughout the country from 1780–1835.

Lustreware was popular in the early 19th-century and formed a substantial part of Sunderland's pottery production. There were a small number of vessels decorated with pink, silver and gold zones.

Red Earthenwares

Large quantities of probably local domestic earthenwares were present, particularly in the major dumping deposits in Cellar A and Back Lane. Four distinct types of vessels were produced using the same clay but with different glazes. The fabric is very similar to a local laminated clay found in the Tyneside region, and these wares may be examples of "brownware" produced at Sunderland in the early 19th century.

i. Plain lead glaze. Forms include posset pots/cups, small jars, chamber pots, dishes and pans. Some have slip trailed decoration. Larger vessels (bowls, jars and a jar lid) are made in a slightly coarser fabric and are usually undecorated.

ii. Continuous white slip (yellow under the lead glaze), usually on the inside and sometimes mottled with brown or green oxides giving the appearance of Wheildon ware.

Glazed internally only. Forms include sgraffitto plates, porringers, cups, bowls large pans/crocks and bread bins.

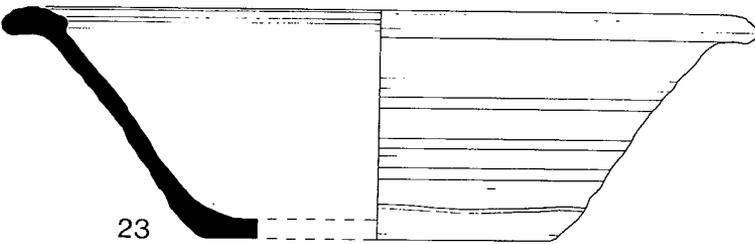
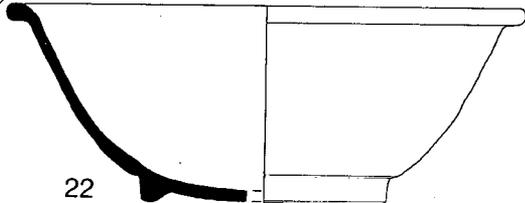
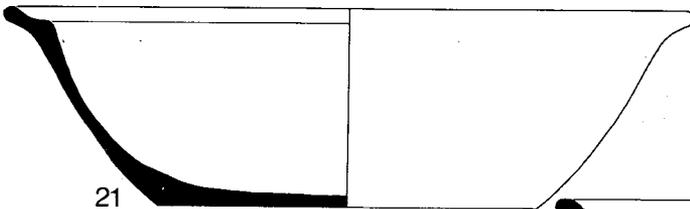
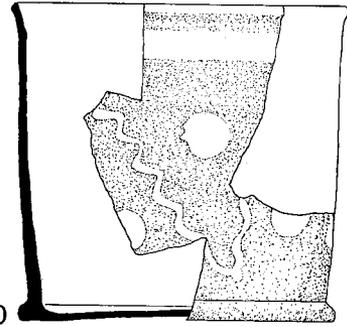
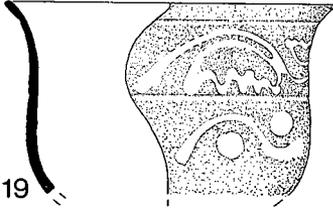
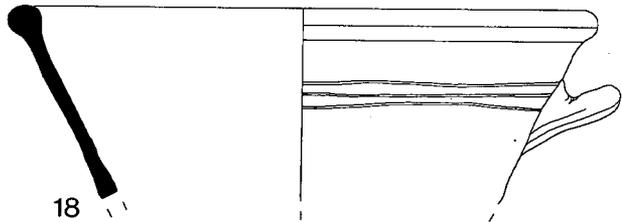
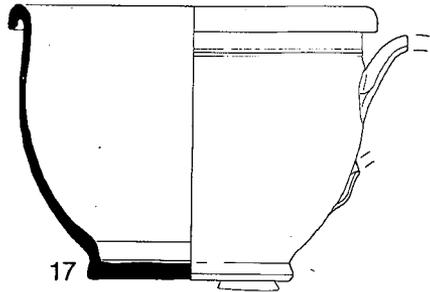
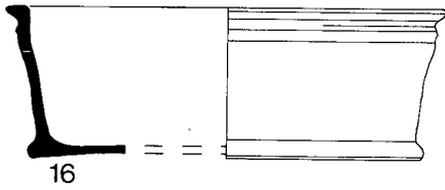
iii. As above, but also glazed externally.

iv. Black coloured lead glaze. Forms include jars, jugs and costrels.

A few finely thrown sherds of the same earthenware have yellow transfer printing on the external surface. These are very similar to the "Paisley" pattern used on some Sunderland vessels.

- 9 Fine cup, fully glazed. Probably primary in 18th to 19th-century contexts (2524 and 2526, Railway Arch 31)
- 10 Small jar with short everted rim, fully glazed. Primary in early 19th-century contexts (1138 and 1139, Yard B).
- 11 Large jar in coarser red earthenware with rounded clubbed rim and cordon around the neck. Unglazed. Probably intrusive in 17th to 18th-century contexts (757 and 941, Cess Pit 927).
- 12 Jar lid with cut angled edge. Glazed on the exterior. Primary in early 19th-century context (2525, Railway Arch 31).
- 13 Small shallow plate, glazed inside. Probably primary in early 19th-century context (2524, Railway Arch 31).
- 14 Crudely made bowl with folded inturned rim and splashed clear lead glazing. Probably primary in 18th to early 19th-century contexts (2528 and 2524, Railway Arch 31).
- 15 Crudely finished bowl/pan with folded outturned rim and knife trimmed base. Glazed inside. Probably primary in early 19th century context (1608, Feature 979).
- 16 Finely thrown straight sided pan, fully glazed. Primary in early 19th-century context (670, Cellar A).
- 17 Chamber pot with everted rim and single small strap handle. Fully glazed. Probably primary in 18th to early 19th-century contexts (2525 and 2526, Railway Arch 31).
- 18 Crudely finished crock/dairy bowl with loop handles. Rough incised line decoration. Unglazed. Probably primary in 18th to early 19th-century contexts (2524 and

Fig. 10. (4)



- 2525, Railway Arch 31)
- 19 Finely thrown slip decorated posset pot. Fully glazed. Probably primary in 18th to early 19th-century contexts (2525, Railway Arch 31).
 - 20 Straight sided jar with slip trail decoration on the exterior. Fully glazed. Primary in early 19th-century context (670, Cellar A).
 - 21 Dairy or kitchen bowl with lid seated rim. Internal white slip and glaze. Primary in 18th to 19th-century contexts (1136 and 1115, Yard B).
 - 22 Bowl with internal white slip and glaze. Primary in early 19th century contexts (1598, 1888 and 1886, Lowest levels of Back Lane).
 - 23 Large crock. Internal white slip and glaze. Probably primary in 18th to 19th-century context (2524, Railway Arch 31).
 - 24 Large storage or salting pan with loop handles. Internal white slip and glaze. Primary in early 19th-century contexts (1157, 1153 and 1160, Back Lane).
 - 25 Small cup/posset pot with internal marbled white and brown slip. Fully glazed. Probably primary in 18th to 19th-century context (2525, Railway Arch 31).
 - 26 Bowl with internal marbled white and brown coloured slip. Fully glazed. Probably primary in 18th to 19th-century context (2525, Railway Arch 31).
 - 27 Straight sided bowl with internal marbled white and brown slip. Fully glazed. Probably primary in 18th to 19th-century context (2525, Railway Arch 31).
 - 28 Large open pan with internal white slip and manganese speckled glaze. Clear lead glaze on the exterior. Primary in early 19th-century context (593, Cellar A).
 - 29 and 30. Sgraffito decorated plates with internal white slip and green and brown patches produced by oxides in the glaze. Probably primary in 18th to 19th-century contexts (2526-2528, Railway Arch 31).

- 31 Small costrel with flattened sides. Fully glazed with black lead glaze. Primary in early 19th-century context (593, Cellar A).
- 32 Pan with loop handles. Black lead glazed inside and partly on the external surface. Primary in early 19th-century context (593, Cellar A).

