Taverns, Inns and Alehouses? An Archaeology of Consumption Practices in the City of London, 1666–1780

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List of Abbreviations

MOLA	Museum of London Archaeology
MOLAS	Museum of London Archaeology Service (now MOLA)
LAARC	London Archaeology Archive and Research Centre
KIG95	King Street site code
NGT00	Newgate Street site code
BAZ05	Basinghall Street site code
SC	Sherd count
ENV	Estimated Number of Vessels

(NOTE: See Appendix ii for a full "Fabric Code" guide)

ABSTRACT

This thesis set out to explore the changing nature of consumption patterns in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London through the analysis of archaeological evidence previously excavated by the Museum of London Archaeology. The aim of this research was to address existing gaps and limitations within the existing methodology related to the excavation and analysis of these environments, to establish a more holistic method of approaching consumption practices from this period, and to explore the complexities which were being performed within the setting of these establishments.

To do this, a typological system for artefact classification was developed which enabled the categorization of material by their fabric, form and their associated functions. The distribution patterns of the various types and functions across three sites and five establishments in the City of London were analyzed. The material was then assessed for patterns indicating changes in consumption.

Linkages from these patterns are then made between historical themes and theoretical frameworks outlined within the thesis. Particular focus will be given to developing a better understanding of how these venues changed over time based on the degree of variation that can be perceived between the late seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries. By exploring the character of consumption practices, I will demonstrate how they work together to provide a more complete picture of the complex systems at work.

During the course of this research, specific objectives have been achieved and conclusions reached which make original contributions to the wider dialogues surrounding how meaningful patterns of consumption can be perceived and interpreted through material goods from establishments of social or public consumption. The focus on the everyday materials from closed deposits related to clearance episodes (Pearce 2000) from these establishments and their how they relate to emergent and shifting patterns of social trends in consumption is what separates this thesis from other scholarship on these and similar spaces. Significantly, this research differs from the previous examples by attempting to detect social change across a variety of classes and in a variety of different settings, all brought together in relatively modest atmospheres of social and public consumption. This has allowed for both the subtle and the overt shifts in social patterns to be detected, and from there, conclusions are drawn regarding wider social ideology.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification at this or any other university or other institute of learning.

COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

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Dedicated in loving memory of Ted and Lou Duensing.

1. Introduction and Background

1.1. Introduction

The consumption of food and drink in today's economy corners a healthy percentage of consumer focus. Coffee shops, pubs, restaurants and bars each have a vital role in the social-backdrop of many of our daily lives. For example, market researchers have recently stated that nearly 800,000 people in the UK visit coffee shops at least four times a week (Kantar Media 2013). These spaces have enjoyed a singularly stable economic environment during the financial crisis which hit in the 2008/9 fiscal year. Despite the recession in the UK, coffee shops were one of the few establishments to see *growth* between 2009 and 2010 (Key Note 2012). These spaces provide an array of performative and practical functions, while the beverages or foods themselves are often only a minor attraction into the establishments. These environments have become cornerstones of daily interaction to the point that many of us would struggle to conceive of a long-term atmosphere where there were not plentiful, or at least convenient, local options at our disposal. The history of these environments and the processes involved in their creation and maintenance of their legacy within the context of heritage should reveal a great deal about the ways social interaction and consumerist mentality worked together early-on. The ways we use materials, goods and services in the past could possibly demonstrate implications for understanding patterns of use and consumption today.

Much of our understanding of London life from both before and after the Great Fire has come in the way of diaries and travel journals from those living and visiting the city at the time. Accounts from the personal records of those such as Samuel Pepys, Edward "Ned" Ward, and William Hogarth along with a multitude of travellers from various countries, have given us accounts of both the mundane and the shocking events of London life during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This has provided historians with a window into the lives of another era, yet these records were written and preserved most commonly by a privileged class of individuals who had the means to travel and either publish or otherwise safely store their musings for posterity. This has had positive and negative implications on interpretations of the past. On the one hand you get the colourful and vivid accounts, a glimpse into the lives of another time, and details difficult to obtain otherwise (e.g. emotions, motives, etc.). On the other you have only the representation of a privileged and limited class, difficulty verifying some of the contents, and potential prejudices which can ultimately result in misrepresentations of past groups.

Archaeology allows for a representation of events and interactions by analysing and exploring the traces of the past through the fabric left behind. The value of archaeological investigation into our prehistoric roots has long been established, however it has only been within the last century and specifically the last 25–50 years that archaeology of modern historical contexts has begun to be realized. In its struggle for legitimacy, historical archaeology has been accused of playing merely a supportive role to historians (Hume 1964: 215). However, this image is being challenged by underrepresented social groups who have been marginalized over the course of written history. Recent studies of ritualistic and spiritual practices long preformed in secret by slave communities have revealed a world of cultural tradition long over-looked even within archaeological excavations due to the lack of significance given to historical contexts (Duensing 2010). Similarly, sexuality among convict women in colonial Australian prisons as well as American institutions has been explored archaeologically, which adds much to the debate regarding the prevalence and social response to issues of homosexual behaviour in women during that period (Casella 2000 and 2007). In each of these examples controlled space was used or manipulated in order to facilitate the preservation of these illicit behaviours or practices. What we have left is the archaeological traces of people resisting the dominant norms structuring the social world in which they found themselves forced to operate. In this way archaeology can help to shed light on issues that have been ignored or misrepresented in the historical record.

Public houses, inns, taverns and coffee houses have long been strongholds for social interaction, yet at the same time they have been widely overlooked in social studies of past people. By the late seventeenth century the local tavern had an established history of being the main artery for news and social interaction. Historically, pubs, taverns and coffee houses have served as the social meeting ground for doctors and professional men to gather and discuss the business, politics and the news of the day. In the seventeenth through nineteenth century, publishers, authors, printers and booksellers pursued their business at taverns and coffee houses (Watson et al. 2010: 174; Cowan 2005).

Long before literacy rates allowed for mass communication by way of pamphlets, taverns and public houses served to disseminate issues of concern to the community at large. In many instances, taverns were a place of business and serious debate, but having access to food, drink and lodgings they were also frequented by travellers and bachelor soldiers to obtain a hot meal, beer and a warm bed. Furthermore, other popular sundry items and entertainments drew many in simply to engage in leisure activities. Rare and exotic goods such as coffee, tea, and chocolate quickly became staples in coffee houses, pornographic tiles and printed materials were often circulated at taverns, and the prostitution of both sexes could also be obtained in the back rooms of certain establishments.

These were highly sexualized and gendered spaces. Where customers were concerned these were largely male dominated environments, yet women were also an integral part of the milieu. Attractive waitresses and prostitutes were encouraged to work in the establishments to attract male clientele (Watson et al. 2010: 176). Despite the fact that there were also examples of women innkeepers and owners of drinking establishments, social stereotypes developed, which would limit the accessibility of these venues to women for centuries.

1.2. Objectives and Focus of Thesis

This thesis will focus on the City of London during the last half of the Stuart period. This time period has been chosen because it gives insight to the social climate of change through four distinct periods of the neighbourhood's life. First is the period preceding the Great Fire, second is the Great Fire and reconstruction, third is the Gin Craze which dominated the first quarter of the eighteenth century and the fourth is the *Gin Acts* of 1736 and 1752 which effectively stifled the extravagant drinking habits which had come to define much of the city of London.

The central aim of this thesis is to gain a better understanding of the identities of the residents in the City of London at the end of the seventeenth century and how their use of materials within establishments of social consumption influenced social environments and the expectations of behaviours within wider social spheres. Through a review of previous work and evidence I hope to illustrate the reasons why this period is significant to my research, how these spaces have been instrumental in assisting the interpretation of identities and how social structures from this period have been approached previously by both historians and archaeologists.

This investigation intends to delve deeper into aspects of how social perceptions and ideology greatly influenced the development of social constructs, such as fashionableness and taboos, and in what ways material culture was involved in the formation of new ideas about social and personal identities. The important place of drinking establishments in British society was well established by 1665, yet the nuances of their role in political and social structuring have yet to be clearly defined. In order to establish a link between social and public ideology, a long term approach must be employed at the local or community level as well as the wider social level.

The neighbourhood under investigation was chosen for two reasons: 1) as the oldest consistently inhabited section of London, it has well researched and highly documented resources available, and 2) as one of the premier social centres of the world at that time, it has a unique binary quality of being at once representative of both local and national trends. This makes the City of London a highly relevant location in the development of British cultural and social norms. It is the objective of this investigation to attempt to trace these changes through the combined use of cultural materials, print media and textual records. It will be critical to begin with a review of relevant material currently available on this topic. Laid out in the subsequent three chapters, I will start here with the historical context.

1.3. Historical Context

1.3.1. The City

1.3.1.1. Politics and Trade

This thesis begins at a precarious time in the social and political matrix within London's tumultuous past. At the time of the Restoration of the monarchy in 1661 London had a population of 375,000 people, though probably only 135,000 lived within the walled city proper (De Krey 2005). The constant warring, military occupation, and political unrest which had become so distasteful to the citizens of London had taken its toll on their morale. The reinstatement of Charles Stuart allowed the people to come together in celebration for the presumed reunification and peace for which they had been longing. Yet unbeknownst to the citizens of London and the rest of England, the arrival of Charles II was also to usher in an era of change. These shifts would be the most immediately apparent in the City of London.

Active merchants (roughly 800–1000 by mid-century) were at the forefront of English overseas trade and investment and most were located in London (De Krey 2005). Residents of London were some of the most highly literate and well-informed on issues of both church and state – and eager to make their voices heard (De Krey 2005; Picard 1997). Commercial and social implications can be identified through movements toward free(er) trade and the overturn of monopolies such as the East India Company and Levant Company established in the early seventeenth century (Adams 2005; Ricklefs 1993).

From an archaeological perspective, the significance of this period can be in part attributed to the array of stratified and datable material. The Restoration of the Stuarts generated a wide array of topical material culture as well as literature to supplement that material. Regardless of class, creed or gender, this event was significant. It mattered little whether you even supported the monarchy at the time of his restoration, as the objective was to find some stability and peace. The mercantilists were one group who gained a rapid interest in these matters.

Medieval Europe between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries ushered in the earliest phases of mercantilism. After many of the peasant labourers were killed following the massive devastation of the Black Death in the fourteenth century, the aristocracy lost their position of strength to the overwhelming power of supply and demand. Since there was no longer a surplus in the labour market, those who survived suddenly found themselves in a strong position of leverage. This allowed for revitalization and change within the social structure, thereby allowing for social and technological advancement once again (Smith 1991; McNally 1988). It was precisely these changes that some economists have come to determine as the cause for the seeming randomness of European advancements broadly associated with the Renaissance period (Adams 2005; Smith 1991).

A similar course can be viewed in the progression of merchant capitalism during this period. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Netherlands were in the midst of their 'Golden Age' of mercantilism (Adams 2005; Smith 1991; McNally 1988). This progression of capitalist ideology growing in the Dutch had run into a social barricade in the form of Traditionalism (Smith 1991: 104). In England similar obstacles confronted progression of capitalist ideals. With the disorganized political and religious groups vying for control of the government and the disparate factions of successful merchants and tradesmen controlling the purse strings, an impasse had been reached. With the English Civil War, and the subsequent Restoration of the monarchy, the ideological frameworks were all being reformed. Economic historians have come to attribute the rise of England as the dominant capitalist power in the western world to this defeat of Traditionalism and the firm entrenchment of capitalism as the dominant mode of production (Adams 2005: 132; Smith 1991: 6).

London merchants were strongly represented in key areas of the patrimonial state and this set them apart from other European state structures at that time. The Tudor and Stuart monarchs allowed these commercial groups privileges and exemptions to policy and in return drew revenues from these bodies (Adams 2005: 127). This resulted in the ultimate accumulation of tremendous power by these groups. For example, the East India Company was initially founded and then chartered by Queen Elizabeth I between 1599 and 1600. In a thirteen page charter the company in short was granted monopoly status east of the Cape of Good Hope as well as exemptions on import duties and export policies for a term of fifteen years (Carr 1913: 30–43).

This endorsement by the ruling powers in the pursuit of profit from these new global markets infused a new kind of merchandise into the marketplace. New and exotic fabrics, foods, and forms (e.g. silk, chocolate, and tea wares) were suddenly all around in a cacophony of flavours, colours and smells. The significance of the tavern comes to bear when considering the role that these venues played in the social organization and dissemination of news and current events. These venues allowed for business to be conducted while also enjoying a small bit of leisure. Here one could sample some of the most recent foreign and exotic goods, such as tea, coffee, chocolate or spirits, while discussing both the latest political and religious developments, or even organize action.

Also responsible for effecting considerable changes within the City at this time were the years during and immediately following the Plague of 1665 and the Great Fire of 1666. However, rather than these shifts manifesting in the political or religious changes which occurred during the Restoration, these changes were to restructure the built environment. These alterations in the layout of the city had both a physical and psychological affect. They not only saw the old streets widened and building regulations enforced, but they afforded the new political and religious ideas a blank landscape on which to materialize.

1.3.1.2. Infrastructure

As mentioned previously, during the seventeenth century London increased in size by a shocking amount; in terms of population growth, it virtually doubled (De Krey 2005). This expansion impacted the city in two major ways which directly impacted the archaeological deposits. Namely, these were heightened risk for disease and fire. First, there was an influx of disease due to human waste management problems. Hundreds of thousands of people lived within just a couple of square miles with no modern sewage systems. It was common practice to dump human waste products directly into the Thames–the same water which was then used for drinking, cleaning and cooking (Sabine 1934: 304). The leeching of cesspits into wells (frequently situated close to each other) meant that diseases were easily spread across the city. In addition to this, cramped quarters were a major contributing factor in the communicability of diseases. Second, there were no enforceable building regulations which required safety measures to be taken, so housing structures would often be divided up into bizarre and frequently hazardous living quarters. Walls would go up inside of pre-existing buildings, cutting awkwardly through different floors and rooms, additions would be built onto an existing structure, unstable and precariously looming over the streets below. This resulted in an ominous sensation while walking the streets and could actually be hazardous for those on horseback, as their heads could easily hit upon a low rafter or sign board (Picard 1997). As can be imagined, these haphazard housing environments were riddled with poor sanitation and ventilation problems, as well as being constantly under threat from fires. The timber frames and thatched roofs used as cheap and fast building materials exacerbated the threat and spread of fires in the heart of the city.

In the summer of 1665, the City of London was devastated by the outbreak of The Great Plague. Modern conservative estimates put the death toll from the outbreak of the Great Plague in spring of 1665 to its abatement in spring of 1666 at 70–80,000 lives; roughly 16% of the total population (Harding 2001: 29; Porter 1996: 105). Additionally, England was at war with the Dutch and many of the upper class had left London due to the threat of disease (Picard 1997).

The people were expecting plague again, not solely due to the superstitions, but because it was common for plague to die out in cold winter months and then to regain momentum in summer months due to increased temperatures (Harding 2001: 29; Porter 1996: 105). In addition to that, Londoners had been continually subjected to the damages of the war with Netherlands, and with news in August of Sir Robert Holmes setting fire to a fleet of Dutch merchant vessels as an endorsed act of piracy, so they were anticipating some form of retaliation from Holland (Hitchcock et al. 2003). However, what they got instead was nothing short of a calamitous accident.

The fire started at a Pudding Lane bakery. Although many people moved their possessions to what they deemed a safe distance, they underestimated how far the fire would actually spread. A perfect, yet tragic, example of this was the decision to store many important manuscripts and books within the stone portion of St. Paul's cathedral. These were all completely lost when the timber roof collapsed on top of the highly flammable goods (Watson et al. 2010: 174). There are multiple accounts of people burying their valuables to attempt to save it from the flames. Samuel Pepys writes on 4th of September 1666: "Sir W. Batten not knowing how to remove his wine, did dig a pit in the garden, and laid it in there; and I took the opportunity of laying all the papers of my office that I could not otherwise dispose of. And in the evening Sir W. Pen and I did dig another, and put our wine in it; and I my Parmazan cheese, as well as my wine and some other things." Lord Mayor of London at that time, Bloodsworth, knew that to stop the fire the appropriate course of action was to pull properties down, but he was both afraid of what his supporters would think as well as not having the legal power to take that action.

The fire burned for four full days and by Thursday it had wiped out over 13,000 homes and rendered 65,000–100,000 people homeless (Jardine 2003: 135). Over 80% of the medieval enclosure had been razed to the ground but somehow only eight lives were lost (Porter 1996: 108). Additionally, enormous quantities of commercial goods had been lost, including warehouses for the East India Company and all the books in St. Paul's along with over 80 churches (Harding 2008; Jardine 2003; Porter 1996; Earle 1994). The Great Fire of London ultimately demanded that approximately 2/3 of the city be completely rebuilt (Jardine 2003).

This called for a rapid restructuring of the city. The Corporation of London commissioned Robert Hooke to execute the daunting task of surveying the demolished City (ibid.: 141), which he did with extraordinary diligence and efficiency. This allowed for some improvements to be made to the layout of the streets and the much needed instatement of building regulations. Despite the King favouring Christopher Wren's proposal to design a new city layout with radiating streets to enhance its grandeur (similar to Paris), many visionary proposals to totally reorient the medieval street plans were never realised. This is due to the overwhelming pressure from merchants and residents who wanted to expedite the rebuilding process and get on with business as usual. However, according to maps and records from the decades following, some streets were widened or straightened, and one new street (King Street) was built by carving through private properties leading from the Guildhall to the wharf (Jardine 2003; Ackroyd 2009). This new street was a double wide thoroughfare which would accommodate two coaches at once, thus allowing for two directions of traffic to and from the Guildhall. This was a much needed improvement as previously one-way traffic would leave traffic at a standstill for hours, congesting the streets and making trade very difficult indeed. This ultimately facilitated the area developing into the warehouse district for merchants and industrialist (Jardine 2003; Reddaway 1940).

The 1667 Rebuilding Act instigated six requirements which had great impact on the rebuilding: 1) all new buildings within the City had to be built out of either brick or stone; 2) regulations on the proportions of four permitted types of structures (small houses, medium houses, large houses, and mansions); 3) higher storeys of the properties were not to extend out beyond the property boundary; 4) gutters to channel water from the roofs were required on all houses; 5) widening of any street or alley less than 14ft wide; 6) compensation to anyone who lost land due to the street widening/straightening. Over the course of the next 100 years, the city would make further improvements and truly take the form of the cosmopolitan environment it was quickly becoming. This rebuilding allowed for the rapid shift that was to come socially over the course of the next 200 years ushering in the Industrial Revolution and then the rise of Colonialism. The primary aim in these regulations was to finally put an end to these devastating fires, of which the Great Fire had been only one among many smaller outbreaks. The mercantile heart of the country lay in the City of London and every fire took its toll and set in motion a chain reaction which was felt all the way from the bottom of society to the top; commerce stopped thus so did the flow of money, goods, labour, services, and so on. The regulation of building practices had been attempted in the past, but only now with the extent of such wide-spread devastation were Londoners receptive to the changes.

The major events have been established relating to the Restoration and the Great Fire, but in this particular instance, it is less about the historical events which occurred and more about the implications that the events were to have on society in the form of economy, politics and social structures. Now I will consider another political and social movement which held great significance in the daily lives of the citizens of London at the turn of the eighteenth century. In English history, the popularisation of gin and other distilled spirits during the last quarter of the seventeenth century was seen to overstep the boundaries of decent consumptive practices. The political and moral leaders at this time were outraged by the overconsumption of these new spirits and, as will be demonstrated, all too willing to form a movement on the issue of anti-consumption (Cherrier 2009).

1.3.1.3. Society

The 'Gin Craze' refers to a period from the last quarter of the seventeenth century to first half of the eighteenth century when the consumption of gin increased rapidly throughout Great Britain, especially in London. Over-consumption was common as the product was cheap to make and far stronger in content than the beers and ales most were accustomed to drinking. The City of London was seen to have an epidemic of intense drunkenness which motivated a legislative backlash that would continue for the better part of a century (Nicholls 2009; Borsay 2007; Clark 1983; George 1965 [1925]). Many theories as to what sparked the Gin Craze circle around the event of William of Orange coming to power in 1688. William and Mary are significant in many respects politically, religiously, and socially. Materially, this manifests itself most prominently in the Dutch influence on goods. Imports between various nations at this time were in a constant state of flux as one day you might be at war with the country and the next you might be part of that country and at war with those who were previously your allies. Accessibility at this time to certain spirits demonstrates this phenomenon in action. Spirits were introduced in the early seventeenth century as a medicinal cure, but the imbibing of these substances for recreational purposes increased in popularity over the course of the 1600s. The beverages which would impact social dealings immensely for the next 75 years were brandy, port and gin.

The Dutch Prince William introduced the popular concoction of grain spirits and juniper oil from his encounters with it in the Netherlands (Dillion 2002: 5–6). The taxes on the new beverage, though minimal, proved useful as revenues to support the new government's campaigns against France. It has been observed that "[t]he landed interest in Parliament having reduced taxes on gin and having removed restrictions of its manufacture and sale in order to dispose of a glut of corn and raise money for a war with France, spirits were now made freely available to the inhabitants of a city that had been destabilized by a century of mass immigration" (Barr 1995: 9). In 1689–1690, under the influence of William of Orange, Parliament passed a range of legislation aimed at restricting brandy imports and encouraging the local production of gin. These acts broke up the monopoly of the London Guild of Distillers, thereby opening up the market in gin distillation (Dillon 2002: 6–8). The low cost of this new alternative to beer, wine and ale, along with the effect that the clash with France had on attitudes toward French brandy resulted in an explosion of gin drinking among the poorer citizens of what was then the most densely populated city in Europe (Warner 2003). With the constant influx of people into London, trade guilds were a common method of securing employment. You could not obtain work in nearly any profession, be it skilled craftsman or vendor, without having paid your dues to the guild. The lack of restriction opened up the sale of spirits to even the poorest members of society. As Patrick Dillon put it, "No one in London could make a shoe, sew a coat, plane a chair-leg, or bake a loaf of bread unless they had paid their dues and gone through an expensive seven year apprenticeship. But anyone who could afford a vat and a still could set up shop and make spirits." (2002: 10).

This open market for spirits increased the popularity of the drinks among the lower classes, however, the extreme effects that spirits had on a person's health and personality did not go unnoticed. Beer and wine undergo a natural fermentation process which results in an alcoholic content of anywhere from 1–18% alcohol by volume (ABV). Spirits could be distilled up to 96% ABV, an amount which could easily prove fatal when consumed in excess. By the turn of the eighteenth century gin had become an incredibly contentious social issue. There were numerous debates regarding the 'evils of gin' and 'vice of gin' and 'the plague of the working class' and they saw it as the root of the crime and violence in the city. Interestingly, coffee, tea and chocolate were not exempt from this moral outrage. They were seen as contributors to the cycle of drunkenness and disorderly behaviour. This is largely due to the fact that coffee houses had gained initial social popularity for exactly the opposite reason, for their reputation as sobering establishments and substances (Cowan 2005). In fact, initially coffee and tobacco houses had fallen out of favour amid the governing bodies due to the fear that all the serious and sober conversation would in fact lead to plots against the rulers of the land. However, by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century coffee houses were embraced as the place to go after the tavern or alehouses had closed so as to sober up–then back to the taverns to start the process over again. For this reason coffee and tea suffered a slight turn of social opinion. Daniel Duncan published a book in 1706 titled, *Wholesome advice against the abuse of hot liquors, particularly of coffee, chocolate, tea, brandy, and strong-waters : with directions to know what constitutions they suit, and when the use of them may be profitable or hurtful*. The title alone gives a great deal of insight into some of the social perceptions regarding the thinking of how these substances could help or harm a person.

By 1721, however, Middlesex magistrates were already blaming gin for all the vice and debauchery committed among the lower classes (Dillon 2002). More recent research offers that poverty, malnutrition, harsh work, overcrowding and inadequate sanitation were major, though generally unacknowledged, contributors to morbidity and mortality. As with other periods, alcohol was subject to exaggerated reports of its dangers, including 'Gout, Stones and Rheumatism, raging Fevers, Pleurisies, Small Pox, or Measles' and 'Polypuses in the Heart' (Warner 2003; Abel 2001). By the 1730s consumption of gin had raised seven-fold (Warner 2003).

By the mid-eighteenth century, so much of a popular social initiative had been established by the likes of William Hogarth and other middle and upper class activists, Parliament began to take notice. The British Parliament was forced to institute no fewer than eight *Gin Acts*, which progressively raised taxes and limited places of sale. The final Act of 1751 greatly encouraged a pre-existing minor fall of consumption, and was widely credited with ending the so-called gin craze. However, more recent studies have shown that the steep fall of consumption after the last Gin Act was not as linked with the social movement as supposed at the time and refrains from giving credit to the benefits of restrictive legislation. When compared to many substances abused socially, studies show that use tends to be subject to spontaneous decline after one generation of use. The introduction of the substance leads to the initial abuse. After the initial spike, use tends to continue at a much reduced rate – though greater than prior to the frenzy (Warner 2003: 208). The argument here is that the legislation and moral reformers were merely picking up on the downward spiral of gin, and that their success was due more to coincidence rather than design.

Nevertheless, it is likely that popular movements among the middle and upper classes to ban the consumption of gin and depict it as indicative of moral weakness served as reinforcement for certain people to give up–or indeed never pick up–the habit. A common slogan used in 1751 by William Hogarth's *Beer Street and Gin Lane*–a famous image campaign against gin–was "Drunk for a penny. Dead drunk for twopence. Clean straw for nothing". His depictions of the moral degradation associated with drinking gin juxtaposed with the wholesome goodness of drinking beer speak volumes about the social perceptions of the different forms of alcohol, who drank them and what the social ramifications for each were. The residences of "Beer Street" appear happy and prosperous, whereas in "Gin Lane" the depravity and wretchedness of the occupants is overwhelming. These images speak not only to issues of health and morality, but also to social class and status.

This distinction becomes increasingly pronounced over the century in review, leaving spirits socially ostracised by the middle of the eighteenth century. These changes in social consumption, both sanctioned and forbidden by political ordinance within two to three decades of each other, provide an environment where material culture can offer significant insights into the social constructs of the time. It is with this in mind that establishments of public and social consumption have been chosen as the venue for exploration. In the next section I will review the specific venues and their roles within society as well as the changes they underwent over the course of the early modern period.

1.3.2. The Establishments

Over the past three decades public consumption, predominantly drinking, has emerged as an important subject in history and social sciences as a means of interrogating the wider identities, practices and processes. Establishments associated with consumption practices provide arenas in which they could be socialized and even ritualized. Due to their significant role in leisure and social interaction throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the venues under examination for this project include any commonly utilized site associated with social consumption.

The most commonly recognized forms of these establishments are inns, taverns, alehouses, coffee houses and 'ordinaries' (a venue which was more food oriented than drink, thought drinks were also available). In the Anglo-Saxon period there were three main types of drinking establishments: the *eala-hus*, *win-hus*, and *cumen-hus*. From the medieval period on they were known as the alehouse, tavern and inn, respectively (Hackwood 1909: 36; Earnshaw 2000: 5).

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the term alehouse began being replaced more and more often with the term 'public house' (Clark 1983: 5) and thus the pub was born.

Gossip and other forms of information dissemination played a pivotal role in the production of knowledge amongst the general public across this period. These venues were social daises through which national and local politics, municipal issues and business were conveyed on a regular basis. Pearse states that gossip was "the flesh of Stuart London, but the skeleton was the city itself" (1969: 2). This analogy cleverly conveys the relationship between the social processes and structures in place during this period, and begins to allude to the critical role these establishments of social consumption played. These platforms for social engagement and communication had a great impact on popular opinion and cultural knowledge.

The history of the alehouse, tavern and coaching inn was one of convenience for those travelling abroad. Initially, many inns and drinking establishments linked major cities and were opened as way stations to accommodate travellers, religious pilgrims and herds (Capp 2007; Bartoy et al. 2006; Clark 1983). In the early development of Britain before cities and towns were established and expanded, these inns served a vital role in trade networks at the local, regional, national and even international level. Neighbours would barter goods and services which served to increase and strengthen social and economic ties as well as form alliances and community bonds. Although Coate argues that following the Reformation the amount of religious traffic ebbed as people no longer made "pilgrims" (Coate 1924), London remained a magnet, drawing people in from all over the country and abroad (Wrigley 1967: 49–50). Traffic into the towns was particularly dense on market and fair days when people from within as much as a ten mile radius would come to the town to sell their goods and purchase what they needed. For those hoping to settle in the town, the alehouse could be the all-important first step in this process, acting "as a door of entry for the would-be urban settler" (Clark and Slack 1972: 139).

As London began to expand throughout the mid-sixteenth century, these types of establishments had become increasingly common for both the weary merchant traveller; the military personnel stationed nearby, or even the single bachelor with little need for kitchens or house servants. It has also been suggested that one of the main reasons for the emergence of the alehouse as a prominent institution in the Tudor period, was the impact of the Protestant Reformation (Clark 1983). Many of the social and leisure needs for which the tavern came to be associated were the domain of the church throughout the majority of the Tudor period. Protestants abhorred the ceremonies and customs associated with the Catholic Church, after the Protestant regime was firmly established under Queen Elizabeth. Church-ales were suppressed, as were many of the Church festivals and the religious plays. No longer was the church a centre of amusement and frivolity, but one of seriousness and sermons. Clarke argues that the demise of the church as a communal institution, and the rise of it as an elitist tool to control the behaviour of the masses, meant that the people of the towns now began to gather elsewhere, namely in the alehouse (Clark 1983).

By the late Elizabethan period the alehouse was an integral part of town life. Taverns and victualing houses were urban phenomena which served wine or alcohol as an accompaniment to the food they provided. Taverns were higher on the social ladder than other establishments, such as the alehouse. Alehouses were the most common establishments for drinking and were found in both rural and urban spaces throughout the country. They ranged in size from large structures to small rooms or even cellars. The production of ale was relatively simple at this time – just barley crushed and mixed with water and allowed to ferment. The resulting drink had a very short life, at times as short as three days, and its quality varied greatly. However, during a period when the quality of water was difficult to guarantee, 'sterilised' water such as ale provided some alternative. Its ease of production and low requirement for equipment meant that ale could be brewed anywhere. As a consequence it was often carried out by people at the lower end of the economic scale as an alternative or secondary source of income; for some people, widows, for example, it could be their only income (Clark 2000).

In the rural setting these places served the vital social function of a meeting house where one could go to get the latest political or social news, or where travellers could find repose along their journey. In the urban setting, it served to solidify a community or neighbourhood and could be incredibly insular. Yet throughout their long history in British culture, these spaces served the local community as places to get food and drink, meeting places for political and social groups and a variety of other social activities.

However, in the middle ages, the selling of ale was a ubiquitous and somewhat casual business. Laws pertaining to it were difficult to enforce due to the fact that many ale-sellers were women, widowed or single, attempting to earn an income to either support or supplement their household income (Capp 2007). Over the course of the fourteenth, and particularly the fifteenth century, the selling of ale became more sophisticated and located. Some women may still have taken ale to the market, but increasingly the selling and consuming of ale became located around the brewing place. Increasingly, ale-sellers (who had become predominantly male) provided a "drinking room" where the customers could stay and drink their ale (Amussen 1988).

Due to the ease of production, supply of beer and ale was very difficult to regulate, thus increasing the appeal to those who needed a quick and semi-respectable source of income (McKenzie and Wardle 2006). Yet as is pointed out, very few of these would actually be anywhere close to recognizable as a pub today. These 'beerhouses', as they became known, were plentiful throughout the eighteenth century – so plentiful in fact that little was able to be done about it by the local authorities. Developments in English licencing were overwhelmingly associated with the raucous uprisings originating from these front room beer outlets, and from the early day of the eighteenth century with the popularization of gin (Nicholls 2012: 1398). However, in many ways this is an over simplification of the government's long-standing fickle attitude and official position on these types of drinking establishments.

Light and Heenan (1999) nicely summarize a chronology for British legislation as it pertains to alcohol licencing (see Table 1.1 below). This continual ebb and flow of strict vs. lax regulations on licensed victuallers meant that there were frequently periods where even those who had managed to obtain a licence legally would be left with no licence when times were in a downward spiral. The penalty for law breakers was left up to the local authorities' judgment. Evidence of this can be seen still in effect well into the nineteenth century by legislation passed in 1830 allowing anyone who paid two guineas to obtain an excise license with no further formality, most were little more than the front room parlour or cellar of a person's home.

Table 1.1 – Progression of Liscensing Acts in Britain between 1552–1844.
Data taken from Light and Heenan (1999: 12–14)

Year/Period	Act
1552	Act introducing a statutory system for the licensing of an alehouse, which is largely still the basis of the present system. Those licensed were required to enter into a bond for the maintenance of good order (5and6 Edward VI c.25, 1552).
1690	Distilling was thrown open (the retailing of spirits was free of all licensing requirements and attracted a very low rate of excise duty); and justices became less restrictive in issuing alehouse licences. The number of licensed premises multiplied rapidly […] and regulation of the behaviour of licensees appeared to be virtually non-existent.
1729	Act introducing restrictions, but it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that an increase was called for in supervision and control of licensed premises as well as increased excise duty. However, consumption remained high, not surprisingly, as most of the measures were ignored and went unenforced.
Late 18th century	Both public attitudes to alcohol and the practice of the licensing justices began to harden. Much of this change has been attributed to a campaign against vice and immorality, led by John Wesley and William Wilberforce.
1817	Parliamentary Committee on the State of the Police in the Metropolis strongly recommended a free trade in liquor with no licensing controls. Public opinion backed the report.
1844	The Rochdale Society established the 'Rochdale Principles' on which they ran their cooperative, that the basis for development and growth of the modern cooperative movement was established.

Among the other public eating and drinking establishments that grew in popularity during the seventeenth century were the coffee houses. Originally providing only coffee, these expanded their range to include tea, chocolate and other beverages (Forsyth 1999: 45). These substances were relatively exotic still at the close of the seventeenth century. However, they began to play an increasingly important role in society, and by the middle of the eighteenth century, these items could be easily procured at nearly all establishments. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century there was a steep increase in the popularity of exclusive social clubs and societies in London. As coffee and tea became more popular in elite society, so too became the associated venues. These initially were filled with groups of men of some notoriety who wanted to meet with other men from a similar socio-economic background to discuss matters of concern and issues deemed of import.

One of the most famous of these was The Chapter Coffee House, which stood on the corner of Paul's Alley and Paternoster Row during the eighteenth century and successfully combined both of the predominant activities in the area: publishing and socializing. It was known as the main location for the buying of copyrights and several leading booksellers' associations met there throughout the century (Raven 2004: 433). These places became the main meeting place for social groups of all sorts, including doctors and other professional men who would gather to discuss the news of the day (Ellis 1956: 107). Some are even became known locally for their punch with claims that it was the only cure for 'all the ills that flesh is heir to' (Callow 1899: 157). These social gatherings over time developed into clubs, traditionally thought to have their point of origin in coffee houses (Berry 2001). However, it was not long before these venues were overrun with the same slanderous critiques from society, and often the term 'coffee house' was used as a euphemism for what were in fact gin dens.

Early in the eighteenth century gin joints and opium dens had started to make a dramatic impression on the perception of these exotic substances with the havoc they were capable of perpetrating socially (Able 2001; Warner 2003). Yet it was not long before people began to recognize that the lack of regulation and relative ease of access made gin the number one offender and disturber of the peace. Thus, as early as the last decade of the seventeenth century establishments operating solely as gentlemen's clubs began to flourish. Over the course of the eighteenth century widespread popularity of these types of venues resulted in between 200–400 premises in operation by the mid-nineteenth century in London alone (Milne-Smith 2006; Lejeune 1993).

1.3.3. The Sites

Archaeological material for the project was obtained from the sites of King Street (KIG95), Newgate Street (NGT00) and Basinghall Street (BAZ05). The location of these sites within London is shown in Figure 1.1. This material was selected because all the sites fitted neatly within both the time period chosen for study and within the walled City of London. There were two other sites of this period which had also been considered due to material evidence for a drinking establishment in the late-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century, Golden Lane and Fenchurch Street. The material from Golden Lane was located just outside the city wall, and was therefore not included in the present study. The material from Fenchurch Street was considered but, due to the fact that the assemblage was very closely represented in both period and use by an establishment already under investigation (BAZ05) and the fact that none of the other environments were so replicated, this material was determined to be redundant in terms of the scope of the present study and therefore not utilized. Another factor taken into consideration was the condition of the relevant period's material. At both sites there had been associated burials discovered dating to the nineteenth century which took precedence in terms of recovery. These burials required a great deal of time and care, thus the excavation details and records from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not given the same attention. This, taken with the overall quality of the material recovered at both sites, eliminated both Golden Lane and Fenchurch Street from the final study. The material available from King Street, Newgate Street and Basinghall Street gave a large enough sample size for the present study. Permission from Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) was obtained to undertake analytical and photographic work on the material from all sites.

1.3.3.1. King Street

The site at 15–17 King Street in the City of London, was excavated by Museum of London Archaeology Service (MOLAS, now MOLA) between February and October 1999 as part of a proposed redevelopment of the area. Most of what is known of this area comes from research on the London Guildhall by Bowsher et al. (2007).

Though there is no actual historic record of any establishments in operation in this neighbourhood, other sources have been able to lend insight to the area's use at the time. Up until the early eighteenth century it was still common for wealthy merchants to reside within the city near their places of business. In John Strype's 1720 survey of London he described the area where King Street was, as follows:

> 'Tis a Place well built, and inhabited by Wholesale Dealers. On the East side is Church Alley, which hath a good open free stone passage on the South side of St. Olaves Church yard, into the Old Jury. And on the West side of this Lane, is a passage into New King Street. In this Lane was the Parish Church of St. Martins Ironmonger Lane, and being burnt down in the Fire of London, is not rebuilt; but the Parish united to St. Olave Jury...More West, is New King Street, built since the Fire of London; a very spacious Street, garnished with very good Buildings; which are well inhabited by Norwich Factors, and other Wholesale Dealers, of Wealth and Reputation. It comes out of Cheapside, and falleth into Catteaten Street, right against Guild hall. On the West side of this Street, is an open Passage, or rather a short Street; which goeth into St. Lawrence lane; but hath, as yet, no Name given it.

The Great Fire of 1666 had a devastating effect on the area, yet with it came the chance for renewal. Within months of the destruction, Leake's survey ('Hollar's 'Exact Surveigh' of the City of London, 1667', Leake's survey of the city after the Great Fire of 1666: Engraved by W. Hollar, 1667) showed that New King Street had already been laid out (Figure 1.2), dissecting the properties between Lawrence and Ironmonger Lanes. This was one of many proposed enhancements to the rebuilding of London, but these plans to rebuild the city on a new layout meant compensation for those whose properties would be lost or altered. This eagerness to reorient the city with more modern and convenient street planning proved somewhat unfeasible under the circumstances and King Street would be the only major improvement to succeed in altering the medieval street plan as a direct result of the Fire (Earle 1994; Porter 1996). By 1672, nearly all the rebuilding of houses and the City Guilds' halls were finished. City planner Robert Hooke was known to frequent a number of coffee houses which had been constructed near Gresham College, a popular venue for scientific meetings or gossip (Jardine 2003: 175).

This site was chosen due to the diversity of material and the variety represented in terms of use. This site falls in the middle of the period under investigation, and while there is not a direct point of comparison to assess for change over time, the high quality nature of this material is comparable to other high status material recovered from other sites. This will allow

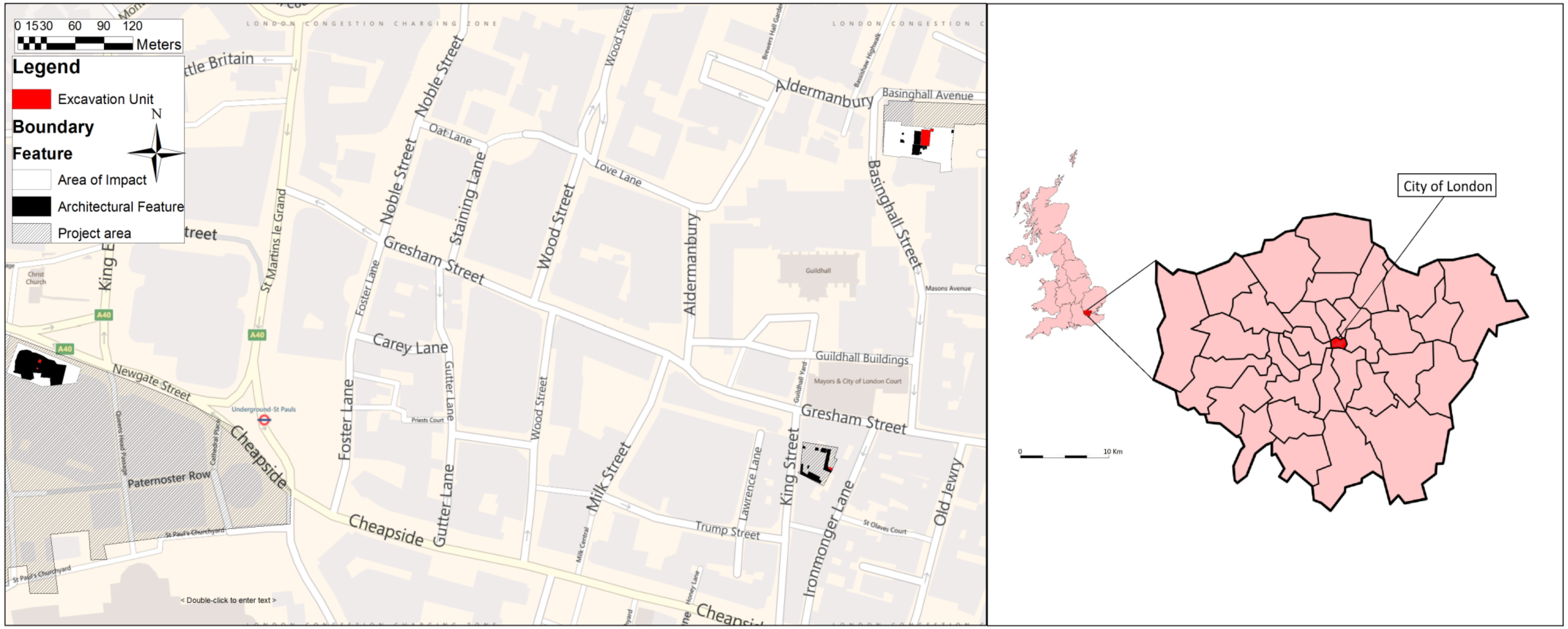

Figure 1.1 – OS Map of the City of London with all site locations.
This map shows the three site locations in the detail to the left, and the wider area of the City of London within Greater London and Britain to the right. Map by Stephanie Duensing, 2013.

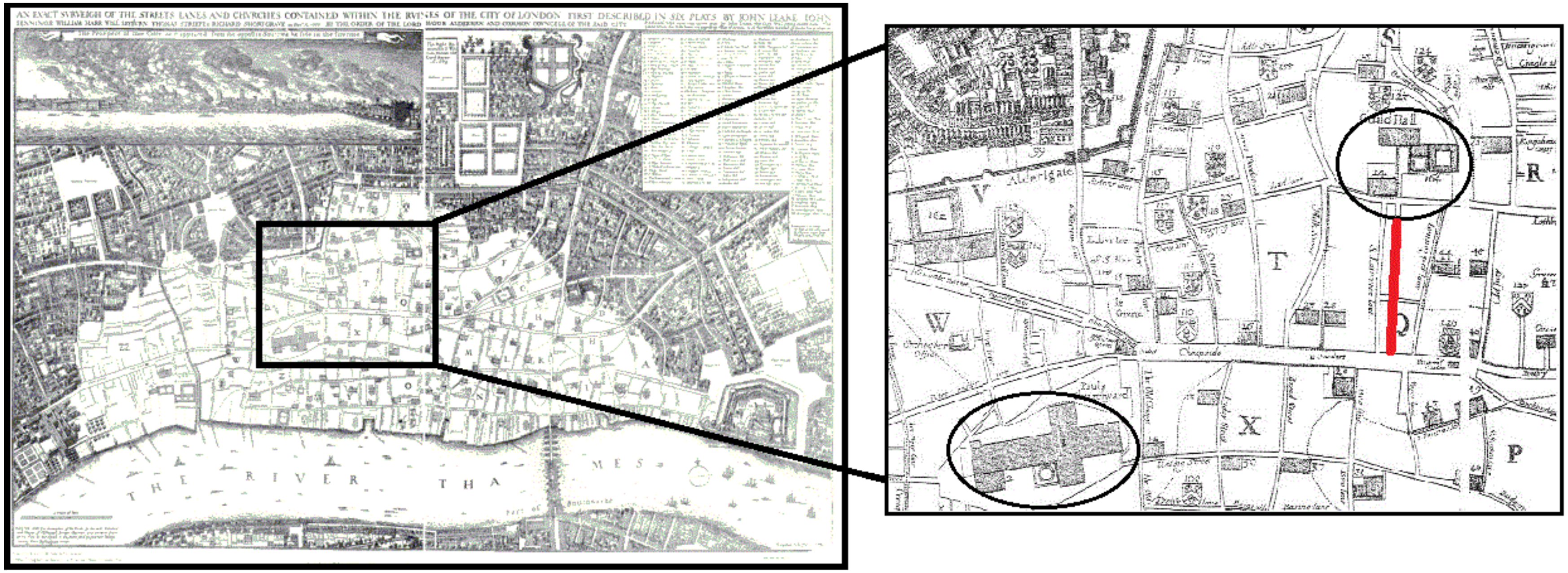

Figure 1.2 – Leake's Post-Fire Survey of London, 1667.

The full image shows the extent of the damage from the Great Fire of London, 1666. The detail of this image shows the sites of St. Paul's Cathedral (left circled area) and the Guildhall (right circled area) and the newly planned King Street (in red).

some insight into the changes occurring in patterns of consumption across the City in the higher status environment.

1.3.3.2. Newgate Street

The site at Newgate Triangle, Paternoster Square in the City of London was excavated by Museum of London Archaeology Service (MOLAS, now MOLA) between September 2000 and April 2001 as part of a proposed redevelopment of the area. Most of what is known of this area comes from research published by Watson et al. (2010).

This site is comprised of a large project area containing three separate sites of consumption, each operating independently from one another, at various times within the wider time frame of this research. The first building (building 3) was potentially a domestic residence, based on the relatively low amount of service vessels and median level of quality and equal variation in preparation vs. service vessels. Among this relatively common material there were a couple of rare examples of much earlier, high quality material which might indicate the active preservation of special or heirloom items. This building's material dates to the earliest period of use for relevant deposits in this project area, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century

The second building (building 15/24) appears to have been geared more towards food service for the local area and may have in fact been associated with a lodging house nearby. These early versions of pubs or restaurants were called ordinaries. While they were known to serve drink, food preparation and service was their main function. The evidence suggested straight away that, unlike the King Street tavern, this establishment served the lower class community within the area. The ceramics used were of the crudest variety available, nearly all of which were locally sourced. Forms such as butter pots, bowls, tripod pipkins, a skillet, and chamber pots were mostly from local potteries, and are relatively common in seventeenth century assemblages from London. Most material is from roughly the first quarter of the eighteenth century indicating a period of use from the last decade of the seventeenth century until final deposition.

The third building (building 26) in this site area appears to have been of middle class income. Unlike the materials from the ordinary, this establishment appeared to have catered to wealthier clientele. There was a large assemblage of glass tablewares found from this establishment dating up until the latter half of the eighteenth century. This abundance of high quality glassware indicated that the establishment was most likely a tavern or gentlemen's club where wine or other more fashionable drinks were consumed, rather than ale or beer.

Paternoster Row has long had a reputation for being a working class district with many merchants and market vendors catering to various needs over time. The area was known during the late medieval period for the production of rosary beads, pilgrim badges and other religious paraphernalia, as well as high end cloth trade (Watson et al. 2010: 174). After the Great Fire in 1666, the area became known as the centre of the book and publishing trade, with authors, printers and booksellers gathering to pursue their business in the taverns and coffee houses that lined the street. Despite lying in the shadow of St Paul's Cathedral, many of these bookshops were renowned by the end of the seventeenth century for selling pornographic books and pamphlets. Several publishers would give vague addresses to avoid being shut down: the penalty of booksellers caught selling such materials (Raven 2004: 433).

The population grew rapidly in this area in the late seventeenth century; many immigrants settled in the Paternoster Row area and the adjoining parishes south of the river. Large numbers of lodging houses in this neighbourhood could be found – many very cheap at only one or two pennies a night – but there could be as many as twenty people crammed into a room. Much of this type of accommodation was established in derelict or rundown buildings, and it was not unknown for them to collapse (Brickley 1997: 103).

These sites fall neatly across the expanse of the whole period under investigation thus allowing some insight into the changes occurring in patterns of consumption within a limited area within the wider City.

1.3.3.3. Basinghall Street

The site at 35 Basinghall Street in the City of London was excavated by Museum of London Archaeology Service (MOLAS, now MOLA) between 2002 and 2006 as part of a proposed redevelopment of the area. Again, most of what is known of this area comes from research on the London Guildhall by Bowsher et al. (2007).

The Inn serviced the local area and may have in fact been associated with a lodging house nearby. The evidence suggested straight away that, unlike the King Street tavern and Newgate Street ordinary, this establishment exclusively served neither the extremely rich nor the very poor members of society, rather catering to a middling sort of customer. Other sites excavated which appeared to cater to a middle class client, such as the Old Cheshire Cheese (Henig and Munby 1976), show similar quality and styles of material. This indicates that environments of middle status share similar traits regarding materials used. The ceramics used were a mix from the crudest variety available (which were locally obtained), to the stoneware imports from continental Europe.

This site was chosen due to the high content in drinking material and the continuity of use over time. This site is the only establishment which was in use across the whole period under investigation. As such, this will allow for insight into the changes occurring in patterns of consumption within a single type of establishment over the whole period.

Though all of these sites were all utilized in various ways, these reports have shown how the materials allow for an opportunity to gain more insight regarding the variations in material patterns between classes. This thesis will re-examine the material, based on patterns of use in these establishments, and compare them to each other. The object here will be to test for patterns of changing consumption practices across class and status over time.

1.4. Organisation of Thesis

Chapter 2, Literature Review, will explore how the establishments that are the focus of this research have been explored within historical and archaeological debates. Review of the current work that has been done on these places will give an idea of what they are known to have been like and how they were used. It will present the work which has produced the images of these places which we hold in our minds today.

There is a focus on the development and progression of the significant changes that were taking place in these establishments through this period. How the act of drinking beer and wine as a social pastime was well established but the social consumption of food and non-alcoholic beverages or other substances was just beginning. This is when consumption really starts to become a means for the display of status, either through exclusive access to clubs or high end establishments, or through the performance of elaborate ritual and displays of fashion (Wall 1991; Harvey 2008).

Chapter 3, Theoretical and Methodological Approaches, will explore the changes that have shaped the academic study of objects and the role of consumption in socio-economic progress and development. As identified by Miller (1995: 1–52), there is a distinct shift in academic focus within the social sciences and their approach towards consumption, which occurs throughout the 1980s. This chapter will explore the key elements of this shift, the theories which arose from it that are of significance to this work and how they have been instrumental in establishing consumption as a central theme in historical archaeology. I will then discuss the most relevant methods which have been developed to approach this kind of material with these objectives in mind. I will discuss the limitations and problems which have arisen within this narrow field of focus, and attempt to offer alternative solutions for the current application of this research. In the last section I will outline the methodology of this research project

Chapter 4, Data Analysis, will be presenting the data from each of the three sites under investigation in London. This chapter's main goal is to give a valuable picture of the materials which were recovered and what their variations can ultimately tell us about the establishments, the patterns of use of the materials and the populations who were using them.

Each of the three sites will be treated in a similar fashion; differences in excavations and available information will be discussed in the introduction to each site, as will a brief summary of the excavation details and site history. Next the material analysis will be presented. Firstly, I will show the distribution of various material groups and the variations in functional and social characteristics. The discussion section will focus on the social relevance of all the materials which were recovered at the site, providing a synthesis which will be used to create a picture of both the type of establishment and the social activities represented in the material record. The summary section will highlight key findings and results in the analysis for each site. Finally, a summary of this chapter will attempt to give a comparative review of the three sites and the various findings of each. This will help to clearly distinguish the variations found at each site in preparation for the discussion of these findings in the following chapter.

Chapter 5, Discussion, will draw together key insight gleaned from the individual assemblages in order to shed light on the following three themes:

- **Economics** – there is a very significant shift which has been touched on in discussions but never clearly identified in these academic dialogues. This is the rapid transformation of the consumption of goods from a primarily needs-based commerce in pre-modern societies to a complex system of social communication via consumerism which has quickly come to partially define a move into modernity.
- **Power Structures** – there is evidence for the evolution of civic infrastructures when moving from more agrarian or simple settlements to more complex or cosmopolitan communities, and there are material signatures far more meaningful than have otherwise been identified previously. These establishments and civic structures were entwined with politics and social structures which determined who received access and who was excluded.
- **Society** – there is an important shift in the way materials have been symbolically used and interpreted which is closely linked with the burgeoning consumer culture in the eighteenth century.

Chapter 6, Conclusions, will touch on the limitations of this project and future directions for further work. It will summarize all the aims and objectives, give a brief summary of the ways in which those aims and objectives were met, and will end with the reiteration of the main conclusions which have been discussed in this thesis.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This project explores urban sites of consumption in the long eighteenth century in search of insight into how social identities were being formed. This chapter aims to introduce these establishments as well as the politics, economies, communities and social networks that were actively reciprocating shifts and changes in each other. These establishments of social consumption have been chosen for their modest and unassuming presence over the centuries within a diverse range of communities, and for their adaptable nature which allows them to respond to the changing nature of the environment within which they are set. These qualities afford an invaluable contribution with regard to the material patterns which can be recovered. The patterns of consumption demonstrated within them can give valuable and otherwise inaccessible information on the role leisure and consumption played in the development of social constructs regarding issues such as economics, class and gender roles, thus making them ideal spaces to explore. As such, this chapter is presented in two parts. The first part is focused on reviewing the literature surrounding the history of the establishments and how they have been approached by historians over time. In the second part I address the ways in which historical archaeology has approached consumption and the literature surrounding the progression of the issue within that field. Through the consultation of a wider range of research this has allowed for a more holistic understanding of the impact that establishments of forms of leisurely consumption had upon social roles in the societies in which they are situated. By reviewing the progression of this topic over the course of the last century, it is my goal to demonstrate the relevant social interests which have contributed to the development of these research questions. This literature will help establish the grounds for the subsequent presentation of original data from the study of three London establishments in the late seventeenth through the eighteenth century in Chapter 4.

2.2. Establishments of Consumption: Historical Perspectives

Since the late-twentieth century, taverns and alehouses have become a popular venue for the historical investigation of notions of Englishness. Historians have asserted that the English alehouse was a key context for the formation of English identities and that the maintenance of the heritage depended largely on the alehouse (Capp 2007; Earl 1994; Clark 1983). These sites have historically been multi-dimensional spheres of activity, involving diverse actors with distinct knowledge, methods and skills. Within many disciplines, the value of these places previously believed to be of little note has begun to increase and they are beginning to be viewed as places ripe with diverse and rich cultural imprints from various walks of life. Historians writing about these venues from an early date tended to approach them mainly from an empirical perspective. Through the early work of historians such as Aytoun Ellis (1956) and Peter Mathias (1959), who mainly focused on the industrial or economic impact of these venues, an arena for these questions to eventually be posed was established regarding how social consumption practice impacts on governing social constructs (see below for discussion). Later the emergence of broader studies of consumption practices began to incorporate many aspects in social life and discussion related to leisure spaces tended to mention taverns or pubs, at least briefly.

The field of research surrounding sites of consumptions is broad and well established throughout British history. To that end, this section considers both traditional historical approaches and interdisciplinary approaches of historians and material culturists, and presents the major debates that frame our current understanding of these sites of public consumption. Within this long standing interest in pubs, alehouses and inns, there appears a certain progression of interest. This section starts with the early development of research surrounding the subject of drinking establishments and the ways that social consumption has previously been approached. Next, this section will move toward more recent work which has focused on the role of material culture and discusses what these approaches have contributed to our understanding of these spaces.

The general chronology of interest in the subject in brief moves from what can best be described as a smear campaign in the earliest days in the eighteenth century, in an attempt to discourage the social engagement with these environments and the pastimes undertaken within them (i.e. alcohol consumption and gambling). Then in the mid- to late nineteenth century, an apparent attempt to catalogue all the "Old" pubs, taverns and inns began in key cities throughout Britain. This research goal continued well into the twentieth century, when suddenly in the 1950s it began to be replaced with a stronger focus on social history and the significance of these places which were now seen as central to the making of English identities, both rural and urban. These were typically broad ranging in their approach to the establishments and frequently gave much emphasis on the economic implications of the establishments for their communities. The most recent and relevant shift occurred within the field of study over approximately the last thirty years or so. The research surrounding drinking culture, consumption practices and social entanglements bound up with various substances or environments has increased rapidly over the last few decades. The number of academic publications increased from a handful of papers and books on a non-medical or psychological basis from before the 1990s (nearly all of which were published in the 1970s and 1980s), to dozens of publications regarding the social influences of specific substances or types of establishments in the twenty-two years between 1990 and 2012. With the exception of a spike in the 1920s there is a general lack of interest in the topic until the 1970s. In the following section, I will attempt to review the way these early studies approached the topic, their major contributions to the progression of the subject and how they provided the foundation for the current state of research.

2.2.1. Early Approaches

Early writing regarding alehouses, pubs and inns can be found dating back to the middle ages. These tend to be inventories for tax and other legislative purposes and provide little detail in relation to those who were using the establishments, their status or any other social data (British Library, Harley MSS 541-26.225.b. as referenced in McKenzie and Wardle 2006; Hart 1879). All social information on these establishments must be pieced together from legal documentation, such as from the Old Bailey court proceedings, and popular literature from the time which both make frequent mention of these types of venues. In the eighteenth century, strong politicization of the topic of gin and other strong spirits resulted in the emergence of literature with a clear agenda and bias against the negative impacts of alcohol on the character and physical health of an individual. These were frequently filled with strong overtones of class politics espousing the policies of polite and genteel culture which were popular at the time. In the nineteenth century, amateur historians began cataloguing the 'historic' establishments – a practice lasting well into the twentieth century. This flurry of historical recording was largely in an effort to preserve the details of the historical landscape of London and other cities of importance to a certain class of people. Many authors wrote about the old English alehouses still extant or those which used to exist but were no more (examples can be found by consulting Harben 1918, Bonner 1914, Carr 1913, Shelley 1909, and Callow 1899). A bout of publications in the 1920s and 30s engaged with the role of the pub and drinking in classic English literature (see Legouis 1926; Tolman 1919 and 1925; Matz 1921 and 1922) – perhaps indicative of a correlation between the peace-time initiative to rebuild a secure sense of community and the increased interest in drinking establishments from classical English Literature. Whatever the reason, general interest in these establishments waned for most of the early part of the twentieth century.

But in the 1950s, there was a new shift in the focus of historical accounts regarding these drinking spaces and we see some of the earliest examples of historical books taking some small interest in the social impact that these substances had on their communities at both the local and national level. In Ellis' (1956) *The Penny Universities,* he gives an account of the history and development of the coffee house in Britain. Much of the book dwells on various archival records praising the virtues of the coffee bean and its benefits for the mind and body. There is a distinct emphasis on the negative health effects of alcohol on society and how coffee became a healthy alternative to the social evils of alcohol. In the latter half of the book, there is more of a focus on the history of coffee-shops themselves, but like so many historical accounts before it focuses on the raw data (names and locations of specific coffee-shops). There is little wider social relevance of the space conveyed, and while occasionally insightful, the insight is quickly supplanted by further ruminations about the coffee itself.

However, this renewal of interest in these establishments did lead to a realization of their significant role in the economic history and progression at both the local and national level began to interest economist and historians alike. For example, Mathias (1959) spends much of his writing calculating the economic impact the brewing industry had on the country between 1700 and 1830. At the time, peers termed it an 'industrial history' and it was valued as an approach overlooked by 'economic' or 'business' historians (Supple 1959). Mathias took an economic approach emphasising how important the brewing industry was to English society as early as the 1680s and made a compelling argument throughout that it was one of Britain earliest industries (Mathias 1959: xxiii). As such it remains an important work for the history of the brewing industry, primarily in London. Critical information about the significant role London's brewing played in the industrialisation of the product was important to the early development of the discipline of economic history. Due to its size, London was the only practical market for the first stages of mass production, as it required a mass market. Early on it was estimated that approximately one-third of the beer publicly sold in England and Wales was manufactured in London breweries. This kind of production was only made possible due to a shift away from traditional ale – "a heavy, sweet malt liquor without the bitterness given by [hops]" (Mathias 1959: 3) – and moved towards the production of beer – boiled with hops prior to fermentation, giving it a distinct bitter flavour and aiding in preservation. It is important to note that, historically, 'ale' referred to this heavy, sweet malt liquor without hops. This drink would only keep a few days and thus was not suitable for mass production. 'Beer', on the other hand, was boiled with hops prior to fermentation, adding bitterness and aiding in preservation (Mathias 1959: 3). Today beer and ale are distinguished by the types of yeast used during fermentation and have nothing to do with hops. The distinction between the two was first noted by brewers in Hythe in 1419. What they called 'birre' would be considered ale by today's standards and what was commonly drunk as ale, or 'cervisia', would be unrecognizable and largely unpalatable today.

Similarly, E. A. Wrigley (1967) writes in detail about London's influence on the changes in British culture throughout this period. Though his focus on consumption itself is limited, he does identify a number of key points while discussing the shift from agrarianism to industrialism, social status and other social structures. Among the more relevant observations identified was the important role shops played in creating and maintaining identities in the urban landscape. The notion of aspirational emulation through consumption of goods is alluded to, though somewhat poorly supported:

> The 'aping' of one's betters which often attracted unfavourable comment at the time, and which has sometimes been seen as a powerful influence in establishing new patterns of consumption, is a common product of social situations like that in which the inhabitants of London found themselves at this period. Coleman has recently suggested that in the seventeenth century there was probably a backward-sloping supply curve for labour. It would be fascinating to know how far the new patterns of consumption behaviour established in London may have helped to reduce any preference for leisure rather than high earnings. There is much literary evidence of the shiftless and disorderly behaviour of many members of London's population at this time, but there were important countervailing influences at work upon the bulk of the population (1967: 51).

Time and time again however, Wrigley falls back on population statistics and the gross application of assumptions instead of investigating the social motivation for such changes. This trend seemed popular for the period in which the work was being carried out. For both Mathias and Wrigley, there are lengthy discussions on the agricultural and industrial significance of industry on the society but little time is given to the social aspects of the industries themselves.

This body of work represents some of the earlier studies' approaches to the topic, their major contributions to the progression of the subject. They have provided the foundation for the current state of research by highlighting the impact of economic significance of the establishments to their community and suggest the possibility of future research on issues to do with the social performance of identity within and around these establishments. This foundational work paved the way for another shift in focus within the topic and represents a systemic reaction which was taking place across many disciplines and within many subjects at this time. A new interest in consumption was emerging which would turn the way society looked at 'things' totally on its head. This new focus within consumption studies will be further reviewed in the next section.

2.2.2. Recent Approaches

In many of the contributions from this period research tended to be broadly situated and any discussion regarding consumption or the establishments associated with it would comprise only small parts of the wider theme. However, they illuminated the social shifts taking place throughout this period and provided a vital foundation for investigations into the reasons for these shifts. In many of these works leisure began playing an increasingly significant role in the research as time progressed, though it is not until the late 1980s that any major contribution is made on the social consequence of these venues.

In 1983, Peter Clark wrote *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830*. This work is the cornerstone for many interested in the role, development and significance of the public house in Britain since the middle ages until the dawn of the Victorian period. Clark is one of the most prolific contributors to the history of drinking establishments in the early modern period in England. He has produced a number of articles on the topic and his aforementioned book has become something of a guide to those embarking upon the topic. Clark discusses the influence early varieties of drinking establishments (e.g., the inn, alehouse, tavern and cabaret) had on the nineteenth century public house embodiment. His line of questioning makes some broad generalizations about the role and significance of drinking establishments in 'Third World' countries and the early significance of these venues in Western culture, with the Victorian pub as the final incarnation. While he himself cautions against making sweeping intercultural generalizations or analogies, his primary objective was to investigate how the early origins might have influenced this ultimate version, and whether there can be any similarities seen in the 'Third World' examples. This begs some important questions which speak to our inability to view ourselves objectively within a system. What about pubs and taverns in the 'First World' today? Are they not still significant social venues in modern western societies? Were they, or possibly are they still, like any other social networking system that we utilize today: in constant flux and at the same time both a product of the wider social demand as well as the instigator of said demand?

Ultimately, Clark provides us with the functional social uses of the alehouse and leaves these more complex questions regarding their formative social role to be explored at a later time. Clark explores the evolution of social function from the meagre beginnings of the inn as a way station to accommodate travellers, religious pilgrims and herders travelling from city to city, to the emergence of the alehouse as a prominent institution in the Tudor period as a result of the Protestant Reformation. He argues that the demise of the Church as a communal institution, and the rise of it as an elitist tool to control the behaviour of the masses, meant that the people of the towns now began to gather elsewhere, namely in the alehouses. Clark is among the first to demonstrate the hierarchy of status associated with the various establishments, as well as the range and variation in both the size and the frequency of each.

This comprehensive overview of the history of the English alehouse was perhaps too ambitious in its scope. This broad undertaking resulted in a foundational work for anyone with a moderate interest in the social history of alehouses in Britain. Yet for all his detail, as Philip Jenkins pointed out in his 1985 review, Clark makes a serious omission in the area of politics. Clark points out that the City of London was seen to have an epidemic of intense drunkenness which motivated a legislative backlash that would continue for the better part of a century; however he stops there and goes into little detail regarding the political ramifications alcohol would have on eighteenth-century society. He moves through centuries and major periods of London social development briskly with the goal of fitting 500 years of social development within the confines of 350 pages.

Meanwhile, from the American platform, Kym Rice's *Early American Taverns: For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers* (1983) brought into focus America's lost connection to the tavern culture that had permeated society in the early seventeenth century through the middle of the nineteenth century. Rice spends a great deal of time considering the material culture found within these spaces and engages far more with how the social changes are reflected within the space, how it is laid out and subsequently used. However, this narrow focus misses out many critical details regarding the wider social relevance and significance of the establishments. Yet despite this, the overall engagement with how these establishments were transplanted from English culture into the American colonies is one of the earliest examples of a historical account honing in on the establishment of a new complex method employed by this global society for the preservation of wider social relationships. Though not identified as such, Rice inadvertently established that the English exported the tavern in the sixteenth century to help maintain a social connection with their distant cultural patriarch. This is crucial evidence to the important role that these environments had in the fostering of an English cultural identity, even before nationalism in its modern form was conceived.

However, in the last two decades, research regarding links between establishments of consumption and politics has become more focused. One such study questioned why there was an increase in the demand from Western Europe for the imports from colonised lands (Smith 2002). This question shows promising insight by identifying a need to establish why there was this sudden shift in consumption. Yet the argument that it was because the items of consumption were part of established practices of respectability that they took hold of a consumer base seems circular in nature. While this point should not be overlooked, the investigation into why the items became part of the established social practices to begin with, and when and why they became viewed as respectable should not be neglected.

