# **EXCAVATIONS AT FETTER LANE, 1976**

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# INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

A small excavation at the rear of the now demolished St. Dunstan's House, 133-137 Fetter Lane, EC4 (TQ 31258124), near the City's boundary with Westminster, was carried out by the Inner London Archaeological Unit from mid-November to mid-December 1976 in advance of redevelopment of the site.

Observation after demolition of the late Victorian (built in 1887) St. Dunstan's House revealed that the extensive basements of this commercial structure had destroyed any evidence of earlier archaeological deposits along the Fetter Lane frontage of the site. Excavation was therefore confined to an area just west of St. Dunstan's House.

An initial trial trench was excavated with the aim of recovering evidence of medieval settlement in the City's western suburb in the vicinity of Fetter Lane, north of Fleet Street. Although no evidence of medieval settlement was obtained, it was decided to expand the trial trench when foundation walls were uncovered.

The trenches excavated by the Unit covered an area of c.42 sq. metres. It was not possible to extend further the excavated area due to surrounding redevelopment work, spoil heaps and thick concrete beneath the topsoil in one corner of the site. However, site watching of adjacent areas took place during the redevelopment.

Excavations exposed foundation walls and other structural features (Figs. 2, 3, 4) of the pre-Fire Chambers Nos. 16-17 (in block Nos. 14-17) of Clifford's Inn (Plates 1, 2, 3), an Inn of Chancery which had been affiliated with the Inner Temple from at least the late medieval period, <sup>1</sup> and possibly as early as the 14th century. Chambers Nos. 14-17, constructed *c*. 1663, <sup>2</sup> stood on the site until their demolition in the 1930s.<sup>3</sup>

Prior to the construction of these Chambers, the site appears on 16th and mid-17th century maps<sup>4</sup> as open ground, probably a garden. A layer of garden soil (F10) containing mainly 16th/17th century pottery sealed pits and ditches F4, F5 and F6, observed and recorded during redevelopment of the site. Deposits (F8) beneath this garden soil sealed an excavated ditch (F2) and a pit (F3). All these ditches and pits were dated to the 16th century. During redevelopment, a (?) possibly Roman ditch or pit (F7) was observed and recorded. Additional portions of the Clifford's Inn Chambers Nos. 14-17 were also observed during this site-watching.

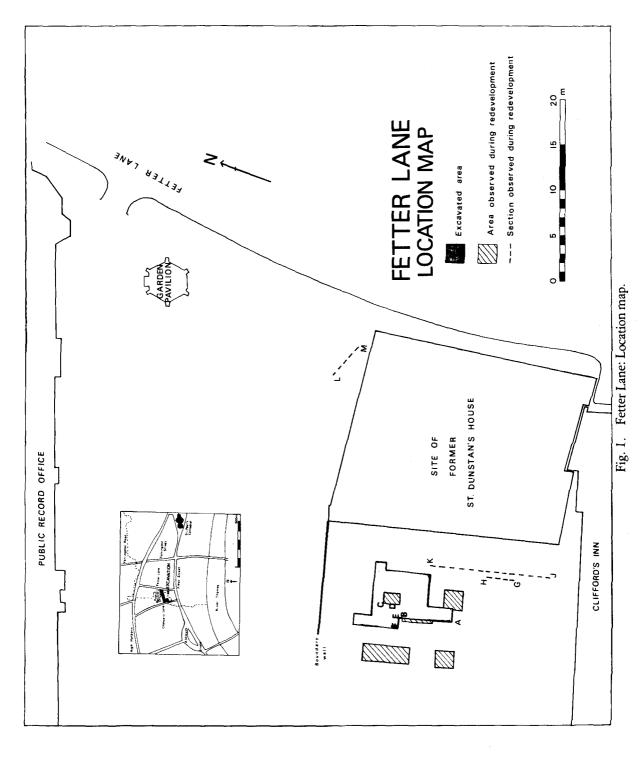
All unpublished plans and sections may be examined at the offices of the Inner London Archaeological Unit.

## DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

# THE LEGAL INNS

Following the Conquest, the Chancery, originally having mainly secretarial duties within the Royal household, continued for some time to be part of the King's household<sup>5</sup> and to travel with the Court. By the mid 13th century, the Chancellor's duties as secretary for





home and foreign affairs and minister of justice were expanded when the work of the Chancery was much increased by becoming the source of original writs, and by the adoption of the system of enrolments forming the Patent, Close and other chancery rolls. As its responsibilities and staff grew, the office of the Chancery was reorganised, and in 1260 the chancellor was made responsible for the maintenance of himself and his clerks as a separate household. This took the form of houses hired or taken over at certain centres during the King's progresses, which temporarily became inns of the King's clerks of chancery. At the beginning of the 14th century, however, the migrations of the Chancery from London became less frequent. As they had no fixed place in London in the first half of the 14th century, they occasionally made use of the churches of the Blackfriars, Whitefriars or St. Mary le Strand, Barking Chapel near the Tower, the 'Domus Conversorum' (the House of Converted Jews) in Chancery Lane, and the Temple. Most often they sat at Westminster, and by c. 1350 the office of the Chancery was fixed at Westminster Hall.<sup>6</sup>

Various types of Inns of Chancery then grew up, of which it is thought the most permanent were hired by Chancery clerks collectively and used as centres for legal education.<sup>7</sup> In the time of Edward I there certainly was a class of apprentices of the law, and the Crown desired the judges to exercise control over them. The first mention made of the Inns or 'hospitia' of the apprentices is in the late 13th or mid 14th century.<sup>8</sup>

Though the oldest records pertaining to the Inns of Court are now lost, the 'Black Books' of Lincoln's Inn date from 1442, and the Inn probably originated in the 14th century.<sup>9</sup> Gray's Inn and the Temple were probably established as Inns of Court during the same period.<sup>10</sup>

By the late 15th century, the Inns of Court numbered four (Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, Inner Temple and Middle Temple). Each of these had some 200 students, and were considered 'greater Inns', as opposed to the ten existing Inns of Chancery (the 'lesser Inns') with approximately 100 students each. The legal training provided by the Inns was considered to have a more practical emphasis than that at Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>11</sup> Certain of the Inns of Chancery were affiliated to specific Inns of Court, and were provided by them with readers to deliver lectures, but the precise nature of the control exercised by the 'greater Inns' over the Inns of Chancery does not seem to have necessarily been the same in all cases. It appears, however, to have been the practice for students to remain at an Inn of Chancery for a time, and then to go on to an Inn of Court.<sup>12</sup>

#### CLIFFORD'S INN

# HISTORY OF THE SITE AND THE INN

By 1292 Malcolm de Harley, attorney of Edward I, along with his clerks, occupied an Inn towards the south-west corner of Fetter Lane. De Harley was prominent as the King's escheator south of the Trent and as such was Keeper of the lands and possessions temporarily in the hands of the King. His Inn was located just north of the corner property of Robert de Bardelby, a leading attorney, Keeper of the Seal, and Chancery clerk.<sup>13</sup>

