

# **Monarchs, Courtiers and Technocrats; Elsyng Palace, Enfield: Place and People**

**The Documentary and Archaeological Evidence for a Fifteenth to  
Seventeenth Century Courtier's House and Tudor and Stuart Royal  
Palace; and for the Lives of its Owners and Households**

by

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with

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and contributions by Paul Drury and Ian K. Jones



Published 2022 by the Enfield Archaeological Society

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ISBN 978-0-9501877-6-1

This publication is made possible by a grant from the National Lottery Heritage Fund and support from  
Enfield Council; and by a grant from The Enfield Society

## **The 1963 – 6 Excavations: a Description and Re-evaluation**

by

**Martin J. Dearne**



## Introduction

The excavations of 1963 – 6 were directed by Ivy Drayton and carried out by members of the EAS (Pl. 1). An unpublished report by Drayton, which sadly does not survive, was the basis for a very limited publication of the work in 1984,<sup>1</sup> but resources did not allow the degree of detail or discussion of the findings that one might like to be included and in order to usefully integrate the findings of the 1960s with the twenty first century excavations and new documentary research undertaken for the present volume it appeared to be desirable to re-assess and re-present Drayton's work.<sup>2</sup> This, however, presented many challenges, not least due to the fact that a great deal of the archive material relating to the excavations has not survived. Although the original site diaries and a small number of formal plans are extant, only five of clearly many more section drawings survive in any way, so the drawn archive especially is quite limited and much of the re-assessment had to be based on a relatively large photographic archive,<sup>3</sup> and the site diaries.<sup>4</sup> Although these site diaries include some scale plans, a good number of sketch plans annotated with measurements and what were probably the only records of deposits and associated finds made, they leave many questions unanswered and, for instance, only one or two sketch elevations of structural features at least survive in them, which is particularly regrettable.



Pl.1: Ivy Drayton and Others Drawing the Trench C East Section (a Drawing Now Sadly Lost)

From the site diaries and other surviving records it is clear that the work was, for the time and at least in intention, executed in a systematic way. An adequate site grid was in use and the location and extents of the main 1963 – 5 trenches (lettered A – P) and their removed inter-trench baulks is not in doubt,<sup>5</sup> but 1966 trenches' (lettered Q - V) exact locations are more problematic and their plotting (by John Pinchbeck) on Fig. 6 in the main volume often relies on evidence such as photographs which also show distinctive adjacent trees. Thus, the location of these trenches, which however add almost nothing to our knowledge of the site, is probably roughly correct, but precision is not possible. Deposits were differentiated and some (though

1 Jones and Drayton (1984) 29 – 56.

2 The evaluation was undertaken by MJD with the assistance of Ian K. Jones and Neil, John and Lesley Pinchbeck over several years in tandem with the creation of a 'secondary archive' which aimed to preserve, where possible digitise and document/contextualise all surviving written, drawn and artefactual material relating to the work and which has been lodged with the London Borough of Enfield Museum Service and Historic England.

3 Augmented by the private photographic collections of the late Geoffrey Gillam and one of the excavation participants, Jack Snary.

4 Kindly digitised and transcribed by Neil, John and Lesley Pinchbeck.

5 However, excavation proceeded by making a multitude of separately recorded trench extensions and baulk removals which would be too complex to try and illustrate here, so what is shown on figures are just the eventual full trench outlines.

not all) allocated context numbers and a particularly full finds recording system was in operation. Whether levelling data was collected though is unknown and if it was it does not survive, so the relative heights and depths of features can usually now only be guesstimated from photographic evidence. It does seem that, perhaps understandably, the emphasis was on built structures far more than deposits, and what survives at least is very far from an adequate record of the stratigraphy and its relationship to the structural features. The structural evidence (and one or two cut features) is therefore considered first, followed by what perforce can only be a note on the stratigraphy encountered. It is also apparent that no built structure was given a context number and unpicking what the site diaries record of them often relies on understanding in context which e.g. ‘older wall’ is being talked about or what is meant by e.g. ‘the facade’ or ‘plinth’. In order to describe the findings of the work in a comprehensible way therefore cut and built features have been retrospectively assigned a designation in an arbitrary sequence beginning [100] (Fig. 1) and these are used throughout. Where used deposit context numbers, prefixed with the alphabetical trench designation, are those assigned in the site diaries.

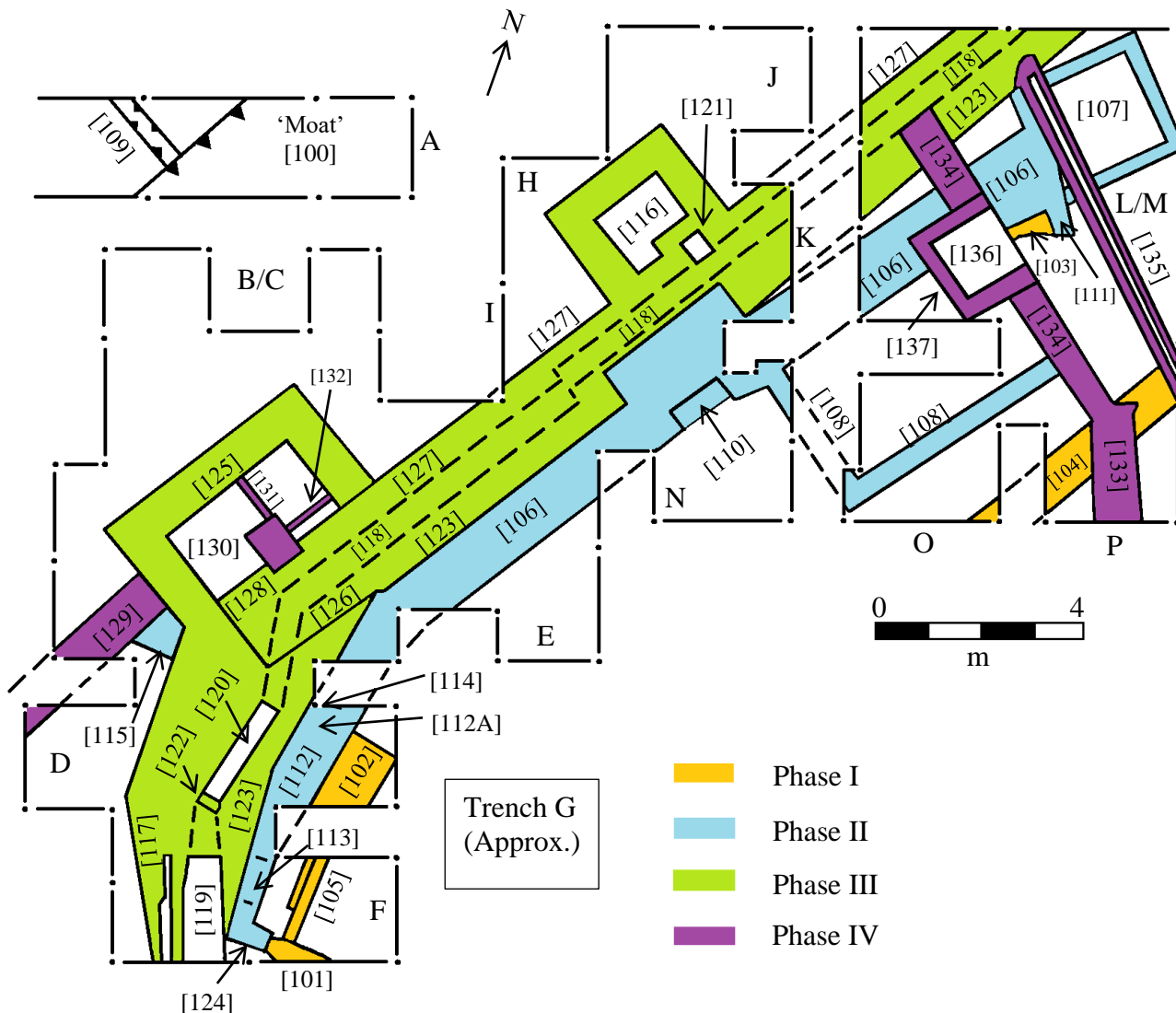


Fig. 1: Drayton’s Phased Plan with Retrospectively Assigned Feature Numbers used in the Discussion and Basic Trench Designations

The site diaries are also frustratingly brief and no substitute for the formal records which would be kept today. However, it is apparent from them that there were competing interpretations of the structural sequence on the site, but the reasons for advancing and preferring the one very briefly described by Drayton<sup>6</sup> (let alone the asserted dating of its various phases) are not given at least in her short account. What often

6 In Jones and Drayton op cit.

also cannot be known is how far those actually excavating the site adhered to stratigraphic principles in their work and how far they were capable of e.g. differentiating significant features from patterns within demolition rubble or differentiating demolition damage to walls from features that were part of them. Especially as trenches, and more so inter-trench baulks, were evidently excavated in blocks not as unified areas, the potential for misinterpretation and even the excavational creation of false features may have been considerable. The site director and at least three or four other more or less regularly present members of the site team had significant excavation experience, but many of the excavating team were novices and some children, so whether at times at least deposits were simply dug away until solid walls were encountered cannot be certain based on what records survive.

Any re-assessment of the site has now to be very cautious given the paucity of the site records so the following structural description/commentary is perforce organised according to the four phase scheme adopted by Drayton as the records will not sustain a *de novo* phase analysis. It does though seem that her Phases II – IV represent genuine successive building phases even if it is argued below that some features were misinterpreted and or assigned to the wrong phase (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2: The Tentative Revised Phasing Discussed Below

Phase I is considerably more problematic, even if there does seem to have been some form of structure preceding Phase II and the re-evaluation of this, it should be emphasised, is extremely tentative. Strictly speaking there is little or nothing on which to base any absolute dating conclusions with respect to any phased scheme. The recovered finds largely indicate only that the structures were all early post-Medieval or earlier and the very few that give more specific dating evidence usually cannot now be well enough provenanced to help. (The exception are some finds which indicate that wall [104] was demolished post c. 1550.)

However, it seems highly likely, given the known history of the site, that Drayton's Phase III represents the development of the palace under Sir Thomas Lovell c. 1486 and later. This is probably supported by the fact that at least some earlier structural elements seem to have been characterised by the use of very sandy mortar,<sup>7</sup> suggesting an apparent difference from the hard generally white mortar (though it clearly varied at least in colour) evidently in use in Phase III.<sup>8</sup> The demolition of the palace c. 1660 is also a fixed point (unless some demolition in this area might be attributed to known earlier seventeenth century remodelling; see the main book text p 116f) so that Drayton's Phase IV (be it one concerted phase of alterations and rebuilding or a number) probably belongs to between the completion of Lovell's redevelopment (which may have taken decades) and this date, so likely to the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries (and quite likely to this phase of remodelling in 1609 - 11). Phase II clearly though represents a substantial built structure(s) and if Phase III is of c. 1486+ it must be very likely that it constituted part of the house believed to have been built by Lord John Tiptoft/the Earl of Worcester sometime earlier in the fifteenth century. Prior to this the history of the site is largely speculative so that Phase I is again particularly problematic and, if the foregoing is accepted, in itself probably represents the best evidence to date for the Tiptofts' presumed structures constituting two phases or for they having adapted/redeveloped an existing structure rather than having built the first house on the site. Correlation of the phasing of the 1960s work with that of the twenty first century must then be tentative, but it seems likely that Drayton's phasing would equate to it as follows:

<b>Drayton's Phase</b>	<b>Twenty First Century Work Site Phase</b>	<b>Dating</b>
I	1a	?Earlier C15th
II	1b	?1430s
III	2	c. 1486+
IV	3/4	?Early/mid sixteenth to ?early seventeenth centuries
Demolition rubble	5a/b	c. 1660

<sup>7</sup> Drayton in Jones and Drayton (1984) 34.

<sup>8</sup> But mortar analysis was clearly in no way systematic in the 1960s work so that how much reliance should be put on what records there are of it is uncertain.

What features belonged to Phase I is very difficult to ascertain now due to the many problems with surviving records, but it seems difficult to accept that all those placed in Phase I in the published account did belong to it. Drayton allocated five features to her Phase I, 'walls', [101], [102], [103] and [104], and a timber feature, [105], as well as noting that 'there were other signs of wooden beams under brickwork'. However, only [101], [105] and perhaps [102] (though maybe as a floor that also included [112A]) seem convincing.

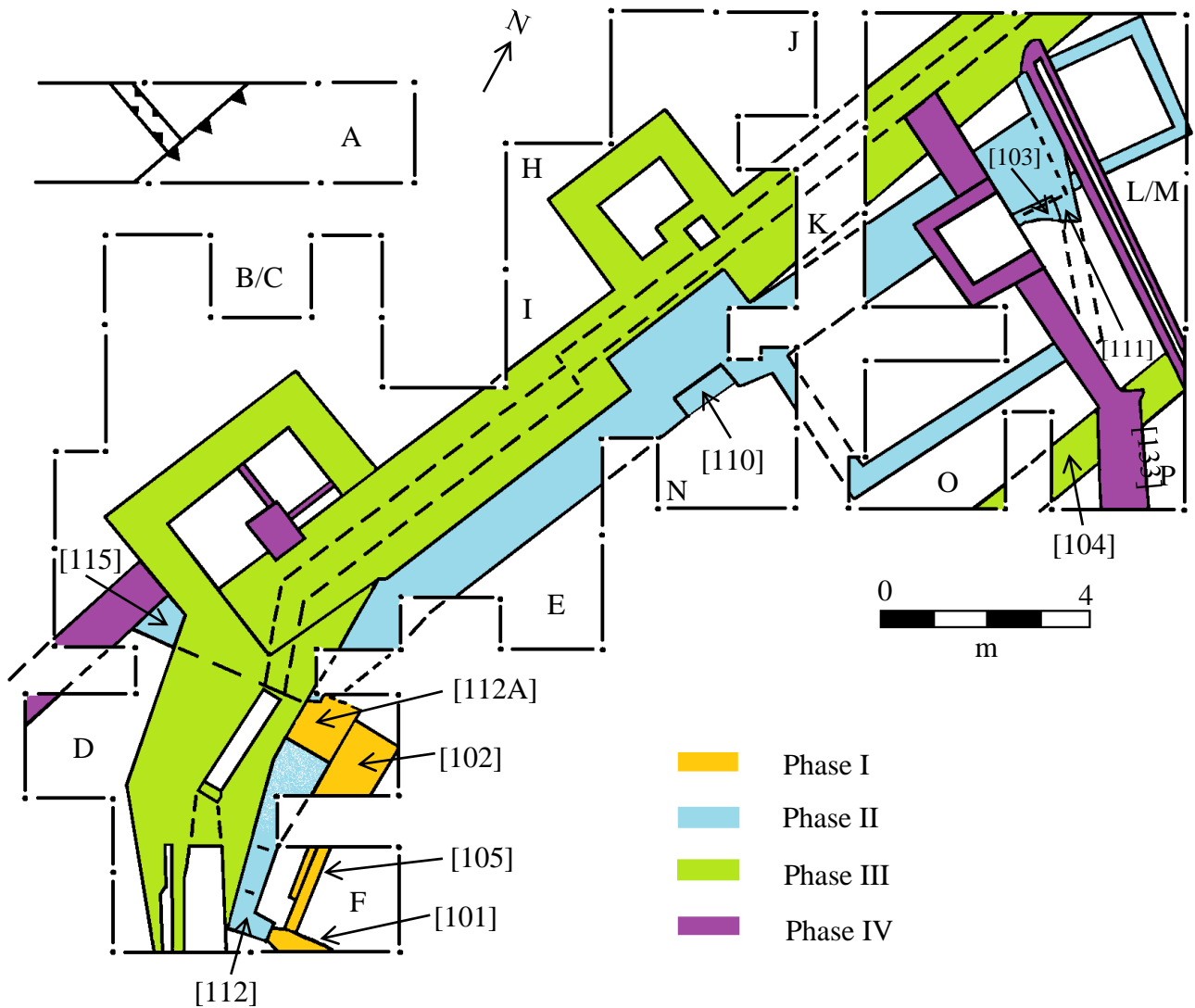


Fig. 3: Suggested Re-interpretation of the Phased Plan with Retrospectively Assigned Feature Numbers used in the Discussion of Phase I and Basic Trench Designations (Trench G Omitted)

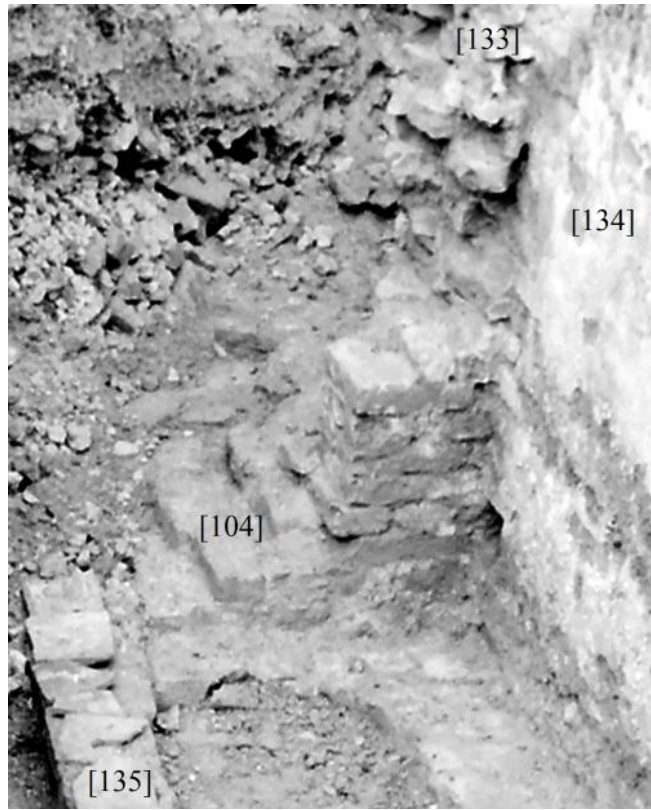
Whether one of Drayton's reasons for equating the walls or not, she noted that 'in every case the early brickwork had been almost completely robbed out, only one or two courses being left'.<sup>9</sup> However, that is patently untrue, besides leaving the question of why a wall like [115] (see Phase II), demolished to a ?similar level to [102], was allocated to Phase II not Phase I. Wall [101], in fact survived to above the level of almost all other structures on the site; built of English bond brickwork, it was only covered by topsoil and survived to at least 18 courses (Pl. 2).