Hélène Cherrier (2009) focuses on the significance of these patterns from the past on the patterns of consumption impacting on economic culture today and delves into the motivation which drove the population to consume certain goods. This study critically examines why we 'want things', largely because it is written for a business journal. Though this study is situated in the present (drawing on data from the previous fifteen years), the notion that these purchasing tendencies can be traced and identified is significant in establishing the ways that we can read material goods and patterns of their consumption (Cherrier 2009: 189).

In a 2007 article, Padhraig Higgins argues that the politics of consumption contributed to a transformation of Irish patriotism. The author shows the extreme impact trade and consumption restrictions had on the Irish social and commercial spheres in the late eighteenth century. As a result, the Irish began a revolt using the very things that were being withheld: goods. They urged their fellow comrades to purchase only Irish made goods, alcohol and textiles in particular. This movement also gave rise to a new market for patriotic or political goods to be sold to those involved with the movement. This research shows the ways in which consumption goods can be used to express notions of identity – nationalism or patriotism – and also be used as a means to subvert, take action, and resist the oppressive social institutions and their policies.

Arguably one of the most relevant studies in recent years comes from a four volume publication titled, *Public Drinking in the Early Modern World: Voices from the Tavern, 1500-1800* (Brennan et al. 2011). Tackling drinking culture in early modern history, it includes comparative studies from France, the Holy Roman Empire and America over the highly formative span of time from 1500–1800. This study's major failing is that it does not include the significant British role and contribution to the social formation of consumption culture over this period. This is no little failing and one must wonder at its glaring absence. Nevertheless, the great strength of this collection is the diversity of experiences that are captured by the documents. Its use of primary sources from many previously untranslated and unpublished records is no small contribution. The major accomplishment in these volumes is in how they link together the wider picture of the development of new forms of sociability emerging from these consumption sites as early as the sixteenth century. This collection allows for a large scale contextualization of the importance and rapid expansion of the practice over the course of three centuries.

The history on the development of the consumer culture in Britain has been a fast growing and multifaceted in terms of the disciplinary scope of impact. Virtually all of the schools within the humanities, social sciences and even business have some engagement starting as early as the 1950s with authors such as Mathais (1959) discussed previously. These various perspectives all have engaged with specific and diverse research questions. The resulting foundational body of work is a tapestry of insight into how the birth of this consumer culture impacted society at every level. Research which has focused more specifically on the consumption patterns within certain establishments and helped shape ideas about social norms will now be presented below.

2.3. The History of the Sociability of Consumption

A detailed history of the study of consumption is beyond the scope of this thesis (see Brewer and Porter 1994; Mui and Mui 1989; and Miller 1987). However, a brief overview of the more recent trends surrounding the rise in the study of the sociability of consumption in historical research is prudent. As discussed briefly earlier in this chapter, in the 1980s historians began engaging with the significance of consumer culture throughout the eighteenth century. The following sections will discuss the more relevant debated which have arisen surrounding specific types of establishments of social consumption and their changing roles in society across the period.

2.3.1. Drinking

So far, the inn, tavern and alehouse have been of primary consideration. Many of these venues have frequently been portrayed together, almost as interchangeable terms. Most literature regarding drinking and conviviality revolves around alehouses, taverns, inns and, from the eighteenth century onwards, public houses. Throughout the review of this literature at least sixty different publications were found dealing with pubs, alehouses or taverns and inns, and not one was published on a single venue without mention of at least one if not all of these other establishments. This raises the concern that perhaps the unique function of each venue is slowly eroding over time. For example, while mentioned with less frequency, by the late seventeenth century inns served a vital role in their communities by providing a place outside the home to acquire food, drink and various other services frequently overlooked. Inns sometimes were used as halfway houses by the local parish church to help support more vulnerable members of the community such as widows, or as hostels by trades men, military, or even travelling clergymen (McKenzie and Wardle 2006: 37). They were used as meeting places for local guilds, and later gentlemen's clubs and social groups, as well as political organization headquarters; so much so that some inns would carry crockery with group logos or emblems emblazoned upon them (Harvey 2008). Most literature will spell out initially the differences in the establishments, yet by the end of the discussion the authors tend to move between the terms so fluidly that they cease to stand up to the original definitions and characteristics.

There is a well-represented body of historically grounded literature which focuses upon aspects of taste, leisure and polite social behaviour within these establishments. Karen Harvey (2012 and 2008) has demonstrated the social relevance of these substances through a close engagement of the changing nature of the material culture found surrounding the consumption of tea and punch. Tea and punch houses and their depictions through portraiture throughout the eighteenth century were the subjects of scrutiny in her 2008 article. Though at times strangely dismissive of cultural material studies, she nevertheless succeeds in drawing attention to the social nuances of consuming tea and punch. Drinking exotic teas, from delicate porcelain services, in perfectly structured and genteel rituals is ever so polite, especially when compared to the slap-dash practice of ladling home-distilled gin mixed with water, sugar and just a bit of juice from an exotic fruit or two into a communal punch bowl to be passed around merrily for all to partake.

This ultimately led to investigations into the rituals which became characteristic of drinking culture in early modern England as a means to explore the forms of male bonding it forged. Alexandra Shepard (2005) explored why those bonds were deemed so threatening to social order on one hand, yet on the other hand remained so appealing to large numbers of young men. The ultimate conclusion was that, "the ties of comradeship binding groups of men served a range of functions, structured by the contradictory demands of a polarising society" (2005: 124). The group dynamic gave agency to the performances which otherwise would have held none of the subversive dialogue; it demanded the group endorsement otherwise this process effected nothing. In this way their personal and social identities were bound up within each other, relying on the fraternal bonds to allow the rejection of social norms of social restraint and deference expected by high society (2005: 124).

Other interpretations of these popular social clubs focused on a far simpler possibility, one of familiarity and social conditioning. Amy Milne-Smith (2006) suggested that perhaps these venues provided men with an environment where they felt comfortable and at home. She suggested that these gentlemen's clubs functioned as a form of domesticity for a demographic who had been raised primarily in the company of only other fellow males coming from a similar socio-economic background (Milne-Smith 2006: 797–798).

2.3.2. Eating

While the role of the public drinking house has been reviewed, food has yet to be identified. The emergence of the public consumption of food in the British context started as early as the medieval times. It was through the first two Stuart kings (r.1603–1649) emulating Spanish, French and Italian fashions and ideas, including cooking (Spencer 2004: 134) that the act of eating out was truly adopted as something of a leisurely pastime. There is a vast scholarship recording the history of food and cooking in Europe; too broad to be fully reviewed in this thesis (for more detail see Spours 2006; Spang 2000; Ehrman et al. 1999; Forsyth 1999). The interest of this research lies within a branch studying the processes and culture surrounding the public consumption of food within a social setting, similar to those previously discussed with drinking establishments.

James Symonds (2002) edited a volume which discusses the significant role of the cutlery industry in the area of Sheffield through the late eighteenth to nineteenth centuries in Britain. Interest for the majority of the volume focuses on the industrial history, impact on the area and the global marketing of the goods. However, the early impact that the rapid social acceptance of public dining would have had on the burgeoning industry, like that of Staffordshire and Lambeth potteries, would have been crucial on establishing this future enterprise. This is a significant contribution as it opens up the far reaching impact that the rising popularity of these establishment had on many levels of industry and economy throughout the country in potentially unexpected ways. His discussion in the introduction to the volume briefly considers the diffusion of style and taste and how it diverged and developed independently in the colonies, reflecting influences from the surrounding cultural distinctions (Symonds 2002: 4). While there is little engagement with this theme throughout the rest of the volume, the insight is directly in line with the aims of this author's research interests.

However, as pointed out by Alan Warde and Lydia Martens, there are very few satisfactory historical accounts of the catering industry or restaurants (2000: 2). Their research is situated within the sociology of consumption and explores the current attitudes, definitions and experiences of eating out. Their attempts to understand the current state of practice is supported by primary research and data collection, but also relies on the historical records and scholarship which has been generated on historic practice. More than a decade on now, that body of work has grown somewhat since they published their research yet remains underrepresented in the field of consumption studies. Many studies immediately following their publication approached the social impact of how food has been used as a means to exert power structures in societies with hierarchical systems in place (see Grant 2002 and

McCormick 2002). However, as was the case with alcohol, tea and coffee, this field of study seems more concerned with consumption itself. The debates merely hint at addressing the more significant questions revolving around the significance of the establishments where the consumption was undertaken and the materials being used.

Recent work undertaken by Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire (2013) has been the first to offer an in depth scholarly study which considers the historic role of establishments of food service in Dublin, Ireland between 1700 and 1900. The paper traces the various locations of public dining in Dublin across that period and reveals that Dublin gentlemen's clubs preceded their London counterparts in owning their own premises, but that the popularity of clubs in both cities resulted in a slower growth of restaurants than in Paris. Competition for clubs appeared in the form of good hotels (Mac Con Iomaire 2013: 227). The dichotomy between "free" hospitality and "commercial" hospitality led to a shortage of Inns in Dublin, and this theme runs through a number of papers in this special issue. This shortage seems to have been overcome with the growing development of hotels in the post-Act of Union environment. The changing social distinctions in 1815 between a public house (low grade), chop house (middling) and a tavern (best grade) is of interest. The gradual emergence of private clubhouses and the social phenomenon of the "restaurant" meant that public houses and taverns reverted to the working classes by the late nineteenth century (Mac Con Iomaire 2013: 241-42).

2.3.3. Private vs. Public

At the turn of the eighteenth century, private drinking establishments began to increase in popularity. Unlike the public or free houses which were open to anyone, these members-only groups provided an array of aspects appealing to each of the various levels of social standing. Georg Simmel was one of the earliest to write on the significance of secrecy and the role of secret societies in early modern social interactions. He suggested that these societies fulfilled a psychological need to assert ones identity by being part of a group which both separates you from the whole while asserting that you belong to something (Simmel 1906: 470). His theory states that "…as a general proposition the secret society emerges everywhere as a correlate of despotism and of police control. It acts as a protection, alike of defence and of offence against the violent pressure of central powers." (Simmel 1906: 472).

On the other hand, Max Ebert and Richard Thurnwald suggest that "…the building up of the social organization, particularly through a general, recognized system of classes and the emergence of chieftainship and kingship, seems on the whole to bring about the decay of secret societies" (Ebert and Thurnwald 1925: 194). Camilla Wedgwood (1930) keenly pointed out the opposition at which this left those pursuing the topic and lent significant insight into the structuring systems within these debates. She argued that, "No social institution continues in existence unless it has a definite function to fulfil" (Wedgwood 1930: 130). She goes on to identify the failure of the aforementioned authors to clearly define the boundaries of their subject and becomes the first to offer one, yet her contribution seems to have gone largely overlooked. Despite Wedgwood's attempt to address the conflicting viewpoints, they were to remain largely unresolved and unchallenged for the next 50 years. It was not until 1981 that a rebuttal was published by Bonnie Erickson, in which she suggested that Simmel's theory overlooked secret societies or networks based within high risk environments. Examples of these groups included underground networks in operation during the occupation of European countries by Nazi Germany, crime syndicates such as the Russian or Italian mafia, or even those involved in recreational illegal drug use in (what was then) modern day England (Erickson 1981: 191–194).

These discussions represent the extent of engagement on the topic of secret societies in the twentieth century up until that point. However, with the following decade came renewed interest in the long overlooked and uncertain study of the origin of these practices. Throughout the 1990s a new interest led to the exploration of issues of politeness in social behaviour across the eighteenth century. These interests led to greater scrutiny regarding the purpose and nature of these private clubs and societies. Despite the long held images and cultural depictions of the propriety and civility of polite culture, the records from this period strongly suggest that they may not have been all that they appeared to be at first glance. These private, "members only" societies and fraternities were frequently shown to be engaging in bawdy rituals and rude or vulgar behaviours and activities within the confines and privacy of their organizations. These examples of a blatant disregard for polite social mannerisms were further addressed by Helen Berry (2001) who argued against a social movement toward polite culture. The examples she used were in the form of 'flash talk' and how this form of street talk frequently associated with criminal activity and vagrancy was popularized in the publication of a glossary of terms for those presumably living outside the hard-knock lifestyle (2001: 78).

2.4. Consumption and Historical Archaeology: A Brief History

The history of the relationship between material culture and consumption studies, which has been extensively considered by Daniel Miller (1995), is one of an unsurprising nature. The merging of consumption studies and archaeology might not seem like a far leap from these two fields of study, yet surprisingly little has been developed on this topic until recently. Part of this is due to the concept that consumption as it is viewed today is a by-product of a capitalist economic culture which is, archaeologically speaking, from the very recent past. However, by the mid-1990s, historical archaeology and consumption had moved toward each other considerably, with the two disciplines beginning to view themselves as deeply entangled. The acquisition of things and the subsequent study of the meaning of things and the societies which produced them has been a driving force in modern research interests of historical archaeology and material culture studies alike for over two decades (Beaudry et al. 1991; Prown 1988: 19).

Through the use of a combination of social theories and economic frameworks, new practices were embraced by the discipline of historical archaeology. The first serious applications of these theories of consumption practice began in the late 1990s on sites from historically densely urban areas. The end of the twentieth century, therefore, saw the emergence of the newly-styled historical archaeologists, who sought to incorporate a multidisciplinary approach with the aim of strengthening its academic and social impact.

These early years of the marriage of consumption studies and historical archaeology proved prosperous for the field, but various regional institutions each used a slightly different method of approach. This lack of a unified methodology ultimately lead to a schism within the discipline early on which resulted in multiple base-lines of best-practice to emerge in different locations. However, there have been a number of individuals who have attempted to reunify archaeological methods in their research, some more successfully than others.

Despite the long held recognition of the social significance of these establishments amongst historians, there has been a dearth of archaeological studies which explore the potential ways in which the material culture of these sites were involved in the formulation and regulation of social behaviour. However, recently in historical archaeology, there has been an increasing interest in the drinking establishment and alcohol's role in society. The purpose is in understanding more about social consumption's function in different cultures and environments. The ever growing (if vastly underrepresented) body of historic archaeological investigations of various consumptive practices, perhaps unsurprisingly, seems to focus less on the establishments themselves and more on the broader social implications of the materials recovered. The following sections relate the various approaches and findings from the three major regions engaging in the historical archaeological investigations in consumption studies: North America, Australia and Britain.

2.5. Archaeology of Consumption: Regional Approaches

2.5.1. North America

Early studies in North America showed much insight to the intricate relationships that existed between consumption practices and social influence. There were a few historical archaeologists who homed in on the potential significance of tracing food patterns in the early days of consumption studies (Spenzer-Wood 1987; Smart-Martin 1989; Yentsch 1990). Suzanne Spencer-Wood (1987) was one of the earliest historical archaeologists to attempt to bring the focus back to the material with an application of consumer choices as a framework for middle-range theory. Following closely on from this, Anne Smart-Martin's (1989) comprehensive analysis of ceramic tea ware demonstrated how these vessels could be used to trace patterns of conspicuous consumption as a means of accessing certain social circles in the eighteenth century.

Similarly, Anne Yentsch (1990) traced changes in food use based on the changes seen in ceramic wares in the archaeological and historical records to make connections between the social changes occurring in the community and the way they impacted social consumption patterns. This was done by assessing the small shifts in changes to ware type, vessel form, and decoration from households across the Chesapeake. These patterns indicated a move away from traditional food preparation methods in favour of methods more closely associated with techniques perceived to be associated with a higher social status (Yentsch 1990: 42-45).

In an edited volume from excavations from a workhouse from a mill in Lowell Massachusetts, Bond (1989: 138) analyzes the array of alcohol and medicine bottles and makes some surprising connections. Bond argues that many of the cures contained addictive substances which played a large part in their strong representation in the material record. Despite their claims as cure-alls, alcohol was the key ingredient in many (Bond 1989: 138). According to Bond, "by 1900, some brands had such a high alcohol content that they required a liquor license for their sale" (1989: 138). Many also contained many other substances (such as cocaine and heroin) which were almost entirely unrestricted (Bond 1989: 138).

In a move to engage class conflict and social action in the debate surrounding consumption, Paul Reckner and Stephen Brighton (1999) discussed data recovered from an excavation from the Five Points, in New York. They focused on class and religious conflict amidst the large immigrant population in NYC and their subversive use of consumption materials against temperance movements in the nineteenth century. They argued that temperance was a means of social control employed by the middle class over the working class. Many class elites would demand total abstinence of the working classes, while many of the more respectable middle class continued to be allowed to smoke and drink in "moderate" amounts with no threat to their social reputations. The key points in this study showed that religious ideology was in direct conflict with the social perspective on the use of alcohol. There were class hierarchies and social divides which utilized consumption as both a means to exclude and also as a means to resist social mobility. This examination of urban drinking patterns and the social impact of the stigmatization of the pastime, especially on the lower working classes, opened up the debates on how substances were being used socially as power structures, in many different ways at many levels within – and more importantly, outside of – society. Through it, they demonstrate archaeologically examples of the complex ways that substance can be used, manipulated and portrayed socially.

Similarly, Paul Mullins (1999) demonstrates how through complex processes of consumption, racial relationships structured consumer culture throughout much of nineteenth-century America. He argues that race and racism not only contributed to this unegalitarian system, but actually was a fundamental part of the hidden agenda of the "free market." He uses what he calls "consumption tactics" whereby the African-American workers would acquire goods second-hand through recycling, gift-giving, purchasing at reduced cost and theft (Mullins 1999: 153–154). Mullins identifies the problematic nature of ascribing wider motive for these actions as emblematic of targeting the wider societal structure, rather that these tactics were in response to "a host of lived contradictions" which impacted their consumer struggle. Yet he also identifies that the independent and unorganized reactions of a marginalized group in society resulted in an "African-American effort to eliminate anti-Black material, social, and historical dispossession by foiling dominant definitions of Black subjectivity" (Mullins 1999: 154).

More recent studies in the American continents, such as those undertaken by Dixon (2005) in the American West and Smith (2008) in Barbados, have developed ideas regarding the production and consumption of alcohol and its development from the social perspective. Smith (2008) goes to great lengths to demonstrate historical archaeology's meaningful contributions to the study of alcohol and its use and abuse in the early modern and modern world. His emphasis lies primarily in how different societies have influenced drinking and alcohol, how they have been accepted or rejected based upon social attitudes. His practical approach, once again, can serve as an example of how to a use the material culture to establish that a drinking culture was present, but he leaves little to be said in contexts where a drinking culture is well established and how to explore the more meaningful contributions archaeology can make towards discovering how these institutions influenced society. On the other hand, Dixon (2005) makes some startling conclusions with her reconstruction of a late nineteenth-century saloon from the American West. She challenges not only gender and racial stereo types regarding the people using these establishments, but also goes so far as to suggest that their domesticated pastimes were far less violent and aggressive than depictions of these scenes based on legends such as Wyatt Earp, Billy the Kid, Jesse James and many others have previously implied. While entertaining to imagine the lively musical acts and harmonious interracial community which Dixon at times depicts, there is still scant evidence to imply that this would have been the status quo throughout the region, or even the wider local community. Such research has begun to address the social impact of drinking and how it has been experienced and, to a lesser extent, how it was performed by people historically. Yet as the subject has progressed in the Americas, they seem to lack a connection to the establishment, the cultivation of the importance of the act of social consumption and the wider implications for its persistence in society despite the negative stigmas.

LeeDecker (1994) presents a discussion on how initial links were drawn between material culture and socioeconomic status (Otto 1977; 1984). Artefact pattern analysis (South 1977) allows for the detection of variations in artefact frequencies between specific groups and classes which is thought to directly reflect consumption choices within the household (this is a type-based assessment, not value bases – for value system for ceramics see Miller 1980). LeeDecker (1994) also notes the importance of using Estimated Number of Vessel (ENV) counts rather than sherd counts to gain a more representative sample for interpretation. These debates identify some interesting discussions regarding the scope of interpretation onto which these oft over looked contexts can contribute further insight.

When it comes to questions of the specific impact and role that the goods, venues, services and associated materials of social consumption have played in the construction of social behavioural norms, the techniques of analysing assemblages becomes controversial within fields accessing material culture. As it is referred to throughout this investigation, social consumption includes the social performance of the leisurely consumption of goods or services, either of local (including homemade goods) or foreign origin. While historical archaeologies have been broadly concerned with 'consumption' and its related theories and applications since the late 1970s, the integration of the consumer perspective often occurs only at the interpretive level and has had little impact on the analysis of assemblages (Crook and Murray 2005: 16). Yet Charles H. LeeDecker (1994) demonstrated how sealed refuse contexts provide the most favourable contexts for preservation of a wide range of durable and consumable goods and food which reflect purchasing decisions made by those using the space. He also stresses that feature creation and filling processes directly reflect cultural formation processes and that these formation processes must be understood in order to interpret patterning in the archaeological record. He questions whether or not it is practical to use households as the primary unit of analysis in historical archaeology and argues that understanding the acquisition, use and discard patterns of a household is imperative at that level of analysis. He identifies the link between rapid changes in consumption patterns and the rise of industrialization and mass production (Kirkpatrick 1926; Zimmerman 1936 cited in LeeDecker 1994: 345). Crucially, his discussion of behaviour patterns that form deep feature deposits provides a basis for a general understanding of the refuse disposal processes (LeeDecker 1994: 347).

Overall, this article identifies some key benefits of privies, such as the relative ease of dating them due to high artefact yield, the fact that what is being thrown away tends to inform us on the types of things being purchased to replace them, and the significance of historical association in the identification process. He points out that there is an inherent preoccupation with socioeconomic status and an inattention to significant characteristics such as individual households or other factors that influence consumer behaviour throughout the discipline. Yet despite this, his approach failed to utilize the material for much more than a tool for dating the dates of the deposits. LeeDecker (1994) makes the suggestion of investigating consumption at the neighbourhood level, as urban site can be complex and difficult to link to specific households. This thesis proposes that a possible solution would be to investigate the local drinking establishment. The public house is a basic economic site of leisure within which consumption occurs and has many of the same requirements represented in any domestic household. The chief difference is that it encapsulates a certain customer, traditionally represented by the majority population in a given area. Therefore, leisurely consumption patterns within these establishments represent a scale of analysis that is well suited to an archaeological investigation with these objectives.

2.5.2. Australia

In the past decade, a number of Australian based research articles have been of particular interest in regards to the specific methods of approaching material culture with an aim to incorporate it into a wider social context. For example, Crook (2005) has shown that links in quality can be used to analyse and interpret material culture but argues that these things are rarely utilized in the archaeological world. Similarly, Casey (2005) suggests a compelling argument which seems to indicate that the furnishings of nineteenth-century households could be analysed to inform researchers on how hierarchies were created through use of the acquisition of certain material culture and the consumption of luxury items. In this study she shows how meaningful power structures were being asserted through furniture, timbers, fabrics and even toiletries in government houses. While neither of these articles deal with the consumption of food, drink or tobacco products, the methods of analysis are useful examples of the typical analysis employed in archaeological interpretation of consumption and class. Analysis for both of these is executed in a manner limited to the 'upper' or 'established' middle class and arguably implies that urban sites are categorically poorer (Crook 2005: 15).

In 2011, two articles were published, both dealing with class structures and material patterns of use, which demonstrate the problems which inherently arise when attempting to apply a similar analysis to both an established middle class household versus that of a working class household. In one article, Hayes (2011) successfully demonstrates that different social 'groups' can be distinguished by way of material signatures found in the archaeological record. In this study, the 'established middle class' was determined to have used four elements to set themselves apart from the newly rich, and socially mobile, middle class (i.e. previously working class) and the working class: 1.) Matching, 2.) Variety, 3.) Quality, and 4.) Fashion. Style or fashion was one of the ways for the middle class to distinguish themselves from the upwardly mobile middle class with working class roots. Structure and order within the performance of dining and taking tea was key to the sense of gentility and politeness. Presentation of their status in the display of fashionable wares was crucial to being seen as a true member of their social group, as was an effortless execution of politeness and manners.

Another contribution of note was from Lampard and Staniforth's (2011) findings. The research objectives outlined their intention to demonstrate how temperance and indifference to temperance were both social tools active within nineteenth-century society at Port Adelaide. However, the article only explores the working class use of materials in Port Adelaide and assumes that there is a wider acceptance of [British] middle class social norms in operation related to alcohol use (2011: 5). This article provided a wonderful straw-man to encapsulate some of the problems which can arise when attempting to apply a one-size-fits-all methodology across various economic backgrounds.

Firstly, inconsistencies arise with the main objectives in relation to the examples used. The authors assert that these groups are using temperance and indifference to temperance to assert themselves in a socially mobile way. However, the members of the "working class" which were more respectable by the social standards of the time (and arguably not what most would consider "working class", see second point below) were in fact shown to be more socially respected, presumably due in part to their acceptance of temperance ideals. Those showing what they are considering to be 'indifference' were judged harshly as a result. One of the main sources used for information on the neighbourhood comes from an article published in the Port Adelaide News in 1882. This inquest draws upon many moral judgments of the time and is an example of the types of cautionary tales which were very popular throughout eighteenth-and nineteenth-century British culture, in particular (see Linebaugh 2006). This begs the question of how many of their final conclusions might be founded on tales written by those with a flair for the dramatic painted at the expense of those seen as social pariahs? Or more to the point, when does the social value and functional value intersect with the class lines?

Secondly, one set of families was considerably more financially secure than the other (Lampard and Staniforth 2011: 7). One case study was a family of home owners with multiple occupations and sources of income, and far more financially secure than those living on the opposing street. The analysis seems to overlook economic status as a possible explanation for why there might be a higher percentage of alcohol related glass at the poorer site than represented at the more wealthy sites. The authors do not explore anything beyond tenancy type to support their interpretation, but this is quickly ruled out based on the assertion that the research of Murray and Mayne (Mayne and Murray 2001) states that it should not matter, despite including evidence from Reckner and Brighton (1999) showing that it in fact does matter. Ultimately, the model used was limited by the nature of the classification of items. The approach toward artefact analysis was skewed to interpret material assemblages from an established middle-class environment.

This demonstrates the acute need for analytical techniques to be expanded to include both a discussion as to why these patterns of use emerged within a given class (see Hayes 2011 for a successful example) as well as some discussion to suggest how the other classes hypothetically might be expected to deviate accordingly. There need to be some more broadly based criteria which can be applied across the class lines to indicate what influences consumer choice. In fact, this is what much of the analysis on the theoretical approaches earlier in this chapter have attempted to discuss: what motivates consumer choices and sets the social value of a thing?

In an attempt to address some lingering problems plaguing historical archaeological techniques of classification and analysis – with special emphasis on the Australian system – Brooks wrote an appeal to re-think the current system. Brooks identified that functional categories in archaeological methodologies for classification and analysis are frequently ill suited to provide any insight into the objects or those utilizing them, and frequently do more damage than good in assisting the comparability of a site across other sites (Brooks 2005: 12). He clearly defines the difference between classification, identification and cataloguing and analysis and critiques the defunct system which relied heavily on the classification procedures established by Stanley South in 1977 (Brooks 2005: 7). He goes on to establish in broad terms the two levels which should be in an analysis: 1) identification of inherent characteristics for an object and 2) analysis of socially constructed characteristics. This provides a working model for how to restructure many categories and classification terms, while building on existing database structures. This model for the characterisation of the range of functions that objects can possess can help address some of the issues facing functional analysis.

This has been addressed time and again by archaeologist attempting to provide allowances in the material record for the recycling and repurposing of objects. This idea maintains that there are many functions that an item might possess, but that they fall into two categories: the function for which an object it was initially created and the function which encompasses any other purpose outside its manufactured purpose. The latter has traditionally been derived based on the context in which it is found, however, many post-medieval, urban contexts containing the most material come from cesspit deposits. These tend to be wonderfully artefact rich, but present a new problem of how to approach decontextualized material culture. As a result, cesspits have long been an undervalued resource and need further analysis to be fully utilized and understood.

Understandably, the act of social consumption and the controversial nature with which it has been historically perceived provokes questions regarding the social significance of such behaviours and the nature of how the material was used. However, what frequently gets overlooked is the significance of the process of disuse of the objects and how they ended up where they were found centuries or millennia later. Though prehistorians have a long tradition of dealing with these questions, more modern based exploration has been limited. While some recent initiatives in ethnoarchaeology have begun to consider the question of garbage and rubbish in the modern context (see Jones et al. 2012), within the post-medieval archaeological discourse there appears to be a shortage of investigations into the discard patterns which produced the deposits, or much examination of the various interactions which might have impacted the material culture or indeed the social implications for the deposition of the material. Here I will briefly touch on some of the key arguments for more detailed attention of these issues and problems which frequently arise.

Crook and Murray (2004) have argued that cesspits are complex to analyse but they offer huge potential information regarding the social use and discard patterns of people in a given area. This article focuses on the problems that archaeologists face by working to interpret cesspit assemblages. The cesspits in their investigation, as in many examples, were a mix of primary and secondary depositions. As a result of this and the high tenancy turn over, it was not likely for them to ascertain specific family links with the material with any certainty. However, these deposits did challenge the assumption that landlords from that period did not update their properties to provide comfort for their tenants. Moreover, the article discusses the author's concerns with cesspit interpretation and offers an alternative method of approach to cesspit deposit analysis.

Possibly most intriguing of all is Crook and Murray's discussion on the need for integrated sewage in the nineteenth century and how it led to the rapid turn around and development of new and modern management systems and infrastructures. They relate how these developments were slow to reach the more suburban areas of Sydney. The steep slope of The Rocks is one example of an area which took longer to be connected to this system. The resulting effect on the area was the sewage could be seen to "trickle" down the slopes from the houses until it settled at the next lower house (Crook and Murray 2004: 45). Additionally, initial problems and the relative expense made switching unappealing for some of these more remote locations.

2.5.3. Britain

Though less attention has been paid in the Americas to the processes of influence exhibited within the drinking establishments themselves, over the last decade in the UK, and most notably out of London, interest in these venues has begun to develop. Publications, specifically out of MOLA, are amongst a group of British contributors who have begun to challenge this norm. The sites under investigation were initially chosen based on a series of criteria. This criterion was that the sites were located within the square mile of the City of London, that they were establishments of a primarily non-residential nature, that they were in operation between the rebuilding of the Great Fire of London through the early to mid-eighteenth century, and that they possessed a robust enough amount of material evidence to be comparably analysed. The sites were all broadly interpreted by the Museum of London to be associated with the service of alcohol (taverns, inns or alehouses) and had been either published or were in the process of being published.

Most of the work on these sites is tied back to discussions surrounding the distinct classes utilizing the establishments based on material patterns evidenced in the archaeological record. According to Brooks (2005) the blurring of these distinctive classifications is detrimental to both the ultimate analysis of the materials from a specific site and the wider application of comparative analysis of the materials from one site to another in the future.

Over the course of the historical background review, a pattern of social use was overwhelmingly apparent. Certain emphasis was clearly being placed on the social preference over the course of the eighteenth century which moved more and more towards the strictly structured and chased expression of one's taste and class through the demonstration and display of such action and behaviours in the public sphere. This is certainly not to say that rowdy, bawdy or unrestrained behaviours were not being observed by many of the upper class social elites, but these behaviours were limited to the privacy of the home or specific social clubs or organizations, and were only acceptable for the male members of polite society. Once it began to become obvious that these social guidelines were widely accepted across the historical established debates and that primary evidence abounded which supported these allegations, it began to strike me that the reasons that the assemblages had stood out to me from the Museum of London's storehouse was linked to these very same debates.

Literature revolving around the emergence of shop-keeping practices and shopping culture (Sweet 2002; Wurst and McGuire 1999; Mui and Mui 1989) illuminated the burgeoning culture surrounding consumption for leisure in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in London. While these patterns seem like they might be completely separate from the unassuming environments which we today envision the pubs and taverns from the past to have been, the historical literature also has a lot to say on the variation available in these establishments and the unprecedented popularity that alcohol and other items of consumption had in society which bridged the gap of class division. These places of public consumption were among the earliest to experience the social awakening to what a powerful and exclusive action public displays such as eating and drinking could possess. Every aspect of the experience – where you frequented, what you ate, what you drank from and of course how much it cost – could all be used to convey the level of status without having to utter a single word. The power and exclusivity of this act of consumption, along with the relative ease at which it could be altered and recalibrated to reflect the social proclivities from one day to the next, was immediately appealing to the elite wishing to find a new way to determine those who belonged from those who were outsiders attempting to infiltrate their society.

The current guide for identifying an assemblage which has come as the result of an inn or tavern clearance was written by Pearce (2000). It is a highly useful contribution among urban archaeological contexts and has been put to great use in helping to identify the basic signature of many of the sites utilized in this current research. Archaeological "clearance groups" such as those found at the King's Arms in Uxbridge (as laid out in Pearce 2000, for full definition, see section 4.2.2), the Guildhall (Bowsher et al. 2007) and an alehouse in the City of London (Jeffries et al. 2014) all discuss the nature of the material in great detail, from source of supply and detailed manufacture information to sherd and vessel counts to establish a material signature for these types of sites. While invaluable sources of information, the articles unsurprisingly read like a hybrid between the interim reports and the historic archives from which they spring, before coming to their conclusions which invariably hold off on making any risky conclusions, yet are full of enough tables and data sets to allow you to pick up where they leave off. Many of the discussions allude to the discovery of material signatures which "provide an important reference for detecting future assemblages from 17th-century drinking establishments" (Jeffries et al. 2014: 276). Yet, despite their compelling evidence, there remains an ever-present air of doubt in the presentation of their findings due to the frequent lack of historical evidence supporting the interpretation. Though their cautiousness is understandable, it is a bit of a blow to historical archaeologists in our attempts to shake off the stigma that we are merely a "handmaiden of history" as is the now infamous charge of Ivor Noël Hume (1964: 215).

However, the insights gained from the open source nature of these excavation records produced in the UK have managed to expand the scope of these kinds of investigations. Furthermore, the system of analysis employed at MOLA, for example, allows for far greater detailed analysis of the entire excavated assemblages, by experts in each category or period. Though there are problems that inevitably arise with such a segmented approach to analysis and interpretation, the undeniable benefit is that they are able to publish a far greater volume of their excavated work than if they relied on more traditional methods. This approach is not perfect, as discussed above, yet the system allows for greater scope of impact and exposure for the material, rather than having it sit in the store house for decades, untouched. Potentially just as significant to this thesis is the British legacy to focus on the interworking of the abstract social context which imbues meaning into otherwise meaningless structures or objects. This intense focus on the broader historical context within which these sites are situated has allowed for a more fully integrated approach to the secondary analysis of the assemblages.

These studies provide good models when approaching the middle class use of material culture and consumption to establish a sense of social status and identity, one which can even be retroactively applied to previously published material (for example, evidence that these patterns can be found in Kowaleski-Wallace 1995, discussed in this chapter). The practices of dining required the engagement with many various objects, each purportedly with a unique or appropriate function. These pieces of material culture all give insight into the wider social ideals which governed certain aspects of society and an array of social actions, performances, practices and traditions. Display served a vital role in the social communication of status, as did order and structure play a significant role in the execution of most aspects of genteel society. Hayes also raises some interesting questions regarding the social processes involved in the choice to discard versus the passing down of items as heirloom goods. While this method of approaching material culture is well structured and can be justified based on historical records for the established middle class, but what about for the working classes and upper classes? This article only explores one middle class family's use of materials. While Hayes does acknowledge this, there is a need for further work to justify the claims that these patterns are associated with functioning in the bounds of the aforementioned structure.

2.6. Impressions of the Past

As reviewed in the previous two chapters, the historical accounts related to establishments of public consumption date back hundreds of years and have gone through many stages of stylistic transformations. Descriptive classifications, social narratives, personal diaries, police reports, popular ballads and poems, probate inventories, victualing licenses; all of these lend their unique insights to the various styles of analysis. They have all contributed in part to what we think about today when we picture in our minds the setting of a tavern in the heart of London in 1677, or in 1765 for that matter. What differences are there? Depending on your level of familiarity with the periods, there may be few differences. Potentially, one might have more rudimentary wood working or seem rougher and less refined. The other may be more garishly decorated and in many ways seem more polished or sophisticated.

The truth of the matter is that we have all been casually absorbing these differences from many different mediums. There are artistic renderings by Johannes Vermeer and William Hogarth (e.g. Figure 5.26 in Chapter 5) which have seeped into our imaginations, literary and cinematic. These depictions also impact how we think these places looked, felt and were used. One of the most recent and far reaching of these depictions of a period setting for one of these places might be when Frodo Baggins and his faithful companions visit the Inn of the Prancing Pony in the first film in *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, *The Fellowship of the Ring* (Jackson 2001). These images have been constructed based partly in fantasy, but draw heavily from images and depictions of spaces like them in English folklore and historical imagery. These modern recreations of the past, be them fantasy or historical, solidify our communal perception of what these places represent and how they were used in the past. It has been argued that this process is one by which we establish a sense of authenticity of what the past was, and in what ways it is analogous to our present experiences or perceptions of the past (Symonds 2014; Olivier 2004: 210). But how do these images inform our understanding of how these people experienced these environments? How do we know that these images we have in our mind of the past are in anyway representative of the actual experiences had within them? More to the point, what exactly do the shifts and differences tell us about how these spaces have changed over time? What can we say about how these changes reflect or represent the changes in the experiences had by the social consumer?

According to key literature reviewed on the history of such establishments in this chapter, it is invariably agreed upon that inns were used by a more affluent class of traveller than hostels and other accommodation for the period (Clark 1983: 5; Earnshaw 2000: 5). Taverns also held a higher status in societies, though one traditionally could not get a room for the night at these establishments, just food and drink. Alehouses, in their many various forms, were the most ubiquitous and common in society. This presents a potential for the study of an environment which perhaps allows for one of the earliest glimpses into a burgeoning middle class of individuals; not quite well connected enough to warrant an invitation from the gentle lords or wealthy land owners in the community, but nonetheless able to afford to stay in comfortable accommodation.

Today, local traditions have come to ascribe a certain level of prestige with the fact that their city, town or village used to play host to an overabundance of these venues. As was pointed out in the previous chapter, what we think of when we picture these venues now bears little resemblance to what they would have actually been like. What this leaves us with is a glimpse into what seems to be a very different picture of what the traditional drinking establishment might have looked like prior to the strict legislation towards the middle and end of the Victorian period. The warm, crackling fire, bustling barmaid, and rosy-cheeked patrons hiccupping and swapping stories or singing ballads is swapped all too soon in exchange for a dingy, cold, damp cellar with watered down drinks and dodgy dealings. Yet this is likely to be a more accurate depiction of what many of these 'parlour-room pubs' would have looked like (Clark 1983). The ultimate oversimplification of these spaces badly skews the reality of the level of diversity available in drinking establishments across the late seventeenth throughout the eighteenth centuries. It is important to remember these variations in environment as we examine the materials associated with each in later chapters.

One of the many short falls of the studies reviewed is their lack of engagement with how these spaces and the material evidence come together to cultivate a distinctive social dynamic in each environment. In order to attempt this kind of engagement so heavily steeped in material culture from these establishments, one is traditionally directed toward historical archaeological contributions on the topic. However, when dealing with these types of spaces and activities, the post-medieval resource pool is comprised of primarily desk based assessments and publications synthesising the archaeological findings from commercial excavation outfits. They tend to produce these publications by applying a formula which combines detailed historical archive information with the recovered material culture, and thus produce an interpretation on the developments in a given neighbourhood by holding them against one another (see previous sections and chapters discussing contributions from Watson et al. 2010; Bowsher et al. 2007; McKenzie and Wardle 2006; Pearce 2000; Blair 1995). While invaluable to the field for their contributions in the dissemination of excavation details as well as in many case previously unpublished archival material, the extent of the synthesis is limited to a point where the archaeology becomes little more than a way to verify the historical archives. Historical archaeologists in the Americas have also attempted to tackle the subject. However, these approaches also lack much engagement with the establishments themselves, preferring rather to focus mainly on the substances and social reception of the actions themselves (Smith 2008; Dixon 2005; Reckner and Brighton 1999). These studies have increased the knowledge surrounding the social use and significance of these establishments and have started meaningful dialogues regarding the social politics which were negotiated within and around them. However, they have largely failed to convey an image of what they were like, how they adapted, and what the wider significance of the establishments was.

Part of the reason for this gap in the literature comes from the limitations within the methods of analysis frequently applied to the assemblages.

2.7. Summary and Conclusions

The social architecture of these establishments has changed, much like the physical architecture has changed. Many times we sit and ponder the original layout and plans of old structures, hoping to in some way be able to access a glimpse into the structures which guided not only the movements of those negotiating the spaces, but how the plans give insight in some way into the minds of those creating and orchestrating these buildings. But what then do we do when both the social and physical resonance of a time has departed? What this is left for us to examine to piece together some concept of the interactions and exchanges which shaped and directed the interactions of those using these spaces? The very materials with which we utilize to execute our daily rituals of social enactment inform on the various elements relevant in society at the time. From toiletries to tea cups, dinner services to smoking implements, they all tell us something of the interactions of the time; if only we are able to read them appropriately. These last remaining vestiges of the social architecture is what archaeologists are attempting to tease out and salvage, from these things discarded and used up, based on records of how they were used and what we can surmise based on prior study.

These studies have demonstrated the increase in interest and the existing limitations on relevant studies regarding establishments of consumption and the social changes which were playing out within their walls and across their tables. There is a growing body of work addressing the lack in quantitative material evidence for consumption activity patterns among the existing literature, yet it has been pointed out that among these studies outlining consumption little attention has been paid to why people desired, pursued and used these goods (Gibb 1996: ix; Shackel 1996: 143). The need for a comprehensive investigation into both the changing materials and the social complexities being negotiated within these establishments spanning this crucial period of social ideals is both sought after and long overdue – a point which this study attempts to address.

3. Theoretical and Methodological Approaches

3.1. Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first will provide a review of my theoretical framework, establishing a platform to explore practices of consumption through a detailed analysis of the archaeological record in Chapter 4. In particular I will draw upon debates in sociology, anthropology and economics, in order to examine the disciplinary pairing of key themes in consumption studies and archaeology. The history of this pairing will be outlined and its current status considered, together with an analysis of its merits and drawbacks. This will include a brief discussion of the development of this field, with an emphasis upon its emergence within the behavioural sciences and humanities during the late 1970s and early 1980s. However, in contrast to the previous chapter which focused upon the social atmosphere surrounding the establishments themselves, here, the aim is to gain deeper insight into the social structures at work. To do this I will be engaging with the theoretical frameworks surrounding social practices relating to the establishments, the substances and objects consumed within them, the performance of social control through these spaces, and the communities and social relationships mediated by practices of consumption.

This chapter will first review the key contributors to the theories which would come to support many of the initial and on-going investigations into the mechanisms which construct the ways we interact with our surroundings and the many complex roles of the 'things' with which we connect every day. Following on from that, the focus shifts towards the most notable, successful and relevant archaeological applications of these theories in the furthering of the study of how consumption impacts our lives and social experiences at many levels. The literature will be approached thematically, attempting to draw out the most salient concepts which arise in these studies surrounding social consumption. The focus is on how they are able to tell us about the societies and individuals engaging in the practices and what the limitations and problems have been to date. I will take an in depth look at specific methodological approaches which have been of particular importance in the process of developing my own methods of approach to the analysis and interpretation of the sites under investigation. I will outline the processes involved in the methods used to approach this study at each stage of research, analysis and interpretation. Finally, I will briefly review the fundamental concepts developed surrounding the topic of consumption through this process of theoretical and methodological review and how they will be used in the rest of my thesis.

3.2. Theoretical Framework: Contexts of Consumption

In the last quarter of the twentieth century a shift began to occur within the social sciences and humanities. Questions related to the treatment of objects and their role within the modern historical contexts began to be recognized as far more complex than what was previously thought. This shift was noted and written about by Daniel Miller in his introduction to an edited volume which approached the issues of the changing nature of consumption in scholarship across the social sciences (for more detailed discussion on the significance of this shift, see Miller 1995: 1–54). Multi-disciplinary scholarship on consumption began to be considered. The active role that artefacts play in the construction and trajectory of social interaction was catching on as a concept. This trend lead to explorations into the ways that objects can structure our engagements with other people and things (e.g. Hodder 1987; Shanks and Tilley 1982; Shennan 1982). Though the focus was not always specifically geared toward the role of consumption, these assertions that the artefacts themselves have an arguable range of impact on the actions of those utilizing them became immediately contentious within the field of archaeology.

The concepts which will drive the discussion in this section revolve largely around three key mechanisms which construct the ways we interact with our surroundings. These mechanisms in brief are economics, governing power structures, and the role of symbolism. As many of these topics are vast in their own rite, I will be considering these ideas in relation to consumption studies. Though many of the debates are drawn from outside of this discipline, applications within the field of consumption studies and historical archaeology are well established. First is the concept that these impressions are largely bound up with *economy*. In this research the focus will lie on the processes involved in establishing a global exchange of material goods (as discussed by Douglas and Isherwood 1979) and how we determine the values we systematically attribute to these objects (as proposed by Baudrillard 1968; Appadurai 1986). Second is the role of *power structures* in the reification of social ideals through politics and infrastructure. Ideas will primarily be derived from concepts laid out by Alexis de Tocqueville (1835 and 1840) and Michel Foucault (1977). These ideas revolve around the ways in which governing bodies have had to adapt to the changes in society and move away from traditional forms of brutality-based force and toward the subtle and unspoken methods of social control. Third is that we perceive our status and that of others by means of encoding and decoding *symbolism*. Here, symbolism will be discussed with reference to Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) notion that these representations are present in our surroundings on either a conscious and unconscious level. Bourdieu proposed that this process is initially informed by our physical self and the construction of our own identity from childhood based largely on our social environment and socioeconomic status, as well as observable behaviours, ideas and actions. Finally, I will review how at the root of all of these systems, entwined within each of them and in many ways controlling all of these social constructs is one simple action: *consumption* (Miller 2010, 1995, and 1987). This is a crucial point in understanding how each of these mechanisms are dependent on each other and have helped to construct the systems which have ultimately led to the consumer culture we are entrenched in today.

3.2.1. Trade and Economics

There are many social elements involved in the establishment of a global trade economy. However, in order to examine the changes to a system, we must first establish what constitutes an economy. Famous early twentieth-century economist Max Weber (1905) devised a three-tiered approach which presented an economy as being linked between religious doctrine, ethics and a political institution. He identified four types of economic-doctrine which have dominated since the sixteenth century: traditional economy, hand-to-mouth existence of the peasants, adventure's capitalism and individual capitalist economy. While the finer points on how he distinguished these different economic-doctrines are not relevant to this research discussion, the processes of how they change are. Unfortunately, his argument only goes so far to say that societies must turn to the "spirit of capitalism" to understand the behavioural revolution across Europe over the sixteenth century until present (Weber 1905: 33–37). However, it has been pointed out that the problem with his and other early theories is that they fail to explore the determining variables linked to changes in consumer patterns (Douglas and Isherwood 1979: 14). Weber named it the "spirit of capitalism", and later economists dismissed this intangible force as "taste". Yet there were no attempts to identify what determined it, how it developed, and what changed it. Additionally, ideologies such as religion have been allowed to serve as an explanation without need of further clarification as to what lead the people to allow the doctrine to dictate their actions.

In an attempt to adapt a new approach to help explain the motivation of human consumption, Douglas and Isherwood (1979) published their pioneering interdisciplinary work which revealed ground breaking new links between economics and anthropology. Beginning with a long overdue critique on conventional economists views on the topic of consumption, they point out how inaccurately placed the role of consumption in society has been within the field of economics. They draw heavily on a variation of a world-systems theory which attempts to look beyond local or national boundaries and consider the world-system in social analysis. They argue that the consumption of goods is a system which creates class distinctions by limiting access of information and the cultivation of exclusion to "ritual consumption" for the lower classes. This research meant to bridge the gap between what economist call 'consumption behaviour' and what anthropologists know about why people want things. They argue for anthropology's need to see "goods as an information system" rather than "supposing that goods are primarily needed for subsistence plus competitive display." They argue, that 'things' are needed for "making visible and stable the categories of culture" (Douglas and Isherwood 1979: 59). They emphasize the need to acknowledge consumption's double role in providing subsistence and in drawing lines of social relationships.

This is the real service performed by these early authors by establishing rules for how societies operated based on their participation in a given economic environment. In the case of the progression of capitalist societies, one of the key aims is the broad accumulation of wealth and resources. The social act of accumulating wealth is greatly dependant on the ability of the members of a society to save. The two environments which are most often encountered are defined by either being a member of a group environment or an individual environment. The corporate lineage is what Douglas and Isherwood contend to be the most distinctive model for the group. These environments rely on the acceptance that the sacrifices experienced by some will be more beneficial for the wider group in the long term.

> The group can therefore levy heavy tax on its members, distrain their goods, and do what it likes so long as the claim to the long view and the public interest is plausible. If we were to place different societies along a hypothetical scale from weak towards strong, the stronger the group the greater its capacity to accumulate assets in its own name and the less the power of its constituent members to accumulate assets for themselves. (Douglas and Isherwood 1979: 20–22)

This idea is a key concept in understanding how things such as envy, poverty and demand are relative forces in society, managed and utilized in many ways as tools by the economic governing structure. These interlocking systems help explain the complexities that go into managing a society, controlling how it responds and directing how it ultimately accepts what otherwise might seem like self-detrimental behaviours; favouring the support of a select few over the majority. This foundation was invaluable in identifying and understanding which environment and rules were in effect in the late seventeenth through eighteenth century, and if and how they were changing.

Taken together, this laid the ground work for beginning to answering the classic question of why we want things. Weber made an intriguing argument that "A man does not by nature wish to earn more and more money, but simply to live as he is accustomed to live and to earn as much as is necessary for that purpose" (1905: 24). This point that an individual was accustomed to living was what Weber called "traditionalism" and he goes on to point out that it is historically detrimental to the capitalist spirit which seeks to increase profit margins (Weber 1905: 24–25). What he fails to do is question what social changes occurred over the course of the subsequent 200 years to affect a fundamental shift in the way that society valued things and their sense of what "traditionalism" was (Weber 1905: 24). What do you do if people do not want things because they do not think that they need them? Make people want things because they think that they do need them. This is the foundational principle of any consumer based culture. The systematic hierarchy of valuation applied to objects, or commoditization, played a significant role in the process behind discovering what drives the need for conspicuous consumption. However, how do you make something appear to take on value to a person? More simply, what determines an object's value?

Arjun Appadurai has argued that "the thing that makes the link between exchange and value is *politics*, construed broadly. This argument [...] justifies the conceit that commodities, like persons, have social lives" (1986: 3). He claims that the social life of any 'thing' can be defined as, "its exchangeability (past, present or future) for 'some other thing'" (1986: 13). Part of the intrigue of this form of analysis is that it contains the idea that relationships and value can be reduced to units that can be counted. This is not only appealing to a discipline where materials abound, it is inescapable. The implications that quantification of meaning in a tangible form would have on validating our interpretive processes is immense. The notion that over time things of greater value displace and, ultimately, replace things with a diminishing value has great relevance and employability in the interpretation of material and how it reflects social meaning.

Yet some would argue that quantification and counting is not what is important in understanding exchange value. Some would contend that rather it is the relationships that enable exchange to take place and the perspective that is taken on the exchange to be fostered. For example, Jean Baudrillard approached the objects in an attempt to diagnose the meaning behind the value systems. As he himself pointed out, "how objects are experienced, what needs other than functional ones they answer, what mental structures are interwoven with – and contradict – their functional structures, or what cultural, infracultural or transcultural system underpins their directly experienced everydayness" (Baudrillard 1996 [1968]: 2). In many ways, his is the antithesis to a functional analysis. In fact, he was not interested in analytics in the truest sense of it. He wanted to deconstruct how we conceptualized the things we use every day, in an attempt to redefine the meaninglessness of the banal. This encroaches on territory revisited in the section on symbolism and status (see section 5.4) where we delve into Bourdieu's perspective on notions of taste (and distaste of tastes). But critical to the understanding of this perspective is the acceptance that social function of an object or practice is not as straightforward as that of the manufacturer's intent.

> Social meaning is derived from its ability to signify social difference in a system of objects and practices […] To uncover the social logic of consumption thus requires establishing, not a direct link between a given practice and a particular class category (e.g., horseback riding and the gentry), but the structural correspondences that obtain between two constellations of relations, the space of lifestyles and the space of social positions occupied by the different groups (Wacquant 2000: 115).

Or, as Beverly Skeggs puts it, "it is not just a matter of obtaining objects and knowing how to use, play, experiment with them; rather, what matters is how they are conceptualized (objectified) by relations to others" (2004: 28).

Among these theories are the separate notions that infrastructure, society and beliefs are integral elements driving the economic atmosphere at any given point in time. Douglas and Isherwood strongly suggest that there is a wide reaching global infrastructure which is interconnected and greatly impacts the way that societies consume. Appadurai on the other hand lends more credence to the prospect that demand is set by the society's value system, simply enacted by the eventual and continual replacement of one good with another. And Baudrillard contends that it is more abstract, that consumption comes down to a set of beliefs – shared or independent – regarding the social value of everyday goods and their use. In order to proceed with any meaningful analysis, all of these viewpoints will be consulted and applied.

3.2.2. Structures of Power

The resulting society is one with a high demand of material goods. Among the many issues surrounding how to structure such an economy, the role of politics, government or other structuring powers will never be far away. This topic is one which has received a great deal of attention with a multitude of fields of application. This research is only concerned with structures of power in as much as they can be tied back into this discussion regarding how these structures impact patterns of consumption and social ideologies surrounding that theme.

Michel Foucault (1977) has been widely cited for his approach toward the application of what has been described as "abstract" and "ethereal" discourses of social control on the public by way of institutions (Miller 1995: 9). These ideas revolve around the ways in which governing bodies have had to adapt to the changes in society and moved away from traditional forms of brutality-based force and toward the subtle and unspoken methods of social control. Foucault attempts to convey this wider understanding that the nature of power has necessarily shifted, but he leaves the details of where this new power lies somewhat abstract. Foucault's theory of governmentality has been used to provide a framework for approaching the archaeology of networked infrastructure.

> In governmentality, Foucault brings together seemingly opposed historical trends, specifically the conditions for liberalization of the political economy, but also the expansion and intensification of governmental authority and instrumentation [...] Infrastructure is central to the operation of government, and its history coincides with the history of capitalism and the engagement between democracy and liberalism (Palus 2011c: 91).

It is here where help can be gained by accessing concepts laid out by Alexis de Tocqueville (1835 and 1840) in his formative work, *Democracy in America.* In it he outlines some of the concerns he has regarding the potential risks of the tyranny of the masses which can sometimes come from widely diffused power (de Tocqueville 1840: 318). This is a critical point, that consumer based societies – capitalist societies – exchange the control of the single or limited majority for the influence of the faceless multitude. This process required the political and social alignment of various events along the timeline of social progression to occur in succession.

It is important to realize these theories of approaching power structures when taken in connection with the shifts in economics discussed previously have the potential to directly manifest in consumption patterns at a larger infrastructural level. One surprising area which has been explored recently is the significant role that civic infrastructure can play in the development of social norms. This impact of city planning has been discussed recently in a number of papers, articles and chapters produced from British and North American archaeologists (Palus 2005, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c; Tarlow 2007). Tarlow argues that these infrastructures – the pipes, privies, and other utilities – are part of a social progression which should be placed into the interpretive context of sanitation, or improvement (Tarlow 2007). The logic is simple enough and rather straight forward. These civic services are without a doubt responsible for a great number of social advancements which have occurred, from disease control to industrialisation. Thus, this classification seems apt enough.

However, there is rarely a simple solution in matters of civic progression. The problem arises in part from the fact that when examining the final product, the significance of the process is neglected. An alternative theory is that the decision to develop certain areas while other areas were neglected, sometimes for many generations, was not by chance. Palus offers us this foil:

> Access to public services is a privilege, and at present we are ill prepared to understand what it costs to connect with new infrastructure across different racial, ethnic, or class divisions. Based on what archaeology tells us, we cannot accept that "access" or the "presence or absence" of utilities is solely or even primarily dependent on the financial capabilities or limitations of a household […] I propose a framework where the different services are interpreted as the material culture of governing a population. (Palus 2011c: 101–102).

Palus approaches governance in the sense that Foucault does, as a suite of technologies for rendering a population legible and launching projects for securing and organizing the activities of a population (pers. com. M. Palus 2013). It is through this framework of material imprints of governance that these processes begin to take on more significant meanings and implication for society other than the idea that they are merely vestiges of progress. If we allow that there is an agenda which in part determines which areas received these services and when, then we are engaging with a system which is, in effect, encouraging the social class agenda during a time when temperance movements were flourishing.

Technologies can transform governing processes in unanticipated ways. Further, technologies which arise in other domains may precipitate transformations in government through the emergence, growth and solidification of new discourses and practices and thus the very conceptualisation of government. In short, the technical construction of government may transform its social/discursive construction (Henman 2006: 209).

3.2.3. Symbolism

When Pierre Bourdieu published his seminal work, *Distinction* (1984), he in part established the role of 'things' in the process of identity creation and maintenance. Bourdieu emphasizes the subliminal and unconscious nature of taste due to dispositions and notions of habitus, the idea that social norms are constantly influenced by unspoken and untaught, socially conditioned structuring forces; the social cues we perceive which aid in discerning belonging. His main argument was that there is a strong, indelible connection between artistic taste and the principles that govern a person's habitus. Significantly, this concept goes on to conclude that personal identities such as class or status are distinguished primarily through "...everyday choices of everyday life, in cooking, dress, or decoration…" (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 32).

In the book he asserts that the judgement of taste is the acquired and generally unconscious disposition to classify, differentiate, and label people in terms of their social standing. Bourdieu's idea that things actively pass on and structure culture has an obvious appeal to archaeologists and a direct application in interpreting artefacts. Yet for all its value, there are some significant gaps in his theoretical framework. Most notable of all is his utter failing to confront feminist ideology or propose any discussion at all related to the social experience of those operating outside the dominant sexual ideals (for full critique on these issues amidst Bourdieu's full body of work, see Beverly Skeggs 2004). However, his theory does engage with ideas on how gender plays a significant role in identifying and building both personal roles and social roles, at home and in the wider world (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 191). As Skeggs concedes, this is not altogether outside the thinking of feminist theory which holds "...the family as a fiction and social artefact, a well-founded illusion because it is produced and reproduced with the guarantee of the state and operates as a central site of normalization and naturalization..."

Yet Skeggs goes on to point out that he problematically portrays it as a universal norm. This tendency to rely on reductive analogy can be seen again in how he defines working class women as closer to nature; that of one who is impulsive and lacking self-restraint. In other words, they are wanting in distinction and taste due to their lack of exposure to and cultivation in what is tasteful (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 32). Through this system of linkages, he goes on to cast women's role as producers of cultural capital; one which becomes linked with and again naturalized by the female inclination to portray oneself as attractive (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 379–381). He determines that the basis of what is attractive is ascertained by the observations of those around them who are deemed to have attractive qualities and life styles.

Despite its shortcomings, what is significant to the current research in his work is his discussion on aesthetics and the cultivation of a particular taste as a symptom of what he terms "academic capital". This process of learned actions, behaviours, thinking, eating, dressing, working, standing, playing, and so on, all rests primarily on the environment and extent of one's scholastic achievements (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 5–89). It is from within these environments that we hope to learn about the social structures which govern the social worlds within which each person feels obliged to operate and the motivations for the consumption practices which facilitate it (Bourdieu 1990).

There are a number of scholars who have begun to engage with this concept, and all seem to differ on what the term "disidentification" means. Jose Esteban Muñoz (1999) has encountered a similar phenomenon of outsiders engaging with negative stereotypes in queer theory. Muñoz defines disidentification as "a mode of performance whereby a toxic identity is remade and infiltrated by subjects who have been hailed by such identity categories but have not been able to own such a label" (1999: 185). Others such as M. Verkuyten and J. Thijs (2004) and Eliot R. Smith and Diane M. Mackie (2007) offer the social psychological definition of one who seeks to separate oneself from a particular group or activity. This can be in order to avoid the anxiety perceived from social pressures and expectations of performance or to avoiding reminders of membership in a stigmatized group. While they are both interconnected, the application traditionally is applied to sexuality and gender identity construction. Within sociology Beverley Skeggs (1997) has also written on notions of (dis)engaging with gender constructs and how material culture enters into the discourse in the creation of these social norms. Albeit situated firmly in modernity, this theoretical framework has much to offer studies regarding the construction of many social roles. It challenges the way we as modern entities have interpreted these relics from the past and their impact on the social space situated in the past.

However, there are problems which can arise when bending a modern theory to address issues from the past. Laurent Olivier has written in depth regarding problems of perspective and modern approaches of interpretation in regards to the creation of memory and the role of material – both past and present (Olivier 2004 and 2011). He presents us with the challenge to acknowledge how the past represented in the past impacted the production and maintenance of memories. These processes of creating material culture in the past (i.e., paintings, literature, or structures) act as vessels which perpetuate values from a particular individual or group. I argue that this same process of memory production is manifested in the production of social identities.

3.2.4. Consumers and Consumerism

Among the discussions of the ways economy, society and even civic structures were impacted by these material goods, one phenomenon continues to enter into the picture, and that is the multi-dimensional effects of consumption practices. Daniel Miller, whose focus is primarily on consumption as a process of objectification in a modern setting, works in-line with similar concepts of the structuring power of 'things' put forward by Bourdieu. However, Miller focuses more on the social power embodied by consumption rather than the ways which taste is cultivated. Miller has long dealt with the economic factors surrounding consumption which entwine themselves inseparably with the symbolic nature and role of 'things' and draws heavily on the approaches of Foucault (1982) and de Tocqueville (1946 [1835]) to discuss the ways in which hierarchies of power manifest through subtle and overt social engagement (Miller 1995).

Like the previous theories, Miller invokes the formative role which objects have in the construction of our personal identities. However, compared to the earlier discussed theorists (e.g. Appadurai 1986; Baudrillard 1968; Bourdieu 1984), Miller has a much more focused approach towards consumption patterns. While Bourdieu falls somewhere in between the position held by Appadurai and Baudrillard maintaining that it is the relationships that determine the value of things, he is more interested in their objectification. Yet his model of correspondences depends on making culture into units that can be counted. Bourdieu also relies on culture to produce gender: women are nature, men are culture, not dissimilar to the working-class having base emotions whilst the middle-class develops refinement and disinterest. As Skeggs pointed out, "The problem with these forms of dichotomous abstraction is that if they exist without any empirical understanding of how they are put into effect and their effects, they appear only to reproduce the very categories that they set out to critique" (2004: 28). On the other hand, Miller's approach is less of a way for people to express their individuality, but rather for the collective masses to be guided or driven by their own desires (be them necessity or commodity). It is of particular importance to note the significance of Miller's assertions when he identifies that consumerism and capitalism are neither opposed nor united on their aim; rather consumption assists capitalism's search for profits by simplifying the process of finding a market to sell products (reducing expenses from research, storage, advertising, etc.).

Furthermore, Miller made links in his argument that attempted to situate how the shifts have been experienced in the interactions and everyday lives of people. Significantly, he argues that women have long held the reins in the changing course of socio-political trajectory over the last century. Unlike Bourdieu's treatment of gender, Miller acknowledges the social factors which facilitated the positioning of women as the primary consumer within the household rather than attempting to reason that nature put them in that position. Moreover, he infers that the true decision-making power in recent history lies squarely on the shoulders of the common house wife and her choices regarding household maintenance (1995: 34). He claims that the links between consumption, economics and politics have been misconstrued – intentionally – by economists and politicians for many decades. The reason for this, he argues, lies in the power which has been retained by these groups through way of obscuring the pathways and interlocking systems which fuel the machine. Moreover, by hiding the true power of consumption, those who make the majority of the decisions related to consumption become vulnerable to the subtle sell tactics of those who want to remain in power: politicians and CEOs.

Miller focuses in large part on establishing the links between consumption and politics and the powerful structures which impact not just the household budget of the average US or EU citizen, but also the potentially devastating effect that these fashions and trends can have on the developing countries which produce the materials. He greatly stresses the principle of voting with your money. This concept is especially strong in the moralistic capacity to shame people into feeling morally obliged to make a certain decision regarding goods or services based on conflicting beliefs of the manufacturer, vendor or some other component in the process of goods production and sale. However, this behaviour is nothing new. It is precisely this type of behaviour which has been informing and influencing social norms for hundreds of years.

It is worth noting, when reviewing Miller's work with modern consumption patterns, his perception of how long retailing has been responding to commercial movements seems somewhat limited. He initially cites the cold war as the point of origin for this social phenomenon in consumption (1995: 2) and critiques Murray (1989) for having such a short-sighted acknowledgement of how long the retail market has been responding to the new forms of demand, claiming that there has been noticeable shifts since 1968 (1995: 6). Yet Miller's observation of the key role that women have held in recent history as the decision makers regarding household consumption patterns has far reaching implications. This pattern of decision making has been traced as early as the early eighteenth century with the rise of tea consumption and the accoutrements which were standard living essentials in a household of a certain status at that time (Kowaleski-Wallace 1995), in addition to the eighteenth century commercial venues that form the basis of this research. With this in mind, the impact of the consumer driven market has a far greater range of impact than even Miller acknowledged. The significance of recognizing the complex systems at work in these establishments, communities, governments, ultimately points to their far reaching impact on other economies, politics, communities and establishments. What we understand from this is that the rise of merchant capitalism and global commerce is largely responsible for many of the changes in consumer culture in the seventeenth century and on. These cultural imprints can be traced in the material record and can inform us on how the world commerce was impacting local lives on a more individual level. However, this is not to say that it is believed here that consumption is a primary means to identify and set ourselves apart, as others have argued (e.g. Friedman 1994). As Miller rightly points out,

> …in the array of commodities as brought to life in the consumption practices of the household that moral, cosmological and ideological objectifications are constructed to create images by which we understand who we have been, who we are and who we might or should be in the future…[It] is revealed to be very far from some autonomous, independently generated act. Rather it is a limited condition that bears the burden of histories of social category formation in terms of class, gender, and other parameters, the normative adjudications of families and peers (Miller 1995: 35–36).

The variation in methods of approaching the significance of the objects around us and the consumption of material culture is staggering. Yet within the variation lies the chance to gain the benefit of different perspectives. The important differences lie primarily in the way each theorist (or theorists) emphasised the conscious nature of the act of consumption. Bourdieu focuses more on the ideas of taste and distinction and argues that consumption is merely a necessary avenue for these things to be negotiated. Douglas and Isherwood on the other hand focus on the structures formed through consumption, their active role in forming class boundaries, and the instrumental function they have in social hierarchies (arguably) universally. Appadurai would suggest that these systems are linked with politics, while Baudrillard claims that they are by their very nature subjective and elusive. Like Douglas and Isherwood, Miller accepts that consumption becomes a key factor in the process of class formation, yet he deviates from the potentially overly simplistic conclusion that this is a universal system and limits it to the modern, western world. As Foucault and his predecessor, De Tocqueville, have argued, the power struggle which vies for consumer choice is the hot breath of social oppression. This thesis will pursue an argument that calls upon all of these perspectives, and hopes to temper them together. This unique vantage point contends that to us as consumers, consumption is something at once conscious and unconscious, known and unknown. It accepts the abstract conception that there is certainly some element of unspoken social influence on what we consume, but that these unspoken structures are intentional and conscious elements within social hierarchies.

