

THE CHARTER QUAY SITE, KINGSTON, DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH REPORT

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The Saxon period

The topography of Kingston in the Saxon period consisted of low islands of gravel capped with brickearth, standing proud of the alluvial marshland of the Thames floodplain. The central Kingston island lay between the course of the Thames to the west, two branches of the River Hogsmill to the south and east, and the Downhall/Latchmere Channel to the north. Trench 3 of the site lay on the western edge of this island at the confluence of the Thames and the southern branch of the Hogsmill. To the south lay a series of smaller gravel islands running parallel with the course of the Thames. Trenches 1 and 2 of the site lie on the north-west part of the northernmost of these islands, adjacent to the Hogsmill (Hawkins 1996, 4.2; Hawkins 1998, 271-2).

The evidence of recent excavations suggests that early Saxon settlement in the area was concentrated on the island to the south of the Hogsmill. Occupation evidence of the sixth and seventh centuries was found here at South Lane, including at least one substantial hall building. Other activities were taking place on the higher ground to the east of the central Kingston island, although these may have been of an agricultural character. The central island was probably unoccupied at this period (Hawkins 1998, 273, 275-6, 278).

By the eighth century the focus of settlement had shifted to the central Kingston island. The excavated evidence of the late Saxon period here is characterised by ditches dug into the brickearth to drain the low-lying island and mark out property boundaries (Hawkins 1996, 5.3.4, 5.3.5; Hawkins 1998, 276-8). In the sixteenth century Leland reported a tradition current in the town that the bridge over the Thames had formerly been sited further downstream. A new town was supposedly built in the Saxon period on soil excavated from the steep hillside of Coombe Park and dumped by the river, and a new bridge was then sited next to it (Chandler 1993, 451). The tradition may have been wrong about the presence of bridges in the Saxon period, but preserved a memory of settlement shift.

The late Saxon settlement was probably associated with a ford over the Thames and may have been protected from flooding by an embankment along the western edge of the central island. It was centred around a large rectangular open space, which presumably functioned, then as later, as a market. This was much larger than the present Market Place, around which the smaller streets represent later encroachments and infilling. Around it the rim of the island was divided into plots by boundary ditches. Some of these plots probably occupied the cellared area to the east of Trench 3. The form of these plots can be suggested by a selection from later property boundaries. Their morphology served to combine access to the market with a regular apportionment of the alluvial riverside. They therefore divided the resources of pasture and livestock watering evenly around the perimeter of the market, and probably functioned as grazing zones for cattle brought to Kingston for sale or butchering. Settlements of this type grouped around a central open space with a market are also to be found at Chippenham, Calne and Wilton in Wiltshire (cf Baker et al 1993, 46-9).

To the north of the site was a large plot or *haga* which later became the property of the bishops of Winchester. It was known in the post-medieval period as Bishop's Hall, but was described in fifteenth and sixteenth-century deeds as *Bishoppshawe* (BL Additional Charters 23529-31).

It has been suggested that Kingston was the lost royal estate centre of *Freoricsburna* (Blair 1991, 20). When Surrey was under the domination of the Kingdom of Mercia, King Offa issued a charter to the church of the *Woccingas* (Woking) *in regione Suthreogeona villa regali nomine Freoricburna*, at some time during his reign (757-796). King Egbert of the West Saxons and his son Athelwulf issued another charter here in 838 (Birch 1885, i p382 no 275, p584 no 418). If this identification is correct, the name of the settlement must have been changed precisely in this year.

There was a tradition in Kingston in the early modern period that the name of the town had been *Moreford*, until the Saxon kings chose it as a place of residence and re-named it (Aubrey 1719, i 18; Butters 1996, 155). This tradition may also have been related to a memory of settlement shift (Hawkins 1998, 273).

The first documentary reference to Kingston by that name is in an agreement between Kings Egbert and Athelwulf, and Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury. This was made at a council attended by many of the bishops of the province held here 20 November 838. It confirmed the possession of the estate of South Malling in Sussex to Christchurch Priory at Canterbury, and further agreed that henceforth there should be peace and friendship between the royal house and the archiepiscopal see, with mutual protection and respect for each other's liberties. Ceolnoth's signature described the document as a reconciliation and confirmation. Other property in the Isle of Wight was granted to the see of Winchester at the same time. After Egbert's death the grants were confirmed by Athelwulf at further councils at Wilton and *Aestran* in 839 (Birch 1885, i pp587-93 nos 421-3).

The venue of the council was described in the document as *illa famosa loco quae appellatur Cyninges Tun in regione suthregiae*. The settlement was therefore a royal estate centre of sufficient prominence to host this important diplomatic conference, a key moment in the establishment of the Wessex monarchy. Its location on the shore of the Thames was probably regarded as a frontier zone between the power centres of the kings and the archbishops.

The description of *Cingestune* in the charters and the form of its name identify it as a royal vill, the centre of a royal estate. The area of this probably extended to include the entire later administrative hundreds of Kingston and Elmbridge, extending west to Walton-on-Thames and north to Kew. It was therefore the central place of one of the primary component territories which made up the *regio* of Surrey. Like other *multiple estates* of the late Saxon period, its different agricultural and pastoral functions were spread over a wide area to take advantage of the variation in the local land resources. Each of these estates formed a unit of exploitation which comprised upland and lowland zones of arable, pasture and woodland, and sometimes marshland zones, which provided resources for fishing, fowling and reed harvesting. Similar estates lay to the east at Mortlake and Battersea Wandsworth. *Cingestune* itself had two dependent townships at Norbiton and Surbiton, the north and south bartons (agricultural units) of the settlement (Manning and Bray 1804-14, i 345; Blair 1991, 20, 101).

