

**Ritualisation and Reappropriation:  
Special Deposits and Ritual Activity in  
Domestic Structures in Early Modern England**

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'Professor Pennyroyal doesn't accept that these things *were* thrown away,' said Freya. 'He says that the sites which modern archaeologists call rubbish tips were really religious centres, where the Ancients sacrificed precious objects to their Consumer Gods.'

- Philip Reeve - Predator's Gold

**Arthur:** Well what is it then?

**Lintilla:** Shoes.

**Arthur:** What?!

**Lintilla:** Shoes. Billions of them! An entire archaeological layer of compressed shoes.

**Arthur:** Shoes?! How can you tell?

**Lintilla:** We knew all along, we just needed confirmation.

**Arthur:** Why shoes?

- Douglas Adams - The  
Restaurant at the End of the  
Universe



## Abstract

While the act of concealing objects within the structural fabric of houses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has long been acknowledged, there has been no comprehensive survey and analysis of this practice within England. Earlier studies had been selective in the types of objects on which they focused, which resulted in an overemphasis on the ritual relating to contemporary beliefs in witchcraft and the supernatural.

Four primary categories of objects can be identified: magical items, animal remains, natural materials and everyday objects. The use of such a broad range of objects suggests that the value that is held to be inherent in these items does not derive from their material or original function. Furthermore, a significant proportion of objects appear to have been either subject long-term use prior to their concealment, or were otherwise items of little or no monetary value. Therefore, it is concluded that the value of these items and the processes which lead to their ritualization are not as a result of any symbolic or apotropaic attributes they may hold, but is due to their prolonged use within the household and by its inhabitants.

Despite differences in intention which differing treatments of object types may represent, all deposited items clearly relate back to the domestic space as a dynamic and valued space. All inevitably rely on the structural soundness and protection the house provides while simultaneously making use of objects which facilitate everyday activities and ensure the success and wellbeing of the household as a whole. The objects selected for deposit were not inherently of explicit ritual worth, but their regular use in one functional context allowed them to be functionally transformed and reused in a new one, albeit one directly linked to and informed by an earlier stage in their use-life. Therefore, these deposits are representative of the recursive interlinking of people, material culture and domestic space.

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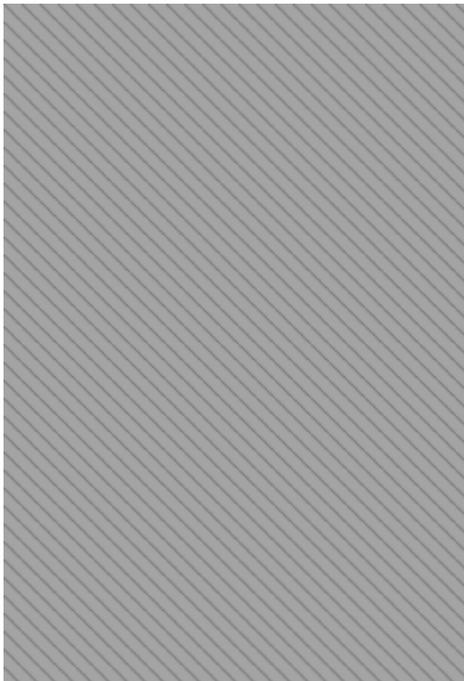


# I

## Introduction

### ***1.1 Introduction to the topic***

Hundreds of objects have been recovered from the fabric of post-medieval houses, either through rigorous archaeological investigation, or by accidental discovery by ordinary members of the public. These items had been placed within sealed or previously inaccessible areas in the structure of the building, such as within walls and chimneybreasts, under floors and in roof spaces, which suggests that they had been placed there deliberately and were not simply long-misplaced items. This aspect of their concealment, along with repetitive patternings of both the type of objects used and their locations of deposition, has prompted the conclusion that all such objects played a role in some form of ritual act associated with the home and the domestic sphere. Historical sources relating to these acts are, at best, uncommon, and limited in their scope and applicability to the diverse nature of these practices, while any possible link to the customs or ideologies of established, formalised religion during this period remains unapparent. Therefore, in order to develop an understanding of this practice, we must rely on archaeological interpretations, combining the material culture with its context of use.

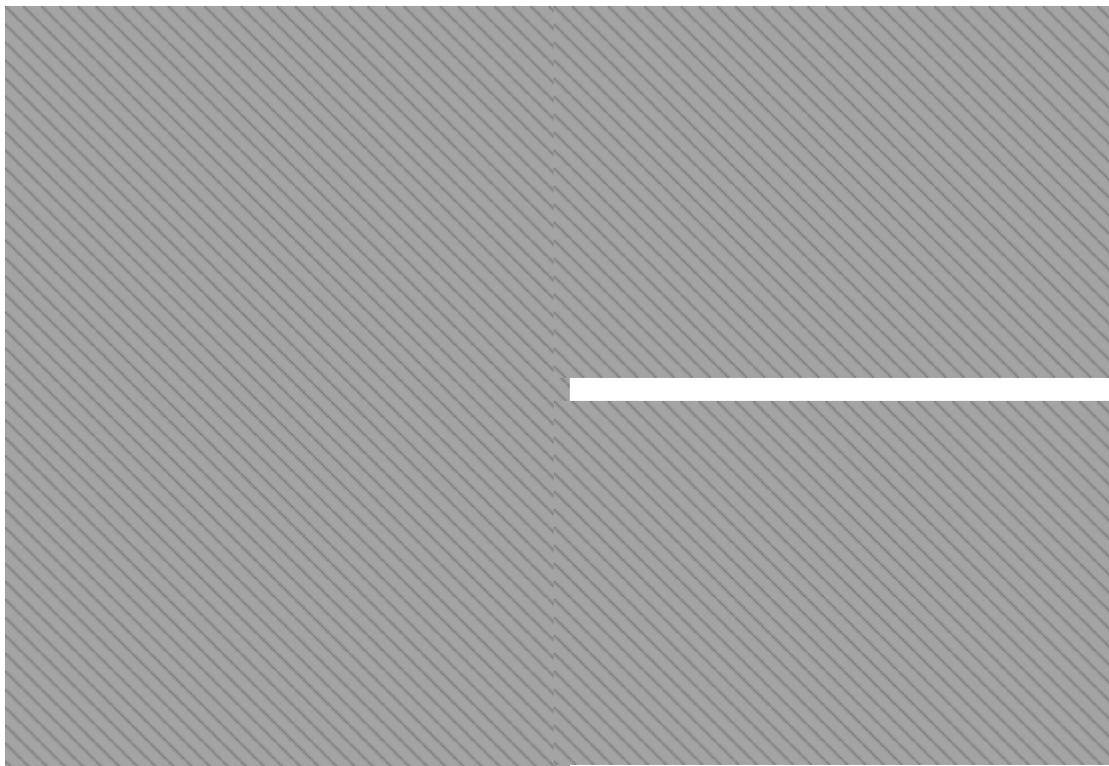


**Figure 1.1:** Front cover of Merrifield's *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*.

Although the study of this area has recently begun to gather speed, previous studies have been somewhat limited in scope, in part by neglecting to address any broader socio-cultural significance of these acts beyond identifying the prospect of “superstition”. For the most part, studies or discussions of this ritual as a whole have only been of relatively minor significance in how they address the subject and what conclusions they draw from it, with many having focussed solely on the examination of single categories of objects or only a limited range of artefacts, rather than investigating the broader spectrum of material culture utilised in this particular form and their patterns of usage,

groupings and nature of deposition (Howard 1951; Swann 1996). Ralph Merrifield's book *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* (1987) (Figure 1.1) which details the range and extent of secular ritual practices in historical periods was the first study to fully acknowledge the range of items incorporated into deposits. However, partially as a result of the disjointed nature of earlier studies, only a limited selection of object types were discussed, and in a manner which continued the perception that all domestic deposits of different types (such as remains of specific animal species and shoes) were ultimately unrelated. Although Merrifield's study serves only as an introduction to the extent of ritual action within the United Kingdom, dealing with known examples in broad strokes and offering no overarching analysis or conclusions for each example, it has served as a lasting influence for studies which have followed it (Hoggard 1999; Hoggard 2004; Evans 2010). Unfortunately, the tentative outline offered by Merrifield has become almost something of a template, with later studies giving more weight to the particular types of objects which had been outlined in Merrifield's book, rather than acknowledging the breadth and variety of material culture that this practice incorporates.

In addition to this, previous examinations of the material have often focused too



Left: **Figure 1.2:** Possible witch bottle from Staffordshire; Top right: **Figure 1.3:** Dried cat found in Waltham Abbey Church; Bottom Right: **Figure 1.4:** Painting of witches by Teniers the Younger, with a creature with a horse skull for a head shown in the lower right corner.

heavily on only particular types of items such as *Bartmann* witch bottles, horse skulls and mummified cats (figures 1.2-1.4) – items which carry with them an aura of magic and fear, conveniently overlapping with a time period renowned for its belief in witchcraft and the supernatural. Given the unusual manner of the treatment of these items, and their inherent “oddness”, the conclusion that they must have served some supernatural or magical purpose is often applied without detailed analysis of both how these items relate to people’s lives, and our existing understanding of magical practice and what it entails. Ultimately, this creates a rather limited and disjointed view of what this form of ritual action is, what it relates to, and what its purpose might have been. Other, more ordinary objects found in identical contexts, or even in the same deposits as these more obviously mystical items, are almost exclusively side-lined in favour of those with more overt links to perceived magical ritual practice, and accorded little discussion of their role and ritual consequence beyond their assumed role as also being protective or otherwise spiritually significant.

As yet, there has been no comprehensive study of the concealed deposits made in England during the early modern period. The true extent of the material culture which has been used in this ritual act needs to be fully acknowledged and discussed, but also closely related to its placement within the structure of the home, made to occupy a space which is very much a part of the household while still being held separately from the functioning domestic sphere. These acts were not simply separate deposits of single items from limited groups of objects, but often incorporated multiple objects of overlapping types. Early modern domestic concealment ritual needs to be treated as a totality comprised of numerous interlinking parts and concepts, all of which are equally weighted in terms of the influence on the lives of those who enacted them.

### ***1.2 Aims of this study***

This study aims to present a survey of the range of objects which were deliberately deposited in inaccessible locations within domestic or inhabited structures during the early modern period. The variety and patternings of selected deposit locations will also be highlighted, as well as differences in use of different classifications of items, and the variability in the content of such deposits. Thus, the resulting discussion should call into question previous interpretations of the material and practice which have suggested that all deposits were engineered to protect the house from witchcraft or other maleficent forces, or serve an explicitly apotropaic function (Hoggard 2004).

Through this collation and analysis of objects, their groupings and locations of deposit, the socio-cultural processes through which such rituals may have been developed and are intrinsically related to the environment in which they are performed will be analysed and discussed, including the possible attitudes surrounding the use and enaction of such deposits, the role ritual practices played in everyday life within the early modern period, and their place in the world view of those who enacted them. Additionally, through the analysis of the items involved in this practice, this study aims to examine the selection, use and value of objects found in concealments from a socio-cultural perspective, focusing on the role of material culture within early modern society. This will then be related to and discussed in conjunction with the values and conceptions held about the environment in which they are located, both in terms of boundedness and security within the building, and with relation to contemporary ideas about the role and expectations of the home and domestic space.

Therefore, although this thesis is not intended to form a comprehensive survey of all ritual domestic deposits from this period, it does aim to provide a sufficient sample of known examples so as to illustrate the diversity evident within this practice, and to provide a basis for interpretation as to the impetus and value of the practice in relation to the home and the family.

### ***1.3 Ritual and Magic in Early Modern belief systems***

The archaeological study of ritual poses a number of considerable problems. Aside from the inevitable difficulty in accounting for and understanding the thoughts and beliefs of those in the past, the frameworks we use and the manner in which we approach evidence of ritual activity is still under contention (Walker 1995; Insoll 2004). Furthermore, modern perceptions of, and approaches to, the subject often provide more of a hindrance than the frameworks employed to understand them. For a long time, the process of compartmentalisation in archaeology had led to the perception of all ritual activity as a peripheral and exceptional aspect of human behaviour and, with the exception of funerary practices, was, and often still is, an often neglected area of investigation (Hodder 1982:159). This long-term marginalisation of this aspect of the material record within the discipline, particularly in historical contexts, is in part attributable to the attraction of the implied fantastical and mythological aspects of ritual, thus leading to a tendency to now associate the concept and its study with the “fringe” of archaeological study (Grant 1991:110; Bradley 2005:31).

However, recent scholarly attention to this diverse aspect of human life, in addition to how we approach and study it archaeologically, has begun to reveal the extent to which ritual action may inform us about the organisation of past societies. Ritual actions are not only mechanisms through which beliefs and ideologies are constructed and mediated, they are also a form of social power for those who participate or interact with them (Kyriakidis 2005:69-75). The creation and enactment of rituals goes well beyond a response to supernatural forces, but is inherently defined and mediated by broader socio-cultural patterns.

### ***1.3.1 Defining ritual action***

The nature of ritual deposition is highly variable, and the frameworks which may be employed in order to draw information from this type of ritual activity are not only numerous, but often highly complex and occasionally contradictory. A significant hurdle that must be overcome before any understanding of a deposit and the social praxis behind it can be reached, is the way in which we are able to recognise artefacts as being indicative of ritual action.

Establishing a succinct definition of what ritual actually is, and what we understand by the term, is problematic. All too often when the term is used it is not accompanied by an explicit definition; its meaning is frequently left to be inferred (Bradley 2005:28). Furthermore, when a definition is given, it is not necessarily one which is universally accepted, thus further complicating our understanding of the term. There exist two main differing schools of thought within modern academia as to what specific elements mark ritual out as a distinct form of thought and action. One perceives ritual as a mode of action which is derived from, and expresses fundamental ideas about the world and is therefore associated with religious beliefs and the realm of the supernatural (Rappaport 1999). The other sees rituals as performance-based action where the formality of the practice is equal to what it means and, as such, they are heavily reliant on overarching conventions of practice, communication and symbolic value (Turner 1969). Even these are not exhaustive definitions, as it is accepted that rituals may be secular in origin and intention, as well as the recognition that procedure and formality are often secondary to the efficacy of the act (Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994; Bradley 2005:33). Regardless of its initial classification, a more pressing problem is how ritual is recognised archaeologically, and how what we understand it to be and the space it occupied within the ordinary lives of people affects what we see to be ritualised, and how we interpret it.

Recent discourse on the definition and identification of ritual activity has comfortably moved past the idea that it is simply that which is non-functional or ill-understood, or as a category of action physically and symbolically distinct from everyday activities, but is now seen as fully embedded within structures of socio-cultural contexts of understanding, behaviour and belief (Hodder 1982:164; Bell 1992; Brück 1999). Nevertheless, an attempt to more closely define what constitutes ritual practice is not a simple matter. Although many archaeologists and anthropologists may feel that they know what ritual is, the picture becomes less clear on closer inspection. In spite of the wealth of studies of ritual practice within numerous cultures across time and space (e.g. Evans-Pritchard 1937; Barrett 1989; Fulford 2001; Hastorf 2007; Herva 2009), any agreement of a definitive explanation of what ritual action is and the ways in which it is distinct from other spheres of human life of experience is not forthcoming.

The main issue regarding the formulation of a definition of ritual activity is the seeming inability to identify characteristics which distinguish or otherwise separate it from non-ritual or secular activity. It is known that ritual is the combination of both action and mental activity, and can be both sacred and secular, but are also multi-faceted; it is not merely concerned with physical action, but also involves aspects of emotion, experience, knowledge, movement and communication (Bowie 2000:154; Insoll 2004:10). However, all these aspects are not individually specific to ritualised behaviours. One such category which has commonly been employed in the identification of ritual activity within the archaeological record is the prominence of the structured, patterned and repetitive nature of their enaction (Firth 1951:222; Nadel 1954:99; Richards and Thomas 1984:191). Individual ritual forms commonly see a formality in activities, the precise repetition of actions and physical control, and rule governance, specifically in relation to the location of the ritual and the use and types of material culture which are utilised (Bell 1997:145-50; Insoll 2004:11). However, many non-ritual activities also rely on specific behaviours and use of particular objects; one example of which being food production (Fortes 1966:410; Goody 1977:28; Hill 1995:95-6). While this is true, it can also be argued that ritual is significant in terms of its overt expressive and symbolic aspect, and while it is comparable on a technical level with profane activity, it is the aesthetic and communicative elements which are represented which distinguish ritual actions (Leach 1968:523). Nevertheless, this approach undervalues the way all activity and material culture is expressive, but also

places a wealth of secular activity, such a speech, which is solely communicative, fully within the sphere of ritual activity (Fortes 1966:410).

One of the major issues in deciding what may constitute ritual activity is that the actions or expressions which may be identified, designated or acknowledged as such are heavily defined by the society, culture and world-view of the individual or group who participate in it. Therefore, in many ways, our recognition, interpretation and subsequent understanding of such practices are also shaped and influenced by modern conceptions of rationality and functionality (Goody 1961:157; Brück 1999:317-9). Our inability to clearly define a list of criteria exclusive to ritual practice is largely due to the tendency of many academics to approach ritual and non-ritual as mutually exclusive social categories (Brück 1999:316; Bradley 2003:10-11). This can broadly be attributable to modern perceptions of the world being heavily dependent on scientific rationality and logic, thus leading to ritual activity being commonly identified as non-functional or non-productive action and, as such, is defined by its opposition to the secular realm (Goody 1961; Durkheim 1976; Bell 1992:71; Gazin-Schwartz 2001:266-7). Therefore, ritual activity is frequently perceived as occupying a distinct and separate sphere from secular action, both temporally and spatially (Venclová 1993, Renfrew and Bahn 2000:405-7).

This dichotomy between sacred and profane is not present in all cultures, due to differing perceptions of causation and means-end relationships. Within modern perceptions, ritual practices are treated as possessing and relying on differing forms of logic than those employed in everyday activities (Goody 1977:28; Richards and Thomas 1984:189, Tambiah 1990). The use of specialised knowledge to create a functional object through the transformation of raw materials is viewed as practical, while rituals rely on supernatural agency and are therefore not technical; there is a difference in the relationship between cause and effect (Bradley 2005:29). Acts which have been classed as ritual due to their perceived association with religious supernatural or otherwise non-scientific beliefs should not be so readily separated from that which we see as effective or technical action, because, to the actor of the ritual, it is intended, and expected to be effective, and thus, due to differing conceptions of causation, are treated as normal and logical (Mauss 1972:25; Goody 1977:28; Hviding 1996:169). Rituals are enacted in order to alter or resolve a situation, aiming to change material conditions or provide enlightenment or understanding, and thus cannot be reduced down to what they may symbolise or how they may be interpreted (Lewis 1980:35; Brück 1999:320); ritual

action is essentially embedded within, and governed by socially established codes of meaning, rules and praxis (Gamble 2001:198).

The forms of knowledge associated with ritual or religious spheres or practices are derived from the same conditions as those which form knowledge relating to everyday, mundane or technical activities (Barrett 1991:6). Ritual actions and practice are not opposed to the domestic sphere or everyday economic activities, but are often derived from these routine conditions, and thus not only directly concern, but are intrinsically linked to practicalities and successes of these more mundane areas of life, materially, spiritually and spatially (Bourdieu 1977:100-6; Barrett 1994:77; Brück 1999:324-6). Objects and actions may simultaneously be both symbolic and practical in a relationship which continually reproduces itself (Leach 1968:523; Bradley 2005:16). It is often the case that these two factors are inseparable in terms of their role in both the expression of worldview and belief systems, and everyday life. To dissect and separate this relationship is to construct a false vision of the past.

Modern discussions on the subject are now shifting emphasis away from the idea of ritual as a category in itself, and are instead focusing on the concept of ritualisation. This is related to the understanding that ritual acts are, to some extent, a form of action rather than communication, and are thus defined by their own conventions, and can occur in a wide variety of locations and settings as well as be directly related to many differing concerns (Bell 1992; Bradley 2005:33). Through ritualisation, certain aspects of everyday life are selected, and accorded an added emphasis through particular actions; ritual is a quality which action may come to have, rather than being definably distinct (Bradley 2003:20-1; Humphrey and Laidlaw 2007:256; Nikolaidou 2007:183-6). Thus, ritualising acts reveal the primary anxieties faced by ordinary people within society, but also allows for the ritualising process to be traced through time and space (Bradley 2005:34). Therefore, by following the way actions became ritualised and developed as such, it may be possible to associate them with ideas of beliefs they expressed or were derived from.

### ***1.3.2 Ritual and material culture***

The study of ritual is of value to our understanding of the past, not just because it sheds light on the beliefs and worldviews of those who performed or participated in them, along with their attitudes towards their homes and the surrounding landscapes, but because it furthers our understanding of the complex relationship between people

and objects. Whether an object is created specifically for the performance of a ritual act, or an everyday item is “converted” of into an item of ritual significance, it is indicative of the social life of objects, their perceived value, and the circumstances under which that value may be altered or renegotiated (Osborne 2004:2). An object’s role in ritual is related to a differing mode of how it is perceived and used, and is thus subject to differing treatment from other items which might outwardly appear similar (Venclová 1993: 60; Hill 1995; Bradley 2003:11). Ritual is an integral part of the relationship between people and objects, relying on differing and changing systems of value, and the social and biographical life of the objects themselves.

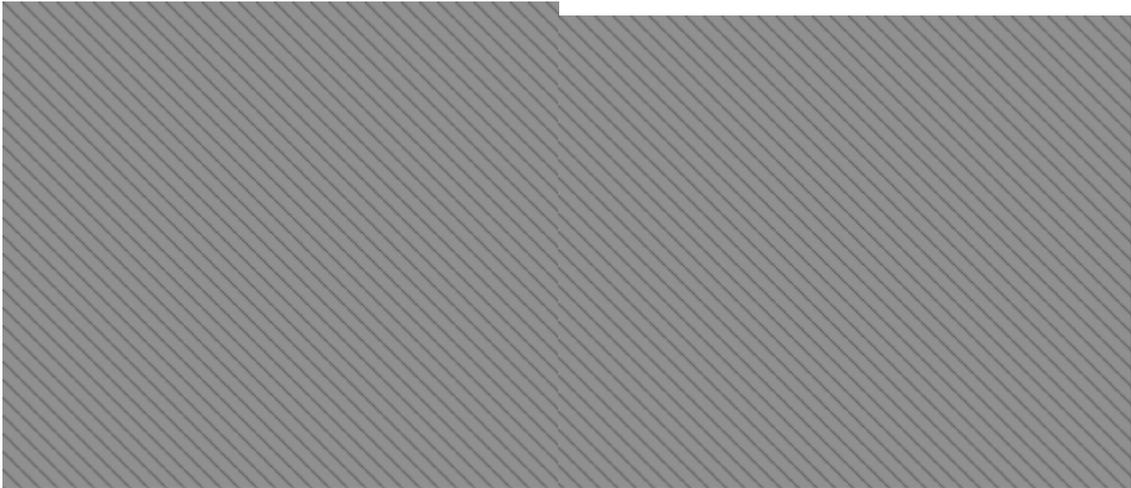
This variability and culturally-weighted role of material culture is evidenced within the structure of depositional ritual. The objects used within rituals, particularly those which may be classed as “votive” or “deposits”, can thus be seen to be objects used in a form of exchange (Osborne 2004:3). Through the depositing of an object, the expected result is (generally understood to be) one of success and good fortune in a specific area, such as economic productivity, finances, relationships, health or general good luck. However, these results are outwardly disproportionate with what is offered; there is no apparent link between the sacrifice of an animal or the surrendering of a personal item, for example, and the fortunate outcome which such action is expected to bring about. However, to disregard the value of ritual objects on the basis of structuralist principles, is to undermine the value of the act altogether. If the items are of no obvious direct significance, then the location in which the ritual occurs must also be devoid of such implicit associations with the intended outcome. The lack of a clear relationship or apparent equation of value between that which is given and that which is received does not necessarily mean that the transaction is unsound. The value and appropriation of an object is multi-layered and often goes well beyond its immediate functional role (Kopytoff 1986; Gosden and Marshall 1999).

Through the process of ritualisation, any object can function as a ritual item if it is perceived as such within the appropriate spatial or temporal context, regardless of any utilitarian properties it may possess (Walker 1995:70–72). Through its repeated use in its primary functional role, the item is accorded sacred or special properties which allow it to be incorporated into a ritual act, which, while not necessarily wholly divorced from its previous practical role, is still functionally distinct from its previous purpose and physical attributes (Gazin-Schwartz 1999:277). An object is ritualised on the basis of what it has done, rather than what it can still do.

Nevertheless, it is also pertinent to consider that the material residues of ritual action are not fully indicative of the ritual and its social significance in itself; material symbolism and the attribution of value beyond its physical state form only one aspect of ritual practices (Garwood 1991:11). It is not uncommon for objects to provide important components of ritual actions, yet the purpose of the ritual and the role artefacts play within it are not inherent in the form of the object itself. As a result the nature and function of the object within a ritual context are difficult to ascertain (Gazin-Schwartz 2001:267). The primary feature of ritual acts which enables us to draw a distinction between ritualised objects and their otherwise ordinary or everyday equivalents is context (Wait 1985:188). Thus, both archaeologically and spiritually, the value and function of ritualised objects is inextricably tied to their location of recovery or context of use. In as much as the ordinariness of ritualised items may be readily utilised by some to call the existence of evidence of ritual action into question, since, on a superficial level, they are no different from other, similar items of comparable date and provenance found elsewhere (Wilson 1992:342), the value and function of an object is not an unshifting certainty, but is as much dictated by the context and intention of use as much as the physical and social properties of the object itself (Gell 1998; Gosden and Marshall 1999:174). Therefore, although there is archaeological value in the study of ritualised objects in themselves, it is only when considered fully within the sphere of their appropriation as objects with spiritual, symbolic or supernatural properties, that we may be able to infer the processes and worldview behind the enactment of such ritual, in addition to the varying nature and fluidity of the meaning and function of material culture associated with it.

### ***1.3.3 Magic and ritual in the Early Modern period***

An approach to ritual and ritualised action within early modern England requires some clarifications. Due to the commonly held perception of ritual activity as a mode of practice which is closely related to supernatural forces or more structured religious ideologies (Rappaport 1999), within the context of post-medieval cultural ideologies it would be easy to view and thus assess ritual practices and ritualised objects as aspects of specifically magical action, especially when such ritual is clearly related to a secular context.



Left: **Figure 1.5:** A magician of high social status conjuring up a demon; Right: **Figure 1.6:** Woodcut of witches burning a town.

The extent of the belief in magic during the early modern period is well-documented. Aside from the somewhat more fantastical aspects of witchcraft which proliferated during this time, such as consorting with demons and familiars, casting destructive spells, and witches' sabbats (Anderson and Gordon 1979; Gaskill 1998; Clark 1999; Bever 2000), more accepted forms of 'white magic' were practiced throughout the country by cunning folk, who utilised the inherent properties within plants and objects for magical solutions to everyday problems (Thomas 1971:252-300; Hole 1977:128; Monter 1983:30; Briggs 1996:154). The belief and practice of magic was present at all social levels (Thomas 1971; Hole 1977:21; Scarre 1987:2) (Figures 1.5 and 1.6). Here, the ultimate distinction lies in whether a ritual enacted during this period incorporated or relied on explicitly magical practices, or whether its functioning and subsequent outcomes are dependent on the overarching principles which simultaneously allow magic to be seen to function. Is magic a conscious and deliberate part of the understanding and functioning of non-religious rituals?

However, like ritual, the study and definition of what magic is, is not straightforward. Distinctions between a wide variety of magical acts in the past indicate the high level of variability in intention and action now contained under one term. Prior to the sixteenth century, the range of different types and forms of supernatural activities were accorded separate titles (such as the distinction between conjuration and sorcery), rather than considered as a single, distinct form of action (Thomas 1975:94). Within the early modern period, the concept of magic as a whole became more clearly defined as any action relating to the deliberate creation of physical effects or the advancement of knowledge and understanding through a means which utilised the supernatural,

although this was not a concrete distinction, as there were disagreements over what was and was not considered 'natural', and the term was often rejected for those supernatural operations which were authorised by the Church, and were thus closely associated with religion (Thomas 1971:27-57, 303-4). Therefore, to talk of belief in "magic" is not necessarily to talk of an inflexible and commonly understood concept.

There are numerous similarities in the ways in which both magic and deponitional ritual may be seen to function, and thus, there exists a difficulty in constructing an explicit model for the differentiation between the two. It is easy to see how ritual could be perceived as being explicitly derived from and dependant on cultural ideas relating to the deliberate manipulation of supernatural forces. Both ritual and magic are a part of a system through which the world is understood, and are means by which the environment may be affected or controlled, and are thus both commonly viewed as irrational and non-functional forms of activity separate from everyday life (Lewis 1986:419; Brück 1999:137-9; Bailey 2006:1-2). Additionally, both may be interpreted as the manipulation of the material world and the laws of nature in order to achieve a desired result (Bell 1997:48). Both are derived from and enacted for reasons related to everyday concerns and ordinary experiences, and both may utilise everyday objects which are thought to be special or hold certain power through ordinary use or ownership (Bradley 2005:33-6; Purkiss 1996:124). Furthermore, both rituals and magical acts are not wholly defined by their structure, but rather the circumstances in which they occur, what they are in response to, and what they hope to achieve (Mauss 1972:30; Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994). Often, the focus is not on how it is implemented, but rather on whether it works.

The use of the word 'magic', among other terms, is regarded as contentious within some academic circles due to the perception that the concept would not be recognised or would be differently defined in the cultures in which it occurred (Geertz 1975). If this is the case, then the meaning of the word thus lacks any consistent or fundamental meaning; to describe actions, objects, or events as magical is to impose a false distinction upon our understanding of past practices and worldviews (Pocock 1972:3; Thomas 1975:93). This is perhaps the problem we face when examining rituals enacted in a context where magic also exists. Insofar as rituals may mirror the structure and express a similar concept of means-end relationship, is it reasonable to automatically deduce that all ritualistic action during the early modern period was defined, experienced and treated in the same way as magical practice? Is imposing the cultural

concept of magic on any ritual action presenting a reductive view of the way in which ordinary people understood and engaged with the world around them? Just because an action may outwardly appear “magical” by modern definitions, it does not mean that it was thought of as such by the enactors, or that such action was commonly incorporated within the broad range of engagement and manipulation of natural or supernatural forces.

The presence of a common belief in the existence of magic does not necessarily pervade all aspects of one’s worldview and non-technical uses of material culture. Objects and actions may still be accorded other values by way of broader socio-cultural processes and fluid systems of meaning (Kopytoff 1986:67; Trigger 1989:348), and these sources of the construction of symbolic values may just as readily inform and be reinforced by ritual action as the belief in more supernatural elements.

This is, of course, not to say that evidence of any ritual which occurs during a period in which a widespread belief in magic, in its various forms, is recognised would be uninformed by or devoid of association with elements of the supernatural. A belief in magic is inseparable from the broader worldview of those who hold it, and cultural understanding of the effect of certain actions, of which a belief in the effectiveness of ritual is also a part; the belief in both ritual and magic are, in part, governed by the same underlying principles. It is entirely possible for a ritual act to incorporate or be dependent on aspects of magical belief and action, or for magical acts to be heavily ritualised (Evans-Pritchard 1937:464; Mauss 1972:23-30; Bell 1997:46-52). However, due to the nature of archaeological evidence, systems and structures of beliefs and how they are understood culturally can only be inferred from the material record and never explicitly known.



## II

### The Study of Concealed Objects and Ritual Deposits

This chapter aims to review previous studies conducted on post-medieval domestic concealments, and provide an overview of the information and theories presented, and a critical analysis of the methodologies and ideologies employed in their research. This serves to highlight the areas of analysis which have been neglected or need reforming, and will thus inform the structure of this study.

The practice of domestic concealment in the post-medieval period, in addition to the objects around which the rituals focused, has long been recognised by archaeologists, historians and antiquarians. Despite this, the archaeological remains of this custom have only recently begun to be examined in comprehensive terms as a reflection of the early modern worldview, rather than being regarded as little more than antiquarian relics of past superstitious belief. The research that has taken place on this subject over the last seventy years varies considerably in its scope, depth of analysis and overall interpretations, but nevertheless collectively provide a wide-ranging background to the theories concerning the social and spiritual significance that this practice may have held. However, these studies are not without their flaws, whether it is in terms of their methodology, their categorisation of the objects, modes of analysis, or their overall conclusions. It is necessary to critically analyse past research and the material and conclusions presented within them in order to evaluate the quality of information they contain, how they can contribute to continuing research, and to highlight the areas that are lacking or neglected so as to better inform the methods by which further research on the subject should be conducted.

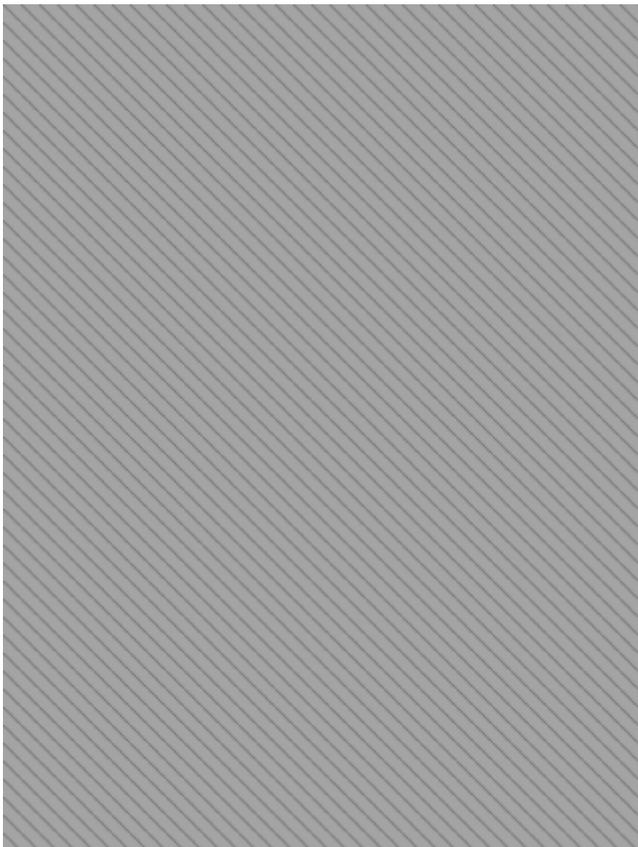
#### ***2.1 Previous studies***

Although instances of ritual deposition were discovered and recognised as holding ritual significance during the nineteenth century (Merrifield 1954:8; Howard 1951:149), little attention was paid to them in academic terms until the mid-twentieth century. Prior to this, small articles appeared in journals such as *Folklore* announcing the discovery of single examples of the practice or relating some facet of folklore which may have some relevance to the belief system behind its enactment (Grove 1901; Hayhurst 1989).

From the 1940s onwards, more detailed studies on collections of individual object types were conducted, although still on a reasonably small scale. One example being Margaret Howard's brief examination of the concealment of cat remains, which largely comprises of a list of known examples followed by the categorisation of these into three groups by their apparent intended function: foundation sacrifices, vermin scares and accidental concealments (Howard 1951).

Similarly, Seán Ó Súilleabháin conducted a study which focused more on examining the perceived purpose of the concealment of horse skulls within homes in Ireland rather than establishing patterns of their use and attempting to explain the custom from an early modern perspective. The study found which the majority of modern explanations for the practice were related to the use of skulls to improve acoustics, although notable regional variations in the understanding and enactment of the ritual existed (Ó Súilleabháin 1945).

Substantial work has been conducted on the subject of concealed shoes by Northampton Museum, which has recorded over 1,500 instances of concealed shoes from most counties in Britain, as well as numerous examples throughout Europe, the eastern states of North America and Australia (Swann 1996:57). This work was pioneered by June Swann, the former curator of the boot and shoe collection at the museum, and has produced a number of articles examining simple frequencies in the practice, such as age and gender distributions, locations of deposition and the prevalence of the custom from the medieval period to the modern day, as well



**Figure 2.1:** X-ray of a witch bottle showing nails collected in the bottle's neck due to being buried in an inverted position.

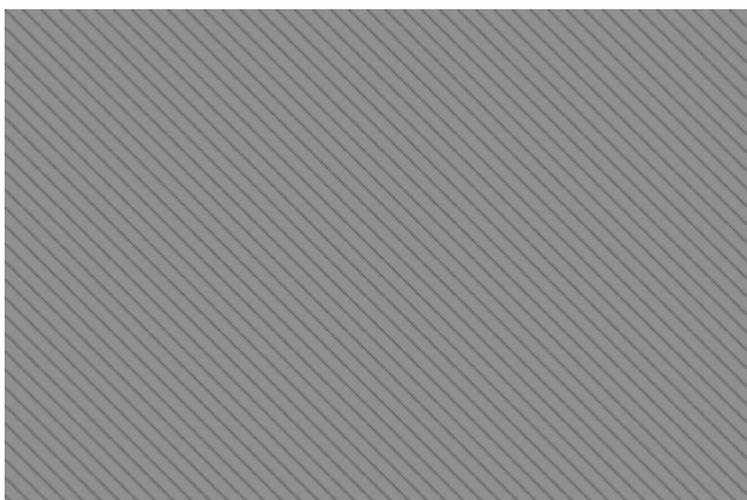
as factoring folklore beliefs, as well as reactions to discoveries of shoes by modern residents (Swann 1996; Swann 1998).

Undoubtedly, the largest contribution to the study of this topic has been made by Ralph Merrifield, who through his career as a museums archaeologist in London encountered a wide range of examples of ritual practices from the Roman period onwards (Merrifield 1969). A substantial proportion of his work relating to post-medieval practices focuses on the use of witch bottles and possible explanations for their adoption and use, both those deposited within the home and outside of it, although these analyses made use of a rather limited data set (Merrifield 1954, 1955).

Perhaps the most well-known study of ritual practices in the historical period is *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*, written by Merrifield in 1987. This provided the first much-needed overview of many of the ritual practices which occurred in various contexts throughout Britain from the Roman period into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The examples are largely organised in chronological order, but also categorised with regard to the type of ritual they represent, as well as the ideological framework within which they were enacted. The study was conducted to highlight the presence of often unrecognised ritual action, but also in response to the sensationalism and derision surrounding the archaeology of ritual, the lack of attention given to this area in historical contexts, and its increasing marginalisation within the discipline (Merrifield 1987:xiii). Merrifield argues that ritual should be regarded as one of the most fundamental and basic of all human activities, since it “concerns a man’s view of himself in his earthly environment, and activities arising from it inevitably pervade all other fields of human action”

(Merrifield 1987:1), and is thus worthy of greater recognition and more detailed study than it had been previously afforded in many cases.

The most recent study examining the



**Figure 2.2:** Contents of a witch bottle found in the Thames at Paul’s Pier Warf, London.

breadth of post-medieval ritual action within England is by Brian Hoggard, whose work is largely based on a substantial database of artefacts concealed after AD 1500. He focuses not just on this element as an early modern phenomenon, but also examines the continuation of the practice into the twentieth century. In terms of the categorisation of items and the investigations into the reasoning behind their use, his study varies little from Merrifield's, but does include some basic statistics on the use of concealments, such as the frequency of depositions in certain locations, and the percentage on each object type dated pre- and post-1700 (Hoggard 1999; Hoggard 2004).

Examples indicating the existence and proliferation of similar practices during the same period in other countries are relatively uncommon, however, some recent studies have highlighted the breadth of use and continuation of concealment rituals outside of Britain. The use of objects to fill in voids within building structures across Europe has been identified, such as Switzerland, Germany and Italy. While these deposits comprise of a great range of everyday and personal items, as well as animal and natural material, it is difficult to ascertain whether these void deposits represented a ritualised or magical act, or were commonly lost items, or unwanted objects which served a more directly practical purpose related to the viability and functionality of the house structure (Atzbach 2010). More concretely ritualised deposits have been recorded within Finland, where a small collection of objects have been found associated with house structures in the town of Tornio, which was established in the early seventeenth century. The combination of animal remains and everyday items (especially metal) used as foundation deposits, combined with known local folklore structures, is suggestive that occupants treated buildings as person-like beings in manner which is consistent with the attribution of numerous objects with animate properties within early modern Finnish communities (Herva 2009; Herva 2010; Herva and Ylimaunu 2009).

In colonial contexts, a number of cases of similar deposit types are known from America. A number of witch bottles have been found with contents similar to those found within England (Becker 2009), while numerous other objects, many of made of metal, have been recovered from within house structures (St. George 1998:190-5). In Australia, a near-exhaustive study of known concealments from nineteenth-century colonial contexts has revealed considerable similarity in the types of objects deposited and location with they are found with British examples from the same period, thus indicating the strength of the continuation of belief into later centuries and different cultural contexts (Evans 2010).

## ***2.2 Identification of ritual objects***

Within studies relating to post-medieval examples, the processes and theoretical frameworks by which these items are identified as having previously been accorded a ritual function are little discussed. It is generally understood, however, that the items in question are able to be differentiated from those objects which were deliberately discarded or accidentally lost. This can be determined by the type of items that are concealed, the locations within which they were deposited, and the frequency of the occurrences of similar categories of artefacts.

Conversely, studies exist which examine examples of objects found within the fabric of the house which appear much more clearly to have been lost, or to have served some functional purpose, than to have served a ritual one. During the restoration of Cogges Farm house in Oxfordshire, the floorboards of a first floor room were removed to reveal numerous items left by previous occupants. These included several hundred brass pins scattered all over the room, numerous buttons, dress fasteners and scraps of textile, sixty beads and several pieces of children's toys (Steane and Bloxham 1997/8:40-42). All items were small enough to have easily fallen between the floorboards, and their distribution throughout the room, combined with the type of items which were lost, suggests they were simply related to the functionality of the space within a working household.

Similarly, a study into the use of animal bones as building material in the post-medieval period includes an examination of the patterns of the use of animal remains for ritual purposes, in order to provide a clear distinction between the use of analogous material in similar contexts but for very different reasons (Armitage 1989). It is suggested that the positioning and quantities of bones provide clues as to their originally intended use; one or two bones indicate ritual use, whereas larger numbers indicate a functional purpose, such as the use of metapodial bones to construct walls or of knuckle bones as floor decoration. In addition, the types of bones used also provide an indicator for their proposed function; ritual practices tend to make use of long bones or whole animals, while only components associated with commercial butchering waste served a structural purpose (*ibid.*:151-7).

It was originally hypothesised by Merrifield that the discovery of *Bartmann* bottles containing pins and nails could possibly represent little more than "domestic hold-alls" – a casual repository for misplaced household odds and ends. However, it was concluded that it is more than coincidental that such numbers of otherwise

unremarkable household items used for the same purpose would have become accidentally buried outside or within houses only in communities in the east of England. It is difficult to imagine any circumstances in which they would have been thrown away unbroken or lost with their contents undisturbed, and thus represented deliberate action (Merrifield 1954:6, 8).

Merrifield (1987:184) makes a point of noting that many of the concealed items are not commonly recognised as serving a ritual function by much of the modern-day populous, largely due to the everyday nature of many of the items deposited. Thus, they are often dismissed and discarded by those who encounter them, the tendency being to interpret them simply as previously lost objects or the remains of unfortunate animals trapped during construction. As a result, much of the evidence for domestic ritual practices have been lost or poorly recorded. Despite these drawbacks, sufficient material evidence of ritual activity survives in order to enable coherent patterns of deposition to be established, and thus inform understanding of the nature of vernacular ritual and superstitious beliefs in the post-medieval period.

### ***2.3 Previous classification of concealed objects***

Within *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*, Merrifield established five main categories of items concealed within vernacular contexts during this period: witch bottles, shoes, cats, horse skulls and written charms. While it is likely that, for the most part, these categories were established following Merrifield's own extensive research and experience as an archaeologist, the more specialised nature of earlier studies, focusing on only single artefact types, also had a significant impact on how the data was examined and analysed, and thus on how it was seen to function as a ritual object.

It is perhaps for this reason that the wide range of other concealed items, such as items of clothing, tablewares, money and personal items such as clay pipes, are often grouped together under the title of "other items" (Merrifield 1987:136; Hoggard 2004:182-3; Swann 1996:65), despite perhaps being equally worthy of the same level of study. It is simply the case that they have never been studied in depth in their own right, or even afforded much of a ritual status beyond being associated with an item which is more easily recognisable as potentially holding a ritual function. This has, in part been rectified by the work of the Deliberately Concealed Garments Project, which was established in 1998, with the aim of both conserving concealed items of clothing, but also understanding the practice domestic deposits. This focus on a more ordinary and

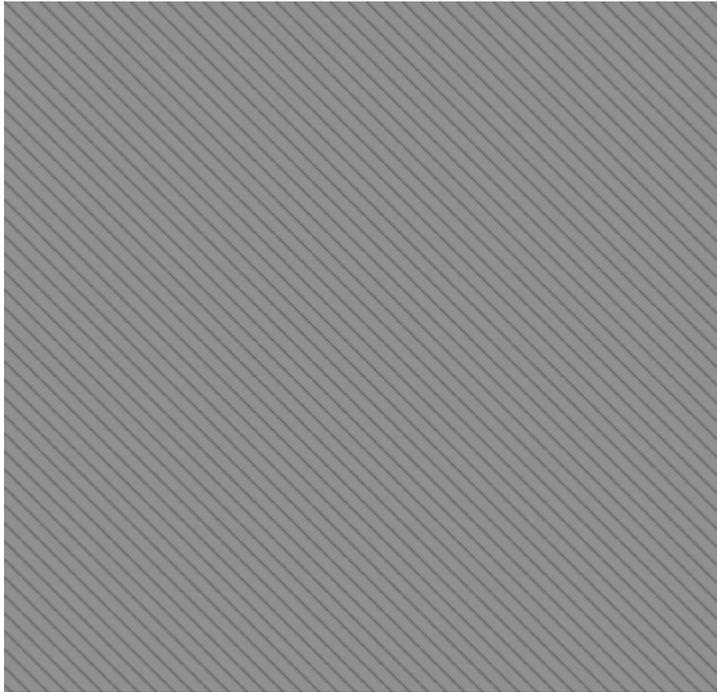
everyday class of object has ultimately led to a rather more open-minded approach to deposits, by both not assuming a singly function or purpose of all deposits, and by acknowledging the various roles objects played before during and after concealment. Ultimately, the project does have a heavy research focus on textile history, which has resulted in the study of the deposits themselves being rather secondary to the objects themselves. Additionally, the research carried out has also investigated how deposited objects are perceived and understood today, creating an oral history project of stories of the discoveries of objects, and examining the ways the past history of an item of clothing may influence the nature of its conservation (Eastop 2001; Eastop 2006; Eastop and Dew 2006; Eastop 2010). However, as detailed and as necessary this research has been, it only covers a small proportion of the more ordinary objects which are selected for inclusion in deposits.

Even so, within *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*, the categories are not so clear cut. While witch bottles and written charms are afforded their own chapters, the other three are all considered within the framework of being ‘survivals or reinterpretations’ from earlier periods. Nevertheless, it appears to be pre-existing ideas regarding their usage, often relating to folklore, which have influenced the creation of such distinct groups.

### ***2.3.1 Witch bottles***

Witch bottles are the only category of ritual deposit known to have had an unequivocal association with protection from witchcraft due to several accounts in contemporary literature. They also comprise the majority of the finds which display evidence of some form of deliberate alteration prior to their concealment. At this time, nearly two hundred known example of witch bottles have been recovered in England, all dating from the sixteenth century onwards, with over half dating from earlier than 1700 (Hoggard 2004:170). Unlike most other categories of concealed items, they display a clear regional distribution, with early modern examples appearing exclusively in East Anglia, Lincolnshire, and London (Merrifield 1954:10-11; 1955). Whereas East Anglian examples are mostly found within the fabric of houses, all London witch bottles were recovered from external contexts, many having been deposited in water, such as mill streams or the Thames (Merrifield 1987:163-5).

It is understood from a number of contemporary sources that witch bottles were initially made as a means to inflict pain on a witch who had previously cast a malicious

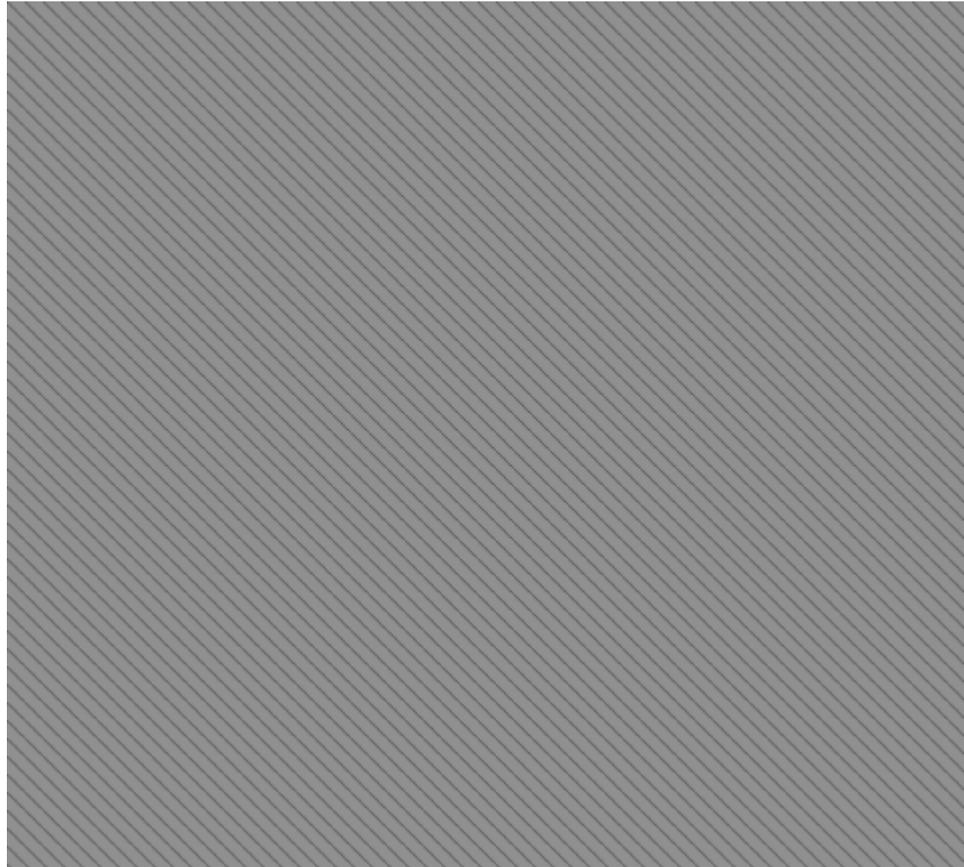


**Figure 2.3:** Witch bottle with contents, 1650-1700.

and harmful spell upon an innocent individual (Blagrave 1671:154-5; Newall 1974:167). This practice relies largely on the concept of sympathetic magic, a branch of magic which is based on 'like affecting like' (Frazer 1890:11-2; Briggs 1996:155). It was widely believed that in using magic to harm another, the witch had created a magical link

between themselves and their victim, since "such is the subtlety of the Devil that he will not suffer the witch to infuse any poisonous matter into the body of man or beast without some of the witches blood mingled with it" (Blagrave 1671:154-5). As the witch could hurt the individual through this established link, the victim could also use this connection to return harm to the witch (Briggs 1996:155). Thus, the contents that were added to the bottles to ensure its magical efficacy were either the victim's own biological material, or, less frequently, objects with which they has frequent personal contact with (Merrifield 1954:6). Once all the contents were placed in the bottle, it was to be corked tightly, and either placed in the fire until the bottle exploded or, alternatively, the bottle could be buried outside (Davies 1999:xiii). The first method was intended to kill the witch instantly, but with less guarantee of success, while the latter took longer, but was believed to cause the witch great discomfort, causing them to reveal themselves, and thus be subject to prosecution for their crime (Merrifield 1987:171-2).

In examples of this practice dating from 1700 or earlier, the same type of bottle is almost always used; stoneware *Bartmann* bottles, produced in the Rhineland. These were imported into England in vast quantities, and were primarily used for containing and decanting beer (Gaimster 1997:210). They are characterised by their bulbous body and thin neck, and are decorated with a stylised bearded male face on the neck of the bottle.



**Figure 2.4:** Two witch-bottle and their contents from Stowmarket (left) and Ixworth (right), Sussex.

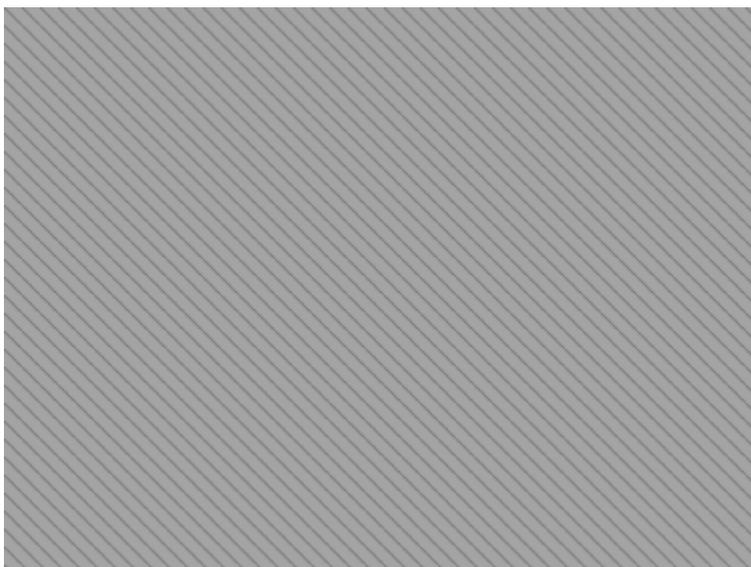
The design of the face mask evolved over the duration of the bottles' production, and it is somewhat notable that witch bottles make exclusive use of vessels decorated with later, more grotesque variants of this image instead of the more kindly visage on earlier forms (Holmes 1951:173). It is possible to conclude from this that the introduction of the grimacing face masks may be related to the appropriation of these bottles as magical items (Merrifield 1955:201), however, it may equally be that the practice developed independently of the material culture, and this pattern is the result of chronology.

The contents of witch bottles vary, both in terms of the types and numbers of different items and the substances they contain, but all tend to fall into roughly similar categories. Pieces of human biological material are normally present, generally in the form of urine, or evidence of it having been present but later evaporated or leaked out (Merrifield 1987:163). Nail parings or small amounts of hair are also frequently present. Other items tend to include sharp objects such as pins or iron nails, which often display evidence of all having been purposefully bent at least once and, in some cases, thorns

are used instead (Hoggard 2004:172-3; Gaimster 1997:139). A notable, although uncommon class of item occasionally placed in these bottles is a small heart cut out of felt, which was then stuck with pins (Merrifield 1955:201). Other items which have been found within witch bottles include knives, animal bones, coal, other pieces of metal, and fragments of glass (Merrifield 1954:11; Merrifield 1987:168; Hoggard 2004:172).

It is apparent that the use of biological material in the bottles served the purpose of the agent through which the sympathetic link with the witch was affected at a safe distance from the victim themselves. The use of the pins, nails and similar sharp objects were mostly likely intended to be the means by which further pain was inflicted upon the witch (Merrifield 1955:207). It is also worth noting that many of the pins found in witch bottles had been bent. It has been suggested that this action was intended to render the items useless, thus “killing” them so that they existed in the “other” or spirit world in which witches and other spirits were believed to travel (Hoggard 1999).

Although not one of the historical sources specifically mention a preference for any particular kind of vessel for this purpose (Merrifield 1954:13), within the context of sympathetic magic the reason for a consistent choice of the *Bartmann* bottle becomes much clearer. Bound together with ideas relating to image magic, the human-like appearance of the *Bartmann* makes it an ideal vessel through which to exact harm upon another human being. Associations are consistently made between ceramic vessels and the human body in many societies throughout history, as exemplified by the English names for the different parts of a vessel: neck, mouth, shoulder, foot etc. (Rawson 1971:100). Abraham Fleming once remarked that “the human body is a brittle body



**Figure 2.5:** X-ray of witch bottle found at Greenwich.

formed out of clay” (1576:190). The globular shape of the body of *Bartmann* bottles, combined with the applied decoration of the face at the neck, helped to create the illusion of the bottle as a small human figure. This comparison is given weight by

examples from contemporary literature, one of which is from *'The New Inne'* by Ben Jonson, in which one character is referred to as "a jug, fac'd with a beard" (1984:79-80).

Despite both the fear of witches and the production and import of *Bartmann* bottles with face masks into England extending back to the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (Gaskill 2010:20-22; Gaimster 1997:124), the practice of creating witch bottles does not appear until the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Merrifield 1954:11). The earliest historical account of the use of a witch bottle was given by William Brearley, quoted by Joseph Glanvil in 1681. In summary, the story regards a woman in a Suffolk village who was afflicted by "a thing in the shape of a bird that would flurr in her face". An old man who travelled up and down the country visited her and identified the bird shape as a dead sprite. To get rid of it, he advised her to place her urine into a bottle with pins, needles and nails, and to either hold it in the fire, or bury it (Glanvill 1681:205-8). The most notable aspect of this story is that the afflicted woman knew nothing of this practice until it was communicated to her by the travelling man. Hence, it appears that the magical concepts involved in the perceived efficacy of the charm were not part of the existing regional folk traditions, despite clear parallels to other counter-charms (Merrifield 1954:14; Thomas 1971:649; Sharpe 1996:157).

With this aspect of their development in mind, combined with the appearance of this practice only in certain parts of the country which also had very close contact with the continent, the possibility of the witch bottle being derived from foreign customs, particularly those of the Netherlands of the Rhineland, has been suggested (Merrifield 1954:11-12). Whereas no comparable examples of the use of *Bartmanns* as witch charms are known in these areas, the practice of the burial of 15<sup>th</sup>- and 16<sup>th</sup>-century plain Seigburg stoneware jugs under old houses, often in inverted positions, is known in both countries (Merrifield 1954:12; 1987:173). The jugs are usually empty, but occasionally contain fragments of bone or eggshell, or similar evidence of once having contained food. It has been suggested that they were buried as a means to trap evil spirits, and that food was put inside as bait. It may be only natural that similar methods used against the threat of witchcraft would follow as a natural development when such ideas were transplanted into a new culture during a time of such heightened fears.

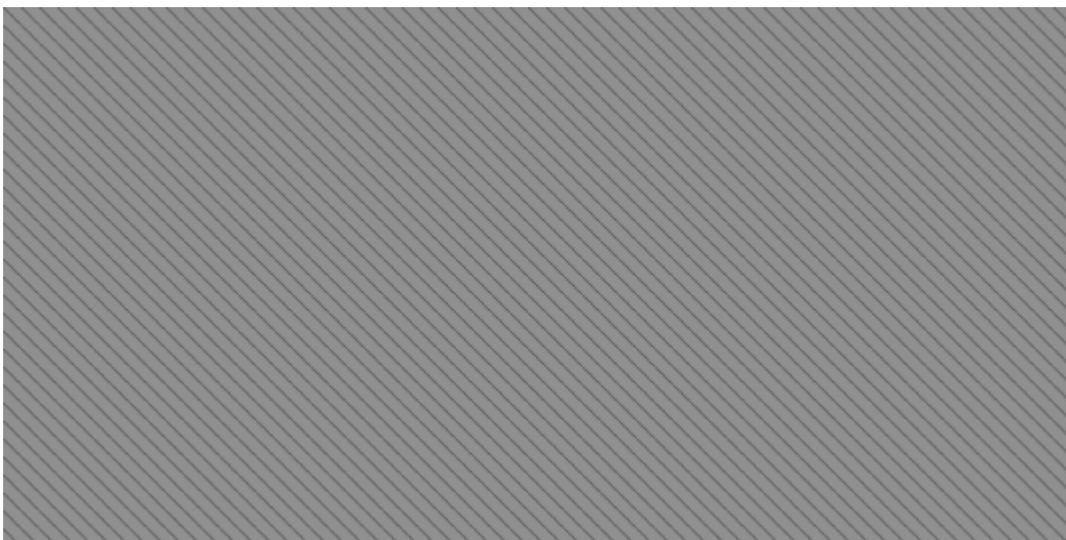
Following this, it has been suggested that examples of concealed bottles and their contents were intended as a means to trap a witch or evil spirit which attempted to invade the home. The use of a cloth heart alongside human biological material could have been viewed to be a way of fooling the witch into thinking that a human heart was

in the bottle, or that the arrangement of items was itself a human being. When the witch detected this, they would plunge into the bottle and become stuck inside, becoming impaled on the pins and sharp objects it contained (Hoggard 1999). However, a significant number were concealed in an inverted position, and most of the bottles display evidence of having been securely corked or having been sealed with wax or clay, and very few contain cloth substitutes for hearts, which is theorised to be more likely to represent the heart of the witch than the victim (Merrifield 1987:163). It is apparent that nothing from this world, or the spiritual world, was meant to enter, or leave, the bottle.

Aside from this, most studies on witch bottles conclude that their placement within the body of houses is indicative of an act of pre-emptive protection against witchcraft or as prophylactic amulets for the house (Hoggard 2004:173; Merrifield 1954:11), despite the contents and nature of their deposition being similar or often identical to witch bottles used to cause harm after a spell had supposedly been cast.

### ***2.3.2 Shoes***

Concealed shoes comprise the largest group of any special deposit type, and have been recovered from almost every possible area of houses and within every county in England. Almost all of the shoes show signs of substantial wear, with many having been worn through or been subject to significant or repeated repair, suggesting that they served as normal footwear for some time prior to their deposition. Most of the finds are of odd shoes, even within concealments of groups of two or more shoes, but finds of pairs of shoes are not uncommon. The dating of individual shoes indicates an increase



**Figure 2.6:** Shoe found in the chimney breast of a cottage in Peaslake, Surrey.

in the practice of the concealment of shoes from the late medieval period onwards (Swann 1996:59). This increase in numbers may simply reflect better preservation of both the shoes and of the buildings in which they were concealed, so we cannot necessarily infer from this that the practice became gradually more popular over time.

In terms of patterns of deposition, shoes were most commonly located in association with the chimney or hearth, comprising roughly 26.2% of the total collection. Under floors was the second most common location, followed by those which were built or plastered into walls, most of which were internal, and those from within roofs. Small quantities also came from under stairs, the areas around doors and windows, and from foundations. However, a significant number of recorded shoes were recovered from demolition rubble as a result of building work or were from unprovenanced locations (Swann 1996:60-1). With some exceptions, most shoes were deposited in places which would only normally have been accessible at the time of building or during alterations (Merrifield 1987:133), suggesting the very deliberate and premeditated nature of the act.

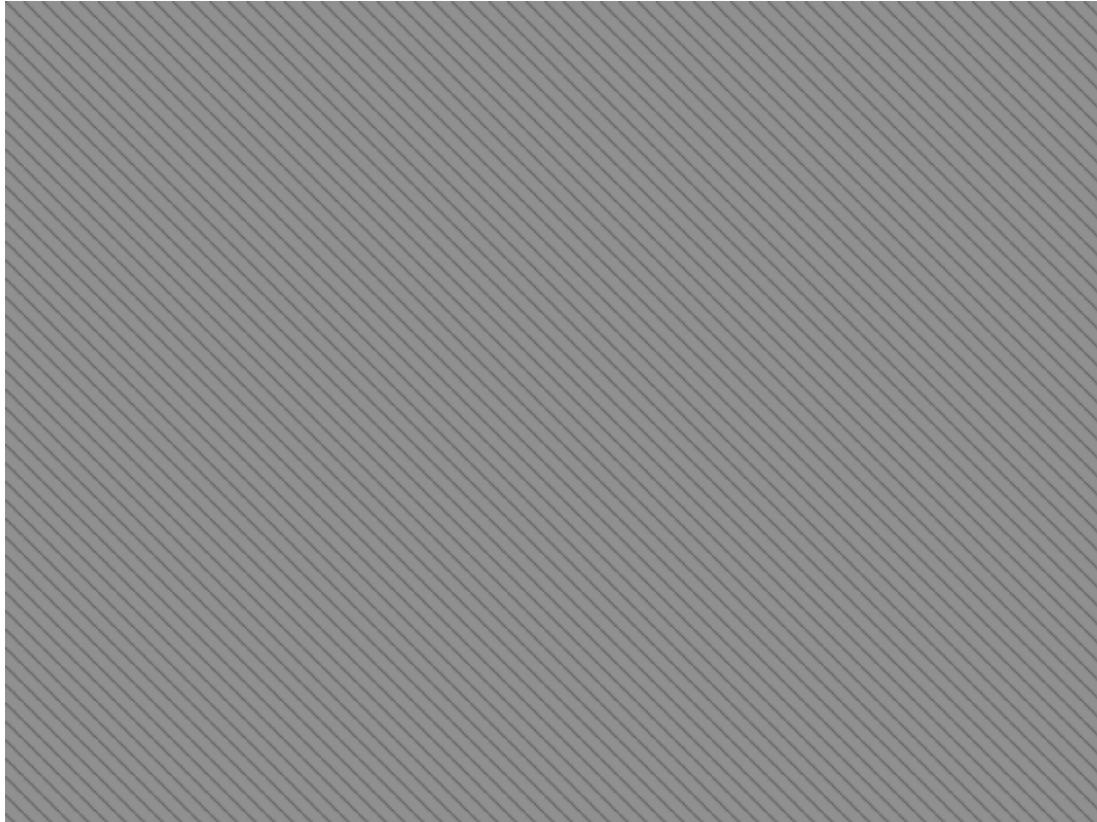
Men's, women's and children's shoes are all well represented. Female's shoes appear to be slightly more common than male's where they were able to be identified, but it is significant to note that roughly 50% of shoes were of children's size (Swann 1996:62; Dixon-Smith 1990). This can be attributed to a number of reasons, such as fertility superstitions, sentimentality, or as a means of memorial for a deceased child (Merrifield 1987:134; Hoggard 2004:180).

Apart from wear and deterioration over time, the shoes are largely in an untouched and in complete condition, showing no signs of having been altered in a specific way prior to concealment. However, a small number appear to have been subject to deliberate mutilation, normally in the form of slashes or cuts to the leather of the shoes not consistent with alterations allowing for a better fit. In a few examples, the cuts are in the form of a cross or other symbols (Merrifield 1987:133; Baker 1974:62; Dixon-Smith 1990), which can possibly be interpreted as a ritual "killing" of the object. This would indicate that, in a small number of households, the deposition of shoes was associated with protection from harmful spiritual beings or forces, but on the whole, this association was not made, and a spiritual element was either not present in these concealments, or not overtly expressed.

It has been theorised that the shoe was placed deliberately in the house as a means to catch a witch or similar evil spirits. This is based on the story of John Schorn, a medieval parish priest from Buckinghamshire, who reportedly managed to conjure the

Devil into a boot (Merrifield 1987:135). This story, in connection with the liminal locations of many shoe deposits, lends weight to the possible function of deposited shoes as spirit traps, but does not explain the non-liminal concealments. However, it is noteworthy that significant peaks in certain decades in shoe deposition activity appear to coincide with periods of war from the late sixteenth century onwards (Swann 1996:60), indicating that people felt they needed an extra source of protection or luck during time of uncertainty or stress. It is therefore possible that general conceptions of luck may provide a common impetus for this practice, rather than any belief in, and fear of, supernatural harm.

In the post-medieval period, shoes were often expensive items, and this commercial worth may have afforded them greater spiritual value. Shoes are also the only items of clothing which are capable of taking on the shape of the one who wears them, which would have been enhanced due to shoes being more commonly repaired and worn for long periods of time instead of being replaced once they became worn down (Dixon-Smith 1990). However, a number of the concealed shoes were made of a material other than leather or were overshoes such as clogs or pattens (*ibid.*:63), suggesting that it is the object of the shoe itself which was held to possess ritual and superstitious significance.

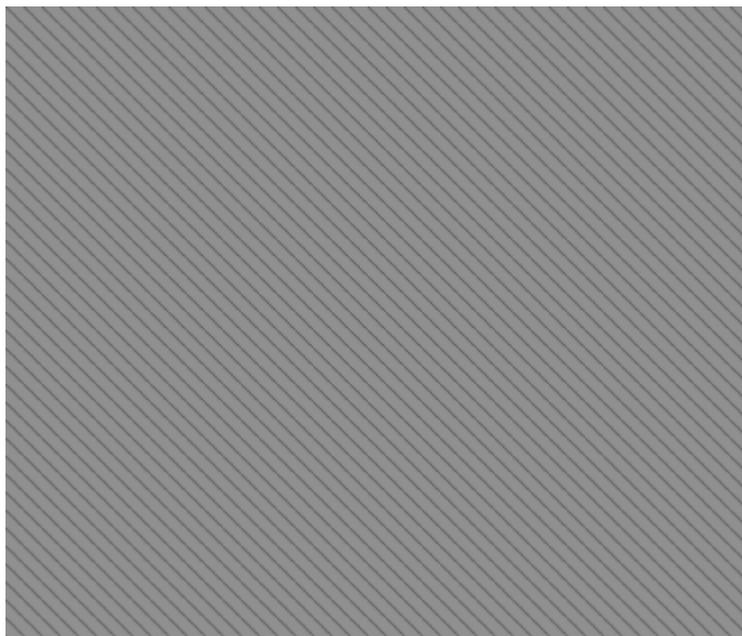


**Figure 2.7:** Shoe from Wharf farm, Wiltshire.

There also exist a substantial number of superstitions surrounding the use or specific placement of shoes, which may suggest that all shoes were not all concealed for the same reasons. Most of these focus on the securing or creation of good luck, or ensuring fertility, such as women trying on the shoes of a friend who had recently given birth in the hopes of increasing their own chances to conceive. Other examples include throwing shoes after people to give them good luck (now seen in the form of tying shoes to the back of the car of a recently married couple), and young women arranging their shoes in the form of a “T” before they went to sleep in the hopes of dreaming of the man they were going to marry (Hoggard 2004:180; Dixon-Smith1990; Baker 1974:142). However, to place one’s shoes in a crossed position is considered to bring bad luck (Radford and Radford 1948:94).

### ***2.3.3 Cats***

The recovery of concealed cats is substantially less common than shoes, although due to their concealment in locations similar to those associated with other ritual objects (Howard 1951:149-50), there exist obvious links between this practice and others possibly related to apotropaic functions. This action is often rationalised as the result of the animals becoming trapped accidentally during the course of building work and then starving to death, and it is likely that this is the case for a few examples. It is impossible to tell in any given example whether they were alive when concealed. However, the manner in which a number were arranged, combined with the obvious



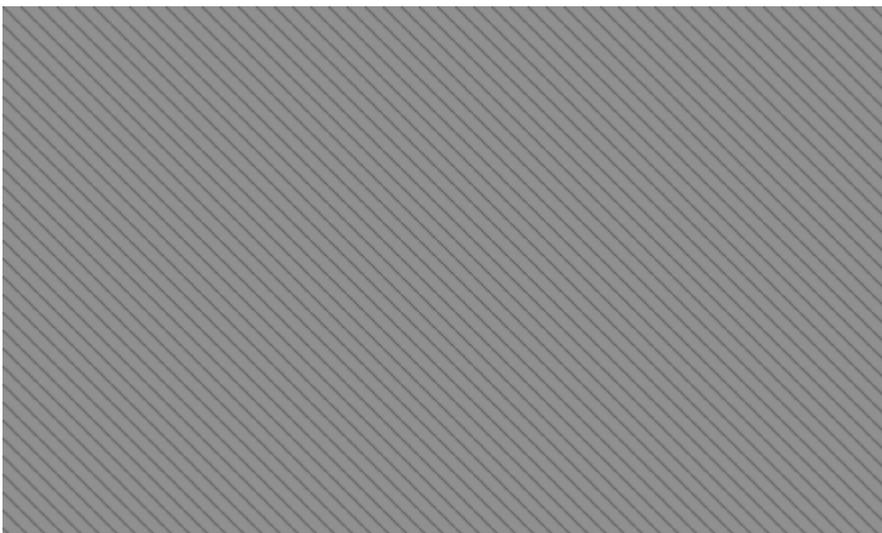
**Figure 2.8:** A cat and rat, both posed after death, Salisbury.

inconvenience which would accompany a cat dying within close proximity, is highly suggestive of many, if not all concealed cats were deceased at the time of their deposition. Thus, for the majority of examples, it is apparent from the nature and locations of their concealment that their

presence within the structure was the result of deliberate human action (*ibid.*:151).

One common interpretation of the placing of these cats in concealed spaces is that they were intended as a foundation deposit (*ibid.*:150); a practice which is closely paralleled in the domestic archaeology throughout prehistoric Europe. However, these past acts of ritual have been widely interpreted as involving propitiatory functions to appease various gods, rather than being purely apotropaic (Osborne 2004), as post-medieval domestic ritual is commonly interpreted. They have also been thought to have operated as anti-witch devices, providing active protection for the house within the spiritual plane through which witches were believed to have travelled, and therefore this is a practice perhaps derived from the common perception that cats possess the ability to sense things which humans cannot (Hoggard 1999; Oldfield Howey 1993:198-204).

It may appear perverse that an animal commonly associated with witchcraft and evil spirits would be potentially employed as a means to keep them at bay. However, in the post-medieval period it was believed that any small animal could operate as a witch's familiar, with the closer association of cats with witchcraft is a more modern construction (Wilby 2000). Following from this, superstitions and folk beliefs associated with cats are not always negative in character. One account advises that it was considered good luck for a black cat to enter the house, and that on no account should it be driven away. Equally, when moving to another house, it was unlucky to bring the cat with you (Addy 1973:68). This suggests a degree of recognition of a connection held to be between the presence of a cat in the home and its welfare. Hence, the most effective methods of ensuring that the cat, and its ritual properties, remained in the



**Figure 2.9:** Cat found in a concealed space in a house in Bloomsbury.

house would be to conceal it within the structure itself. Similarly, a number of practices used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to prevent sickness, involve the death or mutilation of a cat, with one example involving the burial of only the tail under the threshold (Simpson and Roud 2000:50).

What is most notable about many examples of this class of concealments is that the bodies of a number of deposited cats had been posed in lifelike positions, a few examples citing the use of wooden pegs through the feet to enable them to remain standing. In addition, these posed concealments sometimes occur in association with similarly preserved and posed mice, rats and birds, arranged together with the cat to give the impression that the smaller animal was the victim of a hunt (Howard 1951:151).

This particular variation in the practice is also subject to rationalisation, and is often interpreted as a ‘vermin scare’ – comparable in function to that of a scarecrow - and therefore represents a different custom to that which involves apotropaic cats. Such a complex and life-like arrangement would be an unnecessary addition to a foundation sacrifice where the death of the sacred animal is all that would be required (*ibid.*:151). However, the perceived efficacy of this rather elaborate setup is highly questionable, and it is extremely unlikely that this method offered a successful means of vermin control. Indeed, it has been pointed out that a rat is more likely to eat such a dead cat rather than be scared by it, no matter how it appears (Hoggard 2004:175). Similarly, a number of posed cats were enclosed in spaces which would have been completely inaccessible, even to household vermin (Merrifield 1987:129).

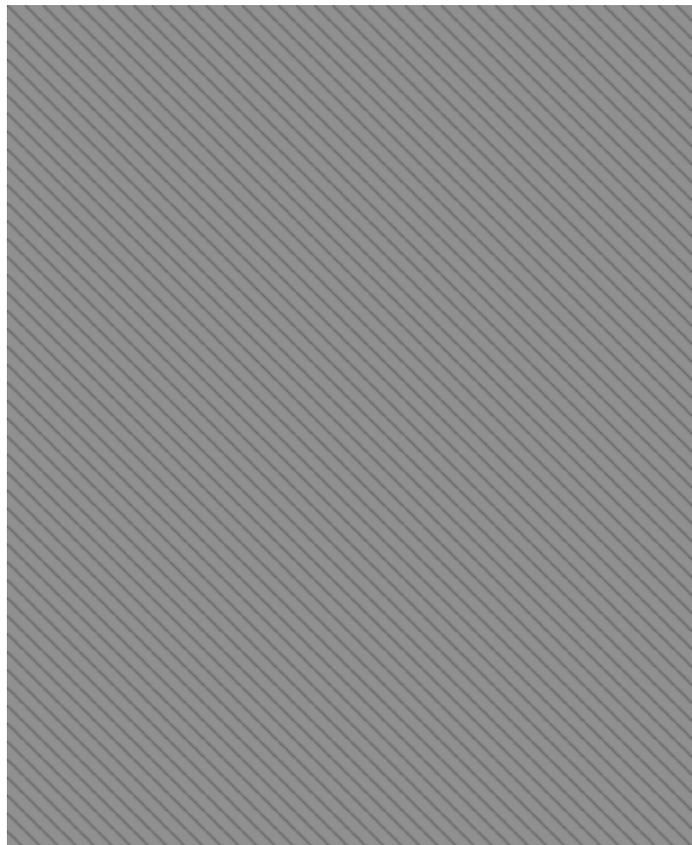
#### **2.3.4 Horse skulls**

The practice of the concealment of horse skulls is not as well recognised within England, but is generally more commonly found in Wales and Ireland. As with concealed cats, they are most often found within chimney structures, although a significant proportion have been found under floors and built into walls (Hoggard 2004:177). One of the most notable examples of this is the discovery of forty horse skulls screwed to the underside of the floor of the Portway pub in Herefordshire (Merrifield 1987:123). Another slightly unusual case is that of two horse skulls found under the floor of a house believed to be, at the latest, of late seventeenth century in date in Flintshire, Wales. One of the skulls was white in colour, while the other was of a darker brown, and this distinction prompted the theory that each skull may have been associated with different spiritual purposes (Brown 1966:65).

The use of horses' skulls, deposited in association with both domestic and religious structures to bring luck or protection, is known to have taken place in Britain since late prehistory, and to have continued into the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods (Woodward and Woodward 2004:80; Hamerow 2006:4-7; Merrifield 1987:32, 47). The historically high status of horses may well have had some influence on their selection for this purpose, and the skull as the location of the brain, along with four of the five senses, would have offered both a worthy sacrifice and an effective means of protection. Similarly, the intrinsic qualities of the head make it a natural symbol of knowledge, power and vigilance (Simpson and Roud 2000:170) and hence ideally suited for apotropaic purposes.

Aside from the long pattern of continuity evident in the ritual significance of horses, they possessed a number of other inherent qualities which were likely to have influenced the continuation of this practice. Like cats, horses were often attributed with the ability to see spirits or ghosts, and had a similarly favourable relationship with humans (Hamerow 2006:20). It may have been the case that such benevolent influence would be transferred to the spirit world in death, and that this influence might be attached to the house through the concealing of the skull within the fabric of the building.

The placement of skulls in walls and under floors is often afforded the rationalist explanation that they helped to improve acoustics (Ó Súilleabháin 1945; Hoggard 2004:177-8), and it may well be the case that more modern examples of the concealments of horse skulls were enacted for



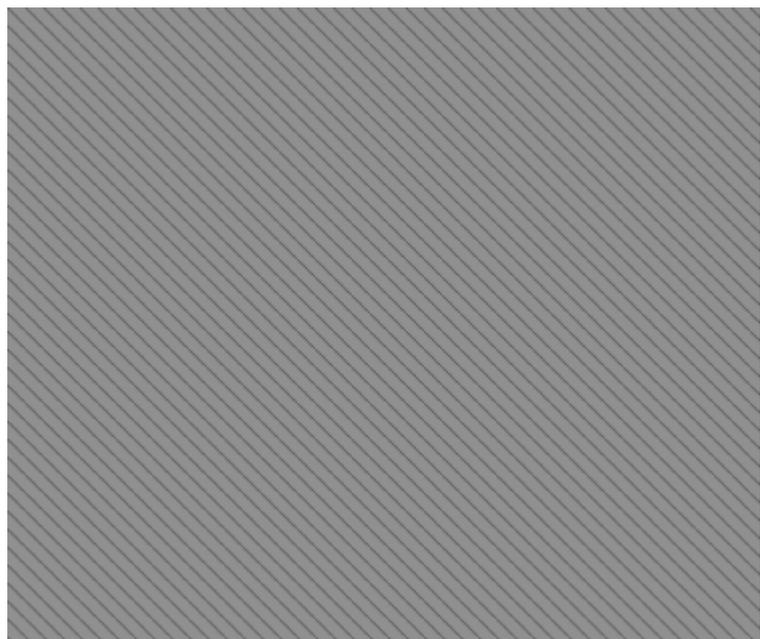
**Figure 2.10:** Two horse skulls found beneath a house floor in Flintshire, Wales.

this purpose. Indeed, such was the assumption made by the owners of the Portway pub, and by the residents of Thrimby Hall in Bedfordshire where a similarly large number of skulls were recovered (Merrifield 1987:123). Ó Súilleabháin's survey on the burial of horse's heads within Ireland concluded that any acoustic motive in the placement of the skulls was a secondary one, and was a modern rationalisation for the older practice of foundation sacrifices (Ó Súilleabháin 1945:49-50). As Merrifield points out, even if the skulls did serve to enhance acoustics, it is highly unlikely that their acoustic properties would have been recognised accidentally, unless the skulls were already present within a house structure, having been placed there as part of a votive ritual (Merrifield 1987:125). Following this, it has been noted that there exist a significant number examples of horse skulls having been deposited in such a manner that they could not possibly have provided any acoustic function (Hoggard 2004:178), suggesting that these represent a practice more concerned with the incorporation of the skull within the structure of the building.

### ***2.3.5 Written charms***

Written charms and the inscribing of symbols or spells on the walls, chimney or joists of a house comprise one of the more over-looked aspects of post-medieval ritual practice, due largely to their poor level of survival, and often to their dismissal as thoughtless graffiti. Only twenty-one surviving examples of written charms of this kind are known from England, only two of which can be dated to earlier than 1700 (Hoggard 2004:182). Inscribed symbols are more widespread, but attributing dates to most cases is very difficult.

Within Merrifield's study, examples of writing associated with magic or protection are largely limited to examples of charms or curses found on written paper or scratched into

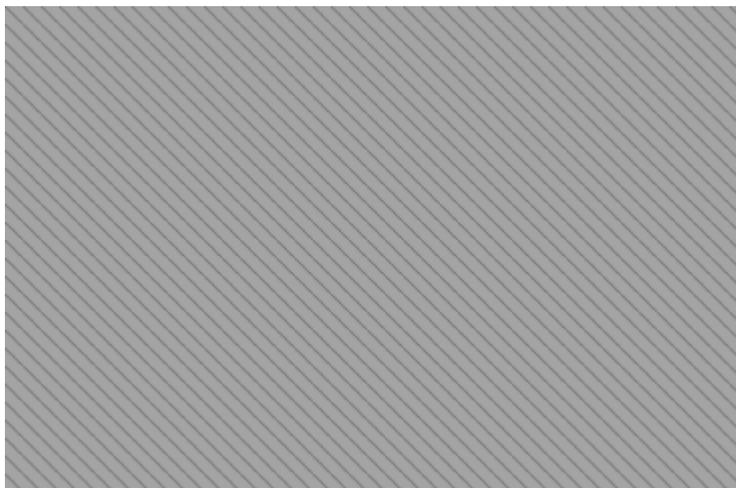


**Figure 2.11:** Coded protective charm, with astrological symbols.

other materials, both those serving protective functions and those intended as a means to cause magical harm to another individual. Those which possess apotropaic intentions exhibit an unusual combination of folk practices and belief with more elite and religious invocations. The charms themselves comprise of carefully laid out text containing explicitly Christian invocations to God or Jesus for their protection combined with an array of symbols, often astrological or occult in origin, or magical devices such as the ‘abracadabra’ triangle or magic squares. Occasionally devices such as the cabbalistic names of God and ‘Tetragrammaton’ are also included, most likely due to their association with great power (Merrifield 1987:148-54).

Unlike other concealed objects, the meaning and intention behind the concealment of such charms is clear from the wording and content of the text. Moreover, the combination of the sacred and the secular elements of the charm can provide us with a window into the construction of the beliefs and worldview of those who used them. While it would be difficult to determine the true extent to which religious doctrine and traditional folk belief were truly enmeshed within the spiritual dogmas of the lower classes in this period, it is apparent that the focus was on evoking power, regardless of the source (Hoggard 2004:182).

These protective charms would most likely have been produced for a specific purpose by local cunning folk; whether to protect the house, its occupants or livestock. These would then often be folded up, often a set number of times, and be concealed within structures, usually slipped into notes in beams or gaps between timbers, both in houses and out-buildings. Occasionally they were contained within a vessel of some kind such as a small glass bottle, while one example was concealed folded inside a sheet



**Figure 2.12:** Daisy wheel inscribed in plaster, Worcestershire.

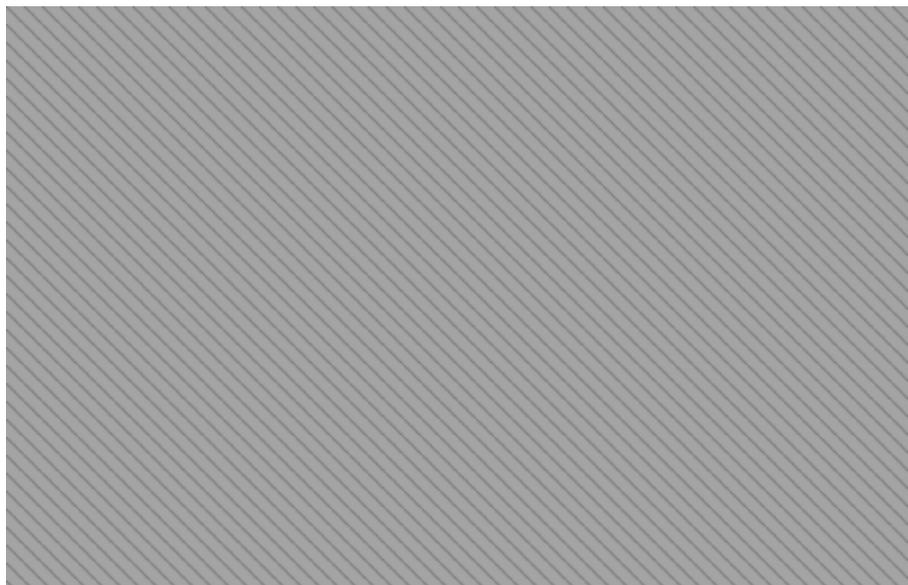
of lead (Merrifield 1987:145, 148-54; Hoggard 2004:181).

Aside from written charms of varying complexity, a wide and variable range of symbols were employed for protective purposes around the house, written or carved on wooden

beams, stone, bricks and plaster work, and as with other apotropaic actions, doors, windows and fireplaces are commonly favoured locations (Meeson 2005:41). A substantial number of examples, especially in Suffolk, appear on or around fireplaces or staircases, two features which were frequently added to older houses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and thus would thus have provided a particular target for marking with protective symbols (Easton 1997:534).

One inscribed device which is common throughout Britain, both in vernacular and religious spaces, is the daisywheel, which consists of a number of equal, compass drawn circles, all intersecting so as to create the impression of the petals of a flower. This is commonly rationalised as a demonstration of vitruvian and geometric principals to an apprentice (Meeson 2005:45). Such a design may well have served a ritual or protective purpose, representing rays of sunlight, or the form of a cross (*ibid.*:42). A range of other symbols include, interlaced knots, shoe shapes, butterfly ‘X’ marks, ladders. Symbols such as concentric circles and spectacle marks (two circles joined by a curved line) are thought to have been a means of averting the Evil Eye. A substantial proportion of symbols also represent overt Christian symbolism such as two intersecting ‘V’s or the letters ‘MR’ to represent the Virgin Mary, ‘P’ for Pax, the Chi-Rho, or simple crosses (Easton 1997:534; Easton 1999; Meeson 2005:46).

A number of these marks appear to have been made using tradesmen’s equipment, suggesting they were added by superstitious carpenters during major alterations to the building (Easton 1997:534). Similarly, the marks in several cases can be shown to have been added to the timber components before they were incorporated into the building



**Figure 2.13:** Spectacle marks and ‘M’ carved into wooden beam, Worcestershire.

(Easton 1999:24). However, numerous incised examples are found on wall plaster (Meeson 2005:41-3) and were evidently added by the occupants of the house.

#### ***2.4 Previous interpretations***

Despite some variation in the interpretations of the practice, the majority of studies draw the conclusion that all items were concealed in this manner in order to provide an apotropaic or broadly protective function, or simply as a means of ensuring good luck. In light of the patterns of use and style of deposition, it is clear that these items represent the remains of some form of deliberate ritual, and were not a series of accidental losses or coincidences.

The obvious link between the use of animal remains in this way and prehistoric examples of foundation deposits has further strengthened the theory of apotropaic intention. While many past depositional rituals have been interpreted as having served a propitiatory function (Cunliffe 1995:85-8; Hamerow 2006), the enactment of similar practices in the post-medieval period presents the problem that there were no longer such pantheons of gods to be appeased. Thus an explanation of the continuation of the practice with the gradual loss of the original meaning and intention being lost is often accepted, thus resulting in rites aimed at producing or securing good luck and fortune.

The use of items which pertain to or required some form of magical action in their creation, witch bottles in particular, has also led to the conclusion that they, as well as other deposits, were used as a means to repel witches and maleficent magic, or functioned as active counter-charms (Hoggard 1999; 2004). Considering the historical evidence relating to the construction and intended use of witch bottles - the concoction itself not being far differentiated from an act of witchcraft - combined with many of these rituals being developed and enacted within the backdrop of the European witch-craze, this interpretation is hardly surprising. The assertion that other concealed items also served as counter charms is a little more tenuous, generally relying on folklore or modern accounts of the practice to qualify their function.

Although functional rationalisations of the concealment of a number of items have been suggested in some cases, they are as much discussed, analysed and rejected as they are proposed, as seen in the case of the acoustic properties of horse skulls. However, in spite of the broader recognition and acceptance of the practices and their variations, previous studies of post-medieval domestic rituals are more often than not lacking in

terms of how the information is examined and analysed, as well as how their conclusions and understanding of ritual processes are formed and qualified.

## ***2.5 Criticisms***

### ***2.5.1 Criticisms of previous studies***

Much of the body of the previous work on the subject of post-medieval domestic ritual can be readily criticised for the often simplistic and limited approach they embody. Items are all too often studied as single classes of objects, removed from the wider context of the practice as a whole, and more often than not, from the ideological and cultural framework in which the practice was enacted.

Despite the role played by Merrifield's *Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* in highlighting the pervasiveness of ritual action throughout the last two thousand years in Europe and the importance of the recognition and study of ritual within the archaeological record, it is a study which is still very limited in its scope. Although it was never intended to serve as an in-depth examination of the socio-cultural role of ritual within historical Europe, it is necessary to identify the inherent faults within its methodology and presentation of information. Ritual material culture is largely only identified as such and accompanied by a number of examples of the practice, but no real analysis into their distribution and patterns of use is provided. Similarly, in-keeping with the introductory nature of the study as a whole, much of the discussion of the material Merrifield covers is left somewhat open-ended with regards to any definitive interpretation as their role and meaning as ritual artefacts, and thus should not be treated as absolute and exhaustive in its verdicts. In the case of concealments, while numerous examples are cited which have evidently been collected through his own research, his examination of the ritual function of each item type, along with their categorisation, is heavily influenced by that of previous studies (Merrifield 1987:124-6, 129-34), as is evident in his discussion on horse skulls, which focuses mainly on their possibly acoustic function. Where other, more unique examples of concealments are cited, they are never given the same level of attention is discussed as rigorously as those which fall into the five main categories (*ibid.*129).

Brian Hoggard's studies contain many of the same problems, and thus fails to serve as a more in-depth and comprehensive report. His categorisation of objects follows on directly from Merrifield, and his suggestions regarding the perceived role and efficacy of each item class is not much more developed. Although his study has the greater

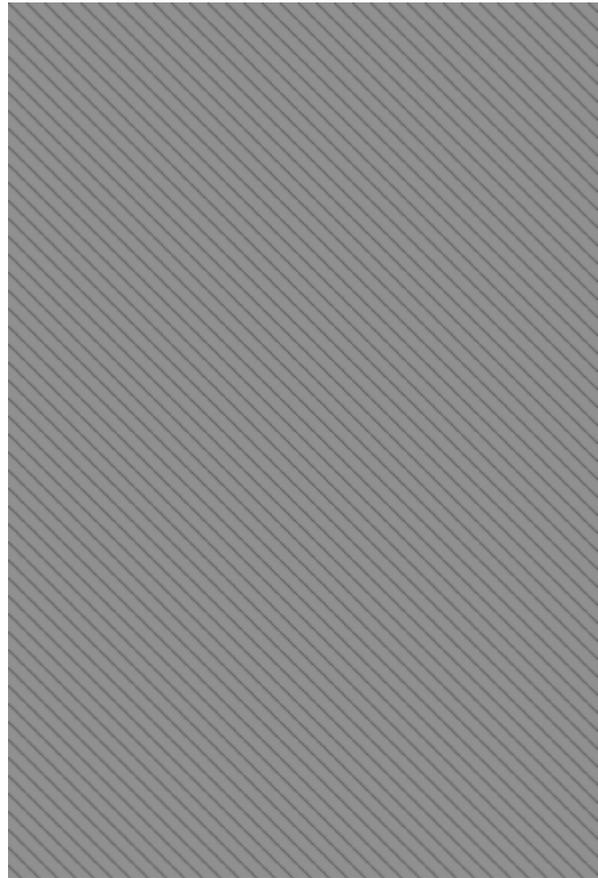
advantage of extensive data collection, Hoggard seemingly provides no wider analysis beyond basic frequencies relating to locations of deposition, the various contents of witch bottles, and dating, which itself is only divided into pre-1700, post-1700 and undated (Hoggard 2004:169). At no point are these two aspects of the data ever compared to examine the possibility of any changes in usage over time, an unusual omission in light of his concern with the evidence for the continuation of these practices into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. One of the largest problems with his work is that he appears to be focused on the conclusion that all concealed items were intended to function as anti-witchcraft devices or counter charms and presents little evidence to solidly support this theory (Hoggard 1999). It is due to this approach that any subsequent (and infrequent) attempts to provide any historical socio-cultural background to the practice are focused only on the witch-craze and contemporary beliefs relating to magic.

### ***2.5.2 Examination and identification of ritual function***

One of the main failings of all these studies is that they largely fail to qualify the reasons behind their interpretations regarding ritual function. Although the contexts and manner of deposition and type of objects concealed are evidently indicative of some form of ritual action, it is all too often taken for granted that they were all intended to serve an apotropaic function, or all various forms of counter witchcraft charms, and thus the material is discussed in light of this assumption. This in turn can lead to the attribution of details to the ritual for which there is no archaeological evidence, such as issues of secrecy in the enactment of the practice (Hoggard 1999). While this is understandably a difficult area to address, there is generally no attempt made to provide a theoretical basis for these claims, or provision made to understand these practices within the broader framework of the value of ritual and similar beliefs within everyday post-medieval life.

In addition, with the difficulty which accompanies the identification of the specific purpose and significance of some objects, there is the danger that they may become grouped in the same functional categories as other items for which the intention behind their concealment is more readily apparent, such as witch bottles and written charms. However, it is unrealistic to group the other depositions into this area of thought and practice on the basis of this unexamined assumption.

Although it would be easy to assume that concealed witch bottles were intended to serve the same function as those detailed in historical sources, issues regarding context and intention need to be considered. The concealment of witch bottles within the home is not congruent with the literary sources regarding their use as counter charms. To work effectively as such, the bottles needed to be held over a fire until they exploded, or were buried outside. To intentionally incorporate an item into the body of the house which would normally have to have been



**Figure 2.14:** Witch bottle and heart with pins, Norfolk.

destroyed or removed and concealed outside of the domestic structure, suggests a rather different practice and underlying intention - one which was more focused on the house itself rather than anything single thing external to it.

### ***2.5.3 The variability of ritual***

Although all the objects within each group may have been employed for similar reasons, there exist notable variations within each group of items, which are little addressed by previous commentators. More often than not, elements of variability are illustrated through the use of a number of specific examples, but only rarely are the precise variations actively discussed and analysed with regard to them being of significance to the ritual itself or the social context in which it was enacted (Merrifield 1987).

One area which is overwhelmingly under-studied is that of regional variation. Beyond the recognition of the differences in deposition of witch bottles in London and East Anglia (Merrifield 1955:203), the subject is virtually never broached. Even in larger

scale studies which contain a substantial level of basic frequency based statistics, figures relating regional distributions are notably absent.

Similarly, frequencies relating to single attributes are never combined so as to give a broader picture of the practice, such as how it may have altered over time and whether there existed variations in object types relating to their contexts for deposition.

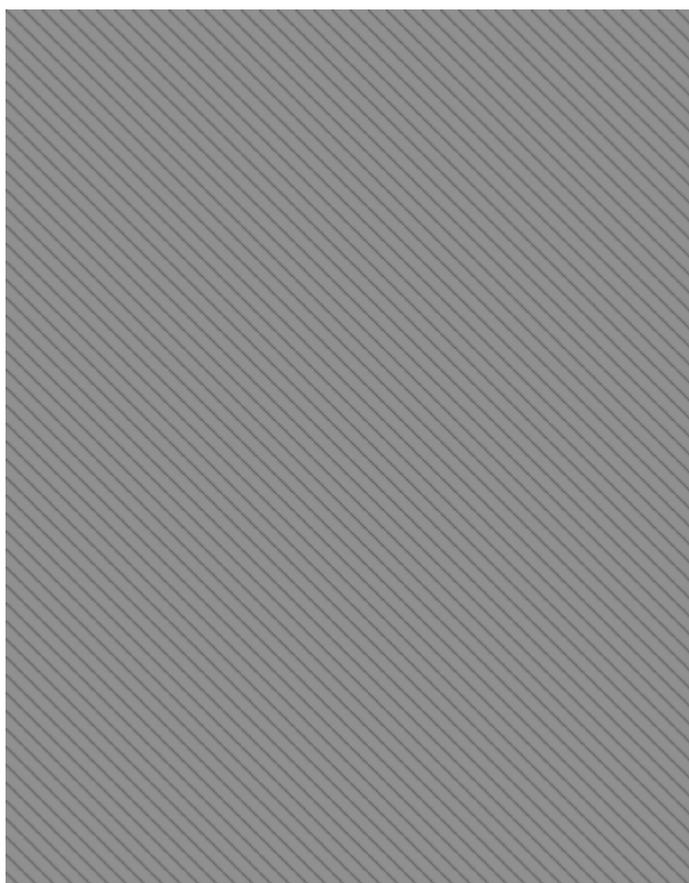
#### ***2.5.4 Greater focus on historical context***

One of the largest factors missing from many of these studies is the provision of a comprehensive historical background. It is unusual that a practice which appears to be so entrenched in everyday post-medieval life is so rarely examined within the historical context in which it took place. While details of the witch craze provides us with insight into one element relating to the construction of early modern popular culture, it was by no means the only event which contributed to the development and transformation of the worldview of much of the population.

This was a period which saw substantial upheaval, religiously, politically and socially. The population grew dramatically and urban areas followed to accommodate it, the country's religious structure was overturned, accompanied by severe penalties for those who did not adhere to it, agricultural systems were altered as were perceptions of the natural world, consumable material culture was more readily available at all levels of the market allowing for a more ready expression of identity, and printed media facilitated the dissemination of information, imagery and propaganda to all levels of the population (Armitage 1989:154; Johnson 1996:72-6; Gaimster 2010; Tarlow, 2003). All of these factors could have influenced the development of ritual concealments to some degree, but a more in depth analysis of both the ritual and the historical context is required.

#### ***2.5.5 The significance of architecture and the home as a sacred space***

In addition to this, the role of the structure, layout and social perception of domestic architecture is never taken into account. Regardless of the numerous assumptions that many of these items were intended as a mean to protect the home and its inhabitants, the social value of the home itself is often ignored. Cases in which deposition in or near "open" areas of the house are emphasised are only infrequently accompanied by reviews of contemporary attitudes to those spaces and any differing significance they may hold to modern understandings (Hoggard 2004:173).



**Figure 2.15:** Deposit of chickens, shoes, candlestick and glass goblet from Lauderdale House, London.

Thus, the examination of the *context* of deposition is woefully under studied, usually extending only to brief descriptions of the types of location from which the deposit was recovered, but never considering it with the wider context of the room or the house as a whole. This was a period that saw substantial alterations to the form and layout of the domestic dwelling, which included increasing enclosure of internal space and the increased separation of domestic in

private areas, as well as a shift in the perception of the safety of domestic space compared to the danger represented by untamed natural spaces (Johnson 1993; Thomas 1983:254). To fully understand a mode of ritual which not only focuses on the home but involves the incorporation of material directly into the body and structure of the building itself, we have to understand the ways in which these buildings were perceived, used and altered, and how they fit into socio-cultural systems of family and community.

### ***2.5.6 The recognition of item groups***

Virtually all studies fail to address the issue of the grouping of items. Although not as common as deposits of single items, it was not uncommon for numerous different object types to be concealed in the same location together. One notable example is this is from Lauderdale House in north London, where four chickens, two odd shoes, an egg, an earthenware candlestick and a broken glass goblet were all found within a wicker basket which had been concealed in a recess in a first floor chimney breast (Merrifield 1987:129-30). Although Merrifield cites this example as a means of ‘protection’ for the

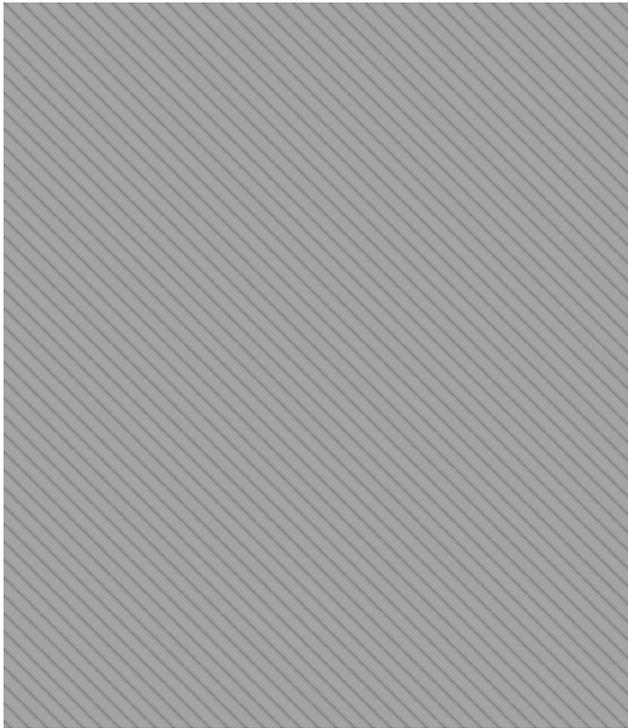
home, there is no discussion of why a collection comprised mostly of everyday items would be appropriated to serve this purpose, or why they were grouped together at all.

In both larger and smaller scale studies, items are almost never considered in relation to the objects that had accompanied them, and are instead studied in isolation along with other examples from the same classification as though they had only existed as single deposits. One particular aspect of the practice which requires further attention are cases in which items were gradually added to a concealed cache over time, often spanning a number of generations (Easton 1995:568). The concept of these groupings, or ‘spiritual middens’ (a term which somewhat suggests that the items in question were discarded instead of reappropriated for another function) has only been briefly examined to date and provides little analysis of the phenomenon, nor much reasoning for this particular aspect of the practice (*ibid.*).

### ***2.5.7 The role of “other” objects***

Similarly, the use of items which fall outside of the five main categories receives little academic attention, despite the concealment of other items in similar contexts being equally common, if not more so than some of the more established categories. Within the Lauderdale house example, the use of animals other than cats or horses is quickly labelled as foundation sacrifice, while the subject of the significance of the candlestick or the goblet as potentially ritual artefacts is never broached (Merrifield 1987:129). Merrifield briefly mentions the occasional inclusion of other ‘intimate personal possessions’ at the end of a chapter, and cites examples of the concealment of gloves, a spoon and clay pipes. He suggests that they were selected because they possibly held similar personal value to that of shoes and were thus potentially thought to possess comparable prophylactic properties, but does not examine their use further (*ibid.*:136). Hoggard similarly acknowledges the concealment of a wide range of other items in a similar manner, but makes no attempt to examine their frequency or distribution, instead broadly assuming they were “presumably for magical purposes” (Hoggard 2004:182).

The value of studying the concealment of often over-looked everyday items has been displayed in the work of Diana Eastop and the Deliberately Concealed Garments Project, which aims to examine both the ritual use of clothes (excluding shoes) in the post-medieval period, but also to use these items as a valuable resource for examining historical textiles and costume (Eastop 2001; Eastop 2010). However, despite



**Figure 2.16:** 16<sup>th</sup> century woman's visard mask concealed in a wall, Northamptonshire.

highlighting the ritual value inherent in ordinary objects, the project is, like many before it, arguably over-focused on a single object type, neglecting to address its relationship and role within the act of concealment as a whole. Although the presence of other everyday items found alongside these clothing items is fully acknowledged, they are still understandably secondary to the project's main focus on costume history and textile conservation (Eastop and Dew 2006).

Although much of the research

has not been undertaken in the light of a more inclusive and comprehensive study, the project has still provided incredibly detailed and invaluable information on an often over-looked item type.

It is perhaps the case that, numbers of usage aside, these objects have been side-lined in this vein of research due to their everyday and otherwise ordinary nature. Clay pipes and cutlery do not command as much fascination as a magical artefact, nor entice the same kind of morbid curiosity which one would encounter with a mummified cat or a horse's head. It is highly likely that otherwise ordinary shoe deposits have only received comparable levels of academic attention due to their relative abundance, combined with the large number of superstitions which relate to footwear. It is possibly this factor which contributes to the greater focus on feline and equine remains than on any of the other animal species concealed in a similar manner during this period. There is an extra element of horror which accompanies the discovery of the ritual use of a privileged species, which are more subject to attention and affection by modern standards, which is not nearly as commonly associated with already economically utilitarian livestock.

## ***2.6 Conclusion***

While much of the previous literature relating directly to this subject provides a useful background to the nature of deposition ritual during this period, in many ways they also serve to highlight what is notably lacking from the area of research as a whole and just how much further studies on this subject can be taken.

Perhaps the main failing of previous studies is the primacy place on objects which exhibit more magical and more antiquarian ideals of ritual, and the mysticism and perceived otherworldly nature of the acts. In cases where locations of deposition are discussed, “open” areas such as door or chimneys are overly prioritised due to their perceived vulnerability to attacks by witches or malign spirits, while the numerous concealments of similar items in areas which were anything but open, such as internal walls or staircases are ignored. Similarly, objects that have a more overt spiritual link are prioritised over those that lack evidence of having been utilised for a more mystical purpose, despite the similarities in their locations of deposition.

This thesis aims to provide an objective analysis of the archaeological evidence within a comprehensive background of their significance within post-medieval culture. The objects need to be reclassified and viewed in a new light; one not clouded by previous assumptions and the continuing human fascination with the occult. Following this, all objects need to be taken into equal consideration, regardless of their apparent function, and examined and analysed within the context of a detailed historical and architectural background in order to fully understand the socio-cultural frameworks behind the construction and enactment of post-medieval domestic ritual.

### III

#### Cultural Context – the role of architecture, the household, and the community

In order to fully understand the role of ritual and depositional activity within the post-medieval home, the arrangement of domestic space and patterns of movement and activity within the house must be understood in order to provide a contextual background to such actions. In addition, it is necessary to consider attitudes held towards the house, the perception of a “home” and the separation of space and activities within it, as well as, most importantly, of the concept of the household as a familial and economic unit and its place within wider society. It is not uncommon for earlier commentators to readily separate the social significances and roles of domestic and religious architecture, failing to recognise that elements of the sacred are often embedded within the functional, every day and mundane aspects of life, and are thus enacted outside a formalised framework of belief (Stea 1990:22). While the material and everyday are more easily addressed than belief systems and socially embedded understandings of the world, ignoring the roles of such ideologies detracts from the essence of human behaviours which inform all activities and actions within a society (Locock 1994:7). Architectural space is always weighted with meaning, and the use of that space, the creation of boundaries or divisions and the attitudes and ideologies surrounding their conception and classification are continually bound up with a multiplicity of unspoken social categorisations encoded through cultural praxis.

Through the use of interpretive theoretical frameworks, houses, architecture, and constructed space in general, are now viewed and understood as embodiments of modes of living within spheres of contextual meaning (Locock 1994:3). As artefacts in their own right, buildings are relatively uninformative about the structure of the more mundane and day-to-day aspects of past lives, but do provide the evidence of the environments which physically conditioned those lives, and were simultaneously constructed and altered to meet the needs of the occupants and their social and economic roles. They effectively control factors such as degrees of privacy and cleanliness of their occupiers, together with ways in which activities were organised (Alcock 1994:207). Domestic space is planned and ordered by humans to serve a

specific purpose, but is concurrently also capable of structuring and imposing constraints on human action (Hillier and Hanson 1985; Samson 1990:14).

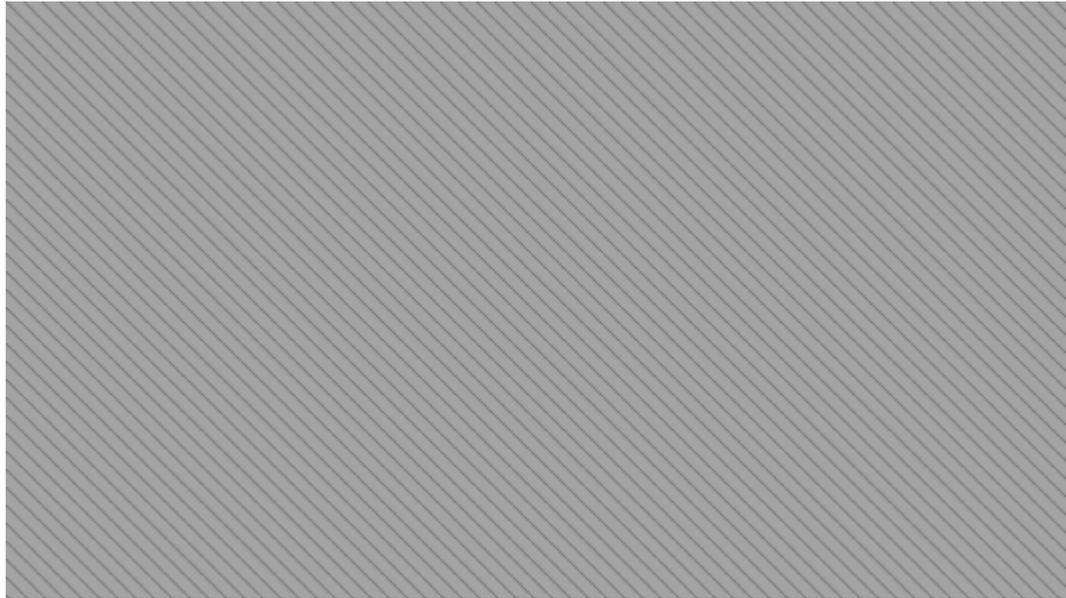
Unfortunately, due to the discrepant patterns of survival of both the rural and urban dwelling of the lower classes from the later medieval and early modern periods, the structures and lives of the more affluent members of society can come to be over-emphasised, or taken to represent the population as a whole (Crossley 1990:24). This is at variance with demographic evidence confirming that the majority of the rural population in this period would have been of a social class comparable with that of peasantry (Smith 1970:122). Much less is known about smaller, lower status houses, and thus we lack a coherent view of the living standards and domestic actions of a substantial percentage of the population during this period.

### ***3.1 The changing nature of architecture in post-medieval England***

#### ***3.1.1 The Great Rebuilding***

Many of the studies of early modern architecture within the last sixty years have been influenced by a paper by W.G. Hoskins in 1953, in which a theory was proposed which is now referred to as 'The Great Rebuilding'. From the stock of surviving post-medieval houses within England, Hoskins identified a large proportion of houses which appear to date from between 1570 and 1640, and thus suggests that this signified a revolution in housing forms during this time, although it is conceded that this surge in rebuilding did not occur in the four northern-most counties of England until the eighteenth century (Hoskins 1953:48). This revolution was evidenced in two ways: in the rebuilding of new houses and modernisation of existing medieval house forms, and in the notable increase in household furnishings and movable material culture (Hoskins 1953:44; Johnson 1993b:118). The Great Rebuilding itself took two primary forms. The first involved the complete rebuilding of an old house utilising a different material or style, rather than building new houses on previously unoccupied plots, while the second comprised of the reconstruction, modification and enlargement of an existing house structure (Hoskins 1953:48; St George 1998:46).

Hoskins attributes the timing of this new wave of rebuilding, in part, to the economic prosperity and security of tenure of yeoman farmers, husbandmen and lesser gentry, due to rising selling prices while the cost of expenses remained steady. Thus, this allowed for extra income to be invested in house building for the improvement of existing structures, which, based on figures of the costs of building and remodelling



**Figure 3.1:** Bayleaf – a surviving example of a late medieval hall house, dating to the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century.

from the period, was a major capital investment (Hoskins 1953:52-3). However, it is accepted that this alone does not comprise a sufficient explanation for the introduction and enactment of the modernisation of homes across the country. Instead, the primary cause is deemed to be the result of a rise in population, although an increase in building and modification is seen as both the cause and the effect of this, as more people required more space in which to live, but the increase in the comfort and quality of life such improvements brought led to a reduction in mortality rates (Hoskins 1953:57).

Despite the initial broad acceptance of Hoskins' work and the subsequent assimilation of his ideas into the study of historical architecture, it has been broadly criticised and deconstructed on a number of fronts. The evidence from which he draws his initial observations, and thus forms the basis for his theory, is insufficient and tends more to draw on anecdotal sources rather than being rigorously statistical (Dyer 2006:25). Similarly, it appears that many of the houses incorporated into this study were dated inaccurately, using external appearance only and, as such, many of houses thought to be Tudor or Jacobean were actually built in the late seventeenth century (Taylor 1992:24; Machin 1977:35). Despite attempting to produce a comprehensive view of this phenomenon on a national scale, Hoskins's study ignores data from towns and other large settlements, despite acknowledging that rebuilding would initially have been just as noticeable in the towns as in the country. However, evidence from rural areas is now

much more abundant (Hoskins 1953:44). Chris King's study of housing in early modern Norwich demonstrates that not only does a substantial stock of urban housing still survive, but that the 'Great Rebuilding', as it has been described, occurred much earlier in many urban locations than in the rest of the country (King 2010). Indeed, more detailed studies reveal that the timing of the 'rebuilding' was highly localised and variable. Some areas, such as west Kent and the Sussex Weald, exhibit signs of such modifications occurring as early as the fifteenth century, while the later phase of rebuilding Hoskins loosely identified was not necessarily solely confined to the northern counties (Platt 1994:1; Machin 1977). In addition, there is no explicit link between economic prosperity and investment in architecture (Lubbock 1995:56-7; King 2010:56). The agency of the tenants is ignored, as improvements could have been made to the house for a number of reasons, not simply from the sole cause of a rise in income. In addition, varying cultural factors between social groups do not necessarily guarantee that all available funds will be invested in the same way; many peasant societies would have been more likely to use surplus funds in a way which would bring social prestige through community, such as on feasts for religious celebrations, rather than keeping it within the family unit (Johnson 1993a:10).

A number of later studies on the subject have highlighted how Hoskins' reasoning over-simplified the processes which contributed to this change in living standards, but also how his treatment of surviving houses as fully representative of rate of building during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was naïve and ignored a number of factors which could have affected the survival of houses in different areas. Machin's reassessment of Hoskins's theory using clearly dated houses suggests that any such building revolution occurred at the end of the seventeenth century with a peak at approximately 1690, although he also proposes that any theory of a Great Rebuilding would have to incorporate the socio-economic building history of the medieval through to the eighteenth century (Machin 1977; Johnson 1993b:118-9). However, Currie's study, amongst others, of the variability and numerous possible causes of attrition rates (such as fire, decay and fashion) in different areas and differing social circumstances illustrates how previously identified phases of rebuilding may be illusory (Currie 1988; Taylor 1992). The number of houses currently visible to the modern architectural historian does not necessarily bear a direct relationship, or provide a reliable indicator of the number of houses in the past and, as such, any claim of past socio-economic change

based on this evidence alone should be subject to rigorous questioning and critique (Johnson 1993a:9-10).

Other studies have sought to expand on the general idea initially set out in ‘The Rebuilding of Rural England’, but aiming to identify a more realistic structure and nature of the rebuilding trend during this period, generally seeing the process of rebuilding and modernisation as more subtle and longer term process than a single event covering a couple of generations. Platt does not reject the concept of the existence of the Great Rebuilding in the same way that others have, instead proposing that there were two Great Rebuildings. The second of these, in part, derives from the aftermath of the Civil Wars, and with the decline of traditional hospitality and the increasing influence of travel and the influx of new attitudes and aesthetics from abroad, it was this later phase of rebuilding which was the most revolutionary (Platt 1994: viii, 133-62). While Machin suggests that the building activity during this period was the start of a continuum in housing and house building (Machin 1977:55), Ryan suggests instead that such activity is only one episode of the continual replacement and updating of outmoded houses, and that it is more indicative of a peak in the cycles of a continuum, and proposes that this phase of modernisation would be better termed as a ‘housing revolution’ (Ryan 2000:18-9). Similarly, Schofield proposes that what we deem to be ‘post-medieval houses’ had largely appeared in towns by the end of the medieval period. Houses were not rebuilt to new plans, with the exception of the “merchant’s house”, but existing houses were gradually modernised and adapted. Rather than there being a dramatic period of rebuilding in urban areas beginning in the sixteenth century, such a movement can instead be seen to occur during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Schofield 1997:141-2)

### ***3.1.2 Transition from open to closed house structure.***

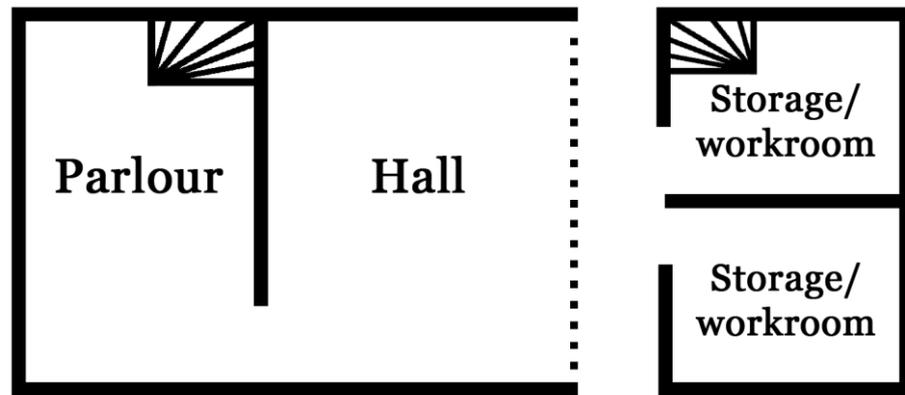
Regardless of debates over the time-frame in which these changes in housing occurred, the nature of localised and regional variations, or the structure of socio-economic impetus behind this shift in housing form, the fact is not altered that a shift towards a more segregated and comfortable home is correctly identified by Hoskins as occurring during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It appears that a large proportion of such modifications occurred during the same period which was initially suggested; in terms of increasing numbers of rooms, houses in all social classes appear

to have undergone substantial modernisation by the start of the seventeenth century (Alcock 1983; Platt 1994:vii).

However, Hoskins's approach offers little explanation for these changes, suggesting only that this is derived from a new sense of privacy and comfort, and, as such "privacy demands more rooms, for specialised uses". This new way of living was deemed to have filtered down to much of the population, having previously only been employed by the upper classes as a result of trends from the Renaissance, and largely made possible by the increased use of coal for domestic heating and the increased production of cheaper window glass (Hoskins 1953:54-5). Although his identification of the changed nature of the post-medieval home is correct, the root cause and socio-cultural systems behind the adoption of this new style of architecture, in addition to the new structuration of life within the home, is never explicitly identified, as work undertaken within and around this subject is never truly addressed or examined.

The radical changes in the architectural form of houses during the post-medieval period, moving from the open medieval house with a central hall open to the roof and opposed doors forming a cross passage through the house, to one with more closures, divisions and structuration of space, are indicative of a drastic shift in the way people viewed domestic space, the nature of work undertaken within and around it, and the position of the family within the home. The changes that led to the closure of the common house related to an orderly system of values that gained their ideological power through being played out in everyday life (Johnson 1993:133), and are as directly related to the changing nature of views of the self as they are to the shifting structures of the surrounding community and broader socio-economic cycles.

The form of the open medieval house was used throughout England from the thirteenth century and persisted for over three hundred years (figure 3.1). What perhaps is the most exceptional aspect of this house form is that the standard plan allowed for a high level of functional flexibility and, as such, the key features of the hall house were found at all social levels, although the houses of the gentry were naturally larger and exhibited a greater level of complexity (Johnson 2010:68). Although, to some extent, this allowed for social differences to be greatly accentuated by comparison, it additionally indicated a certain level of consensus about the organisation of domestic and social space, reinforcing cultural and social patterns and informing behaviour at all levels (Gardinier 2000:159). Houses were open both in terms of space and communication.



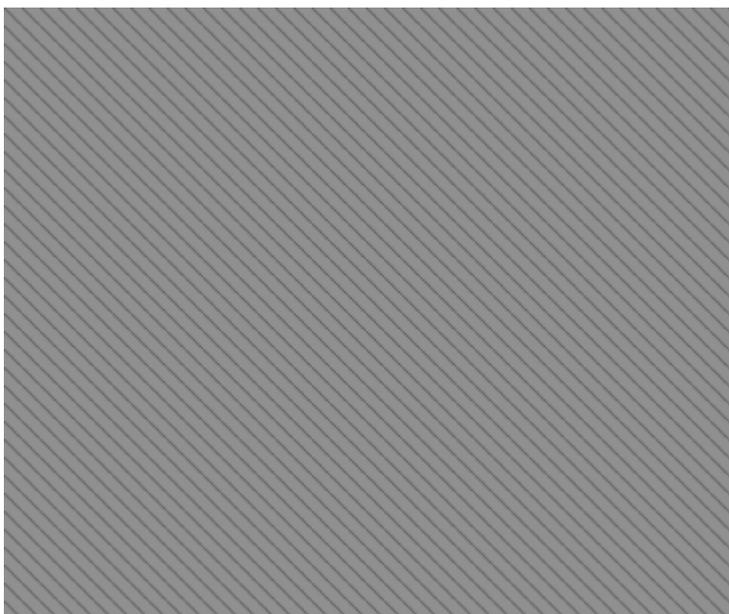
**Figure 3.2:** Example floor plan of an open medieval hall house.

The standard late medieval house is dominated physically and functionally by the hall (figure 3.2). This was a large room, open to the roof, composed of two combined bays, and occupying the central portion of most vernacular houses, and was separated from the cross passage by a screen (Smith 1955:79; Sheppard 1966:29). In the houses of the upper classes and the ‘middling sort’, this space could be more imposing with regard to the greater space available and use of decoration and ornamentation, while those belonging to the lower classes were much more modest due to the ‘low’ and simple nature of the house (Johnson 2010:68-70). For most houses, this area formed the focus of domestic activities and everyday life within the house, and, as such, was an area serving many household functions (Johnson 1993a:123). In many cases, this would have been the only heated room in the house by way of a hearth, which occupied the centre of the room with the smoke filtering through the thatched roof (Alcock and Laithwaite 1973:101-2; Johnson 1989:197). As a result of this centrally located source of heat, the hall was also designated as a suitable location for food preparation and the centre of communication and interaction such as family meals and entertaining guests, but could also serve as a sleeping area, and a work space for everyday economic activities, such as spinning or weaving (Brunskill 1990:107; Thompson 1995:5; Whittle 2011:135).

In addition to the hall were service areas at the lower end of the house, separated from the rest of the house by a cross passage created by two opposed external doors (Harris 1993:31). Often divided into two rooms, although smaller and simpler buildings only had one, this area was commonly used for storage or the preparation of food, such as brewing or butter churning, although some large houses were known for having service rooms which contained hearths, ovens or kilns (Pantin 1962:207; Gardinier 2000:161). A number of houses also had a detached kitchen, located in a separate

building to the house, although few standing examples still survive. However, map evidence for rural Essex suggests that two thirds of households had an external kitchen (Ryan 2000:15). This area would also have been used for the processing and preparation of other foodstuffs, thus removing the threat of fire from the main building, and leaving the space around the hearth in the hall for other activities (Emery 2005:141-2). Most houses, but not all, had an additional room located behind the hall, which is commonly referred to as the chamber or parlour, which appears to have been most commonly used as a bedroom, but is also known to be used as a storage space (Emery 2007:58). Houses above those of the lowest class also had upper floor rooms located above the chamber and service rooms (figure 3.3), and largely served the same function as the parlour, although there appears to be some variation in whether the best bedroom appears to have been considered to be the one located above the parlour, or the parlour itself (Alcock and Currie 1989:21; Emery 2005:142). The rooms on upper floors were also frequently additionally used as a space in which to store materials, either prior to or after processing, such as wool, unthreshed crops, cloth or food stuffs which would later be sold (Whittle 2011:143, 145). Some houses may have had additional bays or wings added to either ends of the house, either to enlarge rooms already present in the standard house plan, such as the chamber, or the create new ones, which may have served as workshops or similar work spaces (Johnson 1993a:48).

However, from approximately 1500 onwards (Johnson 2010:90), the form and



**Figure 3.3:** Cutaway view of Bayleaf, showing structure and plan.

organisation of houses was notably altered, resulting in a less centralised function, and exhibiting a significant change in attitude towards the structuring of domestic space, as well as increased comfort and privacy.

For many houses, one of the major features of the “modernisation” of the home was the

insertion of at least one chimney, which allowed for a cleaner, lighter house through the containment of soot and smoke thus removing the need for the hearth in the hall and decentralising much of the functionality of the house (Shammas 1980:7; Johnston 2011:375-6). Although many chimneys were of brick and masonry, a number of poorer households initially had chimneys constructed of clay and studwork, largely due to the prohibitive cost of bricks (Lucas 1993). Chimneys were largely inserted into the upper end of the hall, so that the stack could also be used to install a second fireplace in the parlour behind, back to back with the first, and later in the chamber above (Orlin 2000:347; Reed 2002:211). There is also evidence that the kitchen would also have been heated, but it is more likely that this area was given its own chimney stack rather than sharing one with the hall (Johnson 1993a:97). Another major alteration, often completed at the same as the chimney stack, was the insertion of a ceiling across the open hall (Johnson 1993a:69; King 2010:64). Not only did this create space for a greater range of rooms, it also allowed for the upper floor to function as one continuous space, rather than having two detached upstairs spaces which were only accessible from separate ends of the house. In addition to this was the removal of the cross passage. One or both of the opposing doors were blocked thus, in many cases, allowing only a single entrance into the house. In cases where both were blocked, the main entrance was moved to the upper end of the house, with a lobby entrance between the parlour and former hall, with the side of the chimney stack facing the door, thus effectively channelling traffic to either the private parlour, or to the more open hall (Quiney 1984; Orlin 2007:99) (figure 3.4). Formerly mullioned windows were also glazed, largely due to the increased availability and affordability of window glass, allowing greater security than the formerly mullioned and shuttered windows, while also contributing to keeping

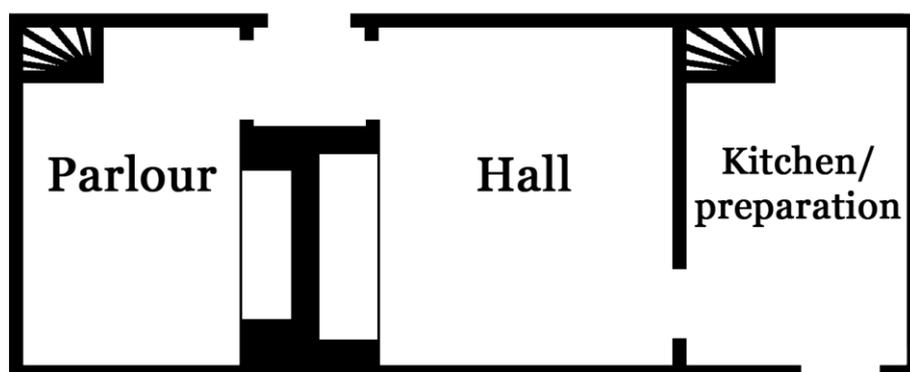
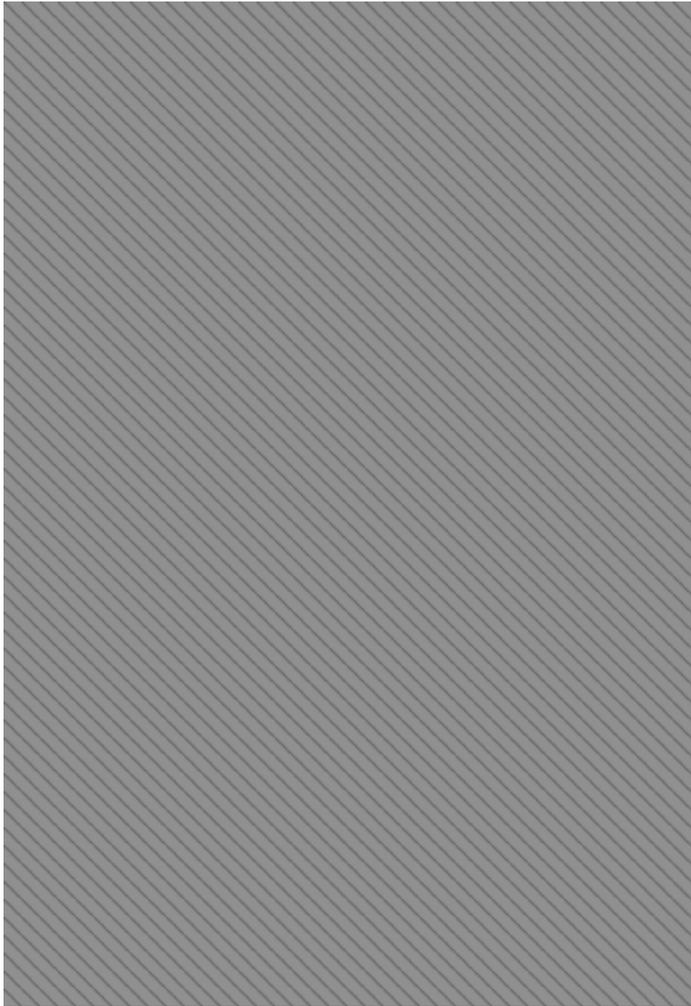


Figure 3.4: Example floor plan of a closed post-medieval house.

the house warmer (Crowley 2000:39-44; Showalter and Astore 2007:30). Additionally, in cases where upper floors were reached by external staircases, internal staircases were added to the structure, in order to keep all household activities contained within the structure itself (Palliser 1983:130). Houses were warmer, lighter and larger, and exhibited greater distinction between roles and actions played out within the domestic realm.

