# A Summary Report on Medieval and Post-Medieval Activity at Salisbury Bus Station, Endless Street, Wiltshire

by Nicky Garland, Matt Nichol and John Chandler with contributions by Katie Marsden, E. R. McSloy, Thomas Rowley, Jacky Sommerville, David Starley and Sarah F. Wyles

An archaeological excavation was undertaken by Cotswold Archaeology between March and September 2016 at Salisbury bus station, Salisbury, Wiltshire. To facilitate demolition works, the site was excavated in a number of phases and divided into four areas for the purpose of the excavation. Three of the four areas (1–3) were targeted on features identified during a previous trial trench evaluation across the footprint of the development area. The fourth area (Area 4) was conducted as a watching brief to the south of the site during the demolition of the bus station buildings but revealed no archaeology. The survival of archaeological remains was partial at best in Areas 1–3, with later post-medieval and modern truncation having heavily affected earlier deposits. The excavation, however, confirmed the results of previous excavations within the Three Swans Chequer and of the evaluation by identifying the remains of 13th- and 14th-century buildings, which fronted onto Endless Street to the west, with predominantly post-medieval and modern buildings along Rollestone and Endless Street frontages. The central part of the chequer appears to have been used as backlands and was occupied, as found in many parts of Salisbury, by open yard areas and ancillary structures. Evidence for smithing was uncovered close to the frontage of Rollestone Street.

# Introduction

Excavations were carried out in early 2016 at the site of the former bus station, Salisbury, Wiltshire (centred on NGR 414539, 130132; Figure 1). The site is located centrally within the city and bounded to the north by buildings fronting on to Salt Lane, to the east by Rollestone Street and to the west by Endless Street. A car park and buildings lie to the south, which are in turn flanked by Winchester Street. In the context of the medieval street plan, the site is located within the area known as the Three

Swans Chequer (Figure 2). The site was positioned on two former tenement blocks (Nos. 8 and 10) on Endless Street and three tenements (Nos. 13, 15 and 17) on Rollestone Street. At the start of the excavation, the bus station site contained a surfaced forecourt and number of extant buildings, including the former ticket office and waiting room on the southern side.

The underlying geology of the area is mapped as Newhaven Chalk Formation. River terrace deposits, comprising sand and gravel, overlay the bedrock geology (BGS 2017). The natural fluvial gravels were generally encountered one metre below ground level.

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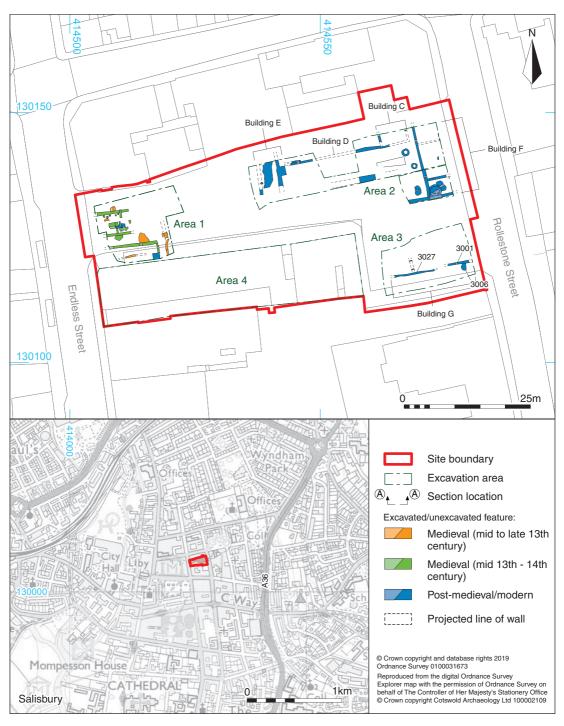


Fig. 1 Site location and site plan showing excavation areas and archaeological remains

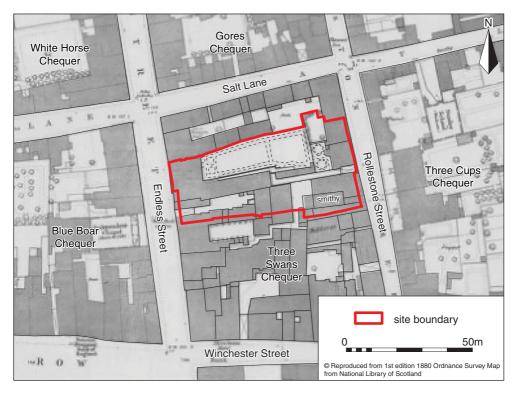


Fig. 2 Three Swans Chequer and site boundary (Ordnance Survey 1st Edition c. 1880)

# Archaeological background

The archaeological potential of the site was established through a desk-based assessment (CgMs 2014) and the results of four evaluation trenches excavated by Wessex Archaeology (WA 2014). The latter identified a number of foundations from buildings, along both Endless Street to the west and Rollestone Street to the east. It was concluded that the earliest structural remains, found along Endless Street, comprised chalk and flint wall foundations associated with timber framed buildings. Internal walls and floor foundations were also identified although no floor surfaces survived. Building ranges were aligned both parallel and perpendicular to the street frontages representing buildings arranged around a central courtyard. The area between the street frontages was relatively open during the medieval and post-medieval periods, suggesting that the central part of the chequer was maintained as open yards and gardens during these periods (WA 2014, 12-14).

The excavation was divided into four areas which comprised a total of c.  $685m^2$ . Areas 1–3

targeted features identified during the evaluation and Area 4 was conducted as a watching brief during demolition of the former bus station buildings. The latter revealed no additional archaeological remains (CA 2017).

## **Summary Results**

The majority of the archaeological remains were found in Areas 1 and 2, with limited evidence uncovered from Area 3. No topsoil or subsoil was identified during the course of the excavation. The entire site was sealed by tarmac and reinforced concrete, which overlay a thick layer of building rubble from the demolition of Victorian buildings that once occupied the site and which were cleared in the 1930s prior to the development of the former bus station. The impact of post-medieval and modern construction on the site had resulted in the truncation of the surviving archaeological remains.

A full assessment of the archaeology identified can be found in the post-excavation report (CA 2017). The report, including specialist reports and data,

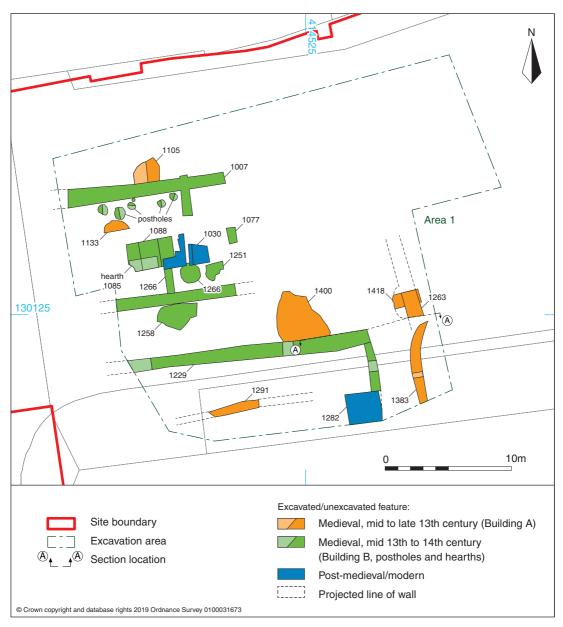


Fig. 3 Area 1: Buildings A and B 13th/14th century

photographs and additional illustrations for this project can be found on the Cotswold Archaeology website: http://www.cotswoldarchaeology.co.uk/. The archive will be deposited with the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum.