The earliest known reference to what is now Fetter Lane is its description in 1252 as 'Niwestrete'.<sup>14</sup> This is distinct from 'Le Newe Street' (now Chancery Lane), made from Holborn to Fleet Street in the late 12th century through the property of the Knights Templar.<sup>15</sup> Between 1282 and 1292 it became known as Faitours Lane' and

'Faytureslane'.<sup>16</sup> Later variants of the name include 'Faitereslane', 'Faitures Lane' and 'Faytores Lane' and by the reign of Elizabeth the common was 'Fewtar Lane'.<sup>17</sup> In 1603, Stowe commented that:

'Fewtar lane which stretcheth south into Fleetestreet by the east end of St. Dunstones church, and is so called of Fewters (or idle people) lying there, as in a way leading to Gardens: but the same is now of latter yeares on both sides builded through with many fayre houses.'<sup>18</sup>

Kingsford points out that Middle English 'faitor' meant 'imposter, cheat; especially a vagrant who shams illness'.<sup>19</sup>

An alternative suggestion for the origin of the street's name is based on the legal associations of the area, for by the mid 14th century legal Inns had been firmly established in London's western suburb.<sup>20</sup> It has been suggested that the presence of de Harley, the King's 'factor' (i.e. agent), may have been influential in the renaming of 'Niwestrete' (New Street) to 'Faitours Lane', as the words 'faitour' and 'fayture' were old French equivalents of 'factor'.<sup>21</sup> In 1618 Sir Edward Coke commented on the legal Inns in the vicinity:

'All these are not far distant from one another, and altogether do make the most famous Universitie for profession of law only, or of any one human Science that is in the world.'<sup>22</sup>

De Harley died insolvent in 1298, and as a debtor to the King his property was taken into the King's hands and entrusted to his nephew, John of Brittany, afterwards Earl of Richmond.<sup>23</sup> On 24 February, 1310, de Harley's 'messuage with appurtenances near the Church of S. Dunstan in the West, in the suburb of London'<sup>24</sup> was granted by Edward II to Robert de Clifford, distinguished soldier and a Justice in Eyre, Justice for the Forest north of the Trent, and Marshal of England.<sup>25</sup> The houses then became known as 'Clifford's Inn', and had entrances in Fetter Lane and in Fleet Street. Clifford died in 1314, and when his son Robert died in 1344, the latter's wife Isabel leased the Inn to the Apprentices of the Bench, who may have already been in occupation, for a rent of £10 yearly.<sup>26</sup> · Although the 'Ancient and Honourable Society of Clifford's Inn' was founded in 1381,<sup>27</sup> it was not until 1618 that the popular conception of the purpose of the site was actually formalised. In that year Francis de Clifford granted the Inn to the Ancients of the Society by explicitly devoting the deed for the property to the housing of legal practitioners and providing a centre for legal studies 'forever to continue and be employed as an Inn of Chancery for the furtherance of the Practicers and students of the Common Law'.<sup>28</sup>

In 1586, Clifford's Inn had 110 members in term time, a number exceeded only by Staple Inn and Barnards Inn. Amongst the eminent men who were members and students during the Tudor period were Sir Edward Coke, admitted in 1571 and then going on to the Inner Temple (to which Clifford's Inn was attached) in 1572, and John Selden, who came from Oxford to the Inn in 1602, before being admitted to the Inner Temple in 1604. The last admission from Clifford's Inn to the Inner Temple of which there is a record was in 1621.<sup>29</sup>

While in some cases the Inns of Court continued to send readers to lecture to the members of the Inns of Chancery until the 19th century, in other cases the practice died out as early as the late 17th century.<sup>30</sup> · A contemporary comment on the state of the Inns of Chancery in 1684 noted that 'being now almost totally filled by the inferior branch of the profession are neither commodious nor proper for the resort of gentlemen of any rank or figure; so that there are very rarely any young students entered at the Inns of Chancery'.<sup>31</sup> By the end of

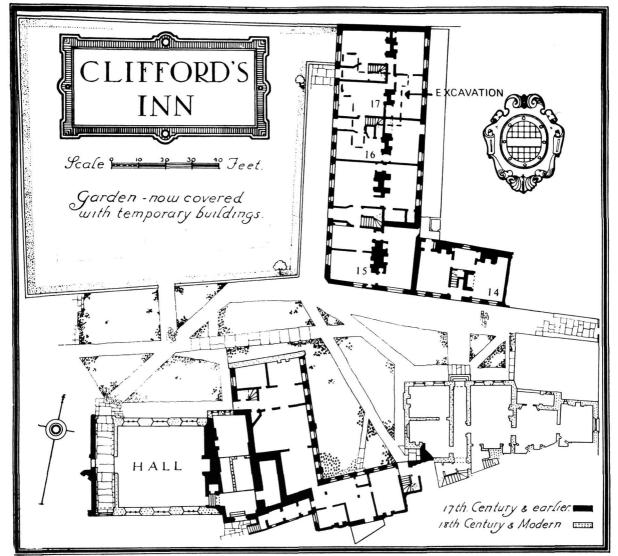


Plate 1. Plan of Clifford's Inn, 1929 (Chambers 14-17 numbered) (Copyright Royal Commission on Historical Monuments).





Plate 3. Clifford's Inn Chambers Nos. 14-17, looking north (Copyright Royal Commission on Historical Monuments).

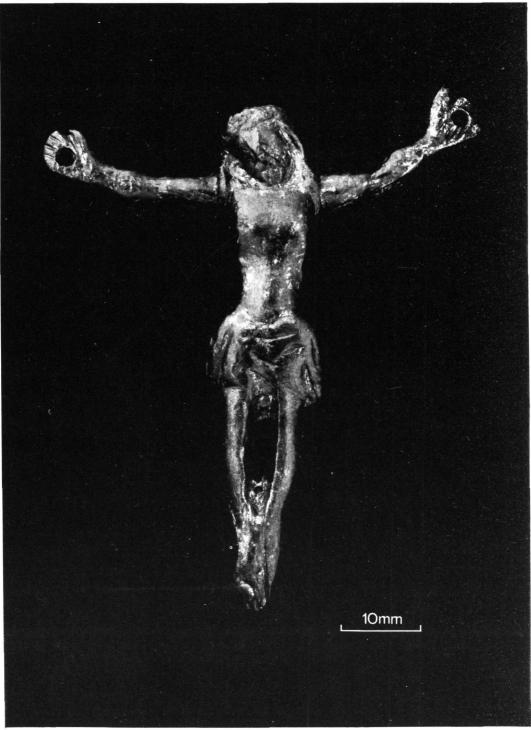


Plate 4. Fetter Lane: Bronze crucifix.

