

# Post-medieval development and the local tobacco pipe industry in the late 18th/early 19th century: excavations at 5–7 Giltspur Street, City of London

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## Introduction

This is the second of two reports covering the more significant findings of MOLA fieldwork at 5–7 Giltspur Street, City of London, EC1 (Fig 1).<sup>1</sup> This article summarises the post-medieval redevelopment of a former parish burial ground and examines two significant groups of late 18th-/early 19th-century clay tobacco pipes which throw light on aspects of an important London industry. The previous article focused

on the medieval and early post-medieval burial ground on the north side of the church of St Sepulchre without Newgate<sup>2</sup> and also provides background on the circumstances of excavation and the site's position in relation to Roman and medieval London. The full site archive is deposited under the site code GSP08.<sup>3</sup>

## Historical background

The church of St Sepulchre, c. 20m to the south of the site (Fig 1), was rebuilt in the mid-15th century. Burial grounds lay to its south and north and the northern boundary of the north burial ground ran through the main excavation area.<sup>4</sup> By the 16th century, the area surrounding the site had become built up, with development along Cock Lane (*Coklane/Cockeslane*) to the north and Giltspur Street (*Rennerstrete*) to the south-east,<sup>5</sup> although the earliest maps are too schematic to allow comment on arrangements on the site itself.

The Great Fire of London, which burnt out St Sepulchre's church,<sup>6</sup> destroyed buildings as far north as Pye Corner (now the north end of Giltspur Street). The post-1666 rebuilding is depicted on Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 (Fig 2) which shows a densely built-up area, with the site area surrounded by properties fronting onto Giltspur Street to the south-east, an alley leading from St Sepulchre's to Cock Lane (shown on later maps as Red Lion Court) to the west, and buildings fronting an alley running back from Giltspur Street to the north-west. The latter could be Horseshoe Alley, described by Strype as 'long, narrow,

and but indifferent'.<sup>7</sup> St Sepulchre's churchyard is clearly marked to the north and south of the church.

In the 19th century, the excavation area was occupied by a large public house<sup>8</sup> with a courtyard to the north. The Old Bailey records show that by 1827 the White Hart public house, occupied by a John and Margaret Winskill, stood at 7 Giltspur Street.<sup>9</sup>

## Summary of the later archaeological sequence

### *Before the Great Fire (c. 1550–1666)*

Interment in the northern burial ground of St Saviour's church is thought to have ceased in the late 16th or early 17th century.<sup>10</sup> The clearest archaeological evidence for this is the construction of a chalk-lined cesspit ([317]) at the western end of the excavation (Fig 2). The cesspit fills contained 16th- to early 17th-century pottery including sherds from three Cistercian ware cups, London area post-medieval red wares, including the base of a bung-hole jug, and an imported Dutch 'Malling' jug with all over blue tin glaze. Although Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 post-dates the most likely period of use of the feature, it demonstrates that the cesspit is likely to have lain at the rear of an earlier property fronting onto Red Lion Court.

A second cesspit [288] (Fig 2) could be dated to the pre-Fire period by a sherd from a 16th-/17th-century Surrey-Hampshire border ware pipkin found in the robbing of its lining. This was substantiated by a small layer of demolition debris adjacent to the cesspit which contained pottery dating