Some remnants of the internal arrangements of this large royal estate persisted to be described in the *Domesday Book* survey of 1086 and beyond. In the reign of King Edward the Confessor part of the estate had been held from the king by three *bedells* or estate officers, who could not withdraw from the land without his permission. One villein was responsible for the collection of the queen's wool, apparently a hereditary office, and another man had the custody of the king's forest mares, with land for the purpose in which he had no personal rights. It therefore appears that sheep farming was organised across the estate as a whole, probably involving the exchange of livestock at different stages in their life-cycle between the component villis of the estate. It also appears that a royal horse stud was maintained here. Another estate asset was the series of fisheries it held along the Thames shore. The fact that one of these owed an annual rent of 125 eels in 1086 suggests that this was the chief catch here (Morris 1975, 1.8, 8.12, 22.4). In the sixteenth century the king's liberty of Kingston was said to extend downstream almost as far as Mortlake and upstream almost as far as Cobham (Chandler 1993, 451).

The royal vill of Kingston was the place usually chosen for the coronations of the kings of the Wessex dynasty in the tenth century. While the vill was not one of its major power centres it may have seemed the natural choice in the early tenth century as a central point of a realm which comprised Wessex, Kent, Mercia and East Anglia. Its position near the tidal limit of the Thames may also have had a significance for a dynasty which also claimed to be kings of the sea. The location is more likely to have been determined by the original reason for Kingston's national role, as the regular and agreed meeting-place of the kings of Wessex and the archbishops of Canterbury. At the heart of the new process of the coronation was the anointing of the king by the archbishop as God's choice for the succession to the throne (Stafford 1989, 144).

Four kings were certainly consecrated by the archbishops at Kingston: Athelstan in 925, Eadred in 946, Edwy in 955 and Ethelred the Unready in 979. Three other kings of this period may have been crowned here: Edward the Elder in 901, Edmund in 939 and Edward the Martyr in 974. Kings Athelstan and Edwy are said to have been crowned on a specially-erected platform in the central market place of the vill, presumably before a considerable crowd of spectators. Kings Eadred, Edward the Martyr and Ethelred are said to have been crowned in the Chapel of St Mary the Virgin. Either group may have been crowned on the Coronation Stone (still preserved in the town outside the Guildhall, to the south-east of the site), which at that time may have lain in the Chapel (Garmonsway 1972, 105, 122-3; Ralph de Diceto i 140, 144, 146; Flores Historiarum i 490, 501, 504, 517; Chandler 1993, 451; Biden 1852, 9-10; VCHS iii 487; Hawkins 1996, 5.3.1; 1998, 272-5).

The Chapel of St Mary the Virgin lay on the south side of the parish church of All Saints. It survived here until 1730, when it collapsed during the digging of graves inside it. The people of Kingston had preserved it with reverence for all this time, through several phases of alteration to the parish church, as the traditional place of coronation of the first kings of England. The Chapel formerly contained portraits of the Saxon kings who had been crowned there, and of King John, who granted the town its first charter. Its foundations were excavated in the 1920s and dated on unknown evidence to 1020-1050. Extant engravings of the building suggest that it was of Norman date, with a floor level at least 1m below the current level of the churchyard (Aubrey 1719, 20; Hawkins 1998, 273-5, 277-8).

It is thought that the church and the chapel are to be identified as the site of a late Saxon minster, a collegiate church with ecclesiastical rights over a large *parochia*, probably co-extensive with the royal estate. The presence of the church was noted in the *Domesday Book* survey. Some remnants of the minster organisation are to be seen in the rights which All Saints church had in the twelfth century over four dependent chapels at Petersham, Sheen, Thames Ditton and East Molesey. Leland reported in the sixteenth century that the local inhabitants maintained that the parish church had once been an abbey, probably a reminiscence of its minster status (Morris 1975, 1.8; Blair 1990, 20, 99, 101; Chandler 1993, 451).

Another essential building for the coronation ceremonies was a hall sufficiently large for a communal feast at which the new kings forged bonds with the leading nobles of their kingdom. There have been suggestions that the Wessex kings had a residence at Kingston, of which the feasting hall would have formed the central component, surrounded by ancillary buildings (Hawkins 1996, 5.3.2). King Athelstan may have issued a charter to Chertsey Abbey here in 933, and King Edgar later made a grant of land to Westminster Abbey here (Gelling 1979, p112 no 228, pp156-7 no 325). Antiquarian writers have identified the site of the "Saxon Palace" as either the Castle Inn at the north end of the site, or Rowll's Brewery to the south of the River Hogsmill at the south end of the site. There appears to be no evidence for either location (Biden 1852, 21, 39). It is more likely that the hall complex lay adjacent to the church and chapel, within the cemetery area.

At the time of the *Domesday Book* survey of 1086, the estate of *Chingestune* was still part of the royal demesne lands, not held by a tenant. A population of more than a hundred families operated about thirty ploughs on the arable land. Meadow and woodland were also recorded, besides the church, the fisheries and five mills (Morris 1975, 1.8, 8.12, 22.4). These assets were presumably distributed throughout the area of the *multiple estate*, extending across Kingston and Elmbridge Hundreds. However, the main concentration of the population was probably at a nucleated settlement at Kingston, ringing the churchyard.

The early medieval period – 12th and 13th centuries

In the centuries after the *Domesday Book* survey, Kingston continued to belong to the demesne lands of the Crown. The settlement must have continued to grow, reaching urban status during the course of the twelfth century. Some interruption to its progress probably occurred in the thirteenth century when the town was sacked and burned during the Barons' Wars in 1263-1265 (*CCR 1307-13* 470).