3.3. Archaeological Theories of Consumption

The theoretical shift discussed above issued a challenge to many academic circles to deal more directly with the significance of objects and to engage with their roles as socially active, symbolic, and even the potential of them possessing agency. Articles, chapters, papers and books were written dealing with the social issues bound up within the ways we use the objects, but even more controversially, how materials might be themselves impacting the ways in which we use and interact with them. The archaeological focus on the importance of consumption began to emerge within this wider theoretical approach towards material culture, but not until the last decade of the twentieth century. This approach to thinking about objects proved to be full of complexities and, as a result, many debates began to emerge which engaged with the varied relationships we have with consumption and the ways people have historically used it as a means to negotiate social identity.

One theoretical perspective which had a particularly strong presence in historical archaeology at this time stems from a more broadly accepted theory which was popular in social sciences, especially during the 1970s. That perspective is called the 'dominant ideology' which in short suggests that there is in most societies a set of beliefs which dominates all others and which, through its incorporation in the consciousness of subordinate classes, tends to inhibit the development of radical political dissent (Althussar 1971; Leone 1988). Many of the same theorist discussed in the previous section (for example Bourdieu, Foucault, Douglas, and Baudrillard) drew heavily upon the assumption that in most class based societies there is a pervasive set of beliefs that broadly serves the interests of the dominant class. This dominant ideology is then adopted by subordinate classes which are thereby prevented from formulating any effective opposition.

In this way the consumer ideology is conveyed through establishing, accepting and maintaining certain ideas through fashionably stylized space. In historical archaeology, Mark Leone suggested that the architecture and organization of formal garden landscapes among social elites in Annapolis, Maryland assisted the retention of a sense of power throughout the uncertain times surrounding the American revolt against Britain in the late eighteenth century. He proposed that these men employed well established and classical lines of sight and modern scientific developments in horticulture to evoke a sense of power and control of their environment in order to project a sense of invulnerability to the imminent threat of losing both (1988: 13–16).

However, a decade earlier Abercrombie and Turner (1978) published a paper critiquing the accepted standard throughout sociology regarding dominant ideology. Their main criticism was that this system of social control was only feasible prior to the establishment of a capitalist economy (Abercrombie and Turner 1978: 149). They were particularly unconvinced of the notion that capitalist societies require a dominant ideology to ensure the continuing political superiority of the dominant class. The major criticism of this theoretical framework is the necessary assumption that the subject utilized to convey the elitist perspective could serve only one symbolic function which was then accepted by everyone, regardless of social status or position (Beaudry et al. 1991: 278). "...It is clear that the "dominant ideology thesis" implies a degree of social control on the part of elites that makes it particularly unsuitable as a model for class relationships in developed, industrialized societies-even less so in preindustrial societies..." (Giddens 1981: 55 as referenced in Beaudry et al. 1991: 279).

Applications such as the use of this perspective by Leone in his series of publications analysing William Paca's garden in Annapolis, Maryland (Leone et al. 1987; Leone 1988, Leone and Potter 1987, and 1984;) have been criticised for the application of dominant ideology (Hodder and Hudson 2003: 220–222; Beaudry et al. 1991: 274; Gibb 1996: 27). Leone himself has acknowledged the failure of his early years investigating the social structures in Annapolis' past and did not take resistance measures into account. However, in more recent years, there has been a shift in his school of thought to attempt to access these pathways (Hodder and Hudson 2003: 220–222). However, many of these critiques fail to address the gap which remains between the period in history when brute force was used to dominate the peasantry and when manipulation through economics was used in an established capitalist society. What is to be said for the period during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when industrialism was not yet established and a capitalist economy not fully realized? The critique on this notion of social control jumps from one established system to the other, with no explanation for the transition periods.

One alternative perspective is that of 'cultural hegemony', studying society, "not from the top down or bottom up, but from the inside out, from the place where people are articulate to the place where they are not, from the place where people are in control of their destinies to the place where they are not" (Glassie 1982: 85–86). Cultural hegemony, or "the 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production" (Lear 1985: 568) also provides an adequate framework within to negotiate and interpret material patterns. This concept places a great deal of control on the individual and alludes to the deliberate nature of consumption. This notion of the importance of consumer choice was thoroughly examined through an edited volume of papers by Suzanne Spencer-Wood (1987). This volume focuses chiefly on the value of material culture in the process of distinguishing socioeconomic differences in the mid-eighteenth through nineteenth century on the east coast of America. These studies identify the many contributions that historical archaeology has to offer the history-centric world of cultural preservation. They demonstrate the potential value of turning to new applications of old theories, such as Middle Range Theory (Leone and Crosby 1987: 397–410) as well as the development of new systems of analysis altogether to deal with specific types of sites (Orser 1987: 121–138). This collection of work made valuable contributions which strengthened new methods of artefact analysis and established historical archaeology's contribution in the generation of new knowledge.

A discussion soon began regarding material as a means of social communication which was used and interpreted by those making purchases; the act of consumption as a complex and meaningful action which assists in activating one's own sense of identity (Beaudry et al. 1991; Wall 1991; Cook et al. 1996). Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski discuss material culture as a means to communicate established information about the societies where the objects were either used or manufactured (Prown 1988: 19). They identify trends within academic studies which moved away from logical positivism where establishing meaning was purposely avoided, and instead moved towards recovering that meaning (Beaudry et al. 1991: 273). In their article they attempt to blend the interpretive approaches normally reserved for "symbolic" aspects of culture with "the archaeologist's necessary focus on things material and particular" (Beaudry et al. 1991: 274). They combine a semiotic approach with sociological and anthropological theories of social action and social discourse, and the critical reading of historical texts to build context (Beaudry et al. 1991: 275). Diana Di Zergra Wall (1991) addressed some important issues regarding the use of consumption by two middle class households from the mid-nineteenth century, living in the Greenwich Village neighbourhood in New York City. She demonstrates how the application of a theoretical merging of both Bourdieu's (1984) hierarchy of cultured tastes and distinction with the tenets of dominant ideology of that time.

These studies all argue that the act of the consumer is not one latently or subconsciously being manipulated by society, rather it is an act of wilful agency, invoking deliberation and informed knowledge of the social meaning which lay within each item. These ideas can be seen as successors of earlier debates established by Douglas and Isherwood, further developed and adapted to address the recursive nature and character of material culture and how we use it as an expression of self. These also deviated from the earlier assertions by archaeologists who had worked on issues of the changing emphasis and significance of material culture which allowed for a much greater level of agency in the materials themselves (Hodder 1982), and instead left this as more of a grey area in the interpretation.

Historical archaeologists began to focus of the local context of use and meaning these objects represented for those buying, using and displaying them (Casey 2005: 99; Gibb 1996; Shackel 1993: 46–49; Leone and Crosby 1987: 235–261). For example, Jim Gibb (1996) demonstrates how the homestead in seventeenth-century mid-Atlantic America was making economically sound decisions in terms of their own financial aims and independent from the lofty theoretical issues imposed in retrospect from a modern analytical perspective.

Shackel (1993) concentrates on inventoried items associated with the segmentation and measurement of time and space (clocks and scientific instruments) to show how the systems of personal discipline and the social hierarchies they sustained as natural and intrinsic rather than as social constructs. Also examined are objects related to hygiene and grooming. In particular, he focused on the production and use of toothbrushes in these environments. It was his argument that these items hygiene rituals aided in the reification of notions of self-discipline and control. By accepting and promoting these and similar socially endorsed performances and practices – both in public, such as with a tea services and in private as with the toothbrushes – these social ideologies of control and maintenance were rapidly established, transmitted and reified among the social elites. He argues that for the Industrial Revolution to work, people had to be made to behave in ways that contrasted sharply with the preindustrial past. Shackel narrows his focus on the significant role that new and ever changing standards of good social practice played in developing a new behavioural regime. This was especially true with certain materials (e.g. dining and tea wares, clothing, brand names, etc.). He discusses how they were adopted and ultimately became tradition within the community or society (1993: 5). As Shackel puts it, "Modern behaviour associated with work life and home life, eating, health, and hygiene appears natural, inevitable, and timeless, when in fact it is not" (1993: 2).

Following on from that, Yentsch demonstrates the great variation of symbolic meaning that exists amidst different populations who are using the same types of materials in different ways (1994: 281–310). She argues that these practices and rituals were being performed as a means to reassure old systems of authority and to reify new measures being implemented to exclude access to secret knowledge in the form of science and technology.

Leone's arguments then seem more relevant when emphasis lies in the notion that these measures were largely for the benefit of the elite classes themselves and not, strictly speaking, to be accepted or even understood by the working class observers. If anything, the mysterious performances and seemingly bizarre regimens adopted by the social elite were more effective as further forms of alienation of the lower classes. This is not too dissimilar to the social structures described by Bourdieu in his dialogues on taste and its role in reifying class hierarchies (1984: 32). This distinction between those who had access to the knowledge which informed and encouraged specific actions or practices to become accepted became yet another defining quality which could be used to determine one who belonged from an intruder or a fraud. This enlightenment of the social classes started in the early to mid-eighteenth century across major European cities and rapidly expanded. What is unclear through these studies is how the material record demonstrates the agency and individuality suggested by a hegemony perspective (Glassie 1982). This seems to present a dilemma, for what reality is one faced with when the material record shows that the personal identities that are being constructed subscribed to the ideology of the dominant class?

Almost as a response from Shackel's own previous work, Lucas and Shackel (1994) offer an insightful discussion on how different patterns of consumption could be assessed to establish the presence of differences in attitudes toward changes in social structures through material culture patterns and consumption patterns. Due to the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society in nineteenth-century Harpers Ferry, residents and workers were shown to adapt differently depending on their stance on modernization. Domestic archaeological assemblages are compared for two master armourers: one who supported the earlier task-oriented system of production, and the other who attempted to change the armoury into a more systematic and modern industrialized facility. Distinctive differences between the assemblages appear and are attributed to changing perceptions of industrialism. This study was significant for demonstrating the differences in attitudes toward changes in social structures through material culture patterns and consumption patterns, the implications of which are highly relevant to this thesis' goal to establish consumptions patterns as a means to represent wider social changes in ideology and structure. Unfortunately, their approach relies heavily on controlled excavation methods which severely limit the application to existing collections due to different excavation methods.

Alternatively, Kowaleski-Wallace (1995) made a striking connection between the conceptual views of women and fine Chinese porcelain throughout the eighteenth century with virtually no engagement with any actual objects. By using poetry and ballads from the time she teased out the symbolic nature of the materials found within the texts, steeped in social relevance, and interpreted them thusly. While her evidence is arguably founded within a staunchly symbolic literary milieu, it explores the social values projected during this period regarding notions of gender and certain consumer goods. Both are examples of how consumption was being used to reify social or personal identities through materials.

It is clear that consumption is more complex than just one simplistic view that people are either buying things to fit in with the class from which they feel they belong (or would like to belong) as argued by Bourdieu (1984), or that they are trying to assert themselves as individuals, clearly and deliberately as Glassie puts forth (1982). Cook, Yamin and McCarthy (1996) show these complexities in their paper, suggesting that for too long the notion that consumption was merely a means to an end has dominated the interpretations within the field of historical archaeology and that perhaps it was time to look at it as "a proper object of study in its own right" (Cook et al. 1996: 50). They make critical observations which lead to the further development of the diverse and far reaching range of impact that consumption and practice can have in the construction of social identities. This idea that the choices we make and the instrumental role consumption practices have in the construction of identity was not an isolated one.

However there have also been counter arguments that call for consideration of factors beyond economic position, status and ethnicity and re-access the meaningful cultural contexts through empirical data (Gibb 1996; Johnson 1996). These arguments are firmly situated within perspective that the material evidence should be allowed to advocate on behalf of the interests, meaning and values of those who directly engaged with them (Johnson 1996: 68). The growing support of these perspectives has contributed to the development of a new discipline dedicated to the study of material culture in the modern historic and contemporary past.

3.3.1 Material Culture Studies and Consumption

Material culture studies has quickly risen to the fore within many fields of academic study in recent years. Some have pointed out that the line between disciplines such as historical archaeology, ethnoarchaeology and modern material studies are blurring with each passing year (e.g. Adams 1973; Carlson 1990; Orser and Babson 1990; Delgado 1992; Claassen 1994). However, Majewski and Schiffer have argued that the term itself opens doors and connects a multitude of disciplines within academia, while at the same time connoting an emphasis on the study of modernity and consumerism in the industrialised world (Majewski and Schiffer 2009:

191–192). While the concepts and ideas regarding the significance of consumer culture on the modern world are not new, this shift in focus within archaeological community is a relatively recent phenomena. Early attention outlined key elements foundational to the study of consumerism: (1) the way materials demarcate social hierarchy, (2) how fashion and demand of products stimulate economic growth and diversity, and (3) personal ascription of meaning on objects being produced (Smart-Martin 1993: 142). Smart-Martin (1993) reviews scholarship on consumption and discusses how material culture studies ultimately all stress the way human-made things fit together and work with humankind, moving collective intellect from object to people, to social groups, to culture or the other way around (Deetz 1977). Smart-Martin argues that, "Consumerism extends well beyond acquisition; it subsumes the cultural relationship between humans and consumer goods and services, including behaviours, institutions, and ideas" (1993: 142–143). On this point she provides an excellent discussion on the early development of consumption studies in multiple disciplines and the history of consumption. What is significant here is how Smart-Martin uses material patterns to inform on the changing ways in which the bourgeois began to use consumption, "particularly women as agents of change in the material repertoire of a society" (Majewski and Schiffer 2009: 195). This links up with earlier discussion of Miller regarding how women as household purchasers become the driving force behind modern consumer choices in the twentieth century (Miller 1995: 34).

These dialogues have advanced the current state of research into consumerism to include a more fully integrated approach to how objects have been used in the development of social structures. These objects can be read and interpreted to gain insight on the mechanisms which influenced and facilitated the success of certain forms of social identity formation. In other words, the concept of consumerism "...subsumes the cultural relationship between humans and consumer goods and services, including behaviours, institutions, and ideas" (Smart-Martin 1993: 142–143 summarised in Majewski and Schiffer 2009: 194). Yet despite these investigations opening up the diversity of scholarship which can be unified under the heading of archaeologies of consumerism, there have been relatively few studies generated in the area of social consumption patterns. However, there have been a few challenges to the field which have recognized the value and significance of these consumption materials and have used them to read the changes and developments in a society's infrastructure.

In many ways, Majewski and Schiffer (2009) pick up where Smart-Martin (1993) left off. Their main argument is that the field of modern material culture studies makes a legitimate contribution to the academic world. They do this by primarily discussing the key significance that material culture can play in other fields of study outside archaeology and how adding the term 'modern material culture studies' to a research project opens doors to allow the use of alternative methods and theoretical perspectives otherwise deemed inappropriate for archaeological materials. They argue that modern material culture studies look at artefacts from industrial societies which inform us on details of that society. They call for the development of a new branch of archaeology of consumerism due to the far reaching social impact that consumer culture has on society, at all levels. Their main goal is to identify the technological, social, cultural, and behavioural factors responsible for changes in the diversity of manufacturers and products. They acknowledge that much of the current or recent studies being carried out in relation to socio-demographic characteristics are gleaned from documentary evidence and refuse. Yet, as most studies on this topic, they fail to deal with the future impact and implication these behaviour patterns are seen to have. It is the opinion of this author that by doing so you are stopping short of the most valuable contribution this field has to offer over attempts from other fields. They stress that archaeology has the privilege of being able to study these changes empirically.

While these studies are invaluable in their contributions towards the wider discussion of social implications of consumption practices, there is some departure from the part that the consumption sites (the establishments themselves) play in this important social dialogue. The studies in this previous section in many ways were attempts to justify or convince their peers into broadening the narrow range of interpretations that their theoretical frameworks had been producing. There is now a need to combine the practical and theoretical and review what an archaeologically sound synthesis of the interpretation of the data from sites of sociability and consumption can produce and what methods can be employed to achieve this aim.

3.4. Methodology

Through the examination of patterns of consumption practices within what had been identified by previous analysis to be various drinking establishments – namely inns, taverns, and alehouses – a striking relationship is revealed between social issues and identities, and the importation of exotic and local goods. It is therefore my aim to demonstrate how the materials contributed to the construction and maintenance of distinct identities and facilitated transformations – on both a personal and social level. Furthermore, it is of increasing interest how the processes of global trade expansion and the importation and consumption of exotic goods facilitated these shifts in the social dynamic in London between 1666 and 1780.

3.4.1. Initial Survey and Research Definition

This portion of the analysis was intended to establish the nature and extent of the various materials associated with approximately 11 different sites offered for analysis by Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) in November 2010. Use of pre-existing collections was important as one of the research objectives in this project. By utilizing previously excavated material curated at the Museum of London it was my goal to develop a system whereby these materials – curated by means of access to public funds – could be further illuminated and more fully utilized. In this section I will explore some of the problems associated with the use of previously excavated, rescue material, the impact this had on my research questions and the details of the mitigating approaches employed to enable my research to progress.

3.4.2. Primary Review of Excavation Records

The preliminary overview of materials and records indicated that there were six sites with good quality material from the seventeenth century. Of these sites, the material was of an outstanding quality at two sites - BAZ05 at 35 Basinghall Street (McKenzie et al. forthcoming) and KIG95 at 15–17 King Street (Blair 2005) – and the contextual historic record of the associated neighbourhood was excellent at another one – NGT00 at the Newgate Triangle on Newgate Street (Watson et al. 2010). Through initial review of the archived grey literature associated with each site, a better idea of the extent and nature of the recovery process and significance of material was obtained. The locations of the sites within the City of London from which archaeological material for the project was obtained - King Street (KIG95), Newgate Street (NGT00) and Basinghall Street (BAZ05) - are shown in **Error! Reference ource not found.**. This material was selected because all the sites fitted neatly within both the time period chosen for study and within the walled City of London.

There were two other sites of this period which had also been considered due to material evidence for a drinking establishment in the late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century, Golden Lane and Fenchurch Street. The material from Golden Lane was located just outside the city wall, and was therefore not included in the present study. The material from Fenchurch Street was considered but, due to the nature of the material and the extent of the work undertaken, this material was determined to be repetitive for the research objectives of the present study and was therefore not utilized.

Another factor taken into consideration was the condition of the relevant period's material. At both sites there had been associated burials discovered dating to the nineteenth century which took precedent in terms of recovery. These burials required a great deal of time and care, thus the excavation details and records from the seventeenth and eighteenth century was not given the same attention. This taken with the overall quality of the material recovered at both sites eliminated both Golden Lane and Fenchurch Street from the final study. The material available from King Street, Newgate Street and Basinghall Street gave a large enough sample size for the present study. Permission from Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) was obtained to undertake analytical and photographic work on the material from all sites.

3.4.3. Secondary Review of Excavation Records and Existing Analysis

In order to determine the extent and viability of research objectives, material inventories were obtained from each of the relevant sites, along with published and unpublished work which had been produced on each of these three sites. The rescue conditions that all of these sites were subject to during excavation and the variations in recovery over the ten years between the oldest and most recent excavations resulted in some variation between the sites and the types of materials or records which were retained. Although not initially apparent due to the nature of the curation environment, half of the materials were housed within the Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) unit and the other half were housed within the London Archaeological Archive Research Centre (LARRC). The nature of the organisations meant that on-going work conducted by Museum of London Archaeology on material in the BAZ05 and NGT00 collections proved somewhat restrictive. As such, there was never a point where all of the sites were able to be viewed together in a given research trip, complicating this stage to some extent and resulting in a segmented data collection period.

3.4.4. Analysis

Unpublished grey literature reports and available publications provided the main substance for the quantitative analysis. Considering the substantial gaps in time between the excavations of each location, a certain degree in variation in collection techniques was to be expected between sites. Some sizable gaps in the data collection and recording procedures were found in the records of glass for KIG95. While a substantial assemblage existed in the form of rare and high status glass wares, the limitations of resources in the way of funding, time and protocol meant that the glass assemblage was not properly catalogued in the ORACLE database used by both MOLA and the LARRC in 1995. This combined with the author's initial unfamiliarity with the recording systems employed at MOLA, and the disjointed nature under which the collections and archived material were able to be analysed, resulted in the gradual discovery of many small gaps in the individual research records. The only context sheets accessible were for NGT00 and much of the existing catalogue or inventory lists for the material finds were inconsistent with the report numbers (where reports could be obtained). Ultimately, a systematic reanalysis of all the glass available from the three sites was undertaken. Where possible, vessel form, colour, element, sherd count (SC) and estimated number of vessels (ENV) was recorded. Additionally, images were taken of exceptional vessels or typical examples of both glass and ceramic assemblages.

3.4.5. Final Analysis and Research Objectives

Once the limitations and potential for the data was established, qualitative analysis began. In the winter and spring of 2012/13 research questions developed based on the following research objectives:

1. Determine who was occupying/using these spaces of social and public consumption.
2. To advance research into this remarkable crossroads of families, merchants, farmers, and artisans, and to enhance their focus in national memory and heritage.
3. Investigate how political and social aspects of life were negotiated within these spaces.
4. Determine if a more accurate material signature for these spaces can be determined from these assemblages and what implications, if any, there might be regarding the progression of consumption and global ideas relating to attitudes toward or intrigue with the exotic or 'otherness', notions of empire or of personal identity, and the rise of consumer culture, modern capitalism and industry.
5. Determine the limitations and potential for the utilization of previously excavated materials as a resource for the detailed study of Post-Medieval materials.
6. Help establish the on-going historical value of developer-funded archaeology, the under-valued potential of assemblages from inner city commercial sites, and the potential for inter-site comparison, building on the limitations of grey literature.

It was with these objectives in mind that the subsequent data analysis was undertaken. Here follows the basic presentation of data collected and subsequently analysed over the course of a 12 month period. The forms and fabrics were first compiled to determine the total percentage of vessels represented for each fabric and each form. This first process of analysis was applied to both ceramic and glass forms and fabrics. Second, the function of each vessel was determined based on both form and fabric, and decoration pattern where applicable. A combination of these variables was then taken to determine frequency and relative patterns of use. The data from each site will now be presented. Each site is roughly laid out with a section broadly summarising the total finds from each site by fabric (ceramic and glass), then by area or period (NGT00 and BAZ05, respectively), and followed by a section of more focused analysis and discussion.

3.5. Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter, established theories and applications in research have been reviewed so as to help build a robust theoretical framework and methodology for the purpose of employing it on a larger scale comparative analysis. By combining the practical and theoretical reviews, I have outlined an archaeologically sound structure for the specialised synthesis and interpretation of the data from these five sites of sociability and consumption.

Other investigations in this review process have had the option to look at either one house or place, one artefact type or a combination there of, in order to obtain specific information about the people living there (e.g. Crook and Murray 2004, Hayes 2011). Their research also stemmed from the use of previously excavated, analysed and interpreted assemblages available by choosing the most reliable datasets, regardless of their association with particular families or occupation phases. These were major considerations for my own research. As such, the findings were allowed to develop over the course of time in response to one another, as opposed to an entirely researcher-driven agenda. What developed was a discussion of how sites of public consumption played an increasingly significant role in the social performance of status and, as a result, how these establishments changed over time.

Whilst interpreting the assemblages, links have made between the artefacts, the reasons they were originally purchased or sought after, and the ways they were used throughout the objects' life cycles. While these links are based in part on established social theories, empirical economic theories and historical research, they also rely in part on a certain element of speculation and cannot pretend to be entirely accurate. In short, these interpretations remain largely speculative. The objective here is not to accurately reconstruct the individual pasts of those engaging in these spaces, but rather to examine the role of things within the structures of society and how the social relationship with consumption and use of goods to was changing. While status is one element of this analysis, it is more accurate to say that my research interests lie in how status was becoming appropriated to things as an extension of a wider social shift. This shift in how people thought about *things* is the fundamental interest of this thesis. In the next chapter, the data will be presented as initially reported by MOLA through access to their records and publications, and the basic analysis of each site will establish the major patterns present.

4. Data Analysis

4.1. Introduction

The sites under analysis were all located within the City of London and were greatly impacted structurally by the Great Fire. After they were rebuilt, each operated anywhere from 20–150 years and each was an establishment for sociability and consumption. From November 2010 to June 2014, evidence from the excavations of each site was comparatively researched and examined. The three sites were excavated by the Museum of London Archaeological Service (now Museum of London Archaeology, from here on MOLA) over the previous two decades. Stratigraphic and architectural data demonstrated that a total of six features associated with separate deposition assemblages could be related to the social consumption of goods provided by the establishments. This chapter presents the results of a functional analysis conducted on artefacts recovered from these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century consumption deposits.

Drawing on studies applying alternative functional categories of use from within nineteenth-century Australian sites (Hayes 2011; Casella 2007, 2001, and 2000; Brooks 2005; Crook and Murray 2004), patterns of use from both commercial and private consumption sites in nineteenth-century urban American environments (Bartoy et al. 2006; Reckner and Brighton 1999), and site analysis from previously identified seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London drinking establishments (Bowsher et al. 2007; Pearce 2000), this specific methodology was adapted to examine the nature and frequency of functional types particularly relevant to the archaeology of trade networks, social role formation, and alternative material use patterns. These models were specifically chosen based on the functional approach and formative nature of the environments the aforementioned research was engaging with, rather than the period of interest. This archaeological examination considers the material aspects of identity and power relations within sites of consumption in the city of London and the changes which occurred between the late-seventeenth to late eighteenth centuries.

These collections are located at the Museum of London in London, UK, for curation, display and permanent storage. Access to all three collections and the detailed artefact inventories are available upon request through MOLA, and the London Archaeology Archive Resource Centre (from here on LAARC), London.

4.2. Analysis Overview

As has been previously mentioned, these sites were all excavated under various circumstances and with different research objectives by MOLA. This proved something of an obstacle in the secondary analysis of the materials. During the analysis of the assemblages it was important to take into consideration the variations in data collection and recording techniques employed at each site, while simultaneously ensuring that comparable data was collected.

While there are many possible artefact types that would allow for characterizing the material culture indicative of status, this thesis focuses on glass, ceramic and tobacco pipes – all specifically tied to vessels used for public consumption. There are four advantages for using these materials: they preserve well in the archaeological record, there has been much previous research done on all the artefact types, they were used heavily across the time period under investigation to express status, and they all have a significant presence across all three sites allowing for a functional comparison.

It is also important to note the nature of the deposits under investigation. All assemblages were cesspit deposits filled in at the end of their use. It is important to remember that the artefacts recovered from the cesspits at these establishments do not represent the entirety of what the proprietors owned and used for serving or preparation. Rather, the artefacts represent the things which were broken, damaged, out of fashion, or in some other way no longer needed for some reason by the person who discarded them. Generally, expensive goods that retained their value would not be discarded (Lillios 1999; Spencer-Wood 1987: 14).

4.2.1. Materials Overview

The materials which comprised this assemblage are predominantly ceramic and glass. These items have been widely used in many different capacities throughout the centuries, but during the period in question both glass and ceramics were primarily used for storing, cooking and serving food and drink, for hygienic and architectural purposes, and finally, for decoration and display purposes. There was also an established population of tobacco smokers in London at this time utilizing a great deal of ceramic pipes. The materials in these assemblages mainly represent forms for the consumption of food, drink and tobacco, as well as a number of items for medical or hygienic utility. Lastly, there are a smaller representative proportion of items which would have been used solely for decoration and display. While these decorative items make up a smaller portion of the material in the assemblages (frequently absent entirely), the recovery of these items can yield a great deal of information on personal taste and social ideas at the time.

Ceramics at this time functioned both practically and environmentally in much the same way that plastics have functioned from the twentieth century onward. These items were easy to manipulate, were available in a vast array of forms, and were relatively cheap. As such, ceramics in their many forms came to represent the first widely marketed disposable consumables in a burgeoning consumer culture. Due to their robust make-up, they do not break down over time and thus preserve in the archaeological record long after their functional use is over.

The main fabric types recovered across all of these sites were earthenwares of local origin, stonewares from domestic potteries outside of London and those imported from continental Europe (predominately from the Rhineland), and a small percentage of foreign imported wares (such as Chinese porcelain). These fabrics will be discussed in greater detail in each section in relation to which fabric has the greatest impact on the assemblage under discussion.

Glass was more difficult to manipulate, more fragile to transport and far more complicated to produce than its ceramic counterpart. With the exception of permeability, the advantages to glass were nearly all aesthetic. It was transparent which made it ideal for allowing light into a structure while keeping out the elements, but even this ultimately came down to a matter of status (though window glass would be the earliest, widely accessible form of glass material) (Dungworth 2011: 26)

A dramatic shift occurs in England during the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries regarding glass use. We see glass going from its lowest point of use at the beginning of the sixteenth century in terms of availability and frequency in the archaeological record, to the total reverse by the middle of the seventeenth century (Willmott 2004: 271). This is in large part due to the expansion of the glass industry within England itself, allowing for a local alternative to the expensive imported Venetian and *façon de Venise* wares. Similar to the pottery, we see both local glassware and imported wares present at these sites. However, the only foreign imports highly sought after during this period were from Italy, France and Spain. Additionally, it was around this period that English glassworks began to discover the secretes to making refined glassware items, so there is a rising subculture of finer glassware within the local market at the close of the seventeenth century (Tyler and Willmott 2005: 10–11, 14).

4.2.2. Deposition Patterns

The materials represented from each of these features were identified as cesspits or cellar features. All of these assemblages represent what are called "clearance group" deposits. These types of deposits are characterized as having come from a deliberately discarded, closed group of material ("closed" here refers to there being little sign of chronological disturbance within the group). These assemblages will be comprised of items of everyday significance in association with the source of the material, and tend to represent the final fill of the feature, in this case cesspits (Pearce 2000: 144). These types of assemblages were characterized by a number of distinctive features further identified by Pearce (2000: 145):

1. Large quantities of pottery.
2. There is generally a high proportion of large, joining sherds and vessels, suggesting that they were either thrown away intact, because they were damaged, outmoded or no longer wanted, or that they had been freshly broken and all recoverable fragments discarded at the same time.
3. They are typically closely datable, often to within 10 or 20 years, and include a high proportion of fabrics and forms in contemporaneous use.
4. Chronological contamination is normally minimal, with relatively little residual or intrusive material present.
5. A far lower degree of fragmentation and abrasion is apparent than in deposits which have accumulated over many years or decades.

Even though these deposits have been determined to represent end of use deposition, the materials which were available for disposal at the point of disuse can still tell volumes regarding the social and commercial standards which were in place until the very end of the cesspits service. By compiling information both broadly and specifically regarding the material recovered from each location, it is the hope that a body of work will materialize which can be used to further illuminate the nature of socialization, interactions, patterns of use, consumption variations and other socially revealing insights regarding the people working and consuming within these spaces and with these objects.

Expected indicators of high status in dining and beverage service assemblages included matching sets, a variety of sets for different purposes, purpose specific vessels, consistency across dining and beverage services and fashionable patterns (Hayes 2011: 36). Conversely, the expected indicators of lower status will be irregularity in the items, increase in items with a multi-functional or broadly defined purpose, and plain or rudimentary craftsmanship and/or decoration.

Finally, it is important to note that the as primary access to the assemblages was not possible in all but one example (that of KIG95), the analysis draws heavily on the analysis performed by MOLA and their published and unpublished records (see Blair 2005; Watson et al. 2010). As such, much of the data analysis is available in its published form through the *Journal of the Society for Post Medieval Archaeology*.

4.3. Case study 1: The Private Club or Physician's on Ironmonger Lane (KIG95)

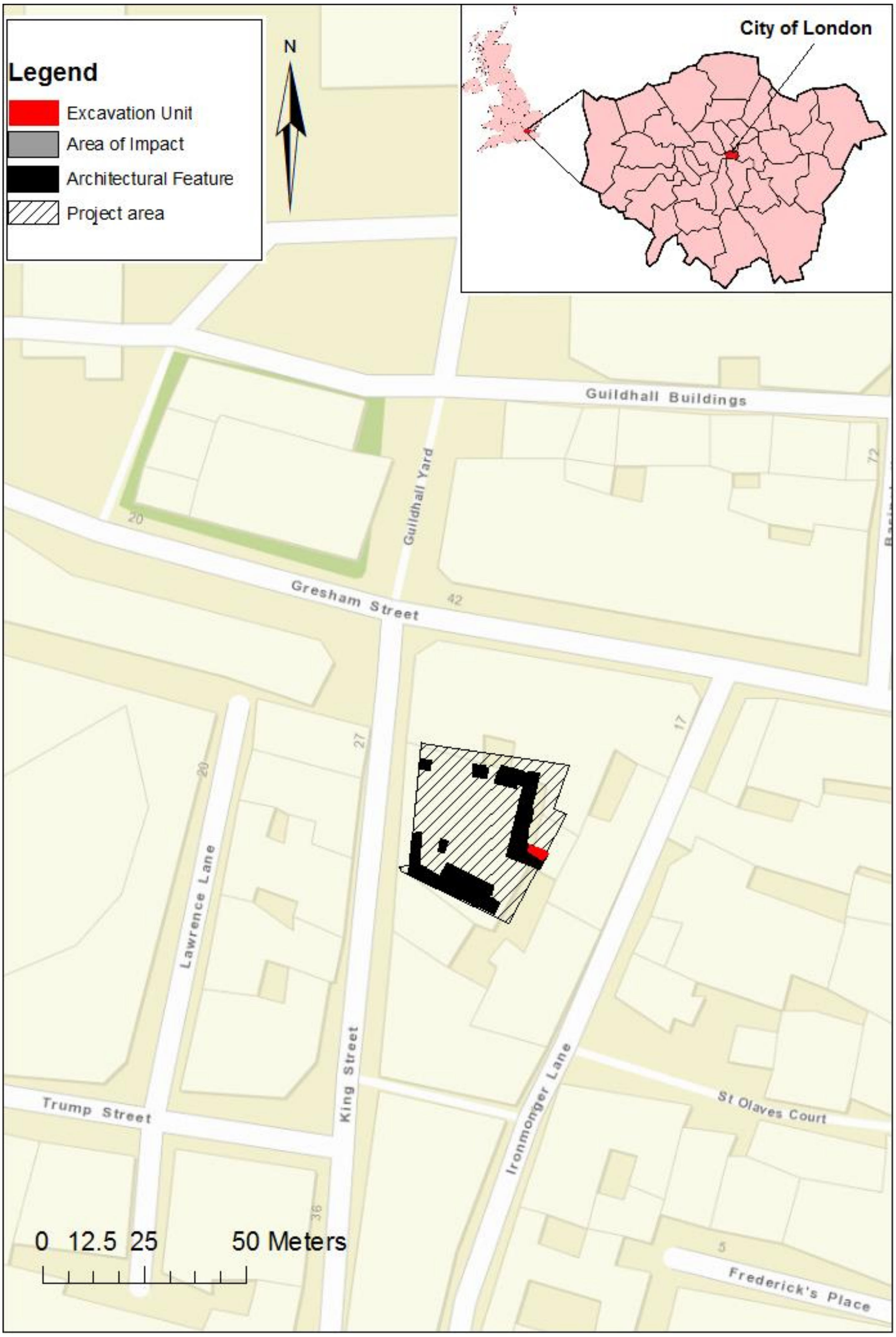

Figure 4.1 – Site Location of 15–17 King Street excavation.
Site location of KIG95 with project boundaries, architectural features and excavation unit. Author's copyright.

4.3.1. Introduction

As a case study to explore changes in consumption practices, I undertook analysis of an assemblage of material from MOLA, in London. The assemblage was recovered from between two extant streets: King Street and Ironmonger Lane (see Figure 4.1). These streets have a long history, King Street having been established in the rebuilding of the area in 1666 and Ironmonger Lane dating back as early as medieval times. The assemblage includes many drinking vessels of both high quality and moderate quality items in glass and ceramic, evidence of both alcoholic and non-alcoholic drink, tobacco, and food consumption. These had been deposited in the cesspit attached to the rear of two properties during the occupation of the establishment. The consumption material had been recognized as evidence for "a nearby tavern or affluent household" (Blair 2005: 319) but aside from the recognition of some high status items in the assemblage this had not been explored further. This section outlines my reanalysis of the assemblage which revealed evidence for processes of changing consumption patterns reflected in society at large at this time in London.

4.3.2. Site background

4.3.2.1. Circumstances of excavation

MOLA carried out initial surveys and the excavation of the area between 1995 and 1999 in advance of the construction of a new architectural development in the financial district. This site is the smallest of the three, approximately 25m x 25m, and is situated roughly 80–100m south of the medieval guildhall. This revealed intact deposits spanning from the Victorian's to the Roman occupation in A.D. 50—100 (Blair 2005: 314). The site archive and full reports of the excavations are available for consultation in the LAARC under the site code KIG95; tabulated data and details from the site not published here can be consulted there by arrangement.

4.3.2.2. Historical context

At the time of the establishment's operation, the area where the material was recovered would have been at the rear of two properties which backed up to one another. The assemblage was recovered from a cesspit identified in the report as most likely belonging to the property which faced out onto Ironmonger Lane (Blair 2005: 319). It should be noted however that there is a possibility that it was shared by the two properties to which it backed. This is based on research which indicates that communal cesspit use by neighbours or sometimes entire streets in urban areas was not uncommon at this time (Sabine 1934: 306).

The area has no record of a public house or licensed establishment on this street, but it does not completely rule out the possibility that it could have been operating off the record. Though licensing had been established officially during the reign of Henry VIII, the enforcement of such acts was notoriously inefficient (Clark 1983: 166). However, there are some other possibilities which might also explain the lack of official documentation. For example, private establishments did not need licensing in the same way that an alehouse would. Furthermore, coffee houses, tea rooms, and other non-alcoholic substances would also not demand the same level of restrictions on the operation or strict licensing. Additionally, medicinal use of brandy and other spirits which was popular in the mid-seventeenth century would have been subject to much different legal compulsions than inns, alehouses and taverns serving beer and wine for convivial purposes.

It is clear that this site was occupied from roughly the time at the Great Fire, and it is known to have been abandoned by most residents by the mid-eighteenth century when the area is described as being inhabited by 'Norwich factors and wholesale dealers' (as noted in Rocques's 1746 survey of London). By the nineteenth century the site had been converted into offices and warehouses (Blair 2005: 312). This nineteenth-century period of construction truncated much of the earlier post-medieval deposits and destroyed all the seventeenth and eighteenth-century architectural features, with the exception of the brick lined cesspit. One-hundred percent of the assemblage was recovered from this cesspit which has been interpreted in the excavation records as having been filled with clearance refuse at the end of the feature's life in the early eighteenth century (Blair 2005: 319).

The cesspit is considered to have been a single deposition context and contained a dense concentration of material including: seventeenth and eighteenth-century ceramics, coarse and refined earthenware, stoneware, a large cache of glass wares, tobacco smoking pipes and a high number of faunal remains. According to the publication on the materials, "…the pottery does not appear to be associated with food preparation and storage, and the stoneware bowls, cups, mugs and tankards point to the consumption of certain beverages" (Blair 2005: 319). The original interpretation took the predominance of pottery used for the drinking of beer, spirits and tea as evidence that the material may have come from a nearby tavern or affluent household. However, the cesspit also contained glass vessels, including both rare, high-status pieces as well as common, utilitarian pieces. These items along with the reported analysis of the faunal remains have led to further speculation regarding the nature of use for the assemblage as a whole. Further analysis and discussion of these details will follow in the subsequent sections.

4.3.3. Presentation of Data (KIG95)

This site contained multiple periods and phases of development, from Roman to modern day. The material analyzed here came from only one deposit and spanned only one phase of the structure's life. The cesspit was brick-lined and dated to the period of construction after the Great Fire in 1666. The material recovered dated to the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

This section outlines the results of the archaeological analysis of material from KIG95. It begins by quantifying the individual fragments of ceramic and glass, which form the basic unit of analysis, in terms of their preservation, identification of element, and any further information gained from their analysis, such as style, decoration and manufacturer details that may be used to estimate things such as social status, intended function and personal use.

The identified fragments are then reduced to a sherd count (SC), by virtual "refitting" of adjacent zones of the same element and counting overlapping or repeating zones (though it also includes refits identified during analysis). The number of elements is then used to calculate the estimated number of vessels (ENV) that can be represented by these elements.

4.3.3.1. Introduction

In total, 516 individual glass fragments and 310 ceramic fragments were recovered. In the case of the glass from this site, the material had been washed and stored but no inventory had been taken. During my initial analysis of the material it became clear that a single finds number could relate to a single fragment, several fragments or a complete element. Where several unidentifiable fragments were bagged under one finds number they have been grouped by fabric type (such as "Imported post-medieval colourless glass") with each "group" representing a single fragment. For example, if a bag contained multiple unidentifiable glass fragments it has been counted as a single fragment but where it contained fragments of two green and one colourless fragment it has been counted as two fragments. Therefore the number of unidentified fragments represents a sherd count of each fabric type for each finds number (see methodology). As the following analysis is concerned with characterizing the nature of the use of the material, individual fragment counts were not of particular use and were counted as representing one individual for inclusion in the ENV. The 516 individual fragments of glass and 310 fragments of ceramic resulted in the recording of an ENV count of 60 glass vessels and 97 ceramic vessels, which forms the most basic level of analysis.

4.3.3.2. Ceramics

The post-medieval pottery was comprised of 310 individual sherds and an estimated number of vessels (ENV) total of 97 (see Table 4.1). They were recovered from two contexts which dated the deposition sequence to the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The focus of interest lay in the large group of post-medieval pottery recovered from the backfill to a cesspit, which served a building that fronted onto Ironmonger Lane (Blair 2005: 319). Cross-joining sherds were also noted as occurring between the two contexts containing all post medieval finds. This was not surprising as both contexts were located within a cesspit and therefore likely deposited close together. As the bulk of the post-medieval pottery was recovered from this feature, a date range for the deposition is suggested which implies the main life of these objects would have been utilized in the last quarter of the seventeenth century or the first quarter of the eighteenth century. This particular group is mainly comprised of plain and decorated tin glazed (61.4% of the group assemblage when tobacco pipe is excluded), Chinese porcelain (23.2%) and English stoneware (7.5%).

There is a complete but broken stool pan in tin-glaze or Delftware, which would have slotted into the seat of a wooden commode. It was undecorated and plain in style, similar to the ointment pots also recovered. This find may also have some implications regarding the use of the cesspit to the rear of the property. It could mean that it was not used as the primary toilet for this property alone and that multiple houses in the area may have emptied their commodes in this fashion into a shared cesspit. However, it could also indicate that this menial task of emptying these into the cesspit may have belonged to the servants, allowing the higher status to avoid venturing out into the dirty, cold and unpleasant environment.

A complete profile from a fluted punch bowl with a pie crust edged rim and external blue floral decoration was found. A matching poly-chrome decorated delftware teapot and lid was also recovered. It is thought that these were produced in Lambeth during the first half of the eighteenth century (Watson et al. 2010).

There were a number of Chinese decorated delftware items which were also thought to have come from London based tin glazed manufacturers (Britton 1987: 65, as referenced in Watson et al. 2010). One of the more unique items was a tin glazed pierced lid decorated with a painted Chinese male figure standing in a typical oriental landscape. This object possibly was the lid from a flower bowl. The profile from a shallow bowl with lid-seating which was decorated with a similar landscape scene and coloured tin-glaze was also found. It is possible that it could have been the bowl in which the flower stand may have sat. The precise function of these vessels is uncertain, as such substantial pieces are rare on archaeological sites with the more complete and published examples being found instead in North America (Austin 1994: 198–199, as referenced in Watson et al. 2010). Also recovered was a charger decorated in the Chinaman in grasses style with the pierced hole through its foot-ring suggesting that it may have served as a display piece. The complete profile from a Portuguese tin glazed faience charger decorated in the Chinese Wan-Li style was also recovered.

The Chinese Blue and White porcelain recovered would have been mainly utilized for ostensibly social functions such as tea drinking and food consumption and are present in a number of decorative styles that date them to the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Most of the tea bowls have either the potters stamp or Emperors reign mark painted on the underside of their bases. Included in this group is a matching set of two tea bowls and the rim from an unusual and rare spittoon was also recovered. Also present was a Famille Verte octagonal dish and a Famille Rose fluted dish that would have been used either as receptacles for serving food or utilized in its consumption.

The English stoneware again points to beverage consumption as the Staffordshire Salt glazed stoneware (not depicted) was recovered in a number of bowls, cups and teapots forms that would have been utilized for tea, chocolate and punch drinking. The English stoneware tankard and mug, possibly London products, represent the consumption of ale or mead.

The deposition date for the ceramics lies somewhere between circa 1720—1750, which fits the date given independently to the clay pipe (Blair 2005). The ceramic dating was derived from the earliest date of the latest pottery (Staffordshire white salt glazed) corresponding with the end date for the Staffordshire slipware. The tin glazed wares were also deemed to be of a more eighteenth-century style in their composition (see Figure 4.3).

The pottery assemblage does contain some limited mid to late seventeenth-century tin glazed wares, but none – except for the earlier examples that were a little worn – have the sort of degraded glaze that one finds on vessels that have been deposited in cess-like deposits for a long period of time. This indicates that the majority of items recovered were not subjected to the trauma of being smashed against other refuse items being discarded then covered in human waste over the course of many years. What this indicates is that those few items which do show this pattern are more likely to have been discarded in an earlier episode and the items which appear to only show evidence of the most limited amount of wear are more likely to have been deposited most recently, with less subsequent disturbance. Furthermore, the occurrence of cross-linking sherds between backfills from the same cesspit is also indicative of contemporary and rapid dumping. If there were any long-term chronological sequences inferred between these deposits then the ceramic evidence as excavated and interpreted here refutes this. What this means is that once the cesspit was considered to be out of service, the household would have ceased to require the nightmen's services, filled it for the final time (either in one large clearance episode or more slowly over time), covered it over and not returned to it. The seventeenth century pottery could be from the remnants of earlier fills that had accumulated at the bottom of the cesspit and which had not been cleared out by the nightman. This is commonly seen with cesspit deposits (Geismar 1993; Crook and Murray 2004; Murray and Crook 2005). The fracture surfaces around the edges of the fragments of these earlier vessels are much smoother and darker in colour than that of the later ceramics. The fact that of the older, fragmented and worn pieces do not share the same characteristics as the rest of the pottery indicates that the older items had been deposited earlier and had weathered for some time prior to the disuse of the cesspit.

Table 4.1 – KIG95 Ceramic Assemblage

This is a breakdown of ceramic fabrics from the site at 15–17 King Street, London. Material presented by sherd count (SC), estimate number of vessels (ENV), and percentages for each.

Ware	SC	SC%	ENV	ENV%
Surrey-Hamps border ware (clear glazed)	2	1%	2	2%
Chinese porcelain unidentified	7	2%	1	1%
Chinese porcelain figurine	1	0%	1	1%
Chinese blue and white porcelain	37	12%	23	24%
Chinese porcelain Famille Verte	17	5%	5	5%
Chinese porcelain Famille Rose	9	3%	1	1%
English stoneware	7	2%	2	2%
Mochaware	1	0%	1	1%
Midlands purple ware	1	0%	1	1%
Post-medieval black glazed ware	11	4%	2	2%
Surrey-Hamps border redware (brown-glazed)	5	2%	3	3%
Surrey-Hamps border redware (green-glazed)	4	1%	3	3%
Staffordshire-type slipware	3	1%	3	3%
Staffordshire salt glazed stoneware	21	7%	9	9%
English tin glazed ware or delftware	32	10%	16	16%
Delftware with pale blue glaze	22	7%	6	6%
Delftware plain white glaze on both sides	117	38%	12	12%
Delftware geometric, cable, or floral patterns	3	1%	2	2%
Plain white glaze on both sides	9	3%	3	3%
Delftware 'Chinaman among the grasses'	1	0%	1	1%
Total	**310**	**100%**	**97**	**100%**

4.3.3.3. Glass

The post-medieval glass comprised 516 individual sherds with a total of 60 estimated number of vessels (ENV) total of 60 (see Table 4.2). Virtually all of the finds came from the same two contexts which made up the fill of a brick-lined cess pit where the rest of the post-medieval material was also recovered. The material dates from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, with all glass dating to the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. The glassware forms present in this assemblage span a wide range in terms of status and function. Included are rare, fine tablewares for serving, utilitarian thick-walled globular bottles, more delicate, imported wares from abroad which served in both storage and decorative capacities, and a large quantity of medicinal phials. The accessioned glass includes a rare piece of early English lead glass (1.7%) and imported pieces from France or Italy (26.7%) and Spain (5%). The bulk of the material is represented in the medicinal phials in a post-medieval green glass (56.7%). These percentages were again based not on SC, but of the ENV of each material. Many of the phials were intact, thus lowering the SC but increasing the ENV.

The most interesting single item was the Spanish glass mug. The preliminary report indicated that Spanish glass is unusual to find in England from this time, but gave little account as to why. Further research revealed that little Spanish glass was imported into Britain during this period due to the War of Spanish Succession (1701—1714). It is possible that this glass came via the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean, or that it was made locally in England (Blair 2005: 319–20).

Another interesting find is the stem and base of an extremely rare stemmed drinking glass in colourless crizzeled glass. The stem is decorated with applied decorative prunts. In the Corning Museum of Glass' online Glass Dictionary, a prunt is defined as "a blob of glass applied to a glass object primarily as decoration, but also to afford a firm grip in the absence of a handle". This decorative feature is common on glassware depicted in paintings throughout Europe in the seventeenth century, and especially prominent in still life art produced by the Dutch master's (i.e. Johannes Vermeer, Jan Steen, Adriaen van Utrecht, Abraham van Beyeren, Pieter Claesz, Willem Claeszoon Heda). It was produced by George Ravenscroft and dates to circa the late 1670s to around 1690. Ravenscroft was the first successful producer of English lead glass and opened a glasshouse in the Savoy in 1673 and another at Henley-on-Thames the following year (Thorpe 1935: 155, as referenced in Watson et al. 2010).

Fragments of 'Betties', long-necked, flat-bodied bottles made of very thin glass, may be evidence of the Italian (Florentine) wine trade, although they may also have come from France

(Blair 2005). These bottles, originally with a wickerwork covering, were used for importing wine in the eighteenth century, the name thought to derive from the Italian *boccetta* (Charleston 1975: 214, as referenced in Watson et al. 2010). Additionally, a birdfeeder in colourless glass and a thin-walled dog bowl in glass with a green tinge were also recovered from this deposit. The accessioned finds from the post-medieval cess pit are of significance locally in terms of what they can tell us of the household from which the rubbish was cleared. The glass would indicate a wealthy household with a significant amount of fine, imported vessels (Blair 1995: 73).

In addition to these rare glass items, fragments of the base of large storage jars with narrow stems and flat bases were recovered. These were utilitarian vessels, dating to the eighteenth century and used for storing foodstuffs such as celery (personal communication with J. Shepherd, cited in Blair 2005: 320). Fragmentary green, globular 'English" wine bottles, including smaller half-measure bottles as well as standard sized were recovered. Five bottles are complete, one a half-size and the others standard. None have seals or any other types of marks. They probably date to the late seventeenth to the first half of the eighteenth century. This context also produced twelve complete cylindrical pharmaceutical phials as well as lots of fragments. Two of the complete phials are slightly different, being taller and slimmer than the other examples and lacking the flattened horizontal rim. A number of fragments of window glass were also recovered, all in a colourless glass with a green tinge.

Table 4.2 – KIG95 Glass Assemblage.

Fabric Code	SC	SC%	ENV	ENV%	Description
pmdbg	3	0.6%	1	1.7%	Post-medieval dark blue glass
itcg	4	0.8%	2	3.3%	Italian colourless glass
pmcgb	286	55.4%	16	26.7%	Italian/French post-medieval clear glass blue, 'betties'
pmgc	9	1.7%	2	3.3%	Post-medieval clear glass
pmgg	165	31.9%	34	56.7%	Post-medieval green glass
Rav-c	1	0.2%	1	1.7%	Ravenscroft colourless glass
spg	5	1%	3	5%	Spanish glass
unk	43	8.3%	1	1.7%	Unknown
Totals	516	100%	60	100%	

4.3.3.4. Other Post-Medieval Materials

The post-medieval finds assemblage is the outstanding one from this site. The forms present include rare, fine tablewares and utilitarian thick-walled globular bottles and a small number of other items. While not of primary focus in this investigation, the material includes objects of a personal nature, such as two combs, one of them in tortoiseshell, a bone syringe or medical instrument, a copper alloy decorative lock plate and the remains of three ceramic figurines. As such, I felt some need to not exclude them from this analysis. The items which I will briefly touch on are the bone syringe or medical instrument and the figuring of the bird (see Chapter 5 for detailed discussion). These materials represent a much different side of this establishment and may lend insight into the possible functions that this institution may have served. While the rest of the material represent items used in the service and consumption of food and drink, these objects deviate from that pattern. Moreover, when taken into consideration, they could have implications which lead to a much different interpretation of the materials in the entire collection. These possibilities will be discussed in the following section.

4.3.4. Analysis Discussion

This section is intended to provide a brief discussion related to the key observations and patters which were found to be significant during this analysis. From the previous presentation and description of materials from the site at King Street, a chart was created which encapsulates much of the relevant information in a visual format (see Figure 4.2 to Figure 4.5). As you can see, the majority of wares were related to food and drink service and storage (42% and 22%, respectively, or 64% combined). The next most prominent functional groups appear to be hygiene, comprising one-fifth of the material found (13%), followed by tobacco pipes (10%). The most common ceramic fabric type was tin glazed earthenware, or delftware, which comprised 35% of the material when tobacco pipes were included (see Figure 4.3).

Traditionally, tin glazed wares from this period served a variety of hygiene and pharmaceutical functions, as well as beverage and food consumption purposes. In this assemblage, the hygiene and pharmaceutical aspects are represented by a number of complete but broken undecorated chamber pots together with a number of complete small sized ointment pots. Many vessels in this category were the plain and either undecorated or very simply decorated. This is no doubt to reflect their unpretentious, utilitarian function (Blair 2005). Some examples which support this relationship between decoration and use can be seen in the examples of tin glazed items recovered across all the sites under investigation here, frequently chamber pots, ointment pots or pharmaceutical jars. Yet, at the close of the seventeenth century, before Chinese porcelain became widely accessible and local potteries had unlocked the secrets to fine ceramic production, these wares would have been produced for both high and low market consumption. This can be observed within this assemblage at KIG95, as both plain and common forms were represented as well as some elaborately decorated service wares for tea, coffee and punch.

This site produced the highest number of imported Chinese porcelain, comprising 27% of the assemblage when including tobacco pipes. The Chinese Blue and White porcelain recovered would have been utilized ostensibly for social functions such as tea drinking and food consumption and are present in a number of decorative styles indicating that there were a variety in use. These items were all dated to the first quarter of the eighteenth century and indicate that the household or establishment utilizing them were able to purchase sets of a moderately high standard for the time.

This site is significant because it shows aspects of the diversity in local and imported rare materials already available to the middle class at this early point in modern consumer culture, as well as how they were being utilized. At the end of this chapter, these materials will be cross analyzed against the other assemblages discussed in the sections to follow. The result should allow a better picture of the early and late patters of use and consumption within these types of establishments.

Imported wares such as the Chinese porcelain and the continentally manufactured glassware might be indicative of the presence of sets of serving wares which may have been used in different social situations within the establishment (Hayes 2011). The abundance of high quality local tin glazed items might indicate that there were sets for more common customers or orders, while the fine imported glass and China would be used only in special circumstances (see Figure 4.4).

It is also important to note the large discrepancy between service wares (52%) and preparation materials (2%) represented in this assemblage (see Figure 4.5). This would strongly suggest that either there was a secondary location for the kitchen materials for this property, or that the individuals utilizing the premises were primarily engaging in consumption of pre-prepared consumables. The former is the most likely possibility, with examples of various uses for different cesspits demonstrated at Building 15 and 24 from the Newgate Street excavation discussed in the following section.

There is a distinct emphasis on drinking (56%) and pharmaceutical (31%) related vessels represented amongst the glassware recovered in this assemblage. There are many examples of apothecaries and taverns operating together (N. Jefferies personal communication 2012). There is also the distinct possibility that the premises was operating with a medicinal aim for its clients. The abundance of hygiene and medicinal related items present within this assemblage is certainly higher than a typical establishment from this period. Moreover, there was a market for high status health care at this time which is known to have revolved heavily around acquiring rare and exotic ingredients, all of which came at a price.

The establishment also has the highest amount of material for décor and leisure purposes at roughly 5% of all the material in the assemblage. Though this does not seem like a terribly high amount, these items represent only the materials which had been discarded. The reasons for the discard may lie in the fragile nature of much of the material, half of which were made of a very fine glass and probably broken prior to discard.

Ultimately, this site was the only one to produce any imported glass vessels and the amount of Chinese imported porcelain which was present here is three times greater than that of the next highest site. This along with the variety of material represented in the way of leisure goods and medicinal and hygiene related wares indicated that this establishment was of a higher status than the rest under investigation. The full benefits of this site will be explored further in the following chapter.

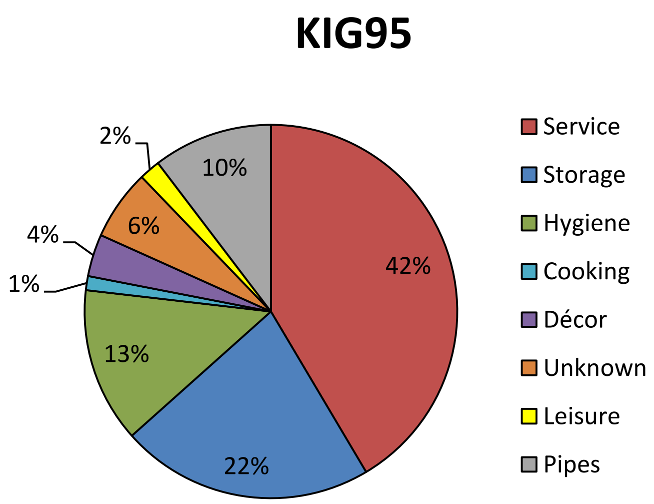

Figure 4.2 – Basic Functional Analysis of Material at KIG95.
This chart shows the total percentages of both ceramic and glass materials recovered from the site at KIG95 (based on ENV counts). Author's copyright.

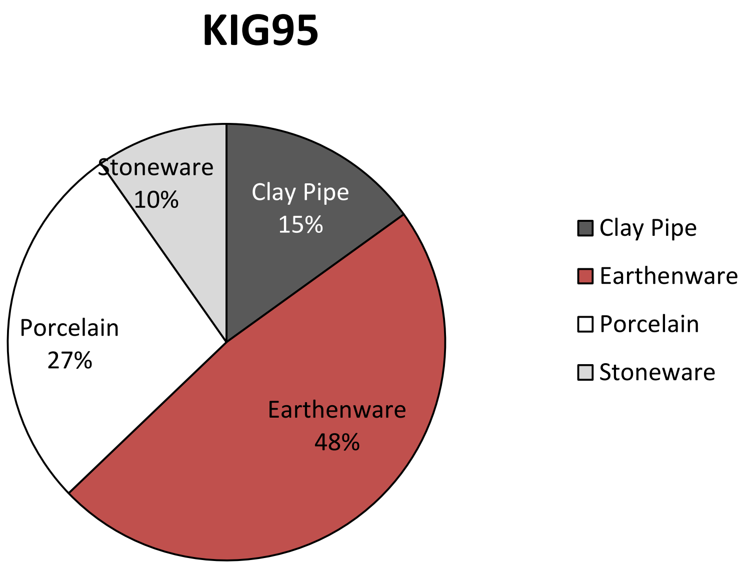

Figure 4.3 – Breakdown by Ceramic Fabric Catagories, KIG95
This chart shows the broad fabric categories with corresponding percentages (these numbers are all based on ENV counts). Author's copyright.

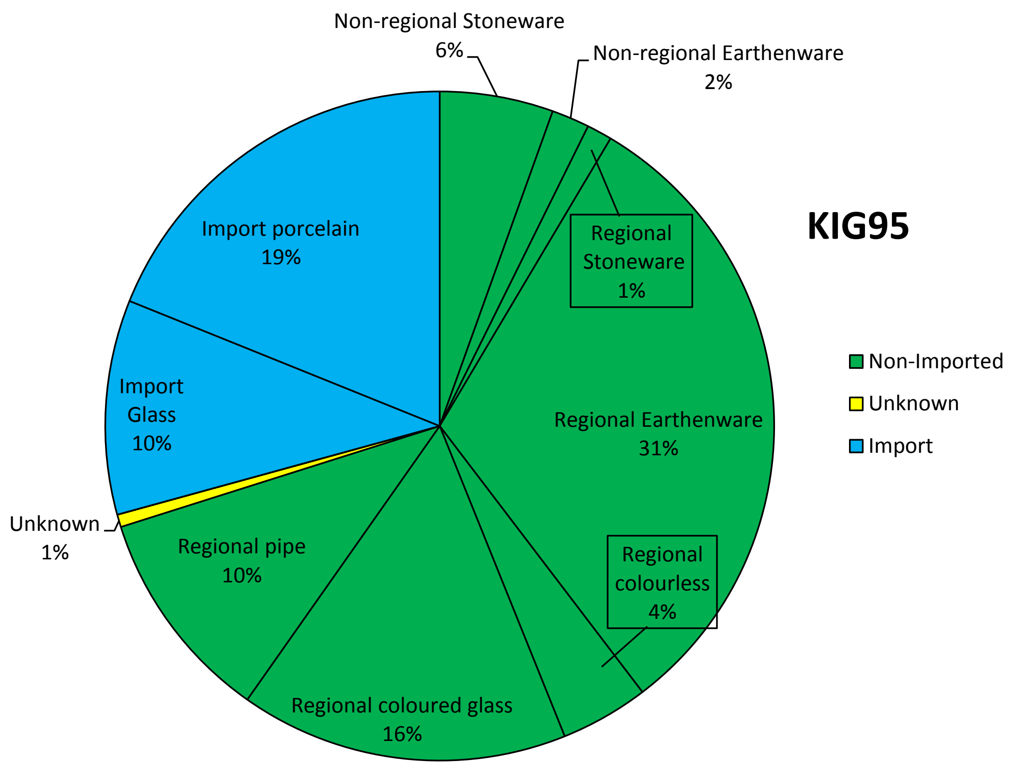

Figure 4.4 – Import vs. Non-import, KIG95.
This image shows the distribution and frequency of imported vs. non-imported wares recovered from the site at KIG95. Author's copyright.

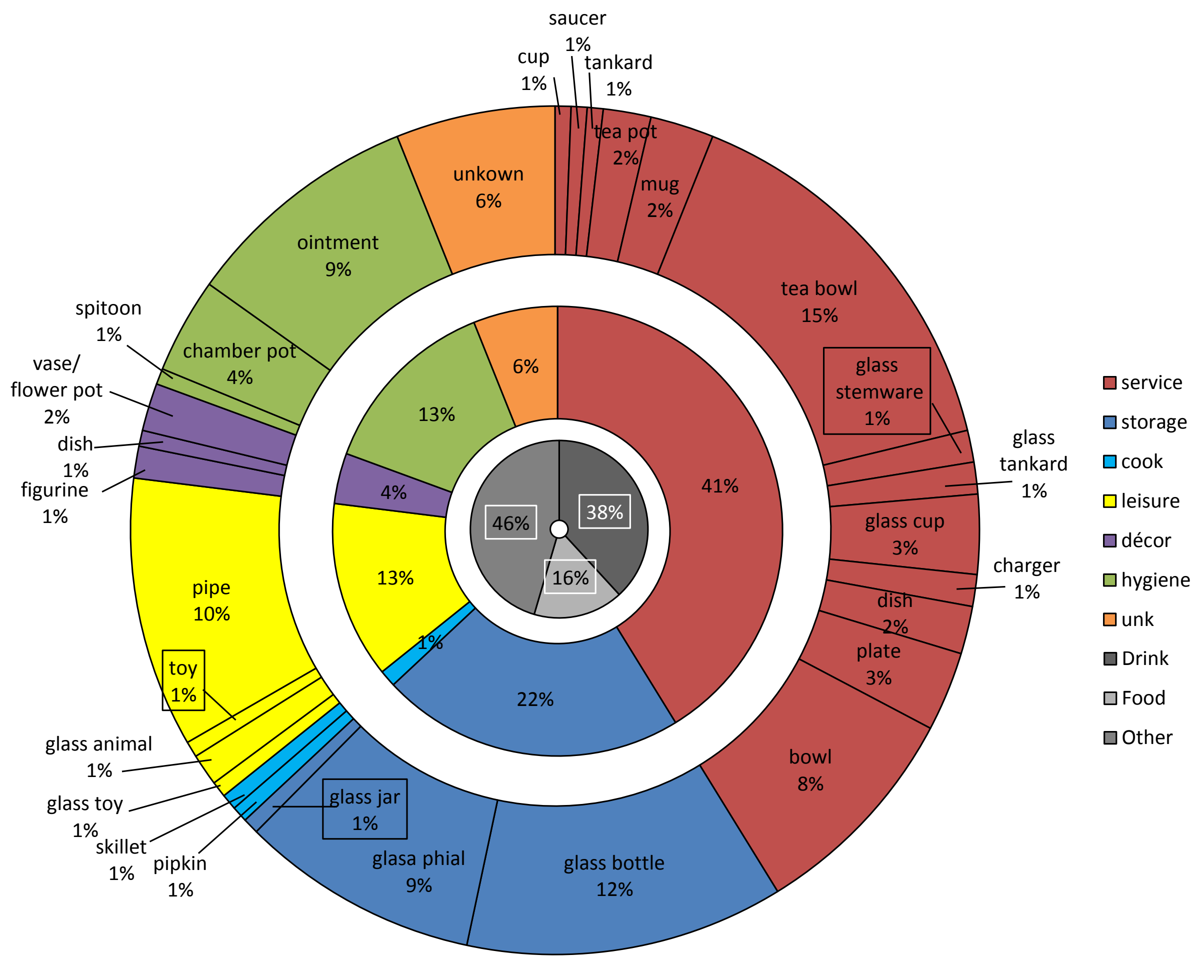

Figure 4.5 – Comprehensive Functional Breakdown of All Material at KIG95.
This chart shows three levels of analysis which gives a multidimensional picture of how the material was broken down. The outer band shows the percent of each individual form, the middle band shows a more specific function and the central band is the most basic division of use (based on ENV counts). Author's copyright.

