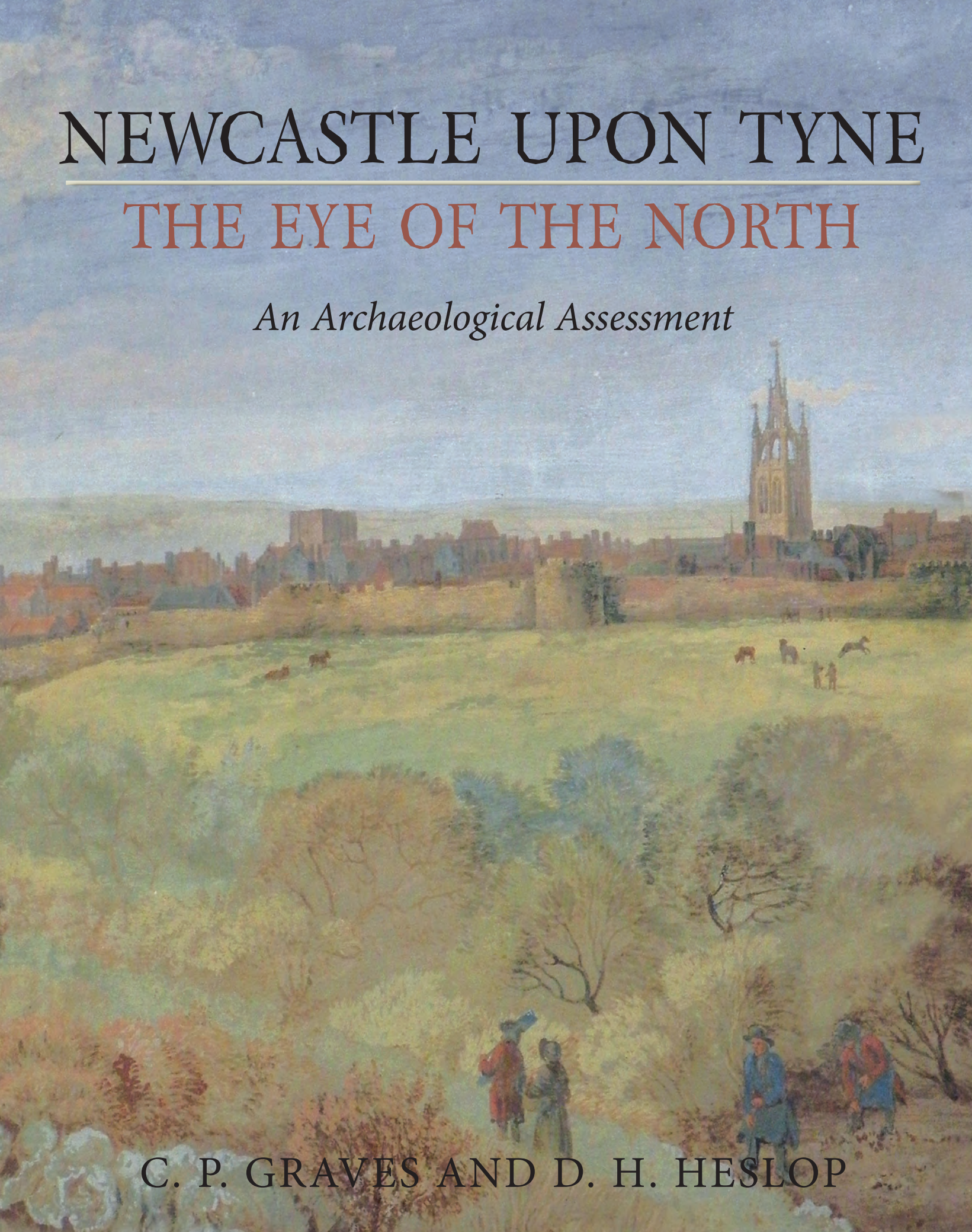
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

THE EYE OF THE NORTH

An Archaeological Assessment



C. P. GRAVES AND D. H. HESLOP

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by

C P Graves and D H Heslop

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Front cover: Watercolour of Town Wall and towers from the east, artist and date unknown (courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle)

DEDICATION

This volume is dedicated to the late Barbara Harbottle, who made an unparalleled contribution over many years to the recording and understanding of the history and archaeology of the town

Contents

Foreword

Newcastle upon Tyne is one of England's great cities. Many think of it simply as a product of the Industrial Revolution when abundant natural resources of coal, iron ore and water came together to create a Victorian industrial powerhouse.

Newcastle was indeed a powerhouse of the world. It was also a city of inventors. This was the place where George Stephenson built The Rocket, where Joseph Swan invented the electric light, where Sir Charles Parsons invented the steam turbine, and where Sir William Armstrong created his armaments and naval empire. This was the place where a quarter of the world's ships were built at the height of the shipbuilding boom.

It was on the River Tyne that cutting-edge innovation in heavy engineering led to a world-wide reputation for the city. It was to Newcastle that the Japanese came in 1862 when they wished to learn about heavy engineering – bridge-building, railways, merchant and naval shipbuilding and gun and armament manufacture. They saw the railway workshops on South Street and the High Level Bridge that Robert Stephenson built in 1849 with its two levels that took trains on the top.

Less well known is the fact that Newcastle's long and proud history began in Roman times when Hadrian's Wall marked the northernmost point of the Roman Empire. Hadrian's Wall ran along the top of the ridge above the River Tyne and stood as a defensive point against incursion from the north. The first suitable bridging point the Romans found was ten miles inland from the North Sea. They built *Pons Aelius* close to where the Tyne Bridge is today and it marks the birth of Newcastle upon Tyne as a settlement.

A 'new castle' was built by the Normans in recognition of Newcastle's role as a defensive citadel. For several centuries, Newcastle served as a military town with its walls and gates, its churches and its monastic orders. It exported coal and wool. As it grew, the city developed as a major maritime port with merchant venturers and strong connections with the Baltic and northern Europe. Like London, its guild system covered most trades.

Today you can see the mediaeval street patterns and chares by the river leading up towards Grey Street and Grainger Town and to the modern retail and commercial heart. On the northern edge of the city centre lies the Town Moor – one of the earliest 'green belts' – protected by statute in the 18th century, where cows graze peacefully close to the heart of the city centre.

One of the great joys of being in Newcastle is walking around the city looking upwards. There are many surprises on the tops of buildings. The variations in levels as you walk down Grey Street and Dean Street towards the river provide spell-binding views. The streetscape built by Richard Grainger (now known as Grainger Town) is one of the finest in the world, with Grey's Monument at its heart standing as a proud testament to Newcastle's reforming and sometimes very radical past.

Another of the great joys of Newcastle is to discover some of the anomalies that make our city the eclectic mix it is. How on earth did Victorian railway engineers get away with building a main-line viaduct between the Castle Keep and the Black Gate? It would cause outrage today and certainly not get planning permission. Did the town's burgesses in the 15th century understand the financial commitment they made on behalf of future generations of city leaders by agreeing to finance and maintain the spire on the top of St Nicholas's Church, now the Cathedral, so it could be used as a lookout tower? And did the early Freemen think that, centuries later, hereditary freemen (now both men and women) would still hold a musket upon admission and agree to defend the city in case of invasion upon the command of the Lord Mayor?

A city that is so old has many secrets. Most of those secrets are underground. Every time there are excavations of the Roman Wall in the city centre or a burial pit is opened up, there is enormous public interest.

I'd like to congratulate Pam Graves and David Heslop for their exceptional achievement in researching this book and for making it so eminently readable. It is a major contribution to scholarship. It adds a new dimension to the history of Newcastle upon Tyne and gives us a deeper understanding of the past that has created today's city.

Lord Shipley of Gosforth,
Former Leader, Newcastle City Council

Acknowledgements

The authors owe a huge debt of gratitude to a huge number of people. An urban synthesis is, by definition, a collation of hundreds of observations, investigations and publications, representing the work of a great number of individuals and organisations. Our first acknowledgement must go to the staff of English Heritage – who commissioned the work and have had to wait patiently for the results to come to completion – Henry Owen John, Kate Wilson and, particularly, Roger Thomas, who has given help and encouragement at every stage. George Taylor, formerly of Newcastle University Dept of Geomatics, designed the original GIS. Martin Millett, Donnie MacKay and Graham Snowdon sat on the project steering group during the data collection stage.

The many excavations and surveys around the city have formed the foundations of this volume and so for their hard labour and extensive reports we would like to thank Alan Williams Archaeology, AOC Archaeology group, the Archaeological Practice, Archaeological Services Durham University, Bernicia Archaeology, the Brigantia Archaeological Practice, CGMS Consulting, Grace McCombie, Northern Archaeological Associates, Northern Counties Archaeological Services, North Pennines Archaeology, Oxford Archaeology (North), Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd, Tyne and Wear Museums and York Archaeological Trust.

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We are extremely grateful for the editorial assistance of Richard Bailey; and to Julie Blackmore, Val Lamb and Pam Scholefield at Oxbow.

John Nolan, Jenny Vaughan, Richard Carlton and Alan Williams provided much of the raw material for the synthesis, along with the late Barbara Harbottle, who was the County Archaeologist when this project started, and to whose memory the volume is dedicated.

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Summary

This volume synthesizes the readily available archaeology of the historic core and medieval suburbs of Newcastle upon Tyne until 1650, supplemented by historical documents where appropriate. The character of the archaeological evidence is summarized in maps and textual discussion, and it is hoped that the volume will become at least the starting point for research into the early history of Newcastle.

The presence of a river-crossing on the major north-south route-way is hinted at in the presence of votive metalwork from the vicinity of the later bridge-head. The exact significance of the early Roman occupation, possibly pre-dating the construction of Hadrian's Wall, remains poorly understood, but recent development-led excavation has complimented the publicly-funded research of the late 20th century. The Wall itself passed through the heart of modern Newcastle, but its course has been lost either side of the fort. Following the withdrawal of the Roman army, the local inhabitants employed the decaying fort as a cemetery, eventually with its own Anglo-Saxon church.

After the Norman Conquest, the same strategic site was used to plant a castle of national significance, as the town became the King's northern bulwark against Scottish aggression, and termed the 'Eye of the North'. Prosperity followed the erection of a new bridge and as a result of its advantageous position as a port, the town developed an active waterfront, marketplaces and guilds. However, its location on the border between England and Scotland soon made a strong town wall essential, and as the nexus of the coal-trade to London and beyond, Newcastle retained its significance into the English Civil War. The protracted siege concludes the period covered here.

Résumé

Ce volume fait la synthèse de l'archéologie facilement disponible du coeur historique et des faubourgs médiévaux de Newcastle-Upon-Tyne jusqu'en 1650, à laquelle s;ajoutent des documents historiques quand cela est opportun. Le caractère des témoignages archéologiques est résumé dans des cartes et des discussions de textes et nous espérons que ce volume constituera au moins le point de départ des recherches sur le début de l'histoire de Newcastle.

On laisse entendre qu'un endroit où traverser la rivière sur une voie nord/sud majeure, est attesté par la présence de métallurgie votive à proximité de la tête de pont plus tardive. La signification exacte de l'occupation romaine naissante, pré-datant peut-être la construction du mur d'Hadrien, reste mal comprise, mais de récentes fouilles liées à un projet de construction ont complété les recherches de la fin du XX^{e} siècle, financées par des fonds publics. Le mur lui-même traversait le coeur de la ville moderne de Newcastle, mais son tracé s'est perdu de chaque côté du fort. Suite au retrait de l'armée romaine, les habitants du coin ont utilisé le fort décrépit comme cimetière, éventuellement avec sa propre église anglo-saxonne.

Après la conquête romaine, ce même site stratégique fut utilisé pour y implanter un château d'importance nationale, car la ville devint le rempart nord du roi contre l'agression écossaise et fut dénommée `l'oeil du nord'. La prospérité suivit l'érection d'un nouveau pont et, résultat de sa position avantageuse en tant que port, la ville établit des quais dynamiques, des marchés et des guildes. Cependant sa situation sur la frontière entre l'Angleterre et l'Ecosse rendit bientôt indispensable un solide rempart, et comme centre du commerce du charbon avec Londres et au-delà, Newcastle a conservé son importance au cours de la guerre civile anglaise. Le long siège conclut la période couverte ici.

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Band fasst die allgemein zugänglichen archäologischen Informationen über das historische Zentrum und die mittelalterlichen Vororte von Newcastle upon Tyne bis 1650 zusammen, die – sofern angebracht – durch historische Dokumente ergänzt werden. Der Charakter des archäologischen Materials wird anhand von Karten und Diskussionen erschlossen, und die Autoren hoffen, dass dieser Band wenigstens als Ausgangspunkt für zukünftige Untersuchungen der frühen Geschichte Newcastles dienen mag.

Die Existenz eines Flussübergangs im Verlauf der wichtigen Nord-Süd Verbindung deutet sich durch Metallfunde mit Votivcharakter aus der Umgebung des späteren Brückenkopfes an. Die genaue Bedeutung der frühkaiserzeitlichen Besiedlung, die möglicherweise noch vor den Bau des Hadrianswalls datiert, bleibt nach wie vor ungewiss, aber die mit öffentlichen Mitteln geförderten Untersuchungen vom Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts können nun um die Ergebnisse von jüngst nach dem Verursacherprinzip durchgeführten Ausgrabungen ergänzt werden. Der Wall selbst verlief durch das Zentrum des modernen Newcastle, sein Verlauf verliert sich jedoch beiderseits des Kastells. Nach dem Abzug der römischen Armee nutzte die ortsansässige Bevölkerung das im Verfall befindliche Kastell als Gräberfeld, das nach einiger Zeit auch eine eigene angelsächsische Kirche erhielt.

Nach der normannischen Eroberung wurde an derselben strategisch günstigen Stelle eine Burg von nationaler Bedeutung errichtet; die Stadt wurde zum nördlichen Bollwerk des Königs gegen schottische Angriffe und erhielt den Beinamen ‚Auge des Nordens'. Der Bau einer neuen Brücke brachte Wohlstand, und in der Stadt entwickelten sich aufgrund ihrer günstigen Lage ein geschäftiges Hafenviertel, Marktplätze und Zünfte. Die Lage an der Grenze zwischen England und Schottland erforderte allerdings bald den Bau einer starken Stadtmauer, und als Knotenpunkt für den Kohlenhandel mit London und darüber hinaus behielt Newcastle seine Bedeutung bis in die Zeit des Englischen Bürgerkriegs. Der in diesem Band behandelte Zeitraum endet mit der langwierigen Belagerung der Stadt.

Übersetzung: Jörn Schuster

Conventions used in the text

Following common usage, archaeological excavations and others pieces of observation or comment are described as ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVENTS. These form a component of the County Historic Environment Record (TWHER). Site numbers are described thus: TWHER 999 (on-line at www.twsitelines.info); excavations etc are TWHER Event 999, and the unpublished reports of such work held in the HER, which are publicly available to read, but for which copyright is held by individual authors and organisations, are termed Short Reports and catalogued by year; eg TWHER SR 2000/99.

1 Introduction and background

1.1 General introduction

'Camden calls Newcastle, *Ocellus*, the Eye of the North, the Harth that warmeth the South parts of this Kingdome with fire; An Aegypt to all the Shires in the North ... for bread' (Grey 1649, 37–8).

This synthesis and assessment of the accumulated archaeological evidence for Newcastle upon Tyne focuses on the period from prehistory until the end of the Civil War of the 1640s. It takes its title from a famous phrase coined by the man often called England's first antiquarian, William Camden, writing in the 16th century, but it was brought to the attention of people in the North itself by Newcastle's first historian, William Grey, writing in the aftermath of the Civil War. It reminds us of the multiple, and crucial, roles that Newcastle was perceived to fulfil, not only in respect of the North Country, but also in relation to the kingdom of England as a whole. Its role as a military stronghold, and then far-connected port, made it both a watchtower for defence and a lookout for changes on the nation's economic, social and political horizons in the North of Europe. Its position as the major exporter of coal, on which much of the industry and domestic economy of southern England, especially the capital London, depended, made it a vital component in the prosperity of the nation. Indeed, it was the need to control the flow of this economic lifeblood to the South that precipitated the siege of the town during the Civil War. Further, Newcastle's early industrial prominence, fuelled by coal, encouraged population growth and stimulated a corresponding increase in intensity and quantity of agricultural production that enabled Newcastle to act as market provider for much of the North. Commodities of all sorts could be had in her markets, but Newcastle was also the gathering point through which less tangible social, cultural and religious ideas might be disseminated to much of Northern England and parts of Scotland. The historical point at which this assessment concludes, the mid- to late 17th century, saw Newcastle on the brink of emerging as a major regional capital for culture as well as the economy.

The primary focus of the assessment is archaeological evidence – physical, material remains. When these are analysed in context, it will be seen that Newcastle has fulfilled the role of watchtower or weather eye on the meeting of peoples and boundaries between political entities for a far greater depth of time than either Grey (1649) or Camden (1586) imagined, reaching back into prehistory. The metaphor of the eye is consonant with this geographical location at a point on the North-Western frontier of the Roman Empire, before, during and arguably even after the demise of that empire. It is certainly relevant for the Middle Ages, from the foundation of the New Castle until the Union of the Crowns, during which time Newcastle remained a significant location on a political frontier. It is also, appropriately, a metaphor that finds a resonance as Newcastle and Gateshead celebrated the Millennium and embarked on the 21st century. The Millennium Bridge over the Tyne in the historic centre of the town has already achieved iconic status in the North, and its unique 'Blinking Eye' mechanism symbolises its continuing outward

gaze and widening vision both on the world and the future.

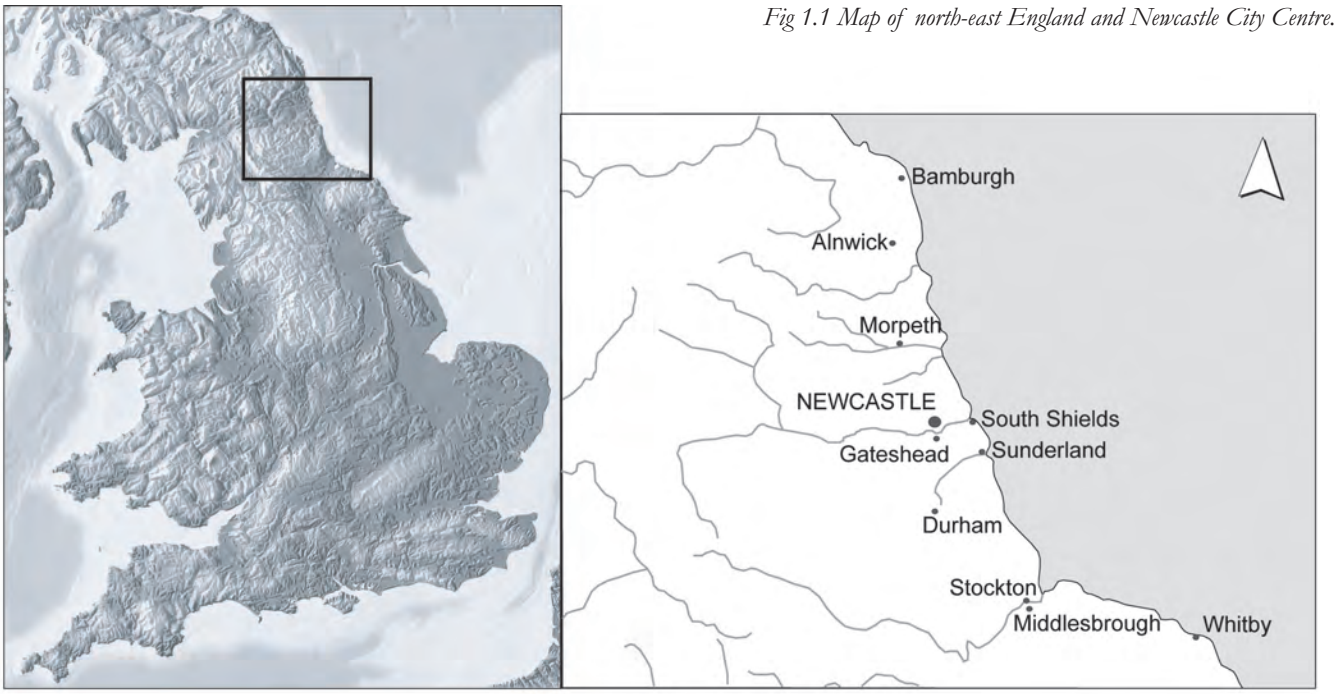
The image of Newcastle upon Tyne as a mighty industrial city, synonymous with shipbuilding, glass manufacture and the export of coal, has dominated perceptions of the city's heritage. It is an image, however, which has tended to obscure a far longer history and a heritage that consists not only of the built environment, but also of rich archaeological deposits. Newcastle retains some of the most elegant early 19th-century formal town planning to be seen anywhere in Britain, a confident reflection of the town's role as provincial capital. However this was a status achieved well before the end of the Middle Ages: in 1334, Newcastle was the fourth richest town in England. In 1218 it was already famous for its trade in sea-coal, and some of the city's best archaeological deposits bear directly on how it was developed as a port at that time. By the beginning of the 17th century, Newcastle merchants had trading contacts around the North Sea Rim, the Baltic, and, in the following century, with America. They were fully part of the burgeoning mercantile economy of Europe and its colonies. While north-eastern English coal provided the greatest natural resource upon which the economy of the town could be built, it was the monopolistic rights to control the shipping of this commodity, fiercely fought for, won and defended, that really gave Newcastle merchants their financial advantage.

For most of its history, Newcastle was a frontier town (Fig 1.1), and a thousand years before it was recognised for its coal trade the Romans had realised this strategic potential by locating a bridge and a fort here. Our understanding of this depth of history derives in large part from the archaeology that lies beneath the present urban landscape (Fig 1.2). This study has been commissioned to state our present understanding of the development of the town in its region, based on this evidence; and to assess the extent, value and potential of the archaeological deposits that remain. By pointing out the contemporary significance of this information through time, Newcastle's development can be seen in its national, and indeed international, context. The assessment provides a framework to resolve potential conflicts arising from the desirable development of the urban landscape on the one hand, and the preservation of the historic components of that landscape on the other. The City Council will use instruments of statutory regulation and planning constraints to safeguard the archaeological resources of the city. The effective implementation of such policies however presupposes an understanding of the extent and value of surviving archaeological deposits and an efficient means of channelling this information into the planning process.

The Newcastle Urban Assessment Project is one of around thirty projects promoted by English Heritage in urban areas to collate and assess available information in order to provide the planning authority with the information on which to base decisions. Pilot studies intended to explore methods and parameters for the nationwide scheme were commissioned originally in three locations, between 1988 and 1991. The results of these pilot studies are now available: for Cirencester (Darvill and Gerrard 1992; Darvill and Gerrard 1994), for York (Ove Arup and York University 1991) and for Durham (Lowther *et al* 1993). Major urban publications have appeared for Lincoln (Jones, Stocker and Vince 2003) and St Alban's (Niblett and Thompson 2005).

The Newcastle Urban Assessment Project began with a six-month pilot study undertaken by the City Archaeology Unit (Heslop 1993). The pilot study used an archaeological Geographical Information System developed and tested by the Unit in collaboration with the University of Durham Archaeology Department and the University of Newcastle Surveying Department. The accepted project, funded by the contributory bodies named above, began in January 1994 with the compilation of the database. The Assessment began in April 1994. It is apparent from the products of the Cirencester, York and Durham surveys that, within the formal recommendations for the publication of a strategy document (English Heritage 1992), the content of an assessment must vary according to the particular historical development of a town, the nature and extent of previous archaeological work, and the accessibility of results. In advancing the Newcastle project and its contemporaries, however, it was required that some homogeneity should be given to the structure of assessments. The structure of the Newcastle Assessment and the framework of questions it contains were

Fig 1.1 Map of north-east England and Newcastle City Centre.



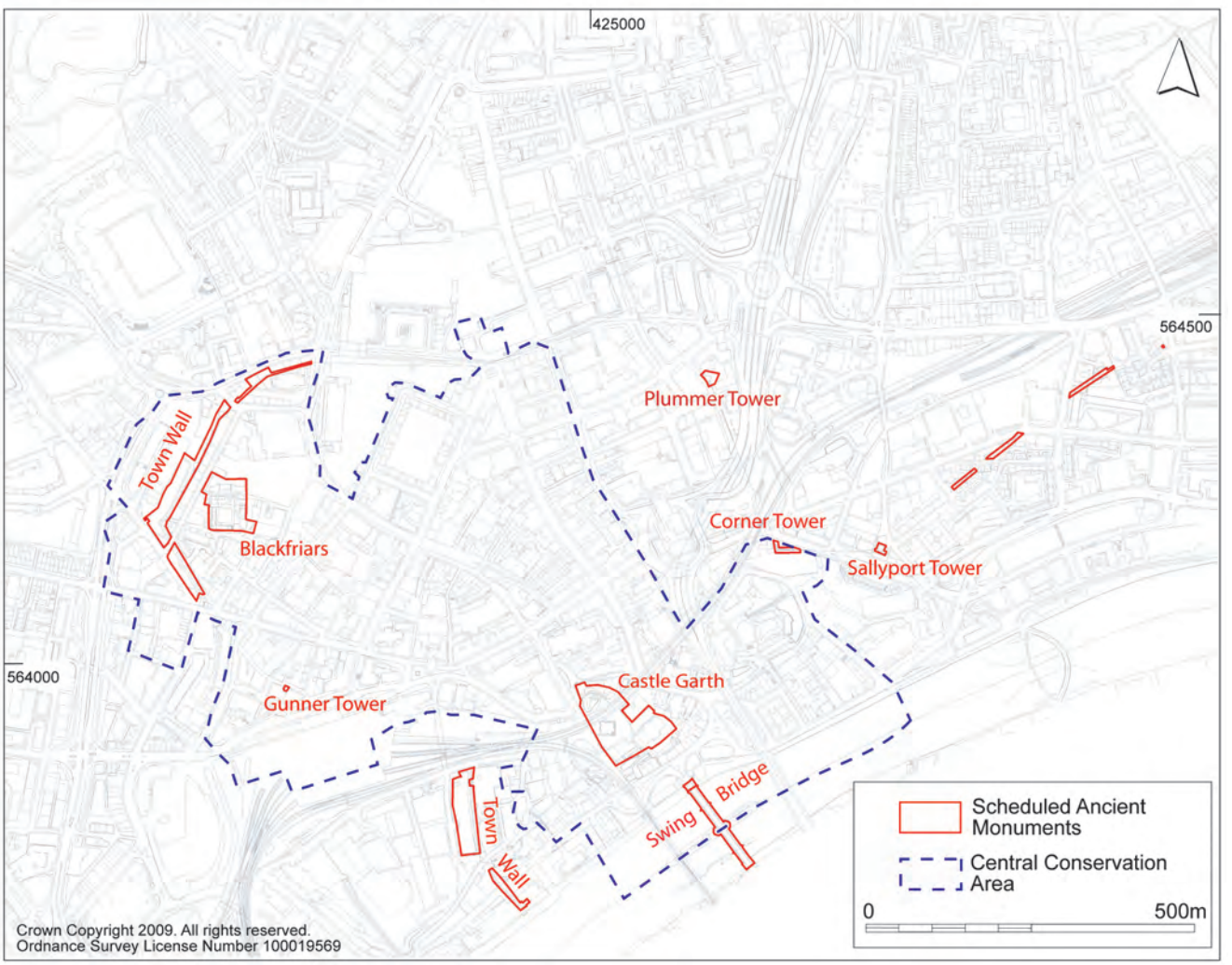


Fig 1.2 Newcastle city centre from the south (Steve Brock photographs).

therefore agreed between representatives of the City Archaeology Unit, English Heritage, the University of Durham and the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for England. The academic questions that fill this structure have been designed to recognise the characteristic aspects of Newcastle's historical development; to set them in a regional context; and to establish how far the available data satisfy questions prioritised, not only by practitioners within the City, but in research agenda set by national institutions and advisory bodies (Society for Medieval Archaeology 1987; CBA Research Committee on Urban Themes 1993; Schofield and Vince 1994, 204–14; Olivier 1996; Williams 1997). Finally, it was felt important that the resultant text should, as far as possible, read as a narrative.

1.2 Past work and the nature of the evidence

Newcastle has a long and distinguished history of antiquarian and historical research and publication (Table 1.1). In more recent years this tradition has been sustained particularly by archaeological investigation carried out by the former County Archaeologist Barbara Harbottle. Her contribution consists not only in the results of excavation, but also in her transcription of over 700 primary documentary sources with information on ownership and tenure of property in the old town, and all supplemented by her incomparable knowledge of the development of Newcastle.

This tradition of antiquarian and historical interest in Newcastle goes back at least to Leland, who gives a disjointed account of the town in his *Itinerary* between 1535 and 1543 (Toulmin Smith 1964, 1, 59–60; 5, 117–18, 126; see Chandler 1993, 339–46). Speed included a map of Newcastle drawn by William Matthew as an inset to his county map of Northumberland in his *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (Speed 1610). Buildings considered significant were marked, but the map must be treated with caution insofar as the location and extent of built-up areas are

author	*source type*	*description*	*references*
J Speed	map (marginal)	small pictographic map/view of walled town	Speed 1610
J Astley	map (military)	view of military installations	PRO MPF/287; 1638
W Grey	general history	first narrative history of Newcastle, written during Commonwealth from a pro-Royalist perspective	Grey 1649
M Beckman	map (military)	Town Wall, gates and Castle compex shown in relation to the riverside and principal routes	Beckman 1683
H Bourne	general history	first comprehensive and authoritative history of Newcastle	Bourne 1736
J Corbridge	map	basic street plan, burgages shown schematically	Corbridge 1723
C Hutton	map	useful depiction of post-medieval layout with burgage plots	Hutton 1770
W Beilby	map	useful in showing impact of early street modifications	Beilby 1788
J Brand	general history	comprehensive and detailed account	Brand 1789
E Mackenzie	general history	prospect and general, derivative historical narrative	Mackenzie 1827
T Oliver	map and schedule	comprehensive map of pre-Grainger town	Oliver 1830
R Welford	general history	three-volume history of Newcastle and Gateshead	Welford 1884–7
R J Charlton	general history	good general account	Charlton 1885
S Middlebrook	general history	most recent comprehensive social and economic survey of the town's history	Middlebrook 1957
C M Fraser and K Emsley	economic history	general history in the 'City & County History' series, concentrates on economic themes	Fraser and Emsley 1973
B Harbottle and P Clack	synthetic article	comprehensive assessment of the development of the town integrating archaeological results with a detailed understanding of historical sources	Harbottle and Clack 1976
G McCombie	architectural history	comprehensive compendium of the development of the town and its principal buildings in the Pevsner handbook series	McCombie 2009

Table 1.1 General sources for the history of Newcastle

concerned. The first account that attempted to record the local townscape and its history in any detail was written by William Grey in 1649. Grey was writing in the aftermath of the siege of Newcastle in 1644, when the town had held out for the king against a Scots army from the end of July until mid-October. A Scottish garrison remained in Newcastle until February 1647 (Ellison and Harbottle 1983, 140). It was obvious that the standing fabric of the town had suffered: 'those Monuments which these late Warrs have obliterated and ruin'd', (Grey 1649, A3). Grey's historical account tends to be unsupported by reference to documentary evidence, but his knowledge of what stood prior to the Civil War, and indeed, what was destroyed by the siege, is still of great value to the archaeologist. In reading Grey, however, the politics of the time must be borne in mind. At a time when the Parliamentarians and puritans were in the ascendant, Grey expresses scepticism of, if not downright distaste for, this contemporary challenge to the Established Church and social order, and of the Scots as an instrument of this disorder. There is a printed version of the *Chorographia* which Grey himself annotated by hand sometime between 1649 and 1660 which has come down *via* Hodgson in 1814, and has been reprinted from an 1884 edition by Reid. In order to prepare for an anticipated siege the defences of the town were recorded on a plan by Sir Jacob Astley in 1638 (PRO MPF/287). This source has proved useful in locating and interpreting Civil War fortifications and modifications (*see* chapter 7, section 7.5). Beckman's map of 1683 (copied in 1742) shows the post-Restoration Town Wall, gates and Castle in relation to the riverside and main roads.

1.2.1 Antiquarianism, the dominance of the Roman Wall and social identity

In 1732, Horsley wrote *Britannia Romana* with a detailed account of what could be seen of Hadrian's Wall on either side of Newcastle, and a reasoned theory as to the probable

position and extent of the fort of *Pons Aelius*. Horsley's work played a major role in a growing antiquarian tradition: he was in correspondence with Stukeley and was quoted extensively in Gough's editions of Camden's *Britannia* of 1789 and 1806 (Birley 1958, 26). From 1732 onwards, the line of the Wall, and the position of the fort remained prominent in antiquarian interest in the Newcastle. Horsley himself had been a Presbyterian minister, and the principal chroniclers of Newcastle in the 18th century, Bourne (1736) and Brand (1789), were also both clerics (Hodgson 1917). The importance of Bourne and Brand cannot be underestimated for historians and archaeologists researching Newcastle. Major charters and documents in the development of the institutions of the town were recorded, and each describes the town as a series of topographical locations and monuments (eg Sandhill, Pandon, The Castle), giving the history, present appearance and, occasionally, the luminaries of each place. Thus we are given insights into the town before the dramatic topographical changes of the early 19th century. As clerics, both Bourne and Brand had access to the various church records in the town, and give detailed lists of parish clergy, monuments and furnishings. The latter are of particular value as these authors pre-date the major changes of fabric of the Victorian era, and indeed, Brand witnessed the considerable alterations to St Nicholas's internal furnishings in 1783 (*see* chapter 7, section 7.3.1). Brand was a far more detailed historian than Bourne, and he sought to provide evidence for his statements where possible. Indeed, much of the value of Brand's writing lies in his footnotes, specifically where he cites manuscript sources available to him that have since been lost, eg the collection of notes concerning Newcastle left by Dr Ellison, vicar of St Nicholas's church from 1695 to 1721 (Brand 1789 **1**, viii and *passim*.) Brand also had access to a number of similar manuscripts or collections relating to the histories of specific institutions within the town, eg the Ambones, Murray and Hedley manuscripts; he did not, however, have access to the Milbank manuscript to which Bourne had made frequent reference (Brand 1789 **1**, n. v). Regarding illustrations, whereas Bourne included a number of fairly rough vignettes and woodcuts, Brand incorporated a set of extremely useful engravings of sites such as that of the former Hospital of St Mary the Blessed Virgin in Westgate Road. This image depicts parts of the medieval church as altered and adapted after the Dissolution of the monasteries – architecture of which there is now no physical trace.

Some material is common to both Bourne and Brand, and clearly derivative from previous writers, namely Grey and Horsley, but also Gordon (1726, 70–1). However, Bourne's relative poverty and low social status prevented him from accessing many documents: he was not regarded as a 'gentleman scholar', an attitude which put many collections of gentry family papers, correspondence, manuscripts and artefacts, as well as state collections of papers in London, beyond his reach (Sweet 1996, 178–9). From the 1760s, however, the climate had changed. Urban histories had become popular, profiting from a wider consumer revolution, which affected the realms of printing and the book trade (Sweet 1996, 180). Similarly, the occupational range of authors of urban histories broadened immensely from this time. Clergy of a higher social status in particular, like Brand, through their networks of personal contacts, were able to gain access to these private collections in a way that became characteristic of many British antiquaries (Sweet 2004).

It is clear that a particular commitment to the history and antiquities of Newcastle is discernible in the work of Grey, Bourne, Brand and their successors. Urban historians of the 18th century contributed to the development of civic pride and identity (Clark 1983). Sweet has demonstrated how the histories changed in emphasis and manner of expression as the audience for these histories changed (1996). Grey's work was subtitled a 'survey' and bore the influence of John Stow's 1598 *Survey of London*. It fell into the category of contemporary county histories. Bourne structured his history around things in, rather than inhabitants of, the town: 'buildings, monuments, charters and institutions' (Sweet 1996, 177). Brand demonstrated more of a balance of interest between places and people, but both authors may be argued to have promoted a sense of pride in the legacy and heritage of Novocastrians.

As antiquarianism developed in the 18th and 19th centuries the historical concept of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria

was seized upon in the north of England as it gave an identity to the region and its people. Both Bourne and Brand devoted a considerable amount of speculation to the possible place of Newcastle within Anglo-Saxon Northumbria. (Their aim was also, no doubt, to give the town a place in the religious history of England). Further, however, Grey, Bourne, Brand and their successors displayed a genuine sense of identity with the town itself: a pride in its medieval merchant community, its institutions of government and acts of religious and charitable benefaction. The latter can be partly explained by the fact that charitable foundations for the poor, for widows of gild members, and gild members themselves, as well as educational establishments, formed a dominant characteristic of 18th-century religious life in Britain. But the town's antiquarians also enjoyed repeating anecdotes relating to earlier times, some of which resemble urban 'foundation myths', or at least have the flavour of civic patriotic myths. One such example was the story of Mr Anderson's ring, said to have been dropped by accident into the river from the Tyne Bridge in *c* 1559. The ring was recovered miraculously from a fish bought in the town's market (Brand 1789 **1**, 45 n. c). In Grey's version Mr Anderson was an alderman. One could read into this a trope of investment and profitable return. A similar story appears in Herodotus concerning the good fortune of Polycrates, king of the island of Samos, who saw 'the hand of divinity' in the restitution of his ring (Book III. 41–3; Marincola 1996, 170–1). Polycrates' power was based on the exceptional success of his fleet; industry, commerce and the arts flourished during his reign. Although Herodotus believed Polycrates' luck to have held in this instance, the ring incident became a portent of Polycrates' ultimate downfall, as the gods were envious of human happiness and would not allow a man to be successful indefinitely. To those historians of Newcastle who were well versed in the Classics, the story may have evoked the sanction of Providence for their own town, its sea-borne prosperity, its industrial and commercial success, and its governing elite, but with a moral warning concerning conceit and complacency.

The antiquarian activity in Newcastle should also be set in the context of enlightened enquiry into 'Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, History, Chemistry, Polite Literature, Antiquities, Civil History, Biography, Questions of General Law and Policy, Commerce and the Arts', which led to the foundation of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne in 1793, and of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne in 1813 (see Jobey 1990; Briggs 1994, and other papers in the same volume).

The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne was the first archaeological society to be founded outside London, and remained the only provincial society for some thirty years afterwards. It suffered initially through a perceived rivalry or duplication of interest with the Literary and Philosophical Society. Chief among the aims of the Society of Antiquaries, however, was to systematise study of the past and its artefacts, hitherto haphazard and individual (*PSAN* 1899 ser 2, **9**, 118). In this, the current of empiricism that characterised other contemporary endeavours in botanical, historical and architectural study may be found. In an early initiative to attract support, a circular was issued which announced the counties of Durham and Northumberland to be 'replete with objects of antiquarian interest, the Roman Wall, the various fields of feudal warfare' (*PSAN* 1899 ser 2, **9**, 116). With the addition of the medieval religious and monastic institutions, this subject remained the focus of archaeological investigation until relatively recently.

In the course of the 18th century, Newcastle's increased trade in coal, and the growth of industries that fed on that resource, most notably glass manufacture, attracted a larger population and generated wealth that could be spent on improvements and new facilities. Occasional building works uncovered masonry remains that were interpreted as Roman (eg Horsley 1732, 132; Brand 1789 **1**, 138–9; letter from Brand to Beilby, 24 March 1788; Richardson 1855a, 88). Few of these identifications can be relied upon now, but it is obvious in the accounts that a systematic attempt was being made to identify attributes in stonework that might be diagnostic of period (Brand 1789 **1**, 139; Brand, 3 April 1783; Richardson 1855, 84). Interest in the Roman presence in the area was galvanised when the medieval bridge was swept away in a terrible flood in 1771. While laying the foundations of the replacement bridge in 1773, Roman coins came to light

from the piers of the old bridge (Brand 1789 **1**, 37–8). Many of the town gates and walls were demolished between 1763 and 1812 making way for suburban growth, while within the town, new residential areas for the wealthy were created in Charlotte Square, Hanover Square and Clavering Place. When Dean Street was created in the late 1780s, Lort Burn was filled and one of the major topographical divisions in Newcastle was overcome. New institutions for public entertainment were built and a new court located in the Moot Hall in 1812. When digging for the latter in particular, Roman altars, a Roman Corinthian column capital, and other less identifiable deposits were discovered (Hodgson 1840, 173).

A number of maps of Newcastle were produced in the 18th and early 19th centuries, which are very valuable historical sources of evidence: Corbridge 1723 (Newcastle City Library Ac 4D, B 6/1/4), also printed by Bourne in 1736; a map of 1732 (TWAS MM MSS 1732 MM Q/1/52 (Long Box) 285.68); Thompson 1746; Hutton 1770 [published 1772]; and Beilby 1788. These allow the modern historian and archaeologist to trace the development of streets from the medieval to modern periods, the spread and density of built space, the contraction of open space, the identity and location of specific institutions. In addition, the Corbridge (1723) map is framed by vignettes of important public buildings and elite private houses, many of which no longer exist.

1.2.2 Industrial expansion

In 1812, the Rev. John Hodgson wrote *The Picture of Newcastle*. This might be judged the first comprehensive portrait of the town at a given point in time, rather than a history. It also differed from previous writing by describing the occupations of working people, rather than exclusively the gentry, merchants, ecclesiastics and other professional people.

In the course of the 19th century, dramatic changes were made to the town landscape. Although occasional finds were reported, the quantities of soil removed in terracing and digging foundations begs questions about the amount that was lost but not recorded, particularly during the Grainger and Dobson campaigns in the northern and central parts of the town (1834–40). In laying out the northern part of Grey Street, Hood Street, Market Street and Shakespeare Street for example, not only was the late 16th-century Anderson Place destroyed, but also much of the area formerly occupied by the medieval precinct of the Franciscan Friary, and those buildings formerly fronting onto the west side of Pilgrim Street. In constructing Grainger Market over part of the precinct of the Priory of St Bartholomew, 250,000 cartloads of soil and clay were removed from the site (*Penny Magazine*, 18 April 1840). Thomas Oliver's map of 1830 shows what existed of the roads and buildings prior to these major changes, and is, consequently, particularly useful for archaeologists and historians. Among the losses must surely have been evidence for the organisation and occupations of everyday life in the town; of the layout of ordinary burgage plots; of the craft and industry which took place in the backlands, and the variation in these patterns across the town. These topics lay in the interstices of contemporary antiquarian interest, concerning neither the Roman Wall nor the institutions of feudal power.

The construction of the railway, the High Level Bridge (1849) and Central Station (1850) gouged large plots and linear paths out of the town. This activity destroyed much of the texture of the medieval town, and deprived us of many of the timber-framed buildings in particular. At the same time, it furnished tantalising glimpses of disconnected walls, coffins and stray artefacts (eg *Newcastle Courant*, 21 March 1835; Richardson 1844, 200).

The effects of the 19th-century development on the archaeology within the walled town were dramatic and are summarised in Harbottle and Clack (1976, 124). Briefly, the construction of Mosley Street, Collingwood Street (Fig 1.3) and Neville Street cut through areas of medieval occupation. The Carmelite Friary church was built over by Orchard Street; the creation of the Grainger Market, Grey, Hood, Market and Shakespeare Streets have already been referred to as having removed the greater part of the precincts of the nunnery of St Bartholomew and the Grey Friary. The extent of the Dobson-Grainger redevelopment is mapped out in Wilkes and Dodds (1964, 58) and in detail more recently in the Grainger Town Study (The Conservation Practice 1992; see also Regional Capital Officers Group CA/21/23). Much of the natural topography of Newcastle was transformed during these

operations. Grainger levelled the northern part of the Nuns' Field, and the vast quantities of soil and clay removed from this site were used to fill the dene of the Lort Burn (*Penny Magazine*, 18 April 1840). Towards the southern half of the town, two rows of buildings and a street between the Groat and Bigg Markets made way for the New Town Hall and Corn Exchange (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 124).

It is in the light of these dramatic early 19th-century changes to the historic streetscape and fabric of the town that we must judge the value of Oliver's 1830 map, and the accompanying terrier published in 1831, known as the Schedule. This is the last, and most detailed, of the historical maps to pre-date the Grainger developments, and individual properties are not only depicted, but also numbered. The correlating Schedule identifies the landowner and tenant of each of these numbered properties, and there are often accompanying footnotes giving the documentary sources for ownership. By comparing Oliver (1830) to both earlier and later maps it is possible to work both backwards and forwards in time to understand the development of the town. It has become clear that many of the individual land divisions or tenements depicted in Oliver (1830) preserved medieval tenement boundaries: when used in conjunction with analysis of historic property deeds, it is sometimes possible to work backwards to achieve lengthy histories of ownership of individual plots of land, or groups of property (eg Heslop, McCombie and Thomson 1994, Heslop and McCombie 1996, Antrobus 2004).

To the east of the walled town, the necessity to improve road communications between Newcastle and North Shields resulted in part of the town wall being knocked down, and the construction of a street leading to a new bridge across Pandon Burn. The new road allowed the development of hitherto open ground, in the form of Trafalgar Street and Picton Terrace. The railway also had a major impact on this side of the town in a number of ventures from the mid-1830s until 1909. The filling in of the dene required impressive feats of engineering in the movement of earth, altering the natural topography; and, again, in the early 1900s, when New Bridge Street Goods Station and North Manors Station were built.

To the west and north, suburban growth along Westgate Road, Gallowgate and Pilgrim Street increased throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. The Leazes became an area of high-status residence in the early 19th century, occupying relatively open land. By contrast, the area of the chares leading from the Quayside inside the town walls became intensively occupied.

Fig 1.3 Demolition of medieval houses on Collingwood Street 1809–10 (T M Richardson).

Fig 1.4 The Gateshead Explosion 6 Oct 1854, wax paper negative of East Quayside (courtesy of NCL).

Much of the historic building stock on the Quayside was destroyed following an explosion in Gateshead in 1853 (Fig 1.4) that started

a fire on the Newcastle bank of the river, consuming six of the long, narrow, densely housed lanes that had evolved since the 13th century (Manders 1973, 47). After the fire in this area, and with growing commercialisation, industry and warehousing replaced earlier buildings along The Quayside, The Close and the riverside to the west. The late 19th-century developments of Elswick and Byker lie beyond the western and eastern limits of the study area respectively. Some of the historic monuments of the town were recorded by the Richardsons (G B, M A and T M respectively), particularly G B Richardson, prior to, or during, destruction, with a deliberate consciousness of archaeology and the passing of the town's heritage in mind (Welford 1907). M A Richardson's *Local Historian's Table Books* (eg 1843, 1846) are collations of historical events and anecdotes, among local ballads, songs and legend, interspersed with vignettes of old buildings. However, many are imagined reconstructions and the question of their accuracy should be borne in mind. G B Richardson produced a great many articles in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, *Notes and Queries*, the *Northern Tribune*, and *Newcastle Chronicle* and was appointed local publisher to the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1852 (Welford 1907, 146–51).

In the mid-19th century, antiquarian interest focused on the military installations of the Roman and medieval periods, particularly in the work of Longstaffe (eg 1860) and Bruce (1853). Interest in the Roman Wall revived in the late 1920s and early 1930s when the North of England Excavation Committee carried out a series of excavations and made several observations of trenches cut in order to lay public utility cables and pipes. Investigation followed projected lines of the Wall and shows clearly in the linear distribution of excavations across the city (*see* Fig 1.10). It was during this period that the first positive archaeological identification of the Roman fort of *Pons Aelius* below the medieval Castle was made.

1.2.3 Modern excavation: from rescue archaeology to urban regeneration

Although academic interest in the Roman occupation has never waned, there were very few specific excavations in the area encompassed by this study between *c* 1940 and the early 1970s. Instead, the Roman archaeology of Newcastle featured in synthesis and discussion (eg Birley 1961, 161; Richmond 1966, 44–7). Indeed, little significant archaeological investigation was carried out in Newcastle after the late 1930s, until Barbara Harbottle began excavating in the late 1950s and 1960s.

The major excavations in recent years have taken place on the medieval religious institutions: the Dominican Priory (1957; 1963–4; 1973–7; 1979–83; 1985; 1988–9); the second site of the Carmelite Friary (1965; 1967); Austin Friary (1970–1); describing, recording and excavating the Town Wall (1968; 1978; 1987–9; 1990; 1992); and the military installations in the Castle Garth (1960–1; 1972–93). Development in the proximity of conjectured lines of Hadrian's Wall has precipitated many small excavations, supplementing the linear distribution of earlier exploration (*see* chapter 3, sections 3.2.1–3.2.3). The last combined synthesis and overview of the archaeology of Newcastle was published by Harbottle and Clack in 1976.

Smaller excavations have taken place beneath the High Level Bridge at 26 The Close, exposing 13th- or 14th-century housing with workshop space (Harbottle 1973), and at properties to the rear of the Cloth Market and Pudding Chare in 1979 and 1994, which found evidence for mid-14th-century and 12th- to 13th-century activity respectively (Tullett and McCombie 1980; Heslop 1994).

The ways in which archaeological investigation has been devised, funded and located within the institutions of local government have changed significantly during the period spanned by this work. Post-war development did not occur on a large scale until the 1960s in Newcastle. A 1963 review of an earlier Development Plan resulted in Comprehensive Development Area schemes, which have been detailed by Harbottle and Clack (1976, 124–5). The Eldon Square and Greenmarket Developments affected not only the early 19th-century square itself, but also the area south of Blackett Street and some medieval structures on Newgate Street. The Newgate Street Shopping Centre also took in an area of medieval occupation on the street frontage. In both instances, much of the archaeology might have been destroyed by previous cellarage.

In the past, the need to overcome natural topography in order to improve communications had been a spur to development. In the 1970s, communication, particularly in the form of transport facilities, once again provided the

impetus for major development. A large area at the bottom of Pilgrim Street gave way to the Swan roundabout, as part of the Central Motorway East (A6127 (M)) that snakes round the east of the old town. The motorway was conceived to carry through traffic away from the city centre and out to the suburbs. This reflected the shift in residential focus and inner-city decline. The area immediately north of the Austin Friary was dug prior to part of this development and the building of a multi-storey car park (Harbottle 1971, 1972). Harbottle and Clack considered that some medieval structures and street frontages might have been lost in the course of this development (1976, 127). The loss of potentially rich archaeology in the area between the railway viaduct, Pilgrim Street and The Side was noted at the time (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 127).

The construction of the Metro in the late 1970s and early 1980s involved massive engineering projects, although much of the tunnelling lay beneath archaeologically significant deposits. The need to provide car-parking facilities has precipitated archaeological investigation of, for example, the Town Wall and ditch. Much of the early work on the Town Wall provided detail as a follow-up to a programme of conservation instigated by Newcastle Corporation shortly after the end of the Second World War, or investigated stretches that had been omitted from that scheme (Harbottle 1974, 83). Another programme of excavation and recording was established in 1986 and has been diligently pursued to the present (Nolan *et al* 1989; Nolan *et al* 1993).

The lengthy campaign in the Castle Garth provided the fullest information to date on the location and date of the Roman fort. It uncovered the intensively used cemetery, which is virtually our only evidence from the Anglian or Anglo-Saxon periods in Newcastle; and has contributed greatly to our understanding of the development of the Castle, not only during the Middle Ages, but as it was adapted in the Civil War (Harbottle 1974, 57–82; Ellison, Finch and Harbottle 1979; Harbottle and Ellison 1981; Harbottle 1982; Ellison and Harbottle 1983). A number of detailed post-medieval studies have also been undertaken, marking a contrast with the interests of preceding antiquarians. These have been seminal in establishing ceramic sequences for Newcastle, and have provided dietary and butchery information that had hitherto been completely lacking (Ellison, Finch and Harbottle 1979; Harbottle and Ellison 1981; Ellison and Harbottle 1983; Harbottle and Fraser 1987).

Fig 1.5 Laser scan survey of the Black Gate, 2009 (collaboration with the University of Northumbria, School of the Built Environment).

The change in emphasis from rescue archaeology to preservation *in situ* embodied in PPG16, a greater integration of archaeology within the planning process in Newcastle, and the emphasis on conservation in redevelopment, has meant that much modern archaeological investigation takes the form of surveys of standing buildings (Fig 1.5) (eg Heslop and Truman 1993; Heslop, McCombie and Thomson 1995). Heslop, Jobling and McCombie (2001), for example, have produced significant work on the 17th-century merchant house known as Alderman Fenwick's on

Pilgrim Street. Recent work at the Black Gate has continued this work using ever improving modern survey methods (Fig 1.5).

The distribution of excavation since the 1980s reflects the current planning concerns to revitalise the Quayside and The Close as areas for residence, leisure provision and a focus for the major judicial institutions. Large-scale excavations have been carried out next to the Close Gate (Fraser, Maxwell and Vaughan 1994); on the site of the former Mansion House, now the Copthorne Hotel (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995); at the Crown Court (O'Brien *et al* 1989) and Magistrates' Court (Truman 2001); and on the East Quayside Development (Ellison *et al* 1993). These have provided unprecedented information concerning the reclamation of the riverside from the 12th century onwards, and allow us to ask how this waterfront was exploited in terms of economic activity and living space.

The net effect of all of these developments, both constructional and archaeological, is that Newcastle is perhaps the only major medieval town in England that has not seen extensive excavation within its medieval core. The reasons for this have been alluded to; large among them being the fact that much of the area within the medieval core was regenerated in the mid-19th century, leaving an incomparable legacy of Classical street planning that overlays and protects swathes of archaeological deposits, while other portions of the town centre were rebuilt before the advent of rescue archaeology in the late 1970s. The Eldon Square shopping mall and the cutting for the Central Motorway have sterilised about 10 per cent of the area within the medieval defences. While sizeable excavations have explored the suburban periphery (The Swirle, Stockbridge, Gallowgate), excavation of the historic core has been restricted to specific tenements, with generally disappointing results (Pudding Chare, High Bridge).

One of the major categories of evidence available from modern excavation, principally from the Castle Ditch, Blackfriars and the riverfront sites, is environmental. Valuable information concerning the historical botanical environment and patterns of food supply to the town has been gleaned from waterlogged deposits, and, for example, from the analysis of faunal remains derived from marine and riverine fishing industries.

This synthesis and accompanying Assessment arise out of a commitment on the part of the contributory bodies to make informed and responsible decisions as to the location, nature and conservation of such sensitive deposits. The Assessment should help to ensure that future development for the continuing regeneration of Newcastle takes place with due regard and sympathy for its archaeological resource.

1.3 The topography and geology of the pre-urban setting

The present landscape of Newcastle is deceptive, and much of the drama of its historical topography – characterised by deep, steep-sided stream valleys opening into the Tyne gorge – has been lost through infilling. Similarly, the shape of the riverfront on the northern bank has been altered considerably by reclamation. Archaeology has contributed to our understanding of these historical changes, and revealed that the archaeological deposits beneath Newcastle are complex and varied.

The geological context in which Newcastle lies has been discussed in detail by Johnson (1995). The Tyne drainage basin is the largest in northern England, with the northern extent created by the North Tyne in the post-war Kielder Forest, and the southern limit created by the South Tyne, which rises near Cross Fell on the Pennine moors. To the north-east, the region is defined by the valley of the River Tweed and the Cheviot Hills. The North Pennines represent a long north–south barrier in the west. Only two corridors breach this range: the Tyne Valley, which has provided an ancient routeway east–west through the Tyne Gap to the Solway basin; and the Stainmore Gap, well to the south. The coastal plain provides a narrow route from the south to the north, bypassing the Cheviots and leading to the Merse of the Scottish Borders; while Redesdale penetrates the Cheviots through a gap in the Fell Sandstone ridge that leads to Carter Bar.

The region is divided into two structural areas by the Ninety Fathom Fault, which strikes roughly east-north-east and is located to the north of Newcastle's Nuns' Moor (BGS 1989). South of the Ninety Fathom Fault lies the Alston Block; north of the Fault lies the Northumberland Trough. The Great Whin

Sill of quartz-dolerite is far more resistant to weathering than the Carboniferous sediments into which it has intruded (Johnson 1995, 319). Consequently, it has provided dramatic topography that has been exploited for its defensive potential through the ages. Between the South and North Tyne the Whin Sill forms a chain of crags that carries Hadrian's Wall. Much farther north, the Whin Sill transgresses the succession above the Fell Sandstones to emerge on the coast as a scarp-and-dip, on which Dunstanburgh Castle was built, and probably preceded by an Iron Age fort; and culminates in the mighty scar on which Bamburgh Castle sits (Johnson 1995, 238).

Most of Tyneside lies at the heart of a long triangle of Upper Carboniferous rock that stretches from the mouth of the River Coquet in the north to Durham in the south. This consists of High Coal Measures, including the Kenton sandstones and High Main Sandstone; and principally Middle Coal Measures, although beyond Newburn the Tyne enters a corridor of Lower Coal Measures. It is the coal, of course, upon which Newcastle's export, growth and industry have been built. Most of the Coal Measures are extremely low-lying, and the topography of the land has been formed by overlying glacial tills. At Denton Burn, in the southwest of Newcastle, the Coal Measures lie almost horizontally and are far shallower (*c* 213m) than may be found to the east of a line that could be drawn roughly north–south through Central Station. From this point eastwards towards Wallsend the Coal Measures dip considerably (over 517m).

South of the Tyne, the Alston Block forms a plateau beneath County Durham, drained, principally, by the Rivers Wear and Tees (Johnson 1995, 238). The ground slopes to the east, punctuated with high coarse sandstone. The coastal margin from Marsden Bay to Hartlepool is characterised by a plateau of Magnesian Limestone. The Northumberland and Durham Coalfield is bounded on the north by the Hauxley fault, and on the south by the Butterknowle fault, both lying east-north-east (Johnson 1995, 338).

The study falls within an area of 3km^2, defined by twelve Ordnance Survey 1:1250 map tiles (*see* Fig 1.1). This area takes in the historical walled town and the principal extra-mural developments. Newcastle lies on the north bank of the Tyne, almost halfway between the sea and the tidal limit of the Tyne estuary. Massive bands and ridges of Coal Measures sandstone constitute the high ground that surrounds and crosses through Newcastle. The historical centre of the city is a point where the land rises as a plateau of sandstone above the lower-lying coastal strip, generally dipping towards the east. The River Tyne has cut a channel through this plateau, such that both north and south banks stand over 24m above the water. In more detail, the areas of high ground lie to the west, north and east, surrounding a central depression bounded in the east by the Ouseburn (Tilbrook 1962). The principal heights are capped by high main sandstone. In the west, the ground slopes away from the sandstone edge to Denton Burn on the north-west, and towards the Tyne on the south. There is little depth of surface deposits on these slopes, and coal outcrops from them. A farther edge of sandstone describes a V-shape between the Big Lamp on Westgate Road up to Castle Leazes and Spital Tongues, then southwards towards the Tyne below St Lawrence, forming the eastern bank of the Ouseburn for part of the way. These two edges bound the central depression in which the historic town developed. A number of Tertiary intrusions of dolerite, most notably the Whin Dyke, cut through the Carboniferous rocks from north-west to south-east, skirting the eastern boundary of the study area. In the central depression, the high main sandstone has been eroded away. Deep Quaternary drifts overlie and emphasise this solid geology, but the historical topography of Newcastle has been formed by the effect of drainage, and the action of a number of streams that have eroded both these drift and solid deposits.

The construction of the A1 Western Bypass between 1987 and 1991 afforded an opportunity to study the alluvial history of the Lower Tyne Gorge. The Tyne Catchment is the largest (2,927km^2) and most researched river system in northern Britain. The description of the Blaydon–Scotswood transect, located just to the west of the Assessment Study Area and 17km from the river mouth, is summarised here from the 1997 synthesis of a long and detailed programme of research since 1983 by Macklin and others (Macklin *et al* 1992, 123). The section (Fig 1.6) ran across the river roughly on the line of the present A1 road bridge. It revealed a depth of 40m of

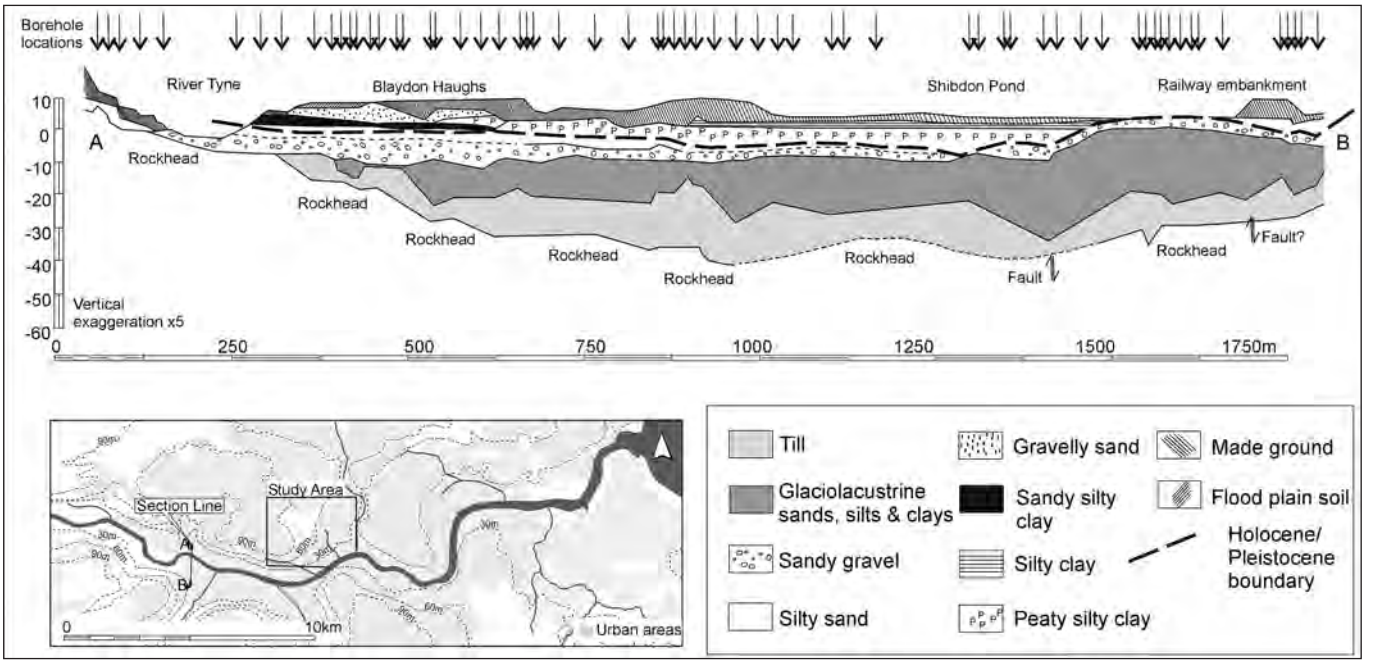


Fig 1.6 Geological section through the Tyne Valley (after Macklin et al 1992).

Pleistocene till, overlain by 10m of Holocene alluvium (Macklin *et al* 1992, 127).

Four main periods of sedimentation were identified in the Scotswood transect, the oldest being radiocarbon dated to the period 5640–4950 to 3780–3370 cal BC. This was an accumulation of 9m of alluvium with pollen consistent with flood-plain alder forest, interrupted by an episode of forest disturbance of perhaps a couple of centuries which could be interpreted as being the result of the activities of Mesolithic communities, around 5500 cal BC. Before 970–410 BC, a major period of avulsion saw the channel switch from the southern, Gateshead side, to its present position on the north flank of the valley cut, a movement of *c* 1km. Subsequent deposition has provided good pollen evidence which 'shows both the local floodplain and wider catchment to be substantially deforested with extensive agricultural and pastoral grasslands' (Macklin *et al* 1992, 128).

The third major phase is dated to the medieval period and shows a build-up of fine-grained alluvium, followed by up to 6m of coarser sediment aggradation in the post-medieval period, laced with traces of limited metal contamination, linked to the historically documented North Pennine lead and other extractive industries. The final period saw 18th-century channel entrenchment and the laying down of a further 1.5m of silty sands (Macklin *et al* 1992, 128).

The general spread of the Quaternary tills, sands, silts and clays forms a broad meandering band with the present course of the Tyne roughly at the centre, except for offshoots south of the Tyne (BGS 1992). The underlying Carboniferous rocks along much of this band are low, and it is only the drift deposits that raise the land above sea level. The study area occurs on one of the narrowest stretches of this band of glacial deposits, and embraces the lowest bridging point on the river. There could only ever have been narrow littorals of land on either side of the Tyne gorge in the past, and these would have been subject to flooding (Conzen 1962, 385). Prior to the reclamation that began in the 12th century, the historic river channel would have been quite broad east of the Castle spur.

In the study area, the characteristic glacial till is grey-brown boulder clay. Where the clay has been weathered, it tends to be a deeper red-brown colour. Frequently, archaeological deposits overlie yellow boulder clay. Analysis of excavation results and borehole logs has shown that there must have been an exposed flood plain of weathered boulder clay beneath the present Quayside (Bown, Nicholson and O'Brien 1988, 154). Periodic flooding has left alluvial deposits above the boulder clay at the

base of the gorge. Mixed sands and clays or silts occur in a few small areas of the city.

The topography of the study area has been defined by the action of streams draining into the Tyne, eroding ravines or denes through the glacial deposits, and through the underlying sandstone of the plateau (Fig 1.7). To the west, the Skinner Burn ran along the length of Bath Lane, Waterloo Street, and entered the Tyne at the end of Forth Banks. The coal seams that underlie the west of the city have been worked in the past. There were mines in the park at Scotswood, Benwell, in 1375/76 (Dodds 1930, 218–19, 228); at Fenham between 1307 and 1313 (Dodds 1930, 291–2); and coal was dug at Elswick as early as 1293 (Dodds 1930, 236, 241–4). Boreholes have struck through old workings between Scotswood Road and Blenheim Street. Coal mining may have caused the ground-water table to fall at this end of Newcastle in the mid-19th century. To the east, the edge of the study area falls just under halfway between the Ouse Burn and The Swirle. The most significant burns in the subsequent development of central Newcastle were the Lort and Pandon Burns. The Lort Burn almost bisected the old town from north to south. It rose around Castle Leazes and flowed west across the Leazes, then curved round to the south, across Prudhoe Street, east of Eldon Square and joined The Side at the foot of what is now Dean Street, debouching into the Tyne at the foot of The Side (Lorteborne in a property sale of 1274, see Hodgson 1903, 116). It is possible that The Side was originally cut by a tributary of the Lort Burn, but there is no substantiating evidence for this proposition as yet (cf Harbottle 1966, 80).

The Lam Burn cut across the north-west of the old town, rising from the south-western corner of Leazes and joining the Lort Burn north of High Bridge. It was uncovered to the south of Gallowgate during excavations on the former bus station site in 2001–2 (Fig 1.8). In Phase 1, the burn was 3m wide and over 1m deep. As this part of Gallowgate was more intensely developed, the watercourse was culverted and became the rear boundary of the building line for the shops and houses fronting onto the street (Northern Archaeological Associates 2004). Seventy metres to the east-south-east, on the other side of the town wall, evidence for the original line of the watercourse was located in

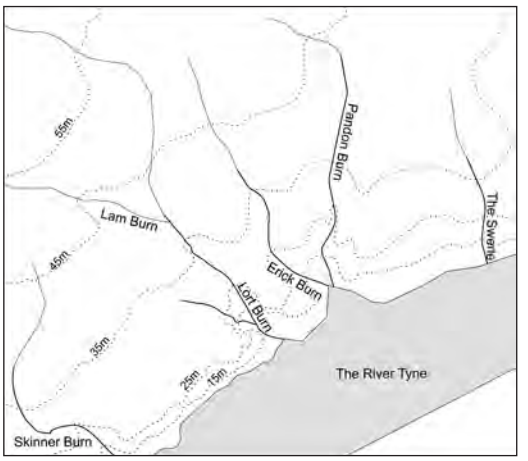


Fig 1.7 An estimation of drainage pattern through the study area before human intervention.

an excavation trench at Stowell Street in 2003 (Trench 5; Adams 2005, 95). The line of the Lam Burn to the east can now be postulated as running along the rear of the properties on the south side of Darn Crook. Farther east, it can be projected across the Nuns' Field (now Eldon Square and Grainger Market), where it was presumably incorporated into the managed water system of the Benedictine nunnery of St Bartholomew's (TWHER 1431). The presence in later periods of marshy ground in this area (cf Oliver 1830) may have resulted from the collapse of this system. The area around Eldon Square to the north was probably also swampy ground (Honeyman 1941, 118).

In the east of the town, the Erick Burn – a tributary of the Pandon Burn – ran north–south, parallel with and east of Pilgrim Street, west of Austin Friars and across Stockbridge, just south of which it met the Pandon Burn (Mackenzie 1827, 179; referred to in a deed of 1714, see Welford 1909, 75). The Pandon Burn rose at Spital Tongues, and circumscribed the north-east of the town, passing through what is now the main campus of Newcastle University and crossing south of the Civic Centre, curving out to the east, then returning westward to meet the Tyne (Pampedenburn in a property grant of *c* 1270–80, Oliver 1924, 100–1, no. 152). Another tributary of the Pandon, the Goggowe or Gogo is mentioned in 1334 (*Cal Close R. 1333–37*, 240; Brand 1789 **1**, 17–18 n. f). The Swerle or Swirle ran roughly north–south from Shieldfield (a suburb of Newcastle, east of the present University of Northumbria) to the part of the riverside that now bears its name.

Communication between those parts of

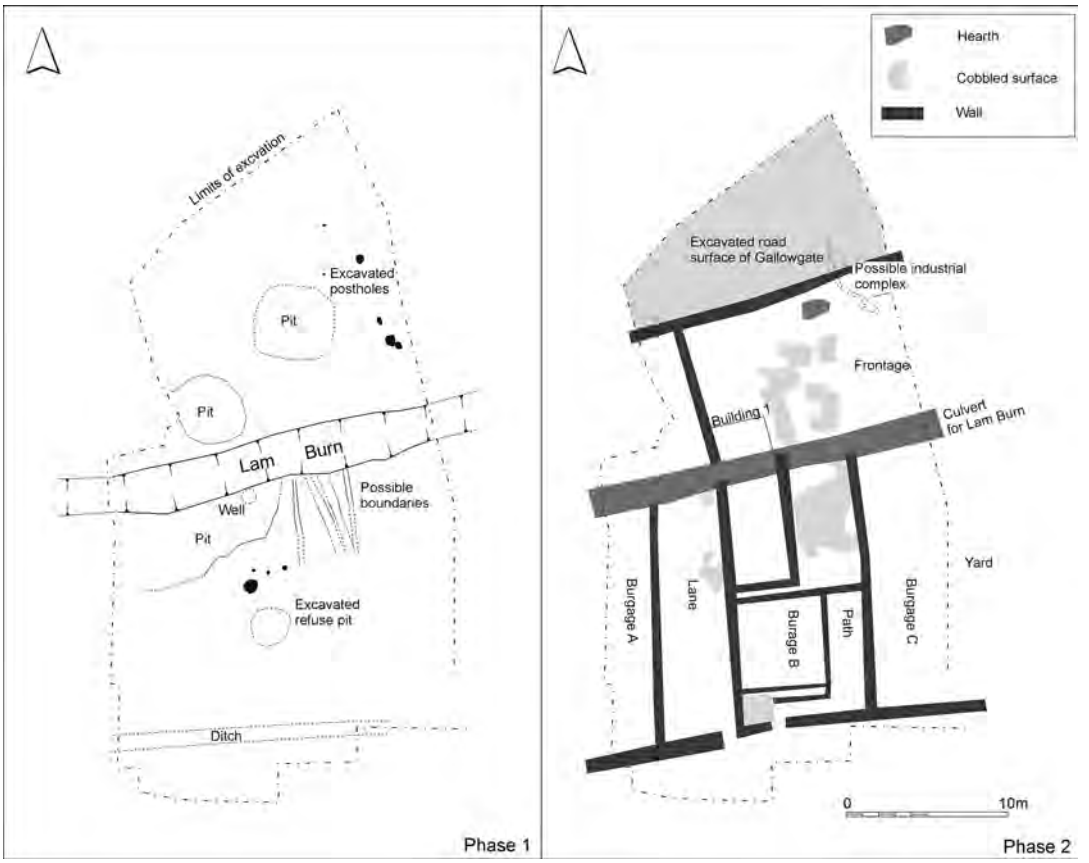


Fig 1.8 The Lam Burn before and after canalisation at Gallowgate (courtesy of NAA).

the town left high and divided by the steep-sided denes has always been one of the defining factors in the historical development of Newcastle. Until the denes were filled artificially, the location of bridges governed east–west movement on land, while the development of the Quayside would have facilitated the movement of goods along the riverfront.

It has been suggested that an unnamed, undocumented burn ran from approximately Stowell Street, to the corner of Westgate Road and Collingwood Street, with a tributary running along the north side of the stretch of Westgate Road from the Stephenson Monument to Collingwood Street (sources in the City Engineer's Department). If, indeed, this stream had existed, it may perhaps explain the feature on Westgate Road that was interpreted as the ditch of the Roman Wall in 1934 (Spain 1934), and, more recently, interpreted as a hollow way (Harbottle unpub 1974). Thence this putative stream may have cut a triangle north of Collingwood Street, crossed Nicholas Street and was perhaps responsible for cutting the northern edge of the Castle spur, joining the Lort Burn at the bottom of Dean Street, and forming the sloping street known as The Side (Harbottle 1966, 80). The most recent geological mapping cannot provide sufficient detail either to verify or disprove the existence of these streams.

At the point of the Dog Bank excavation there may have been 'a small tributary flowing south off the cliff edge', which perhaps explains a freshwater component of the diatom assemblage from this location (Juggins 1988, 150–1; Nicholson 1988, 152–3). The cliff edge was *c* 70–80m north of the modern Quayside, with a drop of about 7m (O'Brien *et al* 1988, 154). Similarly, some of the clefts in the Castle plateau, such as the one that has been occupied by the Castle Stairs since the Middle Ages, may have been formed by the periodic rushing of storm water off the edge of the spur (Harbottle pers comm). As the Tyne provided a natural drainage point, there may have been many more of these seasonal streams within the study area. A feature, thought to have been the bed of an old stream, running down the side of the hill to the river, was observed when the White Friar Tower was demolished in 1843

(Richardson 1844). Nolan (pers comm) has suggested that some of the depth of deposits found when digging against the east face of the town wall between White Friar Tower and The Close may have been filling from a former or sporadic watercourse (cf Nolan *et al* 1989, 32–8). A little to the east, the course of Castle Stairs may have followed a small stream channel that might also have influenced the Roman topography by determining the position of the eastern wall of the fort, and facilitating pedestrian access to the river and bridgehead at the foot of the slope (Bidwell and Snape, 2002, 256).

Farther north and inland from the Castle, the area around St Andrew's church at the top of Newgate Street was a slight elevation, separated from a higher hillside by a marshy pocket (Honeyman 1941, 117). In the early 13th century there was a wellhead located near St Andrew's, formed by 'an aggregation of streams' (*Cal Pat R 1340–43*, 35; *Cal Inq Misc* **2**, *1307–49*, no. 1900; *Cal Pat R 1348–50*, 214–15). Farther north, beyond the Town Walls, there may have been a stream where the later Magdalen's Well was situated, near Pandon Burn, although there is very limited evidence for this (Wake 1937, 117; *see* chapter 5, section 5.5.7). All of these streams have been culverted at various times, and their steep-sided denes deliberately infilled to change the topography of central Newcastle (see, for example, Dearman *et al* 1977, 254–9, particularly figs 7 and 8).

In addition to the hidden paths of ancient streams, old mine workings exist in the area but their exact location cannot always be determined. Older, more ancient mine workings present a problem insofar as they are not recorded at all; we do not know whether they have been filled in, the nature of the infill, or whether it is stable, unless discovered in the course of geological or engineering borings or through surface subsidence. Newcastle burgesses were entitled to dig for coal on the 'Castle-More' – probably the Town Moor – from 1213 (Brand 1789 **1**, 431–7; Oliver 1924, 4).

The land surrounding the historic walled town was suitable for pasture, particularly to the north and north-west, where the Castle Field now known as Castle Leazes and Castle Moor or Town Moor were used as common. The town also leased the use of the adjoining Nuns' Moor.

Until the construction of the railway in the second quarter of the 19th century, most buildings in Newcastle were built of local sandstone from the surrounding Coal Measures. Along the length of Hadrian's Wall, stone was quarried locally. A Roman quarry is known at Fallowfield Fell, near Chollerford, but there may have been quarries at Heddon and Brunton (Johnson 1989, 39). Later, stone came from quarries at Kenton (before 1378–85; Dodds 1930, 359), Heddon, Wideopen, or south of the Tyne (Grundy 1992, 29). Stone was apparently hewn within the Town Walls in Castle Garth and the Forth (1239; 1351; Brand 1789 **1**, 152ff). A quarry was leased at Elswick in 1337; stone had been won from Elswick before 1596, and again in 1774 (Dodds 1930, 239–40; Brand 1789 **1**, 51 n. q); and stone was also won from Manors in 1651 (*Common Council Books*, 15 September 1651). A quarry existed at Benwell in 1578/9 (Dodds 1930, 228–9). The advent of the railway made the import of stone from farther afield a more viable enterprise. Prior to this, other imported building materials, perhaps including early brick, may have been brought to Newcastle by ship. However, from the industrial period onwards, natural deposits of brick clays in eastern Durham and Northumberland were exploited on a large scale for brick-making (Taylor *et al* 1971, 93).

1.4 The Archaeological-deposit model

Archaeological excavation uncovers the sequence of layers resulting from human intervention in the environment. It is a convention of archaeological recording that the sequence of layers, or deposits, is normally illustrated as two-dimensional sections with heights measured with respect to Ordnance Datum, or as a plan with the varying heights recorded across the area of the deposit. In order for archaeologists to provide planners with guidance as to the depth, nature and value of subsurface urban deposits, and in order to make decisions as to their curation, we need to be able to interpret how these deposits might be formed in the areas of the city that have not been excavated. Computer modelling provides the best means available to help the archaeologist make those interpretations.

Computer modelling of the urban deposits at York has been described and discussed elsewhere (Richards 1990; Miller unpub

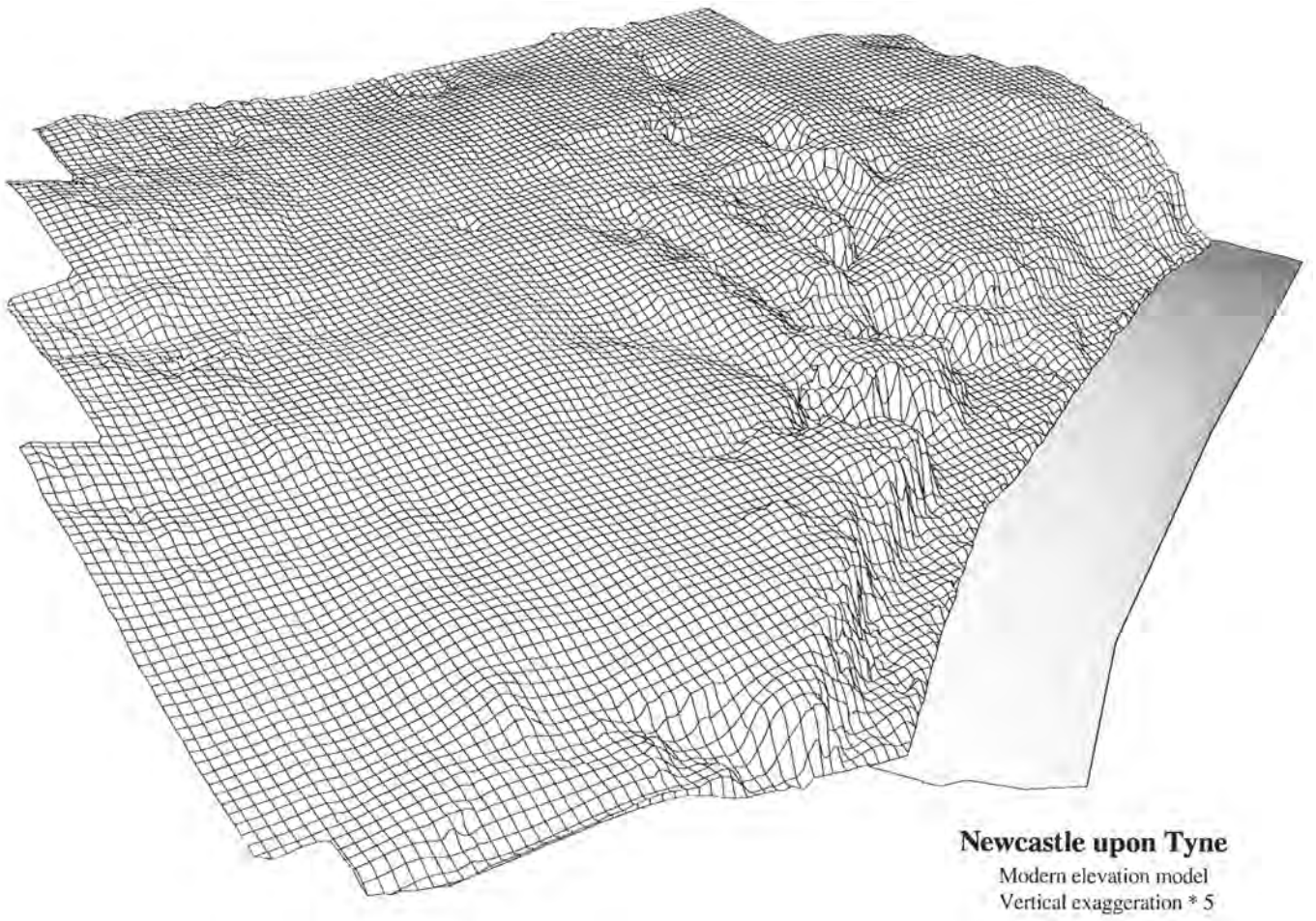


Fig 1.9 Newcastle upon Tyne modern elevation model, vertical exaggeration ×5.

1995). More recent work has been undertaken at Great Yarmouth, as part of the Great Yarmouth Archaeological Map. Here, a series of borehole records were used to supplement the patchy observations from archaeological interventions, like the Fullers Hill excavations (Rogerson 1976), to develop a predictive tool to help understand the evolution of the town and inform planning decisions. The Digital Terrain Model describes complex origins of the town, on a dynamic sand split, consolidated by medieval street formation (www.museums.norfolk.gov.uk). At Nantwich, waterlogged horizons associated with the medieval salt-manufacturing industry have been identified on both sides of the River Weaver, and have been the subject of a project funded by English Heritage to characterise and map these deposits.

This technique has been applied to the Quayside in Newcastle, an area of reclaimed land constructed throughout the medieval period and thus subject to a great deal of artificial landscape change. Data was drawn from excavations of the Quayside in 1972, 1990 and 1992 (discussed more fully in later chapters) and a borehole survey of the area. From this, two wire-frame topographical drawings were generated, one showing the original land surface, and the other showing the surface of the medieval ballast sand dumped there. These images provide an excellent 3D representation of the changing landform (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994, 228–32).

The extension of these methodologies across the city centre is shown in Figs 1.9–1.11). Figure 1.10 shows that the distribution of archaeological excavation across Newcastle is by no means even. In order to supplement the excavated data, the results of engineering borehole prospection have been used. These results, shown in schematic form in Fig 1.11, obviously do not discriminate between

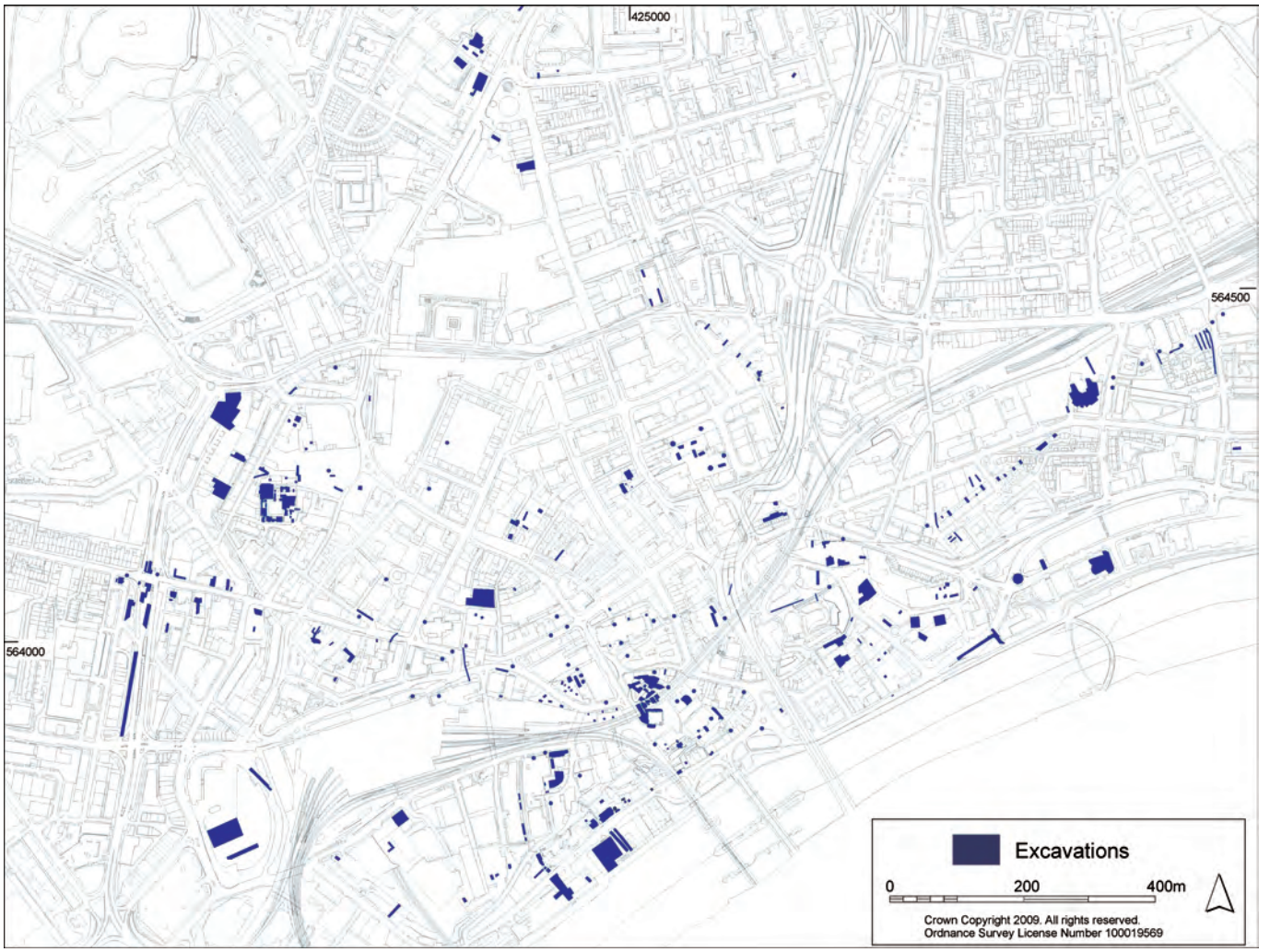


Fig 1.10 Archaeological interventions within the study area.

cultural periods in the way that archaeological investigations do; rather, they provide a generalised picture of the way deposits are encountered during re-development.

The purpose of this document is, in part, to provide an indication of the archaeological value of subsurface deposits, relative to the rest of the city, other towns in the region, and ultimately, a national perspective. There has been much discussion of the relative merits and demerits of assigning value or some quantifiable quality to urban deposits in general. The Cirencester survey adopted a 'scoring' system, but it has been decided to assign terms 'high, middle, low and none' to the Newcastle deposits. Modern roads and pavements are separated out, as areas severely eroded by modern service provision. Earlier versions of this map have been in use by planning officers in the City since 1996, and have proved an extremely useful tool for doing initial appraisals of development sites. In general terms, the map over-represents the presence of deposits, as a 'safety first' approach needs to be adopted. As earlier generations of the map and underlying dataset have been preserved (this is Iteration 7) it would be possible, were space to allow, to show how the archaeological potential of the city has eroded over that time span. In summary, perhaps 10 per cent of the highest potential has been 'lost' from the first to the last map. However, the changes are not all negative, as recent work under the railway arches at the east end of Westgate Road have shown that Roman remains in the spaces between the abutments (eg Event 2835; fig 3.8) have survived beyond all expectations.

Fig 1.11 The deposit map showing archaeological potential.

At the present rate of archaeological activity (perhaps 10 relevant events per year) it will take many years before sufficient information is available to produce a phased deposit model across the historic core of Newcastle. Of particular difficulty is defining the in-filled denes that bisect the scarp edge. However, future progress could be made by concentrating on particular monument types or periods. For example, it is probably feasible to model the survival of Hadrian's Wall in the western half of the study area, where the UNESCO World Heritage Site is frequently encountered beneath Westgate Road during highway and utility work. Similarly, there is probably sufficient high-quality data to map the survival of deposits associated with the medieval burgage pattern, which will shed light on the origins (planned or otherwise) of the first urban expansion.

2 The prehistoric period

2.1 Evidence for early prehistoric activity

Until the discovery of a late upper Palaeolithic hand-axe at Eltringham, near Prudhoe, almost nothing was known of the occupation of the Tyne Valley before the advent of Mesolithic hunter-gatherers (Cousins and Tolan-Smith 1995). The most comparable find that has a reliable provenance geographically close to Eltringham is that from Towler Hill, Teesdale (Petts with Gerrard 2006, 15). There may have been a human presence in the region from as early as the Pleistocene/Holocene Transition at *c* 8500 BC. Mesolithic activity, which is well attested in the east and on the coastal littoral (Tolan-Smith in Petts with Gerrard 2006, 19), is evident on hills to the south of the Tyne around Ryton and Clara Vale (Miket 1984, 19–26), but has been much less researched. A large group of sites discovered by the early-20th-century flint collector, W A Cock, and in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, merit re-evaluation by modern researchers.

The very few early prehistoric finds from within the study area are accompanied by an almost total absence of context (Fig 2.1; Table 2.1). Scatters of flints were recovered from the Castle and Black Gate excavations of 1978–92 (unpub; on display in the Castle Keep) and a flint saw was found in the Castle Garth in the early 1930s (Miket 1984, 43; TWHER 1494), but it is uncertain if they indicate prehistoric settlement in this immediate area. Because the archaeologically recovered flints have not been collated and researched yet, it is not possible to say anything about their chronological range, nor, consequently, whether they reflect settled or transient human activity. The evidence, when assessed, must be fitted into the significant body of work that has been carried out into the general Mesolithic occupation of the region, represented by Low Hauxley

Table 2.1 Archaeological events producing prehistoric evidence

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
245	2.1	Westgate Road, 1889	dug-out canoe found	*The Antiquary* **XX**, 76
455	2.1	Barras Bridge, 1893	Late Neolithic/early Bronze Age stone axe-hammer	TWHER 1342
467	2.1	Black Gate, 1933	flint saw found between Black Gate and railway line	TWHER 1494
766	2.1	White Friar Tower, 1841	urn and cist burial (N.B. alternative interpretation as Roman is possible)	TWHER 1372; Richardson 1844
811	2.1	Castle Garth, 1978	ard marks, cord rig, two narrow ditches; pre-Roman	Snape and Bidwell 2002, 17
832	2.1	Castle, 1992	polished stone axe of Whin Sill dolorite, north half of Railway Arch 29	unpub; on display at Castle keep
2238	2.1	42–48 High Bridge, 2002	two curving slots with intermittently placed stakeholes, date to the LBA by RC dating, sealed by plough horizon which was cut by 12th-century features	TWHER SR 2003/13; Brogan 2010

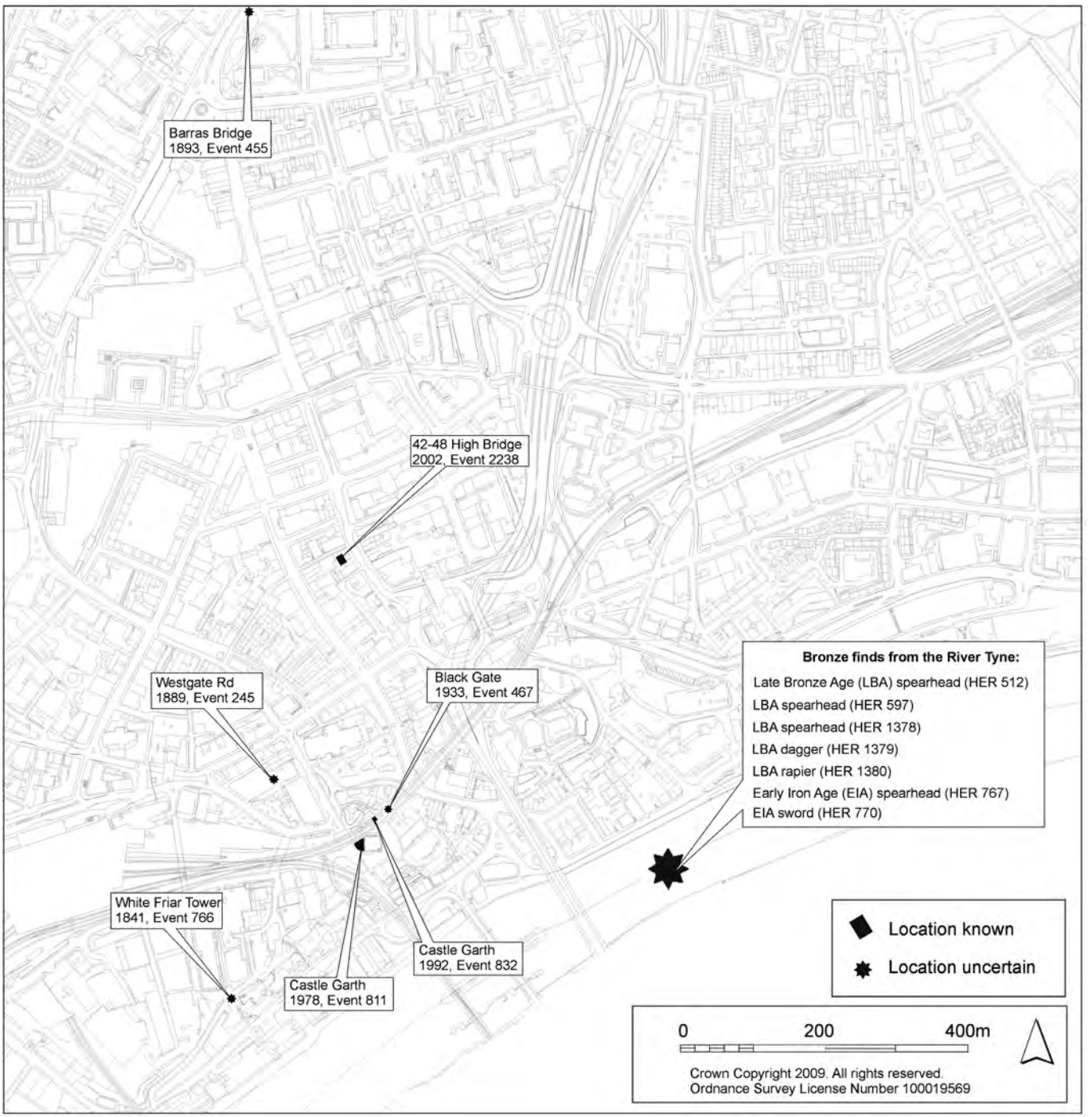


Fig 2.1 Prehistoric events within the study area.

(Bonsall 1984), Howick (Waddington *et al* 2003), Nessend Quarry, Holy Island (Young and O'Sullivan 1993; Beavitt *et al* 1985), in the Millfield Basin (Waddington 2000), and Tynedale (Tolan-Smith 1997). The Mesolithic settlement at Low Hauxley, 30km to the north of Newcastle, provided a date of *c* 8000 cal BC, and the long sequence of structures suggested that the occupation was perhaps more permanent and territorial than hitherto thought (Waddington in Petts with Gerrard 2006, 18). Both the location of Mesolithic coastal sites, close to where freshwater streams and rivers flow into the sea, and the locations of flint knapping sites inland, indicate that the river valleys were used as inland routeways.

Apart from finds noted in Miket 1984, flint assemblages have been found close to the River Tyne at Low Shilford, Peepy Farm, Stocksfield and Bywell, which suggest a concentration of Mesolithic activity along this stretch of the Tyne Valley. Another collection of flints found at Broomhaugh, Riding Mill in 1994–5 might represent Mesolithic or possibly Neolithic activity. The Mesolithic material in the Tyne Valley has been interpreted as indicating widespread hunting, while processing and maintenance activities seem to have been located on bluffs overlooking the main valley, and raw materials were extracted from 'deeply incised side valleys and putative glacial features' (Tolan-Smith in Petts with Gerrard 2006, 19). Intensive land use has been argued for the later Mesolithic in parts of northern England, including probably the exploitation of wild barley species on the coastal fringe (Simmons and Innes 1987; Huntley and Stallibrass 1995). Debate continues as to whether the transition in economy from hunting and gathering to farming should be interpreted as gradual or relatively swift (Bradley and Edmonds 1993, 20; Bradley 1987; Edmonds 1987; Rowley-Conwy 1998; Rowley-Conwy 2000).

Miket's (1984, map 1) distribution of polished stone axes from Tyne and Wear suggests concentrations close to the present river's edge east of Newcastle, and farther inland flanking the upper reaches of the Tyne west of Newcastle. The 1984 distribution of perforated axes (Is it implied that these are later? cf Roe 1979), falls largely in the intervening space. Within the study area, these types are represented by a polished stone axe of Whin Sill dolorite, found in a disturbed Roman layer at the Castle in 1992 and a late Neolithic/early Bronze Age stone axe-hammer recorded from Barras Bridge in 1893 (Miket 1984, 34; TWHER1342). The expanded edges of the axe emulate early metal implements, as does an adze found at Prudhoe in 1994 (Speak 1995, 23).

Together, these distributions give a strong indication of the importance of the Tyne Valley for any settlement, and as an east–west route, possibly a trade route, both of which might have been assumed. Of course, the find distributions may simply indicate patterns of discovery reflecting the concentration of 19th-century and modern development on both sides of the river. A final note of caution regarding this distribution should be sounded, as there is a pattern of Roman sites producing Neolithic axes that is arguably the result of such objects being collected and curated by the Roman garrisons (eg the axehammer at Fenton, Allason-Jones 1993).

An integrated study of the role and significance of axe production and exchange in Neolithic Britain (Bradley and Edmonds 1993) concentrates on Cumbria and that portion of northern England east of the Pennines but south of the Tyne Valley. Nonetheless, the work of Bradley and Edmonds establishes a programme for the examination of axe distribution in relation to geological source, settlement, ceremonial and burial evidence that might be carried out in the future in the North East. Recent research on contemporary activity along the A1 corridor in Yorkshire has stressed the link between long-distance object exchange and Neolithic ceremonial monuments (Harding 2003) possibly using north–south routes that brought Yorkshire Wold flint as far north as Milfield, Northumberland in the late Mesolithic (Petts with Gerrard 2006, 16). Vyner's persuasive synthesis has developed this theme, noting the proximity of the Great North Road to the ceremonial complexes at Ferrybridge (henge); Newton Kyme (henge); Thornborough (standing stones and henge); Catterick (henge); Eppleby (henge) and Chester-le-Street (possibly a Neolithic circular enclosure), the monuments being placed at the point where the road crosses the rivers Aire, Wharfe, Ure, Swale, Tees and Wear, respectively (Vyner 2007, 69). The absence in the archaeological record of a similar focal point where the route crosses the next watercourse in this sequence, the Tyne, may reflect the later more intensively industrialised nature of the Tyneside landscape. The present bridging point is the historic crossing, carrying what was later known as the Great North Road across the river (Fig 2.2). In antiquity, and right up until the mid-19th century, the Tyne was 'a tortuous, shallow stream, full of sandbanks and eccentric eddies, which at Newcastle men might ford at low tide' (Johnson, 1895, 6). By contrast, at Newcastle/Gateshead the river had good banks on both sides, rather than the rather swampy margins that frequently were found from here to the estuary at Tynemouth before the start of river improvement in 1861. Clearly, it is unwise to make too much of the

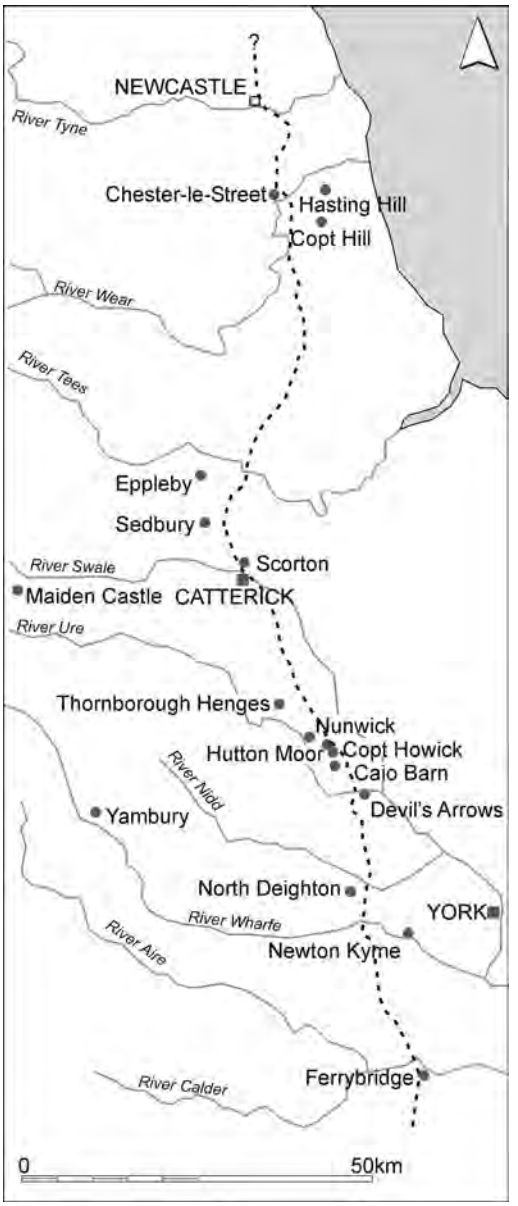


Fig 2.2 A possible early prehistoric routeway (after Vyner 2007).

limited evidence of early prehistoric activity from Tyneside, but the suggestion that an early routeway was important in allowing people from a wide geographical area to meet, and to facilitate the dispersal of exotic traded items such as polished and perforated axes, has implications for the understanding of ritual activity here in later periods.

The only site in the study area of possible Early Bronze Age date is a cist burial (TWHER 1372) with 'British' urn, which was recorded in 1841, near the White Friar Tower, and inside the town walls (Richardson 1844, 149). It will never be possible to identify this now, although Harbottle has suggested that there may have been a cremation, as no bones were mentioned in the original note. Cists containing Food Vessels have been found at Elswick and Jesmond, beyond the western and eastern limits of the study area. The White Friar find, however, was close to what might have been a Roman cemetery, and so this burial could date to the second or third century AD. Whatever the date, the location of the burial is notable – on the scarp edge overlooking the river gorge, with views west to the King's Meadow Island and east to the ancient river crossing.

2.2 Evidence for later prehistoric activity

The potential importance of the roadway/river nexus mentioned above places a new perspective on the interpretation of assemblages of Late Bronze Age metal objects recovered from the Tyne during the 19th century – the identification of Newcastle as the focus for important religious ceremonies involving the votive deposition of high-status objects (Heslop 2009, 3). Six bronze artefacts dredged from the Tyne within the study area (a rapier, a dagger, three late bronze age swords and a socketed spearhead (Fig 2.3; Table 2.2) represent merely a portion of the total known from the full length of the Tyne thus far (at least 16 objects recorded in Miket 1984; Northumberland HER). Hence, the Tyne can be numbered among the first group of English rivers producing later prehistoric votives, along with the Thames, Witham and Trent (for a recent comparative discussion of these assemblages, see Field and Parker Pearson, 2003, 171–8). Most of the major rivers that drain into the North Sea have produced material of comparable date and character, and, in north-east England there are similar assemblages from the Wear and the Tees.

A comparison between the finds from the Wear and Tyne is interesting, demonstrating potential biases in the archaeological record. As riverine recovery is almost all from dredging,

Fig 2.3 Bronze Age spearhead from the Tyne (TWHER 1378).

HER no.	*description*	*date*	*comments*	*reference*
TWHER 512	bronze spearhead	Late Bronze Age	found on edge of river near Ryton Willows	*PSAN* 1901, ser 2, **9**, 48
TWHER 597	bronze spearhead	Late Bronze Age	dredged near Blaydon	*PSAN* 1885, ser 2, **1**, 355
TWHER 767	bronze sword	Early Iron Age	dredged from Tyne 'below Newcastle'	*PSAN* 1889 ser 2, **3**, 309
TWHER 768	bronze sword	Early Iron Age	dredged from Tyne 'near the Tyne Bridge'	*PSAN* 1887 ser 2, **2**, 333
TWHER 770	bronze sword	Early Iron Age	dredged 'between King's Meadows island and the High Level Bridge'	*PSAN* 1907 ser 2, **3**, 309
TWHER 1378	bronze spearhead	Late Bronze Age	'recovered from the Tyne at King's Meadows'	*PSAN* 1907 ser 2, **3**, 309
TWHER1379	bronze dagger	Late Bronze Age	'dredged from North side of King's Meadows'	*PSAN* 1907 ser 2, **3**, 309
TWHER 1380	bronze rapier	Late Bronze Age	'north side of the Tyne at Newcastle'	*PSAN* 1889 ser 2, **3**, 309

Table 2.2 Bronze Age and Iron Age metalwork from the Lower Tyne

the relative quantities may reflect nothing more ancient than the activity of Victorian river commissioners. Nineteen objects were recovered from the Tyne, and five objects were recorded from the lower stretches of the Wear (Tyne and Wear, Northumberland and Durham Historic Environment Records). However, most of the objects were discovered in the later 19th century, and many are specifically described as having been dredged from the riverbed. The high point of activity at Sunderland was in 1885, when the River Wear Commissioners dredged 428,590 tons from the river (Potts 1892, 71). In the Tyne, by contrast, the most intense year was 1886, when 5,273,585 tons were dredged, and the supervising engineer, Mr J F Ure, estimated that in total the Tyne Commissioners removed a staggering 90 million tons from the riverbed (Figs 2.4 and 2.5; Johnson 1895, 88–91). Consequently, if there is a direct relationship between the scale of dredging and the recording of objects, the Tyne would be expected to have produced more than the Wear.

A number of factors contributed to the emphasis of one particular point in the landscape as a cult locus. Some of these are sociological and pertain to the now lost human geography of the area but others are still perceptible; among these, the drama of the river gorge, and the character of the river, slow-moving and forming islands and sand-spits in the water, will have been important. A common feature of other sites of this type is the construction and long currency of timber causeways to project the ceremonies towards the centre of the river channel. Such structures would have a significant impact on the flow of the current, creating pools and meres on the causewayed side of the channel and, over time, affecting the build-up of sand spits and gravel banks, features that were to some extent

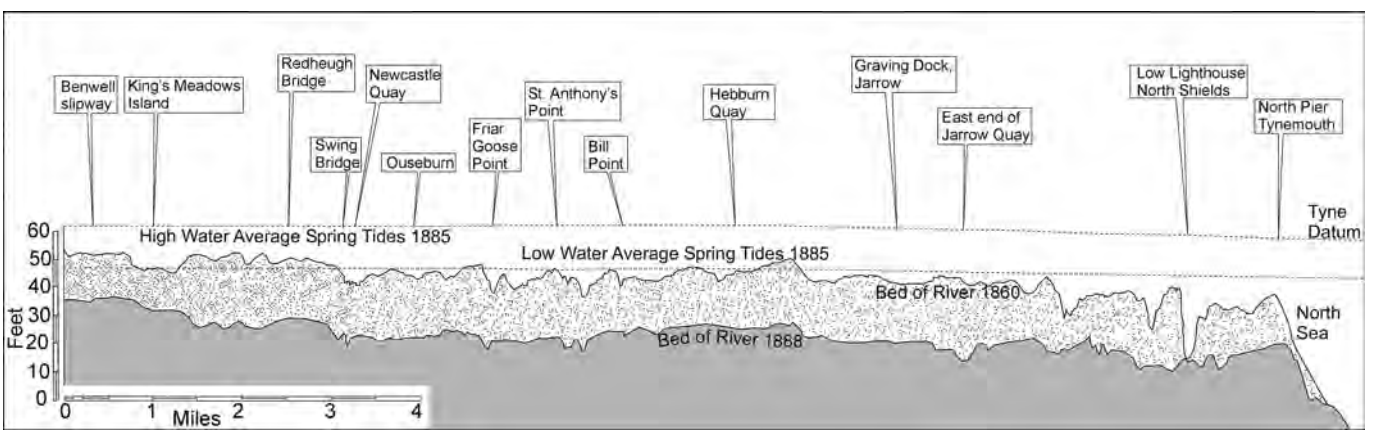


Fig 2.4 Longitudinal section through the river bed, produced by the Tyne Conservancy Commission, showing extent of river dredging (after Johnson 1895).

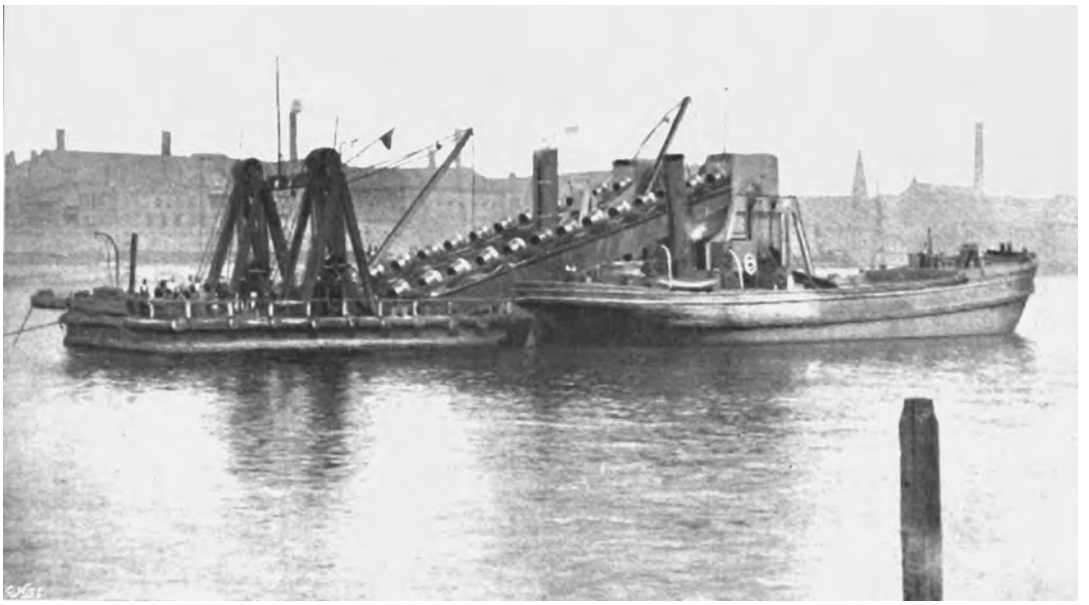


Fig 2.5 Nineteenth-century Tyne dredger (Johnson 1895).

already present in the slow-running River Tyne at Newcastle/Gateshead. The creation of such conditions at a river crossing has been suggested at the Stamp End causeway at Lincoln (Jones and Stocker 2003, 23), where the Jurassic Way crosses the River Witham, forming a watery margin known as the Brayford Pool. This is exactly the type of 'liminal' landscape selected for Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age votive deposition. The three riverine topographical features noted on the River Witham as being important in causeway/votive location are all equally present at this point of the Tyne: embayment (the overlooking of the site from high ground on more than one side); confluence (the presence of a tributary – the Lort Burn – to perturb the main current); and mere and pooling (River Witham Research Design 2007; Stocker 2003, 54).

No evidence of a causeway has been found at Newcastle. The hypothetical presence in Newcastle would be expected to be along the margins of the river as the power of the main stream would make a complete crossing of the river impractical, and the character of the ceremonies would not make it necessary. It would, therefore, have been located in the area where the riverbank was reclaimed in the medieval period, and so masked from modern observation. Similarly, the principal medium of object recovery, Victorian dredging, has worked the later, narrower channel, so it is quite possible that the centre of the votive activity has not yet been located, and consequently the objects so far recovered might represent only part of the total original assemblage, on the margins of the cult focus.

Table 2.2 lists the objects from the River Tyne. At least one of the swords from within the study area, and one other (Miket 1984, 44) have been broken, possibly prior to deposition (cf Bradley 1990, 113). Bradley has pointed out that deposits of Iron Age metalwork often occurred where major rivers and regions of contemporary wetland formed the boundaries of tribal territories (1990, 178–9); the Tyne deposits may have been part of the process by which emerging polities defined themselves and the land over which they claimed authority.

A second group of finds, with a slightly later chronological focus, can now be seen to fit into the pattern of votive activity described above – the dug-out canoes recovered from the Tyne and its tributaries (Table 2.3, Fig 2.6). Usually interpreted as accidental sinkings, there is a growing recognition that wooden vessels form a component in the assemblages of votive objects at significant positions in riverine or wetland locations. Larger examples include the Shardlow barge, Derbyshire, excavated from a Trent Valley quarry site in 1998, and which appears to have been weighed down with stone slabs and sunk next to a causeway, and the Hasholme Boat, Humberside, which Steve Willis has convincingly re-interpreted as a deliberate deposition, the vessel being aligned to the nearby settlement and committed to the water with offerings of prime joints

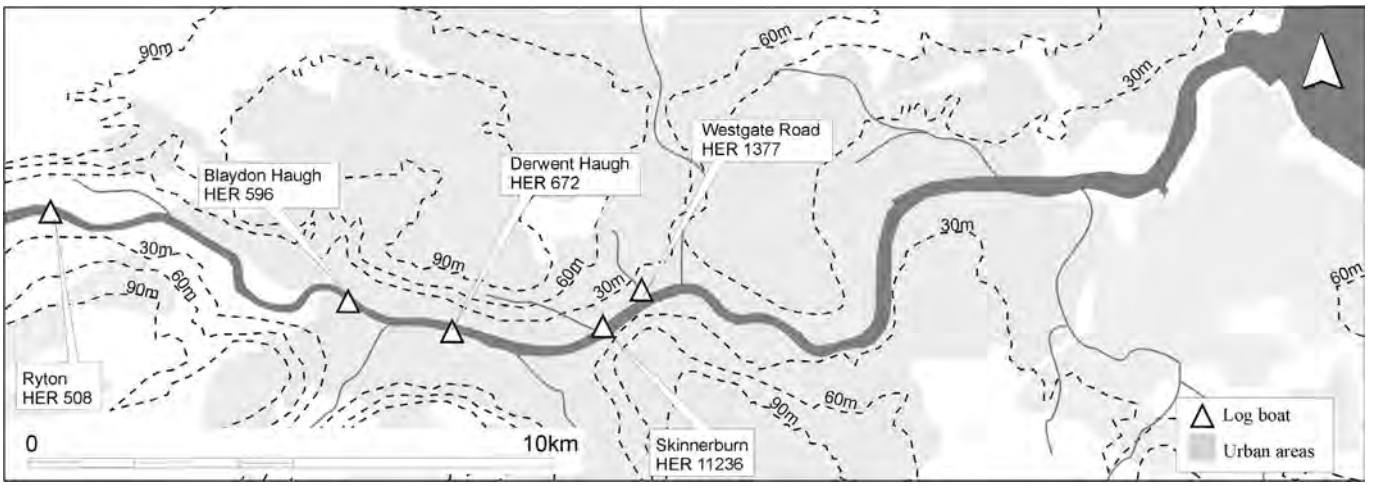


Fig 2.6 Log boats from the Tyne and its tributaries.

HER no.	*location*	*dimensions*	*reference*
TWHER 508	Ryton/River Tyne	9ft 2in × 1ft 10in (2.79m × 0.56m)	Dodds 1964, 285–9
TWHER 596	Blaydon Haugh	?	Hoyle 1884, 40
TWHER 672	Derwent Haugh	14ft × 3ft (4.27m × 0.91m)	Oliver 1912, 219
TWHER 1377	Westgate Road	7ft × 3ft (2.13m × 0.91m)	*The Antiquary* 1889 **XX**, 76

Table 2.3 Dug-out canoes from Newcastle and Gateshead

of meat and flowers (Willis 2007, 117). At Fiskerton, there were two log boats with the 152 objects of Iron Age/Romano-British date deposited under and beside the timber causeway (Field and Parker Pearson 2003, 173), while at the Clifton-on-Trent causeway there were three (Phillips 1941, 134–7). The appropriateness of objects related to travel as offerings symbolising the journey between the real world and the spiritual world, is reflected at the Holme Pierpont causeway, where a cart or chariot wheel was found alongside a dug-out canoe (Stead 1991, 79). In this context it is interesting to note that an Iron Age wheel was recovered from the River Tyne at Ryton (TWHER 509).

The Tyneside artefacts can be seen to fall into a category of votive objects associated with travel that have been found at sites around the North Sea basin: the important Danish Early Iron Age site of Hjortspring produced a 19m-long boat, along with the 11 swords, 64 shields and 138 spearheads and many other objects from the cult location (Field and Parker Pearson 2003, 182). On the River Wear in Tyne and Wear, 23km from Newcastle, two log boats (TWHER 340 and 346) were found in close proximity at Hylton, the former in association with 'stone chisels' and deer horns.

The Tyne gorge can boast five log boats, dug out from the clays and silts on the riverbank or from the tributaries debouching into the Tyne (*see* Table 2.3 and Fig 2.6). A single example falls within the study area, a hollowed-out tree trunk (TWHER 1377), 2.10m long, which was found off Westgate Road in 1889 and described as a boat or, less plausibly, a coffin. The location is interesting, the watercourse here being a very minor channel that was never navigable in any meaningful sense, and which became a common gutter in the medieval town. The vessel, of small size for a dug-out canoe, must have been carried up onto the plateau that overlooks the river and then deposited in the silts of the channel, along with animal bones including a skull and several horns (*The Antiquary*, 1889; Miket 1984, 39). This group of canoes is best seen as a further manifestation of the importance of this location for votive deposition as an important element in the ceremonial life of the surrounding community.

In summary, while the riverbanks and surrounding hillsides do not boast a wealth of evidence of prehistoric occupation, the importance of the location over a very long period is now beginning to be understood.

Excavation in 2003 aimed at recording the

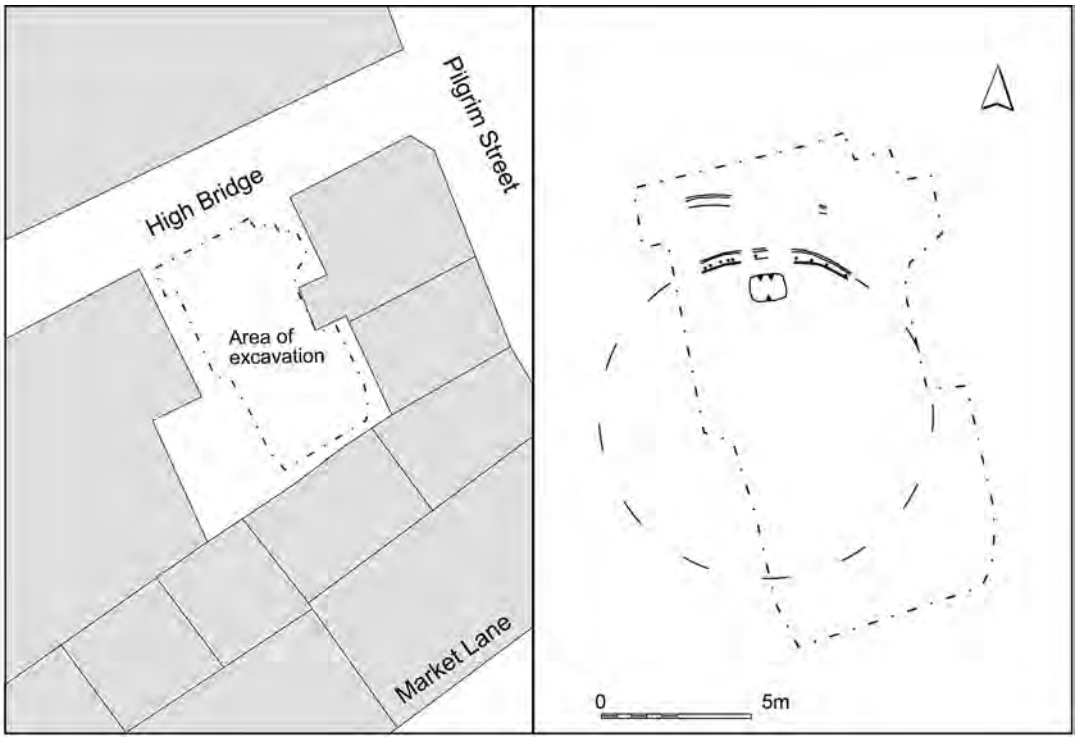
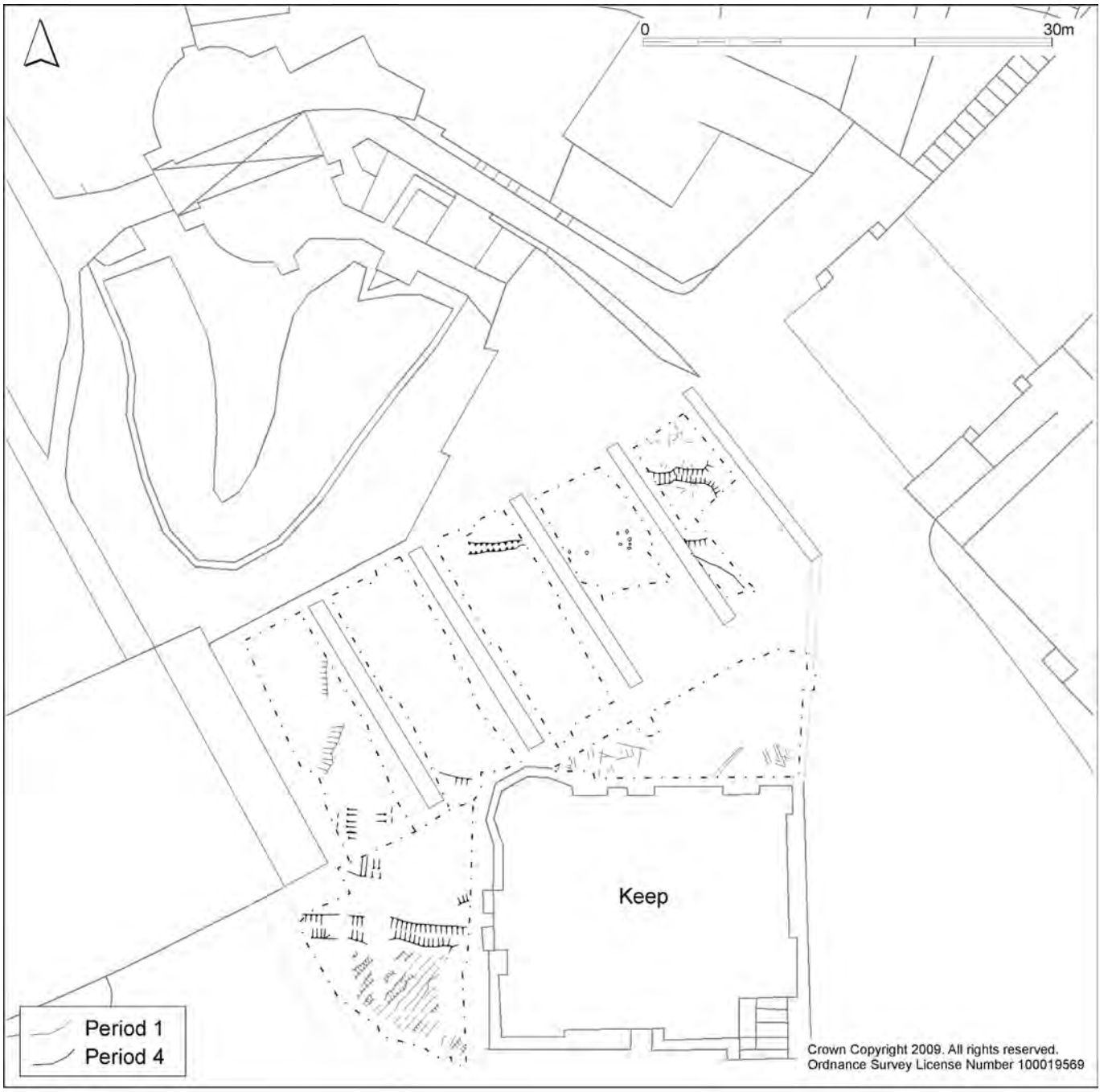


Fig 2.7 High Bridge excavations 2003, showing prehistoric structure cut by medieval features (Brogan 2010).

layout and character of the medieval burgage plots in Newcastle, immediately west of Pilgrim Street at 44–48 High Bridge revealed unexpected evidence dated by radiocarbon to 1499–1382 cal BC / 1333–1324 cal BC (UB 6910), ie the Late Bronze Age (Brogan 2010, 333–4, 347, 371). The structural evidence on this site (Fig 2.7) comprises two arcs of truncated curving wall slots and is best interpreted as forming part of one or two roundhouses, of diameter 8–10m (Brogan and Mabbitt 2003, 20–1, 60; Brogan 2010, 333 fig 3). The stake impressions in the slot were irregularly spaced, between 0.20m and 0.60m apart; they penetrated up to 0.07m below the bottom of the curved slot, which, at 0.13m deep, was almost certainly truncated by the ploughing that formed the overlying soil horizon. Pollen analysis of the fill of one of the slots revealed a scrub woodland environment dominated by hazel with relative abundance of herbs, quite different in character from the urban assemblage of the samples above the plough soil (Brogan and Mabbitt 2003, 60). The possibility that the routeway known in the medieval period as the Great North Road had prehistoric antecedents has been mentioned above; it may be significant that this site is immediately adjacent to that alignment.

The High Bridge structure is directly comparable with the circular structures revealed in 2002 and 2004 at East and West Brunton, Newcastle, where successive sequences of round houses stood within an unenclosed landscape for several centuries before the later Iron Age enclosure ditches were constructed. This is a pattern repeated on many later prehistoric settlements in the North East (Petts with Gerrard 2006, 36–8).

At a point 335m south of the High Bridge building, the excavations at the Castle revealed extensive evidence of agricultural activity pre-dating the construction of the Roman fort (Fig 2.8). Two phases are identified on the site; ard marks across the parts of the promontory where conditions favoured preservation at this depth (Period I, Snape and Bidwell 2002, 15–17), and narrow rigg and furrow marks with possibly associated plot boundary (Period II) demarcating a field edge to the west. No dating evidence was secured from any of these subsoil intrusions, providing strong negative evidence that the agricultural activity took place before Roman ceramics were in circulation. These features might be interpreted as Roman site-leveling, using ploughs, in preparation for the construction of the fort. However, careful investigation of cord rig elsewhere along the



line of the Wall by Adam Welfare has shown that this form of arable cultivation was clearly pre-Roman, either Bronze Age or Iron Age in date. Thus, narrow rig and lazy beds were found beneath the construction levels of the fort at Wallsend, and plough marks beneath the Roman road at Stott's House, Walker (Miket 1984, 78; 36). Similarly, whereas cultivation traces under Roman layers beyond the south-west ditches of South Shields fort have not yet proved to be indicative of prehistoric activity (Bidwell and Speak 1994, 13), those beneath the Wall and turret at Throckley are thought to be Bronze Age in date (Bennett 1983; Huntley and Stallibrass 1995). Equally at Denton Burn, the last in a series of plough marks seems to have preceded the Wall immediately, but there was no indication of how much earlier the ploughing had begun (Bidwell and Watson 1996, 14).

