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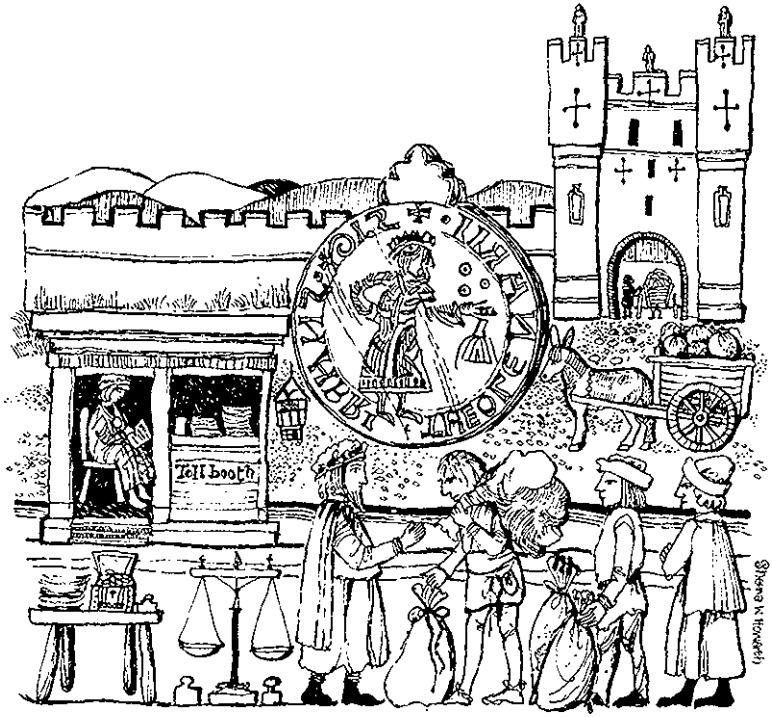
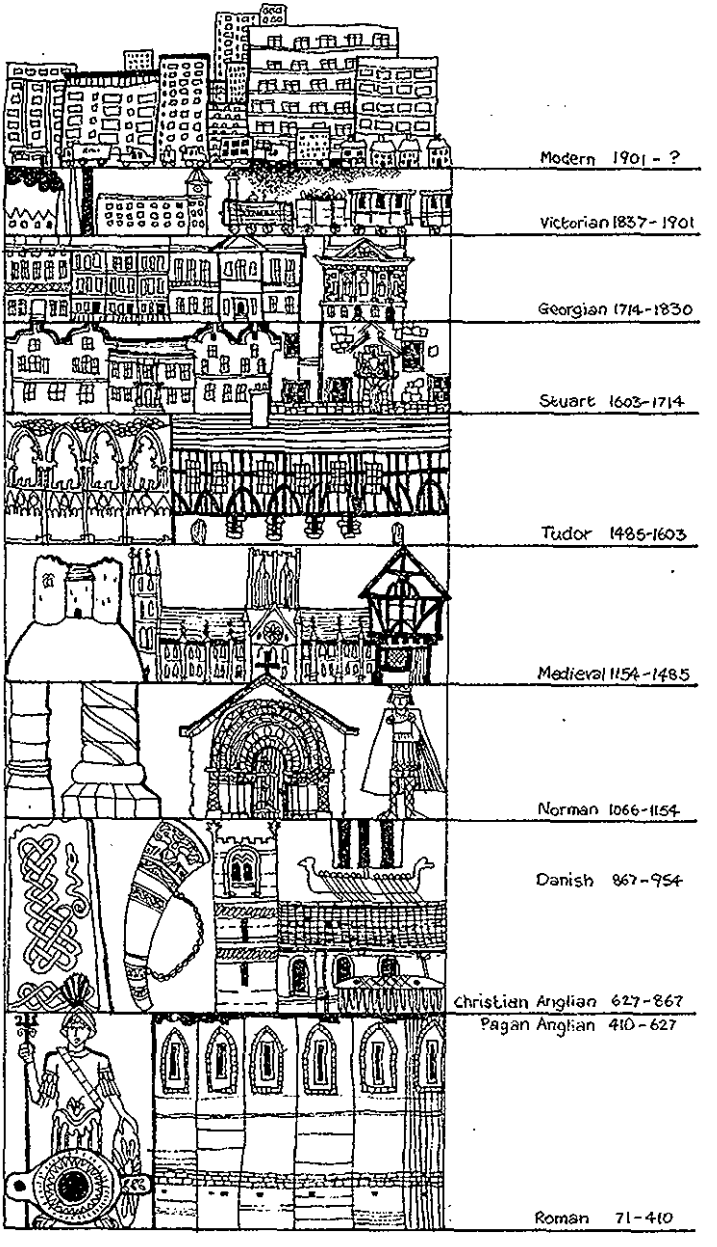



VOLUME 1 NUMBER 3 SEPTEMBER 1973


Modern 1901 - ?
Victorian 1837 - 1901
Georgian 1714 - 1830
Stuart 1603 - 1714
Tudor 1485 - 1603
Medieval 1154 - 1485
Norman 1066 - 1154
Danish 867 - 954
Christian Anglian 627 - 867
Pagan Anglian 410 - 627
Roman 71 - 410

# interim



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front cover: **design on Snarrus' seal, Sheena Howarth**
**front & back inside covers: Sheena Howarth**

City Wall from Monk Bar. NE corner of Roman fortress in excavation just below MT Hall; Tower 31 at bend in wall below cooling tower; Tower 32 just above roof of MT Hall. Layerthorpe Postern hidden in trees.

Bishophill 2 looking downhill to the Ouse. Buckingham House remains left foreground.

# edi torial: problems of the summer season

WITH THE MAJOR SEASON of excavations at an end, the volunteer force dispersed and the permanent team concentrated on a single area of Bishophill, the Trust finds itself at last with time to look back and *to* take stock of what has been achieved this summer. There is no doubt that all the excavations have yielded enough information to entirely justify them in archaeological terms, but since the Trust's function is essentially practical as well as academic the value of the material recovered has always to be judged in the light of its cost in hard cash: in other words each operation must give value for money.

But even after exhaustive historical research of the kind described by Dr Palliser in this issue, a number of questions remain to be answered about the detailed history of every area of York, questions which cannot be resolved in advance of excavation. Such a large element of the uncalculable makes detailed forward planning very difficult indeed and it is to be expected that work schedules will not infrequently be completely dislocated by the advent of something quite unforeseen. The Ebor Brewery site provided a classic case this year: no-one would have predicted the discovery there of such a large and complex structure nor the extensive burial ground associated with it. The rewards from the study of such a number of medieval skeletons mill be very great, but their proper excavation is a painstaking and time-consuming exercise.

At the nearby Bedern site it was the sheer intricacy of the archaeological levels which was unexpected and which slowed down progress to the

extent that after several weeks digging even the medieval layers had still not been penetrated. In order to examine the condition of the underlying Roman fortress wall in advance of any redevelopment proposals and within the limited time and resources available, the Trust may yet find itself obliged to mechanically remove similarly interesting later layers and with only the brief&t glimpse of their true nature. A glance at Dr Palliser's summary of the potential of these medieval strata mill impress upon the reader the extremity of the Trust's dilemma in deciding on its priorities, even within the small number of sites selected for excavation.

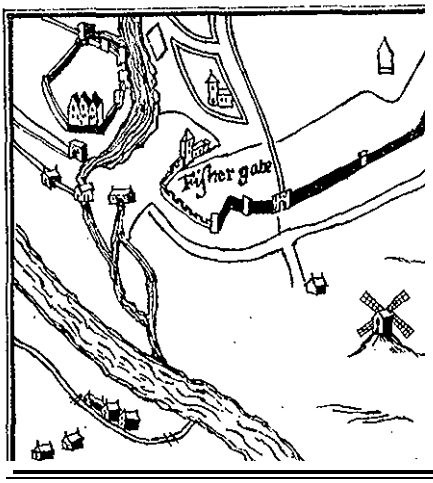
The elements themselves can combine to make nonsense of a well-planned timetable as at the Cattlemarket, where the natural boulder-clay in which most of the archaeological features lay was by turns baked rock-hard by the sun and set awash by rainstorms.

A NUMBER OF NON-ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS also had a bearing on the rate of progress, the one causing most heart-searching concerning the labour force. In order to attract volunteers in large numbers the Trust advertises its excavations not only in Britain but also very widely in the United States - with very gratifying results. But for most of the volunteers, excavating in York forms only a part of their vacation plans, and after an average of three or four weeks' stay they tend to move on - just as they are becoming really useful. Understandably some supervisors, condemned to a constant round of training and immediately losing new recruits, are calling for a new employment philosophy. They argue that the summer budget, instead of being spread over a large number of short-term volunteers ( at the rate of thirty pence a day plus hostel accomodation ),might in future be used to pay the sort of rates which would attract ready-trained warkers who would be fewer in number but willing to stay over longer periods. The higher productivity to be expected from such a team, it is

argued, would result in at least as much being achieved archaeologically, but without the problems of administering, equipping and, particularly, housing a constantly changing body of up to a hundred and thirty people.

This proposal is to be closely examined, among others. It would be false to suggest that any of the summer volunteers had not given the Trust much more than his thirty-pence-a-day's worth, and the Trust and the City have cause to be extremely grateful to them all - not least for tolerating living conditions often less than satisfactory. But the problem of the untrained volunteer is common to archaeology everywhere, and the Trust may find as other bodies have done that the demands of cost-effectiveness will enforce greater selectivity of paid volunteers in the future. But after all the breast-beating and self-criticism there will remain the fact that however well plans had turned out, the Trust could not have coped with all the sites threatened, given the budget from which all contingencies, foreseen and unforeseen, had to be met.

THE TRUST WILL BE LOOKING for the earliest possible materialisation of the increased State aid, so much under current discussion. The appointment of an Under Secretary for Archaeology at the Department of the Environment with an increased budget is particularly encouraging here. And it is renewing its appeal to the public hoping to add to the many who have already signalled their encouragement with Deeds of Covenant and with donations small and large. Clearly there will be much to exercise the minds of the Trust's staff this winter beyond the minutiae of archaeological fact-gathering, but if the right conclusions are reached they should result in a stronger and more effective taskforce to cope with the new year's threats.




From Speed's map, 1610.

# the summer sites

## AN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Almost any site in central York is likely to yield buildings, or at least traces of occupation, to the archaeologist. As Francis Drake, York's greatest historian, wrote in 1736, 'you cannot dig anywhere, almost, but you meet with burnt earth, cinders, and stone pavements buried very deep in the ground' - not to mention more elusive remains like post-holes for timber buildings, which mould have been missed by the amateur diggers of Drake's day., There is an embarrassment of riches in choosing which sites to excavate when more are available, or threatened, than the Trust can cope with. But what can be done, with the aid of historical research, is to select those places where important discoveries are certain or at least very likely. Even so, it is always possible for a promising site to yield very *little, or for a major discovery to* be made where it was not expected. The four main excavations undertaken this summer illustrate this very well.