Stoneware

Most of the forms are 19th century such as mineral water bottles, storage jars, and two gin bottles, one stamped "Hew Singers & Co. Close" and the other "Reid Bros. & Co. 53 Grey Street".²⁹⁰

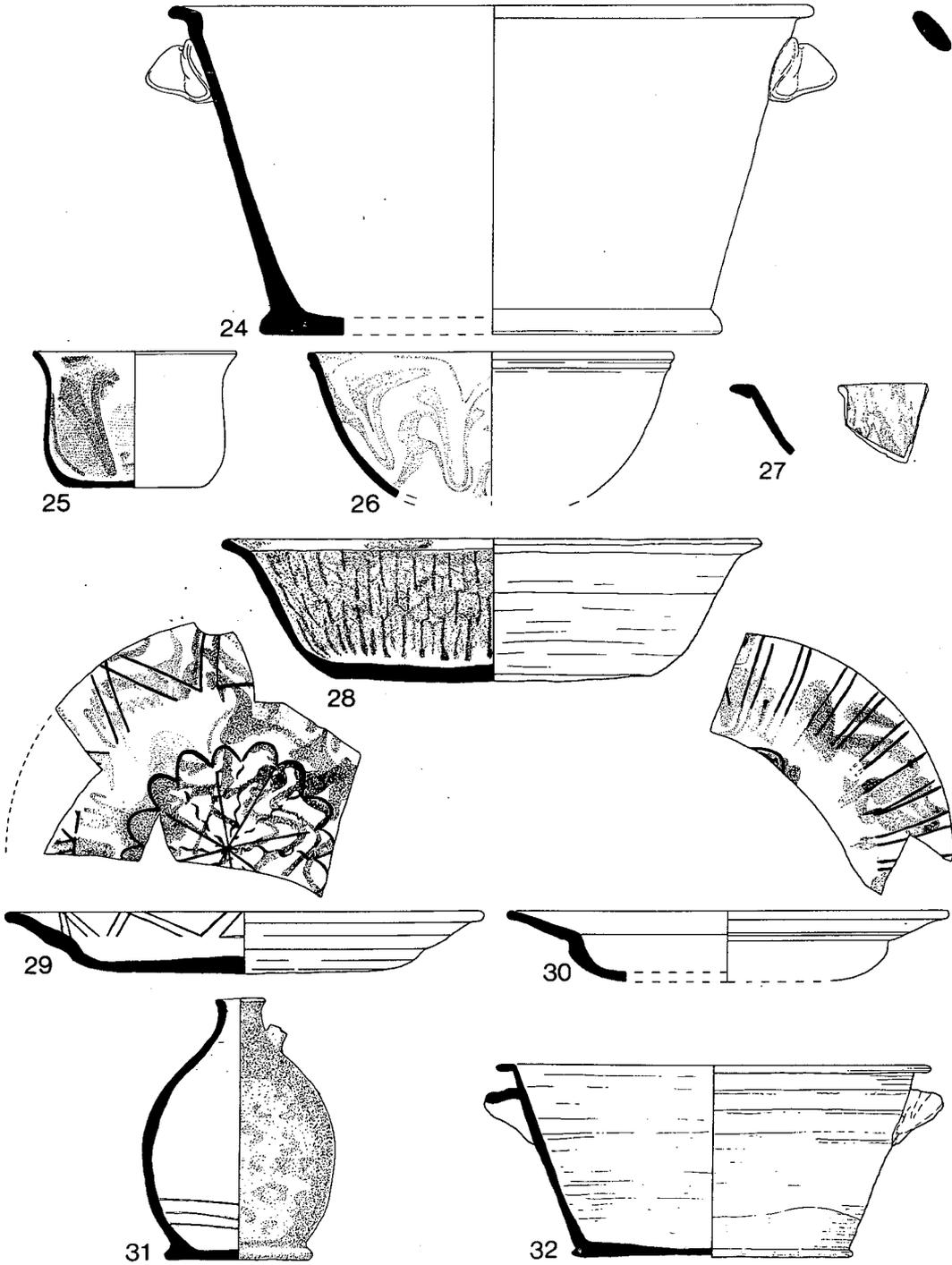
OTHER CERAMIC OBJECTS

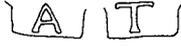
A miscellaneous collection was recovered from Area E, mostly from the 19th century dumped deposits. These included eight pipeclay wig curlers of possible 18th century date, forty-seven clay "marbles" and thirty-six fragments of kiln furniture, most of which were triangular or round sectioned stilts. The headless body of a moulded china figurine occurred in a late 19th century context north of Cellar A. The figure appeared to be in Moorish dress, and holes for the attachment of arms and legs suggest it may have been a child's puppet. The remains of another bird whistle came from an apparently 17th century context in Cellar A. The body is moulded in white earthenware, glazed, with the wings picked out in blue.

CLAY TOBACCO PIPES

There were a total of 1,778 fragments. The majority were plain stem fragments. There were some glazed mouthpieces, none of which were earlier than the first half of the 19th century.

Of the decorated and marked pieces, the majority were types known and recorded from previous excavations at the Castle or other sites in Newcastle. A few pipes with unknown or unusual forms of stamps or decoration have been illustrated and described in more detail.



Maker	Bowl type	Stem bore	Stamp type/description	Context
Unidentified	Tyneside 2a	8/64	Tyneside B 	Garrison Room/GA
Unidentified	Tyneside 3b	7/64	Impressed lozenge on circular foot 	Garrison Room/GA
Unidentified	Tyneside 1a	7/64	Milled lines across circular foot 	Garrison Room/GE
Unidentified	Parsons 13	5/64	Parsons e. This may be AWS, blurred traces of another letter being visible by the mould line 	Area E/1142, Yard B.
Unidentified	Parsons 10	5/64	Tyneside E 	Railway Arch 31/2524.
Unidentified	Parsons 18	5/64	On rear of bowl near rim 	Area E/1321, Back Lane.
William Tennant and Son, Berwick	Parsons 16	5/64	Fragmentary stamp impressed on rear of bowl, with maker's name on side of stem (Parsons "d") 	Area E/1173, Cellar D.

A full analysis of all the fragments is in the archive.

The typology followed is that established by Lloyd Edwards in the *Blackfriars* report, supplemented by Parsons' type series for the more recent pipes.²⁹¹

Fragment count by area: Area C (6), Area D (5), Area E (1,541), Garrison Room (48), Railway Arch 31 (175). The small number of fragments in Areas C and D reflects the des-

truction of post-medieval deposits by railway construction in the 19th century.

Principal assemblages

Area E. The 19th century infilling of Cellar A contained 301 fragments, including residual 17th–18th century forms and an interesting range of later 18th–19th century material. Stem stamps giving the maker's name and place (Oswald type d) only occurred in post-1862

Fig. 12. (4)

deposits. Before this there are only initials on the sides of the spur (Tyneside type E). Heraldic designs occurred throughout the cellar fill, but masonic emblems came principally from pre-1862 deposits.

The largest group of pipe fragments in this area (501) came from the backfilling behind retaining wall 739 and below Back Lane. The lowest levels of this dumping contained a mixture of residual 17th–18th century pipes and others bearing the Tyneside type E stamp. The date range for this stamp is variously given as c. 1700–80 (Parsons) or c. 1680–1750 (Edwards). If the attribution of the stamp T/E to Thomas Elsdon the first (1811–51) is correct,²⁹² then this form of stamp clearly extends beyond these date brackets. The evidence from Cellar A and Back Lane suggests that this is the case.

Several previously unrecorded maker's marks occurred in the pre-Back Lane deposits. One, fragmentary, Tyneside type D stamp appears to be part of the mark "Blackett Fenwick AM", a complete example of which has been found in excavations at the Close, Newcastle.²⁹³ Decorative motifs included heraldic devices and "Ship and Anchor" designs, the latter associated with the T/E stamp.

Fill from levelling up the area of collapsed embankment, (feature 979), produced 106 fragments. The only marks were residual 18th century types, but a number of bowl types which Parsons dates to 1780–1840 were also present.

Other, smaller, groups were Cellar C (25 fragments) and Cellar D (5 fragments). The latter included a complete pipe which provides a link between the bowl stamp TW, commonly found in the north-east region, with the Berwick pipemaker William Tennant.²⁹⁴

Railway Arch 31 This area produced 175 fragments of later 17th–18th century pipes including the unidentified stamp A/S.

Garrison Room A number of fragments (48) were found in more or less stratified deposits. The earliest may be associated with the Civil War reuse of the Castle, others presumably reflect use of this room as the County Prison.

BRICKS

Brick samples were taken from the main structures on Area E (Cellars C, D, and F.611), and appear to be common late eighteenth or early nineteenth century types.

GLASS

NB. Illustrated sections of clear glass vessels are shown in outline, coloured glass has been shown black.