Fig 2.8 Prehistoric activity beneath the Castle Garth (after Snape and Bidwell, 2002).

In conclusion, although the quantity of prehistoric evidence in the study area of Newcastle is limited, both the nature of the finds and their contexts suggest that the Tyne crossing was possibly of great social, economic and ritual significance in antiquity. This would be important in the trajectory and character of future occupation in the locality.

3 The Roman Imperial Frontier

3.1 Evidence for Roman activity before the construction of the fort

By the spring of AD 73, Roman engineers were building a timber fort at Carlisle (Caruana 1992, 103; Mattingley 2007, 147). On the other side of the country, it is inconceivable that the Lower Tyne would have been left without a military presence in the last decades of the first century AD, but the Flavian (AD 69–96) evidence is lacking. A recent review history of the Roman conquest and consolidation of the Tyne valley (Bidwell and Snape 2002, 254–9) gives the river crossing at Newcastle/ Gateshead a greater prominence than earlier accounts (eg Daniels 1978, 99), which had suggested that the area between Corbridge and the river mouth at South Shields was left without a permanent garrison until the building of Hadrian's Wall in AD 122. The disposition suggested by Bidwell and Snape has an early north–south route on the line of the Great North Road, which is proposed as a Roman foundation (2002, 258). This linked to the river crossing, guarded by an as yet unlocated fort at Gateshead and, via a branch road, the Wrekendyke (TWHER 277), to South Shields. Beyond the geographical dimension of the decision to place the military fortification here, it is perhaps worth mentioning that by locating the fort at what has been proposed as an important cult and congregational locus (*see* chapter 2, section 2.2), the Imperial power was able to confront, at one location, the widely dispersed population of a contemporary society that lacked centres of authority expressed in the form of high-status, significantly nucleated settlements. A similar argument is advanced for the location of the fort at Lincoln, as described above (chapter 2, section 2.2), the development of which followed a trajectory similar to that of Newcastle (Stocker 2003, 54).

The short but important catalogue of pre-Hadrianic finds on the Newcastle side of the river described below hints that an early Roman horizon awaits discovery (Table 3.1). Present evidence suggests that the Roman stone fort was built after Hadrian's Wall, and the study area has produced no trace of a timber precursor.

Landscape features beneath the stone fort buildings, containing considerable quantities of Roman pottery, including a single piece of Samian that may be South Gaulish in origin (and consequently 1st century in date), a possibly Hadrianic cooking pot and stamped Samian base sherd of Antonine date, hint at some form of Roman occupation on the promontory prior to the construction of the fort itself (Bidwell and Croom 2002, 20–4; 145). This may represent only short-lived activity associated with the construction of the fort, but the fact that the fort builders appeared to be unaware of the presence of these features provides circumstantial evidence of some form of settlement here, of Flavian or Hadrianic date, that was displaced when the fort was constructed.

Non-ceramic finds from Newcastle may be divided between the pre-Hadrianic and Hadrianic periods, but few of those which can be dated precisely have been found in secure contexts. Consequently, it is not possible to determine whether they represent chance losses from a settled or transient military presence

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
1	3.1	Black Gate, 1972–73	three 1st-century coins, dating to between 68–79AD	Brickstock 2002, 186–7
102	3.1	Castle keep, 1929	three wall foundations on north-south alignment; fragment of Hadrianic samian bowl	Spain and Simpson 1930, 504
102	3.1	Castle keep, 1929	1st-century denarius of Vitellius (69AD)	*PSAN* ser 4, **5**, 46
435	unprov.	Castle Garth, *c* 1855	coin of Emperor Nerva (96–98AD)	*PSAN* ser 3, **2**, 136
445	3.19	near Queen Victoria's Statue	coin of *Antoninus Pius/Faustina*	*PSAN* ser 3, **10**, 343
472	3.14	River Tyne, near the Swing Bridge, pre-1903	coin of *Faustina*	*PSAN* ser 3, **1**, 72
624	unprov.	near spot of altar of *Oceanus*, 1905	coin of Trajan, coin of Hadrian	Blair 1905, 52
632	unprov.	River Tyne	coin of Galba (68–69 AD)	*PSAN* ser 3, **2**, 136
764	3.1	Moot Hall 1810	two coins of *Antoninus Pius*	Hodgson 1840, 173
812	3.1	Castle Garth 1978	two wide ditches. Hadrianic/Antonine pottery in fill	Snape and Bidwell 2002, 20
829	3.1	Castle Garth 1979	trumpet brooch, dating to mid-1st to mid-2nd Century	Allason-Jones 2002, 211–12
910	unprov.	possibly Groat Market, pre-1839	coin of Vespasian	Groat Market: Donations Book 1839.13
923	unprov.	near the Castle, pre-1732	coin of Vespasian	Horsley 1732, 133; possibly Bourne 1736, 40
1242	unprov.	medieval Bridge, 1789	a number of Roman coins, including three of Trajan (98–117 AD)	Brand 1789 1, 37–8: Bruce 1853, 102–3
1244	unprov.	medieval Bridge, 1771	three coins of *Antoninus Pius/Faustina*	Brand 1789, 37
1412	3.14	River Tyne, near Swing Bridge, 1903 or earlier	coin of Hadrian	Spain and Wake 1933, 13

Table 3.1 Archaeological events for activity prior to the construction of the fort

prior to the Antonine/Severan installation; or the kind of casual losses that might be expected to have resulted from occupation from the late 2nd to 4th centuries. The crucial issue is the extent to which Roman finds were in use in the region before the establishment of the permanent garrisons on the Imperial Frontier. Almost no material of early, that is pre-Hadrianic, date has come from settlements in the region known from radio-carbon dating to be occupied at that time, for example the East and West Brunton settlements, 12km north of the river crossing. By contrast, indigenous sites farther south in Cleveland, for example, were certainly receiving Roman material from around AD 60 (Lowther *et al* 1993, 106–8).

Excavations at the Black Gate (Fig 3.1) produced three 1st-century coins, with date ranges between AD 68 and 79 (Brickstock 2002, 186–7). One 1st-century denarius of Vitellius (AD 69) was found west of the Keep in 1929 (TWHER 1487); one coin of Nerva (AD 96–8; TWHER 1484) was found in the Castle Garth in the construction of the approach road to the High Level Bridge (presented 1855); and a coin of Galba (AD 68–9) came from the River Tyne (TWHER 499). The coins described by antiquarians cannot be quantified reliably, as many might have referred to the same coins, and others had no precise find spot. Horsley recorded a coin of Vespasian found near the Castle (1732, 133), which is possibly the coin of Vespasian referred to by Bourne (1736, 40). Brand possessed a coin of Trajan found in the piers of the medieval bridge (1789 **1**, 37–8 n. w). A coin of Vespasian was donated to the Society of Antiquaries by the Rev. G. Hunter of the Groat Market in 1839, but whether or not it was found in the Groat Market is not recorded (Donations Book 1839.13). Bruce

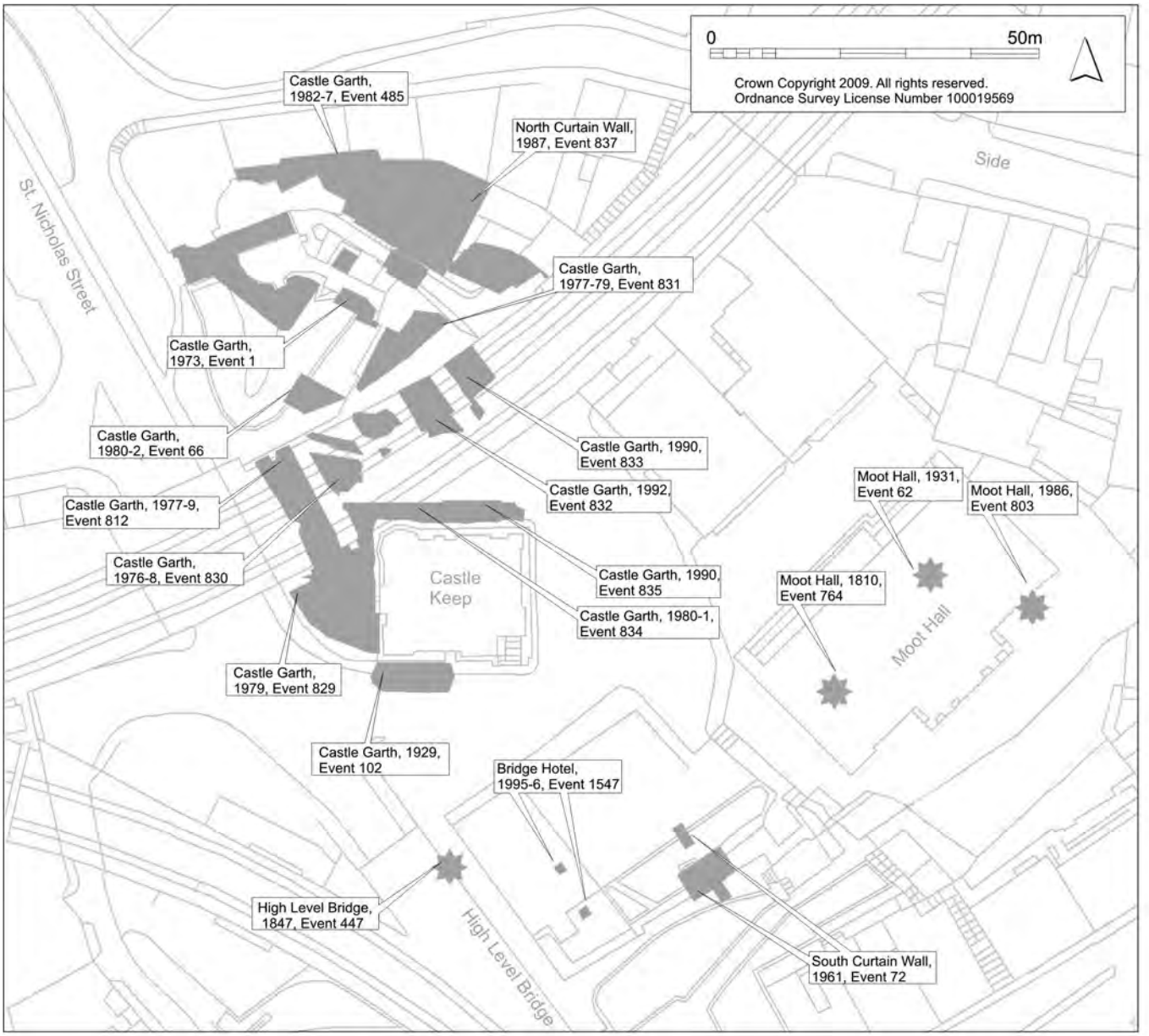


Fig 3.1 Events revealing Roman material across Castle Garth.

recorded the coins found in the piers of what must now be taken to have been the medieval Tyne Bridge (1853, 102–3). Among these were at least three coins of Trajan (AD 98–117). One coin of Trajan was recovered near to the find spot of the altar to Oceanus (Blair 1905, 52). Brand illustrated one coin of Hadrian from the ruins of the medieval bridge (1789 **1**, 37–8 n. w; 1789 **2**, fig opp 385). A coin of Hadrian was also recovered near to the find spot of the altar to Oceanus (Blair 1905, 52). A coin of Hadrian came from the bed of the Tyne in the construction of the Swing Bridge (Spain and Wake 1933, 13). At least three coins of Hadrian were excavated from the Black Gate (Brickstock 2002, 187).

The modern excavations at the Castle and Black Gate produced some glass beads that may date as early as the 1st century, but the longevity of the forms suggests that they can be assigned to the later period. A single trumpet brooch, with date range from the mid-1st to mid-2nd century may pre-date the fort (Allason-Jones 2002, 211–12).

In summary, approximately seven 1st-century coins have been found; while at least another seven coins pre-dated the Antonine period. Whether these coins denote

significant contemporary activity remains an open question. It would be difficult to find analogous sites with comparable histories combining Roman occupation with 19th- and 20th-century development such that meaningful comparisons could be made. At South Shields, although the pottery and some early brooches have been described as consistent with pre-Hadrianic occupation, there are no structural remains from the Flavian period (Bidwell and Speak 1994, 14). Yet South Shields has produced bronze coinage from as early as Nero, including four 1st-century coins (Brickstock 1994, 165). It is thought 'doubtful whether the presence of early issues can be used as evidence for early occupation; some, if not all, might have arrived at the site in the normal pattern of circulation many years after they were struck' (Bidwell and Speak 1994, 14; cf Brickstock 1994, 166).

The same might, then, apply to the fort at Newcastle. The question is really how long after issue coins might continue to circulate. In general, 1st-century coins of good silver content in particular circulated widely until the 3rd century; bronzes until the later 3rd century. At South Shields the period spanned lies between a coin of Nero and the first Hadrianic/possibly Trajanic occupation. At Newcastle does the span lie between a coin of Galba and Hadrianic/Antonine activity, or late 2nd/early 3rd-century occupation?

At least six coins of *Antoninus Pius*, and two of *Faustina*, were reported before modern excavations began in Newcastle: two from the foundations of the Moot Hall in 1810 (Hodgson 1840, 173); from among those found in the bed of the Tyne in the course of construction of the Swing Bridge (TWHER 500); from a trench dug east of Queen Victoria's statue (TWHER 1485); one in the possession of Brand, and one of each in the possession of Pennant all from the medieval bridge in 1771 (Brand 1789 **1**, 37–8). Three coins of *Antoninus Pius* were found in the Black Gate excavations from 1978–92 (Brickstock 2002, 187).

The pre-Hadrianic coins and pottery may indicate some contemporary activity, but we cannot determine its nature. The Hadrianic artefacts may have been associated with the bridge *Pons Aelius* or the Wall, while the coins in the River and on The Side may indicate early traffic, or even some roadside settlement (cf 1st-century evidence from Bottle Bank, Gateshead, Bidwell unpub 1995; Bidwell and Snape 2002, 257). The pottery and ditches beneath the late 2nd-century fort may indicate temporary settlement, perhaps in connection with the construction of the bridge or Wall; or even some early phase of the fort. On the other hand, there may have been indigenous settlement, with the artefacts showing that the occupants had access to Roman goods. This may have been the case at South Shields, in the Tees Valley and perhaps even in Durham City, as this phenomenon is now well established (Lowther *et al* 1993, 77, 105–8).

3.2 The archaeology of Hadrian's Wall

The eastern boundary of the study area is 4.22km from the western gate of *Segedunum* – Wallsend, the fort at the eastern termination of the Wall. Approximately 2.20km of Wall run through the area, with the fort of *Pons Aelius* (Newcastle) roughly in the middle of that length. The eastern boundary is 2.40km east of the western gate of the next fort, *Condercum* (Benwell). In Wall Mile terms, that is a fraction over a quarter of a Roman mile from the putative location of Milecastle 3 (at the west end of Shields Road, Byker) to the eastern boundary of the study area, and almost three Roman miles from the western end to the next designated fortification, Turret 7B (Denton). However, the positions of the known fortifications on Tyneside do not match those postulated by Ian Richmond, who began measuring from Wallsend. The concensus among modern scholars is that construction began at Newcastle (Bidwell and Snape 2002). There are dissenting views, however, as put forward by Breeze and Hill (2001, 1), who argue that the Wall began at Portgate, near Corbridge, where Dere Street meets the Stanegate (2001, 1). Poulter (2005, 95) takes Benwell as a starting point (as uncertainties about the exact position of the Wall east of *Condercum* prevented his detailed analysis east of that point) and argues that the military engineers progressed westward to the North Tyne and then went back to fill in the gaps caused by topographical obstacles.

Assuming, therefore, that the Wall started at the bridgehead, the location of which is unknown, and taking into account the fact that the course of the Wall both east and west from

this assumed location would have to traverse several stream valleys – which elsewhere along the Wall are known to disrupt the regular spacing of the fortifications – there seems no possibility that the expected spacings can be used to predict the location of any of the missing milecastles and turrets.

The 2.2km of Wall within the study area (1.6% of the total length) includes the largest stretch of unlocated wall course on the whole frontier. The fact that the line has been 'lost' through the centre of Newcastle has given rise to one or two misconceptions that need to be robustly refuted (Paul Bidwell, pers comm) First, it might be thought that the frontier works cannot be expected to have survived in an urban environment in as good a condition as might be the case in the rural sections. In some instances this is so, but in many places the Wall and its associated elements have survived remarkably well under similar conditions, as for example at Buddle Street, Wallsend (Bidwell 1999, 95–7), where an extensive length of collapsed walling was preserved beneath later colliery waste. Indeed, although archaeological deposits have been robbed and terraced on some plots, the absence of ploughing, as well as the possibility that the rapid accumulation of urban deposits will preserve the Roman remains, has led to very good levels of survival in many instances. Second, it might be assumed that the urban sections of the Wall have nothing to contribute to the Research Agenda for the frontier. However, recent developments, detailed below, show that this is very far from the truth. In general terms, the opportunities for archaeological interventions occasioned by the inevitable consequences of urban living – the planning applications of businesses and homes overlying the monument, the changes to the infrastructure of roads and lighting, and the renewal of utilities within the Wall corridor – have made this the most dynamic and interesting section of the whole frontier, and, in conservation terms, the most challenging.

3.2.1 The course of the Wall: the eastern section between Stepney Bank and Sallyport Tower

The course of the Wall across the Ouseburn (immediately to the east of the study area) has been lost. Twenty-seven evaluations between 1928 and 2008 have attempted to fill this lacuna, but without success (evidence reviewed in '*Foundry Lane, Newcastle: Archaeological Assessment*', The Archaeological Practice, TWHER SR 2006/132). The greatest uncertainty concerns the actual crossing of the burn, in an intensely industrialised landscape where terracing and infilling have radically altered the topography. Our understanding of the way the Wall crossed the burn is further hampered by a lack of knowledge of the palaeo-fluvial history of the stream valley. Three trenches in 2007 and three in 2008 on the side of the burn in Foundry Lane revealed more than 3m of modern overburden above waterlogged sands that flooded the trenches, making further excavation impossible within the narrow confines of trial trenches (TWHER SR 2007/179, 5).

Approaching the study area eastern boundary (Table 3.2, Fig 3.2), it is generally thought that the Wall runs under the south carriageway of Stepney Bank. This is the line of a field boundary depicted on Hutton's detailed map of 1770 [published 1772], and in 1928, Spain and Simpson located a deep, waterlogged ditch at the junction of New Bridge Street and Crawhall Road (Spain and Simpson 1930, 497), which aligns well with a projection of the curtain wall along Stepney Bank (TWHER Event 49).

Fifteen metres north-east of the ditch observed in 1928, the construction of new housing at Redbarns in 1981 was preceded by evaluation by the Central Excavation Unit (Event 29, Figs 3.3 and 3.4; Rankov 1982, 342; Bennett 1998, 22), which reliably located the Wall in two places. The outline of the reconstructed profile of the Wall is now shown in different render on the side of the building that occupies the position of the recorded foundations. To the east of the apse of St Dominic's church, Redbarns, both the ditch and Wall were located in 1928, but neither the precise location nor the angle of the Wall were recorded (Event 50; Spain 1929, 7–8). Supplementing the rather loosely recorded observations in Gibson Street, Blagdon Street, west of Grenville Terrace and immediately east of Jubilee Road (Events 52–4, respectively; Spain 1929, 8–9), the course was finally confirmed in 2003 with the discovery of a substantial section beneath the concrete floor of a 1960s garage at the corner of Melbourne Street and Gibson Street (Figs 3.5 and 3.6). Evaluation in advance of redevelopment

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
28	3.2	Jubilee Road, 1978	Wall located in 1 trench, absent in 2 others	TWHER SR 1978/4
28	3.2	Blagdon Close, 1978	no evidence in 2 trenches	TWHER SR 1978/4
29	3.2	New Bridge Street, 1981	Wall found during evaluation in advance of housing, in Trenches 2 and 4; robbed in 1 and 3	Rankov 1982, 342 Bennett 1998, 22
49	3.2	Crawhall Road, 1928	28ft length of Ditch observed with water-logged deposit at base; no Wall foundations	NoEEC 1928
50	3.2	Red Barns, 1928	Ditch (or other feature) observed, no Wall	NoEEC 1928
51	3.2	Richmond Place, 1928	'circular stone' found	NoEEC 1928
52	3.2	Chatham Place, 1928	? Ditch found	NoEEC 1928
52	3.2	Gibson Street, 1928	Wall located: 8ft thick	NoEEC 1928
53	3.2	Grenville Terrace, 1928	Wall found: 8ft 5in thick	NoEEC 1929
54	3.2	Jubilee Road, 1928	Ditch found	NoEEC 1929
55	3.2	Tower Street, 1928	Ditch found	Spain and Simpson 1930
57	3.2	Buxton Street, 1928	no Roman remains	NoEEC 1928
219	3.2	Buxton Street, 1855	Roman Road reported to have been found	Richardson 1855, 84–5
477	3.2	Stepney Bank, 1950	samian bowl found near site of Tooney's Ice cream works by a school boy, *c* 1950.	Museum of Antiquity 1967.15
914	3.2	Garth Heads, 1994	Wall found in 1 of 4 trenches	TWHER SR 1994/7
1057	3.2	Garth Heads, 1995	watching brief; no further information gained	TWHER SR 1995/10
2270	3.2	Melbourne Street, 2003	no Roman remains	TWHER SR 2003/43
2303	3.2	Garth Heads, Melbourne Street, 2003	Roman levels not reached	TWHER SR 2003/77
2388	3.2	Melbourne Street, 2004	major excavation revealed Wall, *cippi* pits and ditch in the small valley of the Swirle.	TWHER SR 2004/58
2833	3.2	Tower Street	pipe trench monitoring – no Roman remains	TWHER SR 2007/172

Table 3.2 Archaeological events on the eastern section of the course of Hadrian's Wall from Stepney Bank to Sallyport Tower

showed that the Roman remains survived only within a slight dene cut into the clay subsoil by a small tributary of the Tyne, The Swirle. These Roman remains comprised 13.30m of curtain wall, 2.44m in width, surviving to a maximum of two courses at the deepest part of the dene. Traces of robber trench were followed for a farther 17m on the eastern side of the dene, but modern foundations had removed all archaeology on the western slope. Seventeen *cippi* pits were recorded in three lines, the middle row placed in the gap between the front and back row in the manner observed at Wallsend and Shields Road. Two sections were recorded through the defensive ditch, which survived later truncation to a width of 3.10m and a depth of 1.80m. The sides sloped at 40 degrees, and a shallow slot in the base might represent periodic cleaning of the base (TWHER SR 2004/58). The site is in the vicinity of Turret 3a, as predicted by Richmond, but there was no trace of either structural or artefactual evidence to sustain this suggestion.

Perhaps the most interesting question raised by this site is the way in which the military engineers might have treated the presence of the stream, which must have represented at the very least a seasonal threat of undermining the Wall foundations. The course of the burn was diverted westwards, along the defensive ditch farther upslope, by blocking the natural channel with dumps of clay and silt; this realignment is clearly depicted on Hutton's map of 1770 [published 1772]. It might be presumed that a culvert was constructed where the diverted watercourse crossed the curtain wall, similar to the one recorded at Denton Burn.

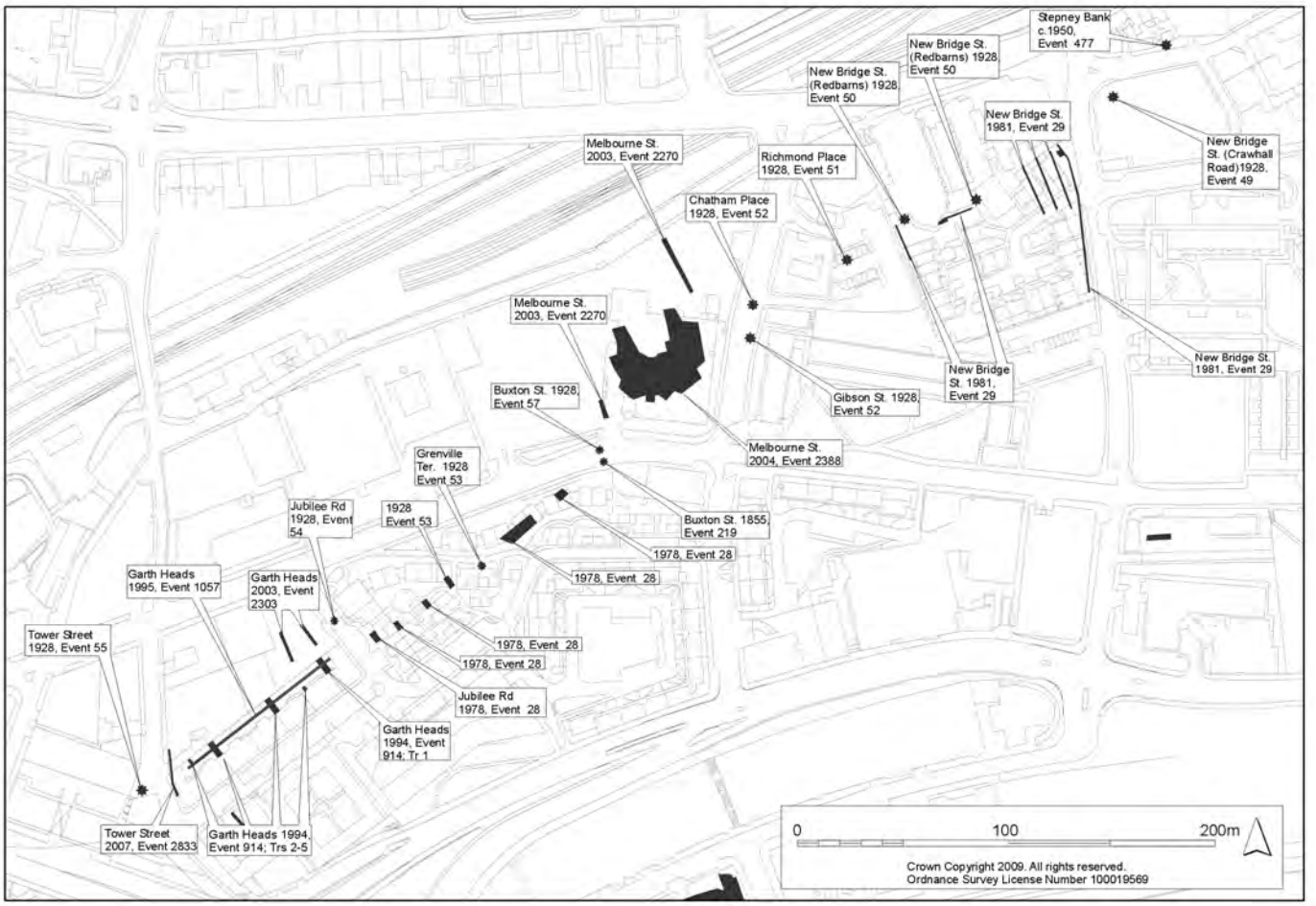


Fig 3.2 Events related to the eastern section of Hadrian's Wall.

Horsley claimed to have seen the Roman road or military way near Red Barns (1732, 137). It was reported as having been found on the south side of Buxton Street in 1855 (Richardson 1855, 84–5). This may have been close to the trench dug in 1928, as this was where the projected line crossed Buxton Street but there is no exact location given for either event. The Wall was not found in the 1928 trench (Spain and Simpson 1930, 497).

In 1928 the ditch was recorded in Jubilee Road, (Spain and Simpson 1930, 497), an observation confirmed when a piece of curtain wall was discovered in 1978 by the CEU (Events 914 and 28; Nolan 1994). Seventeen metres to the west, the Wall was positively identified in Garth Heads in 1994, in the courtyard within the building complex. By this point, the alignment has changed direction by about 5 degrees from that followed from the Stepney Bank to St Dominic's, the angle being in the vicinity of The Swirle, and explained by its presence, although the question of how the north–south stream crossed the east–west line of the Wall remains unclear. The course might have been diverted a little to the east of the section revealed in 2004, through an as yet unlocated culvert.

3.2.2 The course of the Wall: the central section – the area of uncertainty

From the positive identification of the Wall at Garth Heads in 1994, to the bottom of Westgate Road, there have been no confirmed sightings of any of the Wall components, and the course here is the subject of conjecture (Table 3.3, Fig 3.7).

Despite Brand's second-hand report that the Wall had been found on the top of Wall Knoll (modern Tower Street/Causey Bank) while building a coach house (1789 **1**, 138–9), no evidence was found for the Wall crossing over the line of the Town Wall between Pandon Gate and Wall Knoll when the City Road was constructed in the late 1890s (Holmes 1896, 24). Harbottle and Clack's (1976, 111–17)

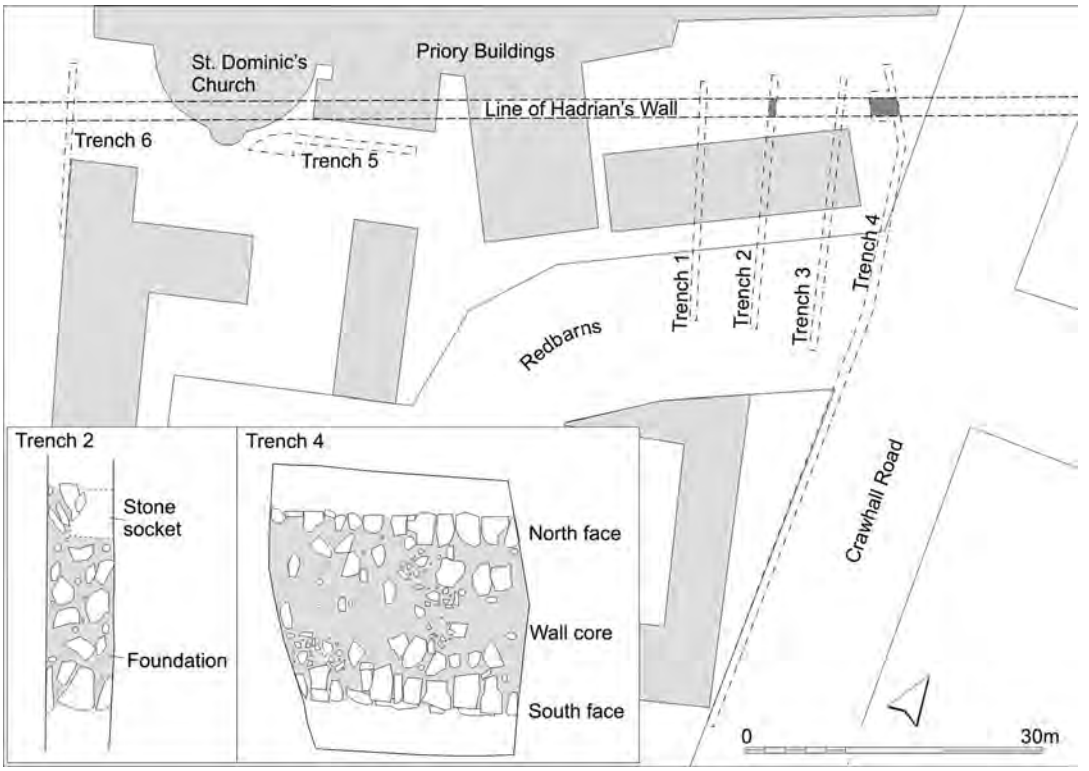


Fig 3.3 Excavations at Redbarns 1981 (after Bennett 1998).

Fig 3.4 Photograph of Redbarns excavations (courtesy of English Heritage).

summary of the unreliable evidence for the ditch remains valid today with regard to the stretches supposedly located in Tower Street and in Silver Street in 1928 (Spain and Simpson 1930, 498; *J Roman Studies* **43** 1953, 110). Clack (1974) found no evidence for the Wall or ditch in Silver Street. Instead, he found a mass of intercutting service trenches; a trench that proved to be the north end of a medieval building; and the trench for a 17th-century ditch to the east. In the light of these discoveries, the Roman identity of the 1928 'ditch' may be thrown into question, although it has been accepted by later authorities, most recently in the 14th Edition of the *Handbook to the Roman Wall* (Breeze 2006, 143). Clack suggested that, instead, its course might lie between Silver Street and the south edge of the Pilgrim Street roundabout, roughly following the 100 foot (30.48m) contour that marks the top of the north bank of the Tyne (1974, 2–3).

Interestingly, the next westward observation, a ditch located in 1929 that crosses the eastern end of Painterheugh, could lie on both the Spain and Simpson alignment down Silver Street, and the more northerly course proposed by Clack. This small trench produced a quantity of Roman pottery, taken as evidence for a postulated Milecastle 4 (Spain and Simpson 1930, 498; Spain 1931, 3). The ditch was supposedly traced north-westwards, towards the east side of Dean Street, continuing in the direction of Low Bridge steps, where the bottom of the ditch rose to the then surface and disappeared (Spain 1931, 3). We do not know exactly where these archaeological trenches were dug, or what was observed. In 1973 trenches were cut immediately north of

Fig 3.5 The foundations of Hadrian's Wall at Melbourne Street.

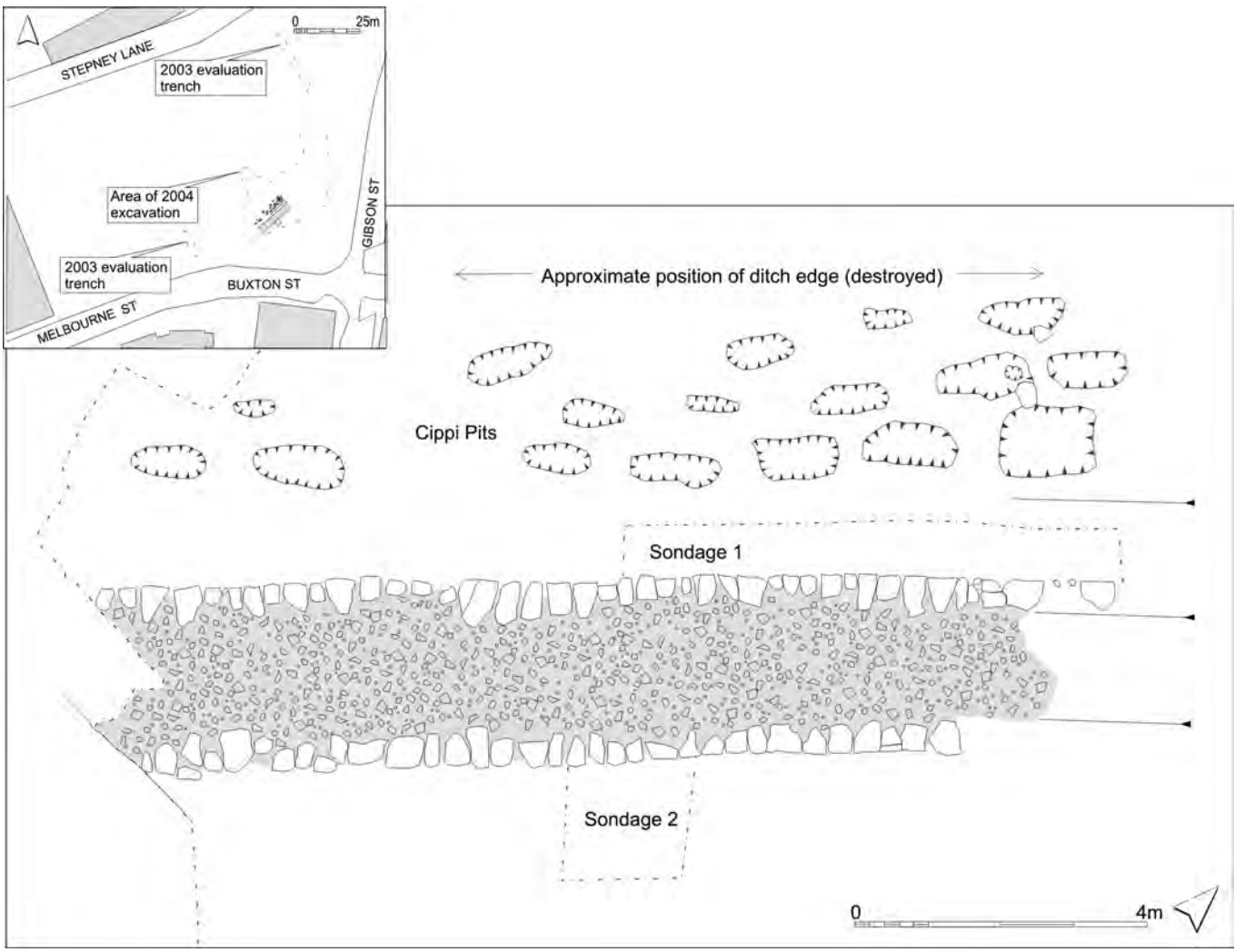


Fig 3.6 Plan of the Wall uncovered at Melbourne Street (after ASUD TWHER SR 2004/58).

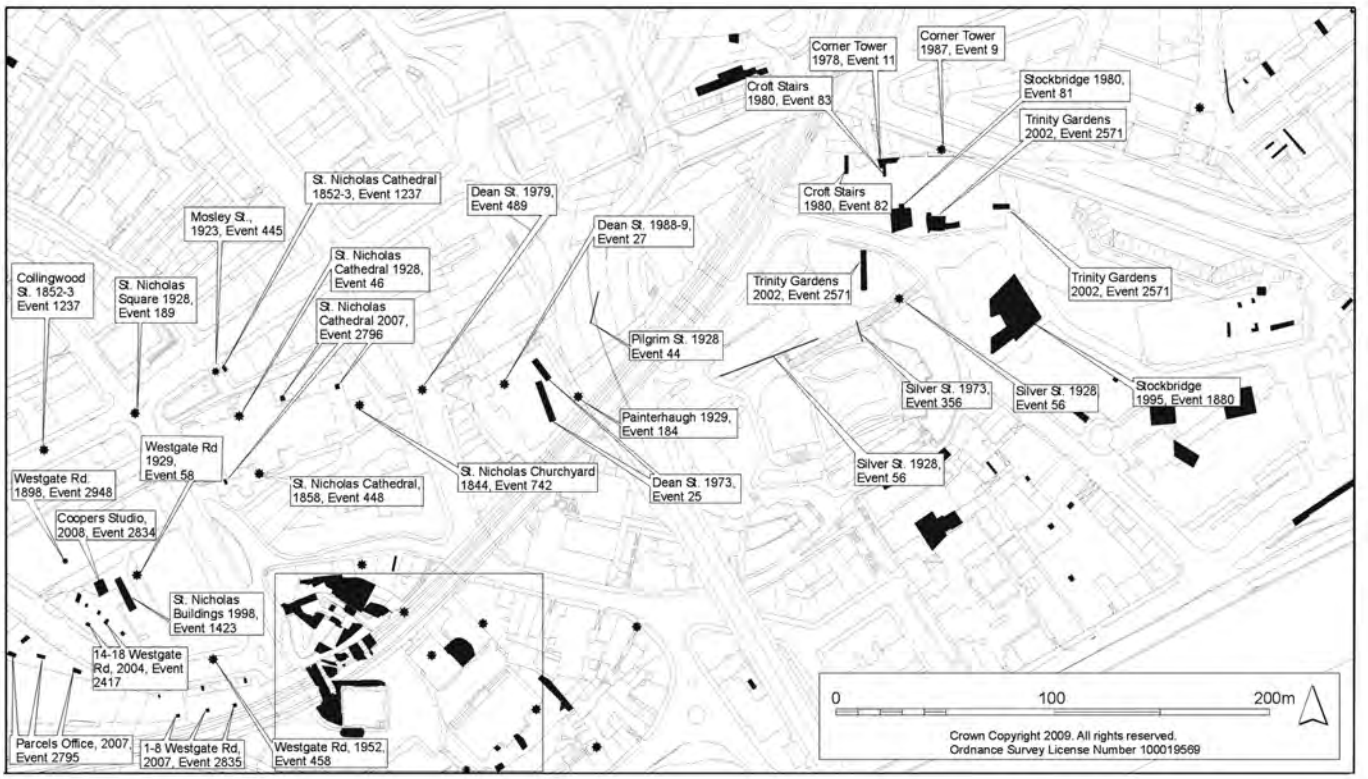


Fig 3.7 Events related to the central section of Hadrian's Wall.

the Dean Street/Pilgrim Street/Painterheugh junction (Miket unpub TWHER 202) and in 1988–9 three long trenches were dug north–south over this area. On neither occasion were any traces of the ditch or the Wall found. The suggestion that the ditch ran to the north of the viaduct on a more easterly line than that taken by Silver Street would put the Wall itself where the brick arches of the railway line must have completely removed all trace. This could explain why there has been no verifiable record of discovery by later interventions in this general area; the railway builders themselves made no record of antiquities destroyed when driving the track through the historic centre of the town, and only occasional and fragmentary observations by contemporary antiquarians have come down to us (*see* chapter 1, sections1.2.1–1.2.2).

Following the older antiquarian tradition of the 'northern' line, the Wall was reported to have been found on a number of occasions in Collingwood Street (eg *Newcastle Chronicle,* 3 October 1807; Hodgson 1840, 280; Bruce 1853, 98; Ventress 1852 observation reported in Hodgson Hinde 1859, 59 n. 1; *Newcastle Journal*, 13 June 1900), but the angle of the walls noted by Ventress (Hodgson Hinde 1859, 59 n. 1) might just as readily be seen to reflect the property boundaries of tenements that fronted on the Groat Market before Collingwood Street was constructed in 1809–10 (cf Hutton 1772). The walls described by Bruce were at right angles to Collingwood Street. Although Bruce did not think they were part of Hadrian's Wall, he thought they might be buildings connected with the fort. The profile of a piece of wall found while creating a cellar on Collingwood Street in 1891 clearly shows a chamfer course that is likely to have been medieval rather than Roman (sketch by S. Holmes 1891, Black Gate). Nothing has come to light in modern times to suggest that the piece of wall Horsley (1732, 132) reported as having been discovered in the Groat Market *c* 1716 was Roman. Spain observed no trace of the monument during the excavation of a deep cable trench from High Bridge to the then Main Post Office (south of St Nicholas's church) which would have encountered at least the Wall ditch if this northern route had been taken.

At some point the line crosses Dean Street, but the topography here has been so comprehensively altered that there is a high probability that the structural elements will have been destroyed. In the 19th century, it

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
11	3.7	Corner Tower, 1978	no Roman remains	Tullett 1979, 179–90
25	3.7	Dean Street Car Park, 1973	no evidence	TWHER 202
27	3.7	Dean Street, 1988–9	no evidence	Frere, S S 1990
44	3.7	Pilgrim Street, 1928	no trace of Wall or Ditch	Spain 1929
46	3.7	St Nicholas, 1928	no trace of Wall or Ditch	Spain 1929
56	3.7	Silver Street, 1928	Ditch and berm claimed in six trenches, but disputed	Spain and Simpson 1930, 489
58	3.7	Westgate Road, 1929	Ditch located, 12ft deep	Spain 1934
81	3.7	Stockbridge, 1980	no Roman remains	O'Brien, C unpub
82	3.7	Croft Stairs, 1980	no Roman remains	O'Brien, C unpub
83	3.7	Croft Stairs, 1980	no Roman remains	O'Brien, C unpub
184	3.7	Painterhaugh, 1929	Ditch and pottery thought to indicate milecastle	Spain and Simpson 1930, 498
189	3.7	St Nicholas Square, 1928	WB on pipe trench – no trace of Wall or Ditch	Spain 1929
356	3.7	Silver Street, 1973	modern services had removed all evidence	Clack 1974
445	3.7	Mosley Street, 1923	coins of *Antoninus Pius* found in this vicinity	*PSAN* ser 3, **10**, 343
448	3.7	St Nicholas, 1858	relief of *Matres*, built into adjoining wall	*NCH* XIII (1930), 546–7
458	3.7	Westgate Road, 1952	metalled surface with Roman pottery and roof tile	'Roman Britain in 1952', *J Roman Stud* (1952) **23**, 110
742	3.7	Cathedral churchyard, 1844	coin hoard found in vicinity	*AA* ser 1, **3**, Appendix 11
1237	3.7	Collingwood Street, 1853	?sighting of Roman wall	Ventress, *AA* (3), 59
1423	3.7	St Nicholas's Buildings, 1998	no Roman remains	TWHER SR 1998/4
1880	3.7	Stockbridge, 1995	no Roman remains	Truman 2001, 17
2417	3.7	14–18 Westgate Rd, 2004	northern half of Wall	TWHER SR 2004/112
2571	3.7	Trinity Gardens, 2002	no Roman remains	TWHER SR 2002/44
2795	3.7	Parcel Offices, 2007	Roman pit; 2nd–3rd-century pottery	TWHER SR 2007/33
2796	3.7	St Nicholas, 2007	no trace of Wall or Ditch; Roman features	TWHER SR 2007/94
2834	3.7	Cooper's AH, 2008	upper fill of Ditch thought to have been found	TWHER SR 2008/88
2835	3.7	1–8 Westgate Road, 2007	metalled surface and stone buildings with Roman pottery and roof tile	TWHER SR 2007/80
2948	3.7	Westgate Road, 1898	amphora found	TWHER 1458

Table 3.3 Archaeological event on the central section of the course of Hadrian's Wall from Sallyport Tower to St Nicholas Place

was thought that the line of the Wall passed either through or north of St Nicholas's graveyard (cf OS First Edition 25 Inch Map, 1879). There are several records of Roman finds, including the well-known altar to the *Matres* (TWHER 1461) from this vicinity, but no authenticated structural remains have been noted. Consequently, this interpretation of the line of the Wall is now discounted.

The possibility that the Wall traversed the steeper slopes at the bottom of Dean Street to cross the Castle Garth promontory was first put forward by Stukely and has been repeated since then (eg Breeze 2006, 143). The 'stairs' alluded to by Stukely are taken to be the Dog Leap Stairs, which could have originated as wall rubble, in the same way as the medieval Town Wall became the Breakneck stairs between White Friar Tower and the Closegate (Nolan 1989, 33). This alignment would have allowed the fort to be laid off the Wall, as is the case at Housesteads and Birdoswald (Johnson 1989, 56), but without the necessary level ground for the northern third of the plan to project beyond the Wall, as was usually the case (Breeze 2006, 74). Against this theory, no sign of a Broad Wall foundation was found during excavations in 1986 and 1992 across what is

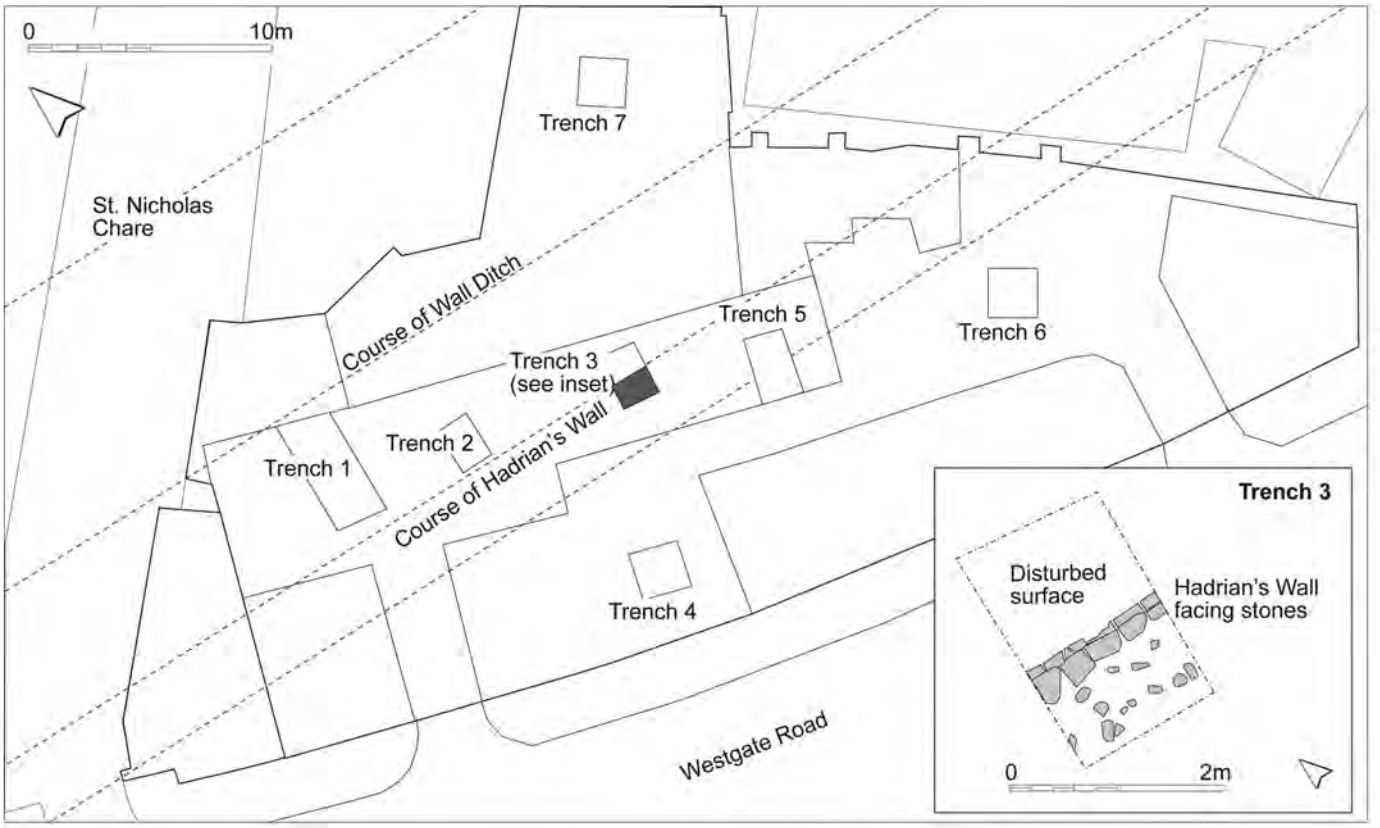


Fig 3.8 Excavations in Cooper's Auction House, 2008 (after TWM TWHER SR 2008/88).

interpreted as the north wall of the fort. The fragmentary stretches of masonry surviving as islands surrounded by disturbance during the construction of the medieval Castle, related to a wall 1.70m wide (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 99), typical for a fort wall of the 2nd century (cf *Segedunum* fort walls, 1.80m wide; Hodgson 2003, 153), but significantly less than Hadrian's Wall.

The alternative, and currently the most likely hypothesis, would have the Wall take the easiest route across the line of the Lort Burn/present Dean Street. An observation of the Wall in or around 1788 'below' Ralph Beilby's workshop on Amen Corner (Spain and Simpson 1930, 500), if credible, indicates that the Wall avoided the steep slope up to the Castle Garth, instead traversing the gentler ascent up The Side. In speculating on the course of the Wall from east to west across the study area, it must not be forgotten that many believe that in the original design, the frontier works started at Newcastle, presumably at the bridging point, before being extended eastwards to *Segedunum*. The Wall must therefore have made its way down to the riverside in the vicinity of Sandhill, being demolished only a few years later, when the extension made it redundant (for full discussion of this point, see Bidwell and Snape 2002, 261–2).

Assuming for the moment that the Wall did not physically connect to the north wall of the fort, the point at which it turns north from The Side to run along Westgate Road, where it has been recorded by the earliest observations, is the next point of debate. That this happens quite close to the fort was proved in 2004, when the curtain wall was located beneath the floor of the former Cooper's Auction House, 14–18 Westgate Road, known in recent years as the Hertz office (Fig 3.8) (TWHER SR 2004/112). Structural remains of Roman date were found in only one of the seven evaluation trenches spread across the site, showing what a hit-and-miss affair trail trenching is in such intensively occupied locations (Fig 3.9). Trench 3, positioned 10m north of the Westgate Road frontage, revealed the north face of the wall at a depth of 1.70m beneath the concrete floor of the building. The foundation level was of sandstone flags, above which was found one course of the Wall proper, made of roughly

Fig 3.9 Hertz Trench 3 (courtesy of TWM).

dressed rectangular blocks bonded with clay and set-back from the edge of the foundation slabs by 0.12m. The trench was too small to expose the south face, but the general form is of Broad Wall type. The Roman masonry was covered in dark grey silty clay, 0.40m thick and overlain by a further 0.50m of black loam – clearly an agricultural or horticultural horizon. Medieval and then post-medieval features cut into the dark earth. The discovery of the Roman Wall helped preserve the early 20th-century building, and no further excavation on the line of the Wall in this plot will be possible. To the north, the upper levels of the Wall ditch were found when a new lift pit was excavated in 2008 to the west of St Nicholas's Buildings in close proximity to the location in which a short length of purported ditch was found in 1929 (Spain 1934, 227–33). The bottom of the ditch (some 3.65m deep) was filled with vegetable matter, mixed with soil, cinders and medieval pottery, the latter accruing when the Roman defensive feature became used as a track or hollow way in the medieval period, which, documentation suggests, must have run close to this area (eg Hodgson 1917, 211; Welford 1904, 192).

3.2.3 The course of the Wall: the western section – Westgate Road to Blandford Square

We now have an anchor-point for the line of the Wall running west from Cooper's Auction House across Westgate Road. Continuing west, one of the very few archaeological interventions in the city from the 1950s records a sighting in the forecourt of the Mining Institute, where Simpson found the foundation levels of Broad Wall in 1952 (Bidwell and Snape 2002, 261; Table 3.4, Fig 3.10). This gives a clear alignment along the south frontage/pavement of Westgate Road.

In 1934, it was claimed that the southern lip of the ditch had been found north of Stephenson's Monument. The lip was described at an angle of 35 degrees, although the accompanying illustration showed the profile to have been less precise than this and to have incorporated at least two angles (Spain 1934, 227–33). In order to reconstruct the ditch from measurements known from surviving sections beyond the city, the excavators postulated that the ditch had been cut through a Roman ground surface that had been 1.53m higher than the 1934 surface. They assumed an average depth

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
2	3.10	Westgate Road Arts Centre, 1985	south and west walls of milecastle found	Harbottle *et al* 1988, 160–2
24	3.10	Cross Villa Place, 1989	no Roman remains; natural cut by modern cellars	TWHER 203
25	3.10	177 Westgate Road, 1991	no Roman remains	TWHER 203
40	3.10	Pavilion Cinema, 1992	no Roman remains	TWHER SR 1992/8
42	3.10	Cannon Cinema, 1991	no Roman remains	Heslop, Truman and Vaughan, 2008
59	3.10	Westgate Road, 1929	WB of service trench located Wall and Ditch.	Spain 1934, 227–33
110	3.10	Gunner Tower, 1964	two Roman cremations in urns	Harbottle 1967, 123
203	3.10	Rutherford Street, 1929	no Roman remains	Spain and Simpson 1930, 515
204	3.10	Westgate Road, 1929	south edge of Ditch located	Spain and Simpson 1930, 515
215	3.10	Westgate Road, 1951	north lip of Ditch believed to have been found	1952, 'Roman Britain in 1952', *J Roman Stud* **23**, 110.
216	3.10	Mining Institute, 1952	south face of Wall and Broad Wall foundation found	1952, 'Roman Britain in 1952', *J Roman Stud* **23**, 110.
652	3.10	Douglas House, 1933	Roman inscription found	PSAN 4, **5**, 262
1343	3.10	163–171 Westgate Road, 1997	no Roman remains	TWHER SR 1997/24
1388	3.10	65 Westgate Road, 1995	no Roman remains	TWHER SR 1995/9
1392	3.10	Bath Lane, 1995	north edge of Ditch in 3 trenches	TWHER SR 1995/38
1414	3.10	Angus House, 1999	position of Ditch confirmed	Macpherson and Bidwell 2001, 49–54
1435	3.10	West Central Route, 1998	possible evidence of Wall ditch, another Roman ditch and metalled surface	TWHER SR 1998/42
1948	3.10	Westgate House, 2002	no Roman remains	TWHER SR 2002/53
2395	3.10	Carlisle Public House, 2004	no Roman remains	TWHER SR 2004/96
2592	3.10	Westgate Road, 2005	no evidence	TWHER SR 2005/122
2836	3.10	55–57 Westgate Road, 2008	no Roman remains	TWHER SR 2008/57

Table 3.4 Archaeological events on the western section of the course of Hadrian's Wall from St Nicholas Place to Blandford Square

and width, steepened the slope, and inserted a north slope to complete the profile. The bulk of the ditch fill appeared to be organic refuse, including late-medieval and 12th-/early 13th-century pottery, and only one possible sherd of Roman pottery. Before the observations at Cooper's Auction House, Harbottle questioned the Roman date of this ditch, suggesting that the observed feature formed part of a hollow way or old stream course (unpub 1974). It can now be confirmed that this feature of the medieval topography did indeed originate as the defensive ditch of the Wall.

An inscribed building stone was found in the north wall of an outhouse of the Express Hotel, Westgate Road, opposite St John's church (Spain 1933, 282). This was found west of the putative Wall ditch at Stephenson's Monument, and east of the milecastle. It has been interpreted as a Roman centurial slab, but given that it was reused as a building stone, it could have originated anywhere in the town.

No accurate drawn plan or location survives for the north lip of the ditch observed by Simpson in 1951 at the junction of Collingwood Street and Westgate Road. The south side of the ditch was found in 1929 on Westgate Road, opposite Blandford Street, but all that was observed was that the clay dipped away 'sharply', with no sign of the Wall (Spain and Simpson 1930, 515).

The remains of the Westgate Road milecastle give the next fixed point for the Wall in the western sector of the study area.

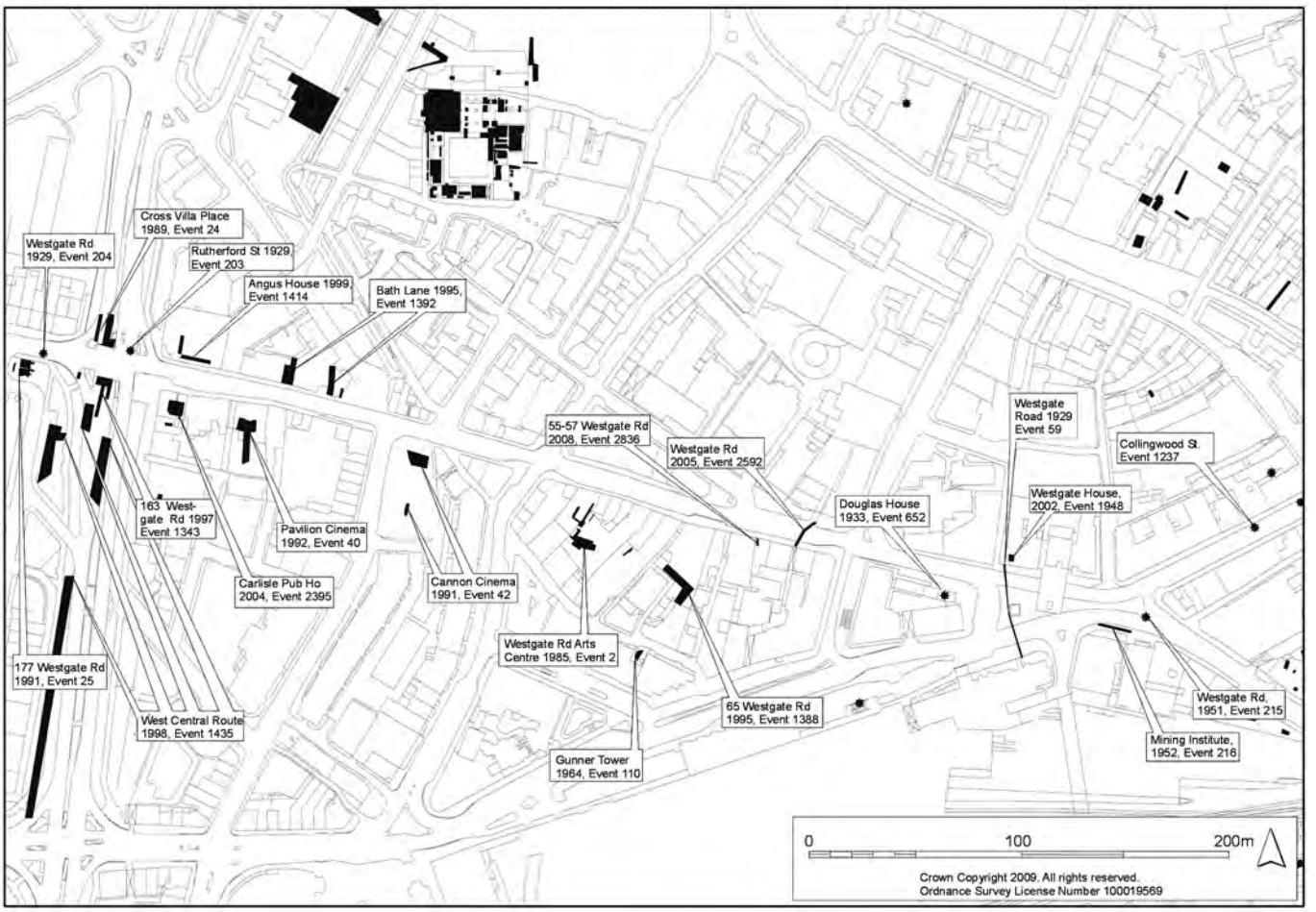


Fig 3.10 Events related to the western section of Hadrian's Wall.

The Westgate milecastle sealed a ground surface cleared by ard marks. Pollen evidence suggested that the ground had not been used for cultivation, and that the clearance, therefore, was in preparation for the building of the milecastle (Huntley 1988, 160). It is possible that the building was dismantled in the late 2nd century. Before it was abandoned, a gateway had already been reduced in breadth. Such reductions are normally associated with the period after AD 180; at Walbottle Dene, Milecastle 10, four miles from the Westgate Road milecastle, lack of wear on the north gate suggests that only one leaf of the gate was usually used (Breeze 2006, 68). If the remains are interpreted as representing a long-axis building, then the Wall itself may lie under the pavement on the south side of Westgate Road. If, on the other hand, the building had a short axis, then it can be supposed that the Wall was destroyed in the construction of the street-frontage cellars (Harbottle, Fraser and Burton 1988, 154, fig 1), but the projection of the alignment from farther east along the street is not precise enough to resolve this issue.

The course of the Wall at the western edge of the study area has been extensively evaluated following major infrastructure works to create the St James Boulevard, and in response to redevelopment of frontage sites on Westgate Road. The results of the 20 or so evaluation trenches between 1985 and 1999 were usefully summarised by Macpherson and Bidwell (49–54) and the excavation in 2004 at the Carlisle Public House (TWHER SR 2004/96) has not altered their conclusions. To summarise, the curtain wall runs just to the south of the pavement on the south side of Westgate Road, having changed alignment by a couple of degrees to the south at the Westgate Road milecastle (Macpherson and Bidwell 2001, 54). Civil War fortifications had removed all trace at the Cannon Cinema site (Heslop *et al* 1994) and medieval pits belonging to properties fronting onto the former street line had destroyed the

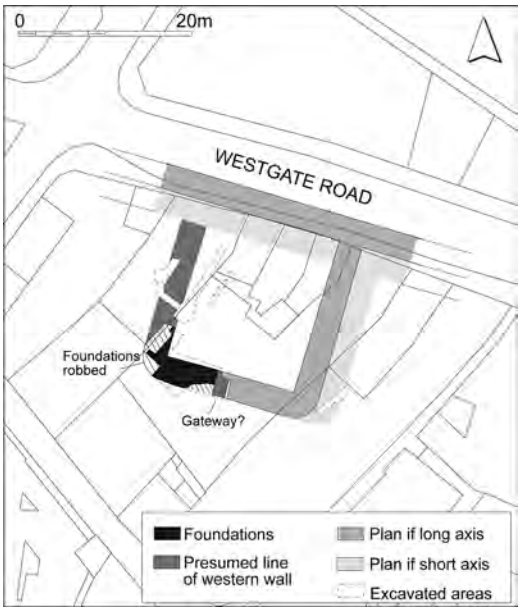


Fig 3.11 Plan of the Westgate Road milecastle (after Harbottle, Fraser and Burton 1988).

foundations on the site of the Pavilion Cinema (TWHER SR 1992/8).

At the Blandford Square junction, where the boulevard now crosses Westgate Road, no wall masonry was found in trenches dug in 1929 by Simpson, although he located the south side of the ditch (Spain and Simpson 1930, 515) in 1991 (Event 25), 1997 (Event 1343) and 2004 (Event 2395). The defensive ditch was located in 1929 (Event 204) but, running under the carriageway of Westgate Road, its presence has not been observed since. Excavations on the northern side of the road at Bath Lane (Event 1392, 1995), Angus House (Event 1414, 1999) and on the carriageway of the Boulevard (Event 203, 1929; Event 24, 1989 and Event 1435, 1998) uncovered an east–west feature thought to be a hollow-way to the north of, and converging with, the defensive ditch (Macpherson and Bidwell 2001, 49–54). Evidence for *cippi* pits or the military road could not be expected to survive along this section of the Wall.

3.2.4 The question of the Vallum

No evidence exists for the *Vallum* in any part of the study area. Horsley saw what he interpreted as the *Vallum* outside the West Gate (1732, 132) but this has been questioned (Macpherson and Bidwell (2001, 51–2). This observation must relate to the defensive ditch revealed in 1929 by Simpson (*see above*). MacLauchlan claimed to see the remains of the *Vallum* at the west end of Westgate Road (outside the study area; 1858, 12). There is no account of it ever having been seen east of West Gate, although its existence was presumed in conjectural reconstructions of the fort. Birley believed that the inscribed slab recording the First Cohort of the Thracians found in Clavering Place in 1865, may have come from the *Vallum* (1950, 176). On balance, there is no evidence that the *Vallum* existed east of the top of Westgate Hill, and the suggestion that it swung south to run to the Tyne (Macpherson and Bidwell 2001, 53; Breeze 2006, 150) remains a hypothesis requiring evaluation. It is perhaps possible that the Tyne bank and its steep slope created a topography in which, for instance, the *Vallum* was deemed unnecessary.

3.2.5 Milecastle and turrets

If it is accepted that the Wall started at either Dere Street or the Newcastle/Gateshead bridgehead, there can be no possibility that the Wall Mile numbering and spacing system devised by Ian Richmond, who began measuring from Wallsend, can be used to predict the actual positions of milecastles and turrets. As the exact location of the bridgehead is unknown, and there is the additional complication that the course of the Wall both east and west from this would have had to traverse steep stream valleys, which elsewhere along the Wall are known to perturb the regular spacing of the minor fortifications, the difficulties in this exercise become apparent (Breeze and Dobson 1991, 29; Jones and Woolliscroft 2001, 101–4).

This problem surfaced immediately upon recognition of the milecastle found in Westgate Road in 1985 (Fig 3.11); Harbottle, Fraser and Burton 1988, 157 *contra* Spain and Simpson 1930, 500; 502), which is 200m away from its supposed location. The existence of Milecastle 4, at Painterheugh, cannot be supported on the evidence of pottery alone (*contra* Spain and Simpson 1930, 498), and there remains no structural evidence for milecastles along the eastern extension between Westgate Road and the fort at Wallsend; or on the west between Westgate Road and Milecastle 9, west of Chapel House (Harbottle, Fraser and Burton 1988, 157).

No turrets have been found on any stretch of the Wall in the study area. The site of Turret 3a has been deduced between Stepney Bank and Crawhall Road, but there is no archaeological evidence for it. Although the

site of a Turret 3b has been deduced on Jubilee Road, where the line of the Wall crosses from the Grenville Terrace flats to Garth Heads, neither the CEU discoveries of 1978 nor the 1994 evaluations in Garth Heads (Nolan 1994) indicate the existence of such a turret. There is no reliable evidence for any turrets on the whole eastern stretch of the Wall east of Turret 7b on West Road, East Denton, but given the variable quality of the archaeological record, an argument that turrets were not added to the eastern extension cannot be supported from present evidence. In summary, there seems no possibility, in the present state of knowledge, of using the expected spacings to predict the location of any of the missing milecastles and turrets.

3.3 The extent and composition of the Roman fort

The *Notitia Dignitatum* records *Pons Aelius* as a fort *per lineam valli*, listed between *Segedunum* (Wallsend) and *Condercum* (Benwell). The evidence for Hadrian's Wall in the city has been shown above; both antiquarian tradition and more recent scholarship are agreed that *Pons Aelius* lay within the town.

The most reliable evidence for the fort located beneath the medieval Castle comes from excavations carried out in the 1970s and 1980s (summarised by Harbottle 1989, 75), which helps to place in context the more fragmentary structural information from the campaigns of 1928–33 (Spain and Simpson 1930, 503–5; Charlton 1932, 228–33; Spain 1933), and from 19th-century building operations (Hodgson 1840, 173–74). The finds from these early explorations, however, are significant. The discoveries of 1929 gave the first real indication that the fort lay on this spur. Due to the restricted areas that were available for modern investigation, the plan remains partial and it has not been possible to establish a relationship between the fort and Hadrian's Wall. The following account is based on the excavation report (Snape and Bidwell, 2002), which is summarised in Table 3.5 and Table 3.6.

The single most important piece of dating evidence is an inscription expressing loyalty to the Dowager Empress *Julia Domna*, set up by Governor *Julius Marcus* in AD 213. This was found lying parallel with the north wall of the headquarters building, on the road surface (Frere 1984, 278; Daniels and Harbottle 1980). It has been suggested that the fort was built for the *quingenary peditate* [five-hundred strong infantry] cohort of *Cugerni* who erected the stone in AD 213, (Daniels in Daniels and Harbottle 1980, 72). The *Cugerni* are recorded near Ingliston *c* AD 139–44, and were possibly at Carrawburgh *c* AD 163–80 (see Daniels in Daniels and Harbottle 1980, 72 [for explanation of units]). Therefore, the implication is that, if the fort was built for this unit, it would have been in the last couple of decades of the 2nd century, when the Wall was re-fortified after the Antonone interlude. Evidence against a late 2nd-century foundation can be found in the coin assemblage, which points to a date more consistent with the *Julia Domna* inscription (Brickstock, 2002, 181), but the pottery evidence is more equivocal. Residual material from the pre-fort activity evidenced by the furrows and ditches has to be considered, and there is considerable debate on the chronological implications of the main ceramic types used by the military. Black Burnished Ware II dominates the pre-fort and construction horizons (Snape and Bidwell, 2002, table 15.10), and might suggest a construction date later than AD 160, but the character of the Samian, which has a high-proportion of Central and East Gaulish wares, is thought to argue for a very late 2nd- or early 3rd-century date (Dickinson, 2002, 148). The fort could represent a thickening of the Wall garrison, following the retreat from Scotland in the AD 160s, or it could belong to the Severan reorganisation of the early third century. A number of 'line of communication' forts, such as those at Chester-le-Street, Piercebridge and Binchester, show substantial rebuilding at this time (Bidwell 2007, 125), and some have dedications to *Julia Domna* or her son, the Emperor Caracalla, which also date to around AD 213, such as the inscription at Newcastle (Breeze 2006, 144). The Severan forts adopted a cruciform internal street plan, which has been found at Catterick, South Shields and Newcastle, but was not implemented on the existing Wall forts (Bidwell and Hodgson 2009, 143; Hodgson 2009, 84). Perhaps the fort at Newcastle should be considered part of the Severan 'line of communication' series of forts and fort rebuilding, rather than strictly as a Wall fort.

About 10 per cent of the interior was

	construction	*dating evidence*	*modification*	*dating evidence*	*abandonment*	*dating evidence*
pre-fort	ard marks; narrow rigg and furrow	local grey ware sherds	construction debris; infilling of ditches.	BB2, pot 120–140, Antonine samian,	site leveled for fort construction	BB2, C2 mortarium, local greyware
northern defences	wall foundations, layer of construction debris; gravel surface of Street 1	local grey wares, mortarium 120–60, BB2	drain inserted in to Street 1	C2 pottery from fill	fort wall demolished, two layers of paving	Cantley mortarium dated 240–400
			street re-metalled and drain heightened	early C4 coins		
principia	levelling, clay and cobble-filled foundation	Grey Ware, BB2. SENK sherd	north–south walls partially demolished, replaced by schola	C3, based on comparison with other forts	loam layer	C4 Nene Valley ware, late C4 Huntcliff rim
	strong room construction trench	BB2, Hadrianic samian	rear range office hypocaust filled in; flagged floor laid	calcite grit ware; Central Gaulish ware	late Roman reoccupation	four coins; TPQ of 388–395 from coin
			rebuild of north wall after subsidence	coin of 330s	layers of soil, stone and mortar	overlaid by Anglo-Saxon cemetery soil
praetorium	east–west wall foundations; hypocaust channel of the first phase	mid-to-late Antonine sherd	first demolition: hypocaust channel filled, east/west wall demolished	coin of Constantine I, 330s; Nene Valley and SENK sherds in demolition material	building demolished and area cleared	early Anglo-Saxon drain/aqueduct
			first rebuilding: new wall and hypocaust built			
			second demolition: wall demolished, hypocaust channel filled	Nene Valley, BB2 and Horningsea ware from channel fill		
			second rebuilding: new wall, opus signinum spreads, raised floor			
granaries	west granary foundations and construction trench	sherd of BB2	sleeper walls reduced and spaces filled	Crambeck ware, *c* 370 Antonine samian, BB1, SENK	east granary walls robbed down to a single course; layers of mixed clay, rubble, mortar and ash	overlaid by Anglo-Saxon cemetery soil
	east granary foundation trench	TPQ east granary, AD 210 from coin hoard	timber loading bay of east Granary removed and post holes filled. Bay replaced by stone features	Nene Valley ware, late C3/C4		
buildings I–IV	Building I construction cut, stakeholes and post holes	Central Gaulish samian, Antonine date	post holes, stake holes and pits filled; clay make-up layer and stone slabs	pottery from of Building I, C3. Coins 270s and 340s	collapse/demolition layers of stone and clay; ashy layers	overlaid by Anglo-Saxon cemetery soil; coin dated to 348–50 in Building III/IV
	Building II foundations and construction trench	BB2 Ware; Central Gaulish samian	Building II demolished; Buildings III and IV built on demolition	BB2, SENK, C3 amphora sherd. C4 Crambeck		
via principalis	cobbles with some flagstones, wheel ruts	SENK pottery	re-levelling, new cobble surface	Local Trad ware	soil and rubble overlaying road surface,	directly overlaid by Anglo-Saxon cemetery soil
			new stone drain, later robbed	pottery no later than C3		
			second re-metalling	late C3/C4 pottery, coins c.319–360		
via praetoria	Compacted grey soil, some rubble	BB2 and local grey wares	via re-metalled at least twice, possibly three or four times	coin, mid to late C3	drains were filled	TPQ of 364–375 by two coins
	Drain to western side of Via	BB2, Hadrianic or Antonine samian	earlier drain filled. New drains built with sandstone blocks	late C2, first half C3,E Gaulish Samian		

Table 3.5 Phases of construction, modification and abandonment of the buildings within the fort

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
1	3.1	Castle Garth, 1973	Roman road surface and features	Snape and Bidwell 2002, fig 1.2
62	3.1	Moot Hall, 1931	Roman rubbish with 3rd- to early 4th-century pottery	Charlton 1932, 228–33
66	3.1	Castle Garth, 1980–2	Building I wall and stratigraphy with 4th-century pottery above subsoil	Ellison and Harbottle 1983, 135–263; Snape and Bidwell 2002, 81
72	3.1	South Curtain Wall, 1961	flagstone floor surface with 2nd-century pottery	Harbottle 1966, 79–145
102	3.1	Castle Garth, 1929	'several shafts' excavated to find fort; building walls, a hypocaust, and altar recovered	Spain 1931; 3rd Report of NEEC
104	Unprov.	Castle Garth, 1932	altar to Jupiter and Roman pottery found near north-east corner of council Offices (now Vermont Hotel)	Spain 1932
447	3.1	High Level Bridge foundations, 1847	sandstone relief of Mercury	Spain and Simpson 1930, 548, No.15, 546 illus
449	3.19	Back Row, 1890	two Roman coins found	*PSAN* ser 2, **4**, 260
485	3.1	Castle Garth, 1982–7	Area E, north of Black Gate – southern face of fort wall	Snape and Bidwell 2002
764	3.1	County Court, 1810	Broad Wall foundations, two altars, shaft of corinthian pillar and Roman pottery	Hodgson 1840, 173
803/2941	3.1	Moot Hall, 1986 Moot Hall, 2008	feature, thought to be the well recorded in Event 764, was exposed below floor of women's cell in Moot Hall; three sherds of 2nd-/3rd-century pottery	TWHER 1479 TWHER SR 2008/131
812	3.1	Castle Garth, 1977–9	Major excavation in Railway Arch (RA)1; cultivation evidence, construction of Western Granary and v*ia principalis* – followed by modifications, decay and collapse	Snape and Bidwell 2002
829	3.1	Castle Garth, 1979–81	major excavation to west and north-west of keep revealed *principia*, *praetoria* and junction of v*ia praetoria* and v*ia principalis*; inscribed stone dedicated to *Julia Domna*	Snape and Bidwell 2002
830	3.1	Castle Garth, 1976–8	approx 2/3 of RA2; east wall of Western Granary and v*ia principalis*; 2 frags of altar to the *Matres*, possible altar to *Saturninus*	*Britannia* **9** (1978) 419, 475, no. 13; Snape and Bidwell 2002, 134
831	3.1	Castle Garth, 1977–9	part of RA3; via praetorian and south-west corner of east granary	Snape and Bidwell 2002
832	3.1	Castle Garth, 1992	north half of RA26; pre-stone fort gully overlain by Buildings 3 and 4	Snape and Bidwell 2002
833	3.1	Castle Garth, 1990	north half of RA 29; pre-stone fort postholes overlain by Buildings 3 and 4	Snape and Bidwell 2002
834	3.1	Castle Garth, 1980–1	Compound 3; western part of eastern granary	Snape and Bidwell 2002
835	3.1	Castle Garth**,** 1990	Compound 29; eastern part and east wall of eastern granary	Snape and Bidwell 2002
837/435	3.1	Castle Garth, 1987	north Curtain Wall, extra mural area, badly disturbed	Snape and Bidwell 2002
1547	3.1	Bridge Hotel, 1995–6	inter-vallum street with building foundations	Snape and Bidwell 2002, 107

Table 3.6 Archaeological events with Roman material from the Castle Garth

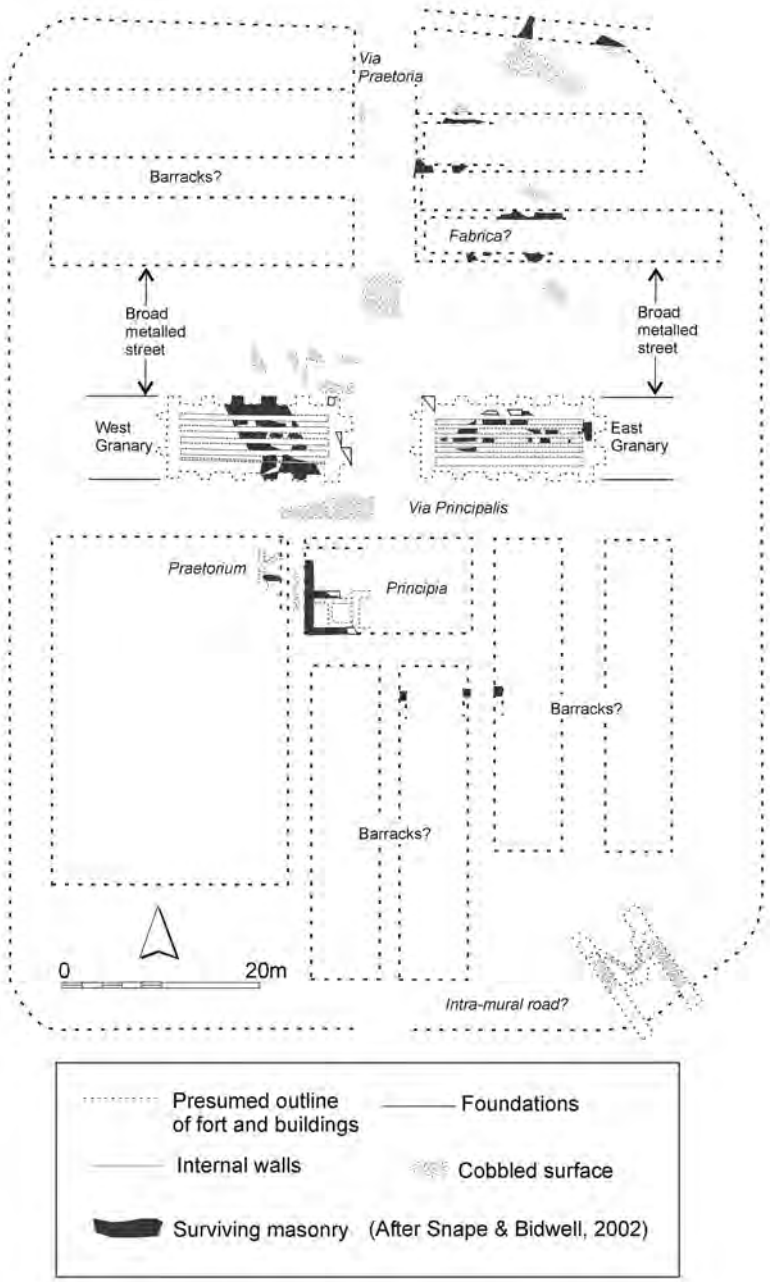


Fig 3.12 Plan of the Roman fort in Newcastle (after Snape and Bidwell 2002).

examined, revealing traces of seven major buildings. Much of the area excavated was given over to open space, interpreted as the extent of a broad street in the middle of the fort (Figs 3.12 and 3.13). The central buildings were located in the angle between the railway viaduct and the Norman keep, a building with a cross hall, western room and underground storeroom, and, to the west of this, a fragmentary building with the remains of a hypocaust. By analogy with the layout of other forts, these have been identified as the headquarters building and commander's house respectively, with an east–west road or *via principalis*, and a north–south road or *via praetoria* (Frere 1984, 278; Snape and Bidwell 2002, 25–47). Two large and three small patches of similar metalled surface to the north, including that found outside the Black Gate in 1973, are probably continuations of the *via praetoria* (Harbottle 1974, 63 fig 2; 65 fig 3; 66). Drains appear to have marked the eastern edge of the road in the two larger patches of metalling.

The published plan of Roman remains discovered in 1929 suggests that part of the western walls of the headquarters building had been discovered by the North of England Excavation Committee (NoEEC), and may have coincided partly with the remains uncovered in the 1970s (cf Spain and Simpson 1930, opposite 502). However, the 1929 campaign also uncovered walls to the south of the medieval keep thought to have been the south-eastern corner of the same Roman building. This had window and door openings, and remains of a hypocaust with floor slabs covered in two layers of *opus signinum* still *in situ*. There was a flagged floor beneath the so-called hypocaust columns. The long east–west wall was probably that which was relocated in 1986, when a North Eastern Electricity Board (NEEB) pipe-trench was dug. The masonry did not appear to be Roman then (J. Nolan pers comm; archive photographs 18 and 19); and the wall coincides with the line of a known medieval wall leading from Baileygate (Nolan 1990, 84, fig 4 (G); Longstaffe 1860);

Fig 3.13 Dodecahedron from the fort of Pons Aelius (courtesy of TWM).

and infilling between the medieval wall and the keep between *c* 1704 and 1770 (Nolan 1990, fig 7). This sequence has been clarified in the excavation account (cf Bidwell and Snape 2002, fig 4), and the Roman survivals disentangled from later fabric. Bidwell makes a convincing case (Bidwell and Snape 2002, 268) – based on parallels at Caernarvon, Corbridge, High Rochester in Britain, and in Eining, Weissenburg and Butzbach in Germany – for the structure representing a *schola collegium,* a facility to accommodate fraternities of officers, partly religious in character, but also to assert the interests of its members and provide social sevices, such as funeral provision.

The fort plan (*see* Fig 3.12) is partly predicated on the assumption that a six cohort unit of reduced size (ie requiring no more than 0.7ha) could have been accommodated in the promontory within a largely playing-card-shaped plan, a solution that is workable on the basis that the surrounding wall lacked an earthen rampart (*see below*). Given the fact that archaeological evidence is available for only a strip across the central portion of the fort, this remains a working hypothesis that requires further testing.

The commanding officer's house lay adjacent to the *principia*, in the central range. It was only very partially observed, but the presence of a substantial hypocaust in the excavated area (7m × 4m) gives confidence to the interpretation of the building's function. The structural remains, badly disturbed by later grave-digging, suggest that it was rebuilt, possibly soon after AD 330, and given an *opus signinum* floor and a suspended floor hypocaust (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 41–5).

Four structures in the north-east part of the interior have been provisionally identified as *fabricae*. Alternative interpretations as barracks are possible, but this is considered to be unlikely. The buildings were narrow and, within the limited areas of survival, unpartitioned, and lacked diagnostic finds or functional debris. Buildings I and II were approximately 5.30m and 4.90m wide respectively, and separated by a street 3.80m wide. Building I continued, with renovation, until the latest phases of the military occupation, but Building II was replaced by two buildings of similar character (III and IV) in the late 3rd century or later (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 77–92).

To the north-east, one section of metalling was bounded by a stone-lined gutter and a north wall. The wall was 1.77m thick, rubble-cored and ashlar faced, seemingly of 2nd-century date. It was interpreted as the outer wall of the fort, which here lacks an earthen rampart.

As regards the southern boundary, there is no evidence, so far, that the fort wall extended as far south as the medieval south curtain wall; a trench cut at the corner tower of the castle wall had to be abandoned before any Roman period deposits that might have existed were seen (Harbottle 1966).

To the west, before 1847, while the railway was being built through the Garth, Richardson observed a length of wall, composed of 'smallish stones' and thought to have been 'altogether of inferior workmanship' compared to the medieval masonry that had been observed previously (Longstaffe 1860, 79–80, and n. 63–4). It was *c* 1.70m thick, the same thickness as the fort wall observed in 1992, and about 9.70m long, and it ran from the head of the Long Stairs north towards St Nicholas Street, and parallel with the Castle keep. Nolan has speculated that this wall might be Roman, and used it as the basis for a conjectural reconstruction of the western wall of the fort (Nolan in Harbottle 1989, 76 fig 38).

The eastern wall of the fort was conjectured to lie at an equivalent distance to the east, about the axis of the *via praetoria*. The resultant shape was a slightly irregular rectangle. Since the Richardson/Longstaffe western wall can no longer be scrutinised, and since there is no account of it being faced on both sides or of any associated Roman finds, the plan must remain speculative. Apart from one small length of northern fort wall and a possible annexe wall, there is no evidence for the shape and extent of the fort boundary, but an almost playing-card-shaped plan of appropriate size (0.7ha) is possible, if the usual rampart of bank and ditch is omitted (*see* Fig 3.12).

Whereas all the internal buildings share the same alignment as the later Castle keep, the outer wall is on a different alignment. To the north of this, another, longer stretch of wall was found, which accentuated this second alignment. Post holes and gullies were located on a terrace to the south of it. These may indicate an annex that enclosed small and not very substantial timber structures associated with metalworking hearths. During the 3rd

century, these structures were covered with rubble. In the late 3rd century, the fort wall was reduced to a single course (Snape and Bidwell, 2002, 99–105); it must have been erected on a different position, as the fort clearly continued well beyond this date.

Two small granaries lay either side of the *via praetoria* (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 57–75). The west granary was the better preserved, with the north, east and west walls, all clearly present, and enough of the foundations survived later cemetery disturbance to show that the sleeper walls were continuous. Externally, the long axis buttresses were at 2m intervals, while the surviving gable wall had a wider spacing to accommodate a loading bay. Ventilation holes are not visible in what remained of the long walls (cf Birrens; Gentry 1976, fig 6). The structure was erected on the clay infilling of underlying ditches relating to earlier agricultural activity (*see* chapter 2, section 2.2), and the greater robustness needed of the west granary probably accounts for the superficial differences between this and the slighter appearance of the east granary. However, despite these measures, the finished building suffered from subsidence. The six-bay plan shown in the 2002 fort plan (Bidwell and Snape 2002, fig 6) gives symmetry to the layout, projecting a mirror-image from the known east wall of the east granary, but there is room within the projected west rampart for a ten-buttress west granary, similar to the 22 examples in use at *Arbeia*, South Shields, in the early 3rd century (Breeze 2006, 119) and the western granary of *Segedunum*, Wallsend, built in the Hadrianic period (Hodgson 2003, 171). A deviation from the normal plan is more likely at Newcastle, given the restriction of space on the promontory, an argument used by Bidwell and Snape to account for the atypical location of the granaries, to the north of the *principia* (2002, 271).

The later 3rd century AD saw the modification of the east granary that involved filling in the air gaps beneath the floor, and the creation of a small platform or prepared surface, on which was placed a complete bronze dodecahedron. A hoard of twelve *denarii*, possibly contained in a hob-nailed boot or shoe, may represent another ritual deposition, either at this stage in the life of the building, or earlier. A change to industrial use appears to have occurred in the west granary in the 4th century, evidenced by the insertion of a trench hearth, a feature incompatible with a use for grain storage (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 65). Both axial streets were resurfaced in the 4th century (Frere 1984, 278).

The artefact report (Allason-Jones 2002, 211–29) reveals that the bulk of the material falls into the period between the late 2nd to early 3rd century. This is the normal pattern found on forts attached to the Hadrianic frontier, and, on the surface, rather at odds with the dating evidence proposed above. Much of the material has been characterised as domestic rather than exclusively military, with a significant number of 'native' artefacts. Similarly, the clay mould evidence for metalworking indicates that British design was obvious in the form of the openwork mounts for leather that were being made. It is unclear if this indicates native production under the patronage of the Roman military, with products intended for the military, or some other assimilation of design, under different relations of production (cf Millett 1990, 112–17). There is a suggestion that industrial activity took place immediately outside the fort north wall within a very narrow annex, of short duration, possibly created by the need to construct a retaining wall to support the fort platform.

The ceramic assemblage suffered particularly from the problems of later disturbance, but the evidence was sufficiently clear to demonstrate that the fort was supplied from the same production centres as Wallsend and South Shields. Although imported material is well-represented, a particularly good range of late 4th-century wares included rather more Local Traditional Ware than has been found at nearby forts (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 166–72).

A number of Roman altars and sculpted fragments have been found during excavations and in building works in the Castle Garth. Two fragments of an altar to the *Matres* were discovered in 1977, in a post-Roman context, under Railway Arch 2 (Goodburn 1978, 419; Hassall and Tomlin 1978, 475). An inscribed altar of (probably) *Saturninus* was found in an unstratified context, under Railway Arch 1 in 1977 (Goodburn 1978, 419; Hassall and Tomlin 1978, 475; Snape and Bidwell 2002, 134). An altar to Jupiter was dug out of the supposed commandant's house, south of the Castle keep in 1929 (Spain 1931, 47), and a second altar to Jupiter was discovered in 1932

in the development of an eastward extension of the County Council Offices (Spain 1933). The surviving inscription of the first implied a dedication to a deified emperor; the second bore a supplication for the welfare and victory of the emperor. In digging the foundations for the Moot Hall in 1810, two Roman altars were found: one inscribed but illegible, the other plain (Hodgson 1840, 173). It was noted that a small axe and a concave stone, split and scorched, were found with this pair, which may have been ritual equipment. A small sandstone relief of the god Mercury was found *c* 1847 when the scarp edge on the west side of the Castle Garth was cut into for the foundations of the High Level Bridge (Spain and Simpson 1930, 548); another was found during excavations of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery (Croom 2002, 129).

There was a wide range of religious observance among the military, especially in frontier regions. A large proportion of this took the form of private worship; cults and deities along the length of the Wall have been documented. On the other hand, there is also ample evidence for public worship. At Wallsend in 1892 and 1894, two altars dedicated to Jupiter *Optimus Maximus* were found *c* 475m west of the fort (Bidwell, Holbrook and Snape 1991, 4–5). At least two sculpted slabs dedicated to Mercury and one fragment of a statue to the same god were found in the vicinity of the fort (Bidwell *et al* 1991, 5). While it has been suggested that there may have been a temple to Mercury (for which there is some structural evidence), the altars to Jupiter might have belonged to the fort's parade ground (Phillips 1977, 69–70). At Benwell, an altar to Jupiter *Optimus Maximus* was found with another to an unknown deity, and a dedication to the *Matres Campestres*, and together these may indicate a parade ground at Benwell (Bidwell *et al* 1991, 6; but see Phillips 1977, 86). At Maryport, on the Cumbrian coast, a dedication to *Antoninus Pius*, and most of the altars of I *Hispanorum* dedicated to Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*, were found in the area of the 2nd-century parade ground north of the fort (Jarrett 1989, 14). The topography at Newcastle precludes the presence of a parade ground in the near vicinity of the fort – the provision of an exceptionally wide street in front of the *principia* may have served as a ceremonial space for military ceremonies, partly compensating for this deficiency. Religious practice was a potent means by which the soldier, of whatever ethnic origin, was constituted as a soldier of the *Roman* army. The military year was routinely punctuated by religious festivals whose celebrations were precisely detailed, and which established a direct harmony across the extent of Empire with the civil calendar of the festivals of Rome (Barrett 1989, 238; Henig 1984, 228; Bradford Welles, Fink and Gilliam 1959, 191–212). The military religious calendar observed only 'army festivals, Roman gods of the public festivals, and the cults of the reigning emperor, the *Divi*, and the Imperial Women' (Helgeland 1978, 1481; cited in Barrett 1989, 238).

In summary, the existing remains indicate that the internal arrangements of the fort were irregular, probably topographically determined. Since only two small portions of outer wall have been located, there is no indication of the overall form of the fort. The restrictions of space and slope on the plateau must have played a significant role in determining the shape and layout of the fort.

3.4 Topography, communications and the Pons Aelius

We have no exact idea of the terrain around the fort in the Roman period. The Side would have formed the steeply descending eastern boundary leading down to the edge of the Tyne where Sandhill stands now, on ground reclaimed long after the Roman period (Fig 3.14). How much of the hillside at the base of the Castle cliff is reclaimed remains unclear. Excavations at Castle Stairs revealed undisturbed alluvial or estuarine laminated sands and silts below archaeological deposits at 2.40m OD (Passmore, O'Brien and Dore 1991, 17). The site appears to have lain at the extreme north edge of the river channel, and at the western edge of the sandy knoll. The oldest deposits have been interpreted as a sequence of dumps of material, containing a total of 177 sherds of Roman pottery, from the mid-2nd to mid-3rd century, the bulk falling within the second half of the 2nd century. Excavators have speculated that this was an artificially created, Roman period waterfront (Passmore *et al* 1991, 23). It was not possible to determine if the deposits formed part of a quay flanking the river, or a causeway jutting into the river. It was suggested that there

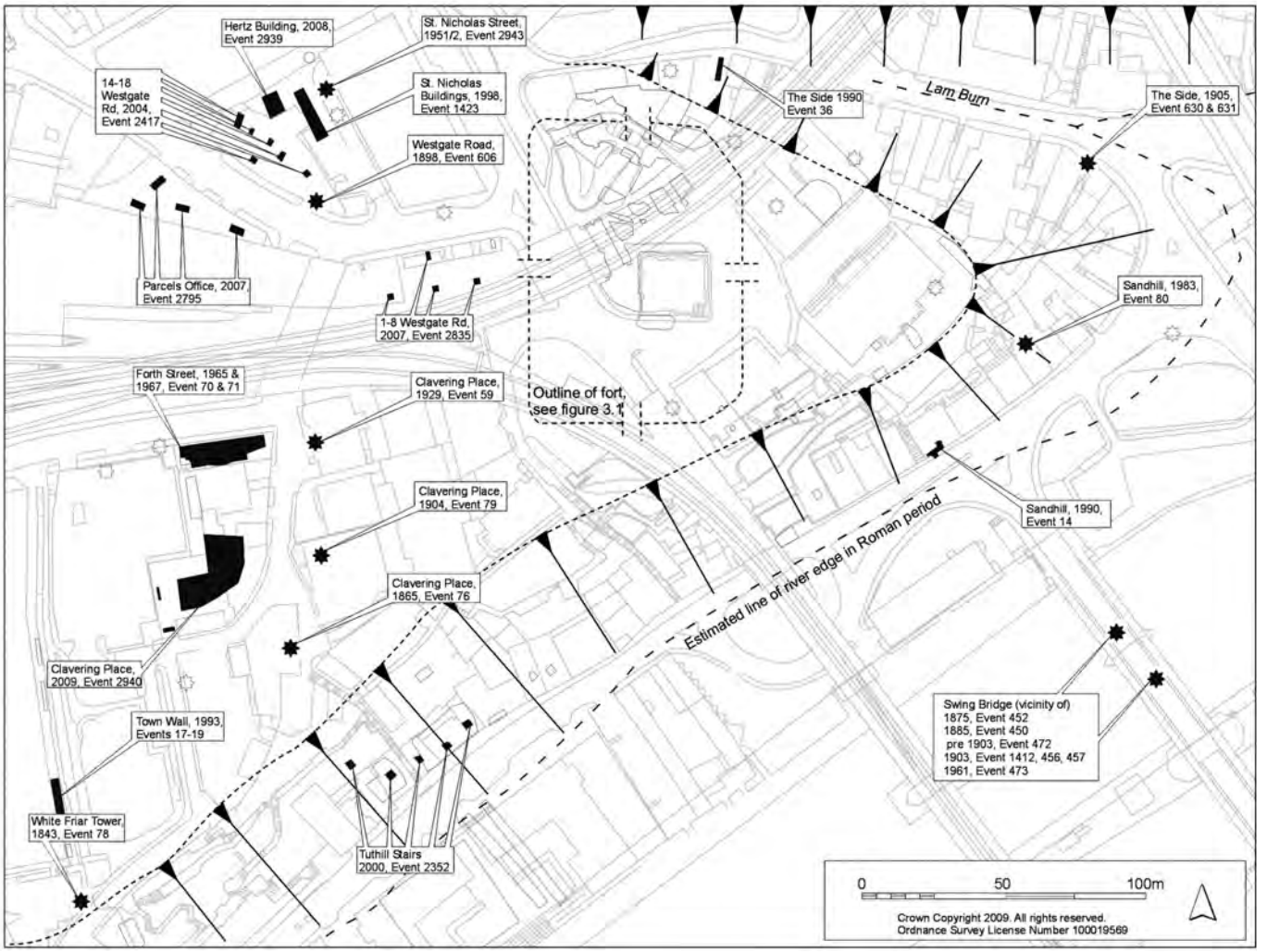


Fig 3.14 Events relating to the Vicus and riverside.

was a Roman period waterfront purposefully utilising the Lort Burn inlet for the advantage of the fort. We should perhaps be cautious in accepting this interpretation for the first buildings identified by the excavation were medieval, and it is uncertain how much of the earlier Roman material may have eroded out of landslip from the plateau above. There is 18th-century documentation recording considerable slippage from the Castle Garth (Longstaffe 1860, 114 n. 134), and the process may have occurred over a long time. The slope between the east Castle Garth and The Side was terraced in the 19th century, but the extent of this engineering is unmapped, its depths unrecorded (cf Spain 1931).

We do not know if the Castle Stairs and Long Stairs were formed before the medieval period, and therefore what access there was from the river to the top of the cliff. The small area of stone flagging found beneath the south curtain wall in 1960–1, and dated by pottery evidence to the 2nd century (Harbottle 1966), indicates that this space was, if not enclosed within the fort, at least formally defined for use. Might this indicate access to stairs cut on the same ascent as the Castle Stairs, or might it be simply terracing of a yard outside the fort? If goods were to have been unloaded beneath the plateau, the more manageable incline of The Side would have been required for carriage. Do we know how much of The Side is a natural declivity, perhaps worn by a burn running towards the Lort; or how much has been deliberately cut as a route, and at what date? Indeed, did the earliest phase of Hadrian's Wall traverse this slope down to the presumed river crossing? Two or three generations later, it would seem logical to have had a northern gateway to the fort, giving direct access to both

the top of The Side and any northern extension of the metalled north–south road beyond the fort. Roman coins have been found at the foot of The Side, ranging from AD 222–350 (TWHER 1478). The significance of these coins, in terms of casual loss from passing traffic on the slope, erosion from the fort platform, or occupation on The Side, can only be surmised. At a point north of the suggested annexe, a small trench revealed two cuttings in the natural clay whose fill contained two sherds of amphora-like fabric (O'Brien and Fletcher unpub 1990). It was concluded that the pottery could have been residual from the fort rather than indicative of specific Roman activity here.

Several finds may be associated with riverside occupation or deposition or loss from the bridge. Among items found in the River Tyne are: a coin of Galba and a second of *Septimius Severus* (*PSAN* 1903 ser 3, **1**, 136); a coin of Hadrian and a coin of Trajan, coming from the same find spot as the altar to *Oceanus* (*PSAN* ser 3, **1** (1903), 52; TWHER 6626); and a relief of the goddess *Fortuna*, dredged from the north channel of the Tyne under the Swing Bridge (*PSAN* 1884 ser 2, **1**, 163; TWHER 500). Similarly, a coin of *Faustina* and another of Hadrian were found in the course of building operations for the Swing Bridge in 1903 (*PSAN* 1903 ser 3, **1**, 72: TWHER 1482). A Roman glass cup might have come from the area of the Swing Bridge as well (Mus Antiq 1961.12). Two brooches, thought to have been 2nd-century in date were dredged up in or before 1923 (Brewis 1924, pl VIII).

In some cases of reported finds, the date of the object is spurious, and where the objects themselves no longer exist, the references should be treated with caution. The following, from the river margin east of the bridging point, were all thought to be Roman: a large cauldron-like vessel excavated from a cellar in Pink Lane in 1888 (*PSAN* 1888 ser 2, **3,** 307); a shaped amphora vessel found among the roof timbers of an old house in Pandon that was demolished *c* 1895 (*PSAN* 1894 ser 2, **6**, 222); and a small bronze 'snuffer-like' object found in The Side (*PSAN* 1906 ser 3, **2**, 266). To this list can be added the occasional Roman artefact found as a residual component in layers of later date, for example a Roman coin of the mid- to late 4th century found in a medieval context during the Queen Street excavations of 1985 (Robson in O'Brien *et al* 1988, 109).

3.4.1 The Roman bridge

Beneath the cliff, the possibility of a Roman waterfront at the Lort inlet has given rise to speculation about the position of a bridging point. As the fort was named *Pons Aelius* in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the existence of a Roman bridge has not been doubted (Table 3.7). The bridge connected with a road from Chester-le-Street, but its precise location in Newcastle is not known. The Roman road in Gateshead was identified in three places in 1938–9, but no traces remain today (Wright 1940, 54–64). Roman remains recently found between Bottle Bank and Mirk Lane in Gateshead have been interpreted as consistent with a roadside settlement (Nolan unpub 1995a; and forthcoming). Although no trace of the main road itself was found, this occupation on the southern bank of the river lends support to the traditional site for the Roman bridge. The site of the Roman bridge has long been thought to be the same as that of the medieval bridge, and its replacement of 1773–81; and that this is the site now occupied by the Swing Bridge. Bidwell and Holbrook (1989) have made a convincing argument that what Bruce (1884) took to be remains of the Roman bridge were, in fact, medieval.

An altar to Neptune set up by the VI Legion *Victrix* was dredged from the north channel of the Tyne during the building of the Swing Bridge in 1875. A former wall tablet, with a dedication to *Antoninus Pius*, was recovered during clearance work near the Swing Bridge in 1903 (Heslop 1904a); the second names *Julius Verus*, who was Governor of Britain in AD 155–9. At the same time, a second altar, dedicated to the god *Oceanus* was recovered, with a base that fits the altar to Neptune (Heslop 1904b). Both the 1903 inscriptions name the VI Legion *Victrix* (Bidwell and Holbrook 1989, 101), and the dedications of the altars are particularly apt for a river crossing (Caplan and Newman 1976). The altars may have formed a shrine or stood in a temple either on or by the bridge. Conflicting accounts of the exact circumstances of recovery in each case prevent us from knowing if the stones were dredged from the river bed, or found built into the medieval structure (Heslop 1904b, 134; Bosanquet 1930, 512). Consequently, we are no nearer an identification of the exact site of the Roman bridge. Similarly, the dates

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
14	3.14	Sandhill, 1990	2nd-century pottery, poss. hill-slip	Passmore *et al* 1994, 17
16	5.35	Queen Street, 1985	Roman coin, dated to mid-to-late 4th century	O'Brien *et al* 1988, 109
36	3.14	The Side, 1990	two sherds of amphora-like fabric	TWHER SR 1990/14
80	3.14	Sandhill, 1983	no Roman strat observed	TWHER 5457
450	3.14	near the Swing Bridge, 1885	relief of *Fortuna*	*PSAN* ser 2, **1**, 1885
452	3.14	near the Swing Bridge, 1875	altar to Neptune set up by the VI Legion *Victrix*	*AA* ser 2 **7**, 7
456	3.14	near the Swing Bridge, 1903	altar to *Oceanus*, base for the above altar to Neptune	Heslop 1904b
457	3.14	Near the Swing Bridge, 1903	a wall tablet dedication to *Antoninus Pius*	Heslop 1904a
461	unprov.	River Tyne, 1923	two 2nd-century brooches	Brewis 1924, pl VIII
472	3.14	near the Swing Bridge, 1903 or earlier	coin of *Faustina*	*PSAN* ser 3, **1**, 72
473	3.14	near the Swing Bridge, 1961	Roman glass cup	*Mus Antiq* 1961,12
630 & 631	3.14	The Side, pre-1905	Roman coins dating to 222–350	*PSAN* ser 3, **2**, 31
632	unprov.	River Tyne, 1905	coin of *Septimius Severus*	*PSAN* ser 3, **2**,, 136
637	unprov.	The Side, 1907	small bronze object	*PSAN* ser 3, **3**, 266
1412	3.14	near the Swing Bridge, 1903 or earlier	coin of Hadrian	Spain and Wake 1933, 13
2352	3.14	Tuthill Stairs, 2000	Roman pottery, dated to 2nd–4th century	TWHER SR 2004/26

Table 3.7 Archaeological events relating to the Roman riverside

of the inscriptions are disputed, some arguing that the bridge was an integral part of the original plan for Hadrian's Wall (Breeze and Dobson 1987, 73), others that the altars, at least, might date to the 3rd century (Kewley 1973).

Bidwell and Holbrook (1989, 102–3) argue that the bridge, irrespective of exact location, serviced a minor road (only one fort south of the Tyne at Chester-le-Street), and that it could have connected with only a service road for Hadrian's Wall to the north. They suggest that the bridge may have fulfilled a monumental purpose as a grand terminal for the original Wall, before it was extended to Wallsend. The function of the road it carried was always eclipsed by the greater military importance of Dere Street to the west, but the suggestion that this line – the later Great North Road – was an important prehistoric routeway has been broached above. The route north from that became known as The Side may have been originally part of this road, but as the location of the bridge remains unverified, we do not know the relationship between road, fort, and bridge.

The suggestion that the bridge stood on a militarily minor road raises a question about the status of the fort of *Pons Aelius* itself, albeit that construction might have post-dated that of the bridge by a considerable time. On the basis of the excavated remains, and the garrison recorded on the inscription to *Julia Domna*, traditional thinking might suggest that the fort was small. If small, and associated with a minor road, what are the implications for the status and extent of any activity associated with the fort, but external to it?

3.5 The vicus*, the locations and extents of cemeteries and the evidence for development north of Hadrian's Wall*

3.5.1 The *vicus*

The presence of a fort would suggest that civilian services would be provided to the garrison by an adjacent *vicus*, and that the

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
17–19	3.14	Town Wall, 1993	Roman pottery and roof tiles	Nolan *et al* 1993, 107
59	3.14	Clavering House, Clavering Place, 1929	Roman pottery, roof tiles on surface – exact location uncertain	Spain and Simpson 1930, 505
70, 71	3.14	Forth Street, 1965/67	post pits, , construction trench, cobbles, Roman pottery, dated to 2nd–4th century	Harbottle 1968, 178
76	3.14	Clavering Place, 1865	Thracian Cohort stone (TWHER 1442) and Roman pottery and burnt human bone	White 1865, 231
78	3.14	White Friar Tower, 1843	'old water course' (poss. road ditch, see Event 2940 BEMCO) in which *Sylvanus* altar, roof tiles, building material, Roman pottery and coins were found; a second, uninscribed altar was found in the same place: 09/01/1844	Richardson, 1844, 148–9
79	3.14	Clavering Place, 1903	sandstone coffin (TWHER 1450) with coped lid found with human bone (frags of skull and ribs) with Castor Ware beaker; a second, empty coffin found shortly after	Rich 1904, 147–9
110	3.10	Gunner Tower, 1964	Roman cremation in urn TWHER 1447, dated second quarter of 2nd cen to early 4th cen., remains of *c* 18-year-old of indeterminate sex, overlying possible hearth	Harbottle 1967, 123–37
606	3.14	Westgate Road, 1898	amphora found during construction of Cooper's Auction House, see Event 2417	*PSAN* ser 2, **7,** 256
2795	3.14	Parcels Office, 2007	Roman pit, 2nd–3rd-century pottery from four small evaluation trenches in standing building	TWHER SR 2007/33
2835	3.14	1–8 Westgate Road, 2007	well-preserved structural remains, metalled surfaces, Romano-British pottery from five small evaluation trenches within railway arches	PCA 2007
2940	3.14	Clavering Place, 2008	Romano-British strip building in tenements along metalled road, rubbish pits, well, industrial activity; two coped-lidded stone sarcophagi, containing bone fragments, a jet pin and small glass beads with fragment of human bone.	in prep
2943	3.14	St Nicholas Street, 1951/52	pottery, 'occupation earth', tiles. Exact location unknown	*J Roman Stud* **43**, 110

Table 3.8 Archaeological events relating to the vicus

roads into such a settlement would have been used for burials of both soldiers and civilians. Indications of Roman occupation have come down in the form of stray finds and antiquarian observations but it is only recently that modern scientific excavations have provided a wealth of new evidence on these aspects of frontier life (Table 3.8) and we are now, for the first time, able to describe the geography of the Roman settlement of *Pons Aelius*.

The first reliable evidence of archaeological deposits associated with Roman civilian settlement in the city centre outside the Castle Garth was recovered in *c* 1929, when the NoEEC found Roman occupation earth and pottery, south of the railway, and in the yard of Clavering House (Spain and Simpson 1930, 505). In 1965 and 1967, Barbara Harbottle, excavating the remains of the Carmelite Friary church in Forth Street, uncovered Roman remains beneath the medieval masonry, greatly extending the known spatial extent of the putative *vicus*. The site has provided the first concrete evidence of the lay-out of the Roman settlement at *Pons Aelius* (Fig 3.15).

Post pits were associated with Roman pottery dating to the 2nd or early 3rd centuries, a north–south construction trench and an area of cobbles, three courses deep (Harbottle 1968, 178). The pottery would appear to have been domestic, or at least from kitchen use, denoting food storage, preparation and presentation: cooking pots, bowls, beakers, a colander, mortaria, jars, amphorae and samian ware, most dating to the 2nd or 3rd centuries. Nearby, pottery, 'occupation earth' and roof tiles had been recorded in 1929, at the junction of Westgate Road and the railway arch leading

Fig 3.15 Roman Newcastle (drawn by Judith Dobie).

into Clavering Place, in trenches excavated to locate Hadrian's Wall (Spain and Simpson 1930, 505). Broadly similar deposits were recorded in two places in 1951/2 between St Nicholas Street and the same railway arch (*J Roman Studies* **43**, 110).

Modern confirmation of the continued survival of Roman remains outside the west gate of the fort was provided when six evaluation trenches were excavated in 2007 (TWHER SR 2007/82) in advance of the refurbishment of the first seven railway arches along Westgate Road (*see* Fig 3.10), 80m to the north of the Forth Street remains located by Harbottle. Here, the Roman horizon was at a very shallow depth, often less than 0.30m below the modern ground surface. Mostly left *in situ* by redesigning the new development, intrusion into the underlying levels was restricted to the minimum needed to service the new units. Despite area restrictions, within the evaluation trenches and a longer drainage trench, significant structural remains were recorded, including a substantial wall, as well as extensive metalled surface spreads and a considerable quantity of Romano-British pottery, again centred on a 3rd-century currency.

Although the work described above had pointed to the presence of deposits, the detailed understanding of the character of occupation to the west of the fort had to wait until 2008, when, for the first time in many years, a large area of the land south of Central Station became the subject of redevelopment. The evaluation trenches at the former British Electrical Manufacturing Company (BEMCO) Building on Hanover Street had to be placed within the standing Victorian building, and were inconclusive as evidence for the Roman period (TWHER SR 1998/23), but excavation of the area in advance of new construction (Figs 3.16 and 3.18) fully justified the curatorial belief that this site represented an island of

Fig 3.16 Roman road uncovered at the Clavering Place excavation, 2009 (courtesy of Durham University).

good deposit survival in a critically important part of the historic core that has seen massive destruction of archaeological remains. One element of this project was the re-opening of Harbottle's 1965 trench on the south wall of the quire of the Carmelite Friary church to record features left beneath masonry originally left *in situ* but which needed to be removed to facilitate piling.

The main excavation area was to the west of Clavering Place. The Romano-British phase revealed several rectangular strip buildings in tenements laid off a substantial metalled road. Rubbish pits, a large well and industrial activity were located within the yards and gardens of the property boundaries. The road may run from the west gate of the fort, 150m to the north-east. It was 5m wide and had substantial flanking ditches; the subsoil was dense clay, prone to waterlogging. A broken quern topstone from one of the tenement boundary ditches was of Mayan lava, a product of the military supply network.

How far did the settlement extend? In 1951/2 between St Nicholas Street and the same railway arch (*J Roman Studies* **43**, 110), Roman pottery, 'occupation earth' and roof tiles were found on different occasions to the north and west of Clavering Place, and similar spreads of occupation debris were described in 1929, at the junction of Westgate Road and the railway arch leading into Clavering Place (Spain and Simpson 1930, 505). On the other side of Westgate Road an amphora was reportedly found in 1898 while excavating for Coopers' horse repository, south of the General Post Office (*PSAN* 1898 ser 2, **8**, 256).

To the south and east, odd sherds of Roman pottery and roof tile were found during the excavations of the Town Wall between Clavering Place, Hanover Square and Orchard Street (Nolan *et al* 1993, 107). On the southern edge of the escarpment, overlooking the bridging point, two sites have produced Roman altars, and have been considered as possible temple sites. The first discovery occurred when the White Friar Tower was being demolished in 1843, when the bed of an old watercourse was reportedly found. In this channel, a quantity of Roman ceramics (including roofing tile and pottery), coins and an altar to *Silvanus* were unearthed (G B Richardson 1844, 148–9). Within a fortnight, a second, uninscribed altar had been found. Only the existence of the altar to *Silvanus* can be confirmed today. The description of the watercourse is interesting, in light of the excavations in 2008: 'the altar was found in the bed of an old watercourse 10–11ft [3.05–3.35m] below the floor of the tower, almost wholly shorn of its inscription and its top broken off during the digging' (Richardson 1844, 148–9).

The 'watercourse' may now be interpreted as the extension of the road ditch on the BEMCO site. This road, which leads in the direction of the west gate of the fort, might dog-leg down the scarp face in the area now obliterated by the Bonded Warehouses, to approach the bridging point from the west. That this is a later modification of the earlier (possibly pre-Hadrianic) geography, is shown by the fact that the road surface sealed earlier episodes of Roman activity, and the principal approach to the *Pons Aelius* from the north might always have been down The Side, as suggested by Bidwell and Snape (2002, 261–2).

In attempting to visualise the appearance of the *vicus*, we should not forget the presence of the Wall as a major boundary to the northern edge. Immediately to the south of the Military Road, the indications of Roman deposits around St Nicholas Buildings and on the north side of Westgate Road, have failed to give clear evidence of structures, but the recurring description of metalled surfacing overlain by accumulations of occupation debris might suggest the presence here of a market place, which would have flourished during the main period of extra-mural occupation. The hypothetical route up the present Side would have approached the market space up the Military Way, if, as proposed above (chapter 3, section 3.2.2), the Wall as originally planned took this course down to the bridging point, with a gated turret giving access north. Following the 4th-century contraction and abandonment of the *vicus,* these activities took place within the fort as testified by the coin spreads across the resurfaced *via principalis* and *via praetoria* (Bidwell and Snape 2002, 278, 280). Parallels can be cited for this market location elsewhere on the Wall, for instance *Segedunum*, Wallsend, featured a 4th-century spread of coins just inside the minor west gate (Hodgson 2009, 77). Similarly, at *Vindolanda,* almost 500 mid- to late 4th-century coins have been found on the *via principalis* north of the storage buildings, in addition to antiquarian finds of

300 4th-century coins around the west gate (Hodgson 2009, 120). Around 250 coins, dated to the late 4th century at the latest, were found in the fort at Carlisle (Hodgson 2009, 148). All of these coin spreads have been interpreted as 4th-century markets within the forts.

Many of the forts on the Hadrianic frontier had *vici*, either under the formal control of a military commander or existing as more spontaneous growths attracted by the economic and social possibilities of supplying the base. Thus at Carlisle, a *vicus* had developed within a year or two of the foundation of the first Agricolan fort (Caruana 1989, 25). Many of the formal aspects of such settlements cannot be identified at Newcastle, such as bath suites or the *mansio*. Yet the distribution of points that have produced Roman pottery encompass a large area and it cannot be stressed enough that, apart from the BEMCO site, what has been seen has been glimpsed through very small trenches and shafts, and that later urban development in the area between these keyholes has been intense, particularly in the form of the railway and 19th-century development. The Newcastle *vicus*, therefore, may have been more significant, and more extensive, than the meagre archaeological evidence, to date, suggests. Furthermore, not all *vici* or economies localised around a fort were structured formally – they might be dispersed (G D B Jones 1984). Totally dependent on the presence of the military, the *vicus* adjacent to a small fort such as Newcastle may well have fluctuated in size and function with the disbursement of the occupation forces.

According to some recent thinking, neither fort size not *vicus* size need directly correlate with occupying garrison or civilian population. For example, Mattingley has suggested that while the Northern military occupation consisted of up to 50 forts, the actual garrison available to man these forts was far too small to fill them – 'a "smoke and mirrors" trickery to suggest the presence of a larger force than was actually the case' (2006, 153). The many military inscriptions, and other epigraphic sources, such as the *Vindolanda* tablets, show how units were constantly circulated from base to base. Perhaps the *vici* operated in a similar manner, oscillating between periods of boom-time growth and ghost-town torpor, particularly if empty space within the fort might be utilised when troop levels were low (Mattingley 2006, 171). With the evidence for metal-production within the fort ceasing some time in the 3rd century, and other evidence from the interior indicating fluctuating intensities of occupation between the 3rd and 4th centuries, it is possible that any associated settlement would have a varying temporal dimension as well. The situation at Newcastle is complicated by the presence of contemporary settlement at Gateshead (Nolan 2007). A more permanent, stable and economically diverse settlement may have built up here, on the far side of the river from the fort (and its military jurisdiction), as happened at Malton, East Yorkshire (Bidwell and Hodgson 2009, 169) and at Catterick (Wilson 2002, 137–8).

Given the very different patterns of archaeological activity over the past 50 years, is it possible to make meaningful comparisons among the four Tyneside fort *vici*? At Benwell, the bath-house was surveyed as early as 1751/2, the so-called temple of *Antenocitus* excavated in the 19th century, and various portions of building have been located since (Bidwell, Holbrook and Snape 1991b). At South Shields – exceptional because it was a supply base – remains of buildings have been found on all four sides of the fort (Bidwell unpub 1982). During recent excavations within the *vicus* at Hadrian School, South Shields, a metalled road was found, as well as the corner of a building that had been protected from the road by stone slabs and two bollards. A portico was found, with a courtyard, in which there was a well; another well and building evidence had also been found in the area during earlier excavations (2007/188). At Wallsend, foundations of buildings, a possible pottery kiln, and the bath-house have been recorded to the south and south-west (Bidwell, Holbrook and Snape 1991a, 3). A possible shrine, burials and altars were also found in this area. To the west, a further collection of altars, dedication slabs and sculpture suggested a second temple site; and portions of road had been observed (Bidwell, Holbrook and Snape 1991a, 4). While Newcastle has produced a comparable number of altars and pieces of sculpture – beyond what we think of as the fort, and excluding evidence probably associated with the Wall – there is less evidence of substantial masonry structures from the area now recognised as the *vicus*.

3.5.2 Cemeteries

Few Roman cemeteries have been recorded

in detail between the line of the Humber-Dee axis in the south and the Scottish border in the north (Philpott 1991, 37). A number of sites in the Newcastle study area are associated with finds of Roman burials, or putative Roman burials. Given Roman burial practice and belief, these sites have been assumed to be on the periphery of the settlement.

In 1865, a mixture of apparently burnt human bone, charcoal, pottery and a Roman building-stone set up by the First Cohort of Thracians were all found when several north–south trenches were cut through the property of Edward Spoor in Clavering Place (White 1865). The *Northumberland County History* qualified this report, described not bones but 'a number of human skeletons' (presumably not burnt), and enlarged on the description of pottery to include samian, amphorae and mortaria (Spain and Simpson 1930, 506–7). In 1903, a Roman coffin made of local sandstone and with a coped lid, and a second coffin with a plain rough stone lid, were dug up within the space of a few days in Clavering Place (Fig 3.17). The first coffin had a north–south orientation, was quite small internally, and contained a Roman ceramic urn (Castor Ware beaker), human bones and charcoal (Rich 1904). Without knowing the exact location of Edward Spoor's property, these two events cannot be placed in relation to one another spatially, and nor can it be postulated whether the first finds of human bone are more likely to have come from the cemetery of the medieval Carmelite Friars, rather than from a Roman burial ground.

Two more stone sarcophagi were discovered at the BEMCO site in 2008 (Fig 3.18). Aligned at right angles to the road through the *vicus*, the two coffins were clearly part of a family plot, the coped coffin lids being visible at ground level, 5m from the road. The coffins were very well sculpted, but devoid of ornamentation. Both were clamped shut, each with four steel pins sheathed in lead that were hammered into the sockets in the side walls of the coffin. The northern example (Coffin 1) had had the seal broken and a second inhumation placed in the coffin, but on Coffin 2, the southern coffin, the clamp was still strong, locking the lid to the body. The only recourse to open the lid was to saw through the steel pin, the overall weight of coffin and lid being far too great to contemplate lifting the whole intact for more careful opening in the laboratory. Both coffins were full of water when opened, and bone survival was very poor. In Coffin 1 there were thigh bones and fragments of teeth, but in Coffin 2 only a few unidentifiable fragments remained. Coffin 2 contained the only grave good, a finely worked Whitby jet pin, with a pyramidal head. Preliminary analysis suggests that Coffin 1 held the remains of two individuals, an infant and a juvenile female, and Coffin 2 contained a female in late teens or early adulthood.

The BEMCO site also produced urned cremations. These were not grouped apart from the buildings, as the inhumations appear to have been, but were within the tenements of the properties, but whether they pre-date, were contemporary with, or post-date the *vicus* buildings remains uncertain.

Burial in stone coffins seems to have been a practice of the wealthy, and shared between urban contexts and high-status rural sites (Philpott 1991, 53). In a military context, as here, the individuals probably belonged to the family of the fort commander, or a similarly high-ranking official. Pottery vessels accompanied inhumations at Trentholme Drive, York; Malton, Norton; and other North Yorkshire sites, with a peak in frequency of association in the mid-2nd to early 3rd centuries, declining towards the end of the 3rd century (Philpott 1991, 106–8). It is possible that the urn found in 1903 had accompanied the original burial, although coffins were reused even in the course of the Roman period.

The only other find from within the study area that might represent funerary activity is a single Roman jar or cooking pot containing the remains of a cremation, together with other Roman pottery sherds, found on a burnt clay layer beneath Gunner Tower (Harbottle 1967, 129). This is located close to the Military Road, running behind Hadrian's Wall, at a distance of approximately 500m from the BEMCO finds. The pot has been dated to between the second quarter of the 2nd century and the early 4th century, and was accompanied by remains of one other vessel (Gillam in Harbottle 1967, 134–5). Cemeteries of urned cremations have been found at a number of military sites in Northumberland and Cumbria, including examples of a comparable date at Birdoswald (Philpott 1991, 37; Birley 1961, 203; Gillam in Harbottle 1967, 135, n. 16). There is evidence

Fig 3.17 Urn found at Clavering Place, 1904 (courtesy of TWM).

Fig 3.18 Opening of one of the coffins found at the Clavering Place excavation 2009.

for a pattern of rite particular to the North of England in which offerings were consumed in the funeral pyre with the corpse, and placed as ashes accompanying the broken, urned cremation, in the grave (eg High Rochester, Brougham, Trentholm Drive, York; Philpott 1991, 42). Might the black burnt material, largely wood, found in the depressions at Gunner Tower be remains of such a practice?

In all these cases, and in general, it is not possible to distinguish the burial of soldier from that of civilian (cf R F J Jones 1984). It was suggested that one of the Clavering Place coffins must have been for a child, but it might equally have anticipated a crouched adult inhumation (Rich 1904). Although rare, crouched adult inhumations are known in stone cists in urban settings (Philpott 1991, 71). It should be noted that, at York, the distribution of single burials is quite widespread and rarely close to sites identified as cemeteries (although it is a matter of archaeological recording how many burials constitute a cemetery; Jones 1984).

3.5.3 Evidence for occupation north of Hadrian's Wall

Prior to 2007, a number of stray finds had been recorded from the town north of the Imperial Frontier, but as none has come from a definite 'site' it was uncertain what conclusions could be drawn from this evidence (Table 3.9, Fig 3.19). In that year, evaluation in advance of building works at the Cathedral of St Nicholas uncovered features believed to be of Roman date.

A collection of 26–28 Roman coins and 'relics' was said to have been found in St Nicholas's churchyard in 1840 (*AA* ser 1, **3**, Appendix 'Donations to the Society', 11). A slab depicting, and dedicated to, the Mother Goddesses of his homeland overseas set up by *Aurelius Iuvenalis* was recorded as being built into a wall of Mitchell the printers, St Nicholas's churchyard (Spain and Simpson 1930, 546). It is not known whether finds in and around the church of St Nicholas were plundered from the fort close by, or represent external activity. In the early 20th century, the churchyard was thought to be on the line of Hadrian's Wall, and some of these finds were taken as evidence for that alignment: eg the two coins identified as of *Domitius* and *Commodus* reportedly found in Back Row (*PSAN* 1890 ser 2, **4**, 260); and a single coin of *Antoninus Pius* dug out of a trench east of Queen Victoria's statue in St Nicholas's Square (*PSAN* 1922 ser 3, **10**, 343).