<sup>9</sup> Drayton in Jones and Drayton (1984) (henceforth just 'Drayton'), 31 – 4 and Figs 14 – 15.



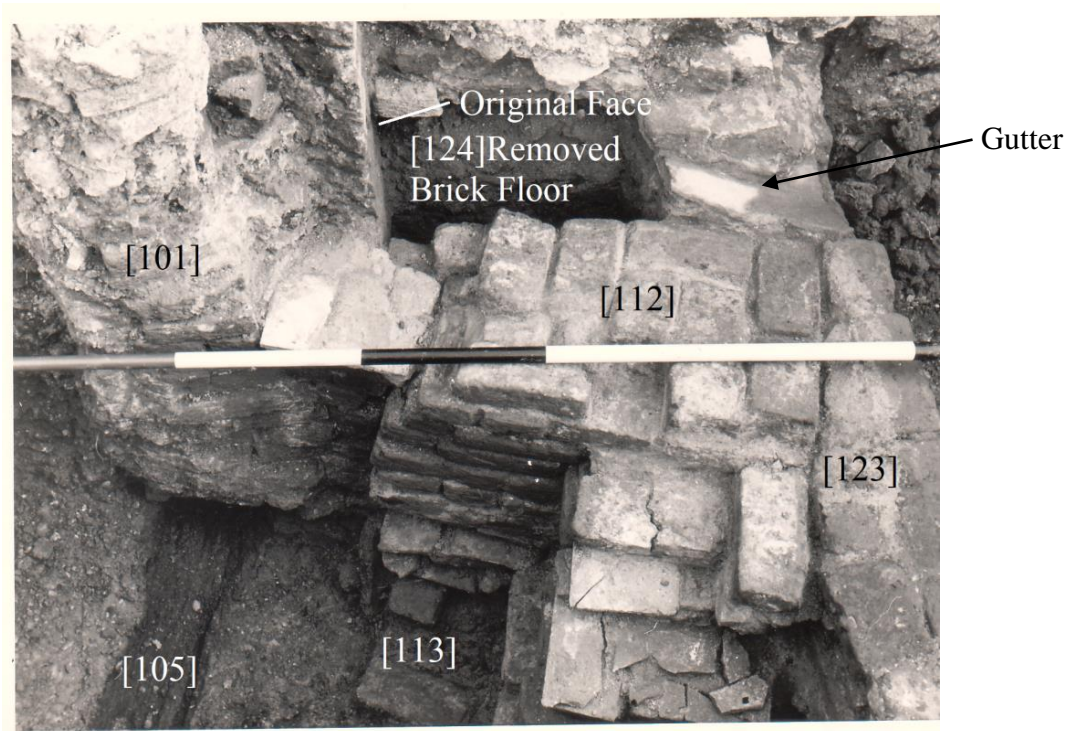
Pl. 2: Tr. F, Wall [101], Looking South

Of Drayton's Phase I allocations only [102], a 0.51 m north west to south east running brick feature in Trench D (if indeed it was a (robbed) wall not a (damaged) floor as the excavators themselves originally presumed) and perhaps [103] had been 'robbed' to this degree. The tiny exposure of 'wall' [103] in fact suggests a brick floor remnant more than a wall anyway and, though very little is recorded about it, it need only technically be stratigraphically earlier than [111] (Phase II) and may in fact have been essentially contemporary with it (and the Phase II cesspit [107]) and have been the floor of a Phase II cellar; so it is here regarded as of Phase II. Wall [104] meanwhile, in the site diaries said to be 'one brick thick on clay', clearly survived to a reasonable height. Photographs from late stages of the excavation demonstrate that its south western part survived to three to five courses high in Trench O, while north east of the north end of later wall [133] it looks to have survived to at least eight courses (Pl. 3). This wall was earlier than [133] (Drayton's Phase IV), but seems far more likely in fact to have belonged to Phase III than Phase I because a surviving section (Fig. 10) probably suggests a construction cut for it into what must be presumed to be a Phase II deposit and demolition material above the stub of [104] contained pottery of post c. 1550, so it was probably only demolished either in Phase IV or (less likely) c. 1660 with the rest of the palace, which would make a Phase I origin far less likely.



Pl. 3: Tr. M, Wall [104], Looking East (For Other Features Shown See Phase IV)

It would appear that the allocation of [101], [102] and [105] to Phase I at least in part also rested on a belief that the timber feature, [105], which demonstrably ran up to and at least under part of [101] (Pl. 4) was a foundation raft which also ran under [102] and was required because of the waterlogged conditions at this depth. However, this interpretation (evidently discussed with Michael Green) appears problematic (and cannot have anything to do with the allocation of [104] or [103] to Phase I).



Pl. 4: Tr. F, Wall [101] and Beam [105], Looking South (Other Features Belong to Later Phases)



Feature [105] comprised two adjacent north north east to south south west aligned timbers in Trench F, apparently a ? 0.97 m long, 0.15 m wide beam and a ? 0.23 – 0.36 m wide shorter one, which hardly seems to constitute a raft (though whether sufficient excavation was undertaken to rule out the presence of other timbers is unclear). Moreover, Drayton herself admits that the ‘raft’ was not seen under [102] as excavation stopped at the level of its surviving surface and the area between [105] and [102], 1.83 m away, was not excavated. The only evidence for a link between them was a coincidence of orientation (which doesn’t in fact look to be exact anyway). It is then the relationship of [105] to [101] – which appear to share an alignment, with the former running under the latter – that provides the only solid evidence. (As to the other traces of timber below brick structures, this presumably relates to a rotted timber beam which is said in the site diary to have been found below the Phase II fireplace [110] (though the diary entry is not easy to interpret) and other casual references in the diaries). Whether conceivably the timbers represented timber built structure(s) predating the brick phases (though they would apparently have had to be at a very low level), were possibly floor remnants or were indeed parts of construction rafts (or even timber drain elements) it is now impossible to be sure.

Clearly wall [101] was fairly thick (what plans there are perhaps suggesting over 1.60 m) and had an original face on the north west showing it ran approximately south west to north east like the timbers [105] (Pls 2 and 4). But part of this original face had been cut away when the south end of a new wall, [112], was constructed in Phase II and [101] looks like it had been ?demolished (?again when [112] was built) on the north side. If so, how far north it originally continued – or whether this was just damage to the face of the wall – records are inadequate to decide and all that can be said is that nothing in the site records hints at it continuing significantly further north while photographs perhaps suggest that the north west face only continued as far as a rounded/angled turn still preserved in the lower courses of the wall (Pl. 2). One might then wonder if it was substantially complete except for damage to its north face; but records are just inadequate to decide.

Never the less, wall [101] was indeed earlier than the south end of [112] (Drayton’s Phase II),<sup>10</sup> so it and the timbers [105] do seem to represent some form of structure(s) earlier than Drayton’s Phase II. But whether [102] (and an adjoining brick feature, [112A], she allocated to Phase II, but which might well also be of Phase I) was a wall rather than a floor seems quite uncertain. This question is intimately tied up with that of how far north Phase II wall [112] ran and so is discussed below, but on balance it seems most probable that [102] and [112A] were of Phase I, but more likely that they represented floor(s) than walls. All in all then Phase I may not have comprised much more than wall [101] and timber feature [105] plus – and then more speculatively - [102]/[112A], all at the extreme south side of the excavations. Beyond establishing that there was probably a brick built structure of some sort preceding Phase II then, it is difficult to go.

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<sup>10</sup> Though how far north [112] ran is significantly in doubt as Drayton seems just to have assumed it continued north up to [112A], which does not look like a wall fragment at all and in fact might well belong to Phase I.

Much, though not all, of what Drayton took to be Phase II seems to be less problematic, at least in broad outline in Trenches E and N and at the north east end of the building complex. What was clearly, from the presence of a plinth string course and a projecting chimney base for a fireplace, an external wall, [106], ran south west to north east for about 7.92 m (published and archive plans differ slightly) from the east side of Trench C before slightly changing alignment on the north east side of the fireplace ([110]) to run about a further 5.79 m up to a brick built cess pit with a vaulted roof, [107], while a ?cellar, [108], lay to the south east of this latter section of the wall. What is more problematic, and here re-interpreted (Fig. 4) is where the north east side of the ?cellar lay and whether features allocated to Phase II by Drayton in Trenches D and F really did belong to it and what they represented.

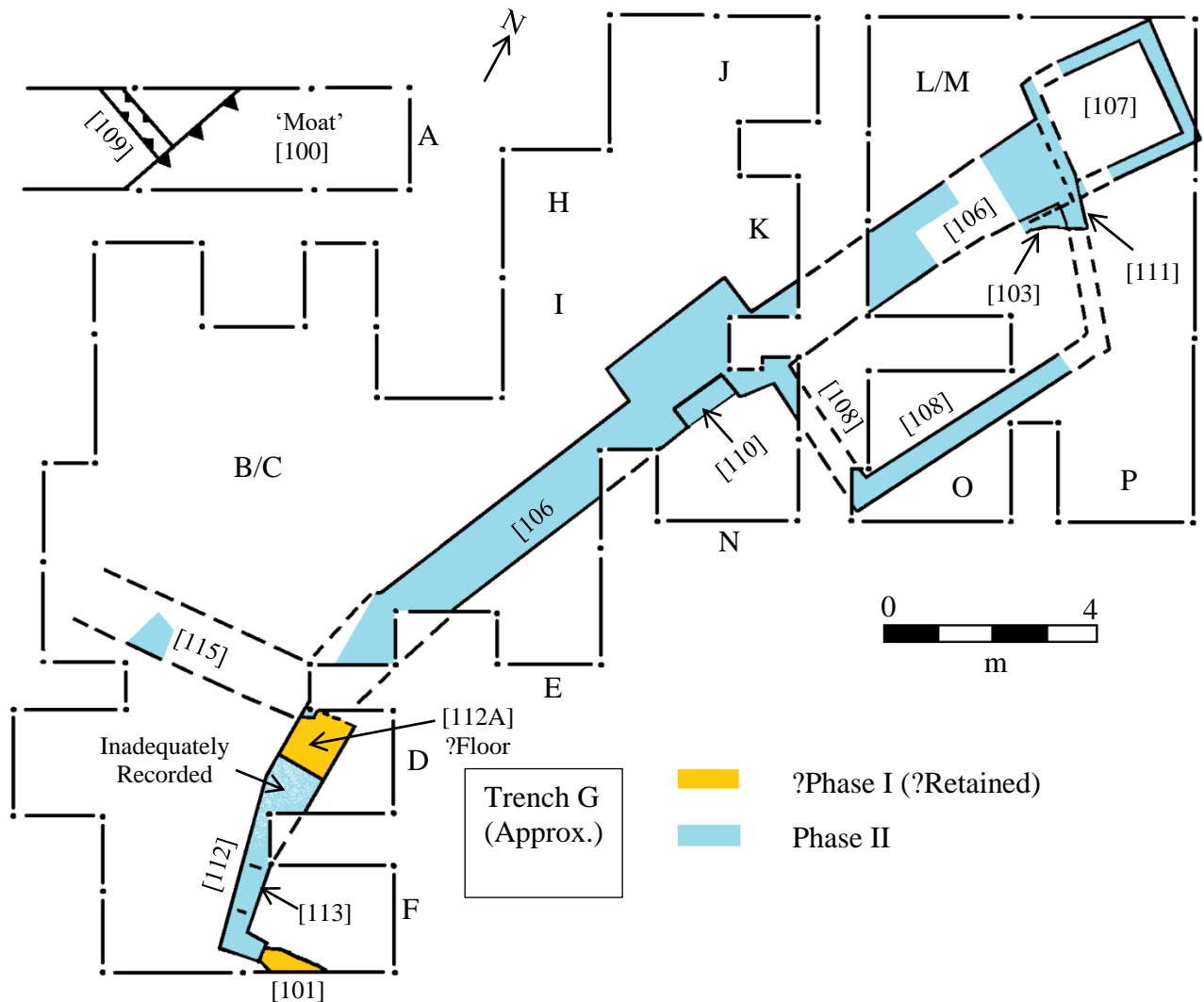


Fig. 4: Suggested Re-interpretation of the Phase II Plan with Retrospectively Assigned Feature Numbers used in the Discussion and Basic Trench Designations

Whether a possible moat, [100], only the north west side of which was found in Trench A and which no other trench seemingly encountered any part of, belonged to Phase II or Phase III cannot be certain. It, from geophysical evidence (see the main volume text Chapter 3.2), was probably not a moat marking the edge of the palace complex, but more likely just defined the building plot the structure excavated occupied. The width of the feature was seemingly not established, but it was probably of the order of 4.00 – 5.00 m wide and its rubble fill was apparently partly excavated or at least augur tested to a depth of 2.28 - 2.44 m (Fig. 5). It may well also have been seen in monitoring a gas main trench further north in 1967 (see the separate

evaluation of this work on this CD) and so probably ran the length of the Phase III if not Phase II facade formed by [106] and in Phase III broadened and given projecting towers (see below). A small U-shaped presumably drainage channel, [109], perhaps around 0.38 m wide and c. 0.25 m deep, evidently ran into it and seems to have been filled by a ‘light stony clay’ which was probably a general landscaping dump.<sup>11</sup>

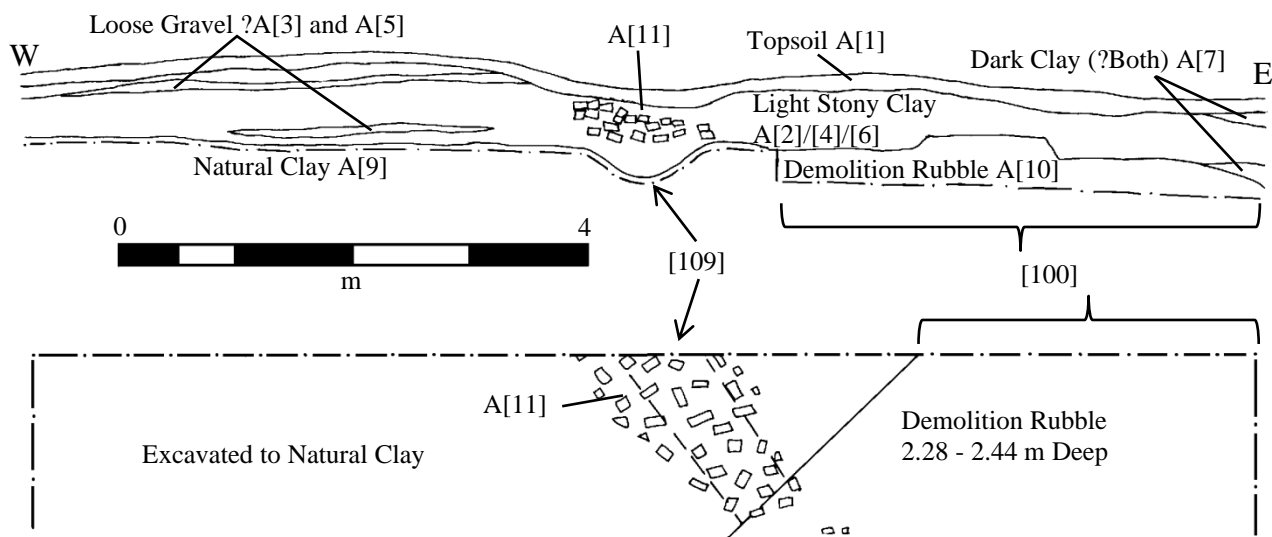
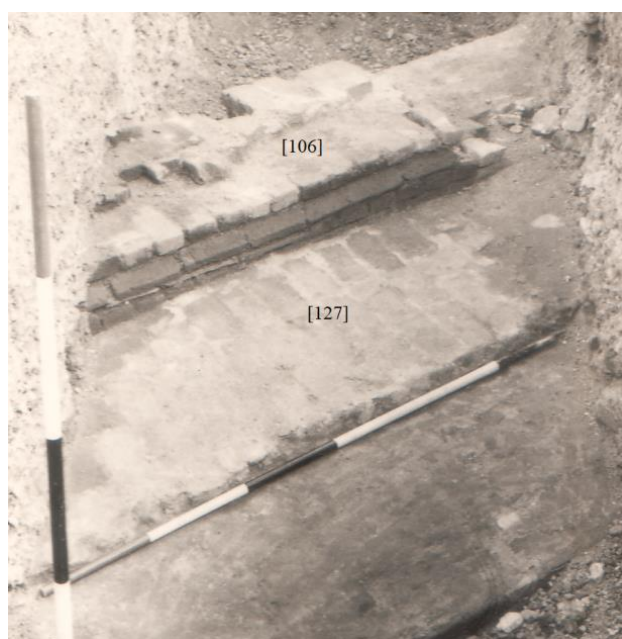


Fig. 5: Trench A, Archive Plan and North Section

(context numbers are retrospectively reconstructed and may not all be correct; note that the line of the moat may have later been corrected on now lost plans and so should not be relied upon)

The Phase II external wall, [106], under 1.00 m thick (‘[it] varied but it averaged 30 – 32 inches’ (0.76 – 0.81 m))<sup>12</sup> generally seems to have survived best to one or two courses above a simple offset plinth course of stretcher laid bricks with an angled ?cut (or moulded) chamfer to their tops (Pls 5 and 6), though to several more courses in the vicinity of the fireplace (Pl. 7).



Pl. 5: Tr. E, Wall [106] Abutted by Phase III Wall [127], Looking South East

<sup>11</sup> Some records suggest that its fill was A[11] which was described as ‘wall tumble’, but it was clearly general rubble within the ‘light stony clay’ above the channel, whose initial fill might have slumped.

<sup>12</sup> Drayton, 34.



Pl. 6: Detail of Plinth in Wall [106]



Pl. 7: Tr. N, Wall [106] Abutted by Phase III Wall [127] at the North Corner of Fireplace [110], Looking South West

It comprised at least seven and presumably at least several more courses of English bond brickwork below the plinth, in some cases with a (?levelling) peg tile course inserted directly below the plinth. Its principal surviving feature was the fireplace and chimney base, [110], the hearth built into the south east side of a 2.44 m wide north western thickening and 0.61 m deep projection of the main wall (Pl. 7). The hearth itself (Pl. 8), 1.17 m wide and 0.51 m, deep, was floored with two courses of header lain bricks and its superstructure survived to 16 courses of mostly English bond brickwork. Its north east internal face was vertical, but the south west internal face incorporated five stepped stretcher courses (beginning with the fourth above the floor) to broaden the chimney flue (perhaps with one small step further up).