the 17th century, members of these Inns were chiefly attornies and solicitors<sup>32</sup> and the Societies of the Inns of Chancery were all eventually disbanded.<sup>33</sup> At the same time, the Inns of Court ceased to hold their previous position as educational institutions, and instead became associations of lawyers to whom was entrusted the selection of members of the Bar and its organisation and discipline.<sup>34</sup> In 1854 the Society of Clifford's Inn pointed out that the Incorporated Law Society had taken over the function of lectures and examinations.<sup>35</sup>

The Clifford's Inn Chambers were nevertheless sought after by both members and nonmembers. The chambers became popular with generations of journalists and literary men, including Samuel Butler, who for many years lived at No. 15 Clifford's Inn.<sup>36</sup>

In 1879, the Inn's connection with the Clifford family was terminated when the Duke of Devonshire agreed to sell his interest.<sup>37</sup> The number of members of the Inn had dwindled, but the ancient customs of the Society were maintained until 1885. By 1899 there were only 16 surviving members, and in 1902 the Society was dissolved.<sup>38</sup> The property was sold to William Willett, a London builder, in 1903 for £100,000.<sup>39</sup> As the 1618 conveyance of the freehold of Clifford's Inn provided for the site to be used for legal education, an action was brought to ascertain whether the Inn was the property of the members, or subject to a trust for charitable purposes. The Court held that the members were not entitled to the proceeds of the sale, and the money went instead to the Law Society and the Council for Legal Education.<sup>40</sup>

## THE BUILDINGS

No description more specific than the reference in 1310 to 'messuage with appurtenances near the Church of S. Dunstan in the West, in the suburb of London<sup>'41</sup> or in 1314 'tenement with a garden<sup>'42</sup> gives any details of the early structure (or structures) comprising Clifford's Inn.

Before demolition this century, the buildings of the Inn consisted of a Hall and blocks of chambers grouped around a garden and two courts (Pl. 1). The Hall, of medieval origin, was almost entirely rebuilt in 1767-8, incorporating parts of the earlier walling and a 14th century doorway. The oldest chambers surviving before their destruction in the 1930s were all of 17th century date, with Nos. 14-17 dating from *c*. 1663. Chambers Nos. 14-17 were of red brick with tile roofs, comprising three storeys with attics. They formed an L-shaped block, with No. 17 the northernmost chamber, No. 15 at the south and No. 14 at the east<sup>43</sup> (Plates 1, 2, 3). The first map indicating the distinctive L-shaped chambers Nos. 14-17 near to Fetter Lane is Hollar's plan of 1667. Prior to this date, the site of these chambers appears on Agas' plan of 1560-70 and Faithorne and Newcourt's of 1658, as an open area, probably a garden.

The Great Fire of 1666 spread westward only just across Fetter Lane on the north side of Fleet Street and apart from Chamber No. 13, Clifford's Inn was spared.<sup>44</sup> If No. 13 was, however, rebuilt soon after the Fire, that building may perhaps have been one of the three sets of chambers pulled down in 1830, when St. Dunstan's church was rebuilt slightly to the north of its previous location.<sup>45</sup> It is known that No. 13 was rebuilt in 1834.<sup>46</sup> Chamber No. 14 was either repaired or rebuilt in 1669,<sup>47</sup> and this may have been necessary as a result of damage during the Fire, as it was located a few yards to the north of No. 13.<sup>48</sup> Block 14-17 was repaired in 1782, and also had subsequent internal alterations.<sup>49</sup> After the Fire, Sir

Matthew Hall and other eminent judges sat in the Hall of the Inn to hear claims for compensation arising out of destruction of property.

Other repairs and additions were periodically made to the Inn over the centuries, and Maitland, in 1760 observed<sup>50</sup> that the Inn 'of late years is much enlarged in newe buildings'.

Subsequent to the 1903 sale of Clifford's Inn there were additional sales and demolitions, <sup>51</sup> and part of the Inn was purchased by H.M. Commissioner of Works with the intention of protecting the Public Record Office from fire risk. In 1934 the remaining portions of the Inn (including Chambers Nos. 14-17) were described as 'the best group of pre-Fire houses in the City'. <sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, in August 1934 the Inn was standing derelict awaiting demolition, <sup>53</sup> and certainly by 1937 none of the buildings of the Inn remained. <sup>54</sup>

# THE PRE-CLIFFORD'S INN CHAMBERS FEATURES (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4)

Natural gravel was reached at 14.73m O.D. but sloped down to 14.50m O.D. in portions of observed sections G-H and J-K.

Just above natural gravel lay a deposit of mottled yellow-grey sandy soil containing gravel (F1). The layer ranged in thickness from c. 0.20m to 0.45m and extended both across the excavated area and in sections (Fig. 1, sections G-H and J-K) observed during subsequent site-watching. The top of the deposit lay at a height of c. 15.10m O.D., but at the southern end of an observed section (J-K) it sloped down to 14.40m O.D. As the layer contained some 15th-16th century sherds, the balance of the pottery retrieved (13-14th century, and one Roman sherd) must be considered residual, although the earlier sherds were not particularly abraded. A small quantity of animal bones and a few fragments of unidentifiable charcoal also came from this deposit. While it was not possible to ascertain the mode of deposition of the layer, it may have been naturally lain as a result of localised flooding.

The top of the yellow-grey layer (F1) was cut into by a ditch, F2, and a pit, F3. F2 extended from the south-east of trench IV into the western section of trench III. The line of the ditch was not, however, apparent within trench III. The ditch (F2) was at least 4.20m long (E-W) and 0.60m wide at its easternmost point where it butt-ended. It widened out to 0.90m at the western end of trench IV. The ditch had been cut in at a height of 14.88m O.D. at its eastern limit, and 14.97m O.D. at the point where it was seen furthest west (see Fig. 3). It was only in trench IV that the ditch cut natural gravel as well as the yellow-grey layer (F1), to a depth of 14.66m O.D. at the east, and 14.62m O.D. at the west. The fact that there was no significant slope in the base of the ditch might suggest that it was a property boundary rather than a drainage ditch.

The fill (2a) of the ditch comprised light brown charcoal-flecked sandy soil with some gravel, to a depth of 0.22m at its eastern end, and 0.30m at the west. Burnt flint, Roman brick fragments, and a small quantity of animal bones were retrieved from the ditch (F2).

Cutting into ditch F2 from a height of 14.92m O.D. in trench IV and through the yellow-grey layer (F1) and natural for a total depth of 0.54m was an almost circular pit, F3, with steep sides and a flat bottom. It had a diameter of 1.10m. The fill, (3a), similar to that of 2a, contained a relatively large quantity of domestic animal bone refuse, and a single Roman sherd, which must be considered residual.