4.4. Case study 2: Consumption Practices at the Establishments on Newgate Street (NGT00)

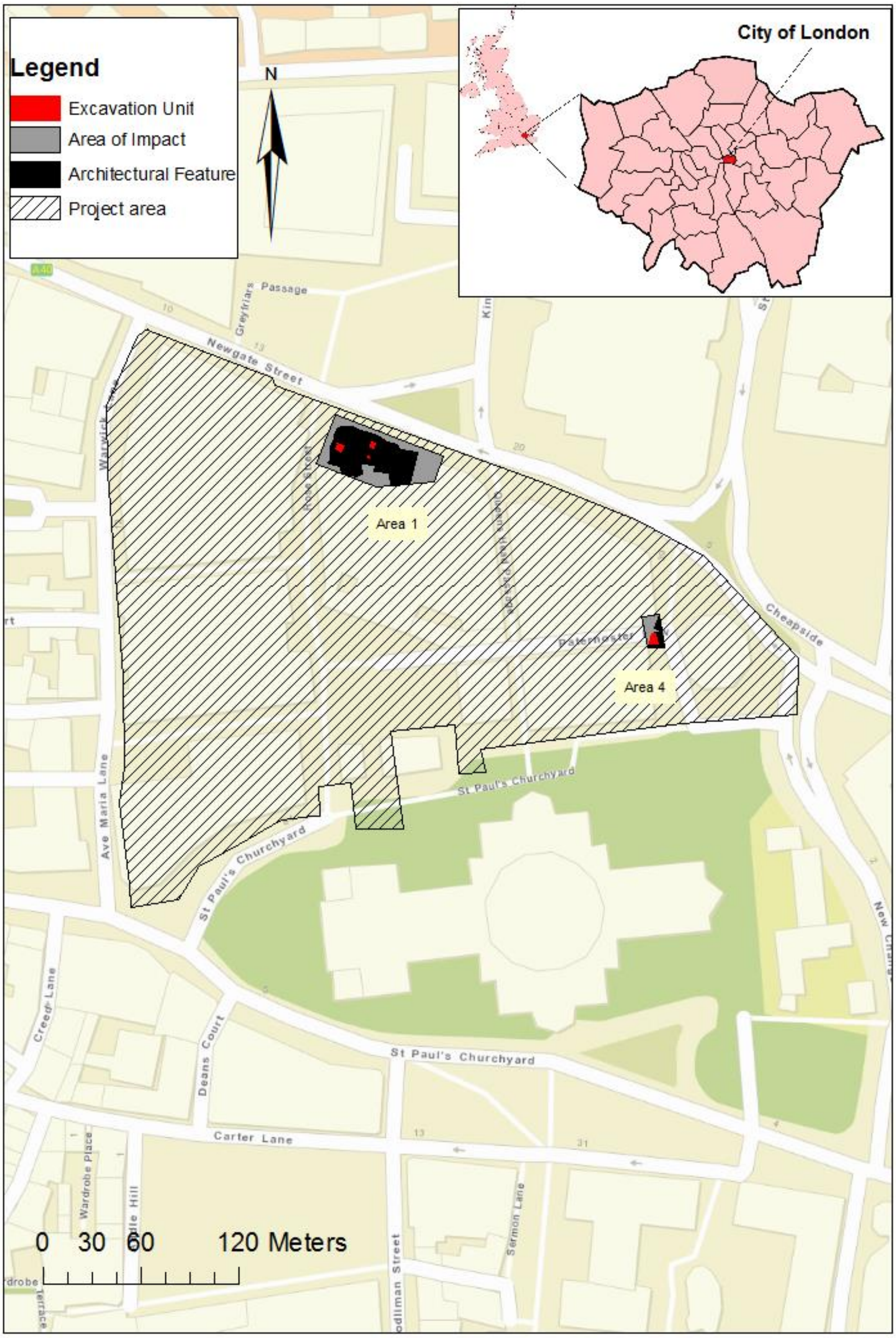

Figure 4.6 – Site locations of Newgate Street excavation project area.
Site location of NGT00 with study area, limits of excavation and site boundaries. Author's copyright.

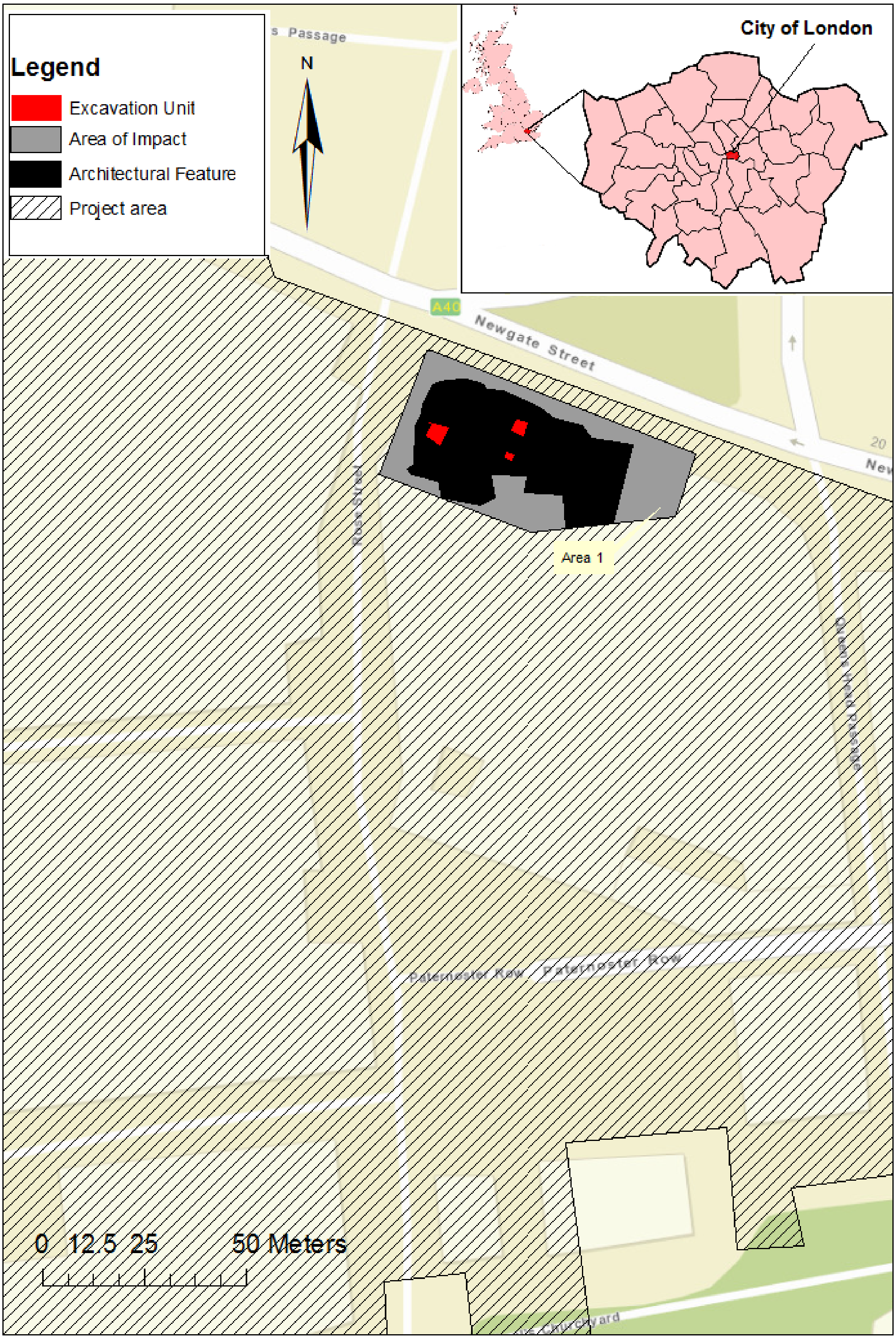

Figure 4.7 – Area 1 site location of Newgate Street excavation.
Site location of NGT00 with project boundaries, architectural features and excavation unit. Author's copyright.

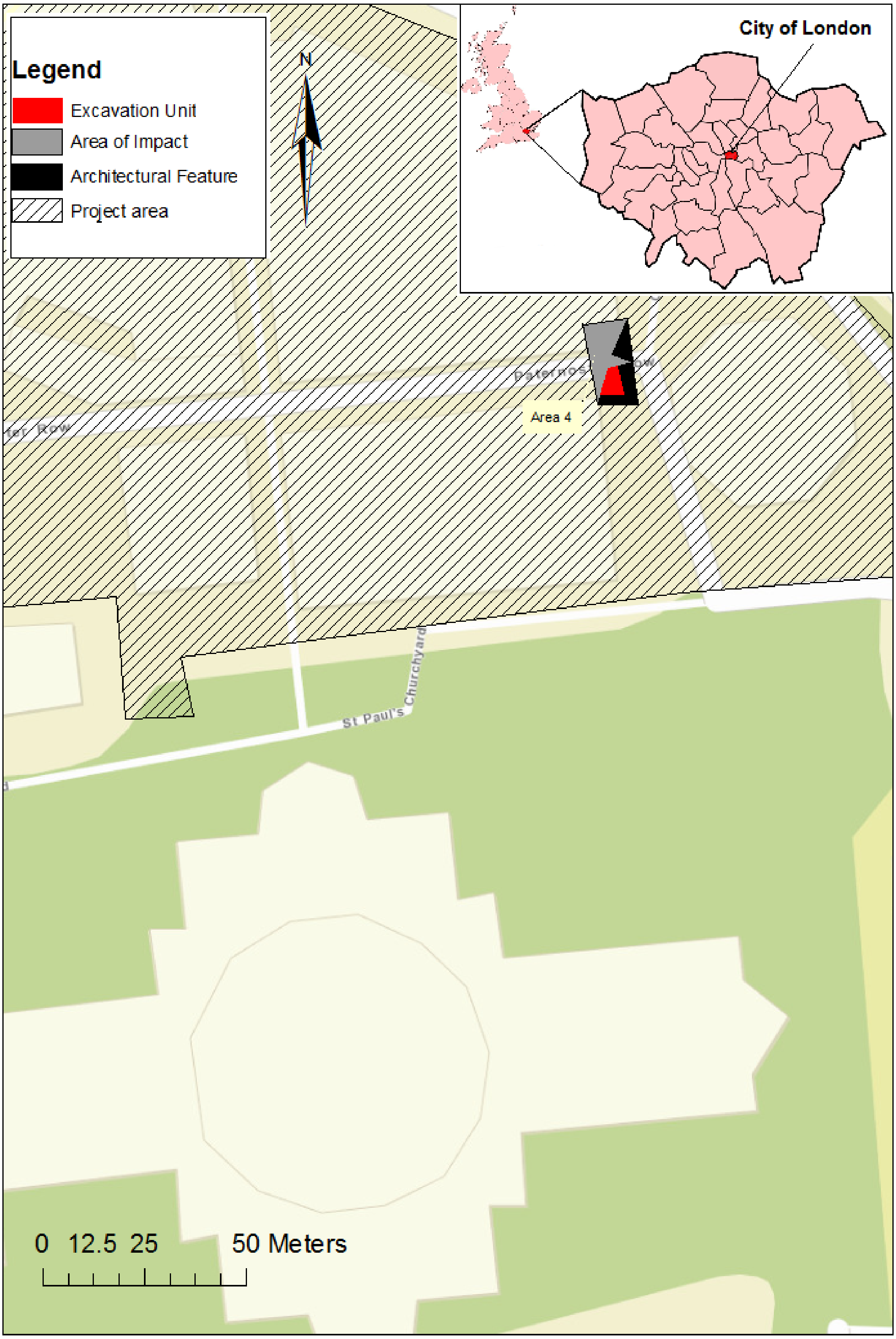

Figure 4.8 – Area 4 site location of Newgate Street excavation.
Site location of NGT00 with project boundaries, architectural features and excavation unit. Author's copyright.

4.4.1. Introduction

In this section is a presentation of the archaeological data obtained from the archaeological site at Newgate Triangle on Newgate Street (Figure 4.6). This area has a significant and well documented history as one of London's longest standing marketplaces. There are many historic references to this neighbourhood as both a high-end cloth market, and then later as a publishing centre from the eighteenth century until as late as the mid-twentieth century (Watson et al. 2010: 174). The assemblages recovered from this site included many vessels of lower to moderate quality items, primarily in ceramic materials. However, a number of wine bottles and a collection of medicinal phials were recovered as well. The material represented here is linked to three separate establishments. The first site was interpreted to have belonged to a moderately well off private residence due to the frequency of high status flatware, modest presence of common cooking wares and relatively low number of drinking vessels (Watson et al. 2010: 202). The second establishment appears to have predominately catered to tobacco and food consumption, with a noticeable absence of material culture present which would have facilitated drinking. The material was previously analyzed and it had been determined that it may have been the result of "the *in situ* processing of meat for a tavern or similar hostelry" (Watson et al. 2010: 202–203). The third establishment offered far fewer food preparation materials and a much greater number of drinking vessels traditionally associated with taverns or coffee houses. This material was also interpreted as belonging to a tavern (Watson et al. 2010: 202). This chapter outlines the analysis of the assemblages performed by MOLA in order to compile further evidence for processes of changing consumption patterns reflected in society at large at this time in London.

4.4.2. Site Background

4.4.2.1. Circumstances of excavation

MOLA carried out initial surveys and the excavation of the area between September 2000 and April 2001 as part of a larger project across the area of Paternoster Square. This site comprised the largest total project area of any of the sites under examination. Through investigation it became evident that the primary focus of this project had been the medieval and earlier deposits. This combined with the size of the area and the time constraints resulted in less attention for these more recent deposits. In all, over 4000 contexts were excavated in this project area. The total site was comprised of five areas spread across 6.5 acres. While context record sheets were located for many of the relevant post medieval contexts, these levels were absent from the site matrix making initial attempts to locate the trenches difficult.

However, by using some feature locations which had been mapped to indicate the brick cesspits, the locations for the rest of the excavation trenches were able to be established. All of the material which comprises the following three assemblages was recovered from a total of four separate cesspit deposits, all centrally located within either Area 1 or Area 4 of the project area (Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8). All appear to have been in use at various times between 1660 and 1785. Multiple phases of use were not salvaged as contexts due to a combination of excavation conditions frequently present in rescue excavations and secondary research aims. However, the material can be identified as belonging to an "early phase" or a "late phase" of use (Watson et al. 2010: 174). The site archive and reports of the excavations are available for consultation in the MOLA stores under the site code NGT00; tabulated data and details from the site not published here can be consulted there by arrangement.

4.4.2.2. Historical context

Between Newgate Street and Paternoster Row lay streets of shops and residences with two prominent market areas: Newgate Market and the Shambles, both principally concerned with meat and livestock (Askew 1997). At the time of the establishments' operation, the Paternoster area – the area where the material was recovered – was renowned for its hostelries, both of lower and higher-end accommodation. As a result, the surrounding areas became known for their pastime offerings for an audience of young bachelors or travelling merchants with at least a modest disposable income. Immediately to the west of our project area, Ludgate Hill and Snow Hill, were famous for their entertainment and are well documented. One such example can be found in the London Gazette from 10 October 1684, announcing:

> A very strange beast called a rhinoceros[sic], lately brought from the East Indies, being the first that ever was in England, is daily to be seen at the Bell Savage Inn on Ludgate-Hill, from nine a clock in the morning till eight at night.

This listing is preceded by another advert for the sale of a new book called *A Guide to the Practical Physician* by Théophile Bonet, M.D. (1684) which was published in that same year and sold at the Crown and the Angel taverns in St. Paul's churchyard. These Taverns are listed among those which also sold the works of William Shakespeare at the start of the century (Thornbury 1878: 262).

Taverns were common in this area for both business and pleasure. The use of back rooms of taverns by prostitutes was encouraged by the landlord to attract more gentlemen customers, and certain areas were known with infamy for helping young prostitutes or unmarried women get illegal abortions. A patent was granted to John Hooper of Reading for the manufacture of "Female Pills" bearing his name in 1743 (Griffenhagen and Bogard 1999: 73). Hooper was an apothecary, a man-midwife, and something of a shrewd businessman. "Hoopers Female Pills" were advertised in the press and offered for sale at numerous outlets in London claiming to help cure irregularities in women. The loss of your period was of great concern to physicians in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century and these types of cures were common.

4.4.3. Presentation of Data (NGT00)

Within this wider project area, there were three separate assemblages which met the criteria for period and use which were applicable to the research objectives of this thesis. There were a total of 11 contexts of a late seventeenth- to eighteenth-century or middle to late eighteenth-century date in the area of interest. The majority of the assemblages date from the late fifteenth to late eighteenth century and are dominated by local London redwares.

While the total project area comprised an entire city block, this examination will only review material from three features, all of which have been determined to be either cesspits or cellar features. Two of these features are thought to have originally been associated with one structure; although they were assigned separate building numbers at the time of excavation (see Figure 4.10). The third feature belonged to a separate establishment on the opposite side of the same block in Paternoster Square (see Figure 4.11). These buildings have been arranged in chronological order from the earliest to the latest phases of use. It is the objective to attempt to establish some context to determine changing patterns of use in this area in these types of establishments over time.

In total 678 sherds from 135 individual ceramic vessels and 284 glass fragments were recovered representing at least 76 separate vessels. This represents the total number of items from all the sites from both these categories. In the following section each site will be analyzed separately, however, periods and use will be summarised and broadly interpreted together by category at the end of this chapter.

4.4.3.1. Building 3: Brick Cesspit

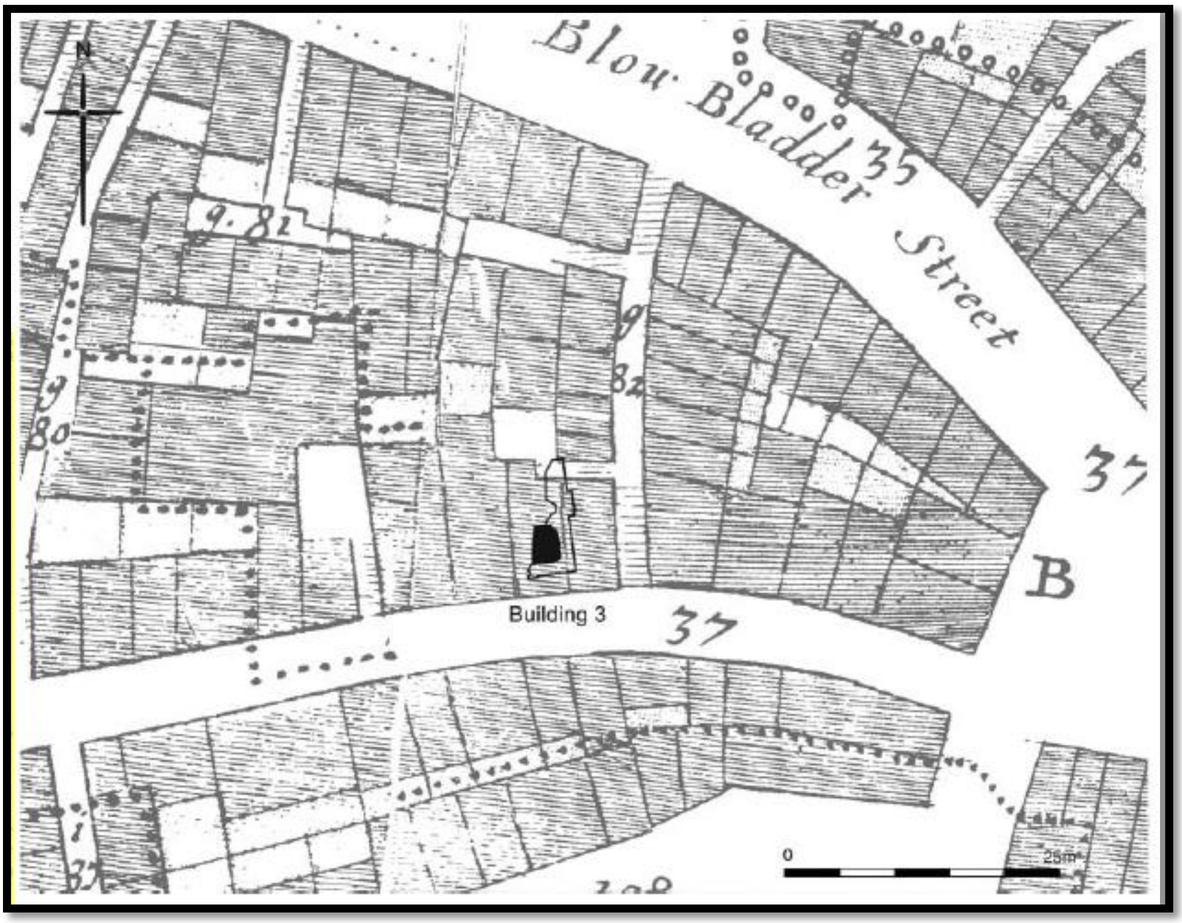

Figure 4.9 – Paternoster Square, London: detail of Building 3 cesspit/cellar, Area 4. Paternoster Square, London: the location of Building 3 on the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676. Reproduced by kind permission of the Guildhall Library, City of London (Watson et al. 2010: 178).

In Area 4, there was a significant deposit of material associated with Building 3 (see Figure 4.9) which appears to conform to a similar functional pattern and period of use as that which was discussed at KIG95 (see section 4.3). This assemblage included more highly decorated local wares and one rare, high status item in the way of a porcelain import from China which was determined to pre-date the Ming Dynasty in the 1640s. This along with the late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century date of deposition implies that it had been kept as a precious heirloom for multiple generations.

4.4.3.1.1. Building 3: Ceramics

The cesspit feature at Building 3 provided three contexts which yielded a total of 297 sherds of pottery from a minimum of 61 vessels (ENV) (Table 4.3). The material was dispersed throughout the deposit and many of the fragments were able to be rejoined in the post-excavation analysis. Additionally, profiles were able to be created from a total of 23 of the 61 vessels (about one-third of the ENVs) and ten whole vessels. There were large numbers of vessels thrown away intact or freshly broken within these deposits, two of which produced over 100 ceramic sherds each (Watson et al. 2010: 177). This pattern of use suggests that it may well have been a clearance deposit (Pearce 2000: 144–145, for definition, see section 4.2.2). However, with a date range spanning 100 years or more for the various deposits, it is wider than is usual for such an event. The later pottery is most likely related to a separate depositional period during the late eighteenth century (Watson et al. 2010: 177). Use of the feature is thought to have ended during the early to mid-eighteenth-century due to the earliest possible date of manufacture for the later items recovered. The ceramic from Building 3 is overwhelmingly comprised of local wares (83.5%). This breaks down to 41% plain and decorated tin glazed, 23% Surrey-Hampshire borderwares , 15.5% various lead glazed wares, and 4% stoneware (all these numbers are calculated excluding tobacco pipes in order to provide a better picture of use. For total ceramic percentages after pipes were included, see Figure 4.13). The remaining 16.5% was made up from non-regional wares from English potteries and two varieties of imported wares, Dutch stoneware and Chinese porcelain.

By far, delftware tin glazed pottery (made up of Delftware type A*, Delftware type C*, Delftware type D*, Delftware with pale blue glaze, and English tin glazed ware or Delftware in Table 4.3) is the most prevalent ware in this group. The 105 sherds represent at least 25 individual vessels. The forms are consistent with those being produced from the mid- to late seventeenth century in London potteries (Watson et al. 2010: 178). Amongst the more interesting finds were four large plates or chargers with a pin-wheel motif which displays the poly-chrome pallet of yellow, green, blue and orange in floral and chevron pattern. These designs were popular in the early seventeenth century in the Netherlands and London (Watson et al. 2010 referencing the work Hurst et al. 1986; Korf 1981; Noel Hume 1977). Two other plates recovered have blue-painted decoration on a pale blue tin-glaze. One of these is painted with a basic floral motif, while the other has a number of fish around the rim. They were dated confidently to 1740–1750 and are thought to have most likely been products of a London or Bristol based pottery (Watson et al. 2010: 179; Austin 1994). According to the analysis carried out by MOLA these fish, which are painted in some detail, appear to represent the sturgeon (*Acipenser sturio*). This was a highly prized migratory species which, at that time, could still be found in the Thames (Alan Pipe, cited in Watson et al. 2010: 179). In addition to these fine examples, there are sherds from two delftware rounded bowls with early to mid-seventeenth-century decoration, the more complete of which has the popular pattern of 'feathery tufts' inside, in blue on white (Orton 1988).

Examples of more common and modest wares are also represented, as evidenced by the presence of sherds from two plain white rounded porringers. There were also three plates in plain white glazed delftware, all in shapes generally dated to the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century (Brittion 1987). Nine cylindrical delftware jars of various sizes were found, with either plain white glaze or simple blue and white decoration common in the mid-seventeenth century (Orton 1988). Sherds from three chamber pots include one with a slightly blue-tinged glaze and two with a plain white glaze. All are typical of the period c. 1675–1725, after which the form tends to become taller and to lose the cordon (Noel Hume 1977).

Surrey-Hampshire wares are the second most common fabric found in the Building 3 cesspit, again all made in forms typical of the seventeenth century. In all, eight out of thirteen vessels in Surrey-Hampshire border ware were reconstructed in profile or as near-complete from large joining sherds, and appear to have been discarded freshly broken or intact but no longer wanted (Watson et al. 2010: 178). With the exception of one chamber pot, all of these items would have been used in the cooking and preparation of food. There were sherds from three pipkins, a saucepan-like handled pot used for cooking. These were widely available and used in nearly every household regardless of class. The all had internal settings for lids, which was a common feature for this period (Watson et al. 2010: 178; Pearce 1992: 18–20). In addition to these, there was a skillet with a green glaze which was another common staple in the seventeenth century cooking set. It has a pouring lip at 90° from the handle (now missing). Amongst the other finds were an assortment of bowls and dishes (from which five individual vessels could be determined) and two porringers, a multi-purpose bowl used to both prepare and serve food; typically some sort of stew or porridge. One of these porringers was in redware. Finally, a cylindrical jar with a clear glaze was recovered which is associated with pharmaceutical medicines. The style is of an *albarello* form which has a slight bowing in the middle, created so as to make them easier to grab off a shelf amongst many others of the same shape.

In addition to these London made items, there is a base of a flared cup in Staffordshire type slipware which probably dates to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. There is a near-complete cylindrical mug in London stoneware which was most likely made at Fulham c. 1700 (Oswald et al. 1982). The mug would probably have held one pint, and is an early example of a form that was to become very common in stoneware during the eighteenth century. The only other stoneware vessels found in the group are part of a rounded bowl in Nottingham stoneware with incised decoration, dating after c. 1700, and four sherds.

There were only two continental imports in the cesspit group were a medallion from a Bartmann jug in Frechen stoneware, a common import from the Rhineland during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Porcelain was the other import type, represented by fragments from two plates and two shallow bowls, identified by MOLA as *klapmuts,* the Dutch name referring to the common seventeenth-century shape resembling a hat worn by poorer members of society. All are similar in date and would originally have been regarded as high-quality decorative items. There are also sherds from five plates or dishes in Chinese blue and white porcelain. According to MOLA analysts, all date from the late Ming period, which came to an end in 1644, and are decorated in the distinctive *Kraak* style that characterizes late sixteenth to early seventeenth-century export porcelain (Watson et al. 2010: 184). The most complete piece is a plate, decorated in the centre with a pair of mandarin ducks in a pond with lotus, and an egret diving towards the water. Although fragmented, this is one of the more complete pieces of *Kraak* porcelain found in the City of London, where excavated late Ming imports are surprisingly infrequent (Watson et al. 2010: 180-181).

These ceramics represent the most balanced distribution of service and preparation wares, with a wide range of forms and a variety of imported and high status items. The nature of this deposit containing the least amount of storage vessels from any of the sites and the wide array of forms and fabrics present supports the interpretation that this was a domestic residence primarily. This does not preclude the potential for some service based functionality from within the premises, however, the domestic function appears the most dominant use.

4.4.3.1.2. Building 3: Glass

There was no glass recovered from the cesspit from Building 3. This absence and what it can tell us regarding the nature of consumption patterns of those living or using the property will be discussed further in the section 4.4.4.

Table 4.3 – NGT00 Building 3 Ceramic Assemblage.
Breakdown of ceramic fabrics from Building 3 at Newgate Street, Paternoster Square, London. Material presented by Sherd Count (SC), Estimated number of vessels(ENV), and percentages for each. *See appendix for descriptions based on Orton 1988.

Ware	**SC**	**SC%**	**ENV**	**ENV%**
Chinese blue and white late Ming porcelain	13	4.4%	3	4.9%
Chinese blue and white porcelain	5	1.7%	2	3.3%
Creamware	3	1.0%	2	3.3%
Delftware type A*	12	4.0%	1	1.6%
Delftware type C*	47	15.8%	12	19.7%
Delftware type D*	17	5.7%	9	14.8%
Delftware with pale blue glaze	18	6.1%	1	1.6%
English tin glazed ware or Delftware	11	3.7%	2	3.3%
Frechen stoneware	5	1.7%	1	1.6%
London post-medieval redware	54	18.2%	8	13.1%
London post-medieval slipped redware (clear glazed)	9	3.0%	1	1.6%
London- post-medieval slipped red ware (green glazed)	6	2.0%	1	1.6%
London stoneware	12	4.0%	1	1.6%
Nottingham stoneware	1	0.3%	1	1.6%
Post-medieval black glazed ware	2	0.7%	1	1.6%
Staffordshire-type slipware	2	0.7%	1	1.6%
Surrey-Hampshire border ware	3	1.0%	2	3.3%
Surrey-Hampshire border redware (brown glazed)	1	0.3%	1	1.6%
Surrey-Hampshire border ware (clear glazed)	69	23.2%	9	14.8%
Surrey-Hampshire border ware (green glazed)	7	2.4%	2	3.3%
Total	**297**	**100%**	**61**	**100%**

4.4.3.2. Building 15 and 24: Brick Cesspit

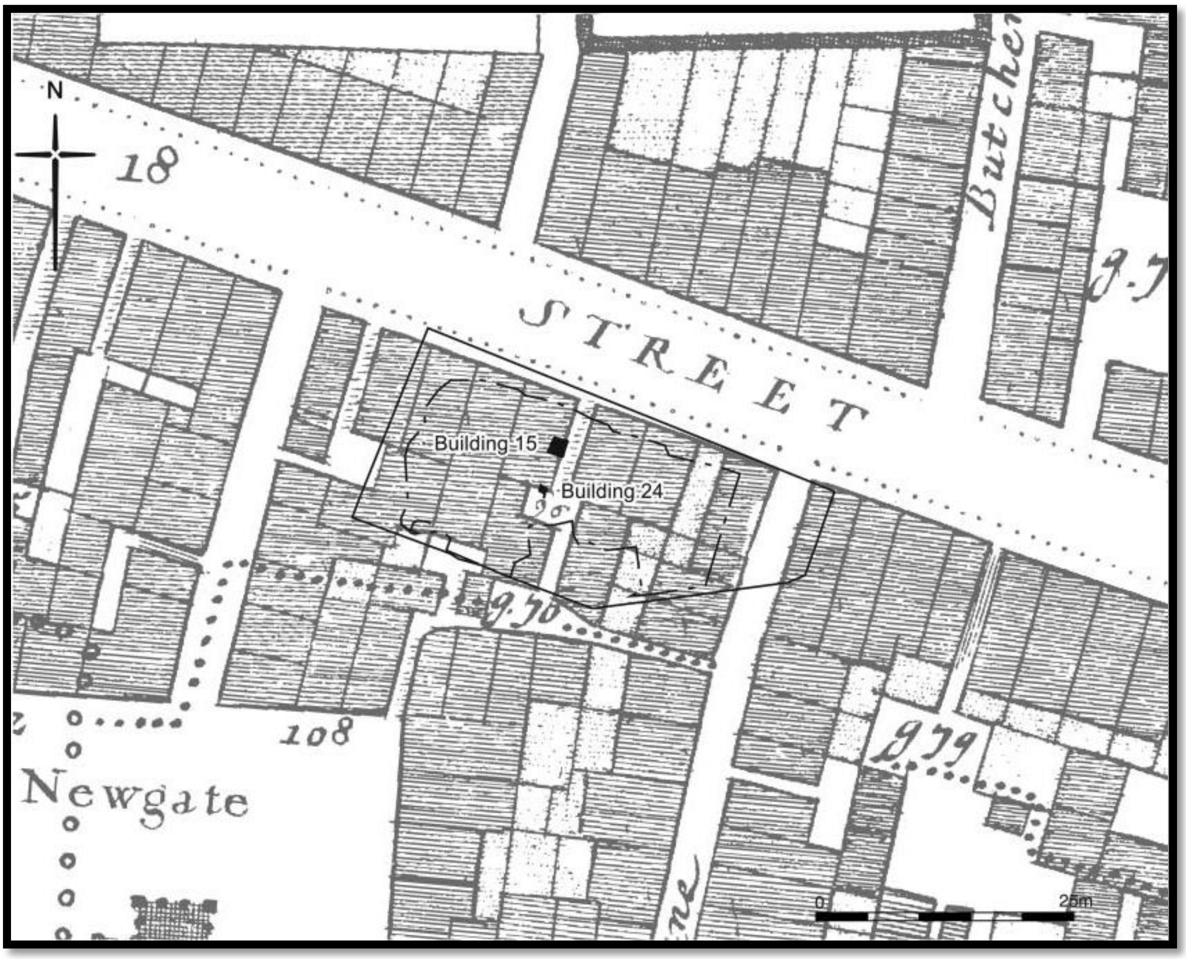

Figure 4.10 – Paternoster Square, London: detail of Building 15 and 24.
Paternoster Square, London: the location of Building 15 and 24 on the Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676. Reproduced by kind permission of the Guildhall Library, City of London (Watson et al. 2010: 185).

Building 15 was situated at the northern edge of the Paternoster Square area, directly to the south of modern Newgate Street (Figure 4.10). The excavated remains of the building are a brick-built cesspit or cellar; no evidence of the building to which it related was recovered due to truncation from above, although the finds and environmental assemblage may suggest that there was a tavern or public eating house on the site at the end of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The cesspit was constructed from bricks, with chalk blocks and occasional blocks of roughly worked stone used in the lower courses. The bricks had been broken in half with the rough side facing outwards. Also in area 1, there was a cesspit associated with Building 24. This deposit has been interpreted to have potentially belonged to the same structure as the cesspit labelled building 15 (see Figure 4.10).

4.4.3.2.1. Building 15 and 24: Ceramics

From Building 15, a group of pottery was recovered from the fill of the cesspit/cellar, consisting of 159 sherds from a minimum of 21 vessels. Six complete profiles were reconstructed, and there are two complete or near-complete vessels. As with the previous site, analysis performed by MOLA and published by Watson et al. 2010 found that there were frequent sherd-links between the four contexts in the fill. This was interpreted to mean that the contexts were subdivided during excavation unnecessarily. However, it is possible that the material was deposited in distinct episodes, over a relatively short span of time, such as during the clearance of a property (Pearce 2000: 144–5). This could explain any variation in the soil matrices which might have led the excavation team to subdivide the deposit. In either case, this would indicate that the cesspit was filled over a relatively short span of time. Use of the feature is thought to have ended during the early-eighteenth century due to the earliest possible date of manufacture for the later items recovered. This particular group is comprised of again of mostly locally made London wares (86%), consisting of plain and decorated tin glazed (43% of the group assemblage), Surrey-Hampshire borderwares (29%) and various lead glazed wares (14%). The rest is made up of other English made non-local wares (14%) (all these numbers are calculated excluding tobacco pipes in order to provide a better picture of use. For total ceramic percentages after pipes were included, see Figure 4.18).

There are three vessels in Surrey-Hampshire border ware, two of which were tripod pipkins and one a skillet. One of the pipkins is of late seventeenth-century type, with a slightly pear-shaped profile. There is an internal lid-seating and the handle was secured with three elongated thumb or finger-impressions at its base (Pearce 1992: 162). The skillet is in the form of a small bowl with a rounded profile, and has a pouring lip at the rim.

There are also sherds from three vessels in London-area post-medieval redware, including a deep flared bowl, glazed inside. It has areas of sooting externally, although not underneath the base. Vessels such as this were common, everyday forms that continued in production with little change for many decades. There is also part of a tripod pipkin, with a rounded profile and solid, curved handle. It is glazed inside only and is thickly sooted outside, so had clearly seen heavy use. By the late seventeenth century, this was the main form of cooking vessel made in London-area redware. The only other redware identified is part of a chamber pot in post-medieval black glazed ware, probably from the Harlow region of Essex, and relatively common in seventeenth-century assemblages from London.

Three vessels in Midlands purple ware include sherds from two butterpots, a form found in excavated groups from London throughout the seventeenth century. Rather more unusual, however, is a near complete, deep, straight-sided bowl in the same fabric. The vessel has a thickened, rounded rim, and is glazed inside only, with a band of knife-trimming around the lower walls, just above the base.

Another unusual find in this group is part of a teapot lid in Staffordshire brown salt glazed stoneware. The lid has a flattened, domed form with sprigged decoration. Teapots are not common in brown salt glazed stoneware from any source, although examples are known in mid to late eighteenth-century Nottingham stoneware (see Emmerson 1992: 118), and in nineteenth-century stoneware from potteries in Yorkshire (Oswald et al. 1982, as cited in Watson et al. 2010). It appears that the teapot lid belonged to a vessel that was unusual in stoneware at this date, especially one coming from Staffordshire rather than a south London pottery (Watson et al. 2010: 189). Associated with the refined and still relatively costly practice of taking tea, its presence in the assemblage has important implications for the status of the original owners, especially when seen in conjunction with other finds.

From Building 24 only ten sherds of ceramic were recovered, pieces from five different Surrey-Hampshire ware vessels and two delftware, undecorated pharmaceutical jars. However, a large cache of clay tobacco pipes was also recovered (371 fragments representing a minimum of 43 pipes) along with a large amount of food remains with evidence of butchering. These have been interpreted as belonging to the same property as the material recovered from Building 15.

Table 4.4 – NGT00 Building 15 Ceramic Assemblage.
Breakdown of ceramic fabrics from Newgate Street, Building 15, Paternoster Square, London. Material presented by percentage Sherd Count (SC) and estimated number of vessels (ENV). *See appendix for descriptions based on Orton 1988.

Ware	SC	SC%	ENV	ENV%
Surrey-Hampshire border ware (clear glaze)	6	3.8%	3	14.3%
Midlands purple ware	18	11.3%	3	14.3%
Post-medieval black glazed ware	1	0.6%	1	4.8%
London post-medieval redware	29	18.2%	3	14.3%
Staffordshire brown salt glazed stoneware	1	0.6%	1	4.8%
English tin glazed ware or delftware	13	8.2%	4	19.0%
Delftware type C*	43	27.0%	2	9.5%
Delftware type D*	48	30.2%	4	19.0%
Total	**159**	**100%**	**21**	**100%**

Table 4.5 – NGT00 Building 24 Ceramic Assemblage.
Breakdown of ceramic fabrics from Newgate Street, Building 24, Paternoster Square, London. Material presented by percentage Sherd Count (SC) and estimated number of vessels (ENV). *See appendix for descriptions based on Orton 1988.

Ware	SC	SC%	ENV	ENV %
Surrey-Hampshire border ware (green glaze)	2	20%	1	14.3%
Surrey-Hampshire border ware (clear glaze)	3	30%	3	42.9%
Surrey-Hampshire border redware (brown glazed)	1	10%	1	14.3%
Delftware type C*	4	40%	2	28.6%
Total	**10**	**100%**	**7**	**100%**

4.4.3.2.2. Buildings 15 and 24: Glass

All of the glass recovered from Building 15 was analyzed and dated by MOLA, the details of which were published (Watson et al. 2010). In all 47 wine bottle fragments in green glass were recovered. This included the bases and necks from at least five onion bottles, bases from three mallet bottles, and many miscellaneous body fragments. These allowed for a rough estimate of 25 individual vessels to be determined. However, due to the fragmented condition of many pieces in the assemblage, it should be noted that the actual vessel count is most likely higher. Part of a square case bottle in pale green glass with a rounded kick and pontil mark was also found, together with six fragments from green octagonal wine bottles. All this glass was dated to between the late seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries (Watson et al. 2010: 187). There were fragments from at least four pharmaceutical phials in colourless and pale green glass which represents the presence of medicinal or pharmaceuticals at the establishment. One of these phials has a thick, near-vertical, plain rim, two others have more ordinary out-turned rims, and there is also a base with a high pointed kick (Hume 1991). No table-glass was recovered from the fill of the cesspit/cellar.

4.4.3.3. Building 26: Brick Cesspit

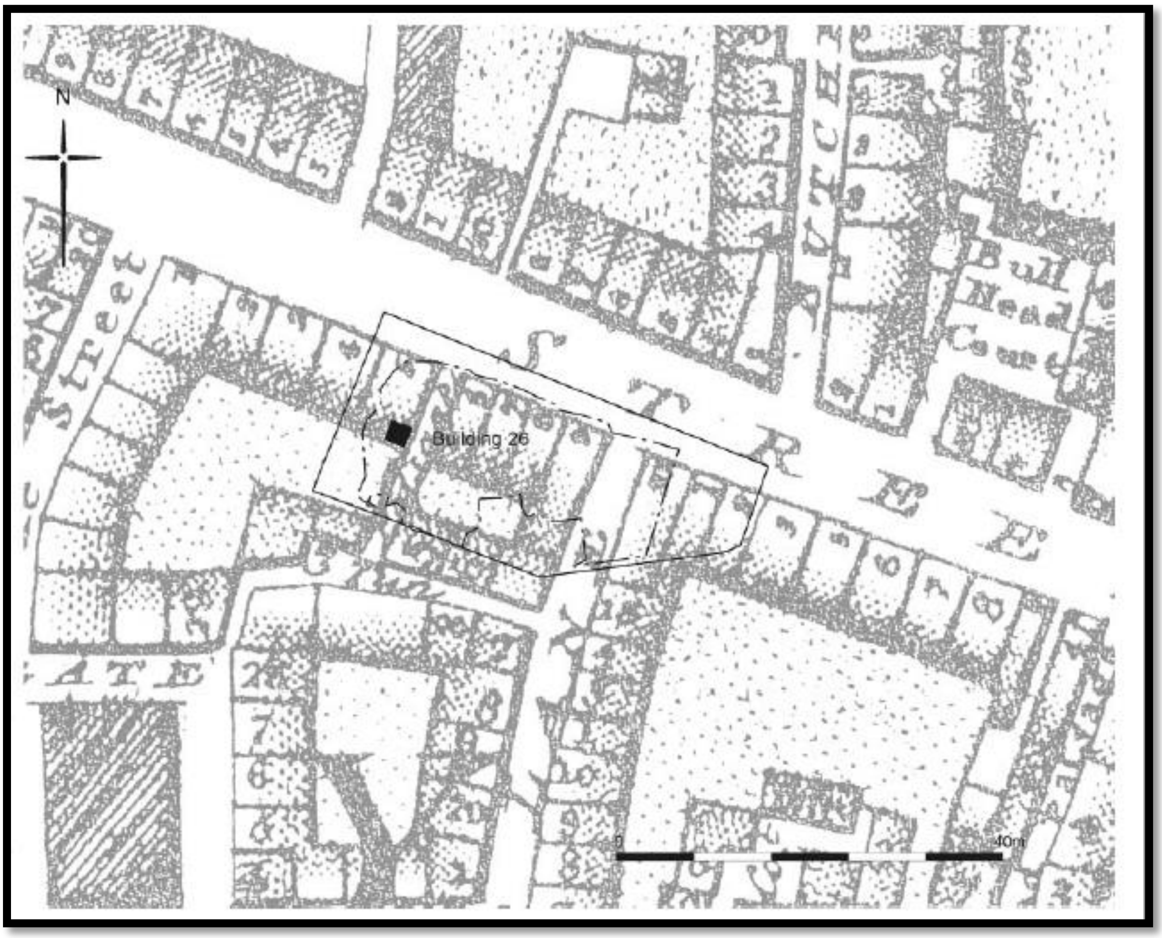

Figure 4.11 – Paternoster Square, London: detail of Building 26.
Paternoster Square, London: the location of Building 26 on the Horwood map of 1799. Note the inscription of '3 Tun' to the south of the project area. Reproduced by kind permission of the Guildhall Library, City of London (Watson et al. 2010: 195).

In area 1, there was a third and final deposit found which was associated with Building 26 (see Figure 4.11). Unlike Buildings 15 and 24 discussed above, this structure was certainly part of a different structure, probably constructed a couple of decades later than that of Building 15/24. This assemblage was found to contain a far greater number of tea and coffee wares and far fewer items associated with food preparation. The material in this deposit dated to a later, staunchly eighteenth-century period of use. While the interpretive value was deemed very similar by those interpreting the material, the assemblages produced a far different evidentiary collection. These differences will be discussed in more detail in section 4.4.6.

4.4.3.3.1. Building 26: Ceramics

The final site in the Paternoster Square project area yielded 211 sherds from a minimum of 48 vessels, and as in the Building 3 cesspit and Building 15 assemblages, there is a high proportion of large, joining sherds, with sherd-links throughout the fill. A total of 21 vessel profiles were reconstructed, together with two complete pots. Although there are sherds from a number of seventeenth-century vessels, and one small fragment of medieval London-type ware, this site represents the latest phase of use of all the sites as the final deposition is dated to 1760–80. As with all the dates, this is based on the earliest date available for the latest materials recovered from the deposit. Most of the pottery comes from a single large context which probably represents the main period of dumping, all of which is characteristic of clearance deposits (Pearce 2000, for full definition, see section 4.2.2). This particular group is comprised of mostly English-made wares (71% - see Table 4.6), however most were not local to London. These consisted mostly of Staffordshire area wares (29%), London course wares (21%), and plain and decorated tin glazed (8%) (all these numbers are calculated excluding tobacco pipes in order to provide a better picture of use. For total ceramic percentages after pipes were included, see Figure 4.22). The course earthenware from this assemblage is very poorly represented. This is unusual and will be discussed further in the discussion section below.

Surrey-Hampshire border redware in the Building 26 cellar include part of a condiment dish and a chamber pot with broad, flat-topped rim and an overall, brown, manganese stained glaze. Sherds from a cylindrical jar and a mug in Surrey-Hampshire border whiteware are probably residual.

Fragments from four vessels in delftware date mainly to the seventeenth century and include the complete profile of a cylindrical jar decorated with a blue-painted cable pattern. There are also thirteen sherds from a plain white chamber pot which can be dated to c. 1675–1725. One plate in delftware may date to as late as c. 1760–80. It has a late eighteenth-century profile (Britton 1987: Appendix V, as cited in Watson et al. 2010) and is painted in dark blue over a pale blue tin glaze with a Chinese-inspired central landscape design including rocks and a willow tree. The rim has a trellis diaper border with floral reserves and the painting is crude and rather slapdash.

A single sherd from a chamber pot in Westerwald stoneware is the only continental import recovered from this cellar assemblage. There are sherds from six cylindrical mugs in brown salt glazed stoneware, probably made at one of the London pothouses. All have a brown dip covering the top half of the body. Three of the mugs are probably of one-pint capacity while the fourth is larger, most likely holding a quart. This vessel has a crowned WR ale measure mark stamped close to the upper end of the handle.

There are two vessels in Nottingham stoneware, a dish and a cylindrical mug. The dish has a broad, flanged rim and shallow rounded profile; its proportions are slightly deep for a plate, but shallow for a dish. Finally, there is part of a cylindrical mug in Staffordshire brown salt glazed stoneware, brown-dipped externally, with bands of rouletted decoration at intervals around the body. Sherds from five vessels in white salt glazed stoneware cover a wide range of forms. They include part of a dinner plate with the popular, moulded bead and reel border, its design inspired by contemporaneous silverware. Part of an oval serving dish has a scalloped rim with the moulded basket, dot and diaper pattern, which remained popular throughout production in the first half of the eighteenth century (Mountford 1971). There are also sherds from a bowl with hooked rim, and from a cylindrical mug with part of a second mug in white-dipped stoneware. The use of a white dip, introduced c. 1710, was largely made unnecessary by the improved stoneware body during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. A small jar or ointment pot with beaded rim resembles a form made as part of a range of 'toys' by Thomas and John Wedgwood (Mountford 1971, as cited in Watson et al. 2010).

Three vessels in creamware are represented in the Building 26 group, all of a mid-eighteenth-century date. There are two plates, one with the popular 'royal' pattern rim; the other, with a distinctly dark cream-colour glaze, has a moulded feather-edge rim, consisting of groups of one large and six small barbs. The 42 sherds from a cauliflower teapot, however, are the more impressive find from this assemblage. These were considered fashionable in the last half of the eighteenth century (Watson et al. 2010: 200).

Tea wares are also well represented in Chinese blue and white export porcelain. There are sherds from six teabowls, two of which have complete profiles. One of these is decorated, both inside and out, with a three-clawed dragon chasing a pearl amidst cloud scrolls. This is a common pattern on eighteenth-century export wares and is of only average quality (Kerr et al. 2003). There is a matching saucer-dish of the same date. Part of another teabowl has the common perforated rock motif with bamboo and chrysanthemums, with sherds from two more vessels of similar design. There are also sherds from two saucers, one with floral decoration and the other with a standard river landscape. All these are common mid-eighteenth-century patterns and would have been widely available to Londoners at this date. Part of a teabowl in Chinese Imari has floral decoration in underglaze blue and overglaze red and gold. Again, this is a common type for the period. None of the Chinese wares is exceptional, but their presence in the cellar fill does emphasize the predominance of tea wares in the group.

The only other pottery found in the Building 26 cellar consists of factory-made finewares. A teapot lid in black glazed ware has a central vent and part of a loop handle remaining. There is also a small sherd of agate ware from an unidentified form, and part of a small baluster jug in refined red earthenware with a central band of cream-coloured slip and sgraffito decoration, highlighted with spots of green glaze. The complete profile cannot now be reconstructed, nor can the design. The glaze is very glossy, appearing dark brown over the red body.

Table 4.6 – NGT00 Building 26 Ceramic Assemblage.
This is a breakdown of ceramic fabrics from Newgate Street, Building 26, Paternoster Square, London. Material presented by percentage Sherd Count (SC) and estimated number of vessels (ENV). *See appendix for descriptions based on Orton 1988

Fabric	SC	% SC	MNV	% MNV
Agate ware	1	0.5%	1	2.1%
Chinese blue and white porcelain	49	23.2%	11	22.9%
Chinese Imari porcelain	1	0.5%	1	2.1%
Chinese Rose porcelain	5	2.4%	1	2.1%
Creamware	19	9.0%	3	6.3%
Creamware with green glaze	42	19.9%	1	2.1%
Delftware Orton 1988 type C	13	6.2%	1	2.1%
Delftware Orton 1988 type D	2	0.9%	1	2.1%
English tin-glazed ware or delftware	6	2.8%	2	4.2%
London stoneware	10	4.7%	3	6.3%
London-area post-medieval redware	5	2.4%	4	8.3%
London-area post-medieval slipped redware (clear glaze)	1	0.5%	1	2.1%
Nottingham stoneware	8	3.8%	3	6.3%
Refined red earthenware with slip decoration	10	4.7%	2	4.2%
Staffordshire ware, various	7	3.3%	4	8.3%
Surrey-Hampshire border redware (brown-glazed)	3	1.4%	2	4.2%
Surrey-Hampshire border ware (unglazed)	1	0.5%	1	2.1%
Westerwald stoneware	1	0.5%	1	2.1%
Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware	27	12.8%	5	10.4%
Total	**211**	**100.0%**	**48**	**100.0%**

4.4.3.3.2 Building 26: Glass

The glass assemblage from building 26 is notable for its quantity, quality and diversity. There were roughly 51 individual vessels represented in this assemblage. The fill of the cellar yielded 24 fragments of pale green and colourless window glass. A considerable number of green glass wine bottle fragments were also recovered. Most of these come from cylindrical forms with a medium rounded kick to the base, typical of the mid- to late eighteenth century (Dumbrell 1983: 91). At least thirteen near complete bases from true cylindrical bottles were recorded, with fragments from a minimum of three necks with a single string rim and five with a double-string rim, a feature that had developed by c. 1770 (Dumbrell 1983: 92, , as cited in Watson et al. 2010). There are also bases and rim/neck fragments from at least eight squat cylindrical bottles, all with a single-string rim. The glass is in a very fragmentary state so reconstruction and quantification was difficult; the total number of bottles represented in the cellar fill will be greater than suggested by the more complete vessels (Watson et al. 2010: 194). Part of a small globular half-measure bottle in colourless glass was also found and there are fragments from an octagonal wine bottle in green glass, again of mid-eighteenth-century date. The base of a flattened bottle in colourless glass has a pushed-in, central, linear kick and is an unusual form, possibly imitating a hip flask (J. Shepherd as cited in Watson et al. 2010: 194). There are 52 fragments from pharmaceutical phials in green and colourless glass, dating from the late seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. These include one complete eighteenth-century green glass phial, 110mm in height, with a base diameter of 34mm and rim diameter of 22–5mm. In addition, five rims and eleven bases were recorded, mostly with a shallow rounded kick. The rim and slightly flared neck of a small, delicate, spouted cruet in colourless glass, with vertical moulded ribbing, would probably have been used for vinegar or oil and dates to the eighteenth century (Willmott 2002, 106 referenced in Watson et al. 2010).

There are two large, applied handles in dark green bottle glass, each one re-curved at the base. A third handle fragment has a more ornate terminal, while the complete examples also have a well-formed thumb-rest near the top. They date from the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries and are of some interest, since they come from decanter wine bottles made by adapting the bottle form with the addition of a handle. One of the handles retains part of the neck of the bottle form to which it was attached, suggesting that it might originally have come from an onion bottle. Two more onion bottle necks from the cellar fill retain part of the upper handle attachment. One of these has a slight lip formed opposite the handle, but no evidence for a string rim surviving. The discovery of fragments from at least five such vessels in the Building 26 cellar fill lends support to the suggestion that the assemblage derived from a tavern or similar establishment, as they are rare in ordinary domestic contexts (Watson et al. 2010: 194). There are at least sixteen stemmed glasses of different forms, all in colourless glass. Examples in both lead and soda glass are represented. At least two stemmed glasses have a plain foot, plain drawn stem and a funnel-shaped bowl decorated with optic-blown vertical ribs around its lower portion (F. Grew as cited in Watson et al. 2010: 196), with a third similar glass represented by part of the bowl alone. The more complete examples, almost certainly made in lead glass, are constructed in three parts and all appear to come from the same set. One flared, folded foot has a basal knop with teardrop bubble, as does a second similar more fragmentary example. Part of a funnel-shaped bowl has a short, heavy, inverted baluster stem with a large ball knop and low conical foot. Made in three parts, this glass dates to the first half of the eighteenth century, possibly the 1720s (F. Grew as cited in Watson et al. 2010: 196). There are fragments from at least two stemmed glasses with a folded foot, plain drawn stem and round funnel bowl. The folded foot is a feature of early drinking glasses that continued until at least 1730 (Bickerton 1984: 6 referenced in Watson 2010). Two cordial glasses are each represented by a plain drawn stem and the base of a bucket shaped bowl, with the top of the foot also surviving; both are made in two parts and make a matching pair. There is also a fragment from the flared, rilled base of a pedestal roemer in very thin, pale green glass. Not common on excavated sites in England, this form appears generally to have been used for drinking white wine and to have been imported from the Low Countries or northern Germany (Willmott 2002: 53 referenced in Watson et al. 2010). Fragments from two tumblers with a slight basal kick were also recorded. Overall, the Building 26 cellar assemblage presents a picture of good quality glassware for the table, including a range of stemmed glasses, bottle decanters, tumblers and other forms that would not be out of place in one of the private rooms of a tavern or gentlemen's club.

4.4.4. Analysis Discussion

I will now discuss the material and patterns which have emerged from the presentation of the data in the previous sections. The material will be reviewed with the research aims and objectives in mind by using a three-tiered method of analysis discussed earlier in this chapter. For each site I will discuss the aims, the major patterns present, followed by a more specific discussion of these patterns and implications. Each section will then end with a brief summary of significance for the site analysis. I will begin by discussing the analysis from Building 3, which was in use during the earliest part of the period under investigation.

4.4.4.1. Building 3

This section is intended to provide a brief discussion related to the key observations and patters which were found to be significant during this analysis. From the previous presentation and description of materials from NGT00 Building 3, charts were created which encapsulate most of the relevant information in a visual format (see Figure 4.12 to Figure 4.15).

A basic functional analysis of all the materials recovered from Building 3 shows that the majority of wares were related to food and drink service and cooking (38% and 14%, respectively). The next most prominent functional groups is hygiene, comprising nearly a quarter of the material found (23%), followed by tobacco pipes (18%) (Figure 4.12). Of particular note is the absence of drinking materials, however, it should be noted that the absence of the material does not preclude the absence of the practice. Many lower-class establishments would have less durable methods of distributing drink than the stoneware or glass vessels present in higher status locals. In the following section, a brief discussion will transpire regarding the implications this analysis has for the interpretation of these assemblages in regards to the specific concepts laid out in the start of this chapter.

The majority of wares were related to food (50%). The next most prominent functions appear to be smoking (19%) and hygiene (24%), together comprising almost half of the material found (see Figure 4.15). There is a far more diverse and balanced representation of material from this assemblage than is frequently found within an establishments of moderate status. However, beyond the range of forms represented, much of the similarities to higher status establishments cease.

The most common ceramic fabric type were earthernwares (71%), of which tin glazed, or delftware, comprised 33% of the material when tobacco pipes were included (see Figure 4.13). Moreover, this assemblage is overwhelmingly dominated by locally sourced earthenwares (see Figure 4.14), many of which are of a particularly good quality. It should be noted that it is highly irregular for decorated finewares to outnumber coarsewares in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century contexts in urban settings; especially in the City of London. This is in large part due to the shifting migration of the wealthier classes out of the inner city in exchange for the more fashionable West End; what was at that time considered the suburbs (Porter 1996: 116–117). Similar to the Chinese plate, the pin-wheel style delft chargers are of an older decorative fashion. Once again, this presence in the assemblage is potentially indicative of the careful preservation of older, significant items; alternatively, it could indicate that the household had acquired these items at a reduced cost second hand (Watson et al. 2010).

Another interesting find was the delftware plate with the sturgeon decoration. This plate is a particularly good example of how personal identity and local pride – in this case an affinity with the London area fishing trade – was emblazoned upon otherwise ordinary items. These pieces not only give insight into the ways people used material culture to express themselves but also informs us about the location of manufacture, the market to which it was targeting and the significance of such common place things like fish and plates (or indeed fish plates). The sturgeon plate is one of the latest identifiable pieces in the cesspit and probably relates to a period of disturbance during the mid- to late eighteenth century.

Although most of the material was London sourced ceramic, there were a couple of imported Chinese porcelain items of note which appear to be from a much earlier period (see Figure 4.13 and Figure 4.14). This indicates that the items were either bought second hand or preserved as keepsakes for multiple generations before being discarded, rather than having been new and fashionable items.

Considered broadly under the term 'china' together with other fine ceramics, porcelain tends to be listed most frequently in the inventories of the gentry, professional gentlemen, the wealthier tradesmen and members of the bourgeoisie in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Weatherhill 1996). It is perhaps in this context that the porcelain recovered from the Building 3 cesspit may be viewed, as part of an increasingly popular fashion for collecting and displaying the treasures of the Orient that flourished amongst the relatively prosperous families of tradesmen and the middle classes.

The material in this assemblage mainly represents forms for the consumption of food, tobacco and hygiene which might support the idea that this was in fact a private residence rather than an establishment. Private residences and public establishments have been historically difficult to trace due to the poor records for many of the smaller establishments. Part of the difficulty is detecting material signatures for the various establishments. However, one of the tell-tale signs of these establishments is that they tend to yield evidence of reasonably high amounts of storage related wares (Pearce 2000). Unlike all of the other sites under investigation which demonstrated storage related vessels as a minimum of 20% of their total assemblages, storage vessels at NGT00 Building 3 represented less than 5% of its total yield (Figure 4.15). This along with the fact that the categories of functional use were far more evenly represented leads me to believe that this site was catering to a more private domestic environment. The next section will review an example of an establishment with clearly a more public focus which was operating slightly later than Building 3, in the middle of the period under investigation.

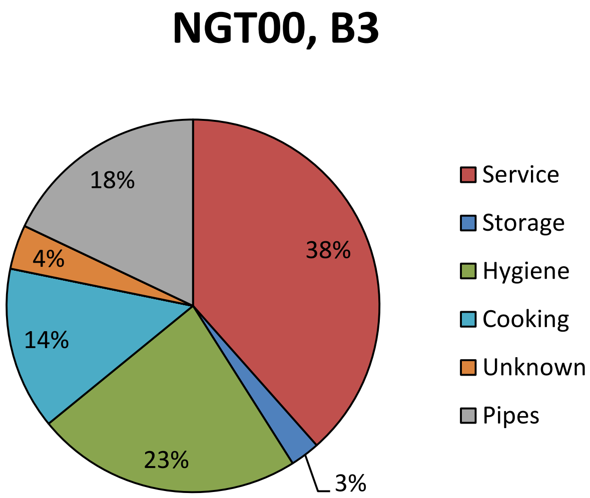

Figure 4.12 – Basic Functional Analysis of Material at NGT00, B3.
This chart shows the total percentages of both ceramic and glass materials recovered from Building 3 at NGT00 (based on ENV counts). Author's copyright.

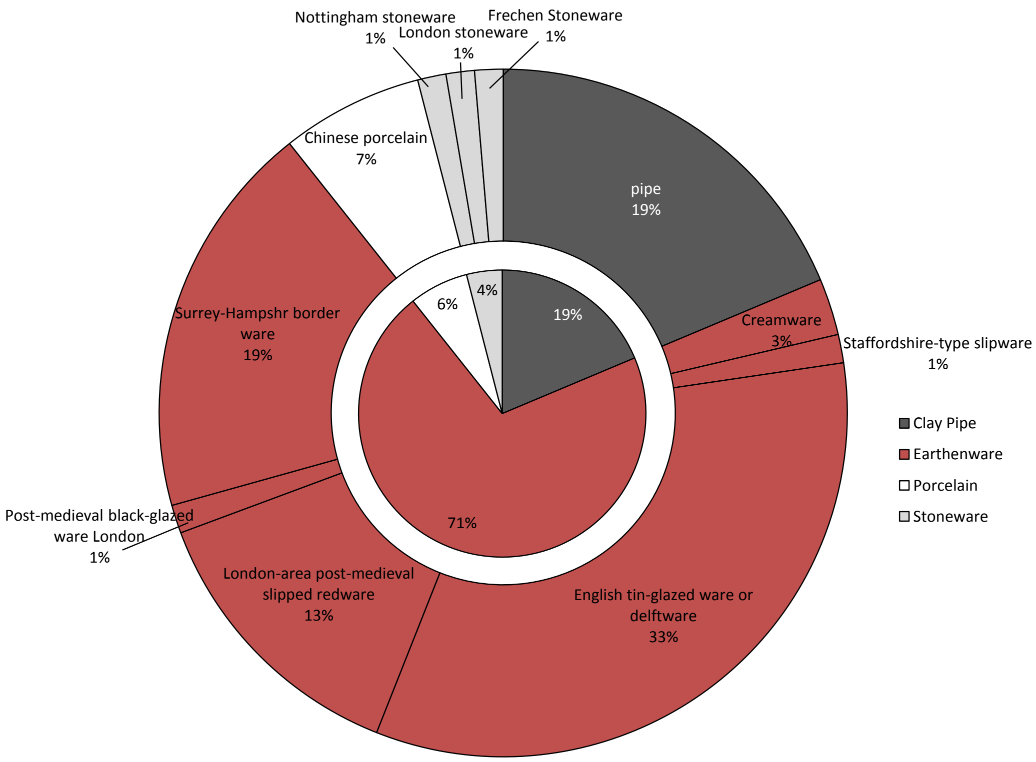

Figure 4.13 – Breakdown by Ceramic Fabric Catagories, NGT00 B3.
This chart shows the broad fabric categories with corresponding percentages (these numbers are all based on ENV counts). Author's copyright.

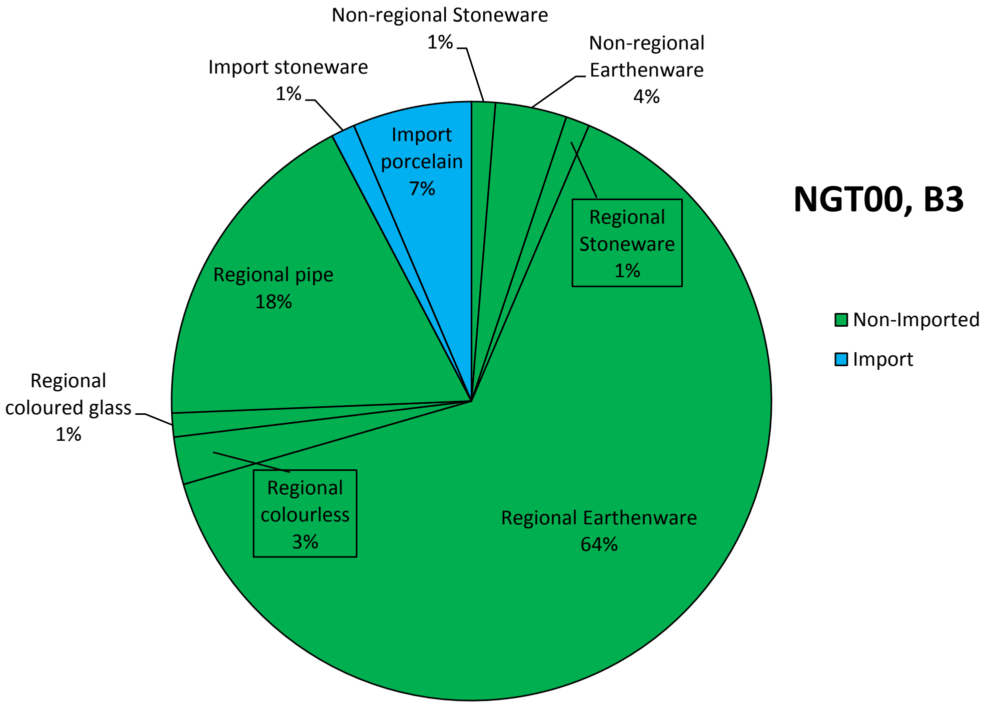

Figure 4.14 – Import vs. Non-import, NGT00, B3.
This image shows the distribution and frequency of imported vs. non-imported wares recovered from the site NGT00, from Building 3. Author's copyright.

