

**Pottery in the Material Culture of Early Modern England: A Model
from the Archaeology of Worcester, 1650-1750**

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It goes without saying, but nevertheless has to be said, that all the mistakes contained in the following pages are mine alone.

RNR

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Abstract

The objective of this thesis is to place the pottery used by people in 17th and 18th century Worcester into context, flowing from a desire to see the archaeological study of pottery placed within the wider study of material culture. It develops a model for doing so by addressing both a corpus of pottery drawn from a number of sites in the city and a sample of probate inventories covering the century 1650-1750. This century is of interest in local ceramic studies because it is transitional between a period in which the prime provider of pottery for the whole region was the Malvern industry, and the later period of industrial scale manufacture and distribution in Staffordshire. The thesis begins by reviewing possible theoretical approaches to the study of pottery and adopting a standpoint based on a phenomenological view of material culture as embodied experience, as opposed to the idealist representation of meaning. Since an implication of this standpoint is that the experience of past people encompassed more than the use and possession of pots, the subsequent Chapter explores the physical development of Worcester over the century under review. The next section then embarks on the consideration of 11 groups of pottery drawn from six sites in the city. Each group is considered and interpreted in turn, in its archaeological context, before the resulting data is combined to form images of the ceramic 'repertoire' for each of three Stages covering the century. A product of this process is the draft of a Type Series for later early modern pottery in Worcester. A sample of probate inventories taken at ten year intervals is then considered, and images of household material culture developed for three similar temporal Stages. Finally information from both the archaeological study and the analysis of inventories is combined imaginatively in 'walking through' three houses, one for each Stage, in order to experience, at least vicariously, the place of pottery in each.

The model thus endeavours to establish for a particular locality both the nature of the ceramic repertoire for the period under review, using a development of 'traditional' archaeological methodology, and the position within particular households which it appears to have occupied. This approach combines the archaeological study of pottery, often pursued in isolation, with the detailed consideration of related historical data, in a way which illuminates both and can be further refined and applied elsewhere.

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Note on quantities and values

In the Chapters below which deal with inventory data, quantities and values are in pre-decimal, imperial units. The main categories concerned are:

- 1 Weight – 1 pound (lb) contains 16 ounces (oz), and is equivalent to 0.454 kg.
- 2 Liquid volume – 1 gallon contains 8 pints, and is equivalent to 4.546 litres.
- 3 Currency – 1 pound (£) contains 20 shillings (s), each of 12 pence (d). There are 240 pence to the pound. One shilling is 5 new pence; one old penny is approximately 0.42 new pence.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This study is an exercise in contextual archaeology. It starts from a simple fascination with material objects and their apparent ability to connect with past people. Objects like pots were handled and used by people in the past in the course of their everyday lives, so that they appear to offer the chance of being able to say something about those everyday lives, the locations in which they were lived, the very intimacy of people's unacknowledged and unspoken material environment.

Context applies in two senses. First, there is an attempt to construct a model for placing pottery, a commonplace subject of archaeological enquiry, in its context within a specific historical and topographical setting, in this case houses in the city of Worcester in the 17th and 18th centuries. But in the second place it uses that 'placement' as a metaphor for the 'placement' of the practice of archaeology (in this case represented by the study of pottery) within the overall context of history (that is, writing about the past). It is one contention of this thesis that the relationship between these activities or ideas is insufficiently conceptualised, that the archaeological treatment of pottery, as generally practised, is an 'archaeological construct', not always clearly related to its ostensible purpose of saying something meaningful about past people. The thesis begins in a rather traditional way to look at a corpus of pottery from a particular place at a particular time, to construct a type series of categories, to place the categories in some kind of chronological framework, to allocate provenances, to describe, measure and weigh. But it attempts to go further than this, to provide a context within which this rather small part of the material culture of Worcester people had its place, within which it acquired meaning. So there is also a survey of the contents of people's houses, as revealed by probate inventories in the same place at the same time, and an account of the local background against which these people lived and died.

In this way it is hoped to break out of an overly incestuous way of looking at the study of archaeological pottery as an end in itself, with essentially archaeological purposes, and to place it in a wider material and historical context.

If pottery is to be put into context, a scheme or model is necessary for doing so. In a period for which other kinds of information than archaeology is available, not only is it

desirable to bring that other information into play, it is a requirement. It would be absurd to attempt an account of pottery in any 'historical' period, for which written records might help to illuminate its surroundings, without using those records. In their essay on 'American Material Culture in Mind, Thought and Deed', Yentsch and Beaudry (2001) begin by quoting from Maquet (1993): '...it is essential to know what objects mean for the people who make and use them. [A] reading of objects always has to be supplemented by what people say and write about them. Objects can illuminate words; they cannot replace them.' But even in the 'historical' context, as Yentsch and Beaudry point out, there are swathes of experience, both in terms of periods of time and of segments of society, which are not illuminated by written sources. This observation constitutes the *raison d'être* of the archaeological study of 'post-prehistoric' societies and periods. There are always many aspects of the lives of past people which, even in very recent times, leave little which can be recovered by looking at written records alone.

This is not to say that archaeology simply fills in the gaps in the story which history cannot supply. It is an argument for the study of the past using all available means. As Yentsch and Beaudry go on to say, '...there is truth in the statement that the fullest range of layered meaning is obtained when one can consult an informant using her words and deeds to inform the analysis of material culture' (2001:214) The point of the exercise is to say something significant about material culture, not to give priority to any one way of doing so. In the present case, the proposal is that probate inventories, as a prime means of studying the material goods in early modern households, can stand for those words and deeds, alongside the material remains recovered by archaeology. The process thus becomes more than archaeology. It is an attempt to use information produced by the practice of archaeology to write history. The fact that for a huge segment of the past ('prehistory') the practice of archaeology is the only way of approaching the past (writing history) obscures this truism. But in the present case the method is nevertheless self-consciously archaeological, to the extent that probate inventories are approached as proxy archaeological contexts and treated as if they, like the contents of the finds tray, were the arbitrary and incomplete survivals of a process of disposal, transformation and recovery.

'Meaning' has duly made its appearance in the above paragraphs, as something which adheres to things like pots, or even as the objective of writing history. This is characteristic of a great deal of theoretical discussion in archaeology, and it will be necessary to address it in due course. But in the meantime the model can begin by looking at the kinds of information supplied by the two sources, archaeological contexts and probate inventories. They are to all appearances quite disparate. For example:

<i>Archaeological assemblage</i>	<i>Inventory</i>
1 Date range only	Date specific
2 Anonymous	Named owner
3 Origin uncertain	Place specific
4 Physical presence	Description only
5 Record of physical attributes	No physical record
6 Fragmentary/dispersed	Complete (in description)

But the disparities are at least partly illusory. In the case of any pottery assemblage, only a *terminus post quem*, and even then only an approximation, is possible, and the material, except in very exceptional circumstances, will consist of products attributable to a range of dates. In the case of an inventory, the date of its production is known; the objects contained in it existed in association at a very specific time. However, again except in very exceptional circumstances, the objects will be the result of accumulation over a number of years, as long as or longer than the range of dates covered by the pottery assemblage. In this sense it is comparable to the assemblage, and can be seen as a proxy archaeological context, or series of contexts, as shown in Figure 1.

The location of the objects in the inventory is often very clear. In many cases the room in the household is known, and the location of the house is at least pinpointed at the level of the parish. The pottery assemblage is located, in a pit or well or some other archaeological context, in a particular place. That place can be located in relation to property boundaries or even a specific dwelling, excavated at the same time and stratigraphically linked to the assemblage. This link is obvious enough in the case of castles and palaces, and perhaps in rural settings, but in close-packed urban settings, heavily disturbed by later intrusions, it becomes more tenuous and often breaks down completely. It is quite possible that the assemblage derives from more than one household. Much depends in this context on the detailed interpretation of the assemblage, its state of completeness, the presence of residual material, and so on, which might indicate something of its post-depositional history. However, in early modern towns, without organised means of rubbish disposal, it is still more likely than not that the elements of an assemblage came from the immediate vicinity.

The presence in the one case of concrete artefacts and in the other only of written descriptions is an obvious disparity. In the first case material can be weighed and measured, and described in as minute and scientific detail as desired. In the second only a description, and that often ambiguous and sometimes very generalised, is available.

	Pottery Groups					Inventories				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
1650-60						↓		↓		
1660-70	↓					1665	↓	↓		
1670-80	↓				↓		↓	↓		
1680-90	↓	↓			↓		1685	↓	↓	
1690-1700	↓	↓		↓	↓			1695	↓	
1700-10		↓		↓					↓	
1710-20		↓							1715	
1720-30			↓							↓
1730-40			↓							↓
1740-50			↓							1745
	↓ date range & TPQ					1665	year within which probate date lies			
Figure 1 - Groups and Inventories as contexts										

But the objects listed in the inventory can at least be categorised in a number of ways, listed by material, function or value, depending on the detail included. The methods for coming to grips with the information ('data') offered by archaeology and by inventory lists will be described in more detail in Chapters 3 and 6, but something needs to be said by way of introduction to the overall approach being taken.

The ultimate objective is to arrive at an interpretive reconstruction of the material contents of the households which contained the pottery whose broken remains are the business of archaeology, a reconstruction which involves an account of that pottery. Viewed from one angle, the object of the project is to 'fill in' the ceramic line in the matrix drawn from the inventory, which is usually empty and always sparse, using archaeological evidence. From another, the object is to complete the archaeological finds record by 'filling in' the boxes which might (but do not generally) appear, listing wood, textiles and other organics, and by 'bulking out' the boxes which do appear for metalwork, but do not generally contain much more than a few nails. Each of these angles has to be given equal attention in telling the story of Worcester households, since the intention must be to treat them as whole and living entities, rather than, on the one hand, archaeological contexts, and on the other mere written lists.

'Telling the story' implies a movement through time, and the model will attempt to convey a sense of development, or at least change, over the period from about 1650 to about 1750. These dates are necessarily very approximate, and are dictated to a large extent by the availability of material: pottery of the late 17th and early 18th century, largely from groups discarded in wells and cesspits, is present in large quantities, especially from the Deansway excavation; and inventories from Worcester households are readily available, at least up to about 1730. The period also has a distinct interest in ceramic terms. It can be seen as bridging the 'gap' between the end of the Malvern industry, which supplied the needs of a wide surrounding area, including Worcester, up to the mid 17th century, and the advent of the products of a more or less industrialised Staffordshire industry which came into being in the later 18th century. It is of some interest to tease out the details of what was in use in Worcester during this transitional period, both in terms of provenance and of changes in styles and forms.

The model therefore has the following features:

- a) Analysis of the data into categories (pottery types, fabrics, forms; functional and material classes of objects);

- b) Arranging the categories into some kind of chronology, in the case of pottery by analogy with similar types from elsewhere, by association with better known types, or very occasionally by absolute date; in the case of inventories by their absolute dates;
- c) Comparing the two sets of information;
- d) 'Placing' the pottery within the known households and their contents.

Although the project starts from looking at pottery, in a detailed and 'archaeological' way, it necessarily expands into considering other kinds of objects and other kinds of stories about the history of Worcester, and in this there is an inherent danger of encroaching upon other areas of expertise in which the author is progressively less knowledgeable as the areas expand. There is no boundary (certainly no logical boundary) to the context or contexts within which any object can be placed, other than that imposed by practical considerations such as the constraints of time and space. All that is possible is to maintain the attempt to say something more about pottery than how old it is and where it came from, and face the interpretive risks that this involves.

Item a) above, 'analysis of the data' is at the centre of the enterprise. If pottery assemblages or lists of objects in inventories are to be studied at all, some form of quantification, counting, weighing, listing, totalling, and above all categorisation into discrete types and forms, is inevitable in the face of an overwhelming totality of separate instances. In the case of pottery, a series of types has been constructed which 'represents' the kinds of pottery present in Worcester during the period under review. For inventories the individual entries have been classified according to their apparent material and their broad functional associations, and rearranged in material and functional lists. But it should be obvious that these operations are done in order to make sense, in the present, of these survivals from the past. Categories invented in the present can have no relevance to the material culture of past people, to what the objects with which they surrounded themselves 'meant' to them. If we call a kind of pot which we identify by a name such as 'Blackware' or 'Westerwald', we immediately place emphasis on its colour or its origin. The categories may be useful to us, but in neither case is it obvious that people in the 17th or 18th century would have emphasised these aspects if they had been asked what, if anything, was characteristic about vessels of these kinds. Certainly neither term appears in any inventory list. If we put items in an inventory list in material categories, this may help us to judge whether iron or tin dripping pans were more prevalent and whether this changed over time, because this is of interest to us, but it also

separates the iron pothooks and links from the brass cooking pots hanging from them, which makes no sense in the context of cooking as a real everyday activity. However, at least the inventory list is couched in terms which were current at the time these objects were in use, and therefore goes some way towards satisfying the desire expressed at the beginning of this Chapter for the words of participants to be included in the discussion.

All of this still skirts around the centrality of meaning. We will continue for the moment to do so, because it is necessary to consider another aspect of the relationship between present things (archaeological material) and their past existence, namely how or whether they can in the present be regarded as somehow 'representing' a state of affairs in the past. As has been said many times in many ways, '.. an archaeologist is working with a sample (what he has excavated) of a sample (what has survived) of a sample (what has been deposited) of a sample (the material culture) of the past' (Janssen 1990, quoted by Hundsbichler 1997). The place of 'material culture', rather than 'material goods' as the final element in the sequence might be queried, given that the other elements are physical objects and 'culture' is arguably not, but the final stage of the process does involve a transition between objects and 'culture', making the whole process even more problematic. This particular formulation also raises the question of what a 'sample .. of the past' might mean. If a similar formulation also applies to historical sources, documentary or otherwise, as it surely must, it is difficult to conceive of a past other than that revealed by the archaeological and historical sources. In other words, there is in practice no past other than that represented by the third element in the chain (what has been deposited), and the final sample '..of the past' is redundant. This is perhaps an extreme claim; the very fact that only part of a pot survives, with breaks which could be matched by absent sherds, means necessarily that there *is* evidence of absence (what has *not* been deposited), and the fragmentary survival of historical records points in the same direction. But this argument cannot be pushed very far. Although the absent sherds or the missing documents from a series which once existed are evidence of absence, it cannot be known how many other pots or other series are missing, or, much more important, what evidence they might have provided, so that we are driven back on the (perhaps reductive, but necessary) conclusion that there simply is no past other than that which can be constructed from the evidence remaining in the present. This observation becomes important when we come to confront the chimera of 'meaning'. If it is the case that there is no past beyond what we can construct from the evidence available to us, the question whether that evidence stands in some kind of relationship with another entity, namely the past, is otiose. To take the argument one step further, can

the evidence be looked upon as a sample, the description of which can be taken to be a 'true' representation of some larger whole?

To begin with the pottery, a category is a known proportion of a known population, so that it makes sense (in a very limited and trivial way) to say that, for example, Blackware is 20% of assemblage A, using weight, or sherd count, or estimated vessel equivalent (hereafter *eve*), as the unit of measurement. The assemblage of which the category is part may be a known proportion of some larger known whole, say the totality of sherds excavated from a particular site, or the totality from a number of sites excavated in one research campaign, but at some point in this process a 'virtual arbitrariness' takes over. Although it is *in principle* possible to know the total number of sherds of post-medieval pottery that have ever been recovered in the city of Worcester, it is in practice *impossible*, so that the population of which the original category forms a small proportion is unknown, even in the restricted sense of a sample of the amount of material known.

But the point at issue is not to be able to calculate proportions within present assemblages, but to argue from those proportions to the pottery in use at certain times in the past. The present assemblage, however defined (the category, the context assemblage, the site assemblage, and so on) is an arbitrary survival from an unknown, and unknowable, population. That population could be defined, as part of a research project, as, for example, the total number of pottery vessels in existence in Worcester in 1700, and questions formed about the proportions of various types within that number. However, since that number is unknowable, it is pointless to regard the assemblage, statistically, as a sample at all, at any rate of a past population, or to suppose that those research questions are meaningful in that form. The assemblage of surviving objects has to be treated as all that is knowable, as *being* the past in the present. This point merits emphasis: there is no past 'out there', a transcendent reality which is being 'sampled' by the systematic application of appropriate technical processes in the present. There were, of course, other pots and other events which have irrevocably disappeared; so much is obvious from everyday experience, but the point is not that we are aware that what we can know about the past is a fragment, but that that fragment is not and cannot be a knowable proportion of a known totality.

The researcher is not thereby absolved, however, from applying techniques for assessing the present assemblage of pots in order to extract the best possible information about what proportions of various types occur within it, taking account of variability in the propensity of different types to break into smaller or larger pieces, and the differentials in life-spans between types. The object of such assessment is to be able to compare

assemblages and say something meaningful about the different proportions that appear between them. The techniques for doing so, and the pitfalls attendant upon them, have been exhaustively discussed (Orton & Tyers 1992, Orton et al. 1993, Orton 2000); this study adopts the *eve*, calculated by measuring surviving rims and bases, as the measure enabling comparison between assemblages to be made. As Orton et al point out (1993:167), the possibility of such comparison entirely depends upon assuming that the variability in life-spans between types, although unknown, is a constant.

Some of the same arguments apply to inventories, relating to an unknowable population of things, of which the objects in the lists are an apparent sample. In this case the objects, unlike the pottery sherds, are not available for examination, but if the minimum assumption is made that the lists are truthful as far as they go, categories can be created and regarded as samples. However, there is no possibility of knowing whether, say, the total of five tables listed in an inventory is the total number of tables in the house, nor whether an entire category of object (for example earthenware) which is not mentioned was not present. Inventories, like archaeological records, can only reveal the presence of objects, and no assumption can be made that an object which might have existed was *not* present (Overton et al. 2004:19). In the absence of physical objects for study, the question of what sample is available, of the known or knowable population of present objects, does not arise. But it would in principle be possible to know the total number of tables mentioned in Worcester inventories between certain dates, and therefore the proportion of those represented by the tables in a particular inventory or set of inventories. Again in practice, this would be an impossibly onerous task, and would in any case be pointless in view of the remaining ignorance of the proportion this overall total might have represented of the total population of tables.

A further layer of uncertainty is added in the case of inventories, in that they are themselves 'objects' of historical study, artefacts which need interpretation before, or in the process of, being used for information about the material goods in the household. The total of surviving inventories is a sub-set of the total which once existed, but, more important, it is the product of only a section of the people of Worcester, namely in general those that had possessions valuable enough to make it worth leaving a will. Those probate inventories which are available are 'representative' of only a limited proportion of early modern populations. In this case it would be probably be possible, by examining parish registers, to make an estimate of what proportion of those dying in Worcester in a particular year left a will and/or an inventory. This would require a considerable further research effort and has not yet been done.

Estimates have, however, been made of the proportion of the population in early modern England who were the subjects of probate. The attempt is fraught with uncertainty in the absence of reliable estimates of population (see Chapter 2). The review provided by Goose and Evans (2000) seems to indicate that somewhere between a quarter and a third might be expected, but this is affected by whether the proportion is of the population as a whole, including women and children and the poor, or only of those, primarily adult men, who might legally leave a will. However accurate these estimates may be, it is clear that any collection of inventories is representative of only a proportion of the population. It excludes not only almost all of those with little of value to bequeath, that is labourers and the poor, but almost all women except some widows. As far as Worcester is concerned, the majority of 'useful' inventories are those of clothiers, tradesmen and shopkeepers of various sorts, supplemented by a few 'gentry' households with interests in the surrounding countryside, and a very few labourers. The households which can be described using this resource are therefore determined primarily by wealth, but also by other arbitrary factors, such as the age of the testator at death and the conscientiousness of the appraisers. Added to this, even very full inventories do not tell the whole story of the material goods in a household. Given these limitations, there can be no possibility of arriving at a 'comprehensive picture' of the material goods in Worcester households at a particular date, even supposing that this formulation makes any sense. All that is possible is to say that at such a time material goods of such a kind were present in *these* houses, not to assume that what is described represents a 'typical' household. Worcester citizens did not live in typical households but in particular ones, and this study will attempt to respect that particularity whilst allowing particular cases to interact to provide insights into generalised possibilities.

The observation that the past exists only insofar as it is recounted in the present, using inadequate and partial evidence, is perhaps no more than a truism, although one which is frequently ignored. At bottom it is a tautology: we know what we know and no more. But it touches on a fundamental question which affects all attempts to bridge the gap between past and present, to link a present hermeneutic with a little-known past one. This is the question of whether there is a past 'reality' which we are trying to get at which is somehow different from the 'facts' at our disposal; whether the facts are merely an appearance behind which a 'truer' reality lies concealed. After all, it might be commented, the objects of study simply lie mute, ready to be interpreted. A story about them remains to be told, and that process will reveal their true significance. It is necessary here to step back a little into philosophical basics.

It has been a fundamental theme in western philosophy and culture to look for something more solid, more stable, more 'real' than the shifting appearances of the world, in which everything apparently decays, has a beginning and an end, or is less than perfect. It is a commonplace observation that, although no two trees, people or herrings are absolutely identical, we still recognise them as trees, people or herrings; the inevitable conclusion therefore is that the *idea* of a tree, a person or a herring is in some sense the only reality, of which the myriad individual examples encountered in everyday life are simply imperfect instances. The theme can be illustrated in all sorts of ways, not least in the idea of a deity who embodies the perfection of virtues which are exhibited imperfectly by men and women, but which must of necessity exist in perfection in a 'higher' reality. This is not the place to enter into an extended discussion of the unresolved and probably unresolvable opposition between idealism and materialism, but simply to note as a starting point that the field of 'material culture', which in its application to archaeology has to do with making sense of past objects, is suffused with varying interpretations that give differential emphasis on the one hand to the *significance* of things and on the other to their *nature* as things, or their 'materiality'. This opposition, or perhaps equivocality, about things, between an idealist or representational significance and a concern with the things themselves, surfaces in the treatment of the idea of 'meaning'. In the first case it seems as though in thinking about the significance of things we are drawn into a focus on abstractions, on things as *representing* or *standing for* ideas or movements or trends in society, or changes in economic conditions. We abstract from the objects their meaning, leaving them once again mute and meaningless. On the other hand, if we concentrate on the nature of things, their physicality, their sensuous nature, their 'handling qualities', this seems a dead end, a self-referential, incestuous concern with 'things in themselves', without reference to wider aspects of supposed meaning.

It may be that neither of these views need be adopted to the exclusion of the other, but that they are simply different ways of looking at the problem of 'making sense'. According to the standard textbook on archaeological pottery the 'careful and painstaking study' devoted to pottery provides information in three main ways:

- '(i) dating evidence.
- (ii) distributional evidence, for example relating to trade.
- (iii) evidence for function and/or status.' (Orton et al. 1993: 23)

The authors proceed to spend a great deal of time and space in discussion of the first two of these, but rather less on the third, beyond a fairly brief chapter on function. The question of 'meaning' is perhaps meant to be subsumed within in the third heading, indeed an even briefer section on 'symbolic meaning' is included in the chapter on

function, as if functional attributions were in some way part of the meaning of an object, or sometimes all of it ('functional meaning' as opposed to, or in addition to, 'symbolic meaning'). 'Status' is presumably social status and/or wealth, so that social and economic meanings are also implicated in the formula. But the bulk of the book is devoted to a broadly 'scientific' application of techniques of description, analysis and quantification to pottery assemblages, with the implicit assumption that these will, in providing the 'evidence', reveal meaning. This approach is firmly within a processual paradigm of archaeological enquiry which treats artefacts not primarily as material culture but as objects for scientific study. It takes the potsherds out of their historical and cultural context and places them in the laboratory to be examined. Paradoxically, in spite of a very real apparent concern with their material nature (their weight, colour, composition, and so on), their primary purpose is to provide 'evidence', to contribute to dating schemes and distribution maps. Their position as cultural objects, their existence as things in complex cultural and social relations with the people who made and used them are downplayed. Insofar as most archaeological treatment of pottery is within this processualist paradigm, it also fails seriously to treat its ostensible object of enquiry as a part of material culture. Given that much of that treatment is devoted to the reporting of excavations in an environment constrained by commercial considerations of costs and planned outcomes, this is hardly surprising. But if it were possible to devote more time and effort to engaging with meaning, what approaches to how pottery might fit into material culture might be taken?

Tilley, in introducing the theoretical perspectives relevant to the study of material culture lists Marxism, structuralism and semiotics, and phenomenology as

"'foundational" theoretical perspectives in so far as it is impossible to imagine either the existence of a notion of materiality or a field labelling itself material culture studies without their existence.' (Tilley et al. 2006: 7)

A detailed excursion into the immense literature on these and other approaches to material culture is beyond the scope of this project, but it is necessary to establish a context within which the present study can speak.

It is possible to see that both Marxist and structuralist paradigms fall broadly within the idealist tradition sketched above. Marxist emphases on economic explanation, on the centrality of production and the employment of resources to explain the emergence of capitalist systems are quintessentially geared towards using 'evidence' for the growth of capitalist production to illuminate the emergence of particular kinds of social structures. In

spite of an overtly materialist allegiance, they are still concerned to explain the past by reference to an overarching ideology, and past material culture is just one of the strands of evidence to be used in this endeavour. This kind of view is not of course confined to specifically Marxist interpretations; changes in the material culture of the home can be seen as evidence for changes in the economy leading to industrialisation, and the concomitant growth of consumption, leading to a 'consumer culture' in some way different from 'pre-modern' arrangements. But in all of these views things are among the evidence for grand movements, for long-term historical developments, which transcend their material nature and generalise their impact. Things are implicated in the '*longue durée*'. This is not to make a judgment about the validity of these approaches; valuable insights are to be gained by viewing changes in past material culture as objectifying changes in the nature of social and economic relationships, although it may sometimes be that what is going on is the search for evidence to support an essentially ideological vision of the development of societies, a vision which has its origins beyond the things which are ostensibly the subject of enquiry.

Structuralist perspectives also emphasise the ways in which people's engagement with things reveals or exemplifies the underlying structures and obligations which govern their social relationships. The reality of those things is again downplayed in comparison with the 'deeper' reality of those structures and relationships. The things are subordinate to the kinship diagram. They also tend to be seen as a kind of text which can be 'read' in order to reveal past meanings. The meaning is the important outcome and is separate, or rather is *separated from* the object. The influence of Saussurean semiotics lies behind much of this kind of discourse. The interpretation of language as a system of signs existing in an arbitrary relation to the things or ideas which they 'represent' laid open the possibility that past artefacts could be assigned multiple meanings, not all, or even any, of which were those which their originators might be thought to have intended. Hence the 'layered meanings' invoked at the beginning of this Chapter, which are, it should be emphasised, and in spite of the express intention to give past people a voice, mostly the meanings which modern interpreters assign (the subversion of established social relations by oppressed groups, the negotiation of altered meanings, and so on).

The effect of searching for meaning, either in the grand narratives of the growth of capitalism or consumerism, or in the search for underlying societal structures, has cast the material objects which are the business of archaeology in the role of carriers of cultural meaning, of representatives of something beyond themselves. That something has often been a 'deeper' meaning in the form of an idea about the 'underlying' reasons

for changes in material culture, the idea itself originating from elsewhere. Concern with the growth of consumerism is a case in point.

The 'big idea' here is the 'consumer revolution' which is held to have occurred in England in the 18th century (Campbell 1993). This idea asserts that people in Worcester, as everywhere else, started acquiring new things, and more of them, in consequence of the interplay of innovations in the supply of things (improvements in technological methods, in distribution, in credit and banking) and new demands for luxury goods and the products of new fashionable activities (such as tea-drinking). Clearly, this perception has an intimate relationship with the much older big idea of the Industrial Revolution. The consumer revolution is a playing out of the industrial revolution, as cause or effect, or a combination of the two, in the material goods available to, and demanded by, individual households and their members. Since this is not an essay in economic history, we are not required to delve into the economic and financial intricacies held to be implicated in these supposed movements, nor their timing, but merely to note that the things in which we are interested, specifically ceramics, are again being corralled into generalised conclusions about social and economic history. As Courtney points out (1997), ceramics have played a significant part in the development of this theme. The seminal work of McKendrick et al (1982) drew attention to the entrepreneurial role of Josiah Wedgwood in the transformation in the nature of the ceramic repertoire available to consumers in the later 18th century. Many others (for example Weatherill 1988) have attempted to show how consumers, for example as evidenced from probate inventories, acquired new things held to be representative of new demands and aspirations. This has been held to be not only a matter of innovation in the things themselves, that is the acquisition of new and fashionable possessions, but of a more fundamental shift in underlying relationships and ideas. A 'pre-industrial' world, in which things were in some way defined primarily by their functional qualities, and arose from close relations between supplier and consumer, gave way to more distant, 'commercialised' relationships, defined by the more complex interplay of industrial production and the demands of innovation.

Whether the consumer revolution, if it existed, was spearheaded by motives of emulation, that is the desire of people, as they acquired wealth, to 'ape their betters', to follow the dictates of a fashion which was being defined by others, is another much disputed issue (see Campbell 1993). However, it serves to make the point that the discussion is not focussed on the 'stuff' itself, to use Miller's memorable usage (2010), but on its meaning, as indicative of social relations between different layers of society. It is as if, in considering the pottery recovered by archaeology in Worcester, we are seeking to answer

quite wide-ranging and high-level general questions about the sociology of early modern England. This kind of study cannot do that, and should not seek to operate in that arena. This stance can be elaborated a little by considering the third of Tilley's 'foundational' perspectives, the phenomenological.

This is perhaps a rash undertaking. We are faced by the difficulty of getting to grips with some of the ideas involved, which are counter-intuitive in relation to 'normal', 'objective' ways of looking at the world:

'... one of the hallmarks of phenomenological thinking is the way that it commonly reverses the causal relationships presumed by contemporary 'common sense', such as those between substance and meaning, or essence and manifestation.' (Thomas 2006: 44)

A fundamental point to grasp is that we are moving away from an emphasis on epistemological questions about *knowledge of the world*, conceptualised as objective, with a separation between the perceiving individual and the object of knowledge, towards an emphasis on ontological questions about '*being in the world*', with an assimilation between the individual and his or her material environment. It is a shift, as Thomas puts it, 'from the transcendent to the immanent' (2006: 56). This has serious implications for the idea of meaning, because the notion that meaning attaches to objects, that it transcends the materiality of things to reveal what they 'truly' mean, that meaning is an optional extra, is overtaken by the convergence of meaning and thing, by the immanence of meaning. Meaning as a separate conceptual category is abandoned, along with the notion that there is an 'objective' past reality to be discovered by means of scientific empiricism.

Instead, the world (including its past) is to be explained through the description and redescription of experience by a human subject. The approach is thus fundamentally 'subjective' in that it affirms the primacy of human subjective experience in 'making sense' of a humanly-experienced, social world. In this it is distinct from the empirical discovery and elaboration of physical and biological laws by the application of scientific experimentation. The chemical composition of a sherd of pottery can be determined, its origin in a particular place perhaps thereby fixed, and its method of manufacture elucidated, but none of this goes very far towards the experience of its presence and use in a household setting. Phenomenologists have also tended to emphasise, following Merleau-Ponty, the 'embodiedness' of human experience, which distances experience yet further from any suggestion of objectivity, of 'standing back' to view the passing scene, and immerses the subject, by means of his or her bodily engagement, fully within the

experience which is being described. This description of experience is of course variable and contingent, depending on the individual concerned; there can never be one 'true' account. It is also necessarily contextual. Experience is experience within a cultural, social and historical context, and cannot be anything else..

Another way of approaching a perspective which is admittedly in its nature resistant to 'scientific' definition is to reflect on the distinction made by existentialism, which was in its day a close relative and development of phenomenology, between existence and essence. Sartre's supposed dictum that 'existence precedes essence' is merely meant to give primacy in the discussion of human experience to the basic experience of *being* in the world, rather than to the attribution of meaning, or the *essential* nature of being, which is a secondary process (Sartre 1948). In making a chamber pot, the potter handles the clay and his tools, goes through the routine processes of throwing and finishing, as an embodied experience or habit which is part of his being as a human; as such it is philosophically prior to the essence of the object being made, the chamber pot. The latter 'essence' is projected onto the basic experience, and is a human construct, subject to a myriad different interpretations: the chamber pot may be a plain white everyday thing or an elaborately decorated prestige object which may be meant as a gift and not primarily to be used for its ostensible purpose. This scheme might be thought to separate meaning again from object, but it is still compatible with a view that sees experience in a holistic way, which, while recognising the primacy of existence, also accepts the integration of meaning into the experience. And the human experience of the chamber pot changes over time; the carrier who transports it, the market trader who sells it and the owner who uses it all have different experiences of it, so that simply to describe it as 'essentially' a chamber pot, that is to restrict its meaning to its function, would be absurd.

The phenomenological approach does not necessarily imply any particular methodology, but it requires an attitude to the things under discussion which regards them as the objects of embodied human experience, both ours and that of people in the past, rather than material for experiment and the generation of inductively produced 'results'. An obvious objection is that, if the process involves the description of experience, we cannot by definition experience the lives of people in 17th and 18th century Worcester houses. There can be no participant observation, the classic engagement of anthropological research with the experiences of others. But the experience is ours as well as theirs. We have our experience of the objects which they created, kept in their cupboards and attics, broke and discarded, and which are now in cardboard boxes in museum stores. We can experience them in a number of ways, both traditionally 'objective' and more imaginative,

by weighing, counting, photographing and drawing, comparing and describing. There can be no logical connection between these processes and the very different experiences of past people, but since the past, however we recount it, whether phenomenologically or otherwise, is always *our* account, there is nothing unusual about this.

To return finally to 'meaning', it should be clear that the phenomenological perspective sees it as fully bound up in the description of experience upon which it depends, and not as a separate category which attaches itself to stuff. Indeed the use of this term, 'stuff', quite neatly encapsulates the collapse of meaning into description, its lack of precision and equivocality appearing to refer both to material things and their placement in a surrounding cultural context. This observation is as true of the modern researcher's engagement with the 'stuff' of the past as of the assumed, but now irrecoverable experience of past people. In experiencing the remains of the past, whether pottery sherds or the descriptions contained in probate inventories, we are engaged in an unending and partial redescribing of past lives, in the context of our own knowledge, assumptions and prejudices.

How are we to proceed with the ceramic appearances of 17th and 18th century Worcester in the light of these alternative perspectives? One answer is not to regard the alternatives as exclusive of each other, but to see them all as viable viewpoints on the past, in their own terms. The following Chapters can be seen as taking a literally equivocal view. They include traditional historical accounts, the collection of 'data' and analysis of results in an overtly 'objective' kind of way, and more imaginative accounts of what some Worcester houses might have been like. But they have to be read in the knowledge that this is not the 'truth' about some aspect of Worcester's past; it is a series of accounts, which are compatible with the selection of evidence which is adduced, looked at in various ways. They can also be seen as a journey of exploration, moving from an 'objective' view of stuff in the Chapters devoted to pottery, to a more interpretive account of households partly revealed by the probate inventories of their former owners, to a final amalgamation into an imaginative account of how the pottery fits into the contextual picture. Overall, the intention is not to answer representationalist questions about the underlying significance of changes in the pottery repertoire of Worcester households, but, by describing the pottery and its material context, to try to enter a little way into the material culture of those households.

Sartre himself may perhaps be allowed a comment on the extreme difficulty of bringing life to a historical account:

'Well, yes: he [Rollebon] may have done all that, but there's no proof that he did: I am beginning to believe that nothing can ever be proved. These are reasonable hypotheses which take the facts into account: but I am only too well aware that they come from me, that they are simply a way of unifying my own knowledge. Not a single glimmer comes from Rollebon's direction. Slow, lazy, sulky, the facts adapt themselves at a pinch to the order I wish to give them, but it remains outside of them. I have the impression of doing a work of pure imagination. And even so, I am certain that characters in a novel would appear more realistic, or in any case would be more amusing.' (Sartre 1938 [1965])

But before engaging with the material culture of households, Chapter 2 attempts a brief account of the local context within which they existed, namely Worcester in the late 17th and early 18th century. Chapter 3 then sets out the background to the examination of pottery groups from the city and the methods used for doing so. Chapter 4 contains accounts of 11 groups of pottery drawn from six sites and Chapter 5 draws together the data thus derived into descriptions of three successive ceramic repertoires covering the century. Chapter 6 then introduces the methods for using probate inventories, and constructs a comparable three-stage account of the other kinds of stuff that houses contained. Chapter 7 concludes the story by taking three examples to imagine the pottery in its 'proper place' at each Stage, instead of in fragments in a museum store.

Chapter 2

Worcester 1650-1750

The history of Worcester in the 17th and 18th centuries has yet to be written (Dalwood & Edwards 2004:25). Consequently this chapter cannot draw on a well-structured account, but must provide an outline of the more important developments, especially insofar as they relate to the city's physical appearance and topography, from a number of diverse, mostly secondary, sources. Behind the street frontages, its houses will fall to be considered in detail when we turn later to the consideration of their contents as revealed by archaeology and by probate inventories. It is important, however, in contextualising those contents, to give some account of what Worcester was like in the later 17th and early 18th century. This seems a long way from the stuff in people's houses, but it should not. The contextualisation of objects, indeed the definition of *material* culture as not something separate, different and special, but simply part of an evolving, integrated socio-material reality, is central to the thesis being proposed. So that, within the reasonable bounds of a single volume, it is important to try to envisage what the world of the users of the objects felt and looked like in some of its other aspects.

In 1764 Valentine Green published his '*Survey of the City of Worcester*', 'embellished with Sixteen Copper-Plates of Perspective Views of the Publick Buildings, etc, engraved from original Drawings, taken on Purpose for this Work.' (Green 1764). Green was at the time only twenty-five. He was a native of Salford Priors, near Evesham, and became apprenticed to Robert Hancock, the engraver working for the Worcester porcelain manufactory. The illustrations in the Survey were engraved by Hancock from Green's drawings, and the book was doubtless intended as an advertisement of the skills and accomplishments of an ambitious newcomer. A year after the publication he left Worcester to seek his fortune in London, where he built a very successful business as an engraver and publisher (Clayton 2004). Thirty-two years later, after much further research, he published in London, in two volumes, what he refers to in one place as a second edition, although it is so heavily revised and expanded, that it acquired a new title: '*The history and antiquities of the City and suburbs of Worcester*' (Green 1796). It is this version which is often cited in reference to the history of Worcester. The original work, however, offers an opportunity to see the city in the mid-18th century through the eyes of a

young inhabitant who was associated with a prominent new enterprise, and who no doubt regarded himself as a member of the expanding middle classes.

Green begins his first chapter with the assertion that Worcester 'has a place among the eminent cities of England. There are reckoned but five superior to it for largeness and populousness.' (Green 1764:1) We can only speculate about the origin of this assertion, but the identities of the five 'superior' cities can be fairly confidently guessed at as including the long-established regional centres of Bristol, Norwich and Newcastle, and the new industrial and commercial centres of Birmingham and Liverpool (Corfield 1982:13 Fig 2). London, not only the largest city in England by far, but the largest in Europe, was an exceptional case which Green perhaps took for granted. There was a number of other towns and cities in the same 'population bracket' as Worcester, in the next rank below these regional centres, and a precise ordering of the kind he implies is not possible, but at least it suggests that the citizens of Worcester in the mid-18th century thought their city was a place to be proud of.

Its population in 1760 has been estimated at about 9,000 (Johnston 1976:55), but the estimation of early modern population numbers is fraught with difficulty, and other perspectives are possible. Indeed, Corfield (1982:6) characterises 'all evidence from pre-census times' as 'scrappy in form, capricious in incidence, and only partially reliable in content.' Others have produced figures for various stages in the century which is our concern ((for example, Roy & Porter 1980, Roy & Porter 1982, Porter et al. 1983, Whitehead 1989).

This is not the place to enter in detail into these questions. We may simply observe that, noting the substantial variations in the figures calculated by these scholars, there does seem to have been almost a doubling of the population of Worcester in the century leading up to the Civil War and its aftermath. In the following century, which is the focus of this study, there was a flattening off, but still an increase of perhaps as much as 50%:

- according to Johnston, from about 6,000 or 7,000 to about 9,000 or 10,000;
- or, according to Porter & Roy, and Whitehead, from about 8,000 to 11,000 or 12,000.

Porter & Roy provide some comparisons which put Worcester in its place in its region in the late 17th century, using estimates provided by other authors (1983:37-8):

- Coventry 'below 7,000' in the late 17th century
- Gloucester 'less than half' Worcester's population in 1700

- Hereford 'roughly equal to Gloucester' in the late 17th century
- Shrewsbury 'approximately 7,500' in 1700
- Warwick 'only a third of Worcester's size' in the 1670s
- Stafford 'even smaller' [than Warwick]
- Lichfield 'about 3,000 inhabitants' [in the 1670s]
- Birmingham 'approximately 8,000 by 1700'
- Nottingham 'roughly 7,000' in 1700
- Leicester 'perhaps a thousand less' [than Nottingham]
- Oxford 10,000 in 1667 (from Poll Tax returns, but including 2,000 'members of the University')

In the west midlands, therefore, taking the region to include Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Herefordshire and Shropshire, as well as Worcestershire, Worcester was in the late 17th century the largest town, challenged only by the growth of Birmingham. It had not, however, attained the rank of 'provincial capital'. Porter and Roy summarise the position:

'For much of the Severn basin this position [of provincial capital] was held by Bristol, a city with twice the population of Worcester and a greater range of urban functions. Nor was Worcester as large as the other provincial centres of Norwich, Newcastle, and Exeter, although it was not much smaller than York. Within the urban hierarchy ... we can place Worcester near to the top of the second rank of provincial towns, comparable in size with such places as Colchester and Canterbury; a position it had attained because of its growth over the previous hundred years or more. By 1700, however, it had reached a peak, and the decline of the city's cloth industry thereafter was accompanied by demographic stagnation.'(Porter et al. 1983:38)

By 1750 Birmingham had outgrown Worcester, and was already perhaps twice its size. Shrewsbury, according to one estimate, had reached 13,200 by 1750 (although only 8,150 by another), Coventry 12,100 by 1748, Nottingham 17,600 by 1779 (Corfield 1982:183, Chalklin 1974:34). By the mid-18th century, Worcester was not maintaining the position it had enjoyed 70 or 80 years before. Although it was still a substantial place compared with the other older towns in the west midlands, they were catching up, and the 'new' industrial centres of the midlands and north, (Birmingham, the Potteries, Manchester) were beginning the rapid expansion which would take them by the end of the century far beyond Worcester.

What was the composition of this population?

Talbut (1986) uses admissions to the freedom of the city between 1660 and 1749 to track among other things the decline of the clothing trade and the rise of gloving. She groups occupations into four broad categories (Talbut 1986:92):

- 'A: Clothiers, weavers and walkers;
- B: Leather workers, glovers, cordwainers or shoemakers, saddlers, etc;
- C: Merchants and also lawyers, mercers, grocers, goldsmiths, chandlers, apothecaries, mariners, carriers, attorneys [*sic*], etc;
- D: Other craftsmen, building trade workers, carpenters, masons, glaziers etc., tailors, metal workers and food and drink trades, bakers, butchers etc.
- E: Trade not stated'

Although she does not offer a detailed explanation, Categories C and D appear to be designed to distinguish between what might be broadly characterised as, on the one hand, 'trade and professional' and on the other 'craft and production',. The distinction is not always easy to make, for example as between the case of the chandler who is actually a genuine tallow-chandler who makes and sells his own candles and one who trades in others' products¹. The study of probate inventories makes it abundantly clear that a person's nominal occupation may hide a combination of roles, and that it is unsafe to assume that people who made and sold things were not also dealers.

However that may be, Talbut's figures purport to show that between 1660 and 1749 the proportion of clothiers, weavers and walkers among those freemen whose trades are recorded fell from 56% to 15.5%, and that of glovers and other leather workers rose from 7% to 27.7 %. The proportion in categories C and D combined rose from 36% to 57%, although the increase did not really get under way until after about 1710, before which the proportion was quite static. The dominance of the clothing trades, according to these figures, persisted at least until 1700, and perhaps later, while even by the mid-century gloving had not assumed a similar dominance. By then, however, a somewhat more varied picture had emerged. A detailed comparison between the occupations recorded in 1698 and in 1741 (Talbut 1986:93) shows a greater variety, with some new specialities appearing (see Table 1). Apart from illustrating the relative position of the clothing and gloving trades, the comparison brings out the marked increase in numbers and variety of the 'craft trades' in category D; a virtual trebling of the numbers from these trades is accompanied by a marked increase in butchers and bakers/maltsters, and in those from various building trades.

The limitations of comparing 'snapshots' of this kind are obvious: for example, there are no pewterers in either list, whereas the inventory evidence reveals pewterers throughout this period; there were certainly booksellers in mid-century Worcester (Cooper 1997),

¹ Robert Webb in 1670 had 'tallow candles and wick yarn', 'one furnace, one ring and mould', and 'faggots and other wood' in his 'work house' (will 1670:122). Other wills and administrations describing the deceased as 'chandler' have no inventory entries hinting at the actual contents of their shops or workshops.

	1698	1741
A		
clothier/weaver/walker	122	37
B		
glover	8	26
cordwainer/shoemaker	16	11
sadler/other	7	5
<i>sub total</i>	31	42
C		
mercator	6	
carrier	2	
vintner	1	
ironmonger	1	
bookseller	1	
mercator	2	4
grocer	1	4
chandler	4	7
haberdasher	1	2
pharmacist/apothecary	1	3
attorney		1
mariner		2
<i>sub total</i>	20	23
D		
hemp/flax dresser & dealer	3	
silkweaver	1	
brickmaker	3	
smith	1	
mason	1	2
butcher	2	15
cooper	2	8
carpenter/joiner	2	6
cutler	1	1
tinman/tinplate worker	1	2
collarmaker	2	1
tailor	1	1
feltmaker	3	1
baker/maltster		10
gardener		1
basket maker		1
upholsterer		1
peruke maker		1
combmaker		2
gunsmith		1
fisherman		2
whitesmith		1
bricklayer		4
plumber/glazier		2
tiler		1
painter		1
<i>sub total</i>	23	65
Total	196	167

Table 1 – Occupations of Freemen (Talbut 1986)

though none were apparently admitted freemen in 1741. Also, if we are looking for a wider picture of the social composition of the city, this evidence obviously ignores women and children, 'gentlemen', and even innkeepers, many of whom were wealthy enough to leave wills, but did not need to be admitted as freemen to carry on business in the city.

Some complementary evidence is provided by the sample of wills and administrations recorded in the course of this project, for roughly the same period as Talbut's study. Not all of these, for example for the 1660s, and most for the years after 1730, have inventories attached, but they continue to record the occupation or status of the deceased. These are summarised in Table 2, using Talbut's categories, with the addition of further categories for 'gentlemen', agricultural occupations ('yeoman' and 'husbandman') and women. The numbers are not directly comparable with Talbut, since the wills are drawn from a slightly wider area, including the rural parts of some of the city parishes, the liberty of the Cathedral Precinct, where it was not necessary to be a freeman to carry on trade, and the parish of St John's across the river.

The first observation to make is that, over the whole period, 39% of the deaths recorded were of people not covered by Talbut's occupational categories: gentlemen, women and those in agriculture. A further 19% were men whose occupation or status was not, for some reason, recorded.

21 of the total of 326 wills were left by men described as 'Gent' or 'Esq', or, in two 18th century cases, 'Captain' (likely to be drawn from those with claims to gentility). Two further wills were left by titled women, both widows: Lady Elizabeth Winford, the widow of 'Sir John Winford, Knight', of Astley; and Mrs Mary Cotton, the dowager Countess of Ardglass, a daughter of Sir William Russell of Strensham, married and widowed twice, in the first place to the second Earl of Ardglass and then to Charles Cotton, the poet, friend of Isaak Walton and translator of Montaigne (Hartle 2004, Gibbs 1910:193). If these 'gentlefolk' are added together, making 23 out of 326, or 7%, we might begin to think about an estimate of the proportion of the population of Worcester who were of 'gentle birth'. But wills were left by only a minority of the population, perhaps between a quarter and a third (Goose & Evans 2000), although we may perhaps assume that most people with pretensions to gentility would be included in the group who left them. Much more important, the claim to gentility implied by the description 'Gent' was beginning to be somewhat loosely applied, in particular to the 'upper echelons of the urban middle class' (Wanklyn 1998:xviii); in at least one Worcester case a man described as 'Gent' in his will

Wills & Administrations - City of Worcester - 1649-1749												
Occupation or status	1649-52	* 1660-61	* 1670	* 1680	* 1690	* 1700	* 1710	* 1720	* 1730	* 1740	* 1749	* 1649-1749
A	2	5	2	3	4	2	2	4	1	2	0	27
B	0	0	1	2	0	2	1	4	0	2	2	14
C	1	2	4	5	9	4	2	6	5	4	6	48
D	2	5	2	1	9	5	3	2	4	8	7	48
Total excl E, F, G & H	5	12	9	11	22	13	8	16	10	16	15	137
E	1	0	5	3	3	0	1	2	2	1	3	21
F	4	33	1	5	8	12	7	12	16	12	8	94
G	0	0	0	1	3	2	1	2	1	1	2	13
H	5	33	1	6	4	8	7	5	7	5	7	61
Grand Total	15	14	29	26	40	35	24	37	36	35	35	326

A - Clothiers, weavers & walkers; **B** - Leather workers; **C** - Merchants, etc; **D** - Craftsmen, etc; **E** - Gent/Esq; **F** - Widow/Spinster/Wife; **G** - Yeoman/Husbandman; **H** - no information;
* 1: Categories E, F & G as % of Grand Total; 2: Category H as % of Grand Total

Table 2 – Wills & Administrations – City of Worcester – 1649-1749 - Occupations

is described in the parish burial register as 'attorney at law'². Any estimate must consequently be deflated from 7% to one that begins to look very small. We must conclude that the population of Worcester overwhelmingly consisted of the 'middling sort' and the poor, and that very few people of higher social status lived in the city. This is not to say that they might not possess property, or stay there for extended periods during the social 'season' which developed during the 18th century, but simply that it was not their primary residence.

The other category not covered by Talbut's system is women. Almost a third (94 out of 326, or 29%) of the wills and administrations listed relate to women, mainly widows and, less common, spinsters. Since women only left a legacy at all if they happened to die after their husbands, or if they died unmarried, in both cases worth more than the 'normal' threshold of £5 or so, this proportion tells us nothing about the proportion of women in the Worcester population. Talbut (1986:97) assumes without question a rough equality in numbers between men and women, whereas Corfield (1982:99) concludes that 'virtually all towns contained a majority of women, reflecting the relatively greater range of job opportunities for them in the towns as compared with the countryside, as well as female longevity.' Certainly the clothing trade depended on very large numbers of women spinning yarn for the looms, and the gloving industry which later took over was also heavily dependent on female labour, not to mention the demand for female domestic servants. And it must not be assumed that all women were inactive in business, confined to motherhood, domestic management and outwork supplying the weavers and glovers. There are at least two widows' inventories which look very much like the contents of inns³, and the widow Hicks, who died in All Saints in 1749 is described in her will as 'widow and innholder'. Dorothy Corbin, though described in her will as a widow, is described in her inventory as 'Clothier'⁴, although the inventory does not include any stock or equipment such as is sometimes found in clothiers' lists. Two advertisements in the local newspaper, the *Worcester Postman*, describe Mrs Elizabeth Hudson as 'Mercer, in Goose-Lane'⁵, and a further one, a few years later, advertises for letting the house 'wherein Mrs Hudson, Mercer, lately dwelt'⁶. And throughout the first half of the 18th

² John Bacon: will 18 May 1649; St Helens register 11 May 1649.

³ Isabel Poyner, will 1690; Anne Cook, will 1700

⁴ Dorothy Corbin, will 1710

⁵ *Worcester Postman* (hereafter WP) No 327, 30 Sept 1715; WP 358, 4 May 1716

⁶ WP 526, 24 Jul 1719

century the paper includes notices from recent widows announcing that they will be carrying on their former husband's business⁷.

None of this evidence allows us to gain a glimpse of the largest population category of all, the poor, who left no will, or possessions worth more than a few pounds, or perhaps shillings, who had no business or house to advertise, and who show only rarely in the records of the city. Valentine Green was not concerned to draw attention in his book to the extent of poverty. But there are some indications. In 1678 about 750 of the total of 2,301 Worcester households, that is about a third, were recorded in the Collectors' Book as exempt from the Hearth Tax by virtue of having only one or two hearths and either paying no church or poor rates or, paying rates, nevertheless 'lived in a house worth less than 20s. 0d. per annum and did not possess property worth more than £10' (Porter et al. 1983:15). This is of course only one definition of relative poverty, and obviously does not amount to destitution. Whether the inhabitants of late 17th century Worcester would have thought it amounted to poverty is a further question. Wills or administrations relating to moveable property worth £10 or less are in fact fairly common in the sample.⁸ When compared with data from Hearth Tax returns from other cities, Worcester's 33% exempt puts it in a middling position, not as high as the 62% for Norwich, nor as low as 18% for Cambridge or 20% for York (Porter et al. 1983:39). Talbut engages in a somewhat free-hand calculation to arrive at a statement relating to the poor:

'The [parliamentary] franchise was vested in all the freemen not in receipt of alms. Votes cast in 1681 were 2,479, in 1727 3,642 and in 1747 the number of freemen entitled to vote was 2,047 (not the same as the number of votes cast). If an equal number of women are added this would give a population of more than 4,000 over the age of twenty-one. As more than half the population at this time were considered to be under twenty-one because of the high death rate and immigration of young people from country districts, a population of over 8,000 is indicated. Dr J. A. Johnston estimates the population of Worcester to have been 8,500 in 1676, 10,000 in 1710 and 9,000 in 1760. There appear therefore not to have been many paupers, labourers and servants unrepresented. ... It ... means that most of the menial and heavy work must have been performed by the city apprentices and their sisters.'(Talbut 1986:97)

Johnston's estimates are open to question, but Talbut's calculation, however broad-brush, draws attention to an important possibility, namely that the amount of extreme poverty in the city might have been quite limited, in the sense that there might not have been many very poor households as such. Young people working as apprentices or servants, although having very few personal possessions and low income, were nevertheless part

⁷ For example: Widow of 'Conningsby Trovel, Haberdasher of Hats', WP 269, 20 Aug 1714; Anne Osborne, widow of John Osborne, tailor, WP 543, 20 Nov 1719; Elizabeth Sterrop, Spectacle-maker, WP 1919, 18 Apr 1746;

⁸ For example: In 1670, 4 of 19 which record values; in 1680, 5 of 25

of a household which might be regarded as wealthy. Were such people poor? Care is needed in applying modern notions of poverty to a pre-industrial society.

Returning to Valentine Green's book, after filling much space with the history of the city since the Romans, the list of bishops, a description of the cathedral and its contents, he embarks upon an account of Worcester as it appeared in the early 1760s. As a starting point for discussing the appearance of the city and its development over the preceding century, we may quote from his description:

'Worcester ... is a large, populous, well-built city; in circumference about four measured miles; situate in a healthy and plentiful vale, on the river Severn; distant from London 111 miles, from Gloucester 29, Hereford 25, and Birmingham 25.

It is a city and county of itself: and returns two members to parliament. ... These members are returned by the sheriff, for the time being. Here are four fairs yearly, viz. on the day before Palm-sunday, on the Saturday in Easter-week, on the 15th of August, and on the 19th of September. It has three markets weekly, viz. on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. It has the most considerable hop-market, during that season, in the kingdom. The river Severn, from which the city carries on great trade, is navigable for vessels of great burden: and is accommodated with wherries to carry passengers and goods up the river as far as Shrewsbury, and downwards to Gloucester. ... Here are seven toll-gates, at the several entrances of the city, viz. Sidbury, on the road to London and Gloucester; Lowesmore, on the road to Alcester; two at Barbone, the one on the road to Wich, and the other to Ombersley; Henwick's-hill turnpike, on the road to Hollow; two in St. John's, the one on the road to Cotheridge, and the other to Powick. (Green 1764:216)

The city government was throughout our period regulated by the Charter granted by James I in 1621. For the present purpose it is only necessary to note that this did not mark a decisive break with the past, but was a development and consolidation of what had gone before. It continued in effect until the Municipal Corporations act of 1835 reformed local government in the incorporated boroughs, with a short break in 1685-8, when James II attempted to revise town charters to increase royal influence. The Charter is reproduced in full by Green in an Appendix to his 1796 History, but in 1764 he confined himself to noting that the charter awarded the city 'county' status, and

'... transferred the government of it from the jurisdiction of bailiffs to that of a mayor, He [James I] also appointed a recorder, ... six aldermen, who are justices of the peace, chosen out of twenty-four principal citizens; a sheriff and two chamberlains, who are annually elected: these are assisted by a town-clerk, two coroners, and forty-eight common council men, who compose the present corporate body of this city; attended by a sword-bearer, thirteen constables, four serjeants at mace, and four beadles.' (Green 1764:213)

This amounted to a 'close' corporation, renewed solely by co-option to the '48' from the freemen (see Corfield 1982:150). In Worcester's case, however, unlike others where it

was confined solely to the corporation, the franchise resided in the freemen, who typically numbered upwards of 2,000 in the 17th and 18th centuries. Freedom was obtained by 'birth, servitude, purchase and gift' (Page & Willis-Bund 1924:388), that is: by being the eldest son of a freeman, by apprenticeship to a trade, by applying as an immigrant to be admitted on payment of a fine, and by admission *gratis* as an honour to a non-citizen. The last was increasingly used in the 18th century to inflate the number of voters on one side or another in disputed parliamentary elections (Talbut 1986:97). Obtaining the freedom of the city remained the established way of making a mark as a citizen and perhaps attaining the heights of alderman or mayor, but as a way of regulating the economic life of the city, by restricting the practice of business to those admitted after an apprenticeship, it was coming under increasing pressure in the 18th century. There are clear hints in the columns of the *Worcester Postman* of acrimonious disputes over the practice of trade by those thought not to have served their term⁹.

Green enumerates and describes the nine parish churches 'within the liberties of the city', that is, the area subject to the regulation of trade as laid down by the Charter, which excluded the precincts of the cathedral and the 'suburbs': St Nicholas, St Swithun, All Saints, St Clement, St Andrew, St Martin, St Alban, St Helen and St Peter, and the two outside the liberties: St Michael in Bedwardine, in the cathedral precinct, and St John Baptist in Bedwardine, across the river in the suburb now known as St John's. His inclusion of St John's church encourages the view that at least by the time Green was writing this trans-riparian suburb was regarded in practice as a part of the city, closely linked to it by the bridge, in spite of its separate governmental status as part of the county (the city boundary in fact passed over the river to include the houses at the west end of the bridge, but did not include St John's church or the settlement around it).

He goes on to describe the bishop's palace, and, in a great deal of complimentary detail, the Guild Hall, or Town Hall (the two descriptions seem in the 18th century to be interchangeable). The 'porcelain manufactory' follows, then in its second decade of operation, and clearly a source of great pride, which 'engages the attention of the curious, to explore the ingenious processes and apparatus made use of in the production of the finest ware in the kingdom.' (Green 1764:231) Green, having been apprenticed to Robert Hancock, must have been very familiar with the factory and he proceeds to give a detailed account of the processes carried on within it.

This is followed by further descriptions of the city:

⁹ WP 296, 25 Feb 1715; WP 300, 25 Mar 1715; WP 301, 1 Apr 1715.

'The bridge is an ancient, spacious, strong building, consisting of six arches; crossing the Severn from the Newport-street.

The water engine, situate at the conflux of Little Severn with the main river near the Key, is an invention of great utility to the inhabitants of the city, by conveying soft water to its remotest parts, from the Liberty post in the Foregate-street to the College grates, and eastwards to Silver-street and New-street.

Below this is the Key, an extensive and commodious one, situate at the bottom of St. Mary's and Key streets. ...

The principal streets of this city are, the Foregate-street, High-street, and the Broad-street. The north entrance of the former is exceeding grand, being a series of spacious modern-built houses of a long extent, and the street equally spacious from end to end; well paved and clean; and the view, which is finely terminated by the elegant spire of St. Nicholas church, at a due distance, has a most delightful effect. This, with an uninterrupted length of spacious street, continues to the College grates, of which, out of London, is not to be found its equal. The many elegant and well-furnished shops that fill the Cross, the Broad-street, and the High-street, give them a near likeness to Cheapside, London.'(Green 1764:234)

Finally, there is an account of the city wall, its former course and the parts then remaining:

This city had a good firm wall for its defence, of 1650 paces; which we find by a plan of it, taken before the civil wars of king Charles II and Oliver Cromwell, by Saxton; with six strong gates at the principal entrances of it, viz. the Fore-gate, Watergate, St. Martin's-gate, Frier's-gate, Sidbury-gate, and Frogg-gate. The Fore-gate stood where now is erected the city workhouse on the east side, and Berkley's hospital on the west side, dividing the Foregate-street at the south end from the city, from thence it passed in a direct line to the east end of the Gaol-lane, facing Lowesmore, and passing along Queen-street it joins St. Martin's-gate; from which, bounding the eastern part of the city to the Block-house fields, it joins the Frier-gate, which stood near the bridge going into the Blockhouse fields from out of Frier-street; from thence it passes along to Sidbury-gate; from whose south side it nearly forms a triangle, including in its next point St. Peter's church, its equiangle terminating at Frogg-gate, and forming an oblong square, being open to the north-east side in the manner of a court, in all about 150 paces, it joins the south-side of king Edgar's tower, in the College precincts; it then passes irregularly to the Priory-gate, continuing along the river side to the verge of the precincts north; where it was discontinued, or, in several small divisions, till it reached the bridge, from whose tower, standing on the east end, it joined the Water-gate, commonly called Clement's gate, adjoining to the tower of St. Clement's church, from whose north side it directed its course, bounding the city northward till it again joined the Fore-gate. This wall, in the battle of Worcester, was entirely demolished by Oliver's soldiers; and, out of the six gates, only two remain, viz. Sidbury-gate and St. Martin's-gate. The north and east parts of the wall are still to be traced very perfect, but, in almost all the other parts, entirely obliterate. The ruins of the Water-gate were standing within these few years, but have since been taken down: the tower, which stood on the bridge, has been pulled down many years since, being old and ruinous, and withal an incumbrance. (Green 1764:235ff)

These descriptions refer extensively to 'A Plan of the City of Worcester', inscribed 'V. Green delin. R. Hancock sculp.', that is, like the other illustrations in the book, drawn by Green and engraved by Hancock. This plan is reproduced at Figure 2. Figure 3 is an earlier print showing the city from the west bank of the river.



Figure 2 – Valentine Green's plan of Worcester, 1764



Figure 3 - Worcester in the early 18th century (print in the possession of the author)

Green's descriptions can be compared with and complemented by some preceding observations by travellers, reproduced by Davies (1977):

'William Camden 1607 (Brittania, ed R. Gough, London 1806, p 470):

Worcester is 'deserving admiration whether we regard its antiquity or its beauty. ... It stands as a gentle descent to the Severn, over which it has a bridge with towers, and "formerly (as an old parchment has it) boasted Roman walls". It has now a tolerably strong wall. But its glory arises from its inhabitants, who are numerous and polite, and possessed of great wealth, by the woollen manufacture; from the lustre of its buildings, the number of its churches, and especially from ... a cathedral. ... It is a beautiful and magnificent building.'

Nehemiah Wharton 1642 (Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1641-43, pp 395-6):

Worcester is the largest city I have seen since leaving London; and like London it abounds in outward things of all kinds, but for want of the Word the people perish. It is situated on the east bank of the Severn. Its walls are in the form of a triangle, the gates are seven, the bulwarks five but much decayed, no castle, only a mound of earth. There is a very stately cathedral, called St. Mary's, in which there are many monuments; There is a strong bridge over the Severn, consisting of six arches, with a gate in the middle of the bridge as strong as that of London Bridge, with a portcullis.

Richard Symonds 1644 (Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1644, p 220):

... Wherein is the cathedral, and a colledge adjoining The bishop's palace is neare the cathedral. ... Four gates. Sidbury gate, towards Evesham, which is the East gate. 2. The Bridge gate, which is the West gate, and goes towards Hereford. 3. North gate, called the Fore gate, which leads to Yorke. 4. St. Martin's gate, towards Warwick, north-east.

Celia Fiennes 1698 (The Journeys of Celia Fiennes, ed C Morris, London 1949, pp 43, 232):

Worcester town ... looks like a large well built town of brick and stone ... is washed by the river Severn; its a large City, 12 churches, the streets most of them broad, the buildings some of them are very good and lofty; its encompassed with a wall which has four gates that are very strong; the Market place is large; there is a Guildhall besides the Market House which stands on pillars of stone; the Cathedrall stands in a large yard pitch'd, its a lofty and magnificent building the Quire has a good wood carv'd and a pretty organ ...

From Worcester we pass'd a large stone bridge over the Severn on which were many barges that were tow'd up by the strength of men 6 or 8 at a tyme; the water just by the town encompasses a little piece of ground full of willows and so makes it an island, part of which turns mills

Daniel Defoe 1727 (A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, London 1727, pp 442-5) [the original publication was in three volumes issued over the years 1724-6, based on visits undertaken an indeterminate number of years previously (see Furbank & Owens 1991:vii-xiii)]:

Worcester is a large, populous, old, tho' not very well built City; I say not well built because the Town is close and old, the Houses standing too thick. The North part of the town is more extended and also better built. There is a good old Stone Bridge over the Severn, which stands exceedingly high from the Surface of the Water. But as the Stream of the Severn is contracted here by the Buildings on either side, there is evident occasion sometimes for the height of the Bridge, the Waters rising to an incredible height in the Winter-time.

... I went to see the Town-House, which afforded nothing worth taking notice of, unless it be how much it wants to be mended with a new one; which the City, they say, is not so much inclin'd, as they are able and rich to perform

... The Cathedral of this City is an antient, and indeed, a decay'd Building; ...'

A further description was written by Thomas Baskerville as a result of a journey in about 1690 (Gardner 1994):

'As touching the city of Worcester, I think 'tis bigger than Oxford, and very full of people, but the streets, excepting that running through the city to the bridge, and another thwarting the upper end of this street, are narrow [with] old decayed buildings. Here are 12 or 13 churches, with that on the other side Severn, to which a fair bridge with six large arches big enough for boys to pass under, gives the passage. This river is navigable to Shrewsbury and further, and from those parts they bring down abundance of coal to serve the city and other places beneath it, and from Bristol they bring merchantable goods upstream again to serve these parts. Along the banks of Severn here, which is well nigh a bow-shot over, running with a nimble clear current, are large fertile meadows, but that which is most remarkable as touching ingenuity on the shore of the town side is a waterwork, which the stream of the river, without the help of horses, having a wheel which gives motion to suckers and forcers, it pumps the water so high into a leaden cistern that it serves any part of the city. Nevertheless that water may be more plentiful they have horses also at work to force up water, and here also, which I have nowhere else seen save in the city of Ely, they fetch water from the river in leathern bags upon horses, to sell. ... This city is enclosed by an ancient wall having over one of the gates the largest dial that I have seen, whose style is a long ferrpole. Here is also erected at the upper end of the High Street at the charge of the townsmen upon a pedestal of stone the effigies of Charles the 2nd, and upon a stage hard by a woman representing Justice.'

All of these accounts except Defoe's mention the walls and gates, which had, with the exception of four relatively small extramural suburbs, defined the city's extent since the Middle Ages. The fact that Defoe does not do so is both an indication of his determination to reflect a forward-looking, modernising approach, and of the simple fact that by the time of his visit not very much remained. There seems some confusion in these accounts about the number of gates: Green has six existing previous to his time, Wharton seven in 1642, but Symonds only four two years later, and Fiennes four about 50 years after that. In a sense Symonds (and doubtless Fiennes, though she does not identify them by name) are right in identifying four major exits and entrances, leading to and from the main routes: the Fore Gate, leading to the north (Kidderminster, Chester, Droitwich, Bromsgrove and

Birmingham); Sidbury Gate, leading to the south and London; the gate over the centre arch of the bridge (not included in Green's six, but a most important route leading to Hereford, Shrewsbury and Wales), and, perhaps less significant, St Martin's, leading to Warwick and the north-east. All of these disappeared during the 18th century, beginning with the Fore Gate and the gate on the bridge, in 1700-02, and ending, according to Whitehead (1976:29,94), with St Martin's in 1752 and Sidbury in 1767 (although Green says *both* of these were still there when he was writing). The other minor gates had also all disappeared by this time. The walls had long become for the most part 'entirely obliterate', to use Green's colourful phrase, except that they were still traceable on the north and east. The loss of the ancient defences of the city thus belongs strictly to the 18th century. Perhaps in the later 17th the vivid memories of the Civil Wars, whose final act was played out in the very streets of the city, were too fresh to overcome any promptings towards modernisation. In 1698, only four years before the process of destruction began, Celia Fiennes was still calling the gates 'very strong' (though perhaps she was not a reliable judge). But by the time that the citizens were reading in the *Worcester Postman* of the approach of another Scotch army in 1745, the defences which had existed when the city rather reluctantly welcomed the one which arrived in 1651 had completely disappeared.

Worcester owes its existence to the crossing point of the Severn, and the bridge was a focal point for communications by road and river. It is not surprising that all of the above accounts mention it. By the late 17th century the stone structure as it stood was well over 300 years old (Page & Willis-Bund 1924:382), and its maintenance a heavy burden on the city corporation. Statements in a case before the Court of Exchequer in 1692 (Davies 1976) allege that the river bargemen 'must strike their hooks' into the piers and arches of the bridge 'to help ye Barge or trow to pass under ye sd bridg'; 'thereby the stones often times are loosned and ye bridg mucche damaged.' The corporation is stated to have provided a 'windeless' and 'pullies' upon the bridge to help the boatmen in their efforts to pass upstream against the current. Damage was also inflicted during the Civil War, when the 'centre arch' was broken, and by ice floes in a succession of hard winters after the Restoration (Whitehead 1976:29). Green, writing 60 years after its demolition and no doubt relying on hearsay, implies that the 'tower', or gate, on the bridge was at its east end, but the VCH agrees with Nehemiah Wharton that it was on the middle pier (Page & Willis-Bund 1924:382). In 1700-02, at the same time as the Fore Gate was taken down, £400 was spent on bridge repairs, including the demolition of the gate and, according to Nash, the erection of a 'watch-house' (Whitehead 1976:29, Nash 1799:cxv). After Green had departed for London a movement began to replace the old bridge; an Act of

Parliament for the purpose was passed in 1768¹⁰, and the new bridge, on a different site about 200m downstream of the old, was opened in 1781. This bridge still exists in a modernised form, but for the period covered by this study, we must re-orientate our awareness of traffic and movement in the streets of the city towards the original crossing.

Associated with the old bridge was what Green calls in 1764 the 'water-engine' and Baskerville in 1690 the 'waterwork'. Baskerville was clearly much impressed by it. The Exchequer case statements of 1692 (Davies 1976) refer to the 'new waterhouse and stanck now lately built', which were in 'ye same places where the ancient waterhouse and stanck formerly were'. There had been a waterworks here since the early 17th century, renewed in the 1630s and again in 1689, and successfully providing water to all parts of the city (Gardner 1994, Hughes 1980a:281). Green's plan shows a channel, which he calls 'Little Severn' leading from the arches on the city side of the bridge, downstream to a building on the quay labelled 'City Water-works', and separated from the main river by a narrow island or spit, perhaps that noted by Celia Fiennes as 'full of willows'. The effect of this arrangement was to confine boat traffic on the river to the arches on the western side of the bridge, which must have caused congestion and increased the current against which upstream traffic had to contend. All of this was swept away in the years leading up to the demolition of the old and the completion of the new bridge, and the city water works were relocated upstream.

The place of the gates and the bridge as the 'official' exits and entrances from and into the city, the passage-points from city to country, were taken in the 18th century by the toll-gates listed by Green, the result of half a century of road improvement. The first Act to improve the highways leading to the city was passed as early as 1713¹¹: 'An Act for repairing the Highway or Road from the City of Worcester to the Borough of Droitwich', declared to be necessary because of 'the Great and many Loads of Salt and other goods which Daily pass through the said Road', which make it 'impassable for the space of Nine Months in every Year ...'. We might doubt whether the last claim was strictly true, but the general claim of damage by heavy traffic was echoed in the next Act, of 1725¹², 'for repairing several roads therein mentioned, leading into the City of Worcester'. The roads 'therein mentioned' amount to a complete network radiating from the city up to five or six miles in every direction. Hence the toll-gates on all the roads listed by Green. Again, the roads have 'become ruinous', 'by reason of the soil thereof, and the heavy carriages passing through the same.' In the 40 years between this Act and Green's *Survey* the

¹⁰ 9 Geo. III, cap 84

¹¹ 12 Anne, Stat. ii. cap. 3, *Priv.*

¹² 12 Geo. I, cap. 14

pace of improvement quickened: in the same year, 1725, the 1713 Act was enlarged and extended to other roads; in 1737 the 1725 Act relating to the Worcester 'network' was extended and applied to other roads; in the meantime, Acts had been passed applying to other roads in the county, in the north leading to Birmingham and Bromsgrove, and 'for repairing and amending several roads leading to and from the borough of Evesham.'¹³ But the main acceleration in highways legislation relating to the county came in the 1740s and 50s (see Burton & Pearson 1898). In this, as in the case of the city's defences, substantial change came only with the 18th century. The two are of course related: as traffic increased, the medieval gates, to use Green's word, became an 'incumbrance'.

The suburbs outside these gates seem to have remained much the same size during this period, and to have begun to expand substantially only in the later 18th and early 19th century, when the population of Worcester is supposed to have begun its major expansion (Whitehead 1989, Page & Willis-Bund 1924:387).

The largest of the suburbs was that outside the Fore Gate, lining the road to the north. Beyond the city boundary (the 'Liberty-post' on Green's plan) this was part of the predominantly rural parish of Claines, and known, as today, as the Tything of Whistones. It contained St Oswalds Hospital and the remains of the former Whiteladies nunnery. In Green's day, and throughout the period under review, it, like the other suburbs, consisted almost entirely of properties lining the main road; beyond their gardens or back-plots lay the countryside. In this it conformed to a classic early modern pattern (Roy & Porter 1980:203). Although it did not change very much in extent, it underwent a social transformation after the Restoration. In the 16th and earlier 17th century it had been a poor and overcrowded appendage to the city, the resort of migrants from the countryside unable to gain access to the city's heavily regulated trades, and the focus of much anxiety on the part of the city fathers about lawlessness. As part of the preparations for the siege of 1646 many houses were demolished to provide a clear field of fire from the defences, and to deny the besieging troops cover. By the middle of the 18th century Foregate Street and the Tything had become a preferred residence of wealthier citizens escaping the congestion of the city proper, and Green describes it in fulsome terms:

'The north entrance of [Foregate Street] ... is exceeding grand, being a series of spacious modern-built houses of a long extent, and the street equally spacious from end to end; well paved and clean; and the view, which is finely terminated by the elegant spire of St. Nicholas church, at a due distance, has a most delightful effect.'

¹³ 12 Geo. I, cap. 20; 10 Geo. II, cap 5; 13 Geo. I, cap. 14; 13 Geo. I, cap. 15; 1 Geo. II, cap. 11

In his later *History* he pictures it as containing by the 1790s 'many very handsome dwelling-houses; and hath of late years been selected as a part where one may enjoy retirement, without absolutely taking leave of society' (Green 1796:ii, 66, quoted in Roy & Porter 1980: 217). And as early as the time of his visit, probably before 1720, Defoe says that 'the North part of the town is more extended and also better built', no doubt in reference to the area of Foregate Street.

The other suburbs were smaller and less well known or documented (Roy & Porter 1980:203). They stood outside the other main entrances to the city: Lowesmoor outside St Martin's Gate, the Sidbury, or Sudbury, suburb outside the gate of the same name, along the London and Tewkesbury roads, adjacent to St Wulstan's Hospital, or the Commandery, and the small area at the west end of the bridge, called 'Turkey' on Green's plan, owing parochial allegiance to St Clement's at the east end of the bridge and separated from St John's by the low-lying, flood-prone ground crossed by the 'Causeway'. The last of these clearly occupied a potentially important position, in terms of trade and communications. It included the quay on the west bank of the river, and was at the meeting point of all the roads from Wales and the marches. Property there was described in a 1717 advertisement as 'being at the mouth of the northwest country roads', and 'as good a place for hucksters and retailing trade, as the High Cross in Worcester.'¹⁴ But any expansion to take advantage of these evident opportunities must have been limited by the risk of flooding on the west bank of the river. Beyond, on slightly higher ground, the settlement of St John in Bedwardine was by the middle of the 18th century to all intents a suburb of the city, and is included as such on Green's plan.

The vast majority of the population lived in the city proper. Green's plan shows that, apart from these suburbs, of which Foregate Street /Tything was by far the largest, the city was in the mid 18th century still more or less defined by the line of its fast disappearing walls, in this differing little from the shape of the inhabited area drawn by Speed in 1610, when the walls were still complete (Page & Willis-Bund 1924:387). For Green, the principal streets were Foregate, High Street and Broad Street, the latter two and the Cross, where they met, offering 'many elegant and well-furnished shops', giving them 'a near likeness to Cheapside, London'. Cheapside presumably had a national reputation for metropolitan elegance, since Green is unlikely by this stage to have visited it. 70 years earlier Baskerville commented that 'the streets, excepting that running through the city to the bridge, and another thwarting the upper end of this street, are narrow [with] old decayed buildings'. The street 'running through the city to the bridge' is presumably Broad Street,

¹⁴ WP 434, 18 Oct 1717

and the other street excluded from his general condemnation the High Street. Celia Fiennes a few years later, however, thought the city 'looks like a large well built town of brick and stone', and 'the streets most of them broad, the buildings some of them are very good and lofty'. Perhaps 20 years after that, Defoe recorded his oft-quoted comment that Worcester was an 'old, tho' not very well built City; I say not well built because the Town is close and old, the Houses standing too thick', with the exception of the 'North part' already noted.

Too much reliance should not be placed on travellers impressions, no doubt based on a fairly brief visit, but they hint at what was going on. In the 16th and early 17th century, in tandem with the growth of the clothing industry and the population increase associated with it, there had been much rebuilding, extensively investigated by Hughes (for example 1980a:269-292, 1992:39-58). This study is fortunately not concerned with whether this constituted a 'Great Rebuilding', as once proposed, but the Civil War may be supposed to have put an end to substantial rebuilding, at least for a time. In this context, the war may be taken as a convenient hiatus, after which a new dispensation emerged. The later 17th century may be seen as a transitional period, before the major rebuilding of the early 18th century took off. The buildings in the streets traversed by Baskerville in 1690 and Celia Fiennes a few years later, producing markedly different reactions, must still have contained predominantly timber-framed buildings, though with tiled roofs rather than thatch, following the requirements of city legislation since at least the late 15th century (Dalwood & Edwards 2004:342). Even photographic evidence from the late 19th and 20th century shows that any transformation from the late medieval and early post-medieval city to an elegant and sophisticated Georgian one, characterised by brick and stone buildings, was at best partial, and very patchy (for example see Harrison 2005:16, 38, 39 40, 45, 53, et passim).

Whitehead (1989), using evidence from the city and cathedral leases, advertisements in the local newspaper, and other sources, traces what he considers to be an expansion of building activity from the 1720s until about 1750, followed by a quieter period, before marked expansion in the later 18th century, characterised by the subdivision of properties into tenements and the infilling of spaces formerly occupied by gardens. The salient point to remember, however, is that until about the middle of the 18th century, development was largely confined to the street frontages of the ancient city, consisting of the rebuilding, or re-fronting, of earlier buildings. Probate inventories and press advertisements give ample evidence for the existence of structures such as brewhouses, malthouses and stables in the 'back areas' of plots, but until the later 18th century this did not in general amount to

the wholesale infilling of these spaces. No doubt there was some movement in this direction in the period under review, but even in 1750 we must envisage congested street frontages, such as Baskerville's and Defoe's descriptions suggest, but still with a good deal of open space behind them. Green's plan would tend to confirm this idea, although we cannot necessarily take his depiction at face value as far as the detailed arrangement of buildings and boundaries is concerned, as opposed to the general arrangement of streets. But his picture seems to be supported by other mapmakers: Currie (1989, 2004:25-35) illustrates his discussion of the historical background to the excavations in Deansway with reproductions from Doharty's map of 1742, Broad's of 1768 and Young's of 1779 (see Hughes 1980b:317-318 for details), which, in association with other documentary evidence, show that the immediate area of those excavations, between Birdport and the High Street, was not completely filled by tenements and industrial buildings until well after 1750.

The expansion of building activity, leading to something of a transformation in the years after 1700, is exemplified in the changes in public buildings and churches in this period. Perhaps the wealth accumulated in the hands of successful clothiers was by this stage coming to be devoted to public charitable ends, despite the fact that the trade itself was in underlying decline. At all events, here again the changes which must have been apparent to Green in mid-century had taken place only in the 40 or 50 years before his time; the 18th century marks an acceleration in development. Defoe's reference to the 'Town-House', 'which afforded nothing worth taking notice of, unless it be how much it wants to be mended with a new one', on the assumption that it refers to the Town Hall or Guild Hall, must refer to a visit before about 1720 (despite the date of publication of his account in 1724-6), since the new Town Hall was being built in the early 1720s. Green devotes much space to a description of it, illustrated by one of his drawings, and reflects the pride which the citizens felt in their creation, one of the best examples of provincial baroque in the country. Similarly, three of the city's churches were rebuilt in the 1730s (All Saints, St Nicholas and St Swithun), and the spire of St Andrews was rebuilt in 1751; to the latter Green devotes one of his most eulogistic passages. St Martin's followed these soon after Green's departure to London (Green 1764: 222, Whitehead 1992). But the Town Hall and the churches are only the most obvious examples of the new civic and public environment that Worcester citizens were creating and experiencing. The Fore Gate gave way right at the beginning of the century to the Workhouse on the east side¹⁵, and Berkeley's Hospital on the west, which still survives. Other almshouses followed: Shrewing's (1702) in the

¹⁵ 2 & 3 Anne, cap 8, 1703: 'Act for the erecting a Work-house in the City of Worcester, and for setting the Poor on Worke there.' The Workhouse building also housed the hop market. An Act of 1731 (4 Geo. II, cap. 5) further regulated the arrangement whereby the Guardians of the Poor administered the hop market.

Tything, Jarvis's (1722) in Warmstry Slip, and Wyatt's (1725) in Friar Street, although this was merely the culmination of activity which had been going on since the Reformation. The late 17th century had also seen Nash's (1661) in New Street and Haynes' (1684) near St Oswalds (Whitehead 1976: 75). Non-conformists had established congregations by the later 17th century, but their permanent buildings seem mostly to have waited until the early 18th: the Congregationalists built a chapel in Angel Street in 1708, the Baptists had a meeting house in Silver Street in the early 18th century, and the Quaker meeting house was off Sansome Walk by 1701 (Page & Willis-Bund 1924: 393). Green shows the latter two on his plan, and also a 'Mass house' for Roman Catholics, at the junction of Sansome Walk with the Town Ditch. This replaced a short-lived Catholic chapel, in Foregate Street, used by James II on his visit in 1687, but subsequently destroyed. Methodism and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection, the latter of which built a substantial chapel off Birdport, were later 18th century developments. It is noticeable that, with the exception of the Congregationalists, these sites are, perhaps unsurprisingly, on the periphery of the city, outside the walls and in 'private' places. The move to provide public hospitals also had its local manifestation, although the Infirmary, founded in the 1740s, was housed in an existing building in Silver Street until the new Infirmary building was erected in 1767-70 (Page & Willis-Bund 1924:392, Lane 1992).

As to the nature of the different parts of the city, Whitehead takes examples from the city wall, the Blackfriars and the area behind the quays to try to point up changes taking place during the 18th century. The first of these cases relates to the destruction or abandonment of the defences during the first part of the century, resulting in the piecemeal development of a narrow strip of land. For example, the street called the Town Ditch, between the site of the Fore Gate and St Martin's Gate, contained warehouses by the mid-century; the line of the wall between St Martin's Gate and Sidbury became marked by summer houses at the bottom of the gardens of the houses in New Street and Friar Street, using the elevation to exploit the view over the still undeveloped Blockhouse fields to the east; and Frog Lane occupied the curving line of the ditch beyond the site of the castle, in the extreme south, forming a suburban fishing community (Whitehead 1989: 18, Jackson et al. 2002).

The triangular area formerly dominated by the medieval house of the Dominican Friary, bounded by Broad Street, Dolday, the city wall and Little Angel Lane, was still largely given over to gardens in the late 17th and early 18th century, but approached by lanes which themselves became filled with cramped tenements. The Hearth Tax Collectors' book in 1679 recorded that Friar's Alley contained 29 houses with one hearth, 13 with

two, one with three, and three with four hearths (Porter et al. 1983: 53-5, quoted by Whitehead 1989). Green's plan seems to suggest this partial development. The area, called Blackfriars, was somewhat isolated from the rest of the city, and was home to a fairly impoverished artisan community, though not as run-down as it later became. As Whitehead writes:

'Here in miniature is a story which is perhaps typical of many of the inter-street tracts of the city. The green spaces behind the streets, responding to population growth, were transformed into alleys and courtyards full of tenemental dwellings which went through a cycle of decay, refurbishment and finally demolition to make way for warehouses and workshops as alternative accommodation was provided elsewhere for the city's artisan classes.' (Whitehead 1989: 21)

The changes to the waterfront and the quays came to a well-developed climax with the construction of the new bridge and the quays either side of it in the 1770s. But this was the culmination of many years of investment by the city in improving the quayside. By the later 18th century, this area had become heavily commercialised, with warehouses and tenements for the labouring population crowding out residential accommodation for the middling sort, but in the period under review the balance was probably no different from many other areas of the city, with a mix of residential and commercial (insofar as it is possible to make that distinction in a period when the two were not usually physically separate).

Green's reference to the main shopping streets, the Cross, High Street and Broad Street, the latter leading down to the bridge via Newport Street, recalls his description of the High Street, which, 'with an uninterrupted length of spacious street, continues to the College gates, of which, out of London, is not to be found its equal.' The hyperbole may perhaps be forgiven, but it reminds the modern observer that the High Street until 1792 ended abruptly at the 'College gates', that is the entrance to the Cathedral Precinct, which faced north up the High Street, with Lich Street running off to the east; any traveller making south had to turn left down this street, then right and left again to Sidbury Gate. The cutting of College Street in 1792 improved this rather tortuous route by joining 'Knowles's End' with the south end of the High Street, removing a corner of the precinct. As Green's plan shows, the precinct was not part of the city. The boundary ran between the porcelain works, on the riverside, and the Bishop's Palace, along Lich Street, Sidbury and Edgar Street, and returned to the river along the line of the former castle ramparts. The enclave included the cathedral, with its attendant subsidiary buildings and prebendal houses, the site of the castle, and the church of St Michael in Bedwardine, at the north-east corner of the cathedral. The latter's parish more or less covered the area of the

enclave. The castle had had no real military significance since the 14th century, but the motte was still there, listed as 'Castle-hill' on Green's plan. By the time of Leland's visit in the early 16th century the castle was 'cleare downe'. A house of correction was built on the site in 1653, and it housed the county gaol throughout the 18th century (Page & Willis-Bund 1924: 391).