The following features, all observed in section (Fig. 1, sections G-H and/or J-K) during redevelopment, were also cut from the top of the yellow-grey layer (F1). All were cut through the layer, into the natural gravel, and were sealed by the layer above:

- A) (In section J-K): F4, a pit or ditch, at least 0.70m wide (N-S) was cut at the south by a modern retaining wall. The feature had a depth of 1.00m. The fill of F4 comprised (4a) a 0.06m layer of light brown clay, at the bottom of the feature, overlain by (4b) c. 0.70m of dark brown soil, containing a thin lens of yellowish-brown soil. No finds were retrieved.
- B) (In sections G-H and J-K): F5, a flat-bottomed ditch or pit with almost vertical sides. The feature was 2.30m wide (N-S), having a depth of 0.70m, with a homogeneous fill (5a) of dark brown soil with small stones. It contained a single residual sherd of pottery, of 12/13th century date.
- C) (In section G-H): F6, a U-shaped pit, 2.40m wide (N-S) with a depth of 1.25m. The fill comprised the following layers: the lowest layer (6a) was 0.04m of dark brown silt. This was

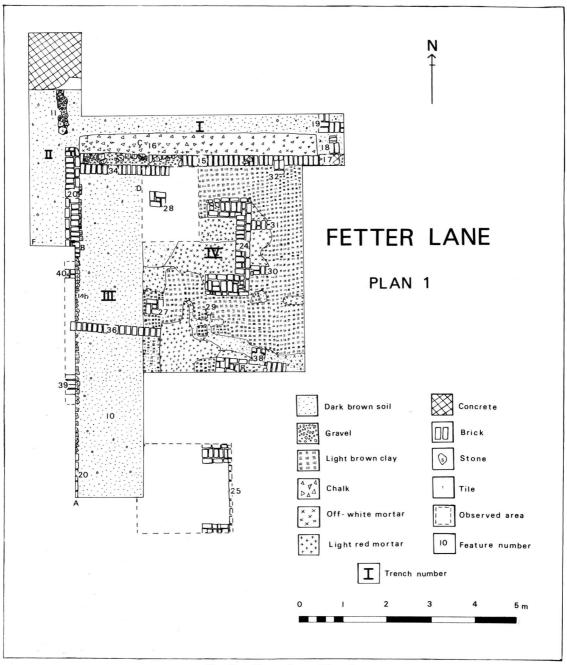
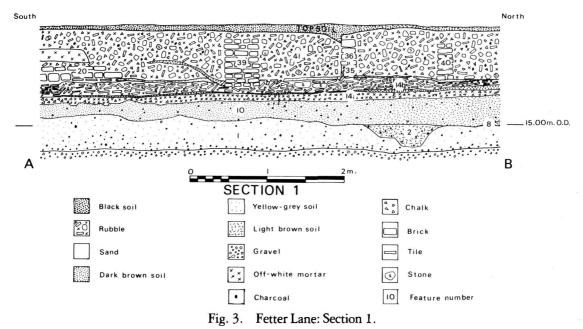


Fig. 2. Fetter Lane: Plan 1.

overlain by (6b) 0.20m of yellow sand with stones, containing a thin lens of dark brown silt. Above this was a deposit of 0.06m dark brown silt (6c). The layer above, (6d), consisted of 0.14m yellow-orange sand, overlain at its northern portion by a layer (6e) of 0.18m of midbrown sandy soil with stones. The next layer (6f) consisted of c. 0.60m of dark brown soil with charcoal fragments, flint, and a few sherds of 12/13th century pottery. Within 6f were lenses of dark soil (6g, 6h, 6j) each a few centimetres thick, which contained residual 12/13th century pottery. The uppermost portion of the pit (6k) comprised c. 0.30m brown soil with yellow clay and flint, and contained one residual sherd of late Roman pottery.

Although the small quantity of pottery retrieved from observed pits/ditches F4, F5, F6 and the excavated ditch F2 and pit F3 is, with the exception of the Roman sherd from 6k, of 12/13th century date, in view of the 15/16th century pottery from the yellow-grey layer (F1) which these features cut, these pits/ditches must on stratigraphical grounds, be of at least 16th century date, and the earlier pottery residual.

FETTER LANE



In addition, a possible ditch (F7) was observed during machining operations for redevelopment in a section (L-M)c. 23.00m to the north-east of the excavated area of the site. The ditch, 3.00m wide, ran in a NE-SW direction, and had irregular sides tapering to a flat bottom. Although it cut the natural gravel at a height of 14.42m O.D., the upper part of the feature was badly disturbed by modern deposits and therefore it is likely that it had, in fact, been cut in from a still higher level. The bottom of the ditch was at a level of 13.42m O.D.

The feature contained the following layers of fill: (7a) silt and gravel 0.04m thick, (7b) 0.20m of orange gravel. (An early Roman flagon neck, the only pottery from F7, was found within this gravel.), (7c) greyish silt with a depth of 0.30m, (7d) c. 0.10m of stained orange gravel, (7e) 0.06m of ironstained orange sand sealed 7c, (7f) a layer of 0.30m of greyish gravel, overlain by (7g), a 0.16m deposit of iron-stained light beige sand, sealed by (7h) 0.08m of dirty orange gravel, (7j) c. 0.50m of ironstained grey silty clay was sealed by (7k), a c. 0.40m layer of light grey iron-stained sandy clay. 7m was 0.10m of dark brown soil in the upper eastern part of the section.

Due to the modern disturbance, and the distance from the excavated trenches, it was not possible to tie in the feature with other deposits above natural levels on the site. The only dating evidence from the feature was the Roman sherd from 7b at the bottom of the ditch. There was no evidence to contradict a Roman date. However other features produced Roman pottery but were stratigraphically dated to the 16th century, and this may also be the case here.

Portions of the yellow-grey layer (F1), and ditch F2 and pit F3 were sealed by a layer of light brown soil (F8), ranging from 0.04m to a maximum thickness of 0.35m in parts of trench IV. This layer did not extend across the site since it was only noted at the west and south of trench II (see Fig. 4, section 3), though a thin lens continued at the western edge of trench III (see Fig. 3) and in trench IV. It was not noted in the north-west portion of trench IV and it did not appear to have been cut out by later features. The layer contained a few sherds of 16th century pottery, and one residual fragment, possibly of a loom weight, which could not be more closely dated than late Roman or early medieval.

At the south end of trench IV the light brown soil (F8) was cut into by a possible posthole (F9) from a height of 15.21 m O.D. Only a portion of the posthole was exposed in the trench, where it continued into the section. The sides sloped steeply to a flat bottom. The dimensions of the exposed portion were 0.23 m N-S by 0.18 m E-W, with a depth of 0.52 m. The fill, (9a), consisted of dark sandy loam, containing some charcoal flecks, gravel and brick flecks. No pottery was found. Only one identifiable bone came from the feature.

Sealing F9 and F4, F5, F6 and layers F8 and F1 was a layer of homogeneous dark brown soil containing some gravel (F10). It was 0.60-0.70m thick and extended across the excavated trenches and the observed areas. The majority of the pottery from this layer was of 16th-17th century date, with the remainder being residual medieval material. A late 15th or 16th century bronze crucifix (Pl. 4) was found towards the top of this layer, in trench I. This soil also contained almost two-thirds of all the animal bone from the site, snail shells, and a few fish bones of salt-water species.