The use of space also changed notably, in part due to an increase in the number of rooms within an individual household. Whereas many of the rooms in the medieval house had constantly changing and multi-functional uses, many of the rooms in the post-medieval houses had been assigned a unifunctional purpose. The parlour at the upper end of the house became increasingly used to entertain guests and other social gatherings as the hall had previously been used, and additional new rooms included dining rooms, studies, galleries, as well as internal kitchens and individual areas for processing food and raw agricultural materials and storage (Barley 1963:479-501). Servants' quarters were increasingly separated from those of the family, and the introduction of corridors within larger houses meant that all rooms could be reached without having to pass directly through others (Hoskins 1953:54; Carson 1976; Vickery 2008:148). An analysis of inventories from the Arden area in Warwickshire showed that in the mid-sixteenth century, 86% of peasant houses were comprised of three rooms or fewer, while this had dropped to 24% by the first quarter of the seventeenth century, with the average number of rooms growing from two and a half to six and a half over approximately seventy-five years (Skipp 1978:62-3). Thus, the domestic environment became more complex, with a greater range of potential arrangements of rooms, movement between them, the space within the household and the objects contained in it, therefore, not only further segregating tasks, but the people completing them (Overton *et al.* 2004:134). Regardless of these changes, the layouts remained relatively simple, reflecting the relatively small range of activities undertaken within the space (Alcock 1997:1273). It is apparent that the immediate, functional needs of the household remained much the same during this period, while socio-cultural concepts of space and domestic organisation gradually shifted.

Following this was also a rise in the amount of furniture, household equipment and moveable material culture, overall raising the level of domestic comfort, with increases in personal possessions observable at every economic level (Orlin 2007:100) (figure 3.5). Wooden tableware items were replaced by others made of metal, a greater range of



**Figure 3.5:** An array of 17<sup>th</sup> century household items, implements and furniture.

imported and decorative ceramic and glass items were used, and individual plates and cutlery began to be used (Sarti 2001:10; Johnson 2010:100). A number of new items could be found throughout the house, albeit primarily in the parlour or chambers: clocks, looking-glasses, books, curtains and musical instruments, although much of this is confined to the higher end of the social scale (Shammas 1980:8; Pennell 1998:205; Styles 2000:124; Crowley 2000:122). Work and cooking items also became more specialised, with an increase in the use of

saucepans instead of cauldrons (Overton *et al.* 2004:98-101). Upholstered furniture became more common, and individual chairs were increasingly preferred over shared benches for seating, while straw mattresses were replaced with feather beds, and cupboards and chests of drawers were increasingly seen in houses as new means of storage (Hoskins 1953:54; Overton *et al.* 2004:90-5; Burke 2009:18). It should be noted that an increase in material possessions does not necessarily indicate a move to a more extravagant lifestyle, merely one of greater convenience and comfort. It was the “under living”, predisposition to thrift, and unostentatious but solid way of life which not only encapsulated yeomanly virtue, but which ensured their financial stability (Sharpe 1987:207).

Overall, this process has been described as one of “closure”; the shift from a more open house plan with relatively few divisions and with ready access to the outside, to one where space is more systematically divided and functionalised, and is in overall

terms more comfortable, but also more insular (Johnson 1993a:89-105). A shift in cultural and community values gradually rendered the structure of symbolic significance held by the layout of the medieval house and the open hall irrelevant; broadly termed, this is indicative of a move from a community based on face-to-face relations and implicit embedded rules of custom and status, to a society with greater emphasis on capitalistic economic relations and greater focus on insular units of the family and the individual (Johnson 1993a:107). Although the technology for chimneys had been available and used in some elite houses since the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and that the construction of a chimney stack of material other than expensive brick was possible, the continuation of the construction and use of a house layout with an central hearth is suggestive of the entrenched social values the open hall represented and thus the necessity in maintaining them (Crowley 2000:22; Whittle 2011:135). Whereas the hall reflected an ideology of openness and community, while still asserting social division and inequality through specific messages encoded in the use of space, status was marked in the post-medieval house through movable goods, as well as through the increase in boundaries throughout the house (Johnson 1997:146). Additionally, while the use of the medieval open hall at all social levels allowed for the ready communication of status, worth and place through common architectural signals, this comprehensiveness disappeared during the sixteenth century, with houses of differing social classes becoming more distinct in layout and design, thus removing the identifiable material signals which would inform behaviour (Johnson 2010:90). Power and status were thus no longer communicated through the ways in which houses were the same, but instead in the ways in which they differed. While social divisions were previously made implicit and reinforced through face-to-face meetings, the divisions which composed and informed the structure of post-medieval society were enforced through the more rigid physical separation of people and activities.

This increased specialisation of space and the de-centralising of social activities, as well as an increase in personal comfort can also be said to have contributed greatly to an increased sense of privacy, both in terms of the individual within the home and of the family within the community. The reasoning behind this new-found desire for privacy is unclear, due to its not being a “natural” concern, but more closely connected to the relationship between the individual and wider society (Johnson 1993a:106). The seemingly new-found desire for privacy in this context has been frequently seen as a motivating force behind increasing material change, although with little consideration of

whether the greater division and specialisation of space did lead to greater personal privacy, or whether this was one of the intended outcomes of these architectural modifications. There exist the assumptions that privacy was a desirable state, and that medieval domestic life was much more open and communal, and therefore somewhat more primitive (Orlin 2007:106). In essence, the clear demarcation of space and function in the open hall and throughout the medieval house was just as segregating of the household communities as the increasingly physically bounded space of the post-medieval house (Cooper 1999:282). This can be, in part, illustrated by the use of separate first floor areas on either side of the open hall within the medieval house, whereas the fully ceiled hall of the post-medieval house facilitated greater movement throughout the building (Orlin 2007:107). The use of clearly demarcated space within the medieval hall house thus created socially and physically separate spheres for different communities within the household, effectively affording them their own sense of privacy within them.

Despite discussions of the social role of the post-medieval house focussing on the perceived desire for individuality and the break-down of the structure of the community (Stone 1977:224-9; Johnson 1993a:107), the post-medieval house is also frequently identified as a space for increased social interaction and entertainment of friends and other outsiders (Hill 1966:488). Therefore, it can be argued that the changes to house forms from the late fifteenth century onwards reflected not so much a change or re-enforcement of privacy throughout the house, but more so within the house, displaying a greater preference for living largely indoors, rather than participating in a community-based culture, from which a large proportion of traditions occurred outside the home (Johnson 2010:102). Thus, the privacy seen within post-medieval houses was not one dependant on solitary activities, but one comprising of a select group, whether family or friends, conducting their life away from the view of the surrounding community.

### ***3.2 The socio-economic value of the home as a unit***

The socio-cultural significance of the building is related to ideas concerning the house as a social unit and as a unit of domestic production. The house was a material representation of a distinctive world-view, which both personified and communicated held values and ideologies of the role of the household, the structure of the family, and its relationship with the surrounding landscape and shifting social expectations. The house has an active role in the constitution of individuals and domestic groups, and

provides the household members with part of their social identity: house and inhabitants are commensurable (Gerritsen 1999:81).

For the vast majority of people during the post-medieval period, the nation or 'state' to which they belonged did not represent a primary aspect of their identity. Rather, it was the town or community into which they were born and lived which served as a much more significant source of identity. Thus, the lives of people in early modern England were performed and justified within the sphere of the local community; the concept of an overarching state was an abstract one to which most people never encountered (Kamen 2000:6,9). However, people were not necessarily tied to one settlement or community for their whole lives. Documentary evidence suggests that between approximately 1550 and 1650, 80% of the population of England moved at least once, and that it was not unusual for an individual or a family to move house more than once (Sharpe 1987:219).

For the largest part, all human activity was judged and informed by norms created within each community. The economy provided the basis for the functioning of each village or locality, and thus, the populace and governing bodies within it played a vital component in the economic and social life of the community (Kamen 2000:11). The breakdown of the autonomous village social unit towards the end of the seventeenth century is in part attributable to the polarisation of wealth throughout the community, resulting in a small elite group characterised by substantial property ownership, and an increasing number of landless families within the lower classes (Walter and Wrightson 1973:23; Barnwell and Palmer 2007:32).

The basic unit within each village or community, both socially as well as economically, was the household. Population counts relied on counting households rather than people, while taxation was based on household wealth, rather than that of the individuals who resided within (Walker 2003:9). Additionally, the introduction of new forms of taxation, such as window and hearth tax, placed the onus directly on the physical structure on the building (Marshall 1936; Shamma 1980:7). Naturally, the core of each household was the family; in this sense definable as either a kinship group based on lineage, or as a household with a group of people living together on the basis of marriage. The family unit could also potentially include servants or other resident labourers outside of the central kin group, as at least one in three households has live-in servants (Stone 1977:27-8). Surviving census-style records show that, from at least the beginning of the sixteenth century, the predominant household form was of the

standard 'nuclear family', with or without servants (Wrightson 1982:44; Coward 1988:19). A sample of communities dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries indicates that there was a degree of variation in the construction of the household across different social classes; 27.6% of gentry houses contained members of the extended family or related kin, compared to only 7.9% of peasant houses (Laslett 1972:154). Additionally, it appears that it was more common than not for householders to have few or no relatives living within the same village. This pattern of very low kinship densities is most likely a direct result of high mobility, particularly among adolescents, and thus the significance and social importance of kinship ties beyond those of the nuclear family were notably more limited within village and rural communities (Wrightson 1982:45).

The dominant role within the family was that of the husband, with one contemporary writer describing the husband as the "king of his owne house", or "the prince of the household, the domestical King" (Kamen 2000:160; Whately 1617:42). This role was strengthened by laws in the interests of property stability, the family, and the functioning of the household, while women and children were, by comparison, afforded a subordinate role within the structure of the household (Wrightson 1982:107-8; Palliser 1983:73; Weisner 2000:26). The use of analogies between the family home and the state and similar forms of authority were ubiquitous in the early modern period. One such analogy was the referral of the household as a "little commonwealth", since good government of the house would advance the glory of God and benefit the wider community in terms of comfort and commodity (Dodd and Cleaver 1610:13), while another contemporary commentator described God as "a most wise and holy householder" (Pricke 1609:1). The presentation of the household as such was so as to represent a combined public and private authority, whereby the rule of household heads, magistrates, church leaders and monarchs each legitimised the other. Therefore, the household and its associated ideology were present at every form and level of governance, creating and continually reinforcing a coherent and comprehensive system of social order (Walker 2003:9). As the master, to an extent, represented both God and the king in the family, he was to be obeyed as their agent (Smith 1981:451), and thus, in presenting the illusion of the heads of households as possessing a divinely or royally attributed power, dissent against them within their own home was comparable to a form of treason (Capp 2004:5). The duty of obedience was communicated to lesser members of the household by way of catechisms, sermons and lectures (Schochet

1969), thus emphasising that the patriarchal hierarchy within the household was not only reinforced through cultural praxis, but also enshrined within religious doctrine. The nature of the standard family hierarchy, where the younger and lesser members were under close supervision, resulted in the strength and ubiquity of the household unit being actively encouraged and supported by the state. As there was no formal state organisation akin to a police force, the household was therefore the most valuable institution for social control at the village level, not only as it provided the basic unit for taxation, but the family values held within helped to keep in check any unruly or socially disruptive individuals (Stone 1977:27).

The advent of the Reformation led to a decline of the role of the Church and its priests as the central institution within each community, not only providing moral and religious instruction, but also serving as a multi-purpose location for an array of village functions (Dyer 1994:419-20). The responsibilities of the Church and the parish within the community were instead inherited by individual households as the location for religious and social activities, and the head of the household came to acquire much of the authority and powers of local clergymen within their own homes (Stone 1977:140-1; Shammas 1980:4). Church attendance still remained a social and legal obligation, however devotional piety was instead enacted through daily family prayers, with the head of the household assuming the role of the provider of moral direction and guidance within this new religious context. Church catechisms were partially replaced by those for the household, and in southern towns, most upper and middling homes contained their own Bible, daily readings from which could be perceived as having replaced the ritual of the sacrament as the main channel for religious engagement and expression (Stone 1977:141; Fletcher 1994:180; Green 1986:420).

Marriage advice literature of the time would commonly dictate that the sphere of men's work was outside the home, or "to travell abroad to seeke living" (Clever 1598:168), while all women's duties were within (Erickson 1993:11; Flather 2007:75). However, the distribution of gender roles within the house were not necessarily consistent with the moral ideal of the time which is more readily accessed in historical texts. Instead, the nature of relationships within the family, division of roles within the household and the perception of one's place within the family dynamic are more likely to have derived from individual circumstances rather than an overarching social standard (Sharpe 1987:211). In the majority of houses, particularly in the more middling and lower classes, men and women would have engaged in a certain degree of practical

co-operation, since marriage was, in most cases, an economic partnership as much as the basis for a household unit (Wrightson 1982:93). Men's work, in most cases, was largely concerned with the running of the farm, such as ploughing, tending to and reaping crops, threshing corn, hedging and ditching, and taking care of animals (Whittle 2011:137). Women were largely expected to manage cooking, cleaning and childcare, however, a number of manuals on both marriage and farming ascribed jobs to women which could not have been undertaken within the home, such as dairying, raising animals, working in the fields during the harvests and growing vegetables (Fitzherbert 1523:63; Whittle 2005). Farm accounts frequently list women as working as day labourers in the fields, weeding and harvesting crops with a sickle alongside the men, as well as picking fruit (Roberts 1979:7). Additionally, there are accounts and guides which discuss both men and women leaving the house together to sell their produce at market (Fitzherbert 1523:63; Roberts 1985:152-4). From the available guides, it appears that only a select group of household and farm activities were deemed to be solely women's work: laundry, dairying, spinning and raising poultry (Whittle 2011:138). Overall, although there was some division of work based on gender, this was not rigid or inflexible, and advice and ideas about the role of men and women were not truly representative or reflective of the needs and the co-operation required to run the average household and its economy.

In both town and country, the individual household was the basic unit of production, and thus for a significant proportion of the population there was no important distinction between a place of work and a place of leisure (Thomas 1964:51-2; Palliser 1983:45). Almost all work or similar economic-related activities were enacted in or around the same space in which people lived, although the separation and specialisation of space within the home from the late-medieval period onwards produced a more notable demarcation between space for leisure and space for work, and the latter was still contained within or around the home for much of the populace (Barley 1963:479-501; Shammass 1980; Flather 2007:79-93).

The economic independence of the household was particularly valued, but especially so by those of lower social status. The loss of this economic independence would inevitably result in a lessening of social status, due to the family having to 'work' in order to live. All forms of work were not necessarily demeaning, for all professions required it and a household could not function without the completion of a variety of activities to allow its continued functioning and prosperity. Instead, certain forms of

work were associated with dependence which caused them to be demeaning and thus resulted in the loss of the family's honour (Kamen 2000:123). However, following the process of enclosure which resulted in large sections of the lower classes having to subsist without land of their own to cultivate, this lessening of the honour of the family home by failing to provide for itself was increasingly common, or contributed to changing attitudes relating to the functional nature of living space in later centuries (Sharpe 1987:213; Bucholz and Key 2009:22). As Gerrard Winstanley (1649:9) commented "the poor that have no land are left still in the straits of beggary, and are shut out of all livelihood but...by working for others as masters over them".

### ***3.3 Boundedness of the house and the relationship with the outside world***

One of the most obviously visible aspects of the majority of houses in the post-medieval period was that they were stand-alone structures; with exceptions of densely nucleated villages and towns, individual house structures in rural areas usually stood separately from one another. Rows of houses deliberately designed to adjoin were not unknown but rare, while it was also not uncommon for a single house to be subdivided from the late sixteenth century onwards, in order to accommodate more family units, or as the result of the division of property upon the owner's death (Harding 2002:565; Johnson 2010:139; King 2010:66). Such examples aside, the post-medieval house was an isolated entity with no interference from other structures which were not related to the family who resided within, and were commonly physically separated from nearby houses by fences, hedges or ditches (Johnson 2010:139), thus providing a clear boundary for the property and a buffer zone between the common space and the house itself.

It appears that the valuation of domestic space within the post-medieval period placed an increasing degree of importance upon binary oppositions which served to differentiate the domestic realm from the natural world. In many examples, the "upper" end of the house contained the more comfortable, private areas, while the "lower" end was more concerned with the dirtier service functions (Brunskill 1990:95). While these distinctions were certainly present during the later medieval period – the cross passage occupying the lower bay of the hall, while chambers were located on the far side of the hall and service and storage areas were located on the other side of the cross passage (Sheppard 1966:29; Gardiner 2000:161-2) – the opposition is notably reinforced during the early modern period.

As well as upper and lower, rooms could be deemed “inner” or “outer” in relation to their function. Inner rooms were those specifically restricted to the use of the head of the household and immediate family, while the working or service rooms were “outer”, in part due to their previous proximity to the cross passage, but also to the less socially restrictive atmosphere, and that it was an area used by those who were not directly part of the family (Estienne and Liébault 1600:23-4; St George 1998:129). Thus, the post-medieval household, in a sense, was composed of two separate structures; the upper-inner house and the lower-outer house. The marked distinction between these two areas indicates the clear functional and social divisions present and enforced within the home.

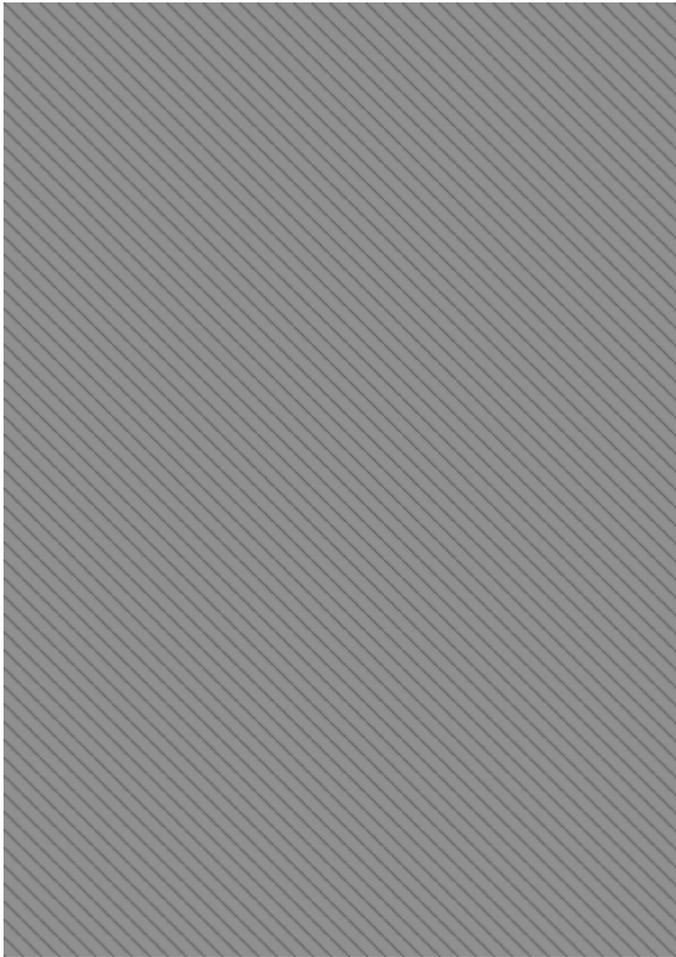
The closure of the post-medieval house increased the distinction between what was seen as clean and dirty within the everyday running of the household. The social nature and physical spaces for the storage of goods changed, in addition to the spaces away from such storage. Whereas in earlier house forms it was not uncommon for goods to be stored in the same spaces which were used for sleeping, inventories from the seventeenth century show that it was rare for rooms to contain beds and simultaneously be used for storage (Johnson 1993a:128). The increased specialisation of space within the house served not only to create a more ordered, organised, and more comfortable living space, but also to further segregate clean and dirty actions and objects, which were formerly more intermingled within the medieval household. The closure and more ordered nature of domestic space, private, orderly, and comfortable, stressed a clear, cognitive separation between the human and natural worlds within their layout.

This concern with the clean and the dirty is compounded, or perhaps originates in the increased tendency to view the natural world as hostile and intractable during this period (Thomas 1983:254). Nature in all its forms was viewed as an inflexible wilderness which could only be made beautiful if tamed and thus served a useful purpose within human endeavours, and needed to be disciplined, controlled and brought into order. The process by which items from the natural world would become civilised involved a series of stages which gradually brought the item closer to the centre of the house the more it was altered. Food, for example, began in a raw, unprocessed state on the margins of the farmstead, and then was stored in a barn or similar outbuilding away from the house where the edible portion of the crop would be separated out. It would then be transferred to the lower, service end of the house where it was cooked or turned into consumable products, before being eaten in the hall; the centre of domestic and civilised life (Purkiss 1995:414-5; Ashley *et al.* 2004:29-31). By this process, food is

transformed from a natural object into a cultural one. More often than not, the final stages of this culturalising process, turning milk into cheese, wool into thread, churning, brewing, washing, and spinning, were performed by women, while the initial stages of growing, collection and separation were men's work (Johnson 2010:153; Whittle 2001:137-8), although this distinction is more likely to simply reflect the nature of the common division of labour within the home, rather than more specific attitudes relating to gender and their relation to the natural world.

This uneasy relationship with the natural world is also visible in the construction of houses and the layout of farmsteads and the changed nature of the relationship with the materials from which they were made. The wooden frame of houses in the sixteenth century made increasing use of straight, squared timbers, rather than the curved timbers seen in the cruck houses of the late medieval period which were more reminiscent of natural forms (Johnson 1993a:109; Crowley 2001:18-21; Bettley 2007:41). Furthermore, the joists of the timber framing were increasingly hidden, as were patterns made by arch and tenon braces, which became concealed behind rendering. Changes to the construction techniques grew to emphasise the economical use of material, rather than its decorative or aesthetic properties, such as the removal of the jettied upper floor, which required less wood due to the loss of the crossrail and the floor division behind (Johnson 1993a:111-4). The layout of farmsteads made a clear separation between the natural and the human worlds. Farm buildings were placed away from the house, keeping live animals and unprocessed crops away from the domestic centre. Beyond these were fields in which products for human necessity were allowed to grow and mature (grazing animals and growing crops). Thus, the house as an entity became viewed as the ordered cultural centre of an otherwise disordered and unsympathetic landscape that appeared increasingly chaotic the further one moved away from one's home (Johnson 1993a:131).

This separation between the natural and the "civilised" world may in part be due to the belief in The Great Chain of Being, of which both humans and animals, as well as all natural objects were a part (figure 3.6). This was a strict religious hierarchy of all matter and life derived from Aristotelian and Platonic thought, which begins at the most basic components, of which earth or rock is the most elementary as these materials possess only existence, while the final stage represents the highest perfection i.e. God. From the most insignificant and individual aspects of the universe, the Chain



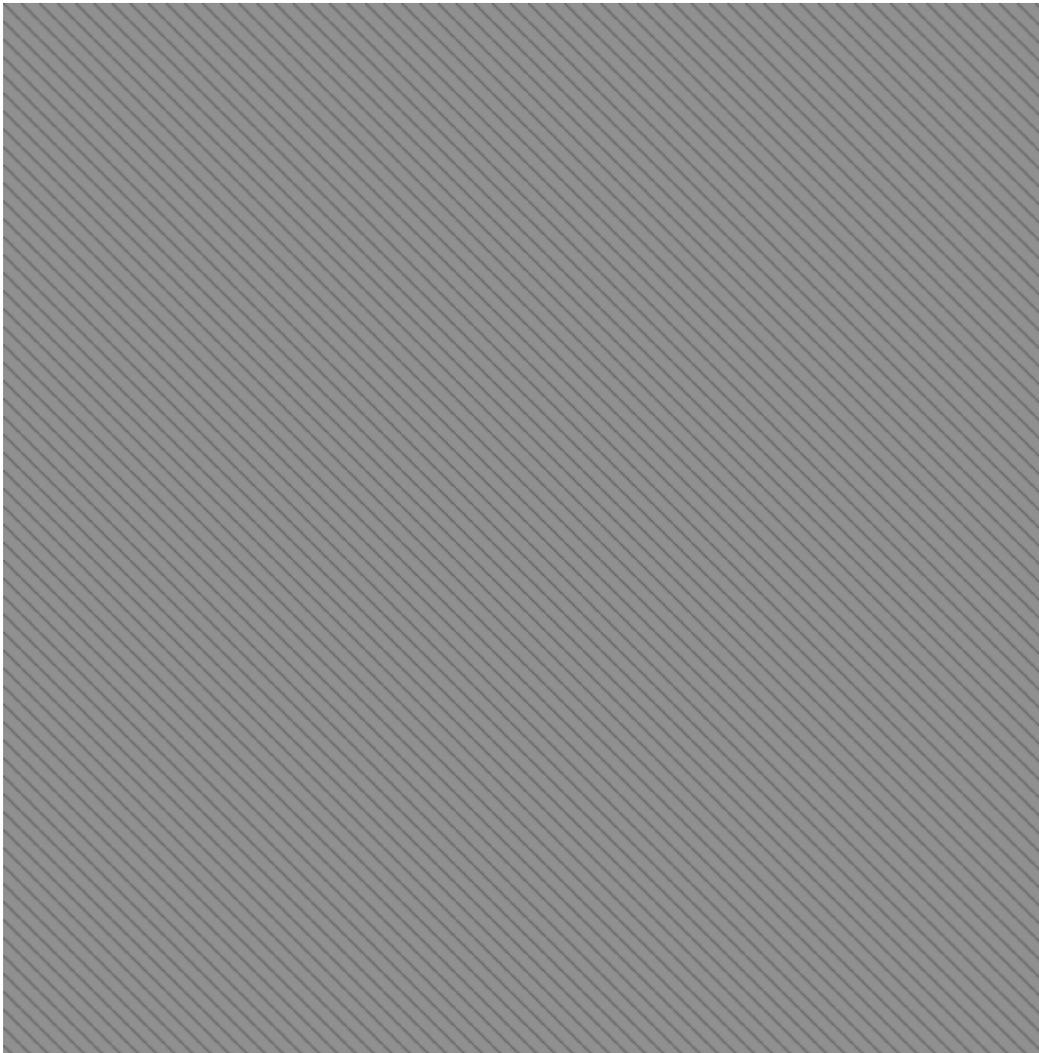
**Figure 3.6:** 16<sup>th</sup> century illustration of the Great Chain of Being.

moves up through those components which ever increasingly contribute to the whole or are increasingly perfect entities (Wilbur 1993:54; Nee 2005:429). Within this chain, humans are placed higher than animals, which are themselves higher than plants. Similarly, each category of being contained further subdivisions, so that kings were the highest class of humans, followed by aristocratic lords, then the lower classes (Coward 1988:2; Hopkins and Steggle 2006:42). Everyone and everything had its place within the social and natural

system, and it was their duty to stay within it (Stone 1966:38). Overall, the concept of the Great Chain was that the world and the universe were made good by everything within it, and that nothing was made in vain. Thus, it was seen that animals and plants had been created with human needs in mind, and therefore, their subordinate position meant that human needs and wishes were a priority (Thomas 1983:25-30). Similarly, there was also a strong opinion that cultivation was not something to be reversed, but instead should be encouraged. Civilisation had only progressed as far as it had due to human intervention in the natural world and the use of animals, plants and the earth to their advantage. Nature was viewed as something to be transformed into cultural objects for the good and advancement of society. Uncultured land resulted in uncultured peoples (Thomas 1983:14-5).

However, it should be observed that there would exist notable differences in the boundedness of the home and its relationship to its surroundings in different contexts.

While the previous discussion lends itself more closely to those living in rural areas or low density settlements, the perception of movement around the home, ideas of grandeur or cleanliness associated with specific areas, and the home in relation to its surrounding environment, for those in urban contexts is likely to be very different. With the explosion of the urban population during this period, whereby the population of London increasing nearly six-fold over the hundred years between 1550 and 1650, growing from 70,000 to 400,000 people (Finlay 1981:9), space was at a premium. As a result, parts of residents' homes would not exclusively be theirs, and features such as passageways, yards, entrances, chimney stacks and walls would be shared (Orlin 2007:163). Very few houses in London and other large urban areas would have been



**Figure 3.7:** Six tenancies on the south side of Fenchurch Street, as surveyed in 1612.

free-standing buildings, and many existing buildings would have been subdivided to allow living space for a greater number of sets of occupants, thus resulting in many people living in an environment which relied upon structural co-dependency, but also resulted in a non-uniformity of the layout of the house and the use and division of space within (Dyer 1981; Schofield 1997:127-39) (Figure 3.7). Additionally, the perception of the role of the natural world was probably also altered. It is likely that the belief in the Great Chain of Being persisted in urban areas, and that the processing of food was perceived of as being civilising, however, the threat and chaos embodied in the natural world would be felt less perceptibly by those living in urban areas, as the unruly countryside was not immediately outside their door, and to live in a city meant that it was not one's job to tame it.

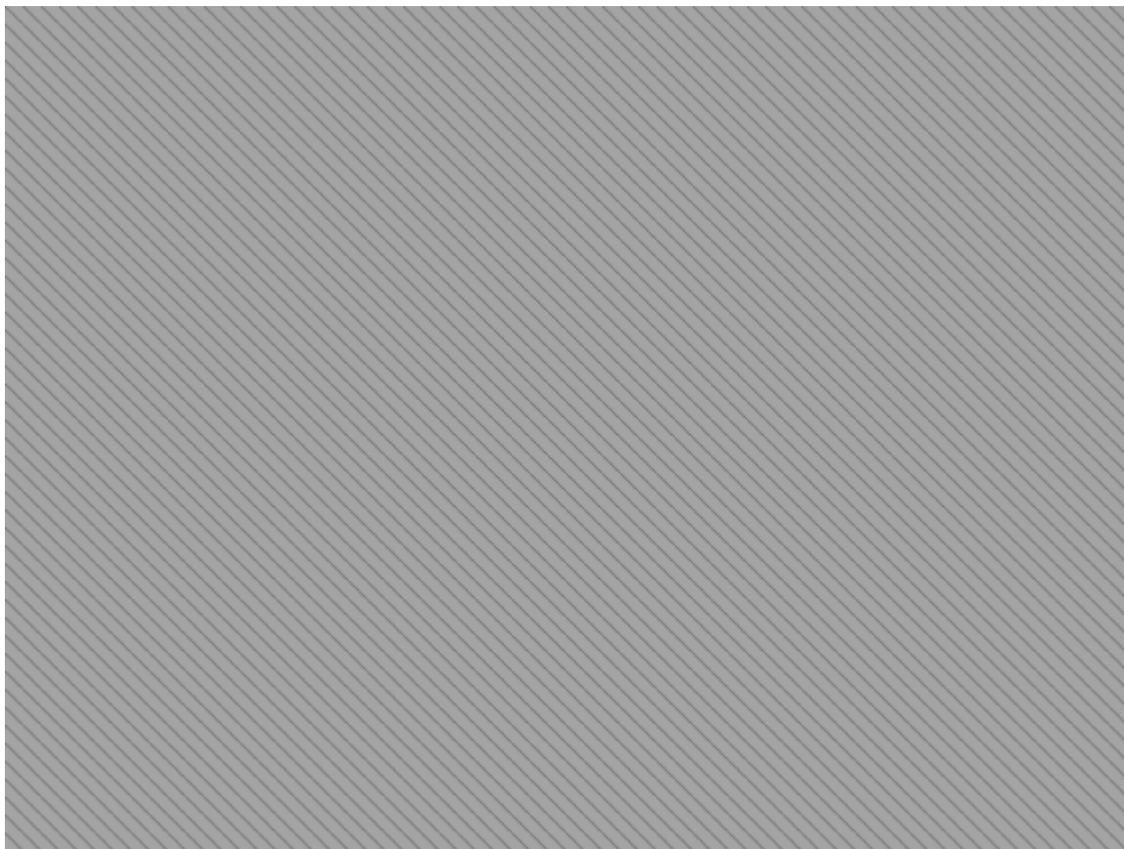
### ***3.4 House and body***

In most societies, the house was conceived as more than just a structure for shelter. A spiritual link was believed to be held between the house and body, and the breach of one had consequences upon the other. The figure of the house and the human body were interchangeable metaphors during the post-medieval period, and both served as common allegories for the broader community and society as a whole (Purkiss 1996:120). There are a number of early modern texts which make association between the house and the body, however, this connection between the two is most clearly set out in the poem *A New Anatomie. Wherein the Body of a Man is very fit and aptly (two wayes) compared: 1 To a Household. 2 To a Citie* written in 1605 by Robert Underwood, which presents the most detailed and extended discussion of this comparison.

The wooden frame which comprises the structural basis for the house is comparable with the skeleton, with individual beams representing bones, although there appears to be little specific correlation with individually identified human bones. It is worth noting that a number of the names for individual parts of a wooden house frame are shared with those for parts of ceramic vessels (Rawson 1971;100), and both make reference to the human body: post, head, collar, shoulder, hip and foot (St George 1998:126). This comparison potentially goes some way to relating to the decreased display of the timber frame both externally and internally within the post-medieval house. To expose any part of the human skeleton whilst alive indicates serious injury, but also increased vulnerability of the person; the personal and economic value of the home, combined with the increased insular and private nature of domestic life would suggest that such

exposure and vulnerability was not welcome. It also follows that the material of which the walls are composed between the frame, whether brick or lathe and plaster, formed the flesh, the very outer surface of which represented the skin (St George 1998:137).

The hall itself, previously serving a central role in the functioning of the house but now serving a lesser, but by no means inessential, function is referred to as the heart, but could be better considered as the chest. In some part of the north of England, the hall was known as the “housebody” (St George 1998:127), thus indicating the continuation of the centrality of the room within the physical layout of the house, but also in everyday action. From Underwood’s description of the biological attributes of the hall, it is clear that the comparison is based on an older, open style house, despite this work having been written in the early seventeenth century. Here, the heart of the house is deemed to be the chair which is occupied by the head of the household; the “Chair of Estate”. In this sense, the patriarch serves as the social heart of the family. The central post of the hall is likened to the neck which supports the “head” or roof, while the chimney is associated with respiration (Underwood 1605:3, 8-10). However, in similar comparisons between the house and the body which appear in New England at



**Figure 3.8:** The early modern house with corresponding bodily features.

around the same time, the hearth is the heart, while the chimney is the breast, and the fire within it is either the soul or the womb. Other linkages between house and body in colonial America are broadly similar to those from Britain (St George 1998:135).

The cross-passage, or lower end of the hall served as the waist of the house, while the kitchen or service rooms were perceived of as the abdomen, or as the “place from the Groines to the Midrife”, as described by Underwood (cited in St George 1998:129). Objects within the kitchen are related to internal organs, such as the vessels of “bowels” filled with food, or the large cooking pot being the “stomacke”, with the liver located underneath, although this is represented by a fountain from which “redd liquor” which runs into every part of the house, thus signifying blood (Underwood 1605:5-6; St George 1988:130). The inclusion of household objects within the analogy of the house as a human body contributes to our perception of the value of everyday activities within the running of the household. Although such items are evidently separate from the physical structure of the building itself, the function they serve is inseparable from the successful functioning of the household. All components contribute to a fully functioning organism.

Doors and windows, as the main openings into the house, were the mouth and the eyes respectively (Dekker 1609:14; St George 1988:132, 134). The door was the point where new objects or people could enter the house, and, as such, “nourish” it, while the windows allowed in light which enabled household tasks and the daily running of the home to take place, but also allowed for the environment around the house to be observed without leaving the safety of its walls. Thereby, the window shutters are also the eyelids (Underwood 1605:16); to close them is to cease to view the outside world, although this would not result in the end of the inner functioning of the house, as internal light sources may allow important domestic actions to continue after natural light becomes unavailable (figure 3.8).

The house/body parallel also relates to ideas about cleanliness and dirtiness throughout the house. The “lower” end of the house below the “waist” containing the service rooms and the kitchen are all described by Andrew Boorde in 1542 as “abase”, while the parlour or chambers as the head, and hall central to both ends (Boorde 1542:15 ; St George 1988:127). Thus, the head is bright and dry, and is used by the family, making it the space which houses those who make decisions about the household and its everyday order. By comparison, the areas located below the hall are

dirty and dark and used by lesser members of the household, and ultimately serve a functional rather than authoritarian or supervisory role.

The analogy of bodily structure was not solely confined to that of the house structure, but also applied to the members of the household. The idea of the ‘body politic’, where a nation is considered to be a corporate entity with the government or monarch forming the head, while the subjects of the state form the body and limbs, developed during the Renaissance from previously established classical ideas in light of new scientific thinking regarding of the functioning of the body (Harris 1998:1; Olwig 2002:86-7). While the standard comparison primarily relies on the head providing instruction while the body performs tasks which contribute to its wellbeing and survival, early modern ideas also related to the causes of “disease” and disruption within the body, and methods by which this could be cured or purged (Harris 1988:20). Therefore, within the ideology of the house as a “little commonwealth”, along with the reinforcement of ideas that the head of every household possessed an authority over his house and family comparable to that of a king over his land and subjects, the members of the family and the management of the household also adhered to the concept of the body politic (Capp 2004:5). This bodily analogy additionally functioned as a reinforcement of patriarchal power within the home, as “two heads in a family confound all” (Daniel Rogers 1642:270), as a body with two heads would be both an unnatural creation, and would also produce confused and ineffective movement and functionality due to conflicting sources of instruction and ideas.

Despite this, the perceived comparisons between a house and the human body which appear in a number of examples of contemporary literature are not all wholly consistent in their linkage of attributes. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent members of the broader populace believed in, or were aware of, this linkage to the same level of specificity, or indeed at all. Nevertheless, there are some known folk beliefs which indicate that some level of linkage or parity between the house and the human body, often on a more direct rather than ideological level, was generally accepted within cultural systems and beliefs.

This connection between the body and the house can be seen in contemporary folklore regarding both potential maleficent attacks on the household through sorcery, and the harming of a suspected witch to reveal their identity through established sympathetic links. It was commonly believed that it was possible for a witch to be able to gain power over a house by either obtaining an item from inside the house, or

placing an item of their own within it; thus breaching the bounds of the house (Purkiss 1996:124; Macfarlane 1999:105). While the left object could disrupt the order and day to day running of the household whether by disrupting economic activities or causing illness within the family, the stolen object could be used to cause harm to members of the targeted family, through the sympathetic link believed to exist between the two, as two things which had once been in contact, would thus always be connected (Frazer 1913:11-2; Purkiss 1995:411-2). Similarly, while the identity of a witch was commonly thought to be revealed through the burning or manipulation of the accused's bodily fluids or clothing, another method was for the victim to take a piece of thatch or tile from the witch's roof and burn it, thereby also burning the witch (Thomas 1971:649). Therefore, even if specific links between individual parts of the body and certain areas of the house were not observed by much of the population, a sympathetic link between domestic space and its contents and those who inhabited and utilised it was a commonly recognised belief, as the house, or objects within it, could be used to symbolically represent the householders. Harm caused to one would be felt in or affected the other. The house was an extension of the body.

### ***3.5 Folk beliefs and practices for the protection of the house***

In the post-medieval period, the house served as the centre of family activities and economic production, and the sense of sacred isolation offered by the structure needed to be grounded and protected by special rites (Hull 1928:198). Of the substantial body of folk practices and customs which concern houses or the lived environment, the greater proportion focus primarily on its protection, whether from witchcraft, fire, lightning or general misfortune (Simpson and Roud 2000:189). The wide variety of practices with apotropaic intentions which were linked to the structure of the house can be seen as a means of establishing a causative relationship between the wellbeing of the fabric of the house and the physical health of those inhabiting it (Ewart Evans 1966:54-81). It is evident that in the post-medieval period the house embodied important symbolic associations, and was a revered, almost sacred place throughout social, political and religious spheres, which required systematic protection in order to ensure the wellbeing of one's family and livelihood. There appears to have been quite as much mysticism and superstition surrounding the home and the boundaries it embodied as there were in every other aspect of life.

In ritual terms, doors and fireplaces were recognised as being two of the most important areas of a house. However, due to the open character and symbolic vulnerability of these two areas in allowing outside influences to penetrate into the home, this was where a significant proportion of beliefs about the home and actions of domestic ritual were focused.

The hearth could be considered the centre of both the cultural and social order, and thus a symbolic domestic equivalent of the human soul, just as the house as a whole corresponded symbolically to the human body (St George 1986; Purkiss 1996:120), while the positioning of the hearth in the centre of the hall in preceding centuries led to its consideration as a symbol of household and family unity (Hull 1928:205). A custom existed in Yorkshire that when a house was rebuilt, a piece of the old building must be incorporated into the new structure, with the fireplace as the most preferred item for this purpose. Although this practice was intended to preserve and validate the common right of the householder (Nattrass 1958:138), the preference for retaining the original fireplace illustrates the fundamental importance of the hearth as a symbol of the natural heart of the house. There was also a belief that the chimney structure served a protective function in itself if it was constructed using mortar which had been mixed with blood (Baker 1974:61). In a more passively protective sense, it was believed in some places that fire should not be taken out of the house, or else bad luck would befall the carrier or, indeed, the whole house (Simpson and Roud 2000:123). The fire and the hearth were such an integral part of the house and family life, that to remove it from the building symbolised the removal of the heart of the household, and would therefore result in its demise.

The threshold, by contrast, was conceived as a transformative place of passage, but also as a liminal location, constituting a symbolic boundary between the house and the world outside, representing the difference between safety and belonging, and danger and the alien (Lawrence 1990:77; Simpson and Roud 2000:357). Thresholds were also held to be symbolic of the entry into new spiritual influences, and thus there were a number of rites associated with its crossing, since passing over it was considered comparable to a sacred act (Hull 1928:200). A variety of traditional practices aimed to purify the threshold by way of killing an animal and dropping its blood at the entrance to the house; a custom not dissimilar to that of a foundation sacrifice (*ibid.* 199, 207). This was also an area of the house where objects to ensure continued wellbeing could

be placed, such as the burial of a whole cat's tail under the threshold to keep sickness away (Simpson and Roud 2000:50).

Additionally, as the main point of entrance into a house, practices were also employed to prevent the entry of unwanted, disruptive or evil persons or forces. The most well-known method was of securing a horse-shoe over or near the threshold, not as a means of drawing luck to house as is known in more modern folklore (Lawrence 1896:292), but because witches cannot walk past or walk over iron. This is connected to a similar method of household protection which involved the burying of an iron knife under the doorstep (Guiley 1989:179). Some areas were also known to employ iron threshold slabs to the same effect (Tebbutt 1980), but was a method which more firmly incorporated the protective device into the standard structure of the house. Additionally, plants or herbs believed to hold protective or restrictive properties, such as dill, rowan or vervain, would be hung from the door frame in order to regulate who or what might enter (Frazer 1913:620; Thomas 1971:648).

Just as a witch could cause damage and disruption to the household by crossing and contaminating its boundaries by leaving an object of their own behind, or removing one to manipulate its sympathetic link with its owner, they could also achieve control and thus disorder and harm to the house and its inhabitants if they succeeded in crossing through the house, passing the hearth in the process (Natrass 1958:138). This belief provides an explanation for the use of witch posts in Yorkshire (Baker 1974:59). The post itself performed a structural function within the house, usually fixed under the timber cross beams, supporting the chimney brace, and forming the end of the partition that screens the hearth from the entrance, often functioning as part of the "firehouse" (Natrass 1958:137; Walton 1959:15). Witch posts were often commonly carved with a series of simple geometric patterns, such as diagonal crosses and linear bands, although the specific purpose these served is unknown (Natrass 1958:142). However, while the main timber structure was invariably made from oak, witch-posts were always made from rowan wood, since the material was believed to deter witches (Davidson 1958:161), thus preventing the witch moving across the house, whether entering by the door or the chimney. Thus, the inclusion of this post delivered a way in which the house itself could provide a protective barrier against malicious outsiders.

The need for such protective measures can be seen to derive from the tensions between the home as an insular and self-sufficient unit and the various socio-cultural links which force the individual family home to be associated with its immediate

community, political and economic shifts and the wider world. Despite the apparent shift towards individualisation and privacy, houses could be separated from external economic forces and the web of social relations of which they were inextricably a part. Therefore, the adoption and use of apotropaic practices throughout the home, particularly those which dealt with boundaries with the outside world, can be viewed as deriving from the real and potential threat such tensions posed to the family and the domestic unit (Johnson 2010:157-8).

### ***3.6 Conclusion***

It is clear that both the structure of the home and the ideological unit it represented underwent a series of transitions which reflected broader changes within society. This was not a decisive shift with uniform results which was completed over the course of a few generations, but one which was gradual, dependant on the differing lifestyles and cultures within England, and not wholly explainable in economic terms. In as much as this as a whole shift cannot be readily reduced to the general factors which may have influenced it, it can be seen as an indicator of the cultural patterns of the early modern period, and therefore of what the house and home embodied during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The home in this period became a more guarded, inward-looking entity, both physically and socially. There is perhaps a recursive relationship between the ordering society and the changes in the structure of the early modern home. As the importance of the wider community (and the household's place within it) began to disintegrate, the home became more inward looking and self-sufficient, which in turn led to structure form which was not so accommodating to outsiders. Privacy became an increasingly important factor in the way people lived and ordered their lives, a cultural change visible not only affording them personal, bounded space within the home, but also within an increase in household material culture which catered more to the needs of the individual. Early modern houses present a social contradiction. Although they were gradually made more comfortable, and space was provided for the entertaining of external guests in an area of the house as far removed from the mess and noise of a functioning household, the layout and furnishing of households was one which very much kept outsiders, or those not part of the immediate family, at arm's length.

The ritualised nature accorded to the home during this period is also a significant factor in how domestic space and the family unit were valued. While the church was still

a very important source for religious teachings and instruction on a community level, the sanctioning of regular religious practices within the home its indicative of its accepted and growing status as a sacred space. As well as the literal and symbolic religious elements held as moral necessities in the successful running of the home, but with the employment of more secular activities relating to the protection of the home and ensuring the well-being of its inhabitants.

The sanctity of the entity of the household is evident in what it came to symbolise, and what it was presented in opposition to. The house was, in a sense, a political entity, the successful running of which relied not only on strong leadership and guidance from the head of the household, but co-operation and support from the other members of the family. It was also a civilised entity, presenting a superior alternative to the untamed natural world beyond its walls, while also creating and maintaining cultural distinctions of what is clean and what is dirty. It was also a corporeal entity, with the development of ideological comparisons of the house structure to a living human body. The home was a cultural necessity; the house structure and the family it contained recursively ensuring the others' livelihood, success and longevity. The household, in ensuring the wellbeing and sanctity of the family unit, became an analogy for not only moral correctness, but the wellbeing of the nation as a whole.



## IV

### Methodology

#### *4.1 Identification of ritual objects*

For the purposes of this study, ritual activity in the form of deliberate concealment is identified by the intentional deposition or concealment of one or more items within a domestic or interior location. The location and context of such concealments is suggestive of an action other than accidental loss, and deposits are often in places which would prohibit their later alteration or removal from the location.

As previously discussed (chapter 2, section 2), there exist a number of cases where renovations of old houses have revealed significant quantities of often small items underneath floorboards which occur across the whole area of the floor. Such examples are discounted as evidence of ritual activity or intention due to the nature of the objects recovered and their ubiquity in the deposit. Objects which are found in great numbers and are of a size and in a location which suggests that they might have easily become lost should not be considered to be deliberate ritual acts. Examples of such object distributions are primarily in the form of objects being found beneath the floor; a location which allows for the accidental concealment of lost or dropped objects small enough to fit between floorboards. In addition, many of these cases see objects covering much of the area under the floorboards rather than a concentration of items in one or two locations within the room as might be expected with deliberate depositions. However, the majority of other deposit locations do not readily allow for similar accidental losses, so caution only need be exercised for a small proportion of recorded hidden objects.

There is also a clear need for the differentiation of the use of animal remains for ritual purposes and for functional purposes. Using such examples as the use of butchering waste to construct walls and floors during this period (Armitage 1989), and the belief that the placing of horse skulls under the floor would amplify the sound of music and dancing (Ó Súilleabháin 1945; Merrifield 1987:123-6), it has been concluded that the ritual use of animal remains in domestic contexts is differentiated from the purely functional by two significant factors. First, ritual deposits usually comprise of significant body parts, long bones or the whole animal, rather than smaller, less significant body parts (often more proximal body parts which may have derived from butchering waste or similar processes). Secondly, ritual deposits, particularly from

historical contexts, usually are comprised of a small number of items in one deposit, whilst structural uses of the same material will incorporate hundreds of items at any one time and over a wider area. Consequently, in the case of the use of skulls for acoustic enhancement, while it is possible that only single skulls might have been concealed for this practical purpose alone, examples where large numbers of skulls have been recovered from underneath a floor are less likely to have been the result of the enactment of a specific ritual practice, but are rather more likely to be an attempt to improve the acoustic properties of the room they are within, regardless of whether it was actually an effective technique or not. Therefore, for this reason, examples such as the twenty-four or forty horse skulls (numbers vary between reports) screwed to the underside of the Portway pub in Herefordshire, and the thirty to forty horse skulls arranged between the joists beneath the floor of a house in Suffolk (Merrifield 1987:123), have not been included in this study.

#### ***4.2 Focus on deposited objects***

The ritualised nature of the early modern home is complex and variable and is expressed through a number of actions and interactions with the domestic structure. One of the more notable examples of this is the practice of words and patterns incised into walls and other surfaces of the home, and outlined in Merrifield's overview of historical ritual (1987). This seemingly extends to magical charms written in non-English scripts, but more commonly includes "daisy wheel" patterns, crossed Vs, arrangements of letters from the Latin alphabet, ladders, butterfly marks, human figures and other patterns which outwardly appear to be decorative (Easton 1999; Meeson 2005). Further studies identifying purposeful burning of the wooden timbers of the home suggest that the marking of domestic space was a not uncommon action, but one which was ritually necessary and somewhat expected (Fleming 2001:29-30; Lloyd et al. 2001).

As such, there has become the tendency to study and interpret this form of domestic ritual alongside those of structural deposits as though they were two parts of a whole (Hoggard 2004). Although both forms of ritual clearly primarily focus on the same concept – the structure and space embodied by the home – they are ultimately different forms of action which manifest in different ways. One relates material objects closely to the house structure, while the other uses words and images and applies them to the house in a somewhat superficial (although still permanent) manner. Concealed deposits

represent only one facet of the ideology and action which represent how people perceive and respond to domestic environments in the early modern period, and treating all aspects of this ritual action as part of one and the same process does not necessarily aid our understanding of the role they play within people's lives. Therefore, incised symbols or burnt marks are not included in this study.

### 4.3 Collection of items for the dataset

The artefacts and details of their deposition used in this study were acquired through a number of channels and from a variety of different sources. Where possible, examples were collected from primary or secondary literature, such as archaeological reports in county journals, or from books or articles discussing already recognised aspects of ritual deposition in this period, such as *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* by Ralph Merrified, or articles by Brian Hoggard, Margaret Howard, and June Swann and other curators of the boot and shoe collection at Northampton Museum. In addition to this, requests for any details of known examples of post-medieval ritual deposits were sent by email to organisations which were deemed likely to hold any records or artefacts relating to the practice. A list was compiled of all museums likely to hold relevant information or objects who were then contacted accordingly, as were all county Scheduled Monument Records and Historic Environment Records offices, although not all replied or were able to provide any information. Of all HER offices contacted, only ten were able to

HER	Sites contributed
<b>Information sent by email</b>	
Norfolk	15
North Lincolnshire	5
Essex	4
Leicester	4
Colchester	3
West Berkshire	2
Dorset	1
Stoke	1
Tees	1
<b>Information from online databases</b>	
Norfolk	9
Suffolk	7
Buckinghamshire	1

**Table 4.1:** HERs able to provide relevant information and details of deposits.

respond with details of relevant sites or deposits, although in some cases, additional deposits were identified independently through electronic online databases (table 4.1). Requests for information were also sent to a small number of other individuals, such as buildings or local archaeologists, who had been recommended by some of the institutions already contacted. Where possible, such institutions provided information and records either by post, by documents attached in email replies, or with directions or links to where

records were available in online databases.

A significant proportion of the dataset was acquired through the concealed shoe records kept at Northampton Museum. The nature of the records required the information to be collected in person, either by typing up details of records, or by scanning individual, hand-written note cards and, where relevant, correspondence related to the recovered items, and any photographs of the items in question. This was the source of the majority of items within the dataset, as records held at Northampton Museum not only accounted for a large proportion of all shoe deposits, but also recorded other items found with the shoes and other known deposits in the same house. However, the level of detail accorded to these additional objects was not comparable to that of the footwear in many cases, and most commonly the additional objects were listed with no extra information of material, alterations or preservation. However, it should be noted that not all the information regarding the footwear and the locations of their deposition was of a consistent level of detail, with numerous examples containing only minimal information about the geographic location of the footwear and objects themselves (there are several examples where the only description of the concealed item was only “shoe”), and many were missing information regarding the deposit location within the house.

It should be noted that it is likely that a number of accounts of domestic deposition in the early modern period have been overlooked due to the lack of recognition and separate categorisation of many instances of this practice. Whereas the specificity of witch bottles allows for a more straightforward search of their recovery, in addition to an acknowledgement of their significance, examples of other deposited items are less easy to identify as specifically having been used in a ritual activity, due to their otherwise more ordinary and everyday nature. This was communicated by many of the Scheduled Monument Records offices contacted, who stated that the organisation and categorisation of their records did not allow for a straightforward search and identification of recorded instances of this practice. Due to time constraints, all SMRs could not be visited in person to search through the grey literature to find examples of domestic ritual deposits.

Searches on online databases such as those for museums, Heritage Gateway and bibliographic resources such as the British and Irish Archaeological Bibliography often failed to produce records of specific ritual action for similar reasons. Searches for witch bottles, however, were more successful. Therefore, although for these reasons this

thesis is not a comprehensive collection of all deposits, it still represents the most comprehensive examination of the phenomenon which has been conducted thus far.

All sources for items in the data set can be found in Appendix M.

#### ***4.4 Reasons for national survey***

Rather than concentrate the study on a clearly defined area in order to establish a clearer and coherent picture of the practices within that location, this study has attempted to present a picture of the spread and variation in this practice across England. This decision was made on the basis of the variations in the locations of some object types which were already evident, such as witch bottles in comparison to the prevalence of everyday objects. To concentrate on individual counties would not be possible in many cases due to the low numbers of deposits in some areas, while to focus only other counties or regions with higher numbers of recognised deposits would still produce only a partial understanding of how this practice manifested. In the absence of a more detailed study which established patterns of deposits across the country as a whole, it would be difficult to determine the significance of a smaller study focused more closely in one area. Furthermore, the confinement of the dataset to those deposits which lie within otherwise arbitrary boundaries of counties would not provide a sufficient indicator of the geographical range and variability of the practice, even if the results from two or three counties were compared. It was deemed best to make use of all available data in order to better understand the nature and acceptance of the practice throughout England, rather than attempting to extrapolate from those areas which contain enough deposits from which to draw reasonable conclusions about special deposits within those limited geographical ranges.

#### ***4.5 Selection of regions***

Comparisons of deposits on a national scale will be made using regions rather than individual counties. This is due to the numerous cases where the number of individual deposits or concealed items within specific counties is too low to contribute to a useful analysis of national patterns of use. In addition, the comparison of ritual deposits over the forty-eight modern ceremonial counties would be unwieldy and unlikely to establish any clear patterns of use.

The use of regions instead allows for a more concentrated view of national distributions and easier comparison of patterns within the data, which would be less



**Figure 4.1:** Boundaries and placement of English regions used in this study.

<b>South East</b>	Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, East Sussex, Hampshire, Kent, Oxfordshire, Surrey, and West Sussex
<b>South West</b>	Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Wiltshire
<b>Eastern</b>	Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk
<b>East Midlands</b>	Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, and Lincolnshire
<b>West Midlands</b>	Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire
<b>Yorkshire and Humber</b>	Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire (Humber)
<b>North East</b>	Durham, Teeside, Northumberland, and Tyne and Wear
<b>North West</b>	Cumbria, Cheshire, Greater Manchester, Lancashire, and Merseyside
<b>London</b>	Greater London

**Table 4.2:** Categorisation of ceremonial counties by region.

easy to determine when using large numbers of categories. Although the use of regions arguably will result in a less specific view of the variation of deposits across the country, it will, however result in a clearer perception of the spread and differing modes of action on a national scale. Where possible, maps indicating deposit locations will also be included to provide a visual reference for trends in ritual concealment without the confines of imposed geographical categories.

Maps have been created using ArcGIS software. It should be noted that, in many cases, the exact locations of all buildings containing deposits are unknown or are not available, and as such, locations in these cases are indicated using approximate coordinates. Where only the street or settlement is known, coordinates are obtained from an approximately central area in that location. In the few cases where only the county is known, points are selected randomly within the county, and distributed evenly when there are more than one such case in the same county (such as Kent) (Appendix B).

The nine regions used are defined as those used by Government Offices, and all counties are modern ceremonial counties, including metropolitan counties. The identified regions and the counties they contain are categorised and outlined in table 4.2 and clarified by figure 4.1.

#### ***4.6 Organisation of data set***

Certain categories of information are recorded for all items in the data set, where available. These cover national location (region, county, town/city and further details of the location of the building containing the deposit, and any extra details relating to the history and alteration of the building), the deposit location within the house (primary and secondary deposit location, details of the context of deposition, and the date of the feature or aspect of the structure in which objects are concealed), and basic object details (the type of item, its level of preservation, extra details about the item and other items found in the same deposit) (Appendix A). Details regarding the source of information for individual deposits and objects are also recorded, along with museum accession numbers where available.

All national locations, deposit locations and objects are given a record number to allow for easy identification of deposits. Domestic structures which contain deposits are assigned a number when the records are added to the database, but the numbers they are assigned are otherwise arbitrary. Deposit locations within buildings are then indicated with an alphabetical letter, which allows multiple deposits in the same building to be distinguished from one another. Individual items within each deposit are then assigned a number. Therefore, a standard item record number will be in the form of 1.a.1.

#### ***4.7 Categorisation of internal locations***

In order to create a usable and concise classification of deposit locations, groupings are based on the most basic identifications of the type of structure in which they are concealed. Thus, deposit locations are classified by terms such as floor, wall, roof, chimney, door, foundations, etc. Although it may be considered to be of greater value in assessing deposits in terms of the different areas of the house and their function, due to numerous alterations over time in many of the buildings included in this study, as well as changing attitudes and organisation of domestic space over time, and frequent cases when the specific date of the deposit is unknown, the unavailability of such information would make such an analysis impossible and unviable.

It should be noted that the location category of 'ceiling' is also included, despite the ambiguity it presents. Unless otherwise stated, such ceiling deposits are assumed to be between floors within a building, and not in the roof space. Therefore, it is possible that in these cases, the act of deposition could equally have been made in the floor above,

rather than specifically in the ceiling below, and the current designation of the deposit being in the ceiling is due to the bias of the discoverer, who recovered the item during renovations to the ceiling, rather than the floor level above it. Therefore, since it is not possible to determine whether such deposits were intended for the ceiling or the floor, or whether there exists a specific significance in either viewpoint, deposits recorded as being found in the ceiling shall be continued to be recognised as such.

Due to the highly variable and often specific nature of deposit locations, where possible or necessary, all deposits are recorded as having a primary and secondary location, although cases where two such locations are recorded or known are not as common as deposits with only a known primary location. This is to better acknowledge the specificity and potentially deliberate positioning of the deposits which may not be communicated through the use of only one location signifier, and also to assist in the bounded positioning of the deposit. Which location is designated as primary or secondary is dependent on which location the deposit was deemed to have the greatest focus on, while the secondary location provides clarification for the specific nature in which the deposit relates to the primary location. For example, a deposit underneath the hearth would be classed primarily as chimney and secondarily as floor, as it can be seen to be that the specific placement of the item in relation to the chimney was of primary importance, rather than in any other location under the floor. Similarly, an item concealed in an under-floor location which is position near to the chimney but not directly associated with it will be primarily identified as a floor deposit, with the chimney as its secondary location. Occasionally, the description of where the deposit is located will simply state that it is near a certain area. In such cases, the location to which it is near will be the primary deposit location, since no other information relating to the position of the deposit is available.

This two-tier structure for deposit location classification enables the establishment of a clearer view of the types of locations in which deposits are placed. However, in terms of analysis, it is not always useful as it creates a greater number of categories, and most dual locations occur infrequently. Therefore, only primary deposit locations will be considered when examining distributions across specific locations, but secondary locations will be used when examining the bounded nature of particular deposit locations.

External deposit locations, where applicable, follow the same style of categorisation using only simple information about the deposit location. There are three types of

Boundedness	Primary location	Secondary location
Open	Chimney	
	Door	
Dual association	Ceiling	Chimney
	Chimney	Floor
		Wall
	Door	Floor
		Wall
	Floor	Chimney
	Foundations	
	Roof	Chimney
	Stairs	Chimney
	Wall	Chimney
Door		
Window		
Closed	Ceiling	
	Floor	
		Roof
		Stairs
		Wall
	Oven	
	Roof	
		Floor
	Stairs	
		Floor
		Roof
		Wall
	Wall	
		Cellar
		Floor
Oven		
Roof		
Stairs		

**Table 4.3:** Categorisation of all “bounded” locations within the house identified in this study, organised by which areas of the house the deposit was associated with.

outdoor deposit locations: in water, buried and 'other' (of which there is only one example, located in a cesspit). No external deposit locations have a secondary location.

As previously mentioned, deposit locations can be further categorised depending on whether they are deemed to be "open" or "closed" locations within the house. Open locations are those which provide or are immediately associated with a deliberately constructed and functional entrance or opening in the structure of the building, such as doors, windows, and chimneys. This is contrasted with closed locations which are comprised of places within the building which form a secure and unbroken boundary either as part of the external-facing structure of the house, or a strictly internal division. This includes floors, walls, ceilings, and the roof and its associated internal space. However, there are two locations which do not fall easily within these two categories.

Firstly, the foundations, while still providing a strong structural aspect, are still somewhat external to the house and the domestic space itself, and have thus been classed as a "dual-association" location; presenting aspects of both open and closed. The second such location is staircases, the function of which does not comprise any bounded element, instead facilitating movement rather than segregating or restricting it. However, due to this area's being a fully internal aspect of the house, they have been classed as "closed".

The openness or closedness of a deposit is determined by considering such aspects of both primary and secondary deposit locations. Those deposits found in a location where their primary classifications are categorised as "open" are treated as such. There are no deposits which have both a primary and secondary location which may both be seen to be open locations. The same process applies for solely closed locations (with the exception that there are closed locations where both primary and secondary locations are designated as such. Deposits with one open and one bounded location type, regardless of whether they are the primary or secondary location, are classed as "dual-association" (see table 4.3). The attributing of bounded classifications in this case allows for the assessment of the roles such deposits may have played within the house structure as a whole (as it is commonly accepted that items which may have had a specifically apotropaic function would be placed in and around entrances or openings in the structure (Hoggard 2004:173; Meeson 2005:41)). Furthermore, it allows for a secondary examination of deposits in terms of the space they occupy within the house, which fully accommodates the specificity of deposit locations as expressed in the establishment of primary and secondary locations, while simultaneously not prioritising

one location association over another (as the designating of one structural aspect of a deposit's location as more significant than another is not a truly objective assessment).

#### ***4.8 Categorisation of deposited items***

All deposited items have been initially categorised into one of four broad groupings. The objects within each of these categories will be analysed together so as to gain a clearer understanding of the roles, uses and ideologies behind these different object types. The categorisation of each object is based solely on each item as a single unit and does not take into account the range of items with which it was concealed. The variability and contents of grouped deposits will be addressed within a separate analysis.

The first category is for magical objects. These are recognised and defined as being items believed to have performed a primarily magical, supernatural or apotropaic function. Such items are identified by descriptions of relevant magical objects discussed in historical sources, or by the way in which the object in question has been treated, such as deliberate alterations to the material prior to their concealment which would not be related to a previous practical function, or combinations of items in one unit to create a specific object which appears not to have performed a practical, everyday purpose.

The second category is for animal remains, and is much more straightforward with regard to the terms of inclusion for this classification. This category incorporates all instances of the use of any part of any animal, including non-mammals, utilised in a domestic ritual deposit. This also includes any remains which may have been altered in some manner, whether this is a result of butchering or other similar activities, or more deliberate changes which may relate more directly to the act of concealment. This category also includes eggs, since while they are not technically animals, they are an animal product and possess the capacity to become animals, and are thus best suited to this category rather than any of the other three.

The third category is for natural material. This includes all instances of material which occurs naturally and has not been altered in any manner or has any sign of being treated as a functional or household commodity. This includes items such as stones or fossils, shells and plant material such as straw, flowers, or grains. Many of the items in this category would be considered to be of “no value”, with the exception of some examples of plant materials which could have been used as food.

The final category is for everyday objects. These are manufactured items which would otherwise have had a standard function within the home and everyday lives of its inhabitants prior to their concealment. Therefore, this category incorporates a wide range of material, such as clothing, tableware, books, toys and personal items such as pipes or combs, as well as some waste items such as scraps of material or paper. As such, all items in this category are composed or constructed of altered or engineered materials in order to produce consumable goods. Many items will have been subject to some form of alteration in accordance with their original function, such as standard wear and tear, breakages or repair.

Animal remains and natural materials are treated as separate categories since it was felt that, although all items which fall into both classifications could be considered to be representative of the natural world, animal remains hold a social or ritual value which is likely to differ from that of naturally occurring materials. Similarly, animal remains have been recognised as having played a significant role in ritual activities, both domestic-focussed and otherwise throughout British history (Davis and Payne 1993; Fulford 2001; Hamerow 2006; Wilson 1999), and because of this should be examined as a category in their own right. Similarly, a wide range of natural materials were perceived as possessing specific abilities and powers in the early modern period, in part due to the acceptance of much of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (Thomas 1983:77-8), and an independent analysis of such items would hopefully reveal attitudes which related to this. In summary, differing social views are held of the animate and inanimate of the natural world, and to group them together would not be fully representative of social perceptions of the deposited items. Regardless, the data analysis for both animal remains and natural materials are combined in a single chapter, although the different object types are still treated separately. This is in part due to both categories being representative of different aspects of the natural world, but also due to the small number of items of natural material making the analysis of that category too small to be chapter in its own right.

It should be noted that although single classifications are applied for the purposes of clarification within this study, these are not discrete and exclusive collections. The grouping of items from these imposed categories show that they were not necessarily treated or perceived as individual or separate entities. Furthermore, there are a number of items which could conceivably be assigned to more than one category, largely a selection of everyday objects where any alterations prior to concealment or the nature

of their arrangement on deposition would suggest a further magical purpose, although the exact intention is unclear. Specific examples will be discussed in relation to the unclear nature of the categorisation.

#### ***4.9 Categorisation of magical objects***

Due to the uneven spread of magical object types, there are only two initial categorisations within this group: witch bottles and other magical items. The number of deposits and individual objects in the category of other magical items is so few that further categorisation is unnecessary. The high frequency of witch bottles within this category combined with the specific nature of a number of the factors investigated for this particular object type warrants the treatment of witch bottles as a separate category rather than analysing all magical items together in one group.

Factors investigated for witch bottles are the container type, the Holmes type (a broad classification of *Bartmann* bottles largely based on external decoration, but is also closely linked to approximate dates of production: Holmes 1951) if the container is a *Bartmann* bottle, the type of stopper used, the bottle's contents, the position of the bottle (inverted or upright) and whether the bottle is known to have contained urine, regardless of whether or not it is still present at the time of recovery (Appendix E).

The contents of the witch bottles are also further categorised so as to establish the extent to which the practice deviates from that described in historical sources and to identify differing attitudes relating to their function. Contents are divided into one of eight categories; sharp metal objects, non-metal sharp objects, biological material, pierced material, burnt material, natural material, other metal objects, and 'other' (Appendix F).

Factors investigated for other magical objects are much less detailed due to the small number of objects in the category and lack of detailed information about them, and other magical items are recorded with no extra categories of information.

#### ***4.10 Categorisation of animal remains***

Animal remains can be categorised in a number of ways using both the type of animal and the body part represented. For animal type, the remains can be grouped simply by the basic identification of the animal in question. Categories in this form are bat, cat, cow, dog, hare, horse, mouse, rat, pig, sheep, bird (where specific species is otherwise unspecified), duck, chicken, goose, pheasant, pigeon, sparrow, egg, and

unknown. Animals can also be classified in terms of their social role, and animals which have different relationships to humans will be perceived of differently. Therefore, social categories are pets/privileged species, domesticated/farmed animals, wild, other, and unknown (table 4.4) (Appendix G).

Body parts can generally be classified in a similar manner to animal types. Categories for the basic identification of types are whole, feet, head, heart, hoof, horn, jaw, leg, scapula, skull, wing, and unknown bones. Body parts can also be classified as to whether the deposit contained a whole animal or only one part of it, although this distinction is little used.

<b>Social classification</b>	<b>Species</b>
Privileged	Cats, Dogs, and Horses
Domesticated	Cows, Pigs, Sheep, Chickens, and Geese
Wild	Bats, Hares, Mice, Rats, Ducks Pheasants, Pigeons, Sparrows, and unspecified birds
Other	Eggs
Unknown	All cases where the species has not been identified.

**Table 4.4:** Categorisation of animal species by social role.

#### ***4.11 Categorisation of natural materials***

Due to the small number of items within this group, only five initial categories were established; stone, fossils, plants, burnt items and shells (Appendix H). Arguably, stones and fossils could be combined within a single group as they are both of similar material and it is debateable as to whether much of the early modern populace distinguished between the two in the same way the modern world would. However, since there are numerous known examples of the specific selection, retention and ritualised use of a number of fossil types in the later medieval period, and that numerous fossil types had been believed to possess magical or protective powers for centuries prior to the early modern period (Oakley 1978, Taylor 2002, Gilchrist 2008:136-7), it is still possible that such items were readily recognised as being different from ordinary stones, although they may not have otherwise been correctly identified.

A sub-category can also be formed from the plant materials category, and that is items which could have been consumed as food. This does not apply to items which are related to or by-products from consumable food items, such as the straw, or the shells if we were to expand this subdivision outside of the category of plants. This is due to food

items holding a differing social value to left-over or waste items resulting from food consumption, regardless of whether they would have been considered to be rubbish or of no value or not.

Factors recorded and investigated for this group are broadly the same as those for most aspects of everyday objects.

#### ***4.12 Categorisation of everyday objects***

Due to the high variability of objects within this category, it would be possible to categorise them all in a number of ways (material, function, context of use etc.) However, in this case, it was deemed that the creation of numerous analyses of the largest category of objects was to be avoided, as this would be unwieldy and potentially fail to provide any extra insight into the use and distribution of the objects. There is also the added issue that, regardless of the manner of categorisation, there are several objects which could belong to more than one category, thus rendering most possible categorisations unfeasible. Therefore, all everyday objects have been classified on a broadly functional basis, depending on the primary function the object was produced to perform. The categories are shoes, clothing, smoking, sewing, tableware, literacy (books, documents, and writing materials), money, containers (boxes, tins, bottles etc.), equestrian, furniture, tools, toys, personal adornment (buckles, accessories, and combs), weapons and other items (Appendix I). There is still some potential capacity for overlapping categorisations in this classification, such as a number of the items within the tablewares which would also qualify as containers. In order to avoid this, all objects within the containers category are those which are known to not have been items of tableware.

Within these categories, objects can be further classified in terms of their material and object types, such as those mentioned above, and, for example, the separation of glass, ceramic or metal tableware items. Clothing and shoes can be separated further by the type of clothing (shoes, boots, pattens/hats, shirts, gloves), but also by the sex and approximate age of the owners of the objects (Appendix K).

For the majority of object types within this category, the factors investigated do not expand beyond the general categories used in all object records. However, items such as shoes and other clothing require additional categories of information which relate directly to the types of items within these groups and the manner in which they were used. These are age, sex, left or right (for shoes and gloves), and pairs of items. Clothing

also requires a category for the area of the body to which the item relates, while shoes also have details of repairs or additional alterations alongside details of their preservation (Appendix J).

Known pairs of items are consistently treated as a single item, rather than two separate objects. This is due to such items representing a single functional unit, rather than completely individual items. Distributions of paired items will be separately acknowledged and analysed, rather than not being distinguished within the results (Appendix L).

It should also be noted that there are a number of *Bartmann* bottles within this category. It may be possible that they had been used as witch bottles, however, all were either empty when found or for which no details of contents were recorded (although one was found in an inverted position). Considering the *Bartmann* bottle was a fairly common everyday item at this time, there is no reason to believe that it could not be viewed as such by the depositors. The prevalence of the recognition of witch bottles within the previous studies of post-medieval ritual should not affect the treatment and categorisation of objects within this study.

#### ***4.13 Categorisation of object groups***

The distributions and frequencies of groupings of objects are also analysed, both in terms of general categories such as geographical and deposit locations, but also in relation to patternings of the use of different object types in different groupings. Objects groups are divided into three categories: single (where the deposit is comprised of only a single object), same-type (where the deposit is comprised of multiple items from the same primary category), and multi-type (where a deposit is comprised of multiple objects belonging to different primary categories) (Appendix D).

The analysis of groupings of objects is included in this study with the aim of better understanding differing attitudes towards different classes of items which thus might affect how they were used, perceived and concealed, as this is notably an area which has been ignored in previous studies.

#### ***4.14 Data processing and analysis***

Analysis of results largely relied upon the frequencies of deposits or objects found within them, either in one, or two-way tables. Where allowable, the percentage each frequency represents within each category is factored into the analysis, to allow for a

more proportionate view of how deposits and objects are distributed, as a high frequency in one category may represent a lower overall proportion than that of a category which has a lower total number of deposits/objects. No further or more detailed statistical analysis has been done, as it was not felt that such in-depth analyses of the data would be relevant to the aims and intended outcomes of this study.

Comparisons of geographical spread and nature of location of deposit have been made between the four primary object types so as to better establish any differences in their treatment or perception. However, each object type is also subject to analyses in their own right, as each object type contains sub-categories which are not compatible for contrasting analysis with those of other classifications, such as distributions of different animal species, or contents of witch bottles. Groupings of objects are similarly treated, with the differences between single object, multiple object and cross-classification deposits considered.

Where the material allows for it, an analysis of the distributions of sexed objects in deposits has taken place. Such an analysis is only really permissible in terms of items of clothing, the majority of which is items of footwear. However, the extent to which any results will be truly representative of all deposits is questionable, due to only a small proportion of records of concealed footwear identifying the sex of the wearer, and in many cases of other items of clothing, the sex was inferred from the type of clothing, where possible. Similarly, the same category of objects will allow for an analysis of the distribution of the ages of the wearers of the deposited clothing. However, this is only possible on a broad scale as the precise age of the wearer of any garment is not identifiable by the object alone. Thus, analyses of age are only in terms of “adult” or “child”.

Additional factors such as the quality or preservation of the object have been considered, as these can indicate the state of the object and its level of use prior to its deposition. Additional factors such as the type of material of the objects (glass, ceramic, metal) are considered to be secondary, as this is not known in all cases, and where it is known, is broadly reflected in the classification of the items within the dataset.

#### ***4.15 Treatment of dating***

Due to the majority of the objects discussed here having been discovered in a non-traditional archaeological context, and most frequently by members of the public with no archaeological training, objects found in concealed domestic locations are often

assigned a broad date range, in many cases only indicating the century they date from or a longer period, instead of a specific date. Thus, due to this high level of inaccuracy, the use of dates and establishing patterns over time do not comprise a significant part of the data analysis in this thesis.

In many cases, broad and varying date ranges have been applied to objects, potentially due to the recognition of the practice and a broad idea of when it was known to take place, thus resulting in a somewhat cyclical dating pattern.

Although the date of the creation of an object may be ascertained to within a small margin of error, this is not necessarily similar to the date of the deposition of the object, which may have taken place after a long period of use. Furthermore, there is the problem of approaching the dating of deposits which contain items which have been attributed dates from differing periods; were these items assembled over time and deposited at once, or was the deposit continually added to over time (Eastop and Dew 2006:18)? Although there are some cases where records of alterations to structures could be used to establish rough dates of deposition, these are only available in a small minority of cases. Furthermore, if objects would have been continually added over time, as is possible in some cases, there would be no structural alteration to mark a single event.

However, given that this study aims to examine the patterns surrounding domestic deposits specifically for the early modern period rather than the post-medieval era in general, the dates of objects have been used as a means to determine their inclusion in the study. A general date range of approximately 300 years was used, ranging from around 1450 to 1750. Objects which had been attributed only a wide date range were also commonly included, provided that the median date within the range did not fall outside of the initially established 300 year period. Items which fall outside of this range may also be included, in the case that they were found within a deposit which contained an item dated to within the date range for this period, which therefore presents the possibility that the deposit was originated in the early modern period.

Where dates have been used to establish patterns of use, an average date is created from the assigned date range, e.g. 1600-1700 becomes 1650. In cases where the resulting average is not a whole year, the result is rounded down, e.g. 1650-75 averages as 1662.5, and will thus be recorded as 1662. These are then tabulated in blocks of twenty five years to establish broad patterns of use or changes over time. This is necessary due to the varying nature of date ranges applied to a number of objects,

which can extend up to multiple centuries, or cover unevenly distributed portions of time, i.e. 1550-1625. It would be impossible to establish a system of broad date ranges which would accommodate all the approximate dates given without relying on averaged or altered dates in some way. It should be noted that information derived from this method should be treated with caution and is not a definitive pattern of use over time, as the method of averaging dates has a tendency to create high frequencies of some dates over others, particularly those at the start or midpoint of the century, and thus are unlikely to be truly representative.

#### ***4.16 Use of external witch bottle deposits in data analysis***

For the examination of witch bottles, examples recovered from external deposit locations, such as within rivers and buried underground have also been included in analyses where relevant (Appendix D.1). Although the objective of the project was to examine patterns of use for deposits in internal and domestic locations, it was deemed important to recognise the existence of the deposition of the same item types during the same time period, but in differing contexts. Thus, the inclusion of externally deposited witch bottles will allow for a measured comparison of the types of containers and items used as contents between those witch bottles which are used in a manner according with the descriptions in historical sources (external deposits) and those which are not. It should be noted that such examples of external items are excluded from the overall dataset, and thus do not contribute to general trends in the data.

External deposits were not included for comparison with other object categories, due to the lack of recorded examples of relevant external deposits of comparable object types. Particularly in the case of everyday items, it would be difficult to establish whether an external deposit of such items would constitute a ritual deposit, or, most likely, would be an ordinary piece of household refuse not accorded any special or unusual treatment which was not in accordance with its social role as waste material. The same would also be true of animal deposits; deposits of a discernibly ritual function containing whole animals in external locations are virtually unknown from this period, while deposits of single body parts would be difficult to categorise as ritual. Any ritual treatment of natural materials during this time would be almost impossible to identify, and would be unlikely to have survived. The significance of the objects in these three categories to this study is due to their unusual context of deposition, whereas witch bottles and other magical objects are unusual and significant regardless of their context.

The recognition of the ritual significance of externally deposited witch bottles is due to the specific arrangement and treatment of the materials involved in their creation, and it is this which allows for a measured comparison between bottles deposited in different locations without questioning their ritual significance within these differing contexts.

No examples of “other” magical items deposited in external contexts have been identified. Considering the very small number of other magical objects deposited in internal locations which have been identified (only two known cases, each found as a single object deposit), a measured comparison and analysis between internal and external deposits would be unlikely to yield any results which would better clarify the nature of the practice and intentions behind it.

#### ***4.17 Inclusion of items with little or missing data***

There are numerous examples within the data set where one or more categories of information relating to individual items or their location of deposition are unavailable or unknown. Within these, there are cases where only minimal information was available, in some cases extending only to the county within which the deposit was located and the type of objects within the deposit. These have been included within the study in order to allow for a more complete statistical assessment of the data. Even if one aspect of the deposition is unknown, it is unlikely that the remaining information will not be of significance to the study as a whole. This is especially relevant when separating out different categories of information for analysis, therefore the lack in detail in one area does not affect the analysis of the spread and patterns of use in others.

Furthermore, it is acknowledged that the absence of information, particularly with regard to the specific building in which a deposit is located, may potentially result in a skewed image of this practice during the early modern period. Given that dates for many objects are unavailable or too broad to be of use, there may well be examples within the dataset which do not derive from the period intended for this study. However, given that there are numerous examples of both buildings and objects which are known to be from the period in question, (and also that correctly identified buildings and dated objects do not always both occur together in the same records), such discrepancies should not excessively influence the outcome.

#### ***4.18 Inclusion of non-vernacular housing***

The dataset also includes a number of instances of deposits from non-vernacular dwellings, such as manor houses, palaces and castles, and buildings which hold a partially residential function, such as inns, boarding schools, Oxbridge colleges as well as out-buildings associated with dwellings (Appendix C). Although the study of “folk beliefs” of this type would normally result in a focus on vernacular settings and buildings, these practices were clearly employed within a range of buildings, up into more “polite” architectural settings, as well as more public, non-domestic residential buildings. Therefore it is believed that all instances of ritual deposits of this type found in buildings which people regularly inhabit should be incorporated into the study so as to gain a full understanding of the forms and pattern of ritual concealments in domestic and inhabited buildings.

The buildings which fall into this category can be classified in one of three ways: residential, semi-residential, and associated. Residential buildings are those which would be continuously occupied and treated as a normal family residence, albeit belonging to a different social or functional class as the majority of housing (manor houses and other elite residences, religious housing, and public houses). Semi-residential buildings are those which may serve as a temporary accommodation, but are otherwise not a primary or permanent domestic setting (schools, colleges and hotels). Associated buildings are those which are not directly occupied, but are associated with a building which is, and is therefore part of the domestic unit as a whole (wash houses and out buildings). While inns and public houses could theoretically fall into the category of semi-residential buildings, given that many contained rooms where travellers could lodge (Hailwood 2014:34), they would also be therefore be continuously occupied by their owners, and thus this building type can be seen to function as a full-time domestic dwelling.

It could be argued that concealments in vernacular and polite contexts could represent differing attitudes to the practice, what it signified and the rituals’ intended outcomes due to differing world views within different social echelons during this period. However, in all cases, the specific instigator of the ritual is unknown, so deposits within a polite architectural context could potentially have been created by those of a lower social status, such as servants or workmen, although this should not necessarily be assumed to be the case. Regardless, such ritual concealments derive their significance from the contexts of deposition, and therefore all deposits from domestic or inhabited spaces should be considered equally, as they ultimately share the same focus. However,

where it is considered necessary, separate evaluations of deposits from non-vernacular domestic locations will be included in the analysis in order to determine whether differing patterns of use are present.

Deposits from within more secular and public buildings or those lacking a distinct residential aspect, such as churches and other religious buildings, guildhalls and hospitals have been excluded. This is due to the study as a whole aiming to focus on deposits within domestic or residential settings, as the intention behind the creation of such deposits is more likely to be similar in buildings with a domestic or residential focus with permanent or frequent occupants, rather than in those with a more public or official purpose with no everyday inhabitants. However, the existence of deposits in these non-domestic or residential buildings is still indicative of a wider trend in structural deposits in the post-medieval period, and does warrant further investigation, even though they occur at a much lower frequency to domestic deposits, with only approximately twenty cases from this time period.

Despite this, it should be noted that the type of building in which the items were concealed is not known in all cases and, as a result, buildings which may have served a non-residential purpose may have been included in the data set, as it would be unreasonable to exclude such records on the basis of their potential to have been non-residential or non-domestic structures.



## Analysis of Data: General distributions

Any significance in the placement any types of objects selected for deposit will be assessed, primarily through the comparison of a number of variables inherent within deposits. Through this analysis, any variations geographically and spatially within the home will be established, as well as particular patterns in the commonality of particular types of material culture, their state and functionality prior to deposit, and how different object types interrelate in groupings of items in single deposits. The patterns established here should aid in the understanding of how this practice related to the lives and everyday activities of ordinary people, and how they responded and reacted to domestic space, the material world around them, and the nature and origin of this aspect of secular ritual as a whole.

### *5.1 General distributions*

In total, this study has identified six-hundred and fifty-seven deposits within or associated with six-hundred and seventeen dwellings, all of which contain a total of one thousand, four-hundred and five objects. This results in a mean of 2.14 objects per deposit, and 1.06 deposits per building. These objects can be divided into four main types derived from their material, use and role within the post-medieval period. There are seventy-two items of magical objects within sixty-six deposits; twenty-six items of natural material with twenty-two deposits; one-hundred and fifteen items of animal remains over eighty deposits; and one-thousand, one-hundred and ninety-two items of everyday objects over five-hundred and forty deposits (table 5.1).

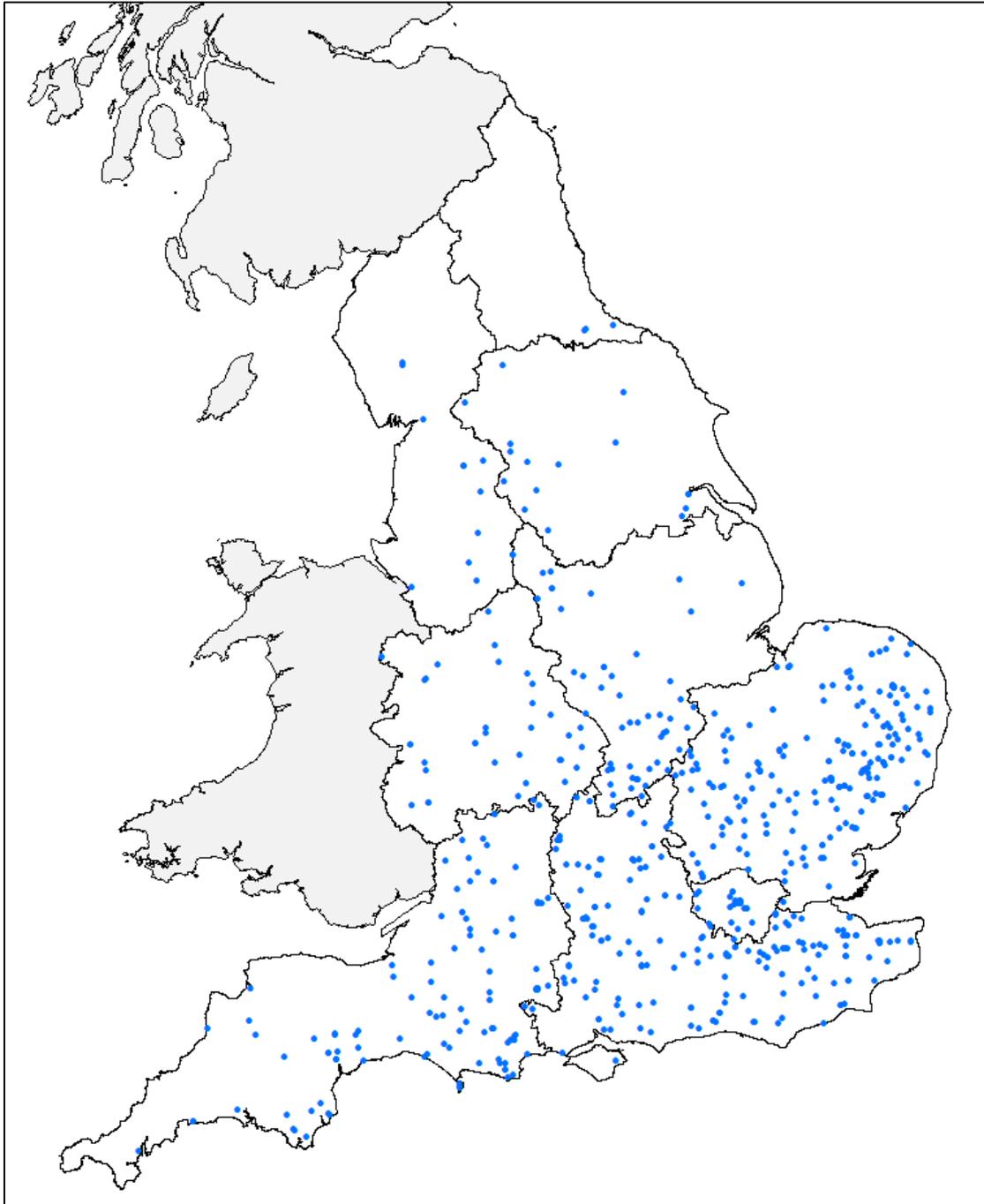
	<b>Total sites</b>	<b>% of sites</b>	<b>Total objects</b>	<b>% of objects</b>	<b>Object:site</b>
<b>Magical</b>	66	10.05%	72	5.12%	1.09
<b>Natural</b>	22	3.35%	26	1.85%	1.18
<b>Animal</b>	80	12.18%	115	8.19%	1.44
<b>Everyday</b>	540	82.19%	1192	84.84%	2.21

**Table 5.1:** Frequencies and proportions of deposits and objects for the four primary object types.

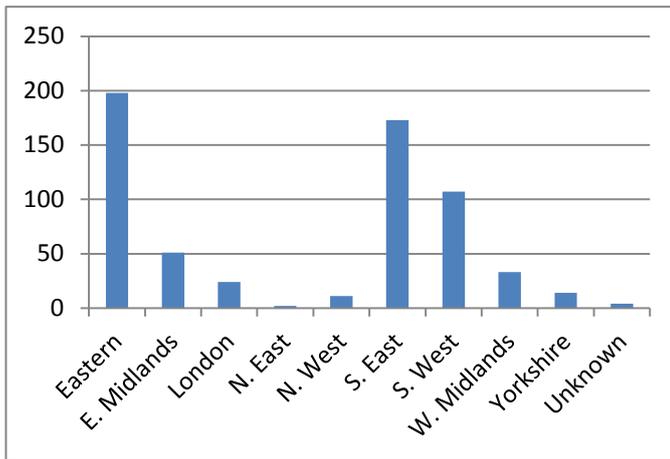
#### *5.1.1 Regional distributions*

Broadly, the majority of deposits appear to be concentrated in the south and the south east of the country, with frequencies declining towards the more northerly

regions (figure 5.1). Of the nine regions within England, the Eastern region has the highest frequency of both sites of deposits and objects, while the South East has the second greatest frequency of the two categories, with similarly high amounts as the Eastern region in both cases. The South West represents the third greatest number of both objects and deposits, although the frequencies for both categories are notably lower than those for the Eastern and South Eastern regions. The North East has the lowest frequency of deposits with only two known incidences, each only containing



**Figure 5.1:** Map showing the distribution of all buildings containing deposits within this study.



**Figure 5.2:** Frequencies of all deposits by region.

a single item (deposits 613.a and 616.a). In addition there are also four deposits where the regional location is unknown, with five objects between them (figure 5.2 and table 5.2).

There are thirty-seven modern ceremonial counties represented, including two metropolitan counties. There are eleven counties where no examples of ritual post-medieval deposits could be found. Of these, four are metropolitan (Greater Manchester, Merseyside, South Yorkshire and Tyne and Wear) and seven are non-metropolitan (Bristol, Cumbria, East riding of Yorkshire, Isle of Wight, Northumberland, Nottinghamshire and Rutland).

There are thirty-seven modern ceremonial counties represented, including two metropolitan counties.

Suffolk has the highest frequency of sites and objects, with seventy-two individual deposits containing two-hundred and four items (11% of all deposits, 14% of all objects), while Kent has the second highest frequencies of both deposits and objects. Although Norfolk has the third highest frequency of deposits (fifty-four, 8% of all deposits), the third highest number of objects is in Oxfordshire, which had ninety-one concealed objects; two greater than the number found in Norfolk, although Oxfordshire has nearly half the number of deposits (twenty-three).

	Total sites	% of sites	Total objects	% of objects	Object:site
<b>Eastern</b>	210	31.96	480	34.16	2.29
<b>E. Midlands</b>	53	8.07	102	7.26	1.92
<b>London</b>	25	3.81	46	3.27	1.84
<b>N. East</b>	2	0.30	2	0.14	1
<b>N. West</b>	13	1.98	21	1.49	1.62
<b>S. East</b>	189	28.77	453	32.24	2.40
<b>S. West</b>	110	16.74	200	14.23	1.82
<b>W. Midlands</b>	35	5.33	68	4.84	1.94
<b>Yorkshire</b>	16	2.44	28	1.99	1.75

**Table 5.2:** Frequencies and proportions of deposits and objects in each region.

### 5.1.2 Deposit locations distributions

Overall, there are nine primary locations of deposit which cover a range of areas of the house, and when more detailed information is included, this can be expanded to thirty-two specific internal deposit locations. For distributions using only the primary location of deposit, the greatest number of deposits are found in association with the wall (one-hundred and fifty-six deposits, 23% of all deposits), whilst chimney deposits have the second greatest frequency (one-hundred and forty, 21%). However, for object counts, the two locations are reversed, with chimney deposits accounting for the greatest number of items (three-hundred and seventy-seven, 27%), while wall deposits contain the second highest number of items in total (three-hundred and forty-nine, 25%) (Appendices N.2 and N.5). Floor and roof deposits are still well represented, but at a much lower frequency than deposits in walls and the chimney (Appendices N.3 and N.4). Deposits associated with both doors and ovens are the least frequent (table 5.3).

For the boundedness of locations, deposits in closed locations account for the significant majority, and are more than twice as frequent as those in open locations, with three-hundred and twenty-three deposits (49% of all deposits, 60.5% of deposits with a known location), and six-hundred and fifty-six objects (46% of all objects) (Appendices N.6-8). However, there is little disparity between open and dual association locations regarding both the numbers of deposits and objects found in those location types (table 5.4 and figure 5.3).

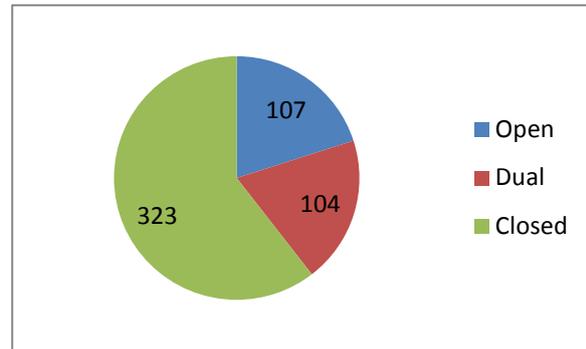
	Ceiling	Chimney	Door	Floor	Foundtn	Oven	Roof	Stairs	Wall	Unk.
<b>Sites</b>	12	171	19	122	12	11	106	23	174	123
<b>%</b>	1.83	26.03	2.89	18.57	1.83	1.67	16.13	3.50	26.48	18.72
<b>Objects</b>	28	460	45	222	24	18	236	81	444	200
<b>%</b>	1.99	32.74	3.20	15.80	1.71	1.28	16.80	5.77	31.60	14.23

**Table 5.3:** Frequencies and proportions of deposits and objects in primary deposit locations.

### 5.1.3 Regional/deposit location comparison

When comparing the distribution of locations of deposits across regions, the use of specific location types produces results which are largely too disparate to be indicative of overall patterns of the placement of deposits on a national scale. The single specific identified location/regional category with the greatest frequency of deposits, are directly associated chimney deposits in the South Eastern region, which accounts for forty deposits, although chimney deposits in the Eastern region are nearly as common, with

	Open	Dual	Closed
<b>Sites</b>	107	104	323
<b>%</b>	16.29	15.83	49.16
<b>Objects</b>	262	287	656
<b>%</b>	18.65	20.43	46.69



Left: **Table 5.4:** Frequencies and proportions of deposits and objects by location bound;  
 Right: **Figure 5.3:** Frequencies and proportions of deposits in each location category.

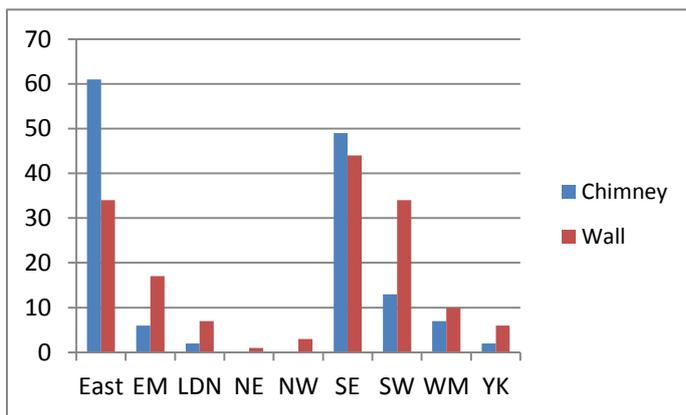
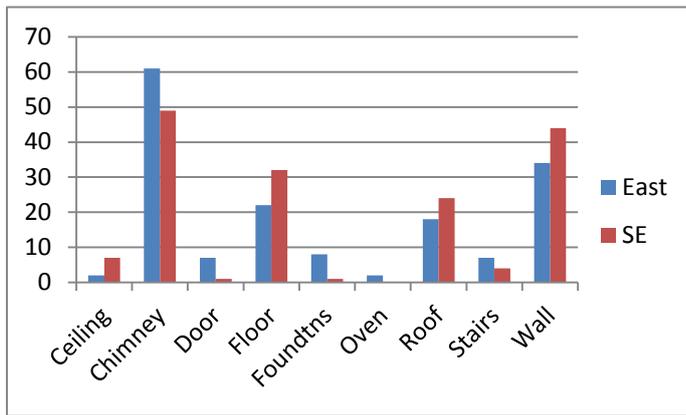
thirty-nine deposits. Overall, there are only four identified specific location/regional categories with a frequency of twenty-five or greater deposits; all of which occur in either the Eastern region or the South East, and are directly associated with either the chimney or the wall.

Counting only primary location of deposit, the patternings of use become more concise. The greatest number of deposits in any location/region category are chimney deposits in the Eastern region, which account for sixty-one deposits, whereas chimney deposits in the South East are the second most frequent (forty-nine deposits). Of the fifty-four identified location/region categories with deposits associated with them, twelve are represented by only one deposit (22%). The Eastern region has the greatest distribution of locations, with all nine identified locations represented, while both the South East and South West have deposits covering eight locations. Wall deposits are found in every region, while both roof and floor deposits occur in all but one (table 5.5).

Six of the nine regions have the greatest proportion of their deposits in locations

	Ceiling	Chimney	Door	Floor	Foundtn	Oven	Roof	Stairs	Wall	Unk.
<b>East</b>	2	61	7	22	8	2	18	7	34	49
<b>EM</b>	1	6		10		2	8	1	17	8
<b>LDN</b>		2		5	1		3		7	7
<b>NE</b>									1	1
<b>NW</b>				2			4		3	4
<b>SE</b>	7	49	1	32	1		24	4	44	27
<b>SW</b>	2	13	1	13		6	17	4	34	20
<b>WM</b>		7		4	1		6	3	10	4
<b>YK</b>		2	1	3	1		1	1	6	1
<b>UNK</b>							2			2

**Table 5.5:** Frequencies of deposits in primary locations by region.



Top: **Figure 5.4:** Comparison of frequencies of deposit location in the South East and Eastern region;  
 Bottom: **Figure 5.5:** Frequencies of the two most common primary deposit locations across all regions.

which are primarily associated with the wall. The Eastern region and the South East both have the greatest number of deposits in chimneys, while the North West has the greatest proportion of deposits primarily associated with the roof. The greatest proportions of deposits in each location are largely confined to the Eastern region or the South East, although a few cases are proportionately similar to the overall percentage of deposits found in each of these regions, and are therefore not overly exceptional (figure 5.4 and 5.5). Of note are 70% of door deposits occurring in the Eastern region, as are a third of foundation deposits, while 60% of oven deposits are in the South West, and over 50% of ceiling deposits are found in the South East.

For the boundedness of locations, the greatest frequency of deposits are in closed locations in the South East (ninety-six deposits), while there are additionally a significant number of deposits in the same location type in both the Eastern region and the South West. Deposits in closed locations occur in all regions, with dual association locations appearing in all but one, and open locations in all but the two northern-most regions (table 5.6).

For all regions, deposits in closed locations account for the greater proportion of deposits. Of the nine regions, all but one have the significant majority of deposits located in closed areas, with all having over 50% of deposits located in this area. The exception to this is the Eastern region, where only 32% of deposits are in a closed location. The Eastern region has the most even distribution of deposits

	Open	Dual	Closed
<b>East</b>	100	141	143
<b>EM</b>	7	20	65
<b>LDN</b>	11	2	26
<b>NE</b>			1
<b>NW</b>		1	12
<b>SE</b>	102	67	240
<b>SW</b>	24	42	109
<b>WM</b>	25	8	31
<b>YK</b>	8	6	12
<b>UNK</b>			2

**Table 5.6:** Frequencies of bounded locations by region.

across location types, with deposits from all three areas accounting for at least 20% of the total deposits in that region. Only one other region has deposits in an area other than closed location account for greater than 25% of the total. Of the seven regions which contain deposits in both open and dual-association deposits, open deposits are the more common in four cases. In two regions, dual-association deposits are more common (Eastern region and Yorkshire), while there is one where deposits in both locations are equally represented (Greater London).

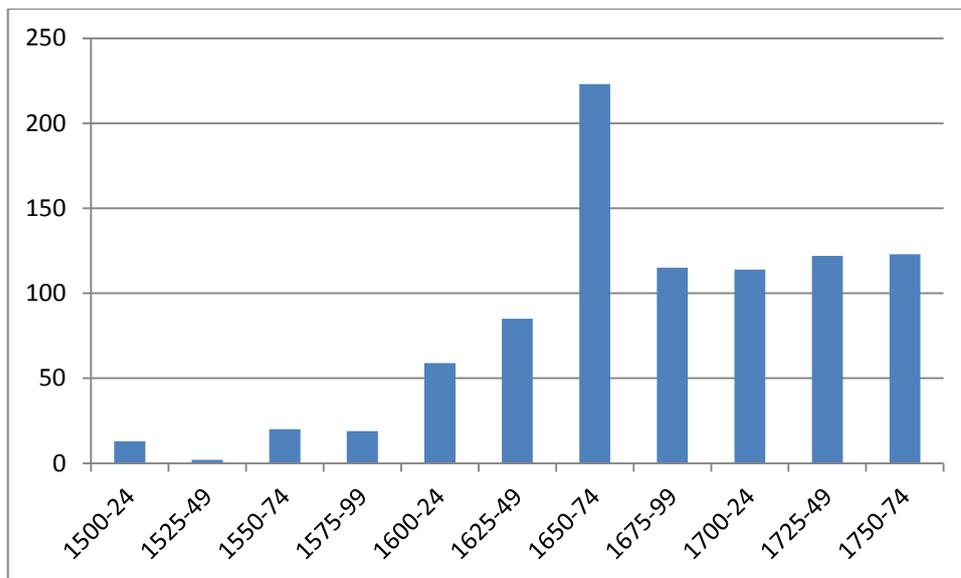
Similar to previous distributions, the greater proportion of deposits from each location type are largely only found in the Eastern region of the South East.

#### ***5.1.4 Dating of objects***

While dating of the objects within this study, and any discussion of any patterns this presents, are treated very tentatively (chapter 4, section 4.14), there are still some patterns evident within the data which should be discussed. Overall, there are nine-hundred and thirty-seven items with an assigned date, or 67% of all objects. Of these, one-hundred and eighty-one (19% of dated objects) had been assigned a specific date in the form of a single year, while the remainder were assigned a date range, spanning several years. The date ranges assigned here span between two and five hundred years.

Both magical items and everyday objects have approximately the same proportion of dated objects as the overall distribution, but natural materials and animal remains only have approximately 40% of items with an assigned date. In the case of natural materials, it is most likely that a date was given to these specific items on the basis of other items they were concealed with, or the dating of the structure they were found within.

Items dating from before 1500 are present but uncommon, accounting for only twenty-one items from seventeen deposits. From 1500 onwards, there is a steady increase of deposits every twenty-five years, with a significant spike in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, accounting for nearly a quarter of all dated objects. For the next one hundred years, deposits continue at a steady rate, gradually increasing over time, and occurring at a frequency greater than deposits from before 1650 (figure 5.6).



**Figure 5.6:** Frequencies of dated objects every quarter century.

### ***5.1.5 Houses containing more than one deposit***

Of all houses where deposits were found, only thirty-one are known to contain more than one deposit in the same structure (approximately 5% of all dwellings in this study). Of these, twenty-three contain two deposits, seven contain three deposits and one contains four deposits (record 407). Of the total number of structures here, three have all deposits occurring in unknown locations, while five have at least one deposit with an unknown location.

The regional distribution for multi-deposit houses is not far differentiated from the regional patterning of all houses known to contain relevant deposits. However, there is a higher than expected proportion of such deposits in the South East (accounting for 35% of multi-deposit houses compared to 28% of all houses), while there is a lower than expected number of such houses in the South West (9% compared to 17%) (table 5.7) (Appendix N.1).

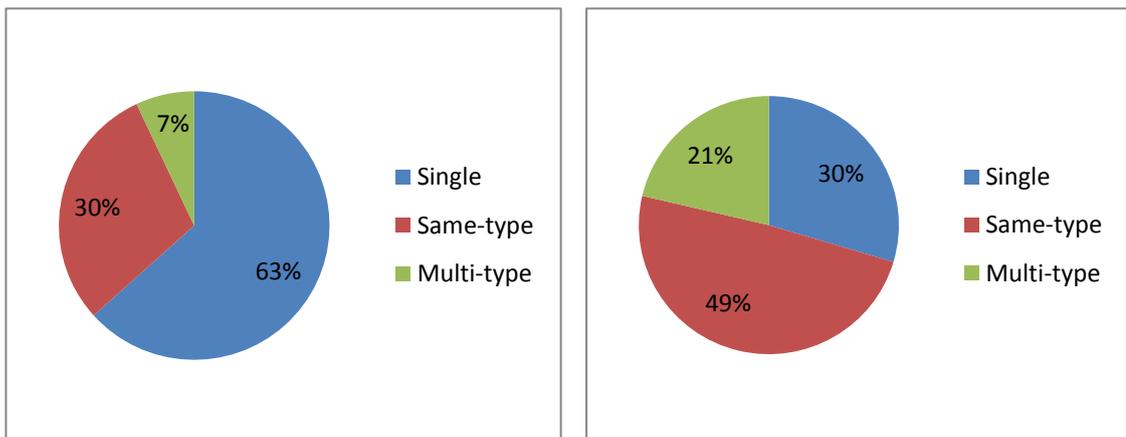
	East	EM	LDN	NW	SE	SW	WM	YH
Frequency	10	2	1	1	11	3	2	1
%	32.26	6.45	3.23	3.23	35.48	9.68	6.45	3.23
All %	32.09	8.27	3.89	1.78	28.04	17.34	5.35	2.27

**Table 5.7:** Frequencies and percentages of houses containing multiple deposits by region, compared to the percentages of all houses containing deposits.

When examining the distributions of the boundedness of deposits within the same house, using examples where the locations at least two of the deposits in the same property are known (twenty-four structures), houses where both deposits are in closed locations are significantly the most common, with ten occurrences. For the one house containing four deposits, all were found in closed locations. In comparison, there is only one house where the deposits are all found in dual association locations, and none which solely focus on open locations. For houses where deposits are spread across different location types, the distribution is more evenly spread. Those in both open and closed locations are the most common in this case, with six occurrences. There are two houses where deposits are found in each of the three bound categories.

### 5.2 Object groupings within deposits

Deposits of objects can be divided into three basic groups on the basis of the number and type of items within each deposit: single items, same object groups and multi-type groups. In terms of deposits, those containing only a single object are the most common, totally four-hundred and sixteen cases, and thus accounting for 63% of all recorded deposits. However, they only account for 30% of all items. Same object groups are those which contain more than one item, and all such objects are from the



Left: **Figure 5.7:** Proportions of deposits across group types; Right: **Figure 5.8:** Proportions of objects across group types.

same primary object type (magical, animal, natural or everyday). These are less common than single item deposits, occurring one-hundred and ninety-five times (30% of deposits), but does account for the largest percentage of all items (49%). Multi-type groups contain more than one object, but contain items from more than one primary grouping. There are only forty-six cases of this type of deposit, containing a cumulative total of three-hundred objects, making this group type the least common in terms of both deposits and objects (7% of deposits, 21% of objects) (figures 5.7 and 5.8). The greatest number of object types which occur together in a single deposit is three, of which there are only five examples. All five cases are combinations of everyday objects, animal remains and natural material.

### **5.2.1 Regional distribution**

Deposits of all three group types occur in all regions, with the only exception of multi-type deposits in the North East (which only contains two known deposits). Single deposits are the most common deposit type in all cases, except in the North East, where they are equally as common as single type deposits. This case aside, deposits of single items account for a minimum of 57% of all deposits in each region. The region with the highest proportion of single items is Greater London, where they account for 80% of deposits (table 5.8). For the majority of regions, proportions of same-type and multi-type deposits are as expected, although there are higher than expected number of same-type deposits in the South East and West Midlands, while the proportion of this deposit type in London is only 12%.

The distribution of each deposit type across regions is largely as expected, with the greatest proportions of each type occurring in the Eastern region and the South East. The only major deviation from the overall proportion of deposits in each region is for multi-type deposits in the South East, which are notably lower than expected. Additionally, for all regions where multi-type deposits are present, the South East has the lowest percentage (5%) (Appendices N.18-20).

	<b>East</b>	<b>EM</b>	<b>LDN</b>	<b>NE</b>	<b>NW</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>SW</b>	<b>WM</b>	<b>Yorks</b>	<b>Unk.</b>
<b>Single</b>	136	37	20	1	9	108	71	20	11	3
<b>Same</b>	57	12	3	1	3	72	29	13	4	1
<b>Multi</b>	17	4	2		1	9	10	2	1	

**Table 5.8:** Frequencies of group types across regions.

### 5.2.2 Deposit locations

All three deposit types occur in all primary locations. Deposits of single items are, as expected the most common deposit type in all but one case, the exception being for ceiling deposits, where single deposits are equally as common as same-type deposits. For all other locations, deposits of single items account for a minimum of 55% of deposits in each location (table 5.9). The location which contains the greatest proportion of single deposits is the foundations, which is likely due to the high proportion of magical items found in this location. Of same-type deposits, the highest proportions occur in the ceiling and stairs, both of which have the lowest proportions of single object deposits. The lowest proportions occur in the foundations and around the door (same-type deposits account for 8% and 20% of deposits in those locations, respectively).

Comparing proportions of each deposit type across locations, the distribution is largely as expected, although the proportion of multi-type deposits associated with the roof is much lower than anticipated, while the proportion of the same deposit type found in chimneys is greater than the overall percentage chimney deposits represent. The proportion of multi-type deposits occurring in chimneys represents the greatest proportion of any deposit type in any location: 33% of multi-type deposits are found in chimneys, compared to 20% of single deposits and 22% of same-type deposits in the same location.

With the boundedness of locations, for the proportions each deposit type represents within each location type, all cases are in line with the overall proportions each deposit type represents. For proportions of location types within deposit categories, the same is largely true for single and same-type deposits, although the proportion of same-type deposits in closed locations is slightly greater than expected. However, for multi-type deposits, the proportions in all three location type deviate from the pattern established by the other group types, largely due to only small differences in frequencies of this

	Ceiling	Chimney	Door	Floor	Foundtn	Oven	Roof	Stairs	Wall	Unk
<b>Single</b>	5	82	7	57	10	6	49	11	98	91
<b>Same</b>	5	43	2	27	1	3	32	8	46	28
<b>Multi</b>	2	15	1	7	1	1	2	1	12	4

	Open	Dual	Closed
<b>Single</b>	63	63	199
<b>Same</b>	34	27	106
<b>Multi</b>	10	14	18

Above: **Table 5.9:** Frequencies of group types across primary deposit locations; Left: **Table 5.10:** Frequencies of group types across bounded locations.

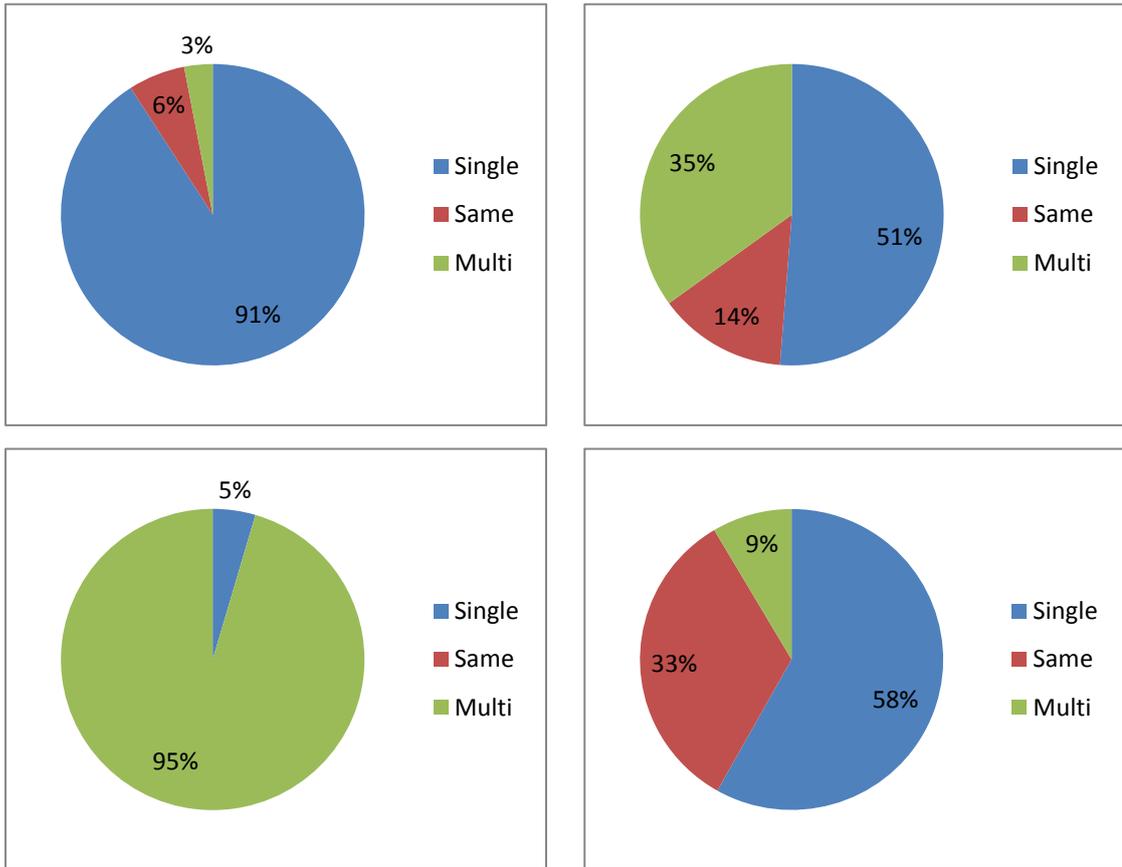
group category across location types. The proportion of deposits in open locations is greater than expected, but this is still the only case where deposits in this location are the least common. Deposits in dual association locations are nearly twice that of the overall proportion of deposits in that location, while deposits in closed location are substantially below what is expected, although still represents the greater proportion of deposits (table 5.10).

### **5.2.3 Object types**

There are noticeable differences in the grouping patterns of the four object types. For three of the four groupings, single items are the most common. However, while single deposits account for greater than half of all deposits containing either everyday objects or animal remains, the proportions these represent are still lower than the proportion deposits on single items represent overall. This is due to the overall proportion being increased by the high percentage of magical items which are deposited as single objects: 91%. As a result, the proportions of same-type and multi-type deposits containing magical objects are substantially lower than expected (figure 5.9).

Natural materials is the only object category where single items deposits are not the most common deposit type. There is only one example from this category where an item from this category is deposited along no other items, although this is likely due to deposits of single items of natural material being less likely to be acknowledged or recognised as having a potentially ritual significance. All other items of natural material occur in multi-type deposits (possibly for the same reasons as above, there are no known same-type deposits of natural materials). Thus, although multi-type deposits account for only 15% of all deposits, they represent 96% of all deposits containing natural material (figure 5.11)

While the distribution for everyday items is largely in-line with the overall proportions of deposit types (and where it is not, this is only by a small margin) (figure 5.12), the distribution of animal remains displays notably more deviation. While both the everyday objects and magical items categories both have same-type deposits as the second most common deposit type, more animal remains occur in multi-type deposits. As such the proportion of animal remains in same-type deposits is approximately half that for the overall proportion of the same deposit type, while the proportion for multi-type deposits is nearly double that of the overall proportion (figure 5.10).



Top Left: **Figure 5.9:** Proportions of group types containing magical objects; Top Right: **Figure 5.10:** Proportions of group types containing animal remains; Bottom Left: **Figure 5.11:** Proportions of group types containing natural materials; Bottom Right: **Figure 5.12:** Proportions of group types containing everyday objects.

While the distributions of object types within both single object and same-type deposits are largely reflective of the patterns discussed above, the proportions of object types within the category of multi-type deposits is rather more interesting. This is due to the overlapping of object categories within this deposit type. All forty-six multi-type deposits contain at least one everyday object; 35% of all multi-type deposits contain a single everyday object, although one deposit contains as many as twenty-three items from the same category. It is also worth noting that the everyday objects group has the lowest frequency of the use of single items from the category in multi-type deposits; a minimum of 75% of all occurrences in multi-type deposits for the other three categories are single items.

In general, 61% of all multi-type deposits contain animal remains, and 46% contain natural material. Magical items are the lowest represented, occurring in only 4% of deposits of this type (table 5.11). Despite these proportions, everyday objects are still significantly more common overall, accounting for 75% of all objects occurring in this

	<b>Magic</b>	<b>Animal</b>	<b>Natural</b>	<b>Everyday</b>
<b>Single</b>	14.42	9.86	0.24	75.48
<b>Same</b>	2.05	5.64		92.31
<b>Multi</b>	4.35	60.87	45.65	100

**Table 5.11:** Proportions of object types in different group categories.

deposit type. The category which accounts for the second greatest proportion of objects in this deposit category is animal remains (16%).

Approximately 55% of all same-type deposits contain items from the same specific subgroups (i.e. same animal species). The greater majority of such deposits contain everyday objects: 93%. There are only four deposits from each of animal remains and magical objects which qualify. Incidentally, all incidences of same-type deposits of magical objects fall into this category, compared to 36% of animal remains and 56% of everyday objects.

All such deposits of magical items contain witch bottles (three deposits containing two bottles each, and one containing four), while three of the animal deposits contain only cats, with the fourth comprising of four horse skulls. Only five types of everyday items are found deposited together in this manner: clothes, money, shoes, toys and tablewares. As expected, deposits of shoes occur the most frequently, accounting for 88% of deposits containing specific groupings of everyday objects, and 81% of all such deposits. All three instances of money deposits in this case are coin hoards. Clothes and tablewares are equally common in this case, with four deposits each. Only one of the clothing deposits contains only similar pieces of clothing (two gloves). There is more consistency in deposits of tablewares; two deposits contain only cutlery (one containing a knife and a fork, while another contains two knives), while a third comprises of only pots or beakers. There is only one deposits which contains only toys (two items: an ivory die and a lead figure).

In addition to these, there are also eleven deposits which contain only clothing and shoes. While the two are generally separated due to the high commonality of shoes, they are all still items of clothing.

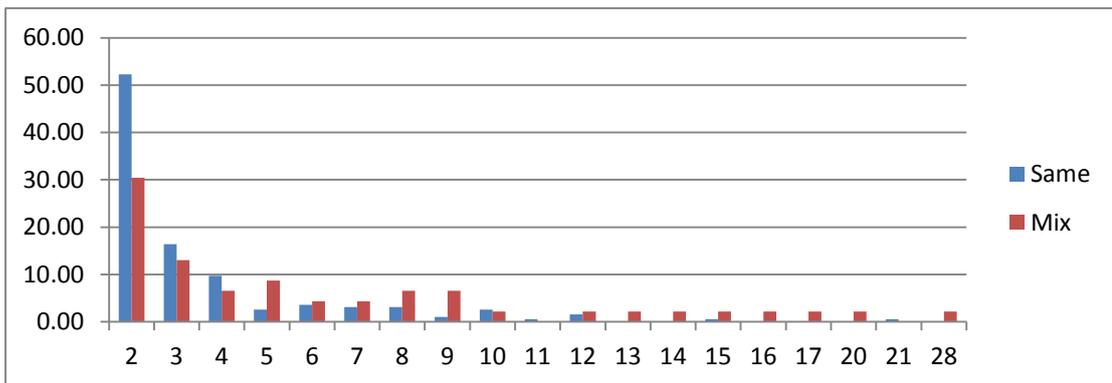
#### ***5.2.4 Numbers of objects in deposits***

Generally, there is an uneven negative correlation between the number of objects in a deposit, and how frequently deposits with that number of items occur. There are a few small deviations from this, the largest being that there are four deposits which contain twelve items, even though there are only single instances of deposits which contain either eleven or thirteen items. The three deposits which each contain the

highest numbers of items comprise of twenty, twenty-one and twenty-eight items. Additionally, there are five deposits which either contain a much larger quantity of items (coin hoards), or contain multiple items of unknown quantity.

When examining the distributions of numbers of items in deposits between same-type and multi-type deposits, there are some noticeable differences. Deposits containing two objects are the most common in both cases, however, they are much more common in same-type deposits, accounting for 52% of deposits in this category, while they only represent 30% of multi-type deposits. Although same-type deposits are more than four times as frequent as multi-types, the latter covers a greater range of object-in-deposit categories. Additionally, there are seven deposits in the multi-type group which contain greater than twelve objects, compared to only two same-type deposits (figure 5.13).

It is also interesting to note that there are no same-type deposits of animal remains or magical items which contain greater than four objects. However, there are thirty-seven same-type deposits of everyday items which contain greater than four objects, one of which contains as many as twenty-one objects.



**Figure 5.13:** Comparison between same-type and multi-type deposits of the proportion of deposits containing certain numbers of objects in each group type.

### 5.3 Comparison of object types

#### 5.3.1 Regional comparison

In all cases, everyday objects account for the significant majority of deposited objects in each region, accounting for over 75% of all items located in each region. The only exception to this is in Greater London, where just over 52% of items are everyday objects. By comparison, a further 41% of items from London are animal remains; the only example where a non-everyday object type accounts for over 15% of the items in a region. Excluding the North East, which only contains everyday objects, the region

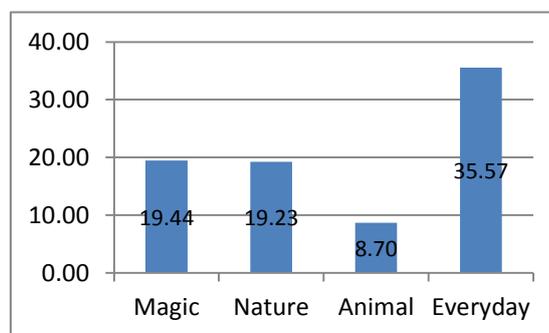
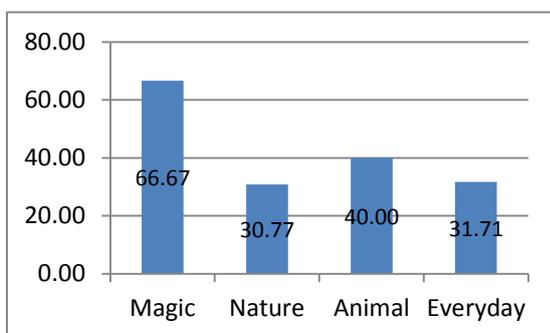
	Magic	%	Nature	%	Animal	%	Everyday	%
Eastern	48	10	8	1.67	46	9.58	378	78.75
E. Midlands	4	3.96	5	4.95	5	4.95	87	86.14
London	3	6.52			19	41.30	24	52.17
N. East							2	100
N. West			1	4.76	1	4.76	19	90.48
S. East	14	3.09	5	1.10	10	2.21	424	93.60
S. West			5	2.50	29	14.50	166	83.00
W. Midlands	1	1.47	2	2.94	3	4.41	62	91.18
Yorkshire	2	7.14			2	7.14	24	85.71
Unknown							6	100
Total	72	5.12	26	1.85	115	8.19	1192	84.84

**Table 5.12:** Frequencies of object types by regions, accompanied by the proportion of items each objects type represents in each region.

where this item type accounts for the greatest proportion of objects is the South East, where 93% of items are from this category (table 5.12).

For three of the four object types, the highest proportion of objects are found in the Eastern region, but only magical objects have over 50% of all instances located in this region. The only exception to this is for everyday objects, which has the greatest proportion of items located in the South East, although the number in this region is not greatly removed from the proportion found in the Eastern region; both regions each account for over 30% of all everyday objects.

In comparison to other object types, the distribution of natural material across the regions in which it is found is relatively even, although, when this is examined proportionately, the low number of items in this category results in a greater level of disparity across regions that is shown when only examining frequency, as the greatest



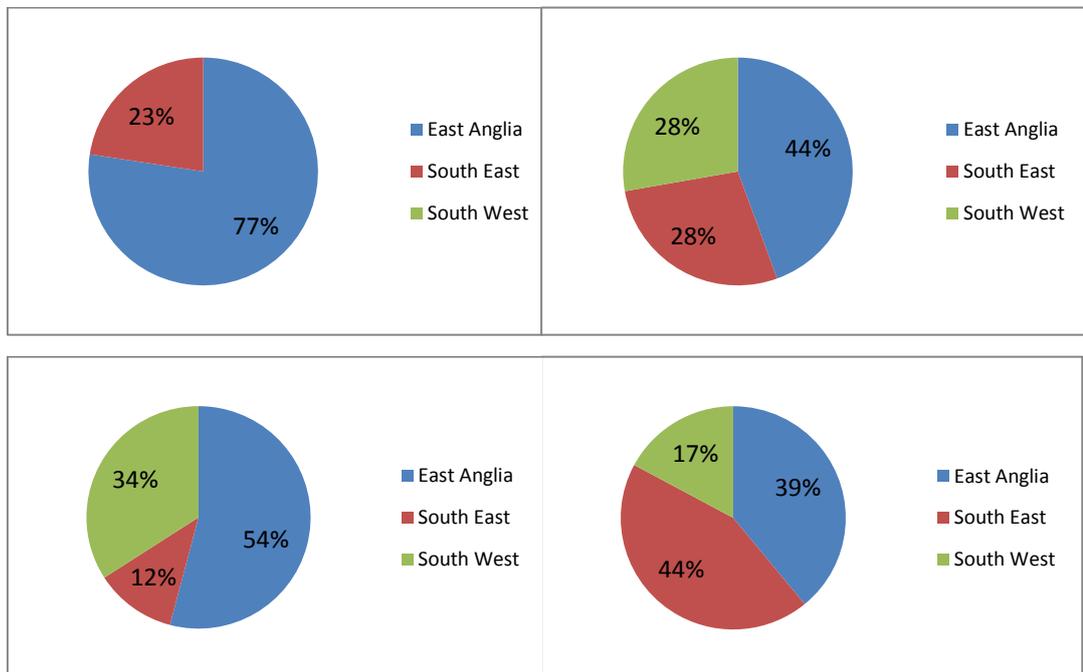
Left: **Figure 5.14:** Proportions of each object category found in the Eastern region;

Right: **Figure 5.15:** Proportions of each object category found in the South East.

number of items of natural material in any one region is eight.

It is notable that in terms of the distributions of frequencies of object types within regions, the Eastern region and the South East both display similar patterns. High numbers of everyday objects, with magical objects the second most frequent (these are the only two regions where this is the case), followed closely by deposits of animal remains (table 5.11). In terms of what proportion each object type represents in each region, the Eastern region and the South East become more differentiated (figures 5.14 and 5.15).