#### **Prehistoric**

A small assemblage of seven residual nonchronologically diagnostic worked flints (122g) was recovered from seven separate deposits across the site. Residual worked flint is consistent with the current low levels of prehistoric archaeology uncovered within the city centre of Salisbury (CgMs 2014) and confirmed during the previous trial trench evaluation (WA 2014). The isolated finds are indicative of transient activity on or near the site during the prehistoric period.

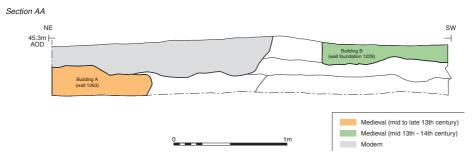


Fig. 4 Area 1: Section AA showing building A wall 1263 and building B wall foundation 1266

## Area 1

### Medieval

The principal evidence for mid to late 13th-century AD medieval occupation was building A (Figure 3) found in Area 1 and which primarily consisted of a north-south aligned wall foundation 1263 and robber trench 1383, as well as several disturbed floor surfaces and/or occupation deposits. A remnant of cob wall foundation 1291, located on a perpendicular alignment some 6.3m to the west may have been part of the same building. The foundations of both walls used roughly hewn, irregular chalk blocks. Approximately 3m to the west of 1263 lay a rammed chalk floor surface 1400, which represents an early phase of occupation and may therefore be contemporary in date. Stratigraphic analysis would suggest that building A was constructed by the middle of the 13th century, and had been demolished no later than the early 14th century prior to the construction of building B. Building A appears to have been set back from the frontage of Endless Street. The southern part of Area 1 was subject to intensive truncation, and it is possible that the structure once extended to the west towards Endless Street. The remaining evidence for building A suggests that this was a timber framed structure.

Other features of this date included pits 1105, 1133 and 1418. Pit 1105 contained eleven sherds of 13th- to 14th-century pottery. Pit 1418 may have been backfilled in preparation for the construction of wall 1263. The pits were found to be earlier than building B and may represent external activity associated with building A within what was originally a more open area.

Building B appears to have been a more substantial structure or structures. The relatively thick parallel east-west wall foundations 1007 (Figures 4 and 5), 1248 and 1229 (between 1m and 2m wide) suggest that this was perhaps a twostorey building, although it is likely that it was still constructed using a timber frame set upon a low but solid stone foundation. Less substantial north–south internal walls were represented by an extension south from wall 1007 and also walls 1037, 1251 and 1266 (Figure 4). The structure also contained several centrally located hearths; 1088, 1085, and 1331 and associated chimney breast 1087. Hearth 1258 was situated south of wall foundation 1248. The hearths may indicate two or perhaps three separate areas of internal occupation within separate room spaces. A group of six postholes of varying sizes was located south of wall foundation 1007.

The dating evidence from Area 1 does not suggest any specific activity between the late 14th and the late 15th centuries AD; however, it is possible that building B continued to be used as a domestic structure or structures before it was finally demolished in the post-medieval period. Truncation appears to have removed many early deposits, leaving only isolated areas of surviving stratigraphy intact.

#### **Post-Medieval**

Only tentative evidence of post-medieval occupation was identified within Area 1. This was represented by the construction of walls 1008 and 1282 and hearth 1030. These features were found within the same area as those of building B. The limited structural evidence associated with the post-medieval period may indicate that the earlier medieval foundations were retained in use. The exact date of these features is difficult to determine due to a lack of associated finds, however, it is probable, based upon their stratigraphic relationships with other features, that they were constructed at some point in the 16th–17th centuries.



Fig. 5 Area 1: From north looking south. Wall 1007 (building B) in foreground. Post-medieval wall 1008 at top of picture

## Area 2

#### Post-medieval buildings

The remains of several post-medieval structures were uncovered in the previously empty area between the frontages of Rollestone Street and Endless Street (Figure 6). Two structures, E and C, of about 4m width and unknown length, ran north-south. Building E comprised the remains of some small sections of wall foundation and part of a tiled floor, while C was defined by robber trenches. The gap between buildings E and C was spanned by an east-west wall which formed the southern edge of a third building, D. To the south of building D a parallel wall foundation (2082) may have defined the southwestern limits of a courtyard area which is shown on historic mapping.

In Area 2 a fourth building F was constructed along the frontage of Rollestone Street. The building was partially sub-divided. The remains comprised wall foundations and a robber trench, though there were few clues to its function or use. Close to the frontage of Rollestone Street, a hearth, 2021, survived in the edge of excavation and it appears to have truncated layer 2017 (see below). Two chalklined wells (2115 (Figure 7) and 2120), of solid construction were uncovered to the rear of building F as well as a yard surface (2031) and the remains of other wall foundation (2082) which appears to define the southwestern limits of a courtyard area which is shown on historic maps. See the discussion below for further details of these buildings.

#### Possible industrial remains

A kiln, hearth or oven base, 2197 (Figure 8) pre-dated building F. It was circular in plan and measured (externally) c. 2.5m in diameter. It appears to have been constructed in stages, initially with the laying of a regular arrangement of vertical tile, bonded within a light grey lime mortar. Many of the tiles appear to have been pegged roof tiles and therefore were likely to have been reused. The outer wall was

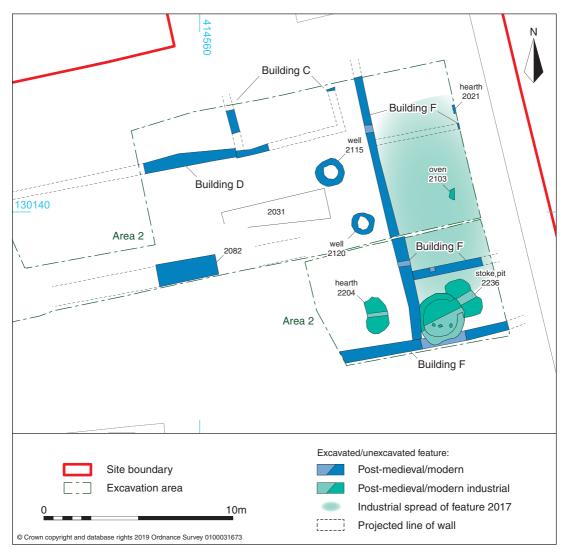


Fig. 6 Area 2: Rollestone Street frontage

constructed using squared limestone blocks, each measuring approximately 0.16m by 0.19m by 0.05m, embedded within a lime mortar. The flue opening was orientated to the northeast and an associated pit, 2236, to the northeast is interpreted as a stokingpit. The feature, which is assumed to have been industrial in nature, contained three stakeholes, perhaps to support an interior shelf and adding an internal structural element, orientated broadly eastwest. The finds from associated fills included small quantities of animal bone (cattle, sheep, pig and bird; Holmes, 2017 and in archive), CBM, stone, mortar, two nails and two very worn medieval silver coins (a penny and a probable cut halfpenny; Marsden 2017), and a single sherd of medieval pottery.