The earliest extant maps of the area, i.e. Agas 1560-70 and Braun and Hogenberg 1572, indicate that the site was not at that time built upon, and appears to have been used as a garden prior to the construction of Clifford's Inn Chambers Nos. 14-17, an L-shaped structure which is first seen on Hollar's map of 1667. The environmental evidence suggested the soil to have been either garden or plough soil. As plough marks were not noted, it seems reasonable to assume that the areas was a garden, as suggested by these documentary sources.

Cutting into the dark brown soil (F10) was a narrow (0.25m at the south, 0.17m at the north section) rubble foundation wall (F11), constructed of limestone, large pieces of chalk, brick and tile fragments set in loose sandy mortar; the foundation wall survived only to a maximum height of c. 0.09m. It retained a length of 1.02m (N-S) at the northern end of trench II. As the stones were not tightly packed, it could not be determined with certainty whether or not the feature continued into the section. If, however, it did extend further north, it may have served as a support for a wooden fence, no traces of which survived. The surviving top of the feature was at c. 15.34m O.D.

## THE BUILDING PHASE (Figs. 2, 3, 4)

## (CLIFFORD'S INN CHAMBERS NOS. 14-17)

The earliest features relating to the erection of the Chambers were two construction trenches, F12 and F14.

F12 cut into the dark brown soil (F10) at a height of 15.73m O.D., retaining a length of 5.46m in an E-W direction along the southern portion of trench I, and a depth of c. 0.68m. A section across the feature revealed its width to be c. 0.50m.

Before F12 was back-filled, a shallow depression with sloping sides, F13, was cut into the bottom of F12 at its junction with construction trench F14, for a total depth of 0.10m. The almost circular feature measured 0.56m E-W by 0.50m N-S. The depression was then packed with large stones. Due to its position at the base of the junction of construction trenches F12 and F14, its function was probably for additional support for foundations of the superstructure. The stone-packed support was overlain by F12's rubble fill, (12a), comprising crushed chalk, mortar, stones, red-brick fragments, and tile fragments. The latter were mainly confined to the upper 0.25m of the construction trench.



F14 abutted the western edge of F12 and retained a length of 8.10m N-S, where it appeared to continue into the southern section of trench III. Its width was c. 0.50m, and its depth c. 0.50m. The feature cut into the dark brown soil (F10) from the same height (i.e. 15.73m O.D.) as F12. The fill of F14 consisted of two distinct layers, the bottom 0.25m (14a) being crushed chalk and mortar, with a few brick and tile fragments, while the upper portion (14b) was rubble comprising a concentration of tile fragments in mortar with a few large stones and incorporating a thin lens (0.02-0.04m) of black soil. A small amount of 16th century and residual medieval sherds, and a few animal bones, were contained within the upper portion of the feature.

Overlying fill 12a was a one-course red-brick foundation wall (F15) with a tile course above. F15 was 5.46m long (E-W) and 0.24m wide (N-S). Traces of off-white and light red mortar survived on the surface of some of the tiles. Running E-W immediately adjacent to F15 at the north for the length of F15 was a layer of crushed chalk F16, 0.17m thick and 0.50m wide, which cut into the dark brown soil (F10) and was covered with mortar in patches. The chalk might have served as make-up for an overlying structural feature which did not survive.

At the south-east end of trench I was a slab of concrete, F17, set in mortar. The feature measured 0.46m long (E-W) by 0.26m wide (N-S) and was 0.06m thick. It was cut in from the same height as foundation wall F15, and appeared to have been associated with that feature.

Abutting F17 at the north was brickwork F18, of which three courses of red-brick remained. Brickwork F19, just north of F18, comprised fourteen courses of red-brick, and extended into the north and east sections of the trench. As the thick grey mortar bonding of F18 was considerably different in colour and texture from that of the other structural features, it is possible that this was a later alteration to the Chambers. The function of F18 and F19 could not be determined.

Abutting foundation wall F15 at its western end was a brick foundation wall F20, which overlay foundation trench F14's fill 14b, F20 survived to a length of 2.30m (N-S) along the south-eastern edge of trench II, and had a width of c. 0.30m (E-W). A large block of Reigate stone formed a cornerstone at its northern end. Three courses of red-brick remained towards this end, while only two survived further south in the trench. F20 continued at the south-west end of trench III for a length of 1.06m (N-S) and continued south into the section. It retained two courses of brick. In some places wall F20 overlay a tile course, while in others a tile course was incorporated between the bottom two courses of brick. The length of wall intervening between the northern and southern stretches of wall F20 had been cut by later structural features F36 (see p. 84), F39 and F40. F39 comprised nine courses of brick and measured 0.46m wide (N-S) and extended in an E-W direction for a minimum of 0.22m, where it further continued under the section, F40 was a 0.22m square brick 'pedestal' consisting of seven courses of brick.

Cutting into the dark brown soil (F10) from a height of 15.65m O.D. in trench IV were two construction trenches, (F21 and F22), for the north and south 'arms', respectively, of a fireplace, (F24), constructed of eight courses of red brick. These trenches were 0.52m wide (N-S), with light brown clay linings 0.02m thick. The trenches were 0.15m deep, which was sufficient to accommodate the bottom course of bricks. The construction trench (F23) for the main body of the fireplace was unlined. The length (N-S) of the fireplace was 2.10m, with footings of two courses of brick extending out another 0.10m at each of the north and south edges. The arms of the fireplace extended out 0.70m to the west.

A portion of what appeared to be an identical fireplace (F25) was observed during redevelopment c. 3.50m to the south of F24, on the same alignment. No traces of burning were observed on either fireplace.

At the southern edge of trench IV, the soil (F10) was cut by a foundation trench (F37) thinly lined with mortar. The trench contained a structural feature, (F38). The feature was built mainly of three courses of red brick, with a one course brick footing around its base. The exposed portion of brickwork measured 1.65m E-W, and its width before continuing into the south section was 0.35m at the west, and 0.25m at the east. It was not possible to identify its function.

Further west in trench IV, the top of the dark brown soil (F10) was cut by a construction trench (F26) for a 0.35 m square brick 'pedestal', (F27), with four courses of brick surviving. The trench was lined with a thin layer of light brown clay, and filled with dark soil, clay and mortar to a maximum

depth of 0.13 m at its centre. One 16th century sherd and a few animal bones were contained within this make-up. A similarly constructed 'pedestal' (F28) was observed *c*. 2.10 m further to the north during redevelopment work.