Pl. 8: Tr. N, Fireplace [110], Looking North West

At the north east end of the fireplace, wall [106] turned slightly more eastwards and appears to have projected to the south east as it rose up, just north east of the fireplace (Pl. 9). An annotated sketch plan suggests that in Trench M it was 0.89 m wide (so essentially the same width as further south west) and photographs again show the simple plinth course, but generally with the English bond wall demolished down at least to it; though the wall is difficult to assess here from the photographic record partly because of Phase III and IV structures in this area.



Pl. 9: Tr. N, Fireplace [110] (?with Wall [108] Top Right), Looking North East

The same is true of some elements of the cess pit (Pl. 10) which evidently lay at the north eastern end of the wall, and according to Drayton was bonded into it. It, [107], appears to have been roughly square, c. 2.29 x 2.13 m on plans (but internally 2.03 x 1.78 m according to Drayton) and 1.37 m high below the crown of its low vaulted, single skin brick roof. The roof was built of staggered lines of south west – north east lain bricks and some site diary records suggest that the roof may have been covered by a layer of ‘clay’. The cess pit’s south western side had been truncated by the insertion of a Phase IV drain, [135], the excavators’ partial removal of which clearly caused the collapse of part of the roof and little investigation of its interior was undertaken due to its being flooded and to time constraints. Its walls were of English bond brickwork with peg tile filler courses at the wall/roof junctions (Pl. 11).



Pl. 10: Tr. L/M, Cess Pit [107], Looking North East



Pl. 11: Tr. L/M, Interior of Cess Pit [107], Looking North East

Clearly the inflow to the cess pit must have been on the south west where it was later truncated by Phase IV drain [135] and it might well have served garderobes which remained in use through Phases II and III. Whether the location of the cess pit indicates the position of the north eastern end of the Phase II range is unclear. Whilst no wall lines are recorded north east of the later drain [135], this part of the site was the last to be investigated in 1965 and photographs demonstrate that the eastern baulk of Trench L/M sloped and had only an ad hoc shoring of old doors so that excavation below the level of the roof of the cess pit to that cess pit’s south east was impossible (Pl. 12). The cess pit could therefore have projected north west of a north eastern continuation of wall [106] which had been truncated by drain [135]/lay in an unexcavated area. Indeed, the changes in Phases III and IV probably imply that by then at least the range continued for at least some distance to the north east of the cess pit.



Pl. 12, Tr. L/M, Looking South East

Some 0.61 m north east of the hearth in wall [106] a narrower wall, [108], met that wall at right angles (Pl. 9) and was said to have been of one build with it. It is relatively poorly recorded, but was traced c. 2.44 m to the south east where it returned at right angles to the north east. This return was evidently c. 3.96 m long and ‘stood to a height of 3 feet [0.91 m] in places’,<sup>13</sup> though photographic evidence suggests that it survived higher than this in some cases, to about 11 courses of English bond brickwork; and it looks to have been only about a foot (0.30 m) wide (Pl. 13).



Pl. 13: Tr. O, Wall [108]

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13 Drayton p 36.

Drayton believed that the walls formed two sides of ‘a cellar or similar ‘room’ as ‘the wall faces inside this ‘room’ were cleanly finished but those outside were very rough and set in clay. It would appear that this ‘room’ had been sunk into a mixture of made-up and natural earth and it is difficult to imagine it being used for anything other than storage purposes – or, possibly a cess-pit.’<sup>14</sup> The site diary adds the details that just over 0.76 m below the surviving top of the wall on the south east it narrowed, comprising only a single skin of bricks on its north west side, backed on the south by ‘grey clay with yellow streaks’, and had been ‘put in by trench building’ (Pl. 14 probably shows the north west face of this part of the wall, though it has not been possible to confirm this from the surviving archive).



Pl. 14: Tr. O, ?North West Face of Wall [108]

This seems to strengthen Drayton’s interpretation as a cellar – though her alternative of a cess pit function seems unlikely. The site diary also notes that the north face of the wall on the south east was burnt; it was presumed at the time during palace demolition which would imply that the cellar remained in use through Phases III and IV, though that cannot be certain.

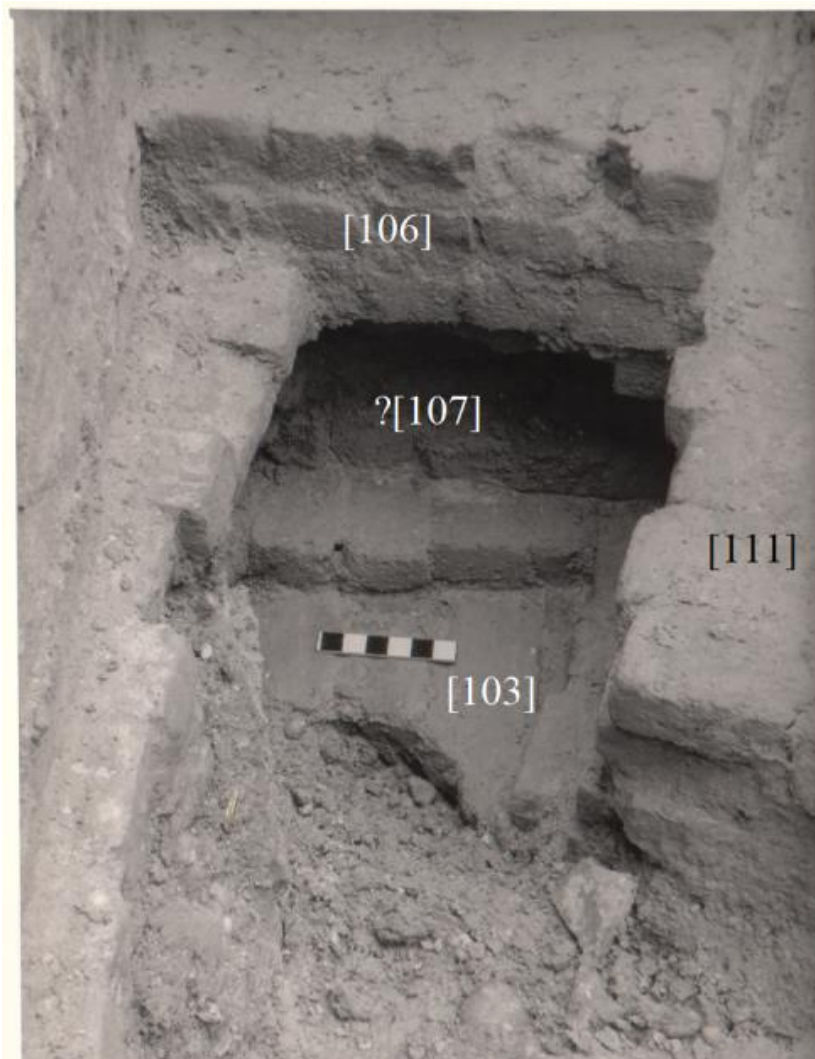
Drayton seems to have assumed that the north east side of the cellar had been entirely removed by a later wall ([134]) to judge from her published Fig. 14 (though her text is silent on the matter), which is not unreasonable as it would make the cellar rectangular. But an alternative would be that it was represented by wall [111] (which she did allocate to Phase II). This fragment of walling, running south south east from the junction of [106] and the cess pit (for about 0.61 m beyond [106]) and probably surviving to three courses, the basal offset over the surface of [103], is difficult to interpret now with little more than photographic evidence to go on and that it was integral with [106] not built across its part demolished end has to be an assumption. But if it was integrally built its function seems unobvious unless it belonged to the cellar. Moreover, it does not appear that excavation would have been deep enough to have found any vestiges of it continuing far enough to meet [108] in an area where a Phase IV brick floor/sub floor would appear to have later been created (below). The most useful photograph of [111] (Pl. 15) also seems to suggest that it and a second wall running west south west to east north east were built with their basal offsets on top of the surface of [103], which might then have been the brick floor of ?cellar [108], lain prior to their

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14 Drayton p 36.



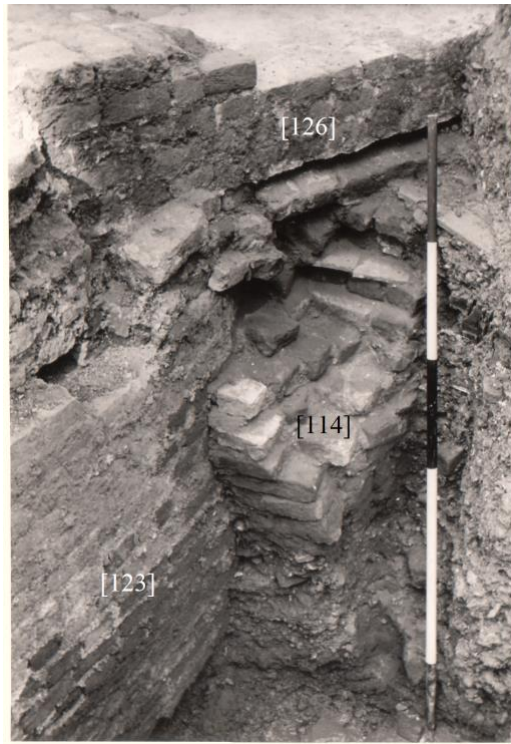
construction and here impossible to remove when it went out of use. The second wall seems very likely to be a continuation of the south east wall of the cesspit [107], with the external wall of the building complex, [106], then constructed above it and overshooting it. If so this suggests that the cellar [108] and cesspit [107] were laid out first before the external wall [106] was at least fully built and this may explain why [106] changed alignment at the south west end of the cellar.



Pl. 15: Tr. L/M, Looking North West

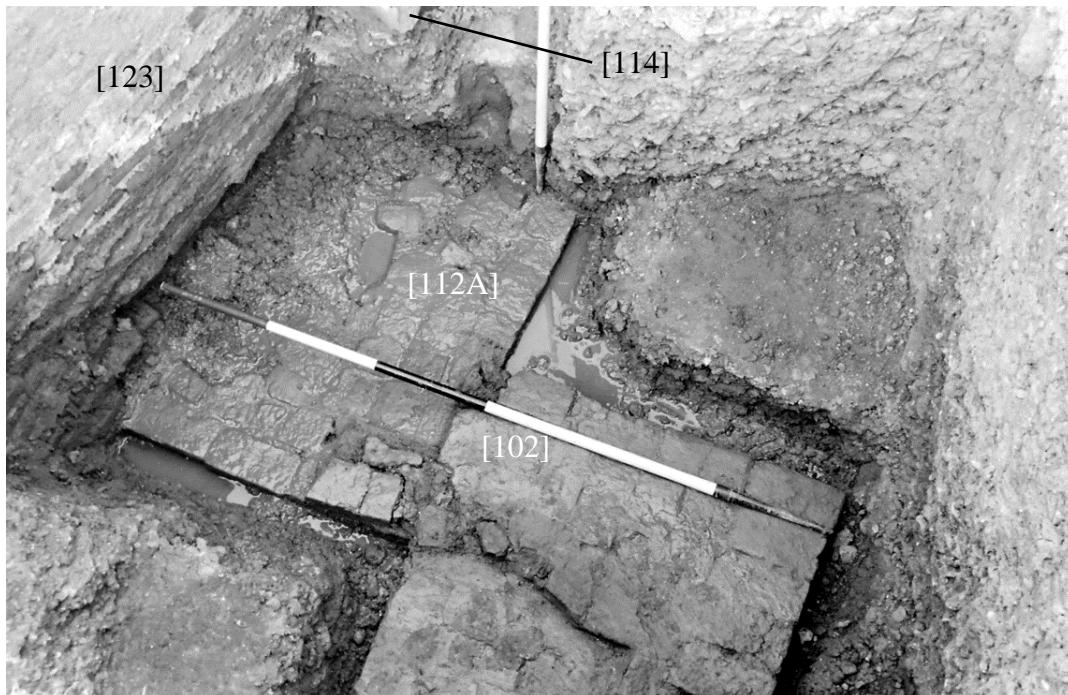
Interpretative problems with Phase II at the south west end of the site are more considerable. Photographic evidence confirms the continuation of [106], the external wall with its plinth, as far as Trench E. On the west side of this trench it appears to have been more fully demolished than elsewhere, but there seems no reason not to assume that it continued as far as the west side of the (removed) baulk between Trenches E and C (though there seems to be no record of this area other than the main site plan). Here though Drayton's presumption that the same wall simply turned more south south west (as 'wall' [112]/[112A]), ran for another c. 4.27 m, narrowed, incorporated a doorway [113] and finally turned south east is fraught with difficulties.

The problems are compounded by the presence of the back wall of a later (Phase III) tower [126] and of an unexcavated area between Trenches C and D, but photographs of Trench D clearly show later Phase III wall [123] built up to, and wall [126] built over, [114] which looks more like the ? c. 13 course high remnant of not a south west to north east wall but one running north west to south east and incorporating tile courses (Pl. 16). If so, its alignment moreover cannot have been much different from that of wall fragment [115], some 2.43 m to the north west, and one strongly suspects that the external wall of the building in fact therefore turned north west at the north side of Trench D.



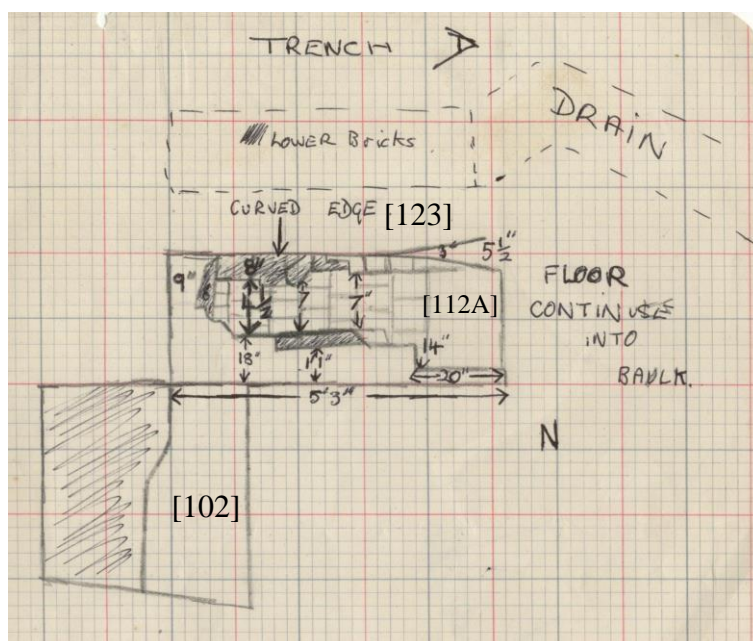
Pl. 16: Tr. D, Wall [114], Looking North

Drayton's evidence for the main wall continuing south south west evidently by contrast consisted of [112A], no more than a 0.97 m north west to south east, by over (as it ran into a baulk to the north east) 1.60 m north east to south west block of brickwork (the site diary noting that its joints were filled with sand, 'all signs of lime in the mortar having disappeared'). It was adjacent to (if not integral with) the very similar feature [102] which also had only sand filled joints and Drayton had allocated to Phase I (as in this re-evaluation [112A] is) (Pl. 17).



Pl. 17: Tr. D, 'Walls' [112A] and [102], Looking North East  
(with the very base of [114] just visible – compare Pl. 19)

How many courses these two features consisted of is unclear. Photographs do suggest that [102] was in fact at least two courses thick while a loose and undated contemporary sketch (Pl. 18) may imply the same about [112A]. But it is the only non-photographic record of [112A], clearly does not represent the fully excavated extent of it and one has to ask, comparing it to photographic evidence, whether any of what is being sketched is unremoved rubble.



Pl. 18: Loose Site Diary Sketch of [112A]

Certainly if one relies on the photographic evidence one has to wonder whether anyone would so carefully demolish not one but two adjacent stretches of 'wall' so as to leave essentially flat surfaces at what seems to have been a considerable depth. The suspicion might be that these were in fact parts of a floor or (successive) floors, perhaps of another cellar; or even of an otherwise removed drain. In fact the site diary shows that this is precisely what [112A] at least was initially thought to be, a floor 'at much lower level than other floors already found (cellar or earlier house?)'. Moreover, photographs seem to clearly show that [112A] was not a feature that continued to the south west even to the full width of Trench D as it appears to on Drayton's published plans; rather it had a definite and original looking edge on the south west as if it and [102] were parts of the same feature. In addition, [112A] and [102] appear in fact not to show a consistent brick orientation which one might expect of an English bond built wall demolished to a given level. Not visible on any photograph, the site diary also indicates that 'a course of curved tiles – earlier drain?' were found 'where the low level brick floor [[112A]] meets the drain [i.e. wall [123] which encased the Phase III drain]'. One of the tiles is sketched and this suggests that a gutter, probably of inverted ridge tiles, may have run along the north west side of [112A]. Finally [112A] appears to lay well below the base of the wall, [114], it is supposedly the continuation of (Pl. 19). Thus, unless it is a result of incomplete excavation, wall [114] in fact looks to have been built on a rubble/soil dump probably over 0.30 m thick which lay above [112A].