The stoking pit, a broadly sub-circular pit which measured 1.17m long, 0.48m wide and 0.31m deep, was backfilled with a dark material (2231) which produced clinker, coal, fired clay and iron objects described as possible product or waste, as well as hammerscale, two smithing hearth bottoms (698g) and non-diagnostic iron slag (4752g). From the samples recovered, the metalworking debris, predominantly micro slags, suggests that the main activity was iron smithing, defined as the hot forging and welding of ferrous alloys (see Starley below). It may be of interest that it also produced a single, much larger slag block (5111g) of a size more typical



Fig. 7 Area 2: Chalk lined well 2115



Fig. 8 Area 2: Kiln 2197. Note dark metalworking debris (fill of stoke pit 2236) at bottom of picture

of furnace bottoms, i.e. smelting, but in the absence of clear evidence of smelting, kiln 2197 may have functioned as a smithing hearth. A copper alloy strap-end of probable medieval style (Marsden below) recorded from fill 2231, is likely to have been an accidental inclusion rather than evidence for any substantive non-ferrous metalworking.

The base of another possible hearth (2204) lay 1.5m to the east of kiln 2197. The hearth base measured 1.1m long, 0.7m wide and 0.08m deep. It was also constructed using vertical tiles, bonded by a light grey lime mortar. A single iron nail was recovered from the tile layer. Burnt deposits overlay the tile base of hearth and may represent debris accumulated from the use of this feature. The tile base lay on several layers of mid yellow brown silty clay which acted as bedding layer for the original construction for the hearth. The finds from fills associated with this hearth included an unidentified iron object, nine sherds of 18th- century pottery, six clay tobacco pipe stems and a bowl, animal bone, and floor tile. It may be that hearth 2204 was a similar structure to that of kiln 2197; however, only part of the structure had survived and, again, the function is unclear.

Another possible hearth (2103), which lay 5m to the north of kiln 2197, may represent a metalworking feature. It was broadly circular in shape and measured 0.86m in diameter and 0.3m deep. Some in situ burning was present at the base of the cut. A large quantity of charcoal and metalworking debris—particularly fragments of hearth smithing bottom-was recovered from the fill (2104) as was some coal. Some in situ burning was present at the base of the cut. It has been suggested (Starley 2016) that this area might have been a secondary, perhaps temporary unlined hearth which gave rise to the more massive debris which sometimes had burned flint pebbles adhering to it. It might be that such a hearth would be required for occasional larger jobs such as making up cart wheel tyres.

Deposit 2017, which was located on the Rollestone Street frontage, produced extensive metalworking debris, including slag, hammerscale, two hearth smithing bottoms and iron objects (Starley 2016). The deposit overlay a number of similar deposits, which themselves overlay a thin (0.03m thick) layer of rammed chalk, possibly representing the remains of a floor surface, and in turn a series of dumps of sandy clay, which may have been material imported to raise the ground surface in this area. All of the above deposits were post-dated by the hearth associated with building F. The deposit also contained a single sherd of mid to late 13th-century pottery, an iron nail, the foot of a copper alloy cooking vessel (Marsden this report).

## Area 3

In Area 3 structural evidence of a building G, and occupation was discovered. The remains of a brick built wall (3027) and a second wall built of limestone (3001) were found. These broadly corresponded with the rear wall of a building identified as a smithy from the c. 1880 OS map (Figure 2). Although they were both orientated east–west, these walls possibly represent two phases of construction based on the materials used. A chalk floor (3006) located to the south of the eastern wall may be indicative of occupation in this location.

# Historical background including documentary evidence, by John Chandler

Salisbury bus station was planned in 1938. Existing buildings on site were demolished and construction at a contract price of £13,686 was completed in time for the station to be opened in August 1939 (Morris and Waller 2006, 43–4). The station replaced buildings numbered since the 19th century as 8 and 10 Endless Street, and 13, 15 and 17 Rollestone Street, forming part of Three Swans Chequer within Salisbury's grid of streets laid out during the 13th century. This report traces, through map and documentary evidence, the structural and occupation history of the site from 1939 back to the 17th century (Chandler 2013). A little evidence about its earlier history is also presented.

The largest and most important of the buildings demolished to create the bus station, 10 Endless Street, was a house newly built *c*. 1740, when a legal agreement concerning a party wall was made with the owner of the neighbouring property to the south, 8 Endless Street (Documentary Reference (hereafter DR)1, see References). It was built for a clothier, Samuel Case, or possibly for his uncle, also Samuel Case, who had lived on the site previously, on land belonging to the Weavers' Company, successor to a medieval guild which had its guildhall next door to the north, at 12 Endless Street (DR2). Subsequently, in 1752, Case also leased from the Weavers their

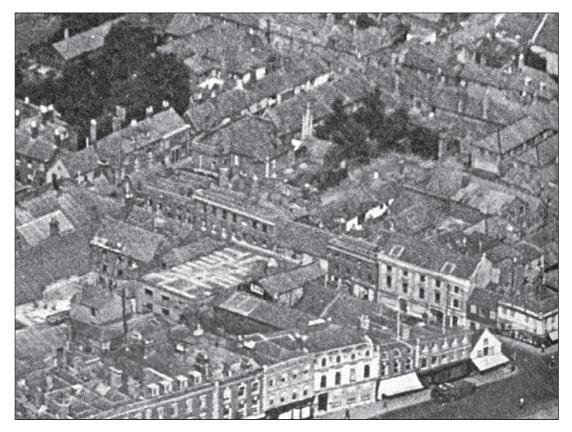


Fig. 9 Detail from an aerial photograph of Salisbury. Three Swans Chequer, before the demolition of the bus station. Endless Street runs from bottom right to centre left, showing frontage of the house, and the garden behind. Courtesy of John Chandler

guildhall, and adjacent properties in Salt Lane, and this arrangement was continued after his death by the next lessee, William Everett, in 1780 (DR3). The occupant of 10 Endless Street from 1788, when he married, was Joseph Hague Everett, William's son, who in 1798 purchased from the Weavers his house and all their property in the northern part of the chequer, including 15 and 17 Rollestone Street, cottages newly erected in 1767 on what had been open land (DR4; see also RCHM 1980, pl. 16). Everett, like Case, was a clothier, who patented a mixed cloth resembling velvet in 1803 (DR5); he was also a banker, and a founder of the Salisbury Old Bank, which operated from 12 Endless Street between 1810 and 1875 ((DR6); Haskins 1912, 97).

The deed whereby Everett purchased the Weavers' property in 1798 includes a detailed measured plan (Chandler 2013, 57) which depicts the footprints of 10 Endless Street and 15 and 17 Rollestone Street, with the extent of their gardens, the boundary wall between them, and a malthouse built into the large garden of 10 Endless Street. A narrow passage between 13 and 15 Rollestone Street gave access to this large garden from the rear.

After Everett's death in 1818 subsequent occupants of 10 Endless Street included surgeons during the 1840s and 1850s, with a substantial household, and before 1861 it had been taken over as a girl's school (DR7). In 1882 it became a religious hostel, St Michael's Home for Friendless Girls (later for Training Girls), to support 'juvenile girls on the brink of dissipation'; it was still in use in 1935 (DR8). A pre-1939 aerial photograph, although indistinct, shows the Endless Street frontage of the house, and the garden behind (Figure 9).