Above the dark brown soil (F10) in trench IV was a layer of light brown clay overlain by offwhite and light red mortar, (F29), which together retained a thickness of 0.015m to 0.03m. The northern edge of this surface abutted the southern edge of wall F15, but did not overlie it. At the east, it continued into the section. F29 went at least as far south as the southern section of trench IV, but only as far west as the western edge of trench IV. In approximately half the area of the trench the mortar was worn away, and in some spots not even the clay remained. While it seems likely that the surface would have continued west to wall F20, no trace of it remained that far west. Its absence there may be connected with the later alterations made in this area. A relatively large quantity of sherds, all of 16th century date, and a small amount of animal bone came from this feature. The clay and mortar were probably make-up for a floor, originally constructed of brick or tile. A surface similar to this feature was observed in sections G-H and J-K during site-watching subsequent to excavation.

F29 was overlain by the following features:

- A) Two Narrow 'buttresses', (F30 and F31), abutted on to the eastern face of fireplace F24. Each had a length (E-W) of 0.50m, and a width (N-S) of 0.20m and comprised seven courses of redbrick. F30 and F31 were 0.80m apart. They had no construction trenches, and lay directly on F29.
- B) Near the north-east corner of trench IV, a narrow brick 'pedestal', (F32), consisting of four courses of brick and measuring 0.30m N-S by 0.22m E-W, extended slightly into trench I, where it rested partially on the southern edge of foundation wall F15.
- C) The rubble make-up, (F33), for a brick wall, (F34), overlay F29 at the north-west corner of trench IV. The rubble comprised c. 0.09m of mortar, tile and chalk fragments and small stones, and contained a few animal bones. A single, residual sherd of 12/13th-century pottery came from this rubble. F33 and F34 spanned the width of trench III and continued along the northern edge of trench IV for a total length (E-W) of 2.04m. Its width was 0.22m (N-S). While five courses of the wall survived in trench III, only three courses remained in trench IV.
- D) F36, a four course brick wall cutting foundation wall F20, rested on 0.17m of rubble make-up (F35), which overlay F29 towards the south-west corner of trench IV and spanned the width of trench III. F36 retained a total length (E-W) of 2.10m and a width (N-S) of 0.22m. Two sherds of late 16th/early 17th-century pottery came from within the mortar bonding of the feature.

Overlying the exavated and observed areas was a layer of rubble (F41), relating to the demolition of the Chambers in the 1930s.<sup>55</sup> The layer was 0.45-0.70m thick. The rubble comprised mortar, tile and brick fragments, stone, crushed chalk and charcoal. The rubble contained a quantity of 16th/17th-century pottery and candlesticks, 17th-century clay pipes, residual material, and 20th-century pottery.

## DISCUSSION

Victorian basements at the Fetter Lane frontage of the site removed any archaeological evidence which may have been present there. Excavation and observation of adjacent areas, however, yielded a number of features and layers which pre-dated the *c.* 1663 erection of Clifford's Inn Chambers Nos. 14-17.

The few Roman sherds from the site were all found in residual contexts, with the possible exception of the flagon neck from ditch F7. The ditch was observed at a distance from the excavated area during redevelopment of the site. Its upper portion was disturbed by modern deposits, and as a result it was not possible to tie it in with levels on the site above natural gravel.

It is clear from documentary sources<sup>56</sup> that the City's western suburb in the environs of Fetter Lane was occupied during the medieval period, and the early building or buildings of Clifford's Inn would have been located in the immediate vicinity of the site.<sup>57</sup> Although a small quantity of medieval sherds was retrieved, all must be considered residual. In the

absence of medieval features at the site, it must be assumed that nearby intensive activity during the period did not extend to the small excavated and observed areas.

Agas' map of 1560-70, Braun and Hogenberg's of 1572, and Faithorne and Newcourt's of 1658 show that the site was not yet built upon. Excavation revealed a layer of garden soil, containing pottery of mainly 16th-17th century date. The surfaces of 16th century layers beneath this soil had been cut into by several features which contained residual material.

Several structural features were found during excavation and site-watching. Late 19th and early 20th century Ordnance Survey maps indicate that an L-shaped structure, Chambers Nos. 14-17 of Clifford's Inn, stood on the site. The earliest extant plan showing these chambers is Hollar's map of 1667. By 1937, the structure had been demolished. 58

A survey of Clifford's Inn<sup>59</sup> a few years prior to its demolition illustrated and described the standing buildings as they were at the time (Pl. 1). The position of the Unit's trenches has been superimposed on this plan (with dotted lines) and indicates that the excavated area was towards the northern end of the L-shaped structure, mainly within Chamber No. 17, and extended southward into Chamber No. 16.

Of the structural features shown on this plan (Pl. 1), the southern fireplace in Chamber No. 17 was excavated, and a portion of that in No. 16 was observed. Structural features of the Chambers' foundations not illustrated on the plan were also excavated and observed, and examples of alterations to the original structure of the Chambers were noted.

#### NOTES

- 1. W. S. Holdsworth A History of English Law 2 (London 1923) 498.
- 2. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London 4 (London 1929) 157-8.
- 3. The Daily Telegraph (29/8/34) London County Council map of 1937, a revised version of the 1912 O.S. map, indicates that the structure had been torn down.
- 4. Braun and Hogenberg's map of 1572, Agas' map published 1633 (but probably based on a map of the 1550s), and Faithorne and Newcourt's of 1658.
- 5. W. S. Holdsworth A History of English Law 1 (London 1956) 37.
- 6. W. Page 'History of Clifford's Inn' (2 Oct. 1920) Clifford's Inn: Particulars, Plan and Conditions of Sale (1921) 16.
- 7. Ibid 17.
- 8. Holdsworth op. cit. (in note 1) 495.
- 9. Ibid 494, 496.
- 10. Holdsworth op. cit. (in note 1) 501; W. R. Douthwaite Gray's Inn, Its History and Associations (London 1886) 19.
- 11. Holdsworth op. cit. (in note 1) 494.
- 12. Ibid 498.
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- 14. Ibid 956.
- 15. Ibid 1229, 1520.
- 16. Ibid 960.
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- 20. W. G. Bell Fleet Street in Seven Centuries (London 1912) 84.

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- 22. Sir F. Pollock ed. The Law Reports, Cases Determined in Chancery Division 2 (London 1900) 518; Holdsworth op. cit. (in note 1) 494 n. 2.
- 23. Williams op cit. (in note 13) 967.
- 24. Ibid 1007 25. Ibid 967-8, 1007.
- 26. Ibid 970.
- 27. C. M. Hay-Edwards History of Clifford's Inn (London 1912) 59.
- 28. Williams op. cit. (in note 13) 973-5.
- 29. Page op. cit. (in note 6) 19.
- 30. Holdsworth op. cit. (in note 1) 43.
- 31. Ibid 42.
- 32. Ibid 43.
- 33. *Ibid* 46. 34. *Ibid* 15.
- 35. Ibid 44.
- 36. Bell op. cit. (in note 20) 521.
- 37. P. Norman 'Disappearing London' London Topog. Rec. 13 (1923) 73.
- 38. Page op. cit. (in note 6) 20.
- 39. Bell op. cit. (in note 20) 520.
- 40. Holdsworth op. cit. (in note 1) 45.
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   RCHM loc. cit. (in note 2); Fox, Burnett and Baddeley
- Clifford's Inn: Particulars, Plan and Conditions of Sale (1921).
- 44. Bell op. cit. (in note 20) 350.
  45. Hay-Edwards op. cit. (in note 27) 151.
- W. G. Bell 'Clifford's Inn Passes' The Connoisseur 46. 94 (1934) 293-9.
- 47. RCHM op. cit. (in note 2) 157.
- 48. Lon. Topog. Rec. op. cit. (in note 37)72.
- 49. RCHM loc. cit. (in note 47).