For distributions of animal remains, it is interesting to note that, after the Eastern region, the two regions with the second and third highest incidences of this type of deposit are the South West and Greater London, respectively. Both such cases are the two of the three examples where a type other than everyday objects accounts for greater than 10% of the total objects in that region. This is especially notable for London, which has the fourth lowest frequency of objects out of all the regions. In comparison to the South East (which has the second greatest frequency of objects overall), the number of animal remains in the region is nearly a third of those found in the South West, and nearly half of those found in London.



Four graphs illustrating the proportional distributions of objects types across the three regions with the highest frequency of deposited objects: Top Left: **Figure 5.16:** Magical objects; Top Right: **Figure 5.17:** Natural materials; Bottom Left: **Figure 5.18:** Animal remains; Bottom Right: **Figure 5.19:** Everyday objects.

### 5.3.2 Deposit location comparison

In the majority of cases, everyday objects account for the significant proportion of deposits within primary location types. In all but two location types, this object category represents at least 80% of the items in each location. The two exceptions to this are for objects primarily associated with the door or the foundations, where there is a more even distribution of object types. In both these cases, each of the three object types found in both these locations account for at least a quarter of all objects found in those areas. For door deposits, everyday items are still the most common, whereas, for foundation deposits, magical items are the most frequent. Aside from items in these locations, the only case where an object type other than everyday objects accounts for more than 10% of the objects in a primary location, are animal remain associated with the oven. Stair deposits have the greatest proportion of everyday objects overall, with all but one item belonging to that object category (table 5.13).

All four object types have at least 25% of all items primarily associated with the chimney. For both animal remains and magical objects, chimney deposits are the most common, and of all the categories, magical items have the greatest proportion of items associated with the chimney. Everyday objects are equally as frequent in both chimney and wall deposits, while the highest frequency of natural materials are found associated with the wall, although this number is not far differentiated from the number associated with chimneys.

Both animal remains and everyday objects have deposits which occur in all nine

	<b>Magic</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Nature</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Animal</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Everyday</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Ceiling</b>			1	3.57	1	3.57	26	92.86
<b>Chimney</b>	25	6.65	8	2.13	31	8.24	312	82.98
<b>Door</b>	4	26.67			5	33.33	6	40
<b>Floor</b>	10	5.65	4	2.26	12	6.78	151	85.31
<b>Foundtn</b>	9	37.5			8	33.33	7	29.17
<b>Oven</b>					2	13.33	13	86.67
<b>Roof</b>			2	1.30	12	7.79	140	90.91
<b>Stairs</b>					1	1.52	65	98.48
<b>Wall</b>	5	1.43	9	2.58	23	6.59	312	89.40
<b>Unknown</b>	19	9.45	2	1.00	20	9.95	160	79.60
<b>Total</b>	5.12	26	1.85	115	8.19	1192	84.84	5.12

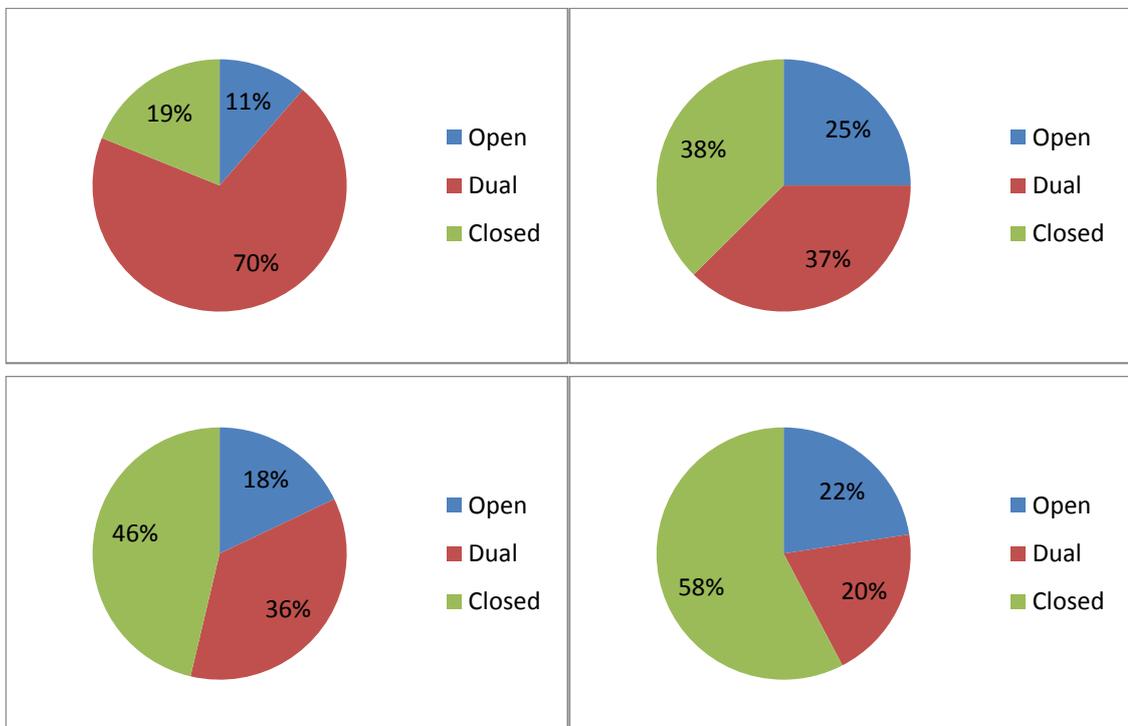
**Table 5.13:** Frequencies of object types by primary deposit location, accompanied by the proportion of items each objects type represents in each location.

	Magic	%	Nature	%	Animal	%	Everyday	%
Open	6	2.17	6	2.17	17	6.86	233	88.81
Dual	37	12.85	9	3.13	34	11.81	204	72.22
Closed	10	1.56	9	1.41	44	6.57	595	90.45

**Table 5.14:** Frequencies of object types by bounded location, accompanied by the proportion of items each objects type represents in each location.

primary location types, while both magical objects and natural material are only found in five. It is interesting to note that in almost all cases, the proportion of both animal and everyday items are broadly similar in most locations, with the main exceptions of deposits associated with door, the foundations, and stairs. There is a difference of less than 1% between the proportions of items associated with the chimney in these two object classes.

In terms of boundedness of object types (figures 5.20-5.23), everyday objects represent at least 72% of all boundary types, although, they are proportionally the lowest in dual association locations, and highest in closed locations. Both everyday objects and animal remains have the greatest proportion of objects in closed locations, although the distribution of animal remains across location types is rather more even. The greatest proportion of magical items occur in dual association locations, and is the only cases where more than 50% of any object type is found in any boundedness



Four graphs illustrating the different proportions of objects types bounded location types: Top Left: **Figure 5.20:** Magical objects; Top Right: **Figure 5.21:** Natural materials; Bottom Left: **Figure 5.22:** Animal remains; Bottom Right: **Figure 5.23:** Everyday objects.

category. Natural material is equally the most frequent in both closed and dual association locations. In three of the four cases, deposits of objects in open locations are the least common. This is particularly the case for magical items, which is the only item category to have less than 10% of its items found in any boundedness category. The exception to this is for everyday objects, where dual association deposits are the least common, although the proportion found in open locations is still lower than that for natural material (table 5.14).

#### 5.4 Non-vernacular structures

Of the six-hundred and seventeen buildings where objects are located, seventy-two are identified as non-standard or non-vernacular dwellings or building associated with occupied structures. Within these non-domestic dwellings are eighty-five deposits containing one-hundred and fifty-six objects (table 5.15).

	Frequency	% of total
<b>Buildings</b>	72	11.67%
<b>Deposits</b>	85	12.94%
<b>Objects</b>	156	11.10%

**Table 5.15:** Frequencies and proportions of deposits an objects in non-vernacular structures.

Nine different building types have been identified within this category; castle, university colleges, hotels, manors or similar high-status dwellings, out-buildings, public houses or inns, religious residences, schools and wash houses. Of these, manors represent the greatest frequency of buildings, deposits and objects, while public houses are the second most frequent in all three categories. All other dwelling types exhibit a much lower frequency in all cases, with only university colleges accounting for greater than ten concealed objects (twelve objects in six deposits).

These structures can be more closely grouped by type; residential, semi-residential and associated buildings (see chapter 4, section 18). In all cases, residential buildings are the most common, accounting for over 75% of all three categories. Associated buildings

	Buildings	% buildings	Deposits	% deposits	Objects	% objects
<b>Residential</b>	55	76.39	68	80	130	83.33
<b>Semi-residential</b>	14	19.44	14	16.47	22	14.10
<b>Associated</b>	3	4.17	3	3.53	4	2.56

**Table 5.16:** Frequencies and percentages of deposits and objects in non-vernacular structures by building type.

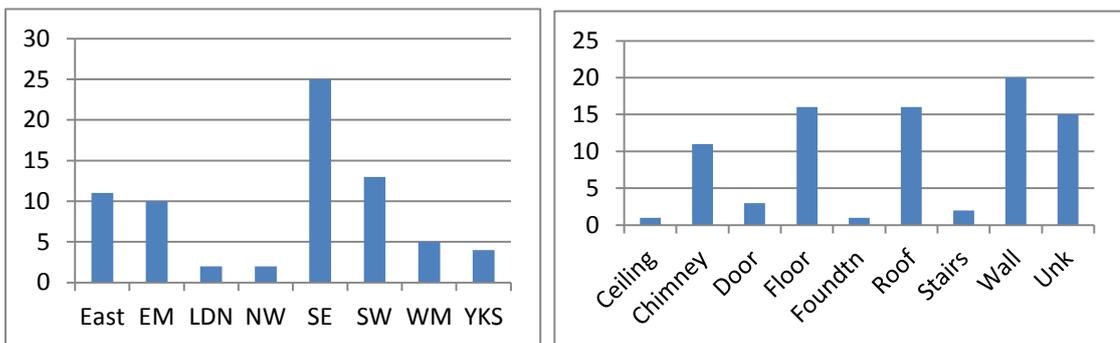
account for the lowest proportion of all three categories, in each case representing less than 5% of the total (table 5.16).

#### 5.4.1 General distributions

Deposits in non-vernacular structures are found in all but one of the English regions (North East). The South East has the greatest frequency of non-vernacular/-domestic buildings in addition to deposits and objects (figure 5.24), accounting for over 34% of the total in each case, and is the only region which accounts for more than 25% of buildings, deposits and objects within this structure category. Eight on the nine primary locations of deposit are represented here, with only the oven excluded. Overall, wall deposits are the most common, while deposits in both the roof and the floor are the second most frequent (figure 5.25).

For the boundedness of locations, closed locations are significantly the most frequent, representing 60% of deposits, which is notably greater than the percentage closed deposits represent for the whole data set. Accordingly, the proportion of open and dual-association deposits in non-house buildings are lower than the overall distribution.

Broadly, for comparative distributions between categories, there is little worthy of further comment. Generally, those categories which have the highest frequencies also have the greatest distributions, and contain the greatest proportions of deposits.



Left: **Figure 5.24:** Frequencies of non-vernacular buildings by region; Right: **Figure 5.25:** Frequencies of deposit locations in non-vernacular buildings.

#### 5.4.2 Object types

One-hundred and fifty-six objects from all four main finds categories are represented within deposits in non-vernacular structures, and in total, nineteen specific object types are represented across the four categories. Everyday items represent the greatest

	<b>Magic</b>	<b>Animal</b>	<b>Natural</b>	<b>Everyday</b>
<b>Frequency</b>	4	4	3	145
<b>%</b>	2.56	2.56	1.92	92.95
<b>All %</b>	5.12	8.19	1.85	84.84

**Table 5.17:** Frequencies and percentages of object types in non-vernacular buildings, compared to the percentages of all deposited object types.

proportion of objects, accounting for 93% of items found in these buildings, and is thus greater than the overall proportion everyday objects represent. The proportions of both animal remains and magical objects in this case are lower than general proportions (the former notably so), while natural materials are slightly better represented, although only very slightly so (table 5.17).

There are four examples of deposits of magical items, all of which are witch bottles and all as single deposits. Three make use of *Bartmann* stoneware bottles, while the fourth is of an unknown type. Overall, these four represent 4.7% of all witch bottles, and 5% of all deposits containing witch bottles. All four are found in different dwelling types (hotel, public house, religious residence and an out-building), and overall two are in residential buildings, one in a semi-residential building and one in an associated building. All four are in locations associated in some way with the floor or ground. Two are buried under the threshold (door/floor), one under the floor and one in the foundations. Only one bottle has known contents (448.a.1), and contains only a single item of a cloth heart pierced with pins, and is thus one of four known witch bottles to contain such an item, but is also the only incidence of a bottle containing this item deposited in an internal location.

There are three items of natural material, all of different types; a piece of burnt material (coal), stone, and a fossil (203.a.2, 313.a.8 and 48.a.6 respectively). It is notable that no plant material, the most common natural material type is present here. Overall, they represent 12% of items of natural material, and 14% of deposits containing natural material. Two occur in manor houses, while the third is from a school, which translates to two residential building and one semi-residential building. All three occur in differing location types; one under the floor, one in the chimney, and one associated with both the roof and the chimney.

There are only four deposits of animal remains in non-vernacular buildings; three cats and a dog, thus all animal remains found within this category are of privileged species. All three cats are whole deposits, while the dog deposit is only of a leg. All four are from different regions, and of the two which have a known location of deposit,

both are found in the chimney. The dog is found in a university college, while two cats are from public houses and the third from a school, therefore these animal items are split equally between residential buildings and semi-residential buildings.

Twelve types of everyday objects are found in deposits within this housing category, accounting for one-hundred and forty-five items in total, and therefore account for 93% of all objects found in deposits from non-vernacular buildings, whereas everyday objects account for 84% of all deposited items. The only categories of everyday objects not represented here are items of tableware, personal adornment objects, and weapons. Of the item types, shoes are the most common with one-hundred and twelve items, with clothing the second most frequent.

Both toys and containers (two and three objects respectively) both only occur in manors, while literacy items (two items) only occur in public houses. Public houses contain the greatest range of object types, with nine of the twelve everyday object types represented, with only toys, containers and items of furniture not found in this building type. In all cases where only two objects types are present, the two represented item types are clothing and shoes, while all cases where only a single object type is present contain shoes. When using closer grouping of building types, residential structures contain all represented types of everyday objects, while semi-residential building only contain two types (shoes and clothing) while associated buildings only contain shoes.

## ***5.5 Summary***

### General distributions

The national distribution of domestic deposits exhibits a greater concentration towards the south-easternmost regions of the country (excluding Greater London), becoming regionally less frequent as the distance from this area increases. In terms of deposit locations, objects are most frequently concealed in either walls or chimneys, with roofs and floors also represented, thereby accounting for most of the significant structural elements of a house. Therefore, it is not surprising that nearly half of deposits occur in closed locations within the house. When comparing the use of deposit locations on a regional basis, the patterns generally conform to the categories with the greatest frequencies, although it is interesting to note that wall deposits are more common than chimney deposits in all regions but the two with the highest frequencies of objects overall (Eastern region and the South East). Nevertheless, these two regions exhibit noticeable different distributions of deposits across bounded location types.

For the smaller proportion of houses which contain multiple deposits in different locations in the structure, it is apparent that it is much more likely for all deposits to either be all placed in closed locations, or spread across a variety of bounded locations, suggesting that open locations are consistently not prioritised.

### Object Groupings

In terms of the grouping of objects within deposits, those which contain only a single item are significantly the most common, with deposit group types becoming less common as they become more complex (containing more items and a greater range of object types). Naturally, the proportion of objects within each group type does not follow the same pattern, with the greater proportion of items occurring in same-type deposits.

With one exception, all deposit group types occur in all regions, and there are few unexpected patterns within the distribution, with the exceptions of a very large proportion of deposits in London are only single objects, and that multi-type deposits are underrepresented in the South East. Distributions are also largely as expected across deposit locations, with some minor discrepancies; a high incidence of single items and low frequency of same-type deposits both occurring in foundations, likely related to the high numbers of magical objects in this location. Furthermore, multi-type deposits display a more even distribution across bounded location types than the other object groupings.

The different treatment of object types is evidenced in the differing ways in which they are grouped within deposits. This is particularly significant for magical objects (over 90% of which are in the form of single deposits), and natural materials (all but one item from this category are found within multi-type deposits). Everyday items and animal remains display much more even (and similar) distributions, the former are much more commonly used in same-type deposits, while the latter occur more frequently in multi-type deposits.

The distribution of object types within multi-type deposits is also of note, with everyday items occurring in every instance of this grouping type. Similarly, multi-type deposits are much more likely to contain more than one everyday object than they are to incorporate multiple items from any other object category. Magical objects only occur in 4% of multi-type deposits.

As partly demonstrated by the high occurrence of single item deposits, concealments containing fewer numbers of items are more common than those containing greater numbers. Even excluding single item deposits, both same-type and multi-type deposits exhibit a similar negative correlation between the number of objects in a deposit and the frequency of such deposits. However, multi-type deposits are much more likely to contain a larger number of objects.

### Comparisons of object types

Everyday objects are consistently the most common object type in each region, and with some small discrepancies, the distribution of object types by region is generally in-keeping with the overall proportions. However, Greater London is a major exception. While everyday objects are still the most frequent, they only account for 52% of objects in this region, more than 25% lower than in any other region. Additionally, the proportion of animal remains is much greater than any other region, and more than four times the overall average. Although the frequencies of object types generally follow the patterns set out by those categories with the greater numbers of objects overall, the proportions of each object type across the three regions with the greatest number of deposits indicates that there are some strong regional variations in the use of objects in deposits, especially in the case of magical objects and animal remains (figures 5.16-9).

The distribution of object types in deposit locations sees the expected heavy weighting towards everyday objects in most cases, except the door and foundations, which both exhibit a much more even distribution of represented object types. For objects in the foundations, everyday items are not only not the most common item type, but are the least frequent. There are few so dramatic distributions in terms of bounded locations, except that a significant proportion of magical objects are found in dual locations, while all other object types are most commonly found in closed locations (and exhibit much more even distributions across bounded location types).

### Non-vernacular structures

Approximately 11% of the buildings in this study can be considered to be non-standard or non-vernacular residential structures. Of these, those which function as a full time residence (manor houses and similar elite structures, inns and public houses, and religious residences) are overwhelmingly the most common. Overall, distributions associated with these buildings align with those of the dataset as a whole, although

deposits in chimneys are underrepresented, and consequently, deposits in bounded locations are more common.

While all four object types are represented, everyday objects are overwhelmingly the most common, more so than in the dataset as a whole. The distributions of the less common object categories are of little significance, but there are some differences in the use of everyday items between building types, and public houses contain a greater range of object types than manors, despite containing fewer deposited objects overall. Residential buildings contain all represented object types, while semi-residential and associated buildings contain two and one object types respectively.

## VI

### Analysis of Data: Magical Items

Items which appear to have served a magical purpose or function occur in approximately 10% of deposits, and account for 5% of all deposited items (although these proportions exclude sixteen additional items recovered from external, non-domestic deposits, used in this study for the purpose of comparing differences of use across differing contexts). Magical objects can primarily be divided into two categories; witch bottles, which form the majority of items in this category, and other magical items, of which there are only two cases. Witch bottles can be categorised on the basis of the container used, but also further analysis can be conducted on the range and object types of the bottles contents.

#### **6.1 Witch bottles**

Witch bottle deposits comprise of seventy objects from sixty-four deposits. Additionally, there are sixteen witch bottles deposited in external locations from as many deposits, which thus allows for the drawing of comparisons in the distributions and contents with internal witch bottle deposits.

##### **6.1.1 General distributions**

Witch bottles have been recovered from sixteen different counties covering six regions. Overall, the Eastern region contains the majority of witch bottle deposits (over 70% of the total), over four times more than the second most frequent. Overall, the use of witch bottles appears to be primarily concentrated in the east and the south east of the country, with the exception of two deposits from Yorkshire, and one from the West Midlands (Table 6.1) (Appendix N.9).

Forty-six deposit sites are from known internal/domestic locations, compared to

	Eastern	E. Midlands	London	S. East	W. Midlands	Yorkshire	Total
<b>Sites</b>	46	3	3	9	1	2	<b>64</b>
<b>Sites %</b>	71.88	4.69	4.69	14.06	1.56	3.13	
<b>Objects</b>	47	4	3	13	1	2	<b>70</b>
<b>Object %</b>	67.14	5.71	4.29	18.57	1.43	2.86	

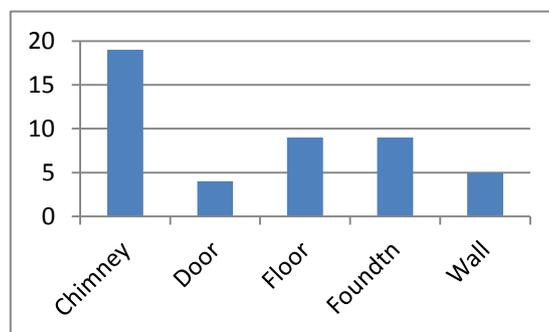
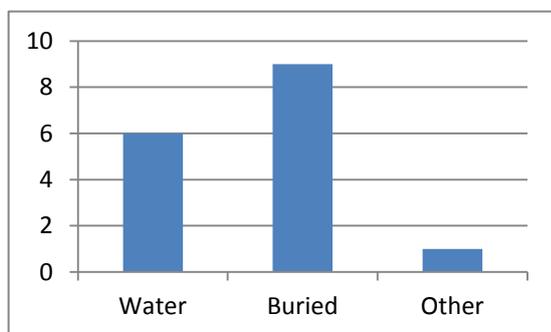
**Table 6.1:** Frequencies and percentages of internal witch bottles by region.

sixteen from external locations. In total, there are fifteen different specific location types identified; three external and twelve internal. In addition to those with known locations, there are seventeen examples where a definite location cannot be attributed, and one further example with no specific information relating to the deposit location, but is likely to have been an internal deposit due to its recovery from a demolished building.

For the external deposits, buried witch bottles are the most common, followed by deposits in water, and one example of a deposit in a cesspit (figure 6.1). Internal deposits focus primarily on the hearth and chimney (nineteen deposits), but deposits in foundations or under the floor are also common. Many of the internal deposits focus on concealment underneath particular areas of the house, such as under the hearth and threshold, under the floor and within foundations. Unlike deposits of animal or everyday items, concealments in and around the roof are entirely absent (figure 6.2).

When considering the boundedness of locations, deposits in dual association locations are by far the most common, accounting for over 70% of internal deposits with a known location. Deposits in closed locations account for 17% of the total, while open concealments are close to half as frequent.

Five different container types have been identified. By far the most common are Frechen stoneware *Bartmann* bottles, accounting for 70% of all witch bottles. The second most common type is glass bottles of various sizes and forms, comprising 10% of the total. Other types identified (non-*Bartmann* stoneware vessels and other ceramic vessels) are relatively uncommon, with only a maximum frequency of three items. 11% of the total number of internal deposits have an ambiguous or unrecorded container. External deposits largely make use of *Bartmann* bottles, which account for over 80% of all external deposits. Aside from two examples with unknown containers, there is only



Left: **Figure 6.1:** Frequencies of witch bottle external locations; Right: **Figure 6.2:** Frequencies of witch bottle internal locations (primary).

	Internal					External		
	Bartmann	Stoneware	Ceramic	Glass	Unk	Bartmann	Metal	Unk
Freq	49	3	3	7	8	13	1	2
%	70	4.29	4.29	10	11.43	81.25	6.25	12.5

**Table 6.2:** Frequencies and percentages of container types for both internal and external deposits.

one other container type recorded from external locations; an iron bowl which has no comparable counterpart in terms of material in internal deposits (table 6.2).

A total of fourteen of the *Bartmann* bottles in both internal and external locations have a recorded or identified Holmes type (Holmes 1951), which relates to their date of production and style of applies face mask. Nine are type VIII, four type IX and one type V, generally indicating that the majority of *Bartmann* bottles utilised for this practice dated from the second half of the seventeenth century. While there are equal numbers of type IX bottles in both internal and external locations, there are twice as many type VIII bottles from internal contexts than external. However, given that type VIIIs and type IXs were roughly contemporary of each other (Holmes 1951) this is not very indicative over changes over times in different locations.

Establishing a more comprehensive pattern of the dating of bottles is extremely difficult due to the commonly cautious dating of the objects by those who record them. Only one bottle is assigned an exact date, and this is due to it being included on the bottle's decoration (662.a.4, dated to 1672). Of the sixty-eight bottles with any assigned date, only thirteen are given a date range of less than fifty years. Twenty are given a date range of two hundred years or more. It is common for dates to be assigned in general terms, either assigning it to the 17<sup>th</sup> century as a whole, or a section of it (i.e. "second half of the seventeenth century" or "late 17<sup>th</sup> century to early 18<sup>th</sup> century"). Most commonly, reasons for assigned dates are not given, and images of the items in question are unavailable, thereby preventing a more accurate reassessment. Additionally, it is not always clear that the dates given relate directly to the object, but are instead possibly assigned on the basis of the context of discovery, or is assigned a similar date to the structure in which it was found.

Nevertheless, when using average dates, the date of witch bottles peaks during the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with slightly more occurring in the last quarter of the century. The last two quarters of the 17<sup>th</sup> century both represent approximately 25% of all witch bottles each, or over 30% of all dated bottles. Internal witch bottles see a slightly higher usage of bottled from the third quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, while external

bottles are much more common in the last quarter, although this can largely be attributed to many date ranges resulting in an average date of 1650. Internally deposited witch bottles see a much greater range of dates than those deposited externally, which see no examples with an average date beyond the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Conversely, internal witch bottles have been dated from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, up to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, although each extreme is only represented by a single case (table 6.3).

Where recorded, nine were found in an inverted position, while six were confirmed to have been deposited upright. For external deposits, two were found upright, and one inverted. Thirteen were recorded as having been sealed in some manner. Of these, the most common methods were either with corks or clay. Three bottles from external locations were sealed, all in differing manners.

	pre 1600	1600- 24	1625- 49	1650- 74	1675- 99	1700- 24	1725- 49	1750- 74	1775- 1800	Unk
<b>In</b>	1	6	3	19	15	5	2	5	1	13
<b>Ex</b>	0	1	0	2	8	0	0	0	0	5
<b>All</b>	1	7	3	21	23	5	2	5	1	18

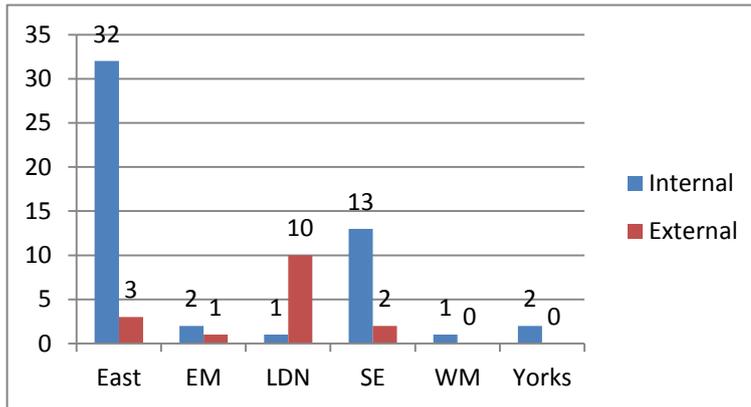
**Table 6.3:** Frequencies of average dates assigned to witch bottles, separated by those from internal and external contexts.

### ***6.1.2 National/deposit locations comparison***

Comparisons between the distributions of internal and external deposits are only readily apparent in three regions. In both the Eastern region and the South East, internal deposits substantially outnumber those recovered from external locations. This is particularly salient in terms of the deposits from the Eastern region, in which there were thirty-two internal deposits compared to only three external. Conversely, external deposits are much more frequent in Greater London, with ten recorded external deposits compared to only three internal deposit (only one of which has a known location), and therefore accounting for over 60% of all known external deposits. The deposits from other regions are mostly internal, with only one external deposit occurring in one of the remaining regions (figure 6.3).

With regard to the external deposits, the ratio of buried deposits to deposits in water within Greater London is 3:2, and accounts for ten external deposits in total. There are two known cases of external deposition in the South East, one buried, one in water, and it should be noted that these occurred in more easterly counties (Surrey (441.a.1) and West Sussex (506.a.1)). There are two cases of burials from the Eastern region in

	External	Chimney	Door	Floor	Foundtn	Wall	Unknown
East	3	14	4	4	7	3	15
EM	1	1		1			2
LDN	10			1			2
SE	2	9		1	1	2	
WM				1			
Yorks				1	1		
<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>19</b>



Above: **Table 6.4:** Frequencies of witch bottles in primary locations by region;  
Left: **Figure 6.3:** Frequencies of internal and external deposits of witch bottles by region.

addition to one deposition in a cesspit. The only remaining external deposit is somewhat unusual; and iron bowl filled with sharp metal items in a shallow stream in Northamptonshire (477.a.1). There are no external deposits from both the West Midlands and Yorkshire.

The Eastern region and the South East are the only two areas where witch bottles occur in more than two primary deposit locations. Additionally, these are the only two regions which contain instances where the frequency of witch bottles in known locations is greater than one. In all cases, the greater proportion of items in each location is found in the Eastern region, although deposits in the South East also represent a significant proportion of witch bottles found in association with the chimney and the wall. Door deposits are the only location type on only occur in one region (Eastern), whereas every region has at least one deposit from the floor. Chimney deposits are the most frequent identified location in both the Eastern region and South East; this is most significant in the latter case, where chimney deposits account for over two thirds of all internal deposits (table 6.4).

When considering the boundedness of locations, the distribution of deposits mirrors that of the pattern of the overall category. The Eastern region is the only one to have witch bottles occur in all three location types and, additionally, the deposits in this region account for over 50% of all deposits in each location category. The only other

region containing a significant proportion of the deposits in a bounded location category is the South East, which accounts for over 30% of all witch bottles found in dual association locations. In terms of proportion across regions, most regions either have the greater proportion of witch bottles occurring in dual association locations, or have deposits split equally between dual association and closed locations. This is most significantly the case for the South East, where over 90% of deposits occur in dual association locations. There is only a single additional deposit from this region which occurs in an open location; the only other region besides the Eastern where a deposit occurs in an open location.

### 6.1.3 National/ container type comparison

In all but two regions, *Bartmann* bottles are the most common container used for the creation of witch bottles for indoor deposition. This is most dramatically the case in the South East, where *Bartmann* bottles account for over three quarters of all containers for witch bottle deposits. *Bartmann* bottles comprise over 70% of all witch bottles found in the Eastern region, a proportion very similar to the overall distribution of container types, while in the East Midlands, all four instances of internally deposited witch bottles make use of *Bartmanns*. The only regions where *Bartmann* bottles are not the most common is Yorkshire, where no *Bartmann* bottles are recorded as having been use as witch bottles, and London, where other stoneware bottles are more common (table 6.5).

Both *Bartmann* bottles and glass bottles have the greater proportion of cases occurring in the Eastern region. However, the majority of the remaining two bottle types are found in other regions, although in both cases, a third of each type is still found in the Eastern region. Most uses of other stoneware bottles occur in London, while other ceramic vessels are largely used in the South East.

For external deposits, the vast majority of cases make use of *Bartmann* bottles, with all identified containers from the Eastern region, Greater London and the South East

	<b>Bartmann</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Stoneware</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Ceramic</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Glass</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Unk</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>East</b>	33	70.2	1	2.13	1	2.13	5	10.6	7	14.9
<b>EM</b>	4	100								
<b>LDN</b>	1	33.3	2	66.7						
<b>SE</b>	10	76.9			2	15.4	1	7.7		
<b>WM</b>	1	100								
<b>Yorks</b>							1	50	1	50

**Table 6.5:** Frequencies of container types by region, accompanied by the proportion of items each container type represents in each region.

using this bottle type. The only identified case which does not utilise this container, is the iron bowl from the East Midlands.

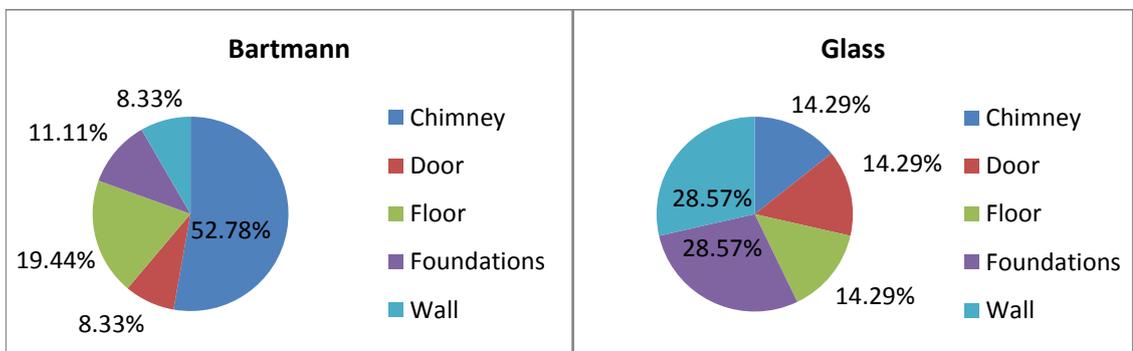
#### 6.1.4 Deposit location/ container type comparison

Regarding internal and external deposits, only two container types have been recovered from external locations. Of the fourteen cases where the vessel type is known for external deposits, thirteen were *Bartmann* bottles, with the remaining example being the only case of the use of a metal vessel. Excluding all cases of unknown location and unknown vessel type, the majority of *Bartmann* bottles and all examples from the three remaining vessel types are found in internal locations, thus exhibiting a greater range of diversity in the selection of containers for use within the domestic sphere.

In terms of deposit locations for external examples, *Bartmann* bottles were found in twice as many buried contexts as those in water, with one further example deposited in a cesspit. The only other example of external deposition is a metal bowl deposited in a shallow stream. There are two further examples of external deposition, one found in water and one buried, but the vessel type for these is not specified.

For internal deposits *Bartmann* bottles have been found across all represented deposit locations. However, there is still a heavy bias towards deposits in and around the

	External	Chimney	Door	Floor	Foundations	Wall	Unknown
<b>Bartmann</b>	13	19	3	7	4	3	13
<b>Stoneware</b>				1			2
<b>Ceramic</b>		2					1
<b>Glass</b>		1	1	1	2	2	
<b>Metal</b>	1						
<b>Unknown</b>	2	2			3		3



Top: **Table 6.6:** Frequencies of witch bottle container types by primary deposit location; Left: **Figure 6.4:** Proportions of Bartmann bottles in known deposit locations; Right: **Figure 6.5:** Proportions of glass containers in known deposit locations.

chimney, with over 35% of all internal *Bartmann* bottle witch bottles being recovered from this area. As expected, *Bartmann* bottles account for over 60% of the deposits in all but one location, the exception being the foundations, where *Bartmann* bottles still account for approximately 44% of deposits (figure 6.4). Glass witch bottles share an equal level of distribution throughout the house, however no area of the house has more than two glass witch bottles attributed to it (figure 6.5). Witch bottles utilising other stoneware and other ceramic vessels are only found in one area of the house each, although these deposit locations are commonly represented within the broader data patterns. For the former, there is only one example known to be concealed beneath the floor (deposit 476.a), while for the latter there are two vessels concealed together beneath the hearth (deposit 438.a) (table 6.6).

In terms of boundedness, *Bartmann* bottles are primarily found in dual association locations, accounting for over three quarters of all *Bartmann* deposits. Despite the comparatively low frequency of this vessel type in closed locations, they still represent two thirds of all witch bottles found in this location type. As with previous analyses, the distribution of glass witch bottles is much more even, with three items found in dual locations compared to two each from open and bounded locations.

### ***6.1.5 Distributions of usage by date***

In terms of container types, *Bartmann* and glass bottles are the only categories with enough examples to produce a discernible pattern of use over time. *Bartmann* bottles, accounting for the majority of container types, broadly follow the general pattern of witch bottle usage over time. However, it is notable that there are fewer *Bartmanns* used as witch bottles after 1700. Conversely, witch bottles using glass containers are largely confined to the later end of the date range, the earliest examples dating from 1650-74. In the case of the three glass bottles identified as being wine bottles, this distribution is attributable to the fact that the classic wine bottle was only first produced between 1640-50 (Willmott 2005:108).

For deposit locations, internal deposits broadly follow the general distribution. However, external deposits see low levels of usage in the first and third quarters of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with a significant spike in the last quarter, with no further external deposits after this period. In addition, the distributions over time for buried and water deposits are identical; each category has one deposit in the third quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and four deposits in the fourth quarter.

There is a sharp spike in deposits primarily associated with the chimney between 1650 and 1674, with comparatively low numbers of deposits in other quarters. Deposits in foundations only occur in the century between 1675 and 1775, at a relatively consistent frequency throughout.

### **6.1.6 Bottle contents**

Of the eighty-six witch bottles in this sample, sixty-four have known or recorded contents. Of these, fifty are from internal locations, while fourteen are external. Overall, forty different types of object or material have been utilised in the construction of witch bottles, which can be assigned to one of eight broader categories. Sharp metal items are the most common, with seventy-four instances of their use recorded across fifty-one bottles (approximately 80% of witch bottles with known contents). The second most common is biological material, occurring in thirty-eight instances in twenty-six bottles, while the third is other metal items, occurring in fourteen instances in ten bottles (table 6.7). Nails are the most frequent individual object type, occurring in twenty-seven instances, closely followed by pins, which are used in twenty-four bottles. Conversely, there are eighteen different objects or materials which occur only once each. Bottle contents have not been assessed in terms of the total number of objects or pieces of material they contain due to the frequent ambiguity and lack of detail on this case. In most cases, object types will be referred to simply in the plural (nails, bent pins), or the exact frequency of one or two object types will be given, but the remaining contents will be treated with the same ambiguity.

	Sharp metal	Sharp other	Biological material	Pierced material	Natural material	Burnt material	Other metal	Other items
<b>External</b>	13		5	4	1	3	2	3
<b>%</b>	92.86		35.71	28.57	7.14	21.43	14.3	21.42
<b>Internal</b>	38	4	21	4	3	1	8	5
<b>%</b>	76	8	42	8	6	2	16	10
<b>Total</b>	51	4	26	8	4	4	10	8
<b>%</b>	79.69	6.25	40.63	12.5	6.25	6.25	15.6	12.5

**Table 6.7:** Frequencies of objects types by the bottle, and the percentage of bottles with known contents this represents.

### 6.1.6.1 National distribution

The greatest frequency of any object type in any location is sharp metal objects in the Eastern region, which are more than four times as frequent as almost all other objects as they occur on a regional basis. Excluding sharp non-metal objects, where all instances occur in the Eastern region, sharp metal objects have the greatest proportion of all object types occurring in this region. Additionally, sharp metal objects in this region account for over half of all instances of this object type across all witch bottles. Unsurprisingly, the Eastern region accounts for over 50% of all object types found in that region, although the low distribution of objects across other regions means that the South East accounts for at least a quarter of most of the object types found in that region (table 6.8).

For both the Eastern region and Greater London, sharp metal objects represent over 50% of all object types, while biological material is more common in the South East, although sharp metal objects do still account for over 30% of object types in this region. Additionally, all instances of burnt material from internal deposits are found in the South East, although this only accounts for a third of all known cases of this material type. Although there are four witch bottles recovered from internal contexts in the East Midlands, none of them have known contents.

There is no object type category which is found in every region, though both sharp metal and biological material are found in all but one. Similarly, there is no region where every object type category is represented, but both the Eastern region and the South East have the greatest distribution object type categories, with all but one represented in both regions (Eastern has no burnt material, while South East has no non-metal sharp objects).

	Sharp metal	Sharp other	Biological material	Pierced material	Natural material	Burnt material	Other metal	Other items
<b>East (36)</b>	29	4	13	3	2		5	3
<b>EM (0)</b>								
<b>LDN (3)</b>	2		1				1	
<b>SE (9)</b>	7		5	1	1	1	2	2
<b>Yorks (2)</b>			2					

**Table 6.8:** Frequencies of bottles containing each contents type by region (internal deposits). Numbers next to regions indicate all bottles with known contents from that area.

For external deposits (table 6.9), as with those from internal locations, the region with the greatest number of witch bottles not only sees the greatest range of object types, but also accounts for the greater proportion of the use of all represented objects (Greater London). There is only one other example where over a quarter of all uses of an object type are found in one region (biological material in the South East). Similarly, sharp metal items, and biological material are the most commonly represented types, although all other object categories appear in only one region. Three of the four regions have sharp metal items as the most common object type; this is most dramatically the case in the Eastern region and the South East region, where at least 80% of witch bottle contents fall into this category. However, in the South East, both natural and biological material are used more frequently than sharp metal, although, this distribution is derived from the contents of one bottle (441.a.1).

	Sharp metal	Sharp other	Biological material	Pierced material	Natural material	Burnt material	Other metal	Other items
<b>East (3)</b>	3		1					
<b>EM (1)</b>	1							
<b>LDN (9)</b>	8		3	4		2	1	2
<b>SE (1)</b>	1		1		1	1	1	1

**Table 6.9:** Frequencies of bottles containing each contents type by region (external deposits). Numbers next to regions indicate all bottles with known contents from that area.

### ***6.1.6.2 Deposit locations***

#### ***6.1.6.2.1 Internal and external***

Approximately 22% of all bottles with known contexts are from external locations. As such it is significant that half of all known incidences of the use of pierced materials in witch bottles are from those found in external contexts. Similarly, external bottles contain greater than half of all uses of burnt material. The total proportion of sharp metal items and biological material in external bottles is broadly in line with the proportional distribution of bottles (albeit a few percentage higher). For internal bottles, there is only one distribution of contents types above the proportional bottles found inside houses; as previously discussed, all uses of non-metal sharp items are from internal locations (table 6.10).

	Sharp metal	Sharp other	Biological material	Pierced material	Natural material	Burnt material	Other metal	Other items	Total
<b>Ex</b>	25.49		19.23	50	25	75	20	37.5	<b>21.88</b>
<b>In</b>	74.51	100	80.77	50	75	25	80	62.5	<b>78.13</b>

**Table 6.10:** Percentages of all contents types by, distributed between internal and external locations.

The distribution of total object types for each location does not differentiate too heavily from the proportion of witch bottles recovered from the different contexts, although the proportion of total objects for external witch bottles is approximately ten per cent higher than the proportion of bottles found in external contexts. Similarly, externally deposited witch bottles have a notably higher mean number of object types per bottle; 3.71 compared to 2.24 for internal witch bottle deposits.

#### **6.1.6.2.2 Location types**

Water deposits consistently have a higher than expected proportion of object types, despite their occurring at a lower frequency than buried bottles. For external deposits, water-deposited bottles account for 43% of bottles, but 62% of contents types, and for all bottles with known contents, they account for 9% of all bottles, but 20% of all contents types. In terms of proportions of each object type, within external deposits, all represented categories have either the majority of items occurring in water deposited bottles, or have an equal proportion occurring in buried bottles. Most significantly, over half of all incidences of the use of natural or burnt material are found in water-deposited bottles (table 6.11). This is due to the comparatively high number of items found in bottles from this location. The lowest number of items per-bottle is three, while the greatest number of items per bottle (sixteen, twice as many as the next highest number), is also from this location. The total number of object types found in each all other locations are largely in proportion to the percentage distribution of witch bottles across these locations, with deviations of only one or two per cent in most cases.

Overall, the greater proportion of contents largely follows the same pattern as those categories which have the greatest frequencies, as do the distributions across categories. For internal deposits, the majority of items for all contents types occur in bottles primarily associated with the chimney. This is most significantly the case for sharp non-metal objects, pierced materials, natural material, burnt material and other items, of which over half of all items from internal locations are found in association with this location. For a number of object types, a significant proportion of items are also found

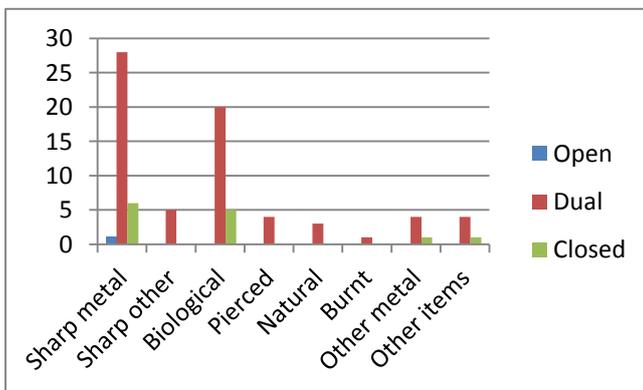
	Sharp metal	Sharp other	Biological material	Pierced material	Natural material	Burnt material	Other metal	Other items
Water	10		5	2	4	4	4	3
Buried	9		5	2			1	
Cesspit	2		1					
Chimney	15	3	10	2	2	1	3	4
Floor	6		4					
Wall	3		3				1	1
Door	2		1	1				
Foundtn	9	2	7	1	1		1	
Unk.	19		2				4	1

**Table 6.11:** Frequencies of contents types in witch bottles from internal and external locations.

in bottles buried in the foundations. Similarly, in all identified locations, sharp metal objects are either the most common item type or is equally as frequent as biological material, which is the second most frequent object type in all locations.

The lowest number of item types found in one location is two, which is the case in both external cesspit deposits, and floor deposits. In both cases, both item types are sharp metal objects and biological material.

When considering the boundedness of locations (figure 6.6), the pattern is broadly similar to previous distributions. All contents types are found in bottles from dual association locations, and objects found in bottles in that location account for at least 80% of all contents types from internal bottles with a known location, and at least 44% when bottles with unknown locations are included. All instances of the use of sharp non-metal objects, burnt material, natural material and pierced material within internal contexts are found in dual association locations. There is only use of one item type



**Figure 6.6:** Distributions of contents types across bounded location types.

recorded for bottles from open locations (sharp metal), as four of the five bottles belonging to this location type have no known contents. As with other distributions, sharp metal items and biological material are the first and second most common contents types used in all cases where both are found, respectively.

### 6.1.6.3 Container types

On the whole, the distribution of contents across the various container types is not discordant with broader pattern of object type use and the frequency of the occurrence of container types, but there are a few areas worthy of discussion. Due to the high proportion of *Bartmann* bottles in external deposits, it is not surprising to find that the over two thirds of all represented item types are found in this container (table 6.12). All cases of pierced material, natural material, burnt material and non-sharp metal are found in *Bartmann* bottles, all of which are represented by at least four items. A similar pattern is evident for internal deposits where for all but one represented case, at least half of all uses of object types are found in *Bartmann* bottles. For internal deposits, non-metal sharp objects are the only object type which is solely found in *Bartmann* bottles. Natural material is the only item type where the majority of items are not found in *Bartmann* bottles, but are instead evenly distributed across three container types.

In three of the four identified container types found in internal locations, sharp metal objects are the most common object type, representing at least half of all objects found in those containers. However, for other ceramic containers sharp metal objects are equally as frequent as items of biological material. Other stoneware vessels contain the lowest variation in object types, with only two types found in both containers of this type with known stoneware. Both these types are sharp metal items and biological material; the two most common object types.

In most cases, the distribution of sharp metal objects for each container type is roughly in line with the proportion of each bottle type in the data set. However, the greatest deviation from this is seen in the single example of the use of a metal container, the only contents of which were sharp metal (477.a.1). Additionally, the proportion of

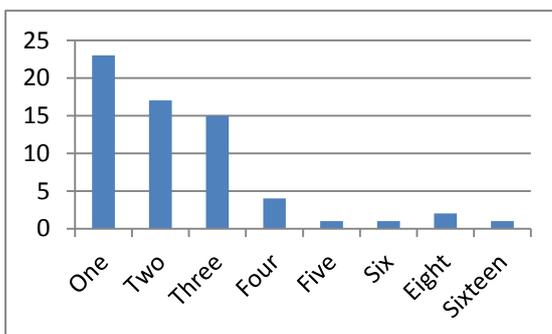
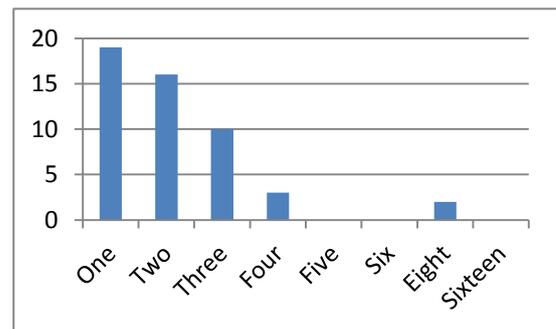
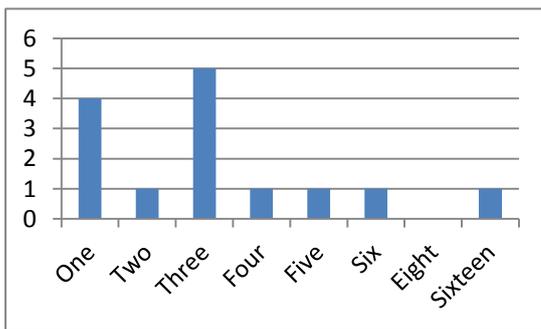
		Sharp metal	Sharp other	Biological	Pierced	Natural	Burnt	Other metal	Other items
Ex	Brtmn	16		11	4	4	3	5	2
	Metal	4							
	Unk.	1					1		1
In	Brtmn	39	5	16	3	1		7	3
	Stnwr	3		1					
	Ceramic	4		4	1	1	1	2	2
	Glass	7		5		1			1
	Unk.	1		1					

**Table 6.12:** Frequencies of contents types in different vessel types, occurring internally and externally.

internal uses of biological material which occurs in ceramic containers is notably greater than the proportion this container type represented; just under 15% of all biological items are found within ceramic containers, even though they account for 6.5% of all internally deposited containers. Similarly, the total number of object types found in other ceramic bottles presents a similar proportional disparity, with this bottle type accounting for approximately 14% of all contents types from internal locations.

#### 6.1.6.4 Numbers of object types utilised

There is an uneven negative correlation between the number of specific types of material used in each bottle and the frequency of the number of object types used (figure 6.9). For all bottles with known contents, both internal and external, twenty three (just under 36% for bottles with known contents) contain only one type of material. Thereafter, bottles containing increasingly greater numbers of object types become less frequent. This pattern is generally consistent for internal deposits (figure 6.8), with the greater proportion of bottles containing four or fewer items, and one example which contains a greater number than this. Bottles containing three material types are the most frequent for external deposits, and proportionally close to twice as common as those found in internal deposits. Excluding this, bottles containing one object type are the most common, with other object type frequencies occurring only once where represented (figure 6.7). It is notable that there is only one instance of a



Top Left: **Figure 6.7:** Frequencies of the number of contents types in external witch bottles; Top Right: **Figure 6.8:** Frequencies of the number of contents types in internal witch bottles; Left: **Figure 6.9:** Frequencies of the number of contents types in all witch bottles.

bottle containing two object types from an external context, compared to nine found internally.

The greatest number of different object types in one witch bottle is sixteen, of which there is only one example (441.a.1), which was recovered for an external context. However, this can be viewed as an unusual occurrence, as it contains twice as many object types as the next highest combination of bottle contents (eight object types – in bottles 438.a.1 and 451.a.1, both from internal locations). In total, there are one hundred and sixty one object types used between all witch bottles with known contents, resulting in a mean of 2.5 object types per bottle. For internal deposits, the mean number of objects per bottle is only slightly lower than this at 2.2, while the average for external bottles is 3.7.

#### **6.1.6.5 Sharp metal objects**

Overall, counting objects from all locations, sharp metal objects are used seventy-four times in fifty-one witch bottles – 80% of witch bottles with known contents. This proportion is very similar for internal deposits, while 93% of externally deposited witch bottles with known contents contain this material type. This category comprised of seven object types: pins, nails, bent pins, bent nails, studs/tacks, knives and forks. Nails are the most commonly occurring object in this category, in both internal and external deposits. Interestingly, all but one incidences of the use of bent pins are from internally deposited bottles, while two thirds of bent nails are found in external locations (table 6.13).

There are at total of fourteen instances where sharp metal object types are the only contents in a bottle; ten from internal locations, four from external locations. Sharp metal is found in just over half of all internal bottles containing a single object type, but is found in all incidences of the same group located externally. There are never more

	<b>Sharp metal</b>						
	<b>Pins</b>	<b>Nails</b>	<b>Bent pins</b>	<b>Bent nails</b>	<b>Stud</b>	<b>Knife</b>	<b>Fork</b>
<b>Ex</b>	6	8	1	4	1	1	0
<b>Ex total</b>	<b>21</b>						
<b>In</b>	18	19	12	2	1	0	1
<b>In total</b>	<b>53</b>						
<b>Total</b>	24	27	13	6	2	1	1
<b>All total</b>	<b>74</b>						

**Table 6.13:** Frequencies of sharp metal items from internal and external bottles.

than two types of 'primary' sharp metal object (pins, nails and their altered forms) in any one bottle. The use of 'non-typical' sharp objects in witch bottles is much less common than the use of pins or nails. Only three other types of sharp metal object have been identified (studs/tacks, a knife and a fork), occurring in two witch bottles. In both these cases, these other sharp metal items occur alongside pins or nails. One example (bottle 477.a.1) contains copper alloys pins, a nail, studs or tacks, and a knife. The other example (bottle 451.a.1) contains iron nails, brass studs and a two pronged fork.

An analysis of the combinations of pins and nails and their bent forms within witch bottles yields some interesting results with regard to the patterns of usage of some of the most common witch bottle contents. No bottle containing any form of pins and nails, bent or unaltered, contains no more than two types of each; of these, nineteen contain two types, while thirty-two contain only one. Of the fifty-one witch bottles known to contain pins or nails, there are only two which also contain another form of sharp metal object (477.a.1 and 451.a.1). There are no instances where pins or nails are found together with their bent or altered variations, and the majority of both bent pins and bent nails are not accompanied by any other form of sharp metal. There are thirteen instances where both unaltered pins and nails are found together in the same container; the most frequent combination of sharp metal objects. Eight of these are from internal deposits, while five are from external locations. The second most common combination is nails and bent pins, which occurs in only three examples, all from internal locations. By comparison, there are only two witch bottles which contain a combination of both bent pins and bent nails. Bent pins and bent nails are much less common than unaltered variations, bent pins occurring on thirteen occasions and bent nails only six, compared to twenty-four and twenty-seven witch bottles containing unaltered pins and nails respectively.

#### ***6.1.6.6 Non-metal sharp objects***

Sharp objects which are non-metallic are used only five times in four bottles, all of which are found in internally deposited bottles, and thus account for less than 5% of all bottle contents from internal locations. There are three material types in this category: thorns, glass fragments and sharpened wood. Thorns are used three times, while the other two object types occur only once (table 6.14).

In all three cases of the use of thorns, these were the only sharp items amongst the contents, metallic or otherwise, and all were found in the Eastern region. Of these

	Sharp non-metal		
	Glass	Thorns	Sharpened wood
In	1	3	1
In total	5		

**Table 6.14:** Frequencies of sharp non-metal items.

examples, in two cases, the thorns were the only object type within the bottle's contents. No bottle containing thorns also contained any form of biological material. The other two object types both occurred together in the same bottle alongside sharp metal objects and two forms of biological material (451.a.1).

#### **6.1.6.7 Other/ non-sharp metal objects**

The use of non-sharp metal items is known in fourteen cases over ten bottles – 15% of bottles with known contents. Similar proportions make up the use of this item class in both internal and externally deposited bottles. This category comprises of seven object types: wire, iron fragments, window lead, strip of metal, gilt ornament, coins and unidentified brass pieces. In internal bottles, iron fragments are the most common, occurring in seven instances, while wire is the most common in external bottles, appearing in two bottles. All other items from this category occur only once (table 6.15). The high frequency of the use of iron fragments would ordinarily be attributable to the presence of other iron items within the bottle. However, four of these cases contain no other iron objects. Of these, there are two bottles where iron fragments were the only contents, which are likely the remains of a severely corroded but unidentifiable iron object, rather than the original use of iron flakes as part of the bottle's contents.

	Other/ non-sharp metal							
	Wire	Musket balls	Iron fragments	Window lead	Other iron items	Gilt ornament	Other brass items	Coin
Ex	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
Ex total	5							
In	0	1	7	0	1	0	0	1
In total	10							
Total	2	1	7	1	1	1	1	1
All total	15							

**Table 6.15:** Frequencies of non-sharp metal items from internal and external bottles.

In eight cases, there is only one type of non-sharp metal material in each bottle, one containing two types, and a final example containing four individual types. There are four examples where objects from this category are not found in association with any form of sharp item and, of these, three contain only items from this object category.

#### **6.1.6.8 Biological material**

There are thirty-eight uses of biological material within twenty-six bottles (41% of bottles with known contents), which are distributed proportionally across internal and external locations. This category comprises of seven object types: human hair, other hair, bone, nail parings, blood, animal heart and urine. For external deposits, human hair is the most frequent item in this category, occurring five times, while the most common item in internally deposited bottles is other hair, which occurs eight times, with bone and human hair being the second most frequent, both occurring seven times each. For both other hair and bone, the greater majority of the use of both items types occur in internal bottles, with no cases of other hair and only one incidence of bone occurring in bottles from external locations (table 6.16). It is notable that of the total bottles with known contents, only five are known to have contained urine. However, this is likely due to the poor and broken condition of many bottles on their discovery, as well as a lack of chemical analysis to determine the prior presence of urine in the majority of cases.

There are only four cases where biological material is the only material within a bottle, all of which are from internal locations. In each case the bottle contains only a single object type, thus biological material account for 17.39% of all bottles containing only one object type. There are two types of biological material which occur only once. In both these cases, the material in question comprises the only contents of the bottle,

	<b>Biological material</b>						
	<b>Human hair</b>	<b>Nail parings</b>	<b>Bone</b>	<b>Blood</b>	<b>Animal heart</b>	<b>Other hair</b>	<b>Urine</b>
<b>Ex</b>	5	3	1	0	0	0	2
<b>Ex total</b>	<b>11</b>						
<b>In</b>	7	0	7	1	1	8	3
<b>In total</b>	<b>27</b>						
<b>Total</b>	12	3	8	1	1	8	5
<b>All total</b>	<b>38</b>						

**Table 6.16:** Frequencies of items of biological material from internal and external bottles.

and both are found in Yorkshire (463.a.1 – blood, and 452.a.1 – small animal heart pierced with pins).

There are six examples where biological material is not found in association with any sharp item, although four of these contain only one object type.

#### **6.1.6.9 Pierced material**

Pierced material or objects are only found in eight witch bottles; only 12.5% of bottles with known contents. The items are split equally between internal and external locations, and are thus disproportionately weighted towards externally deposited bottles. Pierced cloth hearts account for half of these (three out of four occurring in external locations), with other cases of pierced fabric and other pierced objects each occurring in two examples (table 6.17). These other objects are a page of a French breviary bound with hair (473.a.1), and pieces of wood (438.a.1), both of which are from internally located bottles. This latter example is the only case where more than one pierced item is included in the contents of a witch bottle (although this is only in terms of multiple occurrences of the same type of item, rather than the combination of two different types of pierced items).

In almost all cases, the number of sharp objects with which the item is pierced is not recorded. One instance records the use of five pins (439.a.1), while there are two other cases where the material or objects are pieced by only a single item (456.a.1 and 473.a.1). In six of the cases, the piercing objects are pins, while only one is a nail. There is one remaining example where an object has been pierced, but is not accompanied by the object with which the perforation was made (from bottle 438.a.1 – pieced of wood pierced with holes).

Of these eight examples, there is just one case where the pierced material is the only object type within the bottle (448.a.1). In all other cases, pierced objects are

	<b>Pierced material</b>		
	<b>Pierced cloth heart</b>	<b>Pierced material</b>	<b>Other pierced items</b>
<b>Ex</b>	3	1	0
<b>Ex total</b>	<b>4</b>		
<b>In</b>	1	1	2
<b>In total</b>	<b>4</b>		
<b>Total</b>	4	2	2
<b>All total</b>	<b>8</b>		

**Table 6.17:** Frequencies of items of pierced material from internal and external bottles.

accompanied by a range of other material; between two and seven additional object types, however, in all cases, there is only one item of pierced material in all bottles in which this object type occurs. There are three examples where the pierced object is not accompanied by additional sharp metal objects. Of these, only one is accompanied by a non-metal sharp object. There are three examples where pierced items are not found with biological material, of which two also contain no sharp metal objects.

One object which could additionally be incorporated into this category, but has initially been classified as ‘biological material’ is the animal heart stuck with a number of pins which comprises the only contents of bottle 452.a.1.

#### **6.1.6.10 Natural material**

Natural material is used seven times over four witch bottles – 6% of the total with known contents. Of the four bottles, three are from internal locations. There are four types of material this category: stones, silt, wood and grass. Silt is the most commonly occurring material in internally located bottles, occurring twice, although there is only one other item type from this category which is also found in a bottle from an internal location (table 6.18). All items from this category are found in external contexts, although all types occur only once, and all are from the same bottle. This is also the bottle to contain the greatest number of different material types (441.a.1). It is also the only example which contains more than one type of natural material in the same bottle.

There are no examples where an item from this category of material is the only object type within a witch bottle, with such items only found in bottles containing three object types or higher. In all cases, natural material occurs in bottles along with some form of sharp metal, and at least one type of biological material.

	<b>Natural material</b>			
	<b>Stones</b>	<b>Silt</b>	<b>Wood</b>	<b>Grass</b>
<b>Ex</b>	1	1	1	1
<b>Ex total</b>	<b>4</b>			
<b>In</b>	1	2	0	0
<b>In total</b>	<b>3</b>			
<b>Total</b>	2	3	1	1
<b>All total</b>	<b>7</b>			

**Table 6.18:** Frequencies of items of natural material from internal and external bottles.

### 6.1.6.11 *Burnt material*

Burnt items occur five times in four bottles – 6% of the total with known contents. Three of the four bottles are from external locations. This category includes coal, coke and “other”, which includes burnt charcoal flakes and cinders from a fire. Coal is used in two examples (both external), while every other burnt material type occurs only once (table 6.19). There is only one case where more than one type of burnt material occurs within the same bottle (441.a.1).

There are no examples where an item from this category of material is the only object type within a witch bottle, with such items only found in bottles containing three object types or higher. In all cases, these material types are found in bottles which also contain at least one form of sharp metal. However, there are two examples where there is no accompanying biological material.

	<b>Burnt material</b>		
	<b>Coal</b>	<b>Coke</b>	<b>Other</b>
<b>Ex</b>	2	1	1
<b>Ex total</b>	<b>4</b>		
<b>In</b>	0	0	1
<b>In total</b>	<b>1</b>		
<b>Total</b>	2	1	2
<b>All total</b>	<b>5</b>		

**Table 6.19:** Frequencies of items of burnt material from internal and external bottles.

### 6.1.6.12 *Other contents*

There are nine uses of objects which do not fit into any of the above categories and are not readily attributable to a new category. These occur in eight witch bottles – 12.5% of bottles with known contents. Five of these are from internal contexts, while three are external. Five different object types are represented; book pages, material fibres, glass bead, knotted string and figural images or representations. Material fibres are the most common, occurring twice in both internal and externally located bottle. Aside from figural items (two uses both in internal bottles), all other object forms appear only once (table 6.20). In all cases, the material fibres are not found in bottles which also contain another form of material (pierced cloth, for example).

There are no examples where an item from this category of material is the only object type within a witch bottle, and such items are accompanied by at least one other object type. There is only one example where objects from this category are not found

	Other items				
	Book pages	Fibres	Glass bead	Knotted string	Figure
<b>Ex</b>	0	2	1	0	0
<b>Ex total</b>	<b>3</b>				
<b>In</b>	1	2	0	1	2
<b>In total</b>	<b>6</b>				
<b>Total</b>	1	4	1	1	2
<b>All total</b>	<b>9</b>				

**Table 6.20:** Frequencies of other items from internal and external bottles.

in association with sharp metal objects, but this example does also contain thorns (473.a.1). This is also the only witch bottle to contain more than one object from this category. It is worth noting that both bottles containing figural representations (a doll and a flat bone fish) contain a total of two object types, the other object being one of sharp metal. Five of the bottles containing objects from this category contain no form of biological material.

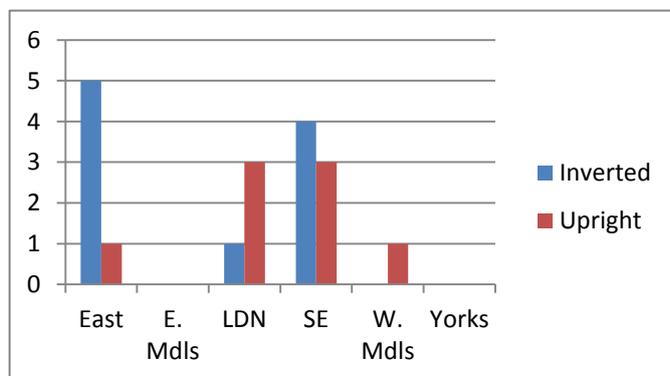
### ***6.1.7 Inverted and upright bottles***

From the total sample, ten bottles were recorded as having been deposited in an inverted position, while eight were confirmed to have been in an upright position. Only one bottle from the inverted group and two bottles found upright were from external locations. Overall, there appear to be only minor differences in use, contents or manner and location of deposition between bottles known to be deposited inverted or upright. However, this is most likely due to the small number of bottles where the position of the deposited bottle is recorded, which also makes it difficult to extrapolate broader information regarding the category as a whole.

It is only in terms of national distribution that a pattern of differing regional attitudes is suggested. All objects from both groupings are primarily from the Eastern region, Greater London and the South East. Five inverted bottles, half the total grouping, are from the Eastern region, compared to only one bottle from the upright group. Similarly, three bottles from London are recorded as being upright, compared to only one known example of inverted deposition. Upright and inverted bottles are both relatively equally well represented in the South East (figure 6.10).

Both groups display similar patterns of deposit location. Deposits under the hearth are the most frequent in both cases, accounting for six cases of inverted bottles, and three cases from upright bottles. Deposits in other locations are infrequent in both

	External	Chimney	Floor	Foundations	Wall	Unknown
Inverted	1	6	1	1		1
Upright	2	3	2		1	



Top: **Table 6.21:** Frequencies of inverted and upright bottles in different primary locations; Left: **Figure 6.10:** Frequencies of inverted and upright bottles across regions.

cases, especially for inverted bottles which have only one deposit occurring in any of the other represented locations (table 6.21). Deposits in dual association locations are the most frequent in both cases, accounting for 70% of inverted bottles, and 50% of upright bottles. There are no deposits in open locations, and bottles from closed locations are comparatively infrequent. Bottles from both groupings have been found in external locations: two upright and one inverted. All had been buried.

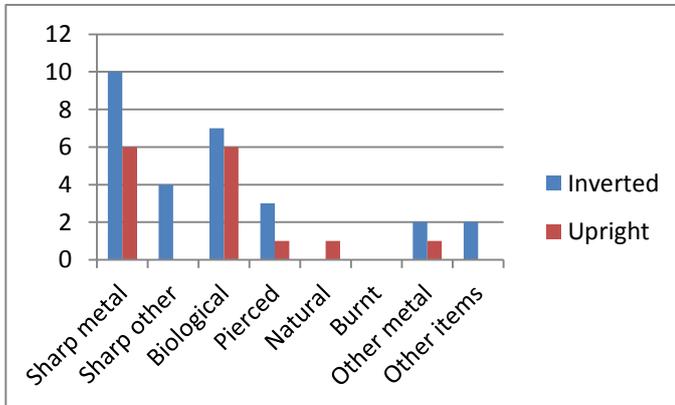
All bottles where the position within the deposition is identified, with the exception of one other stoneware bottle deposited in an upright position, were *Bartmann* bottles. However, considering the high frequency of the use of *Bartmann* bottles in this practice, this result is not of particular significance.

### 6.1.7.1 Contents

There are some notable differences in the contents of inverted and upright bottles, although there is no drastic differentiation between the two. Both deposition types still largely adhere to general pattern of content types and frequencies. There is one bottle from both categories where the contents are unknown.

The distribution of contents types in inverted bottles to some extent mirrors that of the broader pattern across all bottles. Sharp metal objects are the most common, occurring ten times, with three of the four primary object types represented, pins being the most frequent. With one exception, there is only one type of primary sharp metal object in each bottle, although the exception also contains secondary sharp metal objects (451.a.1). Biological material is the next most common, occurring seven times, four of which were human hair and two uses of urine. This group also contains four out

	Sharp metal	Sharp other	Biological	Pierced	Natural	Burnt	Other metal	Other items
Inv.	10	4	7	3			2	2
Up.	6		6	1	1		1	



Top: **Table 6.22:** Frequencies of contents type categories in inverted and upright bottles; Left: **Figure 6.11:** Comparison of frequencies of contents types between inverted and upright bottles.

of the five bottles known to contain some form of non-metal sharp object, and three of the eight examples of pierced material, although none of these is a cloth heart. Within this group, there is no broader object category with is represented by only a single object (table 6.22 and figure 6.11).

The distribution of object types in upright bottles is somewhat different. Instances of both sharp objects and biological materials occur equally (six uses of each), while the remaining categories are represented by only a single occurrence of one object in that grouping. All four primary sharp metal objects are represented, although pins are the most common, with other forms only occurring once each. Conversely to the inverted bottles, with one exception, there is only one type of primary sharp metal object in each bottle where that object type is found. The biological material is much more evenly spread in upright bottles than inverted, with four object types from the category represented, instead of three. Both bone and “other” hair are the most commonly occurring material types, both occurring twice each. There is only one instance of the use of human hair, and no bottles in this group are known to contain urine. A single example of a pierced object (cloth heart), piece of natural material (silt) and other metal (wire) are also represented in this group. There are no instances of the use of non-metal sharp objects, or items from the “other” category (table 5.35 and figure 5.28).

Both groups have two bottles containing no sharp metal objects. Both such bottles from the upright group contain only a singly type of biological material, and were concealed together in the same deposit (662.a). From the inverted group, one bottle contains only one form of non-metal sharp object (thorns – 450.a.1). The second bottle

contains four object types, but also includes thorns along with book pages (one bound with hair and pierced with a bronze pin) and knotted string (473.a.1). All four bottles discussed here were recovered from beneath the hearth or chimney and were made using *Bartmann* bottles. Both inverted bottles were from the Eastern region, while both upright bottles were from the South East.

## ***6.2 Other magic items***

Only two other items which may have possibly held a magical function are known to have been recovered from concealed locations, although their status as magical objects is not undoubtable. Both were found as single deposits, and both comprise of an arrangement of different materials and objects, presumably from which their magical properties derive. Perhaps for this reason, neither is attributable to an approximate date.

The first is in the form of a charm made with a nail and paper from Kent (record 634.a.1). A handmade iron nail had been wrapped in a piece of plain paper, sealed with animal glue and tied with linen string. It was discovered set into wet mortar approximately 1.5 metres up on the right side of a 17<sup>th</sup>-century chimney. It is perhaps unusual and discordant from known forms of charms using similar materials which date from the early modern period since there is no writing on the paper, and, instead of being pierced by the nail, the paper only surrounds it. The item clearly displays deliberate and purposeful action in its construction. However the intention behind it is somewhat unclear.

The second is an item described as a “witch doll” from Essex (record 638.a.1). This is a wooden figure (details as to the size and form were not given) with animal skin (possibly rabbit) fastened around it and held in place with two small pegs. There are two small holes for eyes, which were possibly filled with red paint or stones. It was found concealed under the floor. From the lack of clear description, it is difficult to know whether this was a homemade children’s toy, or an object used for magical purposes. There appears to be no obvious damage or alterations to the doll which would be concordant with it being used in a magical act, either aggressive or protective.

This very low number of magical or charm-type items could be considered surprising if we take into account the apparent ubiquity of belief in magic and its counterance during this period. However, like witch bottles, such magical items were not made for the purpose of concealment within the home.

### ***6.3 Possible other magical items in other object categories***

There exist a number of objects in both the animal remains and everyday objects categories which could possibly be interpreted as having had a magical function or significance, but the nature of the act, or whether a magical outcome was intended, is less clear, and thus these items have been classified as primarily non-magical. There are four instances of depositions of everyday items, primarily containers and tablewares, as well as a number of shoes, where the circumstances of deposition and the treatment of material may be concordant with a magical or supernatural intention.

One is a small blue/green glass bottle recovered from a wall in the South West, found to contain a liquid substance which was identified as beef tallow (record 631.a.1). Although this could potentially be considered to be a witch bottle, the atypical geographical location of the deposit, combined with the non-standard nature of the contents, calls this identification into question. Another is a series of ceramic pots (number unknown) all arranged upside down in a cruciform arrangement beneath a hearth in a house in Essex (record 623.a). No other objects were found with the vessels and no obvious alterations appear to have been made to any of them. The third is a poorly formed and partially glazed medieval pot containing a range of bones and horn cores from several animals (sheep, ox, pig, hare, mallard, chicken and pheasant) recovered from the foundations of a house in Suffolk (record 537.a). The last is a knife made from a single piece of iron, engraved with “magical” symbols on one side and the initials “AGLA”, supposedly a cabbalistic name of power (Merrifield 1987:162), on the other (record 629.a.1). The locations of deposition, both nationally and within the house, are unknown. In all four cases, the item or collection of items were the only objects within the deposits and were unaccompanied by other objects or materials.

There are a few examples where shoes have been altered or slashed prior to their deposition in a manner which may be in accordance with an act of “killing” the object for ritual practices (279.a.1, 522.a.1, 653.a.2-4). However, it is possible that in a large percentage of these cases the cuts to the shoe were done to ease the fit for the wearer. In many cases, the lack of detail of the alterations made makes it difficult to ascertain the intended purpose of the action. It is worth noting that all instances of slashed shoes except one were either deposited singly or with other shoes that had also been treated similarly, but not uniformly. However, there is once instance of a shoe having been burnt prior to its deposition as a single item beneath the floor (206.a.1), which would have served no obvious functional purpose, but may also have been accidental.

## 6.4 Summary

Witch bottles display a number of clear distributions of use, being heavily concentrated in the Eastern region, while deposit locations are more clearly focused on the chimney, or occurring in buried-like areas, such as under the hearth or in the foundations. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the majority of deposits are in dual-association locations. Additionally, *Bartmann* bottles are utilised as a container in the significant majority of cases, the majority of which with an identified Holmes type date to the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Overall, of bottles with an approximate date, the majority date to the same period.

Regional distributions of deposit locations largely follow as expected, except that deposit in foundations are particularly concentrated in the Eastern region (as are those associated with the door, which only occur in this region), while deposits in floors display a much more even distribution, occurring in all represented regions. For regional patterns of container type, *Bartmanns* or similar stoneware vessels are the most common in most regions, except Yorkshire (the region furthest from the greatest concentration of witch bottles), where none are present at all.

Distributions of container types across deposit locations show some interesting patterns. Despite being much less frequent, glass bottles are used in nearly as many locations as *Bartmanns*, and while the latter are more concentrated around the chimney, the former displays a much more even pattern of use in different locations.

There are few useful or significant distributions by the date of bottles, although there is a notable pattern in the use of containers, with a shift from *Bartmann* bottles to glass containers occurring at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Additionally, deposits in chimneys are heavily weighted to the third quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with all foundation deposits occurring in the last quarter and extending into the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The contents of witch bottles display a wide variation in the specific types of items which were used in bottles, but also that there is still a strong ideology of which item types are relevant to the practice, with sharp metal objects occurring in a significant majority of bottles, while items of biological material are also very common. There is some difference between internal and external bottles, with most uses of burnt material occurring in external contexts, while all incidences of non-metal sharp items are used in internal locations. Cases of the use of pierced material are split evenly between the two locations, despite external deposits being much less frequent. For more specific location types, bottles found in water contain a greater number and range than those which were

buried, despite being less frequent. Internal deposits broadly follow expected patterns, although foundation deposits contain a greater range of item types than expected, although the majority of items are still either sharp objects or biological material.

Overall, witch bottles are less likely to contain high numbers of objects, the majority of cases containing only one item. The distribution for externally deposited bottles differs from the overall pattern, with bottles containing three items being the most frequent. Additionally, external bottles are more likely to contain a greater number of items.

Nails are the most commonly occurring single item type, but are only slightly more frequent than pins. No bottle contains more than two types of sharp metal items, and unaltered pins and nails are never found together with bent versions of the same item. Uses of non-metallic sharp items are known, but are not common. Of these, thorns occur the most frequently, and are never found alongside sharp metal items. For biological material, human hair is the most commonly used material, and if hair from unidentified sources is included, then this category is more than twice as frequent as the next most common material (bone). Known incidences of urine are uncommon, but this is attributable to many bottles being broken on discovery, and a lack of scientific analysis to determine if urine had been present.

Bottles recorded as having been deposited in an inverted or upright position occur at similar frequencies, and there are very few differences in how different types of bottles were used or distributed. However, inverted bottles are more commonly found in the Eastern region, while upright bottles occur more commonly in London.

There are very few incidences of magical items which are not witch bottles; there are only two items which may possibly have functioned as charms or similarly performed similarly magical purpose. However, there are other items which have been placed into other object categories while still exhibiting signs of being part of a magical or supernatural act. Many of these follow similar patterns of deposition to other magical items (concealed without any other objects, often in a “buried” style deposit location), but any specific function or intention surrounding these objects cannot be deduced.



## VII

### Analysis of Data: Animal Remains and Natural Materials

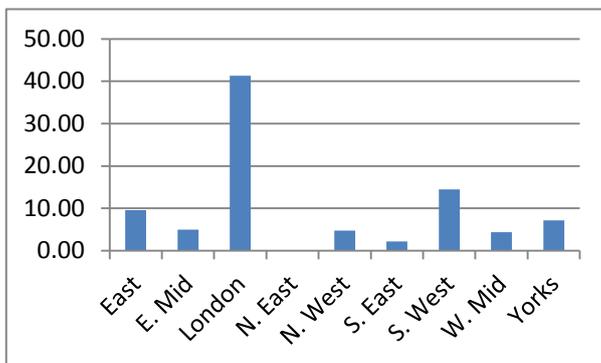
#### 7.1 Animal Remains

Items of animal remains are the third most frequent object type, although only account for approximately 8% of all deposited objects, and occur in 12% of deposits. Animal remains are categorised both in terms of the animal species (eighteen identified thus far), and the body part used in the deposit (eleven identified body parts, including deposits of whole animals). Additionally, animals can be classified in terms of their relationship with humans (privileged species, domestic/farm animals and wild animals).

##### *7.1.1 General distributions*

Deposits of animal remains have been recovered from twenty-six counties across eight regions; the North East is the only region not to be represented in this category. Overall, the greatest number of deposits containing animal remains is from the Eastern region, although this is only one greater than the number which occur in the South West. However, there is a more substantial margin between the two regions in terms of the number of items contained within the deposits (table 7.1). Interestingly, just under half of all the deposits which occur within Greater London contain animal deposits, and therefore over 40% of objects in this region belong to this category (figure 7.1) (Appendix N.10).

	East	E. Mid	London	N. West	S. East	S. West	W. Mid	Yorks	Total
<b>Sites</b>	26	4	12	1	8	25	2	2	<b>80</b>
<b>%</b>	32.5	5	15	1.25	10	31.25	2.5	2.5	
<b>Objects</b>	46	5	19	1	10	29	3	2	<b>115</b>
<b>%</b>	40	4.35	16.52	0.87	8.7	25.22	2.61	1.74	

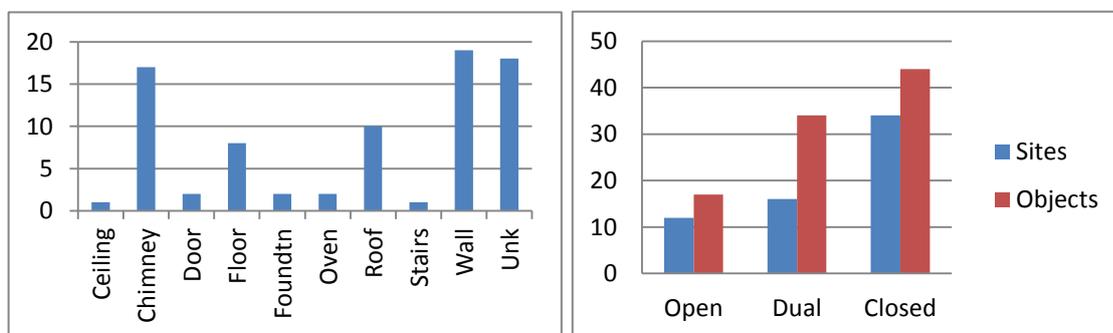


Top: **Table 7.1:** Frequencies and percentages of the total of objects and deposits of animal remains across regions; Left: **Figure 7.1:** The proportion that animal remains represent out of all objects found in each region.

All nine of the primary deposit locations have deposits containing animal remains associated with them. Wall deposits are the most common, closely followed by those associated with the chimney, although the number of items which belong to this category are more numerous in chimney deposits than those in the wall (figure 7.2). Deposits in the floor are roof also well represented, albeit much less so than the most common areas. In terms of boundedness, closed areas are the most common, accounting for 43% of deposits from this category, and occurring more than twice as frequently as the next most common location type (dual association, 20%). Open and dual-association locations occur at very similar frequencies (figure 7.3).

There are eighteen identified animal species, of which cats are the most common, occurring forty-nine times and accounting for 42% of all animals remains. No other species accounts for greater than 10% of the total. Chickens are the second most frequent species, occurring eleven times. There are eight species which are represented by only a single instance of use. For social classifications, privileged species account for over half of all animal deposits, occurring sixty-two times and are thus more than twice as common as domestic species, which occur thirty times. For wild species, which account for less than 15% of deposited animals, seven of the nine species which make up this category are represented by only a single item.

There are eleven identified body parts which comprise the deposits. Whole animals are significantly the most common, occurring seventy-one times and accounting for 62% of deposits. The only other body part to account for greater than 5% of the total is skulls, which occur seven times. There are three body parts which only occur once (hoof, scapula and wing). In addition to identified body parts, there are also fifteen instances of unidentified “bones”, which thus account for 13% of all animal deposits.



Left: **Figure 7.2:** Frequencies of deposits containing animal remains across primary deposit locations; Right: **Figure 7.3:** Frequencies of deposits and objects of animal remains in bounded locations.

### 7.1.2 National/deposit locations comparison

Animal remains are found in all nine primary locations of deposit, which can be expended to eighteen specific locations when secondary locations are included.

The greater proportion of items found in primary locations occur largely in either the Eastern region or the South West; the two regions which contain the greatest frequencies of deposits by a substantial margin (table 7.2). However, those areas where the majority of deposits occur in the Eastern region are those considered to be open areas (chimney and door), whereas those in the South West are closed areas (wall, stairs, roof). There are two cases where the greater number of deposits in a location are found in another region besides the two with the greatest frequency of objects. Over 35% of items found under the floor occur in the South East. For distributions within regions, the level of diversity of deposit locations in many regions combined with high proportions of deposits in unknown locations, there are few significant examples worth discussing. Half of all deposits in the East Midlands are associated with the roof, while over 30% of deposits in the Eastern region and the South East occur in association with the chimney and the floor respectively. There is no location type which accounts for greater than 25% of the deposits in the South East.

For the boundedness of locations, closed deposits occur in all regions and account for the highest proportion of deposits in all regions, with the exception of the Eastern region, where dual association deposits are the most frequent, and Yorkshire where there are even numbers of both closed and dual association deposits (table 7.3). The most notable distribution of deposits across location types in the South East, where three quarters of deposits are in closed locations. For all three location types, the greater proportion of deposits occur either in the Eastern region or the South West. For open deposits, both regions are equally represented (four deposits each), while for dual

	Ceiling	Chimney	Door	Oven	Floor	Foundtn	Roof	Stairs	Wall	Unk
<b>East</b>		8	2	1	1	1	2		5	6
<b>E. Mid</b>		1					2			1
<b>LDN</b>		2			2	1	1		2	4
<b>NW</b>									1	
<b>SE</b>	1	1			3		1		1	1
<b>SW</b>		5		1	2		4	1	6	6
<b>W. Mid</b>									2	
<b>Yorks</b>									2	

**Table 7.2:** Frequencies of deposits containing animal remains across regions and primary deposit locations.

	<b>Open</b>	<b>Dual</b>	<b>Closed</b>
<b>East</b>	4	9	7
<b>E. Mid</b>	1		2
<b>LDN</b>	2	2	4
<b>NW</b>			1
<b>SE</b>	1		6
<b>SW</b>	4	4	11
<b>W. Mid</b>			2
<b>Yorks</b>		1	1

**Table 7.3:** Frequencies of deposits containing animal remains over bounded locations.

association, the frequency in the Eastern region is more than double that in the South West, although the latter regions still accounts for a quarter of all deposits in this location. There are only three regions where all three location types are represented (Eastern, Greater London and the South West), which are incidentally the three regions with the highest frequencies of deposits of animal

remains. The proportions of deposits across location categories are broadly similar for both the South West and London (equal numbers of deposits in open and dual association deposits, but with the greater proportion of deposits in closed locations).

### ***7.1.3 National/animal species categories comparison***

Cat remains are the only animal species found in all represented regions, and in all but one case is the most frequent animal type, with the exception of Yorkshire, where cow remains are equally as frequent. Cats make up two thirds of West Midlands deposits, and 60% of both the East Midlands and the South East. The lowest regional proportion of cat deposits is found in the Eastern region (30%), despite it having the highest frequency of animal deposits. The animal with the next greatest regional distribution is rats, although these are only found in half the represented regions, and are only found at much lower frequencies.

For the majority of species found in the Eastern region, deposits in that region will account for the majority of the total recorded deposits of each species, or are at least equally frequent as deposits in other regions. Most notably, all instances of horse remains (the third most frequent animal species) are found in the Eastern region; the only example where a species with a frequency greater than one is found solely in the same region. There are two exceptions to this. First, deposits of chickens are slightly more frequent in London and the South West (four deposits each, compared to three in the Eastern region), while over 50% of cow remains are found in the South West, compared to a third in the Eastern region (table 7.4).

	East	E. Mid	LDN	NW	SE	SW	W. Mid	Yorks	Total
<b>Bat</b>					1				1
<b>Cat</b>	14	3	10	1	6	12	2	1	49
<b>Cow</b>	3					5		1	9
<b>Dog</b>	1	1				1			3
<b>Hare</b>	1								1
<b>Horse</b>	10								10
<b>Mouse</b>	1								1
<b>Rat</b>	3	1	3			1			8
<b>Pig</b>	2				1	1			4
<b>Sheep</b>	3		1			1			5
<b>Bird</b>					1		1		2
<b>Duck</b>	1								1
<b>Chicken</b>	3		4			4			11
<b>Goose</b>	1								1
<b>Pheasant</b>	1								1
<b>Pidgeon</b>	1								1
<b>Sparrow</b>	1								1
<b>Egg</b>			1			1			2
<b>Unknown</b>					1	3			4

Table 7.4: Frequencies of animal species across regions.

#### 7.1.4 National/social categories comparison

For social categories of animals, privileged species are found in all regions in the same order of frequency seen is the distribution of cat remains (generally due to the high proportion of cat remains in this category). Additionally, privileged species also account for the majority of animal remains in every region except Yorkshire. Wild animals have the second greatest distribution, occurring in six regions, despite being almost half as frequent overall as domestic species. Domestic animals are found almost entirely within the three regions with the highest overall frequencies, especially within the Eastern region and the South West (table 7.5). This social category is the only one

	East	E. Mid	LDN	NW	SE	SW	W. Mid	Yorks
<b>Pet</b>	25	4	10	1	6	13	2	1
<b>Domestic</b>	12		5		1	11		1
<b>Wild</b>	9	1	3		2	1	1	
<b>Other</b>			1			1		
<b>Unk</b>					1	3		

Table 7.5: Frequencies of animal remains by social classification across regions.

where a significant proportion of items are not found in the Eastern region; over a third occur in the South West, and the frequency of this animal type in this region is only differentiated from the frequency found in the Eastern region by one item. Despite the broad regional distribution of wild animals, over half of the deposits in this category are found in the Eastern region (Appendices N.13-15).

### **7.1.5 National/body part categories comparison**

Deposits of whole animals occur in all represented regions, and in all but one case is the most frequent body part type, with the exception of Yorkshire, where there is only one instance each of a whole deposit (591.a.1) and of a horn (366.a.2). In every case, whole deposits account for the majority of animal deposits in every region, and in the majority of cases account for at least half of the animal remains in the region. In the East Midlands, the West Midlands and the North West, 100% of deposited remains are whole animals, and in London and the South East they account for at least 90% of deposited animal remains. The only exception to this is the Eastern region, where whole deposits only account for less than 40% of the regional total, although this still represents the majority category for the region (table 7.6). With the exception of unidentified bones, no other categories of body parts have a regional distribution greater than two.

The Eastern region and the South West are the only two regions where a significant distribution of different body parts is present. Only three other regions have any additional deposits of animal remains other than whole animals, and in all cases this additional body part is only represented by a single deposit. Thus, 100% of deposits of

	East	E. Mid	LDN	NW	SE	SW	W. Mid	Yorks
<b>Whole</b>	18	5	18	1	9	16	3	1
<b>Feet</b>	1					1		
<b>Head</b>						2		
<b>Heart</b>						5		
<b>Hoof</b>						1		
<b>Horn</b>	1							1
<b>Jaw</b>	3		1					
<b>Leg</b>	4							
<b>Scapula</b>						1		
<b>Skull</b>	7							
<b>Wing</b>	1							
<b>Bones</b>	11				1	3		

**Table 7.6:** Frequencies of body parts of animals used in deposits across regions.

heads, hearts and hooves are found in the South West, and 100% of legs, skulls, and wings are found in the Eastern region. As a result, the majority of body part categories have the greatest proportion of items in either of those two regions. The only body part which occurs in two regions and is not split evenly between the two is jaw deposits, where three quarters are found in the Eastern region. It is interesting to note that the greatest proportion of whole deposits is found in both the Eastern region and Greater London. Each region accounts for over a quarter of whole deposits, despite the Eastern region containing more than twice the number of items overall than London.

#### ***7.1.6 Deposit locations/animal species categories comparison***

Nine of the twelve species associated with the chimney account for the majority of the total recorded deposits of each species, or are at least equally frequent as deposits in other locations (seven species are in the majority, two are equal with other locations). This is most significantly the case for deposits of chickens, where all but two items are found primarily associated with the chimney, and is thus one of only two instances where multiple items belonging from the same species/animal group occurring in the same deposit location account for greater than half of all deposits of that species. The other example is that 100% of eggs are also primarily associated with the chimney. Of additional significance, half of all horse deposits were found associated with the door, 40% of sheep were found in the foundations and the greater proportion of cats were found associated with walls; the only example where over a quarter of cat remains are found in one location (table 7.7).

Cats represent the majority of animal deposits in all primary deposit locations where they are found, with the exception of the chimney, where chickens are the most common. This is most notably the case with roof deposits, where cats account for all but one animal item found in that location, and thus account for over 90% of all items found in this location although the remaining animal type found in roof deposits (a rat) was found alongside a cat in the same deposit (539.a). Out of all twelve species found in association with the chimney, chickens are the only one to account for greater than a quarter of the total animal remains in this location. Horse remains account for 100% of items primarily associated with the door (five items) and thus is the only instance of multiple items belonging from the same species accounting for all deposits in one deposit location type.

	Ceiling	Chimney	Door	Floor	Foundtn	Oven	Roof	Stairs	Wall	Unk.
Bat	1									
Cat		6		7			11		14	11
Cow		4			1				2	2
Dog		1		1						1
Hare					1					
Horse		1	5			1			1	2
Mouse										1
Rat		2		2			1		2	1
Pig		2		1	1					
Sheep		1			2				1	1
Bird				1					1	
Duck					1					
Chicken		9			1					1
Goose		1								
Pheasant					1					
Pidgeon		1								
Sparrow		1								
Egg		2								
Unk.						1		1	2	

**Table 7.7:** Frequencies of animal species across primary deposit locations.

For the boundedness of locations, it is notable that dual-association deposits have the greatest distribution of species, compared to open and closed locations (seven and nine species respectively). Three species are found in all location types: cats, cows, and pigs. Cats and rats occur predominantly in closed positions (the former representing nearly 60% of the category), while cows and chickens are more common in open locations. However, the majority of deposits for most species are in dual-association locations, including pig (50%), sheep (60%), horse (60%) and the majority of bird species. The high level of diversity of species in dual association locations means that no individual species accounts for greater than 25% of the total deposits found in that location type; the greatest proportion is shared by cats and cows, which each represent over 17% of the total. There are only two cases where deposits of one species account for more than a quarter of deposits in one boundedness category; over 35% of animal deposits in open locations are chickens, while 66% of closed deposits are of cats.

### ***7.1.7 Deposit locations/social categories comparison***

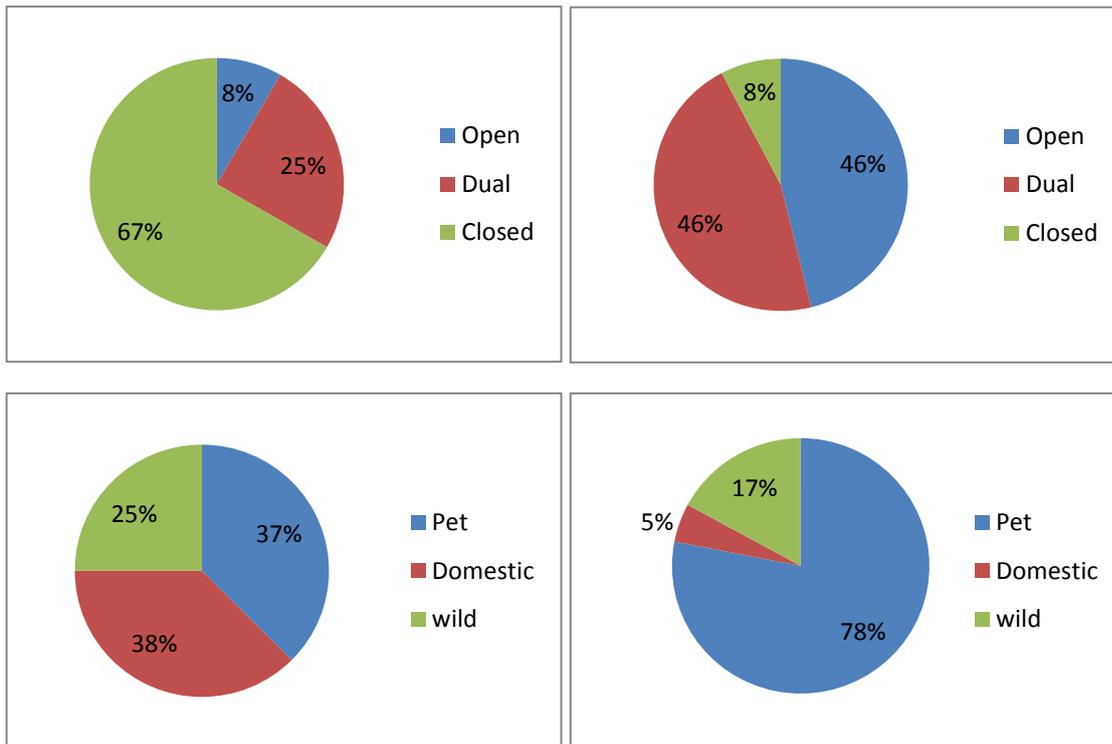
In terms of the social categorisation of animals, privileged species account for the significant majority of all identified animal remains for all but one of the locations

where they are found, representing 50% or greater of the deposits in those locations. Most significantly, all incidences of door deposits are of privileged species. The exception to this is for the chimney, where privileged species only account for a quarter of total deposits associated with that area, while domestic species account for more than half of the total. Privileged species are most notably absent from the foundations, where both domestic and wild animal remains are found (table 7.8).

When counting both primary and secondary deposit locations the distributions become somewhat even. Of three main social classifications, privileged species is the only category where animal remains are concentrated primarily on one location type, with half of all items (and two-thirds of items with a known location) occurring in closed locations (figure 7.4). For domestic animals, 40% of the total for this category is found in both open and dual association locations (46% of items with known locations)(figure 7.5), while for wild animals, deposits in closed and dual association locations both account over 40% of the category respectively. In terms of distributions of items by locations types, the results reflect earlier distributions. The majority of animal remains in closed locations are privileged spaces (figure 7.7), while domestic species account for the majority of deposits in open locations (70%, twelve items). However, both categories are represented evenly in dual association locations, both accounting for 35% of the total items in that category (figure 7.6), although while privileged species still account for nearly a quarter of deposits in open locations, the proportion of domestic species in closed locations is less than 5%. Wild animal remains do not account for a significant proportion of any category, the highest percentage being 24% of dual association locations.

	Ceiling	Chimney	Door	Floor	Foundtn	Oven	Roof	Stairs	Wall	Unk.
<b>Pet</b>		8	5	8		1	11		15	14
<b>Domestic</b>		17		1	5				3	4
<b>Wild</b>	1	4		3	3		1		3	2
<b>Other</b>		2								
<b>Unk.</b>						1		1	2	

**Table 7.8:** Frequencies of social classifications of animals by primary deposit location.



Top Left: **Figure 7.4:** Proportions of privileged species across bounded locations; Top Right: **Figure 7.5:** Proportions of domesticated species across bounded locations; Bottom Left: **Figure 7.6:** Proportions of species groups in dual-association locations; Bottom Right: **Figure 7.7:** Proportions of species groups in closed locations.

### 7.1.8 Deposit locations/body part categories comparison

Whole animals see a roughly even distribution across the locations where they are found, with the greatest proportion accounting for under a quarter of the total items in that category. Other body parts are largely divided between the chimney and the wall, with five of the eight identified body parts which have been found associated with the chimney accounting for the majority of all items in that category. Of these, three account for 100% of all items within the body part category, two of which are represented by more than one item. Also of note is the large proportion of skulls associated with the door, which accounts for 71% of this category (table 7.9).

Where they are found, whole deposits account for the majority of deposits in every deposit location. In three cases, whole animal deposits account for 100% of the items within the location category; this is of significance for floor and roof deposits, where all twelve items found in each of these locations are of whole animals. The lowest proportion of finds in an identified location represented by whole deposits is for the chimney; the only one in this category to fall below 50%. This is despite whole deposits in the chimney having the second greatest frequency of whole deposits, although this

discrepancy is due to deposits in this location accounting for the greatest distribution of body parts. Outside of whole deposits, it is also significant that 100% of items primarily associated with the door are skulls.

For the boundedness of deposits, the largest proportion of most body part types are found in dual association locations. Of the eight body parts represented in this location, five account for a significant majority of all items in that category (four of which account for 100% of the items within the category, of which two are represented by more than one item), and a further two on parity with items in another location type. Both open and closed locations only have two cases where the majority of the category is found in that location. 60% of hearts and 75% of legs are found in open locations, and 52% of whole deposits and 100% of hooves are found in closed locations. Only whole animals are found in all location types, and are the only category to have items which account for a significant proportion of the total number of animal remains in any location type. This is most significantly the case for closed locations, where whole deposits account for over 84% of all items found in that location type.

	Ceiling	Chimney	Door	Floor	Foundtn	Oven	Roof	Stairs	Wall	Unk
Whole	1	15		12			12		16	15
Feet		2								
Head		2								
Heart		3								2
Hoof									1	
Horn		1							1	
Jaw					1				1	2
Leg		3								1
Scapula									1	
Skull		1	5			1				
Wing		1								
Bones		3			7	1		1	3	

**Table 7.9:** Frequencies of body parts across primary deposit locations.

### ***7.1.9 Animal type/body part comparison***

Overall, including those with unknown attributes, there are thirty-four types of animal remains that have been found, as categorised by both the species and the part of the body represented, although this falls to twenty-three types when examples of unidentified body parts are excluded. Of these, by far the most common is of whole cats, which occur forty-eight times and thus account for over 40% of all items within

this category. The second most common type is whole rats, and accounts for just under 7% of the total. Twenty-two animal remains types are represented by one a single deposit (over 60% of all animal remains types).

Cow remains exhibit the greatest diversity in body types, with deposits covering four identified body parts, while pigs, sheep, chicken and horses all cover three identified body parts. There are two examples where all cases of an animal species represented by more than one deposit are in the form of one body type; rats, and unidentified birds. In both cases, all deposits are of whole animals. The majority of other cases where over 50% of the deposits of an animal type represented by more than one deposit are on the form of one body type are in the form of whole deposits. The one exception to this is for horse remains, where skulls account for 70% of all deposits of this species. Additionally, 40% of sheep deposits are of jaw bones, while a similar proportion of cow remains are hearts. Conversely, all four deposits of pig remains are of different body types.

For the distribution of body parts, there are two examples where all cases of body types represented by more than one deposit are solely from the same animal species: horse skulls and chicken heads. There are only two further cases where over half of the deposits of body types represented by more than one deposit are associated with one animal; over 65% of whole deposits are cats, while 80% of hearts are from cows.

When comparing social classifications of animals alongside body parts, as expected, the most common animal type is of whole deposits of privileged species, which occur fifty times and thus account for over 40% of the total. The second most common type (whole deposits of wild animals) accounts for just over 10% of the total. Domesticated

	<b>Privileged</b>	<b>Domestic</b>	<b>Wild</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Unknown</b>
<b>Whole</b>	50	7	12	2	
<b>Head</b>		2			
<b>Skull</b>	7				
<b>Jaw</b>	2	2			
<b>Horn</b>		2			
<b>Leg</b>	2	2			
<b>Wing</b>		1			
<b>Feet</b>		2			
<b>Hoof</b>		1			
<b>Scapula</b>		1			
<b>Heart</b>		5			
<b>Bones</b>	1	5	5		4

**Table 7.10:** Frequencies of social classifications of animals across body parts used in deposits.

species have the greatest distribution of body part classifications, with all but one body part represented (skulls). Deposits of privileged species make use of half the number of body types as domesticated species, with only three identified body part types associated with this animal type. Wild species have all deposits either of whole animals or of unidentified parts. For both privileged and wild species, whole deposits account for more than 70% of the total deposits in those categories. No body type within domesticated species accounts for a significant majority of the category; although whole deposits are the most frequent within this social group, they only account for less than quarter of the total (table 7.10).

Aside from whole deposits, all identified body parts only cover a maximum of two categories each. Seven body parts are only from domestic species, while only skull deposits are exclusive to privileged species. There are six cases where over half of the deposits of body types represented by more than one deposit are associated with one animal type; five of these are where all incidences of a body type are from the same species, while the sixth example is that over 70% of all whole deposits are privileged species.

#### ***7.1.10 Summary***

For the most part, the national distribution of deposits containing animal remains is in line with general distributions, although there is a notably higher frequency of animal deposits in the South West region and within Greater London, and a much lower incidence in the South East. The distribution of remains across deposit locations indicates seemingly little significance of the choice of location.

The pattern of deposit locations across regions does indicate some regional differences in attitudes towards animal deposits. The Eastern region contains a higher incidence of deposits in dual locations, while the South West and London contain more deposits in closed areas. However, all three regions have not insignificant numbers of animal deposits occurring in all three bounded location categories. Furthermore, most incidences of non-whole deposits of animals largely occur in either the Eastern region or the South West, with little overlap between which body parts are represented in each region. Conversely, the region with the third highest frequency of animal deposits (Greater London) almost exclusively contains deposits of only whole animals.

In all aspects related to animals (species, social classification, and body part), deposits in the chimney display the greatest variation of types, often with only deposits in the

wall displaying a comparable, but lesser, display of diversity. This is particularly true for body types, where only the chimney and the wall contain more than two types of body parts.

There appears to be a difference in treatment of different social classes of animals. Privileged species occur more commonly in closed locations, while the same location type contains very few incidences of domesticated species, with the latter most commonly occurring in dual association areas. By contrast, wild species are relatively evenly distributed across bounded areas. Furthermore, there is a much greater range of body types from domesticated species, and all roughly evenly distributed. Privileged and wild species are much more heavily weighted towards the use of whole animals.

Cats are significantly the most commonly occurring animal species within deposits, although the presence of a wide array of animal species within deposits suggests that this may indicate a preference or ease of access to this particular animal (hence the common usage of cats in all represented regions), rather than any specific significance attributed to this one species. It is interesting to see that chickens are the second most common animal species, as they are not commonly discussed in earlier studies. It is perhaps not surprising that these are the only two species to display a clear association with one location type (cats occur more commonly in closed locations, while chickens are most commonly found in open areas).

Horse skulls display a notable pattern of use regarding their deposit location, although the five incidences of this type of animal deposit are from only two deposits. Nevertheless, all are found beneath the threshold. Additionally, all but one incidence of the use of hearts are from cows, and all cases with a known location are from within the chimney.

## **7.2 Natural Material**

Natural material represents the smallest proportion of all deposited items, occurring in fewer than 4% of deposits, and accounting for less than 2% of all objects. Natural material is divided into five categories (plants, stones, shells, bunt material and fossils), and a subcategory may also be formed of items which are identified as food, both pre- or post-processing. It is worth noting that many uses of a single type of natural material are represented by an unknown quantity of that item. Object 600.a.3 is described as “a cavity filled with hops”, while the approximate number of hops is unknown, while similarly, 512.a.4 is “sacks of straw and dust” with no indication of quantity. Other

items are simply referred to in the plural (“pebbles” or “shells”). The greater proportion of items within this category appear to be represented by an unknown quantity. All such cases are treated as a single use of the material.

There is only one case where the material appears to have been altered from its otherwise natural state. Item 398.a.2 is straw which has been plaited. There are no further details about this item.

While the categorisation of natural materials can be expanded out into more thirteen specific groupings, analysis of their distribution yields few useful results due to the small number of items within this category overall resulting in distributions with no clear grouping of items. Of these thirteen specific categories, none has a frequency greater than four items, and eight of them were differing types of plant material. Three of the five primary types of natural material were not expanded.

	East	E. Mdlns	N. West	S. East	S. West	W. Mdlns	Total
<b>Sites</b>	7	4	1	5	3	2	<b>22</b>
<b>Sites %</b>	31.82	18.18	4.55	22.73	13.64	9.09	
<b>Objects</b>	8	5	1	5	5	2	<b>26</b>
<b>Object %</b>	30.77	19.23	3.85	19.23	19.23	7.69	

**Table 7.11:** Frequencies and proportions of the total of items of natural materials and the deposits in which they are found.

### **7.2.1 General distributions**

Items of natural material have been recovered from fifteen counties across six regions, although only one item type from this category is present in two thirds of represented counties. Regionally, deposits containing natural material are the most frequent in the Eastern region (31% of deposits in this item category), closely followed by the South East and the East Midlands. While the Eastern region also has the highest numbers of individual items of natural material, the South East, East Midlands and South West all have the second greatest frequency, with five items each (table 7.11) (Appendix N.11).

Five of the nine primary locations of deposit are represented in this category.

	Open	Dual	Closed
<b>Sites</b>	6	6	9
<b>Objects</b>	6	9	9

**Table 7.12:** Frequencies of natural material and the deposits in which they are found by bounded location.

Deposits associated with either the chimney or the wall are equally frequent with seven instances each, all though wall deposits contain slightly greater number of natural material than those in the

chimney. In terms of boundedness of deposits, deposits in closed locations are the most common, occurring 50% times more than deposits in either open or dual association locations, of which there are since instances of each (table 7.12).

Of the five categories of material types within this group of objects, plant material comprises the greater proportion of items, accounting for over half of the category. The stones are the next most frequent item type, although are nearly only a third as frequent as plant items (table 7.13). Additionally, there are eight items within this object grouping as a whole which could be considered items of food; all of these fall under the primary category of plant items, and half are in the form of grains or seeds.

	<b>Plant</b>	<b>Stone</b>	<b>Fossil</b>	<b>Shell</b>	<b>Burnt</b>
<b>Freq.</b>	14	5	2	2	3
<b>%</b>	53.85	19.23	7.69	7.69	11.54

**Table 7.13:** Frequencies and proportions of the total of categories of natural material.

### ***7.2.2 National/deposit locations comparison***

Due to the sparse distribution of deposits containing natural material both nationally and across locations within the home, identifying distinct patterns in usage is very difficult, since the numbers of items in question are so few, no obvious patterns are immediately visible in the data.

Of the fourteen deposit categories where items are found, defined both by their primary location in the house and national location, eight of these are represented by only one deposit, and the greatest number of deposits in any category is three (table 7.14). Therefore, this makes definite patterns of use difficult to ascertain. Patterns of diversity across both regions and locations types, as well as frequencies in individual categories largely follow the same patterns as the overall frequencies of deposits in locations and regions for this category.

When assessing the boundedness of deposits, the spread between different categories displays a roughly even distribution in terms of frequency, although closed deposits are more frequent than the other two by a third. However, this is again largely attributed to the low number of items in this category. The greatest disparity in the deposition of natural material in any region is in the East Midlands, where three quarters of material from that area are found in closed locations, compared to a quarter in dual association locations. Closed deposits are represented in five regions each, dual association in four, and open deposits are only seen in three. In the two regions where

	Ceiling	Chimney	Floor	Roof	Wall	Unknown	Total
<b>Eastern</b>		2		1	3	1	<b>7</b>
<b>E. Mdlns</b>		1	2	1			<b>4</b>
<b>N. West</b>					1		<b>1</b>
<b>S. East</b>	1	2	1		1		<b>5</b>
<b>S. West</b>			1		2		<b>3</b>
<b>W. Mdlns</b>		2					<b>2</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>22</b>

**Table 7.14:** Frequencies of deposits containing natural material by region and primary deposit location.

deposits from all three location types are found (Eastern region and the South East), the distribution of deposits between the three areas is roughly even, particularly in the Eastern region where all three location deposits contain equal numbers of deposits.

### ***7.2.3 National/materials categories comparison***

Plant material is found in all represented regions but one, and is the most common type of natural object in all areas where it is found, with one exception (the South West, where shell is the most frequent item type). It occurs most frequently in both the East Midlands and the South East (four items of plant material each). In both cases, plants account for 80% of all natural objects found in those regions, with only a single additional natural item found in each region. Although only being a third as frequent as plant items, stone items are found in only one fewer regions than plants (table 7.15). Shells are the only type of natural material to be utilised in only one region (South West), although there are only two uses of shells in this manner, both of which are from the same deposit (516.a).

The two item types which are only found in two regions both have notable distributions. Burnt material is only found in the eastern-most regions (Eastern and East Midlands, although more frequently in the former), while fossils are found at opposing

	Eastern	E. Mdlns	N. West	S. East	S. West	W. Mdlns	Total
<b>Plant</b>	3	4		4	1	2	<b>14</b>
<b>Stone</b>	2		1	1	1		<b>5</b>
<b>Fossil</b>	1				1		<b>2</b>
<b>Shell</b>					2		<b>2</b>
<b>Burnt</b>	2	1					<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>26</b>

**Table 7.15:** Frequencies of types of natural material across regions.

ends of the country (one item found in each of the Eastern region (48.a.6) and South West (12.a.2)).

#### 7.2.4 Deposit locations/material categories comparison

There are some discernible patterns for the distribution of types of natural materials in relation to their specific locations of deposition, although in most cases the distribution is too weak to distinguish a specific mode of use. Plant material has the greatest distribution, occurring in nine specific deposit locations, although in all but two, there is only a single deposit in each location. The two locations which see a greater frequency of the deposition of plant material are both associated with the chimney, and consequently account for all but one deposit of natural material primarily associated with the chimney. Stone items have the second highest distribution, although they are only found in three locations, two of which are represented by only one object.

When counting only primary deposit location, plant materials are found in all represented location types (table 7.16). 50% of the category is found in association with the chimney, more than double the frequency of plant items in any other location. Stone items are only found in two locations, however, 80% of stone items (four objects) are deposited in locations primarily associated with walls. The remaining item is deposited in association with the chimney (313.a).

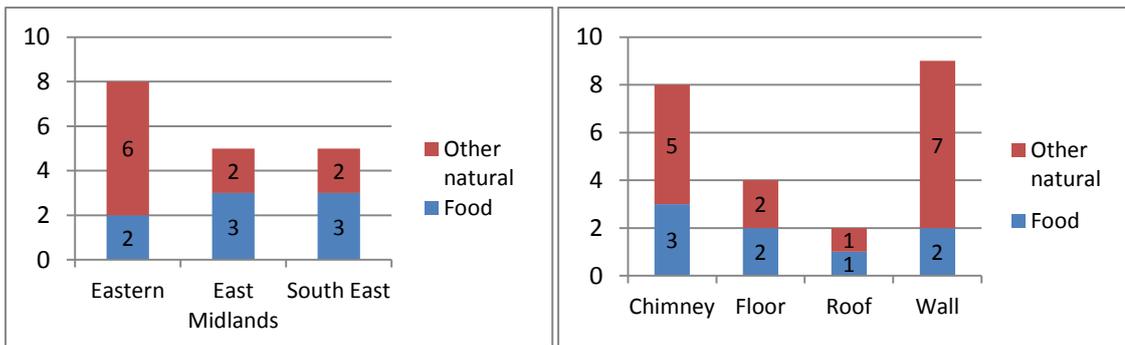
When examining the locations of items within open or closed space, counting both primary and secondary locations, we see a more even distribution among differing

	Ceiling	Chimney	Floor	Roof	Wall	Unknown	Total
<b>Plant</b>	1	7	3	1	2		<b>14</b>
<b>Stone</b>		1			4		<b>5</b>
<b>Fossil</b>				1	1		<b>2</b>
<b>Shell</b>					2		<b>2</b>
<b>Burnt</b>			1			2	<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>26</b>

	Open	Dual	Closed	Total
<b>Plant</b>	5	4	5	<b>14</b>
<b>Stone</b>	1	1	3	<b>5</b>
<b>Fossil</b>		2		<b>2</b>
<b>Shell</b>		2		<b>2</b>
<b>Burnt</b>			1	<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>24</b>

Top: **Table 7.16:**  
Frequencies of types of natural material across primary deposit locations;  
Left: **Table 7.17:**  
Frequencies of natural material categories across bounded locations.

location types in the categories with the most objects (table 7.17). Both plants and stones have deposits occurring in open and closed locations. However, while plants are roughly equally distributed across the three locations, stones are more concentrated in closed locations. Both fossils and shells have all items deposited in dual association locations. The only category not found in dual association locations are burnt items, which are only known to appear in closed locations.



Left: **Figure 7.8:** Proportions of food items in regions where they are found in relation to the remainder of natural items; Right: **Figure 7.9:** Proportions of food items in primary deposit locations where they are found in relation to the remainder of natural items.

### 7.2.5 Deposits of food items

Food items are only found in three regions, all of which are in the eastern part of the country (Eastern, East Midlands and South East). All food items are relatively evenly distributed across all regions where they are found; the South East and East Midlands both have three deposits/items, while the Eastern region has two. In both the South East and the East Midlands, food items account for 60% of all natural objects found in those regions, but those from the Eastern region only represent quarter of natural material from that area (figure 7.8).

The deposits cover four of the five primary deposit locations represented in this type category overall, excluding only ceiling deposits, of which there is only one within category of natural material as a whole. Food items are relatively evenly spread across primary deposit locations, the greatest number being associated with the chimney (three items) and the fewest associated with the roof (one item). Food items represent 50% of the objects found primarily associated with both the floor and the roof, but less than quarter of those associated with the wall (figure 7.9).

As with the rest of the category, when examining boundedness, the distribution across location types is fairly even with three items in both closed and dual association

locations and two items in open locations. In all location types, food items represent a third of the total items found in those locations.

### **7.2.6 Summary**

In spite of the overall low frequency of deposits containing natural material, some general patterns of use can still be established, particularly when compared to the proportional distributions seen across all deposits.

Across the category as a whole, the national distribution of natural material is not very far removed from the distribution of all deposits, displaying no significant concentration in one or two regions. The only significant difference is that deposits containing natural items are proportionately more common in the East Midlands, but less so in the South East. For primary deposit locations, all areas except the roof are proportionally more common than the overall distribution, although this is attributable to a low incidence of deposits with no known location and a narrower range of deposit locations.

The broad regional distribution of item types within this category suggests little localised significance of the items used, particularly taking into account the low numbers of items in each category. The two item types which do display some regional patterning (shells and burnt items) only occur in low frequencies, and therefore their distributions are more likely to be circumstantial.

The distribution of material types across deposit locations are possibly indicative of different intentions and treatments of items (although it should still be remembered that all but one item of natural material occur in deposits with objects belonging to different categories). While items of plant material are spread across a range of locations, the other categories only occur in one of two. In particular, more item types are most commonly found in wall deposits, while plants occur much more frequently in the chimney. Consequently, plants are very evenly distributed across bounded location types, while other categories occur almost exclusively in either dual association or closed areas.

Items of food generally display few patterns of use which would otherwise distinguish them from the rest of the category, with the exception of their occurrence in the three eastern-most regions.

## VIII

### Analysis of Data: Everyday Objects

Everyday items are the most frequent object type by a significant margin, accounting for over 80% of both deposits and objects. Items from this category can be divided into fifteen categories primarily based on their original function, some of which can be subdivided further. Additionally, analysis of the data may relate to any wear or alterations to the objects, and to the age or sex of the owners of the objects where such information is discernible.

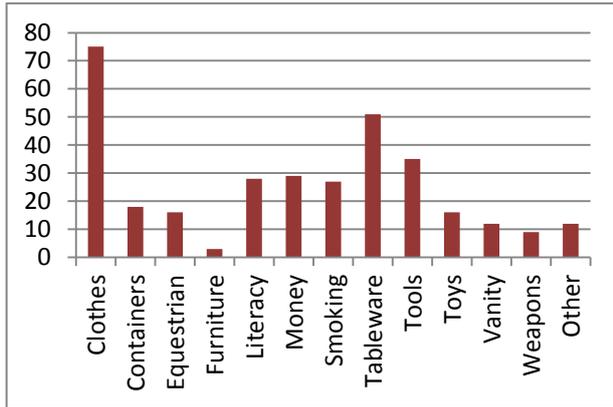
#### **8.1 General distributions**

Everyday objects are found in deposits from thirty-seven of the thirty-nine represented counties, and occur in all nine regions. Both the greatest number of deposits and objects occur in the South East (32% of deposits), while the Eastern region has the second highest frequencies (28% of deposits). Aside from the South West, deposits in all remaining counties account for less than 10% of the total (table 8.1) (Appendix N.12). However, when assessing what proportion everyday objects represent out of all deposits in each region, there are more notable patterns. While deposits containing everyday objects represent 82% of the total, the same is true for over 90% of deposits from the North East, North West, West Midlands and the South East. However, they occur in only 71% of deposits in the Eastern region, and only 48% of deposits in Greater London.

Deposits from this category occur in all nine primary locations. Deposits found in the wall are the most common, accounting for 26% of the total, while chimney deposits are the second most frequent. For numbers of objects, there are an equal number of items in wall and chimney deposits (three-hundred and twelve items each). In all other primary locations, the numbers of objects are less than half as frequent as those in

	East	EM	LDN	NE	NW	SE	SW	WM	Yorks	UNK
<b>Sites</b>	150	46	12	2	12	175	94	32	13	4
<b>%</b>	27.78	8.52	2.22	0.37	2.22	32.41	17.41	5.93	2.41	0.74
<b>Objects</b>	378	88	24	2	19	424	166	62	24	5
<b>%</b>	31.71	7.38	2.01	0.17	1.59	35.57	13.93	5.20	2.01	0.42

**Table 8.1:** Frequencies and proportions of items and deposits containing everyday objects across regions.



**Figure 8.1:** Frequencies of everyday object types (shoes excluded).

either the wall or the chimney. For the boundedness of locations, over 64% of deposits with known locations occur in closed locations. Deposits in open locations are more common than those in dual association locations, but this most likely attributable to the high number of deposits associated with the chimney with no secondary location.

Proportionately, out of all deposits, there are very few deposits containing everyday items primarily associated with both the door and the foundations, with deposits from this category accounting from 50% and 16% of the total in those areas respectively. Alternatively, 100% of deposits found in the ceiling and the stairs contain everyday items. For the most part, the presence of everyday objects in bounded locations is not drastically different to the proportion this category represents, although deposits in dual-association locations are underrepresented, with only 62% of cases containing items from this category.

Shoes are overwhelmingly the most common of all fifteen object types within this category, accounting for 70% of the total. In contrast, the second most common item type, clothing, represents only 6.3% of all items in this category. All other object types account for less than 5% of the total items within this category (figure 8.1).

	Ceiling	Chimney	Door	Floor	Foundtn	Oven	Roof	Stairs	Wall	Unk.
East	2	45	2	16	1	1	16	7	28	32
EM	1	4		9		2	6	1	17	6
LDN		2		2			2		4	2
NE									1	1
NW				2			4		2	4
SE	7	42	1	30			23	4	42	26
SW	2	9	1	13		6	13	4	32	14
WM		7		3	1		6	3	8	4
Yorks		2	1	2			1	1	5	1
Unk.							2		0	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>92</b>

**Table 8.2:** Frequencies of deposits containing everyday items by region and primary deposit location.

## 8.2 National/deposit locations comparison

For almost all deposit locations, the greatest proportions of deposits occur in either the Eastern region or the South East. The only exception to this is for deposits placed in ovens, of which two thirds are found in the South West. Of the remaining cases, excluding chimney and foundation deposits, there is only one region which accounts for 25% or greater of the total deposits in each location. For deposits in the ceiling, floor, roof and wall, the greater proportion occur in the South East, while deposits associated with the door, and stairs occur primarily in the Eastern region. For chimney deposits, both the Eastern region and the South East contain over a quarter of deposits from this location, although they are slightly more common in the Eastern region (table 8.2).

For three of the nine counties, the greatest proportion of deposits which occur in an identified location are found in primary association with the wall. However, in all but one of such cases, the proportion never exceeds 40% of the total deposits in that region. In the Eastern region, 30% of deposits are primarily associated with the chimney, in the North West, a third of deposits are found in the roof, and in the South East, there are equal numbers of deposits occurring in the chimney and the wall (each accounting for 24% of deposits in the region).

In terms of boundedness, there is a similar distribution. The largest proportions of deposits in each location type occur in the Eastern region or the South East. More deposits in closed locations occur in the South East, while there are more in dual association locations in the Eastern region. For open locations, the proportions between the two regions are roughly equal, although slightly higher in the South East, due to a difference of two deposits in this location category. All regions have the greater

	<b>Open</b>	<b>Dual</b>	<b>Closed</b>
<b>Eastern</b>	23.33	17.33	38.00
<b>East Midlands</b>	6.52	8.70	71.74
<b>London</b>	16.67		66.67
<b>North East</b>			50.00
<b>North West</b>			58.33
<b>South East</b>	21.14	10.29	53.71
<b>South West</b>	8.51	11.70	64.89
<b>West Midlands</b>	21.88	6.25	59.38
<b>Yorkshire</b>	15.38	23.08	53.85
<b>Unknown</b>			50.00

**Table 8.3:** Proportions of deposits containing everyday objects in bounded locations for each region (note that deposits in unknown deposit locations are not included).

proportion of deposits occurring in closed locations, with all but one region having between 50% and 72% of deposits in this category. The exception is the Eastern region, where deposits in closed locations represent 38% of deposits containing everyday items in the region (table 8.3).

### **8.3 National/ everyday object categories comparison**

When assessing the proportions of object types within regions, it is only natural that shoes would dominate the distribution. In all but one region, shoes account for the significant majority of objects, representing between 67% and 92% of deposited objects. The region where shoes are proportionately lowest represented is Yorkshire, where they account for two thirds of deposits, closely followed by the Eastern region and the South East. The region where shoes are proportionally the best represented is Greater London. The only region where shoes are not the dominant object type is in the North West, where there are no recorded instances of shoes in deposits. Instead, both known deposits from this region contain only money (table 8.4).

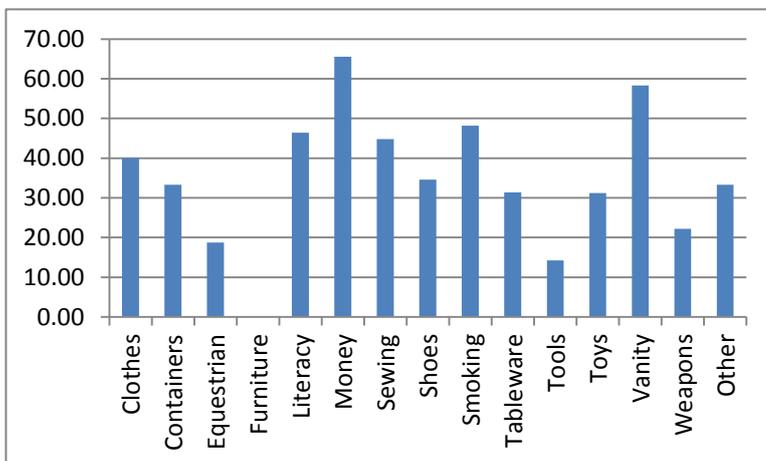
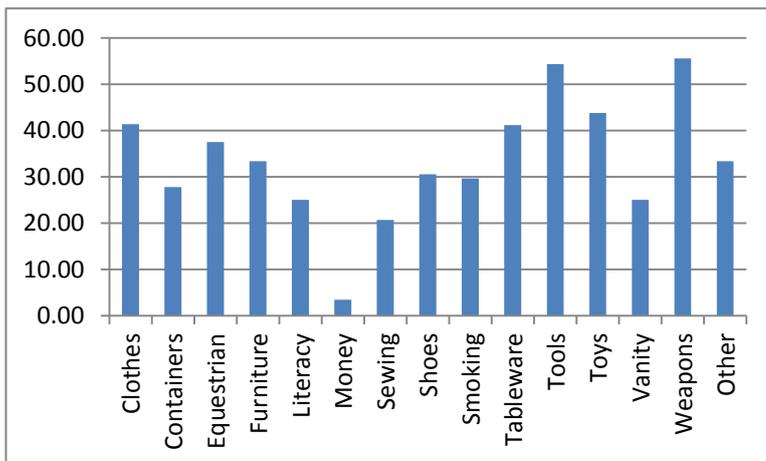
If shoes are removed from the dataset, then the distribution of other object types becomes clearer. In four of the six regions where items of clothing are found, this category of items are the most common. This is most significantly the case in the West Midlands, where clothing accounts for 27% of everyday items when shoes are excluded. For the remaining two regions, in the South West, clothing is the fourth most common

	East	EM	LDN	NE	NW	SE	SW	WM	Yorks	Unk.
<b>Adornment</b>	3	1				7		1		
<b>Clothes</b>	31	5				30	5	3	1	
<b>Containers</b>	5	3				6	4			
<b>Equestrian</b>	6	1				3	4	1	1	
<b>Furniture</b>	1	2								
<b>Literacy</b>	7	3			1	13	3	1		
<b>Money</b>	1	1		2		19	4	1		1
<b>Sewing</b>	6	1				13	8		1	
<b>Shoes</b>	254	67	22		17	288	114	51	16	3
<b>Smoking</b>	8				1	13	4	1		
<b>Tableware</b>	21		2			16	9		2	1
<b>Tools</b>	19	1				5	7	2	1	
<b>Toys</b>	7	2				5	1	1		
<b>Weapons</b>	5					2	1		1	
<b>Other</b>	4	1				4	2		1	

**Table 8.4:** Frequencies of everyday object types across regions.

object type, after tableware (17%), sewing items, and tools. In Yorkshire, there is only one recorded item of clothing, which is thus equally as frequent as five other object types occurring in that region. Additionally, tableware is the only category to have items account for at least 10% of the total objects in all five regions in which they occur. In London, tablewares are the only everyday object type represented when shoes are removed, although there are only two instances of the use of this object type. Similarly, in the North West, only literacy and smoking related items remain, of which there are only single uses of each.

Examining the regional distribution of object types, the pattern is broadly similar to more general distributions, with most of the greater proportions of each category occurring in either the Eastern region or the South East (Appendices N.16 and N.17). The South East contains a minimum of 14% of instances of all object types which occur in the region, while in the Eastern region, all but two object types have at least 25% of items deposited in the region. Of these two exceptions, one category (sewing) still has 21% of items in the region. The most notable distributions of objects within



Top: **Figure 8.2:** The proportions of each object type found in the Eastern region; Bottom: **Figure 8.3:** The proportions of each object type found in the South East.

these two regions are tools and weapons, of which over 54% of items in each category are used in the Eastern region, and personal adornment items and money, of which over 58% of each are in the South East (figures 8.2 and 8.3). The large proportion of money in this region is partly due to the accurate recording of twelve coins found in one deposit in the region.

#### **8.4 Deposit locations/ everyday object categories comparison**

Again, shoes dominate the distribution of proportions of each object type in primary locations, representing between 58% and 86% of objects found in each primary location, in all but one case. The deposit location where shoes are proportionately lowest represented is the wall, while the location where shoes are proportionally the most represented is the foundations. While the highest and lowest proportions of shoes coincide with the locations which have the greatest and smallest distributions of item types, this pattern is not consistent across all locations. The one location where shoes do not account for the outright majority of objects is the door, where shoes are equally as frequent as tableware items, each representing a third of items deposited in this location (table 8.5).