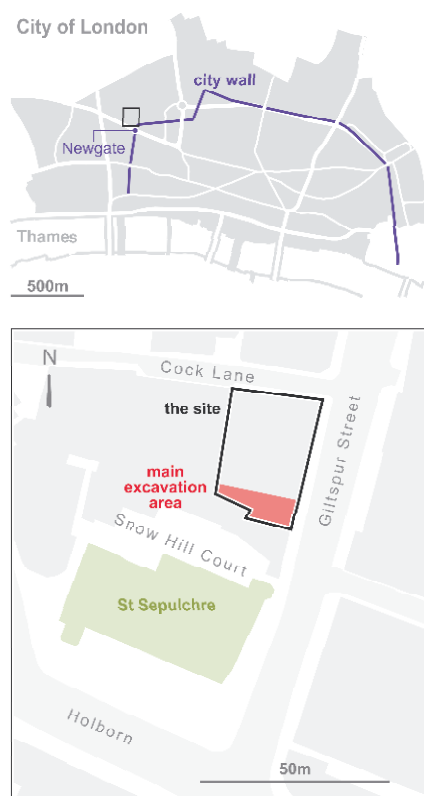
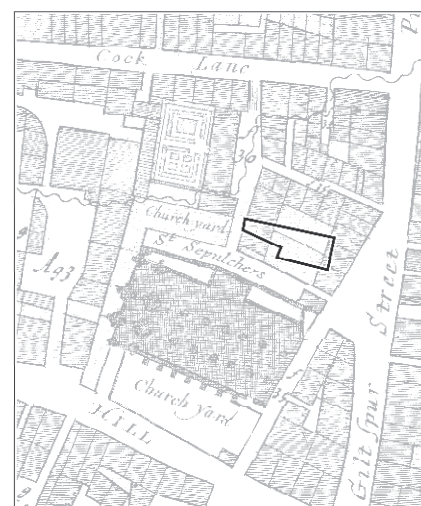
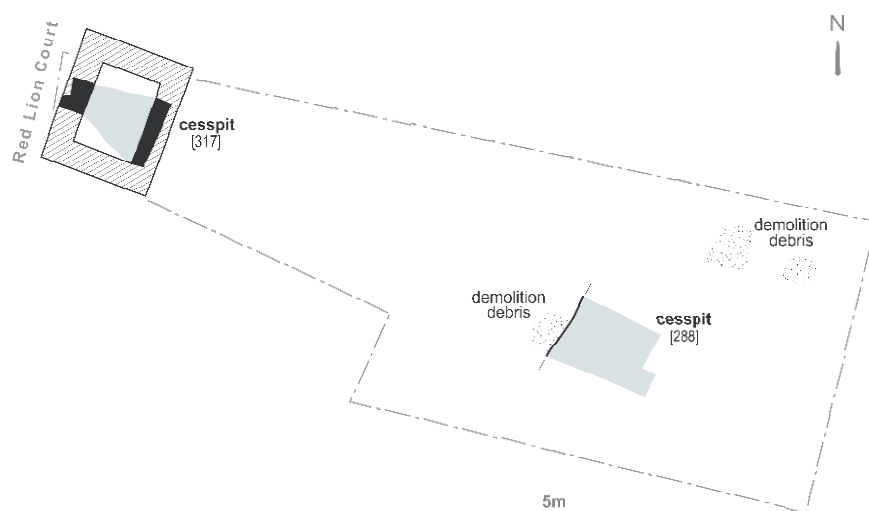


Fig 1: location of the site within the City of London and of the main excavation area in relation to St Sepulchre's church



**Fig 2: 16th- and 17th-century features from the excavation and the location of the main excavation area, superimposed on Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676**

1580–1600. Layers of demolition debris to the east (Fig 2) contained sherds from up to 30 vessels dating to between c. 1600–50. The composition of the group is atypical in that Surrey white wares and imports are the main categories present. The latter are mainly Frechen stonewares but include two sherds from a Martincamp type 3 stoneware flask. Along with Essex red wares were a few sherds of London-area post-medieval red ware and tin-glazed ware. All the forms are domestic in character, with a mix of forms used for storage, the preparation and consumption of food and drink, with part of a money box also present.

#### *Post-Great Fire developments (1666–c. 1740)*

Evidence of destruction resulting from the Great Fire was found in the western

part of the site. Here dumps of fire debris contained an assemblage dominated by 17th-century Surrey-Hampshire border wares and London-area red wares (Fig 3). Also present are a small plain 16th-/17th-century copper-alloy double-oval buckle with D-shaped loops (<187>) and two fragments of bone waste.

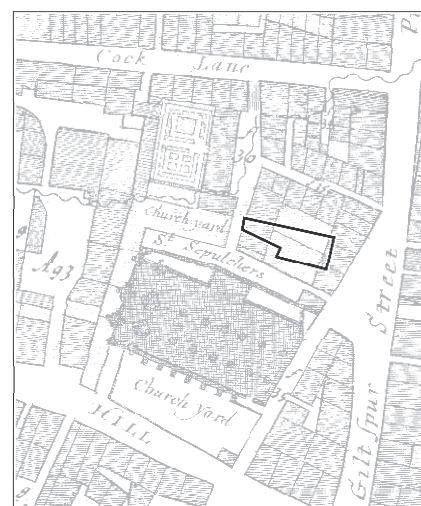
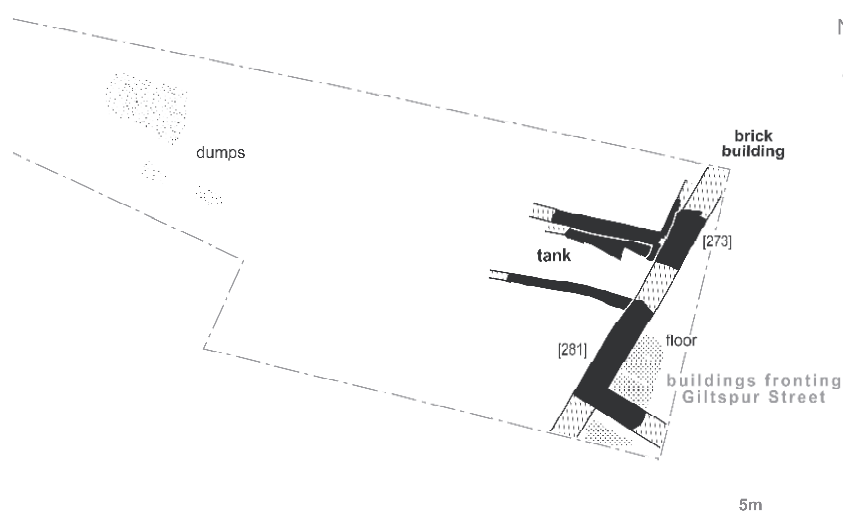
The first evidence of post-Great Fire rebuilding is the rear of a brick building ([273]/[281]) on the eastern side of the site (Fig 3, left). It lay close to, but not aligned exactly with, the current Giltspur Street frontage and corresponds well to the back walls of buildings shown on the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676 (Fig 3, right). Pottery from the floor of this building included London-area post-medieval red wares, Surrey-Hampshire border wares, tin-glazed ware and single sherds from a combed

slipware posset pot and a London stoneware tankard, which together date to after 1700, supported by the associated clay pipes, which date to 1700–30.