Evaluations carried out at the Cathedral Church in 2007 revealed a range of features of several periods (PCA, 2007). Excavations carried out between the Cathedral Hall and the north transept revealed features of possible Roman date cut into natural clay (Fig 3.20). A curvilinear feature with rounded terminal, provisionally interpreted as a drainage gully,

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*reference*
3	3.19	Cloth Market, 1979	two sherds of Roman pottery	Tullett and McCombie 1980
445	3.19	Mosley Street, *c* 1903	coins of *Antoninus Pius* found in this vicinity	*PSAN* ser 3, **10**, 343
448	3.19	St Nicholas's churchyard, 1840	slab of Mother Goddesses built into wall	Spain and Simpson 1930, 546
449	3.19	Back Row, 1891	two coins of *Domitius* and *Commodus*	*PSAN* ser 2, **4,** 260
742	3.19	St Nicholas's churchyard, 1840	26–28 Roman coins 'and relics'	*AA* ser 1, **3** Appendix 'Donations to the Society'
911	3.19	Carliol Tower, 1922	'Roman coins'	Society of Antiquaries Donations Book, 25/10/1922
2796	3.19	St Nicholas's Cathedral, 2007	curvilinear features with rounded terminals, large drainage ditch	TWHER SR 2007/34

Table 3.9 Archaeological events north of Hadrian's Wall

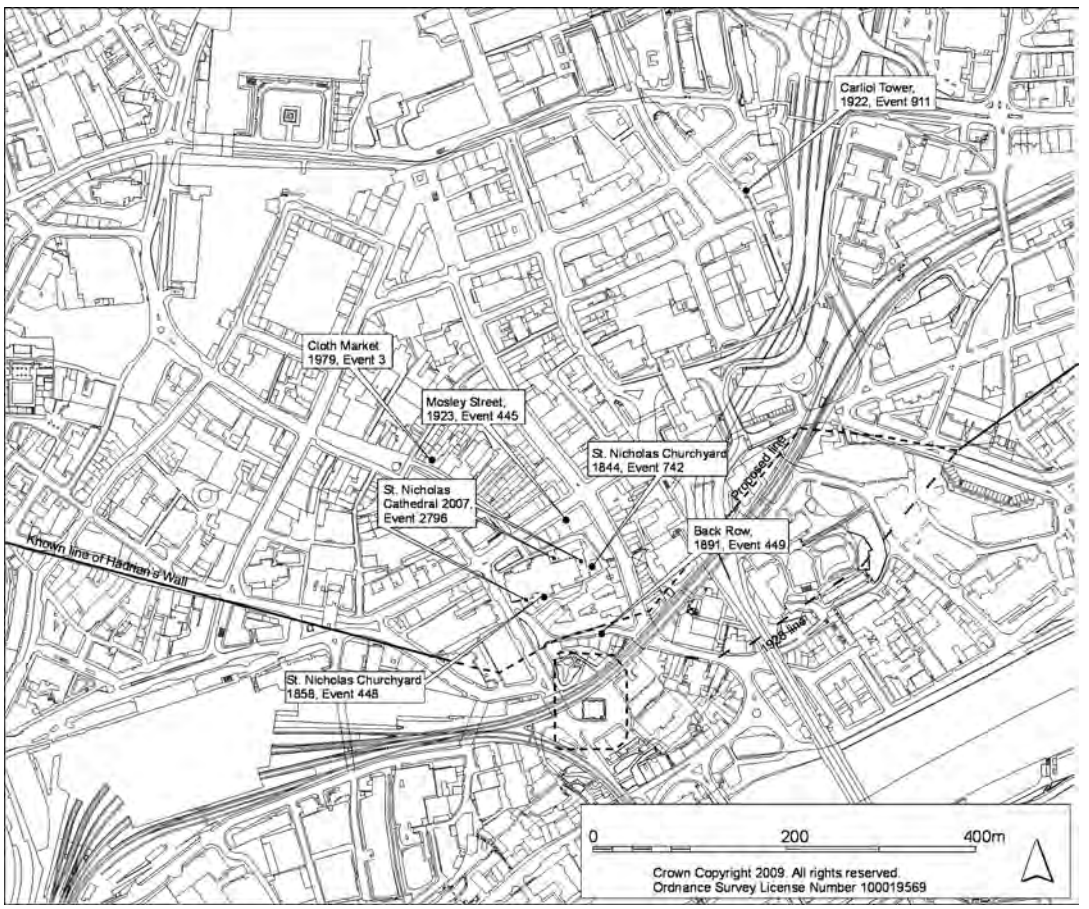


Fig 3.19 Roman events north of Hadrian's Wall.

contained a sherd of pottery likely to be of Roman date. A second feature, in the west side of the trench, also thought to be a drainage ditch, was more extensive in size. These features were sealed by a silty clay layer that contained two sherds of residual Roman pottery as well as medieval sherds. The medieval burials cut this layer.

Slightly farther to the north, two sherds of Roman pottery (2nd and 4th century) were found in the Cloth Market in 1979, (Ellison in Tullett and McCombie 1980, 134; 136) and 'Roman coins', reputedly from Carliol Tower, were given to the Society of Antiquaries, as recorded in the Donations Book (25 October 1922).

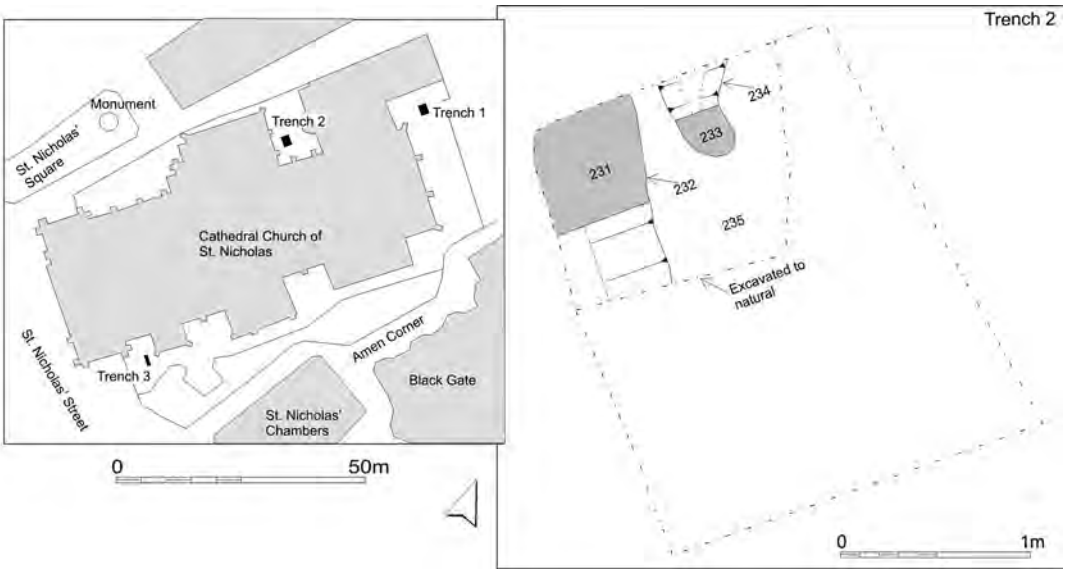


Fig 3.20 Plan of St Nicholas's Cathedral excavation (after PCA TWHER SR 2007/34).

The distribution of unstratified, random finds may reflect only casual losses on ground travelled over, rather than settled occupation, industry or commerce, with individual sherds of pottery being attributed to the manuring of arable fields north of the settlement. However, the concentration around what would become the Cathedral graveyard might hint at the presence of a substantial Roman building or buildings here, on the postulated road to the north. Although any pre-Hadrianic development here would later find itself beyond the Imperial Frontier, it is possible that substantial buildings would persist after the construction of the Wall. The *Matres* inscription is interesting: as the dedication slab recorded foreign deities, not among those within the military calendar, there may have been a shrine or temple outside the official bounds of the fort.

4 Post-Roman archaeology and context

4.1 Summary of the post-Roman evidence

The archaeological evidence for post-Roman activity in Newcastle consists of a number of features of unspecified date post-dating the use of the fort, but pre-dating the creation of a cemetery in the 8th century (Tables 4.1 and 4.2). The cemetery evidence consists of graves, skeletons and funerary furnishings, together with some clay and rubble foundations, and partial walls of structures, possibly at least one in timber, then two successive stone churches or chapels the earliest built in the 10th century, all revealed over the 1977–92 seasons (Nolan, Harbottle and Vaughan 2010). This modern evidence is supplemented by human bones found in excavations in 1929, and similar findings recorded in antiquarian journals and newspapers from the 18th and 19th centuries. The inhumation burials began *c* AD 700, and continued in places after the creation of the Norman 'New Castle' in 1080, and indeed, after the rebuilding of the Castle keep in stone in 1168–78, and intermittently into the mid-13th century. At the time of writing, no contemporary Anglian or Anglo-Saxon settlement evidence had been found, although a wicker-lined pit on The Close indicates late Saxon activity in the area (Mole forthcoming); and a putative early medieval iron socketed and barbed arrowhead has been recovered from Stowell Street, just south-west of St Andrew's church (Adams 2005, 97). This section will begin with a review of the post-Roman to Anglo-Saxon context for these discoveries, with a summary of the evidence for each

Table 4.1 Early medieval archaeological events on the site of the Roman fort, prior to the cemetery

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
66	3.1	Castle Garth, 1980–1982	Area D: alignment of postholes, also in RA28	Snape and Bidwell 2002, 117, 119; Nolan *et al* 2010, 170
102	3.1	Dog Leap Stairs, 1929	7th-century bead of red-brown and yellow paste	*PSAN* ser 4, **4**, 73
485	3.1	Castle Garth, 1987, 1992	Area E: west fort wall demolished. Ditch terminal, with possible counterscarp bank	Snape and Bidwell 2002, 120, 122; Nolan *et al* 2010, 170–1
812	3.1	Castle Garth, 1977–81	RA25: drainage channel and stone water tank	Snape and Bidwell 2002, 112; Nolan *et al* 2010, 163
829	3.1	Castle Garth, 1979	Area C: soil overlay of floors. Human bone in rubble surface. Stone feature.	Snape and Bidwell 2002, 114–15; Nolan *et al* 2010, 170
830	3.1	Castle Garth, 1976–78	RA26: drainage channel	Snape and Bidwell 2002, 112; Nolan *et al* 2010, 163
832	3.1	Castle Garth, 1992	RA28: collapse layers. Slot for fence or timber structure.	Snape and Bidwell 2002, 117; Nolan *et al* 2010, 167

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
40	4.2	Pavilion Cinema, Westgate Road, 1992	evaluation trench; ridge and furrow marks	TWHER SR 1992/9
62	4.2	Old County Hall, 1931	no bones found	Charlton 1932; Spain 1932
72	4.2	south Curtain Wall, 1961	no bones found	Harbottle 1966; TWHER SR 1961/1
99	unprov.	north of Castle keep, 1847	large quantities of bone, a brick vault; stone coffin.	*Newcastle Chronicle*, 8/10/1847, 9/10/1847
102	4.2	south and west of Castle keep, 1929	large quantity of bones found	Spain and Simpson 1930, 504–5
482	unprov.	near the Castle, 1752	stone coffin	*Newcastle Journal*, 25/4/1752
483	4.2	Three Bulls' Heads Inn, pre-1789	stone coffin, possibly the same as above	Brand 1789, 1, 172–3
484	4.2	Castle, 1824	two stone-built cists	Mackenzie 1827, 102
638	4.2	Old County Hall, 1907	no bones found	*PSAN* ser 3, **2**, 266;
753	unprov.	near the Castle, 1862	two stone coffins with remains of children	*AA* ser 2, **6**, 151
923	4.2	Pandon Hall, 1736	visible walls	Bourne 1736, 138
923	4.2	St Nicholas's Church, undated	carved slab with wave pattern	Bourne 1736, 56–58; Cramp 1984, 251; Honeyman, 1932, 99
1547	4.2	Bridge Hotel, 1995	no human remains found	Oram and Bidwell 1995
2364	4.2	Stowell Street, 2003	putative early-medieval iron-socketed and barbed arrowhead	Adams 2005, 97
2474	4.2	The Close, 2005	large wooden stake and wicker pit-lining	Mole, pers comm; Mole forthcoming

Table 4.2 Archaeological events surrounding the cemetery excavations

period following. The discussion will then suggest a new identification for the origins and development of the post-Roman, pre-cemetery activity.

4.2 The post-Roman period: political and archaeological context

The picture of occupation in the North after the end of formal Roman Imperial rule is very incomplete, and this is problematic for the interpretation of the archaeological evidence at Newcastle, particularly given that it seems to straddle the period from the end of Roman military occupation through to *c* 700, when datable artefacts and radiocarbon evidence suggest that burials began on the site. The 10th century, when the first stone buildings appear on the site, is also a period of which we have only a partial understanding in the region north of the Tyne.

In the wider context of north-east rural settlement, sites have been identified by aerial photography, but it seems that, north of the Roman Wall at least, there are fewer sites dating to the period after the military withdrawal than to the two centuries or so preceding it (Heslop 1994). Consequently, a drop in population has been assumed for this period. Palynological evidence gives a partial picture of long-term landscape change from the Roman period through to the late 9th century (Petts with Gerrard 2006, 61–3). Our greatest difficulties lie in identifying the structures of political authority in the region before Anglian hegemony was achieved in the mid-6th century (Dumville 1989, 217; see Cramp 1999 for an overview). Dumville has suggested that some of the sub-Roman kingdoms that emerged by the mid-5th century may have been lineal successors of Iron Age tribal groupings and their territories. Thus, in post-Roman literary

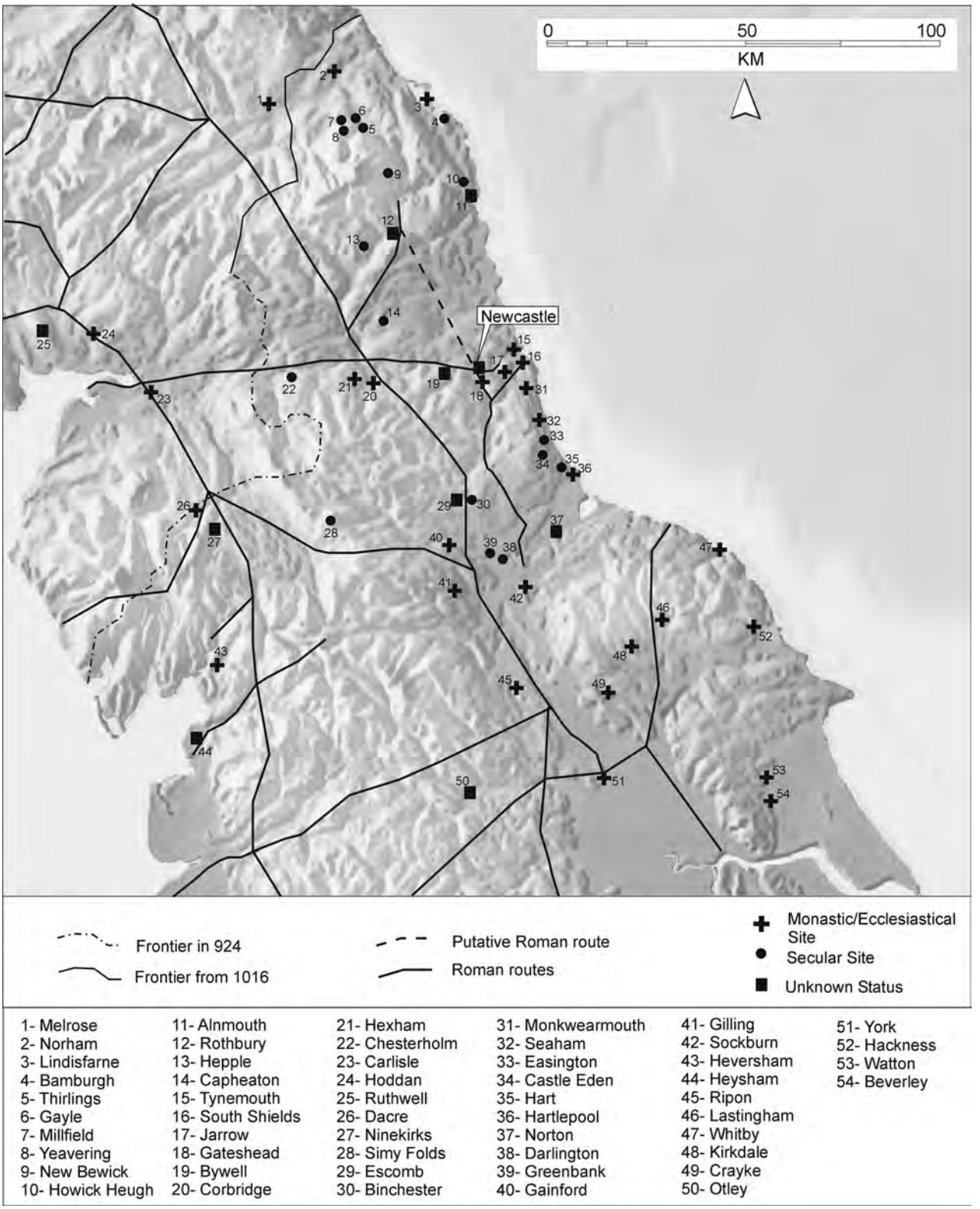


Fig 4.1 Post-Roman settlements in northern England and southern Scotland.

sources the Gododdin may have emerged out of the *Votadini*, as both occupied the territory between the Tees and the Forth. Dumville's thesis has been followed by Roberts (2007), but the paucity of archaeological evidence has made others more cautious in making this connection.

From a combination of place-name

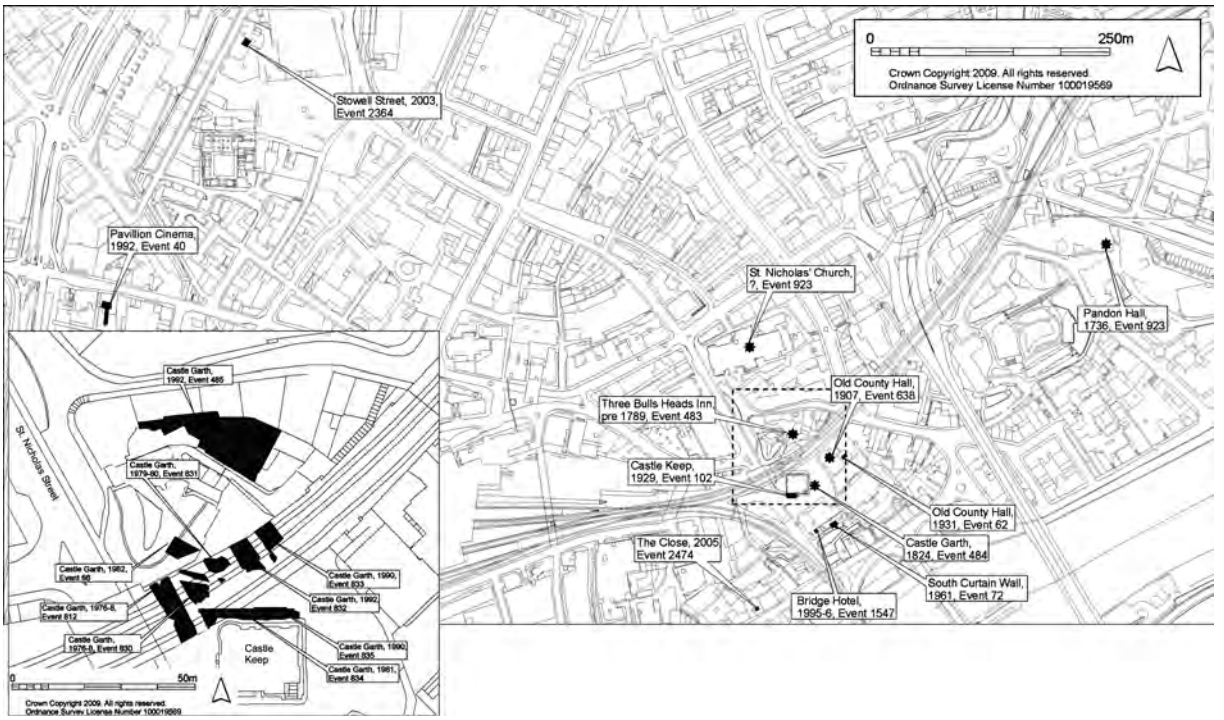


Fig 4.2 Events relating to the post-Roman period.

evidence, archaeology and references in both Bede and Eddius Stephanus's life of Bishop Wilfrid, Alcock (1988) has argued that several British forts lie beneath forts of known Anglian date. Hence, Doon Hill, Dunbar, and Kirk Hill, Coldingham (all in Berwickshire), and Bamburgh and Milfield in Northumberland may all have been British settlements (Alcock 1988, 4–6). Recent excavations at Bamburgh Bowl Hole cemetery have yielded what might be some features or material pre-dating the Anglian cemetery (ie before the mid-7th century), but it is not yet clear if this can be identified as British in origin (Groves, Wood and Young with Hama 2009, 118–20). The earliest phase at Yeavering, Northumberland (Post-Roman I), with its large stockaded enclosure and scatter of timber buildings beyond, has been assigned to British occupation preceding the Anglian phases (Hope-Taylor 1977). Yeavering is overlooked by a hill fort with occupation, which can be traced from the pre-Roman Iron Age to the 3rd or 4th centuries AD (Jobey 1965, 31–5; Alcock 1988, 8). Alcock has argued that the Angles took over British defended and enclosed places, but that these sites continued to fulfil their social, economic and administrative functions in the new political context. It has also been argued that certain pre-feudal elements in Northumbrian institutions indicate that the Angles took over 'a pre-existing legal and administrative system from the Britons' (Alcock 1988, 10ff.; Jolliffe 1926).

That some manner of Romanised church organisation survived and continued into the post-Roman period is attested by the account of the mission of Ninian, a bishop of perhaps the late Roman diocese of Carlisle, to the pagans of Galloway. It has been postulated that a British church survived in the Till, Glen and Tweed valleys, on the basis of place names and inscribed grave markers (Cramp 1984, 1). At Housesteads, on the Roman Wall, there is a small apse-ended building, which might have been a chapel, with associated cist-burial that must date either to the late Roman or immediate post-Roman period (Crow 1995, 95–6). While the putative chapel might have served the late 4th-century garrison, it has been suggested that it continued to serve the Christians of the area in the later period. A 5th-century Christian gravestone inscribed with a Latin epitaph was found at *Vindolanda*. To the south of the River Tyne long cist burials found at Cornforth, Copt Hill and Houghton-le-Spring may indicate the existence of post-Roman Christian cemeteries, but no settlement sites have been excavated in this area, which may be contemporary with the palaeoenvironmental

evidence for land clearance in the 5th and 6th centuries (Miket 1980, 300; Huntley and Stallibrass 1995, 42–3; Cramp 2005, 27). At Birdoswald, timber buildings were erected over the demolished granaries, and at South Shields new ditches cut outside the west gate, as well as a cemetery, may date to the late-Roman or immediate post-Roman period. There seems to have been some rebuilding at South Shields in the 5th century, followed by a slow decline (Cramp 2005, 27).

Newcastle falls within the ancient kingdom of Northumbria. The historical evidence for the origins of Northumbria has been discussed by Dumville (1989), Kirby (1991) and Rollason (2003, 20–109), while the archaeological evidence has been reassessed by Cramp (1988) and Rollason (2003, 57–170). Northumbria had been amalgamated from two kingdoms, or rather two peoples – the Bernicians and the Deirans (Wood 2008) – and it is within the first of these, the northern kingdom, that Newcastle lies, even if the border between the two is still a matter of dispute (cf Alcock 1987, 258; Cramp 1988, 74; Wood 2008, 11–13). Bede asserts that the Northumbrians were Angles (*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, hereafter *HE*, **1**.15; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 50–1), but modern archaeological perspectives challenge traditional ethnic ascriptions and certainties (eg Lucy 1998).

Bede, Eddius Stephanus and other commentators provide a chronology of significant acts on the part of Anglian rulers in the military conquest of British strongholds, amalgamation of the kingdoms, and of holy men in the conversion of kings and their retinues. According to Bede, Anglian control of Bernicia effectively began when King Ida took control of the coastal fort of Dinguaroy (later called Bamburgh), probably sometime between AD 547 and 560, though possibly later in the 6th century (Alcock 1993, 8; Sherlock and Welch 1992, 6–7; *HE*, **V**.24; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 562–3). Alcock (1988) has derived a hierarchy of settlement in Northumbria from Bede's accounts and from the archaeological evidence. Bamburgh was one of the largest forts anywhere in northern Britain and became the *civitas regia* of the Bernician kings. Once St Aidan had established a monastery on Lindisfarne, Bamburgh and Lindisfarne formed a twin locus of power, secular and ecclesiastical, in Bernicia. From the 7th century, however, new 'axes' of power developed where communities of monasteries were founded, particularly along the east coast (from Spurn to Coldingham) and the Lower Tyne (as far west as Hexham) (Wood 2008).

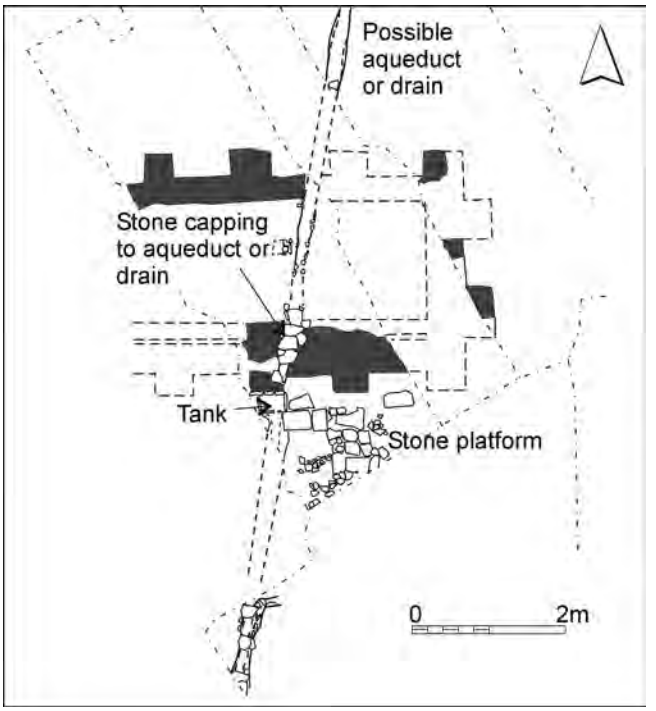


Fig 4.3 Post-Roman features, Castle Garth (after Snape and Bidwell 2002).

Northumbria was constituted of a number of estates. It seems possible that the boundaries of some of the modern shires of Northumberland still reflect the limits of the early estates: a strong tradition of scholarship has discerned the geographical and political form of early and mid-Anglo-Saxon estates in the region from the institutional arrangements of post-Norman feudal estates in the North East (eg Barrow 1969, 1973, Jones 1971, 1976, and O'Brien 2002). Each estate would have been administered from a villa, or centre comprising a number of wooden buildings, but not an extensive settlement in itself. Food renders, taxes and dues of any other nature would be collected at these sites, and similarly these centres provided a place where councils could be held, and justice administered. Within the system of itinerant or peripatetic kingship that we understand to have been operating at this time, the administrative villas might also provide accommodation for the king and his retinue on their circuit. The focus of the villa would be a substantial wooden hall that housed the feasts at which food renders were

consumed and wine distributed among the noble warrior retinue. This is the pattern that has been envisaged for Yeavering (Bede's *Ad Gefrin*), and later Millfield (Bede's *Maelmin, HE,* **II**.14 for both; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 189) in the north of the kingdom of Nothumbria, and Catterick in the south. It seems clear, however, that many royal estate centres were located within, and partly reused, older Roman and/or prehistoric monumental landscapes (Hope-Taylor 1977; Wilson *et al* 1996).

Early Anglo-Saxon burial sites in Northumbria have been recorded by Lucy (1999), Sherlock and Welch (1992), Alcock (1981) and Miket (1980), supplementing those sites published by Meaney (1963). The pagan Anglian evidence in the immediate vicinity of Newcastle is limited. Slightly to the east of the old Roman fort at Benwell a cruciform brooch was found in 1935, dated to the 6th century, and one great square-headed brooch was also found east of the fort in 1953, dated to the early 7th century and possibly associated with a glass vessel (Cramp and Miket 1982, 8, nos 6 and 7). A large square-headed brooch was also dredged from the Tyne near Whitehill Point in 1892 (*PSAN* 1892 ser 2, **5**, 236, 239), but as Nolan, Harbottle and Vaughan (2010, 156) note, the brooch could have originated up-river of where it was found. This too has been dated to the early 7th century (Lucy 1999, 39). No skeletal remains were noted with either discovery.

The location and fluctuating borders of both Deira and Bernicia, and the vicissitudes of power, have been discussed by Cramp (1988, 74), Sherlock and Welch (1992, 6) and Rollason (2003; 2007). The two kingdoms were united under Aethelfrith (AD 593–616), the last pagan king of Bernicia. The first conversions to Christianity among the Anglian kings and their followers took place when Edwin received Paulinus, one of the companions of St Augustine on his mission to Kent. The king, his nobles and a 'vast number of the common people' were baptised in AD 627 at York, where the king had built a wooden church (*HE* **II**.13–14; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 187). Bede reports that Paulinus preached to Edwin and people 'from every village and district' at *Ad Gefrin* (Yeavering) in AD 627 for 36 days, baptising people in the River Glen, and then at other locations probably associated with royal vills (*HE* **II**.14–15; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 189; Cramp 1999, 5). A period of apostacy or reversion to paganism followed Edwin's death in 632–3, but Oswald re-established Christianity, inviting Aidan to settle monks from Iona on Lindisfarne in 635. The 'new contacts and patronage they established, are often seen as introducing Hiberno-Saxon art traditions and the Golden Age' of Northumbria in the 7th to 8th centuries (Cramp 1999, 6). A network of monasteries –including the double foundation of Wearmouth-Jarrow – produced stone sculpture, other religious arts, illuminated manuscripts, and learning that made it a lamp in Europe at the time (see papers, eg, in Hawkes and Mills 1999; Rollason 2003, 110–70).

Aldfrith (AD 686–705) was the first Northumbrian king to have coins minted, but no more are known until the reign of Eadberht (AD 737/8–58), after which time there were few breaks in the issue of coinage (Pirie 1996). Rollason has argued that Northumbrian kings had a 'powerful and, by the standards of the period, sophisticated governmental machinery' (2003, 180). Powerful lineages of Northumbrian aristocrats might serve as royal officers and, on occasion, compete for kingship itself; they also engaged in founding and running monasteries and churches. For Rollason (2003, 185–6), sources for the period suggest a distinction within the aristocratic class that may be pertinent to the evidence at Newcastle, between, on the one hand, counts (or *gesiths* in Old English), who were perhaps propertied, married men, and on the other hand, ministers or knights (*thegns* in Old English), who were seemingly landless young nobles serving as military retainers and seeking to gain promotion through rewards of land and households from the king. The persistence of political institutions (perhaps among them this recognised 'career path') seems to have sustained the region through a period of relative political instability in the 8th to early 9th centuries (Rollason 2003, 192–8).

The Vikings attacked Lindisfarne in AD 793, and the subsequent fragmentation of the kingdom of Northumbria into successor states over the period AD 866/7 to *c* AD 1100 has been discussed in detail by Rollason (2003, 211–90). While a Viking kingdom was founded in the south, with York as its principal ecclesiastical centre, rule north of the River Tyne lay in the hands of the earls of Bamburgh. One dynasty of earls ruled from

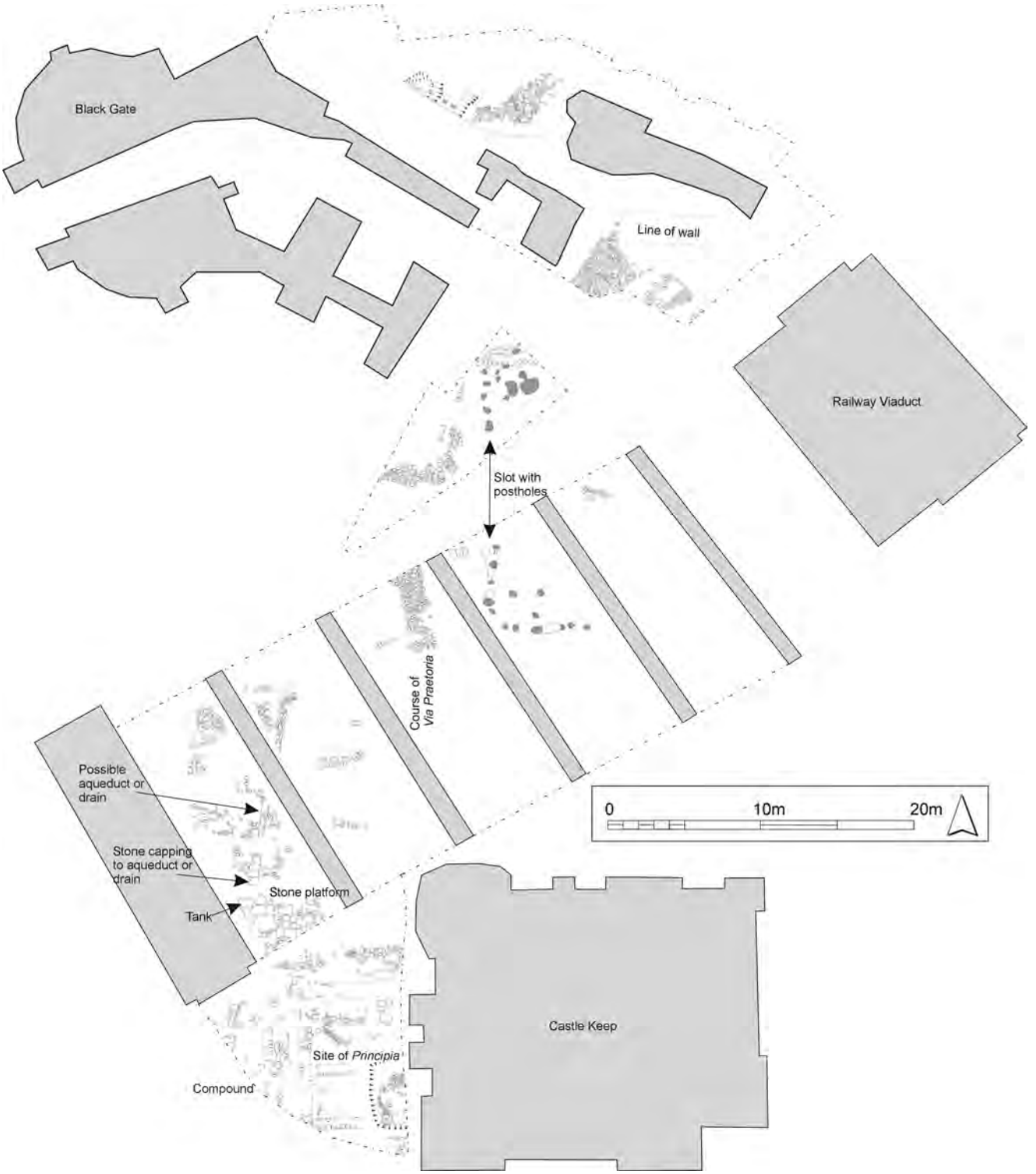


Fig 4.4 Plan of possible timber structure and other features overlying the Roman fort (after Nolan and Harbottle 2010).

the very early 10th century and reoccupied Bamburgh as their powerbase in a deliberate echo of former times, also retaining aspects of the older political organisation (Rollason 2003, 249). The 'liberty' of the religious Community of St Cuthbert lay in the area between Tyne and Tees, and it is in the Viking period that the Tyne at Newcastle appears to have become a political boundary (Rollason 2003, 244–9). Incursions from Scotland and the ambition of kings of Wessex (later 'England') feature throughout the 10th and 11th centuries, but the independent

power of the earls of Bamburgh survived until the Norman Conquest, and relatively little of southern English political and religious culture seems to have challenged the cultural identity of the region (Rollason 2003, 271–2).

4.3 Earliest identified post-Roman activity in the area of the fort before the cemetery

Snape and Bidwell (2002, 111–27) have identified two different, if not distinct, phases in the period following Roman occupation of the fort and its immediate vicinity. One phase is the 'decay and collapse of the buildings' following the end of Roman activity; the other involved stone-robbing, levelling and 'a very thorough clearance of some areas of the ruins', followed by construction of a number of features that did not respect the alignments of any Roman structures or features (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 111). While the excavators of the site recognised these features, they are less certain as to the dating and interpretation of the archaeology, maintaining that some of this material may date to an early, relatively short-lived monastic phase (Nolan *et al* 2010, 162–72, 252–3). This section summarises only the disputed material, as the archaeology is covered in detail elsewhere (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 117–27; Nolan *et al* 2010, 162–72).

Across the site, there was evidence for some demolition and levelling, including parts of the *praetorium* and west granary. The west granary and *via principalis* were crossed by a number of discontinuous lengths of a substantial drain or aqueduct (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 113, fig 12.1; Nolan *et al* 2010, 163–6). The feature had evidence for a 'substantial stone lining', and in places was capped with cover slabs *in situ* (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 112; Nolan *et al* 2010, 163). A side channel ran to the west, but the main channel ran into a stone-lined tank, the construction pit for which cut through the metalling of the *via principalis* (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 111–14, fig 12.1; Nolan *et al* (2010, 163–5, fig 3.1). The drain did not cut any of the Anglo-Saxon graves, it did not follow the alignment of any of the Roman buildings (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 111), and it appears to have been part of a water-management system. To the south-east of the tank, there was an L-shaped layer of stone blocks; the most northerly block showed 'signs of heavy wear, as if it had been in use as a surface' (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 112).

There were a number of paved areas or paths and metalled surfaces that seemed to post-date Roman occupation, but had no associated datable finds (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 115, 120–2, 125; Nolan *et al* 2010, 167, 170, 178). In the area of the Roman northern defences the fort wall was demolished at the western end and, with the *intervallum* street and other features, was covered by rough paving which was also in use long enough to develop signs of wear (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 120). A number of deposits contained red deer antler, some with a quantity of cat bone and remains of a raven (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 115–16). Almost all the rubble, robbing and demolition deposits contained human bone, but the excavators (Nolan *et al* 2010) consider this to be contamination from later burial activity.

In places, structural evidence cut into the demolition deposits: 'some possible post-and-trench alignments, suggestive of a post-built structure or structures, or of a fenced enclosure or enclosures' in the area of Railway Arch 28, the slot for a fence or timber structure with post holes and stake holes cut into the robbed rubble of Buildings III and IV, with two west-east cuts with post holes (Nolan *et al* 2010, 167; cf Snape and Bidwell 2002, 117–19). Further alignments of post holes and cuts in Area D may have been a continuation of this timber structure (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 118–19; Nolan *et al* 2010, 170; *see* chapter 4, section 4.4.3). The fort wall to the east was reduced to its foundation stones, but the robbing trench and foundations were cut by a post hole which retained charcoal, probably from the burning of the post *in situ* (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 120). Two further post holes associated with burnt material were located in an alignment with the former fort wall in the space between the west and east wall fragments (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 122). Two large square or rectangular pits were located at the southern edge of the excavated area, each cut by a small post hole.

Two further features located in Area E have been disputed in terms of date and function, and neither feature was dug extensively. One has been interpreted as an early post-Roman gulley, but the fills contained no Anglo-Saxon artefacts, only pottery of the second half of

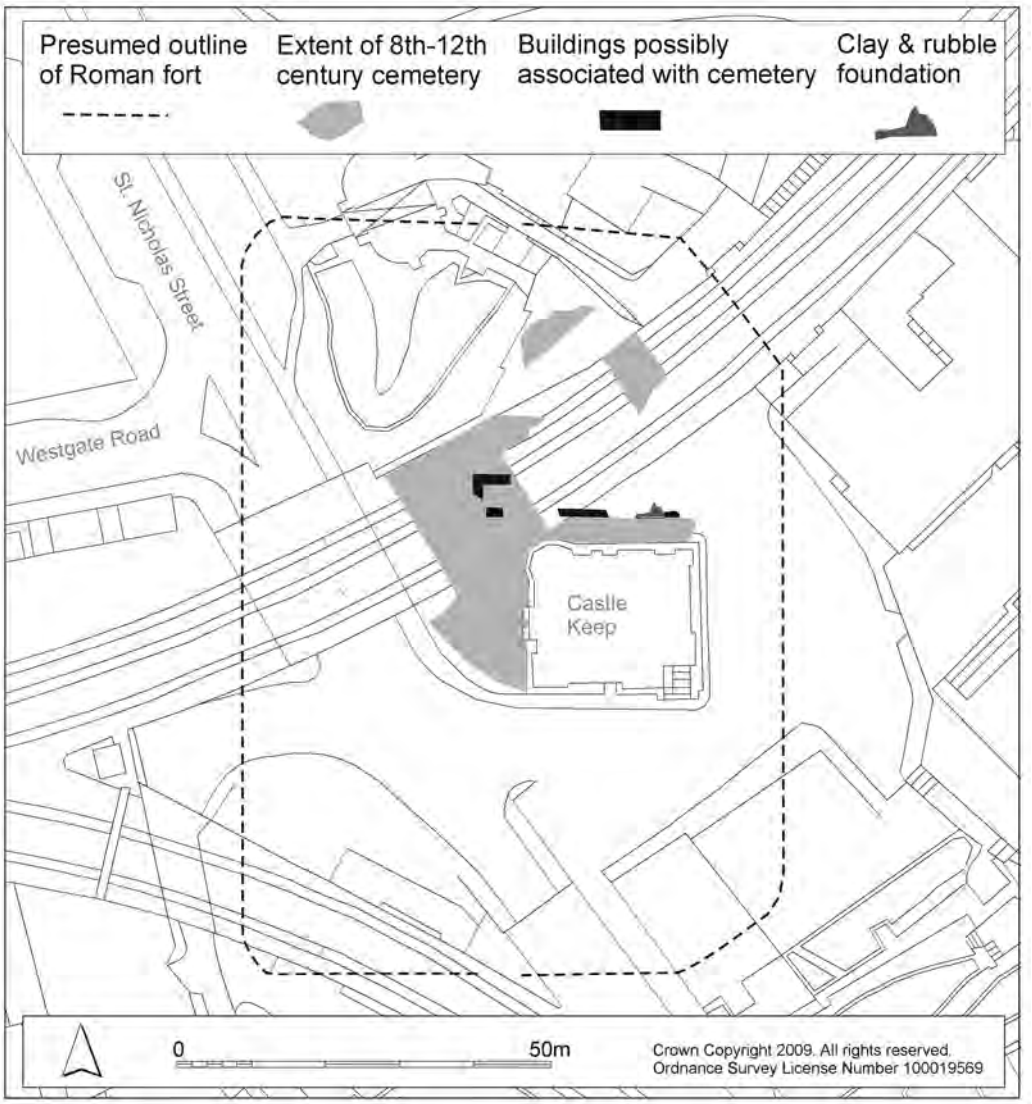


Fig 4.5 Extent of burials across Castle Garth (after Nolan et el 2010).

the 4th century at the bottom, and of the 12th century at the top (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 123–5, fig 2.7B; Nolan *et al* 2010, 171). The other feature was interpreted as the cut of an Anglo-Saxon ditch terminal, and was found to be roughly co-terminal with a patch of redeposited clay, suggesting a ditch and counterscarp bank to Snape and Bidwell (2002, 125). The bottom of the ditch was never reached in excavation, but the feature ran on the same alignment as both the gulley, and the later medieval Castle ditch. The ditch terminal was cut by a second ditch or gulley on the same alignment. A similar ditch terminal and counterscarp clay bank may have existed to the south-east, with the clay layers of the putative Anglo-Saxon bank overlain by the Norman earthen rampart. The Norman bank was cut by the medieval ditch terminal, which was thought to be 'a medieval re-cut of a post-Roman or Anglo-Saxon predecessor' (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 127). The ditch terminals suggested an opening that 'would have allowed access onto the defended promontory from a road running north-west/south-east along the present route of The Side' (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 127). Nolan *et al* (2010, 171) are less convinced that the ditch might be Anglo-Saxon, as there were no related datable artefacts: rather, they consider it to be associated with the 1080 Castle, with the 'terminal' dating to a 12th-century remodeling of the defences. Without dating evidence, it could belong to any time between the late Roman and the Norman periods.

Fig 4.6 Building 68, part of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery complex.

With regard to the post-Roman site as a whole artefactual evidence dating to the period between the 4th century and the time at which the cemetery is thought to have been started *c* AD 700, is limited; and some of this may have entered post-Roman contexts through the spatially intense cutting and filling of graves. One possible top stone from a quern has a disputed identification as either late Roman or early medieval (S64; Jobey in Heslop 2002, 237, fig 19.2). An incomplete cylinder bead with yellow marvered bands on a terracotta-coloured glass base, found in an Anglo-Saxon layer in the former west granary area is likely to date to the 7th century since it is of the same type as a bead found on Dog Leap Stairs in 1929, which was ascribed a 7th-century date (Allason-Jones 2002, 225, citing Cramp and Miket 1982, 8, no. 5; Nolan *et al* 2010, 262).

An unpublished animal bone report (Louisa Gidney pers comm) found that while there was craft working of red deer antler from early in the occupation of the fort, there was a definite probability of a red deer antler workshop in the area of the Compound late into the occupation of the fort and that antler-working either continued into or resumed in this vicinity in the post-Roman period. The marked quantities of red deer antler and the absence of red deer bone in this period implied the production of antler artefacts without the animals being eaten on this site. Although detailed records were not made, the impression gained at the time of the report was that the antler was shed, rather than cut from dead animals (Gidney unpub report 1997). The implication was that the antler must have been gathered and transported to the site. The antler seemed to represent the high proportion of unusable offcuts left by antler-working.

There were some sheep/goat present in the post-Roman period, but the teeth tended to be from older animals, in contrast to the Roman phases, which had predominantly younger animals. Only the teeth of young pig were present in the post-Roman, pre-cemetery phases, which is reminiscent of the post-Roman phases of occupation of York's Roman Legionary *principia*, with its predominance of small or neonatal pig bones (Carver 1993, 59). There was limited evidence for the presence of a juvenile horse in the post-Roman deposits, and Louisa Gidney (pers comm) considered that it might represent a sacrifice rather than a working animal.

In Railway Arches 25–29, Areas C and E, extensive spreads of black soil of considerable depth were found (Nolan *et al* 2010, *passim*., 203). While no sign of this black soil was found to the west of the Castle on Westgate Road (TWHER 2007, 22; 2004, cited in Nolan *et al* 2010, 203) dark soil deposits have been found

elsewhere. Outside the immediate area of the fort, there was no evidence for any activity on the later site of the Carmelite Friary south of Forth Street in the period between the 2nd to early 3rd centuries, and the late 13th to early 14th centuries, apart from a layer of black clay that overlay either the subsoil or the Roman occupation in every trench (Harbottle 1968, 179). A *terminus post quem* was provided for the black clay by early 14th-century pottery. Excavation in 2008 investigated further areas to the south of Harbottle's 1968 trenches and located a group of Roman burials (chapter 3, section 3.5.1). Again, the Roman deposits were overlain by a thick deposit of black soil, interpreted as accumulations of cultivation soils associated with the Carmelite Friary (Richard Annis pers comm), but no datable artefacts were recovered from the black deposits. However, as has been seen, black soil was encountered in the post-Roman deposits at the Castle – to be precise, usually above the immediate post-Roman/early medieval, and before the cemetery soils; and it was also observed at the Hertz Garage site, overlying the Roman stratigraphy (David Heslop pers comm). Deep layers of black soils, or 'dark earth' have been observed on many post-Roman, and early to mid-Saxon urban sites – eg London, Lincoln and York, as well as a number of sites on the continent, such as Verona – but it has also been found in urban deposits of other dates, eg 14th-century in Stafford, and 18th-century in Lichfield (Carver 1993, 61). Different arguments have been put forward for the formation of these dark deposits, although it is unlikely that they could have any single cause in all the contexts and geographical locations in which they have been recorded. According to Carver: 'the dark earth is neither a signal of the dark ages nor of economic depression… Dark earth is much more likely to indicate the successful capture of urban space by the very rich, than the halfhearted doings of disconsolate squatters waiting for urbanism and civilization to return' (Carver 1993, 61).

Fig 4.7 Burial within timber coffin.

4.4 The post-Roman/Anglo-Saxon cemetery

4.4.1 The extent of the cemetery and the survival of Roman structures

Human bones, full skeletons and coffins have been recorded in the area of the Castle since the mid-18th century, at least and especially when the railway viaduct was cut through the Garth (*Newcastle General Magazine* **5** 1752, 220; Mackenzie 1827, 102; *Newcastle Courant*, 29 January 1847; *Newcastle Chronicle*, 29 January 1847; *Newcastle Courant*, 18 June 1847; *Newcastle Chronicle*, 8 October 1847; Longstaffe 1860, 121; Harbottle and Ellison 1978, 7–8). Modern excavation campaigns recovered the cemetery and associated structures between 1977 and 1992, and these have been fully reported and analysed by Nolan *et al* (2010), with accompanying specialist contributions (Table 4.3). Owing to the extreme dislocation of the archaeology within the explored areas, the

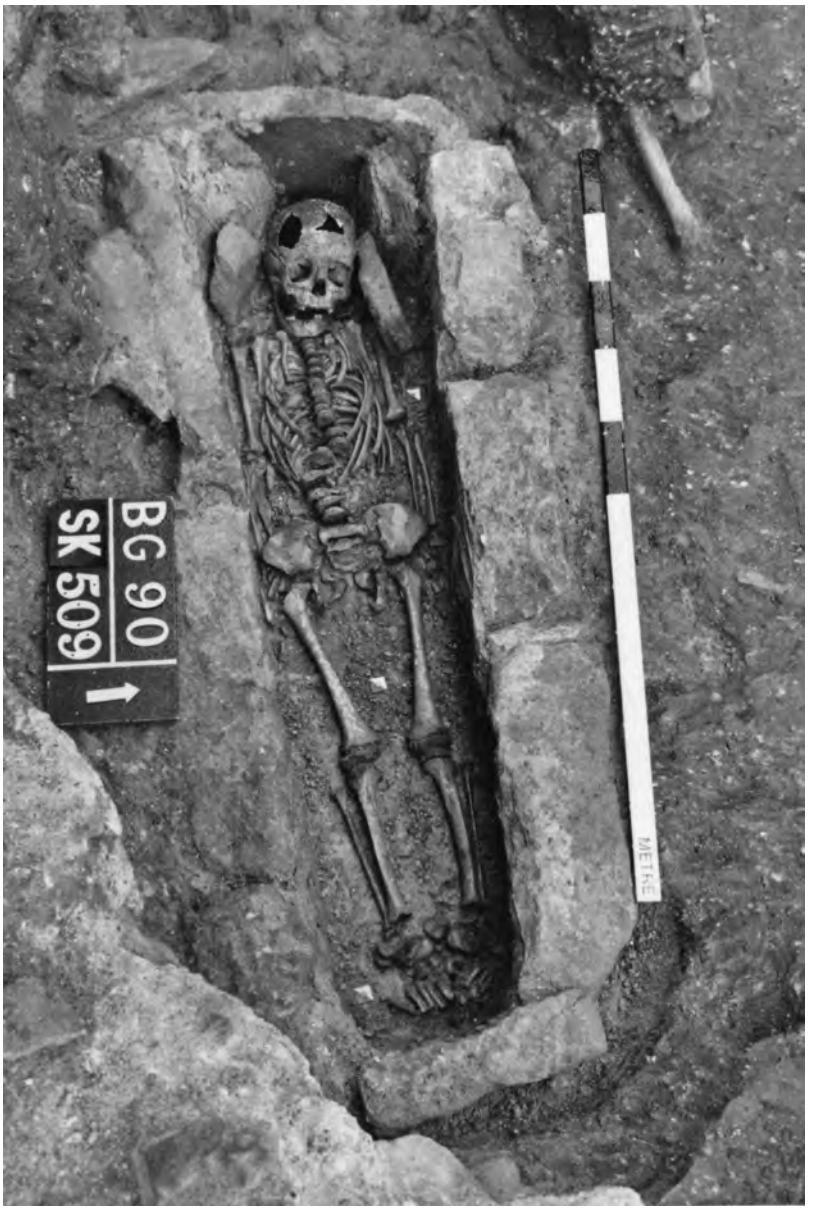


Fig 4.8 Burial in stone cist with head support.

burials and associated archaeology have been described in terms of the excavated areas (The Compound, Railway Arches 25–29, Areas C, D and E). From a combination of radiocarbon dates derived from two skeletons and finds evidence, burials are thought to have started on the site around AD 700 (Nolan *et al* 2010, 172). Some grave furniture was recovered, including grave markers with Christian symbolism (*see* chapter 4, section 4.4.2.1), but few artefacts were related to burials. Consequently, this has been interpreted as a Christian cemetery.

Some parts at least of the ruined north wall of the western granary building remained upstanding while burials were inserted in the post-Roman period. Grave cuts respected the wall to the east of the eastern buttress although this stretch survived only three courses high. Nolan *et al* (2010) are quite certain that enough of the Roman fort survived to be visible in the first phases of cemetery use, as the presence and alignment of some walls might have dictated the noticeable south-eastern orientation of a number of parallel lines of graves, forming a 'corridor' (Nolan *et al* 2010, 172–7, fig 4). A group of at least four grave cuts in Railway Arch 27 appeared to respect the western edge of the former *via praetoria* that had been remetalled in part. After an unknown lapse of time, burials were then cut through this surface (Harbottle and Ellison 1979, 11). It is still unknown to what extent the walls were respected because of any conscious significance attached to them as Roman remains, or because they were merely physical impediments that it was easier to avoid than to remove.

John Nolan (pers comm) has suggested that if some of the less substantial walls of the internal fort buildings had survived in this way, then it is possible that portions of the more substantial outer fort walls would have survived too. No bodies or graves appear to have been found north of the excavated Area D, which is well within the north fort wall. While it is not possible to locate all the recorded discoveries of human bone from the 19th century and before, almost all mention a proximity to the Castle keep (Nolan *et al* 2010, 158–9). No skeletons were found east of Railway Arch 29 or of Area C under modern excavation. An account of burials encountered in 1847 makes it clear that, while large quantities of bone were found immediately north of the Castle keep, a brick vault that was found 'at a short distance from them … [and] leading in the direction of Dog Leap Stairs' was in an area free of human bone (*Newcastle Chronicle*, 8 October 1847, p. 4, col. 4). Similarly, there was no mention of bone in any of the interventions beneath the site of the old County Hall building in the Castle Garth in 1907, 1931 or 1932 (*PSAN* 1906 ser 3, **2**, 266; Charlton 1932). Finally, the full description of finds encountered while digging the Moot Hall foundations in 1812 makes no mention of human bone or of coffins. It would seem, therefore, that the limit of the cemetery on the eastern side lies somewhere east of Railway Arch 29 and west of a line dropped

event	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
66	Castle Garth, 1982	Area D: five burials cut *via principalis*. Burials cut within Roman building I; latest burial sealed by Castle rampart rubble	Nolan *et al* 2010, 185–6
485	Castle Garth, 1992	Area E: two burials, reconsideration of date of metalling of street; burials sealed by rubble of 1080 castle rampart	Nolan *et al* 2010, 187
812	Castle Garth, 1976–8	RA25: five burials deposited in brown soil and rubble beneath flagstones, later generations of burials above, scatter of upright stones on surface probable grave markers	Nolan *et al* 2010, 178
830	Castle Garth, 1976–8	RA26: 55 burials predating *c* 1000; later phases above, pre-1080, though not cut by stone building (possible church) *c* 1000, Building 68	Nolan *et al* 2010, 178–9
831	Castle Garth, 1979–1980	RA27: west of post-Roman path, four levels of burial; one burial in coffin or similar; last phase under 1080 Castle rampart	Nolan *et al* 2010, 179
832	Castle Garth, 1992	RA 28: 80 burials, Saxon or pre-Norman Castle, 68% *c* 1000–108. timber head and foot markers, possible building (Building C)	Nolan *et al* 2010, 179,184
833	Castle Garth, 1990	RA 29: burials with 'head-boxes' and rubble-lined graves	Nolan *et al* 2010, 174
834, 835	Castle Garth, 1981, 1990	Area C: eight levels of burials, most pre-date 1080;.part of a rubble and clay foundation found, possible first stone structure of cemetery (Building B); overlain by later building (Building A)	Nolan *et al* 2010, 184–5

Table 4.3 The Saxon cemetery c AD 800–c AD 1080

between the vicinity of Dog Leap Stairs and County Hall; this is noticeably close to the eastern extent of the Roman fort as proposed by Nolan *et al* (2010; Harbottle 1989, 75).

Modern excavation did not explore the area immediately south of the Castle keep. In 1929, however, a profusion of bones was encountered 'above and at the sides of the Roman walls' to the south as well as the west of the keep (Dodds with Spain 1930, 504–5). Trial pits in the cellar of the Bridge Hotel and on the southern terrace of the hotel did not locate any human bone, although part of the intervallum road at the south-east corner of the Roman fort was believed to have been found (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 1071–10). No human bone was found in any of the trenches dug to the north and west of the south curtain wall in 1960–1 (Harbottle 1966). South of here, the natural topography of the north bank of the Tyne would form a natural boundary to the cemetery, but the absence of bones or graves in the excavations immediately north of here suggest that the southern limit had been reached some way north and west of this corner.

In summary, then, although the extent of the Roman fort is not known, all that has been recovered or reported of the later cemetery appears to fall within the area suggested for the Roman fort (Harbottle 1989, 76, fig 38). A space defined or set aside in this way may have presented a convenient location to the people who first used it for burial; enclosure had a high symbolic and status significance. Furthermore, it has been suggested that some of the early burials took their orientation from the vestigial internal fort buildings (Nolan *et al* 2010).

4.4.2 General description of burials and mortuary practice

Detailed spatial locations and body positions of the graves and skeletons are given in Nolan *et al* (2010, 172–203). All the burials in the Castle Garth cemetery were orientated roughly west–east, but within this the excavators recognised four general orientations: from 283 degrees from north (orientation 1) to 235 degrees from north (orientation 4), with most burials being 'a few degrees either side of 270°' (Nolan *et al* 2010, 221).

The body position of the majority of burials in the Compound was supine, although 40 per cent were laid on their right sides (Nolan *et al* 2010, 172). There was some indication of 'family plots', where bodies were stacked to a maximum of four 'generations' deep. The population here included foetuses and neonates, infants, possible adult males, male and female adults, as well as a double burial of old adult males. The area defined by Railway Arch 25 contained two neonates, and 22 infants and juveniles, with adult and old adults of both sexes (Nolan *et al* 2010, 178). There were at least

56 burials under Railway Arch 26, some cut or overlain by Building 68, the putative porch or tower of a pre-1080 church (*see below*). At least 23 burials were found in the area of Railway Arch 27, while perhaps 84 out of 114 burials in Railway Arch 28 could be dated to the pre-1080 cemetery phase, including two wooden chest burials (Nolan *et al* 2010, 179). The majority of burials in the area of Railway Arch 29 were supine, but there were a few in other positions. Area C was possibly the most densely and intensively used area of the cemetery, with the excavators estimating that as many as eight levels of burials existed in some parts (Nolan *et al* 2010, 184). Burials were found laid on both their right sides and their left sides, as well as prone. It is quite likely that most of the burials in this area pre-date 1080, and many may pre-date the supposed church (*see below*). In Area D the earliest graves were aligned in two rows at some distance apart (Nolan *et al* 2010, 185). Five skeletons cut the metalled surface of the former *via principalis*, and appeared to respect the other metalled paths or tracks assigned to the earlier post-Roman use of the site. There may have been as many as three generations of burial in this area, and the latest burial was sealed by the clay and rubble of the 1080 Castle rampart, although there may have been some even later activity (Nolan *et al* 2010, 186). Two burials were found at the southern end of Area E, but the excavators (Nolan *et al* 2010, 187) dispute the relationship of the burials to the area of metalling which Snape and Bidwell (2002, 120–2) assigned to the late Roman/early Anglo-Saxon period.

Analysis of the sexed and aged skeletal material (411 individuals) suggests that males outnumbered females by 61 to 39 per cent (Boulter and Rega 1993; Nolan *et al* 2010, 249). In some areas there appeared to be certain concentrations, for example there was a 'tight group' of males in Railway Arch 26, south of Building 68, and burials within and below that structure were also exclusively male (Nolan *et al* 2010, 223). By contrast, there was a 3m-wide 'strip' of cemetery where females predominated to the east of this area. The proportions of male to female significantly increased east of Railway Arch 27, being highest in Railway Arch 29 (61 per cent male to 24 per cent female) (Nolan *et al* 2010, 223). A 'markedly high proportion' (44 per cent) of foetuses, neonates and infants were buried in Area C immediately south of the 'church' (*see below*). The presence of women and children, however, does imply a lay population and Nolan *et al* (2010, 254) suggest that if there was a contemporary settlement in the vicinity of modern Gateshead, it may have been included in the catchment area for the cemetery.

A small number of burials cut into the clay deposits have been identified as part of the rampart of the 1080 Castle (Nolan *et al* 2010, 193–200). Some of the most interesting grave furnishings date to this phase, for example cist burials that seem to have begun before *c* 1000 but continued into this phase, and shaped and decorated grave slabs with headstones and foot-stones (Nolan *et al* 2010, 199–200). It is uncertain when the cemetery finally went out of use, but burials including cists were cut by the foundations of the 1168 Castle keep. There were occasional burials after this time, including one with a burial paten, to which a 12th- or 13th-century date has been ascribed (Nolan *et al* 2010, 200, 264). These latest burials might reflect members of the castle garrison and/or priests assigned to the castle chapel after the Norman period.

4.4.2.1 Mortuary practice and grave furniture

The different types and spatial location of burials have been covered in detail by Nolan *et al* (2010, 204–52), and the following presents a summary of the evidence. Many graves were identified simply as grave cuts. Some of these contained shroud pins (probably reused dress pins, of the 8th to 9th centuries) and the tight disposition of bones in others strongly suggested shrouds or close binding in a winding sheet (eg Sk 277) (Nolan *et al* 2010, 204, 213, fig 21). There were five identifiable types of grave furniture. The first type was the wooden 'coffin' or, more probably, 'plank-lined grave' – that is, a grave cut with traces of a wooden lining – as no nails were found. The lining seems to have covered the sides of the grave, and there is some evidence for lids (eg Sk 519a), but only one base-board was preserved (Sk519, 3296) (Nolan *et al* 2010, 205–13). Burials of this kind were found mostly in the Compound to the west of the Castle keep, where the clay rampart of the Castle may have contributed to their preservation, but a few were found elsewhere. No wooden 'coffins' were found within the areas defined by Buildings 68 and A. Several burials had iron 'straps', iron locks

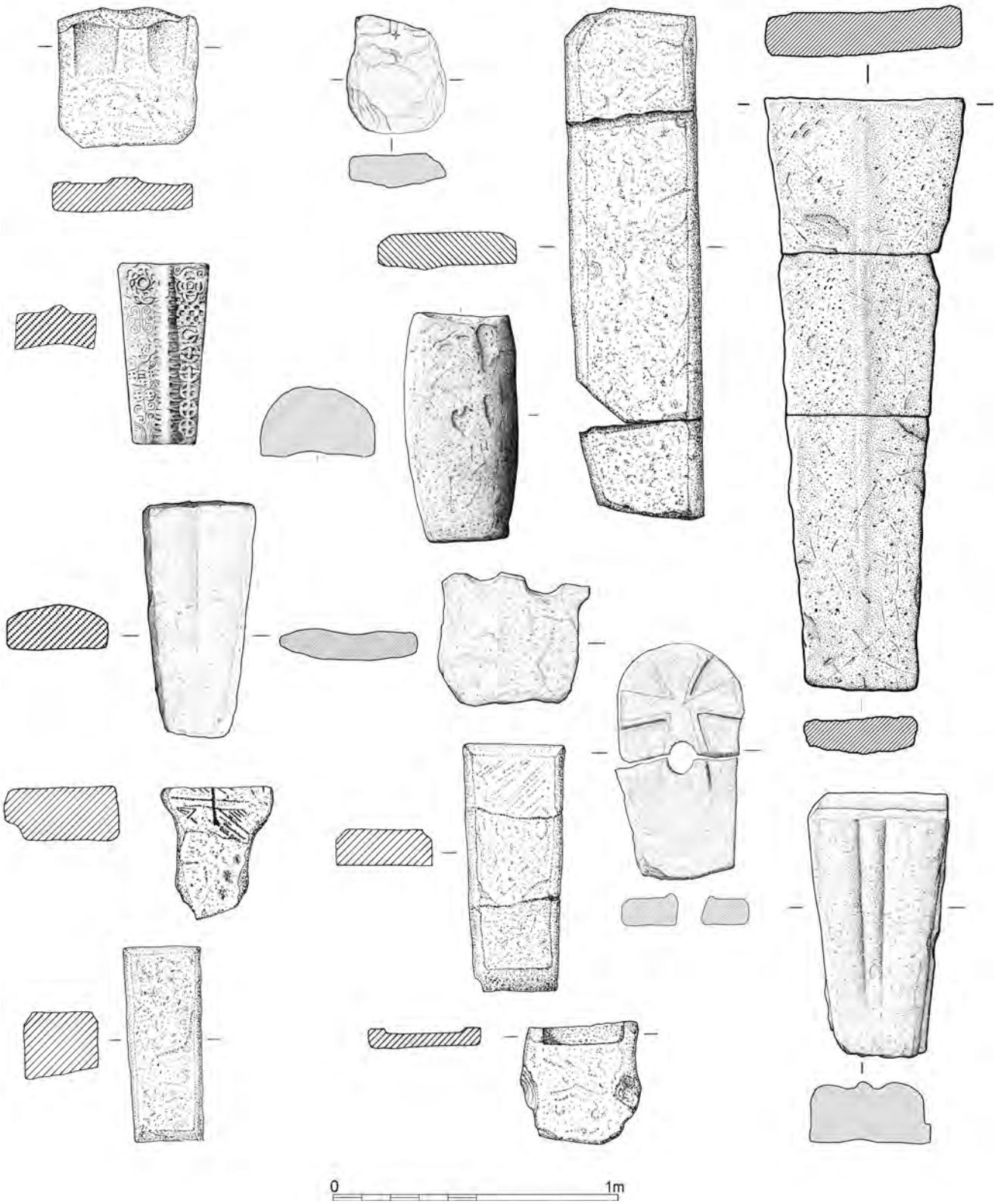


Fig 4.9 Saxon grave markers (after Nolan et el 2010).

or other residual chest-fittings, together with traces of wood, which implied chest burials (*see below*).

A smaller number of burials were found with stones at either side of the head (referred to here as head-support stones, following

Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 125; classified as 'ear-muffs' by the excavators), and sometimes boxed over with a stone supported by these side stones (classified as 'headboxes' by Nolan *et al* 2010, 204–5). Although both forms of burial are known elsewhere from the 7th and 8th–10th centuries, the distribution at Newcastle suggests a post-1080 practice.

Five burials had been placed in 'rubble-lined graves' – cuts lined with random, undressed boulders, packed tightly round the body (Nolan *et al* 2010, 205). These burials were not sealed by grave slab and the body may have been covered immediately with earth, or wooden planks may have been placed over the boulders. The distribution of this type of burial, and the age and sex of the skeletal remains contained, seems to have been random.

The fifth recognisable type of grave furnishing was the stone built cist with lid, of which fifteen were identified. These were constructed of a number of individual dressed stones placed closely together to create a cist, and often mortared. The distribution of the cists appeared to be restricted exclusively to the south of Building A and Building 68 or parallel with them, mostly in Area C, but with one in the extreme south-western corner of Railway Arch 27 (Nolan *et al* 2010, 215–21). Some of the cists had been cut when the footings of the Castle keep were laid down, and so the distribution may have continued to the south. Similarly, had there been any cist burials to the north of Building A, they would have been destroyed by the 17th-century bastion, two cellars, and the railway viaduct piers. The spatial distribution thus reconstructed from modern excavation does not appear quite so tightly defined when documented reports from the 18th and 19th centuries are taken into consideration. While cutting a drain 'a few yards distant from the south side of the Castle' in 1824, two skeletons were found with feet pointing to the east. The description of the circumstances in which the burials were found makes it clear that these fell into the category of stone-built cists: '… the bottoms and tops … were formed of thin stone slabs, the sides being built up with stones and lime' (Mackenzie 1827, 102).

Whenever a 'stone coffin' is mentioned in these old reports, we are left in doubt as to whether it might have been constructed in the same way, of many stone slabs, or whether a monolithic, hollowed out coffin is implied. Thus a stone coffin was found 'immediately on the north side of the keep of the Castle' (*Newcastle Chronicle,* 8 October 1847, 4, col 4). Two stone coffins, containing the bones of children, were found 'in the neighbourhood of the Castle' in 1862 (*AA* ser 2, **6**, 151). It was reported that a 'Stone Coffin' was dug up near the Castle in 1752 (*Newcastle Journal*, 25 April 1752, 2, col 2). This may have been the coffin that Brand located on the site of the Three Bulls' Heads Inn, while cellars were being dug (1789 **1**, 172–3 n. l). Nolan thought that this may have been the cellar excavated in 1979, in which case it was located in Railway Arch 27 (1990, 100; 80, fig 1). The effort, expertise and presumed expense that must have gone into the construction of these graves, and the restricted spatial patterning, imply that they were 'higher status burials in a focal area of the cemetery, favoured by those of wealth and social standing before the Norman castle was built' (Nolan *et al* 2010, 220).

Burials with head-support stones are sometimes confused in the archaeological literature with pillow graves (O'Brien 1996; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 125, cf White 1988, 18–22). Examples range from the cemetery associated with the Saxon Cathedral at Winchester, dating from the early 9th to the early to mid-11th centuries, to Raunds, in the 10th century, to Hereford, where they dated to the latter half of the 10th century or the 11th century, and the 11th-century cemetery beneath the castle bailey at Norwich, to St Mary, Stow, Lincolnshire, in the 13th century (White 1988, 20–2). A cradle of cobbles around the head was used in several burials at Fishergate Priory, and dated to the 11th to 12th centuries (Stroud and Kemp 1993, 153). Gilchrist and Sloane (2005, 125) found few examples in later monastic cemeteries, but these material attentions to the head at Newcastle (head-support stones and headboxes, together with anthropomorphic head recesses, that is head-and-shoulder recesses, in stone cists below) may relate to beliefs about the importance of the head generally in medieval Christian thought; as early as the 8th century the place at which the body was thought to reassemble at the Resurrection was thought to be where the head was located (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 137–9; Graves 2008, 43–4).

Blair (1999, 34–7, cited in Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 134) has argued that stone-lined

graves or cists constructed from many stones were reintroduced to southern England from south-east France, and is first detectable at Winchester *c* 1000. He argues that cist burial was adopted by West Saxon aristocrats in the first decades of the 11th century, but that the practice rapidly spread northward. Stone-lined graves were located in cemeteries in Fillingham, Lincolnshire and Newark, Nottinghamshire to the later 10th or early 11th centuries (Hadley 2001, 106, cited in Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 134). Mortared stone cists have been found on a number of major monastic and parish church sites dating to the 11th and 12th centuries, and into the 15th century (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 134–7; White (1988). Stone-built cists were also found in the 11th-century church beneath the north-east bailey of Norwich Castle (Ayers 1985). White suggested that these cists were made in imitation of monolithic stone coffins, such as have been found at the Old Minster, Winchester, dating from the 10th to 11th centuries (White 1988; Kjolbye-Biddle 1975). Nolan *et al* (2010, 220) cite a number of occurrences in the north of England, including Castle Terrace, Berwick, where they are thought to date to the 12th century (Cambridge *et al* 2001, 47). At least three of the Newcastle cists had head-and-shoulder recesses or supports that might support the suggestion that they were made in imitation of anthropomorphically shaped stone coffins.

The positions of three of the Newcastle cists were marked on the cemetery surface by recumbent slabs, with upstanding headstones and foot-stones; some had the standing marker stones, but no slabs, and some had no surface marker at all (Nolan *et al* 2010, 199, fig 17, 215). It was obvious during excavation that there had been more grave markers than were actually recovered because the slots into which they had been sunk could be distinguished in the clay subsoil. Pairs of post holes implied that there may have been wooden markers at the head and foot of some graves as well (Nolan *et al* 2010, 167). In at least one instance there may have been a wattle fence or wattle-and-daub enclosure around a grave. Two crude headstones were found at St Andrew's Gilbertine Priory, York, but pre-dated the 12th-century priory (late 10th to early 12th century) (Stroud and Kemp 1993, 153, 155; cf Lang 1991, 28).

The stone grave markers remain the only gravestones to have been found *in situ* in the immediate Newcastle area (cf Cramp and Miket 1982, 23; Cramp 1984, 244–5; full catalogue in Nolan *et al* 2010, 276–80). They include a millstone of the Roman or Saxon period that had been reshaped as a grave marker with a rounded head (Nolan *et al* 2010, 277 fig 51, no. 25), comparable to those found at Whitby and perhaps dating to the late 11th century (Cramp 1984, 244–5), but reused at Newcastle as a grave cover. A very ornately decorated and tapered grave cover was found in Area C, with upright markers or end stones, which may have covered an infant burial (Nolan *et al* 2010, 199–200, fig 17). The arrangement was similar to one found in the 11th-century cemetery under the south transept of York Minster (Pattison 1973, pl XXXIX a, b, c; Lang 1991). The York cemetery was sealed by the footings of Thomas of Bayeux's Norman church of the 1080s; the child's burial that most resembles the Newcastle arrangement probably dates from between 1000 and 1080 (Burial 1, Pattison 1973 pl XXXIX c). The use of recumbent stones with uprights at each end dates from the 10th century, with hogback stones and crosses. However, it is also found as late as the 12th century at Whitby Abbey and Old Sarum with slabs. Headstones and foot-stones were used in the 12th century in conjunction with grave covers at 21 Castle Terrace, Berwick (Ryder 2001, 47–54; Cambridge, Gates and Williams 2001, 36–54). While a date of *c* 1080–95 has been ascribed to this slab on the basis of the stylistic motifs in the decoration of the lid, the dating may be far broader (Nolan *et al* 2010, 200, 277).

Grave markers and covers that were intended to be visible on or above the cemetery surface fit into the tradition of medieval 'locational mnemonic devices', in this case intended to prompt memory of the dead, but perhaps more significantly to elicit and focus intercessory prayers and rites (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 184). Ideas concerning Purgatory evolved slowly in the course of the Middle Ages in the Latin West, from the end of the 4th and 5th centuries to the 13th century (Binski 1996, 25). Consequently, intercessory prayers and rites performed on anniversaries of a person's death came to have more importance towards the end of this time bracket. However, it is clear that rituals relating to the dead increased in significance from the period of the Carolingian

reforms onwards. Monasteries, in particular, 'nurtured the memory of the dead, by means of "obits", or lists of the dead important to them [including *Libra Vitae*], and anniversaries' (Binski 1996, 32). Marking the location of the deceased by means of headstones, foot-stones or grave covers aided this process, and was perhaps even more important in contexts where books or rolls of names were not yet used. Consequently, the use of such markers cannot help us to distinguish between monastic and secular churches or cemeteries.

No definite chronological succession can be attributed to the different types of burial practice, as they tend to occupy different areas of the cemetery. Given the post-Conquest parallels sited, and the fact that no later graves cut into the stone-built cists, it seems probable that the cist burials, and those with head- and foot-markers, were among the latest in the history of the cemetery.

4.4.3 Cemetery period buildings

Building C

A number of features in Railway Arch 28 and Area D, consisting of alignments of cut features and post holes (*see* chapter 4, section 4.3), have been tentatively identified as Building C – a timber buiding in the tradition of post-hole and post-in-trench construction common in the mid-Anglo-Saxon period (*see* chapter 4, section 4.7.1), but the excavators remain uncertain as to whether the post holes represent a structure, possible enclosure fences, or even grave markers (Nolan *et al* 2010, 167, 179, 255–6). The dating of this structure is ambiguous, as it is unclear whether it pre-dates the cemetery or was built after burials had started.

Building B

Building B may represent the first stone structure within the cemetery, possibly a church or chapel. The evidence consisted of part of a clay-and-rubble foundation in Area C, north of the Castle keep, edged with roughly squared sandstone blocks, which have been identified as probably reused Roman masonry (Nolan *et al* 2010, 184–5). Only one corner survived (the south-east), but from this the course of the south wall could be traced towards the west. This wall overlay the northern sleeper wall of the Roman east granary, but, after a stretch of *c* 3.6m, it was disturbed by intensive burials and a Civil War robber trench. The wall may have extended further, suggested by two stones on the same alignment. A deposit of clay-bonded rubble on the north side may have represented the corresponding wall foundation on this side. A foundation raft beneath was comprised of dark-clay and sandstone rubble, and tooled stonework and the location of the raft implies that the stonework, which made up the visible parts of the building, may have come from the outer north wall of the Roman east granary. The foundation raft overlay a shallow spit of cemetery soil, and at least two plain graves. Building B may have been destabilised by the intensity of grave-digging in this area, or it may have been deliberately demolished; it was then overlain by Building A.

Building A

Building A is thought to represent a substantial rebuilding of a church or chapel (Nolan *et al* 2010, 256–8). The evidence for the structure lay in a robber trench *c* 7m long, probably cut during the Civil War in order to locate stone for the artillery bastion (Nolan *et al* 2010, 191). Two courses of the footings of the southern wall were found at or near the bottom of a robber trench in Railway Arch 27, and a further robber trench was found in Area C, butted up against the north face of the northernmost sleeper wall of the Roman east granary (Nolan *et al* 2010, 193). Tooled facing stones of a wall placed on a diagonally pitched rubble foundation were recovered in the eastern portion of Area C, and there may have been some evidence for a sequence of renewed floors. Parts of this structure were cut by a foundation associated with the construction of the 1168 Castle keep.

Building 68

Building 68 has been interpreted as a tower or porch belonging to the church or chapel represented by Building A (Noan *et al* 2010, 256–8). The evidence consisted of a small but substantial stone building to the west of Building A, though stratigraphically separate from Building A, and to the north-west of the Castle keep (Nolan *et al* 2010. 187–91). It foundations were 2.10m wide and made of sandstone rubble and cobbles capped with clay, dug to a depth of 1m through some of the burials and into the Roman layers beneath to the subsoil (Nolan *et al* 2010, 187; Harbottle 1982, 410). However, none of the burials cut

or overlay this structure, from which it has been concluded that the building represents the latest pre-1080 structural event in this part of the cemetery (Nolan *et al* 2010, 187). Above the footings there was a plinth course of very large, dressed sandstone blocks, and above this again, a second course of dressed sandstone was thought to be the beginning of the wall proper. Size and remaining details indicate that this large masonry was likely to be reused Roman material.

An opening in the western wall suggested by a through-stone chamfered on the west and south sides and possibly between 0.99m and 1.33m wide has been compared with the range of openings for doorways in Saxon church towers given in Taylor (1978, 187; Nolan *et al* 2010, 190). A short south-west return wall at the eastern end of the north wall of Building 68 may represent an opening leading from the tower into the nave of a church. There was no surviving solid floor within Building 68, but pottery found in subsequent deposits suggests that the floor was robbed out. However, it should be noted that at Barton upon Humber, in Lincolnshire, in the Late Saxon period, 'a large square mortared foundation' was built on the levelled line of a previously upstanding Middle Saxon enclosure bank, and that this was located just east of the church. It has been suggested that this was 'a secular tower, connected with the adjoining manorial site' (Renn 2003, 74). Consideration of the possible significance of a tower on this site – ecclesiastical or secular – is made below.

Mortar mixer

A feature consisting of a semicircle of stake holes (diameter *c* 3.20–3.50m) with a core and surround of burned mortar and extensive spreads of limestone fragments was located on the cemetery surface in the Compound, immediately below the clay that formed the 1080 Castle rampart (Nolan *et al* 2010, 172–3). It has been suggested that this is a mortar mixer, on the basis of comparison with Anglo-Saxon examples found at Wearmouth, and at St Peter's Street, Northampton (Cramp 2005, 93–5; Williams 1979, 118–33; Nolan *et al* 2010, 257–8). The mortar mixer may have been used to create the stone building or buildings, most specifically the first stone Building B.

4.4.3.1 A succession of Anglo-Saxon churches?

Some general points should be made which contribute to the interpretation of Buildings B, A and 68. In the context of a cemetery, it seems feasible to interpret Building B as a simple rectangular stone church or chapel, built to provide the hitherto presumably church-less cemetery with a place of worship, in which part of the burial liturgy could be performed prior to the body being carried out into the cemetery. Nolan *et al* (2010, 256–8) prefer a 10th-century date for the structure, owing to its relationship to previous burials and to the more substantial Building A, which overlay it, and they draw comparisons with other, single-celled 10th-century churches. The 10th century was a period in which there was widespread creation of new churches, perhaps for reasons of social and religious enhancement of thegnly status. This is implied by the much-debated 'promotion law', promulgated in AD 937 and recorded by Archbishop Wulfstan of York (1002–23), in which there is mention of a church and kitchen, *burhgeat* (gateway or 'entrance to a protected enclosure') and *bellhus/an* (bell-house or bell-tower; perhaps merely words for peace and protection) (Williams 2003, 27; Renn 2003, 74–5; Christie 2004, 21). It was also a period in which religious reform introduced new and enhanced liturgies in the south and midlands of England. Although the bishop of Chester-le-Street was present at the Council of Westminster, which instituted these reforms in *c* 970 (ie the *Regularis Concordia*), it is unclear what changes, if any, were implemented in the North East (Rollason 2003, 271). It is nonetheless possible that it was felt desirable to furnish an older cemetery with a chapel or church in order to increase and embellish ritual in relation to the dead, perhaps especially if the site was, or was intended to be, associated with elite burial as suggested by the chest burials (see Ottaway 2010, 274–5).

The close relationship of Building A to the predecessor Building B enhances the identification of both structures as churches or chapels. Burials to the south of Building A are on the same alignment as the walls. Generally, the graves all share the same orientation. There is a particular density of child burials immediately to the south of the eastern part of the wall, and some fewer immediately south of the western length of wall (Boulter and Rega 1993, 8; Nolan *et al* 2010, 200, 232).

It is a phenomenon – found, for example, at Raunds, Northamptonshire – whereby infants were often buried beneath the eaves drip of churches (Boddington 1987, 419, 423). Infant burials were located in a similar position around the chancels of the church beneath the north-east bailey of Norwich Castle, and the pre-Conquest minster of St Guthlac, which was incorporated within the Castle Bailey at Hereford, but disused after 1140 (Ayers 1985). These observations suggest that Building A was a chapel or church. It would seem, consequently, that Building 68 was a western tower for this church.

Nolan *et al* (2010, 256–7) rehearse comparative dimensions of contemporary churches within the area of the kingdom of Northumbria, and these need not be repeated here. The excavators were concerned about the seemingly extreme length of the 'nave' of Building A (possibly as great as 22m west-east externally, compared with *c* 4.50m north–south internally). As the archaeology was extremely truncated and disturbed, they accept that the 'church' could, in fact, have been two churches in a line, comparable to the churches at Jarrow, Whithorn and elsewhere, although these tend to have been earlier in date. On the other hand, it is often thought that in the contexts of linear arrangements of churches, one of the structures may have been a mortuary chapel. Nolan *et al* (2010, 257) do, however, provide examples of churches elsewhere in England, which had equal length, if not greater length, relative to their widths. A number of churches in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria retain towers either added to the church or heightened in the late 10th century or *c* 1000 (at least according to current dating evidence and interpretation), including Bywell St Andrew's (Archaeological Services University of Durham 1999), Billingham, Ovingham, Wearmouth, St Mary Bishophill Junior, York and possibly Corbridge.

In the early 18th century – 1732 at the latest – there was a public house situated to the north-east of the Castle keep, known as the 'Three Bulls' Heads' (Bourne 1736, 118). Nolan has suggested that a cellar dug for this inn in 1752 was located in Railway Arch 27 and hence occupied the space between Building 68 and Building A (Nolan 1990, 99; 80 fig 1; Longstaffe 1860, 121). In Bourne's time the inn was also known as 'the Chapel-house' believed to have been the chapel for the Castle garrison (Bourne 1736, 118). The coincidence of the burial pattern around the walls of Building A and the tradition of a chapel in this area is persuasive.

If Building A and Building 68 represent a chapel, it is perhaps significant that a 'path' that has been identified as having been metalled in the late Roman or Anglo-Saxon periods (Nolan *et al* 2010, 167, feature 107), and which is largely respected by early burials, appears to lead towards the north-west end of the postulated 'nave', where one might expect there to be a door.

4.5 Other post-Roman activity in Newcastle

It has been observed that whereas along the central sector of Hadrian's Wall, the Wall remained an important feature, for example forming the boundary of townships, evidence from literary searches pertaining to the eastern sector thus far has suggested that it was not respected in the formation of township boundaries. Where the stone from the Wall, the fort and associated military structures was robbed extensively, as at Newcastle, it suggests settlement or at least the creation of field boundaries in the vicinity, and therefore perhaps some continuity of population. The extensive robbing of the fort buildings begs the question of where the robbed stonework went. Where was it taken, and was it reused for structures on the site that were either not excavated or are in settlement not yet found (cf Nolan *et al* 2010, 162)?

Positive evidence for the location of contemporary settlements remains elusive. However, there is limited evidence for contemporary activity in the area. While digging an evaluation trench in 1992 on the site of the former Pavilion Cinema on Westgate Road, beyond the circuit of the medieval town walls, some medieval ploughsoils were recorded. Beneath the ploughsoils, ridge-and-furrow plough marks were discovered. It has been claimed that these are late Saxon/early medieval in date (Archaeology Section, Tyne and Wear Museums unpub 1992, 9). While no dating evidence was supplied for these soils, a second small trial trench cut over the same area revealed a deposit of gravels over the subsoil into which a ditch had been dug.

The excavators thought that this ditch was associated with agriculture. This was sealed 'by several phases of occupation, the earliest represented by ploughsoils containing early 12th-century pottery' (Archaeology Section, Tyne and Wear Museums unpub 1992, 10). Three pits had been cut into this, and contained pottery from the early 12th century through to the mid-14th century. These were interpreted as latrine pits. The earliest ditch and ploughsoils have, consequently, been dated to the late Saxon/early-Norman period.

A putative early medieval iron socketed and barbed arrowhead has been recovered from Stowell Street, just south-west of St Andrew's church (Adams 2005, 97). This is the only material evidence in a location that some have suggested might have been an early focus for the town (Walker 1976, 60). Honeyman's argument incorporated a grave marker or slab with a cross 'having a single-step base and curious saltire head', of supposedly Anglo-Saxon style and originating in St Andrew's church, Newcastle, which was said to be in the Museum of Antiquities in Newcastle, but cannot now be identified (Honeyman 1941, 118, cited in Cramp 1984, 251; TWHER 11621). Cambridge *et al* (2001, 84) have suggested that aspects of the history and topography around this church may hint at a satellite development in the 12th century, but this was not necessarily focused around an earlier Anglo-Saxon church. Excavation in the area between the town wall, St Andrew's Street and St Andrew's churchyard produced no identifiable archaeological evidence for the pre-Norman period (Teasdale, Nolan and Hoyle 1999).

Cramp (1984, 251) also cites a reference by Honeyman (1932, 99) to a possible Anglo-Saxon slab carved with a pattern 'in imitation of sea waves' that was formerly to be found at the north door of St Nicholas's church, Newcastle (TWHER 11620). Both Bourne (1736, 58) and Brand (1789 **1**, 236 n. n) mention this stone, but it has not been seen in modern times.

Excavation on the west of The Close in 2005 recovered remains of a large wooden stake and a wicker-lined pit that has yielded a radiocarbon date of 1040±40BP (Beta-205871), which gives a calibrated date range of Cal AD 910–20, and Cal AD 960–1030 at 2 sigma (95% confidence) (Jason Mole, Archaeological Services Durham University, pers comm; Mole forthcoming). This may represent pre-Norman conquest activity, but equally may relate to the first riverside development along the river after the construction of the Norman Castle.

4.6 Antiquarian traditions regarding pre-Norman Newcastle

4.6.1 Monkchester

The association between Newcastle and an older site called 'Moneccestre' or Monkchester was made by the author of the *Vita Oswini* in the 12th century (Raine 1838, 20–1). The author had been a monk at St Albans, but had ended his life at Tynemouth where he appears to have written the *Vita* (Raine 1838, vii-viii). The site is mentioned in the context of the army of William the Conqueror making camp here on their return march southward from a campaign against the Scots in 1072. Symeon of Durham, in his *History of the Church of Durham*, also mentions 'Munecaceastre' on the northern bank of the Tyne, called 'The City of Monks', which belonged to the monks of Durham, but which was under the jurisdiction of the earl of Northumbria (*LDE* **III**.21, Arnold 1882, 109; Rollason 2000, 201–2, n. 77). Symeon makes the explicit connection between 'Munekeceastre' and Newcastle in his *History of the Kings* (*HReg* **I**.108; Arnold 1885, 201). It is mentioned in the context of Aldwin of Winchcombe and two monks of Evesham settling there before being invited to resettle Jarrow by Bishop Walcher in 1074.

Bourne thought that 'ancient Monkchester' was located towards the top (north) of Newgate Street, and believed that the Hucksters' Booths or market stalls that occupied the middle of that street had been established to provision the monks who lived nearby in the upper part of the town, while the people lived in the lower part, near the Castle (Bourne 1736, 39). It is possible that the association with monks may have arisen from confusion with the later religious foundations that occupied large precincts flanking this part of Newgate: the Dominicans to the west of Newgate, the Austin Friars, and even the early Benedictine nunnery of St Bartholomew to the east of Newgate. On the other hand, the long-established tradition of the market is also of interest. A number of markets were located along this street, and,

indeed, it was first referred to before 1235 as *vicus fori* (Oliver 1924, 134, no. 216). As this is one of the principal routes north from the river it may have been an obvious location for markets. Honeyman (1941, 117–8) supposed the parish church of St Andrew, situated on a slight projection to the west of Newgate/Market Street, to be the oldest in Newcastle. He felt that the early development of the Market Street and Hucksters' Booths here were proof of that. One of Honeyman's arguments for the antiquity of St Andrew's was the occurrence of pre-Conquest sculpture and/or masonry here and at so many churches of the same dedication in County Durham and Northumberland. The grave marker supposedly originating in St Andrew's church has been mentioned above (*see* chapter 4, section 4.5). Honeyman's figures can be updated (cf Honeyman 1941, 117). In County Durham, of six dedications to St Andrew known in the Middle Ages, five have sculpture and/or masonry that can be dated to the Anglian and Anglo-Saxon periods (Cramp 1984, 37–48; 61–2; 102–5; 145–6). In Northumberland, of nine churches that had dedications to St Andrew in the Middle Ages (including that in Newcastle), three have pre-Conquest sculpture, three more have Anglo-Saxon masonry and sculpture that is either Saxo-Norman or of uncertain date, and one other has an Anglo-Saxon core (Cramp 1984, 165–8; 174–93; 237–2; Pevsner *et al* 1992, 195–6; 236–7; 304–5; 310–11). In effect, one church dedicated to St Andrew in County Durham and two in Northumberland retain no visible evidence for a pre-Conquest foundation either on or near the site. However, there is no concrete evidence for occupation at this point of the town earlier than the 12th-century fabric in the church, except for the find of a putatively early-medieval iron-socketed arrowhead in Stowell Street in 2003 (Adams 2005, 97).

If the cemetery and associated structures in the Newcastle Castle Garth can be identified with Monkchester, Nolan *et al* (2010, 252–3, 258–9) consider the '*-caestre*' element of the place name to refer to the remains of the Roman fort wall, which they believe to have been visible, albeit in a degraded condition, in the 8th century.

4.6.1 Pandon and *Ad Murum*

Antiquarian tradition records that there was 'an ancient old building and Seat of the Kings of Northumberland' at Pandon, and that in his day it was called Pandon Hall (Grey 1649, 4; 12; Bourne 1736, 134). A wall (it was thought Hadrian's Wall) formed the northern boundary of this royal mansion (Grey 1649, 12; Brand 1789 **1**, 138–9). A 'greate house called Pandon Hall' is mentioned in the will of Henry Brandlinge in 1578/9 and in 1617 it presumably passed along with the rest of Brandlinge's property to William Cooke (Longstaffe 1857, 42; Raine 1838, 234 n.). Some walls, believed to have been part of this Pandon Hall, were still visible when Bourne wrote his History, stretching from Stockbridge to Cowgate and to beyond Blyth Nook on the west (Bourne 1736, 138). Excavations on this site recovered advancing waterfronts and a stone-built inlet with beaching surface, but nothing earlier than the 12th century (Truman 2001). There was nothing as substantial as Bourne describes, which could be assigned to an earlier phase. However, the northernmost part of the site, stretching from Stockbridge to the culverted Pandon Burn and across to the street called Pandon, had been disturbed too deeply by cellaring and industrial activity to have allowed archaeological deposits to survive, or to be investigated here.

Brand identified Pandon with Bede's *Ad Murum* (Brand 1789 **2**, 383). The same identification was made by Hodgson Hinde (1858, 17) and others (see Walker 1976, 65). *Ad Murum* was 'a famous royal estate' on the Roman Wall where Peada, son of King Penda of Mercia, was baptised prior to marrying Aelfleda/Alhflaed, the daughter of the Northumbrian King Oswy/Oswiu in AD 653, by Bishop Finan, 'together with all the *gesiths* and thegns who had come with him, as well as all their servants' (*HE*, **III**.20–1; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 278–9). Both Brand (1789 **2**, 383) and Mackenzie (1827, 5) discuss the possible coincidence of Newcastle with this royal site. The identity of *Ad Murum* remains uncertain; Colgrave and Mynors suggest Wallbottle, and Bede himself says it was located *c* 12 miles from the east coast (*HE* **III**.22; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 278–9; 282–3). Longstaffe, for one, argued that Newcastle could not be identified with *Ad Murum* (1860, 56) and alternative identifications have been made (Dodds 1930, 157). The debate was renewed by Walker (1976, 63 ff.) in the context of possible pre-Conquest origins for

some of the borough's customs. However, Walker's argument is that there must have been a sizeable population living in what we now call Newcastle before the new Castle was built.

Finan was the second bishop of Lindisfarne, (*HE,* **III**.17, 21; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 264–5, 278–9), and supported the northern, Irish calculation and observance of Easter, despite the attempts of Ronan to convince him as to the 'true rules' followed in Gaul and Italy (*HE* **III**.24–5; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 294–5). Bede describes him as 'a man of fierce temper', who was turned into an 'open adversary of the truth' (*HE* **III**.25; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 296–7). Wherever *Ad Murum* was located, could the reason why it disappears from written record from this time forth be partly because it was a site connected with a protagonist who proved to be in error and could not be excused by the sanctity of time and diligent 'practise of the works of faith, piety, and love, which is the mark of all the saints' as Aidan could (*HE* **III**.25; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 296–7)?

4.7 Interpretation of the post-Roman remains: monastery, market or meeting-place?

4.7.1 Monastic settlement?

In the context of early medieval Northumbria, with its rich heritage of monastic institutions from the 7th to the 9th centuries, the location of a long-lived Christian cemetery, in conjunction with structural evidence raises questions as to the possible interpretation of the site as an early monastic settlement, regardless of whether or not the tradition of the elusive Monkchester applies to Newcastle: 'Of course, no one would argue that we have anything like a full list of the monasteries founded in seventh- and eighth-century Northumbria. The literary sources… do not name every monastic foundation: instead they cast intense light on a handful of monasteries' (Wood 2008, 15).

It is even possible that the Castle Garth site represents a monastic settlement of two phases. Nolan *et al* (2010, 255) consider that the timber alignments and evidence for possible stone walls, paved 'paths' (some of them stone-edged), the aqueduct, and possible reuse of a Roman building wall, all of which pre-date the burials, could indicate a short-lived monastic settlement, founded in the 7th century, but which had probably failed by the 9th century. The paths could be paralleled with one found at Wearmouth (Cramp 2005, 91), and other possible paths at Whitby (Cramp 1976, 225 fig 5.7, 228; Rahtz 1995, fig 2). It is also suggested that Building C may represent a structure built in a tradition familiar at many sites in England and on the Continent, eg at Church Close, Hartlepool, dated from the mid-7th to later 8th-centuries (Daniels 1988; Daniels 2007, 32–73, post hole and post-in-trench structures 47–52, post-in-trench structures 53–61), or at West Stow, Suffolk, dated to the 5th to 7th centuries (West 1969, 8–10). At Hartlepool, the buildings are slightly smaller than the general corpus of Anglo-Saxon buildings of this construction technique, but otherwise they cannot be distinguished from contemporary secular buildings of this kind. The absence of finds and craft debris led to the interpretation of these buildings as possibly the individual accommodation for the religious men and women of the community (Daniels 2007, 70). The excavators conclude that there is no clear dating evidence for these pre-cemetery features at Newcastle, that they could date to any period between the late Roman/sub-Roman period, and *c* AD 700, and that it is not possible to determine whether or not Building C represents a structure, let alone whether this early phase represents a short-lived monastic settlement or not (Nolan *et al* 2010, 256).

It remains possible that the cemetery and the later Building B, Building 68 and Building A may also have related to some sort of monastic settlement, but that the majority of the structures were elsewhere on the promontory. Nolan *et al* (2010, 255–9) have considered this, but conclude that the evidence remains ambiguous for the present. As regards Building 68 at Newcastle, it could possibly fit in the tradition of western high-porch entrances, as seen, for example, in the sequences at Jarrow and Wearmouth (Cramp 1994; Christie 2004, 20–1).

In addition to Hexham, Bede cites a number of monasteries founded in Northumbria along the Tyne Valley or on the Tees in the 7th to 8th centuries, including the double establishment at Wearmouth and Jarrow (*In Gyruum*), Tynemouth, South Shields, and Hartlepool (*Heruteu*). In addition, the mention of an abbot of a monastery *Ad Caprae Caput* has been interpreted as meaning that there

was a monastery at Gateshead, although the specific identification is unclear (*HE* **IV**.18; **V.**5–6; **IV**.23, **III**.21–2, Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 388–9, 464–5, 407, 280–1). There is archaeological evidence at all of these, with the exception of Gateshead (Cramp 1976; Cramp 2005; Daniels 2007). A bishop was consecrated at a monastery at Corbridge before AD 786, and the architecture of the church suggests a 7th-century structure (Symeon of Durham *HReg*, Arnold 1885, 51; Grundy *et al* 1992, 236). The Bywell churches may indicate monastic foundations, and both retain Anglo-Saxon fabric, although of varying dates. St Peter's may retain fabric of the second half of the 7th century, or of the 8th century; St Andrew's has a tower dating to the second half of the 10th century or *c* 1000, with sculpture dating to the late 7th or early 8th century (Rollason 2000, 90–1, n. 29; Grundy *et al* 1992, 205; Cramp 1984, 168). According to Symeon of Durham, a bishop of Lindisfarne was consecrated here in AD 803 (*LDE* **II**. 5, Rollason 2000, 90–1). While Wood (2008, 24) cites a cluster of monasteries in the Lower Tyne – including Tynemouth, *Urfa/Arbeia* and Jarrow, and another farther inland consisting of Hexham, the Bywells and Corbridge – it is questionable whether a monastery or monasteries at Newcastle and/or Gateshead might have been perceived as part of the Lower Tyne cluster or as occupying a 'neutral' or buffer zone between these two important religious and political groupings.

The distribution of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture is often taken as an indication of an early monastic settlement, although it is likely that there were places that had churches of the period, but no associated permanent monastic community, as in Escomb, in County Durham. The meaning of a monastery in this period is debated (Cambridge 1984; Foot 1992), and it is possible that there were many kinds of religious and ecclesiastical settlement and structures across the landscape serving different requirements and communities. The corpus of stone grave markers recovered from the Newcastle cemetery should be taken into consideration, perhaps along with the now unlocated stone that Honeyman (1932, 99) recorded in St Nicholas's church (Cramp 1984, 251). Finally, the relatively rare chest burials described by Ottaway (2010), based on the association of skeletons with a lock and a pair of hinge straps, respectively. Examples are known from the mid-7th century through to the mid-9th and the 10th centuries. Although never common, chest burials appear at monastic sites, such as Wearmouth and York Minster; large minster cemeteries such as Winchester; or in cemeteries 'attached to a church at a centre of political authority', such as Hereford or Thwing (Ottaway 2010, 274–5). They certainly seem to imply that the deceased interred within them would have been a person of notable status.

When considering the case for a monastic function, the topographical location of the cemetery may also be pertinent. The natural spur rose high above the river on the south and above the curving path of The Side on the east and north-east. As we have considered above, there may even have been a stream running down this side. The spur was consistent with the 'promontories, islands in marshy floodplains and headlands in the bends of rivers or on the sea-coast', which were favoured as locations for religious communities in Ireland, western Scotland and Wales (Blair 1992, 227). The same pattern was also used for Anglo-Saxon monasteries in Northumbria in the late 7th and 8th centuries: Jarrow, Wearmouth, Hartlepool, Bywell and Old Melrose. Blair has made two observations that are of interest in a discussion of the possible locations of settlement in Newcastle between the 5th and 11th centuries. First, he suggests that there may have been settlement close to minsters in a pattern similar to that found in Ireland, but that subsequent shifts in settlement patterns have disguised these:

> 'In England, the nucleation of settlement into lowland villages from the ninth century onwards has left many minsters isolated … Among the dispersed farmsteads of the seventh- and eighth-century countryside they would often have provided a focus, even if one set somewhat apart, dominating lesser habitations just as the hill-forts which they sometimes reoccupied had done in the late Iron Age.' (Blair 1992, 230–1)

Second, Blair (1992) synthesises the reuse of Roman and Romano-British towns and forts for Christian purposes. Such sites were usually gifted through royal patronage, and in England a number of sites were reused for ecclesiastical purposes from the early 7th century onwards (Blair 1992, 237). Many Roman forts in particular were chosen for the location of churches, but are not documented in historical

or hagiographical sources. As at Newcastle, many of these have produced fragments of sculpture, coins and other material evidence of the 7th to 9th centuries (Blair 1992, 239). As regards Newcastle, it seems certain that one or two stretches of wall remained visible, but possibly for a few courses only, therefore to no great height – unlike Colchester, for example. A spread of rubble, and fallen or dismantled masonry between layers of burial may be further evidence of Roman structures having remained standing, even if ruinous, while the cemetery was in use. The residual Roman walls and the topographical nature of the site itself may simply have provided a useful enclosure. On the other hand, the choice of a Roman site for the burial of the faithful departed may have been an affirmation of membership of the Roman church. It may have been one of the means by which consciousness of this Roman identity was created and reproduced among the living that buried and honoured their dead here.

In the political and religious contexts of 8th century Northumbria, Rollason (2003, 188–90) cites the foundation of 'spurious monasteries' – ones that did not conform to the high standards expected by Bede – as a way in which 'ministers' or knights/*thegns* might circumvent the wait for promotion by the king and establish hereditary right to land for themselves. This process created an aristocracy beyond the direct gift of the king, and it might explain why the archaeological evidence at places such as Newcastle is both ambiguous and unrecorded in any detail by contemporary monks and clerics who could not, or would not, find a good word to say about such establishments.

4.7.2 Market?

Bidwell and Snape have suggested that the concentration and quantity of coin loss in the area of the fort from the AD 270s to the AD 350s, and in particular from the 330s and 340s, may be evidence for a market function in the late Roman period (Bidwell and Snape 2002, 275). In the context of the region, only Newcastle and Wallsend have such a concentration of coins, but at Newcastle the area given over to such market transactions seems to have been far larger (Bidwell and Snape 2002, 277). Moreover, the concentration and quantity of Local Traditional ('Native') Ware ceramics is also unparalleled in the region or along the Wall. This too has been argued to be evidence for the presence of a market in the fort during the 4th century (Bidwell and Croom 2002, 169–70).

There appear to have been very few coins dating from the period after the Roman fort ceased to function, and when the early Norman Castle was founded. The representation over more than 250 years is meagre, and intermittent. There were seven stycas of the kingdom of Northumbria: one early issue in silver of Aethelred I (2nd reign) (*c* 790–96) (Booth 1987, 77 pl 2, no. 11); one copper-alloy issue of Aethelred II (*c* 843/4; two later issues in copper-alloy of Aethelred II (1st reign) (*c* 841–843/4); two copper-alloy issues of Aethelred II (2nd reign) (*c* 843/4–849); one of Eanred (*c* 810–841); and one attempting the name of Aethelred II (Pirie 2010, 265–9). Finally, there was a silver penny of Aethelred II (978–1016) [king of England], First Hand issue of 979–85, struck at York (Pirie 2010, 268). A fragment of a silver penny was probably issued during the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–66), between *c* 1059 and 1062 (Pirie 2010, 268–9).

The suggestion has been made that the sequence of coins found in the cemetery of St Paul-in-the-Bail, built within the ruined *principia* of the Roman legionary fortress at Lincoln (Blackburn, Colyer and Dolley 1983, 10–11, figs 14–17), may reflect the role that the church played as a catalyst and focus for commercial market activities (Morris 1987, 190). The feast days of the ecclesiastical calendar attracted people from a wide geographical orbit, and the churchyard provided the space in which stalls could be laid out, and bargaining and other transactions entered into. As Morris has pointed out, the repeated prohibitions on such activities within churchyards issued in the 10th and 11th centuries implies that they persisted (1987, 190). Wood (1986) has argued that towns in the 7th and 8th centuries might be described as 'intermittent', insofar as they were 'characterized by an overwhelming dormancy for much of the year' (Morris 1987, 190). Ecclesiastical festivals created 'urban moments' of intense activity and occupation, in places that might be only sparsely populated in the intervening periods (Wood 1986; Morris 1987, 190). If there were a monastic settlement at Newcastle, this may have furnished occasions for market activity. However, one publication on St Paul-in-the-Bail seems to reject any

significance to the coins, and the late date (four silver pennies dating to the early 870s) means that they do not relate to any activity associated with the church in the early to mid-Saxon period (Vince 2003, 151). The number of coins found in the Castle Garth must, therefore, be compared with those from other sites. At Jarrow, excavation has revealed ten Northumbrian coins of the period, with two southern sceattas (Pirie 2006; Archibald 2006). There were no coins dating to after the mid-9th century from Jarrow; but, as at Newcastle, there was one coin of Edward the Confessor (Cramp 2005, 242). Wearmouth produced only six Northumbrian coins (Pirie 2006). All these assemblages appear nugatory when compared with the coins recovered from, for example, the Bamburgh Bowl Hole cemetery, Northumberland (12 in one week in the 2008 season alone); or with the Hexham hoard of *c* 8,000 coins, albeit found in very different circumstances (Pagan 1974). The number of coins from the Castle Garth is small, therefore, and many of the coins pre-date the construction of the putative church. If there were any continuing trading activity on the site, it would appear to have been intermittent, probably pre-dating the stone church, and perhaps related to other activity on the site suggested by the post-Roman features, and evidence for metalworking and antler-working described above and discussed in the following section.

4.7.3 Meeting-place?

A third interpretation of this evidence may be considered. In the period after the cessation of Roman military activity, and before the cemetery was started, areas of metalling or paving were constructed, distinct from the make-up of street surfaces created in the fort in the second half of the 4th century (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 117, 120–5; Nolan *et al* 2010, 167–71). These extended beyond the demolished fort wall, and the first layer of paving was 'in use long enough to show signs of wear' (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 122). It was then replaced with a second layer of paving. Some of the paving was cut by post holes and pits. As has been seen, there were stretches of aqueduct or drain, lined and capped with dressed stone, running towards and beyond a stone tank (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 111–14; Nolan *et al* 2010, 166–73).

The post-Roman creation of paved areas or paths across those parts of the site that were excavated suggests either that there was frequent traffic within the site, or that people were expected to come to the site at perhaps significant times. Similarly, the putative drain suggests a desire to feed water either to or from the site. Both suggest investment in the creation of infrastructure, and maintenance of the site, if not habitation. A number of post holes cut the metalled surface, and there was a line of post holes, possibly indicating a fence or division, as well as several instances of what might have been parts of buildings, both in timber and stone. Abutting the drain and tank were a number of large stone blocks, fitted closely together, some of which had clearly been worn. Finally, Snape and Bidwell (2002, 125–7) attribute a great ditch and counterscarp bank to the Anglo-Saxon period and they interpret this feature as defining a possible enclosure. It can be argued that all these features, together with other material factors of the post-Roman activity at Newcastle, support the identification of this as an outdoor meeting-place, assembly-site, moot- or thing-site. Meeting-places were outdoor locations at which groups came together in order to hold political discussions and carry out administrative tasks, and they could serve a local community, a region or a kingdom (Sanmark and Semple 2008; 2010). The following discussion considers the factors present on the Newcastle site and the supporting evidence from which this interpretation is made.

The topographical location is consonant with those often chosen for meeting-places in Northern Europe in the early Middle Ages. In Scandinavia, the North Atlantic, and Ireland as well as in Anglo-Saxon England, meeting-places were often located close to important roads or crossroads (Pantos 2003), at fording places, or on prominent hills, rocks or spurs (Sanmark and Semple 2008; 2010;). 'Primary' meeting-places are often located at the conjunction of land and water routes (Meaney 1997**,** 204–6; Sanmark 2009, 209–10, 231), at the divisions or boundaries of established territories, or in places considered neutral to all those who might gather there. Sanmark and Semple (2008; 2010) have argued that, where prominence was not available either from natural features or from a pre-existing monumental feature such as a burial mound or barrow, height would

be gained by creating an artificial earthen mound. The Newcastle spur had a natural advantage of height, and its location at the lowest bridging point of the Tyne and next to the Great North Road – whose antiquity has been argued above and elsewhere (Heslop 2009, 2) – fits several of these criteria. Bidwell and Snape (2002, 259) consider that there may have been an eastern extension of the Roman Stanegate from Corbridge to South Shields that would have placed Newcastle on 'the crux of east–west and north–south routes'. Furthermore, moots in Northern Europe often used the sites of ancient remains, albeit usually prehistoric monuments, to legitimise or at least lend credence and power to new or emergent authorities (Sanmark and Semple 2008; 2010).

Sanmark and Semple (2008; 2010) argue that we should expect the archaeology of early medieval meeting-places to consist not of cult, ritual or funerary activity, but of maintenance and repair, remodelling or alteration intended to ensure ease of access, performance and use. The Tynwald Hill, for example, underwent several phases of remodelling (Darvill 2004, 218–24). The superimposed layers of paving at Newcastle may fulfill these criteria. Further, we should expect little material culture from occupation, as use of the site would be temporary and transient, with periods of 'housekeeping' between. Not only does the Newcastle site have several areas of paving, but quite clearly an earlier phase demonstrated considerable wear, and was replaced by a later layer to renovate the surface (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 120–5). Semple (pers comm) has suggested that the maintenance of a succession of surfaces may imply community action, often presaging or supplying the impetus for urban formation. The concommittant of the 'housekeeping' of assembly places is that there is often little in the way of contemporary rubbish or portable material culture. This is true of Newcastle, but there are one or two small items and fragments, such as a bead (s*ee above*) and other items to which the discussion will return. The drain or aqueduct and tanks, one still partly visible, the other mostly robbed out (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 111–14; Nolan *et al* 2010, 166–72), denote a concern with either keeping the walked surfaces dry or supplying water to the site for consumption during meetings. Constant access to fresh water has been noted as a material concern at early medieval assembly-sites (Sanmark and Semple 2008; Sanmark and Semple 2010). The large stone blocks adjoining the aqueduct and tank included one block with signs of heavy wear, 'as if it had been in use as a surface' (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 112). It was thought that the blocks may have been the remains 'of a more widespread [raised] layer, originally covering the whole of the [former *via principalis*]', but that this feature had been robbed (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 112). The stone blocks could be interpreted as the remains of a raised platform or tribunal for speakers; or a form of stone terrace, the counterpart of earthwork terraces that characterise some 'thing' sites, such as Bällsta in Uppland, Sweden (Jansson and Wessén 1943, cited in Sanmark and Semple 2008). Benches and standing posts may also have featured within assembly-sites, as Old English place names suggest (Sanmark and Semple 2008; 2010).

In Iceland and Södermanland, Sweden, both excavation and sagas attest that assembly-places contained booths or special huts in which participants could stay for the duration of the meeting (Sanmark and Semple 2008; 2010; Sanmark 2009). These might be solid enough for the temporary habitation they offered, but need not have been as substantial as long-term residences. At Schutchmer's Knob, Berkshire – a site that is recorded as functioning as an assembly-site of shire status in both the late 10th and early 11th centuries, but excavation of which has shown to have had a longer life as a meeting-place – a square structure and post holes within the enclosure were discovered (Sanmark and Semple 2008). Among the Newcastle remains are several groups of post holes, some of which have been interpreted as possible buildings (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 117–22; Nolan *et al* 2010, 163–72). No definite dates could be assigned to most of these features, and uncertain associations with cemetery soil means that some of the structures, or pairs of post holes, might have been co-eval with burials.

Excavation at Schutchmer's Knob, Berkshire, demonstrated that the site was surrounded not only by the still visible Anglo-Saxon ring-ditch, but also a (now missing) earthen bank (Sanmark and Semple 2008). This was a prehistoric monument reutilised and altered to function as an assembly place. The bank and ditch ignored and cut through the monument's

prehistoric ditch, but must have been created to define the new use of the site, to divide it from the rest of the landscape. Such boundaries might indicate that what took place within was governed by the rules of assembly, suspended from the rules of the surrounding polities. Snape and Bidwell (2002, 125–7) identified a massive cut ditch as Anglo-Saxon, together with a corresponding counterscarp bank (but *see above* for counter argument). The ditch and bank appeared to have terminals respecting a probable opening, which would have given onto the route that became The Side (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 127). It could even be asked if the real focus of the assembly was on another part of the spur that remained unexcavated, or whether the origins of the Half Moon Battery (a Civil War artillery emplacement) lay in a pre-existing earthen structure. Artificial mounds, and indeed, half-moon-shaped mounds, as at Schutchmer's Knob, were often the focus of a wider landscape of the assembly location.

Contemporary literature suggests that provisioning assemblies may have been of importance, not only water and beer, but in terms of foodstuffs. The putative early medieval quern stone (identified by George Jobey in Heslop 2002, 237) may have been used for food-processing on site, but this cannot be proved. The cemetery period occupation produced some fish bones. Material interpreted as the remains of pit fills amidst the robbing of the former Roman east granary included mussel shells, which could have been refuse disposal, but it was uncertain from which level the pits were dug (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 116). Animal bone was found together with red deer antler in what has been described as a gradual accumulation of debris between the former Roman Buildings III and IV; in contexts interpreted as post-abandonment of the northern fort wall; and in a possible patching of the first early medieval paved surface (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 117, 120, 125). Louisa Gidney (unpub report 1997) found evidence for older sheep/goat and young pig, as well as the possible sacrifice of a horse in the post-Roman deposits. On a slope close to a gulley that shared the same alignment as the Anglo-Saxon ditch terminal, there was 'an arc of stones, covered by dark soil and charcoal and suggested to be a hearth' (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 123–4). It is possible that the hearth was used for cooking or metalworking. Two rim fragments from metalworking crucibles were found in early Anglo-Saxon deposits in the area of the northern defences, but may have been Roman (Croom 2002, 232, nos 1 and 2; a body sherd, no. 3, came from an Anglo-Saxon grave in the area north-east buildings).

Some assembly places have evidence for minor or short-lived manufacturing and production. Identification of those artefacts, which may be early medieval in date, is problematic as many of the items found in Anglo-Saxon contexts may be earlier in date, but ended up in the fill of, for example, grave cuts. Nonetheless, a repeated presence in the make-up of post-Roman deposits was red deer antler (Snape and Bidwell 2002, 115 (two mentions), 116 (three mentions), 117 ('many antlers')). Was the antler brought onto the site deliberately, possibly for working, or was it the residue of processing venison for feasting? A number of artefacts were made of antler, again found in post-Roman contexts, but the comb types 'had a long period of popularity and are found on both Roman and Saxon sites' (eg a knife handle in the extra-mural area; two combs from Anglo-Saxon deposits in the north-east buildings) (Allason-Jones 2002, 221–4). Beads, armlets and odd pieces of copper alloy were also found in Anglo-Saxon contexts. Many of these were no doubt Roman in origin, but the beads found on Dog Leap Stairs in 1929 and in an Anglo-Saxon grave in the cemetery, now dated to the 7th century (*see above*), may be significant. It should be stated, however, that, as many Roman sites have this kind of material in their late and immediate post-Roman contexts, this point alone is not indicative.

The creation of a cemetery on this site is suggestive. Some, but by no means all, early medieval assembly places are specifically connected with burial, usually pagan or pre-Christian burials (Semple 2004, 135–154; Pantos and Semple 2004). Irish and Icelandic written sources suggest that places where the dead themselves assemble were appropriate for meetings of the living (Sanmark and Semple 2008; 2010). The deliberations of the assembly might have been deemed to have been enhanced, legitimated or sanctioned through the presence of the dead, perhaps perceived as ancestors, whether real or appropriated from prehistoric contexts. At Newcastle the intensity of intercutting of graves and the fragmented nature of the locations has made

interpretation of any 'phasing' of the graves impossible. The excavators, however, feel that there is no reliable evidence for pre-Christian burials (two skeletons with 'earlier' radiocarbon dates, one of 430–660, were discounted on stratigraphic and scientific grounds, see Nolan *et al* 2010, 172). That the site should be legitimated after the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons in Northumbria by Christian burials is an intriguing possibility. Sanmark and Semple (2010) observe that assembly places are often multi-period, showing evidence of restructuring, sometimes in major ways, as power changes in the wider social context. The possible significance of the chest burials postulated by Ottaway (2010, 274–5; and *see above*) should also be considered, as perhaps indicating 'a church at a centre of political authority', such as Hereford or Thwing.

Shapland (2008) has argued that in the 10th and 11th centuries, thegns chose to erect towers at or close to traditional meeting-places. Often, these towers were constructed as western adjuncts to churches, combining both the functions and symbolism of secular political and religious power. In the light of the 'Promotion Law' cited above (chapter 4, section 4.4.3.1), towers could symbolise status, power and control (Shapland 2008, 504). Towers could also function as watchtowers, fulfilling part of the thegn's responsibility to provide armed service, guarding the land and the lord and keeping military watch (Shapland 2008, 506). The position on the spur, possibly still overlooking the approach to the Roman bridge, would make an ideal look-out position. Bells in a tower could have been used not only to ring the liturgical hours, but also to sound warnings, and to call members of an assembly together. For Shapland, towers constructed in sites, which combined the functions of an assembly site, could be used as mustering-points for armed men as well as meeting-places for political or judicial purposes. Church-building as an expression of lordship during the period when a new class of thegns came into being has been much discussed in connection with lordly residences (see Williams 2003; Renn 2003), and the construction of the stone church – attributed to the 10th century by Nolan *et al* (2010, 187–93, 256–8) – amidst the cemetery at Newcastle could be hypothesised in such a context. The proximity of church and moot-site is also reminiscent of Govan, in the British kingdom of Strathclyde in the 10th and early 11th centuries. Driscoll's research (2002, 23–4) suggests that the sites of Govan Old Parish church and Doomster Hill assembly mound were located on either side of a road leading to a crossing point of the River Clyde, each site within its own ditched enclosure. The parish straddled the river, with a royal seat at Partick on the north bank of the river. (It is interesting that the west tower of St Nicholas's church, Newcastle, remains under the jurisdiction and responsibility of the civil authority, rather than the Church.)

Few early medieval meeting-places have been examined in the context of their wider landscape setting; Sanmark and Semple (2010) are among the pioneers of this kind of landscape analysis of assembly. In the wider context of the surroundings to the Newcastle spur, the massive timber post on The Close identified during excavation in 2005 (Mole forthcoming) suggests a mooring-post, and may represent a formalisation of the riverside approach to the assembly-site, giving access to The Side at the bottom of the hill. The Anglo-Saxon ditch and counterscarp bank, as we have seen, left an entranceway giving access to The Side at the top of the hill. At Frostathing in Norway the remains of a jetty or harbour were found below the assumed location of the Viking-Age and medieval meeting-place (Sanmark and Semple 2008; 2010). It is argued that in the course of the 9th and 10th centuries attempts were made by individuals or families to maintain assembly sites on a more personal basis, creating family attachments to the upkeep, establishing personal power almost as hereditary retainers of the sites (Sanmark and Semple 2008; 2010). The stone church with its tower, might be seen as an element of this kind of phenomenon of personal association with the site through the assumption of responsibilities for upkeep.

4.8 General discussion

In a previous section (chapter 2, above) it was argued that the low crossing point of the Tyne might have had significance for prehistoric communities as a gathering place of ritual and social significance, a significance underlined by deposition of metalwork in the river. It is further argued that the Romans might have chosen this site for the coincidence of low

bridging point and existing gathering-place. If there was a Roman market function to the fort, it can perhaps be seen as a containment and transformation of those older traditions. There need not have been continuity of practice in the post-Roman period, but there might have been a lingering tradition of meeting at this place, if not of market functions. Carver (1993, 50–62) has argued that between the 5th and 8th centuries in Europe the nature of urban occupation changed because of a 'net transfer of investment, from the extant cities to small multiple power centres' (Carver 1993, 61). We should neither assume to find archaeological evidence of unbroken continuity in either urban practice or in the form and use of urban structures, nor interpret the remains of temporary, perhaps periodic occupation of Roman structures, amidst the decay and ruins of Roman buildings, as indicative of squalor and complete abandonment of urban life. Rather, Carver argues that we should appreciate difference in the ways urban centres were used amidst a wider dispersal of power across the landscape. Towns were no longer central dominant places. Instead, 'timber palace sites, like Yeavering, or reoccupied hill-forts or hill-top settlements like Castel Seprio [Italy], or the sites of the incastellamento; or the city-hulk itself can be re-exploited' (Carver 1993, 61). The same might apply to the fort at Newcastle, with its putative and market.

Adam Rogers (2008) has re-examined late and post-Roman evidence in Roman forts and towns in Britain and western Europe. He has concluded that the social importance of activities performed within central fort and urban structures persisted in memory, such that later communities would choose to perform their own significant social congregational practices or rites in these spaces too, deeming them to be appropriate places. In Adams' phraseology, these sites retained their 'place-value': they 'continued as symbolic and practical places of assembly, networking, trade and exchange and ritual, drawing on the past' despite the Classical appearance of the fabric being greatly altered (2008, 278). He has noted that these periodic reoccupations involved deliberate alteration to the buildings, as well as metalworking, animal butchery, and working of animal products such as antler. Some of these activities had definite spatial locations: metalworking debris is often found in gateways and doorways in the late and post-Roman periods. This is reminiscent of the limited evidence at Newcastle. Adams combines analysis of the importance of memory to communities in the period with an understanding that the 'architectural framing of place applies as much to 'ruins' as it does to well-maintained structures' (2008, 280).

Semple (pers comm) has noted how often Roman remains or evidence of Roman activities feature in association with known centres of power or palace sites in the Anglo-Saxon period in Northumbria. Many of these also functioned as meeting-places for retinues and assemblies (*see above*). From work carried out into the nature and location of early medieval meeting- or assembly-places, it seems clear that assembly-sites need not have been sited geographically close to a king's estate centre, a lord's or thegn's house, but within the neighbourhood or in communication with such a site. The post-Roman/early Anglo-Saxon evidence from Newcastle could suggest that the site of the former Roman fort was used as a meeting-place, and perhaps, therefore, another centre of local power or authority existed in the early medieval period in close proximity to Newcastle. The fact that the ephemeral 7th- and 8th-century archaeological evidence can be interpreted as either monastery, market or assembly probably points to the congruence of such functions within the abandoned Roman centre. The classic locus of Christian conversion – Gefrin – was a place of assembly, a place of power, probably a focus for trading, and a place of religion (albeit pre-Christian religion), and by the 7th century it had acquired a Christian facet to these activities. Perhaps it is this fusion – albeit unsung in written record and mirrored on a smaller scale in the material at Newcastle – combined with that remarkable preponderance of use of Roman places and Roman material that signifies the unique social and political identity of 'Northumbria' in the 7th and 8th centuries (Sarah Semple pers comm). The Newcastle material is consistent with a system rooted in Roman sites and with past patterns of marketing, meeting, trading, or religious centres influencing the creation of a new map of authority and power.

Whether or not it is concluded that a monastic settlement was established on the Newcastle site by *c* AD 700, it might be that the location continued to be used for aspects of

assembly or meeting, perhaps with the spatial focus of functions changing. Burial activity might have grown within certain parts of the site, with the focus of the assembly place perhaps beyond the excavated areas. Wood (2008, 24) identifies a Lower Tyne grouping of monasteries (Tynemouth, *Urfa/Arbeia* and Jarrow/Wearmouth), and another grouping higher up the Tyne Valley (Hexham, Corbridge and the Bywells). The geographical location of Newcastle – and possibly Gateshead – might have been appreciated as lying between these nodes of religious power and their connections to the Northumbrian dynasties, and hence an appropriate place for meetings and negotiations. By the 10th century, stone churches could have enhanced or even subsumed the role of assembly place.

The question of why two successive stone (possibly non-monastic) churches might have been built in a pre-existing cemetery in the 10th century invites further consideration. It is widely recognised that it was during the 10th and 11th centuries that 'England moved from a pastoral system based primarily on minsters to one based primarily on local churches' (Blair 1996, 12). These local churches were not parish churches, although many evolved into parish churches in the course of the 12th and 13th centuries. Blair (1996) gives two main alternative models for the origins of local churches at this time, neither of which would necessarily be recorded in documents at the time. The first is that they evolved out of an appropriation or 'privatisation' of long-standing places of cult. This development has most often been observed in the south-west of England, but, as we have seen, it may be applicable to places associated with or chosen for assembly or community meetings. Blair's second model is that: 'economic and tenurial changes after 900 created an extensive class of minor thegns, an incipient country gentry, who built thousands of small churches on their manors, contending with the minsters for burial dues and tithes and eventually wresting away much of their parochial authority' (1996, 12).

This second pattern resonates in part with the evidence of the traditional means of aristocratic 'career progression', and its circumvention in Northumbria, cited above (chapter 4, 4.2; Rollason 2003, 185–90), provides a possible context for the creation of a church at Newcastle. It may also be taken in conjunction with changing relationships between the Church and state, and changing religious practice in connection with death.

In the course of the mid- to later Anglo-Saxon period, the Church and secular power developed a close interdependence over, for example, law-making and models of kingship (Daniell and Thompson 1999, 76). Christian burial practice provided a confirmation and permanent expression of membership of the community, with the Church owning exclusive rights over the ability not only to enfold, but also to exclude, with all its dire implications for the afterlife. Taxation established one means of demonstrating allegiance to the community, and 'by the late Saxon period there [were] two forms of taxation associated with death: *heriot* and *sawlscot*' (Daniell and Thompson 1999, 76). *Heriot* was a fee paid in kind to the king; *sawlscot* was a fee payable to the Church, specifically to the church or institution in which one intended to be buried. This gave the Church a financial interest in the burial of all Christians, and gave individual institutions a competitive interest in the exact location of interment. 'By the beginning of the tenth century it was common for the wealthiest members of society to found, refound or lavishly endow ecclesiastical centres, with the intention of using them as mausolea' (Daniell and Thompson 1999, 76). Again, without wishing to make too much of incomplete evidence, the comparatively rare chest burials described by Ottaway (2010, 269–75), dating perhaps as late as the mid-9th and 10th centuries, might be recalled. Ottaway cites examples at a number of monastic sites, but also in cemeteries 'attached to a church at a centre of political authority', and clearly proposes that the person or persons interred in such a way might be considered to have been of high rank or distinct status (2010, 275). The chest burials were found in Railway Arch 28, not in the church, but the church may nonetheless have been established to accommodate the liturgies connected with burial and commemoration. There is also the possibility that these furnishings indicate a wider context of competitive secular aristocratic burial in the period and in this region.

Other possibly pertinent developments in the course of the early Middle Ages were those in the liturgy and ritual of death. These

could be extremely complex, although liturgies varied considerably from region to region. The Requiem Mass and the Office of the Dead, a specialised vigil that did not include the Mass, became: 'established in the period 500–900 by a long process of dialogue between the Roman Church and the Churches of north-west Europe, especially the Frankish Church, and they were consolidated under the Carolingian reformers [in the early 9th century]; the formation of liturgy reflected the formation of power' (Binski 1996, 32).