One 'shot in the dark' was the excavation of a large part of the former cattle market between Fishergate and Walmgate Bars. The historical documents suggested that medieval ribbon development straggled out of both bars along Barbican Road and Fawcett Street, with open ground bet-

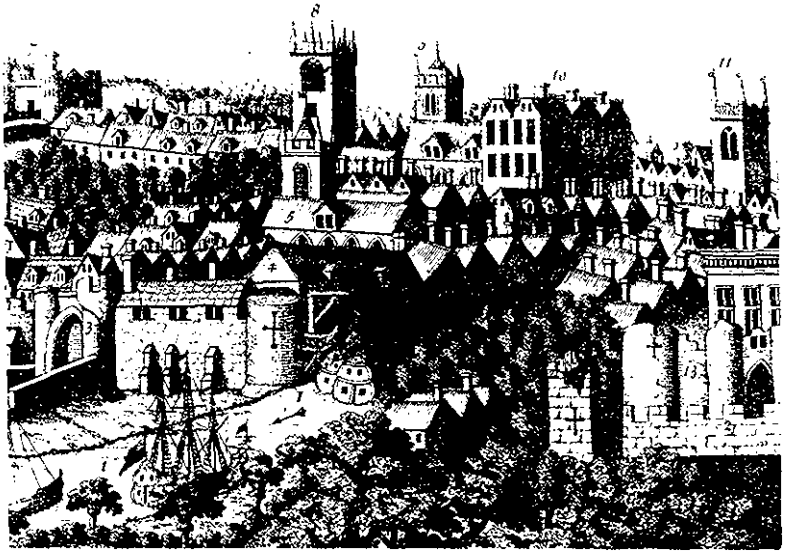
ween. Later, the suburbs disappeared when population fell after the Black Death of 1349, and John Speed's plan of York marks only one house in the area by 1610. But an excavation seemed worthwhile because somewhere under the Cattle Market was believed to lie the church of All Saints, Fishergate, first recorded in the 1090s but possibly an important church even before the Norman Conquest. No one knows its exact site, but bones from a cemetery were discovered in various places when the Cattle Market was built. In the event, the church was not discovered. R. H. Skaife, who knew more about medieval York than almost anyone, thought its site would lie just at the back of the City Arms, so if he was right it may be possible to find the church when more of the Market area becomes available. But that does not mean that the excavation was a failure. Apart from the exciting small finds (a cross and three coins of the mid eighth century), the dig unearthed traces of farming activity from Romano-British times to the end of the middle ages. It has therefore proved what the documents could only suggest - that agricultural land came right up to the walls until very recent times, and that only the road frontages were built up before the nineteenth century.

Skaife's location for All Saints appears on a fine historic plan of York published in 1864, which is one of the best sources for starting research on a site. But no historian's guesses can be taken as firm evidence, and this has been shown by the second excavation in Aldwark, where the Trust and the York Excavation Group have been working on the Ebor Brewery site. At the Cattle Market an expected church was not found, but on the brewery site a church has appeared unexpectedly - a stone structure with adjacent graveyard, apparently used for burial until about the sixteenth century. What could it be? Apart from an obscure church which preceded St Anthony's Hall (and which could not be as far north as this), the only recorded church off Aldwark was St Helen-on-the-Walls, which was closed

in 1549 and subsequently pulled down. That would fit with the period of the latest burials, and the situation of the church is right for its descriptions of 'on the walls' or 'in the Werk-dyke' (the old moat). But Skaife's plan, followed by Canon Raine and by the Victoria County History, sites the church on the north side of the Merchant Taylors' Hall, whereas this church is to the south of it. However, a lease of the moat to the tailors in 1415 seems to indicate that Skaife made one of his rare mistakes, and that the church indeed stood to the south of their hall. If the foundations are those of St Helen's the excavation should be of great importance. Though it was not recorded before about 1200, its dedication to Constantine's mother, and ***its*** position just outside the Roman fortress, suggest a much earlier origin - Anglo-Saxon or even late Roman: and already it seems possible that a Roman building underlies the site (just as another Roman building underlay St Mary Bishophill Senior). Nor is this all that the brewery site has to offer. Traces of the medieval housing which lined the street are being discovered, while further south stood Aldwark House, a major town mansion of the seventeenth century.

Part of the difficulty with the Ebor brewery and Cattle Market sites is that they have not always been built-up areas, so that property deeds cannot tell us all we would like to know ***in advance of excavation.*** In this respect the third site, in the Bedern area, is much richer. From about 1250 the Bedern was used as the College of the York Vicars Choral, a body of priests who deputised for the canons and performed the day-to-day services in the medieval Minster. The vicars owned the Bedern until 1865, though by then they were living elsewhere and leasing the houses to laymen. They kept careful records of rents and leases which are all preserved together in the Minster Library. So the Bedern is perhaps the best district within the walls for using historical and archaeological evidence in tandem. It has known occupation since Roman times - but

without those large modern buildings which destroy the upper archaeological layers - and a rich series of archives and plans. For recent periods the property history is fairly complete, and it can be used to interpret what is excavated, while for the medieval College, which is less fully recorded, archaeology and documents should be able to help each other.



View of York by Edmond Barker c.1718, dedicated to Tancred Robinson
courtesy - York City Art Gallery.

Although Chancellor Harrison wrote a whole book about the Bedern from its records (Life in a Medieval College), there is much more still to be learned. The only surviving Vicars' College of a cathedral is at Wells, where the Vicars' Close is still a complete fourteenth-century street, houses lining both sides and a chapel and dining-hall at each end. York's Bedern cannot have been quite the same, for the chapel remains and the timbered hall (still miraculously standing in the middle of Wrights' premises) are both on the same side of the street. There was also a bridge connecting the gatehouse with a

house across Goodramgate, so that the vicars could cross over the street without leaving Minster premises. But where were their houses and kitchen, their orchard and gardens? Chancellor Harrison left two suggested reconstructions of the *Bedern*, quite different from each other, and a combination of archaeology and documents is called for to settle the layout of the College. In the Middle Ages there were 36 'cubicles' or small houses, and when the number of vicars dropped to five after the Reformation, five 'mansion houses' were built for then instead. All of these are still to be discovered.

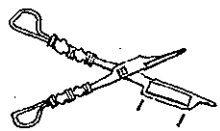
And this is to say nothing of the exciting possibilities of the site before 1250. The Bedern runs across the wall of the legionary fortress, and Roman tessellated pavements have been glimpsed there. And what covered the site between Roman times and the age of the vicars? 'Bedern', first recorded in 1276, means 'prayer-house': it is also found at Ripon and Beverley It could be named from the College, but if (as many scholars believe) it is an Anglo-Saxon name, it must imply the existence of a major church before the Vicars' College. Kenneth Harrison suggests it was the site of the Church of the Holy Wisdom, a major lost church recorded by Alcuin before 800. This is pure speculation, but a major pre-Conquest church would be a Very exciting find indeed.

Finally, there are the two excavations on the rising ground between Skeldergate and Bishophill Senior. Here again major finds can be expected for all periods from Roman to Georgian. On the Roman and Anglian possibilities historical records are Very scanty, but documents suggest close-packed settlement along both streets in the middle ages, with a sprinkling of town-houses of Yorkshire gentry among the citizens' properties. Skeldergate seems to represent the shore-line of the pre-Conquest period, and the lower excavation (coupled with last year's over the road) should help to build up a picture of the river-bank with its warehouses and quays be-

fore the present stone retaining wall was constructed in 1305. Further, both the Bishophill excavations are important for our understanding of Tudor, Stuart and Georgian York; because the archives are rich for those centuries, there has been little systematic excavation before to answer problems about them. Between the disused Methodist Chapel and Carr's Lane there were important and fashionable houses (Skeldergate used to be an important residential street), and off Bishophill Senior excavation has already uncovered the foundations of an even more important house. Duke's Hall or Buckingham House, was built in the reign of Elizabeth I as a town house for the Fairfax family. It was rebuilt, or at least greatly enlarged, in the seventeenth century, when i-t became one of the four largest houses in the city. It was there that the Parliamentary general Sir Thomas Fairfax lived when he came to town a period evoked by Rosemary ***Sutcliffe in*** The Rider of the White Horse. His daughter married the second Duke of Buckingham, Charles II's favourite, who lived there often in the 1670's and 1680's when he was out of favour with the king. The house then was almost a provincial palace and court, with lavish balls and hospitality for county society. However, it was demolished in the eighteenth century, and no plans of ***it are*** known, though it fortunately appears on two York views of 1718. So the excavation should be able to reveal a good deal more than the records can of this very important house, and the results so far are already adding to our knowledge of the social life of the county gentry.

D.M.Palliser

German snuffers, late 17th - early 18th century. found in Aldwark.



# sites review

## june-septem ber

THROUGHOUT THE SUMMER MONTHS the resources of the Trust have been concentrated on five sites'. within the city. A small expeditionary force has at the same time been plodding its way round the line of the proposed outer ring road after much scrutiny of aerial survey photos: an explanatory report' is promised for the next issue of INTERIM.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ESHER's Aldwark scheme has archaeological implications almost as Par reaching as its sociological aims., Straddling-the eastern sector of the Roman legionary fortress, Aldwark is likely to hold the answers to many of the questions which still hang over the Roman and post-Roman history of York. Two excavations have been undertaken here to try to find some of them this summer.

EBOR BREWERY SITE The dust had hardly settled from the demolition of the Ebor Brewery when the York Excavation Group moved in last Easter. The going was far from easy and for the first few weekends the excavators found themselves drilling through an almost unbroken layer of concrete and cobbles, pierced here and there by enormous piers and cast-iron bases for the brewery plant. Six trenches were soon established, three of which later passed to the Trust. Of those retained by the YEG, one has just been reported as having

penetrated the Roman levels, after revealing evidence of a long-established property boundary on the way down, marked by a brick wall in the 18th century and by wooden stakes in the fourteenth. The area seems to have been gardens for most of this period. Quantities of charcoal, coal and ash seem to be refuse from domestic fires. Apart from animal bone fragments and some pottery of various periods, the only finds have been several medieval silver coins. Greater expectations are held for the Roman level.