Whether or not 10 Endless Street was built entirely anew c. 1740 cannot be ascertained from the documentary record, although it is likely, considering that it had been in the occupancy of the same family prior to this campaign, and by analogy with other houses of this period in Salisbury, that it incorporated older features. Samuel Case (senior) occupied it in 1720 and 1727 (when he was mayor), and before him in 1682 and 1690 the occupant was Francis Mercer, at the latter date accommodating also three men, three lodgers and a maid; he had gone by 1699 when it was empty (DR9). Mercer was a brewer (Ellis 1827, 181) as was Francis Dove, who appears to have preceded him as the Weavers' lessee in Endless Street (and so presumably occupant of the house that became No. 10)((DR10); Nevill 1910, 422). Dove, who was there in 1661 and probably until his death in 1666, had an interesting earlier career, having sailed to Massachusetts as a Puritan, probably in 1639, but returned and served as Salisbury's mayor in 1644 and 1649, and was instrumental in securing for the city land previously owned by the bishop (Hoyt 1897, 59-60, 132-3; VCH Wilts. 6, 1962, 119).

Having traced the history of 10 Endless Street back to 1661 it will be appropriate to consider its southern neighbour, 8 Endless Street, which occupied the site of the bus station offices (Garman 2017, 106-8). Until 1939, when it transferred next door to No. 6, this was the Woolpack inn, and it appears to have been in use continually as an inn back to the 17th century. In 1783 it included a 'very large loft' fitted up for wool dealing, and capable of containing upwards of 200 packs of wool; between 1810 and 1827 it hosted a flower festival and exhibition. Francis Dove purchased it in 1661 from Arthur Blinkworth (or Blinckham), who had bought it in 1648 from Thomas Capyn, a baker (DR10). Capyn had perhaps inherited it from a kinsman, Giles Capyn, also a baker, in 1627, who was the first Salisbury citizen to die in the plague of that year, and who had acquired the premises in 1616 (Slack 1975, 119; (DR11)). Its dual use by bakers and innkeepers is attested in 1648 when the bakehouse was adjacent to the inn (DR12).

The site's Rollestone Street frontage, including from south to north numbers 13, 15 and 17, had been occupied by the two cottages (Nos. 15 and 17) erected on formerly open land belonging to the Weavers' Company, as noted above, in 1767. But the premises to the south of these cottages, subsequently 13 Rollestone Street, can be traced back to 1699, when it formed part of the large corner holding occupied by the Three Swans Inn and its outbuildings (DR13). The inn itself is first recorded in 1624/5 (Garman 2017, 191). The site of 13 Rollestone Street was probably one of the two tenements and three shops parcel of the inn mortgaged in that year, and sold with the inn to Ambrose Burch in 1746, when they were described as four messuages or tenements and stable or playhouse (for staging plays presumably).

Burch, a prosperous Salisbury ironmonger, owned the inn and these tenements until his death in 1794 (DR14) after which his heirs, John and Edward Baker, sold them to William Bowles and William Tamlyn in 1796. At this date the description is 'stable, coachhouse, deal warehouse or play house and plot of ground adjoining' on the west side of Rollestone Street (DR15). At some time in the 19th century, probably before 1861 (DR16), it became separated from the inn, and a smithy is shown there on a map of 1879 (DR17). By 1900 it was part of the warehouses of Ware Brothers, tanners, curriers, leather manufacturers and grindery merchants, whose premises had extended across the chequer from 4a Endless Street (DR18). This company, established in 1824, was still trading in 1935 (DR19), so perhaps occupied 13 Rollestone Street until it was purchased for the bus station.

It is unfortunate that, apart from a charter of 1590, no archive of Salisbury's Weavers' Guild survives. The 1590 charter empowered the guild to double the value of their landholding, and by 1593 they had purchased 16 messuages and 14 gardens in Salisbury (DR20). It is very likely that their portfolio by this date included part or all of the site (apart from 13 Rollestone Street), since it adjoined their hall and they were its owners in the 18th century, as we have seen. The guild itself, one of the most important in medieval Salisbury, probably came into existence in the 14th century, and Richard Gage, one of its stewards in 1421 (Carr 2001, 100), bequeathed land in Endless Street to the guild c. 1444 (DR21; VCH Wilts. 6, 133). If, as seems likely, this became the site of their guildhall, then a deed of 1464 must relate to the bus station site (DR23). Richard Pyle, son of the late Robert Pyle, weaver, sold to four individuals a messuage and adjoining garden with appurtenances in Endless Street bounded by the Weavers' tenement, formerly Richard Gage's, to the north, and that of Thomas Gowayn to the south. All four purchasers were prominent Salisbury citizens, but it has not been possible to establish whether they were members of the Weavers, and might therefore have been acquiring the premises for their guild.

## Finds

## Pottery, by E.R. McSloy and Katie Marsden

Pottery amounting to 306 sherds (6109g) was

recorded. The bulk of the assemblage was handrecovered, with 46 sherds (64g) coming from bulk soil samples. The majority of the assemblage dates to the medieval period, amounting to 249 sherds (3038g). The remainder is dateable to the postmedieval/modern periods. Further details are in the archive.

The condition of the medieval group is generally good with well-preserved sherd surfaces and glazes. The mean sherd weight is moderately high for a group of this period and a number of vessels are represented by larger, joining sherds across deposits. These factors are not indicative of significant disturbance.

#### Assemblage Composition: Medieval

The composition of the medieval group is set out in Table 1. The range of fabric types is narrow, with the majority of material deriving from local southeast Wiltshire sources, specifically the kilns at Laverstock, near Salisbury. Also present are a few sherds of a quartz/flint-tempered fabric probably from east Wiltshire. Continental types include southwest French (Saintonge) mottled glazed ware.

The range of vessel forms is also narrow, comprising mainly jars (including forms with handles), a probable tripod cauldron and jugs. Rim morphology is variable among the jars; most are everted and conform to Musty (1969) Types I and II. The cauldron, from a layer within building B, is a large heavy-rimmed vessel with oval-sectioned handle and in its form compares to vessels from Laverstock (ibid. fig. 11, no. 48). Among the Laverstock jugs rims are bifurcated (as Musty 1969, fig. 14, nos. 77 and 79), or simple/squared (ibid. fig. 14, nos. 73 and 76). Vessels from a footing layer in Area 1 and a make-up level in Area 3 are bridgespouted forms, the latter with a beak-like spout (ibid. fig. 13, nos. 67-8). Handles are all of rod form and bases splayed and with spaced thumbing (ibid. fig. 14, no. 69 and 72).

Decoration was largely confined to the Laverstock jugs and includes 'dot and circle' stamped motifs, applied or slip-painted vertical strips, applied pads and combing. An elaborate example was recovered from an external occupation layer in Area 1, where the applied decoration is coloured red-brown against a mustard yellow glazed ground. In this instance the decoration is probably anthropomorphic and comparable to the face-decorated vessels illustrated by Musty (*ibid.*, fig. 19). Simpler 'decoration' of the characteristic 'scratch-marked' type was recorded with the unglazed coarsewares (fabrics SM01–02). The abundance of Laverstock type and scratchmarked wares suggest a 13th- or early 14th-century focus. Laverstock jugs described above are examples of the 'highly decorated' style prevalent in this 'industry' and elsewhere in the mid/later 13th century.

#### Post-medieval/modern

Small quantities (57 sherds, weighing 3071g) of pottery dating after c. 1550/1600 were recorded (Table 1). Condition is typically good, particularly so for the later types, which include complete or substantially complete vessels from a brick wall foundation in Area 2.