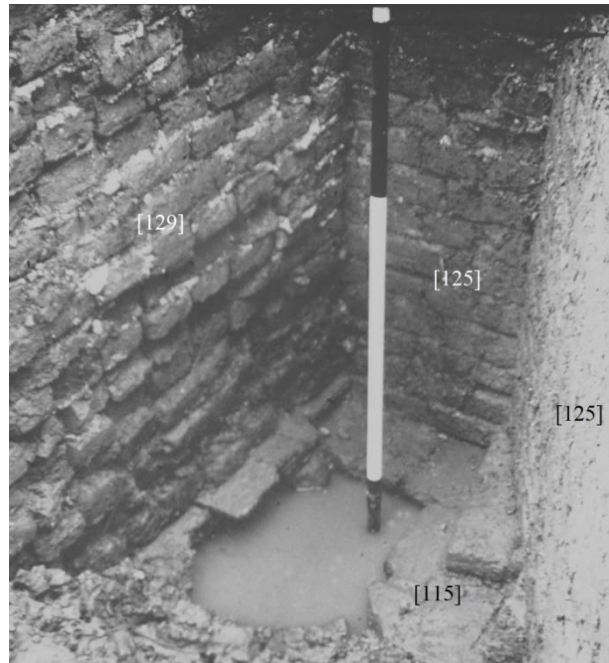


Pl. 19: Tr. D, Wall [114], Looking North East

What is suggested here then is that the Phase II building's external wall turned approximately west roughly at the north side of Trench D and comprised [114] and [115]. It is difficult to say much about the latter, except that it was clearly earlier than Phase III work, because that redevelopment and a Phase IV wall ([129]) had left only a fragment of it at the very base of a very deep excavation, while excavation north west of [129] was not deep enough to have revealed its continuation. The most helpful photographs of it (Pls 20 and 21) suggest the survival of two plus courses of brickwork and show its orientation but little else.



Pl. 20: Tr. B, Wall [115], Looking North



Pl. 21: Tr. B, Wall [115], Looking South East

Further south west Drayton though ??just assumed her Phase II external wall [106] continued through the (partly removed) Trench D/F baulk (where there are no photographic records and no mention whatsoever of any such wall in the tiny number of references to the removal of this baulk). She then believed it ran through Trench F as [112] and on to a right angled turn near the south side of that trench, narrowing as it did so and incorporating a doorway, [113]. Again this seems very problematic.

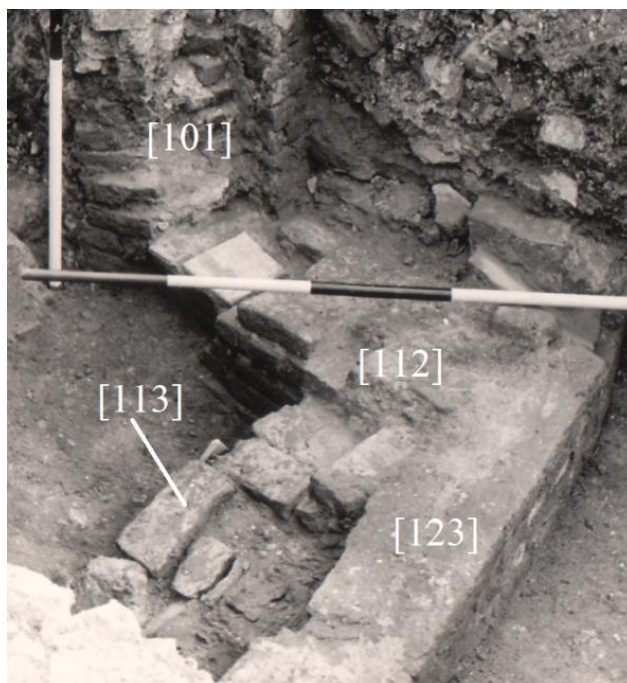
What was clearly a wall later than the Phase I wall [101], which still seems to have been in use in some form, and earlier than Phase III, did indeed run through Trench F. Unlike [106] though, the wall in question, [112], cannot have been of much structural significance unless it was originally wider (and there is no sign in photographic evidence that it had been cut back in Phase III when [123] was abuted on to it; Pl. 22).



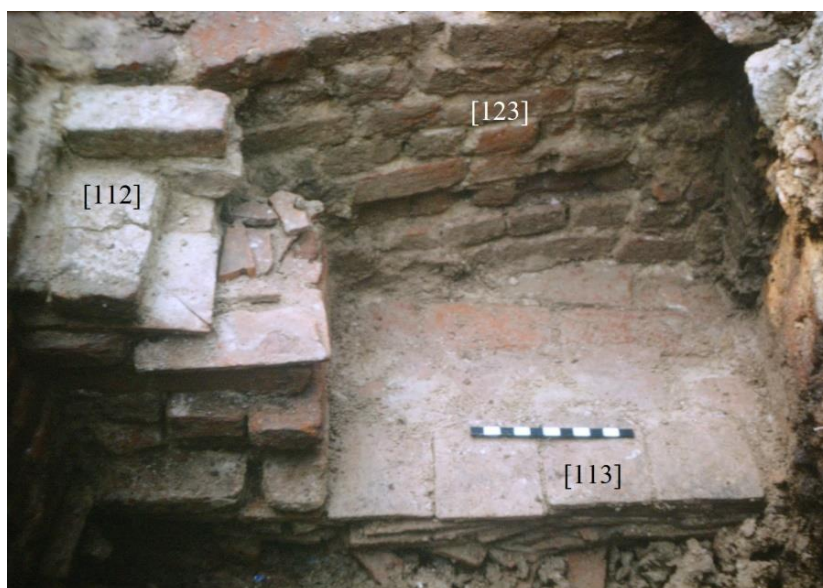
Pl. 22: Tr. F, Wall [112], Looking South

Nor is the doorway claimed convincing. Photographs show that it, [113], had rather disrupted brickwork within it when first encountered (Pl. 23), so at the least was blocked in Phase III. But one strongly suspects that it was the damaged brickwork itself, and its removal, that gave the impression of a doorway. It did not

have an 'interior jamb formed of four red tiles each 9 inches square, still in situ'<sup>15</sup> as Drayton claimed. Even her published photograph demonstrates that the tiles forming the supposed threshold were only roughly broken at one end and better photographs show that they were part of the top (of otherwise no more than small irregular tile fragments) of three or four courses of tiles forming part of a basal offset of the wall (Pls 22, 24 and 25), probably with the gap between the back of the 'doorway' and the face of later wall [123] infilled with stretcher laid bricks. Indeed, these photographs appear to show these offsetting tile courses continuing into the undisturbed wall to the south of the 'doorway'; while quite obviously another at least two courses of tiles had been used further up this wall which seems unlikely at a doorway. Moreover, the doorway would seem to be set rather low down to be convincing, at least as any form of doorway through an external wall.



Pl. 23: Tr. F, Wall [112] at an Early Stage of Excavation, Looking South



Pl. 24: Tr. F, 'Doorway' [113], Looking West

<sup>15</sup> Drayton, 34.



Pl. 25: Tr. F, 'Doorway' [113], Looking West

In fact wall [112] was clearly built, presumably in Phase II, to abut Phase I wall [101] (Pl. 4). It seems to have survived to seven courses of English bond brickwork above the basal tile offsets, probably with another small offset at the highest surviving course, and had been built into a rectangular slot cut into the west face of [101]. One suspects that what was being created was a new internal room/cellar, the remnants of a possible brick floor to which (if it was not an earlier feature) may have survived just in front of [113] (Pl. 25).

Though much detail can be added to Drayton's account of what she considered to be the third phase on the site, the only substantial alteration to how she interpreted it would be the allocation of [104] to this phase not Phase I (Fig. 6). Basically it seems to have comprised the construction of a major new north western and western facade to the building which incorporated two square towers ([116] and [125]) and a large encased vaulted drain ([118]). It now, if not before, evidently had a moat ([100]) to its west (see Phase II) and parts of the Phase II building (including the central section with its fireplace and what is here suggested to have been an internal room/cellar bounded by [101] and [112]) could have remained in tact and in use at least if the smaller new tower, [116], was accessed at first floor level. Indeed, the drain doglegs to avoid the bay holding the fireplace. But, whether the reinterpretation of Phase II above is accepted or not, it did clearly involve the demolition of some form of structure of Phase II represented by [115]. The Phase II cesspit [107] need not have gone out of use at this date though; indeed the new facade wall which encased the drain deviated from the alignment of the Phase II external wall at the north end of the site to avoid it, so it was probably still in use. And the same might well be true of the cellar [108]. If so this would have been more a remodelling of the facade of the block than a redevelopment of it and one impetus for even that may have been the apparent need to construct a very large drain, perhaps principally or at least partly serving structures/open areas south of the excavated area rather than just the buildings here, and leading north, presumably ultimately to Maidens Brook.

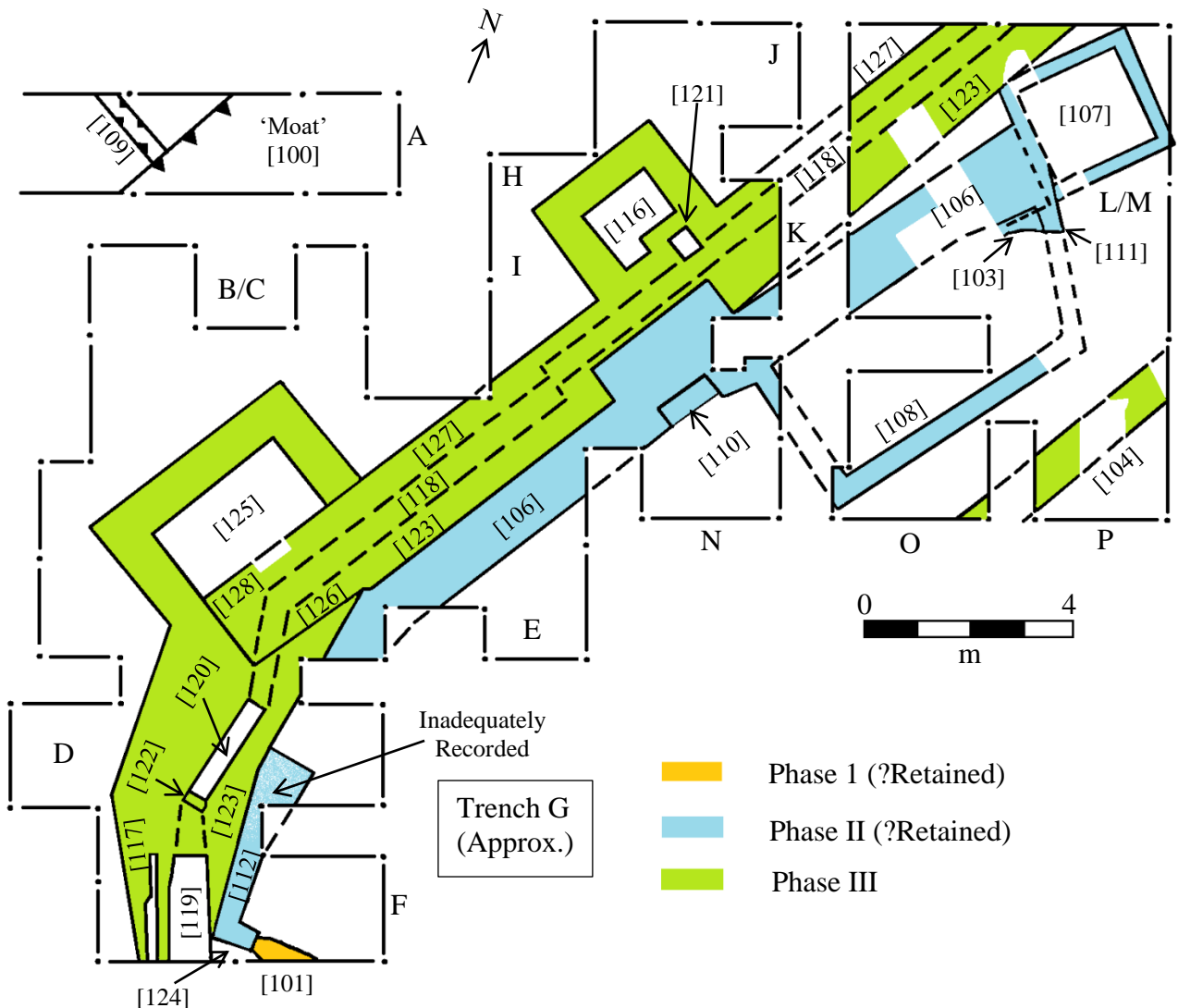
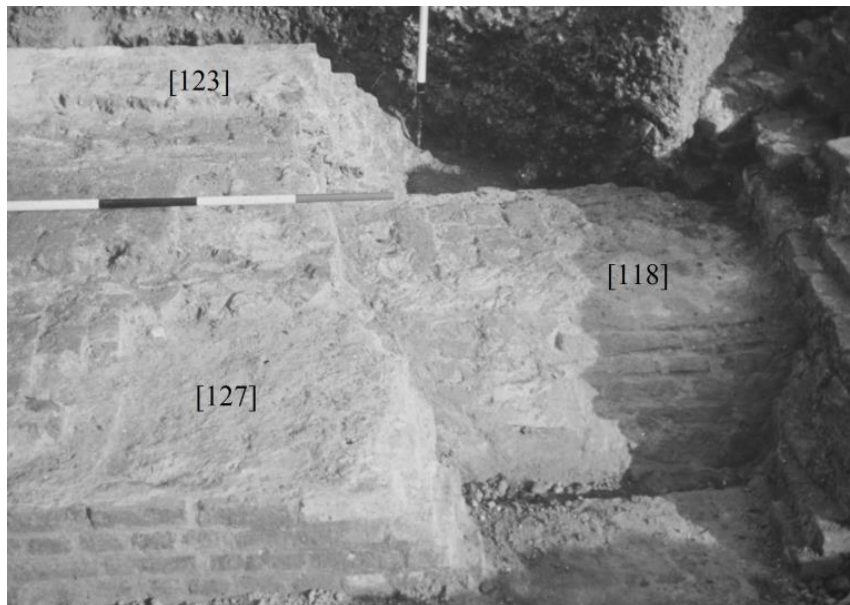


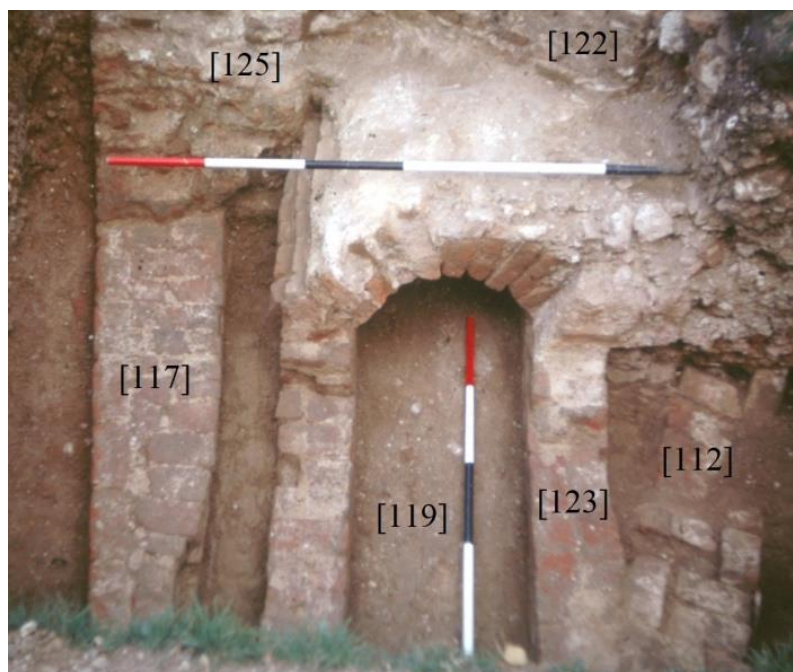
Fig. 6: Suggested Phase III Plan with Retrospectively Assigned Feature Numbers used in the Discussion and Basic Trench Designs



Essentially it would appear that the drain was built first and then subsequently fully encased in walling where, presumably, a substantial superstructure including the two towers required that (Pl. 26). Further south in Trench F such a superstructure was not envisaged, so only a much slighter enclosing wall ([117]) was constructed west of the (?here open) drain (Pl. 27). This even left a clay packed gap between the drain and the increasingly narrow [117] (?maybe suggesting that the building range under excavation ended or lay further east immediately south of Trench F).

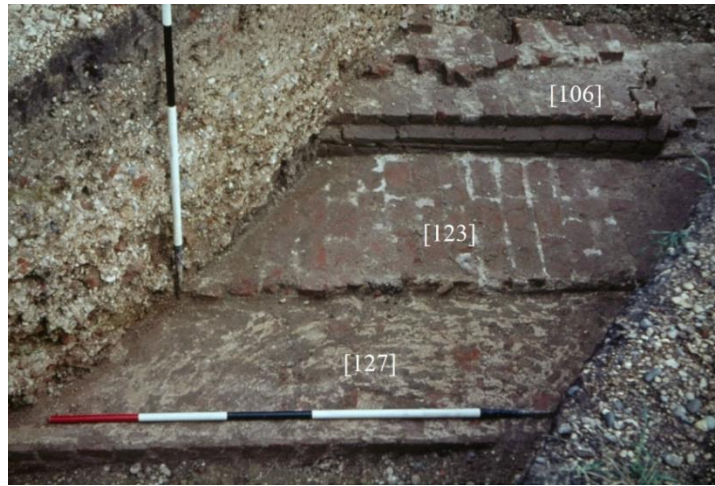


Pl. 26: Tr. C, Drain [118] Exposed by Demolition of the Encasing Walls [123] and [127], Looking South East



Pl. 27: Tr. F, 'Open' Drain Section [119] and Flanking Wall [117], Looking North

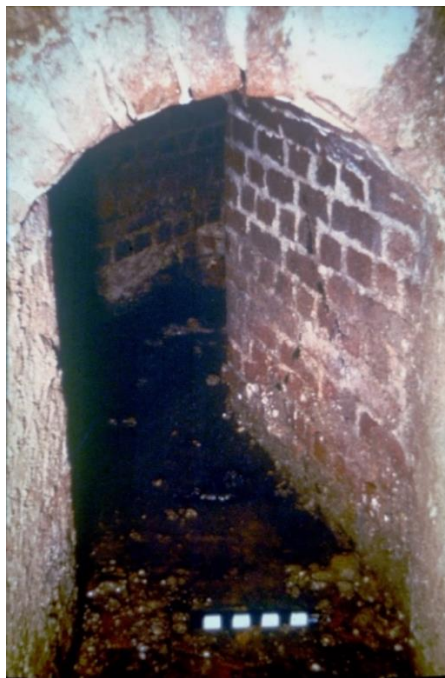
This phased construction is reflected in some details of the larger tower's build (below) and by the fact that in places at least an off white mortar seems to have been used in the building of the north western side of the encasing wall but a brighter whiter mortar on the south eastern side, the two sides obviously having been built separately as the levels of their courses do not quite match (Pl. 28).