In contrast, the Trust's major trench on the site, alongside the Merchant Tailors' Hall, has steadfastly refused to be hurried and has not yet passed the 14th century level - for almost the entire area is carpeted with skeletons, representing phase after phase of burials with consequently repeated disturbance of the earlier depositions. The graves are dotted around and within the foundation malls of a small church [see 'The Church of . ..? St Helen in the Melting Pot' in this issue for evidence supporting this attribution of the building]. Several phases of its enlargement have been detected through the current trowelling and shovelling, and in the cleared-out drain trenches which criss-cross the site and give a useful preview of what lies ahead. The final demolition of the church seems to have taken place in the mid-16th century but its foundation date is yet to be archaeologically established. A fragment of mosaic flooring glimpsed in the bottom of a drain trench suggests that it may be excitingly early. Adjacent to the church three wide trenches, lying side by side and parallel with each other but almost at right angles to the 'South' mall of the church, are filled with rubble - some of it apparently from the church fabric. Part of one of the trenches seems to have been deliberately consolidated as a weight bearing foundation. So far this feature remains a mystery.

In the Trust's second trench, in the centre of the site, no substantial early structures have

been found. Layers of concrete and rubble levelling put down by the brewery may include demolition material from a late 18th-19th century coachworks. Great spreads of ash and cinder visible in the sides of the trench include several deep pits for foundry work. These layers cut into a thick deposit of garden soil which Contains much broken pottery, clay pipe pieces, dress pins and animal bones. Below this another layer of gardens soil was defined by a path (18th/19th century) running diagonally across the trench. At a lower level a section of brick wall along one side of the trench suggested a boundary between the garden and the house to which it belonged - presumably one of the large dwellings which once graced Aldwark. There was a concentration of mine bottle glass on the house side of this mall. On the garden side was a brick-built external drain probably of the 17th century.

It was at this level, in a rubbish deposit and therefore entirely out of context, that the seal matrix of Snarrus the Telenarius (Toll collector) was found.

Immediately below the drain level were various signs, including a widespread layer of brickdust, bricks and tiles, of demolition and rebuilding in the vicinity. The drain proved to be set on a foundation of bricks laid on edge which may have been the remains of an earlier wall. Beneath was a layer of 17th and 16th century pottery, clay pipe fragments stamped with a maker's name and a growing proportion of earlier pottery, some of which was Roman. Rich black soil containing mortar and medieval and Roman pottery continued, but at a depth of 10 feet below ground level water began gathering. Samples taken by boring from this level shorn that occupation material continues for some depth. The subsoil level seems to be some 10 feet below the trench bottom.

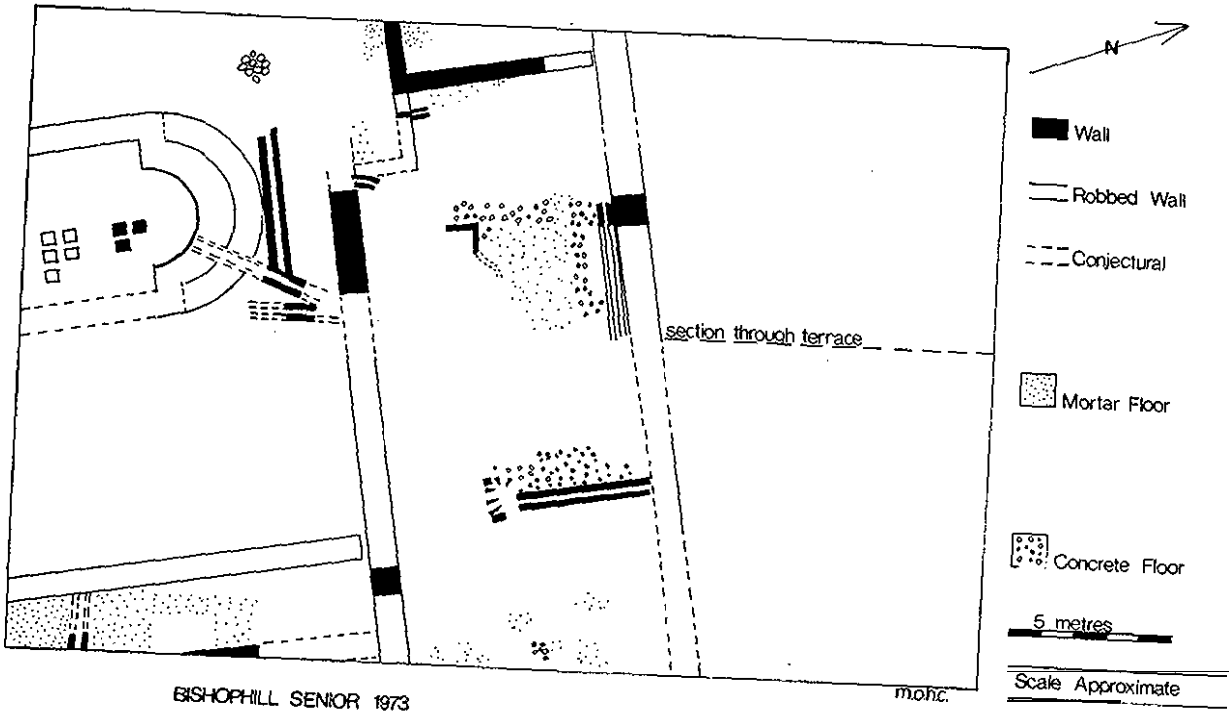
A few yards away in the third and lowest trench the diggers have been churning out early medieval and Anglo-Saxon pottery, and have also prod-

uced a coin of AEthelred II of Northumbria (841-850) - and they have certainly earned these modest rewards. The list of features reads like a sanitary engineer's dream: for the pre-medieval layers were only reached by way of a whole sequence of sewers and cess-pits stretching back from the nineteenth to the thirteenth centuries. Posts and other timber features latterly beginning to appear, associated with clay flooring, are reminiscent of the Anglo-Scandinavian site excavated in Pavement [INTERIM vol 1, nos.1 and 2 ]. As these remains lie some feet lower than the (possibly Roman) mosaic flooring further to the north-east, the excavations promise to provide interesting information on the natural and artificial contours of this area in the period before the adjacent Danish-Norman bank and wall were raised as an extension to the Roman fortress wall.

BEDERN SITE On the other site lying within the Aldwark redevelopment scheme, work in the general area of the medieval Vicars Choral College has been confined to a comparatively small trench just to the rear of the site of the college which is covered by factory buildings still in use though shortly to be vacated. As to be expected, the excavation has revealed signs of intensive use of this city-centre area over many centuries: 19th and 18th century bakers' ovens, 17th century cess-pits and lean-to shacks and a sizeable building of the 16th century. This building had had a fairly complicated history in its comparatively short life. In its early years the ground floor had been devided into two working areas - one with two small circular ovens and two hearths, and the other with a large structure, 2m in diameter, which was possibly a lime kiln. The building fronted on to a narrow lane which continued the line of the small alleyway which still leads off Goodramgate. Here then is a lost medieval lane, which may have been a cul-de-sac or may have lead through to Bedern or St. Andrewgate.

CATTLE MARKET SITE When the pool area is dug for the proposed swimming hall on this site, no archaeological levels can remain untouched beneath it, for they were found to be very shallow indeed. The earliest occupation traces found were two boundary ditches of the early 2nd ten-, tury (Romano-British) aligned NW to SE across the site, which would have enclosed fields of that period. The next identified phase of occupation is for the 8th century, when the: top part of a well, which was by then out of use and filled, collapsed causing a wattle and daub wall of a building of this period to slump into it. The pit thus created was then used for rubbish - among which mere found an Anglo-Saxon bronzes cross [subject of an article in the next INTERIM and two coins of the 8th century. A number of less impressive Anglo-Saxon finds; including coins of AEthelred II combine to suggest a considerable Anglo-Saxon settlement area nearby. The date of the well has not yet been established.

The next phase of occupation identified is for the 13th century: a small mound, made from materials dug out of a moat encircling it (too shallow to be defensive), and the traces of a building enclosing the mound. The building, founded on timbers with post settings, extends beyond the limit of excavation so that its full dimensions cannot be established. The area excavated within the timber slot is D-shaped and is 6m long by 3m wide at the widest point of the D-shape. There are traces of internal divisions within the structure but there will not be enough time to excavate these. The timber footings suggest walls at least 2.5m in height. To the west and adjacent is another l3th century structure similarly founded in a timber-slot and enclosing a space 1.7m square. What at first appeared to be a clay floor proved to be a well-shaft deliberately filled: it is therefore assumed the building was a well-house. The walls of both these buildings were dismantled at a date no later than 1250.




BISHOPHILL SENIOR 1973

SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM of ROMAN STRUCTURES

tentative conjectural diagram of Roman structures - Bishophill II

No trace was found within the limited excavation area of the Norman or pre-Norman church of All Saints Fishergate which is known to have stood in this region. On the other hand, the presence of post-medieval agricultural drainage ditches suggests that after the decline of the suburbs following the Black Death in 1349 urban development in this part ceased, and the land remained in agricultural use until recent times.

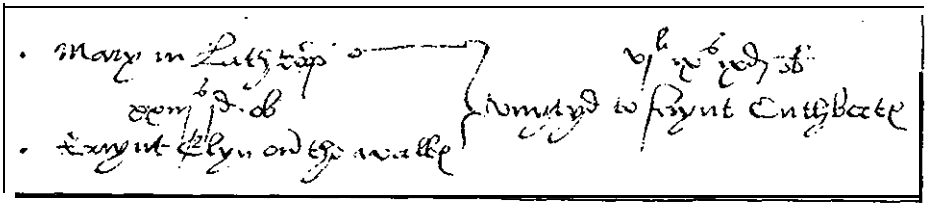
BISHOPHILL SITES I & II The layer of concrete that seems to represent 20th century York was met on Bishophill and summarily cleared by mechanical excavators. Bishophill I, at the lower end of the site for the proposed multi-storey car-park, is particularly interesting for the information it should yield on the evolution of the water-front on the south bank of the Ouse from Roman times onwards. Evidence from last year's excavation towards the eastern end of Skeldergate [INTERIM vol I, no.11 suggested that until the present retaining wall was built in the 14th century, the river might have come right up to the line of Skeldergate itself. It seems quite likely then that the pre-medieval waterfront buildings will be found to line the edge of the area at present under excavation - and that this may prove to include early wharf lines'of the Roman to Scandinavian periods. Warehouses of the 14th century (by which time the line of the present street would have been established) have already been located, with the post-holes of more impermanent timber structures behind. Here too is a well, built of stone probably in the 14th century, and extended in brick in at least two phases as the ground level rose over the centuries. Its final depth was about 17 feet.

John Carr, York's mast celebrated architect, had his mansion facing Skeldergate in this area. Some of the outbuildings have now turned up. An adjacent property was apparently given over to some industrial purpose, for several mortar-

floored clay-lined vats have been uncovered, though their use is as yet undetermined.