These developments placed a new emphasis on the church building as a location for lengthened and elaborate mortuary rituals, controlled by the clergy, but providing enhanced means of managing bereavement and the social dislocation of death, as well as new forms of memorialisation. Monastic liturgical management of death, in particular, provided extremely influential models (Binski 1996, 32), although it is generally thought that the Continental reforms that produced these liturgies took longer to influence England, and then quite variably during the 9th and 10th centuries (Fernie, 1983). They were formalised for English monastic communities in the *Regularis Concordia* of *c* 970 (Symons 1953), although it is clear that different religious orders had their own traditions concerning death ritual until and often beyond this time (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 25). This placed 'an increased emphasis on intercession for the dead' (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 215). While intended for the reform and regularisation of monastic institutions, the *Regularis Concordia* assumes that lay people will attend services in the monastic church. Aspects and emphases of the new burial and commemorative liturgies could have penetrated the practices of local churches, with which monasteries or minsters were related institutionally, or in which monastic clergy performed priestly duties, or served as spiritual models that secular patrons wished to see emulated in their own churches. It is unclear how far north the influence of the *Regularis Concordia* extended, especially given that the dominant Durham Community of St Cuthbert was constituted of secular canons, not Benedictine monks (Rollason 2003, 271; *see* chapter 4, section 4.4.3.1). Generally in England, monastic churches took a great interest in establishing local daughter houses after *c* 1000, to try to improve pastoral care and extend clerical influence, but local churches were also established by private individuals in towns at this time, and by groups of local inhabitants (Rosser 1992, 274–5).

The addition of a western tower at this date is consonant with many either added or heightened in the late 10th century or *c* 1000 (*see above*). The addition or heightening of these towers may have had something to do with the impact of the *Regularis Concordia* – either directly or indirectly (Symons 1953) – which required there to be a western altar, with its surrounding *oratorium,* and the implication is that, if it were to be postioned axially with the other stipulated altars, it would perhaps have to be located in a raised western gallery (Fernie 1983, 94; cf the work by Stocker and Everson 2006 on late 11th and 12th century towers in relation to the *Decreta Lanfranci* of the late 11th century). Western towers at this period might also have been potent symbols or assertions of a local lord's power (Renn 2003; Shapland 2008; and *see above*).

Whether this site was associated with an early monastery or not, and the evidence remains ambiguous, a church at this period could be used for discussions or debates, for local meetings, or for legal proceedings including the drawing up of documents, of deeds and of wills (Davies 1968, 30–3). If the site had been traditionally used for meetings and legal deliberations or pronouncements, the church would naturally accommodate and subsume these associations. In conclusion, there are a number of reasons why a pre-existing cemetery might acquire a stone-built church in the 10th century, and why such a church might be replaced in the late 10th century/*c* 1000, as has been suggested at Newcastle.

On a wider social and political scale, it is not at all clear how the land in which the Newcastle cemetery and its churches developed figured in the regional dynamics of power in the early medieval period. By the end of the 10th century, the dominant powers north of the Danish capital at York were the Community of St Cuthbert at Durham, and the earls of Bamburgh (Rollason 2003). Whatever community is represented by the continued burial of people on the promontory at Newcastle, the site itself may have retained importance as the lowest bridging point on the Tyne east of Corbridge, on a direct north–south route between Durham and Bamburgh

and where the boundary between these two jurusdictions had become established (Winter *et al* 1989, 34). Consequently, the Castle spur at Newcastle may have retained its usefulness as a meeting-place. We do not know if the Roman bridge survived until this time. William the Conqueror is reported to have seen no bridge at Newcastle by which the river could be crossed (Raine 1838, 20–1). This does not necessarily indicate that there was no bridge at all; the Roman bridge might have been visible as a ruin, but unusable (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 118). Might there have been a ferry here? Ferries were associated with some thegnly residences, albeit those of major, powerful thegns, for example at Earl's Barton, Northamptonshire, and Barton upon Humber, Lincolnshire (Williams 2003, 35).

If, as suggested above (see chapter 2, section 2.2), the River Tyne was fordable at the point beneath the Castle spur in prehistory, it may have remained so at low tide in the early medieval period, maintaining the importance of the crossing point.

We may perceive one historical indication of the convenience of this point on the Tyne as an assembly place in the event which resulted in the murder of William's representative in the North, Bishop Walcher of Durham, in 1080. Following an insurrection of the Northumbrians against Walcher, a meeting of 'all the elders who lived beyond the Tyne with a great multitude of the whole people brought together … were also assembled' (Symeon of Durham *LDE* **III**.23; Rollason 2000, 216–17). Elsewhere, Symeon seems to imply that the Tyne represented the border of the jurisdictions of the Bishops of Durham and the earls of Northumbria (*LDE* **III**.21; Rollason 2000, 202 n.77). Even if the river represented the limits of these respective authorities the choice of this particular location is suggestive: was Gateshead chosen as the nearest location on the Bishop's side of this border to a site already familiar and acceptable as an assembly site to at least some of the Northumbrians? Walcher was cut down in the church at Gateshead, perhaps where St Mary's now stands. The juxtaposition of Gateshead and Newcastle may echo the previously cited juxtaposition of Govan and Partick in the kingdom of Strathclyde in the early middle ages where a complex of assembly site, church and royal seat straddled the River Clyde (see chapter 4, section 4.7.3; Driscoll 2002, 23–24).

With regard to landholding and power on the notionally east–west axis of the Tyne, there has been no work to substantiate the conjecture that the Baronies of Bolbec and Balliol that held lands in the west of the borough of Newcastle originated in the pre-Conquest baronies of Bywell and Styford (Oliver 1924, xiv–xv). (The earliest references to Bolbec and Balliol lands in the borough are *c* 1200 and 1178–87 respectively.) Oliver cites two instances of tenure in the post-Conquest borough that indicate older, pre-Conquest settlement in Newcastle. First, land on Sandhill which was part of the holding of Matfen and Nafferton was not held by knight service, but by serjeanty and the service of coroner for South Northumberland. Second, 'a toft in Newcastle' is mentioned in connection with the three-vill thegnage holding of Seaton, Whitley and Seghill between 1106 and 1116 (Oliver 1924, xvi; citing *St Alban's Register*, fos. 115b; Dodds 1930 ix 54). A later confirmation of the holding includes riding services among the services due, indicating Anglo-Saxon origins for the tenure (Oliver 1924, xvii, n. 6). The burgages in both these instances carried a liability to contribute to the defences of the town, which implies pre-Conquest practice and a borough constitution pre-dating the customs of Henry I (Oliver 1924, xviii; the customs exist in a document dating to the reign of Henry II; and *see below*). As all except the last property seem to have been located along The Close and Sandhill, that is beneath the Castle spur, Oliver's proposition that these properties might reflect older pre-Conquest landholdings suggests a conjunction of long-standing land boundaries often chosen for assembly sites in the early medieval period.

Sanmark and Semple (2008; 2010) note that early medieval assembly-sites often survived into the 12th, 13th sometimes even into the 14th century even though their role and status might change over time. Old assembly-sites were often abandoned in favour of newly created sites or the sites of churches. In the 11th century, the changes in power and consequent reorganisation or division of landholdings might result in bridge- or church-building at former assembly-site locations. It seems far more than a coincidence that the clay rampart of the Norman ringwork was built

over the counterscarp of the ditch identified as Anglo-Saxon by Snape and Bidwell (2002, 125–7); and that the later medieval ditch was dug on the line of the ditch they also identified as Anglo-Saxon. The existence of an established assembly-site, a place at which local power had been negotiated before the Conquest, combined with the natural defensive and visually impressive qualities of the location would provide eminently suitable reasons for the placement of William's new northern fortress and symbol of power.

5 The medieval town

The early medieval evidence from Newcastle perhaps raises more questions than it answers. By contrast, the evidence for the period from the establishment of the medieval Castle onwards is more concrete, although the origins and early development of the town itself remain little understood. At the point of publication, few excavations had taken place north of the river frontage, in what might be called the 'ordinary' domestic and commercial areas of the old town centre, from which the origins of tenement boundaries and characteristics of early town life and industry could be assessed. In the course of the Middle Ages, Newcastle became a major inland port, and a staple for the export of wool from the North of England (Fig 5.1), with agents working on behalf of Florentine and Lucchese merchants. Much of the archaeological record relates to the processes by which an improved riverfront infrastructure for sea-borne trade was created. In processes that reflect similar priorities in ports around the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, the people of Newcastle created a literal and

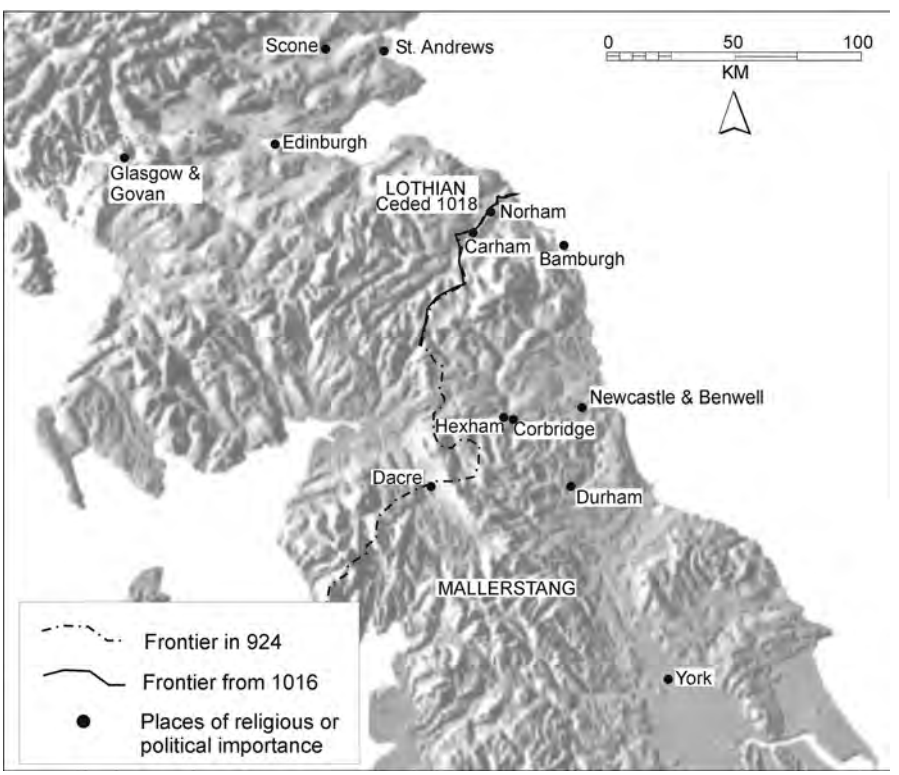


Fig 5.1 Map of places of religious and political importance preceding the Norman Castle in Newcastle.

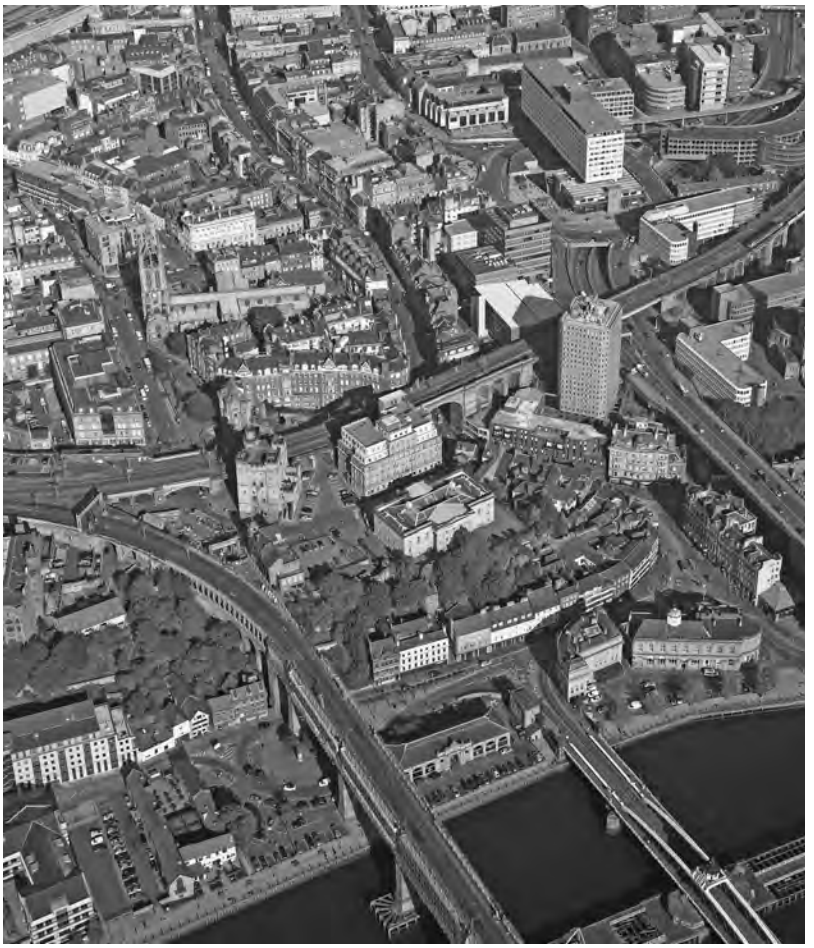


Fig 5.2 Aerial view of Castle Garth and river crossing (Steve Brock photographs).

metaphorical platform upon which their future wealth would be built. In what follows below, a brief assessment is made of the medieval building stock, both archaeologically attested and, in brief, what might tentatively be deduced from antiquarian depictions and historical documentation relating to property deeds.

The early success of the town was reflected in some of the oldest religious institutions, but these, too, have undergone little archaeological investigation, although antiquarian interest in the 19th century recorded suggestive, if not diagnostic, features at the point of their destruction. The significance, wealth, piety and pride of the town were demonstrated in the presence of all four major orders of friars, three of which have undergone archaeological investigation. This investigation also considers the lesser religious institutions, and aspects of the spiritual geography of the town. As the Castle seems to have given the main impetus for urban development, and has undergone some of the most prolonged programmes of archaeological work in the town, it is only natural that the assessment of this period begins with this institution (Fig 5.2).

This assessment reached completion in a period when there had been a number of new syntheses of urban archaeology and related themes (Giles and Dyer 2007; Gilchrist and Reynolds 2009). The assessment deals with concrete archaeological monuments, many of which have been, and remain, significant features of the present townscape (Table 5.1). It also deals with the archaeological patterning of material culture, where possible in conjunction with documentary sources in order to explore more social and thematic issues. For some topics, the assessment has revealed that there remains a scarcity of archaeological evidence, compared with documentary evidence, but, where possible, the two types of source have been used in conjunction with one another, in order to give the fullest descriptive, analytical and interpretive picture.

5.1 The medieval Castle and related installations

The Castle founded by Robert Curthose in 1080 gave its name to the medieval town (Arnold 1885, 211). Walls and features pertinent to the development and history of the Castle were observed when the railway was cut through the Garth before 1847, and discussed by Longstaffe in a detailed account of the Castle in 1860. The results of an excavation in 1906, which revealed partial plans of the hall and east curtain, were incorporated in an architectural assessment of the visible remains in 1926 (Knowles 1926). The south curtain wall was excavated in both 1928 and in the 1960s (*PSAN* 1928, ser 4, **3**, 245–6; Harbottle 1966). The Castle has undergone modern archaeological excavation in 1974–5, 1977–8, each season from 1980–93, and in extremely restricted circumstances in 1995 (Harbottle 1966, 1982; Harbottle and Ellison 1978, 1979, 1981; Snape and Bidwell 2002, 107–90; Harbottle and Nolan forthcoming).

The natural topography of the sandstone spur overlooking the river was used to good effect in siting the Norman Castle. The land drops steeply to the east and south, and the slope of The Side creates a triangular plateau, which required only the western landward side to be defined artificially. (The early history

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
3	5.9	Cloth Market, 1979	cellar of hand-made brick, preceding by fills containing pottery of early 14th-century and onwards and thick layer of later 14th-century rubbish	Tullett and McCombie 1980, 57–89
30	5.9	Wilson's Court, 1993	ditch, sherds of 12th/13th-century pottery in construction trench of massive sandstone ashlar wall. Second medieval wall, and stone drain; series of floors, eventually cobbled. Several 16th/17th-century walls	TWHER SR 1993/7
59	5.9	Westgate Road, 1929	'ditch' filled with 12th/13th-century pottery and organic debris	Spain 1934, 227–33
61	5.9	Lloyd's Court, 1993	Stone wall along line of medieval burgage plot, sherds of medieval pottery	TWHER SR 1993/4
72	3.1	South Curtain Wall, 1960–1961	south Curtain Wall; postern over Castle Stairs, curtain to a corner tower, flight of stairs up wall	Harbottle and Ellison 1981
73	5.9	Castle Garth, 1974–76	North Gate C12, Black Gate 13th-century, ditch cleared out, six stone features, wing wall of North Gate, gatehouse, bridge pit, clay spread	Harbottle and Ellison 1981; Harbottle 1982, 410
380	3.1, 5.9	Castle Garth, 1976–8	square building foundations in RA26; poss tower or church	Nolan *et al* 2010, 180
1280	5.9	Pudding Chare, 2001	excavation of 13th century building	TWHER SR 2001/9
1328	5.9	Binns' Department Store, 1997	no trace of occupation before 13th establishment of nunnery	TWHER SR 1997/26
1390	5.9	St Andrew's Churchyard, 1995	1st phase wall construction halted, 2nd phase much later, rubble construction	Teasdale *et al* 1999, 28
1392	5.9	Bath Lane, 1995	ditch of Hadrian's Wall, revetted and used as hollow way with poss. gate structure	TWHER SR 1995/38
1395	5.9	Watergate Buildings, 1996	medieval bridge arch, location of bridge chapel	TWHER SR 1996/2
2238	5.9	High Bridge, 2002	earliest med development dated to 12th/13th-century frontage of Pilgrim Street	Brogan 2010
2941	5.9	Moot Hall, 2008	foundations of curtain wall	TWHER SR 2008/131
2944	5.9	UNIV INTO Building, 2008	section of medieval street frontage, timber and stone buildings, culverts boundary walls	TWHER SR 2008/74
2945	5.9	UNIV Music Building, 2008	medieval stone building in paddocks	TWHER SR 2008/12
2947	5.9	Half Moon Yard, 2008	two small evaluation trench; refuse pit in rear tenement with organic deposits dated by 13th/14th-century pottery	TWHER SR 2008/110
3460	5.9	Gallowgate, 2004	late-12th or early 13th-century street layout and stream culverting	NAA in prep

Table 5.1 Archaeological events relating to the medieval Castle and early town

associated with the Castle is given succinctly in Harbottle 1982, 407.) According to Symeon of Durham, the new Castle had been built in the autumn of 1080, by Robert Curthose – the eldest son of William the Conqueror – after he had returned from a campaign against the Scots (*Historia regum*, Arnold 1885, 211). According to Henry of Huntingdon, Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, held the Castle in 1095, and it was besieged by William Rufus and captured (*Historia Anglorum*, Arnold 1879, 218).

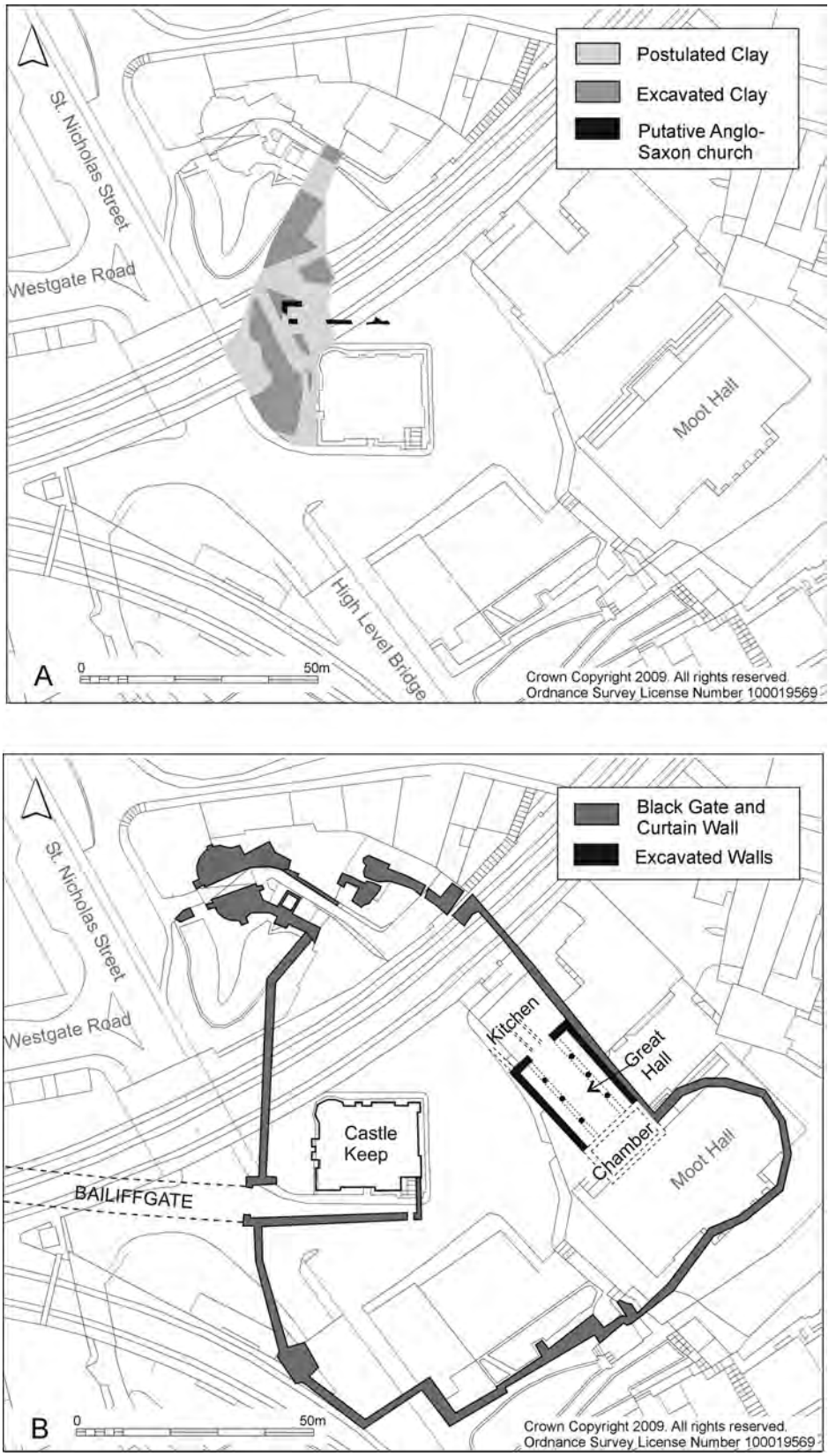


Fig 5.3 Developments of Castle: (A) postulated clay bank on ringwork (after Harbottle 1982); (B) Castle by late 13th century (after Harbottle 1982 and Knowles 1926).

The Castle fell to the Scots during the contest between Stephen and Matilda, but, according to William of Newburgh, it was recaptured by Henry II in 1157 (*Historia rerum Anglicarum*, Howlett 1884, 105–6). The Castle as it stands now retains a stone keep, which can be dated to after 1168; parts of the south curtain wall and a south postern; fragments of the north curtain wall and remains of a 12th-century north gate; the lower part of the 13th-century Black Gate. Both gates revealed the layout of early turn-bridges.

The earliest archaeological evidence for the Castle (Fig 5.3) appears to have been a spread of clay, which may have been the base of a clay bank, and a ditch immediately north-west of this (ie outside the bank). The spread was made up of layers of clay and stones, thought to have been upcast from the cutting of the ditch (Fig 5.4). The ditch had been cut through earlier deposits, and, consequently, human bone from the preceding cemetery, and Roman pottery and tiles were all found in the make-up of the spread (Harbottle 1982, 409). The clay spread was up to 2m thick in places (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 77). The rampart and its external ditch ran from the head of The Side to the Long Stairs, roughly following the line taken by the later medieval Castle ditch, and possibly utilising and enlarging an earlier ditch, perhaps even the boundary of the Roman fort (Nolan *et al* 2010, 195).

The ditch may have been lined with a membrane of clay covering the top and the inner slope; this was possibly intended to seal the cemetery beneath (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 244 n. 4). The sloping side was up to 7m deep, and the accumulated silt at the bottom of the feature pre-dated the mid-13th-century Black Gate. The outer bank of the ditch was not found in the area between the Black Gate and the railway viaduct, whereas it was found to the south-west. Consequently, it must be concluded that either the bank did not continue along the north side of the Castle, or that it had been removed when the fortifications were reconstructed in the late 12th century (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 78). There was nothing earlier than floors of 19th-century buildings on top of the inner bank, and some part of it must have been removed. The excavators concluded, therefore, that the Norman profile and height of the inner bank could now never be known (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 79).

Fig 5.4 Excavation of the clay bank 1987 (Norman wall to left of photograph).

The clay bank has been interpreted as part of a ringwork (Harbottle 1982, 410), ringworks similar to which were built at Elsdon, Mote Hills, Sewingshields Castle, and Green Castle, Akeld in Northumberland, and Castle Levington, on Teesside (Petts with Gerrard 2006, 77). None of these northern sites has been excavated, and consequently no direct comparisons may be made over construction methods and form, but the most extensive excavation of a Norman ringwork castle in the British Isles was undertaken at Rumney, South Glamorgan, Wales (Lightfoot 1992, 132). While far from Newcastle, Rumney was similar in location insofar as it protected part of a frontier or marcher lordship: it guarded the boundary of a lordship and a river crossing, some way west of the English-Welsh border. Similarly, the original defences of Rumney consisted of a ditch and clay rampart, which have been dated to the period *c* 1081–93 (Lightfoot 1992, 100; 132). The rampart averaged between 5m and 8m in width at the base, but survived only to a height of 1.50m as it had been levelled sometime between 1270 and *c* 1295 (Lightfoot 1992, 100; 126; 132). The Rumney rampart was composed of several layers of heavy clay containing limestone rubble. However, according to Creighton (2002), the pattern of ringwork building in the British Isles – as distinct from motte and bailey construction – was not chronological, geographical, historical or even ethnographic. Rather, it appears to have

Fig 5.5 The Bailiffgate circa 1810.

been the product of idiosyncratic preferences of castle builders, although ringworks also afforded rapid construction, which may have made them expedient in certain circumstances (Creighton 2002, 46–7). Ringworks also tend to cluster where shallow soil overlies rock, where again the construction would be more practicable than mottes (Creighton 2002, 48). Perhaps most significantly, however, ringworks appear to have been considered appropriate for the enclosure of extant structures, which may be significant in the light of the earlier archaeological evidence on the Newcastle site (Creighton 2002, 49; chapter 4, section 4.3ff).

Despite references to dedicated accommodation for knights due to give castle-guard at Newcastle (Creighton 2002, 90; Ballard 1910), and at least one baron's house supposedly built over a postern, no internal details have been excavated that throw light on garrisoning arrangements. The medieval street of Baylygate may have originated in a specially designated area to accommodate knights or others connected with either the defence or the administration of the castle (*see below*). An inquisition of 1334 mentions a 'mesone del Eschekier', or Exchequer, as well as 'Gerners', presumably Garners or grain stores, although it is unclear at what date these buildings may have been erected (Anon. 1859, *AA* ser 2, **13**, 45–6). One is reminded that the castle of the Dukes of Normandy at Caen included an 'Exchiquier' – a very large unaisled building of an Anglo-Norman aristocratic type perhaps akin to monastic refectories (Impey 1993; Blair 2003, 322).

A patch of cobbles and sandstone chunks set in clay was found in the ground of the Moot Hall and may be the remains of a wall within the castle yard or its defences. The area was between 2.60m and 2.80m wide, and 7m of its length were visible within the trench (TWHER SR 2008/131).

5.1.1 The curtain wall, gates and posterns

It is recorded that Henry II instigated the rebuilding of the Castle in stone in 1167–8, and that this work cost £1,144 5*s.* 6*d.* over ten years (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 79; Brown, Colvin and Taylor 1963, 746; Allen Brown 2003, 169). Building ceased in the reign of Richard I but resumed until completion under John. Part of an original north gate located to the south-east of the Black Gate has been attributed to this late 12th-century phase, as has evidence that the ditch was cleaned out. Nothing was found to demonstrate whether or not the north gate replaced an earlier gate. This north gate is located on the inner edge of the ditch. Undisturbed Norman clay was interpreted as the entrance passage. A wing wall was located on the west side of the north gate. As it was not connected to a curtain wall with footings of similar depth, gate was likely to have been inserted into the earlier clay rampart 'as a separate and free-standing unit' (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 79). The excavators postulated that there must have been a north curtain, but that it had been founded on the Norman bank. They use the evidence for the bank having been reduced in size at some point to suggest that any trace of the curtain wall would have been removed during levelling of the bank. Harbottle has suggested that the outer abutment is earlier than the inner abutment, stair and parallel walls, and that the space between the parallel walls was a pit to accommodate the rear half of a turning bridge, of free-standing bascule type (Harbottle 1982, 411).

The south postern was also a freestanding structure, abutted by the south curtain wall. This wall is built in a different way and on a different alignment to that of the postern, and may consequently be judged to be of a later date (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 79).

The stretch of south curtain wall that survives was investigated in 1960 and 1961 (Harbottle 1966). There had been a postern gate over the Castle Stairs, and the curtain led westwards to a corner tower. It was discovered that there had been extensive 19th-century disturbance south of the wall (Harbottle 1966, 86). A parapet stair was found, which had originally been a straight flight up the wall, but was later altered to have a lower flight leading up from the bailey. Holes in every second step close to the wall remain unexplained. The wall was of one build, with ashlar faces and a rubble and mortar core. The treatment of each face differed above the footings (Harbottle 1966, 92–3). An occupation layer or rubbish dump contained pottery fragments, predominantly from cooking pots, which may have been deposited while the wall was being built.

The Bailey Gate (Fig 5.5) was situated near the south-west angle of the keep, and appears to have been the earliest of the principal entrances to the Castle (Longstaffe 1860, plate opp 98).

5.1.2 The keep

The most substantial survival of this period is the stone keep itself, although it has been restored at various times (for the following: Goodall 2004; Harbottle 1990; Knowles 1926; Longstaffe 1860). It may be classified as a tower-keep, characterised by the accommodation having been arranged vertically in a succession of floors. The Newcastle keep consists of a ground floor, originally of two distinct, unconnected sections: the vaulted chapel, directly accesible only from the outside; and the so-called 'garrison room', also vaulted, but probably used for storage and originally accessible only via a spiral staircase from the floor above (Fig 5.6). The first floor was dominated by one large room with a smaller chamber or solar, known as the 'Queen's chamber' to the north. A third room had openings onto the main external staircase. This great staircase gave access to the Great Hall on the second floor. This huge space had a gallery with openings at the level above, reached by two separate staircases. Another private room, or 'King's chamber', was located to the south of the Great Hall. There was a room to the north containing a well some 30m deep. There were three straight mural stairs. The keep has been interpreted as the principal defensive structure of the Castle and the dwelling of the commander of the garrison (cf Harbottle 1990). The closest parallels, in terms of layout and design, are Norham on the present Scottish border, Bamburgh on the Northumberland coast, and Prudhoe farther inland on the Tyne. Norham, however, was a hall-keep, developed from an earlier 12th-century donjon, and akin to towers in contemporary episcopal palaces (Dixon and Marshall 1993). Bamburgh has also been classified as a hall-keep, but was set on a much squarer plan, perhaps ultimately derived from the Tower of London (Goodall 2004). Prudhoe was a tower-keep, like Newcastle,

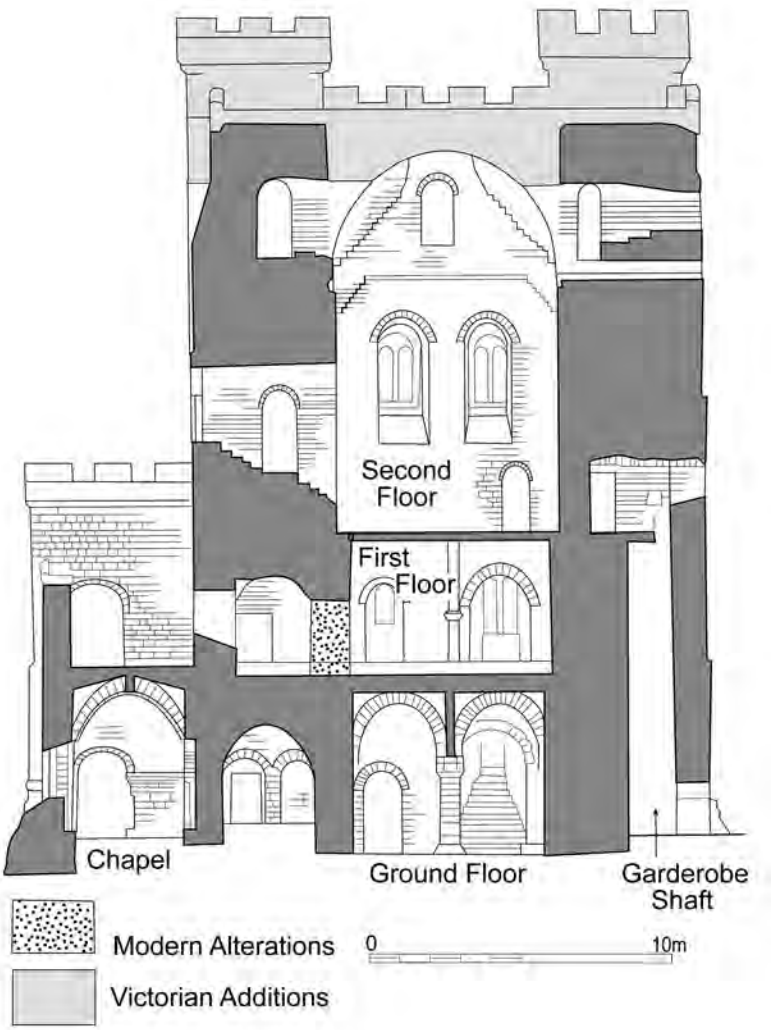


Fig 5.6 Cross section of Newcastle keep.

with vertically stacked accommodation, but much smaller (12.60m × 13.50m) in footprint (Ryder 1992, 58–9). Goodall has argued that Newcastle was a late, although significantly modified, version of a tradition of square great towers in the North begun earlier during Henry I's reign, starting with Carlisle and including Richmond and Bamburgh. There is much contemporary debate over the classification and function of stone keeps: some, like Hedingham (Dixon and Marshall 1992) being demonstrably for state purposes (the great hall being used for administrative and ceremonial occasions, and for the granting of audiences). Given the considerable height of the second-floor hall, and its surrounding galleries, this room at Newcastle was evidently intended to accommodate similar events, with an attendant smaller space with a fireplace provided for withdrawing or for use as a solar.

The construction of the towers of the Royal castles of Newcastle and Dover has been linked, owing to the documented presence of Maurice the Engineer at both sites (Harvey 1984, 202). Maurice is recorded as being at Newcastle in 1174–5, when he was paid as a mason (*Pipe R.* 21 Hen. II, 184); the first payments for the building of the tower at Newcastle occur in 1171–2 (*Pipe R.* 17 Hen. II, 66). Maurice the Engineer was paid for work at Dover in 1181–2 (*Pipe R.* 28 Hen. II, 150). There are many points of comparison between Newcastle and Dover, but the two sites also differ in many respects. Though both structures were about 25.30m in height, the dimensions on the ground differed: Newcastle, without the forebuilding was *c* 19.20m × *c* 17m; Dover was *c* 30m × *c* 29.30m (*PSAN* 1899 ser 2, **9**, 124). Both sites had a well shaft brought up through both the basement and first floor in solid masonry, in order that a water supply could be secured at second-floor level. Neither the surviving documentation nor the comparative architectural details make it clear what the role of Maurice may have been in transmitting influence from one site to the other (Constable 2003, 142–61). Another notable feature of comparison is the enclosure of the roof system within a gallery storey; this feature is also shared with the Tower of London (Goodall 2004, 51).

The rib-vaulted chapel within the keep at Newcastle displays architectural stylistic connections to the Galilee Chapel at Durham Cathedral. Unusually, the original access to the chapel was from the outside of the keep rather than from the interior, raising the question of who was expected or permitted to use the chapel.

Goodall (2004, 56) has suggested that the tradition of stone square great towers in the North of England became a symbol of Anglo-Norman territorial claims in the region. It is known that the region was disputed with the Scottish Crown and held by David I (and his son, Henry, earl of Huntingdon) between 1135 and 1157, (Goodall 2004, 55). Although many aspects of Anglo-Norman society, and indeed ecclesiastical architecture, were deployed in Scotland in the 12th century, the square great keep was not one of them, perhaps because of its iconic association with English (or Anglo-Norman) suzerainty. Once Henry II had started to build his great stone keep at Newcastle, this castle replaced Henry I's Bamburgh as the pre-eminent focus of royal administration in Northumberland. While Dover surpassed Newcastle in scale, Henry II may have had a particular reason for enhancing the appearance of power at both sites. For example, both keeps were accessed at second-floor level via a forebuilding, while first-floor access was the norm at all other towers where forebuilding access can be reconstructed. At Newcastle, an imposing external staircase provides access to the first-floor level, where ascent and descent could be monitored via the chamber with openings on the east of a main chamber at that level. The stairs continue upwards but level out some way short of the Great Hall, and a change of orientation towards the Hall is required. More steps have to be ascended, and two low-roofed, much darker and narrower transitional spaces with further steps have to be negotiated before entry into the spacious, presumably well-lit, hall was allowed. This is an even more impressive example of the kind of architecture of power, and of a ceremonial entrance, argued by Dixon (1996), through which petitioners, or potentially rebellious nobles, may have been put at a psychological disadvantage when approaching the presence of the king or his deputy. The architecture created a build-up and expectation, and indeed the play of light may have created an optical disadvantage as well. As both castles were built for royal accommodation, which could have been used for the reception of royal guests, and both were built in ports, the 12th-century

works at Dover and Newcastle (Fig 5.7) may have been intended to represent the southern and northern gateways to Henry II's island kingdom (Constable 2003).

Allen Brown (2003) has placed the late 12th-century work at Newcastle in the context of the total of Royal castle-building during the first three Angevin reigns as indicated by accounts of expenditure in the *Pipe Rolls*. In the period 1154–1216 there was 'a large-scale and practically continuous building programme covering every quarter of the kingdom', with some £780 spent *per annum*, on some 130 castles (Allen Brown 2003, 134). Henry II spent money on 90 castles, but over two-thirds of the £21,000 he spent were outlaid on seven of these: Dover, Newcastle, Nottingham, Orford, Scarborough, Winchester, and Windsor (Allen Brown 2003, 135; Eales 2003, 368). The relatively large expenditure on Newcastle must also be considered within the context of the king's work on other northern castles, as part of 'defence or offence against the Scot' (Allen Brown 2003, 136): Scarborough, Wark, Bowes and Richmond. Expenditure on castles, generally, later in the reign, and in John's reign, however, was initiated more by concern over internal revolt than fear of the penetration of the kingdom's frontiers. However, both in the 1170s and in the early 13th century, it has been considered that 'In a crisis Border government tended to dissolve and reform along different lines, especially around the great castelries of Carlisle, Bamburgh and Newcastle, and around escheats and custodies temporarily in the hands of the Crown' (Holt 1961, 200–1, 241–50, quoted in Eales 2003, 375).

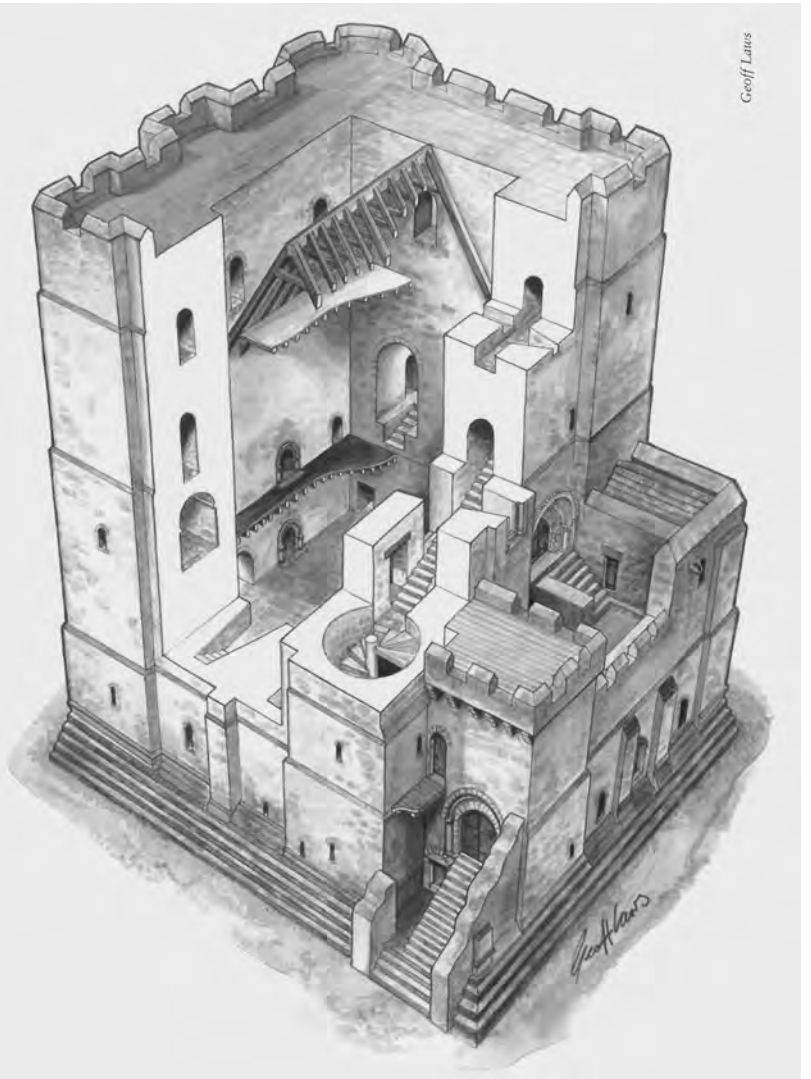


Fig 5.7 Cut away of the Norman keep (painting by Geoff Laws).

5.1.3 The 13th century to early 14th century

Newcastle's role in the defence of the northern border was renewed in the 13th century, although during the minority of Henry III from 1217 the custody of Royal castles often lay beyond central control (Eales 2003). In his majority, Henry III expended effort to regain, secure and update his fortresses.

A new gatehouse, the Black Gate (Fig 5.8), was built between 1247 and 1250, in the reign of Henry III (Brown, Colvin and Taylor 1963, 746–7). A form of barbican was built to connect the new gate to the existing 12th-century north gate. The 13th-century gate was built at the bottom of the 12th-century

Fig 5.8 Castle Garth and Black Gate from the south (photograph by David Williams).

ditch. The gatehouse passage was excavated, as was the road in front of the Black Gate (Event 84). This revealed that there were four distinct spaces, albeit part of a unified design, which remained in use until *c* 1400 (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 80). The passage walls were built on splayed foundations with at least part of the space in between filled with rubble and mortar at the front, mortar and masons' chippings at the back (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 83). Guardrooms were located on either side, at the rear of each wall. A patch of random flagging indicated a former floor. During the construction of the Black Gate, debris from the building works was used to fill construction holes and trenches, and to protect the foundations. These were identified in the filling of the ditch.

A bridge pit was located in the front half of the gatehouse passage, with evidence for a turning bridge that gave access to the Castle (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 83–4). This turning bridge was contemporary, with a second turning bridge located in the barbican (Knowles 1926, 48–51). Through comparison with other turning bridges, Harbottle and Ellison concluded that the Black Gate bridge represented an intermediate stage of design (1981, 85).

When the Scottish war began in 1296 the Castle was provisioned and made ready to withstand Scottish attack (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 85; Brown, Colvin and Taylor 1963, 747; Longstaffe 1860, 68). The ditch may have been scraped clean at this time, and measures taken to prevent erosion of the clay. Harbottle and Ellison cite an inquest of 1336 at which the jurors had sworn that the Castle was in good repair in 1314, but that the integrity of its defences and appurtenances had subsequently been breached by the townspeople (1981, 86). Paths and parcels of land were cut out of the moat, and livestock were habitually grazed near the Castle, resulting in accumulations of manure and other organic waste outside the gate and in the ditches (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 85). The king prohibited further abuses of this nature and ordered the mayor and bailiffs to have the area around the Castle cleared (*Cal Close R 1333–7*, 697). At the south curtain wall an occupation layer of black soil over the whole area west of the steps contained stones that were possibly facing stones from the wall. This suggested that the steps had gone out of use and that this part of the wall had fallen into disrepair at some point in the Middle Ages, possibly even the 14th century.

During this 30- to 40-year period, however, the construction of the town wall was progressing southwards on both the west and east sides. It was during this period that the re-entrants were created, the one on the east probably marking the decision to incorporate Pandon, and, more pertinently here, the one on the west seemingly reflecting a change from an initial intention to include the Castle in the defensive circuit. In 1311, the townspeople complained that it would be safer and more convenient if the wall and ditch passed 'by the mill of the hospital of Our Lady in Westegate' (*Cal Chancery Warrants* **1**, 341; Harbottle 1969, 72, n. 5). At an enquiry, the sheriff of Northumberland accepted that the wall should follow a new line, by the mill and 'thence directly to the Tyne' (*Cal Inq Misc* **2**, 24; Harbottle 1969, 74, n. 6). Harbottle has argued that the western re-entrant represents this new policy, it being the only major alteration east of West Spital Tower. Bourne wrote that the mill of St Mary's Hospital stood on the *Hoga* or the bank above Close Gate (1736, 127), 'and so presumably in the vicinity of White Friar Tower' (Harbottle 1969, 74). Nolan has suggested that the small structure depicted close by the White Friar Tower on both Thompson's map of 1746 and the Buck drawing of 1745 may have been built out of the remains of this mill (pers comm). The wall certainly heads straight for the Tyne from this point. Harbottle has speculated that the original line of the wall would have continued down the gradual slope of the natural spur. If the line of the wall between West Spital Tower and Denton Tower is projected eastwards it meets a point on the west curtain of the Castle, on the extreme end of the spur (Harbottle 1969, 75). This would, presumably, have given the Castle one entrance within the town walls (Black Gate), and one entrance outside the defensive circuit (Bailey Gate).

Further detail concerning the archaeology of the Castle in the later Middle Ages will appear in due course (Harbottle and Nolan forthcoming), but deposits ascribed to the 14th century were found in Railway Arch 27, covered by a floor of alternating yellow and green tiles (Nolan *et al* 2010, 193). It is unclear to what building or function these might relate.

At the south curtain wall, pottery in a dump of clay laid over the lower flight of steps suggested that the 'castle defences had ceased to be a matter for concern' by the 16th century (Harbottle 1966, 96).

5.1.4 The Great Hall

Many castles of the 12th century had great or ceremonial halls situated within the inner bailey, and a solar or chamber block located close by. Such early halls were often located at first-floor level, then replaced by ground-floor structures (eg evidence at Farnham) (see Thompson 1991, 55–6). From the early 13th century, large, often aisled, ground-floor great halls with a distinct arrangement of access to service rooms (buttery, pantry, kitchen accessed via separate doors or a screens passage) at one end of the hall, and a chamber at the other, became the norm (*see* Fig 5.3). Observations made by Knowles in 1906, when excavations were carried out to create the basement of the then county council office (published in 1926, 36–9), supplemented earlier observations and deductions by G. B. Richardson (1855) and Longstaffe (1860), from which some fairly accurate information about the great hall at Newcastle may be concluded. The Newcastle hall was located within the outer bailey, owing to the restricted space on the site, but, in common with other castles (eg at Durham, Warkworth and Aydon castles), the hall nestled against the defensive curtain wall. The Newcastle hall was located at the eastern end of the site, farthest from the Bailey Gate, and protected by the eastern slope of the Side and the Lort Burn. Nevertheless, on entering the Castle Garth through this gate, the hall structure must have made a very great visual impression. The hall was aisled, supported on columns, with a main entrance in the north wall, and a tripartite arrangement of doors – presumably for buttery and pantry – flanking a door or passage to the kitchen. An inquisition of 1334 certainly refers to a 'Panetrie', 'Botellerie' and 'Qwysine', as well as the king's chamber or solar (Anon. 1859, *AA* ser 2, **13**, 45–6). Knowles was able to take dimensions: a considerable total width of 44ft (13.41m); the central aisle 22ft 2 inches (6.76m); and the side aisles each 8ft 7 inches (2.62m) wide. Moulded bases for cylindrical columns were located; Richardson supposed there to have been four of these, and Knowles considered this likely given the other measurements available (Longstaffe 1860; Knowles 1926, 39). Consequently, the hall arcade might be compared with those of four bays of the bishop's palaces at Oakham Castle (dating to the 1180s), Lincoln (excavated) and Auckland (dating to the 1190s). At Newcastle, Knowles' calculation for the dimensions of the whole building, including chamber or chamber block, was *c* 66ft × 44ft (20.12m × 13.41m) (1926, 39 and pl II).

An inquisition of 1334 refers to a new vault for the King's Great Hall, as well as expenditure on windows at this date (Anon. 1859, *AA* ser 2, **13**, 45–7). Some impression of the role of the hall in royal political theatre is indicated by the fact that John Balliol, king of Scotland, paid homage to Edward I of England here in 1292 (Stones 1970, 127).

5.1.5 The Castle and the urban street pattern

Many of the questions posed by Harbottle and Clack in 1976 regarding the relationship between the Castle and the associated urban street pattern remain unanswered. There have been few opportunities to excavate in this part of the City (Fig 5.9). There is no direct archaeological evidence for The Side pre-dating the Norman Castle, but it offered an obvious pathway to the bridging point across the Tyne (*see above*). Medieval topography shows that The Side connected what may have been the earliest harbour and the bridging point to the principal market street, the latter splaying out into a triangle with the parish church of St Nicholas at its base. The Castle, by contrast, was set back from the market focus, and consequently it had no effect on the further development of the Market Street, Westgate Street or Pilgrim Street.

The two main Castle gates were the Bailey Gate near the south-west angle of the keep, and the Black Gate to the north-west of the keep. Both gates gave access westwards to a narrow street that connected the Long Stairs on the south with the upper end of The Side on the north (Harbottle 1974, 59). This street can be seen on the maps produced by Hutton (1772) and Corbridge (1723), and is and portrayed as a far broader street by Speed (1610). Harbottle deduces that this street must have run close to the outer lip of the Castle ditch, perhaps explaining why the southern part of the street was known as 'the Castle-Mote' (Brand 1789 **1**,

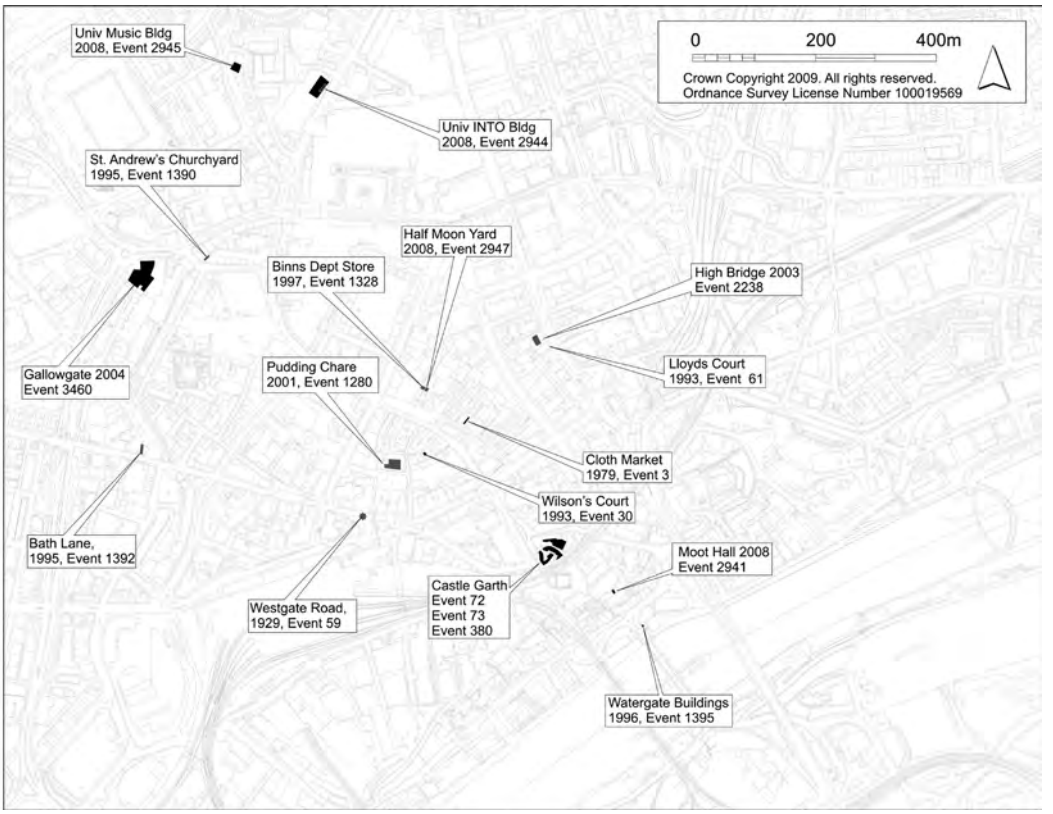


Fig 5.9 Events relating to the medieval town.

160 n. k). This meant, however, that there was no principal direct access to any of the main streets of the town.

The most interesting, and perhaps most intimate, potential relationship between the Castle and the urban street pattern concerns the small street called Baylygate (first referred to in 1354; Oliver 1924, 169, no. 316) which ran westwards from opposite the Bailey Gate, but never seems to have advanced beyond the junction of Westgate Street and what became Clavering Place. Land plots that respect the medieval street of Baylygate can be seen on Oliver's map of 1830; these may reflect medieval units of land tenture laid out at the time Baylygate was created. Harbottle and Clack questioned whether Baylygate represented an attempt at a formal layout contemporary with the Castle, but one that was never developed (1976, 117). They drew an analogy with Alnwick, where lodgings were maintained for retainers and tenants of the barony on the Bailiffgate, which led westwards from the principal gate to Alnwick Castle (Conzen 1960, 21–3). These retainers did not pay rents to Alnwick's town reeve, while other occupants of Bailiffgate paid their rents to the Castle reeve (Conzen 1960, 21–2). The implication is that the Newcastle Baylygate/Bailiffgate may have been a settlement separate from the rest of the town, closely related to the military and administrative functions of the Castle. The plots on Alnwick's Bailiffgate were short, and therefore distinct from the greater number of medieval tenement strips laid out in central Alnwick. The plots on Newcastle's Bailiffgate, as depicted on Oliver's map (1830), were also short and therefore distinct from the generality of strips leading off from the neighbouring Iron Market (Groat Market) and the west side of St Nicholas's Square. There is also, perhaps, something interesting in the fact that Bailiffgate may have ended where the land referred to later as Cunstable-galgarthe began. This was the piece of land granted to the Friars of the Sack in 1266 by Henry III (*Cal Pat R 1266–1272*, 10; Harbottle 1968, 167). Brand suggested that this might be Stable Garth (1789 **1**, 58–9). Both names could be argued to be suggestive of a connection with the Castle. An argument against this might be that the parish boundary of St Nicholas's church, while running down the centre of Bailiffgate, excluded the area occupied by the Friars of the Sack and their

successors the Carmelite Friars (see Hutton 1772). However, the parish boundaries may have been reorganised deliberately to exclude the friars' precinct.

It has never been clear where the houses of the barons who owed castle-guard were originally located. Eleven fees owed castle-guard to the New Castle, as recorded in the Red Book of the Exchequer (Ballard 1910, 712): Baylliol, Copum (or Werk), Bolum, Laval (or La Vale), Waltone, Caugi, Herun, Bothale, Divelstun and Gosford, Bolbec and Merley. All were located in the south of the county, within 15 miles of the River Tyne. In the reign of William Rufus, Bywell was held by Hugh de Balliol in chief 'by the service of five knights' fees, and by finding thirty soldiers for the ward of the New Castle', but inquisitions of 1334 and 1336 demonstrate that other services were rendered by the baronies that owed castle-guard (Ballard 1910, 712). A jury summoned in 1334 in order to examine the state of repair of the castle reported on 'la Mesone' of the baronies of Bolbec, Balliol, and seven of the remaining castle-guard baronies (Anon. 1859, *AA* ser 2, **13**, 45–54). A house of Bothal was mentioned two years later as being built '*infra dictum castrum*' (Anon. 1859, *AA* ser 2, **13**, 48); while the house of the barony of Bolbec was known as Bolbeckhall, and that of the baron of Werk (Wark) on Tweed was located '*supra posternum*' (Ballard 1910, 712; Anon. 1859, *AA* ser 2, **13**, 48). If these houses were built within the area defined by the outer mantle wall on the north, east and south (following Nolan 1990, 79–84), and the Castle Moote or ditch on the west, no archaeological traces have ever been found. There was a tradition that Bolbec Hall was located at the foot of Westgate Road, the same property that became known as Westmorland Place after its owner was created Earl of Westmorland in 1398, but the Bolbec name is perpetuated in the present building next to the Mining Institute. Is it possible, therefore, that the barons' houses were located on the Baylygate and beyond rather than in the Castle *per se*? Alternatively, we might consider the possibility suggested by Grey and Bourne that the barony created two properties: one within the castle; one outside (Grey 1649, 11–12; Bourne 1736, 35). As a final point, Ballard noted that the service known as '"heckage", whereby a combination of knights' fees, doing suit of court at a castle and being obliged to contribute to specified repairs, was connected with *haga* – a hedge, hay or a palisade, and implied the obligation of keeping up a certain portion of the palisades on the ramparts of Pevensey [castle]' (Salzman cited in Ballard 1910, 715). This raises a tenuous possibility that the *via hoga* referred to in early property transactions might have been a *via haga*, in reference to the proximity of the castle defences.

5.1.6 The medieval bridge

In the late 18th century, Tyne Bridge stood on the site of the present Swing Bridge. In 1872 the bridge that had been built between 1773 and 1781 was demolished, and the work observed by Bruce (1885). The late 18th–century bridge had replaced the medieval bridge of 12 arches that had been damaged by the flood of 1771. The removal of the third pier from the south (Gateshead) revealed structures that Bruce claimed to be vestiges of both the medieval and Roman bridges. In the light of a survey of the damaged bridge carried out in 1771–2 by Robert Mylne, Bidwell and Holbrook (1989, 99–103) have argued that what Bruce saw were the remains of the medieval bridge, and not the Roman.

Mylne's plan shows that the medieval bridge had nine piers standing in the water, increasing in width from the outer piers of *c* 5.18m on the north and *c* 4.57m (15ft) on the south, to three central piers each of 7m in width (Mylne 1772; Bidwell and Holbrook 1989, 100 and fig 73). Each pier had an outer timber starling. The bridge was estimated to have been *c* 170.70m long, with twelve arches (Bourne 1736, 130). There are two published views of the bridge after the 1771 damage, both of which show remains of nine arches (Brand 1789 **1**, opp 48; Hutton 1772, inset at bottom), and one view said to be not later than 1739, which shows 10 arches (Richardson 1880, pl 1). Three of the land arches had been converted to cellars by this time in the 18th century. One of these arches remains visible in the basement of Watergate Buildings, within reclamation deposits and under the new bridge approach (Nolan unpub 1996). This surviving arch is 13.40m wide, with a span of 6.40m, with nine chamfered stone ribs, and a face arch of three chamfered courses facing up-river (TWHER 310). Harbottle has suggested that a second land arch on the north side disappeared when the Swing Bridge was

built. Detailed descriptions of the bridge after the flood survive in the report of the engineers John Smeaton and John Wooler (Smeaton and Wooler 1772). The existing land arch, which is scheduled, has a span approximating to that recorded by Smeaton for the northern water arch in May 1771, that is 6.71m (Nolan unpub 1996; TWAS T186/612/315).

This raises two questions: how long did the Roman bridge survive either on this or another site; and was the Roman bridge succeeded by a wooden, medieval bridge prior to a stone bridge? The documentary references to the bridge are not particularly helpful in answering these questions. It was reported that William the Conqueror saw no bridge at Newcastle by which the river could be crossed (Raine 1838, 20–1). It is not known whether this implies that there was no bridge at all, or that the Roman bridge was visible as a ruin, but unusable (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 118). Harbottle and Clack have pointed out that it seems improbable that there would have been any great lapse of time between the foundation of the Castle and the provision of a reliable river crossing (1976, 118). The dedication of the bridge chapel, to St Thomas the Martyr, may imply that the bridge was built sometime after Becket's martyrdom in *c* 1170 (Fraser and Emsley 1973, 20). A bridge across the Tyne is referred to in *c* 1200 (Oliver 1924, 68, no. 95; Knowles 1898, 32; Bourne 1736, 129), and it has been suggested that references to a drawbridge and gate-tower in 1219–20 may pertain to the Tyne bridge rather than one at the Castle (*Cal Doc Rel Scot* **1**, Bain 1881, 132). The stone bridge was long thought to have been built after the fire of 1248, recorded by Matthew Paris (Bourne 1736, 128). Part of the stone bridge was reportedly carried away by a flood in 1339 and there are references to its ruinous state and grants towards its repair throughout the remainder of the 14th century (Brand 1789 **1**, 35–53).

The boundary between the jurisdiction of the town of Newcastle and that of the Palatinate of Durham was marked by two crosses of St Cuthbert, on the pier between the sixth and seventh arches from the north bank. A petition of 1412 describes these as 'St Cuthbert's stones' but they had to be removed in 1416 (Brand 1789 **1**, 42–3 n. t), presumably being replaced by the 'Blue Stone' mentioned in the Common Council Books; 22/03/1648 (Mackenzie 1827, 206–7 n.). Stone of this colour or type was seen as being of special significance. Thus another Blue Stone is mentioned by Bourne. This was a memorial in the Austin Friars, taken by Thomas Ledger (Mayor, 1647) as his own grave-marker, but, finding it too large for his family plot in St Nicholas's church, he sold it to a mason who employed it as a memorial to another burgess in the porch of All Hallows' Church (Bourne 1736, 93).

The tower and portcullis that were located at the south end of the bridge were believed to have been built by the mayor and burgesses of Newcastle after they had captured the Bishop's end of the crossing in 1383 (the Bishop had recaptured them in 1416). Another tower with portcullis stood on the pier between the third and the fourth arches from the north. A third gatetower was probably built in the early 17th century. The arms of the town and of the Bishop of Durham that appeared on these towers also date to the 17th century. The bridge supported a number of houses. Those on the Newcastle side were all located over piers; those on the Bishop's side were more densely packed (cf pl 1 in Richardson 1880, taken from original drawings, said to be no later than 1739). This is confirmed in Smeaton's report: '16. The Corporation of Newcastle have exercised a right of building houses upon the points of the piers, on their part of the bridge, and have let out lease for terms of twenty-one years several of the said houses' (Smeaton and Wooler 1772, 9).

Money for the upkeep of the bridge was raised by a number of means: by the sale of indulgences, eg those issued by the Bishops of Rochester, Durham, and Waterford, and of the Archbishop of York, mostly in the 13th century; and by means of a short-term grant by the Bishop of Caithness, effective throughout his diocese (Bourne 1736, 128–9). Why the latter should have been concerned with the bridge over the Tyne is uncertain. A number of grants by lay people are recorded, in the form of land, buildings and rents, that created an endowment which was administered by the *custos* or Keeper of the Bridge, who was usually the Master or chaplain of St Thomas's chapel (Oliver 1924, *passim*.). Customs and fines made by the town's companies upon their members were also directed towards the upkeep of the bridge (Bourne 1736, 129–30).

The bridge and chapel may be best treated

together, because the office of Keeper of the Bridge was usually combined with that of Master of the Chapel, and the chapel's dedication to Becket may give a date for at least one version of the medieval structure. The chapel was sited on the east side of the Newcastle end of the bridge. Nolan has pointed out that, although the site of the chapel is marked by the Ordnance Survey at NZ 25185 637800, this location would place the chapel in what was the river until the late 19th century (Nolan unpub 1996, 3, 7). Thompson's plan of Newcastle in 1746 shows the chapel to have been farther north, on the present southern side of the Sandhill, which is more plausible. The earliest reference to the chapel is in 1248. There were three cellars beneath it (cf grant of 29/6/1348 in Oliver 1924, 101, no. 154); and at least two existed as early as 1260–3 (cf grant in Oliver 1924, 76, no. 107).

There were said to have been three chantries in this chapel: one dedicated to St Anne and two to the Blessed Virgin Mary (Bourne 1736, 130–1). There were also lights dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and to St Katherine (cf gift of *c* 1240–51, Oliver 1924, 92–3, no. 136). The chantries were supported out of tenements on the Sandhill, The Close and The Side, and The Side and the Sandhill respectively. The chapel survived until the late 1820s, having been made a chapel of ease to St Nicholas's church, although it was reduced in size twice in the late 18th century to improve access to the Tyne Bridge. In 1854, the Society of Antiquaries received 'Old stones, intersecting parts of tracery from one of the windows of the old chapel on the Sandhill', which may have come from St Thomas's or the *Maison Dieu* dedicated to St Katherine (*AA* ser 1, **4**, Appendix, 21).

There might also have been a hermit living on the bridge (*see* chapter 5, section 5.5.7). Brand suggests that there was another chapel dedicated to Our Lady on the bridge itself, but this might have been a post-medieval institution (Brand 1789 **1,** 46). His belief could have derived from Grey's ambiguous statement that 'There is an old Chappell upon the Bridge' (Grey 1649, 18). Were the chapel and the hermitage related, or even the same building? More interestingly, perhaps, the mediating role accorded to hermits in the Middle Ages (see Gilchrist 1995, 159), poses interesting questions as to the divided jurisdiction between Gateshead and Newcastle symbolised by the Tyne Bridge.

None of the historic bridge superstructure survives, but can any archaeological deposits have remained *in situ* at the bridgehead? Nolan (unpub 1996) has shown that the present northern land arch of the Swing Bridge occupies almost the same position as the most northern arch of the 1775 bridge that was removed in 1874–5. By superimposing the cross-sections of the 1775 bridge and the Swing Bridge, he has shown that either the lower part of the north pier of the 1775 bridge, or the contemporary riverside wall, may survive below the Swing Bridge north pier (Nolan unpub 1996, fig 14). The cross-section of the 1775 bridge and Thomas Oliver's map of 1830 shows that the northern arch of the 1775 bridge was a water arch, and that the riverbed beneath it was *c* 6m below the height of the quayside at that time. If the medieval bridge, as shown by Thompson's map of 1746, is superimposed on the 1775 bridge, it confirms that the present northern land arch stood within the river (Nolan unpub 1996, 7; cf fig 10). Apart from the deposits at the foot of Castle Stairs, which have been tentatively assigned to the Roman period (Passmore, O'Brien and Dore 1991), there is no physical evidence concerning the extent of reclamation at the point where the bridge met the land at the time at which the medieval bridge was built. The earliest reference to Sandhill might be 1310, but there is a reference to land to the west of the Tyne Bridge that might possibly date to *c* 1230–40 (Oliver 1924, 93, no. 137). In an unpublished manuscript, W. Campbell noted that some of the 'ancient approach road was found 5' (*c* 1.50m) below the present approach road'. It was *c* 3m above the high-water mark and would be at the level of the platform of the Roman bridge. Since the bridge that was thought to be Roman was probably the medieval bridge, the discrepancy in levels may possibly represent the height of reclaimed land on the Sandhill bridgehead. As it has been demonstrated that the land beneath the northern arch of the present bridge has been solid ground only since 1876, and taking into consideration the disturbance caused by the construction of the Swing Bridge, no archaeological features or deposits can be expected below the northern land arch of the present bridge. Nolan makes one exception, which is the possibility of a fossilised earlier quay wall surviving beneath the north bridge pier (Nolan unpub 1996, 7).

5.2 Government and trade

5.2.1 The Borough, craft companies and guilds

It is uncertain when Newcastle became a chartered borough. The town came into Royal hands following William II's suppression of the revolt of Robert of Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland in 1095. As a Royal demesne, the early government of the settlement lay in the hands of the sheriff through a Court in the Castle Garth, but a measure of independence was purchased in 1170, when the annual farm was bought for £50 per annum (Fraser and Emsley 1973, 45). By 1189 the town had achieved burghal status, and the Newcastle Customs are the third oldest surviving borough records, after Leicester and Dublin, (Martin 1990, 34–5). The Custumal is known to us in three separate but nearly identical versions: through a copy in the Chancery Miscellania (reprinted in Johnson 1925, 169–79); in the preamble to the 13th-century Percy Chartulary (Martin 1911); and as a prototype for rights given by Hugh Puiset, Bishop of Durham, to the borough of Wearmouth and printed in the Bolden Book (*Surtees Society* **25**, xli). It is thought that the original, along with the majority of the town's medieval muniments, was destroyed during the Scottish occupation of Newcastle in 1640 (Fraser 1987, xi).

Walker has suggested that internal evidence within the Custumal indicates that the borough was older than the Curthose Castle (Walker 1976, 50–1). This is allied with the argument that because the town lacks a Borough Charter to legitimise the privileges and liberties contained within the Customal, these rights were therefore legal by ancient common usage. This resurrects the theory of earlier generations of antiquarians – albeit one rejected on archaeological grounds – that some form of urban existence had continued at Newcastle from the Saxon period. That the rights in the Custumal were granted (in some form or other) by Henry to the town is hinted at in the version of the Customal that appeared in the preamble to the Percy Chartulary ('*Hec sunt leges et conseutudines quas Henricus rex concessit burgensibus suis de Novo Castro*' – Martin 1911, 334). However, this is dismissed by Walker on the grounds that *concessit* could take the sense of 'allow existing rights' (Walker 1976, 43, n. 117).

In common with most developing towns of the late 11th and 12th centuries, the inhabitants of Newcastle struggled over a period of two centuries to seize control of their own affairs in government through the Corporation and in commerce through the Guilds, colloquially known in Newcastle as 'Companies'.

While there is no evidence for a Foundation Charter as such, a steady stream of documents indicative of a growing urban identity and independence in the late 12th century swells into a torrent in the first half of the 13th century. A Mayor is first mentioned in 1215, although royal assent to dignify the chief bailiff with that title was given only in 1251 (Fraser and Emsley 1973, 46). By 1223 there was a common seal of the Corporation, and in 1252 the burgesses were given the liberty of electing coroners (*Cal Pat R 1247–58*, 153). In Newcastle's case, one of the major spurs to have encouraged the development of local government was the need to generate revenue for the maintenance of the bridge, the single most important facility in the early economic development of the town. This was instituted via the Chapel and Keepers of the Bridge, to whom was delegated the disposal of land within the town for pontage, through the Town Court, and at the discretion of the mayor and burgesses.

The presence of a Merchant Guild, often the precursor of the Borough Court (Martin 1990, 37), is obliquely implied in the Custumal in that the burgesses are described as trading in a body, two or three generations before the Merchant Guild was confirmed by John in 1216 (Walker 1976, 41). This would have allowed for a single trading fraternity, the members of which might have attempted to control the conditions of trade to their own advantage, and to the detriment of fellow burgesses, who were excluded from the Merchant Guild. This led to a series of disputes culminating in the so-called 'dispute between the rich and poor burgesses' of 1305, whereby the distinction between merchant and non-merchant was abolished and all burgesses were allowed equal opportunities (Fraser 1961a, 138–40). By 1342, this commercial homogeneity had developed into a fully functioning guild system of 12 companies or mysteries, which were allowed, in the reforms of Edward III, to participate in the election of the town's officers (Table 5.2). Newcastle was the only English town north of

Table 5.2 The Trade Companies of Newcastle

company	*oldest mention*	*date of oldest known ordinary*	*meeting house*	*chapel/ dedicated altar/ light*	*Corpus Christi procession*	*Corpus Christi play*
The Principal Companies						
Merchants of Woollen Cloth / Drapers	1342	1512	*Maison Dieu*	St George's porch, St Nicholas's		
Mercers / Merchants of Silk and Small Wares (*Merchant Adventurers*) with *Boothmen* until late 17th century		No survival; oath of admission 1517				yes: five plays; one to the Ostmen
(Merchant Adventurers)		1480			yes	five plays (*see above*)
Skinners with *Glovers* from 1703		1437/8 1735 copy	Blackfriars		yes	
Tailors		1536/7		Ladylight mentioned	yes; Newgate	yes
Saddlers		1459/60			yes	yes
Merchants of Corn / Boothmen (*Merchant Adventurers*)		no survival; oath of admission 1566				
Bakers and Brewers	1342	1583				
Tanners		1532 1669 copy			yes	yes
Cordwainers		1566	Firth Hill, then foot of Flesh Market/ House of Charity	upkeep of Tyne Bridge		
Butchers		1621	Tallow House, Javel Grip C18th			
Smiths		1436/7 1669 copy	Chapel of Blackfriars; used the Forth House for a while, late 17th/early 18th century	process from St Nicholas's on St Loy's Day; to meet on St Loy's Day	yes	yes
Walkers or Fullers and Dyers		1477 1669 copy		upkeep of Tyne Bridge; to meet at Carliol Croft on St John's Day (May and Christmas)	yes	yes
The Fifteen By-Trades						
Masters and Mariners / Blessed Trinity	1492		Trinity House (formerly Dalton Place)	Holy Trinity altar, All Saints'; porch behind their former gallery in All Saints'; to meet on Trinity Sunday		

company	*oldest mention*	*date of oldest known ordinary*	*meeting house*	*chapel/ dedicated altar/ light*	*Corpus Christi procession*	*Corpus Christi play*
Weavers		1527/1525		upkeep of Tyne Bridge; to meet 'at the Saint Augustine's' on the day of the Exaltation of the Cross	yes	Bearing of the Cross
Barber-Surgeons with *Wax and Tallow Chandlers*		1442 1669 copy	given land in the Manors 1648	Light of St John Baptist, St Nicholas's	yes: Newgate	Baptising of Christ
Cutlers	1579	no survival	Cutlers' Tower, Carliol Croft; became Masons' Hall			
Shipwrights		1638	1622	to meet on 27 December		Noah's Ark
Coopers with *Ropers and Plasterers**		1426/7 1497 copy	leased place in the Manors 1650; over Watergate on Sandhill	St Nicholas's	yes	yes
Bricklayers and Plasterers**		1454			yes	The Creation of Adam; The Flying of Our Lady into Egypte
*House Carpenters and Joiners**		1579 1669 copy	at Westgate	upkeep of Tyne Bridge	yes	Burial of Christ
Masons with *Bricklayers* and Metters*		1581 1669 copy	Whitefriars' Tower then 1740 Cutlers' Tower, Carliol Croft		yes	Burial of the Virgin Mary
Glovers and Saddlers		1436/1440 1669 copy		'to the light of the said craft'	yes	yes
*Joiners****		1589 1669 copy	Pilgrim Street Gate			yes
Millers		1578		upkeep of Tyne Bridge		Deliverance of the Israelites out of Egypt
Curriers, Felt-makers and Armourers		1546/5		lights	yes	yes
Colliers, Paviors and Carriagemen		1656	tower near St Andrew's church	to meet on St Mark's Day?		
Slaters with *Bricklayers** from 1579; separated 1677		1451/2	1619 Given Joiners' hall; met with Coopers in the Manors in 1654; Sandhill in 1789l	to meet on St Catherine's Day. Upkeep of Tyne bridge	yes	Sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham

company	*oldest mention*	*date of oldest known ordinary*	*meeting house*	*chapel/ dedicated altar/ light*	*Corpus Christi procession*	*Corpus Christi play*
Glaziers, with *Plumbers, Pewterers and Painters* (had been with Goldsmiths) (some apothecaries mentioned)		1536	Mordern Tower 1619	upkeep of Tyne Bridge	yes	Three Kings of Cologne
Other companies						
Goldsmiths (separated from above in 1717)		1536				
Waits or Musicians		1677	tower in Carliol Croft, near Pilgrim Street	to meet on the day of St James the Apostle		
Scriveners		1675	apartment in Town Court			
Bricklayers		1660; citing 15th century	Neville Tower from 1711	to meet on 24 February		
Rope-makers		1648; citing older one	1697 given part of room at west end of Correction House, in Manors, formerly hall of Coopers; house near bottom of Carliol Croft 1789			
Upholsterers, Tin-plate workers, and Stationers		1675	apartment in Town Court	to meet on 25 July		
Sail-makers		1663	1713 Close Gate, formerly that of Carpenters	to meet on 10 August		
Mettors (measurers of capacities of keels and boats)		1611	1614 lower storey of Whitefriar Tower, with Bricklayers; under hall of Masons	to meet on 20 September		
Porters		1528		to meet on Michaelmas day		
*Extinct companies (*tempus *Brand 1789)*						
Cooks	1516; extinct by 1692	1575; citing older one		to meet on Thursday after Trinity Sunday; to keep up the bonfires on Sandhill every Midsummer Eve and every St Peter's eve		yes

company	*oldest mention*	*date of oldest known ordinary*	*meeting house*	*chapel/ dedicated altar/ light*	*Corpus Christi procession*	*Corpus Christi play*
Spicers (anciently of the Merchant Adventurers)	1517					yes
Furbishers	1516					
Sword-slippers	1576					
Bowyers (bowmakers)	1516					
Fletchers	1516					
Spurriers	Spurrier-gate (Middle Street); extinct by 1655		on Corbridge's plan			
Girdlers	1516					
Vintners	6 Ed VI					
Watermen (intended)	1656; 1675; 1698 failed.					
Keelmen	1516					

Sources: Brand 1789 **2**, 311–61; 369–73; Anderson 1982

Notes:

1) The order of presentation is that given by Brand (1789 **2**, 311–61).
2) Discrepancies in dates: the date given first is that given by Brand; the date given after an oblique (/) is that given by Anderson and has been adjusted for modern reckoning. One or two dates given by Anderson are earlier than those given Brand.
3) * Denotes where some trades have realigned their associations through time.

York to have a full range of occupational guilds. These consisted initially of three companies of merchants (woollen cloth, corn and general), and nine craft guilds: the skinners, saddlers, fullers, tanners, cordwainers, butchers, bakers, smiths and tailors. A spate of new foundations occurred in the mid-15th century, but these were placed at a lower status and were known as by-trades: coopers (1436), grocers (1437), barber surgeons (1442), plasterers (1445) and slaters (1452) (Fraser and Emsley 1973, 27). A further round of reorganisation saw the recreation of the Merchant Guild in a new guise, in the establishment in 1480 of a new body: the Merchant Adventurers' Guild (Dendy 1895, xxv). Having allowed the 'poor burgesses' a degree of commercial enfranchisement and a minor role in town government, the 'rich burgesses' re-grouped by allowing in the wealthiest individuals from the lesser companies, to re-establish their sole right to trade in the principal commodities, including coal, lead and grindstones.

The burgesses' tendency to create new mercantile organisations in order to accommodate the changes in the pattern of trade is further demonstrated in 1600, when the Company of Hostmen was incorporated by Elizabeth I to oversee the rapidly expanding coal trade. An enormous boost was provided by the Dissolution of the Monasteries, which released coal-rich land for private exploitation with the result that local landowners needed access to the Newcastle markets. Their link to the coal-shippers – often owner-captains who bought in Newcastle and sold in London – was the 'ost' (an 'ost' was originally a host, one who aided or hosted visiting tradesmen.

It later became an elite company of merchant middlemen within the town). Again, the new group allowed in members from guilds other than the merchants, re-invigorating the ruling clique, but excluding the minor traders from the most lucrative market. The Company of Hostmen met in the Guildhall, indicating that they ran the town. Commercial tensions, often taking a religious overtone, formed the dominant undercurrent in the politics of the region during the 17th century (Howell 1967), affecting every aspect of town life.

5.2.2 Trade and the economy

The exemptions from common law and the trading privileges granted to the burgesses in the Custumal of Newcastle are more extensive and of more significance than those of most other contemporary boroughs, being second in privilege only to London. Most importantly, the right to control trade at other ports on the river, notably Tynemouth, has its origin in the Custumal, and with it the concept of the 'Port of Tyne', extending the area where all goods 'foreign bought and foreign sold' had to be traded through a Newcastle merchant. This monopolistic trading restriction, fiercely contested but not overturned until the 18th century, was responsible for the continual growth of Newcastle and an equivalent stunting of other Tyne outlets, both on the north bank, where the Prior of Tynemouth was the main landowner, and on the south bank, largely owned by the Bishop of Durham. Powerful though these clerics were, they could not break the town's control (Fraser 1981a, 136–7), which was justified by the need to keep the town strong as a bulwark against northern aggression – the so-called 'Eye of the North'. A more telling argument in the eyes of the king, however, was the need to keep the town rich, in order that it could afford to pay the royal fee-farm (£100), and ensure the channel of trade through an excise-paying port.

The social and economic effects of this distortion of the natural trading pattern of the region cannot be overestimated; while significant in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, it assumed even greater importance when the coal-fields started to open, and it meant that the local gentry, in order to exploit their natural resources, had to become involved in the commerce and politics of Newcastle. The repercussions of this trading monopoly, and the way it concentrated power and wealth from the surrounding region in the town, were felt in almost every form of communal activity within Newcastle.

The creation of the borough, and the extension of its monopolistic trading rights 'from Sparhawk to Hedwin Stream', ie from the river mouth to the western boundary of the town (Howell 1967, 31), set up the conditions for the port to take a major role in the expanding North Sea trading networks. Little is known of the scale of river trade here before the construction of the quay that would have served the first Castle in the late 11th century. Grey mentions the folk memory of ships beaching at Sandhill at the confluence of the Lort Burn (Grey 1649), but the better natural location would have been the inlet of the Pandon. Excavations here on the Crown Court site and Stockbridge have shown that there is no material evidence of significant riverside facilities before the reclamations of the late 12th century (O'Brien *et al* 1989 and Truman 2001), when the industrial suburb of Pandon developed in parallel with the town around the Castle (*see* chapter 5, section 5.8.1).

There are a number of important documentary sources for the North Sea trade in the Middle Ages (Fig 5.10), and most have been brought to publication. Newcastle was designated a Customs port in 1275, and was one of the ports where royal taxes were levied with few interruptions between 1275 and 1547 (Wade 1995, 31). In 1275 a 'Cockettum' or Custom House was mentioned (Brand 1789 **2**, 38). The *Enrolled Accounts*, giving summaries of excises on wool, cloth, wine, wax, tin and pewter specifically, and of other commodities on an *ad valorum* basis, are well known (Carus Wilson and Coleman 1963, 36–48), and comparative tables have been drawn up for most ports (eg Fraser 1969, Appendix for 1265–1358). The more detailed *Particular Accounts,* which were collected by the king's controllers for each port, are less complete, and for Newcastle are published for 1294–7 (Conway Davies 1954), 1300–99 (Blake 1962) and 1454–1500 (Wade 1995). The 1508–09 accounts were compared with the *Chamberlains' Accounts* of 1508–11 by Fraser (1987, xvi–xix). The latter, representing the earliest Newcastle manuscript survival, is particularly important in detailing town revenue, expenditure and the complexity and direction of the port's external relations. In

Fig 5.10 European trade from Newcastle.

addition to these excise documents, a number of other sources have been used in synthetic studies in relation to specific themes and topics, eg the coal industry (Nef 1932, Blake 1967, Dietz 1986, Hatcher 1993), trade and urban decline (Kermode 1987) and trade in specific periods of conflict or crisis (Blanchard 1973, for 1509–32).

The first references to coastal shipping refer to supplying the garrison, for example, in 1204 with corn from Lynn (*Pipe R.* 5 John, 234) but the merchants in the town soon developed a foothold in the rising tide of North Sea trade in the early 13th century. Archaeological evidence shows that quayside facilities were well developed by that time (*see* chapter 5.6). Newcastle's contribution to the levy of a 15th on all exports and imports in 1203 demonstrated that it had gained regional economic domination as both a market centre

and a port by this time, outstripping the local competition from Yarm, Coatham, Redcar and Hartlepool, and inferior only to London, Southampton, Boston, Lincoln, Hull and York (Wade 1995, 3; Fraser 2009, 42; Newton 2009, 286). By 1334, it was fourth in the country, behind London, Bristol and York, and its merchants were major money-lenders to the Crown (Holt and Rosser 1990, 22).

At first, wool and hide dominated, hence the town's designation in 1275 as a Staple Port. Nonetheless the town failed to become vastly wealthy on these goods, although it survived the collapse of the Flemish trade, and the re-alignment of the wool/cloth export which saw London capturing almost all of the market (Kermode 1987, 61–2). Newcastle's monopoly stretched across the four northern counties and Richmondshire (except for Hartlepool, which had its own collectors). It specialised in inferior-quality wool, particularly lamb fells, which were excised at a much lower rate. This trade, mainly to Bruges, Middleburg and Antwerp, flourished as the Calais market in fleeces declined (Wade 1994, 35). Hide export soon dwindled to almost nothing; that 5 of the 12 guilds franchised in October 1342 (Welford 1884, 114) were concerned with the leather trade (fullers, skinners, tanners, saddlers and cordwainers) shows that local manufacture consumed this product. The lack of a developed woollen-cloth industry is probably explained by rural depopulation and displacement in the troubled border counties throughout the later Middle Ages, which made it difficult for clothiers to organise rural production (Wade 1994, 39).

While the wool trade formed a valuable constant in the export trade, the town profited from one major advantage, its proximity to the coalfields. The city's renowned coal industry began in the medieval period. The first shipments of coal had come from pits located close to the riverbank in Whickham, which, 'of all manors in the Tyne valley with abundant outcropping seams, was the one nearest the mouth of the river' (Nef 1932 **1**, 26). The extent of known medieval and post-medieval (pre-1700) mining in the north-east coalfield is indicated in Hatcher 1993, 71, fig 5.1, and can be supplemented with archaeological excavation records or observed field remains, for example on the Town Moor, Newcastle (TWHER 4831); Whickham and Lands Wood, Tyne and Wear; Moorhouse Woods, West Rainton, Mallygill Wood and Cockfield Fell, County Durham; and Alnwick Noor, Northumberland (Guy and Cranstone 2001; Petts with Gerrard 2006, 79; Petts with Gerrard and Cranstone, 92–3). It seems likely that the exhaustion of surface coal in land close to the river provided the impetus to open pits farther inland, perhaps in the reign of Henry VIII (Nef 1932 **1**, 26). Growth is known in a few pits in the 1520s and 1530s, including Benwell, Ravensworth, Stella, Chopwell, Denton and Heworth (Hatcher 1993, 77). Elswick grew from one to three pits in eight years in the 1530s. The Dissolution of the Monasteries created the opportunity for a considerable redistribution of mineral-bearing land and rights, including some held by the Nunnery of St Bartholomew in Newcastle (Nef 1932).

There is reason to believe that coal exported from Newcastle may have played a part in supporting the prodigious medieval industries in Flanders, particularly Bruges, and Holland, as well as being put to domestic and industrial uses in France, London and the south coast as far as Southampton and Scotland (Hatcher 1993, 24, 26). Among other things, coal was used for drying the dye madder and other processes within the textile industry, particularly in Zeeland; for smoking and drying fish, and for breweries in Holland; for burning lime and other aspects of building; and for working iron (Blake 1967, 12; Hatcher 1993, 26; Spufford 2002, 321). Without exagerating the quantities, significant exports of coal were being shipped from Newcastle from the second quarter of the 14th century to Flanders and Holland, and some went as far as the Baltic (Hatcher 1993, 26). The export of coal from Newcastle to the Low Countries coincided with the increase of imports of redware ceramics from this region. The only main rival for production of coal and supply to the industrialised centres of Bruges and Ghent was in the Liege and Charleroi coalfields along the River Meuse. Indeed, coal production in north-east England may have superseded that of the Meuse already by the later middle ages; it certainly had by the 16th century (Spufford 2002, 321).

Before the Civil War, the industry throughout Tyneside and Wearside was largely organised and financed by local Newcastle merchants. Usually in partnerships of fluid duration, they provided by far the majority of the money that

purchased 'the timber, the candles, the ropes, the iron bars, the horses, the cattle, the picks and shovels', 'roules', 'corves' and 'trammes' used in mining on Tyneside (Nef 1932 **2**, 23; Hatcher 1993, 297; 260–4). They paid the wages of all who sank the shafts, hewed the coal from the ground, hauled it along the underground passages from the mines, 'as well as of the carpenters, wrights, and smiths, who built the keels and staithes, and of the wagon drivers and keelmen, who carried the coal from the pits to the shipside' (Nef 1932 **2**, 23).

As well as providing cargoes for London, East Anglia, Normandy and Picardy, the main destinations of Newcastle colliers, coal exports also provided a ballast-substitute for all sea-borne trade. This helped the town immeasurably during the interruptions in the supply of local grain occasioned by the Scottish Wars, as it allowed a reciprocal trade in cereals, particularly with King's Lynn (Howell 1967, 22). By the early 16th century, the coal trade dominated, both by value and by volume. Keels were used to link the mines upstream to the colliers at the quayside, and, in this way, Newcastle coal was cheaper than any landbourne coal in the country (Wade 1994, 33). In its wake grew the associated industries of glass- and salt-making (Howell 1967, 20).

Three other ballast substitutes were grindstones, iron and lead. The grindstones and, to a much lesser extent, millstones, were mined from the gritstone beds exposed during mining. As a cargo, they were six times more valuable than coal by weight. The trade in iron and lead was extremely complex, both in terms of organisation and in the workings of the market, with Newcastle being the linchpin for a developing system of industrial commodity markets. In the case of iron, the local producers in the episcopal forests of west Durham were dependant on fluctuations in price caused by interruptions in the supply of Spanish iron, suffering as they did from archaic production methods using a myriad of scattered bloomeries (Blanchard 1973, 77). Lead was transported from across the North Pennines, and as a cargo was 30 times more valuable than coal (Wade 1994, 40).

Ballast-dumping by ships – to make hold-space available for coal, iron, etc – became a valuable source of revenue to the town (Fraser 1987, 15). The earliest ballast-shores, from at least the 1280s, were immediately east of the bridge, as evidenced from excavation on the foreshore (Heslop *et al* 1995, 233 and Goodrick *et al* 1994, 230–2) and the practice must have helped to re-sculpt the riverbank during reclamation. The Quayside stretch of the town wall was constructed directly on ballast (Heslop *et al* 1995, 224). The material sampled both at the Milk Market and on Sandgate contained a high proportion of glauconite, a characteristic of the Greensands of the Thames Estuary, as well as flint and chalk (Heslop *et al* 1995, 233).

5.3 Land holdings

5.3.1 The land holdings and the baronial estates

A number of property transactions refer to land in the west of Newcastle in the baronies of Balliol and Bolbec. Oliver has pointed out that similar references occur in other printed records, but that those referring to the barony of Balliol are more numerous (Oliver 1924, xiv). The earliest reference to Balliol lands is found in a deed of *c* 1200 (Oliver 1924, 11, no. 2); the earliest reference to the Bolbec lands occurs in a charter granted between 1178 and 1187 (Oliver 1924, 18, no. 13). Each of these transactions had been witnessed by the contemporary reeve of the town. Oliver felt that the evidence suggested that the barony lands had formed part of the borough of Newcastle from the 12th century, and 'had most probably done so from the time when William II granted the Bywell barony to Guy de Balliol, and Henry I granted the Styford barony to Walter de Bolbec' (Oliver 1924, xv).

Greenwell conjectured that these two baronies might have originated in two Anglo-Saxon estates represented by the medieval parishes of Bywell St Peter and Bywell St Andrew (*NCH* **vi**, 14; Oliver 1924, xv n. 18).

The Balliol land seems to have been located to the west of the Tyne Bridge and, possibly, on either side of The Close. Some lay between The Close and the Tyne; some lay in The Close, between a vennel leading to the 'heugh' and the Tyne (Oliver 1924, 171, no. 324). It is uncertain here whether or not the term heugh refers to the street itself, for in a subsequent inspection of the grant it is clear that the property lay next to a vennel or 'common grip', but that it extended from the highway to the Tyne (Oliver 1924, 171, no. 325). If, however, the heugh was a pathway closer to the Castle, some Balliol

property would seem to have been located also on the north side of The Close. Balliol property on the north side of The Close is confirmed in a demise of 1298–1300 that is endorsed 'within the Close Gate next the stair leading to the freretoure ...' (Oliver 1924, 87, no. 128). This reference may pre-date the wall at this point in its circuit (Nolan *et al* 1986, 33). Corbridge's map of 1723 seems to show a set of stairs adjoining the town wall between the White Friar Tower and the Close Gate; and Bourne describes the town wall descending from the West or White Friar Tower to the Close Gate 'down a dangerous Pair of Stairs, upon a very steep Bank' (1736, 127). A garden in Ratunrau is mentioned three times in association with Balliol property in The Close, and the copy of the grant of 1292 makes it clear that this property is also in the fee of Balliol (Oliver 1924, 171, no. 325). Property transactions show that the Bolbec land lay, again, on the south side of The Close (Oliver 1924 *passim*; NRO Black Gate Deeds, B4/i/3 NO50).

5.3.2 The lands of the Hospital of St Mary the Blessed Virgin in Westgate

The Hospital of St Mary the Blessed Virgin seems to have been founded in the mid-12th century by Aselack of Killinghowe for two regular brothers and one chaplain, to serve travellers and the poor (Oliver 1924, 1–2; Knowles 1892, 194; Raine 1876, 203). It is mentioned in a charter granted by Henry II to the nuns of St Bartholomew's (Bourne 1736, 30). Bourne recorded that a 'Charity was bestow'd on this Hospital by the Lord Walter de Bolbeck' (1736, 30). Bourne argues that this was the same Walter who occurs in a conveyance of *c* 1135, and that therefore the grant to the hospital was made during the reign of Henry I. Before 1227 and in *c* 1260 the Hospital confirmed grants of land on the bank of the Tyne, each of 20ft (6.10m) in width. Only in the second, later, confirmation are houses mentioned, and it is possible that the property was located on reclaimed ground. These holdings are of interest because grants in 1291–2 make it clear that land in The Close formed part of the Barony of Balliol at this time, and that they extended to the Tyne (Oliver 1924, 170–1, nos. 323–5). A demise at fee-farm witnessed in 1272 specifies that the land is 'above the bridge' which is taken to mean inland or to the west of the bridge, and 'stretching from the highway to the Tyne', ie on the south side of the present Close.

It would seem feasible that the Hospital was given land from the barony of Balliol on The Close, and that it was dispersed with land demised to others from the same fee. The extent of this land, however, is not assessable. The Hospital precinct extended from Westgate on the north to beyond the town wall on the south. Indeed, by 1290 the town wall was being constructed through the Hospital 'courtyard'. The brethren of the Hospital made a petition to the king to have a postern gate made in the new town defences, to allow them to regain access to a large number of their buildings from which they had been separated (Brand 1789 **1**, 71 n. c; Knowles 1892, 195). According to Oliver's map of 1830, and the printed terrier known as his Reference of 1831, the distribution of property belonging to the Hospital on either side of the town wall must surely reflect this pre-town wall precinct, for it extends over Forth Street, South Street and the western side of Orchard Street almost to The Close. A large group of properties remained with the Hospital at the corner of The Close and the Forth, and again on the south side of Forth Terrace. The surrender of a lease in 1829 indicates that the open ground or pasture, which was surrounded by these blocks of property, was also owned by the Master and Brethren of the Virgin Mary Hospital (TWAS 68/8/50, 11 August 1829). Indeed, a lease of 1695 specifies a meadow outside Close Gate, another parcel of ground called the Firth (Forth), a grass close and a toft outside Close Gate (TWAS 49/7/52). Together, this evidence implies that most if not all of the land from the town wall between Gunner Tower and Orchard Street, to the Forth and the Skinner Burn on the west, and the scarp above The Close on the south, belonged to the Hospital at one time.

The grant witnessed in 1292 also refers to a garden in the same fee in 'Ratounrau' (Oliver 1924, 171, no. 325). This garden recurs in transactions of 1308, still in connection with land in The Close in the fee of Balliol (Oliver 1924, 172–3, nos. 328–9). A tenement held of the 'Westspittel' is mentioned in the endowment of the Thornton Hospital in 1425 (*AA* ser 3, **14**, 210–12). It is described as being on the west side of 'Rattenrawe', north of the cemetery of St Nicholas's church, and south of the Cloth Market. No property between

Mosley Street and St Nicholas's church is noted as having belonged to the Hospital in Oliver's Reference (1831a, 5, nos 206–12). The description suggests, however, that the property was located in the vicinity of the present Queen Victoria statue, where the Wheat Market was located (after 1649, when Grey located the Wheat Market in Pilgrim Street; 1649, 19), or in the vicinity of the 18th-century Cordwainers' Hall.

Property held in fee of the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary was located in the Meal Market (now Groat Market), and extending back to Westgate, sometime between *c* 1382 and 1192 and 1406 (Longstaffe 1858, 32–3*;* Welford 1909, 58–9). This property was south of another property named Pold Hall. If the Hospital property stretched back to Westgate, it must have been located on the south of what is now Groat Market. According to Oliver's Reference to his map of 1830, the majority of the properties between Denton Chare and Collingwood Street, and stretching back to Westgate, paid annual rent to the Virgin Mary Hospital; only three small subdivisions of that stretch do not appear to have been owned by the Hospital (Oliver 1831a, 8, nos 99–106). The composition of the block of properties suggests that the block was formed originally from two entire burgage plots, and that they both formerly belonged to the Hospital. The earliest reference to Denton Chare is 1425 (Hodgson 1917, 210–12), and it seems that after 1414 or 1447 at least the area south of Denton Chare, facing the west end of St Nicholas's church, was more likely to have been called the Iron Market than the Meal Market (B.G. Hunter's Bourne MS., 76; Oliver 1924, 160–2, no. 296). In 1831 there was one other property that stretched between Pudding Chare (earliest reference 1333; Oliver 1924, 151 no. 261), and thus short of Westgate, and possibly as far as the Groat Market (Oliver 1831a, 7, Pudding Chare no. 81). There is a reasonable probability, therefore, that the Hospital property in question was located either in the block between Denton Chare and Collingwood Street, or was destroyed by the creation of Collingwood Street in 1810. This might also imply that Pold Hall was located either under Collingwood Street or in the two properties south of that marked on Oliver's 1830 map as Pudding Chare 81. Walls have been located under Collingwood Street on several occasions.

In a quitclaim of 1512, a tenement belonging to the 'Westsputell' in the Cloth Market was referred to; either the Hospital tenement, or the subject of the quitclaim stretched from the Cloth Market street frontage to the Lort Burn (Oliver 1924, 167–8, no. 312). In the Schedule to Oliver's 1830 map (1831a), only one property on the east side of the Cloth Market paid an annual rent to the Virgin Mary Hospital (Oliver 1831a, 5, no. 235). This does not preclude the possibility that there might previously have been more properties belonging to the Hospital in the Cloth Market, but that those properties had been transferred to other owners.

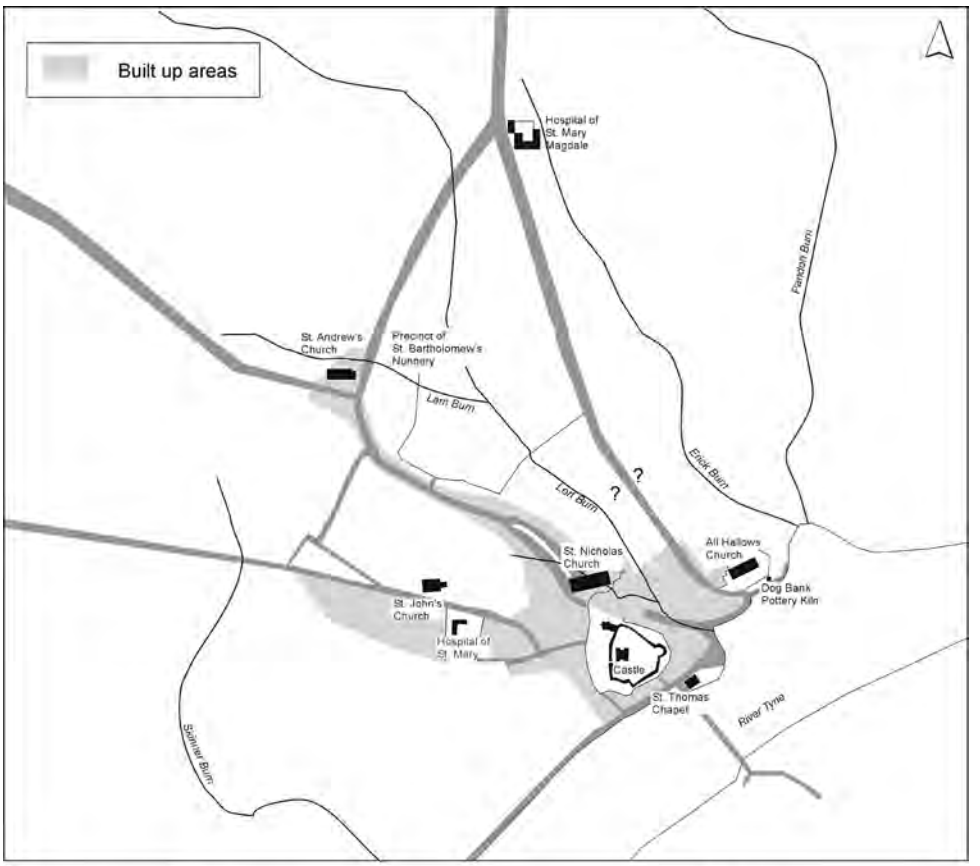
5.4 The structure of the town

Four small excavations have examined archaeological deposits in the commercial and residential core of the town, ie that section to the north of St Nicholas's church. One of the objectives of each of these events has been to search for evidence that pre-dates the layout of the present street plan. Harbottle posed this challenge in 1976 (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 116), and cited the speculations of historians in suggesting an early focus around St Andrew's church. No progress has been made in this area, but evaluation trenches have been located off the Bigg Market (Tullett and McCombie 1980, 57–89), Lloyd's Court (TWHER SR 1993/4), Wilson's Court (TWHER SR 1993/7) and Nun Street. Each of these evaluations located deposits and features dating back to the 13th century, and, where structural evidence was forthcoming, as at Wilson's Court, the present alignment of boundaries was evident in the earliest phase. As far as can be deduced at the present time, there was no significant pre-street settlement in the triangle between Westgate Road and Pilgrim Street. Any substantial development may have been closer to the Castle, in the vicinity of the narrow lanes that lead to the westward-facing gates from the Castle, the Baileygate and the Black Gate (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 117).

5.4.1 The streets

The principal streets ran north and north-west from the top of the riverbank (Fig 5.11). As has been stated above, Pilgrim Street may have originated as a Roman road. It is first referred to as *vicus peregrinorum c* 1200 (Oliver 1924, 57,

A



B

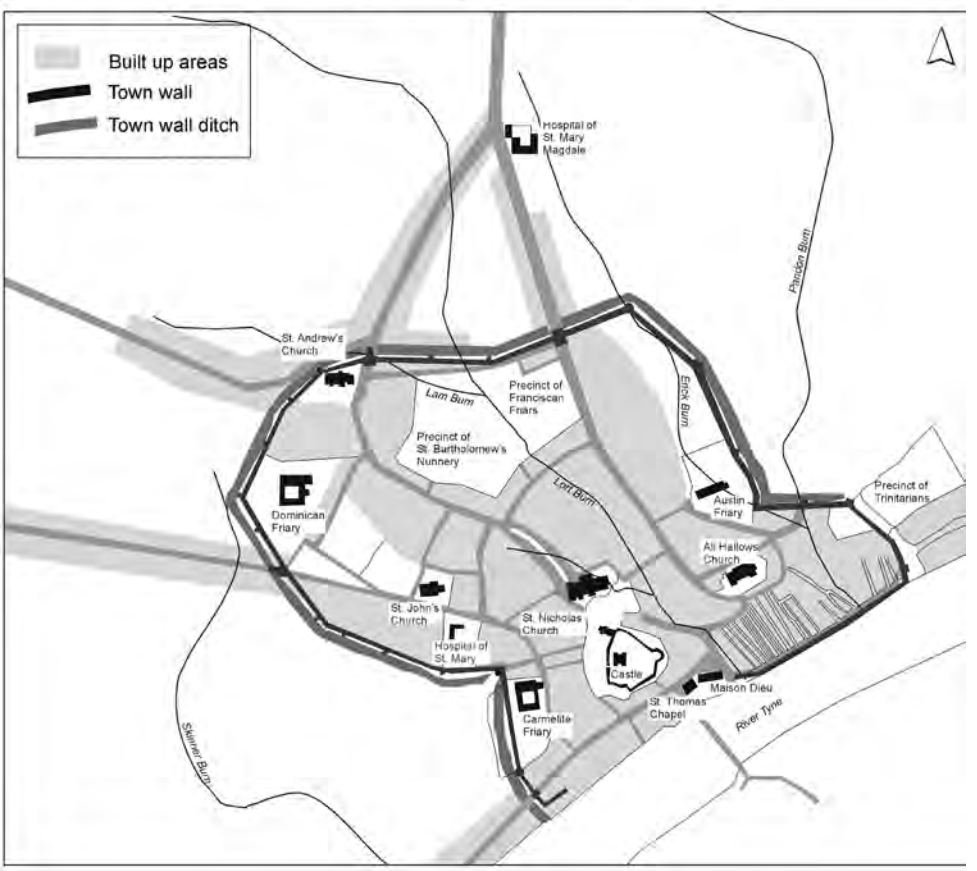


Fig 5.11 Comparative plans of the postulated development of Newcastle: (A) by the end of 12th century; (B) later Middle Ages (based on archaeological and documentary evidence).

no. 83), and McCombie (2005) has examined the changing historical meaning of these words. The *vicus* element in both Classical Latin and Medieval Latin, while possibly referring to a road, more usually referred to a village, small town or district in a large town. By the 13th century, it might denote a 'street of a certain breadth between two rows of buildings' (McCombie 2005, 83). The older antiquarian tradition was that the street took its name from travellers following a pilgrim route to St Mary's Chapel in Jesmond (Grey 1649, 71; Bourne 1736, 81). Brand was more sceptical about its origins (1789 **1**, 338). It seems unlikely now that the street was named after religious pilgrims of any sort, let alone those journeying to Jesmond, although McCombie does consider the Newcastle Greyfriars as a possible pilgrim destination (2005, 85). *Peregrinorum* referred to foreigners or travellers in general, so a *vicus peregrinorum*, therefore, may have referred to a district with foreign settlers. Early Middle English forms of 'pilgrim' had not yet come to mean a distinctly religious traveller. The modern sense of a traveller to a holy shrine evolved between *c* 1225 and 1250; but even in the 14th century, it could convey both the modern religious meaning and that of a foreigner or stranger (McCombie 2005, 84).

An alternative hypothesis suggests that Pilgrim Street could have taken traffic travelling south to the greatest shrine in the north of England and south of the Forth: that of St Cuthbert at Durham Cathedral. The building identified as the so-called Pilgrim's Inn on Pilgrim Street was said to have been 'holden of the Dean and Chapter of Durham' (Bourne 1736, 85–6). McCombie (2005) has proved that a nominal rent for the property traditionally associated with the inn was still paid to the Dean and Chapter in the 18th century. However, we do not know when the property came into their possession, and it may not have been transferred until after the Dissolution. Further, there is no historical evidence that can link this property with a Pilgrim's Inn. Therefore there is no more real association between the street, pilgrim traffic and Durham, than there is with Jesmond.

Two observations on the north-west route of Westgate raise the possibility that the ditch of Hadrian's Wall provided the basis of a hollow way along this route in the Middle Ages. Spain's observed 'ditch' of 1934, west of Stephenson's Monument, was filled with late-medieval and 12th-/13th-century pottery among organic debris (Spain 1934, 227–33; *see also* section 3.2.2). Harbottle suggested this was a hollow way in 1974 (unpub). More recently, and under more controlled archaeological conditions, Nolan has observed a deep-cut ditch beneath properties on the Bath Lane triangle (Nolan pers comm and forthcoming). One side of this ditch had been cut to form a step. There was medieval masonry built on the step, and lower down, a massive wall that also appeared to be medieval. The deposits between these walls suggested that the sides of a large ditched feature had eroded through time, and that the larger wall had been built to revet the slipping side. Nolan believes this to be consistent with a medieval use of the surviving Roman ditch as a hollow way. As the ditch siltage threatened to hinder either its usefulness as a thoroughfare, or perhaps structures or properties located on its edge, a revetment wall was built to prevent collapse. Nolan has also speculated as to whether the masonry on the step may not have been a form of gate for controlling passage in and out of the town, and therefore for collecting tolls, which might have preceded West Gate (Nolan pers comm).

Westgate has the oldest recorded name among the town's streets (1163–80; Oliver 1924, 36, no. 45). The oldest institution on this street was the Hospital of St Mary the Blessed Virgin, founded by the mid-12th century and located on its south side. The church of St John was farther to the west, and on the north side. Although there is no documentary evidence for St John's prior to the late 13th century (1277–8), architectural fragments within have been assigned to the 12th century (Oliver 1924, 139, no. 230; Knowles and Boyle 1890, 156–7). As medieval hospitals tended to be located at the boundaries of towns, near gates, bridges and along major roads (Gilchrist 1995, 47), the location of St Mary's possibly indicates the furthest extent of the town to the west at the time it was founded.

The main north–south street led from the parish church of St Nicholas to the parish church of St Andrew and beyond – now Newgate Street and the Bigg Market. It was first referred to as the market street or *vicus fori* before 1235 (Oliver 1924, 134, no. 216). The church of St Nicholas sits at the foot of this street. It

was the only church that seems to have been properly a parish church, while the others were described as parochial chapels. A pre-Conquest origin for this arrangement is possible.

St Nicholas's is said to have been founded in 1091 (Bourne 1736, 56), but its existence is more reliably attested during the reign of Henry I (Dugdale quoted in Bourne 1736, 56 n. f; Brand 1789 **1**, 237–8); and architectural fragments found at the church have been dated to the 11th but more probably 12th centuries, and others found near the church to the 12th century (*PSAN* 1893 ser 2, **6**, 51; *PSAN* 1923 ser 4, **1**, 9).

At the top end of the market street stood the church of St Andrew. This retains a mid-12th-century chancel arch. Speculation concerning an early settlement at this end of Market Street has been considered above. Gallowgate provided a route towards the north-west corner of the town. Darn Crook, which forms the southern boundary of St Andrew's churchyard, probably originated in part as the bed of the Lam Burn and is on a similar alignment to the western stretch of Gallowgate. Darn Crook is thought to be a continuation of the original Gallowgate or early north-west route into the town, cut off by the construction of the town wall in the late 13th or the 14th century (Teasdale, Nolan and Hoyle 1999, 31). The awkward dog-leg in Gallowgate – visible on Speed 1610, Corbridge 1723 and Thompson 1746 and 1772 – may be explained by a new, alternative road being made to follow the course of the Town Wall up to the New Gate. Excavation next to the Town Wall in St Andrew's churchyard has shown that the first distinct phase of wall construction, founded in a trench and carefully coursed, was halted. The second phase continued as a different kind of construction, made of rubble and founded directly on the ground surface. Dating evidence associated with these first and second phases of construction suggest that this hiatus in building may have lasted several decades (Teasdale, Nolan and Hoyle 1999, 38–40). The break in building would have allowed the old course of the north-west road, including Darn Crook, to remain open until the New Gate was built to the north (Teasdale, Nolan and Hoyle 1999, 38). Only then was the wall completed, cutting off Darn Crook. On 18th-century maps, such as Hutton 1772, there are properties on the western stretch of Gallowgate, and properties on both sides of Darn Crook. Stretching between the two, and up to the Town Wall at approximately Ever Tower, is the line of a boundary that may preserve the former line of property facades on the old route, prior to the building of the Town Wall. Excavation under the Bus Station in Gallowgate picked up this line of property facades (chapter 5, section 5.8.5; Northern Archaeological Associates 2004).

The location of the *via hoga*, which appears in early property transactions is unclear. 'Hoga' has been interpreted as a rendition of the local word 'heugh', and seems to have been the bank to the north of The Close, where there was formerly a windmill (Brand 1789 **1**, 57, n. i). Was the *via hoga* a road on the heugh, or a path that led to it, for example the Long Stairs? It is possible that there was a path that led up to the heugh from approximately the Skinnerburn, and ran along the edge of the scarp behind what is now The Close. This may have marked the limit of the Carmelites' precinct, and the property boundary shown on Thompson's map of 1746 certainly stops short of the scarp bank by a just a narrow margin, but one that would have been wide enough for such a path. The field boundaries to the west of White Friar Tower respect a similar margin above the scarp edge. Are these vestigial traces of a pathway that precedes the Town Wall, and that might consequently be the *via hoga*? On Hutton's map of 1772 the parish boundary of St John's falls along this line.

Harbottle and Clack (1976, 119) made the point that as Newcastle was one of the wealthiest ports in the country by 1200, and that as the religious houses settled on the fringes of the town, the minor streets and burgage system may have been developed earlier than the documents suggest. The three main routes were linked by a system of lesser streets and lanes, or chares, often providing the only east–west communication (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 119). The distribution of modern archaeological intervention has done little to advance our knowledge of the majority of these minor streets as yet – few of the excavtions having been located on street frontages, but exception is the excavation on High Bridge. This important east–west link was known as Denebrig in 1334 (*Cal Close R 1333–37*, 239–40), then Overdenebrig, before it was recorded as High Bridge in 1567

(Welford 1909, 62). Harbottle and Clack (1976, 119) observed from plan analysis that where a lesser street ran the length of a burgage plot, the street 'was ripe for intensive development' and that by the 14th century a number of small tenements had been built at right angles to the bridge, breaking up the long burgage plots flanking Overdenebrig. Documentary evidence exists for some of these (four messuages mentioned in *Cal Close R 1333–7*, 239–40); but archaeology has considerably added to our understanding. The land adjacent to the bridge at nos. 44–8 in Area A was used either for gardening or for larger-scale agriculture from at least the 12th century, as the soils contained Dog Bank pottery (Brogan and Mabbitt 2003, 21). The fill of a pit might even suggest use from the 11th century onwards. In the late 12th century or early 13th century the first land divisions were made, dividing the plot from High Bridge by a stone wall. From this it can be inferred that High Bridge pre-existed this date, but the orientation suggests that at this time the land was a rear plot connected to the tenements facing Pilgrim Street. Plots were not laid out facing onto the bridge until the mid-17th century (Brogan and Mabbitt 2003, 62).

Pudding Chare, which leads north from Westgate Road, is first mentioned in a document of 1333 (Oliver 1924, 151, no. 261). Excavations here found the construction trenches of a 12th-century building with a kiln and flue, followed by repeated rebuilding that culminated in the frontage being used as a foundation for a recently demolished 19th-century building (TWHER2001/9 11, 31. There appear to have been two streets named Ratounrow. Oliver also suggests that the modern Denton Chare, leading eastwards from Westgate to St Nicholas's church, may be identified as Raton Raw (Ratounraw(e)) in 1335 (1924, 151, no. 262), whereas an earlier Ratounraw (mentioned in 1292 and 1308 as being in the Barony of Balliol) may have been farther to the west. A street to the north of All Saints' churchyard was identified as Allhallowgate or All Saints Street (*vicus Omnium Sanctorum*) in the Middle Ages by Bourne (1736, 88), and as Silver Street by Grey (1649, 71). Mackenzie records this as having been called Jew-gate, raising the question as to whether there was a concentration of the Jewish community here in the Middle Ages prior to the expulsion order of 1234, or whether it reflected later settlement patterns (1827, 180; *Cal Close R* 1231–34, 466; see Dobson 1996, 16n., 57; chapter 5, section 5.3). A street linking the Cale Cross at the top of Sandhill with the church of All Saints was described in 1308/9 (Oliver 1924, 147–8, no. 252) and 1319 (Newcastle City Archives 21/1/1, Harbottle and Clack 1976, 118, 1); Grey (1649, 66) called this All Hallows Bank; and there is a reference to Allhallowe banck in 1585–6 (Greenwell 1860, 119–20). It was also called Butcher Bank and is now Akenside Hill.

The advent of the friars seems to have precipitated the naming or renaming of a number of lanes near the respective convents. Thus the east–west lane at the top of the town, running between the market street and Pilgrim Street, near the Franciscan Friary became Brother-, Friarminor-, Barefotfriar- and Greyfriar Chare variously from 1251–59 onwards, ending as High Friar Street (Oliver 1924 *passim*.; Harbottle and Clack 1976, 119). The street that ran eastwards from Pilgrim Street down into Pandon Dene was called Cowgate in 1272–3 (Oliver 1924, 71 no. 100); but the upper stretches of this street became known as Austin Chare, as recorded in 1495 and 1501 (*AA* ser 3, **13**, 24–5). Grey knew it as Manor Chare (1649, 71). Harbottle and Clack (1976, 119) could not trace any medieval mentions of Low Friar Chare for the lane bounding the Dominican Friary on the east, and leading north-east to the market street, but it was known by this name when Corbridge drew his map in 1723. Westgate was also linked to the market street by St John's Chare. A vennel leading to St John's church was mentioned as early as as 1277–8 (Oliver 1924, 139, no. 230), but Harbottle and Clack were unclear as to whether this or the chare first given this name in 1423 was co-extensive with the modern chare (1976, 119, n. 3; *AA* ser 2, **22**, 123). Denton Chare also led between Westgate and the market street, and had been named by 1425 (Hodgson 1917, 210–12).

5.4.2 The markets

The early uses of the Sandhill have been outlined above. The triangular shape of the space, the early location of a guildhall and market cross, the Cale Cross (1309; Oliver 1924, 147–8, no. 252), suggest that there had been a market here from early times (Fig 5.12). The Sandhill was the location for the Fish Market (Corbridge 1723/4; Bourne

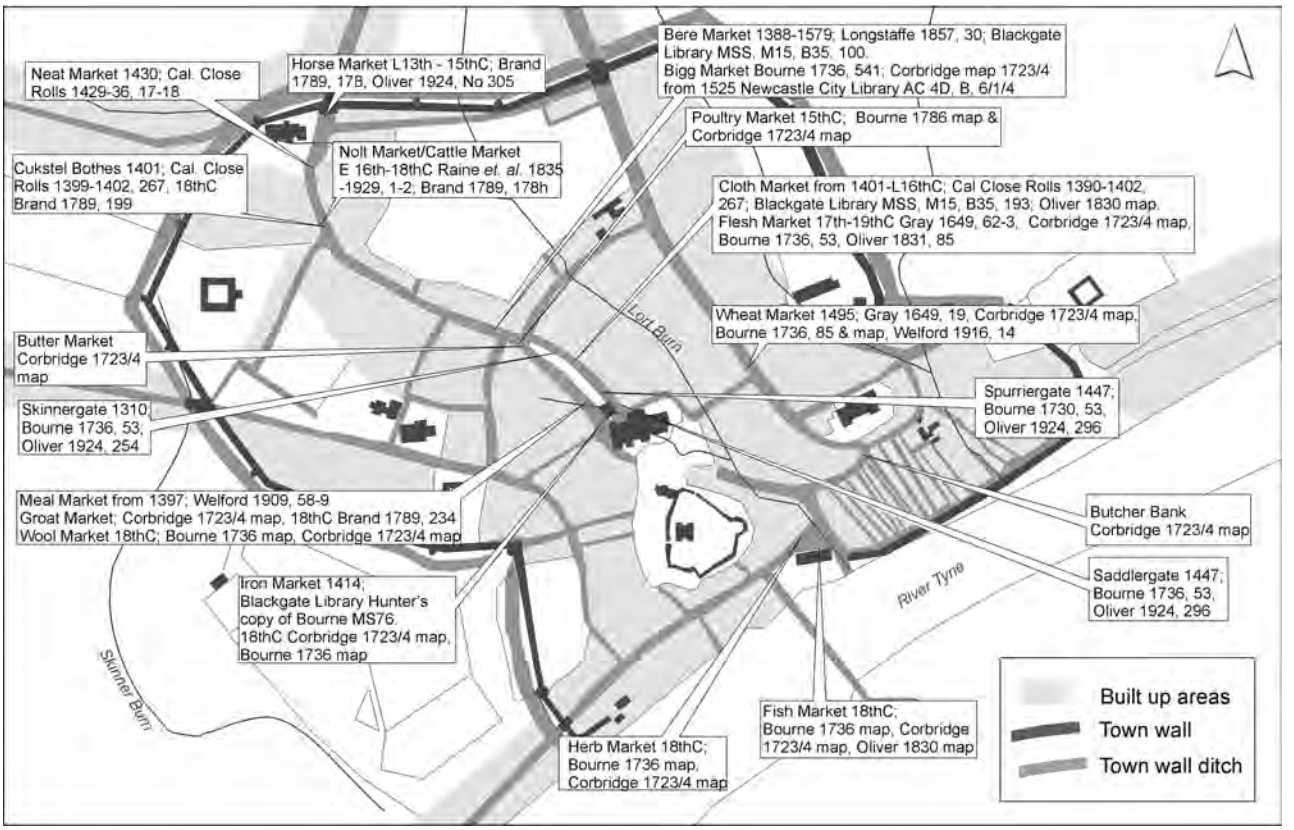


Fig 5.12 Recorded market locations and sources.

1736; Oliver 1830) and the 18th century Herb Market (Corbridge 1723/4; Bourne 1736). A Cornmarketgate is referred to in the vicinity of Cale Cross, ie the north side of Sandhill in 1378. During the Wars of the Roses, in May 1464, following the Yorkist victory at the Battle of Hexham, five leaders of the Lancastrian army, including Lords Hungerford and Ros, were beheaded in the Sandhill (TWHER 6576). Echoes of earlier celebrations are found in the tradition of the Company of Cooks lighting bonfires here every Midsummer Eve (Brand 1789, **2,** 359).

The main market street followed an S-bend before opening into a classic triangular space: broad immediately north of St Nicholas's church, but tapering towards the north of the town. Only the southern triangular portion was ever infilled by permanent structures. Booths are mentioned as early as the mid-13th century, and these may have been temporary facilities for market traders (Oliver 1924, 123, no. 197), but it is not known if they were in the middle of the street, or frontages of more permanent land divisions bordering the street. The Cukstelbothes were located to the south of St Andrew's church (mentioned in 1401 in *Cal Close R 1399–1402*, 267), and are indicated as the Hucksters' Booths on Bourne's map of 1736. Brand (1789 **1**, 199) refers to their demolition.

The Market Street was subdivided according to the livestock or commodities being sold in its various parts. This process is recorded by the names accorded to those parts. The northernmost part, suggested to be from St Andrew's church to around Nuns' Lane (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 122), was called the Horsemarket from the late 13th to the 15th centuries (1465: Oliver 1924, 164, no. 305; Brand 1789 **1**, 178). It was also variously referred to as the Neatmarket in 1430 (*Cal Close R 1429–36*, 17–18) and the Noltmarket (from the early 16th century to the 18th century) (Brand 1789 **1**, 178 n. y; Hodgson 1906, 101; Wood 1929, 99). Both 'neat' and 'nolt' refer to cattle. Thus livestock markets were located as close to the entrance to the town as possible. By the early 19th century a purpose-built cattle market was erected on the Forth, avoiding the congested town centre (Oliver 1830 map). The White Cross may have formed the focus for the markets in the upper town (Brand 1789 **1**, 178 n. y).

Food and craft products were situated in the southernmost parts of the main market street. The first of these was barley, referred to in the name Beremarket (1388–1579; Longstaffe 1857, 30; Black Gate Library MSS, M15, B35, 100). This occupied the space from Nuns Lane to Pudding Chare. From 1525 it was also know as the Bigg Market and appears as such on Corbridge's map of 1723 (Newcastle City Library Ac. 4D, B 6/1/4). Excavations of Half Moon Yard, Bigg Market, found a rubbish pit dating to the mid-12th century at the earliest, although pottery was primarily 13th to early 14th century in date, containing waterlogged plant remains, wood and leather, along with fuel waste (TWHER SR 2008/110 11). Unfortunately, it could not be determined whether this was domestic or industrial waste.

This is the point at which the market street expanded into a triangular space. Corbridge 1723/4 and Bourne 1736 show the Poultry Market at the top of the triangle, and Corbridge 1723/4 also shows the Buttermarket slightly to the west of the apex. The east side, from the High Bridge southwards, seems to have changed in its principal commodity. From 1401 to the late 16th century was the Cloth Market (*Cal Close R 1399–1402*, 267; Black Gate Library MSS, M15, B35, 93). From the 17th until the 19th century, it was known as the Flesh Market (Grey 1649, 62–3, 68; Corbridge 1723/4; Bourne 1736, 53; Oliver 1831b, 85). In the 19th century, it became the Cloth Market once again, and appears as such on Oliver's 1830 map. The west side, from Pudding Chare southwards, was the Mealmarket (1397; Welford 1909, 58–9). In the 18th century, it was the Groat Market (Corbridge 1723/4; Brand 1789 **1**, 234 n. h) but apparently it was also the Wool Market on Saturdays (Corbridge 1723; Bourne 1736, 53 and map). Infilling at this point must have started in the Middle Ages, since a north–south Middle Street is known from 1447 (Oliver 1924, 160, no. 296). According to Brand (1789 **1**, 327), a mid-16th-century document may indicate that Middle Street was also known as Glovergate. Bourne describes this street as divided into three (1736, 53). As Harbottle and Clack noted (1976, 122), the names of these three portions appear in medieval documents, but it is Bourne who gives their relative locations: Skinnergate at the top (1310; Oliver 1924, 149, no. 254); Spurriergate or Spurrierrow in the middle (1447; Oliver 1924, 160, no. 296) and Saddlergate at the bottom (1447; Oliver 1924, 161, no. 296). The southernmost part of the market, at the west end of St Nicholas's church, was the Iron Market (1414; Black Gate Library, Hunter's Bourne, MS 76; Corbridge 1723/4 and Bourne 1736), next to the church steps (Oliver 1924, 160, no. 296). The Wheat Market was to the north-east of St Nicholas's in the 19th century (Oliver 1830).

A few other markets are also known: the late-medieval and early-modern Wheat Market was on Pilgrim Street, between Manor Chare and the Low Bridge (1495; Welford 1916, 14; Grey 1649, 19; Corbridge 1723; Bourne 1736, 88 and map), and the Milkmarket, an open space just east of the Sandgate, was known from at least the late 17th century. A keeper was appointed to the market by the Common Council in 1717 (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1995, 217).

Some street names suggest that there were craftsmen or purveyors of particular commodities concentrated in certain parts of the town. The east side of the lower part of The Side was known as Flesher Row or Flesher Gate as early as 1361 (Fleshwerrgate), thus, Butcher Bank (Corbridge 1723/4). Fishergate in Pandon is noted in 1298–1300 (Oliver 1924, 124–5, no. 200) and was also known as the Fish Shambles in the 1360s.

5.4.3 Burgage plots, planning and authority

It has been suggested that the basic street pattern north of the Castle bears evidence of Norman 'new borough' planning (Beresford 1967, 473–4). While this is feasible, it is not convincing, and a study of the pre-Victorian topography (*see above*) suggests that the plan of the early borough, with its three radial thoroughfares (Pilgrim Street, Newgate Street and Westgate Road) conforms to the natural drainage pattern, each street bisecting a tongue of land between deeply incised stream valleys. The minor streets usually provided east–west communication, negotiating these obstacles with small bridges where necessary. Harbottle's description of the streets of the medieval town (Harbottle and Clack, 1976, 118–19) need not be repeated; the only more recent work to address the earliest development of the town is that suggested as part of a parallel for Berwick upon Tweed by Cambridge *et al* (2001, 83 and fig 19).