Verwood type and other internally lead-glazed fabrics, together with a few sherds of tin-glazed earthenware, Frechen type stoneware and Chinese porcelain, are representative of the period before c. 1750/1800. The few identifiable vessel forms are large bowls among the Verwood type wares, suited to kitchen use. The remainder of the group largely consists of refined whitewares, flowerpot-type unglazed earthenwares and late stonewares dating to the 19th or early 20th centuries. Most (27 sherds) were recorded from modern drain deposit 2030. A group of three salt-glazed stoneware bottles from this deposit are marked 'Waites/Blacking Bottle/ Shipley pottery/Derbyshire'. The Shipley pottery was in production from c. 1825 and it is known that the London-based blacking manufacturer Waites used stoneware containers for its products until 1845 (Perry 2011). A date in the third quarter of the 19th century would be consistent with the reminder of the pottery from a modern drain cut in Area 2.

## Ceramic building material, by Jacky Sommerville

#### Introduction and methodology

A total of 1755 fragments of ceramic building material (156.66kg) was fully quantified (Table 2). A further 37.516kg of unwashed material was rapidly scanned, weighed and broadly classified. The collected material constitutes a sample of the ceramic building material from the site.

#### Range and variety

#### Roof tile

The largest component of the assemblage (Table 2) is featureless flat tile fragments, mostly measuring 12–14mm in thickness, and probably representing

Period	Code	Summary description/reference	Ct.	Wt.(g)	<b>EVEs</b>
Med.	L01	Laverstock glazed (jugs). Ref. Musty 1969	128		
	L02	Laverstock variant? Sparse quartz, common red iron oxide.	3	50	-
	SM01	Southeast Wiltshire coarsewares ('scratch-marked wares'). Ref. McCarthy and Brooks 1988, 335–40).	102	1482	1.31
	SM02	Scratch-marked ware (oxidised)	6	57	.15
	ST01	Southwest French (Saintonge) mottled green glazed	7	21	-
	U01	Coarseware with rounded quartz, sparse angular ?flint; East Wiltshire ware? Ref. Mellor 1994	3	21	.05
Pmed	EW02	unglazed sandy red earthenware;	2	24	.11
c. 1550–	GEW01	Glazed red earthenware	5	40	.11
1750	VER01	Verwood glazed earthenware	21	1207	.90
	PORC01	Chinese porcelain	1	2	-
	STAFF01	Staffordshire mottled brown	2	13	-
	STO02	Frechen stoneware	1	72	-
	TG01	tin-glazed earthenware	1	1	-
Modern	EW01	earthenware - unglazed (flowerpot)	3	394	-
c.1750–	VER02	Late Verwood? (plantpots)	1	53	-
1900 +	PW01	Pearlware with flow blue decoration	1	51	-
	PW02	Pearlware with transfer print decoration	3	239	-
	WW01	refined white ware	4	96	-
	WW02	reined white ware with coloured glaze	2	37	-
	WW03	refined white ware with transfer print decoration	3	45	-
	WW04	Late lustre ware	1	13	-
	STO01	late English stoneware	6	784	2.0
Totals			306	6109	5.32

Table 1: Pottery assemblage composition

Table 2: Breakdown of the ceramic building material assemblage

Туре	Count	% by	Weight	
		count		weight
Brick	8	-	1327	1
Drainpipe	2	-	247	-
Flat roof tile	787	58	61534	40
Floor tile	64	5	34920	23
Nib tile	1	-	35	-
Peg tile	247	18	39629	26
Ridge tile	241	18	15572	10
Unclassifiable fragments	12	1	543	-
Total	1362	100	153807	100

peg tiles. These were in use from the late 12th until at least the 16th century (McComish 2015, 33). Fragments with peg/nail holes comprise the next largest proportion. Perforations are circular, except for one diamond-shaped example on a fragment from a sealing layer. Thickness is 11–18mm, averaging 14mm. The three intact peg tiles measure: 285 x 176 x 15mm (from kiln foundation 2197); 278 x 182 x 14mm (from kiln 2198); and 228 x 153 x 14mm (from post-medieval/modern drain). Most of the flat roof/ peg tile presents in an orange fabric with inclusions of quartz sand, iron oxides and clay pellets. Some paler, sandy fragments were also noted.

Glazed ridge tile, which is typically medieval in date, but continued into the post-medieval period, is also well represented. Fabrics are similar to those used for the peg tile, with inclusions mostly of quartz sand, iron oxides and clay pellets. Most fragments contain all three types but some are only sandy. The ridge tile varies in colour and is mostly mid to dark orange, sometimes with a grey core. A small number of fragments have pale orange surfaces and buff cores. Glaze is inconsistent, ranging from orange to brown and yellow-green to olive green. Six fragments of ridge tile from building B retain impressions of woven textile on their surface. This is probably an imprint of the cloth used to smooth the tiles (Figure 10).

#### Floor tile

Sixty-four fragments of floor tile were recovered. One small fragment, 20mm thick (from a levelling/ demolition layer) is decorated and glazed. It is too small for stylistic attribution and only broadly dateable in the 13th- to 15th-century range. The rest of the floor tile is undecorated and unglazed. The fabric is relatively coarse, sandy and quite poorly mixed, with larger iron oxide and clay pellet inclusions. Thickness averages 34mm (ranging from 26 to 38mm) and these tiles are most likely postmedieval in date. An intact example from unphased floor layer measures 256 x 250 x 30mm.

#### Brick

The eight brick fragments are small. One from



Fig. 10 Ridge tile fragments with fabric impressions recovered from wall foundations in building B

modern wall foundation in Area 1 measures 41/8 inches wide and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick. Dating in the 18th century is most likely.

#### Discussion

The clay roof tile industry in southeast Wiltshire began in the 13th century - elsewhere in the county stone roof tiles were used for most of the medieval period. During the 14th and 15th centuries the primary production centre was Alderbury, c. 6km from Salisbury, which supplied ceramic roofing materials for most of southeast Wiltshire (Hare 1991, 88–91). The ceramic building material from Salisbury bus station probably derives largely from these kilns, although some of the ridge tile may come from the pottery kilns at Laverstock, where ridge tile was also produced (Musty et al. 1969, 140). Excavations between Bedwin Street and Salt Lane, less than 0.5km from the current site uncovered similar types of medieval and post-medieval tile to those from the bus station (totalling 1715 fragments, 127.5kg) (Mepham 2016, 164).

## Metalwork, by Katie Marsden

A total of 53 metal items were recovered from 22 deposits; this excludes material noted in smithing slag samples (Starley 2016). The assemblage consists of 46 iron items, three lead items and two of copper alloy. The remaining two items comprise one of unidentified metal and one 'composite' object of iron

Table 3: Metalwork summary

Material	Object type	Count
Iron	Nails	26
	Unattributable	20
Copper alloy	Strap end	1
	Vessel foot	1
Lead/lead alloy	Waste	2
	Unattributable	1
'Composite'	Unattributable	1
Uncertain	Unattributable	1
	Total	53

and lead/lead alloy. The majority of the assemblage comprises nails and items too fragmentary or corroded for identification. The remainder of the assemblage is recorded for the archive and is summarised in Table 3.