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- 50. W. Maitland The History and Survey of London 2 (London 1760) 961.
- Lon. Topog. Rec. loc. cit. (in note 48).
   Bell loc. cit. (in note 46).

- The Daily Telegraph loc. cit. (in note 3).
   London County Council map of 1937, a revision of 1912 O.S. map.
- 55. The Daily Telegraph loc. cit. (in note 3).
- 56. Williams op. cit. (in note 13).
- 57. Williams loc. cit. (in note 24).
- The Daily Telegraph loc. cit. (in note 3). L.C.C. map 58. loc. cit. (in note 3).
- 59. RCHM loc. cit. (in note 2).

# THE FINDS

#### THE POTTERY

#### BY ELIZABETH PLATTS

## INTRODUCTION

The site produced 918 sherds of pottery and fragments of brick and tile, ranging from early Roman to 20th century. The pottery can be generally grouped into four main date ranges: a few sherds from the Roman period, approximately 33 sherds of early medieval pottery (late 12th/early 13th century) and some sherds from later medieval periods, the vast majority coming from the 16th and 17th centuries, and a small number of sherds of the 20th century. The small quantity of Roman and medieval pottery suggests that there was no intensive activity during those periods on the site and that, as the documentary evidence suggests (p. 77), it was not until the 17th century that the site was actually developed. While the 17th century material appears to be ordinary rubbish, the quantity is not great and no actual rubbish pits were found. The absence of 18th and 19th century rubbish suggests merely that other arrangements were made for refuse disposal, and the few 20th century sherds might be associated with the demolition known to have taken place in the 1930s.

The distribution of the material throughout the site may be summarised as follows:

The few Roman sherds found in F2 (fill 2a), 3 (fill 3a), and 6k i.e. pits and ditches, although not much abraded must be considered residual, as the ditches and pits cut the yellow-grey layer (F1) from which 15th and 16th century Surrey/Hampshire ware sherds, 16th century red wares, a few 13th and 14th century sherds and a single Roman sherd were retrieved. The same applies to the 33 medieval (12th/13th century) sherds from pits and ditches F5 (fill 5a) and F6 (fill 6f, g, h, j) which also cut the layer. It could be argued, however, that there was some use of the area during those periods (Roman and early medieval); the sherds are not particularly abraded, and in the case of the 12th/13th century material the sherds are comparatively large (average area 20 sq. cm) and it seems unlikely that the material had travelled far. The layer of garden soil (F10) contained mainly late 16th and early 17th century pottery, and some sherds of late 15th and early 16th century material and earlier residual medieval sherds. The demolition layer above (F41) included a quantity of 16th and 17th century pottery, residual medieval material, 17th century clay pipes, and 20th century pottery.

On the whole the sherds were small (a number very small) and the profiles of few vessels could be reconstructed. The range of vessels encompasses cooking pots, jugs and table-ware, and perhaps reflects the greater affluance in a site so near the City of London compared with a more suburban or a rural one. No notable omissions in the range have been observed. The large number of candlesticks (p. 87) may simply be coincidental.

All the finds are lodged at the Inner London Archaeological Unit's office at Imex House, 42 Theobalds Road, London WC1X 8NW and may be consulted there.

#### THE ROMAN POTTERY

During the course of the excavation and site watching, four sherds of Roman pottery and three fragments of Roman brick were found, from F1, 2 (fill 2a), 3 (fill 3a), 6k and 7b.

The pottery consisted of: a flagon neck (F7b, Fig. 5, No. 1) in a buff sandy ware, probably made at Brockley Hill (Castle and Warbis 1973, 106) and therefore dating up to AD 160; a colour-coated base (F1 not illustrated) probably Nene Valley ware and 3rd century AD in date; a small colour-coated body sherd (F6k not illustrated) possibly from Colchester and of similar date to the colour-coated base; a small thick coarse sherd from a cooking pot (F3a, not illustrated) probably of early date.

The brick fragments, though small, are of a thickness to suggest that they are bricks from a bonding course and not roof tiles.

All the material is somewhat abraded.

#### THE MEDIEVAL POTTERY

All the sherds of medieval pottery were residual, and with the exception of those from F5, 5a and 6 mentioned below, were single featureless sherds of 13th and 14th century date, including examples of 'West Kent' and early 'Surrey/Hampshire' wares. The only assemblages, 33 sherds, were found in F5, 5a and F6, representing eight vessels (cooking pots and one jug) all dating from the late 12th/early 13th century i.e. earlier than the rest of the medieval material. Only one rim (Fig. 5, No. 2) was found in this group and three (sagging) bases, the rest being body sherds. The majority of sherds, reduced and quartz-gritted, are similar in fabric to the south Hertfordshire wares (Orton 1977, 80). The calcite-gritted sherds (four sherds) are of a hard consistency and therefore can be dated comparatively late in the long occurrence of this ware, and examples (seven sherds) of the buff very sandy ware frequently found in London contexts and thought to be manufactured in the vicinity also suggest a late 12th/early 13th century date.

The single glazed sherd, a reduced coarse sandy fabric covered on the exterior surface with white slip and mottled green glaze, comes from a jug (possibly conical in shape) of 13th century date.

From F8 a fragment of a possible loom weight was found (not illustrated). It has not been possible to date it more closely than late Roman or early medieval.

#### POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY

Well over half the material recovered from the excavation was post-medieval. A large number of vessels was apparent, but in almost all cases only represented by a single sherd. There are comparatively few examples of imported pottery, the most notable being two sherds from a 17th century Frechen bellarmine from F41. The bricks recovered all appear to be of 17th century date. The only notable small find is the bronze crucifix.

#### **RED WARES**

The red earthenware found was mostly in the form of small sherds of cooking pots and large storage vessels. Some of the vessels had the same heavy thumbing under the rim (F41, Fig. 5, No. 13) found in Woolwich ware and probably made at other centres near London at the end of the 16th and during the 17th centuries.

## SURREY/HAMPSHIRE BORDER WARES

While a few sherds were found dating from the late 15th/early 16th century, the vast majority dated from the late 16th and 17th centuries. The vessels, represented by small sherds, included jugs, plates and platters, pancheons, pipkins and others. A number of small sherds (none illustratable) were found from jugs of the Inns of Court type (Matthews and Green 1969, 12, No. 5) as might be expected from such a location.