While not accepting a planned origin in the accepted sense, it is valid to inquire about the degree of uniformity and regularity in tenement size and layout. For this, in the absence of significant area excavation north of the Castle, the early maps of the town, particularly those pre-dating the Dobson and Grainger redevelopments of the 1830s and 1840s, are our main source. The dimensions from these can be accurately measured only where at least a proportion of mapped boundaries survive on modern maps. There is only one part of the upper town where this applies – the area of the Bigg Market, where the narrow, curving plots of the medieval tenement system can still be recognised. Figure 5.13 shows the layout on Hutton 1772, Oliver 1830 and the modern Ordnance Survey 1:1250, scaled from the digital copies in the Newcastle Urban Record. While a recognisable medieval layout can be discerned, there appears to be no regularity in frontage, depth or area, although there is a general trend for the shallower plots to be wider, like those in the angle of Bigg Market and Pudding Chare. The degree of curve noticable on the southern plots, particularly on Oliver, is interesting. It suggests that these plots, which must date to the earliest phase of urbanisation (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 118), were fitted into existing spaces (in this case, to the east of St John's churchyard) in an *ad hoc* way, rather than as an act of central planning.

Medieval layout can be seen on the Hutton (1772) and Oliver (1830) maps in other parts of the town, but they are useful only for attempting to identify general trends. A good example, which can be seen particularly clearly on the 1772 map, is the east side of Pilgrim Street, backing onto Carliol Croft. Here, it is possible to reconstruct a fairly complete arrangement, by inferring the position of missing boundaries where plots have been amalgamated or have been divided up (Fig 5.13).

The pattern here is of the accretion of blocks of fairly uniform size. Four possible blocks can be discerned, and if we hypothesise that the oldest are to the south, where the Castle and St Nicholas's church are, then we might surmise that block A-B was laid out first and block B-C extended this by nine burgages, using wider frontages and deeper tofts. A narrower group of eight was then appended on a slightly different alignment (C-D), and finally a substantially narrower and shorter group of seventeen was added; the eighteenth is really the filled-in space inside the town wall (block D-E). This hypothesis, if confirmed by further research, would show that the town grew organically from the late 11th century, until sometime before the construction of the Town Wall in the late 13th century stopped this pattern of development. It seems logical to suppose that the officers of the town council were responsible for laying out the property boundaries, and that a general rather than a meticulous level of surveying was applied.

Excavations on High Bridge have demonstrated that the creation of the bridge street frontage 'was a gradual process entailing the alienation of small parts of the back plot [Area A] starting at the Lort Burn end of the plot and expanding eastward' (Brogan and Mabbitt 2003, 62). The first land divisions to plots facing onto Pilgrim Street were laid out in the 13th century. All excavated evidence for subsequent buildings and industrial activities continued to focus within these Pilgrim Street tenement boundaries until the mid-17th century. Indeed, although Speed's 1610 map shows an existing High Bridge frontage it did not extend to the corner with Pilgrim Street. The process of reorientation of burgage plots, however, was thought to accord with Conzen's late-medieval process of 'repletion', whereby 'accessory buildings and meeting houses' filled up the tails of burgage plots, especially those with valuable street frontages (Conzen 1981, 30; cited in Brogan and Mabbitt 2003, 62). By the early 15th century, the outbuilding in the northern tenement was demolished, and the land fell to use for rubbish and cess pits, otherwise lying empty through the late 16th and early 17th centuries. This can be described as 'urban fallow', characteristic of Conzen's recessive phase in the burgage cycle (1981, 43; cited in Brogan and Mabbitt 2003, 62). The first plots, which were laid out at right angles to High Bridge as a formal frontage at this eastern end, could be archaeologically dated to the mid-17th century (Brogan and Mabbitt 2003, 62). It has also been possible to identify a sequence of plot subdivision on Gallowgate (Northern Archaeological Associates 2004; chapter 5, section 5.8.5). The development of the waterfront and its chares are considered separately (chapter 5, section 5.6).

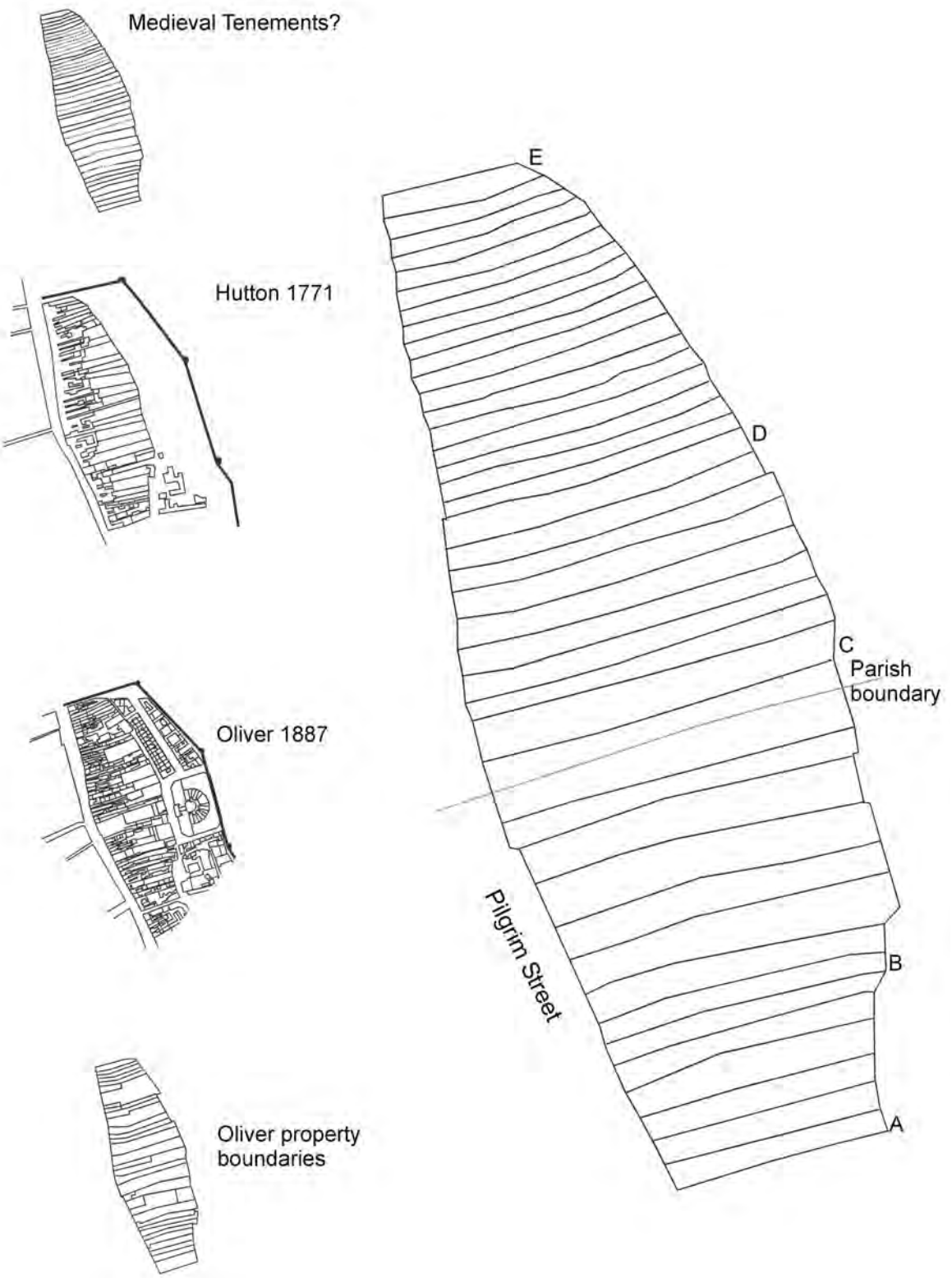


Fig 5.13 Burgages in Pilgrim Street reconstructed from later mapping.

5.4.4 The types and pattern of building

There are no surviving domestic buildings in Newcastle from the period before 1400, and it is unfortunate that archaeological evidence adds little to our knowledge of early building forms and traditions. The present state of knowledge can be briefly summarised. Domestic/residential structures have been

recorded by fieldwork on five occasions, including Stockbridge (Truman 2001). Of these, only one, a small trench in Wilson's Court, Bigg Market, was in the central part of town (Newcastle City Archaeology Unit 1994). The remaining four were in the quayside area, all on land reclaimed from the river, and where a multiplicity of commercial and industrial functions might be expected among the dwellings and shops.

At Wilson's Court, a substantial wall of good-quality local sandstone, 1.50m wide and with footings almost 2m below present ground level, was associated with 12th- and 13th-century pottery. The scale and character point to a building of some kind, probably a sizeable house, but later activity in this intensively occupied area had destroyed the contemporary floor levels, in the trench of only 8m^2 (TWHER SR 1993/7).

The most substantial of the published structures was excavated in 1985–6 on Byker Chare, a small lane running north–south from the quay (when established) to the foot of the slope below Wall Knoll (O'Brien *et al* 1989, 141–205). The first recognisable building is on the west frontage of the street, dating to around 1300 on ceramic evidence, and was aligned with long axis parallel to the chare. The stone structure was 3.80m wide (internal) with two partition walls, one seemingly screening a central hearth. The floor was built up with alternate layers of ash and sand. To the rear of the frontage building, the presence of a substantial stone-lined drain hints that the yard was not covered over. This was replaced before 1350 by a building of similar proportions in the same position, ie 3.80m in internal width, and with the front wall forming the edge of the chare – indeed one of the internal partitions was in the same place. At this level, a wider area was available for excavation, and it was possible to see three rooms in the 11.5m-long trench, each with a hearth, although in different positions within the rooms, and each of different construction. This area was replaced by a substantial stone building occupying the yard of the earlier layout; it is not certain what had become of the frontage building. In the mid-15th century the range was demolished and the site cleared, and left open until the 17th century, when the buildings shown on 19th-century maps were constructed.

The general pattern seen at Byker Chare can be seen again but in much greater detail at Stockbridge, where a complete tenement between the Pandon Burn and Pandon Street was excavated between May 1994 and October 1995 (Truman 2001).

Buildings on the filled-in docks to the east of Queen Street dated from the mid-14th century. Several fragments were recorded between deep modern cellars, sufficient to show both similarities and significant differences from the buildings described above, which stood to the east of Broad Chare. The best preserved fragment was between Fenwick's Entry and Broad Garth, with one wall standing to 5.30m, enclosing 1.40m of stratified deposits. The narrowness of the siting dictates that structures here were less than 5m wide, although it is just as likely that such a close spacing of streets was possible because of the long, thin character of contemporary structures, as seen at Byker Chare and at Stockbridge. The building stood for over a century, and has been interpreted as a workshop, undergoing five phases of use, involving one, two or three ovens. Two windows survived on one of the Fenwick's Entry elevations; small (0.30m wide and 0.50m tall), with simple chamfered sills and jambs, they were unglazed and placed high up in the wall, at 1.85m above the floor level. Interestingly, the occupation debris from the developing floor levels (and therefore probably relating to the currency of the structure) is of a domestic nature, mostly kitchen debris, household pottery and buckles from clothing, and while there was an abundance of spent fuel, there was no industrial debris or slag. The conclusion must be that the buildings were for light industrial and commercial use on the ground floor, with living accommodation either above or nearby (O'Brien *et al* 1988, 11–23).

All of the 13th- and 14th-century buildings mentioned above were of stone. Other stone buildings of the medieval period are known from documentary sources and antiquarian images. Within the complex of old buildings on Broad Chare which form a group adjacent to Trinity House, is an undated stone wall with evidence of three doorways, in the style of a medieval hall (Fig 5.14) The initial recording done during minor rebuilding in the complex needs to be followed up with further documentary research and survey.

The Rigging Loft, Trinity House, is a

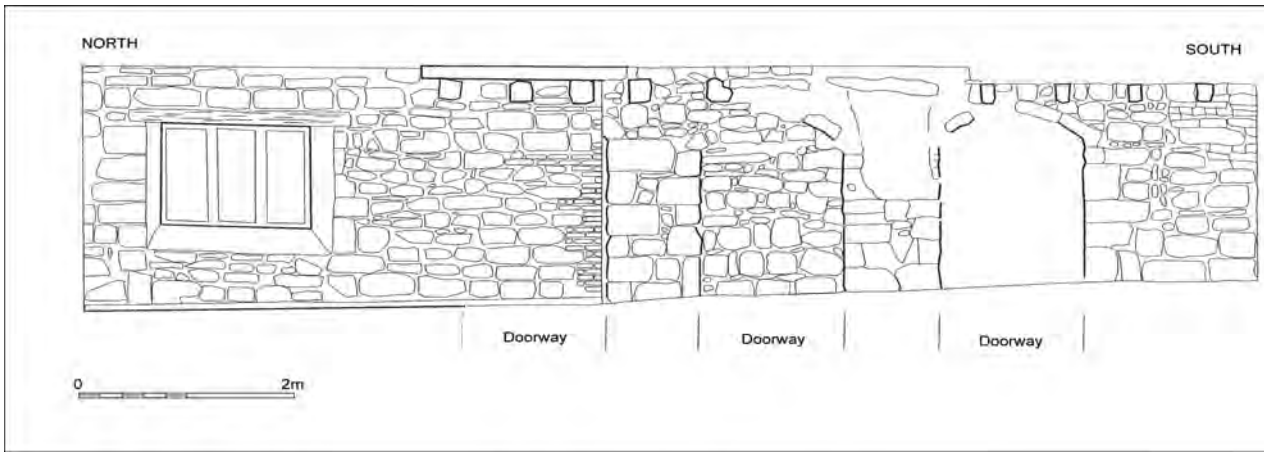


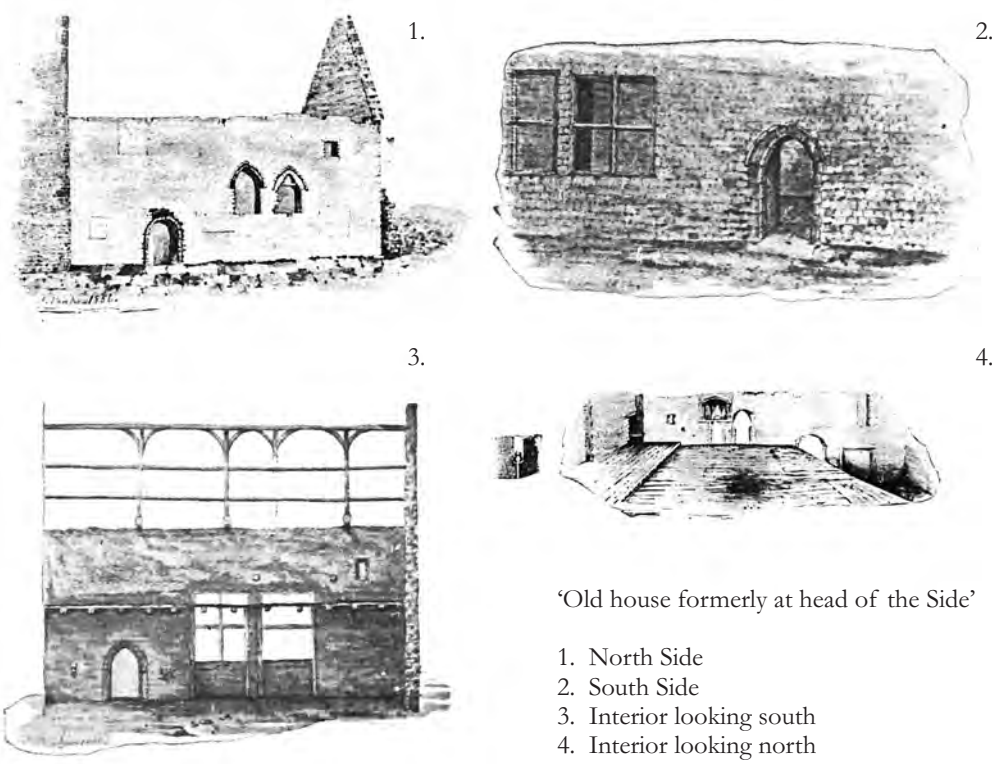
Fig 5.14 Possible medieval hall on Broad Chare (after TWM TWHER SR 2009/88).

transformed survival of a substantial property – the medieval hall of the Hebburne family (Figs 5.15 and 5.16). Town houses for Northern magnates are known to have been located within Newcastle, such as that for the Earls of Westmorland. Bourne repeats Grey's account of the house built in Westgate by the Baron of Bywell and Bolbeck, *c* 9 Edward III at about the same time as he built a defensive house within the Castle Garth (Grey 1649, 11–12; Bourne 1736, 35; Brand 1789 **1**, 66). Prior to 1398, when its owner was created Earl of Westmorland, the property was known as Bolbeck Hall (Brand 1789 **1**, 66). (Grey and Bourne separate these two properties, but Brand conflates them: Bolbeckhall was the name given to the baronial house built '*infra dictum castrum*' in 1335/6 (Ballard 1910, 712)). Bourne noted a magnificent old building, lived in by Sir Robert Shaftoe, next to St Mary's Hospital (1736, 22, 35–6), but he concluded that this was not part of the original Westmorland Place. Welford (1898, 223) pointed out that two houses 'of considerable size and importance' had stood at the foot of Westgate Road; one was destroyed to make way for the Literary and Philosophical Society in 1822; its neighbour stood until 1870 when it was replaced by the Mining Instuitute and Wood Memorial Hall in Westgate Road (Welford 1898, 223). Upon examination of the various antiquarian accounts and surviving medieval and post-medieval property deeds, Welford concluded that the name of Westmorland Place had become attached to the wrong building (Welford 1898, 225). Richardson (1846, 216) included an 1826 view of Westmorland Place, but as with all Richardson's illustrations, it is of uncertain reliability, and, in Welford's opinion, it is the wrong house (1898, 226–7). The illustration implies a complex surrounding a courtyard with a three-storeyed wing gable end facing onto Westgate Road on the east, the upper window of which looks like a long 16th- or 17th-century window, while the lower ones look like 18th- or 19th-century inserted sash windows. This wing had three gabled windows projecting from the roof, facing in to the courtyard. The furthest of these may surmount a projecting squared oriel block, as if to light the dais end of a hall. The part of the building at the deepest end of the courtyard appears to have triple-mullioned and transomed 16th- or 17th-century windows, with square drip moulds over them, while the doorway has what could be either a Jacobean or a later pillared portico projecting over it. A further gable projects to the west of this, with the same triple-mullioned and transomed windows. The courtyard in this illustration is enclosed by a tall wall, and gateway, decorated with obelisks. Welford considered that the real Westmorland Place was illustrated on Corbridge's map of 1723 as the house of Mr Thomas Orde. The marginal illustration showed a house like an extended form of Alderman Fenwick's house on Pilgrim Street, of three storeys, with projecting tower-bays at each end. The door was central, and there was a small oval window above the central first-floor window. Each tower had two windows on each floor, except the ground storey of the left-hand tower. Insofar as the window divisions were represented in such a schematic illustration, there were simple mullions and cross-transoms. The windows appear, however, to have had early 18th-century proportions. It gives the

appearance of having been a building of the second half of the 17th century.

Another magnate property existed on The Close. A demise of property dated 1279–80 was endorsed to the effect that the hospice of Lord John, brother of the King, stood in The Close, and was called 'le Erilsin in le Close', and Henry Percy, first Earl of Northumberland, ratified the charter by his writing in the time of Thomas Bentley, chaplain of the bridge (Oliver 1924, 88–9, no. 131). Subsequent documents relating to the property could be traced into the early 17th century, when it was also known as Davell Howse (Oliver 1924, 89–90). An entry in the Tyne Bridge rental of *c* 1400 concerns a great tenement in The Close called 'le Grete In' (Oliver 1924, 89). The property was formerly rented at 20 shillings annually, and was once owned by Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. At the time of the entry it was owned by John, son of King Henry IV, and described as waste. It was still in the possession of John, then Duke of Bedford, at his death in 1435 (Oliver 1924, 89; Brand 1789 **1**, 34, who mistook 1435 for 1445). There were two further mentions of a property in 'Le Close' held by Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland in 1454 and 1464 (*Cal Inq P M* **4**, 267, 328). Richardson (1846, 357) includes an illustration of part of the Earl's Inn on The Close, discovered in March 1846. It appears to show the jamb and springing of a large arch with chamfered edges. According to Graham (1991, 52, 56) this building was on the riverside of The Close, between Javel

Fig 5.15 Rigging Loft after renovation in 1987.



'Old house formerly at head of the Side'

1. North Side
2. South Side
3. Interior looking south
4. Interior looking north

Fig 5.16 Old house at head of The Side recorded by Ventress in 1895.

Groupe and Bower Chare, on a plot beneath the present High Level Bridge. In Bourne's time, the entrance to this property had a 'great Gate, besides which there is a large round Ball of Stone' (1736, 126). In 1865 two huge stone balls were were found on the Sandhill, one of which was inscribed XII (*AA* ser 2, **6**, 168). On Oliver's map (1830), one of the possible sites of the Earl's Inn is numbered 12. Graham equated the Earl's Inn with the 19th-century Stone Cellar Inn in The Close (1991, 53).

The Scropes had a messuage – if not a house – in Pilgrim Street (Welford 1898, 223). Grey thought that the Bishop of Carlisle's town house had probably been on Westgate Street (1649, 60), but it was more likely that it lay outside the West Gate.

Many Northern magnates also had holdings in Durham, presumably to allow attendance at major religious festivals, whereas the Newcastle town houses provided accommodation *en route* to the Border, for attendance at proceedings of the king's courts, and for economic transactions. According to Grey (1649, 18–19) and Bourne (1736, 51), the King of Scots may even have had a base in the town (the Scotch Inn). For Grey, it was located in Middle Street, between the Cloth Market and Groat Market. It had a large gate and the kings stayed there when there was a truce or league with England (Grey 1649, 18–19). There is some confusion, however, as according to Bourne, it was located on the west side of Newgate Street, opposite to the nunnery, and the land on which it stood was entered through a large gate, formerly 'a piece of stately workmanship' (Bourne 1736, 51). Robert Shaftoe, the recorder of the town, had a third opinion, that it had been the House of the Earls of Northumberland, known as the Earl's Inn (Bourne 1736, 51). The gate at least seems to have been identified with the Fighting Cocks Inn, Bigg Market in 1844. M A Richardson published an impression of the inn as it may have been in the 17th century, based on surviving portions (which he depicted in 1843, 185) and conjectural reconstruction (1846, 53). Without knowing the full extent or reliability of his sources, the best we can interpret from his 1843 image is that there was a broad gateway leading into a courtyard, between two large buttresses, and flanked by two wings, gable-end facing on to the street. The buttresses imply a 13th-or 14th-century date.

Many religious houses held property in Newcastle, but not all would have been inns or town houses. Thus the prior and convent of Tynemouth held properties across Newcastle, particularly in the upper parts, and also received a yearly rent of 111s from eight burgages on the Quayside (Embleton 1896, 260). In 1392 they owned a 'great stone house' on the Quayside (Welford 1884, 214–5), and this was perhaps a convenient base that gave the monks access to the commercial centre of the town, where goods might easily be held and business done. It is less certain whether Embleton (1896, 262) was correct in identifying this house as one in Grindon Chare that was ruined in 1829 and described by Richardson (1844, 24) as being of stone, and having had 'a fine gothic window … in the east side … buttresses on the west side' and a crypt used as a warehouse.

A great 15th-century property stood on the north side of The Close, probably on a site next to the present High Level Bridge, and opposite the Earl's Inn (OS 1st edition *c* 1860). It was known in the post-medieval period as the Yellow Doors Tavern, and the Duke of Cumberland Inn, and now bears the address 26 The Close. Excavation on the site in 1972 uncovered a building that existed from the late 13th century, prior to the Inn. This building had a complex sequence of room partitions before its replacement by the Inn (Harbottle 1973). A drawing of 1843 depicts it as a building of three storeys, and with dormer windows in the roof space. It had many large windows on the ground floor, including at least two arched windows, which may have been medieval, in addition to square labeled windows, which may have been 16th- or 17th-century in date (Graham 1991, 52). The origins of this house are uncertain. A piece of medieval painted window glass, depicting a haloed head, was donated to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle in 1855 by Mr Ventress, who claimed he had found it in the windows of the Old Duke of Cumberland on The Close (*PSAN* 1855 ser 1, **1**, 50; Society of Antiquaries Museum Accessions Book 1855.15).

Comment on other houses must be speculative. It is perhaps worth raising the issue of some properties depicted in the margins of Corbridge's 1723 map. Mr Peareth's house, marked as XF immediately to the east of the Mansion House, was a strange structure with long mullioned windows similar to those in the Duke of Cumberland, but with a tall circular,

crenellated turret on the west side. The main door is arched, with a tall (ie not depressed) four-centred head that could date to the 15th century. The windows appear to be 16th century in date, but could be as late as the 17th century. The house is very similar in the form of its windows, strings and dormers to No. 2 Holy Island, Hexham, dated to 1657 but acknowledged to be 'still entirely Elizabethan in style' (Grundy *et al* 1992, 330; pl 61). The turret appears to have been corbelled out at first-floor level and so seems unlikely to have been an external stair turret akin to those found in Scottish vernacular architecture. Other depictions that may suggest origins older than the 17th century are those of Mr William Vary's house at the north end of Love Lane, at the east of Pandon, marked XE on Corbridge, which is very plain; and of Mr Fenwick Lambert's house, south of Sir William Blackett's house on Pilgrim Street, marked TA on Corbridge, which resembles a three-sided courtyard complex with gabled dormers, and which may date to the 16th century, following the argument above (see also Middlebrook 1950; Kip's view of 1702). This last house is shown with a depressed four-centred doorway with a square label surround. Mr Abraham Dixon, merchant, had a house on the north side of Westgate Road, opposite Mr Thomas Orde's house, and marked XB on Corbridge. This had a suspiciously plain block to the right of a later house, albeit with windows that appear to have been 18th-century sashes.

Timber-framing may have been used on the upper sections of medieval structures, although this is unlikely as early as the 13th or 14th centuries, and there was no evidence of structural timber used in the quayside, or indeed of much brick (necessary for chimney stacks in timber buildings) within contemporary deposits. Brick came into Newcastle in the late 14th century, probably from the Low Countries or the East Yorkshire ports, and was present in small numbers across the town (Castle Ditch, Closegate, Stockbridge). The earliest types are in a soft, yellow fabric, and are small and narrow. On the Sandgate, brick walls have been associated with occupation of the 15th century (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994, 223, 224). Larger examples, in orange-red fabrics become common in the late 15th/early 16th centuries (eg Castle Ditch – Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 171; and Closegate – Fraser *et al* 1994, 133).

Roofing material is known from a number of sites in the city. The standard 13th- and 14th-century roofing material appears to have been ceramic tile. Green-glazed roof tiles were found in small numbers from Phase 2 of the Castle Ditch, ie the mid-13th century, and are thought to be residual after Phase 8, ie the late 16th century (Harbottle and Ellison, 1981, 173). At sites on the riverfront, ceramic tiles are less common, and sandstone slates predominate in early deposits, eg at Closegate (Fraser *et al* 1994, 134), although it should be noted that building material is not common on most sites, presumably because care was taken to reuse building resources wherever possible. Clay floor tiles were found in make-up layers within buildings, and as a fragmentary 15th-century hearth floor in the Sandgate (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994, 228, 224). These had green or buff-yellow glazes on their upper surfaces, and the fabric was similar to Low Countries Redware pottery.

Recent research into surviving buildings of the period *c* 1400–*c* 1550 has focused on the smaller buildings that made up the vast bulk of the urban fabric. Of stone structures, the Rigging Loft that survives on survives on Dog Bank has been mentioned above (McCombie 1985, 163; McCombie 2009, 126) and a number of fragments are known to be incorporated into later structures, recognised by the survival of a diagnostic architectural feature (as at Lloyd's Court, Pilgrim Street; TWHER SR 1993/4), as the character of the stone walling changed little until the vernacular tradition died out in the mid-19th century. An intriguing glimpse of the lost multitude of better quality stone houses comes from a drawing by John Ventress of an old building in process of demolition in 1895 at the head of the Side (*see* Fig 5.16).

Timber-framing became common from the 16th century. The Cooperage, 31 The Close, is typical of the type: a shop-house with upper crucks, wide panelling, heavy scantling, curved wind-braces, and, in later phases at least, brick nogging in the panels (Heslop and Truman 1993). Several other examples of earlier timber buildings survived into the 19th century, to be photographed or drawn before demolition (eg the Chapman House, Tuthill Stairs, Black Gate Library MS NZO), but the remainder of the dozen or so surviving timber-framed houses in Newcastle are of a later type (*see* section 7.4).

	St Nicholas	*St Andrew*	*All Saints*	*St John*
C12	window	tower, chancel	tower	chancel, nave
C13	north and south aisles	tower, chancel, north transept	nave, chancel	
C14	Tower, nave, transept, chancel, chapel, south aisle, north chancel chapel	north chancel chapel, south nave porch.	nave	north transept, chantries, windows
C15	tower			south transept, clerestory, tower
C18	library, vestry		demolished 1786	
C19	north transept	north arcade, chancel window, south transept		chancel
C20		vestries		

Table 5.3 The building phases of the parish churches

5.5 Religion in the medieval town

5.5.1 The parish churches (Table 5.3)

Brand (1789) believed that, prior to *c* 1220, Newcastle fell within one parish, that of the church of St Nicholas. The cure of the townspeople was then divided into four areas: that of St Nicholas, and the parochial chapelries of All Saints', St John's and St Andrew's. In tracing out the boundaries of these parishes, Dendy argued that the area now devoted to St Nicholas reflected the extent of the Norman mercantile community (1921, 7). This began at the Guildhall and followed the Lort Burn northwards, as it eastern boundary, as far as the precinct of the Priory of St Bartholomew near the present Grainger Street. The northern limit was coterminous with the southern boundary of the nunnery, as far west as Newgate Street. It then followed Newgate Street and the Bigg Market southwards, running 'through the site of the Town Hall', and to the west of St Nicholas's itself (Dendy 1921, 7). On the west, the parish of St Nicholas took in Clavering Place and the riverside as far as Skinner Burn (Harbottle 2009, 39, fig 24). The parish of All Saints' stretched from the Lort Burn in the west to the Pandon Burn in the east. At the point represented by the High Bridge it crossed eastwards to the Plummer Tower and north to New Bridge Road. The parish of St John extended from the western boundary of the new St Nicholas's parish. Dendy points out that, as part of the northern boundary follows a stretch of the Town Wall, that this part of the Town Wall, or some older boundary, existed in *c* 1220 (1921, 8). The southern and south-western bounds of the parish of St Andrew follow a path separated by the previous three. Its north-eastern limit was formed by the Pandon Burn, while its north-western limit was formed by the Leazes.

Within these new parishes, the chapelries had full privileges of baptism, marriage and burial. Archaeology has done little to clarify the extent of the churchyards. Most of the reported discoveries of human remains would seem to relate either to Roman burials or cemeteries attached to the houses of friars. Work carried out next to the Town Wall to the west of St Andrew's church, however, revealed a curious ditch which may have delineated the churchyard to the west of the church building. Ceramic evidence suggests that the ditch was 13th/14th century or earlier (Teasdale, Nolan and Hoyle 1999, 32). Properties on the north side of Darn Crook may have formed the southern boundary of the churchyard, although Hutton 1772 traces the southern boundary of the parish to the south of the properties on the south side of Darn Crook. The only other evidence seems to be constituted of decorated grave slabs.

5.5.1.1 St Nicholas

The earliest documented reference to St Nicholas's church (Fig 5.17) is in a charter of Henry I, when the church was given, with others, to the canons of Carlisle Cathedral Priory. The witnesses named suggest a date between 1115 and 1128 (Brand 1789 **1**, 237 n. s). The grant was confirmed to Carlisle Priory in 1193–4 (Brand 1789 **1**, 238–9 n. t). The dedication to St Nicholas is possibly illuminating. Although not numerous, dedications to St Nicholas occur in several significant east-coast ports,

Fig 5.17 A view of St Nicholas's Cathedral (by Horsley, 1715).

and the saint is clearly linked with parishes with nautical associations (Graves and Heslop in prep). Such a dedication would be consistent with a community already heavily involved in seafaring and looking to develop those interests.

The surviving fabric of the chuch, together with and a collection of architectural fragments, suggest a church of the second half of the 12th century, although an 11th-/12th-century date has been assigned to some of the fragments (*PSAN* 1893 ser 2, **6**, 51; *PSAN* 1923 ser 4, **1**, 9). The church is likely to have had a two-bay choir with ribbed groined vaults, and a nave with at least a north aisle supported by clustered columns. The small scale of some waterleaf capitals found at the west end suggests that there may have been decorated windows in a tower or clerestory, or perhaps a decorated door with columns in recessed orders. The vault may reflect the influence of Durham Priory, especially in the use of chevron mouldings suggested by the architectural fragments (see also the chancels in Warkworth and Heddon parish churches, and the chapel in the Castle keep (Grundy *et al* 1992, 53). This seems to indicate some prestige and investment in the church already at this time.

Remains of keeled shafts and responds, together with corbels, attest the addition of north and south aisles in the 13th century, and the crossing piers were also built in this century. The south aisle wall was built with eight pointed arched recesses, probably intended as tomb recesses. This implies a form of 'speculative' building in the expectation that people would wish to be buried here who could afford some form of monumentality above the commonplace, if not with stone effigies.

At some time between the late 13th and early 14th century, the nave was given larger aisles, the east end was extended, and the south transept altered. In the early 14th century, the north transept was redesigned, and a western aisle was added to the south transept. In the late 14th century, the choir was altered, the crossing piers rebuilt, clerestories raised to accommodate new windows, new roofs added, and the lower parts of the tower rebuilt. Dendrochronology dates beams in the north transept to 1378–1413 (*Vernacular Architecture* **34**, 108). In the 15th century, the chapel on the east of the north transept was added, the tower vault was raised, and the belfry and crown steeple built (Figs 5.18 and 5.19).

It is becoming increasingly evident that English parishioners, in particular, invested a great amount of wealth and attributed a great symbolic importance to the towers of their churches. It could be argued that they did so in a way perhaps analogous to the investment that Italian city state families made in their domestic towers, centuries before. Elements of competition and rivalry were evident in the choice of form, elaboration and height. In this respect, the architectural distinctiveness of St Nicholas's crown steeple is worth emphasising. Scholars consider it to have been based on the example of St Mary-le-Bow, London, of about 1357, and that no other steeple of this form existed in the British Isles at that time (although the London steeple was replaced in 1512 and burnt in 1666 (Campbell 2001, 26)).

Campbell (2001) has argued that the crown steeple at St Nicholas (Fig 5.18) was the immediate inspiration for a number of executed and intended crown spires in the independent kingdom of Scotland, starting with that of St Giles in Edinburgh, *c* 1495. He argues, further, that the form was a deliberate evocation of the closed 'imperial crown', whose iconography and political symbolism had a particular currency from at least the third quarter of the 15th century, as monarchs across Europe sought to exert notions of *imperium* over their independent states, distinct from the claims of Holy Roman Emperor, Pope and Byzantine Emperor (Campbell 2001, 26–9). Architectural precursors of the St Mary-le-Bow crown spire are harder to identify precisely, so the exact reason for the selection of this architectural form in Newcastle is unknown. Speculation may run along two lines. The first is that there

Fig 5.18 Cathedral Tower (Elevated Photos Ltd).

might have been some deliberate intention in evoking a London connection, given that coal trade with the capital was increasing at this time. The second is that there might have been some deliberate intention in choosing a closed imperial crown to distinguish the first and last major town inside the realm's northern border, asserting the might, power and aspirations of the English kingdom. These notions would manifest both local chauvinist and national patriotic pride. The steeple of St Nicholas's church was to remain the most distinctive feature of the Newcastle skyline until the church of All Saints was rebuilt in the late 18th century.

Most of the church east of the tower belongs to the 14th and 15th centuries, and this has been noted as a rare thing in Northumberland (Grundy *et al* 1992, 417). This, in itself, indicates the wealth and influence of the town in these centuries and the fact that the development of its economic base was on a completely different trajectory from that of the rest of the county. During this period, many of the church's chantries were established or re-founded by and for the leading townspeople.

There were ten chantries in St Nicholas's church at the suppression, with a combined yearly value of £48 4s 6d, although sources differ as to the identity of a further chantry. The oldest chantry seems to have been that dedicated to St John the Baptist and St John the Apostle, founded by Laurentius, prior of Durham, in 1149, but refounded in the mid-14th century by Richard de Embleton (or de Emeldon), who served as mayor almost without interruption between 1305/6 and 1332 (Bourne 1736, 59; Oliver 1924, 209–12). He was permitted to build on vacant property beside St Thomas's Chapel in order to present the said property to support three chaplains for this chantry. The conditions of the foundation of the chantry give some indication of the way in which the pious activities of the governing elite of the town penetrated the consciousness of the majority of town dwellers. In addition to daily observances, on the anniversary of de Embleton's death the bells were to be tolled solemnly in the evening, and after mass 6s and 8d were to be distributed among 160 poor people (Mackenzie 1827, 239). Robert Rhodes and his wife, Agnes, also established a priest in this chapel, in the reign of Henry VI (Bourne 1736, 59). Prayers were to be said for Rhodes,

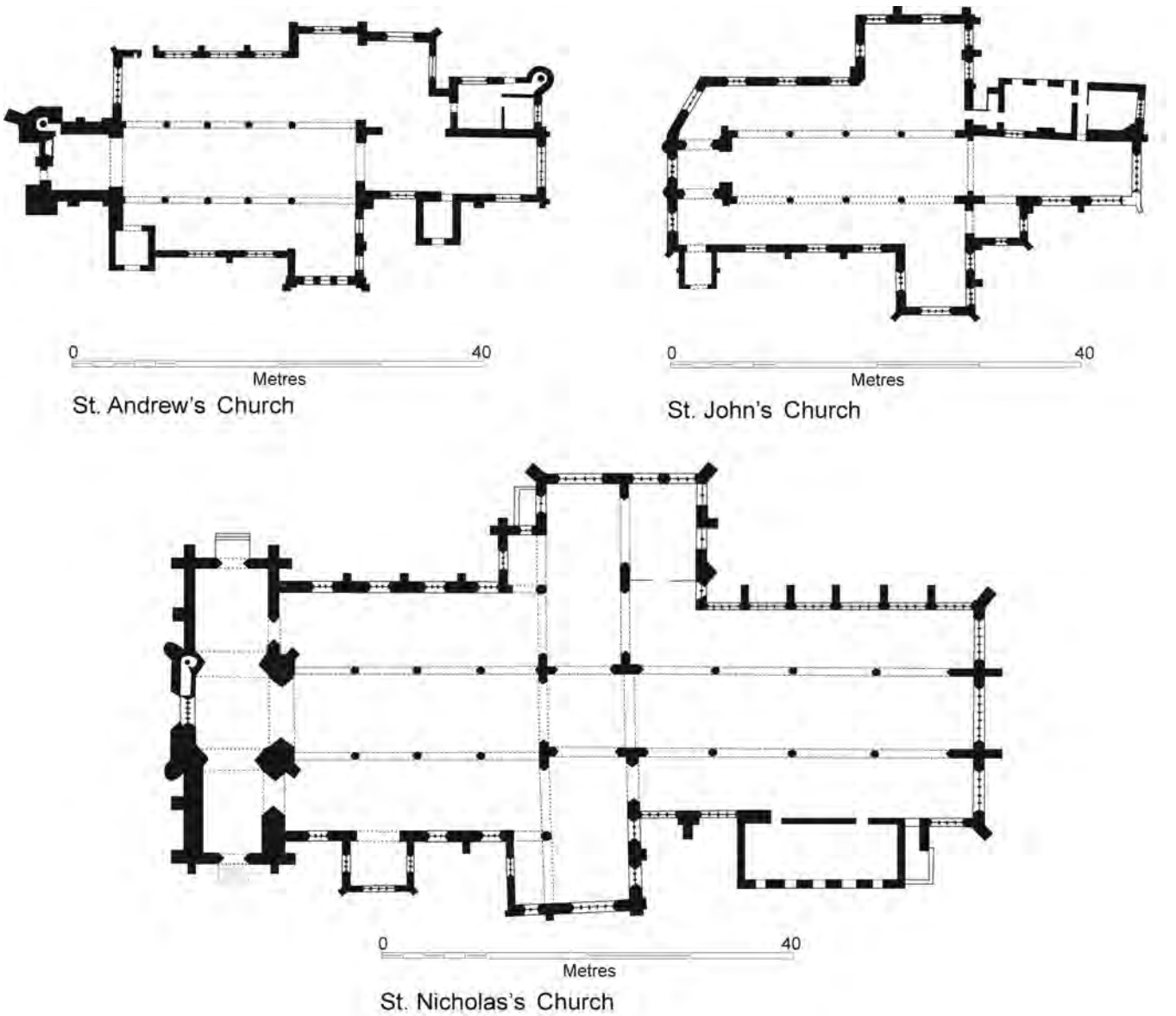


Fig 5.19 Plans of the churches of St Nicholas, St Andrew and St John.

his wife and 'the Town of Newcastle' (Bourne 1736, 59).

St Nicholas had two separate chantries dedicated to St Catherine; one to Saints Peter and Paul; one to St Thomas; one or two to Our Lady, one indicated to have been located in the south porch or crossing of the church; one to Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist on the north side of the church; one to St Cuthbert; and one to St Loy, Eloy, Elegius or Eligius. Brand also records a chantry to St Margaret (1789 **2**, 255) on the south side of the church, called Bewick's Porch, and a chapel to St Margaret remains today. It is notable how many of the town's mayors and leading burgesses were related in some way to these chantries, their establishment and maintenance.

Various accounts of the St Nicholas monuments have appeared in print or archive (Bourne 1736, 62–75; Welford 1880; Hodges 1887; Hicks and Blair 1939; C C Hodges' Notebook; Grave Slab Survey File). Ryder (2002, 125–7) lists 25 grave slabs, both surviving and recorded but now lost, and ranging in date from the late 11th to the 15th centuries. Both the font, donated by Robert Rhodes, and the elaborate font cover are medieval and similar to those found in other Newcastle churches. Some choir stalls have been retained and it is worth remembering that relatively few parish churches (as opposed to monastic or collegiate churches) had choirs

event	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
7, 8	Bath Lane, 1986	Town Wall ditch in front of Blackfriars' postern, metalled surface or pathway	Fraser 1989, 57–59
17	Orchard Street, 1987–1989	early 14th-century pottery and Town Wall. Kitchen waste; window glass, 1240–1280s; metalling assoc. with 14th–15th-century pottery	Graves 1993, 118–123
63	Forth Street, 1925	fragment of medieval window tracery found	*PSAN* ser4, **1,** 130–1
70	Forth Street, 1965	second Carmelite Friary; wall bases, early 14th-century pottery, two skeletons and disarticulated bones, eastern range of friary	Harbottle 1968, 163–218
71	Forth Street, 1967	west wall and walls of south range	Harbottle 1968,163–218
84	Austin Friary, 1970	Friary Church; burials under hospital floor. Possible sacristy uncovered; stone effigy dated to 1320 found	Harbottle 1971, 8–9
85	Austin Friary, 1971	south cloister wall and south end of east range excavated and poss. chapter house – all dated to 14th century	Harbottle 1972, 8–9
88	Low Friar Street, 1829	two skeletons found in a garden	*Newcastle Chronicle*, 31 October, 1829
89	Grainger Market, 1835	stone coffin, lead coffins, remains of wooden coffins and bones found in Grainger market foundations	*Newcastle Courant*, 21 March 1835
90	Blackfriars, 1957	Trenches 1–4 and 32–35	Harbottle, B unpub, excavation archive
90	Blackfriars, 1963	Trenches 1–7	Harbottle, B unpub, excavation archive
90	Blackfriars, 1964	Trenches 8–11	Harbottle, B unpub, excavation archive
91	Blackfriars, 1973	Trenches 27, 28, 30, 31; interior of eastern range, part of south range and north-east corner of cloister	Webster and Cherry 1974, *Med Archaeol* **XVIII**, 192
92	Blackfriars, 1974	Trenches 5–7, 9, 10; layout of the west claustral range determined	Webster and Cherry 1975, *Med Archaeol*. **XIX**, 236–7
93	Blackfriars, 1975	Trenches 1–3, 8	Harbottle, B unpub, excavation archive
93	Blackfriars, 1976	Trenches 11, 29	Harbottle, B unpub, excavation archive
94	Blackfriars, 1977	excavation of building interiors	Webster and Cherry 1978, *Med Archaeol* **XXII**, 161–3
95	Blackfriars, 1979	Trenches 23–26, 37	Harbottle, B unpub, excavation archive
95	Blackfriars, 1980	Trenches 36, 38, 39, 41	Harbottle, B unpub, excavation archive
96	Blackfriars Friary Ranges, 1981	Trenches 40, 42–44; north end of east range excavated	Youngs and Clark 1982, *Med Archaeol* **XXVI**, 210–11
97	Blackfriars Friary Ranges, 1982	Trenches 45–47, North end of east range and choir of the church excavated. Post-Dissolution rubbish dump	Youngs, Clark and Barry 1983, *Med Archaeol* **XXVII**, 206

event	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
98	Blackfriars Friary Church, 1983	Trench 48, East half of nave and west end of choir excavated. Some floor tiling	Youngs, Clark and Barry 1984, *Med Archaeol* **XXVIII**, 244
99	Blackfriars Friary Church, 1985	Trench 49, west half of nave excavated	Youngs, Clark and Barry 1986, *Med Archaeol* **XXX**, 170–72
100	Blackfriars Cemetary, 1988	Trenches 50–54, 23 burials located, 20 excavated. Two short stone culverts	Gaimster, Margeson and Barry 1989, *Med Archaeol* **XXXIII**, 215
101	Blackfriars Friary Ranges, 1989	possible Trench 55; wall and corner of building found	O'Brien, C unpub, trench plan and section
436	St Andrew's Church, 1857	Rubbing of merchants' marks taken	*PSAN* ser 1, **1**, 33, 274
437	All Saints' Church, 1856	recording of font	*PSAN* ser 1, **1**, 20, 160
498	St Andrew's Church, 1987	recording of funerary monuments	C C Hodges Notebook; Grave Slab Survey File
501	Church of St John the Baptist, undated	Funerary monuments	C C Hodges Notebook, Grave Slab Survey File
503	St Andrew's Church *c* 1867	discovery of Aymer de Atholl's monumental brass	*PSAN* ser 2, **3**, 361; *PSAN* ser 2, **6**, 169; *AA* (2) **15**, 80
543	Church of St John the Baptist, 1890	piscina found	*PSAN* ser2, **4**, 227–8
544	Westgate Street, 1890	floreate grave cover found on site of Hospital of St Mary the Virgin	*PSAN* ser 2, **4** , 284; 286–7
589	Westgate Street, 1895	four column bases from crypt of Chapel of St Mary the Virgin found	*PSAN* ser 2, **6**, 155
743	Westgate Street, 1854	carved oak and three corbels taken from demolition of the Hospital of St Mary the Virgin	*PSAN* ser 1, **4**, Appendix 2
756	Westgate Street, 1865	stone coffin found in precinct of Hospital of St Mary the Virgin	*AA* (2) VI, 150
802	Forth Street, 1889	13th-century T-shaped foundations and masonry – church. Four octagonal capitals	Knowles 1889, 346–50, pls XXI and XXIa
923	Westgate Street, 1736	discussion of the Hospital of St Mary the Virgin	Bourne 1736, 30–33
1190	Newcastle, 1369	will, including a bequest to the Austin Friars	*SS* 137 (1924), 183, no.362
1322	Newgate Street, 1997	precinct wall found	TWHER SR 1997/29
1328	Binns' Department Store, 1997	Excavation off Farrington Yard; occupation layers, but precinct wall of nunnery not located	TWHER SR 1997/26
1329	Binns' Department Store 1998	refuse pits found	TWHER SR 1998/7
1349	Clavering Place 1998	medieval surface and rubbish found	TWHER SR 1998/23
1446	Farnons' 1995	Nunnery of St Bartholomew; boundary wall; medieval window glass; frag of possible cloister column	TWHER SR 1995/8
2796	Cathedral Church of St Nicholas	burials dated by grave goods and pottery, 12th–15th-century	TWHER 2007/34

Table 5.4 Events relating to religious sites in the medieval town

in the medieval period. The eagle lectern of brass dates to *c* 1500. The upper portion of a 15th-century roundel of stained glass remains in the present St Margaret's Chapel, showing the Virgin and Child.

Excavations at the Cathedral Church of St Nicholas in 2007 in advance of proposed alterations to the ancillary buildings (*see* Fig 3.20) revealed well-stratified deposits up to 1.40m deep and dated from pottery to the 13th to 15th centuries. The stratified 13th-century material comes from a silty clay layer over the natural, which has been interpreted as medieval developed soil. The three evaluation trenches produced a total of seven medieval burials, the two earliest in the most complete sequence (Trench 2) being east–west with the later graves, including the post-medieval graves (12 in total) being east-north-east to west-south-west (TWHER SR 2007/34).

5.5.1.2 St Andrew

Arguments for St Andrew's church (Fig 5.19) having been the focus of early settlement have been considered above (*see* section 4.6.1). The earliest surviving masonry in St Andrew's church suggests that it had a chancel, with chevron-moulded chancel arch; a four-bay aisled nave; semicircular arches supported on round columns with plain moulded octagonal capitals; and a west tower of mid- to late 12th-century date. Small blocked clerestory windows on the south may also date to the late 12th century (Grundy *et al* 1992, 426–7). The chancel arch has an unusual composition of two orders with keeled responds but also an outer shaft to the west with two shaft rings, suggesting transitional work. Alterations and additions were made in the 13th century up to *c* 1300, including the lengthening of the chancel and the insertion of a double piscina, new north and south transepts, and the widening of the north aisle. In the 14th century, the north chancel chapel and the nave south porch were built. The clerestory is Perpendicular in character and the remains of springers and wall ribs in the tower suggest that it had a 15th-century vault, which has been removed (Grundy *et al* 1992, 427).

Three chantries were situated in St Andrew's church. The most fully documented is that to the Holy Trinity in the north chancel chapel, endowed by Sir Adam de Athol and his wife in the 1380s. There were two separate indulgences for grants towards the building and furnishing of this chapel: one in 1387 granted by the Bishop of Durham; and one granted by the Bishop of Whithorn in 1392 (Whithorn in Scotland was then under the jurisdiction of the Province of York). Both were for 40 days (Bourne 1736, 41–3). The chapel contained an image to the Trinity, mentioned in one of the indulgences, and Bourne described an image in stained glass surviving at the top of the north window of the chapel, evidently of the Trinity (Bourne 1736, 42). A chantry dedicated to the Holy Trinity may well have existed prior to this, however, as a grant for an endowment exists in the *Patent Rolls* for 1327, although the dedication is not specified (Oliver 1922, 200–9). Sir Aymer de Athol and his wife were buried there beneath a stone with indent for a brass, dating to *c* 1400 (Waller 1890, 80; Adamson 1895, 169; Robinson 1896; Charlton 1896). This stone slab was re-discovered in 1894, and was very large. It had once contained the brasses of a knight and a lady beneath a crocketed and pinnacled double canopy, with an inscription plate beneath the figures, two shields of arms above the canopy, and two more beneath the inscription (Charlton 1896). The figures were bordered by a marginal fillet, with symbols probably of the Evangelists at the corners. The shape of the indents revealed that that knight wore a pointed bascinet, with a sword at the sinister side while the lady wore a long gown, her head resting on two tasselled cushions, set crosswise. Of the brass inlay itself, only the laminated sabotons or sollerets/collerets of a knight remain, with short, rowelled spurs, resting on a lioness or leopard (fragment no longer in St Andrew's church; now in the Great North Museum, Museum of Antiquities Collection) (Waller 1890, 80; Charlton 1896).

There were also chantries dedicated to Our Lady and to St Thomas (Bourne 1736, 41–4). It has been argued that the Lady Chapel was originally probably in the south aisle in the 13th century, before being enlarged into the south transept, and completely rebuilt by Dobson in 1844 (Honeyman 1941).

There are references to merchants' marks having been located on a floor slab in the north transept of St Andrew's, with the initials 'R C' and 'E C' with an incised barrel and loop or vat (*PSAN* 1857 ser 1, **1**, 274). Ryder (2002, 89–93, 119–21, figs 15–17) has recorded

28 medieval grave slabs from St Andrew's, including those that are known only from copies of pencil drawings made in 1844 and collected by Hodges in the late 19th century, and that range in date from the late 12th to the 14th centuries. The only other surviving late-medieval stonework is the font cover, which is similar to that still in St Nicholas's church, with larger traceried 'lights'.

5.5.1.3 All Saints

The earliest documented reference to All Saints' church is in 1286 (Bourne 1736, 80) but a drawing made by Ralph Waters at the time of the demolition of the church in 1786 shows a west door in the tower, with a rounded head and receding orders of shafts in the jambs. This door appears to be Norman and has been interpreted as 'Transitional', dating to between 1150 and 1190 (Knowles and Boyle 1890, 270, 275; plate opp 276). Sopwith's description (1826, 26) supports this identification. Thus, the foundation date for All Saints' has been set back as far, at least, as 1150–90. The architectural development of the church may be traced from the examination of Waters' drawing and from descriptions in Bourne (Fig 5.20; 1736). The west tower was square in plan, and of at least two stages. There is now no indication as to whether the west door had been reset, or whether the lowest stage of the tower was also of the period *c* 1150–90. The west wall of the tower was pierced by a large west window of four lights with Perpendicular tracery, although the lower part of the window may have been blocked. There were tall openings at the belfry stage, all of two lights, except the southern opening, which was of three lights. There was a parapet, probably battlemented, with a small square turret and conical roof or spire finishing the tower. Both nave and chancel were aisled. The nave was rebuilt in the mid-14th century, before 1349 (will of John Cragg). The chancel was of four bays, and stood above a vaulted crypt (Bourne 1736, 90). From Bourne's description, the church was 50.67m long and 23.47m wide. Sopwith's account of the old church describes a porch space formed beneath the west tower, but also other porch spaces projecting from both the north and south of the church (Sopwith 1826). It is unclear as to whether these are entrance porches or projecting chapels (cf the 'porches' attached to St Nicholas's church).

Fig 5.20 Drawing of All Saints' Church from Corbridge's Map of 1723/4.

There were seven chantries in All Saints' church, the oldest of which would appear to have been that of St Loy, founded by Richard Pykering, a burgess of Gateshead whose name occurs as witness to a will in 1316 (Knowles and Boyle 1890, 282). Bourne (1736, 92) gave the total annual value of the chantries as £34 19s 4d; (but *see* Table 5.5, where it is calculated from Brand and Bourne as £35 17s 2d).

Bourne gives a detailed account of the internal furnishings and burial monuments of the church (1736, 88–100). The most significant benefactors of the church in the Middle Ages seem to have been Robert Rhodes and Roger Thornton. Rhodes's name appeared under the west tower, and his coat of arms figured at the east end of the church, on a shield held by an angel. Rhodes may have rebuilt part of the tower and steeple. Roger Thornton and his wife, Agnes, were buried in this church, and the fine Flemish brass dated to 1429, which is now in St Nicholas's, was originally in medieval All Saints' (Fig 5.21). Both are depicted in civilian dress of types which conspicuously implied large quantities of cloth, indicative of their wealth. Both figures are resting their heads on cushions whose covers are depicted as costly rinceau-patterned material. The figures are framed by elaborate architectural canopies depicted in pretence of three dimensions. The canopies, their shafts and jambs are covered with smaller niches in micro-architectural detail, filled with figures; the undersides of the canopies are

church/chantry	*foundation date*	*yearly value*	*ranked yearly value*	*value of ornaments*	*ranked value of ornaments*
All Saints'					
Virgin Mary	before 1334	£4 5*s* 10*d*	18	£4 3*s* 6*d*	5
St John Evangelist		£4 15*s* 4*d*	13	£5 12*s* 2*d*	4
St Thomas	*c* 1356	£4 8*s* 4*d*	17	10*s* 6*d*	18
St Peter	*c* 1411	£6	6	8*s* 5*d*	21
St Catherine	Edward III	£5 3*s* 8*d*	10	£5 19*s* 4*d*	2
St Loy	Edward III	£3 8*s* 4*d*	23	£3 11*s* 8*d**	9
SS John Baptist & John Evangelist		£7 15*s* 8*d*	1	£3 11*s* 8*d**	9
totals		£35 17*s* 2*d*		£20 5*s* 7*d*	
St Andrew's					
Virgin Mary	Edward I	£6 12*s* 10*d*	5	£1 2*d*	16
Holy Trinity	1383	£4 2*s* 10*d*	21	8*s* 10*d*	19
St Thomas	–	–		–	
totals		£10 15*s* 8*d*		£1 9*s*	
St John's					
Virgin Mary	Edward III	£4 4*s* 4*d*	19	£1 7*s* 10*d*	13
Holy Trinity		£5 13*s* 4*d*	8	£1 2*s* 11*d*	14
St Thomas Martyr	*c* 1319	£4 3*s*	20	£1 2*s* 1*d*	15
totals		£14 8*d*		£3 12*s* 10*d*	
St Nicholas's					
Virgin Mary i	Edward I	£5 16*s*	7	£6 2*s* 10*d**	1
Virgin Mary ii		£5 8*s*	9	£6 2*s* 10*d**	1
St Thomas	Edward III	£4 12*s* 6*d*	15	18*s* 6*d*	17
SS John Baptist & John Evangelist	1149; ref'd 1333	£7 7*s* 10*d*	2	£5 13*s* 4*d*	3
St Catherine i	Edward III	£6 15*s*	4	£3 19*s* 2*d**	7
St Catherine ii		£3 14*s* 8*d*	22	£3 19*s* 2*d**	7
SS Peter & Paul	Henry IV	£4 13*s* 4*d*	14	£3 18*s* 10*d*	8
St Margaret	1394	£5 8*s*	9	£2 18*s* 10*d*	11
St Cuthbert	Richard II	£7 3*s* 2*d*	3	£4 1*s* 8*d*	6
St Loy		£4 10*s*	16	8*s* 6*d*	20
(St Stephen?)					
totals		£55 8*s* 6*d*		£28 1*s* 8*d*	
St Thomas's Chapel on the Bridge					
Virgin Mary		£5 2*s* 6*d*	11	£2 11*d*	12
St Anne	Edward III	£4 17*s*	12	£3 10*s* 11*d*	10
totals		£9 19*s* 6*d*		£5 11*s* 10*d*	
overall totals		£126 1*s* 6.		£59 11*d*	

* denotes ornaments shared between two chantries

Sources: Bourne 1723, *passim*; Brand 1789 **1**, *passim*. All values based on the certificates of colleges and chantries in Northumberland and Durham recorded by the King's commissioners, 37 Hen. VIII, held in the Office of Augmentations. Figures given in shillings in the source have been expressed as pounds and shillings here for ease of comparison. The calculations of totals are the author's own. NB where ornaments were shared between chantries the sums have only been counted once in calculating total values.

vaulted and powdered with stars. Each cushion is supported by angels. In the first niche above the man and woman, the soul of the deceased is depicted in a winding sheet, and immediately above each of these is a depiction of a person with a nimbus holding the soul of the deceased on their lap. Waller (1890, 79) interpreted these as images of Abraham's bosom, a symbol of Paradise. Accompanying angels symbolise the belief that the souls of the just would be carried to heaven to the accompaniment of angelic music. The three shafts depict images of the apostles, the Virgin and Child, and other saints. Thornton has a dog with a bone at his feet. Beneath each main figure are niches, with seven smaller males beneath Roger and seven smaller females beneath Agnes. The whole is surrounded by an inscription within a marginal fillet, with the symbols of the Evangelists in the corners and the four shields of arms, including those of Thornton himself. The inscription is incomplete and names Agnes first; Roger is described as merchant of Newcastle upon Tyne. Roger is spelt in two different ways, and this fact led Waller to conclude that the brass was made in Flanders and brought over to England, rather than having been made in England by Flemish workmen. Waller also considered this brass to be an inferior work when compared to that of Topcliffe, Yorkshire and 'many other Flemish brasses in this country' (1890, 80).

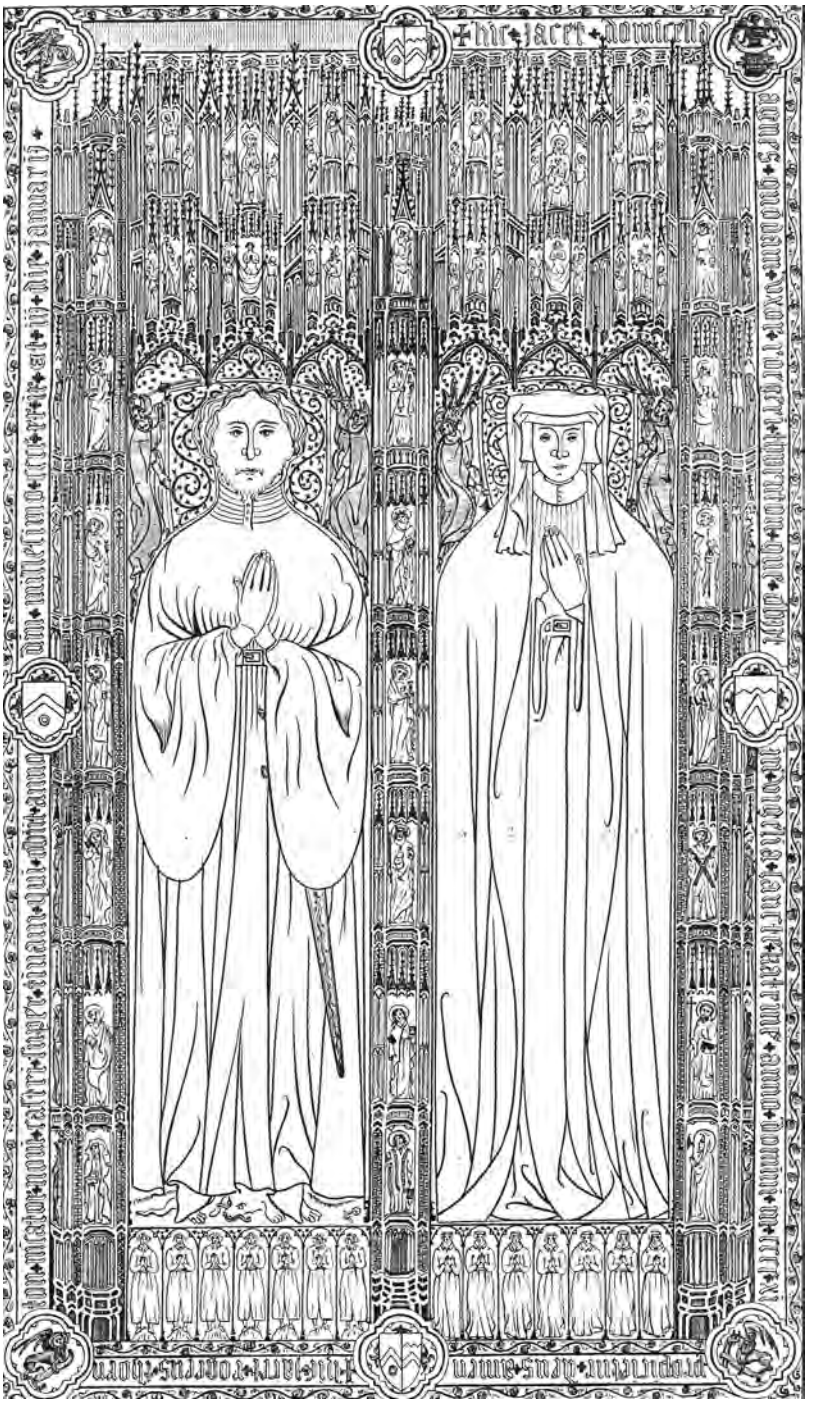
Another memorial stone with brass indents existed in the church in Bourne's time, and although one of his sources considered this to be the brass of Robert Rhodes, Bourne argued that Rhodes's memorial was more likely to have been in St Nicholas's church, where Rhodes had established a chantry (1736, 99; Brand 1789 **1**, 377). Part of an inscription had been legible prior to 1736 including the words '*promotor Ecclefiarum*'. Even these had disappeared when Bourne was writing. He thought the image upon the stone to be very like that of Roger Thornton, surrounded by images of the saints, 'and some other Things' (Bourne 1736, 99). It differed only in that the gown of the figure was slightly shorter than that on the Thornton brass. He concluded that, whoever the person was, it could be 'safely concluded from the Grandeur of the Grave Stone, that he was some wealthy Person' (Bourne 1736, 99).

The bowl of the font was octagonal, with concave sides. Each side had a shield on it, the heraldry of which was described and depicted by Brand (1789 **1**, 369, fig opp 412). Brand followed Ellison in emblazoning one of these shields as Lumley impaling Thornton, and ascribing it to Lord Lumley, who married Thornton's daughter (1789 **1**, 369 ns).

Bourne described a window above the south door leading into the chancel, in which were

Table 5.5 (opposite) Income from chantry chapels

Fig 5.21 (below) Drawing of Thornton brass (Brand 1789).



figures of Roger Thornton's children kneeling at 'Altars' (although more probably prayer desks). Thornton's merchant mark appeared in the chantry chapel dedicated to St Peter, next to his tomb. The same mark appeared in three separate places of the south aisle, which led Bourne to infer that Thornton rebuilt at least part of the south aisle. Bourne's survey of a register belonging to All Saints' revealed that there were Catherine wheels carved on the exterior of the south-east end of the church, and from this he inferred that St Catherine's chantry chapel was at the south-east of the church. There seems to be little further information to be gained about the topography of altars in this church at present, but examination of wills and bequests may reveal more. One of the parish books mentioned 'Stall Room' and 'Stalls' in 1488, and the Ellison manuscripts noted a pew book of 1579, which referred to an older one (Brand 1789 **1**, 264).

It has long been established that information concerning the origin of churches, and of the topography of their settlements, can be gained from study of their immediate setting (Keene 1985, 114). Pandon Burn formed the boundary between Newcastle and Pandon until 1299. All Saints' church stands on the hill overlooking what would have been the edge of Newcastle until this point in history; it is tempting to see it as standing on a point that would have combined visibility from the river with the most easterly point of the town not subject to flooding. Bourne noted that it was in alignment with, and almost at the same elevation as, St Mary's Gateshead (1736, 89).

5.5.1.4 St John the Baptist

The head of a Norman window is visible internally in the chancel, above the vestry door, and Boyle listed extant structural remains and architectural fragments, which suggested a chancel with aisleless nave possibly of the early 12th century (Knowles and Boyle 1890, 156–67). Despite these early indications, the first known reference does not occur until a charter of 1287 (Bourne 1736, 23; Brand 1789 **1**, 106). Most of the visible parts of the church date to the late 14th and early 15th centuries. There are north windows with three ogee-headed lights under a shallow, segmental arch, which can be compared to examples in St Nicholas's church, and have been dated to the late 14th century (Grundy *et al* 1992, 428). The north transept is 14th century, with a western aisle – a feature that can also be seen, for example, at St Andrew's church, Corbridge, although there it dates to the 13th century. The pier in the north transept has a moulded capital, as distinct from the nave arcades, also of the 14th century, which have double-chamfered arches rising from octagonal columns without capitals, as in St Nicholas's. There are blank shields as hood mould stops for the arches of the north aisle (a hood mould is an external moulded projection from a wall over an opening to throw off rainwater. The ornamentation that terminates the mould is known as a stop). The south transept is 15th century, without an aisle. The clerestorey and the tower, clasped by the nave aisles, are also 15th century (*see* Fig 5.19). Externally, the tower has elaborate pinnacles; internally, the tower arch is higher that the tower vault to the west. This vault has a boss with an inscription to pray for the soul of Robert Rhodes, who died in 1474. A similar inscription appears, together with Rhodes' coat of arms, over the window on the south transept gable. The chancel was largely rebuilt in 1848; and the church was restored in 1965–73.

St John's church had three chantries, to: St Thomas the Martyr, on the north side; Our Lady; and the Holy Trinity (Bourne 1736, 23–4). According to Brand (1789 **1**, 106), St Thomas's chantry was founded *c* 1319 by Adam of Durham, a burgess of Newcastle, for the souls of his father, mother and himself, and all Christian souls, with the mayor and burgesses appointed as patrons (Brand 1789 **1**, 106–7). A chantry dedicated to Our Lady was founded by Edward Scott in the reign of Edward III. The chantry of the Holy Trinity was said to have been founded by John Dalton, William Atkinshaw and Andrew Accliffe, clerks in the reign of Edward IV.

Fragments of medieval stained glass remain in the north chancel window, but more existed in Brand's time, in the south transept, and in the great east window, including a Christ in glory, the arms of England, and the arms of local merchants (1789 **1**, 106–9). A little is known of original furnishings from the medieval period. For example, the font was given by John Bertram (Bourne 1736, 24), and a piscina from the church, thought to be 14th-century in date, was presented to the Society of Antiquaries in 1890 after it was dislodged from a wall during excavation work (*PSAN* 1890 ser 2, **4**,

227–8, wherabouts unknown). In the south aisle there was a ledger stone with the arms of Bertram, the intials 'R B', and the arms of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, which has been attributed to Robert Bartram, sheriff in 1522 (Brand 1789 **1**, 115). No medieval grave slabs have survived in St John's church, but Hodges recorded seven, ranging in date from the 12th to the 14th century, and one slab originating from St John's, dating to *c* 1300, is now in Whitburn, County Durham (Ryder 2002, 91, 122 fig 18).

5.5.2 Religious institutions (Table 5.4)

Newcastle had two venerable, and wealthy, religious institutions in the Nunnery of St Bartholomew and the Hospital of St Mary the Blessed Virgin. Houses of religious women were not numerous in the northern counties: there were only four in Northumberland, that in Newcastle, one at Lambley (also Benedictine), one at Holystone (Augustinian), and a Premonstratensian house at Guyzance that closed before the Dissolution (Gilchrist 1995, 111 fig 64; Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 189). Cumberland had two nunneries, County Durham had one, and there were none in Westmorland and Lancashire. The majority of houses of religious women in England were founded in isolated rural locations, partly through poor endowments, partly perhaps through pious preference (Gilchrist 1994, 65–9). Urban nunneries were few (25 out of *c* 150 foundations: Gilchrist 1994, 63); fewer still were those that existed in the centre of towns or were founded in the first generation or so after the Norman Conquest. If Newcastle's nunnery had been, indeed, an early royal foundation, then its relationship with the Castle would be of interest. Thompson (1991, 135–7) has noted the incidence of male religious houses and castles founded by the same baronial family, which in the 11th and 12th centuries was frequent. Gilchrist's survey (1994, 63–5), on the other hand, shows that nunneries established near castles were almost all founded later, and by different baronial families. They do not seem, therefore, to have formed part of the expression of dominance over a region.

5.5.3 The Nunnery of St Bartholomew

Brand thought that the nunnery of St Bartholomew might have been founded as early as 1086, or even earlier (Brand 1789 **1**, 204 n. n). Knowles and Hadcock (1953, 215) believed it to have been founded *c* 1135 by David I of Scotland, who ruled Northumberland under Stephen at that time; while Bourne (1736, 48–9) suggested that Henry I of England, or his wife, Maud, had founded it. The proposition that this was a royal foundation is supported by a statement in June 1367 in which the prioress and nuns were described as being at present, and for a long time previously, under the King's special protection (*Cal Pat R 1364–67*, 443). Royal gifts of money and wheat were certainly recorded in the mid-13th century (*Cal Pat R 1251–60*, 241). The priory had 22 nuns in 1322 (Knowles and Hadcock 1953, 215), and 11 at the time of the suppression in 1540 (*L. and P. Hen. VIIII*, XV, 551 no. 15). It is uncertain whether St Bartholomew's was a hospital, as Bourne suggested (1736, 48–9), but the dedication is common for hospitals (eg at Bristol, Gloucester, Oxford, Rochester, and Smithfield, London), whereas only two nunneries listed by Knowles and Hadcock had that dedication (Gilchrist 1995, 8–61; 143–4). Religious women who served hospitals were active, whereas Benedictine nuns normally observed strict enclosure, but several nunneries also maintained hospitals in or near their precincts (Gilchrist 1994, 173). Eight parish churches in Northumberland were dedicated to St Bartholomew, and Bond thought that some of these probably belonged to the Bartholomew who had been a hermit in the Farne Isles (1914, 206). A large area has been known traditionally as the Nuns' Fields. Brand included a tiny thumbnail (Fig 5.22) of what had survived at some point before 1789 (1789 **2**, opp 46; fig 5.22).

Fig 5.22 The 'Nunns' (from Brand 1789).

Fig 5.23 Examples of decorated medival glass excavated from the site of the nunnery of St Bartholomew (13th–14th century) (scale = 1:1).

Most post-Conquest nunneries were suburban, situated 'either on the fringes of towns or farther out in the surrounding fields' (Gilchrist 1994, 64). St Bartholomew's seems to fit into the first category. Nunneries were often located on the rivers and roads that formed the principal routes of communication into towns, and St Bartholomew's is flanked by the old market street. Further, nunneries were often partially contained within the bends of rivers (Gilchrist 1994, 64): the courses of the Lam and Lort Burns provided a natural loop to the north and east of St Bartholomew's. The gatehouse was reported to have stood at the end of Nuns' Lane, 'part of a great arch, that once formed a gateway' (Brand 1789 **1**, 234). The main question with respect to location and development must be whether the market street curved to avoid the nunnery, or whether the street pre-dated the nunnery. The Lort Burn was the principal natural feature of the site and the north–south routes from Barras Bridge to the Tyne must be seen as avoiding the steepest parts of the dene. Harbottle (unpub) suggested that there would be no real reason why Newgate Street should not run closer to the burn unless it was avoiding the nunnery. As the nunnery pre-dates the town wall it seems likely that High Friar Chare, despite its name, was a route that followed the original northern boundary of the nuns' precinct. As mentioned above, most post-Conquest nunneries were located on the fringes of urban settlement, and St Bartholomew's seems to fit this pattern. It is noticeable that Nuns' Lane leads from the narrowest section of the Bigg Market/market street on maps dating from the 18th century or later, and it is from this point that the market street (Newgate Street) curves around the precinct. Could the narrow section of road, therefore, reflect the original extremity of the late 12th-century town, with the Nuns' gatehouse also at this point? The fact that the livestock markets were located in the section of the market street north-west of this narrow point is also suggestive of a town-edge location (chapter 5, section 5.4.2).

Excavation on the former site of Farnon's department store in 1995 located a medieval wall that may well have formed part of the precinct boundary, for it runs on a line preserved as the boundary of property fronting Newgate Street and the Nuns' Fields behind, as shown on Hutton's map of 1772, Bailey 1802 and Oliver 1830 (Heslop 1995). A deposit of medieval window glass (Fig 5.23) dumped next to this wall, almost certainly at the time of the Dissolution, confirms that this was probably the extremity of the precinct. No information was available for a pre-wall phase of the site.

Excavation beneath the former Binns' Department store found medieval occupation layers and refuse pits from within the nunnery precinct, including cultivation soil and building rubble (TWHER SR 1997/26, TWHER SR 1998/7).

Brand (1789 **1**, 233–4 n. e) believed that the playhouse or Theatre and Music House, also known as the Turk's Head Theatre, stood on the site of the nunnery church, with the north door partly visible in the preserved north wall. The Turk's Head was demolished in July 1834 in order to make way for Grainger Street.

Harbottle has pointed out that the Turk's Head is the 'only building on early mapping to share an alignment with the other medieval churches in the town' (pers comm in Heslop 1995, 4). On the basis of this identification of the location of the church, it is suggested that the cloister would have stood on the north of the church, as was the case for about a third of the 61 nunneries for which information is available (Gilchrist 1994, 129). Prior to being culverted in the 17th century (Bourne 1736, 50), the Lam Burn crossed the Nuns' Field and would have created a natural water supply for the nunnery. It could have determined the position of the reredorter, and perhaps, by implication, the dormitory (Heslop 1995).

When the area was cleared for Grainger's development, foundations of old buildings and part of the burial ground, including a stone coffin, lead coffins and the decayed wood of other coffins, together with human bone, were recovered at a depth of approximately 3–4ft (0.91–1.23m) (*Newcastle Courant,* 21 March, 1835). A fragment of blue marble tombstone with 'Lombardic' inscription around the edge and an incised cross in the centre was found, along with a cast crucifix, the remains of a gilt spur and a William III farthing (Richardson 1844, 236–7). The grave slab with marginal Lombardic inscription and central cross has not survived, but a cross fitting this description was found at the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary, recorded in C C Hodges' Grave Slab Survey File of 1987, and is presently in the Great North Museum Museum of Antiquities Collection (1987.1.6A). This is thought to be 13th or 14th century in date and falls into a category well represented in the North East (Ryder 1985; 2000).

According to Bourne (1736, 48), the nunnery may have owned all the property on the Newgate Street, old Market Street, frontage ('nine Tofts or Crofts'). The community leased properties in Market Street to tradesmen in 1292 and 1332 (eg Oliver 1924, 176–7, no. 339), and owned a mill in Byker in the late 13th century (Dodds 1930, 267, 272).

5.5.4 The Friaries

The fact that all four major orders of friars settled in Newcastle, together with one of the lesser orders, is an indication of the importance and wealth of the town in the Middle Ages. The friars, particularly the Dominicans and the Franciscans, were drawn to urban locations in order to carry out their mission to preach and provide care; theirs was an intellectual as well as a pastoral vocation. As they were, in theory, partly dependent on charity, they also relied upon the commercial success of urban populations to support them. Consequently, those towns in which both the Dominicans and Franciscans were established in England included the university towns, most of the cathedral cities, the county towns and major ports. Furthermore, Newcastle was one of a mere 13 towns that had not only these two orders, but the other two major orders of friars, the Carmelites and Augustinians, as well (Harbottle and Clack, 1976, 120). Comparison with those other locations is instructive of the role that Newcastle must have played, not only commercially but culturally, in the North: London, Oxford, Cambridge, Stamford (a centre of learning in the Middle Ages); York, Winchester, Lincoln, Norwich (all cathedral cities and regional centres); Northampton; and the ports of Bristol and King's Lynn. Newcastle was one of only eleven towns to have the Friars of the Sack. The Trinitarians, not strictly friars, were also present in Newcastle.

The archaeological and documentary evidence suggests that all five orders of friars were given land on the outskirts of the town at the times of their foundations. This gives us some indication of the extent of urban build-up from the late 13th century through to the 14th century. It also means, as Harbottle (1968, 167) pointed out, that the friars in Newcastle enjoyed less constricted sites than in some other English towns. This would have enabled them to establish gardens and orchards, in order to be in some way self-supporting. The catalogue of excavated friary sites across the British Isles has grown considerably since 1968, and many of those excavations have shown that the plans of friary buildings were adapted to fit physically constrained spaces. Those in Newcastle seem to have been more fortunate. Two of the excavated houses (the Dominicans and the second Carmelite house) had their cloister on the south of their church, while the cloister of the Augustinian friars was on the north side of their church. With the exception of the Dominicans, little of the liturgical or claustral arrangements of the friaries can be reconstructed for Newcastle.

5.5.4.1 The Franciscan Friary

The Franciscans existed in Newcastle from at least 1237, when the king gave them timber for the construction of their dormitory (*Cal Close R 1237–42*, 16), but reference to a grant of a conduit to the friars in the tenth year of the reign of Henry III implies that they were already here by 1225–6 (*Cal Inq Misc* 11, no. 1900 cited in Harbottle and Clack 1976, 120, 7). The precinct was probably bounded by the High Friar Lane on the north, Pilgrim Street on the east, with a southern boundary formed by houses on the north side of High Bridge, somewhere around Shakespeare Street, and the western boundary formed by the easternmost extent of the nunnery, probably delimited by the Lort Burn. A single reference in 1425 to a tenement in Pilgrim Street, its boundaries being Pilgrim Street on the east, Greyfriarchare on the south, and a vennel on the west, which led from the passage below the wall to the friars' 'northkirkdoor', suggests that the church stood on the south side of, and parallel to, High Friar Lane (Hodgson 1917, 210–12). Hence the Pilgrim Street frontage may have formed the eastern boundary of the precinct. Harbottle (unpub) suggests that the east end of the church itself may have been on Pilgrim Street. It certainly seems that the cloister must have stood to the south of the church. The friary was dissolved in 1539, when it had a prior, three priests and two novices. High Friar Lane was variously known as Brether Chare and ffreremenourchare (Oliver 1924, 96–7, no. 144) in 1251–9. It was also known as the vennel of the Friars Minor (Oliver 1924, 137, no. 225) in *c* 1268–9; Barfute Frere Chare in *c* 1409 (Oliver 1924, 157–8, no. 288); and Greyfriar Chare in 1481 (Oliver 1924, 164, no. 306). The advent of the friars seems to have given a name to the lane, which does not appear prior to 1251–9, even if the lane itself pre-dates the establishment of the Franciscans. Brand thought that the church must have stood 'somewhere in the garden of Sr Walter Blackett', probably in the part that lay opposite Ficket Tower on the wall (1789 **1**, 332). According to the ward descriptions, the burial ground was immediately opposite Ficket Tower (Brand 1789 **1**, 332).

No modern excavation has taken place to date in any part of the former Franciscan precinct. The Newcastle Franciscans were given authority over the houses of Dundee, Dumfries, Haddington and Roxburgh in Scotland; Berwick, Carlisle, Hartlepool and Richmond (Yorkshire) in England (Brand 1789 **1**, 332). The friars owned a conduit from which water ran to their convent from Sevenwellheads. They had 'inclosed it with stone, put a door to it' and locked it (Brand 1789 **1**, 334). The friars had allowed the public to use the conduit, but the fountain was broken and water diverted from it, to the detriment of the friars' own supply. In 1342 the king allowed the Franciscans to rebuild the conduit, lock it and retain sole use of the water from then on (Brand 1789 **1**, 334).

5.5.4.2 The Dominican Friary

The first reference to the Dominicans is in 1239 (*Cal Lib R 1226–40*, 368–9). The boundaries of their precinct are not known exactly, but they were situated on the west of the town, behind Low Friar Street (Shod Friar Chare) (Fig 5.24). By locating three burgage plots that were described as being next to the gatehouse, Harbottle and Fraser have suggested that the gateway to the precinct stood at the entrance to Low Friar Lane (1987, 24–6). The precinct extended from near Morden Tower south to Charlotte Square, and beyond Corporation Street to the west (Brand 1789 **1**, 132–3 n. v). This precinct was acquired piecemeal, for they gained a messuage and a plot of land in 1318 and 1329, both described as 'adjacent to their dwelling place for the enlargement of the same' (Knowles 1920, 318; *Cal Pat R* 1317 *1313–21*, 112; *Cal Pat R 1330–34*, 392). Knowles (1920, 324) estimated the total area of the precinct to have been 10–12 acres. The remains of a probable precinct wall, dated via pottery to the 12th or 13th centuries, were found between Low Friar Street and Jacobins Chare (TWHER SR 1997/29).

It has been possible to reconstruct the precinct as it was in 1552, when it was leased by the mayor and burgesses to the nine craft companies of the town, by working backwards from cartographic and documentary evidence. As the mayor and burgesses acquired the site in 1544, very shortly after the Dissolution, it is possible that the shape in 1552 is not too far divorced from the extent of the precinct at the time of the suppression. The possessions at this time included 'a close outside the walls' (Wardell's, then Warden's Close); Hart Close (formerly Horte Close) inside the wall and to the west of the cloister; and 'the close

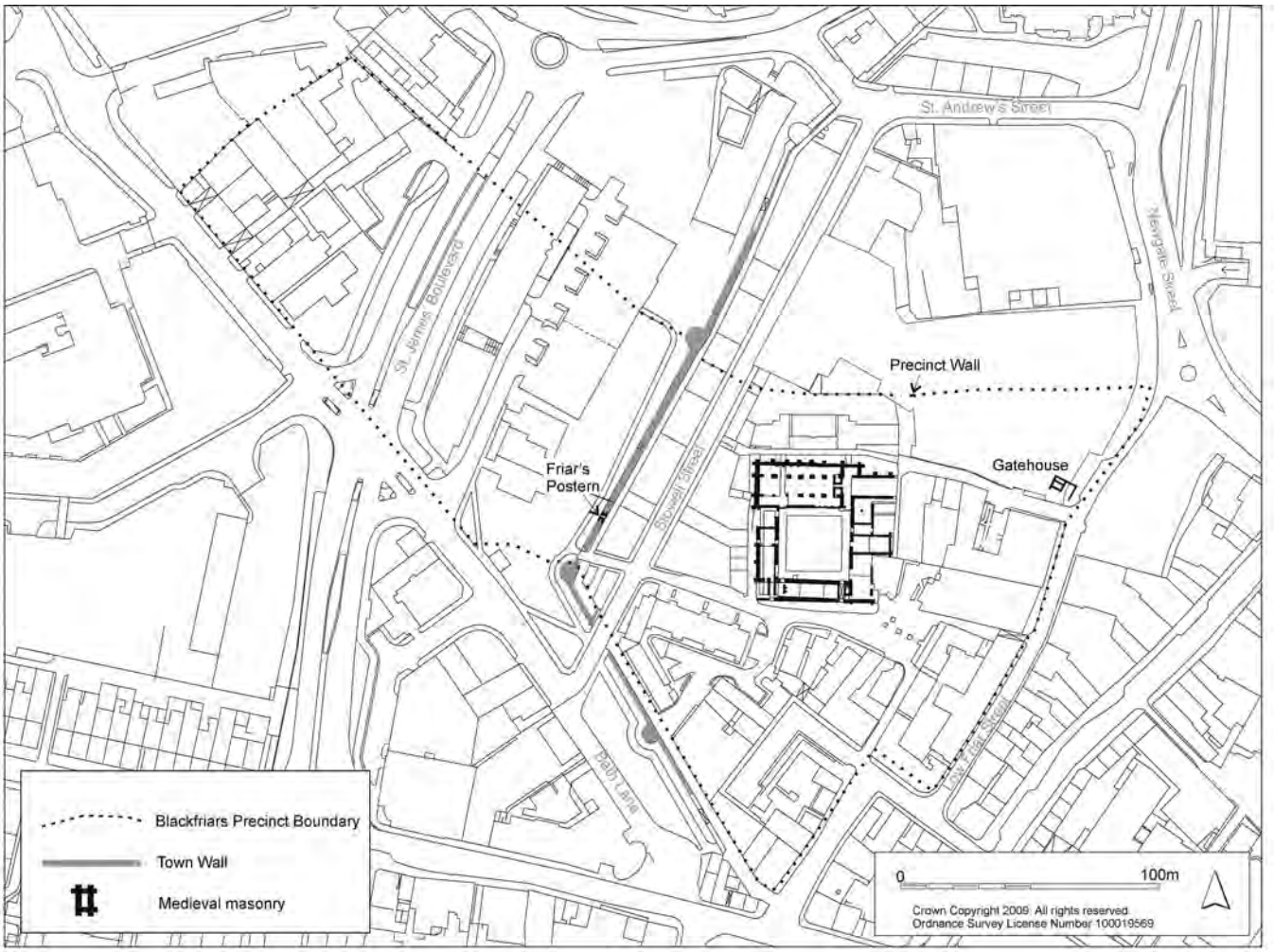


Fig 5.24 The postulated extent of the precincts of the Newcastle Blackfriars.

within the West Gate' (Benny Chessye's Close) (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 25, fig 1; Knowles 1920, 322–3). There was also an orchard to the north.

It is possible that the friary cemetery extended as far as this, for in 1829 two skeletons with an east–west orientation were found within 30ft (9.14m) of one another, in the garden of a property which has been located on Low Friar Street, stretching back to the friars' orchard, and between Dispensary Lane and Low Friar Lane (*Newcastle Chronicle,* 31 October 1829; TWHER 1435). The Town Wall cut through the Dominicans' property, for they were granted a postern through the wall in 1280 (*Cal Pat R 1272–81*, 397), and a drawbridge over the wall ditch in 1312 (*Cal Pat R 1307–13*, 461). Harbottle suggests that the space of time that passed between these events implies that the wall ditch was begun much later than the wall (1969, 78) and Fraser argued that the ditch, or King's Dykes, was started in 1311/12 in reaction to Scottish invasions of that time (1961b, 383). The town ditch in front of the Black Friars Postern was excavated in the late 1980s. A metalled surface or pathway was discovered and was thought to indicate that the position of the friars' bridge across the ditch was not directly in front of the postern, nor at right angles to it, but was offset from the postern and angled across the ditch (Fraser 1989, 57–9).

At the Dissolution in 1539 there was a prior and twelve friars (*L. and P. Hen. VIII* **14**, pt 1, no. 43, 21; Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 23). Excavations and/or building recording and analysis were carried out in 1957, 1963–4, 1973–7, 1979–83, 1985, and 1988–9. These recovered a church with aisleless choir at least 17.6m in length and 10m wide externally, and a six or seven bay nave of 17.70m in length, with both north and south aisles (Fig 5.25).

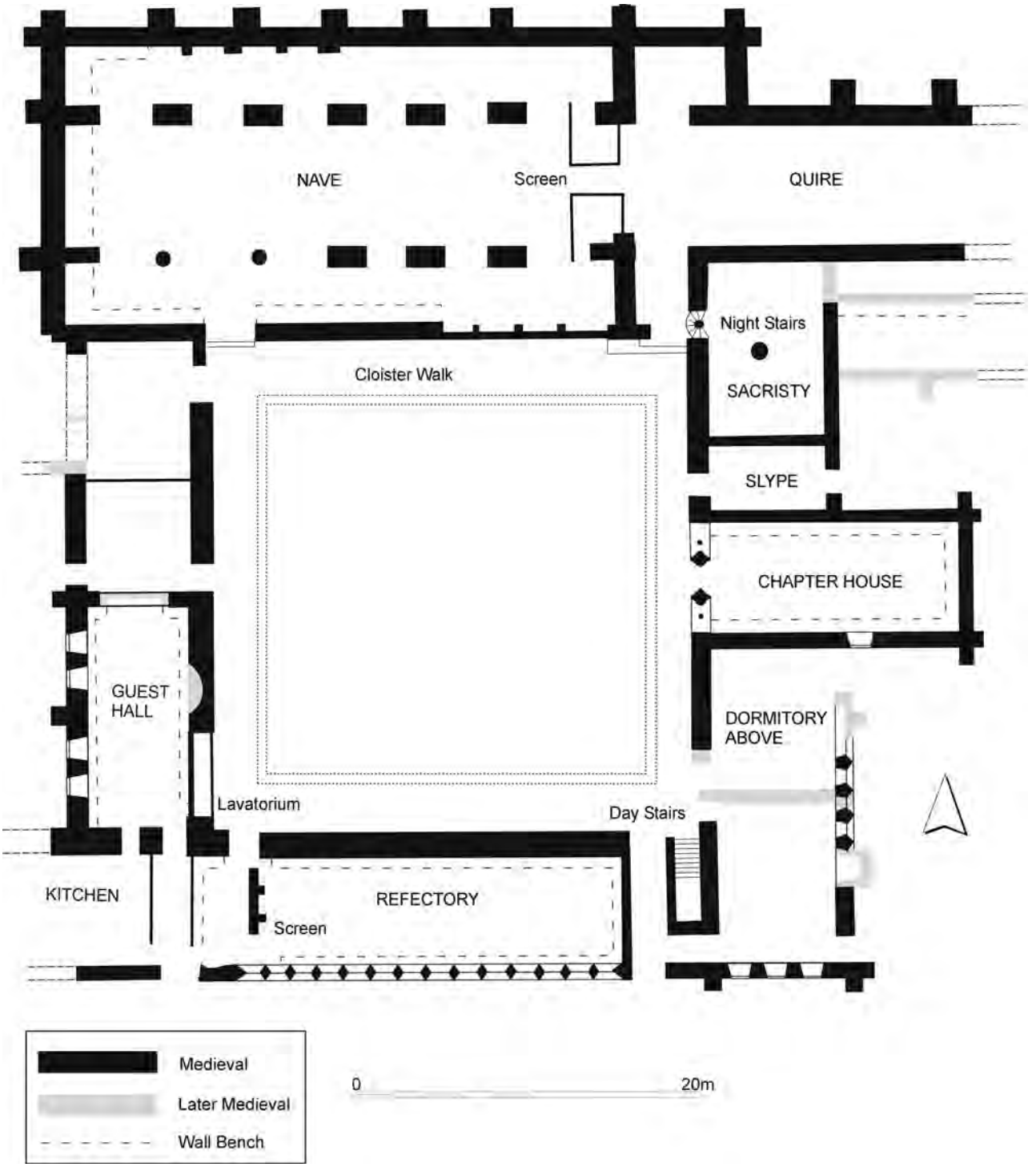


Fig 5.25 Excavated ground plan of the Newcastle Blackfriars.

There was a cloister of about 27.50m^2 on the south side of the church, with lean-to walks, an east range with sacristy, slype, chapter house, possible parlour, warming room, and dormitory over. The south range comprised a daystair, slype, refectory, slype, and possible kitchen. The west range had an external lavatorium, guesthall and slype. There was possibly a lesser cloister to the west. Lesser cloisters were quite common among Dominican houses, eg those at Beverley and Oxford (Foreman 1996, 46–79; Youngs and Clark 1981, 192). Most of the Newcastle buildings appear to have been constructed in one period. The London

Chapter of Dominicans removed the prior of Newcastle in 1250 for indulging in architectural extravagance, implying that already by this date, the convent was wealthy and materially well provided for (Grundy *et al* 1992, 431–2).

The choir had a tiled floor, and contained burials of lay people beneath, including one in a brick-lined grave, and children (Youngs, Clark and Barry 1983, 206). The nave eastern pier bases were engaged to cross-walls, which closed the eastern ends of the nave aisles. A screen, 7.60m long and 3m wide, with a central passage 1.50m wide, stood between the eastern ends of these nave east piers (Youngs, Clark and Barry 1984, 244). The base of the screen was a slight stone sill-wall, and it was assumed by the excavators that the superstructure therefore must have been wooden. The lack of any identifiable screen foundation in the choir implies that the screen at the east end of the nave formed the only division between nave and choir. It would also provide a basis for the retables or decorated backgrounds to the nave altars.

A doorway in the north-east corner of the greater cloister gave on to a lobby and night stairs. It did not give on to a walking space: 'There was no evidence for an opposing doorway in the N. wall of the nave, and the heavy stone cross-wall foundations, aligned N.–S., which one would have expected to support a central tower above such a walking space were conspicuously absent' (Youngs, Clark and Barry 1984, 244). Consequently, the ground plan of the Newcastle Dominican friary church resembled a familiar plan for Blackfriars' churches (cf eg Chester), but the ways in which it differed were significant. A sketch made by M A Richardson in 1843, and reproduced by Knowles (1920, 327 fig 5, 328), depicted a door in the south nave wall giving into the cloister, with two moulded orders, supported by nook shafts. The unanswered question at Newcastle is how lay access to the church was organised: did the laity enter the cloister through the passage at the east end of the south range, where there is still a public entrance, and thence into the church by this south-west doorway?

Four arched grave recesses were created in the east end of the south wall of the nave as an alteration to the original design (Youngs, Clark and Barry 1984, 244). Five recesses appear to have been made in the north wall, from the middle of the nave towards the west end. The floor had been tiled, but extensive burials within the nave caused repeated disruption to the flooring. The open space to the east of the east range was identified as part of the cemetery. Among the architectural fragments still on site is part of a decorated grave slab of the 13th or 14th century (Ryder 2002, 86–7).

A great quantity of window glass was excavated from the area of the church, and a lesser quantity from the conventual buildings, particularly Areas 20–21, the site of the possible frater (Hawman and Vaughan 1987, 105). A sample of this glass was studied in order to gain an indication of the nature of the glazing in 2004 (Heath), and more has been studied since then (Cat Moore, pers comm). Three distinct periods of glazing have been identified. A large amount of the glass with painted designs fell into the category of early- to mid-13th-century formalised grisaille, concordant with the initial settlement on the site. There was a limited quantity of pot-metal coloured glass: blue and red predominated, but much of the glass was opaque through corrosion, and colour was, consequently, indiscernible. There was a little early- to mid-14th-century grisaille in the sample, and a considerable quantity of fine early- to mid-14th-century rinceau and diaper patterns such as usually filled the background to figural scenes or standing figures of saints. There were also fragments depicting contemporary architectural detail, such as might provide the setting for figures. At least two portions of hand confirm that figures were featured in these windows. Portions of heraldry, including lions and fragments from other heraldic beasts, may have derived from heraldic shields or border motifs. This glass was of an extremely high quality in the execution of the painting, and bore many points of similarity with contemporary glass still *in situ* in York. The third period represented was of the late 14th to 15th century. Again, the motifs – significant amounts of three-dimensionally depicted architecture and canopy-work, seaweed diapers, pieces of figural detail, dress and heraldry, as well as a number of diamond-shaped quarries painted with central roses – imply work of considerable quality and a range of glazing schemes. This assemblage represents among the finest painted glass excavated from a northern religious house, and emphasises the wealth of patronage and support that must

once have been given to the Dominicans in this town, and over a sustained time.

There was one room between the choir and the slype on the south (Youngs and Clark 1982, 211). This room measured internally 9m × 6m and was vaulted from a single central column (Youngs, Clark and Barry 1983, 206). The room was entered from the cloister and gave access not only to the church, by a spiral stair, but probably to a room built on to the east (Youngs, Clark and Barry 1983, 206). This eastern room, 3.65m by at least 8m, had a bench on its north wall and a tiled floor.

The chapter house was located mid-way along the east cloister walk. It was just over 6m wide, and had a triple-arched west front (Knowles 1920, 329 fig 6). The central doorway had two chamfered orders, continuous over the jambs and the two-centred head. Flanking this, on each side, there was a short wall, upon which there were double openings with chamfered shafts, moulded caps and bases, and trefoiled heads. These were encased by a single chamfered outer order on each side. To the south of this, Knowles identified two rooms as a possible parlour and warming house, the latter having a fireplace on the eastern side (1920, 330). Examination showed the northern room to have had an eastern porch added in the later medieval period (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 78). The southern room was lit by three small lancet windows. It has been assumed that the dormitory extended over these two rooms, and an image from 1773, reproduced by Knowles (1920, 329 fig 7; from Grose 1773, IV, 59), showed that this room had a large, four-light window with Decorated tracery in the head. A later 18th-century view by Johnson depicts this window as partially blocked its lower section converted to two, square-paned, mullion and transom windows (Knowles 1920, 316 fig 1; Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 76). A vignette in the dedication of Brand's image of the Blackfriars' depicted this as curvilinear tracery of the first half of the 14th century (Knowles 1920, 314; Brand 1789 **1**, opp 122).

According to Knowles, the frater or refectory would have been on the ground floor of the south range, with the kitchen at the west end and the library above (1920, 330). The room was originally undivided structurally, although excavation revealed that there must have been a screen at the western end, and it was paved with floor tiles (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 66). There was a passageway leading between the cloister and the outer precinct at the east end of this range, and there may have been stairs immediately to the east of this, which rose to the eastern range first-floor accommodation. A further 1843 sketch by M A Richardson shows the windows for the upper floor, on the cloister side (published in Knowles 1920, 333–4, fig 11). At the south end of the western range, facing the cloister, there was a broad pointed arch, with a relieving arch above it. Its proximity to the refectory suggests that it contained the lavatory (Knowles 1920, 333–4; 327 fig 4; 334 fig 11). Corbels that had supported the cloister alley roof projected from the south walk inner wall, and can be seen in Knowles' figure 4 (1920, 327). Various windows and doorways, some blocked, were visible in this range. Knowles interpreted the south end of this range as possibly the prior's lodgings, and the northern end as possibly the guest house (1920, 336).

Bourne identified Warden's Close, and Shoulder of Mutton Close beyond the town wall on the west as having formed part of the gardens and fishponds belonging to the Dominicans (Bourne 1736, 146–7). He claimed that remains of those gardens and fishponds were still recognisable in his time, presumably as earthworks. There was a cistern of water in Shoulder of Mutton Close, which he thought must have supplied the same fishponds and gardens (Bourne 1736, 147). There are various references to the friars' aqueduct, which supplied the precinct with water, 'brought from a well without their court to their house and thence to the said town' (1264, *Cal Pat R 1260–66*, 291; Knowles 1920, 316). The prior and brethren leased a great close [of land] to William Hays in July 1476, and with it the privilege of fixing a small lead pipe to the friars' aqueduct in order to supply water to his fish ponds (Brand 1789 **1**, 420, n. n; Knowles 1920, 318–19). The conduit was referred to again in 1647, but despite this Brand thought the earthworks were the remains of a small fort and associated earthen breastworks dating from the siege of 1644 (1789 **1**, 420 n. n).

5.5.4.3 The first Carmelite Friary and the Trinitarian Friary

The first Carmelite Friary was founded in 1262 on the Wall Knoll in Pandon, before Pandon was incorporated into Newcastle in 1298/9 (Dodds 1930, 266). The site was enlarged

in 1277, and again before 1285 (TWHER 1425). The precinct included the whole of the Wall Knoll, and extended eastwards beyond the Town Wall, though Harbottle is uncertain whether this expansion would have been during the time of the Carmelites or their successors on the site, the Trinitarians (TWHER 1425). A hilltop site was appropriate to the Order of Mount Carmel, and for a dedication to St Michael (as Oliver 1831b, 113 gives the dedication) (Morris 1989, 53–6). The Carmelites were informed by the mayor and burgesses that the Town Wall was to be built across the precinct in 1300 (Fraser 1961a, 19–20); by 1307 the wall had been built, but the Carmelites had already vacated the site *(Cal Chancery Warrants* **1**, 263; *Cal Pat R 1301–7*, 533). Apart from bisecting the site, it is not known what effect the construction of the wall would have had on the survival of buildings and layout of the precinct. The Carmelites were granted the use of the Cross Well for their supply of water, but the ensuing public outcry resulted in a judgement in 1278, which restricted the friars to one third of it for their private use. It is uncertain whether the well was located at the head of Pandon Bank or on Wall Knoll (Bourne 1736, 142; Brand 1789 **1**, 442; TWHER 1424).

The Trinitarians were granted the site in 1360 (*Cal Pat R 1358–61*, 339). The area appears to have stood empty in the time between 1307 and 1360, but we do not know how far the Trinitarians were able to reoccupy earlier buildings or needed to build afresh for their own requirements. Consequently, references in Mackenzie (1827, 137) and Oliver (1831b, 113) to remains of the old friary may refer to work of either foundation. These included a doorway and window and other vestiges in among houses, stables and a dunghill. A smith's shop is supposed to have stood over part of the cemetery (Oliver 1831b, 113). The Trinitarians were the Order of the Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives, and were neither mendicants nor a military order. Institutionally, they most nearly resembled the Augustinian Canons Regular, and, since they had no public preaching remit, they required only small churches. Moreover, since their resources were to be divided equally between the redemption of captives, the support of the sick and poor in their own hospitals, and their own support, they did not have great resources to invest in their buildings. The Newcastle foundation was to be a hospital, with a school as well as a chapel. Although by this time Pandon was subsumed within Newcastle, there may have remained a geographical sense in which this was a liminal place, appropriate for a hospital. According to Bazire (1953), a metrical life of the renowned but uncanonised Saint Robert of Knaresborough written in North Country idiom, if not written at Knaresborough Priory itself, may have been composed at the Newcastle Trinitarian house.

5.5.4.4 The Friars of the Sack and the Second Carmelite Friary

The first mention of the Friars of the Sack, or the Friars of the Penitence of Jesus Christ, in Newcastle was in 1266 (*Cal Pat R 1266–72*, 10). As this refers to a grant of land for the enlargement of their precinct (Harbottle 1968, 167) the friars must have been here prior to this date. By 1300 there were only three friars left, in 1307 only one (Brand 1789 **1**, 59). In 1274, a decree issued by the Council of Lyons had required that the order should be allowed to diminish and disband. There had been only nine houses in England, and of these the friaries at Berwick and Norwich were taken over by the Dominicans, and the friary at Oxford was subsumed by the Franciscans (Knowles 1889, 346; Harbottle 1968, 168). The Carmelites in Newcastle were allowed to transfer their house to this site from Wall Knoll in 1307. The location of the house of the Friars of the Sack must have lain between the later Clavering Place on the west, and Orchard Street on the east, and extended from a point south of the postern to the top of the riverbank.

Excavation carried out in 1965 to 1967 produced only one building that may have belonged to the Friars of the Sack. This was the church, which lay under and south of the modern Forth Street (Harbottle 1968). In 1889 Knowles had found T-shaped foundations with some upstanding masonry, and architectural fragments that could be dated stylistically to the 13th century. These included four capitals for octagonal columns with double-chamfered astragals and simple bell necks leading to a flat abacus, and a string course moulded with a slightly flattened, filleted bowtell on the north face of an east–west wall (1889, 346–50, Pls XXI and XXIa). He believed these to belong to the church and subsequent excavations by

Harbottle (1968) indicate that he might have been correct in his assumption. The standing fabric on the south side of his east–west wall contained a fireplace with a long segmental head, with simple chamfered jambs and head. To the east of this, there was a window sill and jamb, chamfered on the exterior and widely splayed on the interior (Knowles 1889, 348, Pls XXIb). The window was partially blocked by a pointed arch, chamfered on both sides. The wall at right angles to this longer wall contained a pointed doorway, of two chamfered orders, the outer one of which had a rounded hollow moulding (Knowles 1889 348, pl XXIc). None of these features need have been later than the late 13th or early 14th century. Knowles inferred that the building had been of considerable extent. He thought that the long wall that he had uncovered might have divided the chapter house on the north from a refectory or calefactory on the south, with dormitory above. He further conjectured that if the capitals had belonged to the church, then it would have had at least five bays with an aisle, or two aisles of three bays (1889, 349). Another fragment of window tracery from the site was found in 1925 and had hollow chamfer and cusp, and a glazing groove. It was thought to date to *c* 1400 (*PSAN* 1923 ser 4, **1**), 130–1). While it is known that by the early 14th century the Friars of the Sack had built chapels or churches at London, Lincoln, Bristol and Cambridge, the only known claustral building survived at Rye (Harbottle 1968, 168–9). Although there had been early speculation that part of the cloister at the Norwich Blackfriars had been built by the Friars of the Sack, this has never been proved (Nash 1925, cited in Harbottle 1968, 169). Consequently, there are no architectural remains with which to compare the Newcastle material.

Harbottle's excavation proved that almost all of the first church lay under Forth Street, but the foundations of the choir were recovered, and part of the wall above (Harbottle 1968, 179–83 for the following). This had a well-dressed chamfered plinth, and was 2ft 7 inches (0.79m) wide at the base. At least five buttresses appeared to have been of the same build as the original structure, but later buttresses had been added. Pottery provided a *terminus post quem* for the church of the early 14th century. The window glass that was recovered was dated in the report to the late 13th century (Harbottle 1968, 183, 218, fig 17), but could date to any point from the 1240s to the late 13th century. Consequently, it seems quite likely that these remains related to the church and perhaps some claustral structures built by the Friars of the Sack.

Later excavations against the Town Wall in Orchard Street, a location that would have lain within the precincts of both orders of friars, uncovered deposits of window glass, which dated to the 1240s to 1280s (Graves 1993, 119). These most probably came from the first church. An excavation on Clavering Place found sandstone flagging and cobbled surfaces dated to the mid-12th to mid-13th centuries, overlain by a clay deposit containing animal bones, charcoal and pottery. Over this was a spread of mortar and roof slates with some signs of burning, which could indicate the demolition of the monastery's outbuildings (TWHER SR 1998/23).

A plan published in 1968 showed Harbottle's interpretation of those parts of the complex recovered by excavation between 1965 and 1967 (Fig 5.26). In this, the south wall of the church was attributed to the Friars of the Sack, but the rest of the complex was most likely to have been built by the Carmelites from the early 14th century onwards (Harbottle 1968 fig 12). Harbottle concluded that the east and south ranges of the cloister had been built by the Carmelites and probably included the chapter house. The cloister walls were recovered, and diagonally laid floor tiles were found in three areas in the cloister walks. Most significantly, considering that this was an urban location, the cloister walks did not appear to have been overshot by first-floor rooms (Harbottle 1968, 200).

'A complicated system of small stone drains was found under the cloister walk' (Harbottle 1968, 192) and, although the excavators did not have time to investigate them, the system may imply attention to the supply of fresh water and removal of effluent, which characterises so many medieval religious institutions. Burials were located within the choir, and in a cemetery whose western boundary may have been found (Harbottle 1968, 183). As the mid-20th-century excavations found no evidence for a south aisle to the church, Harbottle concluded that Knowles's earlier discovery of column capitals indicated that the church must have had a north aisle (1968, 198). It must have been of

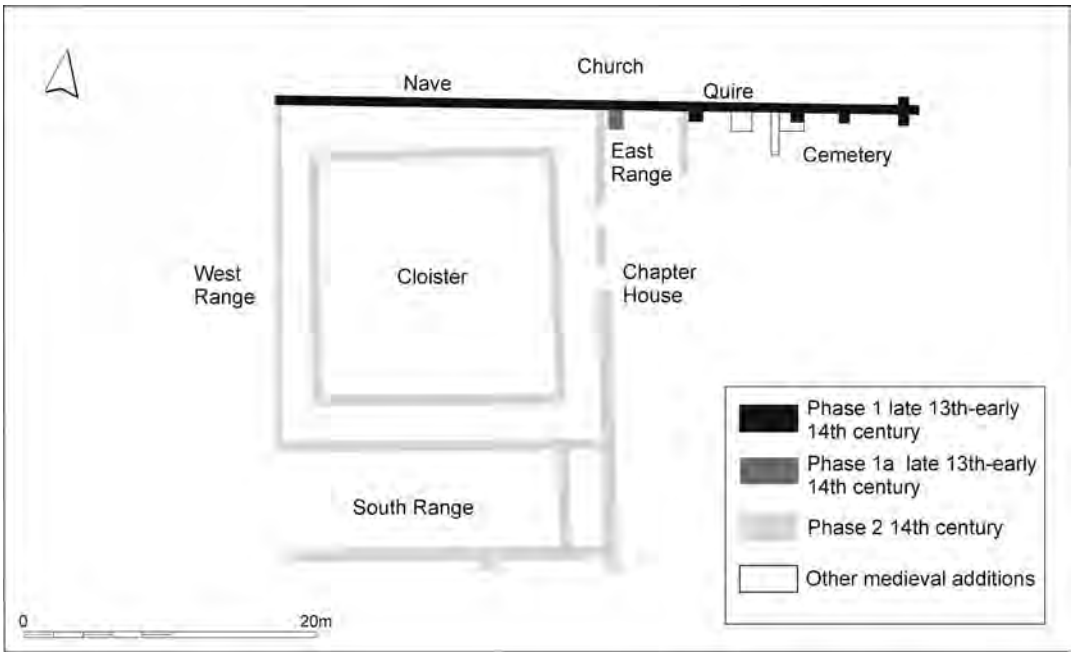


Fig 5.26 Comparative plan of excavation at the second Carmelite friary site (after Harbottle 1968, fig 12 and ASUD unpublished).

five bays in length, and compared with the known length of the cloister, of at least 75ft (22.86m) in length. There may have been more columns but the area to the west remained unexcavated. Few, if any, friars' churches are known to have been built originally with only one aisle (Figs 5.27 and 5.28). Some other excavated examples may have started as aisleless uni-cameral or bi-cameral rectangles, eg that at Hulne, Northumberland, dated to *c* 1240 (Hope 1890; Egan 1972, 90); that at Linlithgow, dated to the mid-13th century (Lindsay 1989, 68, Ill.29); and that at Aberdeen, dated to the late 13th century, although its identification as the church is very tentative (Stones 1989a, 51, 52 Ill.20). The remains at Perth were too fragmentary to be reliably identified (Stones 1989b, 25 Ill.3). Harbottle found a comparison for a north nave aisle at Sandwich, but it dated to the first enlargement of the house at the end of the 13th century; similarly at Brecon a northern nave aisle was added in the 14th century (Harbottle 1968, 198; Woodfield 2005, 18, fig 5). From this she hypothesised that the Newcastle Whitefriars' church was aisleless at first, and akin to that of Hulne, albeit longer; and that it had a nave aisle added later (Harbottle 1968, 199–200). It is thought that Hulne established a pattern for many of the Scottish Carmelite friaries (Stones 1989b, 24) and it may also, therefore, have influenced the Newcastle Carmelites to be content with the form of church they inherited from the Friars of the Sack. Only later did they add more space to the church. The simplicity of plan demonstrated by the Newcastle church, and those other northern churches, can be contrasted with far more ambitious and architecturally elaborate structures elsewhere in England and on the European mainland (cf Woodfield 2005, 17–20, figs 4–7).

Among the finds from this site, the pottery included several fragments of cooking pot from the 13th and 14th centuries; pieces of Scarborough-type wares; jugs of various wares; a cistern; part of a money-box; and some evidence for imports from the Netherlands or Antwerp in the 15th or early 16th centuries (Parsons 1968, *passim.* and 214). A reassessment of the window glass from the 1965–7 excavations suggests that there were two groups: one dated from about the middle to the late 13th century, and the other to the first half of the 14th century. A far larger quantity of glass was found in deposits against the Town Wall at the west of the precinct (Nolan *et al* 1993, 96). The majority of these fragments dated to the first half of the 14th century. The designs implied that at least some of the windows in the complex had figures under architectural canopies, with rinceaux diapers in the background. The windows may have been of the so-called band design, with panels of colour set between panels of relatively colourless grisaille, and with crown-and-castle borders (Graves in Nolan *et al* 1993,

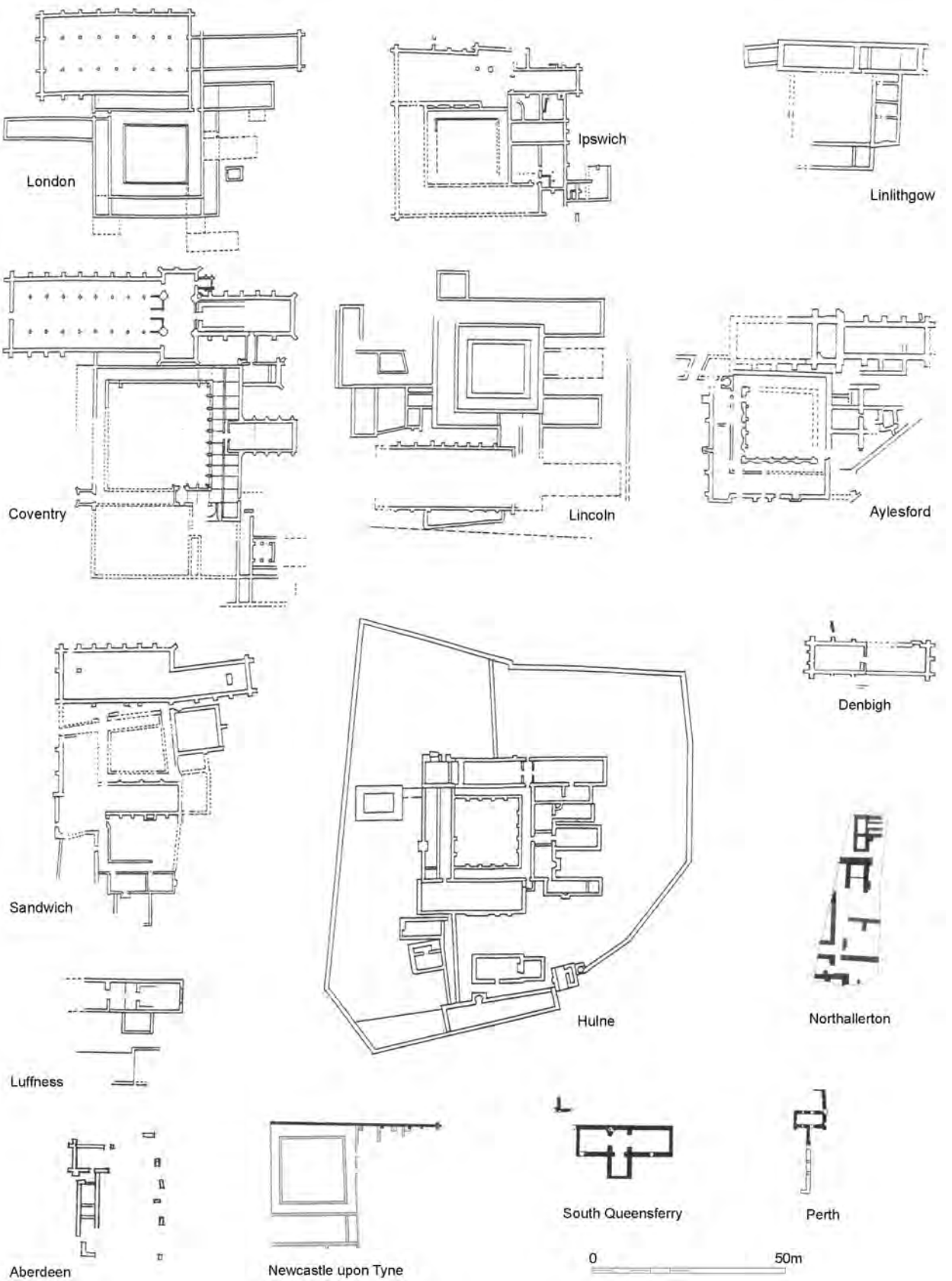


Fig 5.27 Comparative plans of Carmelite friaries from excavated and standing evidence.

118–23). Some new windows must have been installed later in the 14th or 15th century. An unusual concentration of fire-rounded edges implied that there was debris from window construction during the 14th century, as well as the more familiar Dissolution destruction debris.

5.5.4.5 The Augustinian Friary

This house existed by 1291 (*Cal Pat R 1281–92*, 441), but no foundation document survives. At the end of its life, the precinct occupied land bounded by Carliol Croft on the north, the intra-mural lane and Croft Stairs on the east, Cowgate (later Manor Chare) on the south and south-west, and the back of Pilgrim Street burgage plots on the west. Harbottle (unpub 2001) has traced at least six occasions on which the original landholding of the Austin Friars was expanded by gifts, of which the extents are often given. She characterises this process as piecemeal. Moreover, as three of the plots were much larger than the average burgage plot, she concludes that it is unlikely that the friars had settled in a built-up area. The precinct may have grown towards the east: a grant of 1323 described the plot as adjoining the dwelling place of the friars on the east side *(C Pat R 1321–24*, 282; Welford 1884, 59); and the licence for the alienation in mortmain of 3.5 roods in 1330 specified that space should be left between the friary and the Town Wall (*Cal Pat R 1330–34*, 3; Harbottle, unpub 2001, notes that Welford 1884, 76 mistakes the year for 1331). From this it might be concluded that the Town Wall was built before the friars' precinct had been extended this far.

Archaeological observation and excavation took place between 1969 and 1971; as the report is forthcoming (Harbottle unpub 2001) only a summary will be given here. On excavation, the principal friary buildings were found to lie immediately under and to the north of the Holy Jesus Hospital. Harbottle (unpub 2001) surmises that this must have brought the west end of the church and west range very close to, if not right on to, the Pilgrim Street frontage (Fig 5.29). As public access was important to orders of friars, and by comparison with known layouts elsewhere, it is likely that there was access *via* a main west door. Far more is known of the east end as part of the north wall of the choir, including a three-light 14th-century window (Fig 5.30), is retained within the tower which still stands to the north of the Holy Jesus Hospital. Examination of the space immediately west of the standing tower revealed a room, which lay parallel with the choir measuring 9ft × 27ft (2.74m × 8.23m). Remains of a door jamb at the south-west of the tower showed that there had been direct access from the choir to this room. It has been concluded, therefore, that, this was a sacristy. The choir seems to have been aisleless, measuring 24ft (7.32m) in width by approximately 60ft (18.29m) in length. It was divided into four bays. The full dimensions of the nave could not be determined but it may have extended 'at least as far as the east wall of the Soup Kitchen' (Harbottle unpub 2001). It had no north aisle, but whether or not it had a south aisle could be ascertained now only if the area between the Hospital and City

Fig 5.28 Burial within coffin beneath floor of Chapter House of Carmelite Friary.

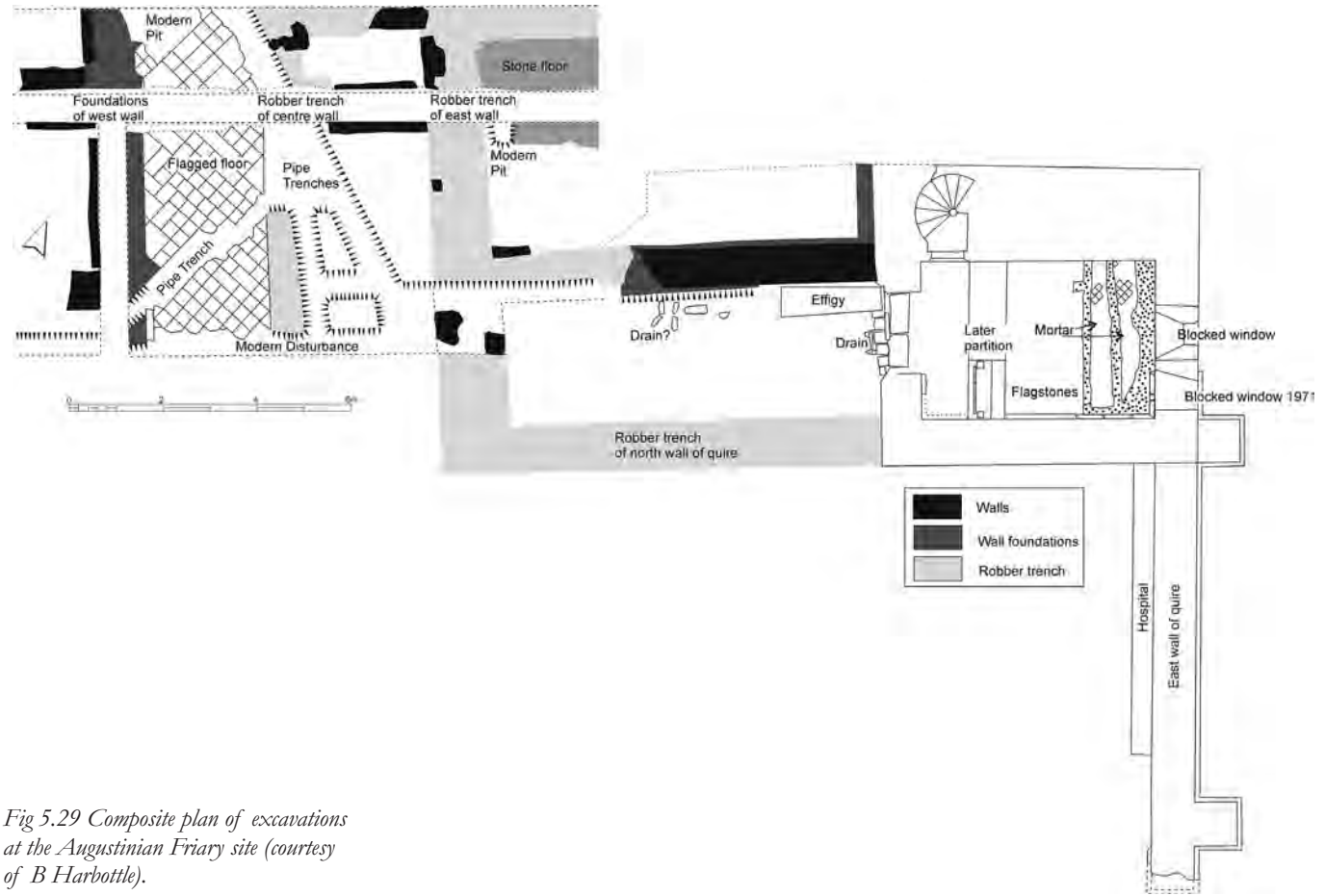


Fig 5.29 Composite plan of excavations at the Augustinian Friary site (courtesy of B Harbottle).

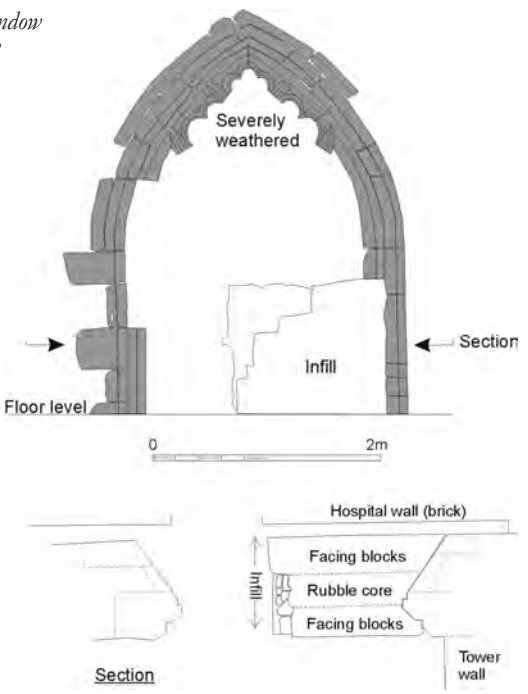


Fig 5.30 Elevation of north window of Austin Friary (courtesy of B Harbottle).

Road were to be excavated. The cloister was uncovered on the north side, with a cloister walk 8ft (2.44m) wide. Portions of a range on the east were located, with a medial wall dividing a room of unknown function from what appeared to be the east cloister walk, 9ft (2.74m) in width, with very fine stone paving, and built within the range, ie overshot by the rooms on the first floor. This form is known from other mendicant houses, and is usually interpreted as an accommodation to the restrictions of urban space, or as a way to economise on building materials (Greene 1992, 171). There was limited evidence for another room projecting from the east range at the north end of the excavated area. This may have been the chapter house.

A spread of masons' chippings, from *c* 0.06–0.15m thick, may have been related to the building of either the church or the sacristy (Harbottle unpub 2001). Among other finds

were medieval window glass, lead, floor tiles, and a range of ceramic sherds.

Burials were found within the area of the church nave, as well as two grave covers (Ryder 2002, 88, 119 fig 15). The effigy of a knight was discovered in the sacristy (Harbottle 2009, 35 fig 22; Harbottle unpub 2001, 13). The effigy has been identified by its heraldic arms as probably Sir Henry Stanton, and has been dated on the grounds of style, armour and biographical detail to *c* 1320 or immediately after (Milner in Harbottle unpub 2001, 14). The skeleton of a man and a number of other bones have been found in the cloister garth.

By considering the documentary evidence in conjunction with the ceramic evidence, window glass and architectural fragments, Harbottle concluded that it was unlikely that any of the friary buildings were built before the 14th century (unpub 2001).

5.5.5 Putative lesser religious houses

Embleton (1896) referred to a chapel of the Order of the Knights Hospitaller of St John of Jerusalem, which was thought to have existed on the Quayside, and speculated as to whether ruins of buildings once existing on the Quayside belonged to this institution. The existence of such a house in Newcastle is based on only a few unsubstantiated local references, rather than any history of the order (Embleton 1896, 262–3). Brand (1789 **1**, 22) referred to a 'very observable' stone house in Grindon Chare, with buttresses on the outside, and a stone-vaulted crypt that had been converted to a cellar. 'Human bones have been found here, and there is a tradition that this was once called St John's Chapel' (Brand 1789 **1**, 22–3). Richardson (1844, 24) reported that in May 1829 an old house on the Quayside had been pulled down, and a fine gothic window revealed in the east end of 'what is supposed to be the chapel of St John of Jerusalem'. It had buttresses on the west side and a crypt, and human bones had been dug up round about it. The town hutch purportedly contained a document endorsed with an agreement between the Prior of St John and the town of Newcastle, regarding a water gate (Embleton 1896, 261, citing Richardson 1844, 24). However, by a rather circuitous and none too reliable argument, Embleton identified a second structure described by Brand with the Knights of St John. This structure was a house standing between Grindon Chare and Blue Anchor Chare, with its front towards the quay. It had a balcony, 'supported by posts with shields on them' although no heraldry was either painted or carved on them (Brand 1789 **1**, 22). Embleton's chief reasons for attribution seem to have been its proximity to the river (thus connecting with the water-gate reference); and that the building had 'a character peculiarly knightly with its array of armorial shields, not at all an ecclesiastical one' (1896, 262). This was obviously a completely unfounded supposition, as the gatehouse of Kirkham Priory, for example, demonstrates. Embleton identified the second structure in Grindon Chare, to which Brand had attached the tradition of St John's chapel, as the great stone house of the prior and convent of Tynemouth (1896, 261; *see* chapter 5, section 5.5.5). A chapel below the Ouseburn dedicated to St Lawrence was said to have been dependent on the Priory of St John of Jerusalem. This latter chapel and its possessions were granted in 1594 to the Corporation. The remains of St Lawrence's chapel formed part of the glasshouse owned by Robert Todd and Co. (Embleton 1896, 262).