The copper alloy items are heavily corroded. A strap-end (Figure 11a), Ra. 2005 recovered from stoke pit 2236 (fill 2231), is of medieval form but the exact type cannot be identified due to corrosion. A foot from a cooking vessel (Figure 11b) such as a cauldron or skillet, was recovered from layer 2017. Vessel feet display a wide variety and fragments such as these can be broadly dated from the medieval period into the 17th century (Butler *et al.* 2009).

## Metalworking Debris, by David Starley

The most encountered diagnostic form of metalworking debris (Table 4) was that deriving from iron smithing. Of the bulk finds smithing hearth bottoms are recognisable as slag blocks of plano-convex section which form in the blacksmith's hearth below the higher temperature zone where iron, or iron scale, reacts with silica to form a largely iron silicate (fayalite: 2FeOSiO<sub>2</sub>) and shown to have an average mass of 234g. However, these figures do not include a single, much larger example with a mass of 5,111g. The size of this is more typical of furnace bottoms, i.e. smelting, but as it derives from the same context as smithing slag, it is likely to also derive from smithing. Such an atypical example is likely to have been produced when a larger object was being worked.

Micro slags in the form of hammerscale are also diagnostic of smithing (Starley 1995). These were sometimes found in the soil adhering to, or detached from slag in the bulk finds bags, but were more evident in the bags of 'magnetic matter' extracted from soil sample residues. In particular sample <2020> from stoking pit 2236 (fill 2231)

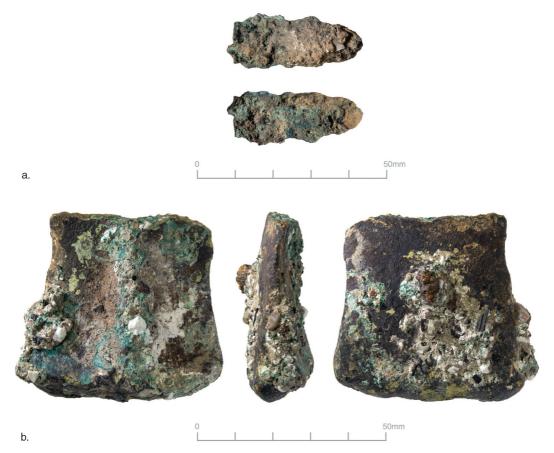


Fig. 11 a) Ra. 2005, copper alloy strap-end; b) Foot from a copper alloy cooking vessel from layer 2017

Activity	Classification	Mass (g)
ron smithing Smithing hearth bottom		3272
	Hearth/furnace bottom	5111
		Not
	Flake hammerscale	quantified
		Not
	Spheroidal hammerscale	quantified
	Smithing pan	412
	Undiagnostic ironworking	7632
Undiagnostic	slag	
ironworking	Iron-rich cinder	166
	Dense slag	202
	Ferruginous concretion	1093
Metalworking or other high	Fired clay	44
temp process		
Fuel	Coal	60
	Clinker	66
Possible		
products/waste	Iron objects / lumps	269
products		
	Total	18,327

Table 4: Metalworking debris by activity and type

produced over a kilogramme of residues of which an estimated 10% was flake hammerscale and 1%, 2% and 5% (in the >0.5 mm, >1mm and >2mm sieve sizes respectively) was spheroidal hammerscale. The difference between the two types relates to their origins: flake hammerscale is the oxide skin that forms on iron during hot working but breaks away when the iron is hammered or quenched. Spheroidal hammerscale is slag from the interior of the metal which is squeezed out during hammering. Both provide a good indication of the actual site of the smithing activity as they tend to remain *in situ*, whilst larger fragments may be removed for disposal (or use) elsewhere.

Undiagnostic ironworking slag comprises the irregularly shaped fayalitic slags which are not morphologically diagnostic of either iron smelting or iron smithing processes. At Salisbury bus station, the dominance of smithing debris and absence of clear evidence of smelting, suggests that these also derive from smithing. However, one fragment did show some copper alloy corrosion staining, perhaps indicating that the smith also used non-ferrous metals, perhaps for brazing or inlay. Another feature of some of this material was the large size of some of the fragments and the fact that they had adhering burned flint pebbles, suggesting a difference in origin to the more compact fragments such as the dense slag fragments. A small amount of iron-rich cinder was also present - a material distinguished by its significant content of iron not chemically combined as silicates, but visible as rust-orange coloured hydrated iron oxides and iron hydroxides. Ferruginous concretion can be a natural product, like iron panning, where iron minerals come out of solution due to changes in the soil chemistry. However, the process is likely to be enhanced near metalworking debris, where the levels of iron in the deposits are artificially enhanced. Although only about half of the 18.3kg of debris was strictly diagnostic of iron smithing, i.e. the hot forging and welding of ferrous alloys, it is likely that the undiagnostic material also derived from this activity and that this was the dominant metalworking activity on site.

## Glass, by Jacky Sommerville

A total of 41 fragments of glass (797g), mostly deriving from vessels, was retrieved from eleven deposits and as unstratified finds. Of these, nine fragments (6g) were recovered via bulk soil sampling of two contexts.

An unphased layer produced a very small, degraded fragment (0.1g) of medieval window glass, and a small fragment of post-medieval/modern window glass was recorded from well 2114.

Eighteen fragments of dark green-coloured glass were from wine or spirits bottles of post-medieval date. A rim/neck fragment with a string rim, from sealing layer (Area 1) is dateable to the late 17th to early 19th centuries. Part of a narrow, cylindrical bottle with a moderately pronounced basal 'kick', from a post-medieval drain, is early to mid-19th century in date (Noël Hume 1969, 68). The base has been moulded with 'H Rickett & Co Glass Works Bristol'. In 1821 Henry Ricketts developed the three-part glass-making mould which allowed the company name to be embossed on the base of the bottle (SHA 2016). Twenty fragments from modern or post-medieval vessels, in colourless, pale green, pink or amber-coloured glass were also recovered.

### Clay Pipe, by Thomas Rowley

A total of 43 fragments (212g) of clay tobacco pipe were recovered from eight deposits and as one unstratified object. The assemblage is dominated by unmarked stem fragments, totalling 39 items, with three complete and one partial bowl making up the remainder. No makers marks or designs are present. Spurred bowls, comparable to Oswald (1975) form G20 and dateable to the period between c. 1690 and 1730 were recovered from Areas 2 and 3. A single unspurred fragment from Areas 2 closely resembles Oswald form G4, dateable to between c. 1600 and 40.

### Biological Evidence, by Sarah Wyles

Sixteen bulk soil samples from a range of medieval and post-medieval deposits were examined from Areas 1 and 2 and details of these relatively small assemblages are given in the environmental appendix within the post-excavation report (CA 2017).

Most of the charred plant remains were recovered from medieval deposits in Area 1. The cereal remains included those of barley (Hordeum vulgare) and free-threshing wheat (Triticum turgidum/aestivum type) grains. Free-threshing wheat is the dominant wheat of this period in this part of the British Isles (Greig 1991). The weed seed species recorded are species typical of grassland, field margins and arable environments and included seeds of oat (Avena sp.), brome-grass (Bromus sp.), rye-grass/fescue (Lolium/ Festuca sp.), fat-hen (Chenopodium album), knotgrass (Polygonum aviculare), vetch/wild pea (Vicia/Lathyrus sp.) and docks (Rumex sp.), and a seed head of poppy (*Papaver* sp.). There is also some small evidence for the possible exploitation of the hedgerow/woodland edge environments with the presence of a few hazelnut (Corylus avellana) shell fragments within some of the assemblages.