There is alleged to have been a royal residence at the south end of the town at King John's Dairy to the south-east of the subject site (Biden 1852, 21). This appears to have been one of the many old houses in the country which have acquired spurious associations with King John.

Kingston achieved recognition of its enhanced status by the grant of a charter by King John in 1200. This permitted the freemen of the town to hold it at farm from the Crown, that is they paid a fixed annual sum to the king and in return became lords of the manor. The amount of the fee farm was adjusted by a further charter in 1208. The royal income from the town was assigned to the dower of Henry III's queen Eleanor in 1236, and Edward I's queen Margaret

in 1299. Most of the house plots and field plots in medieval Kingston were held by burgage tenure, contributing small quit rents to the total of the fee farm. The town was not formally incorporated as a borough until 1441. The charter of incorporation was confirmed by a series of later monarchs near the beginning of their reigns (VCHS iii 495-6, 501).

The foundation of Kingston's prosperity and growth in the twelfth century was the wooden bridge constructed to cross the Thames a short distance downstream from the position of the present bridge, at the north-west corner of the original market area. This was the first crossing of the river above London. Excavated evidence has indicated that its earliest form dated to c1170 (Potter 1988, 140). The earliest extant documentary references to the bridge are in a mention of its bridge master and endowment of lands in 1219, and in a royal order of 1223 for a programme of repairs (*Rot Litt Claus* i 558; PRO CP25/1/225/4 no 22). The costs of maintaining the bridge were supported by the rents of an endowment of property in the medieval town, controlled by the Bridge Wardens (VCHS iii 487-9; Manning and Bray 1804-14, i 346). This included some land to the north of the site.

A market was granted by the charter of 1208, and was well-established by 1242, when it attracted the bishop of London's tenants from Fulham (*VCHS* iii 501). Shops and stalls were mortgaged here in 1349 and featured in a survey of the town made at about this time (PRO E326/1645; SC11/629).

From the south-west corner of the Market Place the road to Guildford probably crossed the River Hogsmill by a bridge from an early date. This stone bridge was called Clattering Bridge, presumably from the sound made by horses' hooves as they crossed it. More occasionally it was called *Hoggesbrug* and the road to Guildford *Hoggestrate* (PRO E326/1628; E315/42 no 198; BL Additional Charter 67782). Part of the present fabric of the Bridge dates to the late twelfth century, and the first known documentary references to it date to the 1290s.

To the north of the River Hogsmill, Trench 3 and the land further to the north continued to be divided into a series of properties stretching from the Market Place westward to the Thames. Several of these properties had been sub-divided, dwelling houses and shops lining the Market Place frontage with yards stretching to the Thames behind. It is possible that some of the Market Place frontages were laid out regularly according to the measurement of the standard perch, but they are more likely to have resulted from the division of previous plots which were not completely regular. John de Wenge bought the third part of a messuage here in 1344, and another third the following year (PRO E326/1635, 4341, 9888 and 9892).

The Bishopshawe property was acquired by the Bishop of Winchester in 1202 by purchase from Osbert Hors. At this time it consisted of three messuages, one of which was leased back to Osbert (PRO CP25/1/225/2 no 49). It is doubtful if there was ever an episcopal residence here, as asserted by Leland (Chandler 1993, 451).

The properties had probably been advanced further onto the Thames shore, but no direct evidence of wharves has been found. Watercourses or drainage ditches probably continued to run between the Market Place and the Thames shore, marking the original boundaries of the properties. In the 15th century there was "a way for water to go backwards" at the George Inn (PRO E303/8 no 109). A survey of Edward III's reign (1327-77) suggests that there were

lanes running down to the Thames between the properties, giving access to houses behind the street frontage, but it has not proved possible to locate these (PRO SC11/629). There was probably also some encroachment onto the Market Place. Trades and occupations known to have been represented here included fishmongers. There were also some occupational surnames in this area, which must have become formalised in the thirteenth century. They included *le Coliere*, *le Poter* and *le Orfevre*.

The townsmen appear to have reclaimed some land from the Thames in c1220. The royal Exchequer later attempted to charge them rent for this *purpresture*, but they contested this on the grounds that the Thames had washed it away again (CPR 1272-81 71; CCR 1307-13 470).

At first the town did not extend to the south of the Hogsmill, where the road to Guildford crossed the marshy ground by a causeway. The limits of the town continued to be defined by its surrounding waterways and the four bridges which crossed them. In 1253 the boundary was considered to be where the Creek lay at the south end of the market towards Guildford. The tenants of Merton Priory's manor of Canbury refused to perform watch duties beyond the water (VCHS iii 492; Wakeford 1990, 10-12). However, a small suburb of houses and yards had been formed here by the 1290s, and probably for some time previously (PRO E326/1102, 1105).

The pattern of the property divisions on Trenches 1 and 2 suggests that this was a piecemeal process of settlement, advancing from the south end of Clattering Bridge by a series of small-scale reclamations from the Thames and Hogsmill shores. The suburb was known as *Clateringbrugende* in the 1290s. By 1314 the roadway was called *Westbitamestrete* (PRO SC11/629; BL Additional Charter 67782; Landsdowne 226 f64).

Trades and occupations represented here included a chandler and butchers. The riverside site on the south side of the mouth of the Hogsmill is first known to have been occupied by Symon le Marchaunt, a thirteenth-century occupational surname which suggests that the plot was used for trade. In 1298 Symon's son Ralph divided this yard and its grange (presumably used as a warehouse) into eastern and western parts, and sold the western half with permitted access by carts and animals. The boundary stretched southwards from the Brook through the middle of the building (PRO E326/1685). Access arrangements between the two tenements were also made in 1347, for the purpose of effecting repairs (PRO E326/9884).

