



## Chapter 5 The Medieval and Post-Medieval Archaeological Sequence

### LONDON AND THE MOOR IN THE SAXON PERIOD

*Londinium* was largely abandoned at the end of the Roman period, with the Anglo-Saxons preferring to live in the Strand/Covent Garden area in a new settlement named *Lundenwic* where trade could be carried out from boats drawn up on the foreshore of the Thames along the Strand. A number of excavations in that area since the 1980s have provided growing evidence of the layout of the settlement and the crafts and lifestyle that were practised within it (eg Cowie *et al* 1988; Whytehead *et al* 1989; Malcolm *et al* 2003; Leary *et al* 2004; Butler 2005). There is some evidence that a religious centre grew up in the area of St. Paul's in the old Roman City where king Ethelbert built a church for Mellitus, Bishop of London in AD 604 (Sherley-Price 1979, 104) and the occasional fragment of Middle Saxon pottery has been discovered in the general area. However, there is very little evidence of Saxon activity in Moorfields with the only Saxon finds in the vicinity being a supposed Saxon spur from 'Moorfields' (SMR 080134) and a residual sherd of chaff-tempered pot from Finsbury Island (Malcolm 1993).

In response to Viking raids on London in 841, 851 and 871 it appears that by c. 890 the Saxons had to a large extent moved from *Lundenwic* on the Strand back within the former Roman walled City (Vince 1990, 20). The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 886 states that:

... the same year King Alfred occupied London and all the English, those of them that were free from the Danish bondage, turned to him, and he then entrusted the burgh (fortified place) to the keeping of the ealdorman Ethelred.

(Garmonsway 1954)

It is more than likely that the City defences would have been repaired and the ditches maintained. The fact that the defences were probably in good order is suggested by the success of London in being able to hold off Danish attacks in 994, 1009 and 1013. Evidence for a late Saxon City ditch have been found at 1–6 Aldersgate Street (Butler 2001, 52) and at Cripplegate (Milne 2001, 10).

During the period from the end of the Roman occupation in the early 5th century until the Norman Conquest in 1066 the marsh continued to form in the upper Walbrook valley and there is no evidence of attempts to utilise the area. The earliest medieval pottery recovered from the site was a single sherd of early medieval sandy ware dated to 970–1100.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF MOORFIELDS: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

By Jeremy Haslam & Jonathan Butler

The site of Moor House lies just within the extra-mural parish of St. Giles Cripplegate near its boundary with the extra-mural part of St. Stephen's parish to the east (Fig. 33). The general development of occupation and land use, and the layout of streets, lanes and houses, can largely be reconstructed from map evidence from the mid 16th century onwards, and inferred from street names, and other topographical and documentary evidence, from the 11th century.

The earliest documentary evidence relating to the area is the grant by William I in 1068 of part of his soke outside the walls of the City of London to the College of St. Martin le Grand (Stow 1994, 43; Stephenson 1896), which had been founded c. 1065 as a College of Secular Canons (Lobel 1989, Gazetteer; VCH 1909; Honeybourne 1932–3; Davis 1972). The boundaries of this soke, which included the wards of Aldersgate and Cripplegate, are described as stretching from Walbrook in the east to an uncertain line in the west, which may be represented by the Fleet River. It has been suggested that the western boundary lay approximately on a line with the western edge of Aldersgate ward (Page 1923, 144). The soke certainly included Aldersgate ward, since its extra-mural part comprises the parish of St. Botolph's Aldersgate, which the Canons of St. Martin le Grand held in 1139 (Davis 1972, 14). There is every reason to believe that it extended northwards as far as the northern boundary of the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate, which extends beyond the City boundary to the north of Old Street. It has been suggested that this soke goes back to the early 7th century (Page 1923, 129–130).

The church of St. Giles, immediately outside Cripplegate, was founded in 1102–15 (Lobel 1989, Gazetteer; Schofield 1994a, 103). It has been observed that the dedication to a French hermit-abbot betrays its Norman foundation (Harben 1918, 258). It seems probable that this church was built to serve the interests of a nascent extra-mural community which, there is no reason to doubt, had been developing from the later Saxon period. For the next century or so the number of inhabitants must have been few, living in houses built upon the higher ground in the northwest part of the ward. From a study of the wills and deeds enrolled in the Court of Husting it can be suggested that the population had increased and the area was fairly well covered with houses, although to the east of present