16th–17th Century vessel glass

Tablewares

The rim of a beaker of green potash glass (in six fragments) with wrythen mould-blown ribbing, probably of 16th-century date, see *Exeter* no. 79.²⁹⁵ A second mould-blown beaker with diamond pattern as in *Northampton* no. 72,²⁹⁶ is also of probable 16th-century date. Other fragments are the plain stem of a wine glass, a mug/tankard handle, the solid base of a beaker as in *Woodchester* nos 5 or 6²⁹⁷ and part of a wine glass.

33 Pushed in base of a beaker in green potash metal. Similar to *Castle Ditch* No. 400. Possibly primary in early layers (1456) below the collapse of Feature 979.

There were fragments of three vessels in lead glass: the bulbous stem section of a late 17th-century wine glass as in *17th-Century Pit* no. 98, and *Castle Ditch* no. 411, the solid base of a beaker, which has been manufactured separately from the cylinder of the vessel similar to examples from *Woodchester*,²⁹⁸ and a wine glass rim.

Pharmaceutical and Distilling equipment

Five vessels and three pieces of tubing in a light green metal are probably 17th century pharmaceutical equipment. A high kicked bottle or phial base (5 cm diam) of the first half of 17th century can be paralleled by *17th-Century Pit* no. 43 and *Blackfriars* no. 130. A small rim

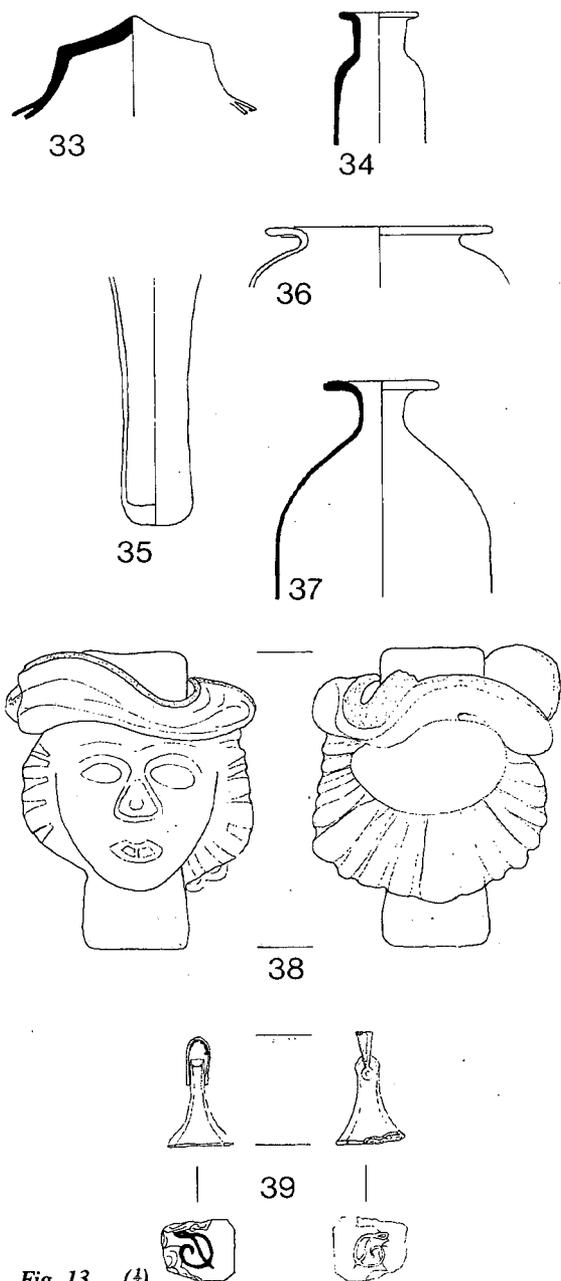


Fig. 13. (4)

similar to Fig. 13/34 could be from a bottle or phial. One small fine globular bottle has a short narrow neck with thickened, cordoned rim. One base fragment is from a straight-sided

phial and another from a large, round-ended vessel. The tubing is of three sizes with internal diameter measurements of 4 mm, 5 mm and 10 mm. One short piece of tubing may be the lute from an alembic.

18th–19th Century vessel glass

A variety of phials, bottles, pieces of tubing and stirring rods may be apothecary's equipment. Of the nine phials found, one is possibly in soda glass (Fig. 13/37). There are also three phial bases in clear glass with pontil marks, one in green glass with a pontil mark, and another of blue glass. Two rim fragments, one possibly in lead glass and another in blue/green potash metal (Fig. 13/35), could belong to either bottles or phials. All are from 18th to 19th century contexts and can be paralleled by tall cylindrical forms of the same date from *Gawber Glasshouse*.²⁹⁹

A piece of tubing in clear glass with a bore of 4 mm, and two solid twisted stirring rods, one of clear/light green glass 5 mm in diameter and the other of dark green glass 9 mm in diameter may also be pharmaceutical.

- 34 Rim (diam. 21 mm) from pharmaceutical phial in blue green potash metal. Probably primary in 18th–19th century context (1718, North West of Black Gate).
- 35 Base of tall cylindrical phial in a clear metal with greenish/blue tint (possibly soda glass). Probably 18th to early 19th-century (1420, Back Lane).
- 36 Very thin-walled, globular, bottle, in clear/pale green glass. 18th to 19th-century date and possibly primary in the upper deposit (757) of Cess Pit 927.
- 37 Very fine globular bottle. Darkish blue/green colour. Possibly early 19th century, and intrusive in 937, Cess Pit 927.

Sack Bottles

181 pieces of dark green glass are fragments of sack/wine bottles. Of the seventeen rims, fourteen are of English manufacture and three are imported European types.

Of the English bottles the rim forms are quite closely datable. One squat, onion-shaped

bottle is c. 1670–1700, a long-necked bottle is c. 1738, a tall “decanter” style neck with flared rim is similar to an early to mid 18th century bottle from *Oyster Street*, Portsmouth No. 5,³⁰⁰ and ten examples are identical to sealed bottles of c. 1805 and c. 1813 produced by the Cookson family who owned glasshouses at South Shields and the Close, Newcastle upon Tyne. One possible preserve bottle has a shorter wide neck and flaring mouth, a form made from the late 17th to early 18th century.³⁰¹

Two mossy green coloured wine bottles with long necks one with a round and one with a square neck ring, are probably French products of c. 1735. Another rim in a paler green metal is probably a German hock bottle of c. 1739.³⁰²

A number of blue/green, brown and dark blue fragments of 19th and 20th century sack and beer bottles were also found.

Mineral Water Bottles

One German mineral water bottle with neck ring, in pale green metal, can be paralleled with a late 18th-century example from *Northampton* no. 92.³⁰³ Other fragments and bottle marbles in clear/green metal are examples of 19th-century Codd and Hamilton bottles.

Miscellaneous glass objects

These came from the 19th-century dumping in Area E and included fifteen beads in yellow, blue and turquoise, a blue glass rod which may be a wig curler rather than a stirring rod, an advertizing sign for Sunlight Soap, and waste fragments in a dark green metal.

38 Fragment of bird feeder in the shape of a man's head wearing a tricorne hat. Green glass with a white trim. A common 18th-century find.³⁰⁴ 19th-century context (558, Cellar A).

39 Small personal seal in clear glass with copper alloy suspension loop and engraved with the monogram “D”. Probably

of 19th-century date and primary in 564, Cellar A.

METALWORK

Copper Alloy

Most of the 352 finds came from the 19th century dumped deposits in Area E (Cellar A and Feature 979). Cellar A alone produced 256 items, of which 220 were connected with tailoring (pins, needles, buttons and thimbles). This reflects the importance of the craft in the Garth, although no tailors are known to have occupied or worked in the house above the cellar. Several 19th century military and uniform buttons were found, including one from Belgian railways.

40 Decorative mount, formed from two plates embossed with a floral design and joined at the centre with a copper alloy pin. A similar example occurs in an 18th-century layer at *Oyster Street*, Portsmouth.³⁰⁵ Intrusive in 1185. Below Cellar A.

41 Shoe buckle with punched decoration on all sides and central iron pin. Badly corroded. Similar to *Blackfriars* no. 157. Probably 18th-century and primary in 1141, Yard B.

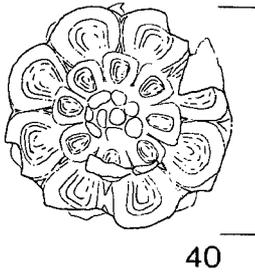
42 Buckle, the frame and bar cast in one piece. Primary in 17th century context. (457, Area D).