The late medieval period – 14th and 15th centuries

The expansion of Kingston continued in the 14th and 15th centuries. Market rights were established by the Borough Charter of 1441. In the fifteenth century wool, leather and cheese are known to have been sold in the Market Place (VCHS iii 490, 496).

Presumably there were attempts to manage the shores of the Thames and the Hogsmill by a system of revetments, in order to limit the effect of flooding. The River Hogsmill was called the Lurtebourne or the Brook (*Brocam*) (eg PRO E326/1685, 9884 and 11893). It is apparent that the town was subject to frequent flooding from the Thames and the Hogsmill.

There were weirs in the rivers at Kingston, probably the direct successors of the pre-Conquest fisheries. There was a weir called Meydenwer or Two Mouths in the Hogsmill near the Hogs Mill in 1524 (PRO LR14/480). Thomas Broker held another weir in the river in 1417,

apparently near its mouth to the west of Clattering Bridge (BL Landsdowne MS 226 f64v). It therefore probably lay between Trenches 2 and 3. John Belgeyn had a building in which to keep fish nearby in 1455 (PRO SC11/633).

Late medieval Kingston had mills at the Hogs Mill to the south-east of the town, and at Myddle Mill, Chappell Myll and Polteresmille, whose locations are unknown (*Valor Ecclesiasticus* ii 36; KBR KE1/4/7; PRO E318/6/194; LR14/680; SC11/629). Mills were also mentioned in connection with the Saracen's Head and George Inns on the west side of the Market Place, but it seems unlikely that they were actually on these sites (Landsdowne MS 226 f65).

There were further sub-divisions of the properties on the west side of the Market Place. These appear in town rentals of quit-rents compiled in 1383, 1417 and 1427 (KBR KD4/1, 2 and 3; BL Landsdowne MS 226 ff64-65v, a copy of the 1417 rental). The west side of the Market Place to the north of Clattering Bridge was known as le Hyerowe, presumably because of the height of its terrace of buildings (KBR KC16/1/32). It abutted a lane in the Market where it was accustomed to sell shoes, called Souteresrowe (PRO SC11/629; KBR KC1/1/104; KD4/1). Salt was probably also sold along Thames Street (PRO E326/9881). Other trades represented in the properties on the west side of the Market Place between Bishopshawe and the Hogsmill included skimmers, an ironmonger, a baker, a fishmonger, a vintner, innholders, a sawyer, a brewer and a hosier. There were two empty cottages to the north of Clattering Bridge in 1440 (PRO SC11/631).

Lanes were established through the properties from the Market Place to the Thames waterfront. They functioned to bring goods into the town from the waterfront, but also as access routes to the storage and ancillary buildings erected on the rear of the Market Place plots.

The bishop of Winchester's property at Bishopshawe was leased out to tenants from at least as early as 1392. The land was acquired by Henry VIII with other property of the see in 1538, and sold on by him in 1544, when it was called Byshoppes Hall (Manning and Bray 1804-14, i 345-6; *LPH* xix(1) 618 no 1185(25); KBR KD4/3).

Some other small ecclesiastical estates were established in this part of the town in the late medieval period. The Chapel of St Mary Magdalene at Norbiton owned several properties which probably lay at the north and south-east ends of Trench 3, including the site of the later Crane Inn. It also owned tenements in Westbitamestrete (PRO C142/85/65; C142/87/89; E36/169 f125; E318/6/194; E326/9894 and 9896; BL Additional Charter 67782; KBR KB21/3/3).

The London Charterhouse, founded in 1370, acquired the considerable Kingston property of John Wenge as part of its initial endowment (PRO E303/8 no 34; E326/1759, 1760, 1761 and 4403; E327/338; LR15/4/117/37; SC6/Hen8/2396 m35v; SC12/3/52; SC12/15/36; *Valor Ecclesiasticus* i 430-1). In 1439 the Prior of Charterhouse was fined 4d by the manorial court for building a chimney on the ground of the manor without a warrant (KBR KF1/1/4). The Priory continued to purchase property in Kingston in the fifteenth century. This estate came to include all of Trench 2, some at least of Trench 1, and a substantial part of Trench 3 (*Valor Ecclesiasticus* i 431, ii 36; PRO E315/39 no 230; E326/9917; SC11/631-637; KBR KD4/1, 2

and 3). It also included land on the north side of the Lurtebourne further upstream (PRO E326/11893). The houses, field plots and meadows of this estate were normally leased out individually to tenants. In 1529 the Prior and Convent of Charterhouse farmed out the whole estate to John Brynkhurst, a local innkeeper (PRO E326/12293).

Several inns were established on the west side of Market Place, their rear yards stretching westward to the Thames. They included the Saracen's Head at the north end of Trench 3, which was established at least a generation before 1417 (KBR KC16/1/34). Further to the south, the George was part of the Charterhouse estate, developed out of Wenge's tenements and leased out by the Priory in 1442, 1455, 1474, 1483 and 1492-3 (PRO E303/8 no 109; E326/1825, 1840, 6778, 12641; SC11/631-637; SC12/15/35). By the sixteenth century it had a garden and a barn in the Back Lane near an old corn mill (Biden 1852, 74; PRO E326/12293; LR15/4/117/37; SC6/Hen8/2396 m35v). Both of these inns had a continuous life into the post-medieval period.

In 1314 there was also a corner tavern next to the kitchens and a stone tavern next to a small lane in the High Street, probably both on the west side of the Market Place (BL Additional Charter 67782). In 1417 there were also *Dobyns* and the *Cheker* in the Hyerowe (BL Landsdowne MS 226 f65; KBR KD4/2).