5.5.6 The hospitals

5.5.6.1 The Hospital of St Mary the Blessed Virgin, Westgate

The foundation of this hospital seems to have occurred in the mid-12th century under the patronage of Aselack of Killinghowe. Bourne has argued from collateral evidence that a grant was made to the hospital during the reign of Henry I (1736, 30). The hospital was established with two regular brothers and one chaplain for the service of travellers and the poor (Oliver 1924, 1–2; Knowles 1892, 194; Raine 1876, 203). A detailed discussion of the hospital's landholdings within Newcastle can be found above (chapter 5, section 5.3.2). By the end of the 14th century it owned property throughout the counties of Northumberland and Durham (Knowles 1892, 195–6). The position of the hospital may give an indication of the extent to which the town had developed at the time of its foundation (*see* section 5.5.3). Aside from its other holdings in the town, the immediate precinct extended from Westgate on the north to beyond the Town Wall on the south. This is clear from the much-cited petition the brethren made to the king in

Fig 5.31 Engraving of the Royal Grammar School, formerly the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Brand 1789, 1, opp 67).

Parliament in 1290, requesting permission to create a postern gate through the new Town Wall 'that had been built through the middle of their courtyard, leaving the greater part of their edifices on the outside thereof' (Brand 1789 **1**, 71 n. c; Knowles 1892, 195).

The parts of the medieval hospital that had survived as the Grammar School were demolished in 1844. There has been no systematic excavation on this site or any part of the precinct. Knowles undertook an assessment of the various antiquarian views that were then available (1892, 198–202). The plans produced by Corbridge (1723), Hutton (1770 [published 1772]) and Beilby (1788) indicated the position of the chapel, as did the 1862 Ordnance Survey map. They also showed 'domestic buildings to the south, parallel with and at right angles to the nave, and coinciding with the west front' (Knowles 1892, 198). This suggests at least part of a courtyard or cloister arrangement, as was common for hospitals (cf Gilchrist 1995, 21–32). Brand's engraving (Fig 5.31), dated 1787, showed the chapel nave arcade from the south side (1789 **1**, opp 67). The arches were pointed, but three of the bays had been blocked in as walls with square-headed windows of three lights dating to the second half of the 16th century; the westernmost bay was obscured by a projecting porch of two storeys. Corbels above the arcades indicate where aisle roofs were supported. On the left there was a range of buildings that occupied the position of the west side of the quadrangle. Knowles interpreted these as domestic in the 1787 engraving (1892, 198). The east side of the courtyard was enclosed by a high wall, above which the parapet of the chancel was visible. An etching by T M Richardson, cited by Knowles (1892, 198), gave a view from Westgate Street through the entrance gate. The two westernmost bays of the north side of the chapel could be seen, including the porch. A lithograph made from a John Storey drawing of 1844 gave Knowles the best indication of the chapel, and of the chancel in particular (1892, pl xvib opp 198; see also Gard 2004, 17; Fig 5.32). This showed an aisleless chancel with low-pitched roof, with eastern buttresses of double offsets. The east window was of five lights with 'flowing' tracery, which might indicate an early to mid-14th-century date. However, the outer two lights on each side are surmounted by adorsed daggers or mouettes that form uprights and could be in the same vein as the uprights which make

Fig 5.32 Storey's lithograph of the remains of the Hospital of the Blessed Virigin Mary, east end (after Knowles 1892, 198).

the north transept north window of Durham Cathedral one of the earliest intimations of the coming Perpendicular emphasis in the North East. The Durham window has been dated to *c* 1360 (Pevsner and Williamson 1985, 172), which may imply a slightly later date for the Newcastle hospital great east window. The south side of the chancel appears to have had two large windows with segmental heads, the subdivisions of which are unclear from the image. Between these, the drip course of a roof gable indicated that a structure must have projected out from the south wall of the chancel at right angles. This may have been a chapel or vestry. The space beneath this roof line was pierced with a number of openings that are difficult to interpret, but there was an upper storey to the structure at some point, perhaps having gone through at least two phases of use.

The rough sketches illustrated by Knowles (1892, pl xvii) include one that shows the west end of the nave. This had an extremely tall, round-headed arch, which had been blocked up. The buttresses on this wall were the shallow, flat pilaster type typical of Romanesque to early 13th-century architecture in the North. As these buttresses were presumably external, and as the blocked round-headed arch is so tall, it is suggested that there was a western tower to the chapel from the 11th or 12th centuries. Knowles also included a sketch by G B Richardson, made after the demolition of the chapel, which seems to show the same evidence that he discusses in relation to a sketch by Storey. These showed that a double-chamfered chancel arch with a moulded bell capital to its respond had been partially filled and narrowed with corbelling at a later point. Knowles interpreted this as a wide 13th-century arch that had been narrowed in the early to mid-14th century (1892, 199). The nave arch respond is not very clear, but Knowles interpreted it as of triple-shafted construction (1892, pl xvia opp 196; pl xvii opp198, 199), and it might indicate a 13th- or early 14th-century date. Richardson (1843–4) and Storey (1844, both in Knowles 1892, 198) made sketches of a clustered triple-shafted 'springer' with polygonal abacus and roll-moulded capitals, which is probably the capital of a respond; and a 'bracket' which looks more like a corbel and springer of three tapering bell necks, roll-mouldings and nailhead, with three roll mouldings above, the central one filleted. Both of these look early 13th-century in date. Knowles also drew one of two piers of octagonal form, with water-holding bases and roll-moulded capitals with nailhead, which he dated to *c* 1200 (1892, 199, pl xvi). The *sedilia* were divided into three, each with a simple pointed trefoil head, with a slightly hollow chamfered edge. There was

also a piscina with pointed head, again hollow chamfered at the edge; and two decorated stones from the spandrels of the western end of the south side of the nave, with trefoil, fleur-de-lys, stiff leaf and nailhead decoration, again dating to the 13th century.

Four column bases from the chapel's crypt were donated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1895 but can no longer be located (*PSAN* 1894 ser 2, **6**, 155). A piece of carved oak and three corbels were retrieved when the hospital was demolished (*PSAN* 1881 ser 1, **4** Appendix 2). A stone coffin was found in the Hospital precinct during excavations for the Stephenson Monument in 1865 (*AA* ser 2, **6**, 150) while a floriated grave cover was found on the site in 1890 (*PSAN* 1890 ser 2, **4**, 284; 286–7).

Knowles would not comment on the tall western arch, and felt that nothing recorded dated to the period of the hospital's foundation, but he may have been too pessimistic as the arch could have survived from a western tower, and the western gable of the nave may well have indicated an early core that was expanded in *c* 1200, the date to which most of the diagnostic remains point. If Knowles was correct in his interpretation of the chancel arch/nave junction, then there may have been a 13th-century chancel as well. The *sedilia* and *piscine* seem to support this, although they must have been retained and relocated when the chancel was altered in the 14th century. The chancel had a vestry or chapel on the south side, and a beautiful large east window. Knowles regarded the details and decoration of the hospital chapel to have been 'unequalled by any of [the other] Newcastle churches, which are unusually destitute of fine design and detail' (1892, 202). It is noticeable, however, that the hospital chapel must have received financial support at a time in the 13th century when the other parish churches were not similarly financed, but that it was left relatively unadorned after the first half of the 14th century, the point after which the parish churches did become the focus of architectural embellishment.

Although we have no archaeological evidence for the extent of the cemetery associated with St Mary's, at least fifteen grave slabs were recovered from the site at various times in the 19th century, ranging in date from the 12th–14th/15th centuries, although some have since been lost (Ryder 2002, 91–3, 123–5 figs 19–21).

The role of the hospital in supporting travellers may have been important as an aspect of the infrastructure supporting trade, as well as pilgrimage (Spufford 2002, 208). That a hospital should be deemed desirable by the mid-12th century may indicate the significance of the market in Newcastle by this time. Knowles also drew attention to the frequency of town's meetings held within the hospital as being 'very peculiar' (1892, 197): he cited as an example: 'A full guild of the town … was held at the hospital of St Mary, in Westgate, on the Friday before Valentine day, 1343, when several articles were sealed under the common seal of the Corporation.' The election of the mayor and officers of the town took place in the hospital 'from a very early period' until the 19th century (Knowles 1892, 197).

Fig 5.33 The remains of the Hospital of St Mary Magdalen (Richardson 1826).

5.5.6.2 The Hospital of St Mary Magdalen, Barras Bridge

The hospital of St Mary Magdalen, commonly called Maudlin, was located in the Pilgrim Street suburb, on what was to become Northumberland Street, and a little before the Barras Bridge (Fig 5.33). Brand thought that this institution had been founded by Henry I as a leper hospital, for a master, brethren and sisters (Brand 1789 **1**, 425). The earliest documentary evidence for it, however, dates to the time of Pope Alexander III or IV, the original of which Brand transcribed (1789 **1**, 425 n. f). This document confirmed to the master and brethren the possession of their house, gardens, rents, woods and other property and exempted them from tithes. It

housed 14 people within the hospital, each with their own room, coals, and 8 shillings per month. Fifteen more were housed 'without', and received varied amounts (Bourne 1736, 151). Brand interpreted these as a 'sort of out-patient' (1789 **1**, 429). The gifts of various benefactors were described including those of John Bland who had been master of the house in 1369 and chose to be buried on the north side of its chapel, near the High Altar, in 1382 (Bourne 1736, 151). Roger Thornton left money in his will to two 'lepremen' in 1429. According to a benefaction, the hospital included a consistory, a stable, and a 'bier' (presumably byre), and the chapel had a choir, suggesting a two-celled structure (Bourne 1736, 151).

This hospital occupied a classic location for leper houses – on a main approach road to the town, but at a little distance from the walled town itself. 'Placed at the margins of society to act as thresholds', the leper was 'ritually separate from society and symbolically dead' (Gilchrist 1995, 39). The leper hospital at Barras Bridge fulfilled a role of being visible to both the townspeople and visitors from this direction, in order to remind people of the role of the diseased in the economy of salvation in the medieval period. Leprosy, in particular, was thought to have been a disease caused by sexual sin (Gilchrist 1995, 39). It was therefore a poignant reminder to the healthy Christian body, represented by the town, of the fate of unhealthy Christian bodies, resulting from sin. The implications of this siting, at a date as early as the reign of Henry I, are discussed elsewhere (*see* section 5.3.3).

St Mary Magdalen's was supposed to have been dissolved by statute of Henry VIII in 1539/40. However, a lease dated 20 January 1542 refers to St James's chapel and the 'lazer-house neighe adjoyneing to the said hospital' and the brethren 'and sisters' of the same 'lazar-house' (Brand 1789 **1**, 427). Similarly, the certificate of the colleges and chantries in Northumberland and Durham of 1546 repeats the reference to 'bretherne and sisters' charged with receiving all such leprous folk as should happen to be taken with that kind of disease, but that since that kind of sickness had abated it was used for the comfort and help of the poor of the town that happened to fall sick in times of pestilence (Brand 1789 **1**, 427). Thus it was one of the institutions that survived the general dissolutions of religious houses and chantries. Queen Elizabeth seems to have granted the hospital away in 1582, but it was re-founded by James VI and I, and the last master succeeded in 1786 (Brand 1789 **1**, 425).

In Brand's time parts of the former hospital still remained, although they had been converted to dwelling houses (1789 **1**, 425). Richardson's etching dated 1826 is the only known view, but the hospital was demolished in or before 1830 when St Thomas's church was erected on or near the site (TWHER 296). The precise location is therefore unknown, but it is thought to have been on the north side of the west end of St Mary's Place, under St Thomas's churchyard, in a field that was labelled 'No. 16 The Magdalens' on a map dated to 1732 (TWAS MM MSS 1732 MM Q/1/52 (Long Box 62) and 285.68; TWHER 296). This confirms Bourne's description of its location as at the summit of a hill, beneath which was the well called St Mary Magdalen's Well, which was named after the hospital, as were several fields which were still called Maidlin Meadows (1736, 151).

Bourne (1736, 152–3) supposed that the word 'Barras' derived from the barrows or tumuli of dead people, possibly the lepers who had lived and died in the hospital. Bourne and Brand both thought that these graves would be in 'Sick-Man's Close' (Bourne 1736, 152; Brand 1789 **1**, 431 n. f). Mackenzie equated Sick Man's Close with St James's Close, which is where the Great North Museum is now, and noted that 'vast quantities of human bones' had been uncovered during building on the site (1827, 148–9). Harbottle, however, observed that the 1732 map of the hospital lands shows 'Sick Mens Close' [sic] where Brandling Village is, on the edge of Jesmond, and 'Dead Men's Graves' on the site of the 19th-century All Saints' cemetery, Jesmond Road (TWHER 299).

The hospitals of the *Maison Dieu*, and of the Trinitarian Priory, are discussed separately (chapter 5, sections 5.5.7.1 and 5.5.4.3 respectively).

5.5.7 The *Maison Dieu*, hermits, anchorites and aspects of voluntary religion

5.5.7.1 The Maison Dieu*, almshouses and the Grammar School*

The *Maison Dieu* was founded at the beginning of the 15th century by one of the leading

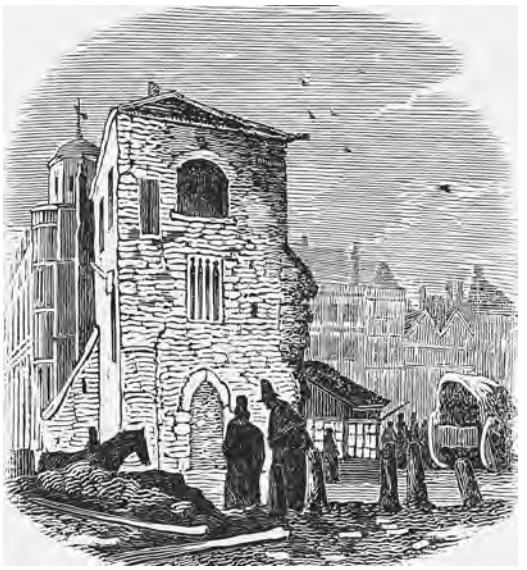


Fig 5.34 The Maison Dieu *(Richardson 1843).*

burgesses, Roger Thornton (*Cal Pat R 1401–5,* 207). Also known as St Catherine's Hospital or Thornton's Hospital, it was located at the east end of the Guildhall on Sandhill. It was pulled down in 1823 (Richardson 1843, 263). Richardson's illustration shows what appears to be a projecting, square-planned building, which must have been altered at the sides (1843, 264). One angle buttress shows on the north side. It had a two-centred, arched doorway, with a cusped, four-light, square-headed window above this; and a larger window with a depressed four-centred arch above, but which seemingly had lost any tracery. Richardson's illustrations are not necessarily to be relied upon as he often used composite images, in which imagination made up for any deficit in contemporary sources. This is emphasised by the fact that his illustration of the Sandhill (Fig 5.34), which he dated to 1826, shows an entirely different form of building (1846, 3). This was rectangular in plan, with a central major arched doorway, and a large east window above, arched, and of at least four lights, with what appears to be curvilinear tracery in the head, although the upper sub-divisions could be Perpendicular. There appear to have been smaller arches to either side at ground level. The upper, southern wall was pierced by a window with depressed, four-centred arch or rounded head: the rest of the window does not look at all medieval. The *Maison Dieu* was intended to be a hospital for the poor. Twenty-two years later, Thornton endowed the hospital with eight messuages and nine tofts (Hodgson 1917, 210–12). Its location was probably an indication of the significance of the bridgehead and Sandhill area as the most important entry point for travellers by sea and by road from the South. In a sense, it formed the westernmost portal of the approach from the east Quayside. The *Maison Dieu* at Berwick was similarly located on the main quayside. The Newcastle Quayside was at the same time both a fulcrum of trading activity and a liminal zone (*see* chapter 5, section 5.6.1), where the town reached its limits, and where locals met strangers. It was appropriate to have a religious institution here, and moreover one that announced the piety and wealth of a prominent townsman, integrated into the institutions of town government and commerce represented by the other functions of the Guildhall. It was the only major part of the Guildhall complex to remain unchanged when it was rebuilt in the 17th century, which probably demonstrates continuity in civic pride outlasting religious change.

At least one other set of almshouses for the poor is known in medieval Newcastle: Ward's Almshouses were endowed by John Ward, a rich merchant, one-time sheriff and mayor, during the reign of Edward IV. It was founded for 12 poor men and 12 poor women. It is unclear when it ceased to function as an almshouse, but the ruins were visible in the 18th century. The location is not known precisely either: it may have been on the south-west side of Manor Chare.

The foundation of the Grammar School was another significant outcome of merchant benevolence. Founded by Thomas Horsley – alderman, and mayor of Newcastle in 1525, and again in 1533 – it was endowed with all his lands in the town and was to be free for any student within or outside the town. It was one of about 20 grammar schools founded in England between the beginning of the 16th century and the Reformation. The Corporation settled an annual stipend on the new school (Brand 1789 **1**, 86). Originally, the school was located in a building on the north-east side of St Nicholas's church, in the churchyard. Speed's map of 1610 shows the Grammar School to have been in the churchyard, although it had probably relocated to the former Hospital of St Mary the Blessed Virgin in Westgate Road in or after 1599 (Brand 1789 **1**, 88–9, ns. p and q). The old school house was referred to in the

Common Council minute books in 1657, on account of a petition to transform it into a dye house. The plan was rejected and the building had become a 'draught-house' by the late 18th century (Brand 1789 **1**, 88 n. q). In 1827 it was the printing house for Mackenzie and Dent (Mackenzie 1827, 415).

5.5.7.2 Anchorites and hermits

Roger Thornton's will also mentioned a hermit or recluse living on the medieval bridge in 1429 (Brand 1789 **1**, 43 n. u, *see* chapter 5, section 5.1.6). The hermitage, or building on the bridge in which the recluse lived may have been referred to as late as November 1643 in the Corporation archives (Brand 1789 **1**, 43). In the 15th and 16th centuries, bridges, highways and ferries were the most frequent locations in which hermits would be found in England (Gilchrist 1995, 170). Bridges were particularly appropriate locations for hermits, as these people were considered to occupy a liminal zone on the margins of medieval society, between worldly and religious states, 'a bridge between social groups' (Gilchrist 1995, 159). In this capacity they were also consulted as sages and as people who could mediate disputes.

An anchorite named as John Lacey or Lacy was immured at the Dominican Friary at Newcastle between *c* 1400–34 Clay 1955, 210). He was a member of the Newcastle Dominican community, but he came from an armigerous family; he painted his arms in a manuscript that he composed and illustrated, and that survives in the library of the College of St John the Baptist, Oxford (MS. 94; Clay 1955, 210). Bequests to him are recorded in the wills of Lord Scrope in 1415, and of Roger Thornton, who may also have relied upon him as a chantry priest in 1429/30 (Knowles 1920, 320; Clay 1955, 210). Lacey's cell was within the precinct, but its exact location was not given in either will. Lacey depicted himself at the grilled window of what appears to be a two-storeyed structure (Clay 1955, pl xx, fig 1; Warren 1985, fig 7; Armstrong 2004, 35 and 69, fig 33). Lacey's Oxford manuscript is written in English and Latin, the English in vernacular Northumbrian dialect. He included not only offices of the church, but instruction on the Commandments, the Sacraments, the Seven Works of Corporal Mercy etc. His commentary on the Commandments has been regarded as more detailed than the celebrated version by Richard Rolle (Clay 1955, 211). He warned against a number of traditional customs and it is significant that the social grievances he lists mostly concern urban trade and commerce: 'To steal includes not only "occur" (usury) short measure, withholding dues, but bad craftsmanship, malingering or withholding wages. A merciless pawnbroker robs the poor; eg if one pledges a garment ("lene a weed") and cannot reclaim it on the proper day, the goods must not be forfeit' (Clay 1955, 211). His knowledge and the focus of his concerns implies that he did indeed act as someone to whom townspeople resorted for advice, to whom they could turn as an arbiter in disputes.

The Scropes, at least, seem to have been keen supporters of anchorites, as the same Lord Scrope also left money to others in the North of England, as had Sir Stephen le Scrope, his predecessor (Hardy 1873, 587; Raine 1864, 32). Anchorites and anchoresses are known to have lived attached to Dominican houses at Lancaster (Farrer and Brownbill 1908, 103), Shrewsbury (1414), Norwich (from 1482 to the 1530s), Salisbury (1498), Bristol (1512), London (1521) and Worcester (1538) (Clay 1955, 213; Gilchrist 1995, 184; Gilchrist 2005, 98). Given these comparable documentary records, Newcastle, therefore, may have been one of the first Dominican houses to support a recluse.

The church of St John had an anchorite's cell on the north side of the chancel, which later became the vestry (Clay 1955, 205; Armstrong 2004, 10–11; 59, fig 15). A cross-shaped aperture or squint in the north wall of the chancel that allowed the inmate to view the mass and elevation at the high altar is all that remains. Clay reported another opening through which the anchoress, Christiana Umfred, could communicate, but no trace of this remains (1955, 205, fig 1). The squint on the north side of the chancel of St Andrew's church may have been cut through in order to assist the so-called 'boxing' of masses in the later Middle Ages. In an era when so many low masses were held at subsidiary altars, it was forbidden for the consecration of more than one mass to be instigated at the exact same instance. Hagioscopes or squints allowed priests to 'stagger' the consecrations. On the other hand, as has been noted by Armstrong (2004, 38), the squint only affords a very restricted view of the high altar, and – in

keeping with the kind of physical evidence remaining in other churches throughout Britain – it could well be the vestigial indicator of an anchorite's cell within the church. Gilchrist and Oliva (1993, 76) suggest that many structures that had been built as anchoresses' cells on the north sides of churches, were later converted into vestries.

5.5.7.3 Chapels

The area around the medieval town contained many chapels, eg St Mary's Chapel at Jesmond, St Ann's Chapel at Byker, those at North and South Gosforth (eg Brand 1789 **1**, 197–8). There were two within the area of the old town: the important chapel on the bridge, dedicated to St Thomas (described in detail above, chapter 5, section 5.1.5), and the far lesser chapel of St James, which was associated with the Hospital of St Mary Magdalen, at Barras Bridge. The earliest certain reference to this chapel was in 1542 when the Master of this hospital was described at its 'previsour' (Brand 1789 **1**, 427). According to Bourne, however, it was an ancient institution called St James's Kirk, and probably a chapel of ease to St Andrew's church, in whose parish it stood, 'for Jesmond and Sandiford, and other Out-parts of that parish' (1736, 153). A watermill stood near it (Bourne 1736, 15). The chapel was believed to have been located on the north side of the Barras Bridge, and Brand recorded that the western end had been converted into a cow-house (1789 **1**, 196). The eastern part of the structure was a dwelling house, the fireplace of which stood on the site of the former communion table. Old arches had been bricked up and the eastern window could still be identified in the stairs of an adjoining house. The whole building, according to Brand, was called 'The Sick-Man's House' (1789 **1**, 197). It was partly demolished and rebuilt in 1787–1800 and came to be called St James's Place. It was eventually destroyed when the Hancock Museum was built in 1878 (TWHER 297). One may speculate as to whether the dedication to St James the Apostle was particularly apt for a chapel located on an approach road to town; a chapel at which travellers, whether religious pilgrims or those traveling for any other reason, could rest and offer up prayers before continuing their journey.

Bourne referred to the well that was called St Mary Magdalen's Well beneath the hill on which the hospital stood (1736, 151, *see* chapter 5, section 5.5.6.2). Wake (1937) thought that it could be located on Isaac Thompson's map of 1746 as the source of a stream near the Maidlins but this has been questioned as the location on the map is not called 'well' (TWSMR 1503). There were at least two holy wells in Gateshead (St Elyn's Well, St Mary's Well).

5.5.7.4 Open-air crosses

The religious houses, parish churches, hospitals, and chapels and related cemeteries all imbued both the approaches to the town, and the spaces within the town, with religious meaning. The streets themselves, the features which joined these nodal spiritual points, were punctuated with open-air monumental crosses, lending a further sanctification to the everyday comings and goings of those in the streets.

The most renowned of these was the White Cross, for which the earliest reference may have been 1409/10 (Brand 1789 **1**, 199). Tradition held that it was located in the market street, near the junction with Low Friar Street. According to the Milbank manuscript it was pulled down in 1625 (Bourne 1736, 48 n. i). The White Cross was probably the focus for the markets in this upper part of the town, and stood among the Hucksters' Booths, which would have been the temporary, possibly even semi-permanent, stalls used by market stall-holders. Indeed, the cross gave its name to that part of the street from the Hucksters' Booths to almost the Nun Gate (Bourne 1736, 48). There are two earlier references to le Frerecrosse (1334) and le Frerescrosse (1342), which may have referred to the White Cross. While this name may have arisen solely from proximity to the Dominican Friary, it also raises the possibility that the cross was used as a preaching cross by the Dominicans, or even that they built it specifically as a preaching cross, as they did elsewhere. Knowles presumed that it was associated with the Dominicans, but could not clarify whether they had built it, or merely used it (1920, 324).

The Cale Cross on The Side was also the focus for selling goods, in this case cale (cabbage) or broth (1736, 123). It is referred to in a document relating to St Margaret's Chantry in St Nicholas's church in the reign of Richard II, but also in the time of Edward III (Bourne 1736, 123). In Bourne's time, the Hucksters' Booths were no longer located around the

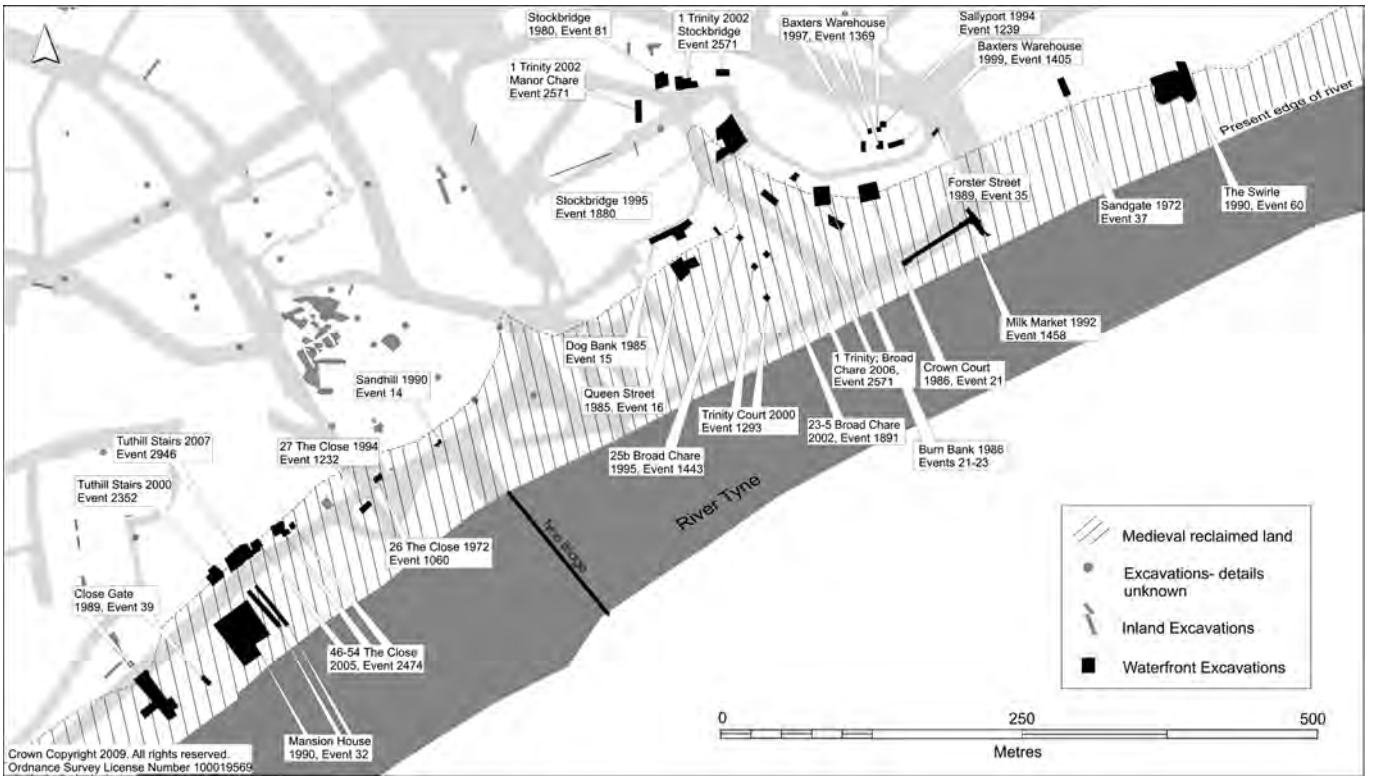


Fig 5.35 Events related to the medieval waterfront.

White Cross, but the Cale Cross instead, where milk, eggs, cheese, butter, and so forth were sold (1736, 48). As with the former cross, the Cale Cross also gave its name to part of the street, from the cross to the Sandhill. It was still standing in Bourne's time (1736, 123): 'a fair Cross, with Columns of Stone hewn, covered with Lead', but the description implies a post-medieval structure, even if there had been a medieval cross at the core.

Both Bourne and an indirect reference concerning the supply of the New Water in the 17th century inform us that there must have been a 'large cross' towards the south end of the Flesh Market which was removed in 1700 (Bourne 1736, 55; Brand 1789 **1**, 445 n. l). Bourne said that in the account of Ficket Tower ward, there was a mention of a great cross, standing within the Maudlin Barras; and that according to the Milbank manuscript a stately cross had stood at the end of the Barras Bridge in front of the chapel (1736, 152).

5.6 The development and use of the waterfront

Several excavations have now established that the relatively flat strip of land forming the north bank of the River Tyne in Newcastle city centre is artificial, having been created through gradual, piecemeal reclamation and periods of consolidation (Fig 5.35; Table 5.6). The major period of reclamation was between the 13th and 15th centuries, but it began in the 12th century, possibly as early as the early 11th century on The Close, and continued into the 17th century with ballast-dumping in the east. The principal sources of evidence have been the excavations (from west to east) at the town wall on The Close/Hanover Street 1986 (Nolan in Nolan *et al* 1989, 38–9); adjacent to the Close Gate 1988–9 (Fraser, Maxwell and Vaughan 1994); the Mansion House 1990 (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995); The Close in 2004 (Archaeological Services University of Durham 2004; Mole forthcoming); 10–17 Sandhill 1995 (Dore unpub 1995, TWHER SR 1995/13); Queen Street and Dog Bank 1982–4 (O'Brien *et al* 1988); Stockbridge Magistrates' Court 1995 (Truman 2001) and subsequent evaluations around the Stockbridge area between 1991 and 2005; One Trinity in 2006 (TWHER SR 2006/161); the Crown Court 1986 (O'Brien *et al* 1989); the Milk Market 1993 (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1995); Sandgate 1992 (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994);

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
6	5.39	Hanover Street 1986	revetting wall of unmortared rubble, 13th century. Post hole and gulleys, 14th century. Early brick fragments, mid-14th century	Nolan *et al* 1989, 38–9
14	5.35	Sandhill 1990	sandstone reclamation rubble; wattle-lined rectangular pit, timber-lined water channels	Passmore *et al* 1994, 17
15	5.35	Dog Bank 1985	early reclamation and pottery kilns	O'Brien *et al* 1988
16	5.35	Queen Street 1985	piers and docks constructed and filled in, 1250–1300	O'Brien *et al* 1988
21	5.35	Byker Chare, Crown Court 1986	buildings erected on reclaimed land, 14th century	O'Brien *et al* 1989, 199
23	5.35	Burn Bank, Crown Court 1986	quay wall, 1250–1300	O'Brien *et al* 1989, 199
32	5.35	Mansion House 1990	postern in wall. Landfill deposits, 15th century	Fraser *et al* 1995
35	5.35	Forster Street 1989	Little intact stratigraphy – layers with med pot cut into sandy natural slope of Pandon Dene	TWHER SR 1988/8
37	5.35	Sandgate 1972	13th-century surface. 13th-16th-century pottery; bone and wood finds. Ballast dumps 15th century or earlier; large stone raft	Daniels and Cambridge 1974
39	5.35	Close Gate 1989	Foundation trench of Town Wall. Sandstone Town Wall with stabilizing deposits and retaining walls. Land reclamation deposits with timber and wattle revetments.	Fraser and Vaughan 1994
60	5.35	The Swirle 1990	13th- and 14th-century ballast dumping. 14th-century lime kilns; revetment wall and possible wharf. 14th–16th-century landfilling over demolished kilns; series of 17th-century building floors and industrial waste dump	Ellison *et al* 1993
81	5.35	Stockbridge 1980	sandstone clay-bonded walls above natural clay, med buildings, poorly preserved.	O'Brien unpub; archive in TWHER
1060	5.35	26 The Close 1972	two buildings: late 13th–?17th century; ?17th-19th century	TWHER SR 1972/1
1232	5.35	27 The Close 1994	medieval quayside wall and infill	archive in TWHER
1239	5.35	Sallyport 1994	small evaluation, slope of Pandon Dene cut by later features	TWHER SR 1994/10
1293	5.35	Trinity Court 2000	complex of walls and surface above 2m of river ballast in small evaluation trench	TWHER SR 2000/15
1369	5.35	Baxter's Warehouse 1997	evaluation: Tr 1 revealed ballast dumping immed under modern; Tr 2 had 12th–13th-century pot in reclamation silts, truncated by modern leveling	TWHER SR 1997/27
1405	5.35	Baxter's Warehouse 1999	four evaluation trenches. Trench 2 yielded medieval pottery, medieval land reclamation deposits and two stakeholes	TWHER SR 1997/27
1443	5.35	25b Broad Chare	small evaluation trench recorded 2m of med stratigraphy, under cobbled yard with 17th-century pot	TWHER SR 1995/2
1458	5.35	Milk Market 1992	reclamation deposits; small wharf with steps, cobbled beaching surface and mooring post	Heslop *et al* 1995, 224
1880	5.35	Stockbridge 1995	reclamation deposits, wattle hurdles, pottery late 12th century. 12th–13th-century timber structures, 13th–14th-century stone structures succeeded	Truman 2001, 104
1891	5.35	23–25 Broad Chare 2000	evaluation revealed stratigraphy destroyed by cellaring	TWHER SR 2000/1

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
2352	5.35	Tuthill Stairs 2000	nine evaluation trenches. Revetments with ballast and midden deposits	TWHER SR 2004/26
2474	5.35	46–54 The Close; 2005	dump deposits, stone-packed wattle revetment, frontage buildings with drains in side alleys	Mole forthcoming
2571	5.35	1 Trinity (Stockbridge) 2002	series of revetments from late 12th–early 13th-century reclamation with timber fence and buildings	TWHER SR 2006/161
2571	5.35	1 Trinity (Manor Chare) 2002	late 13th–early 14th-century industy under late medieval dark earth	TWHER SR 2006/161
2571	5.35	1 Trinity (Broad Chare) 2002	three phases of revetement wall, late 12th–early 13th-century with sequence of buildings (east side of Broad Chare) constructed *c* 13th century – demolished in 19th century	TWHER SR 2006/161
2946	5.35	Tuthill Stairs 2007	reclamation deposits under frontage properties, from late 12th century	Mabbitt forthcoming

Table 5.6 The development and use of the waterfront

Sandgate 1972 (Daniels and Cambridge 1974); and The Swirle 1990 (Ellison *et al* 1993).

The evidence suggests that there were differing processes of reclamation, which may well have influenced the final forms of street arrangment and patterns of ownership on different parts of the fully developed waterfront. These different patterns of development were probably responses to differing requirements within the town. The waterfront was divided into three areas by the way in which the cliff edge was cut by the natural inlets of the Lort Burn in the west and the Pandon Burn in the east. The Lort Burn was spanned by a low bridge, which was situated slightly behind the cliff edge; the Pandon Burn by the Stockbridge. The three resultant lengths of waterfront had different road systems (Bown, Nicholson and O'Brien 1988). To the west of the Lort Burn, there was no public quay. The Close ran parallel to the river, but was set back from it, with houses with private wharfs between the road and the water. The principal roads from the western part of the developing town led to the water via The Side and joined The Close and the Tyne Bridge on Sandhill. The stretch of riverside between the Lort Burn and the Pandon Burn, and beyond Pandon Burn to The Swirle, formed the Quayside, a public quay, which formed a 'unified system with an east–west link across both Burns' (Bown, Nicholson and O'Brien 1988, 156). The Quayside formed a continuous street along the riverfront, with long, thin lanes (the Chares) leading back from this to the cliff edge. A second lateral lane ran along the top of the cliff, behind the Chares. When the extra-mural suburb of Sandgate and The Swirle were developed for occupation rather than industry, two main roads ran parallel to the river. Blocks of buildings, interspersed with lanes, linked these two roads in a grid-like pattern, but the way in which this pattern was arrived at was different to that which created the Chares.

In the following, the dates established for the earliest activity will be summarised first; then the processes of reclamation in the three areas identified above will be explored. Apart from the putative Roman-period deposits at the foot of Castle Stairs on The Side (Passmore *et al* 1991, 23), a single sherd of Roman pottery found on The Close in 2005 (Mole forthcoming), and some redeposited sherds of putative Saxon, and Saxo-Norman pottery from the Crown Court reclamation deposits (Bown 1988, 153), the earliest waterfront activity is represented by the remains of a late-Saxon wicker-lined pit on The Close that was excavated in 2004 (Archaeological Services University of Durham 2004). The radiocarbon age for the wicker-lined pit is 1040±40 BP (Beta-205871), which gives a calibrated date range of Cal AD 910–20, and Cal AD 960–1030 at 2 sigma (95 per cent confidence) (Jason Mole pers comm). An organic revetment connected with land reclamation succeeded this feature, for which the radiocarbon date is 900±40BP (Beta-205870), which gives a calibrated date range of Cal AD 1030–1230 at 2 sigma (95 per cent confidence) (Jason Mole pers comm). The subsequent datable activity on this site was 12th century.

To the east of the Castle spur, the Dog Bank pottery kilns – which, strictly speaking, were

located above the water's edge – yielded a mean age suggested by eight thermolumiescence samples from the kiln lining of AD 1150–60 (O'Brien *et al* 1988, 31). On the other side of the Pandon Burn, the reclamation of the Stockbridge area also appears to have begun in the late 12th century (Truman 2001, 102–6), a date confirmed by two subsequent evaluation trenches in this area. Between the two (Dog Bank and Stockbridge) the Trinity House complex sits on the western side of Broad Chare and the Pandon Burn, on what appears now to be the level area of reclamation. However, renovation within the cellar of the chapel in 2002 provided an opportunity for English Heritage to dendro-date the buildings timbers. A felling date of 1183 was produced by one of the beams of the chapel undercroft, with possibly four others dating to that period (English Heritage Report 63/2002, 5). Close examination of the topographic survey done in 1982 for the East Quayside project shows that the chapel stood on a small promontory overlooking the confluence of the Pandon and the Tyne (TWHER SR 1983/2). As the ground to the east and south was reclaimed from the river, this location retained its significance as the site for the much later chapel of Trinity House.

At the western edge of the medieval waterfront, where the Town Wall runs to the river edge, naturally deposited river sand was located at a depth of 3.25m O.D. This deposit had been sealed by a thick band of clay, and several subsequent, thin deposits of pure sand, each bearing traces of intense burning associated with 13th-century pottery. These deposits were attributed to periodic flooding of the foreshore 'interspersed with occasional human activity' of an unspecified nature (Nolan *et al* 1989, 38). The uppermost layer was cut by a 'series of features which could be interpreted as forming a rather flimsy wooden structure' (Nolan *et al* 1989, 38). A low revetting wall of unmortared rubble, running roughly parallel with The Close, banked with redeposited clay, and pre-dating the Town Wall, has been interpreted as a possible embankment to the foreshore as distinct from a quay. The excavators considered that this might have been part of the formal layout of The Close as a street in the 13th century (Nolan *et al* 1989, 38–9).

Dated to the 13th and 14th centuries, there was evidence for a substantial post hole, from which gulleys radiated at right angles. It was interpreted as a large timber post supported by bracing posts. This observation is similar to one made farther east on The Close by Archaeological Services Durham University in 2005 (*see below*). Was it used as a mooring post for boats? Some sort of wooden structure was built against the revetment wall, and to the south of it, in the early 14th century, and was still standing when the Town Wall crossed the site in the mid-14th century. Twenty-five fragments of brick in this mid-14th-century phase appear to be earlier than any found at the castle excavations (Nolan *et al* 1989, 46). Some further ground-raising, distinct from reclamation, might have occurred in the 14th and 15th centuries by the dumping of redeposited midden rubbish (Nolan *et al* 1989, 40).

A major excavation took place in 1990 under the site of the former Mansion House. The western side of the excavation (Property 1) revealed a substantial sandstone revetment wall, capped by an earthen bank, which retained landfill deposits on the north to a depth of *c* 3.0m (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 151). The fill consisted of flint and limestone boulders and cobbles in a clay silt matrix. The boulders were not local: they had come from southern England and Yorkshire, as well as Durham (Shiel, McHugh and Jones 1995, 201–2). Sandstone steps had been inserted into the upper fill. The evidence represented a waterfront advance of at least 11.50m south of The Close, creating a platform *c* 25m broad on the north shore of the river (Fraser, Janfrey and Vaughan 1995, 153). The scale of the deposits required to make this platform suggested deliberate ballast dumping.

A new waterfront was built a further 5.40m to the south of the first, but still within the 13th century. The landfill was very similar to that used in the first episode. The wall was built of roughly dressed sandstone, and bonded with silty clay. The height of the landfill indicated that the wall must have been *c* 3.95m in height before it was truncated by later activity (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 153–4). The landfill was sealed by clay layers, which extended back over the earlier waterfront. These clay layers were topped by another layer made up from the artificial build-up of manure and occupation debris, presumably redeposited from original sources off-site.

A third substantial new waterfront was constructed in the 14th century, after the adjacent property to the east had advanced to the new position (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 154). This front represented an advance of 4.50m from the previous wall. The revetment wall was 3.90m high, and 1.60m thick. The landfill on this occasion, however, was made up of a series of deposits, which had been subject to water action and included burnt waste. One layer was composed of chalk fragments that had originated from southern England. Above this, there was a layer of organic waste, made up of rotting floor or bedding material, which included evidence for concentrated chicken faeces and/or guts of domestic animals (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 154). The quantity of material means that it must have been brought to the site from elsewhere. This material was covered with further landfill consisting mostly of sand, but including imported chalk. Therefore this was ballast, but of a different nature to earlier, 13th-century ballast (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 154).

The last advance on the westernmost site took place after the waterfront on the eastern site had moved to a new position, but still some way south of the 14th-century location on Property 1. This new line of advance on Property 1 took the waterfront a further 11.75m south of the old limit (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 154). The advance coincided with the construction of the Town Wall eastwards along the edge of the river from the riverside tower. The Town Wall was 2m thick, and between 3m to 4m in height, and must have represented a formidable and impressive barrier. A postern gate, or watergate, which would have had a wooden doorway, was also located (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 155); later views of the waterfront show that several of these gates punctuated the wall along its length. The landfill deposits continued as the wall was constructed towards the east. These deposits were large-scale, and had been tipped from the south towards the north. They consisted of clean sands and gravels, but there were sandstone and mortar lenses implying building debris. A temporary surface of crushed brick sealed these deposits. This might suggest that brick was imported in quantities abundant enough at this time (the 15th century) either to provide enough cargo damage to supply this surface, or to sacrifice undamaged bricks. A third possibility, however, is that it was a demonstration of deliberate landscaping and conspicuous consumption (*see* chapter 5, section 5.6.1).

A more solid surface was eventually laid down, comprised of sandy loam mixed with sandstone rubble, mortar and gypsum. A drain was constructed, as was a cobbled surface, which probably represented part of the surface of an alley leading from the Watergate to The Close (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 155).

The easternmost property of the 1990 excavation was located beneath the former Mansion House. Deposits had survived only in the southern half of the site. The 13th-century riverfront probably advanced in stages reflected in the corresponding advance of two north–south walls (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 157–8, fig 9). An early dock might have been represented by the easternmost of these walls, at a time when the southern edge of reclamation was indicated by wall 525. There were no other deposits with which to interpret the relationship between the features at this time. In the 14th century, the riverfront of this property was advanced 4.5m beyond that of Property 1. The north–south walls were extended southwards, and a new south wall constructed. This had the effect of extending the entire rectangular platform southwards into the river, giving the dock on the east side a deeper berth for ships. All three walls were faced with finely dressed ashlar blocks on the riverward side. The walls were cored with rubble and the internal faces were left unfaced (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 158). The material dumped behind these walls consisted of sands and gravels interspersed with lenses of ashy, sandy loam. This has been interpreted as ballast dumping, but of a different nature to that used in the earlier reclamation processes: the large limestone rubble was absent from this stage onwards. A further low sandstone platform was built abutting the southern wall of the main waterfront wall, and projecting southwards down the foreshore. Analysis of the soil profile of the upper surface of the dumped material showed that there had been garden activity, succeeded by residential and/or industrial activity (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 158–9). There was an oven on the west of the property.

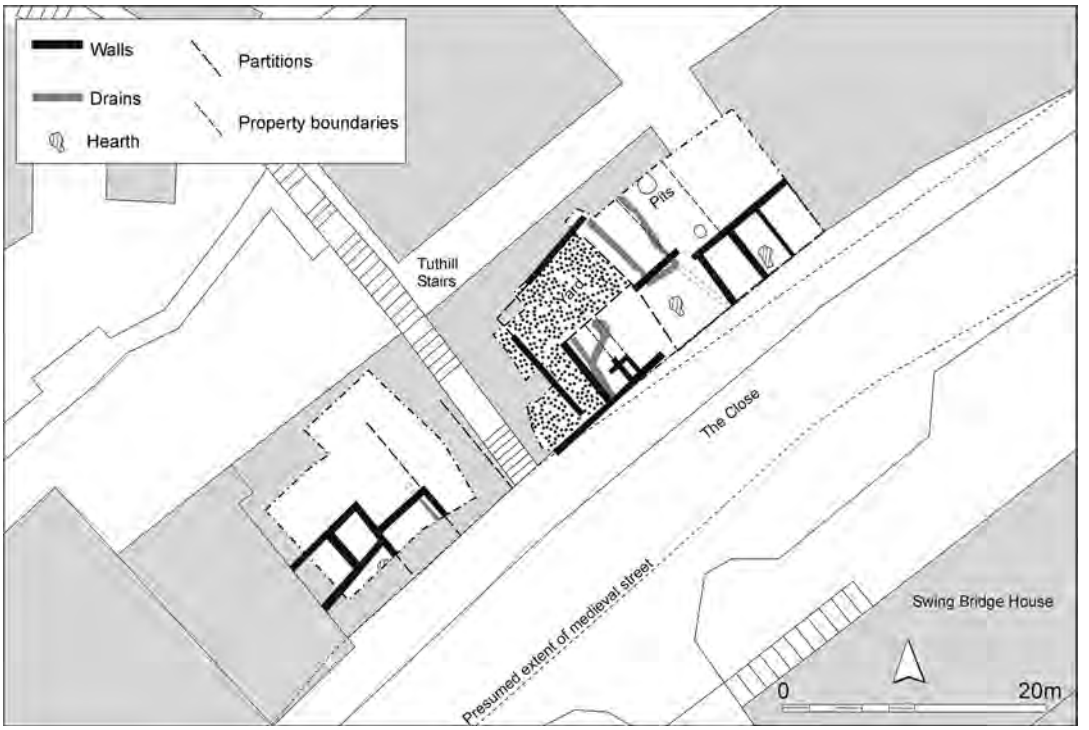


Fig 5.36 Excavation at 46–54 The Close (after Mole, forthcoming).

The property was reorganised in the early 14th century when a large south range was built abutting the river frontage, with a west range, and a courtyard to the north (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 159). When the south range was first built it would have had water on three sides, as the waterfront to the west had not been reclaimed as far south as the southern wall of the new range, and as the dock to the east was still open. As this dock was still open and operable, it was argued that at least part of the buildings had a commercial use (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 159). The west range had a first-floor latrine, suggesting that this was, at least in part, domestic accommodation. The courtyard was initially cobbled, but subsequently a large hearth or oven was placed in the south of the courtyard and partially walled off (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 161). In the early to mid-14th century the eastern dock was filled in, with a series of large sand and ash deposits being dumped behind a substantial and well-dressed retaining wall. A north–south wall was built within the area of the former dock, and may have formed the boundary wall between two properties created by this infilled dock. The infill material consisted mainly of silty sand, and included large quantities of early to mid-14th-century pottery, very similar to material used to reclaim ground east of the town wall, south of Close Gate, described above (Fraser *et al* 1994). Analysis of the organic content led to the suggestion that this material resulted from the disposal of domestic food rubbish (Huntley 1995, 198). The eastern part of the dock was probably infilled at a slightly later date as the pottery inclusions were of a slightly later date. The completed dock infill was given a paved surface and buildings built over it on a north–south alignment, which suggested an eastern range to the existing complex. The complex at this stage might have resembled that surviving at 32 The Close, although the original disposition of domestic and commercial functions cannot be known, if it is appropriate to make such distinctions at this time.

A new waterfront wall was built in the 15th century, 11.5m to the south of the previous waterfront. The same wall was picked up in a separate trench 30m to the east, which suggested to the excavators that 'several properties had extended out to a similar line' (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 162). The reclamation to the west of Property 2 reached the same line only when the town wall was constructed. The Town Wall abutted the southern waterfront wall of Property 2, and it is thought that this line of waterfront,

extending to the east, might have determined the alignment and final extent of the Town Wall (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 162). There was evidence for the extension and alteration of one of the buildings on Property 2 after the new waterfront was created in the 15th century.

The excavation at 46–54 The Close, took place mid-way between Tuthill Stairs and Long Stairs (Fig 5.36). This excavation recovered dump deposits rich in organic material, such as hazelnut shell and bone, one context containing a large mass of wattle, and another with high lime content. These deposits had been truncated by the construction of a stone-packed timber and wattle revetment (Mole forthcoming). The timber provided an AMS date of Cal AD 1135±95. In form, the revetment was very similar to those found adjacent to Close Gate and identified as a primary phase of quay building (Fraser, Maxwell and Vaughan 1994, 97). The whole excavated area in this part of the site (Trenches 3, 4 and 5) was a red-and-black deposit made up of burnt sand and charcoal between 20mm to 60mm thick. The site was divided by a number of culverts.

The excavation at Tuthill Stairs found large upright timbers that were once part of two separate revetment phases. One of these timbers had a felling date of AD 1137, although it might have been reused. Reclamation deposits of midden material and ballast made up much of the site (TWHER SR 2004/26 13–14).

The deepest deposits recovered during the restricted excavations at 10–17 Sandhill, beneath the Tyne Bridge, comprised a layer of yellow sandstone rubble in excess of 1m in depth, whose voids were filled by water-lain silts. This was interpreted as reclamation (Archaeological Practice 1995). A possible wattle-lined rectangular pit or box, and timber-lined water channels could have been associated with water-based industries.

At the east end of The Quayside, excavation in the Milk Market in 1992 (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1995) proved that the reclamation deposits consisted of a mixture of sands, gravels and coarse pebbles, in varying proportions throughout the exposed depth. The natural riverbed could not be reached on this occasion. Geological analysis demonstrated that the material had varied origins, some of it deriving from the Thames estuary, perhaps around Dartford (Johnson 1995, 233). This excavation investigated the extension of the Town Wall on the east side of the town, where it reached the riverfront. Immediately to the east of the wall, a cobbled beaching surface seems to have been created almost as soon as the wall was completed. A mooring post or similar structure was erected through this. Subsequently, several layers of river deposit accumulated, but were capped by another cobbled surface, which has been interpreted as providing a stable surface for waterfront activities (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1995, 224). Some 3m to the south of this, a similar sequence was found, except that the uppermost layer in this phase seems to have been created out of redeposited material from the Sandgate midden.

The excavations at Stockbridge Magistrates' Court and the Crown Court sites are discussed in detail below (chapter 5, section 5.8.1). For the purposes of understanding the development of the waterfront as a whole, however, they can be summarised as follows. The Stockbridge excavations revealed at least three advances on the waterfront, each aligned roughly north–south and advancing from east to west (described in more detail below). The reclamation deposits were up to 1m deep. Initially, a sequence of wattle hurdles was used to hold back deliberately dumped material (Truman 2001, 104). The final deposits for the earliest phase comprised domestic debris. Pottery from these contexts seems to date the earliest reclamation to the 12th century, and the earliest building phases on the reclamation to probably the late 12th century. Evaluation trenches around Stockbridge have confirmed a sequence of timber structures in the 12th to 13th centuries, succeeded by stone revetments and structures in the 13th and 14th centuries. Ballast was confirmed as the main reclamation material held behind the third revetment in the southernmost of these evaluations. Once established, domestic structures were built on this platform. To the north and north-west of the site, evaluation trenches confirmed a deposit of 'dark earth' in the 14th to 15th/16th centuries, or even perhaps as late as the 17th century, which seems to have been deliberately deposited and spread. Comparison with the Crown Court and Queen Street excavations proved that reclamation of the foreshore in both locations proceeded at the same time.

The Phase 1 quay wall found in the area to the east of Burn Bank on the site of the Crown Court had been built and abandoned between 1250 and 1300, at the same time as the piers and docks at Queen Street were being constructed (O'Brien *et al* 1989, 199). The pottery assemblages from each site were very similar in character. On the higher ground to the west, Byker Chare was established. The first buildings were erected more or less simultaneously on Byker Chare and Queen Street Phase 5 (the 14th century), while Broad Garth and Fenwick's Entry were laid out. At the same time, deliberate dumping was carried out in the 14th century in order to raise the height of the reclaimed surfaces. This might have been, in part, a response to periodic flooding, or in anticipation of flooding (O'Brien *et al* 1989, 200). Ballast could have been used to build up the ground surface as a preventative against flooding in the 14th century. The excavations at Stockbridge confirmed that the northern area of the Pandon Burn inlet was being developed and used at a period earlier than that identified for the Burn Bank and Byker Chare (cf property deeds from the 1230s–1250s in Oliver 1924, 118 no. 188; 122 no. 195; 127 no. 205). The general finds assemblages were similar between the Crown Court and Queen Street sites: fragments of ships' timbers, pieces of caulking, cordage and textile among foreshore debris, and dumped material (O'Brien *et al* 1989, 200). There was, however, an interesting distinction between the patterns of rubbish disposal across the Crown Court site. On Byker Chare, the debris was local and domestic, predominantly food waste; on Burn Bank, by contrast, the material seems to have derived from a wider area brought to this spot deliberately for dumping.

A series of revetments were also found at the One Trinity excavations north of Stockbridge (TWHER SR 2006/161). The earliest feature on the site was a 12th-century cut 1.5m deep and 1.6m wide, possibly a boundary ditch or drain. In the late 13th century the first revetment was constructed in timber along the southern fronting onto Stockbridge, with clay built up behind it (TWHER SR 2006/161 22). A series of stone revetments replaced it during the 14th century. For the first stone revetment, rectangular sandstone blocks were used and later it was reinforced with river cobbles and sandstone pieces and an additional wall. At first clay was used to infill behind the revetment but eventually midden material was also dumped against it (TWHER SR 2006/161 24). In the 14th–15th centuries the surfaces on either side of the revetment were brought to the same level. Elsewhere on the site a second revetment wall, built in stone in the late 12th to 13th century, was found with a ballast deposit behind it and was extended upwards and eastwards soon after its construction (TWHER SR 2006/161 28). Domestic occupation of the area appears to have begun in the late 13th or early 14th century, when flagstone floors and an oven appear.

5.6.1 Discussion

Prior to excavation, documentary evidence suggested that The Close had been laid out as a street in the 13th century (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 121). The earliest document related to the eastern end *c* 1260, when the king's road next to the *hoga* was the southern boundary of a property, which lay on the bankside below the Castle (Oliver 1924, 76–7, no. 108; cited in Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 145). The excavators thought that the road must have developed westwards, because the roadway at the west end was not mentioned until *c* 1272, when the road formed the northern boundary and the river the southern edge of a property described in a deed (Oliver 1924, 94 no. 140; Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 145). In an earlier deed relating to adjacent property, the *hoga*, or bankside, formed the northern boundary, and no mention is made of the road (Oliver 1924, 21, no. 18). Both properties were thought to lie in the vicinity of the Close Gate, or possibly outside it (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 145–7). As an incidental point, the latter, earlier property had belonged to the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and a property at the far west end of The Close remained in their possession in 1830–1, located on the east side of the Close Gate, and on the north side of the street, with the bank still forming the northern boundary (Oliver 1831a, 2, no. 60). The date, then, does not indicate a westward development of reclamation *per se*, but a *terminus post quem* for the formalisation of the street.

Combined archaeological and documentary evidence suggests that reclamation occurred at a number of points both east and west of the bridgehead. Simultaneously, reclamation

was taking place at Stockbridge and Pandon. As ballast-dumping occurred on both sides of the medieval bridge, smaller boats might have been used to convey this material to the emerging Close on the west side of the bridge, in a reversal of the method used to convey coals from the western quays to larger ships anchored on the east of the bridge.

The 13th-century landfill on The Close, as at The Swirle, was found to include imported stone. This was most probably brought to Newcastle as ballast in ships that were empty of cargo, and that would leave the port with wool, coal and other commodities. It has been argued that, on The Swirle in the 14th century, shipmasters were encouraged to bring limestone to the site as ballast, to feed a localised limeburning industry, and that they might well have been paid for the stone by Newcastle burgesses keen to expand their waterfront (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994, 224–5). Much later excavation uncovered concentrated lime among the debris fill of the 13th-century reclamation at 46–54 The Close. It appears that a similarly mutually beneficial relationship between the dumping of stone ballast and lime production, albeit on an unknown scale, could have existed on The Close as early as the 13th century.

A property deed, dated to between 1251 and 1259, described land situated with the Tyne as its southern boundary, between the properties of Walter Nef and Galfridi Guntier (Oliver 1924, 90–1, no. 132). The document refers to lime kilns explicitly on the site. By 1276–7, a property in 'le Close' extended from the river to the road and bordered on the land of one Galfridi de Hoga (Oliver 1924, 78–9, no. 111). Could this be the same Galfridi? The 1276 property was transferred to John Fleming, burgess, wool merchant, keeper of the Exchange at Newcastle, a collector of murage, and bailiff several times (Oliver 1924, 79). However, this same Fleming held property in 1279–80, on the site that became the Earl's Inn, which can be located with a reasonable amount of certainty as having been between Javel Groupe/Grip and Bower Chare, on the south side of The Close. If these connections are correct, then a fixed point can be located in The Close from which it might be possible to trace the location of other early historic properties. Moreover, the existence of lime kilns in the mid-13th century complements the excavated evidence for building in stone on The Close at this time, and provides an industry that could have used some of the limestone otherwise deployed in landfill make-up. The association may be circumstantial, but it raises the question of whether payment for ballast dumping at this time was organised through the Exchange and town chamberlains, and was thus a formal mechanism of merchant control. In the 1270s the Town Wall was being constructed in the north of the town, but might ballast dues also have been counted under 'murage', as, strictly speaking, river walls were being built? If shipmasters and agents had to report to the Exchange or Guildhall for their principal transactions, it would make this the best place from which to organise and direct the dumping of their ships' ballast. As the town clerk and chamberlains received the revenues from coal ballast in the town hall on Sandhill in the 17th century, this could indicate a continuation of an older medieval practice (Grey 1649; Charleton 1885, 301; Middlebrook 1950, 58).

The landfill ballast deposits on The Close changed in the 14th century, and were mainly made up of sand instead of stone (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 154). This might mark the point after which imported limestone ballast was directed to The Swirle instead of The Close. (The earliest of The Swirle kilns could have been in operation shortly before this, but it does not negate the point, as the bulk of the kilns came into use in the 14th century).

The process of reclamation and development on Newcastle's waterfront is similar to that uncovered at other medieval coastal and riverside towns in northern Europe, for example: London; Hull; King's Lynn; Bergen, Norway; Lubeck, northern Germany (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 207; O'Brien *et al* 1988, 156). The historical development of trading in Newcastle can be understood in terms of a struggle engaged in by the burgesses of Newcastle to achieve a monopoly on the Tyne in competition with the Priory of Tynemouth and the Bishop of Durham (O'Brien 1991). The detail recovered from excavation on Newcastle's waterfront can now be related to those political and economic dynamics, as not only the result of social and economic groups within the town asserting their power and identity, but the means by which they could do so. As has been explained above, the progress of reclamation appears to have been piecemeal,

advancing from individual quays, with docking spaces in between. Both here and on The Close the significant events seem to have been the decisions to create the continuous platform of raised ground between Sandhill and Pandon and the creation of streets over the piers by the end of the 13th century. It is unclear whether each of the streets had its own water-gate and landing stage before the continuous quayside was created, possibly in the latter half of the 14th century.

Fraser's excavations in 1990 showed that the waterfront above Tyne Bridge developed as a series of stages with individual properties being enlarged at different rates, from the 13th century at the latest. 'At any one time a common alignment appears to have been rapidly established on adjacent properties, although the only evidence for a cohesive strategy for the waterfront in the medieval period occurs with the construction of the section of the Town Wall between the Riverside Tower and property 2 (... subsequently the site of the Mansion House)' (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 207). The length of Town Wall in question was built in the early 15th century, as was the corresponding stretch running west of the Sandgate, towards the Guildhall (cf Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1995, 215; Harbottle 1968; Nolan *et al* 1989; Fraser, Maxwell and Vaughan 1994, 89–91).

The town's investment in its riverside infrastructure was considerable, and the quantity and value of maritime trading as far as the Baltic, the Low Countries and France grew enormously from the second half of the 13th century (O'Brien 1991; Wade 1994). Is it legitimate to ask what is meant by 'the town' at this point in history? It is not known who was laying out the plots, or who was controlling the process of reclamation. The role of religious institutions in the process of reclamation is not understood, although the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Westgate certainly leased out land on The Close. The Customs of Newcastle upon Tyne were formulated before the mid-12th century and gave the burgesses certain privileges and monopolies (*see* chapter 5, section 5.1). It might be supposed that, in the early years, the Town Court did not have sufficient accumulation of capital in excess of the farm owed to the king with which to embark on a single-phase, unified project of reclamation.

Land transactions gave up rights of all land to the ground-ebb of the tide, thereby allowing reclamation on the part of the individual owner or lessee. Perhaps the initial piecemeal development of reclamation reflects the efforts of individuals. The remarkable thing, then, is that there were periodic attempts to create a unified water frontage, and that in these might be seen the beginnings of communal action on the part of the burgesses and the pooling of capital. Much of the reclamation can now be dated to the 12th century, with stone structures appearing in the 13th century, although 12th-century structures were evident at Stockbridge. It should be noted that the Merchant Guild was confirmed in 1216, and afforded those burgesses who had specifically mercantile interests to pursue goals of mutual interest with a greater coherence and greater collective resources from this point on. It was from the ranks of the merchants that bailiffs and the officers of civic government were chosen. It can be argued, therefore, that the chronology and form of the waterfront development can be seen in terms of the political maturity of these groups. By 1308 a court action seems to indicate that these groups already had formed an elite class within the town. Further, the nature and progress of reclamation in Pandon seems to have been consonant with that uncovered at Queen Street and Fenwick's Entry (O'Brien 1988), using wattle revetments and prodigious dumping behind. This raises the question as to what level of co-operation existed between the inhabitants of Pandon and Newcastle prior to the incorporation of the former into the latter in 1299.

The earliest deposits seem to have been made up of mainly domestic or small-scale industrial debris. However, from the 13th century, ballast was used as the principal (although not exclusive) reclamation infill, certainly at Stockbridge, the two excavated sites in Sandgate, the Milk Market, The Swirle, and several known points on The Close. From this it might be thought that the early reclamation attempts were the result of co-operation between townspeople, many households or workshops combining to provide the waste needed. The same phenomenenon seems to have been evident in the build-up of the area to the east of Burn Bank. Low meat-bearing bones indicated that the deposits that made up the landfill on the Mansion House site at

the west end of the riverfront were derived from the dwellings of the lower classes. Ironically, written records indicate that The Close contained houses of many of the town's most notable inhabitants (Davis and Bullock 1995, 191–7). The scale of the ballast dumping implies a formal direction of dumping in order to establish the extended quay. However, not only the dumping of ballast, but perhaps also the deliberate spreading of 'Newcastle dark earth' to the north-west of Stockbridge, dating from the 14th through to the 17th centuries, and even the redepositing of material from the Sandgate midden immediately east of the Town Wall, at sometime between the 14th and 16th centuries, implies corporate direction of land-forming and landscaping operations.

It is clear that the majority of the waterfront chares have been given different names at different times. Some chares were mentioned in documents of the early 14th century, the Key was used at least four times up to 1366, but the Keyside or Quayside was not used until 1376 (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 121; *AA* ser 3, **5**, 57 n. f for 1332 and 1366; *Cal Pat R 1343–45*, 537 for 1345; *Cal Close R 1354–60*, 387 for 1356). How the names were formed is unclear. Some were obviously derived from individual's names, for example Philip's Chare in 1430 and the 16th century became Palester Chare in 1736 (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 121; Bourne 1736), implying that they might have held the majority of properties, or perhaps the first or end property in a chare. Some were named after physical attributes (Dark Chare, Broad Chare), some perhaps after commodities, for example Spice Lane became Spicer Lane, and Peppercorn Chare gained its name at some point between the 16th century and 1736, having gone through at least two names in previous centuries (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 121; Bourne 1736).

There is a paradox in that the waterfront could be seen to form part of the urban periphery but, once established, its role was to facilitate the central developing function of the town, to be the hub of its trade and commerce. This role was *sanctioned* through the location of the Exchange and Guildhall or town hall. A Guild Merchant was granted to the town in 1216, although the first surviving reference to a Guildhall is in 1400. We do not know what form this structure took, or whether it had a specifically designated predecessor. The Town Court, among other essential borough and Merchant Guild institutions would have met in this building. As described above (chapter 5, section 5.5.7), Roger Thornton gave money for a *Maison Dieu* or hospital to be built onto the east end of the Guildhall at the beginning of the 15th century, adding a further spiritual sanction to the administration of the town's economic and political affairs. A 'new house' was mentioned in the town's accounts in 1509 (Grundy *et al* 1992, 443), while Leland described a 'square haul place for the towne', and in 1576 a new quay was built here (Charleton 1885, 301; Brand 1789 **1**, 29, n. q). It is presumed that this is the complex of buildings depicted, albeit sketchily, in a Cotton manuscript view of Newcastle *c* 1590 (British Library Cott. Coll. Aug.II f.2; Foster 1995, xiii fig 1). Little can be made of this, except that there is an impression of crenellated towers of different heights and many windows overlooking the river, perhaps adjoining the Quayside wall on the east and a large rectangular building at the bridgehead on the west.

The town hall or principal Guildhall of a town in the early modern period was often regarded as a metaphorical doorway into the urban community (Tittler 1991, 128). There seems to be just as strong a case to be made for the Guildhall having fulfilled an analogous role in the Middle Ages. Oliver noted that Newcastle property transfer deeds sometimes recorded that they were made 'in the court, or in the full court, of the town, or in full gild', or that the witnesses to deeds demonstrated the same (1924, xix). Obviously this refers to the gathering of people rather than a place, but once an appointed structure had been built for such purposes, the metaphor of a doorway through which property could be entered into would be applicable. The necessity to execute the deeds in the Town Court became obsolete in the 15th century, except where women were concerned (Oliver 1924, xxi). It is unclear whether apprentices would have been indentured in this building, but as the indentured companies held their meetings in the 'Pentas' of the Guildhall in the late 16th century, they could have met in some other part of the complex before this date (Middlebrook 1950, 58). It is quite likely that freemen were admitted here, and certain that newly arrived shipmasters, factors, agents and merchants would have been required to report here for

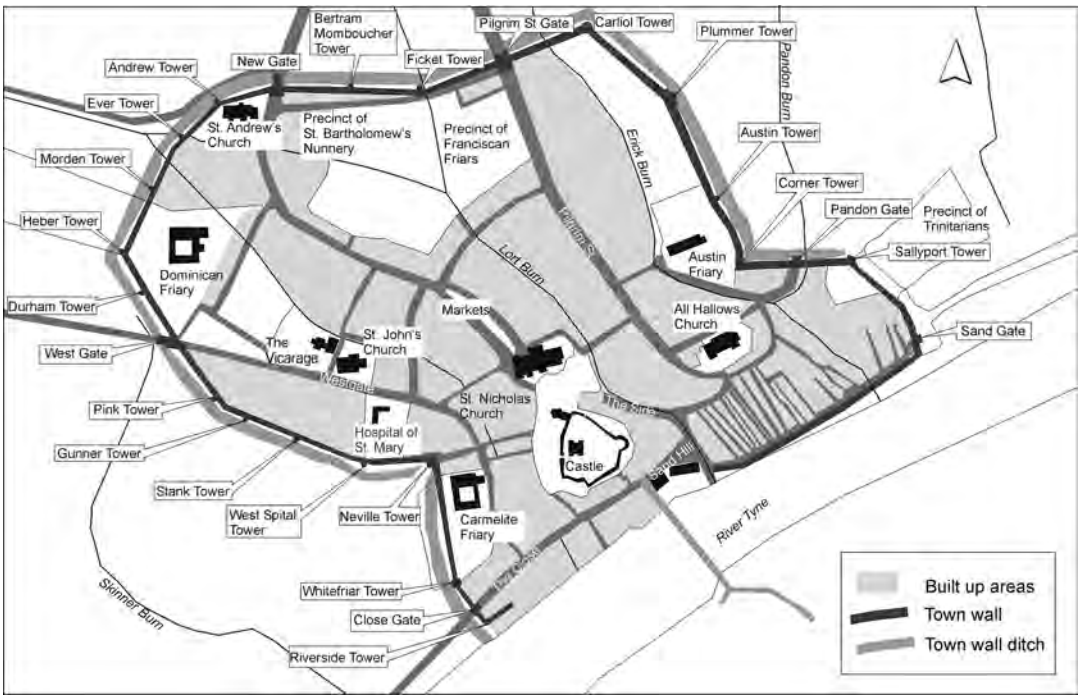


Fig 5.37 The towers and gates of the Town Wall.

the weighing and admission of their goods, and for the paying of revenues on coal, ballast, salt, grindstones and other goods to the town's clerk and chamberlains (Grey 1649; Middlebrook 1950, 58). Furthermore, the position of the Guildhall at the end of the bridge, the major landward approach from the south, made it a physical gateway too. The bridge could be used as a ceremonial approach to the town, as in 1503, when Henry VII's daughter Margaret was travelling north to marry James IV, King of Scots. The princess and her entourage entered Newcastle across the Tyne Bridge: 'Within the said towne, by ordre, the bourges and habitants war honestly appoynted. The stretys war hanged, and the window loupps, topps, and schipps was so full of people, gentylmen and gentylwomen, in so great nombre, that it was a playsur for to se' (Mackenzie 1827, 18, quoting Leland).

5.7 The Town Wall and town margins

A little after a century and a half of urban existence, the town embarked upon a programme of construction to create the largest and strongest defensive walling in the kingdom outside London. The fact that less than a tenth of this monumental structure survives today is perhaps the main reason that the town is noted for its industrial rather than its medieval heritage. The defensive circuit (Fig 5.37; Table 5.7) was 3.60km (2 miles) long and 30m wide, and in its final form comprised 19 towers, around 40 turrets, six towered gates, two posterns, embattled curtain walling between 3.50m and 4.20m high, and with an outer ditch, 21m wide. Within the wall, a road ran around much of the circuit (though not through the monastic precincts) providing access to the parapets (via the towers) and preventing (to some extent) building encroachment from adjacent properties. An idea of the visual effect of the circuit on the way the town was perceived is provided in an unattributed watercolour of the late 18th century or early 19th century in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle (Fig 5.38). The wall tops of both gates and curtain wall were garrisoned by stone effigies of men-at-arms. Two survive and are displayed in the Castle keep, and accounts of their remembrance or discovery are frequent in the antiquarian literature (eg *PSAN* 1932 ser 4, **5**, 253–4).

Building upon the speculations of the town's 17th- and 18th-century historians (Grey 1649, 78–9; Bourne 1736, 10–18; Brand 1789 **1**, 1–19), the first analytical survey of the Town Wall was produced by Sheritan Holmes in 1895 for the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle (Holmes 1896, 1–25). The previous decade had

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
4–5	5.39	Hanover Street, 1986	sand underlying clay beneath the Town Wall foundations	Nolan *et al* 1989
6	5.39	Hanover Street, 1986	town wall uncovered. Built on steps cut into the slope, sandstone stepped footings, ashlar on more level ground. Inner face of roughly coursed rubble. Lane behind wall with ground of redeposited waste, 14th–15th-century pottery	Nolan *et al* 1989
7–8	5.39	West Walls, 1986	ditch and wall footings recorded in two trenches; poss. track for friars' bridge; ditch re-scoured for Civil Wall	Fraser 1989, 51–61
9	5.39	Corner Tower, 1987	survey and analysis of the Corner Tower curtain and turret on City Road	Harbottle *et al* 1989, 72–4
10	5.39	Quayside, Town Wall, 1987	approximate position of wall established	Nolan *et al* 1989
11	5.39	Corner Tower, 1978	Croft Stairs ditch uncovered with 14th-century pottery	Tullett 1979, 179–90
13	5.39	Close Gate, 1968	footings of Town Wall recorded	TWHER SR 1968/1
17	5.39	Orchard Street, 1988	Town Wall through former brewery recorded in advance of consolidation	TWHER SR 1990/7
18	5.39	Carliol Tower, 1989	Croft Street; six trenches, wall footings, ditch and Civil War bastion recorded	Nolan 1993, 93–150
32	5.39	Mansion House, 1990	riverside un-enclosed	Fraser *et al* 1995
34	5.39	Milk Market, 1905–6	wall recorded during quayside road works: seven courses tall, both riverside east–west wall and north-south spur	*PSAN* ser 3, **2,** 62–3
35	5.39	Forster Street, 1989	Town Wall not found in area very heavily disturbed during the construction of the City Road	TWHER SR 1989/8
39	5.39	Close Gate, 1989	Closegate wall (30m) , riverside tower and riverside wall (8m) excavated	Fraser *et al* 1994
42	5.39	Cannon Cinema, 1990	excavation of town ditch, largely recut in Civil War	Heslop *et al* 1992
110	5.39	Gunner Tower, 1964	foundation of semi-circular tower recorded	Harbottle 1967, 123
113	unprov.	Stockbridge, 1886	sections of Town Wall uncovered	*AA* ser 2, **11,** 236–9
511	–	Westgate, 1860	lower half of stone parapet figure from Town Wall found	*AA* ser 2, **5**, 149
1011	–	West Spital, 1848	stone parapet figure from Town Wall found	*PSAN* ser 4, **5**, 253–4, AA ser 1, **3**, 1855, Part 2, 11–12
1012	–	Neville Street, 1852	stone parapet figure from Town Wall found	*AA* ser 1, **4**, 1855, Part 2, 17
1014	–	Pandon, 1881	two fragments of stone parapet figures from Town Wall found	*PSAN* ser 4, **5**, 253–4
1015	–	Pandon, 1882	headless stone parapet figure found	*PSAN* ser 4, **5,** 253–4
1016	–	Melbourne Street, 1932	one parapet figure and one parapet figure head found	*PSAN* ser 4, **5**, pl. XV, 285
1017	–	Newcastle, undated	stone parapet figure found	*PSAN* ser 4, **5,** 253–4
1390	5.39	St Andrew's churchyard, 1995	footing of wall excavated and recorded	Teasdale *et al* 1999, 29–43
1458	5.39	Milk Market, 1992	down slope and section of riverside wall recorded to ensure protection during construction of new revetment	Heslop *et al* 1995

Table 5.7 The Town Wall and the town margins

Fig 5.38 Watercolour of Town Wall and towers from the east, artist and date unknown (courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle).

seen rising interest in the subject occasioned partly by controversy over the demolition of the Carliol and Gunner Towers in 1880 and 1885 respectively, and also by further discoveries following the disengagement of the stretch along the City Road (Hooppell 1886, 236–9). Further detail was added by Brewis (1934, 1–20) and Blair (1937, 123–8), providing an understanding of the chronological and structural framework of the defences that has been developed, but not substantially replaced, by more recent excavation and survey (Fig 5.39) on the surviving sections (now in the ownership of the Corporation) by B Harbottle and J Nolan for the City Archaeology Unit (for summaries see Harbottle and Clack 1976, 120 and 1989, 29–32).

An almost complete run of murage grants beginning in 1265 and ending in 1384 encompass the main building campaign, but say nothing of the starting point or direction of work over that long period. For this, we need to use secondary documentation, in the form of petitions for compensation or access from landowners along the line of the new fortification, and they suggest that the work started on the northern section and progressed southwards, perhaps stretching both to the east and west at much the same time (Harbottle 1969, 72). A petition of 1280 by the Dominican friars for a postern through the new wall suggests that the western extremity had been reached by then, and 10 years later was proceeding through the grounds of the Hospital of St Mary, while to the west, the Austin Friars were inconvenienced in 1298 (Harbottle 1969, 72). That year saw the demolition of a house belonging to the Bishop of Carlisle, by order of the Mayor and Bailiffs, outside Pilgrim Street Gate (*Cal Inq Misc* **1**, 632).

The previous November had seen the first major threat to the city from Scottish belligerents – in this instance, William Wallace. The incomplete defences, while manned after the curfew, were not used as fighting platforms; all defensive preparations were focused on the Castle and, when confronted with the advancing Scottish Army, according to the Chronicle of Walter de Hemingburgh of Gisborough, the town authorities 'braced themselves and went out of the city a little way, despite the fact that they were few against many', (Rothwell 1957, 304). The Scots, faced with determined resistance and fearful of losing their present spoils, veered away from the town to pillage Tynedale (McNamee 1990, 53).

At the end of the century the rate of wall construction slackened and halted, perhaps as economic and political conditions worsened across the north. The resumption was prompted by the increase in Scottish incursions in the first decade of the 14th century, and coincided with a successful attempt to force the authorities to alter the original plan to follow the high ground from Denton Tower to the Castle, and turn the wall south to plunge down the steep hill to the river, thereby encompassing the increasingly important quayside facilities (for a full discussion of the western re-entrant, see Harbottle 1969, 71–6). The line of the wall on the eastern flank, with its 90-degree turn at Corner Tower, is also explained in terms of a re-routing, this time to include the newly incorporated industrial suburb of Pandon, formerly part of the Barony of Byker (Holmes 1896, 19; and for the eastern re-entrant, Tullet 1979, 179–89 and Nolan *et al* 1989, 72–4). Here, however, the case is less clear; documentary evidence is absent, and the topographic argument ambiguous. Did the original line really cross both the Erick Burn and the Lort Burn valleys? The present line down to the river (the original terminal) is shorter than the tortuous route back to the Castle.

The final sections to be completed were those along the riverside. On the eastern side, the circuit reached the Close Gate by 1334 (Harbottle 1968, 170) or a little later, on pottery evidence from excavations upslope in 1986 (Nolan *et al* 1989, 38–9). Work might have halted at the Close Gate or progressed steadily

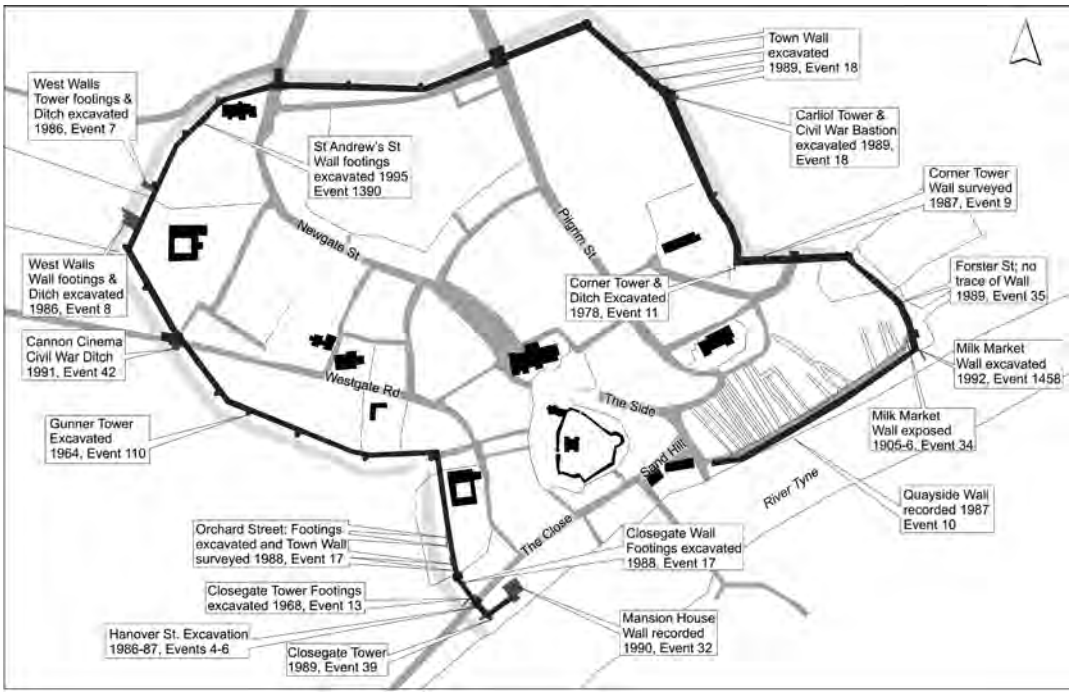


Fig 5.39 Events related to the medieval Town Wall.

across the newly established reclamation deposits on the riverbank, to the ground ebb of the Tyne (Fraser *et al* 1994, 147 and fig 28). An episode of post-and-wattle revetment and rubbish-dumping preceded the construction of the Riverside Tower and the curtain wall along the river frontage, perhaps in the early 15th century (Fraser *et al* 1994, 147–8), for *c* 45m; it did not intrude into the Mansion House excavations, as suggested by 16th- and 17th-century illustrations (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 147).

The eastern sequence follows the same basic pattern. The wall south from Sandgate ran into the river, ending without embellishment. As the reclamation of the quayside proceeded, however, the wall had to be extended twice, each on slightly different alignments, giving the dog-leg effect seen in Buck's view of 1745. Two documentary references in 1567 to 'Sylverles towre' (*Chamberlains' Accounts Book* 1565–72, 40) could relate to an otherwise unknown bastion on the new terminal; if so, this must have been too ruinous to refurbish during the Civil War. The riverside stretch was of early 15th-century date, built with little foundation work upon ballast, and it ran the whole length of the 'Newe Key' back to the Guildhall (Heslop 1995, 215–19).

The town ditch lay *c* 10m beyond the wall. It is remarkable how little the presence of this feature influenced the layout of the eastern half of the modern town, although its presence is occasionally attested by excavation or watching brief, for example, the outer lip of the ditch was uncovered during the rebuilding of the Central Library (TWHER SR 2007/113).

The later history of the wall is one of neglect, encroachment and frantic repair during time of approaching war. During the 16th century, the gate towers were used as jails, magazines or, along with many of the towers, as the meeting halls of the craft companies (Graves and Heslop in prep). Richardson recorded most of the gates and towers prior to demolition in the late 19th century (Figs 5.40 and 5.41).

5.8 The suburbs (Table 5.8)

5.8.1 Pandon

Pandon deserves special attention because it was a separate settlement that became part of the town, rather than an extramural suburb. It was one of three parts into which the Manor of Byker was divided. The village was situated to the east of Pandon Burn that formed the boundary between Newcastle and Pandon village. The land belonging to Byker township, which lay between Pandon Burn and The Swirle, was transferred to Newcastle in 1298/9 by a charter of Edward I (Truman

Fig 5.40 New Gate – The Old Town Wall (Richardson 1843).

2001, 99). Pandon was entered from the west over Pandon Bridge (first referred to *c* 1260–70; Oliver 1924, 101, no. 153) at the east end of a triangular space known by 1493 as Stockbridge (Welford 1909, 60; Harbottle and Clack 1976, 119). The Stock Bridge that crossed the Pandon Burn in the north took its name from the stockfish market that stood here in the medieval period (Truman 2001, 96). In 1294 a galley was reportedly built in Pandon Dene, destined for the war with France (Whitwell and Johnson 1926). Property deeds exist for Pandon from as early as perhaps *c* 1230, but more securely 1250–9. These refer to Robert de Valencines and land once held by the nuns of Holystone (Oliver 1924, 122–3, no. 196, 125, no. 201). The status of this area in the 13th century is uncertain, but it is known that one Walter de Cowgate was a bailiff in 1295 (Bourne 1736, 190).

Fig 5.41 Pilgrim Street Gate – The Old Town Wall (Richardson 1843).

Excavation on the site of the Magistrates' Court at Stockbridge in 1995 (Fig 5.42) revealed at least three advances on the natural waterfront, each aligned roughly north–south and advancing from east to west. The first was located more-or-less on the line of the easternmost edge of Blyth Nook (as shown on Oliver 1830) where the reclamation deposits were up to 1m deep. Initially, a sequence of wattle hurdles was used to hold back deliberately dumped material, in turn sealed by clay (Truman 2001, 104). The line of a post-trench established at this stage was respected in all subsequent boundaries on the site. The final deposits for this earliest phase were comprised of domestic debris. Pottery from these contexts seem to date the earliest reclamation to the 12th century, and the earliest building phases on the reclamation to probably the late 12th century, thus considerably pre-dating the formal incorporation of Pandon into the borough of Newcastle. The next advance was close to the westernmost edge of this stretch of Blyth Nook. This was associated with a stone revetment and steps leading down to an inlet and angled beaching strand of cobbles and clay (Truman 2001, 106–8). The earliest manifestation of the street subsequently called Blyth Nook occurred in the early to mid-13th century. A structure on the reclaimed land housed a metalworking workshop, constructed from plank-walling (Fig 5.43). In the mid-13th century the site was divided into plots, which established the dominant layout of the site (Truman 2001, 117). Metalworking was associated with this and every subsequent phase of occupation. The latest episode of reclamation occurred at this time and pushed the line of Pandon Burn at least 5m to the west of the line of the earliest riverside. It was consolidated with a new stone riverside wall (Truman 2001, 122–3).

Stone buildings were built across the site, but none of the properties was built fronting onto Pandon until Period 7, the mid-13th century. While Pandon no doubt existed in some form prior to this, it may not have been a significant enough street to warrant frontages (Truman 2001, 145). Alternatively, the predominantly industrial early uses of the reclaimed land may have inhibited formal building layout. A

event	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
37	Sandgate, 1972	13th-century housing under later (?15th-century) ballast dumping. Later, dense, housing of 17th-century date and later	Daniels and Cambridge 1974
42	Cannon Cinema, 1990	Trench 2: small medieval ditch, part of tenements to rear of Westgate Road	Heslop *et al* 1994, 159
1391	6–11 Haymarket, 1995	small evaluation revealed late 13th–early 14th century poss. field boundary and drain sealed by 17th-century pottery	TWHER SR 1995/37
1369	Pandon, 1997	excavation of medieval foundations	TWHER SR 1997/27
1389	111–17 Northumberland St, 1995	isolated pit in small evaluation, poss. used in manufacturing of textiles; garden soils until late 18th or early 19th century overbuilding	TWHER SR 1995/35
1405	Pandon, 1999	Medieval land reclamation excavated	TWHER SR 1999/25
1435	West Central Route, 1998	extensive north-south trenching revealed medieval agricultural evidence (field ditches and rig and furrow), pits, fencelines and a track; earliest pottery, 12th/13th century	TWHER SR 1998/42
1880	Stockbridge, 1995	timber, then stone buildings on reclaimed land, destroyed by fire and rebuilt in the 14th century. From 15th century, largely open ground until 18th-century housing	Truman 2001
2073	Centre for Life, 1997	excavation of the burial ground of the former infirmary, over layer agricultural features	TWHER SR 1997/56
2901	Barras Bridge, 2007	three evaluation trenches in disturbed ground revealed little surviving med. stratigraphy	TWHER 2007/144
2944	UNIV INTO Building, 2008	section of medieval street frontage, timber and stone buildings, culverts boundary walls and intensive activity in rear yards and back plots	TWHER SR 2008/74
2945	UNIV Music Building, 2008	Medieval stone building in paddocks west of Haymarket; pits, large well and landscape features with med. pottery and organic deposits	TWHER SR 2008/12

Table 5.8 Events relating to the medieval suburbs

similar situation was suggested for The Swirle and Sandgate areas (Goodrick *et al* 1994, 231–2). When buildings were erected, the lack of archaeologically identifiable activity within them suggests that the street-level rooms served as cellars for storage of goods and that living quarters existed above (Truman 2001, 145–6). A major rebuilding took place in Period 11 (the mid- to late 14th century) that saw building on all the land not required for access, although previously established boundaries were respected and maintained. The density and orientation of occupation suggests that Pandon was by this time a major thoroughfare, that this activity might have been stimulated by the incorporation of Pandon into Newcastle in 1298/9 (Truman 2001, 146).

Archaeological interventions elsewhere in the suburb have yielded disappointing results, an indication of the variable survival between one urban plot and another. An evaluation excavation in 1997 on Pandon Street on the former Baxter's Warehouse site found a medieval drain, a series of stakeholes and foundation walls of well-dressed sandstone, with dumps of crushed brick, mortar, sand, silt and clay made against them. Other nearby trenches found nothing (eg TWHER SR 1997/27, 6). At greater depths, the information is less compromised, and in a follow-up excavation a series of land reclamation dumps dating to the 13th–14th century were found (TWHER SR 1999/25), comparable to the sequence at Stockbridge and the Crown Court sites.

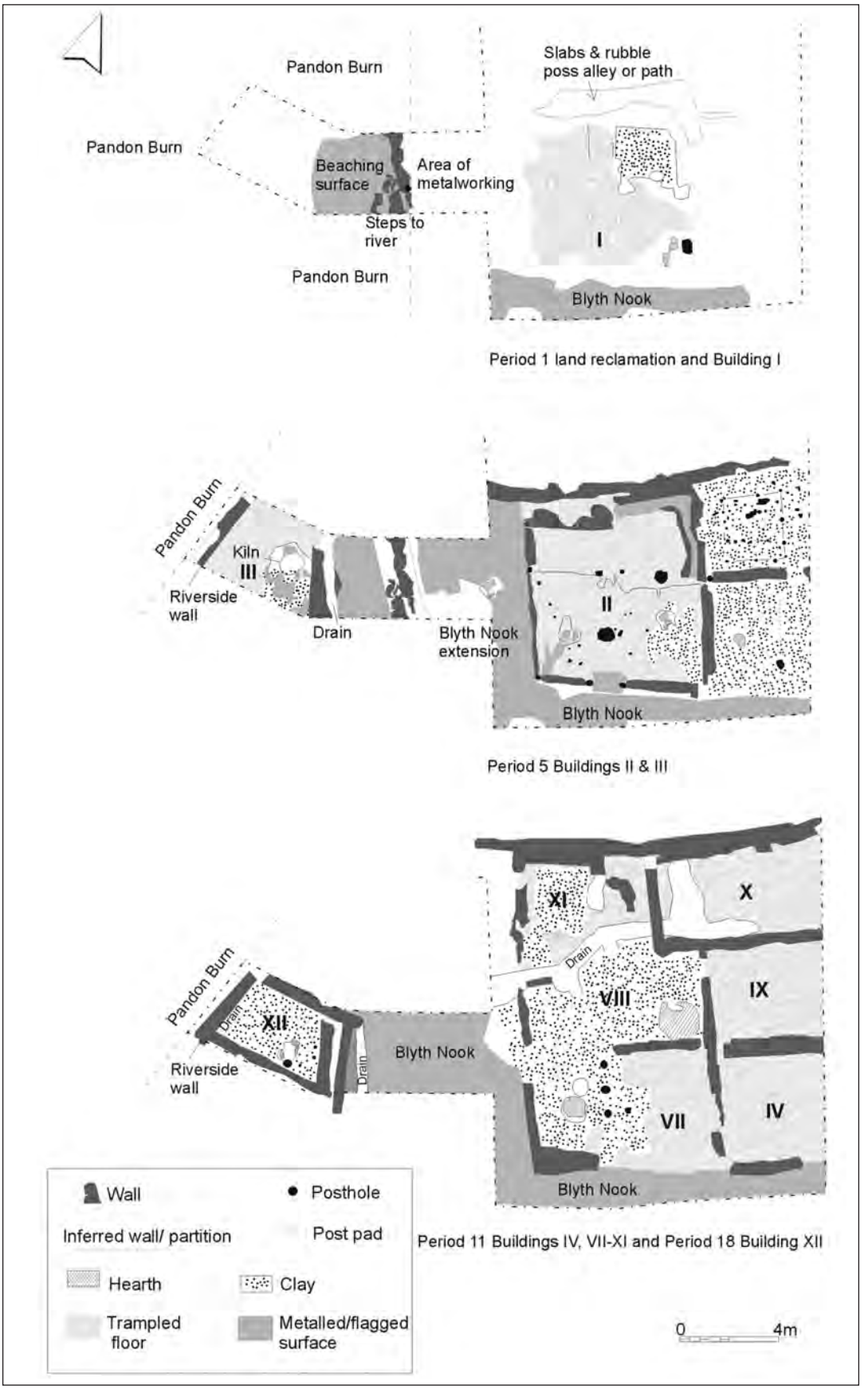


Fig 5.42 Plan of the excavation at Stockbridge (after Truman 2001).

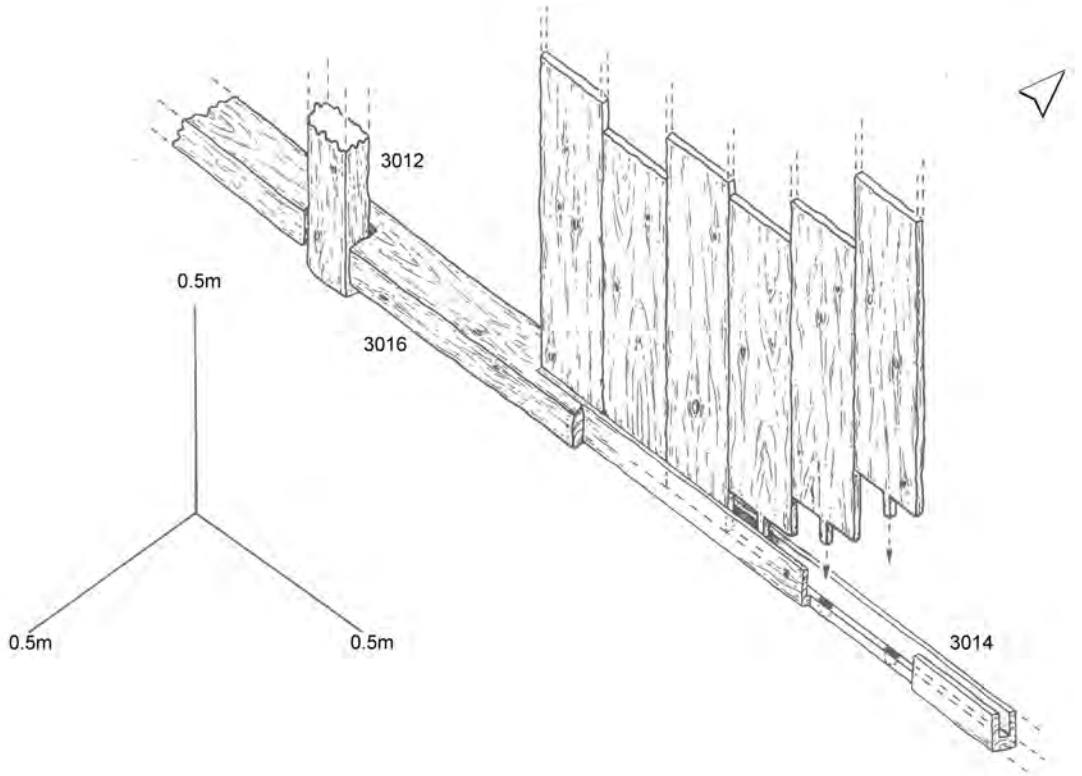


Fig 5.43 Reconstruction of boards found at Stockbridge (after Truman 2001).

In medieval towns, stews and brothels were often located close to the edges of busy commercial or industrial zones, or on the waterfront, although freelance prostitutes might use any part of the town (Spufford 2002, 207; Richards 1994, 117). Colvin's Chare, one of the chares leading directly off the Quayside, was known as Grapecuntlayne in 1588 – a place name commonly associated with areas of prostitution in the Middle Ages. Music was an integral part of entertainment at stews and bath-houses, and the excavations at Newcastle's Stockbridge waterfront recovered bone tuning-pegs for a 'zither-type' instrument (Fig 5.44), a whistle and a possible mouthpiece from a form of woodwind (Vaughan and Rowntree in Truman 2001, 157–8). Irrespective of any possible connection with stews and brothels, excavation on a number of urban waterfronts has brought forth similar evidence for music-making. It evokes the probability that seafarers and workers employed in the shore-based industries connected with boatbuilding and maintenance, loading and unloading ships, improvised their own entertainment in their free time, creating and sharing in a transient fellowship before parting once more.

Fig 5.44 Tuning pegs from a 'zither type' instrument recovered from Stockbridge excavations.

A series of land transactions dated between *c* 1240 and *c* 1280 allow us to locate a street called Crosswellgate running north from Pandon Bridge (Oliver 1924, 120, no. 191; 119, no. 189; 100–1, nos. 151–3). Another street ran south from the bridge, dividing to form two more-or-less concentric roads on the lower slopes and foot of Wall Knoll. The upper of these streets was described in 1298–1300 as 'the highway on le Walknoll on the south side of the Carmelites' (Oliver 1924, 124–5, no. 200). The lower street was called Fishergate from at least 1298 to 1300 (Oliver 1924, 124–5, no. 200). At a later date it was implied that Crosswellgate ran outside Pandon Gate in the Town Walls (*Cal Close R 1354–60*, 387); Bourne thought it was the more

southerly of the two streets which bound the south of Wall Knoll (1736, 142).

Some towns developed suburbs early: Winchester, for example, had suburbs by the 10th century. But while most examples of town development involve growth along arterial roads or planned suburbs, Pandon is different in that it appears to have been a village, or distinct settlement at least, before it was incorporated into Newcastle and protected subsequently by the town. Examples exist where town-wall circuits were extended to incorporate suburbs. In most examples of village incorporation, the town spread outside its walls until it reached pre-existing villages and, with the growth of the built-up area between, the village was gradually engulfed in the extramural suburb. At Norwich, several settlements, which had originated as distinct centres in their own right, were taken in by the walls in the later 13th and early 14th centuries (Creighton and Higham 2005, 212). It has not been possible to investigate whether or not distinct identities persisted between the inhabitants of Pandon and Newcastle after incorporation. The sequence of development revealed by both the Magistrates' Court excavations (Truman 2001) and the Crown Court excavations (O'Brien *et al* 1989), has shown that there must have been 13th-century reclamation and consolidation activity in both Pandon and Newcastle (Queen Street) contemporaneously in the 13th century, pre-dating the annexation of Pandon. Excavation on the site of the Crown Court found a quay wall that had been built in the second half of the 13th century, south of the present day street of Pandon. The organisation and labour required to make these reclamations might suggest that those who dwelt in Pandon were not acting entirely independently of Newcastle at this point, and that propinquity had led to practical co-operation between the two communities long before. Unsurprisingly, aspects of the material culture associated with boatbuilding and the wrapping of goods in transit are exactly comparable between sites in Pandon (Stockbridge) and Newcastle (Queen Street and the Crown Court site) (Truman 2001, 104, Vaughan and Rowntree 2001, 160, 162, O'Brien *et al* 1988, 1989). The wording is the same in property deeds referring to land with rights of reclamation in each of the two townships prior to the legal incorporation of Pandon within Newcastle, for example, a chirograph of 1277 records the grant of land and buildings in Pandon 'in length from the king's way to groundeb Tine and [including] whatsoever of Tyne [the recipient] shall be able reasonably to acquire' (Oliver 1929, 285). Further, a document of 1270 refers to land 'situate in Pandon within Newcastle' (Oliver 1924, xxiv; 79–80, no. 113), assimilating one within the other, again prior to the legal merging. Therefore, Edward I's charter might have been a formality, confirming what already could have been a shared identity with Newcastle for many practical and social purposes.

Ceramic evidence highlights the changing nature and status of the Pandon/Stockbridge area (discussed below, chapter 6, section 6.4.6). However, it is perhaps significant that there is no discernible change in the types and variety of ceramics present at Stockbridge in the periods immediately before and after the archaeological horizon equated with the annexation of Pandon: for example, the assemblages of Scarborough-type ware, including fragments of so-called 'knight' jugs, are broadly similar in Periods 8 and 11 (ie spanning the date of incorporation, 1298/9), although the details of the type of decoration had developed over that time span (Truman 2001, 133; 138).

The development of Stockbridge and the Pandon Dene area in turn encouraged the development of Broad Chare (formerly Cougate/Qugate). Thus, by the 14th century, Broad Chare contained properties owned by some significant townspeople, including those of William de Burneton, bailiff in 1314 and mayor in 1330 who held land here in 1345 (*Cal Close R 1343–46*; Oliver 1924, 210, 212), and a tenement of Ralph Gray, Knight, demised in 1451 (*AA* ser 2, **1**, 36).

The Stockbridge results supplement those found at the Crown Court site in 1985–6. Located slightly to the east, three areas were excavated on land bounded by the Quayside to the south, Pandon to the north, Broad Chare to the west, and Cox Chare to the east (O'Brien *et al* 1989, 141). A quay wall was built along the river in the second half of the 13th century, but it had been covered by dumped material by the end of the century. In the 14th century, the ground level was built up above the level of the quay but with an altered alignment at right angles to the earlier quay

wall. Burn Bank was created at this time, along the east side of the Pandon Burn (O'Brien *et al* 1989, 143). Byker Chare was laid out in the early 14th century, and a building existed to the west. The building was demolished and replaced in the mid-14th century, and in turn this was demolished in the mid-15th century. Thereafter, however, the land remained open and tipping occurred. Evidence for industrial activity was found beside Burn Bank in the 15th and 16th centuries. The site was cleared after this, and built on prior to 1830.

5.8.2 Sandgate and The Swirle

When the town gained Pandon in 1298/9 it also gained a length of river frontage stretching to The Swirle, a small tributary stream about a quarter of a mile to the west of the Pandon Burn. The first documentary reference to Sandgate is in the endowment of St Catherine's Chantry in St Nicholas's church, in 1336 (Bourne 1736, 59–60; Brand 1789 **1**, 252; Welford 1884, 96). Excavations on this stretch of the waterfront have contributed immensely to our understanding of the development of this suburb and its changing use through time. The origins of Sandgate as a suburb lie in an ambitious attempt to build an artificial platform parallel to the river. In 1972, Daniels and Cambridge (1974) found artificially dumped sand to a depth of *c* 4m or more, which Cambridge deduced to be ballast. Evidence of human activity was found beneath this, although of an uncertain nature. In 1990, an excavation (Fig 5.45) towards the southern part of the east end of Sandgate, next to The Swirle, revealed that a reversed L-shaped embankment was created after *c* 1250, fronting onto both The Swirle Burn to the east, and the Tyne foreshore to the south (Ellison, McCombie, MacElvaney, Newman, O'Brien, Taverner and Williams 1993). Behind this there had been extensive dumping of sand in order to raise the height and extent of the riverbank artificially. The platform was achieved before 1300, and determined the form of all subsequent development, 'with the two frontages consolidated into street lines, and property plots developed within' (Ellison *et al* 1993, 216 and *passim*.). The property lines persisted into the 20th century.

It has been suggested that the eastern frontage might have been used originally as a quay for ships beached at low tide in the 13th century (Ellison *et al* 1993, 154, 216). Very shortly after, but possibly still within the 13th century, tipping over the edge encroached on The Swirle stream. The eastern edge of the embankment was not recovered under excavation, but is thought to have more or less determined the line of the frontage of buildings shown in Oliver's map of 1830 (Ellison *et al* 1993, 218). To the north, the embankment extended under the line of the present road called Sandgate, and met the foot of the cliff. In the early 14th century, a series of lime kilns was built into the embankment, and continued in use until *c* 1375. The chronology for development was established through the ceramic evidence and archaeomagnetic dating of the kilns. The timing of the completion of the consolidation of the riverbank and the building of the kilns was judged to have been so close that they were part of a single process. A revetment wall with infilling behind was identified as a possible kiln wharf for loading the lime onto river transport (Ellison *et al* 1993, 162).

The kilns were dismantled, and ballast tipping was succeeded by a massive episode of landfill, with material constituted of domestic and industrial refuse, including pottery and other artefacts (Ellison *et al* 1993, 165). The dumped material extended the land area both southwards, over the demolished kilns, and eastwards. What happened after this is not very clear as the ground surface was lost to 17th- and 18th-century terracing. A number of truncated pits cutting into the landfill showed that there was some activity in the 15th century, and a revetment wall was built in the later 15th century on the eastern side of the consolidated bank, separating it from the stream. This wall later marked the western boundary of a 17th-century property immediately adjacent to The Swirle. There nonetheless seemed to be a radical disjuncture in the archaeological record marking the change from the open area with large-scale industrial usage in the 14th century, to an area divided into plots and heavily built up in the 17th century (Ellison *et al* 1993, 165). Through this post-medieval development the streets of the Sandgate, Quayside and The Swirle were formed, the latter two still echoing the shape established by the original artificial embankment. Probate records indicate that a tanner lived in two tenements at the 'Lyme Pytte' towards Kirke Chaire on the Ouse Burn

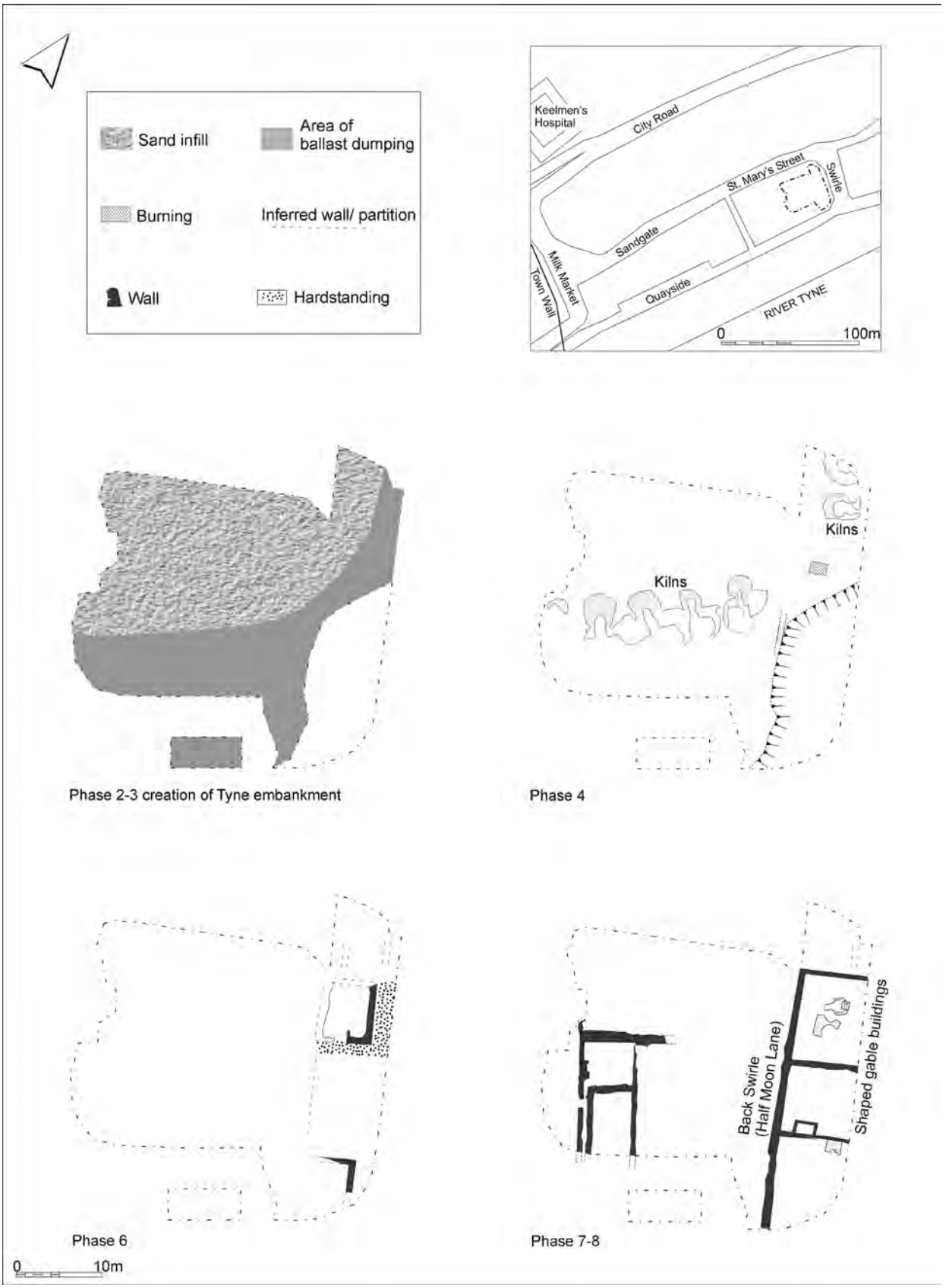


Fig 5.45 Plan of the excavation at The Swirle (after Ellison et al *1993).*

in 1599 (D.P.R. Dalton 1599, Heley 2009, 67), and a smith leased property at the Lime Kilns. Bourne (1736, 154) cites Lime Kiln road as a place where ballast was delivered, and Charleton mentions that lime kilns once stood where Lime Street then was (1885, 375–6). For Heley (2009, 67), the lime pits were associated with tanning.

Another excavation was carried out on the north side of Sandgate in 1992, to the west, and closer to line of the Town Wall than the earlier excavation (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994). This, together with information from engineers' ground investigations, proved that the dump of sand spread across the entire Sandgate, from the Milk Market, close to the line of the Town Wall on the west, to The Swirle on the east. The excavations revealed that the sand on the western site was dumped on the river's inter-tidal mudflat in circumstances similar to those found on the site at the east. It now seems clear that the pre-ballast activity identified in 1972 was not evidence of extensive waterfront infrastructure, but was probably, instead, accumulated rubbish on the foreshore, the result of activity in the 13th century (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994, 230).

Distinct tip lines were visible within the ballast, indicating different episodes of the dumping of material from differing sources at different times (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994, 221). Devoid of artefacts, it was clear that this, too, was the result of formal, organised and dedicated ballast-dumping. It reached depths of up to 5m consistently across the expanse of Sandgate and The Swirle (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994, 230). Mineral analysis proved that some of the material was local, some was of unidentified non-local origin, and some was characteristic of Greensand deposits in the Thames estuary. This leaves little doubt that it was ballast dumped in the course of coal-shipping between Newcastle, the Thames estuary and east-coast ports. The process whereby Sandgate and The Swirle were created was, therefore, a continuation of that started when the first ballast-shores were established immediately east of the medieval bridge. The process continued into the early 16th century when the *Chamberlains' Accounts* record that foreign ships and English coastal vessels paid for discharging their ballast at Newcastle, and it seems likely that shipmasters were being charged for this facility for perhaps as long as two centuries beforehand (Fraser 1987; cited in Ellison *et al* 1993, 224).

The abrupt appearance of buildings and thoroughfares on the western site on clean ballast sand with no intervening occupation suggests that the site was deliberately prepared through levelling prior to construction (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994, 221). A formal cobbled surface was given to the thoroughfare of Johnson's Entry, together with a gutter running into a drain. A long, narrow structure was recovered, built out of sandstone, and with successive hearths and ashy spreads indicative of industrial processing, although no industrial waste as such was found in this phase (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994, 223). A possible fuel store was also identified. The pottery evidence from this phase suggested occupation in the 15th century, Johnson's Entry and adjacent buildings probably originated at that time (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994, 224, 231). This phase seems to represent a certain degree of formalisation on the site, although the excavators pointed out that the building plan was not precisely regular, and the drain veered off under the structure rather than remaining central to the vennel (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994, 232). This could be the same episode of reorganisation of space hinted at through the 15th-century revetment wall, which was identified on the eastern, Swirle site.

By 1425, the Sandgate had the status of *via regia*, as described in Thornton's foundation charter for the *Maison Dieu* on the Sandhill (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994, 231). The document also refers to specific tofts at the western end, while a *shipdok* was being constructed to the south, and another tenement to the east was also known (Hodgson 1917). According to Harbottle and Clack (1976, 122), the first documented mention of building on the street was in 1487. Brand (1789 **1**, 448 n. t) knew of three deeds relating to property in Sandgate dating to the late 15th century. Later deeds are more numerous.

In gaining Pandon, Newcastle gained an already well-developed merchant community and the opportunity to exploit an extensive length of riverbank. Both can be seen as immensely influential in the subsequent development of Newcastle.

Fig 5.46 Excavations on Gallowgate, general view.

5.8.3 Beyond Closegate

There have been no excavations to the west of the former Close Gate, and it is unclear whether the Town Wall and gate bisected a built up area on both sides rather than just bounding the urban extent on the east. The Skinner Burn was the western boundary of the Corporation's jurisdiction (Brand 1789 **1**, 412). Based on differences between Corbridge's (1723) and Hutton's (1772) map, there was nothing beyond the burn until glass-houses and other industrial development took place in the 17th century, if not the 16th century (TWHER SR 1997/59 24 and section 8.2.3).

5.8.4 Beyond Westgate

Excavation on the site of the former Cannon Cinema, immediately adjacent to the site of the barbican of West Gate, uncovered a wide, flat-bottomed ditch over 3m wide, that might have been a boundary for a parcel of land between Westgate Road and Thornton Street (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1994, 159). The ditch had a medieval fill, but it was not possible to say whether the feature was dug before or after the construction of the town defences. A military ditch known as the King's Dykes was dug as part of the defences against Scottish armed raids in 1312–18 (Fraser 1961b, 383). A second massive ditch was also uncovered on the site, more than 7m in width, and with sides cut at an angle of *c* 45 degrees, but dating evidence in the primary fill led to the conclusion that this was part of the town's Civil War preparations (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1994, 159).

Little else is known about the evolution of a suburb along the Westgate Road. Speed (1610) shows what looks like ribbon development, with most houses having their gable-end facing onto the street. Unfortunately Speed's information is not reliable, as he depicts no buildings at all east of the Sandgate, and it is known from both excavation and documentary evidence that this area was built up at this time.

5.8.5 Gallowgate

Gallowgate was a street that entered the town from the north-west. The name Gallowgate (Galougate) was known in 1378 (*Cal Close R 1377–81*; Harbottle and Clack 1976, 122), although Harbottle (unpub) traced an earlier reference to 1365 (Galowegate). Brand thought that it took its name from the gallows that stood at the entrance to the Town Moor (1789 **1**, 422). It seems probable that Darn Crook was a continuation of the original Gallowgate, but that the construction of the Town Wall in the late 13th–14th century bisected the route (Teasdale, Nolan and Hoyle 1999, 31). The hypothesis that Darn Crook probably

originated in part as the bed of the Lam Burn has been supported by the discovery, through excavation, that the burn was deliberately channeled and the subsequent appearance of Gallowgate in its first metalled form ran parallel to this (Northern Archaeological Associates 2004, 5).

The excavation of the former bus station site (Fig 5.46) provided an opportunity to examine a portion of medieval landscape in Newcastle that had escaped the damaging effect of intensive post-medieval development that typifies the tenurial history of plots within the urban core. Here, the earliest building development was in the zone of restricted development in front of the town wall. It was only in the 19th century that industrial expansion, in this case the Locke-Blackett lead-works, encroached onto this area of the filled-in town ditch, known here as the King's Dyke.

The channeled Lam Burn formed the northern boundary of the first properties laid out on the site in the early 13th century; a smaller ditch marked their southern boundary. An extremely large pit had been dug and contained a sequence of fills, including leather, wood, animal bone. Pottery found in the primary fill dated to the first half of the 13th century. A stone-lined well also contained leather. Two gullies to the south of the channeled burn could have been fence lines, and there might have been some attempt at water management, represented by two gullies between these boundaries, dated by pottery to the early 13th century (Northern Archaeological Associates 2004, 6). Possible timber structures of unidentifiable form existed both to the south and north-east of the burn/ditch.

In the next phase of activity the channeled burn was culverted in stone (*see* Fig 1.8) and a further series of inter-related culverts were cut to run into this main line of drainage. These were overlain with deposits which contained early 13th-century pottery. An industrial complex was found to the north-east of the site, with post-hole structures, flues, gullies and pits associated with hammerscale and prill indicating that it was smithy (Northern Archaeological Associates 2004, 7). A line of post holes ran from east to west, again more or less parallel with the culverted burn, but slightly to the north. This was replaced with a wall on the same alignment, and when the road

Fig 5.47 Excavations on Gallowgate, the medieval street surface of Gallowgate.

was laid out, probably acted as a boundary for the properties facing onto the road.

The roadway that became Gallowgate was laid out as a metalled surface, parallel to the channeled and then culverted burn, and slightly to the north of it. The surface was made up of natural gravel, fragmented sandstone and river cobbles, and was up to 8m wide; pottery evidence dated the surface to the mid-13th century (Fig 5.47).

A complete burgage plot was uncovered, and a further burgage plot on each side was partially revealed. These seem to have been laid out at the same time as the metalled road onto which they faced. The plots were divided by stone walls enclosing a number of cobbled surfaces (Northern Archaeological Associates 2004, 7). There was a stone building in plot B that had a flagged and cobbled yard to the east, and a walled yard to the south, which may have enclosed a small structure in the corner. The area to the north of this plot was used for industrial purposes and was sealed beneath a deposit containing mid- to late 13th-century pottery.

There followed a period in which the site was reorganised, with a very different pattern

of building to the north of the culvert, described as a range of 'cell-like' structures (Northern Archaeological Associates 2004, 8). These were only one room deep, and their southern walls used the Lort Burn culvert as a foundation. The northern alignment appeared to be unified, but each room was separated from its neighbour by walls of slightly shorter width than the buildings. There might have been a lane between the westernmost buildings, but this is unclear. There was evidence to suggest that the range extended eastwards beyond the excavated area. The range was 3m to 4m to the south of the Gallowgate road edge. The north–south boundaries of the rooms did not overlie those of the previous period, although the east–west width of the rooms did seem to be similar to the width of the lanes in the previous phase. The entrance to the easternmost structure appeared to be wider than that of its neighbour, and there was a hearth in the south-east corner of this building. It was unclear what happened to the south of the row, but all traces of the previous property boundaries seem to have disappeared. The range has been dated to the late 13th to 14th century on artefactual evidence (Northern Archaeological Associates 2004, 9). The walls of the buildings were robbed out probably after the mid-14th century, and sealed with demolition deposits. The rubble was then sealed by garden deposits and the area could have been given over to orchards and grazing land, as early maps seem to indicate. The street was resurfaced several times in the 14th–15th centuries, although there could have been a slight change in its alignment.

The single-cell range looks like a form of row building. Row buildings of almost identical units, one or two rooms deep, were built on a speculative basis in order to maximise the returns in rent from a given parcel of land, and are known from the 13th century at the latest (Grenville 1997, 190; Morrison 2003, 22–3). They were often built by religious institutions, colleges or wealthy merchants in the expectation of a steady income. Rows, two rooms deep, might provide shop space on the street front, and single-room domestic accommodation to the rear. Many rows were two-storey, although the first-floor rooms could be rented out separaely from those on the ground floor. Lady Row, in Goodramgate, York, is a surviving example, which was built as a row of nine or ten such tenement houses on the graveyard of Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate, in 1316. Each house was two-storeyed, each storey containing a single room of *c* 3m × at least 4.50m. The rents supported a chantry in the same church. Grenville attributes the appearance of this form of building to three contemporary phenomena (1997, 190–2). First, the growth of town populations created the need for relatively low-cost accommodation. Second, from the late 13th century, popular piety was expressed in the endowment of chantries rather than in major monastic houses. Third, the Statute of Mortmain (1291) curtailed the gift of lands to the Church except under royal licence. Thus, ecclesiastical landowners, in particular, desired to raise the maximum possible revenues from their existing urban property endowments. Grenville doubts that all rows had retail functions; Lady Row, for example, was occupied by journeymen, wage earners and independent women in 1381 (Grenville 1997, 192).

The size of the individual rooms excavated on Gallowgate, Newcastle, is compatible with some known row units. Archaeological examples of single-room rows have been excavated in London (11th-century), Winchester (13th-or 14th-century), Norwich and Perth (Schofield and Vince 1994, 74). Most row buildings formed uninterrupted ranges; the spaces between the rooms on the Gallowgate ground plan evaded interpretation and appear slightly anomalous. There is no surviving record of a Newcastle chantry having been supported out of tenements in Gallowgate and there is no direct evidence by which the structures might be attributed to an ecclesiastical or religious landowner. Given that other forms of spatial reorganisation and intensive building took place in the 14th century – for example in Stockbridge – the Gallowgate structures could have been another manifestation of a shared local impetus to capitalise on all available space at this time.

Only one of the Gallowgate units had evidence for a hearth, but row houses were seldom built with kitchens, and hearths within them were often shared between tenants. This fact may be put in context by Carlin's (1998, 42) rather startling conclusion from combined documentary and architectural evidence for eating practices that '[the] poor in medieval English towns, … often had

scanty cooking facilities or even none at all'. Instead, the numerous commercial cooks in medieval towns served this clientele (Carlin 1998). Cookshops tended to be clustered in the same way as any other trade in medieval towns, and many specialised in the retail of ready-to-eat foods, especially in riverside locations where they served river carriers, dockworkers, seafarers and the urban poor (Carlin 1998, 30–1). In Newcastle, Le Cookerawe (1356), or le Cokerawe (1377–8), was located near the Cale Cross, and a Company of Cooks existed into the early 16th century with a controlling monopoly on the sale of all pies or pasties in the town (Brand 1789 **2**, 358–9).

5.8.6 Beyond Pilgrim Street and Newgate

The suburbs beyond Pilgrim Street Gate and Newgate seem to have emerged as ribbon developments along the roads leading out of the town, merging at Barras Bridge where they crossed the Pandon Burn. They form the modern Northumberland Street and Percy Street (formerly Sidgate) respectively, and frame the Haymarket. The extension of Newgate Street was called Sinedgate, with variations in the spelling, from the 13th and early 14th centuries (Harbottle 1990 unpub; TWSMR 1990/11). This has been translated as meaning a soakaway or drain. The name was corrupted later into Sidegate or Sidgate between the 14th and 17th–18th centuries. Grey (1649) described the street as a 'causeway', implying that the area was still very waterlogged. It was renamed Percy Street in the 18th century. The few medieval property transactions that survive for Sidgate refer mostly to fields. Speed represents solid rows of housing flanking both Sidgate and the extension of Pilgrim Street north to Barras Bridge. Harbottle concludes that, if this is to be believed, there must have been a rapid expansion of the suburb, perhaps as late as the 16th century (Harbottle 1990 TWSMR SR 1990/11). This might have been one of the areas of housing demolished in the Civil War, but there is no evidence for it as yet.

By 1772, Hutton's map shows that the ribbon development had reached Barras Bridge on the west side of Sidgate or Percy Street. Some of the properties appear to have had extensive build-up to the rear of the plots; there were, however, extensive garden plots behind, referred to by Bourne as being very 'sweetly situated, having the Leases or Gardens behind them' (1736, 150). There were only one or two properties on the east side. Bourne described the area as being occupied by poor people (1736, 150). There was a burying ground about halfway along the length of the street on the west.

The road leading north from Pilgrim Street Gate (later to be called Northumberland Street) is depicted as equally built up in Speed's 1610 plan. Hutton's 1772 map shows a concentration of properties to the east and west of the street immediately beyond Pilgrim Street Gate, but far more built up on the west, particularly to the north. A bowling green is marked on Hutton's 1772 map, beyond a small garden on the west. This might imply that the area had been raised somewhat in status since Bourne's time, as bowling was a favourite pastime of genteel, polite urban society. A number of the properties fronting Northumberland Street, but only two on Sidgate, are depicted with smaller buildings at the extremity of the plots behind them. We do not have any concrete evidence about these structures, but it is tempting to ask if they might not have been garden banqueting houses. Bourne called this street the 'most Pleasant Situation of any within or without the Town' (1736, 151). The development on this side of the suburb reached as far as the lane named after the Magdalen Hospital, and a fairly large pinfold.

Harbottle pointed out that the whole of the Haymarket area forms a large triangle and that spaces such as this can be found on the immediate approach roads to many medieval towns, for example Northampton, Oxford and York (1990 unpub; TWSMR SR 1999/11). Given that the livestock markets were held on portions of Newgate Street, it would seem wholly reasonable that the area outside the walls was used for temporary grazing of the animals before market day, or for parking carts and wagons. However, there is as yet no documentary evidence connected with this for Newcastle.

By the beginning of the 19th century, the imperative to improve living conditions in the town forced the Council to develop this area. In 1807 it was drained and paved and in the following year it was renamed the Parade and used for the Newcastle Volunteers. However, by 1824 a weekly hay-and-straw market was established, and for a short time, it also supported bi-annual hiring fairs.

5.8.7 The Town Moors and Leazes

As was the case with many medieval towns, common rights to graze animals, were held by the town to open land beyond the built settlement. In the case of Newcastle, these lands lay to the north and north-west, beyond the medieval walled town and, significantly, the rights of the citizenry included the 'power to dig and have mines of coals and stones therein', according to letters patent of Edward III, dated 10th May 1357 (Halcrow 1953, 150). The commons consist of the Town Moor (TWHER 1356; probably also known as the 'Castle-More' [sic]), on which burgesses were entitled to pasture a certain number of animals and had rights to dig for coal from at least 1213, and possibly earlier (Oliver 1924, 4; Halcrow 1953); and Castle Leazes (TWHER 1358; probably also known as the 'Castle-Feld' [sic]), which may have originated in the southernmost part of the Town Moor, but was extended after the late 17th century (Halcrow 1953, 150). Bell pits and evidence for the digging of coal probably dating to the medieval period have been identified on the Town Moor (TWHER 4831) and post-medieval coal extraction is attested more extensively on both the Town Moor and Castle Leazes. The mines were 'sunk and operated under the direction of the Common Council' on behalf of the burgesses in order that there might be a ready supply of coal at low cost, and this source remained distinct from the great capitalist investments of the 17th- and 18th-centuries. The Corporation appointed a Viewer of the Common Moor from among their own number to be a permanent supervisor and administrator of the common rights and bye-laws relating to the open land; and a town cowherd (known as the neateherd or noltherd) was also appointed to manage the passage of cattle to and from the commons (Halcrow 1953, 153). The Town Moor was the location of the gallows (TWHER 6509), from whence Gallowgate derived its name (*see* section 5.8.5). Two annual fairs were held on the Town Moor: the Lammas Fair in August, established in the reign of King John, and the Cow Hill Fair held on St Luke's Day, in October, under a grant of Henry VII (Halcrow 1953, 155).