43 Circular stud of simple design with raised boss. Probably residual in 19th-century context. (660, first floor surface in Cellar A).

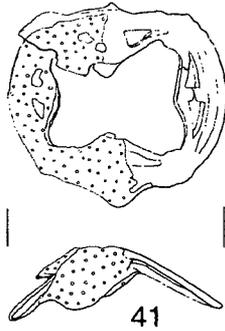
44 Cheek of a spur. One terminal retains the iron rivet for attachment of the leathers. Primary in 527 (Construction of Cellar A).³⁰⁶

Lead

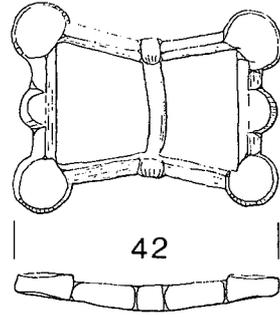
The bulk of the lead objects were window cames from redeposited material in 19th cen-



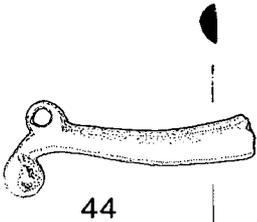
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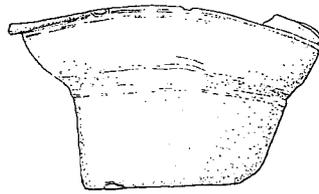
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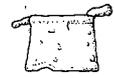
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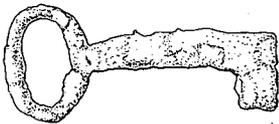
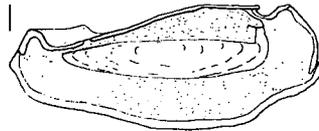
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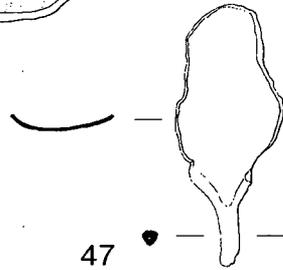
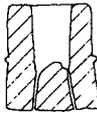
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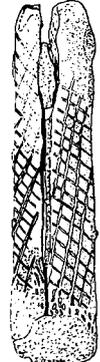
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55



56



tury contexts in Area E. Other finds included dress weights and a "stylus". Of particular interest were a piece of shot and a powder flask cap (ill. 46). These items were found in a small area of deposits to the north of Cellar A, dated on clay pipe evidence to c. 1650–1675.

- 45 Cast lead object. Half round as if to fix to a wall, with moulded decoration round.
- 46 Cast lead cap from a powder flask. The cap was raised and lowered on strings attached to the body of the flask which passed through the side loops shown in the illustration. Identical examples have been found in c. 1645 deposits at Sandal Castle.³⁰⁷

Pewter

- 47 Elliptical bowl of a spoon with remains of rod handle. A similar example of 16th–17th century date was found at Basing House, Fig. 17, no. 14.³⁰⁸ Residual in post-1862 context. 566, Cellar A.

Iron

The majority of iron finds are 19th-century nails and scrap. Other objects include a square buckle and knife handle, both of possibly 18th century date.

- 48 Key with hollow barrel. Ward heavily corroded. Possibly 17th century. Primary in (528), Cellar A construction.

Coins

Fifty-two were recovered, the largest number coming from 19th century dumping in Area E. Twelve coins were too corroded for positive identification and one was a residual Roman issue. Of the rest ten were 18th century, seventeen 19th century, and eleven 20th century. Only a few of these occurred in stratified deposits and are worthy of comment.

- 49 Danish 2 Skilling, 1851. (17 mm).
- 50 Russian 1 Kopek, 1876. (22 mm).
- 51 Trade token: Hepworth and Royston, Woolen Drapers, 18 Grey Street, Newcastle, c. 1850–56.³⁰⁹

BONE OBJECTS

Of the ninety pieces objects recovered, principally from Area E, seventy-five were buttons or parts of buttons. Other objects not illustrated include a comb, two brush handles, five knife handles, a pin and a fragment of medieval casket mount. The latter came from 19th century infilling of Cellar A, and will be discussed in a future Medieval report.

- 52 Whistle pipe with turned decoration. Possibly primary in late 18th to early 19th-century context (1126, Yard B).
- 53 Turned bone handle of circular section. Primary in 18th to 19th-century context (1126, Yard B).
- 54 Chess piece, possibly intended to be a bishop? Turned, with separate finial. Primary in 19th-century context (1062, Below Back Lane).
- 55 Knife handle, made from one piece of bone with the remains of an iron tang inside. Probably primary in first half of the 19th-century context (670, Cellar A).
- 56 Knife handle, made from two crudely chequered plates fastened to a flat tang with iron rivets. Primary in 19th-century context (670, Cellar A).

STONE OBJECTS

Three medieval architectural fragments were found and will be discussed in a future report. One of these, a large piece of window tracery, had been incorporated into the lining of the late 17th century cess pit (927). The paucity of post-medieval stonework is not surprising given the brick and timber construction of domestic development in the Garth.

The upper part of a pot quern from 19th century deposits pre-dating Back Lane in Area E may also be a residual medieval piece. This, and a fragment of grindstone from the same area, are probably local sandstone products.³¹⁰ Other stone objects include a whetstone from the 19th century infilling of Cellar A, a slate pencil and block, and a worked fragment of flint.

TEXTILES

Penelope Walton

A number of cloth fragments (T 94-95 a-c) were found in deposits within the cess pit (927) in Area E. All the fabrics were tabbies, and could be dated to the third quarter of the 17th century. The fragments were presumably off-cuts and may be associated with the tailors living and working in the Garth from the middle of the 17th century onwards. Their presence in the cess pit though suggests one possible re-use of such remnants!

T 95c was a fragment of a heavy weight cloth which had been given the heaviest type of "finishing" or napping. It was probably from a cloak or coat. This type of cloth was found to be very common amongst the textiles from the Bastion, which were dated to the second half of the 17th century.³¹¹ Another fragment (T 95a) is a poorer quality textile without such a dense finish.

Fragment T 95b is a common worsted tabby, probably from some everyday lightweight garment. These fabrics, made from wool which had been combed before spinning, became popular towards the end of the 16th century and were known at the time as the "new draperies". Their rapid spread was assisted by an increase in the number of longwooled sheep and the development of a spinning wheel which could quickly convert long-fibred wools into a semi-worsted yarn.³¹² By the 17th century the "new draperies" were being regularly used as dress and waistcoat fabrics in a variety of weaves and weights. Fragment T 94 is poorly preserved, but may be another lightweight worsted.

- 57 Fragment (T 94), 8.5 × 3.5 cm. Gingery brown wool textile in tabby weave: 20Z × 17S per square centimetre. The weave now appears loose, but as the textile is in a poor state of preservation, it may originally have been more closely woven. No dye detected, fleece type not identifiable.
- 58 At least 20 tattered fragments (T 95a), the largest 27.0 × 9.0 cm. Gingery brown wool textile in tabby weave: 8S × 7S threads per square centimetre. Stitch holes along the longest edge of the largest piece. No dye detected. The wool of both warp and weft is a shortwool fleece type (see Table 1).
- 59 Approximately 14 tattered fragments (T 95b), the largest 19.0 × 11.5 cm. Gingery brown wool textile in tabby weave: warp 16Z thread per square centimetre, weft 16S per square centimetre. Yarn worsted in type. Simple selvedge on one fragment. One piece has had a stitched tuck 0.5 cm deep, but the stitching has now disappeared. Unidentified yellow dye present. Wool of both warp and weft is of hairy medium type (Table 1).
- 60 Seven fragments (T 95c), largest 21.0 × 5.0 cm, of wool textile in tabby weave: 12S × 10S. All fragments matted, one heavily. This "finish" is probably the result of successively teaselling and shearing the surface of the cloth. Three fragments have cut edges and stitch holes along the edges. No dye detected, fleece type not identifiable. Area E/941.

I would like to thank Francis Burton for preparing most of the finds drawings, and Jenny Vaughan for assistance in preparing the text for publication.