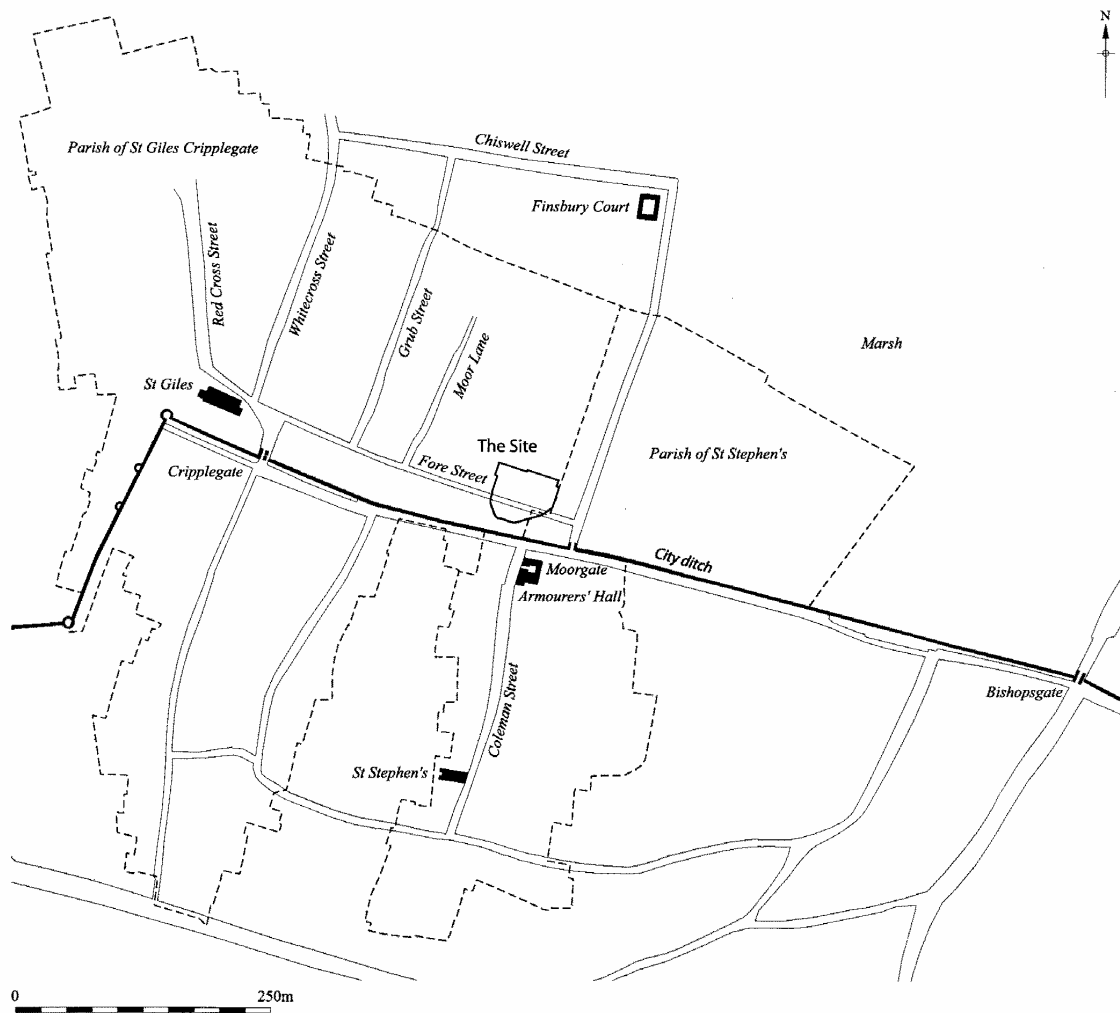


Fig. 33 The environs of the site in the medieval period showing the Parishes of St. Stephen and St. Giles (scale 1:6,250)

day Milton Street to the Moorfields and to the north to present day Beech Lane and Chiswell Street it was still swampy and relatively unoccupied with just the occasional isolated house (Baddeley 1921, 91). The foundation of this church must also mark the creation of its parish as a separate entity, the extent of which was entirely extra-mural. It thus follows a pattern common to other extra-mural churches near the gates of the City (the churches of St. Sepulchre outside Aldgate, and St. Botolph outside Aldersgate, Bishopsgate and Aldgate) (Page 1923, 162). It has been suggested that St. Botolph Aldgate was founded to serve the extra-mural parts of a larger minster *parochia* when this early minster was subsumed by the creation of the Priory of Holy Trinity in the early 12th century (Haslam 1988). Exactly the same process can be inferred as happening in the case of St Giles Cripplegate soon after the formation of the College of St. Martin le Grand, which

also arguably subsumed an early minster. There are reasons for suggesting that this early minster *parochia* would have been more or less coterminous with King William's soke of 1087, and that, like the early *parochia* of Holy Trinity Aldgate, this *parochia* and the wards which comprised it were important elements in the process of the formation of minsters and wards in London by King Alfred as part of his programme of the restoration of London in the 880s and 890s (Haslam 1988).

The development of the parish of St. Stephen outside Moorgate is clearly secondary to this process. St. Stephen's church was itself a chapelry of St. Olave's Old Jewry (Page 1923, 147), and the extra-mural parts of this parish must have been carved out of the eastern part of St. Giles Cripplegate when Moorgate (the Gate) was constructed in the City wall, an event which must have taken place before the early 15th century (Harben 1918, 421). There

are early references to a postern in the northern circuit of the City walls. In January 1412 the Mayor and some aldermen rode through 'a certain postern in the north wall between Bishopsgate and Cripplegate' crossed the ditch and inspected the Moor (Lambert 1921, 79) and in 1415 it was ordered:

... that the Little Postern, built of old in the wall of the said City, should be pulled down, and made larger on the south side thereof, so soon as it could conveniently be done, for increasing the common advantage, and also the special honour of the said City, by adding a gate thereto, the same to be shut at night and at all other fitting times.