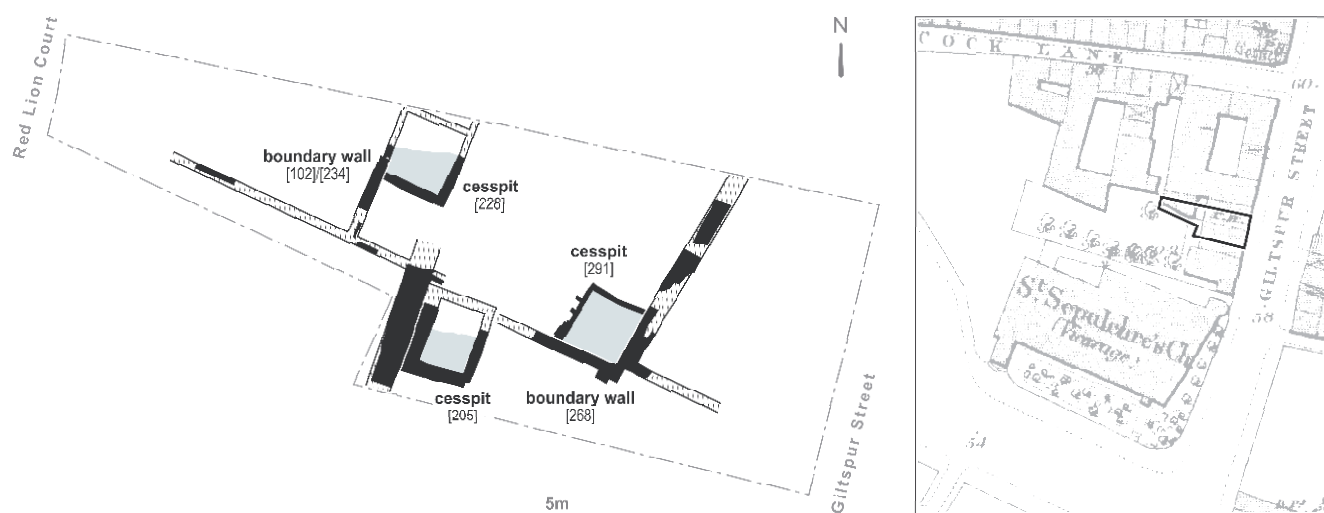
Immediately to the rear of the building was a clay-lined tank (Fig 3). The tank contained a single sherd from a Surrey-Hampshire border ware type 2 chamber pot dated to 1650–1700. The clay lining would suggest it contained water, possibly for some industrial function.

#### *Mid-18th- to 19th-century development (c. 1740–c. 1900)*

This period is largely represented by brick cesspits and boundary walls (Fig 4), which highlight the increasing density of occupation in the area in the later 18th century. Cesspit [228] could have belonged to a property in



**Fig 3: plan of post-Great Fire features with the location of the main excavation area, again superimposed on Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676**



**Fig 4: plan of 18th- and 19th-century structures and the location of the main excavation area superimposed on the OS map of 1873. This map is likely to reflect the 18th- and earlier 19th-century property boundaries in the area of the site.**

Red Lion Court rather than a building fronting Giltspur Street. The cesspit backfill produced a few wine bottles and sherds of domestic pottery from 21 vessels (see Fig 5), including part of a Surrey-Hampshire border white ware upright candlestick and a tin-glazed ware bowl with flower motif inside the base and chequer pattern. The pottery dates from the early 18th century but the associated clay pipes indicate a deposition date of c. 1730–60. Wall [102]/[234] may mark the rear of 18th-century properties fronting Red Lion Court or a garden/yard wall of a property fronting Giltspur Street.

Another square brick-lined cesspit [291] was found further east, built against the rear wall of a building facing Giltspur Street and respecting a boundary wall [268] between properties. This property division carried on to the west, towards Red Lion Court. Clay pipes (below) and a large amount of pottery from over 125 vessels were discarded in this cesspit and date its disuse to c. 1740–80. Five vessels are complete or near complete and the assemblage may represent site clearance prior to the construction of the White Hart public house (below). A full report on the assemblage is available in the project archive<sup>11</sup> and a selection of the glass and ceramic vessels from the pit is shown in Fig 5.