TABLE 1. *Fleece types from 17th century Newcastle textiles. Statistics based on measurement of diameters of 100 fibres. (Figures in microns.)*

	Range	Mode(s)	Mean ± S.D.	Coeff. Skew, Distribution	Medullas	Pigment	Fleece type
T95a(a)	13-45	21, 24	26.0 ± 6.6	+0.27, symmetrical	0	0	Shortwool
(b)	12-47	28, 29	27.3 ± 7.2	-0.16, symmetrical	0	0	Shortwool
T95b(a)	15-49, 58, 63, 72, 97	21	27.7 ± 11.8	+0.78, pos. skewed	5	0	Hairy medium
(b)	10-40, 53, 64	21, 22	24.1 ± 7.5	+0.54, pos. skewed	2	0	Hairy medium

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Abbreviations.

- Baillie: *An Impartial History of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne*, Newcastle, 1801.
- Bastion: Margaret Ellison and Barbara Harbottle, "The Excavation of a 17th-Century Bastion in the Castle of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1976-1981", *Arch. Ael.* 5, XI (1983), pp. 135-263.
- Bourne: Henry Bourne, *The History of Newcastle upon Tyne*, Newcastle, 1736.
- Brand: John Brand, *History of Newcastle upon Tyne*, Vol. I, Newcastle, 1789.
- Ditch: B. Harbottle and M. Ellison, An Excavation in the Castle Ditch, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1974-1976, *Arch. Ael.* 5, IX (1981), pp. 75-250.
- Longstaffe: W. H. D. Longstaffe, *The New Castle upon Tyne*, *Arch. Ael.* NS, IV (1860), pp. 45-139.
- Mackenzie: E. Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne*, Vol. I, Newcastle, 1827.
- NRO: Northumberland Record Office.
- 17th-Century Pit: 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* Vol. 13 (1979), pp. 153-181.
- TWAS: Tyne and Wear Archives Service.
- N.C.L.: Newcastle City Libraries.

NOTES

- ¹ Longstaffe, p. 77.
- ² *Ibid.* p. 106-7, quoting the Parliamentary Survey of 1649.
- ³ Bourne, p. 118.
- ⁴ Longstaffe p. 106, cf. *Exchequer Commissions: Survey of the bounds and limits of the Castle of Newcastle upon Tyne*, 15 James I (1619), Commission No. 6597.
- ⁵ B. Ayers, "Excavations in the North-East Bailey of Norwich Castle, 1979". *East Anglian Archaeology* 28, Norfolk Archaeological Unit, Norfolk Museums Service (1985), p. 5.
- ⁶ "The Queens street called the Castle mote" appears in 1593 and again as late as 1669. R. Welford, ed., *History of Newcastle and Gateshead in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1887), p. 85.
- ⁷ These streets formed the western boundary of the castle approximately on the line of the medieval ditch. Until the 18th century they were known variously as the "King's majesty's street" or "Queen's majesty's street" depending on the sex of

the reigning monarch. A similar situation existed in other royal castles, for example at Norwich where "King Street" is regarded as the probable line of the eastern ditch. In Newcastle the two usages not only became fossilized but were applied to particular extents of what had been one continuous street. Queen Street appears c. 1758 (TWAS Long Box, 308/2/52) and King Street was established by 1778 (Whiteheads Directory), perhaps as a gesture of loyalty to the house of Hanover.

⁸ The line of the earlier "outer mantle wall" has been taken from two 18th century surveys of the Castle Garth; "Plan of the CASTLE GARTH in the County of Northumberland with the OLD CASTLE of Newcastle upon Tyne, The Moothall, Grand Jury Room and all the Buildings upon the said Castle Garth. Surveyed and Planned in April 1777 by J. Fryer" (NRO 2277); another, less polished version bearing the same date and numbering is by Jonathan Bell (NRO. ZMD 60). On both plans the various ownership blocks are numbered and named.

⁹ *PSAN* 4, V (1931-1932), pp. 228-233.

¹⁰ TWAS 589/12 (1699-1718), p. 129, f. 90.

¹¹ Parliamentary Survey 1649. Longstaffe, p. 136.

¹² PSA Deeds, Folder 3. "Abstract of Title to premises in the Side belonging to Mr. Edward Forster", conveyance dated 14-15 April 1704. The western boundary of the premises is the "Castle mote".

¹³ Brand, p. 160; Longstaffe, p. 108.

¹⁴ *Monthly Chronicle of North Country Lore and Legend*, Vol. 3 (September 1889), p. 406.

¹⁵ The Castles of Chester and Bristol were likewise exempt from civic authority.

¹⁶ Bourne, pp. 118-19.

¹⁷ Mackenzie, p. 653.

¹⁸ When John Wesley visited Chester he encountered such opposition from the burgesses that he was only able to deliver his sermon safely from within the precincts of the Castle, it too being beyond the jurisdiction of the Corporation.

¹⁹ Mackenzie, p. 672-3.

²⁰ The rental value of the Castle Garth properties remained unchanged throughout the Corporation's periods of ownership.

²¹ *Arch. Ael.* 5, IX, pp. 87-89.

²² Longstaffe, p. 70, quoting Leland's Itinerary.

²³ *Arch. Ael.* 5, IX (1983), pp. 87-89.

²⁴ Surtees Society, *Wills and Inventories* I, vol. IV, 142 (1929), pp. 135-6.

²⁵ The same situation existed elsewhere, for example at Gloucester (H. Hurst, *The Archaeology of Gloucester Castle*, an Introduction, *Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society Transactions* Vol.

102 (1984), p. 73, and Carlisle (A. Hamilton Thompson, *Military Architecture in England*, Oxford (1912), p. 362.

²⁶ Longstaffe, p. 123, quoting the Milbank MSS.

²⁷ This view is reproduced in *Arch. Ael. 1*, III (1844), p. 124.

²⁸ *Arch. Ael. 5*, IX (1983), p. 95.

²⁹ Brand, p. 157. The Company of Tailors paid 40/- p.a. for the Castle.

³⁰ S. J. Watts, "From Border to Middle Shire: Northumberland 1586-1625", Leicester University Press (1975), pp. 233-234.

³¹ Bourne, p. 121. Little is known about this man apart from occasional references to Alexander Stephenson "page of the Bedchamber" in State Papers.

³² Brand, p. 158.

³³ C. Beardsmore "Documentary Evidence for the History of Worcester City Defences" in "Medieval Worcester, An Archaeological Framework" M. O. H. Carver ed., *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society 3rd Series, Vol. 7* (1980), p. 57.

³⁴ Longstaffe, p. 70.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 134. In Chancery proceedings the following year, Black claimed there were 22 messuages within the Castle Yard.

³⁶ Bourne, p. 121, quoting Milbank MSS.

³⁷ *PSAN 4*, I (1924), p. 309-310.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ A. A. Dibben, *Title Deeds, 13th-19th centuries*, Historical Association Pamphlets (1968), p. 13.

⁴⁰ Longstaffe, p. 134, n. 181, quotes "another copy" of the Milbank MSS. which says that "those who built houses for the first time on the hill side overlooking the bridge took their land of this man (i.e. Stephenson)".

⁴¹ *Arch. Ael. 2* (NS), XII (1886-7), facing p. 230 is a copy of a plan of the defences of Newcastle in 1638 by John Marley, Mayor and Governor of the town during the siege of 1644. This view shows the domestic dwellings in the Castle Yard in some detail.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Thomas Southeron was granted a new lease of his premises (No. 1) by the Corporation on the 19 July 1660 (Enrolment Book 3 (1659-1669), f. 6v. The site numbered 2a. on Plan 2 is described in a lease to Christopher Gibson by the Corporation of 10 May 1658 as "a parcel of ground where 3 small cottage houses do formerly stand belonging to John Greene, deceased", TWAS 544/76 (1653-1669), f. 42v.

⁴⁴ Longstaffe, p. 134.

⁴⁵ Bourne, p. 118; Longstaffe, p. 121.

⁴⁶ *Arch. Ael. 5*, IX, p. 142.

⁴⁷ Bourne, p. 121.

⁴⁸ Surtees Society (1929), pp. 87-88. Will of Christopher Isle, 30 October 1614.

⁴⁹ Longstaffe, p. 135-7.

⁵⁰ J. R. Boyle, *Vestiges of Old Newcastle and Gateshead*, London and Newcastle (1890), pp. 53-54.

⁵¹ Longstaffe, p. 110.

⁵² Welford, Vol. 3, p. 285.

⁵³ Longstaffe, p. 107, quoting the Royal Survey of 1620.

⁵⁴ Chamberlain's Accounts TWAS 543/14-15 (1561-1569) includes payments for work at the "castill mott middin" by Roger Huntley "a powr crippill".

⁵⁵ *Bastion*, 141.

⁵⁶ TWAS 589/5 (1650-9), f. 270.