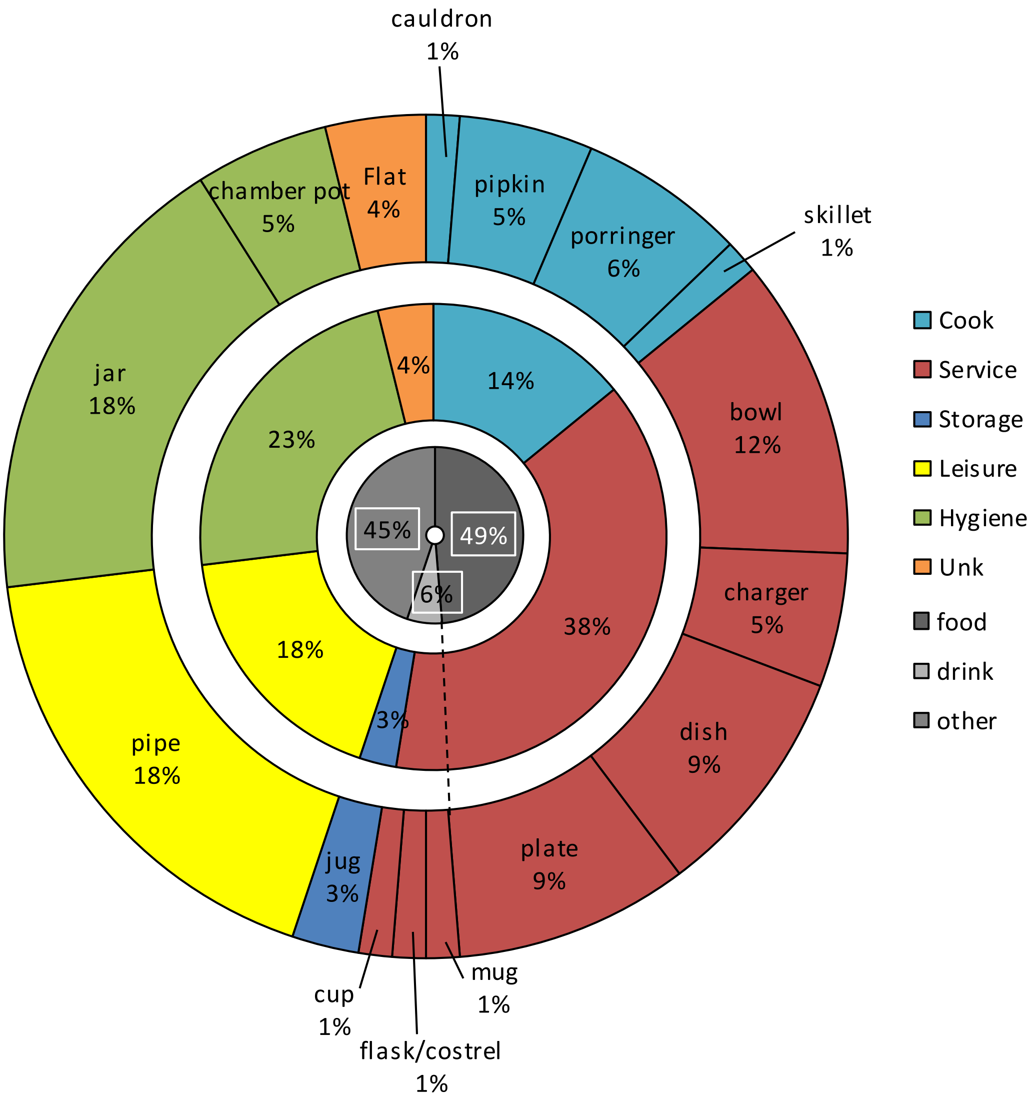

Figure 4.15 – Functional breakdown of All Material at NGT00, B3.
This chart shows three levels of analysis giving a multidimensional picture of how the material was broken down. The outer band shows the percent of each individual form, the middle band shows a more specific function and the central band is the most basic division of use. Author's copyright.

4.4.4.2. Building 15 and 24

This section is intended to provide a brief discussion related to the key observations and patters which were found to be significant during the analysis of building 15/24. From the previous presentation and description of materials from NGT00 Building 15/24, charts were created which encapsulate most of the relevant information in a visual format (see Figure 4.17 to Figure 4.20).

A basic functional analysis of all the materials recovered from Building 15/24 shows that the majority of wares were related to smoking (46%). The next most prominent functional groups is storage (25%), followed by service (13%) (see Figure 4.17).

In the material from Building 15 there appeared to be a high frequency of low quality and locally sources ceramics associated with food preparation and consumption and glass vessels for the storage of liquids. In Building 24 there was a near total absence of ceramic and glass, but an abundance of food remains in the way of animal bones. There was also the highest number from any of the sites of tobacco pipes (46%) recovered in this deposit (see Figure 4.17).

Smoking in London at this time was very popular, most utilizing clay pipes which varied in quality but most British clay pipes from this period were relatively inexpensive and, in many ways disposable. The British pipe materials were known for being brittle (Oswald 1975: 11) and the average pipe may have only lasted a few weeks or months depending on use. The high occurrence of food preparation and butchered animal remains from meats commonly consumed by most lower middle class and middle class populations, along with the presence of a relatively high concentration of clay tobacco pipes would seem to indicate that this premises was primarily used as a chophouse or some other form of eatery. Though there were wine bottles present, the lack of drinking vessels tends to indicate that the consumption of beverages was not the primary focus of the establishment. While organic vessels made from wood or leather could have been used, the overall disproportionate representation of material must be taken into consideration when interpreting the type of establishment and associated patterns of consumption undertaken within the premises.

Although eating out and drinking in public had previously been a professional male dominated privilege, over the seventeenth century there had been a growth in smaller establishments such as taverns and alehouses offering a wider range of food, and 'ordinaries' serving fixed-price meals (Forsyth 1999: 31). Occasionally the patrons would bring their own food into the tavern to be cooked by the proprietor. There were also cook shops where you could purchase a hot meal to eat there or ready-made meals that could be taken home for consumption. Sam Pepys commented frequently about going to the cook's house for his dinner or sending a servant to fetch their meal from the cook (here 'cook means cook house). Sometimes these establishments specialized in selling chops, probably the origin of the eighteenth century chop houses (Forsyth 1999: 41). A famous example of the chop house was Dolly's, which stood on Queen's Head Passage, running north from Paternoster Row (Watson et al. 2010: 174–175). Throughout the eighteenth century, Dolly's was considered to be quite significant for publishers, clergymen and writers such as Defoe and Swift (Callow 1899: 160).

Another noteworthy pattern here at Building 15/24 is the total absence of imported materials (Figure 4.19). This is not wholly surprising considering the quality of the rest of the materials recovered. Unlike in Building 3 where the locally sourced wares were of a high quality, those present in this assemblage are of the plain and common variety. Roughly 4% of the assemblage was from outside of the London area, having been sourced as far as the Staffordshire region (Figure 4.18and Figure 4.19). This supports the theory that the establishment was catering to a lower status patron who would not be as interested in fashionable trappings and décor as much as getting a practical exchange for their money. These implications regarding the status of this establishment may also shed light on why there were so few drinking vessels yet a reasonable number of storage containers (Figure 4.20). The vessels were interpreted as wine bottles, but these types of vessels were also frequently reused for the storage of oils and other liquids (Reckner and Brighton 1999: 71; Busch 1987). Yet there is some scope to speculate further regarding the nature of patterns of use at this establishment. Wooden casks were commonly used to ship, store and serve beverages. These were reusable and would not be discarded under normal circumstances, however, if they were to be thrown out, the conditions for preservation may easily not have allowed them to survive into the twenty-first century. Leather flagons, tankards and goblets were also more cost effective alternatives to ceramic, and had a more forgiving margin for the no doubt often boisterous antics of their customers. By trading down on these luxuries, patrons received cheaper food, drink and cooking services.

The one exception to both the lack of drinking vessels and the lack of imported vessels can be found in the anomalous delftware cup, shaped like a male phallus. Analysis was inconclusive as to point of origin due to the unique nature of the vessel and subsequent lack of a basis for comparison. The closest approximations have been discussed by Hugh Willmott and Peter Robinson in a recent publication depicting two nineteenth-century, brown stoneware varieties from Nottingham (2014: 253). However, the design, in both shape and décor, differ dramatically from this earlier example. Based on the decorative pattern alone there is a strong possibility that it is a product of London as the technique is very similar to other late seventeenth-century London delft patters (see Figure 4.16). However, there is also a possibly that it is of Dutch origin (Watson et al. 2010: 191). Yet, despite its presence, little has been attributed to the wider interpretation of the rest of the site. Indeed, in the publication on this project, this singular object received nearly two-thirds of the text dedicated to the pottery recovered from this structure (Watson et al. 2010: 190-192).

The material patterns of greatest interest here can certainly be found in the nature of negative evidence at this particular site. The evidence that this assemblage was one belonging to an establishment is clear, yet the nature of the services provided is less so. The primary function seems to have been geared toward the service of affordable meals for those of less substantial means. The abundance of smoking evidence and food remains points most clearly toward the social nature of the establishment. Yet the relative abundance of storage vessels for wine paired with the overwhelming lack of service vessels has provoked the need to reconsider the way we interpret these spaces based solely on the positive evidence. Sometimes these absences can be more revealing in regards to understanding patterns of use than the material present. The following section will review the material from Building 26 which has an abundance of material to contrast with Buildings 15/24, and which was in operation up until the last quarter of the period under investigation.

Figure 4.16 – Decorative patterns on London area delfware, c. 1690–1710.
Images: 1) Delft phallus, from NGT00, Building 15 (Watson et al. 2010). 2) London area delftware bowl with footring from NGT00, Building 3, c. 1690–1700 (Watson et al. 2010) 3) London area delftware bowl from KIG95, c.1700–1710 (Author's copyright).

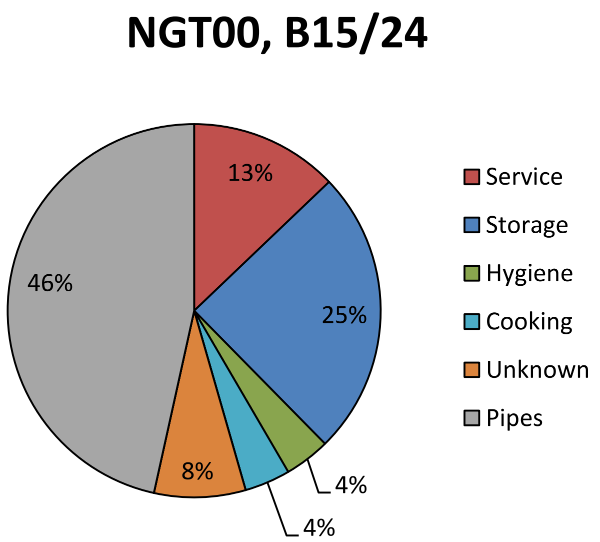

Figure 4.17 – Basic Functional Analysis of Material at NGT00, B15/24.
This chart shows the total percentages of both ceramic and glass materials recovered from Building 15/24 at NGT00 (based on ENV counts). Author's copyright.

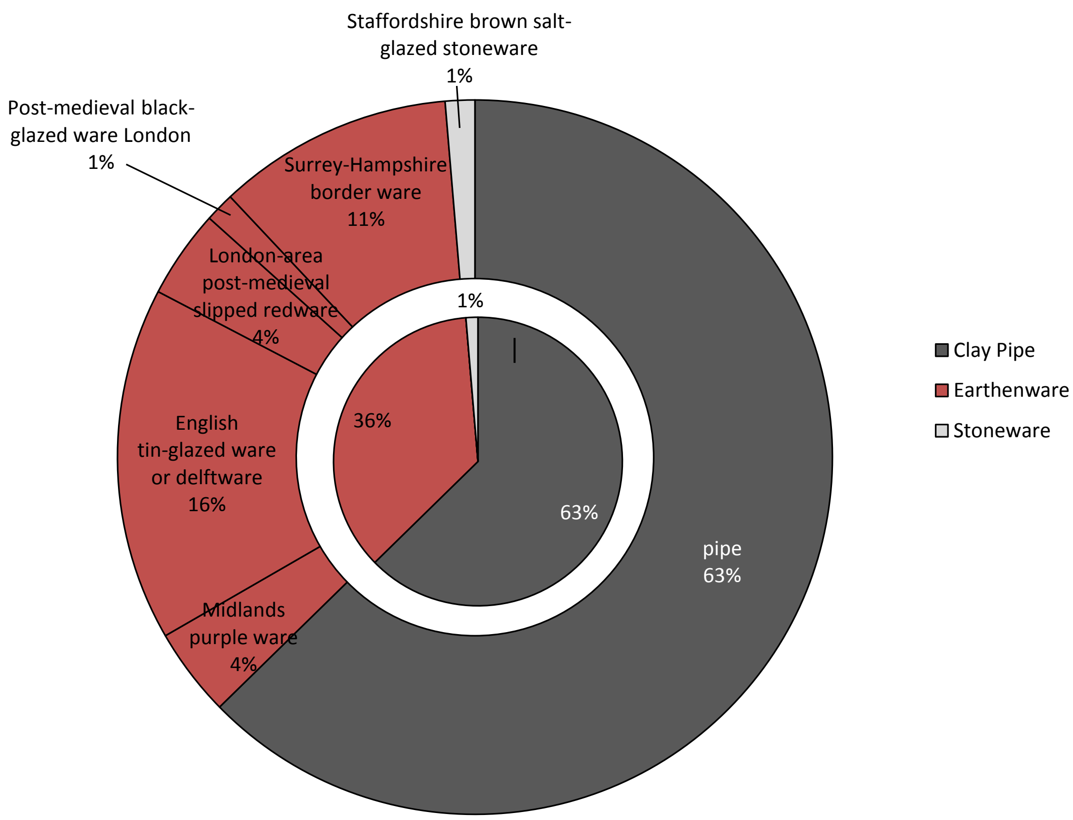

Figure 4.18 – Breakdown by Ceramic Fabric Catagories, NGT00 B15/24.
This chart shows the broad fabric categories with corresponding percentages (these numbers are all based on ENV counts). Author's copyright.

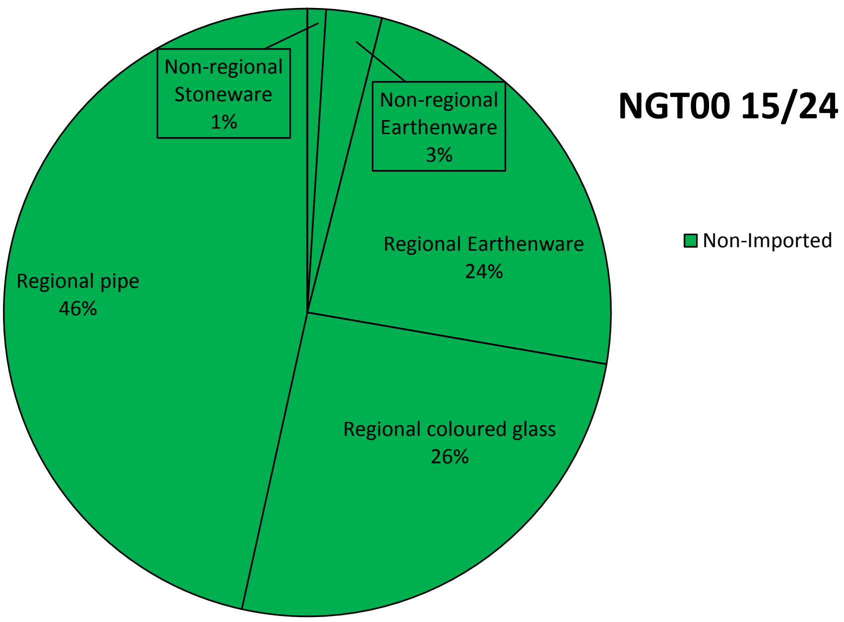

Figure 4.19 – Import vs. Non-import, NGT00, B15/24.
This image shows the distribution and frequency of imported vs. non-imported wares recovered from the site NGT00, from Building 15/24. Author's copyright.

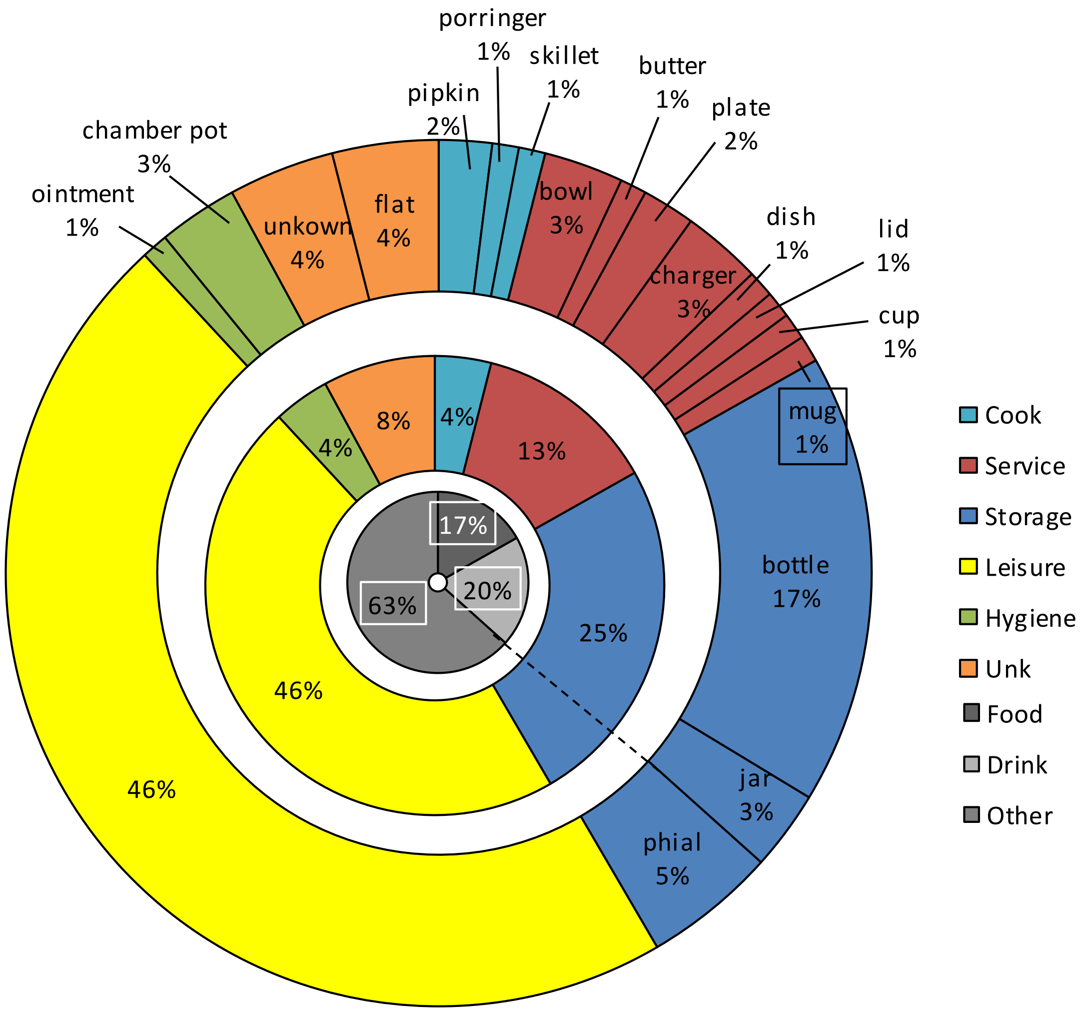

Figure 4.20 – Functional breakdown of All Material at NGT00, B15/24.
This chart shows three levels of analysis which gives a multidimensional picture of how the material was broken down. The outer band shows the percent of each individual form, the middle band shows a more specific function and the central band is the most basic division of use. Author's copyright.

4.4.4.3. Building 26

This section is intended to provide a brief discussion related to the key observations and patters which were found to be significant during the analysis of building 26. From the previous presentation and description of materials from NGT00 Building 26, charts were created which encapsulate most of the relevant information in a visual format (see Figure 4.21 to Figure 4.24). A basic functional analysis of all the materials recovered from Building 26 shows that the majority of wares were related to the service and storage of goods (47% and 29%, respectively and 76% combined). The next most prominent functional groups is smoking (17%) (see Figure 4.21).

The English stoneware mugs and tankards are of a standard type produced in Fulham during the first half of the eighteenth century (Green 1999: 153, as cited in Watson et al. 2010). The Paternoster mark does not match exactly any of the published examples excavated at the Fulham Pottery (Green 1999: 225, as cited in Watson et al. 2010), so it could alternatively have come from a pothouse in Southwark or Lambeth.

Sherds from five vessels in white salt glazed stoneware cover a wide range of forms. Developed early in the eighteenth century, this became the standard fineware fabric favoured for tea wares and dinner services during the middle decades of the century, until eclipsed by the inexorable rise of creamware from the 1760s onwards. The thin-walled finely potted stoneware was not only fashionable, but also far more durable and practical than delftware.

It should be noted that the only imported wares of real note were the Chinese porcelain tea wares. In relation to the rest of the quality and consistency of material in the assemblage it appears that these items were only of moderate quality. Their presence also speaks to the increasingly common nature of Chinese porcelain in Britain by this point. It demonstrates the changes that consumption patterns had on market availability over the course of 100-years; from when the Chinese porcelain from Building 3 was thrown away to when these items in Building 26 are being discarded. Over this period you can see how these items have already gone from being keepsakes to being relatively disposable fashion accessories. Stylized Chinese landscapes, populated or otherwise, were a recurrent theme on delftware throughout its history, and from c. 1720 patterns derived from Qing dynasty designs commonly graced dinner services, of which this vessel is doubtless a part (Britton 1982: 182 referenced in Watson el al. 2010).

By comparison with the other large assemblages from Paternoster Square, this group includes noticeably less coarseware. This is an irregular example of a "clearance group" (for definition, see section 4.2.2). The London area post-medieval redware is in a more fragmentary state, mostly one sherd per form, and includes the rims and bases from four large bowls or dishes, two of them glazed inside and out. Multi-purpose vessels of this kind were in widespread use across London for food preparation and serving, with little obvious change over many decades.

Moulded and partially green glazed cauliflower tea and coffee wares were popular during the 1760s. By 1766, Wedgwood was apparently sick of making cauliflowers and sold off his block moulds to John Baddeley of Shelton (Emmerson 1992: 69). Considerable quantities of sherds from cauliflower wares were also found on the William Greatbatch site in Phase II, c. 1765–70, reflecting the great popular demand for these distinctive vessels. There was a decline in production after c. 1770, but they were still being made until Greatbatch went into bankruptcy in 1782 (Barker 1991: 255–258 referenced in Watson et al. 2010). The moulding on the Paternoster teapot is not very crisp, suggesting that it might have been made in an old, worn block.

Creamware sherds with a similar feathered border were found on the site of the 'W B' factory at Little Fenton, thought to be the mark used by William Bacchus (Towner 1978: 84 referenced in Watson et al. 2010). Positive attribution, however, can be tenuous in the absence of a back stamp, since moulds were commonly sold on, and duplication of common patterns was inevitable. The absence of pearlware and transfer-printed pottery strongly suggests that the feature was sealed before the end of the eighteenth century, probably by the beginning of the last quarter. There are also a number of refined red earthenware items in this assemblage. Red earthenware was the first of the refined earthenwares to be made in Staffordshire, before c. 1720, and is found mainly as tea and coffee wares. Often referred to by the misleading term Astbury-type ware, after the Shelton potter John Astbury, red earthenware was made by many potters over a long period (Barker and Halfpenny 1990: 23 referenced in Watson et al. 2010).

Possibly the most notable feature of this assemblage is in the high number of glass tablewares which were recovered; nearly 20% of the total assemblage (Figure 4.24). This along with storage vessels related to drinking making up 18% of the collection, makes it clear that the establishment had a keen interest in the supply of fine wines imported from continental Europe (Watson et al. 2010: 196). What is intriguing here is that in contrast to the material reviewed from KIG95, the materials used to serve the imported beverages all appears to be sourced in England by this time in the mid- to late eighteenth century (see Figure 4.23).

The material from Building 26 offers the highest amount of drinking related consumption items (56%) (see Figure 4.24). Large numbers of ceramic and glass drinking vessels were recovered from this cesspit deposit and seem to represent some of the latest material from any of the building assemblages here in the Newgate Street site. Much of the material was in the form of coffee and tea wares, popular items for social consumption at this time. The greatest diversity in fabric, form and decoration among the recovered finds was also found here. This assemblage represents a change in both the accessibility of objects and the distribution of wealth that was occurring throughout Britain at this time and has major implications regarding the development of industry at home within ceramic and glass making. As a result of these expanding markets, there was considerable incentive to produce locally alternatives, thereby capturing both the production and sale capital.

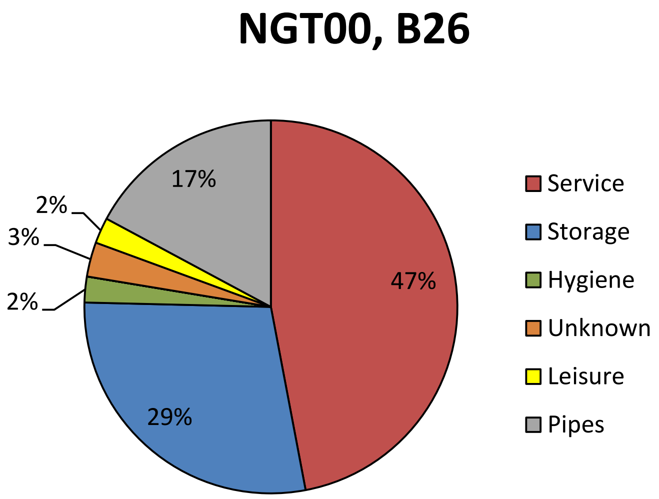

Figure 4.21 – Basic Functional Analysis of Material at NGT00, B26.
This chart shows the total percentages of both ceramic and glass materials recovered from Building 26 at NGT00 (based on ENV counts). Author's copyright.

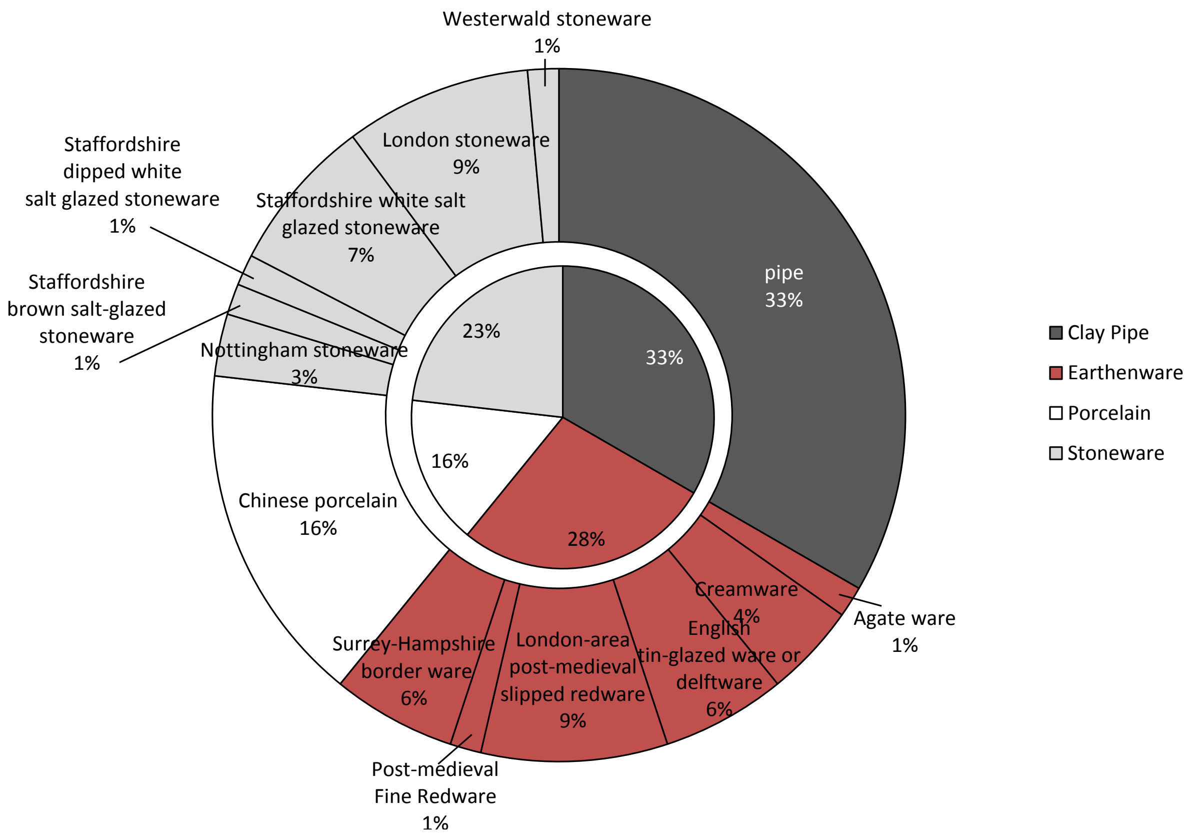

Figure 4.22 – Breakdown by Ceramic Fabric Catagories, NGT00 B26.
This chart shows the broad fabric categories with corresponding percentages (these numbers are all based on ENV counts). Author's copyright.

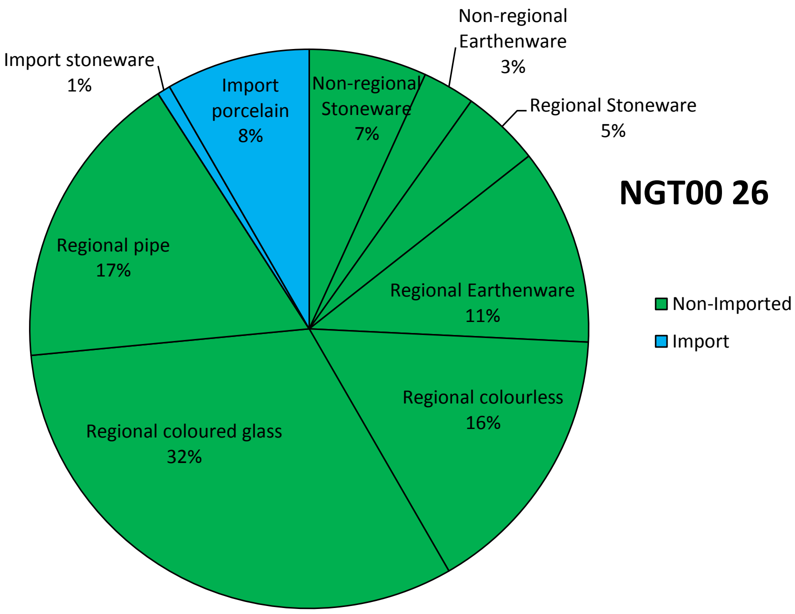

Figure 4.23 – Import vs. Non-import, NGT00, B26.
This image shows the distribution and frequency of imported vs. non-imported wares recovered from the site NGT00, from Building 26. Author's copyright.

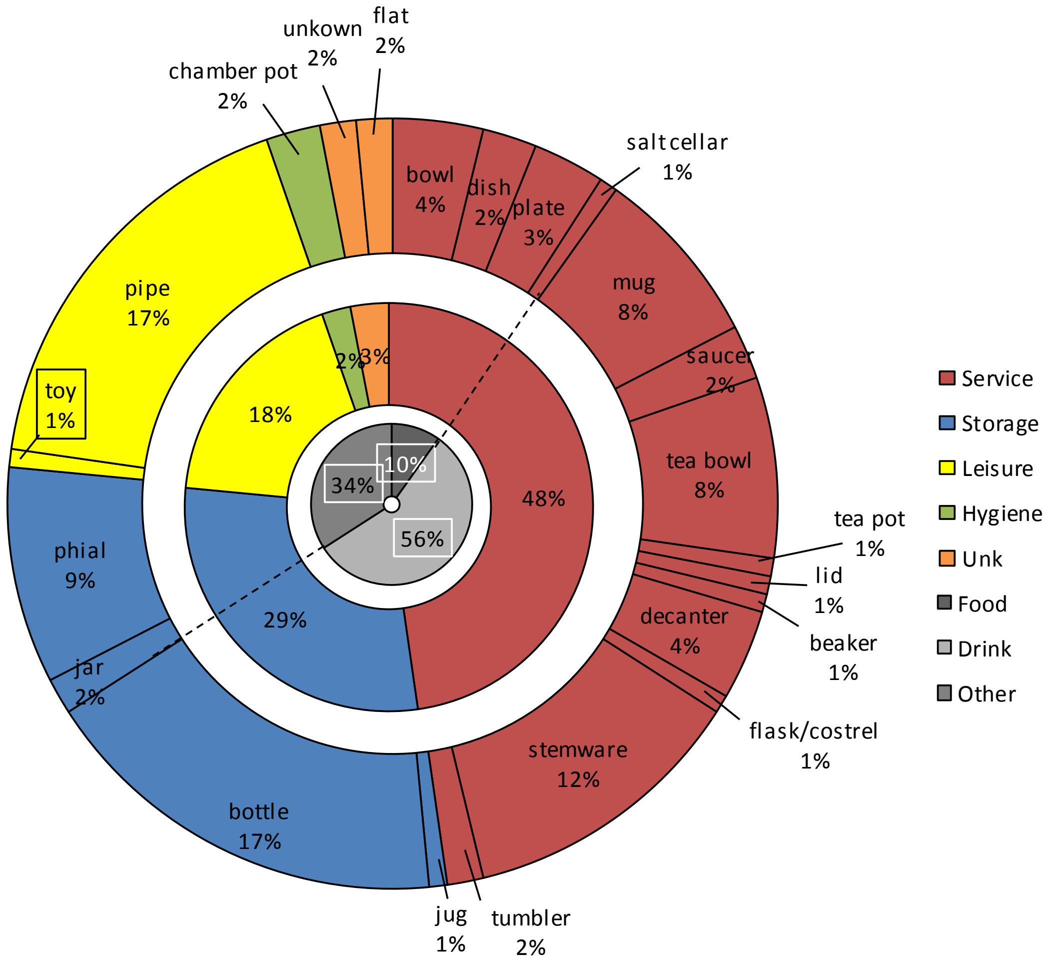

Figure 4.24 – Functional breakdown of All Material at NGT00, B26.
This chart shows three levels of analysis which gives a multidimensional picture of how the material was broken down. The outer band shows the percent of each individual form, the middle band shows a more specific function and the central band is the most basic division of use. Author's copyright.

4.4.4.4. Summary

Analysis of the finds from both ceramic and glass assemblages from across the Newgate Street project area has led to some unexpected results regarding the changing nature of consumption and the widening middle class in the late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century London. Broad variation between functional use patterns from one establishment to the next, the types of material being consumed across the periods and how they reflect broad social ideology can be identified. In particular, these assemblages have shed light on the distinctive patterns which set each type of establishment apart and help identify and determine who they were serving and how their tastes were changing. In the following section the final site will be considered, exploring changes in one establishment across the two periods.

4.5. Case study 3: Consumption Practices at the Bear Inn on Basinghall Street (BAZ05)

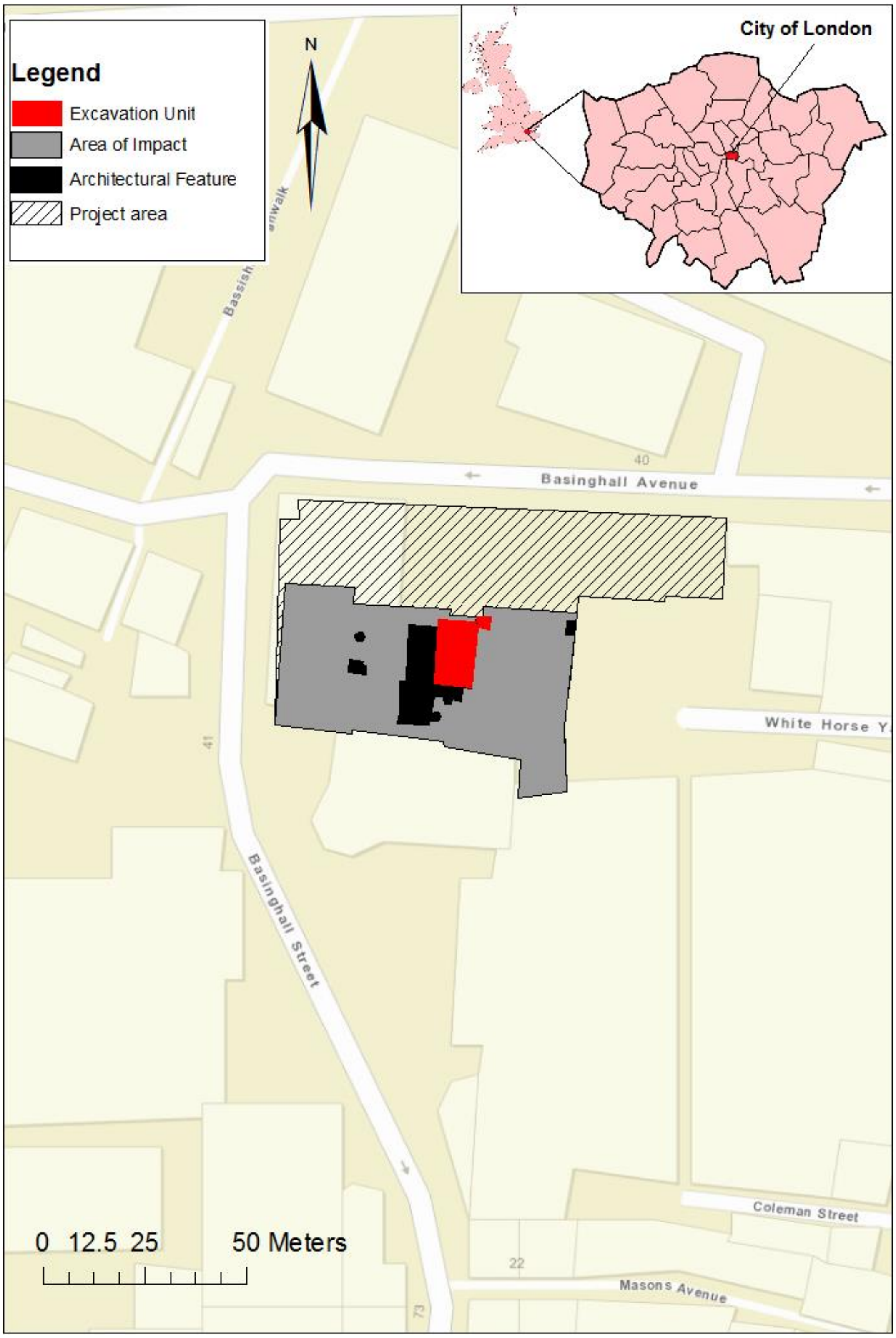

Figure 4.25 – Site Location of 35 Basinghall Street.
Site location of BAZ05 with project boundaries, architectural features and excavation units indicated. Author's copyright.

4.5.1. Introduction

In this section, the archaeological material recovered at Basinghall Street is reviewed. The history of this neighbourhood is well documented as it is located only 8m north of the current Guildhall. This neighbourhood has undergone extensive archaeological and historic survey by MOLA, which has been published in a detailed two volume set (Bowsher et al. 2007). The material under investigation was broadly from the same period as both the King Street and Newgate Street collections. All material was recovered from a cesspit deposit, located to the east of the project area (Figure 4.25) which appears to have been in use between 1667 and 1820s. The material here can be clearly identified as belonging to an "early phase" and a "late phase" of use (McKenzie and Wardle 2006). These phases will be discussed in the Dating and Phasing section below.

It should be noted throughout this section that this site was in the process of being analyzed and written about by the MOLA for the duration of the research period and write up of this thesis. As a result, much of the material was not available to be accessed for personal imaging (as in KIG95), nor were the published images available (as in NGT00). Where possible, images of similarly referenced items were obtained or else references to similar material are used.

4.5.2. Site Background

4.5.2.1. Circumstances of excavation

The site at 35 Basinghall Street was excavated as a condition of planning consent between the spring of 2002 and summer 2003. A first phase of evaluation was undertaken in March 2002 in order to identify the location of pre-war basements within the car park area of 35 Basinghall Street. As the offices and car park were still in use, the evaluation was limited to a single test pit and four boreholes. This phase of work suggested that the archaeological features in the central part of the car park consisted of large medieval rubbish pits, which cut into earlier archaeological deposits and the natural subsoil.

The second phase of evaluation took place in July 2003 and was designed to provide more detail on the nature and extent of deposits that survived in the car park area and also to assess the extent of archaeological survival beneath the basement slab within the standing building. The evaluation consisted of three test pits in the car park area and three in the basement. This confirmed that the eastern part of the yard contained medieval and post-medieval pits and dumps and that the basement of the existing building had truncated all original ground surfaces leaving only the bases of isolated deep cut features such as pits and wells.

While reviewing the reports, it immediately became evident that the primary focus had been on the evidence for Roman glass working and pottery production in this part of the Roman city in the second century AD (McKenzie and Wardle 2006). The nature of the significance of the Roman component of this site and the fact that this is the most recently excavated site under analysis has proved somewhat problematic. While the greatest number and detail of records belongs to this site, access has been more limited as MOLA has yet to publish the findings. For example, context record sheets were not able to be located for many of the relevant post medieval contexts, as they were currently in use by the museum. However, by using some 'in-progress' manuscripts made available by N. Jefferies at MOLA, feature locations, site maps, and the locations for the excavation trenches were able to be obtained.

4.5.2.2. Historical context

At the time of the establishments' operation, the area was renowned for its close proximity to the London Guildhall, the heart of the city's merchant and trade activities. Based on archaeological findings, the White Bear coaching inn, located some 8–10m north of the current location of the Guildhall, was established some time during the second half of the fifteenth century. This comes from an unpublished, working-document obtained from MOLA records. Access to these records can be obtained via request to MOLA. The first reference to the White Bear (or the Bear) is in 1541 in a description of the Girdlers Hall, "The Girdlers Hall lies beyond the Bear" (BL Harl 541). This hall, according to Lobel's map reconstructing London in the 1540s, appears to be abutting the property to the north (see Figure 4.26).

After the Great Fire of 1666, the Bear was rebuilt on roughly the same foundational features, reusing the old cellar as the basis for the new one (McKenzie and Wardle 2006). At the end of the eighteenth century, the inn became the new headquarters for Pickfords, who ran the London to Manchester stage-wagon (see previously mentioned unpublished report). This establishment continued to serve the public until well into the nineteenth century, with the archaeological evidence indicating that it was finally filled and abandoned sometime after 1820 (McKenzie and Wardle 2006).

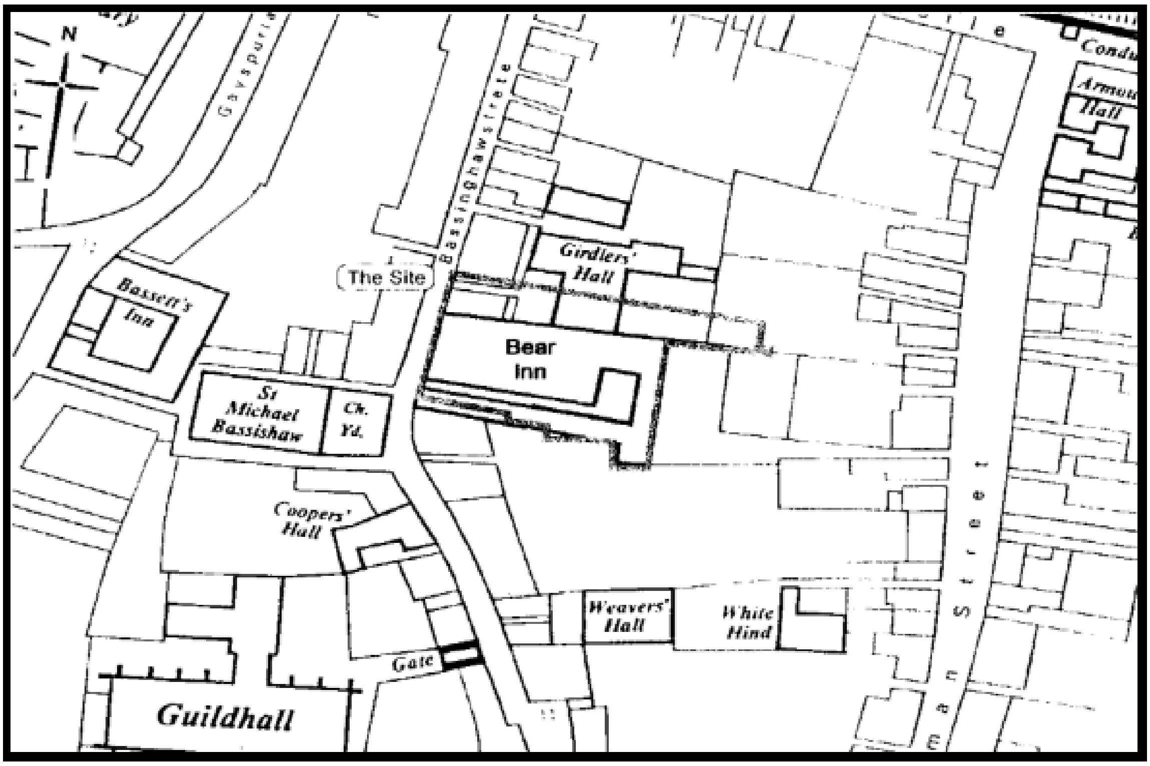

Figure 4.26 – Reconstruction of London, c.1540s, by M. Lobel.

4.5.3. Presentation of Data (BAZ05)

Excavation of Basinghall Street recovered the largest total collection of post-medieval material of all of the sites under examination. There were a total of 44 contexts rendering 22 post-medieval assemblages. Of these only two are of a late seventeenth- to eighteenth-century date and one a late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century date. The majority of the assemblages date from the late fifteenth and seventeenth centuries and are dominated by Surrey-Hampshire border wares with yellow or green glaze and local London redwares. The recovery of London area redwares from the whole site included a wide variety of vessels in black glazed redware, slipped redware with green or yellow glaze and coarse earthenware. The high number of black glazed redware drinking tygs (35% of the post-medieval assemblage) is noticeably unusual. Occasional examples of Metropolitan-type slipware from Essex are also present. Other early post-medieval wares include occasional sherds of English wares such as Cistercian type ware and locally produced tin glaze earthenwares.

Imports in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries include small quantities of Dutch earthenware cooking pots, large numbers of Frechen bartmanner jugs with a variety of medallion stamps which may be dateable, Martincamp type flasks, an Italian marbled slipware dish and a possible Ligurian blue tin glazed albarello. The late seventeenth- to eighteenth-century assemblages include Staffordshire combed slipware dishes and white salt glazed stoneware tea bowls. Imports include Westerwald chamber pots. The following sections contain tables for each main fabric, Table 4.7 and Table 4.8 for ceramics and Table 4.9 and Table 4.10 for glass, which show the average percentages represented at BAZ05 of each fabric.

The materials which comprised these assemblages are again predominantly ceramic and glass. However, in this assemblage there is yet another variation in the patters of finds which were recovered. The materials from the Bear Inn resembles the assortment of goods found in higher status drinking establishments, mostly seen in other well-known tavern or inn excavations in London, such as a deposit from the clearance of an eighteenth-century inn, The King's Arms, located in Uxbridge, Middlesex (Pearce 2000), a sixteenth-century tavern, The Three Tuns, in Clerkenwell (Saxby 2012), and most recently a seventeenth-century tavern on Fenchurch Street in the City of London (Jeffries et al. 2014). The materials in these assemblages represent forms for the consumption of food, drink and tobacco, but unlike the other case studies, drink is represented in a far greater capacity.

4.5.3.1. Period 1: Pre-Fire use

In the first period of use under analysis there was a substantial cellar and incorporating a brick-lined cesspit at its southern end as well as a stone floor. Clay tobacco pipes recovered from construction and makeup deposits have been dated 1660–1680. This structure is thought to have been part of the White Bear Inn, which only survived truncation as it was below ground. Additionally, there was evidence of modifications within the medieval cellar in the post-medieval period–possibly in the late sixteenth/seventeenth century. This included inserting a partition wall and forming a new building platform within the cellar. Building material is dated from the late fifteenth to eighteenth century. There was also a heavily decayed timber structure that is possibly associated with the construction of steps or possibly a chute giving access from ground level to the cellar. Tobacco pipes gave a date of 1660–1670.

Another deposit from this period was from associated brick floor in the northern room along with the timber 'box' (dated 1660–1680) and occupation debris suggesting accumulation during the mid-part of the seventeenth century.

Backfilling of both the northern and southern rooms are dated 1660–1680 from pipes and produced medium sized assemblages. The various dumped deposits relating to the disuse of this cellar contained the largest quantity of pottery from this phase of the White Bear Inn, with up to 68 vessels discarded (reconstructing from 382 sherds).

4.5.3.1.1. Period 1: Ceramics

Eighteen pottery vessels constituted part of the rubbish used to fill this cesspit within this cellar serving the White Bear Inn. This evidence, together with the dating supplied by the small quantity of clay tobacco pipes found (comprising 10 stems and 8 bowls), combine to suggest the cesspit was quickly abandoned during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. A layer of ash sealing the floor supports that this was likely the cellar destroyed by the Great Fire. Pipes again date to 1660–1680 from the backfilling of the cellar.

Scattered among the occupational deposit relating to the use of this room were a handful of fragmented Frechen stonewares including one decorated with an eight-pedalled rosette medallion identical to the example depicted in Hurst et al. (1986, Plate 44 left, 220–1, as cited in McKenzie and Wardle 2006). The small quantity of smoked clay tobacco pipes also recovered here date abandonment to the mid part of the seventeenth century.

This context yielded the upper profiles of a Frechen stoneware Bartmann jug with its characteristic face mask and an Essex black glazed ware tall cylindrical flared mug or 'tyg', which describes a particular tall, flared, cylindrical mug, often with two-handles. Among the other rubbish accumulated in this decayed timber structure is the fragmented portion of a window pane and a small group of smoked pipes (four bowls and seven stems) that refine the dating of this deposit to the last half of the seventeenth century. Finally, a cylindrical-fluted beaker of continental manufacture and described as very rare was also found in this group of material. It was dated to be early seventeenth-century (McKenzie, et al. unpublished: 41. Access to these records can be obtained via request to MOLA).

Frechen stoneware Bartmänner are again common with 47 jugs of the mid to late seventeenth–century 'pear-shaped bodies' (Hume 1991, fig 5, 56–7, as cited in McKenzie and Wardle 2006) identifiable and little variation in form otherwise observed (just the one drinking jug was found). Medallions are limited to one example bearing the arms of the City of Amsterdam. Better preserved are the 18 Essex-made black glazed earthenware tygs recovered. The joint occurrence of so many Frechen jugs and London made tygs again provides insight into the requirements of the proprietor(s) of the White Bear Inn and a glimpse into the material culture used in one of London's numerous inns.

Many Bartmann jugs are over-fired, causing the body to turn a particularly dull grey colour and the glaze a dark green mottled appearance. The first of the two most likely scenarios for this are that these jugs represent a faulty firing batch from the kiln that was nevertheless sold on and used. The second option is that the affected jugs had been subject to the intense heat created by a domestic fire and the possibility they were damaged by the Great Fire of London that swept through this area is tempting.

Clay tobacco pipes also feature among the rubbish discarded here with a total of 46 (often smoked) bowls and 84 stems discarded, the majority of which were located in the backfill of the cellar area (40 bowls and 65 stems), are unmarked and mostly of the AO10 and AO15 shape (Oswald 1975). In common with the pottery, some of the pipes had been heavily burnt (rather a result of their use). Completing the rubbish found in this cellar and complementing the Frechen stonewares found are up to three freeblown, green coloured, 'shaft-and-globe' glass wine bottles.

4.5.3.1.2. Period 1: Glass

A total of 18 individual forms could be identified from the 164 total shards of glass recovered from the pre-fire contexts. Evidence for a minimum of six beakers were found from this period. There were two body sherds from the same beaker, with optic-blown bosses were recovered which was of a type commonly in use from the sixteenth to seventeenth century. Of similar date is the base and part of the body of a green-tinted cylindrical beaker with applied rigaree-patterned base ring and optic blown vertical ribs. A similar looking body sherd from the same context is from a different vessel. Also recovered was part of the base from a colourless beaker with an applied base ring dates from the seventeenth century. A rim sherd from the same context may be from the same or a similar beaker or tumbler.

The quatrefoil stem and bowl of a drinking glass was also recovered. It is made of heavy lead glass and shows strong crizzling. It is late seventeenth-century in date (Margeson, 1993, 107–109, 689). Fragments of glass bottle were also recovered from the site. A sherd of opaque bottle glass was recovered as well as a complete circular bottle seal. This corroded, mid-green wine-type bottle seal (d. 35mm, stamped 'W…P' to sides of a mitre) appears to have been made at the Vauxhall glasshouse (McKenzie, et al. unpublished: 43. Access to these records can be obtained via request to MOLA). According to similar seals found and published on, these seals were common throughout the seventeenth century (Tyler and Willmott 2005, 56–7 fig. 57 and 71 and 73 fig. 75).

4.5.3.2. Period 2: Post-Fire

Another cellar was constructed over the remains of the old, backfilled cellar and was similarly aligned north-south. It had a brick floor level and various minor internal details were observed. Pipes from the makeup for the floor and some of the internal details are again dated

1660–1680. Various alterations and additions within cellar included a new brick floor, a small soakaway (or dry well) and a few repairs to the floor. These were dated by pipes to the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century. The filling date is provided by the few London made tin glazed ware or delftware vessels also discarded.

4.5.3.2.1. Period 2: Ceramics

A make-up deposit associated with the laying of the new brick floor in this room sealed a group of mid-seventeenth-century pottery defined by the group of six Essex black glazed ware, tall flared mugs or 'tygs', surviving largely as lower profiles and bases. The pottery found in this room therefore supplies the material evidence of this structures association with the White Bear Inn. Among this group are the mid-seventeenth-century products of the Southwark pothouses, with the lower portion of a cylindrical jar–used as a container for dry herbs–decorated with the characteristic cable pattern, and a tin glazed ware with manganese mottled glaze caudle cup (Britton 1987, no. 67, 121, as cited in McKenzie and Wardle 2006), so called for its apparent use for serving caudle, a warm sweetened and spiced drink of gruel and wine (Charles 1974). A large number of clay tobacco pipes, comprising 12 bowls and 53 stems were also found, in addition to the base and lower portion from a freeblown, green coloured, 'shaft and globe' shaped glass wine bottle.

The Rhenish imports provide a large number and complete examples of Frechen Bartmanner jugs. These all have facemasks and a variety of medallions dating from c 1625 to 1675 and include the coats of arms of Amsterdam, which occurs regularly in London. Tin glazed earthenware products include dishes and chargers as well as pharmaceutical *albarello* and ointment pots.

The English stoneware again points to beverage consumption as the Staffordshire Salt glazed stoneware (5.1%) was recovered in a number of bowls; cups and teapots forms that would have been utilised for tea, chocolate and punch drinking. The English stoneware (2.4%) tankard and mug, possibly London products, represent the consumption of ale or mead.

Table 4.7 – BAZ05 Period 1 Ceramic Assemblage

Fabric	SC	SC%	ENV	ENV%	Description
BORDG	2	0.3%	2	1.2%	Surrey-Hampshr border ware (green glazed)
BORDY	1	0.1%	1	0.6%	Surrey-Hampshr border ware (clear glazed)
COLGE	1	0.1%	1	0.6%	Cologne stoneware
CSTN	2	0.3%	1	0.6%	Cistercian type ware
ENGS	2	0.3%	2	1.2%	English salt glazed stoneware
FREC	321	48.1%	97	57.4%	Frechen
LONS	4	0.6%	3	1.8%	London area stoneware
MART3	18	2.7%	2	1.2%	Martincamp
METS	1	0.1%	1	0.6%	Metropolitan slipware
NOTS	1	0.1%	1	0.6%	Nottingham stoneware
PEAR	1	0.1%	1	0.6%	Pearlware
PEAR TR1	1	0.1%	1	0.6%	Pearlware, transferprint 1
PEAR TR2	1	0.1%	1	0.6%	Pearlware, transferprint 2
PMBL	277	41.5%	34	20.1%	Post-medieval black glazed ware
PMFR	1	0.1%	1	0.6%	Fine Post-Medieval red ware
PMR	9	1.3%	4	2.4%	Post-medieval redware
RAER	1	0.1%	1	0.6%	Raeren stoneware
RBORB	1	0.1%	1	0.6%	Surrey-Hamps border redware (brown-glaze)
REFW	7	1.0%	6	3.6%	Refined white earthenware
STSL	3	0.4%	1	0.6%	Staffordshire-type slipware
SWSG	1	0.1%	1	0.6%	Staffordshire white salt glazed stoneware
TGW A	1	0.1%	1	0.6%	Delftware Orton 1988 type A
TGW B	1	0.1%	1	0.6%	Delftware Orton 1988 type B
TGW C	4	0.6%	2	1.2%	Delftware Orton 1988 type C
TGW D	1	0.1%	1	0.6%	Delftware Orton 1988 type D
WEST	4	0.6%	1	0.6%	Westerwald
Totals	**667**	**100%**	**169**	**100%**	

Table 4.8 – BAZ05 Period 2 Ceramic Assemblage

Fabric	SC	SC%	ENV	ENV%	Ware
CHPO BW	6	3%	1	1%	Chinese blue and white porcelain
CREA	37	18%	33	31%	Creamware
DRAB	5	2%	2	2%	Drab
ENGS	74	35%	38	36%	English stoneware
ENGS-white	5	2%	1	1%	English white stoneware
PEAR	46	22%	15	14%	Pearlware
PMR	10	5%	9	8%	Post-medieval redware
RBOR	1	0%	1	1%	Red Border Ware
TPW	17	8%	5	5%	Whiteware
YELL	7	3%	1	1%	Yellow ware
SWGS	1	0%	1	1%	Salt glazed Stoneware
Totals	**209**	**100%**	**107**	**100%**	

4.5.3.2.2. Period 2: Glass

The foot and stem of a colourless wine or ale glass was recovered from another context. The foot is slightly domed with an unpolished pontil mark and the stem has a collar, and is eighteenth-century in date. Of a similar date are the foot, stem and part of the bowl of a second colourless wine or ale glass recovered from another context; the bowl is conical with vertical ribbing. From the same context came part of the bowl and stem of a colourless wine glass. The stem blends seamlessly to the conical bowl and it too is eighteenth-century in date. Also recovered were part of the bowl of a possible sweetmeat glass and a stained foot and stem from a drinking glass. Both date to the eighteenth century. A small part of the collared stem and bowl of a drinking glass was found in a separate context. It is colourless with some clouding and iridescence and can be given a broad post medieval date.

Table 4.9 – BAZ05 Period 1 Glass Assemblage

Sitecode	Period	Object	SC	ENV	Description
BAZ05	1	BOTT	6	1	(pmgg) post med colourless glass
BAZ05	1	BOTT	20	1	(pmgg) post med green glass
BAZ05	1	FLAT	16	2	(pmcgpb) post med glass pale blue
BAZ05	1	BEAKER	2	1	(pmgg) post med colourless glass
BAZ05	1	BOTT	3	1	(pmgg) post med green glass
BAZ05	1	BOTT	21	4	(pmgg) post med green glass
BAZ05	1	STEMWARE	1	1	(pmgg) post med colourless glass
BAZ05	1	FLAT	1	1	(pmcgpb) post med glass pale blue
BAZ05	1	BOTT	2	1	(pmgg) post med green glass
BAZ05	1	BOTT	5	1	(pmgg) post med green glass
BAZ05	1	BOTT	21	4	unknown
BAZ05	1	BOTT SEAL	1	1	(pmgg) post med green glass
BAZ05	1	BEAKER	1	1	(pmgg) post med colourless glass
BAZ05	1	BEAKER	1	1	post med pale green glass
BAZ05	1	BEAK	2	1	(pmgg) post med colourless glass
BAZ05	1	BEAKER	1	1	(pmgg) post med colourless glass
BAZ05	1	BEAKER	2	1	(pmgg) post med colourless glass
BAZ05	1	FLAT	56	2	(pmpgg) post med green glass
BAZ05	1	FLAT	1	1	(pmcgpb) post med glass pale blue
BAZ05	1	VESS	1	1	(pmgg) post med colourless glass
Total			**164**	**28**	

Table 4.10 – BAZ05 Period 2 Glass Assemblage

Sitecode	Period	Object	SC	ENV	Description
BAZ05	2	STEMWARE	1	1	(pmgg) post med colourless glass
BAZ05	2	TUMBLER	3	1	(pmgg) post med colourless glass
BAZ05	2	STEMWARE	1	1	(pmgg) post med colourless glass
BAZ05	2	STEMWARE	2	1	(pmgg) post med colourless glass
BAZ05	2	BOTT	1	1	(pmgg) post med green glass
BAZ05	2	BOTT	1	1	(pmgg) post med green glass
BAZ05	2	BOTT	1	1	(pmgg) post med green glass
BAZ05	2	BOTT	1	1	(pmgg) post med green glass
Total			**11**	**8**	

4.5.4. Analysis Discussion

This section is intended to provide a brief discussion related to the key observations and patters which were found to be significant during the analysis of the material recovered from two periods of use at the Bear Inn. From the previous presentation and description of materials from both phases of use, charts were created which encapsulate much of the relevant information in a visual format (see individual sections below). Material excavated from this site exhibits significant patterns related to the changes occurring related to the service and storage of food and drink across the whole period of this research. Analysis of the finds from both ceramic and glass assemblages from Basinghall Street, though presented as separate sites, have been analysed in such a way as to determine results concerning the changing nature of consumption and the widening middle class within one type of establishment spanning the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century London. It is important to remember that the following discussion, while divided into two periods, is ultimately considered in relation to itself as one site, rather than separate sites.

4.5.4.1. Period 1

Material excavated from this site exhibits significant patterns related to food and beverage consumption. Analysis of the finds from both ceramic and glass assemblages from Basinghall Street have led to positive results regarding material signatures of Inns. A functional breakdown of the material collections recovered shows that those using the premises were engaging in two main activities: drinking (51%), and smoking (42%) (see Figure 4.30). The occupational floor deposits, cesspit fillings and cellar dumps relating to Buildings 11–13 from the White Bear Inn yielded groups of pottery and clay tobacco pipes that are remarkably alike in terms of their composition and dating with no discernible difference between the assemblages apparent. Analysis reveals that pottery, followed by clay tobacco pipes (38%), constituted the bulk of the recovered material, with bottle glass only occasionally represented (8%) (see Figure 4.29).

The overwhelming majority of material represented in this early period of use at the Bear Inn is strongly linked to the storage and service vessels for the beer and/or ale, closely followed by tobacco smoking activities. The fact that the material from this phase of use falls most closely in line with traditional ideas surrounding what types of vessels should be found in the archaeological collections associated with a drinking establishment gives insight into the interpretation of these environments. The nature of how the material was deposited is of the most vital importance in this example, demonstrating the variation that might occur between similar establishments under difference deposition conditions. In this instance, the material was thought to have been discarded due to damage incurred from the Great Fire, indicating that use was effectively interrupted completely as a result of one single event, rather than a gradual discard of a more random selection of items as they wear out, break, or become otherwise unwanted (as can be seen in all of the other sites).

The key point of divergence which can be seen here at this site in comparison to more traditional "clearance group" deposits (for definition, see section 4.2.2) is in the high volume of whole vessels discarded with no readily apparent explanation of disuse. First, these materials were comprised of a high volume of high quality, imported storage vessels, which are traditionally kept and reused for long periods of time. Second, there was a high volume of service wares of a functional rather than fashionable nature represented in this assemblage (Busch 1987). This is significant because, unlike highly stylized material which could arguably be discarded due to changing fashion or incomplete sets, these objects indicate the focus being placed on the utilitarian nature of the object rather than style. This is significant in contributing further insight on how the circumstances surrounding the disuse of goods can impact the interpretation of how an establishment was being used.

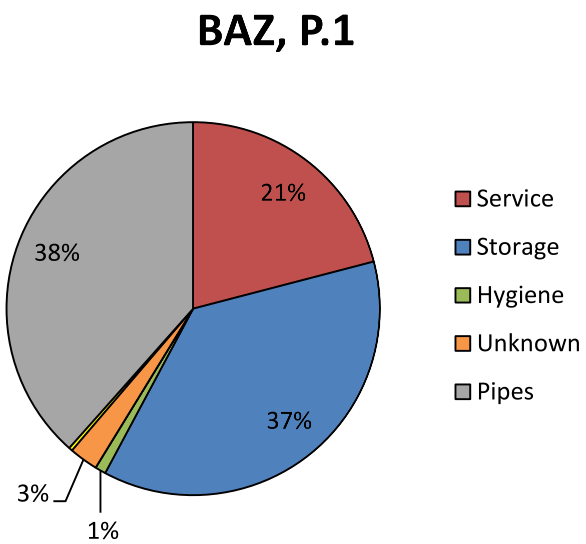

Figure 4.27 – Basic Functional Analysis of Material at BAZ05, P.1.
This chart shows the total percentages of both ceramic and glass materials recovered from Building 3 at NGT00 (based on ENV counts). Author's copyright.

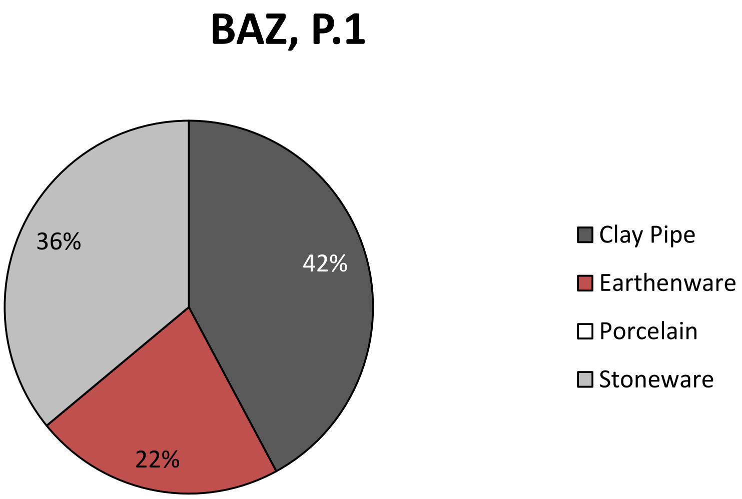

Figure 4.28 – Breakdown by Ceramic Fabric Catagories, BAZ05, P.1.
This chart shows the broad fabric categories with corresponding percentages in relations to the ceramic finds (these numbers are all based on ENV counts). Author's copyright.

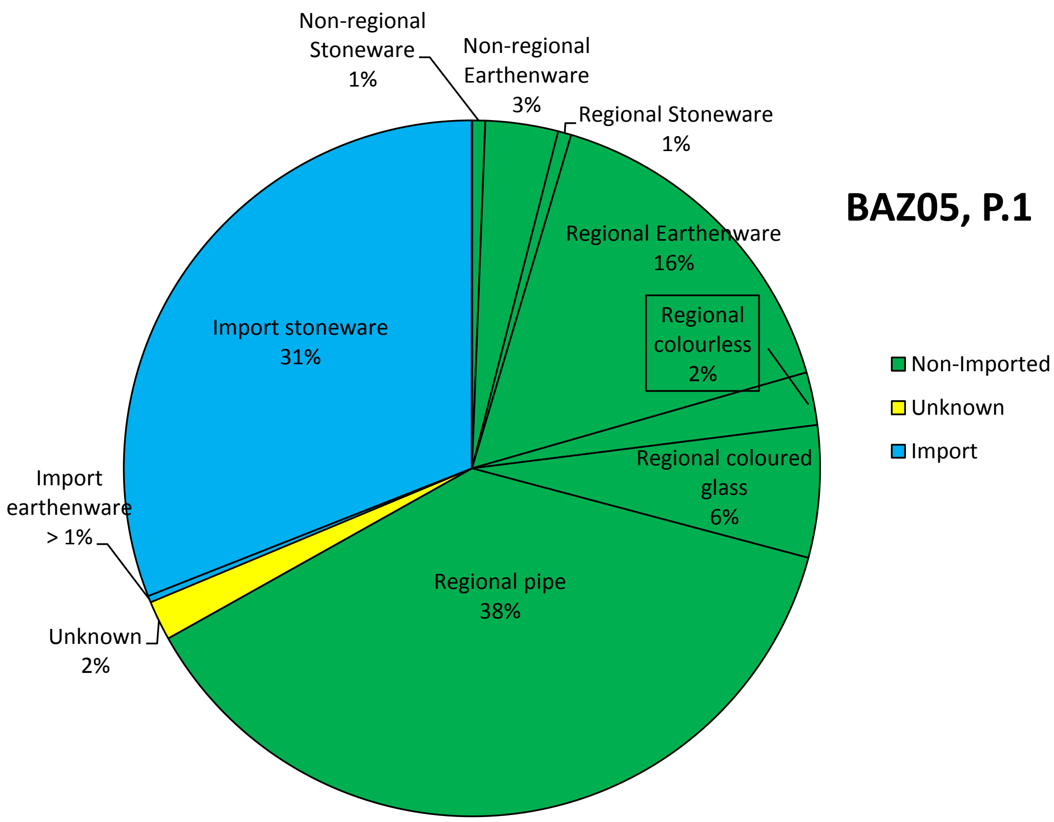

Figure 4.29 – Import vs. Non-import, BAZ05, P.1.
This image shows the distribution and frequency of imported vs. non-imported wares recovered from the site BAZ05, from Period 1. Author's copyright.