Excavation on Rishophill I (expected to yield information about the Roman colonia) will probably have to be taken to a considerable depth because of the heavy build-up in ground level since Roman times. At Bishophill II, on the other hand, at the uphill end of the car-park site, there is only about 6 feet between the present ground level and the natural boulder clay. In these 6 feet - one fifth of the depth of occupation layers common in other parts of the city - are compressed 2000 years of York's history. The first principal feature to appear in this site was one area of Buckingham House, including what are apparently the foundation courses of a large portico to the east. An associated brick-floored cellar overlain by 17th century pottery was also found. But sadly the Duke's mansion has been ruthlessly exploited as a source of dressed building stone and little of it survives above its contemporary ground level. In remains of earlier periods the site is proving rich. Anglo-Saxon and Roman levels have been identified, producing pottery, building materials, coins and flooring. A complicated scene, the result of Anglo-Saxon pits being cut into Roman floor levels is made more complex by later building activities, which have resulted in artefacts being displaced from their original layers.

Further reviews of all these ***sites*** will appear in the next issue of INTERIM.



An extract from the York Corporation minutes, showing the proposed union of St Helen on the walls with the church of St. Cuthbert.

## SITE & TRENCH SUPERVISORS : SUMMER 1973

### EBOR BREWERY

| | |
|---|---|
| Site supervisors | Tony Sumpter<br>John Magilton |
| Trench supervisors | Gwilda Holmes, Chris Clarke, George Rasley, Mark Harrison, Paul Woods, Roger Smith, James Greig |

### BEDERN

| | |
|---|---|
| Site supervisors | Ian Reed<br>Peter Mills<br>David Evans<br>Eric Voigt |

### CATTLE MARKET

| | |
|---|---|
| Site supervisors | Martin Redmond<br>Dilwyn Jones |
| Trench supervisors | John de Quidt, Adrian Ellis, Tony Wilkinson, Mike Shackleton, Paula Craighead |

### BISHOPHILL I

| | |
|---|---|
| Site supervisor | Max Foster |
| Trench supervisors | Jane Welyczko, Ryszard Bartkowiak, Bryan Morgan, Janet Priestley, Phil Bronson |

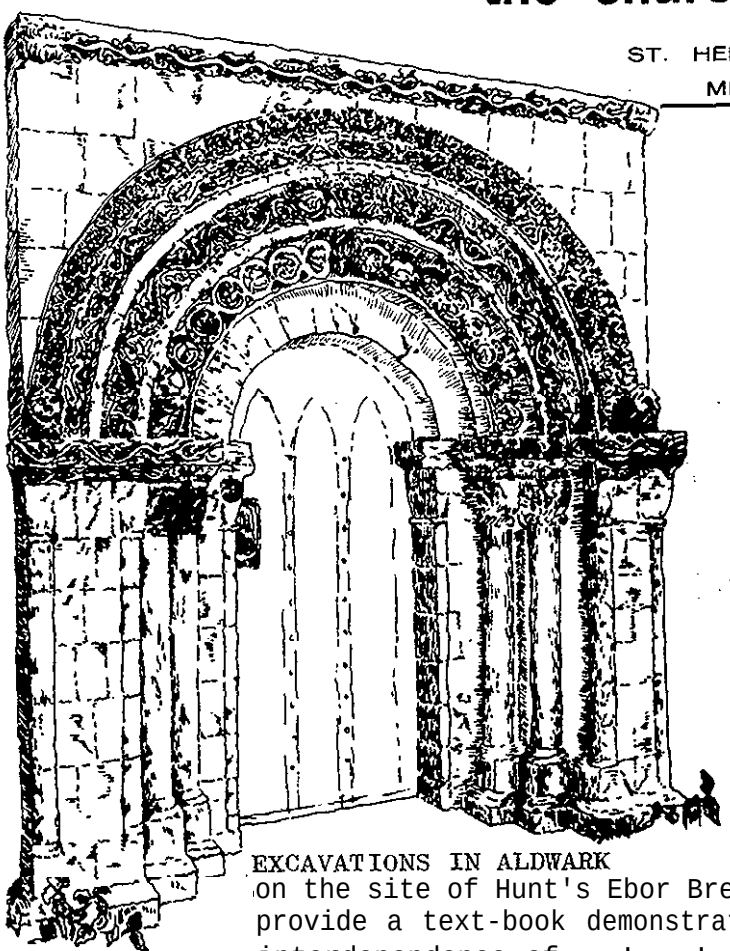
### BISHOPHILL II

| | |
|---|---|
| Site supervisor | Martin Carver |
| Trench supervisors | John de Quidt, -David Evans, Anne Hayes, Adrian Ellis |

Romanesque doorway
St Lawrence, Walmgate, of the style
conjectured for St. Helen on the Wall.

# the church of...?

## ST. HELEN IN THE MELTING POT



EXCAVATIONS IN ALDWARK
on the site of Hunt's Ebor Brewery
provide a text-book demonstration of the
interdependence of archaeological evidence,

historical documentation, tradition, and past and present day topography in a city of such antiquity and complex evolution as York.

The site lies between Aldwark (the street joining Goodramgate to Peaseholme Green) and the city walls, immediately SE of the Merchant Tailors' Hall, on terrain which Once rose naturally to a low hill called Herlot or Harlot Hill ('contiguous' as Drake observed 'with Love Lane'), later Barker Hill and now just noticeable in the rise of St Maurice's Road-Jewbury outside the Roman fortress, close to its E corner tower, the remains of which. are visible from the walls behind the MT Hall. But it is within the area which the Danes enclosed in the latter 9th century with an earthwork built from the E corner tower to approximately the point at which the present wall turns sharply at Tower 32 (opposite Jewbury) down to Layerthorpe Postern.

It has been suggested that when the Normans raised this bank higher and continued it down *to Layerthorpe* Postern by the Foss they threw up the earth from the inside, so creating a ditch within the walls which cam.? to be called Werkdyke [ A. Raine, Medieval York, London 19551. The word 'werk' in Werkdyke and 'wark' in Aldwark derives from Anglo-Saxon [ge-]werc meaning literally 'a work, something wrought' but regularly used, as in the 9th century Chronicle accounts of the Danish invasions, to signify 'earthworks, a fortification'. Almost certainly the Old Fortification [Ald-wark] first referred to was the ruins of the Roman fortress which in Raine's (1925-6) and later excavations mere shown to have stood up to 20 ft high in this corner in the 9th century. Later it may have come to include the Danish and Norman works - just as the name Werkdyke seems *to* have been extended from the early ditch outside the Roman wall to the inner ditch created by later *extensions to* the fortifications [see The *City* of York II: The Defences, RCHM 19721.

The Domesday survey of York shows that in 1086

there mere various dwellings built in the city ditch; and the stone footings of one of them, a timber building, have been found overlying the Roman ditch in St Leonards. Part at least of the Aldwark site seems to lie in or over the Werk-dyke within the Danish-Norman earthworks.

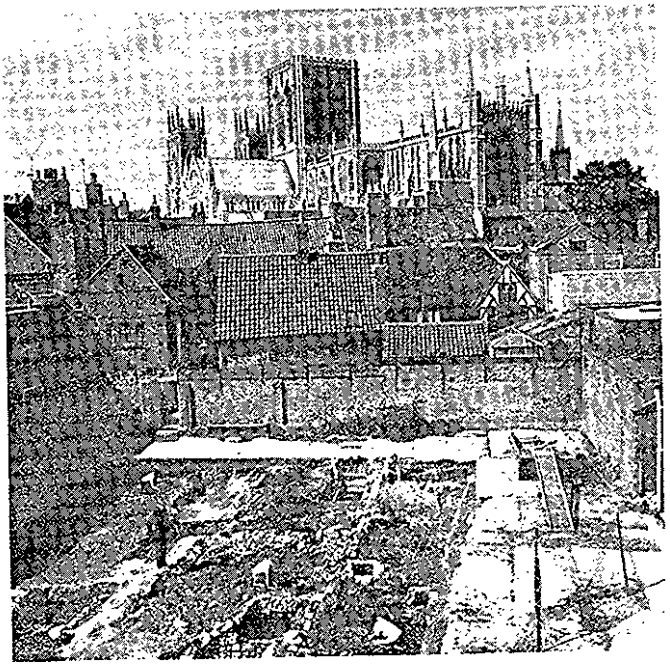
ARCHAEOLOGISTS INVOLVED with the site maintain with some conviction that the building they have located was a church.

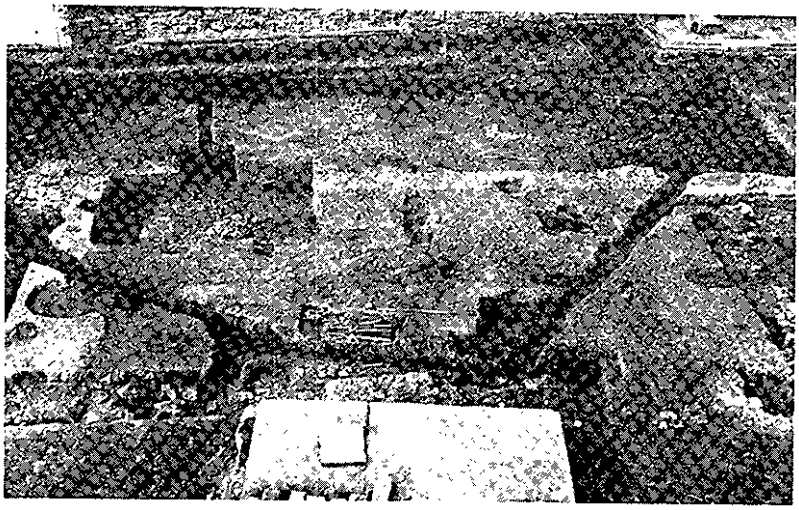
In shape and dimensions its outline is said to be very similar to that of St Andrew's church in St Saviourgate. Though the building is aligned NE-SW rather than strictly E-W as churches commonly are, this may be an alignment imposed by the building plot. There seems to have been an imposing 'West' door, where the foundations form the shape of a deeply recessed porchway of the kind found in romanesque churches; while at the 'East' end there is an interior wall across the building parallel with the end wall which could be under-stood as forming a small chancel or choir. There is some indication that this interior wall was originally the end wall of the structure which, when the building was lengthened, was retained and pierced with a doorway at its midpoint - which would be consistent with the position of a chancel arch or rood screen. The building was of stone with thick substantial walls, and several phases of enlargement seem indicated during its lifetime.

The upper strata of the excavation suggest that the building was robbed of its stone to found-ation level not earlier than the 16th century. The earliest levels for the building have not yet been reached, except where modern drains and other intrusions associated with the brewery had already cut deep into the site, Here there are tantalising but as yet baffling glimpses of older floor levels, part of which is paved with mosaic and part with slate which may be Roman. Occup-ation of the area in Roman times had already been

Child (Aldwark): ricket

Bedern: gate (left midground) leads via medieval lane to Goodramgate. Kneeling digger uncovers lane continuation.