⁵⁷ Longstaffe, p. 80, 139.

⁵⁸ TWAS 544/72 (1659-69), f. 4v. Lease to Alexander Veach, 19 July 1660. Veach was in occupation as early as 1649 (Parliamentary Survey).

⁵⁹ Longstaffe, p. 136.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 71. The amount of Stephenson's debt comes from R. Gardiner, *England's Grievance Disccovered* (1655).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Jane Langston was confirmed in the lease by the Commonwealth government (established 14 February 1649).

⁶³ Longstaffe, p. 71.

⁶⁴ C. S. Terry, "The Siege of Newcastle-upon-Tyne by the Scots in 1644", *Arch. Ael. 1*, XXI (1899), pp. 180-247.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 220. The only evidence for re-fortification of the Half Moon at this time comes from the Milbank MSS quoted by Bourne, p. 233.

⁶⁶ *17th Century Pit; Bastion*.

⁶⁷ Longstaffe, p. 72.

⁶⁸ David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II* (1934), pp. 517-519. The Corporation Act and quo warranto proceedings shackled the municipal corporations.

⁶⁹ *Arch. Ael. 1*, IX, pp. 14-15.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Concise Dictionary of National Biography, p. 488.

⁷² Compare surveys of the Garth of 1620 and 1649.

⁷³ TWAS 589/6 (1656-1722), f. 60.

⁷⁴ TWAS 544/76 (1653-69), f. 42v.

⁷⁵ TWAS 589/6 (1656-1722), f. 28, p. 12.

⁷⁶ TWAS 589/5 (1650-59), f. 296, p. 177.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 95, p. 58.

- ⁷⁸ TWAS 589/6 (1656–1722), f. 39, p. 16.
- ⁷⁹ *Arch. Ael. 5*, IX, p. 94; *ibid.*, *The Clay Tobacco Pipes*, p. 171 nos. 415–417.
- ⁸⁰ Parliamentary Survey 1649.
- ⁸¹ Longstaffe, p. 123.
- ⁸² Pickles' is last mentioned in the Rental of the Castle Garth Lands for December 1661 (TWAS Long Box 47/1/52), though his signature appears as witness to the conveyance of a property in Bailey Gate in 1681.
- ⁸³ TWAS 589/5 (1650–59), f. 375, p. 226. Pickles asked leave to carry on building his garden wall over the temporary defence works "which will stand in the same form it was in before the works about the Castle were made".
- ⁸⁴ Longstaffe, p. 135, n. 187.
- ⁸⁵ TWAS 589/5 (1650–59), f. 377, p. 228.
- ⁸⁶ *Arch. Ael. 5*, XI, p. 144.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 00.
- ⁸⁸ Longstaffe, p. 136.
- ⁸⁹ H. Maxwell Wood ed., *The Registers of the Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas, Marriages, 1574–1812*. Newcastle 1914, p. 35.
- ⁹⁰ TWAS 589/6 (1656–1722), f. 38v, p. 16; TWAS 544/72 (1659–1669), f. 6v.
- ⁹¹ NCL. Local Studies section, Acc. no. 8727 (1883).
- ⁹² *Post-Medieval Archaeology 13* (1979), p. 157.
- ⁹³ TWAS 589/12 (1699–1718), f. 80–81, p. 111.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.* Bell mortgaged the house to John Potts in 1684, by which time it was, presumably, habitable.
- ⁹⁵ NCL Local Studies section, Acc. no. 34157 (1883); Boyle, facing p. 66, drawing dated 1886.
- ⁹⁶ TWAS 544/4 (7 May 1706–1 February 1717), f. 61–2.
- ⁹⁷ This clause appears in leases by the Macclesfields. See TWAS 136/460, Macclesfield to Jane Johnson, 11 May 1691.
- ⁹⁸ TWAS 544/72 (1659–69), f. 6v.
- ⁹⁹ NCL Local Studies section, Acc. no. 34157 (c. 1894); also a sketch by W. H. Knowles in Auty Hastings, *Views of Newcastle upon Tyne* Vol. 2, p. 69 (1889).
- ¹⁰⁰ TWAS 544/3 (26 February 1701–1 April 1706), f. 56–7. Lease by Corporation to Elizabeth Isle, widow, 14 December 1704.
- ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* The "old wall" is still a boundary in a lease of 3 October 1726. TWAS 544/6 (1723–27), f. 155–157.
- ¹⁰² NRO. QSB Vol. I.
- ¹⁰³ TWAS Long Box 72/17/50.
- ¹⁰⁴ NRO. QSB Vol. 1, Michaelmas 1680, p. 25.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁶ *Arch. Ael. 5* XIV, p. 102. Plan of Newcastle by Martin Beckmann, 1686.
- ¹⁰⁷ Longstaffe, p. 78, quoting the Milbank MSS.
- ¹⁰⁸ TWAS 589/4 (1645–50), f. 168, p. 76; *ibid.* (1650–59), f. 201, p. 119; f. 205, p. 122; f. 270, p. 161–162; f. 275, p. 164.
- ¹⁰⁹ TWAS 589/5 (1650–59), f. 273.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 381.
- ¹¹¹ *Arch. Ael. 5* XI, p. 144.
- ¹¹² TWAS 544/4 (7 May 1706–1 February 1717), f. 46v. see also Long Box 10, 24/6/50–24/7/50. The "Guardhouse" appears in a later lease by Lord Ravensworth to Mary Lister in 1758 (Longstaffe, p. 99, n. 107).
- ¹¹³ *Arch. Ael. 5* XI, pp. 141–143.
- ¹¹⁴ These premises are not named as "excepted" in the conveyances of the Castle Garth leasehold until 1802–3 (PSAN 3 V, p. 43).
- ¹¹⁵ Society of Antiquities of Newcastle, *The Castle of Newcastle*, 1847.
- ¹¹⁶ Fryer and Bell's surveys (1777).
- ¹¹⁷ Concise Dictionary of National Biography, p. 488.
- ¹¹⁸ Longstaffe, p. 73.
- ¹¹⁹ TWAS 589/12 (1699–1718), f. 80–81, p. 111. 16 December 1703.
- ¹²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹²¹ Longstaffe, p. 73.
- ¹²² Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1735–1738, p. 91 (6 October 1735).
- ¹²³ PSAN 2, II (1885), p. 19. Liddell's lease was granted for fifty years from 12 May 1736. See also Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers 1735–8, p. 156.
- ¹²⁴ TWAS 589/13 (1718–1743), f. 411, p. 536.
- ¹²⁵ Longstaffe (p. 73), gives the date as 29 December 1780, but cites no authority for this.
- ¹²⁶ NCL Local Studies Section, L.285.2, p. 7.
- ¹²⁷ TWAS Long Box 4, 8/39/51.
- ¹²⁸ TWAS Long Box 9, 18/33/50.
- ¹²⁹ Longstaffe, p. 99, n. 107.
- ¹³⁰ Brand, p. 168; Longstaffe, p. 124.
- ¹³¹ Fryer and Bell Surveys (1777).
- ¹³² Both appear in Whitehead's Newcastle and Gateshead Directories for 1787–9 and 1790.
- ¹³³ PSAN 3, V (1911), p. 42.
- ¹³⁴ Whitehead's Newcastle and Gateshead Directory for 1790.
- ¹³⁵ TWAS 589/12 (1699–1718), f. 80–81, p. 111.
- ¹³⁶ Concise Dictionary of National Biography, p. 488.
- ¹³⁷ Fitton Gerard was certainly old enough to be "politically active" in 1694. Historic Society of

Lancashire and Cheshire 136 (1987), p. 45.

¹³⁸ TWAS 544/3 (26 February 1701–1 April 1706), f. 56–7.

¹³⁹ Bourne, p. 118.

¹⁴⁰ NCL Local Studies Section, Acc. no. 34157 (1883).

¹⁴¹ TWAS 544/3 (26 February 1701–1 April 1706), f. 56–9.

¹⁴² Heslop, p. 457.

¹⁴³ J. T. Brockett, *Glossary of North Country Words*, 2nd edition.

¹⁴⁴ TWAS 544/3 (26 February 1701–1 April 1706), f. 34v.–36v.; f. 49v.–56v.; f. 73v.–74v.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* f. 73v.–74v. Lease to William and Peter Heath, tailors, 14 December 1705.

¹⁴⁶ *Arch. Ael.* 2, IV, p. 248.