A large amount of bottle glass was also present in cesspit [291]. The earliest finds comprise fragments from five onion bottles typical of the period 1680–1730, two were shattered but

near complete and probably whole when discarded. Also present was the complete base from a mallet bottle with tapering body dating to 1725–60 (Fig 5: <255>). Other finds included a ceramic wig curler, a small domed copper-alloy stud, half of a double-sided ivory comb and two cylindrical fragments of bone waste.

#### *The White Hart*

The White Hart public house at 7 Giltspur Street, along with the neighbouring warehouse belonging to wholesale druggists Barron, Harveys & Co at 5–6 Giltspur Street, was standing on the site in the first quarter of the 19th century. Giltspur Street was realigned in the late 18th/early 19th century and many of the earlier property boundaries were built over.

A brick-lined cesspit [205] at the southern limit of excavation (Fig 4) lay to the rear of the White Hart public house.<sup>12</sup> The backfill contained 181 sherds of pottery (not illustrated) including 91 sherds of industrial fine wares from up to 56 vessels in creamware and 58 sherds from up to 34 vessels in pearlware. Also present are a few sherds of lustreware and transfer-printed refined white ware with decoration in black, dating to after c. 1825. Plates are the most common form, with sherds from up to 33 examples, followed by bowls (up to 16 examples).

Other tablewares include cups (notably a pearlware cup with Neptune riding the waves on the outer surface

and the words ‘Battle of Trafalgar’ inside), saucers, dishes, jugs, a tankard and a sauceboat. Also present are sherds from chamber pots, a stool pan and the base of a pearlware vase with transfer-printed panel decoration, six stoneware bottles, probably from Fulham and smaller quantities in other forms and fabrics.<sup>13</sup> Overall the assemblage dates after c. 1825 by the presence of refined white ware with underglaze colour transfer-printed decoration, although the glass bottles (below) suggest a slightly later date.

A large quantity of 19th-century vessel glass was also recovered, mainly tablewares but including two inkwells and two bottles with optic-blown decoration. One of these had a mesh pattern, the other had vertical ribs. The latter form probably dates from the late 1840s and has parallels from the site of the Crosse and Blackwell factory in Soho Square.<sup>14</sup> Goblets for wine are the main category, but there are also bases from six tumblers and fragments from six flaring jelly/custard glasses.

The clay pipes from cesspit [205] are considered separately below, but suggest that the pit was out of use by c. 1850.

#### **Overview of the post-medieval pottery assemblage**

Lyn Blackmore

Most post-medieval sherds from the site were concentrated in cesspits dated c. 1740–50 ([291]) and 1825–30 or later ([205]). Both these cesspits

included some substantially complete vessels. Taken together, the forms in both cesspits are generally quite typical for London. Most are kitchen and tablewares associated with the serving and consumption of food and drink: mugs, posset pots, bowls, dishes, plates; forms associated with storage and cooking vessels are very much in the minority, but chamber pots are well represented. The earlier group could be domestic clearance.

The finds from cesspit [205] may derive from a public house. As a whole, this group is very similar to the cesspit group from Weddell House, thought to be derived from the George Inn, West Smithfield, which contained 163 sherds from 102 complete or near complete vessels dating to c. 1810–50.<sup>15</sup> Most finds encompass a range of everyday activities, notably eating and drinking. The lack of glass in cesspit [291] is intriguing, given its abundance in cesspit [205]; it may reflect a difference between private and commercial properties. The glass in [205] is very similar to that from the Weddell House cesspit<sup>16</sup> and from a

cesspit in the officers' quarters at Convoys Wharf, the Royal Naval dockyards, Deptford.<sup>17</sup>

### The clay pipes from 5–7 Giltspur St Jacqui Pearce

#### Introduction

A large collection of clay tobacco pipes, totalling 140 bowls, 59 stem fragments and five mouthpieces was recovered during excavations.<sup>18</sup> A small number of clay pipes are associated with demolition deposits from the mid-17th century, and possibly with the post-1666 rebuilding. Six fragmentary bowls and three stems were recovered, dating between c. 1640 and 1660 (type AO10), and between c. 1700 and 1770 (fragments of type AO25 in contexts [219] and [224]). These few early examples aside, however, the main chronological emphasis in the clay-pipe assemblage lies in the late 18th to 19th century, especially with the marked examples and the information they yield on local production.

The main concentrations of clay pipes come from cesspit [291], with a

latest date of c. 1740–60 (96 bowls, 10 stems, one mouthpiece), and from [205], dated to c. 1800–50 (30 bowls, 44 stems and four mouthpieces).

A smaller collection of pipes contemporaneous with those from [291] were associated with [228] (eight bowls and one stem, dating to c. 1740–80). This study focuses chiefly on the clay pipes from [291] and the later phases of [205].