#### THE CANDLESTICKS

An interesting aspect of the finds from this excavation has been the high proportion of ceramic candlestick fragments (mostly from the layer of demolition rubble (F41) and also from unstratified layers: Fig. 5, Nos. 3-11).

The candlesticks came from several different pottery sources, but predominantly from the kilns of the Surrey/Hampshire borders. It has not been possible to ascribe them to any particular pottery, although it can be said that a number closely resemble those made at Cove (Haslam 1975, 164-188), though no definite fragments of the elaborate triple-tiered version were found. The types include both the pedestal and the flat-bed candlesticks, though many more of the former.

It is interesting to note that the original pedestal shape was known to be made from the middle of the 16th century and joined, though not superseded, by the flat-bed version from the beginning of the 17th century (Holling 1971, 81). The flat-bed appears to lose favour with potters from the middle of the

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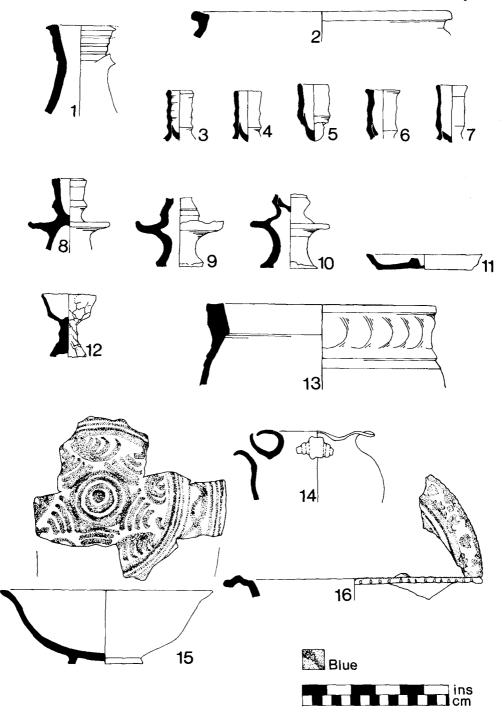


Fig. 5. Fetter Lane: Roman (No. 1), medieval (No. 2) and post-medieval (Nos. 3-16) pottery (1/4).

17th century and the pedestal candlestick resumes its prominence. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether this group might date from an early stage of the flat-bed floruit or from a period afterwards. There is at present no way of telling how long a circulation these objects might enjoy but it seems likely that any date up to at least 50 years after manufacture is probable for discard.

Although a few examples show signs of burning, it might well be after fracture, and on the whole the candlesticks show little sign of wear. The studious occupation of the residents might explain the need for extra illumination (p. 76).

Also to be noted is the pedestal vessel (F41, Fig. 5, No. 12) found in very poor condition. The fabric, a cream fairly fine one, shows stress marks and fractures spiralling down and only one small portion of a yellow lead glaze remains. Manufacturing faults like this have been found on pottery made at Cove. The vessel, obviously too small for use as a chalice, has been suggested to be a lamp.

#### THE TIN-GLAZE POTTERY

A small proportion of the sherds from the garden soil (F10) and the demolition layer (F41) were tin-glazed pottery, mostly dating from the first half of the 17th century. Several vessels were represented, including bowls, platters and plates, a mug and a vase (F41, Fig. 5, No. 14). The majority of pieces were almost certainly made at the London tin-glaze potteries, at Southwark and later at Lambeth, though the small size of the individual sherds with the corresponding small amount of decoration makes positive attribution difficult. Of more doubtful provenance is a small part of a straight-sided manganese-sponged mug (F41 not illustrated) and a platter with frilled edges and domed decoration on its flanged rim (F41, Fig. 5, No. 16). Similar examples to the latter have been reported from the Ipswich area (unpubl.) and it has been suggested that they might come from the first tin-glaze pottery set up in this country.

The rest of the material covers the range of decoration available during the 17th century. The bowl (F41, Fig. 5, No. 15) is the most complete vessel retrieved: its style of decoration appears on the earliest Dutch tin-glaze imports until at least the early 18th century. Also of interest is the rim sherd with spout and knob (F41, Fig. 5, No. 14), which almost certainly comes from a flower vase; it bears similarities to a decorated drug jar.

## THE CLAY PIPES

The clay pipe fragments were virtually all retrieved from the demolition layer (F41), except for five examples from F10. They all date from the 17th century, adding to the evidence of an intensive activity, for example building, on the site from about the middle of that century. The total number of pipe fragments found was 110.

There are a few examples from the beginning of the 17th century — four of SG4 (Oswald 1975, 39&41) but the majority, of SG7 and SG17, can be placed in the date range of 1640 to 1680. None of the pipes is marked in any way.

#### SMALL FINDS

#### THE CRUCIFIX

#### BY JOHN CHERRY

The bronze crucifix (from F10, Pl. 4) which is 7.1cm high may be dated to the late 15th or 16th century. The crucifix in cast bronze is very worn and has engraving on the hands, feet and loin cloth. The hands and left arm are raised. The head, with shoulder-length hair, falls on to the right shoulder and the head may possibly have borne a crown of thorns. The loin cloth is short and the feet are placed one above the other. The crucifix was secured by three rivets, since a bronze rivet through the feet remains and drilled holes in the hands indicate the position of the other two. The general type of this crucifix is illustated by Thoby (1959) by a number of examples dating from the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century but the detail is not sufficiently well preserved on this example to draw exact parallels. This bronze crucifix was probably attached to a cross and Nos. 345, and 379-382 in this work are comparable late 15th or early 16th century bronze crucifixes attached to crosses.

#### THE ANIMAL BONES

#### BY ALISON LOCKER

A small group of animal bones was retrieved from the site. The following species were found: cattle (Bos sp.) 85 bones, sheep (Ovis sp.) 153, pig (Sus sp.) 6, hare (Lepus sp.) 1, rabbit (Oryctolagus cuniculus) 7, domestic fowl (Gallus sp.) 7, goose (Anser sp.) 1, raven (Corvus corax) 1, oyster (Ostrea edulis) 1, unidentifiable fragments 119, burnt bone 1.

As the total number of bones was so small, it is only possible to say that this probably represents food debris, as the majority of the bone came from the garden soil (F10). Sheep is the most numerous species, and butchery was observed on both cattle and sheep.

Fish bones were receovered from two features, F1 and F10. The following species were identified: cod (*Gadus morbua*) 1 bone, bib (*Trisopterus luscus*) 1, haddock (*Melanogrammus aeglefinus*) 1, conger eel (*Conger conger*) 1, also 2 vertebral centra of a gadoid (i.e. of the cod family) and the vertebral centrum of a flatfish which were unidentifiable to species. The above can all be eaten, and are all gadoids except conger eel and flatfish. All are found in deep sea conditions.

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