¹⁴⁷ NCL Local Studies Section, Seymour Bell Portfolio 7, "Particulars of Several Valuable Freehold Premises situate in the Castle Garth, Queen Street, and the Side 17 September 1810." The name occurs in the description of Lot IV.

¹⁴⁸ *Arch. Ael.* 2, IV, p. 235–8. Order made at County of Northumberland Michaelmas Quarter Sessions.

¹⁴⁹ Mackenzie, p. 593.

¹⁵⁰ *Arch. Ael.* 2, IV, p. 238.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² Mackenzie, p. 593. "In 1743 another theatre was opened in Usher's Raff-yard, Queen Street, called the Great Booth". Another source (AA 2, IV, p. 238) claims this to be incorrect and places the "Great Booth" at the Head of The Side, without citing any authority. Usher's Raff-yard was certainly in Queen Street, and there seems no reason to doubt the accuracy of Mackenzie's location.

¹⁵³ M. A. Richardson, *Local Historian's Table Book (Historical Division)*, Vol. I, p. 378 (1735).

¹⁵⁴ Baillie, p. 194. The height is also given as five storeys (*ibid.*, p. 29). This presumably refers to the external facade, the interior of the Half Moon being raised.

¹⁵⁵ "PLAN of the Part of the Castle Garth whereon the MOOT HALL, Grand Jury Room, and Houses called the Half Moon Battery now stand. John Bell surveyor Novr. 9 1808." PSA Deeds (loose plan).

¹⁵⁶ *Local Historian's Table Book, Historical Division*, Vol. II, p. 313.

¹⁵⁷ PSA Deeds, Folder I. County Valuer's Report 26 August 1861.

¹⁵⁸ *Encroachments on the Liberty of the Castle Garth 24 April 1744*, in *Collections Relative to the Castle of Newcastle upon Tyne*, by John Bell, NCL

Local Studies Section, L.728.81.

¹⁵⁹ *Description of the Messuages in the Castle Garth, taken from the Several leases the 25 March 1777*. MSS in NCL Local Studies Section, L.728.81. This document refers to the plans by Fryer and Bell.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 15. The occupiers are Mr. John Parrot and Mr. Robert Harrison. "Perrot's House" is marked on a plan to accompany a deed of 29–30 March 1811.

¹⁶¹ Fryer and Bell's Surveys (1777), reference letters "a" and "b".

¹⁶² Brand, Vol. I, p. 3. "View of the Old Castle of Newcastle upon Tyne" dedicated to Sir John Chrichloe Turner, Kt. Also NCL Local Studies Section, Acc. 3723.

¹⁶³ TWAS 544/4 (9 May 1706–1 February 1717), f. 46v.; Long Box 10, 24/6/50–24/7/50. It is given as a boundary in a lease of Lidster's premises near the Keep.

¹⁶⁴ Brand, p. 173.

¹⁶⁵ NCL Local Studies Section, Seymour Bell Portfolio 7, Lot XI.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, L.728.81, Description of the Messuages ... 1777. No. 6.

¹⁶⁷ Longstaffe, p. 85.

¹⁶⁸ Isaac Thompson, *A Plan of Newcastle upon Tyne* (1746).

¹⁶⁹ The earliest reference to the "low way" occurs in 1704 (Enrolment Book 3, f. 12v.) The "Bank-side" appears first on Fryer and Bell's plans (1777).

¹⁷⁰ This appears to be the form of usage shown on the plan to accompany Bourne's History (1736).

¹⁷¹ NCL L.285/2, N536., p. 3. Thomas Oliver, *A Picture of Newcastle upon Tyne*, says it was built c. 1706.

¹⁷² C. Hill, "A Century of Revolution", p. 214. The Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 allowed Dissenters to worship under licence.

¹⁷³ Mackenzie, p. 390.

¹⁷⁴ TWAS 544/10 (7 May 1706–1 February 1717), f. 46v. This was the western boundary of the premises shown on Plan 3 no. 28.

¹⁷⁵ NCL L.285.2, p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ Isaac Thompson's plan (1746).

¹⁷⁷ Oliver, p. 62.

¹⁷⁸ NRO Acc. no. 1558.

¹⁷⁹ NCL L.285.2, p. 4–5.

¹⁸⁰ Collard and Ross, "Architectural and Descriptive Views in Newcastle upon Tyne" (1842), p. 9.

¹⁸¹ NCL L.285.2, p. 5.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁸³ NCL L.728.81. The Congregation first took the lease of this house on 12 May 1766. It was described

as "lately built" in an earlier lease of Candlemas 1758.

¹⁸⁴ NCL L.285.2, pp. 7-8.

¹⁸⁵ These premises are not mentioned in the lease of the Black Gate of 20 December 1725 (TWAS Long Box 9, f. 98-101) and do not appear on the plan accompanying Bourne's History (1736), they are however shown on Thompson (1746).

¹⁸⁶ Thompson (1746).

¹⁸⁷ Brand, p. 174.

¹⁸⁸ Baillie, p. 190.

¹⁸⁹ Mackenzie, p. 94, quoting the lease to the Earl of Macclesfield from James II in 1685.

¹⁹⁰ These walls are shown by Fryer and Bell (1777) and in more detail on a plan to accompany John Turner's conveyance to the Corporation in 1810. Portions also appear in a drawing by Jefferies of the Bailey Gate shortly before its destruction in 1810 (Carlisle City Libraries, Jackson Collection, *Views of Newcastle*, C171). They are assumed to be medieval from their character, thickness and being called "outworks of the old Castle" on the 1810 lease.

¹⁹¹ TWAS 544/4 (7 May 1706-1 February 1717), f. 46v.; also Long Box 10, 24/6/50-24/7/50.

¹⁹² NRO QSB 37. Michaelmas Quarter Sessions at Alnwick, 1712. Litster supervised work between September and October that year.

¹⁹³ TWAS 544/6 (29 April 1717-21 August 1727), f. 23-25; also Long Box 4, 8/56/51.

¹⁹⁴ The earliest reference is in Bourne p. 118.

¹⁹⁵ *Local Historian's Table Book (Historical Division)*, p. 114. The lodge was No. 120.

¹⁹⁶ Whitehead's Newcastle and Gateshead Directory for 1784 gives John Fife as publican of the "Three Bull's Heads". The Directory for 1787-89 however has John Fife as publican of the "Blackgate", possibly the precursor of the "Two Bull's Heads".

¹⁹⁷ Collard and Ross, op. cit., p. 9.

¹⁹⁸ Mackenzie, p. 102.

¹⁹⁹ John Chilton, tailor, was the first to hold both premises by a lease from the Corporation of 16 December 1714 (TWAS 544/4, f. 89v.).

²⁰⁰ Baillie, p. 183.

²⁰¹ Longstaffe, p. 73.

²⁰² NCL Local Studies Section, Seymour Bell Portfolio 7.

²⁰³ Parliamentary Survey, 1649. (Longstaffe, p. 123).

²⁰⁴ TWAS microfilm. Census 1851.

²⁰⁵ *Local Historian's Table Book (Historical Division)*, Vol. III, p. 261.

²⁰⁶ Thomas Oliver, *A Plan of Newcastle and*

Gateshead (1831), No. 116.

²⁰⁷ Mackenzie, p. 167. "At the head of these stairs, there was a large waste place, which was, until very lately, the common receptacle of filth".

²⁰⁸ Hage Court was known as Hagg's Entry by 1886 see NCL Local Studies section Acc. 4227 (photograph).

²⁰⁹ Mackenzie, p. 224.

²¹⁰ Longstaffe, p. 115-116.

²¹¹ Mackenzie, p. 224.

²¹² Longstaffe, p. 111.

²¹³ PSA Deeds; Allen to Justices of the Peace for Northumberland, 1813.

²¹⁴ Notes by G. B. Richardson dated 29 December 1846. (Longstaffe, op. cit., p. 112).

²¹⁵ There are numerous contemporary accounts describing its destruction, for example the *Carlisle Journal* for 17 February 1810, and Hodgson, *Northumberland*, iii, pp. 173-174.

²¹⁶ Longstaffe, p. 115.

²¹⁷ Mackenzie, p. 228.

²¹⁸ PSA Deeds.

²¹⁹ TWAS 285/89 "Plan and Section of an intended bridge over the River Tyne, from Gateshead to Newcastle, by Richard Grainger 30 November 1843".

²²⁰ Mackenzie, p. 168. The Meeting House baptisms register contains an entry "5 January 1798 Margaret daughter of James Dowey, Baker. "Dowie's Entry" appears in Directories as late as 1882-3.