(Riley 1868, 614)

It was suggested by Riley that this postern was the Aldermanbury Postern in Cripplegate Ward or that of Little Moorgate, which was positioned at the end of Bromfield Street (Reader 1906, 150–151), but it is possible that it is referring to the gate at Moorgate itself. Stow suggests that the postern was Moorgate but claimed it was a new opening in the wall:

Touching the next postern, called Moorgate, I find that Thomas Falconer, mayor, about the year 1415, the third of Henry V, caused the wall of the City to be broken near unto Coleman Street, and there built a postern, now called Moorgate, upon the moor side where was never gate before. This gate he made for ease of the citizens, that way to pass upon causeys into the field for their recreation.

(Stow 1994, 62)

The gate was then 're-edified by William Hampton, fishmonger, mayor, in the year 1472' (Stow 1994, 62).

In view of the fact that the Moor and marshes outside this gate would from an early date have been a considerable natural resource for food, in particular fish and wildfowl, as well as for commodities such as reeds and willows, it would not be surprising if Moorgate was made to give access to these resources to the citizens of London from considerably earlier than the 15th century. Its existence by the early 13th century can be inferred from the fact that Fore Street, which runs parallel to the line of the City wall and ditch and connects Cripplegate with Moorgate, was in existence by 1210 (Harben 1918, 179–180; Lobel 1989, *Gazetteer*). William FitzStephen, writing in the 1170s, remarks on the common use of the Moor as a winter skating rink (Stenton 1934, 31), which implies the existence of the gate at this time, though it is possible that access to Moorfields could have been gained from either Bishopsgate or Cripplegate.

During much of the medieval period Moorfields was a great waterlogged, largely inaccessible marshland. FitzStephen describes Londoners skating on bone skates in winter on the ice which had formed on 'that great marsh which washes the Northern walls of the City' (Stenton 1934, 31). The area of Moorfields was part of the prebendal manor of Finsbury owned by St. Paul's. Finsbury manor

house, Finsbury Court, lay at the junction of Chiswell Street and Finsbury Pavement on a natural raised ground within the marsh. The manor house was apparently reached from Aldersgate by a gravel causeway through the marsh, along Chiswell Street. A few houses were built west of the manor house in the 13th century including a tannery, *le Tanninghus* (Baddeley 1921, 91). Moorfields was described by Stow as:

This fen, or moorfield, stretching from the wall of the City betwixt Bishopsgate and the postern called Cripplegate, to Finsbury and to Holywell, continued a waste and unprofitable ground a long time, so that the same was letten for four marks the year, in the reign of Edward II.

(Stow 1994, 387)

In 1301 it was recorded that that an inspection of Moorfields by the Lord Mayor's Court was undertaken by boat. This suggests that it was either a water meadow or that the marsh was crossed by ditches and watercourses large enough to take a boat carrying six passengers (Lambert 1921, 78–79). Evidence of the appearance of the marsh is provided by the fact that the City had in 1298 let to William Pointel the reeds growing on the moor, on condition that that he did not meddle with the grass. The case in 1301 concerned the Bishop of Bethlehem, a bishop *in partibus*, whose attorney was sued for carrying away grass from the City's meadow (Thomas 1924, 113 & note 1). The presence of tanners in Moorfields in the early 14th century is confirmed by the mention of two such individuals in the Mayor's Court Rolls of April 1304 (Thomas 1924, 161). Later in the century an ordinance of the Pelterers' guild in 1365 laid down that leather workers should live and work in the Walbrook area to the north of the City (Riley 1868, 614–616). Usage of the area thereafter increased.

Maintenance of the moor appears to have been a continuing concern of the City. In 1374 a lease of the moor was made for seven years by the Mayor to Thomas atte Ram without rent as long as 'the same Thomas shall keep the said moor well and properly, and shall have the Watercourse of Walbrok cleansed for the whole of the term' (Riley 1868, 379–380). In 1412 the mayor ordered rubbish to be cleared from the moor and drainage ditches to be dug. He also made an inspection of the moor and decreed that trees and hedges as well as rubbish and filth should be removed and that no one should establish gardens there in future (Sharpe 1909, 101; Levy 1990, 79). In 1415 it was stated that the area previously had been alternately cultivated and then left vacant but that the Moor was now to be divided into small parcels of land (allotments) divided by paths lengthwise and across by order of the Common Council (Riley 1868, 614–616; Lambert 1921, 79). This may have been an attempt to supervise the maintenance of the Moor and stop the dumping of rubbish (Levy 1990, 80). Moorgate itself may have been rebuilt at this time as a postern gate leading out to the marsh/fens presumably to provide access to these plots of land. This provision of gardens reflected

the expansion of the City and the need for more land. However, the stopping up of the drainage ditches remained a common problem. In 1422 a Plea and Memoranda Roll recorded:

They further indict 4 privies in Westyard because they stop up the common watercourse running into the ditch of the Moor and the privies of Robert Brynkele goldsmith, and Thomas Lucas grocer, which stand above the common watercourse and stop the flow of water. Also they present that three ancient watercourses, two in Fore Street and third near the Moor are stopped up, which is a nuisance whenever there is an abundance of water or a flood of rainwater.