The properties to the west of the Market Place were extended further onto the Thames shore, and some wharves were probably built there. There was certainly a wharf adjacent to Kingston Bridge in 1427. Between the rentals of 1417 and 1427, Richard Est added a purpresture at the Thames end of his property, which lay to the north of Trench 3 (KBR KD4/2 and 3). On the south side of the Lurtebourne adjacent to Clattering Bridge, John and Sylvestra Punche were leased a wedge-shaped strip of waste land along the river in 1439 (BL Landsdowne MS 225 f167; KBR KC1/1/109). Thomas Broker had "a garden, a close and a barn" (probably a yard and a warehouse) here in 1446, to which a wharf had been added by 1455 (PRO SC11/632, 633). There was a wharf adjacent to Clattering Bridge in 1527-8, probably the wedge-shaped plot on the south side (PRO SC12/15/36). The innkeeper of the George paid rent for a barn and a wharf in 1503-4 (SC11/635-637).

There were also encroachments on the street frontage, advancing the properties by short distances into the Market Place. These were represented in the rental of 1417 as sets of posts in the street, perhaps supporting jettied upper stories. They were present outside the George, the Saracen's Head and the Checker. Some properties also paid *stedgavel*, apparently for the right to have stalls in the street and the market (BL Landsdowne MS 226 f65; KBR KD4/2 and 3). In 1427 the tenement of Edward Lusthill (probably the Saracen's Head) was extended six and a half feet (1.98m) into the Market Place over its entire width of thirteen feet (3.96m) to build a new frontage (KBR KC1/1/104); and the corner tenement on Thames Street and Bishop's Hall Lane was allowed to extend two feet (0.61m) northwards into the lane for its entire depth of 73 feet (22.25m) (KBR KC1/1/69).

The southern suburb now stretched further to the south along both sides of Westbitamestrete (KBR KD4/1, 2 and 3). To the south of the River Hogsmill the corner plot to the east of Trench 2 was called Paradise Garden by 1440 and until the sixteenth century, comprising a two-storey building on the street front with a garden behind to the west (PRO E303/8 no 54; SC11/631-633, 636; SC12/15/35).

To the south of Clattering Bridge the Charterhouse estate included a brewery called the Berehouse, existing by 1503-4, and leased out in 1514 with a barn, a garden and all its equipment. This included a “brass brewing kettle” set in a furnace (PRO E303/8 no 39; SC11/635-637). In 1527 the tenant was responsible for the repair of the brewing vessels and the mill there (PRO SC12/15/36). This brewery probably lay to the south of Trench 1, on the site of the Ram public house. Late medieval trades represented in this area included a wood merchant, a dyer, a brewer and a boatman.

The post-medieval period – 16th to 19th centuries

Kingston continued to expand in the 16th and 17th centuries. A schematic seventeenth-century map of Kingston shows the street frontages to the west of Thames Street, Market Place and West-by-Thames as fully built-up, with many buildings stretching behind towards the Thames. Houses in the town at this time were generally small, with some tiled roofs but mostly thatched. The houses were mostly built of timber, and it was forbidden to burn furze bavons in the town for fear of a general conflagration. The streets were narrow and unpaved. Posts marked the course of the royal highways. At the Hearth Tax assessment of 1664-6 the town consisted of 455 households, representing a population in excess of 2000 (Whitter 193_, 3, 332; Wakeford 1990, 10; PRO E179/258/4).

The presence of a royal residence on the other side of the River Thames at Hampton Court appears to have had a limited effect on Kingston’s development. The royal family began to make more frequent use of Hampton Court in the 17th century. The town suffered from the plague in 1625 and 1636, and precautions were taken to prevent it spreading to the palace. The town certainly transported goods to the palace up the river, and it was the pretext for the grant of a second market day in the week in 1662. However, the palace did not have an extensive or permanent effect on the economy of the town (VCHS 488, 501; Whitter 193_, 7, 11).

There are occasional references to tenements let on leases for new building in the 16th and 17th centuries. Henry Grey had built four new tenements in the Market Place before 1538 (PRO C142/87/89). In 1547 Edward Buckland was required to build a timber loft over the hall of his tenement to the west of Thames Street within a year (KBR KC1/1/70). In 1545 Thomas Robinson was leased a strip of waste land along the east side of West-by-Thames to build the frontage of new tenements (KBR KC1/1/102). In 1548 Martyn James was required to build a “good and meet kitchen” at least ten feet by twenty feet (3.05 x 6.10m) to the rear of the tenement he leased by Clattering Bridge. This was probably the site of nos 16-18 High Street. His lease of 1565 required him to rebuild the tenement, now divided into two houses, within six years (KBR KC3/2/34 and 35). In the same year James Norman was required to repair the brewery and build a new barn, a short distance to the south of Trench 1 (KBR KC3/2/48). By 1609 William Young had built a house, a barn and other buildings at the edge of town in West-by-Thames (KBR KC1/1/210).

There are a number of references in the Hearth Tax assessment of 1664-6 to newly-built houses. There were also eight empty houses in the town (PRO E179/258/4). The tenement on the site of nos 16-18 High Street had been divided into three dwelling-houses by 1666 (LAD Surrey Deeds 760). In 1700 the Thrustly family property at nos 12-14 High Street consisted of two two-storey houses, with garrets above, cellars below and shops in the front (KBR

KP3/2/16). In 1753 a newly-built brick house was leased in Thames Street (LAD Surrey Deeds 828).