The charred remains were only preserved in small quantities on the site and may have been representative of dispersed material. Other sites of this period in Salisbury, such as Anchor Brewery (Hinton 2005), Ivy Street/Brown Street (Hinton 2000) and Vanner's and Griffin Chequers (Wyles 2016) have been much richer in environmental remains and this may reflect the nature of the activities taking place on the site. It may be that this site is on the edge of the chequer and settlement activity in Salisbury. The small mollusc assemblages appear to be indicative of a generally open environment with some areas of longer grass, possibly back garden type plots. There is also some small evidence for some occasional flooding in the area.

## Discussion

The opportunity to investigate a substantial proportion of a complete chequer in the centre of Salisbury does not occur often. Previous excavations in the southeast corner of Three Swans Chequer in 1988 recorded a post-medieval well, constructed through the floors of one of the buildings on the Winchester Street frontage. In the central area of that excavation an oval tile hearth was uncovered amongst walls indicating the presence of buildings. On the Rollestone Street frontage the medieval road was apparently realigned and post-medieval buildings were constructed on it (Wessex Archaeology 1992a; WCAS 2004).

The bus station development, which comprised a transect across the Three Swans Chequer, from the western frontage on Endless Street to the eastern frontage on Rollestone Street, covered almost a third of the chequer's surface area. Unfortunately the recent use of this area as the town bus station had degraded the survival of, and subsequent interpretation of, this sector of the town. The reduction of the ground surface to street level and the addition of a drainage system to serve the bus station apron removed much of the anticipated stratigraphic sequence and reduced the remaining evidence to isolated blocks.

No definitive evidence for tenement boundaries marked by shallow ditches seen elsewhere in Salisbury chequers (for example, Harding 2016, 145) were recorded during the excavation, and no complete building plans were recovered. While the buildings on the site were never expected to have had undercrofts, the lack of refuse pits was disappointing. This lack of backland refuse pits is, however, a notable characteristic of settlement in Salisbury (Cave-Penney 2005, 290); see for example Ivy Street and Brown Street in Antelope Chequer to the south (Rawlings, 2000, 59). The site also conformed to a pattern seen in many other Salisbury excavations in that it produced very few securely dated deposits or finds, with both residual and intrusive material present.

The great majority of the small pottery assemblage recovered from the site came from layers

rather than cut features and most of it was recovered from Area 1 (the Endless Street frontage). A mean overall sherd weight of 19.9g is not dissimilar to that recorded in Vanner's and Griffin Chequers (18.7g; Mepham 2016, 153) and shows a clear distinction when broken down by period, between medieval (12.2g) and post-medieval/modern (53.8g). The number of sherds per context was low, the largest from any layer being 23 and as Mepham *(ibid.)* observed this is 'in keeping with the general pattern across Salisbury where large pit groups or midden deposits are scarce'. Of the few cut features which produced any pottery, small amounts of both medieval and post-medieval date were recovered from two wells, and a single sherd of pottery came from each of two pits, a post-hole, and a kiln. This places 'a limitation on the value of pottery for firm dating evidence' for the site (ibid.). Other recently excavated sites in Salisbury, such as 47 Endless Street (Porter 2014) towards the northwestern edge of the town and in Vanner's and Griffin Chequers (Harding 2016) to the northeast and west respectively, while also displaying truncation and disturbance had greater volumes of recovered finds of a variety of materials and dates.

The animal bone assemblage from the site was small. As in other Salisbury sites cattle and sheep remains were predominant (Pearson et al. 2005, 233; Hamilton-Dyer, 2005, 201) with fairly high proportions of pig and bird bones present. The latter were best represented by domestic fowl as well as goose and duck. A diverse range of minor taxa were recovered, including horse/donkey, fallow deer, rabbit/hare and crab, as well as birds. Fish remains were also present from hand collected and sieved samples (Holmes 2017). Wyles (above) notes that the charred plant remains were less rich than at some other sites in Salisbury. It is possible that pits may survive in the yards and back lots of properties as yet unexcavated but it could be that the chequer, especially its interior, reflected a greater use of open space for the hard standings and yard surfaces of which small remnants were recorded in parts of the site. That the small mollusc assemblages reflect a generally open environment with some areas of longer grass, possibly back garden type plots (Wyles above) may argue against this. It could also reflect a greater concentration of industrial activities and centralised control of these areas than in some other parts of Salisbury.

Combined archaeological and documentary evidence has allowed a level of interpretation summarised in Table 5.

AREA	Building	Plot	Date	Comment
1	A	10 Endless Street	13th century	Limited structure
1	В	10 Endless Street	13th-14th centuries	Substantial structure
1		10 Endless Street	c. 1740	Weavers' Company land
2	С		17th-18th centuries?	Not on plans?
2	D		18th–19th centuries?	On deed 1798
2	E		17th-18th centuries?	On Naish 1716
2	F	15 &17 Rollestone Street	1767 or pre 1716	New build cottages
2		15 &17 Rollestone Street	Pre-1767?	Smithing evidence
3	G	13 Rollestone Street	18th-19th centuries?	Part of Three Swans Inn
4		8 Endless Street	No evidence	Woolpack Inn

Table 5: Summary land-use interpretation

Evidence for two phases of structural activity dated to the 13th and 14th centuries was recovered from Area 1, buildings A and B. The remains were limited to sections of wall foundations and robber trenches with associated hearth bases and postholes. It is possible that building B may have comprised several properties, positioned parallel with each other north-south facing Endless Street. The absence of archaeological remains, immediately to the north of building B may represent an opening from Endless Street that led to the back plot behind the building to the north. The buildings' overall size and shapes could not be completely discerned but appeared to be within the expected models for the period (Brunskill 1997, 114-26, types 3-6). Examination of the medieval buildings uncovered within the city in general has suggested that they were mainly represented by single roomed buildings of flint and mortar dwarf walls, supporting a timber framed structure and with rear yards containing a well (WCAS 2004, 68).

This area coincided with what would be later known as No. 10 Endless Street, (Chandler above). As discussed in the documentary section the early buildings would have been largely removed or subsumed within a substantial mid 18th-century development which was itself demolished to make way for the bus station. This building left few archaeological traces, perhaps limited to two short sections of wall foundation.

The centre of the chequer is known from cartographic evidence to be relatively open for much of the post-medieval period (Figure 2 and Chandler 2013). Limited evidence (Area 2) for three further buildings, C, D and E, of possible 17th- to 18th-century date, were recovered from this central area. The position of building E seems similar to a north–south aligned structure shown on the Naish map of 1716, while building D coincides with an east–west structure shown on a deed plan of 1798 (Chandler 2013, fig. 5). Although it was not possible to examine the entire area between the street frontages, an open area was present to the south and east of buildings C, D and E. This would indicate that these structures represent the remains of buildings arranged around a possible central courtyard. Many of these building appear to correlate with structures shown on Naish's map dating to 1716. However, given the age of the map it is difficult to directly align wall foundations with the buildings depicted.