The exclusion of this enclave meant that 'it was outside the liberty of the city and consequently attracted tradesmen, who were not freemen, and members of the middle classes who wished to escape from the irksome burden of poor relief.' (Whitehead 1989: 13) In this it was similar to the developing suburb of the Tything, equally excluded from the liberty by reason of being in the parish of Claines. The Precinct itself, therefore, acquired and retained a distinctive character, as a cathedral close, inhabited by the better off citizens, and some of the upper reaches of local society. However, this was modified by the fact that the city boundary ran down the centre of the surrounding streets (Lich Street, Sidbury, Edgar Street), so that the 'Sanctuary Side' of those streets provided a valuable lodgement for incoming tradespeople who were not freemen but could thus gain a foothold in the centre of the city. Plenty of advertisements in the *Worcester Postman* in the early 18th century attest to this attraction¹⁶. Perhaps one of the best known inhabitants of this part of the city was John Dougharty, the surveyor and mapmaker, and his family, who lived and ran their business in the Edgar Tower, at the entrance to College Green. (Smith 1967, 1996)

A final aspect of the changes experienced by the citizens of Worcester should be mentioned: its position as a centre for social and 'cultural' activity. It had always been the centre for county society, an ecclesiastical and legal meeting place, but the 18th century saw an intensification and widening of this aspect of life. This can be seen reflected in various ways in the pages of the *Worcester Postman*; indeed, the success of this paper, one of the earliest in the country, is itself testimony to the growth of the city as a social and cultural centre, and even of the emergence of those characteristic 18th century qualities which have become encapsulated in the term 'politeness' (see Klein 2002). The paper was, again, a product of the new century. Its earliest editions do not survive, but it had reached number 193 by March 1713 (New Style). Its front page proclaimed that it contained 'the heads of all the remarkable occurrences, both foreign and domestick'. Like all such early newspapers, it was designed not as a vehicle for local news, but to satisfy a lively local demand for news and information from beyond Worcester. Some local

¹⁶ For example: WP 297, 4 Mar 1715 ('Sanctuary Side' of Lich St); WP 567, 6 May 1720 (houses in Sidbury and Lich St, both on Sanctuary Side).

information, mostly in the form of advertisements for house sales and lettings, is present from the beginning, but only later does this aspect become more prominent, with a wider circulation¹⁷ and a greater variety of services and information.

As Whitehead observes:

‘A glance at the advertisements in the *Worcester Journal*¹⁸ shows the scale of social activities which were taking place in Worcester in the eighteenth century. It was a city of concerts, coffee houses, lectures, theatres, exhibitions, bowling greens, drawing schools and dancing academies. Frequent race meetings had been held there at least since 1700 and the Three Choirs Festival was born there. ... Compared with this, the social life of Hereford and Gloucester was decidedly impoverished and only Shrewsbury approached the city in the quantity and variety of delights that it offered for the genteel residents of the region.’ (Whitehead 1989:6)

This is perhaps a little exaggerated, and it certainly refers to a process which did not reach its culmination until the later years of the 18th century and the early 19th. Nevertheless, the process was well under way by mid-century. The first theatrical performance advertised in the *Postman* was in January 1717, at the King’s Head in the High Street¹⁹, the site later in the century of a purpose-built theatre (Griffin et al. 2004:54), and concerts were staged in the Guild Hall as part of a developing social ‘season’²⁰. At least two coffee houses were in operation by 1740²¹, and the city had a thriving book trade from soon after the Restoration (Cooper 1997).

Having thus set the scene by a brief description of what the city looked like and who lived in it, we may embark upon discovering what pottery was being bought in the city markets and used in these houses.

¹⁷ WP 313, 24 Jun 1715: Printed and sold by S Bryan, ‘next the Cross-Keys in Sidbury, and also by a woman every Saturday, ..., near St Martin’s Church in the Corn-Market, where all Country People may be furnished.’ By as early as May 1717 (No 412) the paper was advertised as being available as far afield as Shrewsbury, Tewkesbury, Hereford, Ludlow, Whitchurch, Stafford, Birmingham and Warwick.

¹⁸ The *Postman* had changed its name to the *Journal* by Nov 1732.

¹⁹ WP 393, 4 Jan 1717.

²⁰ For example: WJ 1708, 26 Mar 1742: a concert ‘for the benefit of Mr Charles Clark, jun.’

²¹ WP 562, 1 Apr 1720: notice from John Dougharty the elder, referring to the ‘public table in the coffee-house, near the Town Hall’; WJ 1322, 25 Oct 1734: Estate to be auctioned at Widow Lyon’s coffee-house; WJ 1506, 5 May 1738: Properties in the city to be auctioned at Moor’s coffee-house; WJ 1708, 26 Mar 1742: concert tickets to be had at ‘Mr. Moor’s coffee-house, Mr. Hooper’s Coffee-house, ...’

Chapter 3

Pottery Groups - Introductory

This Chapter acts as a precursor and introduction to the detailed analysis and discussion of the pottery from Worcester to be found in Chapter 4. It explains the approach adopted and the methods used to arrive at a tentative ceramic chronology for the city in the century from 1650 to 1750, as an objective prior to the juxtaposition of this chronology with that for other kinds of objects, obtained from probate inventories.

Previous Work

The search for pottery to examine in this enterprise must begin from a review of published archaeological work on early modern ceramics from Worcester. Before doing so it is perhaps worth entering a disclaimer about Worcester porcelain. The following account deliberately ignores publications concerned with the origins and development of the porcelain industry from 1750 onwards. There are innumerable publications, mostly with an art-historical slant, but including some with some archaeological relevance (eg Owen 1997, 1998), bearing on this aspect of Worcester's ceramic past, but this study is concerned with the part played by pottery in the material culture of Worcester households in the century leading up to 1750. Even in the later 18th century the products of the Worcester porcelain factory were luxury items only to be found in the houses of the wealthy, and mainly not in Worcester itself. Those products, except for wasters from the factory site (Sandon 1979, Sandon & Sandon 1980), are in practice archaeologically invisible.

References to post-medieval ceramics in Worcester are almost non-existent in a literature which until the 1980s was overwhelmingly concerned with Roman and medieval archaeology. When later post-medieval material (after about 1650) is considered, the picture is even more sparse. The publication of the important volume *'Medieval Worcester: an archaeological framework'* in 1980 (Carver 1980) can be taken as the beginning of a more systematic attempt to include the whole range of post-medieval types within the purview of local archaeology. Although concerned primarily with the medieval period, it included a chapter (Morris 1980) on 'Medieval and post-medieval pottery in

Worcester – a type series’, which attempted to extend a series of medieval wares and forms into the 17th and 18th century, including, for example, Midlands Yellow wares, Midlands Purple, imported stonewares, North Devon wares, slipwares, English stonewares and tin-glazed wares, and even later 18th century ‘creme (*sic*) wares’. The series is based upon the material recovered from the Sidbury excavations, undertaken in advance of the construction of City Walls Road, adjacent to Sidbury Gate. The latest period recognized by the series is Period Y, which Morris dates to c.1680-1730, still including a fairly large proportion of what are called ‘Malvern Chase’ wares, although Table 4 (1980:233), listing the post-medieval wares, includes a few types which postdate that period. Although Period Y extends to 1730, it is conceded that ‘at Sidbury, our sequence is interrupted at this point [ie the latter part of the 17th century] until the nineteenth-twentieth century’ (Morris 1980:227). Presumably this means that although the main sequence ends before 1700, enough essentially intrusive material was present to enable the type series to be extended, at least in outline. However this may be, this publication represents so far the only such series relating to the city of Worcester, as opposed to the county as a whole (for which see Hurst & Rees 1992, Hurst 1994). A small early 17th century pit-group from the Sidbury site containing some distinctive and exotic pieces was separately published (Morris 1978). Also as a result of the construction of City Walls Road which gave rise to the major excavation in Sidbury, other smaller investigations were pursued along the line of the city wall. In the course of this activity a small late 18th century assemblage emerged adjacent to the wall and was included in the relevant chapter of Carver’s 1980 report (Bennett 1980).

Morris (1980) refers to earlier published work, the result of isolated finds and the enthusiasm of individuals, particularly Whitehouse (1960, 1962, 1963a, 1963b), and Barton (1966, 1969). Whitehouse’s series of notes of 1960-63 in the Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological society are the first traceable published account of assemblages which extend fully into the 18th and in one case the early 19th century. Most of these are unstratified groups recovered from building operations, but two are from apparently defined contexts on the site of the medieval Whiteladies Nunnery, described as ‘ash-pits’, one containing ‘approximately 320 sherds’ and the other a ‘large quantity’. The first Whitehouse dates to c.1760-90 and the second to the early 19th century.

Barton (1966) reported on a group from Nudix Court, excavated in the 1950s, and drew attention to two mainly sixteenth century types: ‘Tudor Green’ and what are still conventionally called Cistercian wares. Barton’s 1969 report was part of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society volume on the ‘Origins of Worcester’ (Barker 1969) which reported on the results of excavations under ‘rescue’ conditions during the

extensive rebuilding of parts of the city centre in the 1960s. It is again concerned with 'Tudor Green' and Cistercian wares, with the addition of wares that later became known as Malvernian, or what Morris calls Malvern Chase wares. These are all types whose currency does not extend much beyond the mid-17th century. The excavations reported by Barker (1969) did, however, produce a pottery group from a well in Broad Street which was not published at the time but is of interest for the present study.

In the 1980s and 90s there was no marked acceleration in the publication of later post-medieval pottery from Worcester. A note appeared in 1986 (Hurst 1986) on a 'Malling jug' sherd, also from an excavation in the Sidbury area in 1980. The report on the major multi-period excavation at Deansway in 1988-89, did not appear until 2004, and although the excavation produced a very large quantity of later post-medieval material, this was not included in the publication (Dalwood & Edwards 2004), for reasons of economy and space. More recently there has been an increase in the pace of recovery of later post-medieval pottery, although not yet in its publication. An exception to this was the important 18th century assemblage from City Arcade, just off the High Street (Griffin 2004a).

Other more recently reported assemblages include a possibly late 17th century deposit found in a medieval chamber attached to the Chapter House of the cathedral (Crawford 1998, Thomas 1999, Crawford & Guy 2000). In Sansome Street an assemblage has been reported from the area immediately outside St Martin's gate (Napthan 2006, Jacobs 2005), and in the near vicinity a small collection from Sansome Place (Miller et al. 2000). An assemblage of 357 sherds of post-medieval material was included in the report of small-scale excavation and other fieldwork undertaken at 37-55 Friar Street, just inside the former Sidbury Gate and against the rear of the city wall (Jackson et al. 2002).

Just outside the city wall to the north an apparently substantial deposit was recovered as part of a programme of excavation and investigation on the site of the new Police Station in Castle Street (Edwards et al. 2002), including 'a range of commonly identified fabrics dating from the sixteenth century onwards with a dominance of those of late seventeenth to eighteenth-century date' (Edwards et al. 2002: 126). This material came from a series of post-medieval pits and were noted but not reported, since the project design concentrated on the Roman archaeology. More recently, excavations in Newport Street in 2005 have produced substantial post-medieval deposits (Davenport & Dalwood forthcoming), and excavations in and around the surviving buildings of the medieval hospital known as the Commandery, outside Sidbury Gate, has recently recovered pottery of 17th and 18th century date (Miller et al. 2007), which is of particular interest, since it can

be related to a specific house and family. The City of Worcester Historic Environment Record was consulted, and some of the sources listed above resulted from that search. It is obviously more difficult to identify possible sources of post-medieval pottery where there has been no report on the results of excavation. The Worcestershire Archaeological Newsletter for 1971 refers in a brief note to an ongoing excavation in New Street (Reynolds 1971) which was reported as producing post-medieval material.

Choice of sites and groups

The location of the above sites is shown on the map at Figure 4. Having established a reasonably complete list of possible sources of post-medieval pottery for study, the question arises how to choose specific sub-sets of the overall set of known post-medieval pottery sources for Worcester, on the assumption that it is not possible, desirable or necessary to study the entirety of the set. The choice rests on the following desiderata:

1. The avoidance of over-reliance on one site;
2. The desirability of a distribution of sites over the area covered by the city and its suburbs in the period under review (see Chapter 2);
3. Finding quantities of pottery, both overall and in particular contexts, sufficient to justify drawing at least provisional conclusions about the pottery in use in the city at the time;
4. Finding contexts producing assemblages of pottery from the period under review which are ideally uncontaminated by earlier or later material;
5. The necessity to confine the collection of data to a manageable timescale.

In considering the interaction of these factors, it was clear that the Deansway site would play a major role, simply because of the wealth of material which it has produced. The question of choice then resolved itself into which other sites could be used to add to the evidence from Deansway, so as to produce a hypothetically more complete picture, in terms of both geographical and chronological spread. As the above review suggests, the possibilities are in practice quite limited. The sources eventually used are listed in Table 3.

These sources were searched to produce a series of pottery 'groups', that is reasonably substantial quantities of later post-medieval pottery from well-defined single archaeological contexts, or stratigraphically-linked contexts, which would go some way towards satisfying desiderata 3 and 4 above. In practical terms, this meant a search for

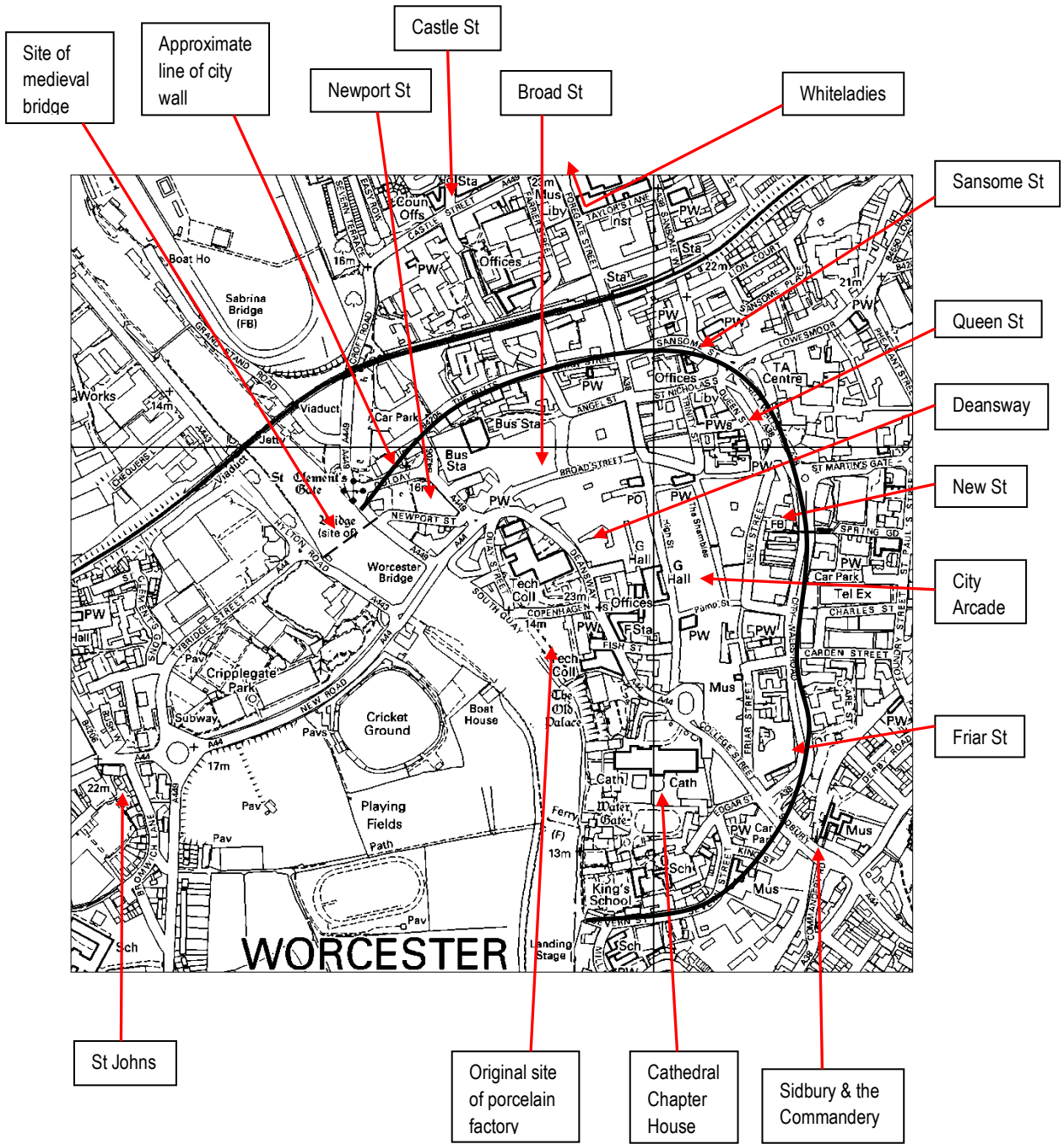


Figure 4 – Worcester – sites & topography

Group No	Location	Date of excav	Site Ref	Context	Description	Ref	Total Sherd No
BRD1	Broad St	1968?	?	Well 3	Fill of brick well	Barker 1969	470
CATH1&2	Cathedral Chapter House	1996/7			underground chamber	Thomas 1999; Crawford 1997	88
CIT1	City Arcade	1998/9		738	backfill of cellar	Griffin et al. 2004	455
CMD1	Commandery	2005	WCM101359	7045	deposits from demolition of	Miller et al. 2007	95
CMD2			WCM101359	7026/36/37	chapel		
DW1	Deansway	1988	HWCM 3899	15018	Cess & rubbish ; fill of pit [15019], connected to & ?draining lined cess pit [15021]	Dalwood & Edwards 2004	319
DW2	Deansway	1988	HWCM 3899	15306	Upper fill of well [15305]; lower fill [15672];	Dalwood & Edwards 2004	223
DW3	Deansway	1988	HWCM 3899	15020	Upper fill of cesspit [15021]; lower fill (15026)	Dalwood & Edwards 2004	312
DW6	Deansway	1988	HWCM 3899	15201	Fill of cesspit [15202]	Dalwood & Edwards 2004	238
DW7a	Deansway	1988	HWCM 3899	15209	Top layer of fill of cesspit [15211]; possibly sealing/floor	Dalwood & Edwards 2004	
b				15210	Main? fill of cesspit [15211]		353
c				15234	Lower fill of [15211]		
d				15236	Base layer within [15211]		
DW8	Deansway	1988	HWCM 3899	15231	Fill of ?rubbish pit [15232]	Dalwood & Edwards 2004	325
SANS1	Sansome St	2003	WCM101054	107	Upper fill of cut [120] in Trench 2, ?sand extraction pit	Napthan 2006	
SANS2	Sansome St		WCM101054	102	Upper fill of [120] in Trench 1		
SANS3	Sansome St		WCM101054	103	Fill of extension to [120]		
SANS4	Sansome St		WCM101054	105	Lower fill of [120]. Tr 1		135
SANS5	Sansome St		WCM10111	401	Fill of pit [413] ('apparently' cont of [120])		
							3013

Table 3 – List of sites and groups

contexts such as cesspits, wells and large rubbish pits into which quantities of contemporary material could be expected to have found their way.

Some justification is necessary for approaching the choice of 'groups'²² in this way, rather than, say, taking all the pottery from a site and sifting out the later post medieval material, without very much regard for specific contexts, rather in the way a 'standard' excavation report might do. It could be argued that the latter approach would be more likely to 'catch' all the possible types of pottery present. The answer is that, in the first place, such an approach, if used for any one of the large sites such as Deansway, Sidbury or Newport Street, would produce a mass of material which would leave little space for material from anywhere else. It would also result in repetition and duplication. Secondly, and more important, the intention was not to write an excavation report but to tell a story which linked this material with at least some of the other contents of 17th and 18th century households. In this endeavour it was important to try to discover groups which were near, both temporally and spatially, to the 'point of discard'; groups which were something like what might have been thrown away in the 17th or 18th century, without any subsequent disturbance. In this way it might be possible to 'tell the story' of each group individually, to guard against the danger that quantification and assessment was carried out at too high a level in the process, without regard to the differences between deposits. For this reason, the quantification and description offered for each group in Chapter 4 includes in each case an interpretation of that group alone, before reaching in Chapter 5 a discussion which brings together the results as a whole.

To return to the sources, as far as Broad Street and the Cathedral were concerned, there was only one relevant context. For the other sites a choice had to be made. In those cases other than Deansway, some explanation is offered in the relevant place in Chapter 4. The Deansway excavation requires a little further background.

The Deansway excavation was the largest single excavation ever undertaken in Worcester. It was carried out in 1988-9 by the then Hereford and Worcester Archaeological Service in advance of the construction of the Crowngate shopping centre, in the area between Deansway and the High Street. It was thus in a central area of the medieval and early modern city. The results of this project were published in a major report in 2004, covering the development of settlement from the prehistoric period until about 1600 (Dalwood & Edwards 2004). As far as the pottery sequence is concerned, the report included a full discussion of the Roman, medieval and early post-medieval material (that is, up to the early 17th century), but the later post-medieval pottery was not included.

²² Hereafter used without quotation marks in this defined sense.

A note was added to the effect that it constituted an important assemblage 'which could add significantly to the understanding of both regional and national industries, and to the understanding of the distribution of imported wares.' (Bryant 2004: 329)

The Deansway excavation area was divided into five sites; all of the selected pottery groups have been taken from Site 2, which was in the area between the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel (still extant) and Bull Entry, which connected Birdport (the narrower precursor of the modern Deansway) and the High Street (see Figure 5). This followed advice that the records for this site were particularly full and accurate. The context records and finds sheets for all the potentially later post medieval contexts for this site (in effect those in the sequence 15000-16999) were examined, and a number identified which appeared to offer the best chance of containing large, well defined closed later post medieval pottery groups. These are those listed in Chapter 4 as DW1, DW2, DW3, DW6, DW7 and DW8. Those initially labelled as DW4 and DW5 were smaller and apparently less likely to be homogeneous, and were not pursued in view of the need to satisfy desideratum 5 above.

Other sites mentioned above which were known to have produced later post-medieval pottery were considered but omitted for the following reasons:

New Police Station, Castle Street (Edwards et al. 2002)

The excavation of this site, following site evaluation, concentrated on Roman deposits, but it nevertheless exposed a 'series of large deep circular pits in the north-western part of the area', which 'may have been quarries'. These were 'backfilled with industrial, building and domestic material, including a good assemblage of well-preserved post-medieval pottery in a wide variety of fabrics and forms' (Edwards et al. 2002: 126). 1228 sherds of 'post medieval and modern pottery' were reported. An examination of this material revealed that, although these pits contained much later post medieval pottery, their filling must have taken place in the 19th century at the earliest, since they also contained a large quantity of later industrially produced ceramics. They did not seem, therefore, to provide the opportunity to examine a substantial well-defined group deposited in the period 1650-1750.

Warner Cinemas, Friar Street (Jackson et al. 2002)

Small-scale excavation and other fieldwork were undertaken in 1997-2000 in advance of the construction of a cinema complex in an area abutting the city wall. It was reported that 357 sherds of post-medieval pottery were recovered, the large majority in 'post-

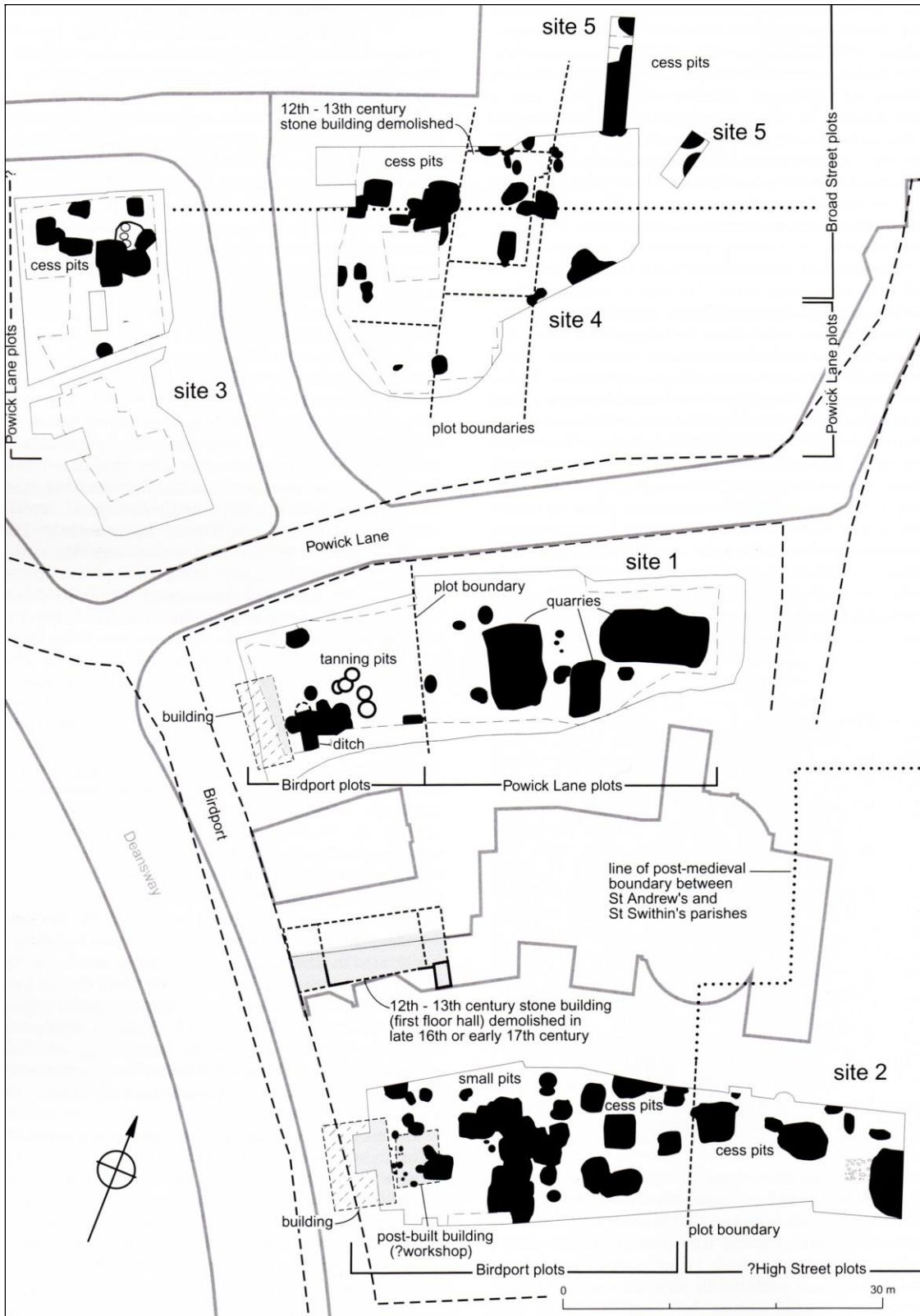


Figure 5 - Deansway Site 2 (Dalwood & Edwards 2004)

medieval red sandy ware'. However, it was apparent that there were no substantial groups present.

Queen Street and Whiteladies Nunnery (Whitehouse 1962)

Whitehouse reported the recovery of post medieval pottery from two sites. The first, in Queen Street, adjacent to St Nicholas' church, yielded 'approximately 250' sherds, unstratified, which he thought dated to the period c 1630 – 1720 (Whitehouse 1962: 34). The second arose from an excavation on the site of the Whiteladies nunnery in the Tything, to the north of the Foregate, and was described as an 'ash-pit', containing 'approximately 320 sherds of the period c 1760 -1790'. Unfortunately it has not so far proved possible to locate these collections.

New Street (Reynolds 1971)

This excavation was not published; a brief note in the Worcestershire Archaeology Newsletter for 1971 is the only reference. A collection of pottery which apparently comes from this site remains in the City Museum's holdings, and a cursory examination showed that it contains a large quantity of pottery of 17th and 18th century date. There are, however, no records which tie the sherds to identifiable contexts, or, for that matter, explain the marking system used. Not all of the sherds are marked. It was not possible, therefore, to identify discrete groups

Sidbury (Carver 1980, Morris 1980)

Reference is made above to the publication '*Medieval Worcester: An Archaeological Framework*'. This included a type series for 'medieval and post medieval pottery in Worcester', arising from the excavations in Sidbury in 1976, the first large scale area excavation in the city. The series obviously concentrates on the medieval material, but includes some coverage of the late 17th and early 18th centuries (period Y). However, the seriation diagram (Carver 1980: 171, Fig 52) clearly shows that after the middle of the 17th century only a few single examples of vessels were present. Consequently, the present study, while taking account of the type series, has not re-examined this material.

Newport Street (Davenport & Dalwood forthcoming)

This excavation, on an area inside the walls of the city and close to the river and the pre-1780 bridge, and concentrated on the later medieval and post medieval levels, produced material which is relevant to this study, but the assemblage was not available for study at the appropriate time.

Recording the groups

This section outlines the processes used to record the selected groups. For the details of the classification system used see Appendix 1.

The basic unit of record is the *sherd family*, or the *nuclear sherd family*, (Orton et al. 1993: 172), that is the maximum number of sherds from the same pot in the same context that can be reliably associated together, either by establishing a clear join or by judging that the similarity of fabric, glaze, decoration and form of the sherds concerned makes it decisively more likely than not that they belong to the same vessel. It has to be recognised that this judgment is subject to error. In the present case a conservative position has been adopted: only those groups of sherds which show clear joins or obvious similarities have been associated into families. This approach inevitably produces a large number of single-sherd families, and thus tends to maximise the estimate of the number of vessels represented in any assemblage, but the view here is that this is a more defensible position than a minimum figure based on possibly dubious associations. This observation emphasises the need to avoid the use of any single estimate of quantity; hence the use of both sherd count and vessel equivalent in the tables, and the recording of weights and rim or base diameter, where present, in the accounts of the groups. For the obvious reason that using weight takes no account of the massive differentials between fabric types, weight has not been used to calculate proportions of types within a group.

The items of information shown in the recording sheet at Figure 6 were noted for each family. This list is based on that used in the Worcestershire Historical Environment and Archaeology Service (hereafter WHEAS) pottery recording database, and also after considering the items listed by Orton et al (1993) and the Medieval Pottery Research Group (Slowikowski et al. 2001) as part of their recommended recording systems. It has been devised in order to support the objects of the present enquiry, which include the desire to tell as fully as possible the 'story' of each of the selected pottery groups. This desire is related to the objective of using quantified data as one way of approaching the place which material goods played in early modern households. The list is therefore perhaps more detailed than that normally used for producing a pottery report, with the intention that as much information as reasonably possible can be extracted from a limited number of groups:

Many of the items are self-explanatory, but others demand some explanation:

ID	No of sherds	Wt	Type total	Type wt	Type ave wt	Max Thickness	Rim diam	% rim	Base diam	% base	eve	Type eve	WHEAS Fabric	Other reference	Abrasion index	Description	Comment	Form	Glaze indicator	Decoration	Draw	Photo	Ceramic TPQ
Totals																							
	Ave wt sh fam																						
	Ave wt sherd																						
	Median wt																						
	Max wt																						
	Min wt																						
	Ave sh no																						
	No sh fams																						
	eves/sh fam																						
	Fabric type proportions																						
	NO		%	Wt	%	eve	%		Form proportions														
	BLW								Form		No												
	WSG																						
	TGE																						
	GD																						
	SLW																						
	STN																						
		0	0	0	0	0	0	0				0											

Figure 6 – Recording Sheet

Maximum thickness: This is the maximum thickness of the body of the pot, at least as exhibited by the fragment represented by the sherd family. It tries to ignore thickening around rims and bases. This provides additional information about the 'fineness' of a vessel.

Estimated vessel equivalent (eve): The 'eve'²³ calculation attempts to provide a reliable way of comparing the composition of assemblages of pottery, in terms of the proportions of different categories within them. The figure is derived from the recorded rim and/or base measurements, and at the level of the family is simply the total of the fragments of rim or base, recorded as percentages from the radius chart and expressed as fractions of 1.00, so that the nearer the figure for any family is to 1.00, the more of that pot is said to be present (Orton et al. 1993: 171-2). In the present study, where both rim and base sherds are present, and there are in consequence two totals, the greater total has been used. Eve figures for individual families are then used to derive totals for fabric types and groups. In assemblages with low completeness the opportunity for deriving eves is limited, since the less chance there is of a piece of rim or base surviving for measurement. In these circumstances, an eve resulting from the measurement of a limited number of surviving rims or bases, and taking no account of the large number of 'body' sherds from vessels the rims or bases of which do not survive, must result in an underestimation of the number of vessels of at least some types which are represented. Added to this, if a combination of rim and base measurements is used, as here, further possibilities of distortion are introduced: for example, some vessels, notably press-moulded dishes, do not have a base which can be measured. In some cases the fragment of rim or base surviving is not large enough to permit the estimation of diameter and consequently vessel equivalent. Eves cannot be taken to mirror the composition of 'life assemblages' (in the sense of the proportions of wares present in any real household at any point in time), because of the variability in life-span of different wares and forms. They can be used, with circumspection, to compare the composition of different groups, on the assumption that that variability, although unknown, remains constant (Orton et al. 1993: 167).

Alphabetic mnemonic code: Alphabetic codes for fabric types have been invented to serve as mnemonics when referring to particular types. There is an added advantage, in that sub-divisions of broad categories can be clearly denoted by adding letters to a base mnemonic (for example, BLW for Blackware, BLWCR for Blackware with a cream

²³ Hereafter eve, omitting quotation marks.

coloured fabric). These mnemonics have been used in compiling the type series at Appendix 1.

Abrasion index: A simple three-stage progression has been used, in order to help in the assessment of residuality:

1 = None

2 = Moderate

3 = Severe

Description and Comment: Description has been used to provide additional information on form and to suggest possible forms for the vessel concerned. Further comments are included where some extra feature of the sherd family seems to call for it.

Form: Figure 7 is a list of forms relevant to later post-medieval pottery. The intention was to include enough descriptions to cover all likely eventualities, and to use as far as possible names which might have meant something to people in the 17th and 18th centuries. The 'Descriptive notes' suggest some aids in using and distinguishing between the categories. The list was drawn up in advance of recording, and using names from a wide variety of published and other sources; in practice only a limited number of the forms listed have been used.

Glaze indicator: This is intended to indicate the extent of glazing:

1 = None (unglazed)

2 = Interior only

3 = Exterior only

4 = Interior and exterior

This indicator can strictly only apply to the sherd family being recorded. It may be that other parts of the vessel not present in the group would exhibit different characteristics. However, the assumption is made that, at any rate by the late 17th century, and for most ceramic types, the vessel as a whole would, were it all present, be coded in the same way.

Decoration: Either 'None' or a brief indication of the decoration present (turned, moulded, painted, incised, etc).

Draw & Photo

Reference to any relevant drawings or photographs.

No	Form type	Descriptive notes
1	Bowl	
2	Slop bowl	
3	Jug	With handle and lip; incl 'ewer', 'pitcher'
4	Plate	
5	Dish	Deeper than plate, with or without rim; incl 'charger'
6	Butterpot/straight sided storage	
7	Pan/pancheon	Wide 'cone' shape
8	Dripping dish	
9	Cup	1 handle
10	Teapot	
10A	Teapot lid	
11	Saucer	
12	Jar	Neck narrower than b/pot; with or without handle, no lip
13	Tea bowl	No handle
14	Mug	Straight sided, 1 handle
15	Gorge	Globular/sub-globular, 1 handle
16	Tureen	
17	Sauceboat	
18	Bottle	Excl Bartmann, with base
19	Bartmann bottle	With facemask and/or escutcheon
20	Candlestick	
21	Coffeepot	
22	Coffee can	With or without handle
23	Salt	
24	Tea canister	
25	Barber's/bleeding bowl	
26	Chamber pot	
27	Posset pot	
28	Porringer	
29	Tyg	More than 1 handle; trumpet shape?
30	2-handled cup	Other than tyg
31	Puzzle jug	
32	Goblet/chalice	Drinking vessel with stem & foot; no handle
33	Capuchin	1 handle, flared upper part
34	Strainer	Incl 'colander'
35	Vase/flower pot	
36	Beaker	Mug without handle
37	Flask	Bottle without base
38	Pipkin	Globular or sub-globular, more than 2 feet
39	Drug jar	Larger than ointment pot; incl 'albarello'
40	Ointment pot	Smaller than drug jar
41	Saggar	
42	Handle (unattributable)	
43	Lid (unattributable)	
44	Cream/milk jug	
45	Fuddling cup	
46	'Bear jug'	
47	Skillet	Straight handle, with or without feet
48	Chafing dish	
49	Frying pan	Wider than skillet, no feet
50	Costrel	Bottle or flask with pierced lugs for carrying
51	Baking/serving dish?	Shallow, straight-sided
52	Tankard	Mug shape, but larger
53	Loving cup	Large, flared upper half, two handles
97	Flatware (unspecified)	
98	Hollow ware (unspecified)	
99	Unknown	

Figure 7 – Pottery Forms

The detailed record for each group is contained in files on a disc appended to this thesis.

Chapter 4

Pottery Groups - Analysis

This chapter reports data from the examination and recording of later post-medieval pottery groups from the sites in the city of Worcester shown in Table 3.

The data is arranged as a series of accounts of the selected groups, in a standardised format which attempts to provide both a quantified and a descriptive appreciation of the fabrics and forms present, the dating of the deposit and of the pottery within it, and the interpretation, in terms of the likely circumstances of its deposition and the reasons for its composition. The accounts of the individual groups are followed in Chapter 5 by a discussion of the tentative chronology of fabrics and forms in Worcester during this period.

The accounts should be read in association with Table 4 - a summary of all groups, in descending order of completeness (eve per family), showing totals for sherd count, weight, eves, families and recognisable forms.

Each group has been quantified, and the account of each is accompanied by a set of four tables:

- 1 **Basic statistics:** Number of sherds ('sherd count'); Total weight; Mean sherd weight; Estimated vessel equivalent (eve); Number of sherd families; Mean sherds per family; Mean weight per family; Minimum weight per family; Maximum weight per family; Median weight per family; Vessel equivalent per family.
- 2 **Analysis by fabric type:** Number of sherds, number of sherd families, weight, and vessel equivalent, divided according to individual fabric types in the type series (Appendix 1).
- 3 **Analysis by broad fabric class:** Proportions of the principal broad classes of material (BLW, CD, etc), by sherd count, by weight and by eve.
- 4 **Analysis by form:** Numbers of sherd families sub-divided by form, with a listing of the fabrics in which those forms are present in the group.

Group	Sherds			eves	Families							Forms	
	No	Total wt (gm)	Mean wt (gm)		No	Mean sh no/fam	Mean wt/fam	Min wt/fam	Max wt/fam	Med wt/fam	eve/fam	No recognised	%
BRD1(excl)*	412	17974	43.63	65.47	235	1.75	76.49	1	715	31	0.28	183	77.9
DW3	312	13338	42.75	22.75	80	3.90	166.73	1	2673	36	0.28	47	58.8
DW8	325	18479	56.86	18.63	109	2.98	169.53	2	3147	21	0.17	37	33.9
DW6	238	7268	30.54	8.60	54	4.41	134.59	2	1474	37	0.16	32	59.3
CIT1	455	13994	30.76	22.58	148	3.07	94.55	1	891	35	0.15	79	53.4
DW1	319	7882	24.71	15.74	119	2.64	66.24	1	1086	13	0.13	41	34.5
CATHCOMB	88	3203	36.40	6.42	64	1.38	50.05	1	1480	6	0.10	8	12.5
SANSCOMB	135	6621	49.04	8.74	106	1.27	62.46	1	558	21	0.08	37	34.9
DW2	223	5821	26.10	10.03	148	1.51	39.33	1	501	13	0.07	32	21.6
CMD1-2	95	1764	18.57	4.79	87	1.09	20.28	1	145	9	0.06	14	16.1
DW7	353	7970	22.58	11.73	218	1.62	36.56	1	1041		0.05	32	14.7
Total	2955	104314	35.30	195.48	1368	2.16	76.25	1	3147	22	0.14	542	39.6
BRD1(incl)*	470	26516	56.42	75.41	259	1.81	102.38	1	3051	34	0.29	202	78.0
Total (incl)	3013	112856	37.46	205.42	1392	2.16	81.07	1	3147	23	0.15	561	40.3

*ie excluding/including restored & 'Dist' (see Chapter 4, Group BRD1)

Table 4 – Summary of groups (in descending order of completeness)

Illustrations, in the form of drawings and colour photographs of selected vessels, are placed between this Chapter and Chapter 5. References to them are included in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Group DW1 (see Table 5)

Context

The group comes from Deansway, site 2, context (15018), which was interpreted as the fill of an 'oval, flat-bottomed pit, context [15019], with channel leading from SE corner to NW corner of cesspit [15021]²⁴ (see Figure 8). The pit appeared to have been cut to drain and empty the cess-pit, which was then re-used. The contents of (15018) included 'moderate' amounts of mortar, brick and tile, and 'occasional' quartzite pebbles. They are said to be 'cess and rubbish deposit'; the 'top was darker grey loamy material, with some rubble.' There was 'more rubble near base, and also in "outlet" from [15021], which appeared to have been deliberately blocked.' The darker top section of the fill was interpreted as 'probably a seal over the resulting smelly hole' (*sic*). The record is ambiguous as to whether the excavator thought the cesspit had simply been drained into pit [15019], or drained and emptied as well, but the assumption seems to have been that it was emptied.

Contamination of the fill was said to be 'low', with 'no visible disturbances', although the definition of the pit was 'slightly vague.' The pit was below context (15009), which represents the cleaning of the entire site, following machining, to provide definition of features, so that it cannot be regarded as 'sealed' by any substantive context, and is no doubt truncated. The other finds from this context are substantial; 156 fragments of clay pipe, some brick and tile, metalwork including nails and iron slag, and large amounts of glass and bone. The clay pipe is referred to below.

Fabrics and Quantities

The group is very fragmented: the average sherd weight is 24.7g, but the median sherd weight per family 13g. Equally, the group exhibits low completeness: the vessel equivalent per family is only 0.13. The eve of 15.74 is based on 47 families (out of 121) where measurable rims or bases survived. The number of vessels represented therefore lies somewhere between about 16 and 121, but there are certainly far more than 16 vessels represented.

²⁴ Quotations and information relating to contexts in this and subsequent Deansway accounts are taken from the Context and Finds Records held by the Worcestershire Historic Environment and Archaeology Service. Square brackets [] denote cuts and round brackets () denote fills.

Table 5 – Group DW1

Table 5.1 - DW1 - Basic statistics

Sherd No	319
Total weight	7882g
Mean sherd weight	24.7g
Vessel equivalent (eve)	15.74
Sherd families	119
Mean sherds per family	2.64
Mean weight per family	65.1g
Min sherd weight per fam	1.0g
Max sherd weight per fam	1086.0g
Median sherd weight per fam	13.0g
Vessel equivalent per fam	0.13

Table 5.2 - DW1 - Fabric types²⁵

		Sh No	Fam No	Wt	Eve
BLWCF(S)	Blackware, coarse fabric, slipped	3	3	48	0.22
BLWCR	Blackware, cream fabric	6	2	139	0.43
BLWLHF(S)	Blackware, late hard fired, slipped	8	1	176	0.53
BLWLHF(U)	Blackware, late hard fired, unslipped	57	16	1786	2.27
BUFSL(BG)	Buff ware, slipped, brown glaze	12	3	295	1.07
CDMARB	Coarse domestic, marbled fabric	1	1	113	0.09
CDPF	Coarse domestic, paler fabric	3	2	104	0.11
CDRF	Coarse domestic, red fabric	2	2	223	0.16
CDRRU	Coarse domestic, refined red unglazed	4	1	72	0.18
CDSB	Coarse domestic, sandy brown	1	1	62	0.13
CISTERC	Cistercian ware	8	6	71	0.74
MED	Medieval	13	13	103	0.00
MMWLB	Manganese mottled ware, buff fabric	34	6	740	1.53
MMWLP	Manganese mottled ware, pink fabric	4	3	19	0.09
MYWCR	Midlands yellow ware, cream fabric	2	2	3	0.00
NDGT	North Devon gravel tempered ware	29	10	1914	1.77
NHEREFA7	North Herefordshire (Vince A7)	3	3	190	0.55
PORCH	Porcelain, Chinese import	2	1	5	0.21
ROM/MED	Roman/Medieval	2	2	34	0.00
ROMAN	Roman	2	2	15	0.00
SLRO(YT)	Slipware, early, red/orange, yellow trailed	3	3	66	0.21
SLWB(YB)	Slipware, buff fabric, yellow/brown lined	2	1	5	0.00
SLWPMI(YB)	Slipware, pink micaceous, yellow/brown lined	4	3	80	0.16
SLWYF(DOTS)	Slipware, yellow fabric, 'dots'	2	1	5	0.00
STN2	Stoneware, type 2	15	4	266	0.32
STN2(DB)	Stoneware type 2, dipped base	28	2	525	2.00
STNNOT(NW)	Stoneware, Nottingham/Derby, no white line	1	2	10	0.00
STNWEST	Stoneware, Westerwald	14	5	281	0.65
TGEINC(B)	Tin-glazed, with inclusions, buff	49	16	497	1.87
WSGS(D)	White salt-glazed stoneware, dipped	4	1	33	0.45
WSGS(U)	White salt-glazed stoneware, undipped	1	1	2	0.00
		319	119	7882	15.74

²⁵ For fabric type mnemonics in the Tables and text see Appendix 1

Table 5.3 - DW1 - Fabric class

	Sh No	%	Wt	%	eve	%
Blackware (BLW)	74	23.2	2149	27.3	3.45	21.8
Coarse Domestic (CD)	11	3.4	574	7.3	0.67	4.3
Creamware (CCW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Mottled ware (MMW)	38	11.9	759	9.6	1.62	10.3
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	2	0.6	3	0.0	0.00	0.0
North Devon (ND)	29	9.1	1914	24.3	1.77	11.3
Slipware (SL/SLW)	11	3.5	156	2.0	0.37	2.4
Stoneware (STN)	58	18.2	1082	13.7	2.97	18.9
Tin-glaze (TGE)	49	15.4	497	6.3	1.87	11.9
White salt-glaze (WSG)	5	1.6	35	0.4	0.45	2.9
Roman/Med (ROM/MED)	17	5.3	152	1.9	0.00	0.0
Other	25	7.8	561	7.2	2.57	16.2
Total	319		7882		15.74	

Table 5.4 - DW1 - Forms

Form No	Description	No	FABRICS					
1	Bowl	2	NDGT	1	TGEINC(B)	1		
5	Dish	5	SLRO(YT)	2	SLWB(YB)	1	SLWPMI(YB)	2
6	Butterpot/str-sided storage	2	BLWCF(S)	1	BLWLHF(U)	1		
7	Pan/pancheon	2	CDRF	1	CDSB	1		
13	Tea bowl	2	TGEINC(B)	2				
14	Mug	10	STN2	3	STN2(DB)	2	STNWEST	4
			WSGS(U)	1				
15	Gorge	1	STNWEST(U)	1				
26	Chamber pot	10	BLWLHF(U)	3	MMWB	1	TGEINC(B)	6
27	Posset	2	BLWCR	1	BUFSL(BG)	1		
30	2-handled cup	1	BLWLHF(S)	1				
35	Vase/flower pot	1	TGEINC(B)	1				
39	Drug jar	1	TGEINC(B)	1				
42	Handle (unattrib)	2	BLWCF(S)	1	MMWB	1		
98	Hollow ware (unspec)	48	BLWCF(S)	1	BLWLHF(U)	11	BUFSL(BG)	2
			CDMARB	1	CDPF	2	CDRF	1
			CDRRU	1	CISTERC	5	MED	2
			MMWB	4	MMWP	3	NDGT	3
			NHEREFA7	2	PORCH	1	SLRO(YT)	1
			SLWYF(DOTS)	1	STN2	2	STNNOT(NW)	1
			TGEINC(B)	3	WSGS(U)	1		
99	Unknown	30	BLWCR	1	BLWLHF(U)	1	CISTERC	1
			MED	11	MYWCR	2	NDGT	6
			NHEREFA7	1	ROM/MED	2	ROM	2
			SLWPMI(YB)	1	TGEINC(B)	2		
		119						

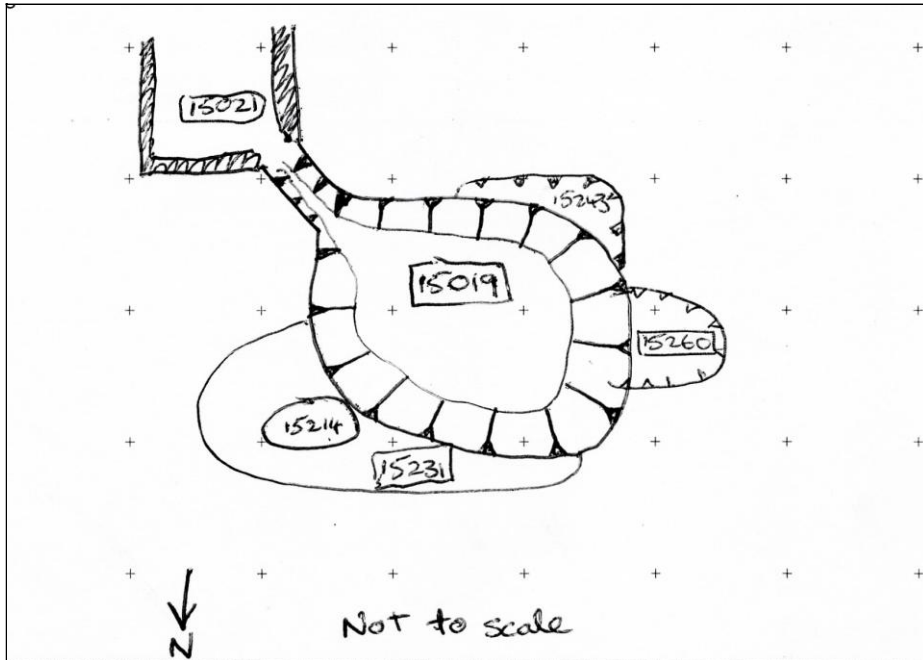


Figure 8 – Sketch plan of relationship between [15019], containing DW1, [15021], containing DW3, and [15231], containing DW8

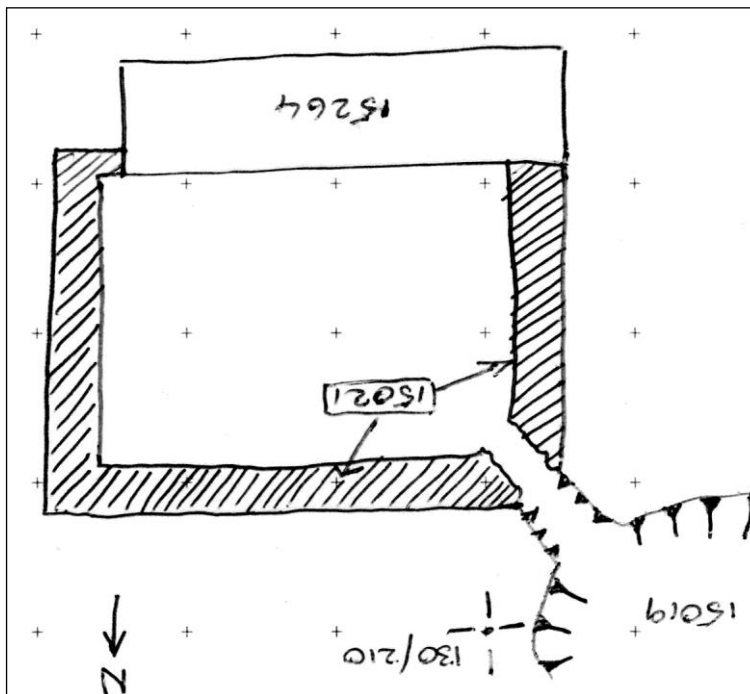


Figure 9 – Sketch plan of [15021], containing DW3, reversed to align with Fig 8 above

The main broad categories of wares present are: Blackware, mottled wares, North Devon gravel-tempered ware, tin-glazed wares, and various forms of stoneware. Despite its visual prominence in any assemblage of which it forms part, slipware (either SL or SWL types) is not very significant in this assemblage when measured by any of the conventional methods. Concentrating on vessel equivalent as the only unbiased measure when comparing different assemblages, it can be seen that Blackwares and stoneware each account for approximately a fifth of the assemblage, with North Devon wares and tin-glaze together making up another fifth, and mottled wares about a tenth. Neither white salt-glazed stoneware nor 'Coarse Domestic' wares are very significantly represented. However, if CD and NDGT are added together, as a combined 'heavy domestic' category, which would be quite reasonable as an alternative grouping, they would amount to 15.6% of the eves. Other alternative groupings are of course possible. For example, the fabrics of BLWCR and MMWB are essentially the same; they would if combined come to 12.4% of the eves.

Within the broad categories, it can be noted that by far the greater proportion of the Blackwares is taken up by hard fired iron rich fabrics, with a smooth black glaze. All the North Devon sherds are gravel tempered, with no gravel free fabrics. The stonewares can be divided into imported Westerwald mugs (perhaps four or five) and brown English mugs with, in at least two cases, a base rilled and dipped in white slip (identical to the large number of such mugs in Group BRD1). The tin-glazed wares include some with blue decoration, and one 'drug jar', very abraded and possibly reused in some way.

There is a total of 17 Roman and medieval sherds (5.3% of the total), but these do not impact on the eves, since they are all small body sherds, with a mean weight of only 9g; this would be consistent with their status as residual in a later assemblage. Equally, the eight 'Cistercian' sherds, with a very similar mean weight, and the two very small Midlands Yellow sherds, can also be counted as archaeologically residual.

Forms

Of 121 sherd families, 80 (66%) are recorded as unattributed handles, unspecified hollow ware, or unknown (that is, too small to judge even whether the sherd was part of a hollow or a flatware vessel). Of the remainder, there are at least 11 mugs, of which five are straight-sided brown stoneware mugs, four 'standard' Westerwald mugs but including one globular Westerwald type, and one in dipped white salt-glaze. 10 chamber pots can be identified, six in plain tin-glaze, three Blackware and one mottled ware. There are perhaps five slipware dishes represented, but only by small fragments. Other forms are represented by smaller numbers of typical forms (butterpot, bowls, pancheons). The one

'vase', in blue-decorated tin-glaze, is only tentatively identified as such. Part of the lid of a typical 18th century stoneware 'bear jar', with decoration in flecks of 'grated' clay, was found with the rest of the finds; unfortunately, it has not been marked and its unequivocal association with the rest of the group cannot be assumed.

Date

White salt-glazed stoneware, an introduction of the 1720s (Noel-Hume 1980), is barely present. Of only two families, one is a mug in a dipped grey fabric, with a brown rim, the body of which is very similar to that of the brown stoneware mugs. Although the dipped ware has been regarded as a chronological precursor of the fully developed ware, the two in fact persisted in parallel, the dipped ware being used particularly for 'coarse tavern mugs', so that it is unsafe to rely on this as an early date indicator. The second family is represented by a single small body sherd of fully developed white salt-glazed ware, with sprigged decoration, which must date from later than 1725 or so. There is no creamware, even its early versions, or other refined developments of the mid to late eighteenth century.

The other wares are not amenable to close dating, though the mottled wares are perhaps indicative of a date early in the eighteenth century. Overall, a date range of 1720-50 seems as far as it is possible to go.

The information from the clay pipes supports that conclusion. The latest forms are similar to Broseley type 7 (Oswald 1975 :50), dating from 1720 to 1770. Of these, two have initials in circles on the side of the bowl, neither of which is very clear, but appear to be IB and IS. IB could be the Broseley maker John Bradley (c1740-60); IS is not listed by Oswald for Broseley in the eighteenth century. Both could be Bristol marks, since this form of mark was common in Bristol and the West, and there is a large number of possible eighteenth century Bristol makers with these initials. The clearest date indication is a Broseley type 5 with the mark of Thomas Overley, whose son was born in 1732.

Interpretation

If the excavators' interpretation of the deposit is correct, namely that the pit containing the assemblage was the result of cleaning out (both draining and emptying) the adjacent brick-built cesspit, at least one 'event' in the life of the assemblage is established. The contents of the pit were originally contained in the cesspit, and the final deposit was a single event. It could also be said that the discard of rubbish, including the pottery, in the cesspit was incidental to the purpose of the cesspit, and must have taken place over the

'working life' of the pit. It may of course have been cleaned out more than once. It is possible that the 'cleaning out' took place over a period, and that pit [15019] remained open, with more material being added to that which had been cleared out of the cesspit. Unfortunately, since these contexts were the first to be excavated, below the levels removed mechanically, and after cleaning the site to define features, it cannot be said how these features were sealed. It is very likely that upper parts of the cesspit and the present pit were destroyed by later development on the site, and/or by machine removal of the remains of the latest buildings, prior to excavation, so that some of the original contents are probably in the huge, mixed assemblage from context (15009), including over 3,000 sherds of pottery and over 1,400 clay pipe fragments.

The high brokenness and incompleteness of the assemblage implies a number of events before the deposition of the pottery in the original cesspit. There are very few even tolerably complete vessels which might have been deposited in the cesspit soon after breakage, so that it must be assumed that most of the material used to fill the cesspit, presumably progressively to cover and render less unpleasant its primary purpose, was brought from elsewhere, already in the form of rubbish deposits of some kind.

Group DW2 (see Table 6)

Context

Deansway Site 2, context (15306) represents the upper fill of a brick-lined well [15305] (see Figure 10). The well lining is said to be 'unbonded, with irregular courses consisting mainly of headers until 20.6m OD where stretchers predominate.' The fill is recorded as 'loose'. The deposit is recorded as sandy, with 'moderate' large brick and tile inclusions and 'occasional' smaller stone and charcoal. The lower fill (15672) was not bottomed, but was said to consist of 'assorted soils and sands' with 'abundant inclusions of brick (frag.), tile (frag.), ash/charcoal, mortar and oyster shells.' It is not clear how much of the lower fill was removed, but the finds record lists only four fragments of iron slag, two fragments of window glass, eight fragments of bone and six pottery sherds. The well was revealed in the course of the initial clearing and cleaning of the site, represented by context (15009). A brick-built culvert (cut [15356], structure [15329]) was cut into the side of the well after it ceased to be used for its original purpose, apparently for drainage. The culvert is said to cut 'existing well structure and fill', so that there is a possibility that the cutting of the culvert might have affected the post-depositional history of the assemblage. However,

Table 6 – Group DW2**Table 6.1 – DW2 - Basic statistics**

Sherd No	223
Total weight	5821 g
Mean sherd weight	26.10 g
Vessel equivalent (eve)	10.03
Sherd families	148
Mean sherds per family	1.51
Mean weight per family	39.3 g
Min sherd weight per fam	1 g
Max sherd weight per fam	501 g
Median sherd weight per fam	13.0 g
Vessel equivalent per fam	0.07

Table 6.2 – DW2 - Fabric type

		Sh No	Fam No	Wt	Eve
AGATE	Agate ware	1	1	3	0.00
ASTBURY	Astbury type ware	4	3	25	0.27
BLWCF(S)	Blackware, coarse fabric, slipped	9	3	288	0.53
BLWCR	Blackware, cream fabric	29	18	425	1.94
BLWLHF(S)	Blackware, late hard fired, slipped	19	14	441	1.58
BLWLHF(U)	Blackware, late hard fired, unslipped	19	17	282	0.09
BUFSL(BG)	Buff ware, slipped, brown glaze	1	1	9	0.00
CCWCL	Cream coloured ware, clouded	2	2	5	0.12
CDBF(U)	Coarse domestic, buff fabric, unglazed	3	3	66	0.00
CDMARB	Coarse domestic, 'marbled' fabric	11	3	643	0.23
CDMIC(U)	Coarse domestic, micaceous, unglazed	2	2	38	0.00
CDOMIC(U)	Coarse domestic, orange micaceous, unglazed	1	1	144	0.05
CDPF	Coarse domestic, paler fabric	12	8	694	0.26
CDRF	Coarse domestic, red fabric	12	7	1013	0.43
CISTERC	'Cistercian ware'	3	3	40	0.00
MMWB	Manganese mottled ware, buff fabric	7	2	70	0.23
MPL	Midlands purple	1	1	36	0.00
MPLGL	Midlands purple, overall glaze	3	1	135	0.06
MYWCR	Midlands yellow, cream fabric	4	3	41	0.07
NDGT	North Devon gravel tempered ware	4	3	225	0.22
PORCH	Porcelain, Chinese import	3	2	21	0.50
SLWB(3C)	Slipware, buff fabric, three coloured	8	3	237	0.10
SLWB(YB)	Slipware, buff fabric, yellow/brown lined	9	5	431	0.00
SLWP(3C)	Slipware, pink fabric, three coloured	1	1	49	0.00
STN1	Stoneware, type 1	2	1	26	0.38
STN2	Stoneware, type 2	3	2	24	0.00
STNNOT(NW)	Stoneware, Nottingham/Derby, no white line	1	1	12	0.00
STNNOT(W)	Stoneware, Nottingham/Derby, white line	4	4	52	0.20
TGE	Tin glazed earthenware	3	3	3	0.00
TGEINC(B)	Tin glaze, with inclusions, buff fabric	4	4	96	0.30
TGEINC(P)	Tin glaze, with inclusions, pink fabric	7	2	46	0.44
TGENINC	Tin glaze, no inclusions	10	5	77	0.35
WSGS(U)	White salt-glazed stoneware, undipped	21	19	124	1.68
		223	148	5821	10.03

Table 6.3 – DW2 - Fabric class

	Sh No	%	Wt	%	eve	%
Blackware (BLW)	76	34.1	1436	24.7	4.14	41.2
Coarse Domestic (CD)	41	18.4	2598	44.6	0.97	9.7
Creamware (CCW)	2	0.9	5	0.1	0.12	1.2
Mottled ware (MMW)	7	3.1	70	1.2	0.23	2.3
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	4	1.8	41	0.7	0.07	0.7
North Devon (ND)	4	1.8	225	3.9	0.22	2.2
Slipware (SLW)	18	8.1	717	12.3	0.10	1.0
Stoneware (STN)	10	4.5	114	2.0	0.58	5.8
Tin-glaze (TGE)	24	10.8	222	3.8	1.09	10.9
White salt-glaze WSG)	21	9.4	124	2.1	1.68	16.8
Roman/Med (ROM/MED)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Other	16	7.2	269	4.6	0.83	8.3
Total	223		5821		10.03	

Table 6.4 - DW2 - Forms

Form No	Description	No						
1	Bowl	1	WSGS(U)	1				
4	Plate	3	TGEINC(B)	1	TGENINC	1	WSGS(U)	1
5	Dish	9	SLWB(3C)	3	SLWB(YB)	5	SLWP(3C)	1
6	Butterpot/str-sided storage	7	BLWLHF(U)	1	CDMARB	1	CDPF	1
			CDRF	3	MPLGL	1		
7	Pan/pancheon	4	CDPF	3	CDRF	1		
13	Tea bowl	1	PORCH	1				
14	Mug	5	STN1	1	WSGS(U)	3	CISTERC	1
26	Chamber pot	1	BLWCF(S)	1				
40	Ointment pot	1	TGEINC(P)	1				
42	Handle (unattrib)	10	BLWCR	3	BLWLHF(S)	2	CDRF	1
			STN2	1	TGENINC	1	WSGS(U)	2
97	Flatware (unspec)	5	BLWLHF(S)	1	PORCH	1	TGENINC	1
			WSGS(U)	2				
98	Hollow ware (unspec)	88	AGATE	1	ASTBURY	3	BLWCF(S)	2
			BLWCR	15	BLWLHF(S)	11	BLWLHF(U)	15
			BUFSL(BG)	1	CCWCL	1	CDBF(U)	3
			CDMARB	2	CDMIC(U)	2	CDOMIC(U)	1
			CDPF	2	CDRF	2	CISTERC	1
			MMWB	2	MPL	1	MYWCR	1
			NDGT	3	STN2	1	STNNOT(NW)	1
			STNNOT(W)	3	TGEINC(B)	2	TGEINC(P)	1
			TGENINC	2	WSGS(U)	9		
99	Unknown	13	BLWLHF(U)	1	CCWCL	1	CDPF	2
			CISTERC	1	MYWCR	2	STNNOT(W)	1
			TGE	3	TGEINC(B)	1	WSGS(U)	1
		148						

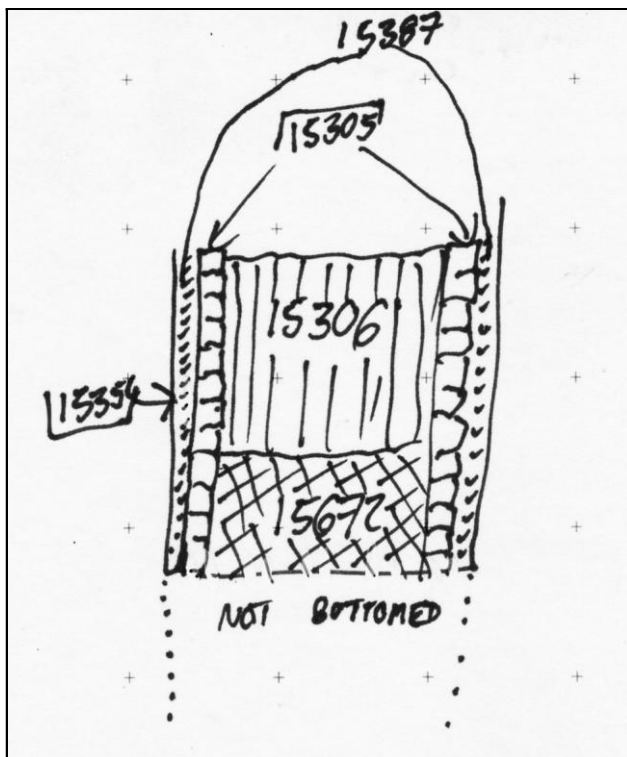
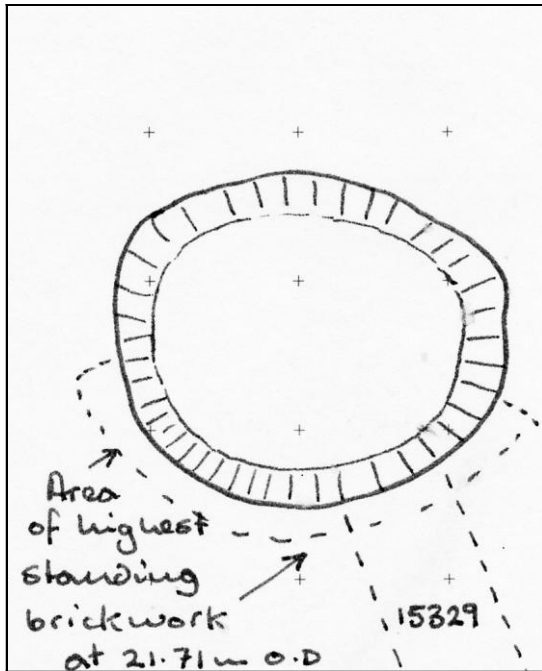


Figure 10 – Sketch plan & section of well containing DW2

contamination is recorded as 'None'. The other finds from the upper fill of the well (15306) include 50 clay pipe fragments (see below) and a quantity of vessel and window glass.

Fabrics and Quantities

The nature of the assemblage is very fragmented. Although the mean sherd weight is 26.1g, and the mean weight per family is 39.3g the weight distribution is skewed towards the lighter weights, and the median weight per family is only 13g. The weight distribution is affected by the presence of a small number of sherds from large 'domestic' vessels (largely pans and 'butterpots') in a heavy, coarse fabric, and, conversely, the presence of a relatively large number of small sherds of very fine, light white salt glazed stoneware, and tin-glazed earthenware. Estimated vessel equivalent per family works out at less than 0.1. The assemblage thus exhibits high brokenness and low completeness.

An eve of about 10.0 can be derived from the data relating to rims and bases, but this must be a minimum figure. It is based on 48 cases in which the family concerned was capable of being assessed, that is only 32% of the total number of families. It is certain that there are parts of far more than 10 vessels present, so that the number of vessels represented lies somewhere between 10 and 148.

If the proportions of different broad classes of material are considered (Table 6.3), it will be seen that Blackware is 34% of the total by count, but only 25% by weight, whereas the other major component, Coarse Domestic, is, predictably, 18% by count, but 45% by weight. Stoneware, as a broad category, is relatively uncommon on both measures, whereas white salt-glaze and tin-glaze score low on weight, and slipware relatively high. Both sherd count and weight are unreliable for estimating proportions in a single assemblage (Orton et al. 1993: 169), so that these proportions are not in any way conclusive. The eve proportions ought to be more reliable, but slipware is still underreported, because of the rarity of measurable rim sherds, whereas the figures show that there were probably at least five or six vessels represented. The eve proportions do, however, suggest a correction of the distortion produced by relying on weight alone, which inflates the proportion of heavy domestic wares. It can be inferred that in this particular deposit, of the main broad categories, stoneware (other than white salt-glaze) was not a particularly significant element, that the various forms of Blackware were important, that white salt-glaze was present in reasonable quantity, and that Coarse Domestic wares, slipware and tin-glaze were present in probably smaller quantities.

Small quantities of fabrics not included in the broad categories of Table 6.3 are not significant in terms of the contribution they make to the general proportions in the group,

but may be so when it comes to dating: one sherd of Agate ware, four of 'Astbury', two sherds of early creamware ('clouded creamware', or tortoiseshell), three sherds of 'Cistercian' ware, four of Midlands Yellow, three small sherds of imported Chinese porcelain, four sherds of North Devon gravel-tempered ware.

Forms

Because of the fragmentation of the assemblage comparatively little can be said about the forms represented. In terms of sherd families, a total of 106 (71.6%) were classified as either Flatware (unspecified), Hollow ware (unspecified), or Unknown. In addition, there were 10 (6.8%) unattached handle fragments, making a total of 116 (78.4%) unidentified families. Of the remainder, there were nine press-moulded slipware dishes; seven instances of apparently straight-sided, large storage vessels ('butterpot' type); four pancheon type vessels with sloping sides; five probable mugs (three in white salt-glaze, one in stoneware with a form similar to fully developed white salt-glazed examples, and one 'Cistercian' ware), and three plates, one in white salt-glaze and two in tin-glaze.

Date

On the basis of fabrics alone, the presence of 'undipped' white salt-glazed stoneware would place deposition after about 1720. The presence of a white salt-glazed plate would tend to push that date into the 1740s (Noel-Hume 1980: 16). The presence of a very small amount of Agate, 'Astbury' and clouded creamware (which is earlier in introduction than refined plain creamware), unless these are intrusive from the clearing and cleaning of the site, could also push this date into the 1740s or 1750s. Creamware proper is notable by its absence. The tin-glazed earthenware, which was very fragmentary and somewhat abraded (although the glaze is admittedly very susceptible to wear), would support this general conclusion. The Blackwares belong to a long lasting tradition, so are difficult to date, but those present here are generally better made than their earlier 'Cistercian' type forbears, and seem to accord with a date in the 18th rather than the 17th century. The slipwares are of types current in the early eighteenth century. The Nottingham stoneware could date from any time in the first half of the eighteenth century. If the suggested date range is correct, the Cistercian and Midlands Yellow wares at least belong to an earlier age, and could be archaeologically residual; on the other hand, they might be present simply as the result of being part of a large collection of material discarded at the same time, from a house clearance, for example. Overall, it seems reasonable to assign a date bracket from 1720-50. The presence of 'Astbury-type' wares is said to be good time-marker for the second quarter of the 18th century (Noel-Hume 1970).

The evidence from the clay pipes would not disagree with this conclusion. There is one probable Broseley type 3 with a mark belonging to Richard Legg (either of two of the same name, the later of whom died in 1714), and an unidentified stem mark which is of a Broseley type of the first half of the eighteenth century. Typologically, the latest form present is similar to Broseley type 7, which would support a date after about 1720 and before 1770 (Oswald 1975: 83, 191).

Interpretation

The cutting of the culvert [15329] post-dated the filling of the top of the well-shaft with rubbish, including the pottery group described here, so that there is a possibility that the group includes intrusive material. On the other hand the extent of possible disturbance does not seem very great, so that it is reasonable to conclude that the group has remained relatively undisturbed since initial discard. It appears quite different in nature from the lower fill (15672), which contains little material, and includes two abraded medieval sherds. If the upper fill has remained undisturbed, its relative brokenness and incompleteness would have to be explained other than by the disturbance of the assemblage after initial deposition. High brokenness might result simply from the process of throwing vessels down an empty well-shaft, but this would preserve a high level of completeness, which is not present. If the abandonment and deliberate filling of the well involved the importation of material from the excavation of a replacement well or a pit, in the same premises or elsewhere nearby, some level of residual Roman and/or medieval material, which is common over the site as a whole (Dalwood & Edwards 2004), would be expected, but this is also not present. The remaining possible circumstances would include the use of the well as a receptacle for household rubbish, either over a period of time or as a single event. A single event might include the deliberate filling and sealing of a well which had ceased to be usable.

On the balance of probabilities, it would seem that the group is the result of the discard of household waste over a relatively short period, culminating in the sealing of the well; this suggestion might include deliberately filling and sealing it, using materials to hand, but not excavated from elsewhere. 'Materials to hand' might be the result of some such event as a house clearance, on change of ownership, for example, but the lack of any relatively complete vessels argues against this. The level of fragmentation would argue for an unknown number of 'events' between original discard and final deposition, perhaps the filling of the well from a 'midden' or rubbish heap in the vicinity or elsewhere in the city. It cannot be known, clearly, whether the assemblage derives from one household or several.

The nature of the assemblage is not obviously other than 'domestic'; in other words, there is no concentration of particular identifiable types which might suggest that it was associated with specialised premises of some sort (for example an inn, denoted by large quantities of drinking vessels). The confidence with which this can be asserted is compromised by the lack of identifiable vessels, but in the absence of positive evidence for a specialised use, residential use is the most likely interpretation.

Group DW3 (see Table 7)

Context

The group derives from Deansway, Site 2, context (15020), which is described as the 'upper fill of [15021]', and interpreted as 'upper fill of cesspit - ?rubble dumping, levelling backfill. Large dump of pottery present.' Feature [15021] was a:

'Sub-square brick-built cess-pit, of 3 sides, built up against the N face of wall [15264]. Base course of bricks laid on edge, then various types of bond above. Possibly rather truncated by machinery, carpet factory construction, etc. The SW end apparently cut [15264] / had been jointed into it, whereas at the SE corner there was a straight-jointed butt.'

The wall [15264] was recorded as a 'short length' with 'no visible function'. It was felt that the cess pit had been attached to the wall at a date after its first construction, evidenced by some rebuilding to accommodate the junction with the cess-pit at the SW end (see Figure 9). Presumably the wall had been truncated by later development, so that there was no indication of relationships with other structures on the site. The lower fill of the pit was separated as context (15026), described as 'cess deposit in bottom of cess pit', coloured 'dark green-brown grey' (*sic*) sandy loam as opposed to 'mid-strong brown' loam for the upper fill. The cess-pit 'had possibly been drained into pit [15019]'; although the description does not say so, the sketch shows that the NW corner of the pit [15021] had been broken through to allow for that drainage. The description of the 'drainage pit' [15019] includes: ' ? pit cut to drain cess-pit [15021], *which was then partially repaired and re-used*' (added emphasis). Group DW1 was contained in the drainage pit – see above.

Context (15020) was below context (15009) which was the result of cleaning the entire site after initial machining, to achieve recognition of features, so that it cannot be said to be 'sealed' by any substantive context. Indeed, it is likely that the combination of the initial machining and the 'cleaning' process have together compounded the truncation caused by earlier building operations.

Table 7 – Group DW3

Table 7.1 – DW3 - Basic statistics

Sherd No	312
Total weight	13338g
Mean sherd weight	42.75g
Vessel equivalent (eve)	22.75
Sherd families	80
Mean sherds per family	3.90
Mean weight per family	166.7g
Min sherd weight per fam	1g
Max sherd weight per fam	2673g
Median sherd weight per fam	36.5g
Vessel equivalent per fam	0.28

Table 7.2 – DW3 - Fabric types

		Sh No	Fam No	Wt	Eve
BLWCR	Blackware, cream fabric	66	17	1837	4.29
BLWLHF(S)	Blackware, late hard fired, slipped	1	1	20	0.00
BLWLHF(U)	Blackware, late hard fired, unslipped	4	2	37	0.47
CCWP	Cream coloured ware, plain	12	8	218	1.50
CDMARB	Coarse domestic, marbled fabric	9	2	2715	0.59
CDPF	Coarse domestic, paler fabric	6	5	383	0.07
CDRF	Coarse domestic, red fabric	2	2	627	0.16
CISTERC	Cistercian ware	1	1	9	0.00
MMWB	Manganese mottled ware, buff fabric	32	5	497	0.48
PORUN	Porcelain, unknown origin	1	1	1	0.00
PRLW(T)	Pearlware, transfer printed	1	1	11	0.31
SLWB	Slipware, buff fabric, general	3	1	303	0.10
SLWB(3C)	Slipware, buff fabric, three-coloured	2	1	654	0.27
SLWB(MB)	Slipware, buff fabric, marbled	2	1	307	0.32
SLWB(YB)	Slipware, buff fabric, yellow & brown lined	22	3	2691	2.04
STN2	Stoneware, type 2	1	1	9	0.18
STNNOT(W)	Stoneware, Nott/Derby, white line	32	2	531	2.00
STNWEST	Stoneware, Westerwald	7	1	230	0.50
TGEINC(B)	Tin-glazed, with inclusions, buff	60	13	1696	4.69
WSGS(U)	White salt-glazed stoneware, undipped	48	12	562	4.80
		312	80	13338	22.77

Table 7.3 – DW3 - Fabric class

	Sh No	%	Wt	%	eve	%
Blackware (BLW)	71	22.8	1894	14.2	4.76	20.9
Coarse Domestic (CD)	17	5.4	3725	27.9	0.82	3.6
Creamware (CCW)	12	3.8	218	1.6	1.50	6.6
Mottled ware (MMW)	32	10.3	497	3.7	0.48	2.1
Midlands Yellow	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
North Devon (ND)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Slipware (SL/SLW)	29	9.3	3955	29.7	2.73	12.0
Stoneware (STN)	40	12.8	770	5.8	2.68	11.8
Tin-glaze (TGE)	60	19.2	1696	12.7	4.69	20.6
White salt-glaze WSG)	48	15.4	562	4.2	4.80	21.1
Roman/Med (ROM/MED)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Other	3	1.0	21	0.2	0.31	1.4
Total	312		13338		22.77	

Table 7.4 - DW3 - Forms

Form No	Description	No						
1	Bowl	3	BLWCR	1	STNNOT(W)	1	TGEINC(B)	1
3	Jug	1	BLWCR	1				
4	Plate	12	CCWP	3	TGEINC(B)	9		
5	Dish	6	SLW	6				
7	Pan/pancheon	4	CDMARB	1	CDPF	2	CDRF	1
10	Teapot	1	WSGS(U)	1				
13	Tea bowl	2	WSGS(U)	2				
14	Mug	8	WSGS(U)	5	STNWEST	1	STN2	1
			CCWP	1				
22	Coffee can	1	WSGS(U)	1				
25	Barber's/bleeding/ bowl	1	MMWB	1				
26	Chamber pot	2	MMWB	1	TGEINC(B)	1		
28	Porringer	3	BLWCR	3				
40	Ointment pot	2	TGEINC(B)	2				
42	Handle (unattrib)	2	BLWCR	1	CCWP	1		
53	Loving cup	1	STNNOT(W)	1				
97	Flatware (unspec)	2	CCWP	1				
98	Hollow ware (unspec)	26	BLWCR	11	BLWLHF(S)	1	BLWLHF(U)	2
			CCWP	2	CDMARB	1	CDPF	2
			CISTERC	1	MMWB	3	PORUN	1
			PRLW(T)	1	WSGS(U)	1		
99	Unknown	3	CDPF	1	CDRF	1	WSGS(U)	1
		80						

The fill of (15020) was said to include 'abundant' mortar and 'moderate' amounts of egg-shell (*sic*), brick and tile, although 'recorded from v. small sample.' Apart from the pottery assemblage, the finds record includes 11 nails, two pieces of iron slag, 116 sherds of vessel glass and 23 of window glass, a considerable quantity of bone and shell, and 37 clay pipe fragments, including five bowls. Contamination is said to be 'low'. It has not proved possible to date to locate the clay pipe.

Fabrics and Quantities

When compared with other groups from Deansway, this group exhibits greater completeness; eves per sherd family are 0.27. This observation is supported by the fact that there are, for example, 66 sherds of BLWCR from only 18 families, 32 sherds of mottled ware from only 6 families, and 61 sherds of tin-glazed ware from only 13 families. There are several almost complete vessels, including a press moulded slipware dish, a Blackware jug, and a tin-glazed chamber pot. Equally, the assemblage has lower brokenness: the average sherd weight is almost 43g and the median weight per sherd family is 36g, compared to 13g for both DW1 and DW2.

The range of fabric types is relatively limited. Blackware (almost all of which is BLWCR – Barker's 'slipped blackware' (Barker 1986:63)), tin-glazed wares and white salt-glazed stoneware together account for almost two-thirds of the eves, in roughly equal proportions. The rest is taken up by slipwares, brown stonewares, creamware, coarse domestic wares and mottled wares, in descending order. Only three sherds do not fit into these broad categories: a very small sherd of plain porcelain, one sherd of transfer printed pearlware, and a sherd of Cistercian type ware.

The slipwares are all of SLW types. The stoneware, except for a single rim sherd of a brown tavern mug (see BRD1), consists of substantial parts of two Nottingham vessels, one a two-handled loving cup of a mid to later 18th century form (Oswald & Hughes 1974:149).

There is no North Devon ware and no Roman or medieval sherds.

Forms

The most frequent identifiable form present is the plate, of which there are 12 examples, three in creamware and the rest in tin-glazed earthenware. Of the latter, seven are decorated in blue, some with motifs which match published examples from the production site at Temple Back, Bristol (Price 2005:66-7, figs 8 & 17). At least some of these look as if they formed part of a set. Slipware is entirely confined to six press-moulded dishes, one of which is substantially complete. 'Drinking equipment' is present in noticeable amounts: one teapot, two tea bowls, seven mugs, a loving cup and a large Blackware jug. Eating is restricted to three porringers, all in Blackware. There are at least four pans or pancheons, in coarse domestic wares, two of them very large. The list is completed by two chamber pots, one almost complete in plain white tin-glaze and one in mottled ware; two tin-glazed 'ointment pots'; and a mottled ware barber's bowl, with the characteristic semicircular cutout in the rim and a recess for a soap ball.

Date

The presence of significant quantities of white salt-glazed stoneware must put the date of deposition after 1720. The creamware, although there is not a substantial amount, would push this date forward to perhaps 1750, if not later. The single sherd of pearlware would make the date even later, but this may be intrusive. As already indicated, the Nottingham loving cup appears to be of mid to late 18th century date. There is no North Devon ware, no Midlands Yellow (both of which seem to be an indication of 17th or early 18th century date), and no SL slipware, that is apparently early types with simple trailed slip over an orange or red body. Overall, it seems safe to place the assemblage in the third quarter of the 18th century. It should be noted that the excavators thought that the cess-pit [15021] from which this assemblage comes had been drained into a pit [15019] containing group DW1. If it were the case that the contents of the cess-pit had also been emptied into pit [15019], and the cess-pit then reused, its final contents, in the form of the present group, would necessarily be later than DW1, which it has been suggested dates to the second quarter of the 18th century.

Interpretation

The relative completeness of this assemblage, when compared with DW1, to which it seems to be linked, and the absence of any residual Roman or medieval material, would support the conclusion that at some point in the mid-18th century the contents of the cess-pit were cleared into the adjoining pit, undergoing more fragmentation and loss in the process, and replaced by a somewhat later assemblage which remained undisturbed.

The nature of the assemblage is not obviously other than domestic. If it could be assumed to derive from one household, it suggests a mid-18th century establishment of some sophistication: tea drinking equipment in white salt-glazed stoneware, a set of decorated blue delftware plates, perhaps from Bristol, a loving cup from Nottingham, some of the new creamware. More everyday vessels (porringers, chamber pots, a jug, pans from the kitchen or dairy, so-called ointment pots), in blackware, mottled ware, coarse domestic wares and plain tin-glaze, complete the picture. The barber's, or bleeding, bowl adds an unusual note, but could be part of the equipment of a house with servants to supply needs including shaving.

Group DW6 (see Table 8)

Context

The group derives from Deansway, site 2, context (15201). This was the fill of a 'brick-walled structure' [15202], interpreted as a cess-pit: 'Brick lined pit. Walls vertical, two bricks thick (ie one full brick-length). One sandstone block used in each of E & W walls. No base.' It was cut at one end by feature [15205], the foundation trench for a wall, (15206), which was 'a well made brick structure bonded with mortar; stepped out 3 times at the bottom and set on concrete.' The fill contained 'abundant' mortar, brick and tile, the mortar concentrated in a layer at the bottom of the pit, but also diffused throughout, and the brick and tile mostly in a 'rubble layer in top half of fill'. There was also 'moderate' charcoal, mostly near the base, and 'occasional' coal. As a whole this was characterised as 'cess and domestic rubbish, then backfilled with rubble'. The pit was sealed only by (15000) and (15001), which were, respectively, the 1960s tarmac surface of the car park occupying the site, and:

'all machine cleared layers, structures, etc; c. 1.5m of material including foundations of C19th walls, fills of cellars (all machine cleared), and layers of C19th/C20th demolition rubble, as well as soil deposits of C18th/C19th date, cut by cellars. Also all C20th services.'

The pit thus appeared immediately upon clearance of 'Victorian & C20th build up', and did not even have to wait for the site cleaning process (context 15009) which revealed other features, such as those containing groups DW1 and DW2. As with all the Deansway groups, activity on the site subsequent to deposition has entirely destroyed any detailed stratification which might have yielded information about its date, other than the broadest indication that it predates the 'modern' period.

Contamination of the fill was said to be 'Low', with the note: 'possible mixing of finds from part of [15205], though care taken to avoid this.' As indicated above, [15205] was the foundation trench for a wall cutting [15202], the fill of which, (15233), is recorded as containing four medieval and 23 post medieval pottery sherds.