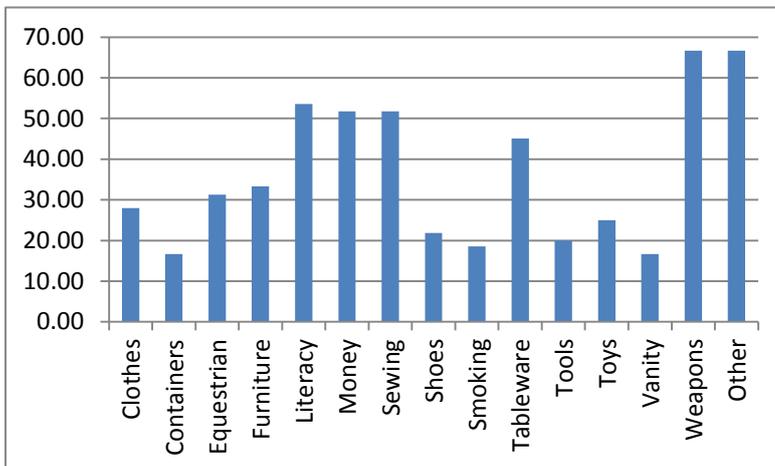
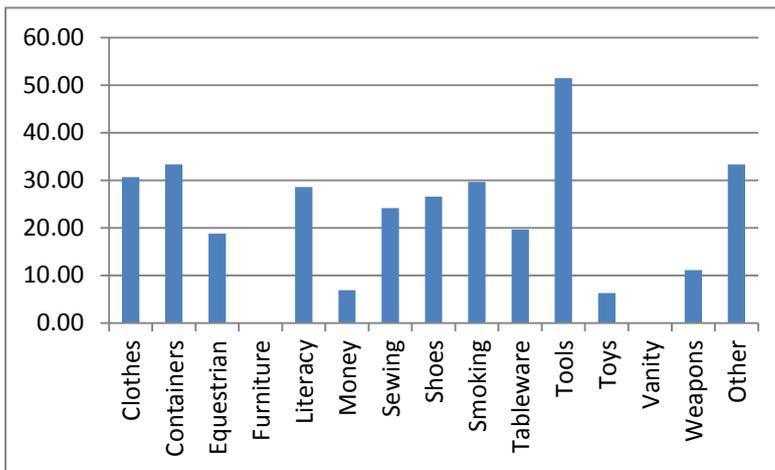
When examining location distributions for individual object types, the pattern broadly mirrors that which is evidenced in other distributions, but with some notable variations. The majority of object types have the largest proportion of objects deposited

	Ceiling	Chimney	Door	Floor	Foundtn	Oven	Roof	Stairs	Wall	Unk
<b>Adornment</b>				5				3	2	2
<b>Clothes</b>	2	23	1	14			2	2	21	10
<b>Containers</b>		6		4		1	4		3	
<b>Equestrian</b>	1	3		1			1		5	5
<b>Furniture</b>				1			1		1	
<b>Literacy</b>	1	8		1			1		15	2
<b>Money</b>	3	2		4			1	1	15	3
<b>Sewing</b>	1	7					2	3	15	1
<b>Shoes</b>	18	221	2	106	6	9	116	49	182	123
<b>Smoking</b>		8		1		1	4	3	5	5
<b>Tableware</b>		10	2	4	1	1	4	3	23	3
<b>Tools</b>		18	1	3		1	3		7	2
<b>Toys</b>		1		7			1	1	4	2
<b>Weapons</b>		1							6	2
<b>Other</b>		4							8	

**Table 8.5:** Frequencies of everyday object types across primary deposit locations.

in either the chimney or the wall. There is no case where any object type has less than 16% of object in the category occurring in wall deposits, while there are two cases for represented object types in chimney deposits which account for less than 10% of objects (money and toys). There are five object categories which have over half of all items occurring in deposits associated with the wall (literacy, money, sewing, weapons, and others), while there is only one with the same proportion of items in chimney deposits (tools). Also of note, is that significant proportions of containers and smoking items are deposited in the chimney, while tablewares mostly occur in wall deposits (figures 8.4 and 8.5). Exceptions to this distribution are toys and personal adornment items, both of which have the larger proportion of items occurring in floor deposits. Although a quarter of items from the toy category still occur, adornment items still continue to be more common in stair deposits than wall deposits. Additionally, furniture items are equally distributed across three locations, although each incidence is represented by a single object.

In terms of boundedness, shoes are noticeably less-well represented in dual



Top: **Figure 8.4:** The proportions of each object type found in primary association with the chimney; Bottom: **Figure 8.5:** The proportions of each object type found in primary association with the wall. (Scale is in % for both figures.)

association locations. While this category of objects accounts for over 70% of items in both open and closed locations (accounting for a slightly greater proportion of the former), shoes only account for 49% of deposits in locations with both open and closed elements. When comparing the distribution of object types across location categories, the overall concentration of items in closed locations is still apparent, with eight out of the fifteen object types having 50% or greater of all items occurring in closed locations. Tools are the only object type to have fewer than 25% of items in closed locations. There is only one case where over 50% of items in any category are from dual association locations (furniture), and a further two cases where deposits in this location type are the most common or are equally as frequent as deposits in another location. While there are no cases where the majority of objects in a category occur in open locations, there are three cases where deposits in this location type are not the least frequent. Both shoes and containers have more deposits in open locations than dual association locations (this difference is more dramatic for containers; 33% of items are in open locations compared to 6% in dual association locations), while, as previously mentioned, the lowest proportion of tools are in closed locations.

When shoes are excluded, clothes become the best represented object type, which is unsurprising due this category having the second highest frequency of items after shoes. In four of the seven identified locations in which items of clothing occur, this category accounts for at least a quarter of all everyday items in those locations when shoes are not included in the total (although, there is only one items of clothing associated with the door). Of the remaining three locations, clothing accounts for at least 10% of items in two of them (only deposits found in the roof are below this threshold), although tablewares also account for at least 10% of all locations where they are found but one (floor deposits). Also of note is that the greatest proportion of deposits in the ceiling are of money.

With regard to the boundedness of locations, even excluding shoes, there is no object type which accounts for 25% or greater than any location type. Clothes is the only object type to account for greater than 10% of items in all three categories.

## ***8.5 Everyday object categories***

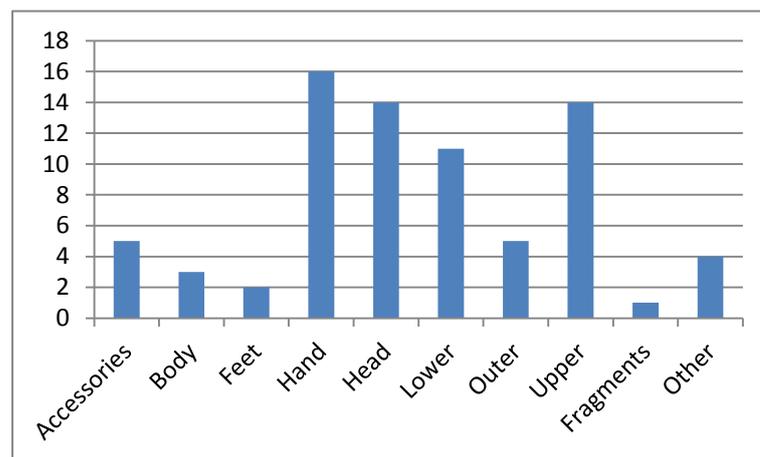
### ***8.5.1 Clothes***

There are seventy-five non-shoe items of clothing recovered from forty-eight concealed deposits, the second most common object type after shoes. These account

for approximately 6% of all everyday items, but this rises to 21% when shoes are removed from the total. A wide array of garments and clothing have been found, enough that classifying them by garment type would be meaningless; the items of clothing include belts, socks, bonnets, spur guards and stomachers, as well as the more expected items such as hats, gloves, dresses, shirts and breeches.

Instead, clothing items are classified according to the part of the body they relate to: accessories, full body, feet, hands, head, lower body, upper body, outer garments, and others. Items relating to the hands (all gloves in various forms) are the most common, with sixteen cases, while head and upper body items are both the second most common, with fourteen cases each (figure 8.6). Items in the head grouping are largely all varying styles of hat, but a black velvet visard mask (605.a.1) is also included.

There are five accessories, which include three purses or pockets and two belts. All three full body items are incomplete garments of different types: a dress (240.a.10), a smock (423.a.5) and undergarments (5.a.10). The two feet-related items are both socks, one of which was found inside a shoe (record 97.a). Of the eleven lower body items, five are breeches, but the grouping also included leg boots, leggings, stockings and a garter. Of the five outer garments, three are coats (one of brown felt, another of linen), while the other two items are a linen apron and part of a 17<sup>th</sup>-century leather jacket. Four of the five “other items” are spurs or spur guards, while the fifth item is unidentifiable clothing fragments (517.a.4).



**Figure 8.6:** Frequencies of clothing items by the area of the body they correspond to.

### ***8.5.2 Containers***

There are eighteen items which could be identified as containers or having previously been part of one occurring in sixteen deposits, which represent 1.5% of all everyday items, but 5% of this category when shoes are excluded.

There are a variety of differing container types, some of which would ordinarily have been counted as tableware if there were not more detailed information related to their form and function. Nine of item in this category are glass bottles, or parts of them. Of the ones where approximate details relating size are given, all are described as “small”. One of these is identified as a medicine bottle (no contents) (621.a.1), while another contains beef tallow (631.a.1). Other items in this object grouping include a hat box, a metal tin, a creamware pharmacy beaker, ornamental boxes and a shoe polish tin lid.

### ***8.5.3 Equestrian objects***

There are sixteen items across fourteen deposits which are closely related to horses or the similar use or large domesticated animals for farm labour. This category represents 1.3% of all items in this grouping, but this increases to 4.4% excluding shoes.

Most items are directly related to the harness, either being the actual harness or pieces of it, or being a component of it, such as the bit or buckle. One bit appears to have been made from the combination of two different bits (658.a.7). There are also five deposits of horseshoes and one case of a partial ox shoe (536.a.2). One of the horseshoes is smaller shoe found nailed to an ox’s hoof (580.a.2). Additionally, there is one deposit of a whip (431.a.3).

### ***8.5.4 Furniture***

There are only three items of furniture or similar household fittings, occurring in the same number of deposits, thus making this the least common everyday object type. It only accounts for 0.25% of the category as a whole and only increases to 0.83% is shoes are not counted.

Only one item is explicitly related to an item of furniture; a wooden table leg described as “partially carved” (221.a.2), while the other two relate more generally to fitted aspects of the domestic environment. One item is a small piece of wooden panelling with carved decoration of arched niches, while the other is curtain rail end (48.a.7 and 617.a.3 respectively).

### 8.5.5 Literacy

There are twenty-eight items associated with reading, writing and other documentation recovered from nineteen concealed deposits, thus accounting for 2.4% of everyday objects, and 7.8% for the category when shoes are not included.

There are five sub-categories which literacy related items can fall into: documents, reading writing, reading and/or writing and other (figure 8.7). There are eight items which are classes as documents, which include a bill, receipts, a tax assessment and a tenant roll for Dartford marsh written in Medieval Latin (644.a.1). All three receipts are from the same deposit and all date to within eight years of each other (1670-1678).

There are twelve items in the reading category, ten of which are books or parts of books. Most of the books, where the subject or title is known, are generally related to religion. Examples include a book of sermons, a prayer book, bible pages, and a prayer book titled “Supplications of Saints” (45.a.4). Other books include one on advice for seamen and fishermen, a book about the local district, and book of prose and poems (45.a.5, 123.a.2 and 543.a.2). The two non-book items in this category are both newspapers. The title or location of publication of the newspapers is unknown in both cases, and the date of only one of them is recorded (22<sup>nd</sup> June 1749) (611.a.1).

There are only two items related solely to writing: a stoneware inkwell and slate pencil. There are also only three items which incorporate aspects of both reading and writing: two letters and a red leather notebook, the contents of which are all unknown. One of the letters was found inside a linen baby’s undercap (deposit 600.a).

There are three items which do not immediately fit into any of the above classifications. Two are pieces or scraps of paper, while the third is a square of leather with an inscription (the inscription itself is not recorded) (92.a.2).

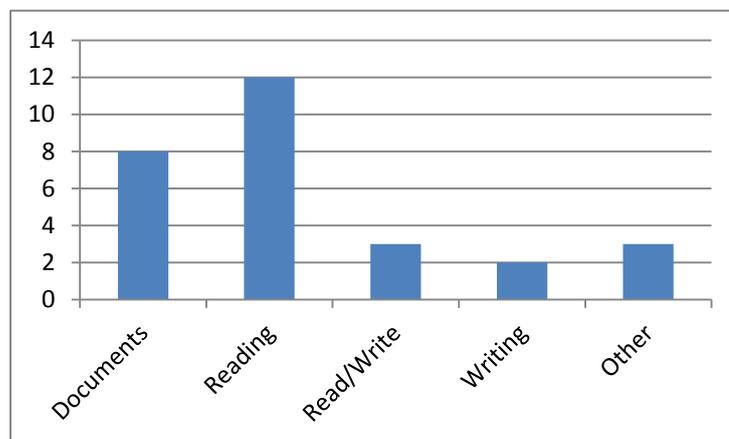


Figure 8.7: Frequencies of literature items by function.

### **8.5.6 Money**

Individual coins or coin hoards containing unknown amounts of money occur twenty-nine times across sixteen deposits, thus representing proportions within the category which are similar to those for the group of literacy-related items.

For the most part, items in this category are individual coins or token. Five of these are tokens or jettons, while the rest are ordinary coins of varying values, metals and dates. Examples include a Henry VII gold coin, an Elizabeth I silver sixpence, a heavily worn coin from the reign of Charles II, a lead token with an image of an angel on one side, and a pewter coin with what appears to be Greek writing on the obverse. Fourteen of the coins (including all the tokens) are from the same deposit, which in total comprised twenty items, making it one of the largest deposits of items within this study (600.a). There is only once case where a single coin is the only item in a deposit; a copper Charles II coin deposited in a wall (record 616.a).

Additionally, there are three cases of deposits of multiple coins with no additional items. One comprises of thirty-six coins in a bag dating from Elizabeth I to Charles I (615.a), one is of three-hundred and nine coins of unknown type and date (614.a), and the third is an unknown quantity of silver coins of “varying dates” (613.a).

There are three instances where single coins or a small but unspecified quantity are recovered from beneath floors, which may suggest that they were an accidental loss (399.a.13, 512.a.3, and 535.a.2). However, all such cases are accompanied by other items, which somewhat suggests that their placement may still have been intentional.

### **8.5.7 Personal adornment**

Twelve items are adornment, grooming or similarly personal objects occurring in nine deposits, and only represent 1% of the total category, increasing to only 3.3% when shoes are excluded.

Buckles and combs are the only objects in this category which occur more than once, the former four times and the latter three times. Other items in this category included a button, a blue ceramic bead (658.a.14), a hat pin (617.a.2) and hair clips (645.a.6). In the case of the buckles and the button, these have been allocated to this category rather than having been included in the clothing or shoe categories on the basis that they do not occur in deposits alongside either of those object type, or are confirmed to not be related to other items with which they are found.

### 8.5.8 Sewing

There are twenty-nine instances of deposits of items relating to sewing or textiles within twenty deposits, therefore making their proportional representation similar to that of the literacy and money groups.

Items from this category can be divided into three groups: paper patterns for making clothes, pieces of material or fabric, and tools for sewing or similar activities (figure 8.8). There are six paper clothing patterns, all from the same deposit (597.a). All have pin holes which indicate their use prior to concealment, and three are made from newspaper. The type of clothes that would be made from these patterns is not identified.

There are fourteen pieces of material or fabric of various types and sizes. A number are only scraps or fragments, but are included in this category on the basis that they could still potentially be used for repairs. There are eight cases when the type of fabric is known: five cases are pieces or scraps of leather, plus one piece of corduroy, one piece of linen, and one piece of chamois. The chamois and one of the pieces of leather are identified as possibly having previously been part of items of clothing, although this is only presented as a possibility and is not confirmed (both from deposit 423.a).

There are nine implements related to sewing or similar forms of manipulation of material. Three are bobbins, two pins (one made of brass), a thimble, a needle case, a spool, and spindles with threads.

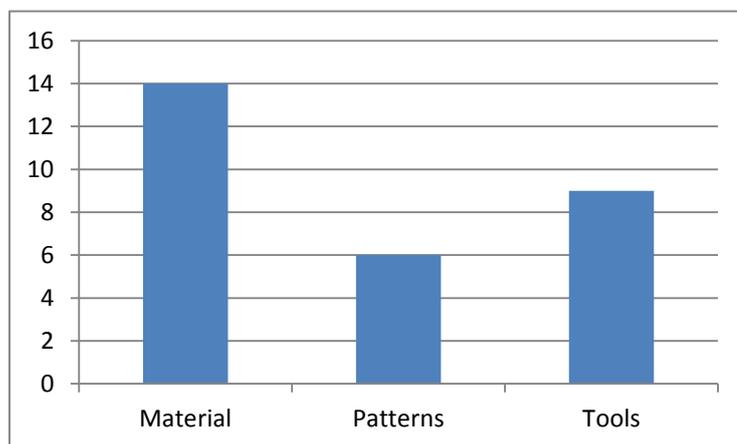


Figure 8.8: Frequencies of sewing items by object type.

### 8.5.9 Shoes and other footwear

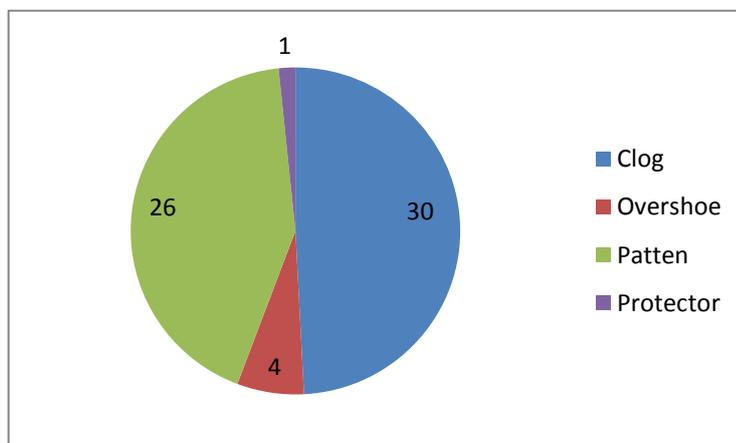
Shoes, other footwear and related items account for the significant majority of everyday objects, totalling eight-hundred and thirty-two objects across four-hundred and seventy-five deposits, thus accounting for 70% of deposited everyday items. Pairs

of shoes are normally counted as one item, so, if pairs of footwear items are not counted as a single unit, the number of items in this object grouping rises to nine-hundred and thirty-five.

Items of footwear can be initially be divided by the general function or condition of the item, and then further divided by type or style. Initial groupings are general footwear, overshoes, deposits of parts of footwear, and items which resemble shoes. General footwear items are the most common, with items identified as shoes accounting for the significant majority of the object category as a whole (six-hundred and sixty items, or 79% of the object grouping). Additionally, there are fifty-one deposits of boots, four slippers, and two galoshes. Although deriving from different deposits, both galoshes are of black leather and belonged to a woman, and both were recovered from wall deposits in the South West.

Overshoes can be divided into clogs, pattens, other or unspecified overshoes, and toe protectors (figure 8.9). There are thirty examples of clogs, or parts of them, made of wood, leather or brocade fabric where material is known. In one case, only the iron skate is present (367.a.1), and on another clog, the heel is shod with a horseshoe (415.a.1). Pattens occur twenty-seven times, although for eight of these, only the patten irons or rings are present. For the most part, very little detail is known about the majority of deposited pattens; only four are confirmed to be made of wood. There are four other overshoes, although in one case only the leather straps are present, and only one toe protector, made of iron and belonging to a woman's shoe.

Deposits of partial items can be divided into four groupings: soles, heels, insoles and other fragments (figure 8.10). Soles and fragments are the more common, numbering twenty-five and seventeen incidences respectively. Although there are numerous



**Figure 8.9:** Frequencies of types of overshoes.

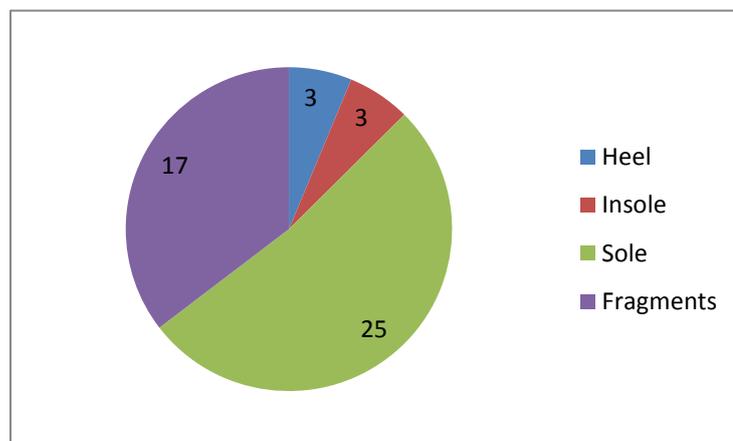
instances of deposits of partial or fragmentary items of footwear, thus making this category not particularly remarkable, all cases within this classification are from items of footwear where a general type or style could not be identified.

There are only two types of items which aesthetically similar to shoes, without being items of footwear themselves. The first is shoe lasts; the foot-shaped form used for the making and repair of shoes. There are four incidences of the deposition of lasts, three of which occur in the same deposit (145.a). The three lasts found together each represent differing demographics; one for a child, one for an adult woman, and one for an adult man. The remaining example contains an unknown quantity of lasts, designed for the production of shoes with square toes and high heels (249.a). The other type of item in this category is carved shoes, of which there are two examples. One is a shoe, approximately five inches long, while the other is a boot, around four inches long (326.a.1 and 320.a.1 respectively). In both cases, the items are carved from chalk, were accompanied by no other items, and were found in an unknown location in West Sussex in the South East.

#### ***8.5.10 Smoking***

There are twenty-seven instances of the deposition of pipes and other smoking related items from twenty-two deposits. These account for 2.3% of everyday objects, but this increases to 7.5% when shoes are removed from the total.

All but one of the items in this group are clay pipes, or pieces of them. Both separate bowls and stems occur in deposits, as well as fragments. The only other item is metal cigarette tin with no known contents (16.a.4).



**Figure 8.10:** Frequencies of categories of incomplete or partial pieces of footwear.

### **8.5.11 Tableware**

There are fifty-one items which can be designated as tableware and cutlery across thirty-six deposits, making this category the third most commonly occurring type of everyday object. The grouping accounts for 4.3% of everyday objects, but 14.17% of the total when shoes are excluded.

This category included items such as pots, jars and bottles, as well as crockery, drinking vessels and cutlery, and there is one case of the deposition of an earthenware candlestick. There are a number of items in this category which could potentially be classified as another object type. There are eight knives (including one handle without the blade (648.a.2)), which could alternatively be classed as weapons. There are four items which could otherwise be considered containers, due to a general lack of information as to their form or function; three are just described as “pots”, while the fourth is a ceramic jar.

Additionally, there are a high number of bottles within this category, of numerous materials: five stoneware, two of glass, one of leather, one ceramic, and one unknown. All the stoneware bottles are of the *Bartmann* form, although all are either known to be empty or have unknown contents. The common usage of this type of vessel for the creation of witch bottles may suggest that these items should be treated as magical objects. However, the fact that many of the bottles in this case are known to have no contents, and that *Bartmann* bottles would have likely served a function as ordinary household tableware prior to being reused as a witch bottle, has led these five items to be treated as everyday objects, rather than magical ones, since there is no evidence to suggest all *Bartmann* bottles recovered from concealed location had been used for magical purposes or otherwise had similar magical associations.

Aside from the knives, other examples of cutlery are limited to seven spoons and a single fork (163.b.2), although due to the status of forks as newer items of cutlery (Overton *et al.* 2004:106), this distribution is not surprising. There is no further information regarding the material or style of the fork, but the spoons are made from a variety of different materials. Three are silver, one is brass, one is wooden (13 cm long, so presumably it was used as tableware rather than kitchenware), and one copper spoon coated in silver wash. There are also four examples of items of drinking ware; one stem from a wine glass, one broken glass goblet, and two other items described only as a “cup” and a “mug”. There is also an ale jug of unknown form or material however, this

would have been for serving drinks, rather than a vessel from which to directly consume them.

Finally, there are nine items within this category which are not immediately identifiable as tableware, but are included on the basis of material type. Most are fragments or sherds of ceramic items, although in most cases, the type of ceramic is known (examples include redware, stoneware and slipware). Additionally, there are two small Delft pots of unknown function (both from deposit 647.a).

#### ***8.5.12 Tools***

There are thirty-five items which could be identified as a tool or similar household implement from twenty-four deposits, therefore representing 2.9% of the object category as a whole, but 9.7% of the grouping if shoes are not included.

This category comprises a wide range of items closely related to a particular trade or related to the efficient completion of a household task, largely made of wood or iron. Items include nails, chisels and files, wooden dowels, a thatcher's needle (30.a.6), a wig-maker's block (611.a.2), and a fishing line and hook (536.a.4). It also includes general practical items such as part of a bucket and the remains of a cartwheel.

Nine items from this group could be more readily classified as domestic household implements, including brooms, oven shovels, trays and a sink.

#### ***8.5.13 Toys***

Sixteen items are toys or are similarly related to games of some form from twelve deposits. These account for 1.3% of everyday objects and 4.4% of the category when shoes are removed from the total.

The majority of items in this category appear largely to have belonged to, or been made for children, although it should not be readily assumed that they were solely owned by younger people. Where the material of the item is known, most are wooden, but there are also items of leather, bone and lead. Items range from more simple items such as balls, marbles and a die, to lead figures (one a thin, shallow relief of a woman (628.a.2), the other of a human head (625.a.1)), a wooden cow, a bat and hap game, and three instances of dolls (although two of these are from different parts of possibly the same doll in the same deposit – deposit 397.a). Additionally, there are three playing cards found together, but due to their location under the floor, there is the possibility that these were an accidental loss (deposit 532.a).

#### ***8.5.14 Weapons***

Nine items from eight deposits can be classified as being weapons or being related to items which may be used as such, and represent only 0.8% of the total, increasing to 2.5% of the total if shoes are not included.

The majority of items in this category are in the form of sheaths or scabbards for bladed items, rather than the weapons they would have contained. The multifunctional role of knives makes them difficult to categorise, especially when details such as size, form and particular function are unknown. As such, the majority of deposited knives are treated as tablewares, rather than weapons. There is only one knife in this category, but it is only the blade, rather than a complete item (658.a.15). Other items in this category are a cross bow (599.a.3) and a flintlock gun (626.a.1).

Interestingly, there is also an iron seax, dated to approximately the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD (619.a.1). It is hypothesised that this was recovered from the cemetery near to the house from which it was found. However, it is the only item recovered from such a deposit which is evidently several centuries older than the building from which it was recovered. No other items were deposited with it, but there were two additional deposits of single items in other locations in the same house, both also made of metal (record 619).

#### ***8.5.15 Other items***

There are an additional twelve everyday objects from eleven deposits which do not readily fit into any of the other object types, therefore making their proportional representation similar to that of personal adornment items.

Items serve a range of functions and are made of a variety of materials. Items include a whalebone stamp (123.a.6), a wooden staff of office (30.a.9), an iron key (536.a.3), a bag of corks (214.a.2), a noose (239.a.10), a stone head with empty eye sockets and a round hole for the mouth (632.a.1), and bone which may be from a human (although this is not confirmed) (150.a.2). All but two items from this category are deposited with additional objects. The only exceptions are a triangular piece of iron found in the same house as the iron seax mentioned above, and the stone head.

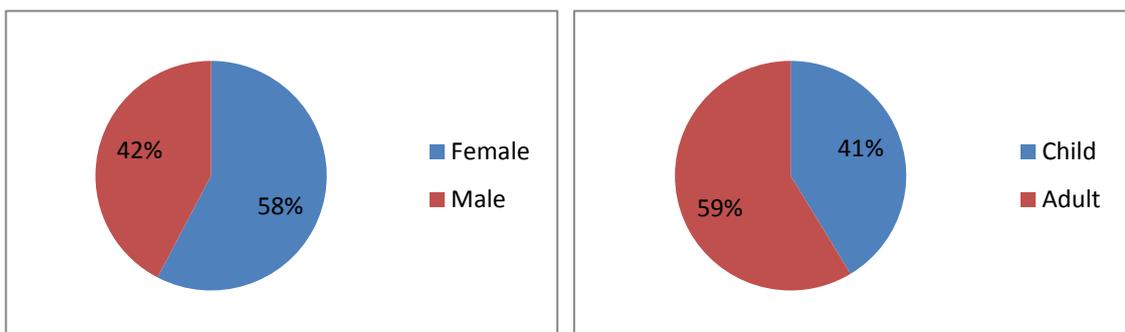
### ***8.6 Sex and age distributions of objects***

Overall, out of the nine-hundred and seven items which could potentially be aged or sexed, there are four hundred and eleven items with known gender associations. Of these female items outnumber male items at a ratio of approximately 4:3 (figure 8.11).

The proportional distribution of known sexed items across both the object type categories where sexed items can be determined (shoes and clothing) are roughly even, with female items accounting for approximately 25% of items in both cases, while male items account for approximately 20%. Similarly, the distribution of object types across sexes remains consistent, with proportional differences of less than 1% between male and female items for both item types.

There are six-hundred and seventeen objects where the approximate age of the owner is identified. Adult items are the more common of the two, and outnumber children's items at an approximate ratio of 7:5 (figure 8.12). While the distribution of object types across age groups is similarly consistent with that for sexed items (although the proportion of aged items which are shoes is slightly greater in this case), the same is not true for the proportion each age category represents in both object types. A much greater proportion of shoes have an approximate age range attributed to them (72% of shoes, compared to 24% of clothing items). As a result, the proportion of both adult and children's shoes is much greater than for other items of clothing.

When comparing aged and sexed items against each other, using all examples from both of the clothing and shoes categories, items belonging to adult women are the most common in cases where both age and sex are known, while children of unknown sex are the most common for items within at least one aspect of age or sex identified (table 8.6). Of all adult items, those which are also identified as female are the most common, representing half of all adult objects, while the greater proportion of children's items have no identified sex (75% of children's items). Of the children's items which do have an identified sex, those belonging to females are more common, occurring nearly twice as frequently as male children's items. Similarly, of all items with a known sex, those belonging to adults are substantially more common than those of children or those with unknown age, with adult objects accounting for over three quarters of items for both



Left: **Figure 8.11:** Proportions of male and female items where known; Right: **Figure 8.12:** Proportions of children's and adult's item where known.

male and female categories.

These patterns are broadly the same only for shoes, since they comprise the greater proportion of the dataset in this case. However, there are some differences in the distributions within clothing. Items belonging to adult men are the most common for cases where both age and sex are known (this category is more frequent than adult women by only a single item), while women of unknown age are the most common for items within at least one aspect of age or sex identified. Items with neither age nor sex identified make up half of all clothing items. In terms of proportions of aged items within sex categories, items of unknown age are the most common, accounting for over half the all items in each category in all cases, while adult items are the second most common. For distributions within age categories, as expected, males account for the greater proportion of adult clothing, while for children’s clothing, female items and those of unidentified sex were equally frequent, with only a single instance of a male item.

When items from both object types are combined, there are examples from all possible combinations of age and sex. However, within each object type, there are some combinations which do not occur. There are no examples of male shoes which do not also have an approximate age range identified, while for clothing, there are no garments belonging to adults which have not been identified as being male or female.

In terms of regional distribution, the distributions of both aged and sexed items are largely in line with the proportions of all the occurrence of objects within each region, using distributions from both all everyday objects, and the combined total of the two object types from which aged and sexed items can be identified. There are only a few cases where the proportion of either aged or sexed items within a region is outside of 5% of the overall proportion for the region. For aged objects, children’s items in the Eastern region are lower than expected, while in the South East, children’s items are well above the overall proportion, but the proportion of adult items in this region are below it. For sexed items, only male items in the Eastern region are proportionally

	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Unknown</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Adult</b>	180	144	38	<b>362</b>
<b>Child</b>	40	22	193	<b>254</b>
<b>Unknown</b>	17	8	265	<b>291</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>496</b>	<b>907</b>

**Table 8.6:** Frequencies of male and female items compared against aged items.

	East	EM	LDN	NE	NW	SE	SW	WM	Yorks	Unk.
<b>AF</b>	53	17	7		1	58	25	14	3	2
<b>AM</b>	38	20	8		3	41	19	12	2	1
<b>AU</b>	24	2				6	2	4		
<b>CF</b>	12	1			1	19	5	2		
<b>CM</b>	3		1			9	7	1	1	
<b>CU</b>	42	16	4		10	84	23	12	2	
<b>UF</b>	5					9	2	1		
<b>UM</b>	4					3	1			
<b>UU</b>	104	16	2		2	89	35	8	9	

**Table 8.7:** Frequencies of aged and sexed items across regions.

lower than expected.

In six of the eight represented regions, adult objects occur more frequently than those belonging to children. In four of these examples, the proportion of adult items is notably greater than the proportion of adult items in all aged objects; in each case, adult objects account for at least two thirds of aged items located in those regions. Of these the region which contains the highest proportion of items belonging to adults is Greater London, where they account for 75% of aged objects. Only the North West and the South East have more instances of deposits of children's items. This is most notably the case in the North West, where nearly three quarters of aged items are those belonging to children. For distributions of sexed items, female items are more common in four regions, none of which are above the overall proportion. They are proportionally the most common in the South East, where they account for 62% of sexed deposits. In three of the remaining regions, male items are more common, although the proportion of male objects in these regions never exceeds 60%. In Yorkshire, male and female objects are equally represented (table 8.7).

For locations of deposit, the distributions of both aged and sexed items are proportionally very similar to that of the general distribution, with only one case which falls 5% outside of the expected range (33% of female items are found in the chimney, compared to 26% of all everyday objects). Notably, while the concentration of items in

	Ceiling	Chimney	Door	Floor	Foundtn	Oven	Roof	Stairs	Wall	Unk
<b>Adult</b>	5	110	2	38	6	3	37	21	95	45
<b>Child</b>	5	70		38		2	38	17	59	26

**Table 8.8:** Frequencies of aged items across primary deposit locations.

the chimney and wall is still present, in all cases, both aged and sexed items, deposits in the chimney are more common, even though, in total, there are even numbers of items in these two locations.

For distributions of aged items within each location, adult items are consistently more common than those belonging to children, being proportionally more common in seven of the nine deposit locations. For deposits in the foundations and associated with the door, all aged items belong to adults; both cases are represented by more than one object. For all other cases, the proportions in these locations are largely consistent with the overall distribution of all known aged items, with the exception of floor deposits, where adult items are equally as frequent as those of children, whereas the overall proportion is that 59% of objects belonged to adults. The roof is the only location where deposits of children’s items are more common, although there is a difference of less than 2% in the proportions of adult’s and children’s objects. Aged items are equally represented in ceiling deposits (table 8.8).

For distributions of sexed items, there are four locations in which female items are more common than those belonging to men. These proportions are generally consistent with the distribution of the total number of sexed items, with the exception of deposits under the floor, which are higher than expected. The ceiling and oven are the only two locations where male items are the most common. For oven deposits, all items found in this location with an identified known sex attribution belong to men (three items). There are three locations where sexed items are equally represented (door, foundations and stairs) (table 8.9).

For the boundedness of locations, deposits in closed locations continue to be the most common in all cases, with female items being the only category of aged or sexed objects with less than half of instances occurring in this location type (48.5% of female items are in closed locations). Both male objects and children’s objects are over-represented in bounded locations, while both classes of aged items are under-represented in dual association locations. For distributions of aged and sexed items within each location type, female items are more common than those belonging to men in all three cases, with the greatest disparity between the two in open locations.

	Ceiling	Chimney	Door	Floor	Foundtn	Oven	Roof	Stairs	Wall	Unk
Female	4	77	1	31	3		25	10	62	24
Male	5	53	1	18	3	3	21	10	49	11

**Table 8.9:** Frequencies of sexed items across primary deposit locations.

Similarly, adult items are also more common than children’s items in all three cases, the greatest disparity occurring in dual association locations. Both categories in both aged and sexed distributions are consistently in line with the overall proportions derived from the total number of items with an identified age or sex of owner.

**8.7 Left and right assigned items**

There are also a number of objects within the clothing and shoe groups which are recorded as being left or right items. Overall, right items outnumber left items at a ratio of 3:2, with thirty-three right-assigned objects, compared to twenty-two left items. The low commonality of such items is most likely due to the majority of shoes not being made for specific feet in the early modern period, instead being made “straight” (Swann 1996:65). The few examples which have been recorded as relating to one side or the other will have developed physical signs pertaining to one side or the other as a result of long-term wear. There are also a number of deposits of pairs of items, which are counted as single items in all distributions, due to it being a “set” or complete “unit”. Overall, there are one-hundred and six pairs of objects.

Items of clothing in this case are notably less frequent than shoes, which is largely due to only a small proportion of items within the clothing category being eligible for this distribution, in comparison to the majority of items within the shoe grouping. There are only five items of clothing where a side of the body can be determined, and three deposits of pairs of items. As such, items of clothing account for only 5% of all objects considered here (10% of right or left items, and 3% of paired items). All items with a known side are gloves or similar items to be worn on the hand, while the paired items are socks, corset stays and a set of spurs (table 8.10).

For the most part, the distribution of these three categories of items across the different regions is proportionately similar to the overall distribution for all everyday objects. There are only a few deviations; the proportion of pairs of items in the Eastern region is lower than expected, while the proportion of left items in both the South East and South West is higher than expected. This is more significantly the case for the

	<b>Pair</b>	<b>Left</b>	<b>Right</b>
<b>Clothes</b>	3	1	4
<b>Shoes</b>	103	21	29
<b>Total</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>33</b>

**Table 8.10:** Frequencies of pairs and left or right assigned items of clothing and footwear.

South East, which accounts for approximately 36% of all everyday items, however, 55% of all items used on the left side of the body are from this region.

When considering the distributions of all three categories within each region, pairs of items account for over half of such items in most cases. For the remaining regions, the proportions of each item type can vary significantly from the overall proportion each category represents within this grouping. In fact, there is no case where the proportion of pairs of items in each region is within 5% of the proportion this item type represents overall. Pairs are proportionally the most common in the East Midlands, where they account for 85% of such items. A similar pattern is seen for left-sided items, where deposits in only one of the six represented regions are in line with the overall proportion. When this distribution included only the left or right-sided items, it is apparent that in most regions where both types are found, there is little difference in the frequency of both types of item. Only the Eastern region is an exception to this, where there is only one deposit of a known left-sided item, compared to nine right-sided items (table 8.11).

For the most part, deposits across primary deposit locations are in line with the proportions for all everyday objects. However, all three categories of objects are significantly more greatly represented in roof deposits than expected (12% of all everyday objects are associated with the roof, while all three categories have at least 20% of items in the same location). Additionally, left-sided items are under-represented in wall deposits. For the boundedness of locations, left-sided items are notably higher than expected in open locations. Left-sided items are also proportionally under-represented in dual association locations, while right-sided items are over-represented. The same proportion of sided items occur in closed locations (45%), while the same location type is the only one where there is a higher than expected proportion of paired items.

In a similar pattern to the regional distribution, pairs of items are the most common of the three categories in all primary deposit locations in which they occur. There are two locations where the number of paired items is equally common as either of the

	East	EM	LDN	NE	NW	SE	SW	WM	Yorks	Unk.
Pairs	27	11	1		4	38	14	9	1	1
Left	1	1				12	5	2	1	
Right	9	1	1		1	14	6	1		

**Table 8.11:** Frequencies of pairs and left or right assigned items across regions.

sided items (oven and stairs). Aside from cases where only one of the three categories is found in a deposit location (right-sided items in the ceiling and pairs associated with the door; both represented by one item), and the aforementioned cases where two of the three categories are equally represented in the same location, all but one proportions are in line with the overall average. The exception is paired item in wall deposits, which are higher than expected. Similar patterns are present with bounded locations, pairs of objects account for at least 59% of items in all three cases. Left-sided items are more common in open locations than the overall proportion. In dual association locations, both pairs and left sided items are lower than expected, while right-sided items are more common than expected.

Counting only sided items, for primary locations of deposits where both right and left-sided item occur, right-sided items are always more common, and all cases are in line with the overall ratio of right to left-sided items. There are three cases where only one type of sided item occur in a deposit location, but only one of these is represented by more than one item (three right-sided items associated with the stairs) (table 8.12). When examining this distribution using the boundedness of locations, left-sided and right-sided objects occur at equal frequency in open locations. Right-sided items are dramatically more common in dual association locations at a ratio of 4.5:1. The distribution in bounded locations is exactly the same as in the overall distribution.

	Ceiling	Chimney	Door	Floor	Oven	Roof	Stairs	Wall	Unk
Pair		29	1	15	1	22	3	29	6
Left		6		3	1	5		4	3
Right	1	7		5		7	3	7	3

**Table 8.12:** Frequencies of pairs and left or right assigned items across primary deposit locations.

### ***8.8 Wear and alteration of objects***

This categorisation of objects aims to examine the level of use objects were subjected to prior to their concealment, including objects which display signs of wear, alterations or repair, or were simply broken or otherwise rendered unusable. As such, only the objects where a clear indication of any previous use or alteration is recorded are included in this category; many of the objects within this type category do not have details of their condition recorded. Consequently, this thus excludes items which might otherwise have simply suffered damage as a result of their long-term concealment (i.e. those where the condition is only described as “poor”), rather than relating to their use

	Frequency	% of worn items	% of all items	% of item type
<b>Clothes</b>	24	4.59	6.29	32
<b>Containers</b>	4	0.76	1.51	22.22
<b>Equestrian</b>	7	1.34	1.34	43.75
<b>Furniture</b>	3	0.57	0.25	100
<b>Literacy</b>	4	0.76	2.35	14.29
<b>Money</b>	4	0.76	2.43	13.79
<b>Sewing</b>	6	1.14	2.43	20.69
<b>Shoes</b>	423	81.03	69.79	50.84
<b>Smoking</b>	15	2.87	2.27	55.56
<b>Tableware</b>	18	3.45	4.28	35.29
<b>Tools</b>	7	1.34	2.94	20
<b>Toys</b>	2	0.38	1.34	12.5
<b>Weapons</b>	3	0.57	0.76	33.33
<b>Other</b>	2	0.38	1.01	16.67

**Table 8.13:** Frequencies of everyday objects displaying signs of wear or use, the proportion of worn items each category represents, the proportion of all everyday items each category represents, and the proportion of each item type with signs of prior use.

prior to concealment.

In total, five-hundred and twenty-two items (44% of everyday items) have recorded details of any indication of use. On the whole, in terms of both regional distribution and locations of deposition, items with known evidence of use broadly follow the same patterns as those for the whole object group, although with some minor exceptions. Deposits primarily associated with the chimney proportionally more common than for the whole group (deposits in this area account for 34% of used items compared to 26% of all everyday items). In turn, the proportion of deposits in both open and dual association locations are higher than expected, while those in closed locations are lower than the overall proportion in the same location type.

All object types but one in this category display some form of use prior to deposition; the only object type not included is personal adornment items. Like other distributions, the proportion each object type represents is not far differentiated from their overall proportions within the category. However, the proportion of used items which are shoes is approximately 10% greater than the proportion shoes represent within the category as a whole. The proportion of each object type known to have evidence of prior use is, in most cases, below the total proportion that used items represent. The most significant cases of this are for literacy, money, toys and “other” items, all of which have fewer than 20% of items with recorded evidence of use or wear.

	<b>Repaired</b>	<b>Alterations</b>	<b>Worn</b>	<b>Incomplete</b>	<b>Fragments</b>	<b>Broken</b>
<b>Freq.</b>	152	55	241	127	76	60
<b>%</b>	29.12	10.54	46.17	24.33	14.56	11.49

**Table 8.14:** Frequencies of different use types and the proportion each represents out of all used items.

Only three object types have identified evidence of wear on more than half of items in that category. Approximately half of all shoes and smoking items are known to be worn, while all instances of the deposition of furniture items display evidence of use (although this category does have the lowest number of total objects, containing only three items) (table 8.13).

Evidence of use can be divided into six different forms: general wear, repair, other alterations, items which are incomplete, items which are broken, and items which are fragmentary. This categorisation should not be considered absolute, as there are a few cases where it is not clear which category is most appropriate; the line between what is incomplete and what is broken is not always one which is obvious. Additionally, these categorisations are not necessarily singular, and where such information is available, evidence of use on one item may simultaneously fall into several categories. The highest number of wear categories applied to any single items is three. 69% of items with recorded signs of use only display evidence of one form of wear or use. All but one case for items with more than one indication or form or use are of shoes, the remaining items being an article of clothing. Of the six wear categories, general wear is the most

	<b>Repaired</b>	<b>Altered</b>	<b>Worn</b>	<b>Incomplete</b>	<b>Fragments</b>	<b>Broken</b>
<b>Clothes</b>	1	1	2	11	7	1
<b>Containers</b>				1	2	1
<b>Equestrian</b>		1		6		
<b>Furniture</b>				2		1
<b>Literacy</b>				3	1	
<b>Money</b>			4			
<b>Sewing</b>					6	
<b>Shoes</b>	49	9	107	51	35	9
<b>Smoking</b>					3	12
<b>Tableware</b>				3	3	12
<b>Tools</b>				3		4
<b>Toys</b>				2		
<b>Weapons</b>				1		2
<b>Other</b>					2	
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>42</b>

**Table 8.15:** Frequencies of object types which display only one form of use or wear.

common, evident in 46% of used items, while alterations are the least frequent, occurring in only 11% of objects (table 8.14).

When examining distributions of forms of use against object types (using only objects with one identified form of use), there are some notable patterns relating to the type of objects and the ways in which they are more prone to or more readily display differing forms of wear (table 8.15). Repaired items are only confined to items of clothing or shoes, and there is only one instance of the former. Similarly, items which were otherwise altered or showed signs of wear were also only confined to a limited group of item types. In both cases, both shoes and clothing were present, but in addition, one equestrian item had been altered, and all money items showing clear signs of use had been heavily worn. Despite worn objects being the most frequent of all used objects, 95% of items solely classified as “worn” are shoes, although this may largely be due to the particular terminology more readily used to describe shoes and other items of clothing, hence worn shoes account for the greater proportion of that object type.

The use category which most items fall into is “incomplete”, which incorporates ten of the fourteen represented object types. Subsequently, five of those object type have the majority of used items in this category; clothing, equestrian, furniture, literacy and toys. Smoking items, tablewares, tools and weapons all have the majority of used items classified as broken. Only containers, sewing items and “other” objects have the greater proportion of items classed as fragments or fragmentary. There are four object types where all identifiably used items display the same form or wear. As previously mentioned, all money items are worn, while all toys are incomplete, and sewing and “other” items are all fragments/fragmentary.

### ***8.9 Summary***

As the category accounts for the majority of all deposits, it is unsurprising that the general distributions largely match those of the dataset as a whole. While there are some slightly more noticeable differences in the national distribution, they are comparatively minor. However, it is interesting to note that fewer than 50% of deposits from Greater London contain everyday objects, while they occur in a minimum of 70% of deposits in all other regions. Similarly, items in this category are underrepresented in both door and foundation deposits, most significantly in the case of the latter.

Items of footwear significantly dominate this category, occurring more than eleven times more than the next most frequent item type, which, incidentally, is other items of clothing.

There are few patterns when comparing distributions across differing categories (regions, deposit locations, and item types) which are not already evidenced in general frequencies. One of the main exceptions to this is that the clear majority of deposits in ovens occur in the South West, and that there is a comparatively low incidence of deposits in closed locations in the Eastern region. Additionally, the door is the only area where shoes are not the most common item type and account for less than a third of all objects associated with the area. While there are some cases where the significant majority of object types are associated with one location, they are generally either associated with the chimney or the wall, the two most common deposit locations.

In terms of the bounded distribution of object types, it is interesting to note that all object types occur in dual-association locations, equalling the distribution for closed locations, despite there being nearly three times as many objects in the latter location type, and over four times as many deposits. Shoes are also under-represented in dual locations, being 20% less frequent than in closed locations. Additionally, there are more cases where more than 25% of an item type is found in dual locations than open, despite the latter location being more frequent within this category as a whole.

It is interesting to observe that only two object types from this category are found in London, an underrepresented region within this object grouping. Two of the three most frequent item types are found here (shoes and tablewares). Although almost all item types are found in both the Eastern region and the South East (the two regions with the highest frequencies of items from this category), there are some clear differentiations in which items are favoured in those areas, with tools and weapons being much more common in the former, while money and vanity items occur more frequently in the latter. There are only three cases where the greater proportion of an item type does not occur in either of these two regions, two of which occur in the South West, which contains the third greatest frequency of objects from this category.

Across every object category, there is generally no incidence where one type of object is significantly more commonly included in deposits than others. A wide range of object types and functions are represented. This is especially noticeable within the clothing category, where items associated with all parts of the body are represented, and no sub-type accounts for more than 25% of the grouping. The main exception to this is

the smoking category, which is dominated by clay pipes, although this may be due to a lack of variation in the survivable material culture related to this action.

Items identified as belonging to a female are more common than those of a male, while adult clothing items are more frequent than those belonging to children. In both cases, the disparity between the two types is not drastic, both occurring at a ratio of approximately 3:2. Therefore, it is unsurprising that in cases with both the age and sex identified, items belonging to adult women are the most frequent, although children of unknown sex are the most common where at least one attribute is identified (possibly due to a lack of gendering of children's clothes). Distributions across regions and deposit locations are generally as expected for both aged and sexed items.

Items belonging to either the right or the left side of the body also occur at a ratio of 3:2, with right-sided items being more common, although there are only fifty-five items overall which are identified as being used only on one side of the body. It is notable that pairs of shoes are much more common than pairs of other clothing items, although items of clothing with a known side, in a pair or otherwise, are very infrequent.

Distributions across regions and deposit locations are also largely unremarkable. There is a notably high incidence of known sided items in the South East, overall occurring more than twice as frequently as any other region.

Over 40% of items within this category display some form of use or alteration prior to concealment, including objects from all but one item type. Of the remaining item types, most have fewer than 50% of items displaying some sign of prior use, with the exceptions being shoes, smoking items, and furniture. The majority of items can be said to display signs of "wear", with signs of repair, or the item simply being incomplete being the next most common signs of use. Shoes and items of clothing are the only two item types to contain items which fall into every use category, while the grouping of incomplete items covers the greatest range of object types.

## IX

### Discussion

This chapter will aim to draw out a number of interpretations of the various distributions discussed in the previous chapter. Analyses will address possible reasons for the patterns of use seen across the main variable aspects of deposits outlined in the previous chapter, factoring in both cultural and practical possibilities. These analyses will then contribute to the construction of more detailed discussions of the processes which surround and facilitate these practices. This will contribute to the understanding of how these ritual acts and the objects they incorporate fit into the early modern worldview with regard to the use and perception of domestic space, and the reciprocal and intertwining relationship between people, material culture and constructed space.

#### *9.1 Geographic concentration of deposits*

It is apparent that there is a much greater concentration of deposits in the south and eastern areas of the country, with deposits becoming more infrequent towards the north of the country (chapter 5, section 5.1.1). This particular distribution indicates that the purpose or origin of such rituals is not derived from folk beliefs of specific worldviews belonging to a particular community or area, as the overall concentration of deposits covers too large a geographic area. While the practice may potentially have originated with one local aspect of folk belief, the consistent occurrence of similar actions over a number of regions indicates that, if it were the case, the original impetus was not necessary or vital to the adoption or continuation of the practice. If individualised folk beliefs were important in the enactment of this ritual, it is unlikely that we would see the adoption of similar actions over such a broad spatial range, as it would likely be incompatible with other worldviews and understandings of which objects possessed special properties. Even within the geographic distributions of individual object types within item categories, there are very few cases where a significant proportion of an object type is confined to a single region. Given this, it seems increasingly unlikely that this was a practice which originated in a single area and spread across the country, but rather a mode of practice which has a more socially organic origin.

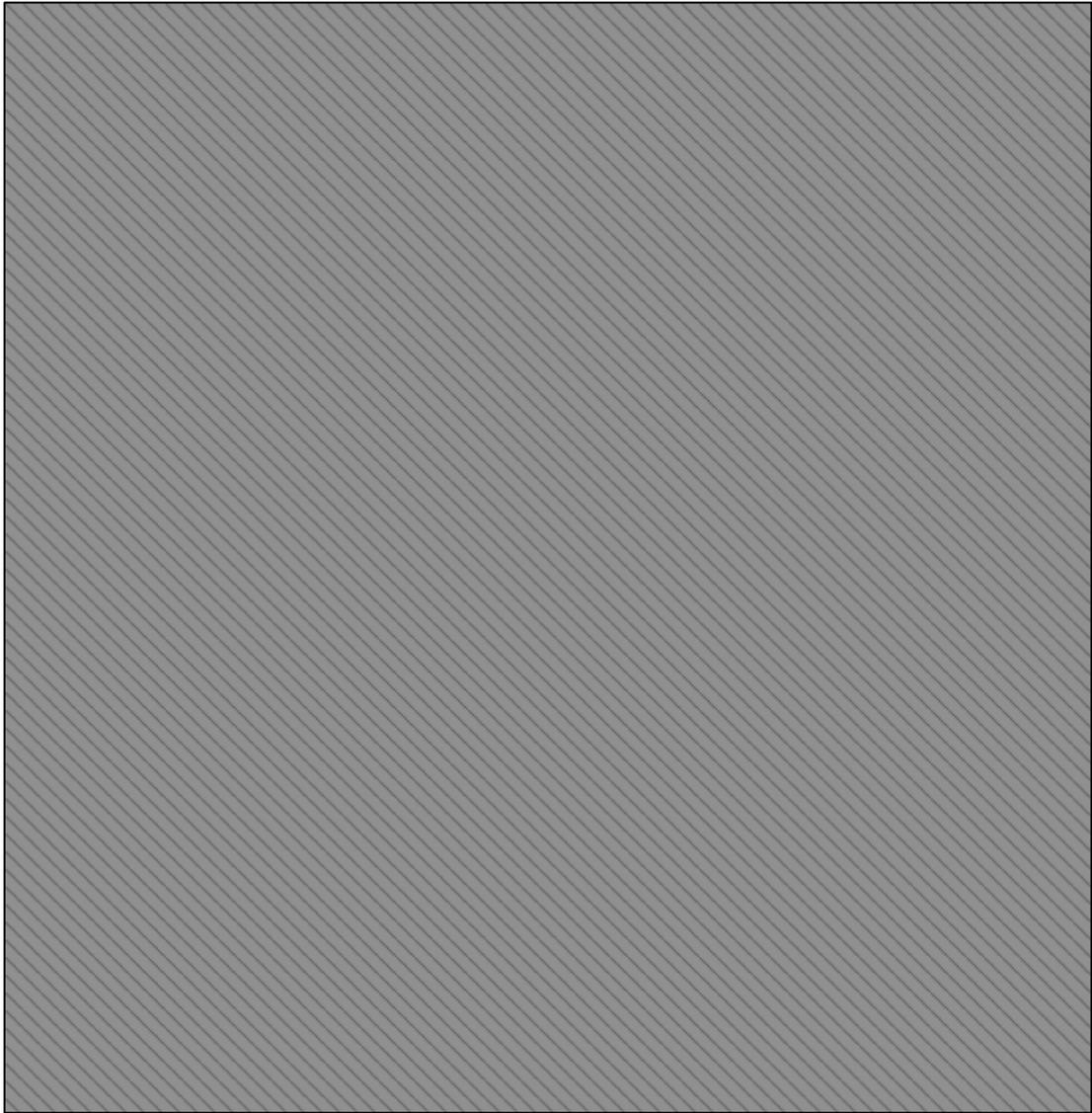
The general distribution pattern continues within most of the object groupings (although deposits of animal remains do appear to occur more frequently in the south west than other object types), but only magical objects appear to occur predominantly

in the Eastern region, with comparatively few occurrences elsewhere (chapter 5, section 5.3.1 and chapter 6, section 6.1.1). This would indicate that magical practices are differentiated from deposits of other objects, as their limited distribution suggests a clear linkage to a particular part of the country, and therefore is reliant on the localised folk beliefs about their efficacy. Therefore, the deposition of magical items is likely to relate to a different practice and mode of understanding and intended outcome than deposits of non-magical objects.

It can be theorised that the concentration of this practice in general around the south and east of the country is, perhaps in part, attributable to the influence of foreigners. The high level of trade which occurred between England and continental Europe during this period would have resulted in an increased foreign population in the country, especially around larger trade centres, many of which are situated on the eastern or southern coasts. By the late sixteenth century, approximately one third of the population of Norwich consisted of “strangers”, continental Europeans who had settled there either as a result of long established trade links, or escaping religious persecution (Moore 1996:364). Therefore, it may be theorised that the influx of foreigners in Norwich, among other English cities, would have resulted in the transmission of beliefs and practices which might explain the seemingly sudden rise of domestic-based deposits.

This theory is of particular relevance to the use of *Bartmann* bottles in magical practices. As a continental import, it is possible to infer that the use of *Bartmann* bottles as witch bottles is derived from a similar practice in mainland Europe. However, witch bottles appear to be an English invention, due to there being no known examples from the Netherlands or Germany. Not only are there no examples of the use of *Bartmann* bottles in these areas, where this vessel type would have been common (Gaimster 1997:52-60), but no evidence of the use of other ceramic vessels in the same way. The only comparable practice from Europe is the burial of ceramic bowls or jugs under thresholds and hearths in the Netherlands during the same time period. Aside from a few cases where the pots were found to contain items such as eggshells and oats, most known examples were empty (Merrifield 1987:120; 173).

Furthermore, this supposition ignores the general trade and distribution patterns of German stonewares (figure 9.1), as well as the location of major ports across England. Even the presence of a large Dutch population in East Anglia does not explain the



**Figure 9.1:** Map of the redistribution of German stonewares around England from London.

concentration of the practice in the area, when the same processes should have facilitated the transmission of ideas further afield. A significant omission within this idea is the presence of major ports further north. Both Hull and Newcastle were significant trading posts at this time, and were not exempt from the stoneware trade (Lawrence 2003:31; Neave and Neave 2006:129), and yet there are no *Bartmann* witch bottles in these areas, and very few examples of domestic deposits overall; there are only two known deposits from the whole of the North East region. Even if the presence of imported wares in these areas was due to redistribution from another English port rather than directly imported from the continent, the level of interaction with continental traders which would lead to the high levels of ritual *Bartmann* use in London and East Anglia should have resulted in the continued transmission of the practice to

other areas, particularly in the South West where ports such as Exeter, Dartmouth and Plymouth have produced archaeological evidence for large imports of German stoneware vessels (Gaimster 1997:81). However, this spread of ideas is not apparent in the geographical distribution of currently known witch bottles, which thus indicates that their reappropriation as magical objects is wholly derived from English cultural practice.

It should be acknowledged that there are other factors external to the conditions surrounding and spread of the practice at the time it was enacted which are likely to have a significant effect on the geographical distribution of known deposits.

Firstly, the rate of survival of early modern buildings across the country has an



**Figure 9.2:** Distribution of surviving houses dating from 1500-1750.

immediate effect on what data is available. The distribution of houses dating from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries still standing today is not dissimilar to the pattern displayed in the national spread of deposits; overall more concentrated in the southern regions, and gradually becoming less frequent towards the north, and with a notable paucity of examples from within Greater London (figure 9.2). It is not simply the case that the south was more densely occupied, but also that different regions display different attrition rates for early modern houses. Of all the houses listed in the Hearth Tax returns of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, only 3% of those in the county of Durham (North East) survive, compared to 28% and 30% for Suffolk (Eastern) and Kent (South East) respectively (Barnwell and Airs 2006; Green *et al.* 2006). A much more detailed examination of the factors which affect attrition rates, such as relative wealth and building styles within a region, in addition to the original population density of a region would need to be considered alongside regional frequencies of houses containing deposits before attempting to draw conclusions for the distribution seen today.

Another, somewhat more complex, factor is the ready recognition of such items being of possible ritual significance varying on a regional basis. Areas where some aspects of domestic depositions are already well known and recognised are potentially more likely to recognise items as being possible ritual objects, and therefore record them as such. This will therefore result in a greater number of known deposits in that area, and therefore has a recursive effect on the regional distributions of identified deposits. This is perhaps evidenced to some extent in the response from Historic Environments Records offices following initial requests for any known examples of deposits. While the offices which were able to provide information are spread across the country, the majority are from either the South East or Eastern regions, and it was of these locations which were able to contribute the greatest number of deposits (chapter 4, table 4.1). In particular, this concentration of such a recognisable and captivating item such as witch bottles or other possible magical items would potentially have a greater effect on how readily other deposits from the same regions would be recognised than other types of deposits. The more unusual nature of the object highlights the presence of the practice as a whole. This is in part demonstrated by the response from the Norfolk HER (a county with a high incidence of witch bottle deposits), which was able to contribute more records of deposits than any other HER, both through direct communication and through online databases.

Naturally, these two elements are not independent of one another, the former likely having a significant impact on the latter. Therefore, where objects show a distribution roughly in line with the overall national distribution, it is not necessarily indicative of a national cultural bias or difference in belief in the efficacy or value of deposits. However, it can be seen that this is not the case for magical items, which display a distinct concentration in the Eastern areas of the country, although are not necessarily confined to it. Although recovery and recognition of the significance of these items are still subject to the same biases as all deposits, that this one item type occurs largely within one region is suggestive of a more localised belief or folk tradition which has then spread to other regions.

### ***9.2 The variability in locations of deposit***

It is notable that items of each object type are found in a wide range of locations throughout the house, with most distributions across different groups generally following that of all objects, although with some minor exceptions (chapter 5, section 5.3.2). Both deposits of animals and everyday objects are found in all represented locations, while the sparse distribution of natural materials can largely be attributed to the infrequency of this deposit type. However, while magical items display a similarly dispersed distribution of deposit locations (despite being three times as common as deposits containing natural material), this category of objects presents some noticeable differences from the deposit patterns of other object types. Notably, deposits of magical items occur much less frequently in walls than other object types do, but occur at a much higher rate within chimneys, under doorways and in foundations. Therefore, this likely indicates a different set of intentions and purposes for this object category alone.

Whereas previous studies have commonly emphasised the prevalence of deposits in association with “open” areas of the house, such as around doors and windows and chimneys (Dixon-Smith 1990; Hoggard 1999), the distributions of different object types consistently show that there was no such focus. This is compounded by the distributions of deposits which occur within the same house. Multiple deposits in the same house were the most likely to occur only in closed locations; there were no cases where all deposits in the same building were in open locations. Furthermore, many such houses exhibited the distribution of deposits across a range of different location types, not necessarily focusing on their “security” (chapter 5, section 5.1.5). The only open location which commonly has a high proportion of deposits associated with it is the

chimney. By comparison, even when secondary locations are counted, deposits in other open locations are far less common. Consistently, deposits in other more closed areas are more common, with high numbers of deposits found in walls, under floors, and in the roof (chapter 5, section 5.13). These areas could potentially be considered vulnerable, due to providing the only boundary between the outside world and the inside, but are simultaneously some of the most secure areas in the structure. If the distribution of deposits in locations accorded to how bounded they are considered, the total number of deposits in closed locations is more than twice as common as those in open locations. Therefore, it appears that the most “vulnerable” areas of the building are not of primary concern here.

While this overall pattern is evident for all deposits, there are noticeable differences in the boundedness of deposits of different object types, which are much more indicative of different forms of treatment depending on the items. The most noticeable difference is that deposits in closed locations are the most common for three of the four object types, whereas the fourth (magical objects), has the majority of items deposited in dual-association locations (chapter 5, table 5.14). Despite the high incidence of deposits of magical items in locations which have a primarily open association (chimneys or doors), they display the lowest proportional occurrence of deposits in both open and closed locations. In other words, of all deposits in either open or closed locations, magical objects are very poorly represented (chapter 5, table 5.14). While these items were preferably placed near one form of opening in the house structure, this pattern of use is somewhat suggestive that they still needed to be placed in a location which was simultaneously secure and contained. While deposits containing each of the three remaining object types all occur most frequently in closed locations, proportions across open and dual-association locations vary in all three cases, although not too drastically (chapter 5, figures 5.20-2). This is indicative, therefore, of some variance in intention and placement of different object types, although this treatment is not as clearly differentiated, and thus as significant, as that evidence in distributions of magical objects.

Although a good range of locations are represented, covering all areas of the house, over half display comparatively low levels of concealments. While this clearly demonstrates a preference for some areas over others, this may be related to ease of access rather than a basis in specific symbolic associations with the structure. Walls and floors are bound to contain a high proportion of deposits, as they are common and

necessary structural elements. Deposits explicitly associated with doors and windows are, by comparison, much less frequent, although associations with these areas are largely secondary, relying on other structural components for proximity to these specific areas. In light of the general level of variability in deposit locations, the high proportion of items associated with the chimney does not necessarily indicate a particular preoccupation with this area of the house. The addition of the new structural element of the chimney stack to many houses during this period would have provided an ideal opportunity for the placement of objects (Shammas 1980:7; Overton *et al.* 2004:124). As the dismantling of any structural part of the house in order to conceal items within it would undoubtedly cause discord and disruption within the home, it is reasonable to suggest that the greater proportion of deposits would have been made during a period of structural alteration, when the resulting disruption also served a more immediate purpose. With the inputting of a chimney stack being one of the most major structural alterations to the majority of homes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the opportunity to use it as a means to more closely associate objects with the house structure would at some point have been available to also every household.

One theory which has commonly been presented as an explanation for these deposits is that they were items left behind by workmen or builders as a sign of pride in their work, among other reasons. This is a practice which is corroborated by stories from modern workmen, who confess to occasionally leaving behind old items or coins in concealed locations in buildings they have worked on (Swann 1996:58, Brooks 2000). Furthermore, this theory is given plausibility by the fact that the majority of deposits would have to have been placed during a period of building or construction in order for them to be fully concealed within the building's structure. While this may well be the case in several of the examples which comprise this study, there is no way to know which of those deposits they may be.

With this lack of certainty in mind, it would be unrealistic to determine the origin and purpose of all deposits on the basis of similar modern practices. Although the stories of builder's deposits are indeed comparable to the deposits within this study, it would be dangerous to use this to provide insight into the thoughts and actions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Practices may grow and change over time, with meaning, objects and actors involved in the ritual subject to constant shifts, while the archaeological result may appear somewhat constant.

Moreover, the high level of variability in the items which are found in early modern deposits is not suggestive of the involvement of only a discrete group of people within one area of employment. A large number of items belonging to women and children are included in these deposits, as well as a wide range of more domestic and personal objects such as tablewares, toys, books and combs (chapter 8, section 8.5). In fact, there are more items identified as having belonged to the groups of both adult women and children of both sexes than those belonging to adult men (chapter 8, section 8.6). A great deal of items would not be ones which the average workman or builder would have to hand for the purposes of creating a deposit. What about the deposits containing large numbers of objects from different item groups, or the deposits which appear to contain items from differing dates? There is the possibility that such items were given to the builders by the occupants of the house, who would gather unimportant household items at the builder's request. However, would the act of a deposit to commemorate the completion of a building or alterations to the structure carry the same meaning with items which otherwise have no association with the individual or group of people enacting it? Overall, the range of items used and the size and continued interactions with a number of deposits highly suggests that this is not evidence of a ritual solely derived from and enacted by workmen or similar individuals from outside the household in which these items were concealed, although there is no reason to suggest that they were not party to the placement and concealing of deposits.

### ***9.2.1 Deposits across a range of classes of houses***

The range of building types in which deposits were found is suggestive that this practice was not solely confined to lower status environments. The not insignificant number of deposits in manor houses and similar elite structures suggest that this phenomenon was not one which was exclusive to, and therefore strictly derived from, a specific social category (chapter 5, section 5.4). While many of these higher status residences would also have permanently housed a high number of individuals of a lower status who performed service roles, it is reductive to immediately consider that an awareness and belief in magical practices or non-religious rituals could only belong to those within the lower socio-economic classes. Ultimately, there is no way of knowing who enacted or was cognisant of every deposit, but to assume that only one section of society was responsible for all cases not only relies heavily on particular ideas about the

place of secular ritual in society, but also imposes similar limitations on the understanding of the rituals themselves.

Given that the function of such deposits is so readily associated with warding off witchcraft or other maleficent forces, there is the danger of too readily associating this practice with the folk beliefs of the lower class members of early modern society. The difference in the forms of supernatural belief and resulting concerns between the elite and well-educated factions of society and those of the ordinary members of the populace are well documented. The concerns of more learned factions appeared to rest more on the contradiction against the almighty powers of God and alliance with Satan such acts required, while for much of the rest of the population, the anxiety was drawn from the harm and disruption witchcraft and other supernatural forces could (Scarre 1987:2).

Additionally, although the broad concept of a “manor” is used here as an indicator of a wealthy residence, it does not necessarily refer to a single house type. These residences range from large court-yard houses such as Ightham Moat and Haddon Hall to much smaller structures, which are otherwise larger than many of the surrounding houses. There was not a clear dividing line between the vernacular and the polite, and thus such a divide in ideology and education and therefore belief should also not have existed in such a rigid sense. Therefore, at what social and economic point can it be concluded that the residents could not have constructed the deposit themselves?

Although the majority of deposits appear to be from ordinary, non-elite domestic houses, it is important to consider that houses of a higher status and more substantial build quality are more likely to have survived to the modern day, than those of the lower social classes. Thus, for the most part, the evidence of this practice is likely to be more indicative of the beliefs and actions of the middling sort, rather than explicitly of the lower classes.

Furthermore, the assumption that members of the upper-class would not be the ones instigating and engaging with domestic ritual activities is wholly dependent on the assumption that such a practice is closely linked to supernatural aspects of the early modern worldview, or similar folk beliefs. It is difficult to fully rule out the possibility that these deposits were explicitly linked with folk beliefs and the supernatural based solely on the distribution of deposits across structures of differing social classes, as the extent of such beliefs across the social spectrum are rather difficult to gauge. However,

regardless of origin and intention, the impetus behind these deposits was something which was important to a wide variety of households, irrespective of social status.

### ***9.3 Patterns within objects types***

#### ***9.3.1 Witch bottles - continuation of known trend, but modified***

The concealment of witch bottles in internal locations presents a problem in the interpretation of their function in this context. The contemporary 17<sup>th</sup>-century sources on the use of witch bottles presents two options on the way in which the charm can be effective; either the bottle is held over a fire until it explodes, or it is buried in the ground (Blagrave 1671; Glanvill 1681; Merrifield 1955). In other words, it is either destroyed or removed from the house. If this was the case, when and why were so many complete witch bottles not only kept, but incorporated into the structure of the house?

It is worth noting that many of the features of witch bottles from both internal and external locations do not strictly comply with the details provided by Blagrave and Glanville. It is interesting that the use of *Bartmanns* dominates the vessel types used for the creation of witch bottles, when none of the sources on the creation of witch bottles specify a particular vessel to use. The use of other vessel types, although they are uncommon, indicates that there were other vessel types available which suited the practice, and that although a *Bartmann* bottle may have been desirable, it was not absolutely necessary. Additionally, the assessment of bottle contents shows that there is a great deal of variability in what was deemed to serve as suitable contents (chapter 6, section 6.1.6). Even in external contexts, a substantial portion of bottles have been recovered from rivers or similarly watery areas, although this method of disposal in a location which would seriously impede the recovery of the bottle can be considered to be functionally analogous with burial. In spite of the few written accounts we have, there is no “standard” form of witch bottle which must be adhered to in order to be effective.

The methods of concealment for internally deposited witch bottles are not completely discordant with recorded aspects of the practice. A large proportion of bottles are “buried” in the house in some way, with many occurring beneath floors or under chimney hearths, and the majority of items found in house foundations are witch bottles (chapter 6, figure 6.2). Overall, such items display a much clearer trend to being concealed beneath floor level in either primary or secondary terms than any other object type. Thus, witch bottles are the only object type which display some form of

consistency in the locations in which they are concealed. Additionally, the majority of bottles with known contents contain at least one type of sharp metal object, despite other contents which accompany it not being consistent with the descriptions in contemporary literature (chapter 6, section 6.1.6.5).

The common attribution of domestically deposited witch bottles with apotropaic properties (Hoggard 1999) is unlikely to be a correct identification of their function within domestic space, as there is little to suggest, either in contemporary sources or the physical nature of the bottles themselves that their function was to protect the household by serving as a spirit trap. The perceived movement from a magical item initially being used to identify a witch to one which could protect the household or its inhabitants is not one with much logical basis, as the two actions, although relying on magical principals, represent two very different forms of practice. Similarly, it is unlikely that one magical formula (albeit one which is subject to substantial variation) could result in two very different outcomes, dependant only on the location of the item in question. Furthermore, the placement of bottles, along with several cases where the mouth of the bottle has been securely stoppered, suggests that allowing access to the bottle was not desired.

However, if such an item is not intended to serve as a charm to identify a possible witch, then what purpose could it serve? Conversely, if its function does not change despite being concealed in this new context, then why is effort taken to conceal it within the home, rather than burying it?

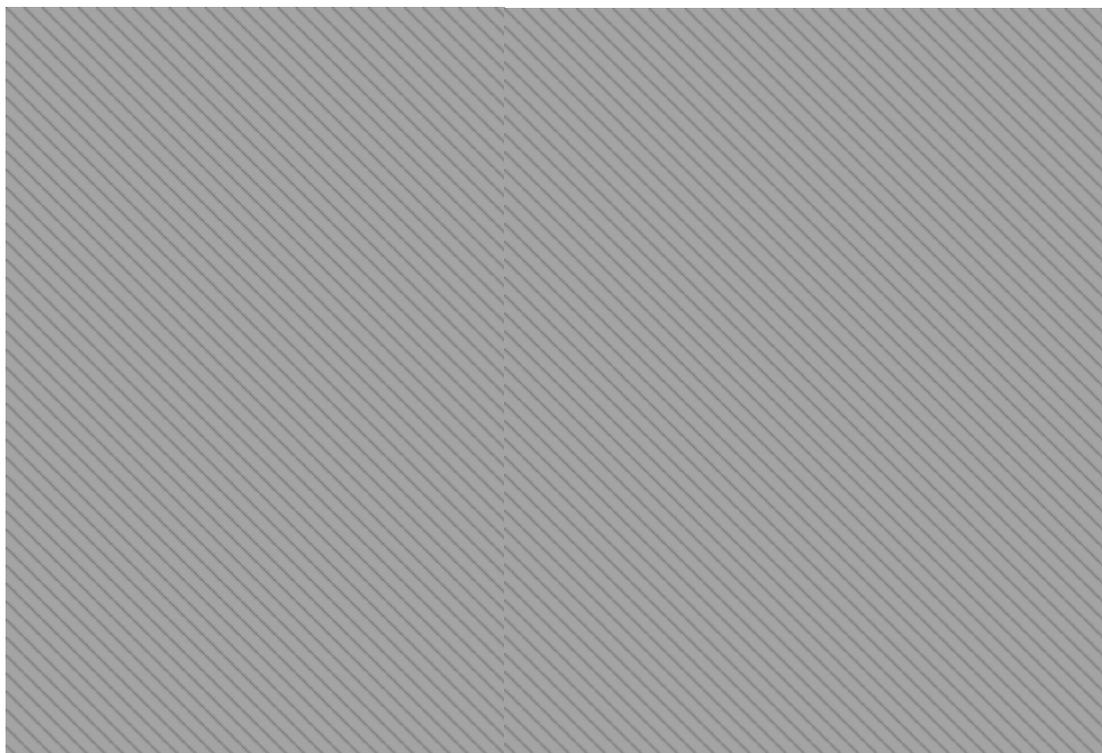
### ***9.3.1.1 Variables in the construction and placement of witch bottles***

Both the type of container used for witch bottles and their contents both display notable continuity and clear intentions in the types of objects selected overall in both cases, despite the occurrence of some deviations from the broader patterns. Given these similarities over such a comparably high number of instances, and taking into account the fairly limited geographical range in which they occur, it seems highly possible that much of the information regarding the construction and function of a witch bottle was through word of mouth, rather than from written sources. While the latter do describe some elements of witch bottles which are true of those which have been recovered, such as the use of sharp objects, human biological material and bottles with secure seals, the level of detail and specificity these bottles display suggests that they are much more closely related to folk or oral tradition than one strictly communicated through printed

and published material.

It is interesting that the specific form of *Bartmann* bottles from the later 17<sup>th</sup> century seems to be the vessel type of choice for the construction of witch bottles. The dominant theory is that the significance of this is closely related to the face mask on the bottle neck, later versions of which have a grimacing or menacing expression (Holmes 1951; Gaimster 1997:140, 216-22). It is perhaps then the case that the uniquely human figure created in the combined shape and style of the *Bartmann* bottle represented the witch who was the target of the practice, the scowling face representing the evil, malice and otherness that the figure of the witch embodied (figure 9.3). In the process of destroying the object which indirectly represented an individual, pain and therefore justice would be brought to the target. The use of non-*Bartmann* containers in a small proportion of examples suggests that it is acknowledged that the presence of the face mask and the enhanced anthropomorphic nature of the vessel were not an essential component of the practice (figure 9.4), but rather one which was preferred.

However, it may be the case that repeated selection of this vessel type may be more closely related to the form of the bottle than just the external decoration. The thin neck of the bottle made it easier to fully block the only entrance to the vessel, while the bottle's comparatively small size made it easy to handle, transport and conceal. Perhaps



Left: **Figure 9.3:** *Bartmann* bottle with grimacing facemask; Right: **Figure 9.4:** *Bartmann* bottle with a kinder face with contents of nails and a cloth heart.

most importantly, the stoneware fabric of the bottle was non-porous, and therefore presented an ideal material for a practice which focused very much on containment. The importance placed on this particular aspect of the material from which the bottle was made can be seen in the gradual shift to the use glass bottles for this practice at the end of the seventeenth century (chapter 6, section 6.1.5). While the availability of German stoneware vessels decreased, glass bottles became more affordable and more prevalent within people's homes (Gaimster 1997:211; Willmott 2005:108). The similarly impervious nature of glass would have made it an ideal successor to stoneware.

As regards to contents, the use of sharp objects, particularly those of metal, appear to be a significant factor. The pain intended to be caused through the construction of the magical item itself is evident in the common selection of this type of item. Of particular interest is the repeated use of a very small range of sharp metal objects; in most cases where sharp metal objects occur, pins or nails are almost exclusively used (chapter 6, section 6.1.6.5). The common usage of pins and nails in these cases is ultimately likely related to two factors. These objects are particularly small, making them easy to fit inside the bottle, and are more prevalent within the home, which makes them both more readily available for use in such a practice, and possess a low enough value that they will not be missed. Thus, while other, larger sharp metal objects do appear (such as a knife and a fork), they are much less common.

While there are a small number of bottles which are known to contain no sharp metal objects, each of these contains other items which are in-keeping with the basic components required for the spell to function correctly. These bottles contain either non-metal sharp items, items of biological material (urine would not have been the only type of biological material through which the sympathetic link could be manifested), pierced items (which also incorporate sharp metal items), and iron fragments (which could have previously been sharp metal objects which were subject to heavy corrosion).

Overall, at least one of the two major components required of the spell are present in almost every bottle with known contents; biological material, in whatever form, was necessary for providing the sympathetic link back to the instigator of the original spell, while sharp objects were necessary for creating discomfort to the individual.

Obvious deviations from this formula are more puzzling, although they are much less common than the two "traditional" item types. While the use of pierced cloth hearts and other items is not one which is prescribed or even alluded to in available sources, their symbolic association is clear; pain directed at the bottle's target. The use

of biological material which appears not to be human is rather more curious; it may be that the witch bottle was used to reverse a spell cast on an animal, as was commonly believed to happen (Sharpe 1998:244; Briggs 2002:64-5), or it may be that the nature of sympathetic magic was not fully understood, and thus any form of biological matter was thought to be effective, regardless of its origins. The use of other items, however, generally evades explanation. Very few, if any of the items appear to have possibly held any particular significance to the creator of the bottle, as commonly used or personally significant objects might also have been used for sympathetic means. Instead, all appear to be little considered or worthless items, such as knotted string, a glass bead, and pieces of wire or coal. The inclusion of musket balls in one case may have been included due their being items which can pierce the body and cause harm, while the inclusion of a page from a French breviary is suggestive of the power and importance of religion against the maleficence of witchcraft. The other items may have been used as corrupting or dirtying influences, further affecting the target sympathetically. Natural and burnt items would have been generally acknowledged to be unclean, with other items might have been seen as tangling or constricting, such as the wire or knotted string. Overall, given that these other items rarely occur in bottle without either sharp metal objects or biological material suggests that they were perhaps somewhat secondary within the construction and functioning of the spell.

There appears to be little overt difference between bottles found in internal locations, and those from external locations. The main difference is that there is a much higher frequency of external witch bottles from within Greater London. While this could be taken to be indicative of differences in use and intention between differing regions, it is more likely, however, that this distribution is likely the result of biases in how these bottles are discovered and recorded. The majority of external witch bottles from London were collated and discussed by Ralph Merrifield (1954; 1955; 1969; 1987), who not only worked in London as an archaeologist, has produced a small number of reports on ritual deposits from various periods which focus solely on the city. Additionally, the high rate of development within the London area, and the focus on the Thames by both archaeologists and mudlarks, has resulted in a more concentrated distribution of excavation, which increases the chance of discovery of such objects outside of a domestic structural context.

In terms of the types of containers used, there is less variation in external deposits, but *Bartmann* bottles still predominate in both cases. Similar patterns for the use of

differing contents types are also present in both locations. Although there are some significant differences in frequencies and types of objects used (use of sharp metal items are notably lower in external bottles while the use of burnt material is higher), the differences are not drastic, and bottles from both locations still exhibit a broad range of items types used which also deviate substantially from descriptions in historical sources. Taking into account how much the contents of any individual bottle may vary, which would, to some extent, account for some of the differences in the proportions of objects types used between the internal and external bottles it is reasonable to conclude that there is no obvious difference in the construction and role of either types of witch bottle.

### ***9.3.1.2 The low frequency of other magical objects***

The frequency of other, non-witch bottle magical items is notably low, although this may be due to difficulties in knowing how to identify an object or deposit which may have been used for magical purposes. Even if the deposits from other categories which may also have held magical properties are included (chapter 6, section 6.3), then the total number of such deposits does not exceed more than ten instances, accounting for less than 2% of all deposits.

One possible reason for this would be lack of recognition of items which may fall into this category. While the two objects which account for all other magical items are notably unusual and distinctive – clearly recognisable as an object which may have been constructed for more supernatural purposes – other such items may not be so clearly distinguished. The common use of sympathetic magic during the witch-craze of the seventeenth century is well documented; utilising personal or commonly used items with which to affect a change of the owner without physical contact being required of the individual casting the spell (Mauss 1972:15; Briggs 1996:155; Wingfield 2010:319). Objects which show evidence of having been deliberately altered in a manner which could be considered negative are extremely uncommon within concealed deposits (the primary example being a small number of shoes with slashed uppers), and there is the possibility that other methods of damage may not be as recognisable. An object does not need to be mysterious or strange to be magical, just as not all items which are unusual in both construction and context are implicitly magical.

However, an equally, indeed possibly more, valid explanation is that magical objects were simply not readily concealed in the same manner as other objects. The extended

grouping of other magical items displays notable variation in the types of items used and how they were altered and deposited; it is likely that the intentions that each represents are similarly diverse. It is likely that the items in this particular category were exceptions, representing small proportion of a range of activities where direct association with the house structure was not an important or considered factor. Despite variations within their construction and deposition, witch bottles display much greater cohesion in the manner of the items used and how they were deposited. They were items which were consistently retained and incorporated into the house, unlike these other items of only possible magical function.

### ***9.3.2 Natural material - minimal and varied but very deliberate***

Given the low occurrence of identified natural material in deposits, it is difficult to establish any particular significances of its use from the patterns displayed in the analysis of the material. Overall, the distributions appear to be much more evenly spread across different variable categories where it occurs than is evident with other object types, although, as previously discussed, this may be due to the small data set (chapter 7, section 7.2.1). However, in spite of this, similar patterns of distribution are still evident (concentration of deposits in the East and South of the country, more deposits associated with the chimney or the wall), which suggest that this object type was not necessarily readily differentiated from other items in this context.

Perhaps the most notable aspect of the use of natural material is the manner in which it is most commonly grouped with other object types. Despite multi-object groups being the least frequent group type, almost all uses of natural material were deposited in this manner, making this object grouping unique in this regard (chapter 5, section 5.2.3 and figure 5.11). Of course, it can be theorised that the presence of such a pattern here is due to the nature of the material itself; only being recognised as an item of potential ritual significance when accompanied by other objects which are more out of place in the contexts in which they are discovered. The only deposit which contains only a single item of natural material (a piece of ironbound conglomerate stone) was identified as being potentially significant due to it being of a different type of stone to that of the house in which it was deposited, and was not naturally occurring in the same area. There is the very likely possibility that there are other deposits comprised of natural materials which have not been recognised or recorded due to such items being viewed as ordinary household waste which could hold no other value.

Yet, there are only a few cases where the treatment of items from this object grouping, prior to and during concealment, is indicative of their deliberate placement within deposits. There are two cases where natural items were purposefully placed inside everyday objects, and other cases where natural material was deposited in such great quantities that accidental loss or absent mindedness appears to have been an unlikely explanation (sacks of straw and a cavity filled with hops). As tempting as it is to explain the lack of recorded deposits of natural material on the biases of those who encounter deposits, it may well be the case that such material was treated differently, and was thought to have less “value” or was insufficient if deposited without additional objects.

In light of contemporary attitudes to the natural world as “dangerous” and “untamed” (Thomas 1983:254), the presence of natural material within such a solidly domestic setting and incorporated into a ritual act may appear unusual or counterintuitive. However, many examples from this group indicate that they have been processed and “civilised”. Items such as corn husks, straw and shells are the by-products of food processing and consumption, while the two items of stone used in construction have also been co-opted and transformed into items to serve new purposes in the civilised realm. The majority of items in this category are items which have been removed from the natural world, and have thus been modified for new purposes defined by human needs and actions. Indeed, the high proportion of plant items is most likely indicative of the numerous purposes different plants could serve and therefore be of use to humans, rather than a greater preoccupation with the material on a more symbolic level. Perhaps the only items which cannot be considered in this category are the natural stones and the fossils, which appear to be unchanged from their natural state and display no evidence of any new function or purpose they could be made to serve.

In as much as a large proportion of items in this category, and the data set overall, could still be potentially be functional in some way, the inclusion of food items is still interesting, as it represents one of the more fundamental necessities of human existence (chapter 7, section 7.2.5). However, given that quantities of many items in this case are unknown, and the types of food represented here, it is likely that the food items represented here were no significant loss to those who deposited them. There are no examples of more substantial natural food, such as fruits or vegetables, although there is the possibility that such items might have rotted to leave no trace, rather than

dessicating. Grains and hops still require processing and the addition of other ingredients to be edible, and while the nuts are more readily edible in their natural state, only a single hazelnut recovered from a deposit, and both types of nut represented here would have been readily available in England at this time. Only the nutmeg is of interest here, as it is not native to England, and would have been considered something of an expensive luxury food item, but was also valued during the early modern period as it was believed to ward off plague, but only if worn on the person (Milton 1999:3; Albala 2003:45).

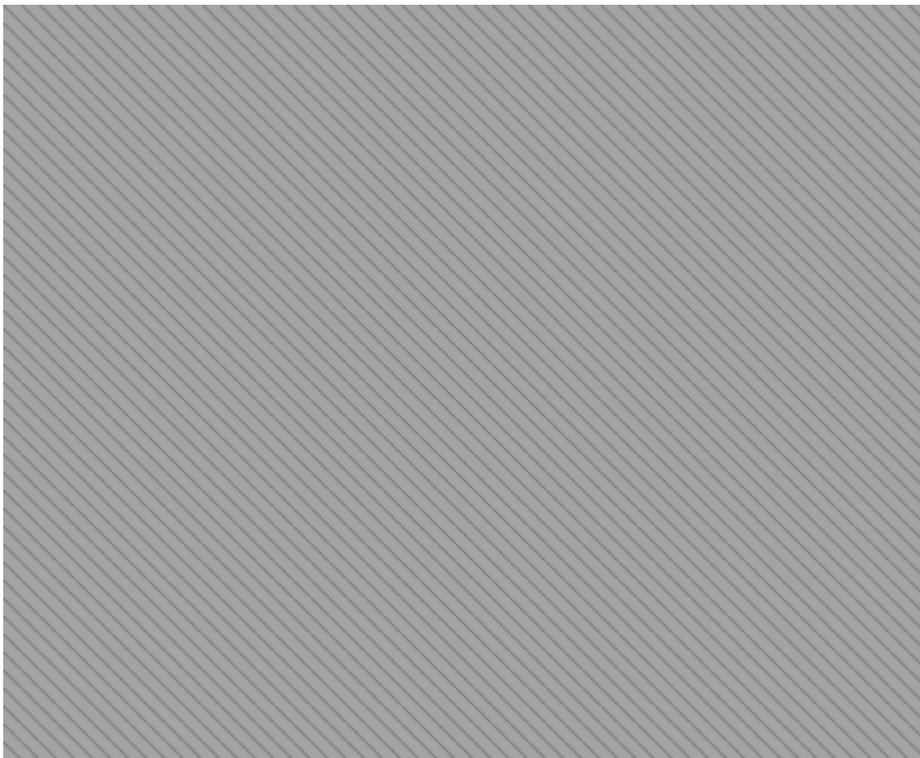
### ***9.3.3 Animals - social and economic factors***

Even though the majority of deposits of animals are of privileged species, this is largely due to the high proportion of cats. While this distribution in itself is unusual, what is more interesting is the comparatively very low frequency of deposits of dog remains. The use of dogs in similar rituals from the Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon periods is relatively common. In comparison, cats were present in Roman ritual deposits, although much less frequently, and they are entirely absent from known Anglo-Saxon examples (Hamerow 2006; Fulford 2001). While a change in socio-cultural attitudes and valuations of certain animals over such a large stretch of time is entirely possible, and even expected, the treatment of or attitudes to both these species in early modern England does not explain why there would be such a disparity in the extent to which they are incorporated in to domestic rituals.

The term “privileged” species within this study largely refers to animals which served some functional purpose which befitted their owners, and were not treated as livestock or were commonly at risk of being eaten. While the term is suggestive of affectionate and caring attitudes, dogs and cats as pets were only seen in upper class families. While both cats and dogs were present in the greater proportion of ordinary households, they served much more functional and practical purposes; to control rodents and other vermin, and serve as watch dogs for the property (Forgeng 2010:191) (figure 9.5). These were not animals which were trained or even expected to behave in a civil manner, and dogs in particular were a nuisance and a danger in urban areas. When the numbers of dogs became a problem, especially during outbreaks of plague, mass slaughters of dogs were ordered. Although cats and pigs among other animals were subject to the same regulation, records suggest dogs were more aggressively targeted (Sands 2004:51).

The evident differential treatment of dogs to cats in this ritual practice may derive from the common personification of dogs as human during this time. They shared human spaces, food and names, and of all animals many people regularly had access to and interacted with, dogs probably had the closest relationship with their owners. The singling out of dogs for slaughter reflected social anxieties at the time; dogs represented the bestial aspects of human behaviour, and the suppression of such behaviours was a fundamental tenet of both contemporary religion and government (Sands 2004:51). Although the close link with humans clearly did not impede the regular killing of dogs, to conceal an animal which represents some of the least desirable and basest aspects of human nature within the physical fabric of the home would perhaps have been perceived as contradictory to the moral ideology which surrounded and formed family life.

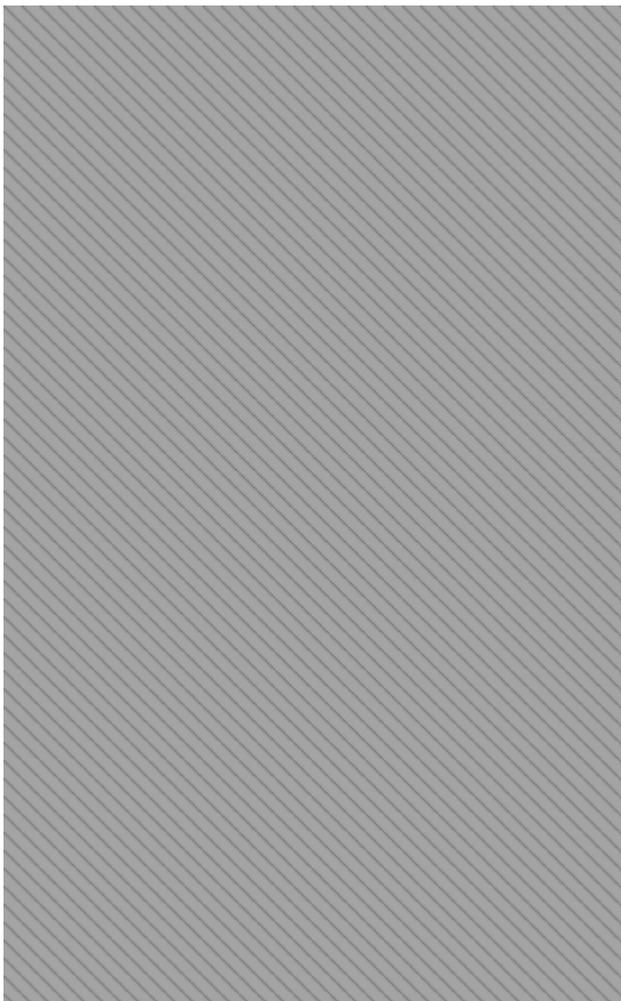
The high frequency of deposited cats is often explained by their close association with witchcraft, and their role as the witches familiar. However, the dominant image of the cat as the witches familiar is largely a construction of the Victorian imagination, and seventeenth-century court records indicate that familiars could potentially assume the form of any small animals, including dogs, toads, ferrets, rabbits, rats and even butterflies or other insects (Geis and Bunn 1997:75; Wilby 2000). There are very few



**Figure 9.5:** Early modern dogs, most of which are of a size and build suitable for various forms of work and assistance.

examples of deposits of other animal remains of species which were commonly associated with witchcraft during this period. Therefore, the act of depositing cats in this manner is unlikely to be so readily associated with witches or other acts of maleficence. However, any specific cultural or symbolic association with felines which would contribute to an explanation for their higher occurrence in deposits than other species are not readily apparent (figure 9.6).

The lower frequency of deposits of wild animals than other social groupings may be partially tied to attitudes held about the natural world during this period, as previously discussed (chapter 3, section 3.3). They were potentially favoured less due to the untamed natural chaos of the uncivilised landscape which they represented. However, the types of animals in this category perhaps do not represent the full extent of the natural world. A large proportion of wild species are small animals which would likely have been readily found around homes and other built-up areas; nine of the seventeen



**Figure 9.6:** An early modern cat.

animals classed as wild are rodents, which would likely have been living (and caught) in and around houses. The rats and birds which were deposited alongside cats perhaps served as more of a secondary role, being more indicators of a cat's nature and actions rather than having symbolic value in themselves.

While there are notable differences in the types of locations different social groups of animals are found, there appears to be no immediate pattern across the three animal groupings which could potentially serve as an explanation (chapter 7, section 7.1.7, figure 7.4-7.7). The high occurrence of privileged species in closed locations compared to the

high proportions of domesticated animals in open and dual locations would immediately suggest that there may have been a clear response to different classes of animals and how closely they relate to the home. Those that were closest to the home and the family were in the most secure areas of the house, while those which were somewhat external and secondary were more commonly in areas of the house which provided some access or opening to the outside world. By this logic, we would expect to see wild species most commonly occurring in open locations, however this is not the case, and deposits of this class occur almost evenly in dual and closed locations. This treatment of wild animals may be partly attributable to the large number of examples from this category which are deposited with privileged species; where are seven deposits where privileged and wild species are deposited together, four of which are in closed locations (two are from unknown locations).

Furthermore, if such a distinction between different classes of animals and their placement within the home did exist, it is evident that it is not absolute, as both privileged and domesticated animals occur in all three bounded location types. It is more likely that the distribution of privileged species is skewed by the high frequency of cat deposits, which occur at a proportionally much higher rate in closed locations than any other species (chapter 7, section 7.1.6). Numerous deposits of cats display very deliberate, yet unclear, intentions, evidenced by a few examples where the cats were posed with prey. What the nature of this particular aspect of this practice may have been, undoubtedly closely related to social perceptions of the value and inherent properties of cats, their concealment in a secure part of the house was seen as an important part of the ritual action.

Of the thirty-four deposited items within this category which are from animals which could potentially have been readily eaten, only nine could have potentially have been otherwise used as food: one whole pig, six whole chickens and two eggs. There are numerous cases where the deposit consists of unspecified bones, however there is no evidence to conclude that they were anything other than bare bones at the time of deposit, and thus would not represent deposits of edible material. The majority of deposits of domesticated species are represented by body parts which would not have been areas of the animal which would have provided meat, but instead are more representative of butchering waste: horns, feet, jaw bones and organs. Many such deposits of domesticated species therefore appear to be of parts of the animal which could serve no additional purpose.

Following from this, there is a conspicuous lack of a wide range of wild animals, especially those which would commonly have been eaten. Although there is one use of hare bones, there are no incidences of rabbits, which would have been a frequently consumed animal, wild or domesticated (Albala 2003:64). There are also no deer remains, and likewise there is no evidence of fish of any kind, although it is possible that fine fish bones could have been easily overlooked, lost, or displaced upon discovery. While this lack of evidence of larger wild animals may be related to lessened availability, it may be partially due to their disconnected nature to the family home.

One of the primary concerns with the deposits of whole animals (which comprise the majority of items of animal remains) is the social status of the animal prior to its concealment. It appears that there are no examples where it is clearly confirmed whether the animal were alive or deceased prior to their placement within the deposit. However, given that many whole animals are in a poorly preserved state upon their recovery, it is not unreasonable that such information is unobtainable. From a rigidly logical standpoint, it would perhaps be more likely that the animals in question were already dead at the point of concealment, for the sake of ease and convenience. Furthermore, there is also the question of, if they were already dead prior to concealment, were they killed deliberately and specifically for the purpose of incorporation into the deposit, or had they died of natural causes? If the majority of deposits were indeed acts of structural opportunity, having the events of building work being in progress and having an animal die of natural causes coinciding seems highly unlikely (although, granted, not impossible), especially since a large proportion of deposits of whole animals are cats or small wild animals which would not be caught or killed on a regular basis for food. This would thus suggest that the role of cats in this form of ritual was so specific that they were required to be deliberately killed for this purpose. At the very least, this is highly likely to be true for the small rodents and birds which are frequently placed in the same deposits as cats. However, to assume a particular role of one animal species does not explain the presence of the remains of numerous other species in similar contexts. Given that cats were not commonly treated as pets, it is more likely that they were not especially well looked after, and so the regular death of house cats from disease, injury or from attacks from other animals, results in a high incidence of use in domestic deposits.

Other than whole deposits, the selection of which body parts were incorporated into the deposit appears to be of no particular significance, with the exception of the use of

animal hearts, which exhibit a consistent mode of deposit within a define geographic area. The use of smaller body parts in some cases is naturally related to the size of the animal from which it came, as to deposit a whole cow or horse within the house structure would be highly impractical (chapter 7, section 7.1.9). Additionally, the commonality of deposits of whole smaller animal species most likely reflects that many are not the types of animal which would not ordinarily be butchered following their deaths. However, the use of animal hearts represents a specific practice known to exist in folklore, such as the burning of an animal heart held over the hearth to prevent or reverse an act of witchcraft (Smith 1978:103-4; Simpson and Roud 2000:172). All cases of such deposits with a known deposit location are found in the chimney, all are found stuck with pins and other sharp objects, and there are no other cases of deposits of other specific internal organs (chapter 7, section 7.1.8, table 7.9).

#### ***9.3.4 Everyday items***

The objects within the everyday items category cover a wide range of household material culture. Even within each of the broad categories, there is substantial variation in the types, materials and qualities of objects (chapter 8, section 8.5). From this extremely diverse collection of objects alone, it seems appropriate to conclude that in most cases, there was no specific inherent symbolism or culturally significant value in every single one of the everyday items deposited here. Historical records and studies of folk practice have shown that a wide range of otherwise everyday items may be readily attributed with additional properties or meanings, such as knives, coins, clothing, and items made of particular materials such as iron or wood from particular trees (Hole 1977b; Simpson and Roud 2000; Gazin-Schwartz 2001). However, the sheer number and types of objects represented here, in addition to the substantial variations between which objects are included in deposits from house to house, make it seem unlikely that every single one was directly associated with a piece of folklore or was intended to perform a specific action.

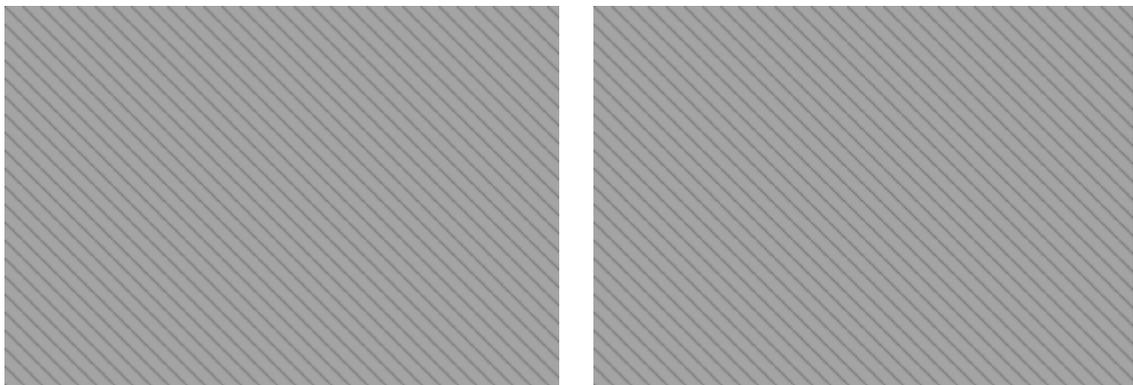
Therefore, it appears that the symbolic or cultural processes which led to the incorporation of such objects in deposits were much more general. All the items within this category immediately appear to be largely functional, as opposed to ornamental or symbolic objects (if they are viewed in a manner which readily equates form with function and disregards any other meanings or purposes they may have had which are

not physically apparent). As such, all items would likely have been subject to ordinary means of use around the home on a regular basis prior to concealment.

It is interesting to note that the range of objects within this category theoretically covers almost every possible aspect of domestic life, rather than overly focussing on one or two particular areas (discounting the exceptionally large number of deposited shoes). Food preparation, serving and consumption, dress and styling, craft, farming, working animals, reading, writing, mending and repairing objects, cleaning, entertainment and relaxation. The explicit functionality of their sphere of use was also of little relevance in the selection of objects, with no area of the house appearing to be more represented than others. These therefore appear to just be a selection of whichever household items were available. The significance is not necessarily held in the objects themselves, but rather their general sphere or use; forming part of the successful day-to-day running of the household through use by its inhabitants.

Given that a wide range of types of clothing were included in deposits, it is reasonable to infer that, broadly, there is little significance attributed to specific clothing items, or the parts of the body to which they refer (chapter 8, section 8.5.1). What is interesting is that gloves are the most common item of clothing to be used in this practice, as they are broadly comparable to shoes, in that they function as a covering for the hands, rather than the feet. However, if there were a particular concern for such areas of the body, there might perhaps be a higher incidence of deposits of socks, of which there are only two examples.

Disparities in numbers of clothing types may, in part, be attributable to their prevalence of use, in addition to the price of the item. However, Margaret Spufford's study of seventeenth century clothing in probate inventories and other records and their costs, indicates that this was not necessarily the case. Shoes were the most bought and



Left: **Figure 9.7:** Linen early 17<sup>th</sup> century doublet, Right: **Figure 9.8:** Latchet tie shoe.

owed items, representing over a quarter of all clothing items listed, totally over two thousand instances (figure 9.8). However, numbers of other items of clothing do not correspond with the numbers of garment types found in concealed deposits. Stockings are the next most frequently used items (1384 items), followed by shirts and smocks (942 items) (figure 9.7). Gloves, which are the most commonly occurring item of clothing after shoes, are only found in official records one hundred and fifteen times (Spufford 2000:692-3).

While this pattern may be partially attributed to shoes being attributed a high value and thus resulted in their more frequent listing in inventories, Spufford places the average price of shoes at only 2.6 shillings, while breeches are six shillings, and gloves are eight shillings. Naturally, shoes were not the most inexpensive type of clothing, but they were not so costly as to provide another explanation for their common occurrence in inventories aside from their naturally high frequency. In studies of seventeenth century statistician Gregory King, it is estimated that shoes are the most common of all clothing items purchased in England in 1688, totalling twelve million items at a total cost of approximately one million pounds. This total value is only matched by purchases of stockings and petticoats, and exceeded by only the total cost of shirts and smocks (Spufford 2000:694-5, 697).

Therefore, while the high incidence of the purchasing and ownership of shoes may have been a significant factor in their exceedingly frequent usage in concealed deposits, this pattern does not extend to other items of clothing. Neither commonality of purchase nor average cost of the garment appears to have had a significant impact on the selection of items of clothing for deposit. Naturally, there are problems with using only the average value of particular garments, as factors such as style and material could result in significant differences in cost between the highest and the lowest quality garments (Shammas 1993:192; Spufford 2000:690-1; Whittle and Griffiths 2012:120-3). However, considering that a large number of clothing items represented within this study are partial pieces of garments, are damaged or threadbare, it is unlikely that their worth at the time of purchasing was a significant factor in their selection for incorporation into the deposit.

### ***9.3.5 Use of worn items and objects of little value***

A little under half of all everyday items are recorded as displaying signs of wear or repair prior to deposit, thus indicating that many items were fully used as functionally

intended before being incorporated into this practice (chapter 8, section 8.8). Given the poor quality of recording for many deposited objects, it is likely that a much greater proportion of items fall into this category. Considering that shoes, which often have the most detailed descriptions in records, account for a notably higher proportion of used or worn items than they do of all everyday items, it seems likely that the greater proportion of deposited everyday objects were only deposited after substantial use or breakage.

Prevalence of differing object types in deposits is perhaps related to how often it is used or interacted with, and how readily it may cease to be useful as a result (chapter 8, table 8.13). Clothing and tablewares perhaps occur more frequently due to their being more central to the everyday needs of peoples' lives than other categories of items. Their greater level of use results in a higher level of wear and breakage, but would also lessen the immediate functional value of the object to the user. If the prevalence of cutlery in deposits is considered; knives were commonly used and multifunctional objects, not just restricted to dining, and are the most commonly occurring "cutlery" type. Spoons are generally restricted to food, preparation and consumption, and thus occur less frequently. Forks, which were a relatively new item in the early modern period (Overton *et al.* 2004:106; Muir 2005:138), and thus would not only be less common, but would have been more highly prized, occur only once. Of course, this model is not absolute. If this were so readily the case for all object types, there might be a higher incidence of clay pipes; objects that were not only common, but frequently broken (Johnson 1996:183-5; Pennell 2009:178).

The frequency of different signs of use is seemingly of little significance, and is simply related to the commonality of different object types, as objects made of different materials and used for differing functions would inevitably display signs of use differently (chapter 8, table 8.15). The high proportion of shoes in the group of items identified as having been repaired is due to this object type being part of a very small range of items which *could* be repaired, allowed for by the flexibility and availability of leather. The same is true for altered objects; the only other items types besides shoes with evidence of alteration are clothing and one item of equestrian equipment (leather harness). The range of items described as broken, incomplete or fragmentary is much higher, since these are forms of disrepair more relevant to types of objects and material which are not so readily repaired, such as ceramic or wooden items. Ultimately, it is not the form of alteration, use of breakage that is important. Instead, it is the fact that the

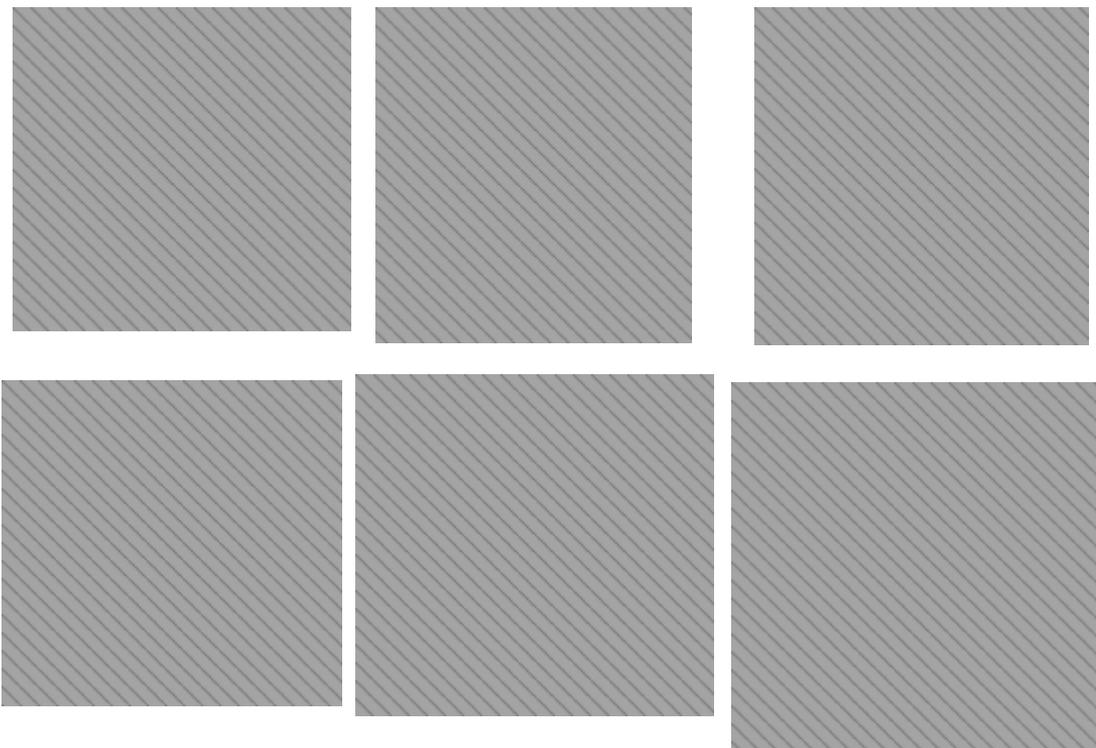
object was brought to that physical state at all; one which was inevitably the result of a long period of use or regular interaction with those who possessed them.

Another factor of interest is what is missing from this collection. With the exception of deposits of money, there are almost no items which are of high commercial value. Few particularly exotic imported objects, no precious metals or jewellery, no expensive objects which had not been used to their full extent or to a point where they were no longer functional. Where any items which may have otherwise have been consumed as food are used, they are generally only small quantities and not of a type which would have significantly impacted on the eating habits of the household, especially since it is rare for a deposit to contain more than one type of edible material, from either animals or plants. This combined with the poor condition of many items indicates that the immediate or economic worth of such objects is not a factor which was considered in the selection of items to be deposited, indeed, quite the opposite.

Religious artefacts are also largely absent, although there are a very small number of examples of items with clear religious associations. The majority of these are books which are directly related to religious practice or ideology, such as prayer books, or collections of sermons and religious advice, but there is also a wooden staff of office which may also have served an ecclesiastical function. Aside from these examples, there are no overt signs of religious belief or symbolism. The religious and sacred nature of the home during the early modern period has been discussed before (chapter 3, section 3.2), and it is likely that the value placed on this, and any associated items of material culture, would preclude the inclusion of such objects in deposits. It is also unlikely that they were subject to the same type of frequent use as non-religious objects, and as such were less likely to be subject to the same patterns of wear or breakage. Religious objects are also not subject to the same processes of cultural or economic depreciation. While elements of faith may possibly have been present in the creation of these deposits, it is only very infrequently reflected in the material evidence, which suggests that religious action or outcome was not a primary factor.

It is perhaps more accurate to say that the vast majority of deposited items were selected due to their explicit lack of economic worth. In many cases, particularly within the categories of animal remains and natural material, many of the items can be said to be entirely without monetary value. These were items which could be spared, while newer, complete, or more expensive items would be still needed around the house, and would not be so readily relinquished. It is not unrealistic to conclude that the greater

proportion of everyday items were used as functionally intended prior to concealment, even if most are not recorded as displaying physical evidence of this. Clothes and shoes would have been worn on a regular basis and at the point of deposition, were perhaps no longer suitable, were beyond further repair, or had been replaced by newer items. Items which were once favoured, such as personal adornment items and toys, were later little considered, or the values of the owner had shifted over time, and their attachment to or prizing or certain items had waned. Viewing these objects either individually or as part of a group of other similar items, in a context which is separated from the movements and necessities of domestic space (while simultaneously also being a part of it), it is often difficult to imagine or understand the processes by which an object loses its functionality or value. This process of devaluing may be manifested in objects which once served a function but are no longer needed, an object which forms part of a whole and is now incomplete, or items which are left over from other actions and are of a type or size which prevents their incorporation into other acts or items, thus excluding them from a new or continued functionality. The processes by which an item loses value, worth or function are numerous, and it is likely that the majority of everyday objects



A selection of coins from deposit 600.a, Top Left: **Figure 9.9:** Charles II halfpenny; Top Centre: **Figure 9.10:** Four-legged animal on possibly Greek pewter coin; Top Right: **Figure 9.11:** Farthing trade token, 1660; Bottom Left: **Figure 9.12:** Reverse of Elizabethan silver sixpence; Bottom Centre: **Figure 9.13:** Nuremberg jetton; Bottom Right: **Figure 9.14:** Copper alloy coin with crude horned animal.

were subject to any of them.

A similar approach can be taken with natural material. The greater proportion of items of natural material appear to be remnants from other activities (such as processing or consumption of food items), or were items which once served a purpose which then became irrelevant (such as the flowers or single cobblestone). While there are some items which seem to serve no purpose or be related to another activity, such as natural stones and pebbles, it is perhaps the case that there are other processes which brought them into the domestic sphere, as appears to be the case with the majority of other objects found in deposits, rather than being selected randomly from outside strictly for this purpose.

The inclusion of money in this case requires a little more consideration, as it is the one type of everyday object which is not subject to the same systems of devaluation. Of the sixteen deposits containing some form of currency, nine contain only a single item of this type, thus presenting the possibility that the inclusion of coins in deposits did not represent a significant loss. In most cases the value of individual coins is unknown, but in cases where it is known, the highest value a single coin represents is sixpence, with most other identified coins being only pennies, half-pennies or farthings. However, there is one gold coin from the reign of Henry VII, which is certainly of higher value than these (Challis 1978:310). The collection of twelve items of currency in a single deposit (deposit 600.a) present an interesting situation. The deposit contains coins of differing values and from the reigns of a number of monarchs, alongside jettons and trade tokens, and a few unidentified coins which do not appear to be English (figures 9.9-9.14). It may well be that this selection of coins represented more of a collection, rather than being objects valued only for their immediate worth.

The larger hoards of coins included in this study may well represent a different form of action and intention, instead simply being a store of coins in a safe location which was never collected, as all such cases are unaccompanied by other objects (chapter 8, section 8.5.6). However, intention cannot be assumed here without further information. While it might have been more pragmatic to excluded these deposits from this study on the basis of the quantity of item alone, as was done with deposits of animal remains, the choice to hide these caches within the body of the house itself is still of significance.

### ***9.3.6 Groupings of items within deposits***

Over 60% of all deposits contain only a single object, and this group type is the most commonly occurring grouping in three of the four object categories. The only notable patterns in usage appear to be higher than average occurrences of deposits containing either single shoes (and thus lower than expected proportions of other types of everyday objects), as well as higher incidences of deposits of cats. Even though both these object types account for the majority of objects in their respective categories, they account for an even greater proportion of the items from their respective categories found in single deposits. However, despite this, they do not fully dominate the category of single deposits, as a wide range of other species and objects are also deposited without additional items.

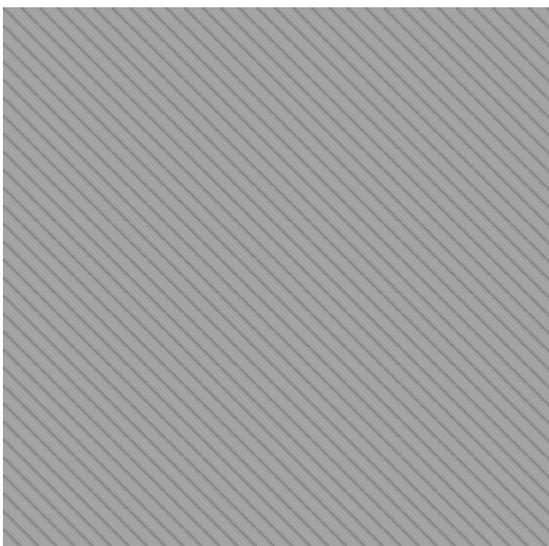
Taking the high frequency of single deposits into account, alongside the number of items used in individual same-type and multi-type deposits, it may be the case that the high occurrence of single deposits is simply related to the issue of which objects were available when the deposit was made, rather than any particular focus on the significance of single items and a lesser or differing value of groupings of objects. The items which account for the greater proportion of single deposits are also readily and commonly found in grouped deposits; the proportion of shoes in same-type deposits is not dissimilar to that of the proportion of this object type out of all everyday items. Additionally, although a larger proportion of single deposits are shoes, the majority of deposited shoes are found in same-type deposits, which further indicates that their use in grouped deposits is not unusual or anomalous, and that there was no association of footwear with a particular form of deposit. Furthermore, looking at the number of objects in individual deposits, there is an inverse relationship between how many items are deposited, and how frequently deposits containing that number of items occur. It would have been easier to collect or assemble only a small number of objects for deposit should the opportunity arise.

As previously mentioned (this chapter, section 9.3.2), the proportions items of natural material which are found in single or grouped deposits displays a notable deviation from the general group distributions visible for other object types. This evidence for a clear pattern of use based on item type would ordinarily call into question the line of reasoning that deposits are constructed on the basis of what is immediately available. However, this distribution is most likely due to this particular type of material not commonly being recognised as significant or out of place unless deposited alongside

other item types. Therefore, the significance of the grouping of this type of item is difficult to fully assess; while this explanation for this patterning is not unreasonable, it cannot be proven without further evidence. While it cannot be fully ascertained whether natural material was subject to special or symbolic consideration as evidenced by their almost exclusive occurrence in multi-type deposits, the extremely low occurrence of this item type would suggest that such symbolism was somewhat secondary to the act of the deposit itself, or we might expect to see a much more extensive use of this type of material across multi-type deposits.

Overall, in cases where deposits contain more than one object, both in same-type and multi-type deposits, there appears to be little significance attributed to which items are deposited together. The only main exception to this is in a number of animal deposits, where cats are deliberately concealed along with a smaller wild animal which would ordinarily be prey. Beyond these, the combinations of objects, animal species, or body parts appear to be otherwise random, with no evident patterns in the selection and combination of objects.

In spite of this, it appears that the mixing of differing kinds of items is not especially common, with only 7% of all deposits containing objects from more than one category (forty-six deposits) (chapter 5, figure 5.7). Of these, there are only five deposits which contain items from more than two object categories. The total number of same-type deposits is greater than six times that of multi-type deposits. Therefore, while the individual objects themselves and how they may relate to each other is of little significance, the type of object they are is.



**Figure 9.15:** Selections of objects from deposit 536.a

However, as uncommon as they are, it appears that the combination of different types of items in this way is not necessarily taboo; as with the comparably high numbers of deposits containing only single items, it may well be an issue of availability, rather than one of the concerned separation of items from differing origins and spheres of use prior to concealment.

Multi-type deposits consistently display the greatest variation in the types of items they incorporate (figure 9.15),

as well as having the highest average number of items per deposit (6.5 compared to 3.6 for same-type deposits) (chapter 5, section 5.2.4). Although deposits of single everyday objects are the most frequent, single deposits of both animal remains and everyday objects display the least variation in the object types they incorporate. Both same-type and multi-type deposits in which everyday items are found contain at least one item from each of the fifteen object types within the category, while only eleven types are represented in single deposits. Whilst this may be expected for same-type deposits, as although they are less frequent than single deposits in this case, they contain twice as many items, overall there are fewer everyday items in multi-type deposits than those deposited singly. For animal remains, multi-type deposits also display the greatest range of both species and body parts. While single deposits are nearly four times as frequent as same-type deposits, both display a fairly low range of the number of species used.

The object type which displayed the greatest separation and differentiation from other objects are magical items. While three of the object types occur in single deposits most frequently, the proportion of single deposits of magical items is significantly greater than that of everyday object or animal remains. There are only two deposits where a magical item is found alongside an additional item from another category (chapter 5, figure 5.9). In both cases there was only a single additional item (a shoe in both cases), which suggests that the combination of magical objects with more ordinary items in this manner was not only rare but perhaps undesirable, as if ordinary items and those used for sorcery should not be kept too closely together. While this situation may be comparable to the distribution of natural materials, potential collection bias aside, the deposits we do have display natural objects being readily and frequently deposited alongside other object types, while magical objects display the opposite.

#### ***9.4 Issues of interpretation***

Overall, through all object types, object groupings, differing building types, aged and sexed items, there are very few distinct patterns of use, or distributions, which significantly deviate from the overall patterns derived from the practice as a whole.

Thus, it would appear that the greater proportion of criteria by which deposits may be measured were not significant factors in the act. If a particular area of the house were considered to be important, then a greater concentration of deposits in one location would be more consistently visible, rather than moderate levels of deposits in numerous location types, or higher concentrations of deposits in several locations which can be

explained through practicality and opportunity. Furthermore, while there are clear indications that some objects are preferred and prioritised over others - shoes being the clear example here - there is enough variation within these object types to suggest a concrete pattern of use was not established or understood to be an important part in the practice. In the case of shoes, the presence of a not insignificant number of overshoes and pattens (or even just patten irons) along with the two deposits containing carved chalk shoes are indicative of a clear lack of consistency, as such items would not be worn like normal footwear, and would make no direct contact with the wearer.

Overall, therefore, it appears that the focus or purpose of this act was just as generalised as the range of locations and materials suggest. There is no evident focus on more “open” or vulnerable areas of the house, but rather on the house as a whole, with deposits occurring in areas where the opportunity arose to do so. Similarly with objects it appears that, on the whole, no specific item held greater value or served a greater purpose within the act, but that any and all items were valid and valuable in this case. While it is apparent that some specific items were more commonly used than others, the general lack of patterning in their use suggests that they were not necessarily differentiated from other deposited items.

It is interesting to note that in each of the three of the four object categories (everyday objects, magical items and animal remains) there is one different type of deposited item which significantly outnumbers all other similar object types: shoes, *Bartmann* witch bottles and cats, respectively. The use of *Bartmann* bottles over other vessel types seems fairly logical due to factors such as its anthropomorphic shape, non-porous fabric and ready availability. However, even taking into account aspects relating to selection such as commonality, size, and high rates of purchase does not translate to provide an adequate explanation for the exceptionally high occurrence of cats and shoes within domestic deposits. It is also worth reiterating that the proportions of shoes and cats in single deposits are greater than the percentage the total number of each of these items represents in their own object category; i.e. while shoes account for 70% of all everyday objects, they also account for 90% of single deposits of items from the same object category.

It may be possible to infer from these patterns that these three items each held a special significance or symbolic value, and thus comprised the original or earliest deposits of this period. However, it may be that such properties which made this small group of items special were also considered to be found in a wide range of other objects

or animals in more general terms, or that the significance was simply ignored and forgotten, which allowed for the broadening of the types of items which could be concealed, yet allowing for the “original” components to still be used. The ways in which shoes are perceived and valued is one example of this. It is commonly theorised that shoes acquired ritual value as a result of how they were used – specifically focussing on their prolonged contact with the human body. Both being a frequently worn item and the nature of the material of which they were constructed allowed for them to retain the shape of the human body when not worn and create impressions in the leather which detail not just the shape of the owner’s foot, but of the particular manner of the movements and gait (Swann 1996; Riello and McNeil 2006:9; Gilchrist 2012:230). This therefore gave the shoe the power to represent someone which was not there, as a proxy for a real person, as the material had not only retained their shape, but had “absorbed” the presence of the individual (van Driel-Murray 1999:135; Hallam and Hockey 2001).

Ultimately, the intention, action and sphere of use did not change, even though the objects did. Given that the time scale for the objects recovered from deposits covers a span of over two-hundred years, it is not unreasonable to suspect that values and symbolic significances attached to certain items would become lost or would be subject to change. The use of cats became the use of any animal, but rational reasoning and necessity resulted in the specific pattern of animals which were readily available, or parts of butchered animals which could be spared. Similarly, the importance of the shoe, possibly closely related to being an object with close association with the body gradually shifted to other objects which are regularly used and have direct contact with the body of those who use them. After shoes, other items of clothing are the most commonly occurring type of everyday object, which suggests that the importance of the worn nature of the item or similar prolonged contact with the human body was still retained in the selection of items. Furthermore, of all clothing items, gloves are the most commonly occurring garment type, perhaps due to their comparable function to shoes, but relating to the hands rather than the feet.

This pattern is also visible in the contents of witch bottles. While the use of pins and nails dominate, there also exists considerable variation in the items used which still relate back to the original intentions of the spell. While urine was originally stated as being ideal for this purpose (although very few recorded bottles are known to have contained it), other biological items are also used, as the principals of sympathetic magic

are not necessarily restricted to urine alone. A range of sharp objects are also used, as well as a range of other items seemingly unconnected to the aims of the practice, but which may have served to transfer other negative or harmful effects onto the witch.

Although the material form and function of items may change, they are all generally linked by similar associations which may then enable them to function as an effective substitute in the absence or alongside the item the ritual was potentially originally focussed around. Through shifts in valuations (the original item losing some of the unique significance attributed to it, while other objects simultaneously gain significance through their similarities to the objects which were initially used), all the items used in deposits are treated equally, yet due to lingering aspects of folklore or tradition, the original objects may be somewhat favoured over others.

While it may be the case that the three particular items which occur most frequently within their own object categories each held a special significance within the practice, inevitably resulting in higher frequencies of the use of such objects over other items, these patterns of use may be partially attributed to biases surrounding these object types. In all three cases, the objects in questions are ones which are well-known to have been used in these types of practice, and subsequently have been studied individually, as well as having been discussed at length in *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* (Howard 1951; Merrifield 1955; Merrifield 1987; Dixon-Smith 1990; Swann 1996). As a result, such items are more readily recognised as holding ritual value over lesser-known alternatives.

This fixation on particular object types serves to reinforce the more supernatural and magical ideas which surround the practice. Cats are commonly identified as witch's familiars and with witchcraft in general, there are numerous known superstitions regarding shoes, and a bottle decorated with a mysterious and menacing bearded face will appear to be a much more mysterious object than one without. As a result, the bias in the collection and recognition of the value of such objects and what they may represent becomes recursive. Such items come to represent the practice as a whole, become more readily recognised as having ritual significance, and further confirm assumptions and conclusions about the practice which were derived from only a select proportion of the available material.

Wingfield's study of a "witch's ladder" displayed in the Pitt Rivers museum illustrates the process by which otherwise innocuous objects acquire new layers of folklore which relate them to the fantastical and supernatural by way of association with similar objects

and unreliable explanations of its function (Wingfield 2010). Although it is justly concluded that the exact function of the “witch’s ladder” is still unknown, and that the object possessing a magical function is not an unviable possibility, the study as a whole provides a very useful demonstration of how even small pieces of misinformation surrounding the treatment of unusual objects found in unexpected places can persevere and affect how such objects may be continued to be perceived and treated in the modern world. It is all too easy for an explanation with no basis in facts or evidence to take hold simply because it is the only explanation available, especially if it appeals to our fascination with the supernatural.

Furthermore, as discussed earlier (section 9.1.2), biases in information collected and patterns of use can potentially stem from a recursive cycle of recognition, where one area may be seen to hold more deposits, but it is rather the case that deposits are simply better recognised, and are therefore more likely to be recorded as possible ritual items. Although more detailed studies of the effects and reasoning for this pattern are required, there is the possibility that a higher occurrence of more “supernatural” items in an area may increase the recognition of deposits overall. However, much of the recognition of other deposits, and the consequent ability to extract these records from existing broader archaeological or historical databases is in part due to the common assignment of all deposited items as having served an apotropaic or similarly supernatural function. Although this serves a positive function in that it allows such records to be retrieved with relative ease and therefore contribute to current understandings and studies of the practice, it further perpetuates a view of the role and function of these items which is derived from existing perceptions of only a small proportion of objects incorporated into this practice. In as much as the treatment of all deposited objects as possessing magical or protective qualities facilitates both the recognition of all deposits and the accessibility of their records, the treatment of all objects as being associated with the supernatural within an official source potentially serves to hinder further scholarship on the subject.