6 Medieval material culture

The previous chapters have considered the major institutions, and both the living and commercial areas of the town. This chapter will look at the study of material culture, which provides information on economy and industry, trade connections and periods of growth and decline, as well as on aspects of diet and, in conjunction with mainly ceramic evidence, what may be called 'foodways' and aspects of consumption, lifestyle and social change. Material culture might reflect processes common across the wide sweep of Europe, whereby new ways of preparing and consuming food, as well as new foodstuffs and beverages, spread through communities linked by trade and mercantile networks. If the evidence is detailed enough, it might give an indication of differentials in lifestyle, by

Table 6.1 Medieval material culture – important published assemblages

P – Pottery; B – Building Material; M – Metalwork; C – Coins; L – Leather ; F – Faunal; PR – Plant Remains
X – Large group ; x – Small group

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*P*	*B*	*M*	*C*	*L*	*F*	*PR*	*references*
3	5.9	Cloth Market, 1979	x	x				x		Tullett and McCombie 1980
6	5.39	Town Wall, Closegate, 1989	x	x	x			x	x	Nolan *et al* 1989
7 & 8	5.39	Bath Lane Ditch, 1986	x	x	x		x	x	x	Nolan *et al* 1989
15	5.35	Dog Bank, 1985	X	x	x	x		X	X	O'Brien *et al* 1988
16	5.35	Queen Street, 1985	X	X	X	X	X	X	x	O'Brien *et al* 1988
17	5.39	Orchard Street, 1987–9	x	x	x	x		x		Nolan 1993
18	5.39	Carliol Tower, 1989	x	x	x					Nolan 1993
21	5.35	Crown Court, 1986	X		x		x	X	X	O'Brien *et al* 1989
32	5.35	Mansion House, 1990	X	X	x	x		X	x	Fraser *et al* 1995
39	5.35	Close Gate, 1989	X	x	X	x	x		X	Fraser and Vaughan 1994
60	5.35	The Swirle, 1990	X	x	x	X	x			Ellison *et al* 1993
70–1	3.14	Forth Street, 1965 and 1967	x	x	x			x		Harbottle 1968
72	4.2	South Curtain Wall, 1960–1	X	x	x					Harbottle 1966
73	5.9	Castle Ditch, 1974–6	X	X	X	x	X	X	x	Harbottle and Ellison 1981
1458	5.35	Milk Market, 1992	x	x	x	x				Heslop *et al* 1995
1880	5.35	Stockbridge, 1995	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Truman 2001
2238	5.9	42–48 High Bridge, 2002	X	x	x			x	x	Brogan 2010

wealth or location within the town. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that large-scale social changes in attitudes to communal life, the social recognition of the individual, and gender relations may be recognised in strategies relating to the form and use of material culture (Johnson 1996). Within the context of a town, material culture might also illuminate aspects of civic identity, and what might be termed urban mentalities (cf Hall 2007). A border town engaged in international trade would see the interaction of peoples with different origins, allegiances and ways of life. Although the pattern of archaeological excavation across Newcastle has not been equally distributed, questions might still be asked on these themes (Table 6.1). On a smaller scale, individual aretefacts occasionally reveal intimate insights into their ownership. An artefact's worn condition, pattern of repair or longevity of use, or the location of its deposition, might all reveal its care through generations, the persistence of religious or political allegiances, changes in the fortunes of its owner, or aspects of life and work not otherwise widely documented.

Objects did not originate or circulate in an historical vacuum, and this chapter will attempt to synthesise the major categories of material culture, and relate them, where possible, to social and economic issues, the craft companies, and aspects of social and institutional life in the town.

6.1 Commercial and residential areas: patterns of occupation and wealth

Estimations of the population of Newcastle vary according to source material. Bradshaw (1916) used the *Lay Subsidy Roll* of 1296 to estimate 400 households with a total population of 2,000. Middlebrook's estimate was of a population of 'several hundred' shortly after the castle was founded, rising to about 4,000 in *c* 1400 and 10,000 in 1560 (1950, 21, 35, 63). The *Lay Subsidy* of 1296, however, does allow us to see relative wealth between parishes at the end of the 13th century. The greatest total wealth at that time was owned by residents of the central parish of St Nicholas. The residents of St John's parish came some way behind this, although a greater percentage of the wealthiest individuals (those taxed at £20 or more) lived in this parish rather than in St Nicholas's. The residents of All Saints' parish had the third highest total overall wealth, only slightly less that those of St John's. However, the biggest differentiation occurred between the total wealth of the denizens of these three parishes and those of St Andrew's parish. This is where the greatest number of people paying below £1 in tax lived (Fraser 1968, 41–2). In simple terms, this implies that at the end of the 13th century the central parish, focused on the Castle, St Nicholas's church, the east side of the market street, and those parts of The Close and Sandhill that had been developed at this stage, was occupied by the wealthiest townspeople. They stood head and shoulders above the next wealthiest group of residents who lived in the area of the Westgate Road. The residents of the rest of the Quayside, Pilgrim Street and Pandon came third in wealth, but the poorest area of the town by a considerable measure was that around the top of the market street.

Because so little archaeology has been aimed at the examination of medieval burgage plots, it is not possible to compare the distribution of building quality. Distinctions in wealth and identity might be perceptible in the degree to which burgage plots were either amalgamated in particular parts of the town, or, conversely, retained as single plots. The difficulty lies in distinguishing original plot boundaries.

In general terms, when dealing with the medieval urban scene, information concerning the spatial and chronological zoning of commerce and industry can be derived from organic data and environmental data, pottery and other finds distributions, supplemented to some extent by documentary references. Many industries that used animal products were obviously interdependent for their raw materials, hides, bone and horn, for example, being produced in the slaughterhouse. Consequently, most of the information concerning raw materials has come from mixed refuse deposits. This also means that very little can be interpreted of the spatial patterning of the related industries from such rubbish. Patterns of dumping would be dependent on many factors: did the responsibility for dumping fall to either household servants or individuals going round houses collecting specific types of discard for reuse? Did butchers sell the greater part of their horn, and extraneous bone to artisans, or would they also supply smaller

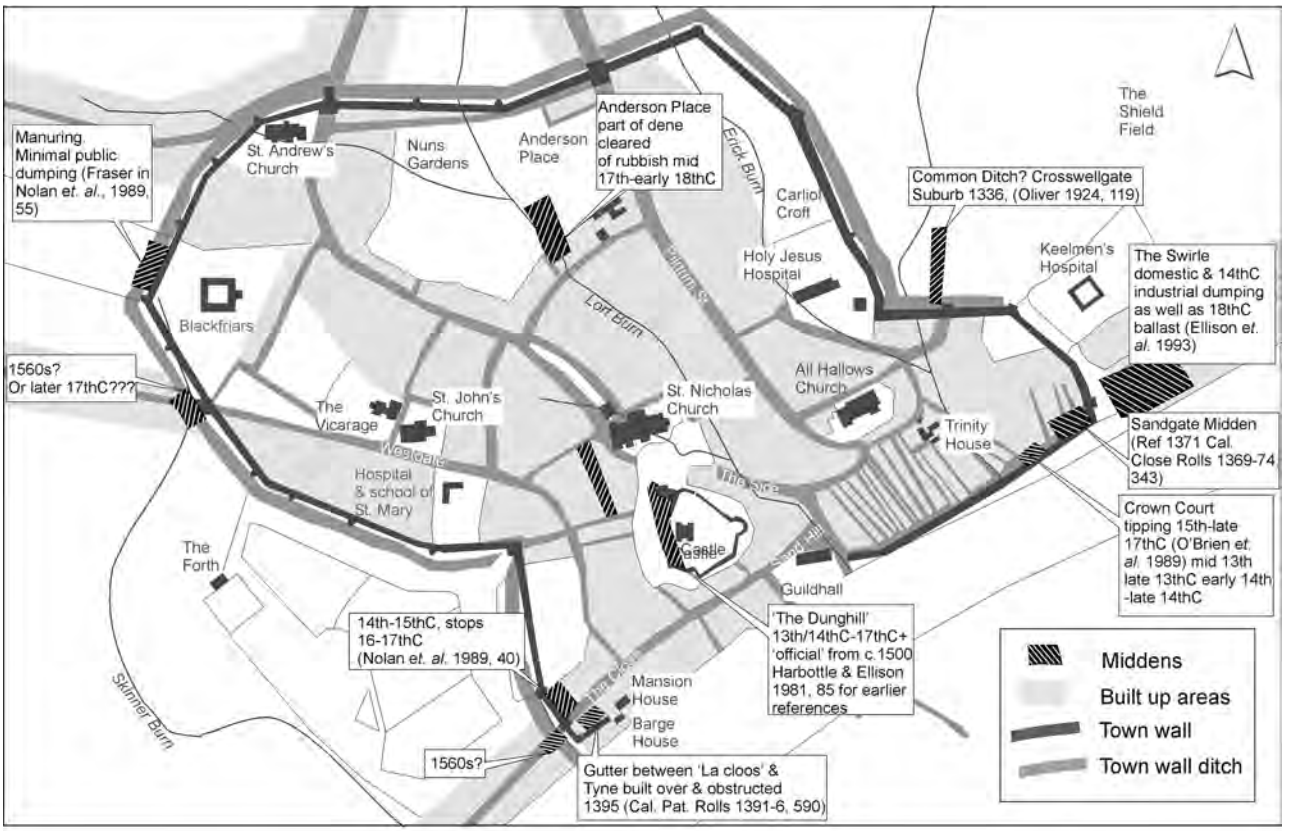


Fig 6.1 Location of middens and rubbish dumping, from archaeological and documentary evidence.

quantities to the public for homeworking? Did borough and guild corporation legislation limit the dumping of refuse and the supply of raw materials? Were there legal restrictions on what could be dumped where, or were there different definitions of what constituted 'refuse'? What categories of discard might reasonably be dumped together, and close to living quarters. What, if anything, was regarded as unclean? Was rubbish dumped on the boundaries of different jurisdictions?

Low meat-bearing bones among the deposits that made up the landfill on the Mansion House site at the west end of the riverfront indicated that they were derived from the dwellings of the lower classes. As written records indicate that The Close contained houses of many of the town's most notable inhabitants, the landfill deposits might have come from different, poorer areas of the town (Davis and Bullock 1995, 191–7). The archaeology of consumption and discard, discussed below, reveals that the Castle ditch was used as a dump for both the refuse from high status households, and for the offcuts from low-status recycling activities, such as cobbling or garment re-fashioning. As it can be inferred that the latter was taking place within the Castle Garth, it might also be deduced that the domestic waste originated from the residential areas both outside and surrounding the Castle, ie St Nicholas's parish. This would seem to suggest that the central parish remained a high-wealth, high-status zone into the 16th century at least, while at the same time informing us of an island of unregulated trading and low prestige in its midst. From the incomplete picture we have of the distribution of magnate houses and enclaves, as well as of known medieval stone housing, these two categories of housing were located either in the central parish or at the foot of Westgate Road, in the vicinity of the highly regarded Hospital of the blessed Virgin Mary.

6.2 Locations of middens and patterns of discard

One of the earliest recorded locations for a midden is the great dunghill that collected along the west side of the Castle Garth from as early as the 13th and 14th centuries (Fig 6.1). In the early 14th century a complaint was made that the townspeople habitually grazed their beasts around the Castle and threw ordure, offal and

other rubbish in the ditches of the Castle and allowed it to pile up at 'the gate of the castle' (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 85 quoting *Cal Close R 1333–7*, 697). It had become a regularly used dump, if not an 'official' one, by *c* 1500 (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 85). The later history of this notorious dunghill from the 16th century is considered below. While it does not appear that the Black Gate ditch produced significant quantities of organic waste of medieval date, there were some animal bone remains (only a fraction of the later 16th- and 17th-century rubbish deposits). There was, however, a clear ceramic sequence (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 86; Ellison 1981a, 106–11; Rackham 1981, 236 table 5). The implications for trade, consumption patterns, and any social zoning within the town arising from study of the ceramics, are all considered below.

In the south-west of the town, a gutter situated between The Close and the Tyne featured in a dispute when it was built over and obstructed in 1395, curtailing its occasional function as a rubbish dump (*Cal Pat R 1391–6*, 590). The great midden on Sandgate is also referred to as early as 1371 (*Cal Close R 1369–74*, 343) and grew in size throughout the period. In addition to this, several other 'official' middens are documented or may be surmised from references. It seems obvious that the various water-worn denes of the streams that divided Newcastle were used for the dumping of rubbish from earliest times. A common gutter ran south from the middle of Denton Chare to Back Row, presumably forming the rear boundary of some of the properties fronting the Iron Market, and probably originally part of the Lam Burn (Hodgson 1917, 211; Welford 1904, 192; Harbottle and Clack 1976, 115, fig 17). Part of this may have been the feature discovered by Spain in 1929 in the back lane west of St Nicholas Buildings, which was filled with vegetable matter, mixed with soil, cinders and medieval pottery (Spain 1934, 227–33). A common ditch in Crosswellgate suburb is referred to in 1336 (Oliver 1924, 82, no. 119), and might have followed the course of Pandon Burn. Alternatively, it might have utilised the town-wall ditch.

Archaeological study clearly reveals that many locations were used for the dumping of domestic and minor industrial waste. Dumping to create artificial reclamation on the waterfront took place from the 12th through to the late 17th centuries (eg O'Brien *et al* 1989; Truman 2001) has been mentioned above, but it seems that much of the length of the defensive Town-Wall ditch was used as well. Rubbish dumping has been located against the Town Wall between Riverside Tower and Whitefriar Tower, dating from the 14th and 15th centuries (Nolan *et al* 1989, 40). On Stowell Street, near St Andrew's church, domestic debris and cess seems to have been dumped from the late-medieval period onwards in a deliberate attempt either to narrow the stream of the Lam Burn or to build up its banks (Adams 2005, 97).

However, whenever excavation of roads, bridges, burgage plots and their backlands has occurred in Newcastle, it has been noticeable that there has been very little detritus or make-up such as is found normally in many medieval towns (cf York or London). The stratigraphy in the urban core is typically less than 1.50m deep, with very little accumulated soil. This may reflect a particularly rigorous attitude on the part of the town government, with perhaps a semi-enforced regime of dumping, which may have contributed to social attitudes to waste and its treatment. It may also mean that night soil and everyday domestic and industrial rubbish was directed either to the public dumps or to the reclamation of the waterfront as part of a communal effort to enhance the town's commercial infrastructure. The waste beneath the Mansion House was identified as being characteristic of domestic refuse, and the low meat-bearing animal bones within it implied that it had derived from relatively poor households (Davis and Bullock 1995, 191–7). As surviving property deeds and other written records show that The Close was occupied by some of the town's wealthiest burgesses, it has been concluded that the reclamation debris derived from elsewhere within the town. In 1388 an Act of Parliament was passed to punish those who caused corruption near a city or great town, whether resulting from dung, filth, the entrails of slaughtered beasts, or suchlike, cast into ditches, rivers or other water, to the disadvantage of the inhabitants. Following this act, a writ was directed to the bailiffs of Newcastle, ordering them to prevent the throwing of filth into rivers, ditches, streets, etc, especially in a road near the Austin Friars, where the excrement, filth and rubbish had accumulated to such an extent that the

inhabitants were annoyed and felt themselves to be at risk of disease (Welford 1884, 206–7).

6.3 Patterns in the consumption of food

In both this and the following section, the archaeological evidence will be summarised first, followed by a consideration of the relevant documentary evidence.

An overall assessment of the faunal remains from the town indicates that, until the later Middle Ages – usually estimated to be the 15th century – cattle bones tended to predominate in domestic dietary waste. Thereafter, sheep bones tend to be greater in number, although in some instances cattle bones still represented the greater quantity of meat consumed. Mutton might have assumed a greater importance through time, owing to the increased importance of wool and the use of horses as work animals rather than cattle (Davis and Bullock in 1995, 191–7). Pig was the least frequent of the main domestic food species (cf Rackham in Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 234). Whether or not these patterns are true representations of preferential meat consumption has not been established, as archaeological evidence has not proven whether there was a primary change in availability of one species over another, in dumping practice or trading.

Most of the bone found in 13th-century contexts on the town wall between The Close and Hanover Street was presumed to be domestic waste, but there was no evidence as to the selection of parts of the skeleton that would imply preferential consumption of certain joints (Gidney 1989, 49–50). Fish predominated in this assemblage until the 13th century. Unexpectedly, a higher proportion of cattle bones to sheep or goat bones was found in the later medieval period, but this has been put down to redeposition in make-up deposits.

The assemblage from Stockbridge follows the usual pattern: over half of the medieval group is cattle bones, with sheep bones making up a third, and pig bones a tenth, while two-thirds of the post-medieval bones were sheep and only a quarter cattle. There was no evidence of young animals being consumed, suggesting that the animals were not reared locally. Most sheep and cattle slaughtered were two or three years old, producing mature, prime meat (Gidney 2001, 191–209).

Animal bone found dumped on the strip of land inside the Town Wall between The Close and Hanover Street was probably part of domestic waste but included large quantities of pottery redeposited in the 14th and 15th centuries from a midden site somewhere else in town (Nolan in Nolan *et al* 1989, 40). In the town ditch between Heber and Morden Towers, the medieval deposits were richer in animal bone than the post-medieval deposits (Gidney 1989, 68–70 for the following). Sheep or goat remains were both numerically and proportionately greater than other species and most came out of Trench 2. Pig remains were relatively uncommon. A range of bird bones appeared in Trench 2, including swan and peacock. Oyster was the predominant shellfish type. A single peacock bone was identified from 16th-century deposits in the Castle Ditch (Allison 1981, 231–2).

In the 14th century, cattle, sheep/goat, pig and goose are all attested (eg Rackham 1979; Rackham 1980, 141). Short-horn cattle were supplied to the town in the mid-14th century; a group from the late 14th-century Black Gate counterweight slot deposits contained two specimens that could be classified as long horn, although not yet of strict long-horn character (Rackham 1981, 237). From around the middle of the 15th century the proportion of cattle bones diminished and sheep bones increased. It was not possible to ascertain whether this increase was the result of a primary change in availability, or merely local change in dumping practice or trading. Comparison with other sites in the town would be necessary in order to establish this.

From the ratio of larger limb bones of sheep to metatarsals, metacarpals, and in one instance radius, Rackham suggests that some layers in the Castle Ditch outside the Black Gate that contained bone, represented rubbish from a butcher's stall, where these bones have been boned out rather than sold with the meat (Rackham 1981, 234). The treatment of the sheep skulls indicated that the brains were taken out in the butchery process and probably sold for eating. There was evidence that the horns were removed prior to butchery of the skull (Rackham 1981, 237). The medieval sheep found in Newcastle were smaller and less robust than those found in post-medieval contexts, as might be expected, as sheep were increasingly bred on the improved pasture of

post-enclosure landscapes (cf Walton 1981, 191).

The Castle Ditch produced evidence for the consumption of turkey, introduced into Europe in 1523 or 1524, and first mentioned in England in a *Dietarie* of Archbishop Cranmer in 1541. As the bone came from a 16th-century context, we might assume it dated from *c* 1543 or after and came from a relatively high-status household.

Shellfish tended to be found in domestic dietary waste rather than commercial waste, as might be expected in a port. Mussel, oyster, periwinkle, cockle, limpet and edible crab have all been found from the 13th century onwards (Rackham 1981, 229–43; Rackham 1980, 141). Fish might well have been eaten in abundance, but there has been a poor recovery of fish bone. The bones of large fish (eg haddock, cod, ling and sturgeon) have survived in certain conditions in the 16th century (Jones 1981, 230–1). Some fish bones were recovered from the medieval deposits at Stockbridge and were found to be primarily cod and haddock, with a number of unidentified smaller species, as expected (Gidney and Stokes 2001, 209–10).

Dyer has demonstrated that magnate consumers used London and the larger ports to acquire many of their goods, to the relative exclusion of smaller towns closer to their own manors or within their own dioceses (2000, 257–81). Transport costs from the capital discouraged northern magnates from purchasing as much from London as their southern counterparts, and thus Newcastle benefited from their custom for luxuries as well as some bulk products (Dyer 2000, 263). One function of the magnate town houses (*see* section 5.4.4) was to allow them to be used by their stewards or agents in order to secure these purchases, and store them for consumption in town or for later transfer to their castles, manors and monasteries farther afield (Dyer 2000, 261). Second-rank consumers, minor barons, rich knights and monasteries with middling income, used regional capitals and ports like Newcastle as a principal source of commodities (Dyer 2000, 266). This rank too, owned houses in Newcastle. The combination of documentary and excavated evidence from, for example, London shows that these town houses were arranged and run effectively as estates in miniature, within the limits of space imposed by pre-existing urban building and street patterns (cf Milne 1992). The bulk of the everyday victualling of magnate and baronial town houses came from supplies delivered through tenurial relationships with their country estates (Dyer 2000, 261).

Certain foodstuffs were probably imported to Newcastle in small amounts, for example from the Low Countries on the return voyages of the wool fleet, and later, in the early 16th century, consumer goods such as canary wines and sugar were brought by vessels that would leave Newcastle loaded with coal (Blanchard 1973, 71–3). Threlfall-Holmes's analysis of expenditure recorded in the Durham Priory obedientary accounts has thrown light on Newcastle's trade 'from the consumers' point of view' (2005, 141; 2003). While the Priory exploited tenurial rights for supplies of the bulk of its grain, around half of its fish and meat provisioning and locally produced cloth, it came to rely more and more on Newcastle as a market source. As Newcastle's role as a market for, and exporter of, coal increased in the early modern period, the countryside around became industrialised to the extent that it became dependent on Newcastle as a food and provisions market and redistributive centre.

6.4 Industry and patterns in the consumption of manufactured goods

Archaeological deposits in Newcastle have rarely provided the basis upon which to view spatial separation between craft or industrial waste, and household waste. Pits containing material relating to industry or manufacture might be found in the backlands of tenement plots when the frontage buildings have been destroyed by post-medieval and modern foundations and cellaring (Fig 6.2). The deposits tend to have been mixed up in general rubbish dumping or, on the riverfront, large-scale reclamation dumping. It is very difficult, therefore, to infer occupational or industrial zoning, other than through an assumption that the material will not have been carried too far from its point of origin. Even this, however, has been proved to be an unfounded assumption as some dumped material can be shown to have travelled some distance, quite apart from the imported ballast from the south east of England, although the Stockbridge and eastern Quayside excavations are important exceptions. Nonetheless, valuable information

can be gained with regard to the nature of industry, craft production and commodity consumption in the town. This section will consider first a number of crafts and industries that required animal products for their raw materials; craft and industry based on non-animal resources will follow.

6.4.1 Hides and leather

Much evidence for leather-working processes is derived from material found in dumps, especially from the waterfront reclamation deposits. While this material cannot tell us anything reliable about the location of such industries, it can help us to distinguish roles within leather-working. There was, for example, an assemblage of relatively hard-wearing everyday shoes, a knife sheath and belt fragments from the Queen Street late 13th-century Phase 4 landfill dumps, but there was also an amount of cobblers' waste: offcuts, scraps, repair pieces and 'translated shoes, that is shoe pieces that had been re-cut for reuse or for patches (Dixon 1988, 93–4). Similarly, leather cobblers' waste was found in the material that constituted the formalisation of Byker Chare, dating to the 13th and early 14th centuries (O'Brien *et al* 1989). A repair patch was also found in domestic debris of the mid-14th to early 15th century next to Close Gate (Vaughan 1994, 132). The distinction is worth emphasising as 'shoemakers were not allowed to undertake repairs, just as cobblers were not permitted to make shoes' (Riley 1868; Jones 1975 quoted in Dixon in O'Brien *et al* 1988, 103). Shoe leather was among the debris from a group of contexts found at or below low-tide mark at the bottom of the embankment constructed to reclaim land to the west of The Swirle outlet. The style and construction of all shoe parts in this assemblage were consistent with a deposition towards the end of the 14th century (MacElvaney 1993, 213). These were mainly ankle boots, which fastened at the front with a metal buckle and strap. Parallels have come from Trig Lane, London, and Oxford Castle. Some tufts of animal fibre in the Queen Street deposits could have originated as waste from a tanner's workshop (Walton 1988, 78). Numerous leather objects were found at Stockbridge, primarily dating to the late-12th or early 13th centuries. These included two ankle boots and several sole and uppers (Vaughan and Rowntree 2001, 161–2).

Fig 6.2 Pits in the backlands of tenements, former Binns', Bigg Market.

The most interesting of the waterfront leather finds are the two side-lacing shoes found on The Close in 2005, which had woven or plaited straw matting sandwiched within the shoe soles. The only parallels for this structure are found in shoes and boots from ships, where the organic matting was used deliberately for insulation, albeit that these parallels date to the middle years of the 16th century. However, most side-lacing shoes of The Close form have been dated to the late 12th to the mid-14th century, which suggests that these are an early form of shoe specially developed for sailors or waterfront workers (Mould in Mole forthcoming).

On cattle skulls found in the Castle Ditch at the Black Gate, there was evidence for the carcasses having been skinned prior to the removal of the horns (Rackham 1981, 242–3). Leather production from pig skin might go largely unnoticed in collections of faunal remains, as the feet were often used for food and would appear in domestic waste rather than industrial waste (Rackham 1981, 234). The large amount of leather from mostly one layer in the early 16th-century phase of the Castle Ditch has been cited as possible cobblers' waste (Vaughan 1981, 184), and cobblers' waste more certainly recurred in a phase dated to the second quarter of the 16th century (Vaughan 1981, 189). The identification of this waste as scraps from old shoes that had been unpicked and had had patches cut from them is perhaps significant in terms of the location. It has

been suggested that the leather came from the workshop of one who mended rather than made shoes. Cobbling or 'translating' – as distinct from shoemaking (cordwaining) – was not an incorporated trade in Newcastle. The Castle and its precincts were exempt from the administrative control of the Corporation and from the social and economic disciplines of the trade companies that were regulated by the Corporation: 'Elsewhere in the town, a new tradesman could only commence business if he compounded with his relevant company for the privilege. Since this writ did not run in the Castle Garth, it drew itinerant traders, those not practising a recognised craft such as cobblers' (Nolan 1990, 83).

Brand dated the ordinary of the Company of Skinners to 20 January 1437 and among the names of those incorporated into the craft were some whose names recur in property transactions and religious benefactions, including Laurence Acton, Richard Hall and Roger Thornton (1789 **2**, 314). The relative importance of the trade in hides is reflected in the fact that this and the related leather crafts formed so many of the original craft guilds in the town (*see* chapter 5, section 5.2.1). In addition to the working of cow and sheep hides, small knife marks on several cat bones from late-medieval deposits next to the town wall at Orchard Street showed that lesser valued pelts were also sought (Dobney and Jaques 1993, 128). In 1337 sumptuary legislation was passed in an attempt to limit the wearing of any furs to the royal family, prelates, earls, barons, knights and clerks with at least £100 a year (Veale 2003, 40). By 1363, however, the law had to be changed as the restrictions had proved futile in the face of changing social forces. The new law listed which furs were deemed appropriate for different levels of the social hierarchy and only workmen, 'servants of various sorts and those who had less than forty shillings' worth of goods were excluded' (Veale 2003, 4–5). Cat was counted with lamb, coney and fox as being furs of native origin and suitable for the majority of the working populations of towns and villages who were ranked beneath esquires or gentlemen with lands worth £100, clerks with less than £133 6s 8d, and citizens and craftsmen worth £500 a year (Veale 2003, 5).

The importance of hides and woolfells to the Newcastle economy in the reign of Edward I was based on a relatively abundant supply from Northumberland and the other counties of the North, as well as from Scotland. Similarly, some of the more highly prized native furs still could be gleaned from these relatively unpopulated areas in the late 15th century, whereas much of England had already depleted many of its wild faunal populations (Veale 2003, 59). Consequently, Newcastle played a significant part in the trade in skins and furs between Scotland and London in the late 14th century. In 1391 a Dundee ship unloaded lamb, otter and fox skins in Newcastle, and London skinners visited Newcastle (Veale 2003, 60). Newcastle's trade with the Baltic provided a route for the finest and most valuable furs. One Peter de Newcastle was a member of the elite and politically influential *Corpus Christi* Fraternity of London Skinners in 1340–1 (Veale 2003, 106, n. 2).

The ordinary of the Company of Tanners dated to 8 November 1532. Each brother was to buy slaughter from one butcher, and they were regulated in the amount of bark or quantity of trees that they could purchase for their trade, although they were to help each other out (Brand 1789 **2**, 317). The ordinary of the Cordwainers dated to only 7 December 1566 (Brand 1789 **2**, 317), but as it mentioned that they met in the lately dissolved monastery of the Blackfriars a new ordinary might have been drawn up on accession to these premises. The Glovers had an ordinary dating to 20 January 1436, and the Saddlers to 6 March 1459 (Brand 1789 **2**, 347; 316).

6.4.2 Horn and antler

Small amounts of horn-working or slaughter-house debris were recovered from the 13th century on the Town Wall between The Close and Hanover Street (Gidney 1989, 49–50).

Domestic food refuse was not thought to be the major source of faunal material on every site, as dog, horse and cat were abundant. Even for cattle and sheep/goat the proportion of meat-bearing bones (ribs, vertebrae and limbs) to the largely inedible extremities (heads and feet) was low. This pattern was evident in all three periods, which implies a continuity of waste-disposal patterns on this site. Only 11 out of 521 fragments of bone had butchery marks. The large number of sheep/goat toe bones from the medieval deposits was unusual, as the majority were first phalanges. Feet can

be discarded by the butcher or left in the skin and discarded by the tanner. Metapodials could be used for pegging roof tiles. The majority of cattle fragments from medieval contexts were from horn cores, suggesting a small amount of horn-workers' rather than butchers' waste. It was noted, however, that the quantity present was too small to suggest a horn-worker in the immediate vicinity.

Some antler fragments were found in the Castle Ditch but do not necessarily indicate antler-working (Rackham 1981, 232). There were, however, a number of bone, horn and antler artefacts, including a comb, some toilet implements and knife handles (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 183–4). The Stockbridge entertainment-related bone items (a set of thirteen tuning pegs for a zither-like instrument that had been strung with copper wire, two whistles and a mouthpiece) have been mentioned (chapter 5, section 5.8.1; fig 5.44); such items are as likely to be the property of seamen and merchants as representative of local manufacture.

Occasional medieval bone assemblages have been interpreted as the debris from glue-making, including fragments of butchered horse at Closegate and Orchard Street (Dobney and Jaques 1993, 128).

6.4.3 Cloth-manufacture and tailoring

As was noted above (*see* section 5.6) a possibly wattle-lined rectangular pit or box, and timber-lined water channels on the east of Sandhill (10–17 Sandhill; Archaeological Practice 1995) might indicate water-based industries such as cloth-working (cf the more clearly indentifiable group of cloth-finishing facilities at Lower Brook Street, Winchester) from the 11th to the 13th centuries (Biddle 1964–70; 1972; 1975a). The ordinary of the Fullers and Dyers dated to 6 May 1477 (Brand 1789 **2**, 320).

Most of the textile fragments from the Castle Ditch were angular or curved offcuts, and probably derived from a tailor's shop (Walton 1981, 201). Some of the scraps showed remains of seams, 'suggesting that old garments were unpicked and re-used' (Walton 1981, 202). Further evidence of the re-processing of yarn or cloth came from the caulking samples in Queen Street (Walton 1988, 78).

Walton produced a summary of weaving and cloth finishing in Newcastle, from which she concluded that the town was never an important centre for textile manufacture, but nevertheless a certain amount of weaving took place (Walton in Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 204–5). Although the earliest extant ordinary of the Company of Weavers known to Brand was dated to 31 August 1527 (1789 **2**, 339), in 1373, John Scot, 'textor', was witness to a Newcastle deed (Oliver 1924, 169, no. 317); in 1449, William 'lee Chaloner', was living in Barefoot Friar Chare (Oliver 1924, 162–3, no. 300); and in 1516, the 'craft of challon weavers' was mentioned in a Star Chamber decree concerning Newcastle (Brand 1789 **2**, 340). The general quality of the cloths produced seems to have been poor, and was known as 'cogware', as it was sold to the crewmen of cog ships (Walton 1981, 205). A small amount of cloth was of sufficient quality to be taxed; some worsted must have been made in the 15th and 16th centuries; but woollen cloth predominated, the sources citing kerseys, broadcloth, and friezes as being processed by the fullers and dyers, while broadcloth, straits and kerseys were named by the Weavers' Company (Walton 1981, 205; Brand 1789 **2**, 320–1; 339–41). Most of the fragments recovered from the Castle Ditch could be equated with these medium-coarse textiles. Finer cloths of English manufacture would have been available for sale through the town's Cloth Market, and there were small quantities of these among the Castle Ditch assemblage. From an analysis of the fleece types represented from textiles in the Castle Ditch, Walton has estimated that in the early and mid-16th century Newcastle was far from reliant on local textiles or wool (only 22% of her sample) (Walton 1981, 191). The small fragment of knitted cloth of southern European or French manufacture might have been a casual loss, or a gift; but some Scandinavian cloth could have been part of a deliberate trade, as also wadmal, which was used to package shipped trade goods (Walton 1981, 200; 197; 205). Compared with the large amount of 'tough, hard-wearing' everyday English woollen fragments, there were relatively few fragments of silk, which would have been imported via the southern English ports through Spanish and Italian merchants, and sold by Newcastle mercers (Walton 1981, 205; 201).

6.4.4 Grindstones and mortars

Newcastle was the major distribution point for grindstones in the north from the 13th century. The evidence for export is largely documentary, with the trade extending to the Continent as well as southern England. Grindstones were taken to Normandy in the second half of the 14th century (Blake 1967, 14) and to the Baltic in the 16th century (Zins 1972, 203). Large quarries for grindstone production existed around Newcastle and Gateshead, and one at Elswick produced millstones from the early 14th century at least (Jobey 1986, 60). Inevitably, various portions of quernstone and millstone were recovered in the course of excavation in Newcastle, eg the millstone reused as the base of a hearth at Stockbridge in the mid-late 14th century (Truman 2001, 138); millstones of porous volcanic stone reused as paving in the 15th or 16th century to the west of Stockbridge at Burn Bank, on the Crown Court site (O'Brien *et al* 1989, 150–1). There were also fragments of imported Purbeck marble mortars, and a mortar-like stone with anthropomorphic decoration (eg at Queen Street, O'Brien 1988, 107–8).

6.4.5 Metalworking and limeburning

The reclaimed land at Stockbridge in Pandon was used intensively for the working of iron ore and iron smithing. Dumps of ash, slag and coal presumed to have derived from metalworking were evident from the late 12th to early 13th century, when the reclamation was still relatively new. The first building was associated with a hearth, scattered ferrous material, and a possible anvil platform (Truman 2001, 107). A similar structure contained a smithy at Bordesley Abbey. This smithy had been powered by a watermill, which drove its bellows and trip hammers, and it has been conjectured that the Pandon Burn may have powered the Stockbridge operation (Truman 2001, 148).

The first street, Blyth Nook, was partially made up of iron-working debris. Similarly, hearth deposits were used as the basis for new hearths. By the mid-13th century the site had been divided into plots, and there were several metalworking hearths with flues, which expanded into the area designated Blyth Nook II. Up to the mid-13th century there was intense evidence for metalworking in and around Building II, with a sequence of hearths. Waste material was both spread and dumped into pits. Some indication of the amount of metalworking can be gained from the fact that metalworking debris was used to extend the land artificially 5m into the Pandon Burn (Truman 2001, 117, 122–3). Metalworking continued into the subsequent period, and a keyhole-shaped oven or kiln was constructed. Metalworking was initiated to the east of Building II, including a hearth within a lean-to timber structure. After an episode of burning caused the destruction of the building, there was reorganisation of activity. From the mid-13th century, further hearths were built and their use resulted in considerable amounts of waste, which was spread across the site. At some time between 1270 and 1350 a substantial stone hearth or oven was built of sandstone blocks and clay bonding (Truman 2001, 131). There was a major phase of rebuilding in the mid-late 14th century and the area continued to support intensive metalworking into the 16th century.

Analysis of the slags and residues from Stockbridge concluded that iron smelting had taken place in the vicinity, but not on the site itself. This suggests that metalworking occupied a large area across the reclaimed Pandon inlet. It was concluded that the local smelting could not have been of a large scale, for documentary accounts for the building of the 'Pandon Galley' in 1294 itemise the iron brought from St Andrews in Scotland and Spain (Mack and McDonnell 2001, 149, citing Whitwell and Johnson 1926, 148, 158). The majority of the evidence was for iron-smithing, in the form of slag, hammerscale, hearth-lining, and hearth bottoms. Unsurprisingly, the predominant fuel was coal, although charcoal may also have been used. A range of artefacts relating to smithing was found, although many were broken or part-formed and had probably been gathered for recycling. A number of rod-shaped blanks were recovered, representing the 'crucial bridge of evidence between the refined bloom and the finished artefact' (Mack and McDonnell 2001, 151). These are rarely recovered archaeologically.

Two ovens or kilns, with brick walls and floors, indicated that industrial activity of an unspecified nature took place in the 15th and 16th century on the east side of Burn Bank, on the Crown Court site, adjacent to Stockbridge (O'Brien *et al* 1989, 145–6).

Iron-smithing debris and associated structures were also found on Gallowgate, dating to the early 13th century (Northern Archaeological Associates 2004, 7). High Bridge produced evidence for small-scale iron-smithing in the form of a succession of hearths in Area B of the site in the late 13th to 14th century, and with a hearth and tank for an unidentified industrial use in Area A of the site in the 14th century, followed by a second hearth in the late-14th to early 15th century (Brogan and Mabbitt 2003, 37; 26–7). Sample analysis of slag from the 14th-century context 6112 in Area A proved that iron-smithing had taken place, and that the fuel used had been coal (Dungworth 2003, Appendix 5).

In the later Middle Ages an average of three tons of iron was imported into Newcastle per month, but the origins of the product was rarely recorded (Wade 1994, 42). While some authors have presumed that it was all Spanish iron, Threlfall-Holmes has pointed out that, although the majority of it may have come from Spain in the normal course of trade, high-quality bar iron was imported from Sweden (known as Osmund iron), and Liège is recorded as a source in 1494/5 (1999, 111; Wade 1994, 42). The bursars' accounts of Durham Cathedral Priory reveal that the Priory bought most of its imported iron from Newcastle merchants, but that there was a sudden drop in imported iron in favour of local products in the mid-1480s (Threlfall-Holmes 2000, 111; 2003). One of the Newcastle iron merchants was a woman, Alice Byrde, who appears to have been a significant merchant in her own right, rather than being named as a merchant's widow who continued her husband's business (Threlfall-Holmes 2000, 118; 120).

The excavations at The Swirle recovered a remarkable series of nine limeburning kilns built into the embankment that was constructed to hold in dumped ballast material that formed the side of The Swirle Burn to the east, and the new riverfront to the south (Ellison *et al* 1993). The first kiln has been dated to *c* 1280 to 1320, and the use of the kilns continued until *c* 1400.

Lime was a staple for mortar and plaster in stone-building in the Middle Ages, and continued to be so into the modern era. From the 16th century it began to be produced for agricultural purposes, in order to neutralise acidic soils (Ellison *et al* 1993, 220). Lime kilns are mentioned in a Newcastle property deed of 1251–9, situated near the river (Oliver 1924, 90, no.132). Limeburning was a very skilled craft, but much also depended on the source material, the fuel and the design and efficiency of the kiln used. Owing to the nature of medieval lime kilns, if a slope or bank were available to the limeburners 'in which to recess the kiln, this would … [cut] down considerably on construction time and [facilitate] access to the top of the kiln for loading' (Ellison *et al* 1993, 222). The ballast-shore reclamation embankment was, thus, a perfect location. They were all single-flued kilns of a common form, built out of local sandstone, and similar clusters are known from Bedford and Colchester, or associated with specific building campaigns elsewhere. The southern row of kilns had a continuous frontage wall. It was deduced that four, or possibly up to seven, of the Newcastle kilns were in use at the same, probably 'around or before' the mid-14th century, and the others came into production over the following decades (Ellison *et al* 1993, 223–4 for the following). This is unparalleled for the medieval period. Equally notable is the fact that the kilns seem to have been deliberately planned as a series.

It can be argued that lime was sourced from stone imported largely as ballast, and that its carriage was integrally linked to the coal trade, all to the benefit of revenue and building projects in Newcastle. It has been calculated that The Swirle lime kilns ran at a temperature of 1000° C for a period of not less than 51 days, which in turn implies a seasonal use. The fuel was coal. Samples of raw material for the limeburning are thought to have been imported – the chalk from East Anglia or the South East of England, and the Carboniferous Limestone from the north of Northumberland provided likely sources, but outcrops of each type of stone were available far closer to hand. Further, it has been argued that the town charged a due for the dumping of ships' ballast perhaps from the 14th century, if not the 13th century (*see* section 5.6.1; Ellison *et al* 1993, 224–5). As Newcastle coal was shipped to ports in East Anglia and the Thames estuary at this time, as well as to the Low Countries and France, it seems likely that stone was being carried on the northward coastal route, and perhaps from the Continent. As stones are sometimes recorded separately in the *Chamberlains' Accounts*, it

has been suggested that they constituted a commodity in themselves (Fraser 1987, xv–xvi). The authors of the excavation report cited a random selection of ships, sailing from Boulogne, Dieppe, Yarmouth, Cromer and Rochester, which all arrived on the Tyne carrying stone, and left with coal (Ellison *et al* 1993, 224). As the trade in shipping coal to London and to the Continent is documented from the 13th century, and as trading contacts with East Anglia and Kent are also attested from this century, it was deemed possible that an analogous trade in stone existed at the time the lime kilns were built on the East Quayside (Ellison *et al* 1993, 225). Indeed, coal was shipped from Newcastle to limeburners for building programmes in other parts of England in the 13th century (Blake 1967, 2–9).

It was estimated that the seasonal yield of lime from the kilns could have been between 1600 tonnes and 3200 tonnes (Ellison *et al* 1993, 225–6). This represents large-scale production. Having considered the tight dating supplied by the ceramic evidence associated with the working of the kilns, and the fact that it has always been safer and more efficient to produce lime for mortar in close proximity to the building works for which it was required, the authors considered that the kilns could have been constructed for the express purpose of providing mortar for the completion of the Town Wall in the south-east of the town (Ellison *et al* 1993, 226). In the light of more recent archaeology, it might also be suggested that lime was required for the intensive building in stone discovered at Stockbridge and Crown Court in the 14th century.

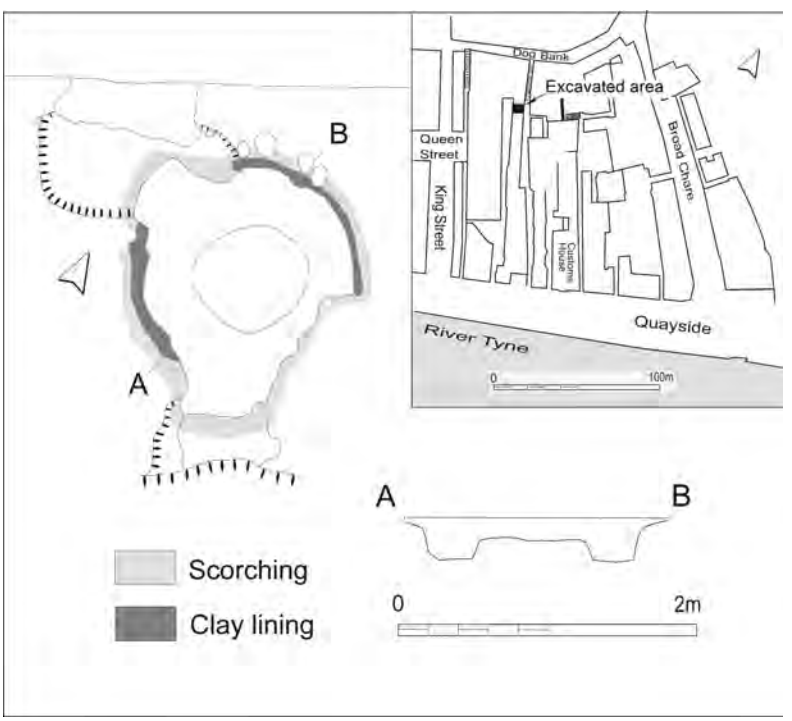


Fig 6.3 Location of Dog Bank Kilns (after O'Brien 1988).

6.4.6 Ceramics

The full extent of the production, distribution and consumption of ceramics in the wider North East is not yet understood, as no full synthesis has been made. Limited, generalised statements have been made possible through the North-East Regional Research Framework (Petts with Gerrard 2006, 79). Dog Bank Kiln Ware (Figs 6.3 and 6.4) – dated perhaps as early as the later 11th century if not the 9th century, otherwise to between 1150 and 1200 – is the single product that has been archaeologically proven to have originated in Newcastle (Bown 1988, 34–6; O'Brien *et al* 1988, 31 Nolan *et al* 2010, 260–1). It is thought that the Dog Bank Wares were made from Quaternary lake sediments, which filled the Tyne Valley, and they are consequently similar in petrological composition to other locally produced wares found at, for example, Prudhoe and Jarrow (Vince 2003, Appendix 4). The fabrics of York A ware and Dog Bank ware are very similar and dating the latter has proved problematic (Nolan *et al* 2010, 261). Other 12th-century fabrics present in Newcastle include: Oxidised Gritty Ware (E10 at Jarrow); both hand-made and wheel-thrown Gritty Wares; Gritty Buff and Oxidised Wares; possible Tees Valley 'A' ware, and sherds similar to 'EGR' from Durham Saddler Street; and Durham Coarse Ware – each of the latter two possibly dating from the late 11th to 13th centuries (Jenner 2003, 54). Imported wheel-thrown Flemish Grey Ware of the late 12th to late 13th or early 14th century was found at High Bridge, of a fabric chemically similar to that produced in kilns in Bruges and Aardenburg (Jenner 2003, 54; Vince 2003, Appendix 4). The Newcastle samples probably date to the earlier end of this time span.

The locally produced wares from the high Middle Ages, and recognised on all major sites, fall into two categories. These are wares made from clay that fired to a buff or white colour; and wares made from an iron-rich clay that fired to either a red or dark grey

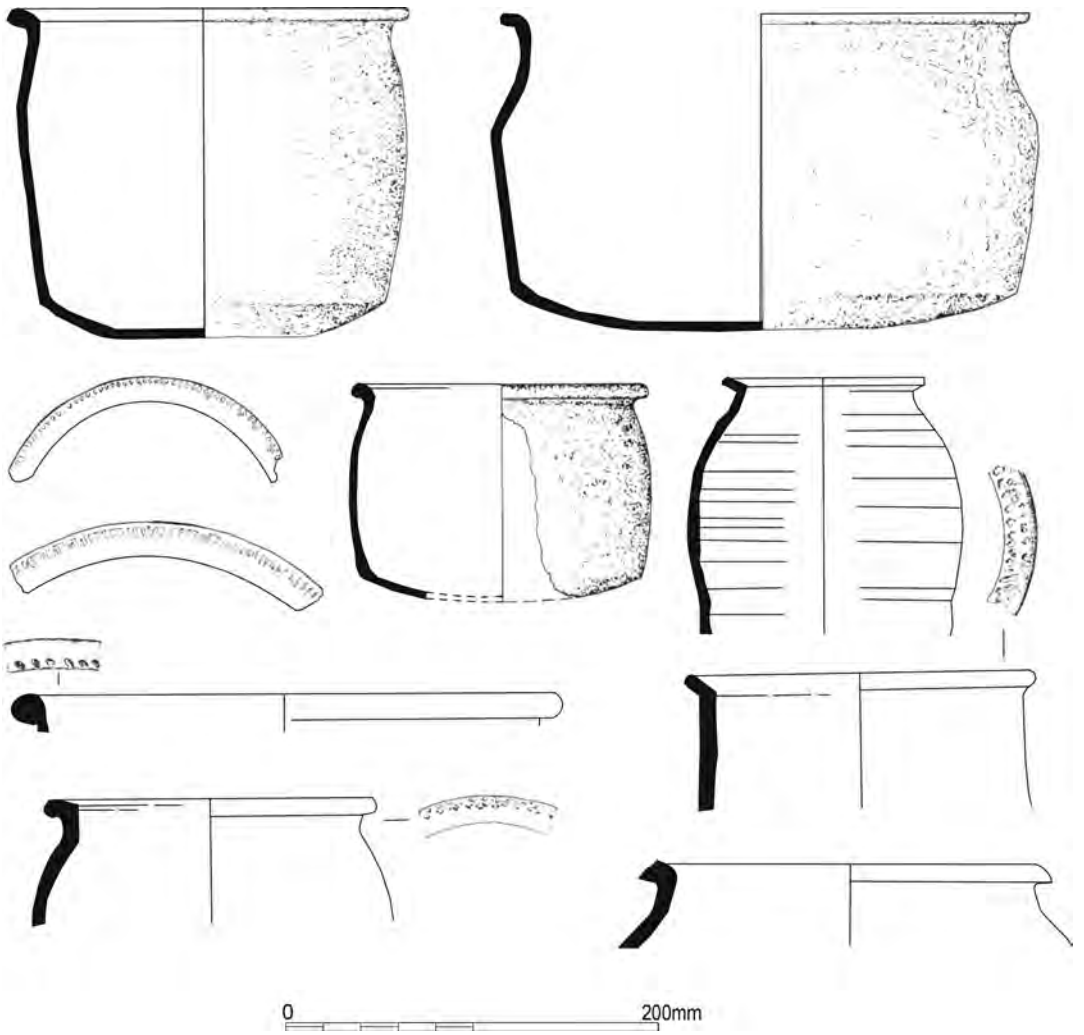


Fig 6.4 Dog Bank Kiln ware (after O'Brien 1988).

colour, of which a large sub-category is called 'reduced greenwares' (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 169). In the Castle Ditch, on the Mansion House site, and, for example, on sites associated with the Blackfriars, orange/buff wares (Fig 6.5) dominated from the late 13th to 14th centuries (Franklin 2006, 69). Nonetheless, there were different sub-categories and the general observation has been that harder-fired products of darker fabric became more common from the early 14th century in the Castle Ditch and the Close Gate excavation (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 169; Vaughan 1994). Locally reduced greenwares occurred from the 14th century up to the late 16th century in the Castle Ditch, although some other sites demonstrated slightly varying chronologies, for example, at the Milk Market on the riverfront (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1995, 230). A group identified as 'later reduced greenwares' dominated in the 15th century in the Castle Ditch, Newgate Street, and the Mansion House, although a possible transitional type between buff white ware and greenwares was identified at the Mansion House and at the Blackfriars (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 170–1). This general pattern was not found at Queen Street, however, where the 13th-century assemblage was dominated by quartz gritted wares, and the buff white wares were dominant in the 14th and 15th centuries (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 171; Bown 1989, 76). The buff white ware forms tended to be of cooking pots and jars – both large and small – and jugs. The grey wares and 'reduced greenwares' tended to be cooking pots and jugs, cisterns and miscellaneous other forms.

Scarborough Ware of various forms and phases (dependent on debate within the

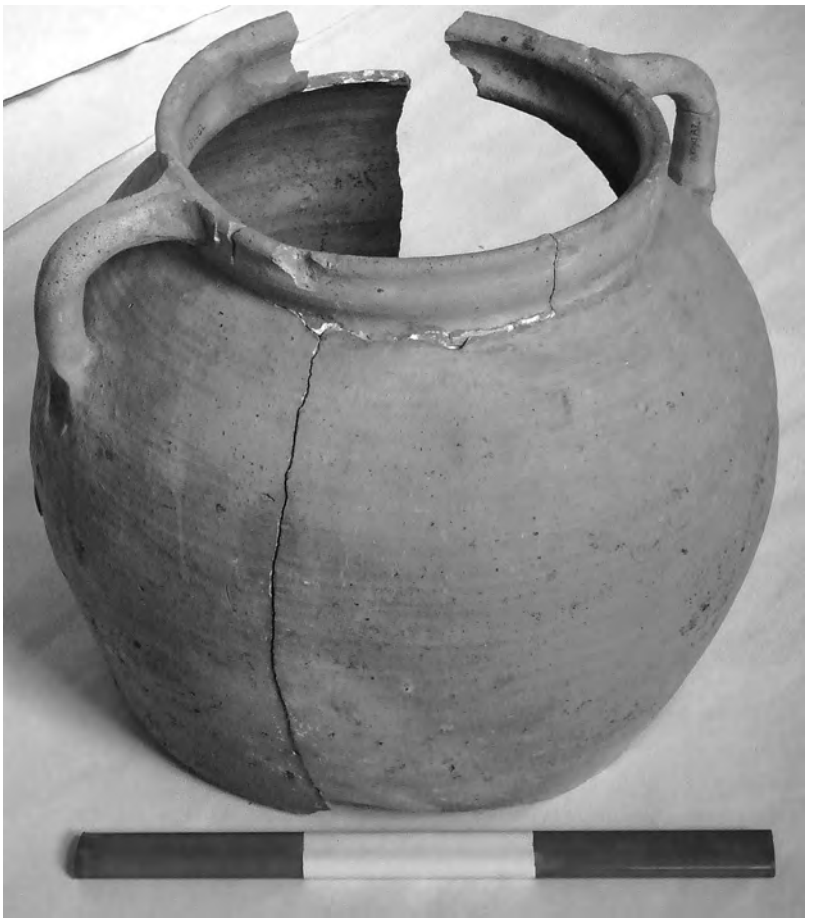


Fig 6.5 Large storage pot in local buff ware, excavated from Blackfriars (scale = 300 mm).

specialist discipline) has been found on most sites, as would be expected as part of the east-coast trade. Although not present in great quantities, there is a tendency for the greater concentrations of Saintonge to coincide with areas of industrial use in Newcastle. In general, jugs are represented but an aquamanile or 'siren' had been adapted for reuse through foreshortening and with holes of different sizes drilled through the remaining body. It may have been used as a sort of watering can or perhaps as a utensil associated with metalworking, at High Bridge (Jenner 2003, 54).

The character of Buff White Ware, distinguished by moderate to abundant black rounded inclusions of slag in a white-firing clay, has suggested an interesting symbiosis of local industries to Jenner and Cooper (2005, 166). The pottery is thought likely to have originated somewhere in or near Newcastle, or perhaps in County Durham. Although various analyses of the slag within this pottery proved inconclusive (Mack and McDonnell 2005, 154), a tentative hypothesis has been advanced that the inclusions might indicate that pottery and iron-working industries in the region were co-operating to the extent that iron slag was being supplied for use as a temper to the potters. The inclusions increased vessel heat resistance, which would have made the products suitable for use in the iron-working industry itself. If the vessels were made locally, they could have been supplied with relative ease and consequently low cost of transport to the iron-workers (Jenner and Cooper 2005, 166).

There was no discernible change in the types and variety of ceramics present at Stockbridge in the periods immediately before and after the archaeological horizon equated with the annexation of Pandon: indeed fragments of so-called 'knight' jugs of Scarborough-type ware were present in Period 8 and Period 11 (Truman 2001, 133; 138). However, one anomaly from the excavation is worth highlighting. A small quantity of sherds from Saintonge polychrome jugs decorated with leaf pattern was found in a Period 12 context (N.B. references to a Period 11, phase 1 context (Jenner and Cooper 2005, 173) are erroneous). The decoration indicated a particular type, which has been dated to *c* 1300 and has been thought to be 'one of the finest wares of the period and therefore for the tables of the great' (Jenner and Cooper in Truman 2001, 173, citing Radford 1933). The same material was found in contexts dating to the early to late 14th century at Queen Street (Bown 1988, 76). Jenner and Cooper could not reconcile the presence of this ware in an area dominated by industry (in 2005, 173). The absence of metalsmiths in the Pandon entry of the *Lay Subsidy Roll* of 1296 (Fraser 1968, 76–7) has been interpreted as possibly meaning that the smiths were too poor to have been made to contribute (Truman 2001, 99). The high-status Saintonge ware suggests that either the status of some metalworkers changed in the early 14th century, or that perhaps the jugs originated from merchant houses fronting onto Pandon. The archaeological phasing and dating suggests that neither the buildings nor their inhabitants were there when the *Lay Subsidy* was raised. Property deeds from the early 14th century suggest that a number of relatively wealthy people owned land here (although they might not necessarily have lived here). These included John de Brinkelow, tanner, and his wife Dionisia in 1339 and 1343 (Oliver 1924,

183, no. 360 and 83–4, no. 122); the Chancellor of Scotland, from 1308 to 1325 (*PSAN* 1902 ser 2, **10**, 278); Hugh de Hecham or Heckham, bailiff from 1325 to 1334, and mayor in 1335 and 1337 (*Cal Close R 1354–60*; Oliver 1924, 211–13). Saintonge imports were also found at High Bridge, in contexts associated with metalworking industrial waste (Jenner 2003, 49).

The ceramic evidence from the western Sandgate site excavated in 1992 indicated that nearly three-fifths of the overall 15th-century assemblage consisted of reduced greenware type 4. Another fifth was of Low Country Redware. The rest was made up of early to late 15th-century sherds, including small quantities of imported Rhenish stonewares (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994, 224). The most frequently found forms of reduced greenware were jugs, cisterns and storage jars.

Of the imported stonewares from the major excavations, Langerwehe products were the most common of the Rhenish imports found in stratified contexts in Newcastle in the 14th and 15th centuries (Gaimster 1997, 88 for the following). They were twice as common in these phases as Siegburg stoneware, but Raeren products were beginning to make an impact at the very end of the 15th century. A parallel for these distributions and proportions has been identified in the 15th-century contexts at Sandal Castle, West Yorkshire. Langerwehe was the only form of stoneware present at High Bridge (Jenner 2003, 51). In the first half of the 16th century Raeren imports achieved a 'virtual monopoly': a comparable range of early 16th-century Raeren vessels has been found at various sites across Southampton (Gaimster 1997, 89). Cologne mugs with botanical relief decoration have been identified as a type fossil of British sites of the first quarter of the 16th century (Gaimster 1997, 91). Although they were never as numerous as Raeren mugs, the decoration 'suggests that these were specialist products intended for the more exclusive tableware market' (Gaimster 1997, 91). Gaimster suggests that the stratified Castle Ditch finds of Cologne mugs demonstrated the 'significant social premium associated with these wares', as well as their lengthy period of circulation in the town (1997, 91). As a comparison, for example, the Tudor courtier house of Acton Court, Avon, produced an assemblage of these mugs and jugs in a phase associated with the visitation of Henry VIII in 1534/5 (Gaimster 1997, 91).

Given these general observations, it is worth looking at the contextual evidence in more detail. Imported Dutch, Siegburg and Langerwehe vessels first appeared in the Castle Ditch in the mid-14th century, but in limited quantities, and it is unclear if they derived from a garrison. From the late 15th century, tipping into the Castle Ditch not only speeded up, but the direction of the tipping lines fossilised in the stratigraphy implies that all the rubbish was tipped from north to south, ie from the townspeople's side, and therefore came from outside the Castle precinct itself. The nature of the layers altered and there was a vast increase in both the types and quantity of objects found. Some 4m of debris accumulated over 100 years, with little time for silting between deposits. The tips were made up of what was presumed to be building debris, domestic hearth ash, nightsoil and minor industrial rubbish. The filling is marked by a continuous and accelerating increase in the proportion of imported wares being discarded. As Harbottle and Ellison noted in 1981 (1981, 95), there is no need to use artefacts to establish the countries with which Newcastle merchants traded – Flanders and the Netherlands, the Baltic (these are documented in *Chamberlains' Accounts*, see eg Fraser 1987) – but the imported pottery does imply changes in local production and social habits.

Rather than merely indicating the general increase of trade from the late 15th century to late 16th century, and the importance of North Sea trade to Newcastle generally, comparison with the relatively unrepresentative quantity of pottery from France and London suggests that the quantity of pottery of Low Countries and Rhenish origins must represent a regular trade in pottery from these areas rather than occasional imports incidental to other trade. Margaret Ellison made the case, which has been somewhat neglected since, that the increase in imports paralleled a similar increase in the range of vessel forms in domestic use in the 15th and 16th centuries (Ellison 1981, 95). In other words, social or economic changes seem to have prompted a new demand. Until recent excavations produced fabrics unrepresented in the Castle Ditch assemblage, it was thought that local products did not copy the new imports (but *see below*), and, in one or

two instances, that the imports replaced local products altogether.

These observations point not only to increased consumption of imported wares as presumably status indicators, but also to changed habits in the preparation and presentation of food influenced by the Low Countries and the Rhineland in particular. The vessels were accompanied by imported floor tiles and roof tiles. The quality and quantity of the imported pottery and glass implies fairly well-to-do residents, and it has been suggested that the material came from the market area to the north of the Castle, probably around St Nicholas's church. Between the late 13th century and the 17th century this remained an area of dense, wealthy population.

This development can be seen in the context of Gaimster's post-medieval ceramic revolution of the period 1450–1550 (see eg Gaimster and Nenk 1997), and tempered by the Belgian pottery expert Verhaeghe's comments (1997). Gaimster has argued that these vessels, together with fashions for ceramic stove and floor tiles, are evidence of a profound cultural impact borne through cross-Channel commercial contact. These changes amount to a ceramic revolution, the medium changing from a mainly utilitarian product in the early 15th century to one 'with dual domestic and social functions, moving from the kitchen and cellar to a central position on the table, and through floor tiles into the domestic sphere'. In Pottergate, Norwich, and sites in Southwark, London, Gaimster has suggested that the quantity of imports may have been directly attributable to the presence of 'Stranger' communities, and that the representation and influence of these Dutch, German and Flemish communities in the archaeological, specifically artefactual, record has been underestimated. Thus, the presence of imports in a port such as Newcastle raises questions not only of trade networks, but also of the sharing, emulation and transformation of social ideas expressed through material culture, which, like people, traversed the North Sea.

A new identification of Crude Oxidised Buff Ware was made for material from High Bridge, apparently dating to the early 14th century (Jenner 2003, 43–4). This ware was singled out as it appeared to have been fired at a higher temperature than other locally produced buff wares and to have been oxidised to a reddish colour in a deliberate attempt to copy Low Countries fabrics and forms. A cauldron, a frying pan, a Dutch oven or similar oval, and jars were all produced in this ware.

6.4.7 Materials related to boats, boatbuilding and seafaring

Boatbuilding and repair must have increased concomitantly with the development of the waterfront and the increase in waterborne trade at Newcastle. The direct archaeological evidence for boats, boatbuilding and seafaring is less extensive than one might at first have supposed. Famously, the king commissioned a galley to be built at Newcastle to aid in his wars with Scotland (Whitwell and Johnson 1926). The Queen Street excavations produced many materials that may have been related to shipbuilding but, as is common on other waterfront sites in northern England (Hartlepool, Hull and Coppergate, York) and Scandinavia, they were also deployed in the construction of the timber revetments. The Newcastle caulking might have been used to keep revetments watertight, but the samples were all dislocated from any original contact with timber. Some samples might have come from the clinker-built boats, the remains of which were found in the same levels (Walton in O'Brien *et al* 1988, 78–9 for the following). Walton found that there was a change in the nature of the English samples from wool to cattle and goat hair, between the 12th and 15th centuries comparable to the well-dated series from Bryggen, the medieval dock area of Bergen, in Norway. 'However, the plied caulking cords, so common in Norway, are rare in English finds, the only known examples coming from Newcastle' (Walton 1988, 79).

Various types of rope were recorded from Queen Street. There was evidence for the reuse of clothing material perhaps as packing around the base of a stanchion or spar (Walton 1988, 81). More specific packing material was identified in the form of wadmal, and plied tabby weaves, although as the Queen Street samples were coated with tar they might have been used as caulking. The mid-13th-century wadmal would have originated in either Norway or Iceland, but the plied tabbies may not have been imports. Similar packing materials were found at Stockbridge.

The finds from Queen Street spurred a reconsideration of the account of the

building of a galley in Newcastle in the winter of 1294–5 in anticipation of the war with France (cf Whitwell and Johnson 1926). After examination of the wording of the contemporary documents, and comparing the evidence with a document relating to York, Walton tentatively suggested that the five women supplying 'wilding' for the Newcastle galley were all spinners, and that 'wilding' and caulking rolls are one and the same thing, produced by these women as a part of their employment as outworkers in the preparation of fibres (Walton 1988, 83–5). Finds from Doncaster provided confirmation that the sausage-shaped rolls of fibre found at Newcastle were used to 'line the horizontal overlap between the lengthways strakes in clinker-built ships' (Walton Rogers 2005, 297).

Fragments of wooden trenail, square-sectioned pegs, timbers with holes for trenails, and fragments of planks with nails and clench bolts, two large mast crutches, and numerous nails and clench bolts were among the finds from Queen Street (O'Brien *et al* 1988, 104). The timbers were interpreted as the planking from clinker-built vessels. A wooden needle, perhaps for net-weaving, was also found. Trenails were also preserved at Stockbridge. Iron nails, clench bolts and roves usually used to join overlapping planks and consequently thought to relate to boatbuilding, were found adjacent to Close Gate dating from the mid-14th or 15th century to the 17th century. The distributions of these artefacts suggested that the roves represented both used and unused examples, but that the clench bolts and some of the nails might have derived from driftwood washed onto the foreshore (Maxwell 1994a, 130).

6.4.8 Other artefacts

Several fragments of wooden bowls, lathe-turned and made of ash, were found at Newgate Street (Crone 2006, 77). Cross-slab grave covers have been found associated with the major medieval cemeteries, with 21 late 11th- or early 12th-century examples from the Castle cemetery; two late 12th- or early 14th-century examples from Holy Jesus Hospital; 28 mostly 13th-century examples from St Andrew's church; eight 12th–14th-century examples from St John's church; 15 mostly 13th-century slabs from St Mary the Virgin Hospital; and 23 11th–15th-century examples at St Nicholas's church (Ryder 2002, 86–95).

6.5 Fashioning the civic body: identity and the biography of artefacts in medieval Newcastle

Details of slashed shoes and garments were found among the Castle Ditch textile fragments, and Walton cites documentary evidence to show how these styles were fashionable among the apprentices of Newcastle in 1544. Their employers objected to their wearing 'garded cotes, jagged hose, lyned with silke, and cutt shoes', and forbade them to wear 'cut hose, cut shoes or pounced jerkins', presumably on the grounds that they were daring to wear clothes that were more suited to their superiors in their respective crafts (Walton 1981, 204, quoting Dendy 1895, 20–1). The tools for making such decoration in cloth were listed in an inventory of a Newcastle tailor's shop in 1581 (Walton 1981, 204; Hodgson 1906, 88).

The considerable quantity of metal buckles, pins, lace tags, strap ends, scabbard chapes, dress fasteners and other artefacts from sites across Newcastle remain to be considered in terms of production (which cannot be confirmed to have been in Newcastle itself), fashion, and fashioning the body (see eg Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 175–80 for the Castle Ditch; Vaughan in Nolan *et al* 1993, 124–5 for Orchard Street; Maxwell in Fraser, Maxwell and Vaughan 1994, 126–31 for the Close Gate; Vaughan and Rowntree in Truman 2001, 156–7 for Stockbridge). Among the more unusual pieces were a spur rowel and a small bell from Stockbridge (Vaughan and Rowntree 2001, 157); some amber beads from the Close Gate (Maxwell 1994b, 131); a jet bead from The Swirle (Williams 1993, 216); and a purse bar and several items from toilet sets from the Castle Ditch (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 178; 176; 183).

One thing that emerges clearly from the artefact analysis is the extensive reuse of materials. Worn shoes were unpicked and used for patching other shoes and leather goods; worn clothing was unpicked and used to make secondary items or to patch older items; packing materials were reused for caulking both ships' timbers and revetment timbers; parts of boats were reused in the timber infrastructure of reclamation. Cloth and leather not only had commodity values as uncut materials, but were circulated and recycled as clothing in a number of spheres,

which gave them other equally important, if not more important, social and economic values (cf Kopytoff 1986). In the context of the times, items of clothing, in particular, were handed on from person to person, often carrying a memory of the social origin or descent of the item with it. This worked most conspicuously if the clothing circulated through the institution of livery, although not all livery was marked in the sense of bearing identifiable coats of arms or colours. Jones and Stallybrass (2000, 20) argue that '[as] cloth exchanged hands, it bound people in networks of obligation'. In the context of a medieval town, there was the additional distinction between household or estate liveries used by landed families who might have town houses (*see* chapter 5, section 5.4.4) and liveries, which the craft and trade companies required their members to wear. In Newcastle, the ordinaries of the Tailors, Saddlers, Fullers and Dyers, and Barber-Surgeons mentioned livery specifically, and required their guild members to wear it on their own procession days and the *Corpus Christi* procession (Brand 1789 **2**, 315–16, 320, 341), while others specified only that their members wear their 'best array and apparel' (eg Brand 1789 **2**, 317).

The importance of civic procession in reproducing an ideal image of the town as a unified and well-ordered community has been described elsewhere (James 1983; Phythian-Adams 1990; Graves 2000; Lilley 2004). Livery was an important physical manifestation of this symbolism, a source of pride for company members, and a means of participating in a wider corporate identity (Graves and Heslop in prep). The provision of cupboard and wardrobe storage in the company houses, still evident at Sallyport Tower, is a physical manifestation of that importance.

There were important second-hand markets in clothing in the medieval and early modern periods that rarely appear in documents but which the archaeology highlights. To a certain extent the commercialisation of reuse must have served to alienate the artefacts from their social origins and the chain of people through whom they had been handed down. At the same time, they do tell us about a thriving market serving the poorer elements in the town. Interestingly, in this context, Brand noted that the Weavers' Company had the right to 'receive annual contributions from the pedlars, who kept booths on the Sand-hill' (1789 **2**, 340).

7 The post-medieval town

Recent work has conceded that the division between medieval and post-medieval is largely artificial, and that it is more productive to study archaeology across a period of transition in political, religious, social and economic conditions (Gaimster and Gilchrist 2003; Gaimster and Stamper 1997). The present study acknowledges the benefits to be gained in studying the archaeology in the light of this wider focus, but for pragmatic reasons has organised the data under more traditional headings of the medieval and post-medieval town. However, the themes discussed here embrace both long-term processes and specific historic events: the changing conditions of Anglo-Scottish relations; the upheaval to traditional religion and institutional life caused by the closure of the monasteries; changes in the pattern of building; the Civil War. As Newcastle was so rich in religious houses, the Dissolution of traditional monastic institutions had a profound effect on the physical townscape as well as on the spiritual life of the town. These closures, the subsequent closure of the numerous chantries in parish churches, and the accommodation of new religious priorities and practices in accordance with the changing confessional allegiances of successive monarchs, became manifestations of the long drawn-out, complex process of Reformation in this part of England. However, the Dissolution of the religious houses also provided opportunities, particularly for the civic government, to appropriate space for new purposes, and to mould aspects of the townscape to its own ends. The ends favoured tell us much about changing priorities, ideas of public provision versus personal ambition, and the increasing economic and political power of trade and retail in the period between the later Middle Ages and the 17th century.

Developments in post-medieval archaeology in Britain and Europe broadly have been inspired by historical archaeology in North and South America, South Africa, Australia and elsewhere (eg Shammas 1990, Falk 1991, Yentsch and Beaudry 1992, Deetz 1993, Egan and Michael 1999, Funari, Hall and Jones 1999, Leone and Potter 1999, Anderson and Murray 2000, Baram and Carroll 2000). Considerations of identity, foodways and lifestyles have been prominent, as well as issues of subversion, defiance, and the persistence and transformation of traditions, which indicate that detailed and theoretically informed analysis can produce interpretations that do justice to the nuanced, complex lives and interactions in which people of the past have engaged through their material environment. Some of the material of this period from Newcastle lends itself very well to such analysis, although detailed discussion of these points will appear elsewhere (Graves and Heslop in prep).

The monuments of the English Civil War are among the topics singled out as deserving specific study in the future in a national assessment of the archaeology of warfare and defence in the post-medieval period (Coad 2005, 224). A full synthesis of the archaeology of the Civil War in Newcastle appears for the first time here.

7.1 Changed conditions: the pacification of the Border and the growth of the export of coal

The continual threat of warfare between Scotland, its Continental allies, and England undoubtedly affected the whole Border region. Nevertheless, there had been economic and social development in the northern counties in the course of the Middle Ages, including progress in farming efficiency in fertile areas (McCord and Thompson 1998, 143). The Union of the Crowns produced peace between the sovereign states, and even the endemic raiding between Border families decreased after the first decade of the 17th century. The fortresses at Berwick and Carlisle were no longer required as the defensive bulwarks that they had been, and consequently Crown spending on defence reduced. Newcastle, having established a sophisticated economic role both within and beyond its own region, was resilient to any immediate downturn.

When Newcastle ceased to be a frontier town, one might suppose that there would have been a profound change in how people viewed the town, their own security and consequently the economic and domestic activities they could undertake. We can ask if, when and how this would have had material and, therefore, archaeological manifestations. The most obvious infrastructure of defence will be considered here first.

Newcastle's Town Walls were begun in the 1260s – a time, according to Lomas (1992, 165) 'of profound peace' between Scotland and England. Both archaeology and documentation imply that the main Town Walls were complete by the 1380s, with the Riverside Tower and most of the riverside stretch of the wall probably built in the early 15th century, as much a measure of civic pride as defensive provision (chapter 5, section 5.7). The Castle was the chief focus of attention as a defence against the Scots, and a jury swore as to the good repair of the Castle Garth walls in 1314.

All these material manifestations of investment were a measure of the relative security enjoyed by the town, but more precisely the wealth and political ascendancy of those who controlled the burgeoning coal trade. It was not the pacification of the Border *per se* that enabled these developments, but a process set in train by the Dissolution of the religious houses, among other events, which will be described in the following sections.

By the 16th century, the productivity of the north-east coalfields or 'Newcastle basin' had surpassed that of its only former rival, the Liege basin. Newcastle coal was exported as far as Malta in the 16th century (Braudel 1979, 369; 1973 **1**, 623). The coal was used to fuel a 'series of industries with large outputs', from salt manufacture, to the production of glass, bricks and tiles, alum processing, and most of the domestic and industrial needs of London (Braudel 1979, 369; explored further in Graves and Heslop in prep).

The first shipments of coal in the medieval period had come from pits located close to the riverbank in Whickham, which, 'of all manors in the Tyne valley with abundant outcropping seams, was the one nearest the mouth of the river' (Nef 1932 **1**, 26). The extent of known medieval and post-medieval (pre-1700) mining in the north-east coalfield is indicated in Hatcher 1993, 71, fig 5.1, and can be supplemented with archaeological excavation records or observed field remains, for example on the Town Moor, Newcastle (TWSMR 4831; *see* chapter 5, section 5.8.7); Whickham and Lands Wood, Tyne and Wear; Moorhouse Woods, West Rainton, Mallygill Wood and Cockfield Fell, County Durham; and Alnwick Noor, Northumberland (Guy and Cranstone 2001; Petts with Gerrard 2006, 79; Petts with Gerrard and Cranstone 2006, 92–3). It seems likely that the exhaustion of surface coal in land close to the river provided the impetus to open pits farther inland, perhaps in the reign of Henry VIII (Nef 1932 **1**, 26). Growth is known in a few pits in the 1520s and 30s, including Benwell, Ravensworth, Stella, Chopwell, Denton and Heworth (Hatcher 1993, 77). Elswick grew from one to three pits in eight years in the 1530s. The Dissolution of the Monasteries created the opportunity for a considerable redistribution of mineral-bearing land and rights, including some held by the Nunnery of St Bartholomew in Newcastle (Nef 1932), but the single most important event for the expansion of the coal industry in the North East was the granting of the Grand Lease of 1583, which transferred ownership of 'the greatest collieries of Tyneside, and indeed of Europe' from the bishop of Durham to the merchants of Newcastle (Hatcher 1993, 12, 252). This was enhanced by further

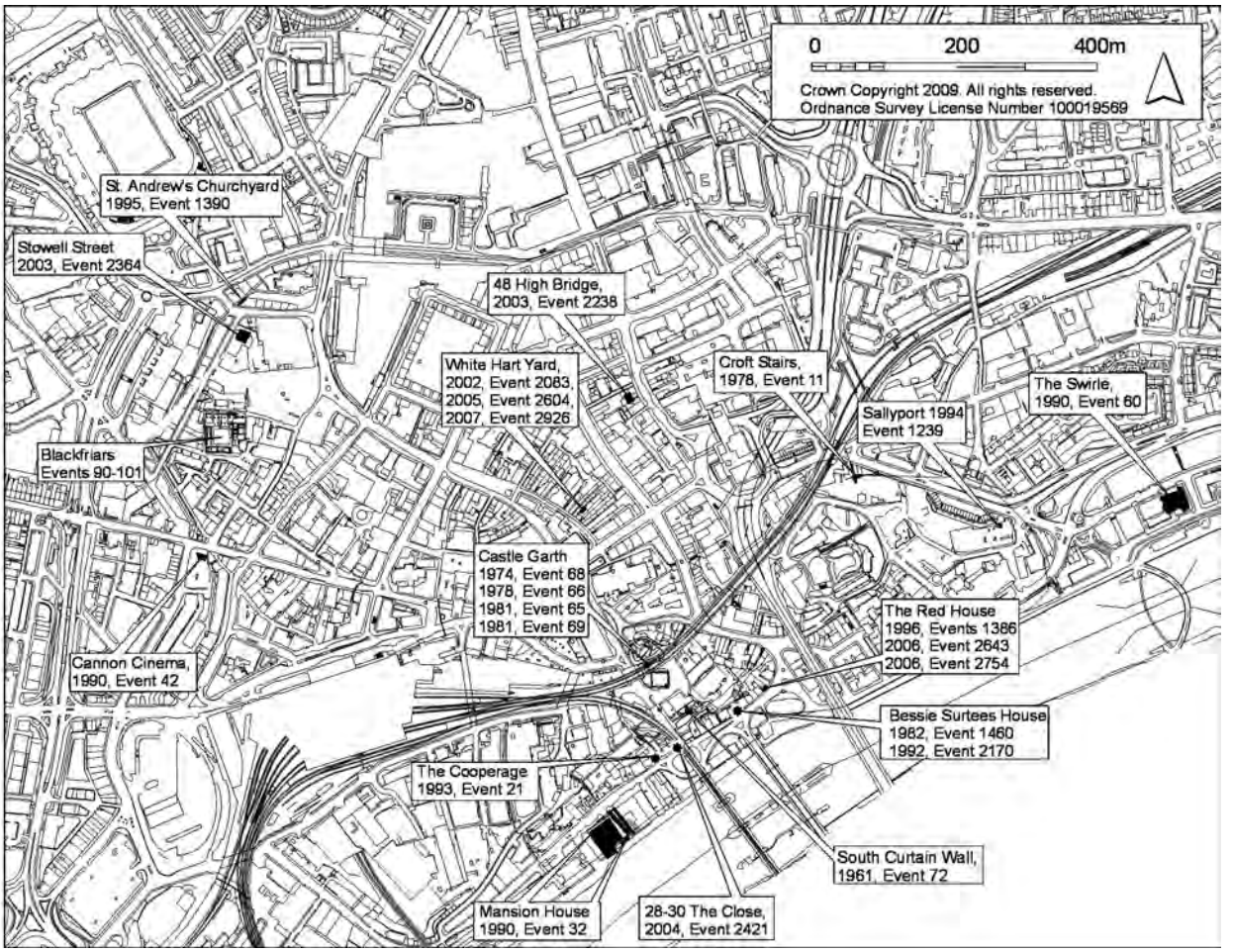


Fig 7.1 Events revealing post-medieval material.

leases from the Crown (Hatcher 1993, 82). With the incorporation of the Hostmen's Company in 1600, 'an oligarchy of merchant-producers burgeoned' and few men who were not Hostmen remained, or were allowed to remain, as producers (Hatcher 1993, 252). The development of waterfront infrastructure continued to be a focus for investment, not only in the extension of the Ballast Shore to the east of the Quayside, but also in the creation of private staithes on the established quay (*see* section 7.4). It seems to have been customary for houses on the riverfront to be leased with a staithe, as attested by an order for the lease of the Red House with staithe in May 1654, for example (Dodds 1920, 171–2).

The vital importance of the export of coal, particularly to London, would be underlined in the blockade of shipping carrying in coal on the Tyne during the Civil War in 1642, and the siege of the town intended to relieve this embargo.

7.2 Changed conditions: the Dissolution and reuse of religious property

The Dissolution of the religious houses had three main effects with respect to Newcastle. First, it released property within the town for alternative use and development. Second, in terms of the wider context of the region, it provided the opportunity for secular agents to obtain and exploit the mineral resources that had belonged previously to religious landlords. Third, it had implications for religious practice, pious investment, education and charitable provision for the poor. Archaeological evidence of this period (Fig 7.1; Table 7.1) must be placed within this wider historical and social context.

The Dissolution in the North of England has been discussed elsewhere (eg Keeling 1987). All the religious houses in Newcastle were dissolved in 1539 (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*,

event	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
11	Croft Stairs, 1978	large 13th-century ditch. Clay foundation for Town Wall. Sandstone wall footings. Possible 17th-century sandstone block foundation at right angles to the Town Wall	Tullett 1979
16	Queen Street, 1985	reclamation/tipping into 17th century, development of intensively occupied chares after that date	Dixon and O'Brien 1988, 7–24
21	The Cooperage, 1993	Building recording	Heslop and Truman 1993
32	Mansion House, The Close, 1990	Property 1: Series of 13th-century onwards waterfront advances and 17th/19th-century redevelopments Property 2: 13th-century walls and dock/waterfront wall; built up and redeveloped repeatedly over time	Fraser *et al* 1995
42	Cannon Cinema, 1991	Civil War ditch quickly filled with domestic and demolition debris	Heslop *et al* 1992
60	The Swirle, 1990	16th- and 17th-century landfill with urban refuse	Ellison *et al* 1993
65	Castle Garth, 1981	robber trench backfilled with mortar, ash and clay, with pottery dated to mid-17th century	Ellison and Harbottle 1983
66	Castle Garth, 1978	fill of 17th-century bastion ditch	Ellison and Harbottle 1983
68	Castle Garth, 1974	fill of 17th-century bastion ditch	Ellison and Harbottle 1983
69	Castle Garth, 1981	17th-century bastion ditch and robber trench	Ellison and Harbottle 1983
72	Castle Garth, South Curtain Wall, 1961	17th-century rubbish/levelling dump, mid-17th-century pottery in layer of ash	Harbottle 1966
1239	Sallyport, 1994	steep, flat-bottomed cut in slope of Wallknoll infilled with ash, rubble and mid-17th-century pottery and pipes – thought to be associated with Carr's Battery	TWHER SR 1994/10
1386	The Red House, (32–36) Sandhill, 1996	building recording – mainly 1st floor walls, fireplaces and ceilings	TWHER SR 1996/15
1390	St Andrew's Churchyard	foundations of the Town Wall, post-medieval midden deposits, Civil War rampart	Teasdale *et al* 1999, 35
2083	White Hart Yard, Cloth Market, 2002	complex of buildings that includes a medieval inn, two 17th/18th-century timber framed buildings; partial recording	TWHER SR 2002/64
2170	Bessie Surtees House, 1982	Building recording of refurbishment of English Heritage regional office	TWHER SR 1982/6
2238	48 High Bridge, 2003	building recording showed timber-framed mid 17th-century building survived behind brick facade	Brogan 2010
2364	Stowell Street, 2003	post-medieval garden soil and drains	Adams 2005, 97
2421	28–30 The Close, 2004	building history of three medieval properties amalgamated into one large merchant's house	TWHER SR 2004/116
2604	White Hart Yard, Cloth Market, 2005	tree-ring analysis of 31 samples dated AD 1391–1529; rear-range roof, AD 1527; ground and first-floor ceiling beams and front-range roof , AD 1529	TWHER SR 2005/140
2643	The Red House, (32–34) Sandhill, 2006	building recording – extensive building recording in advance of renovation; Phase 1	TWHER SR 2006/39
2754	The Red House, (32–34) Sandhill, 2006	building recording – extensive building recording in advance of renovation; Phase 2	TWHER SR 2006/165
2926	White Hart Yard, Cloth Market, 2007	continued recording started in Ev 2083; timber-framed buildings to the rear of Cloth Mkt and fronting onto Ship Entry	TWHER SR 2007/193

16, 1, nos. 39, 40, 43–5; **15**, no. 15), with the exception of the nunnery, which was dissolved in 1540 (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, **15**, no. 15). The Prior of the Dominican house abandoned his office before the official closure of the house. A keeper was appointed to assess the value of property owned by each community. Four of the sites were leased for 21 years each, but, as it turned out, the leases ran only until the sites were sold by the king. In terms of ownership, the site of the Augustinian Friary (Fig 7.2) went to the Council of the North, who had expressed a direct interest in it before the Dissolution (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, **13**, 2, no. 768), it was used for this purpose when the Council was not sitting at York, and remained as Crown property until the Civil War, when the Corporation of Newcastle regained it – although by what means is unclear.

The Dominican Priory site went to the mayor and burgesses of Newcastle, while the remaining four sites passed to syndicates from outside Newcastle. These appear to have acted as agents, as in the case of St Bartholomew's Benedictine nunnery, whose land was subsequently alienated to a Newcastle merchant. The Franciscan Friars' precinct was sold to the Earl of Essex in 1545, but by 1580 both the nunnery and the adjoining Grey Friars' site had become the property of Robert Anderson. The Carmelite Friars' precinct was granted to Sir Richard Gresham and Richard Billingford in 1546 and it was to remain in private hands. Many of the original keepers and tenants, as well as final purchasers of the former monastic sites were Newcastle men, who had been, were, or were to become, mayors, sheriffs and aldermen of the town. Thus the Trinitarians' site went to William Dent, an alderman in 1548 and later mayor in 1562; he conveyed the property to the Corporation in 1582. St Bartholomew's went to Robert Brandling, four times mayor, Member of Parliament and knight. James Lawson, mayor in 1540, and brother of the last prioress of St Bartholomew's, held three of the original 21-year leases. The Trinitarian Priory located on the Wall Knoll was granted to the town in 1582 (Brand 1789 **1**, 410). In total, the Corporation of Newcastle acquired three of the six monastic sites; the rest remained in private hands.

The fate of the fabric of the different houses can be elucidated to a limited extent by archaeology and documentation. Because Newcastle already had four churches with parochial functions, the conventual churches of the religious communities were surplus to parochial needs. The churches of the Carmelite Friars and the Dominican Friars seem to have been demolished in the 16th century, although the land itself was not built over. This implies that the building materials were considered a prime resource, suggesting some degree of local development, while the implication that the land lay open suggests that land itself was not of a premium at this time. Robert Anderson built his 'Newe House' out of the ruins of the Franciscan Friary, but there is no evidence as to how extensive was his reuse of materials. The fact that he had to remove Scots, 'unfreemen' and other squatters from the nuns' property in order to fulfil part of his plan further reinforces the impression that the former precincts were not subject to development (Bourne 1736, 50; Brand 1789 **1**, 233). Successive maps show that the nuns' precinct remained open until the 1830s, having been a meadow owned by William Blackett in the first half of the 18th century (Bourne 1736, 50; Oliver 1830). Part of the area of the Trinitarian Priory was a dunghill in the early 19th century (Mackenzie 1827, 137).

Analysis of the surviving tower attached to the Holy Jesus Hospital demonstrated that the tower was a post-Dissolution construction, reusing materials from the Augustinian

Table 7.1 (opposite) The post-medieval town

Fig 7.2 Post-Dissolution tower in the former Austin Friars' precinct.

complex (*see* Figs 5.29 and 7.2). It is unclear whether it is this structure or some older, genuinely medieval building that is referred to in a document dated to 1655 and cited by Mackenzie, wherein 'an old ruinate chapel' is mentioned (Mackenzie 1827, 134). In the 17th century, some stones from the friary were sold to Sir Peter Ridell who built the south end of his house with them (Mackenzie 1827, 133). Similarly, Mr Blaickston was given permission by the Common Council to dig foundation stones from the site in 1653 (Mackenzie 1827, 134). Most of the buildings of the Carmelite Friary were pulled down in the 16th and 17th centuries, although part of the eastern range seems to have been converted into a private house. This precinct remained intact until the 18th century when it was split up to become an elegant residential area that included Hanover Square (Harbottle 1968, 173–6). The former buildings of the Trinitarian Wall Knoll site survived in a dilapidated state among later dwellings, stables and a manufactory into the 19th century (Mackenzie 1927, 137; Oliver 1831b, 113–14).

It is instructive to observe how these precincts were used in the post-medieval period. The former Augustinian Friary buildings were used for the meetings of the king's Council of the North, but part of the precinct was used as an artillery ground. This included a tallow-house that was occupied by the Butchers' Company until 1708 (Mackenzie 1827, 134). In 1648 the Corporation granted part of this precinct to the Barber-Surgeons so that they might build a meeting-house on it (marked on Bourne's 1736 map as WW). A number of charitable institutions were also built here, most famously the Holy Jesus Hospital, which remains, but also Blackett's Hospital, the two Davison's Hospitals, the charity school of All Saints' parish, as well as the workhouse and the House of Correction. This emphasises an interesting post-medieval change whereby the charitable and educational functions of the medieval religious institutions were assumed by the Corporation or recreated through private benefaction. A new element of concern for the disciplining of criminals and the indigent poor had also arisen.

This may be contrasted with the other institutions established in the former Augustinian precinct. The House of Correction, preceded by the Bridewell (marked on Bourne's 1736 map) and the workhouse, together represent the responsibility the Corporation took upon itself for disciplining its criminal element and the destitute poor. All of these institutions seem to have been contained within the former religious precinct, and it was not until the New Prisons were built that this enclave was expanded into the former Carliol Croft.

The post-Dissolution history of the Blackfriars' precinct has been described in detail by Harbottle and Fraser (1987). As soon as the friary was surrendered to the Crown in January 1539, materials from the church and other buildings were stripped and disposed of. The mayor, Henry Anderson, (who had been M.P. and governor of the Merchant Adventurers), bought the floor tiles and other furnishings from the church (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 23; Howell 1967, 113 n. 6). At Anderson's instigation, the mayor and burgesses bought the house and precinct in 1544. It has been deduced that the church was probably still standing in 1544, albeit stripped of windows, but, most probably, the church and those buildings in the northern part of the east range had been demolished before the town leased out its property in 1552 (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 24–5). Over half of the precinct was already let out, providing an income for the town, and the two largest tenants were ex-mayors. In 1552 the former claustral ranges were leased to the nine anciently recognised companies, who, with the three merchant companies, had rights to elect the mayor and aldermen (Fig 7.3). These were the Skinners and Glovers, Taylors, Saddlers, Cordwainers (Fig 7.4), Butchers, Tanners, Smiths, Fullers and Dyers, and Bakers and Brewers.

Having said this, one of the anomalies in the history of the former Blackfriars' buildings is that excavation and analysis of the remaining fabric has shown that most of the companies did not take full possession of their property until the 17th century. No explanation has been found for this. Little evidence for occupation dating to the 16th century was found inside the buildings, and stratified pottery of this date was found only in an external rubbish dump (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 31). The architectural evidence is that the work to convert the buildings took place in the late 16th or early 17th century. Each company was allocated a parcel of land from the land

surrounding the cloister, but these were not all of equal size (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 25 fig 1). The former claustral ranges were divided into nine two-storey units, three in each range, but the result of this was also an inequitable allocation of accommodation. Existing internal walls were utilised as far as possible as supports for divisions on the upper floors. The medieval refectory on the ground floor of the south range had no internal walls and so party walls had to be inserted, although perhaps as late as the 17th century (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 26; 61; 67; 70). How the resultant spaces were allocated remains unknown, as does the reaction of the different companies to the accommodation they were given. Harbottle and Fraser (1987, 26) pointed out, however, that the Skinners and Glovers, and the Bakers and Brewers, who were given the areas most affected structurally by the demolition of the friary church and other ritual buildings were the companies that became extinct first (cf Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 50; 81–2). The Saddlers were given the largest house, but that of the Smiths was the best suited, for it had access to the cloister and the company's own allocated close, and it required less in the way of building work to make it a usable space (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 55; 74). The Smiths' house was already fitted with doors and a fireplace in the low hall, and the room above was lit by the great four-light window of the former medieval dormitory. It was also easy to build a fireplace on this floor, which could take advantage of the flue rising from that on the floor below (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 75–6).

The Cordwainers were given the west end of the former refectory. Unlike most of the other companies the Cordwainers removed the medieval floor tiles in their low room, along with the screen and other features from the Dominican occupation, and dug pits for unidentified purposes (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 66). They must have installed some new glazing however, as window glass dating to the 16th century was excavated from the immediate post-Dissolution deposits.

Access to most of the company units was a problem that had to be overcome, and so it paid to maintain the garth as a communal area in this period. The upper floor of each building unit was used as a meeting house, and so all the companies except the Tanners had to install staircases. The ground floors, or low rooms, were let out as one or two dwellings. New fireplaces and chimneys had to be inserted, superfluous or inappropriately placed doors were blocked and new windows were broken through, for example: a blocked first-floor door in the west wall; a mullioned east window on the ground floor of the Skinners' and Glovers' house; the lintel of a mullioned window in the east wall of the Smiths' house; a new north window in the Cordwainers' ground floor; and two two-light windows in the south wall of their upper chamber (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 31; 50; 76; 66 respectively).

The archaeological evidence for occupation in the 17th century was far greater than for the preceding half-century, but hardly more comprehensible in some places. Among other activities, the Butchers removed some of their medieval tiles, and dug small pits, as the Cordwainers had done, but the occupation debris here suggested that little of this activity took place before the early 17th century (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 69). The party wall between the Butchers' and the Tanners' houses on the ground floor at the east end of the old refectory was probably inserted in the 17th century, and incorporated reused architectural fragments (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 70, 67). In the ground-floor chamber of the Fullers' and Dyers' meeting house, there was a partial re-opening of a medieval drain, in the course of which the east wall had been tunnelled through, removing the sill of one of the medieval lancets (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 79). It is unclear why this was done, but artefactual evidence suggests that it was work of the 17th century. The later history of the Blackfriars is covered elsewhere (Harbottle and Fraser 1987).

The Carmelite Friary site seems to have been partially covered with dumped rubbish, on part of the friary buildings (Harbottle 1968) and against the Town Wall (Nolan *et al* 1993, 96–7). Post-medieval development in this area of the town was slow (Harbottle 1968, 174) and buildings do not appear to have been constructed against the town wall until between 1746 and 1772 (Thompson 1746; Hutton 1772). Nolan *et al* (1993, 99) suggest that this proved that the wall was still retained as a defensive barrier and was not simply a symbol of civic prestige even at this time.

The former precinct of the Trinitarian Priory of St Michael on the Wall Knoll was

less purposefully developed. Some of the old buildings seem to have survived amidst dwellings and stables, and a weaving factory was established there. A blacksmith's shop was built on what might have been part of the burial ground, and a dunghill occupied part of the site (Mackenzie 1827, 137). Bourne (1736, 139) describes a common way leading from the south side of the monastery to Fishergate – later Stock Bridge – which was described in a land conveyance of 1287. He identifies this way with some stairs, which Mackenzie later identified as Craik's Alley, and later still as Coburg Place (1827, 137).

7.3 Changed conditions: the Established Church

Quite apart from the fate of the former monasteries at the time of the Dissolution and after, Newcastle's Established parish churches reveal many aspects of national early to modern religious and social preoccupations. Little of the liturgical changes they would have undergone is obvious today, and still less has been retrieved by excavation. However, the *absences* of medieval liturgical furnishings could reflect the purgings, iconoclasm and new requirements of the period from Henry VIII's initial moves against the authority of Rome; the more definitely Protestant, indeed Calvinist, aims of Edward VI's reign; the Marian restoration of Catholicism in the mid-16th century; and the Elizabethan Protestant Settlement. While these changes were complex enough, the North East is particularly rich in material evidence of the reintroduction of 'ceremonies' and their appurtenant furnishings in the 1620s–1630s associated with the Durham House Group of Bishop Neile and his followers. This is not the place to rehearse the history and debate surrounding these furnishings (see Parry 2006), but the Civil War was partially fought over such issues and Newcastle was briefly governed during the Commonwealth period by a party that rejected any hint of Catholicism. According to Collinson, by the 1630s Newcastle was renowned for its Protestant preaching which 'had transformed the civilisation of its hinterland' (1988, 40). Moreover, both the coal-owning elite and the emergent puritan faction maintained extremely close ties with London, which informed their thinking and their sense of their own identity. The following does not attempt to be comprehensive, but considers instead selected elements of material provision in terms of the religious and social themes they highlight. The discussion stops before the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, which also saw the restoration of the Established Church, its hierarchy and practices.

There has been no systematic study of iconoclasm in Newcastle or in the North in general. John Knox, associated with inciting iconoclasm in various parts of Scotland, stayed in Newcastle in the early 1550s (Newton 2008, 43–4). He is known to have held communion in the reformed manner in St Nicholas's church, but what precise form this took and whether he encouraged iconoclasm here is unknown. A corbel of a female figure from the Blackfriars had its face destroyed at some point (Fig 7.5) and may be one of few surviving reflexes, but we cannot say whether this was the result of iconoclasm in the 16th or the mid-17th century. When the Scots army entered the town after the Civil War siege capitulation, they defaced a large image of the Crucifixion, which stood above George Carr's monument (Terry 1899c, 243). The Milbank manuscript related that John Pigg, the town's surveyor, broke down the cross outside St James's Chapel and the Magdalen Hospital at Barras Bridge during the Rebellion (Bourne 1736, 152; Brand 1789 **1**, 431). However, the interesting point about this episode is that a group of other townspeople prevented Pigg, who was renowned as an extreme puritan moralist, from making his own use of the cross and from profaning it further (Bourne 1736, 152). This could be argued to demonstrate a pervasive conventional religious sentiment.

7.3.1 Pulpits, pews and intramural burial

Many late-medieval communities raised money for pews to be installed in their churches, which has been taken to be an index of the importance popularly assigned to the sermon even before the Reformation. This was often especially true in urban contexts. Brand reported that stalls were mentioned in an old parish book of St Nicholas in 1488 and an old 'pew book' of 1579 made reference to a still older book (Brand 1789 **1**, 264 citing Ellison's manuscript). Apart from the Trinity House Chapel pews, we have few indications of what Jacobean and Carolean pews existed

in Newcastle and many may not have been installed until the 18th century Fig 7.6). In 1635 some new pews or seats were built in St Nicholas's (Brand 1789 **1**, 265). These appear to have been the pews and stalls that remained until 1783 or 1785 (Usherwood and Bowden 1984, 65, no. 65), but there was also a screen above which stood an organ (the organ case of which survives) and a large Cosin-esque font cover, which also survives (Brand 1789 **1**, 265). From the pre-1783 depiction, Longstaffe considered these stalls to resemble those in Gateshead parish church built in 1634, and the organ case to be in keeping with the style of the 17th-century pews (1857, 319, 320 n.). This was the same date at which Trinity House was paying for carved details for its pews.

Were these the new pews or seats at St Nicholas that were recorded as being built in 1635? The canopy of the pulpit appears to have been partly in the Cosin style but also perhaps reflected the church's distinctive crown spire. The stalls for the Mayor and Aldermen were located in the middle of the church, which functioned as the main church for civic ceremonies. Some important, if religiously ambiguous, monuments remain in St Nicholas's church in connection with the Maddison family. The Maddison memorial of *c* 1635 (Fig 7.7) has a flaming or sacred heart carved on it. The IHS monogram was adopted widely by Laudians, but viewed with grave suspicion by puritans of even moderate stance, as it was so closely associated with the Jesuits (Parry 2006, 115, 144). The sacred heart was less ambiguous, and more closely associated with Roman Catholicism and the Arminian or Laudian revival elsewhere in England. De Groot (1999) has argued that the Maddison monument represents the peculiarly independent and distinct nature of the mercantile community in Newcastle at this time, not falling completely into either the Arminian tendency, or the puritan (the Maddison family was regarded as conservatively puritan). The Maddisons also donated both a credence table (Fig 7.8), decorated in several places with the sacred monogram, episcopal crosiers and hearts, and a matching chest (Fig 7.9).

Eastern galleries were particularly obnoxious to the Laudian party, as they forced a completely different orientation on the building and congregation. In 1639, King Charles I stayed in Newcastle and visited the churches 'to

Fig 7.3 Company Houses created out of former Blackfriars' claustral buildings.

Fig 7.4 (above) Inscription on Cordwainers' Company house and coat of arms.

Fig 7.5 (left) Corbel from Blackfriars, demonstrating possible iconoclasm.

see how far they conformed to the required standard of "decency and order"' that Laud required (Terry 1899a, 101). Galleries were found in both St Nicholas's and in All Saints' churches 'which obstructed the view of the chancel and altar', and orders were given for their removal (Terry 1899a, 101). In All Saints' (which was destroyed in the late 18th century) the eastern gallery was the old medieval rood loft, which had been converted for use by the Butchers' Company. Despite resistance, it was destroyed in 1639 by special direction of the Chancellor (Brand 1789 **1**, 108–9, 368). This church had two further galleries, raising the question of whether All Saints' had been effectively converted into a centrally focused church by these arrangements. It was a place associated with various puritan preachers and the preference for centrally focused churches in other reformed countries, especially among Calvinists, has been explored by Andrew Spicer (2007). It is perhaps significant that All Saints' parish demographically contained a relatively large concentration of religious radicals and labourers, the majority of them being Scots Presbyterian keelmen who ferried the coals from the staithes to the sea-going vessels in lighters.

Post-medieval pews were often leased or sold to householders on a property qualification, and were subsequently associated with those properties, though not always in perpetuity. In order to facilitate this, pews were enclosed or boxed, but competition often arose between occupants over the best positions from which to hear the sermon, the best positions in which to be seen by the rest of the congregation, or the seats that afforded the most privacy. Equally, wealthy and high-ranking parishioners were concerned to have the largest or least draughty enclosures. The purchasing power of members of the congregation thus allowed the internal spaces of churches to map out social rank, wealth and prestige, a phenomenon discussed in relation to Gough's plan of the church at Myddle in Shropshire, drawn in 1700 (Hey 1988; Johnson 1996, 97–104), but also observable in a plan of arrangements in 1638 at Brancepeth church, County Durham. Social position and church position were intimately related, and parishioners need not have remained content with existing furnishings for there are accounts of refurbishments and new pews having been installed by members of Newcastle's leading merchant families (Robinson 1896, 39). Indeed, in an urban context, although there were long-established dynasties, there was also a greater fluidity in social rank than would be encountered in rural locations, as new people rose in wealth, guild and political rank. If older families already occupied desired locations within churches, the installation of new pews provided an alternative strategy in the spatial politics of the parish church. This should be borne in mind if comparing the parish rate books with pew allocations. New pews could be customised and furnished in conspicuous comfort enough to display new-found position, gentility and aspirations.

Newcastle burgesses shared the practice that was widespread throughout England of leasing or purchasing family burial places in close proximity to, if not directly beneath, family pews in their parish churches. Details of the burial places and monuments of the members of significant Newcastle families, leading members of many of the town's guilds, who chose to be buried in the former Athol or Trinity Chapel in St Andrew's church are given by Robinson (1896). Despite the Dissolution of the Chantries in the mid-16th century, the position of formerly prestigious chantry chapels close to or flanking the chancel – as in the case of the Trinity Chapel – retained significance for parishioners within the reformed Anglican Church in the 16th to 18th centuries. In rural locations, families displayed continuity with their ancestors by maintaining their burial focus in chapels, which had been their family chantries. Among urban populations, the same mechanisms for social fluidity, which have been cited above, meant that there was less likelihood of direct familial continuity in burial location between the medieval and post-medieval periods. Instead, however, the urban elite seems to have taken pride in associating themselves with great burgesses of the past (Giles 2000). This is the same phenomenon that was displayed in the retention of Thornton's *Maison Dieu* at the Guildhall.

A detailed analysis of the form, iconography and disposition of post-medieval burial monuments in Newcastle remains to be undertaken. Such work should be instructive of social, economic and, not least, religious dynamics among the Newcastle elite. The

Fig 7.6 St Nicholas, pre-1783, with 17th-century pews and pulpit.

work of Jonathan Finch (2000), among others, should provide useful contexts and contrasts. The theme of Rennaissance self-fashioning among an emergent urban elite, which so readily inter-married with longer-established gentry of the region may well prove fruitful in relation to remaining 16th- and 17th-century monuments and the descriptions furnished by Bourne and Brand. Several sources give the names and dispositions of post-Reformation burial monuments and grave-covers in St Nicholas's church (Welford 1880; Boyle 1891; Brand 1789 **1**, 276–301; Sykes 1865, 331–3). Brand noted that most of the monuments had been removed 'by the late alteration' in the church and Sykes quoted in full from Alderman Hornsby's manuscript notes to Brand's *History of Newcastle* in which he described the major alterations to the church of 1784–5. The gravestones in the eastern part of the church had been taken up and some reclaimed by descendents. Those that were not claimed, or belonged to families then extinct, were sold by the churchwardens 'to a person [Christopher Blackett, Post-master] who was building a house in the New Street [Mosley Street] and who buried them in the foundation' (Hornsby cited in Sykes 1865; Barbara Harbottle pers comm).

In relation to that third focus of post-Reformation Anglicanism, the medieval fonts in St Nicholas's and All Saints' were retained, the ornate late-medieval covers were also kept at St Nicholas and St Andrew, although the former must have been repaired in the 17th century. The old font at St John's church was removed by order in 1639.

7.4 Changes in the types and patterns of building: houses, shops and the waterfront

A thorough study of the extent, chronology and forms of post-medieval building in Newcastle remains to be carried out, but the quality and characteristics of both the surviving structures and archival sources makes this a priority for future work. Surveys and analyses

Fig 7.7 (right) Maddison Memorial c 1635, St Nicholas's Church (courtesy of St Nicholas's Cathedral).

Fig 7.8 (below) Credence table, early 17th-century, St Nicholas's Church (courtesy of St Nicholas's Cathedral).

Fig 7.9 Carved chest, early 17th century, St Nicholas's Church (courtesy of St Nicholas's Cathedral).

of some of the key buildings of this period have been published (eg Heslop and Truman 1993; Heslop, McCombie and Thomson 1994; Heslop, McCombie and Thomson 1995; Antrobus 2004). Unsurprisingly, many buildings that appear to have early modern exteriors have proven to have far older origins. The archaeological below-ground evidence supplements the limited above-ground historic building stock. In addition, a wealth of antiquarian images survives for Newcastle's lost post-medieval buildings thanks principally to the efforts of Knowles and Boyle in the late 19th century. Numerous photographs also record buildings that have been destroyed since the mid-19th century in particular, for example, medieval and post-medieval structures on the chares of the eastern Quayside consumed by the fire that spread from Gateshead in October 1854. Archived images and documents allow a certain amount of interpretation of these buildings.

In the forms of housing and commercial premises, Newcastle demonstrated both independent indigenous character, and a willingness to adopt and adapt the latest architectural developments from London. Elements of influence from abroad, particularly the Netherlands, are less securely identifiable in standing fabric, but are attested through the archaeology, for example in roof tiles, and furnishings.

One of the best survivals from the beginning of this period, though much modified in subsequent periods, is the Cooperage, Number 31, The Close (Fig 7.10). Constructed in the shell of a house with a stone ground floor, the timber-framing dates to the mid-16th century. This is a jettied structure of four storeys, a shop-house with upper crucks, wide panelling, heavy scantling, curved wind-braces and, in later phases at least, brick nogging in the panels (Heslop and Truman 1993). Timber-framed buildings of the mid- to late 17th century in Newcastle (Fig 7.11) are typified by the Surtees House on Sandhill (Heslop, McCombie and Thomson 1995), with simple post-and-rail frames and upper crucks of the earlier type, but with Renaissance detail, and new plan types that separated the shop or office from the living space, and with rear stair towers that freed the space within the frame for spacious apartments (Figs 7.12 and 7.13). A number of these were built around 1650, when the

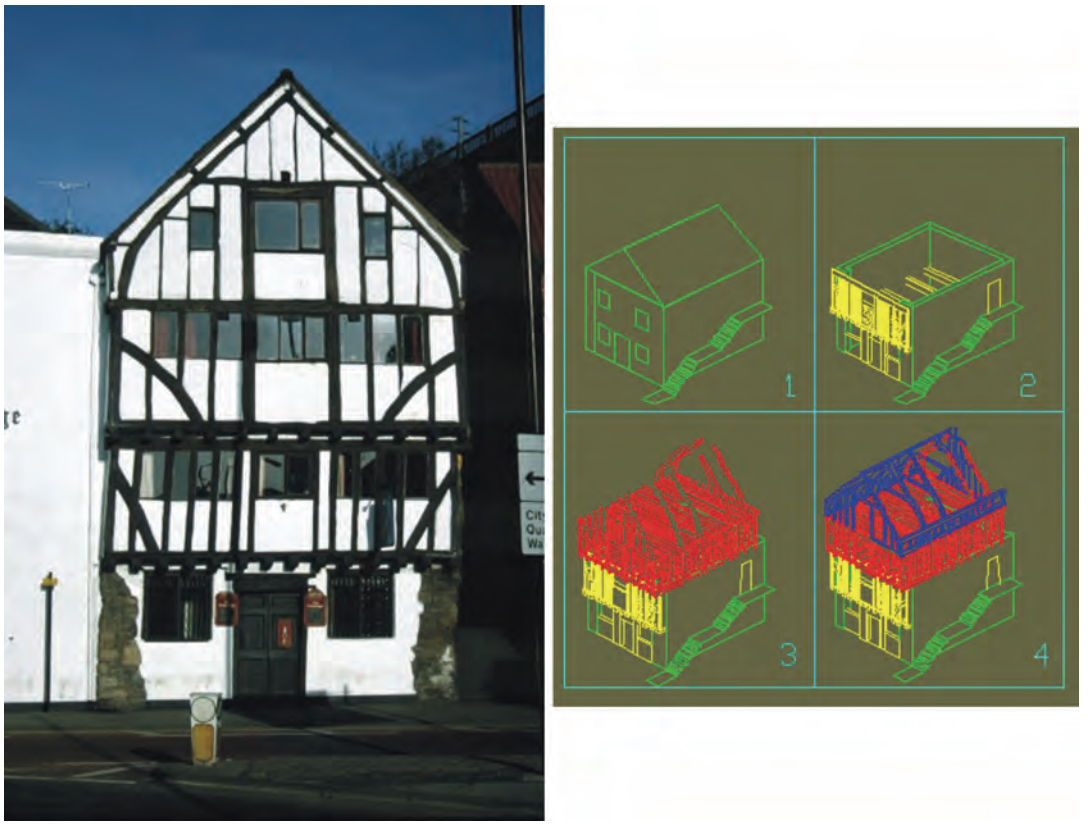


Fig 7.10 Photograph and wire-frame drawing of the Cooperage, 31 The Close.

Fig 7.11 Sandhill, Bessie Surtees House and other mid-17th century merchant houses.

Fig 7.12 First floor reception room at Bessie Surtees House showing the plaster ceiling restored by the Jesmond Plaster Company, cira 1931. (Photo Newcastle City Council)

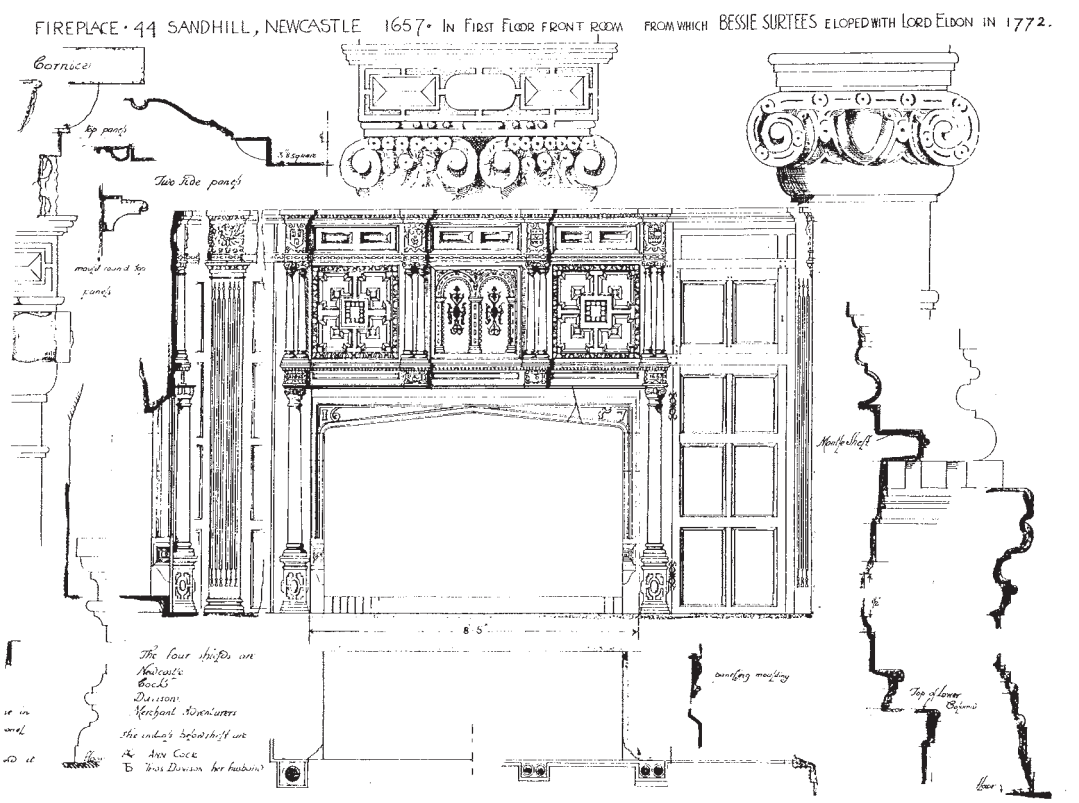


Fig 7.13 The fireplace of the first floor reception room, Bessie Surtees House. (Drawn by Charles Greenhow).

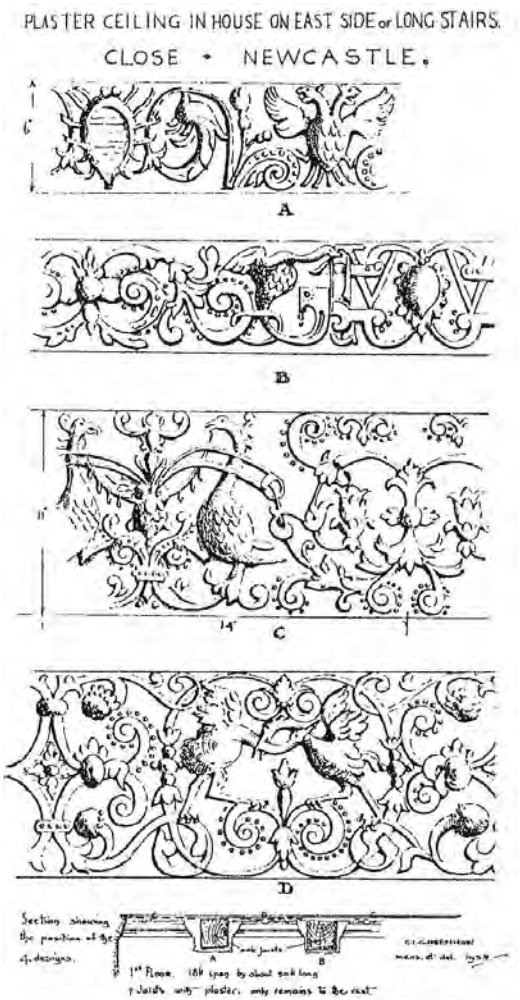


Fig 7.14 Plaster detail, 28–30 The Close.

houses and their furnishings show evidence of a major local industry, aware of wider artistic developments, but working within a local social context. Parts of the Red House complex show similar facades and internal developments remodelled within a far older row of properties (Antrobus 2004). A survey of available pictorial sources reveals that there must have been an extensive rebuilding and remodelling of buildings with similar post-and-

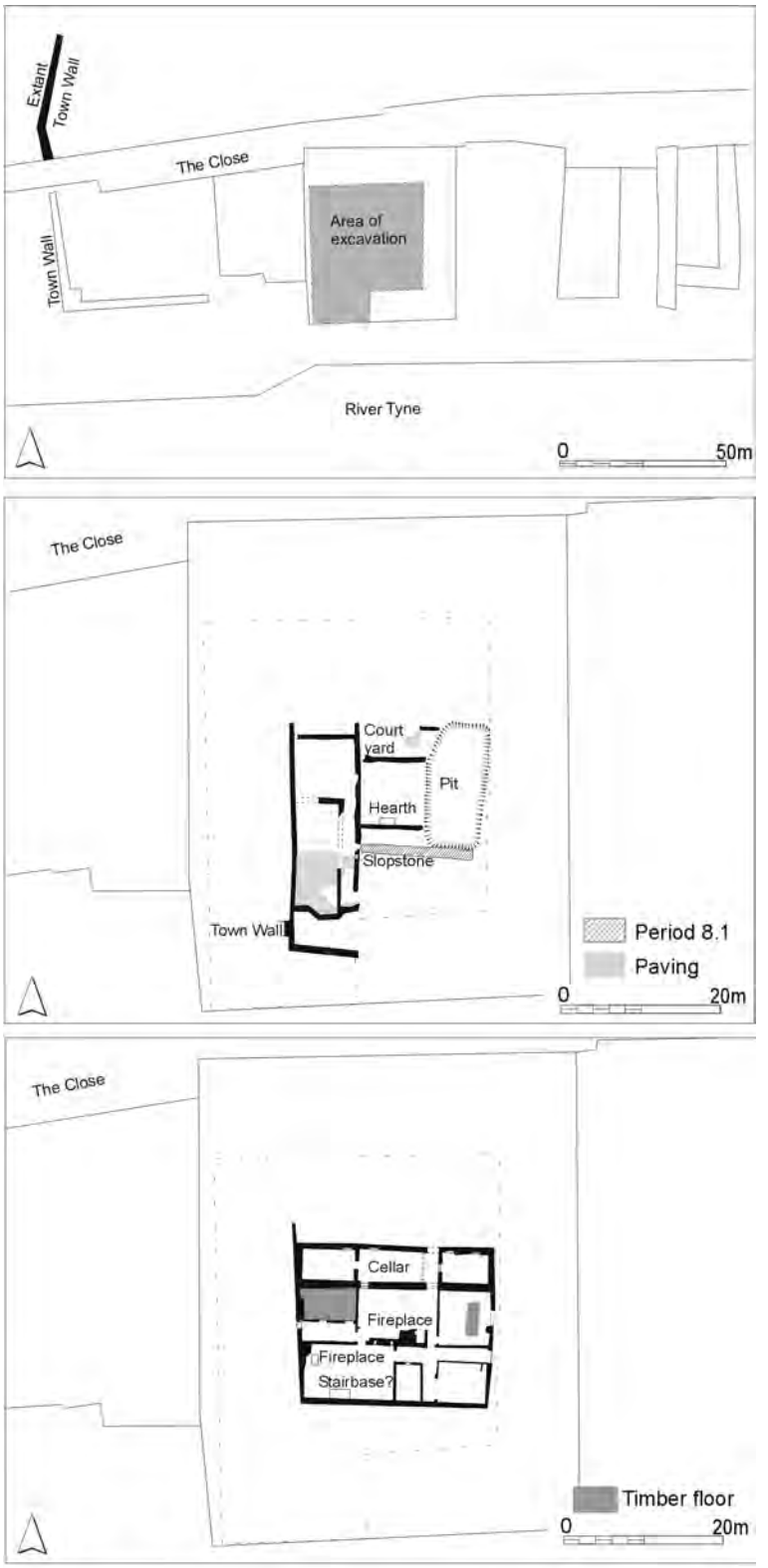


Fig 7.15 Development of houses on Mansion House Site, The Close.

rail framed facades in the mid-17th century. The surviving buildings on Sandhill – Bessie Surtees House, the Red House complex, and Derwentwater Chambers – illustrate the type of building that was once extensive along The Close and on parts of the Quayside, The Side and other major streets within the town. Examples are known in Cosin's House; The Old Custom House and the properties fronting the Old Custom House Yard on the Sandhill; and Numbers 2 and 4 Javel Group, The Close. Many more are indicated from antiquarian illustrations and early photographs.

Numbers 28, 29 and 30 The Close underwent a major remodelling at the beginning of the 17th century when all three hitherto separate properties were amalgamated (Addyman Associates 2004). At first-floor level, a room spanned the eastern and central properties; at second floor level, one room spanned all three. The close-set beams of these rooms were covered with moulded plasterwork with Renaissance arabesques and vegetal motifs (Fig 7.14). Two of the designs can be found in a pattern book of 1601, by a Nuremburg engraver Theodore Bang. It has been argued that there may have been a lapse in time between the publication of the pattern book and the execution of a design from it in Newcastle (Addyman Associates 2004) and indeed the form of the ceiling and documentary sources suggest that the work was carried out following a change in ownership of the properties in *c* 1620. On the first and second floors, ornate fire surrounds were also inserted at this time, which are similar to the fire surrounds in Bessie Surtees House, dating to 1657. It is also likely that the rooms were panelled in wood.

A rear wing was also constructed, filling in what had probably been an open court at the back. The timber-framed street frontages were removed in the late 17th or early 18th century and replaced in brick. There was some internal remodelling as well, including that to the fireplaces.

Archaeology from the ground has also demonstrated that there were changes in the building pattern in the 17th century. In places, the first substantial buildings were erected after the Civil War, but elsewhere it is less easy to distinguish between pre- and post-Civil War activity in domestic or commercial buildings.

On The Close, at the site of Property 1 adjacent to the later Mansion House, a postern in the waterfront wall was substantially remodelled in the 17th century. Blocked and reopened with a raised floor and sill, the gate was then destroyed when the wall was dismantled to ground level late in the 17th century. The position, however, was perpetuated by a doorway in the later building, which occupied the same site (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 155). The waterfront wall on the site of Property 2 was re-aligned to create a more uniform frontage with the properties farther east. The earlier waterfront wall was partially dismantled. There followed a redevelopment of property on the site, with three new ranges of buildings, although extended some 10m farther south on the west side. A large sandstone revetment wall was erected to the south of the earlier waterfront wall; and the top of the wall was truncated at the contemporary ground level (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 163–6). An enlarged complex of buildings around a sandstone paved courtyard was created, using sandstone foundations but with brick internal partition walls. It was probably plastered, with some moulded plaster ceilings. The moulded plaster dated to the early 17th century, and was thought likely to have been made by the same family of plasterers who executed ceilings in Bessie Surtees House, Alderman Fenwick's House, 28–30 The Close, and possibly Cosin's House on the Quayside (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 181–3). Some time between the mid- to late 17th century, the south and east ranges of the complex were partially and completely dismantled respectively.

In the period from the early to mid-17th century, the building on Property 2 of what was to become the Mansion House site was rebuilt (Fig 7.15). A courtyard complex was built with a west wing divided into three rooms, interconnected by a corridor (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 163–5). Although a number of the walls of previous structures on the site were reused as foundation walls, the outer walls were rebuilt from ground level. The internal walls and partitions were built of brick, but the wall surfaces on most of the rooms were plastered, as were some of the ceilings, the patterns on the fragments of moulded plasterwork being dated stylistically to the early 17th century (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 181 citing Beard 1934). The south range of the complex did not reuse earlier walls as its foundations, but ran parallel

to the waterfront. There was a rectangular brick hearth against the south wall. A single wall and an edge gully to the sandstone-paved courtyard suggested the former existence of an east range (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 165–6). In the mid- to late 17th century the west range remained unaltered, but the south range was partially demolished and the east range removed completely. It seems likely that the structures built on the infilled 'dock' of the late-medieval period had suffered from subsidence. In 1691 these buildings were all replaced by the construction of the Mansion House.

Examination of the remnant timber box-frame gable, associated brick and excavated stratigraphy revealed that No. 48 High Bridge was built in the mid-17th century. Architects' plans drawn in 1936 (TWAS T186/A3759) indicate that this building would have looked like a more modestly scaled version of the Bessie Surtees House (Brogan and Mabbitt 2003, 17). Numbers 44–46 High Bridge were built in the late 17th to early 18th century.

A cursory glance at a large-scale map of the city centre shows that medieval burgage plots survive well on either side of the Bigg and Cloth Markets, north of St Nicholas's Cathedral (*see* Fig 5.13) the only part of the urban core where significant historic fabric still survives on its original tenement plan. At White Hart Yard, 10–16 Cloth Market, a major programme of survey and dating in advance of redevelopment of one-and-a-half burgage plots was undertaken from 2002 by John Nolan, Grace McCombie and the English Heritage Centre for Archaeology Dendro Unit (TWHER SR 2002/46; 2005/140).

The Cloth Market frontage and the offshoot to the rear contain the oldest fabric, with most of the structures farther along the yard being 18th and 19th century in date. The frontage is long side on to the market space. Eleven samples from the transverse ceiling beams of the ground and first floors, and twelve samples from the roof structure, yielded a robust felling date of AD 1529. The twelve samples from the rear-wing roof indicated a felling date for this structure of AD 1527. This is consistent with a contemporary construction, perhaps with the rear range being built or rebuilt while the front was still in use, and then the frontage being rebuilt while the inhabitants used the accommodation of the new rear wing.

Fig 7.16 Mid-17th-century wall top decorated with heart motif in brick, Bessie Surtees House.

In Hanover Street, in Area C of the Town Wall excavations, the evidence consisted of foundations for what might have been a fireplace, mortared stonework and a brick wall which post-dated the War but pre-dated 1736 (Nolan *et al* 1989, 32–50). At the opposite end of the town, on The Swirle, the massive episode of landfill dumping, including both industrial and domestic refuse, came to a halt when terracing and construction took place from the 17th century onwards (Ellison *et al* 1993). Pottery associated with the first phase of structures at the east dated to approximately the mid-17th century. There was a series of internal floors, but the buildings were demolished in the early 18th century (Ellison *et al* 1993).

At Queen Street, tipping seems to have co-existed with continued use of parts of the waterfront chares right into the early 17th century. Some buildings gained external staircases; some were destroyed (Dixon and O'Brien 1988, 7–24). New buildings were erected using the surviving walls of earlier ones for their foundations. The new walls were characterised by brick on top of sandstone, cross walls were built of brick, and fireplaces were inserted. From an examination of some property deeds relating to Grindon Chare, Embleton (1896, 260) concluded that, sometime after 1560, older properties had been

'entirely pulled down and replaced by two rows of houses extending from north to south, with a yard or passage between'.

The construction of brick drains for water and waste running away from the northern part of the land of the former Dominican Priory implies that domestic building had taken place on this formerly open land by the early 17th century (Adams 2005, 97). Timber framing was replaced by brick as the universal building material for domestic and lower status commercial buildings in the 1670s or 1680s.