The other finds are recorded as including 103 clay pipe fragments, three nails, some window lead, 23 sherds of vessel glass and 21 of window glass, and over 300 pieces of bone, including three worked pieces. As with group DW3, it has not proved possible to locate the clay pipe.

Table 8 – Group DW6

Table 8.1 – DW6 - Basic statistics

Sherd No	238
Total weight	7268g
Mean sherd weight	30.5g
Vessel equivalent (eve)	8.62
Sherd families	54
Mean sherds per family	4.41
Mean weight per family	134.6g
Min weight per family	2g
Max weight per family	1474g
Median weight per family	36.5g
Vessel equivalent per family	0.16

Table 8.2 – DW6 - Fabric type

		Sh No	Fam No	Wt	Eve
BLWLHF(S)	Blackware, late hard fired, slipped	25	1	1154	1.00
BLWLHF(U)	Blackware, late hard fired, unslipped	14	5	383	0.00
CDMARB	Coarse domestic, marbled fabric	19	2	1684	0.20
CDPF	Coarse domestic, paler fabric	1	1	45	0.08
CDRF	Coarse domestic, red fabric	15	2	740	0.38
CISTERC	Cistercian ware	4	4	18	0.00
MALV	Late Malvernian	1	1	19	0.00
MMWB	Manganese mottled ware, buff fabric	36	8	355	1.61
NDGF	North Devon gravel free ware	1	1	77	0.00
NDGT	North Devon gravel tempered ware	14	3	544	0.54
NHEREFA7	North Herefordshire (Vince A7)	10	4	259	0.38
PMU	Post medieval, unknown	1	1	116	0.06
SLBPF	Slipware, early, brown, paler fabric	1	1	33	0.00
SLBY	Slipware, early, brown & yellow	7	2	192	0.17
SLRO(YT)	Slipware, early, red/orange, yellow trailed	20	8	349	0.92
STN2	Stoneware, type 2	8	1	79	0.38
STNWEST	Stoneware, Westerwald	12	2	528	0.97
TGEINC(B)	Tin-glaze, with inclusions, buff	34	6	438	1.64
TGEINC(P)	Tin-glaze, with inclusions, pink	15	1	255	0.29
		238	54	7268	8.62

Table 8.3 – DW6 - Fabric class

	Sh No	%	Wt	%	eve	%
Blackware (BLW)	39	16.4	1537	21.1	1.00	11.6
Coarse Domestic (CD)	35	14.7	2469	34.0	0.66	7.6
Creamware (CCW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Mottled ware (MMW)	36	15.1	355	4.9	1.61	18.7
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
North Devon (ND)	15	6.3	621	8.5	0.54	6.3
Slipware (SL/SLW)	28	11.8	574	7.9	1.09	12.6
Stoneware (STN)	20	8.4	607	8.4	1.35	15.7
Tin-glaze (TGE)	49	20.6	693	9.5	1.93	22.4
White salt-glaze (WSGS)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Roman/Med (ROM/MED)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Other	16	6.7	412	5.7	0.44	5.1
Total	238		7268		8.62	

Table 8.4 - DW6 – Forms

Form No	Description	No						
1	Bowl	3	NHEREFA7	1	TGEINC(P)	1	TGEINC(B)	1
4	Plate	1	TGEINC(B)	1				
5	Dish	13	NDGF	1	PMU	1	SLBPF	1
			SLBY	2	SLRO(YT)	8		
6	Butterpot/ straight-sided storage	1	BLWLHF(S)	1				
7	Pan/ pancheon	4	CDMARB	2	CDRF	1	NHEREFA7	1
12	Jar	1	CDPF	1				
14	Mug	5	MMWB	2	STN2	1	STNWEST	2
26	Chamber pot	1	NDGT	1				
28	Porringer	1	MMWB	1				
38	Pipkin	1	NDGT	1				
39	Drug jar	1	TGEINC(B)	1				
42	Handle (unattrib)	3	CIST	1	MMWB	2		
98	Hollow ware (unspec)	16	BLWLHF(U)	5	CIST	4	MALV	1
			MMWB	1	NDGT	1	NHEREFA7	1
			TGEINC(B)	3				
99	Unknown	3	MMWB	2	NHEREFA7	1		
	Total	54						

Fabrics and Quantities

The vessel equivalent per family, at 0.16, would seem to indicate a low level of completeness, although the mean sherds per family (4.4) is the highest for any of the groups examined, which suggests that for some reason fewer rims and bases have survived, giving a surprisingly low total eve. The detailed figures in Table 8.2 show that only in the case of tin-glazed wares is the eve per family significantly higher (0.28) than average. The brokenness of the group is also not very different from DW1 and DW2; the mean sherd weight is 30.5g, compared with 25g and 26g respectively for those two groups, and much lower than, for example, the 57g for DW8.

Taking account of both vessel equivalents and sherd numbers, there is a fairly even distribution of fabric types between Blackware, mottled ware, slipware, stoneware and tin-glazed earthenware, the last featuring as the largest contributor, with rather smaller contributions from North Devon wares, Coarse Domestic wares and wares tentatively identified as from Herefordshire. It is noticeable that the Blackwares are entirely of the red, iron-rich variety, with no BLWCR, that is a fabric which is identical with the mottled ware, and that the slipware is entirely composed of red/orange or brown fabrics with raised trailed slip decoration (SL), rather than the types with usually buff fabrics and trailed and often feathered decoration over a dark red background (SLW). The stoneware consists of one English brown stoneware mug, and two imported Westerwald mugs or tankards. The Coarse Domestic sherds are almost all of the red, 'iron-rich' type, or the type with a badly mixed 'marbled' fabric containing much red material. The North Devon

sherds are all coarse, gravel-tempered wares, except for one sherd of a sgraffito dish which joins with others from group DW8. The tin-glazed earthenware is all, except for one small sherd, of decorated forms, mostly painted with cobalt blue, but in one case manganese purple (very fragmentary). Looking at the distribution between types in a different way, it would be possible to group the CD and the NDGT wares, and possibly the NHEREF as well, as all belonging to a 'coarseware' class, opposed to the more 'presentable' finer and/or decorated wares. This would produce a figure of 18.3% for 'coarseware' by eve, or 25.2% by sherd count.

There are no Roman or medieval sherds, no Midlands Yellow or Midlands Purple, and only five small sherds of 'Cistercian' or late Malvernian wares.

Forms

59% of the families in the group are recognisable as specific forms, a higher proportion than for any group other than BRD1 and DW3. By far the highest number in any category is the up to 11 thrown slipware dishes in SL type fabrics. To these might be added one dish rim in a harder fabric, with trailing, listed as PMU but which might belong to this group, or is possibly ND. There are no press-moulded, piecrust-edged SLW type dishes, usually assumed to be of somewhat later date. Apart from this quite large and homogeneous group, there are other more varied groups: five drinking mugs, consisting of two 'standard' mottled ware mugs, one in brown stoneware, and two in imported German stoneware; up to four large pancheon type vessels in CD fabrics; and three very different bowls, one in a plain brown-glazed fabric, possibly Herefordshire, and two in TGE, although they could hardly, within this overall classification, be more different in their appearance. Remaining forms are represented by single examples: an almost complete TGE plate with a seated Chinese figure; a large BLW straight-sided storage vessel or butterpot; a rim sherd of a large CD jar; a North Devon chamber pot; a pipkin also from North Devon; a mottled ware porringer; and a TGE 'apothecary' jar.

Date

White salt-glazed stoneware is wholly absent, even in the supposed earlier 'dipped' form, as is SLW slipware. These absences suggest a deposition date in the late 17th or early 18th century, although Midlands Yellow ware, sometimes taken as an indicator of earlier date (see SANS and DW7) is also absent. The red/orange trailed slipware dishes appear to have affinities with excavated examples from kiln sites in Burslem and Hanley in north Staffordshire (Kelly 1969, Celoria & Kelly 1973: 62-3); these publications are reticent about dates, but Kelly suggests that the clay pipes excavated with his examples were

made in the period 1670-1710 (Kelly 1969: 3). Two of Kelly's Burslem dishes are illustrated by Barker (2001) and described as 'ca.1690'. This kind of slipware belongs to a tradition which was well established in Staffordshire by the mid-17th century, and which may have been influenced in turn by the Essex industry which came to supply the London market and to be known as Metropolitan slipware (Gaimster 1997b, Davey & Walker 2009). However, it seems much more likely in Worcester that such dishes came from Staffordshire than from Essex. The single sherd of a North Devon sgraffito decorated dish (which connects with dishes in group DW8 – see below) is from a dish with an exact parallel from pottery waste excavated in Bideford and typical of the period c.1660-1700 (Allan et al. 2005). The evidence of other groups suggests that North Devon wares of both kinds are more common in Worcester in the 17th and early 18th century than later. The small sherds of 'Cistercian' and late Malvernian wares can probably be regarded as residual.

Overall, the group would seem to have been deposited no later than 1720 and perhaps as early as 1700.

Interpretation

As with other Deansway contexts, later 19th and 20th century disturbance has destroyed stratigraphical evidence of subsequent activity, or any connection with any other structures than the wall [15206], which, being founded on concrete, is presumably of much later date. The absence of any Roman or medieval material, and the concentration of rubble filling near the top of the pit, suggest that the deposit is primary and comes from the disposal of domestic refuse from a household or households nearby, followed by topping up the fill with rubble before further development on the site. There is no way of knowing whether the items disposed of came from one household or more than one, or whether the deposit took place on a single occasion or over a period, however short. All that can be said is that the pottery comes from a fairly limited range of fabrics, all apparently current in the years around 1700, and in a variety of forms which might be expected in a domestic context, namely storage, food preparation, eating and drinking, and sanitary needs.

Group DW7 (see Table 9)

Context

This group results from the combination of four contexts which constitute the fill of a 'sub-square tile-built structure, with tiles coursed and horizontal.' (context [15211]). There were 'occasional part-courses of bricks and brick frag[ment]s' and '3 sandstone blocks used in SW corner.' The sides were 'vertical and finished on interior faces.' It was approximately 2.5m by 2.4m, and 1.25m deep. It was interpreted as a 'tile-lined cess-pit'. Its north-west corner had been destroyed by the foundations of the carpet factory which later occupied the site (see Figure 11). Four layers were evidently recognised in the excavation (in descending order):

(15209): A 'layer of brown clay & mortar in top of [15211], on top of (15210). Patchy laid[?] layer of half bricks on top, & 1 large lump of sandstone.' Interpreted as 'possible remains of a sealing layer/floor in the top of cess-pit [15211]'.

(15210): A 'layer of ash with some rubble, within square tile-walled structure.' Interpreted as 'a fill of tile-walled cess-pit [15211]'.

(15234): 'Third layer down in brick [*sic*] walled pit'. Interpreted as 'part of fill of cess-pit'.

(15236): 'Base layer within brick [*sic*] structure [15211]'. Interpreted as 'cess deposit in bottom of cess-pit [15211]'. This layer 'was largely dug with (15234), but with care for finds discrimination.'

There was 'abundant' mortar in the top layer (15209), and 'very abundant' charcoal [original emphasis] in the next (15210), which was clearly sufficient to distinguish them from each other and from the next layer down. The two bottom layers were distinguished by a difference in colour between 'strong brown' (15234) and 'light brown' (15236), and the presence of 'dumps' of tile, ash and yellow clay in the base layer.

The justification for regarding these contexts as a single group rests on the existence of a number of cross-context joins; specifically one definite and four probable between (15209) and (15210), two between (15210) and (15234), and one between (15234) and (15236). However, these are all between adjacent contexts and may simply be the result of errors in excavation and recovery. The group was consequently recorded as four separate entities, and only later amalgamated into one, so that it remains possible to distinguish the products of each layer separately. The contexts were recorded as:

DW7a : (15209)

DW7b: (15210)

DW7c: (15234)

DW7d: (15236)

Table 9 – Group DW7

Table 9.1 – DW7 - Basic statistics

		<i>(incl sieved)</i>
Sherd No	282	353
Total weight	7725g	7970g
Mean sherd weight	27.4g	22.6g
Vessel equivalent (eve)	11.73	11.73
Sherd families	147	218
Mean sherds per family	1.93	1.62
Mean weight per family	52.6g	36.6g
Min weight per family	1g	1g
Max weight per family	1041g	1041g
Median weight per family	18g	
Vessel equivalent per family	0.08	0.05

Table 9.2 – DW7 - Fabric types

		Sh No	Fam No	Wt	Eve
BLWLHF(S)	Blackware, late hard fired, slipped	1	1	21	0.12
BLWLHF(U)	Blackware, late hard fired, unslipped	1	1	1	0.00
CDOMIC(U)	Coarse Domestic, orange micaceous, unglazed	2	2	173	0.40
CDPF	Coarse Domestic, paler fabric	40	25	1512	0.69
CDRF	Coarse Domestic, red fabric	9	7	447	0.08
CIST1	Cistercian, type 1	11	11	30	0.15
CIST2	Cistercian, type 2	14	11	188	1.93
MALV	Late Malvernian	21	10	924	1.25
MART	Martincamp	1	1	5	0.00
MPL	Midlands Purple	7	7	212	0.15
MPLGL	Midlands Purple, overall glaze	6	5	129	0.24
MYWCR	Midlands Yellow, cream fabric	91	28	2007	3.83
MYWYG	Midlands Yellow, yellow/green	10	2	338	0.70
NDGF	North Devon, gravel free	3	1	78	0.00
NDGT	North Devon, gravel tempered	1	1	9	0.00
NHEREFA7	North Herefordshire (Vince A7)	7	7	158	0.00
PMU	Post medieval, unknown	4	4	71	0.00
SLRO(YT)	Slipware, early, red/orange, yellow trailed	4	3	25	0.07
SLWCR(MB)	Slipware, cream fabric, refined, marbled	2	1	32	0.18
STNFRE	Stoneware, Frechen	6	2	469	0.50
STNWEST	Stoneware, Westerwald	5	2	113	0.46
STNWEST(U)	Stoneware, Westerwald, uncoloured	2	1	115	0.44
STN2	Stoneware, type 2	1	1	13	0.00
TGEINC(B)	Tin-glaze, with inclusions, buff	5	3	203	0.54
TGEINC(P)	Tin-glaze, with inclusions, pink	2	1	48	0.00
MED	Medieval	15	7	267	0.00
<i>(MED incl sieved)</i>	<i>Medieval including the sieved samples</i> ²⁶	86	78	512	0.00
ROM/MED	Roman or Medieval	11	2	137	0.00
	Total excluding sieved samples	282	147	7725	11.73
	Total including sieved samples	353	218	7970	11.73

²⁶ See Note below, p 95

Table 9.3 – DW7 - Fabric class (excl sieved samples)

	Sh No	%	Wt	%	eve	%
Blackware (BLW)	2	0.7	22	0.3	0.13	1.1
Coarse Domestic (CD)	51	18.1	2132	27.6	1.18	10.0
Creamware (CCW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Mottled ware (MMW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	101	35.8	2345	30.5	4.53	38.5
North Devon (ND)	4	1.4	87	1.1	0.00	0.0
Slipware (SL/SLW)	6	2.1	57	0.7	0.24	2.1
Stoneware (STN)	14	5.0	710	9.2	1.41	12.0
Tin-glaze (TGE)	7	2.5	251	3.2	0.54	4.6
White salt-glaze (WSGS)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Roman/Medieval (ROM/MED)	26	9.2	404	5.2	0.00	0.0
Other	71	25.2	1717	22.2	3.71	31.7
	282		7725		11.74	

Table 9.3 – DW7 - Fabric class (incl sieved samples)

	Sh No	%	Wt	%	eve	%
<i>Blackware (BLW)</i>	2	0.6	22	0.3	0.13	1.1
<i>Coarse Domestic (CD)</i>	51	14.4	2132	26.8	1.18	10.0
<i>Creamware (CCW)</i>	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
<i>Mottled ware (MMW)</i>	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
<i>Midlands Yellow (MYW)</i>	101	28.6	2345	29.4	4.53	38.5
<i>North Devon (ND)</i>	4	1.1	87	1.1	0.00	0.0
<i>Slipware (SL/SLW)</i>	6	1.7	57	0.7	0.24	2.1
<i>Stoneware (STN)</i>	14	4.0	710	8.9	1.41	12.0
<i>Tin-glaze (TGE)</i>	7	2.0	251	3.1	0.54	4.6
<i>White salt-glaze (WSGS)</i>	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
<i>Roman/Medieval (ROM/MED)</i>	97	27.5	649	8.1	0.00	0.0
<i>Other</i>	71	20.1	1717	21.6	3.71	31.7
	353		7970		11.74	

Table 9.4 - DW7 – Forms

Form No	Description	No						
5	Dish	5	<i>MYWCR</i>	1	<i>NDGF</i>	1	<i>SLRO(YT)</i>	3
6	Butterpot/ straight sided storage	2	<i>CDPF</i>	1	<i>MALV</i>	1		
7	Pan/ pancheon	1	<i>CDPF</i>	1				
9	Cup	4	<i>CIST1</i>	1	<i>CIST2</i>	3		
12	Jar	6	<i>CDPF</i>	1	<i>MALV</i>	3	<i>SLWCR(MB)</i>	1
			<i>MYWYG</i>	1				
14	Mug	3	<i>MYWCR</i>	1	<i>STNWEST</i>	1	<i>STNWEST(U)</i>	1
15	Gorge	1	<i>STNWEST</i>	1				
19	Bartmann bottle	1	<i>STNFRE</i>	1				
26	Chamber pot	3	<i>TGEINC(B)</i>	3				
28	Porringer	1	<i>NDGT</i>	1				
34	Strainer/colander	1	<i>MYWCR</i>	1				
37	Flask	1	<i>MART</i>	1				
38	Pipkin	1	<i>MED</i>	1				
39	Drug jar	1	<i>TGEINC(P)</i>	1				
42	Handle (unattrib)	6	<i>BLWLHF(U)</i>	1	<i>CIST1</i>	1	<i>CIST2</i>	1
			<i>MYWCR</i>	3				
52	Tankard	1	<i>MYWCR</i>	1				
97	Flatware (unspec)	1	<i>MYWCR</i>	1				
98	Hollow ware (unspec)	80	<i>BLWLHF(S)</i>	1	<i>CDOMIC(U)</i>	2	<i>CDPF</i>	16
			<i>CDRF</i>	7	<i>CIST1</i>	4	<i>CIST2</i>	5
			<i>MALV</i>	4	<i>MED</i>	4	<i>MPL</i>	6
			<i>MPLGL</i>	5	<i>MYWCR</i>	16	<i>MYWYG</i>	1
			<i>NHEREFA7</i>	6	<i>PMU</i>	2	<i>STN2</i>	1
99	Unknown	28	<i>CDPF</i>	6	<i>CIST1</i>	5	<i>CIST2</i>	2
			<i>MALV</i>	2	<i>MED</i>	2	<i>MPL</i>	1
			<i>MYWCR</i>	4	<i>PMU</i>	2	<i>ROM/MED</i>	2
			<i>STNFRE</i>	1	<i>NHEREFA7</i>	1		
		147						

Note: The group drawn from these contexts includes three bags containing samples sieved at 5mm and 1mm from 15234, and at 1mm from 15236. The post medieval sherds from these bags have been included in the detailed analysis, but the medieval sherds, numbering 71 (all from 15234), were simply identified but not weighed or measured. Consequently, the inclusive figures given in italics in the tables above represent a truer picture of the assemblage as a whole. However, these figures necessarily assume that the 71 medieval sherds do not contribute to the eve. Since they are all very small (mean weight 3.5g), this assumption is probably near to the truth, but not coincident with it. The total eve for the group is thus likely to be slightly greater than that shown above. Also, the inclusion of the 'sieved' sherds involves the assumption that none of the 71 sherds are associated in families, which inflates the number of families and deflates the eve per family, although that is already very low. The inclusive figures have been used in Table 4.

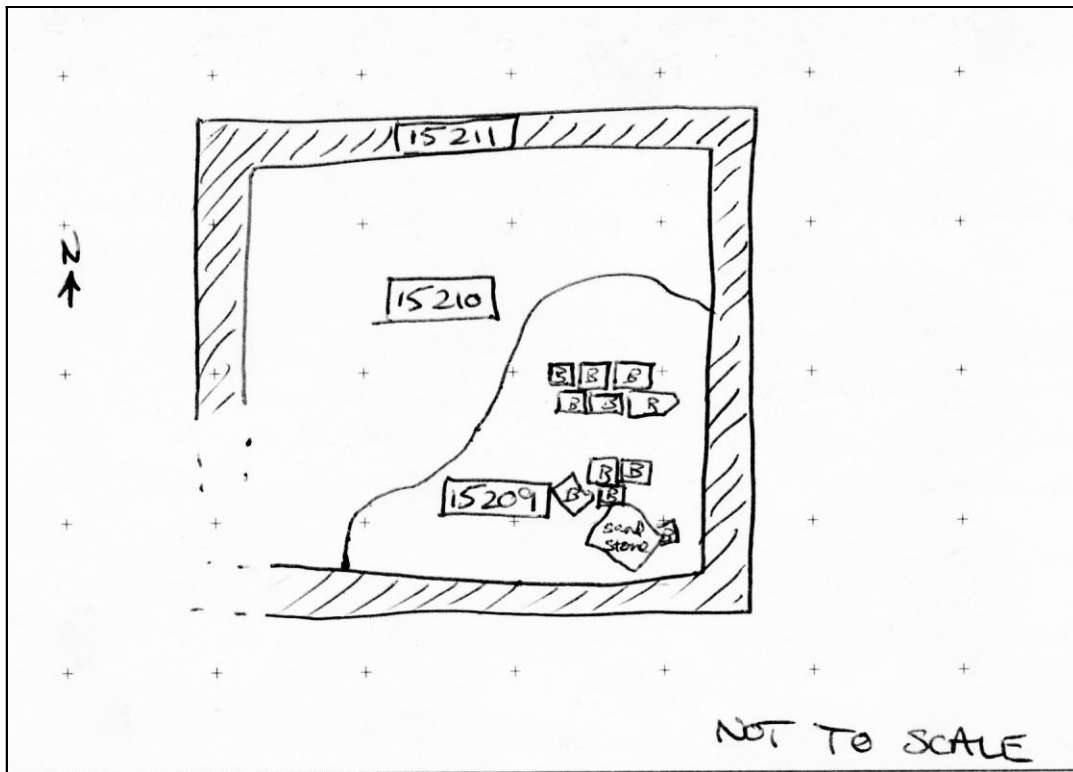


Figure 11 – Sketch plan of cess-pit [15211], containing DW7, showing upper levels (15209) & (15210)

Other finds from these contexts included 30 fragments of clay pipe, a very large quantity of animal bone (according to the finds record in excess of 2,000 pieces), iron nails and slag (concentrated in (15234)), but virtually no glass.

Fabrics and Quantities

When the 'sieved' material is included, the eve per family, at 0.05, is the lowest for any group. Even without this material, the figure only increases to 0.08, still at the bottom of the range, comparable to DW2 and the group from Sanscombe Street. So the assemblage is extremely incomplete. It might, however, be relevant that the values for eve per family increase with the depth of the layers concerned (excluding the sieved samples):

DW7a: 0.03

DW7b: 0.06

DW7c: 0.09

DW7d: 0.16

The assemblage as a whole is also very fragmentary. It is at the bottom of the range for mean weight per sherd, mean weight per sherd family, and the proportion of recognisable forms. This is partly attributable to the presence of the sieved sherds, but even if they are removed from the picture, the position is hardly improved.

The group is markedly different from others from Deansway. The presence of a substantial quantity of Midlands Yellow ware (38.5% by eve, almost 30% by both sherd count and weight) in itself distinguishes it from all other groups. Further, more than 25% of the eves are accounted for by 'Cistercian' and late Malvernian wares, mostly, at least in the former case, in small fragments. Of the remaining approximately 35% of the eves, only Coarse Domestic products and stoneware achieve double figures, small contributions are made by tin-glazed wares, slipware and Midlands Purple, and Blackware is insignificant. There is no mottled ware or white stoneware. These percentages are all, in the light of the presence of 97 Roman and medieval sherds not measured for vessel equivalent purposes, in theory too high, although probably only marginally so. The stoneware is all imported German types. The majority of the substantial number of CD sherds is in the paler, iron-sparse version (CDPF), and almost all are isolated, single-herd families making only small individual contributions to the eve total. There is a single sherd of a Martincamp flask (probably Type III - Hurst et al. 1986). North Devon wares are restricted to three sherds of a 'gravel-free' sgraffito dish also found in DW8, and one sherd of a gravel-tempered vessel, probably part of a porringer also from DW8.

In view of the relatively large number of 'Cistercian' sherds, an attempt was made to differentiate two sub-types, CIST1 and CIST2, reflecting an improvement in quality from the first to the second. In fact CIST2 in all probability has already arrived in the Blackware tradition; at any rate it appears to be what Barker describes as such in Part Two of his North Staffordshire type-series (Barker 1986).

It is worth noting that not all the fabric types were distributed evenly across the layers into which the fill of the pit was divided. The two or three TGE chamber pots, the TGE 'drug jar', the Westerwald mugs, the slipware 'honey pot' and the North Devon dish and porringer sherds were all found in the bottom 'cess deposit' layer, and were additionally all

parts of vessels also found in DW8. All of these fabrics were confined to this bottom layer.

Forms

Only 15% of the families in the assemblage can be positively identified (or 22% if the sieved sherds are excluded); in either case this places the assemblage at the bottom of the comparative table (see Table 4). Of the relatively few vessels that can be recognised, a number are connected to food storage or preparation: six jars, one in CD, similar to those listed under DW8, three in Malvernian ware, one in a very hard fired version of Midlands Yellow, and the slipware 'honey pot' already mentioned, parts of which also occur in DW8; two straight sided 'butterpot' type vessels, one CD and one Malvernian; and one pan in CD. To these must be added an almost complete colander or strainer in Midlands Yellow. The dishes include three sherds of a North Devon sgraffito example joining with one of those from DW8, one in Midlands Yellow and small sherds from up to three SL type slipware examples, similar to those from DW6.

Drinking equipment includes a number of cups or tygs in Cistercian ware (or early Blackware), two Westerwald stoneware mugs and a round bodied 'gorge' from the same source, at least one mug and a possible tankard in Midlands Yellow, a sherd from a Martincamp flask, and one German stoneware bottle with two applied heraldic cartouches. The other recognisable forms are a sherd from a porringer in North Devon gravel-tempered ware, three plain white tin-glazed chamber pots, and part of a 'drug jar' in decorated tin-glaze.

Date

Midlands Yellow ware (or just Yellow ware according to Gooder(1984:155)) appears to be largely a product of the 17th century. Woodfield (1964:78) claims that it had 'virtually ceased circulation by the early 18th century'. If this is so, then together with the complete absence of white salt-glazed stoneware, English brown stoneware, and even the ubiquitous press-moulded slipware dishes with their trailed and combed decoration, and the virtual absence of Blackware other than what has been referred to above as CIST2 ('early Blackware'), it would suggest that the date of deposition must be quite early, perhaps in the late 17th rather than the early 18th century. The presence of more than average amounts of 'Cistercian' and Malvernian wares would support such a conclusion. The assemblage therefore looks back to a repertoire belonging to the second half of the 17th century; there is certainly nothing which need be later than 1700. However, the

evidence supplied by the different contents of the layers within the pit suggests a more complicated history (see below).

Interpretation

Completeness, as judged by the eve per family, although still pretty low, is greatest in the lowest level of the pit (the 'cess deposit'), and tin-glaze, Westerwald stoneware, North Devon wares and the only example of developed Staffordshire slipware are all confined to that context (15236), although it does also contain a range of other fabrics. Added to this, all the cross-context joins involve material in this lowest level with sherds in the rubbish pit, context (15231), group DW8. A tentative interpretation might then be that this cess-pit (and possibly (15201), containing DW6, which also exhibits a cross-context join with DW8) was at some point towards 1700 cleaned out and the contents deposited in the rubbish pit containing DW8, but leaving some material behind at the bottom. It was then filled with rubble and soil from elsewhere containing earlier, including medieval, material. There is no way of knowing what the timing of these operations was, nor whether the pit containing DW8 was used for other rubbish from the locality. But, together with the sequence sketched above in relation to DW1 and DW3, this observation reminds us of the potentially complicated stories attached to the disposal of rubbish in urban settings, and the effect on the contents of apparently securely defined contexts like cess-pits and wells.

Group DW8 (see Table 10)

Context

This group comes from Deansway, site 2, context (15231), which is laconically and rather unhelpfully described as 'fill of hole', and interpreted as 'fill of rubbish pit' (cut [15232]). It contained 'moderate' amounts of charcoal and brick fragments, 'occasional' mortar and whole bricks, and 'rare' limestone. Contamination is said to be 'low', as a result of 'slightly vague boundaries.' It was cut by the later pit [15019], filled by context (15018), group DW1, which in turn was interpreted as the result of cleaning out the cess-pit [15021]. The cess-pit was then refilled with context (15020), group DW3 (see Figure 8). There appears therefore to be a chronological relationship between these three groups; DW3 is later than DW1, which is later than DW8. None of the events which produced these relationships need to have been separated by more than a few days; no assumption can be made about the length of time involved. But at least the basic relationship seems secure. As far as other relationships are concerned, it should be noted that there are cross-context

Table 10 – Group DW8

Table 10.1 – DW8 - Basic statistics

Sherd No	325
Total weight	18479g
Mean sherd weight	56.9g
Vessel equivalent (eve)	18.63
Sherd families	109
Mean sherds per family	2.98
Mean weight per family	169.5g
Min weight per family	2g
Max weight per family	3147g
Median weight per family	21g
Vessel equivalent per family	0.17

Table 10.2 – DW8- Fabric types

		Sh No	Fam No	Wt (gm)	Eve
BLWCR	Blackware, cream fabric	1	1	24	0.12
BLWLHF(U)	Blackware, late hard fired, unslipped	51	10	1342	3.05
CDMARB	Coarse domestic, marbled fabric	15	2	553	0.18
CDPF	Coarse domestic, paler fabric	36	4	4759	2.79
CDRF	Coarse domestic, red fabric	36	11	4085	1.58
CISTERC	Cistercian ware	12	11	63	0.73
MALV	Late Malvernian	6	6	96	0.14
MED	Medieval	5	5	36	0.00
MMW	Manganese mottled ware, uncertain	2	2	47	0.00
MMWB	Manganese mottled ware, buff fabric	4	3	51	0.34
MMWP	Manganese mottled ware, pink fabric	8	5	194	0.62
MYWPK	Midlands Yellow, pink fabric	1	1	6	0.00
NDGF	North Devon gravel free ware	21	3	2063	1.00
NDGT	North Devon gravel tempered ware	26	6	3021	2.22
NHEREFA7	North Herefordshire (Vince A7)	7	6	231	0.29
PMU	Post medieval unknown	10	10	171	0.24
ROMAN	Roman	1	1	14	0.00
SLWB(JW)	Slipware, buff fabric, jewelled	3	1	91	0.67
SLWB(MB)	Slipware, buff fabric, marbled	4	4	31	0.00
SLWB(YB)	Slipware, buff fabric, yellow & brown lined	1	1	37	0.00
SLWCR(MB)	Slipware, cream fabric, refined, marbled	17	1	320	0.68
SLWM(YB)	Slipware, mixed fabric, yellow & brown lined	2	2	54	0.00
STNWEST(U)	Stoneware, Westerwald, uncoloured	7	1	192	0.40
STNWEST	Stoneware, Westerwald	18	4	320	1.96
TGEINC(B)	Tin-glazed, with inclusions, buff	20	6	517	1.04
TGEINC(P)	Tin-glazed, with inclusions, pink	11	2	161	0.58
		325	109	18479	18.63

Table 10.3 – DW8 - Fabric class

	Sh No	%	Wt	%	eve	%
Blackware (BLW)	52	16.0	1366	7.5	3.17	17.1
Coarse Domestic (CD)	87	26.8	9397	50.8	4.56	24.4
Creamware (CCW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Mottled Ware (MMW)	14	4.3	292	1.6	0.97	5.2
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	1	0.3	6	0.0	0.00	0.0
North Devon (ND)	47	14.5	5084	27.5	3.24	17.4
Slipware (SLW)	27	8.3	533	2.9	1.35	7.2
Stoneware (STN)	25	7.7	512	2.8	2.35	12.6
Tin-glaze (TGE)	31	9.5	678	3.7	1.62	8.7
White salt-glaze (WSGS)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Roman/Med (ROM/MED)	6	1.8	50	0.3	0.00	0.0
Other	35	10.8	561	3.0	1.40	7.4
	325		18479		18.66	

Table 10.4 - DW8 - Forms

Form No	Description	No						
1	Bowl	4	BLWCR	1	NDGT	2	NHEREFA7	1
4	Plate	2	TGEINC(B)	1	TGEINC(P)	1		
5	Dish	6	NDGF	3	SLW(YB)	1	SLWM(YB)	2
7	Pan/pancheon	3	CDRF	1	MALV	1	NDGT	1
12	Jar	9	BLWLHF(U)	1	CDMARB	1	CDPF	4
			CDRF	2	SLWCR(MB)	1		
14	Mug	4	STNWEST(U)	1	STNWEST	3		
15	Gorge	1	STNWEST	1				
26	Chamber pot	4	BLWLHF(U)	2	TGEINC(B)	2		
28	Porringer	1	NDGT	1				
39	Drug jar	3	TGEINC(B)	2	TGEINC(P)	1		
42	Handle (unattrib)	3	CISTERC					
98	Hollow ware (unspec)	52	BLWLHF(U)	7	CDMARB	1	CDRF	8
			CISTERC	8	MALV	2	MMW	2
			MMWB	3	MMWP	5	NDGT	2
			NHEREFA7	4	PMU	7	SLWB(JW)	1
			SLWB(MB)	1	TGEINC(B)	1		
99	Unknown	17	MALV	3	MED	5	.MYWPK	1
			NHEREFA7	1	PMU	3	ROMAN	1
			SLWB(MB)	3				
	Total	109						

joins between sherds from this group and DW6 (one case) and DW7 (at least nine). Other finds include more than 160 fragments of clay pipe, a great deal of animal bone, six nails and some iron slag, but apparently almost no glass.

Fabrics and Quantities

The vessel equivalent per family, at 0.17, is higher than most groups but still well short of DW3 and BRD1, so that the group is relatively incomplete. The median weight per family,

at 21g, is comparatively low, as is the proportion of families recognisable as specific forms, so that the assemblage also looks quite broken.

The most noticeable feature of the distribution of fabrics is that Coarse Domestic (CD) fabrics are heavily represented. Both by sherd number and by eve they contribute about a quarter of the group. Three types of CD are identified, CDMARB, CDPF and CDRF, but these distinctions are fairly arbitrary and merge at the margins.

Coarse Domestic wares are followed in quantity by Blackwares and North Devon wares, for both of which the proportions for sherd number and eves are in rough agreement. The North Devon category, however, is evenly divided between 'gravel-free' and 'gravel-tempered' versions, the first represented by three sgraffito dishes, which might be regarded as table ware or display items, whereas the latter should be bracketed with Coarse Domestic wares as belonging to the kitchen or buttery. If the NDGT wares and the CD wares were joined in a larger 'utilitarian' category, the result would be to increase the 'coarse domestic' proportion to 35% by sherd number or 36% by eve.

Blackwares are almost entirely of the 'late hard fired' type, with only one sherd of BLWCR. Of the remaining overall categories in Table 10.3, stoneware is represented by up to five Westerwald drinking vessels (four mugs and one gorge). There is no brown stoneware. There is comparatively little slipware, although this category does include an example of the elaborately decorated 'jewelled' type characteristic of Staffordshire potters, and much of a jar in a hard fired cream fabric with marbled and combed surface slip decoration. There is none of the SL type, with simple trailed white slip over a red base. Mottled ware is not common, and included for the most part only as small fragments of unrecognisable hollow forms; it is worth noting that BLWCR, essentially the same fabric with a different finish, is also more or less absent. The tin-glazed wares are a relatively small contributor, and are of three sub-types: plain white everyday wares; 'apothecary' or drug jars in a fabric with roughly applied decoration in the form of purple or blue horizontal lines and chevrons; and one small sherd with multicoloured decoration in brown, yellow, blue and green, a very rare occurrence in these groups.

There are seven sherds tentatively identified as North Herefordshire wares, one Midlands Yellow sherd, and 18 sherds listed as Cistercian or Late Malvernian, together with six small medieval or Roman sherds.

Forms

The largest number allocated to a single form is that for jars. Of these perhaps up to seven of the nine listed are large, probably storage jars of some kind, with a distinctive rim shape which might be seen as adapted to tying down a textile covering. They have a rotund rather than a straight sided shape, unlike the 'butter pot' type, and do not seem to have handles. A similar vessel is illustrated by Gooder (1984: 243, no 248). 'Jars' are completed by a Blackware example, which might equally be a jug or a vase, and the hard fired slipware vessel already mentioned, which bears a strong resemblance to a supposed 'honey pot' also illustrated by Gooder (1984: 206, no 223) and labelled 'Staffordshire, late 17C'.

To the CD jars could be added, as part of the storage and food preparation equipment present, at least three pans, one in CDRF, one in late Malvernian ware, and one a very large North Devon example, in gravel-tempered ware, with a massive horizontal handle, similar to those catalogued by Allan et al (2005: 187, nos 216-9), with an applied thumbled clay strip under the rim. Also in NDGT are two plain bowls, similar in shape to Allan's Type 3J, and a suggested porringer, with horizontal handle attachment, which is akin to his Type 5 (Allan et al. 2005: 191, Fig 17). One of the other bowls, with turned lines below a simple club rim, is one of the clearest examples of a Herefordshire import. There are some small sherds belonging to the 'usual' slip-trailed, press-moulded slipware dishes, but the major contribution to dishes is a group of (probably) three dishes in North Devon sgraffito ware, two of them substantially complete, and all with the same decorative scheme.

Drinking equipment is most obviously exemplified by four German stoneware vessels from the Westerwald, including one gorge. One or two of the small sherds of mottled ware may also belong to drinking mugs. In addition, some or all of the small sherds, including handle fragments, labelled Cistercian, that is in an iron-rich fabric with a dark, sometimes metallic glaze, are probably from the small drinking vessels with multiple handles, labelled tygs in Figure 6. Other than the two small TGE sherds which were interpreted as plate fragments, there are no other forms associated with eating or drinking. Two other forms are present: three 'drug jars' in TGE, with decoration consisting of horizontal lines and chevrons in blue and purple; and four chamber pots, two in plain white TGE, and two in Blackware. The single example of 'jewelled' slipware is the base of a straight sided cylindrical vessel which is the right size and shape for a mug or tankard, but it is not possible to be sure.

Date

The absence of white salt-glazed stoneware (WSGS), even the 'dipped' version, argues for a date no later than the early years of the 18th century. A relative early date is also suggested by the paucity of mottled ware and its relative, BLWCR.

The decorated North Devon dishes probably date from the last decades of the 17th century. It was once thought that such dishes ceased to be made about 1700 (Watkins 1960). However, recent excavations at Bideford suggest that they continued to be made, but that the carefully executed geometrical decoration of the late 17th century gave way to 'hastily-drawn sketchy designs' in the 18th century (Allan et al. 2005:193). The single sherd of Midlands Yellow ware, along with the very fragmented remains of probable Cistercian 'tygs', can probably be added to the small amount of Medieval and Roman material, as residual in a later assemblage. Given that it is possible that such relatively unusual display objects as the North Devon dishes might have lasted longer than more utilitarian vessels, it seems reasonable to allocate a date range of 1700-1720 to this group as a whole. None of the other contents would be inconsistent with this.

It should also be remembered that DW8 underlies DW1, which is earlier than DW3. Both of the latter include some white stoneware (WSGS), DW1 a very small amount, but DW3 a substantial amount, together with the only creamware in any of the groups. This would support a chronology which places DW8 earlier than DW1, which is assigned to the period 1720-50.

Interpretation

This group comes not from a well, cess-pit, or other well-defined built structure, but from a relatively shallow (c 0.8m) 'rubbish' pit, containing, apart from the pottery, a great deal of animal bone and broken clay pipes. It shares cross-context associations with DW6 (from a brick-built cess-pit) and DW7 (from a tile-lined cess-pit, all the associations from the bottom layer). One of the North Devon sgraffito dishes is divided between all three groups (DW6, DW7 and DW8), and at least three out of the five Westerwald mugs are shared between DW7 and DW8. Taking all of these contexts together, and in particular the associations between this group and DW7 (bottom layer), it is suggested that the contents of this pit represent a cleaning out of the cess-pit containing DW7, which was at a later date filled and sealed with rubble and soil from elsewhere containing earlier material

The distribution of forms appears to be consistent with the material being domestic in nature (the presence of storage and food preparation equipment, together with drinking mugs, plates and chamber pots). The North Devon dishes look like a matched set, or part of such a set, which might have formed a prized 'display' possession. Perhaps their discard, apparently together and complete, marks the passing of a fashion, or one generation's taste being superseded by another.

Group BRD1 (see Table 11)

Context

This group originates from an excavation undertaken in the mid 1960s, in 'rescue' conditions, in advance of the redevelopment of an area known to contain the site of the medieval Blackfriars (Barker 1969). The excavation revealed a fragment of the Blackfriars buildings and several other features, including a section of Roman roadway. Among the features were four wells, two of which were interpreted as Roman and one as medieval, and these were given a full treatment in the published report. The remaining well was mentioned in passing:

'Another well, Well 2 on site 1, was brick-built, and contained a large and remarkable collection of drinking mugs, mixing bowls and chamber pots of the early 18th century, which presumably came from an inn, not yet identified. It is intended to publish this important group as a whole later.'

Publication did not in the event take place. However, Worcester City Museum retains a number of boxes of material, labelled 'Broad Street, Well 3' (*sic*), which matches the published description. Most of the sherds and other material in the boxes are marked 'WBS (ie Worcester Broad Street) Well 3'. The published site plan (Barker 1969: 65) clearly shows Well 2 as a 'Medieval & post-medieval' feature, and Well 3 as Roman, and the text follows this (see Figure 12). No original site records have been found, so that the uncertainty about the identity of the well cannot positively be resolved, but it may be that the labels on the site plan were at some point transposed, and that this mistake was perpetuated in the writing up stage. The following account assumes that the assemblage in the City Museum labelled 'Well 3' and that mentioned in the published report as coming from 'Well 2' are identical.

Much work has been done during the years since this assemblage was recovered, in sorting it into families and in restoring some vessels. The restoration has in eight cases amounted to reconstruction, with missing pieces replaced by plaster or similar material, so

Table 11 – Group BRD1

Table 11.1 – BRD1 - Basic statistics

	Excl Rest, Unm & Dist*	Incl Rest, Unm & Dist*
Sherd No	412	470
Total weight	17974g	26516g**
Mean sherd weight	43.63g	56.42**
Vessel equivalent (eve)	65.47	75.41
Sherd families	235	259
Mean sherds per family	1.75	1.81
Mean weight per family	76.49g	102.38g**
Min sherd weight per fam	1g	1g**
Max sherd weight per fam	715g	3051g**
Median sherd weight per fam	31g	33g**
Vessel equivalent per fam	0.28	0.29

*For explanation see p 109 **Weights distorted by restoration

Table 11.2 – BRD1 - Fabric types (including Restorations, Unmarked & 'Dist')

		Sh No	Fam No	Wt** (gm)	Eve
BLWLHF(S)	Blackware, late hard fired, slipped	4	2	480	1.47
BLWLHF(U)	Blackware, late hard fired, unslipped	20	11	4958	3.44
BUFSL(BG)	Buff ware, slipped, brown glaze	7	2	1166	1.77
CDPF	Coarse domestic, paler fabric	8	6	1369	0.95
CDRF	Coarse domestic, red fabric	2	2	729	0.34
MMWB	Manganese mottled ware, buff fabric	8	6	585	1.53
MMWP	Manganese mottled ware, pink fabric	3	3	208	0.33
MYWRF	Midlands yellow ware, red fabric	1	1	9	0.00
NHEREFA7	North Herefordshire (Vince A7)	4	2	231	0.00
ROMAN	Roman	1	1	171	0.11
SLBU(YT)	Slipware, early, buff fabric, yellow trailed	3	1	95	0.11
SLWB(3C)	Slipware, buff fabric, three-coloured	9	2	939	0.46
SLWBW(FIG)	Slipware, buff fabric, white slipped, figured	18	2	1097	0.79
SLWM(YB)	Slipware, mixed fabric, yellow/brown lined	27	12	1004	1.11
SLWPMI(YB)	Slipware, pink micaceous, yellow/brown lined	4	1	314	0.30
STN2	Stoneware, type 2	41	39	316	2.76
STN2(DB)	Stoneware type 2, dipped base	115	52	6269	32.09
STN4	Stoneware, type 4	1	1	38	0.30
STN5	Stoneware, type 5	3	1	128	0.43
STNNOT(NW)	Stoneware, Nott/Derby, no white line	4	2	42	0.18
STNNOT(W)	Stoneware, Nott/Derby, white line	5	4	145	1.00
STNWEST(U)	Stoneware, Westerwald, uncoloured	8	1	92	0.00
TGEINC(B)	Tin-glazed, with inclusions, buff	53	28	2713	5.15
TGEINC(P)	Tin-glazed, with inclusions, pink	35	17	1962	3.44
WSGS(D)	White salt-glazed stoneware, dipped	4	2	95	0.65
WSGS(U)	White salt-glazed stoneware, undipped	82	58	1361	16.71
		470	259	26516	75.42

**Weights distorted by restoration

Table 11.3 – BRD1 - Fabric class (including Restorations, Unmarked & 'Dist')

	Sh No	%	Wt**	%	eve	%
Blackware (BLW)	24	5.1	5438	21.1	4.91	6.5
Coarse Domestic (CD)	10	2.1	2098	8.1	1.29	1.7
Creamware (CCW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Mottled ware (MMW)	11	2.3	793	3.1	1.86	2.5
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	1	0.2	9	0.0	0.00	0.0
North Devon (ND)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Slipware (SL/SLW)	61	13.0	3449	13.4	2.77	3.7
Stoneware (STN)	177	37.7	7030	24.8	36.76	48.7
Tin-glaze (TGE)	88	18.7	4675	17.8	8.59	11.4
White salt-glaze WSG)	86	18.3	1456	5.6	17.36	23.0
Roman/Med (ROM/MED)	1	0.2	171	0.7	0.11	0.1
Other	11	2.3	1397	5.4	1.77	2.3
Total	470		26516		75.42	

**Weights distorted by restoration

Table 11.4 – BRD1 - Forms (including Restorations, Unmarked & 'Dist')

Form No	Description	No	FABRICS					
1	Bowl	27	TGEINC(B)	8	TGEINC(P)	4	WSGS(U)	15
3	Jug	1	BLWLHF(U)	1				
4	Plate	6	TGEINC(B)	2	WSGS(U)	4		
5	Dish	19	SLBU(YT)	1	SLWB(3C)	2	SLWBW(FIG)	2
			SLWM(YB)	12	SLWPMI(YB)	1	WSGS(U)	1
6	Butterpot	8	BLWLHF(U)	2	CDPF	3	CDRF	2
			NHEREFA7	1				
7	Pan/pancheon	2	CDPF	2				
9	Cup	1	WSGS(U)	1				
11	Saucer	2	WSGS(U)	2				
14	Mug	103	STN2	39	STN2(DB)	52	STN4	1
			STNNOT(W)	1	WSGS(D)	2	WSGS(U)	8
15	Gorge	2	STN5	1	STNWEST(U)	1		
26	Chamber pot	21	BLWLHF(S)	2	BLWLHF(U)	2	TGEINC(B)	8
			TGEINC(P)	9				
28	Porringer	3	BLWLHF(U)	2	BUFSL(BG)	1		
40	Ointment pot	2	TGEINC(B)	2				
42	Handle (unattrib)	2	STNNOT(W)	1	WSGS(U)	1		
44	Cream/milk jug	2	WSGS(U)	2				
51	Baking dish	3	BUFSL(BG)	1	MMWB	1	MMWP	1
97	Flatware (unspec)	1	TGEINC(B)	1				
98	Hollow ware (unsp)	44	BLWLHF(U)	4	CDPF	1	MMWB	4
			MMWP	1	MYWRF	1	STNNOT(NW)	2
			STNNOT(W)	2	TGEINC(B)	6	TGEINC(P)	3
			WSGS(U)	20				
99	Unknown	10	MMWB	1	MMWP	1	NHEREFA7	1
			ROMAN	1	TGEINC(B)	1	TGEINC(P)	1
			WSGS(U)	4				
Total		259						

WORCESTER • Broad Street • 1966-68
 The Roman Suburb and the Blackfriars

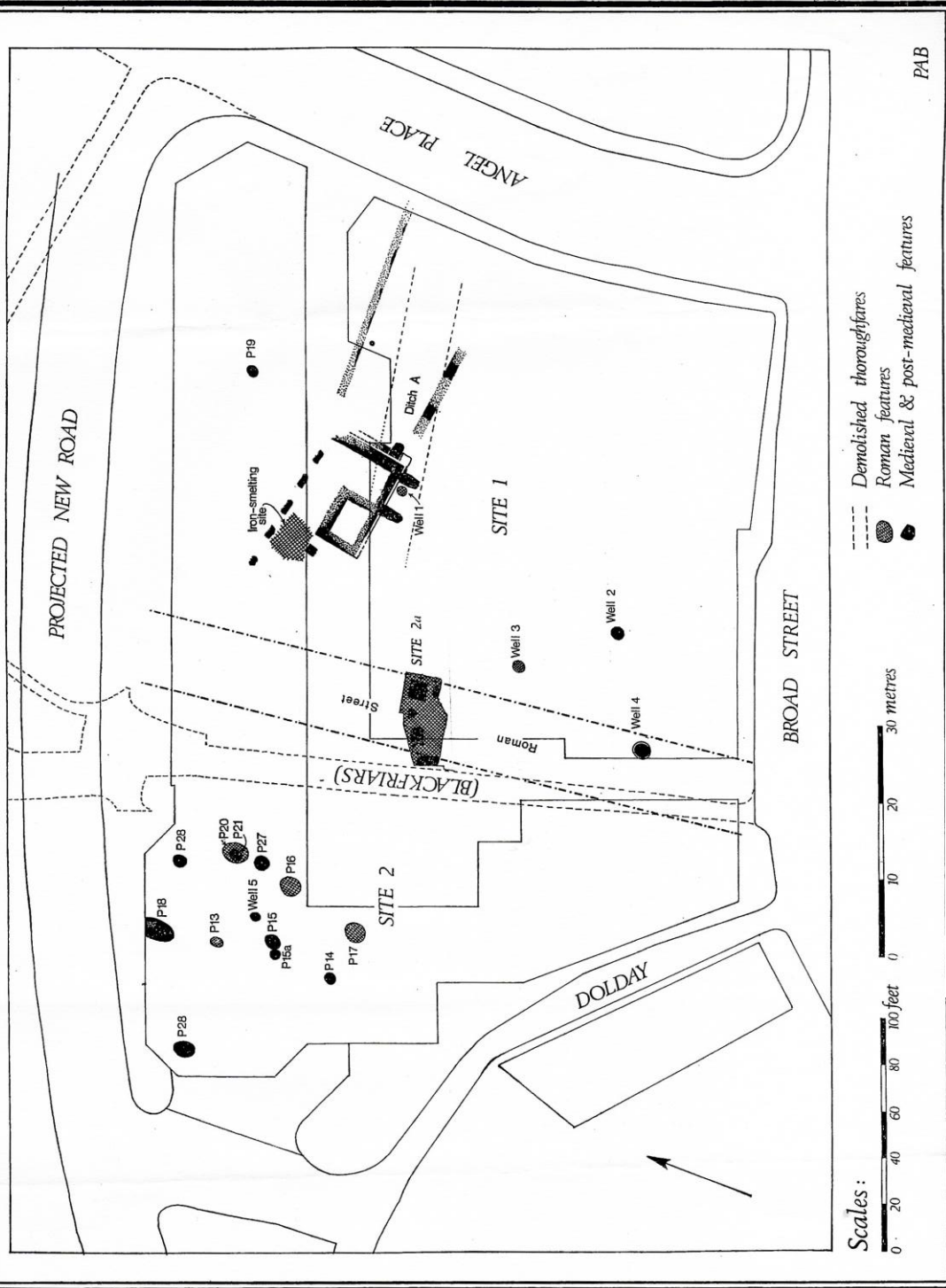


Figure 12 – Broad Street (Barker 1969)

that aggregate weights for the group as a whole and for parts of it are distorted and cannot be used in assessing quantities. Further sorting has revealed more associations. In addition, a few sherds contained in the boxes (16 out of 470, or 3.4%) are unmarked, or are marked 'WBS Dist'. It is not known what the latter meant. In the analysis recorded in Table 11 and discussed below these sherds and the reconstructed vessels have been included in the group, but alternative figures excluding them have also been calculated. While the weights are clearly affected by the reconstructions, even figures are comparatively little affected by the inclusion of the additional sherds.

No contextual evidence other than that contained in the published report (Barker 1969) now exists, so that it is not possible to say anything about the stratigraphic relationships of the well, even if, given the conditions of the excavation, they were recorded at the time. Neither is it known if the well was bottomed, or whether more material was left in it. All that is known is its very approximate location (now under a later development than that which destroyed it in the first place), and its description as 'brick-built'.

It is obviously impossible to be certain that the assemblage as it now exists in the City Museum store is complete after over forty years. For example, the clay pipes preserved amount to no more than three bowls and two stem fragments, and in view of other assemblages of a similar date, it is difficult to believe that more pipe was not originally in the well deposit. Either clay pipe was not thought at the time to be important enough to recover more than a few examples, or the assemblage was later 'pruned' of all but those examples.

Fabrics and Quantities

The main types present, by sherd number, are tin-glaze, white salt-glazed stoneware, brown stoneware and slipwares, but, if eves are used, it can be seen that over 70% is accounted for by WSGS and STN, with TGE a substantial contributor (11.2%), but slipwares contributing less than Blackwares. As indicated elsewhere, this may be partly the result of using both base and rim percentages to estimate eves, since press-moulded slipware dishes do not have a measurable base. But even if the slipware eve were doubled to compensate for this, it would still be less than that for Blackwares. Other types are by comparison relatively insignificant. There is very little mottled ware or Coarse Domestic wares, and very little else, so that the range of wares present is less marked than in some other groups.

Added to this, the variation within the broad categories of wares (TGE, STN, WSGS) is limited. Virtually all the white salt-glaze is the fully-developed, undipped type; almost all

the stoneware is Type 2, except for a very small amount of Nottingham/Derby, and one imported Westerwald vessel; and, although this does not appear in the above analysis, all the tin-glaze except for one or two decorated plates consists of plain utilitarian wares. All of the slipwares except for one dish are SLW types.

The total eve amounts to almost 73, including the restored vessels, and the eve per sherd family, a measure of completeness, 0.29, so that relative to other groups more of the vessels represented has survived. If weights are considered, excluding for this purpose the restored vessels, the mean weight per family, at 76.5g, and the median weight, 31g, are relatively high, which suggests that the brokenness of the assemblage is relatively low.

There is one Roman sherd, and one very small sherd of Midlands Yellow ware.

Forms

The relatively high level of completeness is emphasised by fact that only 22% of sherd families cannot be given a specific form. The outstanding characteristic of the assemblage is the very large number of mugs, that is straight-sided drinking vessels with one handle (form 14). In addition, there are two globular type mugs ('gorges', form 15). The majority of the form 14 mugs are in brown stoneware with a rilled base, the base dipped in a white slip. The colour of the salt-glazed exterior of the mug varies between dark brown and very pale brown, and the interior colour varies almost as much, but does not have the typical 'orange-peel' appearance. The handles, where any survive, are strap forms with a raised cordon and smoothed-in bottom attachment, with no bottom terminal. Many complete bases survive, in contrast to rims, which are thin, with a simple turned line on the exterior. The fabric is a light to dark grey, with prominent and abundant black specks. No ale-measure marks have been found.

The next most frequent forms are bowls, chamber pots and dishes. The latter are almost all press-moulded slipware dishes with 'pie-crust' edges, one with a male figure, but most with 'standard' brown and yellow feathered decoration. The chamber pots, except for three possible Blackware examples, are in plain white tin-glazed earthenware, with a form similar to those at Temple Balsall (Gooder 1984: 164). The bowls include plain tin-glazed types, probably to be interpreted as basins, and examples in white salt-glazed stoneware, the former typically about 230-250mm in diameter, the latter smaller and including some which may be tea bowls.

Date

The substantial amount of White Salt-glazed Stoneware means that the date of deposition must be after about 1720, and probably some time after this. On the other hand, there is no refined redware or creamware, which might be expected to appear after the middle of the century, so that a date range of 1720-50 would be appropriate. The relative scarcity of mottled wares would tend to support this conclusion. The slipware dish with the figure of a man in wig and coat appears to be from the same mould, dated 1751, as an example illustrated by Brears (1971: 52). If so, the date would have to be a little later.

As indicated above, only three clay pipe bowls and two stem fragments are included in the collection of finds as it now survives. One of the bowls has a mark on the base of the spur, akin to Broseley type 4 (c1680-1730), but the mark is indecipherable. All three bowls are late seventeenth or early eighteenth century types (Oswald 1975).

Interpretation

Given the number of brown stoneware mugs, chamber pots and basins ('mixing bowls' according to the published note) the original interpretation that the assemblage 'presumably came from an inn' seems plausible, although it cannot be unequivocally assumed that it all had the same origin. In the absence of excavation records or a published report, little more can safely be said, though it might be postulated that, if it represents a single discard episode, it was the result of a clearance following an inn closure or perhaps a restocking with more up to date or fashionable utensils, at a date in the mid-18th century.

Group CATH (see Table 12)

Context

This group is taken from a somewhat unusual context, namely an 'underground chamber' built into the foundation of one of the 14th century buttresses of the Chapter House of Worcester Cathedral. The chamber was discovered in the course of excavations in 1996 directed towards investigating a 'mortared sandstone foundation close to the Chapter House', revealed the previous year during the laying of a gas pipe (Guy 1996, Crawford 1997, and see Figure 13). Excavation in the following season (1997) established that the 'curvilinear foundation' which was the primary object of investigation predated the 14th

Table 12 – Group CATH

Table 12.1 – CATH - Basic Statistics

Sherd No	88
Total weight	3203
Mean sherd weight	36.4g
Vessel equivalent (eve)	6.42
Sherd families	64
Mean sherds per family	1.38
Mean weight per family	50.0g
Min weight per family	1g
Max weight per family	1480g
Median weight per family	6g
Vessel equivalent per family	0.10

Table 12.2 – CATH - Fabric types

		Sh No	Fam No	Wt (gm)	Eve
BUFSL(BG)	Buff ware, slipped, brown glaze	1	1	3	0.00
BLWCF(S)	Blackware, coarse fabric, slipped	1	1	11	0.00
CDPF	Coarse Domestic, paler fabric	2	2	61	0.07
CDRF	Coarse Domestic, red fabric	5	2	129	0.10
CDWF	Coarse Domestic, white fabric	1	1	15	0.00
CIST	Cistercian ware	17	11	71	0.86
MALV	Late Malvernian	1	1	31	0.00
MART	Martincamp	1	1	35	0.00
MED	Medieval	1	1	33	0.00
MMWP	Manganese mottled ware, pink fabric	2	2	2	0.00
MPL	Midlands Purple	3	3	63	0.11
MPLGL	Midlands Purple, overall glaze	1	1	1480	1.00
MYWCR	Midlands Yellow, cream fabric	12	9	789	1.29
MYWP	Midlands Yellow, pink fabric	1	1	1	0.00
NDGT	North Devon gravel tempered	1	1	13	0.00
PMU	Post medieval, unknown	1	1	1	0.00
PORCH	Porcelain, Chinese import	1	1	4	0.08
ROM/MED	Roman or Medieval	6	5	102	0.17
ROM	Roman	8	8	105	0.06
STNFRE	Stoneware, Frechen	1	1	10	0.25
TG	Tudor Green	3	1	18	1.00
TGEINC(B)	Tin-glaze, inclusions, buff	11	3	211	1.18
TGEINC(P)	Tin-glaze, inclusions, pink	3	2	8	0.10
WSGS(U)	White salt-glazed stoneware	4	4	7	0.15
		88	64	3203	6.42

Table 12.3 – CATH - Fabric Classes

	Sh No	%	Wt	%	eve	%
Blackware (BLW)	1	1.1	11	0.3	0.00	0.0
Coarse Domestic (CD)	8	9.1	205	6.4	0.17	2.6
Creamware (CCW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Mottled Ware (MMW)	2	2.3	2	0.1	0.00	0.0
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	13	14.8	790	24.7	1.29	20.1
North Devon (ND)	1	1.1	13	0.4	0.00	0.0
Slipware (SL/SLW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Stoneware (STN)	1	1.1	10	0.3	0.25	3.9
Tin-glaze (TGE)	14	15.9	219	6.8	1.28	19.9
White salt-glaze (WSGS)	4	4.5	7	0.2	0.15	2.3
Roman/Med (ROM/MED)	15	17.0	240	7.5	0.23	3.6
Other	29	33.0	1706	53.3	3.05	47.5
	88		3203		6.42	

Table 12.4 – CATH - Forms

Form No	Description	No						
6	Butterpot/ straight sided storage	3	MPLGL	1	CDPF	1	MPL	1
19	Bartmann bottle	1	STNFRE	1				
37	Flask	1	MART	1				
39	Drug jar	1	TGEINC(B)	1				
42	Handle (unattrib)	2	MED	1	ROM/MED	1		
50	Costrel	1	TG	1				
52	Tankard	1	MYWCR	1				
97	Flatware (unspec)	2	PORCH	1	WSGS(U)	1		
98	Hollow ware (unspec)	41	BUFSL(BG)	1	BLWCF(S)	1	CDPF	1
			CDRF	2	CDWF	1	CISTERC	9
			MALV	1	MMWP	2	MPL	1
			MYWCR	4	MYWP	1	NDGT	1
			ROM/MED	3	ROM	8	TGEINC(B)	1
			TGEINC(P)	1	WSGS(U)	3		
99	Unknown	11	CISTERC	2	MPL	1	MYWCR	4
			PMU	1	ROM/MED	1	TGEINC(B)	1
			TGEINC(P)	1				
		64						

century remodelling of the Chapter House, of which the buttresses formed part (Crawford 1998). It was not clear what the relationship between the foundation and the original structure of the 11th – 12th century Chapter House was, although a further investigation in 1999 justified a tentative conclusion that the foundation represented a 'rare an important survival of part of an 11th century Anglo-Saxon rotunda' (Crawford & Guy 2000: 4). The 1999 excavation also revealed another underground chamber adjacent to one of the other buttresses. Whatever the conclusions relating to the medieval structures may be,

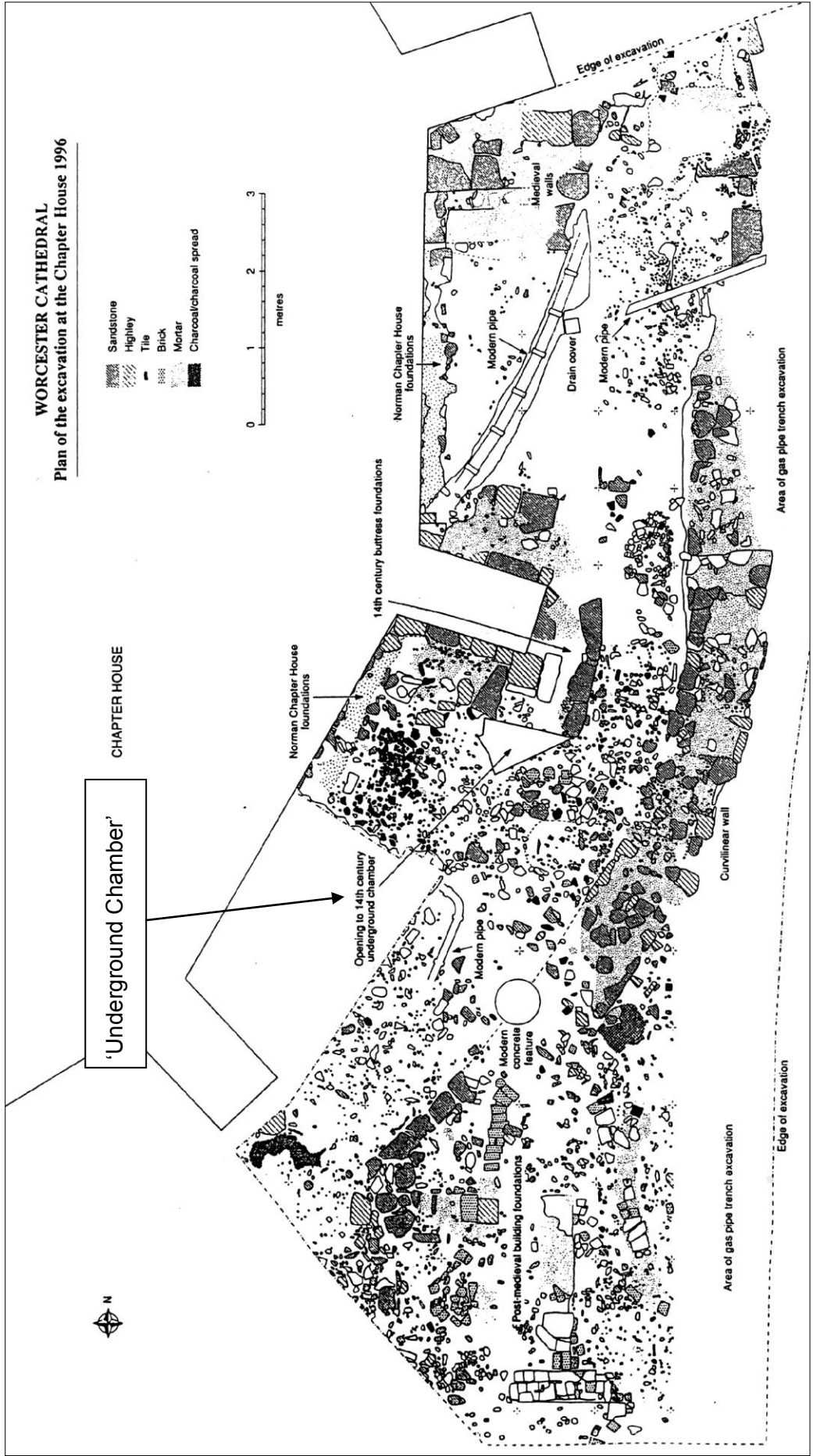


Figure 13 – Worcester Cathedral Chapter House Lawn- Underground Chamber (Crawford 1997)

however, the contents of the first underground chamber were not medieval (at least not in deposition):

‘Medieval finds from the chamber consisted of fragmentary pieces of window glass, but it is likely that these found their way into the chamber in the in the post-medieval period. Joining pieces of post-medieval pottery were found inside and outside the chamber, so it is likely that, in the 17th century, rubbish was allowed to build up in this area. At the point of abandonment of the chamber, some of this debris was pushed into it. Whilst two fairly intact pots were found in the chamber ... , there is no evidence that the chamber was ever filled with water [*sic*]. The animal bones from the chamber are still being studied, but preliminary work indicates that an early example of a turkey was amongst the food debris.

The function of the chamber remains obscure. It may have been designed to operate as a sump or soakaway, but the walls ... show no sign of tide marks. Parallels may be sought in the chamber from Oriel College, Oxford ... which functioned chiefly as a cess pit, and ... [there are] ... similarities in construction between the chamber at Worcester and the sanitary substructure at the Hospital of St John, Oxford.’ (Crawford 1997:4).

The results of the promised study of the animal bones were subsequently published by Thomas (1999), in an article the main purpose of which was to use the animal bones and historical records for a discussion of ‘feasting’ in the late 17th century. The contents of the underground chamber were referred to again in the process of trying to establish a date for the deposit, and thus for the animal bone and the feasting which produced it:

‘Whatever its original purpose ... it is clear that in the seventeenth century the chamber was reused as a rubbish pit, and the lack of stratification and the homogeneous nature of the material suggests that this deposition occurred in a single event. This is supported by the fact that two conjoining fragments of majolica ware were found both inside and outside the entrance to the chamber. Similarly, fragments of Bristol Blue delftware and seventeenth century dimpled glass were also found in contexts on top of the chamber roof, as well as within.

The clay pipes included within the fill of the chamber provide the most accurate means of dating this deposit. Nine stamped clay pipe bowls were recovered, along with numerous stem fragments. Pipe bowl typology, and analysis of the stamps on the bases, suggest dates of manufacture of between c. 1690 and 1710 (Oswald 1975, 41: 190-92).

The pottery and glassware ... provides additional support for the date of this deposit. Fragments of seventeenth-century tin-glazed earthenware, probably Bristol Blue Delft, were retrieved, as were sherds from a sixteenth- to seventeenth-century straight-sided Midlands Purple butter jar, and one almost complete yellow ware jug. The types of glass bottles that were recovered ... were also very similar to those that were made in the third quarter of the seventeenth century.’ (Thomas 1999:345)

There are several references to the ‘homogeneous’ nature of the deposit, and it appears that the contents of the chamber were removed as one context. The pottery from that context is included in Table 12. However, the material from the outside of the chamber which was judged to be contemporary has also been included in order to provide as close a picture as possible of the deposit as a whole.

The nomenclature used by Thomas is somewhat idiosyncratic. It is not immediately obvious what 'majolica ware' is, other than, presumably, tin-glazed earthenware; the term is more properly used of the older, polychrome tradition of Italian origin which was progressively succeeded in the Netherlands and England from the early 17th century by a mostly monochrome blue tradition imitative of Chinese porcelain (Black 2001b). This later tradition came in the early 18th century to be called Delftware, and Thomas uses this term to refer to 'Bristol Blue Delft', although Bristol was not the only possible source. The pottery was incidental to the main purpose of the excavation and the publications arising, except as a dating aid; other than the illustration of two vessels by Crawford (1997:Fig 3), the pottery from this excavation has not been published.

Fabrics and Quantities

This is a small group, and too much weight should not be placed on quantification. It is, however, immediately apparent that the group is very fragmentary and incomplete, except for the notable survival of three substantially complete vessels. Although the average weight per family is 50g, and average sherd weight 36.4g, these figures are inflated by the weights of the complete vessels, particularly the butter pot, and the median family weight is a mere 6g, the lowest for any group, so that the group exhibits high brokenness. The eve per family, at 0.1, is also at the lower end of the range. The majority of the assemblage consists of relatively small sherds of a wide range of fabrics, many being represented by only a single sherd. The only fabrics to be represented by more than 10 sherds are 'Cistercian' ware, Midlands Yellow, and tin-glazed earthenwares. Of the other types, if the Roman and medieval sherds, totalling 15, are excluded, only Coarse Domestic wares, totalling eight sherds, rise above five in number.

The 'Cistercian' sherds were all, except one base belonging perhaps to a bowl or a tyg, 10g or less in weight. There was no attempt to divide them, as sherds from DW7 and the Commandery were, into CIST1 and CIST2 categories, the latter perhaps representing a more developed blackware, but they all appeared to belong to CIST1 types, that is a red to purple fabric with rather uneven glaze, with white specks under the glaze, a 'sparkle' when held under a light source, and sometimes with a metallic finish. There were no sherds of CIST(BG) type with a brown glaze.

The Midlands Yellow ware sherds were all of the cream-bodied fabric, except for one very small sherd in the pink version. Again, all were very small, except for an almost complete vessel, described as a jug by Thomas (1999: 345), but without a pouring lip. As seems

typical of these wares, the finish is very variable, both in colour, ranging from a pale yellow to a rich buttercup, sometimes having a greenish tinge, and in the thickness of the glaze, resulting sometimes in a matt finish, sometimes very shiny. All of the TGE sherds came from vessels decorated in cobalt blue, including one substantially complete small jar, except for two conjoined sherds which had an external mottled finish in purple.

Midlands Purple fabrics were represented by very few sherds, but including most of a heavy 'butterpot' type vessel, roughly glazed inside and out. The other sherds were glazed on the interior only, one at least of them probably from a similar vessel. The two sherds labelled BUFSL(BG) and BLWCF(S) are probably no more than variants on the observed types of Coarse Domestic wares. One CD sherd was in a very pale, almost white fabric, with a lumpy internal brown glaze, unique to this group. The rest of the group includes two very small sherds of mottled ware, one of North Devon gravel tempered ware, the neck and lugs from a Tudor Green (Border Ware) costrel, and four very small sherds of white salt-glazed stoneware.

The imported wares consisted of a sherd from a Martincamp flask, a small fragment of Chinese porcelain with both underglaze blue decoration and overglaze painting in brown, and the neck of a German 'Bartmann' stoneware bottle. 15 sherds (17% of the total) were in Roman or medieval fabrics.

Forms

Out of a total of 64 families, only eight were recognisable as specific forms, reinforcing the observation that the assemblage was very fragmented. Of these, three were substantially complete vessels. Two of them were illustrated by Crawford (1997: Fig 3), namely the butterpot in Midlands Purple, and the Midlands Yellow vessel described by Thomas as a jug. The third was a small decorated tin-glazed jar. Of the remaining five forms, two appeared also to be straight sided storage vessels, although it was not possible to say whether they were of the classic, tall cylindrical butterpot shape. The other three were a stoneware Bartmann bottle, a Martincamp flask (assuming that no other form is likely in this fabric), and the neck and lugs of a Border ware costrel. It is likely that at least one and possibly two pans or pancheons in Coarse Domestic wares are represented, and that some of the Cistercian sherds come from tygs or cups.

The three substantially complete vessels all illustrate the endemic confusion surrounding the nomenclature assigned to ceramic forms. The Midlands Purple 'butterpot' accords well with the general description and illustration provided by Egan in his discussion of the

marks found on these vessels (Egan 1992). He, however, describes these vessels as 'cylindrical *stoneware* butterpots' (*added emphasis*). The size, fabric and profile of his only more or less complete, marked example, found in London, is very similar to the example from the Cathedral, although it is not clear whether his is glazed. He refers to Celoria and Kelly's publication of an assemblage from Burslem including 'butterpot-type wares'; their illustration is of a 'large cylindrical vessel with slightly flaring rim; in *butter-pot* tradition' (*original emphasis*). Their reference is in fact to a fabric tradition, rather than a shape ('*coarse hollow ware vessels of various shapes* which seem to share the same coarse dark-red, relatively hard-fired body. They can be both earlier and later than the well-known butter-pots of the late 17th century' – *original emphasis*) (Celoria & Kelly 1973:No 16 & p 13). Gooder also refers to two versions of a "'butterpot" fabric' at Temple Balsall, in one of which she illustrates a vessel which is wider than it is deep, that is quite unlike the tall cylindrical form of the present, and Egan's, examples (Gooder 1984:210, No 246). Brears adds to the confusion by describing a butter pot as 'a tall *unglazed* pot made in Burslem, ..., for the storage of butter for sale. By an Act of Parliament these pots were to weigh less than 6lbs, yet contain 14lb of butter, ...' (*added emphasis*) (Brears 1971:243-4). The present example, without its rim and upper parts, weighs 1480g, or about 3.7lbs.

The Midlands Yellow vessel described as a jug by Thomas (1999:345) seems very similar to what Woodfield calls 'jars and handled jars' (Woodfield 1964:82). The present author recorded it as a tankard, though perhaps its somewhat bulbous shape militates against this description. Finally, the tin-glazed vessel belongs to a well-established form, that of 'jars' with a slight constriction below the rim and above the base. The taller version, with a 'waisted' central portion, is often called an 'albarello', following the Italian original. These are usually called drug jars, having been made in large quantities for pharmacies and the shops of apothecaries, although strictly speaking they are dry drug jars, the jars for liquids having a very different appearance. Biddle, in discussing the finds from Nonsuch Palace, adopts the traditional 'drug jar' nomenclature, while admitting that the form is likely to have had many other uses, and illustrates a large 17th century group including one which has the same decoration as the present example (Biddle 2005: Fig 51:137). The recent publication on the London tin-glaze industry, however, is more circumspect and confines itself to a distinction between 'large' (rim 70- 300mm) and 'small' (rim 25-70mm) jars, eschewing the epithet 'drug' (Tyler et al. 2008:47-9 for Pickleherring, 77-8 for Rotherhithe).

Date

The distribution of wares, except for the four very small white salt-glazed sherds, suggests a deposition in the late 17th century, which was the conclusion implied by Thomas and Crawford, although nowhere explicitly stated. Crawford thought only that rubbish had piled up in the area in the 17th century and that some of it had subsequently been used to fill the underground chamber. If the WSGS sherds are not assumed to be intrusive, however, the final date of deposition cannot be any earlier than 1720 or so. The group is very mixed, containing Roman and medieval material, and other sherds which might be as early as the 16th century, but the majority is probably 17th century in manufacture. The assemblage contains the highest proportion of Midlands Yellow, by vessel equivalent, in any group other than DW7; this seems a good indication of a predominantly 17th century date (Woodfield 1964)

Interpretation

The singularity of this group's location and recovery makes interpretation difficult. The area excavated, around the Chapter House, was clearly badly affected by all kinds of disturbances which rendered stratigraphical associations very difficult to establish (see Crawford 1997, Fig1). Assuming that the contexts which have been combined together in the above account really belong to a single event, there seems no reason not to hypothesise that the event was a clearance of the area, perhaps as late as the early 18th century, and the filling of the underground chamber with the resultant debris. The inclusion of Roman and medieval sherds implies that the clearance was not just a matter of pushing relatively recently accumulated rubbish into the chamber, but of including debris from a somewhat wider area, though not necessarily very wide; Roman pottery is after all very likely to arise from any disturbance in this central area of the city. In other words at least some of the material has been subject to redeposition, probably on a number of occasions. The presence of both very fragmented material and a small number of largely complete vessels serves only to emphasise the mixed nature of the deposit.

The analysis of the animal bone led Thomas to conclude that it was the result of 'high status' feasting, possibly even the annual 'audit feasts' held by the cathedral clergy, for which he was able to examine late 17th century accounts. He asserts that 'clay pipes and fragments of numerous high quality glass and pottery vessels' support this conclusion (Thomas 1999: 352). This seems debatable; clay pipes are hardly an exclusively high status category, there is no analysis of the glass, and the pottery is not especially remarkable either in quality or quantity. There is only one very small sherd of imported

porcelain, and the other fabrics represented are not different from what might be expected elsewhere in the city at this date. It only seems safe to conclude that the assemblage results from tidying up and disposal of rubbish at some time in the late 17th or early 18th century, the rubbish arising from the immediate locality. It is worth noting that the excavation revealed the foundations of post-medieval buildings very close to the Chapter House, 'which are known to have been pulled down in c 1850' (Crawford 1997: 4).

Group CIT1 (see Table 13)

Context

This group comes from the excavation in 1998/9 of a site in the centre of the city, between the High Street and The Shambles (formerly Baxter Street), subsequently published in the Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society (Griffin et al. 2004 - see also Figure 14). By the late 17th century the site was occupied by an inn, which came to be known as the King's Head, and in the 18th century was the home of exhibitions and theatrical performances, a purpose built structure for the latter being apparently eventually provided in 1762, although it did not last longer than the century. The site was used for the city's Market Hall from 1804 until 1951, superseded then by a shopping arcade (for site history see Hughes in Griffin et al. 2004). The excavation reached Roman and medieval levels, but in the upper levels, dating to the 17th and 18th centuries, revealed a complex of fairly insubstantial buildings, pits and surfaces which appear to represent yards and the buildings surrounding them. Excavated contexts were grouped into 'Activity Units', and the context containing this group (AU 4044, context 738) 'comprised material dumped within the backfill of a cellar'. The context was chosen for a detailed treatment in the published report as 'having [an] important assemblage[s] which could be closely dated to the earlier half of the eighteenth century due to the absence of porcelain ... and creamware' (Griffin 2004a:85). The cellar from which the assemblage came appeared to be one of the deeper late features on the site which had escaped truncation by modern activity:

'Much of the evidence for this period [Period 5: Nineteenth and twentieth century] was removed during machining, or had been truncated by construction of the City Arcade in the 1950's. However, deeper cut foundations and structural elements survived, along with clearance deposits and features.

Of the former, the most significant was a series of brick arches and associated fills (AU 4044) which spanned and infilled the area of a former cellar (AU 4043 ...). An obvious interpretation of the infill deposits is that they were associated with clearance and

Table 13 – Group CIT1

Table 13.1 – CIT1 - Basic statistics

Sherd No	455
Total weight	13994g
Mean sherd weight	30.8g
Vessel equivalent (eve)	22.58
Sherd families	148
Mean sherds per family	3.07
Mean weight per family	94.6g
Min weight per family	1g
Max weight per family	891g
Median weight per family	35g
Vessel equivalent per family	0.15

Table 13.2 – CIT1 - Fabric types

		Sh No	Fam No	Wt (gm)	Eve
BLWLHF(S)	Blackware, late hard fired, slipped	16	6	733	0.78
BLWLHF(U)	Blackware, late hard fired, unslipped	28	14	1167	3.03
BUFSL(BG)	Buff ware, slipped, brown glaze	8	4	98	0.10
CDMARB	Coarse Domestic, marbled fabric	17	6	2256	0.57
CDPF	Coarse Domestic, paler fabric	22	9	743	0.59
CIST2	'Cistercian', type 2	5	1	164	1.00
MED	Medieval	1	1	5	0.00
MMWB	Manganese mottled ware, buff fabric	66	16	1033	1.89
MMWP	Manganese mottled ware, pink fabric	6	2	297	0.69
MYW	Midlands Yellow ware	1	1	10	0.00
MYWMX	Midlands Yellow ware, mixed fabric	1	1	3	0.00
NDGT	North Devon gravel tempered ware	69	15	3125	3.12
NHEREFA7	North Herefordshire (Vince A7)	1	1	15	0.16
PMU	Post medieval, unknown	4	4	70	0.41
SLBY	Slipware, brown & yellow	1	1	16	0.07
SLRO	Slipware, early, red/orange	5	1	166	0.09
SLRO(YT)	Slipware, early, red/orange, yellow trailed	3	1	55	0.06
SLW	Slipware (later, unspec)	1	1	1	0.00
SLWB	Slipware, buff fabric, general	12	3	117	0.25
SLWB(YB)	Slipware, buff fabric, yellow & brown lined	9	8	195	0.27
SLWM(YB)	Slipware, mixed fabric, yellow & brown lined	50	5	1102	0.61
SLWP(JW)	Slipware, pink fabric, jewelled	12	1	72	0.92
SLWP(YB)	Slipware, pink fabric, yellow & brown lined	4	3	97	0.00
STN2	Stoneware, type 2	5	5	27	0.47
STN2(DB)	Stoneware, type 2, dipped base	20	10	627	3.08
STNFRE	Stoneware, Frechen	4	3	35	0.00
STNNOT(W)	Stoneware, Nottingham, white line	5	2	29	0.19
STNWEST	Stoneware, Westerwald	11	4	448	1.06
TGEINC(B)	Tin-glaze, with inclusions, buff	37	13	666	1.44
TGEINC(P)	Tin-glaze, with inclusions, pink	26	3	573	1.03
WSGS(U)	White salt-glazed stoneware, undipped	5	3	49	0.70
		455	148	13994	22.58

Table 13.3 – CIT1 - Fabric classes

	Sh No	%	Wt	%	eve	%
Blackware (BLW)	44	9.7	1900	13.6	3.81	16.9
Coarse Domestic (CD)	39	8.6	2999	21.4	1.16	5.1
Creamware (CCW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Mottled ware (MMW)	72	15.8	1330	9.5	2.58	11.4
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	2	0.4	13	0.1	0.00	0.0
North Devon (ND)	69	15.2	3125	22.3	3.12	13.8
Slipware (SL/SLW)	97	21.3	1821	13.0	2.28	10.1
Stoneware (STN)	45	9.9	1166	8.3	4.80	21.2
Tin-glaze (TGE)	63	13.8	1239	8.9	2.47	10.9
White salt-glaze (WSGS)	5	1.1	49	0.4	0.70	3.1
Roman/Med (ROM/MED)	1	0.2	5	0.0	0.00	0.0
Other	18	4.0	347	2.5	1.67	7.4
	455		13994		22.59	

Table 13.4 - CIT1 - Forms

Form No	Description	No						
1	Bowl	9	BUFSL(BG)	1	NDGT	1	TGEINC(B)	6
			TGEINC(P)	1				
4	Plate	1	TGEINC(B)	1				
5	Dish	20	SLRO	1	SLRO(YT)	1	SLWB	2
			SLWB(YB)	8	SLWM(YB)	5	SLWP(YB)	3
6	Butterpot/ straight sided storage	5	BLWLHF(S)	4	CDPF	1		
7	Pan/ pancheon	11	CDMARB	4	CDPF	1	NDGT	6
9	Cup	1	SLWP(JW)	1				
12	Jar	3	CDPF	1	NDGT	2		
14	Mug	15	STN(DB)	10	STN2	2	STNWEST	3
26	Chamber pot	6	BLWLHF(U)	1	TGEINC(B)	4	TGEINC(P)	1
29	Tyg	1	CIST2					
42	Handle (unattrib)	3	MMWB	2	STNFRE	1		
43	Lid (unattrib)	1	WSGS(U)	1				
51	Baking dish	5	MMWB	4	MMWP	1		
53	Loving cup	1	MMWB	1				
97	Flatware (unspec)	1	SLBY	1				
98	Hollow ware (unspec)	55	CDPF	4	BLWLHF(S)	2	BLWLHF(U)	12
			BUFSL(BG)	3	CDMARB	2	MMWB	8
			MMWP	1	NDGT	6	NHEREFA7	1
			PMU	3	SLWB	1	STNNOT(W)	2
			TGEINC(B)	2	TGEINC(P)	1	WSGS(U)	1
			STN2	3	STNFRE	2	STNWEST	1
99	Unknown	10	CDPF	2	BLWLHF(U)	1	MED	1
			MMWB	1	MYW	1	MYWMX	1
			PMU	1	SLW	1	WSGS(U)	1
		148						

demolition prior to the construction of the first Market Hall in the early nineteenth century. However, the large assemblage of material from the infill is of late seventeenth to early eighteenth date and it is possible that the cellar had fallen into disuse sometime during Period 4 [17th/18th centuries], and had been used for clearance of rubbish. The pillars for the arches extended through the cellar floor, ..., and ... were of nineteenth-century date. These can almost certainly be associated with one of the phases of building of the Victorian market hall.' (Griffin et al. 2004:71-2)



Figure 14 – City Arcades, location (Griffin et al 2004)

Fabrics and Quantities

The recorded number of sherds (455) contrasts with the number (433) given in the published report. The vessel equivalent per family, at 0.15, places this group fairly high in the table for completeness (see Table 4). This position is supported by the identification of more than 50% of families as recognisable forms, a status shared by only three other groups (BRD1, DW3 and DW6). The published report indeed comments that 'many of the sherds could be joined to form near complete vessels' (Griffin 2004a:85), although this still applies only to a relatively small proportion of the group.