#### Cesspit [291]: 18th-century pipes

A high proportion of the clay-pipe bowls from [291] have been marked by their makers (67 examples, or 70%). Most pipes are of types OS11 or OS12 (c. 1730–60, with 30 bowls, and c. 1730–80, with 59 bowls respectively). There are two residual type AO22 bowls (c. 1680–1710) and five type AO26 bowls (c. 1740–1800) are the latest pipes in the feature. Three of the AO26 bowls are marked and one is decorated with the arms of Hanover (see below). All remaining marked pipes are of types OS11 and OS12, with two of the latter decorated with the Prince of Wales feathers.



Fig 5: pottery and glass

from cesspit [291]: chamber pots in creamware <230> and tin-glazed ware C <229>, post-medieval red ware jar <231> and handled bowls <233>, <232>; glass mallet bottle <255>, Surrey-Hampshire border red ware chamber pot <228>, Staffordshire-type mottled brown-glazed ware mug <240>, Surrey-Hampshire border red ware handled bowl <234>, Staffordshire-type mottled brown-glazed ware rounded mug <241>.

from cesspit [228]: tin-glazed ware bowl <238>, white salt-glazed stoneware saucer <243>, Staffordshire-type combed slipware posset pot <242>, Staffordshire-type mottled brown-glazed ware coffee can/nursery mug <239>, Surrey-Hampshire border white ware with clear (yellow) glaze small dish <236>, tin-glazed ware dish <237>.

from cesspit [317]: blue tin-glazed Malling jug <226>.



Fig 6: decorated 18th-century clay tobacco pipes from cesspit [291]: <65>, <70>

All marked pipes have their makers' initials moulded in relief on the sides of the heel or spur. Ten pipe makers (28 pipes) can be suggested with a reasonable degree of confidence, out of a total of 22 with fully legible pairs of initials. All operated from workshops located relatively close to the site, and are known to have been working within the period indicated by the dating of the pipe bowls. This is the

usual pattern of distribution in London, with the products of individual pipe-making workshops chiefly used locally.

In addition to pipes marked with makers' initials there are five that carry symbols only (fleur-de-lis, crowns or, simply, raised dots), which makes identification of their makers impossible. The suggested pipe makers are listed in Table 1. The most numerous examples by far (13 pipes)

are those marked with the initials RR, which likely stands for Richard Romaine, recorded in Old Street in 1763.<sup>19</sup> After this, the most common initials are those of William Huggins of Green Dragon Alley, Limehouse, 1739–42 (four pipes),<sup>20</sup> and Lawrence Grayston, recorded in Holborn 1737–49 (three pipes).<sup>21</sup> Two pipes were probably made by John Hilary of St Giles in the Field, 1760,<sup>22</sup> and two by John Andrews recorded in East Smithfield in 1784.<sup>23</sup> All other identifiable marks are single examples only (see Table 1).

The area covered by the pipe makers whose work can be likely identified at Giltspur Street is focused chiefly on the City of London and the East End. Richard Romaine and Henry Skinner<sup>24</sup> both worked in or near Old Street, less than a mile away from Giltspur Street as the crow flies, with John Andrews and William Young<sup>25</sup> even closer, in Smithfield, and John Cowles in Moorfields (see Table 1).<sup>26</sup>

Mark	No. of Bowls	Pipe maker
HS	1	Henry Skinner, Featherstone St, near Doghouse Bar, 1750
IR	1	James Roome, 1730?
IA	2	John Andrews, E Smithfield 1784
IC	1	John Cowles, Bristol Polls, Drury Lane, Moorfields, 1754–81
IH	2	John Hilary, St Giles in the Fields, 1760
LG	3	Lawrence Grayston, Holborn, 1737–49
RR	13	Richard Romaine (2), Old St, 1763
WH	4	Wm Huggins, Green Dragon Alley/Limehouse, 1739–42
WW	1	Wm Young, Wapping, Smithfield, Lambeth, 1774–84

Table 1: suggested 18th-century pipe makers represented in the finds from cesspit [291]

Other workshops lie in the direction of Holborn to the west (Lawrence Grayston) and Limehouse to the east (William Huggins). It is always possible that some of the marked pipes identified with particular workshops were produced by different makers with the same initials, and the marks on several pipes remain unidentified or illegible, or the workshop location is unknown.<sup>27</sup> However, the proposed identifications seem the most likely based on present evidence, and these do favour a marked local distribution.

Most of the pipes from cesspit [291] are perfectly plain; the three exceptions to this all have armorial decoration. The first of these is a type AO26 pipe with a long, forward-pointing spur (Fig 6: <70>) and the arms of Hanover moulded on the back of the bowl, facing the smoker. The front seam is decorated with moulded tulips and the pipe is marked with the unidentified initials RB. The other two armorial pipes each have moulded bowl decorations in the form of three ostrich feathers, the badge of the Heir Apparent (<8>, not illustrated; Fig 6: <65>). This kind of decoration may be associated with tavern signs such as 'The Feathers', 'The Prince's Arms' or 'The Prince of Wales',<sup>28</sup> and is relatively common on

London pipes of the second half of the 18th century. Both examples from [291] are of type OS12 (c. 1730–80), and one has a moulded tulip seam on the front of the bowl (Fig 6: <65>). The other pipe (<8>) has a rose and thistle below a crown moulded on the front of the bowl, and is marked unclearly with the initials IE(?), again unidentified.