(Thomas 1943, 154)

However, it appears that the City could do as much harm as good as in 1477 the mayor, Ralph Joceline, repaired the City wall between Aldgate and Aldersgate. The raw material for the bricks was quarried from Moorfields and chalk was burnt for lime in the same place although 'this field was made the worse for a long time' (Stow 1994, 388). Shakespeare over a century later was also led to describe the area as 'the melancholy of Moorditch' (Shakespeare, *Henry IV Part I*, Act 1 Scene 2).

The development of the Moor at Moor Fields can be viewed as a general process of reclamation, drainage works and canalisation of the flow of water from north to south, enclosure, the development of water meadows, and the more intensive use (and eventual destruction) of its resources as the nearby population grew. The suggestion by Harben (1918, 604–605) and Stenton (1934, 38) that the Moor was created by the obstruction of the flow of the Walbrook by the building of the Roman City wall seems to be borne out by the archaeological evidence described above. Its original natural area (in the late Roman to late Saxon periods) has been suggested by Marjorie Honeybourne in her map of Norman London (Stenton 1934) as having extended from Old Street in the north, Walbrook to the east and the road leading northwards from Cripplegate to the west. This suggested area is however probably too extensive. Chiswell Street to the south of Old Street appears to have been so named from the gravelly subsoil, suggesting that the original marsh did not reach as far to the northwest as this. The edge of the marsh to the west is unlikely to have extended as far as the gate at Cripplegate, but must have petered out at a distance to its east. The eastern boundary of the marsh must have extended further east than Walbrook itself, certainly to occupy the whole width of the Walbrook valley, and probably therefore reached as far as the line of the parish boundary of St. Botolph Bishopsgate. In its northern extent it probably extended beyond Old Street in the area of the Walbrook valley, occupying part of the manor of Finsbury (Harben 1918, 422).

The development of the settlement outside Cripplegate, and of much of the Moor throughout its later history, is likely to have been due in no small measure to the efforts of the Canons of St. Martin's. In a writ of 1139 they were

permitted to enclose the land outside Cripplegate (Davis 1972, 14–15), ostensibly to prevent dumping of butchers' waste, but probably more realistically to begin a process which appears to have resulted in the planned development of the land outside the walls that they had acquired through the gift of this area by William I. This process was sufficiently far advanced in 1141–43 for the citizens to take violent offence and to destroy the walls and curtilages (Davies 1972, 14–15), which doubtless reflected their annoyance at being deprived of the use and enjoyment of the Moor as a resource for both food and recreation. The development of the area is likely to have taken place in all directions, and to the east across the area formerly occupied by the Moor. Lobel's map of the City of London in c. 1270 (Lobel 1989), which is based on documentary sources, shows several parallel lanes running northwards from Fore Street (which itself runs eastwards from Cripplegate parallel with the wall just outside the City ditch), to Chiswell Street/Old Street. Apart from Fore Street itself, in existence by 1210 (Harben 1918, 179–180; Lobel 1989, 74), the first and presumably the earliest of this planned street system was Whitecross Street, first named in 1226, in 1253 known as Everardes Wellestrata, Wytecroychstrate in 1285 and Whitecrosse Strete by 1502 (Harben 1918, 624; Ekwall 1954, 98; Lobel 1989, 98) which extends northwards to Old Street and is joined by Chiswell Street, named Chyselstrate in the early 13th century (Harben 1918, 139). Whitecross Street appears, on topographical grounds, to be secondary to Red Cross Street, which heads northwestwards from Cripplegate past St. Giles' church. To the east of Whitecross Street is Grub Street which is also first mentioned in the early 13th century (Harben 1918, 139; Ekwall 1954, 85). Another parallel lane to the east of this, Moor Lane, which is first mentioned in 1309–10 as *le Morestrate* and by 1502 was known as *Morelane* or *Morestrete* (Harben 1918, 422; Lobel 1989, 81) and appears on Lobel's map of c. 1520 (Lobel 1989). A fourth lane, the later Little Moor Fields or the modern Moorfields, along the line of the eastern parish boundary of St. Giles, first appears on maps in the early 17th century (*see below*). Together, these parallel streets, the little alleyways allowing access to properties and yards, and the property boundaries themselves, first shown clearly in Ogilby & Morgan's map of 1676 (Hyde 1992) show a marked rectilinear layout. This suggests that the area was systematically planned and developed with streets and properties from west to east to the eastern boundary of the parish, over a period which started in the early 12th century, and which was essentially completed (apart from infilling and colonisation) by the end of the 16th century. Much of the western part of the winter skating rink, described by FitzStephen in the 1170s, and the wildlife resources of earlier centuries, had therefore by this time become tamed and developed out of existence by a process of gradual encroachment from Cripplegate eastwards. It is natural to infer that this process was initiated and controlled by the Canons of St. Martin le Grand to augment their income by making the best use of the land they had acquired through the gift of the extra-mural soke by William I. This conclusion seems to be strengthened by