Aldwark: 'W end' of ?church (far left) cut by modern drains etc. 'Chancel arch/ screen' far right. Some burials removed.

Bedern (aerial): medieval lane runs L to R below paving. House sites fronting lane, cess-pits, ovens etc.

Child (Aldwark): spine fused by disease

indicated by Roman tile and pottery sherds found by York Excavation Group behind St Cuthbert's Church (SE of the site) in 1970-71, which were thought to be the waste from nearby kilns. But the problem of interpreting the present exposed levels is made no easier by the fact that in another area between the building and Aldwark a level of almost 'certain Anglo-Scandinavian date has been-established several feet below the level of the supposed Roman mosaic floor. A clue to this problem may lie in a wall now emerging between the two areas which perhaps served to retain a terraced plateau against the earthworks, on which the building stood. This terracing may have been an early stage in the levelling of Herlot Hill which has taken place on the city side of the walls.

But the most conspicuous argument for thinking in terms of a church is the very large quantity of burials both within and without the walls of the building. Like the building itself, the skeletons are not aligned due E-W. But if the building is assumed to be a church, then the skeletons lie as they should in a 'liturgical' E-W relationship to it - that is, parallel with an axis through the length of the church and facing east.

At least one burial lies below a wall believed to belong to the last phase of the building's enlargement. The burials are thus associated with the earlier as well as the latest phase of building. The conclusion pointed to is that on a Roman site, at an unknown early date, a church and churchyard were established Which were in continuous use until the 16th century.

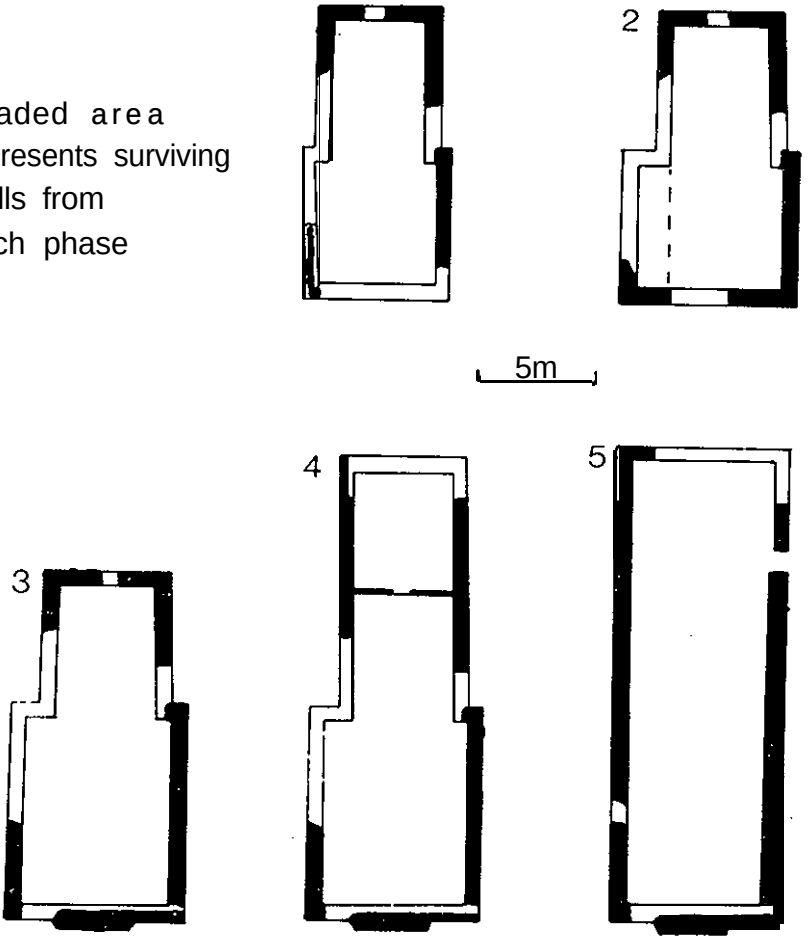
It is agreed that if this building is a church there is only one church it could be- thk parish church of St Helen called 'in the Werkdyke' or, later and more regularly, 'on the Walls'.,

ST HELEN.ON THE WALLS is not one of those churches named or alluded to in the Domesday survey of York - though that fact alone is not proof that the

Ebor Brewery, Aldwark

Probable development of church


Shaded area represents surviving walls from each phase



church did not exist then. For nor are the two St Maries on Bishophill mentioned, yet there is good architectural and archaeological evidence that they mere built before the Conquest. But the earliest surviving record of St Helen is a charter datable between 1194 and 1214 by which Thomas of St Lawrence gave to the Minster one-fourth of the advowson (right to present the benefice to a priest), of the church. From 1282 and 1291 records survive which indicate that the remaining share of the advowson was exercised by Nicholas le Grant, of York; and intermittently until 1368 this share was exercised more or less alternately by two families, the Salvayns and the Langtons. After 1368 the Langtons alone are recorded as making presentations of the benefice.

Several early documentary references to St Helen make it clear that the church with its parsonage and churchyard stood in the Werkdyke. Later references seem to suggest that between it and the bottoms of the gardens of houses fronting on Aldmark there was still a ditch or moat within retaining walls in 1580 (see below) when it was called the Queen Dyke. Prom Aldwark, a narrow Lane led through to the church, presumably crossing the moat on a bridge. It was called 'le Kyrke Lane' in 1392-3, but by 1580 it had come to be knowri as St Helen's Lane.

Like many of the churches of medieval York, St Helen on the Walls was inadequately supported by a Very small parish. Within its corner of the city three other churches, All Saints Peaseholme, St Cuthbert Peaseholme and St Mary Layerthorpe also had to make a living. Nor did it ever acquire any substantial endowments. A large part of the parish lay detached, well outside the walls, in Tang Hall Fields which, as open land, yielded little revenue. The only recorded endowment is a light in the 'church, supported by land which in 1548 was worth 20d a year. In the reign of Henry V when rates were being assessed for a levy to support the French wars St Helen's yearly value was stated to be £2. A few other churches, like St Helen Fisher-

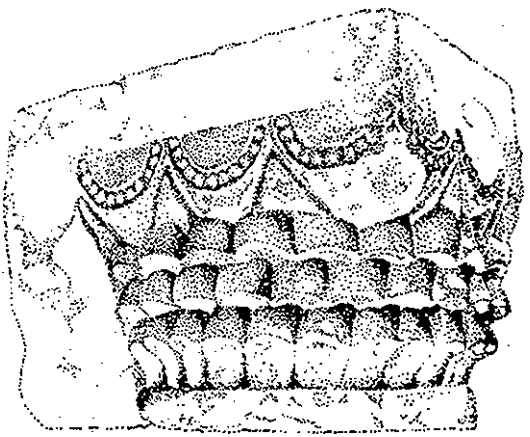
gate, had a lower value, but many, like St Helen Stonegate £6, All Saints North Street £8, St Martin Coney Street £10 and St Olave £24, were considerably wealthier.

Yet, in its heyday, we may imagine that it was a handsome, even if not an imposingly large building. Two strikingly fine pieces of sculptured stone assumed to come from St Helen's (having been found in the Ebor Brewery site and deposited in the Yorkshire Philosophical Society's medieval architecture collection, 1912-13, by W. Harvey Brook) give a hint of its romanesque charm. From time to time its parishioners bequeathed money for its repair or adornment. In 1405 Matilda Maltby gave 8d in her will, towards painting the Virgin's image. This image, probably a statue, evidently stood in the chancel of the church for it is there, in front of the Virgin's image, that William Cabary, rector, asks in his will (1482) to be buried. In 1410 Robert Popilton, a merchant of York, gave 6s 8d in his will, for the privilege of being buried in St Helens, the money to be used on the church fabric. And in 1515 a tiler, Robert Gylbertson willed 3s 4d to the maintenance of the fabric if he might be buried 'afore the wher (quire i.e. chancel] dore in the mydd alley'. The present excavations have uncovered a large number of burials within the building - one of them lying in a position which might correspond well with Robert Gylbertson's resting place. These we may assume on this evidence of wills to be members of the clergy or wealthier guildsmen like John de Quenby, parchment maker of York, whose will directs in 1394 that he should be buried in the aisle between the font and the chancel door.

Probably most bodies were wrapped only in shrouds. One rector, John de Burton, who had chosen his burial site on the south side of the chancel within the church, explicitly forbade in his will (1407) that his body should be coffined: only one linen cloth was to be wrapped round him. Did he regard a coffin as wordly vanity, or as theologically unsound - or was he aware of the dangers

of subsidence of church floors and walls from interior burials? The evidence of the brewery site is that outside the church burials mere numerous and, by the time the churchyard ceased to be used, densely packed. Many disturbed skeletons have been uncovered and there may be some suggestion that bodies had not always wholly decomposed before another grave was cut in the same place. Hemmed in as the church eventually became, particularly after the building of the Merchant Tailors' Hall within the Werkdyke probably in the late 14th century, there was no room for expansion and the graveyard must have been something of a health hazard.

**THE NUMBER OF PARISHES IN THE CITY** had multiplied during the prosperous middle ages but with the city's decline thereafter so too declined many of the-parish churches. In 1548, at a time when there were nearly forty churches in the city and its immediate suburbs, thirtythree of them with full parochial status, the incumbent of St Helens had put it in charge of a chantry priest from St Saviour. The city Council had just succeeded in getting passed an Act (IEdward VI c.9) suppressing decayed churches in York, and St Helen on the Walls was one of these. It was now to be united with All Saints Peaseholme and St Mary Layerthorpe under the benefice of St Cuthbert.



Though the implementation of the Act was not ratified with the Church until 1586 when the Archbishop sealed the deed, closure and demolition of many of the suppressed churches and civic appropriation of the land began, with little objection from the Crown and (Raine remarks) apparently none from the Church, immediately after the passing of the Act. On 2 January 1550 the City Council agreed to sell 'the church of St Ellyns on the Walls, churcheyerd and persenage therof' to the Lord Mayor for his own private use (this document, Dr Palliser has pointed out to me, is misread by Raine as suggesting that the Council sold the property to 'my Lord Maier and his Brethern', that is, to itself.) One of the objectives of the City was to have the derelict nature of many of the parishes recognised in the Crown's taxation assessment of York, and St Helen on the Walls is one of the churches mentioned in a letter from the Lord Mayor William Bekwith to the city's MPs dated 25 October 1555, in which he complains that certain parishes 'be soo moche decaied and wasted that their is no man glad to inhabite within the precynts of theym for that the payment of one yere taxe is duble and treble more than theyr wholle yere rent'.He asks the MPs to renew the City's 'old suit' to the Crown for a reduction of its tax on York. About this time, St Helen on the Walls was demolished - at a date which would fit well with the archaeological evidence for the stone-robbing from the building on the Ebor Site.