Pl. 28: Tr. E/I, Mismatching Drain Encasing Walls [123] and [127], Looking South

The drain ([118]) had two open sections ([119] and [120]) and was served by one small square garderobe chute ([121]) and later by what one has to presume was the ingress of Phase IV drain [135] '20 feet further east'.<sup>16</sup> The open sections (?and garderobe chute) were excavated, while the excavators entered the drain at the north end of [120] and were able to walk along it probably at least as far as the northern edge of Trench L/M and according to one of them they believed as far as Maiden's Brook.<sup>17</sup> However, the precise locations of some photographic records of it cannot be certainly established.

The enclosed, brick floored drain (Pls 29 and 30) is described by Drayton as having a vaulted roof, internally 0.97 m high at the crown and 0.79 m at the sides, 0.53 m wide in some places and 0.41 m in others. It seems to have had sides of 11 courses of rather irregularly bonded brickwork and an 11 brick wide vaulted roof. From the northern end of the more northerly open section ([120]) it apparently ran north north west for about 0.76 m before turning to run north east (Pl. 29) for about 5.18 m to a right-angled dog leg to the west (Pl. 30), in order to avoid the Phase II projection accommodating fireplace [110], before continuing north east for a further over 10.06 m.



Pl. 29: Drain [118], Looking North East from the North End of [120]

<sup>16</sup> Drayton, 41.

<sup>17</sup> Terry Kelly pers. comm. 2017.



Pl. 30: Drain [118] Interior, Probably Looking South West Towards the Dog Leg

Two recesses within the drain were noted probably on the west side, one at the change of direction and one at the dog leg, '3' 10" [1.17 m] long, 1' [0.30 m] high and 4" [0.10 m] deep (the gap made by omitting the bottom three courses of bricks)'.<sup>18</sup> Drayton thought that these were to hold tools, but that seems highly unlikely if the recesses were at the floor level of the drain and it is far more likely that they gave additional width to the drain at the points where it changed direction to prevent any 'backing up' of the flow. (Drayton also thought that the drain had been flushed by a stream because it was so clean, but there are no water sources that could have been used for this, besides it is now known that some palace drains have continued to take a rainwater flow into Maidens Brook into modern times and this has probably continued to prevent significant silting.)

At least within the excavated area the drain probably originally served two garderobes. One – likely at first floor level or above - is clearly indicated by the rectangular chute [121] which was built into a thickening of the south eastern side of the smaller tower ([116], below). It was 0.41 m square (Pls 31 and 43) and sloped from north west to south east into the drain within which (?demolition) debris that had been tipped down it was found mounded.

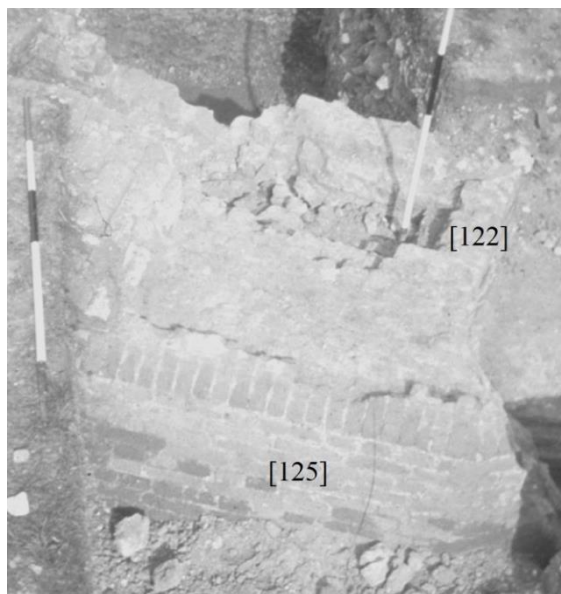


Pl. 31: Tr. K, Tower [116] with Chute [121] Arrowed in the Foreground, Looking North West

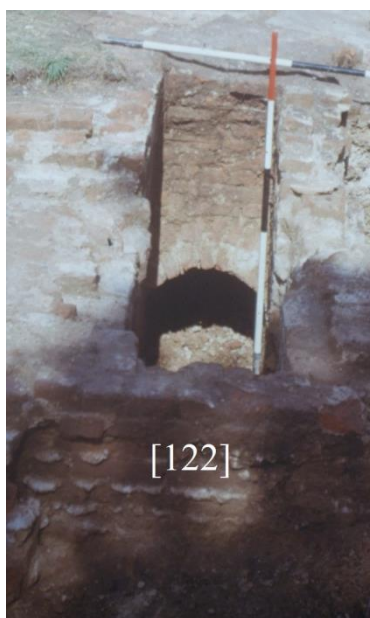
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18 Drayton, 41.

The other garderobe is presumably implied by [120], the more northerly of the open sections of the drain. It was 2.29 m long and seems to have widened a little with depth as it is noted as being 0.46 m wide at the top and 0.48 m wide at the base. Its depth is not precisely recorded, but the site diary notes that it was ‘at least 4 ft [1.22 m] deep at the south end’ with its sides plaster faced for the top 0.58 m. It had a floor of bricks lain diagonally with respect to the orientation of the drain and ‘at the south end there was a narrow ledge which could have supported a wooden covering or garderobe seat. (There was however no sign of a ledge at the north end).’<sup>19</sup> Sadly, photographic records of [120] are limited (Pls 32 and 33) and the significance of the ‘ledge’, if indeed it was not just an offset in the brickwork, cannot be certain, but [120] presumably served a multiple seat latrine.



Pl. 32: Tr. D, Open Drain Section [120], Looking East



Pl. 33: Tr. D, Open Drain Section [120], Looking North

This open section of the drain was separated from another ([119]) to its south by a roofed section (which turned c. 30° at this point); it clearly supported the south wall, [122], of the garderobe (chute) and the

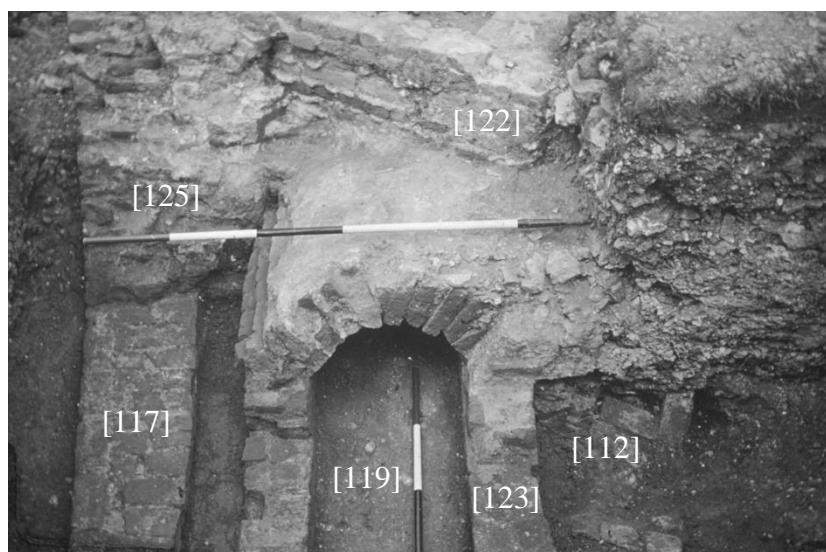
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19 Drayton, 38.

unstruck joints on the south face of [122] imply that at least at the level preserved this face was probably either buried or concealed (Pls 32 - 35). This probably adds to the suspicion that the garderobe itself – contra Drayton’s belief – lay at first floor level or above. How long the roofed section of the drain was is a little ambiguous; some site diary records might be taken to mean 0.91 m while Drayton gives ‘about two feet [0.61 m]’.<sup>20</sup>



Pl. 34: Tr. D/F, Roofed Section of the Drain (to the Right of [122]), Looking South East



Pl. 35: Tr. F, Open Drain Section [119], Looking North

The southern open section of the drain [119] though seems much less likely to represent a garderobe. A c. 1.52 m length of it was within the area excavated according to the site diary, but Drayton gives 1.98 m and its width is given in the site diary at one point, and by Drayton, as 0.86 m, but it looks, on the general site plan especially, as if it was broadening as it ran south, but on a site diary sketch plan as if it was narrowing as it ran south. Photographic evidence (Pls 27 and 35) is more ambiguous. A significant problem is though whether it was ever fully excavated because there is no photographic evidence to suggest that it was and no indication in the records of its depth or how it was floored.

That it was originally open rather than its roof having been removed in demolition seems quite possible as the face of the vaulted roof at its north end might be original and in any event it clearly took a flow from the east because a gutter [124] fed into it (Pl. 4). But its sides had obviously been demolished and presumably originally matched the height of those in the roofed section. Whether maybe it also represented an access point into the drain for maintenance, clearly there had not been more than a narrow facade wall

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<sup>20</sup> Drayton, 41.

([117]) built to its west with the gap between them packed with clay, so it seems likely that there was no substantial superstructure in this area and one might wonder whether the gutter suggests that it took a flow of rainwater from an external surface here. What was retained or modified to the east of this southern end of the new drain is very hard to say. The drain's east side wall [123] was obviously butted on to Phase II wall [112] (e.g. Pl. 22) so what has been suggested above as a cellar which [112] was the west wall of presumably remained in use. Immediately south of it though was a floor, [124], which very sadly was largely removed without proper photographic record, though it can be seen in section in Pl. 4 and the surviving Trench F drawn section (Fig. 8).

Certainly [117], the wall to the west of the drain at this southern end of the site, which narrowed to as little as 0.24 m wide as it ran south, appears to have been a fairly light construction of part bricks backing just a single skin of – presumably – English bond brickwork and one might well ask whether it was more than a dwarf wall to screen the drain (or base for a timber construction). By contrast the wall broadened as it ran north and enclosed the roofed section of the drain, its western face then turning at an angle coincident with [122] to run 2.90 m up to the larger of two towers, [125], which it met at 55° and presumably provided support for.

The tower itself was 4.27 m wide externally and projected from the facade wall by 2.29 m according to Drayton (though published plans show it as nearer to 2.13 m). But internal dimensions are at variance in different records. Published plans give a width of 2.74 m and a depth of 3.05 m; Drayton says 3.20 m by 2.90 m. The site diary gives 0.69 m for the width of the north east wall and published plans seem to agree and show all its walls the same width. Externally the wall was cleared as far as one or more, presumably basal, offsets in two places, in the centre of the north west face and in the angle formed by [117] and the later wall [129] (Pl. 36; and see Pl. 21).



Pl. 36: Tr. B, North West Face of Tower [125], Looking South

This showed that it survived to 1.83 m (according to Drayton) comprising basal offsets, then 24 courses of English bond brickwork up to an offset at a moulded brick plinth course (continued to the south west on the west face of the tower) and in places two courses of English bond brickwork above it (Pl. 37). Only two small basal offsets are obvious in the angle between [117] and [129], but on the north west at least two larger ones, the lower appearing to be of downward sloping headers, can be seen on Pl. 36 and the site diary notes 'six shallow steps'. The tower's construction appears to have been of fair inner and outer skins and a rougher, often part brick core to judge from photographs (Pl. 38) and this was continued in the integrally built section of wall abutting and running south which again had an offset at a moulded brick plinth course below the two highest surviving courses of its English bond brickwork.



Pl. 37: Tr. B, Moulded Brick Plinth at the South West Corner of Tower [125], Looking North East



Pl. 38: South West Side of Tower [125], Looking North West

The back (south eastern side) of the tower was marked by [126], an English bond brickwork wall built over [114] as part of [123], the wall encasing the south east side of the drain (Pl. 39; see also Pl. 19 and Pl. 40). It survived to a lower level than the south west and north west walls of the tower and had been completely demolished at its north east end as part of a more thorough area of demolition (referred to by Drayton as the arch) that removed both the encasing walls of the drain ([123] and within/north east of the larger tower [127]) as well as much of the north east wall of the tower (Pls 39 and 41; see also Pl. 26). Given that this was the only part of the complex demolished to this extent, and the likely amount of work involved, unless conceivably the area had already been subject to some collapse, one might well ask what necessitated this demolition, but no reason is immediately obvious.



Pl. 39: Tr. B/C/D, Tower [125], Looking South

Internally tower [125] had been modified in Phase IV (below) on the north west, but excavation records are too poor to say much about its original form here. No original floor was certainly identified in its north western half, although excavation in some areas seems to have reached internal basal offsets to the wall, even if at what level is unknown. However, at one point probably well below the ?Phase IV midden (for which see below) excavators did speculate about one being present, then dismissed it as compacted demolition material. It clearly cannot have been demolition material at least from the final demolition of the palace (as opposed to conceivably from Phase IV alterations) and was quite possibly a construction material dump within a construction phase filling of the lower parts of the deeply founded tower. But the salient point is probably that by a floor they meant exclusively a brick or mortar floor; they would very likely not have recognised e.g. a beaten earth floor even had one been present/not removed in Phase IV.

The south eastern half of the tower did have a floor surface [128], comprising the top of the at least nine course English bond brick walls ([123]/[127]) encasing the drain (Pls 39 - 41). Drayton gives its north west – south east width as 1.60 m and believed that ‘at some time extensive repairs had been carried out, with flooring tiles replacing the bricks in an area indicating exactly the position of the vaulted drain running underneath’.<sup>21</sup> However, it does not look as if this (peg not flooring) tile fragment floor is matched by any disruption to the brickwork encasing the drain where it was exposed by demolition and it does not in fact follow the line of its apex but one along its north western edge, at least until it turns to the south. If it did derive then from drain repair work, that repair work must have been to the side of the drain and the tile fragment ‘repair’ to the floor have been more extensive than most of the work. This seems unlikely. A second distant possibility is presumably that a garderobe chute had been blocked here, but that does not seem likely as the band of tile fragments turns at an angle, blocking one would not disrupt other areas of the floor and presumably its egress would have been apparent when the drain was explored. A more attractive possibility is that what was represented was the blocking (?in Phase IV) of a superficial feature

<sup>21</sup> Drayton, 37f.



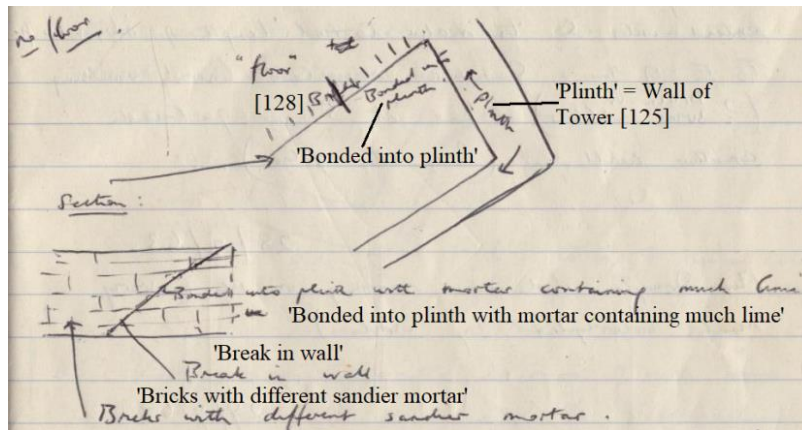
such as a shallow open drain, perhaps communicating with the main vaulted drain below by a small opening at the south corner of the tower, which, at least if subsequently blocked, would have been far less obvious when that main drain was explored. In fact it seems likely that the north western edge of [128] had originally mirrored the course of the band of tile fragments because that north western edge had been straightened by the addition of infilling brickwork (see Pls 40 and 42) probably when the tower was added to the walls encasing the vaulted drain. The ground floor of the tower then may originally have served some purpose such as storage which required it to be kept drained, but it is impossible now to go further than this.



Pl. 40: Tr. B/C, Floor [128], Looking South West



Pl. 41: Tr. B/C, Floor [128], Looking South West



Pl. 42: Sketch Plan and Elevation from the 1963 Site Diary with Transcribed Annotations

The English bond walls ([123] and [127]) encasing the vaulted drain, overall 1.73 m (or 1.68 m according to Drayton) wide, continued north east from tower [125], the north western face of [127] here evidently forming the facade of the Phase III building. The wall here had been demolished to below the level at which the offset at a moulded brick plinth course would have lain, but it doubtless continued as it was present on the English bond external wall of a second smaller tower, [116], which projected north west from it about 5.20 m north east of the larger one. Drayton seems to have thought that the south eastern drain encasing wall [123] here had formed 'the floor of a narrow corridor' 5.49 m long (though how she arrived at that distance is not obvious) because it 'consisted of three courses of headers'.<sup>22</sup> As noted above, the encasing wall was indeed built in two phases with its south eastern part here, [123], using a different mortar from and laying fractionally higher than the north western part, [127] (Pl. 28). But how Drayton was able to establish that the south eastern part was built of three courses of headers (if indeed she did not in fact mean three skins of headers) is again not obvious and that it was a corridor seems highly unlikely because, even had the Phase II wall, [106], been demolished at the opening of Phase III its expansion to accommodate the Phase II fireplace [128] still stood high enough to block any such corridor so it would have had no destination even had it begun, say, at tower [125].

According to Drayton the smaller second tower, [116], (Pl. 43) projected 1.98 m from the facade and was externally 2.44 m wide and internally 1.22 m square (though it is shown a little wider on published plans and site diary figures for wall thickness suggest 0.56 not 0.61 m thick walls). But the facade wall/back wall of the tower had been broadened by 0.23 m for a distance of about 0.53 m at its south east corner to accommodate the chute, [121], probably from a (?first floor) garderobe within the tower and which communicated with drain [118]. The broadening had an offset to its south west face (Pls 44 and 45) which, together with some bond irregularities and possible signs of unstruck joints on photographs, probably suggests that the majority of the surviving walls were effectively foundations below ground floor level. The tower survived best on the south west where over 17 courses were preserved, but the only indication of its function is the chute and one wonders how far it served as much more than the location of a (?first floor) garderobe.

<sup>22</sup> Drayton, 36.