Where Area 2 coincided with the Rollestone Street frontage, further structural evidence was encountered, building F. These footings lined up with Nos. 15 and 17 Rollestone Street which were built as new in 1767 as cottages on open land (see Chandler above). It is also possible that they represent the remains of structures shown in the same position on Naish's map of 1716, and the surviving patches of multiple layers recorded in parts of this area, may suggest re-use and renewal. The surviving dimensions match those expected from this type of building, (Brunskill 1997, 114–5, and 148–57, types 18–21). Remnants of a single hearth within the structure were probably part of this development.

The two chalk-lined wells to the west (rear) of building F which contained no clear dating evidence may also have been associated with the later 18thcentury re-development, though they too may have been earlier constructions. Similar, medieval and late / post-medieval chalk-lined wells have been recorded in Vanner's Chequer (Harding 2016, 151), Griffin Chequer and Trinity Chequer (*ibid.*, 169–70). The wells fit a pattern seen elsewhere in the city, whereby the water supply was maintained from chalk-lined wells, which were generally located less than 10m behind the rear of the houses.

During the investigation of this part of Area 2 and of building F, a number of other features were encountered. Of significant interest were two kiln bases, a stoke hole, an oven and various dark

deposits incorporating coal and slag. These features could not be directly dated but two were earlier than elements of building F. The majority of these features were found to contain evidence for metal smithing (Starley above). The circular kiln or oven base 2197 did not itself produce any artefactual evidence for its function. Interpretation on these grounds is difficult and smithing hearths were traditionally at waist height (Pearson et al. 2005, 232). It was however associated with a stoking pit with a black fill that produced a considerable amount of ironworking debris. It has been noted (Crew 1996) that 'early refining hearths can be circular and could be confused with the basal remains of a furnace' and that 'secondary hearths can be ephemeral structures, as essentially only a clay wall or some other device for separating the fuel and bellows is required'.

Elsewhere in Salisbury there has been some limited evidence for possible medieval industrial activity. This includes extensive ash-deposits, a large, clay-set flint hearth or oven base and a substantial sub-circular structure built of pitched roof tiles recorded at the Old George Mall site in New Street Chequer (Butterworth 2005, 240). Highly vitrified fuel-ash and hammerscale recovered was interpreted as possible evidence for small-scale copper working. Specialist medieval bronze-working was also noted at Culver Street and between Guilder Lane and the north side of Milford Street (Algar 1973, 137).

Unlike other most sites, for example 47 Endless Street (Porter 2014) and Vanner's and Griffin Chequers (Harding 2016), the suggestion here is that the volume of ironworking debris recovered is good evidence for on-site smithing activity. Irregular and tile-made hearths were recorded at land to the rear of 36 Milford Street / 34 Gigant Street in the Trinity Chequer (Currie and Rushton 2005). One such hearth produced hammerscale in moderate quantity together with fire ash and coal which suggests that smithing was carried out 'in the near vicinity' (Pearson et. al. 2005, 232). Elsewhere in Trinity Chequer however excavations at the Anchor Brewery site, Gigant Street produced no industrial finds or features, no slag, hammerscale or smithing hearth bottoms which suggests that in some chequers industrial and domestic activities were well separated (Barber et al. 2005, 206).

Dating of this ironworking activity in Salisbury has proved difficult, although documentary evidence has demonstrated that ironmongers were working in the city by 1306, and it was at times a significant industry. In 1612 'the company of armourers, cutlers, smiths and ironmongers ranked fourth in size of the city companies' (Chandler 1987, 71). The various documented activities associated with the Three Swans Chequer, include brewing, two active inns and an ironmonger would have created a reasonable demand for iron smithing from within the chequer itself. Starley has concluded (2016, 3) that the coal-fuelled working debris recovered from the bus station site appears largely recent in date.

While building F post-dates this activity, buildings E or C could have been contemporary. The Naish map shows small buildings in the immediate area, suggesting a potential span of use from the 17th to the mid 18th centuries before a short period of dereliction to allow for the building of Nos. 15 and 17 on open ground.

Area 3 covered a part of the land take for the Three Swans Inn on the south-east quarter of the eponymous chequer. Two sections of east-west aligned walls were recorded. The inn included a full range of outbuildings including stables, tenements and a playhouse, any of which may have been represented by the remains found. During the second half of the 18th century, the inn was owned by an ironmonger, and the OS map of 1880 shows a smithy within this part of Area 3 (Figure 2). The position of the potential smithing workshop along the street frontage of Rollestone Street is unusual, with industrial activities more likely to have been conducted in the back plot of properties. It may suggest an ongoing tradition of metalworking within the Three Swans Chequer.

The ability to link an industrial tradition to a specific area in a town requires a considerable range of evidence. For example, a recent excavation of a better preserved section of town properties and back lots in a suburb of Bristol uncovered an industrial development which lasted from the 12th to the 17th centuries (see Alexander 2015, 20-32 for description and 138-45 for discussion). In that example the evidence included stratigraphically related pits, cisterns, hearths and furnaces with material and environmental remains within a supporting documentary framework. All this information could be used to demonstrate a sequence of development, expansion and replacement which illuminated further details of a known dyeing industry and a later copper-working area. The available evidence from the bus station site, in contrast, can be used to suggest only an outline of a possible function and date for activities within this part of Salisbury.

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## References

### **Documentary References (DR)**

#### Abbreviations

- TNA The National Archives (Kew)
- WSA Wiltshire and Swindon Archives (Chippenham)
- 1 WSA 776/1059, agreement 12 Apr. 1740.
- 2 WSA 1214/33, deed 16 Feb. 1798.
- 3 WSA 1214/32, leases 1752, 1766; WSA 1214/33, deed 16 Feb. 1798.
- 4 WSA 1214/33, deed 16 Feb. 1798; the site of the cottages appears as open on Naish's map, 1716.
- 5 WSA 2700/1.
- 6 WSA 1214/33, deed of 10 Feb. 1834.
- 7 Census Returns 1841–71.
- 8 Salisbury Diocesan Gazette, 1888 edn., 16–7; Kelly's Directory of Wilts, 1935 edn., 210.
- 9 WSA 1901/224; WSA G23/1/181, 185.
- 10 WSA G23/1/264. f. 3; WSA 776/1059, deed of 20 Mar. 1661.
- 11 WSA 776/1059, deed of 12 Apr. 1616.
- 12 WSA 776/1059, deed of 11 Feb. 1648.
- 13 WSA 727/10/2, abstract of title.
- 14 TNA PROB 31/12/1795; copy in WSA 727/11/23.
- 15 WSA 727/10/2, abstract of title. That the premises extended to include 13 Rollestone Street is confirmed by the note 'land late of Ambrose Burch' on the plan attached to the 1798 deed, WSA 1214/33.
- 16 TNA RG 9/1317, f.40v, the 1861 census return, notes an iron foundry in Rollestone Street, which is presumably the smithy mapped in 1879.
- 17 Ordnance Survey, 1:500 sheet Wiltshire 66.11.24, published 1881.
- 18 Ordnance Survey, 1:2,500 sheet Wiltshire 66.11, revised

1900, published 1901; *Kelly's Directory of Wiltshire*, various editions, 1903–35.

- 19 Kelly's Directory of Wiltshire, 1923 edn, 216 (advert).
- 20 WSA G23/1/245 (described in Haskins 1912, 92-3); Cal. Proc. Chanc. Eliz. (Rec. Comm), iii, WW 25, 53.
- 21 TNA PROB 11/3/497; VCH Wilts. 6, 133.
- 22 WSA G23/1/215, f.8.

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