The distribution of the broad classes of fabrics is fairly even. By sherd count the various types of slipware account for more than 20%, closely followed by mottled wares, North Devon wares and tin-glazed wares. Blackwares, stonewares, and CD wares are also quite well represented. The same classes appear in the eve distribution, although stoneware now accounts for more than 20%, no doubt largely because of the common survival of brown stoneware mug bases (the same factor affects BRD1 to an even greater extent). CD wares, however, contribute less to the eve.

The slipwares are for the most part of the SLW type, but there is a small amount of (earlier?) red/orange bodied ware, including one dish of the usual shape but without the usual yellow trailed patterns ('slipless slipware'). The SLW category also includes an unusually elaborately decorated cup (or porringer?) with trailed patterns in cream and brown slip on an olive green background. Most of the stoneware is accounted for by STN2, that is the common type with a buff to grey fabric with prominent black inclusions and a brown glaze, but there are some German imports, mostly Westerwald, but some small sherds from Frechen vessels, and five sherds of Nottingham stoneware. The mottled wares are almost all of the buff fabric, but a few sherds with a pink fabric, slipped with a lighter clay before glazing, are present. The North Devon ware is all of the 'standard', heavy, gravel-tempered variety. The 'Cistercian' sherds make up a small 'tyg', or two-handled drinking vessel, and could perhaps be categorised as blackware, but the fabric is softer and the product not so well made and glazed as the 'later' blackwares listed as BLW. There are only five WSGS sherds, possibly all from the same vessel, two small Midlands Yellow sherds, one medieval sherd, and no Roman material.

Forms

Up to 20 dishes are present, almost all (18) in buff, mixed or pink varieties of slipware, with trailed and feathered decoration. The sherds, some of which are small, are from press moulded dishes with 'pie-crust' rims. Where the diameter is measurable, it varies

from about 220mm to a maximum of 340mm. One dish of this type is rectangular in form. The 'feathered' patterns produced by combing through parallel trailed lines of white slip over a dark ground are of differing types, some 'unidirectional', producing rounded patterns, others much more angular or 'spiky', produced by combing in two or more directions, and sometimes 'jiggling' the result to produce a marbled effect. The rectangular dish displays a moulded raised rectangular 'frame' in the base, enclosing at least one moulded, though indecipherable, letter, and some of the normal circular dishes also have moulded circular ridges, in one case enclosing the letter 'R'. One other small rim sherd, without feathered decoration, has a trace of a moulded pattern, perhaps part of a figure of the kind included in group BRD1. The other two dishes are of the SL type, although one is actually plain, without a trailed pattern; it is included in this category since its form and fabric are the same as the normal trailed variety.

Drinking equipment is largely accounted for by stoneware mugs, the majority in English brown stoneware, familiar from group BRD1, having a rilled, dipped base. Only a few rims are included in the assemblage, listed as STN2; as with group BRD1, the rims, which are thinner and more fragile, do not seem to be recovered in any quantity. None can be matched with bases. Up to a dozen of these mugs are recognisable. In addition, three Westerwald mugs are certainly present, one with an applied 'GR' decorative cartouche, and another with the edge of an applied cartouche which is probably also a crowned monogram. A further Westerwald vessel is present, in a paler fabric with a grey core, which is probably a large mug or tankard. Two other vessels are associated with drinking: the decorated, 'jewelled' slipware cup mentioned above, and an almost complete black two handled tyg. Some of the other sherds listed as BLWLHF may belong to similar vessels to the latter. One mottled ware vessel of an unusual, conical shape, with one surviving handle, may perhaps be a tankard or a jug, or perhaps a 'loving cup' form analogous to the better-known examples from Nottingham/Derby.

Also in mottled ware are a number of shallow, wide dishes with straight sides, characterised here as 'baking dishes. They seem only to occur in this fabric, and are perhaps simply serving dishes. There are up to a dozen pans, five straight-sided 'butterpot' type storage vessels, and three possible storage jars; all of these utilitarian vessels are in CD fabrics, blackware, or North Devon gravel-tempered ware.

Up to six chamber pots, one in blackware and five in plain tin-glaze, are recognisable, but a number of other blackware sherds could belong to additional vessels of this type. Finally, bowls are mainly in tin-glazed earthenware, both undecorated and decorated in

cobalt blue. Another decorated tin-glazed sherd is perhaps also of a bowl, with a wavy attachment below the rim.

Date

As indicated above, the excavator thought that this group was of late 17th to early 18th century date. One Westerwald mug is decorated with the 'GR' monogram, which places it later than the accession of George I in 1714. On the other hand, the virtual absence of white salt-glazed stoneware suggests a deposition date not long after this. The rarity of apparently early forms of blackware, or 'Cistercian', fabrics and forms, and of Midlands Yellow wares, would support a date in the early 18th century.

The clay pipes from this context do not display any decipherable marks, but the forms are all compatible with a Broseley origin. Most seem to be Broseley types 4 and 6, two of the type 4's having the small circular marks on the base of the spur which are characteristic of this type. These types are both dated to about 1690-1720. There is also at least one Broseley type 1c, of about 1670-80 (Oswald 1975: 50). The published report identifies a group of 19 bowls from this context, 'possibly bought as "batches" from the maker/supplier', and links this to the existence of the King's Head inn on the site in the 17th century:

'Batches of pipes could have been ordered for a special occasion, a social gathering, or for a tavern where they could have been sold or made available to inn customers to smoke a pipeful of tobacco and replaced. Such practices are known in the nineteenth century and are perfectly logical in earlier times.' (Atkin 2004:91-92)

The context also contained 10 base and neck sherds from wine bottles of the 'onion' or 'bladder' shape, that is with short necks and wide bodies with a pronounced kick in the base (Griffin 2004b). This form evolved from the earlier 'shaft and globe' shape with a longer neck, and was in circulation by the late 17th century (Willmott 2002: 89). All of this evidence leads to the conclusion that the pottery in this deposit was discarded not much later than 1720.

Interpretation

The present context accounts for a fairly large proportion of the total of post-medieval and modern pottery recovered from the site as a whole (455 sherds out of 1299, or 35%), and the published discussion of other, much smaller, groups from other contexts does not suggest a greatly different composition in terms of fabrics and forms (Griffin 2004a:82-89). The documented existence of the King's Head inn on this site by the late 17th century prompts the interpretation of the assemblages of artefacts from the site in terms of rubbish discarded from the inn, and quantities of wine bottles and drinking mugs in this

context support this conclusion. The number of stoneware mugs does not approach the huge number in group BRD1, which was supposed to have derived from an inn or alehouse. The other pottery, including quantities of serving dishes, pans and storage vessels, and chamber pots, suggests a substantial establishment, though not necessarily an inn, but this interpretation depends on the material having been discarded in one operation, which cannot be assumed. We must be satisfied with the conclusion that at some point in the 1720s or later the cellar in question fell out of use and was used as a rubbish depository, no doubt for material from the inn. The absence of later material suggests that this use did not persist for long, or alternatively that later activity on the site, connected with the construction of the market hall in the 19th century, removed any later levels.

Groups CMD1 & 2 (see Table 14)

Contexts

These two small groups originate from excavations at the Commandery over two seasons in 2005-6 (Miller et al. 2007). The Commandery is in origin a medieval hospital, founded in the early 13th century on land on the north side of Sidbury, just outside Sidbury Gate. The hospital was suppressed at the Reformation, surrendered in 1540 and the site and buildings sold to Thomas Wylde, a Worcester clothier, in 1544. The Wylde family over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries rose to become gentry and landowners. They continued to own the site as a private dwelling until they sold it in 1763, although after 1695 their main residence was in Shropshire. The buildings played a brief part in the Battle of Worcester in 1651 as the royalist headquarters, and now house a museum with a Civil War theme. The excavations and associated research have resulted in a clearer picture of the development of the intricate complex of buildings which now occupy and which have occupied the site (Miller et al. 2007:45-6). In the medieval period the 13th century chapel was modified over time, but the other medieval buildings were replaced in the 15th century by a group, centred on the surviving Great Hall, which weathered the dissolution in the early 16th century. This group, including the Hall and the chapel, remained more or less unaltered, and were merely refurbished and modified in minor ways by the Wylde family during the 150 years or so following their acquisition. It was only in the late 17th or early 18th century that the house was substantially altered from its medieval, primarily timber-framed character into a 'gentry residence' by the addition of the

Table 14 – Group CMD

Note: Table 14.1 combines the separate values for CMD1 and CMD2; tables 14.2, 14.3 and 14.4 include combined values only.

Table 14.1 – CMD - Basic statistics

	CMD1	CMD2	Total
Sherd No	45	50	95
Total weight	847g	917g	1764g
Mean sherd weight	18.8g	18.3g	18.6g
Vessel equivalent (eve)	2.46	2.34	4.80
Sherd families	41	46	87
Mean sherds per family	1.1	1.1	1.1
Mean weight per family	20.7g	19.9g	20.3g
Min weight per family	1g	1g	1g
Max weight per family	108g	145g	145g
Median weight per family	13g	7.5g	9g
Vessel equivalent per family	0.06	0.05	0.06

Table 14.2 – CMD - Fabric types

		Sh No	Fam No	Wt (gm)	Eve
CDPF	Coarse domestic, paler fabric	8	8	545	0.11
CIST(BG)	Cistercian, brown glaze	20	17	258	3.18
CIST1	Cistercian, type 1	22	20	104	0.30
MALV	Late Malvernian	23	22	577	0.60
MED	Medieval	14	12	190	0.16
MYWCR	Midlands Yellow, cream fabric	1	1	2	0.00
NHEREFA7	North Herefordshire (Vince A7)	1	1	18	0.00
SLWB(YB)	Slipware, buff fabric, yellow & brown lined	1	1	2	0.00
STNFRE	Stoneware, Frechen	1	1	37	0.27
STNWEST(U)	Stoneware, Westerwald, uncoloured	1	1	17	0.18
TG	Tudor Green	1	1	1	0.00
TGEINC(B)	Tin-glaze, inclusions, buff fabric	2	2	13	0.00
		95	87	1764	4.80

Table 14.3 – CMD - Fabric classes

	Sh No	%	Wt	%	eve	%
Blackware (BLW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Coarse Domestic (CD)	8	8.4	545	30.9	0.11	2.3
Creamware (CCW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Mottled ware (MMW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Midlands Yellow (MLW)	1	1.1	2	0.1	0.00	0.0
North Devon (ND)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Slipware (SL/SLW)	1	1.1	2	0.1	0.00	0.0
Stoneware (STN)	2	2.1	54	3.1	0.45	9.4
Tin-glaze (TGE)	2	2.1	13	0.7	0.00	0.0
White salt-glaze (WSGS)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Roman/Med (ROM/MED)	14	14.7	190	10.8	0.16	3.3
Cistercian (CIST)	42	44.2	362	20.5	3.48	72.5
Late Malvernian (MALV)	23	24.2	577	32.7	0.60	12.5
Other	2	2.1	19	1.1	0.00	0.0
	95		1764		4.80	

Table 14.4 - CMD - Forms

Form No	Description	No						
5	Dish	1	SLWB(YB)	1				
7	Pan/pancheon	6	CDPF	3	MALV	3		
12	Jar	2	MALV	2				
15	Gorge	1	STNWEST(U)	1				
19	Bartmann bottle	1	STNFRE	1				
29	Tyg	2	CIST1	2				
38	Pipkin	1	CIST1	1				
42	Handle (unattrib)	1	CIST(BG)	1				
98	Hollow ware (unspec)	44	CDPF	4	CIST(BG)	14	CIST1	11
			MALV	11	MED	3	TGEINC(B)	1
99	Unknown	28	CDPF	1	CIST(BG)	2	CIST1	6
			MALV	6	MED	9	MYWCR	1
			NHEREFA7	1	TG	1	TGEINC(B)	1
	Total	87						

Garden Wing and Commandery House, both brick-built. The Garden Wing has yielded a dendrochronological date of 1708 as a general indicator for the timing of this process (Miller et al. 2007: 8). It appears that the final demolition of the chapel, which occupied an area to the east of, and partly under, Commandery House, also dates from this period.

The attraction of the site from the present point of view was the potential for examining material whose origin, unlike that of any other group, is firmly tied to a known dwelling which still exists and whose history is well established. Moreover, a 1670 probate inventory for the house is included in the sample of inventories used for this study (see Chapter 6). Consequently, the finds records and the excavation report were scanned with a view to identifying pottery groups which might throw some light on the material culture of the 17th and/or eighteenth century house. Unfortunately, there appear to be no well defined post-medieval assemblages from contexts such as cess-pits, wells or rubbish pits, or indeed any substantial assemblages at all. Ironically for the present purpose, the rare opportunity to examine archaeologically the immediate surroundings, and even the interior, of a Worcester late medieval and early modern house, as opposed to the back plots of long demolished houses, has meant that these kinds of contexts, which are normally located in back plots, have, if they exist, remained undisturbed. However, the material originating from Trench 7, in the yard to the east of Commandery House, where the chapel, or much of it, was thought to have stood, was examined in detail, as it seemed to afford the best chance of including pottery from the period of the chapel's demolition

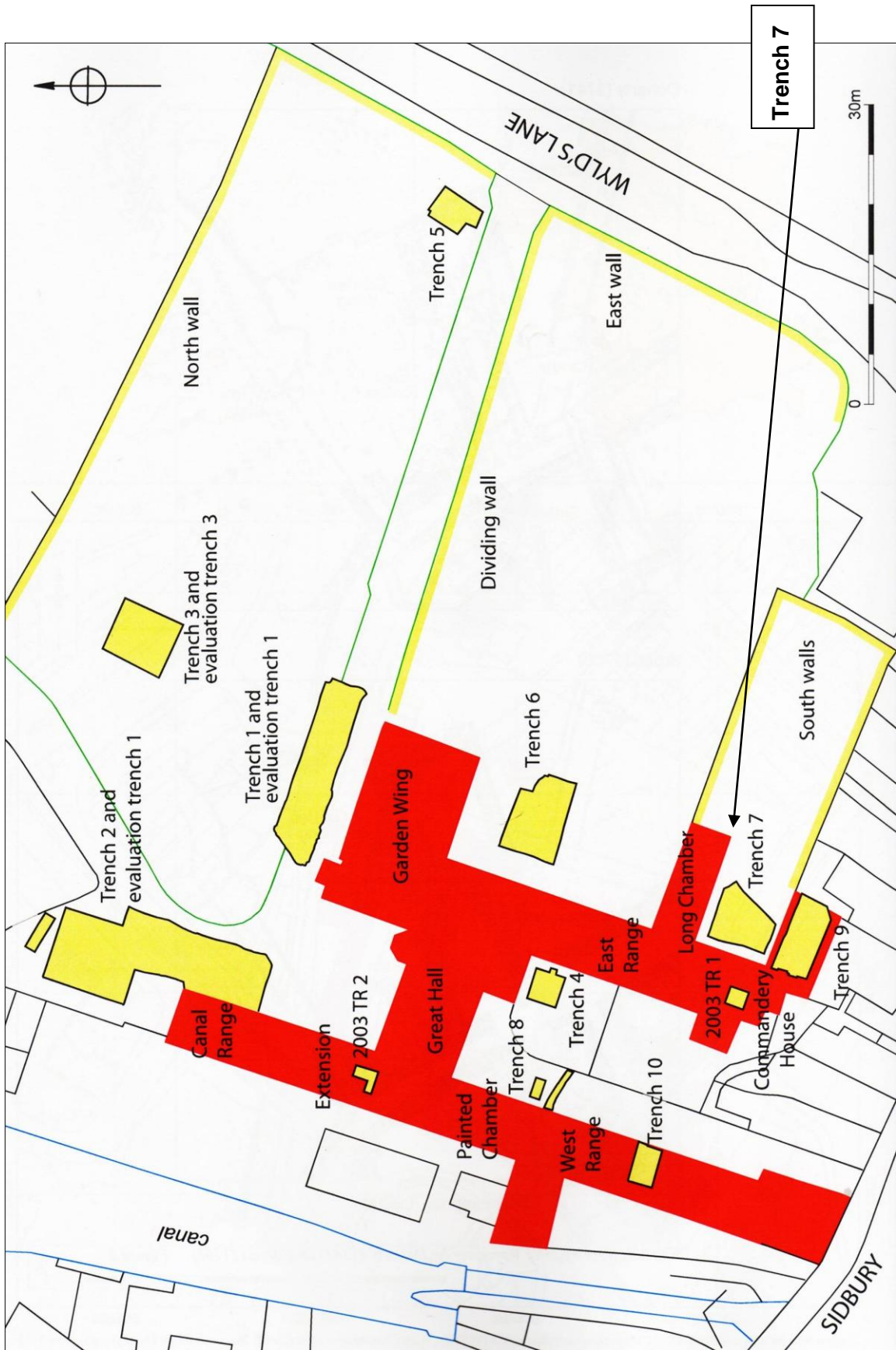


Figure 15 – The Commandery, Trench 7 (Miller et al 2007)

and the building of Commandery House in the late 17th or early 18th century (see Figure 15).

The chapel was in fact revealed to have stood in this place, and Phase 4 of Trench 7 was associated with its demolition:

'The demolition of the chapel was represented by a deposit sealing the mortar surface (context 7046). The pottery from this deposit was not closely dateable, but a contemporary deposit to the east contained pottery of 17th or 18th century date (context 7045). Both deposits were apparently dumped, and both were overlain by demolition debris (contexts 7038 and 7041). Taken together with the date assigned ... to Commandery House (c 1680), and dates recently obtained for the Garden Wing by dendrochronology (1708), the evidence suggests that the chapel, or at least its east end, was demolished in the late 17th or early 18th century. Two pits were dug through the dumped deposits and were probably associated with the process of demolition (contexts 7040 and 7043). The pits were sealed by more made ground which also covered more of the slighted chapel walls (context 7036=7026=7037).' [added emphasis] (Miller et al. 2007:18-9)

Contexts 7045 and 7036=7026=7037 were therefore recorded (Groups CMD1 and CMD2 respectively).

Fabrics and Quantities

Compared with other groups examined, these are very small. They have been amalgamated for the purpose of quantification and discussion because they seem to date from the same general period. The record of the combined group still enables the distinction between the original contexts to be recovered if necessary.

Even when combined the total assemblage still only amounts to 95 sherds, the lowest of any assemblage except that from the Cathedral. The mean weight per sherd (18.6g) and the mean weight per family (20.3g) are both the lowest of any assemblage, and the vessel equivalent per family, at 0.06, is also at the bottom of the comparative table (see Table 4). The assemblage is thus very fragmented, and there are no even remotely complete vessels present. It is obvious from the figures that almost all 'families' consist of only one sherd. This situation seems characteristic of the site as a whole. The total pottery assemblage of 1581 sherds weighed 21.31kg, producing a mean sherd weight of only 13.5g, and the pottery labelled 'post-medieval', at 530 sherds weighing 5776g, produces an even lower mean weight of 10.9g, compared with 14.9g for 'medieval' (Miller et al. 2007: 22). This observation is consistent with most contexts being the product not of rubbish disposal or primary deposition but of building and demolition operations involving the movement and redeposition of soil and rubble, so that the pottery contained within these contexts is likely to have experienced several 'events' between its original discard

and reaching its final resting place, contributing to its fragmentary and incomplete character.

It is also obvious that in terms of fabrics the group is completely different from any other examined, prompting the immediate reaction that it must be of an earlier date. It consists overwhelmingly of wares labelled 'Cistercian' (see Appendix 1) and Malvernian (local fabric 69 - (Hurst & Rees 1992)), with the addition of some medieval material. Apart from these categories, there are a few sherds of CD wares and single, mostly very small, sherds of Midlands Yellow, imported German stoneware, slipware, 'Tudor Green', or Border ware, a possible Herefordshire import, and tin-glazed earthenware. There is no Blackware, not even of the early CIST2 type, no mottled ware, no white salt-glazed stoneware, no brown English stoneware, no North Devon wares. 72.5% of the eves (though no great reliance ought to be placed on figures from such a small group) are from CIST fabrics, or what the Worcestershire type series calls 'post-medieval red sandy ware' (fabric 78).

Forms

Given the very fragmentary and incomplete nature of the group, little can be said about the range of forms present. Some forms are clearly more recognisable from small sherds than others, and this is likely to distort any analysis. The one small sherd of 'standard' yellow and brown lined slipware, for example, is likely to have come from a press-moulded dish, which is by far the most common form in which this fabric is found in all the groups examined. Six pan type vessels were identified, three in CD fabrics and three in late Malvernian fabrics, the latter probably similar to the Type 9 ('flared bowl') illustrated from Deansway (Bryant 2004:303-4). Among the Malvernian sherds there are also two, and probably more, sherds which exhibit the thumb-impressed decorative strip below the rim which seems characteristic of jars, or perhaps pipkins, in this tradition (Morris 1980:Fig 75, Bryant 2004:304 Types 7 & 8). One of these has external sooting. Many if not all of the CIST sherds, both the brown-glazed type (CIST(BG)) and CIST1, with a harder red fabric and black, sometimes metallic grey, glaze, probably came from cups or 'tygs' (the latter defined for this purpose as having more than one handle), but in no case was it possible to say how many handles were present. The CIST(BG) sherds, one with an applied spot in white clay, and including seven bases, all between 60mm and 70mm in diameter, were probably all from cups or tygs similar to those also illustrated from Deansway contexts (Bryant 2004:311, fabric 78).

Other than a possible pipkin foot in CIST1, the only other reasonably clear form is the base of a probable 'Bartmann' bottle (form 19) in Frechen stoneware, with the characteristic concentric arcs resulting from removing the vessel from the wheel with a wire (Hurst et al. 1986:214). There is also a rim sherd in what appeared initially to be Westerwald stoneware, although it is certainly not as refined as that normally encountered for this fabric in other groups, having black inclusions and surface imperfections in what is usually a very uniform product. It is also undecorated, and does not have the distinctive rim form found in Westerwald drinking vessels. The TGE sherds are not clearly identifiable, but one has a very small fragment of a base, too small to measure for even purposes, but which may belong to the standard plain chamber pot form. The other has a fragment of sketchily applied blue cobalt decoration of the kind often associated with 'drug jars' (form 39), but this is by no means conclusive.

Date

One of the contributing contexts to this group (7045) is explicitly stated in the published report to contain 'pottery of 17th or 18th century date' (see above), and the other (7036=7029=7037) by implication. A period of two centuries is a long and elastic frame, and in fact, in terms of its content, in distinction to its deposition date, the assemblage contains very little or nothing that need date from the 18th century. The 'Cistercian' brown glazed ware (CIST(BG)) is generally seen as a 16th century product (Morris 1980, Barton 1966:18-21, Barton 1969:85-88, Bryant 2004), though no doubt it survived beyond 1600. The CIST1 type is probably contemporary, but may have lasted longer as it developed, at different speeds in different places into the blackwares (CIST2?) which were current at latest by the mid-17th century (Barker 1986). The CIST2 types seem to be absent from this group. Adding to these, the Malvernian industry is supposed to have ended by the middle of the 17th century, and to have been in decline before this (Bryant 2004:300, Vince 1977a), so that the vast majority of the combined assemblage would appear to have been manufactured by no later than, to take a very generous view, the third quarter of the 17th century. Its deposition date may of course have been later, but in view of the multiple absences enumerated above, there seems no reason to think that it was much after 1700. All of this must be accepted in the context that this assemblage is a small one, and too much significance should not be read into it; but it seems to be an essentially 17th century collection.

Interpretation

The combined assemblage comes from two contexts which are firmly associated with the demolition of the Commandery chapel, and are from dumps and 'made ground' sealing

the demolition debris. Whatever the manufacturing date of the latest sherds may be (perhaps the later 17th century for the very small slipware and tin-glazed sherds), the date range for the great majority of the material certainly extends earlier, in some cases much earlier. This factor, together with the fragmentary and incomplete nature of the assemblage, argues for its being incorporated in soil and rubble of mixed and unknown origins, collected and used in building operations at the Commandery and not necessarily from there, although probably so. The assemblage contains food preparation and storage vessels, and drinking equipment, notably a group of fragmentary brown glazed cups or tygs comparable with other groups from Worcester. If it can be assumed to have come from the contents of the house, it may throw some small light on the ceramic repertoire current there in the mid-to-late 17th century.

Group SANS (see Table 15)

Context

The group is from a combination of five nominally separate contexts (102, 103, 105, 107 and 401) from an excavation on the site of the City Ditch in Sansome Street (Napthan 2006). The combination is justified by a number of cross-context joins, and by the detailed arguments put forward by the excavator leading to the conclusion that the separate contexts are all parts of one feature, cut [120]. He interpreted the feature(s) containing the group as 'sand extraction/waste disposal' features, and '[a] comparatively meaningless group of intercut extraction features'. The assemblage is included here as deriving from a reasonably well-defined and stratified post-medieval context. It is fairly small, containing only 135 sherds, from a total from the site, including unstratified material, of 314. Of these, 268 were recorded as 'post-medieval', so that the present assemblage represents about half of the post-medieval pottery recovered from the site.

Fabrics and Quantities

The eve per family, at 0.08, indicates very low completeness, and the median sherd weight is only 21g, so that the assemblage is very fragmented. In addition, the forms of 65% of the recorded sherd families cannot be identified further than a general description ('flatware', 'hollow ware').

Table 15 – Group SANS

Table 15.1 – SANS - Basic statistics

Sherd No	135
Total weight	6621
Mean sherd weight	49.0g
Vessel equivalent (eve)	8.74
Sherd families	106
Mean sherds per family	1.27
Mean weight per family	62.5g
Min sherd weight per fam	1g
Max sherd weight per fam	558g
Median sherd weight per fam	21g
Vessel equivalent per fam	0.08

Table 15.2 – SANS - Fabric types

		Sh No	Fam No	Wt (gm)	Eve
BLWCF(S)	Blackware, coarse fabric, slipped	1	1	7	0.00
BLWCR	Blackware, cream fabric	2	2	19	0.00
BLWLHF(U)	Blackware, late hard fired, unslipped	10	9	300	1.10
BUFSL(BG)	Buff ware, slipped, brown glaze	3	2	460	0.51
CDMARB	Coarse domestic, marbled fabric	1	1	132	0.00
CDPF	Coarse domestic, paler fabric	15	13	1300	0.64
CDRF	Coarse domestic, red fabric	4	4	429	0.26
CISTERC	Cistercian ware	3	3	17	0.00
MED	Medieval	1	1	27	0.00
MMWB	Manganese mottled ware, buff fabric	7	5	96	0.27
MMWP	Manganese mottled ware, pink fabric	3	2	93	0.34
MPL	Midlands Purple	2	2	219	0.23
MYWCR	Midlands yellow ware, cream fabric	1	1	13	0.00
MYWMX	Midlands Yellow, mixed fabric	3	2	223	0.32
MYWPK	Midlands Yellow, pink fabric	5	5	49	0.11
MYWRF	Midlands Yellow, red fabric	2	2	163	0.36
MYWYG	Midlands Yellow, yellow/green fabric	1	1	2	0.00
NDGF	North Devon gravel free ware	3	2	76	0.00
NDGT	North Devon gravel tempered ware	25	13	1550	0.90
NHEREFA7	North Herefordshire (Vince A7)	4	3	234	0.15
SAGGAR	Saggars	1	1	558	0.25
SLRO(YT)	Slipware, early, red/orange, yellow trailed	3	3	45	0.05
SLWB(YB)	Slipware, buff fabric, yellow/brown lined	5	5	90	0.25
SLWBW(FIG)	Slipware, buff fabric, white slipped, figured	4	3	95	0.06
SLWCR(MB)	Slipware, cream fabric, refined, marbled	7	2	201	1.00
SLWP(MB)	Slipware, pink fabric, marbled	1	1	5	0.00
SLWP(YB)	Slipware, pink fabric, yellow/brown lined	1	1	13	0.00
STN2	Stoneware, type 2	2	2	16	0.00
STN3	Stoneware, type 3	1	1	2	0.00
STNNOT(NW)	Stoneware, Nott/Derby, no white line	1	1	1	0.00
STNNOT(W)	Stoneware, Nott/Derby, white line	3	3	12	0.08
STNWEST	Stoneware, Westerwald	2	1	90	0.43
TGEINC(B)	Tin-glazed, with inclusions, buff	4	4	21	0.00
TGEINC(P)	Tin-glazed, with inclusions, pink	2	2	45	1.16
TGENINC	Tin-glazed, no inclusions	1	1	6	0.18
WSGS(D)	White salt-glazed stoneware, dipped	1	1	12	0.09
		135	106	6621	8.74

Table 15.3 – SANS - Fabric classes

	Sh No	%	Wt	%	eve	%
Blackware (BLW)	13	9.6	326	4.9	1.10	12.6
Coarse Domestic (CD)	20	14.8	1861	28.1	0.90	10.3
Creamware (CCW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Mottled ware (MMW)	10	7.4	189	2.9	0.61	7.0
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	12	8.9	450	6.8	0.79	9.0
North Devon (ND)	28	20.8	1626	24.6	0.91	10.4
Slipware (SL/SLW)	21	15.6	449	6.8	1.36	15.6
Stoneware (STN)	9	6.7	121	1.8	0.51	5.8
Tin-glaze (TGE)	7	5.2	72	1.1	1.33	15.3
White salt-glaze (WSG)	1	0.7	12	0.2	0.09	1.0
Roman/Med (ROM/MED)	1	0.7	27	0.4	0.00	0.0
Saggar	1	0.7	558	8.4	0.25	2.9
Other	12	8.9	930	14.0	0.89	10.1
Total	135		6621		8.74	

Table 15.4 - SANS - Forms

Form No	Description	No						
1	Bowl	2	MYWMX	1	NHEREFA7	1		
5	Dish	11	SLRO(YT)	1	SLWB(YB)	5	SLWBW(FIG)	3
			SLWP(MB)	1	SLWP(YB)	1		
6	Butterpot/straightsided storage	3	CDPF	1	CDRF	1	MPL	1
7	Pan/pancheon	5	CDPF	2	CDRF	1	MYWRF	1
			NDGT	1				
9	Cup	2	MYWMX	1	MYWRF	1		
12	Jar	8	BUFSL(BG)	1	CDPF	2	CDRF	1
			NDGT	3	SLWCR(MB)	1		
14	Mug	2	STNWEST	1	MMWB	1		
40	Ointment pot	3	TGEINC(B)	1	TGEINC(P)	1	TGENINC	1
41	Saggar	1	SAGGAR	1				
42	Handle (unattrib)	1	NDGT	1				
97	Flatware (unspec)	1	BLWCR	1				
98	Hollow ware (unspec)	52	BLWCR	1	BLWLHF(U)	9	BUFSL(BG)	1
			CDMARB	1	CDPF	7	CDRF	1
			CIST	3	MMWB	3	MMWP	2
			MPL	1	MYWCR	1	MYWPK	4
			MYWYG	1	NDGF	2	NDGT	6
			NHEREFA7	2	STN2	1	STNNOT(NW)	1
			STNNOT(W)	2	TGEINC(B)	2	WSGS(D)	1
99	Unknown	15	BLWLHF(S)	1	CDPF	1	MED	1
			MMWB	1	MYWPK	1	NDGT	2
			SLRO(YT)	2	SLWCR(MB)	1	STN2	1
			STN3	1	STNNOT(W)	1	TGEINC(B)	1
			TGEINC(P)	1				
		106						

Insofar as it is possible to argue from a limited sample, with a total eve of 8.74, there is a fairly even distribution of fabric types. Blackwares, Coarse Domestic wares, North Devon wares, tin-glazed earthenware, slipwares and Midlands Yellow are all represented, with mottled wares and stoneware less common. White stoneware, however, is virtually absent, being represented by one sherd of the dipped version. Although tin-glazed wares contribute 15.3% of the eves, there are only seven sherds, weighing 72g. This should provide a warning against relying too much upon conclusions drawn from small samples, and upon inferences from sherd number and weight. In this case, the tin-glazed wares consist of fragments of up to three small 'ointment pots', of which one is a complete, very abraded base, thus inflating the eve for this type, and four other small sherds, two of which have some blue decoration. In spite of the impression given by the eve figure, this ware is really not as prominent in this group as some others.

On the other hand, slipwares, which produce a similar eve figure to tin-glaze, do seem to justify a higher profile. There are representatives of up to eight press-moulded dishes, most with the familiar yellow and brown striped decoration with pie-crust edges, but two with what may be more elaborate 'figured' decoration, produced with a carved wooden or fired clay mould. Among a very limited amount of stoneware, there is one Westerwald mug with purple manganese decoration. A number of vessels, including North Devon gravel tempered jars, but also vessels in Blackware, Midlands Yellow ware and Coarse Domestic wares, were sooted on the exterior, indicating that they had been used at least for heating the contents, if not necessarily for cooking. For example, one Midlands Yellow cup, blackened on the base, can hardly have been used to 'cook', but might easily have held a heated drink of some kind, warmed next to the fire. Within the 'Other' total, there are a few sherds of 'Cistercian' type wares, wares interpreted as Herefordshire products, and Midlands Purple.

There is one large (558g) fragment of what the excavator interpreted as a saggur. If this is the case, it is an indicator of a local pottery industry in the city in the late 17th – early 18th century. This is said to be only the second such find in the city, the other being at 39 The Tything (Griffin 2002), although a third was included in the report of a Watching Brief at the King's Head, Sidbury (Miller & Jones 2001). None of the products of this suggested industry has yet been identified, though there is every likelihood that at least some of the Coarse Domestic categories in this and other assemblages may have had a local origin.

There is only one medieval sherd, and no Roman material.

Forms

Little can be said in view of the fragmented nature of the group, but of the identifiable vessels, dishes (that is, predominantly press-moulded slipware dishes) are prominent, although that is doubtless accounted for by the fact that this form can be easily recognised even from a small sherd. There are two mugs and two 'cups', the latter two both in Midlands Yellow ware, and probably nearer in form to a mug, although with convex sides. Other forms are jars, 'butterpots' and pans, in other words the normal earthenware vessels to be expected in kitchens, storage areas or dairies.

Date

The presence of Midlands Yellow wares, which are more indicative of the 16th and 17th centuries than the 18th (Woodfield 1964), and the absence of white salt-glazed stoneware, except for a sherd of dipped ware, which could be earlier than 1720, tends towards a deposition date in the late 17th or early 18th century. The proportions of wares present, however, could, in this case as in others, be as much a reflection of the status or wealth, or even age, of the household(s) from which the material came as of the date at which it was deposited. In other words, it could be the result of clearing out a very old-fashioned household in 1740.

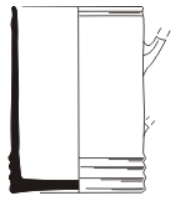
Interpretation

The site location is just outside St Martin's gate, adjacent to the Lowesmoor suburb, where there is evidence for tile manufacturing and sand and clay extraction (Miller et al. 2000), and the material may have come from this area. But if this assemblage is part of a rubbish deposit used to fill pits created for the removal of sand, as the excavator thought, it would be unsafe to assume that the material used necessarily came from the immediate neighbourhood. The excavator comments:

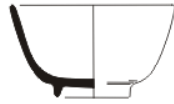
'Unfortunately it is unclear what were the sources of these ceramic assemblages – they do not all appear to have derived from the relatively humble cottages lining the street frontage, and it is more likely that they derived from elsewhere, possibly an inn just within the City Wall. The presence of high quality material of late 17th C date in this area is not easily explained but may relate to clearance and rebuilding activities in the aftermath of the Civil War.' (Napthan 2006: para 8.2)

As far as this particular sub-set of the total assemblage is concerned, it is not obvious that it consists of very high quality material, nor that it exhibits characteristics suggesting it came from an inn. The fragmentation and lack of completeness suggest that a number of events have taken place between original discard and final deposition, which re-emphasises the dangers of assuming a very local origin, or indeed a single origin. This

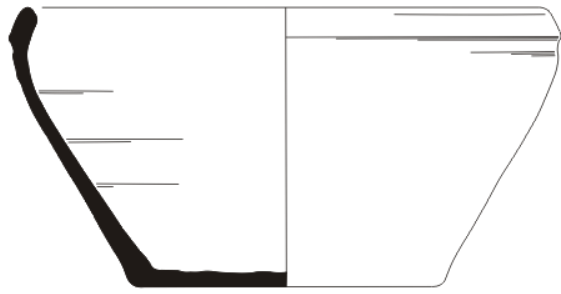
may simply be rubbish collected or contributed from various sources and used to fill a hole. That filling may have happened over a relatively long period, that is the pit was open and used by people in the city or the locality as a refuse tip, or it may have happened as a single event; the evidence does not permit a decision either way.



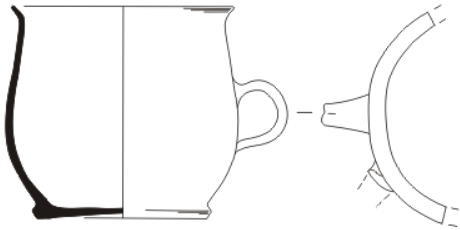
DW1/72
STN2(DB)



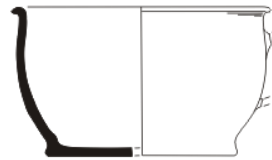
DW1/90
TGEINC(B)



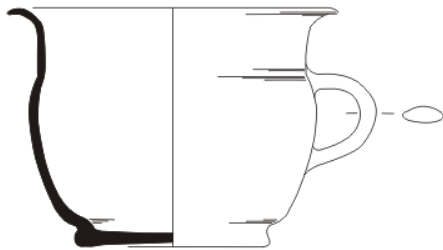
DW1/1-2-3
NDGT



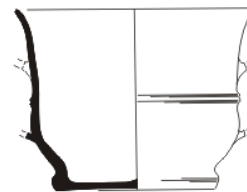
DW1/13
BLWLHF(S)



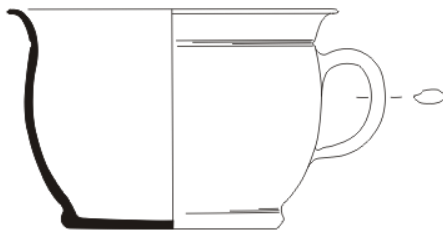
DW1/14
BLWCR



DW1/15
BLWLHF(U)



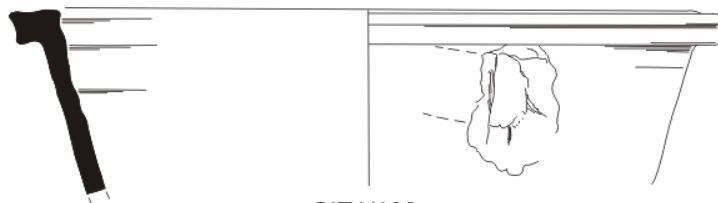
DW1/40
BUFSL(BG)



DW1/63
MMWB



DW1/121
CDRRU



CIT1/100
CDMARB

Figure 16 - Groups DW1 & CIT1 (1:4)

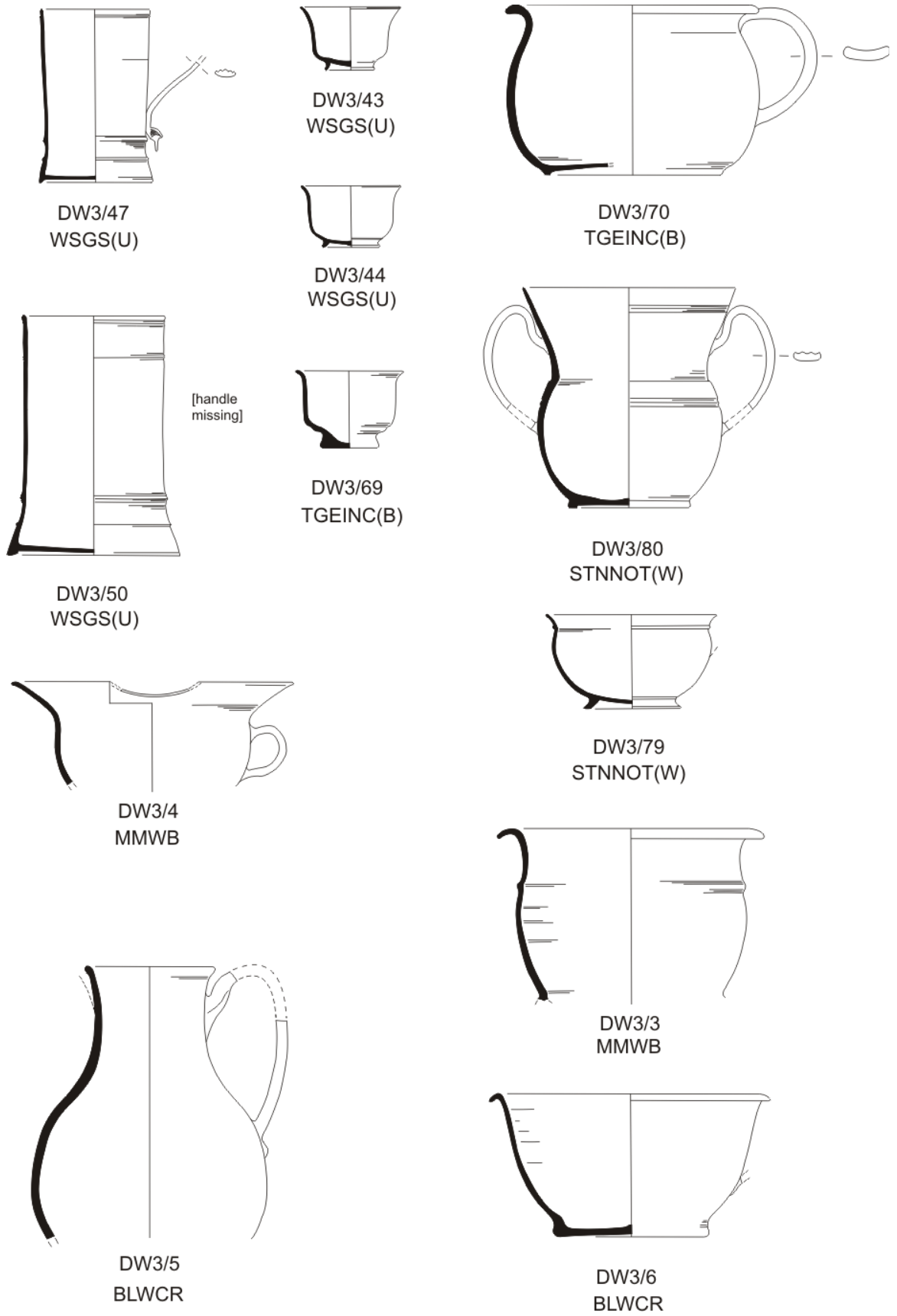
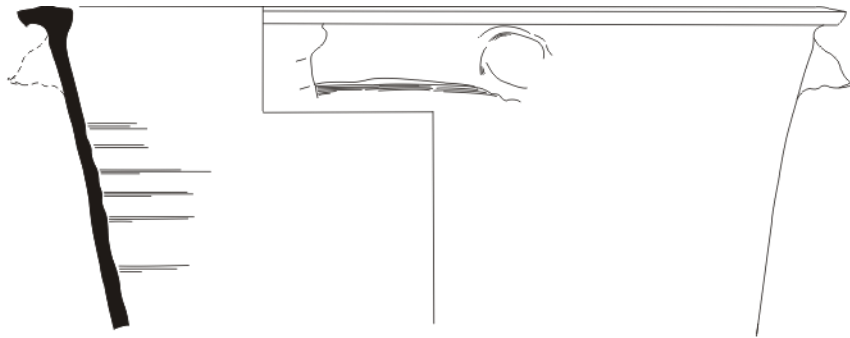
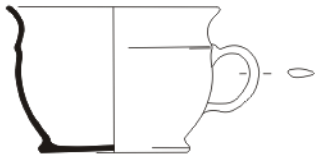


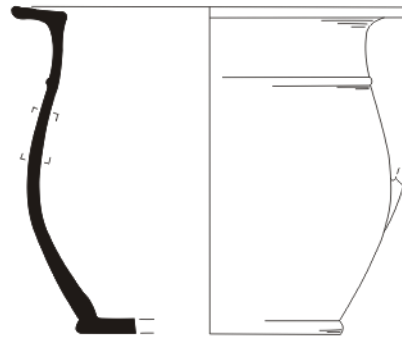
Figure 17 - Group DW3 (1:4)



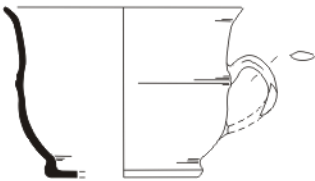
DW3/30
CDRF



DW3/10
BLWCR



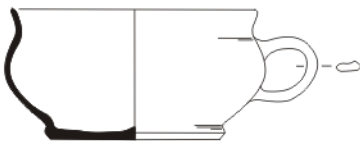
DW6/1
NDGT



DW3/11
BLWCR



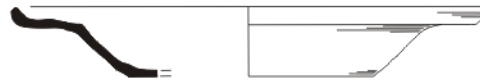
DW6/6
CDRF



DW6/5
MMWB



DW6/49
NHEREFA7



DW6/41
SLRO(YT)



DW6/37
SLRO(YT)

Figure 18 - Groups DW3 & DW6 (1:4)

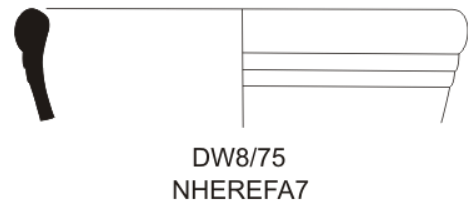
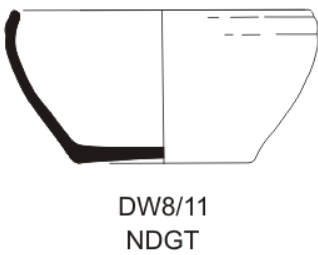
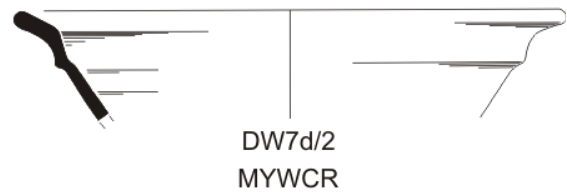
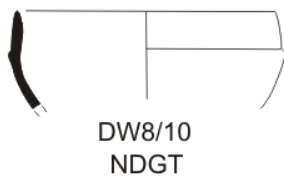
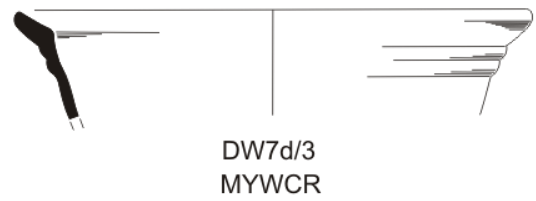
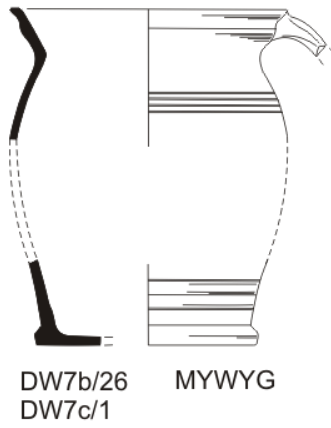
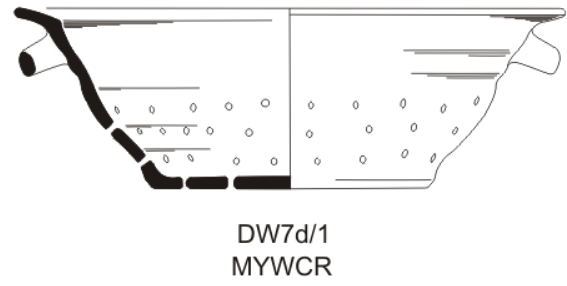
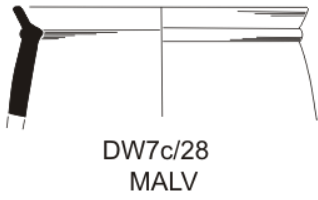
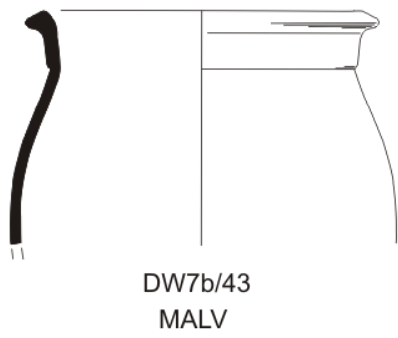
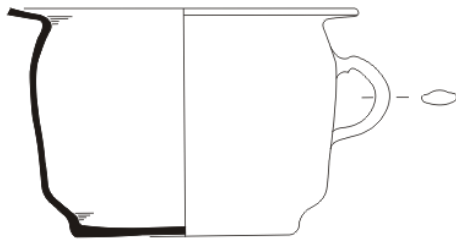
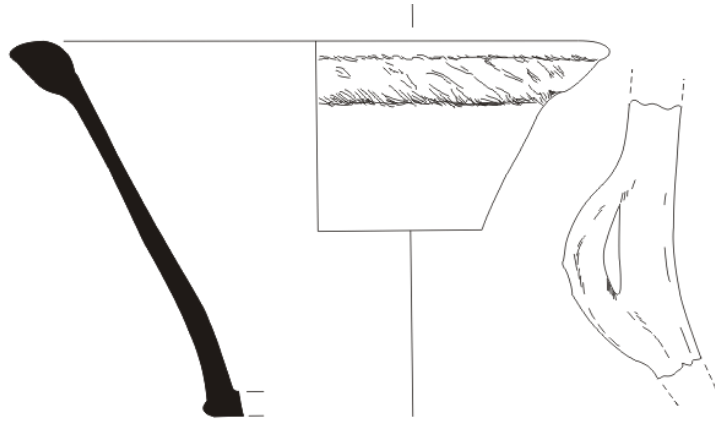


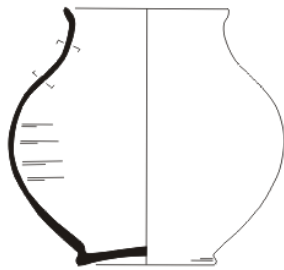
Figure 19 - Groups DW7& DW8 (1:4)



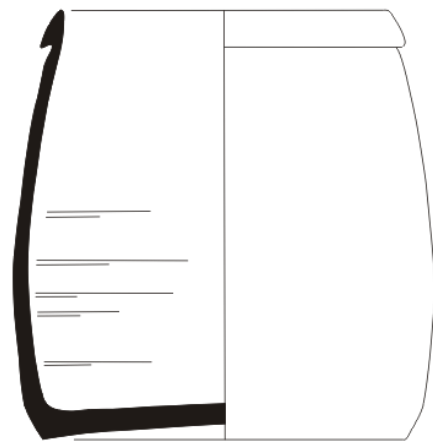
DW8/20
BLWLHF(U)



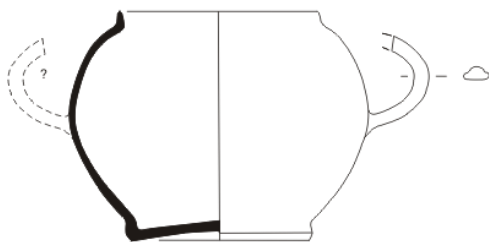
DW8/9
NDGT



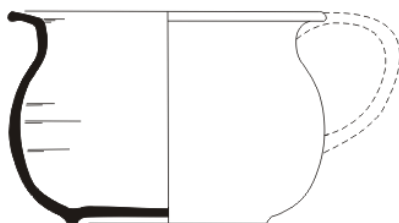
DW8/64
BLWLHF(U)



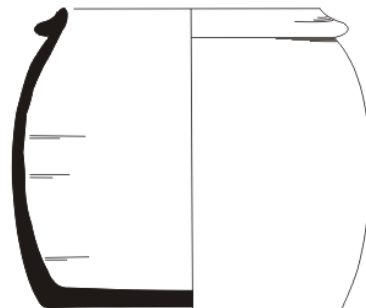
DW8/65
CDRF



DW8/62
SLWCR(MB)

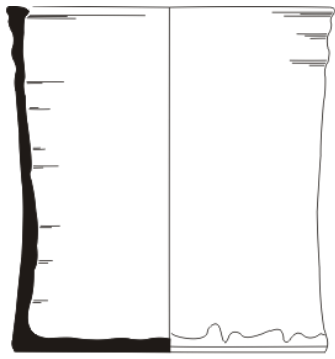


DW8/57
TGEINC(B)



DW8/66
CDPF

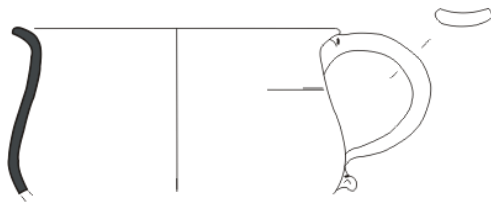
Figure 20 - Group DW8 (1:4)



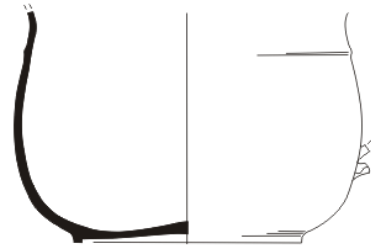
BRD1/142
BLWLHF(U)



BRD1/R6
BLWLHF(U)



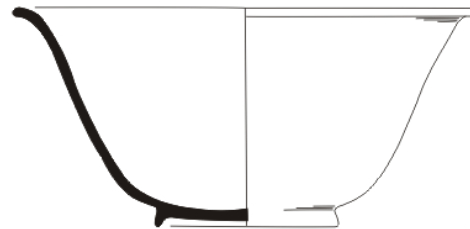
BRD1/37
TGEINC(B)



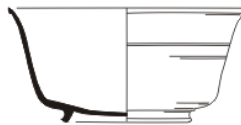
BRD1/27
TGEINC(P)



BRD1/124
MMWB



BRD1/R4
TGEINC(B)



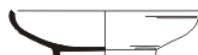
BRD1/70
WSGS(U)



BRD1/64
WSGS(U)



BRD1/87
WSGS(U)



BRD1/72
WSGS(U)



BRD1/143
STN2(DB)

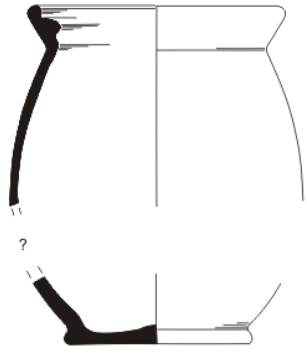


BRD1/88
WSGS(U)



BRD1/92
WSGS(U)

Figure 21 - Group BRD1 (1:4)



CIT1/41
NDGT



CIT1/45
NDGT



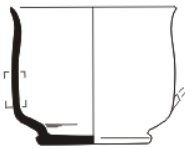
CIT1/46
NDGT



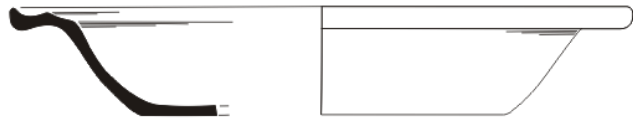
CIT1/44
NDGT



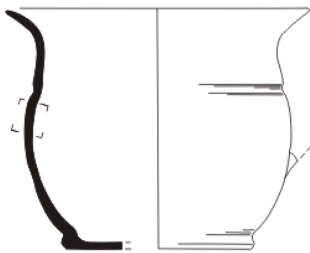
CIT1/47
NDGT



CIT1/86
SLWP(JW)



CIT1/85
SLRO



CIT1/109
BLWLHF(U)



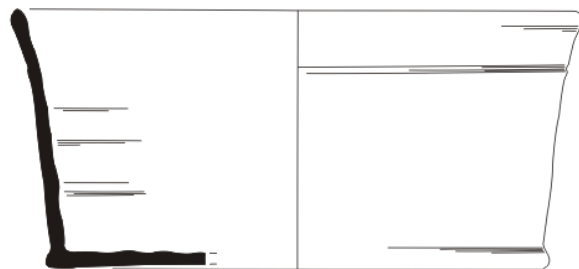
CIT1/90
BLWLHF(S)



CIT1/91
BLWLHF(S)



CIT1/26
MMWB



CIT1/25
MMWB

Figure 22 - Group CIT1 (1:4)

Chapter 5

Pottery Groups – Synthesis

Tables 16 – 19 and their accompanying charts attempt an overview of the data on the pottery groups contained in Chapter 4:

Table 16: Groups arranged in approximate chronological order (from top to bottom of the chart), with the distribution of broad fabric classes within each group, *by sherd count*;

Table 17: As 16, but with Group BRD1 and all Roman and medieval material omitted;

Table 18: Groups arranged in approximate chronological order (from top to bottom of the chart), with the distribution of broad fabric classes within each group, *by eve*;

Table 19: As 18, but with Group BRD1 and all Roman and medieval material omitted.

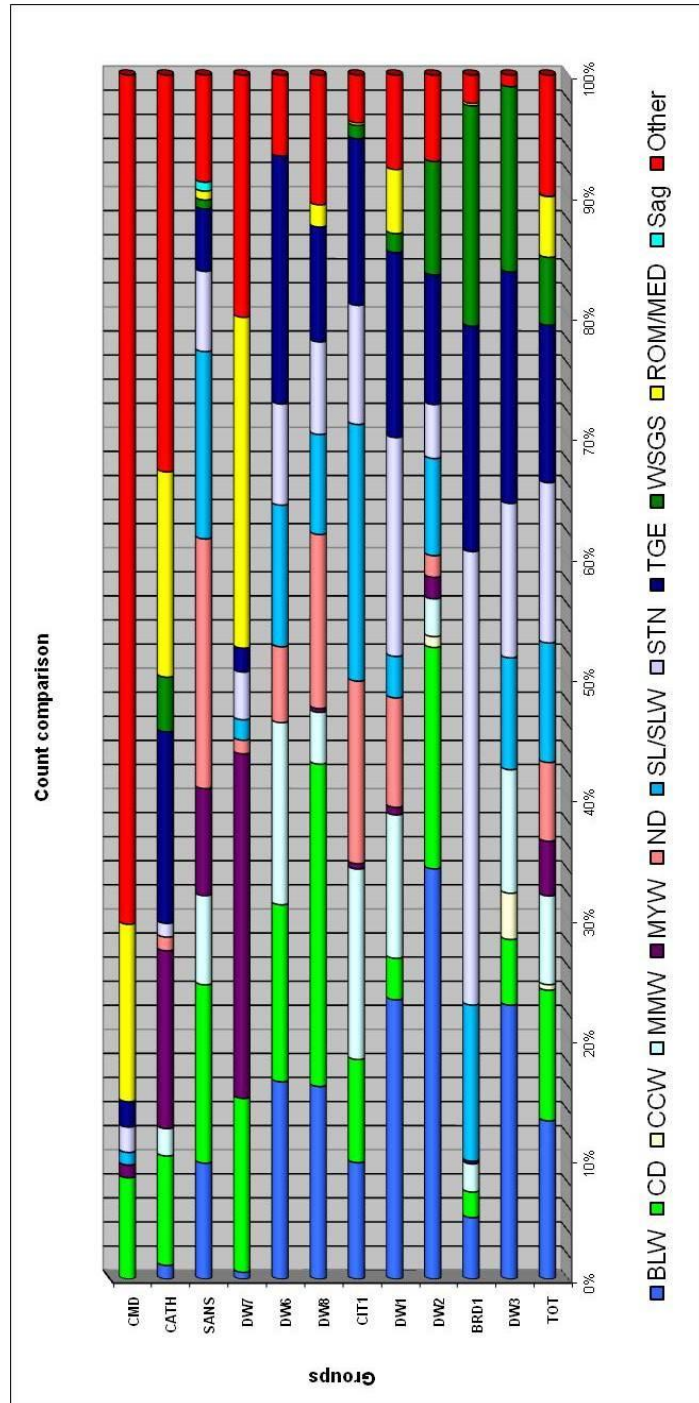
Both sherd count and eves have been plotted, in order to give alternative pictures, in the light of the uncertainties of quantification. Tables 17 and 19 give other alternatives by omitting Roman and medieval sherds, but also group BRD1. The latter contains a large proportion of stoneware which it was thought might have a distorting effect on the distributions.

This presentation invites a number of comments and caveats:

(1) The arrangement of the groups in chronological order is based on the date estimates, sometimes very provisional, given in Chapter 4. These are of course estimates of the possible date of deposition, not of manufacture or use, and each group contains material of varying ages, including some residual sherds (obviously Roman and medieval, but also later) redeposited from earlier contexts. Some groups no doubt also contain intrusive material from later contexts. The groups have as far as possible been chosen so as to exclude as much 'contamination' as possible, but even in regard to pottery of the 17th and

	CMD		CATH		SANS		DW7		DW6		DW8		CIT1		DW1		DW2		BRD1		DW3		TOT	
	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%
Blackware (BLW)	0	0.0	1	1.1	13	9.6	2	0.6	39	16.4	52	16.0	44	9.7	74	23.2	76	34.1	24	5.1	71	22.8	396	13.1
Coarse Domestic (CD)	8	8.4	8	9.1	20	14.8	51	14.4	35	14.7	87	26.8	39	8.6	11	3.4	41	18.4	10	2.1	17	5.4	327	10.9
Creamware (CCW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.9	0	0.0	12	3.8	14	0.5
Mottled ware (MMW)	0	0.0	2	2.3	10	7.4	0	0.0	36	15.1	14	4.3	72	15.8	38	11.9	7	3.1	11	2.3	32	10.3	222	7.4
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	1	1.1	13	14.8	12	8.9	101	28.6	0	0.0	1	0.3	2	0.4	2	0.6	4	1.8	1	0.2	0	0.0	137	4.5
North Devon (ND)	0	0.0	1	1.1	28	20.7	4	1.1	15	6.3	47	14.5	69	15.2	29	9.1	4	1.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	197	6.5
Slipware (SL/SLW)	1	1.1	0	0.0	21	15.6	6	1.7	28	11.8	27	8.3	97	21.3	11	3.4	18	8.1	61	13.0	29	9.3	299	9.9
Stoneware (STN)	2	2.1	1	1.1	9	6.7	14	4.0	20	8.4	25	7.7	45	9.9	58	18.2	10	4.5	177	37.7	40	12.8	401	13.3
Tin-glaze (TGE)	2	2.1	14	15.9	7	5.2	7	2.0	49	20.6	31	9.5	63	13.8	49	15.4	24	10.8	88	18.7	60	19.2	394	13.1
White salt-glaze (WSGS)	0	0.0	4	4.5	1	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	1.1	5	1.6	21	9.4	86	18.3	48	15.4	170	5.6
Roman/Med (ROM/MED)	14	14.7	15	17.0	1	0.7	97	27.5	0	0.0	6	1.8	1	0.2	17	5.3	0	0.0	1	0.2	0	0.0	152	5.0
Saggar	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	67	70.5	29	33.0	12	8.9	71	20.1	16	6.7	35	10.8	18	4.0	25	7.8	16	7.2	11	2.3	3	1.0	303	10.1
Total	95		88		135		353		238		325		455		319		223		470		312		3013	

18th centuries which is the subject of this study, an unknown number of the earlier sherds in each group will have been redeposited and could not, even if they could



be certainly

	CMD		CATH		SANS		DW7		DW6		DW8		CIT1		DW1		DW2		DW3		TOT	
	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%
Blackware (BLW)	0	0.0	1	1.4	13	9.8	2	0.8	39	16.4	52	16.3	44	9.7	74	24.5	76	34.1	71	22.8	372	15.6
Coarse Domestic (CD)	8	9.9	8	11.0	20	15.0	51	19.9	35	14.7	87	27.3	39	8.6	11	3.6	41	18.4	17	5.4	317	13.3
Creamware (CCW)	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.9	12	3.8	14	0.6
Mottled ware (MMW)	0	0.0	2	2.7	10	7.5	0	0.0	36	15.1	14	4.4	72	15.9	38	12.6	7	3.1	32	10.3	211	8.8
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	1	1.2	13	17.8	12	9.0	101	39.5	0	0.0	1	0.3	2	0.4	2	0.7	4	1.8	0	0.0	136	5.7
North Devon (ND)	0	0.0	1	1.4	28	21.1	4	1.6	15	6.3	47	14.7	69	15.2	29	9.6	4	1.8	0	0.0	197	8.2
Slipware (SL/SLW)	1	1.2	0	0.0	21	15.8	6	2.3	28	11.8	27	8.5	97	21.4	11	3.6	18	8.1	29	9.3	238	10.0
Stoneware (STN)	2	2.5	1	1.4	9	6.8	14	5.5	20	8.4	25	7.8	45	9.9	58	19.2	10	4.5	40	12.8	224	9.4
Tin-glaze (TGE)	2	2.5	14	19.2	7	5.3	7	2.7	49	20.6	31	9.7	63	13.9	49	16.2	24	10.8	60	19.2	306	12.8
White salt-glaze (WSGS)	0	0.0	4	5.5	1	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	1.1	5	1.7	21	9.4	48	15.4	84	3.5
Other	67	82.7	29	39.7	12	9.0	71	27.7	16	6.7	35	11.0	18	4.0	25	8.3	16	7.2	3	1.0	292	12.2
Total	81		73		133		256		238		319		454		302		223		312		2391	

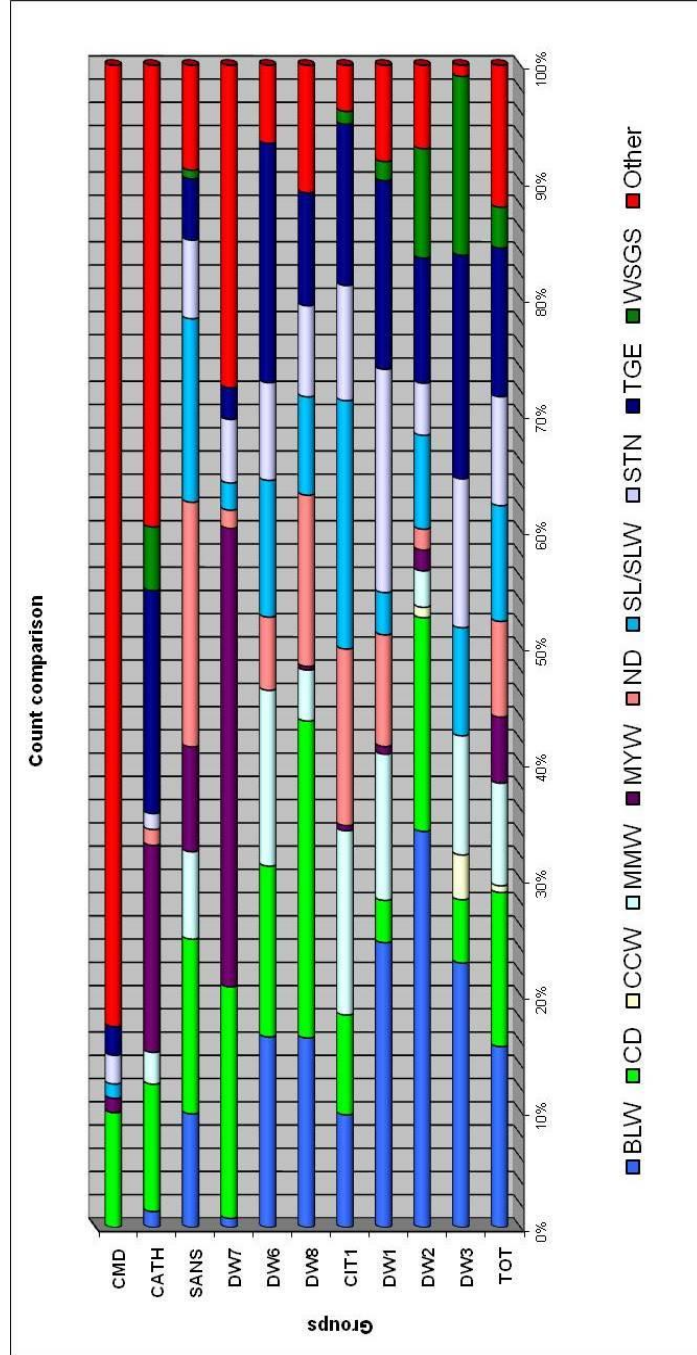


Table 17 – Groups by sherd count, in approximate chronological order, excluding BRD1, Roman & medieval

	CMD		CATH		SANS		DW7		DW6		DW8		CIT1		DW1		DW2		BRD1		DW3		TOT	
	ave	%	ave	%	ave	%	ave	%	ave	%	ave	%	ave	%	ave	%	ave	%	ave	%	ave	%	ave	%
Blackware (BLW)	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	1.10	12.6	0.13	1.1	1.00	11.6	3.17	17.0	3.81	16.9	3.45	21.9	4.14	41.3	4.76	6.5	4.76	20.9	26.47	12.9
Coarse Domestic (CD)	0.11	2.3	0.17	2.6	0.90	10.3	1.18	10.1	0.66	7.7	4.56	24.4	1.16	5.1	0.67	4.3	0.97	9.7	1.30	1.7	0.82	3.6	12.50	6.1
Creamware (CCW)	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.12	1.2	0.00	0.0	1.50	6.6	1.62	0.8	
Mottled ware (MMW)	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.61	7.0	0.00	0.0	1.61	18.7	0.97	5.2	2.58	11.4	1.62	10.3	0.23	2.3	1.86	2.5	0.48	2.1	9.96	4.8
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	0.00	0.0	1.29	20.1	0.79	9.0	4.53	38.6	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.07	0.7	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	6.68	3.2	
North Devon (ND)	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.91	10.4	0.00	0.0	0.54	6.3	3.24	17.4	3.12	13.8	1.77	11.2	2.2	2.2	0.00	0.0	0.00	9.80	4.8	
Slipware (SL/SLW)	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	1.36	15.6	0.24	2.0	1.09	12.6	1.35	7.2	2.28	10.1	0.37	2.4	0.10	1.0	2.77	3.7	2.73	12.0	12.29	6.0
Stoneware (STN)	0.45	9.4	0.25	3.9	0.51	5.8	1.41	12.0	1.35	15.7	2.35	12.6	4.80	21.2	2.97	18.9	0.58	5.8	36.76	48.7	2.68	11.8	54.11	26.3
Tin-glaze (TGE)	0.00	0.0	1.28	19.9	1.33	15.2	0.54	4.6	1.93	22.4	1.62	8.7	2.47	10.9	1.87	11.9	1.09	10.9	8.59	11.4	4.69	20.6	25.41	12.4
White salt-glaze (WSGS)	0.00	0.0	0.15	2.3	0.09	1.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.70	3.1	0.45	2.9	1.68	16.7	17.36	23.0	4.80	21.1	25.23	12.3
Roman/Med (ROM/MED)	0.16	3.3	0.23	3.6	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.0	0.11	0.1	0.00	0.0	0.50	0.2
Saggars	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.25	2.9	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.25	0.1
Other	4.08	85.0	3.05	47.5	0.89	10.2	3.71	31.6	0.44	5.1	1.40	7.5	1.67	7.4	2.57	16.3	0.83	8.3	1.77	2.3	0.31	1.4	20.72	10.1
Total	4.80		6.42		8.74		11.74		8.62		18.66		22.59		15.74		10.03		75.43				205.54	
Sherds	95		88		135		353		238		325		455		319		223		470				3013	
Sherd families	87		64		106		218		54		109		148		119		148		259				1392	
Eve per sherd family	0.06		0.10		0.08		0.05		0.16		0.17		0.15		0.13		0.07		0.29				0.15	

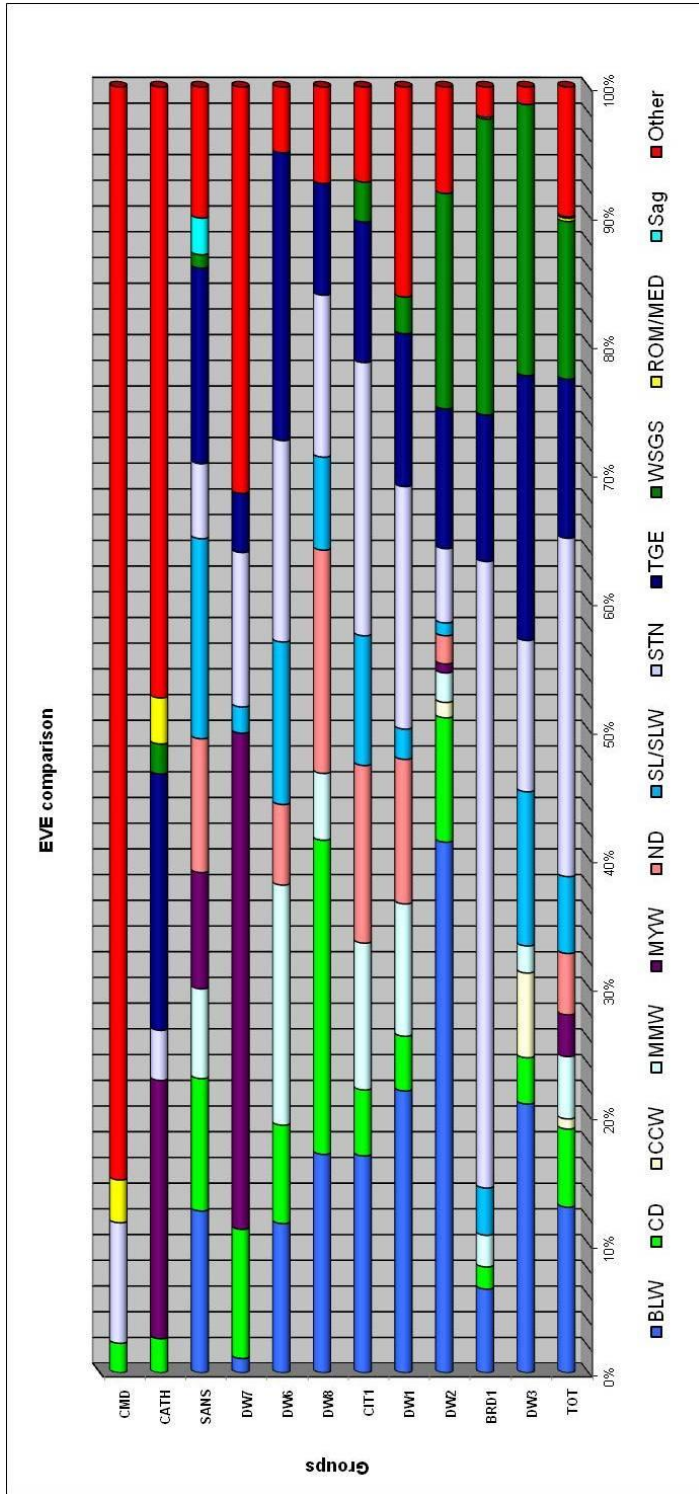


Table 18 – Groups by eve, in approximate chronological order

	CMD		CATH		SANS		DW7		DW6		DW8		CIT1		DW1		DW2		DW3		TOT	
	eve	%	eve	%	eve	%	eve	%	eve	%	eve	%	eve	%	eve	%	eve	%	eve	%	eve	%
Blackware (BLW)	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	1.10	13.0	0.13	1.1	1.00	11.6	3.17	17.0	3.81	16.9	3.45	21.9	4.14	41.3	4.76	20.9	21.56	16.7
Coarse Domestic (CD)	0.11	2.4	0.17	2.7	0.90	10.6	1.18	10.1	0.66	7.7	4.56	24.4	1.16	5.1	0.67	4.3	0.97	9.7	0.82	3.6	11.20	8.7
Creamware (CCW)	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.12	1.2	1.50	6.6	1.62	1.3
Mottled ware (MMW)	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.61	7.2	0.00	0.0	1.61	18.7	0.97	5.2	2.58	11.4	1.62	10.3	0.23	2.3	0.48	2.1	8.10	6.3
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	0.00	0.0	1.29	20.8	0.79	9.3	4.53	38.6	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.07	0.7	0.00	0.0	6.68	5.2
North Devon (ND)	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.91	10.7	0.00	0.0	0.54	6.3	3.24	17.4	3.12	13.8	1.77	11.2	0.22	2.2	0.00	0.0	9.80	7.6
Slipware (SL/SLW)	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	1.36	16.0	0.24	2.0	1.09	12.6	1.35	7.2	2.28	10.1	0.37	2.4	0.10	1.0	2.73	12.0	9.52	7.4
Stoneware (STN)	0.45	9.7	0.25	4.0	0.51	6.0	1.41	12.0	1.35	15.7	2.35	12.6	4.80	21.2	2.97	18.9	0.58	5.8	2.68	11.8	17.35	13.4
Tin-glaze (TGE)	0.00	0.0	1.28	20.7	1.33	15.7	0.54	4.6	1.93	22.4	1.62	8.7	2.47	10.9	1.87	11.9	1.09	10.9	4.69	20.6	16.82	13.0
White salt-glaze (WSGS)	0.00	0.0	0.15	2.4	0.09	1.1	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.00	0.0	0.70	3.1	0.45	2.9	1.68	16.7	4.80	21.1	7.87	6.1
Other	4.08	87.9	3.05	49.3	0.89	10.5	3.71	31.6	0.44	5.1	1.40	7.5	1.67	7.4	2.57	16.3	0.83	8.3	0.31	1.4	18.95	14.6
Total	4.64		6.19		8.49		11.74		8.62		18.66		22.59		15.74		10.03		22.77		129.47	
Sherds			73		133		256		238		319		454		302		223		312		2391	
Sherd families			50		104		138		54		103		147		102		148		80		1001	
Eve per sherd family			0.12		0.08		0.09		0.16		0.18		0.15		0.15		0.07		0.28		0.13	

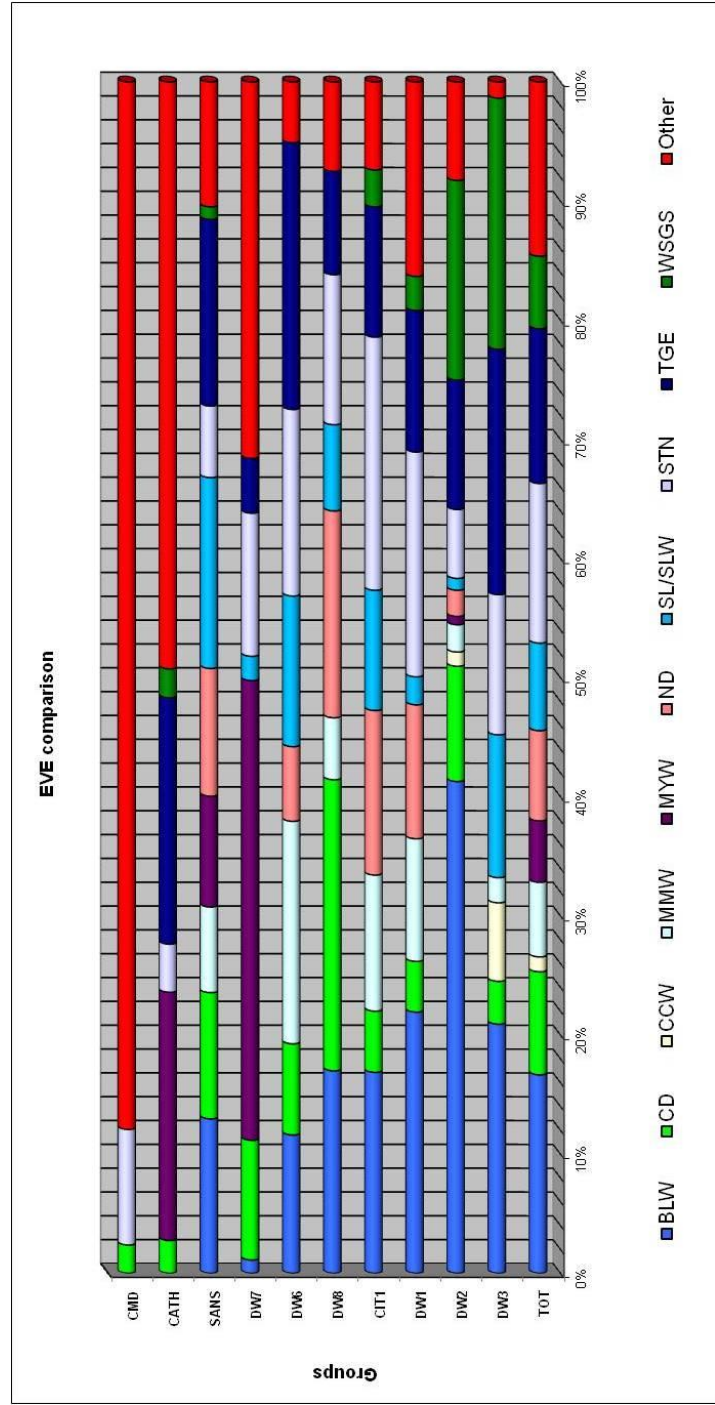


Table 19 – Groups by eve, in approximate chronological order, excluding BRD1, Roman & medieval

identified, be regarded as part of the 'primary' deposit. Even if it could be ascertained how much of each group had not been redeposited, and consequently might be thought to have come from the contents of contemporary households, two areas of uncertainty remain: we do not know over how long a period this 'primary' material was deposited (was the pit filled all in one go, or left open for a period of time?) and we do not know how old the vessels were when they were thrown away. These are familiar problems in dealing with pottery assemblages, and need not be further laboured, but the point at least needs to be made that, even if the approximate date of deposition can be inferred, the assemblage cannot be regarded unproblematically as a true sample of the pottery in use at that time, nor can it all be regarded as contemporary in the sense of having been made and bought at roughly the same time. A pan can remain undisturbed on the buttery floor for many years, while a teapot in constant use and subject to regular thermal shock may only last a few months.

(2) It is in the nature of deposits of later post-medieval material, particularly in urban settings, that such deposits are often not securely sealed by dated later contexts. In most cases the groups discussed above were sealed, if at all, by nothing more than 19th or 20th century demolition debris or cellar floors. Most of the Deansway contexts were revealed immediately by the initial clearing and cleaning of the site, and could not be said to be 'sealed' by any archaeologically recorded feature. In addition, in an urban setting the deprivations of 19th and 20th century redevelopment of inner city areas has removed much of the contextual information which might have provided a suggestion of a *terminus ante quem*. If we then rely on the nature of the material itself to provide a *terminus*, the oft repeated warnings about making such judgments must be rehearsed (for example Vince 1987). If it is obvious that a type of pottery could not have been deposited before the date of its first introduction, it is also obvious that it could have been deposited at any time thereafter. Equally obviously, the fact that an assemblage does not contain a particular type cannot *logically* be used as evidence that the assemblage predates its introduction; the absence could be the result of any number of circumstances which are necessarily unknowable. Nevertheless, such absence is frequently used to *suggest*, as it is here, a *terminus ante quem*. Provided that this is openly done in an awareness of the logical limitations of the argument, the practice has to be acceptable as an approximation which is always open to change in the light of better evidence.

(3) Dating these groups has been influenced by a rather limited set of landmarks. The *terminus post quem*²⁷ provided by the introduction in Staffordshire of the fully-developed

²⁷ Hereafter *tpq*

white salt-glazed stoneware, which can be securely dated to the 1720s (Noel-Hume 1980), is central to this period and has been perhaps over relied on. The period under review also encompasses the real beginning of the English stoneware industry, with John Dwight's experiments and production at Fulham from the 1670s onwards, followed by other centres of production (Hildyard 1985, Green 1999). Other landmarks are rather less well defined. The demise of the Malvern industry in the mid-17th century is well attested (Vince 1977a), but as a 'negative marker' it is of course rather less helpful than the introductions already mentioned, and does not provide a *tpq* but simply an indication or likelihood. Yet other indicators are based on no more than apparent trends noted by other scholars, or in the course of this study, some more substantial than others, such as the trend away from 'Cistercian' models to blackwares of increasingly well made types (Barker 1986), or the passing of the 'Midlands Yellow' tradition by about the end of the 17th century (Gooder 1984: 155, Woodfield 1964). In only two cases, the appearance of a 'GR' monogram on a Westerwald mug from City Arcade, and a slipware dish from Broad Street apparently taken from a mould dated 1751, can a *tpq* in the form of an actual date be assigned to an individual vessel. Some help with dating has been obtained from clay pipes where these have been available for study.

(4) It is as well to be reminded that the fabric classification system used in the Type Series at Appendix 1 predicates the existence of a number of broad classes of material which can be broken down into sub-classes if necessary, the first letters of the mnemonic code (CD, BLW, etc) denoting the broad class and any subsequent letters (CD..PF, BLW..CR, etc) the sub-class. Tables 16 – 19 use the broad classes as a tool of analysis. The outcome of this process is to associate arbitrarily by 'fabric' items which could be differently associated, for example by supposed function, or appearance, or origin, or, if we had enough information, value or price. This is simply to reiterate the point that such classificatory systems are merely archaeological constructs and do not necessarily relate to categories with historical significance.

(5) The tables and charts simply portray the distribution of *proportions* of the total number of sherds or sherd families within the 10 or 11 groups concerned. It bears reiteration that, since we cannot know what proportion the sample represented by those groups is of the total amount of pottery in Worcester at any time, we cannot make secure inferences from the sample to that total population. We certainly cannot make the statement 'Fabric X was very common in Worcester in 1700', on the basis that it is very common in the sample, but can we say that 'Fabric X appears from this sample to have been more common than Fabric Y'? The second statement is only justifiable if we can assume that, however large the unknown population was, the sample is a true reflection of it, that is

that the proportions of different types in the sample are *necessarily* the same as that in the population as a whole. But this would only be true if the sample had been designed for this purpose. The arbitrary circumstances of deposition, redeposition and recovery make this an insuperable condition, so that the second statement is also logically unjustifiable. However, if this line were to be followed strictly, it would not be possible to reach far beyond description and depiction before facing a logical barrier. In practice, therefore, we adopt a position standing at the barrier, and, looking beyond it, with the aid of the sample create a picture which is at least consistent with the sample. We are consequently, *in this sense*, enabled to say something about the comparative prevalence of one kind of pottery in relation to another during a particular period of time.