the fact that this development appears to have been taken in the post-medieval period to the eastern boundary of the parish of St. Giles and no further. The development of the extra-mural part of the parish of St. Stephen's was a separate and later process.

Various items are also recorded as being dumped in Moorfields, including horse dung beyond Finsbury Court, and 'some thousands of carrie [carriage] loads and more' of bones from the charnel house of St Pauls (Stow 1994, 282). These must have been isolated incidents in a general process which must have begun considerably earlier and which was varied, random and piecemeal in its extent, and was to continue into the 17th century and beyond. It is probable that some of the material for 'levelling' would have come from the sand, clay and gravel deposits on the fringes of Moorfields, but it would be surprising if this dumping did not also include a proportion of hardcore and non-organic waste (in addition to the doubtless many tons of organic waste dumped for instance into the City ditch) from general building works within the walls and from around the Cripplegate and Bishopsgate areas.

In 1498 all the gardens in the northern part of the moor 'about and beyond the lordship of Finsbury' were destroyed and the area turned over to a practice ground for archers (Stow 1994, 388). From the early 16th century attempts were made to drain the marsh. In 1512 the Mayor, Roger Acheley:

... caused divers dikes to be cast and made to drain the waters of the said Moorfield, with bridges arched over them, and the grounds about to be levelled, whereby the said field was made somewhat more commodious, but yet it stood full of noisome waters.

(Stow 1994, 388)

In 1527 the Mayor, Thomas Seymour, improved the sluices and ditches and drained the marsh, and 'made main and hard ground, which before being overgrown with flags, sedges and rushes served no use' (Stow 1994, 388).

The post-medieval development of Moorfields in St. Giles parish is shown clearly in successive maps of the area. The first is the detailed Copperplate map of c. 1559 (Procktor & Taylor 1979) (Fig. 34). This shows some streets and buildings, including a building and garden just to the northwest of Moorgate, within St. Stephen's parish, occupying the whole eastern area of the parish, leaving (significantly) an open area west of the modern Moorgate (leading northwards from the Gate) within St. Stephen's parish parallel to the causeway, which area is referred to as Little Moor Fields. However, even this area was said to have been developed with houses by 1561 (Harben 1918, 421), though it is shown as open space in subsequent maps (see below). The Copperplate map also shows a number of streams on either side of the road leading northwards from Finsbury Court (the north-bound continuation of Moorgate, leading from the gate, or Hog Lane), as well as along the northern side of Chiswell Street. It seems unlikely that these would have ended at Finsbury Court, or that the southern end of the stream of Walbrook would have

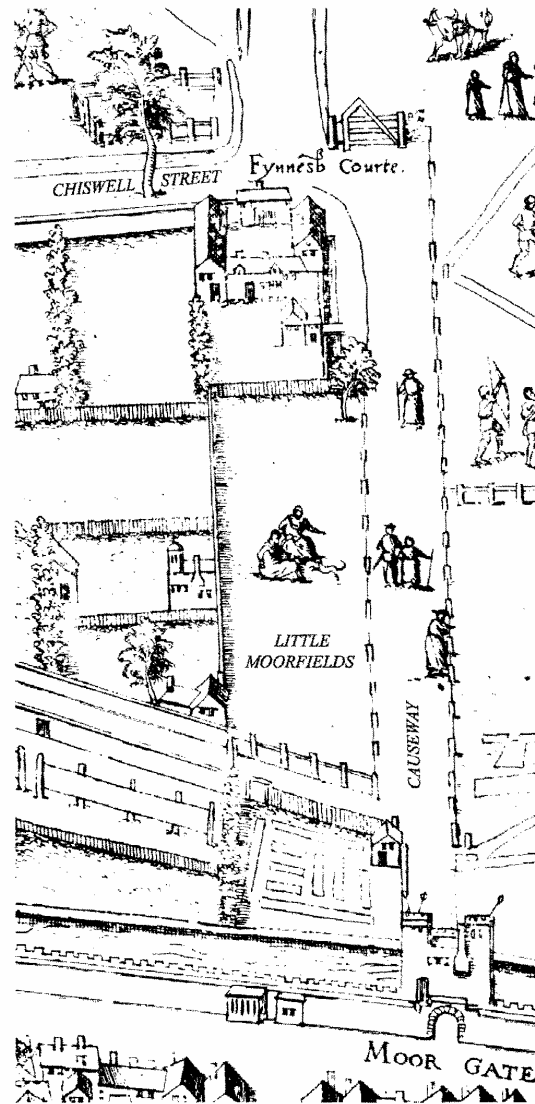


Fig. 34 Detail from the Copperplate map, 1559 (not to scale)