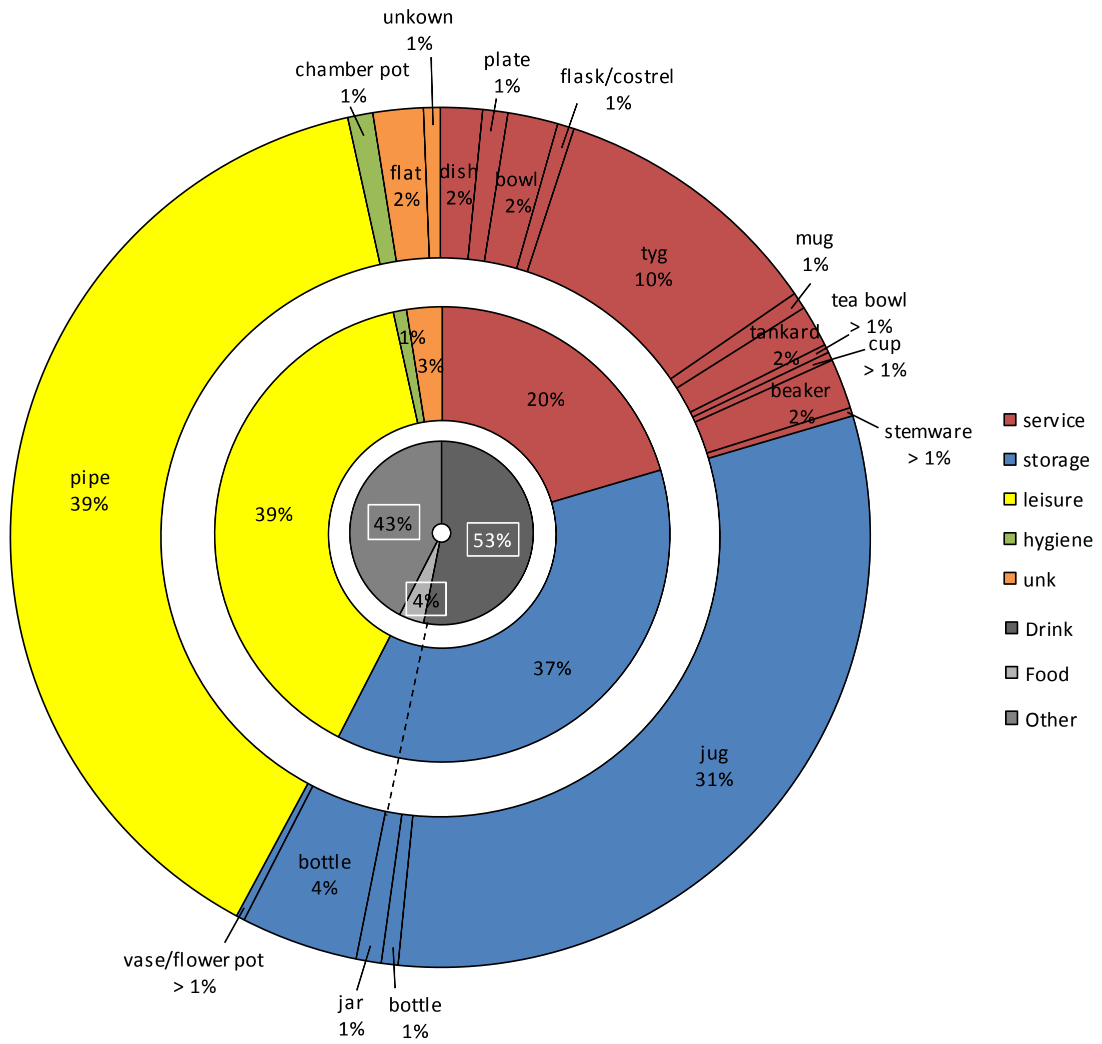

Figure 4.30 – Functional breakdown of All Material at BAZ05, P.1.
This chart shows three levels of analysis which gives a multidimensional picture of how the material was broken down. The outer band shows the percent of each individual form, the middle band shows a more specific function and the central band is the most basic division of use.

4.5.4.2. Period 2

Material excavated from this site exhibits significant patterns related to food and beverage consumption. Analysis of the finds from both ceramic and glass assemblages from Basinghall Street have led to positive results regarding material signatures of Inns. A functional breakdown of the material collections recovered shows that those using the premises were engaging in two main activities: drinking (50%), and eating (31%) (see Figure 4.31 and Figure 4.34). Analysis reveals that pottery represented the vast majority of the assemblage (89%), with clay tobacco pipes (5%) and bottle glass (6%) only occasionally represented. In the following section, a brief discussion will transpire regarding the implications this analysis has for the interpretation of these assemblages in regards to the specific concepts laid out in the previous chapters.

In this group, the overwhelming shift in the material in terms of sourcing and functional use. Compared to the previous phase of use (discussed in section 4.5.4.1) this material demonstrates a completely different function of consumption based on patterns which can be distinguished in the assemblage. The first major shift is in the source of supply for most of the material represented. A staggering 99% of the assemblage is of British origin, and of this British material nearly half is from the Staffordshire potteries (see Figure 4.33).

Another major shift can be seen in the stark contrast between the domination of drinking vessels seen in the previous period of use (Period 1) in comparison to the balanced representation seen here in the Period 2 assemblage (Figure 4.34). Within this material, nearly three quarters of service vessels are in relation to food consumption, while all of the storage-wares recovered were drinking related. Among other things, this indicates the distinct shifts occurring in what the establishment's customers expected from this type of venue and what the inn offered to their clients in fulfilment of these expectations.

The material also shows evidence of the inn embracing the provision of tea and coffee among their selections on offer. There is a strong representation of refined earthenwares in what would have been highly fashionable decorative patterns. There is a strong influence from the patterns commonly seen on Chinese porcelain among the service wares from this phase of the inn's life. These ceramic vessels indicate both an awareness of modern fashions and styles while also demonstrating fiscal restraint and selectiveness by opting to invest in the more affordable British made options rather than imports from China.

Finally, this assemblage seems to represent a wider social movement to situate these middle-class environments firmly within the prescribed and socially appropriate confines of social conformity. By this I mean there is a distinct lack in unique or ostentatious material which might convey a more personal touch at this premises. The material is largely representative of what one would expect to find at a late eighteenth-century inn. This is consistent with the finds from the tavern assemblage from NGT00, Building 26 discussed previously (see section 4.4.4.3). The material here seems to be defined based on the type of establishment rather than by the class of customers served. In other words, it appears there is far less of the multi-faceted use seen in the earlier establishments, regardless of the status associated with the establishment based on the quality and variety of the material recovered. This finding has significant implications regarding the nature of use and the processes by which archaeologist categorize and interpret these establishments today.

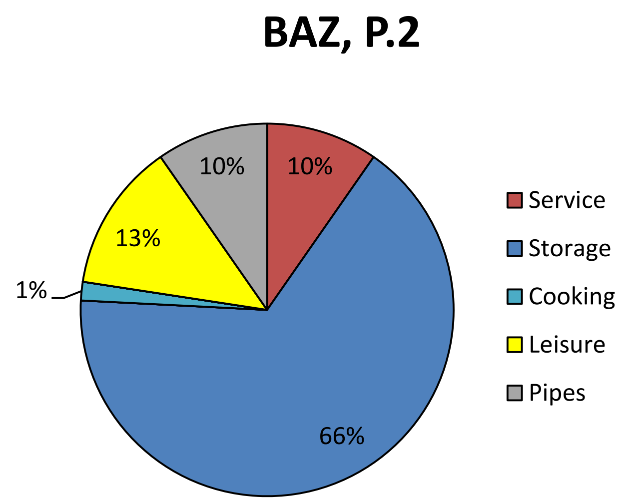

Figure 4.31 – Basic Functional Analysis of Material at BAZ05, P.2.
This chart shows the total percentages of both ceramic and glass materials recovered from Building 3 at NGT00 (based on ENV counts). Author's copyright.

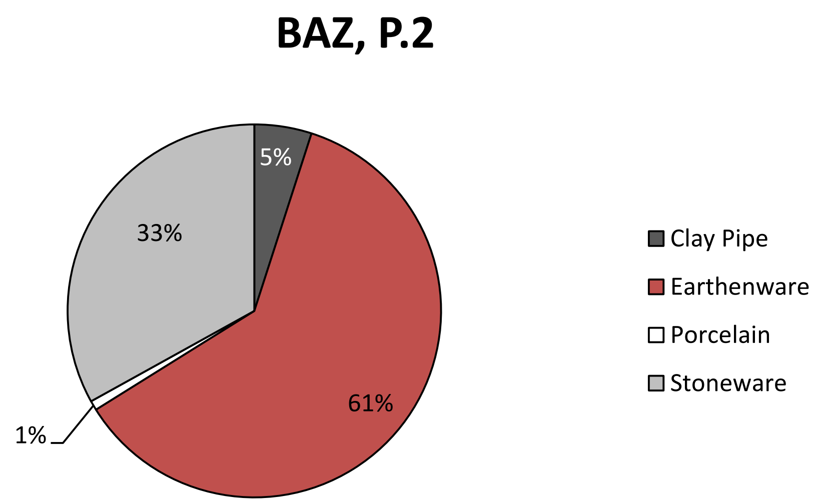

Figure 4.32 – Breakdown by Ceramic Fabric Catagories, BAZ05, P.2.
This chart shows the broad fabric categories with corresponding percentages (these numbers are all based on ENV counts). Author's copyright.

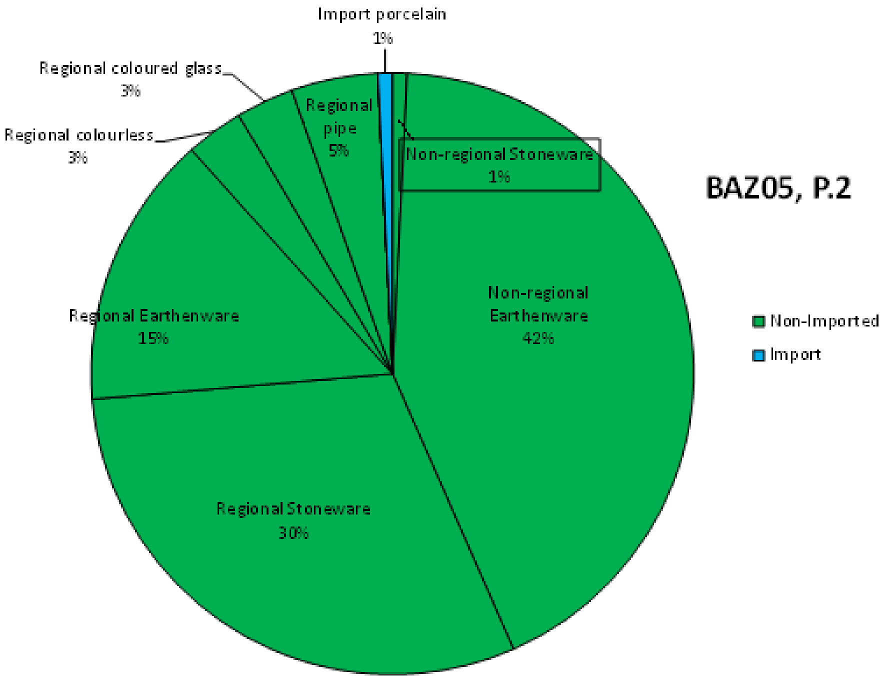

Figure 4.33 – Import vs. Non-import, BAZ05, P.2.
This image shows the distribution and frequency of imported vs. non-imported wares recovered from the site BAZ05, P.2. Author's copyright.

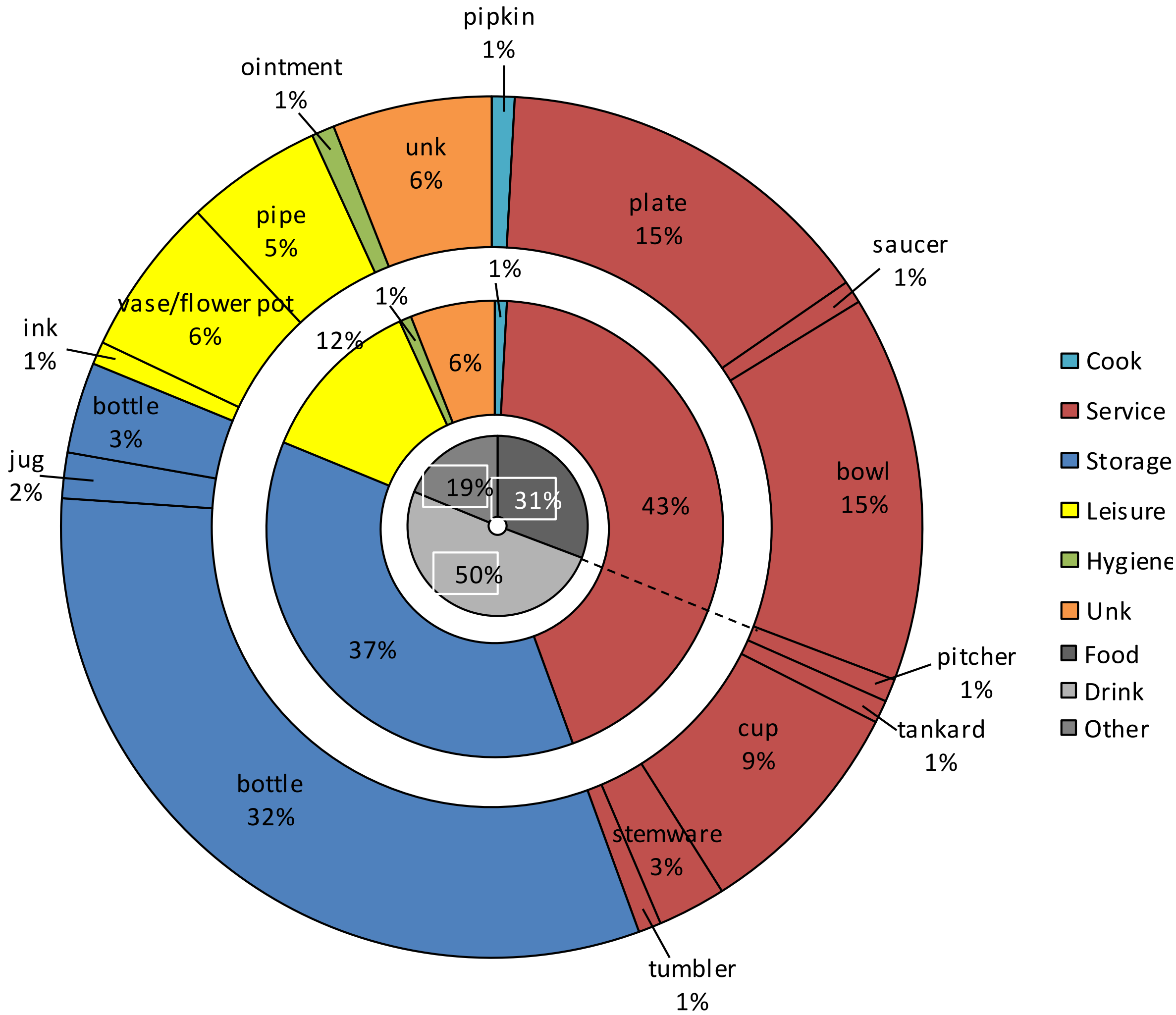

Figure 4.34 – Functional breakdown of All Material at BAZ05, P.2.
This chart shows three levels of analysis which gives a multidimensional picture of how the material was broken down. The outer band shows the percent of each individual form, the middle band shows a more specific function and the central band is the most basic division of use.

4.5.4.3. Summary

Analysis of both ceramic and glass assemblages from these two periods of use at the Basinghall Street project area has led to some revealing results regarding the changing nature of consumption and use within these establishments. A striking variation in what types of material were being used within one establishment across the two periods was identified, both functionally and in terms of decorative patterns. These assemblages have the unique ability to reveal the changes in use which occurred within the confines of one particular type of establishment based on patterns of use. These patterns help demonstrate who was being served and how their tastes were changing over the course of the century. In the following section, these patterns will be considered with all the others to establish a wider picture of use.

4.6. Presentation of Results

The specific classification categories used for this functional analysis consisted of Cooking, Décor, Hygiene, Leisure, Service, Storage, and Unknown. Unless otherwise indicated, the numbers used to analyze the categories represent the estimated number of vessels (ENV) estimated based on the reports and assemblage analysis provided by MOLA.

4.6.1. Cooking

These artefacts represent any material which would have been used in the preparation of food. In some cases, these artefacts could also have been used to serve the food prepared. However, this multifunctional functionality represents the unpretentious nature of the use of the item. Therefore, the cooking functionality took priority when assigning the designation for the items. In all of these examples, the cooking wares are locally manufactured, course earthenware vessels. This is not surprising as items made from these coarse earthenware materials were considered basic staples in any household or establishment and represent the principal types of everyday domestic pottery used throughout London in the seventeenth century, regardless of class (Pearce 2007a: 83). They catered to a remarkably wide range of domestic requirements, from cooking and food preparation, to serving food and drink, hygiene, lighting and much more. The most popular type of pottery during the seventeenth century was a white bodied ware which was commonly glazed in a green slip (Pearce 2007b: 1). This style was the most predominate at this time, although redware varieties were also made at various centres in the Blackwater Valley (Pearce 2007a: 83; Watson et al. 2010: 178). Forms such as butterpots, bowls, tripod pipkins, a skillet and chamber pots were mostly from the Harlow region of Essex, and relatively common in seventeenth-century assemblages from London. All would have been widely available, everyday forms of average quality.

4.6.2. Décor

This category is only represented in one site, the establishment located on Ironmonger Lane (KIG95). This category is distinct from Leisure in that the items represented appear to serve no wider function beyond enhancing the aesthetic qualities within the establishment. There was evidence of two ceramic figurines, one in Chinese porcelain described as depicting Siamese twins (Blair 2005) and one base of another figurine which was made from tobacco pipe clay. There was also evidence from potentially as many as three decorative flower vases, although they most likely are representative of only one set from both a lid and bowl (Blair

2005). Finally, there was a dish with small holes which have been interpreted to indicate that this dish was meant to be mounted and displayed rather than utilized in its service capacity.

These decorative items are relatively uncommon finds in most archaeological deposits from the area from this period. The presence of figurines or other bric-a-brac has been assessed from other material in the area, but most is from the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One such example comes from a Victorian brewery in Sydenham (Cocoran et al. 2007). These small tokens indicate a range of personal touches and social inferences which can provide useful information regarding the styles and markets which were of interest to the occupants or proprietors of this establishment (Paul Mullins has written extensively on the topic, see contributions in Mullins 2004: 85–116; Mullins 2001: 159; Mullins 1999: 155–157).

4.6.3. Hygiene

The hygiene category was used for artefacts related to both waste management and personal maintenance. There are two main forms in this category, chamber pots and ointment pots. At KIG95 there were six chamber pots and 15 ointment pot. At The Bear Inn only the pre-fire context produced evidence of any hygiene related wares in the way of three chamber pots. Across the Paternoster Square area, Building 3 produced four chamber pots and 14 ointment pots or medicinal jars, Building 15/24 produced three chamber pots and one ointment pot, and Building 26 only produced three chamber pots. All of this material was in either undecorated or simply decorated Delftware or course lead glazed earthenware. All were locally manufactured.

There was a spittoon recovered at KIG95 which has been included in within hygiene as well. Unlike the other material, this was made from Chinese porcelain and was decorated in a This item was determined to better fit in this category due to the nature of use for the object rather than its decorative or material quality. Ultimately, had there been an equally decorative chamber pot in any of the assemblages, this too would still had fallen within the hygiene classification. What is highlighted with the outstanding quality of this object, despite its function, is that the consumption of tobacco in this manner was considered to be a relatively new and exotic practice. The perception of status through participating in such conspicuous consumption would have been enhanced by its accompanied accessories as is demonstrated by the investment in such a fine piece as the spittoon. These vessels do not become common until the late eighteenth century; therefore this object shows yet another example of a pre-emptive awareness of fashion and style at this location.

4.6.4. Miscellany

This category has been made up from various materials which indicate non-essential consumption of goods which would not fall into the categories covered otherwise. The primary material represented heavily across all of the sites is in the way of tobacco pipes.

At KIG95, mouth pieces from 17 pipes were recovered. From the Bear Inn pre-fire, a staggering 123 mouth pieces were recovered compared to only six from the post-fire contexts. Across the Paternoster Square project area Building 3 produced 14, Building 15/24 produced 43, and Building 26 yielded 23 clay tobacco pipe mouth pieces, respectively. Due to the frail nature of tobacco pipes, for this analysis mouth pieces were used to represent the minimum number of pipes which were represented at each site. As such, the numbers represented here are probably considerably lower than what were actually present. However, this allows for a good idea of the range of variance between sites based on both the status and the establishment's perceived function.

Two of the sites showed evidence of children's toys among the assemblage in the form of miniature ointment pots. These examples were found both at Building 26 in Paternoster Square as well as at KIG95. At the latter, in addition to this miniature ointment pot, what has been interpreted as the brim of toy hat was recovered made from brown glass. In addition to these toys, the KIG95 assemblage yielded two rare animal related glass vessels: a glass birdfeeder and a glass bowl, interpreted to have possibly been intended for use as a dog bowl (Blair 2005).

Finally, the assemblage at the Bear Inn showed evidence of horticultural activities present in both periods of use. One flower pot was found in the pre-fire contexts and seven were found in the post-fire contexts. In addition to these horticultural items, an ink bottle was also recovered from the post-fire deposition. This ink bottle would most likely have been used in the recording of business related activities and is the only item which falls into this category.

Many of these items represent leisure items or participation in some form of pastime or interest outside of food or beverage consumption. The majority of the materials represented demonstrate the popularity of engaging in the consumption of tobacco by way of smoking. The patterns which emerge indicate that these practices were higher in establishments where those utilizing temporary accommodation seemed likely to be a primary patron to the establishment.

A most impressive collection of tobacco pipes was recovered from the two cesspits at Building 15/24. They make up the strongest individual consumable group represented, accounting for nearly two-thirds of the material by number. Though a relatively new product in the seventeenth century, tobacco was already a resounding success in the lower and middle classes. This deposit sheds light onto the economic affordance of this commodity to the lower working class and the frequency of its leisurely consumption in establishments in the area.

However, an exceptional delftware item in the form of a complete phallic drinking vessel was recovered from this site (Watson et al. 2010). As has been discussed, the analysis showed that the decoration is very similar to styles popular in London at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see Figure 4.16 for comparison of decoration patterns). Yet, one suggestion from MOLA was that this may have been of Dutch origin, or made by an immigrant Dutch potter (Watson et al. 2010).

4.6.5. Service

The service category is by far the most comprehensive category in this analysis. This classification was given to any item whose primary function was to act as a vessel to serve the customer or client. It includes vessels for both food and drink. It excludes vessels which would have been used for either storage and/or cooking in addition to their role in the service process. This has mainly been done to account for and emphasize the presence of low, middle and high status assemblage patterns. One of the demonstrable variations between the establishments which appear to be high status and those which appear to be lower status is the use of material with multiple functions. As the status of the environment increases, you see a dramatic increase in the variety of forms with specific functions (Hayes 2011; Casey 2005). What this analysis has demonstrated is that conversely, as the status of an environment decreases you see an equally dramatic increase in materials with multiple functions and a wide range of applicable uses. As such, this category will be looking at items which by all accounts would most likely have been used for the purpose of serving out of only (as opposed to cooking, storing or preparing).

As the largest portion of archaeological evidence recovered from the cesspit indicated that the property was engaging in the consumption of exotic beverages with little evidence for food preparation materials or other common household items, it is clear that this is more than the day to day collection of house related trinkets. Taverns sold wine but in the eighteenth century they broadened their appeal to sell beer, spirits and even tea and coffee (Ehrman 1999). The use of tea wares has been noted at the former King's Arms tavern in Uxbridge High Street (Pearce 2000), and they are the sort of wares that would have been used in a tavern or a gentlemen's club meeting in a hired private room, a practice widely known from documentary sources (Peltz 2000). However, the prominence of highly refined, imported glass wares present at the end of this properties life in addition to the lack of formal records noting a establishment, indicates that there is a distinct likelihood that this was a private, members only establishment or one of the many clandestine 'parlour' saloons which are well known to have existed throughout London at this time.

This, in addition to the fact that there seems to be a distinct absence in food preparation material would support the idea that this may have been a coffeehouse rather than a tavern or gentlemen's club. However, the extremely fine and rare glass wares, such as the potential Spanish made glass, makes either option viable.

4.6.6. Storage

The site with the most prominent representation of storage was that of the Bear Inn in the early period of use. The overwhelming preference is demonstrated for Frechen stoneware jugs for drinks storage and decanting (Gaimster 1997: 276–80; Noël Hume 1991: 55–7), Essex black glazed ware in the form of tall cylindrical flared mugs or 'tygs' for the taking of drink (Davey and Walker 2009), and clay tobacco pipes. When combined together, it provides a clear material signature for the White Bear Inn of just the right type expected from a sizable establishment at this time. The pipes often show signs of having been smoked and supply tangible material evidence for smoking and tobacco consumption.

Representing arguably the most recognisable and ubiquitous pottery type found in northern Europe and elsewhere in areas impacted by European settlement and trade during its production, these robust bodied and durable Frechen stoneware were particularly well suited for everyday use within such drinking establishments (McKenzie, et al. unpublished: 39-40. Access to these records can be obtained via request to MOLA). The durability of pottery and pipes masks the importance of pewter. Always under-represented in the archaeological record (Smart-Martin 1989), this material would have supplied a significant part of the stock used for taking beverages and for eating the meals that inns such as the White Bear Inn offered.

4.6.7. Unknown

This category was left for objects too badly damaged to be confidently identified. They were present at all the sites and were most frequently represented in flat glass. These are particularly tempting to give a general definition as window glass, but there is a chance that they may also have come from a case bottle or looking glass. Alternatively, this category also includes badly damaged items whose fabric is questionable due to fire or post-deposition interference (such as concrete damage or staining).

4.7. Conclusions

The previous chapter has presented all the relevant data recovered from three project areas and a total of five establishments in London used for the social consumption of goods in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Based on the results of analysis, it appears there are emerging patterns which more specifically identify the types of activities and the types of consumption which were likely going on in each establishment.

The many glass phials, ointment pots, enema syringe and chamber pots discovered at the site of the first case study could possibly indicate a medicinal function in the midst of any food or beverage establishment that might have operated from this residence. It is likely that this establishment was off the record as there are no official records indicating that there were any establishments on either King Street or Ironmonger Lane which were licensed to sell alcohol. That said, it certainly does not preclude the existence of such an establishment as many of the locations which were operating at the close of the seventeenth century within the City were doing so unofficially (Clark 1983: 5).

The many examples of imported glass bottles and drinking vessels recovered certainly imply that there was a great deal of wine being consumed from the continent. Furthermore, the presence of such a largely service based assemblage would further indicate that most likely those consuming the food and beverages in this establishment were having it prepared for them elsewhere, perhaps in an adjoining house or kitchen such as was discovered to exist in the second case study (see Building 15 and 24 in section 4.4.4.2 for more details).

The types of food and drink being consumed as well as the manner in which it appears to have been presented could say something about the status or personal identity of those whom were participating in consuming food, beverage or medicine in this institution. There are a number of possibilities, such as members of the clergy who did not cook for themselves, higher status female occupants who did not wish to consume alcohol outright and thus sought medicinal alternatives, gentlemen participating in an exclusive club or indeed perhaps we are looking at an early coffeehouse cum apothecary's business being run out of a residence. It is known that tea, coffee and tobacco were all thought to have medicinal properties which could explain the high presence at this establishment.

Within the broad area of the second case study area, the first "establishment" may well have simply have been a private household. However, it is important to demonstrate the subtle differences which are occurring within a potential household versus the residence/establishment. This site also allows us to glimpse the patterns of consumption of similar goods of consumption and social display present in an earlier context than most of the other sites represent. This also allows insight into the changing styles and fashions over the whole course of the periods under investigation, as well as how patterns of consumption of these fashionable items and their use and disuse varied over time.

The assemblage from Building 3 was much smaller than the other assemblages, which indicates that there were most likely fewer people utilizing the items under investigation. Additionally, there appears to be a much more evenly spread distribution of materials between service and preparation, consumption and hygiene, and locally sourced versus imported material in the more elaborate, decorative pieces.

Furthermore, there are a number of very nice Chinese imported porcelain flatware pieces which are much older than the date of deposition. This indicates that these pieces were most likely looked after carefully for multiple generations – possibly as many as three generations based on average life expectancy rates from the period being between 30–35 years (Hanson 2002: 27). In addition to this fine heirloom porcelain, there were also more fashionable pieces of highly decorated locally made delftware, or tin glazed earthenware.

The relatively low amount of drinking material from this site also indicates that perhaps this was a residence rather than an establishment. Many private residences would store personal supplies in wooden casks in their cellar, and reuse them as well as bottles (Busch 1987). Drinking vessels for private use may well have been in more expensive materials such as silver or pewter which would not have been thrown away in any case, but rather sold or recycled (the material easily melted down, so could be recast) (Smart-Martin 1989: 1). The absence of tea wares may indicate that this was a bachelor or widower's household, or that this particular household did not buy into the fashionable and exotic practice of tea drinking in its early incarnation. It is also possible that we are looking at one of the earliest supporters of the temperance movement. Contrary to popular belief, early followers of this movement actually supported the consumption of beer and ale in moderate amounts (as these were viewed as clean and healthy drinks) while frowning on the use of exotic substances and straight spirits, such as gin.

Building 15 and 24 are from a similar time period as Building 3, but we are presented with much different patterns of use, showing the mass consumption of food and tobacco. Again however, there is an almost total absence of drinking vessels, though a fairly high amount of wine bottles present. This assemblage was also on the smaller size, though larger than the previous collection at Building 3. This material is composed almost entirely of food preparation material or vessels which could be used for both food preparation and service.

They are all made of low quality, locally made earthen wares with virtually no decorations or indications that display was at all a significant function. This implies that whatever they were preparing and serving was for a lower class population and frills were not required. It is likely that this was one of the many ordinaries which were known to operate in the area, cooking food for the many temporary residents of the local hostels and inns.

The fact that there was almost nothing in the cesspit from Building 24 but food remains and tobacco pipes, it seems likely that this pit represents the mess hall side of the ordinary's business where those who had bought meals could sit and eat and enjoy a pipe after their meal. The low amount of drinking vessels again could indicate that the materials used were of perishable materials (such as leather or wood) or that the patrons were expected to provide their own receptacles for drinking. Both of these measures were common practice at the time and would have aided in keeping maintenance costs for the establishment to a minimum.

The final establishment in this area was Building 26, which was the latest in operation in this project area. The assemblage was the largest of the three recovered in the area and represented the most drinking vessels by far. There was a large amount of glass tablewares recovered and is the only site under investigation where the glass finds out number the ceramics. As in the previous two examples of establishments, Building 26 has a strong presence of hygiene related materials, such as ointment and chamber pots. There is no clearly determined preference here between service and preparation wares in the way of ceramics, but once the glass is taken into account the service wares take the leading role.

One conflicting interpretation in this analysis was in the large number of ceramic "teabowls" which were identified by MOLA in their initial report and publication (Watson et al. 2010). It is the opinion of the author that after considering the strong presence of wine bottles and stemware along with the fact that tea drinking by this period would almost certainly have been from tea cups, it would strongly suggest that these may in fact be punch cups. The presence of a punch bowl in Case Study 1 supports that this was a popular beverage in the area of London. Many depictions of punch drinking from this period show a large punch bowl with smaller handless bowls for multiple participants. The large presence of wine consumption and potentially of punch, as well as the presence of food service material would strongly suggest that this was a tavern.

The largest collection came from the assemblage recovered in case study three. This collection was dominated by drinking vessels and storage containers for both wine and beer. This is also the only site which has produced any historic records which shed light on the official use of the premises. It is listed in various archival formats as having belonged to the

White Bear Inn, or the Bear Inn. There were two periods which were represented, one which appeared to have been sealed by the Great Fire and therefore would have represented the use at that point, and the second period which represented the material used at least until the end of the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

In Period 1, the majority of the material was fairly evenly split between storage jugs and service vessels for drinking. The rest was made up of various hygiene related items and flower pots. There was the highest representative population of continental imports present in the way of stoneware jugs very commonly associated throughout the seventeenth century with beer and ale storage.

5. Discussion

5.1 Introduction

It will be useful now to recap some of the more significant themes which were of initial interest in this research design. Throughout many of the reviews discussed at the beginning of this thesis, it has been demonstrated that the introduction of various new substances (e.g. coffee, tea, chocolate, tobacco, gin) into common place consumption has had a major impact on English culture. In this chapter, these linkages and relationships will be fleshed out and explored in relation to the material evidence, which has been presented in the previous chapter. Specifically, I will be demonstrating the ways that consumer culture can be perceived through changing patterns of consumption in these spaces, how the evidence of health and hygiene related practices can be used to explore how power structures impacted health, hygiene and sanitation across this period, and how the more subtle social practices of distinction of class and belonging became transformed by consumer culture throughout the timeline explored here.

In Chapter 2, I reviewed four historical periods which were broadly defined by major events of the time. The first of these discussed the period preceding the Great Fire and was represented at two of the sites – Basinghall Street at the Bear Inn, and Building 3 in Paternoster Triangle. The next period encompassed the Great Fire and reconstruction, most greatly demonstrated in the sites near the Guildhall: the Bear Inn on Basinghall Street and the site between King Street and Ironmonger Lane. I then dealt with the Gin Craze which dominated the first quarter of the eighteenth century and which is best traced in the material recovered from establishments in the market area excavated in Paternoster Triangle: Building 3, Building 15/24 and Building 26. In the final period I addressed the gin wars, a social movement culminating in the *Gin Acts* of 1736 and 1751 which effectively stifled the extravagant drinking habits which had come to define much of the City of London for the previous century. These periods can be broadly identified from changes in patterns of use across all of these sites. However, all these patterns will be dealt with in a more fluid manner than the rigid historical periods imply. This is in order to allow for the deposition phases which tend not to subscribe to the clear cut periodic structures reviewed. Broadly speaking, the material will fall into early and late categories that will address the emerging social and economic developments.

In Chapter 3, theoretical debates were presented revolving around a shift in the late twentieth century occurring within the social sciences and humanities (Miller 1995, and 1987;

Appadurai 1986; Bourdieu 1984; Douglas and Isherwood 1979; Foucault 1977; Baudrillard 1968). Focus lay particularly on the active role that artefacts play in the construction and trajectory of social interaction, as well as the ways in which things structure our engagement with our environment. The concepts which have driven the work under discussion in this thesis were laid out and three key mechanisms were established. First is the concept that these impressions are largely bound up with the exchange of material goods and the securing of resources (Douglas and Isherwood 1979) and the values we systematically attribute to these objects or commodities (Baudrillard 1996; Appadurai 1986). Second is the concept that power structures in the way of politics and civic infrastructure are directly impacted by both of the previous mechanisms (de Tocqueville 1946 [1835-1840]; Foucault 1977). These structures in particular are, perhaps unexpectedly, entangled with significant social issues such as health and hygiene, which became enmeshed within the social exploits of power, elitism and control. Third is our perception of status by way of decoding the symbolism present in our surroundings. This process is informed by our physical self and the construction of our own identity from childhood based largely on our social environment and socioeconomic status, as well as observable behaviours, ideas and actions (Bourdieu 1984). It is a crucial understanding within this thesis that at the root of all of these issues – entwined within each of them and in many ways controlling all of them – is the seemingly simple act of consumption (Miller 1995; Piketty 2014). These mechanisms are vital in generating new insights regarding the role of consumption and material goods in the progression of modern society. Like the artefacts, they too contribute in part to how we interact with our surroundings.

The previous chapter (Chapter 4) looked in detail at a number of different sites in order to identify some of the range of practices and patters of use that were taking place revolving around consumption. To do this I developed typological system for artefact classification. This system enabled the categorization of material by their fabric, form and their associated functions. I then examined the distribution patterns of the various types and functions across the three project areas in the City of London as well as over the course of the periods of use. From this I was able to assess the material for patterns indicating changes in consumption bases on these material categories.

In this chapter (Chapter 5) the linkages between the historical themes outlined in Chapter 2 and theoretical frameworks reviewed in Chapter 3 will be cross examined with the data presented in Chapter 4. Here in this chapter I will look more broadly at consumption practices across the study areas and, in particular, how we can build an understanding of how these venues changed through the degree of variation that can be perceived between the late seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries. By bringing the results of this analysis together with published data from across the study area and exploring the character of consumption practices, I will demonstrate how they work together to provide a more complete picture of the complex entanglements at work.

To begin with I will look at economic and trade variables impacting access to products, looking specifically at regional and temporal trends. Specifically, I will discuss whether particular patterns were specific to certain areas or classes and whether consumption changed across the study area during the period under investigation. Once I have done this I will look at how purchasing trends within social consumer practices rapidly extended to impact civil infrastructure through power structures set in place by the governing bodies. Next I will explore the influence social desirability can have on this process, thus providing scope for interpretive engagement with the processes of developing styles and tastes. Finally, I will go on to discuss the processes involved in consumption. I will consider each of the ways the consumers engaged and interacted with these objects and discuss how these engagements could have been bound up with both the cultural attitudes towards fashion and style as well as the negotiation of both personal and social identities.

These were places where people were constantly displaying and observing material entwined with issues of class, fashion, politics and trade. As such, these objects were observed, used, consumed and discarded by a host of social agents. While many researchers across the various disciplines engaged with in this thesis have pointed out the importance of this period in defining new consumer patterns, until now archaeologists have yet to demonstrate these shifts in the material record. The objective here is to provide the evidence of how changes in material culture recovered from these establishments in London can be used to inform us of the changes occurring in consumption, display and emerging social patterns over this period.

There is a wealth of evidence to suggest that early forms of merchant capitalism were necessarily linked with politics and economy, power structures, and symbolism and display. In relation to places for the social consumption of goods, three broad areas were identified that would allow scope for reliable and meaningful interpretation. The first area has to do with vessel manufacture and the distribution patterns across all sites, periods and environments of use. The second was the variations in functional use and the shifting patterns over time, according to the environment and those who would have been using the environment. The third area is the sifting styles of décor and form. Finally, this chapter will conclude with a discussion regarding the processes involved in interpreting consumption patterns. This will entail drawing out the distinctions between consumption and consumerism, demonstrating how the evidence and debates compare at these sites and the ways our modern expectations can create rigid typologies which distort diversity of use actually present. In the following sections, each of these areas will be discussed in relation to the material and theories previously presented in the earlier chapters of this thesis.

5.2. Trade

For English people on the eve of the Industrial Revolution, ventures into the realm of merchant capitalism were inextricably bound up with politics and economy. In the early seventeenth century, Queen Elizabeth I granted the charter for the East India Company (1600). It should be noted that reference to the East India Company (EIC) throughout this thesis refers to the English and then later British corporation, as there were more than six other European based East India companies which were chartered in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They were as follows: Austrian East India Company, founded in 1776, Dutch East India Company, founded in 1602, Danish East India Company, founded in 1616, Portuguese East India Company, founded in 1628, French East India Company, founded in 1664, Swedish East India Company, founded in 1731.

This marked the start of a European race to dominate the spice trade out of the East Indies which would last the better part of three centuries. Additionally, this race for domination appears to have bestowed a great deal of cultural significance on the production, exchange and display of these imported goods for social, and often public, consumption. This initial drive to embark upon such a high risk enterprise was driven by the extreme profit margins attainable by those who were successful in returning with their supply (Ricklefs 1993: 27). Unfortunately, it quickly became apparent that this market was rapidly becoming saturated to the detriment of all those who wished to carve themselves out a piece of the new exotic goods market. As documented in the State Papers from September 1599, this in turn led to a group of well-connected merchants lobbying to the royal court to gain exclusive rights from the Queen for securing trade routes to India (Sainsbury 1864: 99–102). As a result, throughout the seventeenth century there was a rapidly changing climate for trade, and politics was linked closely to these shifts.

The patterns of consumption established at this point in British history are significant for understanding imperial discourses and the fetishization of the foreign and exotic that would come to obsess British culture throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The ever expanding population in London and other major European cities at the close of the seventeenth century led to an even greater need to expand commerce. Shipping companies such as the East India Company claimed a seemingly endless stream of young merchants seeking their fortune on the dangerous high seas. In many cases they had no other choice for employment (Brook 2008: 14). In England, the Vagrancy Act of 1597 mandated that the abundance of vagrants, beggars and criminals alike could be mitigated by sending them to the American colonies, or other remote locations such as Newfoundland or the East or West Indies (Jütte 1994: 167). Far better to take your chances willingly – at least you would stand to make a profit if you survived.

These ships set off into the exotic unknown world and those who returned brought the bounty from abroad to be sold to the highest bidder in the busy markets of Cheapside, Smithfields and Paternoster Row. On offer were colourful silk textiles, intricate patterns on fine china, the pungent aromas and bitter taste of cocoa and coffee and the delicate flavours of tea, and of course fine wine and brandy from Italy and France. For those with slightly less in their purse, there were the powerful effects of 'Madam Geneva', or "genever." First distilled by the Italians as medicine in the early twelfth century, the Dutch began to drink it recreationally around the last half of the seventeenth century (Warner 2003: 23–24). The beverage was introduced to the English after the Dutch Prince William III of Orange succeeded in the overthrow of King James II of England in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 (Warner 2003: 21).

As the market became more and more saturated with foreign and exotic goods, there was a shift in the way that everyday people viewed these goods. For the first time access to moderately priced luxury items were available to a much wider constituency of the general public. Moreover, jobs were created in the selling of these new goods and crafting the items needed to use, display and store them. This had a rapid and dramatic impact on the ways people viewed and valued goods. This shift in the social engagement with goods and consumption is what will be investigated through the evidence and theories previously presented in this thesis.

In the subsequent section, specific theories discussed in Chapter 3 will be used to establish links between economics, sociology and anthropology and how they intersect with material culture (Appadurai 1986; Douglas and Isherwood 1979; Baudrillard 1996 [1968]). These particular theoretical perspectives have been chosen for the contributions they provide in the process of understanding past economies, the rules which governed them and how they progressed. These concepts are important in understanding what the materials recovered represented at the time they were being consumed or used. It is from these changes in economic and social value systems which propelled London into the capitalist age. The evidence of this can be found in material record by looking at the point of origin of items recovered to assess for elaborate trade networks, the evidence of some impact on local industry in the way of expanding markets in goods production, and the negative evidence of these items at establishments who catered to less affluent social classes.

5.2.1. Source of Production

Primarily, the items which would have been used in service would be the most representative of changing economies as these were the items used to project an air of status to others. In the initial approach taken in the analysis of these establishments, there were certain vessels which were expected, such as drinking jugs, glass bottles, tankards and stemware. Therefore, it was unsurprising when the two most prevalent import types, constituting 18% of the total collection, were stoneware drinking vessels (12%) and Chinese porcelain (6%). Most of the stoneware were in the form of jugs, nearly all manufactured in the Rhineland. These would have been shipped empty and used as storage vessels. They are traditionally only found in wealthier establishments such as inns (McKenzie and Wardle 2006), guildhalls (Bowsher et al. 2007) and in the cellars of wealthier taverns (Jefferies et al. 2014), all of whom could afford to buy and store large quantities of beer and wine. The third most common type consisted of imported glass vessels from continental points of origin (2%). Delicate bottles identified as 'betties' would have been used as both a storage and service container for imported wines and oils (Blair 2005). There was also an example of a matching set of hand-painted Spanish tankards or handled cups which will be discussed below (Figure 5.5).

However, beyond identifying the proliferation of imported materials among public drinking establishments at this time, the artefact distribution patterns are in fact even more revealing. By comparing the material at the site with the greatest diversity of both imported and locally sourced materials (KIG95) with the sites with the least diversity (BAZ05 and NGT00, Building15/24), patterns of use begin to emerge. These patterns indicate that while certain establishments with the greatest evidence of wealth continued to access and import continental goods, the majority of imports underwent a distinct shift away from continental goods. This shift also shows that there was a move away from an emphasis on the service of alcoholic beverages at these establishments in favour of a move toward the consumption of exotic drinks, such as tea and coffee. These patterns will be explored in relation to the material and their wider significance in the following two sections.

5.2.2. The Allure of the Exotic

One of the trends that can be assessed through the material assemblages across most sites is the shift away from the popular consumption of beer and wines, brandy and spirits, and the adoption of teas and coffees. By the mid-eighteenth century, the site on King Street, once interpreted as a tavern or gentleman's club, no longer retained much material evidence of alcohol service. With the exception of a hand painted Delftware punch bowl (Figure 5.11) and one stoneware tankard (Figure 5.13) there are virtually no other examples of overtly alcohol related wares. However, the amount of ceramic material for this period increased dramatically and reflected a shift to the more socially acceptable service of tea and coffee and food (Figure 5.12). One explanation can be found in the changing social perceptions and atmosphere regarding the perspectives of the upper classes on the consumption of spirits (Harvey 2008; Berry 2001; Sweet 2002; Roth 1969). The concept that certain types of drinks would fall out of favour with a more elite social circle engages with established debates encircling the construction of certain rituals which assist in the process of distinguishing outsiders from those who belong to the group (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 32) and will be explored more fully in section 5.4.

Access to fine quality imports from Italy and France shows the extent of the trade networks commonly engaged with by those who frequented this venue. The Spanish glass tankard recovered at the site at King Street, while beautiful enough to be sought after in its own right, speaks to the complex trade networks that were required to obtain such a treasure. In order to acquire this glass vessel, it potentially may have had to make the voyage all the way to the Spanish colonies in the Americas and then back to England (Blair 2005: 320). Such trade patterns were more common than is frequently realized, thus driving up the price of imported goods and increasing their appeal as high status commodities. These new routes quite literally opened up whole new worlds of trade possibilities. As a result, there tends to be fewer imported objects recovered from these earlier deposits, and they frequently show signs of having been kept as heirlooms over the course of a few generations.

There was also a strong positive correlation which emerged between the frequencies of service versus preparation materials at locations of higher versus lower status establishments. Beyond the associations with class, the major difference in the material from the late seventeenth century (or pre-fire deposits) and that from the mid-eighteenth century is the evidence for a move towards a wider range of alternatives to the consumption of locally sourced beer or ale. These have been linked more broadly to the shifts in consumer culture occurring across Britain in the eighteenth century (McKendrick et al. 1982) and more appositely to the burgeoning Staffordshire potteries industry at that time (Barker 2010). Archaeologically, the early eighteenth century deposits from Building 15/24 in Paternoster Square showed evidence of some form of an establishment, likely an 'ordinary' (a pub-like establishment with an emphasis on food service) which was nearly completely composed of London-made, coarse earthen wares. However, as seen across the other sites examined, at Building 26 in Paternoster Square there is a noticeable shift in consumption to represent a much higher frequency of middle quality items and evidence of imported goods as the eighteenth century progressed.

Moreover, despite the nature of the site of the Bear Inn (BAZ05) being strongly linked to the production and sale of beer and ale, by the end of the eighteenth century even this establishment on Basinghall Street shows this same prevailing invasion of tea and coffee service wares (though there remains the strongest showing for a preference for ale here by comparison). Across all the sites, pearlware and creamware with oriental-inspired patterns are present indicating a continued influence from the higher status imports, and tobacco smoking implements of local manufacture remain strongly represented. Yet it is important to remember that tea, coffee, chocolate and tobacco were all still considered to be exotic substances at this time. Therefore, whilst these wares were domestic to English potteries, the forms produced represent the abundance of and increasing popularity for the imported goods being served in the vessels.

Figure 5.1 – British made, tea and coffee wares, from the Bear Inn, Period 2, c. 1780s.

All of these objects were recovered from the later period of use at the Bear Inn and allow insight into changes in both form and function across the two periods. 1) Pearlware coffee mug (early drabware). 2) white English stoneware, 3) pearlware tea bowl 4) pearlware tea bowl 5) pearlware coffee mugs 6) pearlware bowl (possibly for punch). Author's copyright.

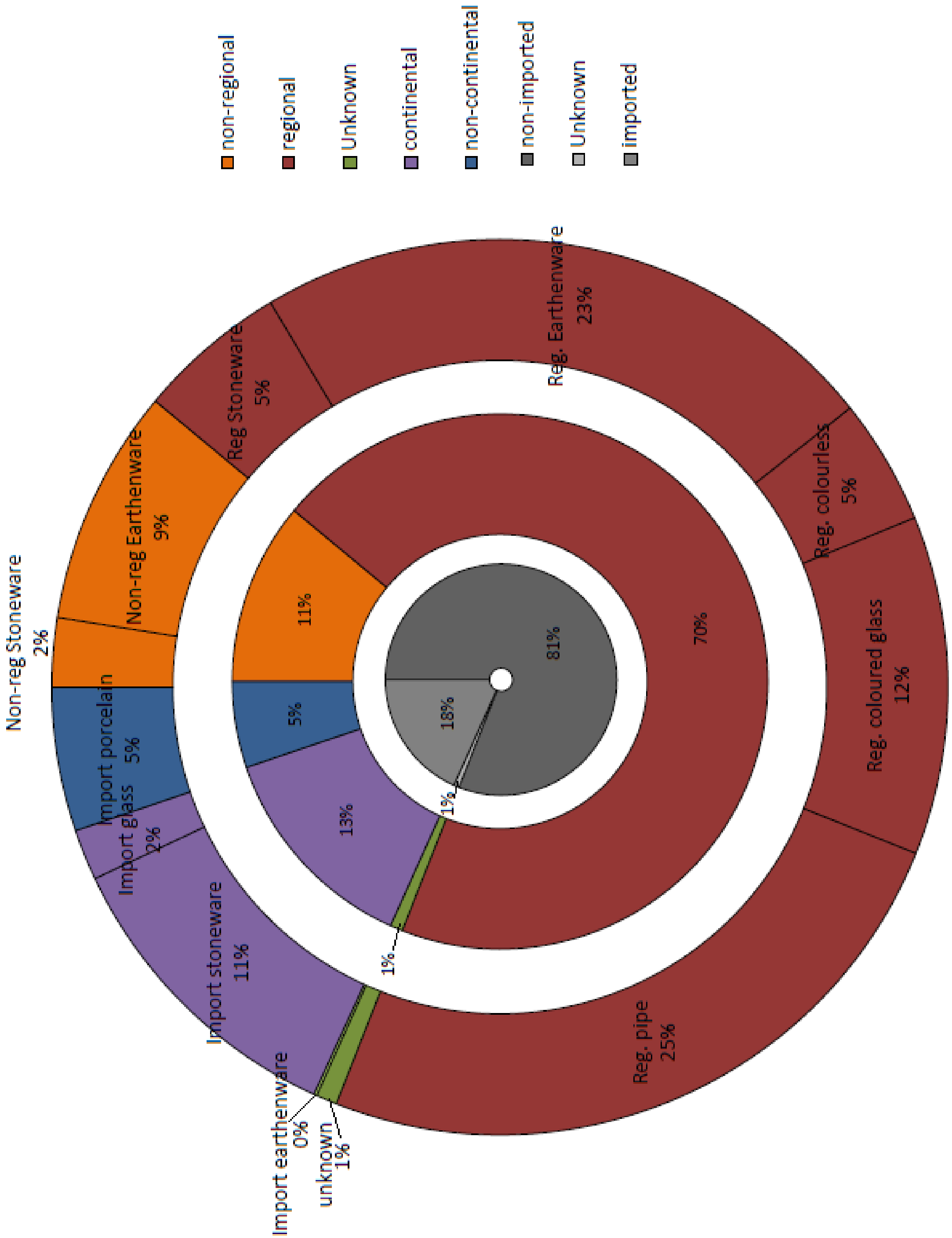

Figure 5.2 – Imported vs. Domestic material analysis across all sites.

5.2.3. Industrial Expansion

This material evidence presents an intriguing paradox: the wider the availability and selection became of goods from abroad, the greater concentration of materials associated with local manufacture proved to be, as represented in the material record. For example, the Basinghall Street Bear Inn site revealed 11% of imported goods recovered across all the sites. The fill of this cobblestone floored cellar contained evidence of mixing between pre- and post-Fire periods of site use (McKenzie and Wardle 2006), yet all of the stoneware dated to the last half of the seventeenth century. In contrast, nearly all of the materials recovered from this same site which could be dated to the middle of the eighteenth century were domestic wares. This is starkly contrasted from the earlier material which represents a much more diverse range of exotic, imported wares from the wealthier establishments. How and why were these objects being developed? Although archaeological evidence for increased numbers of locally manufactured wares could merely reflect the demand for alternative options within a more modest price range. However, a more socially complex explanation can also be offered as an interpretation through consideration of the fiercely competitive economy that operated within London at this time.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the radical impact that these new global markets were having on London consumers was starting to become evident. Having converged on Dutch, French, Spanish, English, Portuguese, Swedish, and regions in what is present day German territory, the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667), the Franco-Dutch War (1672–1678), and the Nine Years' War (1688–97), had made trade with Spain increasingly difficult. This made crossing the blockades of major world powers at this time no small feat (Childs 1991: 11). This means that the simple presence of the Spanish cups in the King Street site is in itself rather remarkable and might represent a highly complex system of trade networks in place to acquire difficult to access goods (Figure 5.5). Spanish imports were highly unusual for this period which has led to the speculation that this beautifully crafted, hand-painted glass tankard may in fact have been an English made specimen (Blair 2005: 319). However, this seems unlikely due to the fact that there are not many similar examples to compare with, the closest approximation being found from a Spanish town called Cadalso, in the province of Toledo. Few details are available on this once famous glass works, but it is know that the glass made there was made in a similar manner to the Venetian style (Page and Doménech 2004: 105).

Figure 5.3 – Frechen stoneware Bartmann necks with faces.

Figure 5.4 – Frechen stoneware Bartmann jug with medallion.
Objects in the two figures above these objects were recovered from building 12 and allow insight into the types of things being consumed regularly at the inn. Author's copyright.

These cups could have entered the site in a number of ways, whether obtained directly from Spain in a relatively straight forward manner or potentially via a long protracted trade route through the American colonies. Both local and imported glass wares were present at these sites. However, the only foreign imports represented from this period were identified as being from Italy, France or Spain. Moreover, it was around this period that English glassworks began to discover the key to making refined glassware items, so a rising subculture of finer glassware within the local market at the close of the seventeenth century can also be perceived (Tyler and Willmott 2005: 10–11, 14). If the material can inform us of social and political shifts, then the question remains as to how trade may have been impacted by these changes in the economy.

As a result there was a need for the development of new and better technologies right there in London. One such technological advancement was in the manufacture of leaded glass, developed by and Englishman named Ravenscroft around 1670. At the same establishment which produced the fine imported Spanish glass vessels, a stem from such an English made vessel was recovered (Figure 5.6). Evidence from these sites suggests that high status, continentally sourced items began to decrease in prevalence as access to more affordable items became available in the local market.

Evidence from NGT00, Building 26 shows the most glass tablewares from any of the sites stretching as late as the last quarter of the eighteenth century (see Figure 5.7). This makes the material some of the latest from any of the assemblages, and it appears to have come from an establishment of moderate status clientele. Yet unlike the moderate status material found from the establishment on King Street dating at least 50–80 years prior, this material is nearly completely comprised of locally sourced glass and ceramic vessels (91%) (for data chart refer back to Figure 4.23).

Alternatively, the intriguing goods newly introduced from the East and West Indies which had no equivalent available in the English markets are shown to have undergone the opposite social response. The sale of these items was lucrative for the merchants because their success was only limited based on competition with other merchants (who were subject to similar constraints of sourcing products) and the demand of the people. Additionally, these exotic sundries opened up a brand new world of goods to be invented or adapted for the proper storage, preparation, service and consumption of the new delicacies. Moreover, foreign wares such as Chinese porcelain sparked a technological race to devise a method of reproducing the same quality wares locally to capitalize even more on the financial benefits.

Yet, these expanding industries took their toll on the fabric of the medieval city. Unprecedented population surges resulting from the transformation of this city into a cosmopolitan environment. This presented a complex set of new social issues for the governing bodies to resolve which would impact consumption in a very different capacity and on a much more personal level.

Figure 5.5 – Spanish glass mugs, c. 1695–1705.
To the left is an intact glass mug or small tankard, with hand painted enamel decoration. To the right is a fragmented, but matching vessel. Author's copyright.

Figure 5.6 – Ravenscroft lead glass stemware, c. 1670s.
This stem was identified based on the distinctive prunts which can be seen pictured above. Author's copyright.

Figure 5.7 – English lead glass stemware, c. 1755–1785.
This is one of a few examples of the types of stemware recovered from the cesspit of the presumed tavern located at Building 26 of NGT00. Author's copyright.

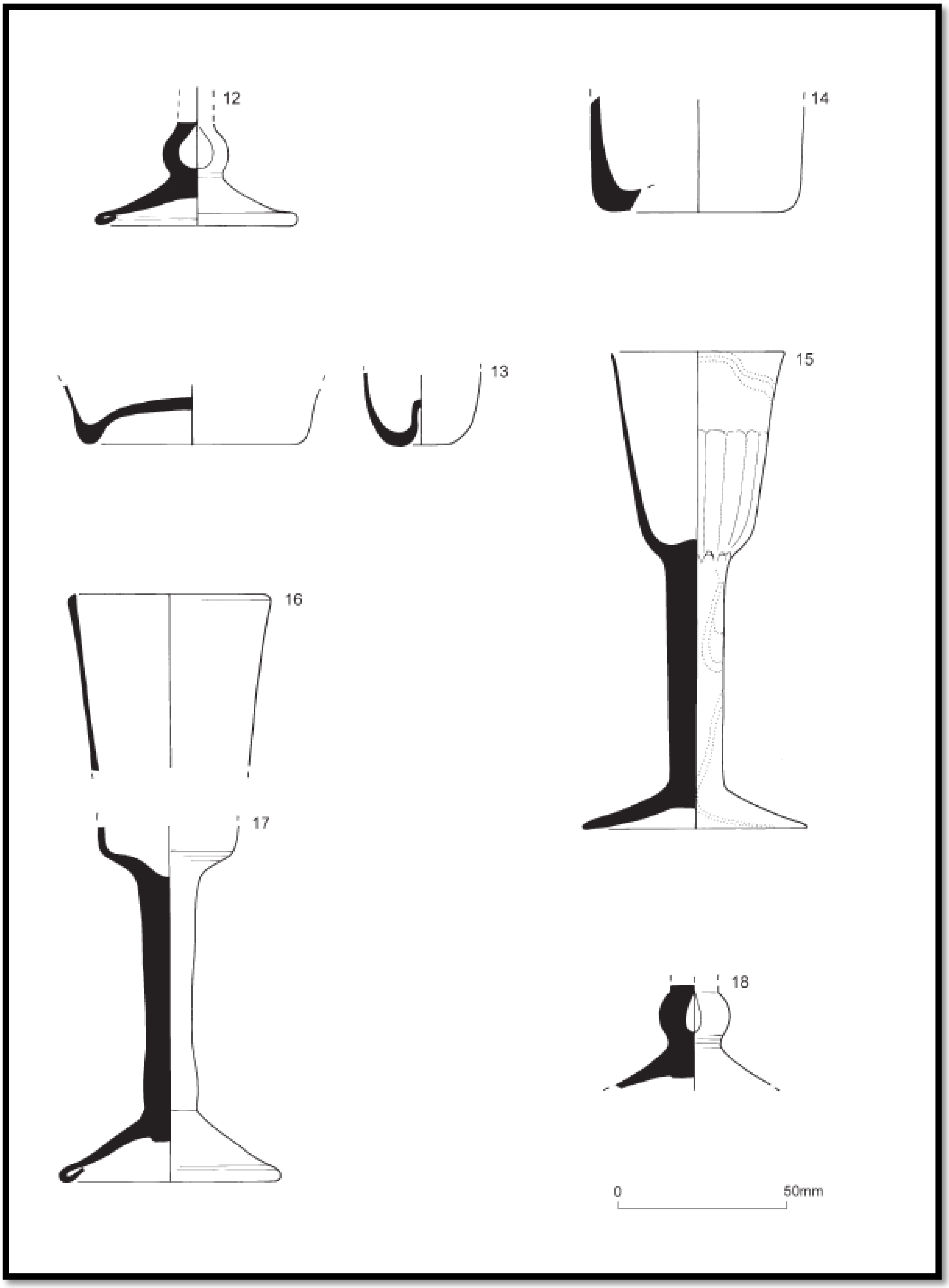

Figure 5.8 – English lead glass stemware, c. 1755–1785.
These drawings represent a few examples of the types of stemware recovered from the cesspit of the presumed tavern located at Building 26 of NGT00 (Watson et al. 2010: 197).

Figure 5.9 – Tyg drinking vessel, c.1600–1700

Figure 5.10 – Paternoster Square, London: Pipe from Building 15 cesspit/cellar.
Tobacco pipe recovered which shows a nearly intact pipe. These smoking instruments were notoriously brittle in Britain, and were one of the earliest examples of disposable consumables. Though you could make them last, most pipe smokers would buy in bulk. Image courtesy of MOLA (Watson et al. 2010: 193).

Figure 5.11 – Fluted punch bowl.
This delftware punch bowl with floral blue on white decoration represents the convivial nature of punch drinking, a fashionable and relatively recent fad at the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Author's copyright.

Figure 5.12 – Polychrome Delftware teapot.
This delftware teapot with matching lid in a floral decoration is of a London made style dating to the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The detail shows the partial marking on the base. Author's copyright.

Figure 5.13 – English Stoneware tankard.

Figure 5.14 – English Stoneware mug.
Both of these images (5.10 and 5.11) show objects in English Salt-glazed stoneware and decorated in a style known as English Brown. This pattern is common throughout Britain and America for most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Author's copyright.

5.3. Infrastructure

In the previous section I discussed the impact that changing trade networks had on the expansion of industries in Britain in throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Now it is important to explore how the City of London was affected by the rapid changes to the economy. Specifically, attention here will be given to the effect on the built environment and then to the social impact that these changes had on consumption patterns.

London in the last quarter of the seventeenth century was in a chaotic state. A medieval cityscape thrust into the burgeoning cosmopolitan metropolis it would become over the course of the subsequent century. The population of London at roughly 300,000 equalled approximately 1/16 of the total population of the whole of England. By 1660, only Paris and Constantinople were larger; by 1700 only Constantinople; by 1750 London was far and away the largest metropolis in the western world. Due to this steady increase of people, plague and fire were constant threats. Between the start of 1665 and the winter of 1666, nearly one-third of the population and 80% of the city had been devastated by monumental outbreaks of both.

Necessarily, these events impacted the social structure of both the high status elite and the working masses. People left for the suburban areas such as Westminster and Hackney in droves. Those who chose to live (or had no choice but to live) within the walled enclosure of London, lived in a similarly chaotic state. Narrow, crowded, uneven and filthy streets were not only loud and unfriendly but were also deadly. The diarist, John Evelyn, noted in 1666, "So many of the fairer sex and their offspring have perished by mischance...from the ruggedness of the uneven streets." As such, people vied – often violently – for position under the shelter of the looming houses, whose awkward positioning afforded some protection from the filth poured unceremoniously into the streets from the upper stories.

All of these issues contributed to an almost obsessive fear of illness and injury, yet a very limited tool-kit for how to cope with the inevitable occurrences of said ailments. Medicine and health care were not exactly new concepts to those living in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in London, however, it was a completely different enterprise. Though physicians often studied medicine in universities, they were not legally required to have any formal training. It was thought that they were ordained with certain God given abilities and thus were nobility by virtue. In 1634, Henry Peacham wrote *The Complete Gentlemen* in which he helped attempt to reason this connection, "…since we know our blessed Saviour to have cured the sick…" the art of the physic must, therefore, be reserved for only the most noble of men.

There were on-going legal disputed which raged well into the eighteenth century regarding the right for apothecaries to prescribe cures for illnesses which physicians felt they had no training to treat. It ultimately came down to an issue of diluting a market and under cutting the competition. If a working class man or woman was stricken with a persistent or particularly debilitating ailment, they could hardly afford to pay both the fee for the physician as well as the medicine – much better to go to the apothecary and get both for far less.

This period is known for having been rife with illness and disease. This made medical treatment a highly sought after commodity, but treatment was a luxury reserved largely for those who had means. Most medical advice was comprised of expensive concoctions made from various ingredients ranging from common herbs to rare substances (also sometimes fictitious) like ground unicorn's horn, or moss from a criminal's skull (Cowley and Williamson 2007: 131; Topsell 1658). A display at the Museum of the Royal Pharmaceutical Society (2008) showcased an Egyptian mummified hand which accompanied the caption:

> "Two drachms of mummy" was a key ingredient in a medicine prescribed "to provoke the flowers" [i.e. stimulate periods]. This was recorded in a book on midwifery written by James Wolveridge in 1671. The mummified flesh would be ground into a powder, mixed with other ingredients, and taken in white wine.

In addition to requiring rare and expensive ingredients, it was standard for medical books (as with most books prior to the seventeenth century) to be published in Latin. This precluded many of the working class population from self-medication, as this highly literate populous was primarily only able to read English. Nicholas Culpeper's publication, *The English Physician* in 1652 had a considerable impact on the advancement of home remedies during the seventeenth century, as it was published in English. His remedies made use of everyday plants, such as wintergreen, cabbage and thistle and thus were accessible to a much wider audience. Tea and tobacco were also increasingly popular prescriptions for their perceived medicinal value (Weinberg and Bealer 2004: 106–107; Stewart 2012).

It is from these restrictions on the access to knowledge and treatment which produced the social bypasses used by the poorer members of society to address the ever present and indiscriminate nature of injury and illness. The evidence of these can be found in material record by way of items associated with health and hygiene, in the historical and physical remains of civic infrastructure, and the negative evidence of these at establishments who catered to less affluent social classes. In the following sections, the various material representing these aspects of use will be further explored.

5.3.1. Health and Hygiene

On 7 December 1709 an advertisement is listed in the Old Bailey Proceedings which claimed to be "drank by most Gentlemen in their Wine" and among other things said to impart "Vigour and Sprightliness" in the drinker. It was listed as being available for purchase, "from the author's House, and at many Book sellers and Coffee-houses in and about the City of London" (Old Bailey Proceedings Online, a17091207-1). This advertisement represents just one example of the prevalence that this form of medicinal peddling of tonics and cure-alls was in many types of establishments.