A curious tradition is associated with the demolition of St Helen's. Camden, the great if not wholly scrupulous 17th century historian tells in his Britannia of a report given him by several reliable men of the City that during the demolition of a church in York a vault was found beneath it, in which was discovered the tomb of tbe Roman emperor Constantius Chlorus and a lamp still burning thanks to a special fuel produced from gold. Constantius is said by some ancient writers to have died in York. Just before his death he was visited by his son Constantine who was saluted as Emperor in York when his father died. The place

where the tomb was found, Camden says, had always been held in tradition to be the burial place of Constantius. Reviewing this story, Drake says: 'To add a little more confidence to this story, from Camden, I must say, that tradition still informs us, that the sepulchre he Speaks of, was found in the parish church of St Helen on the malls, which once stood in Aldwark!

The wife of Constantius was of course St Helen herself who, at her son Constantine's request, journeyed to Jerusalem and found the True Cross. 'It is not impossible' comments Drake 'but that Constantine the great, when converted to Christianity, might order a church or chapel to be erected over his father's ashes, which was dedicated, perhaps after his time, to his mother.' Constantine made Christianity the state religion of Rome in 325. The archaeologists would be delighted to find a Christian church in York from that date: but there is no sign of a vault beneath the building on the Ebor site: This York tradition may only be a curious offspring of the Legend of the True Cross which was so enormously popular in early medieval Europe; yet it might witness to a memory of a church in Aldwark reaching back, if not actually to Roman times, at least into the pre-Conquest period. The cult of the Cross was evidently popular among the Anglo-Saxons: Cynewulf, the 9th century poet, wrote a long Verse account of St Helen's discovery of the True Cross. What is perhaps the. finest Anglo-Saxon religious poem, The Dream of the Rood, is a meditation upon the Cross and its history. Some words from this poem are inscribed not only upon the 78th century Ruthwell Cross (Dumfries) but also upon a reliquary, the Brussels cross, made in Anglo-Saxon times to contain a fragment of the True Cross. The Anglo-Saxon Cronicles in the annal for 885 record that Pope Marinus sent a portion: of the True, Cross as a gift to king Alfred. The popularity of Helen and the Cross, for later times at least, is testified in York church dedications, three of which were to St Helen and one to the Holy Cross (St Crux).

BY 1575 THE DERELICT SITE of St Helen's was becoming a tip and the council had to forbid people to 'ly any dong nere or upon the mote wall ageynst St Ellyns on the Walls'. Five years later Mr Brogdon and four others were ordered to 'clense the Quene dycke at the backsyd of thair gardyngs by the walls of Saint Ellyn'. By 1586 when the Archbishop ratified their suppression many of the affected churches were ruins robbed of their best stone. Often their name alone survived *in* taxation documents and in the course of time the sites mere sold and built upon by generations quite unaware of their former sacred nature.

BUT: IS THIS ST HELEN'S that the Trust is excavating? Hitherto, the concensus has been to place St Helen to the NW - that is on the Monk Bar side - of the Merchant Tailors' Hall. Drake (Francis Drake, Eboracum etc, London 1'7361 suggested this position, without presenting evidence, and though the church had long since disappeared; aid most historians have followed him. Robert Skaife [Plan of Roman, Medieval & Modern York, York 18641 marked its site there. Raine [York Civic Records V, 1946] stated without offering evidence that Skaife was wrong and that the church had stood on the site of John Hunt's Brewery - but this opinion he later changed to agree with Skaife [Med.York p.52]. W. Harvey Brook [manuscript catalogue of medieval architecture in Yorkshire Museum, 19381 wrote of the two sculptured stones, dug up during the building of a chimney for Hunt's brewery, that they were found on the site of St Helen's church. The chimney was built in the NW corner, where the Trust is excavating.

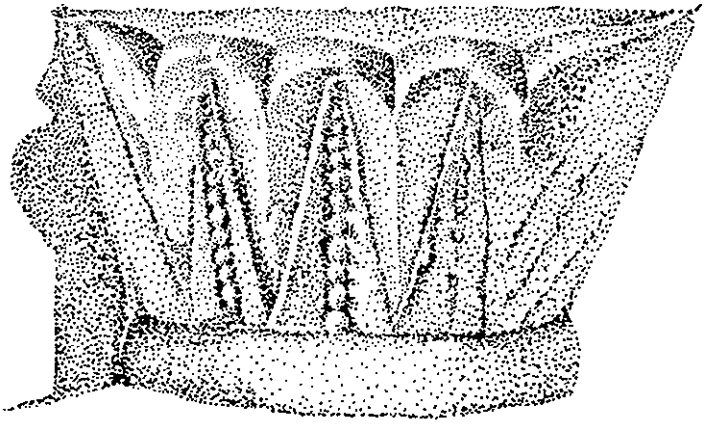
The earliest documentary locations of the church use it to define boundaries of property belonging to religious house at Bridling& [Bridlington Chartulary]. In deeds relating to the period 1283-1301 St Helen's is referred to as being in the Werkdyke and on the walls. A deed of 1415 by which the Merchant Tailors leased from the City 'part of the ditch commonly called the moat' 100 ells long and 6 ells stepping to 12 ells in width, mentions

St Helen's churchyard. 'Unfortunately the boundary definition makes no reference to the one solid landmark of the walls. It seems to require the churchyard to lie south of the hall. Collation of this deed with other property boundaries may eventually clarify some of the obscurity. But it is to be noted that the deed refers only to the position of the churchyard, not of the church itself. The church could have stood at some distance from its burial ground. Perhaps some significance might also be attached to the name given to the church: St Helen on the Old Wall. If the 'old wall' is the Roman wall, then the church must have been to the north of the MT Hall, where the fortress wall turned and ran westwards.

In later deeds St Helen's is described as being near the Merchant Tailors' Maison Dieu (hospital). The location of the Maison Dieu is uncertain. Raine says it was on the NW side of the Hall, and so Skaife was right to site St Helen's there [Med. York p.52] - but it seems more probable that it was in fact on the SW or SE side. It was pulled down in 1703, and shortly afterwards the SW front of the Hall needed extensive repair. In 1730 the Guild had need of houses for elderly members and on ground cleared by demolitions of l703 they built the four-roomed house still standing on the SE boundary of their property, immediately adjacent to the building excavated by the Trust. This by no means proves, but seems *to remove some* objections to the siting of St Helen's SE of the MT Hall. If the wills of Mr Brogdon and the four others mentioned above as owning property abutting St Helen's malls can be traced, they may shed light on this problem of siting.

There are other objections and problems *involving* documentary evidence. One, which demonstrates how scrupulously information must be weighed, is the (1515) will of Robert Gylbertson, mentioned before. He wished to be buried in the choir door in 'the mid alley'. The choir door might be identifiable in the building the Trust has found. But if, as it surely must, 'alley' means aisle, the church

claiming itself to be St Helen's should show it had aisles: so far there is no evidence of aisles in the excavated building. But most problematical of all, and the one on which the question of identity will most likely prove to turn, is an objection relating to the defences of York.



This, and the above - illustrated Romanesque capital was found during work at Hunt's Ebor Brewery, Aldwark, are believed to be from St Helen on the walls.

In 1380, following a riot in the city, the Mayor and Commonalty ordered special provisions for the custodianship of the malls. For each of the stretches into which the walls mere divided, a number of parishes (not necessarily adjacent to each other) had the responsibility of finding and paying a constable and sub-constable to keep custody. Between Monk Bar and Layerthorpe Postern there were four custodies: 1 from Monk Bar to St Helen on the Walls; 2 from there to the tower on Herlot Hill adjacent to Petre Hall [super Herlot Hill iuxta Petre Hall]; from there to the new tower on the corner opposite Jewbury (novam turrim super cornerium versus le Jubiry]; and from there-to Layerthorpe Postern. [See The City of York II: The Defences, RCHM 19721.

If St Helen's is assumed to lie NW of the Merchant Taylors' Hall (on the Monk Bar side), the custodies are seen to be of roughly equal length. But

the building being excavated by the Trust stands slightly further along the wall than Tower 31 which is the tower on Herlot Hill. From the building along to Tower 32 (the 'new-tower' opposite Jewbury) is not far; but if the building is assumed to be St Helen's, then TWO custodies have to be fitted into this short stretch, whilst the first custody, from Monk Bar to St Helen's, becomes extraordinarily long. The towers in *question* still stand; the hill, the corner are plain to see. No doubt is at present attached to the Custodianship document or its interpretation. As far as the relative position of walls, towers and St Helen's church in 1380 (and 1406 when directives mere reissued) is concern&d, there is hardly room for question. If the building should prove not to be St Helen on the Walls it may prove hard to give it any identification at all. Archaeological evidence does not seem to encourage the theory that it was an earlier St Helen's which was then rebuilt (before 1380) to the NW of the Merchant Tailors' site. The building seems to have been standing into the 16th century. Could it be the Petre ('Peartree') Hall mentioned in the Custodianship document as being adjacent to Herlot Hill? Very little seems to be known about this hall. Drake deals with it only in a footnote: 'Beyond this [Harlot Hill outside the walls] stood formerly a place called Pertrehall, opposite, it is said to merchant-taylors within the walls, but I can give no further account of it.' [Eboracum 1736, p.254] Benson [Archaeological Map of York, 1926] identifies 'Peter Hall' with Merchant Tailors: but unconvincingly, since the Custodianship citation is of earlier date than the building of the present Hall. Whet kind of building Pertre Hall was, it is impossible to say, but if the excavated building were proved to be the remains of it the best guess might be that it was a hospital, or ***maison*** dieu: though unfortunately there is no evidence for York that the medieval hospitals kept their own burial ground.

INGENUITY FLOURISHES in 'site conversations. Meanwhile the Trust's historical research officer, Dr David Palliser, is reviewing the relevant documents and the excavation proceeds over the winter.

Sid Bradley

# the seal of snarrus

The seal - or rather, the matrix for impressing a seal - was found on the Ebor Brewery site in Aldwark, in a rubbish pit which did not allow any clear context to be established for it. There was no direct evidence to connect with the adjacent burial ground.

The seal is approximately 7mm in thickness and 38mm in diameter. It is cut from a solid blank of ivory. At the top is a three-tiered lug 8mm high and 9mm across its' base, integral with the disc, and pierced for some means of suspension. The inscription, in Lombardic capitals 3mm high, reads + SIG +. SNARRI . THEOLENARII . [Sigillum Snarri theolenarii 'The seal of Snarrus the toll collector']. Within the circle of the inscription is depicted a person in a skirted, belted, long-sleeved garment with his right arm outstretched. The hand holds a purse, less deeply and carefully incised than the rest of the figure. Above the' purse three point and circle decorations seem to represent coins falling into it. The sides and back of the seal are polished but blank.