Pl. 43: Tr. H/I/J, Smaller Tower [116], Looking North West



Pl. 44: Tr. H/I/J, Smaller Tower [116], Looking South East



Pl. 45: Tr. H/I/J, Detail of the Expansion for the Garderobe Chute [121]

The drain encasing wall continued north east from the small tower for at least about 7.00 m and presumably the north west face of one side of it, [127], continued to be a facade wall, but no surviving records confirm this. However, the line of the drain encasing wall did patently swing a few degrees further north west as it ran on from the small tower (to avoid the cess pit [107]) and this alignment of the facade wall/drain does increase the likelihood of wall [104] belonging to this phase as it seems to have been parallel to this facade and at variance to the orientation of Phase II features. As noted above [104] surely cannot anyway have been of Phase I, it seems to make little sense with those Phase II features and it would appear to have been earlier than Phase IV. If it was part of the Phase III scheme, as then seems likely, there are two broad interpretative options for its function, but excavation was not extensive enough or well enough recorded to confidently assert more than that one is less likely than the other (especially as the wall was evidently demolished to quite a low level and the depth of excavation in areas such as Trench N and the east of Trench L/M is unknown so that returns to it might not have been detected).

It does seem just possible that it was the north west external wall of a separate building running south east, but this is the less likely interpretation and should probably be dismissed. That it divided/created a new room (or corridor) within the (originally) Phase II structure is far more likely. If so that room would have included the area occupied by the Phase II ?cellar ([108]) and probably the Phase II cess pit ([107]). The cellar could have been backfilled or been left in existence and the cess pit did probably continue in use, but the extent of excavation must leave a question mark over how exactly [104] related to the latter. Moreover even photographic records of this wall are particularly limited or unhelpful and certainly trying to go further than this seems unjustified.

*The Structural Sequence: Drayton's Phase IV (?= Site Phase 3/4, ?early/mid sixteenth to ?early seventeenth centuries)*

Clearly there had been modifications and additions to the Phase III structures at some point(s) in three areas (Fig. 7), and some at least seem likely to have occurred once those structures had been in use for some time. They probably indicate adaptations to the role of one of the towers on the facade wall, the addition of a new structure to the south of it and a remodelling of the area formerly occupied in part by the cellar.

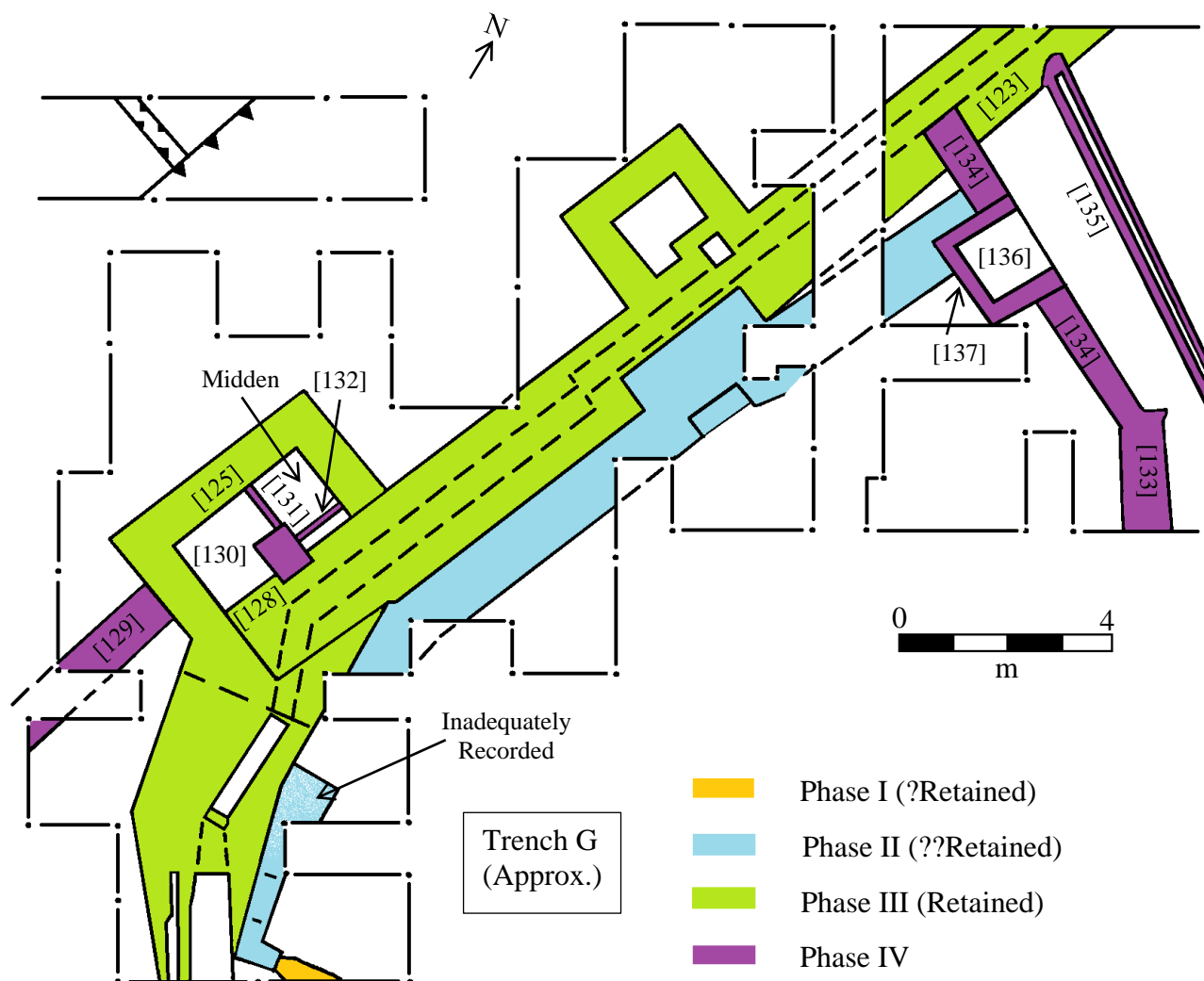


Fig. 7: Suggested Phase IV Plan with Retrospectively Assigned Feature Numbers used in the Discussion

One addition made was wall [129] which clearly abutted the south west side of the larger tower [125] and ran south west from it for over 2.13 m (Pls 46 - 48; and Pls 20 and 39). Built of English Bond brickwork, about 0.70 m wide and surviving to over 22 courses, it seems to have had a part-brick core faced with single skins of fair brickwork like [125], but Drayton commented that it was of ‘noticeably inferior brickwork’<sup>23</sup> to the tower. It was clearly a load bearing structural wall, but the decorative plinth of [125] was not continued along it which confirms that it was a later addition to the Phase III scheme. The implication would seem to be that the range was extended to the south west at some point and presumably [129] was the external north western wall of the extension, but too little of the area crossed by the wall was seen to go further than this.

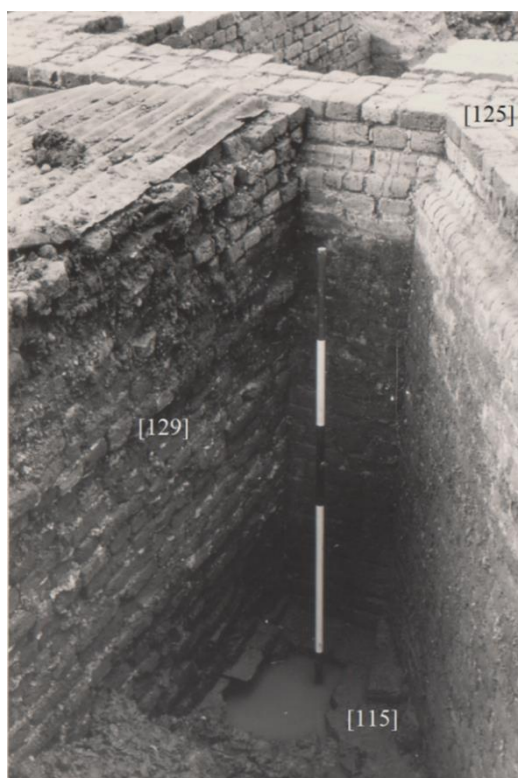
<sup>23</sup> Drayton, 42.



Pl. 46: Tr. B, Wall [129] Running South West from Tower [125], Looking South East

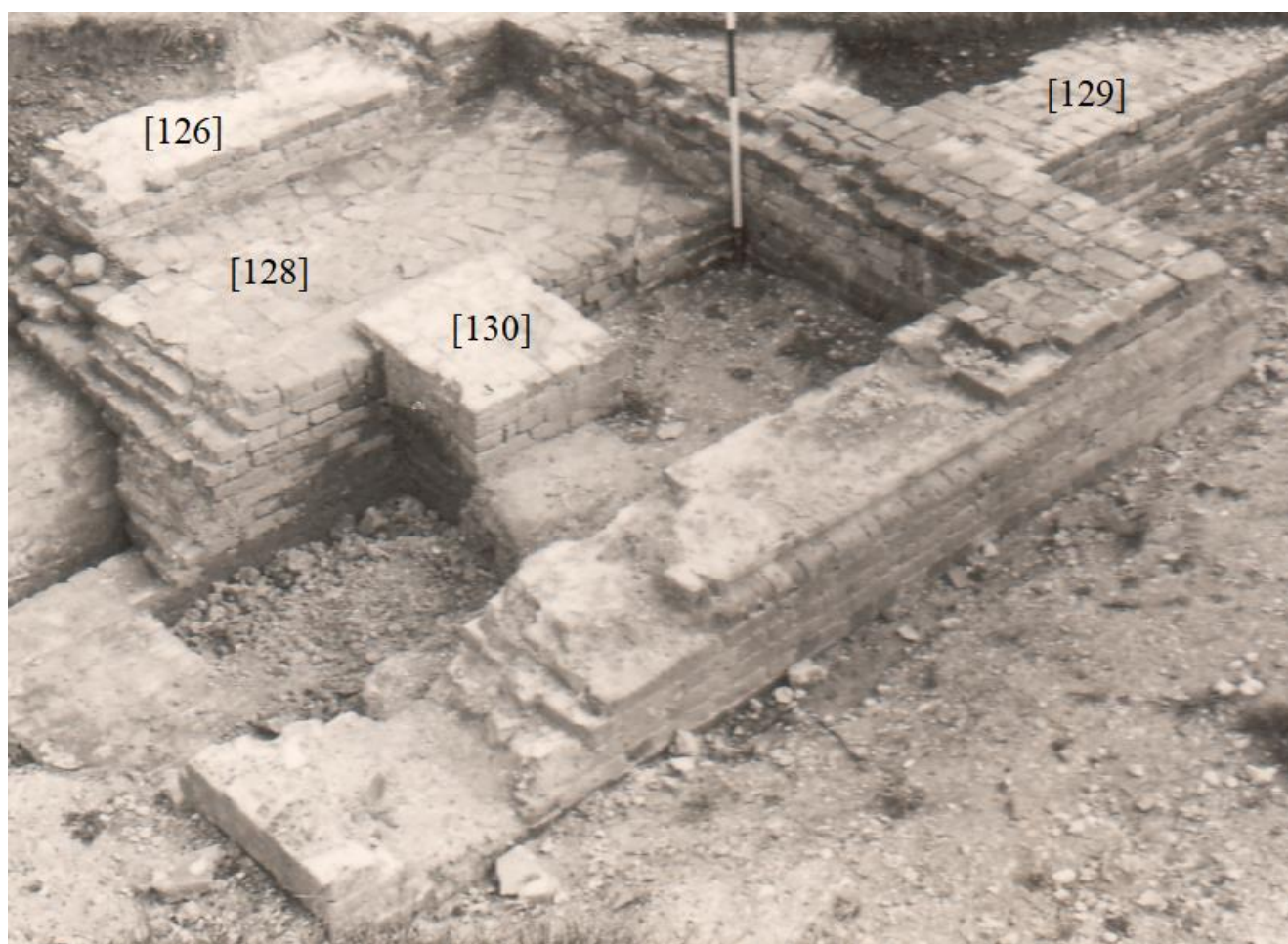


Pl. 47: Tr. B, Wall [129] Running South West from Tower [125], Looking North East



Pl. 48: Tr. B, Wall [129] (Topped by a Corrugated Iron Sheet) Meeting Tower [125], Looking North East

A second change or changes happened within the larger tower, [125], and could represent not one but two phases of alterations. The possibility that a surface drain in floor [128] in the south eastern part of the tower had been blocked with part tiles has already been noted and this may well have happened at some point in Phase IV. Indeed, it might well have been coincident with the insertion of a brick built plinth, [130], at the centre of the tower and in part overlaying the north west edge of that floor (Pls 49 and 50). The plinth, 0.81 by 0.69 m, projected 0.92 m north west of floor [128] and survived at least to one course above its level, that final course being continued partly over the floor surface. It was built of at least nine – and probably more - courses of English bond brickwork and it is very attractive to interpret the insertion of this plinth as evidence for the larger tower being converted into a stair tower with a, presumably wooden, spiral stair, or perhaps more likely a four sided staircase with landings, and likely serving as access to the new extension to the south west represented by wall [129].

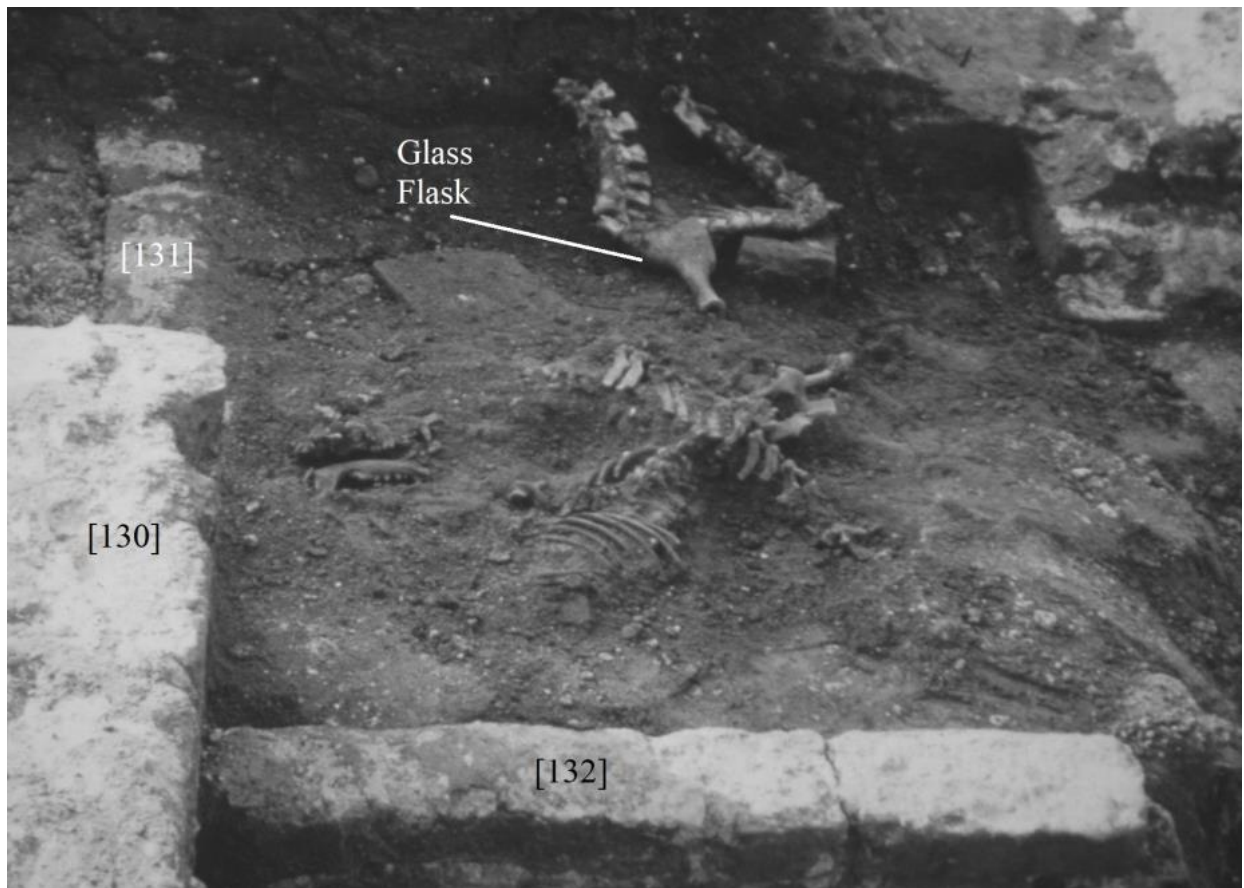


Pl. 49: Tr. B/C, Tower [125], Looking South

Whether contemporaneously or later the tower was then subdivided by the building of two dwarf walls, [131] and [132], abutting the north west and north east faces of [130] and running up to the inner faces of the tower's main walls (Pls 49 and 50). They appear to have been one skin mortared stretcher laid brick walls of at least three courses, [132] surviving at least to one course higher than [131]. Clearly they cannot have been more than partition walls and may only have been the seatings for wooden screen walls under the putative staircase, but at some point at least a midden seems to have developed, probably at least mainly within the 0.91 x 1.22 m space that they defined. Whether this was within the life of the palace or during its demolition it is impossible to say, but it appears that the walls bounded it and if so it would more likely belong to the former period. The midden (Pls 50 and 51) included partial articulated dog and Roe deer skeletons, at least one semi-complete glass vessel and probably much of a very large Border Ware (BORDY) pipkin (see the main volume text pp 287; 258 (No. 19.9); and 279 (No. 60.1)).