Materially speaking, at the King Street site there was evidence of multiple forms of medicinal aids which would have been common in any physician's tool kit. The Clyster syringe tip was a well-known and heavily utilized instrument during this period. It was believed that the guts were the brain of the human body and that much depended upon them being in good working order. The Clyster syringe appears to be of a similar fashion to that depicted in John Woodall's 1617 book entitled, T*he Surgions Mate* [sic]. This book describes the instrument as follows:

> Of the large Siringe conteyning one wine pinte, commonly called the Glister Siringe. This worthy and well devised instrument so needful in the Surgeons Chest I wish each Surgeons Mate were perfect in the use thereof: for it is so necessary and so comfortable an instrument to him that hath neede thereof, and so ready, near, and easie for the workeman, as surely no instrument in the Surgeons Chest in my opinion is like to it: for there are two principall and capitall evils which chiefly hasten the ends of many of our loving Countreymen at Sea; note onely in the East Indies, but also in all hote Countries: the first and principall is extreame loosenesse and weaknesse of the stomach, and interalls causing a flux of the belly; the other is extreame costivenesse, in both which this instrument is most necessary: provide therefore that you bee sure to have one at hand, and that it be alwaies ready: also that you have severall pipes thereto... (Woodall 1617: 18).

Similarly, there was a decrease in the number of glass drinking vessels recovered from all of the sites as the time elapsed, (except at NGT00, Building 26), but a marked increase in pharmaceutical phials and tea and coffee wares present in all three environments. In fact, pharmaceutical phials and onion bottomed glass bottles were the only glass items recovered from the ordinary in Paternoster Triangle (NGT00, Building 15/24).

However, some hygiene related items were found at nearly every site regardless of class. While the frequency of ointment pots and pharmaceutical phials is highest in the higher status establishments,

While the site at King Street showed much higher quantities of service wares, drinking vessels and fine imported material, than is common among most comparable residential sites, there were also an inordinate number of domestic wares present as well. Furthermore, there is no clear evidence to indicate that NGT00, Building 3 was catering to the general public at all, the material being far more evenly distributed in terms of functional categories related to, service, preparation and otherwise domestic use (see Figure 4.12 and Figure 4.15). However, this does not rule out the possibility of a semi-private residence for these spaces. For example, the King Street establishment might have been a residence with a specialty shop or medical specialist occupier who operated from the home (such as apothecary or physician).

As mentioned earlier, apothecaries were known as the common alternative to a physician (Hunting 2004: 41). It is, nevertheless, possible that this was some sort of high-end variety. It is worthy of note that spirits were known to have been served mixed in with tea for medicinal purposes during the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries in England (Heiss and Heiss 2007: 19). This has been explored by a number of historians and archaeologists in relation to the growing movement among social elites to ostracize those who abused the substances (Lampard and Staniforth 2011; Bond 1989). While this was not necessarily being done to obscure the fact that alcohol was being consumed at this early stage, it may have been a happy coincidence that there was an alternative social reception to drinking these "medicinal toddies" to plain alcoholic beverages.

This may also contribute some wider understanding to the common occurrence of finding medicinal phials in drinking establishments. Bond (1989: 136) has demonstrated that it was not uncommon for women in nineteenth-century America to purchase patent medicine as a way to indulge in otherwise taboo behaviour such as drinking. Since these morphine-based medications were often prescribed to treat "female complaints," along with headaches, fatigue, and anxiety, during the nineteenth century, the majority of opiate addicts were women (Mendelson and Mello 1985: 47). In fact, some have estimated that one out of every ten women during the last half of the nineteenth century was a "hidden alcoholic" (Lender and Martin 1982: 118). Bond points out, "with the number of women involved in temperance campaigns and the growth of the male-dominated saloon, many women who drank did so privately. The substitution of medicinal nostrums for beverage alcohol afforded women a socially acceptable means of alcohol consumption" (Bond 1989: 136).

By comparing the hygiene related material at the sites with the greatest evidence of high status materials (KIG95) with the sites with the more basic or middle status material representations (NGT00, Building 3 and NGT00, Building15/24), striking patterns of use begin to emerge. These patterns indicate that while there were certain hygiene related materials which were recovered from nearly every site regardless of class or social function (Figure 5.15 and Figure 5.16), establishments with the greatest evidence of wealth demonstrated a far greater emphasis on access to a variety of health related goods (Figure 5.19 and Figure 5.20).

5.3.3. Waste Management

As demonstrated in the previous section, expansion in trade and an ever increasing population in London across this period resulted in a decline in living conditions as the out dated infrastructure attempted to accommodate these shifts. Every single part of society relied on the existence of another to buy their product, or more often times, their waste. Everything was used – from food scraps to human urine (in a surprising amount). About the only thing there was not a use for was the endless amount of ash, dirt and human excrement (although, animal waste was highly sought after [Picard 1997: 14]).

As discussed in Chapter 1, inns, taverns and coffee houses served multiple crucial social roles in London at this time. Socially, they served an array of functions in regard to obtaining social and political news. But they also had a more practical function beyond this; they were often the best substitute for a public toilet. In the middle ages, the public toilet had made an appearance, but by the late seventeenth century most had not been maintained (Bowsher et al. 2010: 209; Sabine 1934: 306–307). Cesspits and even privies were a middle class commodity, thus chamber pots were used domestically in lower status homes. However, while out conducting business, an inn, tavern or alehouse served this vital function. When no establishment could be found, an alley-way or street could be used (Liza Picard 1997: 14). This is important to note, as 100% of the material which survived from these sites were recovered from cesspits associated with these establishments.

Health and hygiene issues can be seen as key components at sites where the highest status material was recovered (KIG=22% and NGTb3=30% vs. NGTb15/24=14%, NGTb26=7%, BAZp1=2% and BAZp2=0%). It is interesting to note that the site with the lowest evidence of hygiene related material was the Bear Inn, the only establishment with archival records confirming its function as a drinking establishment. This could mean that such establishments required dedicated toilet facilities for the use of their guests and residents, or that there were shared facilities elsewhere unattached to the premises. Alternatively, this could represent a fundamental difference between certain types of use of the establishments. This lack of material for basic hygiene needs (such as chamber pots and ointment jars) might indicate a level of service not provided by the more middle class establishments. It could also indicate that the two establishments catering more towards the higher status taste may not have been establishments for public use in the same sense as the taverns, inns and alehouses previously identified.

These issues are perhaps the most unlooked for within the significant services provided as a part of civic infrastructure. The recent explorations into the critical role these basic utilities and city maintenance have on the development of social ideology have been discussed earlier in this thesis (Henaman 2006; Palus 2005, 2011b, 2011c; Tarlow 2007). What is significant within these debates is the cultivation of the idea that these services tend to develop meaningful patterns based on where and who gains access to them and when. Palus (2011b and 2011c) approaches governance through a framework of material imprints of governance where processes begin to take on more significant meanings and implications for society other than the idea that they are merely vestiges of progress (Tarlow 2007).

Criticisms regarding the validity of such a system revolve around the unlikely relevance of it in a post-capitalist and certainly in a post-industrial society (Abercrombie and Turner 1978; Beaudry et al. 1991). However, in these critiques it is the main objection that the majority of the populace did not agree with the dominant ideology, not that one existed. This is a critical point as the process for changing a system as complex as that which governs a society at its core – like social structures, class systems and social hierarchies – takes time and considerable effort to rework. I contend that over the course of the late seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century in London, some of these changes can be seen materially. However, there is some difficulty in identifying representative types of materials within the context of establishments of public consumption at this time.

How does one trace the social influence of civic infrastructure prior to the establishment of modern civic utilities? Although most of these debates situate themselves within the more modern contexts of nineteenth- and twentieth-century urban implementation of city utilities such as (sewage and electricity), similar principles can be seen in action within the seventeenth century cityscape as well. Though waste management was not implemented until the 1860s, other systems can be observed in the city at this time. For one, the smaller establishments are seen to have discontinued use of their cesspits earlier than the larger establishments across the areas. Explanations for this could lie in the limited space or resources needed to maintain these commodities (Sabine 1934: 306– 307). Many households would share cesspits with a number of houses making use of public toilet facilities throughout the city, the taverns and alehouses, or as was sometimes the case in more unfortunate neighbourhoods, they would pour their waste directly into the streets (Sabine 1934: 306).

After the fire, the first areas to see any development were the streets directly involved with the centres of trade for the city. Indeed, the only major street alteration was King Street, which was added as a double wide street to allow trade to more freely access the Guildhall from dockyards on the Thames (Jardine 2003). Through these kinds of improvements made based on localized need specific to what would facilitate economic growth, a precedent can be seen to have been established to improve and give priority to certain areas of society. It is in this way that governments themselves become entwined and bound up within the processes of economy and political action, and thus to a real extent, social divisions (Henman 2006:209).

5.3.4. Interpreting Negative Evidence

Above we have been able to look at some more obscure intersecting features which were represented in the material record. Now it is important to address how the absence of certain materials can be just as provocative. These absences can sometimes represent a social action to intentionally remove an object from the discard process due to potential for reuse (Smart-Martin 1989) or sentimental value (Lillios 1999: 238). As such, the following section will review some possibilities which might explain the absence of expected material at some of these sites.

The first of these possibilities has to do with theft and crime prevention. It is important to note that owing to the growth of urban crime, the expansion of print culture, and changing cultural attitudes, a remarkably diverse range of positive and negative images of robbery were disseminated in eighteenth-century London (Shoemaker 2006: 381). A sister publication of the *Old Bailey Proceedings* was the *Ordinary's Accounts*. This publication contained biographies of the prisoners executed at Tyburn and was regularly published during the eighteenth century. They provided a glimpse into the world of crime and a final account of their last words or actions, but also they provide an even greater insight into the social elite's conceptions of these criminals.

There are many records which outline all too clearly the risks which awaited the unsuspecting landlord or barmaid. Some examples have been selected below from the proceedings of the Old Bailey from the last quarter of the seventeenth century. This one is from 13th October 1675, describes the crime of a man listed only as "W. V.":

> …He robb'd the man at the Wool-sack in Hounds-ditch, an Ale house keeper of twelve pounds in money, and two Silver-tankards, often frequenting the house, and taking an opportunity to slip into the man of the house his Bed chamber.
>
> Another time he came into the Bull-head neer St. Dunstan's church, called for a double Silver Tankard of Ale, and when the Drawer was gone he threw the Drink in the Chimny and went away with the Tankard. He was a person of an obscure Birth, and confessed himself to be a Thief, which was no more than was well known before (Old Bailey Online Reference Number: t16751013-6).

W.V. was found guilty and sentenced to death for his larceny. Yet another incident from 1674 involved a woman who was sentenced "to be transported":

> There was also a Woman tryed for stealing a Silver Cup , the manner thus; she went to a Victualling House to drink a pot of Ale, and after having tarried some time, she desired the Woman of the House to lend her a Chamber pot, which she going to fetch it for her, she ran away with a Silver Cup that then stood on a Shelf in the Kitchen, and afterwards being taken by the Watch a night-walking, she was carried to Bridewell, where the Cup was found under her Arm, between her Arm and her Wastcoat, which she confessing where she stole it was sent to Newgate, and from thence to Justice-Hall in the Old-Baily, where being Arraigned, she was examined by the Court what she did intend to do with the Cup to which she answered, that she did intend to bring it again, whereupon she was Convicted , and put by to be transported (Old Bailey Online Reference Number: t16740429-5).

This documentary evidence acts as a strong reminder that casual criminal activity by both male and female thieves was rife and well documented over this time, but more significantly, they offer potential insight into missing elements within the archaeological record at some of the sites from Paternoster Triangle. Higher frequencies of non-uniform or mismatched crockery, recycled bottles and multipurpose vessels within the canteen in Paternoster Triangle (NGT00 B15/24) appear to represent a working class environment within this edifice, catering to a client who valued passing the savings on through cheaper services in exchange for less fashionable décor and amenities. One key issue in the interpretation of use of this establishment was from the lack of drinking material culture represented. This along with the great number of animal bones lead initial analysis to conclude that the establishment must not have been for much more than "the *in situ* processing of meat for a tavern or similar hostelry" or from "the everyday consumption of a domestic establishment" (Watson et al. 2010: 202–203). However, work by Smart-Martin (1989) suggested various explanations for the absence of many forms of material from the archaeological record which were largely dependent on familiarity with the social context.

As the previous court transcripts demonstrated, petty theft was common within these establishments. Moreover, it was common for many establishments to discourage theft by encouraging customers to bring their own vessel to drink from, only providing one if requested. This is supported by many trial records in the Old Bailey which specify within the details of the crime a request for a vessel to drink from in addition to the "pot of drink", or serving vessel. Take this example, for instance, from 1st June 1677:

> The first Tryal was of a young fellow that on the 25. of May last came early in the morning to drink with one of his Acquaintance, and afterwards the same forenoon came again all alone by himself, call'd for a Pot of drink and must needs have a Cup to drink out of, they brought him a silver Beaker valued at 35 Shillings, he pretended to wait for his friend, lingered away sometime, but at last spying an opportunity when the Maid of the house was gone into the Stables, stole the plate and left his reckoning to pay , he made several slight ridiculous Excuses, as that he was drunk, that his friend came and took it away, andc. but confessed he himself offered the plate to sale, and thereupon was found Guilty (proceedings of the Old Bailey 1677).

Yet another suggestion for these lower status alehouses would be in offering less desirable paraphernalia for the patrons' use. As mentioned in Chapter 4, wooden casks were ubiquitous at this time for the transportation and storage of most liquids. These were remarkably durable and would not be discarded until absolutely necessary. Alternatives to fragile ceramic and glass vessels would have been to make leather or wooden receptacles. These had the added benefit of being more cost effective alternatives in the short run due in no small part to their resilience when faced with the raucous activities of the early hours. This resulted in a more affordable product for the customer and a greater profit margin for the owner of the establishment.

Interestingly, with the exception of the Bear Inn which had historical documentation, these establishments were fundamentally misidentified during initial interpretation. While the particular differences between these establishments are almost always explored in detail in background research, the variations in patterns of use which are actually quite overt, tend to be overlooked when determining specific use. What is clear from the secondary analysis of these establishments is that the initial criterion utilized is effective in identifying many various establishments which each catered to the growing middle class population in an ever increasing consumer driven culture.

Figure 5.15 – Delft ointment pots, NGT00 Building 15.
These images depict delftware medicinal jars on the left and ointment pots found in Paternoster Square excavation trenches. They date to the end of the seventeenth century. These ointment pots represent an extremely ubiquitous form found in all parts of England at this time

Figure 5.16 – Ointment pots with footring pedestals, from KIG95.
These ointment pots represent a significant representation of hygiene related, undecorated delftware items recovered from KIG95. Author's copyright.

Figure 5.17 – Paternoster Square, London: glass from Building 15 cesspit/cellar.
Image source Watson et al. 2010: 187.

Figure 5.18 – Delft medicine pots, Building 3.
Image source Watson et al. 2010: 187.

Figure 5.19 – Glass Phials, KIG95.
Author's copyright.

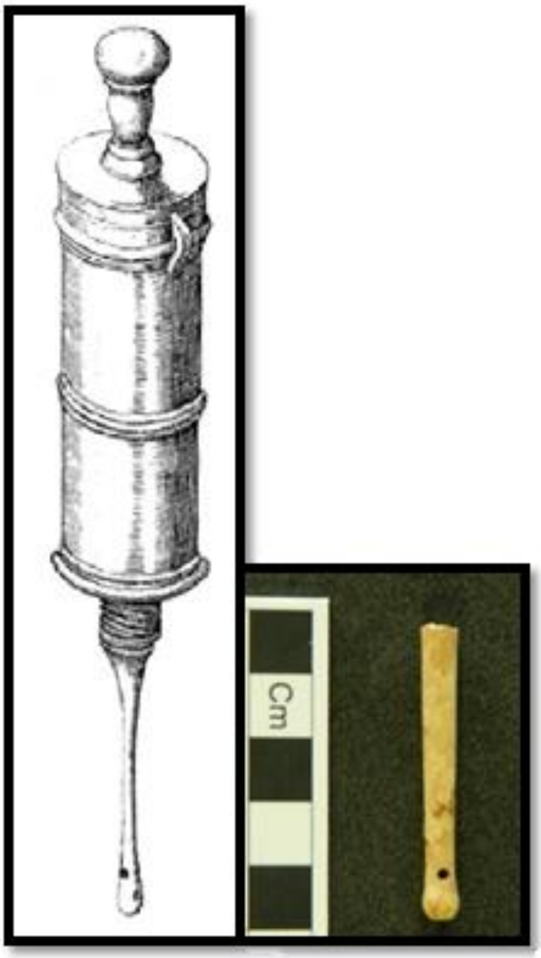

Figure 5.20 – Clyster syringe.
The drawing on the left is of a Clyster syringe, depicted by John Woodall in his book *the surgions mate[sic]* first published in 1617. To the right is the bone syringe found at KIG95. Image to the right by author.

Figure 5.21 – Birdfeeder, colourless glass.

Figure 5.22 – Wooden bird figurine, from KIG95.
These objects were both found amidst the associated assemblage. While the rest of the material represent items used in the service and consumption of food and drink, these objects could hold the key which might unlock far different interpretations for the materials in the collection. Image by author

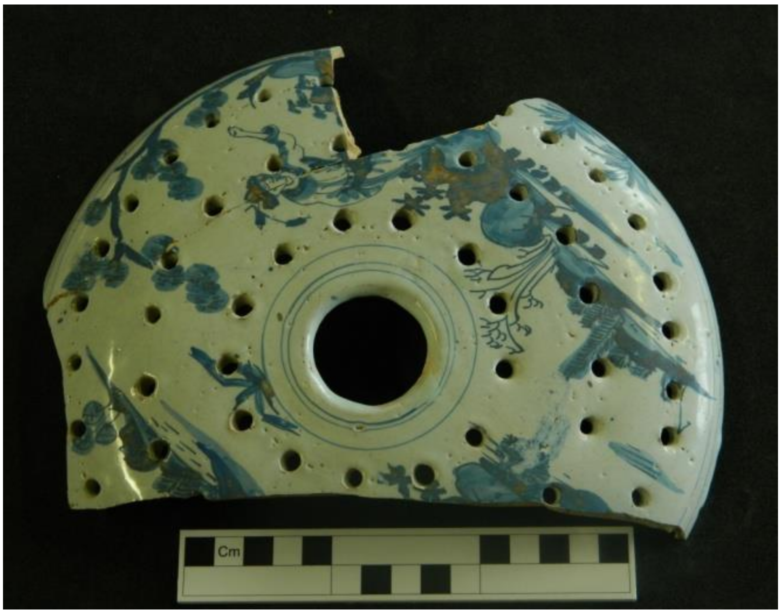

Figure 5.23 – Flower stand, from KIG95

Figure 5.24 – Flower bowl, from KIG95.
Both of these objects were made from Delftware, decorated in a blue on white glaze with oriental landscapes. Author's copyright.

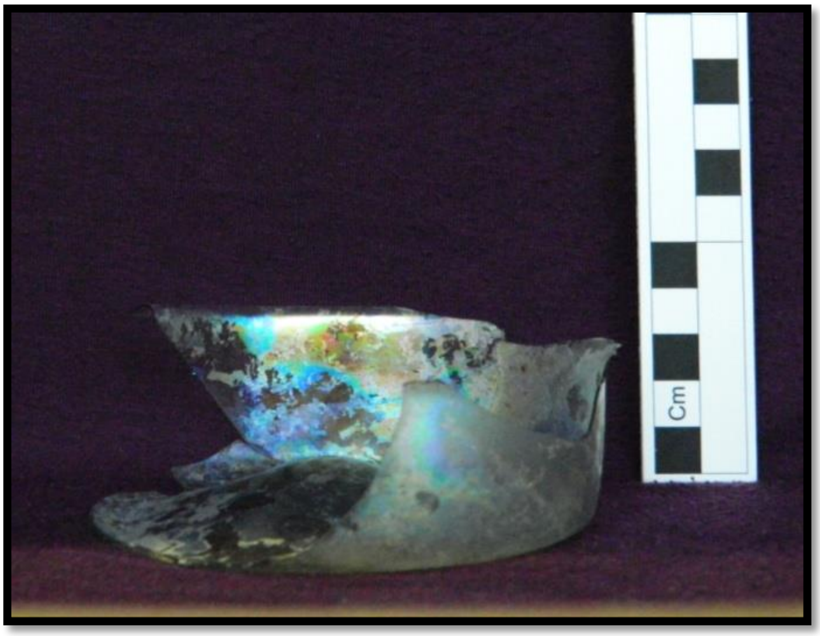

Figure 5.25 – Possible dog-bowl, green-tinged glass, from KIG95.
These items indicate that there was some avid interest in animals and that the residents quite possibly were pet owners. These kinds of finds are rare in the archaeological record and can add a great deal of personality to a collection. Author's copyright.

5.4. Symbolism and Display

In the earlier sections, it was discussed how the focus of these early examples of capitalist economics from the seventeenth century onwards was on large profit margins for the investors and merchants alike (Johnson 1996: 66). However, the existing systems of valuation became subject to a new social force called *fashion*. This phenomena has been investigated in historical, sociological and more recently in economic. Socially, status has been conveyed through the possession of rare or difficult to acquire goods. By buying and using what has been approved by a discerning class or social power, fashions are created. These fashions become a means by which to distinguish those who have access to similar social elites as they have. Similarly, this method can be adopted by any social group as a way to visually assess the level of compatibility another has with the group. These non-verbal cues are part of the symbolic dialogue discussed by Bourdieu in his analysis of taste (1984). Distinction is a major issue across all of these themes. It is arguably the motivation for all consumption beyond that which is of necessity. It even enters into purchasing decisions made at the near subconscious level (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 256). The distinction of near subconscious is made because Bourdieu argues that we both consciously and unconsciously make distinctions in what is or is not "high taste" based on information we have received at equal levels of awareness. These can sometimes be overtly learned and other times passively absorbed (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 43–44).

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the performance of the social consumption of food and drink has undergone a recent flurry of interest. The importance the consumption of these transformative substances has had on social ideals and other significant areas within social infrastructure has become of particular interest (Mac Con Iomaire 2013; Harvey 2012 and 2008). The ways in which the powerful members of society used their knowledge and access of new and exotic goods to create new standard of elites happened astonishingly quickly. It seemingly took no time at all for the middle classes to perceive the changing styles and fashions and attempt to source more affordable imitations of the real articles. This opened up a whole new world of consumer culture which had to listen very closely to the ever changing demands of the marketplace.

This section will approach notions of how patterns of consumption and display can be used as a means of tracing a material imprint of personal identity formation in post-medieval sites. In order to establish the process for this material's significance in the construction of a picture of personal identity, it is important to first familiarise ourselves with the perceptions of these environments as they were perceived in the seventeenth century. Subsequently, this section will utilize some primary depictions of these spaces by way of eighteenth-century art. In an attempt to open a debate on the relevance of these subjects so frequently dismissed by many people as merely "symbolic embellishment" I intend to explore the meaningful social relevance that they potentially hold in accessing notions of social perceptions and class formation. The method of approaching this relies on both the archaeological record of materials recovered as well as a light engagement with the current understanding of social behavioural theory regarding both positive identities and negative identities, or stigmas.

I suggest that while, perhaps initially accurate in its representation of a perspective and point of view of a privileged contingent, the social group stigmatised comes to identify with the pejorative associations as if they were not negative at all, and in fact embraces them as their own. In the process of forming strongholds of social identities, it is often the case that there is an anti-identity: a projection of the opposing social groups which defames those under examination. This process is meant to form a wider impression of the social behaviours, traits, or practices challenging established social norms. Frequently, these depictions depart dramatically from the reality, but over time, they can become embraced by the group as character traits intended or sanctioned from the outset. This phenomenon has been under investigation for some time in the social and behavioural sciences (Muñoz 1999; Verkuyten and Thijs 2004; Smith and Mackie 2007) and has started to make an appearance in archaeological debates. Research tends to revolve around the modern perception of social groups such as the middle-class and women in domestic environments (Skeggs 1997; Wood 2002; Casella 2005).

5.4.1. Beliefs and Perceptions: The symbolic value of 'things'

As detailed earlier in Chapter 2, a landscape of class and occupation based segregation divided many locales in the City of London into strictly defined neighbourhoods, as well as the establishments. Those who paid custom at certain establishments were certain to be associated with the type of company they kept. This allows for certain material signatures to develop within and around certain environments in ways that might otherwise not be observable.

By virtue of their higher status, wealthier establishments were strictly segregated from the working class individuals who might attempt to wander through the door. This was enforced most commonly through the use of members only clubs which required the fulfilment of specific requirements for admission (Herdt 1990; Erickson 1981). However, lower status environments had no such securities to prevent unwanted intrusions from occurring. Tactics employed at these establishments to impose a sense of restricted access to those who were not of a like mind appear to have been tapping into the wider socially imposed limitations based on rumours of ill repute or fears of guilt by association. The threat of falling victim to the rampant villainy associated with certain establishments or to risk compromising the good opinion of one's character were usually enough to keep incompatible types at bay. The presence of certain high-status, particularly unique decorative items in the lower status environment may represent significant evidence in support of non-traditional interpretations for the purpose of these artefacts.

In an endeavour to explore the complexities which converge when attempting to derive archaeological meaning from material collection, three theoretical perspectives will be accessed in this section. The first deals with the notion of disidentification as defined by Jose Esteban Muñoz (1999) in regards to the phenomenon of outsiders engaging with negative stereotypes in an attempt to subvert the mainstream perspective. The second perspective accesses the processes involved in knowledge or memory production (Olivier 2004 and 2011) and the complexities that accompany the interpretation of physical extensions of these in materials. The third and admittedly most influential theory is that of the social cultivation of distinction and taste, outlined by Pierre Bourdieu (1984). These perspectives have been chosen because they incorporate both the hierarchical main stream perspectives on how to generate cultural norms, the minority perspectives from those often marginalized or demonized by aforementioned mainstream ideologies, and finally the issues which become inserted retroactively by third party perceptions of the past.

As discussed in Chapter 4, a large group of pottery and glass was recovered from the fill of a cesspit/cellar in Paternoster Square in London, dating from the last quarter of the seventeenth century (Watson et al. 2010). Common forms were most prevalent, indicating that this was an establishment of modest means. Forms such as butterpots, bowls, tripod pipkins, a skillet and chamber pots were locally made and relatively common in seventeenth-century assemblages from London. But there was one unusual delftware object recovered in the form of a phallic drinking vessel (Watson et al. 2010: 190). The vessel (Figure 5.30) consists of a wheel-thrown, hollow penis, 105mm in length along the shaft, with a small hole at the tip, 3mm in diameter. Two hand-modelled testicles are attached beneath the penis, which is surmounted by a shallow thrown cup (rim diameter 70mm). The vessel was made in four separate pieces joined together, and is 100mm in height from the top of the cup to the base of the testes. The item is decorated in pale and dark blue with dark purple outlining and details in manganese (Watson et al. 2010: 190).

The significance of these types of vessels has been suggested by Geoff Egan (ibid: 192) and more recently by Willmott and Robinson (2014: 253-255). While Egan acknowledged that the tendency to identify these objects as "anecdotally associated with a background of organized licence and probable debauchery in the eighteenth century… that was always restricted to a fairly small circle of the affluent" (Watson et al. 2010:192). Yet Willmott and Robinson argue that whilst this interpretation is tempting (and concedes that it is more than likely accurate regarding nineteenth-century examples), examples from these early eighteenth-century contexts and before are less likely to be the case (2014: 254). This is largely due to the social perceptions which were not yet in place throughout the seventeenth century and only just taking hold during the early years in the eighteenth century (Berry 2001; Carter 2000). The discard of this object comes at this critical stage in the social progression towards a more chase, conscious and deliberate society bounded by rules of polite and decorous culture norms.

A possibly explanation for the presence of this sexually charged object can be gained by examining in terms of anti-culture and how those outside the mainstream negotiate majority culture (Muñoz 1999). It has been argued by modern theorist engaging with the construction of identities outside the mainstream that through certain performances, "toxic" identities can be subverted by those who have been placed in these categories but have yet to "own" them (Muñoz 1999: 185). These ideas can be helpful when thinking through the processes and complexities involved in the social transitioning from one set of widely accepted perceptions to the next.

An example of how materials and social perception intersect can be observed in the shifts in artistic depictions from the mid-seventeenth century compared to those from the early eighteenth century. These mediums afforded an aesthetic platform on which to both create and transmit ideas to present and future audiences. In the earlier depiction used for this example (*The Wine Cooper's Delight,* Figure 5.27) you are confronted with an overt critique through the use of an image depicting the scene described in a ballad (see appendix ii for full ballad) which is full of political and religious tensions, all being conveyed through the use of various substances. These were heavily reliant on a social understanding that these connections existed (this relationship is explored more fully in Angela McShane Jones' contribution in Smyth (ed.) 2004: 69–87). Compare this to the use of imagery in *Beer Street* and Gin Lane (Figure 5.26) are two well-known drawings produced by William Hogarth in the mid-eighteenth century, depicting the moral and social implications associated with the consumption of two alcoholic beverages popular at the time: Beer and Gin. On the left, we are shown the desperate and tragic repercussions awaiting those who choose to indulge in the evils of Gin. Hogarth himself acknowledged that these prints were "…calculated to reform some reigning Vices peculiar to the lower Class of People". They were published in support of a campaign directed against gin drinking among London's poor. It was successful and an act against gin was passed later in 1751. The verses at the bottom of each etching were written by Hogarth's friend, James Towneley, to make plain the meaning of the images. It should be noted that these prints were too expensive for the urban poor, but would have been within the means of the middle-class electorate. The horrors of Gin Lane provided imagery for propaganda against alcohol for another hundred years. The images use symbolic metaphors to illustrate the social implications of each substance being consumed in the context of the image and accompanying text. In the Hogarth images, on the right, he depicts the healthful, prosperity afforded by the consumption of beer.

The *Wine Cooper's Delight* ballad with its accompanying drawing, the Hogarth prints and the delft phallic cup were all means to convey what they wanted through the use of meaningful imagery playing on existing social conceptions. The use of imagery in the ballad and the social linkages made using social perceptions and associations with certain establishments and substances cleverly draws attention to the views of the time and how they could be construed.

The prints by Hogarth use a juxtaposition of the two oppositional moral judgements regarding the products in question, along with the poem and personal testimony leaves no ambiguity of the message and purpose of the images. They were metaphors and created for high status society.

Likewise, the depiction of the delft phallus from the establishment in Paternoster Row (NGT00, Building 15) is unmistakable and overt in its essence. There is no attempt to hide its form and the function was clearly linked, in whatever capacity, to an activity which was intended to be construed as provocative, be it morally, socially, or even comically. Moreover, it is likely that a duality existed in the nature of the messages conveyed through this object. It both acknowledges the existence of these associations and in some sense is forced to accept them in order to effectively use the imagery to subvert the message to the target audience. Yet at the same time, the creation and use of these objects allowed for the acknowledgement of the agency of those subjects previously seen only through the lens of the dominant group's judgement of the other. There are not any single examples of an equally prominent work of social propaganda which showcased the perspective of those who would have been in opposition to Hogarth's agenda. In that sense the mere existence of the phallus suggests a passive legacy of subversive cultural material indicative of distinct anti-mainstream identities being created and maintained (Muñoz 1999).

Though the nature of these deposits are not the best for determining the extent of what was owned by any one establishment or individual, the variety and occasional unique find can throw open the window unexpectedly on a facet not previously considered among the typical material assemblage groups. Unlike many examples of fine or rare objects which can be recovered from the depths of these cesspits, the phallic drinking cup from the ordinary in Paternoster Row at least presents particular difficulty in imagining the reasons for its discard. It is perhaps too easy to imagine from our modern perspective looking backward on a period which may to us seem steeped in prudish, sexually repressed tensions, that it was discarded simply as part of the removal of an obvious sexual presence from the household. Yet this explanation is met with strong rebuke from Willmott and Robinson, who observe that “as more examples are identified archaeologically it will hopefully be the context of their use and deposition, rather than their novel form, which draws increasing academic attention. Only then may their meaning and value to their contemporary audiences, rather than our own, be better understood” (2014: 254-255). This is a significant point, as the majority of those represented in Hogarth's drawings, access to a public platform to express objections to his and his class’ objections and subsequent attacks on an alternative lifestyle was not available. It is my argument that it is by way of patterns of consumption – the products and items purchased and engaged with – that the otherwise unrepresented community operating outside the middle and upper classes find a voice and mode of conveying their indifference toward these privileged notions of conduct and propriety. Potentially, some of those same individuals who were being coerced into accepting the agenda of the conservative social powers by day were participating in these subversive and inharmonious displays by night.

The presence of what has been identified as a punch bowl at KIG95 raises another possibility to consider when looking at these assemblages. It is possible that many of these objects have been misinterpreted, or at least limited in terms of their actual function. Harvey (2008: 214–215) argues that these hybrid vessels playfully united masculine homosociability and feminine domesticity, at a time when the discourse of domesticity was being consolidated. She points out that there is a pronounced absence of punch pots and punch bowls in the archaeological record. Yet admittedly, identifies that they are distinguishable only by their relative size and frequent absence of strainer holes necessary in teapots to strain the leaves (2008: 215). But what of these specimens which are missing the elements to determine whether the strainer is present or not? Is a strainer actually enough to categorically rule out use? Considering the nature of these establishments as places of business interested in turning a profit, is it possible that they were used for both? It is possible that archaeologists have taken to identifying these objects based on what we recognize as familiar. We use teapots therefore we recognize them as such.

Despite the formal "success" of the *Gin Acts* in 1751, the continued engagement with and consumption of these socially taboo products indicates the rejection of the moral condemnation ascribed by the privileged classes who were producing and maintaining the stigmas. This also seems a testament to the fact that a substantial faction of society did not agree with these harsh moral judgments – at least not in action. As a punch bowl is represented amongst the finds from the King Street site, it is debatable whether those utilizing these items would have been self-conscious about their engagement in alcohol drinking activities. Punch drinking throughout the eighteenth century has been linked with social public drinking and conviviality (Harvey 2012 and 2008; Smyth 2004). However, the expectations of social conduct varied greatly depending on sex and public displays of consumption. For example, it was common for women to accompany their husbands to an ordinary for a meal – Samuel Pepys frequently noted him and his wife dining at the cook house. It could, therefore, be possible that toddies and other forms of mixed beverages might have risen in popularity in some settings due to an increase in female patronage.

5.4.2. Fashionablity, Politeness and Practice

Recent historical studies of the Australian class system have argued that the established middle class were in part defined by their ability to keep up to date with changing fashions (Hayes 2011). While this was demonstrated in part through matching sets (Hayes 2011: 41) there are some allowances which need to be made to account for availability and notions of style and fashion. According to historical analysis on the progression of fashion and display, these spaces offer an important historical contextualization for nineteenth-century development (Hann and Stobart 2005: 166; Walsh 1995). In her 2011 article on archaeological excavations at the 1840s Viewbank homestead in Melbourne, Australia, Sarah Hayes argued that there are four characteristics that assemblages from the 'established middle class' display (Hayes 2011: 41):

1. Large numbers of matching sets
2. A variety of vessel forms, including purpose specific vessels
3. Consistency in goods for both public and private use
4. Attempts to keep up with fashions

By interpreting these particular characteristics, Hayes offered a model for detecting social and economic function among this class of artefacts. Extending this model of assessing personal assemblages to look at wider social patterns, could they be used as socioeconomic markers for assessing consumption trends? Could they serve as economic litmus test to indicate social changes in fashion?

Interestingly, when applying these principles to earlier contexts assessing patterns of material use, some striking similarities developed. In England during the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries a dramatic shift occurred regarding the use of glass. Glass can be seen going from its lowest point of use at the beginning of the sixteenth century in terms of availability and frequency in the archaeological record, to the total reverse by the middle of the seventeenth century (Willmott 2004: 271). This is in large part due to the expansion of the glass industry within England itself, allowing for a local alternative to the expensive imported Venetian and *façon de Venise* wares. Many still life depictions created in the seventeenth century by Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675) and Willem Kalf (1619–1693) have given a wealth of insight into the use and social status associated with many of these objects.

A progression of style and fashion can also be used to trace the origins of these more rare early examples. The became evident when attempting to gain further insight into the source of manufacture of the example of the hand-painted glass tankard or cup from the establishment on King Street (KIG95). Observations from a nineteenth-century historical account (itself now something of an artefact) comment on the stylistic variations which existed between even just Spanish and Italian glassware (Riaño 1890). In addition to demonstrating how specific the variations of style were at this time, these remarks may serve as something of a guide in the difficult task of positively identifying the group of presumed Spanish glass. According to Juan Riaño, specimens of glass vessels most generally met with in the neighbourhood of Cadalso can be described as follows:

1. Objects of white transparent glass, sweetmeat dishes ornamented with ribs, buttons, and reticulated rims with touches of gold.
2. Objects of clear greenish glass of a paler hue than is made in the province of Almeria, decorated with blue, or some opaque colour (see woodcut); in some instances part of the object is decorated with a rough crackled surface.
3. Objects of opaque glass with different colours, vases, glasses, cups and saucers, of thin milk-white texture with blue spots, or imitations in the Japanese style of different colours. Although these objects are copied from Venetian models, they are coarser in every detail, they are heavier and thicker, and the delicate and elegant ornamentation which we find on Italian specimens is almost always wanting, we seldom find examples of the beautiful millefiori chalcedony or tortoise-shell paste, and the outline of these objects is symmetrical and Oriental in style.

This particular form is interesting for its simplicity and lack of adornment with glass mouldings and trailing. The hand painted design is certainly fashionable and various examples have been found at the Albert and Victoria Museum dating to the early to mid-eighteenth century. However, the example from King Street bares earlier features more common in seventeenth-century forms, most notably the dark glass and banded decoration. The closest example found resembling that which was recovered at King Street is a drawing from Riaño (1890: 237–238), getting little attention, even in his own text. This image shows a banded vessel, with simple lines and a single handle, much like the one recovered from King Street (Figure 5.32). The main interest that lies in these objects revolves around the increased significance imported items were having at the end of the seventeenth century. These items were highly sought after, and cherished items sometimes for many generations. They were often not even used for their functional purpose, but often as decoration to indicate the sophistication and status of the establishment or household (Blair 2005: 37–39). Particular interest is in the vessel to the far left, this is the closest example found in historical references examined.

Possibly one of the most interesting examples of how images can add in understanding the functional role that these objects had on creating impressions of status comes from an engraving from De Lairesse (1707). It depicts five ways to hold a drinking glass at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Figure 5.33). These positions were said to hint at the social status of the person by emphasizing the more delicate and graceful posturing associated with the genteel classes contrasted with the cumbersome or simple posture of the plebeian. The prevalence of fine glass table wares in the establishment in Paternoster area (NGT00, Building 26) demonstrates the social move toward these forms of social display among had become adopted by the middle class but the end of the eighteenth century.

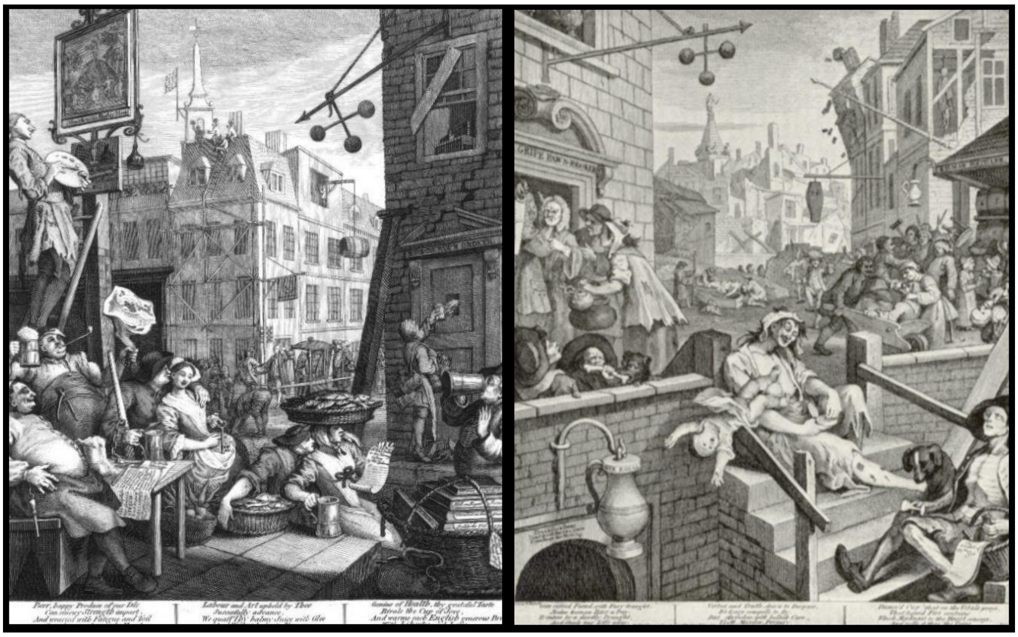

Figure 5.26 – Beer Street and Gin Lane, William Hogarth, 1751.

Figure 5.27 – Wine Coopers Delight, wood print.
In this image, we are confronted with a man relieving himself right next to the wooden cask of ale. Also interesting to note is the presence of both a gentleman or officer to the left as well as the more commonly dressed folk. (Image from Smyth 2004: 83).

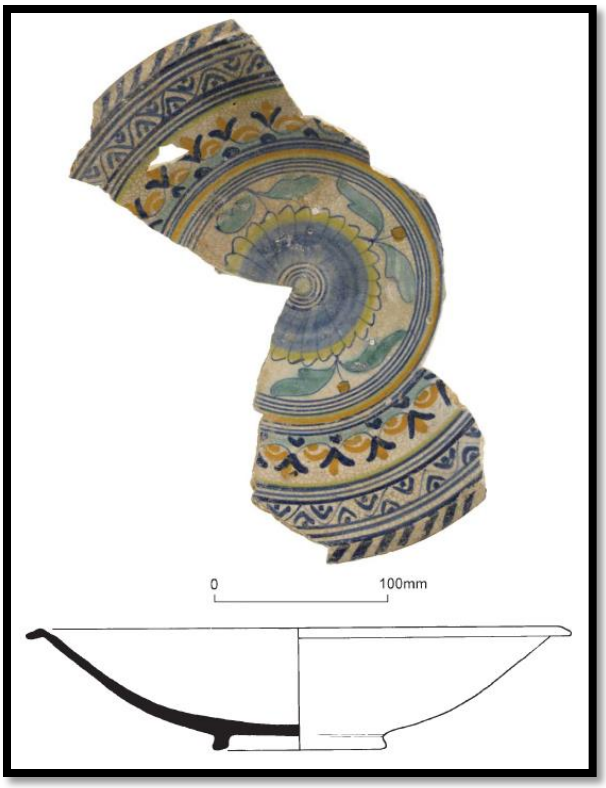

Figure 5.28 – Delft Polychrome floral dish, from Building 3 NGT00.
This charger or shallow bowl was recovered from Building 3 resembles the patterns popular in late seventeenth century London. Reproduced with permission of MOLA (Watson et al. 2010: 181).

Figure 5.29 – Figure Wan-Li Delftware Charger, from KIG95.
This charger would have been used as a decorative piece on which to serve food. Author's copyright.

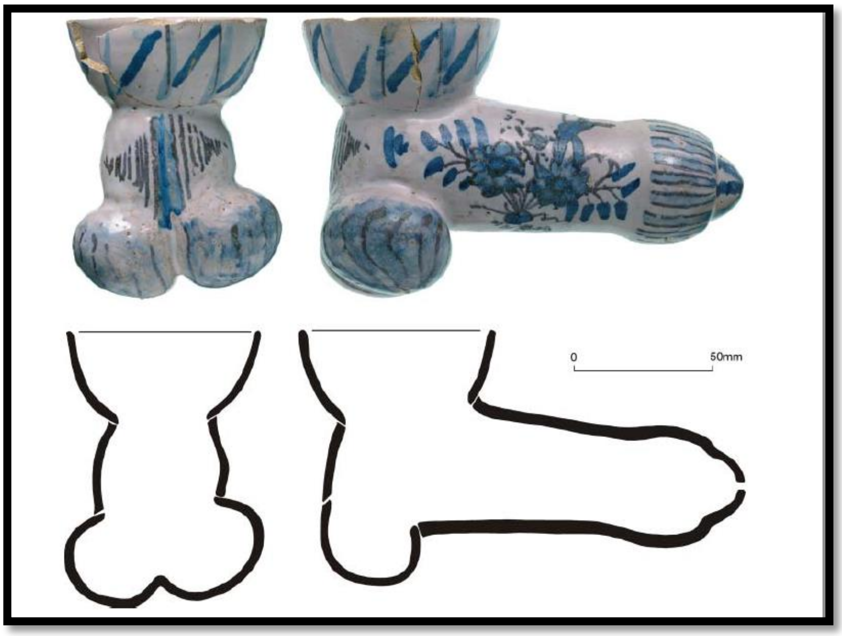

Figure 5.30 – Delft Phallus cup, c. 1670 from the 'ordinary' in Paternoster Square.
This rare cup was found among many utilitarian and low status cooking wares. Unlike many speculations regarding its use, it appears to have been deposited among the remains from a much less elite environment than the supposed Gentlemen's Clubs that are known to have utilized some of these items in the nineteenth century. Photo courtesy of Museum of London Archaeology (Watson et al. 2010: 190).

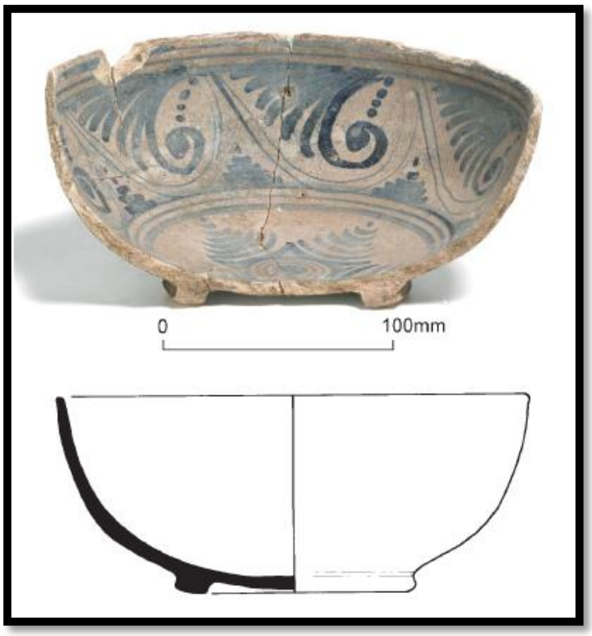

Figure 5.31 – Delft feathery-tufts bowl, from Building 3 NGT00.
This bowl recovered from Building 3 represents the most commonly seen pattern from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Reproduced with permission of MOLA (Watson et al. 2010: 182).

Figure 5.32 – Clockwise from top left: 1. Mid-eighteenth-century French Tankard, Victoria and Albert Museum; 2. Possible Spanish Glass Vessels from KIG95, c. 1695–1705; 3. Glass Vessels from J. Riaño's The Industrial Arts in Spain 1890.
While the French example is considerably more refined looking glass with a decoration pattern much closer to the jocular, florid and graceful approach seen in the Rococo style popular in the eighteenth century, similarities in vessel form can be seen between all three examples shown. Images Courtesy of the Albert and Victoria Museum and MOLA.

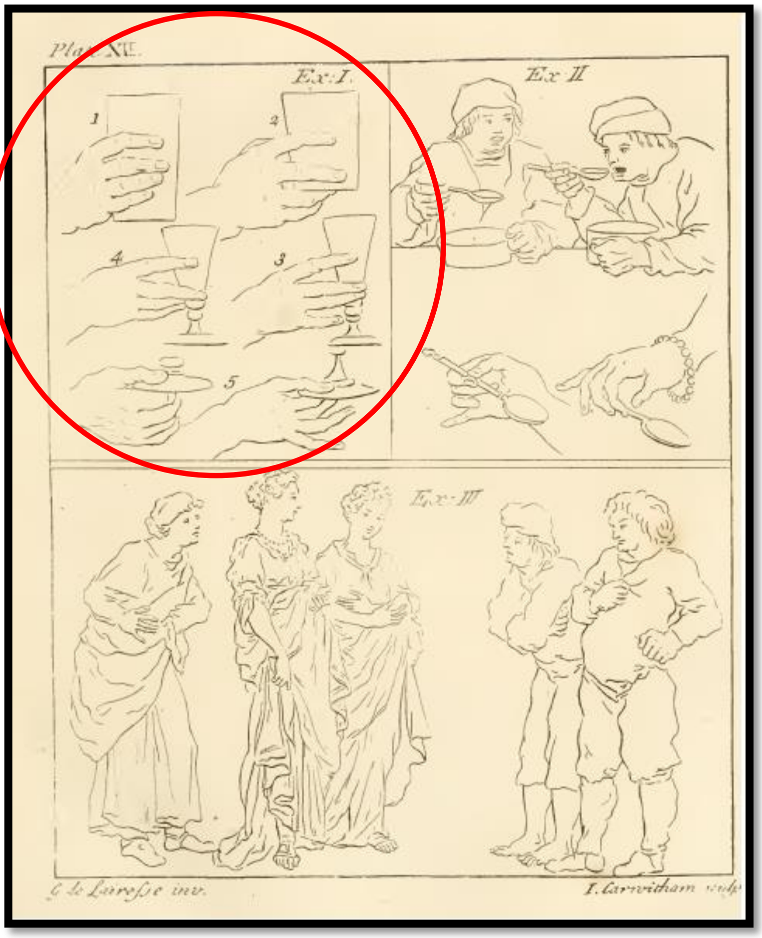

Figure 5.33 – Plate XII from De Lairesse's *Het groot schilderboeck,* 1707
This image instructs the viewer of the various methods of holding and using various items, of particular note is the top left (circled in red) showing five ways to hold a glass [English translation A treatise on the art of painting, in all its branches, 1817]. Image from Kemmer 1998: 96.

5.5. Consumerism and Reflexivity

All of these issues have been explored as a result of an obsession in British culture with the exotic that lasted throughout the Victorian era. It simultaneously provided future generations with a tool which would allow for remarkable insight into the social and economic trends of the time. These highly desirable and ever changing fashions kept the elite safely out of reach from the rapidly expanding middle classes, but they also influenced society in an unexpected way. By conditioning people to use consumption as a means to demonstrate wealth and status, it resulted in a greater demand for a variety of goods. Items were more readily available and could be acquired at a relatively low cost, thus generating a market for disposable commodities.

When discussing issues surrounding consumption of goods, economics, class and power structures, the conversation understandably tends to drift in the direction of debates surrounding capitalism and Marxism. As Sarah Cowie has pointed out (2011) many tend to use class as a primary organizing principle, without appearing explicitly Marxist. Some look to class conflict to explain power relations in what many describe as the archaeology of capitalism (e.g. Johnson 1993; Leone 1995; Orser 1996). Some have suggested that these approaches are guilty of operationalizing class, turning it into a category to be measured, rather than representing it as part of a wider life experience (Wilkie and Bartoy 2000: 749).

Yet, despite all the criticisms for which Leone and his discussion regarding the socio-political intention of these gardens, he makes one highly relevant observation when he states that these spaces represent a materialist perspective which "assumes that capitalism's crises grow and penetrate a society, and that material culture responds to and may reflect them" (1988: 33). This is a crucial element within this thesis, as this research has attempted to approach the detection of a variety of social issues as determined through the material culture itself. However, it is important to note that this process is not simply reliant on the assumption that the human is objectifying the goods being consumed as they attempt to define themselves more clearly with these things. Rather it is an appreciation of the ways in which materials' role in the social processes behind the construction or maintenance of abstractions such as class, economy, and personal identity grew and changed in response to their environment. These relationships are complex and require a more inclusive adaptation of various theories of social action – both dominant and resistance ideologies bound together with reflexive tension – and material culture theory.

The materials reflect many aspects of social ideology at a fluid moment in time. This fluidity of time is rather important in understanding the complexities of consumerism and the subsequent interpretation of what information they represent. As we experience various aspects of life simultaneously, so too do we process information and make judgements all informed by these various influences. To claim that any singular act of consumption was done with as much care and attention to the potential meaning conveyed within that decision is missing the most critical element in the interpretive value of things completely. Though there may be examples of intentional, orchestrated acts of meaningful consumption (i.e. the "conversation piece" paintings popular in eighteenth and nineteenth century upper-class society or in many religious iconographic depictions). However, this research has intentionally attempted to engage with items which would have been for everyday use within venues for the social consumption of food, drink, and/or tobacco would have been common place. On the behalf of the patron there would be little control regarding what kinds of vessels they were served from and even less control over the particulars of what was being served, how it was prepared or where it was sourced. This is the very nature of consumerism; the unseen power struggle between the economic structure which dictates what products are available and to whom, and the unactualized potential that lies within the consumer to endorse or reject based on custom. However, the reality seems to be far more unsettling than that circular and balanced depiction might conjure in one's mind. In many ways it is like a coin being spun on its edge; the process is dependent on the initial force to get it going, but once the momentum is strong enough to keep the coin upright, the trajectory of the coin is beyond the control of the initial force. It fights with its own momentum, erratically wondering across a flat surface, until it hits a bump, falls off an edge or runs out of energy. It is in this way a dialectical relationship is established between consumer and supplier. This is of the greatest significance to establish, for it is from this consumer culture that the industrial age was born.

This idea originates from Hegel's original theories laid out between 1812-1816, which were adapted by Karl Marx in the 1840s–though, as Miller points out, not published until 1932 (Miller 2010: 58). What is interesting is the focus on the relationship of "stuff" as Miller calls it, and the industrial age which creates the material.

> For Marx, humanity starts with nature itself. This is the raw material from which we make our lives. Our social evolution consists not of advances in consciousness per se but in our increasing capacity to create an artifactual world from nature, first stone and pot, then agriculture systems, urban life and finally the industrial revolution, which represented a vast acceleration in our capacity to create stuff (Miller 2010: 58).

Yet Miller, like Marx and Hegel before him, ultimately depicts a system of false positivism, where the ultimate course is advancement and progress. An alternative perspective is offered by Polish sociologist, Zygmunt Bauman. He argues that in fact consumerism is at the root of this dialectical relationship, and is ultimately calling all the shots. Unlike consumption which is a fundamental human trait, he points out that:

> …'consumerism' is a type of social arrangement that results from recycling mundane, permanent and so to speak 'regime-neutral' human wants, desires and longings into the principal propelling force of society, a force that coordinates systemic reproduction, social integration, social stratification and the formation of human individuals, as well as playing a major role in the processes of individual and group self-policies…
>
> Unlike consumption, primarily a trait and occupation of individual human beings, consumerism is an attribute of society. For a society to acquire that attribute the thoroughly individual capacity for wanting, desiring and longing needs to be, just as labour capacity was in the producers' society, detached ('alienated') from individuals and recycled/reified into an extraneous force which sets the 'society of consumers' in motion and keeps it on course as a specific form of human togetherness, while by the same token setting specific parameters for effective individual life strategies and otherwise manipulating the probabilities of individual choices and conduct (Bauman 2007: 28).

This perspective, unlike that of Miller, Marx and Hegel, positions the human addict as the puppet totally at the mercy of the malignant forces controlling the strings behind the curtain. Yet, the evidence would suggest something, in a sense, completely contrary to both of these perspectives. It is suggested here that in fact both of them are happening at once.

As has been demonstrated at the sites with earlier evidence of use, a limited exposure to exotic goods had already begun to be introduced into the social dynamic by the late seventeenth century. In the assemblage from NGT00, Building 3 the Ming plates represent a rare and exotic group of objects which had been looked after for roughly 50 years prior to their discard. Similarly, in the material recovered from KIG95, the presence of early imported goods is represented by the presence of delicate and distinctive glassware which were also rare and difficult to come by (see Figure 5.5 and Figure 5.32). These were both establishments with strong links to the upper-middle class based on the quality and variety of goods represented in the assemblages. Moreover, there is also an overtly residential element to these assemblage groups. This seems highly relevant as the traditional establishment represented in the early phase of use at the Bear Inn (BAZ05) shows only imported stoneware storage and service jugs from the Rhineland (see Figure 5.3 and Figure 5.4). It is clearly evident that the material from the Bear Inn clearly encapsulates the social movement which shifted toward the disenfranchisement of upper-class, small scale establishments (such as the KIG95 site) in favour of the larger establishments.

Figure 5.34 – Chinese Porcelain from the Ming Dynasty, c.1644, Building 3 NGT00. This dish recovered from Building 3 represents a rare and exotic piece of pottery. Its relative incongruent period of manufacture lends credence to the notion that these plates were cherished heirlooms for multiple generations of use. Yet its presence also speaks to the changing nature of the consumption of exotic goods by the early eighteenth century, roughly the time that these items would have been discarded. Reproduced with permission of MOLA (Watson et al. 2010: 184).

Figure 5.35 – Matching Chinese porcelain tea bowls, from KIG95.

Figure 5.36 – Famille Verte Octagonal dish, from KIG95.

Figure 5.37 – Famille Rose Fluted dish, from KIG95.
All of the objects in these three figures (Figure 5.35 to Figure 5.37) were made from Chinese porcelain and decorated in a delicate over-glaze in oriental floral patterns popular in the early-eighteenth century. Author's copyright.

Rather, like true evolutionary theory, the trajectory of the development of an organism is not always producing a *better* organism, rather it is a selection process dictated by millions of variables which impact the natural selection process and produce something which (based on those specific factors) has the best chance to survive and thus pass on that specific and unique genetic material. In this way, the dialectic process is reflecting an evolution of society, both the governed and the governor of the future course. Ultimately, however, these changes are not progressing towards a necessarily "better" or more sophisticated cultural experience. That is in large part determined by variables outside our control. For example, if a major global disaster were to strike, there are circumstances where this industrialized, consumer based society would no longer be advantageous; therefore it would collapse and be replaced by a more suitable – or evolutionarily speaking, a 'fitter' – social structure. It is in this way that these factors, the consumer and producer, are in a constant state of action and reaction, both the actor and the structure being impacted and responding in a way that makes the most sense based on a multitude of variables and past experiences. These processes continue *ad nauseam*.

It is important, also, not to lose sight of the fact that the people engaging with these objects were still subject to basic human nature, whereby most of the decisions we make are subject to our immediate circumstances and what we judge to be the best option at that given time. This is what leads us today to impulsively purchase a new electronic device without vetting the market, making drunken phone calls to individuals normally avoided, binge eating, or even automatically choosing the same brand or version of something over attempting something that you have never tried. These tendencies to make decisions based on an emotion or previous experience are not new to the human experience, what is new is the ways in which we can demonstrate them. Across all the sites analysed, there were certain patterns which were expected, which fell into the category of goods one might think of when picturing the environment of the tavern or inns in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Yet these were not the overwhelming majority of goods recovered in many cases. The perception of what should be recovered at drinking establishments is largely dominated by tankards and beer jugs, wine bottles and stemware. Yet historians agree that there is far more nuance required when interpreting the use of these spaces and the environments themselves. Whilst there are examples of assemblages being recovered from across various sites in the City of London and elsewhere in Britain which fit the expected profile of what material would be present at an inn, tavern or alehouse from roughly a similar period, these examples are few in comparison to the many examples of ambiguous function. These determinations are based on the presence of unexpected or surprising material which does not fit in our rigid ideas of how versatile these spaces actually were. The fact that there can be extensive historical background ruminating on the historical flavours which distinguished the diversity of the various uses of these abundant establishments, but then hesitation in labelling them as such due to material evidence inconsistent with the broad view of a single, specific type of place.

5.6. Conclusions

The gradual equalising of the types of material available at the different sites can be interpreted as representing a dramatic shift in consumption practices, and presumably, what is appealing to the clientele. It speaks to wider trade networks relying on an ever expanding and complex system of social networks abroad and foreign presences at home. These variations in materials from each site early on support a hypothesis for the different uses of the establishments. The types of material available inform us in regard to those utilizing these establishments and the tastes associated with each social sphere of affluence.

In the early seventeenth century, there was a far more pronounced distinction in the material utilized at each establishment. As a result, the diverse functionality of each as well as the variation in the status of each establishment's patronage is much more clearly determined. The shift in consumption–or rather disposal–practice from the late seventeenth century into the mid-eighteenth century can be said to demonstrate a general movement into a more rapid circulation of goods of a moderate quality and status. The wide array of tea and coffee wares, Chinese porcelain and decoration patterns emulating that of the Far East speaks to the changing taste and social influence that these exotic wares had on the lower and middle classes. Furthermore, the dramatic decline of fine glass and ceramic vessels reflects a near total abandonment of the members of the highest elite from within the inner city environment by the mid- to late eighteenth century: a fact also supported by the rapidly expanding suburban areas surrounding London.

Consumption and display patterns established in the late seventeenth century have had compelling implications on the ways social networks and social status has developed over the last 300 years. By the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth social mobility was often contingent upon extreme forms of fashionable consumption. This manifests in its most memorable form in the way of philanthropic donations and social edification projects (such as the Victorian bath houses, pleasure grounds, and museums) (Casella 2007). The variations in material and the ways in which social distinctions can be perceived through such patterns of consumption – demonstrated above by using material evidence and historical records related to the different neighbourhoods – shows how these changing patterns emerged and what complex systems were at work.

This research is important because it is the first study which has attempted to demonstrate how instrumental materials have been in the development and establishment of a new social order of government. Consumption patterns here have demonstrated that the emergence of a new economic structure ultimately revolutionized the structure of society and how it governed itself. Capitalism a new form of social framework has long been studied at both the historical, social and economic level, but it is only now that the role of things and the broad, overarching power they have as a means of controlling society has been explored in archaeological examples. These themes have been chosen as key pillars within the structure of the consumer driven society, and how it emerged. They demonstrate on a very real and individual basis the broader systems which were set in place and how they emerged and formed a stronghold so quickly. The systems established form the basis for many features of society still in place today, as well as lend insight to how these structures develop from their nascent form. What is key is the understanding how the market and the individual, the product and the group-mentality all play significant roles which, while individually seem straightforward, combine to create a complex network. This network though difficult to infiltrate, once accepted is easily manipulated. Due to the high stakes of power in this system, the individual ceases to exist in the traditional sense, yet becomes all which one entrenched in the system aspires to be (or at least appear to be).

6. Conclusions

This thesis engages with and contributes to ongoing dialogues circulating around the relationship between consumption, social structures and material culture (Palus 2011c; Miller 1995, 1987; Bourdieu 1984). As laid out in the introduction to this research, the central aim has been to build a stronger sense of the complex systems impacting and being impacted by the residents in the City of London at the end of the seventeenth century. Through the use materials within establishments of social consumption, links have been made demonstrating how they influenced the social environments and the behaviours within a wider social sphere, and how studying these spaces can be instrumental in revealing ideologies of the time.

This investigation explored various aspects of how social perceptions and ideology greatly influenced the development of social constructs and in what ways material culture was involved in the formation of new ideas about social and personal identities. Furthermore, by using a long term, comparative approach links between social and public policies were observed. These connections demonstrated how the dialectic relationship between the materials and the agents can be seen as mutually reactive throughout my study period.

In Chapter 2, I reviewed the literature surrounding the progression of historical debates surrounding establishments of consumption and consumption practices. In Chapter 3, theoretical debates were presented revolving around a shift in the late twentieth century occurring within the social sciences and humanities (Miller 1995 and 1987; Appadurai 1986; Bourdieu 1984; Douglas and Isherwood 1979; Foucault 1977; Baudrillard 1968). These theories contributed greatly to structuring the framework used throughout this thesis to explore entangled social issues enmeshed within the social exploits of power, elitism and control, as well as our perception of status by way of decoding the symbolism present in our surroundings. Chapter 4 examined five establishments over the course of approximately 100 years of use in order to identify the range of practices and patterns of use that were taking place regarding consumption. To do this I developed a typological system for artefact classification that enabled me to examine the distribution patterns across the three project areas and over the course of the period of use. In the previous chapter (Chapter 5) the linkages between all the previous chapters were laid out to look more broadly at consumption practices across the study areas. By bringing the results of this analysis together with published data from across the study area and exploring the character of consumption practices, I demonstrated how they all worked together to provide a more complete picture of the complex system of networks at work.

6.1. Contributions and Impact

During the course of this research, specific objectives have been achieved and conclusions reached which make original contributions to the wider dialogues surrounding how meaningful patterns of consumption can be perceived and interpreted through material goods from establishments of social or public consumption. The focus on the everyday materials from closed deposits related to clearance episodes (for definition, refer to section 4.2.2) from these establishments and their how they relate to emergent and shifting patterns of social trends in consumption is what separates this thesis from other scholarship on these and similar spaces (such as Watson et al. 2010; Bowsher et al. 2007; Bair 2005). Furthermore, unlike many studies which have remained principally focused on how consumption patterns and use of space were utilized by one social group to assert themselves, either in domination or resistance (Mullins 1999; Reckner and Brighton 1999; Johnson 1993 and 1996; Gibb 1996; Leone 1988), this research has looked at a cross-section of establishments to allow comparison between these spheres of class barriers in an attempt to assess which changes were social and which were class dependant.

Work by Leone (1988) has been thoroughly discussed regarding the contributions and objections to the Annapolis school's early use of dominant ideology to explore how conspicuous and deliberate elements of elite environments were used to reify their position of status, both politically and socially. Alternatively, work by Mullins (1999) and Reckner and Brighton (1999) focused on the ways in which resistance to mainstream ideology could be determined through the evidence of equally conspicuous consumption in the material record within marginalized members of society. Others, such as Johnson (1996) and Gibb (1996) have argued for a more holistic consideration of the ways many variables would have been impacting and influencing decisions at the same time, and attempt to approach the material, not from a strictly class based perspective, but rather from the material perspective, turning to the evidence primarily to guide the interpretive process. Significantly, this research differs from the previous examples by attempting to detect social change across a variety of classes and in a variety of different setting, all brought together in a relatively modest atmosphere of social consumption. This has allowed for both the subtle and the overt shifts in social patterns to be detected and from there conclusions drawn regarding wider social ideology.

Additionally, this research has employed methods to help trace patterns in patterns of décor, style, form and fashion, not only in the physical objects themselves but also based on what the patterns of functional use can reveal regarding the prevalence of fashionable consumption (Harvey 2012 and 2008; Sweet 2002; Berry 2001). These historical debates weave vibrant depictions typically on a highly focused aspect within the social milieu. They have been supremely instrumental in helping to develop the cohesion throughout this research, which relies upon their detailed investigations of a variety of different establishments, on aspects of use within the different establishments, and on the many social values being conveyed at various times. Yet, this research makes an important distinction in terms of its intended scope of impact. The changes being looked for within these establishments do not seek to reflect the narcissism of any individual or the attempts of one particular family to establish themselves among their peers. These environments represent the common (and sometimes unique) processes which were facilitating the rapidly diffusion of ideology over this period. It is in this way that my research has aimed to contribute to the wider debates concerning the ways consumption and consumer behaviours operate and impact social constructs.