Newcastle was a place that attracted not only foreign merchants but also foreign artisans to ply their trade within its walls. Anthony Wells-Cole (1997, 185–200) has identified a wood carver of exceptional ability based in Newcastle in the first half of the 17th century, who based his designs on Dutch, German and Flemish prints and engravings producing screens and fireplace overmantels that were unique in England. The majority of his traceable works originated in merchant houses in The Close, Sandhill and the Quayside, as well as in the Guildhall and Mansion House. The houses on The Close were notable for the 'curious Carving' within their large and stately rooms (Bourne 1736, 126). The overmantel in the Merchant Adventurers' Hall of the Guildhall is the largest and most ornate of these furnishings, dating to 1636. It illustrates the Judgement of Solomon and the Miraculous Draught of Fishes within a frame of Classical niches topped by shells, and horizontal reliefs of the Planetary Deities, figures seated in wheeled cars drawn by various birds and beasts along the top edge, and scenes from the life of Christ along the bottom edge (Wells-Cole 1997, 194). The friezes extend beyond the overmantel and articulate the fireplace woodwork with the panelling of the rest of the chamber. Both the Guildhall Judgement of Solomon and the Miraculous Draught of Fishes derive from prints reproducing the work of the Flemish master Sir Peter Paul Rubens, made and circulated by the brothers Boetius and Schelte a Bolswert (Wells-Cole 1997, 194–6). On examination of the total known oeuvre, Wells-Cole concluded that either the artist, or the taste for such designs on the part of patrons, must have derived from Flanders, Holland or Germany. Similarly, the plaster ceiling designs of which there are fragmented remains in 28–32 The Close, in part reflect Scottish Renaissance painted ceilings of the 16th century, but probably originated in Germany (*see* Fig 7.14). Woodcut images of similar designs could easily have been encountered by Newcastle merchants via contacts with Antwerp, through their involvement with the Eastland Company, and through trade with Dutch towns and, after the fall of Antwerp, Amsterdam, as well as through the indirect route of cultural media transmitted from London through the east-coast trade. The same routes, no doubt, explain the frequent occurrence of 'flanders', 'danske' and Danzig chests mentioned in wills and probate inventories (eg in the transcribed probate inventories of Matthew Chapman, 1606; of William Crawforth, 1610; of Thomas Dagge, 1610; and of John Flint, 1675, Dickinson 1996, 77–9; 83; 87–8, 170).

Trinity House began to expand during the 16th and 17th centuries. An account book begun in 1530 tells us a great deal about the details of the building work. In 1505 it was a messuage with a garden and cellars; by 1545 the site had almshouses, housing for distressed seamen, a chapel, a belfry, a hall, two large gates and space available for hire. A gallery, a church gallery and two houses were added between 1618 and 1620. Repairs and the additions of chambers and buildings continued until the Civil War. Carr's Battery was built nearby and was destroyed by mining during the siege, dragging Trinity House into the line of fire to some degree. There are records indicating that the guest rooms and the chapel had been badly damaged and remained so until around 1650 (McCombie, 1985, 163–7; McCombie 2009, 171–88).

Thermoluminescence dates for buildings in Sandhill (Antrobus 2004) suggest that some of the earliest use of brick panel-filling in timber-framed structures used recycled brick, possibly derived from houses that had brick chimney stacks and door surrounds only. Morden Tower demonstrates an uncertainty about the handling of this new material – the construction of the wall of the banqueting chamber of the late 17th century directly on top of the jetty beam planks continues to produce structural problems for the building. Similar 'transitional' techniques were recorded at Alderman Fenwick's House, Newgate Street. At several wall junctions, timber lacing was used in a seemingly *ad-hoc* way to provide the

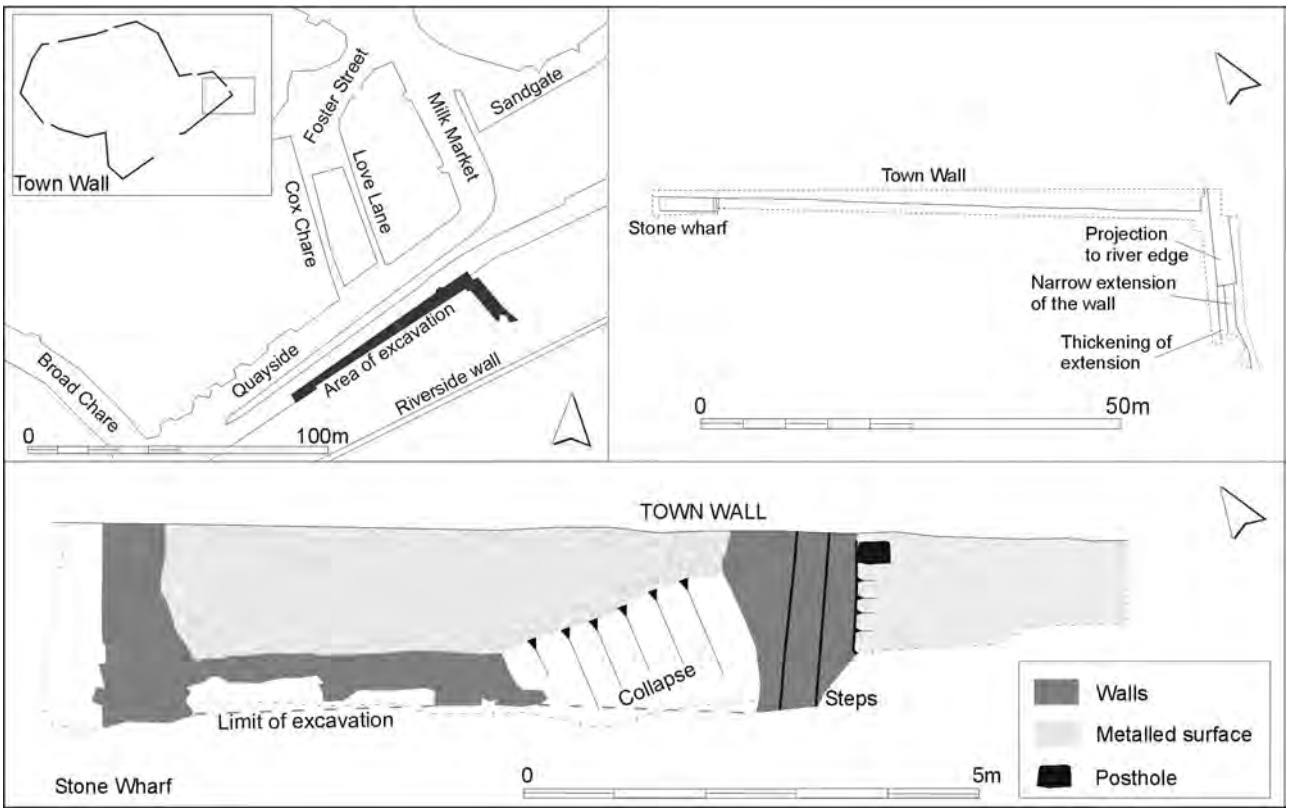


Fig 7.17 Private staithe, Milk Market.

structure with additional bracing, as though the builders were not confident that the structural loads could be taken by the brick alone. Hints at the continuity of apotropaic practices (rituals to protect the building and its occupants) were found at Alderman Fenwick's House, where a cat skeleton was found beneath the central hearth slab, and at Bessie Surtees House, where a brick with a heart motif was incorporated into the wall-top below the roof-eaves, not visible from the street below (Fig 7.16).

On The Close, the waterfront wall was realigned in the early to mid-17th century. This might have been done to create a more uniform frontage, replacing a number of junctions between the various phases of the older eastern stretch of riverfront and the more recent western stretches (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 162–3, cf chapter 5, section 5.6.1). The realignment coincided with a major redevelopment of the property and new building, possibly to rectify damage done from artillery bombardment during the Civil War. Private staithes were built on The Close and excavation revealed such a staithe or wharf at the end of the Milk Market (Fig 7.17), on the down-stream side of the bridge, dating to the late 16th or early 17th century (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1995, 225–6). This was a sandstone platform, 8.60m long and projecting 2.10m into the river. The walls were built in good quality ashlar. The platform had a short flight of steps constructed with sandstone slabs over a core of sandstone fragments, and a cobbled surface ran towards the steps, 'providing a stable area for access to beached vessels at low tide' (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1995, 226). The excavators felt that this platform provided loading and unloading facilities for shipping. It is notable that such good-quality ashlar finishing was used for such infrastructure at this date. There might have been a water-gate in the town wall adjacent to the excavated structure, which would have given access to the town from this waterfront facility. It seems to have been customary for houses on the riverfront to be leased with a staithe, for example, an order is noted for the lease of the Red House with staithe in May 1654 (Dodds 1920, 171–2). The evident desirability of having direct frontage access to the quay created a plan-form of prominent buildings facing the river, on very narrow plots divided by lanes (chares) that were

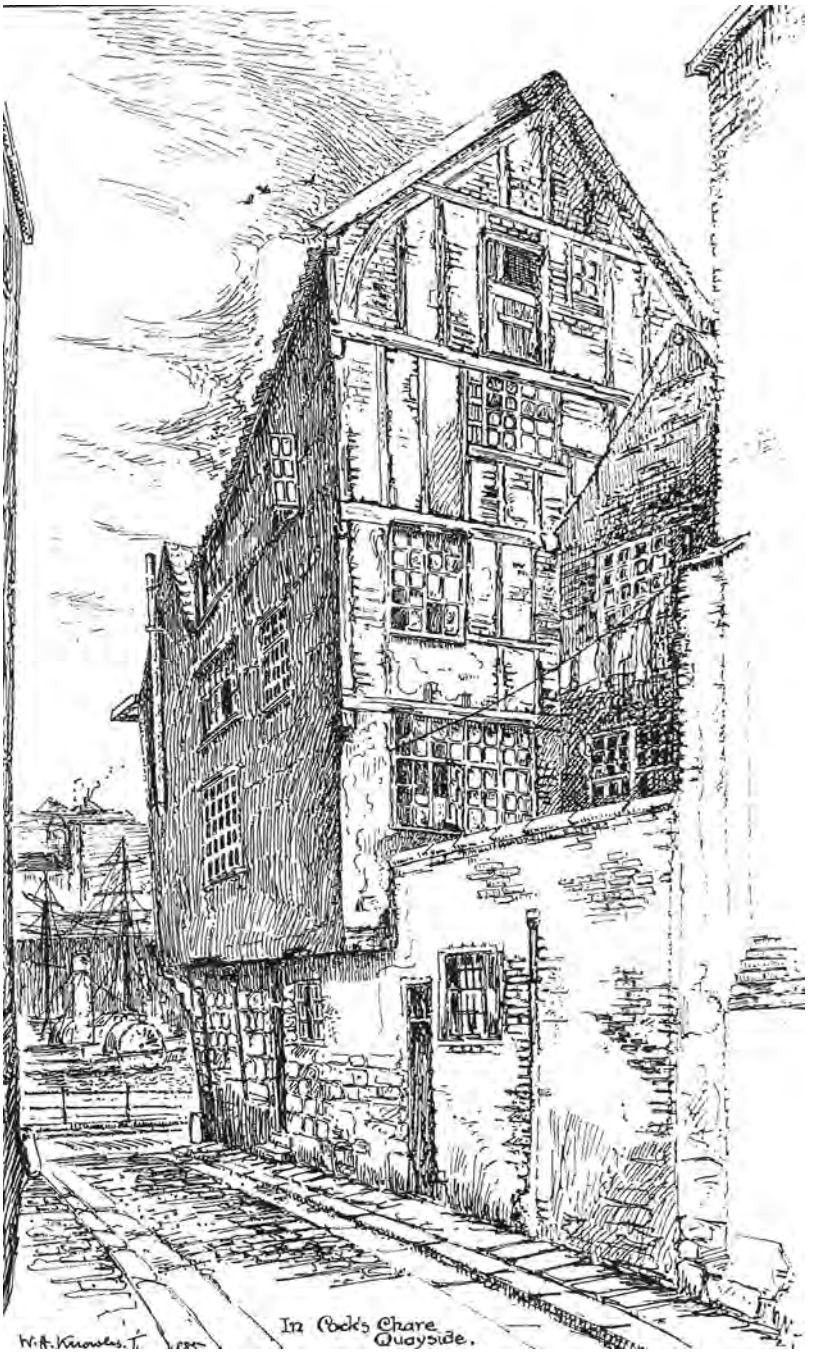


Fig 7.18 Cock's Chare, timber framed building (Knowles and Boyle 1890).

densely occupied, and led to the development of a characteristic construction style in timber frame, as recorded by Knowles at Cock's Chare (Fig 7.18). Reseach into the quayside communities, which interlinks documentary evidence of the inhabitants, their possessions (through wills and inquisitions post mortem) and the structures of their buildings, would provide a fully rounded understanding of the way the Quayside evolved over this period.

The post-medieval phases at 46–54 The Close featured well-constructed conduits to maintain the drainage on the consolidated ground, continuing the concern demonstrated since the land first had been reclaimed. A large, well-supported timber post, along with curiously worked wooden components, might have been evidence for a large quayside industrial mechanism, such as a pulley or crane; or alternatively, part of a fulling mill or pump (Gutierrez in Mole forthcoming). Small cranes for loading and unloading goods would have been required for the private quays, staithes and wharves. Both written sources and antiquarian images record the existence of high cranes for loading and unloading goods at at least two points on the Quayside.

7.5 The archaeology of the Civil War and siege of 1644

The control of Newcastle was seen as critical by all sides in the Bishops' and Civil Wars of 1639–40 and the early 1640s, both as a frontier stronghold, and as an economic lever between the Scots, Parliament and the King's party. The coal trade with London had established a crucial interdependence between the two towns, in terms of industrial and domestic need, as well as profit. Parliament enforced a blockade on the movement of coal on the Tyne in January 1642, which was successful to the extent that only about 55,000 tons of coal were shipped in the two years ending at Michaelmas 1644, compared with an average of about 450,000 tons per annum in the decade preceding the Civil War (Nef 1932 **1**, 25; **2**, 284–300). The embargo remained in place until the end of the siege in October 1644.

There is very good documentation concerning this period for Newcastle and a great number of the defences were repaired, renewed or added to in anticipation of a siege, and again in the period following the withdrawal of the Scottish garrison in 1647. A full architectural and archaeological examination of this period for Newcastle remains to be made, but it is clear that it would be a valuable and rewarding study for early to mid-17th-century studies in Britain. A number of sites have produced good assemblages of finds within well-understood post-medieval contexts (Fig 7.19). The available material is ripe for synthesis, both locally and within the

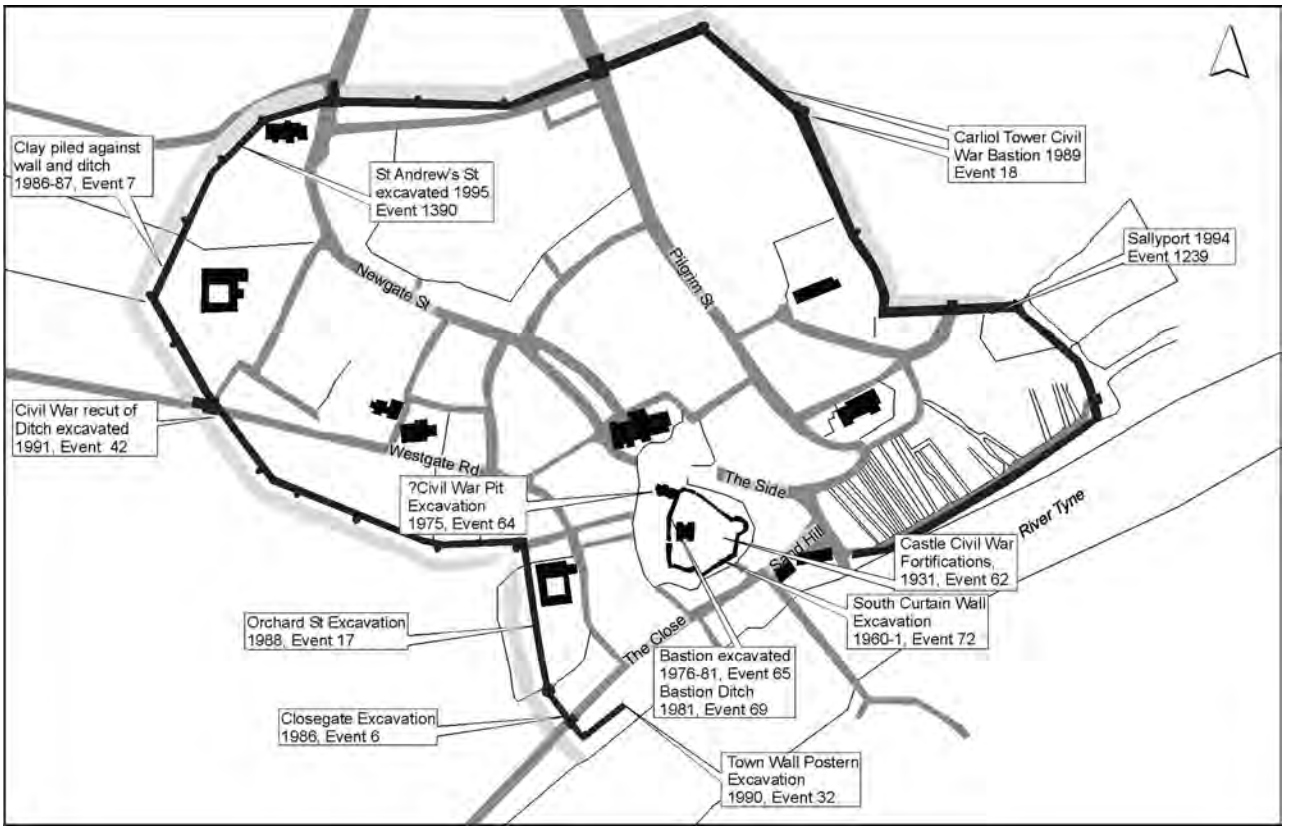


Fig 7.19 (above) Events related to the English Civil War.

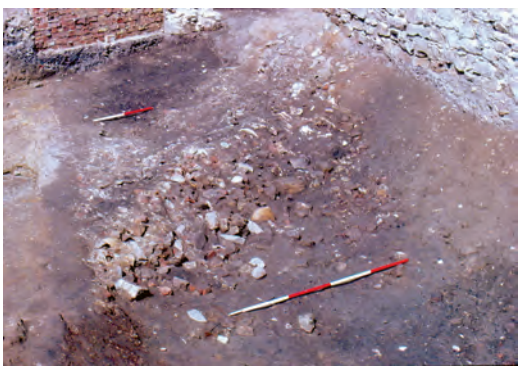


Fig 7.20 (left) Burnt and demolished material resulting from siege of 1644, West Gate Town Ditch excavation, 1991.

context of other aspects of the defence of the Tyne, notably the construction of Clifford's Fort at North Shields in 1642 (Kear 1986), and of the north-east coast more extensively (Lilburn 1986).

7.5.1 The Town Wall and ditch

The archaeological evidence for changes effected upon the Town Wall, its ditch, gates, towers and posterns during the Civil War can be summarised from (roughly) west to east. The wall was breached at a point 'low by Clossegate' during the siege of 1644, and repairs were made in 1648 (Terry 1899c, 216; Nolan 1989, 33). Deposits interpreted as watchmen's fires were found north of the Close Gate, which were dated to *c* 1645–55, as well as later deposits that might have related to the period of repair work (Nolan *et al* 1989, 40). It was postulated that the artefacts could have been discarded by members of an English garrison, who were using premises near the Close Gate as a guard-house in 1650. The Tower on the Close Gate contained a series of floors that were thought to represent habitation of the tower between the early 17th century and the mid-18th century (Fraser, Maxwell and Vaughan 1994), although whether they were necessarily connected with the Civil War is unclear; they were perhaps a temporary episode in a longer-term occupation of the tower. Two major mid-17th-century rebuilds of the wall in Orchard Street related to Civil War breaches and repairs (Nolan *et al* 1993, 93–130).

At West Gate, and again between Heber and Morden Towers, there was evidence of a major reworking of the Town Wall ditch in the 17th century. At West Gate, there was a massive, and fairly precise, re-cutting of the medieval predecessor (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1994, 159). Between Heber

and Morden Towers, medieval deposits in the bottom and sides of the ditch were truncated and partially removed. On each side a large gully had been cut or enlarged, leaving pronounced steps in the slope profiles (Fraser 1989, 55–7). Both these observations confirm Lithgow's contemporary account of the trench outside the Town Walls having been deepened by the townspeople as part of their preparations for the expected siege (Fraser in Nolan *et al* 1989, 51). A series of gradually accumulating ditch fills were interspersed by long periods of inactivity characterised by ponding in the depression that was left (Fraser 1989, 55–7). A clay layer was dumped over the medieval deposits against the Town Wall and a trackway created along the inside lip of the Town Wall ditch, in which embedded cart ruts were discernible. This was perhaps associated with a parallel series of large posts, possibly representing lean-to structures against the wall (Fraser 1989, 59–60). The question is whether these were also associated with the Civil War, as they might have either pre- or post-dated it. Towards the top of the bank at the Corner Tower, a badly made foundation of sandstone blocks was uncovered at approximately right angles to the wall. This has been interpreted as possible revetment walling dating to the 17th century (Tullett 1979, 179–89), in which case it could possibly be part of the reinforcement of the defensive circuit.

There was distinctive Civil War activity (Phase 9), dated to 1644–50, in the area of the Town Wall at Hanover Street, including the creation of hearths (Nolan *et al* 1989, 32–50). Civil War damage was recognised at the Town Wall at Orchard Street and Croft Street, where a large ovoid, funnel-shaped crater had cut through the midden deposits north of White Friar Tower. A construction trench for the rebuilt wall had been backfilled with with disturbed midden material and clay pipe. It was concluded that the crater had been created by a mine of 19 October 1644 (which was correlated with a contemporary account), and that this had been an explosion rather than deliberate undermining (Nolan *et al* 1993, 93–130). Slightly farther north, there was a reconstructed section of the wall that was thought to have been the replacement of a second breach made by artillery (Nolan *et al* 1993, 93–130). While the outer face used high-quality medieval ashlar, the inner face and the core of the wall were repaired with poor-quality unmortared rubble, while the mine crater was filled with midden material. Thus the wall would have appeared impressive on the approach to the city, concealing the quick and cheap repairs to the interior.

At West, similarly, the massive ditch over 7m wide must have been re-cut as part of the Civil War defensive measures. It is thought that the ditch was open for only a single winter before gradual accummulation began. Cartloads of burnt and demolished building material were then dumped into the ditch (Fig 7.20), possibly representing debris from the aftermath of the siege. The infill also produced over 80 fragments of window glass (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1994, 159–61, 171). Quite what condition the rest of the Town Wall ditch was in is brought into question by the fact that William Grey was given 'part of the waste called the King's Dikes' in July 1647 by way of compensation for the donation of his conduit in Pandon Bank (Brand 1789 **1**, 443). In Ralph Cocke's will, dated to 1651–2, a property in the Close with the town dyke as its eastern boundary is mentioned, suggesting the ditch was still present in this area (Fraser, Maxwell and Vaughan 1994, 91).

On the east, Plummer Tower on the Town Wall became an artillery position at the time of the Civil War, before becoming the hall of the Cutlers' Company in the second half of the 17th century (Nolan *et al* 1993, 132). Two trenches immediately south and east of Plummer Tower produced evidence for a stone-built bastion or bulwark to strengthen the tower, of 'arrowhead' form, with associated ditch (Nolan *et al* 1993, 136–8). It had been heavily robbed, but had been cut deeply into the boulder clay subsoil. The bastion was built of well-coursed mortared ashlar, retaining a rubble core, and resting on wooden planks. One large beam suggested the type of timber-lacing found at the Castle during the Civil War reparations. There was a berm between the bastion and the ditch and a series of small stake holes that suggested swinefeathers (Nolan *et al* 1993, 138). One of the plans drawn up by Astley in 1639 has cannon marked at this site, with an endorsement stating that it should be mounted on the 'round tower' (P.R.O. MPF 287, cited by Nolan *et al* 1993, 136). It is unclear whether the bastion discovered during excavation was built to stabilise the tower, if it

had proved incapable of supporting a cannon; or whether the structure was built at the time of the siege in 1644 as an extra defence measure. The infilling of the ditch was dated to the post-Civil War period, and lay over the debris from the demolition of the bastion.

Midway between Wall Knoll Tower and the Sandgate Gate, an artillery emplacement known as Carr's Battery was built just inside the Town Wall. Bourne thought that it had been built between 1639 and 1640 at the expense of Alderman Leonard Carr, whose name has been attached to it by tradition or dedication ever since (Bourne 1736, 231–2). Carr had been Sheriff of Newcastle in 1635/6 and, although not as dedicated a Royalist as were some in the Corporation, he was opposed to the Scottish Presbyterians (Welford 1887a, 421; Howell 1967, 164). The Corporation had appointed Carr as Chief Surveyor for the building of a fort in Newcastle, although the date of appointment is unknown (North 1983, 147). The battery does not feature in Sir Jacob Astley's survey of the town's defences at the end of 1638; but he did recommend that guns be placed in this position in his sketch of January 1639 (North 1983, 147–8). The battery must have been built before the first occupation of the Scots in August 1640, after the battle of Newburn. It was placed 'at the most southerly highest point before the ground dropped steeply down to the river' (North 1983, 148), a location which North identified from entries in the town's *Enrolment Books* for the early 19th century, and from Oliver's 1831 Reference (or Schedule) to his 1830 map (North 1983, 148; 260 n. 60). This position gave the gunners control over the approaches to the town from the east along the Sandgate and the fields to the north, overlapping with the cover of the guns at the Shieldfield Fort. The battery was used in the siege of 1644, and in holding the Earl of Callendar and his troops back from the Sandgate. It was destroyed by a mine that had been placed beneath it during the assault of 19 October 1644. With this battery out of action, the Scots were able to make a breach near the Sandgate Gate and enter the town from this side. Carr's Battery was not replaced, but the site continued to be referred to by this name until it was built over in the early 19th century. The construction of the City Road in 1880–2 passed through the site. A rescue excavation in 1994 might have revealed part of the ditch that was aligned with the earthwork; it was filled with mid-17th-century pottery and clay pipe (TWHER 1499). Although the site of Carr's Battery itself was not reused defensively, Sir Arthur Haselrigg built a fort outside the Sandgate Gate (Mackenzie 1827, 183 n.). This did not have the range that Carr's Battery had, but it could not be undermined as the former had been (*see below*).

Fourteen artillery pieces were recorded as having been positioned 'upon the Quay' (Terry 1899b), and there were two batteries on Sandgate (Lithgow 1645, cited in North 1983, 148). Mines caused significant damage to the wall along the Quayside. During the siege, the Scots mounted artillery on a battery in Gateshead and houses at the east end of Sandgate were damaged and destroyed by this means (Terry 1899c; Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1995, 216). Excavation in the Milk Market found no identifiable activity datable to the Civil War period (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1995).

The section of Town Wall in St Andrew's churchyard was found to have a series of layers of redeposited 16th-century material on top of 17th-century layers dumped against the inner face of the wall, possibly evidence of the rampart the mayor ordered to have built out of material from the Great Dunghill during the siege (Teasdale, Nolan and Hoyle 1999, 35). There were also fragments of brick in the outer face of the wall itself, which could imply post-medieval rebuilding after the Civil War in an area reported to have been badly hit by artillery (Teasdale, Nolan and Hoyle 1999, 40). A gun was said to have been mounted in the church tower, resulting in some damage to the area (Honeyman 1941, 139).

On the site of the Mansion House, the Town Wall featured a postern gate, which was blocked with sandstone rubble and dressed stones, and later reopened, all within the 17th century before the Town Wall was demolished (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 155). The temporary blockage could have been part of the siege preparations.

7.5.2 The Castle

A royal survey of the Castle had been conducted in 1620 and found the retaining wall of Castle Hill still visible for most of the distance between the Black Gate and the Long Stairs, which has since vanished or been

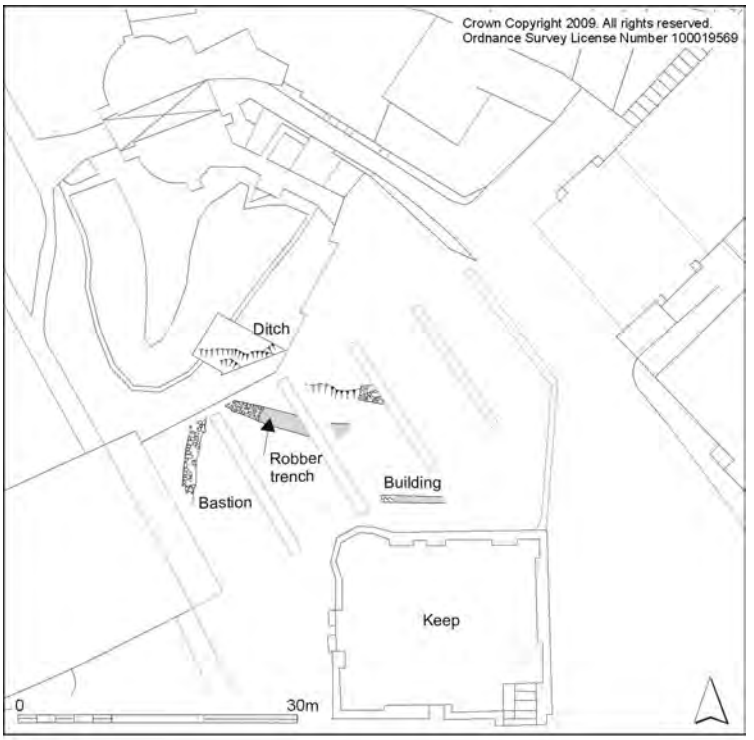


Fig 7.21 The Civil War period bastion at the Castle (after Ellison and Harbottle 1983).

incorporated into nearby properties. The Castle precinct contained ten houses and the rest had been divided up into garden plots for nearby houses. The ground within the Castle Garth was an appealing location for newcomers to the town, as it was under the jurisdiction of the Crown and not subject to the often xenophobic regulations of the town and its guilds. This was ended in 1605 when James I leased the Castle for the first time, to the Company of Tailors. However, the Castle continued to be used as a prison and site of execution. A calendar of prisoners held for 1628 and 1629 shows they were often alleged thieves, particularly of horses and sheep, pickpockets and murderers. One charge of murder by witchcraft is listed, along with two men jailed for refusing to take 'the oath of allegiance'. A number of debtors were also incarcerated (Hodgson 1822, 149 – 161).

As part of the Civil War preparations, these houses were demolished in order to turn the Castle back into a working fortress (Nolan 1990, 82–8), but new military installations were required. A contemporary described the Castle as having been 'seriously enlarged with diverse curious fortifications' (Lithgow, cited by Ellison, Finch and Harbottle 1979, 157; Terry 1899c, 220). Marley used material from the great dunghill on the west of the Castle Garth to reinforce the medieval walls, but the full extent of his, and later work, was unknown (Nolan *et al* 1993, 96–7 following Bourne 1736, 119, I; Ellison and Harbottle 1983, 138). A stone-lined pit beneath the former main roadway into the Castle bailey that was excavated in 1975 was found to be part of the new defences at the time of the Civil War, intended to obstruct entry to the Castle (Ellison, Finch and Harbottle 1979). The datable finds within the fill of the pit indicated that it had begun to be filled with rubbish almost immediately (half full already during the Commonwealth), which suggests that it was dug in anticipation of the Scottish attack but that once the siege was over it had immediately lost its purpose (Ellison, Finch and Harbottle 1979, 157). The final destruction of Building A, now thought to have been part of an early medieval chapel (*see* section 4.4.3), seems to have taken place during the Civil War. A robber trench was dug and all the stone at the east end removed. Pottery in the backfilling of the trench suggested that it had begun to be filled by the middle of the 17th century, and that it was full by the end of that century (Ellison and Harbottle 1983).

A bastion was built in a flat-bottomed trench, which cut through the Norman clay bank of the Castle, the early medieval cemetery and the Roman deposits (Fig 7.21). The bastion was identified through a stone revetment with a ditch in front of it, both of which were V-shaped in plan (Ellison and Harbottle 1983, 144). These features faced north-east across the front of the Black Gate. The features were truncated to the west by one of the railway viaduct piers, and to the east by an 18th-century cellar. Part of the stone revetment wall survived to a height of 2m, and was 1.20–1.40m wide at its base. It was constructed of roughly dressed stones of different sizes bonded with white mortar (Ellison and Harbottle 1983, 144). Remains of a second revetment abutting the first were found at the outer edge of the eastern edge of the trench. Part of the ditch lip cut into late 16th-century deposits in the Castle moat. A pair of planks lay in the bottom of the bastion ditch, compared to duck boards for the construction of the wall. The ditch contained fill that could be dated by pottery to the mid-17th century and the filling was complete by the 1680s. Three

phases of deliberate rubbish-tipping could be identified; all from the direction of the outside of the ditch against the revetment wall (Ellison and Harbottle 1983, 144). The earliest of these phases contained a degree of residual material that had probably eroded from the side of the ditch, but it also included clay pipes, musket balls and powder flasks, with pottery probably no later than the middle of the 17th century. It was concluded that the wall and ditch formed part of the defences 'hastily added to the castle by John Marley' (Ellison and Harbottle 1983, 146–7). It was presumed to be an element in a fortified perimeter or bulwark and, although called a bastion in the report, the authors felt that, without evidence for flankers, it was probably no more than a salient on the perimeter (Ellison and Harbottle 1983, 147). The author of the seminal work on early modern siege warfare, Duffy (1979, 157), had stated that all known fortifications built during the Civil Wars 'were entirely of earthen construction, though often shored up with a timber revetment'. When Ellison and Harbottle were writing in 1983 no parallel for a stone revetment connected with the Civil War had been found. Whereas the ditch appeared to have been dug in great haste, the presence of the mortared wall implied that some time and care had been taken in its preparation. It does not seem to have been common to add new defensive features to medieval castles in towns, although some, such as Nottingham, were certainly repaired at the time (Butler 1949, 26–8; cited in Ellison and Harbottle 1983, 147). It was more usual for town walls to have been strengthened, as at Worcester or Gloucester (Atkin and Laughlin 1992, 177–83), or for new lines of fortifications to have been built beyond the walls, as at Oxford and Chester (Kemp 1977, 242, 244; cf Duffy 1979, 150; Morris 1923, cited in Ellison and Harbottle 1983, 147, 259 ns. 48 and 49). It is clear from expenditure in the city accounts that brick was being used at Gloucester to repair the stonework of the walls and gates (Atkin and Laughlin 1992, 180).

The south curtain wall was demolished in the 17th century, and levelling dumps were recognised through excavation (Harbottle 1966). A cobbled floor succeeded this, possibly associated with a wall, and was covered with a layer of ash containing pottery of the mid-17th to early 18th century (Harbottle 1966). From this Harbottle suggested that the south side of the medieval bailey remained less developed and for longer than the north and east sides.

7.5.3 The Civil War forts outside the walls

Astley marked several sites on his plan as suitable for additional and presumably freestanding, fortification. The Shieldfield Fort was located to the north-east of the town and existed in early 1644, but it is unclear whether it was built in 1639–40 or in 1643. Lithgow gave a contemporary description:

> 'Vpon the Townes Northeast side, and a little without, there was a fortresse erected, called Sheiffield Fort, standing on a moderate height, and Champion-like commanding the fields; the modell thus: It standeth squarely quadrangled, with a foure cornered Bastion at every angle, and all of them thus quadrat, they are composed of earth and watles; having the Northeast side of one bulwarke pallosaded, the rest not, save along the top of the worke about, they had laid Masts of Ships to beat down the assailants with their tumbling force. At the entrie whereof there is a wooden drawbridge, and within it two Courts *du guard*, the graffe without is dry and of small importance, save onely that repugnancie of the Defendants within, which commonly consisted of three hundred men.' (quoted in Terry 1899c, 212)

The fort saw action in February 1644, when it fell to the besieging Scots army, but was sleighted by the defenders in the autumn of that year. It may have been repaired in 1648. It was visible as earthworks in Brand's time, with a windmill upon or above it; he gave its dimensions as 67 yards both in length and breadth, with the bastion '20 yards each way' (1789 **1**, 442 n. v). In the 19th century, it was still visible between Christ Church, Shieldfield to the north, and Ridley Villas, New Bridge Street, to the south (Charleton 1885, 371; Terry 1899c, 187 n. 47). The construction of Albert Street caused part of it to be removed.

The fort outside the Sandgate was built in the summer of 1648 at the instigation of the Common Council (Brand 1789 **1**, 474 n. v; TWAS Calendar of Common Council Book, Newcastle, 1645–50, 589.4 ff. 266–9; Dodds 1920, 174). According to Mackenzie (1827, 183 n.) it was located in the angle made by the east face of the Town Wall outside Sandgate and the river. The site had been cleared in preparation for some sort of defensive structure earlier, possibly in 1644, by the Marquis of Newcastle. The ownership of the site was disputed in 1656, and a request to dump rubbish 'in the trench' (presumably the ditch) in the same year

implies that the fort had gone out of use by this time. It had probably fallen into complete disrepair after the Restoration, and the site became the Sandgate 'Midding' (Mackenzie 1827, 138; *see* chapter 6, section 6.2). It is marked as this on Corbridge's map of 1723, although it is thought that the site had been proposed for Cuthbert Dyke's water engine in 1680, afterwards known as the Folly (Brand 1789 **1**, 444–5 n. i; TWSMR 1500).

7.5.4 Elsewhere

Some scars of the siege appear in Gateshead, where artillery batteries were set up to fire across the river (Nolan 2008, 119). Documentary evidence for the demolition of the Rectory of St Mary's by the besieging army have been supported by the discovery of mid-17th-century building debris on the site, a sign of repair or rebuilding work, fragments of window glass with their lead cames still attached, at least five Scottish 'turners' (copper 2d coins) dating to 1625–1685, and at least three French coins dating to 1589–1643, perhaps lost by the Scottish army during the siege (Nolan and Vaughan 2007, 161; Willmott 2008, 222; Brickstock, 2008, 227).

8 Post-medieval material culture

The study of material culture in the period of the transition between the later medieval and early modern worlds is of increasing interest and value to archaeologists (Egan 2005; Gaimster and Gilchrist 2003; Gaimster and Stamper 1997). However, the archaeological patterning in Newcastle is such that some items or types of find are more highly represented than others, and archaeological retrieval might not reflect the ownership or consumption patterns implied by analysis of contemporary probate records (see Heley 2009). Consequently, a full study would require further work on historical sources and integration of the results with the material evidence. This assessment, however, highlights the potential that may lie in future work on glass and ceramics in particular (Table 8.1).

Whereas elsewhere this period affords some exceptional instances of social and economic information to be derived from closed assemblages in latrine and other pits associated with particular properties, the archaeological patterns of discard in Newcastle tend towards large-scale sites of multi-period use, and most probably of varying social origin. Moreover, a great deal of redistribution of midden material took place, most notably in preparation for the defence of the town at the outset of the Civil War. In this respect,

Table 8.1 Post-medieval material culture – important published assemblages

P – Pottery; B – Building Material; M – Metalwork; C – Coins; L – Leather ; F – Faunal; PR – Plant Remains
X – Large group ; x – Small group

event	*map*	*site name and date*	*P*	*B*	*M*	*C*	*L*	*F*	*PR*	*references*
6	5.39	Hanover Street, 1989	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Nolan *et al* 1989
7 & 8	5.39	West Walls, 1986	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Fraser 1989
16	5.35	Queen Street, 1985	X	X	X	X	X	X	x	O'Brien *et al* 1988
17	5.39	Orchard Street, 1987–9	X	X	x	x		x		Nolan 1993
18	5.39	Carliol Tower, 1989	X	x	x		x			Nolan 1993
21	5.35	Crown Court, 1986	X	x	x	x	x	X	X	O'Brien *et al* 1989
32	7.1	Mansion House, 1990	X	X	x	x		X	X	Fraser *et al* 1995
39	5.35	Close Gate, 1989	X	X	X	x		X	X	Fraser and Vaughan 1994
42	7.1	Cannon Cinema, 1990	X	X	x	X		X	x	Heslop *et al* 1995
60	7.1	The Swirle, 1990	X	x	x	X	x			Ellison *et al* 1993
65	7.1	Castle Ditch, 1981	X	X	X	X	X	X	x	Harbottle and Ellison 1981
66	7.1	Bastion pit and ditch, 1978	X	X	X	X	X	X	x	Ellison and Harbottle 1983
90–101	7.1	Blackfriars, after 1540	X	X	X		x	X		Harbottle and Fraser 1987

midden material was regarded as a public or civic resource. It does mean, however, that there is seldom any opportunity for direct correlation of finds of a certain quality with specific spatial locations. Moreover, one of the main historical sources for assessing the socio-economic patterning of the town in the early modern period, the Hearth Tax returns, relate to the period after the Restoration. Langton's (1975) seminal article on wealth and residential patterning in the post-Civil War town utilised this Hearth Tax data, but the extent to which they are a reliable index to earlier wealth and residential patterns has been thrown into doubt by Heley's (2009) analysis of a sample selection of probate inventories of Newcastle tradesmen, albeit for the period 1545–1642.

8.1 Patterns of occupation and wealth

Some changes in occupational or residential zoning are discernible, in part, from indirect archaeological evidence, as will be seen below.

Speed's 1610 map of Newcastle shows important houses on the Market Street. Grey, in his *Chorographia* of 1649, states that the 'Burgesses … Mayors, Aldermen and richer men of the town of Newcastle in former times built their houses in the upper parts of the town'. 'In after times', he says, 'the merchants removed lower down towards the river, to the street called The Side, and Sandhill, where it continued [in his day]' (Grey 1649, 23). Although Sandhill, the Quayside and The Close were areas of major investment and commercial activity, according to Grey (1649) the gentry were already moving out into Westgate. For Bourne (1736, 126), The Close was formerly 'that Part of Town where the principal Inhabitants liv'd … and the Houses of many other Gentlemen of Figure' were still remembered by the older inhabitants. These houses, 'however mean the Fronts', were considered to be magnificent and grand within, their rooms large and stately, 'and for the most part adorn'd with curious Carving' (Bourne 1736, 126). Heley's (2009) analysis of probate records allowed the property of 15 trade groups to be mapped and compared within the period 1545–1642 (although the evidence for individual groups might have shorter chronological ranges). In her entire survey, only master mariners and one weaver held property in The Close (Heley 2009, 53).

In the period between 1549 and 1639, most bakers and brewers lived and worked in the lower-east and upper-east sides of the town, with some other properties in the northern suburbs during this time (Austin, Pandon, Pilgrim and Carliol wards) (Heley 2009, 40–1; 56). Some bakers and brewers held property around All Saints' church; including some who lived in proximity to a mill near Broad Garth. Brewers owned expensive brewing equipment, investing almost five times as much in their own equipment as those might who were producing solely for their own households (Heley 2009, 98). Bakers, by contrast, required only low investment in the tools of their trade throughout the period, but costs of building ovens and maintaining fuel supplies and stock were not included in the probate records – consequently, these costs might have been far higher (Heley 2009, 98). Heley concluded that, at this time at least, the bakers and brewers were among the wealthier tradesmen among the middling sort examined in her sample (2009, 41), and were among the nine ancient companies who elected the mayor and aldermen. They had a company house in the former Blackfriars. Millers owned properties spread across the town (Plummer, Pandon, Westgate and Sandgate wards), and Heley has identified *c* 30 mills from the documents covering her period, including horse mills, water mills and windmills (2009, 47–8, 54–5; 56).

Most properties owned by butchers were located in the lower-east side, the central markets (Austin, Newgate and Morden wards), and the northern suburbs (Ficket, Andrew and Ever wards), although two had properties around St John's church and Westgate Street (Heley 2009, 41; 56). Some held property on Middle Street and the Flesh Market. There was another spread of property owned by butchers around All Saints' church, Silver Street and All Hallows Bank, which was also known as Butcher Bank (Heley 2009, 42). The Butchers' Company had a gallery in All Saints' church (*see above*). A butcher named Henry Scott held property beside Pandon Gate, including land outside Pandon Gate with a watercourse that fed a water mill within Pandon Gate. The Milbank Manuscript mentioned mills at Pandon Gate beside 'a waste piece of Ground … formerly called the Stones' at Stockbridge

(Bourne 1736, 138; quoted in Heley 2009, 42). Another group of butchers owned 'meadow closes' and 'rigges' in Gallowgate and the Castle Leazes variously (Heley 2009, 43). These were presumably for pasturing animals. While butchers needed to invest relatively little in the tools of their trade, they invested heavily in livestock – five times the average in Heley's survey – and made a higher investment in stocks of provisions than other middling trades as well (2009, 98). The Butchers' Company was one of the nine ancient crafts, and was given a house in the former Blackfriars, although they also gained a company house in the grounds of the former Austin Friary (*see above*).

Documents survived for seven tanners in Heley's survey, who lived and worked mainly on the north and west of the town, but owned additional properties in the northern, southern and eastern suburbs (Durham, Ever and Andrew wards) (2009, 52–3; 57). One property on Westgate Street had a 'Tannhouse' in 1594 with ten vats and large stocks of leather, but was also used as a stable (Heley 2009, 53). A great quantity of tanners' waste was present, in the redeposited early 18th-century rubbish used to build up the floors of some of the Nine Company houses in Blackfriars, but was thought to have originated from a midden inside the West Gate (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 32–4). Several properties owned by tanners were located close to streams or sources of water, although tanning vats themselves were not mentioned – for example, two cottages at The Swirle in 1636, and one tanner-held property near the Lyme Pytte, Ouse Burn (Heley 2009, 53). Tanners also held property around the upper end of Market Street, perhaps because of the four annual fairs held at the Nolt Market for horses and cattle (Heley 2009, 58, citing Bourne 1736, 48). Frustratingly, many more documents examined by Heley (2009, 53) mentioned facilities and stock associated with tanning, but gave no indication of location. The Tanners' Company was one of the nine ancient guilds given premises with in the Blackfriars. Tanners' largest investment was in hides, and some had extensive stocks of leather; indeed, the ability to stockpile hides and skins was the single most important factor in differentiating wealth among the tanners (Heley 2009, 103).

The few skinners and glovers in Heley's sample tended to own property and work in the centre, upper and lower west parts of the town (White Friar, Denton and West Spittle wards); two, however, had properties and shops on Tyne Bridge, where purses seem to have been among the most numerous of their goods in stock or for sale (2009, 50; 57–8). Others owned houses and even some waste ground on Bailiff Gate. The Skinners and Glovers were also among the nine ancient companies given premises for meeting in the former Blackfriars. The basic tools of the trade for skinners and glovers did not require a great deal of investment, but their supplies could be varied and required considerable investment – skins of different animals, leather treated to varying standards for producing different commodities, different standards of wool and other fabrics suitable for making gloves (Heley 2009, 101–2). The cost of wool was rising through the period, but the cost of pelts and sheepskins tripled (Heley 2009, 101).

Property belonging to cordwainers was located in the northern suburbs, Sandgate, the east of the town and lower markets, the majority of shops for this trade being concentrated in and around the Middle Street (mainly Morden ward, but also Pilgrim, Carliol, Ficket and Andrew wards, as well as Plummer, Pink, Gunner, West Spittle and White Friar wards) (Heley 2009, 43–5; 57). They had a company house on High Bridge at this period. One cordwainer who owned a number of properties also leased a house and shop in the *Maison Dieu* complex (Heley 2009, 44). One inventory detailed a shop in Middle Street with '324 pairs of shoes and boots, quantities of tallow' and work gear (Heley 2009, 44). Heley (2009, 99) uncovered a complex pattern of investment for cordwainers as they required specialist tools, supplies for treating various kinds of hide, and stocks of finished footwear for sale. Tools did not tend to change over the period, but their costs did, and supplies cost a comparatively great deal. Wealth levels consequently varied among this trade group.

Weavers for whom records survive between 1577 and 1641 lived and worked 'almost exclusively in the western side of town' with some property held in the suburbs to the north (largely Westgate, Bertram Monboucher and Pilgrim wards) (Heley 2009, 53; 57). Heley found that over 90 per cent of weavers owned different types of loom, and stocks of cloth and yarn (2009, 103). The majority of Newcastle

weavers between 1577 and 1641 specialised in linen production, and useful technical detail may be derived from the records (Heley 2009, 103–4). Tailors owned property on the principal streets of the town, in the central markets – some, but by no means all, on or near the Cloth Market – and also in the lower east side (Heley 2009, 51–2). Unfortunately, where shops or workshops were mentioned, the location of the property was seldom detailed. Heley found that both trades shared neighbourhoods in West Spittle, Denton and Stank wards, but more in the central market area of Morden Tower ward (2009, 57). Tailors needed to invest little in terms of tools of their trade, and kept only small quantities of cloth, eg linen (Heley 2009, 102).

The keelmen were 'among the poorer tradesmen of the town', the inventories implying that most lived in single-cell houses 'with loft spaces above a hall' and mostly located in Sandgate and Pandon, with some in Gateshead (Heley 2009, 45). A higher proportion of keelmen rented property than other tradesmen from this sample. Only two wills and three inventories (dated before 1600) in Heley's sample listed boats or lighters and associated articles for the keelmen (2009, 99). The value of the boats far outstripped the value of any supplies the keelmen had. From the relative absence of vessels, Heley concluded that the majority of keelmen were not wealthy enough to be able to afford their own boats; but some vessels were owned collectively, the men having half-shares in them (2009, 99). Mariners also preferred to live and work in close proximity to the river. The mariners displayed a great variation in ownership of property: some, perhaps, living in single rooms, while three owned mills, and two of these held a great deal more property than the average in Heley's survey (2009, 45). A significant proportion of properties occupied by mariners was let to them by master mariners and shipwrights (Heley 2009, 46). There was a 'tremendous diversity in equipment' listed in the inventories of mariners (Heley 2009, 99). Most investment, however, was in 'sea clothes', but these seem to have been of less value than other clothes. The low trend in investment was bucked by two mariners who owned shares in ships of almost £100 (Heley 2009, 100). Master mariners were also mainly concentrated in Sandgate and the lower east part of the town, as well as Gateshead, with a few with property in the central market areas and the upper town (Heley 2009, 46). A number held property close to their company hall in Trinity House on Broad Chare, and it is seems that they could arrange to store equipment and trade-related materials in the Trinity House cellars. Unlike mariners, master mariners invested very large sums in articles connected with their trade (Heley 2009, 100). They not only owned 'sea clothes' but also expensive clothes for life on land. They invested a great deal in silver whistles and specialist equipment. Over time, they tended to spread their risk in small shares in many sea-going vessels, rather than with large-scale investment in fewer vessels (Heley 2009, 100). Significantly, there was a social distinction between master mariners as a group, and shipwrights, mariners and keelmen, and they tended not to share the same streets as the others, except for mariners; and they leased property to several well-off merchants (Heley 2009, 47). Shipwrights lived and worked mainly in Sandgate, 'among the poorer keelmen, mariners, joiners and carpenters, to whom they let substantial numbers of properties – more properties, in fact, than were let by any other trade' (Heley 2009, 48). A few of the documents record quays, keys or wharfs (Heley 2009, 49), which are clearly private quays as excavated on the Milk Market (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1995). A few mention planks and timber stored on these quays (Heley 2009, 49–50). Shipwrights owned their own tools – up to 30 distinct forms of tool – and they had considerable supplies of wood, trees, tar, pitch, nails and bolts (Heley 2009, 101). Investment in wood tended to increase over the period. Shipwrights invested in both lighter-type boats or keels, and large ships; joint-ownership in small boats was apparent, and 40 per cent of shipwrights had shares in large vessels (Heley 2009, 101).

Documents survived for only 11 smiths in Heley's sample (2009, 50; 57), but their properties 'tended to be located either in the town close to the walls and gates, or in the suburbs, especially Sandgate' (Wall Knoll, Pandon, Sangate and Ficket wards). In general, smiths owned more tools than any other trade in Heley's sample, including some imported objects (Danish hatchets, Flemish weighing beams) (2009, 102). There was a wide range of wealth illustrated by the smiths, and those who

supplied items for ships tended to be better off than those who did not. There were also large discrepancies in quantities of stocks of iron held, including material described as Danish, Spanish or English (Heley 2009, 102).

8.1.1 The location of middens and patterns of discard

The most notorious of the early modern middens was that in the Castle Garth (*see* chapter 6, section 6.2). This dunghill is mentioned in the Milbank MS cited by Bourne (1736, 119), and in connection with a death in 1591 (Longstaffe 1860, 78, n. 58; 77, n. 57). An inquest of 1620 states that a great stone wall enclosed the Castle, but that a two-yard thick western stretch of the wall was destroyed by a dunghill (cited in Longstaffe 1860, 77–8). The dunghill is described as being 98 yards long (89.61m), 10 yards high (9.14m) and 32 yards in breadth (29.26m). It was composed of 'much rubbish and other dirt and nuisances' (Longstaffe 1860, 78). This dunghill provided a valuable resource when it came to reinforcing the town's crumbling fortifications at the outbreak of the Civil War. Sir John Marley, the Royalist mayor prior to and during the siege of 1644, had most of the great Castle Garth dunghill removed and redistributed around the town to strengthen the medieval walls (Nolan *et al* 1993, 96–7 following Bourne 1736, 119, I). Waste was dumped in parts of the former precincts of the medieval religious houses after the Dissolution. As these houses had marginal locations, sometimes straddling the town's defences, it has proved difficult to differentiate some quotidian dumping from deliberate Civil War relocations. For example, dumping took place at Orchard Street, inside and against the town wall, within the former Carmelite Friary precinct following the Dissolution (Nolan *et al* 1993, 96–7). This might have been an accumulation of nightsoil and domestic refuse from nearby households, or it might have been part of Marley's redistribution. If the latter, however, a greater dispersal and fragmentation might have been expected in the pottery than was the case (Nolan *et al* 1993, 97). This midden extended over the site of the friary itself (Harbottle 1968). Part of the former precinct of the Trinitarian Priory on the Wall Knoll was a dunghill in the early 19th century (Mackenzie 1827, 137). Rubbish dumping has been located against the Town Wall between Riverside Tower and Whitefriar Tower dating from the later Middle Ages but ceasing in the 16th/17th centuries (Nolan *et al* 1989, 40). There was also minimal public dumping north of Herber Tower (Fraser 1989, 55).

The cloister garth of the former Blackfriars was allowed to accumulate a great quantity of household rubbish, while pigs and hens were kept there (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 32). The 'close within the West Gate' to the south and west of the Blackfriars and known as Benny/Bennet Chessye's Close was sometimes referred to as 'the midden stead' (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 30). The waste material used to raise the ground floors of the Nine Company meeting houses in the Blackfriars' precinct was made up of ash, soil and building debris and had two characteristics indicating that it probably derived from this midden. First, it contained such a large proportion of sheep leg and foot bones that it was deemed to have constituted tanners' waste, and it was unlikely that such noxious waste would have been dumped in the cloister while the rooms around were occupied, even by poor tenants in receipt of charity. There were so many ceramic sherd joins scattered across the different rooms that it seemed unlikely that there could have been more than one source for the waste material. The conclusion was, therefore, that the waste had been carted in great quantities from the midden inside the West Gate, as the nearest alternative source (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 30, 32–4). Given that the pottery and clay pipes in the waste dated to the early 18th century, it is clear that the midden stood at least until this time.

The Sandgate midden, known from at least the late 14th century (*see* chapter 6, section 6.2), must have continued in use well into the 18th century, and appears marked clearly on Bourne's map of 1736. The area to be reclaimed along the Quayside continued to attract domestic and industrial dumping, in addition to the bulk dumping of ships' ballast (eg O'Brien *et al* 1989; Truman 2001). The natural denes worn by the streams also continued to be the focus for rubbish dumping. In the north-west of the town, on Stowell Street, domestic debris and cess seems to have been dumped from the late-medieval period onwards in a deliberate attempt either to narrow the stream of the Lam Burn or to build up its banks, 'perhaps to protect the area from flooding' (Adams 2005,

97). When the Anderson family built Anderson Place in the early to mid-17th century, part of Lort Dene had to be cleared of rubbish in order to make the land suitable for building and creating a fashionable garden.

A lease of 1747/8 for part of a messuage in Pilgrim Street contains an agreement that the two parties involved should share the waste or a convenient place used by the inhabitants for laying and dumping the ashes from their respective family houses (Welford 1909, 82).

8.1.2 Patterns in the consumption of food

The animal-bones assemblages of the 16th and 17th centuries clearly show the continuation of the trend in consumption that appeared in the medieval evidence: an increased reliance on sheep as a meat source, and a declining consumption of cattle. In every substantial bone assemblage for the period, sheep/goat bones are far more common than cattle remains. Differentiating between sheep and goat remains can be problematic, so the two were often grouped together when analysing assemblages. Of those remains whose species could be determined, goats were very rare and sheep quite commonly identified. For instance, in the town ditch under the Cannon Cinema, no goat remains could be identified, while a quarter of the initially debatable sheep/goat remains were found to be sheep (Gidney 1994, 179).

The debris from the fill of the 17th-century bastion ditch must have accumulated from at least the mid-17th century. As in the 16th-century dunghill, there was pottery and glass discarded by the more affluent townspeople, but the animal bones were now the debris from private households, suggesting that butchers were carrying their waste elsewhere, or that the mayor and aldermen had put a prohibition on the place and nature of discard, or even that the location of the butchers' shops had changed so that ditches around the Castle were no longer the most convenient dump.

The earliest of the 17th-century phases of fill in this bastion ditch included a far higher proportion of shellfish, bird and wild mammal than in subsequent phases. In the second phase there were far larger groups of bones, and in both phases 2 and 3 sheep/goat was abundant. In phases 2 and 3 the sheep bones were mostly associated with meat cuts, from domestic consumption waste rather than primary butchering. Practically none of the cattle bones were from beasts slaughtered before their third year. The manner and location of chopping suggested that the carcasses had been cut into sides. Other signs indicated that some of the beasts had been used for draught.

The majority of the sheep had been slaughtered between two to three years of age. This is younger than the age expected if the sheep were being kept for wool production, and indicates the probability of a mutton-farming element in the sheep farming of the area supplying the town. The mutton had also been supplied to the householder in sides.

Heads and teeth from both cattle and sheep were found in the same phases as the bone. The evidence suggests that the supply to the household was in the form of butchered sides of mutton and beef, so where did the heads come from? Is this butchers' waste mixed in with domestic waste? In which case why does the overall pattern resemble domestic dietary discard rather than butchers' rubbish? Did different social classes buy different cuts of meat, such that the poorest might buy the heads and other extremities that bore little meat, but that might be used for broths? The feet, cartilage and other bones that bore little meat might be used for jellies, which were certainly a feature of upper-class feasts in the 18th century. Similarly, however, feet could have been used for making glue and it is doubtful if any indications of such processes would be distinguishable in the assemblage.

Rich 16th–17th-century deposits were also found in the nearby Castle Ditch. From the late 14th century to the late 16th century, there is a reasonably steady increase in the proportion of sheep bones in the assemblage at the expense of the cattle bones, levelling out at roughly 58 per cent sheep and 36–43 per cent cattle for most of the later phases (Rackham 1981, 236). Cattle-horn cores were frequent finds throughout the 16th-century layers, generally of medium-horned breeds, and the vast majority from sub-adult animals. Sheep-horn cores were also present. The ditch appears to have been used as a dump from a nearby horn worker.

Unbutchered and possibly articulated partial horse skeletons were found in the 16th-century dumping levels. All horse bones present came from adult or elderly animals, and many showed spinal problems that might be associated with

draught work. These appear to be beasts of burden that were not eaten at the end of their natural lifespan. The Castle Ditch might have been the commonly accepted dumping ground for these creatures, for those who lacked a plot of land to bury them in (Rackham 1981, 233). Cat and dog bones were also quite common, again usually as adult partial skeletons, which supported the hypothesis that this was a dump for the bodies of those domestic animals that were not usually eaten. The variety of dogs present was great, with size ranging between wolf-sized to less than cat-sized, with many differences in skeletal structures (Rackham 1981, 233). Small numbers of cat and dog bones were found on a number of sites, suggesting that the town's pets and strays were laid to rest in rubbish dumps, such as the Civil War ditch at Cannon Cinema and the site of the Mansion House (Gidney 1994, 177; Davis and Bullock 1995, 191–6). Some of the dog bones at Oakwellgate, Gateshead, even showed signs of butchery, either for their pelts or as food (Cartledge 2008, 237). More happily, the Civil War ditch yielded a body of an elderly cat, whose jaw had healed after the loss of its teeth. To survive for this long, it must have been a pet fed on soft food (Gidney 1994, 177).

The food debris derived from cattle amidst the redeposited floor material at Blackfriars, and which probably derived originally from the midden inside the West Gate, showed a marked contrast in dietary consumption to that in the bastion ditch. The head and feet, designated as low meat value, constituted over 50 per cent of the fragments at Blackfriars. The good meat-bearing joints represented only 10 per cent. This contrasts with the bastion proportions, which were 33 per cent poor cuts, and 65 per cent high-quality cuts (Rackham 1987, 133). Similarly, the epiphysal and tooth eruption data for sheep indicated that the bastion consumers had proportionately more lamb and prime mutton than those whose food rubbish ended up at Blackfriars (Rackham 1987, 136). From this it may be concluded that the midden at the West Gate served a poorer population within the town. Although sheep remains were greater numerically, beef represented a greater proportion of the overall meat supply and diet.

On the site of the Mansion House, the 17th–18th-century animal-bone assemblage consisted of 68 per cent sheep/goat, 25 per cent cattle, and 5 per cent pig. Most body parts were represented, indicating that the whole carcass was being discarded on site. The post-medieval sheep bones were notably larger than the medieval equivalents. This has been found in assemblages from London and Oxford, and may show the start of breed improvement. Overall, the assemblage is thought to reflect the diet of a poor area (Davis and Bullock 1995, 191–6). In the phase prior to the Civil War at Cannon Cinema, sheep made up 71 per cent of the bones present, while cattle made up 22 per cent. This evened out to 50 and 42 per cent in later periods (Nicholson 1994, 176). The animal bones found by the Town Wall at Orchard Street appear to be domestic waste, made up of meat-bearing bones and lacking skulls, which would have been removed from pre-prepared carcasses (Dobney and Jacques 1993, 126–9). Sheep/goats were most frequent, followed by cattle. Few other identifiable species were present in the post-medieval deposits. Some of the cattle bones showed signs of being used to produce glue. There was no sign of size increase over time, but the sample was reasonably small.

At Oakwellgate, Gateshead, the securely-stratified 17th-century animal bones were divided into 61 per cent sheep, 37.5 per cent cattle, and 1.5 per cent pig, with fallow deer, cat and dog also present in less securely-stratified contexts. The cow and sheep body parts present lacked a notable pattern in most contexts, but a few areas produced high proportions of sheep metapodials, which were often used for tool-making and hint at an industrial context (Cartledge 2007, 237).

Pigs were always far less comonly found than sheep or cattle. Of the animal bones found at the Mansion House 5 per cent of the total was pig (Davis and Bullock 1995, 191–6). At Oakwellgate, Gateshead they made up 1.5 per cent (Cartledge 2008, 237). In the Castle Ditch the proportion varied between 2.4 and 7.3 per cent across the phases, with a peak in the mid-16th century, followed by a steady increase throughout the rest of the century (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 236). On sites with very small bone assemblages, pig remains were typically entirely absent (Oxford Archaeology North 2007, 20; Dobney and Jacques 1993, 126–9; Mole forthcoming). Excavations of the Civil War town ditch cast light on the origin of these pigs. Several well-preserved partial skeletons of piglets were found, among other young pig

bones. None was fully grown, several were aged 4 to 6 months, and at least one was a foetus. The Castle Ditch and Blackfriars also produced some evidence of the consumption of young pigs (Rackham 1981, 234). This indicates that pigs were being bred within the town (Gidney 1994, 180).

Urban pig-rearing was a common practice among the poorer strands of society until the early 20th century. Pigs could be kept on small plots of land and fed on kitchen waste, turning it into precious meat. Scavenging in the streets could also sustain the urban pig population. Larger numbers of pigs would also be kept by dairies and breweries, to live off the waste of these industries. The usual practice was to buy a weaned piglet and fatten it for five to seven months before killing it (Malcolmson and Mastoris 1998, 37, 41–4, 48). Thus young pig remains are a likely outcome of small-scale urban pig-rearing. By contrast, pigs 'were virtually absent' from wills of a selection of middling tradesmen between 1545 and 1642, although some were kept in the backlands of properties as one might expect (Heley 2009, 31).

As a major port, it is unsurprising that seafood remains are plentiful. At Cannon Cinema, sieving was employed and the fish bones recovered were mostly haddock, with some herring and flatfish also present (Nicholson 1994, 176). Cod and herring were common on the site of the Mansion House, with estimates that fish could account for 10–20 per cent of the meat consumed on the site (Davis and Bullock 1995, 191–6). The Castle Ditch produced cod and ling bones, along with small quantities of shell mostly from oysters, periwinkles and cockles (Rackham 1981, 230).

8.2 Industry and patterns in the consumption of manufactured goods

8.2.1 Leather

Leather trades remained important in the post-medieval period. Small quantities of leather are not uncommon finds in the waterlogged conditions of the Newcastle and Gateshead waterfronts. Tanners' waste was present in quantity in the redeposited early 18th-century rubbish used to build up the floors of some of the Nine Company houses in Blackfriars, and probably originated from a midden inside the West Gate (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 32–4). The material derived from sheep, and the absence of sheep toe bones suggested that the skins with feet were being treated differently, and were either removed from or never arrived at the place where the rest of the carcass was dumped (Rackham 1987, 133).

A large quantity of leather scraps from several phases in the 17th century in the area of Railway Arch 3 of the Castle Garth is thought to have derived from cobblers' waste (Vaughan 1983, 208). The material consisted of pieces from old shoes that had been unpicked and cut-up to be used in the repair of other shoes. This was waste, then, from one who repaired shoes rather than one who made them. The location of the dumps may be of interest in this case, as they are close to the Castle Ditch in which large quantities of what was thought to be cobblers' waste was also found, dating to the early 16th century (cf Vaughan 1981, 184). It has been suggested that the cobblers' waste would not have originated too far from the workshop. As noted above, the Castle Garth provided a location for unregulated occupations free from the restrictions and interference of the trade companies and the town Corporation (Nolan 1990, 83). It would seem that cobblers continued to use the Castle Garth as a resort from which to ply their trade.

Several shoes were recovered from a 17th-century pit in Oakwellgate, Gateshead. There were examples of both welted and rand construction and one was slashed, a 16th-century fashion, though it continued in Scotland into the 17th century. Multiple stitch holes, indicating repair and reuse were common throughout the assemblage (Nolan and Vaughan 2007, 231). Two children's shoes were found at Bottle Bank, Gateshead. They were open-sided 'straights' with rounded toes, latchet fastenings and low leather-covered wooden heels (Nolan *et al* forthcoming).

From cordwainers' probate records (1549–1639) it is clear that different types of shoe were made for men, women and children, and that shoes were appraised separately from boots (Heley 2009, 99). Various types were available: single- and double-soled shoes, 'pantofels' (slippers), and wooden-heeled shoes of various contemporary decription. Boots were the most expensive items, but the price of shoes increased through the period examined (Heley 2009, 99). Over half the cordwainers had their own shops, mostly stocked with

footwear ranging from 30 to almost 200 pairs, although one significant individual stocked over 300 pairs of shoes (Heley 2009, 99). Skinners and glovers in the period 1570–1634 kept gloves, various bags and purses in stock, one tradesman keeping 200 pairs of gloves in stock (Heley 2009, 102).

8.2.2 Cloth

The 17th-century bastion ditch at the Castle contained a useful collection of woollen textiles with which to compare and expand on information gained from documentary sources (Walton 1983, 217–40). The wool could have come predominantly from local sources, although fine Spanish wool was imported for higher-quality woollen textiles. The wool from the hill sheep of northern and western England was used for coarse woollens; that of sheep on the Midland Plain was used for the worsted industry (Walton 1983, 218). A high proportion of the textiles from the bastion ditch were 'woollens', meaning that they had been soft and fluffy, suitable for having the nap raised. The worsteds (smooth and even-surfaced textiles) were in a smaller proportion, although a larger proportion than had been present in the Castle Ditch excavations (in the 15th and 16th centuries, 90 per cent woollens, 9 per cent worsteds; in the 17th century, 79 per cent woollens, 18 per cent worsteds). This small change was significant in terms of the overall patterns of industry.

Both the yarns and the patterns of weave pointed to an increased emphasis on the finishing of the cloth in the 17th century (Walton in Ellison and Harbottle 1983, 220, 225). There was also an example of a possible mixed fabric; half wool, half linen or cotton such as characterised the 'new draperies' of the period. A piece of coloured checked twill might have come from Scotland, given that plaiding was being exported and used for furnishings in England (Walton 1983, 222). Two fragments of figured worsted satin damask had a pattern that featured a stylised pomegranate. It was suggested that the design was originally of a kind that can be found in many silk collections and portraits dating to 1630–1660, although this wool version might have been later. As the fragments had been well worn before being thrown in the ditch, they might well have been used and reused in different forms of clothing, or passed from person to person. The textile was probably made in Norfolk or the area of Kidderminster, and required a sophisticated loom and complex patterning equipment.

A very small percentage of the textile fragments from the 17th-century bastion ditch was silk (3 per cent), although this was a bigger percentage than had been present in the Castle Ditch (0.5 per cent) (Walton 1983, 218). Silk was a luxury throughout the medieval and early modern periods, although it was more common in the mid-17th century than it had been in the 16th century, owing to rising standards of living. The silk was imported from the countries around the Mediterranean, but also from the East Indies markets that had recently opened up. There were two fragments of silk velvet and four of silk tabby, one of which was a ribbon. The silk velvets would have been imported, probably from Italy (Walton 1983, 224). The silk tabbies, however, could have come from Newcastle itself. Brand records two silk weavers: one in March 1599 in St Nicholas's parish register; one in August 1623 in All Saints' parish register (1789 **2**, 341). Walton thought that while these may have been only ribbon weavers, there was the possibility that they were producing silk cloth (1983, 224). Imports of raw silk and silk yarn were sufficient in value to suggest that local weavers would have been able to gain access to them (Davis 1969, 96–7). The probate inventory of one silk weaver in 1631 detailed silk among his possessions, but also showed that the man owed £39 to a London merchant for items that included silk ribbons, from which Heley concluded that he was importing ready-made articles as well as producing silk himself (2009, 103).

Most of the dyes used on the bastion ditch textiles would have been imported. Only the indigotin-containing woad for blue dye was grown commercially in England in the 17th century, but by the second half of the century even this was being supplanted by indigo from East India and the West Indies (Minchinton 1969, 21; Davis 1969, 90 cited in Walton 1983, 227–8, 263 n. 220). Some of the blue dyes, for example, may have derived in part from Japanese indigo. Walton notes that both madder and brazilwood appear among the imports of the Newcastle Merchant Adventurers (Dendy 1895, 123; 1983, 227). The madder might have come from Holland, which was the main producer in the 17th

century, while the brazilwood along with the dyewood fustic probably came from South America at this time. Cochineal would have come from the Americas, although kermes was sometime imported from the Mediterranean. Some of the dark dyes might have derived from oak galls imported from Turkey or Aleppo. Many of the textiles were tailors' offcuts, but there were also fragments that showed signs of wear and stitching.

Similar fabrics have been found on other sites in the city. Examples of undyed course woollens with limited soft-finishing, some frequently folded fine worsted satin, remains of a fulled goat-hair jacket and other pieces of goat-hair fabric and linen, were found at Oakwellgate, Gateshead, and are thought to represent fabrics worn by the poorer residents of the region (Nolan and Vaughan 2007, 233–5). A few scraps were recovered at Bottle Bank, Gateshead, including a rectangular patch of woven tabby, and two pieces of coarser plain tabby weave. A mass of spun thread was also found (Nolan *et al* forthcoming).

Some fabric fragments were recovered at Blackfriars, including raw sheep's wool (most likely from some proto-Cheviot), poor-quality woollen tabbies, worsted twill dyed with woad and indigo, some wool-twill stuffing, and dark-dyed silk tabby, the last two thought to be remains of a chair (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 127–9).

In the 16th century, the English cloth industry was primarily focused on the production of woollens that were subsequently sent undyed and undressed for finishing in the Low Countries. However, by the end of the 16th century, taste had changed away from the heavily finished broadcloth to lighter, finer worsteds and 'new draperies', which had given a new impetus to the old worsted industries based around Norwich (Walton 1983, 230). This in turn gained from the intensification, and specialisation of sheep-rearing in the Midlands. By the early 17th century English woollen cloth was being exported to the Mediterranean. The industry also suffered setbacks, however, with the closure of markets in northern Europe following the Thirty Years War, and with competition from new draperies, imported silks and calicoes, and Dutch woollens by the end of the 17th century (Walton 1983, 230). The home industry responded by trying to open new markets in North America and to improve finishing and dyeing techniques. The new techniques allowed England to produce cloth of finer texture and finish in a new range of brighter colours.

The home market in sturdier woollens continued to thrive, especially in the production of outer clothing and 'the everyday wear of the lower classes and country people' (Walton 1983, 230).

Clothes were important for what they might signify in terms of wealth and identity, but they also had importance in social contexts of gift-giving and bequests, as well as more formal contexts of livery – both the livery of trade companies and the unmarked livery of social and household affiliation (Jones and Stallybrass 2000, 20). Moreover, Heley's examination of probate records for the period 1545–1642 suggests that apparel was particularly important to tradesmen of the middling sort (2009, 80–1). Master mariners, in particular, expended a great amount on clothes in the period beteen 1601 and 1625, with mariners coming second to them. Most trades doubled their expenditure on clothes over time, but a distinction becomes apparent between those who continued to spend on clothes after 1626, and those who did not (Heley 2009, 81). The keelmen must have been the poorest dressed of these trade groups. Spufford's observation that there was an increase in the quality and comfort of clothing towards the end of the 17th century in rural England seems to be echoed in Newcastle by the early part of the century (1984, 125; Heley 2009, 81).

8.2.3 Glass

The excavated evidence for Newcastle's considerable glass industry within the study area is limited, and belies the true extent of both manufacture and trade to other parts of Britain that is attested in the documentary evidence. The principal glass manufacturies were located in the industrial suburbs, primarily on the Ouseburn ('Ewes Burn' in Grey, below) and therefore outside the study area. Nevertheless, as a growing resource, this is an aspect of archaeological material culture that would reward systematic and comprehensive study. Although plain window glass was probably made in England before the mid-16th century, the patent granted to Jean Carre and Anthony Becku in 1567 initiated a period of both broad and crown manufacture (*Cal*

Pat R 17 Elizabeth, pt 13, mm. 3-4 15 Dec. 1574; Turnbull 2001, 58). Bourne (1736, 155) indicates glass-making in the area before the permanent establishment of Lorraine glass houses in 1618 – Sir Robert Mansell leased land in the St Lawrence area, east of the Ouseburn, establishing glass houses there by 1619. In 1635, Charles I banned the import of all foreign glass for the term of the monopoly granted by King James I to Mansell (Ayris and Sheldon 1995, 63). Three sets of works were founded in this area by the mid-17th century; and soon afterwards the industry spread to other parts: Howdon Pans (North Shields), Bill Quay (Gateshead) and Close Gate. By 1649, 'upon the north side of the river is the Ewes Burn, over which is a wood bridge, which goeth down to a place called the Glase Houses where plaine glasse for windowes are made which serveth most parts of the Kingdom' (Grey 1649, 40).

Mansell's monopoly ended with his death in 1653, although the industry took some time to recover from the effects of the Civil War. However, by 1696, John Houghton could include 11 glasshouses in Newcastle: six window glass, four bottle glass and one fine glass manufacturer (Ellison, Finch and Harbottle 1979, 168). Consequently, Ellison (1981b, 167) concluded that some of the 16th-century green window glass from the Castle Ditch could have been of local manufacture. There is no reason to doubt that the 17th-century glass, window glass and a range of vessel types were produced on Tyneside (Ellison 1981b, 169). The rest, probably English, would have arrived as part of the east-coast trade. Early 17th-century ships brought pure sands from Moll near Amsterdam, Fontainebleau and King's Lynn, all of which were conveniently located for the return routes for ships carrying coal from Newcastle. The imported crystal glass vessels, including *façon de venise* glass, were likely to have accompanied trade in other goods from the Rhineland and Low Countries (Ellison 1981b, 169).

There also seems little doubt that the great long galleried windows of the mid- to late 17th-century houses still standing on Sandhill, and which once lined The Quayside, The Close and The Side, were made possible by the production of window glass at Skinner and Ouse Burns. The Lorraine glass-makers employed by Sir Robert Mansell from 1618 onwards as managers of his coal-fired glasshouses in Newcastle are described in the parish registers of All Saints' and St Nicholas's churches as broad glass makers (Ellison, Finch and Harbottle 1979, 167). In 1640 Mansell had three window glass furnaces in Newcastle; and by the end of the 17th century there were six (Ellison, Finch and Harbottle 1979, 167–8). Heley's (2009) analysis of probate inventories created for some portions of the tradesmen of Newcastle between 1545 and 1642 demonstrates that the houses of the middling sort were often furnished with glazed windows from early on.

Fig 8.1 Alderman Fenwick's House, original late-17th-century window.

The only possible fragment of contemporary glass remaining *in situ* in Newcastle, thus far known, was found in a window of Alderman Fenwick's House (Fig 8.1). This glass was formed of quarries, leaded together and tied to the iron bars of the window with metal strips in traditional fashion (Heslop and McCombie 1996, 156). The window glass excavated from the Civil War period pit at the Castle fell into two groups, by far the larger of which consisted of more or less consistently thin (1.00mm), light green metal, of broad or cylinder glass manufacture, which can probably be identified as a local product. Glass of comparable metal was also excavated in quantity at the

post-Dissolution Blackfriars' site, which was used by the Nine Companies (Hawman and Vaughan 1987, 105). One fragment was found at the far west end of The Close (Nolan *et al* 1989, 46). The smaller group from the Castle 17th-century pit was crown glass, probably imported (Ellison, Finch and Harbottle 1979, 169). Only six fragments of this type were found in the company houses at Blackfriars (Hawman and Vaughan 1987, 105). Further, when the quarries from Newcastle were compared for size and shape with those from the Weald, it was concluded that the Newcastle glass had probably been cut (or 'grozed') to purely local specifications, although perhaps reflecting a more general change towards larger and squarer quarries (Ellison, Finch and Harbottle 1979, 169). This transition was more definitely identifiable at Blackfriars, as was a wider range of diamond quarry shapes and dimensions (Hawman and Vaughan 1987, 105). The company houses also produced evidence for coloured glass of crown manufacture, dating from the first half of the 16th century, including red, blue and orange.

Among the deliberate deposits of waste used to build up the ground level to the west of the town wall adjacent to the Close Gate up to the 18th century, was a great quantity of late 17th-century glass. Context 161, in particular, contained an unusual quantity of cylinder edge pieces, offcuts from the cutting of quarries, which are most likely to represent glaziers' waste from a local glasshouse (crown glass is not documented as being made here until 1734) (Maxwell 1994c, 125–6). Some locally produced window broad glass, two fragments of imported crown glass, and a few fragments of imported green broad glass, were all found at The Swirle (Ellison *et al* 1993, 211–12). Eight fragments of lead window came, associated with, and in three cases still holding, fragments of green-tinted window glass, were recovered from 17th–18th-century contexts from the western part of Sandgate (Goodrick, Williams and O'Brien 1994, 228). These deposits imply that even buildings used for industrial purposes in the busy port area outside the town walls, might have been glazed at this time. Excavations at Bottle Bank, Gateshead produced eighteen fragments of 17th-century thin, greenish, flat window glass, some cylinder blown, and some with evidence of diamond-cutting.

In 1922, R J S Bertram reported the presence of Tudor window glass in St. John's church, in the northern chancel and transept. These included fragments of the royal arms, and a further heraldic shield surrounded by a laurel wreath, which he considered 'of inferior workmanship' and which still exists (Bertram 1922, 35–40). Many heraldic shields survive in the south-east chancel window, while numerous mixed painted fragments have been placed in the north-west chancel window. It seems unlikely that this glass was manufactured or painted locally as there are no accounts of glass-painting in the immediate region. It might have been the work of York glass-painters, or imports.

The range of vessel glass shows both local manufacture and consumption, and a certain amount of higher-value imports. Excavations at Oakwellgate, Gateshead, have produced 21 examples of glass finewares. Wine glasses were the most common examples, dating from the 16th century, and soda-glass pedestal goblets of the 16th and early 17th century onwards were also present (Willmott 2008, 218). Fragments of a gadrooned knop and top of a stem, possibly of a bi-conical goblet in light green glass, of a form dating to the first half of the 16th century and into the 17th century, were found in the Castle Ditch. Although Venice, Flanders and the Rhineland are all possible origins for the goblet, a Northern European origin is most likely, given Newcastle's trading connections (Ellison 1981b, 169, and 168 fig 36, 405). Similarly, several fragments of *façon de venise* soda-lime crystal glass beakers and wine glasses probably originated in Flanders or the Rhineland: one beaker fragment with vertical ribbing; one from a wrythen mould-blown vessel, from phases ranging from the mid- to the second half of the 16th century; two fragments of the waists of bi-conical goblets, without a knop, from mid-16th-century phases; and some fragments of wine glass decorated with parallel threads of opaque white glass occurred in mid- to second half of the 16th-century contexts (Ellison 1981, 169). Venetian or Venetian-type glass was present at the Westgate Road in a beaker that combined a 16th-century form of base with an early 17th-century everted rim and applied thread decoration (Vaughan 1994, 172). The Castle Ditch produced a fragment of a tankard, a baluster stem, and fragments of sack bottles

from the 17th century (Ellison 1981b, 169), and a fragment of the stem and bowl of a wine glass, probably early lead crystal, produced in Newcastle in the 1680s by the Dagnia family. Two fragments of colourless glass beaker with irregular vertical opaque white trails, rim of pale green cup/beaker with tooled decoration, both of 16th-17th-century date, were found at Bottle Bank (Nolan *et al*, forthcoming).

Over half the bottle glass from the company houses at the former Blackfriars' site was derived from wine bottles, identified as the dark green sack bottles, dating from the 17th century onwards (Hawman and Vaughan in 1987, 102–5); later, 'black' bottles were also present. At Oakwellgate, Gateshead, fragments of dishes, jars, a flask and five 17th-century phials, along with at least 27 wine bottles from the 17th–19th centuries, were found (Willmott 2008, 218). Several post-medieval flasks, bottles and drinking glasses were found near Close Gate (Maxwell 1994, 123–5). Venetian glass was present at the Westgate Road: a Venetian type beaker that combined a 16th-century form of base with an early 17th-century type of applied-thread decoration (Vaughan 1994. 172).

Within the town, it is very difficult to discern patterns of consumption related to spatial distributions. A rise in the crystal glass content of the pit at the rear of the Black Gate from the second half of the 17th century might reflect the ending of a manufacturing and import monopoly held by Sir Robert Mansell, or it might indicate a different, presumably higher-class social source for the rubbish (Ellison, Finch and Harbottle 1979, 173). Probate records for the period 1545–1642 saw a steady increase in the number of drinking glasses and 'glass cases' listed (Heley 2009, 77).

A great many fragments of so-called apothecaries' bottles were found in the Castle Ditch, but it is unlikely that these represent the detritus from a single apothecary's shop (Ellison 1981b, 169): it is more likely that the bottles reflect a typical accumulation from public consumption (cf Old Hall, Temple Balsall, Gooder 1984). This period saw an increase in reliance on bought remedies for ailments of all kinds, and the proportion of waste from apothecaries' bottles underlines this cultural trend. The 17th-century pit at the Castle contained fragments of an alembic, a flask, receiver or cucurbit and some tubing from chemical apparatus (Ellison, Finch and Harbottle 1979, 173) that might have been used by an apothecary, a perfumer, or a layperson with an an interest in chemistry. Fragments of pharmaceutical equipment, such as tubing, a stirring rod and small flasks, were found also at The Swirle (Ellison *et al* 1993, 211–12). Apothecaries were among the most precocious of retailers in their deployment of promotional marketing techniques and alluring shop displays in order to increase sales. With the production and sale of proprietory medicines unregulated, apothecaries were in fierce competition with quacks of all waters, and the period saw a profusion of balsams, elixirs, tinctures and cordials on the market (Cox 2000, 201). The New World and expansion of the colonies were exploited for real or imagined ingredients for medicines from as early as the 16th century (Cox 2000, 206). Apothecaries were among the first tradesmen to produce and circulate almanacks from the 16th century, and the ubiquitous apothecaries' bottle or phial attests to the success of their efforts, as well as to significant social changes with regard to health and control over the body.

The excavated glass perhaps indicates the rapidity with which glass entered into wide consumption, given a local industry. This is borne out by references in contemporary probate inventories, although the source of the glass would be mentioned only if it were a valued import. The profusion of bottles indicates the increased consumption of wine, as well as of medicines, in the domestic sphere.

8.2.4 Ceramics

Among the excavation reports of the late 1970s to 1990s, the ceramic reports were characterised by a fruitful synthesis of artefact identification and wider trade issues, supplemented by recent regional syntheses, particularly Vaughan's review of material from Tyneside (2008c). A 'curious absence' of wares positively identifiable as of local manufacture characterised the assessments of the ceramics of 17th to early 18th century date across practically all excavations in the city, most tellingly in the large assemblages from the Castle Ditch; the 17th-century pit behind the Black Gate; the 17th-century bastion at the Castle; the Blackfriars; and excavations in Gateshead, such as Oakwellgate and Bottle Bank (Ellison, Finch and Harbottle 1979, 159;

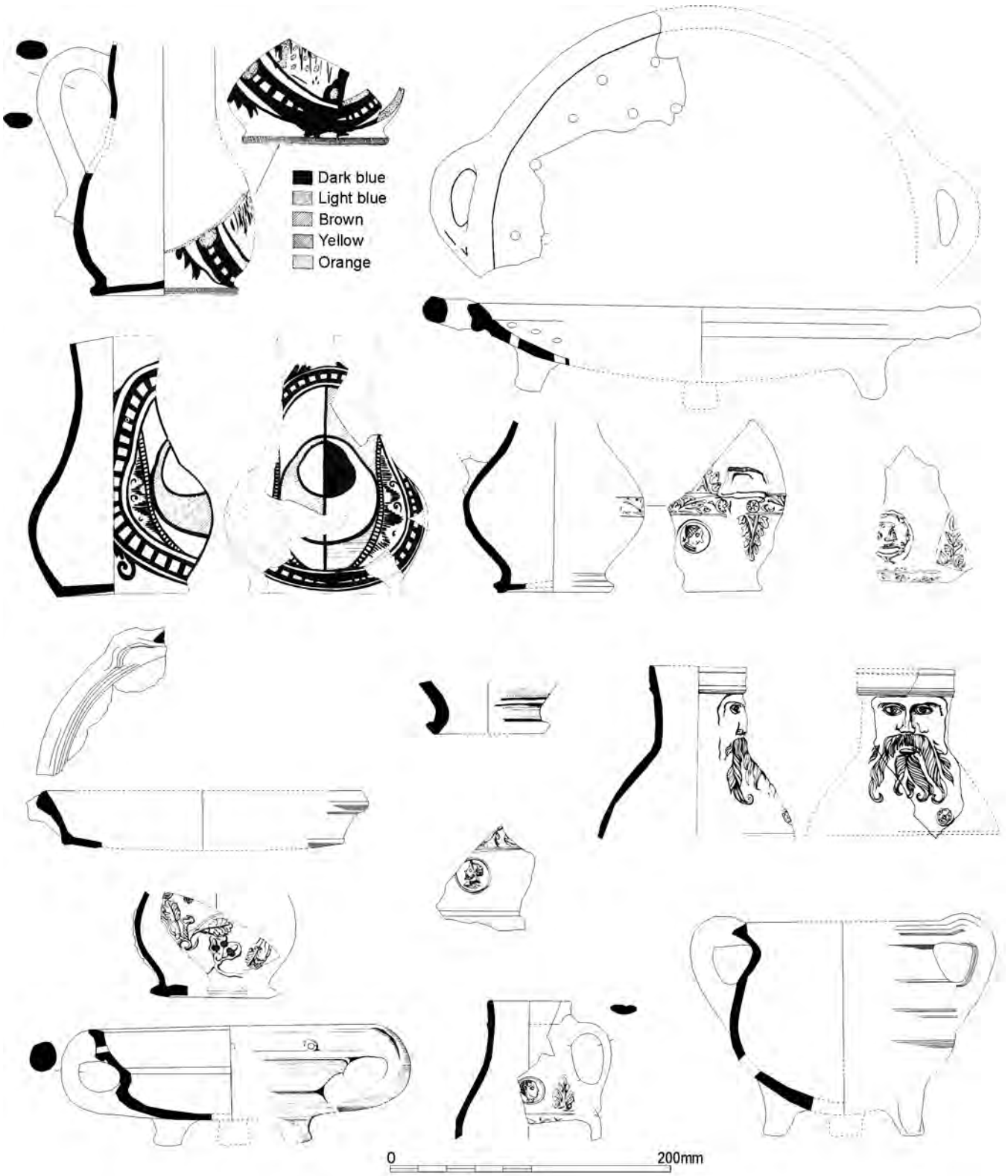
Ellison 1983, 150–80; Vaughan 2008b, 254). It seems strange that there was no local industry, and the problem may yet be one of recognition. However, Ellison's overview of the pottery from the Castle was that 'significant changes must have taken place, both in domestic habits and in the pottery industry itself' between the late 16th century and the 17th century (in 1983, 150). In the 16th century, table wares had been rare, but by the 17th century, 'the quantity and range of attractive table wares (especially plates) which must have been in common use in an increasing number of households for the first time. A close examination of the sources of this pottery points to the spread of modern patterns of production and distribution' (Ellison 1983, 150). In the bastion deposits, although not all the redwares could be provenanced, the majority came from either the Low Countries, or the London metropolitan area. However, compared with the 16th-century deposits, there was a drop in the percentage of Low Countries and Rhenish wares.

The post-medieval assemblages included small amounts of German redware, Low Countries whitewares, Werra and Weser wares, Westerwald stonewares, Martincamp flasks, Italian maiolica, Mediterranean or Spanish coarse wares, Valencia lustreware, and a residual piece of provincial South Chinese porcelain (Ellison 1983, 156–7). The latter was a base fragment from a porcelain bowl from a South Chinese kiln probably dated to the last quarter of the 17th century (Ellison 1983, 173–4).

This array of wares occurs again and again across the 16th-17th-century deposits of the city. Redwares made up a sizable proportion of the finds on all sites. Low Countries redware sherds formed over 20 per cent of the Milk Market assemblage, around 20 per cent of the bastion material, and over half the Blackfriars' assemblage (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1995, 229; Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 86; Ellison 1983, 152–3). English Redwares from London made up much of the assemblage from the Close Gate excavation, 58 per cent of the material from the town ditch on Westgate Road, 30 per cent of the bastion pottery and dominated the assemblage from the Town Wall near The Close (Fraser, Maxwell and Vaughan 1994, 115–18; Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1994, 165; Nolan *et al* 1989, 45). Redware was also present in numerous smaller assemblages from across Newcastle, such as at Stockbridge, Mansion House, the Town Wall section at Orchard Street, Plummer Tower, The Swirle, the Crown Court Quayside, and on the Gateshead sites of Oakwellgate and Bottle Bank (Truman 2001, 174; Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 171; Nolan *et al* 1993, 107–8; Nolan *et al* 1993, 143–4; Ellison 1993 178–204; Bown 1989,164–5; Vaughan 2008a, 165–98; Nolan *et al* forthcoming).

Various types of Rhenish stoneware made up the next most common group of pottery. Rhenish stonewares were salt-glazed stonewares produced in the Rhineland throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. Varieties of this included Cologne/Frechenware, Raerenware, Westerwald ware, Langerwehe, Weser and Seigburg ware, each named after the region or city that produced it. These were shipped to England via the Netherlands and were sold by Dutch merchants, thus following a similar trade route to the Low Countries Redware (Savage and Newman 1974, 245; Schaefer 1998, 18). These were generally found in much smaller quantities, with several types on each site. The Milk Market yielded fragments of Raeren, Cologne/Frechen and Westerwald wares (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1995, 229). At Close Gate, Cologne/Frechen, Westerwald and a single fragment of Lower Rhine ware were found (Fraser, Maxwell and Vaughan 1994, 115–18). Seigberg, Raeren and Cologne/Frechen wares were all found at Bottle Bank, Gateshead (Nolan *et al* forthcoming). Examples of Rhenish stoneware were also recovered at Oakwellgate, Stockbridge, the Mansion House, Westgate Road, Orchard Street, The Swirle, Blackfriars and the Castle bastion (Vaughan 2008a, 165–98; Truman 2001, 174; Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 171; Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1994, 165; Nolan *et al* 1993, 107–8; Ellison 1993 178–204; Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 86; Ellison 1983, 152–3).

Other recurrent finds from the same selection of sites include Cistercian ware, English whiteware, early blackware, later reduced greenware and tin-glazed earthenware (more commonly known as Delft). Tin-glazed earthenware usually hailed from the city of Delft in Holland, although there were also English producers. The earliest examples were made in the early 16th century, but the most successful period was towards the middle



of the 17th century. Delftware frequently attempted to mimic Chinese porcelain in appearance and patterning, and in the 17th century the term 'china' could have applied to either imported or English tin-glazed wares, not necessarily Chinese imports (Overton *et al* 2004, 103; Heley 2009, 77). Compared to other earthenware imports, this was a

Fig 8.2 17th-century pottery from the Castle Ditch

luxury product, unsuitable for the rougher life of cooking vessels and generally used for serving vessels or even purely decorative items (Schaefer 1998, 16). In Heley's examination of Newcastle probate records for 1545–1642, the word 'china' first appears in the context of 'china cupboard' in the list of a shipwright dated 1623 (2009, 77).

The same vessel forms tend to recur across sites. At Blackfriars, the cooking pot was the most common type of vessel, along with bowls, dishes and mugs (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 86). In the bastion ditch, plates were the most common form, followed by cooking pots, dishes, bowls, mugs and skillets (Ellison 1983, 152–3). At the Town Wall near The Close, the assemblage included two complete tankards in English Redware. Low Countries Redware appeared primarily in the form of small cooking pots on tripods (Nolan *et al* 1989, 45). At Oakwellgate and Bottle Bank, in Gateshead, fragments of Rhenish stoneware Bellarmine jugs, including their distinctive masks, have been found (Vaughan 2008b, 165–98; Nolan *et al* forthcoming). Oakwellgate also included a number of chamber pots in English Whiteware (Vaughan 2008b, 165–98). A more interesting find at the Town Wall on Westgate Road was what might be an English Redware 'puzzle jug' which had 'Thomas' written around the shoulders, similar to hollow wares produced by the Harlow Kilns (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1994, 165). Money boxes were also found occasionally, for example on Westgate Road (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1994, 165).

As yet, nothing has been found that can be proven to be local – the vast majority of pottery finds are recognised imports. It appears that by the late 16th century, pottery production had been entirely abandoned in Newcastle. Instead, society relied entirely on pottery imports from London or via the North Sea. The possession of imported pottery is not necessarily a sign of wealth or status in this period, as it was ubiquitous, but there might have been differences between the types of imports. At some point, it must have become more cost-effective to buy imports than local products, even for the poor of the city, which would have smothered the local trade. A less extreme version of this trend can be seen at Southampton, where local production decreases in favour of the same pottery types as seen in Newcastle. This has been attributed to imported pottery providing vessel forms that local products did not provide (Brown 2002, 134).

8.2.5 Clay tobacco pipes

Tobacco and its appurtenant smoking equipment reached England in the 1580s, and it was sold in provincial shops before the end of the 16th century (Cox 2000, 206). The first well-recorded commercial import was in 1603, when 25,000 pounds were shipped from Spanish America. The available data for England places annual tobacco consumption at 0.01lbs per person in 1620–9 and 0.02 in 1630–1, to increase greatly over the course of the century as prices fell and mass consumption took hold. 'By the end of the [17th] century it is rare to find any tradesman like a mercer, a grocer or a general shopkeeper who did not stock tobacco' (Cox 2000, 206). There appears to have been no gender or class divisions to who used tobacco, with frequent depictions of women and men smoking in 17th-century Dutch paintings (Goodman 1993, 59–62). Initially London dominated tobacco import and consumption, where pipe manufacture began around the 1570s, before tobacco imports spread to other major ports. Newcastle and Gateshead were among the first regional ports to establish their own pipe-makers, providing a wealth of archaeological evidence and a dating tool in the form of rapidly changing pipe forms (Goodman 1993, 65).

Vast quantities of clay tobacco pipes have now been excavated both in Newcastle and Gateshead, and it is clear that many were produced locally, and on both sides of the river (Oswald 1983, 186–95). Tobacco had arrived in Gateshead by 1625, with the burial of a pipe-maker appearing on St Mary's parish register only four years later (Nolan 2008, 119). By 1675, pipe-makers were sufficiently established to receive a charter together with the grocers and apothecaries (Parsons 1964, 234). Thus the period considered here covers the earliest appearances of clay pipes and the rise of local production. Typologies were established by Edwards (1986) in relation to the wider North East and in relation to the Blackfriars' report (1987, 105–20), with previously unidentified makers' stamps or unusual forms highlighted in subsequent reports (eg Bown and Nolan 1990, 111–14). Further, there appears to have been

a distinctive local 'style' of bowl in the 17th century, combining a heart-shaped base and a chinned bowl (Oswald 1983, 188). Although there are rare examples of this combination dating from as early as *c* 1590–1620 from sites along the south-west coast and in London, far more have been found in Newcastle and the North East generally. The Newcastle examples date to between *c* 1635 and 1675. At least one maker of pipes moved from central southern England to London and then on to Newcastle, perhaps between 1620 and 1650 (Oswald 1983, 189). A number of pipe fragments from the bastion at the Castle originated from the Netherlands (Ellison and Harbottle 1983). A large quantity of pipe fragments was found in the Castle Garth alone, unsurprising in an area that housed garrisons during and after the Civil War, and that had inns and taverns, and congested domestic occupation (Bown and Nolan 1990, 111–14).

A pipe-maker's 'muffle kiln' in Oakwellgate, Gatehead, has been dated to the mid-17th century, the earliest example found so far in Tyneside (Nolan and Vaughan 2007, 162). Unsurprisingly the site produced a large quantity of pipe fragments, dating from the late 16th century onwards. Some bore the marks of known Newcastle pipe-makers, such as Roger Postell (*c* 1658, marked with 'R P'), 'N W' and 'G C' (both dated to 1635–75) (Vaughan 2008, 198). Over 100 fragments of the local bowl style were found on the site (Vaughan 2008, 202–3).

Pipes bearing these early maker's marks have been found across Newcastle. A number of 'G C' examples were found in the town ditch at Cannon Cinema, Westgate Road, which might be linked to a George Carter who was recorded in Newcastle in 1665 (Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1994, 170). A clutch of early pipes was found at Blackfriars, again showing the heart-shaped design. The 'G C' and 'N W' stamps reappeared alongside the marks of John Grayson (whose mark was 'I G'), John Bowman and William Sewell (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 106). The stretch of Town Wall near the Close yielded 59 fragments dated to around 1645–50 – the period of the Civil War – some of which bore the 'N W' mark (Nolan *et al* 1989, 46). Two early examples of the Tyneside Type 1 bowl (dating to 1635–50) were found on the tower on Close Gate (Fraser, Maxwell and Vaughan 1994, 119). The Carmelite Friary site produced several early examples, including bowls of the Parsons types 1, 19, 23, 24 and 26 (Harbottle 1968, 218). The Sun Yard area of the Bottle Bank excavations in Gateshead produced six pipes bearing the 'N W' mark, two with the 'G C' mark, two of Parsons's type 4 and two by William Sewell, who is believed to have worked between 1646 and 1651 (Nolan *et al* forthcoming). Two more 'N W' pipes were found elsewhere on the site. A few early pipes were found at The Swirle (Ellison *et al* 1993, 207).

Two pipes originated in London around the time of the Civil War were recovered near the Town Wall in Orchard Street (Nolan *et al* 1993, 123). This might indicate that pipes were still being imported despite the growing local production, or these might have been the possessions of a soldier travelling because of the Civil War.

Johnson's (1996, 183–6) study of the context of tobacco-smoking in the British Isles in the 17th century reminds us that tobacco generated new patterns of expenditure and consumption. People of the 'middling sort' and lower social levels might purchase a pipe of tobacco and smoke it in an alehouse, along with a drink of beer in a stoneware tankard. He goes on to discuss the anxiety with which authorities regarded the alehouse in the early modern period, as places not only of drunkenness and dissolute behaviour, but as places of 'political dissent and radicalism' (Johnson 1996, 185). Further, he suggests that political and religious allegiances might be indicated by the decoration of pipes (Johnson 1996, 186), but these overt symbols seem to be absent from the Newcastle assemblages. However, the appearance and persistence of a 'local style' of bowl form (that identified by Oswald 1983, 188) is interesting and perhaps might have been recognised as an aspect of local identity. The possible origins of the form in London, connections with a London pipemaker at this time, and the precocious development of the industries in Newcastle and Gateshead, underline the town's existing connections with the capital established through the coal trade.

8.2.6 Decorative plasterwork

Four 17th-century plasterwork ceilings are known and are probably the work of one group of craftsmen, based on the strong similarities between the designs on each ceiling (*see* section 7.4).

At the Mansion House site, large amounts of fragmented decorative plasterwork were recovered from layers beneath the Mansion House, dated to before 1691. Their style was early 17th-century. The original design could not be reconstructed from the remaining pieces and the finds have been derived from more than one ceiling. However numerous similarities to the other known ceilings could be discerned: one fragment was identical to part of a complex frieze in 28–30 The Close, while an exotic fruit motif was also present in the Guildhall and Alderman Fenwick's ceilings. A large Tudor rose motif was very similar to those in the Guildhall and Bessie Surtees House. The majority of the recognisable decorations depict fruit, flowers and other foliage, with frequent Tudor roses and thistles, and occasional bird heads and one mask (Fraser, Jamfrey and Vaughan 1995, 181–3). In 28–30 The Close, two plaster panels bear designs from a Nuremberg pattern book dated to 1601 and documentary evidence suggests they were installed around 1620 (Addyman Associates 2004, *see* section 7.4).

The front room on the first floor of Alderman Fenwick's House possesses a complete plasterwork ceiling with an elaborate geometric design, consisting of a grid of linking circles decorated with branches, Tudor roses and chrysanthemums as seen in the Guildhall, Cosin's House prior to its demolition and Bessie Surtees House. Based on these comparisons and its style, the ceiling is thought to date to between 1660 and 1695. Plasterwork can also be found in other areas of the house (Heslop and McCombie 1996, 152–5). The same network of circles decorated the ceiling of the Mayor's Parlour in the Guildhall, again accompanied by leaf motifs and Tudor roses; this was a part of Robert Trollope's rebuilding in 1655–8 (TWHER 4874; McCombie 2009, 187).

8.2.7 Metalwork

Small personal items and construction components make up practically all of the metalwork assemblage for this period. The personal items were usually of copper alloy, while tools and nails were generally in iron.

The Close Gate excavation produced three copper-alloy belt buckles, three iron buckles, two copper bosses, four pins, two rings, two thimbles, two lace tags, three tacks, three links of chain, an iron handle, and an assortment of other metal fragments (Fraser, Maxwell and Vaughan 1994, 126–130). Three more lace tags were found at the Castle's 17th-century bastion, along with part of a brooch (Whittingham 1983, 199). The Castle Ditch yielded buckles, cauldron feet, belt fittings, thimbles, pins and brooch parts in copper alloy (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 178–83). A plain cast ring and a large bowl were found at Bottle Bank (Nolan *et al* forthcoming). Copper pins, buttons, rings, buckles and a lace end were found in the dumping and building layers of The Swirle excavation (Ellison *et al* 1993, 214).

Nails were the most common of the iron finds: 22 roves and six clench bolts, used to join overlapping planks in boat construction, were also found at Close Gate, dating from the mid-14th to 17th centuries, along with nearly 700 wood-working nails (Fraser, Maxwell and Vaughan 1994, 126). Over 40 iron nails were also recovered at the 17th-century Castle bastion ditch, along with some blade fragments (Whittingham 1983, 199). From the main Castle Ditch came scraps of lead, iron nails, hinge pivots, bladge fragments, a chisel and some straps (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 178–83). The dump layers at The Swirle also produced iron nails and a knife blade (Ellison *et al* 1993, 214). The probate records of smiths of the mid-16th to mid-17th century suggest that not only were huge numbers of nails made and kept in stock, but that a variety of types of nail were used (Heley 2009, 51). The Bottle Bank excavation yielded a more domestic iron assemblage than other sites: two bone-handled scale tang iron knives, an iron spoon, the arm of a compass or divider, a chisel and a large key (Nolan *et al* forthcoming).

8.2.8 Construction material

The largest group of floor tiles recovered by the Town Wall in Orchard Street dated to the time of the Dissolution. They were primarily small fragments with worn surfaces, the remnants of undecorated, green or yellow glazed square tiles. Fragments of decorated floor tiles were found at Plummer Tower (Nolan *et al* 1993, 123, 145). Early post-medieval floor tiles also in dark green and pale yellow were found at Bottle Bank, Gateshead. These two types may have been used together to create a patterned floor (Nolan *et al* forthcoming).

Eleven fragments of Type 3 brick were recovered from 17th-century layers in the

town ditch between Morden and Heber towers (Fraser 1989, 64). Type 14 bricks were found at Blackfriars, displaying a hard-fired, dark red fabric, with border and wipe marks on the top side and a thumbed line along the middle of the bottom side. They were 50–55mm thick, 118–120mm wide, and 243–250mm long (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 121).

Two clay types could be identified in the 60 brick fragments found at the 17th-century bastion at the Castle – sandy clay which produced yellow, pink and buff colours, and iron-rich clay which produced heavier bricks coloured red, dark pink or purple. Types 1, 3, and 4 were most common (Ellison and Harbottle 1983, 196).

Several sorts of construction material were found in the Castle Ditch. These included red earthenware square floor tiles, probably originating in the Low Countries, like much of the Redware pottery used in the town at the time. Several brick types were among the 56 fragments retrieved, including red bricks and sandy buff bricks, also probably Dutch. The two fragments of late 16th-century pantiles were also Dutch. Some roof tiles of a sandy buff fabric were also found (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 171–2).

8.2.9 Coins, jettons and trade tokens

Trade tokens seem to have been produced by tradesmen and retailers in lieu of any official provision of small change, and were particularly common in the 1650s and 1660s after the withdrawal of copper farthings (Cox 2000, 46). In some places, civic authorities themselves issued tokens (eg Oxford, Norwich, Poole in Dorset). Perhaps as much as 50 per cent of all tokens were issued by mercers, drapers, ironmongers, haberdashers and similar retailers (Cox 2000, 47). There is little evidence on how these tokens were used: some were issued as a result of agreements between an issuer and a local employer of labour; some might have been issued in lieu of wages to be redeemed at specific shops; and some might have been a form of credit among small purchasers (Cox 2000, 46–7). In Newcastle, a trade token dating to 1650, marked TE/DRY across the centre and IN WAPPIN around the edge, was found at Stockbridge (Truman 2001, 156). Jettons or casting counters were the counters used on a chequered cloth to perform calculations. From the end of the 13th century to the 17th century, Nuremberg was Europe's leading manufacturer of jettons (Mernick and Algar 2001, 213–16). A jetton, or Rechenphennig, from Nuremberg dating to 1580–1620 was also recovered at Stockbridge (Truman 2001, 156). This item had been pierced and may have been used as a pendant. A second Nuremberg token was found in poor stratigraphy at Plummer Tower (Nolan *et al* 1993, 146). Another 17th-century German jetton was found at Blackfriars, along with a late 16th-century lead token marked with a cinquefoil or anchor (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 121).

Three early 17th-century German coins were found in the vicinity of the Town Wall near The Close, along with a Charles I Rose Farthing (the first legal farthing coin, 1644–49). These could have been lost during the Civil War, and show that German currency was in circulation in Newcastle at this time (Nolan *et al* 1989, 49). Excavation in the grounds of the Rectory of St Mary's in Gateshead produced at least three French coins dating to 1589–1643, as well as a number of Scottish turners (Nolan and Vaughan 2007, 161; Willmott 2008, 222; Brickstock, 2008, 227). It is marked that Scottish turners of the reign of Charles I dominate most of the coin assemblages in which they occur, eg: the grounds of the Rectory of St Mary's Gateshead, Stockbridge, Westgate Road, the bastion ditch at Plummer Tower and The Swirle (Nolan and Vaughan 2007, 161; Brickstock 2008, 227; Truman 2001, 156; Heslop, Truman and Vaughan 1994, 172; Nolan *et al* 1993, 146; Ellison *et al* 1993, 216, respectively). It seems probable that both the Gateshead and Westgate Road sites can be linked to Civil War activity by the Scottish army. As the army occupied the town for a period after the end of the siege, it seems likely that these scatters are products of the presence of the Scottish troops –the confusion of military action (and the tedium of military inaction) seem perfect conditions in which many of these coins may have been lost.

8.2.10 Materials related to boats, boatbuilding and seafaring

Boatbuilding was a major enterprise in this period, but we have relatively little archaeological evidence for it. This is mostly an artefact of the location of archaeological excavation, which has tended to concentrate on the waterfront

of the medieval core of the town. Much of the boatbuilding activity of the 16th and 17th centuries would have been located either on the Sandgate and The Swirle, or perhaps farther east, as is indicated by the probate records of property owned by shipwrights between 1573 and 1642, and also of the location of anchorsmiths and smiths specialising in seafaring equipment (Heley 2009, 48–51). The meagre archaeological representation is supplemented by considerable evidence from probate records of the late 16th and early to mid-17th centuries (Heley 2009). An anchorsmith, for example, owned tenements on Silver Street in 1640, and another smith specialised in horseshoes and anchors in the forestreet of Sandgate in 1614 (Heley 2009, 51). Iron nails, clench bolts and roves usually used to join overlapping planks, and consequently thought to relate to boatbuilding, were found adjacent to Close Gate dating from the mid-14th/15th century to the 17th century. The distributions of these artefacts suggested that the roves represented both used and unused examples, but that the clench bolts and some of the nails might have derived from driftwood washed onto the foreshore (Maxwell 1994, 130). Smiths produced nails in their hundreds. Timber was a major concern for those engaged in boatbuilding and shipbuilding, and there are records of quays stacked with timber and planks, and demand for timber increased through the period (Heley 2009, 49; 101). Howell considered that there was little shipbuilding on the Tyne before 1640 (a dry-dock being constructed in 1641), but neither this claim nor the amount of small boatbuilding that took place can be accurately assessed (1967, 285–6). On the contrary, the evidence for lighters or keels and other small boats is clear in the probate records, which survive for 30 shipwrights between 1573 and 1642 (Heley 2009, 49, 100–1). The need to repair and maintain both boats and ships must have been a constant as trade increased, especially with the rise of the export of coal.

'Sea clothes' are featured in the probate records of master mariners and mariners, and it is possible that special boots for seafarers might have been produced, or that they sought out especially durable forms (Heley 2009, 99). Heley found that silver whistles and chains were owned and bequeathed exclusively by mariners, master mariners and shipwrights, in the period between 1546 and 1623 (2009, 24). As the items were obviously valued and curated, they probably served as a status symbol if worn, and they do not end up in the archaeological record. Heley (2009, 24) points out their additional value as symbols of solidarity among seafarers, and their practical value as a means of drawing attention to oneself in bad weather or at night, or otherwise in trouble at sea. Only two whistles and a mouthpiece have been recovered from medieval deposits, and these were made of bone (Vaughan and Rowntree 2001, 157–8). The only 17th-century whistles so far recovered from excavation were of ceramic manufacture, and as they were all of bird-form (*see* chapter 8, section 8.2.11) they seem to belong in the category of entertainments rather than the high-grade instruments indicated by the probate records. Specialised nautical equipment was listed in probate records for master mariners and mariners (Heley 2009, 99–100).

8.2.11 Other artefacts

The evidence of horn- and bone-working derived from animal bones can be supplemented with a few finds of bone objects. Several bone combs have been found, all following the same design of two faces with different fineness of teeth on each side – one was found at Oakwellgate, Gateshead, another in Orchard street, and a third came from The Swirle (Nolan and Vaughan 2007, 231; Nolan *et al* 1993,126; Ellison *et al* 1993, 214). Knife handles were also made from bone, such as those found at Close Gate (Fraser, Maxwell and Vaughan 1994, 131; *see* chapter 8, section 8.2.7 above). Parts of a bone toilet set were found in the Castle Ditch, including a nailscraper and an earscoop with a decorated handle, along with several bone handles (Harbottle and Ellison 1981, 183–4). What might have been a parchment pricker made from a chicken bone was found in a late 16th-century context at Blackfriars, in the area of the Cordwainers' Meeting House (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 124).

A 17th-century bird whistle in the form of a nesting chicken was found at Oakwellgate, Gateshead (Vaughan 2008, 215). Another 17th-century bird-shaped whistle, made from English slip-decorated redware, and the remains of a third were found in a 19th-century context in the Castle Garth (Nolan 1990, 107). A fourth bird whistle made of English redware

event	*site name and date*	*description*	*references*
111	Whitefriar Tower, 1896	report of cannon balls being found during removal of Whitefriar Tower in 1846	Holmes, S. 1896. *AA* ser 2, **18**, 1–25
112	Carliol Tower, 1896	report of cannon ball found in a skull and in a wall during alterations of Carliol Tower in 1823	Holmes, S. 1896. *AA* ser 2, **18**, 1–25
521	Neville Street, 1856	two stone balls and a cannon ball found whilst excavating a cellar	*PSAN* ser 1, **1,** 174–175
578	Quayside, 1889	large stone ball found	*PSAN* ser 2, **4**, 201
581	Thornton Street, 1892	four iron cannon balls found	*PSAN* ser 2, **5**, 10
584	River Tyne, 1895	nine ballista balls found in river bed	*PSAN* ser 2, **6**, 52 and 155
595	Stowell Street, 1895	iron cannon ball found during repairs of the Morden Tower	*PSAN* ser 2, **6**, 265–66
599	Pilgrim Street, 1897	cannon ball found in the wall of Pilgrim Street Gate	*PSAN* ser 2, **7**, 99
600	New Bridge Street, 1897	three cannon balls found in a wall	*PSAN* ser 2, **7**, 99
601	Newgate, 1897	several cannon balls found whilst taking down the Newgate	*PSAN* ser 2, **7**, 99
602	Stowell Street, 1897	another iron cannon ball found during repairs of walls in Morden Tower	*PSAN* ser 2, **7**, 99
617	Sandhill, 1899	several large ballista balls found at the Exchange	*PSAN* ser 2, **8**, 133

Table 8.2 Evidence for Civil War artillery bombardment

was found by the Town Wall near The Close (Nolan *et al* 1989, 45).

A number of well-preserved 17th-century wooden items have been found in Gateshead. A 17th-century pit at Oakwellgate produced a wooden bowl, a possible fishing float, a possible child's rattle, a wooden platter/bowl and a possible writing tablet (Nolan and Vaughan 2007, 231). Three possible 15th-/16th-century bowling balls (spheres of turned wood with heights of 63mm, 64mm and 180mm respectively) were found at Bottle Bank (Nolan *et al* forthcoming).

Bowling became a popular genteel pastime from the 16th and 17th centuries, and Newcastle had several bowling greens as indicated by historic maps (eg Hutton 1772, chapter 5, section 5.8.6). An increase in the organisation of pastimes and commercialisation of leisure activities marked the second half of the 17th century in particular, as documented by Peter Borsay (1989).

Analyses of probate records for the periods 1545–1642 (Heley 2009) and 1606–1610 (Dickinson 1996) reveal considerably more detail on the consumption of material goods, many indicating an increasing concern with improved quality and comfort in the domestic sphere in the course of this period. It is worth drawing attention to the widespread ownership of books and availability of texts, including pamphlets and almanacs in local booksellers, as an index of literacy and the demand for print culture from the 16th century onwards (Heley 2009; Myers 2001). Items of display, such as pictures, clocks, upholstered chairs and covered stools and other domestic furnishings increase in the period, but analysis of the items attested by historical record, and patterns of consumption relative to other locations, are beyond the scope of this volume (see Shammas 1990; Spufford 1984, 2000; Wrightson and Levine 1991).

8.3 Military artefacts from the Civil War (Table 8.2)

Many military artefacts of the Civil War period have been found both from modern excavation and chance finds in the past, for example, a mine discovered between the Sallyport and Sandgate during the construction of City Road (Terry 1899c, 216 n. 188). A particularly concentrated collection was found in association with the bastion at the Castle. This seems to have formed part of the essential equipment of a 17th-century musketeer: a pottery grenade, musket rest, an iron blade

from some form of pole arm, lead shot – both musket balls and pistol balls, powder flasks for a musket (Goodhand 1983, 202). Pottery grenades such as this example would eventually give rise to the position of grenadier, and were primarily used when storming defences, as they were much more effective in confined spaces. The musket rest would be necessary given the 4 foot barrel and up to 16lb weight of the contemporary guns. Things like powder flasks, which were often made of perishable materials, rarely survive. The Newcastle examples were of the form known as the 'Twelve Apostles', as 12 were normally carried about the upper body. They were of wood but retained a leather outer covering whereas an example from Southgate Street, Gloucester, was solely of wood (Atkin and Laughlin 1992, 102). Lead shot, two pistol balls (weighing 13g and 11g), eleven musket balls (averaging 29g) and a further charge holder cap were recovered from the Cannon Cinema site on Westgate Road, in association with the Civil War ditch. These balls were under-sized by official standards, which demanded 12 balls per pound of lead (35g), rather than sixteen as in this case (28g) (Vaughan 1994, 175–6; Carlton 1992, 100). An unused lead musket ball, 20mm in diameter, was found near Close Gate (Fraser, Maxwell and Vaughan 1994, 129). Two more musket balls (28g and 26g) were found at Plummer Tower, along with two that had struck the stonework (Nolan *et al* 1993, 146). Three more musket balls and a pistol ball were found at the town wall in The Close (Nolan *et al* 1989, 49). One musket ball (25g, 17mm diameter) was found in the redeposited material of the late 17th–18th century at Blackfriars, which could be related to the Civil War (Harbottle and Fraser 1987, 122).

The two musket balls from Plummer Tower, which had evidently been used, must have been fired during one of the concerted attacks on the town – 18th-century musket volleys were practical only to 200 yards (182.88m), and entirely ineffective at a range of 300 yards (274.32m). Hitting specific individuals was only just possible for a good marksman at 100 yards (91.44m). Muskets probably had a shorter range at the time of the Civil War (Hughes 1974, 26). Thus, to be used effectively the muskets must have been fired *en masse* close enough to the Town Wall to invite counter-fire – most likely in a battle scenario. This is supported by the presence of pistol balls, which were a close-range weapon (Eltis 1998, 66). As striking a surface would have deformed the shot, the majority of shots recovered were never fired. As most were found in the vicinity of the town defences where the fighting would be at its fiercest, the shots were probably dropped by combatants or fell from the bodies of those killed or wounded. Infantry attacks on town walls usually suffered very heavy casulties and were among the bloodiest conflicts of the war (Carlton 1992, 171).

Stone balls and cannonballs were reported to the Society of Antiquaries in the course of the late 19th century (Table 8.2) – found, for example, during repairs to Morden Tower, embedded in the wall of Pilgrim Street Gate, New Gate, and New Bridge Street, and the Sandhill (eg *PSAN* 1894 ser 2, **6**, 265–6; *PSAN* 1895 ser 2, **7**, 99; *PSAN* 1898 ser 2, **8**, 133). An iron cannonball was found about 12m north of the site of the Close Gate in 1983 (Nolan 1985). It may have been fired by a 'culverin', with a bore of 5 inches (127mm) and carried a 15lb shot, which would have formed part of the battery sited on the raised ground on the Forth, aimed at the town walls between the West Gate and the Close Gate.

While muskets were prone to misfires and poor accuracy, the artillery of the Civil War was far more effective and fearsome. Contemporary reports speak of several men being killed with single cannon shots, the targets dismembered by the impact (Carlton 1992, 139–140). This was when used on the battlefield, against formations of troops, rather than during sieges. Cannonballs could be made of stone or cast iron. Stone balls were used in the largest guns as it was cheaper than using large amounts of metal. Iron balls were used in medium and small artillery (De Vries 1992, 157). Far more iron balls have been found than stone ones, which might reflect a larger number of smaller pieces in use, with a limited number of large cannons.

9 Conclusions

This assessment of the archaeology of Newcastle upon Tyne covers the period from prehistory through to the end of the Civil War that marked the mid-17th century. The prehistory of the immediate study area is limited but a very interesting interpretation may be put upon the deposition of artefacts in the River Tyne as suggestive of a significant crossing point and possible meeting-place. The lasting importance of the crossing point is a theme that runs throughout the assessment, but the river itself reveals the essence of what Newcastle became and how it evolved. Whatever social and political divisions existed in prehistory, it was with the advent of the Romans that Newcastle was firmly established as a frontier settlement – both military, and, as archaeology increasingly reveals, civilian as well. As new political entities emerged, waned and were transformed into the medieval kingdoms of England and Scotland, the physical or perceived border moved, but Newcastle remained a frontier town. Even when the political border was settled, unrest along the largely ungovernable marcher lands made Newcastle seem like a relative haven of civilisation to travellers.

Archaeology has the power to confound us with evidence for occupation, life and death where we sometimes least expect it. This has happened in respect of the post-Roman and early medieval periods in Newcastle. Speculation about literary historical references and identifications with this site may continue unresolved, but we now have solid evidence of some sort of occupation to engage with, and the hope that future work may add to our understanding. The interpretation of the remains of this period remains uncertain, but the archaeology presents an argument for a continuity of sorts between the end of the Roman occupation and the foundation of the medieval Castle. The new Castle of 1080 may have given its name to the town, but the human presence here was already old. The existence of the Castle, and the certain amount of concommittant security it afforded, allowed the medieval town to become established. The celerity of growth, and the success and confidence of the burgesses' engagement in trade can be traced in the key historical points along a cursus of civic enfranchisement and independence. Moreover, the nature of the archaeology along the waterfront suggests that the burgesses' engagement with the creation, maintenance and expansion of a physical environment to support and encourage trade and contact arguably provided the opportunity and the impetus for the creation of the social and economic institutions that punctuated their history. The interrelationship between the physical and the social is one of the most inspiring aspects of the process by which Newcastle was brought into being.

The advantageous conjunction of a relatively shallow point for crossing and, later, for bridging the Tyne with possibly ancient land routes made the site that was to become Newcastle an auspicious place at which to make ritual deposits of metalwork in the river. It may also have been a convenient and auspicious place for peoples from different territories or of differing allegiances to meet in peace. The convenience of the low bridging point offered

a practical benefit to the Romans, while the projecting cliff above the river provided a naturally strategic point from which to defend a bridge. The Romans may also have recognised an older social and political significance in the location. If Bidwell's interpretation of the coin distributions within the Roman fortress is to be believed, there may have been an element of continuity in the use of the site for periodic market activity or commercial meetings. The earliest post-Roman evidence cannot be easily interpreted, but in the light of contemporary recognition of the nature of early medieval assembly sites, the spur overlooking the Tyne may have continued as, or been appropriated as, a meeting-place, with some measure of formalisation of the space, metalled surfaces, channelled water, a possible stone platform or tribune and possible buildings. Sanmark (2010) has drawn attention to the ritual importance of crossing water associated with such locations in the early medieval period. Given the present state of knowledge, it cannot be argued with certainty whether the early medieval occupation of the spur represents a monastic settlement, a market, a meeting-place, or even some form of thegnly complex combining meeting-place with secular and religious status symbols and functions, but elements of all the factors that one might look for at each of these types of occupation seem to be present. Perhaps this should make us cautious in ascribing definite categories to sites in this period, and encourage us, rather, to explore the nature of the *activities* represented on them.

It has been argued that for the Angevin king Henry II, Newcastle marked one of the 'gateways' to his kingdom, the northern counterpart of Dover. He expended a huge amount of money on building the stone keeps of both castles, parts of which were worked on by the same engineer, each keep sharing significant aspects of architectural form. The symbolic role of these strongholds was underlined again in 1250–9 when Matthew Paris depicted Newcastle and Dover as the fortified polar points of an itinerary through England (*Abbreviatio Chronicorum Angliae*, St Albans, 1250–9; BL, Cotton Claudius MS D. VI, f.12v, Flatman 2009, 59). Consciousness of this geographical and symbolic position may also be seen in the choice of crown steeple to surmount the principal church of the town in the 15th century: an imperial closed crown denoting the aspirations to status of the realm and Newcastle's proud position as its first great northern citadel.

The river, of course, provided the opportunity for the development of trade, upon which Newcastle would establish its reputation, and through which the burgesses would gain the means to enfranchise themselves. A large part of the city's modern archaeology has revealed the considerable enterprise, from at least the 12th century onwards, invested in expanding and improving the waterfront infrastructure for trade. This waterfront improvement made trade in and out of Newcastle the subject of fierce competition with neighbouring authorities and towns, most notably the Bishops of Durham with their interest in Gateshead, and the Priory of Tynemouth, controlling a rival port at the mouth of the river. The river was the link to the sea and provided contact, not only in commercial terms of increasing trade links, but also with the social and cultural customs of corresponding communities around the North Sea and Baltic rims. There is a tendency in archaeology to regard trade in predominantly economic terms. However, the exchange of material culture by necessity involved people in relationships, negotiation and agreement, within both commercial and domestic settings. Some of the products of trade were the expression of shared ideas concerning lifestyle: cooking habits and preferences; ways of dining; or drinking habits picked up from visiting merchants or experienced in foreign ports. There are points of archaeological development and patterning of material culture that Newcastle shares with other English ports and east-coast Scottish ports, as well as Dutch, Belgian, Scandinavian, North German and Polish towns, and there are also points of difference. These consistencies and divergencies would merit further research. For example, as more and more material becomes available to us concerning the archaeology of Finland, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, conceptions of a shared 'Hanseatic' or North Sea/Baltic culture might be compared and contrasted in its extent and in the forging of alternative identities both beyond, and distinct from, those of the best-known published sites and groups. In particular, there would be merit in exploring those particular trading partners with which Newcastle merchants were linked in the later middle ages and into the early

modern period (Newton 2009; Graves and Heslop in prep).

In the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, Newcastle merchants became fully part of the burgeoning mercantile economy of Europe and its colonies. While north-eastern English coal provided the greatest natural resource upon which the economy of the town could be built, it was the monopolistic rights to control the shipping of this commodity, fiercely fought for, won and defended, that really gave Newcastle merchants their financial advantage. During the Civil War of the 1640s control over the the water even became a weapon in the hostilities when Parliament blockaded the river and consequently halted the flow of coal exports and reciprocal trade imports by which the town prospered. This precipitated the siege that was the most momentous of historical events of the Civil War period in the town, and made a physical impact that would allow a certain amount of reconstruction both in the 1650s and in the period following the Restoration.

Through all these periods of activity and occupation, there has been an element of this particular location in the landscape having been used as a watching point or watchtower over a crossing point on the river, over the meeting of boundaries, of political frontiers, and of peoples. From this perspective, the metaphor of the 'Eye of the North' has resonance in all periods covered in this assessment, and not just in the period in which the phrase was originally coined by Camden (1586) and popularised by Grey (1649). Grey's (1649) *Chorographia* was the first dedicated history of Newcastle upon Tyne, marking the moment at which the town first rewrites its own history. From his point of view, Grey was looking back over the previous centuries as a feudal 'golden age'. For him, the Civil War and the mid-17th century had seen the triumph of commerce and 'new men' over the ordained hierarchy. With the benefit of hindsight we can appreciate the irony that Newcastle was on the very cusp of a new, hitherto undreamt of prosperity, managed and dominated by these new commercial agents, and this is the world examined in the partner volume to this book (Graves and Heslop in prep). In covering the archaeology of the town up to this point in time the assessment presented here has covered the town's literal and conceptual pre-history. Bourne (1736), Brand (1789) and Mackenzie (1827) would follow in the 18th and 19th centuries, but it is appropriate that the remit of the archaeological assessment concludes where the first self-conscious, self-reflective urban history begins.

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