With the above in mind, the groups are arranged in rough chronological order of deposition:

Commandery (CMD):	mid to late 17 th century
Cathedral (CATH):	late 17 th century - ?1700
Sanscombe Street (SANS):	c. 1700
Deansway DW7:	c. 1700
Deansway DW6:	1700-20
Deansway DW8:	1700-20
City Arcade (CIT1)	c.1720?
Deansway DW1	1720-50 (perhaps early in range?)
Deansway DW2	1720-50
Broad Street (BRD1)	1720-50 (later?)
Deansway DW3	c. 1750

Given the uncertainties involved in this sequence, it seemed reasonable to resort to a three stage concept, similar to that used for the discussion of the inventory data in Chapter 6, which avoids too great a reliance on rather tentative dating and also aids comparisons with the inventory data itself. Consequently, the sequence is divided into three Stages:

Stage 1: up to c.1700 (CMD; CATH; SANS; DW7)
Stage 2: up to c. 1730 (DW6; DW8; CIT1)
Stage 3: up to c. 1750 (DW1; DW2; BRD1; DW3)

Table 20 shows sherd count and eves for the three Stages.

	<i>Sherds</i>		<i>eves</i>	
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total excl*</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total excl*</i>
Stage 1: up to c 1700	671	543	31.7	31.1
Stage 2: up to c 1730	1018	1011	49.9	49.9
Stage 3: up to c 1750	1324	1306	124.0	123.9
	3013	2860	205.5	204.8

*ie excluding Roman & medieval

Table 20 - Stages

The Stages do not correspond with those used for the inventory data; the first two extend 20 years beyond the closing dates for the potentially comparable Stages in Chapter 6. However, given the fluidity of the dating of the groups and the inclusion in them of material from in some cases a long time span, this discrepancy will be set to one side. It is more important to regard this device as an aid to analysis rather than as a chronological straightjacket. Tables 21 to 26, with accompanying charts, present combined data on the distribution of broad fabric classes and on forms, for the three Stages in turn. In other words, they combine the data from Tables 3 and 4 for each of the pottery groups into a single representation for each of the proposed Stages. The data on fabric types is presented using both sherd count and eves, and for Stage 3 alternative versions are given, one of which omits group BRD1 because of its high proportion of stoneware. Figure 34 collects the fabric type charts from all three Stages to show a putative development for the entire period.

The following paragraphs consider the range of fabrics and forms current in each of these Stages, that is the 'ceramic repertoire' for each Stage. It will be assumed for the sake of the argument that each Stage constitutes a homogeneous whole, that is without internal development or change, and with a step change from one Stage to the next. This is obviously not a true representation of real historical change, but it offers the chance of identifying some broad developments occurring over the century in question, without commitment to a chronology which is too detailed to be sustainable.

	Sh No	%	eve	%
Black ware (BLW)	16	2.9	1.23	3.9
Coarse Domestic (CD)	87	16.0	2.36	7.5
Creamware (CCW)	0	0.0	0	0.0
Mottled ware (MMW)	12	2.2	0.61	1.9
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	127	23.3	6.61	21.1
North Devon (ND)	33	6.1	0.91	2.9
Slipware (SL/SLW)	28	5.1	1.6	5.1
Stoneware (STN)	26	4.8	2.62	8.4
Tin-glaze (TGE)	30	5.5	3.15	10.1
White salt-glaze (WSGS)	5	0.9	0.24	0.8
Other	180	33.1	11.98	38.3
Total	544		31.31	



Table 21 – Stage 1 – Fabric classes

	Sh No	%	eve	%
Blackware (BLW)	135	13.4	7.98	16.0
Coarse Domestic (CD)	161	15.9	6.38	12.8
Creamware (CCW)	0	0.0	0.00	0.0
Mottled ware (MMW)	122	12.1	5.16	10.3
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	3	0.3	0.00	0.0
North Devon (ND)	131	13.0	6.90	13.8
Slipware (SL/SLW)	152	15.0	4.72	9.5
Stoneware (STN)	90	8.9	8.50	17.0
Tin-glaze (TGE)	143	14.1	6.02	12.1
White salt-glaze (WSGS)	5	0.5	0.70	1.4
Other	69	6.8	3.51	7.0
Total	1011		49.87	

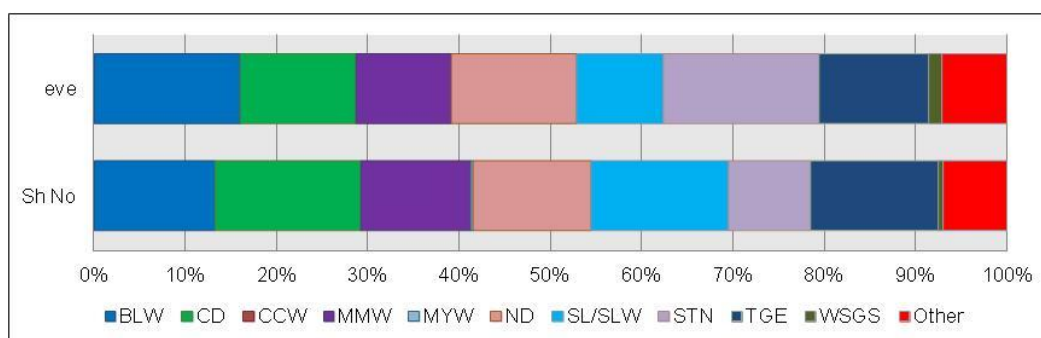


Table 23 – Stage 2 – Fabric classes

Form No	Description	No	Fabrics							
1	Bowl	2	MYWMX	1	NHEREFA7	1				
5	Dish	17	MYWCR	1	NDGF	1	SLRO(YT)	4	SLWP(YB)	1
			SLWB(YB)	6	SLWBW(FIG)	3	SLWP(MB)	1		
6	Butterpot/ straight sided storage	8	CDPF	3	CDRF	1	MALV	1	MPLGL	1
			MPL	2						
7	Pan/ pancheon	12	CDPF	6	CDRF	1	MALV	3	MYWRF	1
			NDGT	1						
9	Cup	6	CIST1	1	CIST2	3	MYWMX	1	MYWRF	1
12	Jar	16	BUFSL(BG)	1	CDPF	3	CDRF	1	MALV	5
			MYWYG	1	NDGT	3	SLWCR(MB)	2		
14	Mug	5	MMWB	1	MYWCR	1	STNWEST	2	STNWEST(U)	1
15	Gorge	2	STNWEST	2						
19	Bartmann bottle	3	STNFRE	3						
26	Chamber pot	3	TGEINC(B)	3						
28	Porringer	1	NDGT	1						
29	Tyg	2	CIST1	2						
34	Strainer/colander	1	MYWCR	1						
37	Flask	2	MART	2						
38	Pipkin	1	CIST1	1						
39	Drug jar	2	TGEINC(P)	1	TGEINC(B)	1				
40	Ointment pot	3	TGEINC(B)	1	TGEINC(P)	1	TGENINC	1		
41	Saggar	1	SAGGAR	1						
42	Handle (unattrib)	8	BLWLHF(U)	1	CIST1	1	CIST2	1	CIST(BG)	1
			MYWCR	3	NDGT	1				
50	Costrel	1	TG	1						
52	Tankard	2	MYWCR	2						
97	Flatware (unspec)	4	BLWCR	1	MYWCR	1	PORCH	1	WSGS(U)	1
98	Hollow ware (unspec)	199	BLWCF(S)	1	BLWCR	1	BLWLHF(S)	1	BLWLHF(U)	9
			BUFSL(BG)	2	CDMARB	1	CDOMIC(U)	2	CDPF	28
			CDRF	10	CDWF	1	CIST	12	CIST1	15
			CIST2	5	CIST(BG)	14	MALV	16	MMWB	3
			MMWP	4	MPL	8	MPLGL	5	MYWCR	21
			MYWP	5	MYWYG	2	NDGF	2	NDGT	7
			NHEREFA7	8	PMU	2	STN2	2	STNNOT(NW)	1
			STNNOT(W)	2	TGEINC(B)	4	TGEINC(P)	1	WSGS(U)	3
			WSGS(D)	1						
99	Unknown	67	BLWLHF(S)	1	CDPF	8	CIST	2	CIST1	11
			CIST2	2	CIST(BG)	2	MALV	8	MMWB	1
			MPL	2	MYWCR	9	MYWP	1	NDGT	2
			NHEREFA7	2	PMU	3	SLRO(YT)	2	SLWCR(MB)	1
			STN2	1	STN3	1	STNFRE	1	STNNOT(W)	1
			TG	1	TGEINC(B)	3	TGEINC(P)	2		
		368								

Table 22 – Stage 1 - Forms

Stage 1

Table 20 shows that the evidence on which to base conclusions for Stage 1 is less full than that for the later Stages. When the Roman and medieval material is excluded, the number of sherds for Stage 1 is not much more than half that for Stage 2, and less than half that for Stage 3. It is also apparent both from Table 20 and from the charts that virtually all of the 'excluded' Roman and medieval sherds are concentrated in Stage 1, specifically in CMD, CATH, and DW7. It is perhaps to be expected that material in earlier contexts will have had longer to become contaminated with residual material, by disturbance and redeposition, than that in later ones. However that may be, on the basis of the evidence available it is possible to make certain observations. The discussion attempts to combine the consideration of forms with the fabrics in which they characteristically appear.

The 'Other' category is very prominent at this Stage, because a large majority of the sherds from the Commandery, and a fairly large number in the other groups, do not belong within the broad classes originally invented for recording (BLW, CD, ND, etc). This category includes some sherds, none very substantial, from the Malvernian industry, up to the mid-17th century very important in Worcester, but after that no longer in production (Morris 1980, Bryant 2004, Vince 1977a). These occur only at the Commandery and in DW7, and the only discernible forms are large utilitarian vessels: storage vessels, jars and pans. We can imagine that, at any rate by the end of this Stage, any vessels from Malvern had been relegated to the remotest corners of the house or replaced as necessary by products from elsewhere.

As far as the role of Malvern products in storage and food preparation is concerned, these replacements appear to have been substantially in what are here called Coarse Domestic fabrics (see Appendix 1). These fabrics, wherever they came from, were used exclusively for the same kind of heavy utilitarian vessels that had been previously bought from Malvern. For example, in the group from the Commandery, of six pans identified, three each are in Malvern and in CD fabrics; perhaps we can see here the process of replacement going on. A smaller contribution to the replacements may have come from other sources, such as the 'Midlands Yellow' industry (the almost complete colander from DW7 – see Fig 19), North Devon, or from the producers of 'Midlands Purple', which was probably simply a highly fired version of one of the versions of Coarse Domestic.

A large component in the 'Other' category is composed of what is here described, perhaps misleadingly, as 'Cistercian', more or less equating to the 'post-medieval red ware' of the local Worcestershire type series (see Appendix 1). Most of these sherds are

in a thin, black-glazed fabric, sometimes overfired to produce a dark red fabric with a 'metallic' finish to the glaze, but a number from the Commandery, while having the same fabric, are finished with a distinctive paler brown glaze. A distinction was attempted in recording some groups between possibly earlier and later types (CIST1 and CIST2), on the basis of how close sherds seemed to be to better potted later Blackwares, but this distinction is probably flimsy. It is striking that Table 22 demonstrates that very few of the sherds can be reconstructed to produce clearly recognisable forms; apart from a putative pipkin, all the recognisable forms are drinking cups or tygs (that is cups with more than one handle), and it is very likely that many of the sherds consigned to the 'Hollow ware (unspec)' category are also from such vessels. The lack of clear forms could arise from the fact that already at this Stage, or at any rate by its end, these vessels had passed out of general use and their remains through a number of deposition events; equally, these forms are relatively fragile and thinly potted, so that they would in any case tend to fragment into unrecognisable pieces (although they are incomplete as well as very broken; there are very few joining sherds). At all events, we should recognise that at this Stage a change in drinking vessels was taking place, involving the replacement of these types by alternatives, perhaps stoneware, but also glass and pewter.

Other contributions to the 'Other' category are very small and include BUFSL(BG) (see Appendix 1), which is probably simply a lighter coloured version of Blackware, Midlands Purple, which should be aligned with Coarse Domestic fabrics, and possible imports from Herefordshire. Two small fragments of Martincamp Type III flasks, a characteristic import of the earlier 17th century (Hurst et al. 1986), also occur at this Stage.

Blackware, as described in the Type Series (Appendix 1) is not a great presence at this Stage, largely for the methodological reason that it is distinguished chronologically from its supposed antecedent, 'Cistercian', the latter being used as an indicator of earlier date. However, there seems no doubt that the kinds of 'Cistercian' fabrics discussed above were in some sense the precursors of the later Blackware tradition, although the change, which was no doubt gradual, also involved a change from a concentration on drinking vessels to other forms, related to the change in drinking habits referred to above (Barker 1986).

If Blackware is only just emerging at this Stage, Midlands Yellow wares are virtually confined to it. This is hardly surprising in view of the fact that it has been taken as an indicator of relatively early date. Nevertheless, it is in fact only present in any quantity in three of these four groups, and not in any others, and it constitutes over 20% of the total amount of pottery in Stage 1, by either sherd count or eve. It accounts for easily the

largest contribution of any broad type to the total even, and for the largest number of sherds. Although it seems to have received comparatively little specific attention in the literature, it does in chronological terms appear to be associated with 17th century rather than 18th century deposits (Goode 1984, Woodfield 1964). It seems to have gone some of the way in later 17th century Worcester towards filling the ceramic gap left by the cessation of the Malvern industry. Even in this quite small sample, there is a range of functional forms: a bowl, a dish, a pan, a jar and a colander, and a number of drinking vessels (see Figs 19, 29, 32), so that we may imagine yellow ware vessels in most places in the house where ceramic vessels were used. Three almost complete vessels stand out in the collection: a colander from DW7 (a form not included in Woodfield's typology), a handled jar or jug from the Cathedral, and a jar in fabric MYWYG, also from DW7, both of the latter similar to Woodfield's Type H. But out of 52 families, there are still only ten which are identifiable as particular forms, so that the assemblage is very fragmented. Except for the highly-fired version (MYWYG), it is quite friable, the yellow glaze subject to crazing and easily detached. A number of the drinking vessels, and of the unidentified sherds, are sooted on the exterior, giving the impression of having been stood near a fire to heat the contents; some damage and losses as a result of thermal stress might therefore be expected.

In terms of quantity, Table 21 shows that the amount of yellow ware is roughly equal to the combined total of North Devon wares, slipwares, stoneware and tin-glazed wares; the sherd counts for these four classes are almost equal. Although the quantities are small, this may give some indication of the relative importance of these different types in the later 17th century. .

Coarse, 'gravel-tempered' pots from North Devon were reaching Worcester at this Stage, and there are some storage jars and a pan here, from Sansome Street, as well as uncharacterised sherds. Again, there is evidence of sooting on the exterior of some of these vessels. There are also some fragments from a 'gravel-free' sgraffito dish, the rest of which is in another group allocated to Stage 2; sgraffito wares were a small part of the output of the North Devon potters (Allan et al. 2005), so that it can be no surprise to find that they are a rare occurrence in Worcester. The main contribution of North Devon in Stage 1 appears to be a fairly minor addition to the range of coarse housewares for use in the kitchen and storeroom. On the admittedly rather sparse evidence for this Stage, there does not appear to be any tableware or drinking vessels.

In the case of slipwares, stoneware and tin-glazed wares we are encountering a more specialised market. Slipwares are confined to dishes of two distinct kinds. In the first

place there is a small number in the red or orange bodied wares, with trailed yellow slip decoration, of which there are more complete examples in Stage 2, and which follow a tradition akin to the 'Metropolitan' slipware of London and the south east. But the majority have the familiar appearance of trailed and/or feathered, or marbled, yellow slip on a dark background, with a buff or cream coloured fabric. Even small sherds of this type can be confidently assumed to be from press-moulded dishes, usually with a 'pie-crust' rim. One small sherd from Sansome Street looks as if it might come from a 'figured' dish of the kind illustrated by Gooder from Temple Balsall (Gooder 1984, Figs 25, 26). Given their ease of recognition, and their obvious decorative presence, it is hard to be sure whether the prominence of slipware dishes in the archaeological record matches their real prominence in 17th century Worcester households, but they must at least have been very visible. It is often assumed that Staffordshire was the source of both kinds of slipware, and this may well be the case. Both kinds are attested from that source (Celoria & Kelly 1973, eg Dawson 1997, Barker & Crompton 2007, Cooper 1968), but Bristol, which was linked to Worcester by the well used trade route formed by the Severn, also produced what are here called SLW slipwares (eg Price 2005:59-114, Jackson et al. 1982).

When we turn to stoneware, the only presence in Stage 1, in terms of recognisable forms, is from German imports. There are at least three of the ubiquitous 'bellarmine' or bartmann bottles, a characteristic import of the earlier 17th century (Green 1999: 3, Holmes 1951), unfortunately none complete enough to show the bearded mask on the neck. One, however, has two armorial medallions (see Fig 29). The other source of imported stoneware represented at this Stage is the Westerwald, and there are three mugs and a gorge which certainly derive from this source. However, the gorge and two of the mugs are from the base of the DW7 deposit, which is probably later than the rest of the fill of the cesspit ; the only certain example is from Sansome Street. But there can be little doubt that imports from the Westerwald were reaching Worcester in the later 17th century, if only in fairly small quantities. They must have been attractive as being somewhat exotic in their foreign origin and their colourful appearance, and had no English competitors, despite experimentation by John Dwight at Fulham (Green 1999: 100, Gaimster 1997a: 252). The only Westerwald forms found in any of the groups in Worcester, from this or later Stages, are drinking vessels (mugs, tankards and gorges).

By the end of this Stage it is just possible that English stoneware products might have begun to reach Worcester. Dwight's Fulham pottery was in production, and, in spite of his vigorous attempts in the 1690s to stop the infringement of his patent, by 1700 stoneware was being produced in London, at Southwark, in Staffordshire, Nottingham, and in Bristol (Hildyard 1985, Green 1999: 4, Jackson 2003). Some of the other miscellaneous

fragments of stoneware from this Stage might conceivably come from one of these centres; a few sherds have the characteristic appearance of Nottingham stoneware, and an undecorated sherd from the Commandery, although it looks superficially like Westerwald, is not of the usual high quality from that source, and might be English.

Tin-glazed wares only occur in three forms: chamber pots, so-called 'drug jars' and 'ointment pots'. But the chamber pots come from the base of DW7, connected by joins to DW8, and are therefore probably later than the upper fill of DW7, so that there are in fact no unequivocal chamber pots from Stage 1. A small sherd from the Commandery might qualify, but is very uncertain. Plain tin-glazed chamber pots with this form were, however, in circulation in the late 17th century (Tyler et al. 2008:74, Archer 2005:86), and there is no reason to suppose that they did not reach Worcester. One of the 'drug jars' is also from the base of DW7, the other certain one an almost complete example from the Cathedral (see Fig 32). Their decoration with quick brush-strokes, lines and dots in blue attest to their utilitarian character, in contrast to the careful and sometimes elaborate decoration of plates and bowls, for example in the kiln waste from Bristol illustrated by Price (2005). A small sherd from the Commandery also exhibits these characteristic features. These are very common tin-glazed products, and their description as 'drug jars' is a rather unhelpful convention. Similarly, 'ointment pots', though no doubt suitable for the storage and sale of apothecaries' remedies, could be used for other things. They are also ubiquitous; Price (2005: 80) records 'several hundred' from the waste at Temple Back alone.

'Coarse Domestic' (CD) fabrics have already been referred to; they account for the largest number of sherds apart from Midlands Yellow wares, although the proportion of the eves they represent is lower, because of the large number of sherds (65 out of 87) which are not recognisable as belonging to a particular form. The Type Series (Appendix 1) lists a number of variants of CD fabrics, but by far the most common are those described as CDPF and CDRF, or versions which are respectively 'iron-poor' or 'iron-rich', to use the nomenclature adopted by Ratkai for the similar pottery from the Bull Ring in Birmingham (Patrick & Ratkai 2009: 103). The sherds of 'Midlands Purple' ought probably also to be associated with the CD fabrics; they are almost like coarse purple or dark grey stoneware and seem in many cases to be highly-fired versions of an iron-rich CD fabric. Unsurprisingly, the forms which are recognisable in CD and MPL are threefold: 'butterpot' type vessels, that is large, straight-sided, more or less cylindrical pots; 'jars'; and pans or pancheons. Not all of the first type are butterpots in the strict sense, although the near-complete example from the Cathedral looks close to the tall cylindrical vessels mentioned in the literature (Brears 1971, Egan 1992). Simple cylindrical storage pots with rims

suitable for sealing with cloth or waxed paper, tied down with string, are one of the most unchanging ceramic forms from the 17th century onwards, and we may expect to encounter them in all Stages (see Figs 21, 31). 'Jar' is an even more elastic term, but can be taken to refer to a relatively tall vessel with a barrel shape, often with a seating for a lid (although ceramic lids which would fit them are conspicuous by their absence – wooden lids do not survive). Pans may be over-represented in the list, simply because their fragments, even body sherds, are more easily recognisable than other forms. They are possibly even more long-lasting as a form than 'butterpots'. In contrast to storage vessels, they are the essential working vessels of the kitchen, used, according to Brears (1971: 248), for 'general baking or washing purposes', and surviving well into the 20th century. They do not seem very well adapted for washing, and the kind of washing meant by this definition is not clear, but could presumably mean the washing of cooking ingredients, or laundry, or 'washing up', or even the person (a 'sanitary' function). This should remind us, however, that wooden vessels, of which there is ample evidence from household inventories, played a major part in washing, certainly the major part where laundry was concerned. Wooden tubs and barrels of various sizes have also to be added to the means by which all kinds of substances for the household were stored.

A few sherds of Mottled Ware (MMW) make their appearance at this Stage, confined almost entirely to Sansome Street, and including a mug of a familiar type with bands of rilling (cf Gooder 1984: figs 13 & 16a).

It has to be admitted that the above observations for Stage 1 are grounded on less than firm foundations, which further work may call in question. The quantity of sherds is smaller than in the other Stages, the dating of the groups is more tentative, and the bottom layer of DW7 may be later in date. But on the basis of the available evidence we can postulate a number of general conclusions:

- The mid-to-late 17th century was characterised by the phasing out of the products of the Malvernian industry and their replacement by a variety of alternatives. Insofar as these products had related to storage and food preparation, these alternatives included the fabrics here described as Coarse Domestic wares, some contribution from North Devon wares and 'Midlands Purple', and Midlands Yellow;
- Finer wares at this Stage, at least as far as drinking vessels are concerned, were predominantly in what is here described as Cistercian wares, that is mostly dark-glazed, thinly potted red to orange wares used for cups and 'tygs';

- Midlands Yellow wares made a significant contribution to the ceramic repertoire of later 17th century Worcester; a variety of forms is apparent, relating both to the kitchen and back offices of the house (storage and food preparation) and at least to drinking if not to eating. If we turn to the other 'functional categories' employed when considering inventory data (see Chapter 6), Brears and Woodfield both illustrate candlesticks in this fabric (Woodfield 1964: Fig 1, Type A, Brears 1971: 34), but no certain candlestick in any fabric has emerged from the present study in any Stage;
- Imports are more or less restricted to German stoneware 'bartmann' bottles and, perhaps toward the end of the century, decorated drinking mugs from the Westerwald. As might be expected, there is no certain evidence of stoneware from English sources. Suggestions of other minor imports are contributed by two sherds from Martincamp flasks, from northern France, and a single small sherd of porcelain from the Cathedral;
- There are no plates or other tableware (for example salts or saucers) used for eating as opposed to drinking, but slipware dishes are common, and can be imagined in use for bringing food to the table, to be consumed off other materials, notably pewter or wood.

Stage 2

As already observed, the total number of sherds for Stage 2 is almost twice that for Stage 1. The distribution of fabric classes, shown in Table 23, is remarkably even, as between Blackwares, Coarse Domestic, mottled ware, North Devon wares, slipwares, stonewares and tin-glazed wares. The proportions by sherd count and eves are very similar, except that the relative positions of slipware and stoneware are reversed.

The disappearance of Midlands Yellow wares is suspiciously complete. In part, of course, this is simply caused by its adoption as an indicator of early date, following assertions that its currency had come to an end by about 1700 (Woodfield 1964). Nevertheless, it is still almost completely absent from all eleven groups, except for DW7, the Cathedral and Sansome Street. It may be that its appearance in these groups is in some way anomalous, and that further study might show it not to have been as widespread in the 17th century as suggested above, but for present purposes it is assumed that it had a noticeable place in Worcester households which did not last much longer than the beginning of the 18th century. Its rather fragile nature, except for the higher-fired version, perhaps counted against it in competition with more robust Blackwares or CD products.

Form No	Description	No	Fabrics							
1	Bowl	16	BUFSL(BG)	1	BLWCR	1	NDGT	3	NHEREFA7	2
			TGEINC(B)	7	TGEINC(P)	2				
4	Plate	4	TGEINC(B)	3	TGEINC(P)	1				
5	Dish	39	NDGF	4	PMU	1	SLBPF	1	SLBY	2
			SLRO	1	SLRO(YT)	9	SLWB	2	SLWB(YB)	8
			SLW(YB)	1	SLWM(YB)	7	SLWP(YB)	3		
6	Butterpot/ straight sided storage	6	BLWLHF(S)	5	CDPF	1				
7	Pan/ pancheon	18	CDMARB	6	CDPF	1	CDRF	2	MALV	1
			NDGT	7	NHEREFA7	1				
9	Cup	1	SLWP(JW)	1						
12	Jar	13	BLWLHF(U)	1	CDMARB	1	CDPF	6	CDRF	2
			NDGT	2	SLWCR(MB)	1				
14	Mug	24	MMWB	2	STN2(DB)	10	STN2	3	STNWEST	8
			STNWEST(U)	1						
15	Gorge	1	STNWEST	1						
26	Chamber pot	11	BLWLHF(U)	3	NDGT	1	TGEINC(B)	6	TGEINC(P)	1
28	Porringer	2	MMWB	1	NDGT	1				
29	Tyg	1	CIST2	1						
38	Pipkin	1	NDGT	1						
39	Drug jar	4	TGEINC(B)	3	TGEINC(P)	1				
42	Handle (unattrib)	9	CIST	4	MMWB	4	STNFRE	1		
43	Lid (unattrib)	1	WSGS(U)	1						
51	Baking dish	5	MMWB	4	MMWP	1				
53	Loving cup	1	MMWB	1						
97	Flatware (unspec)	1	SLBY	1						
98	Hollow ware (unspec)	123	BUFSL(BG)	3	BLWLHF(S)	2	BLWLHF(U)	24	CDMARB	3
			CDPF	4	CDRF	8	CIST	12	MALV	3
			MMW	2	MMWB	12	MMWP	6	NDGT	9
			NHEREFA7	6	PMU	10	SLWB	1	SLWB(JW)	1
			SLWB(MB)	1	STN2	3	STNFRE	2	STNWEST	1
			STNNOT(W)	2	TGEINC(B)	6	TGEINC(P)	1	WSGS(U)	1
99	Unknown	23	CDPF	2	BLWLHF(U)	1	MALV	3	MMWB	3
			MYW	1	MYWP	1	MYWMX	1	NHEREFA7	2
			PMU	4	SLW	1	SLWB(MB)	3	WSGS(U)	1
		304								

Table 24 – Stage 2 - Forms

Blackwares assume a place in Stage 2 which continues well into the 18th century, and beyond, as a staple of the kitchen and storeroom. The use of the single description 'Blackware', however, conceals a number of variations in fabrics, the most obvious being between hard fired red fabrics and cream coloured fabrics which are essentially the same as those used for mottled wares. The second could perhaps have been separated as 'Slipped Blackware', or 'slip-coated ware' (see, for example, Gooder 1984: 168, Patrick & Ratkai 2009: 104, neither of which is very clear about what precisely is meant), or some such category, but the fact remains that they are black wares, perhaps a minor offshoot of the output from the makers of mottled wares. Blackwares 'proper', that is hard fired iron

rich fabrics with or without an obvious slip coating before the application of an overall glaze, seem to have two primary uses, for storage and for chamber pots. In the first role they are close to what has been called Midlands Purple, and it may be that by this Stage the two are essentially the same, or that MPL has been 'subsumed' into Blackware, at least when a vessel which appears to be MPL has been glazed. But, as indicated above, MPL can also appear to be a harder fired version of a CD fabric. A bowl and a jar in this fabric type can be added to five straight sided storage vessels, or butterpots, and three chamber pots. The latter seem at this Stage (and the next) to be the main competition for the plain white tin-glazed chamber pots which become ubiquitous in the early 18th century. There is a marked difference in the shapes that the potters from each tradition thought appropriate for chamber pots; some blackware examples are more upright and straight sided, the tin-glazed 'standard' product being much more bulbous in shape (see Figs 17, 20, 21). The tin-glazed standard is the one which became the norm in the 18th century and later.

Coarse Domestic types appear in the same limited number of forms as in Stage 1. Except for one 'butterpot', they are exclusively in two forms: at least nine pans and the same number of jars. Little more needs to be said at this Stage than for Stage 1; the fabrics do not change and neither do the broad classes of forms in which this long-lasting type is found. It should be remembered that the forms nomenclature used in this study (see Fig 6) does not always agree with that sometimes used elsewhere. A jar form which seems to be popular at this Stage, with a barrel shape and simple downturned rim, in a range of sizes (see Fig 20), has parallels from Sidbury (Morris 1980: 251, No 224), but in that context it is called a 'butter pot' and labelled 'Staffordshire late coarse ware', although on what evidence is unclear. What would in this study be called a butterpot, Morris labels a 'cylindrical jar' (1980: 251, No 223).

This Stage is that in which ceramic products from the North Devon potteries around Bideford and Barnstaple make their most noticeable impact on Worcester. With the exception of a notable group of sgraffito dishes, their contribution follows the indication provided in Stage 1, namely mainly in the provision of coarseware storage and kitchen vessels. A significant flow of imports, presumably carried by sea and river from their source, seems to have reached Worcester in the decades either side of 1700. The Type Series of forms in Allan et al (2005) gives some guidance as to the range to be expected. The butterpot, in the cylindrical form adopted here, is not included in this range, but pans, some of them very large and heavy, are present, including one with a horizontal handle on the rim (Fig 20), similar to one from Bideford (Allan et al. 2005: Fig 14). There is a

probable porringer (cf Allan et al. 2005: Type 5) and three vessels interpreted as bowls, one or two of which might in fact be porringers of this kind, a view encouraged by the presence of external sooting on one of them. External sooting is also present on a pipkin (cf Allan et al. : Types 4A-C). Two jars, one with a lid seating similar to one in Allan et al Fig 13 (nos 222-3) complete the forms associated with the kitchen and storeroom, and the picture is rounded off with a chamber pot, conforming to Allan et al Type 7C , one of a very few chamber pots in any Stage not in either Blackware or tin-glazed ware (see Figs 18, 19, 22, 30). Some of the North Devon sherds from Sansome Street were also sooted on the exterior, so that it may be that we are seeing here the use of vessels for something nearer to cooking proper than merely heating by the fire. Perhaps this fabric, with its inclusion of substantial amounts of large quartz grains, was found to be robust enough to withstand this kind of treatment.

The group of at least three 'gravel-free' North Devon dishes are mostly from DW8, but with one joining sherd from DW6 and three more from DW7 (see Fig 30). Other examples of exactly the same pattern are illustrated by Grant (2005), from finds from South Wales and Dublin, and a very similar version from Virginia (pp 116, 156, 172). They are all of the 'Six Petals' design included by Allan et al (2005: Fig 16) in their 'typology' of common North Devon sgraffito patterns. It is one of three geometrical patterns in that typology the framework of which is executed with a pair of compasses; the hole made by the fixed arm of the compasses is easily visible. A sherd from a similar dish was found in the Bideford waste assemblage, but the three patterns are common in assemblages including North Devon sgraffito wares, and cannot be assigned to a particular pottery (Allan et al. 2005: 189). Two of the three examples in the Worcester group are identical; the other is almost the same, but has minor variations in the decorative scheme. One is substantially complete, weighing almost 1.5kg, the others much less so. It is tempting to suppose that these three dishes constitute a 'set' and were displayed on a dresser until thrown away at some date in the early 18th century, when such items had come to be seen as old-fashioned. They certainly would have struck an exotic note in the household of which they formed part, and perhaps have been the subject of pride in the owners and comment from visitors. Grant (2005:131) implies that Worcester would in the late 17th century have been towards the extremity of the commercial distribution of all kinds of North Devon wares, but they occur at Hereford and Gloucester (Vince 2002), and a single sherd has been found in Pershore (Vince 1977b). It is reasonable to postulate that for a period around 1700 a set of decorative sgraffito dishes was a desirable item in a Worcester household.

Mottled wares have already been mentioned in connection with 'slipped blackwares', and they were certainly being produced by the same Staffordshire potters (Gooder 1984: 169, 173). In spite of their equal contribution to the quantities of the various broad classes of wares, there is a surprising lack of variety in the forms represented. The most common form is that described as 'baking/serving dish' (form 51 in Figure 6), a shallow, more or less straight sided dish which comes in a range of sizes (see Figs 21, 22, 31). Sometimes the sides are somewhat flared. All of the five examples come from City Arcade, and are therefore probably to be associated with the King's Head inn. To anticipate, the two examples from Stage 3 come from the Broad Street group, which was also interpreted as coming from an inn, so that this may be a specialised form of serving dish. Some similar mottled ware forms from Temple Balsall and Hereford, which did not come from inns, have handles (Gooder 1984: fig 14, Vince 1998: fig 10), and another, not in mottled ware and rather shallower, from the late 18th century deposit at Ansley, which did, is described as a 'pie dish' (Melton 2005: Fig 2, no 3). A waster in mottled ware in this form, with a handle, was reported from the kiln site at Albion Square, Hanley (Celoria & Kelly 1973: 74, no 194). This form does not appear in Worcester in any other fabric, so that, whatever these dishes were used for, the mottled ware potters seem to have captured much of the market for them. None of the Worcester examples has a handle. Otherwise, in mottled ware there is at this Stage only a porringer (Figs 18, 27 - a form described by Gooder (1984: Fig 12) as a cup) two mugs and a vessel with flared sides and one surviving handle, which could be some kind of drinking vessel; it looks like a simple mottled ware version of a two-handled loving cup, but could perhaps be a jug (Fig 22)

Slipwares continue to be divided between the yellow-slipped red/orange SL types and the quite distinct SLW types usually with trailed and feathered slip decoration. The latter types, although originating in the 17th century, had a long period of popularity in the 18th; the former are assumed to have lost their place quite soon after 1700. Forms also continue to be overwhelmingly dishes, with the addition of a small number of other pieces, including two vessels in what is here characterised as 'jewelled' slipware, elaborately decorated with dots, dashes and other patterns in different coloured slips. One of these is a cup from City Arcade with decoration in cream and dark brown slip on an olive green background (Figs 22, 33), the other the base of an apparently straight sided vessel (tankard?) from DW8, with similar decoration, in yellow and dark brown on a lighter brown ground (Fig 30). Both show a 'ladder' pattern, made from parallel lines of dark slip joined by strokes of lighter slip, which appears on two sherds from Hanley in a kiln dump dated to about 1690-1714 (Celoria & Kelly 1973: 71, nos 146, 149). Another 'non-dish' is a small handled jar with trailed and feathered slip decoration amounting to an almost

'marbled' finish (Figs 20, 31). It is strongly mirrored in shape and decoration by a similar jar from Temple Balsall, labelled a 'honey pot' and dated to the 'late 17th century' (Gooder 1984: Fig 30, no 223). There are also some fragments of another hollow ware vessel, sooted on the base, whose shape cannot be determined, and a few other small sherds interpreted as hollow ware.

The SL dishes are almost all from group DW6, together with two from City Arcade. One from each of these groups is not strictly slipware at all, since there is no trailed slip decoration, simply a plain red/orange dish, but they undoubtedly belong to the same ceramic category. To judge from the instances where there is enough of the dish remaining, these dishes are very similar in shape to the thrown, flanged slipware dishes illustrated by Kelly (1969: 12) from the Hill Top site in Burslem, containing wasters from local manufacture. However, none of the complete decorative schemes he illustrates (1969: 21-44) is replicated in the Worcester examples. Since the Hill Top assemblage may well represent wasters from a single firing, by one potter, this is hardly surprising; there were no doubt other potters working in the same tradition using other patterns. The only partial element in any of the schemes which is replicated is a wavy trailed line on the flanged rim, a common enough feature in such designs. One of the dishes has a 'net-like' pattern in the centre, and another a 'sunburst', while the shoulder patterns include dots and interlace (Figs 18, 22, 27, 28). It is instructive to compare the standard sizes for the dishes in Kelly's assemblage with the Worcester dishes. He gives four sizes (1969:44), alleged to conform to the sizes of the ring saggars used to fire the wares: 7½" (191mm), 10" (254mm), 13½" (343mm) and 15½" (394mm); a large majority are 13½" in diameter. These sizes agree quite well with the diameter estimates for the five Worcester dishes which have enough rim to be measured: one at 180mm, two at 240-250mm, and two at 340mm.

The vast majority of the 21 SLW dishes, with variations on the 'standard' decoration of trailed lines of pale slip over a dark background, either plain, 'feathered' or 'jiggled' to produce a marbled effect, are from the City Arcade group, with some small sherds from DW8. Even more of these dishes appear in Stage 3, and a detailed consideration of their characteristics will be postponed until that Stage. It is quite clear, however, that they constituted a very visible element in the ceramic repertoire of some Worcester households, and were a long-lasting feature of that repertoire. It is hard to believe that they were simply for show. They must, whatever their visual appeal, have been in everyday use for serving at the table (the large group from City Arcade suggests that this was the case in the King's Head).

There are small indications of other types of slipwares not easily accommodated within the two main categories. DW6 includes the rim of a very heavy dish which looks like a 'slipped CD' fabric, with a yellow trailed pattern including a wavy line on the rim, very proud of the surface, on a brown background, and another with a trailed pattern on the rim consisting of arcs of yellow and dark brown slip on a lighter brown ground, but with a buff body. A third sherd, from City Arcade, in a pink fabric, has dark and light brown trailing over a cream slip covering the interior surface of the dish. The last of these has affinities with products of the Albion Square kiln (Celoria & Kelly 1973: 69, 70, 79), and serves only to reiterate the putative dominance of the north Staffordshire producers by this Stage. But the possibility that some of these wares might have derived from other sources, such as Bristol or even Herefordshire, cannot be excluded.

Stoneware in stage 2 has settled into a pattern which persists into Stage 3, by which it supplies only drinking vessels, almost exclusively mugs. By this Stage these can be clearly divided between English and imported Westerwald products, and a basic working assumption can be made that any stoneware that is not Westerwald and is not residual must be English. Almost all of the English mugs are instances of what begins to look like a 'standard' product: a brown mug, with a grey fabric having multiple black inclusions, an 'orange-peel' salt-glaze on the upper part, broad 'rilling' at the base, and the exterior base dipped in a white slip or 'engobe' (see Figs 16, 21, 23, 32). In the Type Series the type is listed as STN2(DB); however, many of the sherds recorded under STN2, without the suffix for a 'dipped base', probably also belong to this kind of vessel, but have no lower part left to be joined to them. The very thin rim invariably has at least one finely turned line on the exterior, sometimes two. The colour of the fabric, the colour of the brown finish, the smoothness or roughness of the salt-glazed upper parts, and the interior appearance of the mug, all vary considerably, no doubt because of variations in raw materials and in firing conditions, but it is clear that a standard product is intended. There appear to be three sizes: a large majority 80-90mm in diameter (3¼" - 3½"), a few about 100mm (4") and fewer still about 70mm (2¾"), approximating to pint, quart and half-pint volumes respectively. Although there are slight variations in shape, the form is basically cylindrical, the rim diameter being very similar to the base. All of the examples (between 10 and 16) from this Stage are from the City Arcade group, except for one mug in group DW6 which is of a similar form and fabric, but without the dipped base. Since group BRD1 in stage 3 contains a huge number of these items, it looks as if we are dealing here with tavern mugs, although there is not a single example in either Stage of the ale-measure mark which was supposedly required by the Act of 1700 to be applied to all vessels used to sell ale and beer (Bimson 1970).

Curiously, in apparent contrast to their English counterparts, the German potters in the Westerwald must have been made aware of the requirements of the Act and were alive to the decorative possibilities offered by the mark, although even they seem only to have regarded it as one element among others to be included in their decorative repertoire. One of the mugs in the City Arcade group has a complete crowned 'GR' monogram (Fig 33), and another the edge of a cartouche which appears to be a similar feature, although if it is it could of course belong to any time after 1700. Only one Westerwald mug from Sansome Street can certainly be attributed to Stage 1, the three vessels from DW7 all joining sherds from DW8, so that we may tentatively postulate that Westerwald products were a relatively late arrival in Worcester, beginning in the late 17th century. They had clearly made some impact in England by the 1670s, when John Dwight was experimenting with copies at Fulham (Green 1999:Plate V, Gaimster 1997a:252), but there is only a single small late 17th century sherd in the huge assemblage of stoneware from Nonsuch Palace, which was demolished in the 1680s (Hildyard 2005:99). On the other hand, in port cities such as Exeter, elaborately decorated early 17th century imports are not uncommon (eg Allan 1984:181).

Three kinds of decoration can be discerned on these vessels. The mug from City Arcade with the GR monogram illustrates a type with shapes outlined by drawing a sharp point through the clay, and then filling the resulting 'reserves' with blue colour (or, in one case the reverse, producing grey shapes against a blue background). All four City Arcade examples are of this kind. Another broad type relies on applied pads of clay (for example rosettes, sunbursts, tulips), linked together by trails made with a small comb-like tool, all against the usual blue background (Figs 23, 28, 29). The single gorge is of this kind. A third type is only represented by small sherds, but involves small shapes surrounded by tiny globules of clay (Fig 29), a pattern which must be the result of rouletting; the shapes are infilled with colour, often including manganese purple. All three types are accompanied by horizontal coloured cordons below the rim and above the base. The single uncoloured mug is of the second type, identical in fabric and decorative style to the coloured version, the only distinguishing feature being the absence of colour. The first type belongs to a development which led to decoration becoming 'increasingly schematic, relying on a limited range of incised foliage, scrolls, animals and birds, the outline filled with cobalt-blue' (Gaimster 1997a:252). Noel-Hume (2001:105) implies that this development was already taking place by the end of the 17th century. All of these vessels have a characteristic inward-sloping rim, adapted to fitting a hinged metal lid, for attaching which there is always a hole pierced in the top of the handle. None of the Worcester examples, however, shows any sign of actually having had a lid fitted..

Tin-glazed wares increase in quantity in this Stage, especially considering that some of the sherds considered under Stage 1 were from the base deposit of DW7, which is probably later in date than the rest of the fill. They account for about 14% of sherds, more than any other broad type except slipwares and Coarse Domestic. We may thus envisage these wares taking an increasingly secure place in the household as the century progresses. They still supply chamber pots and the characteristic jars and pots conventionally associated with the apothecary's trade but no doubt having wider domestic and other uses. To these familiar vessels are added bowls of various kinds and the first plates to appear. The evidence for the latter is as yet not very substantial; there is only a maximum of four, of which two are represented by single sherds and one by two. One of the single sherds is decorated with a floral pattern in multiple colours (blue, yellow, green and brown), a very rare occurrence (Fig 31); only two other small sherds from any Stage provide any suggestion of decoration other than in blue and sometimes purple. There is, however, an almost complete plate decorated with a Chinese figure in a landscape, well known as the 'Chinaman-in-grasses' scene, executed in blue but with outlines and 'grass' in purple (Fig 28). Archer (1997:204) illustrates three plates with similar decoration, all dated to the period 1680-1700, and assigned to, in one case, 'London (probably Norfolk House)' and in the others, 'London or Brislington or Bristol'. The earliest dated piece of this kind (1650, and possibly continental rather than English) was found at Nonsuch (Biddle 2005:72), and dated examples 'become frequent between 1679 and 1699' (Archer 1997:257), after which they tail off, the latest dating from 1711. None of Archer's examples exhibit the same rim decoration as the Worcester plate, however. This consists of 'kidney' shapes in blue linked in a chain-like pattern with, in this case, purple arcs. Similar rim patterns recur on some plates in Stage 3. Some rims of this kind occur in the Temple Back assemblage and that from Limekiln Lane, both production sites in Bristol (Price 2005: 66, Jackson et al. 1991: 107, 110). But it is also clear that it was 'a very popular and long-lasting design', both in Bristol and London (Price 2005:65). The river trading connection between Bristol and Worcester makes Bristol more likely than London as an origin for this plate, but no more than that. It should always be remembered that there is plenty of evidence for the mobility of tin-glaze potters and pot painters at this period, and attributions based only on style of decoration will always be suspect (Jackson et al. 1991: 112).

Tin-glazed bowls are of two kinds, one quite homogeneous, the other very varied. The first is represented by a number in the City Arcade group; plain, undecorated bowls with a slightly everted rim and a footring, several more of which appear in Stage 3, from the Broad Street group (Fig 21). It is suggestive that in both cases these groups appear to

come from inns and to be found with plain tin-glazed chamber pots. For this kind of bowl a better description might be 'basin', with its implication of use for washing and the possibility that these vessels were provided, together with the chamber pots, for guests in the rooms of the inn. They appear to conform to a fairly standard size: diameter between 210-250mm (average 230mm, or about 9") and base 80-90mm (about 3½"). The Temple Balsall assemblage contains two vessels of this kind and size (not from an inn) which Gooder in fact calls basins (1984:164). They were doubtless routine and everyday products of the tin-glaze potteries, and parallels can be found without difficulty in the literature on production sites (Tyler et al. 2008:73, Jackson et al. 1991:100, Bloice 1971:122). It would be difficult to be certain about their origin as between Bristol and London.

The four decorated bowls, all with a pattern in cobalt blue, are very different from each other (see Fig 28). One has an undulating 'frilly' rim, is very thick, and the glaze has a markedly blue tinge; it is very different in style and colouring from any other example of tin-glazed ware. Price (2005:76) illustrates two bowls with undulating rims from Bristol, but neither seems very close to this example. Another has the 'arc and chain' rim pattern already mentioned, and found on a similar bowl rim from Limekiln Lane (Jackson et al. 1991: 110). A third has flowers and other elements (a vase?) in the base, vertical panels of decoration on the sides, deriving ultimately from Chinese *kraaksporselein* originals, and hastily drawn circles on the exterior. It is easy to suppose that these vessels, and other decorated pieces such as the 'Chinaman-in-grasses' plate, were prized possessions in the Worcester households of which they formed part, viewed quite differently from the very functional, plain basins and chamber pots, and displayed in some way.

Four more 'drug jars' continue from Stage 1 the minor contribution made by this form of tin-glazed ware. By this date the shape and decoration of these 'small storage vessels', as they should more properly be called, had evolved from the earlier more elaborate, more carefully turned, sometimes polychrome successors of continental European originals into a familiar late stereotype, characterised by a cylindrical form and simple horizontal lines, chevrons and dots, with occasional interlace in blue and occasional purple (Archer 2005:92). There are none of the smaller, undecorated, 'ointment pots' at this Stage. The multifarious uses to which these pots could have been put in any household can be easily imagined. Even if they had been originally supplied by an apothecary, perhaps containing some potion or treatment, they would have continued to be used for other purposes around the house, rather like the metal tobacco tins used in the 20th century for storing everything from drawing pins to wood screws. The other

characteristic form of tin-glazed ware, the plain white chamber pot, is represented by seven examples.

Five sherds at this Stage herald the arrival of white salt-glazed stoneware, one of the most significant ceramic innovations of the 18th century. All five probably come from the same vessel and consist of a finely-turned lid with a pointed knob, a base, and sherds with faceted surfaces, similar to an example illustrated by Noel-Hume (2001:200). They may be from a teapot, in which case this is the first appearance of tea or coffee equipment (Fig 33).

There remain in Stage 2 a few residual Midlands Yellow, 'Cistercian' and Malvernian sherds, and a few identified as from Herefordshire (equated to Vince 1985, types A7d & A7e). If the identification of the latter is correct, the sparsity of pottery from this source (about 2% of the total number of sherds for Stages 1 and 2 combined) throws some light on the relative importance of the various sources from which Worcester households drew their supplies, and of the trading routes which supplied them. Although the Herefordshire potteries, for example in the Deerfold forest, are less than 50 miles from Worcester, their products are far rarer than those from North Devon, over 100 miles away, Bristol, or north Staffordshire, both over 60 miles. The relative ease and economy of river transport is clearly a large factor in this equation, but other factors must not be forgotten, primarily the ability to supply high quality and innovative products to a discerning urban market. Local Herefordshire producers could not hope to compete with the others in this respect, either by way of quality or quantity. They could supply basic domestic products, but it does not seem have been on the whole worthwhile to transport such heavy and inexpensive items over the roads to the west of the Severn to compete with whoever was producing CD or Blackware vessels.

It is possible to see a number of possible themes emerging in Stage 2:

- Blackwares increase in frequency, partly taking the place of yellow wares in supplying everyday objects such as jars, pans and chamber pots;
- North Devon wares also play an increasing part in supplying such objects, and decorated dishes in sgraffito style enjoy some limited currency;
- Coarse Domestic wares continue to supply pans and jars for the kitchen and buttery;
- Mottled wares appear for the first time to contribute to table wares, primarily in the form of shallow serving dishes; drinking mugs, common elsewhere, do not seem very prolific in Worcester;

- Various kinds of slipware are quite prominent at this Stage, but confined almost entirely to dishes, whether of the red/orange, yellow slip-trailed variety or the longer lived yellow and brown, press-moulded, pie-crust edged type; both of these would provide a colourful display but were no doubt also used for practical purposes to contain food at the table;
- This Stage sees the larger scale introduction of English stonewares, in the form of drinking vessels, mugs and tankards, and the continuance of a small but established influx of imported Westerwald drinking mugs;
- Tin-glazed wares are also more important than in Stage 1, and now include some wares decorated with cobalt-blue designs, to add to the plain wares and the drug jars and ointment pots of Stage 1; there is some evidence for plates in this fabric, whether for use at table or primarily for display;
- There may be the first example of a vessel for tea consumption;
- Overall, there is an increase in colour and complexity of design. Decoration, on tin-glazed plates, imported stoneware mugs, or slipware dishes, is more prominent, and it may be that at least some of these vessels were being bought more for their display potential than their functional usefulness.

Stage 3

Consideration of this Stage faces the analytical difficulty that it includes the Broad Street group (BRD1), which contains a large number of stoneware mugs. The charts attached to Table 25 show the effect of including and excluding BRD1 from the analysis. From the point of view of trying to see how the ceramic repertoire changed over time, it is doubtless better to concentrate on the picture omitting BRD1 (as in Figure 34), which has the effect of smoothing the contours of development, but the contents of this large group will nevertheless be taken into account in the discussion in the following paragraphs.

In terms of the proportional contributions of fabric types to the total, Blackwares are increasing, stonewares and tin-glazed wares appear to be similar to Stage 2, mottled ware, slipware, North Devon wares and Coarse Domestic wares appear to be relatively less important, and white salt-glazed stoneware, only glimpsed in Stage 2, contributes between 10% and 20%. A few sherds of creamware, agate ware, 'Astbury' type ware and pearlware herald the changes to come in the later 18th century. The more common forms represented are bowls, plates, dishes, 'butterpots', pans, mugs and chamber pots.

	Including BRD1				Excluding BRD1			
	Sh No	%	eve	%	Sh No	%	eve	%
Blackware (BLW)	245	18.8	17.28	14.0	221	26.6	12.37	25.7
Coarse Domestic (CD)	79	6.1	3.75	3.0	69	8.3	2.46	5.1
Creamware (CCW)	14	1.1	1.62	1.3	14	1.7	1.62	3.4
Mottled ware (MMW)	88	6.8	4.18	3.4	77	9.3	2.32	4.8
Midlands Yellow (MYW)	7	0.5	0.07	0.1	6	0.7	0.07	0.1
North Devon (ND)	33	2.5	1.99	1.6	33	4.0	1.99	4.1
Slipware (SL/SLW)	119	9.1	5.97	4.8	58	7.0	3.20	6.7
Stoneware (STN)	278	21.4	42.49	34.4	101	12.1	5.73	11.9
Tin-glaze (TGE)	222	17.1	16.24	13.2	134	16.1	7.65	15.9
White salt-glaze (WSGS)	161	12.4	24.29	19.7	75	9.0	6.93	14.4
Other	55	4.2	5.48	4.4	44	5.3	3.71	7.7
Total	1301		123.36		832		48.05	

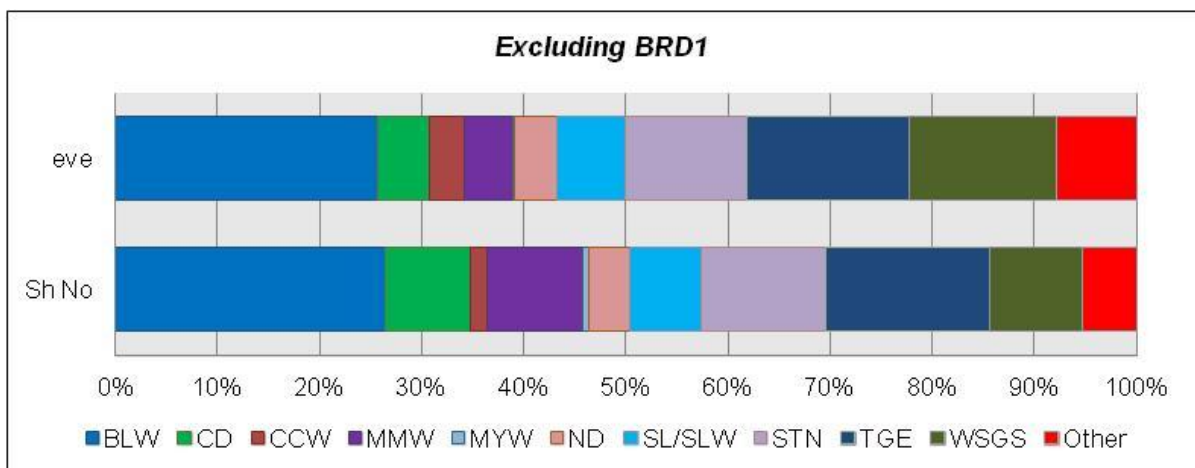
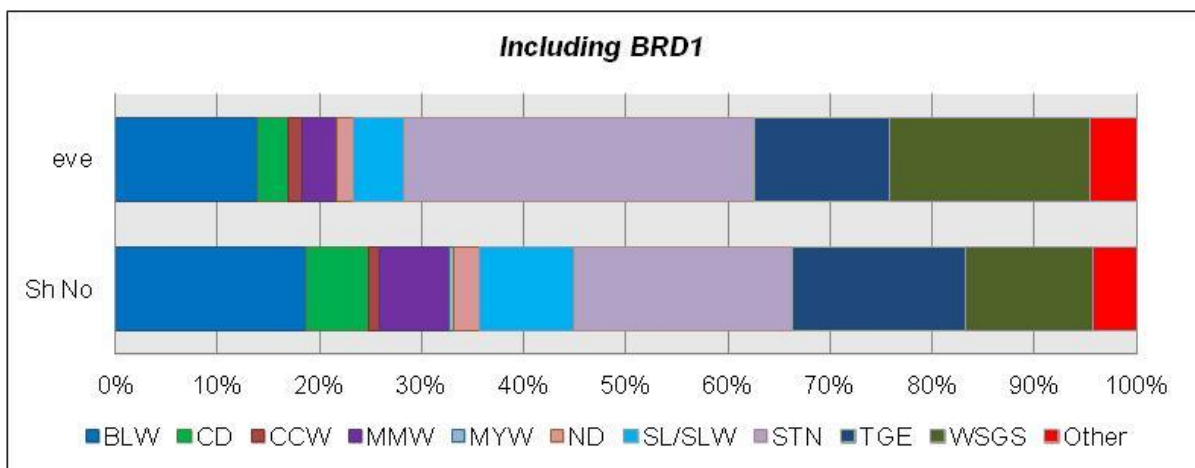


Table 25 – Stage 3 – Fabric classes

Form No	Description	No	Fabrics							
1	Bowl	33	BLWCR	1	NDGT	1	STNNOT(W)	1	TGEINC(B)	10
			TGEINC(P)	4	WSGS(U)	16				
3	Jug	2	BLWCR	1	BLWLHF(U)	1				
4	Plate	21	CCWP	3	TGEINC(B)	12	TGENINC	1	WSGS(U)	5
5	Dish	39	SLBU(YT)	1	SLRO(YT)	2	SLWB	1	SLWB(3C)	6
			SLWB(YB)	9	SLWB(MB)	1	SLWBW(FIG)	2	SLWM(YB)	12
			SLWPM(YB)	3	SLWP(3C)	1	WSGS(U)	1		
6	Butterpot/ straight sided storage	17	BLWCF(S)	1	BLWLHF(U)	4	CDMARB	1	CDPF	4
			CDRF	5	MPLGL	1	NHEREFA7	1		
7	Pan/ pancheon	12	CDPF	7	CDRF	3	CDMARB	1	CDSB	1
9	Cup	1	WSGS(U)	1						
10	Teapot	1	WSGS(U)	1						
11	Saucer	2	WSGS(U)	2						
13	Tea bowl	5	PORCH	1	TGEINC(B)	2	WSGS(U)	2		
14	Mug	126	CCWP	1	CIST	1	STN1	1	STN2	43
			STN4	1	STN(DB)	54	STNNOT(W)	1	STNWEST	5
			WSGS(D)	2	WSGS(U)	17				
15	Gorge	3	STN5	1	STNWEST(U)	2				
22	Coffee can	1	WSGS(U)	1						
25	Barbers/bleeding bowl	1	MMWB	1						
26	Chamber pot	34	BLWCF(S)	1	BLWLHF(U)	5	BLWLHF(S)	2	MMWB	2
			TGEINC(B)	15	TGEINC(P)	9				
27	Posset	2	BLWCR	1	BUFSL(BG)	1				
28	Porringer	6	BLWCR	3	BLWLHF(U)	2	BUFSL(BG)	1		
30	2-handed cup	1	BLWLHF(S)	1						
35	Vase/flower pot	1	TGEINC(B)	1						
39	Drug jar	1	TGEINC(B)	1						
40	Ointment pot	5	TGEINC(B)	4	TGEINC(P)	1				
42	Handle (unattrib)	18	BLWCF(S)	1	BLWCR	4	BLWLHF(S)	2	CCWP	1
			CDRF	1	MMWB	1	STN2	1	STNNOT(W)	1
			TGENINC	1	WSGS(U)	3				
44	Cream/milk jug	2	WSGS(U)	2						
51	Baking dish	3	BUFSL(BG)	1	MMWB	1	MMWP	1		
53	Loving cup	1	STNNOT(W)	1						
97	Flatware (unspec)	7	BLWLHF(S)	1	CCWP	1	PORCH	1	TGEINC(B)	1
			TGENINC	1	WSGS(U)	2				
98	Hollow ware (unspec)	204	AGATE	1	ASTBURY	3	BLWCF(S)	3	BLWCR	26
			BLWLHF(S)	12	BLWLHF(U)	32	BUFSL(BG)	3	CCWCL	1
			CCWP	2	CDBF(U)	3	CDMARB	4	CDMIC(U)	2
			CDOMIC(U)	1	CDPF	7	CDRF	3	CDRRU	1
			CIST	7	MMWB	13	MMWP	4	MPL	1
			MYWCR	1	MYWRF	1	NDGT	6	NHEREFA7	2
			PORCH	1	PORUN	1	PRLW(T)	1	SLRO(YT)	1
			SLWYF(DOTS)	1	STN2	3	STNNOT(N)	4	STNNOT(W)	5
			TGEINC(B)	11	TGEINC(P)	4	TGEININC	2	WSGS(U)	31
99	Unknown	40	BLWCR	1	BLWLHF(U)	2	CIST	2	CCWCL	1
			CDPF	3	CDRF	1	MMWB	1	MMWP	1
			MYWCR	4	NDGT	6	NHEREFA7	2	SLWPM(YB)	1
			STNNOT(W)	1	TGE	3	TGEINC(B)	4	TGEINC(P)	1
			WSGS(U)	6						
		589								

Table 26 – Stage 3 - Forms

The contribution of Blackware is perhaps a fifth, or even up to a quarter, of the total, depending on whether the Broad street group is included. Of this contribution about 40% is in the cream coloured fabric (BLWCR), putting it on much the same level as mottled ware, so that, if it is assumed that it had the same origin, probably in Staffordshire, this source was responsible for as much as 20% of the pottery in Stage 3. Forms in this fabric are very limited; they amount to no more than a number of porringers, that is single handled vessels for liquid or semi-liquid foods, and a single jug (Figs 16, 17, 18, 24); two vessels recorded as 'posset pots' (form 27), are really no different from porringers. One vessel, recorded as a bowl, but with a handle, seems too large for this kind of purpose; it may, however, be an unusually shaped chamber pot (Fig 17). The other variety of Blackware, with a hard, red fabric, or in some cases (BLWCF) with a coarser fabric with streaks of paler clay, seems largely confined to storage ('butterpots') and chamber pots, although there is one two-handed cup (Fig 16). There is a large number of relatively small body sherds, especially in DW2; even with the eye of faith it is not possible to detect any greater variety of forms, although there is one suggestion of a mug.

The lower proportion of Coarse Domestic products at this Stage might suggest that its domination of the market for storage vessels and pans was being challenged by the increase in blackwares, but this is not borne out by the figures: all 12 pans and 10 of the 17 'butterpots' are in CD fabrics. But these two forms represent their only appearance. Blackwares did, in spite of the above observations, cater for a somewhat greater variety of functions than CD fabrics, and thereby contribute more to the early-to-mid 18th century repertoire.

North Devon products seem by Stage 3 not to be as prominent as in the past; they account for less than 5% of the total by any measure. A number of mostly quite small undiagnostic sherds are present, all in the 'gravel-tempered' version, but only one recognisable form: a large bowl (Fig 16), quite similar to a pan, but with an incurved rim rather than the more usual everted or hammer-section shape, closest to Allan et al's Type 3J (2005:191).

Mottled wares are also less prominent. Two, possibly three, of the characteristic straight-sided 'baking/serving' dishes (form 51) are found in the Broad Street group, and may be associated with inns. The only other forms represented are chamber pots (Fig 16, 17, 23) and a barber's bowl (Figs 17, 25), with a cut-out in the broad, sloping rim and a curved shape attached to the rim which appears to be for the soap ball, more usually, in tin-glazed examples, accommodated by a depression in the rim (for example Black 2001a:4).

Of the 34 chamber pots listed for this Stage, only two are in mottled ware, all the others being either blackware or tin-glaze. The market for these essential items, when they are not pewter, seems to have been shared between these three fabric types, with mottled wares and blackwares less prominent than tin-glaze.

Slipware in Stage 3 constitutes rather less than 10% of the total. All, except for a small sherd of a vessel with dots around the rim (cf Price 2005:91) are dishes. Apart from three in the SL tradition, they are all press-moulded products, most with trailed and often feathered slip decoration. These continue without apparent change in fabric or decoration from Stage 2, which included a large group from City Arcade. In all, over the three Stages, there is a total of 67 dishes of this type recorded. This may be an overestimate, given that the form is easy to recognise from single sherds and that some matching sherds from the same vessel may have been missed. Nevertheless, these dishes seem to have been a common element in the ceramic repertoire.

The list in Appendix 1 attempts to establish some SLW categories for recording purposes, created as the process of recording progressed, but the possible decorative variations are considerable, and it is preferable to rely on some basic distinctions within the overall description of 'press-moulded slipware dish':

- Fabric: Three basic types were identified, described in Appendix 1, a buff to off-white fabric, a hard pink fabric, and one which is much more streaky. The first two look similar to Gooder's A and B fabrics from Temple Balsall (1984:196); the third may be no more than a rogue variant. The buff fabric is the most common;
- Shape: the vast majority of dishes are circular in shape, but in a very few cases there are angles in rims which mean that the dish must have been rectangular or sub-rectangular (or polygonal?).
- Profile: Price (2005:85) draws a distinction among circular Bristol slipware dishes between those with 'flattened rims' and those with 'rounded profiles', that is between those which have more the appearance of a plate, and deeper dishes. There is no firm evidence for the former in the Worcester collection, which is not to say that some individual sherds may not have come from such vessels;
- Decoration: The first distinction is between some form of trailed slip decoration, and those dishes decorated by pressing the clay over a mould carved with a design and lining and filling the resulting shapes with different colours. The latter is extremely rare; there are two examples from Broad Street, including one with the figure of a man in a wig and coat (Fig 31), apparently taken from a mould

made in 1751 (Brears 1971), two small sherds from Sansome Street, and one possible sherd from City Arcade. Among the vast majority of slip-trailed examples, the basic distinction is between those trailed with parallel lines of white slip over a red base (producing after glazing yellow over brown or dark brown), and more complex patterns produced either by trailing different colours in different directions and/or 'jiggling' the result to produce a 'marbled' effect (see Figs 25, 26). Again, the great majority of examples are of the former kind, with the trailing either left in simple parallel lines or 'feathered' by drawing a point across the lines (see illustration in Gaimster 1997b:128). If the point is drawn in only one direction a series of rounded shapes results; if it is drawn alternately in different directions the result is a 'spikey' pattern which can be elaborated according to the skill of the potter (see Figs 26, 33). Sometimes these effects are combined on one dish, to produce, for example, bands of feathered decoration across otherwise plain trailing. Occasionally it is possible to see faint raised circles (or rectangles in rectangular dishes) in the interior of vessels, the result of turned lines on the mould. Most of the examples from City Arcade have such circles, in two cases enclosing letters, presumably the initial of the manufacturer (Fig 33).

Overall, therefore, the primary impression is of slipware dishes with yellow and brown lined and/or feathered decoration, with a few other examples in similar shapes but different colours and patterns. These dishes were colourful, decorative and apparently popular. Some must have been only display items (perhaps the man in wig and coat, although the quality of the finished article is poor – the slip is very carelessly applied), but most would have been used in the household for serving meals, as fruit bowls, and so on. There is of course no reason why they could not have been both displayed on the dresser or the cupboard to impress visitors and used at meals.

The varieties of stoneware, as opposed to the quantity, remain much the same as in Stage 2, with the addition of some contribution from Nottingham type wares. The huge quantity of STN2 mugs from Broad Street is partly a question in the interpretation of that group (did it come from an inn?), partly for the elucidation of the early 18th century ceramic repertoire. Such mugs were clearly part of that repertoire, perhaps in some quantity, but their appearance in large numbers in Broad Street, and in somewhat smaller but still significant numbers in the City Arcade group, suggests that they are a specialised form, specific to inns, supplied for that purpose to innkeepers, and not generally to be found in ordinary households. Other kinds of English stoneware are by contrast very rare. One mug from Broad Street has a rather sandy, buff fabric, not unlike Nottingham wares,

but in a form, with a splayed foot, very similar to white salt-glazed stoneware mugs. It may perhaps be a Staffordshire forerunner of the latter, or alternatively a Nottingham copy. A gorge, also from Broad Street (Fig 31), is in a form familiar from London and Bristol (Green 1999:121, 157, Jackson 2003), indeed the commonest kind of vessel made at Fulham in the late 17th and early 18th century, but this is the only example from any Stage. According to Green (1999:157), this form's 'importance' 'declined dramatically' after about 1725.

Some Nottingham stoneware was reaching Worcester by the early 18th century, though perhaps only in fairly small quantities. Some small sherds appear in Stages 1 and 2 (presumed to be intrusive in the first case), but in Stage 3 two almost complete vessels are included in DW3: a small bowl and a two-handled loving cup of a mid or even later 18th century type (Figs 17, 26) (Oswald & Hughes 1974:149). Five mugs and two gorges in Westerwald stoneware add little to the picture outlined for Stage 2.

Tin-glazed earthenware, or 'Delft', as it was by the early 18th century coming to be called, if only in its blue-decorated forms, maintains, or if anything enhances its position at this Stage. If BRD1 is excluded, it accounts for a higher proportion of the total than any broad class except Blackware, and appears in a greater variety of forms. There is a clear distinction between undecorated and decorated forms, the plain bowls or basins, chamber pots and 'ointment pots' differentiated from decorated plates, tea bowls, a possible vase and a 'drug jar' which seems to have been adapted in some way to another use by having a hole cut in the side (Fig 24). There is only one possible decorated bowl, all the others being 'standard' basins, the majority of which appear in the Broad Street group. Most of the 24 chamber pots, which by now appear to be an equally standard product, with only minor variations on a bulbous shape with a strongly everted rim (Figs 17, 21), occur in the same group, but there is at least one in each of the others.

Table 26 now lists 21 plates, of which 13 are in tin-glazed fabrics. Of the latter, one or two might be undecorated, although not enough of the vessel(s) remains to be sure. One or two decorated plates occur in BRD1 and two more in DW2, at least one of which has decoration in three colours. The majority of examples are in DW3, including two with a decorative scheme of rather formalised leaf sprays, which exactly matches a pattern on two wasters from Temple Back, Bristol (Price 2005). Another plate (or possibly more than one) has the same leaf sprays but within a different scheme involving panels between cross-hatching on the rim, and a central flower motif. Two more have a quite different scheme including the 'arc-and-chain' rim pattern already encountered in Stage 2 (for all

three see Fig 27). We seem to be seeing here the remains of a number of sets of matched plates (and perhaps other tableware?) each presumably from the same supplier, in blue-decorated tin-glazed ware which now fully lives up to the 'Delftware' label, and which would have been desirable acquisitions, to be displayed and perhaps used on special occasions. These are supplemented by other decorated items, such as the bowl with floral decorations inside and out (Figs 16, 24), which was recorded as a tea bowl, and may be such, although it seems a little large for the purpose (90mm or 3½" rim diameter), and another vessel, which may be a vase or a bottle with a narrow neck, decorated with very accomplished foliage and birds, including a peacock (Fig 24).

Stage 3 is characterised by the presence of white salt-glazed stoneware, an introduction of the 1720s which enabled the manufacture for the first time of very finely potted tablewares. The quality of these wares is on the whole (there are exceptions) so much greater than what had gone before that it must have made a very considerable impact. It was now possible to obtain fine tea and coffee wares which matched the desired refinement of the tea habit in particular, which moreover withstood the thermal shock involved and was nearer in fineness and delicacy to imported and expensive porcelain than anything that had gone before. But the variety of wares supplied went beyond the tea habit. The forms represented include bowls of various sizes, tea bowls, plates, a dish, a probable cup, a teapot, saucers, mugs, small jugs and what looks like a coffee can (see Figs 17, 21, 25, 27, 32, 33). The greatest numbers within this list are taken up by bowls (16) and mugs (19). Two of the latter are not in fully-developed white stoneware, but in the 'dipped' version whose fabric is not unlike STN2, but covered with white slip, the rim dipped in a brown iron-rich wash to conceal the tendency of the slip to retreat from the edge. Mugs of this kind were almost 'dipped STN2', and were also used in taverns. Most of the 'true' white stoneware mugs, however, are very different; they are finely potted, lathe-turned, with a characteristic splayed foot and a ribbed handle with a pinched terminal (Fig 17). In those cases where there is a rim diameter, the most common measurement is about 80-85mm, or about 3¼". In one case where the height is known also (about 120mm), this gives a capacity of about a pint. Another larger vessel of the same shape appears to be a quart (100mm diameter, 170mm high).

Bowls are quite small; some are probably tea bowls (Fig 17), and, in some cases where there is only an equivocal sherd, perhaps saucers. Some no doubt could be sugar bowls or bowls for sweetmeats (eg Fig 21). Two small jugs might be milk or cream jugs. Saucers, of which there are at least two (Fig 21), were no doubt used to support the tea bowls, and perhaps also for their original purpose of holding sauces and condiments.

There is one, very small, teapot and one probable cup. Virtually all the white stoneware was therefore used in drinking, either traditional drinks like ale and cider in mugs and tankards, or tea and coffee (and perhaps chocolate) in smaller bowls, cups and cans.

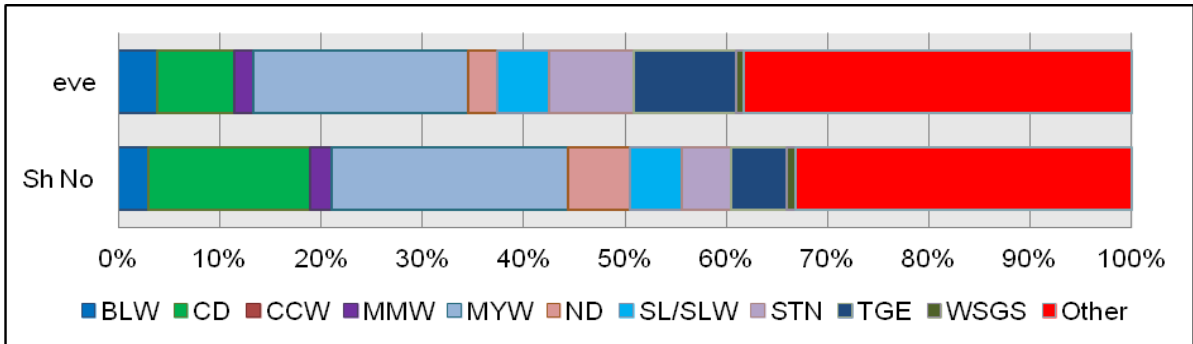
This leaves only plates, of which Stage 3 can muster up to five. Two have moulded decoration on the wavy-edged rim (Fig 32), another a plain wavy-edged rim, but it would not appear from this sample that the use of plates for eating, or even using them for serving, was as important to the white stoneware potter as a marketing objective, as drinking in its various forms.

The following themes can be observed in Stage 3:

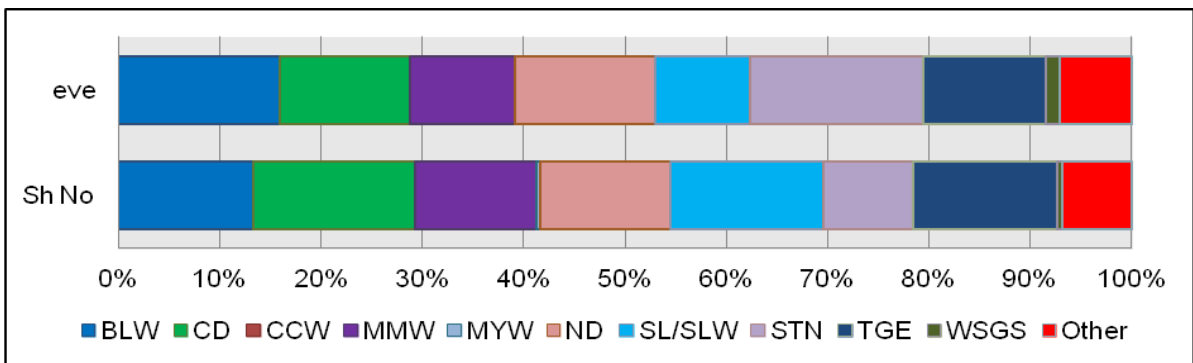
- A range of drinking, and some eating and serving vessels in the new white stoneware is now apparent. Among these are the equipment necessary for tea drinking. Although this type provides refined and delicate vessels for these purposes, it does not provide colour or decoration;
- Blackware and Coarse Domestic wares have now fully assumed their longstanding role as providers of ordinary, functional storage and kitchen equipment, such as butterpots, pans and storage jars;
- Tin-glazed wares are still important and provide the colour and decorative appeal lacking in white stoneware, as does the slipware tradition;
- During this Stage North Devon wares and mottled wares are in decline as a ceramic element in Worcester households;
- Stoneware continues to supply tavern mugs and functional drinking equipment ;
- By the end of the Stage, other new elements, such as creamware, are beginning to make themselves felt.

But before we finally attempt to bring together the three Stages and tell the full story of ceramics in context in Worcester households, in the final Chapter, we must pass in Chapter 6 to other 'stuff', by way of the lists in probate inventories.

Stage 1



Stage 2



Stage 3

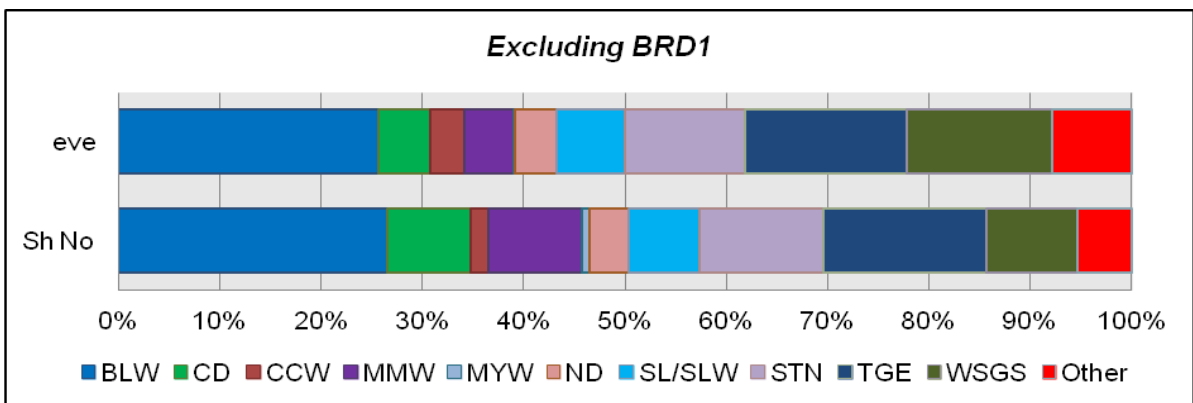


Figure 34 – Fabric Classes by Stages

Chapter 6

Worcester probate inventories, 1650-1750

This Chapter presents data derived from probate inventories exhibited in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of Worcester for the ten city parishes for the period from 1650 to 1750. To these are added a few for the parish of St Michael Bedwardine which relate to wills and administrations²⁸ proved in the Peculiar court which sometimes dealt with matters for that parish; a number of documents attached to wills which simply state the residence of the deceased as the Cathedral Precinct or the 'College Precinct' (that is, what is now the cathedral close); inventories deriving from the parish of St John in Bedwardine, at the western end of the bridge; and a larger number, the proportion of which varies with the year concerned, which do not record the parish, but which record the residence of the deceased as being simply in the city of Worcester.

An index was compiled, from the alphabetic name indices in the Worcestershire County Record Office, of all wills proved in the diocese of Worcester from 1650 to 1749, mentioning a place of residence in the city parishes or the 'city of Worcester', with the addition of the suburb of St John in Bedwardine²⁹. This index contains more than 2,800 entries, so that some sampling was necessary. In order to restrict the transcription of documents to a manageable compass and to provide a reasonably continuous series, so that changes in household goods could in principle be picked up, it was decided to transcribe all relevant inventories at ten year intervals. It was also necessary to cover a long enough period to provide information which would co-relate with the archaeological evidence relating to pottery, that is roughly the century 1650-1750, thus providing 11 decennial samples. More than this, judgment was necessary in deciding which inventories to include, namely those which contained enough detail to give a good idea of the contents of the household concerned. Some are so perfunctory as to be worthless for this purpose, others so complete as to choose themselves, but there was quite a large area for judgment in between.

²⁸ To avoid the tedious necessity of repeating this phrase, 'wills' hereafter stands for 'wills and administrations', unless otherwise indicated.

²⁹ The reason for using 1749 rather than 1750 as the final year for recording is simply that the relevant index volume in the Record Office is for the years 1700-1749.

	Total Wills	Total Inventories	Useable inventories	No Inventory	Ceramic refs ¹		No room order ²		Mean value £	Median value £
1650*	15	10	9	5	1		4		57	32
1660**	14	0	0	14	0		0		0	0
1670	29	19	13	10	3		6		185	24
1680	26	25	17	1	1		9		143	57
1690	40	39	27	1	6		5		182	131
1700	35	31	22	4	1		6		114	45
1710	24	22	17	2	3		6		189	108
1720	37	34	20	3	7		5		134	70
1730	36	24	13	12	4		6		171	23
1740	35	9	6	26	4		2		113	18
1749	35	4	4	31	2		2		23	16
	326	217	148	109	32		51			
					15 % of total		34 % of useable			
					22 % of useable					

¹Inventories which contain *one or more* references, or possible references, to pottery or ceramic materials (eg tiles)

²Inventories listing contents without rooms (or with only partial room listings)

*1649-51

**1660-1

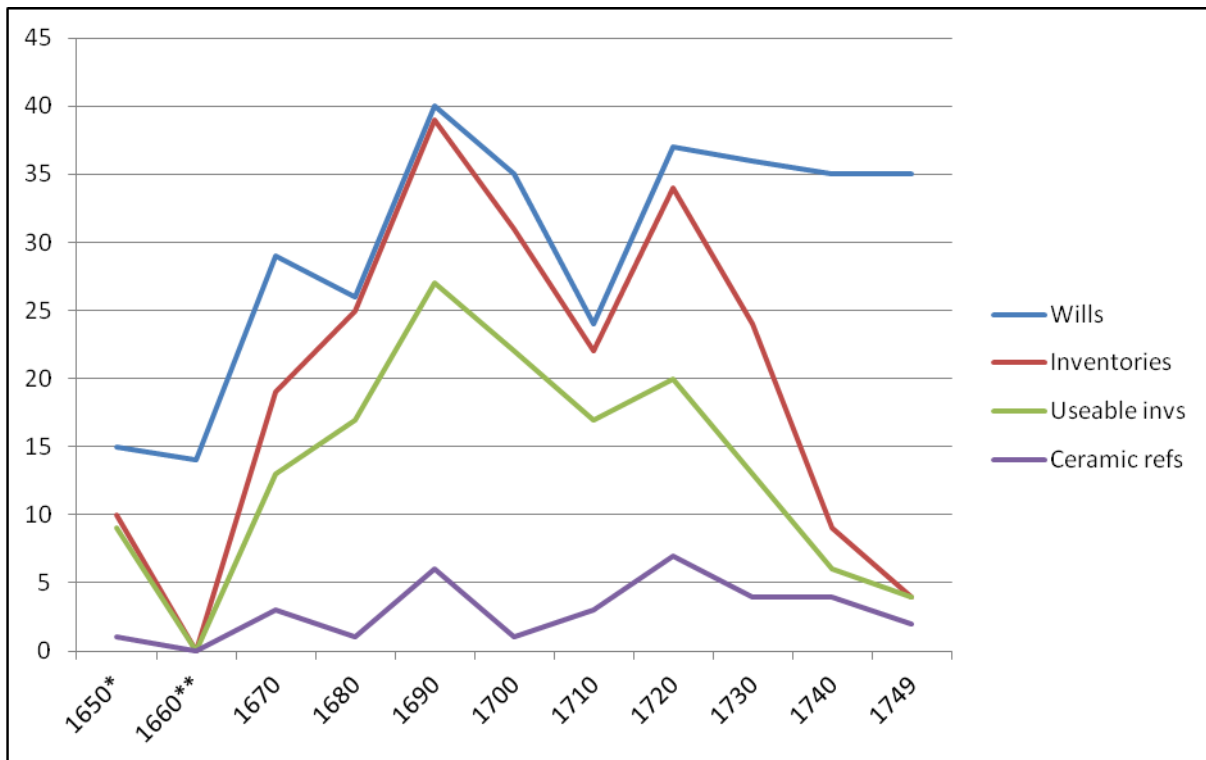


Table 27 – Wills & Inventories 1650-1750 - Summary

Table 27 summarises the documents used. All the available wills were listed for each year at ten-year intervals from 1650. The documents were examined via the microfilms held in the Record Office's History Centre in Worcester, and all attached inventories transcribed³⁰. In addition, if a will was present, any bequests of specific objects were also noted. Table 27 records the number of cases where inventories were present, the number which were in each case judged to be sufficiently detailed to be useable, the number which contained any reference to pottery and the number in which there was no, or an incomplete, listing of rooms (for both of which see below). Also included are figures for the mean and median monetary values of inventories for each year.

Some features call for comment. In the first place, there are no inventories listed for 1660. Virtually no records survive for 1660, so that the search was extended to include 1661; some records survive, but still none with inventories attached. A further scan of the 1660s led to the conclusion that this situation persisted until late in the decade, and it will be seen that even in 1670 only about two thirds of the wills have inventories attached. This may have something to do with the resumption of the operation of the church courts after the Restoration, following the interruption caused by the transfer of probate to London during the Commonwealth. Table 27 therefore records 14 wills for 1660-61, albeit without inventories. Furthermore, there are comparatively few inventories available from the period around 1650; the church courts were still operating (the new Court of Probate in London was not created until 1653, but the disruption caused by the Civil War must have had an effect on the regular operation and record keeping of the local court system. In order to produce at least some inventories to consider for this early date, all those for the city for the years 1649-51 have been included under the year 1650 in the tables (these are conventionally referred to hereafter as belonging to 1650). From 1680 to 1720 inclusive virtually all wills have inventories attached to them, but during the first half of the 18th century the practice of exhibiting inventories of moveable goods as part of the probate process, and perhaps even of drawing them up, became rarer and eventually virtually died out (Cox & Cox 2000), although some continued to be made into the late 18th century (Wanklyn 1998). In Worcester city this process of decline began in the 1720s, was accelerating by 1730, and was more or less complete by 1740, so that the list is as sparse for the 1740s as it is for the 1650s and 1660s.

³⁰ Worcestershire County Record Office BA 008.7. Only the itemised list of household contents, and attached valuations, was transcribed in each case; any introductory matter, including the names of appraisers, was omitted. The date under which the inventory is recorded is the date of probate, not the date of death or of the inventory. Transcription was undertaken verbatim, including original spelling, capitalisation and punctuation (or absence of it).

Four of the city parishes (St Clement, St Martin, St Nicholas and St Peter), and the trans-riparian parish of St Johns covered quite extensive rural areas outside the city. In principle this meant that a few inventories might have had to be excluded because they related to farms rather than city houses, and should not be considered in relation to archaeological material from the city proper. In practice some documents are indeed identifiable as belonging to agricultural households, from the inclusion of crops, livestock and farm implements, but others are more problematic. It was concluded, therefore, that in view of the small numbers involved it was not worth trying to make such distinctions, at least in the statistical tables. The parish of St Johns, although outside the city proper, was included in the survey from the beginning, as a suburb fully in connection with the city, at least by the early 18th century, even though, as far as is known, there is no excavated post-medieval material from there. The other smaller suburbs referred to in Chapter 2 are mostly included within the four city parishes mentioned above.

The outcome of this process was that there remained a total of 148 'useable' inventories for the period 1650-1750, rather unevenly distributed, with the years from about 1670 to about 1730 quite well represented, but with far fewer at each end of the sequence. The label 'useable' represents a purely subjective impression gained from a scan of the contents, not an 'objective' classification based on, say, the number of objects named or the number of entries. It has been applied fairly generously, in order to include as many inventories as possible, and in the hope that even relatively uninformative documents might contain something of value. However, the label masks great variation in the detailed information contained within them, and this observation forces the observer to confront the perennial problem of the tension between the particular and the general, between the case study and the historical survey, between analysis and synthesis. As explained in Chapter 1, this study adopts a deliberately ambiguous and (literally) equivocal position between these views.