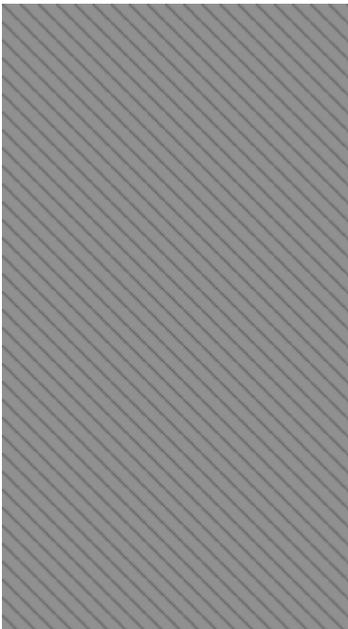
Additionally, this bias can derive from the source of the information about the deposit. Many of the examples which form this study were gathered from records kept by the Northampton Museum. As an institution which focuses on footwear, the recording of instances of the ritual use of footwear is of the foremost importance. This is evidenced in a number of records, where descriptions of deposited shoe would occasionally go into great detail regarding the condition and style of the shoe, while any

other items which accompanied it were only mentioned briefly; the recording of these items is clearly taken from the perspective of costume history. It is not unreasonable to consider that there may have been a few cases where additional items were ignored in favour of the items of footwear, which would have been of more direct interest to the museum.

#### ***9.4.1 Significance of lack of historical sources***

The understanding and analysis of domestic ritual deposits is hampered by the complete lack of contemporary sources which acknowledge any occurrences of domestic concealment, despite its apparent relative ubiquity. A thorough search has uncovered no mention of such action, or commentary on its occurrence. While sources such as Blagrave (1671) (figure 9.16) and Glanville (1681) and mention general forms, Functions, and ‘correct’ usage of witch bottles, they do not go as far as to discuss concealment of such objects within the home. This absence of contemporary recognition cannot even be fully attributed to the practice only taking place among the non-literate portion of the population, as the presence of deposits in middling and upper class structures somewhat suggests that at least some of the occupants of these houses were aware of the practice.

Some previous discussions on this subject have attributed this absence of sources to the ritualised deposition of objects carrying a great element of secrecy in its enaction. Again, this conclusion is dependent on the assumption that the practice was closely tied to a belief in witchcraft, and in warding off and potential threat it may cause. The practice needed to be kept secret in case the witch heard of such measures being taken to prevent their intrusion and would thus know to avoid or “disable” the threat that it posed to them (Hoggard 1999). Although, how the witch would render an otherwise unassuming and unaltered object ineffective without becoming the victim of any supposed “powers” it is imagined to have, is unclear. Another proposed theory is that deposits were kept secret because to disclose them would render them ineffective, although there is no evidence to confirm this, and largely



**Figure 9.16:** Front page of Blagrave's *Astrological practice of Physik*.

seems to be derived from more modern attitudes to deposits upon their discovery, rather than any known account from an individual who made the deposit themselves (Swann 1996).

The problem with the assumption of an air of great secrecy accompanying such rituals is that it ignores the substantial geographical spread of deposits. The wide area over which deposits occurred makes it seem unlikely that actions of a similar style occurred throughout the country independently of one another. It seems more likely that some communication of the existence of such an act took place. The geographical spread also suggests that this ritual would have been known about in a general sense. Additionally, if the secrecy of specific deposits was a significant factor in the practice, it is unlikely that this would still prevent others who had no deposit of their own from discussing this form of action.

However, it appears that the practice, in one form or another, was not a new one which suddenly appeared during the later medieval period or early sixteenth century, but rather had a long cultural precedent, even if some aspects of the ritual, such as the objects which were used, gradually altered over time (Merrifield 1987; Hamerow 2006; Gilchrist 2012:230-5). One possible reason for the lack of acknowledgement of domestic ritual deposits in contemporary literary sources is that it was something not considered worthy of comment. It was not a wholly new act which appeared either suddenly or gradually, nor was it closely tied to or seen as a solution to a new event or shift in ideology, such as the Civil Wars or the increased fear of witchcraft. It was perhaps, then, an act so commonly understood and enacted, which occupied an unquestioned place within socio-cultural structures that it would not occur to most people to call attention to it and discuss its value and implications.

#### ***9.4.2 Difference in intention between object types and living environment.***

In considering the distributions, manner of deposit and types of items and how they are grouped, it is increasingly clear that magical items are substantially differentiated from the other three object categories, and thus may possibly represent a separate sphere of intention.

It was considered that domestically deposited witch bottles represented a different form of action to those recovered from external contexts, as the concealment of the witch bottle within the fabric of the home conflicted with written descriptions (this chapter, section 9.3.1). It is advised that the bottles are either exploded over a fire or

buried outside, both actions which ensured the firm removal of the item from domestic life (Blagrave 1671; Glanvill 1681). As much as the act of concealing a witch bottle within the home may appear unusual and contrary to descriptions of their use within written sources, it may well be the case that the specific location of concealment of such an object was not an important factor for the people of the early modern period. Whereas the destruction or removal of the bottle appears to be emphasised, the nature and intent of the spell give no reason for the item to be feared, or suggest that its retention may be harmful. The spell concerned the people living within the house, therefore, if it was not intended to be destroyed, the house was possibly the safest place for it. It has already been demonstrated that the construction of witch bottles deviated from written descriptions in a number of ways; adherence to a specific set of rules was evidently not deemed to be important, as long as the basic criteria for the spell were met.

Furthermore, the choice of bottle and items contained in the bottle differs little between bottles from internal or external locations. Some small differences are evident, however, if different intentions or functions were supposedly related to the context of deposit, we might expect to see much greater deviations. In terms of the use of various items of material culture to construct a single, magical unit, it is reasonable to conclude that all the witch bottles gathered in this study were intended for the same purpose. This would go some way to explaining the high frequency of single deposits of witch bottles; it is unlikely that more than one would be required at the same time.

However, the fact that they were deliberately concealed within the home in the same manner as a range of apparently non-magical objects is indicative of how both these groups of items relate, and how the home is factored into protective magical practices. There are numerous practices and items which are associated with the home and are adopted as a means of protecting both the structure and the functional and social space it creates (see chapter 3, section 3.5). While the majority if not all of these are pre-emptive, unlike witch bottles, the clear incorporation of a magical counter charm into the domestic structure is indicative of the recursively protective barrier the home presents. While the witch bottle aids in the protecting and retention of the home by counteracting the malevolent threat which has been imposed on the family, the home itself provides the best location for allowing this counter charm to function without inside interference. By both protecting the other, the sanctity and safety of the individual home is strengthened against the outside world.

Furthermore, although the areas of deposit and treatment of magical and non-magical items differ, the general manners in which they are interacted with and concealed do not. Both are reincorporated and related to the home in the same way, which suggests that magical items are not considered wholly separate or distinct from other aspects of everyday life. Magic was part of everyday life, and was considered to be just as real and functional as other aspects of people's daily lives and occupations (Pocock 1972:3). Although magical and non-magical are rarely concealed together, it is apparent that there was little concern in treating these two aspects of material culture in physically similar ways.

It is also of note that the distribution and frequencies of differing object types within London is the most markedly different of all regions (those which contain a high enough frequency of deposits from a reasonable comparison to be made). The low incidences of deposits within Greater London can easily be attributed to the poor survival rate of early modern buildings within the area (this chapter, section 9.1). The deposits within this region represent a unique perspective on different living conditions and the possible effects of the social environment of the structure of deposits, this being the only region which is primarily urban. Deposits here see a much lower occurrence of everyday objects than other regions, and a much greater usage of animal remains (chapter 7, section 7.1, and chapter 8, section 8.1). Incidentally, there are also no uses of natural material, which is only found not to occur in two of the regions with some of the lowest frequencies of deposits over all (North East and Yorkshire) (chapter 7, table 7.11). Deposits of everyday items within London show one of the smallest distributions of items types, with only shoes and tableware's represented, while most animal deposits are of whole animals of the type which might be commonly found or would not require much room to accommodate; cats, rats, and chickens. This selection of items is indicative of the nature of the broader environment within which these deposits were created; the lack of space within a swiftly expanding urban community restricts interaction with and ownership of larger animals, but also limits any integration with the larger natural world, and therefore any direct values which may be held towards it. Furthermore, the social differentiation between the urban environment and the rural is perhaps evident here; a difference in needs and values may well have influenced which types items would be more readily incorporated into the house structure.

### ***9.4.3 Issues of chronology and social influence***

Although the dating of objects and deposits has generally been little used within this study for a number of reasons (chapter 4, section 4.15), and in cases where aspects of change in deposits over time have been addressed, they have been done so with caution and with the caveat that the results given were not absolute (chapter 5, section 5.1.4, and chapter 6, section 6.1.5). However, in spite of the various biases which affect patterns of deposits over time given here, there is a clear distribution in terms of how commonly items are selected for deposits over time. Although items from across the early modern period have been recovered, deposits appear to be much more common during the last half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (and on into the 18<sup>th</sup> century) than any time before that. Naturally, some of this can be attributed to the increased attrition rates of older houses, but it is fair to say that this reason alone does not account for such a difference in frequency.

The practice of deposited items in and around the home and domestic space is not one which belongs solely to the early modern period. Similar practices are known to have occurred both before and after this era, with known examples extending into the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Swann 1998:2). Although the nature of the deposit and the items it incorporates are constantly shifting over time, this form of interaction with lived space appears to be a continuous factor of human's engagement with their world. The presence of domestic deposits in the early modern period represents not a discrete form of action specific to that section of time, but is part of a practice which is subject to evolution and alteration depending on the social, cultural and intellectual framework which surrounds and informs it.

The temporal concentration of deposits in the later part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and 18<sup>th</sup> century is not the result of a sudden change, ruling out a sudden investment in domestic space and its material culture after a single short event, such as the Civil Wars. There is a gradual (albeit, not consistent) increase in deposits from the start of the sixteenth century (chapter 5, figure 5.6). This, then, is suggestive of the influence of long-term cultural factors influencing attitudes towards the home, both as a physical, constructed space, but also as cultural concept with defined roles and functions.

In terms of physical changes, assessments of the existence of a "Great Rebuilding" may shed light on this dramatic increase of deposits towards the end of the seventeenth century. While there is seemingly little agreement among scholars as to exactly how this shift in architecture occurred, there does appear to be a loose consensus that a

significant phase of building and therefore the physical re-ordering the home occurred towards the end of the seventeenth century, rather than beginning in the late sixteenth as Hoskins proposed (Machin 1977; Ryan 2000:18-9, chapter 3, section 3.1.1). Notably, phases of rebuilding and the resulting house forms, appear to have manifested at different times in urban and rural contexts. While housing stock in rural contexts appear to see the greatest proportion of rebuilding occurring after the Civil Wars, urban contexts appear to exhibit a two-phase rebuilding, both occurring at either end of the early modern period. Urban dwellings were not so much rebuilt in new forms at the end of the fifteenth century, but were instead modified and adapted to new forms (Schofield 1997:141-2). Therefore, the “post-medieval house” is seen to have existed within towns and cities much earlier than most studies and projections for a cultural shift in housing form had anticipated. This early shift in housing form can be attributed to the differing needs and requirements of space within urban contexts, which evidently facilitated a need to restructure the use of domestic space.

This clear separation in the timing of the “closure” of domestic space between urban and rural communities can partly be related to the shift away from a lifestyle which centred on the community to one which was more fragmented and individualistic. The need for greater privacy and better utilisation of limited space to live and work in was much more relevant in the increasingly expanding towns and cities. Additionally, late-medieval urban society already exhibited a high level of social polarisation, and therefore the need for strategies to negotiate and establish one’s social position among the middling sort was much more necessary much earlier (King 2010:68-73). By contrast, the shift towards a more closed society and its lived space was a much more gradual process outside of the towns, with the first signs of closure appearing in elite residences during the sixteenth century, and then becoming more common among the middling and lower classes throughout the seventeenth century as factors such as the loss of the centralising power and the increase in enclosure created a more polarized society (Shammas 1980:2). However, domestic and urban houses both see a significant shift in architectural style and plan form at approximately the same time during the end of the seventeenth century, each driven by the different cultural and social systems which inform and controlled the everyday lives in these different spaces, but both ultimately tied to the need for greater need for individuality, display and control over personal space. In the country, this was the result of a more noticeable, yet gradual,

cultural shift, while in urban areas, this can be attributed to an ever on-going continuum (Schofield 1997:141; Ryan 2000:18-9).

Following from this, the loss of a religious community at this time is paralleled by the increasing sacralising of domestic space. The previous social and moral responsibilities of the church were transferred to the household, with the adoption of daily family prayers, household catechisms and bible readings becoming some of the main forms of religious engagement among much of the population (Stone 1977:141; Fletcher 1994:180). Therefore, domestic space was heavily imbued with religious significance, and the nuclear family adopting not only a form of hierarchy and deference parallel to the political order, but the religious one as well (Smith 1981:451; Capp 2004:5). While adherence to religious doctrine had always been a part of the lives of early modern people, and unit of the family had been a religiously important one (Herlihy 1985:132-3), as society became increasingly fragmented, it further cemented the religious importance of the home and all it embodied. While the increasing division and privatisation of domestic space can be partially attributed to a greater social shift towards a more individualistic society, it can also possibly be attributed to a greater need for personal space away from domestic activities, other members of the household, and guests. Just as the church had been a shared space ordered by divisions and boundaries, both in terms of the placement of people and in the control of space (Thomas 1971:180; Duffy, 1992:111), so became the early modern home.

Although assessments of phases of new buildings may identify peaks in activity, ultimately, the changes within the early modern home were not a sudden phenomenon, but were instead gradual, occurring at different rates across different social classes and socio-economic areas. It is perhaps significant that we see a gradual increase in deposits throughout the period which sees notable changes in the socio-cultural values and significance of domestic space. As the value of the home, what it stands for, and what it enables becomes more significant on an individual level, so then does the interaction and commemoration of that space, relating to both its functional capabilities and its symbolic worth.

#### ***9.4.4 Lack of certainty about the purpose of rituals***

The nature of much of the material culture represented here, combined with the absence of written sources discussing the practice, means that any attempts to ascertain the purpose of this practice are nearly impossible. If there were specific focus on one

area or type of location in the house, or if it incorporated only a limited range of items, then it may be possible to draw some conclusions about what it may have meant or symbolised, but this is not the case. While some tentative explanations may be entertained, often falling back on the well-trodden path of the apotropaic or supernatural, it must be accepted that there is still little evidence to support this theory, just as there is little basis on which to formulate other possible reasons behind this practice. To attach a range of actions of a particular explanation for the sake of having one is ultimately far more damaging than it is enlightening, as the deconstructions of previous studies has perhaps demonstrated.

On one level, it would appear to be something of a shortfall to study this particular phenomenon of early modern life and still fail to reach a well-substantiated theory for the reasons behind it. However, it is important to remember that all actions are not undertaken in a cultural vacuum. The deposits were still the result of human practice, and therefore ultimately draw on and relate to the same culturally specific structures which inform other everyday activities (Hill 1995:96). Even without a justifiable explanation for the placement of otherwise unremarkable objects within the structure of buildings in this way, the socio-cultural constructions which influence both the ways in which people relate to, interact with and perceived their domestic environments, and the processes which allow certain types of material culture to be reappropriated in this manner still exist. By focusing on the dominant structuring principles through which people interacted with their worlds, there is still much to learn about the nature and underlying reasoning behind this form of action. To paraphrase J.D. Hill, all the results and evidence which have been discussed to far are not going to go away regardless of whether we know what their exact purpose was or not (Hill 1995:96).

The relationships which exist between material culture, ritual and everyday life are complex, yet create certain culturally specific contexts of meaning between them (Gazin-Schwartz 2001:263). The relationship between form and function is embedded within culturally specific symbolic structures (Jones 2002:97). Thus, we cannot assume anything about what an object is and how it functions; material culture is often not a direct reflection of human behaviour, but serves to transform behaviour (Hodder 1991:2). The concealment of objects within this manner is clear example of this. Almost every object had a clear functional purpose prior to being deposited, yet the process of concealment is indicative of their capacity to perform a new or different function. Just as the shift in use and meaning of these objects is very much a human decision, the

context and manner of use of these items contributed to this transformative decision as a result of the meanings and values which are tied up with their previous mode of purpose and use. The manner in which persons can form parts of things, and things form parts of persons may expand our understanding of the complex and ever-changing nature of material culture (Holtorf 2002:53). Therefore, by examining the transformative processes which allow object to be ritualised, why some objects may be selected over others and how this related to human experiences and actions, we can come closer to creating a more detailed picture of the lives of much of the population of early modern England.

## ***9.5 Understanding material culture within domestic ritual***

### ***9.5.1 Differentiation from witches and relation to magic***

As previous discussions of this material have evidenced, it is all too easy to readily associate the range of concealed objects with the witch craze of the time, whether the objects were part of spells, or intended to be protective in some manner (Rushen 1984; Hoggard 2004). However, a thorough examination of the types of practices recorded during the early modern period which were believed to be effective in counteracting a spell which had been placed on an individual, or in locating the witch who had cast it, shows that these actions bear little relation to the types of objects recovered from domestic deposits.

It is understandable that, within a population which believed in the power of witchcraft and the occult, the use of magic to counter malicious magic or provide pre-emptive protection from it would be also considered effective. Indeed, it was said at the time that “men often become witches by endeavouring to defend themselves from witchcraft” (Thomas 1971:649). Most counter magic was informal in nature and execution, most often involving words, gestures and actions as well as material means (Macfarlane 1999:103), thus making it difficult to determine the extent to which counter charms were practiced during this period.

It was widely believed that one of the most effective cures for a person who had been the victim of witchcraft was to identify the one who had placed the spell over them, extract a full confession of their deeds, and bring them to justice by way of a trial (Sharpe 1999:155). Thus many methods of counteracting magic were based on the intention not to initially remove the spell, but to cause the witch to return to the house where the victim resided, thus exposing them and the crime they committed (Thomas

1971:649). The reversal of the sympathetic link established through the initial casting of the spell was often made use of in order to gain revenge. The “witch cake” was a method similar to the witch bottle, where a sample of the victim’s urine, often along with some of their hair, was baked into a cake, which would thus render the witch unable to urinate (Thomas 1971:648; Sharpe 1999:157).

Like many of the acts of sorcery believed to have been conducted by witches, counter charms often involved physical contact with the supposed witch or the manipulation of either an object belonging to them, or part of their property. If witchcraft was suspected, then one of the most simple and effective ways to determine its origin was to burn something belonging to the one suspected of having cast it. If the suspicions proved correct, the witch would arrive at the house of the victim to try and stop the counter spell (Macfarlane 1999:109). Interestingly, instead of any ordinary item in the witch’s possession, items with strong sympathetic connections such as a piece of the clothing, or a tile or some thatch from their roof, are cited as being more commonly used for this method (Thomas 1971:649)

As apparent from a number of examples, fire played a fundamental role in many acts of counter-magic, both as a cure and for preventing the use of magic. Any object that was believed to have been bewitched was required to have heat or fire applied to it in order to cast off the curse (Sharpe 1999:162; Hole 1977a:133-4). For example a red-hot horseshoe would be placed in a bucket of milk that refused to churn to butter, presumably the intention being that the combination of the heat and the iron would both harm the witch (Purkiss 1996:95).

Whether through the reversal of the sympathetic link or otherwise, causing harm or injury to the witch, possibly even leading to their death, was a common method of breaking a spell. One method that is commonly cited was to scratch the witch, usually on the face, and draw blood (Sharpe 1999:159), while other sources state that simply stabbing the footprint or shadow of a suspected witch with a nail, preferably from a coffin, was thought to be equally effective (Simpson and Roud 2000:80).

A number of practices intended to pre-empt magic attacks were also known. Some items and materials were believed to naturally possess properties which would deter a witch, and these were usually placed in areas around exterior doors or other vulnerable areas of the house such as the roof or chimney (Merrifield 1987). Items made of iron such as horseshoes or knives were commonly used items, and naturally-holed stones or “hag-stones” were often hung over doors to protect horses, due to the belief that they

repelled witchcraft and disease caused by spells and the evil eye (Baker 1974:58). A number of plants or the wood from them were believed to repel witches or protect the house for harm. These included Elder, Rowan, Holly and Bay (Simpson and Roud 2000:187; Addy 1973:63; Baker 1974:63, 67), although which of these were deemed lucky appears to have varied from county to county (Simpson and Roud 2000:302).

Naturally, concealed witch bottles evidently relate to a belief in witchcraft and in counteracting a cast spell, but the same cannot be said of the remaining objects found in household deposits. The main factor which separates much of the concealed material from both acts of sorcery or known countercharms, and objects with apotropaic properties is that both of these classes of items appear to rely on very specific types of items and material, such as iron, or objects which contain some fortuitous element, such as a found horseshoe or a stone with a natural hole. Furthermore, the use of otherwise ordinary objects to counteract witchcraft also involved some form of distinct harm or damage to be enacted on the object. The greater majority of all objects found in domestic deposits do not exhibit any deliberate signs of damage concordant with those known to harm a witch, and too wide a range of material, functions, origins and spheres of use are represented overall for the practice as a whole to be reliably linked to supernatural practices of protection from witchcraft.

While there is no obvious or explicit link to witchcraft in the concealment of non-magical items, the question remains as to whether these items and their incorporation into this ritual act are in anyway related to or dependant on conceptions of magic which existed at the time. Although these items may not be components within a specifically prescribed magical act, their placement may be informed by the understanding of causation and means-end relationships within a time when magic and the supernatural were widely accepted concepts. As the enactment and belief of ritual and magic are governed and defined by similar principals (chapter 1 section 1.3.3), it is very possible that general ideas about magic informed and framed early modern ritual acts.

The most immediate conclusion might be to treat these objects as evidence of the belief in sympathetic magic. A great many of the items found in these circumstances would have been subject to long-term or repeated human contact, thus allowing these objects to be imbued with the spirit or the “essence” of its owner. The use and understanding of sympathy went well beyond being used as a protective or counter-magic measure, and was applied in a number of everyday circumstances, such as cures, searching for lost things, charms for improving aspects of everyday life (Frazer 1890; 8-

10; Thomas 1971:217-8, 280). Therefore, the placement of items within the house structure may have been encouraged by an understanding of sympathetic principals, yet, given its wide acceptance as a valid process of causation, it is possible that an act which may appear to be magical within a modern worldview was not necessarily explicitly seen as such in the past.

If we accept that domestic deposits related to an understanding of the properties of sympathy, then the extent to which this was an influencing aspect in the undertaking of these practices needs to be examined. Sympathy was not a newly developed concept within the early modern period (Frazer 1980:8), so the gradual increase of deposits over time is discordant with the possibility of the effect of changing attitudes to and belief in magic (chapter 5, section 5.1.4). Instead, it is likely that more widespread and everyday aspects of social and cultural change can be linked with an increase in acts which seemingly relate to magical processes. The shift to an increasingly individualised society and the growing view of the household as a social and moral sanctuary would potentially result in a need to “re-invest” these values in the house structure itself, creating a recursive bond between the objects invested with the values and spirit of the house and inhabitants, and the structure itself. The concept of magic in the early modern period, especially among the wider populace, was, like ritual, not a separate mode of action enacted within a separate social sphere, but one which was tied to and informed by everyday life.

There is a great deal of difficulty in expressly identifying deposited objects as the result of conscious and deliberate magical actions. It is clear that secular ritual acts such as these and the general principals by which magic is seen to function during the early modern period are somewhat inseparable. It would not necessarily be fair or accurate to expressly designate deposits of non-overtly magical items (as opposed to identifiably magical items such as witch bottles) as wholly non-magical in a modern understanding of the concept. It is unclear the extent to which such actions may be understood to be consciously magical to achieve a specific result, or were simply the result of the understanding of means-end relationships held during this period and were therefore seen as ordinary, everyday actions. However, the clear distinction in practice between known magical items and objects of a more ordinary or domestic nature suggests that the difference in intention was evident for differing levels of magical involvement.

Although the greater proportion of objects therefore appear to not be derived from of otherwise associated with any deliberate magical practices, there are still questions

relating to how this practice relates to the sphere of the home. This is especially pertinent considering that objects which *are* known to make use of magical beliefs and practices were also concealed and related to the home in a similar manner.

Witch bottles, as with all forms of counter charms against witchcraft, appear initially to rely on the inherent power believed to be contained within the materials they involved. However, it is also evident that ideas about magic were more related to the way in which spells were enacted. Magic and its remedies essentially deal with borders, markers, and the limits of bodies, and that which breaks those boundaries. Counter-measures, particularly against witchcraft, involve the breaking of a boundary of a body or a house, either symbolically or by means of direct contact, which often involved intentional, often aggressive action aimed at a specific target (Thomas 1971:649; Purkiss 1996). Magic counter-charms were thus directed outward, i.e. at targets outside of the family and the house, as a means of protecting the inner, domestic world. Of all the recorded counter charms against witchcraft, it is only witch bottles that are known to have a direct association with domestic structures.

The use of other objects in this manner appears to be markedly different. What is notable about the range of deposited items is that very few correlate with known apotropaic charms, or even items generally associated with generating good luck. Even the high number of shoes within deposits is not necessarily indicative of the practice being a protective or luck-generating one; although there are numerous known superstitions relating to footwear, such as using them to transfer fertility, or providing general good luck (Swann 1996; Simpson and Roud 2000:325; Gilchrist 2012:230), most are known through modern folklore collectors, and it is unknown whether any such beliefs were held or practiced in the early modern period. Seeing as the majority of deposited objects appear to be free of both associations with generating good luck and deterring acts of witchcraft, it appears that they represent a practice wholly separate from superstitions or supernatural beliefs. Other classes of concealed objects otherwise represent more passive and inward-looking form of action, having derived from their use within the home, and seemingly focusing attention back upon it.

### ***9.5.2 Rubbish theory and the renegotiation of value and function***

A significant proportion of these objects (about 50% of shoes and clothing and 25% of the remaining everyday objects) are recorded as showing signs of ordinary use prior to their deposition (chapter 8, section 8.8). A notable quantity of these are recorded as

being in a very poor state – many of the shoes have been worn through, repaired, or altered to be worn in a new manner or by someone else, and there are a number of cases where only fragments have been deposited. Many of the ceramic or glass items are broken or fragmentary, and a number of other objects are incomplete or are no longer able to perform their intended function. In the case of animal remains and natural material, there are frequent instances of the inclusion of items of no commercial or domestic value – pebbles, shells, straw, and bones from butchering waste and small animals that either would not have been readily eaten or were commonly considered to be vermin.

Therefore, in a high proportion of cases, this form of ritual incorporates items which could otherwise be perceived of as normal household waste. Why then were certain items retained for this purpose instead of discarded in the manner one would expect for items which were no longer able to perform their original function or purpose, or were never of great social or economic value?

While the concept of value and how it relates to material culture is a broad and ever-shifting one, the one thing which is constant across cultures is the distinction made between that which has value, and that which is valueless, regardless of what exactly those items might be. When talking about objects which are in some way desired or “possessable”, it is assumed that these are objects which have value. However, all items which may be owned can be assigned to one of three categories: valued, no value, and negative value (items which are socially dirty or disgusting and should be discarded) (Thompson 1979:2).

According to Thompson, there are two main categories to which objects can be readily assigned. Transient objects have finite lifespans, their value decreasing over time until they lapse into a state of no value or negative value. Durable objects, however, increase in value over time and have potentially infinite lifespans (Thompson 1979:7). The majority of objects encountered on a day to day basis fall into the former category. The way people respond to certain objects is largely determined by which category they belong to, rather than their actions being the basis for the formation of different groupings of items. Thus, items and how they are perceived and consequently valued are located in regions of fixed assumptions, and are closely tied to social contexts and situations, yet are also subject to social defined control mechanisms of access and power; only a limited range of items can become durable. However, these two categories are not wholly inflexible. It is possible for transitional objects to become

durable, such as items becoming collectable, or ordinary objects becoming valuable indicators of social history.

However, the grouping of items which are rubbish is not subject to the same system of social mechanisms which defines the transient and the durable. However, this category provides the means by which an otherwise transient item may acquire durable status. Over the course of its life, a transient item may slowly decline in value; it may cease to function fully, or it may become unfashionable. Eventually, as a result of this decline and the finite nature of its lifespan, a transient object becomes rubbish. (Thompson 1979:10) It is this valueless limbo that the categories of no and negative value afford which allows for this transference to durability (figure 9.17). This is the same process by which archaeological and historic objects become treasured artefacts, conserved and preserved as valuable indicators of past lives regardless of the original value or function of the object.

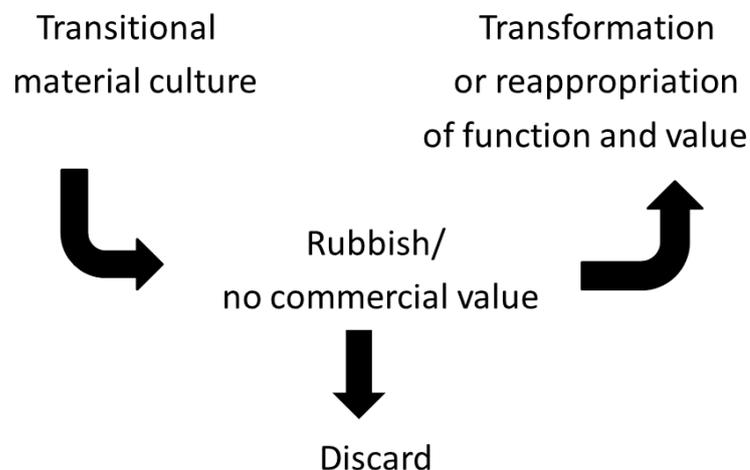
Therefore, the retention of these objects and the reassignment of their place in the house can be perceived as only being allowed following the destruction of their commercial value. Within the category of “rubbish”, material items are freed from their socially prescribed roles, and accorded a new flexibility which then allows for the transformation and reassignment of their function, their context of use and thus the qualities and properties they are deemed to possess. In other words, this act takes ordinary and operational transitional items of material culture, and through regular and routine use allows them to lapse into a state of no value tied to their loss of functionality in one, primarily utilitarian context, before assigning them a new role and purpose in another. Even in their economically and commercially valueless state, they still possess a social and domestic value which facilitates this movement of everyday items into the ritual sphere.

Consequently, in a sense, through the act of depositing and concealing these objects within the fabric of the home, they are made durable, but are still culturally distinct from durable objects which did not result from this transformative process, such as high status objects or antiques. They are instead more akin to the objects whose durability is derived from their archaeological significance; objects are assigned to a new system of valuation not because of their economic worth, but because of their history. Their condition of loss of functionality is rendered irrelevant, and they are placed in a long-lasting, if not permanent stasis of value, quality, place, origin and significance. While archaeological artefacts are retained and preserved on the basis of what

information they may provide, deposited objects appear to have been accorded durable status on the basis of their relationship with their surroundings and the domestic processes which allowed them to transition. At this point, their new and ongoing value and functionality is not related to their continued interaction with the ordinary and everyday spheres of interaction; their durability is dependent on their complete removal from everyday life.

It is then questionable as to whether these items ever truly entered to social category of “no value”. It is already well established the value is not a singular, one-dimensional concept, and an object can hold numerous values which are all necessarily related or dependant on one another (Gosden and Marshall 1999; Renfrew 2001:133-4; Hurcombe 2007:47-9). It is not uncommon or unreasonable for an object to lose its functionality but for the owner to still have some attachment to it. A shoe may be well fitted, of a fashionable style and comfortable, but will reach a stage where it is no longer wearable, or not worth repairing. However, they are still imbued with the sentimental values which were acquired through their selection and use. These objects were only allowed to transition in this way due to the particular balance of values which can be attained in clothing, household items and other objects which are subject to regular use and are closely tied to a particular place and experiences. It is this retention and response to the personal and sentimental values of objects, those which are recursively acquired and earned, and which differentiates them from ordinary household waste.

The types of items which were selected for inclusion in deposits and the quality and the evident reduced functionality of many of the everyday objects indicate that there



**Figure 9.17:** The process by which the value of an object may be altered as a result of entering a stage of no value.

was an element of subconscious renegotiation of their value and how they might function.

This manner of deliberation over the usefulness of objects which are immediately functionally useless can potentially be seen as part of the range of social processes which allows for some items to be repaired and retained in the home. The act of repairing an object indicates that it is not only functionally valuable (like the numerous shoes which are incorporated into this study), but that it also held social value, either on a personal level or as part of a wider context of personal interactions and significations. In such cases, it is not unusual for the functional properties of the item to be compromised, and yet repairs were carried out and the object retained in the home in spite of this (Willmott 2001). Loss of function in one aspect did not mean that an object immediately lost all value. To repair a broken or damaged object is to make a choice about whether it is still needed or is of significant value to the owner, rather than discarding it.

A similar process is thus seen in the retention and concealments of used items, or those of little value. The option to discard is still present, yet the possibility to repair or improve these objects (or in some cases, further repair them) is rejected. They occupy an area of social and personal value which exists between objects which are important or valuable enough to be retained within the domestic environment where it may be viewed and interacted with, and objects which are of no worth, are easily replaceable or never possessed and value to begin with. The concealment of items in this manner still indicates that a choice was made as to how they were to be treated that directly relates to their worth to the workings of the domestic sphere and the people who use them. On one hand, these are items which were no longer necessary; they could comfortably be removed from the lives of those who had used them. On this level, they are equal to normal rubbish. On the other hand, they were deliberately retained and were kept near to the sphere in which they had been used. Although their somewhat ephemeral and ordinary nature meant that they were ultimately replaceable, they still acquired and retained a social or personal value which excluded them from the category of waste. Every one of these items was, either consciously or subconsciously, considered too significant to be otherwise viewed as dirty or unnecessary.

However, unlike repaired objects, concealed items undergo a change in function and social role. To repair an object is to allow it to continue its original role, even if some aspects of functionality are lost. In the case of the wine glasses discussed by Hugh

Willmott (2001), although the nature of their breakage and subsequent repair prevents these glasses from being further used as a drinking vessel, by repairing them and retaining them within the home, they are still able to continue to serve as indicators of the owner's wealth social standing. Conversely, the act of concealing objects, the removal of the objects from the internal space of the domestic sphere where they were visible and could be interacted with, does not allow for previously existing aspects of any objects functionality to be retained. In ritualising objects in this manner, their function is wholly renegotiated. This shift in use, function and value is not one which is wholly divorced from earlier phases or stages in an object's function, despite their clear differences. The use of these objects within the domestic sphere and as something which forms part of the household is a direct precursor to their new role as ritual objects.

One of the most interesting factors relating to this shift in function of ordinary objects, household, natural and animal, is that, in this case, the process of ritualisation accords all these items a homogeneous function. Previously, the range of everyday objects had fulfilled numerous roles throughout the house and related to multiple family members, both individually and as family unit, and the animal remains and natural materials represented numerous values both social and economic and were both related to and defined in opposition to the domestic sphere. Through the process of deciding to reappropriate these items for a new purpose and in concealing them within the fabric of the home, all of the objects found in these deposits are accorded the same, or near similar function.

Although it has been established that there is a clear differentiation between magical objects and all other categories of deposited items, the close similarities in the manner and contexts of concealments of both groups of objects indicates that the shift in the purpose of these objects does not immediately mean that they are all accorded the same function. Although the lack of information relating to the reasoning behind these deposits ultimately makes it extremely difficult to accurately ascertain the intended purpose of this action, the similarities in the origins and social values of these objects immediately prior to concealment, their manner of deposition, the groupings of items, and the apparent lack of concern over which items were incorporated, suggest they were not functionally disparate as ritual objects. Regardless, the act of concealment is indicative of an act which irrefutably displays deliberate and concerned attention with the physical space of the lived environment; in spite of the differing origins and

purposes of these objects, they are returned to and firmly retained within the sphere of action which originally gave them meaning and gave each of these objects the agency to adjust and reform meaning and function.

### ***9.5.3 Family value inherent in used items***

Despite the high level of variation in the objects which were selected to be concealed across all four object categories, and the differences in how each was concealed or combined with other objects in the same deposit, all examples share one common feature; the home and the lived environment. Every single object that was deposited was related to, derived from or enabled the smooth running of the household, economically, socially, culturally and on an individual level. The animal remains all come from species which would have been close to the home, either as a source of food, as a working animal, or as common vermin, much of the natural material was derived from food production or was not so exotic to have come from the immediately surrounding landscape. The everyday objects had functional use in and around the home which were as much representative of the needs and concerns of everyday life as they are of economic and cultural choice, while the magic items were intended to protect and maintain the health and harmony of the home and its inhabitants, often through the reappropriation of ordinary objects brought into the domestic sphere as a result of the same processes which allow objects from the other three categories to be used in ritual deposits. These acts are not merely focussed on the domestic sphere, they are indicative of a recursive and reproducing relationship between the physical nature of the structure of the home, and the cultural space it provides.

Changes to the structure and ideological value of the household over the course of the early modern period indicate a shift to a general inward-looking culture; one which became increasingly concerned with individuals and their own domestic sanctity, rather than on the community as whole (Johnson 1993a:106-7). While each household stood as a unit in its own right (both in relation to population counts and taxation), the family was the core (Walker 2003:9). This ultimately led to the creation of an ideological link between the sanctity of the home and the family within; they were one and the same. The home was seen as an independent unit, emphasised by contemporary comparisons of the home with a state or a “little commonwealth”, but also to the human body (Dodd and Cleaver 1610:13; Amussen 1985:200; St George 1998:116-141). Furthermore, the home became a religious space, a place of worship and reflection,

thereby sacralising not just the structure itself, but, on an individual level, its inhabitants and contents (Stone 1977:141; Green 1986:420; Shamma 1980:4). The house and household were therefore not a fixed and immovable concept, but one that was alive and vulnerable, and needed correct and rigorous governance in order to be both morally and socially upstanding. The smooth and efficient functioning of the household was therefore of great importance. The ideological linkage between the house structure and its inhabitants demonstrates that the concept of the household was not a singular concept with independent components, but rather one which relied equally on the interlinking of all facets it contained, embodied, facilitated, and restricted; all aspects which contributed to the success of the early modern household were valued.

Although the majority of non-magical objects appear to have been socially allowed to be included in these deposits on the basis of their lack of immediate functional or economic value, thus allowing for them to be readily and comfortably removed from the activities and routines of daily life, the processes which allowed them to lose their value in this area facilitated their reappropriation as ritual items. It is not unreasonable for all such items to be considered to be imbued with the values of the household as a result of their contribution towards it, whether it be in providing, food, protection, serving a useful functional role, or relating to the spiritual and social significance of the home as a unit. Each of these objects appears to have had a purpose (or simultaneous multiple functions and meanings) and to have been used in that manner prior to concealment, and it is as a result of the effective completion of their purpose and the ease it accords the individual using it which creates a mode of value based on what an object has done, separate to a value based on what it may continue to do. Therefore, these items are retained due to their value deriving from their constant use, interaction with members of the household, intended and acquired symbolic meanings, and enabling the functioning of day to day life.

It is also pertinent to remember the differing effects of the environments within which these deposits were enacted, on both a macro and micro scale. The lack of a general and clear patterning of the way in which deposits were constructed is most likely due to the differing lives led by those who composed them. Early modern England was not wholly culturally homogeneous, and people would not have responded to material culture and space in an identical and predictable fashion. The distribution of object types from London indicates that socio-environmental factors would have had an effect on which items were important within an urban home (this chapter, section 9.4.2).

Simultaneously, each region contains deposits from both urban and rural contexts, which would also contribute to the broadly unfocused patternings of deposits. Furthermore, as much as overarching social systems of the value of domestic space would have influenced the rise and enactment of this ritual, the final variables, such as locations and object types, would ultimately have been selected due to the specific experiences and personal values held by each individual.

#### ***9.5.4 Ritualisation of everyday items in everyday settings***

It has been repeatedly observed that artefacts can easily acquire different statuses at different stages of their use-lives: the material properties or identity of an item of material culture are constantly subject to renegotiation in different social circumstances. People and objects are constantly transformed throughout the processes of their lives, through both time and space (Kopytoff 1986; Gosden and Marshall 1999:169; Holtorf 2002; Thomasson 2004; Mytum 2010). Thus, the primary and secondary functions any of these objects may have held cannot be distinguished – form and function do not always follow one another but are socially constructed and dependant on context (Herva and Numi 2009:160-1). What may ordinarily be perceived as household rubbish or ordinary domestic material culture was to the people of the early modern period a selection of items imbued with a symbolic significance derived from one aspect of their previous functional lives which enabled them to perform a ritual function.

The use of ordinary, used and broken objects in a ritual act signifies the transformation of these items from worthless or little considered items, many unable to perform their intended function, into objects of ritual importance whose value is related to the body of the home. There are a number of similarities which can be drawn between the deposited objects discussed here and the range of items incorporated in to Scottish folklore which have been recorded during the last century or so which are examined by Amy Gazin-Schwartz. Many of the items deemed to hold particular powers, such as aiding in divination, cures and protective practices are otherwise ordinary objects or items from nature which would not be out of place or suspicious within an ordinary domestic context. Yet they were still imbued with cultural and ritual significance. These were not objects which possessed inherent properties which naturally facilitated and directed their use as ritual objects; they all still possessed and performed the function they were primarily designed for. However, it was when these

items were explicitly used to heal or protect did they acquire ritual meaning (Gazin-Schwartz 2001:274).

It has been previously noted that the range of objects used in deposits conspicuously exclude objects of immediate high financial value. Therefore, it may be concluded that these are objects selected not for their commercial or status value, but for the value acquired through their use and association with the house. Thus, the selection and incorporation of objects in this manner represents the transformation of that object – the end of one function does not immediately mean that the object no longer holds value or is at the end of its use-life, but instead leads naturally to the attribution of a new one. The acquisition of one stage in an object’s biographical life facilitates its transition into another. This relates closely to more theoretical ideas about ritualisation; that “ritual” is a quality which some items of material culture may acquire through routine use and everyday processes.

Although the functional biography of these objects is altered, the sphere of use is little changed. Both before and after, many of these items are inextricably bound up with the running and everyday routines and rituals of the household. This ritualisation of commonplace objects, finding innate value in that which has already been used, altered and broken, suggests that these ritual actions were fully ingrained into the sphere of ordinary household action and ideology. These objects are still inextricably tied to the social, cultural, economic and religious unit of the home. Not only does their incorporation into acts of ritual concealment mark a new stage in the biography of each object, it appears that they were selected for this role *because* of the nature of an earlier phase in their use-life.

This ritualisation of objects can be seen to be derived from three areas associated with the first stage of the functionality within the home; the contact made between object and user, the facilitating role the objects played within the household, and the general association with the domestic sphere and all it represents. In the first case it can be suggested that these items were ritualised due to a sympathetic link established between the user and the object. The idea that influence or power can be derived from a relationship or resemblance to another thing was well established in the early modern era, and was known to have provided the basis for a number of magical acts, both malicious and protective (Frazer 1890;11-43; Mauss 1972:15). Sympathetic links would therefore have been acknowledged as having formed between owner and object as a result of the frequent use and interaction with the item. The house and its inhabitants

were already considered to be a linked entity; therefore the reinvestment of items sympathetically linked with the houses inhabitants would both fortify and compliment this relationship.

In the second case, these were all items which had been used in the construction, support and retention of a working domestic space and familial home, and thus may have been valued for the role they played within the house, allowing for the smooth running of the daily routine, imbued with the values of the home and all it symbolised. Similarly, they may have been invested with personal attachment or sentimentality – they had become associated with certain events or individuals during the everyday discourse of domestic life, too precious to discard or remove from the arena which transformed them into treasured objects.

Thirdly, the early modern home was a ritualised space in its own right, acquiring an increasing religious importance and significance throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Purely by existing and functioning with this space, and being used by individuals who saw it as sacred, these items were already ritualised, being subject to this same sacralising process by association. This is not to say that deposited objects and the act of their concealment were explicitly and consciously tied to religious ideals or forms of worship, rather that the religious or sacred environment the home provided facilitated a further level of the ritualising of household items.

Ultimately, this ritualisation of objects represents not so much a radical transformation of function, value and perception, but one which is a natural progression derived from the interrelation between people, structure, space and material culture within the microcosm of the early modern house. The socio-cultural value which was attached to the home as both a social and physical unit contributed to the ritualisation of the space it provided (in both a religious and secular manner) and the objects which enabled it to function. The concealed items studies here therefore indicate objects imbued with ritual value which was accorded to them through use in a ritualised and revered space, which were then reinvested within the same structure which allowed these objects to become ritualised. The values and importance of the early modern home is recursively expressed through everyday material culture and the actions surrounding their use.

## X

### Conclusion

#### *10.1 The problem with identifying purpose of ritual acts*

The specific intentions behind the practice of concealing a range of objects within the structure of early modern houses are unknown, and it is likely that they will never be known. The nature of the evidence that has been analysed and discussed here, while providing detailed insight into the socio-cultural processes surrounding this practice, is unable to clearly indicate any particular function or outcome that this form of ritual was intended to bring about. While this may present an air of “incompleteness” to this study, it is important to remember that all ritual action is the result of human action, and is borne out of the same structures as everyday life. While an understanding of the practice itself may be lost, it provides a means to better understand the cultural processes and environments from which it was created.

It may be the case that it is simply not possible to attribute a particular or specific function to this example of ritual practice. Given that the deposits analysed here exhibit notable variations, not just in the numbers of types of items used, but in the location of deposit, geographical locations, and doubtless numerous other criteria relating to the structure and organisation of the building, the family unit and their relationships and attitudes towards the material objects which filled their lives, it appears to be likely that not all deposits were enacted for identical reasons.

It is possible that there is some value in the original designation of all deposited objects as being apotropaic (Hoggard 2004), with the sympathetic links established through their frequent usage contributing to the luck and well-being of the household as a unit. Additionally, there is still the possibility that these items were those which were believed to possess some magical properties, or which had had spells or curses cast on them, and were hidden within the body of the house to keep them safe in a location which could not be accessed by outsiders, while still removing them from the direct sphere of domestic life.

The action could be related to confirming a sense of space and place felt within the household, hiding away items which could be spared but which had still be significant in their lives in order to leave a sign or reminder of their own presence.

While it has already been suggested that the majority of deposits were only possible through the opportunity presented by construction work or alterations to the house

(chapter 9 sections 9.2 and 9.4), the placement within these areas could equally be representative of a rite relating to the new phase or addition to the structure. Furthermore, deposits could also be related to events concerned with occupant's relationship with the structure, such as upon moving out of the house, in order to mark the occasion in terms of both the biography of the building, and how it was very much a central aspect of the lives of those who cease residing there.

Although it may feel more appropriate to attribute this particular mode of action with explicit conclusions relating to the intentions and functions of such deposits, the attribution of an overarching *raison-d'être* in the light of the absence of more concrete reasoning behind it would ultimately not only be archaeologically worthless, but damaging. The problem with examining items or arrangements which appear "odd" or unusual within the archaeological record is that it is all too easy to attribute them a similarly unusual function, particularly one which is as disparate from "normal" and everyday activities and the items themselves appear. As previous studies of this material have demonstrated (Merrifield 1987; Swann 1996; Hoggard 2004; Wingfield 2010), it is often all too easy to attribute the meanings and purposes to ritual objects that we expect them to have; ones which match our modern perceptions of them. This drawing of largely unsubstantiated conclusions and the ready misattributing of function for the sake of completeness both ultimately result in the same problems; it prevents the discipline as a whole from moving forward in how we treat, interpret and understand the archaeological record, and it reinforces the ideological boundaries and divisions which the studies of ritual material and action have worked so long to dismantle.

However, it is important to recognise that, although the specific intentions and worldviews which exist behind these practices cannot confidently be extracted, there is still much we can learn about the people of the early modern period through the study and examination of this mode of action.

## ***10.2 Early Modern attitudes towards housing and space***

As with every culture, the home in post-medieval England was invested with a variety of meanings which came to define how people perceived and interacted with domestic space. The home was an inward-looking, family-oriented space which provided protection, comfort and civility, religious sanctuary, and offered both physical and social structure and order. It was also seen not just as a living entity, but a human and corporeal one. The social rules which guided and governed a morally good and

successful life also applied to the same space where such a life might be formed and maintained. A family and their home were essentially inseparable and a social and conceptual level (chapter 3, sections 3.2 and 3.4, and chapter 9, section 9.5.5).

In examining the types of objects found in deposits and the types of areas around the house in which they are concealed, certain ideas relating to how post-medieval people viewed certain aspects of their home have been somewhat challenged. Active protection of the home on a material level appears to have been more likely to take place at a more superficial, less permanent degree than the permanent deposition of objects directly within the building's structure. The nature and placement of concealed objects suggests that they did not inherently hold protective qualities or were supernaturally significant objects, due to the high level of variation in the types of objects selected for incorporation into deposits in addition to a similar lack of focus on particular areas of the house which might be seen to be more vulnerable. Other possible apotropaic or luck giving objects, such as horse shoes, hag stones or certain plants, would have been placed in much more readily accessible areas of the house. As much as a desire to protect and maintain the domestic structure may be viewed as an inherent and necessary aspect of one's relationship with their home, it is not so all-consuming that it dictates how people react to their surroundings and how they interact with material culture.

In as much as some areas of the house are more important and valued than others, or may have particular symbolic aspects associated with them, these areas have perhaps been over-emphasised when discussing household rituals. Open locations such as doors and windows (Dixon-Smith 1990:2-3; Hoggard 2004:173) are not regularly focussed on as being structurally vulnerable, and while the hearth does still provide a necessary component in the functioning and comfort of the household, it is more likely that a high volume of deposits were associated with this area of the home due to the structural opportunity it presented due to the changing nature of the household during this period. The number of deposits associated with the chimney are less due to the preoccupation with the structural opening it presents and the magical, cleansing properties of fire, but more of the increasing levels of comfort and efficiency which come to define the needs and values of the early modern home.

Instead, it is the domestic space as a whole which is valued through this ritual. With deposits consistently displaying little concern for particular areas of the house and the types of objects they incorporate, this practice derives value and meaning from the

dynamic system of the household as a whole. The archaeological visibility of this practice is afforded to us by the specific engagement and investment in the structure of the household. These deposits were made in areas of the structure which allowed for this interference and interaction. Therefore, although general areas of the house were not necessarily prioritised due to any specific symbolism or property they may have held, the point in the fabric of the house structure which allowed for the deposit to be made essentially acquired its own symbolic and individual ritual value due to it serving as a portal through which the inhabitants can directly engage with the building which orders, protects and facilitates their lives.

### ***10.3 Personal relationships with material culture***

The types and range of material culture used and their ready incorporation into a process which enables all of them to be ritualised is indicative of a certain level of respect and almost reverence for the material items which comprised of and enabled people's daily lives. These were not objects of necessarily great monetary worth, social importance, or necessarily of great personal value on an individual level. They were also not items which were crafted for the specific purpose of facilitating and being incorporated into formalised ritual practices. Instead, these were objects and materials which directly related to everyday needs and actions, and were a direct reflection of ordinary and routine engagement and utilisation of the immediate environment. Even witch bottles and other deposits of possible magical significance all utilised otherwise ordinary and unremarkable household items in their construction.

Even if these objects were not explicitly items which carried a close personal significance to those who deposited them, they still can be seen to have carried with them a level of sentimentality which relates to the environment in which they were used. They provided comfort, entertainment, sustenance and enabled the continued functioning of the household unit in both domestic and vocational terms. These items were inseparable from what defined a successful home, and while in one phase of their use-life they were essentially tools for executing a particular function which were not intended to last forever, their frequent interaction with those who used them and their contribution to people's lives and wellbeing imbued them with a value which facilitated their ritualisation.

The early modern period saw an increasing focus on comfort and individualisation, expressed clearly in the changing nature of material culture within the home (Hoskins

1953:54; Sarti 2001:10; Overton *et al.* 2004:90-5; Johnson 2010:100). For much of the population, a large proportion of their material possessions ceased to be largely functional and practical, but also became accommodating and communicative (Shammas 1980:8; Pennell 1998:205; Styles 2000:124; Crowley 2000:122). While everyday objects still aided the running of the household, they were perceived and engaged with on a much more individual level. The ritualisation of objects in this manner could potentially be viewed as individualised engagement with the space they occupied. The placement of objects within the domestic structure not only represented the recursive and symbolic relationship established between space, people and objects, but is also indicative of a marking of one's existence and how it relates to this web of value and facilitation. In placing deposits both inside, yet apart from, the space they occupied it ensured that objects which had played a part in the lives of the individual could serve as a lasting connection between people and the space they valued.

Where ritual deposits from earlier time periods display a level of consistency in material culture, space and symbolism which may well indicate a focus on propitiatory or apotropaic acts ensuring good will and good luck, the use of material culture in this particular facet of domestic ritual in the early modern era appears to indicate a rather more different focus. These acts seem to be more indicative of the reinvestment of the self and the immediate environment. These are not objects which held inherent worth or power; a broken pot is not intended to produce a specific reaction due to its nature as a pot. These are instead objects which held value due to the place they held within the life of the owner and the household prior to deposit. The factors which dictate their ritualisation, and therefore placement, within deposits are defined by the individualised experiences of each household.

#### ***10.4 Negotiations of value***

These objects were only allowed to enter into the archaeological record under conditions established through a combination of economic, cultural and personal processes. The inclusion of a large number of items which were worn, broken, fragmentary, or were simply of no use or worth presents the query as to why these items were deliberately retained within the home rather than be treated as ordinary household waste as they might have been classified in another context.

The general use of objects which were outwardly of low economic and social value indicates the patterns and processes which led to the selection of otherwise seemingly

random collections of items. As these were objects which had little or no further worth, could not be repaired, served no utilitarian function, held no economic value, could not be indicators of social status or conspicuous consumption, they were therefore objects which could be spared. The everyday processes which allowed these objects to lose functionality and utilitarian worth (or possess no such worth in the first place) allowed them to be removed from the immediate sphere of domestic activities.

This loss of functionality within one context allowed these objects to lapse into a state of little or no value, and it is the perception of these objects holding no worth or purpose which allows them to be transformed and reappropriated in a new role and context. Objects which are considered to be “rubbish” are not subject to the same social roles or rules which govern how objects are used. Form and function are not rigidly associated concepts; the function of an item is not fixed and is subject to change based on the context and social perception of the object in question. Therefore, this movement of objects from household items (whether they be functional items of material culture, animal remains or natural materials) to ritualised objects is facilitated through their original status as ordinary and transient items of material culture, which allows them to be transformed into durable objects, continually maintained in a state of unchanging value.

The retention and ritualisation of these objects represents a third option for the use of items which would otherwise only be considered for repair and reuse, or be discarded and therefore fully removed from the domestic sphere. Just as the repair of an object indicates that choice has been made about the worth of an object which indicates that it still holds a value which makes it worth saving, the concealment of objects also indicates that a choice has been made relative to the objects worth. These are objects not worth saving – they have run the course of their use-life in one of their possible functions, but these are also objects which still hold enough value in another sense which prevents them from being treated as rubbish or household waste. Through their former functions within the household, the associations made with their owners, the human contact, the sentimental values with which they become associated, these objects were allowed to be retained within the home, still a part of the structure, but outside of the spaces which they used to occupy.

Therefore, the reappropriation and ritualisation of these items can be seen to occur on the basis of the complex interactions of the various values and functions they acquired over the course of their use prior to concealment. They are assigned to a new

category of value and functionality because of their history. This history is not only that which allowed an object to initially lose its functionality, but also that which tied it to the successful running of the household and the construction of a symbolic and emotional relationship with those who used them.

### ***10.5 The divide between the magical and the everyday***

That magical actions and belief were viewed as very real forms of cause and effect during the early modern period has generally been well established in academia over the last fifty years (Mauss 1972:25). As with most ritual activities, and those aspects which become ritualised, magic and the problems it is used to resolve are directly related to and derived from the needs and concerns of everyday life. In spite of religious doctrine at the time decrying acts of magic as evil and illegal, and therefore in opposition to a righteous and morally sound life (Scarre 1987:5; Roberts 2009:207), magic and the belief in witchcraft was never necessarily treated as a distinct component of everyday life, removed from ordinary functional spaces and material culture.

The retention and concealment of witch bottles within domestic spaces is indicative of this integration (or lack of separation) of the two modes of thought of the magical and fantastical and the everyday. In spite of the instructions for ensuring the efficacy of the charm apparently relying on the bottle's destruction or removal from the home, as detailed in more than one contemporary source (Blagrave 1671; Glanvill 1681), witch bottles were routinely retained within the home and incorporated into its structure. These were not objects which were necessarily feared, thought of as possibly harmful or polluting to the household environment, despite their natural linkage to a maleficent individual. In spite their outwardly aggressive nature, they were protective objects borne out of a need to protect the home, and constructed from objects tied to ordinary functional roles invested in the day to day running of the household.

They also represent the clear ritualisation of ordinary items of material culture for magical practices. These were not combinations of special objects produced especially for magical purposes, and therefore inherently held specific powers. They were combinations of otherwise utilitarian and unassuming objects which possessed physical properties which allowed them to become ritualised and thus make use of any underlying symbolism they may have held. Furthermore, the contents of witch bottles reveal that magical practices were not a precise art, but instead could be deemed to be effective despite substantial variations in the objects which made them effective. This

variation is therefore perhaps reflective of the needs, experiences and material world of the individual who constructed the bottle, rather than an overarching social system of value and magical efficacy.

Simultaneously, it is not necessarily clear cut whether the deposition of everyday or non-magical objects was an act wholly devoid of magical purpose itself. An act of ritual and one of magic are defined in very similar ways, therefore making it difficult to conclude that the ritualization of objects is divorced from a socio-cultural understanding of magic. Therefore during a period where a differing perception of means-end relationship was an established part of the worldview of much of the population, it is not unreasonable to suggest that all domestic deposits were enacted as the result of a socially engrained understating of magic. One engagement with magic is conscious and deliberately intended to have a specific, targeted result, and therefore exhibits specific patterns of use, while the other, as an action which, due to being perceived as an ordinary and rational act, is enacted in a more general manner.

In spite of this intermingling of factors of everyday life, magic acts clearly still possessed boundaries. Deposits of witch bottles and other magical objects were clearly differentiated from deposits of other objects, not only displaying very low integration with other items in the same deposit, but also occurring in differing types of locations within the home, and occurring in a more concentrated area geographically. As much as witch bottles made use of ordinary material culture and were infused in everyday domestic space, they were acknowledged as functionally different and distinct. In spite of their similar origins and general focus of concealment, magical and non-magical objects appear to operate on differing forms of action and intent, one active and outward looking, the other passive and inward-looking. Furthermore, as much as these actions were believed to work, the differing method of cause and effect by which they functioned was evidently acknowledged as being different to that which governed most physical practices. Whether the impetus was cultural, physical or due to difference in the form of action, the use of witch bottles is not so ingrained and integrated in everyday life and worldviews that they were not recognisably subject to differing forms of treatment.

In spite of this, deposits of magical and non-magical objects still indicate similar processes. Both rely on the transformation and transition of objects from one functional domain into another which relies on a different mode of functionality. Both make use of items used within the home, which thus contributes to their ritualisation.

Both are indicative of the recursive relationship between the household and the material culture it contains, and therefore the further investment in the domestic structure. The concealment of witch bottles, and the small number of other potentially magical objects perhaps serves as a much needed insight into the role and perception of magic within the home. Descriptions of other countercharms demonstrate that much of the magical action taken against suspected witches, and which therefore served as a means of protection of the household, was temporary and transient, and would therefore not be recognisable within the archaeological record. In contrast, witch bottles represent not only a more long-lasting form of spell, but one which is more materially present, and also utilises the household and the individuals to form a mode of protection. It is therefore a lasting embodiment of the place of magic within everyday lives.

### ***10.6 Nature of ritual***

Without a clear conclusion as to what this practice was intended to achieve, it is understandably difficult to clearly relate it to an act of ritual. This is especially the case in the light of some of the conclusions or suppositions which have been made, in particular with regard to the substantial variations in deposits, and discussions relating to the valuations and negotiations which surround the selection and use of objects in this manner. In reducing it down to its basic processes and components, the choices which were made and the immediate reasons for them, the practice as a whole becomes almost mundane. There is a tendency to still view ritual action as the “other”, something special and separate and surrounded and imbued with extra significance. Yet the extensive attempts to define what ritual is and how we might recognise it have consistently shown that these two spheres of life are inextricably linked. Indeed, in Joanna Brück’s attempts to decode what ritual is and how it can be detected archaeologically, the very concept almost ceases to exist, as it eluded distinction from the “practical” and “functional” aspects of everyday life (Brück 1999:325-8). We understand that the values and worldly understandings which rituals focus around are heavily related to those experienced through everyday life, and it might be more accurate to contend that rituals *are* everyday activities. The more recent scholarly shift away from the focus on ritual itself but onto ritualisation – the processes by which certain values about objects, buildings and landscapes may become invested with meaning and allow for a shift in value and function – is a very clear acknowledgement that it is best not to treat these two areas of practice as distinct, but as a continuous

process which constantly influences, reproduces and reinforces itself (Bell 1992; Walker 1995:70–72; Bradley 2003:20-1; Humphrey and Laidlaw 2007:256).

The substantial variations which are present in this form of action in the early modern period might call the identification of this practice as a ritual one into question. The formalised and repetitive actions which often enable ritual action to be identified are not readily present. However, as a whole, the patterns and focuses are the same. In spite of the type and varieties of objects used, and the lack of specific focus on one area of the house, it is that these deposits were made at all which is significant. The repeated negotiation of the values of otherwise ordinary or insignificant objects and their investment within lived and domestic space are indicative of the ritualisation of both the building and the objects, all of which had played a role in the functioning and day-to-day running of the household; a sphere of action which is perhaps the most important and most sacred to the majority of all people across all cultures, despite how varied this space can be in itself.

Perhaps one of the most daunting aspects of the examination of the concealment of various objects in and around the house or similar domestic space is that it is by no means restricted to the time frame and geographic boundaries that this study has defined. While examining this type of practice within the context of a particular time period can be beneficial in illuminating the particular attitudes and values which relate to this practice, to treat it as if it were explicitly derived from the period in question and thus culturally confined to it is both misleading and short-sighted. Evidence of comparable ritual action is present not just throughout the history of England, but all over the world, with known examples of domestic deposits within Europe and former New World colonies such as the east coast of America and Australia, but also similar practices are found to have occurred in Minoan Crete and ancient Mesopotamia (Nakamura 2004; Herva 2005; Becker 2009; Herva 2009; Evans 2010). Although evidence of similar actions in other eras manifest in different ways, particularly in terms of the area of deposition and the material culture used, it is not unreasonable to contend that they are all part of a long-running, yet flexible and culture dependant form of action which is continuously reproduced from attitudes surrounding domestic space. Perhaps the reason that the evidence of this from the early modern period and later appears to be more removed from that which came before it, is that the structure and environment in which the deposits took place still exists, albeit in an altered and modernised state. The retention of artefacts within their original environment not only

enables better preservation and recognition of deposits, but also prevents the loss of ritualised items when the structure is dismantled or destroyed.

Ultimately, although the presence of similar forms of ritual across a range of cultures needs to be taken into account and acknowledged, the prospect that this practice has been directly passed down through generations, gradually shifting and being renegotiated over time, seems unlikely. There is the temptation to examine historical examples of ritual activity against comparable acts which occurred centuries or millennia previously, as if this mode of analysis would help elucidate the intentions and processes behind all similar actions, as though the presence of secular ritual in the early modern period were little more than a remnant of some “true” form of ritual (Merrifield 1987:107). Ritual, in itself, is extremely culture dependant; to attempt to understand an action in one culture by the light of another is virtually worthless. Instead, it may be the case that the relationships held between people, their lived environment and their material worlds are consistently so invested with elements of necessity and the basic needs of human life, always structuring and facilitating everyday activities, that the ritualising of objects in this manner and their investment and concealment within lived structures is more tied to conceptions and valuations of place which occur on a more individualised level, rather than being related to broader cultural shifts and worldviews.

One of the most unusual aspects of this mode of practice is that, within England, this particular relationship with objects and space appears to have ceased around the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. From the records kept at Northampton Museum, there are numerous known cases dating from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, whilst there are only a handful of examples from the years after the turn of the century. How is it that something which appears to have been a part of people’s lives, consciously or unconsciously, seemingly unspoken of, varied and erratic, stopped being relevant to human lives and perceptions of their environment? This understanding of modern shifts in practice was challenged by the interactions and discussions which occurred following the presentation of some of this study’s findings at a conference (Buildings and the Body Symposium, Southampton University, 2014). Following the paper given on this topic, a number of attendees conceded to having concealed items in buildings at some stage during their lives. Although reasons for this were not given in the majority of cases, this not only exemplifies the continuation of similar actions, but also perhaps sheds some light on some of the attitudes and impetuses which surround it. Just as the lack of

contemporary written sources discussing or even mentioning ritual deposition made the practice appear socially invisible, the same is true of the ongoing practice today.

### ***10.7 Further work***

As this study has considered and analysed the evidence and material culture relating to this particular practice, there is plenty of scope for more detailed studies concentrated more on specific object types or geographical regions. While the survey was intended to examine overall patterns in order to determine the extent and variability of the practice, this has resulted in difficulties related to drawing specific conclusions about how and why items were used in this manner. Further studies concentrating on smaller geographical areas may then contribute further to some of the conclusions and understandings which have been discussed here, and provide further details and analysis which this study has not been afforded.

Where possible, the understanding of this practice would benefit enormously from detailed studies of individual deposits. These then would be able to incorporate types of evidence and information which were not available in this study, which is admittedly very removed from the original contexts. Aspects such as the compass position of the deposit within the house, the position of the deposit within the room in three dimensions, the assigned function of the room in which the deposit was placed, and the nature and construction of the structure within which the deposit was concealed would not only further contribute to our understanding of how this act related to the fabric of the home and the choices which were made in relation to this practice, but might also elucidate some of the related experiential aspects of individual concealments.

Additionally, the lack of detail as to the specific form, origin and intended function of many of the everyday objects in this study has resulted in a rather general discussion of how all of these objects have entered the archaeological record through their loss of worth in one aspect of their valuation. A more detailed examination and discussion of the use-lives of many of the everyday objects may better inform us as to how some objects may more readily fall into the category of “no value” over others, and hence further explain the patterns in the selection of objects for concealment. Material culture never ceases to be tied to its economic worth, although that is not to say that this aspect of its value is wholly independent from others. If we are going to engage with a group of objects which was still deemed valuable after being considered “rubbish”, however briefly that may be, a more detailed evaluation of how rubbish is formed in light of early

modern consumption patterns is necessary to understanding the patterns of material culture usage within this practice.

While this study has explicitly focused on deposits from within domestic environments, or those with similar or comparable levels of habitation, it has been acknowledged that there are a small number of deposits which have been recovered from buildings which generally cannot be considered “domestic”. Of these, the deposits located in churches or associated religious buildings perhaps presents the most interesting area for further research in order to investigate how similar actions in differing social contexts relate or are differentiated within structures invested with differing yet overlapping ideologies.

Finally, the extent of the practice in areas or countries not covered here needs to be further examined. While a few studies of this practice in other countries have been undertaken, the most extensive of which examines deposits from Australia (Evans 2010), but the items in question date from the 19<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest. More complementary studies would examine the occurrence of such action across the rest of the British Isles and Europe where it is found to take place. While the assessment of material from similar contexts from a comparable time period as the one used in this study would further our understandings of this practice within a discrete socio-cultural context, the recognition of comparable actions within different time periods, and as a continuing mode of engagement with the lived environment. The presence of comparable ritual practices occurring both before and after the early modern period indicates that this is not a unique and strictly culturally defined occurrence. It is increasingly evident that secularised ritual action in domestic contexts was a common occurrence within historical societies. Despite Ralph Merrifield’s initial tentative suggestions over twenty-five years ago, this is still an area which is only just now beginning to be subject to serious study and discussion within historical archaeology.



## Appendix A: Complete list of all deposits and objects

The following table is laid out in this format:

House no.	Region	County	Address1		Details	
	Deposit no.	Primary	Secondary	Bound	Details	
	Object no.	Category	Number	Object		

The details of the nature of the deposits and the objects lifted here are limited – further details on individual deposits can be found through the other appendices.

It should be noted that the numbers assigned to individual buildings within this list are not always in sequential order. While deposits are listed in numerical order as far as possible, there are places where numbers are “missing”. This is a result of continued edits to the data set of this study over time, with some already listed deposits being found irrelevant to the aims of this thesis earlier than others. As a result, a continual re-numbering of deposits purely for completeness’s sake would not have been feasible. However, there are a small number of deposits which are not listed here, but are still part of the same numbering system and have been used in this study (Appendix E.1 : externally deposited witch bottles).

1	South East	Berkshire	Cookham		
	1.a	Floor		Closed	Between ground floor and 1st floor.
		1.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		1.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
	1.b	Wall		Closed	With possible sweepings in priest hole.
1.b.1		Everyday	1	Woman's boot/shoe	
2	South East	Surrey	Guilford	From 1509.	
	2.a	Wall		Closed	Found in wall.
		2.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
3	East Midlands	Lincolnshire	Lincoln		

	3.a	Wall		Closed	On wall plate.
		3.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe sole
4	South East	Kent	Edenbridge	Built 14 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	4.a	Unknown			
		4.a.1	Everyday		Shoe
5	West Midlands	Worcestershire	Cookley	15 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	5.a	Chimney		Open	Bricked into chimney.
		5.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Girl's latchet shoes
		5.a.2	Everyday	2 (pair)	Boys shoes
		5.a.3	Everyday	2 (pair)	Girl's latchet shoes
		5.a.4	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's shoes
		5.a.5	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		5.a.6	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		5.a.7	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		5.a.8	Everyday	1	Gaiter
		5.a.9	Everyday	1	Legboot
		5.a.10	Everyday	1	Under garments
6	South East	Oxfordshire	Abingdon		
	6.a	Roof		Closed	Found in cottage roof.
		6.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's tie shoe
		6.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's tie shoe
7	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Nr. Coventry	Built 1678, major additions in 1800.	
	7.a	Roof		Closed	Found in attic.
		7.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's tie shoe
		7.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's tie shoe
		7.a.3	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe

8	South West	Gloucestershire	Bream		
	8.a	Unknown			
		8.a.1	Everyday		Shoe
9	South West	Gloucestershire	Cirencester	16 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	9.a	Wall		Closed	
		9.a.1	Everyday	1	Baby's shoe
		9.a.2	Everyday	1	Sixpence
		9.a.3	Everyday		Clay pipes
	9.a.4	Everyday	1	Toasting fork	
10	South East	Buckinghamshire	Stoke Pogues	18 <sup>th</sup> century? Manor house (court) dates to 15 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	10.a	Chimney		Open	In niche in chimney breast, 1st floor.
		10.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		10.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		10.a.3	Everyday	1	Girls shoe
	10.a.4	Everyday	1	Girls shoe	
11	South West	Somerset	Bath	From mid-18 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	11.a	Roof		Closed	In roof space.
		11.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's clogs
12	South West	Somerset	Bath	Possible 16 <sup>th</sup> or 17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	12.a	Wall	Door	Dual	In wall near front door, between passage and kitchen.
		12.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		12.a.2	Natural	1	Pleuromya fossil
13	South West	Wiltshire	Wroughton		
	13.a	Stairs	Chimney	Dual	Under stairs to left of large fireplace, date 1690.
		13.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
14	South East	Buckinghamshire	Buckingham	15 <sup>th</sup> century?	

	14.a	Roof		Closed	Between principal rafter and thatch.
		14.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		14.a.2	Everyday	1	Bottle
15	South West	Dorset	Wimbourne	Mid-18 <sup>th</sup> century?	
	15.a	Chimney		Open	In inglenook fireplace.
		15.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
16	South East	Kent	Gravesend		
	16.a	Unknown			
		16.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		16.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
		16.a.3	Everyday	1	Shoe
		16.a.4	Everyday	1	Cigarette tin
17	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Petty Curry		
	17.a	Stairs	Wall	Closed	Between steps and plaster, found during demolition.
		17.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
18	South East	Buckinghamshire	Wendover		
	18.a	Chimney		Open	Buried in chimney piece, found during demolition.
		18.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's shoes
19	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Sandy		
	19.a	Floor	Chimney	Dual	Buried 2ft away from hearth.
		19.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Ballet slippers
20	South West	Somerset	Bath	Georgian house, built c.1790.	
	20.a	Floor		Closed	In ceiling of basement.
		20.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoes
21	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Pirton	Built 1620, altered 1731-42.	
	21.a	Chimney		Open	By chimney on 1st floor.

		21.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's buckle shoes
22	North West	Lancashire	Slyne	Built late 17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	22.a	Wall		Closed	
		22.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's shoes
		22.a.2	Natural	1	Cobble stone
23	South East	Kent	Charing	c. 1440 hall house, chimney inserted during 17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	23.a	Wall	Roof	Closed	Behind wall plaster in roof space near chimney.
		23.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's tie shoe
		23.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's tie shoe
		23.a.3	Everyday	1	Man's tie shoe
		23.a.4	Everyday	1	Boy's tie shoe
		23.a.5	Everyday	1	Boy's tie shoe
		23.a.6	Everyday	1	Boy's tie shoe
		23.a.7	Everyday	1	Girl's tie shoe
		23.a.8	Everyday	1	Man's insole
		23.a.9	Everyday	1	Sole of woman's shoe
		23.a.10	Animal	1	Animal bone
		23.a.11	Everyday	1	Clay pipe stem
		23.a.12	Everyday	1	Knife sheath
	23.a.13	Everyday	1	Harness buckle	
24	Eastern	Suffolk	Great Ashfield	15 <sup>th</sup> century and later. Early 17 <sup>th</sup> century parlour replacement.	
	24.a	Roof		Closed	Under roof beam.
		24.a.1	Everyday	1	Glove
	24.b	Floor		Closed	
		24.b.1	Everyday	1	Glove
	24.c	Unknown	24.c	Unknown	

		24.c.1	Everyday	1	Adult tie shoe
		24.c.2	Everyday	1	Adult tie shoe
		24.c.3	Everyday	1	Adult tie shoe
		24.c.4	Everyday	1	Adult tie shoe
		24.c.5	Everyday	1	Adult tie shoe
		24.c.6	Everyday	1	Adult tie shoe
		24.c.7	Everyday	1	Adult tie shoe
		24.c.8	Everyday	1	Adult tie shoe
		24.c.9	Everyday	1	Adult tie shoe
		24.c.10	Everyday	1	Adult tie shoe
		24.c.11	Everyday	1	Spur
		24.c.12	Everyday	1	Sleeve
		24.c.13	Everyday	1	Horseshoe
		24.c.14	Natural		Coal
		24.c.15	Natural		Charcoal
		24.c.16	Everyday	1	Rake
		24.c.17	Animal	1	Whole chicken
25	South East	Surrey	Oxted	16 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	25.a	Ceiling		Closed	Ground floor in plastered ceiling.
		25.a.1	Everyday	1	Boy's tie shoe
		25.a.2	Natural		Oats
26	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Comberton		
	26.a	Unknown			
		26.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		26.a.2	Everyday	1	Doll
27	South West	Dorset	Burton Bradstock	Medieval upper cruck hall house - 15 <sup>th</sup> century?	

	27.a	Wall	Roof	Closed	Top of wall, below thatch.
		27.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
29	Greater London	London			
	29.a	Wall		Closed	
		29.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's tie shoe
30	Eastern	Suffolk	Mendlesham Green	Timber framed.	
	30.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	In space between main bedroom wall and chimney stack.
		30.a.1	Everyday	1	Boy's shoe
		30.a.2	Everyday	1	Glove
		30.a.3	Animal		Sparrow bones
		30.a.4	Animal		Pidgeon bones
		30.a.5	Everyday	8	Wooden dowels
		30.a.6	Everyday	1	Wooden needle
		30.a.7	Everyday	1	Wooden trays
		30.a.8	Everyday	1	Wooden trays
		30.a.9	Everyday	1	Wooden staff of office
31	West Midlands	Staffordshire	Handsacre	Medieval - 14 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	31.a	Roof		Closed	Found under collapsed roof of medieval hall house.
		31.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		31.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
32	Eastern	Suffolk	Bury St. Edmunds	15 <sup>th</sup> century - later extensions on front. Original house divided in two.	
	32.a	Unknown			
		32.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
33	Eastern	Suffolk	Debenham		
	33.a	Ceiling		Closed	Above/in ceiling.
		33.a.1	Everyday	1	Patten rings

		33.a.2	Everyday	1	Patten rings
		33.a.3	Everyday	1	Patten rings
		33.a.4	Everyday	1	Patten rings
		33.a.5	Everyday	1	Patten rings
		33.a.6	Everyday	1	Patten rings
34	Eastern	Suffolk	Page's Green Farm	No chimney?	
	34.a	Unknown			
		34.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's tie shoe
35	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Godmanchester	16 <sup>th</sup> century /17 <sup>th</sup> century?	
	35.a	Wall		Closed	Built into wall.
		35.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		35.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
36	South West	Dorset	Shaftesbury	17 <sup>th</sup> century with alterations.	
	36.a	Roof	Chimney	Dual	In roof space near chimney, south west end.
		36.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's shoe
		36.a.2	Everyday	1	Piece of harness strap
37	Unknown	Unknown			
	37.a	Roof		Closed	
		37.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
38	Unknown	Unknown			
	38.a	Roof		Closed	
		38.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's shoes
39	Unknown	Unknown			
	39.a	Unknown			
		39.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoes
		39.a.2	Everyday	1	Coin

40	South West	Devon	Broadhembury	Late medieval, remodelled and extended in early 17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	40.a	Roof		Closed	Found during rethatching.
		40.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's shoes
		40.a.2	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's shoes
		40.a.3	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's shoes
		40.a.4	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's shoes
		40.a.5	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's shoes
		40.a.6	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's shoes
		40.a.7	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's shoes
		40.a.8	Everyday	1	Broomstick
41	Eastern	Hertfordshire	St. Albans	Building at entrance to farm built in 1664.	
	41.a	Unknown			Found during renovation.
		41.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's button boot
42	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Wicken Fen		
	42.a	Roof		Closed	In thatch.
		42.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
43	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Linton		
	43.a	Chimney		Open	
		43.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's velvet mules
44	South West	Devon	Ottery St. Mary		
	44.a	Oven		Closed	
		44.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
45	Eastern	Suffolk	Shimpling	18 <sup>th</sup> century, timber framed and plastered.	
	45.a	Wall	Chimney	Dual	Behind wattle and daub wall next to 1st floor chimney stack.
		45.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		45.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe

		45.a.3	Everyday	1	Shoe fragments
		45.a.4	Everyday	1	Book
		45.a.5	Everyday	1	Book
		45.a.6	Everyday	1	Book
		45.a.7	Everyday	1	Bonnet
		45.a.8	Everyday	1	Knife sheath
		45.a.9	Everyday	1	Clay pipe bowl
		45.a.10	Everyday	1	Cup
		45.a.11	Natural		Corn/grain
		45.a.12	Animal	1	Whole rat
46	South West	Devon	Churchston	15 <sup>th</sup> century with 17 <sup>th</sup> century additions.	
	46.a	Wall		Closed	In base of plaster panel, 4 feet from floor.
		46.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
47	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Litlingdon		
	47.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	Between chimney and inserted wall.
		47.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		47.a.2	Everyday	1	Clay pipes
		47.a.3	Everyday	1	Clay pipes
		47.a.4	Everyday	1	Clay pipes
48	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Upwood	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> century, much rebuilding and remodelling in 18 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	48.a	Roof	Chimney	Dual	In roof/attic, near chimney.
		48.a.1	Everyday	1	Adult shoe
		48.a.2	Everyday	1	Glass bottle
		48.a.3	Everyday	1	Clay pipe
		48.a.4	Everyday	1	Clay pipe
		48.a.5	Everyday	1	Wooden bat

		48.a.6	Natural	1	Stone ball/fossil
		48.a.7	Everyday	1	Piece of panelling
49	North West	Cheshire	Chester		
	49.a	Unknown			Found during demolition
		49.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's tie shoe
50	North West	Cheshire	Goodstrey		Late 16 <sup>th</sup> century.
	50.a	Roof		Closed	In rafters in blocked off section.
		50.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		50.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		50.a.3	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		50.a.4	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's shoes
51	North West	Cheshire	Knutsford		1780 (possible old hall rather than new - late 15 <sup>th</sup> century - early 16 <sup>th</sup> century)
	51.a	Floor		Closed	Under dining room.
		51.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's buckle shoes
52	South West	Cornwall	Bude		
	52.a	Unknown			
		52.a.1	Everyday		Shoe
53	South West	Cornwall	Flushing		
	53.a	Unknown			
		53.a.1	Everyday		Patten
54	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Histon		
	54.a	Wall		Closed	Behind skirting board.
		54.a.1	Everyday	1	Baby's shoe
		54.a.2	Animal		Cat bones
55	South West	Cornwall	Fowey		17 <sup>th</sup> century merchants house, 4 storeys.
	55.a	Floor		Closed	Between ground floor ceiling and 1st floor, on beam.

		55.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's slipper shoe
	55.b	Stairs		Closed	Behind wooden staircase covering stone staircase in thickness of the wall.
		55.b.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
56	East Midlands	Derbyshire	Eyam		
	56.a	Unknown			Found in rubble.
		56.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
57	East Midlands	Derbyshire	Haddon Hall	Mostly 14 <sup>th</sup> century +16 <sup>th</sup> century, major refashioning in 16 <sup>th</sup> and 17 <sup>th</sup> centuries.	
	57.a	Wall	Window	Dual	Behind panelling, in little nursery under window.
		57.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
	57.b	Wall		Closed	Behind panelling in banqueting hall.
		57.b.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
58	East Midlands	Derbyshire	New Mills		
	58.a	Wall	Roof	Closed	In recess specially constructed on top floor.
		58.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's working shoes
59	South West	Devon	Broadhembury		
	59.a	Unknown			
		59.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoe
61	South West	Devon	Paignton		
	61.a	Wall		Closed	Wall of ruined cottage - 3' from ground at junction of stone footing and cob, tucked into crenulation
		61.a.1	Everyday	1	Half boot
62	South West	Devon	High Hampton	Dated 1660 and 1664 (date stones in porch), remodelled and enlarged in 1848.	
	62.a	Wall		Closed	In cob near top of wall panel.
		62.a.1	Everyday	1	Sole fragment
63	South West	Devon	Exeter		

	63.a	Floor		Closed	
		63.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
64	South East	Berkshire	Boxford	17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	64.a	Chimney		Open	
		64.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		64.a.2	Everyday	1	Girl's shoe
65	South West	Devon	Topsham		
	65.a	Floor		Closed	Under flagstones of kitchen/scullery.
		65.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
	65.b	Chimney		Open	Behind chimney.
		65.b.1	Everyday	1	Adult ankle boot
		65.b.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
67	South West	Devon	Exeter		
	67.a	Roof		Closed	In rafters of public house.
		67.a.1	Everyday	1	Patten
		67.a.2	Everyday	1	Patten
68	South West	Devon	Frogmoore		
	68.a	Wall		Closed	In cob wall.
		68.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's buckle shoe
69	South West	Devon	Nr. Plymouth		
	69.a	Wall		Closed	
		69.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
70	South West	Devon	Sidmouth		
	70.a	Wall		Closed	In cob wall.
		70.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Pattens
71	South West	Devon	Silverton	16 <sup>th</sup> century.	

	71.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards, 6 inches above previous floor, upstairs (1st floor?).
		71.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
72	South West	Devon	Sowton	c. 1500, extended and redivided over next two centuries.	
	72.a	Wall		Closed	Behind upright beams in hall.
		72.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
73	South West	Dorset	Blanford	Built c. 1731-50.	
	73.a	Roof		Closed	In roof space, lying on ledge.
		73.a.1	Everyday	1	Buckle shoes
		73.a.2	Everyday	1	Buckle shoes
74	South West	Dorset	Corfe		
	74.a	Chimney		Open	Bricked into chimney.
		74.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
75	South West	Dorset	Corfe Castle		
	75.a	Unknown			
		75.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
76	South West	Dorset	Sherbourne	15 <sup>th</sup> century. Partly rebuilt in 16 <sup>th</sup> century. Late 16 <sup>th</sup> century extension.	
	76.a	Roof		Closed	
		76.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's shoe
		76.a.2	Everyday	1	Pull-on shoe
77	South West	Dorset	Wareham		
	77.a	Roof		Closed	
		77.a.1	Everyday	1	Latchet shoe
		77.a.2	Everyday	1	Court shoe
78	Eastern	Essex	Saffron Walden	Built 1605-14 and altered in 18 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	78.a	Wall		Closed	Detritus in wall void from refitting of 1st floor rooms in north

				wing.	
		78.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's buckle shoe
	78.b	Roof		Closed	In inaccessible attic in pile of rubbish (assumed thrown away rather than hidden).
		78.b.1	Everyday	1	Man's buckle shoe
79	Eastern	Essex	Colchester		
	79.a	Stairs		Closed	Under stairs.
		79.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoes
80	Eastern	Essex	Nr. Colchester		
	80.a	Chimney		Open	In chimney piece, found during demolition.
		80.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
81	Eastern	Essex	Nr. Great Dunmow		
	81.a	Unknown			
		81.a.1	Everyday		Boot
82	Eastern	Essex	Galleywood		16 <sup>th</sup> century with later chimney.
	82.a	Chimney		Open	
		82.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's tie shoe
		82.a.2	Animal	1	Sheep horn
83	South East	Hampshire	Winchester		
	83.a	Wall		Closed	Behind plaster.
		83.a.1	Everyday	1	Clog
84	Eastern	Essex	Woodham Walter		Medieval with 17 <sup>th</sup> century reroofing, rebuilt hall and inserted chimneys.
	84.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	In niche between hall fireplace and wall.
		84.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's sole
		84.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
		84.a.3	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe

85	South West	Gloucestershire	Blaisdon	Built 1605.	
	85.a	Oven		Closed	Among ashes at bottom of bread oven.
		85.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		85.a.2	Everyday	1	Clay pipe
		85.a.3	Animal		Animal bones
86	South West	Gloucestershire	Bristol		
	86.a	Unknown			
		86.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
87	South West	Gloucestershire	Broad Campden	17 <sup>th</sup> century /early 18 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	87.a	Wall	Window	Dual	In wall, below window (or, if roof raised, near original wall plate).
		87.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
88	South West	Gloucestershire	Frampton on Severn	Mid-late 18 <sup>th</sup> century?	
	88.a	Unknown			
		88.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
89	South East	Kent	Cranbrook	Built c. 18 <sup>th</sup> century	
	89.a	Floor	Roof	Closed	Between oak floorboards covering loft floor and plaster laith ceiling of 1st floor.
		89.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's shoe
90	South West	Gloucestershire	Owlpen	15 <sup>th</sup> century with 16 <sup>th</sup> century hall, remodelling of east wing 1719-22.	
	90.a	Unknown			Found during repairs.
		90.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
91	South West	Gloucestershire	Tetbury	Rebuilt 1693.	
	91.a	Wall		Closed	On beam in internal wall adjacent to external wall and ceiling (on ground floor?)
		91.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's clog
92	South West	Gloucestershire	Tetbury	1648-9.	

	92.a	Wall	Door	Dual	Built in above door lintel in main passageway.
		92.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		92.a.2	Everyday		Leather squares with inscription
94	South West	Gloucestershire	Wootten-under-Edge		
	94.a	Stairs		Closed	Under staircase, found when demolished.
		94.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		94.a.2	Everyday	1	Spoon
		94.a.3	Animal		Animal bones
95	South East	Hampshire			
	95.a	Unknown			Found during demolition.
		95.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
96	South East	Hampshire	Basingstoke		
	96.a	Chimney		Open	In/near chimney breast.
		96.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
97	South East	Hampshire	Basingstoke		
	97.a	Floor		Closed	15 inches under brick floor.
		97.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		97.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		97.a.3	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		97.a.4	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		97.a.5	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		97.a.6	Everyday	1	Woman's sole
		97.a.7	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		97.a.8	Animal	1	Whole pig
		97.a.9	Everyday	1	Sock

98	South East	Hampshire	Tadley	16 <sup>th</sup> century.		
	98.a	Chimney		Open	Built into fireplace.	
		98.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe - military?	
99	South East	Hampshire	Bentley	17 <sup>th</sup> century.		
	99.a	Chimney		Open	In/near chimney, found during demolition.	
		99.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's latchet shoe	
		99.a.2	Everyday	1	Boy's latchet shoe	
100	South East	Hampshire	Bursledon			
	100.a	Unknown			Found during rebuilding.	
		100.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's tie shoe	
		100.a.2	Everyday	1	Tie shoe	
	100.b	Roof		Closed	Under rafters in south west room.	
		100.b.1	Everyday	1	Girl's shoe	
		100.b.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe	
		100.b.3	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's tie shoes	
101	South East	Hampshire	Brading			
	101.a	Chimney		Open	In/near chimney breast.	
		101.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe	
102	South East	Hampshire	Broughton			
	102.a	Unknown			Found during demolition.	
		102.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe	
103	South West	Gloucestershire	Gloucester			
	103.a	Wall		Closed	In laith and plaster wall - found during building work.	
		103.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe	
104	South East	Hampshire	Christchurch			
	104.a	Roof		Closed		

		104.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's shoe
105	South East	Hampshire	Fareham	18 <sup>th</sup> century.	
		105.a	Unknown		
		105.a.1	Everyday		Shoe
106	South East	Hampshire	Froyle		
		106.a	Chimney	Open	Bricked up in chimney breast.
		106.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
		106.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		106.a.3	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
107	South East	Hampshire	Froyle Place	Originally medieval, but mainly E plan 17 <sup>th</sup> century house, 1816 alterations.	
		107.a	Roof	Closed	
		107.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
108	South East	Hampshire	Kings Worthy		
		108.a	Wall	Closed	
		108.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
109	South East	Hampshire	Lymington	Timber framed with Georgian façade.	
		109.a	Ceiling	Closed	On ceiling beam.
		109.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		109.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		109.a.3	Animal	1	Whole bat
110	South East	Hampshire	Martin		
		110.a	Roof	Closed	In thatch.
		110.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's shoes
		110.a.2	Everyday	1	Book
111	South East	Hampshire	Meonstoke	15 <sup>th</sup> century, timber-framed, once four cottages.	
		111.a	Unknown		

		111.a.1	Everyday		Several old shoes
112	South East	Hampshire	Odiham	18 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	112.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards.
		112.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		112.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's boot top
		112.a.3	Everyday	1	Girl's buckle shoe
114	West Midlands	Herefordshire	Hereford	Near the south west corner of 15 <sup>th</sup> century cloisters.	
	114.a	Wall		Closed	Under wall plate of west wall, near south west corner of cloisters.
		114.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
115	West Midlands	Herefordshire	Hereford	Demolished 1935.	
	115.a	Floor	Roof	Closed	Found under attic floor during demolition.
		115.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoe
		115.a.2	Everyday	1	Buckle - not from shoe
116	West Midlands	Herefordshire	Leintwardine		
	116.a	Wall		Closed	Built into wall.
		116.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's ankle boot
	116.b	Wall		Closed	Built into wall.
		116.b.1	Animal	1	Cat
117	West Midlands	Herefordshire	Madeley	Early 14 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	117.a	Wall	Chimney	Dual	In landing wall (1st floor) next to chimney breast.
		117.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
		117.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
118	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Bishops Stortford	Late 16 <sup>th</sup> century, rebuilt 17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	118.a	Floor	Roof	Closed	Under floorboards, in attic (described. as garret).
		118.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		118.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe top piece

		118.a.3	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
119	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Bishops Stortford		
	119.a	Floor	Roof	Closed	Under floorboards, 2nd (top) floor.
		119.a.1	Everyday	1	Leather/shoe parings
120	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Buntingford		
	120.a	Chimney		Open	In/near chimney breast.
		120.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
121	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Bolnhurst	Inn burnt down.	
	121.a	Chimney		Open	In chimney breast.
		121.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		121.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
122	Eastern	Essex	Doddinghurst	16 <sup>th</sup> century and 17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	122.a	Floor		Closed	Under 1st floor floor/ in ground floor ceiling.
		122.a.1	Everyday	1	Adult button boot
		122.a.2	Everyday	1	Cap
		122.a.3	Everyday	1	Bonnet
123	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Halls Green		
	123.a	Wall		Closed	Behind wattle and daub wall.
		123.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		123.a.2	Everyday	1	Book
		123.a.3	Everyday	1	Scabbard
		123.a.4	Everyday	1	Padlock
		123.a.5	Everyday	1	Costrel
		123.a.6	Everyday	1	Stamp
124	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Hemel Hempstead		
	124.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards.

		124.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe/half boot
125	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Hertford		
	125.a	Roof		Closed	In attic.
		125.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Pattens
126	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Hoddesdon		
	126.a	Roof		Closed	
		126.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		126.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		126.a.3	Everyday	1	Shoe
		126.a.4	Everyday	1	Shoe
		126.a.5	Everyday	1	Shoe
		126.a.6	Everyday	1	Shoe
		126.a.7	Everyday	1	Shoe
		126.a.8	Everyday	1	Shoe
127	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Knebworth	Built in 1492, one wing 16 <sup>th</sup> century, rest demolished and now early 19 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	127.a	Wall		Closed	Behind panelling - high up.
		127.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's court shoe
128	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Royston		
	128.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Under floor in a fireplace.
		128.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
129	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Royston	"400 years old" - at 1988.	
	129.a	Roof	Chimney	Dual	On beam beside chimney in roof.
		129.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's tie shoe
130	Eastern	Hertfordshire	High Cross	Mid-17 <sup>th</sup> century (1676?) With early 16 <sup>th</sup> century crosswing.	
	130.a	Chimney		Open	In side of chimney breast, 5' from ground.
		130.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe

		130.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
		130.a.3	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
		130.a.4	Everyday	1	Woman's button shoe
		130.a.5	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
		130.a.6	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
		130.a.7	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
		130.a.8	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
		130.a.9	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
		130.a.10	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
		130.a.11	Everyday	1	Woman's slip-on shoe
		130.a.12	Everyday	1	Woman's slip-on shoe
		130.a.13	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		130.a.14	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		130.a.15	Everyday	1	Adult's sole with heel
		130.a.16	Everyday	1	Documents
		130.a.17	Everyday	1	Documents
		130.a.18	Everyday	1	Wheelwrights plane
		130.a.19	Everyday	1	Half of the bottom of a bucket
		130.a.20	Everyday	1	Wooden container
		130.a.21	Everyday	1	Whetstone
131	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Stevenage	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	131.a	Unknown			
		131.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
132	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Therfield	Late 15 <sup>th</sup> century, extended 16 <sup>th</sup> century, further work and extensions mid-late 17 <sup>th</sup> century, formerly 4 dwellings.	
	132.a	Wall		Closed	

		132.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's clog
133	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Watford		
	133.a	Wall		Closed	
		133.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		133.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
		133.a.3	Everyday	1	Shoe
134	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Watford		
	134.a	Unknown			Found during demolition.
		134.a.1	Everyday	1	Workman's shoe
135	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Watford		
	135.a	Unknown			Found during demolition.
		135.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		135.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe sole
		135.a.3	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		135.a.4	Everyday	1	Knife sheath
136	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Lea Valley	Built 1660.	
	136.a	Chimney		Open	In upstairs bedroom fireplace.
		136.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's tie shoes
		136.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		136.a.3	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		136.a.4	Natural	1	Hazelnut - in shoe
137	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Yaxley		
	137.a	Wall		Closed	In reed wall, upstairs bedroom.
		137.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
138	South East	Kent			Lesser manor house dating back to Edward I.
	138.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards in upstairs room.

		138.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's buckle shoe
139	South East	Kent	Bromley Palace	Rebuilt 1776.	
	139.a	Floor		Closed	
		139.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe sole
140	South East	Kent	Canterbury		
	140.a	Unknown			
		140.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
141	South East	Kent	Canterbury	Built c. 1600, timber framed refaced 18 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	141.a	Wall	Door	Dual	Over lintel.
		141.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
142	South East	Kent	Canterbury		
	142.a	Roof		Closed	
		142.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		142.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
143	South East	Kent	Canterbury	Probably late 17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	143.a	Chimney		Open	On ledge of chimney, 1st floor.
		143.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's shoe
		143.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's buckle shoe
		143.a.3	Everyday	1	Buckle shoe
		143.a.4	Everyday	1	Buckle shoe
		143.a.5	Everyday	1	Buckle shoe
		143.a.6	Everyday	1	Buckle shoe
		143.a.7	Everyday	1	Pages
		143.a.8	Everyday		Leather
		143.a.9	Everyday		Material scraps
144	South East	Kent	Chart Sutton		

	144.a	Roof		Closed	Concealed in previously inaccessible roof space - in an orderly line along joist.
		144.a.1	Everyday	1	Boot
		144.a.2	Everyday	1	Boot
		144.a.3	Everyday	1	Boot
		144.a.4	Everyday	1	Boot
		144.a.5	Everyday	1	Boot
145	South East	Kent	Chiddingstone	Chimney inserted 1636.	
	145.a	Chimney		Open	Lodged against chimney on 1st floor.
		145.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's shoes
		145.a.2	Everyday	1	Last for men's shoe
		145.a.3	Everyday	1	Last for women's shoe
		145.a.4	Everyday	1	Last for child's shoe
		145.a.5	Everyday		Gloves
146	South East	Kent	Crundale	Saxon foundations.	
	146.a	Wall	Chimney	Dual	In rectangular niche behind plaster, top left of fireplace.
		146.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
147	South East	Kent	Eastling		
	147.a	Unknown			
		147.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		147.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
148	South East	Kent	East Malling		
	148.a	Floor		Closed	Under upstairs floor.
		148.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		148.a.2	Everyday	1	Bodice
149	South West	Gloucestershire	Gloucester		

	149.a	Chimney		Open	
		149.a.1	Everyday	1	Clog
150	South East	Kent	Hollingbourne	Built c. 1420, central chimney inserted c. 1611.	
	150.a	Chimney		Open	In central chimney breast.
		150.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's shoes
		150.a.2	Everyday	1	Bone - human?
151	South East	Kent	Faversham		
	151.a	Unknown			Found during alterations.
		151.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
152	South East	Kent	Littlebourne		
	152.a	Wall	Chimney	Dual	In wall cavity near fireplace.
		152.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
153	South East	Kent	Long Field	17 <sup>th</sup> century, possibly earlier.	
	153.a	Chimney		Open	
		153.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe fragments
		153.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe fragments
		153.a.3	Everyday	1	Shoe fragments
		153.a.4	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
		153.a.5	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
		153.a.6	Natural		Walnuts
154	South East	Kent	Lympne Castle		
	154.a	Wall		Closed	In wall of east tower.
		154.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe sole
155	South East	Kent	Isle of Sheppey		
	155.a	Floor	Chimney	Dual	In rubble by chimney under 2nd floor floorboards.
		155.a.1	Everyday	1	Buckle shoe

	155.b	Chimney		Open	Bricked in chimney of 2nd floor bedroom.
		155.b.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
	155.c	Chimney		Open	Bricked in chimney of 1st floor bedroom.
		155.c.1	Everyday	1	Boot
156	Eastern	Norfolk	Kenninghall Place	Built 1505, rest destroyed in 1650.	
	156.a	Chimney		Open	Inside central chimney stack.
		156.a.1	Everyday		Shoe
157	South East	Kent	Plaxtol	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> century	
	157.a	Stairs		Closed	
		157.a.1	Everyday	1	Knee boots
		157.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's sole
		157.a.3	Everyday	1	Child's buckle shoe
		157.a.4	Everyday	1	Purse
		157.a.5	Everyday	8	Hair curlers
		157.a.6	Everyday	1	Clay pipes
		157.a.7	Everyday	1	Clay pipes
		157.a.8	Everyday	1	Clay pipes
		157.a.9	Everyday	1	Needle case
		157.a.10	Everyday	1	Comb
158	South East	Kent	Sandwich	15 <sup>th</sup> century with 18 <sup>th</sup> century façade, 6 bay hall house, chimney inserted c.1600.	
	158.a	Chimney		Open	Behind upstairs fireplace.
		158.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
		158.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
		158.a.3	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
		158.a.4	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's shoe
		158.a.5	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe

		158.a.6	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		158.a.7	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		158.a.8	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		158.a.9	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		158.a.10	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		158.a.11	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		158.a.12	Everyday		Cobblers waste
159	South East	Kent	Sevenoaks	c.1700.	
	159.a	Wall		Closed	
		159.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
160	South East	Kent	Tenterden		
	160.a	Stairs		Closed	Sitting on the centre of one tread of boarded up staircase.
		160.a.1	Everyday	1	Boy's buckle shoe
161	South East	Kent	Tonge	16 <sup>th</sup> century?	
	161.a	Chimney		Open	
		161.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's shoes
162	South East	Kent	Underriver	16 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	162.a	Unknown			
		162.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoes
		162.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's buckle shoe
163	South East	Kent	Warehorne	16 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	163.a	Wall	Roof	Closed	Between two plaster walls in attic.
		163.a.1	Everyday	1	Clog
	163.b	Wall		Closed	
		163.b.1	Everyday	1	Knife
		163.b.2	Everyday	1	Fork

165	North West	Lancashire	Chapel-le-Dale		
	165.a	Unknown			
		165.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's boot
166	North West	Lancashire	Colthouse		
	166.a	Roof		Closed	Found during repairs.
		166.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
167	North West	Lancashire	Mytton		
	167.a	Unknown			In new part.
		167.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's slip-on shoe
		167.a.2	Everyday	1	Bill
	167.b	Unknown			In old part.
		167.b.1	Everyday	1	Child's clog
		167.b.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		167.b.3	Everyday	1	Child's button shoe
		167.b.4	Everyday	1	Clay pipe bowl
	167.c	Roof		Closed	Hung up in roof.
		167.c.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's clogs
168	North West	Lancashire	Outgate		Cruck framed.
	168.a	Wall	Door	Dual	In 2'6" thick outer wall of cottage, few feet from door.
		168.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
169	North West	Lancashire	Rosendale		
	169.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards.
		169.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
170	North West	Lancashire	Salford		
	170.a	Roof		Closed	Placed in north east corner of uppermost floor.
		170.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe - severely cut

171	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Groby		
	171.a	Wall		Closed	In wattle and daub wall.
		171.a.1	Everyday	1	Cut down boot
172	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Husbands Bosworth		
	172.a	Wall	Door	Dual	Bricked in wall in entrance way.
		172.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Pattens
		172.a.2	Everyday	2 (pair)	Pattens
		172.a.3	Everyday	2 (pair)	Pattens
		172.a.4	Everyday	2 (pair)	Pattens
		172.a.5	Everyday	2 (pair)	Pattens
		172.a.6	Everyday	1	Patten
173	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Loughborough	Medieval/Tudor - since demolished.	
	173.a	Wall	Roof	Closed	Behind wall plaster fronting roof gully in attic - wall plate.
		173.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
		173.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
174	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Lubenham	1622-4, demolished 1950.	
	174.a	Floor		Closed	
		174.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
175	South East	Kent	Maidstone		
	175.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	Ground floor front, behind fireplace backing, behind chimney breast.
		175.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
176	East Midlands	Lincolnshire	Cottage		
	176.a	Roof		Closed	Under thatch.
		176.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
177	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Snibston		

	177.a	Unknown			
		177.a.1	Everyday		Shoe
178	East Midlands	Lincolnshire	Hagworthingham	Mid-17 <sup>th</sup> century, late 19 <sup>th</sup> century extension.	
	178.a	Stairs		Closed	Under staircase.
		178.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's boot
		178.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's boot
		178.a.3	Everyday	1	Man's boot
		178.a.4	Everyday	1	Man's boot
		178.a.5	Everyday	1	Man's boot
		178.a.6	Everyday	1	Woman's boot
		178.a.7	Everyday	1	Woman's boot
		178.a.8	Everyday	1	Adult's slipper
		178.a.9	Everyday	1	Child's boot
		178.a.10	Everyday	1	Child's boot
		178.a.11	Everyday	1	Child's boot
		178.a.12	Everyday	1	Child's boot
180	Greater London	London	Billington Street		
	180.a	Wall		Closed	
		180.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's boot
181	Greater London	London	Hampton Court		
	181.a	Floor		Closed	Under floor of living accommodation.
		181.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
182	Greater London	London	Highgate	1582, extensive later alterations (1640, 1760).	
	182.a	Roof		Closed	
		182.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
	182.b	Chimney		Open	In bricked up recess in 1st floor chimney.

		182.b.1	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
		182.b.2	Everyday	1	Boy's tie shoe
		182.b.3	Animal	1	Whole chicken
		182.b.4	Animal	1	Whole chicken
		182.b.5	Animal	1	Whole chicken
		182.b.6	Animal	1	Whole chicken
		182.b.7	Animal	1	Chicken egg
		182.b.8	Everyday	1	Candlestick
		182.b.9	Everyday	1	Glass goblet
183	Greater London	London	25 Leadenhall Street		
	183.a	Wall		Closed	Hidden in a wall with Tudor panels.
		183.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
184	Greater London	London	Moorfields		
	184.a	Wall		Closed	In walled up cupboard.
		184.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		184.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		184.a.3	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		184.a.4	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		184.a.5	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		184.a.6	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		184.a.7	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		184.a.8	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		184.a.9	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		184.a.10	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
185	Greater London	London			
	185.a	Roof		Closed	

		185.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
186	Greater London	London	Ickenham	Built 1638.	
	186.a	Chimney		Open	Bricked up in chimney.
		186.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's silk shoes
		186.a.2	Animal	1	Cat
187	Greater London	London	Ruislip		
	187.a	Unknown			Found during alterations.
		187.a.1	Everyday		Shoe
188	South East	Oxfordshire	Standlake	17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	188.a	Roof		Closed	Found in thatch of cottage.
		188.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
189	Eastern	Norfolk	Bacton		
	189.a	Unknown			
		189.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's tie shoes
		189.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's tie shoes
		189.a.3	Everyday	1	Woman's tie shoes
		189.a.4	Everyday	1	Woman's tie shoes
		189.a.5	Everyday	1	Woman's tie shoes
		189.a.6	Everyday	1	Woman's tie shoes
		189.a.7	Everyday	2 (pair)	Patten irons
		189.a.8	Everyday	1	Patten iron
		189.a.9	Everyday	1	Tie shoe
		189.a.10	Everyday	1	Child's tie shoes
		189.a.11	Animal	1	Whole mouse
		189.a.12	Everyday	1	Breeches
		189.a.13	Everyday	1	Leather harness straps

		189.a.14	Everyday	1	Horseshoe
		189.a.15	Everyday		Builders tools
	189.b	Unknown			
		189.b.1	Everyday	1	Glove
		189.b.2	Everyday	1	Glove
190	Eastern	Norfolk	Bedingham	16 <sup>th</sup> century with 19 <sup>th</sup> century additions.	
	190.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	Between fireplace and tie beam.
		190.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's patten
191	Eastern	Norfolk	Worstead		
	191.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards, 1st floor of annex.
		191.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
192	Eastern	Norfolk	Dereham		
	192.a	Stairs		Closed	Under bottom step of uppermost staircase.
		192.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
193	Eastern	Norfolk	Great Ellingham	Late 1590's house.	
	193.a	Chimney		Open	In inglenook fireplace, found during repairs.
		193.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
194	Eastern	Norfolk	Mangreen Lane	Early 16 <sup>th</sup> century, 18 <sup>th</sup> century and 19 <sup>th</sup> century alterations.	
	194.a	Chimney		Open	Behind 17 <sup>th</sup> century fireplace.
		194.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
195	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> century, 19 <sup>th</sup> century alterations.	
	195.a	Wall	Chimney	Dual	Behind lath and plaster studwork and brick fireplace, 1st floor.
		195.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's clog
		195.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
	195.b	Unknown			
		195.b.1	Everyday	1	Clog straps

196	Eastern	Bedfordshire	North		
	196.a	Wall		Closed	
		196.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Adult shoes
197	Eastern	Norfolk	Pullham St. Mary	17 <sup>th</sup> century, possibly earlier.	
	197.a	Stairs		Closed	Under stairs.
		197.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		197.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's boot heel
198	Eastern	Norfolk	Tivetshall St. Marys		
	198.a	Chimney		Open	In recess at base of chimney breast.
		198.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
199	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Blunham	Built 1666.	
	199.a	Wall	Window	Dual	3-4 inches above window in wattle and daub wall.
		199.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's buckle shoe
200	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Ashley		
	200.a	Floor		Closed	Under bedroom floorboards.
		200.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
201	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Badby	Built 1640.	
	201.a	Chimney		Open	Behind 3 fireplaces.
		201.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
202	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Blisworth	Built 1797.	
	202.a	Floor		Closed	Under bedroom floorboards.
		202.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's clog base
203	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Blisworth		
	203.a	Floor		Closed	18 inches under existing ground floor.
		203.a.1	Everyday		Shoe soles
		203.a.2	Natural		Coal

		203.a.3	Everyday	1	Hat
204	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Carlton		
	204.a	Wall		Closed	Beneath footing.
		204.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's clog
205	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Brackley	Built c.1600.	
	205.a	Chimney		Open	Found when inglenook uncovered.
		205.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's boots
	205.b	Floor		Closed	Found when repairing floor, servants quarters.
		205.b.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
206	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Canons Ashby		
	206.a	Floor		Closed	Between 1st floor and ground floor ceiling.
		206.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
207	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Duddington	Built 1601.	
	207.a	Floor		Closed	In rubble between cellar roof and floorboards.
		207.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
208	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Gayton		
	208.a	Oven		Closed	In bread oven.
		208.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
209	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Chicksands Priory	Post reformation house using old priory building.	
	209.a	Roof		Closed	In "sand" under roof - valley gutter.
		209.a.1	Everyday	1	Buckle shoe
210	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Hargrave		
	210.a	Wall		Closed	
		210.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
211	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Hartwell Park		
	211.a	Wall	Roof	Closed	Boarded in recess by chimney on floorboards.

		211.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's shoes
		211.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		211.a.3	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		211.a.4	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		211.a.5	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		211.a.6	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		211.a.7	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		211.a.8	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
212	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Helmdon	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	212.a	Wall		Closed	In lathe and plaster wall between bedroom and landing, 1st floor.
		212.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's buckle shoe
		212.a.2	Everyday	1	Glove
		212.a.3	Everyday	1	Ball
213	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Kettering	Early 16 <sup>th</sup> century with extensive 17 <sup>th</sup> century alterations.	
	213.a	Unknown			
		213.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		213.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
214	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Dean		
	214.a	Wall		Closed	Found during demolition - in a cranny.
		214.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		214.a.2	Everyday		Corks
215	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Little Houghton		
	215.a	Oven		Closed	In bread oven.
		215.a.1	Everyday	1	Adult's shoe
		215.a.2	Everyday	1	Metal tin
216	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Nassington	c.1200 or later.	

	216.a	Wall		Closed	Found in wall rubble during alterations.
		216.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		216.a.2	Everyday	1	Women's latchet clog
217	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Newnham		
	217.a	Roof		Closed	Found when re-thatching.
		217.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
218	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Newnham		
	218.a	Roof		Closed	In thatch of cottage.
		218.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
219	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Newnham		
	219.a	Roof		Closed	In thatch of cottage.
		219.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's shoes
220	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Elston		
	220.a	Chimney		Open	In inglenook.
		220.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's buckle shoe
		220.a.2	Everyday	1	Girl's shoe
		220.a.3	Everyday	1	Boy's tie shoe
		220.a.4	Animal		Chicken bones
221	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Potterspury		
	221.a	Wall	Window	Dual	Built in under windowsill.
		221.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		221.a.2	Everyday	1	Table leg
222	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Rockingham		
	222.a	Floor		Closed	Found under billiard room floor.
		222.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
223	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Heath and Reach		

	223.a	Chimney		Open	In chimney breast.
		223.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's shoes
224	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Towcester		
	224.a	Ceiling		Closed	Found in ceiling.
		224.a.1	Everyday		Working boots
225	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Weekley		
	225.a	Roof		Closed	In eaves of washhouse.
		225.a.1	Everyday	1	Patten
226	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Weldon	Built c.1650.	
	226.a	Wall		Closed	Found in stone wall.
		226.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
227	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Keysoe		
	227.a	Roof		Closed	Found during restoration.
		227.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		227.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		227.a.3	Everyday	1	Bottle
228	South East	Oxfordshire	Old Abbey		
	228.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards.
		228.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's silk shoe
229	South East	Oxfordshire	Banbury	Built 1581.	
	229.a	Roof		Closed	From roof of old house.
		229.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoes
		229.a.2	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoes
		229.a.3	Everyday	1	Leather pieces
230	South East	Oxfordshire	Appleton		
	230.a	Floor		Closed	Beaten into earth floor.

		230.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's shoes
		230.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's shoes
		230.a.3	Everyday	1	Man's sole
		230.a.4	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		230.a.5	Everyday	1	Shoe
		230.a.6	Everyday	1	Heel iron
		230.a.7	Everyday	1	Spoon
		230.a.8	Everyday		Pipes
231	South East	Oxfordshire	Banbury		
	231.a	Chimney		Open	Found in chimney breast during demolition.
		231.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's silk shoe
232	South East	Oxfordshire	Banbury		Early/mid-15 <sup>th</sup> century, additions of 1570, 1624 and 1637.
	232.a	Floor		Closed	Found under floor.
		232.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
233	South East	Oxfordshire	Burford		
	233.a	Wall		Closed	In partition between two bedrooms.
		233.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's clog bases
		233.a.2	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's clog bases
		233.a.3	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's clog bases
		233.a.4	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's clog bases
		233.a.5	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's clog bases
		233.a.6	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's clog bases
		233.a.7	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's clog bases
		233.a.8	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's clog bases
		233.a.9	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's clog bases
		233.a.10	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's clog bases

234	South East	Oxfordshire	Chinnor		
	234.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards.
		234.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		234.a.2	Everyday	1	Buckle
235	South East	Oxfordshire	Lyneham		
	235.a	Wall		Closed	In slot in timber framed partition, ground floor.
		235.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's soles
236	South East	Oxfordshire	Milton Under Wychwood		
	236.a	Wall		Closed	Found in wall of cottage.
		236.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
237	South East	Oxfordshire	Oxford	Annex dated 1719, roof completed 1721.	
	237.a	Roof		Closed	On floor of attic side by side, in north east corner of annex.
		237.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
		237.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's buckle shoe
238	South East	Oxfordshire	Oxford	Founded 1555.	
	238.a	Ceiling		Closed	Above dining hall ceiling.
		238.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
239	South East	Oxfordshire	Shipton Under Wychwood	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	239.a	Wall	Stairs	Closed	Walled up in staircase.
		239.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's latchet shoe
		239.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
		239.a.3	Everyday	1	Woman's clog
		239.a.4	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
239.a.5	Everyday	1	Halfpenny		

		239.a.6	Everyday	1	Hat
		239.a.7	Everyday	1	Breeches
		239.a.8	Everyday	1	Spur
		239.a.9	Everyday	1	Horse bit and noseband
		239.a.10	Everyday	1	Noose
		239.a.11	Everyday	1	Brown paper
240	South East	Oxfordshire	Thame		
	240.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	In rubble during restoration between chimney and wall between 1st and attic floors.
		240.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
		240.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
		240.a.3	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		240.a.4	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		240.a.5	Everyday	2 (pair)	Latchet shoe
		240.a.6	Everyday	1	Latchet shoe
		240.a.7	Everyday	1	Hat
		240.a.8	Everyday	1	Glove
		240.a.9	Everyday	1	Glove
		240.a.10	Everyday	1	Dress
		240.a.11	Everyday	1	Stockings
		240.a.12	Everyday		Clay pipes
		240.a.13	Everyday	1	Lace bobbin
		240.a.14	Everyday		Boxes
		240.a.15	Everyday		China
241	South East	Oxfordshire	Thame	1559.	
	241.a	Wall		Closed	Found in wall.

		241.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's tie shoe
242	South East	Oxfordshire	Thame		
	242.a	Chimney		Open	Found in chimney.
		242.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
243	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Potton	Demolished 1935?	
	243.a	Wall		Closed	Built into wall.
		243.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		243.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
244	South East	Oxfordshire	Watlington		
	244.a	Wall		Closed	Found in wall.
		244.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
245	West Midlands	Shropshire	Shrewsbury	Medieval - 16 <sup>th</sup> century, built c.1450.	
	245.a	Unknown			Found during repairs.
		245.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
246	West Midlands	Shropshire	Shrewsbury		
	246.a	Unknown			Found during alterations.
		246.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
248	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Sandy		
	248.a	Floor		Closed	Between ceiling and floor (1st floor?)
		248.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's shoe
		248.a.2	Everyday	1	Bottle
249	West Midlands	Shropshire	Shawbury		
	249.a	Floor		Closed	Found under floor in old house.
		249.a.1	Everyday		Shoe lasts
250	South West	Gloucestershire	Abson		
	250.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	In back wall of fireplace stack - inserted in former open hall.

		250.a.1	Everyday	1	Boy's buckle shoe
		250.a.2	Animal	1	Chicken head
		250.a.3	Animal	1	Chicken head
		250.a.4	Animal		Chicken feet
		250.a.5	Animal	1	Egg
	250.b	Oven		Closed	In bread oven.
		250.b.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		250.b.2	Everyday		China
251	South West	Somerset	Brympton D'evercy		
	251.a	Unknown			Found during restoration.
		251.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		251.a.2	Everyday		Several shoes
252	South West	Somerset	Wells		Early mid-17 <sup>th</sup> century. Remodelled in the 18 <sup>th</sup> century.
	252.a	Chimney		Open	Found in one of seven flues in chimney breast, 5-6 feet above floor.
		252.a.1	Everyday	1	Tie shoe
253	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Southcott		
	253.a	Roof		Closed	In thatch.
		253.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
254	South West	Somerset	Midsummer Norton		
	254.a	Unknown			
		254.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
255	South West	Somerset	Yeovil		Built for abbots of Glastonbury c.1524.
	255.a	Wall		Closed	In wall of old house.
		255.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's galosh
256	South East	Berkshire	Aldworth Manor		

	256.a	Chimney		Open	
		256.a.1	Everyday	1	Boy's latchet shoe
257	South West	Somerset	Bath		
	257.a	Roof		Closed	Found in roof behind tank.
		257.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's tie shoe
258	South West	Somerset	Stretsholt		
	258.a	Chimney		Open	Inside chimney breast.
		258.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's tie shoe
259	South East	Berkshire	Beedon		
	259.a	Chimney		Open	In stock of end house.
		259.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
	259.b	Chimney		Open	In stock of middle house.
		259.b.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
	259.c	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Floor debris under main chimney.
		259.c.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
260	South West	Somerset	Yeovil	c.1600, 18 <sup>th</sup> century alterations.	
	260.a	Roof		Closed	Found in rafters.
		260.a.1	Everyday	1	Boy's shoe
		260.a.2	Everyday	1	Girl's shoe
		260.a.3	Everyday	1	Boy's shoe
		260.a.4	Everyday	1	Girl's shoe
261	West Midlands	Staffordshire	Lichfield	c. 400 years old.	
	261.a	Chimney		Open	Found in chimney.
		261.a.1	Everyday	1	Adult shoe
		261.a.2	Everyday	1	Chisel
		261.a.3	Natural		Flowers

262	West Midlands	Staffordshire	Stone		
	262.a	Floor		Closed	Between ceiling and floor.
		262.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
263	Eastern	Suffolk	Felixstowe		
	263.a	Unknown			
		263.a.1	Everyday		Five piece of shoes
264	Eastern	Suffolk	Eye	17 <sup>th</sup> century, 19 <sup>th</sup> century alterations.	
	264.a	Chimney		Open	
		264.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's tie shoe
		264.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's tie shoe
		264.a.3	Everyday	1	Man's tie shoe
		264.a.4	Everyday	1	Lace bobbins
		264.a.5	Everyday	1	Lace bobbins
265	South East	Berkshire	Burghclere		
	265.a	Unknown			
		265.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
266	Eastern	Suffolk	Debenham	Mid-16 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	266.a	Wall	Chimney	Dual	Found near chimney, on beam.
		266.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's tie shoe
267	Eastern	Suffolk	Copdock		
	267.a	Chimney		Open	Near chimney.
		267.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
268	Eastern	Norfolk	Beccles	Built c.1600.	
	268.a	Unknown			
		268.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
269	Eastern	Norfolk	Aldeby		

	269.a	Floor	Chimney	Dual	Under floor of cupboard at side of fireplace.
		269.a.1	Everyday	1	Unusual shoe
270	Eastern	Suffolk	Bardwell		
	270.a	Unknown			Found during restoration.
		270.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoes
		270.a.2	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoes
271	Eastern	Suffolk	Bures St. Mary	16 <sup>th</sup> century timber framed, 18 <sup>th</sup> century features.	
	271.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	Between back-to-back fireplaces in ball of mortar.
		271.a.1	Everyday	1	Boot
		271.a.2	Everyday	1	Felt hat
		271.a.3	Everyday	1	Leggings
272	Eastern	Suffolk	Bedfield	15 <sup>th</sup> century core, much 16 <sup>th</sup> century alterations, early 17 <sup>th</sup> century service wing.	
	272.a	Unknown			
		272.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
	272.b	Unknown			
		272.b.1	Everyday		Shoe fragments
273	Eastern	Suffolk	Clare		
	273.a	Chimney		Open	Behind fireplace.
		273.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
274	Eastern	Suffolk	Chelsworth	Thought to be 400 years old.	
	274.a	Floor		Closed	Under bedroom floorboards.
		274.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's shoes - slashed
275	Eastern	Suffolk	Sudbury	16 <sup>th</sup> century to 17 <sup>th</sup> century?	
	275.a	Unknown			
		275.a.1	Everyday	1	Adult's tie shoe
		275.a.2	Everyday	1	Adult's shoe

		275.a.3	Everyday	1	Adult's slip-on shoe
276	Eastern	Suffolk	Lavenham	Early 15 <sup>th</sup> century hall house, now three dwellings.	
	276.a	Chimney		Open	In small fireplace, possibly bakers oven, in side of large chimney breast.
		276.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's shoe
		276.a.2	Everyday	1	Incomplete shoe
277	Eastern	Suffolk	Little Yeldham	House next to village hall, timber framed.	
	277.a	Wall		Closed	
		277.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoes
		277.a.2	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoes
279	Eastern	Suffolk	Lavenham	Late medieval.	
	279.a	Roof		Closed	In roof area.
		279.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
280	Eastern	Suffolk	Needham Market		
	280.a	Chimney		Open	Found in chimney.
		280.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's clog
281	South East	Berkshire	Boxford		
	281.a	Roof		Closed	Found during repairs.
		281.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
282	Eastern	Suffolk	South Elmhams		
	282.a	Chimney		Open	In chimney.
		282.a.1	Everyday	1	Patten
283	Eastern	Suffolk	Syleham	c. 1600, remodelled mid-17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	283.a	Wall	Roof	Closed	Embedded in plaster, very high up in roof.
		283.a.1	Everyday	1	Patten
284	Eastern	Suffolk	Ubbeston	Plaque in one room – 1617.	

	284.a	Chimney		Open	In recess behind chimney.
		284.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
		284.a.2	Everyday	1	Adult's latchet shoe
		284.a.3	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		284.a.4	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
285	Eastern	Suffolk	Stow Uplands		
	285.a	Wall	Chimney	Dual	Next to chimney.
		285.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's sole
		285.a.2	Everyday	1	Soles
286	Eastern	Suffolk	Stowmarket		
	286.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	In space between chimney and wall.
		286.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's buckle shoe
		286.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
		286.a.3	Everyday	1	Shoe
		286.a.4	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's shoes
		286.a.5	Everyday	1	Bowl
		286.a.6	Everyday	1	Spoon
		286.a.7	Everyday	1	Token
287	Eastern	Suffolk	Wantisden		Old farmhouse.
	287.a	Chimney		Open	Walled up in chimney recess.
		287.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		287.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		287.a.3	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		287.a.4	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		287.a.5	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		287.a.6	Everyday	1	Child's shoe

		287.a.7	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
288	Eastern	Suffolk	Ipswich	16 <sup>th</sup> century timber framed.	
	288.a	Floor		Closed	Under floor.
		288.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		288.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
289	Eastern	Suffolk	Ipswich	15 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	289.a	Unknown			During restoration.
		289.a.1	Everyday	1	Adult's latchet shoe
290	Eastern	Suffolk	Ipswich	Timber framed house on corner of 2 streets.	
	290.a	Wall		Closed	In wall between original inner and later outer wall of jetty.
		290.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		290.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
291	Eastern	Suffolk	Weybread		
	291.a	Chimney		Open	Behind partition c. 200 years old in chimney c.400 years old.
		291.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		291.a.2	Everyday	1	Adult's shoe
292	Eastern	Suffolk	Ipswich		
	292.a	Floor		Closed	Beneath floor.
		292.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's shoes
293	Eastern	Suffolk	Hintlesham		
	293.a	Unknown			Found during demolition.
		293.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
294	Eastern	Suffolk	Hintlesham	15 <sup>th</sup> and 16 <sup>th</sup> centuries - of several builds.	
	294.a	Chimney		Open	Found in fireplace.
		294.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
295	Eastern	Suffolk	Haverhill		

	295.a	Chimney		Open	In 'baker's chimney', found during demolition.
		295.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's shoes
296	Eastern	Suffolk	Finningham	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> century, timber framed.	
	296.a	Stairs		Closed	In well of newel staircase from 17th century parlour.
		296.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		296.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		296.a.3	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		296.a.4	Everyday	1	Button boot
		296.a.5	Everyday	1	Adult's latchet shoe
		296.a.6	Everyday	1	Adult's latchet shoe
		296.a.7	Everyday	1	Adult's latchet shoe
		296.a.8	Everyday		Marbles
		296.a.9	Everyday	1	Mug
		296.a.10	Everyday	1	Thimble
297	Eastern	Suffolk	Framlingham	16 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	297.a	Wall	Chimney	Dual	Behind bedroom partition wall, next to chimney.
		297.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's latchet shoe
298	Eastern	Suffolk	Hartest	Medieval.	
	298.a	Chimney		Open	Up one side of a 16/17th century chimney.
		298.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
299	Eastern	Suffolk	Fressingfield	House in centre of village.	
	299.a	Chimney		Open	From chimney.
		299.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
		299.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
		299.a.3	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
300	Eastern	Suffolk	Winston	16th century.	