#### *Cesspit [205]:*

##### *late 18th-/early 19th-century pipes*

Thirty clay pipe bowls, 44 stem fragments and four mouthpieces were recovered from fills [203] and [213] of cesspit [205], both dated to the first half of the 19th century. A high proportion of the bowls are marked by their makers (90%), and five are also decorated, together with two more decorated pipes that are not marked. All but one of the marked pipes is of type AO27, which was in production c. 1780–1820. The one exception is a type AO29 pipe bowl (c. 1840–80) from [213]; this is the latest example in the assemblage and is either intrusive or was made right at the beginning of this period.

Six pipe makers have been identified with varying degrees of certainty by their initials and/or names and addresses, and one example by moulded stars on the sides of the heel. Recorded dates for these makers range from 1799 to 1854; in

conjunction with the shape of the marked pipe bowls this indicates that all but

one of the examples recovered were made between c. 1799 and 1820.

By far the most frequent maker's mark is that of John Hurst of Cowcross Street, Smithfield, recorded between 1808 and 1849.<sup>29</sup> Fourteen examples were identified in [205], ten of these with HURST/COW/CROSS stamped incuse on the back of the bowl, facing the smoker (Fig 8: <32>, <59>). Three of these stamped pipes also have the initials IH moulded in relief on the sides of the heel, one of them also incorporating Masonic symbols (Fig 8: <59>), and four pipes have only the moulded initials and no stamped mark (Fig 7: <58>). The one type AO29 pipe bowl has these same moulded initials, and, if also made by John Hurst (IH is a common enough pair of initials), represents a move by his workshop to a new bowl shape within the last ten years for which we have records of Hurst's activity.

Seven pipe bowls with the stamped Hurst mark are distinguished by the moulded initials MC on the heel (Fig 8: <39>, <37>), with six more examples carrying this moulded mark alone. Two of these are also decorated, although all the Hurst/MC pipes are perfectly plain. One of them carries the City of London arms within the incuse bowl stamp (Fig 8: <37>).

There is also one pipe bowl with the stamped incuse mark M/CHARLTON and the moulded initials MC on the heel (Fig 8: <33>). These pipes carry