The fact that inventories include copious information on the material contents of households, in an apparently accessible, listed format might lead the student to assume that they are more consistent and inclusive than is actually the case. Whilst it would be equally misleading to over-emphasise their individuality, it is nevertheless useful to bear in mind that each inventory is the product of a particular set of circumstances, of which the modern reader may not be aware. The inventory is the result of a process of probate laid down in statute and common law, which among other things prescribed the items to be included in a valuation (excluding, for example, land and buildings, foodstuffs, fixtures like ovens and window glass, and debts), but this did not prevent the growth of local variability in practice (Cox & Cox 2000). In addition, the amount of detail included is affected by the

competence and knowledge, or even perhaps the interests, of the appraisers, and by the circumstances of the death. For example, an elderly testator may have already given most of his property to his heir, leaving only a few personal possessions which cannot be taken to be the entire contents of the house in which he died. Above all, the absence of any mention of classes of material goods, such as ceramics, or individual functional items, cannot be taken to be evidence of their absence in the household. Even the most conscientious and pedantic of appraisers often added the familiar catch-all phrase 'and other small things unseen or forgotten', or something similar, and the transcriber of inventories sometimes becomes very tired of repeating 'and other things'. Some appraisers combined at least some categories of objects into 'packages', by material or even by room, with an overall valuation for pewter by weight, or for the entire contents of the cellar. Whether this circumstance provides the archaeological ceramic specialist with enough vacant space in which to place the objects of his or her interest, which are not on the whole included in the appraisers lists, is a further question.

The result of this variability is that the data provided by inventories are notoriously resistant to statistical analysis (Overton et al. 2004). One approach, adopted for example by Weatherill (1988) and by Beckett and Smith (2000), is to count occurrences, rather than absolute quantities, of those items, such as clocks, looking glasses, books and pictures, which are supposed to be indicative of changes in consumption patterns over time. Since the present study has as its focus the placing of pottery within the overall material culture of the household, the contents of the 'useable' inventories have been reduced to a tabular form in order to attempt to produce successive 'repertoires' of material goods which can be set against similar ceramic 'repertoires'. A worked example of the matrix which has been used is shown at Figure 35. Sheets for all 148 selected inventories are included in the disc appended to this volume.³¹ It is acknowledged immediately that such a treatment does violence to the identity of the original document as a 'readable whole', with its own existence as the representation of a particular set of circumstances at a particular place and time, but it is undertaken as an archaeological analogy, as explained in Chapter 1, to produce 'proxy contexts'.

The matrix has been developed in the light of experimentation with various possible formats, and knowledge obtained from examining hundreds of inventories. It reflects an archaeological concern with classifications relating to the material from which an object is made, and to its supposed function. The choice of material categories on the vertical axis is fairly straightforward, with 'Ceramic' placed at the head of the list to emphasise its

³¹ In transferring the data from transcribed inventory lists to the matrix, spelling, capitalisation and punctuation have been modernised, except in those instances where the sense is not clear.

1720	SHELDON, Edward	£94	Cooper	All Saints																
	Eating & drinking	Cooking (incl brewing & food prep)	Heating & lighting	Sanitary	Living	Sleeping	Storage (eg cupboards, etc); carrying (eg pair/s, etc)	Books	Pictures	Other specific	Other unspecified	Not counted (eg tools or trade, food, etc)								
Ceramic																				
Glass																				
Pewter	Gen: 10 dishes of pewter; 1 doz plates; salver;				Gen: 2 looking glasses;							Yard: timber; Gen: 42 liches bacon; 5 half h/heads; 2 full of ale; 1 horse; 1 mare; 2 saws; 2 axes;								
Brass	Gen: 1 brass turnace; 1 brass pot;																			
Copper																				
Iron		Gen: 1 iron pot; 2 spits;	Gen: 1 iron bar & cheeks; 2 prs treshovels																	
Tin																				
Lead																				
Metal mixed & unspc	Gen: 2 guns; 2 quarts; 3 spoons (presump); 1 two pot gun; half pint; (Value 10/-, so presum metal)																			
Gold/Silver/plate																				
Wood (incl furniture)																				
Textiles (incl feathers etc)	Gen: 1 doz napkins;																			
Other, mixed & unknown		Gen: 1 jack;		Gen: 1 close stool;																
Comments	c. £68/94 in apparel; money; timber; leases; horse & mare; tools of trade; debts; Order: rooms not named, but is a sequence, from kitchen to chambers;																			
	<i>Item=material assumed</i>																			
	Allocation to function according to primary or most obvious																			
	Wearing apparel, money, & property ignored																			

Figure 35 – Inventory Matrix

importance for the present purpose, and with categories for unknown and/or mixed materials. The functional categories are more problematic, but have been drawn quite broadly, to avoid over-classification. The 'Living' category covers those functional classifications which could not easily be accommodated elsewhere. Separate spaces are reserved for books and pictures, which did not seem to fit very well anywhere else. Some of the matrix boundaries could no doubt have been drawn in different places, and some divisions produce unfortunately artificial segregations such as that between beds and bedsteads. However, up to a point the exact boundaries do not really matter very much; what is important is the opportunity offered to compare the contents of similarly defined 'boxes' in different inventories and at different periods.

In doing so it is necessary to make some judgments about what should and should not be included in the tabulation. Essentially inclusions comprise all material goods and equipment: furniture (that is, in the modern sense, not in the common 17th and 18th century sense of the furniture of a bed), kitchen equipment, linen, brewing equipment, eating and drinking vessels, and other items such as clocks, looking glasses, books and pictures. Excluded are farming equipment, livestock, food stores (mostly bacon and cheese), hops and malt for brewing, ale, beer and cider (although storage containers such as barrels are included), implements and raw materials of trade, and the stock of shops. These exclusions, though not included in the main part of the matrix, are still listed in the additional column on the right, in order to preserve the complete inventory list. Clothing is rarely mentioned other than as a collective valuation for 'wearing apparel', and is excluded entirely from the tabulation, as are cash ('ready money', 'purse'), debts, and leases. The intention was to exclude all that could not reasonably be regarded as belonging to the household, as opposed to the 'business', if there was one. The Comments box at the bottom of each sheet contains a note of the approximate sum of money represented by the excluded items. From this data it is possible to arrive at average figures for the value of household 'goods' in each sampled year, having subtracted the values of 'extraneous' entries in the inventory lists (primarily debts and investments). Figure 36 compares average total values with values for 'goods' only and shows that, taking no account of any inflationary or deflationary movements in prices, the monetary value of the household goods contained in these houses over the years from 1670 to 1730 did not change very much, varying only between means of £26 and £42.

The exclusion of the above mentioned items was comparatively easy for most businesses, but for inns and alehouses it is generally impossible to make a distinction between household goods and those which might be regarded as belonging to the 'business' (except perhaps for stocks of ale, beer and cider), for the obvious reason that

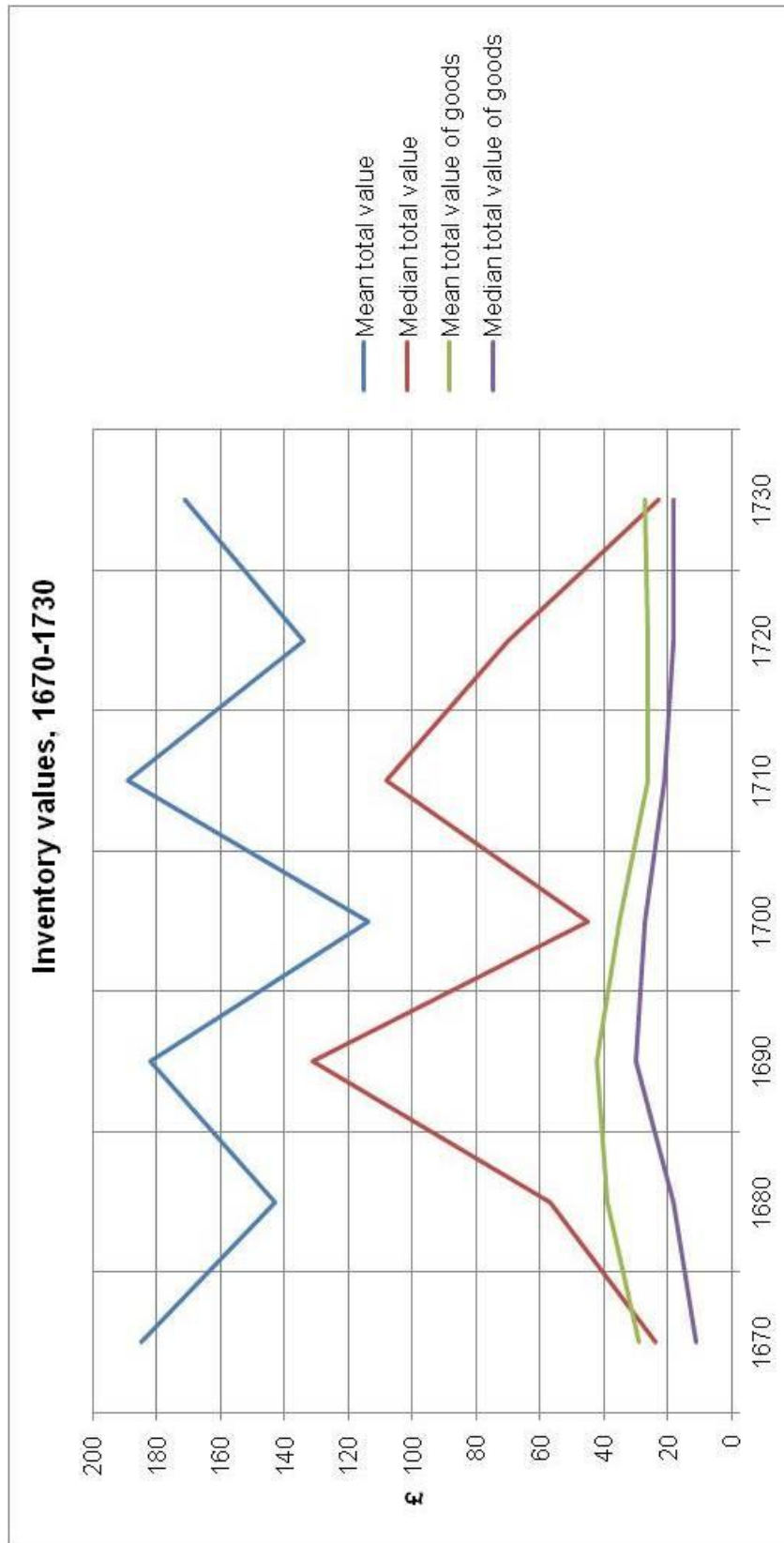


Figure 36 – Inventory Values & Value of Household Goods

they are in the same material and functional categories (cooking equipment, eating and drinking vessels, beds and bedsteads, etc). Indeed, it would probably be futile and anachronistic in most such cases to seek to separate the 'inn' from the 'household'; they are essentially the same. This specific problem ought to be distinguished from the more general observation that residence and business were not usually physically separate at this period, in the sense of being in different premises. Although businesses were carried on in the building or at least on the plot where the family lived, it is nevertheless usually possible to distinguish the shops, workshops or storerooms relating to the business, and the materials for it, even if they were stored in rooms also containing other household furnishings. This distinction is not possible for inns.

Also included in the matrix under the relevant heading are any bequests of material objects drawn from the will if one is present. This runs the risk of double counting, since it is by no means always clear whether the specific items mentioned in the will are included in the inventory. Often, however, it is obvious that the inventory has been drawn up after such bequests have been taken, or at any rate after setting them aside, so that on balance it seems better to include any such bequests than not, since they sometimes contain information of interest.

The greatest difficulty in treating inventories in this way, as if they were archaeological context sheets, is in deciding on the material categorisation of objects which are not described closely enough in the original document to admit of certain attribution. Many items, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, are in fact identified by material, particularly metal objects, so that it is often possible to differentiate confidently between pewter, brass, iron and tin. It is frequently also possible to list textile items by fabric, since appraisers were at pains to record carefully what was a valuable part of the household goods. On the other hand, it is hardly ever possible to distinguish between different varieties of wood, except sometimes in the case of wainscot oak. The result is that the completed sheets are a combination of verifiable categorisation and informed interpretation. In Figure 35 and on the disc, entries in italic print identify those cases where a judgment has been made on the probable material categorisation of an object. It is often possible to make an assumption from the context in which an object is found: if an entry reads '4 large pewter dishes 7 small ones 18 plates 5 porringers 1 pye plate spoons etc 64lb'³², with a value per pound, it can be confidently assumed that even the items not so qualified are pewter. In these cases italic print may not be used. In other cases, however, the probability is less, and italics will be used: in the case of 'one brass cover two brass basting spoones one

³² Monsall1710 [all references to individual inventories are in the form 'Nameyear']

skimmer³³ it is not so obvious that the skimmer is brass, though still very likely. Not only is the individual entry in the list important in such a judgment, but the general context of the inventory as a whole. It is often clear that items in a particular document are consistently grouped by material, leading to some confidence in the allocation of material categories, but in other cases items are grouped without any regard to material, perhaps according to value or function, or simply as they were encountered by the appraisers as they moved through the rooms of the house. In many cases, therefore, items have had to be placed in the 'Metal, mixed & unspecified', or 'Other, mixed & unknown' boxes for lack of confidence in their categorisation. There can also be some difficulty, though not so frequent, in the allocation of items to functional categories. For example, 'basins' appear quite often; initially it was assumed that these had to do primarily with food preparation, and this may sometimes be the case, but it was then realized that washing, that is, a 'sanitary' function, was just as likely. Clearly, some objects can have more than one practical use, and decisions have to be made about their 'primary' or most obvious function. In all of this process mistakes are inevitable, and some of the thousands of objects itemized on the sheets will certainly have been wrongly placed. For the purpose of argument, however, it is assumed that these are few enough not to invalidate any generalisations arising from the data.

A further element in the arrangement of many inventories, though by no means all, namely the listing of contents by room, has been included in the tabulation of the 148 'useable' documents, so as to preserve as far as possible the association between objects and their position in the house. Much attention in studies using inventory data has been given to information about the rooms in the house: the number of rooms and their changing function, the increasing emphasis on privacy and the withdrawal from the Hall as the centre of domestic life, the furnishings of the rooms and their relative importance as revealed by quantity and value of their contents, and so on. It ought to be noted, however, that of the Worcester sample, more than a third of the 'useable' list is not listed by room, or the listing is incomplete: it mentions one or two rooms and then lapses into generality.

Having created tabulated sheets for all 148 'useable' inventories, it is possible, by amalgamating all the entries under a particular functional category for a particular year sample, to begin to compare what was current in households at different stages over the century under review. An example of the resulting 'year/function' sheets is shown at Figure 37, and the complete set is included on the appended disc. Further, in order to

³³ Sanders1710

1680 Eating & Drinking		ALLEN	ARNWAY	BIRT	BRIGHT	CROWTHER	DOVAOSTON	DOWNES	FISHER	GREENEBANCKE	HALL	HAVARD	PITT	SANDERS	UNITT	WEAVER	WESTON	WOODWARD
Ceramic																		
Glass																		
Pewter	Kitchen : 30 pewter dishes; 2 pewter plates; 3 doz [pewter] can; 12 flagons; 2 pots; 2 great pewter guns;	Middle low room : 18 pewter platters; Forestreet low room : 5 [pewter] can; 12 flagons; 2 pots; 2 great pewter guns;	Kitchen : 3 large pewter dishes; 7 'middling' dishes; 6 [dishes] of a lesser sort; 12 porringers; 5 saucers; 1 can; 1 pewter plate;	Gen : small dishes of pewter (wt 28lb);	**	**	**	Gen : 6 dishes of pewter; **	**	Kitchen : 3 pewter dishes; 3 porringers; 1 flagon; can;				Beq : 2 of best pewter dishes; 2 large dishes of pewter;		Kitchen : 21 dishes of pewter; 19 plates; 9 saucers; 1 can; 1 salt; 3 'podrings'; 5 flagons; 13 guns; 3 pots;	Gen : 3 dishes of pewter; 1 large dish; 2 little dishes of pewter; 'saltselere';	**
Brass	Kitchen : some strong water measures;								**									
Copper																		
Iron																		
Tin																		
Lead																		
Metal mixed & unspc																		
Gold/Silver/plate	Gen : 3 bowls; 6 spoons; 1 salt; 2 'dragm dishes';							Gen : 4 spoons being silver;						Gen : 1 silver goblet; 2 silver wine dishes; 4 silver spoons; spoon; 8 apostife spoons;				
Wood (incl furniture)																Kitchen : 6 doz trenchers; Cellar : trenchers;		
Textiles (incl feathers, etc)	Gen : 7 doz napkins;	Back ch : 1 doz napkins;	Forestreet ch : 3 doz flaxen napkins;	Ch over the parlour : napkins;	Gen : 1 doz napkins;	Gen : 2 doz flaxen napkins;	Gen : 3 doz napkins; fine & coars e;							Upper room : 12 diaper napkins; 2 doz flaxen			Gen ? 6 1/2 doz napkins;	
Other, mixed & unknown																		

Figure 37 – 'Year/Function' sheet

make the process of analysis and discussion more manageable, the century has been divided into three arbitrary 'stages', by grouping together the data as follows:

Stage 1:	Samples for 1650, 1670 and 1680	39 inventories
Stage 2:	Samples for 1690, 1700 and 1710	66 inventories
Stage 3:	Samples for 1720, 1730, 1740 and 1749	43 inventories

These stages can then be used to create period 'case studies' and related to the pottery data discussed in Chapter 5.

The following discussion addresses the appearances of the various material categories in the three stages, including the rare appearances of ceramics, and the uses of these material categories in the functional areas of the household (the 'rooms'). In order to keep the discussion within reasonable bounds, and remembering the relationship to the pottery in households, most attention is paid to 'small moveable things', such as eating and drinking equipment, kitchen utensils, things for sanitary purposes and heating and lighting, looking glasses, books and pictures, and less to furniture. The strategy to be followed will be to attempt a detailed discussion for Stage 1, so that for the remaining Stages it should be possible merely to point up significant changes from the Stage before, on the assumption that the occurrence, if not the appearance and quantity, of many classes of long-lasting domestic objects does not change very much.

Stage 1

Ceramic

Table 28 lists for convenience all the 'ceramic references' derived from both inventories and wills. It includes not only those references which are unequivocally ceramic, but those which, from the context in which they appear, and from the words used, seem possibly to refer to ceramic objects.

References in Stage 1 are relatively rare (five inventories, compared with ten in Stage 2 and 17 in Stage 3. However, they include the substantial list of goods left by Thomas Wylde of the Commandery in 1670, whose buttery and larder contained six 'earthen pots',

Date	Name	Description	Parish	Total inv value ¹	Ceramic ref	Value ^{1,2}
				£		
1649	Barksdale	Widow	St Helen	259.65	[general] Certain bottle jugs³ [perhaps 'Certain bottles, jugs ?], glass bottles & other trumpery.	0.03
1670	Coddington	?	St Michael Bedw	12.74	[general] A mug³ .	0.03
1670	Morton	?	St John Bedw	10.53	In the buttery four empty hogsheads and two half hogsheads and a wooden horse as they are on and, five glass bottles , one stone jug and one painted jug , six pewter dishes ... and one shelf [<i>damaged</i>] safe.	3.05
1670	Wylde	? [<i>gent</i>]	[St Peter - Commandery]	1151.23	(i) [kitchen] 7 glasses, 3 cruets & 3 jugs³ , one henpen, one table & form, 4 low chairs, 1 bucken basket, one lesser basket, two little wheels & a screen to set before the fire.	0.80
					(ii) [buttery & larder] One furnace & cover, one other old furnace to boil dogs meat, 3 cowls, ... , 6 earthen pots, 2 earthen pans , 2 pails & one gallon pail, one earthen pot full with butter, 1 pot³ of lard & 4 fitches of bacon.	4.00
					(iii) [parlour] 6 high chairs, 1 elbow chair, 1 side table & 2 little tables, ... , one pair of bellows, 2 little flower pots³ .	2.85
					(iv) [closet] One case & 12 knives, 1 strong water bottle, some pots³ & glasses with sweetmeats.	0.45
1680	Sanders	Widow	St Martin	366.63	In the ground room one side cupboard, with cloth & cushion belonging to it, 5 cushions, a settle, a little round table,, a table & carpet, with earthen ware .	3.25
1690	Carte	Gent	?	71.20	[kitchen] Earthen ware and bottles and glasses.	0.75
1690	Cocks	Clockmaker	St Helen	329.19	(i) [garrets] 6 doz glass bottles, 13 stone jugs .	0.45
					(ii) [closet in the upward backward chamber] A jug³ with a plate foot & cover.	1.00
					(iii) [kitchen chamber] Window curtains and flower pots³ .	0.25
					(iv) [kitchen] Pair of flower pots³ and looking glass.	0.23
					(v) [kitchen] 3 pair [of] snuffers, 2 pans³ .	0.23
					(vi) [kitchen] Fine earthen ware .	0.50
					(vii) [cellar] Earthen ware .	0.25
1690	Fincher	Widow	St Andrew	53.75	[general] Links, salt box, tinder box, glass case, earthen ware & glasses.	0.11
1690	Lockier	Barber	All Saints	91.33	[parlour] One table board & form, one looking glass and some white ware , etc.	0.50
1690	Sollers	Gent	St Peter	135.43	[pantry] One pewter steell [still?], one safe & earthen ware , at	0.30
1690	Yarranton	Clothier	St Helen	137.17	[kitchen] Two window curtains and rods, one table, one elbow chair,, three joint stools, one dresser with drawers, some cheney ware .	2.08
1700	Cotton	Widow	St Nicholas	52.50	[general] Glasses and earthen ware .	0.25
1710	Corbin	Widow	St Andrew	106.38	[general] One parcel of earthen ware .	0.15
1710	Gardiner	?	St Michael Bedw	312.18	[general] A mug³ tipped with silver .	1.00
1710	Lilly	Widow	?	270.78	[at Mr Ferryman's house] 2 earthen basins & 3 mugs³ .	0.05
1720	Haynes	Baker	All Saints	490.58	[kitchen] Earthen ware and other odd things.	0.25
1720	Hill	Gent	St Nicholas	18.08	[pantry] Two tin covers and earthen ware .	0.13
1720	Linton	Widow	St Helen	97.18	(i) [chamber over the kitchen] A cup³ tip't with silver , 2 leathern cans, earthen ware & some trifles.	0.15
					(ii) [kitchen] Nineteen dishes of pewter, 3 doz and a half of plates, 2 salvers, 2 rings, 2 brass warming pans, a stew pan and cover,, bars, cheeks, fire plate, fender, three spits, earthen ware and other necessaries	10.00
1720	Pearcy	Victualler	All Saints	50.94	[kitchen?] Two tables, 7 chairs, mugs³ , bellows and a salt box.	0.40
1720	Pixel	Rector	St Helen	110.62	In the buttery and cellar vessels, bottles, glasses, mugs³ and other things, at	1.68
1720	Salisbury	?	St Michael Bedw	9.45	(i) In the Parlour one easy chair, four old cane chairs, one segg chair, three little tables, one looking glass, fourteen pictures and escutcheons, two china [?-damaged] , a coffee pot, a pair of brass candlesticks, one iron candlestick, some old broken china , a pair of bellows,, and a frying pan.	1.00
					(ii) In the Pantry two little brass pots and a little brass kettle, three small pewter dishes, fourteen plates, one tin pudding pan,, two trenchers, and earthen ware .	0.40
1720	Stead	Widow	All Saints	81.60	[chamber over the kitchen] Two cushions, a bason³ & little box.	0.03
1730	Delprat	Confectioner	?	99.53	In the brewhouse and cellar. A copper and small boiler, three tubs, some earthen ware , four small barrels and some lumber.	2.25
1730	Haden	Baker	All Saints	1549.53	[parlour] Fire shovel, tongs & fender 2s.; Dutch tile 4s.	0.30
1730	Johnson	Widow	St Martin	19.87	(i) [general] Nine china cups, seven saucers, 4 basons³, a tea pot³ & canister, a stand, one white quilt, one damask table cloth, 12 napkins and a side board cloth.	1.50
					(ii) [general] Bottles, earthen ware , patty pans, a desk, a barrel and 3 baskets.	0.06
1730	Villiers	Widow	St Helen		[will - no inv] ... unto ... Mrs Elizabeth Thomas all my china, or china ware whatsoever , together with the silver tongs, silver instruments or things, and other spoons belonging to my tea table, or the said china, or china ware .	
1730	Weyman	Maltster	St Helen	188.78	[kitchen] One cupboard, glass case, shelves (?) for pewter, a frame for mugs³	0.38
1740	Addenbrook	Widow	St Alban	102.25	[kitchen] Looking glass, earthen plates , trenchers.	0.25
1740	Blackmore	Hatter		687.54	[kitchen] 2 tables, a cupboard, a fowling piece, bason, cratch, books, earthen ware , and other kitchen furniture.	3.00
1740	Bright	Cordwainer	St Nicholas	7.20	[kitchen] One warming pan, looking glass and Delph ware .	0.10
1740	Turner	Cooper	St Helen	165.25	[kitchen] Delf ware, mugs³ and glasses [or possibly Delf ware mugs and glasses?]	0.30
1749	Bagley	Widow	St Helen		[will - no inv] ... to my niece Elizabeth Hill my diamond ring and eleven china plates .	
1749	Baylis	Batchelor	St Martin	11.93	(i) [general] 1 row of pigs and Delf ware .	0.02
					(ii) [general] 13 pints and quarts, glass bottles, 23 clay pots	0.18
1749	Hicks	Widow	All Saints		[will - no inv] ... to my daughter ... the best set of china with the tea spoons, tongs & tea chest ...	
1749	Phillips	Widow	St Nicholas	19.43	[general] Some old crockery ware .	0.16
				Total value 7070.45	Total value of 'lots' incl ceramic refs	45.1
					Total value of 'lots'/Total value of inventories %	0.64

¹ values reduced to decimal

² ie total value of 'lot' including ceramic ref.

³ uncertain attribution

Table 28 – 'Ceramic references'

two 'earthen pans' and one 'earthen pot full with butter', together with a 'pot of lard'. These references provide some of the very few instances in which the forms of ceramic vessels are discernible from inventory lists. The distinction drawn by the appraisers between earthen 'pots' and 'pans' enables the reader to envisage in the first place large storage vessels, perhaps of the kind illustrated in Figure 20 and secondly the type of large conical, wide-mouthed vessel which is ubiquitous in the pottery groups (see Figs 18,20, 22). The pot filled with butter might be assumed to be a 'butterpot' of the cylindrical form in which butter was transported and sold. The epithet 'earthen' invites speculation but offers no conclusion about what we might now call the 'fabric' of these vessels. If it was not a Malvernian fabric left over from earlier in the century, it might have been from North Devon, or, more probably, one of the Coarse Domestic types in the Type Series. The 'pot of lard' was possibly of the same kind, though not specifically labeled 'earthen'.

The other references specifying forms come from the same year, in which John Morton in St Johns had, also in his buttery, 'one stone jug and one painted jug'. Since English stoneware had not appeared before Morton's death (Green 1999), the first of these 'jugs' must be imported, and was no doubt a Rhenish stoneware vessel, probably from either Cologne/Frechen, or the Westerwald. The appellation 'jug' does not admit a very clear visualization, since both contemporary and more recent usage displays an unsteadiness in the use of 'bottle' (which might denote a narrow necked vessel of the Bartmann type) and 'jug', which now implies a wider neck, and even a lip, but did not always do so (see, for example, Holmes (1951:173-9) and the catalogue of stoneware from Nonsuch Palace (Hildyard 2005)). The 'bottle jugs' in the widow Barksdale's inventory in 1649 may well also be stoneware vessels of this kind. The 'painted jug' is more problematic. Since it is distinguished from the 'stone jug' it is presumably not stoneware. Perhaps it was decorated tin-glazed ware, though jugs, in the modern sense, do not seem very common in the repertoire of the London tin-glaze potters, and 'bottles' only slightly more so (Tyler et al. 2008). It could of course have been imported from the Netherlands or even further afield.

The only other clear reference to pottery comes in 1680 in the inventory of Mabel Sanders, a widow in St Martin's parish, whose house appears to consist of only a 'ground room' and an 'upper room'. The list of miscellaneous goods in the ground room, including furniture and iron and tin ware 'belonging to the chimney', is rounded off 'with earthen ware', almost as an afterthought or makeweight. This introduces what is the most common occurrence of ceramics in the inventory lists, namely a general reference to 'earthenware'. No more can be said about this than that it does not refer to stoneware.

Indeed, it may be the case that in terms of 'fabric categorization', the distinction between stoneware and earthenware is all that can usually be expected.

The more uncertain references consist of 'a mug', listed separately in Ralph Coddington's inventory³⁴ and valued at 6d, which rules out its being plate but perhaps not its being pewter, although the pewter in his household is separately mentioned; more of the contents of John Morton's buttery (a bowl, a platter, two butter dishes, a saucer and two salts, all occurring in a miscellaneous list which give no clue as to material); three jugs from Thomas Wylde's kitchen, which follow seven glasses and three cruets (perhaps also glass), and are part of a list which does not include any other metal objects; two 'little flower pots' in Wylde's parlour; and a 'strong water bottle' and 'some pots', the latter of which are bracketed with 'glasses' and contained 'sweetmeats', in a closet at the Commandery. None of these is any more likely to be ceramic than not, and they are only mentioned as examples of some of the forms in which ceramic objects might be encountered. Other than Coddington's mug, they are all in long lists of objects with an overall valuation which effectively conceals any clue which might be given by relative values.

Glass

At this Stage glass in the inventory lists is almost entirely confined to looking glasses and glass bottles. The only clear exception is the Commandery, which was by no means a typical city house, but where in 1670 the kitchen, as already indicated, contained seven glasses and three cruets as well as the jugs which it has been suggested above might have been ceramic. Even the cruets are not necessarily glass. The seven certain 'glasses' are presumably drinking glasses. A closet in the Commandery also, as mentioned above, contained a 'strong water bottle' and 'some pots and glasses with sweetmeats'. The maximum 'glass content' at the Commandery (other than bottles – see below) is thus seven 'glasses' (certain), 'glasses' with sweetmeats (certain), the three jugs associated with the glasses and the cruets, the three cruets themselves, and the 'strong water bottle'. The minimum is the (presumably) drinking glasses and the glasses with sweetmeats. In addition, John Morton, also in 1670, had an 'old glass' among the hogsheads, barrels, hair sieves and other domestic equipment in his buttery, which seems in that context to suggest a drinking glass rather than a looking glass.

What any of these vessels looked like is open to speculation; Willmott (2002) offers plenty of scope for the shapes of drinking glasses, from plain beakers to elaborately decorated

³⁴ Coddington1670

knopped-stem goblets. The glasses which contained sweetmeats at the Commandery were presumably bowls or dishes of some kind (Willmott 2002:91-6), and the cruets, if glass at all, need not be more than simple flasks. The strong water bottle, if it was indeed glass, can be subsumed within the discussion of bottles below.

Glass bottles appear quite rarely. In 1650, Dorothy Barksdale had 'Certain bottle jugs [see above], glass bottles and other trumpery', all valued at only 6d (by the time her husband's list was made later in the year these had disappeared, or were not thought worth recording). In 1670, again only Morton's and Wylde's lists refer to bottles, but the scale of their holdings was widely different. Morton's buttery contained 'five glass bottles', but Thomas Wylde's much larger establishment had 'six dozen quart bottles' in the buttery and larder, and 'two dozen quart bottles of sack [ie sweet white wine]' in the closet at the stair head. The closet also contained 'a parcel of corks', presumably for use with the bottles. In 1680 the innkeeper Robert Allen in All Saints parish had in a little back room '12 dozen glass bottles', listed with a 'press of tobacco and a cask', no doubt all part of the stock of his trade. If we can assume that Wylde's bottles are glass rather than stoneware, these four instances amount to the total for Stage 1. It remains to consider what kind of bottles are in question. Glass bottles at this period can be divided into case and wine bottles, the former with a square section, the latter round. The bottles containing sack are no doubt the latter, and those in Allen's back room can probably be assumed to be wine bottles also, used for storing and dispensing wine to his customers. Wylde's stock of six dozen, presumably empty, bottles can also probably be counted as wine bottles, but the others may be either. The use of glass wine bottles at this Stage was relatively novel. They were first produced in England in the mid-17th century (Willmott 2002 :86), but case bottles were in use earlier, so that at least Dorothy Barksdale's glass bottles may be of the latter kind. The shape of the wine bottles in these lists would have been of the early 'shaft and globe' type, with a globular body and a relatively long tapering neck (see Willmott (2002:86 [Plate 10]) and Gooder (1984:232, 235)).

Looking glasses are also relatively uncommon. The 1650 sample includes them in two out of eight inventories (rather than the nominal nine: the inventories of Dorothy and Nathaniel Barksdale, a wife and husband who died in the same year, are virtually identical and must be counted as one). In 1670 there are only two instances in 14, but in 1680 seven in 17. In only two of these 11 cases is there more than one glass: in 1670 Thomas Read, a rich vintner, had two, unfortunately not located in the house, and in 1680 Robert Allen had a looking glass in the forestreet chamber and a 'little looking glass' in either the kitchen or the buttery. The latter is the only case in which there is any qualification of the description 'looking glass' (other than Edward Standish's 'broken looking glass' in the

'Eagle chamber' in 1650), so that it is impossible to be certain what kind of looking glass is meant in each case, whether a hand-held glass or a wall-mounted one, and how large they were. Little can be deduced from values, assuming size is reflected in value. Only Read's two are separately listed with a value of 10s, or an average of 5s each. This compares with later values of as little as 6d for one in 1720 and as much as £3 for a 'large' one in 1700³⁵, so that little can be said about the exact nature of these objects, except that they clearly varied in size, elaboration and quality. No doubt some were simple hand mirrors and others more impressive objects, perhaps with carved and gilded frames. In all cases except Robert Allen's little glass in the kitchen or buttery, the looking glass or glasses were, as might be expected, in a chamber or other room with a bed.

Pewter

In contrast to ceramics and glass, pewter is ubiquitous and plentiful in the inventory lists. In only three cases out of 39 at this Stage is there no mention of it, not even as a general category (for example, 'pewter of all sorts'³⁶, '101lb of pewter at 7d a pound'³⁷), and in at least one of those it is clear that the possessions listed are not part of an established household but merely the contents of a 'little trunk' belonging to someone who perhaps lived in lodgings or with relatives³⁸.

There are several ways of categorizing pewter. A basic distinction can be drawn between flatware, or 'sadware', and hollow ware. This distinction partly mirrors the differences in quality between various alloys used for different purposes. Sadware was typically distinguished by a lower lead content than the alloys ('lay metal') used for hollow ware (Hatcher & Barker 1974:164, Brett 1981:11), and a Worcester pewterer's inventory of 1713 records 'plate metal', 'trifle metal' and 'platter metal' in addition to lay (quoted by Homer & Hall 1985:9), all presumably slightly different in their content. However, these distinctions rarely appear in the inventories, beyond an occasional indication in valuations; in 1720 William Percy had dishes, plates and a salver (that is, flatware) valued at 7½d a pound, and guns, quarts, pints (that is, drinking vessels) 'and other coarse pewter' valued at 6d. In 1650 two households, and in 1670 one, contained some 'counterfeit' vessels³⁹, separately listed from pewter. This appears to be a traditional alternative name for sadware or flatware (Hatcher & Barker 1974:59), perhaps deriving from the brightness and hardness of its metal, looking more like silver.

³⁵ Pennell1720; Slater1700

³⁶ Taylor1650

³⁷ Greenebancke1680

³⁸ Pitt1680

³⁹ Barksdale1650; Standish1650; Stinton1670

Pewter in the inventory lists is overwhelmingly concerned with eating and drinking, or tableware, but has a more modest role in sanitary equipment, heating and lighting, and food preparation. In 1650 most of the vessels which occur in Stage 1 have already appeared, despite the limited number of early inventories available. The most common vessel by far, and usually the first to appear in the entry concerned, is the 'dish', sometimes qualified by 'great', 'little', or some other adjective denoting relative size. Brett (1981:39) offers a modern collectors' categorization of flatware sizes: 'plates 8-10in diameter, dishes 10-18in, chargers over 18in; saucers are anything smaller than about 6½in.' But this does not help with understanding what the description 'dish' meant in the late 17th century. It seems more helpful to think in terms of shape rather than size. The OED definition, 'a broad shallow vessel, with flat bottom, concave sides, and nearly level rim, ... used chiefly to hold food at meals'⁴⁰ does not imply any particular diameter, and the term is used in this sense in Chapters 4 and 5 for ceramic vessels of this shape, irrespective of size. Thomas Birt in 1680 had 'three large pewter dishes, seven middling dishes' and 'six of a lesser sort' in his kitchen, which suggests that different sizes of vessel nevertheless shared the same accepted characteristics. But we should perhaps be careful in assuming too much; the three instances in which there is sufficient detail to be sure that dishes do not appear are precisely those in which 'platters' appear⁴¹. Perhaps 'platter' is, if only for some appraisers, equivalent to 'dish', in spite of the apparent difference in shape. 'Charger', the third of Brett's categories and now much used to describe large ceramic 'dishes' (for example Black 2001a:20-1), does not appear anywhere in the inventory lists, although its OED entry suggests that it was current at this Stage, and was an alternative to 'platter'⁴². At the very least we should conclude that 'dish' was an elastic word and it might only be safe to interpret it as a general term for vessels which were used to present food at the table for those present to serve themselves.

The other flatware types encountered at this Stage are saucers and plates, the latter qualified in a few instances by the addition of 'pie', 'butter' or 'cheese'. 'Saucer' is another equivocal term, at least by the early 18th century. With the growth of tea and coffee drinking in this period it eventually came to acquire the current virtually exclusive meaning of a support for a cup. It appears as such already in Celia Fiennes' well-known comment on her eventually unsuccessful visit in 1698 to 'Newcastle in Staffordshire to see the making the fine tea-potts cups and saucers of the fine red earth' (Morris 1982:156). But

⁴⁰ "dish, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/54435?rskey=JR4lyV&result=1> (accessed March 29, 2012).

⁴¹ Nott1650; Doughty1670; Arnway1680

⁴² "charger, n.1". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/30704> (accessed March 31, 2012).

at this Stage the earlier meaning of a 'receptacle, usually of metal, for holding the condiments at a meal; a dish or deep plate in which salt or sauces were placed upon the table'⁴³ must be at least as likely. The use in this definition of both 'dish' and 'plate' highlights the difficulty in getting past the names used in the lists to an appreciation of the real material nature of these objects. We must suppose that the saucers in these households were fairly small, but deep enough to hold sauces or salt safely without spillage; in fact, much like a small dish.

Saucers occur less frequently than dishes and generally in smaller numbers, which would be consistent with such an interpretation, although John Bacon's kitchen in 1650 had a dozen compared with 20 dishes, with no plates, which perhaps suggests that they had a function beyond that of holding sauces and salt (he had a saltcellar as well), and were then functioning as 'plates' for individual use. Also in 1650, Edward Standish, whose establishment looks like an inn or alehouse, had six saucers, no plates and ten dishes; in 1680 Thomas Birt had five saucers, no plates, and total of 16 dishes. But these tentative interpretations take no account of the existence of alternative ways of transferring whatever was in the dish to the individual diner's place: ceramic plates, dishes and bowls, for which there is admittedly no evidence in the inventory lists; bread trenchers, for which there can be no such evidence; and wooden equipment, for which there is some. Standish's putative inn had in the kitchen buttery, along with the pewter dishes and saucers, 'three wooden platters' and 'four dozen wooden trenchers'. Two other lists in 1650 have trenchers (listed with other items of wood) or treen ware⁴⁴, and in 1670 four have⁴⁵, although there are none in 1680.

There are no plates in 1650, and they occur in only six lists out of a total of 39 for this Stage. Robert Allen, however, in his inn in 1680 had three dozen plates and 30 dishes, Richard Weaver, another innholder in the same year, had 19 plates and 21 dishes, and in 1670 Thomas Read, a 'vintner' had 16. It is suggestive that all three were in the business of providing food and/or accommodation. The plates can no doubt be conceived as in general somewhat smaller than dishes and larger than saucers, but the defining characteristic being less depth, and perhaps a proportionately narrower rim than the dish. Brett (1981:38) has illustrations of both plain and multiple-reeded plate rims from the 17th century, either or both of which could be present in these lists. The plates were no doubt virtually all fairly plain and undecorated, perhaps with initials or, in a few cases, an armorial crest on the rim, but Brett (1981:46) also illustrates two late 17th century plates

⁴³ "saucer, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/171330?rskey=zoKPh7&result=1> (accessed March 29, 2012).

⁴⁴ Barksdale1650; Taylor1650

⁴⁵ Child1670; Sollers(Broomhall)1670; Webb1670; Wylde1670

engraved with 'wrigglework' tulips, reminiscent of decoration on contemporary tin-glazed ware and North Devon sgraffito dishes (Allan et al. 2005:190), and Archer (1997:35), discussing influences on Delftware, illustrates a pewter dish with incised tulips and the royal arms of Charles II, which should alert us to the possibility of greater display in some pewter ware.

Very occasionally, 'plates' are qualified by an adjective apparently denoting specific use; there are pie plates in 1650 and 1680, a cheese plate in 1670 and a 'little butter plate' in 1650⁴⁶. Thomas Wylde had both a cheese plate and a pie plate as well as four 'unqualified' plates in his kitchen, but in none of the other cases did the households concerned otherwise contain plates. It may be that the addition of epithets such as 'pie', 'cheese' and 'butter' has more to do with the size (and price) of the plate than its use; Archer (1997:71) draws attention to the probable use of 'butter' to define a small size category of Delftware dishes. The apparent rarity of plates may be no more than the result of a local linguistic usage which conceals more than it reveals, but it gives the impression that individual diners used means other than plates for eating at table, notably wooden trenchers, whereas the pewter dish was, at any rate in these 'middling' households, the preferred means of presenting food on the table. The appearance of large quantities of 'plates' in inns, however, may be seen as heralding a change in eating habits (although Weaver in 1680 still had six dozen trenchers as well as his 19 pewter plates).

When we turn from flatware to hollow ware, a variety of vessels appears in 1650. The majority of these are drinking vessels, or vessels to contain beverages: can, cup, flagon, pot (or pint pot), gun, and a 'tunne' (a kind of cup)⁴⁷. To these are added pottingers or porringers, salts or saltcellars, candlesticks, basins, chamber pots, a ewer⁴⁸, a 'pewter bottle'⁴⁹, a colander⁵⁰ and a cistern⁵¹. At least 230 vessels are itemised. By far the largest individual number among these is 58 flagons, although this is also the least likely form to be positively identified as pewter; only 16 of these are so described in the lists, the other 42 being deduced from the context to be pewter. This may mean that flagons were so obviously of pewter that the appraisers saw no need to qualify further, or perhaps that some of them have been wrongly categorised. Nevertheless, even if some of these are not pewter, the pewter flagon seems to have been a very common article of household equipment. As might be expected, Robert Allen, the innholder, left a dozen in 1680, and

⁴⁶ Barksdale1650; Wylde1670; Allen1680

⁴⁷ Smith1650

⁴⁸ Barksdale1650

⁴⁹ Standish1650

⁵⁰ Allen1680

⁵¹ Woodward1680

Edward Standish, also probably an innkeeper, seven in 1650. But John Stinton, a walker who died in 1670 worth a relatively modest £20, left as many as eleven. Most of the inventories which list pewter in any detail have at least one. The form of this vessel is familiar from many illustrations, not least because it was used in an ecclesiastical context for dispensing communion wine, and occurs in silver in collections of church plate: a tall cylindrical shape, often tapering somewhat towards the top, with a handle, with or without a spout, and usually having a lid with a thumb-piece.

Of the other vessels concerned with drink, the cup occurs only three times⁵², and is far outnumbered by cans, pots and guns. Only four inventories mention guns, in one case qualified by 'great' ('two great pewter guns'⁵³), and two of these relate to inns (Robert Allen and Richard Weaver, both 1680). But the number of vessels is inflated by the fact that Weaver had 13 of these vessels in his inn or alehouse. The OED definition of this word, which it classes 'slang or dialect', is 'a flagon (of ale)', and it cites a 1674 reference: 'a great flagon of ale sold for 3^d. or 4^d'. It also raises the possibility that the word is a form of 'gawn', itself a contraction of 'gallon'⁵⁴. The glossary in Wanklyn's volume of Worcestershire gentry inventories (1998) follows the analogy with gawn and has it as a 'large ladle', possibly holding a gallon. This accords with the definition given by Randle Holme in 1688: 'a vessel made after the form of a piggen, but it hath a long handle or neck thereby to reach to the bottom of deep brewing vessels to fetch out the liquor' (Holme 1688:III, 320). But it seems unlikely that Richard Weaver would have needed as many as 13 of these. Three of the four inventories where it occurs also list flagons, so that it cannot be taken simply as a synonym for flagon. Perhaps it is a large flagon, or a 'tankard'. Weaver had, in addition to his 13 guns, only one can, five flagons and three pots, so that in his case at least it was possibly a large drinking vessel, although not as large as a gallon, which would be unmanageable. It may be also that it was, as implied by the 1674 reference, primarily a measure for dispensing ale for sale.

The pot, of which there are at least 21 listed, is in most cases clearly defined as of pewter, perhaps to distinguish it from the very different use of the term for brass cooking pots (see below). In one case there is a distinction within the same list between 'seven pewter pots' and 'two pewter pint pots'⁵⁵, leading to the conclusion that 'pot' does not denote a fixed capacity. These vessels were no doubt simple handled mugs of various capacities, perhaps at least half-pint, pint and quart. They are not restricted to inns, and were

⁵² Deakins1650, Chandler1670, Stinton1670

⁵³ Allen1680

⁵⁴ "gun, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/82559?rskey=SxINJB&result=1> (accessed March 31, 2012).

⁵⁵ Deakins1650

common in ordinary households as the everyday means for drinking the ale, beer or cider kept in the cellar. In this context, to pots must be added cans, of which there are at least 17, the majority securely labeled pewter. In contrast to all of the other vessels concerned with drinking, they always occur in small numbers; most inventories with detailed lists have one or two. Cans are as problematic as guns. The OED quotes both Nathan Bailey's Dictionary of 1721: '*Cann*, a wooden pot to drink out of', and Dr Johnson's Dictionary (1755): '*Can*, a cup, generally a cup made of metal, or some other matter than earth.'⁵⁶ Edward Standish in 1650 had 'one wooden can' in his buttery, and Robert Sollers a tin one in 1670 in the hall at his Broomhall house. It is possible that a few of the cans not securely identified as pewter are therefore wood or tin. Works on pewter are reticent about this form; neither Brett (1981) nor Hatcher & Barker (1974) has any reference to it. We may suppose that if, according to Johnson, it was similar to a cup, it had a handle, and was relatively small compared with other drinking vessels, but in what way it differed from a pot is not at all clear.

Of the remaining pewter objects listed, the most numerous are porringers (or pottingers), candlesticks and chamber pots, followed by basins and salts (or saltcellars). Although there are at least 23 porringers, a dozen of them belonged to Thomas Birt, a clothier who died in 1680; a few other lists contain no more than two or three each. They are thus no more numerous than plates. They only occur in the same households as plates twice, in both cases in inns or drinking establishments⁵⁷, which also contained the usual dishes. In all the other instances, including Birt, they are associated with dishes only⁵⁸. On this basis, one might postulate that, although plates were beginning to appear in some households, the more usual arrangement was for a few porringers to supplement wooden trenchers in dining, to accommodate more liquid foods such as soups and stews. The form usually attributed to pewter porringers is the familiar round vessel with usually one but sometimes two sub-triangular horizontal handles, often pierced. The form is regularly replicated in tin-glazed earthenware (for example Tyler et al. 2008:50, Archer 2005:83). In Chapters 4 and 5 it has been more liberally interpreted in relation to ceramic vessels, to denote a single-handled container rather bigger than a cup.

At least 30 pewter candlesticks are listed, but little further information can be extracted about them. They were no doubt generally straightforward functional objects, with the occasional more decorated example. Brett (1981:6, 29, 51) illustrates several variations of a pewter form from this Stage which consisted of a base, column, 'drip pan' part way up

⁵⁶ "can, n.1". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/26855?rskey=IV1g9u&result=1> (accessed March 29, 2012).

⁵⁷ Read1670, Weaver1680

⁵⁸ Bacon1650, Sollers(Broomhall)1670, Birt1680, Hall1680

the column, and socket at the top. The only departures from the bare description 'candlestick' are offered by Thomas Wylde, who in 1670 had a 'little hand candlestick of pewter' in his kitchen, and the Barksdale household in 1650, which, in addition to four candlesticks, had 'two loose sockets'. But Wylde also had two tin candlesticks and a tin lantern, a 'wire candlestick', and a pair of snuffers. The OED suggests that 'wire' in this context means iron⁵⁹ (it has two 17th century references to wire candlesticks), but Edward Standish in 1650 had 'one iron candlestick' and 'two wire candlesticks' closely associated in the same list for the kitchen buttery, so that some other metal may be meant here, or perhaps simply a different method of manufacture. Tin candlesticks appear in four other lists⁶⁰, but brass is the major alternative to pewter for candlesticks; there are at least 18 listed, and a number of households had both pewter and brass⁶¹. There may of course be ceramic candlesticks, but they are not mentioned, neither are there any in the archaeological groups.

Chamber pots are mentioned specifically in eleven of the 39 lists for this Stage, amounting to at least 37 pots; however, only two are unequivocally of pewter⁶², another 23 deduced from the context to be so, and 12 appear from the value allocated to them to be of metal. As with flagons, this may be the result of an assumption by the assessors that chamber pots, at least metal ones, were so commonly made of pewter that no more description was needed. But some may be ceramic, which is the only possible alternative. Most households for which they are mentioned possessed a small number (up to four), presumably enough for the needs of the family and one or two servants or apprentices, but the innkeeper Allen in 1680 had 11, and Thomas Read, the vintner in 1670, had six. These lowly objects do not figure in modern accounts of 17th and 18th century pewter, no doubt because they do not often survive in collections and are not decorative. They required regular scouring and because of the wear this produced, and in spite of this probably becoming noxious, they needed regular recycling and replacement. Their appearance can perhaps be envisioned as something like their tin-glazed counterparts (eg Fig 17); indeed, their shape and size is so peculiarly governed by their function that it did not change substantially throughout their period of major use, which extended well into the 20th century. Chamber pots were usually kept in the kitchen, but in a few households they were supplemented by a close stool, that is a wooden box with a seat and a pan. These objects introduce a certain element of convenience and

⁵⁹ "wire, n.2". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/272975?rskey=SEMZr5&result=2> (accessed March 30, 2012).

⁶⁰ Morton1670, Sollers(City)1670, Wylde1670, Birt1680

⁶¹ Barksdale1650 (includes a 'brass sconce', which may be either a small candlestick with a handle and possibly a screen against draughts, or a wall-light), Stinton1670, Allen1680, Birt1680

⁶² Nott1650, Horniold1670

privacy into houses without separate spaces for sanitary functions, and were perhaps indicators of some social standing or aspiration. In 1670 Robert Sollers, a gentleman with households both in the city and at Broomhall on its outskirts, had a close stool in his bedchamber in the city, and in 1680 the wealthy innholder Robert Allen had one in his own chamber (in contrast to the 11 chamber pots provided for his customers and servants). In the same year Richard Weaver, also an innkeeper, had one in the 'toploft', and William Havard, 'late one of the members of the cathedral church of Worcester', a clergyman, probably living in lodgings in the close, with possessions consisting of little more than a bed, table and chairs, and two dozen books, had the only one listed with its 'pan'. The pans in these pieces of furniture were probably pewter, and of a different shape than chamber pots, nearer, as the name implies, to the pottery 'pans' used in the kitchen for general mixing and washing, but narrower and deeper.

The 14 pewter basins and one 'bowl' are, where there is any indication, invariably located in kitchens, or other rooms in which cooking clearly took place. But kitchens at this period are also usually the general living and dining areas of the house, often the only room with a fire for heating, so that basins are no more likely to be associated with food preparation than with washing the hands, which is their usual connotation. In one case a ewer (or water jug) is also listed among the pewter, along with two basins and much other pewter, although without any indication of location⁶³.

Pewter salts or saltcellars are included in five lists from 1650⁶⁴, none in 1670 and only two in 1680⁶⁵. These took the form of a small, shallow bowl or depression mounted on a support of some kind. In the late 17th century the latter tended to be a short column, leading to the modern name 'capstan salt' from its resemblance to the mechanism for winding ropes on board a ship (Brett 1981:52). Other than three silver salts⁶⁶ and two (presumably wooden) 'salt boxes'⁶⁷, there is no other specific mention of salt containers, although ceramic versions (like the one from the Pickleherring pottery illustrated by Tyler et al (2008:51)) could have been included in the 'lumber' or 'other trumpery' in many lists. Salt could of course equally well have been provided in the pewter saucers discussed above. Two spoons left by Robert Sollers in his house at Broomhall in 1670 are the only pewter examples; spoons of any kind are rare, and the only others are of silver (see below).

⁶³ Barksdale1650

⁶⁴ Bacon, Barksdale, Deakins, Nott, Standish

⁶⁵ Weaver, Weston

⁶⁶ Webb1670, Allen1680

⁶⁷ Barksdale1650, Allen1680

Brass

In 1755 Dr Johnson in his dictionary defined the *new* word 'bronze' as meaning 'brass'⁶⁸. 'Bronze' was adopted from the mid-18th century (from the Italian and in reference to antique bronze sculptures) to refer specifically to alloys of copper and tin, formerly encompassed in the overall term 'brass'. Earlier, the term brass was used to include all alloys of copper with other metals. For present purposes, therefore, 'brass' objects in 17th and early 18th century Worcester houses were made of what is now called bronze, and that is the sense in which it is used here.

Brass is as ubiquitous as pewter. Only four inventories in Stage 1 have no specific mention of it. It is overwhelmingly concerned with cooking. Mention has already been made of brass candlesticks as the main alternative to pewter. Almost the only other non-culinary use of brass to rate a mention is for warming pans. Even here, there is only one warming pan which is unequivocally stated to be of brass⁶⁹; six more are deduced from the context to be so, and ten more are mentioned. These must have been made of metal, but the inventory lists of themselves give little support to the assertion made by the OED that they were 'usually of brass'.⁷⁰ Finally, there are three instances of 'brass andirons'⁷¹, at first sight an oxymoronic expression, but confirmed by 17th century OED references⁷². Wrought iron andirons could certainly have been ornamented with brass on the front uprights, even if the whole object was not brass. Richard Pitcher, a goldsmith of St Helen's parish, left in 1670 'a pair of dogs [ie fire-dogs or andirons] with brass tops', and a will of 1661 refers to 'my andirons, fireshovel and tongs with brazen knobs'⁷³.

To return to cooking, of the 189 named items which are, or can reasonably be assumed to be, brass, almost three-quarters (138) are either pots or kettles, in almost exactly equal proportions. There is a marked difference between the descriptions of these objects. Pots are almost invariably described as 'brass' or 'brazen', perhaps, as suggested above, because of a potential confusion with pewter drinking pots, whereas kettles are frequently unqualified. Very little further can be said about them from the inventory evidence alone. Further adjectives used to describe them are confined to size ('great', 'little') or age ('old'), apart from a single reference in 1650 to two 'skillet kettles'⁷⁴. Since these follow one

⁶⁸ "bronze, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/23724?rskey=MT4UJX&result=1> (accessed March 29, 2012).

⁶⁹ Barksdale1650

⁷⁰ "warming-pan, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/225779?redirectedFrom=warming%20pan> (accessed March 29, 2012).

⁷¹ Bacon1650, Horniold1670, Greenbancke1680

⁷² "andiron, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/7308?redirectedFrom=andiron> (accessed March 29, 2012).

⁷³ Clarke1661

⁷⁴ Barksdale1650

'great' kettle, one 'middling' and one 'lesser', it may be that this rather obscure description is meant to indicate relative size as well perhaps as the fact that, like skillets, these kettles had feet. The difference between pots and kettles is succinctly put by Johnson in his Dictionary (1755): 'In the kitchen the name of *pot* is given to the boiler that grows narrower towards the top, and of *kettle* to that which grows wider.'⁷⁵ This does not explain the difference between the kinds of cooking or other kitchen operations for which each was used. Both are 'boilers'; perhaps the more enclosed pot was used for slower cooking than the open kettle, used for boiling water or other liquids rapidly. Since almost all households had both, their functions were presumably distinct. The inventory for Robert Sollers' city house in 1670 provides some indication that different qualities of metal were used for these vessels: the appraisers weighed the pots and kettles separately and arrived at '56lbs of kettle brass', worth £1 8s, and 'one hundredweight three [ie 115lbs] of pot brass', worth £2 6s 8d, giving values of 6d a pound for kettles and about 5d a pound for pots.

Other brass 'culinary' objects are much rarer: six pans, eight basting ladles (or, in one case, spoon⁷⁶), five mortars (two with pestles), nine skillets, four chafing dishes, three or four furnaces, ten posnets, five skimmers, and one pair of scales. Some of these do not require further comment. Pans were presumably flatter and wider than pots or kettles, and used for different purposes; Robert Webb, a well-off chandler in St Swithin's parish, left three in 1670, but he also had three pots and three kettles. The OED defines posnet as: 'a small metal pot or vessel for boiling, having a handle and three feet'⁷⁷, much like a metal version of an earthenware pipkin. It seems to be not very different from a skillet, although the latter had a longer handle, and both are perhaps forerunners of the handled saucepan (the innkeeper Robert Allen had two 'saucepans' of undetermined metal in 1680, and there are other tin examples⁷⁸).

In 1650 John Deakins, a weaver in St John's, had a 'furnace of brass' in his brewhouse, and in 1670 John Morton and Thomas Read each had one in their kitchen. Furnaces were not, however, necessarily brass. In 1680 the widow Anne Arnway in St Clement's had a 'furnace of lead and brass with irons to it', probably in her cellar, and Robert Allen had both a 'large copper furnace and the furnace irons' in his brewhouse and an 'iron furnace' in the 'back kitchen'. Allen's was a large establishment and was unusual in having two furnaces, presumably one for brewing ale and another for domestic purposes.

⁷⁵ "kettle, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/103096?redirectedFrom=kettle> (accessed March 29, 2012).

⁷⁶ Birt1680

⁷⁷ "posnet, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/148332?redirectedFrom=posnet> (accessed March 29, 2012).

⁷⁸ Sollers(Broomhall)1670, Wylde1670

But Thomas Wylde had two in the buttery at the Commandery in 1670; it is not clear what metal they were made of, but one had a 'cover' and the other was an 'old furnace to boil dogs' meat'. Only two other lists include two furnaces, one of them belonging to another innkeeper⁷⁹. Of the 13 lists which include furnaces, seven place them, or at least one of them, in the brewhouse or 'backside' (that is in an outhouse), only three in the kitchen or back kitchen. It seems clear that these vessels were primarily large metal 'boilers' used not for cooking but in brewing, and probably also for other domestic purposes such as laundry. Many of them were probably brass, but a number were iron or even copper. They are often associated with 'irons' or in one case 'grates'⁸⁰, meaning a substructure on which they were raised and beneath which the fire could be set. The implication of their inclusion in what are supposed to be lists of moveable goods is that they were not, like ovens, a 'built-in' part of the house structure, but they are perhaps on the way to becoming so, more nearly approaching the modern use of 'furnace', and also the use of 'copper' to mean a boiler set in brickwork and used mainly for laundry. Allen's large copper furnace was valued at the very high sum of £20, compared with 8s. for Sollers' iron one and £1 1s. for the widow Arnway's lead and brass one.

Iron, tin and other metals

The use of iron, as it appears in the inventory lists, is mostly concerned with activities surrounding the fire or fireplace. The division in the matrix between the functional areas of Cooking, and Heating and Lighting (see Fig 35), is in some ways not helpful in this context, in that it tends to produce arbitrary distinctions between classes of objects which are essentially part of a seamless whole. The use of the fire for both cooking and heating means that some of the objects connected with it, mostly of iron, are relevant to both.

We may assume without qualification that all of the houses for which household inventories exist had a fireplace of some sort, and frequently more than one. In the first place, the fire itself had to be contained and supported, and for this four entries seem relevant: 'bar and cheeks' (almost always verbally if not physically conjoined), grate, andirons and 'dogs'. The first of these is by far the most common. Virtually all households for which there is any detail had a bar and cheeks, in only two cases qualified by the adjective 'iron'⁸¹, but generally assumed to be so. It is unclear exactly what form this took, but 'cheeks (always in the plural) presumably mean upright plates of iron at the sides of the fire. The OED offers only a note suggesting, among many other technical

⁷⁹ Crowther1680, Weaver1680

⁸⁰ Weaver1680

⁸¹ Sollers(Broomhall)1670, Wylde1670

uses, 'the side-pieces of a grate or stove'⁸². The glossary in Wanklyn's volume of Worcestershire gentry inventories offers no help at all, despite the appearance of cheeks in some of his lists. But he suggests that 'bar' usually indicates a 'bar of iron at the base of the chimney from which cooking pots could be suspended' (Wanklyn 1998:422). If they were separate items, albeit both of iron and associated with the chimney, it is not obvious why they so frequently occur joined by 'and'. On the other hand, perhaps their regular association in the lists produces a false impression of a single object; there are in fact at least three cases where a bar occurs by itself⁸³, and one⁸⁴ where there is an 'iron bar to stand *before* the fire' [added emphasis] as well as an iron bar and cheeks, and a pair of cobirons (see below), all in the hall. They are in any event, whether separate or in some way joined, the invariable backdrop for all the other appurtenances of the fire. They occur in 23 of the 39 inventories for Stage 1, including 26 instances, since two households had more than one: in 1650 Edward Standish had them in the 'Crowne Chamber' and in the kitchen, with a solitary bar in the 'forestreet room below', and in 1680 the widow Sanders had them in both the upper and lower rooms of her two-room establishment. They seem usually to be associated with cooking, as implied by Wanklyn's definition of 'bar'. Nine are in kitchens, four in halls (in cases where this is still the room for cooking), and six in lower or ground floor rooms clearly also used in this way. In only three cases do bars and cheeks occur in bedchambers without obvious cooking functions⁸⁵.

Somewhat rarer are andirons, dogs (which, as fire-dogs, from their alleged similarity to crouching dogs, are the equivalent of andirons), and grates. Andirons or dogs assumed in the absence of contrary evidence to be iron occur in 11 lists, with the addition of the three certain brass andirons. These objects are conventionally defined as supporting burning wood, and would certainly be of little use for a coal fire. On the other hand, grates, which occur in seven lists, might be thought of as more enclosed, basket-like receptacles which could accommodate coal⁸⁶. It is noticeable that almost all of these items appear in rooms which are not otherwise equipped for cooking. Andirons and dogs appear exclusively in bedchambers or rooms that seem to be furnished as 'sitting rooms'; grates are more variously situated; five are similarly placed, and three are in 'cooking rooms', although only in one case called a kitchen⁸⁷. Almost all households boast at least

⁸² "cheek, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/31127?rskey=nKr7Y3&result=1> (accessed March 29, 2012).

⁸³ Standish1650, Greenbancke1680, Weaver1680,

⁸⁴ Deakins1650

⁸⁵ Standish1650, Greenbancke1680, Sanders1680

⁸⁶ Inventories tell us little about the fuel used in these fires: only Wylde1670, Allen1680 and Arnway1680 record coal or coals, Barksdale1650 has a 'cole hatchet', and Morton1670 a 'coal basket'; Doughty1670 has 'wood in the backside', Webb1670 has 'faggots and other wood' in his candle workhouse, and Wylde1670 has wood as well as coals 'about the house'.

⁸⁷ Child1670

one set of 'fireshovel and tongs', and 13 lists include a pair of bellows, both essential in handling the fire, and one a fender⁸⁸ to stop burning coals or wood from falling into the room.

This seems a mixed and rather confusing picture. Generally speaking, 'cheeks' seem almost universal, and 'bars', whether directly or fortuitously associated with cheeks, equally so, although they may have nothing to do with managing or enclosing the fire. Other kinds of implements are less common, and more likely to appear in bedchambers, parlours, or more private places. Perhaps surprisingly, nothing seems obviously to approximate to a 'fire back', that is a plate at the back of the fire rather than at the sides. Ten 'plates' of iron of various sorts occur, in five cases conceivably in the nature of a fire back (two are clearly linked to grates⁸⁹), but in the other five definitely not: three are plates to put 'before the fire' or 'before the cheeks'⁹⁰, one is a 'plate of iron to warm beer'⁹¹, and another is specifically a 'toasting plate of iron'⁹².

Other objects which are part of the appurtenances of the fireplace, as opposed to cooking implements as such, are links, pot hooks, racks, cobirons, and jacks. Links occur in 14 lists, and are helpfully described in Robert Sollers' house at Broomhall as 'links to hang pots and kettles on the fire', in other words short lengths of chain (perhaps attached at one end to the 'bar'?). In Sollers' other house in the city were 'two iron racks for spits', and racks appear in seven inventories. Pot hooks, which are, unsurprisingly, as common as links, no doubt provided the connection between the links and the pots and kettles suspended from them. Cobirons are slightly more problematic, in that they eventually came to be synonymous with (or perhaps confused with) andirons⁹³. Originally, however, they were the irons on which the spit turned, that is a pair of upright bars with loops or brackets in which the spit rested while turning. Sometimes the front uprights of a pair of andirons were provided with such loops or brackets, giving rise to the confusion of the two terms (and to the fact that cobirons are somewhat erratically recorded on the matrix sheets under either Cooking or Heating and Lighting). It is possible that in Thomas Horniold's list in 1670 this confusion is apparent. He had spits and racks, but only andirons; unfortunately his list is not linked to rooms, so that we cannot be certain where in the house these items were, whether all in the 'cooking room' or in separate rooms. And there are other cases of spits, with or without racks and a jack, without obvious

⁸⁸ Horniold1670

⁸⁹ Standish1650, Sollers(City)1670

⁹⁰ Barksdale1650, Nott1650, Morton1670

⁹¹ Wylde1670

⁹² Standish1650

⁹³ The OED quotes a definition of 1674 which equates the two; it also asserts: 'but cob-irons and andirons are distinct in early inventories.' How early is not made clear.

means of support by way of cobirons or andirons⁹⁴. Spits go along in functional terms with cobirons. They were perhaps unremarkable everyday objects but are by far the most frequent iron objects recorded; at least 67 are listed, usually in groups. Robert Allen had seven, valued at 3d. a pound, compared with 2½d. a pound for the bar and cheeks and other iron ware.

All of these objects are in most cases self-evidently iron, but the jack was not always so. 15 are recorded, of which one is an 'iron jack'⁹⁵, but another is a 'wooden jack out of order'⁹⁶. The others are not labeled as to material, but there are clues about the nature of some of them: both Thomas Read and Thomas Wylde in 1670 had a 'jack and weights' and in the same year John Stinton a 'jack and cord'; in 1680 the innkeeper Robert Allen had a 'large winding jack' and 'two chains' which seem to be associated with it. These are all mechanisms for turning the spit for roasting meat, driven, like a pendulum clock, by weights, and wound up to run for a period of time. They were clearly of various sizes and perhaps sophistication; in 1680 Allen's large machine, no doubt intended for a busy kitchen providing food for his customers, was paralleled by the widow Arnway's 'little jack' and two 'old jacks', both in the modest establishments of shoemakers⁹⁷. Whether any of the jacks were 'smoke-jacks', with a mechanism which was activated by the current of hot air passing over a turbine mounted in the chimney, seems unlikely, but possible⁹⁸.

Under the spits and the meat roasting on them were invariably dripping pans. At least 20 of these are iron, but there are also at least eight tin examples, indeed this is the most frequently specified tin object in the lists. Robert Sollers had in his city house both 'one iron dripping pan and one of tin'. Other iron cooking objects can be quickly summarised: seven iron pots (presumably similar to the brass ones), seven flesh forks (for removing meat from the pot), five gridirons, five chafing dishes, seven cleavers and three knives ('chopping' or 'mincing'), and one ladle. Finally there are 14 frying pans, only two of which are listed as iron, but most of which seem from the context to be so.

A very few 'non-cooking' iron objects appear. Iron or wire candlesticks have already been mentioned. Smoothing irons appear once in each of the three years covered by Stage 1⁹⁹, and a smattering of miscellanea (a hammer, pincers¹⁰⁰, a spade, an axe¹⁰¹) complete

⁹⁴ for example Chandler1670, Webb1670, Wylde1670, Crowther1680

⁹⁵ Weaver1680

⁹⁶ Taylor1650

⁹⁷ Bright1680 (£24), Weston1680 (£8)

⁹⁸ The OED quotes an entry in Samuel Pepys' diary for 1660 referring to a wooden smoke-jack, and a letter of 1676 from John Evelyn about 'the smoke-jack in my brother's kitchen-chimney; which has been there, I have heard, near a hundred years.'

⁹⁹ Standish1650, Wylde1670, Allen1680

¹⁰⁰ both Barksdale1650

the picture. At this level of detail, at which an individual item like a hammer, weighing perhaps a pound, would be valued at only two or three pence, the detail even in very full lists disappears into the 'other trumpery belonging to the chimney'¹⁰², or 'other trivials not mentioned'¹⁰³.

The Commandery contributes most to the range of tin objects other than candlesticks and dripping pans; Wylde's house had a tin colander, a grater, a pepper box, a saucepan, a 'watering pot', a flower box, a spoon and a tin lantern. In other houses there were two 'dishes'¹⁰⁴, a 'pudding pan', another saucepan¹⁰⁵, another lantern¹⁰⁶, a can¹⁰⁷ and a 'pan'¹⁰⁸ (perhaps another saucepan). Although these instances are not extensive, there seems no doubt that tin was used for a wide variety of small articles, particularly in the kitchen, but also around the house. It is almost always listed and valued in combination with other small objects, but Wylde's inventory lists almost all of his tinware together, nine objects valued at 5s, giving an average of almost 7d each. By comparison, 23 pewter items in the same list give an average of 2s 4d each, and a group of 'two brass skillets, one brass pot, two brass kettles and one iron pot' produces an average of about 4s 5d., so that tin was a cheaper option in cases, like dripping pans or candlesticks, where there was a choice of material available.

Plate

Some brief mention needs to be made of 'plate', that is vessels of gold and silver. Although these are in most households a rare occurrence, and presumably used, if at all, even by the principal people in the house only on special occasions, they nevertheless constitute a significant element in household material culture, in that they are at the summit of expense and could therefore be representative of aspirations which most of these people harboured, if only distantly. No doubt many of these items are essentially present for reasons of investment rather than for use; they are often listed separately from the items listed by room, and are almost always listed together. Sometimes they are associated with pieces of jewellery, gold rings or gold coins¹⁰⁹, which emphasises their putative position as investments. The huge disparity between the cost of plate and any other class of possession is pointed up by the valuation of Thomas Wylde's list of silver

¹⁰¹ both Morton1670

¹⁰² Bacon1650

¹⁰³ Chandler1670

¹⁰⁴ Morton1670, Sollers(Broomhall)1670

¹⁰⁵ both Sollers(Broomhall)

¹⁰⁶ Birt1680

¹⁰⁷ Sollers(Broomhall)1670; see discussion on cans above – p

¹⁰⁸ Birt1680

¹⁰⁹ for example, Webb1670

articles at 5s an ounce, or £4 (960d.) a pound, when iron was 2d. or 3d. a pound, pewter perhaps 6d. or 7d., and brass about the same. Plate occurs in eight lists, by far the most frequent items being spoons, unqualified except in Mabel Sanders' bequests of a total of nine 'apostle spoons', but no doubt mostly similarly small. There are bowls¹¹⁰, salts¹¹¹, a can¹¹² and a porringer¹¹³, that is vessels which have their counterparts in other materials, including ceramics, but there are other items which appear to be peculiar to plate, at least as far as the inventories are concerned: two tankards, a caudle cup and cover, a sugar dish and cover¹¹⁴, two 'dram dishes'¹¹⁵ (that is very small dishes holding a single small dose of spirits or an apothecary's remedy), a goblet, two 'wine dishes'¹¹⁶, and a 'little strong water dish'¹¹⁷ (probably similar to the dram dish). To these could be added a 'silver beaker' in a 1661 will¹¹⁸. Robert Allen also had a 'small silver watch'. This is the only timepiece listed at this Stage; there are no clocks, not even in the Commandery.

Wood

Wooden objects can be envisaged as falling into four broad classes: things to do with sleeping (for example bedsteads), things for storage (for example cupboards, shelves, boxes, casks), things for daily living (for example tables, chairs, stools, close stools), and wooden implements and other miscellanea. Clearly, the first three of these fall into the area of the study of furniture (in the modern sense), about which there is a vast literature concerned with the development of style, construction and materials. This is not the place to enter that arena. For present purposes, the discussion will be confined largely to a brief delineation of the inventory descriptions used in Stage 1, so that any changes in subsequent Stages can be identified. It might be added at the outset that it is virtually never possible to establish what kind of wood is meant in the inventory lists, apart from the occasional mention of 'wainscot', depending on the context sometimes meaning generally a particular kind of imported high quality oak, or specifically that or other oak used for paneling.

To take the fourth class of objects first, trenchers have already been mentioned as a specific category in their relation to ceramic and pewter tableware. In 1650 two lists include them, in 1670 three, but in 1680 only one¹¹⁹; in 1680 also Robert Allen had a

¹¹⁰ Stinton1670, Webb1670, Allen1680

¹¹¹ Webb1670, Allen1680

¹¹² Barksdale1650

¹¹³ Wylde1670

¹¹⁴ all Wylde1670

¹¹⁵ Allen1680

¹¹⁶ both Pitt1680

¹¹⁷ Sanders1680

¹¹⁸ Cooke1661

¹¹⁹ Barksdale1650, Standish1650, Sollers(Broomhall)1670, Webb1670, Wylde1670, Weaver1680

'trencher case', but apparently no trenchers. It is noticeable that, when they are mentioned, trenchers come in large quantities. The Barksdale household in 1650 had four dozen, as did Standish in the same year. In 1670 Robert Webb, a chandler in St Swithin's, had three dozen stored in an upstairs chamber, Wylde at the Commandery six dozen ('round and square'), and in 1680 Richard Weaver six dozen in the kitchen and yet more, unquantified, in the cellar. Only Robert Sollers at Broomhall had a modest dozen. These quantities could be variously explained: Standish and Weaver were probably innholders, Wylde's was a large establishment with probably a large staff to be fed, Webb's might be new ones for sale in his shop (they immediately follow 'two gross of pipes' in a basket), but it is also possible that large numbers were kept so as to be able to replace ones which became too soiled, or broken. They were cheap items. Webb's were valued at 2s, or 8d a dozen ($\frac{2}{3}$ of a penny each), which in the circumstances might be a genuine 'new' price, whereas Sollers' dozen in the same year are combined with a tin dish, the total value still being only 4d. It is not possible to compare these amounts with those for ceramic plates, but in the same year, 1670, John Stinton, a walker, had seven 'small pewter dishes' valued at 1s each, and three pewter plates valued at 1s 6d, or 6d each. Whether some of the other 33 households represented by inventories had trenchers, but they were not thought worth specifically recording, or we are justified in concluding from their relative scarcity that they were becoming less popular, is impossible to say. To anticipate, they still occur in one of the few inventories for 1749¹²⁰.

In addition to trenchers, in 1650 John Taylor, a baker in All Saints, had 'treen ware' in his hall (perhaps including trenchers, but used to include all small 'woodware'), and Edward Standish had, as well as his four dozen wooden trenchers, three 'wooden platters' and the wooden can already mentioned. In 1670 the chapman John Child had 'some small wooden dishes' in his kitchen, and at the other end of the social scale Wylde at the Commandery had four 'wooden platters' and two 'trays', probably of wood. Other wooden miscellanea include four spinning wheels¹²¹, two ladders and a wheelbarrow¹²², three hen pens or 'cubs'¹²³, a shovelboard and a starch box¹²⁴, as well as several loose boards and pieces of wainscot.

Also under the category of implements and miscellanea fall some items of cooper's ware. However, it is convenient to treat all 'cooper' as a distinct class of object. Wooden containers made of staves and hoops fulfilled a wide range of purposes. They were the

¹²⁰ Baylis1749

¹²¹ Barksdale1650, Deakins1650, Nott1650, Chandler1670

¹²² all Morton1670

¹²³ Wylde1670, Allen1680, Weaver1680

¹²⁴ both Allen1680

main means of storing and transporting solid and particularly liquid substances in quantity (say above the quantity contained in the largest ceramic jar), they were used to carry things around, and in food and drink manufacture and processing.

Storing ale or beer, or, less often, cider, was a common function fulfilled by cooper's ware, but relatively few of the households in Stage 1 seem, to judge from their detailed contents, to have been actually engaged in brewing their own beer¹²⁵. Only six¹²⁶ of the 39 inventories refer to a 'brewhouse', although nine¹²⁷ include vessels used in the brewing process ('brewing vat', 'mashing vat', 'yeeling vat', cooler, tundish, or just 'brewing vessels'). Of the 11 individuals concerned, only two (Robert Allen and Richard Weaver) seem to have been professionally involved as innkeepers, although Thomas Birt was a 'maltmaker' as well as a clothier. The rest are householders of various kinds, including a widow and two 'Gentlemen'. Casks for storing beer and other commodities are mentioned rather more frequently. The largest is the butt, of which Richard Weaver had at least five in his cellar. The butt is traditionally two hogsheads. The capacities of casks are difficult to disentangle, and depended on the commodity being stored or transported. A butt held over 100 gallons and a hogshead over 50, so that Robert Allen's '36 hogsheads of beer and ale' represents a prodigious amount; he also had 19 empty hogsheads. It looks as if he was a brewer supplying others' needs as well as his own. Nine other lists include hogsheads in varying numbers, and three also include half-hogsheads. 14 include barrels, occasionally qualified: John Taylor had two 'small barrels' in 1650, William Weston a 'little barrel' in 1680, which suggests that 'barrel' does not necessarily indicate a fixed or recognised capacity, or that it was at least sometimes used as a general word meaning a cask. If it did have more than a general meaning, it approximated to the half-hogshead. Two lists include firkins, which are smaller again, probably a quarter of a barrel.

Turning from closed to open-ended cooper's wares, 'tubs' occur in nine lists, usually not further explained, but one in John Morton's 'backside' was a washing tub and others may have been also, or at least have had multiple uses. Three are 'powdering tubs', that is vessels for salting and curing meat, usually bacon. All the vessels so far mentioned were 'stationary' items, but another important class of cooper's wares was carrying vessels. The largest of these was the cowl, a large container with two ears enabling it to be carried by two men with a cowl-staff, included in eight lists. Robert Allen's in 1680 had two 'water

¹²⁵ 'beer' is used hereafter to denote both beer and ale; both words are in use at this Stage (for example in Allen1680), presumably still distinguishing hopped from unhopped fermented malt liquor, but the distinction is not always clear.

¹²⁶ Deakins1650, Sollers(City)1670, Allen1680, Sanders1680, Weaver1680, Woodward1680

¹²⁷ the above, excluding Sanders and Woodward, but with the addition of Bacon1650, Doughty1670, Morton1670, Arnway1680 and Birt1680.

cowls' and one 'bucking cowl', used for laundry. In 1650 Edward Standish had, no doubt in his yard or backside, a 'cowl with a great stone standing under the pump', from which it could presumably be carried to take water to the kitchen or the buttery. The smaller carrying vessels are skeels (ten lists) and pails (eight lists), both analogous to buckets. It is not clear what was the difference between these vessels, whether of size, shape or construction, but the difference must be more than a local linguistic peculiarity, since they both appear in the same lists. In 1650 John Nott had in his 'shop' (whether workshop or retail establishment is not clear) 'one great skeel', valued at 1s, and 'one great cowl', valued at 2s 6d; in his kitchen he had 'one skeel and two pails', valued collectively at 2s. The conclusion seems to be that the pails were cheaper and smaller than the skeels. Both come in small numbers, as would be expected: two, three or four to be of use about the house for carrying and cleaning, but for some reason Robert Sollers had 15 skeels in the 'Brewing' in his city house. In 1680 Thomas Birt had in his cellar, along with three half-hogsheads, a mashing vat, a cooler and other things, 'one coopery pail, one [bene?] pail, one gawn pail', and Wylde at the Commandery had a 'gallon' pail as well as two others. The distinction between 'coopery' and other pails in Birt's cellar gives rise to the possibility that not all of these things are in fact cooper's ware; the 'bene' pail is probably leather.

When we turn to other forms of wooden storage containers, we are faced with a number of 'box-like' receptacles which seem quite similar: chests, trunks, boxes and coffer. These often all occur in the same list: Richard Fisher's otherwise not very informative 1680 inventory contains in a general list of furniture one chest, two coffer, one trunk and

	<i>Invs</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Ave no</i>	<i>No 'Old'</i>		<i>Chambers, lofts & similar</i> ¹²⁸	<i>Other rooms</i> ¹²⁹
Chest	22	37	1.7	5		18	3
Trunk	19	34	1.8	1		11	2
Box	17	42	2.5	5		14	4
Coffer	18	58	3.2	34		16	4

Table 29 - 'Box-like' containers, Stage 1

two boxes, none further qualified, so that they must have had characteristics which made them distinguishable to the appraisers. Table 29 shows the number of inventories

¹²⁸ ie occurrences, not numbers of objects

¹²⁹ ie occurrences, not numbers of objects

including these objects, the number of objects and the average number per inventory. It suggests that boxes and coffer were somewhat commoner than chests or trunks, and that all of these objects were almost invariably to be found in bedchambers or other upstairs rooms.

It also demonstrates that about 60% of the coffer are described as 'old'; other than one 'long' one¹³⁰, this is the only epithet used for coffer. Other forms are rarely further described, except by adjectives indicating size. One list distinguishes a wainscot from a deal chest, another a wainscot from a deal box, and four chests and one box are described as 'joined', that is made by a joiner rather than more roughly by a carpenter. This does not of course mean that all of the remainder were carpenter's work. In only five cases is there any clear indication of what these containers were used for: in 1670 Robert Webb's forestreet chamber contained a 'trunk of linens', at the Commandery Thomas Wyld's 'high chamber' contained a 'little dressing box', and the chapman John Child had 'two boxes with [some?] small wares in them' (presumably his stock in trade); in 1680 the shoemaker John Bright had some 'money in chest', and all of Edward Pitt's belongings, consisting apparently only of money, clothes, some plate and some linen, were contained in a 'little trunk wherein they are all locked up'. These references nevertheless offer some suggestions of the use to which these things were generally put. Linens and clothes were expensive and easily damaged, plate and money were valuables, and all needed to be locked in a secure place. This also perhaps explains why almost all of these objects were located in more private upstairs parts of the house. None of this, however, goes very far towards explaining what they looked like. The difficulty is exemplified by overlapping definitions in the OED. A 'box' is 'a case or receptacle usually having a lid',

'gradually extended (since 1700) to include cases of larger size, made to hold merchandise and personal property; but (unless otherwise specified) understood to be four-sided and of wood'.¹³¹

A coffer is a box or chest, usually for valuables¹³², a chest is a box or coffer, also usually for valuables¹³³, and a trunk is defined as a chest, box, case or coffer, with the added implication of being used for transporting travellers' belongings¹³⁴. All that can safely be said is that all of these objects had lids, could no doubt in many cases be locked for

¹³⁰ Nott1650

¹³¹ "box, n.2". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/22297?rskey=WEOCwN&result=2> (accessed March 30, 2012).

¹³² "coffer, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/35793?rskey=SRf4ju&result=1> (accessed March 30, 2012).

¹³³ "chest, n.1". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/31402?rskey=t7moHf&result=1> (accessed March 30, 2012).

¹³⁴ "trunk, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/206968?rskey=vdutbm&result=1> (accessed March 30, 2012).

added security, and were used to store and protect relatively valuable and/or fragile possessions. Boxes were perhaps generally smaller than the others, and the coffer seems to be an old-fashioned form, or simply name, by the late 17th century. Some must have been bound with metal reinforcements or provided with metal locks, so that their place in the 'wood' category is at best a convention. Five lists include 'desks', probably at this Stage portable boxes with sloping tops for writing or reading¹³⁵.

Two other wooden storage items are commonly met: cupboards and presses. These are distinguished from the preceding group by being upright and having doors opening outwards, rather than a lid opening upwards. Table 30 attempts the same analysis as above; it appears that cupboards are commoner than presses, and are more likely to be found in several places in the house, whereas presses, like chests and other such containers, are more likely to be confined to chambers and upstairs rooms.