In the 16th century the estate to support the expenses of maintaining Kingston Bridge included several properties to the north of Trench 3, and others to the south of Clattern Bridge opposite Trenches 1 and 2, acquired in 1520 (Biden 1852, 60-1; Williams 1955, *passim*). In a lane behind the Cock Inn in Thames Street, to the north of Bishop's Hall, there was a storehouse or Town Barn by the waterside in 1581-1608, which the Bridgewardens had formerly used for the storage of repair materials and now rented out (KBR KB18/3/2 pp 95, 98, 109, 147; KB18/3/3).

A watch-house was built on Clattern Bridge in 1697, but demolished again three years later (Whitter 193_, 281). A game of football involving mass participation was traditionally played in the 18th-century town on Shrove Tuesdays, with Kingston Bridge and Clattern Bridge forming the two goals (Biden 1852, 59).

The former Charterhouse estate was donated by Queen Elizabeth to endow Kingston's Grammar School in 1564, and rents from parts of the site were thereafter paid towards the support of the school. This included the George Inn in the south part of Trench 3, all of Trench 2, and the brewery to the south of Trench 1 (Manning and Bray 1804-14, i 357; KBR KB21/3/5; KC3/2/16, 35, 48).

The properties to the north of the Hogsmill in Trench 3 retained their medieval boundaries until the nineteenth century. There was further sub-division of properties along the Market Place and Thames Street frontage in the 17th century (LAD Surrey Deeds 734, 742, 760); and there was further encroachment onto the Market Place (SHC 250/6/52). There was also lateral division of the tails of the properties behind the street frontage to form new tenements accessed through lanes from the Market Place. There was new building to the rear of the Saracen's Head in 1503 (Heales 1883, 71). A lane called Skeryslane ran from the Market Place to the south of the Crane Inn in 1537, but probably did not run all the way to the waterside (KBR KE1/1/1 m3d). It was probably named after the Skernes, who were tenants here in the 15th century (Manning and Bray 1804-14, i 357; KBR KD4/3). Houses here in the mid-seventeenth century varied in size, having between two and nine hearths (PRO E179/258/4).

Some of the inns here had a continuous life from the medieval period. The Saracen's Head was still called by that name in 1503 and the 1520s (Heales 1883, 71; Williams 1955, 4). It is probably to be identified with the Sun Inn, which occupied the site of nos 10-11 Market Place in the 19th century (NKC Kingston Tithe Apportionment nos 2154 and 2154A).

The George Inn still had the same name in 1686, but when it was sold in 1609 it was described as "formerly used as an inn" (Whitter 193_, 398, from Kingston Chamberlains' Accounts; KBR KC3/2/19). It is probably to be identified with the Castle, which was at nos 5-6 Market Place, although in the list of Charterhouse property in 1535, tithes were received from both the St George and the Castle (*Valor Ecclesiasticus* ii 36). The two inns may have continued to co-exist in the 17th century, but were perhaps subsequently amalgamated. The northern half of the Castle Inn lies within Trench 3 of the site, and includes a 17th-century staircase.

In 1803 a schedule was made of the Castle Inn, listing thirty-eight rooms and their fittings, with additional outbuildings (SHC 250/2/24). The building was rendered at the front and brickwork at the back, and was crowned by a tiled roof with lead gutters. A central gateway with a pair of folding gates opened onto the Market Place. On the north side of this was a Parlour; the Bar and Bar Room probably lay on the south side, with an adjoining room and a passage to the rear. Above these on two main floors were a Hall, an Assembly Room, and series of rooms with decorative names like Red Room, Blue Room and White Room, or inn-type names such as Spread Eagle, Globe and Boar's Head, including the George. Above these were garrets for servants' accommodation. On the north side of the yard was a Cellar which had a tiled and paved floor, and is probably represented by the cellar excavated in Trench 3. A stairway descended to it from the Kitchen entry, and it also had entrance-flaps from the yard and the Kitchen entry. From the Cellar a doorway led to a separate wine-cellar. The Kitchen was probably the room excavated to the west of the Cellar. At this time it was paved with stone, and had a four-shelf dresser and a mantle-shelf. Also on the north side of the yard were a Port-Boy Room, recently refurbished as a Tap Room; a Laundry, from which a staircase rose; a Wash-House paved with brick and stone, with a brick sink and an entry to the Pantry; a Soldiers' Room and an Ostlers' Room. On the south side of the yard were Stables with paved floors, hay-lofts and pantile roofs; a Coach-House and a shed for three carriages; two privies; a fowl-house; and a weather-boarded Granary with a tiled roof, raised on stone pillars. At the rear of the premises beside the Hogsmill was a fenced Garden with vines and fruit trees (see Fig 4).

This was an inn until the south part of it was converted into a shop and a dwelling-house before 1837, the north part continuing as the Castle Tap (*VCHS* iii 490; Harris 1997; SHC 250/1/34). The south part of the premises appears on a sale plan of 1870 (see Fig 4 from SHC 250/4/6).

To the south of the George was the Bell (probably formerly the Checker), mentioned in 1548, 1572 and 1609 (BL Additional Charter 58819; PRO C142/87/89; KBR KC3/2/19). It was later the Lion and Lamb, and was called the Druid's Head by 1840 (NKC Kingston Tithe Apportionment no 2160; see Figs 7 and 8).

Further to the south again was the Crane Inn. This was the most important inn in Kingston in the 16th and 17th centuries. It was considered suitable accommodation for the Imperial ambassadors in 1526. In 1547 it had a garden adjacent which stretched back to the north shore of the Hogsmill. Formerly part of the estate of the chapel of St Mary Magdalene, it became part of the Grammar School endowment in 1564. During the 1650s it was the seat of the Committee of Safety for Surrey (*VCHS* 491-2; *LPH* iv(2) 1069 no 2397; *Valor Ecclesiasticus* ii 36; Manning and Bray 1804-14, i 357; PRO C142/85/65; KBR KB21/3/3; KE1/5/1 m10). It was divided into four dwelling-houses by 1673, and three other houses adjacent to Clattern Bridge were attached to the property (SHC 249/2/2-3, 250/6/12-13).