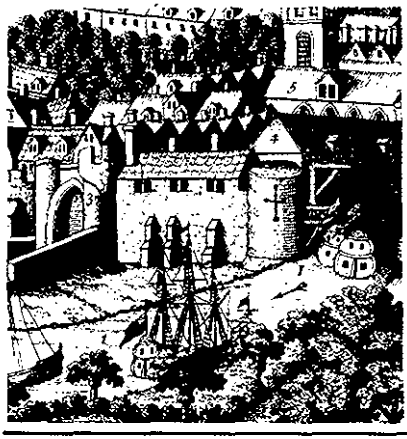
Earliest opinion tentatively puts the seal in the twelfth century. But the stylized drapery of the figure and particularly the stylization of the head are strongly reminiscent of late Anglo-Saxon seals and coins. It may be that there is some

continuity of stylistic tradition in York from die-cutting for coins across the Conquest period to seal matrix cutting in the early middle ages. On the other hand, it is interesting to note the similarity of treatment of the head and drapery in a bronze figure of the Virgin and Child in the Yorkshire Museum. Of this figure Talbot Rice [English Art 871-1100, Oxford 1952, p.235-6] has written: 'It is cast in low relief, and the matrix of the mould must have been akin in style to an ivory carving, though the carving must have been of a very summary character. The agitated folds of the drapery show some resemblance to Winchester work and on their evidence alone an eleventh century date seems rather more likely than one in the twelfth, which has usually been assigned to the bronze.'

The name Snarrus seems to be the latinised form of the Scandinavian name Snare or Snorri, known both as a forename and as a nickname meaning 'shrewd'. It occurs in York from early times. In Domesday Book, the former owner of property then held by the Count of Mortain was Esnarrus (compare Escardeburg for Scarborough, Eskrope for Scrope, Esneit for Snaith etc). A form of the name occurs again in a charter (John Rylands Lib., Chartulary of St Mary's Abbey York, f.353d.) of 1170-76. Among the witnesses to the confirmation to St Mary's of the church of Burton Agnes is Snerri.

A charter of 1174-84 (cited in Early Yorkshire Charters V p.328) refers to a croft in Little Leeming in Aiskem 'quod fuit Rodberti Snarri' - 'which belonged to R.S.' Here, the latinised form might be intended to indicate 'son of Snarrus'.

The surnames Snarr, Snarre, and Snarrie, still known in and about York, seem to derive from this old Scandinavian name.



# trouble with tolls

## A GLIMPSE INTO YORK'S MEDIEVAL COMMERCE

A TAX ON TRADE-DEALINGS has for very many centuries been both a source of revenue and a means of controlling the market in the hands of local and national authorities. An early attempt in England to create market circumstances in which a trading tax could be systematically levied may be found in the 10th century. Edward the Elder (reigned 901-925) enacted that no-one might buy or sell goods except in a market town ('port') and in the presence of the town-reeve ('port-gerefa') Certainly, as other Anglo-Saxon legislation shows, the concern was to have an official witness who could if necessary settle any dispute which later arose as to terms of the transaction; though the establishment of compulsory markets was a sure step towards imposition of a workable toll system. But Edward's law probably had little sway outside Wessex and none in the Scandinavian kingdom of York, though it had submitted to him in 920.

By the time of AEthelred the Unready (reigned 979-1016) the collection of tolls from trading was becoming well-developed, partly as a control upon foreign merchants, who were required to pay toll according to the size of their ship when they brought goods to London. At this time York was the second most populous town in Britain,

with 8000 or more inhabitants. Links with the Continent, Scandinavia and Ireland were strong, and the navigability of the Humber and Ouse brought merchant shipping right to the staithes of the city. There is every likelihood that York had a system of tolls similar to that established for the port of London.

After the Danish invaders finally conquered England, Cnut, the son of Viking plunderers, soon revealed himself to be a sober statesman concerned for his great empire's trading account. On a visit to Rome in 1027 he negotiated with both the Emperor Conrad and the Pope to ease the tolls which were so discouraging to English merchants seeking trade towards the Mediterranean. The international trading implied by such dealings as these as well as the archaeological evidence for imports and exports at this period argue thriving markets in England, especially in the ports, and imply an increasingly complex system of taxation.

AT THE TIME OF THE DOMESDAY SURVEY(1086) we hear again of the king's agent, the reeve of the shire or Sheriff of Yorkshire, gathering tolls, to the sum of £100; and in 1130 a 'collector of York' is mentioned. York, with extensive fortifications to maintain as well as a river and roads, had a ***large revenue*** to find on its own account, as well as what was owed to the Crown in the form of the annual 'farm'. In 1189 this stood at £50 per annum. But at least the medieval kings recognised that the national economy depended on the commercial prosperity of the ***great*** trading centres such as York, and in that same year Richard I (for a consideration of 200 marks from the citizens of York) granted the city a charter exempting its merchants from toll and other kinds of charges 'throughout the Angevin empire' - the purpose being to encourage York merchants to invest in international trade.

By 1292 the annual farm for York had risen to £120. Of this sum £42.0.5d was raised by tolls

and £51.1.10 by a levy of one shilling on each sack of wool entering and leaving the city. The smell of privilege and corruption grows stronger as time goes by. From quite early in the middle ages the authorities gave up collecting all tolls themselves. Instead they leased the right of toll collecting for the various markets, staithes and gateways to speculators who paid an annual lump sum for a period of years and then recouped whatever they could from the vendors and stallholders. Any profit was their own. Such a speculative toll gatherer was probably the Snarrus the Telenarius of the Ebor site seal, since the seal bears his own name and no institutional emblem. The Telenarius was normally, no doubt, a man of some substance since he had to be able to guarantee the fairly high rents asked by the Corporation for the toll-leases. But no doubt, too, in the city's palmier days at least, it was a lucrative office.

Just as the early kings tried to bring all trading together in centres to facilitate control, so, in medieval York the authorities found it necessary to compel all traders in particular commodities to confine their trading to fixed locations. So at one time all malt and corn dealing was done by St Martin Coney Street, butter was sold at St Martin Micklegate and Holy Trinity King's Court, wool on Ousebridge and later in Peaseholme Green, and leather in the Common Hall and Thursday Market (St Samson's Square). Goods were controlled and taxed at the gates and posterns and at one time a chain across the river mould stop ships mooring if they refused to pay tolls.

THE SYSTEM OF TOLLS and the operators of the system like Snarrus played their important part in the evolution of medieval capitalism, an essential evolution. But the burden of these tolls upon the citizens, tradesmen and consumers alike, can readily be imagined. As well as the civic authorities of York, the Archbishopric was entitled to take tolls - from the Minster Liberty (the

area about the Minster in which the civic authorities had no jurisdiction) and one third of tolls from Walmgate, Fishergate and Foss Bridge, as well as all the tolls from the gateways, posterns and stalls during the three days of the Lammas Fair. On the other hand, the religious houses of York were exempt from paying tolls thus increasing the load upon the citizens. Prices mere inevitably forced upwards by this imposition upon commerce. In 1482 there is a warning that the complex exaction of tolls is keeping traders away from the city. The guilds themselves shared responsibility for this, by pressing for tolls against 'foreign' merchants and goods as a protectionist measure. In that year a petition was made to allow men to trade toll free so that the prosperity of the city might be raised.

Perhaps for political reasons as much as for the relief of mercantile distress, Richard III reduced the annual farm of the city by £60 and Henry VII set it down to an annual payment of £18.5.0d. But the prosperity of York was determined by factors less manipulable than these, and taxadjustments alleviated the symptoms but could not remedy the advancing sickness.'

THE MIDDLE AGES WERE THE HEYDAY of the tolls system and York's civic records abound with references to it. With changes in trading patterns, in the national commercial structure and in local and national taxation systems, tolls gradually fell &way, surviving mainly only as levies made upon users of amenities such as roads, bridges and waterways to help maintain them. By about 1744 the lease of tolls *in the* Thursday market was riot proving profitable and Richard Corney holding a 21-year lease at £70 per annum had to persuade the Corporation to reduce his rent by £l0 per annum. In 1750 the Corporation was having to threaten prosecution of 'foreigners' who were simply refusing to pay tolls to the Toll Lessee.. In 1894 Lendal Bridge was freed from tolls, and Skeldergate Bridge in 1914. Still, in 1938/9 river tolls were bringing in £7000. But today Snarrus would find small pickings - though he might bid for Selby Bridge?

# youimyounginterimyou

## what, oulde pipe of tobacco !

'IN THESE DAZES, the taking in of the Indian herb tabacco, by an instrument formed like a little ladell whereby it passeth from the mouth into the hed and stomach is *gretlie* taken-up and used in England.' These words were written in about 1578; for although the Spanish introduced tobacco to Europe from the Americas as early as 1527, we are informed that 'mush melons and tabacco came into England about the 20th year of Queen Elizabeth', (ie around 1578). In fact it was Sir Walter Raleigh who introduced tobacco, along with potatoes, bringing them back from his disastrous attempts to found a colony in Virginia, America.

The first datable English clay pipe was made in 1580, although we soon hear of Raleigh himself using a silver one. (This was when he boasted that he 'knew his tobacco so well' that he could weigh smoke! When the Queen took him up on his words, he weighed his tobacco, smoked it, and weighed the ashes, the difference in weights presumably being that of the smoke.) However, the first pipes of clay were modelled on those of the American Indians, from whom the habit had first been acquired; They had small bowls and long stems. The high price of tobacco kept the bowls small for many years to come. An account of 1612 which speaks of the 'tempering, stamping and co-mixing of sea-cole, or stone-cole that a kind of substance being there

made of them like unto past or tempered clay, the presse moulde may forme and transfigure that clay-like substance into hollow pipe-cole as it doth earthen pipes' confirms that clay pipes were made then, as up to modern times, in moulds - though not, apparently, from the fine white clay later used.

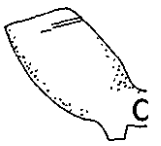
Tobacco became more and more popular. It was that 'divine,rare super excellent tobacco, which goes far beyond all their panaceas; potable gold, and philosophers' stones, a sovereign remedy to all diseases', as Burton, the 17th century philosopher said! 'As early as 1560, Jean Nioot Monardes had recommended tobacco as a cure, ironically enough, for cancer! In 1599, it was suggested that 'the fume taken in a pipe is good against Runes, catarrhs, hoarsenesse', and in 1672 'Washing the sore ... and then strewing tobacco juice thereon' was advocated. Nevertheless, James I insisted that ***it was 'a*** custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs and in the black stinking fume thereof resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless.....'.