	<i>Invs</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Ave no</i>		<i>Chambers, lofts & similar</i>	<i>Other rooms</i>
Cupboard	24	43	1.8		11	19
Press	13	15	1.1		9	2

Table 30 - Cupboards and presses, Stage 1

Both cupboards and presses are also likely to be further qualified in some way. 16 of the 43 cupboards are 'side cupboards', two are 'joined', two are made of wainscot, one is 'standing', one is 'hanging', and one is a 'press cupboard'; only four are 'old'. There are three joined presses, two wainscot ones, one standing, three hanging, and one 'drawing press' included as a bequest in Mabel Sanders' will of 1680, perhaps something like a chest of drawers. Only one is 'old'. Drawers are very unusual at this Stage. Two other lists in 1680 refer to them: a 'nest of draws' and a 'case of draws'¹³⁶. Eight cupboards are accompanied by cupboard cloths, namely the cloth which was originally the covering for the sideboard or buffet (in modern parlance) which the cupboard began life as, before it acquired enclosed sections above and below the 'board'. Other than the description 'side', which suggests that cupboards were providing storage for regularly used items of tableware, that is a function later usually associated with the 'sideboard', only two of these objects reveal a specific use: in 1670 Robert Webb's 'lower room', which was probably the kitchen and sitting room behind his shop, had 'books in a cupboard', and in 1680 Robert Allen's 'middle' bedchamber contained a 'napkin press', in which were presumably

¹³⁵ Barksdale1650, Morton1670, Read1670, Greenbancke1680, Unitt1680

¹³⁶ Allen1680, Sanders1680

	1650	1670	1680
Table	√: board; long board; frame; joined frame; round; square;	√: board; board on trestles; frame; round; square; side;	√: board; short board; frame; falling; round; 'drawing';
Chair	√: joined; turned; low; wainscot; green; twiggen;	√: joined; low; high; elbow; covered; green cloth; 'green, fringed with white & green'; Turkey work; needle work; leather; twiggen;	√: turned; Turkey work; twiggen;
Stool	√: joined; high; low; wrought, with backs; with backs;	√: joined; low; covered; 'green wrought with yellow'; Turkey work; needle work;	√: joined; low;
Form	√: joined; low; short;	√	√
Settle	√: (see Deakins1650); wainscot;	√: joined; 'before the fire';	√
Bench	√	√	
Screen		√: 'to set before the fire';	√
Couch		√: 'green, to sit on';	√: cloth;
Bedstead	√: joined; boarded; truckle; trundle; standing;	√: joined; 'of boards'; tester; half headed; high; low; truckle; trundle; standing;	√: joined; 'made of boards'; turned posted; tester; half headed; high; truckle;
(beds, etc)	bed; feather bed; flock bed; bolster; feather bolster; flock bolster; pillow; down pillow; feather pillow; curtains & valance (green); curtain rods;	(see Wylde1670); bed; feather bed; flock bed; 'cloth bed'; bolster; feather bolster; flock bolster; pillow; down pillow?; feather pillow; flock pillow; 'empty tick'; curtains & valance (Kidderminster stuff; white dimity; linsey-wolsey);	bed; 'under bed'; feather bed; flock bed; 'bed filled with feathers & flocks'; bolster; feather bolster; flock bolster; pillow; down pillow; curtains & valance;
Cradle		√	

Table 31 - Furniture, Stage 1

stored the seven dozen napkins listed at the end of his inventory. It is not clear whether 'hanging' as applied to one of these items means that it hung from, or was attached in some way to, the wall or was used for hanging clothes, like a wardrobe. It is fruitless to speculate about the extent of sophistication displayed by these items of furniture. Some were no doubt better made and more elaborate than others; probably most were quite plain, workaday pieces made and supplied locally by craftsmen in the city. Only Wylde's Commandery gives a hint of something more exotic. His 'high chamber', with bed and bedstead, curtains and valance, the little dressing box and a 'couch', also has a 'stand and black cabinet', in other words a black lacquered cabinet on a carved and perhaps gilt stand, a fashionable accessory in the later 17th century.

The remaining furniture is summarized in Table 31, which identifies by a (√) those items which occur in the three samples, together with any description attached at least once to one or more of them. Indications of age ('old') or size, ('little', 'great', etc) are omitted. To round out the picture, bedsteads are supplemented by their 'appurtenances', that is beds (mattresses in modern parlance), bolsters, pillows and bed curtains. Bedclothes are omitted.

Tables, chairs and stools occur in virtually every inventory, and are often unqualified. Tables in particular are both ubiquitous and usually lacking in further description. 'Table board and frame', indicating separately both the top 'board' and the supporting framework, including the horizontal members connecting the legs, is common in the earlier inventories, but still occurs in 1680. Equally, 'table' and 'table board' both appear in 1650, presumably still including the support provided by the frame. It is probably not safe to assume at this Stage that the omission of 'board' or 'frame' necessarily means the kind of integral structure, with four legs but no frame, which later became universal. Otherwise, tables are sometimes round, sometimes square and once 'falling' (perhaps with folding extensions?)¹³⁷. Chairs and stools are more often described. They can be joinery work, or covered with 'green cloth' (perhaps actually green, but more likely simply unbleached), or with Turkey work or needle work. Chairs may be joiners' work, but may be 'turned' (that is with the components turned on a lathe), or covered with leather, or with wicker or 'segg' (rush) seats. Forms and benches are rarely further described. A few settles include one in John Deakins' hall in 1650 helpfully and unusually described as: 'one settle of boards to stand before the fire to sit on'. Construction from 'boards' indicates carpentry work rather than joinery, and is to be found occasionally also among the bedsteads. Bedsteads are if anything even less informatively described than other

¹³⁷ Allen1680

furniture. By far the most common indication is simply 'bedstead', without further elaboration, then 'truckle' or 'trundle', a low bedstead intended to fit under a higher one during the day and rolled out for use at night. Occasionally bedsteads have a 'tester' or canopy, or are 'half headed', which perhaps means that they had a headboard but no canopy or tester. The presence of 'curtains and valance' indicates a canopy, whether part of the bedstead itself or suspended from the ceiling or attached to the wall. At this Stage the valance is probably, to quote the OED, 'A border of drapery hanging round the canopy of a bed'; as it also indicates, however, the valance became 'in later use, a short curtain around the frame of a bedstead, etc., serving to screen the space underneath.'¹³⁸ When bedsteads were frequently both high off the floor and canopied, there is of course no reason why they should not have had both.

Textiles

Beds, bolsters, pillows and bedclothes such as sheets, blankets and rugs are usually copiously listed; not a single one of the 39 inventories for this Stage omits some mention. The reason is not hard to find. Textiles were valuable possessions. A single instance can illustrate the point: Robert Allen's very full list in 1680 includes the entry 'two feather beds, four bolsters, three pillows, weighing ninescore and nineteen [199] pound at 8d. per pound and two under beds', all valued at £8 8s. Omitting the under beds, which may be truckles, the clearly textile items are valued at £6, or an average of over 13s. each. Even the 'feather bed, two bolsters, two pillows' in his maid's chamber were worth an average of 8s. each.

Other textile items fall into a limited number of categories. Napkins for use at the table are virtually universal, often in large numbers¹³⁹, towels, occasionally described as 'hand towels', rather less so. Cushions are mentioned 17 times; 'cupboard cushions' appear three times¹⁴⁰, and 'window', 'stool', 'green' (see above), 'needlework', 'orris' (tapestry work, originally from Arras), and 'Turkey' cushions once each¹⁴¹. Carpets are listed in 15 inventories. Of these four make clear that what is meant is a covering for a table¹⁴², but many of the others are probably similar. Two other carpets are of Kidderminster stuff, a local heavy woollen furnishing fabric. 'Table cloths' or 'board cloths' are virtually universal in all lists, including those with carpets, so that these two items must have separate uses,

¹³⁸ "valance, n.1". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/221108?rskey=L9Fuli&result=1> (accessed April 01, 2012).

¹³⁹ for example, apart from the innkeepers, who had large numbers for 'business' reasons: Bacon1650 (1 doz diaper, 4 doz flaxen, 1 doz holland); Pitcher(R)1670 (2 doz and 8); Greenebancke1680 (3 doz, fine and coarse).

¹⁴⁰ Bacon1650, Sollers(City)1670, Webb1670

¹⁴¹ Standish1650, Sollers(City)1670, Allen1680

¹⁴² Nashe1650, Standish1650, Wylde1670, Sanders1680

the first as a permanent covering or ornament to the table, the second more specifically to protect the table at mealtimes. Window curtains are rare, but occur as early as 1650, with one example in each sampled year¹⁴³. Textile fabrics are often distinguished in order to value them according to quality. Edward Pitt's meagre belongings, locked in his trunk in 1680, offer a clear example; he had three table cloths, one 'flaxen' at 5s., one 'old damask' one at 6s. 8d. and one 'diaper' one at 10s., all varieties of linen fabric, and two pairs of flaxen sheets at 10s. each, and two 'holland' (a fine linen fabric) pillowbeers (pillow cases) at 1s. 6d. each.

Pictures and books

William Woodward, a gentleman living in St Martin's parish (and therefore possibly outside the city – his list reveals some agricultural interests), who died in 1680, is the only individual in the sample to have left any pictures, number and nature unrecorded, in his dining room. On the other hand, 13 inventory lists include at least one book. Only Mabel Sanders in 1680 left one only, a bible, as might be expected. Seven of the others specify at least one bible (or in one case two 'testaments', listed with 'three prayer books'¹⁴⁴); the remainder are very general ('books of all sorts', 'study of books'¹⁴⁵), but all will certainly also have included at least one bible. Four of the 13 are gentlemen or clergy, one of them an attorney, all of whom left larger than average collections¹⁴⁶. Only one of the 13 was a woman (unless Dorothy Barksdale is counted, but the books in the Barksdale household are listed in both her and her husband's inventories in the same year), and the widow Sanders left only her bible. Other than the bibles, the prayer books and Thomas Wylde's 'statute book', no clue is given as to the nature of the books, but doubtless Bacon the attorney's books were largely legal, and William Havard, the clergyman's, largely devotional or theological.

Stage 2

Ceramic

Table 28 shows that the second, central, Stage has more inventories than either Stage 1 or Stage 3 (66, as opposed to 39 and 43 respectively). There are references or possible

¹⁴³ Barksdale1650, Wylde1670, Weaver1680 (in addition Standish1650 has a 'drawing curtain', and Horniold1670 has two 'green cloth curtains' which do not seem to be associated with a bedstead)

¹⁴⁴ Nott1650

¹⁴⁵ Taylor1650, Unitt1680

¹⁴⁶ Bacon1650 (gent & attorney: 'his books as far as we conceive', total £3); Wylde1670 (gent: 1 bible, 1 statute book, 7 folios, 11 others, total £3 including also a table, 5 boxes, 2 doz bottles of sack & some corks); Havard1680 (clerk: '24 books of several sorts', total £2); Unitt1680 (gent: 'study of books', total £5)

references to ceramic vessels in ten of these, but in five the reference is to no more than 'earthen ware'. Only one of those five values the earthen ware as a separate item: the widow Corbin in 1710 left 'one parcel of earthen ware', worth 3s., so that it is still not possible to see just what these items were or how much individual vessels might have been worth. In the same year another widow, Hannah Lilly, left 'two earthen basins and three mugs', valued at 1s. If the mugs are earthenware as well as the basins, the average value of each item was about 2½d. Again in the same year, Popham Gardiner, probably a 'gentleman', to judge from his possession of leases outside the city, his 'study of books' and his residence in St Michael's parish, left a 'mug tipped with silver', worth £1. This might be a stoneware mug with a silver mount, perhaps an imported Rhenish vessel, or even by this date English stoneware. Two other references introduce possible new notes into the ceramic language: 'some white ware' was included in the contents of Francis Lockier's parlour in 1690, and 'some cheney ware' was added at the end of a list of curtains and furniture in William Yarranton's kitchen in the same year. While white ware can probably safely be assumed to mean white tin-glazed ware at this date (it cannot yet be white stoneware), it is possible that 'cheney ware', especially in the context in which it appears, may not be 'china' or porcelain, but a kind of cloth: 'a sort of worsted or woollen stuff' (OED)¹⁴⁷.

The only other inventory to contribute anything is that of Samuel Cocks, a wealthy clockmaker in St Helen's parish who died in 1690; his is probably the fullest and most detailed of any list at any Stage. In addition to 'earthen ware' in the cellar valued at 5s., he had 'fine earthen ware' in the kitchen, valued at 10s., and 'six dozen glass bottles and 13 stone jugs' in the garrets with a total value of 9s. He also had a 'jug with a plate foot and cover', worth £1, and some flower pots which may or may not be ceramic. Like Popham Gardiner's mug, Cocks' jug is likely to be stoneware, probably imported; such vessels, embellished with valuable mounts, would be looked after and could easily be quite old. It would be interesting to know what was the difference between 'fine' and other earthenware in Cocks' household. The difference in value does not help, in the absence of quantities or descriptions. Perhaps 'fine' is tin-glazed ware, or slipware, or even North Devon sgraffito, or a combination of types, and the rest is blackware and CD wares. Some idea of quantities might be approached by taking the average value of Hannah Lilly's earthenware basins and mugs in 1710, doubling it to provide a margin for error and to account for larger vessels (say pans and crocks in CD fabrics, and applying it to the 'ordinary' earthenware in Cocks' cellar, valued at 5s.; this would produce a dozen vessels.

¹⁴⁷ "† 'cheney, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/31492?redirectedFrom=cheney> (accessed April 02, 2012).

The entries for this Stage do not provide any further clues about the forms to be found; the only form not met with in Stage 1 is the basin.

Glass

Looking glasses have now become commonplace in these households. Whereas in Stage 1 less than a third of households had at least one looking glass and only two households more than one, in Stage 2 exactly two thirds have at least one, and 15 more than one. Although the majority (37 out of 65) is still located in bedchambers, they now appear in more places in the house: seven in kitchens, and nine in halls, parlours and dining rooms. Not much more can be said about their size or appearance. Where an individual valuation is discernible, in 11 cases, their value ranges from 6d for a 'small' one¹⁴⁸ to £3 for a 'large' one¹⁴⁹, all but three being 10s or less. Benjamin Slater's 'large looking glass' in his Great Parlour in the Cathedral close is four times the value of the next most valuable glass listed, so that it seems likely that most looking glasses were modest utilitarian affairs, some even hand mirrors, or small ones with a relatively plain frame. Slater's was no doubt a large wall-mounted, prestige object with a carved and perhaps gilded frame.

Other kinds of glass objects are not at all common. Even Samuel Cocks does not seem to have had any drinking glasses, despite the elaborate detail of his list, and despite the fact that he had six dozen glass bottles in his garrets. Drinking glasses only appear in three of the 66 inventories for Stage 2: Joseph Carte, a gentleman, had 'earthen ware and bottles and glasses' worth 15s. in his kitchen in 1690; in the same year the widow Jane Fincher's list includes the entry 'links, salt box, tinder box, glass case, earthen ware and glasses', lumped together at 2s. 2d.; and in 1700 Mrs Cotton had 'glasses and earthen ware' worth 5s. In each case glasses are associated with earthenware, which suggests that the earthenware in question consisted of drinking equipment. The only other list to include bottles is that of the bookseller Francis Rea, also in 1690, who had six dozen glass bottles in his back kitchen or cellar. By the end of this Stage these bottles, if they were relatively new ones, had assumed the 'onion' shape, with a rather shorter neck and a deep kick in the base, that succeeded the earlier globular, long-necked shape. Finally, William Yarranton, a clothier of St Helen's parish, had in 1690 in one bedchamber a 'glass

¹⁴⁸ Corbin1710

¹⁴⁹ Slater1700

crater furnished', listed with his looking glass, window curtains and cushions. This is unparalleled in any other Stage, but appears to be some kind of glass bowl or goblet¹⁵⁰.

Pewter

Although pewter vessels continue to be named and listed, sometimes in considerable numbers, there is an increasing tendency for pewter to be dealt with by weight or by some kind of general statement which does not mention specific vessels¹⁵¹. The same applies to brass, and is the beginning of the at first gradual but later accelerating loss of detail in inventories, leading to their eventual abandonment. Dishes and plates seem now to be present in very roughly equal numbers. A simple accumulation of recorded quantities of each gives 428 for dishes and 523 for plates, but the latter includes the astonishing total of '9 doz of plates' in George Hemming's kitchen in 1700. Hemming was a very rich chandler, who, as well as a house in St Helen's parish, had possessions in rooms at the castle, and leases of other property. It may be that some or all of these plates are part of his stock in trade. At all events, both plates and dishes are now established as everyday items in almost all households for which we have detailed evidence. Cocks' large establishment had as many as 39 dishes, stored in various parts of his house, although only 'seven plates and little dishes'; he did, however, also have 13 platters, the only mention of this form at this Stage. Joseph Carte had 13 dishes, 20 plates, two 'little plates', and four 'pottengers'. At the other end of the scale from Carte and Cocks, Thomas Gardner's modest household in St Johns in 1700 had only two dishes and two porringers, with a basin and a candlestick making up his stock of pewter. In general, porringers seem, as before, to assume a supplementary role to dishes and now to plates, a role to do with eating liquid foods, stews and soups. The unexpected virtual absence of pewter plates from Cocks' household may be connected with the '10 doz trenchers and wood plates' in the closet by the garrets. Eight other lists mention wooden eating equipment: four references to trenchers, two to 'wooden platters' one to a 'trencher case' and one to a 'trencher cratch'¹⁵².

Other kinds of pewter are far less numerous. Only two lists mention pewter saucers; there are 11 pie plates and nine cheese plates, and 11 salts. New kinds of flatware are

¹⁵⁰ "crater, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/43933?rskey=CKWjOj&result=1> (accessed April 03, 2012).

¹⁵¹ for example: Brettell1690 ('pewter of all sorts 119½ lbs'); Evans1690 ('brass and pewter of several sorts'); Allen1700 ('pewter of all sorts weighing 124 lbs at 8d. per lb'); Blurton1710 ('brass and pewter and irons in the chimney, a small jack and other odd things, stools and a table, dresser')

¹⁵² Fincher1690, Rea1690, Winford1690 (4 wooden platters in the 'wash house'), Handy1700, Hemming1700, Pugh1700, Corbin1710 ('cratch' appears to mean a rack or frame of wood to contain something; Lockier1690 has a 'bacon cratch').

limited to four 'mazareen' dishes (dishes with a removable perforated draining plate), and two salvers (a flat serving dish with a foot)¹⁵³. Only one list has any 'counterfeit' dishes¹⁵⁴.

Cans, flagons, pots and guns continue from Stage 1, but in rather different proportions. There are 55 flagons, but as many as 47 guns, and only seven pots and six cans (and only one 'little cup'¹⁵⁵). Guns are further elaborated in Yarranton's inventory; he has ten, but two are 'six-pot' guns, three 'four-pot', two 'three-pot', and three 'twopenny' guns. In addition to eight flagons, he also has one 'single pot', one 'halfpenny can' and one little can. Michael Rowley, an innkeeper in St Clements in the same year, also has two 'single pots', as well as other pewter drinking vessels, and Isaac Pugh in 1700 has two guns, a 'half pint pot' and a 'quarter' (pint pot?). This may mean that the standard capacity of the pot was one pint and that other vessels were defined in relation to it. Pewter drinking vessels are also defined in relation to the prices generally charged for various quantities of beer or ale (Yarranton was not an innkeeper). The only newly mentioned drinking vessels are four tankards¹⁵⁶. 'Non-flat' ware is completed by 44 candlesticks, ten basins and 28 chamber pots. Hemming's list includes two close stool pans (although no close stool), and 14 other lists include close stools with or without pans; these objects are therefore becoming more frequent.

Brass

Very little needs to be added to the account for Stage 1. The familiar pots, kettles, furnaces, smaller culinary objects such as ladles, spoons, mortars, chafing dishes and skimmers, and candlesticks and warming pans, continue to appear. Unqualified 'pans' in brass also continue, but in greater numbers. But not all such pans are brass; of a total of 34 mentions, 20 are brass, ten tin, two iron and two unknown. It may be that some of these are saucepans, of which there are only seven named as such, only one of them unequivocally brass¹⁵⁷, or other kinds of pans, of which the most numerous are dripping pans (31) and frying pans (18), but also include 'stewpans' (3), 'preserving pans' (3), 'pasty' and 'pudding' pans (two each). Dripping pans are almost equally divided between iron and tin, and brass was not used for them; frying pans, where the material is discernible, are invariably of iron. Two of the three stewpans are pewter¹⁵⁸, which suggests that this was a pan for serving stew rather than for cooking it. Cocks' list

¹⁵³ Winford1690, Hemming1700; the salver appears to have been an innovation in the late 17th century: "salver, n.2". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/170302> (accessed April 03, 2012).

¹⁵⁴ Maugham1690

¹⁵⁵ Cocks1690

¹⁵⁶ Carte1690, Yarnold1700

¹⁵⁷ Hill1690

¹⁵⁸ Carte1690, Chetle1710

includes two brass basins and a pepper box, but these are the only brass novelties when compared with Stage 1.

The distinction between pots and kettles is not greatly illuminated by the presence of five 'pot kettles'¹⁵⁹ and two 'kettle pots'¹⁶⁰, as well as a 'dish kettle'¹⁶¹, a 'brewing kettle'¹⁶² and a 'pot furnace'¹⁶³. Such usages should alert the reader to the possibility that these terms were used more flexibly than might at first appear.

Two of the inventories at this Stage are for men described as pewterers, and both include lists of stock in their 'shops' (probably workshops as well as retail premises, although each also includes a 'work house' with tools). In spite of their description as pewterers, the stock listed covers brass, iron and copper items as well as pewter; both were clearly dealers, if not workers, in different kinds of metalware, although neither seems to have dealt in tin utensils. The lists of items in their shops include most of the objects so far discussed, and a great deal more. Walter Hill, who lived in St Swithin's parish and died in 1690, had in his shop:

Wired[?] kettles of all sorts; new brass pots; iron pots, new kettle pots; new skillets; brass candlesticks, skimmers and ladles; plate chafing dishes; two furnaces; copper nails; bright mortars; ordinary trifles [ie cast miniatures of the kind catalogued by Forsyth & Egan (2005)]; flat spoons; ockermore spoons [according to Bristow (2001), an 'alloy meant to resemble silver']; new sadware; plates and basins; warming pans; copper saucepans.

In 1710 Edward Bowers, in St Peter's, had:

Furnaces; raw kettles; banded kettles; kettle pots; trifles; sadware; copper cans and saucepan; brass cast candlesticks; skillets; brass ladles; skimmers; skimmers without handles; a mortar; snuffers and boxes; water cocks; larding pins and gageing irons and shovel-board pieces; a colander; lead weights; warming pans; stool pans and a basin; pewter plates.

Both had, in addition, stocks of 'old' items, perhaps for resale, old metal and scrap metal for recycling. Hills' list includes details of prices which suggest that the values for such items in inventory lists are generally second hand prices. For example, 'old kettle brass' is 6d. a pound and some 'old brass' 3¾d., whereas 'new kettle pots' are 16d. and 'wired kettles' 10d.; however, 'new brass pots' are only 5½d.

¹⁵⁹ Jones1700, Lilly1710

¹⁶⁰ Hill1690

¹⁶¹ Hemming1700

¹⁶² Treherne1690

¹⁶³ Poyner1690

Iron, tin and other metals

As with brass, the picture does not change much from Stage 1 with regard to the kinds of objects mentioned, but there appears to be some change in the frequency with which some occur. As far as the 'irons about the fire' are concerned, bars and cheeks continue in abundance, usually in kitchens or 'cooking rooms', and fire shovels and tongs appear wherever a fireplace is present. Occasionally a bar or 'fire bar' appears alone, and in two lists a 'cross bar'¹⁶⁴. But the main difference is that fire grates are now much more common; they occur in 33 inventories, that is exactly half of those in Stage 2, compared with only seven in Stage 1. They occur about three times more often in bedchambers and parlours or sitting rooms than in kitchens or cooking rooms. Andirons or dogs are about twice as likely to appear in chambers or parlours than in kitchens. Nevertheless, it is clear that grates and andirons have begun to invade the kitchen, which is no longer the exclusive province of the bar and cheeks. To illustrate how the picture has become more varied, a number of examples can be extracted:

- Samuel Cocks, the clockmaker, in 1690 had five grates, one in the garrets, three in bedchambers, and one in the dining room; in the garrets, in one of the bedchambers and in the dining room he also had andirons. In the kitchen he had a bar and cheeks and a pair of 'iron andirons'.
- William Lyes (or Alley), an innkeeper, also in 1690, had a grate and andirons in the 'Angel Chamber', a bar and cheeks and andirons in the 'Anchor Chamber', a 'firegrate' in the parlour, and a bar and cheeks in the 'old kitchen'.
- The clothier William Yarranton, in the same year, had a pair of 'brass end irons' (andirons with brass knobs or other decoration?), a grate and a 'fire plate' (fire back?) in the room over the parlour, which seems to be a sitting room rather than a bedchamber; an 'iron grate' in the second room over the parlour, similarly not a bedchamber; and bars and cheeks in both the parlour and kitchen downstairs.
- In 1700 the wealthy widow Elizabeth Handy had in her kitchen, which seems to be the only room in the house with a fire, a bar and cheeks and a grate (and a fender).
- In the same year the spinster Mary Tew, whose possessions were valued at less than £10, left in the lower room of her two-room house, which served as kitchen and sitting room, a 'grate and cheeks' and a 'small fender'.
- In 1710 the shoemaker John Hurdman had in his kitchen a bar and cheeks, fender and a grate.

¹⁶⁴ Hemming1700, Pugh1700

- In the same year, Winifred Paine, another widow, had in her kitchen, again the only room with a fire, an 'iron grate' three 'fire pans', the 'brasses for two andirons', and a 'grate for a purgatory'. The last is one of the two instances of this apparently new device in 1710¹⁶⁵, which denoted a space beneath the fire, covered by a grating, for the ashes to accumulate and from which they could regularly be emptied.

It is tempting to see the growth in the incidence of grates as indicating an increasing use of coal. There is little more direct evidence than in Stage 1 for the use of coal; only six inventories mention it¹⁶⁶.

Fenders also appear to have grown in popularity with grates; there are now 15 inventories in which they appear, in almost all cases associated with other iron ware. There are also four instances of a 'sway' or iron rod attached to the wall of the chimney, from which to hang pots and kettles; in one case this is specifically associated with the chain used for this purpose¹⁶⁷.

Otherwise the range of iron objects is very similar to Stage 1. The spit is still the most numerous object, and almost every list which includes spits includes a jack, although there were some households where, if the inventory is to be believed, the spit may have been turned by hand¹⁶⁸. Cobirons, racks, links and pothooks seem to be mentioned less often, but could be included in general statements about 'irons about the fire', and should not be assumed to be less common. 'Plates' of iron, and occasionally other metals¹⁶⁹, are as enigmatic as before, but sometimes their purpose as warming implements is apparent: Samuel Cocks' kitchen had 'three plates to warm beer on', Lady Winford in the same year had an 'iron to warm drink' in the kitchen and an 'iron to warm plates' in the parlour, and William Yarranton had a 'flagon plate', presumably for the same purpose. Cocks also had a 'toaster plate', and there are three other 'toasters'¹⁷⁰. Smoothing irons are a little more frequent than in Stage 1, but still only appear in nine lists out of 66.

The range of tin ware is also similar to Stage 1; eight tin dripping pans, three colanders, some dishes and two lanterns, a 'fish plate' and a number of 'pans'. Three lists include a

¹⁶⁵ The other is Bowers1710

¹⁶⁶ Cocks1690 had three tons in his cellar; the others are Harris1690, Handy1700, Hemming1700, Corbin1710 and Shallard1710.

¹⁶⁷ Handy1700, Slater1700 ('one iron sway and links'), Hurdman1710, Corbin1710

¹⁶⁸ for example, Richard Fitzer, chandler, in 1690 had three small spits, but no jack is listed; in 1700 William Rutter also had three spits but no jack; but in both cases there were also 'things belonging to the fire' (Fitzer), or 'other iron ware' (Rutter), so that the absence of a jack is not certain.

¹⁶⁹ Cocks1690 had 'a brass plate and an iron plate' in his kitchen.

¹⁷⁰ Treherne1690, Gardner1700, Shallard1710

'copper furnace' and one a 'copper and brass furnace'¹⁷¹, to add to the single example from Stage 1. None of them, however, appears to approach the size and value of the brewer Robert Allen's in 1680.

Plate

22 inventories or associated wills mention plate items, that is a third of the total, compared with eight out of 39 in Stage 1¹⁷². 15 of them contain spoons, which are still by far the most common item; there is a total of at least 76 spoons in all. Other objects are similar to those in Stage 1. There are rather more cups, including a 'wine cup'¹⁷³, and two cups with covers, probably similar to goblets¹⁷⁴. Eight silver tankards outnumber pewter tankards, and seem to be a particular silver form. In addition, there are two silver tobacco boxes¹⁷⁵ and a 'small silver desk'¹⁷⁶, in other words a box with a writing slope, and two watches¹⁷⁷. Only in the list for Lady Winford is there a clear indication of value per ounce: 195 oz, value £38, or almost 4s. an ounce. This compares with 5s. an ounce ten years earlier¹⁷⁸. At this kind of price, the four spoons left by the barber Charles Yarnold in 1700, valued at £1, or 5s each, would each weigh roughly an ounce, or about the size of a modern teaspoon.

Wood

Trenchers and other wooden 'eating equipment' have already been mentioned; they seem no more nor less prevalent than in Stage 1. Cocks' 10 dozen trenchers and wood plates were valued at 10s., or a penny each, which compares with $\frac{2}{3}$ ds of a penny for Robert Webb's twenty years earlier.

There is equally no change in the standard equipment for brewing (mashing vats, tundishes, coolers, 'brewing vessels'), but a somewhat higher proportion of households seem to have been engaged in brewing; 23 inventories include objects located in the 'Brewhouse', and others clearly undertook this task in the Cellar or another outhouse¹⁷⁹. Powdering tubs are as frequent as before, and six lists include spinning wheels and three hen pens or cubs. Something of what a fuller picture of the material culture of these

¹⁷¹ Rea1690, Yarranton1690, Shallard1710, Jones 1700

¹⁷² Others mention plate as a general category; Joseph Carwardine, a very rich linen draper, left 'plate of all sorts' worth £60 in 1690.

¹⁷³ Carte1690

¹⁷⁴ Winford1690

¹⁷⁵ Brettell1690, Carte1690

¹⁷⁶ Rea1690

¹⁷⁷ Carte1690, Lockier1690

¹⁷⁸ Allen1680

¹⁷⁹ Cocks1690 had a mashing vat in his cellar; Allen1700 had 'tubs, skeels and bowls for brewing' in his 'back kitchen'.

houses might have included, and what might consequently be missing from this rather formulaic account, is suggested by other wooden items in Samuel Cocks' house in 1690. His was admittedly a wealthy establishment, but he was probably not the only householder to have at least some of them: in the closet at the stair head was a 'hedge to dry [clothes?] on', probably what would later be called a clothes horse; in the kitchen chamber was a 'fishing cane'; in the kitchen itself he had 'two frames to set a book on', presumably some kind of 'lectern' or reading desk; and in the closet by the garrets upstairs were 'two pairs of virginals'¹⁸⁰.

Coopery ware, both storage (casks and barrels) and carrying, continues as before. Skeels are markedly more numerous than either cowls or pails, and in a very few cases these carrying vessels are qualified to indicate use: two 'washing skeels'¹⁸¹, a 'brewing cowl'¹⁸², a 'carrying cowl'¹⁸³ and a 'water pail'¹⁸⁴. They are also frequently located in places which give a clue as to their use, notably brewhouses, but also a 'wash house' containing two pails¹⁸⁵.

	<i>Invs</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Ave no</i>	<i>No 'Old'</i>		<i>Chambers, lofts & similar**</i>	<i>Other rooms**</i>
Chest	48	110*	2.3	12		77	8
Trunk	32	60	1.9	7		43	5
Box	28	73	2.6	4		49	0
Coffer	29	65	2.2	10		51	3
Cupboard	39	71	1.8	11		18	41
Press	23	29	1.3	2		20	6
Dresser	19	24	1.3	0		0	21

*of which 21 chests of drawers

**number of objects, excluding those without room location

Table 32 - Wooden containers, Stage 2

Table 32 summarises the wooden, non-coopery storage items. As before, the chests, trunks, boxes and coffers are overwhelmingly located in upstairs rooms, mostly bedchambers. Despite the fact that the number of inventories for Stage 2 is over 50% higher than that for Stage 1, the number of coffers has hardly increased, whereas chests

¹⁸⁰ Musical instruments are very rare: the only other appearances at any Stage are another 'pair' of virginals in the same year (Carte1690) and a 'bandore and cittern' in 1670 (Pitcher(R)1670). 'Pair' here indicates one instrument, in the old sense of a 'set' or collection of parts forming a whole.

¹⁸¹ Cocks1690, Dunn1700

¹⁸² Nicholls1700

¹⁸³ Gardner1700

¹⁸⁴ Brettell1690

¹⁸⁵ Winford1690

and trunks have both more than doubled, and boxes increased by over 70%. Coffers thus seem to have become less popular, although the impression gained in Stage 1 that they were becoming old-fashioned is not confirmed by analysis of the Stage 2 data; there are almost as many 'old' chests and cupboards as there are 'old' coffers. As in Stage 1, presses and cupboards are more likely to be located upstairs and downstairs respectively.

Some new items appear in Stage 2. 21 of the chests listed are in fact chests of drawers, and dressers are included for the first time in 19 inventories, all in the kitchen, buttery or parlour. Eight of the dressers are described as having drawers, and shelves are occasionally associated with them¹⁸⁶. Shelves, separately entered either in the singular or the plural, are also a new feature; it is not always clear just what this description denotes, whether shelves attached with brackets to the walls, or sets of shelves on a dresser or self-standing; perhaps all of these. Finally, 'glass cases' occur in six lists, probably a case or box for storing glasses¹⁸⁷. To match Thomas Wylde's black cabinet in Stage 1, Thomas Fox, a barber in St Nicholas' parish left in 1690 a 'cabinet japanned', that is probably a similar cabinet to Wylde's, lacquered and on a stand, though the stand is not mentioned.

Table 33 summarises the remaining furniture, in the same format as Table 31. It is noticeable that the amount of detail available for all categories of objects diminishes over time; by 1710 the variety of descriptive terms used for tables, chairs, stools and bedsteads is very much reduced. Most inventories for 1710 confine themselves to undifferentiated tables, chairs, stools, bedsteads and beds, and a number of lists now refer to bedsteads and their 'furniture', rather than specifying individual items¹⁸⁸. But the decline is not consistent; the amount of detail in 1670 and 1690 is considerably greater than in 1680 and 1710.

There is little innovation apparent from the inventory lists alone, though changes in the style and design of furniture were undoubtedly taking place. Although table boards continue, frames are not mentioned after 1690. Oval tables, and 'stands', not further explained, make an occasional appearance. Chairs and stools continue to be constructed with rush seats, or covered or upholstered in cloth, Turkey work or leather; one of Cocks' stools had a draw in it. 'Cane' chairs appear for the first time, and two 'Dutch' chairs¹⁸⁹. Whether the latter were imported or simply in a 'Dutch style' is impossible to say, but it is perhaps significant that they occur towards the end of William III's reign, when Dutch

¹⁸⁶ for example, Handy1700, Hemming1700 ('dresser with drawers, shelves & cornice'), Paine1710

¹⁸⁷ Carwardine1690, Fincher1690, Hill1690, Sollers1690, Handy1700, Slater1700

¹⁸⁸ for example: Wilson1690, Linton1700, Rutter1700, Yarnold1700, Gardiner1710

¹⁸⁹ Hemming1700

	1690	1700	1710
Table	√: board (& frame); 'tables & frames'; joined; round; oval; square; long; 'table & stand';	√: board; joined; round; oval; square; long; 'dress table';	√: board; round; oval; square; side; 'table & stand';
Chair	√: joined; 'frames of chairs'; low; side; broad; ordinary; elbow; segg; 'segg bottom'; green; cloth; Turkey work; wainscot; cane; leather; wooden; 'rushen'; 'covered with serge';	√: joined; 'Rushua [Russia leather?]; red; segg; Turkey work; leather; wooden; green; Dutch; cane; wainscot; cloth;	√: Turkey work; segg; leather; wooden;
Stool	√: joined; 'low work'; 'with a draw in'; 'covered with cloth';	√: joined; red; segg;	√: joined;
Form	√: joined;		√:
Settle	√		
Bench	√		
Screen	√:	√: wainscot; 'to sit in';	√: deal;
Couch	√: cloth;		√:
Stand		√:	
Bedstead	√: joined; tester; half headed; 'half bedstead'; French; standing; high; low; truckle; trundle; pallet;	√: joined; tester; half headed; French; high; truckle; trundle; 'under bed';	√: truckle; trundle; pallet;
(beds, etc)	bed ('white dimity worked with green'); down bed; feather bed; flock bed; 'bed of feathers & flock'; bolster; down bolster; feather bolster; flock bolster; pillow; down pillow; feather pillow; feather & flock pillow; curtains & valance ('new green', 'new purple');	bed; 'ordinary bed'; 'cradlebed'; feather bed; flock bed; flock & feather bed; bolster; feather bolster; flock bolster; pillow; feather pillow; mattress; curtains & valance (green, red, blue); 'curtains & valance, head cloth & tester';	bed; down bed; feather bed; flock bed; bolster; feather bolster; pillow; feather pillow, flock pillow; tick for a bolster; curtains & valance (flowered dimity); bed curtains;
Cradle	√: joined;		

Table 33 - Furniture, Stage 2

influences can be expected to have been quite strong. But the same household also contained two 'French' bedsteads, and another was in the widow Poyner's house in St Martin's in 1690. The OED gives two 17th century references for French beds or bedsteads, characterising them as having 'a high, S-scolled headboard and footboard', but also as 'any bed considered fashionable'¹⁹⁰, so that the way in which they differed from ordinary bedsteads is not clear. Boarded bedsteads have now disappeared. The draperies associated with the bedstead continue unchanged. Just occasionally a further description throws light on the appearance of the curtains and valance: Thomas Fox, the barber, had two new sets of curtains and valances, one green and one purple (as well as two 'painted counterpanes'), and in 1710 Henry Monsall, a rich clothier, had curtains and valance in 'flowered dimity' in the forestreet chamber, which was probably his main bedroom, since it contained a large looking glass and jewelery and plate. One of George Hemming's bedrooms contained not only the only 'mattress' to appear (valued together with a feather bed and a bolster, so presumably a kind of support for the bed), but 'curtains, valance, headcloth and tester'; another had, with the French bedstead, 'green curtains and valance, headcloth and tester.' Headcloths do not appear anywhere else. Other than that they must have been part of the arrangement of the canopy, it is difficult to envisage what they were and how they differed from the valance.

Textiles

No further comment is necessary in relation to beds, bolsters, pillows and bedclothes. They continue in abundance, and, except for a single example in Lady Winford's house¹⁹¹, are only differentiated by their stuffing (very occasionally down, usually feathers or flock), or their fabric (hempen, hurden, flaxen, diaper, damask, etc), and their consequent variation in value. Napkins, table cloths and towels are similarly ubiquitous and similarly differentiated.

Window curtains are now mentioned in 16 inventories. Samuel Cocks had them in three chambers and the dining room (where they were 'white', the only instance in which they are further described). Isabel Poyner in the same year had them in both the 'great chamber' and the forestreet chamber, William Yarranton had them in five rooms, Hemming in 1700 in four, and Edward Bowers in 1710 in three; otherwise only single rooms seem to be curtained, usually bedchambers. Carpets are included in 17 lists, which, compared with 15 in Stage 1, looks low in proportion to the number of inventories: there are 11 mentions in 1690, five in 1700 and only one in 1710. This progressive

¹⁹⁰ "French, adj. and n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/74478?redirectedFrom=french%20bed> (accessed April 11, 2012).

¹⁹¹ She had in the 'Green Chamber' a 'bed of white dimity worked with green' (Winford1690)

decline may be explained by the decline in the detail included in the lists, but may equally reflect a genuine falling off in the use of table carpets. There are at least five cases where the carpet appears to be associated with a table¹⁹². Cocks' lists offers the only illustration of the variety of fabrics and materials used for carpets. His house had a total of ten, including examples in green broadcloth, Kidderminster stuff, 'orris', and red leather, two 'sad coloured'¹⁹³ ones and a 'fringed' one.

Pictures, books and clocks

Compared with only one in Stage 1, there are 12 lists in Stage 2 (almost 20%) with pictures or maps. Cocks has the lion's share of those enumerated, with a total of 30 pictures distributed about the house, but Yarranton has almost as many, all 'with frames'. Unfortunately, neither theirs nor any others give any clue as to what kind of pictures are in question, though there can be little doubt that the vast majority were prints. Most were located in downstairs rooms (kitchen, dining room and, in most cases in 1700 and 1710, parlours).

22 lists (a third) include books, of which nine specify at least one bible. Some further details are included in some lists. Richard Fitzer, a chandler from St Clement's parish, in 1690 bequeathed all his books, valued at 6s., to his son, but with the rider 'allowed to Abigail Fitzer some English books'; perhaps some were not English. In the same year Thomas Hall left 'one bible and the Whole duty of man with other prayer books', also valued at 6s. 'The Whole Duty of Man' was a popular protestant devotional work first published in 1657 and in print for two centuries. Also in 1690 the widow Anne Wilson left to her son George 'all his father's books except Camden's Britannia', which last went to her other son, Thomas. Charles Jones, a barber in St Nicholas' parish left in 1700 'one bible, one Common prayer book [that is, the Book of Common Prayer, the standard Anglican service book] with other small books.' Jones' books were valued at £1, and in most cases where it is possible to isolate books, their value is £1 or less. However, Benjamin Slater in 1700 left in his study in the 'College Precinct', or cathedral close, books worth £25, which must have amounted to a very considerable library.

Clocks are still notable by their relative absence. Despite the fact that Samuel Cocks was a clockmaker, the contents of whose shop are listed at some length and include several clocks and the 'clock belonging to the sign', presumably the sign over the shop, none are listed under the rooms in his house. There are none in any of the lists for 1690, in spite of

¹⁹² Carwardine1690, Cocks1690, Hill1690, Maugham1690, Monsall1710

¹⁹³ ie, dark coloured ("sad, adj., n., and adv."). OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/169609> (accessed April 19, 2012).

their generally including more detail than those for either of the other years. Only five lists, one in 1700 and four in 1710¹⁹⁴, have a clock (three with a case).

Stage 3

Inventories at this Stage adopt an increasingly formulaic style, and tend to include general entries for whole categories of items (pewter, brass, ironware, linen), or the whole contents of a room. However, there are still some quite detailed lists, and some things, such as bedclothes, continue to be exhaustively listed.

Ceramic

The number of certain or possible ceramic references for Stage 3 is higher than for either of the earlier Stages, in spite of the decline in the number of inventories from 1730 onwards (see Table28). There is a total of 24 references from 17 inventories and three wills without inventories. Eight of these are simply to 'earthenware', and four others are to items of uncertain material, which in the context in which they appear seem as likely as not to be ceramic. For example, the widow Sarah Linton of St Helen's, who died in 1720, had in a bedchamber 'a cup tip't with silver, two leathern cans, earthen ware and some trifles', all valued at 3s. The cup must be base metal, pottery, or some other material such as horn or leather, at all events an item of some special quality or significance. All her pewter, and some other earthenware, is in the kitchen. The earthenware in the chamber is presumably in some way different from that in the kitchen below, which invites speculation that it also is special in some way, for example tea drinking equipment as opposed to ordinary kitchen wares such as jars and pans. The chamber also has, apart from the bed, a 'little table, four chairs and an elbow chair', which could be seen as suitable for tea drinking.

Two further lists in 1720 have references to 'mugs', which is a term not apparently used when speaking of pewter. Thomas Pixell, the Rector of St Helen's, left 'in the buttery and cellar, vessels, bottles, glasses, mugs and other things', which suggests earthenware or stoneware vessels rather than pewter, which is listed in the kitchen¹⁹⁵. And in 1730 Thomas Weyman, a maltster in Mr Pixell's parish, had in his kitchen 'a frame for mugs', although no mugs are listed. The frame is listed with a cupboard, a glass case and

¹⁹⁴ Jones1700, Chetle1710, Monsall1710, Shallard1710, Vaughan1710

¹⁹⁵ The other list belongs to William Percy, a victualler: 'two tables, 7 chairs, mugs, bellows and a salt box', apparently in the kitchen, although there is no heading.

shelves for pewter, all storage items, so that the frame looks like a wooden device with shelves, or pegs for the mugs to hang from.

The first and only reference to 'earthen plates' appears in Anne Addenbrook's list in 1740, with trenchers and a looking glass. It is not clear what these might be. Since 'Delft ware' appears named as such in the 1740s in other lists (see below), it is tempting to assume that this refers to some other fabric, perhaps even salt-glazed stoneware, but tin-glaze seems the most likely.

There are now five clear references to 'china'. In 1720 Robert Salisbury, whose effects totaled only £9 9s., had in his parlour in St Michael's parish a long list of things, valued at £1, including chairs, 'three little tables', 14 small pictures, and 'two china [...?], a coffee pot, a pair of brass candlesticks' and other things. The manuscript is damaged at the critical point, and it is not possible to say what these two china items were. Later in the list appears 'some old broken china'. He also had earthenware in the pantry. In 1730 the widow Mary Johnson had a collection of tea things, including a teapot and a canister, and later in her list a 'tea table'. She also had earthenware separately listed; unfortunately her list is not tied to rooms. In the same year another widow, Joane Villiers, bequeathed all her china, silver tongs and spoons, 'belonging to my tea table.' Finally, there are two wills in 1749, one referring to eleven china plates and another to 'the best set of china with the tea spoons, tongs and tea chest'¹⁹⁶. Here we have the first clear evidence for tea drinking and the equipment for it, to add to the evidence from the pottery groups. It is not clear just what 'china' denotes. It is clearly separated in two inventories from earthenware, and it is tempting, in accord with later usages such as 'bone china', to see it as porcelain. But it cannot be English porcelain, and the values accorded to it surely preclude its being genuine imported Chinese porcelain. In Salisbury's case, although we do not know what the vessels were, their value is a small fraction of £1, and in Mary Johnson's her nine cups, seven saucers, four basins (slop bowls?), teapot and canister (possibly not ceramic¹⁹⁷) are grouped with a 'stand', a white quilt, a damask table cloth, a dozen napkins and a 'sideboard cloth' and valued at £1 10s for the 'lot', making 38 items, irrespective of size or quality, worth an average of less than 10d each. In another inventory in the same year¹⁹⁸ napkins come at 3d each, a cupboard cloth at 6s and a table cloth at 2s 6d. If the similar last three items in Mary Johnson's list are deducted at those

¹⁹⁶ Bagley1749, Hicks1749

¹⁹⁷ 'A small case or box, usually of metal, for holding tea, coffee, shot, etc.': "canister, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/27058?rskey=BVfh8E&result=1> (accessed April 13, 2012).

¹⁹⁸ Mannering1730

values, the remaining items are worth 18s 6d, which gives a similar result, 9¼d. Perhaps these references are to tin-glazed earthenware or even white salt-glazed stoneware.

In 1740 and 1749 'Delf' or 'Delph' ware as a name for tin-glazed earthenware makes an appearance for the first time in three lists. None of them is very informative as to quantities or forms. In 1740 Edward Bright, a cordwainer in St Nicholas' parish had 'Delph ware' in his kitchen, in the same year the very full list of the cooper William Turner's possessions includes 'Delf ware mugs and glasses', and in 1749 Charles Baylis had a 'row of pigs and Delf ware'. The lack of punctuation in Turner's list makes it uncertain whether 'Delf ware mugs' or 'Delf ware, mugs', with the mugs perhaps being stoneware, is meant; probably the latter. A 'pig' is 'a pot, pitcher, jar, or other vessel, usually made of earthenware; a crock; (in *pl.*) crockery or earthenware generally.'¹⁹⁹ The term does not appear anywhere else, but the 'row' can be imagined as a line of storage jars in a kitchen or buttery, with tin-glazed plates, bowls and chamber pots nearby, although Baylis' list does not specify rooms.

In 1749 the widow Mary Phillips had 'some old crockery ware', the first and only use of this latterly familiar term, the product of the crocker or potter. The earliest OED reference is by Defoe in 1719, so that it would appear to be an 18th century neologism. We may take it as equivalent to another general reference to earthenware. Unless some of the 'china' is white salt-glazed stoneware, there is no reference to this novelty, which by the end of Stage 3 was certainly in some Worcester households.

Finally, the entry in Baylis' list in 1749 which comes after his pigs and Delf ware reads: '13 pints and quarts, glass bottles, 23 clay pots.' He was a bachelor in what looks like a very modest establishment. His total of almost £12 includes £4 17s 9d for 'ruff cocks [?] and brass metal', and his tools include a vice, a lathe, a grinding stone and 'melting furnaces', so that he may have been engaged in a metal trade of some kind. The clay pots may therefore be crucibles or other containers connected with his trade. If they are domestic ceramic vessels, they are the only ones at any Stage to be described as 'clay', and 'pots' appear to be in almost all other cases metal objects.

Glass

Looking glasses appear in 29 out of 43 inventories, or 67%, and in 13 there are more than one, a position virtually the same as in Stage 2. Little further detail other than indications of size are present, except that there are two 'swing' glasses: Thomas Haden, a baker in

¹⁹⁹ "pig, n.2 and adj.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/143655> (accessed April 13, 2012).

All Saints' who died in 1730 worth, according to his inventory, the considerable sum of £1,550, had one in the 'best forestreet chamber' worth 8s.; Anne Addenbrook, a widow in St Alban's parish had one in 1740 in the only bedchamber of her much more modest establishment, described as a 'little swing glass', and included in a list with a little table, a chest of drawers, a chest, curtains and valance and 'some little things', all valued at £1. These, presumably looking glasses mounted on pivots, may be contrasted with one of Haden's other two looking glasses, a 'large' one, valued at £2 10s. They were no doubt relatively small mirrors designed to be placed on a table or chest of drawers.

The other references, as before, are to glasses and bottles. Only three lists refer to 'glasses', two of which have already been mentioned: Pixell's glasses are stored with bottles and mugs, and other 'vessels' (perhaps wooden casks) in his cellar and buttery, and Turner's glasses are with his 'Delf ware' and 'mugs' in his kitchen. In addition, the widow Linton in 1720 had a 'glass-case and glasses' in the back parlour, and Weyman, the maltster in 1730 had a glass case in his kitchen. In the same year Peter Bullock had a 'glass cage' in the parlour and Edward Sheldon another.

Bottles, admittedly only in one case labeled 'glass', appear in six inventories, again including Pixell's²⁰⁰. They are usually mentioned in passing, without further description or quantity, but Thomas Haden, the baker, had in his back garret in 1730 '26 dozen of bottles' and '84 lb of hops', totaling £2 1s in value. Haden was a very rich man, but 312 bottles seems an extraordinary number for a household; perhaps they were there for some commercial purpose which is not otherwise discernible. The hops can be independently valued from another entry later in the list, leaving the bottles valued at exactly 1s. a dozen, or a penny each. The Rev Mr Pixell is the only one of these householders who certainly had both glasses and bottles; Haden's very full list does not include glasses (which supports the notion that the bottles are commercial 'stock' rather than for domestic use), and conversely William Turners's also very full list in 1740 does not include any bottles to go with his glasses.

The relative lack of glassware is notable. In the reduced number of useable inventories for Stage 3, furniture, pewter and other metalware, and textiles, are still recorded in reasonable detail; neither are there any general entries for 'glassware', comparable to the increasing general entries for pewter, brass, tin and iron, or for that matter earthenware. Nor are there any entries for 'special' or valuable items, like Yarranton's 'crater' in 1690. These factors lead to the conclusion that glass vessels were really not very common in these houses.

²⁰⁰ Pixell1720, Salisbury1720, Haden1730, Johnson1730, Addenbrook1740, Baylis1749 ('glass bottles')

Pewter

20 of the 43 inventories at this Stage have entries for pewter as a general description, either in addition to a number of specified items or simply by itself, so that the amount of detail available, especially after 1720, is much reduced.

As far as eating and drinking are concerned, which account for the vast majority of pewter vessels at all Stages, the number of plates is now markedly greater than the number of dishes. In Stage 2, if George Hemming's nine dozen plates are counted, plates are 1.2 times more likely to occur than dishes; if they are not, dishes and plates are more or less equal. In Stage 3, if we take only the samples for 1720 and 1730, for which there is a reasonable number of inventories, there are at least 377 plates to at least 196 dishes, a factor of 1.9 in favour of plates. Salvers, which first appeared in Stage 2, now become a regular if not numerous feature. They occur in nine lists, usually only one or two in a household, compared with much greater numbers of dishes and plates. For example, Edward Sheldon, a cooper in All Saints in 1720, had 'ten dishes of pewter, and one dozen of plates and salver'; and William Turner, the cooper in St Helen's, the only source of any detail in 1740, had 21 dishes, 33 plates and 2 salvers. Porringers are mentioned in six inventories²⁰¹, always in small numbers, and seem by now to have become a rarer occurrence.

By contrast with flatware, which seems mostly still to be carefully enumerated, pewter hollow ware has almost disappeared, presumably into the general valuation entries rather than entirely. There are 15 flagons in William Baron's inn in St Martin's in 1720, but no others listed anywhere; he also had six quarts and three guns, and the widow Linton in the same year had in a cupboard at the top of the stairs to the cellar 'two quart pots, one two quart gun, one five pint gun, one three pint gun, one four quart gun, one pint, one pot and one half pint'. William Percy, a victualler, had an unspecified number of guns, quarts and pints 'and other coarse pewter' in 1720. This is almost the entirety of pewter drinking vessels, apart from two tankards²⁰², although Peter Bullock, a cordwainer in St John's in 1720, had 'ten pewter measures and tundish', and John Starling in 1749 had 'pewter measures' in his kitchen; these were probably pewter drinking vessels, similar to Sarah Linton's guns, or those of William Yarranton in 1690, 'measured' to contain specific quantities. The tundish is usually assumed to be a wooden funnel²⁰³, but Bullock's may be pewter, and Turner in 1740 has both 'tundishes' listed with pails as part of his

²⁰¹ Bullock1720, Need1720, Pennell1720, Mannering1730, Turner1740, Starling1749

²⁰² Pennell1720, Mannering1730

²⁰³ "tun-dish | tundish, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/207431?redirectedFrom=tundish> (accessed April 17, 2012).

extensive stock in trade of cooery vessels, and 'one porringer, one tundish, two salts, pewter' in the kitchen, which, assuming the final word refers to everything in the entry, rather than just the salts, must also be pewter. There are no pewter pots other than the two in Sarah Linton's cupboard, but Thomas Pixell left to his son John, in addition to his two beaver hats, 'the bellmetal pot'. Pewter chamber pots, from being very frequently mentioned, have also almost disappeared; Thomas Mannering, a fisherman living in St Clement's parish by the river, left the only one named as such in his kitchen in 1730. The widow Linton left four chamber pots, oddly enough in the brewhouse, but it is impossible to be sure what they were made of. There was also a close stool pan in her brewhouse, and a close stool in her best chamber. Eight other lists contain a close stool. No pan is described as pewter, although they are more likely than not to be so. Pewter candlesticks are only mentioned twice²⁰⁴.

Brass

There is very little to add to previous Stages. The same comment as for pewter, in relation to general entries, applies also to brass. Where there is any detail, pots, kettles and furnaces continue unabated. In 1730 a 'brass boiler' appears in Thomas Haden's brewhouse, together with a large copper furnace. In 1749 John Starling had the same combination, with other brewing gear; he also had two more boilers in the 'drink house', with brass covers, and a kettle and a sauce pan. His occupation is not given, but in view of the drink house he may have been an innkeeper. He has no brass pots, so that perhaps his boilers are equivalent to pots. However, Haden had both his brass boiler and some brass pots. 'Boilers' occur elsewhere²⁰⁵. It is not clear whether these are new kinds of vessels, or a new name for old ones; it will be recalled that Dr Johnson thought that both kettles and pots were types of boilers. The material of Starling's 'sauce pan' is not identified, but there are three others which appear to be brass, although none is certain²⁰⁶. Brass weights and scales also make an appearance for the first time²⁰⁷. Brass candlesticks appear 16 times, far more than pewter or iron, and are joined by two brass candle boxes²⁰⁸.

In Haden's parlour appears another innovation, namely a brass 'stove'. It is accompanied by a fire shovel, tongs and a fender, and 'Dutch tile', all of which suggests an up to date fireplace with a built in, enclosed brass vessel for heating the room, with a tile surround.

²⁰⁴ Linton1720, Mannering1730

²⁰⁵ For example, Delprat1730, Matthews1730, Weyman1730, Haden1730 also had an *iron* boiler in the brewhouse

²⁰⁶ Baron1720, Percy1720, Delprat1730

²⁰⁷ Johnson1730 (weights), Mannering1730, Young1730, Phillips1749

²⁰⁸ Haden1730, Turner1740

There are no indications of fires in any other room except the kitchen, and 20 barrels of coal are listed later in the inventory, so that the stove appears to be coal-fired. In the same year John Delprat, a 'confectioner' with stocks of coffee, tea, chocolate, sugar, snuff and other things in his shop, left in both first floor bedrooms of his house a 'stove complete', and Jacob Matthews left, also in an upstairs bedchamber, a 'stove grate'.

Iron, tin and other metals

Almost all of the bars and cheeks continue to appear in kitchens, but grates are now quite commonplace there: of the 17 examples from 14 inventories, 11 are located in kitchens. Langley Hill, a gentleman in St Nicholas' parish in 1720 had a 'grate, fender and cheeks' in his kitchen. Delprat, the confectioner, had in his kitchen in 1730 a 'range and cheeks'. This is the first occurrence of this word to denote an apparatus for cooking, which later became an enclosed construction with ovens and hotplates, but it should not be taken to be necessarily a novelty; the OED has references from the 15th century onwards with the general meaning of 'a fireplace, grate, or simple apparatus used for cooking'²⁰⁹. Fenders are virtually universal wherever there is any detail of equipment around the fire. Andirons and firedogs are not very common, nor are the other iron impedimenta around the fire (cobirons, links, hooks and racks), but at least 11 lists a have a general entry for 'iron ware' or 'irons about the fire'²¹⁰. There is one more purgatory²¹¹. There is only one smoothing iron²¹², but flat irons now appear²¹³, in contradistinction to box irons, of which there are three appearances, in two cases with the 'heaters' or 'gadds', that is the iron plates or ingots heated and placed inside the hollow iron²¹⁴.

Spits are still ubiquitous, and 22 of the 43 inventories list a jack, occasionally with 'line and pulleys', or 'lines, pulleys and weights'²¹⁵, but three inventories, all in 1720, list a dog wheel for turning the spit, presumably made of wood²¹⁶; none of the three lists a jack. Tin dripping pans are half as likely as iron ones, and tin is rarely otherwise mentioned, except as a general category. There is one tin candlebox²¹⁷, one saucepan²¹⁸, and a 'tin oven'²¹⁹.

²⁰⁹ "range, n.1 and adv.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/158007?rskey=TUrXiy&result=1> (accessed April 19, 2012).

²¹⁰ Pixell1720, Addenbrook1740

²¹¹ Starling1749

²¹² Salisbury1720

²¹³ Delprat1730, Turner1740, Phillips1749

²¹⁴ Hill1720, Johnson1730, Turner1740

²¹⁵ Bullock1720, Haden1730

²¹⁶ Hill1720, Langstone1720, Percy1720

²¹⁷ Bullock1720

²¹⁸ Salisbury1720

²¹⁹ Starling1749

Copper furnaces continue to make an occasional appearance²²⁰; Delprat had a 'copper' in the brewhouse or cellar. Other copper items appear for the first time: a copper can, three copper saucepans, perhaps now beginning to resemble the modern tinned copper pans, and a copper coffee pot²²¹. There are three other coffee pots, none clearly identified as to their material; Robert Salisbury's in 1720 and Mary Johnson's in 1730 both appear in lists of miscellaneous items, but Haden's is separately valued at 2s. 6d., probably making it metal of some kind.

Plate

18 lists or wills mention plate in some way, even if only as a general category²²², which is a higher proportion than in Stage 2. There are at least 56 spoons, seven tankards, about the same number of cups and salts, two porringers and one mug. Mary Johnson's list in 1730 includes, in addition to spoons, a cup and a porringer, an old watch, a seal (presumably for sealing letters), a small box and tooth pick (these appear to be associated; the box is perhaps an etui), two silver hafted knives and a fork. 'Half a dozen knives and forks' appear in Robert Salisbury's list in 1720, and six more in Charles Baylis' list in 1749, the only other instances, and in those cases not plate. Joane Villiers' will has already been noted in relation to china, but it also includes a silver snuff box as well as the 'silver tongs, silver instruments or things, and other spoons belonging to my tea table'. Tankards seem to be almost a specifically silver form. In addition to the seven mentioned in inventories, wills bequeath others: in 1740 William Allen, a victualler in St Martin's, left one to his nephew John Allen, a butcher in St Swithin's, and in 1749 Grace Hicks left one to her daughter.

Wood

Only six inventories mention trenchers or trencher cases, and of these Robert Salisbury in 1720 had only two trenchers, and Charles Baylis in 1749 only six. Neither was very well off. Only Thomas Hampton, a yeoman in the rural part of St Martin's parish in 1720 had any quantity (three dozen in his buttery). Trenchers are less numerous by this Stage, but were clearly still present, and may have been more common in poorer households.

Although there continue to be plenty of casks and barrels of sizes from hogsheads down to a runlet, the only coopered vessel specifically related to the process of brewing is a 'guile tub' in Jacob Matthews' cellar in 1730; there are no mashing vats or other named brewing

²²⁰ Stead1720, Haden1730, Starling1749

²²¹ Pennell1720, Turner1740, Linton1720

²²² for example: Crowther1730: '17 ounces 12d[ram]. weight of old plate'; Haden1730: 'sixty ounces of plate at 5s. 6d per ounce'

vessels. Only six inventories refer to a brewhouse. The impression is that less brewing is taking place in city houses, but most continue to store beer or ale in their cellars, presumably bought in from professional brewers. There are fewer hogsheads than halves or quarters at this Stage, and if 'barrels' are included, hogsheads are outnumbered by at least three to one by smaller vessels, which would support the view that these householders are storing beer in smaller, more portable barrels delivered by the brewers to their cellars. One aspect of the storage of barrels not mentioned so far is their support; seven inventories at this Stage have 'trams'²²³, that is a frame to hold the barrel steady and upright.

37 'tubs' are mentioned, including three 'tubs of butter'²²⁴, which should remind us that cooperery vessels were used for many purposes of storage and carrying. However, at this Stage carrying vessels seldom appear. It may be that the loss of detail has consigned them to the 'lumber and things forgotten'²²⁵. There are no cowls, and only ten skeels and 11 pails. One pail in Salisbury's list in 1720 is a 'bend pail'; this appears to be a pail made of 'bend leather' (the toughest and thickest leather, habitually used for the soles of shoes), which emphasises that to assume that all such carrying vessels are cooperery ware may be too simple (Thomas Birt's cellar in 1680 also had a pail which was probably leather).

William Turner's inventory in 1740 lists in some detail the stock of cooper's wares in his shop, with prices which allow some insight into the difference between vessels:

Hogsheads - 11s.

Half-hogsheads - 6s.

Kinderkins - 3s. 6d.

Firkins - 2s. 4d.

Tubs - 12s. (but 'small powdering tub' – 3s.)

Cowls - about 3s. or 6s., depending on size.

'Cheese cowls' - 5s.

'Long skeels' - 4s. 6d.

'Round skeels' and 'Whey skeels' - 3s. 6d.

'Milk skeels' - 10½d.

Pails - about 1s. 3d.

'Well buckets' - 1s.

²²³ Baron1720, Bullock1720, Hill1720, Linton1720, Turberville1720, Matthews1730, Blackmore1740

²²⁴ Need1720, Haden1730 (2)

²²⁵ Baron1720

Although this tends to confirm the impression gained previously that pails were smaller and cheaper than skeels, skeels and other carrying vessels clearly came in different sizes for different purposes; the cheapest item in the list is the milk skeel.

Table 34 repeats the summary of major non-coopery storage items, with the addition of chests of drawers as a separate entry. Chests of drawers now appear in more inventories than chests, and are equal with them in absolute numbers. Trunks, boxes and coffers, from appearing in roughly half of inventories, now each appear in no more than about a

	<i>Invs</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Ave no</i>	<i>No 'Old'</i>		<i>Chambers, lofts & similar**</i>	<i>Other rooms**</i>
Chest	18	37	2.1	3		24	0
Ch of drawers	25	36	1.4	1		30	1
Trunk	9	11	1.2	4		5	0
Box	13	32	2.5	5		20	0
Coffer	10	26	2.6	4		14	0
Cupboard	12	18	1.5	4		5	10
Press	9	10	1.1	0		9	0
Dresser	23	27	1.2	0		0	22

**number of objects, excluding those without room location

Table 34 - Wooden containers, Stage 3

quarter. Presses and cupboards are also less common, but the dresser is now established as a fixture in most kitchens, to which it is virtually confined. From appearing in about a third of inventories in Stage 2, it now occurs in more than half, often described as a 'dresser of drawers'²²⁶, and listed with the set of shelves with which it is familiarly associated²²⁷. Overall, it appears that storage has at least partly been transferred from horizontal containers with lids to upright ones with drawers. Very little information is contained in the lists about what was stored in these containers. Two boxes and one

²²⁶ For example: Baron1720, Haden1730, Addenbrook1740

²²⁷ For example: Langstone1720, Delprat1730, Blackmore1740, Baylis1749

coffer have linen in them²²⁸, and two more are 'dressing boxes', perhaps containing small items of clothing²²⁹.

Table 35 summarises the remaining furniture. Very little detail remains. There is an increasing tendency in relation to bedchambers to lump all the 'appurtenances' of the bed together, and even to omit the bedstead, even though there must have been one (that is, to adopt the modern way of speaking about beds, which does not distinguish between the bedstead and what rests on it). 'Hangings' often stands for curtains and valance, and curtains quite often stand by themselves. Two features call for some notice: the appearance of tea tables from 1730, not only in inventories, but, as already noted, in wills, and the appearance in both Delprat's and Haden's lists in the same year of 'press bedsteads', or beds concealed in a press cupboard and folded down at night. The latter is not an 18th century innovation (Pepys' mentions one in 1660²³⁰), but perhaps they took a little time to reach Worcester.

Textiles

Bedclothes, napkins and towels continue as before. Window curtains are mentioned in ten inventories, roughly the same proportion as in Stage 2. In most cases only one room appears to be curtained, usually a bedchamber, although Philip Scriven in 1749 had window curtains in the 'first parlour' but not in the best chamber. There are now no carpets at all.

Pictures, books and clocks

Pictures are an established presence in some houses. In 1730 John Delprat, the confectioner, had 12 prints in his first floor front bedchamber, while Thomas Haden, the rich baker, had only a single print in the kitchen of his otherwise lavishly furnished house. In the same year, Jacob Matthews had ten prints in the parlour and another six in the chamber immediately overhead. This is the first and only year in which pictures are identified as prints. In all, pictures are found in 15 inventories out of 43, and in addition Margaret Reynolds, in her will in 1740 left 'the picture of my Aunt Hughes' to one of her sisters. This must presumably be an original rather than a print, but no other clues are given as to the subject matter of pictures.

²²⁸ Need1720, Weston1720, Young1730

²²⁹ Linton1720, Crowther1730

²³⁰ "press bed, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/150775?redirectedFrom=press%20bed> (accessed April 20, 2012).

	1720	1730	1740	1749
Table	√: board; oval; long; round; with drawers	√: board; oval; square; tea; dressing; 'slatt'; with drawers; oak;	√: long; round	√: oval
Chair	√: wooden; elbow; easy; cane; segg; chintz; leather; Turkey work; covered with silk; red	√: elbow; cane; black	√: cane	√:
Stool	√: joined; chintz	√: joined; wrought	√: joined	
Form	√:		√:	
Settle	√:			
Bench	√:			
Screen	√:	√: folding	√:	
Couch	√:			
Stand				
Bedstead	√: truckle; pallet; high; 'chest'	√: 'pressbed'; press bedstead; half canopy; 'sling cross bar & bed'; 'cross bar bed'; half headed;	√:	√:
(beds, etc)	bed; spare bed; bed 'with furniture'; feather bed; flock bed; feather and flock bed; bolster; feather bolster; flock bolster; pillow; feather pillow; curtains; valance & valance ('orange coloured'); hangings;	bed; wrought bed; feather bed; flock bed; bolster; feather bolster; flock bolster; pillow; feather pillow; curtains; valance & valance (blue); hangings;	bed; bed with furniture; bolster; pillow; curtains; curtains & valance; hangings;	bed; curtains;
Cradle	√:			

Table 35 - Furniture, Stage 3

Books also appear in 15 lists, though not the same ones; only six inventories have both pictures and books. The loss of detail is apparent here also. In only two lists is a bible specified²³¹, less than in the earlier Stages, although a collection of books at this period which did not include a bible must have been very rare. An exception is Sarah Linton, the widow of a clothier (four looms appear in her list), who not only had 30 pictures and three maps distributed about her house, but one of her chambers, called the 'Soldier's Chamber', contained a 'great bible', a copy of 'Babington's works' (probably Gervase Babington, an early 17th century bishop of Worcester) and a 'Synopsis Papismi' (a popular anti-Catholic work by the Elizabethan divine Andrew Willet). Otherwise, books are in general not even counted; entries are more likely to be 'books of several sorts'²³², 'books, etc.'²³³ than a specified list.

Seven inventories now have a clock²³⁴, two with a case and one an 'eight-day' clock; the proportion of houses with a clock is therefore gradually increasing, but it is still a relatively rare occurrence before 1730.

Having now completed the review of household objects as revealed, however imperfectly, by inventories, the final Chapter will attempt to bring together the pottery and the other 'stuff' by looking in detail at three households, one from each Stage.

²³¹ Linton1720, Phillips1749

²³² Turner1740

²³³ Monckland1740

²³⁴ Hampton1720, Hill1720, Linton1720, Turberville1720, Haden1730, Turner1740, Starling1749

Chapter 7

Conclusion – three Worcester houses

Chapter 5 contains accounts of the kinds of pottery that were current in late 17th century Worcester, then in the years up to about 1730, and thereafter up to about 1750, envisaged as static 'repertoires'. The uncertainties of dating do not allow any more detailed chronology, but some idea of the progression of different types and forms has been demonstrated. Chapter 6 attempts accounts of the contents of households over the same period, drawn from probate inventories, and also grouped into three Stages. All of this has to be seen in the context of the local historical and topographical background sketched in Chapter 2, and in the light of the intention outlined in Chapter 1 to put the pottery in its place in the household. This Chapter will consequently be devoted to entering three houses from those whose contents are listed in the inventories surveyed in Chapter 6, one from each Stage, in order to explore their detailed contents and the largely unacknowledged ceramic items which they may have contained. This must be recognised to be a poor substitute for the material engagement with those contents which the inhabitants of these houses themselves experienced, and which we, as modern interpreters, are denied. However, the direct experience of handling and recording the pottery dealt with in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, and the vicarious experience of reading and rearranging in various ways the information contained in the inventories in Chapter 6, should have prepared us for engaging in an imaginative way with the details of an individual household.

It would clearly be possible to adopt an alternative approach which created an 'ideal' or 'typical' household for each Stage, populating them with a comprehensive amalgam of the ceramic and other objects which we have discovered to have been current at the time. But this would do violence to the individuality and unpredictability of people in a particular place and time. Obviously, we cannot know what ceramic or other objects, beyond those actually listed, were present in any individual house, if the inventory of its contents does not tell us about them. We are thus always open to the criticism that, if we imagine that some object might have been present, we are covertly reverting to the creation of a 'typical' household rather than describing a real one. But if we want to enter these houses and experience them at least vicariously, we have to take this risk.

The description of the contents of three of these houses should be seen simply as a random selection from the much larger number that might have been possible if space and time allowed. It is not and cannot be a 'representative' sample. It is the beginning of a process that could be taken further, but is in any case necessarily unending, incomplete and open to re-interpretation. The instances called into being here stand alone but inform and illuminate each other. Other instances might work in different ways, and other perspectives illuminate different versions of past material culture which are not raised here. Above all, the intention is to maintain a commitment to the particularity of place and time, rather than the instantiation of overarching (or underlying) trends or meanings.

One inventory has been chosen from each of the three Stages. This ought in principle to be a random selection, but the choice has in practice to be accommodated to the variability of the inventories in the sample. Thus each case is one which shows a reasonable amount of detail on which to base a commentary, but not one of the most elaborate, which would have taken too long to describe in adequate detail. To avoid the necessity of adding too many qualifiers such as 'perhaps', 'maybe', and so on to every statement of which we cannot be sure, or which is based on extrapolation from Chapters 5 and 6, or is based on the imagined presence of something which the inventory does not actually list, the following paragraphs are written *as if* they describe something approaching the completeness of a house and its contents.

Stage 1

Anne Arnway was a widow who died in 1680, probably in the summer (probate was granted on 23 August). In London the Exclusion Crisis was still raging, but whether she was aware of it or shared the anti-catholic hysteria whipped up by Titus Oates and his associates we cannot know. She died intestate and the distribution of her estate was subject to letters of administration, so that she perhaps died unexpectedly. Perhaps she died relatively young, although we do not know how old she was, nor whether she and her husband had any children. They lived in the parish of St Clement, whose church was close by the east end of the bridge, in the extreme north-west corner of the city (see Chapter 2). However, most of the parish was at the other end of the bridge, on the western bank of the river, so that her house may have been there. Her inventory of possessions was valued at £89 12s 1d, but almost exactly half of this, £46 5s, was for the residual value of four leases. The most valuable of these, at £30 10s, was from the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral for 'four small tenements and one timber yard'. This might give a clue to the business engaged in by her late husband, especially since the appraisers who listed her possessions listed 'carpenters tools' in the forestreet toploft of

her house. We may imagine the timber yard in conveniently close proximity to the river, which was the main means of transport for cumbersome and heavy items such as baulks of timber. Perhaps Mr Arnway had been a timber merchant, drawing supplies from the Wyre Forest upstream, or the Forest of Dean, downstream. If he was also a carpenter, he would have needed space for storing and seasoning timber and for processes such as sawing. The inventory does not include any stocks of wood, such as might have been present in the yard; it may be that these were sold off at the time of his death. We do not of course know whether the house which is the subject of the inventory was adjacent to the timber yard, nor even if the yard was in St Clement's parish. The house the widow died in was the subject of another of the four leases, this one valued at £10 15s, presumably not from the Dean and Chapter, since it is separately listed. The value of her household goods as such, excluding the leases, consumables like beer and the contents of the shop, was about £26, which is close to the average for all the inventories examined (see Fig 36).

Although we know how many rooms the house had, and something of what was in them and what they were used for, we do not know what it looked like, how old it was, or details like how well it was maintained. At this date it was almost certainly timber framed, with a tiled roof. It had five rooms and a cellar, as well as a 'shop' containing 'wares and goods'. It is not clear whether this latter was a retail outlet or a workshop, or both, but since there was also a 'forestreet low room' it seems more likely that it was a workshop in the back parts of the plot than a retail establishment on the street front. The wares and goods in the shop are not further specified. Overall, the house seems to be a typical kind of urban building, one bay wide, with a side entry giving access to the 'backside', with a cellar, a ground floor and first floor with two rooms each, and a 'toploft'. It probably had a gable facing the street, and a jettied first floor.

The appraisers presumably noted down the items in each room as they progressed round the house, and only later was the final result, perhaps after further discussion about prices, and consultations with others if some kind of specialist advice became necessary, written down as a fair copy for inclusion in the papers for presentation to the registrar of the Archdeacon's court. That fair copy is what has come down to us, but it is well to remember that it is not the 'objective' product of some anonymous, automatic process of allocating values, but the result of a human process of negotiation and judgment, involving interaction between the appraisers, discussion and possibly even conflict which had to be resolved.

The list begins with the deceased's 'wearing apparel of all sorts', valued at £2 3s 4d, and the details of the four leases. Whether these items were actually written down at this point, as the appraisers began their tour of the house, or were inserted later when the fair copy was made, we have no way of knowing, but the first thing that the appraisers did was to climb the stairs to the first floor. The first room they entered was labelled 'forestreet chamber' in the final list. We do not know whether this was the name used by the occupants, if there still were any, such as servants or children, or that given it by the appraisers, but it was the room at the front of the first floor, overlooking the street. It contained a bed, described as 'one flock bed, bolster and pillow, bed clothes, bedstead and curtains, bed mat and cord', all valued at £1 8s. In the same room there was a 'drawing table' and seven joined stools, worth 11s 6d. Although there is no valance mentioned, the bedstead must have had some kind of canopy from which the curtains were suspended. The bed was not the best in the house, being filled only with flock²³⁵, rather than the more expensive feathers. The bolster (the long under-pillow) and the pillow were presumably also stuffed with flock. The 'bed clothes' are not enumerated, but would have included a 'rug' or some other kind of coverlet, and perhaps a blanket; they probably do not include the sheets and pillowcases (or pillow beers), which were stored in another chamber. The presence of the drawing table²³⁶ and seven stools introduces the intriguing possibility that this room was not only, or even not primarily, a bedroom, but served as a 'drawing office' for whatever business Mr Arnway, and perhaps his wife after his death, had been engaged in. The timber yard would fit equally well with their being in the building trade, instead of a timber merchant or carpenter. If this is the case, the stools can be envisioned as high stools of the kind used in offices, rather than lower domestic versions. There seems a limited place in this scene for ceramic objects: a plain white tin-glazed chamber pot under the bed at night (although there were two pewter pots in the kitchen, these were not sufficient to go round if all the beds were occupied); or, in the course of the room's use by apprentices or assistants at the drawing table, yellow ware tankards or black glazed 'tygs' for ale or cider during their long working day; perhaps tin-glazed 'drug jars' or 'ointment pots' used not for their original purpose but to contain writing and drawing equipment, inks and other impedimenta; a yellow ware candlestick for lighting the way to bed for whoever occupied the room at night.

²³⁵ 'a material consisting of the coarse tufts and refuse of wool or cotton, or of cloth torn to pieces by machinery, used for quilting garments, and stuffing beds, cushions, mattresses, etc' "flock, n.2". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/71777?rskey=3Adxjy&result=2> (accessed May 25, 2012).

²³⁶ OED has 'a table extensible by drawing out slides or leaves', and a reference to the 1706 edition of Phillips' *New World of Words*: 'an Instrument with a Frame, to hold a Sheet of Royal-Paper, for Draughts of Ships, Fortifications, etc.' ("drawing, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/57552?rskey=IFHyBu&result=1> (accessed May 25, 2012)).

From this room the appraisers ascended again, by a stair or ladder, to the 'forestreet toploft', which had a window in the front gable giving onto the street. Here they encountered 'two feather beds, two bolsters and two pillows, one truckle bedstead and bed mat', valued at £4 10s, 'two tables, two old coffers and one box', at 5s 4d, and some carpenters' tools, unfortunately not further described, and 'two old vessels', all worth 2s 9d. Rather unexpectedly, and despite the absence of a high bedstead with its curtains, and the presence of only a low 'truckle' bedstead, the beds here were stuffed with feathers, reflected in a higher value. But there are no 'bed clothes' to provide extra warmth and comfort. The two beds, bolsters and pillows, but only one low bedstead and no other comforts, invite the conclusion that this is the sleeping place for servants or apprentices, one of whom would have had to sleep on a bed on the floor. There is no hint here or in the room downstairs of any floor covering; the draughts and cold in the attic of a house unheated except in the ground floor can only be imagined. Perhaps the coffers were more substantial and/or larger things than the box, with iron reinforcements and a lock. We do not learn anything about the contents of these storage objects, but no doubt they were used for clothing and other possessions by the servants who occupied the room. The tables would have served as 'bedside tables'; one can imagine them furnished with yellow or blackware cups, or a yellow ware candlestick (there were only two pewter candlesticks downstairs, which were used by Anne Arnway in her own bedchamber). The tables were carpenters' work: boards forming the top, secured to a frame with rails connecting the bottom of the legs. The 'two old vessels' are tantalising, but could be of any material, metal, coopery ware or ceramic, and for any number of purposes. Perhaps they contained water for washing or ale for drinking; if ceramic they could be barrel shaped jars in one of the CD fabrics, or large yellow ware jars or jugs like the one from the Cathedral (see Figs 20, 32). Other than the possibility of chamber pots at night-time, there seems little other likelihood of pottery objects.

The appraisers then climbed back down and entered the 'back chamber', which opened from the forestreet chamber, and seems to be the principal bedroom, occupied by Anne Arnway before her death. The effects are described in more detail, and there is more comfort and convenience. A 'tester' bedstead has a bed on it 'filled with feathers and flocks', two bolsters, a pillow, a red rug and two blankets, all the bedding valued at £2 15s. But there were also two carpets, a 'set of curtains and valians' and two blankets and two old coverlets. There was thus plenty of scope for additional comfort and warmth in the winter months. Since there was no table in the chamber, the carpets may have been floor coverings in this case, giving an extra touch of luxury compared with the spartan conditions in the other bedchambers. The bedstead with its canopy was what would now

be called a four poster, with curtains in a heavy woollen fabric, a drapery border round the canopy and perhaps also round the edge of the bed frame below. The bedstead itself may have been ornamented in some way, if only by some turning on the uprights, and perhaps panelling on the headboard.

Apart from the bedstead and all its 'furniture', the only other contents of the room were eight storage containers: a joined chest, three trunks, three boxes and a coffer. There are no tables or chairs, so that this is strictly a sleeping and storage space. The chest was the largest of the containers and was in the traditional place at the foot of the bed, with the other trunks and boxes around the walls of the room, under the bed and under the window, which gave onto the backside or yard. The contents of these containers are at least partly specified: all the linen of the house, namely six pairs of sheets, four table cloths, a dozen napkins, three pillow beers 'and other linen', as well as ten pounds weight of linen yarn. The specific kind of linen cloth used for these various items (flaxen, hurden, damask, etc) is not specified, but they can all at this date reasonably be assumed literally to be linen. Compared with some other lists, this is by no means a generous supply, and it invites the question whether it could have filled all eight containers. There is no clue as to what might have also been in them. The inventory does not list any plate, not even a few spoons, and, surprisingly, there is no cash, but it is likely that at least the coffer had been used in the past for keeping valuables. Any ceramic objects, as in the other chambers, seem likely to have been restricted to chamber pots and candlesticks, but if Anne had been ailing before her death, some tin-glazed gallipots containing apothecaries' remedies may have found their way into her chamber.

Having covered the upper parts of the house, the appraisers descended to the 'middle low room', which seems to be beneath Anne Arnway's bedchamber (although there is no 'back low room'). Here was kept much of the cooking equipment: three brass pots, one iron pot, a skillet (whether brass or iron is unclear) and eight brass kettles. For a widow lady with perhaps two or three servants at the most, this is a large number of cooking utensils, but we have to remember that this is the result of accumulation over a lifetime, which perhaps included cooking for a large number of children, and apprentices and employees. Then as now, such items no doubt tended to be kept rather than disposed of. Two warming pans, which seem to be brass, were kept here, and '18 pewter platters and other small pewter'. The values given to these groups of vessels suggest that the kettles are cheaper (and smaller?) than the cooking pots. The three brass pots, the iron pot and the skillet work out at rather more than 2s each on average, whereas the eight kettles and two warming pans are something like 1s 6d each. But values may depend more on weight than price per item; the pewter as a whole is valued at £1 12s, which suggests a

value of 6d per pound for 64lbs weight. The pots and kettles were kept on shelves, which are listed, and the warming pans on hooks on the wall, but the pewter was stored in a 'side cupboard' of the kind now usually labelled 'livery cupboard' or 'court cupboard'. This might have had a cupboard cloth on the top, although none is specifically listed. It is difficult to fathom what the pewter platters were like, but the name seems to imply a large serving plate, perhaps not as deep as a dish. However, it might mean plates of different sizes. The 'other small pewter' might have included a salt, perhaps spoons, but pewter drinking equipment and other pewter appears in the next room. If the platters were not plates used for eating, this room would be the appropriate place for storing wooden trenchers, which could be accommodated in the cupboard or on the shelves.

Overall, this room seems to be akin to a buttery, where stores of food and drink were kept, for it also contained a stock of 'strong beer'. There were nine hogsheads of this in all, here and in the cellar below, stored in 12 'beer vessels'. The hogshead was both a measure of quantity and the name of a cask of a specific size. In this case it seems that a total of nine hogsheads in quantity (in excess of 450 gallons, or 3,600 pints) was stored in barrels some or all of which were smaller than a hogshead in capacity. Her stock of beer was in fact the single most valuable item in the whole of Mrs Arnway's possessions, other than the lease of the tenements and timber yard. It was valued at £11 5s, that is £1 5s per hogshead, or about $\frac{3}{4}$ d (three farthings) a pint. It was brewed on the premises, and apparently in this room, because the appraisers also found a 'furnace of lead and brass with irons to it', a large mashing vat for mixing the malt with hot water from the furnace to form the wort, three skeels, four tubs, three pails and two tundishes, all bought from a cooper in the city. Food items which had no place in the inventory must also be included in this picture: a flitch of bacon hanging from a hook in the ceiling beam, butter in a cylindrical black pottery container (Fig 31), fruit in a greenish earthenware bowl from North Devon, carried up the river with a miscellaneous cargo from Gloucester including timber for Mr Arnway, and bought from the shipman on the quay. Flour might have been stored in a sack, but grain or peas were in pottery storage jars on the stone flagged floor. Also on the floor, under the table, were a couple of large pans in CD wares, which the cook or maidservant used to mix the ingredients for pastry or dumplings, or the fillings for pies. They were also used on occasion for settling milk in order to remove the cream, or for washing the earth from vegetables bought in the city market. The yellow ware colander hanging by its handle from a hook on the wall was useful for this latter job, and for straining the whey from curd cheese once the rennet had been added (Fig 19). The 'little table' was used for these operations, but the room contained nothing to sit on.

Finally the appraisers went through into the 'forestreet low room', which was the only room in the house with a fire, and the only one with chairs. There were five of these, and the appraisers can be imagined as sitting down, using the pewter drinking pots hanging from wooden pegs on the wall or standing on the top of the side cupboard, to consume some of the supply of beer in the previous room, and discussing their valuations. There was a table (described as 'little'), of traditional board and frame construction, and the chairs had main members turned on a pole lathe, and rush seats. There was also a form for sitting on. The appraisers had pewter drinking vessels of various sizes to choose from: five guns, two pots and two cans. There were also three pewter flagons which could be used to fetch the beer from the back room. The cupboard, as well as possibly housing the pewter drinking pots, accommodated further pewter: two candlesticks, two chamber pots and a basin for washing the hands. There was also a coffer which might have held some of these things, and, hanging on the wall, a 'little safe': a wooden cupboard perforated with holes to preserve meat or other provisions from the attentions of pests. In the heat of the summer it would not have helped much in preventing those provisions from deteriorating. From their seats at the table the appraisers could look out into the street through the front window. To one side or behind them was the fireplace, containing a 'fire-grate', iron cheeks, a bar from which pots and kettles were hung, a pair of cobirons for supporting the spit when roasting meat or poultry, four spits and two frying pans. All of these were wrought iron, supplied by the blacksmith, and there was also 'other iron ware' not specified, presumably including at least links and pothooks, and a fireshovel and tongs. Ready for when the fire was used for roasting were two tin dripping pans. The appraisers listed with these, as well as 'other tin ware' a 'little jack', which may have been tin also, at least in its outer covering. The cord and weights are not mentioned, but there must have been some such apparatus to connect the jack to the spit. The other tin ware might have included a saucepan, more candlesticks, and a lantern for lighting the way in the dark in the absence of street lights. Candles for these were an essential storage item, to be found in the cupboard in the back room.