By 1744 this inn became the Bear, with two stables and common use of a yard (SHC 249/2/4, 249/2/8, 250/6/14). Later it was renamed as the Griffin Inn, which in 1835 had stabling for 46 horses, coach-houses and a yard, bars and parlours, cellars and accommodation on two upper floors (SHC 249/2/9). On its south side was the Jolly Butchers or Griffin Tap. Beyond this there was a grocer's warehouse in 1835 (NKC Kingston Tithe Apportionment nos 2162-

2164; SHC 249/2/5-9). There was a gateway between the two inns, which was built up in 1852. Internal alterations were made to the Jolly Butchers in 1915 (SHC 249/2/10-13).

There is evidence for wharves to the north of the River Hogsmill in this period. In 1503 there was a hythe belonging to Robard Skerne, probably on the north side of the Hogsmill adjacent to Clattern Bridge (Heales 1883, 71). The plot on the east side of the Crane Inn's garden was described as a shore in 1537, but as a wharf by 1553 (KBR KE1/5/1 mm3d, 10). A wharf and a barn lay to the rear of the Saracen's Head in 1600 (KBR KB18/3/2 p200). There was a wharf to the rear of the George Inn in 1609-11, with a lane on its south side and another wharf to its north (KBR KC1/1/77; KC3/2/19). There was a wharf to the north of Kings's Passage in 1583 (KBR KC2/5/4), and wharves to the rear of Bishop's Hall in 1631, and to the rear of Thames Street in 1753 (LAD Surrey Deeds 742, 828).

To the south of the River Hogsmill there was a wharf on Trench 2 by 1567. This faced the Thames and was served by a lane on the line of Emm's Passage (probably called Thurrocks Lane). This was used as a timber wharf by John Whyte in 1567 and John Rowle alias Stanton in 1600. Whyte also paid rent for a barn and a garden, and an ait in the river (KBR KB21/3/5; KC1/1/74; KC2/5/66 and 67). Rowle provided planks and other timber for the repair of Kingston Bridge in 1581 and 1583 (KBR KB18/3/2 pp 94, 109-110). On the south side of the Hogsmill on Trench 2 there was wharf by 1597, when it needed repair and additional wharfing. A passage seven feet (2.13m) wide was made running northwards to it in 1609 (KBR KC3/2/36 and 38; SHC 250/6/3). There was certainly a wharf adjacent to the west side of Clattern Bridge in 1700 (KBR KC3/2/16). This was called Clattern Wharf in 1903 (SHC 250/2/66 lot 6). Further to the south the brewery had a wharf by 1619-22, with river stairs where corn was unloaded and a privy at the waterside (KBR KC3/2/58).

In the early 17th century the wharfage extended rapidly southwards along West-by-Thames Street. Wharves were built by William Young by 1608, by Thomas Blackfan on the next plot to the south in c1617, and by John Mudgett on the next plot in 1653 (KBR KC1/1/1, 76, 211, 213, 220, 231; LAD Surrey Deeds 753). Several of these wharves were used as timber yards. When timber was needed for the repair of Kingston Bridge, it was floated down the river from these yards (Whitter 193_, 279 and n2). Kingston served as an inland port in the first half of the 17th century, daily transporting goods to the City of London. Its boats at this time included pinnaces, which were capable of going to sea. Coal was imported and stored in sheds on the wharves (Whitter 193_, 10, 279).

The Bishop's Hall property continued to be let to tenants (VCHS iii 490; Manning and Bray 1804-14, i 346). In 1631 it contained outbuildings, yards, stables and gardens, including two pear trees, and had formerly belonged to a baker (LAD Surrey Deeds 742). It had become a tanner's yard by 1723 (KBR KC1/1/86; NKC Kingston Tithe Apportionment no 2145; see Fig 7). Other trades and industries represented to the north of the Hogsmill included mercers and watermen, a joiner, a carpenter, a locksmith, a hardwareman, an apothecary, a tallow-chandler, a shoemaker and a clerk. To the south of the Hogsmill were to be found shoemakers, a tailor, a linendraper, a mercer, a butcher, a poulterer, a wharfinger, brewers, coopers, wheelwrights and mealmen. Especially represented here were the carpenters, joiners and wood merchants who operated the timber yards. Seventeenth-century Kingston is known to have contained maltkilns, brewhouses and forges, timber yards, a brick yard, slaughter houses and tan yards, and the sheds of carpenters, masons, chandlers and weavers (Whitter

193_, 4-5). One slaughterhouse was on the south-east side of the road to the south of Clattern Bridge (KBR KB18/3/2 p51; KB18/3/3). The houses opposite on the site of nos 16-18 High Street were owned by butchers in the 17th century (LAD Surrey Deeds 760). Presumably all these activities were represented in the town's waterborne trade.

The late medieval brewery continued to operate on the same site to the south of Trench 1, and was leased to James Norman in 1565 with a garden, an orchard, a barn and other buildings (KBR KB21/3/5; KC3/2/48). It was greatly expanded by John Rowle alias Stanton in the late 16th century, by the purchase of several houses, buildings and yards, forming a substantial block of property (KBR KB39/1). The brewery itself was purchased from the town by his son in 1611 (KBR KC3/2/56). Later in the 17th century the property was split up between various lessees to use as storage and workshops, but there were still granaries on the site (KBR KC3/2/58 and 59). Another brewer in the area was John Price, who occupied the tenements and yards to the north of Emms Passage in Trench 2 (Whitter 193_, 231). It may have been Price who established the malthouse on this site. In 1604 he paid rent for "a barn and a backside below his house near Clattering Bridge", that is a warehouse and a yard to the rear of his premises (KBR KB18/3/2 loose paper; KB18/3/3).