300.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	In cavity beside chimney breast in 16 <sup>th</sup> century house - 2 separate cavities, not specified which items where.
	300.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's shoe
	300.a.2	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's latchet shoes
	300.a.3	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's latchet shoes
	300.a.4	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
	300.a.5	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's latchet shoes
	300.a.6	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's latchet shoes
	300.a.7	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
	300.a.8	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
	300.a.9	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
	300.a.10	Everyday	2 (pair)	Girls' latchet shoe
	300.a.11	Everyday	1	Girls' latchet shoe
	300.a.12	Everyday	1	Girls' latchet shoe
	300.a.13	Everyday	1	Girls' latchet shoe
	300.a.14	Everyday	1	Girls' latchet shoe
	300.a.15	Animal	1	Kitten
	300.a.16	Animal	1	Kitten
	300.a.17	Animal		Pig trotter bones
	300.a.18	Animal	1	Goose wing
	300.a.19	Animal	1	Headless rat
	300.a.20	Everyday	1	Spur guard
	300.a.21	Everyday	1	Breeches
	300.a.22	Everyday	1	Waistcoat
	300.a.23	Everyday	1	Clay pipe
	300.a.24	Everyday	1	Base of bottle

		300.a.25	Everyday	1	Wooden lathe
		300.a.26	Everyday	1	Wooden lathe
		300.a.27	Everyday	1	Wooden lathe
		300.a.28	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
301	South East	Berkshire	Kingsclere		
	301.a	Floor	Roof	Closed	Under floorboards in enclosed roof room.
		301.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
	301.b	Chimney		Open	Chimney breast
		301.b.1	Everyday	1	Woman's clog
		301.b.2	Everyday	1	Child's buckle shoe
302	South East	Surrey	Cobham		
	302.a	Chimney		Open	By hearth/in brick chimney.
		302.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's shoes
303	South East	Surrey	Croyden	15 <sup>th</sup> century +16 <sup>th</sup> century	
	303.a	Unknown			
		303.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		303.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
304	South East	Surrey	Cobham		
	304.a	Roof		Closed	Found in roof hidden among straw and mud.
		304.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's overshoes
		304.a.2	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoes
		304.a.3	Everyday	1	Pipe
305	South East	Surrey	Dorking	16 <sup>th</sup> century timber framed, now two houses.	
	305.a	Chimney		Open	Chimney deposit.
		305.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
306	South East	Berkshire	Newbury		

	306.a	Floor		Closed	Under 1st floor floorboards.
		306.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's tie shoe
307	South East	Surrey	Peaslake		
	307.a	Chimney		Open	From chimney breast.
		307.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's mule
308	South East	Surrey	Redhill		
	308.a	Stairs		Closed	Under staircase.
		308.a.1	Everyday	5	Shoe fragments - men and women
		308.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's boot
		308.a.3	Everyday	1	Man's boot
		308.a.4	Everyday	1	Woman's sole
		308.a.5	Everyday	1	Child's sole
		308.a.6	Everyday	1	Coin
		308.a.7	Everyday	1	Button
		308.a.8	Everyday		Pottery
309	South East	Surrey	West Horsley	Medieval house developed in 16th-18th centuries, 15 <sup>th</sup> century, 17 <sup>th</sup> century core.	
	309.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards.
		309.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoes
		309.a.2	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoes
310	South East	West Sussex	Bosham		
	310.a	Chimney		Open	Chimney deposit.
		310.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		310.a.2	Everyday	1	Leg of ankle boot
311	South East	East Sussex	East Guilford		
	311.a	Wall		Closed	Found in farm building during alterations to kitchen/larder -

					found lodged in framing of brick and wattle wall.
		311.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's latchet shoe
312	South East	East Sussex	Flimwell		
	312.a	Chimney		Open	Chimney deposit.
		312.a.1	Everyday	1	Adult's latchet shoe
		312.a.2	Everyday	1	Boy's derby boot
		312.a.3	Everyday	1	Woman's ankle boot
313	South East	Surrey	Chaldon		Originally medieval hall house c.1400, chimney from 1604, 15 <sup>th</sup> century with 17 <sup>th</sup> century and 19 <sup>th</sup> century alterations.
	313.a	Chimney		Open	Within a chimney on a ledge level with 2nd floor.
		313.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's sole
		313.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's work shoe
		313.a.3	Everyday	1	Man's work shoe
		313.a.4	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		313.a.5	Everyday	1	Bottle
		313.a.6	Everyday		Glass fragments
		313.a.7	Everyday		Hobnails
		313.a.8	Natural	1	Flint nodule
	313.b	Wall		Closed	Within walls.
		313.b.1	Everyday	1	Woman's clog
		313.b.2	Everyday	1	Woman's clog sole
		313.b.3	Everyday	1	Wooden shoe-shaped bat and hap game
314	South East	Berkshire	Newbury		
	314.a	Unknown			
		314.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's buckle shoe
315	South East	East Sussex	Hayes		

	315.a	Roof		Closed	Found buried in plaster and rubble in roof.
		315.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's boot
316	South East	East Sussex	Lewes	"Cromwellian".	
	316.a	Wall	Roof	Closed	Found in cupboard, originally loft.
		316.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		316.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		316.a.3	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		316.a.4	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		316.a.5	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
317	South East	East Sussex	Lewes	16 <sup>th</sup> century with 17 <sup>th</sup> century crosswing, now two dwellings.	
	317.a	Wall		Closed	Found between walls.
		317.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
318	South East	West Sussex	Lindfield	Late 15 <sup>th</sup> century and 16 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	318.a	Floor		Closed	Found under floor.
		318.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
319	South East	East Sussex	Mayfield	17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	319.a	Wall		Closed	In void between two properties - adjacent property older (c.1600).
		319.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		319.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's tie shoe
		319.a.3	Everyday	1	Shoe
320	South East	West Sussex	Patching		
	320.a	Unknown			
		320.a.1	Everyday	1	Boot carved from chalk
321	South East	East Sussex	Rye	18 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	321.a	Wall		Closed	Found in wall - in rubble core.
		321.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's clogs

322	South East	West Sussex	Steyning	L-shaped medieval timber framed buildings.	
	322.a	Floor	Roof	Closed	Found under attic floorboards.
		322.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		322.a.2	Everyday	1	Bottle
323	South East	West Sussex	Upper Beeding		
	323.a	Floor	Stairs	Closed	Found at bottom of staircase.
		323.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		323.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		323.a.3	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's shoes
324	South East	West Sussex	Warninglid		
	324.a	Floor		Closed	Found beneath oak floorboards.
		324.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		324.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
325	South East	Berkshire	Sonning		
	325.a	Wall	Chimney	Dual	In/near chimney/bricked in wall.
		325.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
326	South East	West Sussex	Burpham		
	326.a	Unknown			
		326.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe carved from chalk
327	South East	West Sussex	Wineham	17 <sup>th</sup> century, possibly earlier.	
	327.a	Chimney		Open	Found in chimney breast.
		327.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
328	South East	Berkshire	Sonning		
	328.a	Wall		Closed	Bricked up.
		328.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
329	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Combrook		

	329.a	Roof		Closed	Found in roof.
		329.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
330	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Coventry	On corner of 2 streets, city centre.	
	330.a	Roof		Closed	Found on beam in roof.
		330.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
331	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Harbury Hall		
	331.a	Wall		Closed	Found in out-house - traces of plaster as if had been in wall.
		331.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		331.a.2	Everyday	1	Cut down boot for child
332	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Nether Whitacre		
	332.a	Chimney		Open	Found in smoke hood.
		332.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
		332.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
333	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Stretton on Dunsmore		
	333.a	Roof		Closed	In eaves.
		333.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
334	South East	Oxfordshire	Wantage	17 <sup>th</sup> century, remodelled 1720.	
	334.a	Chimney		Open	Found in chimney stack.
		334.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
335	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Mere Green	17 <sup>th</sup> century?	
	335.a	Chimney		Open	Stuffed in chimney breast.
		335.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Man's buckle shoes
		335.a.2	Everyday	2 (pair)	Adult's buckle shoes
		335.a.3	Everyday	2 (pair)	Quarters from men's boots
		335.a.4	Natural		Wheat

		335.a.5	Everyday		Clay pipes
		335.a.6	Everyday		Horse trappings
336	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Warwick	15 <sup>th</sup> century house with 16 <sup>th</sup> and 17 <sup>th</sup> century additions.	
	336.a	Wall		Closed	Found in wall.
		336.a.1	Everyday	1	Sole
337	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Warwick		
	337.a	Wall		Closed	Found in wall.
		337.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
		337.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
338	South West	Wiltshire	Swindon	Mid-late 17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	338.a	Ceiling		Closed	Found in ceiling.
		338.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		338.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		338.a.3	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
339	South West	Wiltshire	Amesbury	15 <sup>th</sup> and 17 <sup>th</sup> centuries, altered in 18 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	339.a	Door	Floor	Dual	Found under portico.
		339.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
340	South West	Wiltshire	Calne	1683, former school.	
	340.a	Wall		Closed	In partition wall between plaster.
		340.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's galosh
		340.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
341	South West	Wiltshire	Devizes	15 <sup>th</sup> century, timber framed.	
	341.a	Roof		Closed	Between roof and upper ceiling.
		341.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		341.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
		341.a.3	Everyday	1	Shoe

		341.a.4	Everyday	1	Baby's shoe
		341.a.5	Everyday	1	Iron file
		341.a.6	Everyday	1	Hat box
		341.a.7	Everyday		Bowl
		341.a.8	Everyday		Bowl
		341.a.9	Everyday	1	Bowl
		341.a.10	Everyday		Clay pipe fragments
		341.a.11	Everyday	1	Wine glass stem
		341.a.12	Everyday	1	Length of corduroy
342	South West	Wiltshire	Melksham		
	342.a	Floor		Closed	Found under bedroom floor.
		342.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
343	South West	Wiltshire	Pitton		
	343.a	Unknown			
		343.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
344	South West	Wiltshire	Rockbourne	16 <sup>th</sup> century or 17 <sup>th</sup> century?	
	344.a	Roof		Closed	From the roof.
		344.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
345	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury	16 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	345.a	Wall		Closed	In cavity of wall.
		345.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
346	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury	15 <sup>th</sup> century, 1633, 1762-5.	
	346.a	Floor		Closed	Found under floorboards in previous servants quarters?
		346.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
		346.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
		346.a.3	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe

		346.a.4	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
		346.a.5	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		346.a.6	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
347	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury		
	347.a	Floor		Closed	Found under scullery floor.
		347.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's overshoe
348	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury	Mainly 15 <sup>th</sup> century, altered 18 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	348.a	Wall		Closed	Found behind panelling.
		348.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		348.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
349	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury		
	349.a	Unknown			Found during demolition.
		349.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
350	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury	17 <sup>th</sup> century?	
	350.a	Unknown			
		350.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		350.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		350.a.3	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		350.a.4	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
351	South West	Wiltshire	Sedgehill		
	351.a	Oven		Closed	Found at back of bread oven.
		351.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Boy's lace boots
352	South West	Wiltshire	Titherington	17 <sup>th</sup> century with 18 <sup>th</sup> century alterations.	
	352.a	Oven		Closed	Found in blocked up bread oven.
		352.a.1	Everyday		Shoe
353	South West	Wiltshire	Wroughton		

	353.a	Floor		Closed	3 feet under kitchen floor.
		353.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		353.a.2	Everyday	1	Bottle
354	West Midlands	Worcestershire	Droitwich	16 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	354.a	Stairs		Closed	Behind stairs.
		354.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
355	West Midlands	Worcestershire	Evesham		
	355.a	Foundations		Dual	From foundations of extension.
		355.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		355.a.2	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		355.a.3	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		355.a.4	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		355.a.5	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		355.a.6	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
356	West Midlands	Worcestershire	Evington		
	356.a	Chimney		Open	In 17 <sup>th</sup> century chimney infill.
		356.a.1	Everyday	1	Remains of adult shoe
357	West Midlands	Worcestershire	Redditch	15 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	357.a	Unknown			Found during renovations.
		357.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
358	West Midlands	Worcestershire	Bewdley	15 <sup>th</sup> century, demolished and partly rebuilt in 1738.	
	358.a	Stairs		Closed	Under stairs.
		358.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's silk shoe
	358.b	Wall		Closed	Behind panelling.
		358.b.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Men's boots
359	South East	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury		

	359.a	Roof		Closed	
		359.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
360	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Adel		
	360.a	Roof		Closed	In roof space.
		360.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
361	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Cononley		
	361.a	Door	Wall	Dual	Found in walled up doorway.
		361.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's shoes
362	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Heptonstall		
	362.a	Stairs	Floor	Closed	Found in soil under stone steps between two ground floor rooms.
		362.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
		362.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		362.a.3	Everyday		Leather pieces
363	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Kirkleatham	Built 1708/9.	
	363.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards of dormitory.
		363.a.1	Everyday	1	Boy's sole and heel
364	South East	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury		
	364.a	Wall		Closed	Embedded in wainscoting
		364.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's shoe
365	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Langsett	17-18 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	365.a	Floor		Closed	Found beneath floorboards during demolition.
		365.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's insole
		365.a.2	Everyday	1	Piece of harness
366	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Lingards	17 <sup>th</sup> century farm house, extension date stamp of 1723.	
	366.a	Wall	Window	Dual	Built into wall under window, in stone sink/trough.
		366.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe

		366.a.2	Animal	1	Cow horn
		366.a.3	Everyday	1	Stone sink
367	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Marley		
	367.a	Wall		Closed	From a loose wall.
		367.a.1	Everyday	1	Iron clog skate
368	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Skipton	18 <sup>th</sup> century (including 15 <sup>th</sup> century part?).	
	368.a	Chimney		Open	Behind a fireplace.
		368.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		368.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
		368.a.3	Everyday	1	Shoe
		368.a.4	Everyday	1	Shoe
		368.a.5	Everyday	1	Shoe sole
		368.a.6	Everyday	1	Shoe
		368.a.7	Everyday	1	Hat
369	South East	Buckinghamshire	Bledlow	c.1670, much extended c.1702 as dated on chimney, later alterations c.1800.	
	369.a	Wall		Closed	Sealed alcove.
		369.a.1	Everyday		Shoe
370	South East	Buckinghamshire	Buckingham		
	370.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards.
		370.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
371	South East	Kent	Bearstead		
	371.a	Wall		Closed	In side wall (when battens renewed).
		371.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's shoes
372	South East	Buckinghamshire	Kingsey	17 <sup>th</sup> century, altered 18 <sup>th</sup> century and 19 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	372.a	Ceiling		Closed	1st floor.
		372.a.1	Everyday	1	Patten

		372.a.2	Everyday	1	Coin
		372.a.3	Everyday	1	Coin
		372.a.4	Everyday	1	Coin
373	South East	Kent	Tunbridge Wells		
	373.a	Wall	Cellar	Closed	Between vertical timbers of original building in cellar.
		373.a.1	Everyday		Shoe
		373.a.2	Everyday		Clay pipes
374	West Midlands	Herefordshire	Lustonbury		
	374.a	Unknown			
		374.a.1	Everyday		Shoe soles
375	West Midlands	Herefordshire	Leominster		17 <sup>th</sup> century and 18 <sup>th</sup> century.
	375.a	Stairs		Closed	Stairway leading to former servant's quarters.
		375.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
376	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Huntingdon		
	376.a	Chimney		Open	During restoration.
		376.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's boot
		376.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		376.a.3	Everyday	1	Spoon
		376.a.4	Everyday	1	Glove
377	South East	Hampshire	Fareham		
	377.a	Unknown			
		377.a.1	Everyday		Shoe
378	South East	Kent			
	378.a	Unknown			
		378.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's dress shoe
379	South West	Devon	Leigh Barton		

	379.a	Floor		Closed	In 12th century clay under cobbles kitchen floor laid 1750s.
		379.a.1	Everyday	1	Boy's shoe
380	Eastern	Suffolk	Spetshall		
	380.a	Unknown			
		380.a.1	Everyday		Shoes
381	South East	East Sussex	Hellingly	18 <sup>th</sup> century, since altered.	
	381.a	Roof	Chimney	Dual	Concealed in loft behind main chimney breast.
		381.a.1	Everyday	1	Latchet shoe
382	South West	Wiltshire	Longbridge Deverill	Late 16 <sup>th</sup> century, 17 <sup>th</sup> century and 18 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	382.a	Wall	Stairs	Closed	Found in 1st floor wall adjoining stairs, recently room used as bedroom.
		382.a.1	Everyday	1	Girls' shoe
383	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Foxton		
	383.a	Unknown			
		383.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		383.a.2	Animal	1	Sheep jaw
384	South East	Hampshire	Buriton	16 <sup>th</sup> and 17 <sup>th</sup> centuries, 18 <sup>th</sup> century exterior.	
	384.a	Floor	Chimney	Dual	In front of main fireplace on 3rd floor - during restoration on older existing part of the house.
		384.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's buckle shoe
		384.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
385	Eastern	Essex	Blackwater	Row of cottages.	
	385.a	Roof		Closed	Attic.
		385.a.1	Everyday		Several shoes
386	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	York	c.1500, extended 18 <sup>th</sup> and 19 <sup>th</sup> centuries.	
	386.a	Unknown			Found during renovation.

		386.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		386.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
387	South East	Surrey	Hawley		
	387.a	Wall	Chimney	Dual	In wattle and daub wall, 1st floor, near to large chimney.
		387.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
388	Eastern	Essex	Rochford	17 <sup>th</sup> and 18 <sup>th</sup> centuries.	
	388.a	Unknown			
		388.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
389	Eastern	Suffolk	Middleton	Late 16 <sup>th</sup> century / early 17 <sup>th</sup> century, built in 2 or 3 stages.	
	389.a	Roof		Closed	Found in attic.
		389.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's buckle shoe
390	Eastern	Suffolk	Sproughton		
	390.a	Chimney		Open	From ground floor inglenook fireplace.
		390.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
391	East Midlands	Derbyshire	Heathcote		
	391.a	Unknown			
		391.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's buckle shoe
392	South East	Oxfordshire	Oxford	Founded 1555.	
	392.a	Unknown			Found during renovation.
		392.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
393	South West	Wiltshire	Wanborough		
	393.a	Wall	Roof	Closed	On chalk fill, top of wall near wall plate, between two rafters, metre from chimney.
		393.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's tie shoe
		393.a.2	Everyday	1	Linen offcut
394	South East	Berkshire	Wickham Heath		

394.a	Floor		Closed	Beneath floorboards, 1st floor.	
	394.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe	
394.b	Floor		Closed	Beneath floorboards, ground floor.	
	394.b.1	Everyday	1	Child's lace shoe	
	394.b.2	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's lace shoes	
	394.b.3	Everyday	1	Notebook	
395	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Stanwick	Cottage demolished 1969.	
	395.a	Wall		Closed	
	395.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's shoe	
396	South East	East Sussex	Rye	14 <sup>th</sup> century with 16 <sup>th</sup> century alterations.	
	396.a	Unknown			
	396.a.1	Everyday		Several shoes	
	396.a.2	Everyday	1	Gold coin	
	396.a.3	Everyday		Clay pipes	
397	Eastern	Essex	Berners Roding		
	397.a	Floor	Chimney	Dual	
		397.a.1	Everyday	1	Under 1st floor landing, next to chimney breast.
		397.a.2	Everyday	1	Woman's double latchet shoe
		397.a.3	Everyday	1	Buckle
		397.a.4	Everyday	1	Doll head
398	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Hinckley	18 <sup>th</sup> century farmhouse.	
	398.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	
		398.a.1	Everyday	1	In cavity between two inglenook fireplaces.
		398.a.2	Natural		Child's boot/shoe
		398.a.3	Natural		Straw
	398.a.4	Everyday		Seeds	
				Horseshoes	

		398.a.5	Everyday	1	Brush hook
		398.a.6	Everyday		Spindles
		398.a.7	Everyday	1	Book
		398.a.8	Everyday	1	Tax assessment
		398.a.9	Everyday		Newspapers
		398.a.10	Everyday		Coins
399	South East	Surrey	Coulsdon	House c.1750.	
	399.a	Floor	Chimney	Dual	Above bread oven at foot of first floor stairs adjacent to chimney.
		399.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		399.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
		399.a.3	Everyday	1	Shoe
		399.a.4	Everyday	1	Shoe
		399.a.5	Everyday	1	Shoe
		399.a.6	Everyday	1	Shoe
		399.a.7	Everyday	1	Buckle
		399.a.8	Everyday	1	Oven shovel
		399.a.9	Everyday	1	Cartwheel hub
		399.a.10	Everyday	10	Spokes
		399.a.11	Everyday	1	Mitten
		399.a.12	Everyday	1	Mitten
		399.a.13	Everyday	1	Coin
		399.a.14	Natural		Corn
400	Eastern	Norfolk	Hardwick	c.1700.	
	400.a	Stairs		Closed	Under stairs.
		400.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's balmoral boot
401	South East	Surrey	Thames Ditton	Old derelict farmhouse, since demolished.	

401.a	Chimney		Open	Found behind fireplace.		
	401.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe		
	401.a.2	Everyday	1	Adult's latchet shoe		
	401.a.3	Everyday	1	Adult's buckle shoe		
	401.a.4	Everyday	1	Adult's latchet shoe		
	401.a.5	Everyday	1	Girls latchet shoe		
	401.a.6	Everyday	1	Part of girl's shoe		
	401.a.7	Everyday	1	Shoe fragments		
	401.a.8	Everyday	1	Shoe fragments		
401.a.9	Everyday	1	Shoe fragments			
402	South East	Kent	Dully	Built c.1460.		
	402.a	Ceiling		Closed	Above false ceiling.	
		402.a.1	Everyday	1	Adults shoe uppers	
403	Greater London	London	Leadenhall Street	Escaped great fire.		
	403.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards.	
		403.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's tie shoe	
404	South West	Somerset	Drayton			
	404.a	Ceiling		Closed	Under cruck beam, 1st floor, master bedroom.	
			404.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's shoe
			404.a.2	Everyday	1	Horseshoe
		404.a.3	Everyday	1	Spool	
405	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury			
	405.a	Roof		Closed	Among rubble in roof.	
			405.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		405.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe	
406	Eastern	Suffolk	Eye	Said to be built from materials from a former monastery - c. 16 <sup>th</sup> century.		

	406.a	Unknown			In a walled up room.
		406.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's latchet shoe
407	South East	Kent	Ightham Mote	Built 15 <sup>th</sup> century - many alterations.	
	407.a	Roof	Floor	Closed	In attic of south range.
		407.a.1	Everyday	1	Girls shoe
		407.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
	407.b	Roof	Floor	Closed	Close together beneath floor in attic.
		407.b.1	Everyday	1	Girls shoe
		407.b.2	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
	407.c	Stairs	Roof	Closed	Beneath stair treads - from 1st floor to attic.
		407.c.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Girls' latchet shoes
		407.c.2	Everyday	1	Woman's oxford shoe
	407.d	Floor		Closed	
		407.d.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		407.d.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		407.d.3	Everyday	1	Heel covering
		407.d.4	Everyday	1	Shoe top piece
408	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Bozeat		
	408.a	Roof		Closed	Deep in thatch.
		408.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Socks
		408.a.2	Natural		Straw
409	Eastern	Suffolk	Creting St. Peter	Tudor building.	
	409.a	Ceiling		Closed	In ceiling of hall.
		409.a.1	Everyday	1	Female shoe
410	South East	West Sussex	Trotton		
	410.a	Roof		Closed	

		410.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's mule
411	South East	Kent			
	411.a	Roof		Closed	
		411.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's tie shoe
412	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Wickenfen		
	412.a	Wall		Closed	Gable end of brickwork, attic.
		412.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's boot
413	South West	Somerset	Beckington		
	413.a	Chimney		Open	Above inglenook fireplace in kitchen.
		413.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's boot/shoe
414	Eastern	Norfolk	Pulham Market		
	414.a	Stairs	Roof	Closed	Under flight of three stairs leading to attic.
		414.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's lace shoe
		414.a.2	Everyday	2 (pair)	Slippers
		414.a.3	Everyday	1	Slipper
		414.a.4	Everyday	1	Shoe
		414.a.5	Everyday	1	Belt
415	West Midlands	Shropshire	Oswestry		
	415.a	Chimney		Open	During excavation of ruined bane of 17th/18th century limestone chimney.
		415.a.1	Everyday	1	Heel iron
416	South East	Hampshire	Hambledon	Originally coaching inn, at cross-roads in middle of village, various alterations over time, mid-late 17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	416.a	Unknown			Found during renovation.
		416.a.1	Everyday	1	Girl's shoe
		416.a.2	Everyday	1	Gauntlet

417	South West	Devon	Throwleigh			
	417.a	Roof		Closed	In rubble, in corner of roof, near extension.	
		417.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe	
418	South East	Kent	Edenbridge	Built c.1500.		
	418.a	Wall	Chimney	Dual	Alongside one of inglenook fireplaces.	
		418.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's boots	
419	South East	Kent	Nr. Wingham	Single storey cottage.		
	419.a	Wall	Roof	Closed	Thatch on wall plaster, above floorboards, when roof space boarded to make a room, west side.	
		419.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's tie shoe	
420	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Harpole			
	420.a	Wall	Roof	Closed	Found built into the wall near the roof.	
			420.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
			420.a.2	Everyday	Shoemaker's waste	
421	Greater London	London				
	421.a	Unknown				
		421.a.1	Everyday	1	Patten	
422	South West	Devon	Shebbear	17 <sup>th</sup> century.		
	422.a	Wall		Closed	In old cob wall of derelict building levelled for new cattle shed.	
		422.a.1	Everyday	1	Heel from man's shoe	
423	South West	Somerset	Butleigh			
	423.a	Wall	Chimney	Dual	From extension wall at site of inglenook.	
			423.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
			423.a.2	Everyday	1	Adult's sole
			423.a.3	Everyday	1	Glove
		423.a.4	Everyday	1	Glove	

		423.a.5	Everyday	1	Smock
		423.a.6	Everyday	1	Piece of chamois
		423.a.7	Everyday	1	Piece of leather
424	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Salford Priors	Timber framed.	
	424.a	Wall	Roof	Closed	Behind lathe and plaster in roof space, between this and neighbouring property.
		424.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's front lace shoe
		424.a.2	Everyday	1	Adult overshoe
		424.a.3	Everyday	1	Book
425	South East	West Sussex	Steyning		
	425.a	Roof		Closed	Found in the roof.
		425.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		425.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
426	South West	Devon	Crediton		
	426.a	Stairs		Closed	Under stairs, hidden at back of coal cupboard.
		426.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
427	South East	Kent	Shorne	Built 1736.	
	427.a	Wall		Closed	Behind the plaster.
		427.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
428	South East	Kent	Faversham	15th-16th century.	
	428.a	Chimney		Open	
		428.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
	428.b	Roof		Closed	Found in roof by builder.
		428.b.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
429	South West	Devon	Appledore		
	429.a	Wall	Oven	Closed	Walled into purpose made cranny beside cloam oven, east wall.

		429.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Woman's shoes
		429.a.2	Everyday	1	Ceramic jar
		429.a.3	Everyday		Unknown fabric
430	South East	Kent	Chartwell		
	430.a	Unknown			
		430.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
431	Eastern	Suffolk	Sudbury	Timber framed.	
	431.a	Unknown			
		431.a.1	Everyday		Shoes
		431.a.2	Everyday	1	Garters
		431.a.3	Everyday	1	Whip
		431.a.4	Everyday		Pieces of harness
	431.b	Unknown			
		431.b.1	Animal	1	Kitten
		431.b.2	Animal	1	Kitten
	431.c	Door	Floor	Dual	Under door.
		431.c.1	Everyday	1	Bartmann
432	Eastern	Essex	Aldham		
	432.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	Between two internal walls, behind chimney.
		432.a.1	Magic	1	Glass witch bottle
		432.a.2	Everyday	1	Adult's shoe
433	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich		
	433.a	Unknown			
		433.a.1	Magic	1	Witch bottle
		433.a.2	Everyday		Clay pipe
434	Eastern	Norfolk	Shotesham		

	434.a	Unknown			
		434.a.1	Magic	1	Stoneware witch bottle
	434.b	Unknown			
		434.b.1	Magic	1	Ceramic bottles
435	Eastern	Suffolk	Coddenham		
	435.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Under hearth, depth of 1metre.
		435.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
		435.a.2	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
436	Eastern	Norfolk	Heydon		
	436.a	Door	Floor	Dual	Under threshold.
		436.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
	436.b	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Under hearth.
		436.b.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
437	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Long Clawson		
	437.a	Unknown			Found during demolition.
		437.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
		437.a.2	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
438	South East	Kent	Charing		Originally one building.
	438.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Under bricks of central hearth of sealed chimney, 17 <sup>th</sup> century.
		438.a.1	Magic	1	Ceramic jar witch bottle
		438.a.2	Magic	1	Ceramic jar witch bottle
445	Greater London	London	Noble Street		
	445.a	Unknown			
		445.a.1	Magic	1	Stoneware jug witch bottle
446	Eastern	Suffolk	Stowmarket		
	446.a	Floor		Closed	Under floor.

		446.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle	
447	Eastern	Suffolk	Ixworth			
		447.a	Unknown			
		447.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle	
448	Eastern	Norfolk	Kings Lynn			
		448.a	Door	Floor	Dual	Under threshold of front door.
		448.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle	
449	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich			
		449.a	Floor	Wall	Closed	Under partition wall between two properties.
		449.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle	
450	Eastern	Suffolk	Stradbroke			
		450.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Under hearthstone.
		450.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle	
451	Eastern	Suffolk	Ipswich			
		451.a	Foundations		Dual	Under foundations.
		451.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle	
452	Yorkshire	Humber				
		452.a	Foundations		Dual	Under house foundations.
		452.a.1	Magic	1	Witch bottle	
453	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich			
		453.a	Unknown			Either in courtyard to north, or under north west corner of palace.
		453.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle	
454	South East	Surrey	Reigate			
		454.a	Foundations		Dual	Foundations (house demolished)- east wall.
		454.a.1	Magic	1	Glass witch bottle	
455	West Midlands	Staffordshire	Stafford			

	455.a	Floor		Closed	In a pit below floor tiles in one of the back rooms.
		455.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
459	Eastern	Norfolk	Necton/Swaffham		
	459.a	Unknown			
		459.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
460	Eastern	Essex	Colchester		
	460.a	Unknown			
		460.a.1	Magic	1	Witch bottle
461	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Market Harborough		
	461.a	Floor		Closed	Under floor.
		461.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
462	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Exton, Rutland		
	462.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Under hearth.
		462.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
463	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Melbecks		
	463.a	Floor		Closed	Under floor.
		463.a.1	Magic	1	Glass witch bottle
464	Eastern	Norfolk	Swaffham		
	464.a	Unknown			
		464.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
466	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich		
	466.a	Unknown			
		466.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
467	Eastern	Suffolk	Eriswell		
	467.a	Unknown			
		467.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle

468	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich		
	468.a	Foundations		Dual	
		468.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
469	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich		
	469.a	Unknown			
		469.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
470	Eastern	Norfolk	Earsham		
	470.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Sealed below west fireplace.
		470.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
471	Eastern	Norfolk	Roughton		
	471.a	Chimney		Open	In fireplace (16th century).
		471.a.1	Magic	1	Witch bottle
472	Eastern	Norfolk	Postwick With Whitton		
	472.a	Foundations		Dual	Under farm building.
		472.a.1	Magic	1	Witch bottle
473	Eastern	Norfolk	Hellington		
	473.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Below hearth (45cm).
		473.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
474	Eastern	Norfolk	Hethersett		
	474.a	Unknown			
		474.a.1	Magic	1	Witch bottle
475	Eastern	Norfolk	Welney	House built before 1770 - possible date stone of 1735.	
	475.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Beneath gable stack.
		475.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
	475.b	Wall		Closed	Built into wall.

		475.b.1	Natural	1	Lump of ironbound conglomerate
476	Greater London	London	Bishopsgate		
	476.a	Floor		Closed	Under floor.
		476.a.1	Magic	1	Stoneware witch bottle
478	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Wennington		
	478.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Below hearth.
		478.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
479	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Burwell		
	479.a	Chimney		Open	
		479.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
480	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Soham		
	480.a	Unknown			
		480.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
481	Eastern	Suffolk	Halesworth		
	481.a	Unknown			
		481.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
482	Eastern	Suffolk	Darsham		
	482.a	Door		Open	Near threshold.
		482.a.1	Magic	1	Glass witch bottle
483	Eastern	Suffolk	Stratford St. Mary		
	483.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Under hearth in kitchen.
		483.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
485	South East	Buckinghamshire	Winslow	17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	485.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Under tiled hearth.
		485.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
486	Eastern	Norfolk	Kings Lynn		

	486.a	Door	Floor	Dual	Under threshold.
		486.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
487	Eastern	Norfolk	Morley		
	487.a	Floor	Chimney	Dual	Under floor, near hearth, north room.
		487.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
488	Eastern	Norfolk	Tibenham		
	488.a	Chimney		Open	Found in hearth.
		488.a.1	Magic	1	Witch bottle
490	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich		
	490.a	Foundations		Dual	12ft under brick rubble.
		490.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
491	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich		
	491.a	Unknown			In demolition remains.
		491.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
492	Eastern	Norfolk	Ingworth		
	492.a	Foundations		Dual	In foundations, possibly of out-building.
		492.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
497	Greater London	London	Deptford		
	497.a	Unknown			
		497.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
498	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Felmersham		
	498.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Under hearth.
		498.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
499	South East	Kent	Hoath		
	499.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Under one of two hearth in earlier part of house, under deposit of rubble.

		499.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
500	South East	Kent	Charing		
	500.a	Chimney		Open	In back, right-hand corner of chimney.
		500.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
501	South East	East Sussex	Michelham Priory		
	501.a	Wall	Door	Dual	Buried inside west wall in areas of threshold, 76cm below surface.
		501.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
502	South East	West Sussex	Pulborough		
	502.a	Wall	Window	Dual	Bricked into a wall by a window.
		502.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
503	Eastern	Essex	Colchester		
	503.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Buried in the foundations of the chimney breast.
		503.a.1	Magic	1	Glass wine flask witch bottle
505	Eastern	Suffolk	Ipswich		
	505.a	Wall		Closed	Buried in the fabric of the wall.
		505.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
509	Eastern	Suffolk	Debenham		
	509.a	Floor		Closed	Under the floor.
		509.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
510	Eastern	Suffolk	Bury St. Edmunds		
	510.a	Foundations		Dual	Found under house during demolition.
		510.a.1	Magic	1	Witch bottle
511	Eastern	Norfolk	Terrington St. Clement		
	511.a	Foundations		Dual	Found among foundations.
		511.a.1	Magic	1	Glass witch bottle

512	South West	Dorset	Pamphill		
	512.a	Floor	Roof	Closed	Beneath floorboards of rooms in roof.
		512.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
		512.a.2	Animal	1	Whole dog
		512.a.3	Everyday		Coins
		512.a.4	Natural		Straw
513	Eastern	Norfolk	Shipdham	Timber framed hall house - gabled walls added in 17 <sup>th</sup> century and 18 <sup>th</sup> century, demolished in 1980.	
	513.a	Roof		Closed	Found in roof thatch during demolition.
		513.a.1	Everyday	1	Boot
		513.a.2	Everyday		Nails
514	Eastern	Norfolk	Carleton Rode	Timber framed, may have been a hall house in 15 <sup>th</sup> century, first floor and chimney inserted later (16 <sup>th</sup> century?).	
	514.a	Chimney		Open	
		514.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		514.a.2	Everyday	1	Nail
515	South West	Dorset	Buckland Newton		
	515.a	Oven		Closed	In previously blocked bread oven.
		515.a.1	Everyday		Several shoes
		515.a.2	Everyday	1	Hay fork
516	South West	Devon	Topsham		
	516.a	Wall	Door	Dual	Above door.
		516.a.1	Everyday	3	Shoe fragments
		516.a.2	Natural		Shells
		516.a.3	Natural		Pebbles
		516.a.4	Everyday	9	Clay pipe stems

		516.a.5	Animal		Animal bone
		516.a.6	Natural		Oyster shell
		516.a.7	Everyday		Pottery
		516.a.8	Everyday	1	Glass
517	Eastern	Suffolk	Lawshall	1500-50.	
	517.a	Chimney		Open	In dust from side of stack.
		517.a.1	Everyday	1	Woman's shoe
		517.a.2	Everyday	1	Patten fragment
		517.a.3	Everyday	1	Coat fragment
		517.a.4	Everyday	6	Fabric fragments
518	Eastern	Norfolk	Loddon	15 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	518.a	Unknown			
		518.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		518.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
		518.a.3	Everyday	1	Shoe
		518.a.4	Everyday	1	Shoe
519	Eastern	Norfolk	Freethorpe		
	519.a	Chimney		Open	
		519.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		519.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
520	Eastern	Norfolk	Hilborough	Timber framed, replaced with brick in late 17 <sup>th</sup> and 18 <sup>th</sup> centuries.	
	520.a	Roof		Closed	
		520.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		520.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
521	South East	Hampshire	Hursely		
	521.a	Chimney		Open	

		521.a.1	Everyday	1	Baby's latchet shoe
		521.a.2	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
522	East Midlands	Lincolnshire	Worlaby		
	522.a	Unknown			Found during demolition.
		522.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's latchet shoe
523	Eastern	Essex	Maldon		
	523.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	In gap between chimney and adjacent timber framed wall.
		523.a.1	Everyday		Shoes
524	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Loughborough	At corner of two streets.	
	524.a	Unknown			
		524.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
525	South East	Berkshire	Newbury		
	525.a	Chimney		Open	Exact find spot uncertain - during demolition.
		525.a.1	Everyday	1	Child's shoe
526	South East	Hampshire	Stockbridge		
	526.a	Unknown			Found during demolition.
		526.a.1	Everyday	1	Man's latchet shoe
527	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge	1640s.	
	527.a	Unknown			
		527.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
528	Eastern	Norfolk	Oulton	1500, cross wing at each end.	
	528.a	Oven		Closed	Behind oven.
		528.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
529	Eastern	Norfolk	Burnham Norton	18 <sup>th</sup> century cottage incorporating parts of 14 <sup>th</sup> century building.	
	529.a	Unknown			
		529.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe

530	Eastern	Suffolk	Stanton		
	530.a	Roof		Closed	Tucked into thatch.
		530.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
531	Eastern	Essex	Waltham Abbey		
	531.a	Unknown			Found during excavation.
		531.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
532	South East	Oxfordshire	Bampton	Built in 1590.	
	532.a	Floor		Closed	Under landing.
		532.a.1	Animal	1	Cat skeleton
		532.a.2	Animal	1	Cat skeleton
		532.a.3	Everyday	1	Playing card
		532.a.4	Everyday	1	Playing card
	532.a.5	Everyday	1	Playing card	
533	Eastern	Essex	Witham		
	533.a	Door	Floor	Dual	Within pit between door posts.
		533.a.1	Animal	1	Horse skull
		533.a.2	Everyday	1	Sherd of pottery
534	Eastern	Norfolk	Gressenhall		
	534.a	Chimney		Open	Under fireplace- during restoration.
		534.a.1	Animal	1	Cow leg bone
		534.a.2	Animal	1	Cow leg bone
		534.a.3	Natural	1	Hemp
		534.a.4	Everyday	1	Nails
	534.a.5	Everyday	1	Nails	
535	South West	Dorset	Wareham		
	535.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards in main bedroom.

		535.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
		535.a.2	Everyday	1	Coin
536	South West	Devon	Brixham		
	536.a	Wall	Door	Dual	Above door leading from cross passage to main room.
		536.a.1	Animal	1	Sheep scapula
		536.a.2	Everyday	1	Part of ox shoe
		536.a.3	Everyday	1	Iron key
		536.a.4	Everyday	1	Fishing line with barbed hook
		536.a.5	Everyday	1	Marble
		536.a.6	Everyday	1	Leather scraps
		536.a.7	Everyday	1	Material scraps
537	Eastern	Suffolk	Debenham		
	537.a	Foundations		Dual	In foundations.
		537.a.1	Everyday	1	Pot
		537.a.2	Animal		Sheep bones
		537.a.3	Animal		Cow bones
		537.a.4	Animal		Pig bones
		537.a.5	Animal		Hare bones
		537.a.6	Animal		Chicken bones
		537.a.7	Animal		Mallard bones
		537.a.8	Animal		Pheasant bones
538	Greater London	London	Southwark		
	538.a	Floor		Closed	Under woodwork.
		538.a.1	Animal	1	Cat - posed
		538.a.2	Animal	1	Whole Rat
		538.a.3	Animal	1	Whole Rat

539	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Pilton		
	539.a	Roof		Closed	In thatch.
		539.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
		539.a.2	Animal	1	Whole Rat
540	West Midlands	Birmingham	Tyesley		
	540.a.	Wall		Closed	In hollow.
		540.a.1	Animal	1	Cat - posed
		540.a.2	Animal	1	Whole bird
542	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Broughton	In 17 <sup>th</sup> century house, but rebuilt in 19 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	542.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	Behind hearth, together in cardboard box - three hearths, one behind another.
		542.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
		542.a.2	Animal	1	Whole Rat
543	South West	Dorset	Blanford		
	543.a	Wall		Closed	On a ledge 6 feet from floor, between a lath and plaster partition and a brick wall.
		543.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
		543.a.2	Everyday	1	Book
544	South West	Dorset	Portland		
	544.a	Unknown			
		544.a.1	Animal	1	Cat - posed
		544.a.2	Animal	1	Whole Rat
545	Eastern	Suffolk	Fakenham Magna		
	545.a	Roof		Closed	In roof space of row of cottages.
		545.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
		545.a.2	Animal	1	Cat

	545.b	Wall		Closed	In wall.
		545.b.1	Animal	1	Cat
		545.b.2	Animal	1	Kitten
		545.b.3	Animal	1	Kitten
546	Greater London	London	Lothbury		
	546.a	Wall		Closed	Found during demolition.
		546.a.1	Animal	1	Cat - posed
547	South West	Gloucestershire	Tewksbury		
	547.a	Unknown			
		547.a.1	Animal	1	Cat - posed
548	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Kettering		
	548.a	Roof		Closed	Under joist.
		548.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
549	South East	Surrey	Millford		
	549.a	Roof		Closed	Under timbers.
		549.a.1	Animal	1	Cat skeleton
550	South West	Somerset	Bridgwater		
	550.a	Roof		Closed	
		550.a.1	Animal	1	Cat - posed
552	Greater London	London	Tower of London		
	552.a	Floor	Chimney	Dual	Near fireplace of upper room.
		552.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
553	Greater London	London	College Hill		
	553.a	Roof		Closed	In sealed passage.
		553.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
555	Greater London	London	Westminster School		

	555.a	Unknown			
		555.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
556	Greater London	London	Bloomsbury Estate		
	556.a	Unknown			
		556.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
557	Greater London	London	Chelsea		
	557.a	Unknown			
		557.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
561	Eastern	Essex	Manuden		
	561.a	Oven		Closed	Sealed in bread oven.
		561.a.1	Animal	1	Horse skull
562	Eastern	Essex	South Ockendon		
	562.a	Chimney	Wall	Dual	Sealed between chimney and wall.
		562.a.1	Animal	1	Horse skull
566	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Mountsorrel		
	566.a	Unknown			
		566.a.1	Animal	1	Whole dog
567	South East	Berkshire	Lambourn		
	567.a	Unknown			Found during renovations.
		567.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
568	Eastern	Norfolk	Beetley		
	568.a	Unknown			
		568.a.1	Animal	1	Horse jaw
569	South West	Wiltshire	Devizes	House from 15 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	569.a	Chimney		Open	In great chimney.
		569.a.1	Animal	1	Whole Chicken

572	Eastern	Norfolk	Thuxton		
	572.a	Door	Floor	Dual	Beneath doorway of a house.
		572.a.1	Animal	1	Horse skull
		572.a.2	Animal	1	Horse skull
		572.a.3	Animal	1	Horse skull
		572.a.4	Animal	1	Horse skull
573	Greater London	London	Trig Lane		
	573.a	Foundations		Dual	Placed in foundations.
		573.a.1	Animal	1	Sheep jaw
574	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Histon	17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	574.a	Unknown			
		574.a.1	Animal	1	Horse leg bone
575	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge		
	575.a	Chimney		Open	
		575.a.1	Animal	1	Dog leg bone
576	South West	Dorset	Blacknoll in Winfrith	House that used to be three cottages - dating to 1650.	
	576.a	Roof		Closed	In space between rafters in roof.
		576.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
577	South West	Dorset	Corfe Mullen		
	577.a	Roof		Closed	Found nailed to rafters.
		577.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
578	South West	Dorset	Frampton		
	578.a	Chimney		Open	Found within chimney.
		578.a.1	Animal	1	Cow heart
579	South West	Devon	Hawkchurch		

	579.a	Chimney		Open	Found within chimney.
		579.a.1	Animal	1	Cow heart
580	South West	Dorset	Hazelbury Bryan		
	580.a	Wall		Closed	Found embedded in wall during demolition.
		580.a.1	Animal	1	Cow hoof
		580.a.2	Everyday	1	Horseshoe
581	South West	Dorset	Maiden Newton		
	581.a	Unknown			
		581.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
582	South West	Dorset	Middlebere in Arne		
	582.a	Roof	Chimney	Dual	Found in a roof collapse at the side of the fireplace.
		582.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
583	South West	Dorset	Portland		
	583.a	Unknown			
		583.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
584	South West	Dorset	Shipton Gorge		
	584.a	Chimney		Open	Hung from beam inside chimney.
		584.a.1	Animal	1	Pig heart
585	South West	Dorset	Wimbourne Minster		
	585.a	Wall		Closed	Bricked up in wall high above ground - found during reconstruction.
		585.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
586	South West	Dorset	Wimbourne Minster		
	586.a	Unknown			During demolition.
		586.a.1	Animal	1	Cow heart
587	South West	Dorset	Winterbourne		

			Stickland		
	587.a	Unknown			During 'modernisation'.
		587.a.1	Animal	1	Cow heart
589	Eastern	Suffolk	Lavenham		
	589.a	Roof		Closed	
		589.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
590	North West	Lancashire	Pendle		
	590.a	Wall		Closed	Bricked up in wall.
		590.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
591	Yorkshire	West Yorkshire	Brighouse		
	591.a	Wall		Closed	Bricked up in wall.
		591.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
592	East Midlands	Derbyshire	Wardlow Mires		
	592.a	Chimney		Open	Found during alterations.
		592.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
593	Eastern	Suffolk	Debenham		
	593.a	Floor	Chimney	Dual	Found under attic floorboards near 17 <sup>th</sup> century chimney.
		593.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
595	Eastern	Suffolk	Stowupland		
	595.a	Wall	Floor	Closed	In rubble pulled from walls and floor.
		595.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
596	South East	Surrey	Reigate		
	596.a	Ceiling	Chimney	Dual	Above chimney - in ceiling.
		596.a.1	Everyday	1	Doublet
		596.a.2	Everyday	1	Inkwell
597	South East	Hampshire	Nether Wallop		

597.a	Wall	Chimney	Dual	Hole in support beam, 1st floor, north west facing, above fireplace.
	597.a.1	Everyday	1	Stomacher
	597.a.2	Everyday	1	Waistcoat
	597.a.3	Everyday	1	Paper patterns
	597.a.4	Everyday	1	Paper patterns
	597.a.5	Everyday	1	Paper patterns
	597.a.6	Everyday	1	Paper patterns
	597.a.7	Everyday	1	Paper patterns
	597.a.8	Everyday	1	Paper patterns
598	South East	Kent	Sittingbourne	
598.a	Door	Floor	Dual	At threshold between two different parts of building.
	598.a.1	Everyday	1	Leather item
598.b	598.a.2	Everyday	1	Wooden tool
	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards.
	598.b.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Corset stays
	598.b.2	Everyday	1	Breeches
598.c	598.b.3	Everyday	1	Coif
	Chimney		Open	Alongside chimney flue.
	598.c.1	Everyday	1	Hat
	598.c.2	Everyday		Material scraps
	598.c.3	Everyday		Leather harness
	598.c.4	Everyday	1	Rope
	598.c.5	Everyday		Clay pipes
598.c.6	Everyday		Paper scraps	
599	South East	Kent	Milton Regis	

	599.a	Wall		Closed	Blocked up in space in wall.
		599.a.1	Everyday	1	Cuirass/corset
		599.a.2	Everyday	1	Cuirass/corset
		599.a.3	Everyday	1	Crossbow
600	South East	Oxfordshire	Abingdon		
	600.a	Wall	Roof	Closed	In wall in attic space.
		600.a.1	Everyday	1	Pocket
		600.a.2	Everyday	1	Cap
		600.a.3	Natural		Hops
		600.a.4	Everyday	1	Coin
		600.a.5	Everyday	1	Penny
		600.a.6	Everyday	1	Halfpenny
		600.a.7	Everyday	1	Farthing
		600.a.8	Everyday	1	Cu alloy coin
		600.a.9	Everyday	1	Sixpence
		600.a.10	Everyday	1	Pewter coin
		600.a.11	Everyday	1	Cu alloy coin
		600.a.12	Everyday	1	Receipt
		600.a.13	Everyday	1	Receipt
		600.a.14	Everyday	1	Receipt
		600.a.15	Everyday	1	Letter
		600.a.16	Everyday	1	Letter
		600.a.17	Everyday	1	Jetton
		600.a.18	Everyday	1	Jetton
		600.a.19	Everyday	1	Lead token
		600.a.20	Everyday	1	Farthing token

601	Eastern	Essex			
	601.a	Chimney		Open	Found during demolition.
		601.a.1	Everyday	1	Bodice lining
		601.a.2	Everyday	1	Single legging
602	South West	Devon	Brixham		
	602.a	Wall	Door	Dual	Behind wooden panelling above main entrance to house.
		602.a.1	Everyday	1	Breeches
		602.a.2	Everyday	1	Apron
603	Eastern	Essex	Kelvedon		
	603.a	Wall		Closed	
		603.a.1	Everyday	1	Short coat/ doublet
604	Eastern	Essex			
	604.a	Unknown			
		604.a.1	Everyday	1	Coat (half)
605	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Daventry		
	605.a	Wall		Closed	Inner hard core.
		605.a.1	Everyday	1	Mask
606	South East	Oxfordshire	Abingdon		
	606.a	Floor	Roof	Closed	Under floor in attic space, near chimney.
		606.a.1	Everyday	1	Boy's doublet
607	South East	Kent	Plaxton		
	607.a	Ceiling		Closed	In ceiling.
		607.a.1	Everyday	1	Bonnet
608	South East	Kent	Sandwich		
	608.a	Unknown			Kitchens.
		608.a.1	Everyday	1	Shirt

609	Eastern	Essex	Uttlesford		
	609.a	Wall		Closed	Walled up.
		609.a.1	Everyday	1	Hat
610	Eastern	Essex			
	610.a	Unknown			
		610.a.1	Everyday	1	Coat
611	South West	Dorset	Bradford Abbas		
	611.a	Chimney		Open	Walled in niche in breast, upstairs.
		611.a.1	Everyday	1	Newspaper
		611.a.2	Everyday	1	Wooden head
612	Eastern	Essex	Brentwood		
	612.a	Wall		Closed	In wattle and daub wall.
		612.a.1	Everyday	1	Material fragments
		612.a.2	Everyday	1	Knife blade
		612.a.3	Everyday	1	Nail
613	North East	County Durham	Stockton		
	613.a	Unknown			
		613.a.1	Everyday		Coin hoard
614	South West	Gloucestershire	Cotswolds		
	614.a	Floor		Closed	Found in lead pipe below floor level.
		614.a.1	Everyday	309	Coin hoard
615	West Midlands	Staffordshire	Oldcot		
	615.a	Roof		Closed	Within thatch.
		615.a.1	Everyday	36	Bag of coins
616	North East	County Durham	Stockton		
	616.a	Wall		Closed	Base of wall in through passage.

		616.a.1	Everyday	1	Coin
617	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Earls barton		
	617.a	Floor		Closed	Under 1st floor floorboards.
		617.a.1	Natural	1	Nutmeg
		617.a.2	Everyday	1	Hatpin
		617.a.3	Everyday	1	Curtain rail end
		617.a.4	Everyday	1	Shoe polish tin lid
		617.a.5	Everyday	1	Bottom of another tin
618	West Midlands	Staffordshire	Kinver		
	618.a	Chimney		Open	
		618.a.1	Everyday	1	Ball
		618.a.2	Everyday	1	Bakers peel
619	Yorkshire	Humber	Barton on Humber		
	619.a	Chimney		Open	Recess in west side of fireplace- ground floor, 0.9-1.2m above floor.
		619.a.1	Everyday	1	Iron seax
	619.b	Wall	Window	Dual	Beneath east street wall, below window.
		619.b.1	Everyday	1	Piece of iron
	619.c	Wall		Closed	Within north wall of entrance passage, below ceiling.
		619.c.1	Everyday	1	Spoon
620	Eastern	Suffolk	Lawshall		
	620.a	Wall	Window	Dual	Under sill, gap above tie beam.
		620.a.1	Everyday	4	Nails
		620.a.2	Everyday	1	Knife blade
		620.a.3	Everyday	1	Knife blade
		620.a.4	Everyday	1	Staple

		620.a.5	Everyday	1	Toe protector
		620.a.6	Everyday	1	Pin
		620.a.7	Everyday	1	Book cover
621	South East	West Sussex	Pulborough		
	621.a	Chimney		Open	In the rubble of a hearth.
		621.a.1	Everyday	1	Bottle
		621.a.2	Everyday	1	Bartmann
622	South East	Kent	West Malling		
	622.a	Wall		Closed	Within mortar.
		622.a.1	Everyday	1	Knife
		622.a.2	Everyday	1	Knife
623	Eastern	Essex	Chelmsford		
	623.a	Floor	Chimney	Dual	Buried in front of hearth.
		623.a.1	Everyday		Pots
625	East Midlands	Derbyshire	Wirksworth		
	625.a	Wall		Closed	
		625.a.1	Everyday	1	Lead face
626	South West	Devon	Silverton		
	626.a	Unknown			
		626.a.1	Everyday	1	Flint lock gun
627	South East	Hampshire	Emsworth		
	627.a	Chimney		Open	Left hand side of fireplace.
		627.a.1	Everyday		Pipe stems
628	Eastern	Essex	Waltham Abbey		
	628.a	Floor		Closed	Found under floorboards during restoration.
		628.a.1	Everyday	1	Ivory die

		628.a.2	Everyday	1	Lead figure
629	Unknown	Unknown			
	629.a	Unknown			
		629.a.1	Everyday	1	Knife
630	South West	Dorset	Blanford		
	630.a	Wall		Closed	In solid partition wall.
		630.a.1	Everyday	1	Broom
631	South West	Dorset	Langston Matravers		
	631.a	Wall		Closed	
		631.a.1	Everyday	1	Bottle
632	South West	Dorset	Portland		
	632.a	Wall		Closed	Embedded in wall of original scullery (late 17th century).
		632.a.1	Everyday	1	Stone head
633	South West	Dorset	Worth Matravers		
	633.a	Wall		Closed	Set within built hidden space in internal wall.
		633.a.1	Everyday	1	Pot
634	South East	Kent	Charing		
	634.a	Chimney		Open	Set in wet mortar 5ft up on right side of 17 <sup>th</sup> century chimney.
		634.a.1	Magic	1	Charm with nail and paper
635	South East	Kent	Biddenden		
	635.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Beneath stone slab forming the base of principal inglenook
		635.a.1	Everyday	1	Glass bottle
636	South East	West Sussex	Ifield		
	636.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Found 2ft below hearth - during renovations.
		636.a.1	Everyday	1	Bartmann
637	South East	Surrey	Reigate		

	637.a	Floor		Closed	Buried beneath floor in the area of the cross wing.
		637.a.1	Everyday	1	Bartmann
638	Eastern	Essex	Chelmsford		
	638.a	Floor		Closed	Under floor.
		638.a.1	Magic	1	Witch doll
639	Eastern	Essex	Clavering		
	639.a	Chimney		Open	On beam in inglenook - revealed during renovation.
		639.a.1	Everyday	1	Spoon
640	South East	Berkshire	Hurley		
	640.a	Wall		Closed	Bricked up behind a wall.
		640.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Baby's shoes
641	Greater London	London	City of London		
	641.a	Wall		Closed	
		641.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
642	South East	East Sussex	Hastings		
	642.a	Chimney		Open	Found in a chimney.
		642.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
643	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Ashby de la Zouch	15 <sup>th</sup> century house.	
	643.a	Chimney		Open	Up/in chimney breast.
		643.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Child's spurs
644	South East	Kent	Dartford	Medieval building.	
	644.a	Wall		Closed	Rolled up and hidden in joint of piece of timber - found during demolition.
		644.a.1	Everyday	1	Dartford marsh roll
645	South East	Kent	Longfield	Behind church - private residence since dissolution?	
	645.a	Unknown			Found during demolition.

		645.a.1	Everyday	1	Hand-made shoe
		645.a.2	Everyday	1	Wooden cow
		645.a.3	Everyday	1	Wooden comb
		645.a.4	Everyday	1	Slate pencil
		645.a.5	Everyday	1	Pin
		645.a.6	Everyday		Hair clips
		645.a.7	Everyday	1	Clay pipe
646	South East	Kent	Eynsford	Tudor dwelling.	
	646.a	Roof		Closed	Found in roof.
		646.a.1	Everyday	1	Hand-made shoe
647	South East	Kent	Dartford	Since demolished.	
	647.a	Wall		Closed	Found in wall, during demolition.
		647.a.1	Everyday	1	Creamware beaker
		647.a.2	Everyday	1	Delft pot
		647.a.3	Everyday	1	Delft pot
648	South East	Kent	Dartford		
	648.a	Unknown			Found during demolition.
		648.a.1	Everyday	1	Bartmann bottle
		648.a.2	Everyday	1	Knife handle
649	Greater London	London			
	649.a	Wall		Closed	Built into wall of house - found when demolished.
		649.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
		649.a.2	Animal	1	Rat
650	South East	West Sussex	Henfield	Probably 17 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	650.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards.
		650.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoes

651	South East	West Sussex	Henfield	Timber-framed.	
	651.a	Wall		Closed	Behind cupboard.
		651.a.1	Everyday	1	Shoe
		651.a.2	Everyday	1	Shoe
652	South East	West Sussex	Henfield	Built 1730s.	
	652.a	Floor		Closed	Under floorboards.
		652.a.1	Animal	1	Cat
		652.a.2	Animal	1	Bird
653	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge		
	653.a	Floor		Closed	Under floor in "shoemakers room".
		653.a.1	Everyday	2 (pair)	Clogs
		653.a.2	Everyday	1	Slashed shoe
		653.a.3	Everyday	1	Slashed shoe
		653.a.4	Everyday	2 (pair)	Shoes
		653.a.5	Everyday	1	Glove
		653.a.6	Everyday	1	Purse
654	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Chatteris		
	654.a	Wall		Closed	Found in wall of house.
		654.a.1	Everyday	1	Ale jug
655	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Vale of Pickering	Timber cruck-framed house.	
	655.a	Wall		Closed	Walled up in house.
		655.a.1	Everyday	1	Silver spoon
656	Eastern	Norfolk	Kings Lynn	Refaced in early 18 <sup>th</sup> century.	
	656.a	Wall		Closed	In the brickwork of house.
		656.a.1	Magic	1	Glass witch bottle
658	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Hitchin		

658.a	Wall			Closed	Behind inside (internal?) wall of bedroom. Deposited in hole in attic.
	658.a.1	Everyday		1	Man's shoe
	658.a.2	Everyday		2	Floral printed cloth
	658.a.3	Everyday		1	Corset
	658.a.4	Everyday		1	Leather jacket
	658.a.5	Everyday		1	Ceramic costrel
	658.a.6	Everyday		1	Comb
	658.a.7	Everyday		1	Horse bit
	658.a.8	Everyday		1	Scabbard
	658.a.9	Everyday		1	Ceramic sherd
	658.a.10	Everyday			Ceramic sherds
	658.a.11	Natural		2	Stones
	658.a.12	Everyday			Ceramic sherds
	658.a.13	Everyday		1	Glass bottle
	658.a.14	Everyday		1	Ceramic bead
	658.a.15	Everyday		1	Knife blade
658.a.16	Everyday		2	Ceramic sherd	
659	South West	Devon	Ugborough		
	659.a	Wall		Closed	In wall in 1st floor bathroom.
	659.a.1	Animal		1	Cat
660	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Fulbourn		17 <sup>th</sup> century.
	660.a	Wall		Closed	Built into wall.
	660.a.1	Animal		1	Horse jaw
661	South East	Hampshire	Andover		
	661.a	Floor	Chimney	Dual	Found embedded in rammed chalk floor immediately in front of

				central hearth when lowering floor.	
		661.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
662	South East	Hampshire	Andover		
	662.a	Chimney	Floor	Dual	Beneath brick floor and hearth. Discovered during excavation.
		662.a.1	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
		662.a.2	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
		662.a.3	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle
		662.a.4	Magic	1	Bartmann witch bottle

## Appendix B: Addresses and XY plots of buildings containing deposits

The information here is ordered by region first, county second, and record number third.

House	Region	County	Address1	Address2	Address3	X	Y
19	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Sandy	Gamlingay		523710	249501
121	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Bolnhurst	Kimbolton Road		508708	259673
196	Eastern	Bedfordshire	North			505375	258523
199	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Blunham	13 High Street		515309	251182
204	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Carlton	No. 2 The Moor		495629	255913
209	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Chicksands Priory			512154	239297
214	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Dean	Vicarage		504702	267636
220	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Elstow	High Street		504927	247645
223	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Heath and Reach	Heath House		492532	227706
227	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Keysoe	Park Cottage		507638	262666
243	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Potton	Old cottages		522361	249248
248	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Sandy	51 High Street		517469	249084
253	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Southcott			490427	225244
498	Eastern	Bedfordshire	Felmersham			499178	257717
17	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge	Petty Curry		544999	258449
26	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Comberton			538089	256142
35	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Godmanchester	London Road		524881	270022
42	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Wicken Fen	Old Smithy		556687	270732
43	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Linton			556560	246849
47	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Litlington	South Street		531533	242698
48	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Upwood	High Street	Manor House	525869	282649

54	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Histon	High Street		543820	263645
137	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Yaxley	Main Street		518519	292103
376	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Huntingdon	Graveley		524933	263997
383	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Foxton	West End		540770	248073
412	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Wicken Fen	Lode Lane		556300	270550
478	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Wennington	Pond Cottage		523751	279434
479	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Burwell			559000	266956
480	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Soham			559354	273331
527	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge	Christs College	Fellow's Building	545183	258534
542	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Broughton	Bridge Road	Ivy House	527990	277701
574	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Histon			544218	262864
575	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge	Magdalene College		544659	259024
653	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge	Corpus Christi College	Old Court	544838	258239
654	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Chatteris	London Road		539252	285455
660	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Fulbourn			551787	256191
78	Eastern	Essex	Saffron Walden	Audley End House		552474	238152
79	Eastern	Essex	Colchester			600385	224518
80	Eastern	Essex	Colchester (nr.)	Old Farmhouse		595198	227498
81	Eastern	Essex	Great Dunmow (nr.)	Old house		563991	222739
82	Eastern	Essex	Galleywood	Lower Green	Portlands Farm	571438	202496
84	Eastern	Essex	Woodham Walter			580847	207321
122	Eastern	Essex	Doddinghurst	Pear Tree Cottage		559362	198425
385	Eastern	Essex	Blackwater	Adj. to Cut-Throat Lane	Manor House	581818	214828
388	Eastern	Essex	Rochford	Hall Road	Rectory Cottage	585653	190535
397	Eastern	Essex	Berners Roding	Parsons Farm		560255	210001
432	Eastern	Essex	Aldham	Aldam Hall	Service wing	591846	224857

460	Eastern	Essex	Colchester	Balkerne Lane		599224	225055
503	Eastern	Essex	Colchester	Hythe Hill		601216	224677
523	Eastern	Essex	Maldon	Woodham Walter	Ashman's Farm	582121	207177
531	Eastern	Essex	Waltham Abbey	46 Sun Street		538362	200574
533	Eastern	Essex	Witham			581845	214691
561	Eastern	Essex	Manuden			549145	226658
562	Eastern	Essex	South Ockendon			558683	181439
601	Eastern	Essex				563428	203708
603	Eastern	Essex	Kelvedon			586459	219168
604	Eastern	Essex				561821	241594
609	Eastern	Essex	Uttlesford	Little Sampford		565410	233802
610	Eastern	Essex				601049	203741
612	Eastern	Essex	Brentwood	High Street		559369	193747
623	Eastern	Essex	Chelmsford			570517	207187
628	Eastern	Essex	Waltham Abbey	39-41 Sun Street	Museum building	538377	200551
638	Eastern	Essex	Chelmsford	Little Waltham		570892	212840
639	Eastern	Essex	Clavering	Middle Street	The Tudor Cottage	547299	231930
21	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Pirton	Sawford Cottage		514476	231562
41	Eastern	Hertfordshire	St. Albans	Whitehouse Farm		508446	204072
118	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Bishops Stortford	4 Bridge Street		548775	221392
119	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Bishops Stortford	1 North Terrace		548730	221685
120	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Buntingford			536221	229271
123	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Halls Green	Farmhouse		527454	228687
124	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Hemel Hempstead	Picot's End		505126	209150
125	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Hertford			532577	212560
126	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Hoddesdon			537470	209695

127	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Knebworth	Knebworth Hall		522991	220876
128	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Royston	18 Melbourn Road		535939	241226
129	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Royston	49 Upper King Street		535603	240579
130	Eastern	Hertfordshire	High Cross	Standon Green End Farm		535971	220018
131	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Stevenage	3 High Street		523287	225531
132	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Therfield	Tuthill Manor		533225	237349
133	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Watford			510997	198309
134	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Watford	High Street		511279	196205
135	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Watford	Lower High Street		511459	195990
136	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Lea Valley	Weathamstead		517790	213739
658	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Hitchin	Weston	Farm	526095	230278
156	Eastern	Norfolk	Kenninghall Place			606910	285610
189	Eastern	Norfolk	Bacton	Wyveaten Road	Cutchey's Farm	633415	333621
190	Eastern	Norfolk	Bedingham	Moat Farm		628365	291439
191	Eastern	Norfolk	Worstead	Briggate House		631377	327334
192	Eastern	Norfolk	Dereham	15 Elvin Road		598654	313569
193	Eastern	Norfolk	Great Ellingham			601888	297188
194	Eastern	Norfolk	Mangreen Lane	Wattle Cottage		621318	303096
195	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich	58 Pottergate		622689	308707
197	Eastern	Norfolk	Pullham St. Mary	Garlic Street	Crossingford Farm	621542	284253
198	Eastern	Norfolk	Tivetshall St. Marys	Primrose Hill Farm		617094	285171
268	Eastern	Norfolk	Beccles	Aldeby	Grange Farm	644669	295487
269	Eastern	Norfolk	Aldeby	The Grange		644957	293437
400	Eastern	Norfolk	Hardwick	Hardwick Hall	Farmhouse	446227	363495
414	Eastern	Norfolk	Pulham Market			619551	286367
433	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich	Bethel Street		622738	308468

434	Eastern	Norfolk	Shotesham	Stubb's Green		625273	298261
436	Eastern	Norfolk	Heydon			610768	327190
448	Eastern	Norfolk	Kings Lynn	Plough Inn		561634	320147
449	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich	Horns Lane/ King Street		623416	308013
453	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich	Duke's Palace		622921	308805
459	Eastern	Norfolk	Necton/Swaffham			587804	309252
464	Eastern	Norfolk	Swaffham			581999	308487
466	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich	Rouen Road	Prospect House	623277	308257
468	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich	St. Stephens Street		622932	308149
469	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich			622992	309266
470	Eastern	Norfolk	Earsham	Middle Road		628917	288617
471	Eastern	Norfolk	Roughton	Strand Cottage		621897	336730
472	Eastern	Norfolk	Postwick With Whitton	Postwick Hall	Out-building	628968	307031
473	Eastern	Norfolk	Hellington	Church Farm		631336	303126
474	Eastern	Norfolk	Hethersett	1 Wiffen's Loke	Myrtle Cottage	615028	305368
475	Eastern	Norfolk	Welney	Copes Hill Farmhouse		552699	294370
486	Eastern	Norfolk	Kings Lynn	Thoresby College		561676	319865
487	Eastern	Norfolk	Morley	Willow Farm		605452	299432
488	Eastern	Norfolk	Tibenham	Low Farm		613437	290743
490	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich	61 King Street		623882	307689
491	Eastern	Norfolk	Norwich	King Street		623542	308180
492	Eastern	Norfolk	Ingworth	Hill Farm		618920	330332
511	Eastern	Norfolk	Terrington St. Clement			554998	320096
513	Eastern	Norfolk	Shipdham	Market Street		596606	307791
514	Eastern	Norfolk	Carleton Rode	22 Bunwell Street		611060	294096
518	Eastern	Norfolk	Loddon	Hales Hall		636953	296079

519	Eastern	Norfolk	Freethorpe	Church Farm Cottages		642646	305468
520	Eastern	Norfolk	Hilborough	Breckland	Gardener's cottage	582624	300388
528	Eastern	Norfolk	Oulton	Meeting House Farm		615179	328939
529	Eastern	Norfolk	Burnham Norton	Friary Cottage		583840	342830
534	Eastern	Norfolk	Gressenhall			596192	316801
568	Eastern	Norfolk	Beetley			597491	317305
572	Eastern	Norfolk	Thuxton	Deserted medieval village		603548	307930
656	Eastern	Norfolk	Kings Lynn			562690	320324
24	Eastern	Suffolk	Great Ashfield	Wyverstone Road	Cutcheys Farm	598994	268994
30	Eastern	Suffolk	Mendlesham Green	Cherry Tree Farm		609589	263258
32	Eastern	Suffolk	Bury St. Edmunds	18 Bridewell Lane		585529	263947
33	Eastern	Suffolk	Debenham	Down Row		617339	263504
34	Eastern	Suffolk	Page's Green Farm			614640	265642
45	Eastern	Suffolk	Shimpling	The Street	Court Cottage	587020	252835
263	Eastern	Suffolk	Felixstowe	Gulpher Cottages		630157	236764
264	Eastern	Suffolk	Eye	24 Church Street		614716	273866
266	Eastern	Suffolk	Debenham	9 Cross Green		617530	263166
267	Eastern	Suffolk	Copdock	Woodesend		611586	241497
270	Eastern	Suffolk	Bardwell	Bangrove House		594362	273837
271	Eastern	Suffolk	Bures St. Mary	Sudbury Road	Abram Constables	590341	236064
272	Eastern	Suffolk	Bedfield	Church Lane	Bedfield Hall	622317	266470
273	Eastern	Suffolk	Clare	Shop		576968	245650
274	Eastern	Suffolk	Chelsworth			598008	248086
275	Eastern	Suffolk	Sudbury	Gainsborough Street	Ford Hall	587165	241258
276	Eastern	Suffolk	Lavenham	99 High Street		591532	249217
277	Eastern	Suffolk	Little Yeldham			577871	239540

279	Eastern	Suffolk	Lavenham	Water Street	Priory Farmhouse	591604	249126
280	Eastern	Suffolk	Needham Market	Pipps End		609157	254558
282	Eastern	Suffolk	South Elmhams			632235	282976
283	Eastern	Suffolk	Syleham	Monks Hall		620168	278469
284	Eastern	Suffolk	Ubbeston	Green Valley		631909	271791
285	Eastern	Suffolk	Stowupland			606436	259748
286	Eastern	Suffolk	Stowmarket	Combs Ford		604794	257460
287	Eastern	Suffolk	Wantisden			636880	251422
288	Eastern	Suffolk	Ipswich	3/5 Silent Street		616294	244362
289	Eastern	Suffolk	Ipswich	Pykenham Gatehouse		616416	244778
290	Eastern	Suffolk	Ipswich	Upper Brook Street	Tacket Street	616495	244451
291	Eastern	Suffolk	Weybread			624311	280443
292	Eastern	Suffolk	Ipswich			616375	244547
293	Eastern	Suffolk	Hintlesham	Cotton Lodge		608430	243496
294	Eastern	Suffolk	Hintlesham	College Farm		607489	243601
295	Eastern	Suffolk	Haverhill			566267	245271
296	Eastern	Suffolk	Finningham	Westthorpe Road	Hill House	606315	269126
297	Eastern	Suffolk	Framlingham	Dennington Road	Highfield	627879	264893
298	Eastern	Suffolk	Hartest	No. 2 The Green		583439	252512
299	Eastern	Suffolk	Fressingfield			626141	277304
300	Eastern	Suffolk	Winston	Barley House Farm		617981	261628
380	Eastern	Suffolk	Spexhall			637888	280151
389	Eastern	Suffolk	Middleton	Vale Farm		643253	268156
390	Eastern	Suffolk	Sproughton			612518	244880
406	Eastern	Suffolk	Eye	Church Street		614785	273865
409	Eastern	Suffolk	Creting St. Peter	Hill Farm		608576	257297

431	Eastern	Suffolk	Sudbury	Brent Eleigh	Colliers Farm	594492	249445
435	Eastern	Suffolk	Coddenham	Duke's Head		613499	254241
446	Eastern	Suffolk	Stowmarket	Station Road		604979	258746
447	Eastern	Suffolk	Ixworth			593523	270317
450	Eastern	Suffolk	Stradbroke			623112	273902
451	Eastern	Suffolk	Ipswich			616282	244094
467	Eastern	Suffolk	Eriswell			572380	278043
481	Eastern	Suffolk	Halesworth			638808	277429
482	Eastern	Suffolk	Darsham	Garden Cottage		642156	269838
483	Eastern	Suffolk	Stratford St. Mary			604736	234379
505	Eastern	Suffolk	Ipswich	College Street		616410	244083
509	Eastern	Suffolk	Debenham			617262	263196
510	Eastern	Suffolk	Bury St. Edmunds	Looms Lane		585499	264377
517	Eastern	Suffolk	Lawshall			586453	254221
530	Eastern	Suffolk	Stanton	Wyken Road	The Gables	596715	273076
537	Eastern	Suffolk	Debenham	Merchant's House		617365	263244
545	Eastern	Suffolk	Fakenham Magna			590992	276430
589	Eastern	Suffolk	Lavenham			591524	249109
593	Eastern	Suffolk	Debenham	1 Gracechurch Street		617378	263242
595	Eastern	Suffolk	Stowupland	Grange Farm		608162	260577
620	Eastern	Suffolk	Lawshall			587038	254259
56	East Midlands	Derbyshire	Eyam			422054	376399
57	East Midlands	Derbyshire	Haddon Hall			423501	366367
58	East Midlands	Derbyshire	New Mills	High Street		400071	385732
391	East Midlands	Derbyshire	Heathcote	Hill Top Farm		414657	360195
592	East Midlands	Derbyshire	Wardlow Mires	Three Stags Heads		418101	375611

625	East Midlands	Derbyshire	Wirksworth			428855	354041
171	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Groby	Markfield Road		452203	307625
172	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Husbands Bosworth			464357	284324
173	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Loughborough	9 Churchgate		453698	319824
174	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Lubenham	Papillon Hall		468855	286892
177	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Snibston			441818	314568
398	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Hinckley			442939	292246
437	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Long Clawson			472584	327343
461	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Market Harborough	Peacock Hotel		473469	287208
462	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Exton, Rutland	1 Maltings Yard		492456	311112
524	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Loughborough	Church Gate	Warner Lane	453654	319801
566	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Mountsorrel			458226	314477
643	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Ashby de la Zouch	Market Street		435805	316770
3	East Midlands	Lincolnshire	Lincoln			497517	371399
176	East Midlands	Lincolnshire	Cottage			504634	352576
178	East Midlands	Lincolnshire	Hagworthingham	The Old Hall		534506	369591
522	East Midlands	Lincolnshire	Worlaby	Land Off Main Street		501456	413825
200	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Ashley			479485	290895
201	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Badby	Pound Lane	Apple Trees	455901	259172
202	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Blisworth	Sun Moon and Stars Inn		472431	253450
203	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Blisworth	School		473146	253490
205	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Brackley	St. Peters Road	St. Peters House	458963	237533
206	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Canons Ashby			457755	250659
207	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Duddington	Back Hill	Old Manor House	498923	300733
208	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Gayton			470190	254497
210	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Hargrave			503680	270647

211	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Hartwell Park			477890	249943
212	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Helmdon	The Old Manor		459220	244196
213	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Kettering	Boughton House		489987	281539
215	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Little Houghton	The Forge		480386	259610
216	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Nassington	Prebendal Manor House		506295	296132
217	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Newnham			458309	259982
218	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Newnham			457974	259926
219	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Newnham			457658	259421
221	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Potterspury	House at Blackwell End		475474	243401
222	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Rockingham	Castle		486685	291334
224	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Towcester	Spring Gardens		469576	248429
225	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Weekley	Pond Farm		488703	280824
226	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Weldon	Cottage		492715	289528
395	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Stanwick			497936	271344
408	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Bozeat	12 Dychurch Lane		490886	258965
420	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Harpole	10 Upper High Street		469192	261004
539	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Pilton			502190	284377
548	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Kettering			486835	278612
605	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Daventry			457095	262473
617	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Earls Barton			485236	263710
29	Greater London	Greater London				532451	181568
180	Greater London	Greater London	Billington Road			535804	177057
181	Greater London	Greater London	Hampton Court			515720	168491
182	Greater London	Greater London	Highgate	Lauderdale House		528772	187237
183	Greater London	Greater London	25 Leadenhall Street			533263	181140
184	Greater London	Greater London	Moorfields			532715	181687

185	Greater London	Greater London				528221	169058
186	Greater London	Greater London	Ickenham	Swakeleys House		507424	185713
187	Greater London	Greater London	Ruislip	High Street		509289	187316
403	Greater London	Greater London	Leadenhall Street			533430	181121
421	Greater London	Greater London	Staple Inn			531166	181551
445	Greater London	Greater London	Noble Street	Plasterer's Hall		532203	181544
476	Greater London	Greater London	Bishopsgate	Shoreditch High Street		533527	182283
497	Greater London	Greater London	Deptford			537170	177432
538	Greater London	Greater London	Southwark			532712	180228
546	Greater London	Greater London	Lothbury			532698	181261
552	Greater London	Greater London	Tower of London			533622	180560
553	Greater London	Greater London	College Hill			532493	180903
555	Greater London	Greater London	Westminster School			530044	179344
556	Greater London	Greater London	Bloomsbury Estate			530271	181790
557	Greater London	Greater London	Chelsea			527670	178400
573	Greater London	Greater London	Trig Lane	Quay		532146	180798
641	Greater London	Greater London	City of London	College Hill		532491	180862
649	Greater London	Greater London				527262	184452
613	North East	County Durham	Stockton			442718	519705
616	North East	County Durham	Stockton			442423	518345
49	North West	Cheshire	Chester	Old house		341212	366775
50	North West	Cheshire	Goostrey	Toad Hall		378902	370569
51	North West	Cheshire	Knutsford	Tatton Park		374525	381572
22	North West	Lancashire	Slyne	Little Grange		347724	465727
165	North West	Lancashire	Chapel-le-Dale	Farmhouse		372135	475653
166	North West	Lancashire	Colthouse	Green End Cottage		335832	498339

167	North West	Lancashire	Mytton	Aspinall Arms		371685	438517
168	North West	Lancashire	Outgate	Old Cottage		335480	499872
169	North West	Lancashire	Rosendale	88 Bank Street		381258	423091
170	North West	Lancashire	Salford			379656	398798
590	North West	Lancashire	Pendle	Lower Black Moss		382625	441399
1	South East	Berkshire	Cookham	Sutton Road		489724	185137
64	South East	Berkshire	Boxford	Downs Cottage		442632	171823
256	South East	Berkshire	Aldworth Manor			455827	178966
259	South East	Berkshire	Beedon	Purton's Stores		448682	177876
265	South East	Berkshire	Burghclere			447069	161266
281	South East	Berkshire	Boxford			443538	171590
301	South East	Berkshire	Kingsclere	Swan Street		452481	158545
306	South East	Berkshire	Newbury	Cheap Street		447247	166949
314	South East	Berkshire	Newbury	Market Place		447146	167080
325	South East	Berkshire	Sonning			475812	175520
328	South East	Berkshire	Sonning	Old Cottage		475757	175402
394	South East	Berkshire	Wickham Heath	Sole Farmhouse		441135	171170
525	South East	Berkshire	Newbury	Bartholomew Street		446932	166759
567	South East	Berkshire	Lambourn			432589	178827
640	South East	Berkshire	Hurley	Aston	Middle Culham Farm	479041	182903
10	South East	Buckinghamshire	Stoke Pogues	Court Cottage		497779	184151
14	South East	Buckinghamshire	Buckingham	Mitre Street		469211	233368
18	South East	Buckinghamshire	Wendover	Old Cottage		486882	208016
359	South East	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury			481469	214200
364	South East	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury	Church Street		481772	213834
369	South East	Buckinghamshire	Bledlow	Manor House		477969	202132

370	South East	Buckinghamshire	Buckingham			469598	233915
372	South East	Buckinghamshire	Kingsey	Manor Farm		474209	206658
485	South East	Buckinghamshire	Winslow	5 Vicarage Road		476905	227726
311	South East	East Sussex	East Guldeford	Money Penny Farm		594276	121048
312	South East	East Sussex	Flimwell	Stonecrouch		569533	133584
315	South East	East Sussex	Hayes			508775	177644
316	South East	East Sussex	Lewes			541446	110147
317	South East	East Sussex	Lewes	9 Cliffe High Street		541896	110226
319	South East	East Sussex	Mayfield	Royal Oak		558562	126978
321	South East	East Sussex	Rye	4 Mermaid Street		592039	120287
381	South East	East Sussex	Hellingly	Globe Place		558212	112377
396	South East	East Sussex	Rye	4 High Street	The Black Boy	592192	120475
501	South East	East Sussex	Michelham Priory			555899	109317
642	South East	East Sussex	Hastings	14 All Saints Street	The Stag	582749	109798
83	South East	Hampshire	Winchester	Square off High Street		448096	129486
95	South East	Hampshire				462080	123806
96	South East	Hampshire	Basingstoke			462964	150600
97	South East	Hampshire	Basingstoke	2 Goddard Farm Cottages		467927	157839
98	South East	Hampshire	Tadley	Wolverton Common	Century House	455845	159636
99	South East	Hampshire	Bentley	Cottage at		478502	144137
100	South East	Hampshire	Bursledon	Botley Manor Farm		450947	111891
101	South East	Hampshire	Brading			460625	87273
102	South East	Hampshire	Broughton	Charity School House		430873	132911
104	South East	Hampshire	Christchurch			408513	91066
105	South East	Hampshire	Fareham	Bugle Pub		454013	105808
106	South East	Hampshire	Froyle			476006	144214

107	South East	Hampshire	Froyle Place			475550	142828
108	South East	Hampshire	Kings Worthy			449070	133591
109	South East	Hampshire	Lymington	26 High Street		429033	91840
110	South East	Hampshire	Martin			406869	119556
111	South East	Hampshire	Meonstoke	Church Lane	St. Andrews Cottage	461129	120207
112	South East	Hampshire	Odiham	1 King Street	Old Brewery Cottage	474117	151049
377	South East	Hampshire	Fareham			457468	105704
384	South East	Hampshire	Buriton	Buriton Manor		474003	120066
416	South East	Hampshire	Hambleton	East Street	The George	464699	115057
521	South East	Hampshire	Hursely			442836	125201
526	South East	Hampshire	Stockbridge			435845	135069
597	South East	Hampshire	Nether Wallop			429964	136570
627	South East	Hampshire	Emsworth			474867	106258
661	South East	Hampshire	Andover	Abbotts Ann	Longthatch Cottage	432867	143464
662	South East	Hampshire	Andover	Abbotts Ann	Duck Street	432856	143522
4	South East	Kent	Edenbridge	High Street	The Old Crown Inn	544385	146120
16	South East	Kent	Gravesend	96 Cross Lane East		564997	172883
23	South East	Kent	Charing	54 High Street		595312	149440
89	South East	Kent	Cranbrook	High Street		577295	135937
138	South East	Kent				570824	152922
139	South East	Kent	Bromley Palace			540705	169089
140	South East	Kent	Canterbury			614951	156939
141	South East	Kent	Canterbury	30 Northgate		615276	158346
142	South East	Kent	Canterbury	Sun Inn		614952	157894
143	South East	Kent	Canterbury	41 St. Peters Street		614662	158020
144	South East	Kent	Chart Sutton	Cottage at		579668	150287

145	South East	Kent	Chiddingstone	Bough Beech	Bayleaf	549815	148435
146	South East	Kent	Crundale	Hunt Street		609102	148664
147	South East	Kent	Eastling (nr.)			595651	155390
148	South East	Kent	East Malling	The Rocks Cottage		570181	156877
150	South East	Kent	Hollingbourne	Eyhorne Manor		583152	154599
151	South East	Kent	Faversham	12-13 Court Road		601596	161465
152	South East	Kent	Littlebourne			620871	157446
153	South East	Kent	Long Field	Hartley Bottom Road	Red Cow Farm	562137	167152
154	South East	Kent	Lympne Castle			611933	134646
155	South East	Kent	Isle of Sheppey	Norwood Manor		597333	172140
157	South East	Kent	Plaxtol	2 Church Row		560142	153628
158	South East	Kent	Sandwich	38 King Street		633147	158015
159	South East	Kent	Sevenoaks	High Street	The Red House	553127	154519
160	South East	Kent	Tenterden			588467	133476
161	South East	Kent	Tonge	Farm House		594040	164802
162	South East	Kent	Underriver	Rumshott Manor		555017	152587
163	South East	Kent	Warehorne	Hatch Farm		596728	134450
175	South East	Kent	Maidstone	65 Upper Stone Street		576341	155223
371	South East	Kent	Bearstead	Ware Street		579766	156101
373	South East	Kent	Tunbridge Wells	Sussex Mews	Sussex Arms Pub	558129	138668
378	South East	Kent				619879	145976
402	South East	Kent	Dully	Wood Street Cottage		593783	161645
407	South East	Kent	Ightham Mote			558465	153481
411	South East	Kent	old cottage			577850	125817
418	South East	Kent	Edenbridge	Toys Hill Road	Tan House Farm	547627	150314
419	South East	Kent	Wingham (nr.)	Shatterling		626129	158344

427	South East	Kent	Shorne	Rose and Crown Inn		569116	171075
428	South East	Kent	Faversham	48 Court Street		601594	161393
430	South East	Kent	Chartwell	Cottage in grounds of		545411	151388
438	South East	Kent	Charing	27+29 High Street		595249	149352
499	South East	Kent	Hoath	Hoath Cottage		549120	142666
500	South East	Kent	Charing	Station Road	The Old House	595195	149240
598	South East	Kent	Sittingbourne	Plough Inn		596285	161367
599	South East	Kent	Milton Regis	Hinde House		590403	164551
607	South East	Kent	Plaxtol			561017	153594
608	South East	Kent	Sandwich	Pub		633121	157838
622	South East	Kent	West Malling	Cade House		568296	157754
634	South East	Kent	Charing	32 High Street		595287	149380
635	South East	Kent	Biddenden	Tanner Farm		573253	141528
644	South East	Kent	Dartford	High Street		554236	174031
645	South East	Kent	Longfield	Longfield Monastery		560333	169046
646	South East	Kent	Eynsford	Riverside		553838	165613
647	South East	Kent	Dartford	Lowfield Street	Bugden Hall	554071	173669
648	South East	Kent	Dartford	High Street	Gibsons - ironmongers	554270	174021
6	South East	Oxfordshire	Abingdon	Nr. Thrupp House		450474	196823
188	South East	Oxfordshire	Standlake	Forge Cottage		438500	203585
228	South East	Oxfordshire	Old Abbey			449895	197114
229	South East	Oxfordshire	Banbury	Alkerton	Tanners Pool	437738	242752
230	South East	Oxfordshire	Appleton	1 Bakewell Lane		444230	201635
231	South East	Oxfordshire	Banbury	Parson's Street	Café and cake shop	445522	240637
232	South East	Oxfordshire	Banbury	Parson's Street	The Reindeer Inn	445552	240641
233	South East	Oxfordshire	Burford	High Street		425152	212173

234	South East	Oxfordshire	Chinnor			475252	200828
235	South East	Oxfordshire	Lyneham	Milton End	Priory Lane	427702	220316
236	South East	Oxfordshire	Milton Under Wychwood	High Street	Chatham Cottage	426325	218136
237	South East	Oxfordshire	Oxford	Queens College	Williamson Building	451808	206330
238	South East	Oxfordshire	Oxford	St. John's College	Dining hall	451251	206635
239	South East	Oxfordshire	Shipton Under Wychwood	Hunter's Lodge		427735	217627
240	South East	Oxfordshire	Thame	High Street	The bakery	470876	205744
241	South East	Oxfordshire	Thame	Lord Williams Grammar School		470380	206194
242	South East	Oxfordshire	Thame	Priest End	Striblehills	470418	206379
244	South East	Oxfordshire	Watlington			468560	194495
334	South East	Oxfordshire	Wantage	Bear Hotel		439789	187883
392	South East	Oxfordshire	Oxford	Trinity College		451439	206511
532	South East	Oxfordshire	Bampton			431725	203386
600	South East	Oxfordshire	Abingdon	East St. Helens Street		449738	196919
606	South East	Oxfordshire	Abingdon			449571	197424
2	South East	Surrey	Guilford	Royal Grammar School		500030	149630
25	South East	Surrey	Oxted	Godstone Lane	Beadles Cottage	538421	152297
302	South East	Surrey	Cobham	Overbye		510760	159816
303	South East	Surrey	Croyden	Old Palace		532031	165453
304	South East	Surrey	Cobham			511253	160403
305	South East	Surrey	Dorking	40 South Street		516425	149324
307	South East	Surrey	Peaslake			508702	145270
308	South East	Surrey	Redhill	2 Copse Lane		526624	149232

309	South East	Surrey	West Horsley	West Horsley Place		508804	153005
313	South East	Surrey	Chaldon	Tollsworth Manor		530563	154507
387	South East	Surrey	Hawley	Chapel Lane	The Old Malthouse	486131	158131
399	South East	Surrey	Coulsdon			529772	159442
401	South East	Surrey	Thames Ditton			516277	166775
454	South East	Surrey	Reigate			525568	150508
549	South East	Surrey	Millford			494464	142062
596	South East	Surrey	Reigate			526054	149147
637	South East	Surrey	Reigate	Church Street		525478	150277
310	South East	West Sussex	Bosham			480787	104186
318	South East	West Sussex	Lindfield	Blacklands		534879	125922
320	South East	West Sussex	Patching			508960	106416
322	South East	West Sussex	Steyning	90 High Street		517548	111322
323	South East	West Sussex	Upper Beeding	High Street		519427	110525
324	South East	West Sussex	Warninglid	4-5 The Street		524984	126015
326	South East	West Sussex	Burpham	Wepham		504347	108388
327	South East	West Sussex	Wineham	Wineham Lane	Wineham Cottage	524165	121939
410	South East	West Sussex	Trotton	Dumpford Farm		482322	121835
425	South East	West Sussex	Steyning	1,3 and 5 Church Street		517720	111169
502	South East	West Sussex	Pulborough	Old Place		504529	118955
621	South East	West Sussex	Pulborough	The Old House		504757	118739
636	South East	West Sussex	Ifield	Turks Croft		524724	136753
650	South East	West Sussex	Henfield	High Street		521511	116001
651	South East	West Sussex	Henfield	High Street		521526	115836
652	South East	West Sussex	Henfield	Workhouse		521310	115654
52	South West	Cornwall	Bude	28 King Street		221013	106381

53	South West	Cornwall	Flushing			180769	33966
55	South West	Cornwall	Fowey	9 South Street		212574	051696
40	South West	Devon	Broadhembury	Luton Barton House		308293	102899
44	South West	Devon	Ottery St. Mary			309988	95391
46	South West	Devon	Churchston	Leigh Barton	Farm Complex	272099	46693
59	South West	Devon	Broadhembury			310036	104815
61	South West	Devon	Paignton	Compton Castle	Cottage near Windmill	287554	62336
62	South West	Devon	High Hampton	Coombe farm		249728	102908
63	South West	Devon	Exeter			291812	92099
65	South West	Devon	Topsham	Victoria Road	Marigold Cottage	296596	88050
67	South West	Devon	Exeter	Public house		292070	92388
68	South West	Devon	Frogmoore	Chillington	Cottage	279312	42825
69	South West	Devon	Plymouth (nr.)	Farm		238788	58184
70	South West	Devon	Sidmouth			312513	87793
71	South West	Devon	Silverton	Weavers Cottage		295686	103234
72	South West	Devon	Sowton	Great Moor Farm		297671	92641
379	South West	Devon	Leigh Barton			271590	46858
417	South West	Devon	Throwleigh	Shilston		266018	90086
422	South West	Devon	Shebbear	Alscott Farm		246021	111017
426	South West	Devon	Crediton	5 Mount Pleasant Street	Park Street	283453	100144
429	South West	Devon	Appledore			246354	130473
516	South West	Devon	Topsham			296565	088348
536	South West	Devon	Brixham			292921	55355
579	South West	Devon	Hawkchurch	Farmhouse		333976	100212
602	South West	Devon	Brixham			292213	56158
626	South West	Devon	Silverton			295631	102933

659	South West	Devon	Ugborough			267708	55806
15	South West	Dorset	Wimbourne	Cranbourne Road	Higher Honeybrook Farm	400773	101880
27	South West	Dorset	Burton Bradstock	Rookery Cottage		348891	89541
36	South West	Dorset	Shaftesbury	17 Bell Street		386270	123045
73	South West	Dorset	Blandford	10 Market Place		388490	106259
74	South West	Dorset	Corfe	The Square		396035	82078
75	South West	Dorset	Corfe Castle			395916	82300
76	South West	Dorset	Sherbourne	Purse Caundle	Manor House	369516	117646
77	South West	Dorset	Wareham			391871	88233
512	South West	Dorset	Pamphill	Walnut Farm		399073	100050
515	South West	Dorset	Buckland Newton			368825	105028
535	South West	Dorset	Wareham	Nr. Corfe Castle		392746	85631
543	South West	Dorset	Blanford	6 Whitecliff Mill Street		388438	106461
544	South West	Dorset	Portland			369207	71994
576	South West	Dorset	Winfrith	Blacknoll		380781	86103
577	South West	Dorset	Corfe Mullen	Coventry Arms		397472	98538
578	South West	Dorset	Frampton	Police Station		362742	95180
580	South West	Dorset	Hazelbury Bryan	Next to Lyddon House		372987	110195
581	South West	Dorset	Maiden Newton	White Horse Pub		359797	97653
582	South West	Dorset	Middlebere in Arne	Middlebere Farm		395941	85831
583	South West	Dorset	Portland	The Verne		369221	73622
584	South West	Dorset	Shipton Gorge	Home Farm		349923	91433
585	South West	Dorset	Wimbourne Minster	Church Street		400918	100025
586	South West	Dorset	Wimbourne Minster	Nr. Stocks inn		401723	102440
587	South West	Dorset	Winterbourne Stickland			383506	104629

611	South West	Dorset	Bradford Abbas			358833	114493
630	South West	Dorset	Blandford	Salisbury Street	Dale House	388563	106640
631	South West	Dorset	Langston Matravers			399980	78879
632	South West	Dorset	Portland	Straits		369314	71777
633	South West	Dorset	Worth Matravers			397383	77466
8	South West	Gloucestershire	Bream	Lansdown Walk		360709	205946
9	South West	Gloucestershire	Cirencester	Castle Street	The Old Barley Mow	402167	201946
85	South West	Gloucestershire	Blaisdon	Nr. Longhope	Stanley House	370828	217499
86	South West	Gloucestershire	Bristol	College Green		358389	172821
87	South West	Gloucestershire	Broad Campden	Angel Lane	Quaker Cottage	415899	238021
88	South West	Gloucestershire	Frampton on Severn	The Summer House		374574	207219
90	South West	Gloucestershire	Owlpen	Old Manor		380004	198371
91	South West	Gloucestershire	Tetbury	The Crown Inn		389151	193160
92	South West	Gloucestershire	Tetbury	1 The Market Place		389047	193094
94	South West	Gloucestershire	Wotton-under-Edge	High Street		375579	193316
103	South West	Gloucestershire	Gloucester	Southgate Street		383056	218427
149	South West	Gloucestershire	Gloucester	Matson House		384858	214960
250	South West	Gloucestershire	Abson	Wick and Abson	The Close	370462	174800
547	South West	Gloucestershire	Tewksbury			389393	232758
614	South West	Gloucestershire	Cotswolds	Weston Subedge		412492	241123
11	South West	Somerset	Bath	Southstoke Hall		374842	161276
12	South West	Somerset	Bath	Lower Hamswell	Goudies Farm	373023	171108
20	South West	Somerset	Bath	16 Bathwick Street		375579	165413
251	South West	Somerset	Brympton D'evercy	Priest's house		351956	115425
252	South West	Somerset	Wells	Burcott Manor		352367	145450
254	South West	Somerset	Midsummer Norton			366207	154119

255	South West	Somerset	Yeovil	Queen Camel		359632	124648
257	South West	Somerset	Bath	Sharfham Manor		282618	57865
258	South West	Somerset	Stretcholt	Ham Lane	Sealey Cottage	329232	143910
260	South West	Somerset	Yeovil	Key Farm		355641	113418
404	South West	Somerset	Drayton	North Street	Norse Cottage	340558	124789
413	South West	Somerset	Beckington	Duck Pool Farm		382100	152734
423	South West	Somerset	Butleigh	11 High Street		352041	133771
550	South West	Somerset	Bridgwater			330141	137106
13	South West	Wiltshire	Wroughton	Greens Lane	Taylor's Cottage	414958	180206
338	South West	Wiltshire	Swindon	Hodson Farm		417319	180445
339	South West	Wiltshire	Amesbury	West Amesbury House		414230	141488
340	South West	Wiltshire	Calne	3 Market Hill		399685	171038
341	South West	Wiltshire	Devizes	8 Monday Market Street		400613	161500
342	South West	Wiltshire	Melksham			390516	163497
343	South West	Wiltshire	Pitton			421181	131341
344	South West	Wiltshire	Rockbourne	Priory Farm		411475	117981
345	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury	16 Catherine Street		414523	129883
346	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury	58 Cathedral Close	Regimental Museum	414149	129692
347	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury	Choiristers School		414428	129589
348	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury	The Haunch of Venison		414362	129960
349	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury	Milford Street		414653	129935
350	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury	St. Anne's Street	Windover House	414666	129626
351	South West	Wiltshire	Sedgehill			386739	128185
352	South West	Wiltshire	Tytherington	New Hall Farm		367359	188829
353	South West	Wiltshire	Wroughton			414526	180819
382	South West	Wiltshire	Longbridge Deverill	Hill Deverill	Manor House	386954	140095

393	South West	Wiltshire	Wanborough	The Harrow		421127	183511
405	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury	Bishop's Palace		414384	129404
569	South West	Wiltshire	Devizes	Porch House		400620	161524
540	West Midlands	Birmingham	Tyesley			410952	283923
114	West Midlands	Herefordshire	Hereford	Dean's Lodgings	Cathedral	350963	239708
115	West Midlands	Herefordshire	Hereford	37 Friar Street		350645	239901
116	West Midlands	Herefordshire	Leintwardine	Kestrel Cottage		340539	273983
117	West Midlands	Herefordshire	Madley	Castle Farm		340636	238403
374	West Midlands	Herefordshire	Luston			348558	263160
375	West Midlands	Herefordshire	Leominster	Green Lane	Townsend House	349284	259146
245	West Midlands	Shropshire	Shrewsbury	Rigg Hall		348583	311924
246	West Midlands	Shropshire	Shrewsbury	23 Pride Hill		349202	312617
249	West Midlands	Shropshire	Shawbury			355984	321353
415	West Midlands	Shropshire	Oswestry	Llansilin	Wern Ddu Fach	323104	326293
31	West Midlands	Staffordshire	Handsacre	Handsacre Hall		408995	315650
261	West Midlands	Staffordshire	Lichfield			411999	309567
262	West Midlands	Staffordshire	Stone	Brewery		390046	333154
455	West Midlands	Staffordshire	Stafford	Tipping Street		392311	323173
615	West Midlands	Staffordshire	Oldcot			385555	352953
618	West Midlands	Staffordshire	Kinver			384197	283783
7	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Near Coventry	Ansty Hall		440080	283752
329	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Combrook			430706	251673
330	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Coventry	Fretton Street	The Millers Street	433184	279247
331	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Harbury Hall	Out house		437762	260076
332	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Nether Whitacre	Dingle Lane	The Mound	422580	291847
333	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Stretton on Dunsmore			440903	272601

335	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Mere Green	267 Lichfield Road		411594	298761
336	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Warwick	70 Market Place		428038	264893
337	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Warwick	St. Johns House Museum		428719	265094
424	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Salford Priors	Station Road	1 Church Cottage	407786	251121
5	West Midlands	Worcestershire	Cookley	Caunsall Road	Blue Ball House	384450	280768
354	West Midlands	Worcestershire	Droitwich	High Street		390020	263357
355	West Midlands	Worcestershire	Evesham			403757	243930
356	West Midlands	Worcestershire	Evington			463018	303264
357	West Midlands	Worcestershire	Redditch			404124	267875
358	West Midlands	Worcestershire	Bewdley	Tickenhill Manor		378433	275121
452	Yorkshire	Humber area				499302	409253
619	Yorkshire	Humber area	Barton on Humber	17+19 Whitecross Street		503244	421705
463	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	Melbecks	Thistlebout Farm		394418	498251
655	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	Vale of Pickering	Harome		464864	482107
591	Yorkshire	West Yorkshire	Brighouse	Slead Hall		413712	423891
360	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Adel			427212	439141
361	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Cononley	135/6 Main Street		398815	446974
362	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Heptonstall	Rodmer Clough Farm		395115	429189
363	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Kirkleatham	Free school		459284	521578
365	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Langsett	Bradshaw Farm		421195	400853
366	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Lingards	Top o' the Hill		407185	413120
367	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Marley	Marley Manor		408933	440586
368	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Skipton	High Street	The Red Lion	399042	451761
386	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	York	20 Goodramgate	The Golden Slipper Pub	460516	452184

## Appendix C: Addresses and types of non-vernacular domestic buildings

House number	Region	County	Town	Building Type	Building Name
2	South East	Surrey	Guilford	School	Royal Grammar School
4	South East	Kent	Edenbridge	Public House	The Old Crown Inn
7	West Midlands	Warwickshire	Near Coventry	Manor	Ansty Hall
9	South West	Gloucestershire	Cirencester	Public House	The Old Barley Mow
31	West Midlands	Staffordshire	Handsacre	Manor	“Manor house”
48	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Upwood	Manor	“Manor house”
50	North West	Cheshire	Goodstrey	Manor	Toad Hall
57	East Midlands	Derbyshire		Manor	Haddon Hall
67	South West	Devon	Exeter	Public House	“Public house”
75	South West	Dorset		Castle	Corfe Castle
76	South West	Dorset	Sherbourne	Manor	Purze Caundle Manor House
78	Eastern	Essex	Saffron Walden	Manor	Audley End House
90	South West	Gloucestershire	Owlpen	Manor	Old Manor
91	South West	Gloucestershire	Tetbury	Public House	The Crown Inn
105	South East	Hampshire	Fareham	Public House	Bugle Pub
114	West Midlands	Herefordshire	Hereford	Religious Residence	Dean's Lodgings
127	Eastern	Hertfordshire	Knebworth	Manor	Knebworth Hall
138	South East	Kent		Manor	“Lesser manor house”
139	South East	Kent		Manor	Bromley Palace
142	South East	Kent	Canterbury	Public House	Sun Inn
150	South East	Kent	Hollingbourne	Manor	Eyhorne Manor
154	South East	Kent		Castle/ Manor	Lympne Castle
155	South East	Kent	Isle of Sheppey	Manor	Norwood Manor
156	Eastern	Norfolk		Manor	Kenninghall Palace
162	South East	Kent	Underriver	Manor	Rumshott Manor
167	North West	Lancashire	Mytton	Public House	Aspinall Arms
174	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Lubenham	Manor	Papillon Hall
202	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Blisworth	Public House	Sun Moon and Stars Inn
203	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Blisworth	School	“School”
207	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Duddington	Manor	Old Manor House

216	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Nassington	Manor	Prebendal Manor House
222	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Rockingham	Castle	Rockingham Castle
225	East Midlands	Northamptonshire	Weekley	Out/Wash House	Pond Farm
232	South East	Oxfordshire	Banbury	Public House	The Reindeer Inn
237	South East	Oxfordshire	Oxford	College	Queens College
238	South East	Oxfordshire	Oxford	College	St. John's College
241	South East	Oxfordshire	Thame	School	Ld. Williams Grammar School
252	South West	Somerset	Wells	Manor	Burett Manor
257	South West	Somerset	Bath	Manor	Sharfham Manor
313	South East	Surrey	Chaldon	Manor	Tollsworth manor
319	South East	East Sussex	Mayfield	Public House	Royal Oak
331	West Midlands	Warwickshire		Out House	Harbury Hall
334	South East	Oxfordshire	Wantage	Hotel	Bear Hotel
347	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury	School	Choiristers School
348	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury	Public House	Haunch of Venison
358	West Midlands	Worcestershire	Bewdley	Manor	Tickenhill Manor
363	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Kirkleatham	School	"Free school"
367	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Marley	Manor	Marley Manor
368	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	Skipton	Public House	The Red Lion
373	South East	Kent	Tunbridge Wells	Public House	Sussex Arms Pub
382	South West	Wiltshire	Hill Deverill	Manor	Manor House
384	South East	Hampshire	Buriton	Manor	Buriton Manor
385	Eastern	Essex	Blackwater	Manor	Manor House
386	Yorkshire	Yorkshire	York	Public House	The Golden Slipper Pub
392	South East	Oxfordshire	Oxford	College	Trinity College
405	South West	Wiltshire	Salisbury	Manor	Bishop's Palace
407	South East	Kent		Manor	Ightham Mote
416	South East	Hampshire	Hambledon	Public House	The George
421	Greater London	Greater London		Public House	Staple Inn
427	South East	Kent	Shorne	Public House	Rose and Crown Inn
448	Eastern	Norfolk	Kings Lynn	Public House	Plough Inn
461	East Midlands	Leicestershire	Market Harborough	Hotel	Peacock hotel
472	Eastern	Norfolk	Postwick With Whitton	Out Building	Postwick Hall
486	Eastern	Norfolk	Kings Lynn	Religious Residence	Thoresby College

527	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge	College	Christs College
555	Greater London	Greater London		School	Westminster School
575	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge	College	Magdalene College
581	South West	Dorset	Maiden Newton	Public House	White Horse Pub
592	East Midlands	Derbyshire	Wardlow Mires	Public House	Three Stags Heads
598	South East	Kent	Sittingbourne	Public House	Plough Inn
608	South East	Kent	Sandwich	Public House	“Pub”
653	Eastern	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge	College	Corpus Christi College



## Appendix D: List of deposits by group type

### D.1: Single deposits

No.	Region	Object Type
1.b	South East	Everyday
2.a	South East	Everyday
3.a	East Midlands	Everyday
4.a	South East	Everyday
8.a	South West	Everyday
11.a	South West	Everyday
13.a	South West	Everyday
15.a	South West	Everyday
17.a	Eastern	Everyday
18.a	South East	Everyday
19.a	Eastern	Everyday
20.a	South West	Everyday
21.a	Eastern	Everyday
24.a	Eastern	Everyday
24.b	Eastern	Everyday
27.a	South West	Everyday
29.a	Greater London	Everyday
32.a	Eastern	Everyday
34.a	Eastern	Everyday
37.a	Unknown	Everyday
38.a	Unknown	Everyday
41.a	Eastern	Everyday
42.a	Eastern	Everyday
43.a	Eastern	Everyday
44.a	South West	Everyday
46.a	South West	Everyday
49.a	North West	Everyday
51.a	North West	Everyday
52.a	South West	Everyday
53.a	South West	Everyday
55.a	South West	Everyday
55.b	South West	Everyday
56.a	East Midlands	Everyday
57.a	East Midlands	Everyday
57.b	East Midlands	Everyday
58.a	East Midlands	Everyday
59.a	South West	Everyday
61.a	South West	Everyday
62.a	South West	Everyday
63.a	South West	Everyday

No.	Region	Object Type
65.a	South West	Everyday
68.a	South West	Everyday
69.a	South West	Everyday
70.a	South West	Everyday
71.a	South West	Everyday
72.a	South West	Everyday
74.a	South West	Everyday
75.a	South West	Everyday
78.a	Eastern	Everyday
78.b	Eastern	Everyday
79.a	Eastern	Everyday
80.a	Eastern	Everyday
81.a	Eastern	Everyday
83.a	South East	Everyday
86.a	South West	Everyday
87.a	South West	Everyday
88.a	South West	Everyday
89.a	South East	Everyday
90.a	South West	Everyday
91.a	South West	Everyday
95.a	South East	Everyday
96.a	South East	Everyday
98.a	South East	Everyday
101.a	South East	Everyday
102.a	South East	Everyday
103.a	South West	Everyday
104.a	South East	Everyday
105.a	South East	Everyday
107.a	South East	Everyday
108.a	South East	Everyday
114.a	West Midlands	Everyday
116.a	West Midlands	Everyday
116.b	West Midlands	Animal
119.a	Eastern	Everyday
120.a	Eastern	Everyday
124.a	Eastern	Everyday
125.a	Eastern	Everyday
127.a	Eastern	Everyday
128.a	Eastern	Everyday
129.a	Eastern	Everyday

131.a	Eastern	Everyday
132.a	Eastern	Everyday
134.a	Eastern	Everyday
137.a	Eastern	Everyday
138.a	South East	Everyday
139.a	South East	Everyday
140.a	South East	Everyday
141.a	South East	Everyday
146.a	South East	Everyday
149.a	South West	Everyday
151.a	South East	Everyday
152.a	South East	Everyday
154.a	South East	Everyday
155.a	South East	Everyday
155.b	South East	Everyday
155.c	South East	Everyday
156.a	Eastern	Everyday
159.a	South East	Everyday
160.a	South East	Everyday
161.a	South East	Everyday
163.a	South East	Everyday
165.a	North West	Everyday
166.a	North West	Everyday
167.c	North West	Everyday
168.a	North West	Everyday
169.a	North West	Everyday
170.a	North West	Everyday
171.a	East Midlands	Everyday
174.a	East Midlands	Everyday
175.a	South East	Everyday
176.a	East Midlands	Everyday
177.a	East Midlands	Everyday
180.a	Greater London	Everyday
181.a	Greater London	Everyday
182.a	Greater London	Everyday
183.a	Greater London	Everyday
185.a	Greater London	Everyday
187.a	Greater London	Everyday
188.a	South East	Everyday
190.a	Eastern	Everyday
191.a	Eastern	Everyday
192.a	Eastern	Everyday
193.a	Eastern	Everyday
194.a	Eastern	Everyday

195.b	Eastern	Everyday
196.a	Eastern	Everyday
198.a	Eastern	Everyday
199.a	Eastern	Everyday
200.a	East Midlands	Everyday
201.a	East Midlands	Everyday
202.a	East Midlands	Everyday
204.a	Eastern	Everyday
205.a	East Midlands	Everyday
205.b	East Midlands	Everyday
206.a	East Midlands	Everyday
207.a	East Midlands	Everyday
208.a	East Midlands	Everyday
209.a	Eastern	Everyday
210.a	East Midlands	Everyday
217.a	East Midlands	Everyday
218.a	East Midlands	Everyday
219.a	East Midlands	Everyday
222.a	East Midlands	Everyday
223.a	Eastern	Everyday
224.a	East Midlands	Everyday
225.a	East Midlands	Everyday
226.a	East Midlands	Everyday
228.a	South East	Everyday
231.a	South East	Everyday
232.a	South East	Everyday
235.a	South East	Everyday
236.a	South East	Everyday
238.a	South East	Everyday
241.a	South East	Everyday
242.a	South East	Everyday
244.a	South East	Everyday
245.a	West Midlands	Everyday
246.a	West Midlands	Everyday
249.a	West Midlands	Everyday
252.a	South West	Everyday
253.a	Eastern	Everyday
254.a	South West	Everyday
255.a	South West	Everyday
256.a	South East	Everyday
257.a	South West	Everyday
258.a	South West	Everyday
259.a	South East	Everyday
259.b	South East	Everyday

259.c	South East	Everyday
262.a	West Midlands	Everyday
263.a	Eastern	Everyday
265.a	South East	Everyday
266.a	Eastern	Everyday
267.a	Eastern	Everyday
268.a	Eastern	Everyday
269.a	Eastern	Everyday
272.a	Eastern	Everyday
272.b	Eastern	Everyday
273.a	Eastern	Everyday
274.a	Eastern	Everyday
279.a	Eastern	Everyday
280.a	Eastern	Everyday
281.a	South East	Everyday
282.a	Eastern	Everyday
283.a	Eastern	Everyday
289.a	Eastern	Everyday
292.a	Eastern	Everyday
293.a	Eastern	Everyday
294.a	Eastern	Everyday
295.a	Eastern	Everyday
297.a	Eastern	Everyday
298.a	Eastern	Everyday
301.a	South East	Everyday
302.a	South East	Everyday
305.a	South East	Everyday
306.a	South East	Everyday
307.a	South East	Everyday
311.a	South East	Everyday
314.a	South East	Everyday
315.a	South East	Everyday
317.a	South East	Everyday
318.a	South East	Everyday
320.a	South East	Everyday
321.a	South East	Everyday
325.a	South East	Everyday
326.a	South East	Everyday
327.a	South East	Everyday
328.a	South East	Everyday
329.a	West Midlands	Everyday
330.a	West Midlands	Everyday
333.a	West Midlands	Everyday
334.a	South East	Everyday

336.a	West Midlands	Everyday
339.a	South West	Everyday
342.a	South West	Everyday
343.a	South West	Everyday
344.a	South West	Everyday
345.a	South West	Everyday
347.a	South West	Everyday
349.a	South West	Everyday
351.a	South West	Everyday
352.a	South West	Everyday
354.a	West Midlands	Everyday
356.a	West Midlands	Everyday
357.a	West Midlands	Everyday
358.a	West Midlands	Everyday
358.b	West Midlands	Everyday
359.a	South East	Everyday
360.a	Yorkshire	Everyday
361.a	Yorkshire	Everyday
363.a	Yorkshire	Everyday
364.a	South East	Everyday
367.a	Yorkshire	Everyday
369.a	South East	Everyday
370.a	South East	Everyday
371.a	South East	Everyday
374.a	West Midlands	Everyday
375.a	West Midlands	Everyday
377.a	South East	Everyday
378.a	South East	Everyday
379.a	South West	Everyday
380.a	Eastern	Everyday
381.a	South East	Everyday
382.a	South West	Everyday
387.a	South East	Everyday
388.a	Eastern	Everyday
389.a	Eastern	Everyday
390.a	Eastern	Everyday
391.a	East Midlands	Everyday
392.a	South East	Everyday
394.a	South East	Everyday
395.a	East Midlands	Everyday
400.a	Eastern	Everyday
402.a	South East	Everyday
403.a	Greater London	Everyday
406.a	Eastern	Everyday

409.a	Eastern	Everyday
410.a	South East	Everyday
411.a	South East	Everyday
412.a	Eastern	Everyday
413.a	South West	Everyday
415.a	West Midlands	Everyday
417.a	South West	Everyday
418.a	South East	Everyday
419.a	South East	Everyday
421.a	Greater London	Everyday
422.a	South West	Everyday
426.a	South West	Everyday
427.a	South East	Everyday
428.a	South East	Everyday
428.b	South East	Everyday
430.a	South East	Everyday
431.c	Eastern	Everyday
434.a	Eastern	Magic
434.b	Eastern	Magic
436.a	Eastern	Magic
436.b	Eastern	Magic
445.a	Greater London	Magic
446.a	Eastern	Magic
447.a	Eastern	Magic
448.a	Eastern	Magic
449.a	Eastern	Magic
450.a	Eastern	Magic
451.a	Eastern	Magic
452.a	Yorkshire	Magic
453.a	Eastern	Magic
454.a	South East	Magic
455.a	West Midlands	Magic
459.a	Eastern	Magic
460.a	Eastern	Magic
461.a	East Midlands	Magic
462.a	East Midlands	Magic
463.a	Yorkshire	Magic
464.a	Eastern	Magic
466.a	Eastern	Magic
467.a	Eastern	Magic
468.a	Eastern	Magic
469.a	Eastern	Magic
470.a	Eastern	Magic
471.a	Eastern	Magic

472.a	Eastern	Magic
473.a	Eastern	Magic
474.a	Eastern	Magic
475.a	Eastern	Magic
475.b	Eastern	Natural
476.a	Greater London	Magic
478.a	Eastern	Magic
479.a	Eastern	Magic
480.a	Eastern	Magic
481.a	Eastern	Magic
482.a	Eastern	Magic
483.a	Eastern	Magic
485.a	South East	Magic
486.a	Eastern	Magic
487.a	Eastern	Magic
488.a	Eastern	Magic
490.a	Eastern	Magic
491.a	Eastern	Magic
492.a	Eastern	Magic
497.a	Greater London	Magic
498.a	Eastern	Magic
499.a	South East	Magic
500.a	South East	Magic
501.a	South East	Magic
502.a	South East	Magic
503.a	Eastern	Magic
505.a	Eastern	Magic
509.a	Eastern	Magic
510.a	Eastern	Magic
511.a	Eastern	Magic
522.a	East Midlands	Everyday
523.a	Eastern	Everyday
524.a	East Midlands	Everyday
525.a	South East	Everyday
526.a	South East	Everyday
527.a	Eastern	Everyday
528.a	Eastern	Everyday
529.a	Eastern	Everyday
530.a	Eastern	Everyday
531.a	Eastern	Everyday
546.a	Greater London	Animal
547.a	South West	Animal
548.a	East Midlands	Animal
549.a	South East	Animal

550.a	South West	Animal
552.a	Greater London	Animal
553.a	Greater London	Animal
555.a	Greater London	Animal
556.a	Greater London	Animal
557.a	Greater London	Animal
561.a	Eastern	Animal
562.a	Eastern	Animal
566.a	East Midlands	Animal
567.a	South East	Animal
568.a	Eastern	Animal
569.a	South West	Animal
573.a	Greater London	Animal
574.a	Eastern	Animal
575.a	Eastern	Animal
576.a	South West	Animal
577.a	South West	Animal
578.a	South West	Animal
579.a	South West	Animal
581.a	South West	Animal
582.a	South West	Animal
583.a	South West	Animal
584.a	South West	Animal
585.a	South West	Animal
586.a	South West	Animal
587.a	South West	Animal
589.a	Eastern	Animal
590.a	North West	Animal
591.a	Yorkshire	Animal
592.a	East Midlands	Animal
593.a	Eastern	Animal
595.a	Eastern	Animal
603.a	Eastern	Everyday
604.a	Eastern	Everyday
605.a	East Midlands	Everyday
606.a	South East	Everyday

607.a	South East	Everyday
608.a	South East	Everyday
609.a	Eastern	Everyday
610.a	Eastern	Everyday
616.a	North east	Everyday
619.a	Yorkshire	Everyday
619.b	Yorkshire	Everyday
619.c	Yorkshire	Everyday
623.a	Eastern	Everyday
625.a	East Midlands	Everyday
626.a	South West	Everyday
627.a	South East	Everyday
629.a	Unknown	Everyday
630.a	South West	Everyday
631.a	South West	Everyday
632.a	South West	Everyday
633.a	South West	Everyday
634.a	South East	Magic
635.a	South East	Everyday
636.a	South East	Everyday
637.a	South East	Everyday
638.a	Eastern	magic
639.a	Eastern	Everyday
640.a	South East	Everyday
641.a	Greater London	Animal
642.a	South East	Animal
643.a	East Midlands	Everyday
644.a	South East	Everyday
646.a	South East	Everyday
650.a	South East	Everyday
654.a	Eastern	Everyday
655.a	Yorkshire	Everyday
656.a	Eastern	Magic
659.a	South West	Animal
660.a	Eastern	Animal
661.a	South East	Magic

## D.2: Same-type deposits

No.	Region	Object Type	#
1.a	South East	Everyday	2
5.a	West Midlands	Everyday	10
6.a	South East	Everyday	2

No.	Region	Object Type	#
7.a	West Midlands	Everyday	3
9.a	South West	Everyday	4
10.a	South East	Everyday	4

14.a	South East	Everyday	2
16.a	South East	Everyday	4
26.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
31.a	West Midlands	Everyday	2
33.a	Eastern	Everyday	6
35.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
36.a	South West	Everyday	2
39.a	Unknown	Everyday	2
40.a	South West	Everyday	8
47.a	Eastern	Everyday	4
50.a	North West	Everyday	4
64.a	South East	Everyday	2
65.b	South West	Everyday	2
67.a	South West	Everyday	2
73.a	South West	Everyday	2
76.a	South West	Everyday	2
77.a	South West	Everyday	2
84.a	Eastern	Everyday	3
92.a	South West	Everyday	2
99.a	South East	Everyday	2
100.a	South East	Everyday	2
100.b	South East	Everyday	3
106.a	South East	Everyday	3
110.a	South East	Everyday	2
111.a	South East	Everyday	?
112.a	South East	Everyday	3
115.a	West Midlands	Everyday	2
117.a	West Midlands	Everyday	2
118.a	Eastern	Everyday	3
121.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
122.a	Eastern	Everyday	3
123.a	Eastern	Everyday	6
126.a	Eastern	Everyday	8
130.a	Eastern	Everyday	21
133.a	Eastern	Everyday	3
135.a	Eastern	Everyday	4
142.a	South East	Everyday	2
143.a	South East	Everyday	9
144.a	South East	Everyday	5
145.a	South East	Everyday	5
147.a	South East	Everyday	2
148.a	South East	Everyday	2
150.a	South East	Everyday	2
157.a	South East	Everyday	10

158.a	South East	Everyday	12
162.a	South East	Everyday	2
163.b	South East	Everyday	2
167.a	North West	Everyday	2
167.b	North West	Everyday	4
172.a	East Midlands	Everyday	6
173.a	East Midlands	Everyday	2
178.a	East Midlands	Everyday	12
184.a	Greater London	Everyday	10
189.b	Eastern	Everyday	2
195.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
197.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
211.a	East Midlands	Everyday	8
212.a	East Midlands	Everyday	3
213.a	East Midlands	Everyday	2
214.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
215.a	East Midlands	Everyday	2
216.a	East Midlands	Everyday	2
221.a	East Midlands	Everyday	2
227.a	Eastern	Everyday	3
229.a	South East	Everyday	3
230.a	South East	Everyday	8
233.a	South East	Everyday	10
234.a	South East	Everyday	2
237.a	South East	Everyday	2
239.a	South East	Everyday	11
240.a	South East	Everyday	15
243.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
248.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
250.b	South West	Everyday	2
251.a	South West	Everyday	2
260.a	South West	Everyday	4
264.a	Eastern	Everyday	5
270.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
271.a	Eastern	Everyday	3
275.a	Eastern	Everyday	3
276.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
277.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
284.a	Eastern	Everyday	4
285.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
286.a	Eastern	Everyday	7
287.a	Eastern	Everyday	7
288.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
290.a	Eastern	Everyday	2

291.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
296.a	Eastern	Everyday	10
299.a	Eastern	Everyday	3
301.b	South East	Everyday	2
303.a	South East	Everyday	2
304.a	South East	Everyday	3
308.a	South East	Everyday	8
309.a	South East	Everyday	2
310.a	South East	Everyday	2
312.a	South East	Everyday	3
313.b	South East	Everyday	3
316.a	South East	Everyday	5
319.a	South East	Everyday	3
322.a	South East	Everyday	2
323.a	South East	Everyday	3
324.a	South East	Everyday	2
331.a	West Midlands	Everyday	2
332.a	West Midlands	Everyday	2
337.a	West Midlands	Everyday	2
338.a	South West	Everyday	3
340.a	South West	Everyday	2
341.a	South West	Everyday	12
346.a	South West	Everyday	6
348.a	South West	Everyday	2
350.a	South West	Everyday	4
353.a	South West	Everyday	2
355.a	West Midlands	Everyday	6
362.a	Yorkshire	Everyday	3
365.a	Yorkshire	Everyday	2
368.a	Yorkshire	Everyday	7
372.a	South East	Everyday	4
373.a	South East	Everyday	2
376.a	Eastern	Everyday	4
384.a	South East	Everyday	2
385.a	Eastern	Everyday	?
386.a	Yorkshire	Everyday	2
393.a	South West	Everyday	2
394.b	South East	Everyday	3
396.a	South East	Everyday	3
397.a	Eastern	Everyday	4
401.a	South East	Everyday	9
404.a	South West	Everyday	3
405.a	South West	Everyday	2
407.a	South East	Everyday	2

407.b	South East	Everyday	2
407.c	South East	Everyday	2
407.d	South East	Everyday	4
414.a	Eastern	Everyday	5
416.a	South East	Everyday	2
420.a	East Midlands	Everyday	2
423.a	South West	Everyday	7
424.a	West Midlands	Everyday	3
425.a	South East	Everyday	2
429.a	South West	Everyday	3
431.a	Eastern	Everyday	4
431.b	Eastern	Animal	2
435.a	Eastern	Magic	2
437.a	East Midlands	Magic	2
438.a	South East	Magic	2
513.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
514.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
515.a	South West	Everyday	2
517.a	Eastern	Everyday	4
518.a	Eastern	Everyday	4
519.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
520.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
521.a	South East	Everyday	2
538.a	Greater London	Animal	3
539.a	East Midlands	Animal	2
540.a	West Midlands	Animal	2
542.a	Eastern	Animal	2
544.a	South West	Animal	2
545.a	Eastern	Animal	2
545.b	Eastern	Animal	3
572.a	Eastern	Animal	4
596.a	South East	Everyday	2
597.a	South East	Everyday	8
598.a	South East	Everyday	2
598.b	South East	Everyday	3
598.c	South East	Everyday	6
599.a	South East	Everyday	3
601.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
602.a	South West	Everyday	2
611.a	South West	Everyday	2
612.a	Eastern	Everyday	3
613.a	North East	Everyday	?
614.a	South West	Everyday	?
615.a	West Midlands	Everyday	?

618.a	West Midlands	Everyday	2
620.a	Eastern	Everyday	7
621.a	South East	Everyday	2
622.a	South East	Everyday	2
628.a	Eastern	Everyday	2
645.a	South East	Everyday	7
647.a	South East	Everyday	3

648.a	South East	Everyday	2
649.a	Greater London	Animal	2
651.a	South East	Everyday	2
652.a	South East	Animal	2
653.a	Eastern	Everyday	6
662.a	South East	Magic	4

### D.3: Multi-type deposits

No.	Region	Object Type	#
12.a	South West	Natural, Everyday	2
22.a	North West	Natural, Everyday	2
23.a	South East	Animal, Everyday	13
24.c	Eastern	Animal, Natural, Everyday	17
25.a	South East	Natural, Everyday	2
30.a	Eastern	Animal, Everyday	9
45.a	Eastern	Animal, Natural, Everyday	12
48.a	Eastern	Natural, Everyday	7
54.a	Eastern	Animal, Everyday	2
82.a	Eastern	Animal, Everyday	2
85.a	South West	Animal, Everyday	3
94.a	South West	Animal, Everyday	3
97.a	South East	Animal, Everyday	9
109.a	South East	Animal, Everyday	3
136.a	Eastern	Natural, Everyday	4
153.a	South East	Natural, Everyday	6
182.b	Greater London	Animal, Everyday	9
186.a	Greater London	Animal, Everyday	2

No.	Region	Object Type	#
189.a	Eastern	Animal, Everyday	15
203.a	East Midlands	Natural, Everyday	3
220.a	Eastern	Animal, Everyday	4
250.a	South West	Animal, Everyday	5
261.a	West Midlands	Natural, Everyday	3
300.a	Eastern	Animal, Everyday	28
313.a	South East	Natural, Everyday	8
335.a	West Midlands	Natural, Everyday	6
366.a	Yorkshire	Animal, Everyday	3
383.a	Eastern	Animal, Everyday	2
398.a	East Midlands	Natural, Everyday	10
399.a	South East	Natural, Everyday	14
408.a	East Midlands	Natural, Everyday	2
432.a	Eastern	Magic, Everyday	2
433.a	Eastern	Magic, Everyday	2
512.a	South West	Animal, Natural, Everyday	4
516.a	South West	Animal, Natural, Everyday	8
532.a	South East	Animal, Everyday	5

533.a	Eastern	Animal, Everyday	2
534.a	Eastern	Animal, Natural, Everyday	5
535.a	South West	Animal, Everyday	2
536.a	South West	Animal, Everyday	7
537.a	Eastern	Animal, Everyday	8

543.a	South West	Animal, Everyday	2
580.a	South West	Animal, Everyday	2
600.a	South East	Natural, Everyday	20
617.a	East Midlands	Natural, Everyday	5
658.a	Eastern	Natural, Everyday	16



## Appendix E: Magical objects

### E.1: Externally deposited witch bottles

Item no.	Region	Location	Bottle type	Stopper	Holmes	Position
443.a.1	Greater London	Buried	Bartmann			Up
444.a.1	Greater London	Buried	Bartmann			Up
456.a.1	Greater London	Buried	Bartmann			Inverted
484.a.1	Eastern	Buried	Bartmann			
489.a.1	Eastern	Buried	Bartmann			
494.a.1	Greater London	Buried	Bartmann		VIII	
495.a.1	Greater London	Buried	Bartmann		VIII	
496.a.1	Greater London	Buried	Unknown			
506.a.1	South East	Buried	Bartmann			
465.a.1	Eastern	Cesspit	Bartmann			
439.a.1	Greater London	Water	Bartmann	Clay	IX	
440.a.1	Greater London	Water	Bartmann	Cork	VIII	
441.a.1	South East	Water	Bartmann	Lead	IX	
442.a.1	Greater London	Water	Bartmann			
477.a.1	East Midlands	Water	Iron bowl			
493.a.1	Greater London	Water	Unknown			

### E.2: Internally deposited witch bottles

Item no.	Region	Bottle type	Stopper	Holmes	Position	Details
432.a.1	Eastern	Glass				Cylindrical bottle 10cm tall.
433.a.1	Eastern	Unknown				
434.a.1	Eastern	Ceramic	Clay			
434.b.1	Eastern	Stoneware				No mask.
435.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
435.a.2	Eastern	Bartmann				
436.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				

436.b.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
437.a.1	East Midlands	Bartmann				
437.a.2	East Midlands	Bartmann				
438.a.1	South East	Ceramic				Jar - light brown glaze, 5".
438.a.2	South East	Ceramic				Jar - light brown glaze, 5".
445.a.1	Greater London	Stoneware				Jug 11 cm tall.
446.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
447.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
448.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann		IX		
449.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann			Inverted	
450.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann			Inverted	
451.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann	Clay/Earth		Inverted	3 horseshoes instead of mask on bottle.
452.a.1	Yorkshire	Unknown				
453.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann		VIII		
454.a.1	South East	Glass	Corked			Wine bottle - dates from c.1685. chips in rim indicate long usage.
455.a.1	West Midlands	Bartmann			Upright	
459.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
460.a.1	Eastern	Unknown				
461.a.1	East Midlands	Bartmann				
462.a.1	East Midlands	Bartmann				
463.a.1	Yorkshire	Glass				
464.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
466.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
467.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
468.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
469.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
470.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann	"Sealed"			
471.a.1	Eastern	Unknown				
472.a.1	Eastern	Unknown				
473.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann		VIII	Inverted	Decorated with arms of Amsterdam.
474.a.1	Eastern	Unknown				
475.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann			Upright	

476.a.1	London	Stoneware			Upright	
478.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
479.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
480.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
481.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
482.a.1	Eastern	Glass				
483.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
485.a.1	South East	Bartmann	“Sealed”		Inverted	
486.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
487.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
488.a.1	Eastern	Unknown				
490.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
491.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann			Inverted	
492.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				No mask on bottle.
497.a.1	London	Bartmann				
498.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
499.a.1	South East	Bartmann			Inverted	
500.a.1	South East	Bartmann				
501.a.1	South East	Bartmann	Clay	VIII	Upright	
502.a.1	South East	Bartmann				
503.a.1	Eastern	Glass				Wine flask
505.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann				
509.a.1	Eastern	Bartmann	Clay			Clay stopper stuck with pins.
510.a.1	Eastern	Unknown				
511.a.1	Eastern	Glass				Wine bottle
656.a.1	Eastern	Glass				
661.a.1	South East	Bartmann		VIII		
662.a.1	South East	Bartmann	Cork	V	Inverted	Light purplish glaze, neck slightly askew.
662.a.2	South East	Bartmann	Cork	VIII	Upright	Blue/grey stoneware with buff glaze and brown/yellow mottling. Medallion with initials WK and date 1672. Motto IE NE MESTONE PAS (je ne

						m'etonne pas - nothing surprises me).
662.a.3	South East	Bartmann	Cork	VIII	Upright	Bright mottled light glaze on dull buff stoneware, some irregularities and unglazed patches near base.
662.a.4	South East	Bartmann	Cork	IX	Inverted	Bright mottled brown glaze, oval rosette (geometric - no writing or crest).