Pl. 50: Tr. B/C, Midden in Tower [125], Looking South West

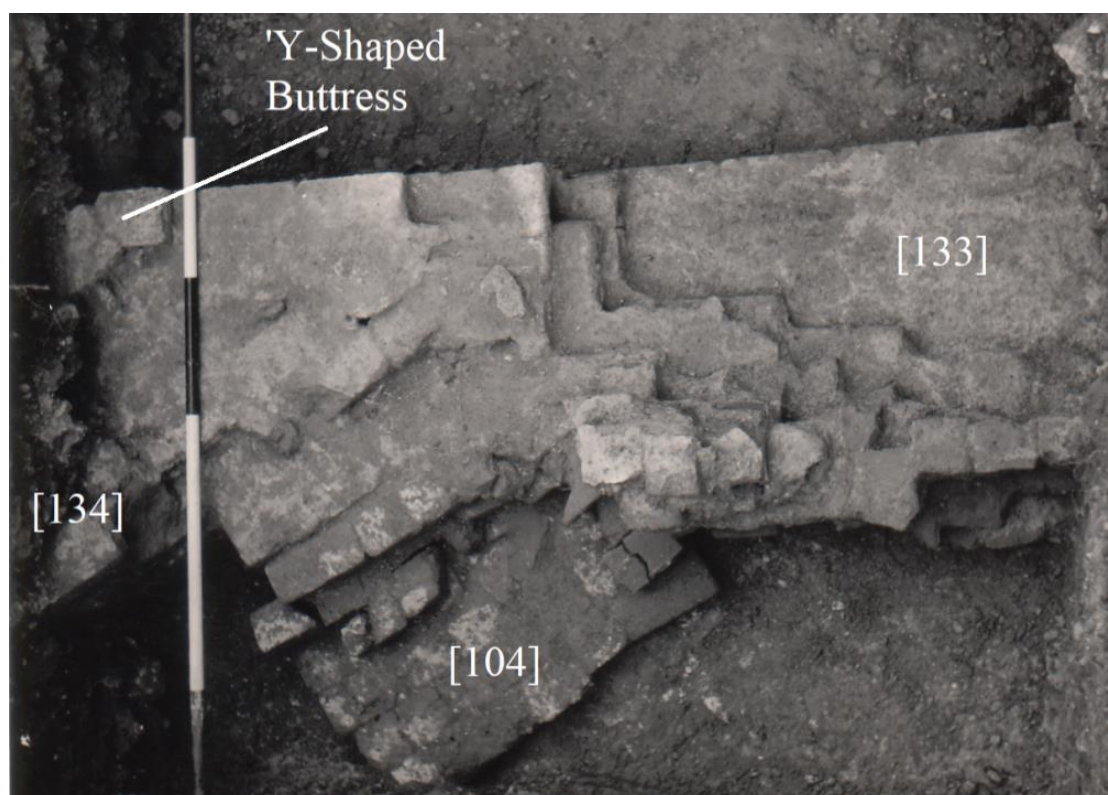


Pl. 51: Tr. B/C, Midden in Tower [125], Looking North West



Alterations in Phase IV at the opposite end of the excavated area suggest a reasonably significant remodelling of the range happened here. The Phase II cellar ([108]) was clearly filled in now if not in Phase III, the Phase II cesspit ([107]) must now have been sealed and Phase III wall [104] was demolished. In their place what Drayton thought was a new north north west to south south east corridor,<sup>24</sup> but was probably a larger room, with a large cupboard in its south west wall and a brick sub-floor, was established. Running through it at sub-floor level was a new brick built drain feeding into the main vaulted Phase III drain and it appears that the room was accessed from its south east corner where a significant new wall running roughly north south indicates new building work had taken place mainly south of the area excavated.

The new north south wall, [133], looks to have been about 0.61 m thick and survived to about 14 plus courses, 1.52 – 1.83 m according to Drayton, of what looks like ?stretcher bond brickwork, seemingly built over the remnant of wall [104] (Pls 52 and 53). At its north end it had what was referred to by Drayton as a ‘Y-shaped’ or ‘angle’ buttress (? marking the position of a doorway) standing on the remnants of wall [104] where this wall ([133]) met the new and integrally built wall [134] which headed off at an angle to form the south west side of the new room. Wall [133] obviously implies the building of new structures, perhaps of more than one storey, and probably emphasises that the excavation only encountered the north western edge of what was probably a larger complex at least from Phase II onwards. Drayton noted that the wall retained ‘a rendering of heavy yellow-white smooth lime plaster obviously more appropriate for an outside wall [than the ‘thin interior plaster’ on its continuation [134]; below]’.<sup>25</sup> Presumably this render was on the east face of the wall which she says ‘changed direction ... turning 35 – 40 degrees to the west’ ‘seven feet [2.13 m] south of the buttress’.<sup>26</sup> However, no such change of alignment seems to be shown on any known plan or photograph and this would be at the extreme edge of the excavation so that the statement should be treated with caution.



Pl. 52: Tr. P, Wall [133], Looking South

24 Drayton, 41.

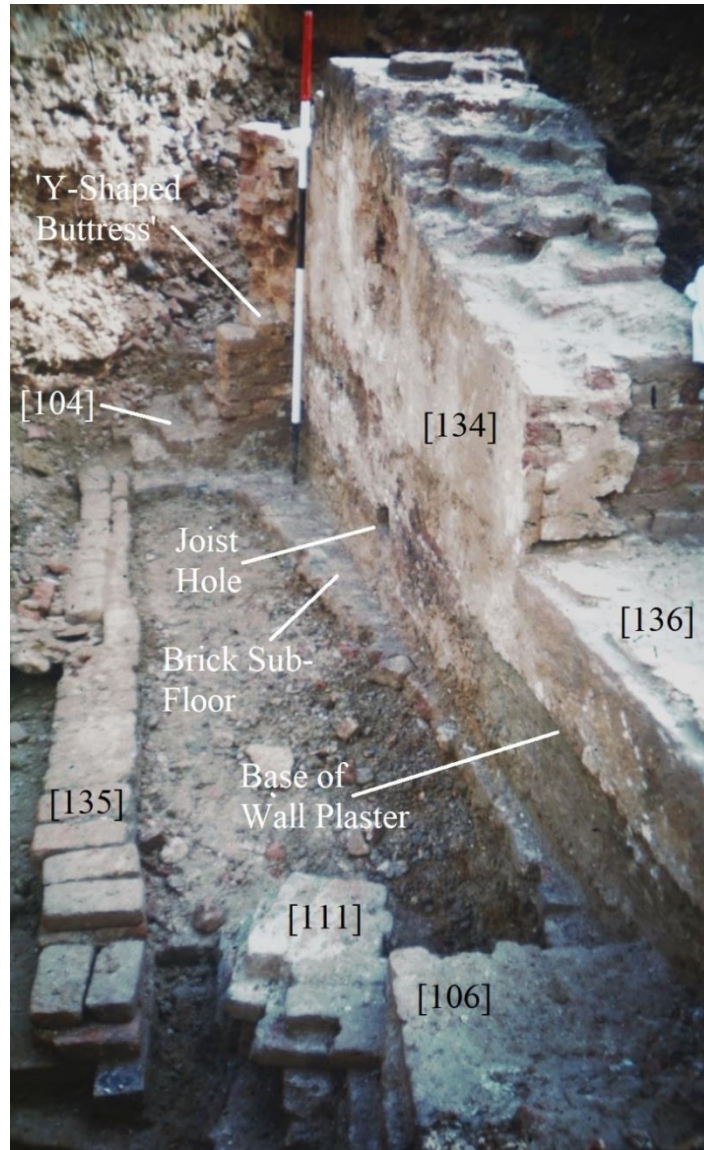
25 Drayton, 41.

26 Drayton, 41f.

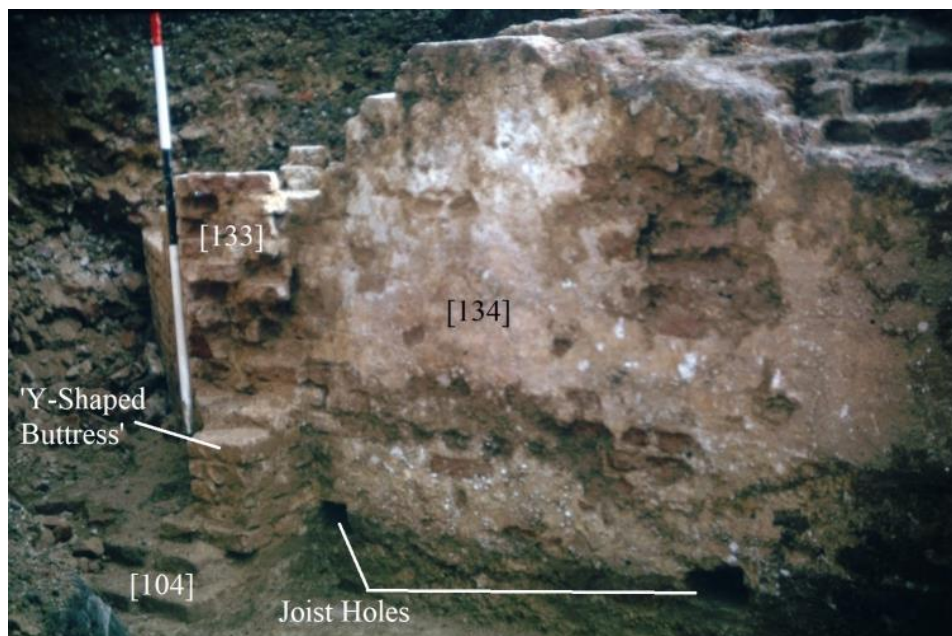


Pl. 53: Tr. P, Wall [133], Looking East

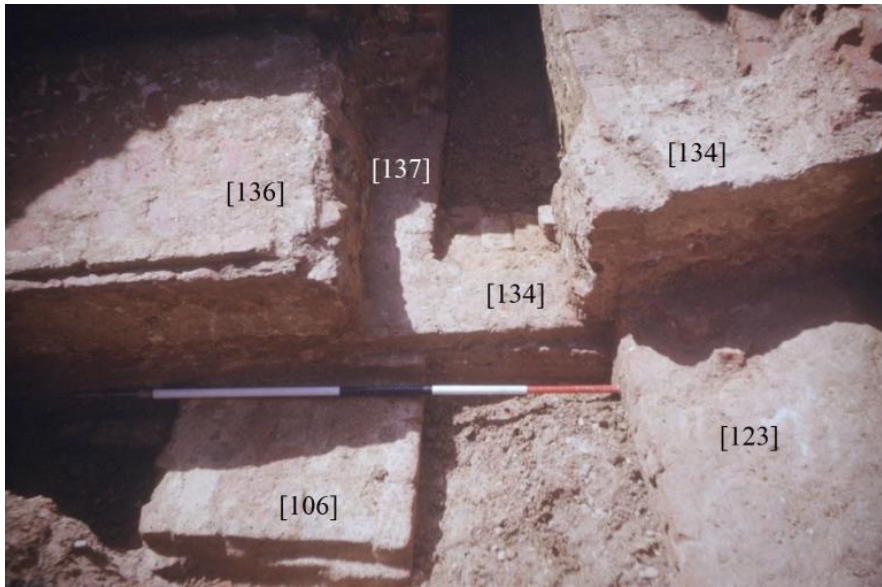
Wall [134] (Pls 54 - 56) was the best preserved section of walling found during the excavation, its southern part largely retaining its white plastered north east face. Remnants of the brick sub-floor which had run from this north east face at least as far as the new drain [135] were also in tact, joist holes and the bottom of the wall plaster showing that the wooden floor of this room had lain around 0.15 m above the sub-floor so that the new drain was evidently not exposed (and explaining why earlier walls such as [111] and [106] had not been further demolished here, though an offset had been built into [134] as it approached them). Far less is recorded about the continuation of the wall to the north west, but it evidently ran over the remnant of Phase II wall [106], across the gap between it and Phase III drain encasing wall [123] (an area called 'the bridge' by the excavators) and its north western end was built onto the latter (Pls 56 and 57).



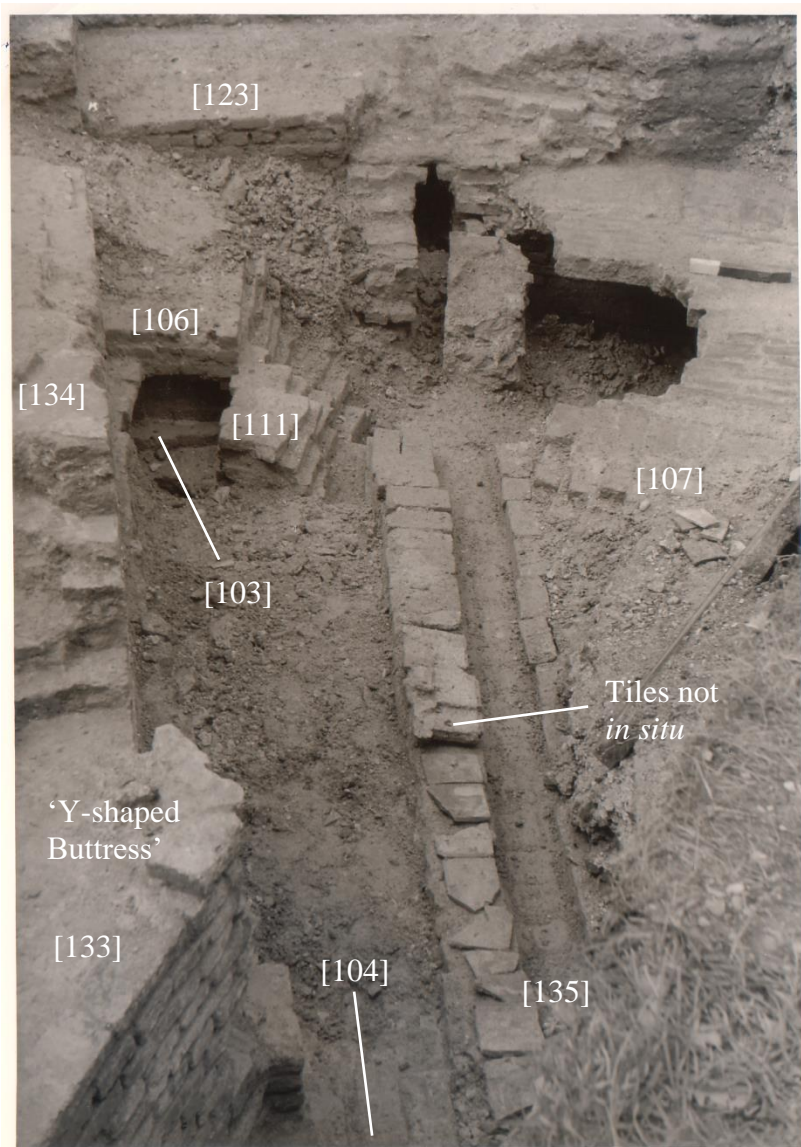
Pl. 54: Tr. L/M/P, Wall [134], Looking South East



Pl. 55: Tr. L/M/P, Wall [134], Looking South West

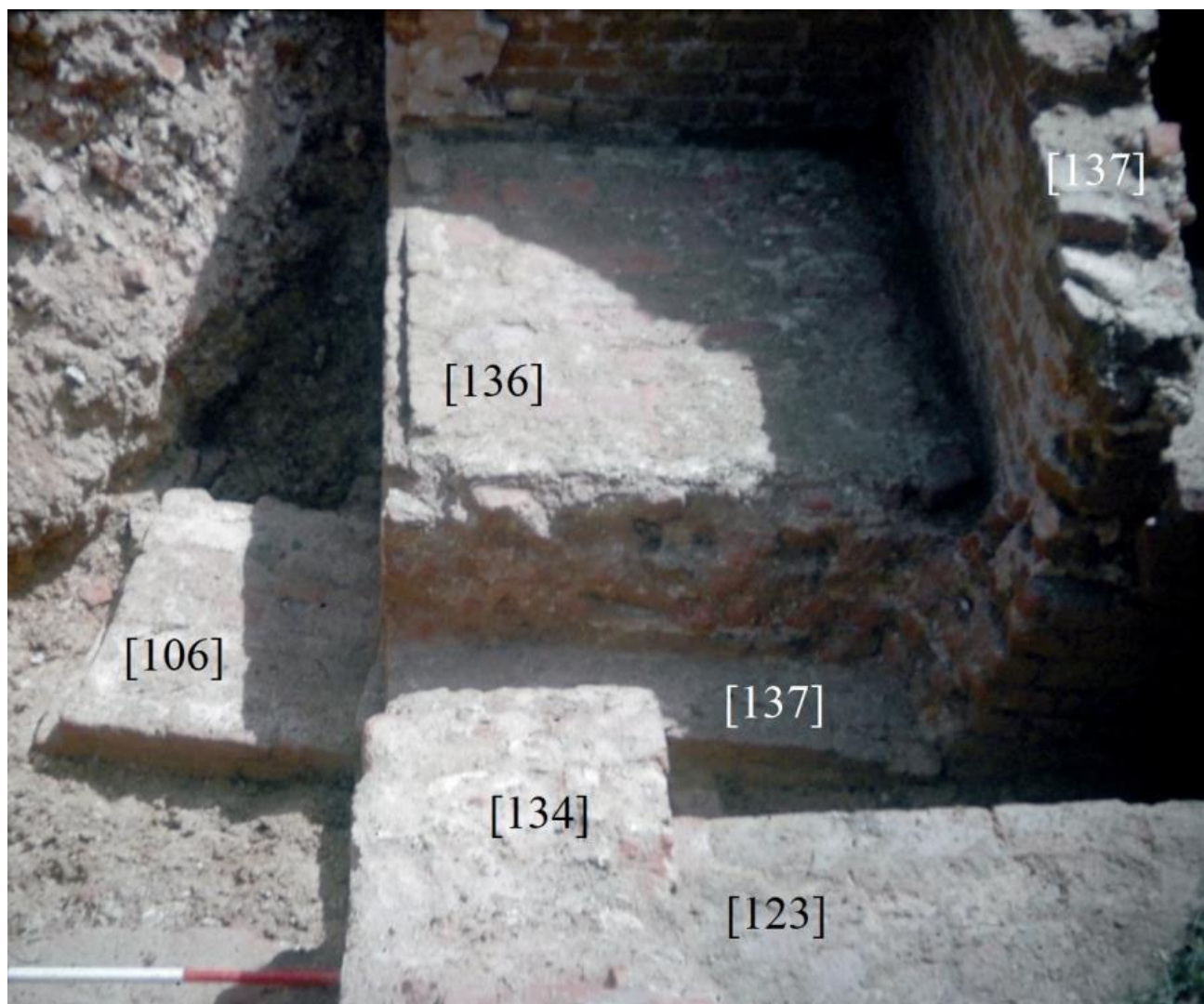


Pl. 56: Tr. L/M/P, Wall [134], Looking North West



Pl. 57: Tr. L/M, Wall [134], Looking South West

Roughly midway along wall [134] a large cupboard, [136], had been created by extending the lower courses of the wall to the south west and enclosing the space on three sides with a narrower wall, [137], which had been built into a four course deep cut made into the surviving top of Phase II wall [106] (though very misleadingly site and Drayton's published plans omit the third (north western) side, which had clearly just been demolished to a much lower level (Pl. 58) and instead extend the wall forming the back of the cupboard beyond where it equally clearly in fact stopped !) The cupboard walls were built of English bond brickwork one skin thick, survived to 12 courses above the cupboard floor and retained 'thin pinkish beige plaster'<sup>27</sup> on some of their fair internal faces (Pl. 59), but its back face is said to have been left 'poor'. The cupboard was 1.37 m north west to south east by 1.27 m deep and 'fragments of wood [from panelling] were found in the grooves along two sides of the floor and there was a rabbeted corner showing where there had been a door'.<sup>28</sup> Clearly there was also a rebate along the leading edge of the (plastered/mortar surfaced) floor to allow the door to fit flush.