Several malthouses were established in this area to serve the brewing trade. Malting was a very prosperous trade in Kingston in the 17th and 18th centuries (VCHS iii 490). In 1672 Stephen Feild and Francis Houlden purchased a malthouse at the south end of Clattern Bridge from Robert Pike, and ran it as partners (KBR KP3/2/6). This is almost certainly the malthouse found on Trench 2. A malthouse was working here until about 1900 (Tithe Map no 2169). A furniture shop here in c1911 was called "Ye Olde Malt House" and had a round malting chimney (VCHS iii 492). Other malthouses on the west side of West-by-Thames were owned by John Dodson in 1662, William Phipps in 1663, James Triplett in 1663 and 1671, Stephen South in 1703 (KBR KC1/1/226; KP2/1/61 and 62), and Charles Muggeridge in 1840 (NKC Kingston Tithe Apportionment no 2182). There was a malster operating to the south of the Hogsmill on the south-east side of the street in 1739 (KBR KC1/1/112). There was another malthouse on the north side of King's Passage in 1840 (NKC Kingston Tithe Apportionment no 2151).

A cooperage was attached to the brewery fronting onto West-by-Thames Street. This was operated by the Triplett family in the 17th century (PRO PROB4/6177; KBR KP2/1/61).

Some of the tenants in the area to the south of the River Hogsmill were fishermen. Eels were caught each year at the Eel Fair in mid-May, when the young eels migrated up the Thames (Biden 1852, 128). There were still weirs in the rivers. Queen Mary granted the town the right to make a weir in the Thames in 1556, together with the rents of two other fish weirs (VCHS iii 489; Biden 1852, 17, 61). There were also weirs in the Hogsmill, including the late medieval weir to the west of Clattern Bridge formerly operated by Thomas Broker, owned by Audemer and worked by Richard Standon in 1503 (Heales 1883, 72).

Some of the old watercourses were infilled. In 1563 John Jenyns was leased a piece of land at the Thames-side end of Bishop's Hall Lane with fifty feet (15.24m) of a drainage channel (also confusingly called the Creek), and was required to fill and level it whilst maintaining a watercourse for water to drain from Thames Street into the river (KBR KC1/1/73). There were continuing efforts made to manage the rivers and defend against floods. To the south of

the site the bank of the Thames was protected by a stone wall by 1565, and a brick *rampier* on stone arches by 1695 (KBR KC1/1/209, 224, 228, 229, 231). By 1738 the north side of the Hogsmill adjacent to Clattern Bridge was lined by a brick wall thirteen inches (0.33m) thick, adjoining the *campshot* (piles and boarding) of the Creek (KBR KC1/1/113; SHC 250/6/52).

Major floods occurred in Kingston in October 1570 and c1777. On these occasions the water of the Thames rose so high that it was possible to row boats into the Market Place (Lysons 1795, i 216-17; Biden 1852, 25). In the winter of 1588-9 John Davyson was paid for a boat to seek the timbers carried away by a flood, and for breaking ice at Kingston Bridge (KBR KB18/3/2 p152). A lease of 1716 noted possible damage to the *rampier* by floods of water or ice coming down the Thames (KBR KC1/1/229). In February 1795 a sudden thaw caused a flood which damaged warehouses in the town; the same premises were damaged by fire later that year (BL Church Brief B xxxvi 4). Drainage was still a problem in the centre of the town in the nineteenth century (Biden 1852, 34), a reminder of its origins as a low-lying island.

John Rocque's map of the mid-eighteenth century shows relatively little development over the previous century (see Fig 6). It appears that the development of the town had stagnated. At this time it was a market town chiefly noted for the number of its inns.

Clattern Bridge was still only eight feet (2.44m) wide in 1831. It was twice widened, the second time to the east in about 1852 (*VCHS* iii 491; Biden 1852, 63-4). The River Hogsmill was canalised in its present course to the west of the Bridge in about 1900.

Some of the area to the south of the River Hogsmill is shown on a sale map of 1851 (see Fig 5 from SHC 250/4/1). A boat-building yard had been established here on the western part of Trench 2 by the 1890s. These premises were called Burgoine's Boat House in 1903 (SHC 250/2/66 lot 8). A motor garage had replaced the malthouse on the eastern part by 1907 (Goat Fire Insurance map).

At the north end of Trench 3 the flat reclaimed land by the Thames behind the Sun Hotel was used as a bowling green by 1865 (OS map). In the early twentieth century Hides' department store took over most of the ground between the Sun Hotel and the Druid's Head. This formed the core of Trench 3.

Appendix: Research methodology

The history of the site has been investigated from a variety of sources, including printed primary and secondary material, photographic and cartographic sources. All available printed and manuscript maps of the subject site and its vicinity have been used. Manuscript evidence has been accessed by references culled from the printed material and from catalogues to the relevant document classes and collections in the record repositories visited. Post-medieval maps and documents have been used to elucidate medieval conditions; property boundaries persisted over several centuries.

Maps and manuscripts have been consulted at the British Library, the Public Record Office, Surrey History Centre at Woking, the Minet Library in Brixton, and the Kingston Local History Room at the North Kingston Centre. Full references to the source material are set out in the bibliography.

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