This thesis has employed a functional approach to material culture from a relatively under-investigated period in archaeological history. This is largely due to the positioning of this era between two iconic periods in English and British heritage: the Late Medieval period for its vibrant links to English tradition and folklore and the Industrial Revolution for its strong embodiment of empire, expansion and progress. Here Late Medieval is defined by the period stretching from the early-fourteenth century, roughly from the time of the Great Famine (1315-1317) marking the beginning of a period of major political and social upheaval, to the English Reformation (1529-1537). Most academic discussion on consumer theories and archaeologies of modern economies (namely capitalism) tend to attribute the start of consumer culture as being linked directly with the start of the industrial revolution (Symonds and Casella 2006; Shackel 1993, 1996; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Beaudry and Mrozowski 1987a, 1987b, 1989). However, contrary to this popular hypothesis, the results of this thesis tend to refute this notion and suggest that rather consumer culture had been slowly building for over a century (Johnson 1996: 65-69), and had been well and truly established for at least 50 years prior to the start of the "Industrial Revolution" throughout Britain. The Industrial Revolution is here defined as the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries (Symonds 2003:1). Furthermore, it has been argued here that these small but progressive changes in the consumer culture in Britain and throughout the wider European world at that time produced the economic atmosphere which led to the industrialisation that was to revolutionize the modern world.

Finally, this research also problematized the narrow scope of archaeological classifications associated with these establishments of social consumption. Through the method of approach employed in this thesis, it has been determined that current approaches tend to limit positive identification to only large and relatively wealthy establishments (Jeffries et al. 2014; Hayes 2011; Pearce 2000). Yet the vast majority of these establishments are known to have been far more rudimentary, operating off the record, and as part of spaces of multiple functionality (Jeffries et al. 2014: 274–275; Clark 1983: 6–15). It is this range of diverse patterns of use which remains one of the key objectives for this research and holds the most potential for future interpretive application.

6.1.1. Consumerism and Consumption: Beyond Dialectics

Through the examination of patterns of use, broad trends could be established across these establishments over time, indicating shifts at the social level across a given group (i.e. community, country, culture, etc.). These wider changes can be linked to specific events and systems of actions impacting and structuring the reaction of the other. The relationship between the consumer and the producer has been discussed as it relates to dialectical relationships in the production and consumption of material. However, there is some divergence in how this conceptualization should be envisaged. While the relationship between consumer and producer is what keeps this system in motion, this relationship is not isolated. Moreover, contrary to what Marx described as the human compulsion to make stuff, it is the argument of this work that there is a divergence in the way material is used prior to the rise of consumer culture and how it is viewed and used afterwards. As the material has been demonstrated to show, there were perceivable shifts in consumer patterns of use that reflected the wider social, economic and political movements. These have all been demonstrably linked to changes occurring in trade networks, local industry and social ideology.

Over the course of the historical background review, a pattern of social use was overwhelmingly apparent. Certain emphasis was clearly being placed on the social preference over the course of the eighteenth century which moved more and more towards the strictly structured and chased expression of one's taste and class through the demonstration and display of such action and behaviours in the public sphere. This progression towards the subtleties of class distinctions become more and more nuanced the further up the hierarchy one seemed to go. This is certainly not to say that rowdy, bawdy or unrestrained behaviours were not being observed by many of the upper class social elites, but these behaviours were limited to the privacy of the home or specific social clubs or organizations, and were only acceptable for the male members of polite society. It became clear that these social guidelines were widely acknowledged across established historical debates and that primary evidence abounded which supported these allegations. Likewise, it became apparent that the reasons that the assemblages had stood out initially from within the Museum of London's storehouse was linked to these very same debates. This reflexive process of introspection revealed the powerful symbolic significance that these objects still convey three centuries later, like gazing into the face of a distant relation in a photograph from a previous century. There is an instant sense of recognition or familiarity, yet an utter lack of comprehension for the wider context within which they are situated. Though the wider context has been subjected to innumerable changes, there is some common thread that runs through and connects them all together, like a common language uniting otherwise distant cultures.

6.1.2. Taverns, Inns and Alehouses? Rethinking material signatures

The next major finding is that these spaces have far greater scope of diversity than current characterisation processes traditionally allow for. This has resulted in the application of an inadvertently restrictive criteria in establishing the "material signature" of these venues. Current models fail to fully account for the plurality of these establishments, despite widely acknowledging the fact within the historical background research of many of the same projects. Though distinctive histories surrounding these places have been verified in many forms of historical records regarding the diversity of use associated with them, they are continually lumped into broad categories (i.e. taverns, inn and alehouse) and only defined based on large assemblage groups reflecting middle to upper class environments.

While these patterns seem like they might be completely separate from the unassuming environments which we today envision the pubs and taverns from the past to have been, the historical literature also has a lot to say on the variation available in these establishments and the unprecedented popularity that alcohol and other items of consumption had in society which bridged the gap of class division. These places of public consumption were among the earliest to experience the social awakening to what a powerful and exclusive action public displays such as eating and drinking could convey. Every aspect of the experience – where you frequented, what you ate, what you drank from and of course how much it cost – could all be used to convey the level of status without having to utter a single word. The power and exclusivity of this act of consumption, along with the relative ease at which it could be altered and recalibrated to reflect the social proclivities from one day to the next, was immediately appealing to the elite wishing to find a new way to determine those who belonged from those who were outsiders attempting to infiltrate their society.

This example is one that demonstrates the problems with attempting to define one single set of criteria to determine functional use of an assemblage group when only certain standards are allowed for within the criteria. The current guide for identifying inn or tavern clearance groups was written by Pearce (2000) and is an excellent contribution among urban archaeological contexts. It has been put to great use in helping to identify the basic signature of many of the sites utilized in this current research, yet upon deeper investigations, limitations have become evident. The establishments had initially been interpreted as taverns, inns or alehouses, but as it happens, the evidence seems to resist settling comfortably within the confines of those classifications.

6.1.3. Evolution of Infrastructures

This thesis also engaged with theories surround what the government's response to the increasing strain on the civic infrastructure as a symptom of the ever growing urban and mercantile atmosphere the centre of London was increasingly associated. This coupled with the changes in political governance and the ever rising power of influence financial bodies had over the policies being put in place began to demand new and inventive ways to differentiate the established elite class from the ever encroaching middling classes and socially mobile–as well as previously working class–population. These same social class structures appear to occur in virtually every British colony and develop in a strikingly similar fashion.

Due to the nature of diversity and variation of use, these spaces are able to provide valuable insight into the many ways public and social consumption were experienced by various social groups. The common elements shared across all social classes can be seen as well as the differences. These similarities and variances contribute to a deeper understanding of both broad socially accepted constructs as well as the more nuanced and particular aspects highlighting individual tastes or identity markers.

From some of the earliest phases of this project's research collection, a pattern of research began to emerge. It became clear that most comparative examples of public drinking establishments were limited to case studies from the mid- to late nineteenth century based in colonial North America or Australia. This deviation from one period to another presented a major obstacle when attempting to review relevant literature to help cultivate a valid framework for my theoretical and methodological approaches. It is a long held tradition throughout archaeological practice to plot events and cultures chronologically in an attempt to more thoroughly classify and catalogue differences and similarities between and among these various groups.

This precedent presents a major problem when approaching some of the earliest examples of modern cosmopolitanism. The problems arise when faced with the long multi-period settlement sequences encountered in European urban archaeology which were the birthplace of modern cosmopolitan culture. This presents a conflict of interest for many archaeologists excavating these environments, prioritizing the earliest and most unfamiliar remnants of our mutual or collective past while marginalizing the relatively recent historical past. This is not meant as a critique of practice, but rather it is meant as an observation of circumstance. The rather ironic result is that these longer multi-period, rich and complex sequences encountered throughout European urban settings have far less that has been written on them archaeologically than their much younger doppelgangers abroad. This results in the neglect of the very environments which had been so vital in the progression of these cosmopolitan environments being reproduced in far reaching corners of the Empire. Simply put, there is an observable difference in the periodic priorities of urban archaeology in Britain vs. North American and Australasian archaeology. For example, New York City has been excavated and studied extensively (Reckner and Brighton 1999; Yamin 1998; Cook et al. 1996); Annapolis, Maryland has been part of an on going investigation for over 30 years (Mullins 1999; Shackel 1993; Leone 1988, 1984); Sydney and other metropolitan areas in Australia (Fairbairn 2007, Casey 2005, Crook and Murray 2004; Karskens 1997) has also generated far greater depth of interest regarding how these infrastructures have developed from an archaeological stand point over critical periods in social history.

As such, this research has been faced with the need to use seemingly incompatible time periods in order to investigate the types of processes which occur in communities and spaces when they rapidly shift from a more agrarian or rural settlement to an urban or cosmopolitan municipality. These societies are separated by over 200 years of rapidly expanding social networks and industrial technologies, yet I argue that they remain relevant when studying the mechanics and development of the civic infrastructure in the transition from rural to urban. It is the processes or the mechanisms in operation within society that remain relevant, and which can be applied retroactively with surprising results.

6.2. Future Directions

As with any project, there were limitations for this research, primarily as a result of constraints on time and finance. However, there were a number of promising directions for future research. There would be scope to expand this research to explore the relationships between colonialism and the reproduction of nationalism, specifically in respect to a sense of Englishness, through these establishments of consumption. There has been some engagement on the topic here in relation to resent work in historical archaeology on taverns and saloons, but the linkages between consumer culture and construction of these personal and social identities are weak.

Possibly the most significant questions to pursue following on from this work surround the connections and entanglements which have historically impacted (and continue to impact) consumer culture. There are major implications for this research's ability to contribute toward the expansion of our understanding regarding what motivates consumption and consumerism, how various factors have the potential to dramatically affect the societies we live in, and how much control we ourselves as members in a given social structure retain over these variables.

This research has explored ways of utilizing previously excavated assemblages and ways to adapt multiple methods of approach to the analysis of these types of collections. This approach has been important to developing support for perspective that these resources retain their relevance beyond a specific research-focused excavation. That said, there are many avenues that could be explored if greater control over the data collection processes were achieved.

The most striking areas for future research potential would be regarding 1) the use of these spaces in the production and maintenance of Englishness throughout Colonial expansion, and 2) the potential for tracing historic consumer patterns and combining them with modern approaches on economics to see if any meaningful insight can be gain regarding consumer behaviour.

6.3. Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated that establishments for the social or public consumption of goods in the late seventeenth through the eighteenth century were complex spaces, unique in character and, to a great extent, in function when compared to one another. In the existing literature, investigation into these spaces has largely come from a perspective that the social value of these places lay primarily in their overt role as a social hub for the exchange of ideas. Though this form of engagement has dominated the historiography on the subject, the practical use of these spaces in less overt manners has been largely neglected. Due to the nature of social consumption practices, this resulted in a high frequency of material culture discarded after utilization in these spaces. The primary argument here has been that the people who were negotiating these spaces were affected by their use and exposure to the use of others in these social environments. Crucially, I argue that these spaces were microcosms for mutual effect of the consumer and the consumed on society. By and large, these people were not responsible for designing the goods or growing the tea (though, arguably, this is more likely closer to the case in the later examples as local industry begins to expand in earnest). This thesis has sought to resituate the debate of who controls the course of commerce through an examination of the establishments, the objects people were exposed and how they were utilized, and how all of these things changed over time.

The final thoughts I would like to reiterate from this research remain dedicated to the opinion that materials within even the vaguest contextualized spaces retain a great deal of information by the very nature of their having been produced and selected through consumer choices (Spencer-Wood 1987). The responsibility of unlocking the legacy within the material falls to the archaeologists and material culturist. The process is necessarily a reflexive one, dependent upon the consideration of many social elements, both of the past-present and the present-present (Olivier 2004: 211-212). The process is also not final and debates surrounding things – the past uses, the current uses, and the current ideas regarding the past ideas and uses – all of these will impact and reflect changes in our engagement with the very objects which are the subject of such scrutiny.

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Appendix i: Artefact Catalogue

KIG95

88– Primary context from cesspit fill
112 – secondary context from cesspit fill

NGT00

B3: (site matrix location: ?/?)	**B15: (site matrix location: 530/620)**	**B24: (site matrix location: 530/615)**	**B26: (site matrix location: 520/615)**
87	1044	1537	1056
94	**1062**	1538	**1057**
97	**1091**	1539	1106
	1092 PIT	1544	1048 PIT
	1361	1545	1047
	1445	1546	1015
	1452	**1551**	1014
	1456	1566	
	1492 PIT	1571	
		1580	
		1581	
		1601	
		1602	
		1603 PIT	

BAZ05

Building	Context	Materials Present
p1	194	All
p1	201	All
p1	243	All
p1	274	All
p1	325	All
p1	834	All
p1	841	All
p1	892	All
p1	920	All
p1	985	All
p1	332	Ceramics only
p1	657	Ceramics only
p1	1180	Ceramics only
p1	228	No glass
p1	275	No glass
p1	918	No glass
p1	981	No glass
p1	1184	No glass
p1	1002	No tobacco
p1	185	Tobacco only
p1	319	Tobacco only
p1	980	Tobacco only
p2	1380	All
p2	2078	All
p2	1377	Tobacco only

CERAMIC

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments
BAZ05	1	243	PMR	-	1	1	
BAZ05	1	194	ENGS	BOT	2	2	
BAZ05	1	243	PMR	BOWL	3	1	
BAZ05	1	1184	PMFR	BOWL	1	1	
BAZ05	1	194	REFW	BOWL	2	2	JAR OR CHAMBER POT
BAZ05	1	201	PMR	BOWL DEEP	1	1	RIM AND UPPER PROF
BAZ05	1	194	REFW	BOWL RND	1	1	RIM
BAZ05	1	194	RBORB	CHP	1	1	
BAZ05	1	201	BORDG	CHP	1	1	ROUND/ROLLED RIM
BAZ05	1	201	TGW C	CHP	2	1	RIM
BAZ05	1	985	CSTN	CUP	2	1	
BAZ05	1	201	TGW B	CUP CAUD	1	1	MANG SPECKLED
BAZ05	1	194	PEAR TR2	CUP LOND	1	1	
BAZ05	1	201	METS	DISH	1	1	CHAIN LINK PATTERN ON RIM
BAZ05	1	243	SWSG	DISH	1	1	
BAZ05	1	201	TGW A	DISH FBA	1	1	
BAZ05	1	201	BORDY	DISH FLNG	1	1	
BAZ05	1	201	BORDG	DISH SM	1	1	
BAZ05	1	275	FREC	DJ	2	1	BASE SHERDS - WIRE CUT?
BAZ05	1	841	FREC	DJ	1	1	BASE
BAZ05	1	332	FREC	DJ	11	2	BASE X 1 AND COMP BASE AND LOWER PROF X 1 (533 GRAMMES)
BAZ05	1	985	MART3	FLAS	1	1	

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments
BAZ05	1	920	MART3	FLAS GLOB	17	1	RIM WITH FOLDED LIP
BAZ05	1	920	MART3	FLAS GLOB	17	1	RIM WITH FOLDED LIP
BAZ05	1	201	TGW D	JAR CYL	1	1	LG DRUG JAR, PURPLE INTERLOCKING DESIGN, BLUE LINEAR BORDER AND DASHES
BAZ05	1	243	PMR	JAR ST	4	1	LOOP HANDLE
BAZ05	1	194	REFW	JUG	2	1	
BAZ05	1	1180	RAER	Jug	1	1	
BAZ05	1	201	FREC	JUG BART	1	1	NECK AND HANDLE
BAZ05	1	243	FREC	JUG BART	1	1	LONDON STONEWARE? - TOP CENTRE AND LEFT PORTION OF UNID MEDALLION PRESENT
BAZ05	1	332	FREC	JUG BART	2	1	COMPLETE BASE AND LOWER PROF
BAZ05	1	332	FREC	JUG BART	3	1	BASE AND LOWER PORTION WITH END OF UNCLEAR MEDALLION
BAZ05	1	834	FREC	JUG BART	74	1	7 BASES (?)
BAZ05	1	834	FREC	JUG BART	1	1	MEDALLION AND FACE MASK. MED CONTAINS HEART AND CROWN. VESSEL FILLED WITH WHITE PLASTER
BAZ05	1	981	FREC	JUG BART	1	1	MEDALLION CONTAINS TUDOR ROSE AS IN VAN BEUNINGEN PL46 COMPLETE
BAZ05	1	985	FREC	JUG BART	4	1	
BAZ05	1	1184	FREC	JUG BART	2	1	MEDALLION AS IN VAN BEUNINGEN PL 44; EIGHT PETALLED FLOWER
BAZ05	1	325	FREC	JUG BART	3	2	
BAZ05	1	325	FREC	JUG BART	3	2	NARROW NECK
BAZ05	1	332	FREC	JUG BART	38	2	COMP BASE AND PROF X 1 AND UPPER PROF X 1
BAZ05	1	332	FREC	JUG BART	12	5	COMP BASE AND LOWER PROF (X 1: 284 GRAMMES) AND MISC BODY SHDS (X 4)
BAZ05	1	1184	FREC	JUG BART	9	7	

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments
BAZ05	1	920	FREC	JUG BART	12	8	RIM AND UPPER PROF X 1/COMP BASE X 1/HANDLES ETC
BAZ05	1	841	FREC	JUG BART	47	9	ALL SHERDS FROM 6 VESSELS; 2 MEDL ONE COMPLETE= AMSTERDAM, ONE HEART AND CROWN
BAZ05	1	918	FREC	JUG BART	16	9	2X RIM AND NECK FACES MASKS, 1 X MEDALLION
BAZ05	1	657	FREC	JUG BART	58	20	RIMS X 3, PROFS X 4/BASES AND LOWER PROFS ETC X 13, OVERFIRED OR BURNT CREATING MOTTLED 'GREEN GLAZE' - GREAT FIRE GROUP??
BAZ05	1	834	FREC	JUG BART	20	20	
BAZ05	1	243	STSL	MUG	3	1	COMBED SLIP ON EXT
BAZ05	1	325	PMBL	MUG	1	1	HANDLE
BAZ05	1	920	TGW C	OINT	2	1	
BAZ05	1	194	PEAR	PLATE	1	1	RIM
BAZ05	1	194	REFW	PLATE	1	1	
BAZ05	1	194	REFW	PLATE SOUP	1	1	RIM
BAZ05	1	243	NOTS	TANK	1	1	FLARED BASE
BAZ05	1	243	WEST	TANK	4	1	BLUE BANDS AND FLORAL DEC
BAZ05	1	243	LONS	TANK	4	3	LONG HANDLE
BAZ05	1	194	PEAR TR1	TBOWL	1	1	
BAZ05	1	228	PMBL	TYG	1	1	
BAZ05	1	274	PMBL	TYG	20	1	TWO HANDLED TYG
BAZ05	1	332	PMBL	TYG	18	1	
BAZ05	1	332	PMBL	TYG	4	1	RIM FRAGS ONLY
BAZ05	1	841	PMBL	TYG	2	1	
BAZ05	1	918	PMBL	TYG	3	1	
BAZ05	1	985	PMBL	TYG	5	1	

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments
BAZ05	1	657	PMBL	TYG	16	2	TWO HANDLED TYGS
BAZ05	1	275	PMBL	TYG	6	3	
BAZ05	1	834	PMBL	TYG	52	3	3 FLARED RIMS, 2 BASES
BAZ05	1	841	PMBL	TYG	22	4	ALL SHERDS FROM 4 VESSELS - 4 BASES INC ONE WITH WIDE FOOTRING- UNUSUAL
BAZ05	1	194	COLGE	VASE	1	1	
BAZ05	1	920	PMBL	TYG	68	8	COMP PROFS AND SOME BASES ONLY
BAZ05	1	201	PMBL	TYG	59	6	BASE AND LOWER PROFS X 4/LOWER PROFS X 2/RIMS/TWO HANDLED VESSELS
BAZ05	2	2078	CREA	-	6	6	
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	BLACKP	1	1	BASE
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	BOT	1	1	COMPLETE CYLINDRIAL ALE BOTTLE (WASTER?): ODD FORM NO MATCH IN ASKEY OR GREEN, STAMPED 'D ROSS LOMBARD STREET'
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	BOT	2	2	MISC BODY AND BASE SHDS
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	BOT	10	8	SIX COMP CYLINDRICAL ALE BOTTLES: ODD FORM NO MATCH IN ASKEY OR GREEN
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	BOT ALE	10	10	COLLECTION OF COMP SQUAT CYLINDRICAL ALE BOTTLES FOR PUB USE: 5 ARE SAME SQUAT DUMPY SHAPE, 5 LARGER SQUAT DUMPY SHAPES. NO MATCH IN ASKEY OR GREEN.
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	BOT BELL	1	1	UPPER SHOULDER STAMPED 'E TANNER NO.38 RED LYON STREET HOLBORN'
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	BOT BELL	38	4	SUB BASES AND UPPER PROFS
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	BOT BL	1	1	COMPLETE: STAMPED 'BLACKING BOTTLE'
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	BOT BL	2	2	

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	BOT CYL	1	1	COMP LOWER PROF STAMPED 'DEVELOPED STONEWARE GLAZED INSIDE GREEN LAMBETH' (GREEN'S IMPERIAL OR UNION POTTERY)
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	BOT CYL	3	3	COLLECTION OF SAME SIZED CYLINDRICAL ALE BOTTLES FOR PUB USE. ODD FORM NO MATCH IN ASKEY OR GREEN.
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	BOT GING	1	1	COMPLETE STMP IN SEMI CIRCLE: 'SUPERIOR WARE AND WARRANTED NOT TO ABSORB' 'JAR AND BOTTLE MANUFACTURY' 'SHIPLEY DERBYSHIRE' (1825-45)
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	BOT SELZ	1	1	SLIGHTLY UNUSUAL FORM SIMILAR TO GERMAN MINERAL WATER BOTTLE
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	BOT SELZ	1	1	SLIGHTLY UNUSUAL FORM SIMILAR TO GERMAN MINERAL WATER BOTTLE. STAMP 'D ROSS LOMBARD STREET'. ODD FORM NO MATCH IN ASKEY OR GREEN.
BAZ05	2	2078	RBOR	BOWL	1	1	COMPLETE PROFILE
BAZ05	2	2078	TPW2	BOWL	5	1	
BAZ05	2	2078	YELL	BOWL	7	1	WHITE BANDS AROUND RIM
BAZ05	2	2078	PEAR TR2	BOWL	4	2	
BAZ05	2	2078	CREA	BOWL	10	10	
BAZ05	2	2078	CREA	BOWL FLUT	2	1	
BAZ05	2	2078	PEAR TR2	BOWL FLUT	4	1	CHINOISERIE
BAZ05	2	2078	CREA	CUP	1	1	BASE
BAZ05	2	2078	PEAR TR2	CUP	2	1	GOLD RIM EDGE
BAZ05	2	2078	PEAR TR2	CUP	8	3	
BAZ05	2	2078	DRAB	CUP COFF	5	2	
BAZ05	2	2078	PEAR TR2	CUP COFF	6	2	NEAR COMPLETE VESSELS
BAZ05	2	2078	PEAR PNTD	CUP FLUT	3	1	UNDERGLAZE PAINTED - EARTH COLOURS

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments
BAZ05	2	1380	TPW2	DISH MEAT	1	1	
BAZ05	2	1380	TPW2	DISH SERV	1	1	RIM - BEADED - FOOD COMPORT?
BAZ05	2	1380	CREA	EWER	1	1	BASE
BAZ05	2	1380	PMR	FLP	1	1	COMP BASE WITH THREE HOLES IN SIDE AND ONE IN BOTTOM: FOR KEEPING LARGER PLANT IN
BAZ05	2	1380	PMR	FLP	3	2	COMP BASE AND RIM
BAZ05	2	1380	PMR	FLP	4	4	VARIOUS DIFF SIZED RIMS
BAZ05	2	1380	ENGS	INK DWARF	1	1	COMPLETE ACCEPT RIM AND NECK
BAZ05	2	1380	TPW1	JUG	7	1	UPPER PROF
BAZ05	2	2078	CREA	JUG	1	1	HANDLE
BAZ05	2	2078	ENGS-white	JUG	5	1	HUNTING SCENE
BAZ05	2	2078	SWSG	OINT	1	1	COMPLETE VESSEL
BAZ05	2	1380	PMR	PIP	1	1	RIM
BAZ05	2	1380	TPW2	PLATE	3	1	FRAGMENTED BASE SHDS
BAZ05	2	2078	PEAR	PLATE	2	1	
BAZ05	2	2078	CREA PNTD	PLATE	4	2	
BAZ05	2	2078	PEAR	PLATE	9	2	
BAZ05	2	2078	PEAR TR2	PLATE	8	2	
BAZ05	2	2078	CREA	PLATE	10	10	
BAZ05	2	2078	CREA PNTD	SAUC	2	1	OVERGLAZE PAINTED
BAZ05	2	2078	PMR	SUGM	1	1	
BAZ05	2	1380	CHPO BW	TANK	6	1	PROF OF LARGE TANKARD
NGT00	B15	1062	PMR	BOWL HAND	15	1	PROF
NGT00	B15	1091	MPUR	BOWL RND	11	1	COMPLETE
NGT00	B15	1062	MPUR	BUTP	3	1	

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments
NGT00	B15	1044	TGW D	CHAR	3	1	RIM
NGT00	B15	1062	TGW	CHAR	1	1	
NGT00	B15	1091	TGW	CHAR	1	1	RIM
NGT00	B15	1091	BORDY	CHP	2	1	RIM
NGT00	B15	1091	TGW C	CHP	43	2	BASES - GLAZED WORN AND FRIABLE
NGT00	B15	1091	TGW	CUP	1	1	NEAR COMPLETE PHALLUS DRINKINKG CUP - COULD BE DTGW
NGT00	B15	1091	TGW D	JAR MCYL	39	1	PROFILE WITH WORN AND FRIABLE GLAZE
NGT00	B15	1091	MPUR	JAR ST	4	1	RIM AND BASE
NGT00	B15	1091	PMR	PIP	13	1	
NGT00	B15	x	PIPE	PIPE	55	4	TOBACCO PIPES
NGT00	B15	1091	TGW	PLATE	5	1	PROF
NGT00	B15	1445	TGW	PLATE	1	1	
NGT00	B15	1062	BORDY	SKIL	1	1	
NGT00	B15	1062	BORDY	TPIP	3	1	PROF
NGT00	B15	1091	STBRS	TPOT	1	1	TPOT LID
NGT00	B15	1044	TGW	unk	1	1	
NGT00	B15	1091	PMBL	unk	1	1	
NGT00	B15	1091	PMR	unk	1	1	
NGT00	B24	1546	BORDY	BOWL	1	1	RIM
NGT00	B24	1581	BORDY	DISH	1	1	
NGT00	B24	1551	TGW C	JAR MCYL	3	1	PROF
NGT00	B24	1551	RBORB	MUG RND	1	1	COMPLETE BASE
NGT00	B24	1581	TGW C	OINT	1	1	RIM
NGT00	B24	x	PIPE	PIPE	371	43	TOBACCO PIPES
NGT00	B24	1581	BORDY	PORR	1	1	PROF

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments
NGT00	B24	1551	BORDG	unk	2	1	BASE
NGT00	B26	1056	PMR	-	1	1	
NGT00	B26	1056	PMSRY	-	1	1	
NGT00	B26	1057	CREA	-	1	1	
NGT00	B26	1057	LONS	-	2	1	
NGT00	B26	1106	REFR	-	1	1	
NGT00	B26	1106	Sur-Ham BORD	-	1	1	
NGT00	B26	1106	TGW	-	2	1	NO GLAZE
NGT00	B26	1106	PMR	BOWL	2	1	
NGT00	B26	1106	PMR	BOWL ROUND	1	1	BASE FROM LARGE VESSEL
NGT00	B26	1106	PMR	BOWL-DISH	1	1	BASE
NGT00	B26	1106	Sur-Ham RBORB	CHAMBER POT	2	1	
NGT00	B26	1106	SWSG	CHAMBER POT	4	1	RIM
NGT00	B26	1106	TGW C	CHAMBER POT	13	1	PROF
NGT00	B26	1106	WEST	CHAMBER POT	1	1	
NGT00	B26	1057	CHPO BW	CUP	4	1	PROF - CROSS-JOINS WITH [1106]
NGT00	B26	1057	CHPO IMARI	CUP	1	1	RIM PROF
NGT00	B26	1056	CHPO BW	CUP	2	2	
NGT00	B26	1057	CHPO BW	CUP	2	2	
NGT00	B26	1106	CHPO BW	CUP TEA	11	1	COMPLETE - MATCHING SAUCER - AND STAMPED/CROSS-JOINS WITH 1057

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments
NGT00	B26	1106	CHPO BW	CUP TEA	12	1	PROF
NGT00	B26	1106	CHPO ROSE	CUP TEA	5	1	PROF
NGT00	B26	1057	NOTS	DISH	1	1	BASE
NGT00	B26	1106	NOTS	DISH	3	1	PROF
NGT00	B26	1106	TGW D	JAR	2	1	
NGT00	B26	1056	LOND	JUG	1	1	
NGT00	B26	1057	STBL	LID TEA POT	1	1	COMPLETE
NGT00	B26	1057	REFR	MUG	5	1	PROF - CROSS-JOINS WITH SAME VESSEL IN [1106]
NGT00	B26	1057	STBRS	MUG	1	1	HANDLE
NGT00	B26	1057	STMO	MUG	1	1	
NGT00	B26	1057	SWSG	MUG	1	1	
NGT00	B26	1106	REFR	MUG	4	1	RIM AND BASE
NGT00	B26	1106	STMO	MUG	4	1	
NGT00	B26	1106	SWSG	OINTMENT	3	1	PROF
NGT00	B26	1106	CREA	PLATE	4	1	PROF
NGT00	B26	1106	CREA	PLATE	14	1	PROF
NGT00	B26	1106	SWSG	PLATE	15	1	PROF
NGT00	B26	1106	SWSG	PLATE	4	1	PROF
NGT00	B26	1106	TGW BLUE	PLATE	4	1	PROF
NGT00	B26	1106	Sur-Ham RBORB	PORRINGER	1	1	RIM PROF
NGT00	B26	1057	CHPO BW	SAUCER	4	1	PROF- CROSS-JOINS WITH [1106]
NGT00	B26	1106	CHPO BW	SAUCER	2	1	PROF
NGT00	B26	1106	CHPO BW	SAUCER	4	1	PROFILE - MATCHING TEACUP - CROSS-JOINS WITH 1057
NGT00	B26	1106	CHPO BW	SAUCER	5	1	PROF

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated Number of Vessels	Comments
NGT00	B26	1057	CHPO BW	SAUCER FLUT	3	1	PROFILE FROM SMALL VESSEL
NGT00	B26	1106	LONS	TANKARD	3	1	RIM AND HANDLE
NGT00	B26	1106	LONS	TANKARD	5	1	PROF
NGT00	B26	1106	NOTS	TANKARD	4	1	RIM AND HANDLE
NGT00	B26	1057	CREA GRN	TEA POT	1	1	CROSS-JOINS WITH [1106] CAULIFLOWER SPRIG TEAPOT
NGT00	B26	1106	CREA GRN	TEA POT	41	1	COMPLETE CAULIFLOWER SPRIG DECORATED TEAPOT/CROSS-JOINS WITH SAME VESSEL IN [1057]
NGT00	B3	94	BORDY	-	1	1	
NGT00	B3	97	NOTS	-	1	1	
NGT00	B3	87	CHPO	BOWL	1	1	RIM
NGT00	B3	94	BORDG	BOWL	3	1	
NGT00	B3	94	PMR	BOWL	1	1	BASE
NGT00	B3	94	RBORB	BOWL	2	1	BASE
NGT00	B3	94	TGW D	BOWL	4	1	PROF
NGT00	B3	97	PMR	BOWL	1	1	RIM PROF
NGT00	B3	87	PMR	BOWL HANDLE	4	1	PROF
NGT00	B3	94	PMR	BOWL HANDLE	3	1	RIM
NGT00	B3	94	PMSRG	BOWL HANDLE	6	1	
NGT00	B3	97	PMR	BOWL HANDLE	2	1	
NGT00	B3	87	BORDY	BOWL ROUND	11	1	PROFILE - CRACKED AND LAMINATED

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments
NGT00	B3	94	BORDY	BOWL SHALLOW	5	1	PROF
NGT00	B3	97	RBORB	BOWL-DISH	1	1	BASE
NGT00	B3	94	PMSRY	CAUD	9	1	CAULDRON
NGT00	B3	87	TGW C	CHAMBER POT	28	1	COMPLETE VESSEL
NGT00	B3	94	BORDY	CHAMBER POT	11	1	COMPLETE
NGT00	B3	97	TGW BLUE	CHAMBER POT	18	1	PROF
NGT00	B3	97	TGW C	CHAMBER POT	2	1	RIM AND HANDLE PROF
NGT00	B3	87	TGW D	CHARGER	1	1	RIM PROF
NGT00	B3	87	TGW D	CHARGER	1	1	RIM
NGT00	B3	94	TGW A	CHARGER	12	1	PROF
NGT00	B3	94	TGW D	CHARGER	3	2	RIMS X 2
NGT00	B3	94	BORDY	COSTREL	8	1	RIM
NGT00	B3	94	TGW C	JAR	1	1	
NGT00	B3	94	TGW A	JAR CYL	1	1	
NGT00	B3	87	TGW C	JAR MCYL	2	1	PROF
NGT00	B3	87	TGW D	JAR MCYL	5	1	PROF
NGT00	B3	94	TGW C	JAR SCYL	1	1	COMPLETE
NGT00	B3	94	TGW D	JAR SCYL	2	2	COMPLETE
NGT00	B3	87	PMR	JAR STORAGE	30	1	COMPLETE LARGE VESSEL
NGT00	B3	94	PMR	JAR STORAGE	7	1	PROF

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments
NGT00	B3	94	FREC	JUG	5	1	
NGT00	B3	97	PMR	JUG	6	1	RIM AND SPOUT
NGT00	B3	87	PMBL	MUG	2	1	BASE
NGT00	B3	87	STSL	MUG	2	1	BASE
NGT00	B3	87	CREA BAND	PLATE	1	1	INTRUSIVE
NGT00	B3	87	TGW C	PLATE	4	1	BASE/FLANGE
NGT00	B3	94	CHPO MING	PLATE	2	1	
NGT00	B3	94	CHPO MING	PLATE	11	1	PROFILE - MING TRANSITONAL WARE
NGT00	B3	94	TGW C	PLATE	4	1	
NGT00	B3	97	CHPO MING	PLATE	4	1	BASE
NGT00	B3	97	CREA	PLATE	1	1	
NGT00	B3	97	TGW	PLATE FBI	3	1	PROF
NGT00	B3	87	TGW C	PLATE FBJ	1	1	PROF
NGT00	B3	97	TGW	PLATE FBK	8	1	PROF
NGT00	B3	87	TGW C	PORRINGER	1	1	RIM PROF
NGT00	B3	94	BORDO	PORRINGER	1	1	PROF
NGT00	B3	94	TGW C	PORRINGER	1	1	
NGT00	B3	97	RBORG	PORRINGER	1	1	RIM
NGT00	B3	97	CREA BAND	SAUCER	1	1	
NGT00	B3	87	BORDG	SKILLET	4	1	PROF - TWO THIRDS COMPLETE
NGT00	B3	87	LONS	TANKARD	12	1	COMPLETE
NGT00	B3	94	BORDY	TRIPOD PIPKIN	1	1	COMPLETE LARGE HANDLE
NGT00	B3	94	BORDY	TRIPOD PIPKIN	28	1	COMPLETE

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments
NGT00	B3	94	BORDY	TRIPOD PIPKIN	2	1	RIM
KIG95	na	88	BORDY	-	1	1	
KIG95	na	88	RBORG	-	2	1	
KIG95	na	88	SWSG	-	2	2	
KIG95	na	112	TGW	-	2	2	
KIG95	na	88	CHPO BW	BOWL	1	1	
KIG95	na	88	RBORB	BOWL	3	1	RIM
KIG95	na	88	TGW	BOWL	2	1	RIM
KIG95	na	88	TGW	BOWL	3	1	RIM THAT MAY CROSS-JOIN WITH SAME VESSEL IN [112]
~~KIG95~~	na	~~112~~	~~MOCH~~	~~BOWL~~	~~1~~	~~1~~	Considered intrusive, not included
KIG95	na	112	POTG	BOWL	1	1	CROSS-JOINS WITH SAME VESSEL IN [88]
KIG95	na	112	RBORG	BOWL	1	1	RIM
KIG95	na	112	SWSG	BOWL	6	1	BASE THAT CROSS-JOINS WITH SAME VESSEL IN [88]
KIG95	na	112	TGW	BOWL	1	1	POSSIBLY CROSS-JOINS WITH SAME VESSEL IN [88]
KIG95	na	88	CHPO BW	BOWL	4	2	COMPLETE PROFILES X 2 FROM MATCHING SET
KIG95	na	88	SWSG	BOWL	5	2	RIM OF VESSEL THAT CROSS-JOINS WITH [112]
KIG95	na	88	TGW	BOWL RND	3	1	COMPLETE PROFILE
KIG95	na	88	STSL	BOWLDISH	1	1	
KIG95	na	88	TGW	BOWLF	4	1	CROSS-JOINS WITH SAME VESSEL IN [112]
KIG95	na	112	TGW	BOWLF	1	1	CROSS-JOINS WITH SAME VESSEL IN [88]
KIG95	na	88	TGW	CHAR	2	1	RIM
KIG95	na	88	TGW F	CHAR	1	1	WITH ONE PIERCED HOLE IN BASE
KIG95	na	88	TGW BLUE	CHP	10	1	RIM
KIG95	na	88	TGW C	CHP	82	3	COMPLETE BUT BROKEN VESSELS/PROFILES

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments
KIG95	na	88	RBORG	CHP2	1	1	COMPLETE PROFILE
KIG95	na	88	SWSG	CUP	3	1	COMPLETE BUT BROKEN VESSEL
KIG95	na	112	RBORB	DISH	1	1	RIM
KIG95	na	88	CHPO ROSE	DISH FLUT	9	1	COMPLETE PROFILE WITH YING YANG MARK ON UNDERSIDE OF BASE
KIG95	na	88	CHPO VERTE	DISH SM	6	1	COMPLETE PROFILE OF OCTOGONAL DISH THAT CROSS-JOINS WITH SAME VESSEL IN [112]
KIG95	na	112	CHPO VERTE	DISH SM	1	1	RIM THAT CROSS-JOINS WITH SAME VESSEL IN [88]
KIG95	na	88	CHPO	FIGU	1	1	SIAMESE TWINS
KIG95	na	88	PIPE	FIGU	1	1	BASE OF PIPECLAY FIGURINE
KIG95	na	88	MPUR	JAR	1	1	FROM ENVIRONMENTAL SAMPLE 3
KIG95	na	88	TGW	JAR	1	1	RIM
KIG95	na	88	TGW D	JAR	1	1	SLIGHLTY ABRADED RIM SHERD
KIG95	na	88	TGW C	JAR	12	4	RIMS X 2 AND BASES X 2
KIG95	na	88	TGW	LID BOWLF	2	1	COMPLETE PROFILE OF RARE VESSEL. LID FOR BELOW VESSEL
KIG95	na	88	TGW G	LID TPOT	1	1	FROM ABOVE VESSEL
KIG95	na	88	ENGS	MUG	1	1	SMALL RIM SHERD
KIG95	na	88	STSL	MUG	1	1	CROSS-JOINS WITH SAME VESSEL IN [112]
KIG95	na	88	SWSG	MUG	2	1	COMPLETE PROFILE
KIG95	na	112	STSL	MUG	1	1	RIM THAT CROSS-JOINS WITH SAME VESSEL IN [88]
KIG95	na	88	SWSG	OINT	2	1	RIM
KIG95	na	88	TGW C	OINT	10	3	COMPLETE BUT BROKEN PROFILES X 3 WITH PEDASTAL BASES
KIG95	na	88	TGW BLUE	OINT	12	5	COMPLETE VESSELS X 3, SOME WITH PEDASTAL BASES
KIG95	na	88	POTG	PLATE	10	1	COMPLETE BUT BROKEN PROFILE THAT CROSS-JOINS WITH [112]

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments
KIG95	na	88	TGW D	PLATE	2	1	BASE
KIG95	na	88	TGW	PLATE	8	3	COMPLETE PROFILES X 2
KIG95	na	88	CHPO BW	SAUC	4	1	COMPLETE BUT BROKEN PROFILE
KIG95	na	88	RBORB	SKIL	1	1	
KIG95	na	88	CHPO BW	SPIT	1	1	RIM
KIG95	na	88	TGW C	STOOP	11	1	COMPLETE BUT BROKEN VESSEL
KIG95	na	88	ENGS	TANK	6	1	COMPLETE PROFILE
KIG95	na	88	CHPO BATV	TBOWL	7	1	COMPLETE BUT BROKEN VESSEL WITH REIGN MARK?
KIG95	na	88	CHPO VERTE	TBOWL	7	1	COMPLETE PROFILE WITH REIGN MARK?
KIG95	na	88	TGW G	TBOWL	3	1	RIM
KIG95	na	112	CHPO BW	TBOWL	1	1	COMPLETE PROFILE THAT CROSS-JOINS WITH SAME VESSEL IN [88]
KIG95	na	88	CHPO VERTE	TBOWL	3	2	COMPLETE PROFILE X 1
KIG95	na	88	TGW	TBOWL	3	2	SMALL SIZED RIM AND BASE
KIG95	na	88	CHPO BW	TBOWL	10	3	COMPLETE PROFILES X 3
KIG95	na	88	CHPO BW	TBOWL	16	14	VARIOUS FRAGMENTED RIMS AND BODY SHERDS
KIG95	na	88	TGW C	TOY	2	1	POSSIBLE TOY OINTMENT POT
KIG95	na	88	BORDY	TPIP1	1	1	RIM
KIG95	na	88	SWSG	TPOT	1	1	HANDLE
KIG95	na	88	TGW G	TPOT	5	1	COMPLETE BUT BROKEN PROFILE

GLASS

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments	Pic	Acc. No.
BAZ05	1	194	(pmgg) post med colourless glass	BOTT	6	1			
BAZ05	1	194	(pmgg) post med green glass	BOTT	20	1			
BAZ05	1	194	(pmcgpb) post med glass pale blue	FLAT	16	2			
BAZ05	1	201	(pmgg) post med colourless glass	BEAKER	2	1			43
BAZ05	1	201	(pmgg) post med green glass	BOTT	3	1	misc mixed glass, all from vessles, either bottle or inditerminate table ware.		
BAZ05	1	243	(pmgg) post med green glass	BOTT	21	4		2636, 2637, 2638, 2639	
BAZ05	1	243	(pmgg) post med colourless glass	STEMWARE	1	1			213
BAZ05	1	325	(pmcgpb) post med glass pale blue	FLAT	1	1	misc mixed glass, all from vessles, either bottle or inditerminate table ware.		
BAZ05	1	834	(pmgg) post med green glass	BOTT	2	1	4 of these are fused together, this bottle is baddly corroded		na
BAZ05	1	834	(pmgg) post med green glass	BOTT	5	1	baddly corroded		na
BAZ05	1	834	unknown	BOTT	21	4			na
BAZ05	1	834	(pmgg) post med green glass	BOTT SEAL	1	1			215

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments	Pic	Acc. No.
BAZ05	1	834	(pmgg) post med green glass	BOTT SEAL	1	1			215
BAZ05	1	841	(pmgg) post med colourless glass	BEAKER	1	1			216
BAZ05	1	841	post med pale green glass	BEAKER	1	1			217
BAZ05	1	920	(pmgg) post med colourless glass	BEAK	2	1			218-19
BAZ05	1	985	(pmgg) post med colourless glass	BEAKER	1	1			220
BAZ05	1	985	(pmgg) post med colourless glass	BEAKER	2	1	<220> [985] G279 B12 P10 (ceramics etc. c.1600-50) Fig.D Slightly greyish: join of cup onto separate pedestal base of almost the same proportion in surviving part; D 35mm, surviving H 24mm. Cf. Willmott 2002, 51 no. 5.1 fig. 40, a cylindrical-fluted beaker of Continental manufacture, assigned to the late 16th/early 17th century and described as very rare.		221-22
BAZ05	1	985	(pmpgg) post med green glass	FLAT	56	2			
BAZ05	1	1002	(pmcgpb) post med glass pale blue	FLAT	1	1			
BAZ05	1	1002	(pmgg) post med colourless glass	VESS	1	1			223

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments	Pic	Acc. No.
BAZ05	2	1380	(pmgg) post med colourless glass	STEMWARE	1	1			266
BAZ05	2	2078	(pmgg) post med colourless glass	STEMWARE	1	1			486
BAZ05	2	2078	(pmgg) post med colourless glass	TUMBLER	3	1			485, 489-90
BAZ05	2	2078	(pmgg) post med colourless glass	STEMWARE	2	1			487-88
BAZ05	2	1380	(pmgg) post med green glass	BOTT	1	1			na
BAZ05	2	1380	(pmgg) post med green glass	BOTT	1	1			na
BAZ05	2	1380	(pmgg) post med green glass	BOTT	1	1	assortment of bases (both round and square bottomed), body shards (flat and curved) and one neck with finish)	2640	
BAZ05	2	1380	(pmgg) post med green glass	BOTT	1	1		2644	
NGT00	B3	87	pmcgb	phial	1	1	fragments	na	
NGT00	B3	87	pmgg	bottle	8	1	bases, fragments	2581, 2582, 2583, 2584	
NGT00	B3	87	pmgg	bottle	39	1	body, fragments	2585, 2586, 2587, 2588	
NGT00	B3	87	pmgg	bottle	1	1	fragments of neck and finish	2592, 2593	
NGT00	B3	94	pmgg	window	6	1		na	
NGT00	B15	1091	pmcgb	bottle	10	1	frag	2603, 2604	586

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments	Pic	Acc. No.
NGT00	B15	1091	pmcgb	bottle	4	1	frag	2597, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602	583
NGT00	B15	1091	pmcgb	bottle	33	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B15	1044	pmgg	bottle	1	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B15	1062	pmgg	bottle	2	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B15	1455	pmgg	bottle	1	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B15	1062	pmgg	bottle	1	1	frag	2627	501
NGT00	B15	1492	pmcgb	window	3	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B15.2	1478	pmgg	bottle	2	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B15.2	1478	pmcg	cup	1	1	stem and cup, no base, semi-complete	2594, 2595	441
NGT00	B15.2	1478	pmcgb	phial	1	1	complete	2567, 2568	
NGT00	B15.2	1478	pmcgb	phial	1	1	complete	2569, 2570	
NGT00	B15.2	1478	pmcgb	phial	1	1	complete	2571, 2572	
NGT00	B15.2	1478	pmcgb	phial	1	1	complete	2573, 2574	
NGT00	B15.2	1478	pmcgb	phial	1	1	complete	2575, 2576	
NGT00	B15.2	1478	pmcgb	window	2	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B24	1537	pmgg	bottle	1	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B24	1545	pmgg	bottle	1	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B24	1551	pmgg	bottle	6	1	case bottle, frag	2564, 2565	17
NGT00	B24	1551	pmgg	bottle	10	1	frag		
NGT00	B24	1581	pmgg	bottle	5	1	base, frag	2605	445
NGT00	B24	1621	pmgg	bottle	3	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B24	1695	pmgg	bottle	20	1	frag	na	

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments	Pic	Acc. No.
NGT00	B24	1695	pmgg	bottle	6	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B24	1705	pmgg	bottle	5	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B24	1730	pmgg	bottle	2	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B24	1695	pmcg	cup	1	1	cup, frag	2615	593
NGT00	B24	1551	pmcgb	cup	2	1	base, frag	2607	649
NGT00	B24	1551	pmcgb	cup	2	1	base, frag	na	
NGT00	B24	1581	pmcgb	cup	1	1	base, frag	na	
NGT00	B24	1695	pmgg	phial	1	1	base, frag	na	
NGT00	B24	1581	pmgg	window	3	1	letter 'A' appears to be scratched on one piece, frag	2577, 2578	
NGT00	B24	1705	pmgg	window	1	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1014	pmgg	bottle	11	1		na	
NGT00	B26	1047	pmcgb	bottle	1	1	frag base	na	
NGT00	B26	1047	pmgg	bottle	23	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1056	pmgg	bottle	16	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1057	pmgg	bottle	1	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	bottle	1	1	frag base	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	bottle	1	1	frag, neck and finish	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcgb	bottle	1	1	frag base	na	
NGT00	B26	1015	pmcg	cup	3	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1047	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1047	pmcg	cup	1	1	semi complete	2619, 2620	
NGT00	B26	1057	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag stem	2612, 2613	
NGT00	B26	1057	pmcg	cup	11	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1057	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag	na	

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments	Pic	Acc. No.
NGT00	B26	1057	pmcg	cup	3	1	frag	2621, 2622, 2623	
NGT00	B26	1057	pmcg	cup	9	1	frag	2624, 2625	
NGT00	B26	1057	pmcg	cup	2	1	frag	2626	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag stem	2614	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag, cup/stem	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	2	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag, cup	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag, cup	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag, cup	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag, cup	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag stem	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag, cup	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag, cup	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag, cup	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	3	1	frag body	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag stem	2629, 2630	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	1	1	frag base	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	16	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	cup	20	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	jug	1	1	frag spout	na	

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments	Pic	Acc. No.
NGT00	B26	1106	pmgg	jug	1	1	frag, handle	2631	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmgg	jug	1	1	frag, handle	2633	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmgg	jug	1	1	frag, handle	2634, 2635	
NGT00	B26	1047	pmcgb	phial	1	1	complete	2559, 2560	
NGT00	B26	1047	pmcgb	phial	1	1	complete	2561, 2562, 2563	
NGT00	B26	1056	pmcgb	phial	1	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1047	pmcg	salt cellar	1	1	frag	2616	
NGT00	B26	1057	pmcg	tumbler	1	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	tumbler	1	1	frag base	na	
NGT00	B26	1014	pmgg	vessel	1	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1106	pmcg	vessel	1	1	frag base	na	
NGT00	B26	1014	pmcgb	window	2	1	frag	na	
NGT00	B26	1056	pmcgb	window	1	1	frag	na	
KIG95	na	88	italian/french pmcgb	bottle	1	1	semi complete	1.1-2	65
KIG95	na	88	italian/french pmcgb	bottle	1	1	semi complete	2	69
KIG95	na	88	italian/french pmcgb	bottle	108	1	frag	3.1-5	72
KIG95	na	88	italian/french pmcgb	bottle	58	1	frag	4.1-2	72
KIG95	na	88	italian/french pmcgb	bottle	48	1	frag	5.1-2	72
KIG95	na	88	italian/french pmcgb	bottle	1	1	semi complete	na	66
KIG95	na	88	italian/french pmcgb	bottle	1	1	semi complete	na	67
KIG95	na	88	italian/french pmcgb	bottle	1	1	semi complete	na	68
KIG95	na	88	italian/french pmcgb	bottle	1	1	semi complete	na	70
KIG95	na	88	italian/french pmcgb	bottle	1	1	semi complete	na	71
KIG95	na	88	italian/french pmcgb	bottle	44	1	frag	6.1-2	72

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments	Pic	Acc. No.
KIG95	na	88	post med green glass	bottle	1	1	semi complete	7	59
KIG95	na	88	post med green glass	bottle	5	1	frag	na	
KIG95	na	88	post med green glass	bottle	2	1	frag	na	
KIG95	na	88	post med green glass	bottle	8	1	frag	na	
KIG95	na	88	italian/french pmcgb	bowl	20	1	frag	8.1-2	74
KIG95	na	88	post med glass colourless	cup	1	1	Frag;	na	61
KIG95	na	88	post med glass colourless	cup	1	1	Frag;	na	63
KIG95	na	88	post med glass colourless	cup	3	1	Frag;	na	62
KIG95	na	88	post med glass colourless	cup	2	1	Frag;	na	60
KIG95	na	88	post med glass colourless	cup	1	1	frag	na	111
KIG95	na	88	spanish glass	cup	1	1	comlpete	10.1-4	1
KIG95	na	88	spanish glass	cup	3	1	frag	11.1-2	2
KIG95	na	88	spanish glass	cup	1	1	frag	na	58
KIG95	na	88	italian/french pmcgb	jar	1	1	comlpete	12.1-2	123
KIG95	na	88	post med green glass	onion bottle	6	1	frag	13.1-2	
KIG95	na	88	post med green glass	onion bottle	5	1	frag	na	
KIG95	na	112	post med green glass	onion bottle	7	1	frag	na	
KIG95	na	88	post med green glass	onion bottle	6	1	frag	na	
KIG95	na	88	post med green glass	onion bottle	27	1	frag	na	
KIG95	na	88	post med green glass	phial	27	12	comlpete	14.1-6	
KIG95	na	88	post med green glass	phial	27	1	frag	na	

Site	Building	Context	Fabric Code	Form	Sherd Count	Estimated No. Vessels	Comments	Pic	Acc. No.
KIG95	na	88	post med green glass	phial	27	1	frag	15.1-2	
KIG95	na	88	post med green glass	phial	27	1	frag	16.1-5	
KIG95	na	88	italian colourless	stemware	27	1	frag	19.1-2	64
KIG95	na	88	Ravenscroft colourless	stemware	27	1	semi complete	9	56
KIG95	na	88	post med glass colourless	birdfeeder	27	1	frag	na	57
KIG95	na	88	unk	unk vessel	27	1	frag	17.1-2	
KIG95	na	88	post med green glass	window	27	1	frag	na	
KIG95	na	88	post med green glass	window	27	1	frag	na	

Delftware Types Definitions

NB: For more detailed descriptions and illustrations, please see Orton 1988: 321–328, from which these definitions were directly adapted in an abridged form.

Type A – A clear (lead) glaze on the exterior and tin-glaze on the interior – often a rather 'watery' glaze and not totally opaque. The decoration is mainly in a rich deep blue, although yellow is also used. Trivet marks are apparent on interiors. The most consistent decorative feature is the Wan Li style.

Type B – A manganese mottled glazed exterior and plain white interior.

Type C – Plain white glaze on both interior and exterior surfaces of vessels.

Type D – More opaque or 'whiter' than that of type A. Decoration is in lighter blues and purples, often combined with yellows and greens. Broadly, the decorative style can be described as geometric, sometimes based on natural floral or foliar designs. The cable pattern is common on large storage jars.

Type E – Characterized by a 'sgraffito' decoration on a broad deep blue zone.

Type F – A thick opaque glaze, usually white or plain blue, on both surfaces of the vessels.

Type M – This is a miscellaneous category for items which do not fit the descriptive parameters of the types above.

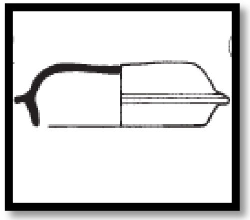
Frequently used Abbreviations

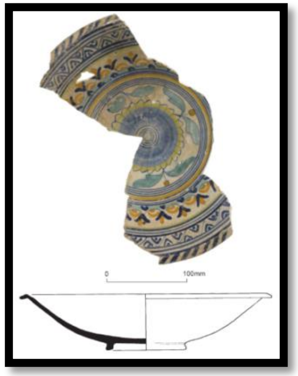
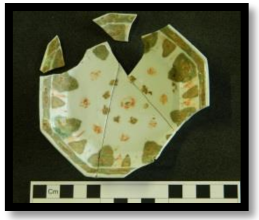
FABRIC	ABBR	FULL NAME	TPQ	TAQ	Comments
CERAMIC	BEAU	Beauvais ware	1600	1699	Import (French?)
CERAMIC	BORD	Border ware	1575	1890	Surrey-Hampshire, London
CERAMIC	CHIS	Chinese stoneware	1600	1699	Import china
CERAMIC	CHPO	Chinese porcelain	1600	1699	Import China
CERAMIC	COLS	Colongne stoneware	1600	1699	Import Rhineland
CERAMIC	CREA	Creamware	1760		Staffordshire
CERAMIC	CSTN	Cistercian ware			English course earthenware, similar to Midlands purple
CERAMIC	GUYS	Guys ware			English course earthenware, from Cheam oand/or Kingston
CERAMIC	LONS	London stoneware	1670	1800	1620, Attempt by Rous and Cullen, but not successful until 1670
CERAMIC	MART	Martincamp ware	1600	1699	Import, France
CERAMIC	METS	Metropolitan slipware	1600	1699	Post-Medieval Red Ware
CERAMIC	MONT	Monte Lupo tin-glazed ware	1600	1699	Import (Italian?)
CERAMIC	NIMS	North Italian Marbled ware	1600	1699	Import, Italy
CERAMIC	NISG	North Italian Sgraffito ware	1600	1699	Import, Italy
CERAMIC	NORS	Normandy stoneware	1600	1699	Import, France
CERAMIC	NOTS	Nottingham stoneware	1700	1799	English stoneware, Nottingham
CERAMIC	OLIV	Olive Jars	1600	1699	Import, Spanish
CERAMIC	PMBL	Black-Glazed red ware			Fine Post-Medieval Red Ware, London

FABRIC	ABBR	FULL NAME	TPQ	TAQ	Comments
CERAMIC	PMCR	Coarse Post-Medieval red ware	1600	1750	
CERAMIC	PMFR	Fine Post-Medieval red ware	1600	1699	
CERAMIC	PMGR	Post-Medieval glossy red ware			
CERAMIC	PMR	Post-Medieval red ware (nonspecific)			
CERAMIC	RAER	Raeren stoneware			
CERAMIC	RBOR	Red border ware			
CERAMIC	SGWW	Staffordshire salt-glazed whiteware	1720	1770	
CERAMIC	SRRW	Staffordshire redware	1670	1800	
CERAMIC	STBU	Butter-pot ware	1670	1690	
CERAMIC	STGW	Spanish tin-glazed ware	1600	1699	Import
CERAMIC	STRE	Staffordshire redware	1670	1800	
CERAMIC	STSL	Staffordshire slipwares	1670		
CERAMIC	TGW	Tin-glaze ware	1613	1890	
CERAMIC	TGWB	Tin-glaze ware (biscuit state)	1613	1890	
CERAMIC	TGWU	Tin-glaze ware (glazed but unfired state)	1613	1890	
CERAMIC	TUDB	Tudor brown ware	1475	1620	
CERAMIC	WERR	Werra ware	1600	1699	Import
CERAMIC	WEST	Westerwald stoneware	1600	1699	Import
GLASS	PMCG	Post-medieval colourless glass			
GLASS	PMCGB	post-medieval glass blue			
GLASS	PMGG	post-medieval green glass			

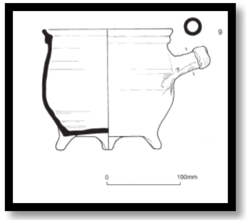
FABRIC	ABBR	FULL NAME	TPQ	TAQ	Comments
GLASS	It/Fr PMCGB	Italian/French post-medieval blue glass			Import
GLASS	It PMCG	Italian post-medieval colourless glass			Import
GLASS	Rav PMCG	Ravenscroft colourless glass	1670	1720	
GLASS	UNK	Unknown			
GLASS	Sp PMGBR	Spanish post-medieval glass brown			Import
GLASS	PMCGPB	post med glass pale blue			

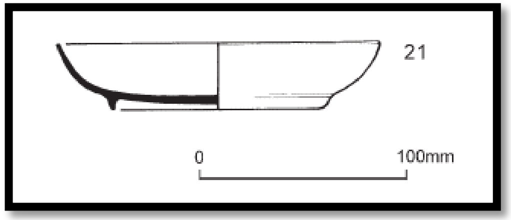
Glossary of Forms (Illustrated)

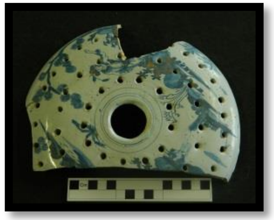
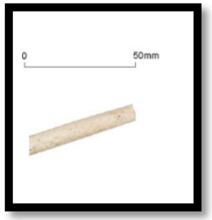
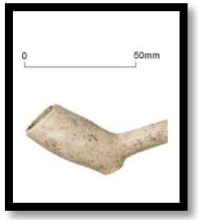
FABRIC	FORM	IMAGE
CERAMIC	bottle	NA
CERAMIC	bowl	
CERAMIC	butter	
CERAMIC	cauldron	NA
CERAMIC	chamber pot	

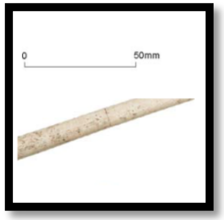
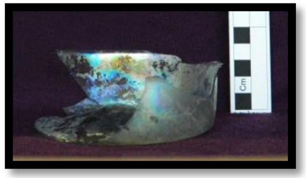
FABRIC	FORM	IMAGE
CERAMIC	charger	
CERAMIC	cup	
CERAMIC	dish	

FABRIC	FORM	IMAGE
CERAMIC	figurine	
CERAMIC	flask/costrel	NA
CERAMIC	ink	NA
CERAMIC	jar	
CERAMIC	jug	 
CERAMIC	lid	NA
CERAMIC	mug	

FABRIC	FORM	IMAGE
CERAMIC	ointment	
CERAMIC	pipkin	
CERAMIC	pitcher	NA
CERAMIC	plate	
CERAMIC	porringer	NA

FABRIC	FORM	IMAGE
CERAMIC	saucer	 .
CERAMIC	skillet	NA
CERAMIC	spitoon	NA
CERAMIC	stool pan	NA
CERAMIC	tankard	
CERAMIC	tea bowl	
CERAMIC	tea pot	
CERAMIC	toy	NA

FABRIC	FORM	IMAGE
CERAMIC	tyg	 
CERAMIC	unkown	NA
CERAMIC	vase/flower pot	 
PIPE	Mouthpiece	
PIPE	Bowl	

FABRIC	FORM	IMAGE
PIPE	Stem	
GLASS	beaker	NA
GLASS	birdfeeder	
GLASS	bottle	
GLASS	bowl	
GLASS	cup	NA

FABRIC	FORM	IMAGE
GLASS	decanter	
GLASS	flask/costrel	NA
GLASS	Flat/window	
GLASS	jar	
GLASS	jug	NA
GLASS	phial	

FABRIC	FORM	IMAGE
GLASS	salt cellar	
GLASS	stemware	    
GLASS	tankard	
GLASS	tumbler	NA
GLASS	unk vessel	

FABRIC	FORM	IMAGE
BONE	syringe	
WOOD	figurine	

Appendix ii: Wine Cooper's Delight

The Wine-Coopers Delight.

To the Tune of, The Delights of the Bottle.

1.

THe Delights of the Bottle are turn'd out of doors,
By factious fanatical Sons of damn'd Whores.
trench Wines Prohibition meant no other thing,
But to poyſon the Subject, and begger the K--------
Good Nature's ſuggeſted with Dregs like to choak her,
Of fulſom ſtum'd Wine by the curſed Wine-Cooper.

2.

Out plaguy Wine-Cooper has tamper'd Co much,
To find out the ſubtilty of the falſe Dutch.
He tinctures prickt White-wine, that never was good,
Till it mantles, and ſparkles, and looks like Bulls bloud.
But when it declines, and its Spirits expire,
He adds more Ingredients, and makes it look higher.

3.

Hi, old rotten Pipes, where he keeps all this Traſh,
For fear they ſhould burſt, Sir, he hoops them with Aſh.
When the Sophiſtication begins for to froth,
And boyls on the Fret, Sir, he wiſely pulls forth
A Tap which gives vent, to the grounds of the Cauſe,
And then is to vamp up a ſecond red Note.

4.

Then this dungy Wine-Cooper ſtops it up again,
And keeps it unvended till't's all on a flame.
The Intelligences then were invented to (how,
Where Wine of ſtrange Vertues in plenty did flow.
People from all parts of the Nation did come,
Both Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, Doctor and Bum.

5.

The Cooper then pulls the Tap out of the ﬁde,
And drinks to the Elders of all his good Tribe.
But when they had guild about all their Bowls,
They found a ſtrange Freedom it gave to their Souls,
Of Secrets in Nature, that never were known,
It gave Inſpiration from Begger to Throne.

6.

For the Cooper himſelf full Brimmers did draw,
And all the whole Gang were oblig'd to do ſo.
Amongſt theſe Cabals there was no ſuch a thing,
As a Health once propos'd to the D—or the King,
But drank to that Idol, that hopes in their powers,
And Sons of moſt Infamous Hackney old Whores.

7.

Then the Rabble had notice from Smith and from Ben,
What a heavenly Liquor was ſent amongſt men.
Both Tinkers and Coblers, the Broom-men and Sweep,
Before this Wine-Cooper in Flocks they did meet,
And each under foot ſtarmpt his old greazy Bonnet,
To drink M—Health, Sir, whatever came on it.

8.

The Cooper perceiving his Trade to approach,
He then was reſolved once more to debauch.
To encourage the Rabble, and ſhew himſelf ſtout,
He pull'd out the Spigot amongſt the whole Rout;
Which kind neſs provokt them to ſwear they wou'd bring
Such Trade to his Houſe, as wou'd make him a K—

9.

A Hat or a Pottle was ſtill at the Tap,
But Zealots ſometimes laid their mouths to the Fat.
They charg'd their brisk Bumpers ſo many times round,
Till part of the Mobile ſprawl'd on the ground.
But when this damn'd Liquor was got in their Pates,
They fell to Bumbaſting, Diſord'ring of States.

10.

They began to Cant dangers by formal Sedition,
And ſwear lawful Allegiance, 'gainſt lawful Succeſſion.
When theſe Propoſitions began to take fire,
They ſcrew'd their Preſumptions a hole or two higher.
But ſtill they keep under Hugh Peters's Cloak,
To bring in the Devil, to drive out the Pope,

11.

But then they began for to pick at the Crown,
Each thinking that he deſerv'd one of his own.
Then all the Kings Guards they thought fit to Indict,
And ſwear Treaſon 'gainſt all that maintain'd the K.Right.
Both Papist and Protestant, no matter whether,
They are none of our Party, let's hang them together.

12.

Next the chief of our Game is to keep the K—poor,
And our Senators muſt the Militia ſecure.
The Navy and Cinque-ports we'l have in our hands,
And then we'l make Kingdoms obey our Commands.
Then if Ch------do withſtand us, we need not to fight,
To make Eighty one to out do Forty eight.

13.

Whatever Objections great Loyalliſts bring,
Old Adam liv'd happy without e're a King.
Then why may not we, that's much wiſer than he,
Subdue the whole World, Sir, by our Sov'raignty ?
If one man alone can keep Three Nations under,
Then why may not we that are Kings without number ?

14.

Right, ſaid the Cooper, and ſhak'd his old Noddle,
Three Kingdoms we'l toſs, like a Child in a Cradle.
Stick cloſe to this Liquor which I do prepare,
'Twill make us as ſplendid, as Noll in his Chair.
We'le kindle old Plots, by inventing of new,
Till none ſhall be ſafe but the Cooper and You.

15.

Oh brave Boys! oh brave Boys! thus the Rabble did roar,
Tantivies and Tories ſhall Hector no more
By us they're out-acted, to us they ſhall bend,
Whilſt we to our Dignities freely aſcend.
Then they were dead drunk as the devil could make 'urn,
And fell faſt aſleep, as ten Drums could not wake 'um.

16.

In the Piſs and the Spew the poor Cooper did paddle,
To ſlop up his Tap, but the Knave was not able.
For his Limbs like a Tortoiſe did ſhrivle and creaſe,
Down drops the Wine-Cooper with the other Beaſts.
And there the whole Litter as yet doth abide,
At the Sign of the Butt, with the Tap in one ſide.

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