Pl. 58: Tr. L/M, Cupboard [136], Looking South East

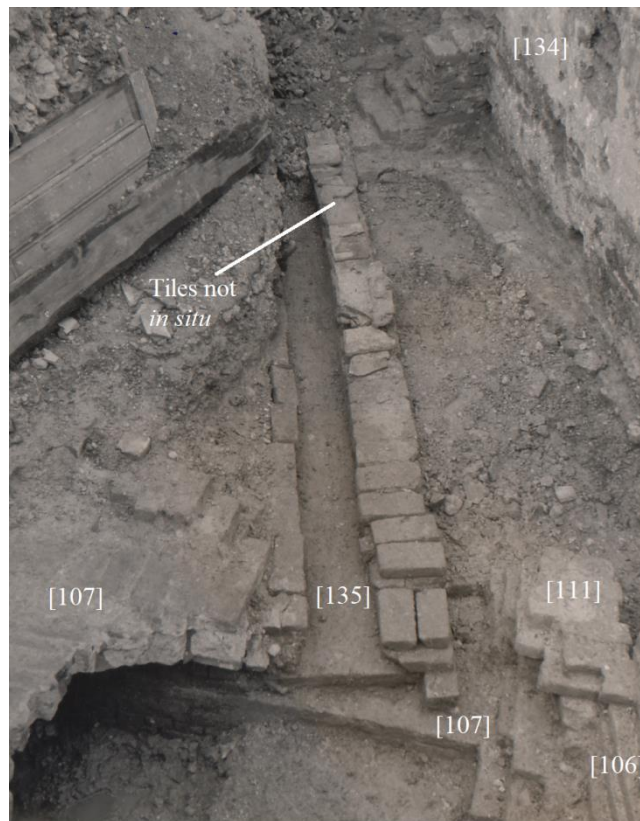
<sup>27</sup> Drayton, 41.

<sup>28</sup> Drayton, 41.



Pl. 59: Tr. L/M, Cupboard [136], Looking South East

The most easterly element of the Phase IV work to be encountered was the new drain [135]. Traced for c. 5.79 m, it was clearly only a small (around 0.83 m wide) feeder drain, much of it fairly simply built of a single stretcher lain skin of bricks on the north east and a slightly wider ?header/English bond lain skin on the south west which survived to two courses (Pls 57 and 60; but note that the part peg tiles lain on the south west side wall of the drain were not found there but placed on it by the excavators for no good reason). Its floor was probably of header lain bricks.



Pl. 60: Tr. L/M/P, Drain [135], Looking South East

However, both sides of the drain were of more substantial construction at the north west end (Pls 10 and 61) where the drain ran across the south west side of the former cess pit [107] and into the Phase III drain via a roughly cut keyhole shaped hole in its encasing wall, [123]. Here its north east side especially had been broadened and carried up to a height of ?five courses to fill a ragged gap left, one presumes, by the removal of a chute into the cess pit when it went out of use; and here the drain narrowed a little and changed orientation slightly. The drain evidently continued south east across the remnant of wall [104] at the very edge of excavation and so presumably served the area south of that excavated in which wall [133] indicates there were further structures, though it need not necessarily have served the interior of a structure and could have been e.g. a roof water drain.



Pl. 61: Tr. L/M, Drain [135], Looking North West

## The Stratigraphic Sequence

It is now impossible to reconstruct more than the broadest of outlines of the deposits found in the work because, even where they were contexted and or (very basically) described in surviving records, frequently neither their spatial nor stratigraphic positions can be deduced. Moreover different sequences were started every time a trench was extended or part of a baulk removed and all but a few drawn sections (none marking context numbers) are lost. Consequently only a basic summary can be given here except in one or two instances, though a more detailed re-evaluation is available in archive.

### The Natural

It seems likely that the earliest deposit encountered was, a 'wet sand' into which ditch or moat [100] was cut in trench B. One suspects that it was in fact Lea Valley (Taplow) Gravel, now known to outcrop in some areas of the site and otherwise to be the lower unit of the drift deposits present here. It was presumably overlain, as more often than not on the site, by brickearth, and in a few trenches a 'natural' which was evidently such a deposit is mentioned/contexted in the site diaries. What descriptions there are are of a 'light grey clay with yellow streaks', which would be consistent with a gleyed brickearth often met with as the upper unit of the site natural. Surviving sections do also mark a 'grey clay' which might be the natural in some instances, but elsewhere may not have been.

Clearly though not all areas were excavated to natural, even where structural features were absent, but which were and which were not it is now impossible to know. It is notable that only once (in connection with the south eastern wall to cellar [108]) is what seems to have been a construction trench ever mentioned, but experience on the site shows that they are extremely hard to isolate in its brickearth. All that can be said therefore is that the natural may well often not have been contacted so it remains possible that early deposits and features were not isolated.

### Stratigraphic summary

Very broadly most deposits in most of the main trenches (A – P)<sup>29</sup> were probably either of demolition rubble or more or less stony 'clays' (and in some instances gravels) that are likely to have represented landscaping deposits. Clearly there were areas where no rubble was present and landscaping deposits directly overlay structures and the thickness and exact nature of the rubble varied widely (e.g. Fig. 8), but further analysis of most of these deposits, given the paucity of surviving records, would add little to our understanding of the site.

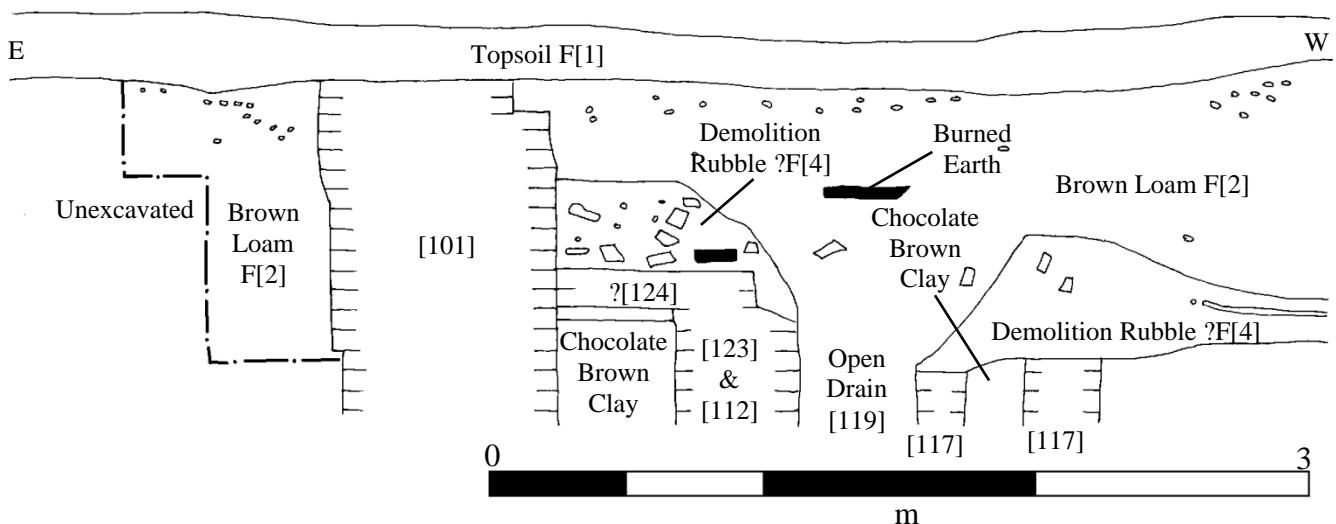


Fig. 8: Trench F, South Section  
(context numbers are retrospectively reconstructed and may not all be correct)

<sup>29</sup> Nothing at all useful can be said from the scant records of Trenches Q – V which lay considerably east of the others, some in probably open areas of the outer court, but Q and R over what is now believed to have been a nineteenth century pond. What records of these 1966 trenches there are show that the excavators regarded them as insufficiently important to even complete their excavation to natural because they were only interested in finding structural features.



An exception though is where evidence of a large, presumably demolition, bonfire appears to have been encountered. Thus, though the eventually contiguous Trenches H, J, K and N all seem to have had some sort of demolition rubble deposit and a 'Brown Loam' ?landscaping deposit, in the south east of Trench K there was probably a separate deposit of burnt material, stretching into the south west corner of Trench L/M and into Trench O (though not in an area where a drawn section survives) and probably deriving from a palace demolition bonfire. The one surviving section to show this is of Trench M (Fig. 9), where the 'Burned Layer' (M[4]) lay partly over demolished wall [106] as did a 'Brown Clay' (?M[6]) which probably capped it off. The site diary identifies M[4] (though not by this designation) as 'a thick black layer' with 'burned clay and tiles' at its top and it evidently lay above a Grey Clay (M[5]) filling the top of the Phase II cellar (though the excavators appear to have thought that this was a clay floor, probably not having excavated below it where records from other trenches suggest the cellar was filled with demolition rubble). Useful as this is in suggesting that much of the Phase II structures such as wall [106] remained in use until the demolition of the palace, little else can be learnt from these late deposits.

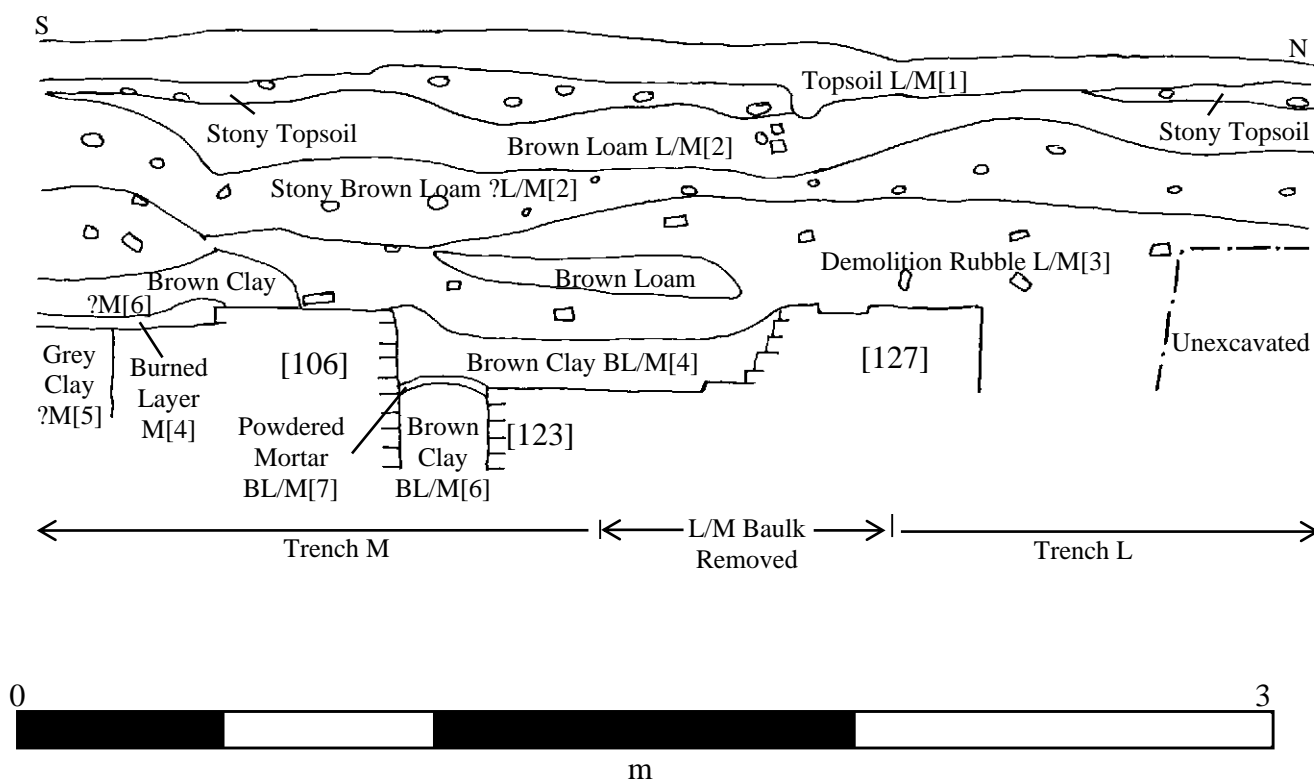


Fig. 9: Trench L/M, West Section

(context numbers are retrospectively reconstructed and may not all be correct; BL/M numbers refer to the unique sequence used when the baulk between L and M was removed)

Clearly not all deposits encountered, however, related to presumed demolition period rubble and landscaping and it is a matter of very considerable regret that deposits mentioned for instance in parts of Trench F but not on the one surviving section cannot now be evaluated. The one deposit that can be to a degree here (and elsewhere on the site) is what was just referred to as 'Chocolate Brown Clay' which Drayton interpreted as a packing used to fill gaps between (older and newer, or pairs of newer) walls in Phase III, which may well be the case. Yet the only other instance where deposits likely pre-dating palace demolition are tolerably well represented in surviving records and add to the interpretation of the site is in Trench O. Here a surviving section (Fig. 10) still needs treating with caution as e.g. two deposits of 'Light Grey Clay' (O[11]) were likely not in fact equatable, that north of the wall of [108] being again a capping over rubble filling this cellar and that to the south more likely being the natural. However, the section does suggest that a substantial cut may have been made at the time Phase II cellar [108] was constructed and

backfilled with 'Light Brown Clay With Stones', O[4], which itself was later truncated further south when wall [104] was constructed, argued above to have been in Phase III. Probably most usefully though it does show that deposits O[3] and O[7] (obviously deposited from the south) lay above the then demolished wall [104]. This is important because the presence of FREC and BORD sherds in these deposits argues that wall [104] cannot have been of Phase I as Drayton presumed (unless it was retained into at least Phase III) because it cannot have been demolished before c. 1550.

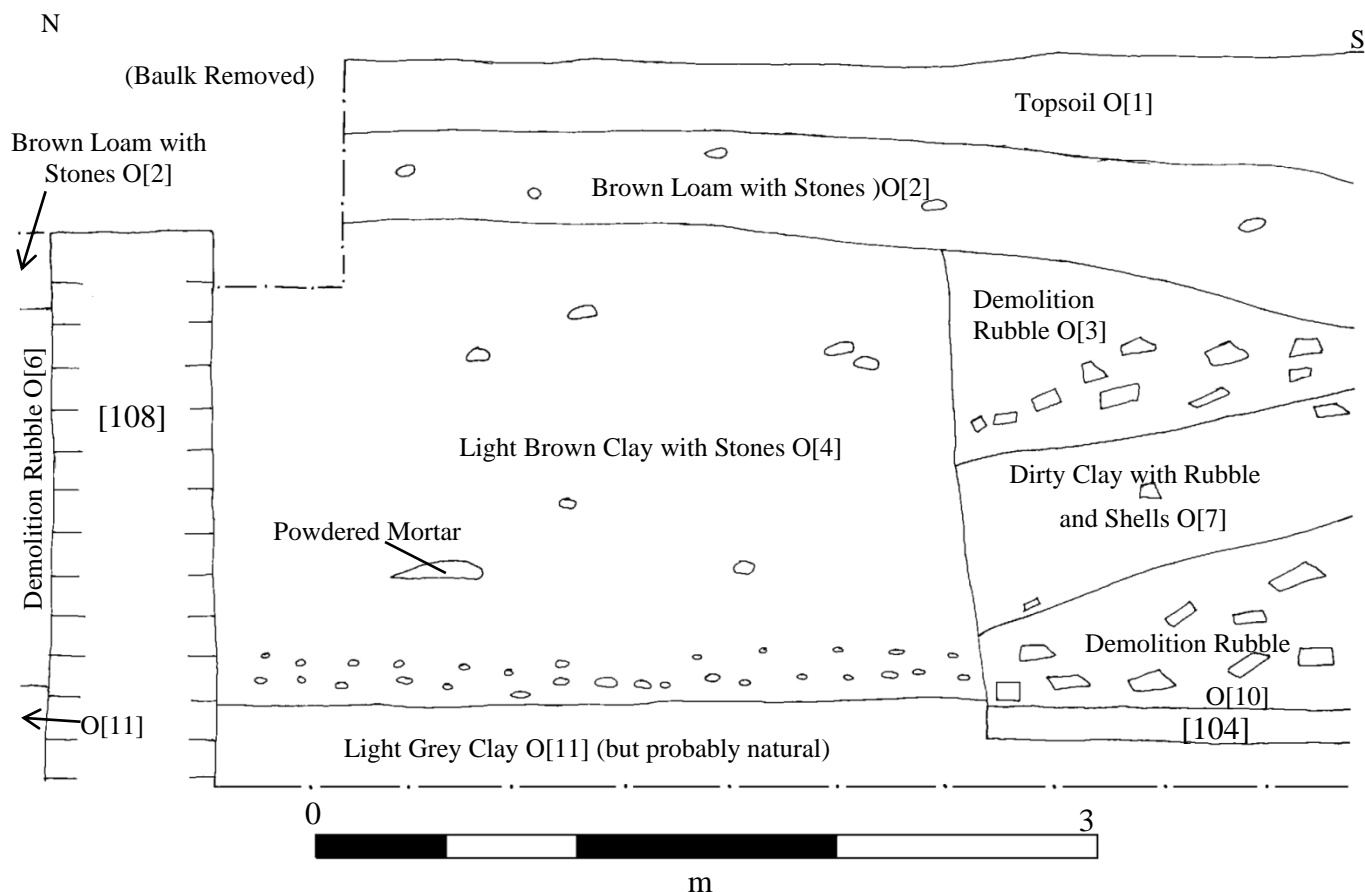


Fig. 10: Trench O, East Section  
(context numbers are retrospectively reconstructed, but are probably all correct)