### E.3: Other magical objects

Item no.	Region	Object	Details
634.a.1	South East	Charm with nail and paper	Handmade iron nail wrapped in piece of paper (no writing) sealed with animal glue, tied with length of linen string.
638.a.1	Eastern	“Witch doll”	Wooden doll covered with animal skin (rabbit?) -fastened around with small pegs. Two holes for eyes - previously filled with red paint/stones.

### E.4: Other items of possible magical significance

Item no.	Region	Object	Category	Details
279.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe	Shoe	Man's leather shoe, 2 wide transverse slashes, slit at throat, right foot, worn out at toe, sole missing.
522.a.1	East Midlands	Child's shoe	Shoe	Child's low-ankle latchet shoe, leather possibly originally coloured, rounded point toe, vamp deliberately slashed - toe to throat and along the line of the toes.

537.a	Eastern	Pot	Tableware	Partially glazed saggy based medieval pot containing bones and horn cores - sheep, ox, pig, hare, duck, chicken and pheasant..
623.a.1	Eastern	Pots	Tableware	Upside down in cruciform arrangement
629.a.1	Unknown	Knife	Tableware	Made from single piece of iron, engraved with symbols and "AGLA".
631.a.1	South West	Bottle	Container	Blue/green glass bottle containing liquid substance (beef tallow).
653.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Shoe	Strong shoe slashed across instep.
653.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Shoe	Black shoe with open work decoration around side, line of narrow slashes across arch.
653.a.4	Eastern	Shoes	Shoe	Black shoes, thin leather, slashed - thought to be glove instead?



## Appendix F: Contents of witch bottles

**F.1: Frequency and distribution of general contents types**

Bottle No.	In/Ex	Sharp metal	Sharp other	Biological material	Pierced material	Natural material	Burnt material	Other metal	Other items
432.a.1	In	1		1					
434.b.1		2						1	
435.a.1	In	1							
436.a.1	In	1		1					
436.b.1	In	1		1					
438.a.2	In	1		2					1
438.a.1	In	1		2	1	1	1	1	1
439.a.1	Ex	2			1				
440.a.1	Ex			2	1				
441.a.1	Ex	2		3		4	2	4	1
442.a.1	Ex	1					1		1
443.a.1	Ex	1							
444.a.1	Ex	1		2	1			1	
445.a.1		1							
446.a.1	In	2							
447.a.1		2							
448.a.1	In				1				
449.a.1	In	1		1					
450.a.1	In		1						
451.a.1	In	3	2	2	1				
452.a.1	In			1					
453.a.1		2						1	
454.a.1	In	1		2					
456.a.1	Ex	2		3	1				
459.a.1		2							
463.a.1	In			1					
464.a.1		2							
465.a.1	Ex	2		1					
466.a.1		2		1					
467.a.1		2							
468.a.1	In	1							
469.a.1								2	
470.a.1	In	2							
473.a.1	In		1		1				2
475.a.1	In	1		1		1			
476.a.1	In	2		1					
477.a.1	Ex	4							
478.a.1	In	1							
480.a.1		1							

481.a.1		1							1
482.a.1	In	1							
483.a.1	In		1						
484.a.1	Ex	1							
487.a.1	In	1		1					
489.a.1	Ex	1							
490.a.1	In	2		1					
491.a.1		1		1					
492.a.1	In						1		
493.a.1	Ex	1				1			1
494.a.1	Ex	2							
495.a.1	Ex	1							
497.a.1							1		
498.a.1	In	2		2					
499.a.1	In	1					2		
501.a.1	In	1							
503.a.1	In	2							
505.a.1	In			2			1		
510.a.1	In	1							
511.a.1	In	1		1		1			
656.a.1	In	1							1
662.a.1	In			1					
662.a.2	In	1							
662.a.3	In			1					
662.a.4	In	1							
<b>Total</b>		<b>74</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>9</b>

## F.2 Distribution of sharp metal items

Bottle	In/Ex	Sharp Metal						
		Pins	Nails	Bent Pins	Bent Nails	Stud	Knife	Fork
432.a.1	In	✓						
434.a.2		✓			✓			
435.a.1	In	✓						
436.a.1	In	✓						
436.b.1	In	✓						
438.a.1	In			✓				
438.a.2	In			✓				
439.a.1	Ex	✓	✓					
441.a.1	Ex			✓	✓			
442.a.1	Ex				✓			
443.a.1	Ex	✓						
444.a.1	Ex				✓			

445.a.1				✓				
446.a.1	In	✓	✓					
447.a.1			✓	✓				
449.a.1	In		✓					
451.a.1	In		✓			✓		✓
453.a.1		✓	✓					
454.a.1	In			✓				
456.a.1	Ex	✓	✓					
459.a.1		✓	✓					
464.a.1		✓	✓					
465.a.1	Ex	✓	✓					
466.a.1		✓	✓					
467.a.1		✓	✓					
468.a.1	In		✓					
470.a.1	In	✓	✓					
475.a.1	In	✓						
476.a.1	In		✓	✓				
477.a.1	Ex	✓	✓			✓	✓	
478.a.1	In	✓						
480.a.1			✓					
481.a.1		✓						
482.a.1	In		✓					
484.a.1	Ex		✓					
487.a.1	In		✓					
489.a.1	Ex		✓					
490.a.1	In	✓	✓					
491.a.1			✓					
493.a.1	Ex				✓			
494.a.1	Ex	✓	✓					
495.a.1	Ex		✓					
498.a.1	In			✓	✓			
499.a.1	In	✓						
501.a.1	In	✓						
503.a.1	In		✓	✓				
510.a.1	In		✓					
511.a.1	In			✓				
656.a.1	In			✓				
662.a.2	In			✓				
662.a.4	In			✓				
<b>Total</b>		<b>24</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

### F.3 Distribution of sharp non-metal items

Bottle	In/Ex	Sharp Non-Metal		
		Glass	Thorns	Sharpened Wood
450.a.1	In		✓	
451.a.1	In	✓		✓
473.a.1	In		✓	
483.a.1	In		✓	
<b>Total</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>

### F.4 Distribution of items of biological material

Bottle	In/Ex	Biological Material						
		Human hair	Nail parings	Bone	Blood	Animal heart	Other hair	Urine
432.a.1	In	✓						
436.a.1	In			✓				
436.b.1	In			✓				
438.a.1	In			✓			✓	
438.a.2	In			✓			✓	
440.a.1	Ex	✓	✓					
441.a.1	Ex	✓		✓				✓
444.a.1	Ex	✓	✓					
449.a.1	In	✓						
451.a.1	In	✓						✓
452.a.1	In					✓		
454.a.1	In	✓						✓
456.a.1	Ex	✓	✓					✓
463.a.1	In				✓			
465.a.1	Ex	✓						
466.a.1		✓						
475.a.1	In			✓				
476.a.1	In			✓				
487.a.1	In						✓	
490.a.1	In						✓	
491.a.1		✓						
498.a.1	In	✓						✓
505.a.1	In			✓			✓	
511.a.1	In						✓	
662.a.1	In						✓	
662.a.3	In						✓	
<b>Total</b>		<b>12</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>

#### F.5 Distribution of items of pierced material

Bottle	In/Ex	Pierced Material		
		Pierced Cloth Heart	Pierced Material	Other Pierced Items
438.a.1	In			✓
439.a.1	Ex	✓		
440.a.1	Ex	✓		
444.a.1	Ex	✓		
448.a.1	In	✓		
451.a.1	In		✓	
456.a.1	Ex		✓	
473.a.1	In			✓
<b>Total</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>

#### F.6 Distribution of items of natural material

Bottle	In/Ex	Natural Material			
		Stones	Silt	Wood	Grass
438.a.1	In	✓			
441.a.1	Ex	✓	✓	✓	✓
475.a.1	In		✓		
511.a.1	In		✓		
<b>Total</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

#### F.7 Distribution items of burnt material

Bottle	In/Ex	Burnt Material		
		Coal	Coke	Other
438.a.1	In			✓
441.a.1	Ex	✓	✓	
442.a.1	Ex	✓		
493.a.1	Ex			✓
<b>Total</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>

### F.8 Distribution of non-sharp metal items

Bottle	In/ Ex	Non-Sharp Metal							
		Wire	Musket Balls	Iron Fragmnt	Window Lead	Metal Strip	Gilt Ornament	Other Brass Items	Coin
434.a.2				✓					
438.a.1	In			✓					
441.a.1	Ex	✓			✓		✓	✓	
444.a.1	Ex	✓							
453.a.1				✓					
469.a.1			✓	✓					
492.a.1	In			✓					
497.a.1				✓					
498.a.1	In								
499.a.1	In			✓		✓			
505.a.1	In								✓
<b>Total</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

### F.9 Distribution of other items

Bottle	In/Ex	Other Objects				
		Book Pages	Fibres	Glass Bead	Knotted String	Figure
438.a.1	In		✓			
438.a.2	In		✓			
441.a.1	Ex			✓		
442.a.1	Ex		✓			
473.a.1	In	✓			✓	
481.a.1						✓
493.a.1	Ex		✓			
656.a.1	In					✓
<b>Total</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>

## Appendix G: Animal remains

Deposits in these tables are organised primarily by their social role, and then listed by animal species first and item number second.

### G.1: Privileged species

Animal	Item no.	Region	Body part	Details
Cat	116.b.1	West Midlands	Whole	
Cat	186.a.2	Greater London	Whole	
Cat	300.a.15	Eastern	Whole	Kitten - 2/3 months old
Cat	300.a.16	Eastern	Whole	Kitten - 2/3 months old
Cat	431.b.1	Eastern	Whole	Kitten
Cat	431.b.2	Eastern	Whole	Kitten
Cat	532.a.1	South East	Whole	Item lost/missing
Cat	532.a.2	South East	Whole	Item lost/missing
Cat	535.a.1	South West	Whole	
Cat	538.a.1	Greater London	Whole	One rat in jaws
Cat	539.a.1	East Midlands	Whole	Pinned down with wooden pegs
Cat	54.a.2	Eastern	Bones	Thought to be cat - not certain
Cat	540.a.1	West Midlands	Whole	Facing bird
Cat	542.a.1	Eastern	Whole	Curled as if asleep, but head raised, 24 cm long
Cat	543.a.1	South West	Whole	Standing?
Cat	544.a.1	South West	Whole	Found with rat skeleton in mouth
Cat	545.a.1	Eastern	Whole	
Cat	545.a.2	Eastern	Whole	
Cat	545.b.1	Eastern	Whole	
Cat	545.b.2	Eastern	Whole	Kitten
Cat	545.b.3	Eastern	Whole	Kitten
Cat	546.a.1	Greater London	Whole	One rat in jaws
Cat	547.a.1	South West	Whole	One rat in jaws
Cat	548.a.1	East Midlands	Whole	
Cat	549.a.1	South East	Whole	
Cat	550.a.1	South West	Whole	
Cat	552.a.1	Greater London	Whole	
Cat	553.a.1	Greater London	Whole	
Cat	555.a.1	Greater London	Whole	
Cat	556.a.1	Greater London	Whole	
Cat	557.a.1	Greater London	Whole	
Cat	567.a.1	South East	Whole	
Cat	576.a.1	South West	Whole	
Cat	577.a.1	South West	Whole	
Cat	581.a.1	South West	Whole	
Cat	582.a.1	South West	Whole	

Cat	583.a.1	South West	Whole	
Cat	585.a.1	South West	Whole	
Cat	589.a.1	Eastern	Whole	
Cat	590.a.1	North West	Whole	
Cat	591.a.1	Yorkshire	Whole	
Cat	592.a.1	East Midlands	Whole	
Cat	593.a.1	Eastern	Whole	
Cat	595.a.1	Eastern	Whole	
Cat	641.a.1	Greater London	Whole	
Cat	642.a.1	South East	Whole	
Cat	649.a.1	Greater London	Whole	
Cat	652.a.1	South East	Whole	
Cat	659.a.1	South West	Whole	Rather large
Dog	512.a.1	South West	Whole	Mumified puppy (uncertain)
Dog	566.a.1	East Midlands	Whole	
Dog	575.a.1	Eastern	Leg	
Horse	533.a.1	Eastern	Skull	Jawbone uppermost
Horse	561.a.1	Eastern	Skull	
Horse	562.a.1	Eastern	Skull	
Horse	568.a.1	Eastern	Jaw	
Horse	572.a.1	Eastern	Skull	
Horse	572.a.2	Eastern	Skull	
Horse	572.a.3	Eastern	Skull	
Horse	572.a.4	Eastern	Skull	
Horse	574.a.1	Eastern	Leg	
Horse	660.a.1	Eastern	Jaw	With five remaining teeth

## G2: Domesticated species

Animal	Item No.	Region	Body part	Details
Chicken	182.b.3	Greater London	Whole	
Chicken	182.b.4	Greater London	Whole	
Chicken	182.b.5	Greater London	Whole	
Chicken	182.b.6	Greater London	Whole	
Chicken	220.a.4	Eastern	Bones	
Chicken	24.c.17	Eastern	Whole	
Chicken	250.a.2	South West	Head	
Chicken	250.a.3	South West	Head	
Chicken	250.a.5	South West	Feet	Several
Chicken	537.a.6	Eastern	Bones	In ceramic pot
Chicken	569.a.1	South West	Whole	

Cow	366.a.2	Yorkshire	Horn	
Cow	534.a.1	Eastern	Leg	
Cow	534.a.2	Eastern	Leg	
Cow	537.a.3	Eastern	Bones	Ox bones/horn cores (not specified) - in ceramic pot
Cow	578.a.1	South West	Heart	Bullocks heart stuck with pins
Cow	579.a.1	South West	Heart	Bullocks heart stuck with pins, thorns, nails and 'other things'
Cow	580.a.1	South West	Hoof	Ox's hoof shod with small horseshoe
Cow	586.a.1	South West	Heart	Bullock's heart stuck with pins
Cow	587.a.1	South West	Heart	Bullock's heart stuck with rusty pins
Goose	300.a.18	Eastern	Wing	Wing bone from goose
Pig	300.a.17	Eastern	Feet	Trotter bones from suckling pig
Pig	537.a.4	Eastern	Bones	In ceramic pot
Pig	584.a.1	South West	Heart	Stuck with pins
Pig	97.a.8	South East	Whole	Since disposed of
Sheep	383.a.1	Eastern	Jaw	Half sheep jawbone and teeth
Sheep	536.a.1	South West	Scapula	
Sheep	537.a.2	Eastern	Bones	Bones/ horn cores (not specified) - in ceramic pot
Sheep	573.a.1	Greater London	Jaw	
Sheep	82.a.2	Eastern	Horn	Horny sheath from left horn of a sheep

### G3: Wild species

Animal	Item No.	Region	Body part	Details
Bat	109.a.3	South East	Whole	
Bird	540.a.2	West Midlands	Whole	Posed with cat
Bird	652.a.2	South East	Whole	
Duck	537.a.7	Eastern	Bones	In ceramic pot
Hare	537.a.5	Eastern	Bones	In ceramic pot
Mouse	189.a.11	Eastern	Whole	Held in one shoe with a peg
Pheasant	537.a.8	Eastern	Bones	In ceramic pot
Pidgeon	30.a.4	Eastern	Bones	
Rat	300.a.19	Eastern	Whole	Rat, missing skull
Rat	45.a.12	Eastern	Whole	
Rat	538.a.2	Greater London	Whole	Posed with cat
Rat	538.a.3	Greater London	Whole	Posed with cat
Rat	539.a.2	East Midlands	Whole	Posed with cat

Rat	542.a.2	Eastern	Whole	Spread-eagled with paws out - 14cm long
Rat	544.a.2	South West	Whole	Posed in mouth of cat
Rat	649.a.2	Greater London	Whole	
Sparrow	30.a.5	Eastern	Bones	

#### G4: Other animal items

Animal	Item No.	Region	Body part	Details
Egg	182.b.7	Greater London	Whole	Thought to have been laid after concealment
Egg	250.a.5	South West	Whole	

#### G5: Unknown species

Animal	Item No.	Region	Body part	Details
Unknown	23.a.10	South East	Bones	
Unknown	516.a.5	South West	Bones	
Unknown	85.a.3	South West	Bones	
Unknown	94.a.3	South West	Bones	

## Appendix H: Natural material

Item No.	Region	Type	Object	Food?	Details
203.a.2	East Midlands	Burnt	Coal		
24.c.14	Eastern	Burnt	Coal		
24.c.15	Eastern	Burnt	Charcoal		
12.a.2	South West	Fossil	Pleuromya		Jurassic bivalve
48.a.6	Eastern	Fossil	Fossil sponge		Roughly spherical, grey, 4cm D - fossil sponge?
136.a.4	Eastern	Plant	Hazelnut	Yes	
153.a.6	South East	Plant	Walnuts	Yes	
25.a.2	South East	Plant	Oats		Husks
261.a.3	West Midlands	Plant	Flowers		Bunch of flowers
335.a.4	West Midlands	Plant	Wheat		Husks
398.a.2	East Midlands	Plant	Straw		Plaited
398.a.3	East Midlands	Plant	Seeds	Yes	
399.a.14	South East	Plant	Corn	Yes	Grains of corn
408.a.2	East Midlands	Plant	Straw	Yes	Shoe filled with straw with ears on
45.a.11	Eastern	Plant	Corn/grain	Yes	
512.a.4	South West	Plant	Straw		Sacks of straw and dust
534.a.3	Eastern	Plant	Hemp		Previously thought to be lock of hair
600.a.3	South East	Plant	Hops	Yes	Cavity filled with hops
617.a.1	East Midlands	Plant	Nutmeg	Yes	
516.a.2	South West	Shell	Shells		
516.a.6	South West	Shell	Oyster shell		
22.a.2	North West	Stone	Cobble stone		Smooth stone, possibly cobble
313.a.8	South East	Stone	Flint nodule		
475.b.1	Eastern	Stone	Ironbound conglomerate		Not found naturally in area
516.a.3	South West	Stone	Pebbles		
658.a.11	Eastern	Stone	Stones		



## Appendix I: Everyday objects

### I.1: Clothing items

Item no.	Region	Object	Material	Category	Description
5.a.8	West Midlands	Gaiter	Leather	Lower	Leather from gaiter.
5.a.9	West Midlands	Legboot	Leather	Lower	Leather from legboot.
5.a.10	West Midlands	Under clothes		Body	Material from woman's under garments.
24.a.1	Eastern	Glove		Hand	
24.b.1	Eastern	Glove		Hand	
24.c.11	Eastern	Spur		Other	
24.c.12	Eastern	Sleeve		Upper	Inside out.
30.a.2	Eastern	Glove	Leather	Hand	Right 'fancy' leather glove, zigzag edge, folded up.
45.a.7	Eastern	Bonnet		Head	Bonnet piece.
97.a.9	South East	Sock		Feet	In 97.a.6.
122.a.2	Eastern	Cap		Head	
122.a.3	Eastern	Bonnet		Head	
145.a.5	South East	Gloves		Hand	
148.a.2	South East	Bodice		Upper	Bodice of a child's dress.
157.a.4	South East	Purse		Accessory	
189.a.12	Eastern	Breeches	Corduroy	Lower	Fragment of corduroy breeches.
189.b.1	Eastern	Glove		Hand	Possibly pair?
189.b.2	Eastern	Glove		Hand	Possibly pair?
203.a.3	East Midlands	Hat	Felt	Head	Felt hat.
212.a.2	East Midlands	Glove	Leather	Hand	White kid glove.
239.a.6	South East	Hat	Felt	Head	Felt hat.
239.a.7	South East	Breeches		Lower	Men's breeches/trousers.
239.a.8	South East	Spur		Other	
240.a.7	South East	Hat	Felt	Head	Elizabeth I felt hat.

240.a.8	South East	Glove		Hand	Possibly pair.
240.a.9	South East	Glove		Hand	Possibly pair.
240.a.10	South East	Dress		Body	Part of a dress.
240.a.11	South East	Stockings		Lower	Part of stockings.
271.a.2	Eastern	Hat	Felt	Head	
271.a.3	Eastern	Leggings	Leather	Lower	Pair of leather leggings.
300.a.20	Eastern	Spur guard	Leather	Other	Leather spur guard.
300.a.21	Eastern	Breeches		Lower	Textile fragments.
300.a.22	Eastern	Waistcoat		Upper	Textile fragments.
368.a.7	Yorkshire	Hat		Head	
376.a.4	Eastern	Glove		Hand	Embroidered.
399.a.11	South East	Mitten	Cotton	Hand	Fingerless cotton mitten, right hand.
399.a.12	South East	Mitten	Leather	Hand	Leather mitten, right hand.
408.a.1	East Midlands	Socks		Feet	
414.a.5	Eastern	Belt	Leather	Accessory	Leather belt with buckle.
416.a.2	South East	Gauntlet	Leather	Hand	Leather gauntlet - gold/pink shade - good condition.
423.a.3	South West	Glove	Leather	Hand	Part of man's glove, left, leather.
423.a.4	South West	Glove	Chamois	Hand	Part of man's glove, right, chamois.
423.a.5	South West	Smock		Body	Part of smock, probably cuff with silver plated engraved button.
431.a.2	Eastern	Garters		Lower	
517.a.3	Eastern	Coat	Linen	Outer	Fragment - linen with pewter buttons.
517.a.4	Eastern	Fragments		Other	All different fabrics - can't identify garments.
596.a.1	South East	Doublet	Linen	Upper	
597.a.1	South East	Stomacher	Linen	Upper	Linen, silk, whalebone.
597.a.2	South East	Waistcoat	Velvet	Upper	Velvet, linen.
598.a.1	South East	Belt	Leather	Accessory	Tool belt/workman's apron.
598.b.1	South East	Corset		Upper	Corset stays.

598.b.2	South East	Breeches		Lower	Lining only.
598.b.3	South East	Coif		Head	Close-fitting bonnet.
598.c.1	South East	Hat	Felt	Head	
599.a.1	South East	Corset		Upper	Cuirass/corset.
599.a.2	South East	Corset		Upper	Cuirass/corset.
600.a.1	South East	Pocket		Accessory	
600.a.2	South East	Cap	Linen	Head	Linen - baby's undercap, handmade.
601.a.1	Eastern	Bodice	Cotton	Upper	Lining only - twill cotton.
601.a.2	Eastern	Legging	Leather	Lower	Single legging –leather.
602.a.1	South West	Breeches		Lower	
602.a.2	South West	Apron	Linen	Outer	
603.a.1	Eastern	Doublet	Wool	Upper	Short coat/ doublet, brown wool and linen, one purple velvet cuff.
604.a.1	Eastern	Coat	Felt	Outer	Half a coat - brown wool felt.
605.a.1	East Midlands	Mask	Velvet	Head	Black velvet and silk lining.
606.a.1	South East	Doublet	Wool	Upper	
607.a.1	South East	Bonnet	Cotton	Head	
608.a.1	South East	Shirt		Upper	
609.a.1	Eastern	Hat	Felt	Head	197mm D, made of brown wool felt and silk with copper gilt and silver threads.
610.a.1	Eastern	Coat		Outer	
643.a.1	East Midlands	Spurs		Other	Pair of child's spurs.
653.a.5	Eastern	Glove	Leather	Hand	White leather glove.
653.a.6	Eastern	Purse	Leather	Accessory	White leather purse, top edge decorated with slits, button on bottom and two on top edge.
658.a.3	Eastern	Corset	Linen	Upper	Fragments of woman's corset - white linen with wooden bones.
658.a.4	Eastern	Jacket	Leather	Outer	Fragment of leather jacket.

## I.2: Containers

Item no.	Region	Object	Material	Description
14.a.2	South East	Bottle	Glass	
48.a.2	Eastern	Bottle	Glass	Small glass bottle, round shouldered and bottled, dark green glass.
130.a.20	Eastern	“Container”	Wood	
215.a.2	East Midlands	Tin	Metal	
227.a.3	Eastern	Bottle	Glass	
240.a.14	South East	Boxes		Ornamental boxes.
248.a.2	Eastern	Bottle	Glass	Tiny brown glass bottle.
300.a.24	Eastern	Bottle	Glass	Base of pale blue glass bottle.
313.a.5	South East	Bottle	Glass	Natural coloured glass bottle, 4"-5" tall.
313.a.6	South East	Glass	Glass	Bottle fragments.
341.a.6	South West	Box		Hat box.
353.a.2	South West	Bottle	Glass	
516.a.8	South West	Glass	Glass	Fragment.
617.a.4	East Midlands	Tin	Metal	Shoe polish tin lid, separate from 617.5.
617.a.5	East Midlands	Tin	Metal	Bottom of tin, separate from 617.4.
621.a.1	South East	Bottle	Glass	Glass medicine bottle – empty.
631.a.1	South West	Bottle	Glass	Blue/green glass bottle containing liquid substance (beef tallow).
647.a.1	South East	Beaker	Ceramic	Small white creamware pharmacy beaker.

## I.3: Equestrian items

Item no.	Region	Object	Material	Description
23.a.13	South East	Buckle	Metal	Harness buckle.
24.c.13	Eastern	Horseshoe	Iron	
36.a.2	South West	Harness	Leather	Piece of harness strap.
189.a.13	Eastern	Harness	Leather	Leather harness straps.
189.a.14	Eastern	Horseshoe	Metal	
239.a.9	South East	Bit/Noseband	Leather/Metal	Horse bit and noseband.
335.a.6	West Midlands	Trappings	Leather/Metal	
365.a.2	Yorkshire	Harness	Leather	Piece of harness.
398.a.4	East Midlands	Horseshoes	Metal	
404.a.2	South West	Horseshoe	Iron	1/2 small horse shoe.
431.a.3	Eastern	Whip		
431.a.4	Eastern	Harness	Leather	Pieces of harness.
536.a.2	South West	Ox shoe	Metal	Part of ox shoe.
580.a.2	South West	Horseshoe	Iron	Small horseshoe on ox's hoof.
598.c.3	South East	Harness	Leather	Parts of leather harness.

658.a.7	Eastern	Bit		Cheek snaffle horse bit created from 2 different bits, cheek pieces cut.
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#### I.4: Furniture

Item no.	Region	Object	Material	Description
48.a.7	Eastern	Panelling	Wood	Piece of wooden panelling, 36x15cms, carved with decoration of arched niches.
221.a.2	East Midlands	Table leg	Wood	Partly carved table leg.
617.a.3	East Midlands	Curtain rail end	Wood?	

#### I.5: Literacy items

Item no.	Region	Object	Material	Category	Description
45.a.4	Eastern	Book	Paper	Reading	Book from 1617 – ‘Supplications of Saints’.
45.a.5	Eastern	Book	Paper	Reading	Book from 1714 – ‘The Seaman's Monitor.
45.a.6	Eastern	Book	Paper	Reading	Book of sermons.
92.a.2	South West	Leather	Leather	Writing/ Reading	Squares of leather with inscription (not recorded).
110.a.2	South East	Book	Paper	Reading	Prayer book, dated 1728.
123.a.2	Eastern	Book	Paper	Reading	Book about district.
130.a.16	Eastern	Documents	Paper	Document	Documents - 1686 - details not specified.
130.a.17	Eastern	Documents	Paper	Document	Documents - 1750 - details not specified.
143.a.7	South East	Pages	Paper	Reading	Bible pages.
167.a.2	North West	Bills	Paper	Document	
239.a.11	South East	Paper	Paper		Brown paper.
394.b.3	South East	Notebook	Paper	Writing/ Reading	Red leather.
398.a.7	East Midlands	Book	Paper	Reading	Parts of books.
398.a.8	East Midlands	Taxes	Paper	Doc	Tax assessment.
398.a.9	East Midlands	Newspapers	Paper	Reading	

424.a.3	West Midlands	Book	Paper	Reading	
543.a.2	South West	Book	Paper	Reading	'The Speaker' - prose and poetry.
596.a.2	South East	Inkwell	Ceramic	Writing	Stoneware.
598.c.6	South East	Paper scraps	Paper		
600.a.12	South East	Receipt	Paper	Document	Unbleached paper cut in irregular rectangle - dated 30 Jan 1678.
600.a.13	South East	Receipt	Paper	Document	Unbleached paper cut in fairly regular rectangle - dated 30 Jan 1670.
600.a.14	South East	Receipt	Paper	Document	On regular rectangular paper - dated 30 June 1674.
600.a.15	South East	Letter	Paper	Writing/ Reading	Regular rectangle with irregular edge of left side - no writing on back, addressee on front.
600.a.16	South East	Letter	Paper	Writing/ Reading	Letter on unbleached paper, stained with irregular torn edge.
611.a.1	South West	Newspaper	Paper	Reading	22nd June 1749.
620.a.7	Eastern	Book cover	Card	Reading	Corner only – cardboard.
644.a.1	South East	Tenant roll	Paper	Document	Dartford Marsh roll, listing all tenants of Dartford Salt Marsh - in medieval Latin.
645.a.4	South East	Slate pencil	Slate	Writing	

## I.6: Money

Item No.	Region	Item	Material	Description
9.a.2	South West	Sixpence	Silver	Charles I 6d.
39.a.2	Unknown	Coin		Charles I coin.
239.a.5	South East	Half penny	Copper	Coin - 1775 1/2d.
286.a.7	Eastern	Token		1/2d token – 1669.
308.a.6	South East	Coin		William III coin.
372.a.2	South East	Coin		Coin from George III.
372.a.3	South East	Coin		Coin from George III.
372.a.4	South East	Coin		Coin from George III.
396.a.2	South East	Coin	Gold	Henry VII gold coin.
398.a.10	East Midlands	Coins		
399.a.13	South East	Coin		

512.a.3	South West	Coins		
535.a.2	South West	Coin		George III coin.
600.a.4	South East	Coin		Charles II? - almost completely worn - not identifiable.
600.a.5	South East	Penny	Copper	George III penny – 1797.
600.a.6	South East	Halfpenny	Copper	Charles II 1673 halfpenny.
600.a.7	South East	Farthing	Copper	Charles II farthing.
600.a.8	South East	Coin	Cu alloy	Copper alloy coin – unidentifiable.
600.a.9	South East	Sixpence	Silver	Elizabeth I silver sixpence.
600.a.10	South East	Coin	Pewter	Pewter/bullion coin - Greek writing on obverse - Greek?
600.a.11	South East	Coin	Cu alloy	Copper alloy coin - crude horned animal on one side.
600.a.17	South East	Jetton		Nuremburg jetton.
600.a.18	South East	Jetton		Nuremburg jetton.
600.a.19	South East	Token	Lead	Lead token - image of angel on one side.
600.a.20	South East	Token		Trade token - farthing, 1660.
613.a.1	North East	Coin hoard	Silver	Hoard of silver coins, varying dates.
614.a.1	South West	Coin hoard		309 coins, unknown type.
615.a.1	West Midlands	Bag of coins		Thirty-six coins, Elizabethan, James I, Charles I.
616.a.1	North East	Coin	Copper	Charles II, copper.

### I.7: Sewing items

Item no.	Region	Object	Material	Category	Description
143.a.8	South East	Leather	Leather	Material	Pieces of leather.
143.a.9	South East	Material	Fabric	Material	Scraps of material.
157.a.9	South East	Needle case		Tool	
229.a.3	South East	Leather	Leather	Material	
240.a.13	South East	Bobbin		Tool	Lace bobbin.
264.a.4	Eastern	Bobbins		Tool	Devon/Flemish type lace bobbin.
264.a.5	Eastern	Bobbins		Tool	Devon/Flemish type lace bobbin.
296.a.10	Eastern	Thimble	Metal	Tool	
341.a.12	South West	Corduroy	Fabric	Material	Small length of corduroy.
362.a.3	Yorkshire	Leather	Leather	Material	Pieces of leather.
393.a.2	South West	Linen	Fabric	Material	Linen offcut.

398.a.6	East Midlands	Spindles		Tool	With threads.
404.a.3	South West	Spool		Tool	3 section spool for thread.
423.a.6	South West	Chamois	Fabric	Material	Piece of chamois (from purse?).
423.a.7	South West	Leather	Leather	Material	Piece of leather (part of leggings?).
429.a.3	South West	Material	Fabric	Material	Some fabric.
536.a.6	South West	Leather	Leather	Material	Scraps.
536.a.7	South West	Material	Fabric	Material	Scraps.
597.a.3	South East	Patterns	Paper	Pattern	Clothing patterns - pin holes indicate use before concealment.
597.a.4	South East	Patterns	Paper	Pattern	Clothing patterns - pin holes indicate use before concealment.
597.a.5	South East	Patterns	Paper	Pattern	Clothing patterns - pin holes indicate use before concealment.
597.a.6	South East	Patterns	Paper	Pattern	Clothing patterns - pin holes indicate use before concealment - made of newspaper.
597.a.7	South East	Patterns	Paper	Pattern	Clothing patterns - pin holes indicate use before concealment - made of newspaper.
597.a.8	South East	Patterns	Paper	Pattern	Clothing patterns - pin holes indicate use before concealment - made of newspaper.
598.c.2	South East	Material	Fabric	Material	Scraps.
612.a.1	Eastern	Material	Fabric	Material	Fragment of material.
620.a.6	Eastern	Pin	Brass	Tool	Brass, for dressmaking.
645.a.5	South East	Pin	Metal	Tool	"Early" pin.
658.a.2	Eastern	Fabric	Fabric	Material	Two small pieces of white fabric block printed in red with a floral design.

### I.8: Shoes and other footwear

Item no.	Region	Object	Material	Category	Description
1.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
1.a.2	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	

1.b.1	South East	Woman's boot	Leather	Boot	Leather boot/shoe.
2.a.1	South East	Shoe		Shoe	
3.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe sole		Sole	
4.a.1	South East	No details		Shoe	
5.a.1	West Midlands	Girl's shoes		Shoe	Small pair of girls shoes, high tongue, latchet tie, open sides, low heel.
5.a.2	West Midlands	Boys shoes		Shoe	Pair of boys shoes, high tongue, latchet tie, open sides.
5.a.3	West Midlands	Girl's shoes		Shoe	Pair of girls shoes, high tongue, latchet tie, small open sides, sizeable stacked heel, pointed toe.
5.a.4	West Midlands	Woman's shoes		Shoe	Pair of women's shoes, high tongue, latchet tie, small open sides, sizeable 'louis' heel, pointed toe.
5.a.5	West Midlands	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Single women's shoes, high tongue, latchet tie, small open sides, sizeable 'louis' heel, pointed toe.
5.a.6	West Midlands	Man's shoe		Shoe	Single man's shoe, teenager, high tongue, latchet tie, curved side seam, stacked heel.
5.a.7	West Midlands	Man's shoe		Shoe	Single man's shoe, pointed toe, dog-leg side seam, high tongue, buckle straps turned into lachets, stacked heel.
6.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather tie shoe.
6.a.2	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Man's tie shoe.
7.a.1	West Midlands	Man's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoe, worn left.
7.a.2	West Midlands	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoe, worn right.
7.a.3	West Midlands	Woman's shoe		Sole	Part sole and heel.
8.a.1	South West	No details		Shoe	
9.a.1	South West	Baby's shoe		Shoe	3 inches long.
10.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
10.a.2	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
10.a.3	South East	Girls shoe		Shoe	
10.a.4	South East	Girls shoe		Shoe	
11.a.1	South West	Woman's clogs		Clog	Pair hinged clogs.
12.a.1	South West	Child's shoe		Shoe	Child's latchet tie shoe, high tongue, open sides.

13.a.1	South West	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Long square toe, large open sides, high tongue, latchet ties.
14.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
15.a.1	South West	Child's shoe		Shoe	
16.a.1	South East	Shoe		Shoe	
16.a.2	South East	Shoe		Shoe	
16.a.3	South East	Shoe		Shoe	
17.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	
18.a.1	South East	Child's shoes		Shoe	Pair .
19.a.1	Eastern	Ballet slippers	Leather	Slipper	Ballet style, very fine leather.
20.a.1	South West	Shoes		Shoe	
21.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Buckle shoes.
22.a.1	North West	Child's shoes	Leather	Shoe	
23.a.1	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoes.
23.a.2	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoes.
23.a.3	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoes.
23.a.4	South East	Boy's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoes.
23.a.5	South East	Boy's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoes.
23.a.6	South East	Boy's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoes.
23.a.7	South East	Girl's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoes.
23.a.8	South East	Man's insole		Insole	
23.a.9	South East	Woman's shoe		Sole	Forepart sole of shoe.
24.c.1	Eastern	Adult shoe	Leather	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe.
24.c.2	Eastern	Adult shoe	Leather	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe.
24.c.3	Eastern	Adult shoe	Leather	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe.
24.c.4	Eastern	Adult shoe	Leather	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe.
24.c.5	Eastern	Adult shoe	Leather	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe.
24.c.6	Eastern	Adult shoe	Leather	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe.
24.c.7	Eastern	Adult shoe	Leather	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe.
24.c.8	Eastern	Adult shoe	Leather	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe.
24.c.9	Eastern	Adult shoe	Leather	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe.

24.c.10	Eastern	Adult shoe	Leather	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe.
25.a.1	South East	Boy's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Boy's black leather tie shoe, high tongue.
26.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	
27.a.1	South West	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	
29.a.1	Greater London	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Tie shoe.
30.a.1	Eastern	Boy's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Boy's first walking shoe of leather, tie through pair of holes in tongue.
31.a.1	West Midlands	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Man's buff leather.
31.a.2	West Midlands	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Part of leather shoe.
32.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoe.
33.a.1	Eastern	Patten rings		Patten	
33.a.2	Eastern	Patten ring		Patten	
33.a.3	Eastern	Patten ring		Patten	
33.a.4	Eastern	Patten ring		Patten	
33.a.5	Eastern	Patten ring		Patten	
33.a.6	Eastern	Patten ring		Patten	
34.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown leather tie shoe with ecclesiastical rose on front, veldschoen stitched.
35.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Dark leather.
35.a.2	Eastern	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Wooden heel.
36.a.1	South West	Girl's shoe	Leather	Shoe	
37.a.1	Unknown	Woman's shoe	Suede	Shoe	Open side, latchet tie.
38.a.1	Unknown	Man's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Pair.
39.a.1	Unknown	Woman's shoes		Shoe	
40.a.1	South West	Man's shoes		Shoe	
40.a.2	South West	Man's shoes		Shoe	
40.a.3	South West	Man's shoes		Shoe	
40.a.4	South West	Man's shoes		Shoe	
40.a.5	South West	Man's shoes		Shoe	

40.a.6	South West	Woman's shoes		Shoe	
40.a.7	South West	Child's shoes		Shoe	
41.a.1	Eastern	Child's boot		Boot	Button boot.
42.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	
43.a.1	Eastern	Woman's mules	Velvet	Shoe	Velvet brocade mules.
44.a.1	South West	Man's shoe		Shoe	Domed toe, latchet tie.
45.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe		Shoe	
45.a.2	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	
45.a.3	Eastern	Fragments		Fragments	
46.a.1	South West	Man's shoe		Shoe	
47.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown leather.
48.a.1	Eastern	Adult shoe	Leather	Shoe	Black leather, narrow toe.
49.a.1	North West	Girl's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown leather tie shoe.
50.a.1	North West	Man's shoe		Shoe	
50.a.2	North West	Child's shoe		Shoe	
50.a.3	North West	Child's shoe		Shoe	
50.a.4	North West	Child's shoes		Shoe	
51.a.1	North West	Man's shoes		Shoe	Pair, workman's buckle shoes.
52.a.1	South West	No details		Shoe	
53.a.1	South West	Patten		Patten	Patten with iron hoop.
54.a.1	Eastern	Baby's shoe		Shoe	
55.a.1	South West	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Black, pointed toe, low cut slipper, no heel.
55.b.1	South West	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	Black, pointed toe, one lift heel.
56.a.1	East Midlands	Child's shoe		Shoe	
57.a.1	East Midlands	Child's shoe		Shoe	
57.b.1	East Midlands	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	
58.a.1	East Midlands	Woman's shoes		Shoe	Pair working shoes.
59.a.1	South West	No details		Shoe	
61.a.1	South West	Half boot		Boot	Old half boot?

62.a.1	South West	Fragment		Sole	Sole fragment, blunt pointed toe.
63.a.1	South West	No details		Shoe	
64.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
64.a.2	South East	Girl's shoe		Shoe	
65.a.1	South West	No details		Shoe	
65.b.1	South West	Adult boot		Boot	Small 9 eyelet closed tab ankle boot.
65.b.2	South West	Child's shoe		Shoe	Infant's ankle strap shoe.
67.a.1	South West	Pattens		Patten	
67.a.2	South West	Pattens		Patten	
68.a.1	South West	Child's shoe		Shoe	Buckle shoe, pointed toe.
69.a.1	South West	Child's shoe		Shoe	
70.a.1	South West	Pattens		Patten	
71.a.1	South West	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	
72.a.1	South West	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Black leather, latchet tie
73.a.1	South West	Buckle shoes	Leather	Shoe	
73.a.2	South West	Buckle shoes	Leather	Shoe	
74.a.1	South West	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
75.a.1	South West	Child's shoe		Shoe	Latchet shoe.
76.a.1	South West	Man's shoe		Shoe	
76.a.2	South West	Pull-on shoe		Shoe	
77.a.1	South West	Shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie.
77.a.2	South West	Shoe		Shoe	Court style.
78.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather buckle shoe.
78.b.1	Eastern	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown leather buckle shoe.
79.a.1	Eastern	Shoes	Leather	Shoe	Square toes.
80.a.1	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown leather latchet tie shoe, pointed toe.
81.a.1	Eastern	Boot		Boot	
82.a.1	Eastern	Girl's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather tie shoe.
83.a.1	South East	Clog		Clog	Blue and white brocade.
84.a.1	Eastern	Man's sole		Sole	Pegged heel.
84.a.2	Eastern	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe, hobnailed heel.
84.a.3	Eastern	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe, hobnailed heel.
85.a.1	South West	Child's	Leather	Shoe	Part of sole and heel seat.

		shoe			
86.a.1	South West	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Shoe, oval toe, medium high heel.
87.a.1	South West	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Latchet tie, brown leather.
88.a.1	South West	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown leather buckle shoe.
89.a.1	South East	Girl's shoe	Leather	Shoe	
90.a.1	South West	Man's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe.
91.a.1	South West	Woman's clog		Clog	
92.a.1	South West	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Dark brown leather shoe, rounded toe, latches.
94.a.1	South West	Child's shoe		Shoe	
95.a.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Dark brown leather, square tie, latchet ties.
96.a.1	South East	No details		Shoe	
97.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Soles, square toed, flat.
97.a.2	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Soles, square toed, flat.
97.a.3	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Soles, square toed, flat.
97.a.4	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Soles, square toed, flat.
97.a.5	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Soles, square toed, flat.
97.a.6	South East	Woman's sole		Sole	
97.a.7	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
98.a.1	South East	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Tie shoe, possibly military.
99.a.1	South East	Girl's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie.
99.a.2	South East	Boy's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie.
100.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoe, pointed toe.
100.a.2	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Tie shoe.
100.b.1	South East	Girl's shoe		Shoe	Ankle strap shoe.
100.b.2	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Blue t-strap.
100.b.3	South East	Child's shoes		Shoe	Tie shoe and sole of its pair.
101.a.1	South East	No details		Shoe	
102.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
103.a.1	South West	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Open sided latchet ties.
104.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
105.a.1	South East	No details		Shoe	

106.a.1	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe.
106.a.2	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe.
106.a.3	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe.
107.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Square toe.
108.a.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Black latchet tie shoe.
109.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
109.a.2	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
110.a.1	South East	Child's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Leather shoes with pointed toe, wooden heel.
111.a.1	South East	Shoes	Leather	Shoe	Number of leather shoes.
112.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
112.a.2	South East	Man's boot		Boot	Boot top.
112.a.3	South East	Girl's shoe		Shoe	Buckle shoe with wooden shank.
114.a.1	West Midlands	Man's shoe		Insole	Part of insole and rand, curved for heel.
115.a.1	West Midlands	No details		Shoe	
116.a.1	West Midlands	Woman's boot		Boot	Fawn cloth ankle boot, oval toe.
117.a.1	West Midlands	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe, 2 part sole.
117.a.2	West Midlands	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe, 1 piece sole.
118.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe		Shoe	Heel lift, peg holes.
118.a.2	Eastern	Shoe		Fragments	Top piece.
118.a.3	Eastern	Child's shoe		Fragments	Sole and part upper.
119.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Fragments	Leather parings.
120.a.1	Eastern	No details		Shoe	
121.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe		Shoe	
121.a.2	Eastern	Man's shoe		Shoe	
122.a.1	Eastern	Adult boot		Boot	4 button boot.
123.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Shoe, wide square toe, high heel.
124.a.1	Eastern	Shoe		Boot	Shoe or half boot.
125.a.1	Eastern	Pattens	Wood	Patten	
126.a.1	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Suede	Shoe	Brown suede, red carved heel, high tongue, latches tied with green ribbon.

126.a.2	Eastern	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Black pointed toe shoe.
126.a.3	Eastern	No details		Shoe	
126.a.4	Eastern	No details		Shoe	
126.a.5	Eastern	No details		Shoe	
126.a.6	Eastern	No details		Shoe	
126.a.7	Eastern	No details		Shoe	
126.a.8	Eastern	No details		Shoe	
127.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe		Shoe	Court shoe.
128.a.1	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Wool	Shoe	Grey wool buckle shoe.
129.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown leather tie shoe.
130.a.1	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Cloth	Shoe	Buckle shoe.
130.a.2	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Cloth	Shoe	Buckle shoe.
130.a.3	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe.
130.a.4	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Button shoe.
130.a.5	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buckle shoe.
130.a.6	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buckle shoe.
130.a.7	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buckle shoe.
130.a.8	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buckle shoe.
130.a.9	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buckle shoe.
130.a.10	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buckle shoe.
130.a.11	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Slip-on shoe.
130.a.12	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Slip-on shoe.
130.a.13	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe.
130.a.14	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe.
130.a.15	Eastern	Adult's sole		Sole	Sole with heel.
131.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather shoe.
132.a.1	Eastern	Child's clog		Clog	
133.a.1	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	
133.a.2	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	
133.a.3	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	
134.a.1	Eastern	Workman's shoe		Shoe	

135.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe		Shoe	
135.a.2	Eastern	Sole		Sole	
135.a.3	Eastern	Woman's shoe		Fragments	1/4s and shank.
136.a.1	Eastern	Woman's shoe		Shoe	White rand tie shoes.
136.a.2	Eastern	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Blunt toe shoe.
136.a.3	Eastern	Man's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoe.
137.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown leather, latchet tie.
138.a.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather buckle shoe.
139.a.1	South East	Sole	Leather	Sole	
140.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe.
141.a.1	South East	No details		Shoe	
142.a.1	South East	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Mule, round toe.
142.a.2	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Square toe.
143.a.1	South East	Girl's shoe	Leather	Shoe	
143.a.2	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buckle shoe.
143.a.3	South East	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buckle shoe.
143.a.4	South East	Buckle shoe	Leather	Shoe	
143.a.5	South East	Buckle shoe	Leather	Shoe	
143.a.6	South East	Buckle shoe	Leather	Shoe	
144.a.1	South East	Boot		Boot	
144.a.2	South East	Boot		Boot	
144.a.3	South East	Boot		Boot	
144.a.4	South East	Boot		Boot	
144.a.5	South East	Boot		Boot	
145.a.1	South East	Man's shoes		Shoe	
145.a.2	South East	Last		Last	Last for men's shoe.
145.a.3	South East	Last		Last	Last for women's shoe.
145.a.4	South East	Last		Last	Last for child's shoe.
146.a.1	South East	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	Blunt pointed toe, no heel.
147.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
147.a.2	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
148.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
149.a.1	South West	Clog		Clog	One bar clog, heel shod with horseshoe.

150.a.1	South East	Child's shoes	Leather	Shoe	
151.a.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	
152.a.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	
153.a.1	South East	Shoe fragments		Fragments	
153.a.2	South East	Shoe fragments		Fragments	
153.a.3	South East	Shoe fragments		Fragments	
153.a.4	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Square toed latched tie shoe, stacked heel.
153.a.5	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Square toed latched tie shoe.
154.a.1	South East	Sole		Sole	
155.a.1	South East	Buckle shoe		Shoe	With part buckle.
155.b.1	South East	Shoe		Shoe	
155.c.1	South East	Boot		Boot	
156.a.1	Eastern	No details		Shoe	
157.a.1	South East	Knee boots	Leather	Boot	Long leather knee boots.
157.a.2	South East	Woman's sole		Sole	
157.a.3	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Buckle shoe.
158.a.1	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Closed side, high tongue, square toe, latched tie.
158.a.2	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Closed side, high tongue, square toe, latched tie.
158.a.3	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Closed side, high tongue, square toe, latched tie.
158.a.4	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel.
158.a.5	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel.
158.a.6	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel.
158.a.7	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel.
158.a.8	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel.
158.a.9	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel.
158.a.10	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel.
158.a.11	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Latched tie open side shoe.
159.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Brocade shoe.
160.a.1	South East	Boy's shoe		Shoe	Brown buckle shoe.

161.a.1	South East	Woman's shoes	Leather	Shoe	
162.a.1	South East	Woman's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Latchet tie, square toe.
162.a.2	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buckle shoe.
163.a.1	South East	Clog		Clog	
165.a.1	North West	Man's boot		Boot	
166.a.1	North West	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Dark brown/black shoe, latches with metal button.
167.a.1	North West	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Black flat slip-on shoe, pointed toe.
167.b.1	North West	Child's clog	Leather	Clog	
167.b.2	North West	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Shoe with clasps.
167.b.3	North West	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Button shoe.
167.c.1	North West	Child's clogs		Clog	
168.a.1	North West	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Black latchet tie, small open sides, pegged sole.
169.a.1	North West	Shoe		Shoe	
170.a.1	North West	Shoe		Shoe	Cut severely - no longer usable.
171.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe		Shoe	Shoe - cut down boot?
172.a.1	East Midlands	Pattens		Patten	
172.a.2	East Midlands	Pattens		Patten	
172.a.3	East Midlands	Pattens		Patten	
172.a.4	East Midlands	Pattens		Patten	
172.a.5	East Midlands	Pattens		Patten	
172.a.6	East Midlands	Pattens		Patten	
173.a.1	East Midlands	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown shoe with lace up side, no heel, latchet tie.
173.a.2	East Midlands	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Shoe, welted, small open sides, narrow latches.
174.a.1	East Midlands	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoes.
175.a.1	South East	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Latchet tie, welted with riveted heel.
176.a.1	East Midlands	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
177.a.1	East Midlands	No details		Shoe	
178.a.1	East Midlands	Man's boot	Leather	Boot	

178.a.2	East Midlands	Man's boot	Leather	Boot	
178.a.3	East Midlands	Man's boot	Leather	Boot	
178.a.4	East Midlands	Man's boot	Leather	Boot	
178.a.5	East Midlands	Man's boot	Leather	Boot	
178.a.6	East Midlands	Woman's boot	Leather	Boot	
178.a.7	East Midlands	Woman's boot	Leather	Boot	
178.a.8	East Midlands	Adult's slipper	Leather	Slipper	
178.a.9	East Midlands	Child's boot	Leather	Boot	
178.a.10	East Midlands	Child's boot	Leather	Boot	
178.a.11	East Midlands	Child's boot	Leather	Boot	
178.a.12	East Midlands	Child's boot	Leather	Boot	
180.a.1	Greater London	Man's boot	Leather	Boot	Cut off at ankle, high heel.
181.a.1	Greater London	Child's shoe		Shoe	Shoe with applique braid.
182.a.1	Greater London	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Black shoe, square toe, lacing through tongue.
182.b.1	Greater London	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Wedged platform sole, latchet tie.
182.b.2	Greater London	Boy's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoe.
183.a.1	Greater London	Child's shoe		Shoe	
184.a.1	Greater London	Man's shoe		Shoe	
184.a.2	Greater London	Man's shoe		Shoe	
184.a.3	Greater London	Man's shoe		Shoe	
184.a.4	Greater London	Man's shoe		Shoe	
184.a.5	Greater London	Man's shoe		Shoe	
184.a.6	Greater London	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
184.a.7	Greater London	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
184.a.8	Greater London	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
184.a.9	Greater London	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
184.a.10	Greater London	Child's shoe		Shoe	

185.a.1	Greater London	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown.
186.a.1	Greater London	Woman's shoes	Silk	Shoe	Silk, embroidered with lace.
187.a.1	Greater London	No details		Shoe	
188.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
189.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoes		Shoe	Tie shoes.
189.a.2	Eastern	Man's shoes		Shoe	Tie shoe.
189.a.3	Eastern	Woman's shoes		Shoe	Tie shoe.
189.a.4	Eastern	Woman's shoes		Shoe	Buckle shoe.
189.a.5	Eastern	Woman's shoes		Shoe	Tie shoe.
189.a.6	Eastern	Woman's shoes		Shoe	Tie shoe.
189.a.7	Eastern	Patten irons		Patten	O type.
189.a.8	Eastern	Patten iron		Patten	O type.
189.a.9	Eastern	Tie shoe		Shoe	
189.a.10	Eastern	Child's shoes		Shoe	Tie shoe.
190.a.1	Eastern	Woman's patten		Patten	Pointed toe patten, wedged arch, oval hoop.
191.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe		Shoe	Pointed toe, low heel shoe, adapted to 'buttonhole'.
192.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	Blue suede latchet tie square toe shoe.
193.a.1	Eastern	No details		Shoe	
194.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff latchet tie shoe.
195.a.1	Eastern	Woman's clog	Leather	Clog	Golash, square toe.
195.a.2	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff latchet tie shoe, round toe.
195.b.1	Eastern	Clog straps		Overshoe	Straps for clog/patten.
196.a.1	Eastern	Adult shoes		Shoe	Pair.
197.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Black shoe, latchet tie through tongue.
197.a.2	Eastern	Man's boot		Boot	Stacked heel from boot.
198.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	With stiffeners of wood.
199.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather buckle shoe.
200.a.1	East Midlands	Child's shoe		Shoe	

201.a.1	East Midlands	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown, vamp, welt sole and one latchet tie.
202.a.1	East Midlands	Woman's base		Clog	Wooden clog base, heel socket.
203.a.1	East Midlands	Soles		Sole	
204.a.1	Eastern	Woman's clog	Wood	Clog	Wooden sole, leather straps, blue silk lace.
205.a.1	East Midlands	Woman's boots		Boot	
205.b.1	East Midlands	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Chisel pointed toe.
206.a.1	East Midlands	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown open sided shoe, cut down to mule.
207.a.1	East Midlands	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Dark brown buckle shoe, narrow strap.
208.a.1	East Midlands	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	
209.a.1	Eastern	Buckle shoe	Leather	Shoe	Left foot - leather buckle shoe - discarded 1539?
210.a.1	East Midlands	Man's shoe		Shoe	
211.a.1	East Midlands	Man's shoes		Shoe	Pair.
211.a.2	East Midlands	Man's shoe		Shoe	
211.a.3	East Midlands	Man's shoe		Shoe	
211.a.4	East Midlands	Man's shoe		Shoe	
211.a.5	East Midlands	Man's shoe		Shoe	
211.a.6	East Midlands	Man's shoe		Shoe	
211.a.7	East Midlands	Man's shoe		Shoe	
211.a.8	East Midlands	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Woman's shoe.
212.a.1	East Midlands	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Child's buff leather buckle shoe, thick sole.
213.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe		Shoe	
213.a.2	East Midlands	Shoe		Shoe	
214.a.1	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	Blue.
215.a.1	East Midlands	Adult's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Adult's shoe of leather.
216.a.1	East Midlands	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Repaired sole, covered heel, insole and lining of blunt pointed toe shoe.
216.a.2	East Midlands	Women's clog	Wood	Clog	Wooden clog overshoe, latchet tie, pointed toe.
217.a.1	East Midlands	Child's shoe		Shoe	

218.a.1	East Midlands	Child's shoe		Shoe	
219.a.1	East Midlands	Woman's shoes		Shoe	Pair of shoes, probably women's, pointed toes.
220.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather buckle shoe.
220.a.2	Eastern	Girl's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather anklestrap shoe.
220.a.3	Eastern	Boy's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoe.
221.a.1	East Midlands	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
222.a.1	East Midlands	Man's shoe		Shoe	Sole with rand, 2" stacked leather heel, square toe.
223.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Pair, leather (ruff?), black.
224.a.1	East Midlands	Working boots		Boot	
225.a.1	East Midlands	Patten		Patten	
226.a.1	East Midlands	Child's shoe		Shoe	Latchets to tie.
227.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	
227.a.2	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	
228.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Slap-soled shoe, silk and narrow braid applique.
229.a.1	South East	Shoes	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather, large open sides, carved heel.
229.a.2	South East	Shoes	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather, large open sides, stacked heel.
230.a.1	South East	Woman's shoes	Leather	Fragments	Parts/soles of women's pointed toed shoes.
230.a.2	South East	Woman's shoes	Leather	Sole	Parts/soles of women's oval toed shoes.
230.a.3	South East	Man's sole	Leather	Sole	
230.a.4	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Wide heel breast curve.
230.a.5	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Stacked heel, wooden pegged.
230.a.6	South East	Heel iron		Heel	
231.a.1	South East	Child's shoe	Silk	Shoe	Child's silk shoe, 5" long.
232.a.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Child's black leather, high tongued, latchet tie shoe, pointed toe.
233.a.1	South East	Woman's clog		Clogs	Base for clog with heel sockets.
233.a.2	South East	Woman's clog		Clogs	Base for clog with heel sockets.
233.a.3	South East	Woman's clog		Clogs	Base for clog with heel sockets.
233.a.4	South East	Woman's clog		Clogs	Base for clog with heel sockets.

233.a.5	South East	Woman's clog		Clogs	Base for clog with heel sockets.
233.a.6	South East	Woman's clog		Clogs	Base for clog with heel sockets.
233.a.7	South East	Woman's clog		Clogs	Base for clog with heel sockets.
233.a.8	South East	Woman's clog		Clogs	Base for clog with heel sockets.
233.a.9	South East	Woman's clog		Clogs	Base for clog with heel sockets.
233.a.10	South East	Woman's clog		Clogs	Base for clog with heel sockets.
234.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	4" long, square toe, open sides, latchet tie.
235.a.1	South East	Man's soles		Sole	Adult male's soles, heel-less, square toed, slightly asymmetrical.
236.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Child's brown latchet tie shoe, straps for buckle.
237.a.1	South East	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Man's leather latchet tie shoe, pointed toe.
237.a.2	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Buckle shoe, pointed toe.
238.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Horn toed, right foot.
239.a.1	South East	Girl's shoe		Shoe	Girl's latchet tie shoe.
239.a.2	South East	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather buckle shoe.
239.a.3	South East	Woman's clog		Clog	Brocade clog.
239.a.4	South East	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Mule/buckle shoe.
240.a.1	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Man's latchet tie shoe.
240.a.2	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Woman's latchet tie shoe.
240.a.3	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Child's latchet tie shoe.
240.a.4	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Child's latchet tie shoe.
240.a.5	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Veldtschoen latchet tie.
240.a.6	South East	Latchet shoe		Shoe	Veldtschoen latchet tie.
241.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Woman's black leather forked toe tie shoe, wedged waist.
242.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Woman's white leather braided shoe, latchet ties.
243.a.1	Eastern	No details		Shoe	
243.a.2	Eastern	No details		Shoe	
244.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Child's Cromwellian shoe.

245.a.1	West Midlands	Child's shoe		Shoe	Small child's shoe.
246.a.1	West Midlands	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Child's buff leather latchet tie, small open sides, 2 pairs lace holes on tongue.
248.a.1	Eastern	Girl's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather with pointed toe and heel.
249.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe lasts		Lasts	Wooden shoe lasts, square toe, for high heels.
250.a.1	South West	Boy's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather, buckle, 15cm.
250.b.1	South West	Shoe		Shoe	
251.a.1	South West	Shoe		Shoe	
251.a.2	South West	Shoes		Shoe	
252.a.1	South West	Tie shoe	Leather	Shoe	Dark brown leather tie shoe, narrow square toe, hobnailed.
253.a.1	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown leather, buckle.
254.a.1	South West	Shoe		Shoe	
255.a.1	South West	Woman's galosh	Leather	Galosh	Woman's black leather galosh, no 1/4s.
256.a.1	South East	Boy's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather, latchet tie.
257.a.1	South West	Woman's shoe	Suede	Shoe	Brown suede tie shoe, small open sides, square toe.
258.a.1	South West	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoe.
259.a.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown leather.
259.b.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown leather.
259.c.1	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	
260.a.1	South West	Boy's shoe		Shoe	Small boy's shoe.
260.a.2	South West	Girl's shoe		Shoe	Small girl's shoe.
260.a.3	South West	Boy's shoe		Shoe	Older boy's shoe.
260.a.4	South West	Girl's shoe		Shoe	Older girl's shoe.
261.a.1	West Midlands	Adult shoe		Shoe	
262.a.1	West Midlands	Man's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie.
263.a.1	Eastern	Pieces of shoes	Leather	Fragments	Portions of leather shoes - five pieces.
264.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe		Shoe	Man's buff tie shoes.
264.a.2	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	Child's buff tie shoes.
264.a.3	Eastern	Man's shoe		Shoe	Man's buff tie shoes.
265.a.1	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	
266.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	Tie shoe, open sides.

267.a.1	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Woman's buff leather latchet tie shoe, narrow square toe.
268.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	Child's latchet tie shoe with rand, right foot.
269.a.1	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	Rare forms of decoration.
270.a.1	Eastern	Shoes		Shoe	Pair.
270.a.2	Eastern	Shoes		Shoe	Pair.
271.a.1	Eastern	Boot	Leather	Boot	Soft leather boot with heel.
272.a.1	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	Pointed toe, leather hole, straight.
272.b.1	Eastern	Fragments		Fragments	
273.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	Right foot shoe, blunt pointed toe, narrow arch.
274.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Pair of leather slashed shoes with ankle straps.
275.a.1	Eastern	Adult's shoe		Shoe	Tie, pointed toe, peaked cap.
275.a.2	Eastern	Adult's shoe		Shoe	Pointed toe.
275.a.3	Eastern	Adult's shoe		Shoe	Pointed toe, slip on.
276.a.1	Eastern	Girl's shoe		Fragments	Bottom waist with wooden heel of girl's narrow square toe shoe, randed, toe puff.
276.a.2	Eastern	Fragments		Fragments	Vamp and 1/4 from shoe, straight.
277.a.1	Eastern	Shoes		Shoe	
277.a.2	Eastern	Shoes		Shoe	
279.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Man's leather shoe, 2 wide transverse slashes, slit at throat, right foot.
280.a.1	Eastern	Woman's clog	Leather	Clog	Leather clog overshoe.
281.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
282.a.1	Eastern	Patten		Patten	
283.a.1	Eastern	Patten	Wood	Patten	
284.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather latchet tie shoe.
284.a.2	Eastern	Adult's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather latchet tie shoe.
284.a.3	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather latchet tie shoe.
284.a.4	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather latchet tie shoe.
285.a.1	Eastern	Girl's sole		Sole	Inside and shank, and stiffener.
285.a.2	Eastern	Soles		Sole	
286.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe		Shoe	Shoe with buckle.
286.a.2	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	
286.a.3	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	

286.a.4	Eastern	Woman's shoes		Shoe	Pair.
287.a.1	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Shoe of buff leather.
287.a.2	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather.
287.a.3	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather.
287.a.4	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather.
287.a.5	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather.
287.a.6	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather.
287.a.7	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Woman's shoe, pointed vamp edge, latchet ties.
288.a.1	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	
288.a.2	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	
289.a.1	Eastern	Adult's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Adult leather latchet tie shoe, large open sides, very narrow waist.
290.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie.
290.a.2	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	Very long pointed form.
291.a.1	Eastern	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Woman's shoe, ankle straps tying with bow, pierced pattern on toe.
291.a.2	Eastern	Adult's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Youth's shoe of leather.
292.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoes		Shoe	Small pair of child's shoes.
293.a.1	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Woman's buff leather shoe, open sides, latchet tying through tongue, stacked heel, narrow arch.
294.a.1	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	
295.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoes		Shoe	Small pair of shoes.
296.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe.
296.a.2	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe.
296.a.3	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe.
296.a.4	Eastern	Boot	Leather	Boot	Button boot of leather.
296.a.5	Eastern	Adult's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe.
296.a.6	Eastern	Adult's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe.
296.a.7	Eastern	Adult's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe.
297.a.1	Eastern	Girl's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Girl's leather tie shoe.
298.a.1	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	No sole.

299.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe		Shoe	Man's latchet tie shoe.
299.a.2	Eastern	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Woman's latchet tie shoe.
299.a.3	Eastern	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Woman's latchet tie shoe.
300.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe		Shoe	
300.a.2	Eastern	Man's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather, slightly pointed toe, originally lachets.
300.a.3	Eastern	Man's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie, round toe.
300.a.4	Eastern	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie, square toe.
300.a.5	Eastern	Woman's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Grain leather, latch tie, needle pointed toe.
300.a.6	Eastern	Woman's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Grain leather, latch tie, blunt pointed toe.
300.a.7	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Grain leather, latch tie, shallow square toe.
300.a.8	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Grain leather, latch tie, blunt pointed toe.
300.a.9	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Grain leather, latch tie, blunt pointed toe.
300.a.10	Eastern	Girls' shoe	Leather	Shoe	Grain leather, latch tie, blunt pointed toe.
300.a.11	Eastern	Girls' shoe	Leather	Shoe	Grain leather, latch tie, pointed toe.
300.a.12	Eastern	Girls' shoe	Leather	Shoe	Grain leather, latch tie, pointed toe.
300.a.13	Eastern	Girls' shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather, latch tie, pointed toe.
300.a.14	Eastern	Girls' shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie, blunt pointed toe.
300.a.28	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie, narrow square toe.
301.a.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown leather, latchet tie
301.b.1	South East	Woman's clog		Clog	
301.b.2	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather buckle shoe.
302.a.1	South East	Man's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Pair, buff leather, highish heel.
303.a.1	South East	Shoe		Shoe	
303.a.2	South East	Shoe		Shoe	
304.a.1	South East	Woman's shoes	Leather	Overshoe	Pair, leather overshoes.
304.a.2	South East	Shoes		Shoe	Pair .
305.a.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Child's brown leather latchet tie shoe lacing through base of tongue.
306.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Black leather tie shoe.

307.a.1	South East	Man's mule	Leather	Shoe	Man's leather mule, stacked heel, square forked toe, tongued vamp.
308.a.1	South East	Fragments		Fragments	Fragments of men's and women's shoes.
308.a.2	South East	Man's boot		Boots	
308.a.3	South East	Man's boot		Boots	
308.a.4	South East	Woman's sole		Sole	
308.a.5	South East	Child's sole		Boots	
309.a.1	South East	Shoes		Shoe	Pair of small shoes with extended/platform soles.
309.a.2	South East	Shoes		Shoe	Pair of small shoes with extended/platform soles.
310.a.1	South East	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather shoe, blunt toe, high heel, buckle straps altered, with button holes and leather strap for buckle again, hobnailed.
310.a.2	South East	Ankle boot	Leather	Boot	Part of leg of ankle boot, folded over and nailed.
311.a.1	South East	Girl's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Girls' leather shoe, latchet tie, pointed toe.
312.a.1	South East	Adult's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Latchet tie, buff leather.
312.a.2	South East	Boy's boot	Leather	Boot	Black leather derby boot, riveted and much stitched.
312.a.3	South East	Woman's boot	Leather	Boot	Woman's leather front lace ankle boot, welted.
313.a.1	South East	Man's sole		Sole	Heavy duty work sole.
313.a.2	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Heavy duty work shoe.
313.a.3	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Heavy duty work shoe.
313.a.4	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Child's latchet tie shoe.
313.b.1	South East	Woman's clog		Clog	
313.b.2	South East	Woman's clog		Clog	Sole of clog overshoe.
314.a.1	South East	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather buckle shoe.
315.a.1	South East	Child's boot		Boot	
316.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
316.a.2	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
316.a.3	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
316.a.4	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	

316.a.5	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
317.a.1	South East	Shoe		Shoe	
318.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
319.a.1	South East	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	High heel.
319.a.2	South East	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Men's tie shoe.
319.a.3	South East	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	Open side.
320.a.1	South East	Boot	Chalk	Carved	Boot carved from chalk, 4 1/4" long.
321.a.1	South East	Woman's clogs	Leather	Clogs	Pair of leather clogs, blunt pointed toe, raised arch, 1 ribbon lace.
322.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
323.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
323.a.2	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
323.a.3	South East	Child's shoes		Shoe	Pair.
324.a.1	South East	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather shoe.
324.a.2	South East	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather shoe.
325.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Faded brocade.
326.a.1	South East	Shoe	Chalk	Carved	Shoe carved from chalk, 5 1/8" long.
327.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
328.a.1	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Brocade shoe.
329.a.1	West Midlands	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Child's leather shoe, latched tie, 1st walking size.
330.a.1	West Midlands	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Child's black leather shoe, round oval toe, latched to tie over and through tongue, 1 lift heel.
331.a.1	West Midlands	Child's shoe		Shoe	Child's latched tie shoe
331.a.2	West Midlands	Boot		Boot	Man's legboot cut down for child.
332.a.1	West Midlands	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather, latched tie.
332.a.2	West Midlands	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather, latched tie.
333.a.1	West Midlands	Child's shoe		Shoe	
334.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
335.a.1	West Midlands	Man's shoes	Suede	Shoe	Pair, hobnailed buckle shoes, suede.
335.a.2	West Midlands	Adult's shoes		Shoe	Pair, hobnailed buckle shoes uppers.

335.a.3	West Midlands	Men's boots	Suede	Boot	Pair men's quarters from high-legged boots.
336.a.1	West Midlands	Sole	Leather	Sole	Leather sole.
337.a.1	West Midlands	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Woman's buckle shoe.
337.a.2	West Midlands	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Woman's buckle shoe.
338.a.1	South West	Man's shoe		Shoe	
338.a.2	South West	Man's shoe		Shoe	
338.a.3	South West	Man's shoe		Shoe	
339.a.1	South West	Man's shoe		Shoe	
340.a.1	South West	Woman's galosh	Leather	Galosh	Woman's black leather galosh, V dip at back, prow toe.
340.a.2	South West	Child's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie, square toe.
341.a.1	South West	Shoe		Shoe	
341.a.2	South West	Shoe		Shoe	
341.a.3	South West	Shoe		Shoe	
341.a.4	South West	Baby's shoe		Shoe	Child in arms.
342.a.1	South West	Man's shoe		Shoe	
343.a.1	South West	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather latchet tie shoe.
344.a.1	South West	Shoe		Shoe	
345.a.1	South West	Child's shoe		Shoe	Child's shoe.
346.a.1	South West	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather, pointed toe, latchet tie.
346.a.2	South West	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather, pointed toe, latchet tie.
346.a.3	South West	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather, pointed toe, latchet tie.
346.a.4	South West	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather, pointed toe, latchet tie.
346.a.5	South West	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather, pointed toe.
346.a.6	South West	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather, pointed toe.
347.a.1	South West	Woman's shoe		Overshoe	
348.a.1	South West	Man's shoe		Shoe	
348.a.2	South West	Man's shoe		Shoe	
349.a.1	South West	Child's shoe		Shoe	

350.a.1	South West	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
350.a.2	South West	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
350.a.3	South West	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
350.a.4	South West	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
351.a.1	South West	Boy's boots		Boots	Pair of boys lace boots.
352.a.1	South West	No details		Shoe	
353.a.1	South West	Woman's shoe		Shoe	
354.a.1	West Midlands	Child's shoe		Shoe	
355.a.1	West Midlands	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Man's leather shoe.
355.a.2	West Midlands	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Man's leather shoe.
355.a.3	West Midlands	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Man's leather shoe.
355.a.4	West Midlands	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Woman's leather shoe.
355.a.5	West Midlands	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Woman's leather shoe.
355.a.6	West Midlands	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Fabric upper, buckle straps.
356.a.1	West Midlands	Adult shoe	Leather	Shoe	Remains of thick leather shoe, short latchet, vamp fragments, stacked heel.
357.a.1	West Midlands	Child's shoe		Shoe	
358.a.1	West Midlands	Woman's shoe	Silk	Shoe	Silk brocade shoe.
358.b.1	West Midlands	Men's boots		Boot	Pair.
359.a.1	South East	No details		Shoe	
360.a.1	Yorkshire	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather buckle shoe.
361.a.1	Yorkshire	Woman's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Pair, thick leather, high instep, buckles missing, stacked leather heel.
362.a.1	Yorkshire	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Man's leather shoe, pointed toe.
362.a.2	Yorkshire	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Woman's leather shoe, pointed toe.
363.a.1	Yorkshire	Boy's sole		Sole	Boy's sole and heel, cloth upper square toed.
364.a.1	South East	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	M black leather.
365.a.1	Yorkshire	Man's insole		Insole	Left foot insole, welted shoe, square forked toe.
366.a.1	Yorkshire	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Childs leather shoe.

367.a.1	Yorkshire	Clog skate	Iron	Clog	Iron skate for a wooden clog.
368.a.1	Yorkshire	Shoe		Shoe	
368.a.2	Yorkshire	Shoe		Shoe	
368.a.3	Yorkshire	Shoe		Shoe	
368.a.4	Yorkshire	Shoe		Shoe	
368.a.5	Yorkshire	Shoe sole		Sole	
368.a.6	Yorkshire	Shoe		Shoe	
369.a.1	South East	Shoe		Shoe	
370.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
371.a.1	South East	Woman's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Wooden heels.
372.a.1	South East	Patten	Wood	Patten	With leather straps.
373.a.1	South East	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Brown leather dress shoe, narrow oval toe, latches, open sides.
374.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe soles		Sole	
375.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe		Shoe	
376.a.1	Eastern	Man's boot	Leather	Boot	Leather boot.
376.a.2	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	With ankle strap.
377.a.1	South East	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	
378.a.1	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Dress shoe.
379.a.1	South West	Boy's shoe		Shoe	Hobnailed bottom unit, horseshoe on one lift heel.
380.a.1	Eastern	Shoes		Shoe	
381.a.1	South East	Latchet shoe	Leather	Shoe	Square toe, high heel, latchet ties, hand-made.
382.a.1	South West	Girls' shoe		Sole	Sole and heel of tie shoe.
383.a.1	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	Small.
384.a.1	South East	Man's shoe		Shoe	Buckle shoe, curved side seam, pointed toe.
384.a.2	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Dogleg side seam.
385.a.1	Eastern	Several shoes		Shoe	
386.a.1	Yorkshire	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	Medieval leather shoe, pointed toe.
386.a.2	Yorkshire	Child's shoe		Shoe	
387.a.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Latchet tie, oval toe, low heel small gap between tongue and latchet, leather sole and upper, silk?
388.a.1	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	
389.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Buff leather buckle shoe.
390.a.1	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	Elizabethan shoe.

391.a.1	East Midlands	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Buckle shoe.
392.a.1	South East	Shoe		Shoe	50 years older than college.
393.a.1	South West	Child's shoe		Shoe	Small open sides, tie shoe.
394.a.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	
394.b.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather lace up.
394.b.2	South East	Child's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Pair, leather lace up.
395.a.1	East Midlands	Girl's shoe	Leather	Shoe	
396.a.1	South East	Several shoes		Shoe	Several Jacobean shoes.
397.a.1	Eastern	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Double latchet, rounded, pointed toe.
398.a.1	East Midlands	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Boot/shoe.
399.a.1	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Shoe, 4cm heel.
399.a.2	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Shoe, 4cm heel.
399.a.3	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Shoe, 4cm heel.
399.a.4	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Shoe, 4cm heel.
399.a.5	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Shoe, 4cm heel.
399.a.6	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Shoe, 4cm heel.
400.a.1	Eastern	Child's boot		Boot	Balmoral boot.
401.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Right shoe, latchet tie, stacked heel, plain front, hand sewn.
401.a.2	South East	Adult's shoe		Shoe	Right shoe, latchet tie through sole, stacked heel, plain front, hand sewn.
401.a.3	South East	Adult's shoe		Shoe	Left early buckle shoe, narrow straps, heavy nailing at toe and heel, stacked heel, toe puff, hand sewn.
401.a.4	South East	Adult's shoe		Shoe	Right shoe, latchet tie, stacked leather heel, plain front, hand sewn.
401.a.5	South East	Girls shoe		Shoe	Left shoe, in several pieces, latchet tie, wooden heel, hand sewn.
401.a.6	South East	Girl's shoe		Shoe	Back part of girl's shoe, wooden heel.
401.a.7	South East	Shoe		Fragments	
401.a.8	South East	Shoe		Fragments	
401.a.9	South East	Shoe		Fragments	
402.a.1	South East	Adults shoe		Shoe	Uppers, long pointed toe.
403.a.1	Greater London	Child's shoe		Shoe	1 hole tie shoe, edges bound.

404.a.1	South West	Girl's shoe		Shoe	First walking size T-strap shoe, square toe.
405.a.1	South West	Shoe		Shoe	No heel.
405.a.2	South West	Shoe		Shoe	No heel.
406.a.1	Eastern	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie shoe, right.
407.a.1	South East	Girls shoe		Shoe	Front part only, punched circular pattern on upper.
407.a.2	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie.
407.b.1	South East	Girls shoe		Shoe	Upper gone, wooden heel.
407.b.2	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Latchet tie, heel.
407.c.1	South East	Girls' shoes		Shoe	Plain front, pointed tow, latchet tie.
407.c.2	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Plain front oxford.
407.d.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Hand sewn straight insole, very narrow square toe.
407.d.2	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Hand sewn straight insole, including section covering breast.
407.d.3	South East	Heel covering	Leather	Heel	Leather covering for wooden heel.
407.d.4	South East	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	Top piece with wooden peg.
409.a.1	Eastern	Female shoe		Shoe	
410.a.1	South East	Girl's mule	Leather	Shoe	Plain front mule.
411.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Grain leather tie shoe, narrow square toe.
412.a.1	Eastern	Child's boot		Boot	Hobnail boot.
413.a.1	South West	Child's boot		Boot	Boot/shoe.
414.a.1	Eastern	Child's shoe		Shoe	Lace shoe.
414.a.2	Eastern	Slippers	Leather	Slipper	With heel.
414.a.3	Eastern	Slipper	Leather	Slipper	
414.a.4	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	
415.a.1	West Midlands	Heel iron	Iron	Heel	Horseshoe heel iron.
416.a.1	South East	Girl's shoe		Shoe	
417.a.1	South West	No details		Shoe	
418.a.1	South East	Child's boots		Boot	
419.a.1	South East	Woman's shoe		Shoe	Square toe tie shoe, open sides.
420.a.1	East Midlands	Child's shoe		Shoe	Parts - quarters, vamp heel crudely sewn together.
421.a.1	Greater London	Patten		Patten	Iron ring and leather straps.

422.a.1	South West	Man's shoe		Shoe	Part of stacked heel.
423.a.1	South West	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Child's black leather shoes, 1 pair lace holes, made straight, worn right.
423.a.2	South West	Adult's sole		Sole	
424.a.1	West Midlands	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Child's leather shoe, wide rounded toe, front lace.
424.a.2	West Midlands	Adult overshoe		Overshoe	Small overshoe, wooden sole, leather straps, tied.
425.a.1	South East	Shoe		Shoe	
425.a.2	South East	Shoe		Shoe	
426.a.1	South West	No details		Shoe	
427.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	
428.a.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather shoe, 1 pair lace holes, very narrow buckle strap.
428.b.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Black leather latchet tie shoe, round toe.
429.a.1	South West	Woman's shoes		Shoe	
430.a.1	South East	Child's shoe		Shoe	Front lace, short toe cap.
431.a.1	Eastern	Shoes		Shoe	
432.a.2	Eastern	Adult's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Hobnailed brown leather with buckle straps (buckle missing). Low stacked heel, pointed toe.
512.a.1	South West	Child's shoe	Cloth	Shoe	
513.a.1	Eastern	Boot	Leather	Boot	
514.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	
515.a.1	South West	Shoes		Shoe	
516.a.1	South West	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	Fragments.
517.a.1	Eastern	Woman's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Right foot, leather upper and sole.
517.a.2	Eastern	Patten	Wood	Patten	Wooden patten fragment.
518.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	
518.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	
518.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	
518.a.4	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	
519.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	
519.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	
520.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	
520.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	
521.a.1	South East	Baby's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Leather sole and upper, latchets, no heel.

521.a.2	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Left shoe, leather sole, upper and heel, narrow domed toe, curved side seam, tongue cut away.
522.a.1	East Midlands	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Child's low-ankle latchet shoe, leather possibly originally coloured, rounded point toe.
523.a.1	Eastern	Shoes	Leather	Shoe	
524.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	
525.a.1	South East	Child's shoe	Leather	Shoe	
526.a.1	South East	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Man's leather latchet tie shoe with leather stacked heel, small open sides.
527.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	Square toe and pair of perforated straps.
528.a.1	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	
529.a.1	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	
530.a.1	Eastern	Shoe		Shoe	
531.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	
620.a.5	Eastern	Protector	Iron	Protector	Ladies, iron toe protector.
640.a.1	South East	Baby's shoes	Leather	Shoe	Pair, infant's leather shoes.
645.a.1	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Hand-made left shoe, square toe cap, no laces/ buttons, modern sole.
646.a.1	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Hand-made shoe, hobnailed, tongue and upper in one piece.
650.a.1	South East	Shoes		Shoe	Pair.
651.a.1	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Early 17th century.
651.a.2	South East	Shoe		Shoe	Early 17th century.
653.a.1	Eastern	Clogs	Leather	Clog	Double soles with cork lining. Leather upper part and leather soles.
653.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	Strong shoe slashed across instep.
653.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Leather	Shoe	Black shoe with open work decoration around side, line of narrow slashes across arch.
653.a.4	Eastern	Shoes	Leather	Shoe	Black shoes, thin leather, slashed - thought to be glove instead?
658.a.1	Eastern	Man's shoe	Leather	Shoe	Black leather shoe of adult male.

### I.9: Smoking items

Item no.	Region	Object	Description
9.a.3	South West	Clay pipes	
16.a.4	South East	Cigarette tin	
23.a.11	South East	Clay pipe	Stem only.
45.a.9	Eastern	Clay pipe	Bowl only.
47.a.2	Eastern	Clay pipes	
47.a.3	Eastern	Clay pipes	
47.a.4	Eastern	Clay pipes	
48.a.3	Eastern	Clay pipe	Pipe broken in two.
48.a.4	Eastern	Clay pipe	Complete but broken off at mouthpiece end.
85.a.2	South West	Clay pipe	
157.a.6	South East	Clay pipes	
157.a.7	South East	Clay pipes	
157.a.8	South East	Clay pipes	
167.b.4	North West	Clay pipe	Bowl only.
230.a.8	South East	Clay pipes	
240.a.12	South East	Clay pipes	Early 18th century clay pipes.
300.a.23	Eastern	Clay pipe	Clay pipe bowl – 17 <sup>th</sup> century type.
304.a.3	South East	Clay pipe	
335.a.5	West Midlands	Clay pipes	
341.a.10	South West	Clay pipe	Fragments.
373.a.2	South East	Clay pipes	Broken clay pipes.
396.a.3	South East	Clay pipes	
433.a.2	Eastern	Clay pipe	Stems only.
516.a.4	South West	Clay pipe	Fragments – stems.
598.c.5	South East	Clay pipes	Fragments.
627.a.1	South East	Clay pipe	Pipe stems only.
645.a.7	South East	Clay pipe	

### I.10: Tableware items

Item no.	Region	Object	Material	Description
45.a.10	Eastern	Cup		
94.a.2	South West	Spoon	Silver	
123.a.5	Eastern	Costrel		17 <sup>th</sup> century costrel.
163.b.1	South East	Knife	Metal	
163.b.2	South East	Fork	Metal	
182.b.8	Greater London	Candlestick	Ceramic	Yellow glazed earthenware .

182.b.9	Greater London	Goblet	Glass	Glass goblet – broken.
230.a.7	South East	Spoon	Brass	Brass spoon.
240.a.15	South East	China	Ceramic	Blue and white china.
250.b.2	South West	China	Ceramic	
286.a.5	Eastern	Bowl		Porridge bowl.
286.a.6	Eastern	Spoon		
296.a.9	Eastern	Mug		
308.a.8	South East	Pottery	Ceramic	
322.a.2	South East	Bottle	Leather	Leather bottle.
341.a.7	South West	Bowl	Ceramic	Ceramic bowl fragments.
341.a.8	South West	Bowl	Ceramic	Ceramic bowl fragments.
341.a.9	South West	Bowl	Ceramic	Broken ceramic bowl.
341.a.11	South West	Wine glass	Glass	Stem only.
376.a.3	Eastern	Spoon	Silver	Silver spoon.
429.a.2	South West	Ceramic jar	Ceramic	Broken small pottery jar.
431.c.1	Eastern	Bartmann	Ceramic	
516.a.7	South West	Pottery	Ceramic	Fragments, Somerset Donyatt ware.
533.a.2	Eastern	Pottery	Ceramic	Sherd.
537.a.1	Eastern	Pot	Ceramic	Partially glazed saggy based medieval pot .
612.a.2	Eastern	Knife blade	Metal	
619.c.1	Yorkshire	Spoon	Copper	Copper spoon coated in silver wash in "Old English" style.
620.a.2	Eastern	Knife blade	Iron	Iron.
620.a.3	Eastern	Knife blade	Iron	Iron.
621.a.2	South East	Bartmann	Ceramic	Empty.
622.a.1	South East	Knife	Metal	
622.a.2	South East	Knife	Metal	
623.a.1	Eastern	Pots	Ceramic	Upside down in cruciform arrangement.
629.a.1	Unknown	Knife	Iron	Made from single piece of iron, engraved with symbols and "AGLA".
633.a.1	South West	Pot	Ceramic	Tall pot, filled with bits of old iron (shut-links etc.).
635.a.1	South East	Glass bottle	Glass	Onion type wine bottle, mostly discoloured, originally olive green, empty when found.
636.a.1	South East	Bartmann	Ceramic	Empty – upright.
637.a.1	South East	Bartmann	Ceramic	Empty on discovery – inverted.
639.a.1	Eastern	Spoon	Wood	Wooden spoon - 13cm long - slight chip off top of handle, slight split down stem.

647.a.2	South East	Delft pot	Ceramic	Small tin-glazed earthenware (Delft) drug pot with pedestal base
647.a.3	South East	Delft pot	Ceramic	Small tin-glazed earthenware (Delft) drug pot with pedestal base.
648.a.1	South East	Bartmann	Ceramic	Bartmann jug - no details re: contents.
648.a.2	South East	Knife handle	Bone	Ivory handle of late 15th century knife - possibly Tudor rose design.
654.a.1	Eastern	Ale jug		
655.a.1	Yorkshire	Silver spoon	Metal	Silver spoon.
658.a.5	Eastern	Ceramic costrel	Ceramic	Red ceramic costrel with basketry cover.
658.a.9	Eastern	Ceramic	Ceramic	Slipware sherd.
658.a.10	Eastern	Ceramic	Ceramic	Redware sherds.
658.a.12	Eastern	Ceramic	Ceramic	Stoneware sherds.
658.a.13	Eastern	Glass bottle	Glass	Deep green-black glass bottle with deep conical kick-up.
658.a.16	Eastern	Ceramic	Ceramic	Unknown – sherd.

### I.11: Tools

Item no.	Region	Object	Material	Description
9.a.4	South West	Toasting fork	Metal	
24.c.16	Eastern	Rake	Wood/ Metal	
30.a.5	Eastern	Wooden dowels	Wood	6-8 wooden dowels, tapering from 3/4"-1/4" pointed end.
30.a.6	Eastern	Wooden needle	Wood	Thatcher's wooden needle, 15"x 1/4", notched one end.
30.a.7	Eastern	Wooden trays	Wood	Parts of wooden tray.
30.a.8	Eastern	Wooden trays	Wood	Parts of wooden tray.
40.a.8	South West	Broomstick	Wood	
130.a.18	Eastern	Plane	Wood	Wheelwright's plane.
130.a.19	Eastern	Bucket	Wood	1/2 of bottom of bucket.
130.a.21	Eastern	Whetstone	Stone	
189.a.15	Eastern	Builders tools		
261.a.2	West Midlands	Chisel	Wood/ Metal	
300.a.25	Eastern	Wooden lathes	Wood	Notches along edge - larger notches at irregular intervals. Possible calendar stick.
300.a.26	Eastern	Wooden lathes	Wood	Notches along edge - larger notches at irregular intervals. Possible calendar stick.

300.a.27	Eastern	Wooden lathes	Wood	Notches along edge - larger notches at irregular intervals. Possible calendar stick.
313.a.7	South East	Hobnails	Iron	
341.a.5	South West	Iron file	Iron	Small.
366.a.3	Yorkshire	Stone sink	Stone	Contained shoe and horn.
398.a.5	East Midlands	Brush hook	Wood/ Metal	
399.a.8	South East	Oven shovel	Metal	44cm long.
399.a.9	South East	Cartwheel hub	Wood	Wooden cartwheel hub, 16cm diameter.
399.a.10	South East	Spokes	Wood	Remains of 10 wooden spokes.
513.a.2	Eastern	Nails	Iron	
514.a.2	Eastern	Nail	Wood	Found in shoe.
515.a.2	South West	Hay fork	Wood/ Metal	
534.a.4	Eastern	Nails	Iron	
534.a.5	Eastern	Nails	Iron	
536.a.4	South West	Fishing line		Fishing line with barbed hook.
598.a.2	South East	Wooden tool	Wood	Unidentified purpose.
611.a.2	South West	Wooden head	Wood	Carved wig-makers block.
612.a.3	Eastern	Nail	Metal	
618.a.2	West Midlands	Bakers peel	Wood	For moving bread in and out of ovens.
620.a.1	Eastern	Nails	Iron	Iron, varying sizes.
620.a.4	Eastern	Staple	Iron	
630.a.1	South West	Broom	Wood	Old and crumbling.

### I.12: Toys and games

Item no.	Region	Object	Material	Description
26.a.2	Eastern	Doll	Wood	17 <sup>th</sup> century wooden doll.
48.a.5	Eastern	Wooden bat	Wood	Same shape as table-tennis bat.
212.a.3	East Midlands	Ball	Wood	Wooden ball.
296.a.8	Eastern	Marbles		
313.b.3	South East	Bat game	Wood	Wooden shoe-shaped bat and hap game.
397.a.3	Eastern	Doll		Doll's head.
397.a.4	Eastern	Doll		Dolls arms.
532.a.3	South East	Playing card	Card	Dating from Queen Anne's reign - probably accidental loss.
532.a.4	South East	Playing card	Card	Dating from Queen Anne's reign - probably accidental loss.
532.a.5	South East	Playing card	Card	Dating from Queen Anne's reign - probably accidental loss.

536.a.5	South West	Marble		
618.a.1	West Midlands	Ball	Leather	Leather, handmade.
625.a.1	East Midlands	Lead face	Lead	Cast lead alloy, realistic human head, flat on back, 77mm long, 43.7mm wide.
628.a.1	Eastern	Ivory die	Bone	Ivory gaming die.
628.a.2	Eastern	Lead figure	Lead	Lead figure of a lady - shallow relief, thin.
645.a.2	South East	Wooden cow	Wood	

### I.13: Vanity/personal adornment items

Item no.	Region	Object	Material	Category	Description
115.a.2	West Midlands	Buckle	Metal	Accessory	Doesn't match shoes.
157.a.5	South East	Hair curlers			
157.a.10	South East	Comb			
234.a.2	South East	Buckle	Metal	Accessory	Shoe buckle.
308.a.7	South East	Button		Accessory	
397.a.2	Eastern	Buckle	Brass	Accessory	Brass buckle - not attached to shoes.
399.a.7	South East	Buckle	Brass	Accessory	Tinned brass buckle.
617.a.2	East Midlands	Hatpin	Metal		
645.a.3	South East	Comb	Wood		Wooden comb.
645.a.6	South East	Hair clips			
658.a.6	Eastern	Comb			Hair comb.
658.a.14	Eastern	Bead	Ceramic		Blue.

### I.14: Weapons

Item no.	Region	Object	Description
23.a.12	South East	Knife sheath	Pointed end of knife sheath.
45.a.8	Eastern	Knife sheath	Leather knife sheath.
123.a.3	Eastern	Scabbard	Mid-17 <sup>th</sup> century scabbard.
135.a.4	Eastern	Knife sheath	
599.a.3	South East	Crossbow	
619.a.1	Yorkshire	Iron seax	From nearby Castledyke cemetery?
626.a.1	South West	Flint lock gun	
658.a.8	Eastern	Scabbard	Sword scabbard - misassembled with hangars twisted.
658.a.15	Eastern	Knife blade	Blade of metal knife.

### I.15: Other items

Item no.	Region	Object	Material	Description
30.a.9	Eastern	Staff of office	Wood	Turned, 1/3 plain handle, 1/2 has turned grooves, no paint visible.
123.a.4	Eastern	Padlock	Metal	
123.a.6	Eastern	Stamp	Bone	Whalebone stamp.
150.a.2	South East	Bone	Bone	Human?
158.a.12	South East	Cobblers waste	Leather	
214.a.2	Eastern	Corks	Cork	Bag of corks.
239.a.10	South East	Noose	Rope	
420.a.2	East Midlands	Shoemaker's waste	Leather	
536.a.3	South West	Key	Iron	
598.c.4	South East	Rope	Rope	
619.b.1	Yorkshire	Iron	Iron	Triangular piece of iron.
632.a.1	South West	Stone head	Stone	Empty eye sockets and a round hole for the mouth.



### Appendix J: Objects with evidence of wear, use or alteration

Item no.	Region	Object	Condition	Repaired	Altered	Worn	Incomplete	Fragments	Broken
1.a.2	South East	Shoe	Cut down.		✓				
1.b.1	South East	Shoe	Sole, heel and parts of leather.					✓	
3.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
5.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	Worn, good.			✓			
5.a.3	West Midlands	Shoe	Wear on both soles, patches on back of each shoe and repairs to back seam.	✓		✓			
5.a.4	West Midlands	Shoe	Half-sole repair on both shoes.	✓					
5.a.5	West Midlands	Shoe	New half-sole added and one side of vamp patched, other side of vamp disintegrating as possibly slashed.	✓					
5.a.6	West Midlands	Shoe	Lower quality, considerable wear and repair, toe broken and latchet ties worn through, half-sole repair, patched on right side seam.	✓		✓			✓
5.a.7	West Midlands	Shoe	Full sole repair that has worn through, vamp broken at big toe joint.	✓		✓			✓
5.a.8	West Midlands	Clothing	Incomplete.				✓		
5.a.9	West Midlands	Clothing	Incomplete.				✓		
5.a.10	West Midlands	Clothing	Incomplete.				✓		
6.a.1	South East	Shoe	Repaired and patched.	✓					
6.a.2	South East	Shoe	Repaired and patched.	✓					
7.a.3	West Midlands	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
10.a.1	South East	Shoe	Repaired, patched, worn out.	✓		✓			
10.a.2	South East	Shoe	Repaired, patched, worn out.	✓		✓			

10.a.3	South East	Shoe	Repaired, patched, worn out.	✓		✓			
10.a.4	South East	Shoe	Repaired, patched, worn out.	✓		✓			
11.a.1	South West	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
12.a.1	South West	Shoe	Some repair, replaced heel top piece, damage toe.	✓		✓			
13.a.1	South West	Shoe	Well worn, sole repaired at least once.	✓		✓			
15.a.1	South West	Shoe	Sole, incomplete.				✓		
17.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	No heel.				✓		
19.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	One intact, one in pieces.				✓		
23.a.1	South East	Shoe	Patched, well worn.	✓		✓			
23.a.2	South East	Shoe	Patched, well worn.	✓		✓			
23.a.3	South East	Shoe	Patched, well worn.	✓		✓			
23.a.4	South East	Shoe	Patched, well worn.	✓		✓			
23.a.5	South East	Shoe	Patched, well worn.	✓		✓			
23.a.6	South East	Shoe	Patched, well worn.	✓		✓			
23.a.7	South East	Shoe	Patched, well worn.	✓		✓			
23.a.8	South East	Shoe	Patched, well worn.	✓		✓			
23.a.9	South East	Shoe	Patched, well worn, fragmentary.	✓		✓		✓	
23.a.11	South East	Smoking	Broken.						✓
23.a.12	South East	Weapon	Broken.						✓
24.c.11	Eastern	Clothing	Broken.						✓
25.a.1	South East	Shoe	Well worn, cut to enlarge.		✓	✓			
27.a.1	South West	Shoe	Much of upper missing, poor condition.				✓		
29.a.1	Greater London	Shoe	Repaired.	✓					
30.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn, toe damaged.			✓			
30.a.2	Eastern	Clothing	Throat worn away.			✓			

30.a.7	Eastern	Tools	Incomplete.				✓		
30.a.8	Eastern	Tools	Incomplete.				✓		
31.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	Quarters missing, repaired.	✓			✓		
31.a.2	West Midlands	Shoe	Fragmentary, repaired.	✓				✓	
34.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Slightly worn.			✓			
35.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
35.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Worn after top piece lost.			✓			
36.a.1	South West	Shoe	Worn and repaired.	✓		✓			
36.a.2	South West	Equestrian	Incomplete.				✓		
37.a.1	Unknown	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
38.a.1	Unknown	Shoe	Good, but top piece missing.				✓		
43.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
45.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
45.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
45.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
45.a.7	Eastern	Clothing	Incomplete.				✓		
45.a.9	Eastern	Smoking	Broken.						✓
45.a.10	Eastern	Tableware	Broken.						✓
46.a.1	South West	Shoe	Patched upper, half-sole repair.	✓					
47.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Toe capped and patched.	✓					
47.a.2	Eastern	Smoking	Broken.						✓
47.a.3	Eastern	Smoking	Broken.						✓
47.a.4	Eastern	Smoking	Broken.						✓
48.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Twisted and broken.						✓
48.a.3	Eastern	Smoking	Broken.						✓
48.a.4	Eastern	Smoking	Broken.						✓

48.a.7	Eastern	Furniture	Incomplete.				✓		
51.a.1	North West	Shoe	Some parts cut off.		✓				
55.a.1	South West	Shoe	Half-sole repair and patched at heel, well worn.	✓		✓			
55.b.1	South West	Shoe	Half-sole repair.	✓					
57.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
62.a.1	South West	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
64.a.1	South East	Shoe	Well worn, ground down heels.			✓			
64.a.2	South East	Shoe	Well worn, ground down heels.			✓			
68.a.1	South West	Shoe	Worn, broken seams.			✓			✓
70.a.1	South West	Shoe	Well worn, too small.			✓			
72.a.1	South West	Shoe	Half-sole repairs and heel. Worn at toe.	✓		✓			
73.a.1	South West	Shoe	Well worn, repaired.	✓		✓			
73.a.2	South West	Shoe	Well worn, repaired.	✓		✓			
74.a.1	South West	Shoe	Top piece missing.				✓		
78.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Patched, repaired, worn out.	✓		✓			
78.b.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn, split centre front vamp.			✓			✓
80.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Poor, heel worn, latchet ripped off, part of sole cut away.		✓	✓	✓		
82.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Quarter missing, toe patched, sole broken across.	✓			✓		✓
84.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
84.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Quarter missing and front part of sole.				✓		
84.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Patched, fragmentary.	✓				✓	
85.a.1	South West	Shoe	Half-sole repair, upper missing.	✓			✓		
86.a.1	South West	Shoe	Latchet missing, tongue incomplete.				✓		

87.a.1	South West	Shoe	Worn out at toe and cut to extend.		✓	✓			
88.a.1	South West	Shoe	Half-sole repair, front slit and patched.	✓	✓				
89.a.1	South East	Shoe	Repair at heel, split on insole for fit.	✓	✓				
91.a.1	South West	Shoe	Worn, socket damaged.			✓			
92.a.1	South West	Shoe	Well worn, heel and quarter missing.			✓	✓		
97.a.1	South East	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
97.a.2	South East	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
97.a.3	South East	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
97.a.4	South East	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
97.a.5	South East	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
97.a.6	South East	Shoe	Repaired.	✓					
97.a.7	South East	Shoe	Half-sole repair with holes, and repair to toe cap.	✓					
98.a.1	South East	Shoe	Lace hole broken, heel missing.				✓		✓
99.a.1	South East	Shoe	Repaired.	✓					
99.a.2	South East	Shoe	Repaired.	✓					
100.a.1	South East	Shoe	Half-sole repair.	✓					
100.a.2	South East	Shoe	Cut along one side of vamp.		✓				
100.b.1	South East	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
100.b.2	South East	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
100.b.3	South East	Shoe	Incomplete, half-sole repair.		✓		✓		
103.a.1	South West	Shoe	Broken side seam.						✓
107.a.1	South East	Shoe	Quarter missing, toe patch.	✓			✓		
108.a.1	South East	Shoe	Quarter s and sole missing.				✓		
110.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn out, one in pieces.			✓		✓	
112.a.1	South East	Shoe	Upper mostly missing.				✓		

112.a.2	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
114.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
116.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	Worn out and repaired, vamp split.	✓		✓			
117.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
117.a.2	West Midlands	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
121.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Smaller is repaired.	✓					
123.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, half-sole repair, one quarters missing.	✓		✓	✓		
124.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Sole badly worn.			✓			
126.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn, back trodden in.			✓			
126.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
126.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
126.a.4	Eastern	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
126.a.5	Eastern	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
126.a.6	Eastern	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
126.a.7	Eastern	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
126.a.8	Eastern	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
127.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Broken.						✓
128.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Sole and top piece worn through.			✓			
129.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Repaired, holes in upper and back seam broken.	✓		✓			✓
130.a.13	Eastern	Shoe	Poor, with quarter missing.				✓		
130.a.15	Eastern	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
130.a.18	Eastern	Tools	Incomplete.				✓		
130.a.19	Eastern	Tools	Broken.						✓
135.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		

135.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
136.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Repaired.	✓					
136.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Repaired.	✓					
137.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	One latchet hole split.			✓			
138.a.1	South East	Shoe	Toe cap repair, slit in vamp.	✓	✓				
139.a.1	South East	Shoe	Incomplete, sole only.				✓		
142.a.2	South East	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
143.a.1	South East	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
143.a.2	South East	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
143.a.3	South East	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
143.a.4	South East	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
143.a.5	South East	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
143.a.6	South East	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
143.a.9	South East	Sewing	Scraps.					✓	
145.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
145.a.5	South East	Clothing	Worn.			✓			
146.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn, repaired, upper cut away.	✓	✓	✓			
148.a.1	South East	Shoe	Very worn.			✓			
152.a.1	South East	Shoe	Patched.	✓					
153.a.1	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
153.a.2	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
153.a.3	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
153.a.4	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary, with nail in, for repair?	✓				✓	
153.a.5	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
154.a.1	South East	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		

157.a.1	South East	Shoe	Sole missing and lower edge of vamp cut away.		✓		✓		
157.a.2	South East	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
157.a.3	South East	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
158.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn out, repaired.	✓		✓			
158.a.2	South East	Shoe	Worn out, repaired.	✓		✓			
158.a.3	South East	Shoe	Worn out, repaired.	✓		✓			
158.a.4	South East	Shoe	Worn out, repaired.	✓		✓			
158.a.5	South East	Shoe	Worn out, repaired.	✓		✓			
158.a.6	South East	Shoe	Worn out, repaired.	✓		✓			
158.a.7	South East	Shoe	Worn out, repaired.	✓		✓			
158.a.8	South East	Shoe	Worn out, repaired.	✓		✓			
158.a.9	South East	Shoe	Worn out, repaired.	✓		✓			
158.a.10	South East	Shoe	Worn out, repaired.	✓		✓			
158.a.11	South East	Shoe	Worn out, repaired.	✓		✓			
158.a.12	South East	Other	Scraps.					✓	
159.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
160.a.1	South East	Shoe	Well worn, repaired.	✓		✓			
161.a.1	South East	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
162.a.2	South East	Shoe	Repaired.	✓					
166.a.1	North West	Shoe	Worn out, repaired.	✓		✓			
167.a.1	North West	Shoe	Well used.			✓			
167.b.1	North West	Shoe	Well used.			✓			
167.b.2	North West	Shoe	Well used.			✓			
167.b.3	North West	Shoe	Well used.			✓			
167.b.4	North West	Smoking	Broken.						✓

168.a.1	North West	Shoe	Sole missing, vamp cut down centre front.		✓		✓		
171.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Repaired, poor.	✓					
172.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
172.a.2	East Midlands	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
172.a.3	East Midlands	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
172.a.4	East Midlands	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
172.a.5	East Midlands	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
172.a.6	East Midlands	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
173.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Most of vamp missing, patch over one side seam.	✓			✓		
173.a.2	East Midlands	Shoe	Most of vamp missing.				✓		
175.a.1	South East	Shoe	Patched, latches broken?	✓					✓
181.a.1	Greater London	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
182.b.9	Greater London	Tableware	Broken.						✓
189.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Poor, repaired.	✓					
189.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Poor, repaired.	✓					
189.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Poor, repaired.	✓					
189.a.4	Eastern	Shoe	Poor, repaired.	✓					
189.a.5	Eastern	Shoe	Poor, repaired.	✓					
189.a.6	Eastern	Shoe	Poor, repaired.	✓					
189.a.7	Eastern	Shoe	Poor, repaired.	✓					
189.a.8	Eastern	Shoe	Poor, repaired.	✓					
189.a.9	Eastern	Shoe	Poor, repaired.	✓					
189.a.10	Eastern	Shoe	Poor, repaired.	✓					
189.a.12	Eastern	Clothing	Fragment.					✓	

190.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	One strap missing, well used.			✓	✓		
191.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, toe slashed.		✓	✓			
192.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Sole of top piece worn out.			✓			
194.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Patched, forepart sole missing.	✓			✓		
195.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Toe cut away, well worn.		✓	✓			
195.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
195.b.1	Eastern	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
197.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Vamp worn, heel missing.			✓	✓		
197.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
198.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
199.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Twice repaired, much worn.	✓		✓			
200.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Quarter missing.				✓		
201.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Fragmentary, vamp cut.		✓			✓	
202.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Unfinished?				✓		
203.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
204.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Some parts missing.				✓		
205.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
206.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Quarter's missing, top of heel burnt on one side.		✓		✓		
207.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Vamp patched, half strap and quarters on one side missing.	✓			✓		
209.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn through at ball, top edge cut.		✓	✓			
210.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Quarters and heel missing.				✓		
212.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Muddy, one strap cut.		✓	✓			
216.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
216.a.2	East Midlands	Shoe	Well worn, toe broken.			✓			✓

220.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
220.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
220.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
221.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
221.a.2	East Midlands	Furniture	Broken.						✓
222.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Upper missing.				✓		
223.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn, one has slit hole.			✓			
224.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
226.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Toe repaired, patched.	✓					
229.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn out at toe.			✓			
229.a.2	South East	Shoe	Worn out at toe and sides.			✓			
230.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn/fragmentary.			✓		✓	
230.a.2	South East	Shoe	Worn/fragmentary.			✓		✓	
230.a.3	South East	Shoe	Worn/fragmentary.			✓		✓	
230.a.4	South East	Shoe	Worn/fragmentary.			✓		✓	
230.a.5	South East	Shoe	Worn/fragmentary.			✓		✓	
232.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
235.a.1	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary, folded, one broken at waist.					✓	✓
236.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn out, upper outgrown.			✓			
237.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn, toe out, latchet broken.			✓			✓
237.a.2	South East	Shoe	Worn, sole forepart and insole worn away.			✓			
239.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn, patched, holes.	✓		✓			
239.a.2	South East	Shoe	Patched, holes.	✓		✓			
239.a.3	South East	Shoe	Toe broken off.						✓
239.a.4	South East	Shoe	Quarters missing.				✓		

240.a.1	South East	Shoe	Patched repaired.	✓					
240.a.2	South East	Shoe	Patched repaired.	✓					
240.a.3	South East	Shoe	Patched repaired.	✓					
240.a.4	South East	Shoe	Patched repaired.	✓					
240.a.5	South East	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
240.a.6	South East	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
240.a.10	South East	Clothing	Incomplete.				✓		
240.a.11	South East	Clothing	Incomplete.				✓		
241.a.1	South East	Shoe	Half-sole repair, quarters missing, worn.	✓		✓	✓		
248.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Poor, repaired.	✓					
250.b.2	South West	Tableware	Broken.						✓
252.a.1	South West	Shoe	Patched, sole seam bust, mud inside.	✓					
253.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
256.a.1	South East	Shoe	Repaired toe and worn through again.	✓		✓			
257.a.1	South West	Shoe	Well worn, lace holes split and part of one latchet missing.			✓	✓		✓
259.a.1	South East	Shoe	Repaired, worn out.	✓		✓			
259.b.1	South East	Shoe	Repaired, worn out.	✓		✓			
259.c.1	South East	Shoe	Repaired, worn out.	✓		✓			
263.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Fragmentary.						✓
264.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Top edge cut down.		✓				
264.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Toe extended.		✓				
264.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	One quarter missing and other partly cut away, sole and heel missing, worn as mule.		✓		✓		
266.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Repaired, front slit to enlarge.	✓	✓				

267.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Heel missing, veldschoe repair.	✓			✓		
268.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Sole missing.				✓		
271.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Patched.	✓					
272.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Repair holes.	✓					
273.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Most of top edge missing.				✓		
275.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Much patched.	✓					
276.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
276.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Incomplete, toe cap repair.	✓			✓		
279.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out at toe, sole missing.			✓	✓		
280.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Heel guard missing on one side.				✓		
284.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
284.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
284.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
284.a.4	Eastern	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
285.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
285.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
287.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
287.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
287.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
287.a.4	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
287.a.5	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
287.a.6	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, fragmentary.			✓		✓	
287.a.7	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
289.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Sole pierced, probably repair, part of one quarter and top piece missing.	✓	✓		✓		
290.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn at toe.			✓			

293.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Hole in toe, one latchet missing, sole broken across.			✓	✓		✓
297.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Too small, toe cap and heel repair.	✓		✓			
298.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Fragmentary, sole missing.			✓	✓	✓	
299.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Repaired, worn out.	✓		✓			
299.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Repaired, worn out.	✓		✓			
299.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Repaired, worn out, most of upper missing.	✓		✓	✓		
300.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
300.a.2	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
300.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
300.a.4	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
300.a.5	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
300.a.6	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
300.a.7	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
300.a.8	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
300.a.9	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
300.a.10	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
300.a.11	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
300.a.12	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
300.a.13	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
300.a.14	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
300.a.21	Eastern	Clothing	Fragment.					✓	
300.a.22	Eastern	Clothing	Fragment.					✓	
300.a.23	Eastern	Smoking	Broken.						✓
300.a.24	Eastern	Container	Broken.						✓

300.a.28	Eastern	Shoe	Worn out, uppers cut/torn.		✓	✓			
301.a.1	South East	Shoe	Sole and upper won through at toe.			✓			
301.b.1	South East	Shoe	Toe broken off.						✓
301.b.2	South East	Shoe	Repaired.	✓					
302.a.1	South East	Shoe	One shoe out at toe and short strap missing, other shoe has heel missing and worn through sole.			✓	✓		
305.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
307.a.1	South East	Shoe	Split vamp, one cut.		✓				
308.a.1	South East	Shoe	Poor, fragmentary.					✓	
308.a.2	South East	Shoe	Poor, fragmentary.					✓	
308.a.3	South East	Shoe	Poor, fragmentary.					✓	
308.a.4	South East	Shoe	Poor, fragmentary.					✓	
308.a.5	South East	Shoe	Poor, fragmentary.					✓	
310.a.1	South East	Shoe	Patch on back of heel, vamp cut each side to toe, parts of sole and heel missing.	✓	✓		✓		
310.a.2	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
311.a.1	South East	Shoe	Sole broken, back seam split.						✓
312.a.1	South East	Shoe	Patched, worn to peep toe.	✓		✓			
312.a.2	South East	Shoe	Half-sole repair, worn out.	✓		✓			
312.a.3	South East	Shoe	Patched, half-sole repair, worn through inside.	✓		✓			
313.a.1	South East	Shoe	General wear and tear, repairs, fragmentary.	✓		✓		✓	
313.a.2	South East	Shoe	General wear and tear, repairs.	✓		✓			
313.a.3	South East	Shoe	General wear and tear, repairs.	✓		✓			
313.a.4	South East	Shoe	General wear and tear, repairs.	✓		✓			

313.a.6	South East	Container	Fragments.					✓	
313.b.1	South East	Shoe	General wear and tear, repairs.	✓		✓			
313.b.2	South East	Shoe	General wear and tear, repairs.	✓		✓			
314.a.1	South East	Shoe	Sole worn through.			✓			
319.a.1	South East	Shoe	Quarter s missing, well worn.			✓	✓		
319.a.2	South East	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
319.a.3	South East	Shoe	Back missing, well worn.			✓	✓		
321.a.1	South East	Shoe	One latchet seam broken.						✓
329.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	Very worn, holes have torn, heel lining peeled away.			✓			
330.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	Top of tongue missing, split on one side.				✓		✓
331.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	Toe cap repair.	✓					
331.a.2	West Midlands	Shoe	Toe cap repair.	✓					
332.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	One latchet missing, sole worn.			✓	✓		
332.a.2	West Midlands	Shoe	Back seam split.						✓
334.a.1	South East	Shoe	Top piece (heel) missing.				✓		
335.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	Repaired, patched, half of sole missing.	✓			✓		
335.a.2	West Midlands	Shoe	Repaired, patched.	✓					
335.a.3	West Midlands	Shoe	Repaired, patched, slits.	✓	✓				
337.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	Soles worn.			✓			
337.a.2	West Midlands	Shoe	Soles worn, quarters broken away.			✓			✓
340.a.1	South West	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
340.a.2	South West	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
341.a.5	South West	Tools	Tip broken.						✓
341.a.7	South West	Tableware	Fragments.					✓	
341.a.8	South West	Tableware	Fragments.					✓	

341.a.9	South West	Tableware	Broken.						✓
341.a.10	South West	Smoking	Fragments.					✓	
341.a.11	South West	Tableware	Broken.						✓
344.a.1	South West	Shoe	Quarters cut away, heel repaired with straw.	✓	✓				
346.a.1	South West	Shoe	Worn, half-sole repairs, uppers missing/worn.	✓		✓	✓		
346.a.2	South West	Shoe	Worn, half-sole repairs, uppers missing/worn.	✓		✓	✓		
346.a.3	South West	Shoe	Worn, half-sole repairs, uppers missing/worn.	✓		✓	✓		
346.a.4	South West	Shoe	Worn, half-sole repairs, uppers missing/worn.	✓		✓	✓		
346.a.5	South West	Shoe	Worn, half-sole repairs, uppers missing/worn.	✓		✓	✓		
346.a.6	South West	Shoe	Worn, half-sole repairs, uppers missing/worn.	✓		✓	✓		
348.a.1	South West	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
348.a.2	South West	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
351.a.1	South West	Shoe	Dried up, soles detached from uppers.						✓
355.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	Worn out, some patched.			✓			
355.a.2	West Midlands	Shoe	Worn out, some patched.	✓		✓			
355.a.3	West Midlands	Shoe	Worn out, some patched.	✓		✓			
355.a.4	West Midlands	Shoe	Worn out, some patched.			✓			
355.a.5	West Midlands	Shoe	Worn out, some patched.	✓		✓			
355.a.6	West Midlands	Shoe	Worn out, some patched.			✓			
356.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	

358.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	Upper rotted away, worn.			✓			
360.a.1	Yorkshire	Shoe	Repaired, well worn.	✓		✓			
362.a.1	Yorkshire	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
362.a.2	Yorkshire	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
363.a.1	Yorkshire	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
364.a.1	South East	Shoe	Top piece missing, stitches broken.				✓		✓
365.a.1	Yorkshire	Shoe	Fragmentary, nails for repair.	✓				✓	
365.a.2	Yorkshire	Equestrian	Incomplete.				✓		
368.a.3	Yorkshire	Shoe	Poor, incomplete upper.				✓		
368.a.4	Yorkshire	Shoe	Poor, incomplete upper.				✓		
368.a.5	Yorkshire	Shoe	Poor, fragmentary.					✓	
371.a.1	South East	Shoe	Patched on side and sole.	✓					
373.a.2	South East	Smoking	Broken.						✓
378.a.1	South East	Shoe	Rand missing.				✓		
379.a.1	South West	Shoe	Most of upper missing.				✓		
382.a.1	South West	Shoe	Worn, fragmentary, rand and most of upper missing.			✓	✓		
384.a.1	South East	Shoe	Section of side deliberately cut away.		✓				
384.a.2	South East	Shoe	Only cut out heel section part.				✓		
389.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Upper cut down tongue to enlarge, one strap broken off, repaired.	✓	✓				✓
393.a.1	South West	Shoe	Sole and spring heel missing.				✓		
393.a.2	South West	Sewing	Scraps.					✓	
394.b.2	South East	Shoe	No heel.				✓		
397.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Well worn, heel almost gone.			✓			
397.a.3	Eastern	Toys	Incomplete.				✓		

397.a.4	Eastern	Toys	Incomplete.				✓		
399.a.2	South East	Shoe	Dirty but good condition, some repaired.	✓					
399.a.3	South East	Shoe	Dirty but good condition, some repaired.	✓					
399.a.5	South East	Shoe	Dirty but good condition, some repaired.	✓					
399.a.9	South East	Tools	Broken.						✓
399.a.10	South East	Tools	Broken.						✓
401.a.4	South East	Shoe	Slit twice on vamp for bunion.		✓				
401.a.5	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
401.a.6	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
401.a.7	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
401.a.8	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
401.a.9	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
402.a.1	South East	Shoe	Well worn, repaired.	✓		✓			
404.a.1	South West	Shoe	Worn, back squashed.			✓			
404.a.2	South West	Equestrian	Incomplete.				✓		
405.a.1	South West	Shoe	No heel.				✓		
405.a.2	South West	Shoe	No heel.				✓		
406.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Quarters missing, probably cut away at later date to make mule.		✓				
407.a.1	South East	Shoe	Waist replaced.	✓					
407.a.2	South East	Shoe	Extensively repaired, handed down several times.	✓					
407.b.2	South East	Shoe	Worn, some repair to strap.	✓		✓			
407.c.2	South East	Shoe	Split and repaired at throat.	✓					
407.d.1	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
407.d.2	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	

407.d.3	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
407.d.4	South East	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
411.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn out, stitches broken.			✓			✓
418.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn out.			✓			
419.a.1	South East	Shoe	Sole worn through, heel repaired, sides cut to enlarge.	✓	✓	✓			
420.a.2	East Midlands	Other	Scraps.					✓	
422.a.1	South West	Shoe	Incomplete.				✓		
423.a.1	South West	Shoe	Repaired, worn out, cut to enlarge.	✓	✓	✓			
423.a.2	South West	Shoe	Fragmentary.					✓	
423.a.3	South West	Clothing	Incomplete.				✓		
423.a.4	South West	Clothing	Incomplete.				✓		
423.a.5	South West	Clothing	Incomplete.				✓		
424.a.1	West Midlands	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
424.a.2	West Midlands	Shoe	Well worn, toe missing.			✓	✓		
427.a.1	South East	Shoe	Much worn.			✓			
428.a.1	South East	Shoe	Well worn.			✓			
428.b.1	South East	Shoe	Worn in mud, out at big toe, outgrown at back.			✓			
429.a.2	South West	Tableware	Broken.						✓
430.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn, repaired.	✓		✓			
431.a.4	Eastern	Equestrian	Incomplete.				✓		
433.a.2	Eastern	Smoking	Broken.						✓
516.a.1	South West	Shoe	Fragments, possibly all from one shoe.					✓	
516.a.4	South West	Smoking	Fragments.					✓	
516.a.7	South West	Tableware	Fragments.					✓	

516.a.8	South West	Container	Fragment.					✓	
517.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Well worn, hardened and deformed.			✓			
521.a.1	South East	Shoe	Poor, squashed, sole worn under toe.			✓			
521.a.2	South East	Shoe	Poor, worn heavily, tongue cut away.		✓	✓			
522.a.1	East Midlands	Shoe	Slightly worn, welt and heel pieces .missing, end of tongue is torn, vamp slashed.		✓	✓	✓		
526.a.1	South East	Shoe	Worn and poor condition.			✓			
530.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Worn.			✓			
533.a.2	Eastern	Tableware	Broken.						✓
536.a.2	South West	Equestrian	Incomplete.				✓		
536.a.6	South West	Sewing	Scraps.					✓	
536.a.7	South West	Sewing	Scraps.					✓	
597.a.2	South East	Clothing	Cut before deposition.		✓				
598.b.2	South East	Clothing	Incomplete.				✓		
598.c.2	South East	Sewing	Scraps.					✓	
598.c.3	South East	Equestrian	Incomplete.				✓		
598.c.5	South East	Smoking	Fragments.					✓	
598.c.6	South East	Literacy	Scraps.					✓	
600.a.4	South East	Money	Worn.			✓			
600.a.8	South East	Money	Worn.			✓			
600.a.10	South East	Money	Worn.			✓			
600.a.12	South East	Literacy	Piece missing.				✓		
600.a.13	South East	Literacy	Piece missing.				✓		
600.a.14	South East	Literacy	Pieces missing.				✓		
600.a.19	South East	Money	Worn.			✓			

601.a.2	Eastern	Clothing	Very poor, previously repaired.	✓					
602.a.1	South West	Clothing	Poor, fragmentary.					✓	
602.a.2	South West	Clothing	Poor, fragmentary.					✓	
603.a.1	Eastern	Clothing	One sleeve missing.				✓		
606.a.1	South East	Clothing	Well worn, fragmentary.			✓		✓	
612.a.1	Eastern	Sewing	Fragment.					✓	
612.a.2	Eastern	Tableware	Incomplete.				✓		
617.a.3	East Midlands	Furniture	Incomplete.				✓		
617.a.5	East Midlands	Container	Incomplete.				✓		
620.a.2	Eastern	Tableware	Incomplete.				✓		
620.a.3	Eastern	Tableware	Incomplete.				✓		
627.a.1	South East	Smoking	Broken.						✓
648.a.2	South East	Tableware	Broken.						✓
653.a.1	Eastern	Shoe	Soles becoming detached.			✓			
653.a.3	Eastern	Shoe	Much worn, upper come away from side.		✓	✓			
658.a.3	Eastern	Clothing	Fragmentary.					✓	
658.a.4	Eastern	Clothing	Fragmentary.					✓	
658.a.7	Eastern	Equestrian	Altered.		✓				
658.a.8	Eastern	Weapon	Unusable.						✓
658.a.9	Eastern	Tableware	Broken.						✓
658.a.10	Eastern	Tableware	Broken.						✓
658.a.12	Eastern	Tableware	Broken.						✓
658.a.15	Eastern	Weapon	Incomplete.				✓		
658.a.16	Eastern	Tableware	Broken.						✓

## Appendix K: Items with known age or sex of wearer

### K.1: Clothing

Item No.	Region	Sex	Age	Object	Description
122.a.3	Eastern	F	A	Bonnet	
599.a.1	South East	F	A	Corset	
599.a.2	South East	F	A	Corset	
605.a.1	East Midlands	F	A	Visard mask	Black velvet and silk lining.
658.a.3	Eastern	F	A	Corset	Fragments - white linen with wooden bones
148.a.2	South East	F	C	Bodice	Bodice of a child's dress
601.a.1	Eastern	F	C	Bodice	Lining only twill cotton
607.a.1	South East	F	C	Bonnet	Cotton
5.a.10	West Midlands	F		Under garments	Material from woman's under garments
45.a.7	Eastern	F		Bonnet	Bonnet piece
157.a.4	South East	F		Purse	
240.a.10	South East	F		Dress	Part of a dress
431.a.2	Eastern	F		Garters	
597.a.1	South East	F		Upper	Linen, silk, and whalebone
598.b.1	South East	F		Corset stays	
598.b.3	South East	F		Bonnet	Close-fitting bonnet
600.a.1	South East	F		Pocket	
602.a.2	South West	F		Apron	Linen
653.a.6	Eastern	F		Purse	White leather purse, top edge decorated with slits, button on bottom and two on top edge
30.a.2	Eastern	M	A	Glove	Right 'fancy' leather glove, zigzag edge, folded up
122.a.2	Eastern	M	A	Cap	
239.a.7	South East	M	A	Breeches	Men's breeches/trousers
423.a.3	South West	M	A	Glove	Part of man's glove - L - leather
423.a.4	South West	M	A	Glove	Part of man's glove -R - chamois
603.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Doublet	Short coat/ doublet - brown wool and linen, one purple velvet cuff
606.a.1	South East	M	C	Doublet	Wool
189.a.12	Eastern	M		Breeches	Fragment of corduroy breeches
300.a.21	Eastern	M		Breeches	Textile fragments
300.a.22	Eastern	M		Waistcoat	Textile fragments
596.a.1	South East	M		Stomacher	Linen
597.a.2	South East	M		Waistcoat	Velvet and linen

598.b.2	South East	M		Breeches	Lining only
601.a.2	Eastern	M		Legging	Single leather legging
602.a.1	South West	M		Breeches	
408.a.1	East Midlands		C	Socks	
600.a.2	South East		C	Undercap	Linen - baby's undercap, handmade
643.a.1	East Midlands		C	Spurs	Pair of child's spurs

## K.2: Shoes and other footwear

Item No.	Region	Sex	Age	Object	Description
1.b.1	South East	F	A	Boot	Leather boot/shoe
5.a.4	West Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Pair of women's shoes, high tongue, latchet tie, small open sides, sizeable 'louis' heel, pointed toe
5.a.5	West Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Single women's shoes, high tongue, latchet tie, small open sides, sizeable 'louis' heel, pointed toe
6.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	Woman's leather tie shoe
7.a.2	West Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Woman's tie shoe, straight, worn R
7.a.3	West Midlands	F	A	Shoe sole	Woman's part sole and heel
11.a.1	South West	F	A	Clog	Pair women's hinged clog overshoes
13.a.1	South West	F	A	Shoe	Woman's shoe, long square toe, large open sides, high tongue, latchet ties
27.a.1	South West	F	A	Shoe	
31.a.2	West Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Part of woman's leather shoe
35.a.2	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Woman's wooden heel
37.a.1	Unknown	F	A	Shoe	Woman's, suede, open side, latchet tie
39.a.1	Unknown	F	A	Shoe	
40.a.6	South West	F	A	Shoe	
43.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Woman's velvet brocade mules
55.a.1	South West	F	A	Shoe	Black, pointed toe, low cut slipper, no heel
57.b.1	East Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Woman's - leather
58.a.1	East Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Woman's pair working shoes
74.a.1	South West	F	A	Shoe	
80.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Brown leather latchet tie shoe, pointed toe
84.a.2	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe, hobnailed heel

84.a.3	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe, hobnailed heel
86.a.1	South West	F	A	Shoe	Oval toe, medium high heel
88.a.1	South West	F	A	Shoe	Brown leather buckle shoe
91.a.1	South West	F	A	Clog	
97.a.6	South East	F	A	Shoe sole	
97.a.7	South East	F	A	Shoe	
102.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	
107.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	Square toe
112.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	
116.a.1	West Midlands	F	A	Boot	Fawn cloth ankle boot, oval toe
117.a.1	West Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe, 2 part sole
117.a.2	West Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe, 1 piece sole
126.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Brown suede, red carved heel, high tongue, latches tied with green ribbon
126.a.2	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Black pointed toe shoe
128.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Grey wool buckle shoe
130.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Buckle shoe
130.a.10	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Buckle shoe
130.a.11	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Slip-on shoe
130.a.12	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Slip-on shoe
130.a.2	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Buckle shoe
130.a.3	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe
130.a.4	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Button shoe
130.a.5	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Buckle shoe
130.a.6	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Buckle shoe
130.a.7	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Buckle shoe
130.a.8	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Buckle shoe
130.a.9	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Buckle shoe
135.a.3	Eastern	F	A	Fragments	1/4s and shank
136.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	White rand tie shoes
136.a.2	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Blunt toe shoe
140.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe
145.a.3	South East	F	A	Last	
148.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	
153.a.5	South East	F	A	Shoe	Square toed latchet tie shoe
157.a.2	South East	F	A	Shoe sole	
158.a.10	South East	F	A	Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel
158.a.4	South East	F	A	Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel
158.a.5	South East	F	A	Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel
158.a.6	South East	F	A	Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel
158.a.7	South East	F	A	Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel
158.a.8	South East	F	A	Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel
158.a.9	South East	F	A	Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel
161.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	

162.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe, square toe
163.a.1	South East	F	A	Clog	
167.a.1	North West	F	A	Shoe	Black flat slip-on shoe, pointed toe
174.a.1	East Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Latchet tie shoes
176.a.1	East Midlands	F	A	Shoe	
178.a.6	East Midlands	F	A	Boot	
178.a.7	East Midlands	F	A	Boot	
182.b.1	Greater London	F	A	Shoe	Wedged platform sole, latchet tie
184.a.6	Greater London	F	A	Shoe	
184.a.7	Greater London	F	A	Shoe	
184.a.8	Greater London	F	A	Shoe	
184.a.9	Greater London	F	A	Shoe	
186.a.1	Greater London	F	A	Shoe	Embroidered with lace
189.a.3	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Tie shoe
189.a.4	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Buckle shoe
189.a.5	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Tie shoe
189.a.6	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Tie shoe
189.a.9	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Tie shoe
190.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Patten	Pointed toe patten, wedged arch, oval hoop
195.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Clog	Clog overshoe, square toe
202.a.1	East Midlands	F	A	Clog	Wooden clog base, heel socket
204.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Clog	Woman's clog, wooden sole, leather straps, blue silk lace
205.a.1	East Midlands	F	A	Boot	
205.b.1	East Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Shoe with chisel pointed toe
207.a.1	East Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Dark brown buckle shoe, narrow strap
211.a.8	East Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Woman's shoe
216.a.1	East Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Repaired sole, covered heel, insole and lining of blunt pointed toe shoe
216.a.2	East Midlands	F	A	Clog	Wooden clog overshoe, latchet tie, woman's, pointed toe
219.a.1	East Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Pair of shoes, probably women's, pointed toes
221.a.1	East Midlands	F	A	Shoe	
228.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	Slap-soled shoe, woman's, silk and narrow braid applique

230.a.1	South East	F	A	Fragments	Parts/soles of women's pointed toed shoes
230.a.2	South East	F	A	Shoe sole	Parts/soles of women's oval toed shoes
233.a.1	South East	F	A	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.10	South East	F	A	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.2	South East	F	A	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.3	South East	F	A	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.4	South East	F	A	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.5	South East	F	A	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.6	South East	F	A	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.7	South East	F	A	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.8	South East	F	A	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.9	South East	F	A	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
238.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	Woman's shoe, large, horn toed, right foot
239.a.2	South East	F	A	Shoe	Woman's leather buckle shoe
239.a.3	South East	F	A	Clog	Brocade clog
239.a.4	South East	F	A	Shoe	Woman's mule/buckle shoe
240.a.2	South East	F	A	Shoe	Woman's latchet tie shoe
241.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	Woman's black leather forked toe tie shoe, wedged waist
242.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	Woman's white leather braided shoe, latchet ties
253.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Woman's brown leather buckle? shoe
255.a.1	South West	F	A	Galosh	Woman's black leather galosh, no 1/4s
257.a.1	South West	F	A	Shoe	Woman's brown suede tie shoe, smallish open sides, square toe
258.a.1	South West	F	A	Shoe	Woman's tie shoe
267.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Woman's buff leather latchet tie shoe, narrow square toe
280.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Clog	Woman's leather clog overshoe
286.a.4	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Ladies pair of shoes
287.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Woman's shoe of buff leather

287.a.7	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Woman's shoe, pointed vamp edge, latchet ties
291.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Woman's shoe, ankle straps tying with bow, pierced pattern on toe
293.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Woman's buff leather shoe, open sides, latchet tying through tongue, stacked heel, narrow arch
299.a.2	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Woman's latchet tie shoe
299.a.3	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Woman's latchet tie shoe
300.a.28	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie, narrow square toe
300.a.5	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Grain leather, latchet tie, needle pointed toe
300.a.6	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Grain leather, latchet tie, blunt pointed toe
300.a.7	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Grain leather, latchet tie, shallow square toe
300.a.8	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Grain leather, latchet tie, blunt pointed toe
300.a.9	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Grain leather, latchet tie, blunt pointed toe
301.b.1	South East	F	A	Clog	Woman's clog overshoe
304.a.1	South East	F	A	Overshoe	Pair of women's leather overshoes
306.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	Woman's black leather tie shoe
308.a.4	South East	F	A	Shoe sole	Women's sole
312.a.3	South East	F	A	Boot	Woman's leather front lace ankle boot, welted
313.b.1	South East	F	A	Clog	Woman's clog overshoe
313.b.2	South East	F	A	Clog	Sole of woman's clog overshoe
321.a.1	South East	F	A	Clogs	Pair of woman's leather clogs, blunt pointed toe, raised arch
325.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	Faded brocade
334.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	
337.a.1	West Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Woman's buckle shoe
337.a.2	West Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Woman's buckle shoe
340.a.1	South West	F	A	Galosh	Woman's black leather galosh, V dip at back, prow toe
346.a.1	South West	F	A	Shoe	Woman's shoe, leather, pointed toe, latchet tie
346.a.2	South West	F	A	Shoe	Woman's shoe, leather, pointed toe, latchet tie
346.a.3	South West	F	A	Shoe	Woman's shoe, leather, pointed toe, latchet tie

346.a.4	South West	F	A	Shoe	Woman's shoe, buff leather, pointed toe, latchet tie
346.a.5	South West	F	A	Shoe	Woman's shoe, leather, pointed toe
346.a.6	South West	F	A	Shoe	Woman's shoe, leather, pointed toe
347.a.1	South West	F	A	Overshoe	Woman's overshoe
350.a.1	South West	F	A	Shoe	
350.a.2	South West	F	A	Shoe	
350.a.3	South West	F	A	Shoe	
350.a.4	South West	F	A	Shoe	
353.a.1	South West	F	A	Shoe	
355.a.4	West Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Woman's leather shoe
355.a.5	West Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Woman's leather shoe
355.a.6	West Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Woman's shoe with fabric upper, buckle straps
358.a.1	West Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Woman's silk brocade shoe
360.a.1	Yorkshire	F	A	Shoe	Woman's leather buckle shoe
361.a.1	Yorkshire	F	A	Shoe	Pair of woman's thick leather shoes, buckles missing, stacked leather heel
362.a.2	Yorkshire	F	A	Shoe	Woman's leather shoe, pointed toe
371.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	Wooden heels
391.a.1	East Midlands	F	A	Shoe	Woman's buckle shoe
397.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Double latchet, rounded, pointed toe
406.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Ladies latchet tie shoe, made straight, worn right
407.c.2	South East	F	A	Shoe	
411.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	Grain leather tie shoe, narrow square toe
419.a.1	South East	F	A	Shoe	Square toe tie shoe, open sides
421.a.1	Greater London	F	A	Patten	Iron ring and leather straps
517.a.1	Eastern	F	A	Shoe	Woman's shoe, right foot, leather upper and sole
620.a.5	Eastern	F	A	Protector	Woman's iron toe protector
5.a.1	West Midlands	F	C	Shoe	Small pair of girls shoes, high tongue, latchet tie, open sides, low heel
5.a.3	West Midlands	F	C	Shoe	Pair of girls shoes, high tongue, latchet tie, sizeable stacked heel, pointed toe
10.a.3	South East	F	C	Shoe	
10.a.4	South East	F	C	Shoe	

23.a.7	South East	F	C	Shoe	Tie shoes
36.a.1	South West	F	C	Shoe	
49.a.1	North West	F	C	Shoe	Brown leather tie shoe
82.a.1	Eastern	F	C	Shoe	Buff leather tie shoe
89.a.1	South East	F	C	Shoe	Leather shoe
99.a.1	South East	F	C	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie
100.b.1	South East	F	C	Shoe	Ankle strap shoe
112.a.3	South East	F	C	Shoe	Buckle shoe with wooden shank
129.a.1	Eastern	F	C	Shoe	Brown leather tie shoe
143.a.1	South East	F	C	Shoe	
220.a.2	Eastern	F	C	Shoe	Girl's leather ankle strap shoe
239.a.1	South East	F	C	Shoe	Girl's latchet tie shoe
248.a.1	Eastern	F	C	Shoe	Leather with pointed toe and heel
260.a.2	South West	F	C	Shoe	Small girl's shoe
260.a.4	South West	F	C	Shoe	Older girl's shoe
276.a.1	Eastern	F	C	Fragments	Bottom waist with wooden heel of girl's narrow square toe shoe, randed, toe puff
285.a.1	Eastern	F	C	Shoe sole	Girls sole, inside and shank, and stiffener
297.a.1	Eastern	F	C	Shoe	Girl's leather tie shoe
300.a.10	Eastern	F	C	Shoe	Grain leather, latch tie, blunt pointed toe
300.a.11	Eastern	F	C	Shoe	Grain leather, latch tie, pointed toe
300.a.12	Eastern	F	C	Shoe	Grain leather, latch tie, pointed toe
300.a.13	Eastern	F	C	Shoe	Buff leather, latch tie, pointed toe
311.a.1	South East	F	C	Shoe	Girls, leather, latchet tie, pointed toe
382.a.1	South West	F	C	Shoe sole	Sole and heel of girl's tie shoe
395.a.1	East Midlands	F	C	Shoe	Girl's leather shoe
401.a.5	South East	F	C	Shoe	Girls L shoe, in several pieces, latchet tie, wooden heel, plain front, hand sewn
401.a.6	South East	F	C	Shoe	Back part of girl's shoe, wooden heel
404.a.1	South West	F	C	Shoe	Girl's first walking size T-strap shoe, square toe
407.a.1	South East	F	C	Shoe	Front part only, punched circular pattern on upper
407.b.1	South East	F	C	Shoe	Upper gone, wooden heel - high quality.