terminated at Moor Field itself, as shown on the map. There must, therefore, have been a number of streams, effectively canalised branches of the Walbrook, running southwards perhaps on both sides of the causeway of Moorgate itself, as well as in many channels, not marked on the map, in Little Moorfields and perhaps further to the west, which would have flowed southwards into the City ditch. The creation of the causeway of Moorgate across the Moor, as well as of the gate itself, both possibly as early as the 12th century (above), implies a considerable degree of water regulation and canalisation, with much consequent ditch-digging, from this time onwards. This terrain would have been ideal both for the creation of water meadows from the original

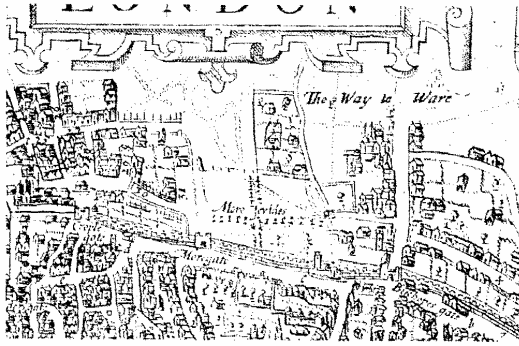


Fig. 35 Detail from the Norden map, 1593 (not to scale)

marshy fen, and for the development of water-based industries such as tanning and dyeing.

Having tried to drain the land and failed it was at last decided to raise the level of the land by dumping and from 1606 the process of converting the Moor into a public park was initiated with the construction of brick walls, the laying out of paths and the planting of trees. The work was undertaken in three phases. It was commenced in 'Lower Moorfields' which extended from London Wall to the line of South Place and Eldon Street and was completed in 1610. Thereafter the area of 'Middle Moorfields' between Eldon Street and Finsbury Square was transformed by 1612. Work was completed in 'Upper Moorfields' which occupied the site of Finsbury Square in c. 1617 (Lambert 1921, 81–87).

The subsequent development of the immediate area of the site is shown in both Norden's map of 1593 and Speed's map of 1611, which show a sporadic (and doubtless impressionistic) development of houses and gardens west of Moorgate (Fig. 35). However, an anonymous map of London of 1645 (Guildhall Library 30282) shows open space to the west of Moorgate with a lane to its west (the modern Moorfields), with development shown along Fore Street to Moorgate. This situation is clarified in Faithorne and Newcourt's map of 1658, which shows the whole area west of Moorgate developed with houses along the earlier streets and fronting onto Fore Street, though with an area of formal trees with no houses fronting onto Moorgate itself. In John Leake's map of 1667, however, there is a row of densely-packed houses fronting the west side of Moorgate, with a long orchard or garden behind, facing onto a back lane (the modern Moorfields) (Margary 1981). It is clear however that this arrangement is mistaken, and that earlier maps are correct in showing the survival of Little Moor Fields to the west of Moorgate (within the parish of St. Stephen). Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676 (Hyde 1992) shows Little Moor Fields as an undeveloped strip of land between Moorgate and an un-named north-south lane to its west which marks the line of the parish boundary (the modern Moorfields). Westwards from this latter lane the whole area is developed with houses, with access yards and terraces along a series of east-west lanes or paths. To the south of Fore Street houses are packed together between

the street and the City wall right up to Moorgate itself, a development of a situation which had already begun by the time of Stow at the end of the 16th century. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that this well-defined north-south and east-west alignment of streets, properties and lanes reflects a similar alignment of the enclosures, pastures and water meadows with their accompanying ditches of earlier periods (shown in sketchy form in the 16th- and early 17th-century maps), which alignment in turn must have reflected those established by the planners in the 12th century. This seems to be reflected in the general alignments of the excavated ditches and drainage channels from various periods.

### PHASE 8: ROMAN TO MEDIEVAL MARSH

Sealing the Roman features was a reddish brown organic deposit, c. 0.20m thick (Fig. 36). The finds recovered from the deposit were sparse, though some medieval artefacts and a high proportion of Roman finds were recovered. The few fragments of medieval pottery and tile that were recovered dated to between the 11th and 14th centuries. A knife sheath with incised and stamped decoration of 13th or 14th-century date (*see* Fig. 100.1) was also found within this layer. This soil horizon is interpreted as being part of the peaty marsh deposits which built up from Roman times into the late medieval period.