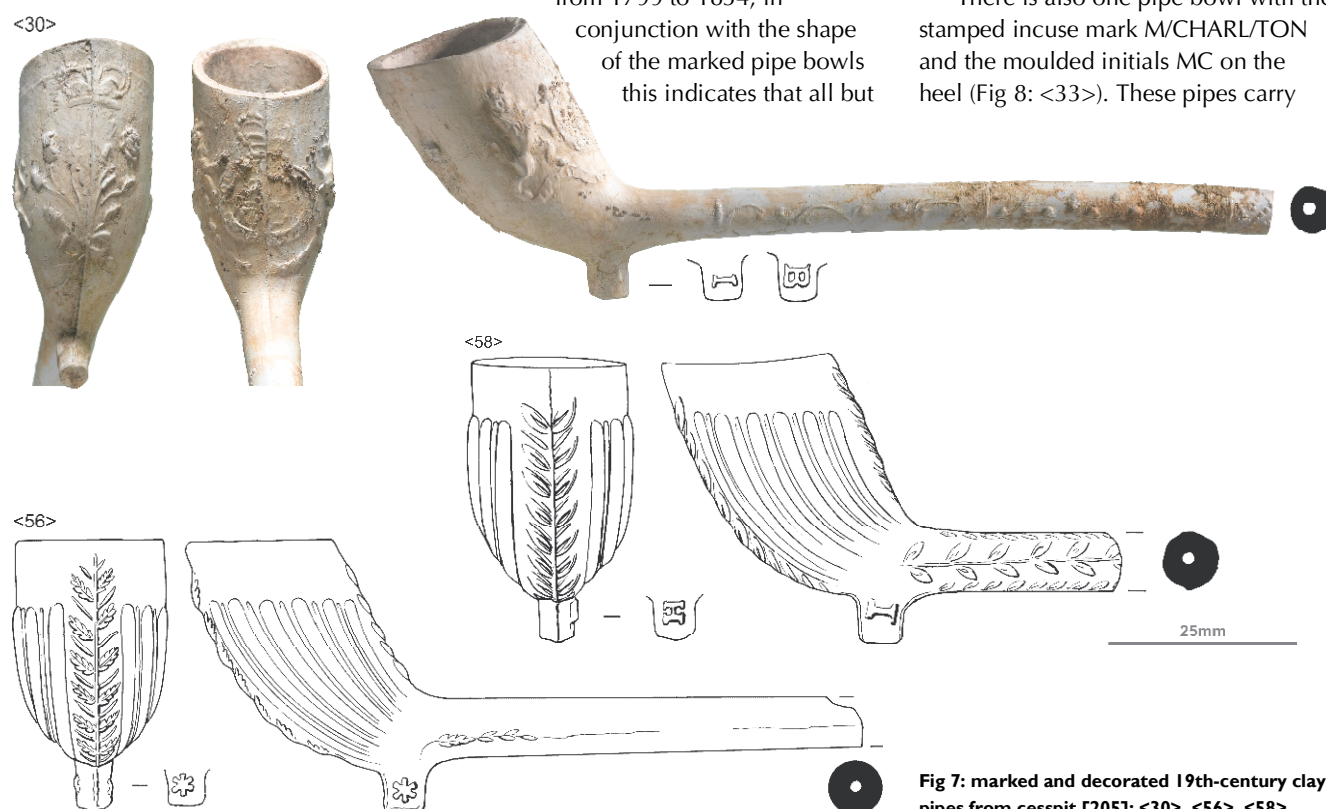


Fig 7: marked and decorated 19th-century clay pipes from cesspit [205]: <30>, <56>, <58>



Fig 8: marked and decorated 19th-century clay pipes from cesspit [205]: <32>, <33>, <37>, <39>, <52>, <59>

the mark of Matthew Charlton of 74 Cowcross Street, recorded between 1799 and 1807.<sup>30</sup> Clearly the HURST/MC bowls represent pipe moulds originally made for and used by Matthew Charlton in his Cowcross Street workshop. These premises and at least some (but probably all) of the Charlton moulds and other pipe-making equipment were taken over by John Hurst, whose operations in Smithfield are recorded from 1808. Robson's Directory for 1842 lists Hurst as a pipe maker located at No 74.<sup>31</sup>

Along with trades such as wire workers, bellows maker, carpenter/builder, cooper and dealers in rags and tallow, there were also several

alehouses in Cowcross Street.<sup>32</sup> This would have provided ample opportunity for an enterprising pipe maker to sell his wares. Inevitably, Hurst would want to personalise his products if he was using a mould made for another pipe maker – hence his use of a stamped mark in a prominent position that left the smoker in no doubt who had made the pipe he was enjoying.

Type AO27 pipes marked MC are known from other sites, with a special focus on the City of London. Seven pipes stamped with the name Charlton and with the moulded initials MC, and one with a moulded MC mark and HURST stamp were recorded at Weddel

House, 13–21 West Smithfield/22–23 Hosier Lane EC1,<sup>33</sup> close to Giltspur Street. IH-marked pipes are more scattered in distribution, and although most, if not all, examples made within his period of operation could have been products of Hurst's Cowcross Street workshop, those recovered from sites closer to Smithfield are the most likely to be his products.

There was a distinct local bias in the use of clay tobacco pipes, and the majority were bought, smoked and thrown away within a relatively small radius of the workshops in which they were produced. This is well demonstrated by the strong emphasis on Smithfield manufacture in the clay

pipes recovered from Giltspur Street.

The local connection is further reinforced by a pipe marked with the initials IB in relief on the sides of the heel; this was most probably made by John Bishop of Smithfield, recorded 1805 to 1840<sup>34</sup> and is one of the more elaborately decorated pipes found in cesspit [205] (Fig 7: <30>). The bowl bears the moulded arms of Hanover, with a rose and thistle signifying union with Scotland, and has moulded leaf seams. Two pipe makers working in Finsbury are also indicated by their marks: Samuel Lambert, recorded in Finsbury Square 1805–32, and William Barker in Worship Street, 1823–54.<sup>35</sup> There is, however, one outsider in the form of a pipe stamped with the name BARNES incuse on the back of the bowl, and with the initials TB moulded in relief on the heel (Fig 8: <52>). This undecorated type AO27A pipe was probably made by Thomas Barnes of Lambeth, recorded in 1836.<sup>36</sup>

The decorated pipes are all made in designs popular at the time of the Napoleonic Wars, with the bowls of five moulded with vertical fluting and leaf seams (e.g. Fig 7: <56>). Two of these were made by Matthew Charlton and carry his moulded mark, and one

was marked on the heel by John Hurst, while John Bishop produced the altogether more decorative armorial pipe described above. Taken as a whole, the clay-pipe assemblage from cesspit [205] gives a closely focused view of what was available to the average smoker in this part of London in the first quarter of the 19th century. It also provides a telling insight into the operation of the industry, and the relationships between individual pipe makers and their workshops.

### Conclusion

The archaeological excavations have shown that the medieval St Sepulchre's burial ground was built over by the early 17th century and that the property divisions established at that time were respected during the rebuilding after the Great Fire. The properties built after 1666 continued to occupy the site until the first quarter of the 19th century when the western side of Giltspur Street was redeveloped and the White Hart public house was constructed.

John Winskill was the publican at the White Hart until his death in October 1846 and the majority of the finds assemblage recovered came from cesspits, one of which, found at the

back of the public house, dated to the time that John and Margaret Winskill were the occupants of the White Hart.