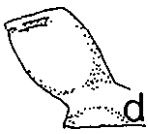
During the course of the 17th ***century, the*** bowls of the pipes became larger, as the price of tobacco dropped. Pipes mere either glazed or unglazed, some even partially glazed, only at the mouth piece. Styles developed regional characteristics as well as adopting national trends.

LONDON DOMINATED the tobacco trade for the first half of the 17th century, so we find no evidence of clay pipe-makers outside the capital until long after the breaking of the monopoly, around 1638-9. Transport for a bulky material such as pipeclay, mainly from south-western England, was easier by water, along the coast; so the new clay pipe centres that sprang up were all ***coastal*** ports.

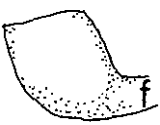
Bristol was an area which produced its own singular style of pipe; there the bowl gained an overhand, leaning right over a neat, flat, roundish









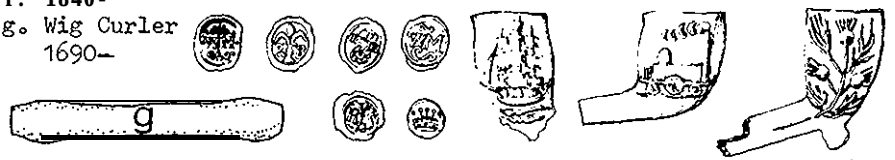

a. 1590-1630
b. 1640-1670
c. 1650-1680
d. 1670-1730
e. 1680-1720
f. 1840-
g. Wig Curler 1690–

base, stamped with the maker's name or initials. A less widespread, yet very distinctive pipe is that from Broseley, Shropshire, distinguished by a heavy, splayed base, usually stamped with the maker's name in full. One particular development which seems to have become very common, is that of the spur, a small, often rounded, almost knob-like foot on the base of the bowl. This feature was extremely long-lasting, and can still be found on pipes throughout the first half of the 19th century.

In Yorkshire, Hull and Gateshead took up the trade in a big may, with inland York forming the crucial link in the distribution system. It may have been written in 1599, that 'the Yorkers they will bee content with bald tobacco docks' (a humorous name for a tobacco substitute made with dock leaves), but the industry flourished in Yorkshire. Even during the decline of the clay pipe in the later 19th century, the area clung to its trade right to the very last.

York itself developed a particular type of pipe, known today as the 'York Bulbous', characterised by a heavy, rounded bowl and a broad,flat, squarish base. These pipes were stamped either on the base or the stem, in designs that usually included, with the maker's initials, a conventional leaf pattern using tobacco or mullet plants or fleurs de lys.

Towards thk end of the 17th century, pipe bowls were becoming narrower and taller, the curves less pronounced. This was under the influence of the straight-sided,



flat-based, Dutch pipes, which were becoming very popular. By l7OO this kind had almost completely superseded earlier types.

The quotation 'Now [1683] every ploughman has his Pipe to himself' shows that by this time tobacco had reached even the lowest ranks of 17th century society. Despite the tax of two shillings per hogshead on till tobaccos, the clay pipes themselves became so cheap that once the brittle clay snapped, the remains could be thrown away without a qualm. This is why so many are found on archaeological sites today. Often pieces of broken pipes were used for curling wigs; so by 1690 a side product of the pipeclay industries had become specially made wig curlers:

However, by the second half of the l8th century, pipe bowls mere widening again; spurs had returned, along with rounded, curved bowls. Relief decoration of all kinds appeared, with emblems of public house signs, regimental badges, ornate stamps, and other fantastic designs. This continued right 'through until around 1840, when the plain, footless, short-stemmed pipe became fashionable. This was the nearest of all the clay pipes to the shape used today; it was only supersided by the more robust briar pipes, and by the advent of the cigaretti?.

POTTERY HAS LONG BEEN USED to help date digs: now . clay pipe remains are also often used. Because pipes were cheap and smoking popular, pipe remains turn up on most sites of post-16th century date. And since a pipe had only a short life, and styles changed fairly quickly, knowledge of their shapes and makers' marks can help the archaeologist date an excavation to within as little as 20 years.They turn up often in gardens and ploughed fields.York's Castle Museum exhibits a pipemaker's shop. YOUNG INTERIM offers a small prize for the best short account of pipes you have found yourself.

Nicky Zeeman

# meet the archaeologists

## THE CONSERVATOR AND THE FINDS ARTIST

INTERIM READERS won't need reminding that archaeology doesn't end with the digging. Among Trust staff who take archaeology on from where the diggers leave off are Sheena Howarth and Jim Spriggs.

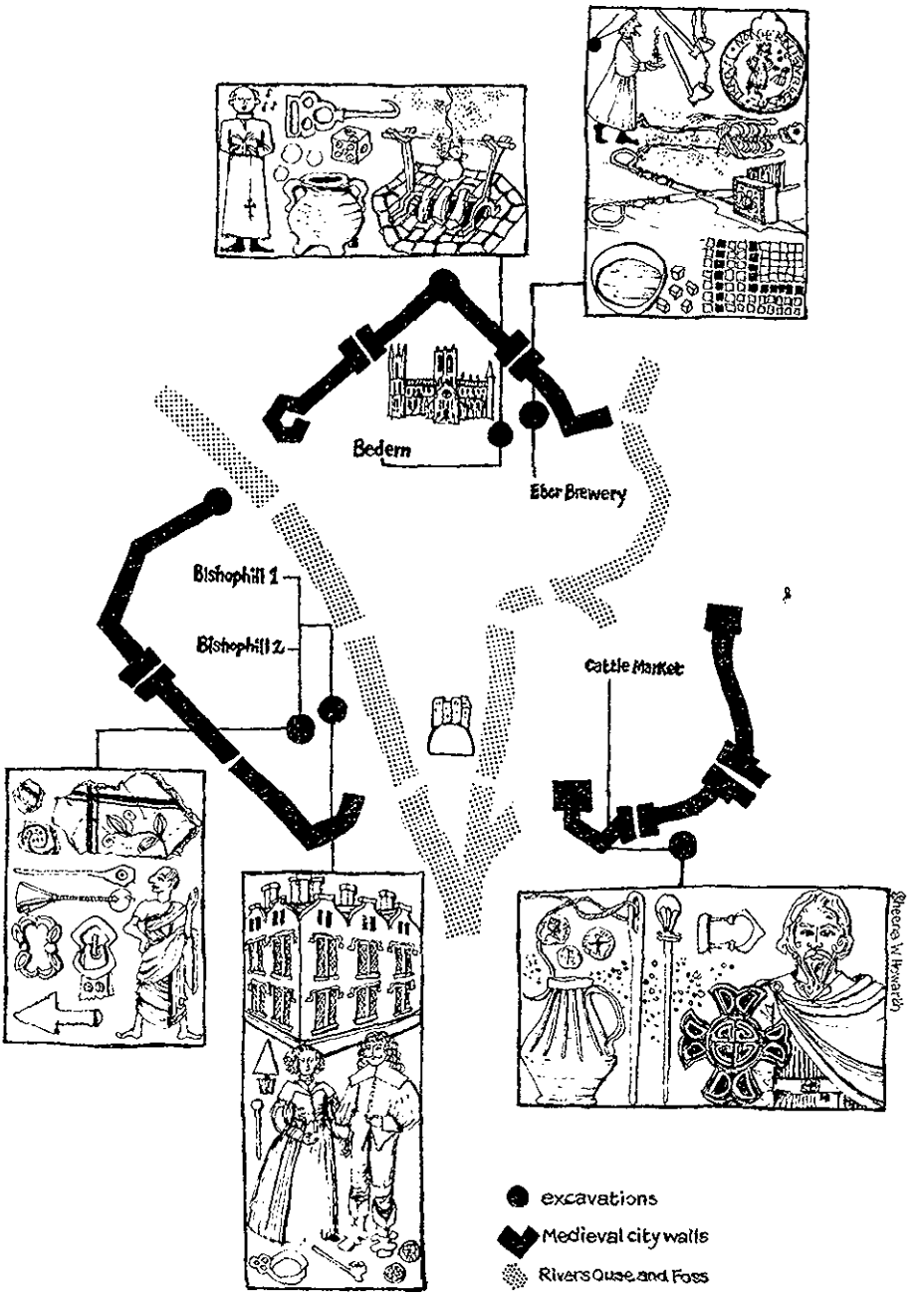
SHEENA HOWARTH (it's her professional and maiden name) is a freelance illustrator employed by the Trust to make drawings of small finds which will become an essential part of the final official record of each excavation. Hers is the demanding task of reproducing the precise conformation, texture, features and dimensions of these finds, without allowing her own distinctive style and techniques to intrude. INTERIM readers will be familiar with Sheena in both her roles: both as an objective recorder and as a lively and whimsical book-illustrator.

JIM SPRIGGS too has a vital part to play in the preservation of archaeological records - for his job as Conservator concerns nothing less than the physical survival of the artefacts excavated. The natural ability of York's subsoil to preserve a wide range of buried materials is now well known. But without treatment from Jim many finds mould not survive a week after exposure to air and light and very few mould be worth exhibiting to the public before the corrosion of centuries had been meticulously removed in his laboratory.

Though Sheena reckons as a child she must have visited every castle in the country with her father,: she had, no inkling her career might be in archaeology. From Casterton School she went on to Liverpool College of Art, specialising in graphic design. Thereafter, the usual prospect of doing a teaching course of lugging her outsize portfolio round the country's design studios seemed equally unattractive. It occurred to her that archaeology offered good potential in the art field and so she volunteered to dig in York for a few weeks. Her special skills were soon revealed. She moved first to a site planning team-and then to the drawing office in Aldwark. Not long ago she made the decision to go freelance (Tel: York 32827!), drawing for the Trust on a piece-work basis and undertaking commissions in other fields such as book design and illustration.

Jim too has wide interests and took the Diploma in Conservation at the Institute of Archaeology only after seriously considering careers in other aspects of archaeology and in architecture. Archaeological experience he gained abroad (in Italy, Israel and Syria) and at home (digging several seasons at Winchester) made up his mind for conservation, and he is still happy with his decision. No-one who has seen him handling fragile brooches, and pins, or rotting wooden utensils or pieces of textile could fail to endorse that decision, for Jim combines a craftsman's flair with wide appreciation of the chemistry and physics of a whole range of conservation techniques.

Sheena's and Jim's roles, in helping to secure complete and accessible records of the evidence of small finds, are closely allied. But there is another motive for this double feature in INTERIM. For Sheena and Jim have just formed a more permanent' alliance. The wedding was at Levens church in October. INTERIM takes this opportunity of wishing them every possible happiness in the future.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Ebor Brewery
Bishophill 1
Bishophill 2
Cattle Market
excavations
Medieval city walls
Rivers Ouse and Foss

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