At the extreme east of the site in Area 3 a dark black waterlain silty clay apparently separated into several distinct layers and lenses was observed. This material was located between a sequence of recut north-south aligned ditches to both east and west. It may represent the earliest phase of ditch fills which have been cut on both sides so that no evidence of edges was observed. However, it is possible that it represents the highest surviving marsh deposits on the site in an area between the two ditches. The basal deposit had a similar reddish brown organic appearance to that observed within the rest of the site to the west. Three thin fragments of radially cleft oak were recovered from the basal layer. One fragment had two



Fig. 36 North-south ditch and the marsh, during excavation, looking northeast

musical instrument, might suggest the presence of taverns or inns on the site. However, it is possible that these vessels could also be of domestic use or might derive from one of the Livery Halls nearby, such as the Armourers' to the south. The presence of finely made clay tobacco pipes from the former well dating to between 1610–1640, a period when tobacco was expensive, perhaps confirmed by the lack of such assemblages on sites, indicates that they derive either from a tavern with affluent clientele or from one of the Livery Halls. A wooden tuning peg recovered from well [826] may have come from a cittern, a wire-strung plucked instrument that may have been played in a place of entertainment, such as an inn, but was also associated with barber shops (*see* Palmer, this volume, Chapter 6). The presence of small alleys and courtyards is shown on the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676, many of which are apparently named after inns within them. In the northern part of the site were two small alleyways one of which was named Hind Alley (e 34) with Half Moon Alley (d 24), Harts Horn Alley (d 22) and Angel Alley (d 23) lying immediately beyond the site to the north. Many of these same small lanes and courts are still present on the Rocque map of 1746 where they carry such names as White Horse Court, Half Moon Alley and Blue Boar Street which confirm the continued presence of inns in the area.

#### Pottery manufacture

Barrel well [119] was backfilled with over 1,200 sherds of pottery wasters. The wasters are in both earlier and later post-medieval redware fabrics and indicate a date of c. 1580–1600, representing a period of transition between the two traditions (*see* Sudds, this volume, Chapter 6). A large number of peg tile fragments recovered from the same barrel well exhibited signs of lead-glaze residue and stacking scars which provides evidence of their use as kiln spacers (*see* Brown, this volume, Chapter 6). These tile kiln spacers together with the presence of so many wasters within the backfill of the well and the rarity of any other material demonstrates that there was a pottery kiln operating in the near vicinity. Indeed several fragments of brick showed evidence of heating with vitrified faces and in a small number of cases fragments of tile spacers were vitrified and fused onto the bricks. These bricks may, therefore, represent part of the kiln structure itself.

In addition a small group of redware wasters and seconds (semi-complete jug, dish and jar forms) were recovered from the backfills of two wells and a pit dated to the first half of the 17th century. These show that pottery manufacture was still occurring on or near the site well into the 17th century. Chemical analysis of the seconds revealed that the same clay source had been used for both the earlier and later wasters. Furthermore as the clays contained organics that may have derived from rotting vegetation from the Moor and they both contain brickearth, they are likely to be local (*see* Vince, this volume, Chapter 6). The pottery forms recovered represent the production

of drinking and kitchen wares together with a smaller proportion of industrial wares.

Another indication of pottery manufacture on site was provided by the results of chemical analysis of the fills of a large pit utilised for leather manufacture that demonstrated raised levels of copper (Cu) and lead (Pb) which may be residues associated with pottery glazes which have leached through the earth into the earlier medieval feature.

#### Pottery making at Moorfields

Jeremy Haslam

There is some documentary evidence for the existence of pottery making at Moorfields which go some way to putting the archaeological evidence of the pottery wasters of the later 16th century from Moor House in their historical context. The Moor had long been used as a source of clay, since Stow records the manufacture of bricks for repairing the City wall in 1477, together with lime-burning with chalk brought from Kent (Stow 1994, 41–42).

A significant reference to pottery-making at Moorfields is that by Stow, who records at Postern Lane (the east end of Fore Street):

at the east of which lane is a pot-maker's house, which house, with all the other gardens, houses, and alleys on that side of Moorfields, till ye come to a bridge and cow-house near unto Finsbury Court, is all of Cripple-gate Ward.

(Stow 1994, 281)

This places the pot-house within the parish of St. Giles, rather than St. Stephen's. It is indeed marked on the plan accompanying Kingsford's edition of Stow as lying on the northern side of Fore Street in the corner and western side of a lane, which follows the parish boundary northwards. Although mentioned in the same sentence as a cowhouse, it was clearly distinctive enough in Stow's mind for him to refer to it as a marker on his descriptive tour around the ward (and parish) of Cripple-gate, although of course it may well have been only recorded because it was at a corner in his perambulation. It is probable that this pottery establishment occupied a house fronting onto the west side of the north–south lane (modern Moorfields), which in the late 16th century was beginning to be developed with 'gardens, houses and alleys' (Stow 1994, 281). It is possible that this is the same detached house with a large garden that is marked on the Copperplate map of 1559, though from its position adjacent to the road leading northwards from Moor Gate (Moorgate), this would have been in St. Stephen's parish. It is also of some significance that the excavation on the site of Moor House, within the same corner of the modern parish as is shown on the medieval and early post-medieval parish boundaries, is also on the site of Stow's 'Pot-makers house'.