### Acknowledgements

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1. The National Grid Reference for the centre of the site is 531805 181500.

2. A Miles and D Walker, with L Blackmore and K Stewart 'The pre-Fire burial ground of St Sepulchre without Newgate: excavations at 5–7 Giltspur Street, City of London' *London Archaeol* 14 (12) (2017) 328–335.

3. The full site archive is deposited with the Museum of London Archaeological Archive (formerly known as LAARC), where it may be consulted by arrangement. Occasional reference is made to context numbers ([n]) or accession numbers (<n>) to facilitate the location of relevant records or finds in the archive.

4. *Op cit* fn 2.

5. M D Lobel, *The British atlas of historic towns: Vol 3, The City of London from prehistoric times to c. 1520* City of London c. 1520, map 2 (1989).

6. S Bradley and N Pevsner, *London: The City Churches* (1998) 124.

7. J Strype, *A survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1720), l.iii, 283. Source: [www.hrionline.ac.uk/strype/](http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/strype/) (last accessed 10 July 2015).

8. See, for example, the Ordnance Survey 1st edition 25inch map of 1873.

9. Edmund Wright, theft, embezzlement, 5th April 1827 (t18270405–258), *Old Bailey proceedings online* Source: [www.oldbaileyonline.org/](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/) version 7.2 (last accessed 10 July 2015).

10. *Op cit* fn 2.

11. L Blackmore 'The pottery and registered finds from 5–7 Giltspur Street, City of London EC1 (GSP08): distribution and discussion' (2015) unpub MOLA rep.

12. See fn 8.

13. See fn 3 and *op cit* fn 11 for further details.

14. L Blackmore 'The glass bottles, jars, stoppers and lids from the Crosse and Blackwell premises in London (TCG09)' (2014), unpub MOLA rep; N Jeffries with L Blackmore and D Sorapure, *Crosse and Blackwell 1830–1921: a British food manufacturer in London's West End Crossrail Archaeol Ser 6* (2016).

15. L Blackmore 'Report on the pottery from West Smithfield (WS197)' (2006) unpub MOLA rep; N Cohen 'West Smithfield: The excavation of a site to the west of the City of London' *London Archaeol* 12 (4) (2009) 91–8.

16. N Cohen *op cit* fn 15, 95–6, Fig 11.

17. L Blackmore 'Glass' in A. Francis, *The Deptford royal dockyard and manor of Sayes Court, London: excavations 2000–12*, MOLA Monogr Ser (in prep).

18. These were recorded in line with current MOLA practice, with the pipe bowls classified and dated according to the Chronology of London Bowl Types (D R Atkinson and A Oswald, *London clay tobacco pipes*, *J British Archaeol Assoc* 32 (1969) 171–227). The dating of some of the 18th-century pipes has been refined where appropriate by reference to the Simplified General Typology (A Oswald, *Clay pipes for the archaeologist*, *BAR Brit Ser* 14 (1975) 37–41). The prefixes AO and OS are used to indicate which typology has been applied.

19. A Oswald *op cit* fn 18, 144.

20. A Oswald *op cit* fn 18, 139.

21. A Oswald *op cit* fn 18, 137; P Hammond 'Tobacco pipe makers in the PCC Wills Indexes' *Soc Clay Pipe Res Newsletter* 66 (2004) 18.

22. P Hammond *op cit* fn 21, 18.

23. A Oswald *op cit* fn 18, 130.

24. P Hammond *op cit* fn 21, 21.

25. A Oswald *op cit* fn 18, 149.

26. A Oswald *op cit* fn 18, 133.

27. e.g. James Roome; A Oswald *op cit* fn 18, 144.

28. R Le Cheminant 'Clay pipes bearing the Prince of Wales' feathers' in P Davey (ed.) *The archaeology of the clay tobacco pipe 6: pipes and kilns in the London region* *BAR Brit Ser* 97 (1981) 92–101.

29. A Oswald *op cit* fn 18, 138.

30. A Oswald *op cit* fn 18, 134; D Wright 'London tobacco pipe makers in the Guildhall Library Trades Directories, 1763–1800' *Soc for Clay Pipe Research Newsletter* 11 (1986) 8–11.

31. Robson's *London Directory, street key, classification of trades and royal court guide and peerage* (1842) 86. Source: <https://archive.org/details/robsonslondondir00robsonrich> (last accessed 8 April 2017).

32. P Temple (ed.) *Survey of London: Volume 46, South and East Clerkenwell* (2008) 182–202. Source: [www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=119417](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=119417) (last accessed 10 July 2015).

33. Site code WSI97; C Maloney and T J Gostick, *London fieldwork and publication round-up 1997*, *London Archaeol* 8 Suppl 3 (1998) 75–112.

34. A Oswald *op cit* fn 18, 131.

35. A Oswald *op cit* fn 18, 141, 132.

36. P Hammond *op cit* fn 21, 16.