There is no obvious place for pottery objects in this scene. Eating presumably took place in this room, which would have been called the kitchen in other houses at the same date, and was certainly the only 'living' room. Pewter, in the form of the 18 platters, seems to cater for that necessity, although if these were really plates, a number of slipware dishes, whether the orange/red sort with yellow trailing, or the sort with yellow and brown feathered decoration, might have been there for transferring food from the pot to the table. Drinking seems to be catered for by plenty of pewter vessels. The possibility of pottery objects not filling any obvious functional role must of course not be excluded, and there

may be some decorated plates or chargers in tin-glazed ware, or North Devon sgraffito, or even a flower box, ranged along the top of the cupboard. But this seems on the whole a rather spare and frugal establishment, perhaps a rather old-fashioned one. There are no mirrors, no glassware or books or pictures, no window curtains, and carpets only in one room. The appraisers make no mention of earthenware even as a general catch-all, and would surely have noted any especially prominent decorated pieces. It seems safer to assume that the ceramic content of this house was limited to the kinds of everyday, functional objects already suggested, mainly in the 'middle low room', or buttery. These would be covered by the final entry in the appraisers' list: 'coales and trumpery not mentioned'. They had finished their drinks, left the front room and briefly inspected the backside of the house, where they noted wares and goods in the 'shop' (not much, valued at £1 6s 8d), two pigs, presumably in a sty in the yard, and the coal in an outhouse. The latter, taken together with the fire grate, which is not very common at this period, presumably means that coal was being used in this house for heating and cooking. It was no doubt unloaded from river craft coming downstream from the Shropshire coalfields, conveniently close to the Arnways' house in St Clement's parish, on whichever bank of the river it was.

Stage 2

Thirty years later, towards the end of 1710, John Hurdman, a shoemaker or cordwainer, died in St Swithin's parish in the heart of the city. A general election had just taken place which had returned a tory government determined to bring to a close the apparently endless war against Louis XIV. Probate was granted on 21 December that year, and his inventory of goods was valued at £188 7s 4d. More than £66 of this total is accounted for by his stock of leather and finished shoes, and another £85 by debts owing to him, divided into £63 for 'debts supposed to be good' (presumably supposed by the appraisers) and £22 for 'desperate' debts. This leaves about £37, from which another £8 can be deducted for wearing apparel and cash, leaving about £29 for household goods as such, again close to the average (Fig 36). The appraisers of his possessions seem to have adopted a rather broad brush approach to valuation. In contrast to those who carried out Mrs Arnway's assessment, they almost always rounded their figures to the nearest shilling, and often the nearest pound, so that although the list of items seems reasonably complete, certainly with regard to his stock in trade, the values of some things appear somewhat impressionistic. Mr Hurdman's establishment consisted of a shop, four bedchambers, a kitchen, cellar and brewhouse. It is not quite as easy to see how these were arranged as it was for the widow Arnway's house. The 'shop' looks like a retail shop as well as Hurdman's place of work; there is no other 'work room' listed. If so, it must

have been on the street front of the house, but the appraisers did not begin their work there but in the 'best chamber'.

This room and the kitchen were the only two rooms with fireplaces, so that it is likely that they were either placed one above the other, or side by side. We will assume that the best chamber, presumably the one in which Mr Hurdman and his wife slept, and where he died, was above the kitchen, at the back of the house behind the shop, and that the appraisers started there because they wanted to note his wearing apparel and the cash which he had 'in purse', as the inventory conventionally has it, actually probably in one of the chests in the chamber. The clothes and the cash appear first on their list. So they ascended the stairs from the kitchen and entered the best chamber. This was well furnished. It had a bed with a canopy of some kind, either attached to the wall or supported by posts, because it had heavy curtains to keep out the draughts, and a valance. The bedstead was provided with a good quality feather bed, two bolsters and two pillows. There were three chests, large heavy containers, with panelled fronts and a lockable lid, one at the foot of the bed, one under the window looking into the yard, and the third along the wall. On the bed or in one of the chests were a rug and some blankets. These were, as well as being names of objects, also names for types of loosely woven or coarse woollen cloth²³⁷, the first originally Irish, and both imported into Worcester via the river trade. Also in the chests were 18 pairs of sheets, no doubt of linen, and an unspecified number of linen napkins. Hurdman's clothes, and his widow's, if she was still alive, were no doubt in the chests as well, and in one of them the cash in the house was locked up. This would be the obvious place for other valuables such as plate, but there is no mention of this in the list, nor in the bequests in Hurdman's will; he does not seem to have made this kind of investment.

Two wooden chairs were placed in front of the fire; we can imagine Mr Hurdman and his wife taking their ease here after the day's work and before bedtime, he smoking a pipe of tobacco and she embroidering by the light of a candle in one of the candlesticks kept during the day in the kitchen downstairs. Those candlesticks were metal ones of some kind, carried up to bed at night and returned to the kitchen in the morning, but there may have been additional ceramic ones to supplement the lighting on dark winter days. No chamber pots are mentioned among the pewter downstairs, so we may envisage rather upright blackware pots, or a large heavy one from North Devon, or a more rotund white tin-glazed one under the bed in the evening (see Figs 18, 20), to be taken downstairs in

²³⁷ "rug, n.3". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/168642?rskey=uXqcMI&result=3> (accessed May 28, 2012); "blanket, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/19889?rskey=5EILN5&result=1> (accessed May 28, 2012).

the morning by the maid and the contents disposed of in the cesspit at the bottom of the yard before scouring and rinsing. There was a place on the chest under the window for a decorated Delft bowl (Fig 28), or perhaps just a plain white basin which could be filled with water from the mottled ware jug. The fireplace was provided with both andirons and a grate; there was also a grate in the kitchen below, so it may be that coal was being used here for warming the bedroom, and for cooking downstairs, but with the possibility of wood also being used as necessary. There was probably a fireshovel and tongs, although the list does not say so. Unusually, there was a warming pan hanging on the wall, rather than being kept in the kitchen. The maid or Mr or Mrs Hurdman could fill it directly from the fireplace here instead of having to fill it from the kitchen fire and carry it upstairs. There is no floor covering, but this is a more comfortable bedchamber than Mrs Arnway's, with a fire for warmth and chairs to sit on.

From the best chamber the appraisers went back downstairs and spent some time in the shop listing the shoes, tools, leather and 'other odd things' there. Perhaps at least one of the appraisers had some knowledge of the shoemaking business which enabled him to advise on values, or perhaps an apprentice was on hand who could do this. There were men's shoes, boys' shoes, women's and girls' leather heeled shoes, girls' wooden heeled shoes, pumps, boots, and nine pairs of 'sassoons' (stuffed leather pads worn inside the leg of a boot²³⁸). Leading off the shop was the 'leather chamber', where there were stored another two dozen men's and boys' shoes, and supplies of various kinds of leather ('sole leather', Turkey, Spanish, calves leather, 'bend leather'). The wooden lasts used for shaping the shoes were also stored in the shop. No doubt Mr Hurdman made shoes to order, but he also made and stocked ready-made shoes which could be bought off the shelf. His shop and the leather chamber adjoining contained more than 340 pairs of shoes. This was not a small backstreet cobbler and shoemaker, but someone engaged in manufacturing and retail on a large scale. Presumably he bought leather from a local tanner, but he also carried imported material, perhaps traded from as far away as Spain and Morocco. This is one case where we can imagine the smell of experience; the distinctive smell of cured leather must have permeated the whole house.

Having satisfied themselves that they had listed all the contents of the shop, the appraisers returned to the domestic parts of the establishment, and decided to do so by going up to the garrett under the roof and working their way down. The upper parts of the house, apart from the main bedroom which they had already dealt with, consisted of a chamber in the garrett on the top or second floor, and two more on the first floor at the

²³⁸ "† sa'shoon, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/171124> (accessed May 29, 2012).

front, over the shop and the leather chamber. The room over the shop was called the 'boys chamber', perhaps indicating a son or sons, or apprentices, or both. All three rooms were quickly noted as containing, in each case, a bed and bedstead, bedclothes and 'other odd things'. The bedstead in the garrett had curtains, but the others seem to be simply low bedsteads without further elaboration. Compared with the best chamber, these are spartan rooms, with no comforts and the minimum furnishings necessary for sleeping. Other than the nightly chamber pots and possibly candlesticks, there seems little scope for ceramic contents. The 'other odd things' can only be guessed at, but might have included a plain deal box for clothes and other belongings, possibly a stool, although such things would probably have been listed. Perhaps there was shelf with a gallipot for small bits and pieces, or a stoneware mug. Given that the shop below must have been of a reasonable size to contain what it did, the 'boys chamber' above it, which contained only a bed, bedclothes and 'other odd things' must have seemed rather sparsely furnished. It is noticeable that none of the bedchambers, not even the one occupied by Mr & Mrs Hurdman, had a cupboard or press. This household was still relying on 'horizontal' storage in the form of chests and boxes, at least in the upper parts of the house.

The bedchambers cannot have taken the appraisers long. They returned to the kitchen, the domestic hub of the household. The fireplace was furnished with iron cheeks and a bar for hanging pots and kettles over the fire, which burnt in a grate below. The iron ware also included a fender to stop any hot coals rolling out of the grate into the room. On the side wall of the fireplace was an iron sway, a hinged bracket with notches which could be swung out over the fire with a pot suspended from it. Perhaps this was necessary in addition to the bar if a number of pots or kettles had to be heated. There was a jack, listed with the iron ware, and three spits for roasting, and an iron frying pan. Frying pans seem generally to be kept by the fire, wherever other cooking utensils are stored (in this case in the brewhouse). The essential fireshovel and tongs complete the picture, but 'other irons belonging to the fire' were present, no doubt including links and pothooks, and perhaps a dripping pan and the chain and weights for the jack. There were three 'tinpans' as well around the fireplace. Perhaps these were saucepans and/or dripping pans. Half a dozen candlesticks, which could be tin or iron, were kept by the fire, ready to be lit in the evening and carried upstairs. The candles for them were kept handy in a wooden candle box. The candlesticks might alternatively have been kept on the dresser, but this certainly housed the 12 pewter dishes, seven plates and three porringers which formed the main tableware, as well as six knives, perhaps with pewter handles. Interestingly, there were no pewter drinking vessels in this house, so that we might expect to find some stoneware mugs from Staffordshire or the Westerwald (see Figs 16, 21, 23, 28). But the appraisers

did find four 'leather cups tipt', presumably with pewter mounts. Given that we are looking at the house of a worker in leather, this is hardly surprising, but there may of course have been some stoneware mugs as well. There are no drinking glasses.

Hanging from a ceiling beam was a cratch or wooden rack for keeping a flitch of bacon. It is not clear whether the dresser had shelves, but there were some books on it or in it, unfortunately not described. Perhaps the appraisers were not interested or even illiterate. They were worth 8s, so there were several. At least one of the books must have been a bible, but we can only guess at the others; perhaps there were works of protestant devotion, like the popular *Whole Duty of Man*. It seems that we are dealing with a literate household, or at least one in which literacy was valued. Almost the only notable bequest in John Hurdman's will, which is mainly concerned with money and generalities, is £1 to his grandson, 'to buy him bookes'.

The dresser was accompanied by a round table and six chairs with rush seats. This was the only table in the house. It was used for meals, covered by a table cloth from the chest upstairs, and perhaps for any necessary food preparation, although this might have been done in the brewhouse, where the cooking pots were kept. If so, there must have been at least a trestle or board of some kind in the brewhouse for this purpose. Some comfort and protection from the draughts endemic in poorly heated houses with ill-fitting doors and windows was given by the folding screen, perhaps with prints pasted onto it, or, in view of the owner's business, made of embossed leather. Finally, there was a small looking glass in a frame on the wall, but no pictures.

As in Mrs Arnway's case, there seems little scope or need for ceramic eating equipment. We do not know how many people lived in Mr Hurdman's house, but 12 pewter dishes and seven plates were probably enough for most purposes. As with other houses at this Stage, there was also a smaller number of pewter porringers, in this case three. If more mouths needed to be fed with the kinds of foods porringers were used for, namely soups and liquid or semi-liquid pottages, some cups in mottled ware or even 'jewelled' slipware might have been useful and could be stored in the dresser (Figs 18, 27, 30, 33). The shelves of the dresser, if it had any, could also have accommodated the stoneware mugs to supplement the leather cups which the appraisers thought worthy of mention. The dresser was also no doubt the place for any display pieces of pottery, perhaps a sgraffito dish all the way from North Devon, or a set of plates from Bristol with Chinese scenes painted on them (Figs 28, 30,). But the fact remains that the appraisers did not list any such items, nor make even a general entry for earthenware or delft. Such items can surely not be encompassed within the 'lumber not mentioned', valued at a notional £1,

which appears at the end of the appraisers' list. What could well be included in that description are some items of coarse domestic pottery, storage jars and pans for mixing and washing, which were essential equipment and did not differ substantially from those the appraisers' predecessors had found in the widow Arnway's buttery thirty years before. These items may have been kept under the kitchen table, or in a corner by the fire, but could equally well have been in the brewhouse, attached to the rear of the kitchen, where the appraisers next went. Here the three pots and four kettles of brass which were brought into the kitchen when needed were hanging from hooks on the wall. Mounted on its substructure of brick and iron work was a brass furnace, and there were seven wooden tubs and skeels which could have been used for brewing on a small scale, or for other general purposes about the house, like cleaning or carrying water. The cellar, which the appraisers visited last, under the brewhouse or the kitchen, contained three half hogshead casks resting on wooden horses. These would have contained 70 or 80 gallons, or about 650 pints. No beer or cider is mentioned in the appraisers' list, so that it may be that brewing no longer took place on the premises. The furnace upstairs could still have been used for laundry on wash day. In a corner of the cellar was a powdering tub for salting pork to produce the bacon stored in the cratch in the kitchen. The yard or 'backside' no doubt contained outhouses where coal and wood for the fires were stored, but the appraisers regarded their task as done with the cellar. They returned upstairs to the kitchen to sit, smoke a pipe, and consult about how to write down the debts of the business, deciding in the light of their local knowledge which were likely to be paid and which not. Their estimate appears at the end of their list.

Stage 3

In the early months of 1740 William Turner died in the parish of St Helen, at the southern end of the High Street. In the previous October war had broken out with Spain (the so-called 'War of Jenkins' Ear') over commercial and maritime rivalries. He was a cooper, a manufacturer and trader in wooden vessels made from staves and hoops. As we have seen, these objects were a staple element in contemporary material culture, and not just in alehouses and inns. Most households had some cooperware, if only pails and buckets. His effects were valued at £165 4s 11d. Of this sum more than £122 was accounted for by his stock in trade, leaving about £43 for household goods. Surprisingly for someone in a retail trade, he is not credited with any debts, neither does the inventory list contain any reference to clothing or cash, so that it must be an underestimate of his true assets, if only by a small amount. The list of his possessions begins with a stock of timber prepared for making up into casks and barrels of various sizes. For example, there

are 1,200 staves for hogsheads, and the same number each of barrel and kinderkin²³⁹ staves; there are '15 dozen of barrel heading', presumably for the flat ends of barrels, and six bundles of 'bark hoops'. The total value of these raw materials is almost £60. They are listed before we get to any reference to rooms in his establishment. It looks as if they were kept in a yard or warehouse, perhaps nearby, even in a yard behind the house, but perhaps at some distance. At all events, the appraisers either visited the place where these items were stored or accepted an account drawn up by another party, which was later incorporated into the fair copy of the list. In passing, it is worth noting that we are here dealing with barrels and other vessels bound together by flexible hoops of wood, not metal bands heated and shrunk on. The 'bark hoops' are presumably in their raw state, whereas later on there are 'white hoops' stored in the house, after removal of the bark and further treatment.

When the appraisers got to the house, they decided to complete an account of Mr Turner's stock in trade before passing on to the domestic contents. Accordingly they entered the 'shop', which had in it seven new hogsheads, two kinderkins, two old pipes²⁴⁰, 12 firkins²⁴¹, three tubs and a small powdering tub, all worth £8 5s. The relative values of these items and others in the house have already been noted. It is not clear what kind of 'shop' is meant at this point, especially since later on in the list is another entry: 'hoops and cooperware in the shop', with a valuation of £6 4s. Perhaps the earlier entries are for the workshop in the yard behind the house and the later one for a retail outlet on the street front. On the other hand, the second entry is immediately followed by 'all the working tools and blocks', which makes the later shop look like the workshop. Perhaps both are working places, but one with a 'public access' for customers. After noting the contents of the first shop the appraisers, who no doubt included someone with knowledge of the trade, climbed all the way to the top of the house to inspect the garret under the roof. Here were more vessels, including 12 hogsheads, 16 half hogsheads, ten 'quarter barrels', 11 firkins and some cowls and skeels. Some of these were large and awkward objects and must have taken up a considerable space. It is difficult to envisage how they were lifted to this elevated position, or brought down again, unless by a rope and pulley via doors in the street front of the upper storey of the house.

The appraisers then looked into the space 'over the hall', where they found some 'barrel churns', three 'upright churns', nine washing tubs and a large number of cowls, skeels,

²³⁹ Half a barrel ("kilderkin, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/103349> (accessed May 30, 2012).

²⁴⁰ Probably equivalent to two hogsheads ("pipe, n.2". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/144382?rskey=udTGaB&result=2> (accessed May 30, 2012).

²⁴¹ Half a kinderkin ("firkin, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/70579?rskey=fa22AX&result=1> (accessed May 30, 2012).

pails and buckets, some for specific purposes (cheese cowns, milk skeels, whey skeels, well buckets), in other words the smaller and more stackable items produced in Turner's workshop. The 'hall' is not mentioned again when the appraisers regained the ground floor. In 1740 it is very unlikely to mean a large open hall in the medieval tradition which had gone out of general use a century and a half before. It probably means an entrance hall or passage in the more modern sense, so that the appraisers had now reached the first floor in their search for the complete tally of Mr Turner's stock in trade. This was distributed all over the house, fitted in to wherever space was available. In the little room by the parlour on the ground floor they found some more pails, some tundishes, seven buckets and 11 'lade gauns', that is wooden ladles holding a gallon, with one stave longer than the others, forming a handle. Finally, they went down into the cellar, where they found some more 'cooper ware', valued at £2 12s but not further described. This could be more of Turner's stock, but it might equally be the normal provision of casks for storing beer or other drinks.

After noting the hoops and coopery ware in the shop, and the working tools and blocks (see above), they arrived in the kitchen. We do not know whether the house was an old one or more newly built. A good deal of new building, and refronting of older buildings had been going on in Worcester in the early years of the century (see Chapter 2). Apart from the shop it had a kitchen, a parlour, a pantry, two bedchambers on the first floor, one over the shop and one at the back, more sleeping accommodation in the garrets, and a 'back shop', which may be the same as one of the earlier mentioned shops, or another entirely. The only fireplace in the house was in the kitchen and neither of the first floor bedchambers had a fire. This perhaps means that it was an older timber-framed house, rather similar to Mrs Arnway's, with an entry or hallway leading to the rear, a shop on the street front with a parlour and kitchen behind, and two floors above, but with much of the top floor given over to storage.

The appraisers carefully listed the objects in the kitchen. It is clear that this is the main living room, the only heated room, and is well furnished. They began with the pewter, which was in some quantity: 21 dishes, 33 plates and two salvers. The following entry: 'one porringer, one tundish, two salts, pewter' is presumably supplementary to this list, with the explanatory word, 'pewter' added for confirmation, although tundishes are usually assumed to be wood and certainly were so in the store room by the little parlour. Some idea of the relative sizes of these objects can be deduced from the values the appraisers gave them. The dishes were valued at 2s each. The plates and salvers were grouped together, but their average value works out at only 6d. The porringer, tundish and the salts were all small, their total value being only 1s 6d. The tundish was no doubt a little

pewter funnel. The pewter is followed by the dresser, this time explicitly provided with drawers and shelves, on which some of the pewter was no doubt displayed. Then the brass is listed: a candlebox, a mortar and pestle, 13 candlesticks, a brass spoon (probably for basting), two 'brass faces', two more boxes, then 'one brass wire, and nails upon the mantle piece'. Some of these things were kept on the dresser, but the 'faces' and the wire and nails are puzzling. Mention of the mantelpiece means that we are not just in the presence of a plain fireplace, but one with a surrounding, probably wooden, frame, with a shelf above. Perhaps the brass nails fixed a decorative fringe along the edge of the shelf.

The ironware in the fireplace consisted of the standard bar and cheeks, two andirons, two fenders, a sway and hooks for pots and kettles, four fireshovels and three pairs of tongs, a frying pan and three spits. The spits were of different lengths and thicknesses for different purposes, and leant against the side of the mantelpiece. Why this household had as many as four shovels and three pairs of tongs for one fireplace we can only guess, but it should remind us that people often acquire things for other than purely 'functional' reasons. These objects, although apparently everyday things, could have had all kinds of reasons for being there which we can no longer recover but can only imagine. Also in or near the fireplace were a box iron with the 'gadds' or iron ingots heated in the fire and then put into the box to keep the iron hot; there were also two ordinary flat irons, heated directly on the fire. The irons were used for smoothing bed linen on wash days, but where and how remains unclear. The kitchen only had two 'small round' tables. There were other tables in the parlour and upstairs, but ironing must have taken place in the kitchen where there was the only source of heat (apart from the fire under the furnaces in the back shop, which would hardly have been convenient).

'Tin ware', which probably included the essential dripping pan or pans not otherwise mentioned, is not enumerated. One warming pan was hanging on the wall, and three copper saucepans. A can is included in the same entry as these, which suggests that this, as well as the warming pan and the saucepans, is copper. There were, as we shall see, five beds upstairs. The single warming pan would have had to be filled in the kitchen and taken round the chambers upstairs. By the end of the tour it must have been rather ineffective in warming the beds. Perhaps it was only used in the main bedchamber. The appraisers then noted some 'Delf ware, mugs and glasses'. These seem somewhat separated from the dresser, so that perhaps they were ranged along the mantelpiece or the window sills. The copper can is the only other drinking vessel mentioned (there are no pewter drinking pots), so we may suppose that there were a reasonable number of stoneware mugs, English from Bristol or Staffordshire, and one or two from the

Westerwald, perhaps including a 'gorge' or drinking jug. There might even have been one or two finely turned white stoneware mugs (Fig 17). The Delft ware might have included a set of decorated plates from Bristol (Fig 27), and/or some tea ware or a bowl for fruit. It is quite possible that tea was being drunk in this establishment, although there is no direct evidence for it. Given the large quantity of pewter tableware, there would not seem to be any functional need for ceramic plates and dishes, but this does not of course prevent there being some slipware dishes, bought for their colourful appearance as well as their utility (see Figs 25, 36, 31, 33). It is even possible, though unlikely, that it was the pewter that was now outmoded and for show only, and the delft ware that was regularly used; without the benefit of consulting Mr Turner and his family we cannot know. The glasses, if they are drinking glasses, could be long stemmed wine glasses or conical ale glasses. There is no mention in the list of either wine or ale, but it could have been in the 'cooper ware' in the cellar. The only other hint is given by 'eight bottles' appearing without further explanation among the new pails and skeels in the space over the hallway.

The contents of the kitchen are completed by an 'eight day clock', mounted on the wall, with a pendulum and weights hanging from it and a bell on the top, a looking glass, 'books of several sorts', an unspecified number of chairs and a cratch. The last was valued at 5s, or half the value of the dresser and shelves, and more than the copper ware, so must be more than a rough hurdle. It may have been a 'cradle' for a flitch of bacon, but perhaps it was a more finished framework for plates or dishes, with pegs for the mugs.

In contrast to the kitchen, the appraisers dealt relatively summarily with the rest of the house. The pantry, off the kitchen, was a small room with shelves, in which were stored four brass pots, one bellmetal²⁴² pot and two kettles, 'with other things'. The other things included storage jars, 'butter pots' and pans in black glazed pottery, or perhaps an old pan from North Devon in a corner. On the shelves were also some plain tin-glazed gallipots and 'ointment jars', and a plain white basin for mixing pastry and other cooking tasks. Passing into the panelled parlour, the appraisers noted a large looking glass on the wall, with a gilt frame, two more round tables, eight chairs and five cushions, presumably for the chairs, and 'other small things'. As a 'withdrawing room' for the family this was a refuge away from the bustle and smells of the kitchen, but had the disadvantage that in winter it was unheated. The other small things may have included ceramic objects. A delft bowl on one of the tables, or a vase on the window sill would have been fitting (Figs 24, 33). It would also have been an appropriate setting for receiving guests, for whom a white stoneware tea service could have been provided (see

²⁴² Bronze with a higher than normal tin content ("bell-metal, n.". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/17461?redirectedFrom=bell%20metal> (accessed May 31, 2012).

Figs 17, 21, 33). The appraisers then returned up the stairs and entered the bed chamber at the front of the house over the shop.

This was the best bedroom. The bed had curtains and valance, but the bedclothes here and in the other chambers are reduced to 'furniture belonging'; we can only speculate on the nature of the coverlets, quilts and rugs which were present. By this Stage, there may have been a valance round the lower part of the bed frame; when Tristram Shandy's father threw himself on the bed twenty years later, his arm over the side of the bed, his knuckles 'reclined upon the handle of the chamber pot, which peep'd out beyond the valance' (Sterne 1760-7 [1983]). Equally, we do not learn whether the beds are stuffed with flock, feathers or down. On the other hand, the best chamber, presumably that occupied until recently by Mr Turner, and still perhaps by his widow, contained a chest of drawers for clothes and other belongings, a looking glass, two tables and the remarkable number of thirteen cane chairs. In 1740 these were becoming a little old fashioned, having been current at the beginning of the century. This number of chairs in a bedchamber again invites reflection about the limitations of a functional view. It may be that they had originally been downstairs in the parlour but had been displaced upstairs by more fashionable chairs. And the bedchamber should perhaps be seen in a wider cultural context, as an additional 'withdrawing room'. It had been provided with window curtains, the only ones in the house, in the window which opened onto the street, perhaps because in a narrow urban street with jettied timber framed houses some privacy from prying eyes in the house across the street was thought desirable. There were six small prints on the panelled walls.

In the 'back chamber', perhaps over the parlour, there were two beds, in this case low beds without canopies or valance, but there was yet another looking glass, a table and five chairs, and also a close stool and pan. The appraisers then ascended to the garrets again, where, in the rear part of the roof space, partitioned off behind the store of hogsheads and other barrels, they found two more low beds, a table and two chairs (presumably one each for the servants who no doubt occupied the beds). The linen was stored up here in the chests, for the convenience of the maid who looked after it and whose responsibility it was to change and wash it. Beyond indicating that it was 'of all sorts' and valuing it at £5, the appraisers did not further describe it. Unexpectedly, the garrets also contained a 'pillion', a ladies saddle or a pad for attaching behind a saddle for a pillion rider. Again, we wonder without hope of a conclusion what this was doing here. None of the bedchambers, unlike the pantry and parlour, are credited with 'other things', and the 'old lumber forgotten and not appraised' at the very end of the list, valued at only 1s 6d and meant to cover the whole house, does not give much scope for additional

stuff, whether ceramic or otherwise, in these rooms. We may content ourselves with plain white tin-glazed chamber pots at night to supplement the close stool, and perhaps a jug and basin in the same fabric for washing. Enough lighting would be provided by some of the 13 brass candlesticks in the kitchen, without any need for ceramic ones.

After a brief inspection of the 'back shop' in the yard, where there were two brass furnaces and their ironwork, the appraisers noted two large silver spoons and three small ones, the only plate in the house, and retired to the kitchen to discuss values and complete their task.

As indicated above these three cases are not to be taken as samples 'representative' of generally applicable states of affairs which might be thought to have existed at arbitrarily defined historical periods, nor as standing for some kind of development or, worse, 'progress' from one state of affairs to another. They represent nothing but themselves, and should be seen as necessarily (because we cannot directly experience the past) imaginative attempts at experiencing particular households, with their ceramic and other contents. If other examples had been chosen, or a different interpretive capability brought to bear on the ones chosen, a somewhat different outcome would have emerged. The power of this interpretive approach, with its roots in a phenomenological description of experience, is that it emphasises the particularity and diverseness of the real world which we know from our own experience. But we can nevertheless compare cases both over time and geographically; we can see that Mrs Arnway's and William Turner's households are both similar and different. And, if we were to undertake a similar exercise in, say, Hereford, we might see that similarities and differences applied between there and Worcester at the same time. This produces a richer and more nuanced picture than amalgamating information into composite tabulations. But the process of building up contextualised cases is laborious and risky. In particular, it challenges the specialisations of experts in particular kinds of stuff. Pottery specialists very soon find themselves outside of their comfort zone. This study began as a project about pottery, and a great many of the foregoing pages are concerned in detail with ceramic objects. But the intention to place that pottery in its domestic context produces a paradoxical result, in that it necessarily demotes the original object of study from its prime place and hides it among the other, perhaps more 'important' stuff in the house. When we come to try to describe, as in the sections above, and however imperfectly, the fullness of the domestic contents of these houses, we struggle to fit ceramic objects into the picture.

Pottery is important to modern archaeologists, for many reasons already touched on, and rightly so from the point of view of the practice of archaeology. But an attentive reading of probate inventories for this period, and the imaginative description of the material culture they point to suggests that it was not very important for people living in Worcester in the late 17th and early 18th century. However much we might suppose that ceramic objects are subsumed within the convenient catch-all of the 'small things forgotten', they are still a very minor part of household stuff. Or at least they are for *these* people. There is still the possibility that if we were able to examine in comparable detail the houses of the poorer inhabitants of Worcester who did not leave inventories, we might find more pottery. One way of doing this would be to make a positive connection between our knowledge of a particular household, even if only of its approximate socio-economic status, and archaeological finds which could be shown to have come from within the house or its property boundaries. The only case of this kind in the present study is the Commandery, which is at the very opposite end of the socio-economic spectrum and did not in practice produce any substantial ceramic deposits. For the houses of the poor this kind of connection is probably a remote possibility, but further work in the city archives and the Deansway and other excavation records might be productive. This of course assumes that ceramic rubbish found within the boundaries of a property, perhaps in a disused cesspit or well, can be assumed to come from the house on the plot, and is not general rubbish from the neighbourhood or wider afield. This is a large assumption.

The model as so far developed, therefore, takes it for granted that we can make a connection between archaeological deposits of pottery which can be shown to have been discarded at a certain time, and household stuff which was in use, or at least present in certain houses, at approximately the same time. Further work should be devoted to trying to establish that connection on a firmer footing. This would take the form, in the first place, of gaining a deeper understanding of the pottery, by examining further deposits from the other Deansway sites, and from other excavated sites, particularly Newport Street, which it has not so far been possible to examine, but which is now available. This would continue to refine and extend the Type Series. Secondly, the accumulation of further detailed cases from the inventory data would provide a better appreciation of the diversity as well as the similarities between and within households at the same time and over time. It may be that a more concentrated view of a whole decade or even a shorter period might produce a fuller picture than the kind of sample so far attempted, which could then interact more productively with the pottery data. Finally, more documentary evidence about Worcester houses and their contents should be sought. A great deal exists about houses and their forms and shape, and the descent of property (see, for

example, Hughes 1980a, Hughes 1992, Griffin et al. 2004). The detailed contents of houses present more problems.

The objective should be to provide more and better 'local knowledge'. Clifford Geertz wrote the following in a book with that title almost thirty years ago:

'The notion that the surer grasp of unshapely and incongruent, even unique, particulars is as proper an aim of science as the abstractive formulation of exceptionless regularities - and is, often enough, more illuminating as well - has grown steadily more acceptable ... as rationalism stumbled, positivism evaporated, and the "prism face of Newton" (the image is Wordsworth's) faded from view. The notion that all knowledge aspires to the condition of mathematical physics, or, even less plausibly, to diagrammatic economics, lacks the air of simple obviousness that it had even a few short years ago. Everything, from the philosophical reconsideration of the nature of natural law to the spread of perspectival, observer-dependent explanation, has strengthened the claims of case-based knowledge to scientific standing. "Heaven in a grain of sand" is no longer just a pantheistic trope.

This approach could stand for the attempt made here to see the meaning of material things as inhering in their nature as stuff, in their particularity, not in their contribution to more generalised meanings. But Geertz goes on to say:

It [heaven in a grain of sand] is, however, still a trope, and one, in fact, I have abused before to put off difficult questions. Whatever its suggestive power, *multum-in-parvo* imagery leaves the central issue rhetorically glossed over: how does one move among (across, over, amid, through, between) cases, instances, and granular observations to broader, more elevated ... perceptions? If anthropologists ... are not to be mere peddlers of singularities ... they must contrive to place such singularities in an informing proximity, connect them in such a way as to cause them to cast light on one another. Contextualization is the name of the game. (Geertz 1983: x-xi)

So contextualisation is not simply a matter of placing the pottery *in* the household and attempting an interpretive account which does justice to the *singularity* of the household. The household itself, carrying its pottery with it, has to be placed in connection with others in the way that Geertz suggests. The researcher interested in pottery is forced out of the finds room and into the record office.

Appendix 1

Later Post- Medieval Pottery Type Series for Worcester

For present purposes, 'later post-medieval' is taken to mean, in broad terms, the 17th and 18th centuries, from about 1600 to about 1800, although the emphasis of the research reported in the thesis is on the century 1650-1750. For the prehistoric, Roman, medieval and early post-medieval periods leading up to about 1600, the published on-line ceramic type-series (<http://www.worcestershireceramics.org>) provides a comprehensive illustrated and referenced series of fabric types found in Worcestershire, although the publication of the forms in which these fabrics are found is not as well advanced. The on-line type-series was developed from work published in 1992 (Hurst & Rees 1992). Since the 1992 publication a number of other categories have been added to the 'working list' used within the Worcestershire Historic Environment and Archaeology Service (hereafter WHEAS). The following list shows all types in the WHEAS series which have dates extending into the 17th and 18th centuries (**bold** for published types, normal for 'working' types):

69	Oxidised glazed Malvernian ware	Med to PM, late 13C to early 17C
70.2	Southern white ware, Border ware	Med to PM, late 15C to early 18C
75	North Devon gravel tempered ware	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
75.1	North Devon gravel free ware	
77	Midlands yellow ware	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
78	Late medieval to post-medieval red wares	Med to PM, late 15C to 16C
78.1	Red sandy ware	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
78.2	['hard, purplish' version of 78.1]	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
78.3	Fine red sandy ware	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
78.4	Speckled brown glazed red ware (PM)	[Worcester Rd, Droitwich]
78.5	Cistercian ware (WSM 603)	[---"---]
81	Stonewares	
81.2	Westerwald	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
81.3	Nottingham	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
81.4	Miscellaneous late	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
81.5	White salt glazed	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
81.6	London	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
81.7	'Possibly Staffordshire'	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
81.10	Frechen	['Deansway']
82	Tin glazed ware	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
83	Porcelain	
83.1	Worcester porcelain	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
84	Creamwares	
84.1	['pale yellow glaze']	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
84.2	[as 84.1, but 'paler glaze']	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
85	Modern stone china	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
89	Agate ware	['Droitwich']
90	Post-medieval orange ware	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
91	Post-medieval buff wares	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
100	Miscellaneous post-medieval wares	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
101	Miscellaneous modern wares	[Hurst & Rees 1992]
108	Midlands Purple	Med to PM, late 14C to 18C
144	'S Somerset ware'	['Deansway']
150	Deerfold/Lingen ware	PM

In some cases there is a correspondence between the types below and those on this list; if so, a note to that effect is included under the relevant description. It is hoped that in due course the WHEAS series can be extended and refined to take account of the contribution made here, but assigning numbers to types within that series cannot be completed without further consultation.

The following pages list descriptions of categories of fabrics which have been identified in the course of the reported research. These descriptions are primarily based on distinctions between fabric types, but also take account of differing decorative finishes (for example in Slipware – SLW). The categories are based on an initial survey of all the post-medieval contexts from Deansway Site 2, with the addition of types subsequently identified during the recording of the 11 groups from the city discussed in Chapters 3-5. Two caveats need to be entered. The reported research relates only to the city of Worcester; as the county town and the main population and commercial centre, Worcester is likely to have attracted a variety of current pottery types, but the series below cannot pretend to comprehend the wider area of the county, although it is obviously relevant to it. Second, the series below can only be regarded as work in progress. It is based on a survey of a limited sample of sites and contexts, and further work will be necessary to extend and refine it.

In what follows there is no necessary implication that the distinctions being made are reflective of 'genuine' distinctions, for example between manufacturing centres. In some cases the associations are well-founded, but in others distinctions are suggested which may have no ultimate reality. For example, North Devon wares are easily recognisable and their origins secure; on the other hand, some of the suggested categories of 'Coarse Domestic' wares may reflect nothing but the variable qualities of the clays available in one centre, or the competence of the potter.

Information is recorded for each category under the following headings, which are based on those used in the WHEAS type series:

MNEMONIC CODE

Descriptive title

a Fabric description;

b Manufacture;

c Decoration/glaze;

d Identifiable forms;

e Source/Distribution;

f Date;

g Other remarks

The mnemonic code has one, two or three elements. The first element is the broad 'class', listed in Chapter 4 under Table 3 for each group (for example, MMW for mottled ware, or ND for North Devon). In some cases this is all that is needed, if the class is small and/or undifferentiated (for example, AGATE or MART), but in most cases the first element is supplemented by a suffix which indicates the 'sub-class' (for example, types within STN, stoneware - STNNOT for Nottingham stoneware, STNWEST for Westerwald stoneware, and so on). Sometimes a third element is added, in brackets, to indicate a further subdivision (for example, STNWEST(U) for uncoloured Westerwald stoneware). Two general codes, for residual Roman (ROMAN) and medieval (MED)

sherds identified in the groups, were adopted during recording, but are not included or further elaborated in the following list.

AGATE

Agate ware

a Fabric description;

Brown & red/orange clays 'layered' or mixed to produce characteristic streaks of light & dark brown in the exterior surface; interior surface appears plainer & darker; no visible inclusions. Hard fired earthenware;

b Manufacture;

Moulded, possibly turned. Throwing produces 'muddy spiral effect' .

c Decoration/glaze;

Lead glaze, finely crazed;

d Identifiable forms;

Hollow wares

e Source/Distribution;

Probably Staffs (though produced at Bristol)

f Date;

1720>

g Other remarks

Only one sherd from 11 groups. WHEAS Fabric 89.

ASTBURY
Astbury type ware

a Fabric description;

Refined, hard fired red/orange/brown earthenware; no visible inclusions;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; lathe turned;

c Decoration/glaze;

Shiny lead glaze (sometimes described as 'ginger'; red/orange/brown); usually finely crazed. Tiny yellow flecks visible under the glaze. Turned incised lines. Sometimes sprigged decoration in white clay.

d Identifiable forms;

Hollow wares? Tea wares?

e Source/Distribution;

Staffs

f Date;

1730>

g Other remarks

Perhaps better described as 'fine red earthenware', or similar. Only four sherds from 11 groups.

BLW

Blackware

BLWCF(S)

Blackware, coarse fabric, slipped

a Fabric description;

Pink/orange, with streaks of cream/buff, badly mixed; plentiful inclusions, some quartz, red (?grog), black, cream coloured. Dark red slip over orangey 'natural' colour;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown;

c Decoration/glaze;

Dark brown>treacly>black glaze; no other decoration?

d Identifiable forms;

Hollow wares (chamber pots, etc)

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown

f Date;

Probably early C18.

g Other remarks

This may not be distinct from BLWLHF, but seems different in texture, not as hard fired, and thicker. Seems similar to 'Buckley type' ware, characterised by mixed clay bodies. Uncommon.

BLWCR

Blackware, cream fabric

a Fabric description;

Pale to darker cream or buff fabric, occasionally verging on pink, with rounded white inclusions; very small red inclusions; occasional larger red inclusions; occasional rounded quartz; dark red slip/wash to form the base for a dark glaze. Crackly fracture, not laminar.

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown.

c Decoration/glaze;

Thick treacly dark brown to black glaze over red slip/wash, sometimes with a greeny tinge; glaze often gives out towards exterior base, revealing red slip and pale body; sometimes iridescence in the glaze; glaze has distinct tendency to craze.

d Identifiable forms;

Used for hollow wares (chamber pots, mugs, bowls, porringers); no flatwares/dishes, etc.

e Source/Distribution;

Probably N Staffs (cf MMW)

f Date;

Early to mid C18?

g Other remarks

Fabric same as MMWB; potters in Staffs making both, acc to Wedgwood (1710-15); base profiles for some examples in MMWB & BLWCR very similar. The fabric is not unlike that included in the WHEAS type series as 'Post medieval buff wares', Fabric 91, but it seems to have more inclusions and is coarser. 'Slip coated ware'.

BLWLHF

Blackware, late, hard fired

BLWLHF(S) - slipped

BLWLHF(U) - unslipped

a Fabric description;

Usually hard fired, usually iron rich clay firing to orange>red>grey/brown>purple. Wide variation in colour. Sometimes streaks of lighter or darker colours. Inclusions: usually quartz; often red (quite large). Sometimes slipped with dark red;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown

c Decoration/glaze;

Smooth, glossy dark brown>black, thick glaze; no other decoration, but cordons apparent, probably below rims; black glaze sometimes 'sparkles';

d Identifiable forms;

Hollow wares (porringers, chamber pots, butterpots, cups, etc)

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown; Staffordshire?

f Date;

?early C18

g Other remarks

There are variations in the quality of the glaze; sometimes really smooth, but some defects. Fabrics are quite refined, with relatively low levels of inclusions, but some still quite large.

Two versions, slipped & unslipped (via x7 lens) are proposed, but this is not very reliable; sometimes slip is so thin it is not detectable in section, even though visible on the (unglazed) surface.

There appears to a continuity between 'Cistercian' wares (see below) and Blackwares, and the cutoff point is arbitrary (see Barker 1986). Some Blackwares may be CIST2.

BUFSL(BG)

Buff ware, slipped, brown glaze

a Fabric description;

Buff with some streaking of cream & pink; cream coloured pellets; red inclusions. Red slip (at least on interior);

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown

c Decoration/glaze;

Clear lead glaze over slip > browns; glaze fairly crazed;

d Identifiable forms;

?hollow wares

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown

f Date;

Unknown

g Other remarks

This is probably a variety of Coarse Domestic ware (see below), with a brown glaze.

CCW

Cream coloured ware ('Creamware')

CCWP

Cream coloured ware, plain

a Fabric description;

Hard refined chalky white to off-white earthenware; no inclusions (miniscule occasional red)

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; Moulded; slipcast

c Decoration/glaze;

Cream to pale yellow lead glaze; glaze often finely crazed; lathe turned grooves. Several plates with simple wavy edge, and at least one with a moulded strip edge.

d Identifiable forms;

Table wares; chamber pot.

e Source/Distribution;

Staffordshire

f Date;

1750>

g Other remarks

WHEAS Type 84, divided into 84.1 and 84.2, depending on the colour of the glaze (84.1 'pale yellow', 84.2 'paler'). The 18th century name for this ware was Cream Colour or Cream Coloured Earthenware. It ultimately replaced white salt glazed stoneware as the preferred mass produced tableware in the mid to late 18th century, and was the most influential development in that century. Its earliest production in the Staffordshire potteries probably dates to about 1750, possibly earlier (Barker 1991:15).

CCWCL

Cream coloured ware, clouded

a Fabric description;

Hard refined white to off-white earthenware; no inclusions (miniscule occasional red?)

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; Moulded.

c Decoration/glaze;

Lead glaze with oxides producing purple, green, yellow; 'clouded' or tortoiseshell effects within glaze; glaze finely crazed;

d Identifiable forms;

Table wares;

e Source/Distribution;

Staffs

f Date;

Probably 1740>

g Other remarks

Otherwise 'Whieldon'; prototype Creamware; best included within Creamware classifications (ie CCW---); 'clouded' most appropriate, neutral term; also 'tortoiseshell'.

CD

Coarse domestic fabrics

This class of fabrics is placed together by virtue only of its very general character and assumptions about its use. In general, vessel walls are thick, glaze is applied only to the interior surfaces, and fabrics are coarse textured, with large amounts of inclusions (quartz sand and larger quartz fragments, red/orange pellets, small black specks). The colour of the fabric varies from red to orange to buff, often with streaks of different colours, no doubt indicating a lack of attention to the careful clay preparation which would be necessary for finer wares. Highly fired examples verge on purple. There is often a dark red slip coating, inside and out, giving a dark brown or black colour to the internal glaze. In the early 17th century, this kind of product was being supplied by the Malvern industry. With the decline of that industry, other industries must have entered the market in Worcester; certainly North Devon, possibly Herefordshire and probably Staffordshire, but possibly also somewhere more local, yet to be discovered.

CDBF(U)

Coarse domestic, buff fabric, unglazed

a Fabric description;

Cream>buff fabric, hard fired, crackly fracture. Inclusions: sparse to abundant quartz sand, red inclusions (sometimes quite large); inclusions evident on exterior surface. Thin pale orange wash on exterior; interior paler (reflecting fabric colour);

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown – marked throwing ridges inside & out;

c Decoration/glaze;

Unglazed & undecorated;

d Identifiable forms;

Large hollow wares?

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown

f Date;

Unknown

g Other remarks

Quite distinctive, despite plain character; has very distinctive 'ring' when placed on a hard surface.

CDMARB

Coarse Domestic, 'marbled' fabric

a Fabric description;

Very coarse fabric, mixture of cream, pink & orange clays which are layered & swirled around inclusions & voids; plentiful inclusions (?grog, ?red sandstone, black, quartz). Thin pale orange wash on exterior.

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown, but large vessels may be slab built? (curious join between sides & base) Wiped on exterior.

c Decoration/glaze;

Dark (sometimes paler, streaky) treacly glaze on int. (Colour from iron in body?)

d Identifiable forms;

Very large storage vessel?

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown. Local?

f Date;

Early to mid C18?

g Other remarks

Distinctive type of coarse earthenware; can only be meant for the kitchen/storage/dairy. But may be no more than a badly mixed variety of CDPF/CDRF.

CDMIC(U)

Coarse domestic, micaceous unglazed

a Fabric description;

Dark, coarse buff>pale orange fabric with abundant inclusions (quartz sand, large orange/red, large black & rose mica plates, & plenty of small mica). Mica appears clearly on surfaces, >4mm across. Appears oxidised on ext surface > pale orange, otherwise dark buff on interior.

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; clear throwing ridges on interior; smoothed on ext.

c Decoration/glaze;

None

d Identifiable forms;

Large hollow wares?

e Source/Distribution;

Unkown

f Date;

Unkown

g Other remarks

May be import? (such large mica not usually domestic)

CDOMIC(U)

Coarse domestic, orange micaceous, unglazed

a Fabric description;

Rich orange fabric, some slight (?) reduction in centre (red to grey); abundant small mica visible in smoothed surfaces; quartz sand not obvious generally, but ?'pockets' within rims; sparse large red inclusions;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown? Smooth interior surface looks as if turned against smoother (horizontal turning marks);

c Decoration/glaze;

None, but tiny spots of glaze on interior?

d Identifiable forms;

Only large hollow ware, with club rim;

e Source/Distribution;

??Herefordshires; some similarities to Deerfold/Lingen?

f Date;

Unknown;

g Other remarks

CDPF

Coarse Domestic, paler fabric

a Fabric description;

Coarse cream>buff>pink fabric, with multiple inclusions, including very large red rock, quartz, black, rounded cream coloured, grog?; sometimes slipped on interior (under glaze, if there); exterior slipped/washed, sometimes with dark red, sometimes much paler wash?

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; clear throwing marks on int.; ext wiped?

c Decoration/glaze;

Dark brown>treadle glaze usually on interior only; glaze patchy?

d Identifiable forms;

Large storage vessels with thick walls ('butterpot'); pans;

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown; local?

f Date;

C17 – C18

g Other remarks

This is the 'iron-sparse' version of CD, the 'iron-rich' version being CDRF; the cut off between this and CDRF is fairly arbitrary; inclusions are similar. Together they constitute the vast majority of CD pottery found in Worcester. CDPF probably more common than CDRF.

CDRF

Coarse Domestic, red fabric

a Fabric description;

Coarse fabric, with multiple inclusions, cf CDPF; fabric orange >brick red; hard to very hard; some streaking of paler clay, but quite homogeneous;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown;

c Decoration/glaze;

Brown>dark brown glaze usually on interior only; sometimes smooth, sometimes thinner & rougher. Usually slipped/washed in red on exterior.

d Identifiable forms;

Large coarseware (pancheons, storage, etc)

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown; local?

f Date;

C17 – C18

g Other remarks

See CDPF;

CRRU

Coarse domestic, refined red unglazed

a Fabric description;

Brick red, quite refined fabric, with some streaking of cream clay; some red, cream, black inclusions, but quite homogeneous; surface can be red 'burnished';

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown

c Decoration/glaze;

none

d Identifiable forms;

?domestic hollow wares

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown

f Date;

?C17 –C18

g Other remarks

Looks like plain flower pot. But with cream swirls & streaks. ?Could be BLWLHF without the glaze?

CDSB

Coarse domestic, sandy brown fabric

a Fabric description;

Light brown sandy texture; rounded quartz inclusions; some red/orange inclusions; laminar fracture.

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown?

c Decoration/glaze;

Unglazed, but red/orange wash interior & exterior.

d Identifiable forms;

?pans, bowls , large domestic coarseware.

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown

f Date;

?C17 – C18

g Other remarks

Seems different from other types of CD, but may be just a variant of CDPF/RF.

CIST

'Cistercian ware'

CIST1

CIST2

CIST(BG)

a Fabric description

Fabrics orange to red to purple, sometimes highly fired to near stoneware. Usually red slipped? This category takes in WHEAS Fabric 78 ('post medieval red wares'), and includes C17 'blackware precursors', ie rougher, browner, with white/cream flecks in the glaze.

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown.

c Decoration/glaze;

Glazed with a lead glaze, usually inside and out, in colours ranging from dark brown to black. Sometimes white/cream flecks in/under the glaze. Occasionally decorated with pads of light coloured clay, sometimes with a stamped impression. Glaze sometimes fired to a 'metallic' dark grey finish;

d Identifiable forms;

Mostly small fragments of, probably, small hollow wares (cups, 'tygs'?).

e Source/Distribution;

Midlands. Bryant (2004:312) indicates that thin-section work reveals that the inclusions are typical of glacial sands found over a wide area of the west midlands, Severn and Avon valleys.

f Date;

C16–C17th.

g Other remarks

There seems to be a good deal of continuity between this and the subsequent 'Blackware' industries (see above). Nomenclature here is very confusing, perhaps because there are overlapping local traditions with a good deal of similarity, which it is difficult to disentangle. 'Post medieval redware' (WHEAS Fabric 78) is a catch-all which may well include the products of several manufacturing sites, of which Wednesbury is only one possible. An inventory of 1571 includes both 'Hanley' and 'Wednesbury' wares (Dyer 1967: inventory of Thomas Porter). 'Hanley' ware (ie Fabric 69 – Oxidised glazed Malvernian ware) was being produced in imitation of 'Cistercian' type forms in the 16th century (Bryant 2004:304).

For some of the 11 groups reported a distinction was attempted between CIST1 and CIST2, the latter more nearly approaching Blackware. A further sub-type, CIST(BG) (Cistercian, Brown Glaze), was used for the Commandery group, but differs from CIST only in the colour of the glaze.

MART

Martincamp

a Fabric description

Hard fired earthenware, red on interior, reduced on exterior; thin and homogeneous; mica visible in light source; occasional quartz inclusions. The fabric seems to be that of Hurst's Type III flasks (Hurst et al. 1986).

b Manufacture

Wheel thrown; flasks (the only form commonly found in England) were constructed by making the neck and body separately and joining the two together by luting the neck around a hole roughly cut through the body (Jennings 1981:75).

c Decoration/glaze

Undecorated, unglazed. Throwing grooves are often emphasized.

d Identifiable forms

The only form found commonly in England is a globular, sometimes flattened, necked flask; the Type III flask is more globular than the earlier Types I and II.

e Source/distribution

Normandy; imported into Exeter (Allan 1984:113), and no doubt other southern ports.

f. Date

C16 – C17

g Other remarks

The Type III flask, although earthenware, is very hard fired, and approaches stoneware; the Type II flask, typical of the 16th century, is stoneware proper. Imported empty (Allan 1983), rather than as containers, and covered in wicker, with perhaps a method of attaching them to a sling, so that they could be used as canteens for soldiers or field workers. Only occasional sherds in Worcester.

MALV

Oxidised glazed Malvernian

a Fabric description;

Iron rich clay with sparse to moderate Malvernian rock inclusions, moderate quartz inclusions and some mica. Almost always bright orange throughout; sometimes reduced core

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown

c Decoration/glaze;

Copper speckled orange glaze. Some vessels are plain others have stamped, incised or applied decoration.

d Identifiable forms;

Jars, pans,

e Source/Distribution;

Hanley Castle; distribution in C16 & early C17 over wide area in Severn & Wye valleys, beyond Bristol and along south Wales coast.

f Date;

From C13 to early C17; by early C17 in decline

g Other remarks

WHEAS Fabric 69.

MMW

Manganese Mottled Ware

MMWB Manganese Mottled ware, buff fabric

MMWP Manganese Mottled ware, pink fabric

a Fabric description;

MMWB – Buff>cream>off white fabric, with some quartz, small red (grog?, iron?) & black inclusions. Occasional large white stones. Some sandy in texture, some fired harder – nearer stoneware (sometimes with more friable layer beneath the glaze); same as BLWCR (see above);

MMWP - Pink fabric, sometimes with streaks of buff clay; sometimes slipped with lighter clay before glazing. Coarser, with larger inclusions. Rougher feel on exterior, through glaze?

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown

c Decoration/glaze;

Various shades of mottled brown, specks of darker colour on eg rims, streaks down sides. Usually glazed overall, but glaze sometimes gives out towards exterior base; occasional unglazed interior. Where thick (eg in base angles) glaze is v dark brown. Gooder (1984:149-248:173) claims that the 'mottling is achieved by blending manganese with a lead glaze, the iron which comes from the body as iron oxide also adding to the colour'; there seems to be some disagreement about the extent to which the brown colour is actually produced by manganese or iron oxide, or both, and the situation is complicated by the natural presence of iron in most clays, which is absorbed by the lead glaze, producing dark brown to black finishes (Barker 1986, Brears 1971:128, Charles 1974:62,129).

d Identifiable forms;

Hollow wares (Chamber pots, Tankards dishes, bowls)

e Source/Distribution;

Probably Staffordshire

f Date;

Late 17th-early 18th

g Other remarks

Name is probably a misnomer; 'mottled ware' more appropriate. Same fabric as BLWCR.

MPL

Midlands Purple

a Fabric description;

Dark red>purple>purple/grey. Very hard fired, with rounded quartz inclusions, black & occasional large to very large red rock, & occasional cream clay?. Often with cream clay streaks & occasional red streaks. Amounts of quartz very variable. Exterior surface dark red to grey to khaki; interior more often purple.

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown, but sometimes seems very uneven? Slow wheel?

c Decoration/glaze;

Not always glazed, but glaze mostly on interior (taking dark colour from body) [although type series says 'occ patchy purple glaze, usu on ext surface']

Exterior sometimes has burnished appearance, with different colour. Simple grooving below rim of large jars/butterpots

d Identifiable forms;

Large storage? Butterpot? Often lid seating in rim.

e Source/Distribution;

Midlands generally (Ticknall? Chilvers Coton? Nuneaton? etc). The online type series simply refers to production throughout the midlands, and this is no doubt likely, the purple fabric being produced by firing the readily available iron rich clays to a higher temperature to make them more impervious and robust.

f Date;

c 1500 to C18

g Other remarks

WHEAS Type 108 - 'Ware is defined by the firing technique and range of vessel forms rather than the fabric' (online type series). It is not clear whether this is a 'genuine' fabric type, or a highly fired (deliberately or otherwise) version of other types of red earthenware (in particular CDRF).

MPLGL

Midlands purple, overall glaze

a Fabric description;

As for MPL, but more refined;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown;

c Decoration/glaze;

Overall glossy dark brown to black glaze;

d Identifiable forms;

?storage, 'butterpot';

e Source/Distribution;

Midlands

f Date;

C18 (1st half?)

g Other remarks

This may just be a version of Blackware, so may be 'BLWLHF, hardest fired version'; But suggested as latest version of long running type, ie MPL with dark overall glaze;

MYW

Midlands Yellow Ware

MYWCR – Midlands Yellow, Cream fabric

MYWPK – Midlands Yellow, Pink fabric

MYWYG – Midlands Yellow, Yellow/green

MYWMX – Midlands Yellow, mixed fabric

MYWRF – Midlands Yellow, red fabric

a Fabric description;

MYWCR - pale buff>cream>off white; sparse quartz inclusions and occasional larger lumps of red ?ferruginous material (v friable – grog?). Sometimes tiny flecks of pink/red. Occasional black inclusions. Frequent small voids & occasional larger long ones. Hard fired, but irregular in fracture.

MYWPK - pale pink fabric with streaks of cream/buff, covered with buff/white slip before glazing. Inclusions as above.

MYWYG - Very hard fabric, almost like stoneware. Colour pale buff/yellow. Smooth fracture. Occasional dark red rock inclusions. No quartz visible.

MYWMX - Mixed, streaky fabric, mixture of pink, cream & red; may be a variety of MYWPK, but coarser; large red inclusions; quartz sand, smaller red, black, white stone; dipped in white slip, as MYWPK.

MYWRF - Red fabric, abundant quartz, large red ?iron inclusions; basically redware, sometimes fired hard purple; dipped in white slip for yellow finish;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown

c Decoration/glaze

Clear lead glaze, appearing yellow, even brown where thick (eg in angles of bases); sometimes matt finish, sometimes glossy (even on same vessel). Colour from deep buttercup>pale yellow; sometimes yellow shades towards green. Glaze usually marked with red/brown spots & streaks; occasional green flecks. Glaze usually crazed & flakes off easily.

MYWYG has pale olive green glaze, with occasional, sometimes large, patches & streaks of red/brown.

d Identifiable forms;

Mugs/tankards; chamber pots; pans; strainer; jars; chafing dish? Bases survive well, not many rims.

e Source/Distribution;

Midlands (Staffs? Ticknall? etc) The clay used is distinctively low iron content and pale-firing. This suggests that the source for this ware must lie in an area producing suitable white clay, in

this case probably the coal measures of the north midlands. Brears (1971:32) asserts that many potteries in the midlands produced wares of this kind, from perhaps the late 16th century until at least the mid 17th century, but were thereafter driven out of business by the Staffordshire potters, so that 'by the late 17th century most of the English yellow-wares were being made in Staffordshire'.

f Date;

C16 - C17

The yellow wares at Old Hall are said to be among the earliest in that assemblage, with a date range of c.1660-90. They had been present in the midlands for some time before that date (in Coventry from the late 16th century (Woodfield 1964:78-86)), but at Ticknall 'white' wares (that is wares made of pale firing clay under a yellow glaze) are now thought not to date from much before 1670, at least in quantity (Spavold & Brown 2005:105).

g Other remarks

WHEAS Fabric 77. There may be no more than two basic varieties, 'unslipped' (MYWCR & MYWYG) & 'slipped' (the others). The use of the term 'Midlands Yellow' may now be somewhat misleading, since it probably had a somewhat wider currency, but it still perhaps has some relevance in indicating its general 'centre of gravity'.

ND

North Devon

NDGT

North Devon Gravel Tempered Ware

a Fabric description;

Hard fired; matrix brown>pale orange>pinky orange; almost always reduced to grey on interior side of section, or reduced core (eg thick rims); can occasionally be less hard fired & more laminar, but still reduced on interior; fracture usually crackly & uneven.

Inclusions large sub-angular & rounded quartz 'gravel' (Watkins says 'water-worn' gravel (Evans 1979:18), but grits are often not as rounded as this would imply); other large rock inclusions; surfaces usually rough in texture from protruding inclusions;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown (but ovens must be slab built). The reduction on the inside of hollow wares suggests that they were placed upside down in the kiln.

c Decoration/glaze;

Lead glaze, often on interior only; glaze dark brownish green, but can be light to dark brown; occasional white slip on smaller vessels, giving yellow/amber glazed finish.

d Identifiable forms;

Large pans, bowls, small bowls; chamber pot; pipkin;

e Source/Distribution;

N Devon (Barnstaple/Bideford). The distribution of North Devon wares is well attested in North America (Watkins 1960), Wales (Evans 1979:18-29), Ireland (Brears 1971:176) and western England generally (Grant 2005). It seems likely that, as far as Worcester is concerned, trade up the Severn would have been via merchants in Bristol or Gloucester, although Grant (2005:131) refers to direct shipping from Bideford to Tewkesbury in 1690, and to the participation in the Gloucester trade of a vessel from Upton upon Severn in 1700.

f Date;

C17 – early C18 (see below)

g Other remarks

See below, NDGF

NDGF

North Devon Gravel Free Ware

a Fabric description;

As for NDGT, but without gravel 'tempering'; occasional small quartz; occasional red inclusions; reduced core and/or interior surface.

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; large dishes knife-trimmed on underside.

c Decoration/glaze;

Interior of large platters coated with white slip and decorated with sgraffito; lead glaze shows white slip as yellow and underlying fabric as brownish green. Decorative elements geometrical (including arcs drawn with a compass to produce flower-petal like design, combing, rouletting (Allan et al. 2005:167-203, Watkins 1960:32, cf illustrations in Grant 2005:116).

d Identifiable forms;

Dishes; bowls;

e Source/Distribution;

See above, NDGT.

f Date;

Later C17 – early C18?; possibly not much later than 1700.

g Other remarks

WHEAS Fabric 75/75.1. NDGF still has occasional small inclusions, but distinct from NDGT. Earlier C17 wares can have shell tempering (Allan et al. 2005)– no examples from Worcester.

NHEREFA7

North Herefordshire (Vince A7)

a Fabric description;

Fine textured, hard, orange/red fabric, sometimes reduced core; occasional to moderate small quartz; occasional red (sandstone?); abundant fine mica;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown;

c Decoration/glaze;

Interior or exterior brown>olive green lead glaze; ext smoothed & simple horizontal lines?

d Identifiable forms;

?bowls;

e Source/Distribution;

Herefordshire

f Date;

C17 – C18

g Other remarks

Equated to Vince (1985:44) fabrics A7d&e. Not necessarily *North* Herefordshire; fabric could derive from a number of sources in Herefordshire or even Gwent or the Forest of Dean.

PRLW(T)

Pearlware, transfer printed

a Fabric description;

Hard white fabric, no inclusions.

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; lathe- turned.

c Decoration/glaze;

Transfer printed in blue; blue tinted glaze

d Identifiable forms;

?

e Source/Distribution;

Staffordshire

f Date;

late C18

g Other remarks

Only one sherd (DW3)

PORCH

Porcelain, Chinese import

a Fabric description;

Very hard, white, smooth fracture; no inclusions;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown? ?turned, moulded

c Decoration/glaze;

Painted underglaze blue; glassy glaze (often bubbled in sect), colour visible in the glaze;

d Identifiable forms;

Hollow wares (teabowls, etc); flatwares

e Source/Distribution;

Chinese import (via ???London direct; Bristol?)

f Date;

C17 – C18

g Other remarks

WHEAS Fabric 83. Very rare.

PORUN

Porcelain, unknown origin

Slipware

There are two broad categories:

SL - Background in shades of red or orange or brown, with decoration in trailed white slip creating patterns which under a clear lead glaze appear yellow against the background. The white slip has in most cases been trailed directly onto the body. A sub-type within this category is the reverse of the first, that in which a white overall slip is applied first and the patterns created in red/orange slip over that; the techniques and patterns, however, are basically in the same tradition. There are also a few instances of more than one trailed colour against the 'normal' background. Characteristically, the trailed pattern appears in quite high relief. In a similar tradition to 'Metropolitan Slipware' (see Davey & Walker 2009). Assumed to be of earlier currency than SLW.

SLW – Mostly combinations of dark brown and cream, created by applying a red/orange slip to a lighter body and then trailing white slip (and sometimes other colours) over that, the whole being covered in a smooth lead glaze; the patterns do not usually appear in relief. The trailed white slip often appears in parallel lines, and is further elaborated by feathering, or sometimes by jiggling, to produce a semi-marbled effect. Often the overall effect is of a cream/yellow colour, resulting from the closeness of the lines of white slip. Other types (marbled, figured & jewelled) much more uncommon. Long-lasting tradition, extending from the 17th into the 19th century.

SLRO(YT)

Slipware, early, red/orange, yellow trailed

a Fabric description;

Pale orange > red > dark red fabric; quite hard fired, but not purple; moderate white inclusions, & small red & darker flecks; some streaking, but fairly homogeneous;

can be slipped with refined red/orange clay before trailing with white; 'reverse' version with white slip before trailing in orange/red/brown;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; knife trimmed

c Decoration/glaze;

Trailed white slip in lines, wavy, zigzags, etc; overall lead glaze > yellow on orange/red/brown; also 'reverse' version, trailed orange/red/brown on white slip;

d Identifiable forms;

Dishes (flat rather than hollow?);

e Source/Distribution;

Staffordshire?

f Date;

late C17?

g Other remarks

SLBU(YT)

Slipware, early, buff fabric, yellow trailed

a Fabric description;

Light buff fabric, abundant rounded quartz; thin red/orange wash, not visible in section at x7.

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown?

c Decoration/glaze;

Trailed slip in white; effect red/orange with yellow decoration; glaze, tends to flake off;

d Identifiable forms;

Dish?;

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown

f Date;

ate C17 - early C18?

g Other remarks

Similar to SLRO(YT), but lighter buff fabric, slipped/washed to get darker colour before trailing; also more quartz sand?

SLBY

Slipware, brown & yellow

a Fabric description;

Pink fabric with yellow streaks; multiple inclusions, large stone, abundant quartz, voids; cf CDRF.

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown?

c Decoration/glaze;

Dark brown glaze; yellow trailing (ie white clay slip), standing proud of surface.

d Identifiable forms;

Dishes?

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown

f Date;

C17 – C18

g Other remarks

Thicker & coarser than other SL wares; looks like 'CD slipware';

SLBPF

Slipware, brown, paler fabric

As SLBY, but buff fabric (cf CDPF), with pink slip.

SLWB(3C)

Slipware, buff fabric, 3 coloured

a Fabric description;

Hard buff>off-white fabric; streaks of red/orange; occasional large quartz; occasional large red inclusions; abundant small quartz, red, & white stone.

b Manufacture;

Press moulded;

c Decoration/glaze;

Overall red/orange slip; then trailed in broad meanders in white, then pale brown in different direction; clear lead glaze; pie crust edge.

d Identifiable forms;

Press moulded dishes; circular ridge from mould (turned wood?) sometimes visible in interior base;

e Source/Distribution;

Staffordshire?

f Date;

Late C17 – C18

g Other remarks

Probably approximates to WHEAS Fabric 91 ('post medieval buff');

SLWB(YB)

Slipware, buff fabric, yellow & brown lined

a Fabric description;

As above;

b Manufacture;

Press-moulded;

c Decoration/glaze;

Overall red/orange slip; then trailed in parallel lines in white; sometimes feathered either overall or in band(s)' clear lead glaze>yellow on brown effect; almost always pie crust edge.

d Identifiable forms;

Press-moulded dishes;

e Source/Distribution;

Probably Staffordshire

f Date;

late C17 – C18

g Other remarks

Different feathering patterns; 'unidirectional' gives rounded effect; alternate, two-directional gives 'spiky' effect; by far the most common type of slipware dish;

SLWB(MB)

Slipware, buff fabric, marbled

(as above, but marbled effect from trailing, then swiling or 'jiggling' – cf SLWP(MB))

SLWBW(FIG)

Slipware, buff fabric, white slipped, figured

a Fabric description;

Buff fabric, as above; slipped with thick (up to 1mm) layer of white clay;

b Manufacture;

Press-moulded, over carved wooden or fired clay mould (eg Brears 1971:52).

c Decoration/glaze;

Slipped with thick white layer, then decorated with in dark & light brown slip: raised patterns from mould (eg human figures, floral patterns);

d Identifiable forms;

Press moulded dishes; rimmed dishes?

e Source/Distribution;

Probably Staffordshire, but also elsewhere (Bristol?)

f Date;

LateC17 – C18

g Other remarks

Very rare;

SLWB(JW)

Slipware, buff fabric, jewelled

a Fabric description;

Buff fabric as above;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown?

c Decoration/glaze;

Elaborate decoration of trailed slip, with lines and dots, sometimes over thin wash of different colour; decoration in light & dark brown, white/yellow, orange/red;

d Identifiable forms;

Cups? Other hollow ware;

e Source/Distribution;

Probably Staffordshire;

f Date;

Late C17 – early C18

g Other remarks

Very rare;

SLWP(3C)

Slipware, pink fabric, 3 coloured

a Fabric description;

Hard pink fabric with abundant small red, black & white inclusions; occasional larger red (iron?); occasional larger white stone; not micaceous;

b Manufacture;

Press moulded

c Decoration/glaze;

Overall red/orange slip, overlain with white, then pale brown trailing (ie as for SLWB(3C)); clear lead glaze;

d Identifiable forms;

Press moulded dish;

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown (?Staffs)

f Date;

Late C17 – early C18

g Other remarks

Pink fabric versions (this and three below) may be no more than variations in firing; cf buff and pink occur in same TGE vessel (see TGE below);

SLWP(MB)

Slipware, pink fabric, marbled

As SLWP(3C), but with slip decoration in yellow/brown, mixed & marbled rather than trailed & feathered.

SLWP(YB)

Slipware, pink fabric, yellow & brown

As SLWP(3C), but with trailed brown/yellow decoration.

SLWP(JW)

Slipware, pink fabric, jewelled

As SLWP(3C), but with 'jewelled' decoration (see SLWB(JW)); hollow wares rather than dishes?

SLWPMI(YB)

Slipware, pink micaceous, yellow & brown lined

a Fabric description;

Uniform pinkish fabric, occasional streaks of cream; moderate red, cream & black inclusions; hard fired; abundant specks mica;

b Manufacture;

Press-moulded

c Decoration/glaze;

Slipped with red clay & trailed with white; feathered (?spiky); clear lead glaze;

d Identifiable forms;

Dishes; ?quite marked internal base ring; plain edge?

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown;

f Date;

late C17 – early C18?

g Other remarks

Markedly more spikey feathering than normal; is this others' attempt to copy Staffs original?

SLWM(YB)

Slipware, mixed fabric, yellow& brown lined

a Fabric description;

Streaky mixed fabric, buff, pink & cream clays; red (iron?) inclusions, cream pellets; hard fired;

b Manufacture;

Press moulded

c Decoration/glaze;

Slipped with red clay & trailed with white; usually feathered; clear lead glaze > brown& yellow finish; pie crust edge;

d Identifiable forms;

Dishes, press-moulded, usually slight base ring moulding inside; sometimes slight ridge c 2cm below rim on interior;

e Source/Distribution;

Probably Staffs, but could be elsewhere (Bristol?)

f Date;

Late C17 – early C18

g Other remarks;

Probably version of one of the above, but with less well prepared clay body;

SLWCR(MB)

Slipware, cream fabric, refined, marbled

a Fabric description;

Very hard cream fabric, almost STN?; occasional red pellets; otherwise very homogeneous; voids common; white slip inside & out;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown;

c Decoration/glaze;

Trailed, feathered & marbled in red slip, mingling with white base; lead glaze overall;

d Identifiable forms;

Small jars; honeypot?; hollow rather than flatwares/dishes?

e Source/Distribution;

Probably Staffs;

f Date;

Late C17 – C18

g Other remarks

Refined product; fabric harder & more homogeneous than press-moulded dishes; red on white rather than normal (?) white on red; similar to MMWB & BLWCR;

SLWYF(DOTS)

Slipware, yellow fabric, 'dots'

a Fabric description;

Pale yellow fabric, quartz, occasional red & black inclusions;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown?

c Decoration/glaze;

Clear yellow lead glaze; brown dots on rims;

d Identifiable forms;

? hollow wares

e Source/Distribution;

Staffs or Bristol (see Price 2005:160-7)

f Date;

Early C18?

g Other remarks

Fabric looks different from press moulded wares, but could come from same source? Only one sherd;

Stoneware

The entries under **STN** are of two kinds: in the first place, stonewares whose origin seemed secure (Nottingham/Derby, Westerwald, Frechen) have been given codes according to the system described above; in other cases, all of which are probably English, a matrix was initially used to try to discriminate between combinations of characteristics. This device may be ultimately unhelpful, but is reproduced here as it reflects the practice adopted in recording the groups, and the data included in the thesis.

STNFRE

Stoneware, Frechen

a Fabric description;

Hard, homogeneous grey to dark grey fabric with lighter spots; no visible inclusions; sometimes core is lighter grey than surface. Salt glaze visible as v thin white line in section.

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; concentric rings on base from wire used to separate from wheel.

c Decoration/glaze;

Speckly brown salt-glaze on ext. 'orange peel' finish. Mask on bartmann bottle neck; 'armorial' or other decorative cartouche on side(s).

d Identifiable forms;

Bartmann bottle;

e Source/Distribution;

Rhineland

f Date;

up to late C17

g Other remarks

WHEAS Fabric 81.10.

STNNOT(NW)

Nottingham/Derbyshire Stoneware, no white line

STNNOT(W)

Nottingham/Derbyshire Stoneware, white line

a Fabric description;

Hard fired, though with slightly 'sandy' texture – not as vitreous as other STN?; colour buff>light grey>dark grey, sometimes within same vessel; sometimes black inclusions <1mm; white line between body & glaze, though not always;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; lathe turned;

c Decoration/glaze;

'Lustrous' brown salt glaze, usually (?) quite smooth & *not* with 'orange peel' appearance; classically looks quite metallic; interior less lustrous; horizontal ?turning lines visible; lathe & engine turned lines & rouletting;

d Identifiable forms;

Hollow wares: mugs, 'loving cups',

e Source/Distribution;

Nottingham/Derbyshire (Oswald & Hughes 1974:140-89)

f Date;

c1700>late C18 (Nottingham finished by 1800?; Derbyshire well into C19)

g Other remarks

WHEAS Fabric 81.3. White line not always present; variation even in same vessel.

STNWEST

Stoneware – Westerwald

STNWEST(U)

Stoneware – Westerwald, uncoloured

a Fabric description;

Very hard homogeneous grey stoneware; no visible inclusions (occasional black specks?); occasionally lighter or darker core;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; moulded; sprigged decoration; turned?

c Decoration/glaze;

Orange peel salt glaze giving grey surface; impressed/sprigged/incised decoration (floral, geometric); 'ale marks' (ie WR, AR, GR); cobalt blue common; manganese purple, less common; uncoloured examples with just sprigged/incised decoration; raised (usually coloured) cordons, top & bottom of mugs;

d Identifiable forms;

Mugs (usually inturned rim form);

e Source/Distribution;

Rhineland

f Date;

C17 – mid C18

g Other remarks

WHEAS Fabric 81.2. STNWEST(U) in some cases simply identical to STNWEST, but without colours; in other cases (?) different kind of ornament used which could not have been intended to be coloured;

STN1 Stoneware, type 1

<i>Scale</i>	<i>Fabric colour</i>	<i>Fabric hardness</i>	<i>Inclusions</i>	<i>Glaze colour</i>	<i>Glaze smoothness</i>	
	white	sandy	none	light	smooth	
1						
2		x	x			
3	x					
4				x		
5 median					x	
6						
7						
8						
9						
	Dark grey	V hard	abundant	dark	V mottled	

a Fabric description;

Buff fabric, quite sandy in texture; very small ?quartz inclusions; light brown ?ferruginous wash overall;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown & turned;

c Decoration/glaze;

Slightly mottled salt glaze on exterior, interior smoother; turned lines on base.

d Identifiable forms;

Mug/tankard?

e Source/Distribution;

?Staffs; ?Notts

f Date;

Early C18?

g Other remarks

Form of base (turned lines, splayed) very similar to some forms of white salt-glaze; looks like 'light brown WSGS'. Only one example?

STN2 Stoneware, type 2

<i>Scale</i>	<i>Fabric colour</i>	<i>Fabric hardness</i>	<i>Inclusions</i>	<i>Glaze colour</i>	<i>Glaze smoothness</i>	
	white	sandy	none	light	smooth	
1						
2						
3						
4						
5 median				x		
6	x					
7			x		x	
8		x				
9						
	Dark grey	V hard	abundant	dark	V mottled	

a Fabric description;

Light>darker grey, hard stoneware; prominent quite abundant black inclusions (& some smaller black & quartz sand); brown slip; some examples with white slip on interior; some with interior pink ?wash;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; not turned?

c Decoration/glaze;

Mottled ('orange peel') salt-glaze; black inclusions sometimes appear in glaze;

d Identifiable forms;

Mugs; other hollow wares?

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown (Staffs, Bristol, London, in decreasing order of likelihood?).

f Date;

1700>

g Other remarks

By far the most common type of 'ordinary' brown stoneware;

STN2(DB)

As STN2, but with rilled or turned base dipped in white>cream slip ('engobe')

STN3 Stoneware, type 3

<i>Scale</i>	<i>Fabric colour</i>	<i>Fabric hardness</i>	<i>Inclusions</i>	<i>Glaze colour</i>	<i>Glaze smoothness</i>	
	white	sandy	none	light	smooth	
1						
2	x			x		
3					x	
4						
5 median						
6						
7		x	x			
8						
9						
	Dark grey	V hard	abundant	dark	V mottled	

a Fabric description;

Very light grey, hard stoneware; prominent quite abundant small black inclusions;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; not turned?

c Decoration/glaze;

Pale brown/buff glaze; not very mottled/orange peel;

d Identifiable forms;

?

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown

f Date;

?C18

g Other remarks

Distinctive type of pale, almost pink STN, with regular small black inclusions; may not be more than variety of STN2

STN4 Stoneware, type 4

<i>Scale</i>	<i>Fabric colour</i>	<i>Fabric hardness</i>	<i>Inclusions</i>	<i>Glaze colour</i>	<i>Glaze smoothness</i>	
	white	sandy	none	light	smooth	
1						
2						
3	x					
4						
5 median				?	x	
6						
7		x	x			
8						
9						
	Dark grey	V hard	abundant	dark	V mottled	

a Fabric description;

Pale buff, without prominent black inclusions; abundant quartz sand;

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown & turned

c Decoration/glaze;

Interior buff with ?sand grains showing through glaze;

d Identifiable forms;

Mug with ?dipped base, but slip does not cover underside of base (?‘painted’ rather than dipped); broad convex turned moulding to base, with narrower bands under & over

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown

f Date;

?C18

g Other remarks

Only one example;

STN5

Stoneware, type 5

a Fabric description;

Pale cream with very abundant black specks, & occasional red/orange specks; looks micaceous in light source; specks obvious on interior (not covered with iron wash)

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown & turned

c Decoration/glaze;

Exterior mottled iron wash (looks like reddish brown speckles – cf manganese ‘powdering’ on TGE)

d Identifiable forms;

Gorge;

e Source/Distribution;

Unknown (London?)

f Date;

?C17 – early C18

g Other remarks

Only one example;

TGE

Tin-glazed earthenware

TGEINC(B) - Tin-glaze, with inclusions, buff

TGEINC(P) - Tin-glaze, with inclusions, pink

TGENINC - Tin-glaze, no inclusions

a Fabric description;

Cream>buff>(sometimes) pinkish; quite sandy in look and feel; quartz inclusions, sometimes sparse, but sometimes abundant – look quite rounded; also black and red specks; iron free.

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; moulded?

c Decoration/glaze;

White tin glaze, with sometimes pink or blue shades; can be very thick in relation to thickness of fabric; sometimes pitted (and bubbly in section); sometimes lead glaze on the back (plates?). High proportion(?) of undecorated, everyday wares.

Decoration, when present, usually in blue cobalt, but occasional purple, green, yellow; Chinese designs, simple lines & spots ('drug jars'); very wide range of styles & competence;

d Identifiable forms;

Plates without footrings (press moulded?); bowls; ointment pots; drug jars; tea bowls; chamber pots (plain); dishes?

Most plates have kiln scars on underside of edge.

e Source/Distribution;

Bristol or London

f Date;

late C17 – C18

g Other remarks

WHEAS Fabric 82. Distinctions between buff & pink, & between 'inclusions' & 'no inclusions' unsustainable (occur in same vessel). Decorative elements paralleled in London & Bristol.

WSGS

White salt glazed stoneware

WSGS(D) - Dipped

WSGS(U) - Undipped

a Fabric description;

WSGS(D) - Dipped; off-white>grey with some black inclusions; dipped in white 'pipe-clay' visible in section; glaze sometimes crazed; top edge dipped in 'brown iron-wash' (Gooder 1984:149-248) 'to conceal the greyish fabric left exposed by the wet slip moving away from the rim'. Dipping continued after it ceased to be necessary to hide grey fabric (Noel-Hume 1980);

WSGS(U) - Hard white fabric (addition of calcined flint to body), with no distinction between body & glaze. Colour of exterior varies from white to cream.

b Manufacture;

Wheel thrown; lathe turned; moulded; slipcast?; often very thin & finely made;

c Decoration/glaze;

Salt glaze (usually no orange peel effect, or very slight); turned lines; occasional moulded or sprigged decoration; no coloured examples;

d Identifiable forms;

Plates; sauceboat; jug; mugs/tankards; bowls; tea bowls; saucers;

e Source/Distribution;

Probably Staffordshire.

f Date;

c 1720 onwards for WSGS(U); possibly earlier for WSGS(D).

g Other remarks

Dipped version rare.

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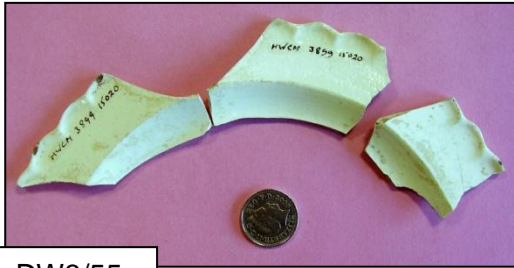
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Figure 23 – Group DW1



Figure 24 - Groups DW1 & DW3



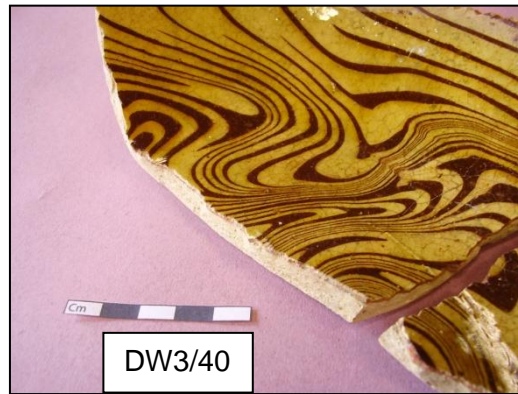
DW3/55



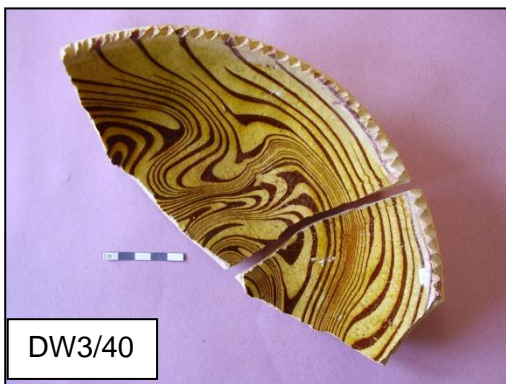
DW3/4



DW3/41



DW3/40



DW3/40



DW3/37

Figure 25 – Group DW3

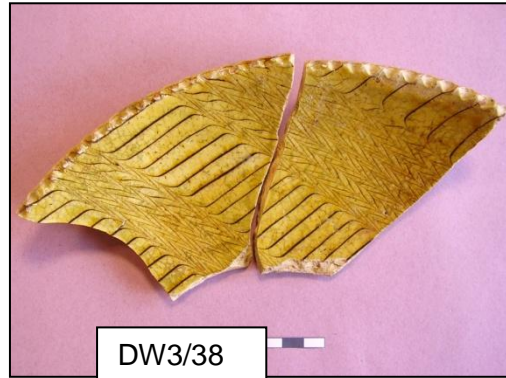


Figure 26 – Group DW3



Figure 27 – Groups DW3 & DW6



Figure 28 – Group DW6



Figure 29 – Group DW7



DW7/d15
DW8/7



DW7/d6
DW8/52



DW8/3



DW8/2



DW8/10



DW8/58

Figure 30 – Groups DW7 & DW8



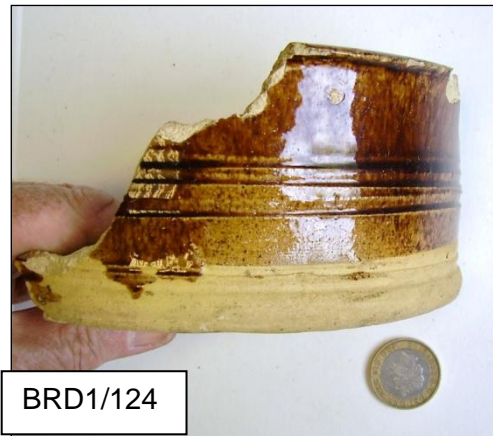
DW8/62



DW8/56



BRD1/142



BRD1/124



BRD1/14



BRD1/233

Figure 31 – Groups DW8 & BRD1

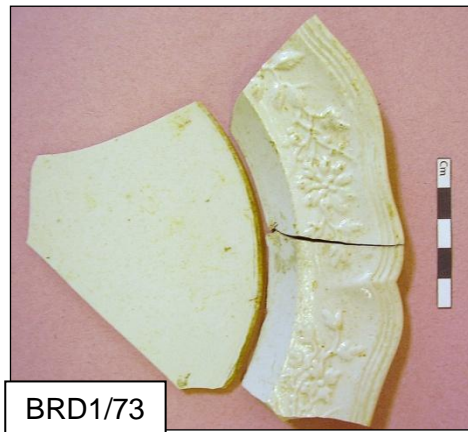


Figure 32 – Groups BRD1 & CATH

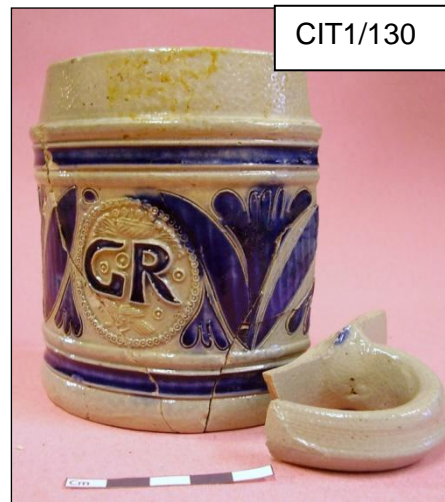
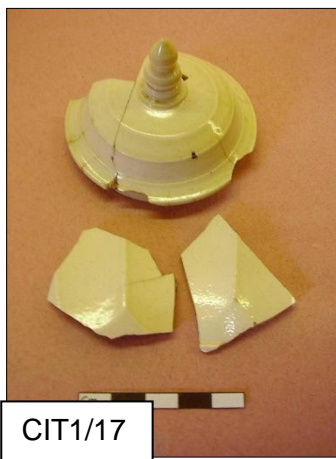


Figure 33 – Group CIT1