407.c.1	South East	F	C	Shoe	Plain front, pointed tow, latchet tie
410.a.1	South East	F	C	Shoe	Plain front mule
416.a.1	South East	F	C	Shoe	
19.a.1	Eastern	F		Slipper	Ballet style, very fine leather
23.a.9	South East	F		Shoe sole	Forepart sole
64.a.1	South East	F		Shoe	
64.a.2	South East	F		Shoe	
409.a.1	Eastern	F		Shoe	
429.a.1	South West	F		Shoe	Young woman's shoes
1.a.2	South East	M	A	Shoe	
5.a.6	West Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Single man's shoe, high tongue, latchet tie, stacked heel
5.a.7	West Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Single man's shoe, pointed toe, high tongue, buckle straps turned into lachets, stacked heel
6.a.2	South East	M	A	Shoe	Man's tie shoe
7.a.1	West Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Man's tie shoe, straight, worn L
21.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Buckle shoes
23.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Tie shoes
23.a.2	South East	M	A	Shoe	Tie shoes
23.a.3	South East	M	A	Shoe	Tie shoes
29.a.1	Greater London	M	A	Shoe	Tie shoe
31.a.1	West Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Man's buff leather
32.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Man's shoe, to tie
35.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Man's dark leather
38.a.1	Unknown	M	A	Shoe	Men's pair of leather shoes
40.a.1	South West	M	A	Shoe	
40.a.2	South West	M	A	Shoe	
40.a.3	South West	M	A	Shoe	
40.a.4	South West	M	A	Shoe	
40.a.5	South West	M	A	Shoe	
44.a.1	South West	M	A	Shoe	Domed toe, latchet tie
45.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	
46.a.1	South West	M	A	Shoe	
47.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Man's, brown leather
50.a.1	North West	M	A	Shoe	
51.a.1	North West	M	A	Shoe	Man's pair of buckle shoes
76.a.1	South West	M	A	Shoe	
78.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Buff leather buckle shoe
78.b.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Brown leather buckle shoe
84.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe sole	Sole, pegged heel
90.a.1	South West	M	A	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe

98.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Tie shoe, possibly military
106.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe
112.a.2	South East	M	A	Boot	Boot top
114.a.1	West Midlands	M	A	Shoe insole	Part of insole and rand, curved for heel
118.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Heel lift, peg holes
121.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	
121.a.2	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	
123.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Wide square toe, high heel
127.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Court shoe
134.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Workman's shoe
135.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	
136.a.3	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Tie shoe
142.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Mule, round toe
142.a.2	South East	M	A	Shoe	Square toe
145.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	
145.a.2	South East	M	A	Last	
153.a.4	South East	M	A	Shoe	Square toed latchet tie shoe, stacked heel
158.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Closed side, high tongue, square toe, latchet tie
158.a.2	South East	M	A	Shoe	Closed side, high tongue, square toe, latchet tie
158.a.3	South East	M	A	Shoe	Closed side, high tongue, square toe, latchet tie
165.a.1	North West	M	A	Boot	
171.a.1	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Shoe - cut down boot?
173.a.1	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Brown shoe with lace up side, no heel, latchet tie
173.a.2	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Shoe, welted, small open sides, narrow lachets
175.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Latchet tie, welted with riveted heel
178.a.1	East Midlands	M	A	Boot	
178.a.2	East Midlands	M	A	Boot	
178.a.3	East Midlands	M	A	Boot	
178.a.4	East Midlands	M	A	Boot	
178.a.5	East Midlands	M	A	Boot	
180.a.1	Greater London	M	A	Boot	Cut off at ankle, high heel
182.a.1	Greater London	M	A	Shoe	Black shoe, square toe, lacing through tongue
184.a.1	Greater London	M	A	Shoe	
184.a.2	Greater London	M	A	Shoe	

184.a.3	Greater London	M	A	Shoe	
184.a.4	Greater London	M	A	Shoe	
184.a.5	Greater London	M	A	Shoe	
189.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Tie shoes
189.a.2	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Tie shoe
191.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Pointed toe, low heel shoe, adapted to 'buttonhole'.
197.a.2	Eastern	M	A	Boot	Stacked heel from boot
201.a.1	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Brown, vamp, one latchet tie
206.a.1	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Brown open sided, cut down to mule
208.a.1	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	
210.a.1	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	
211.a.1	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Pair of men's shoes
211.a.2	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	
211.a.3	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	
211.a.4	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	
211.a.5	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	
211.a.6	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	
211.a.7	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	
220.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Men's leather buckle shoe
222.a.1	East Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Man's sole with rand, 2" stacked leather heel, square toe
223.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Pair of leather shoes (ruff?), black
230.a.3	South East	M	A	Shoe sole	
230.a.4	South East	M	A	Shoe	Wide heel breast curve
235.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe sole	Adult male's soles, heel-less, square toed, slightly asymmetrical
237.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Man's leather latchet tie shoe, pointed toe
237.a.2	South East	M	A	Shoe	Man's buckle shoe, pointed toe
240.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Man's latchet tie shoe
259.c.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	
262.a.1	West Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Man's shoe, latchet tie
264.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Man's buff tie shoes
264.a.3	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Man's buff tie shoes
265.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	
279.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Man's leather shoe, 2 wide transverse slashes, slit at throat, right foot

284.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Adult man's leather latchet tie shoe
286.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Single shoe with buckle
299.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Man's latchet tie shoe
300.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	
300.a.2	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Buff leather, slightly pointed toe, originally latches
300.a.3	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie, round toe
300.a.4	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie, square toe
302.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Pair of buff leather shoes, highish heel
307.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Man's leather mule, stacked heel, square forked toe, tongued vamp
308.a.2	South East	M	A	Boots	
308.a.3	South East	M	A	Boots	
310.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Men's buff leather shoe, blunt toe, high heel, buckle straps altered, with button holes and leather strap for buckle again, hobnailed
313.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe sole	Men's heavy duty work sole
313.a.2	South East	M	A	Shoe	Men's heavy duty work shoe
313.a.3	South East	M	A	Shoe	Men's heavy duty work shoe
314.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Men's leather buckle shoe
319.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Men's high heel shoe
319.a.2	South East	M	A	Shoe	Men's tie shoe
335.a.1	West Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Pair of hobnailed buckle shoes, suede
335.a.3	West Midlands	M	A	Boot	Men's quarters from high-legged boots
338.a.1	South West	M	A	Shoe	
338.a.2	South West	M	A	Shoe	
338.a.3	South West	M	A	Shoe	
339.a.1	South West	M	A	Shoe	
342.a.1	South West	M	A	Shoe	
348.a.1	South West	M	A	Shoe	
348.a.2	South West	M	A	Shoe	
355.a.1	West Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Man's leather shoe
355.a.2	West Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Man's leather shoe
355.a.3	West Midlands	M	A	Shoe	Man's leather shoe
358.b.1	West Midlands	M	A	Boot	Pair of men's boots
362.a.1	Yorkshire	M	A	Shoe	Man's leather shoe, pointed toe
364.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Men's, black leather

365.a.1	Yorkshire	M	A	Shoe insole	Man's left foot insole from welted shoe, square forked toe
373.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Man's brown leather dress shoe, narrow oval toe, latches
376.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Boot	Men's leather boot, working shoe?
378.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Dress shoe
384.a.1	South East	M	A	Shoe	Buckle shoe, pointed toe
389.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Men's buff leather buckle shoe
422.a.1	South West	M	A	Shoe	Part of stacked heel
658.a.1	Eastern	M	A	Shoe	Black leather shoe of adult male
5.a.2	West Midlands	M	C	Shoe	Pair of boys shoes, high tongue, latchet tie, open sides
23.a.4	South East	M	C	Shoe	Tie shoes
23.a.5	South East	M	C	Shoe	Tie shoes
23.a.6	South East	M	C	Shoe	Tie shoes
25.a.1	South East	M	C	Shoe	Boy's black leather tie shoe, high tongue
30.a.1	Eastern	M	C	Shoe	Boy's first walking shoe of leather, tie through pair of holes in tongue
72.a.1	South West	M	C	Shoe	Black leather latchet tie shoe
99.a.2	South East	M	C	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie
160.a.1	South East	M	C	Shoe	Brown buckle shoe
182.b.2	Greater London	M	C	Shoe	Tie shoe
220.a.3	Eastern	M	C	Shoe	Boys tie shoe
250.a.1	South West	M	C	Shoe	Boys leather buckle shoe - 15cm long
256.a.1	South East	M	C	Shoe	Leather, latchet tie
260.a.1	South West	M	C	Shoe	Small boy's shoe
260.a.3	South West	M	C	Shoe	Older boy's shoe
300.a.14	Eastern	M	C	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie, blunt pointed toe
312.a.2	South East	M	C	Boot	Boy's black leather derby boot, riveted and much stitched
351.a.1	South West	M	C	Boots	Pair of boys lace boots
363.a.1	Yorkshire	M	C	Shoe sole	Boy's sole and heel, cloth upper square toed
379.a.1	South West	M	C	Shoe	Hobnailed bottom unit with horseshoe on one lift heel
423.a.1	South West	M	C	Shoe	Child's black leather shoes, made straight, worn right
23.a.8	South East		A	Shoe insole	
24.c.1	Eastern		A	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe

24.c.10	Eastern		A	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe
24.c.2	Eastern		A	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe
24.c.3	Eastern		A	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe
24.c.4	Eastern		A	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe
24.c.5	Eastern		A	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe
24.c.6	Eastern		A	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe
24.c.7	Eastern		A	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe
24.c.8	Eastern		A	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe
24.c.9	Eastern		A	Shoe	Adult leather tie shoe
48.a.1	Eastern		A	Shoe	Adult black leather shoe - narrow toe
65.b.1	South West		A	Boot	Small 9 eyelet closed tab ankle boot
122.a.1	East Anglia		A	Boot	4 button boot
130.a.15	Eastern		A	Shoe sole	Sole with heel
178.a.8	East Midlands		A	Slipper	
196.a.1	Eastern		A	Shoe	
215.a.1	East Midlands		A	Shoe	Adult's shoe of leather
261.a.1	West Midlands		A	Shoe	
275.a.1	Eastern		A	Shoe	Tie, pointed toe, peaked cap
275.a.2	Eastern		A	Shoe	Pointed toe
275.a.3	Eastern		A	Shoe	Pointed toe, slip on
284.a.2	Eastern		A	Shoe	Adult's leather latchet tie shoe
289.a.1	Eastern		A	Shoe	Adult leather latchet tie shoe, large open sides, very narrow waist
291.a.2	Eastern		A	Shoe	Youth's shoe of leather
296.a.5	Eastern		A	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe
296.a.6	Eastern		A	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe
296.a.7	Eastern		A	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe
312.a.1	South East		A	Shoe	Youth's latchet tie shoe, buff leather
335.a.2	West Midlands		A	Shoe	Pair of hobnailed buckle shoes uppers
356.a.1	West Midlands		A	Shoe	Remains of adult thick leather shoe, short latchet, vamp fragments, stacked heel
401.a.2	South East		A	Shoe	Youths R shoe, latchet tie through sole, stacked heel, hand sewn
401.a.3	South East		A	Shoe	Adults L early buckle shoe, narrow straps, heavy nailing at toe and heel, stacked heel, toe puff, hand sewn

401.a.4	South East		A	Shoe	Adult's R shoe, latchet tie, stacked leather heel, plain front, hand sewn
402.a.1	South East		A	Shoe	Uppers with long pointed toe
423.a.2	South West		A	Shoe sole	
424.a.2	West Midlands		A	Overshoe	Small adult overshoe, wooden sole, pair leather straps
432.a.2	Eastern		A	Shoe	Hobnailed brown leather with buckle straps (buckle missing). Low stacked heel, pointed toe
1.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
9.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	3 inches long
10.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
10.a.2	South East		C	Shoe	
12.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	Child's latchet tie shoe, high tongue, open sides
14.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
15.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	
18.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Pair of shoes
22.a.1	North West		C	Shoe	
26.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	
34.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Child's brown leather tie shoe with ecclesiastical rose on front, veldschoen stitched
40.a.7	South West		C	Shoe	
41.a.1	Eastern		C	Boot	Button boot
42.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Leather
45.a.2	Eastern		C	Shoe	
50.a.2	North West		C	Shoe	
50.a.3	North West		C	Shoe	
50.a.4	North West		C	Shoe	
54.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Baby shoe
56.a.1	East Midlands		C	Shoe	
57.a.1	East Midlands		C	Shoe	
62.a.1	South West		C	Shoe sole	Sole fragment, blunt pointed toe
65.b.2	South West		C	Shoe	Infant's ankle strap shoe
68.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	Child's buckle shoe, pointed toe
69.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	
71.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	
75.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	Latchet shoe
85.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	Part of sole and heel seat
87.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe, brown leather
92.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	Dark brown leather shoe, rounded toe, latches

94.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	
95.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Dark brown leather, square tie, latchet ties
97.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Soles, square toed, flat
97.a.2	South East		C	Shoe	Soles, square toed, flat
97.a.3	South East		C	Shoe	Soles, square toed, flat
97.a.4	South East		C	Shoe	Soles, square toed, flat
97.a.5	South East		C	Shoe	Soles, square toed, flat
100.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Tie shoe, pointed toe
100.b.2	South East		C	Shoe	Blue t-strap
100.b.3	South East		C	Shoe	Tie shoe and sole of its pair
103.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	Open sided latchet ties
104.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
106.a.2	South East		C	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe
106.a.3	South East		C	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe
108.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Black leather latchet tie shoe
109.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
109.a.2	South East		C	Shoe	
110.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Leather shoes with pointed toe, wooden heel
118.a.3	Eastern		C	Fragments	Sole and part upper
130.a.13	Eastern		C	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe
130.a.14	Eastern		C	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe
132.a.1	Eastern		C	Clog	
137.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Brown leather latchet tie shoe
138.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Buff leather buckle shoe
143.a.2	South East		C	Shoe	Buckle shoe
145.a.4	South East		C	Last	
147.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
147.a.2	South East		C	Shoe	
150.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
151.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
152.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
157.a.3	South East		C	Shoe	Buckle shoe
158.a.11	South East		C	Shoe	Latchet tie open side shoe
159.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Brocade shoe
162.a.2	South East		C	Shoe	Buckle shoe
166.a.1	North West		C	Shoe	Dark brown/black shoe, lachets with metal button
167.b.1	North West		C	Clog	
167.b.2	North West		C	Shoe	Shoe with clasps
167.b.3	North West		C	Shoe	Button shoe
167.c.1	North West		C	Clog	
168.a.1	North West		C	Shoe	Black latchet tie shoe, small open sides, pegged sole

178.a.10	East Midlands		C	Boot	
178.a.11	East Midlands		C	Boot	
178.a.12	East Midlands		C	Boot	
178.a.9	East Midlands		C	Boot	
181.a.1	Greater London		C	Shoe	Shoe with applique braid
183.a.1	Greater London		C	Shoe	
184.a.10	Greater London		C	Shoe	
188.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
189.a.10	Eastern		C	Shoe	Tie shoe
192.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Blue suede latchet tie square toe shoe
194.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Buff latchet tie shoe
195.a.2	Eastern		C	Shoe	Buff latchet tie shoe, round toe
197.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Black shoe, latchet tie through tongue
198.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Shoe with stiffeners of wood
199.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Leather buckle shoe
200.a.1	East Midlands		C	Shoe	
212.a.1	East Midlands		C	Shoe	Child's buff leather buckle shoe, thick sole
217.a.1	East Midlands		C	Shoe	
218.a.1	East Midlands		C	Shoe	
226.a.1	East Midlands		C	Shoe	Child's, latches to tie
227.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	
227.a.2	Eastern		C	Shoe	
231.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Child's silk shoe, 5" long
232.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Child's black leather, high tongued, latchet tie shoe, pointed toe
234.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Childs shoe, 4" long, square toe, open sides, latchet tie
236.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Child's brown latchet tie shoe, straps for buckle
240.a.3	South East		C	Shoe	Child's latchet tie shoe
240.a.4	South East		C	Shoe	Child's latchet tie shoe
244.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Child's Cromwellian shoe
245.a.1	West Midlands		C	Shoe	Small child's shoe
246.a.1	West Midlands		C	Shoe	Child's buff leather latchet tie, small open sides, 2 prs lace holes on tongue
259.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Brown leather
259.b.1	South East		C	Shoe	Brown leather
264.a.2	Eastern		C	Shoe	Child's buff tie shoes

266.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Child's tie shoe, open sides
268.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Child's latchet tie shoe with rand, right foot
273.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Child's right foot shoe, blunt pointed toe, narrow arch
274.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Pair of child's leather slashed shoes with ankle straps
281.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
284.a.3	Eastern		C	Shoe	Child's leather latchet tie shoe
284.a.4	Eastern		C	Shoe	Child's leather latchet tie shoe
287.a.2	Eastern		C	Shoe	Child's shoe of buff leather
287.a.3	Eastern		C	Shoe	Child's shoe of buff leather
287.a.4	Eastern		C	Shoe	Child's shoe of buff leather
287.a.5	Eastern		C	Shoe	Child's shoe of buff leather
287.a.6	Eastern		C	Shoe	Child's shoe of buff leather
290.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Child's buff leather latchet tie shoe
292.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Small pair of child's shoes
295.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Small pair of shoes
296.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe
296.a.2	Eastern		C	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe
296.a.3	Eastern		C	Shoe	Latchet tie shoe
301.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Brown leather, latchet tie
301.b.2	South East		C	Shoe	Buff leather buckle shoe
305.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Child's brown leather latchet tie shoe lacing through base of tongue
308.a.5	South East		C	Boots	Child's boots sole
313.a.4	South East		C	Shoe	Child's latchet tie shoe
315.a.1	South East		C	Boot	
316.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
316.a.2	South East		C	Shoe	
316.a.3	South East		C	Shoe	
316.a.4	South East		C	Shoe	
316.a.5	South East		C	Shoe	
318.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
322.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
323.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
323.a.2	South East		C	Shoe	
323.a.3	South East		C	Shoe	Pair of child's shoes
327.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
329.a.1	West Midlands		C	Shoe	Child's leather shoe, latchet tie, 1st walking size
330.a.1	West Midlands		C	Shoe	Child's, black leather, round oval toe, latchet to tie over and through tongue, lift heel.

331.a.1	West Midlands		C	Shoe	Child's latchet tie shoe
331.a.2	West Midlands		C	Boot	Man's legboot cut down for child
332.a.1	West Midlands		C	Shoe	Child's buff leather shoe, latchet tie
332.a.2	West Midlands		C	Shoe	Child's buff leather shoe, latchet tie
333.a.1	West Midlands		C	Shoe	
340.a.2	South West		C	Shoe	Child's latchet tie shoe, square toe
341.a.4	South West		C	Shoe	Baby shoe
343.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	Child's leather latchet tie shoe
345.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	
349.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	
354.a.1	West Midlands		C	Shoe	
357.a.1	West Midlands		C	Shoe	
366.a.1	Yorkshire		C	Shoe	Child's leather shoe
370.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
376.a.2	Eastern		C	Shoe	Young child's shoe with ankle strap
386.a.2	Yorkshire		C	Shoe	
387.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Child's latchet tie, oval toe, low heel small gap between tongue and latchet, leather sole and upper, silk?
393.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	Child's, small open sides, tie shoe
394.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Leather
394.b.1	South East		C	Shoe	Leather lace up
394.b.2	South East		C	Shoe	Pair, leather lace up
398.a.1	East Midlands		C	Shoe	Boot/shoe
400.a.1	Eastern		C	Boot	Balmoral boot
401.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Child's R shoe, latchet tie, stacked heel, plain front, hand sewn
403.a.1	Greater London		C	Shoe	1 hole tie shoe, edges bound
407.a.2	South East		C	Shoe	Latchet tie
407.b.2	South East		C	Shoe	Latchet tie, heel
407.d.1	South East		C	Shoe	Hand sewn straight insole, v. narrow square toe
407.d.2	South East		C	Shoe	Hand sewn straight insole, including section covering breast
407.d.3	South East		C	Shoe heel	Leather covering for wooden heel

407.d.4	South East		C	Shoe	Top piece with wooden peg
412.a.1	Eastern		C	Boot	Child's hobnail boot
413.a.1	South West		C	Boot	Child's boot/shoe
414.a.1	Eastern		C	Shoe	Lace shoe
418.a.1	South East		C	Boot	
420.a.1	East Midlands		C	Shoe	Part of child's shoe - quarters, vamp heel crudely sewn together
424.a.1	West Midlands		C	Shoe	Child's leather shoe, wide rounded toe, front lace
425.a.2	South East		C	Shoe	
427.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
428.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Leather shoe, 1 pair lace holes, very narrow buckle strap
428.b.1	South East		C	Shoe	Black leather latchet tie shoe, round toe
430.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Front lace shoe, short toe cap
512.a.1	South West		C	Shoe	Cloth shoe
521.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Baby's shoe, leather sole and upper, latchets, no heel
521.a.2	South East		C	Shoe	Child's left shoe, leather sole, upper and heel, narrow domes toe, curved side seam, tongue cut away
522.a.1	East Midlands		C	Shoe	Child's low-ankle latchet shoe, leather possibly originally coloured, rounded point toe
525.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	
640.a.1	South East		C	Shoe	Pair of infant's leather shoes

## Appendix L: Right or left assigned items

### L.1: Clothing

Item No.	Region	R/L	Item	Description
408.a.1	East Midlands	Pair	Socks	
598.b.1	South East	Pair	Corset stays	
643.a.1	East Midlands	Pair	Spurs	Pair of child's spurs
423.a.3	South West	L	Glove	Part of man's glove, leather
30.a.2	Eastern	R	Glove	Right 'fancy' leather glove, zigzag edge, folded up
399.a.11	South East	R	Mitten	Fingerless cotton mitten, right hand
399.a.12	South East	R	Mitten	Leather mitten, right hand
423.a.4	South West	R	Glove	Part of man's glove , chamois

### L.2: Shoes and other footwear

Item No.	Region	R/L	Item	Description
5.a.1	West Midlands	Pair	Shoe	Small pair of girls shoes, high tongue, latchet tie, open sides, low heel
5.a.2	West Midlands	Pair	Shoe	Pair of boys shoes, high tongue, latchet tie, open sides
5.a.3	West Midlands	Pair	Shoe	Pair of girls shoes, high tongue, latchet tie, small open sides, sizeable stacked heel, pointed toe
5.a.4	West Midlands	Pair	Shoe	Pair of women's shoes, high tongue, latchet tie, small open sides, sizeable 'louis' heel, pointed toe
11.a.1	South West	Pair	Clog	Pair women's hinged clog overshoes
18.a.1	South East	Pair	Shoe	Child's pair of shoes
19.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Slipper	Ballet style, very fine leather
20.a.1	South West	Pair	Shoe	
21.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Buckle shoes
22.a.1	North West	Pair	Shoe	
38.a.1	Unknown	Pair	Shoe	Men's pair of leather shoes
40.a.1	South West	Pair	Shoe	
40.a.2	South West	Pair	Shoe	
40.a.3	South West	Pair	Shoe	
40.a.4	South West	Pair	Shoe	
40.a.5	South West	Pair	Shoe	
40.a.6	South West	Pair	Shoe	
40.a.7	South West	Pair	Shoe	
43.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Woman's velvet brocade mules

50.a.4	North West	Pair	Shoe	
51.a.1	North West	Pair	Shoe	Men's pair of workmans buckle shoes
58.a.1	East Midlands	Pair	Shoe	Woman's pair working shoes
59.a.1	South West	Pair	Shoe	
70.a.1	South West	Pair	Patten	
76.a.1	South West	Pair	Shoe	
79.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Shoes with square toes
100.b.3	South East	Pair	Shoe	Tie shoe and sole of its pair
104.a.1	South East	Pair	Shoe	
110.a.1	South East	Pair	Shoe	Leather shoes with pointed toe, wooden heel
115.a.1	West Midlands	Pair	Shoe	
125.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Patten	
136.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	White rand tie shoes
145.a.1	South East	Pair	Shoe	
150.a.1	South East	Pair	Shoe	
158.a.4	South East	Pair	Shoe	Pointed toe, cork heel
161.a.1	South East	Pair	Shoe	
167.c.1	North West	Pair	Clog	
172.a.1	East Midlands	Pair	Patten	
172.a.2	East Midlands	Pair	Patten	
172.a.3	East Midlands	Pair	Patten	
172.a.4	East Midlands	Pair	Patten	
172.a.5	East Midlands	Pair	Patten	
186.a.1	Greater London	Pair	Shoe	Shoes, embroidered with lace
189.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Tie shoes
189.a.7	Eastern	Pair	Patten	Patten irons - O type
196.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Pair of adult's shoes
205.a.1	East Midlands	Pair	Boot	Elastic sided boots
211.a.1	East Midlands	Pair	Shoe	Pair of men's shoes
219.a.1	East Midlands	Pair	Shoe	Pair of shoes, probably women's, pointed toes
223.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Men's, pair, leather (ruff?), black
229.a.1	South East	Pair	Shoe	Buff leather, large open sides, carved heel
229.a.2	South East	Pair	Shoe	Buff leather, large open sides, stacked heel
230.a.1	South East	Pair	Fragments	Parts/soles of women's pointed toed shoes
233.a.1	South East	Pair	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.10	South East	Pair	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.2	South East	Pair	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.3	South East	Pair	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.4	South East	Pair	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.5	South East	Pair	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.6	South East	Pair	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.7	South East	Pair	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
233.a.8	South East	Pair	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets

233.a.9	South East	Pair	Clogs	Bases for ladies clog with heel sockets
235.a.1	South East	Pair	Sole	Adult male's soles, heel-less, square toed, slightly asymmetrical
240.a.5	South East	Pair	Shoe	Veldtschoen latchet tie shoe
270.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	
270.a.2	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	
274.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Pair of child's leather slashed shoes with ankle straps
277.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	
277.a.2	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	
286.a.4	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Woman's pair of shoes
292.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Small pair of child's shoes
295.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Small pair of shoes
300.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	
300.a.10	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Grain leather, latch tie, blunt pointed toe
300.a.2	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Buff leather, slightly pointed toe, originally latches
300.a.3	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie, round toe
300.a.5	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Grain leather, latch tie, needle pointed toe
300.a.6	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Grain leather, latch tie, blunt pointed toe
302.a.1	South East	Pair	Shoe	Pair of buff leather men's shoes, highish heel
304.a.1	South East	Pair	Overshoe	Pair of women's leather overshoes
304.a.2	South East	Pair	Shoe	
309.a.1	South East	Pair	Shoe	Pair of small shoes with extended/platform soles
309.a.2	South East	Pair	Shoe	Pair of small shoes with extended/platform soles
314.a.1	South East	Pair	Shoe	Men's leather buckle shoe
321.a.1	South East	Pair	Clogs	Pair of lady's leather clogs, blunt pointed toe, raised arch, 1 ribbon lace
323.a.3	South East	Pair	Shoe	Pair of child's shoes
335.a.1	West Midlands	Pair	Shoe	Pair Men's hobnailed buckle shoes, suede
335.a.2	West Midlands	Pair	Shoe	Pair youth's hobnailed buckle shoes uppers
335.a.3	West Midlands	Pair	Boot	Pair men's quarters from high-legged boots
351.a.1	South West	Pair	Boots	Pair of boys lace boots
358.b.1	West Midlands	Pair	Boot	Pair of men's boots
361.a.1	Yorkshire	Pair	Shoe	Pair of lady's thick leather shoes, high instep, buckles missing, stacked leather heel
371.a.1	South East	Pair	Shoe	Wooden heels
394.b.2	South East	Pair	Shoe	Child's, pair, leather lace up
407.c.1	South East	Pair	Shoe	Plain front, pointed tow, latchet tie
414.a.2	Eastern	Pair	Slipper	Slippers with heel
418.a.1	South East	Pair	Boot	
429.a.1	South West	Pair	Shoe	Young women's shoes

640.a.1	South East	Pair	Shoe	Pair of infant's leather shoes
650.a.1	South East	Pair	Shoe	
653.a.1	Eastern	Pair	Clog	Double soles with cork lining. Leather upper part and leather soles
653.a.4	Eastern	Pair	Shoe	Black shoes, thin leather, slashed - thought to be glove instead?
7.a.1	West Midlands	L	Shoe	Man's tie shoe, straight, worn left
27.a.1	South West	L	Shoe	
97.a.1	South East	L	Shoe	Soles, square toed, flat
97.a.2	South East	L	Shoe	Soles, square toed, flat
99.a.2	South East	L	Shoe	Buff leather, latchet tie
146.a.1	South East	L	Shoe	Blunt pointed toe, no heel
209.a.1	Eastern	L	Shoe	Left foot - leather buckle shoe
252.a.1	South West	L	Shoe	Dark brown leather tie shoe, narrow square toe, hobnailed
305.a.1	South East	L	Shoe	Child's brown leather latchet tie shoe lacing through base of tongue
329.a.1	West Midlands	L	Shoe	Childs leather shoe, latchet tie, 1st walking size
352.a.1	South West	L	Shoe	
365.a.1	Yorkshire	L	Insole	Man's left foot insole from welted shoe, square forked toe
393.a.1	South West	L	Shoe	Childs, small open sides, tie shoe
401.a.3	South East	L	Shoe	Adults left early buckle shoe, narrow straps, heavy nailing at toe and heel, stacked heel, toe puff, plain front, hand sewn
401.a.5	South East	L	Shoe	Girls left shoe, in several pieces, latchet tie, wooden heel, plain front, hand sewn
407.a.2	South East	L	Shoe	Latchet tie
430.a.1	South East	L	Shoe	Front lace shoe, short toe cap
521.a.2	South East	L	Shoe	Child's left shoe, leather sole, upper and heel, narrow domes toe, curved side seam, tongue cut away
522.a.1	East Midlands	L	Shoe	Child's low-ankle latchet shoe, leather possibly originally coloured, rounded point toe
645.a.1	South East	L	Shoe	Hand-made left shoe, square toe cap, no laces/buttons, modern sole
646.a.1	South East	L	Shoe	Hand-made shoe, hobnailed, tongue and upper in one piece
7.a.2	West Midlands	R	Shoe	Woman's tie shoe, straight, worn right
13.a.1	South West	R	Shoe	Woman's shoe, long square toe, large open sides, high tongue, latchet ties
46.a.1	South West	R	Shoe	
48.a.1	Eastern	R	Shoe	Adult black leather shoe - narrow toe

72.a.1	South West	R	Shoe	Black leather latchet tie shoe
89.a.1	South East	R	Shoe	Leather shoe
107.a.1	South East	R	Shoe	Square toe
149.a.1	South West	R	Clog	One bar clog, heel shod with horseshoe
157.a.2	South East	R	Sole	
160.a.1	South East	R	Shoe	Brown buckle shoe
168.a.1	North West	R	Shoe	Black latchet tie shoe, small open sides, pegged sole
173.a.1	East Midlands	R	Shoe	Brown shoe with lace up side, no heel, latchet tie
185.a.1	Greater London	R	Shoe	Brown shoe
238.a.1	South East	R	Shoe	Woman's shoe, large, horn toed, right foot
268.a.1	Eastern	R	Shoe	Child's latchet tie shoe with rand, right foot
273.a.1	Eastern	R	Shoe	Child's right foot shoe, blunt pointed toe, narrow arch
279.a.1	Eastern	R	Shoe	Man's leather shoe, 2 wide transverse slashes, slit at throat, right foot
289.a.1	Eastern	R	Shoe	Adult leather latchet tie shoe, large open sides, very narrow waist
397.a.1	Eastern	R	Shoe	Double latchet, rounded, pointed toe
401.a.1	South East	R	Shoe	Child's right shoe, latchet tie, stacked heel, plain front, hand sewn
401.a.2	South East	R	Shoe	Youths right shoe, latchet tie through sole, stacked heel, plain front, hand sewn
401.a.4	South East	R	Shoe	Adult's right shoe, latchet tie, stacked leather heel, plain front, hand sewn
406.a.1	Eastern	R	Shoe	Woman's latchet tie shoe, made straight, worn right
407.b.1	South East	R	Shoe	Upper gone, wooden heel, high quality
407.b.2	South East	R	Shoe	Latchet tie, heel
407.d.2	South East	R	Shoe	Hand sewn straight insole, including section covering breast
419.a.1	South East	R	Shoe	Square toe tie shoe, open sides
423.a.1	South West	R	Shoe	Child's black leather shoes, 1 pair lace holes, made straight, worn Right
517.a.1	Eastern	R	Shoe	Woman's shoe, right foot, leather upper and sole



## Appendix M: Sources and references for dataset

No.	Source/museum	Accession/ record number
1.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.10
1.b	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.10
2.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.1000
3.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.1001
4.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.1006
5.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.1007
6.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.1013
7.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.1015
8.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.1016
9.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.1017
10.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.102
11.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.1021
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45.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.1149/9.21
46.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.1152
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48.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.118
49.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.123/1066
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431.b	Northampton Museum	CS:2006.20
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435.a	Suffolk HER (Basil Brown Archive); Merrifield 1987;168	MSF7410
436.a	Norfolk HER	NHER15803
436.b	Norfolk HER	NHER15803
437.a	<a href="http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/">http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/</a>	
438.a	Winzar, 1995, Archaeologia Cantiana 115, pp. 23-8	
439.a	Merrifield, 1955, p. 200; Merrifield, 1987, p. 163	
440.a	Merrifield, 1987, p. 163, Merrifield 1954: 6; Pitt Rivers	1910.18.1.1
441.a	Merrifield, 1987, p. 163; Tilley, 1965, Archaeological Cantina 80, pp.252-6.	
442.a	Merrifield, 1987, p. 163	
443.a	Merrifield, 1987, p. 164; Maloney, 1980, Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society 31, pp. 157-8	
444.a	Merrifield, 1955, p. 201; Merrifield, 1987, p. 164-5	
445.a	Merrifield, 1987, p. 165; Maloney :158	
446.a	Merrifield, 1987, p. 167, Suffolk HER	MSF5422
447.a	Merrifield, 1987, p. 167	
448.a	Merrifield, 1955, p. 201; Merrifield, 1987, p. 168	NWHCM: 1932.19:A
449.a	Merrifield, 1987, p. 168	
450.a	Merrifield, 1987, p. 168	
451.a	Merrifield, 1987, p. 168-9,	
452.a	Merrifield, 1955, p. 202	
453.a	Pitt Rivers Museum	
454.a	The Guardian, 11/09/2000	

455.a	BBC Online, 13/10/2009, PMA 44/2	
456.a	British Archaeology, July/August 2009, p.7	
459.a	Norfolk Museums	
460.a	Essex SMR	17663
461.a	Leicester SMR	MLE1994
462.a	Leicester SMR/LAHS 1983 58.89	MLE6953
463.a	Yorkshire Dales NPA	FYD3777
464.a	Norfolk museums	NWHCM : 1956.286
465.a	Norfolk museums/Suffolk HER	NWHCM : 1971.406 : A
466.a	Norfolk museums	NWHCM : 1971.408 : A
467.a	Norfolk museums	NWHCM : 1975.356 : A
468.a	Norfolk museums	NWHCM : 1978.35 : A
469.a	Norfolk museums	NWHCM : 2007.208 : A
470.a	Norfolk HER	MNF16279
471.a	Norfolk HER	MNF17125
472.a	Norfolk HER	MNF17844
473.a	Norfolk HER/ Walker, 1987, Norfolk Archaeology 40, pp.113-4	MNF20034
474.a	Norfolk HER	MNF21898
475.a	Norfolk HER, Rose 1997, Norfolk Archaeology 42(4), p.385	MNF33778
475.b	Rose 1997, Norfolk Archaeology 42(4), p.385	
476.a	Museum of London	
477.a	Portable Antiquities Scheme	NARC-0ACAB1
478.a	Norris Museum, St Ives	90.04
479.a	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge	1927.1225 A
480.a	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge	1933.494
481.a	Suffolk HER (see Norwich Castle Museum)	MSF932/ TM 39 78
482.a	Suffolk HER (see Ipswich Museum)	MSF1944
483.a	Suffolk HER (Basil Brown Archive); Merrifield 1987;168	MSF6347
484.a	Suffolk HER	MSF3597
485.a	Buckinghamshire HER	
486.a	Norfolk HER/ Lynn Museum	NHER1228
487.a	Norfolk HER	NHER14539
488.a	Norfolk HER	NHER39841
489.a	Norfolk HER	NHER28977
490.a	Norfolk HER	MNF79
491.a	Norfolk HER	NHER71
492.a	Norfolk HER	NHER6708
493.a	Merrifield 1969:102	
494.a	Merrifield 1969:102	
495.a	Merrifield 1969:102	
496.a	Merrifield 1969:102	
497.a	Merrifield 1969:103	
498.a	Apotropaios.co.uk	

499.a	Gough, 1959, Kent Archaeological Review 15, pp. 19-20	
500.a	Winzar, 1995, Archaeologia Cantiana 115, pp. 23-8	
501.a	Bellam, Sussex Archaeological Collections 1990, pp.254-6	
502.a	Pennington, 1992, Sussex Archaeological Collections 130, pp.242-3.	
503.a	CAT 9 1995-6, p.22	
505.a	Medieval Britain and Ireland 2004 - ahds	
506.a	Archaeology Data Service	1333264
509.a	St Edmundsbury Museums	
510.a	St Edmundsbury Museums	1976.306
511.a	Lynn Museum	KILLM : 1967.37
512.a	Apotropaios.co.uk	
513.a	Norfolk HER	MNF23070
514.a	Norfolk HER	MNF40321
515.a	Apotropaios.co.uk	
516.a	Portable Antiquities Scheme	DEV-867707
517.a	Deliberately Concealed Garments Project	CG12a-h
518.a	Norfolk HER	MNF1053
519.a	Norfolk HER	MNF24439
520.a	Norfolk HER	MNF32760
521.a	Deliberately Concealed Garments Project	CG7a
522.a	North Lincolnshire SMR	
523.a	Essex SMR	7980
524.a	Leicester SMR	MLE627
525.a	West Berkshire SMR	FWB12120
526.a	Deliberately Concealed Garments Project	CG5a
527.a	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge	1908.491
528.a	Norfolk HER	MNF29506
529.a	Norfolk HER	MNF48836
530.a	St Edmundsbury Museums	1981.335
531.a	Epping Forest Museum	
532.a	Howard, 1951, p. 149	
533.a	Essex SMR	
534.a	Norfolk SMR	MNF16875
535.a	Apotropaios.co.uk	
536.a	Eastop, 2006, Context and Meaning Generation	
537.a	St Edmundsbury Museums	
538.a	Merrifield, 1987, p.129; Howard, 1951, p. 149	
539.a	Merrifield, 1987, p.129; Howard, 1951, p. 149	
540.a	Merrifield, 1987, p.129; Howard, 1951, p. 149	
542.a	Norris Museum, St Ives	2006.01
543.a	Apotropaios.co.uk	
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545.a	St Edmundsbury Museums	1989.42.1=.2
545.b	St Edmundsbury Museums	1989.42.1=.2

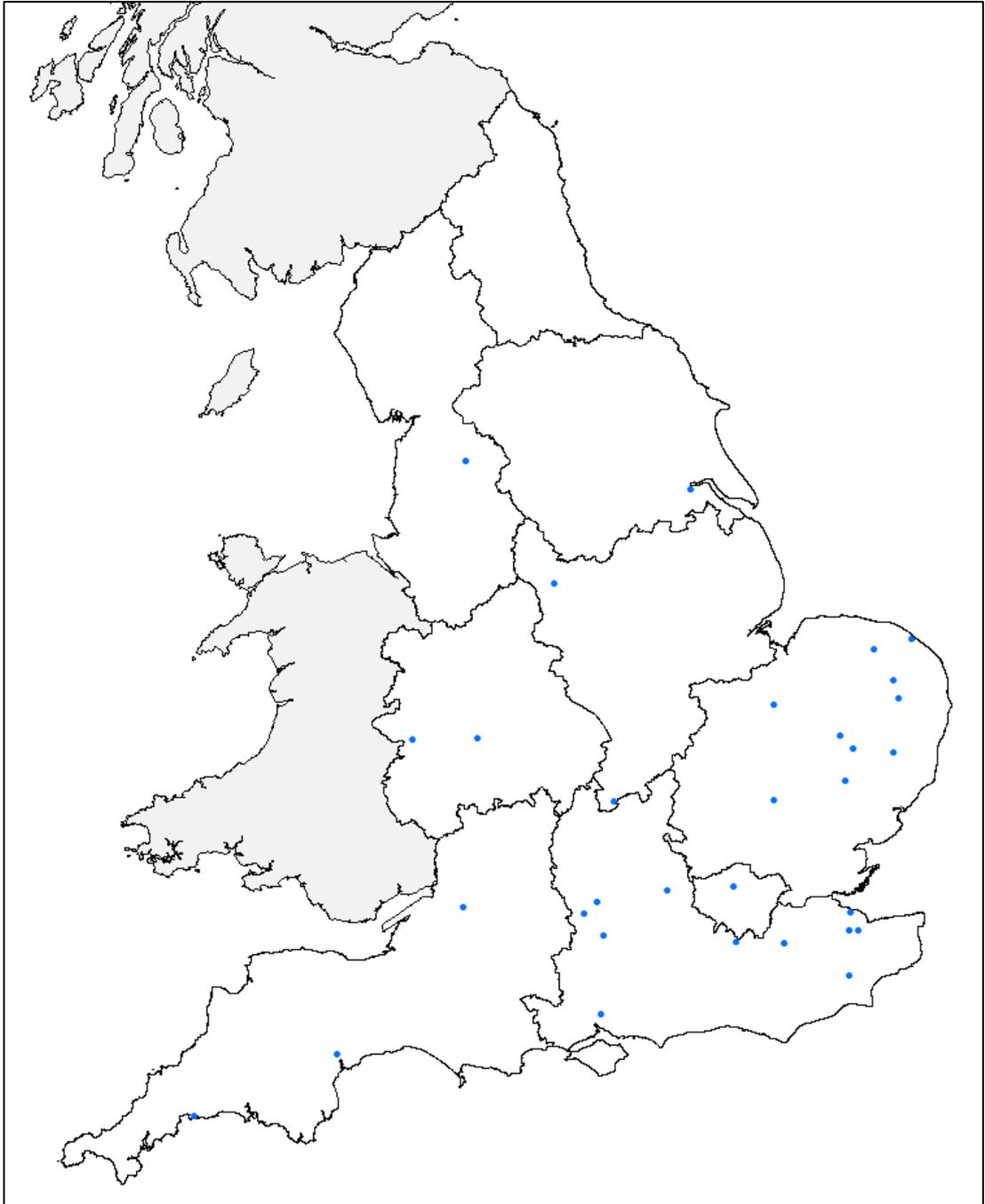
546.a	Merrifield, 1987, p.129; Howard, 1951, p. 149	
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549.a	Merrifield, 1987, p.131	
550.a	Howard, 1951, p. 149	
552.a	Howard, 1951, p. 149	
553.a	Howard, 1951, p. 149	
555.a	Howard, 1951, p. 149	
556.a	Howard, 1951, p. 149	
557.a	Howard, 1951, p. 150	
561.a	Collins, Folk Magic in Essex	
562.a	Collins, Folk Magic in Essex; Merrifield, 1987, p. 124	
566.a	Leicester SMR	MLE704
567.a	West Berkshire SMR	
568.a	Norfolk SMR	MNF14164
569.a	Merrifield 1969:101	
572.a	Merrifield, 1987, p. 118	
573.a	Merrifield, 1987, p. 118	
574.a	Merrifield, 1987, p. 129	
575.a	Merrifield, 1987, p. 129	
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587.a	Apotropaios.co.uk	
589.a	Lavenham Guildhall	
590.a	Guardian 8/12/11	
591.a	lowercalderlegends.wordpress.com	
592.a	lowercalderlegends.wordpress.com	
593.a	St Edmundsbury Museums	
595.a	Colchester Museum	
596.a	Deliberately Concealed Garments Project	CG3a+b
597.a	Deliberately Concealed Garments Project	CG8a-c
598.a	Historical Research Group of Sittingbourne	
598.b	Deliberately Concealed Garments Project	
598.c	Deliberately Concealed Garments Project	
599.a	Historical Research Group of Sittingbourne	

600.a	Abingdon Museum, Deliberately Concealed Garments Project	1997.7, CG1
601.a	Colchester SMR	COLEM: 1981
602.a	Eastop, 2006, Context and Meaning Generation	
603.a	Colchester SMR	COLEM: 1942.175
604.a	Colchester SMR	COLEM: 2008.c563
605.a	Portable Antiquities Scheme	NARC-151A67
606.a	Deliberately Concealed Garments Project	CG1a
607.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.321
608.a	Historical Research Group of Sittingbourne	
609.a	Saffrom Walden Museum	SAFWM : 1908.310
610.a	Colchester Museum	1942.175
611.a	Dorset SMR	FDO3741
612.a	Merrifield 1969:103	
613.a	Archaeology Data Service	
614.a	Archaeology Data Service	
615.a	Stoke SMR	00518- MSR8
616.a	Tees SMR	
617.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.1065
618.a	Staffordshire SMR	04435 - MST4135
619.a	North Lincolnshire SMR	
619.b	North Lincolnshire SMR	
619.c	North Lincolnshire SMR	
620.a	Deliberately Concealed Garments Project	CG13
621.a	Pennington, 1992, Sussex Archaeological Collections 130, pp.242-3.	
622.a	North Lincolnshire SMR	
623.a	Essex HER	5345
625.a	Portable Antiquities Scheme	DENO-26E394
626.a	Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter	
627.a	Northampton Museum	CS:1995.235
628.a	Epping Forest museum	
629.a	Merrifield 1987:162	
630.a	Apotropaios.co.uk	
631.a	Apotropaios.co.uk	
632.a	Apotropaios.co.uk	
633.a	Apotropaios.co.uk	
634.a	Winzar, 1995, Archaeologia Cantiana 115, pp. 23-8	
635.a	2002, Archaeologia Cantiana, p.415	
636.a	Pennington, 1992, Sussex Archaeological Collections 130, pp.242-3.	
637.a	Williams, 2005, Surrey Archaeological Collections 92, pp.140-3	
638.a	Braintree Museum	
639.a	Saffrom Walden Museum	SAFWM : 2011.26

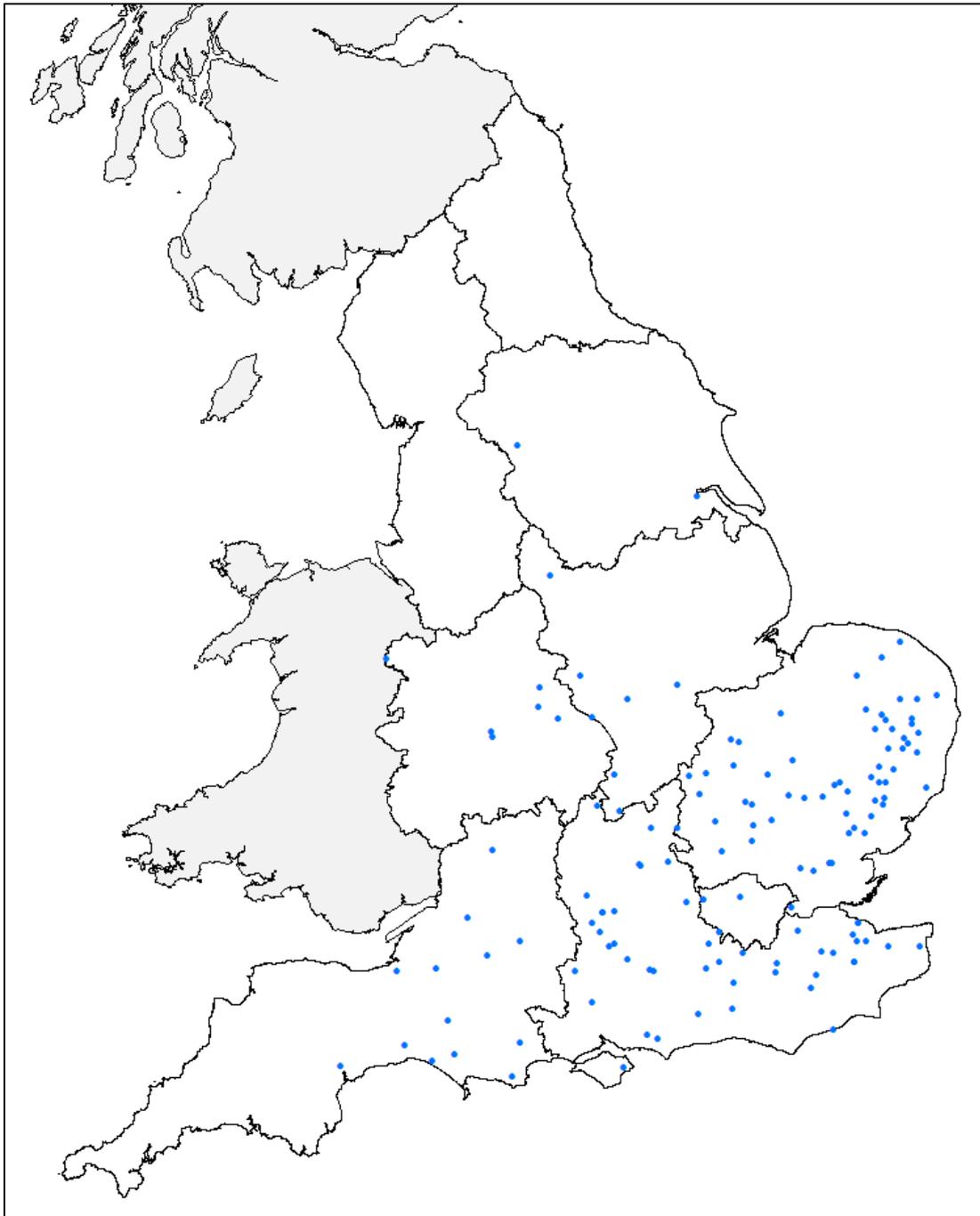
640.a	Reading Museum	
641.a	Ridgewell, 2006, Folklore Society News 48, p.9	
642.a	Arscott, 1991, Curiosities of East Sussex, p.13	
643.a	Ashby de la Zouch Museum	
644.a	Dartford museum	
645.a	Dartford museum	1961-107
646.a	Dartford museum	
647.a	Dartford museum	1967-99
648.a	Dartford museum	1955-48
649.a	Tunbridge Wells museum	TUNWM : 1985.43+44
650.a	Henfield Museum	
651.a	Henfield Museum	
652.a	Henfield Museum	
653.a	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge	1883.692 A-F
654.a	Chateriss museum	
655.a	Huddleston and Stainley, 2006, Folklore Society News 48, p.4	
656.a	Ridgewell 1999, Folklore Society News 29, p.16	
658.a	Hitchin museum	9546/1+
659.a	Telegraph 22/04/09	
660.a	Cambridge and County Folk Museum	
661.a	Allen, 1991, in Lewis (ed.) Custom and Ceramics, p.150,	
662.a	Allen, 1991, in Lewis (ed.) Custom and Ceramics, pp. 147-56, Andover Museum	HCMS A1991.7.1-4

## Appendix N: Distribution maps

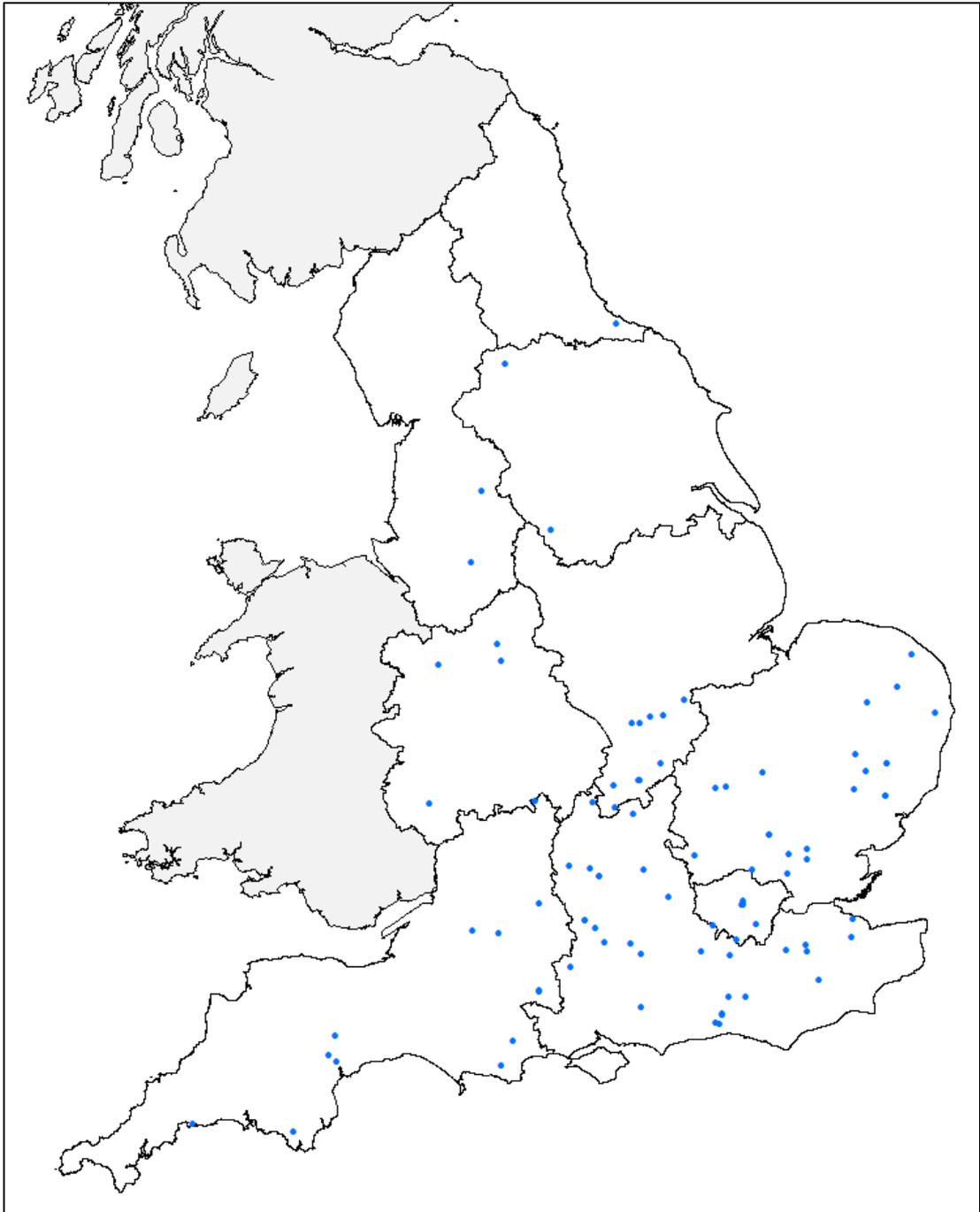
N.1: Map of houses containing more than one deposit.



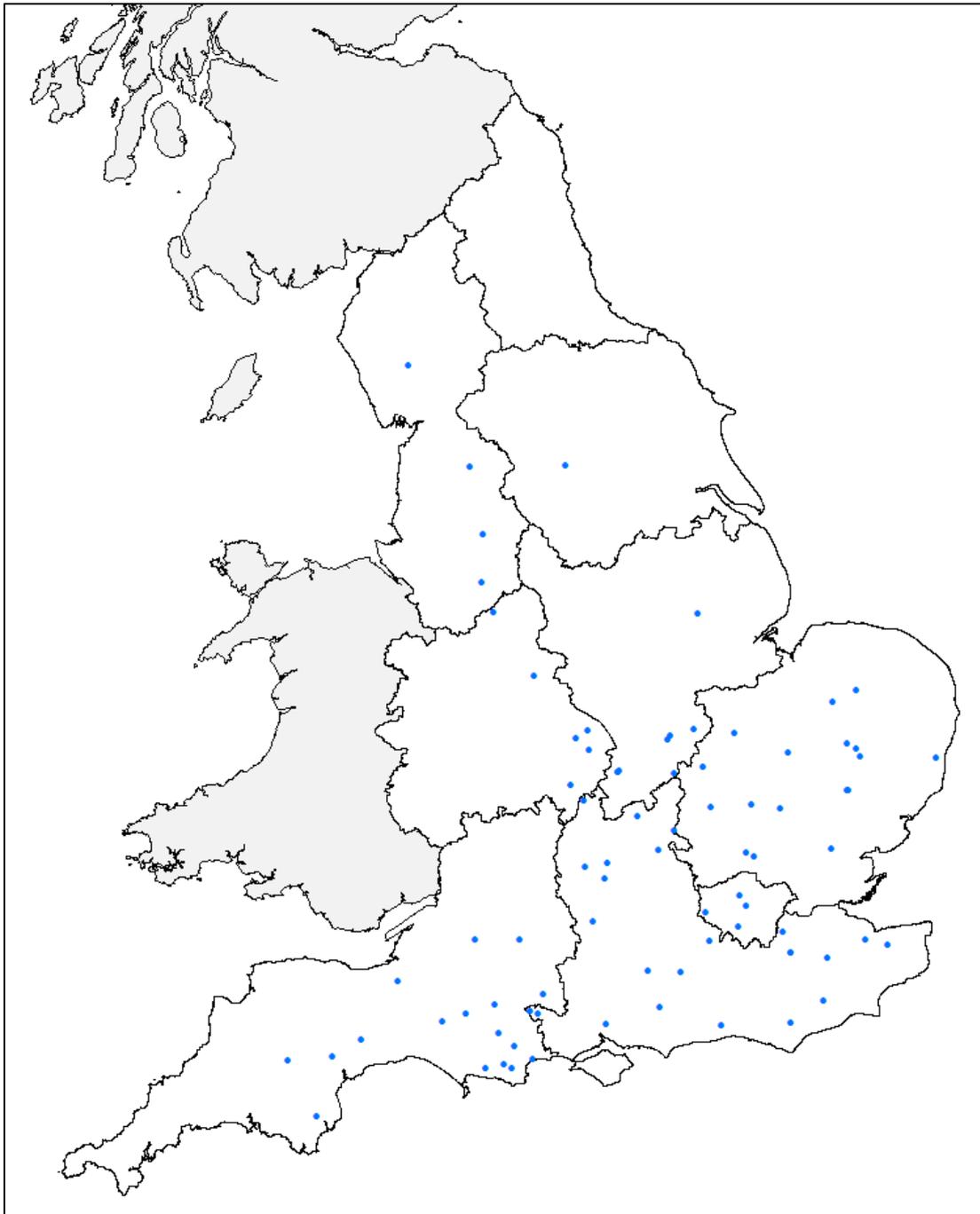
**N.2: Map of houses with deposits primarily associated with the chimney.**



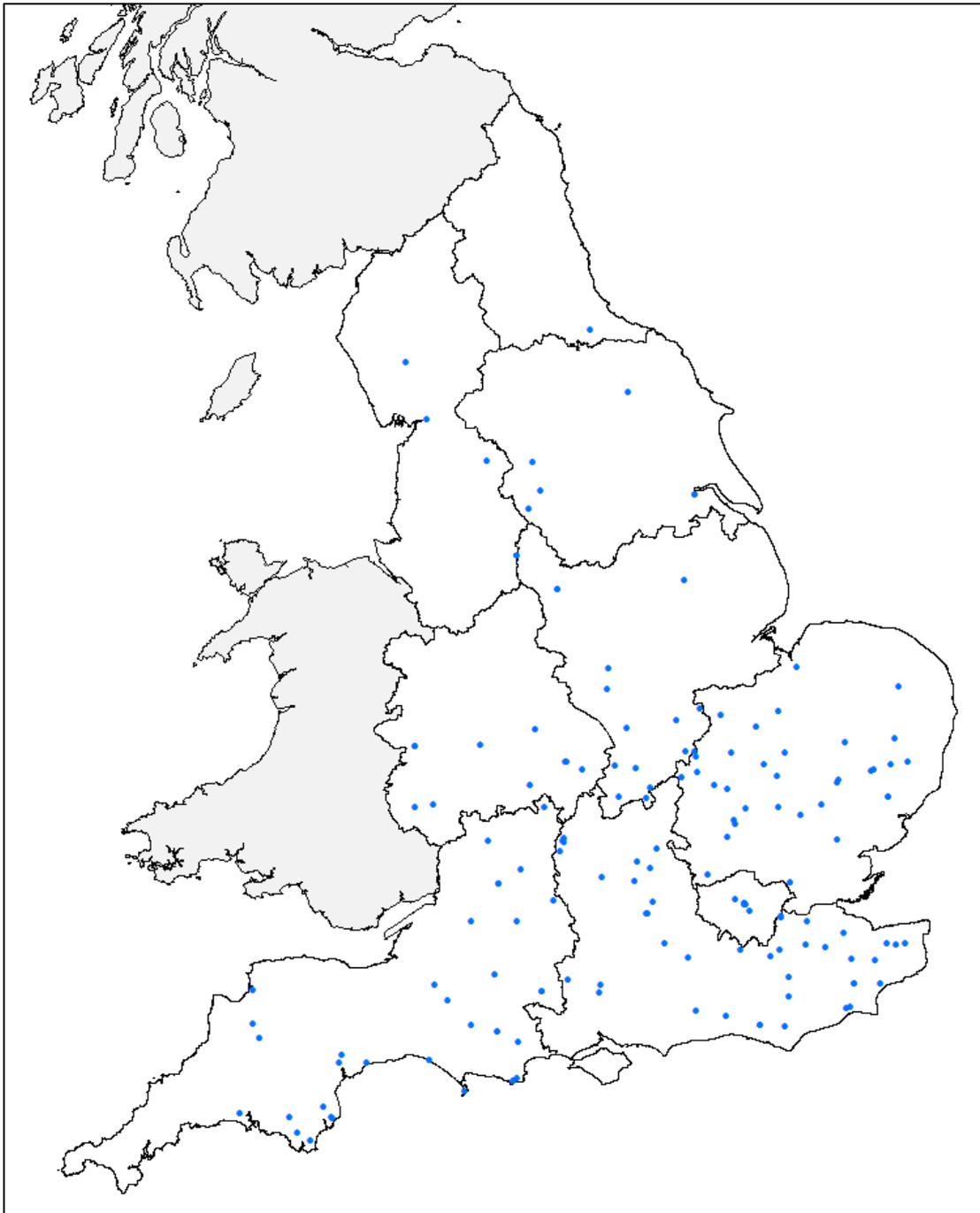
**N.3: Map of houses with deposits primarily associated with the floor.**



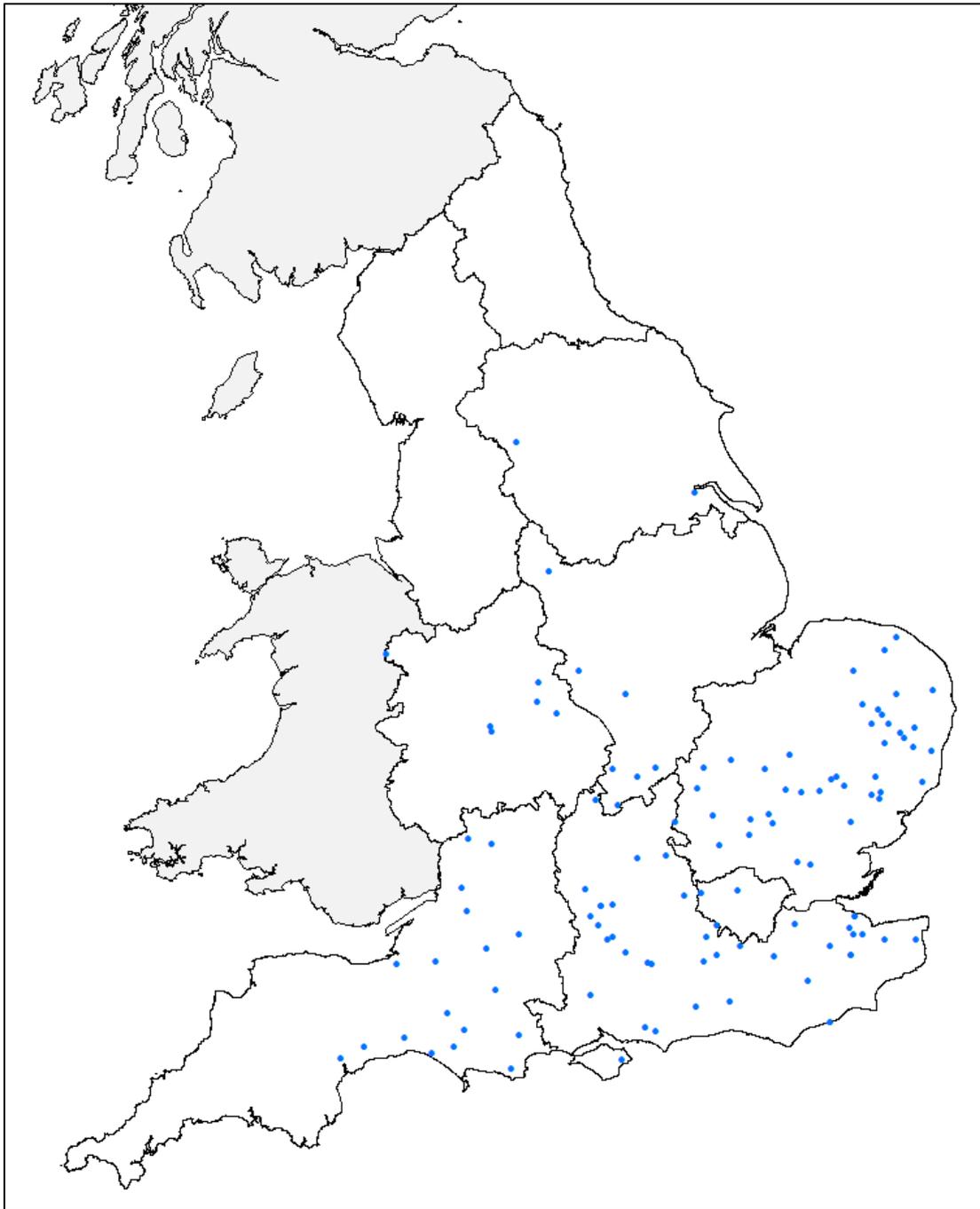
N.4: Map of houses with deposits primarily associated with the roof.



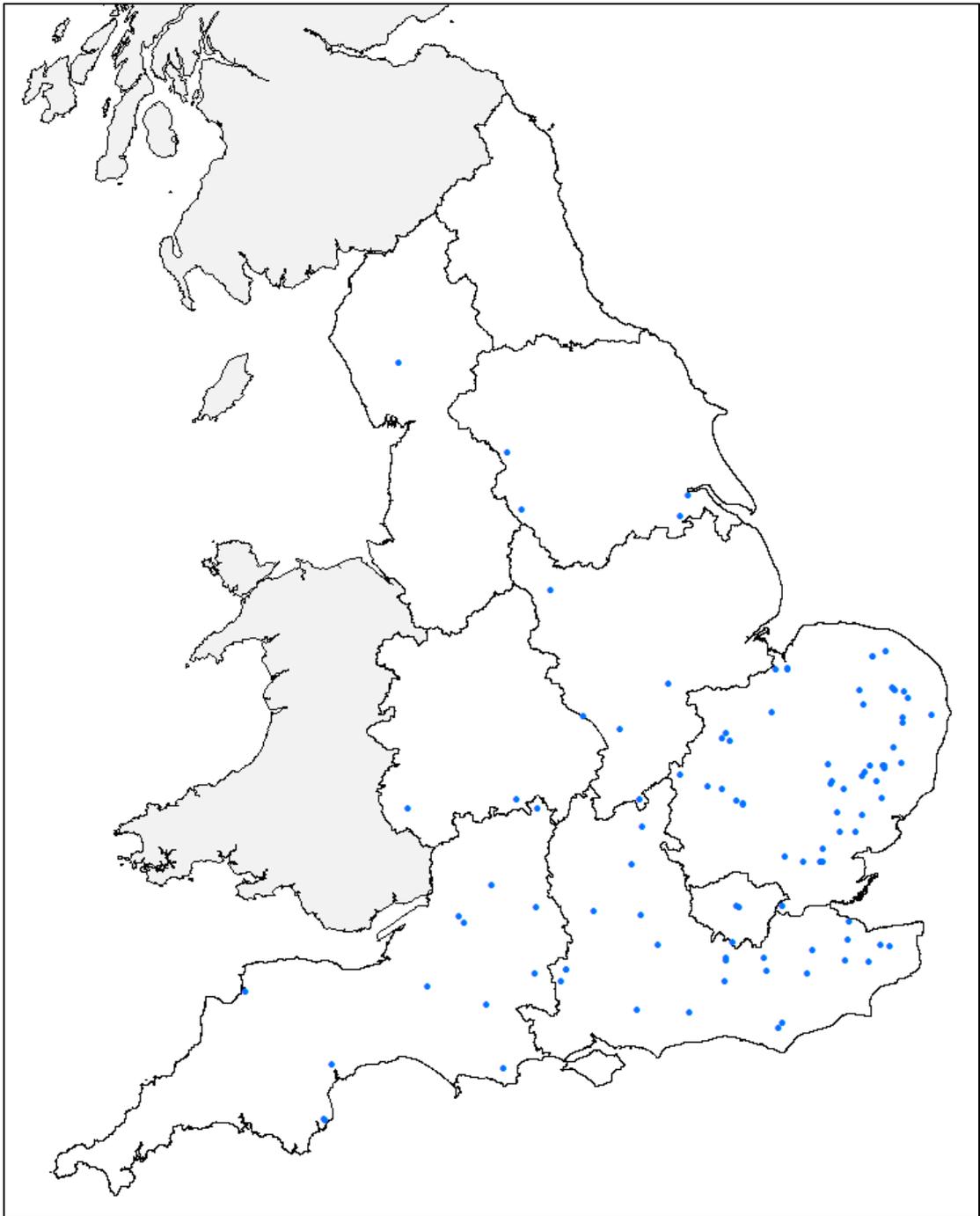
**N.5: Map of houses with deposits primarily associated with the wall.**



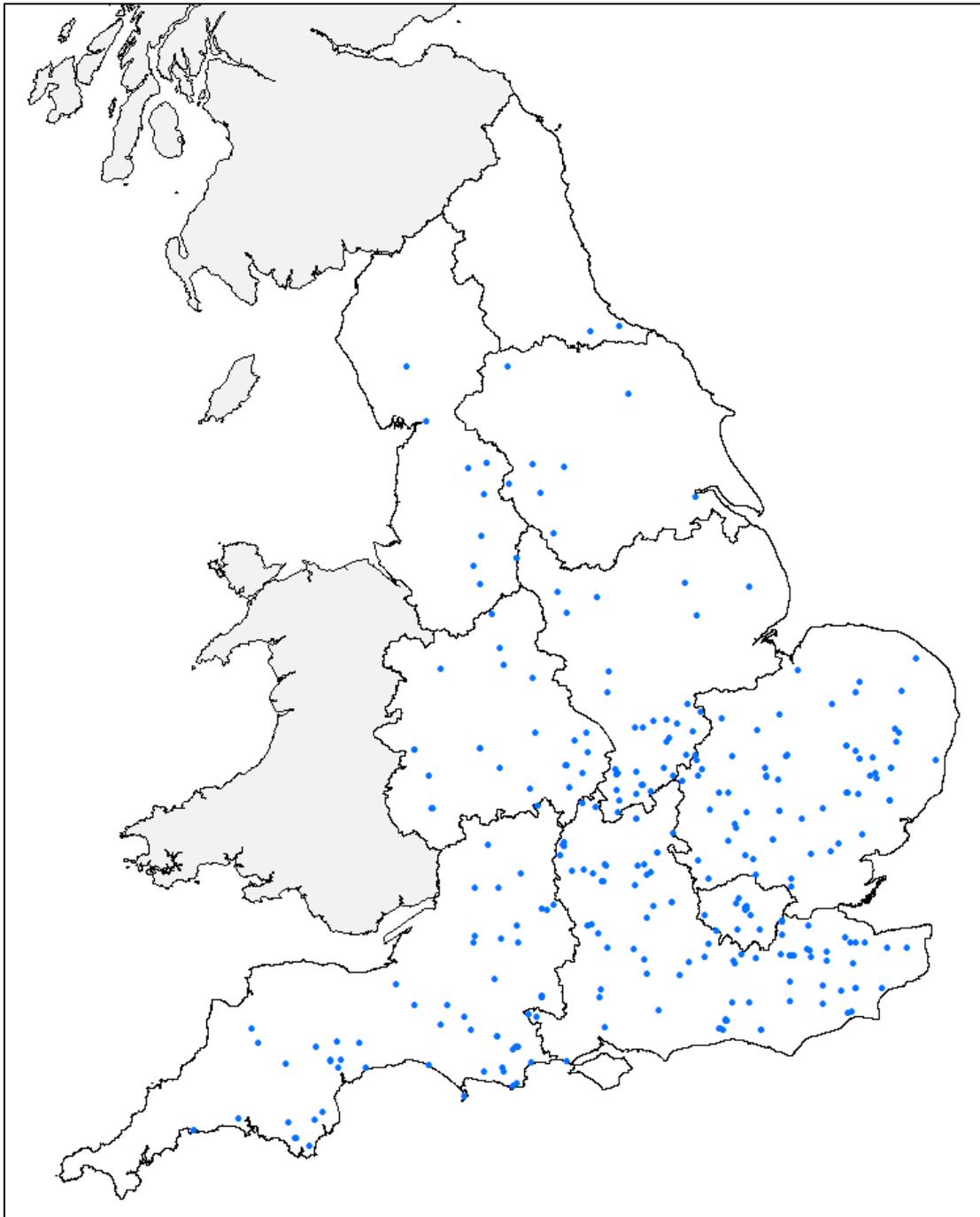
N.6: Map of houses with deposits in open locations.



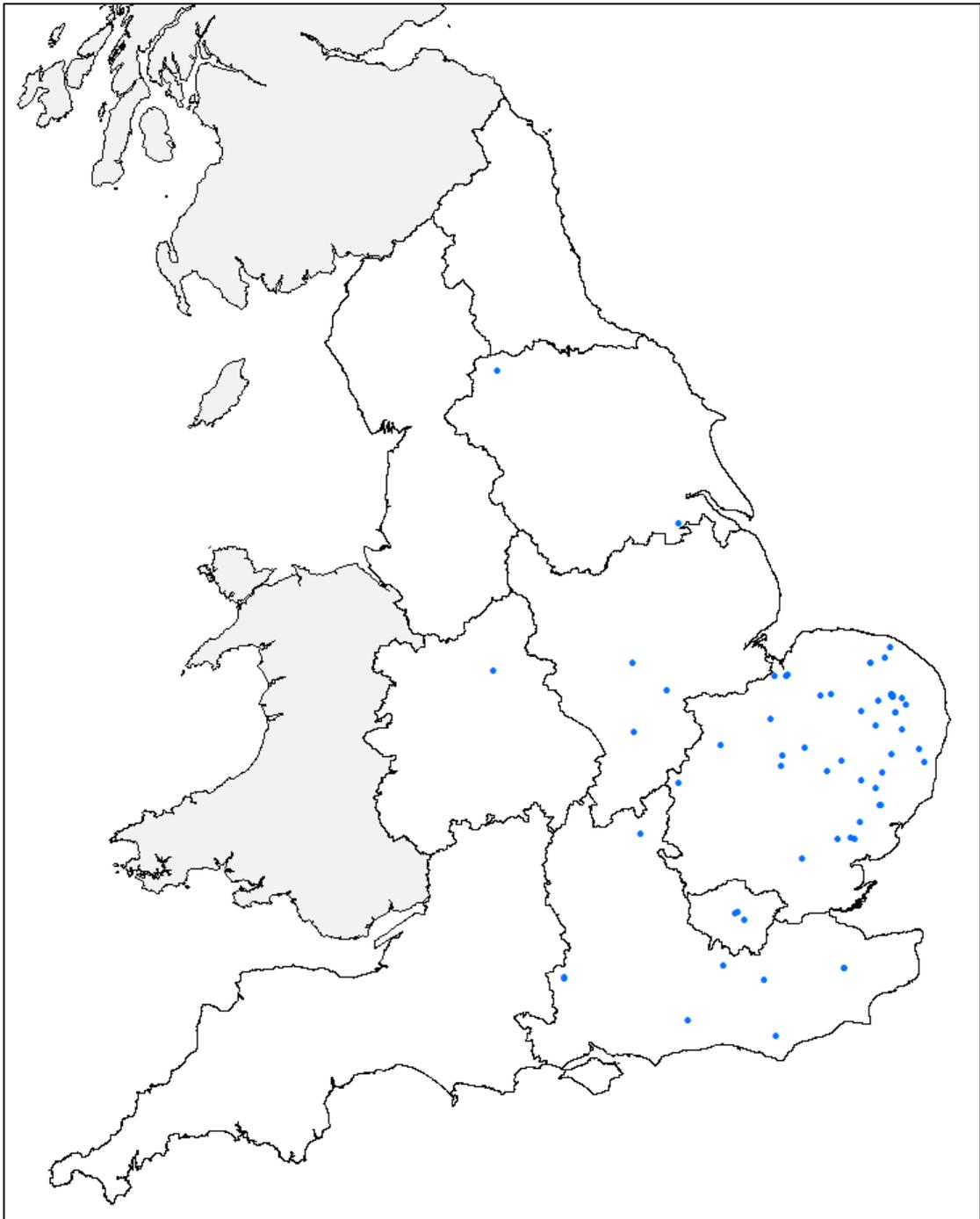
N.7: Map of houses with deposits in dual-association locations.



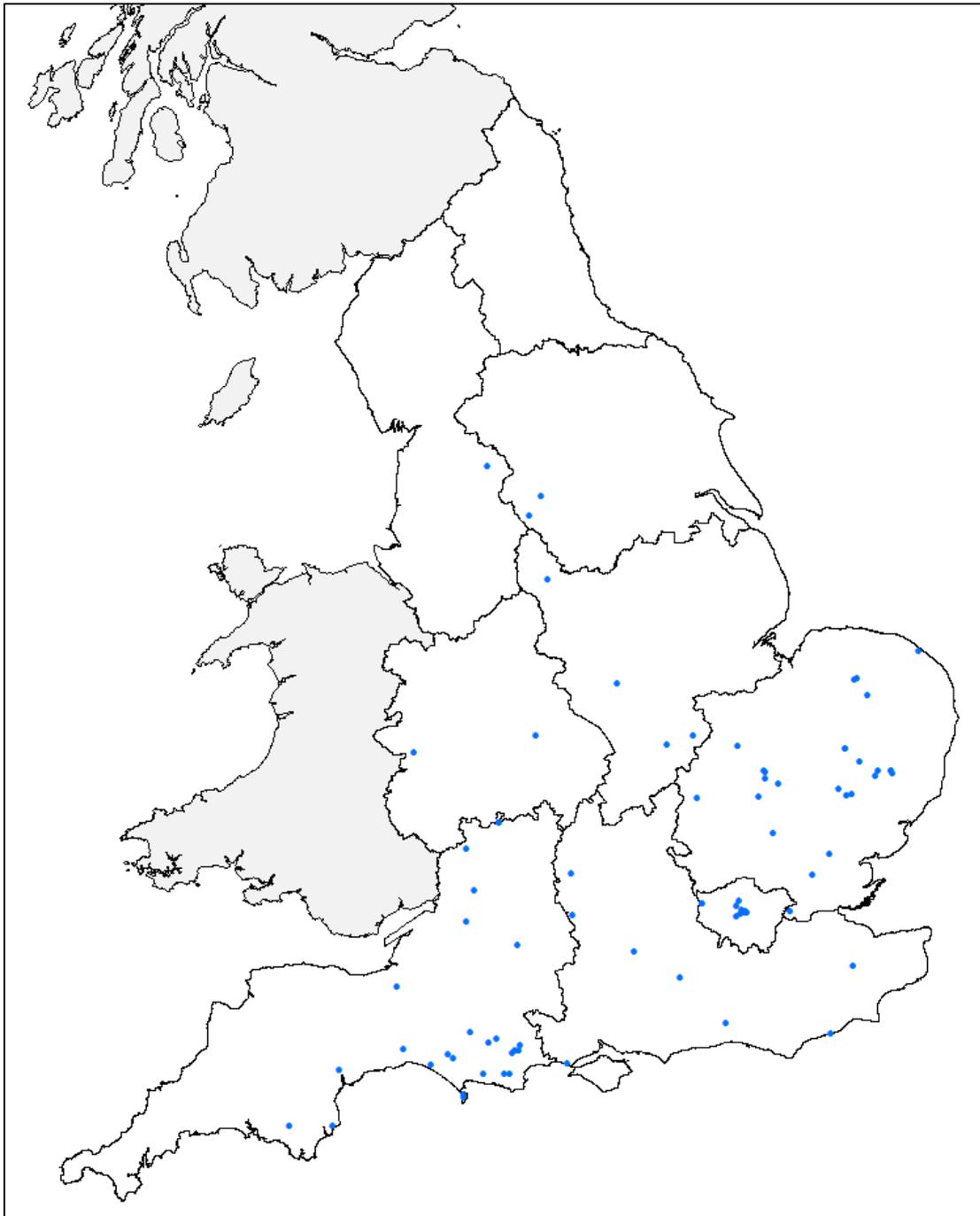
N.8: Map of houses with deposits in closed locations.



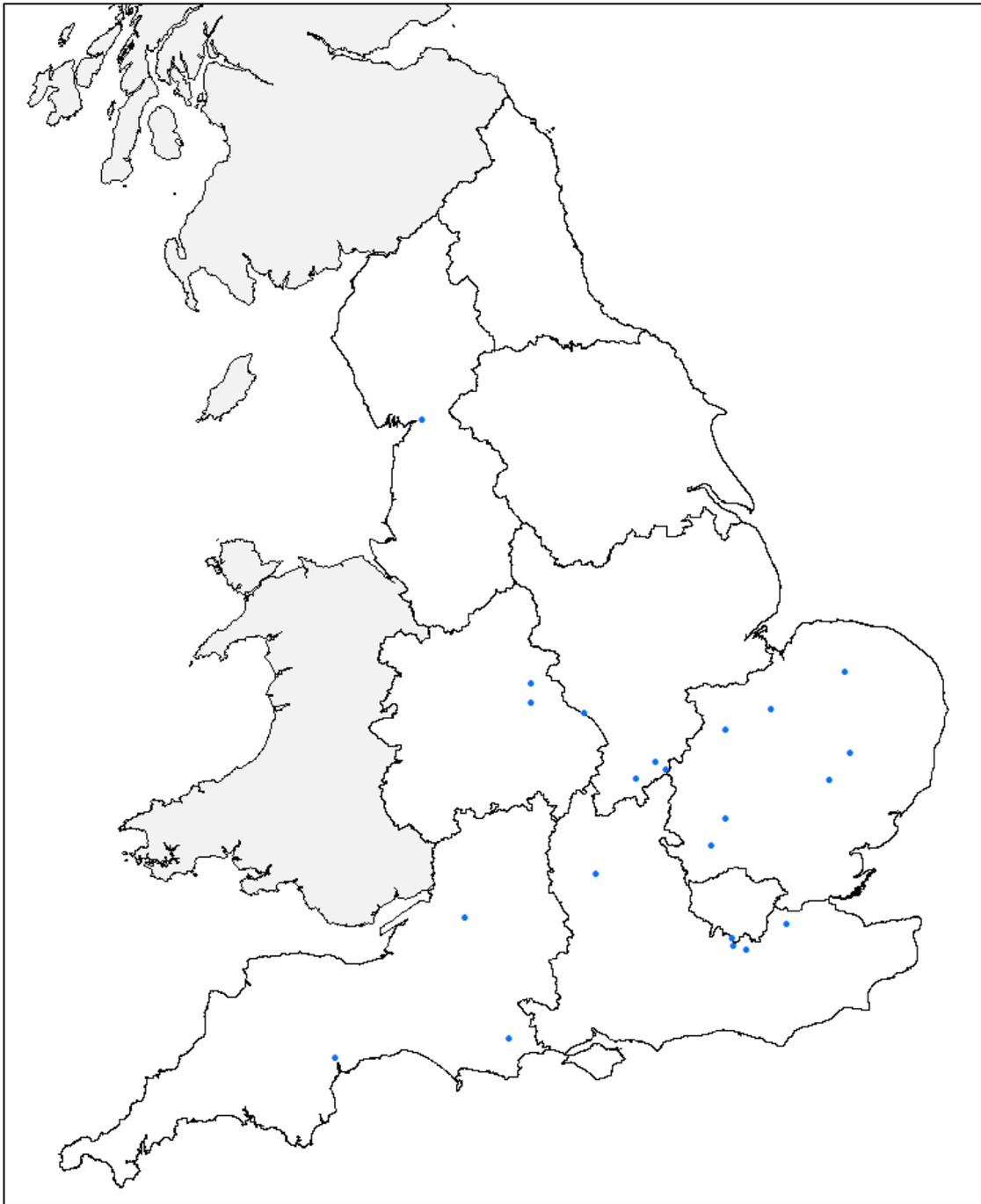
**N.9: Map of houses with deposits containing magical objects.**



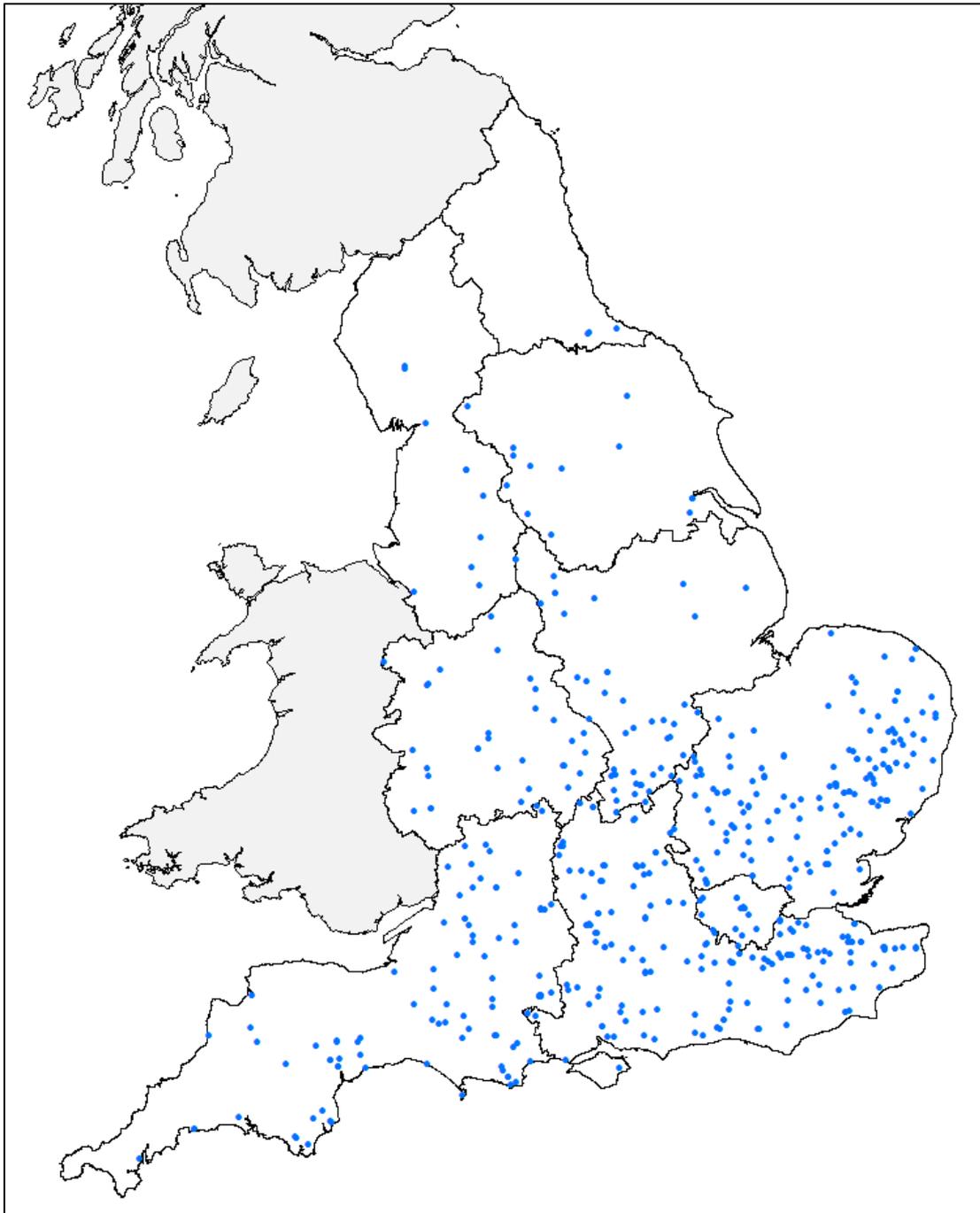
**N.10: Map of houses with deposits containing animal remains.**



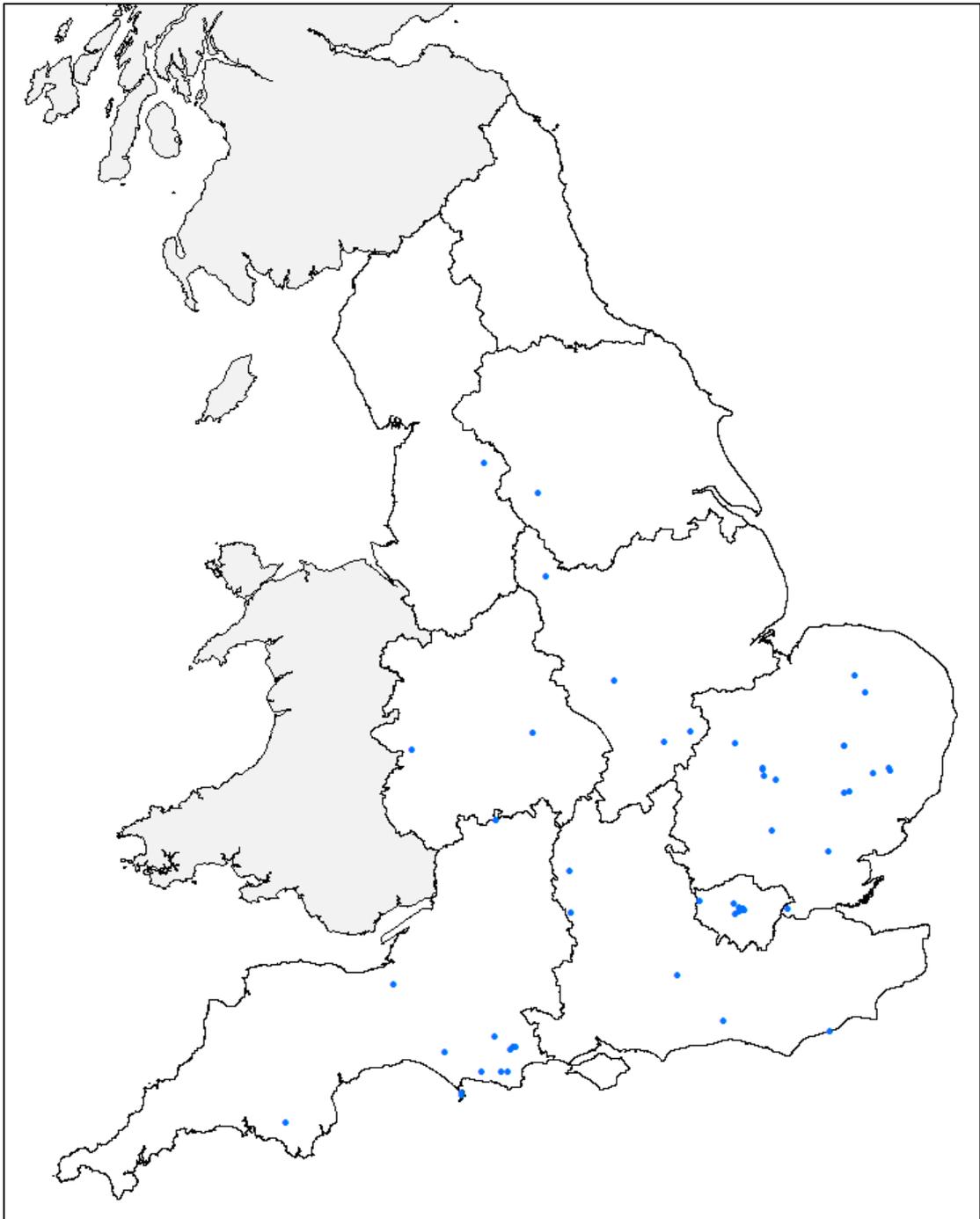
**N.11: Map of houses with deposits containing natural material.**



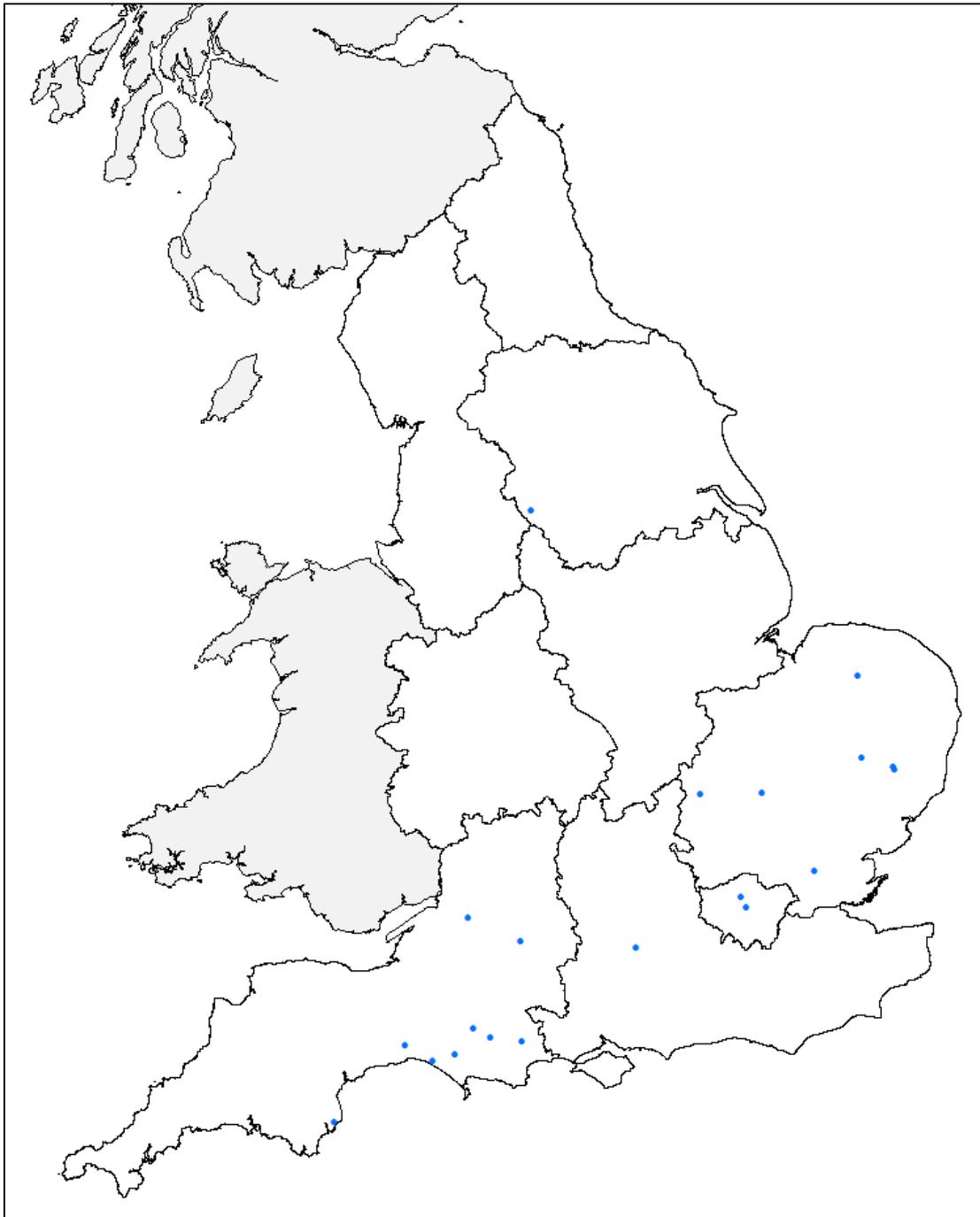
N.12: Map of houses with deposits containing everyday objects.



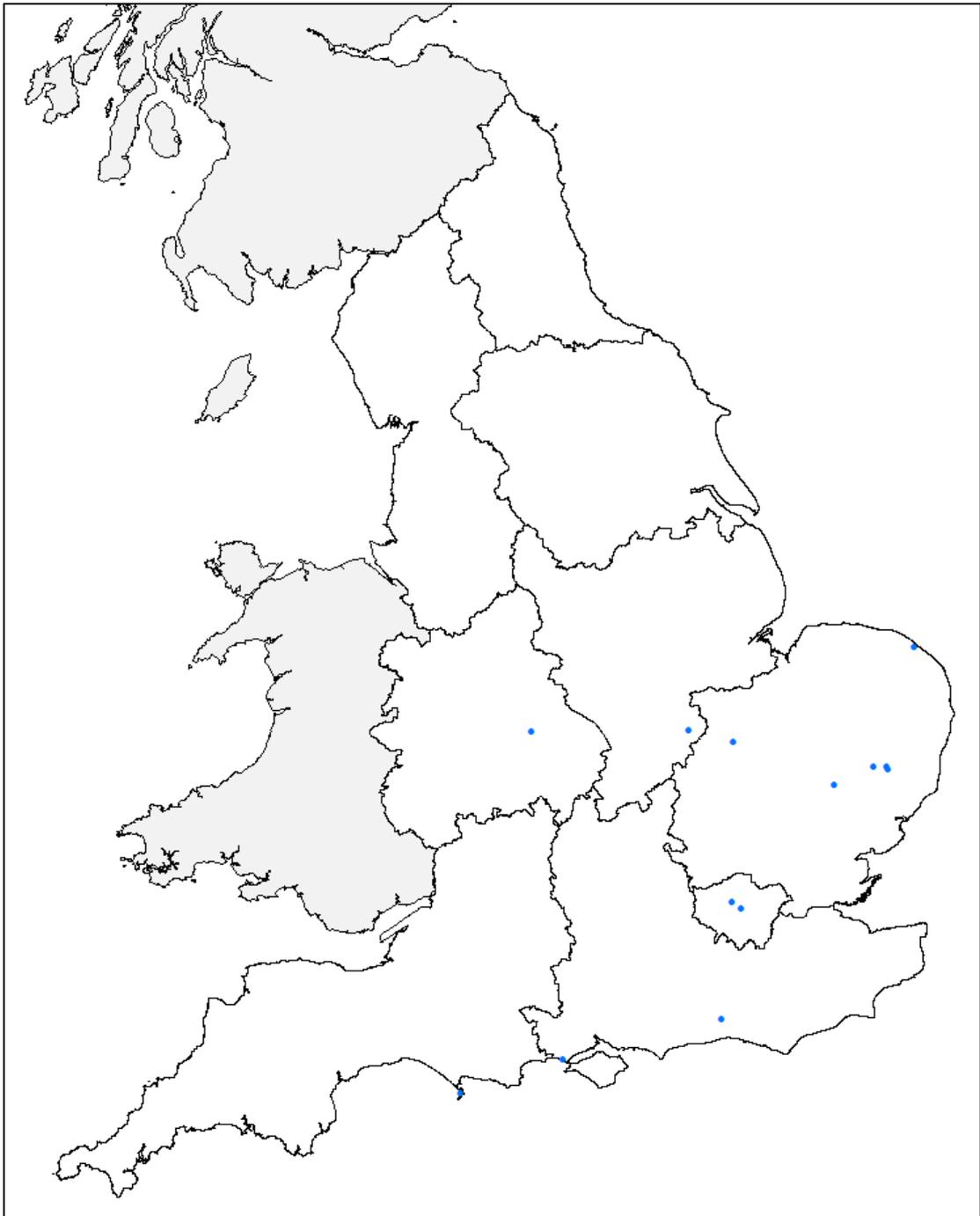
N.13: Map of houses with deposits containing privileged animal species.



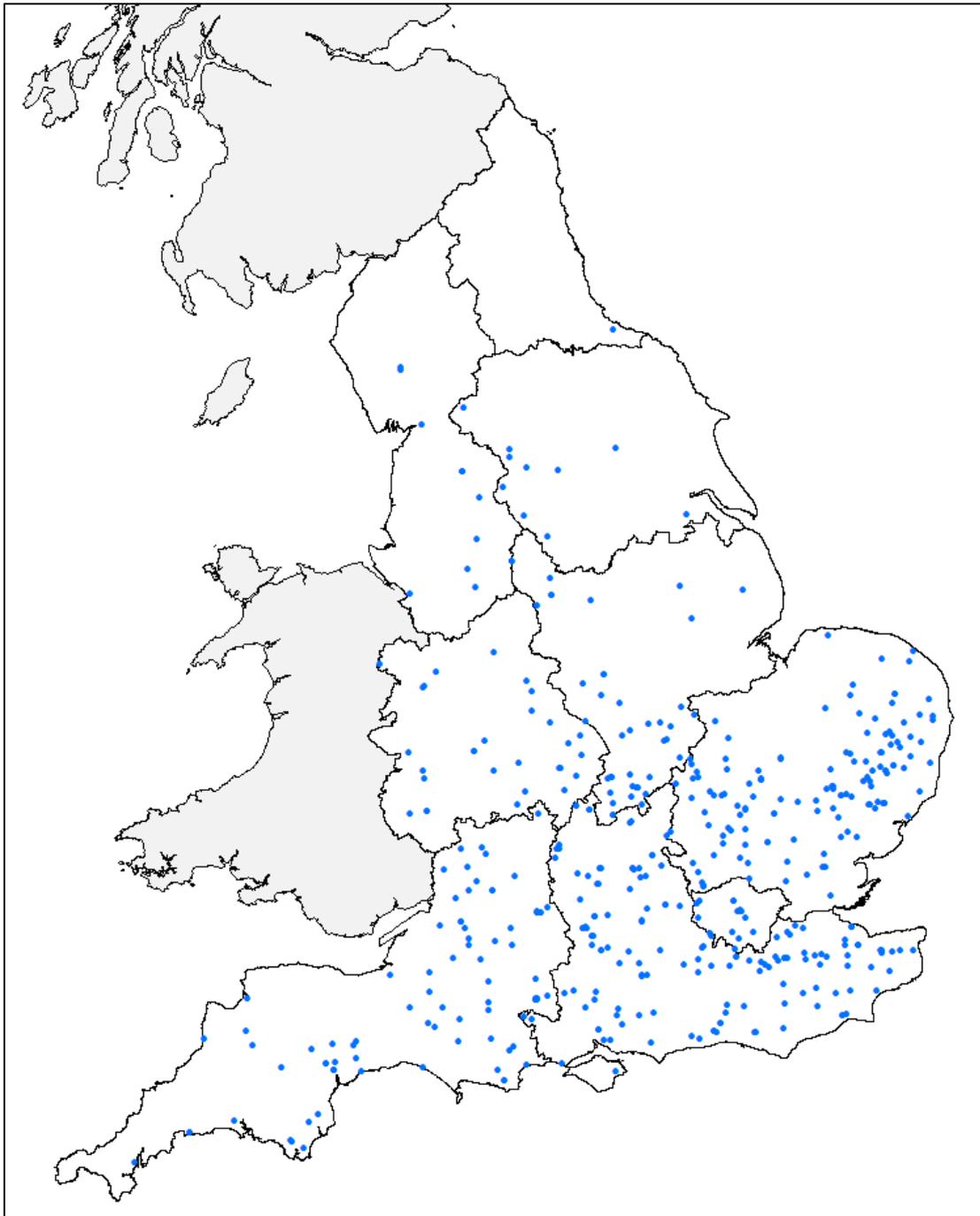
N.14: Map of houses with deposits containing domesticated animal species.



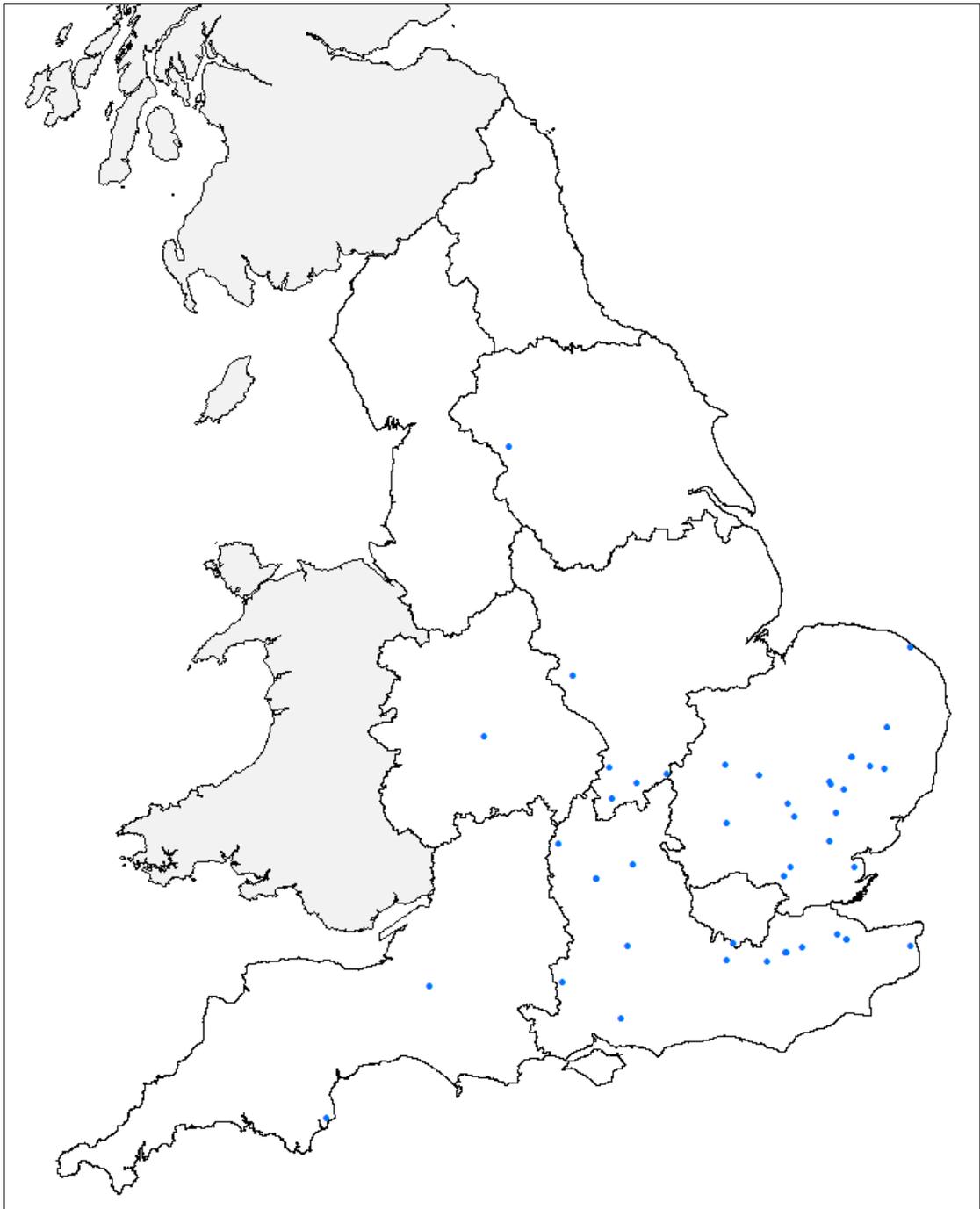
N.15: Map of houses with deposits containing wild animal species.



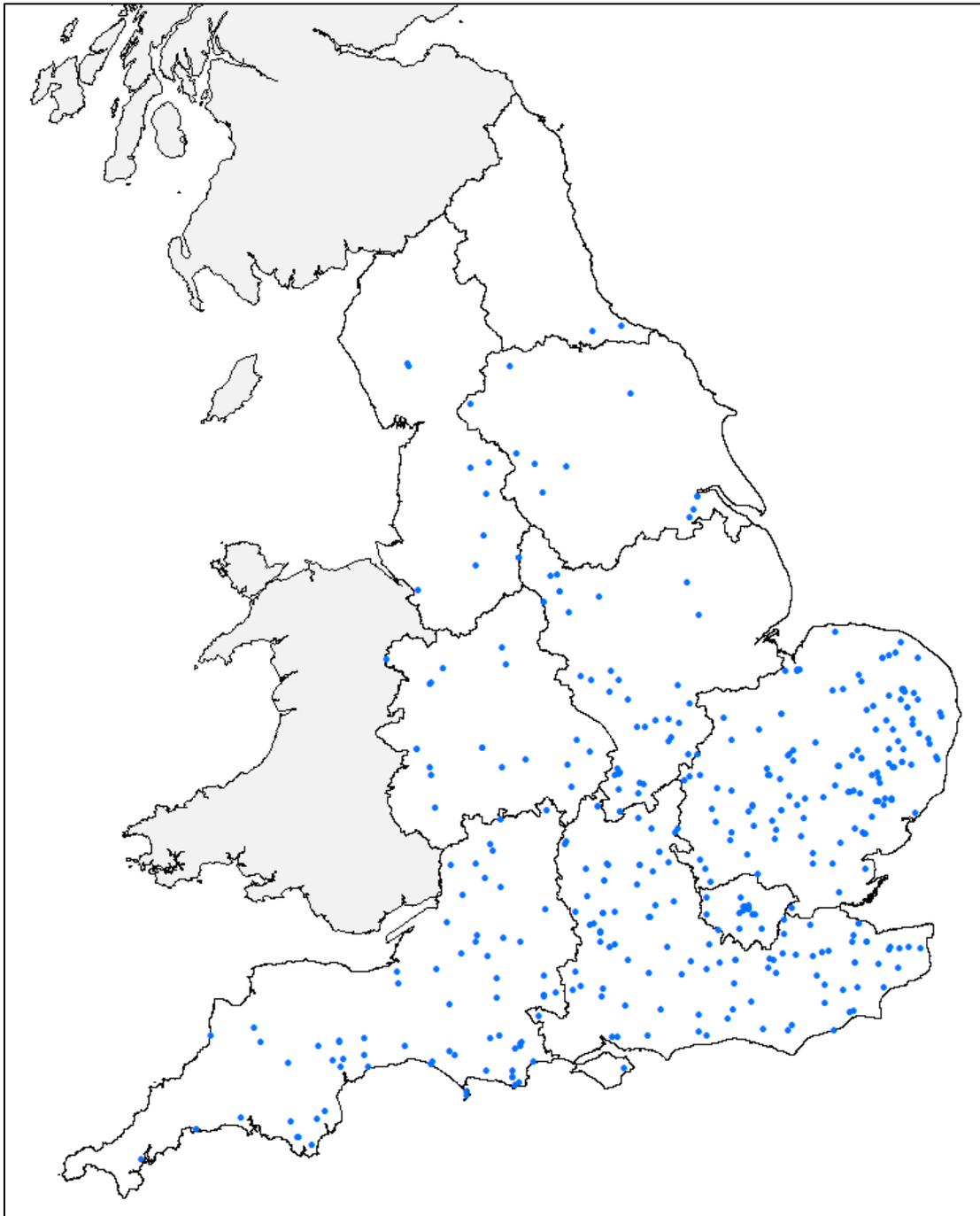
N.16: Map of houses with deposits containing shoes and other footwear.



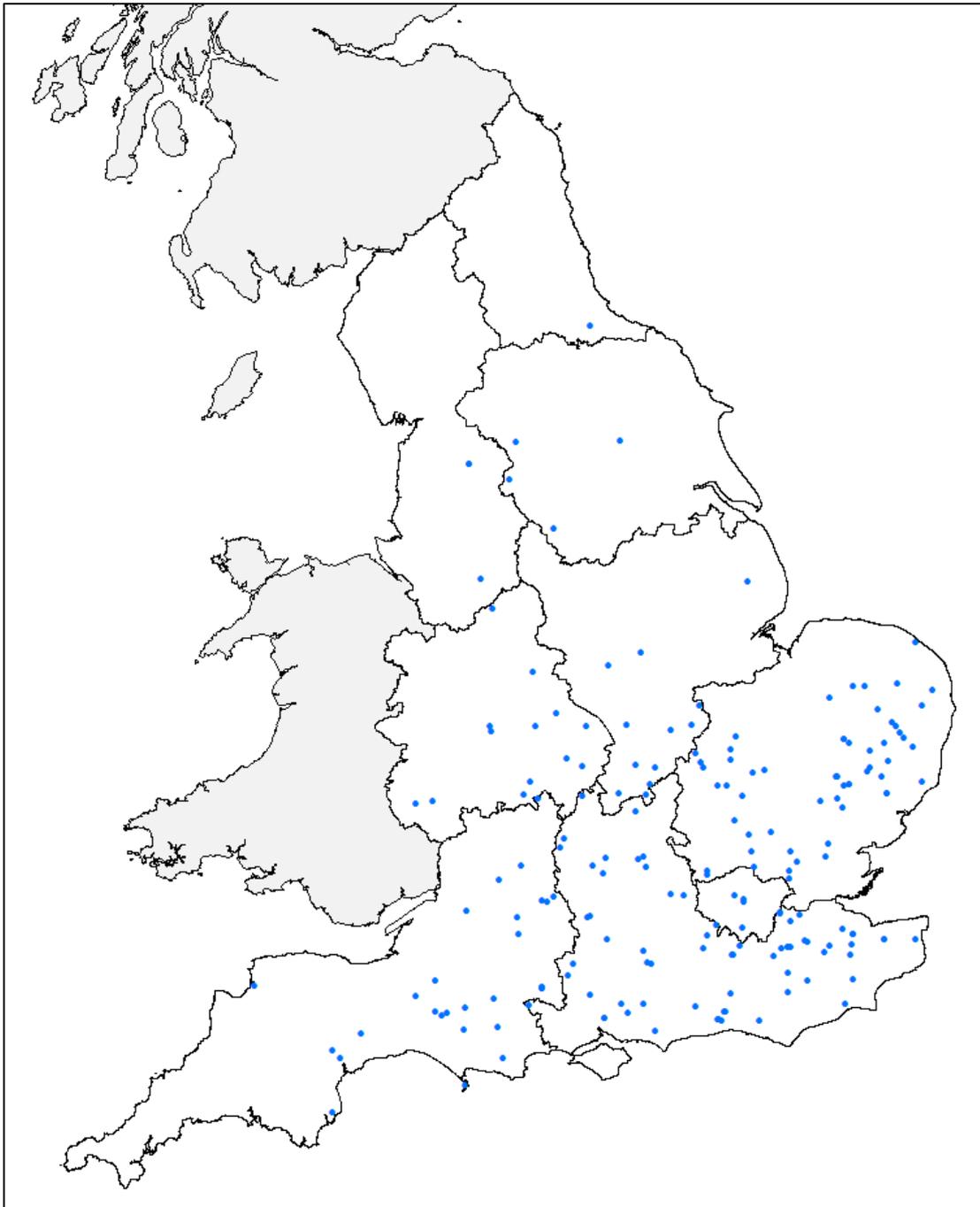
**N.17: Map of houses with deposits containing items of clothing (no shoes).**



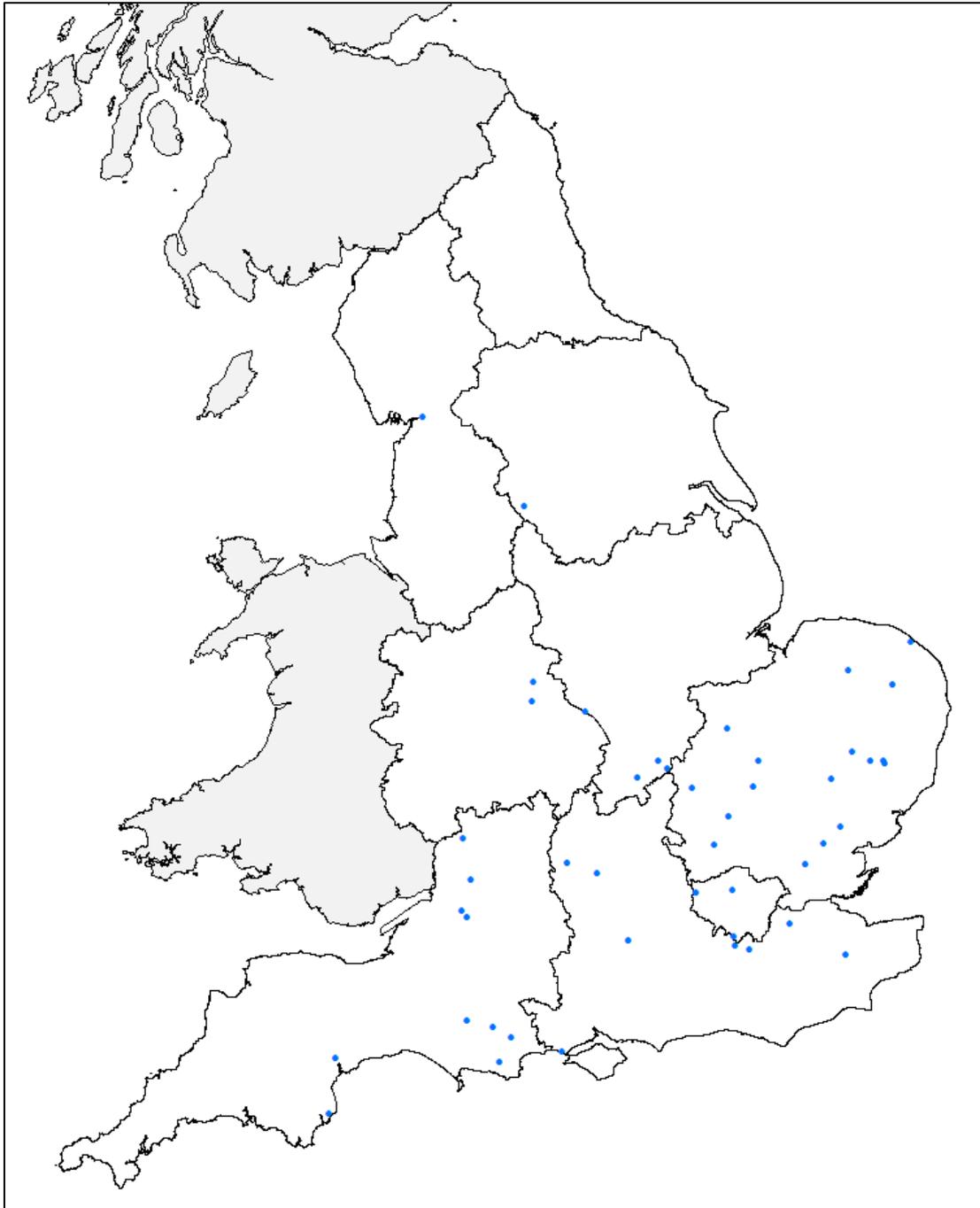
N.18: Map of houses with deposits consisting of single objects.



**N.19: Map of houses with deposits consisting of multiple objects from one category only (same-type deposits).**



**N.20: Map of houses with deposits consisting of multiple objects from multiple categories (multi-type deposits).**



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