²²¹ This pub is first mentioned in the 1851 Directory, and was run by Ann Parker.

²²² PSA Deeds. Conveyance of premises at Castle Square, 3-4 August 1829.

²²³ "Sheep Head Alley" is first mentioned in 1827 (Mackenzie, pp. 168-9).

²²⁴ Baillie, p. 197.

²²⁵ Longstaffe, p. 74.

²²⁶ This is illustrated by comparison of the plan of Castle Street (proposed) and that accompanying a deed of 1 January 1824 (Turner to Scott).

²²⁷ NCL L.285.2 N.536, p. 8.

²²⁸ Mackenzie, p. 391; NCL L.285.2 N.536, pp. 9-15.

²²⁹ Mackenzie, p. 392.

²³⁰ *An Abstract of the History of the Castle-Garth Meeting House*, Newcastle, 1811. (NCL. L.285.2 N.536).

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²³² NRO. 1558 (EP 86/98).

²³³ Oliver, p. 62.

²³⁴ *Ibid.* The book of reference to accompany Oliver's plan of 1830 gives the Lock Hospital as no.

164, but this does not appear on the plan.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Mackenzie, p. 392.

²³⁷ NRO 1558 (EP 86/98).

²³⁸ Newcastle and Berwick Railway Bill 1845.

Plan and schedule of properties acquired for the line of the railway. TWAS map no. 602.

²³⁹ Baillie, p. 183.

²⁴⁰ PSA Deeds. Agreement between Surveyor General and John Turner, 9 September 1808.

²⁴¹ Longstaffe, p. 85. The Corporation resolved to purchase the Keep on the 10 April 1809. (Cal. Comm. Council Book 1799–1810, p. 374).

²⁴² Ibid. The leading light in the restoration Committee was Alderman Forster.

²⁴³ The warder was Thomas Ayre “a respectable freeman”, paid a yearly salary of £10 with coals and any fees paid by the visitors! Common Council Book (1810–17), f. 182. 23 December 1812.

²⁴⁴ Longstaffe, p. 56.

²⁴⁵ TWAS 589/20 (1824–1831), p. 326.

²⁴⁶ TWAS 589/19 (1817–24), f. 459. 24 June 1824. The previous lease had been given by John Turner.

²⁴⁷ TWAS 589/19 (1817–1824), f. 104, 30 September 1819.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., f. 391, 21 August 1823.

²⁴⁹ *A Guide to the Castle of Newcastle upon Tyne*, Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1847.

²⁵⁰ TWAS Long Box 7, 14/1/52–14/2/52.

²⁵¹ Mackenzie, pp. 202–3.

²⁵² TWAS Map 285/602. and schedule, *Plan and Section of a Proposed Railway to be called the Newcastle and Berwick Railway, Nov. 1844*, shows the premises to be acquired.

²⁵³ Newspaper reports of discoveries by workmen, for example Newcastle Courant 29 January 1847, and a sketch by G. B. Richardson of the destruction of houses around Bailey Gate c. 1846.

²⁵⁴ The extent of this clearance is best shown by comparing Oliver’s plan with the 1st edition Ordnance Survey (1859–60).

²⁵⁵ C. M. Fraser and K. Emsley, *Tyneside*, p. 84.

²⁵⁶ Ward’s North of England Directories.

²⁵⁷ Newcastle Directories.

²⁵⁸ TWAS Building Control Plans no. 15403. “The Late Three Bull’s Heads Public House Adjoining the North Courtyard of Moot Hall to be Converted into County Offices for Northumberland County Council, by John Cresswell A.I.C.E. County Architect 5 January 1893.”

²⁵⁹ TWAS 802/6. Company of Wallers, Bricklayers and Plasterers Minute Book.

²⁶⁰ Ibid. The Reading Room functioned between

1852 and 1864. The School is first mentioned in 1871–2 (Directory), and disappears after 1891. Its location in Bricklayer’s Hall is assumed from that building being labelled “school” on TWAS Deposited Plan 15403.

²⁶¹ Newcastle Town Council Reports 1850, pp. 17–20, 54–55.

²⁶² *PSAN I*, i, pp. 40–41. 1 August 1855.

²⁶³ Newcastle Town Council Reports 1854–5, p. 255. 24 October 1855.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 1855–1856, p. 139.

²⁶⁵ *PSAN I*, i, pp. 40–41 (1 August 1855); p. 43 (5 September 1855).

²⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 171 (6 August 1856); p. 173 (3 September 1856).

²⁶⁷ *PSAN 2*, i, pp. 3–4 (31 January 1883).

²⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 39–40, 44. Robert James Johnson (1832–92).

²⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 90–91 (31 October 1883).

²⁷⁰ This layout first appears on the 1st edition O.S. 1:500 (1859).

²⁷¹ Plan of Black Gate and District, January 1881. City Estates and Property Department, plan 17/62/2.

²⁷² These buildings do not appear on the CEPS plan above, but are on the 2nd ed. Ordnance Survey 1:500 (1896).

²⁷³ A halfpenny of 1862 was found within the walls of this structure.

²⁷⁴ *PSAN 4*, iv (1929–30), p. 41–2.

²⁷⁵ Plan by H. L. Honeyman, *Land in Castle Garth Newcastle upon Tyne*, dated 14 December 1939.

²⁷⁶ Heslop, op. cit., p. 457.

²⁷⁷ *Post-Medieval Archaeology 13* (1979), p. 157; AA 4, ii (1926), pp. 48–51.

²⁷⁸ Northumberland County Council Minutes, Proceedings etc. of Property and Sanitation Committee, 2 May 1901. Also TWAS T186/15403 (28 October 1905).

²⁷⁹ PSA Deeds Folder 1. Conveyance by James and Robert Spence to the Clerk of the Peace for Northumberland, 5 May 1862.

²⁸⁰ Ibid. Report of the Clerk of the Peace and County Valuer, 2 and 5 September 1861.

²⁸¹ 1st and 2nd ed. Ordnance Survey 1:500.

²⁸² TWAS Deposited Plans no. 18602.

²⁸³ TWAS Building Control Plan T.186/4434. 26 February 1872.

²⁸⁴ PSA Deeds. Plan to accompany conveyance by Walter DeLancy Wilson to Northumberland County Council.

²⁸⁵ NCL. Local Studies Section, Acc. no. 3982, neg. no. 21/9/87.

- ²⁸⁶ *PSAN* 4, v (1933), p. 6; *ibid.*, vi (1935).
- ²⁸⁷ These houses are shown on the 1st ed. O.S. but had been removed by the time of the second edition.
- ²⁸⁸ Pottery bird whistles are a common medieval find, for example L. A. S. Butler, "A Bird Whistle from Roche Castle, Carmarthenshire", in *Archaeology* 17 (1973), pp. 134–135, plate xxvii.
- ²⁸⁹ John C. Baker, *Sunderland Pottery* (1984), motto nos. 281 and 320.
- ²⁹⁰ Hew Singers & Co. were vinegar manufacturers in the Close from 1847 (White's Newcastle Directory) until at least 1886 (Ward's Newcastle, Gateshead and Sunderland Directory). Reid & Co. were wine and spirit merchants, trading from 53 Grey Street between 1869 (Ward's Directory), and 1886.
- ²⁹¹ Lloyd Edwards, "The Clay Tobacco-Pipes" in *Blackfriars*, pp. 105–120; J. E. Parsons, "The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco-Pipe in North East England", *Arch. Ael.* 4, XLII (1964), pp. 231–254.
- ²⁹² *Blackfriars*, p. 120.
- ²⁹³ J. E. Vaughan, pers. comm.
- ²⁹⁴ Michael G. Jarrett, "Makers of Clay Pipes recorded in North-Eastern England, II", *Arch. Ael.* 4, XLII (1964), p. 259, no. 31. Other examples come from Goat's Crag (Northumberland) and as far south as Cheshire.
- ²⁹⁵ R. J. Charleston "The Glass" in J. P. Allen, *Medieval and Post-Medieval Finds from Exeter, 1971–1980*, *Exeter Archaeological Reports: Vol. 3* (1984), p. 270.
- ²⁹⁶ G. E. Oakley and J. Hunter, "The Glass" in John H. Williams, *St. Peter's Street, Northampton. Excavations 1973–1976* (1979), pp. 296–302.
- ²⁹⁷ J. S. Daniels, *The Woodchester Glass House* (1950), pl. I.
- ²⁹⁸ Daniels (1950), *op. cit.*, pl. I.
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