It can be reasonably suggested that Stow's 'Pot-makers house' was both the work place and dwelling of a potter named Richard Dyer, who came from Portugal (though from an English family) as a practising potter to 'London without Moregate' in 1568, a reference which at once places his work place at or very near the position of the house that Stow records. The choice of this area to set up a pottery must have been governed as much as any factor by the presence of clay nearby. In 1571 he was given an exclusive licence to make 'a kind of earthen pott to hold fyre', which licence was renewed in 1579 (Edwards 1974, 60). A Richard Dyer is recorded as living in Moore Lane in St. Giles Parish in the 1582 London Subsidy Roll (Lang 1993, 217). He died in 1586, though his residence was not stated. This must however have been in St. Giles parish, since the parish registers of St. Giles record not only the death of one of his servants in 1574, but also the successive baptism and burial of his son Richard under the 3rd and 4th of August 1577 (Edwards 1974, 60).

There is therefore good reason for suggesting that Richard Dyer, with his family as well as his 'servauntes and workemen', lived and worked at the Pot-makers house mentioned by Stow, which is possibly the house shown on the earlier Copperplate map (though the date of this is earlier than Richard's arrival in England). Furthermore, this identification seems to be strengthened by the dating of the waster group from the excavations to the same period in which he was working at Moorfields. Although Richard Dyer obtained a licence to make his 'fyre potts', there is no reason to suppose that that this was the only kind of pottery he made, and every reason for believing that the late 16th-century wasters found at Moor House are from Richard Dyer's pottery works, and that they are made from clay and sand that he must have dug from the Moorfields area.

Richard Dyer had spent some time in Spain and/or Portugal, where he learnt the craft of the potter, and the art of making 'earthen furnaces, earthen fire pots and earthen ovens, transportable'. When he came to London, however, his pottery production would undoubtedly have been influenced by the northern European traditions of ceramic styles, and like every commercial potter before and since he would probably have started to make wares in styles which were appropriate for the tastes of the local market. Although the fact of the renewal of his licence to make fire pots shows that this line of business was successful, it is doubtful whether this would have kept even a small commercial pottery going. As both a practical potter and an entrepreneur, there is therefore every probability that he would have hired assistants who were perhaps more experienced in making pottery in these styles than himself, while still reserving to himself his own speciality manufacture of fire pots and ovens. A number of Flemish potters are known to have been working in London at this time (Edwards 1974) and there must have been no shortage of skilled potters from amongst the many refugee craftsmen of the time. There is no indication as to whether this pot-house survived into the 17th century, after it was recorded by Stow. It seems most likely however that since the

pottery-making concern was apparently started by Robert Dyer as a new business, it also probably died with him, though possibly kept on by his family for a while.

### Post-medieval glass crucibles

Five crucible fragments were recovered from the backfill of an early 17th-century barrel well [1805] to the south of the site in Area 2. All the fragments were from very large crucibles with a diameter of c. 490–500mm and were 30mm thick. They all had green glassy deposits on both surfaces, with the base sherd having thick residues of greyish green glass (*see* Blackmore, this volume, Chapter 6). The evidence shows that they were used in the manufacture of glass and they might suggest that such activity was actually taking place on site. However, there are several other considerations which suggest not only that there was no glasshouse in the immediate vicinity, but also that the crucibles are likely to have been brought to the site as waste from the nearby glasshouse at Broad Street.

The presence of waste material from the putative Broad Street glasshouse on Moorfields would be hardly surprising. The disposal of the waste from a large glasshouse would have been a considerable problem. Each furnace at this period would have produced many tons of clinker and ash from burning some 450 tons of coal as fuel in a year (Godfrey 1975, 195). The operation of the furnaces, and there may have been more than one at Broad Street, would also have produced many tons of broken fire bricks from the sieges and other parts of the structure of the furnace, as well as broken or used crucibles, which had only a finite life. On-site disposal of all this material must after a time have become impossible. It would be surprising therefore if the problems of waste disposal from this glasshouse were not solved by the use of this material as hardcore, whether controlled or illicit, in the reclamation of the nearby marshy Moorfields, a process well documented since the 15th century (*see* above). It seems the most reasonable conclusion, therefore, that the crucibles from the excavated contexts in the Moor House site were derived from dumped deposits from the Broad Street glasshouse. These would have been turned over in the frequent land disturbances in the area, which in the early 17th century would have included much building work.

### Building development of Moorfields

The City ditch appears on the three maps dating to the mid 16th century, the Copperplate of c. 1559, the Agas of c. 1562 and the Braun and Hogenberg of 1572. By 1553 the ditch between Newgate and Aldersgate had been vaulted over and in the next decades leases to properties in present day Fore Street and Houndsditch become more common suggesting that buildings were encroaching on the infilled City ditch. In 1576 William Boxe, an alderman, promised to maintain the banks of his garden beside the ditch between Cripple-gate and Moorgate, and to skim the filth