Wessex Archaeology

Wayneflete Tower, Esher, Surrey.

Archaeological Evaluation and Assessment of Results

Ref: 59472.01

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Summary

In September 2005 an archaeological evaluation was undertaken by Channel 4's 'Time Team' at the site of Wayneflete's Tower in Esher Surrey (centred on NGR 513080 165100) to investigate the site of the *Esher Episcopi* and the 15th century palace of the Bishops of Winchester.

The evaluation was concentrated within the garden of what is now known as Wayneflete Tower, the former gatehouse entrance in to the palace complex, with other geophysical survey and limited excavation occurring in the neighbouring properties. The Tower itself was investigated and tree-ring dating samples taken from the timbers of the structure in a dendrochronological survey.

The aims of the evaluation were to locate the extent of the palace complex, and to identify individual buildings within the palace grounds, while attempting to locate earlier 13th and 14th century structures built upon in the 15th century, and any evidence of the later 18th century alterations to the site. Any uncovered *in situ* archaeological remains could then be viewed in conjunction with the cartographic evidence which exists for the site. Eight trenches were excavated in total, with seven trenches in the garden of Wayneflete Tower and a single trench in 57 Pelhams Walk. They were excavated to evaluate the location, extent, character, date, and significance of any underlying archaeology.

The archaeological evaluation was only partially successful in achieving its aims, as it was unable to locate the extent of the complex of buildings associated with the palace of Esher or to identify the Episcopal boundary of the estate. This was due to the size of the estate, a larger proportion of which fell outside the boundary of the garden of Wayneflete Tower and would have been situated in neighbouring properties.

The programme of work was successful in the identification of a number of buildings of the palace complex. Prior to the evaluation, the building's existence was only known from two maps, dating from 1606 and 1673. By comparing the exposed archaeology to the cartographic evidence a clearer interpretation of the structures could be made, and the accuracy of the maps could be proved. Evidence of the Keep, a covered walkway and domestic buildings relating to Wayneflete was revealed, as well as evidence of a potentially 14th century Great Hall which had been incorporated into the palace complex.

The evaluation was also successful in providing a potential construction date for the Tower of the mid 1460s. The tree ring dating revealed that timber felled between 1462-72 was used; this tallies with when master mason John Cowper, who worked for Wayneflete before 1461 and after 1466, was believed to be working at Esher. The Pipe Rolls also indicate the Bishop was paying for work at Esher between 1464 and 1467.

Acknowledgements

This programme of post-excavation and assessment work was commissioned and funded by Videotext Communications Ltd, and Wessex Archaeology would like to thank the staff at Videotext, and in particular Michael Douglas (Series Editor), Melinda Smith (Production Manager), Rebecca Woodhead (Assistant Producer), Tom St. John Gray (Researcher) and Jenny James (Production Coordinator) for their considerable help during the recording and post-excavation work.

The geophysical survey was undertaken by John Gater, Jimmy Adcock and Emma Wood of GSB Prospection. The field survey was undertaken by Henry Chapman, University of Hull. The excavation strategy was devised by Mick Aston, Bristol University. The on-site recording was co-ordinated by Steve Thompson, assisted by Naomi Hall, both of Wessex Archaeology. The finds were processed on-site by Naomi Hall.

The excavations were undertaken by Time Team's retained archaeologists, Phil Harding (of Wessex Archaeology), Raksha Dave, Kerry Ely, Matt Williams, Ian Powlesland and Brigid Gallagher with help from Tracey Smith, Helene McNeill, Steve Dyer, Joyce Herve, Emma Corke, Mark Perks and David Williams. On-site finds and pottery identification was undertaken by Faye Simpson.

The archive was collated and all post-excavation assessment and analysis undertaken by Wessex Archaeology. This report was compiled by Steve Thompson, with specialist reports prepared by Lorraine Mepham and Angela Britten (finds) and Jessica Grimm (animal bone). The illustrations were prepared by Rob Goller. The post-excavation project was managed on behalf of Wessex Archaeology by Lorraine Mepham.

The dendrochronology report was compiled by Michael Worthington and Daniel Miles of Oxford Dendrochronological Laboratory.

The work also benefited from discussion on site with Jonathan Foyle, Architectural Historian, John Guy, Historian, and Phil Harding of Wessex Archaeology, Helen Geake of Cambridge University and Mick Aston of Bristol University. Thanks are also due to Bob Davis and Bob Hill of Wessex Archaeology

Penny Rainbow and her family must be gratefully thanked for allowing access to the garden and house of Wayneflete Tower, for the purposes of geophysical survey, excavation and dendrochronological survey. Thanks also go to Robert Woods of 57 Pelhams Walk for allowing access for geophysical survey and excavation and Colin and Suzanne Roberts of 63 Pelhams Walk for allowing access for geophysical survey.

Wayneflete Tower, Esher, Surrey

Archaeological Evaluation and Assessment of Results

1 BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Wessex Archaeology was commissioned by Videotext Communications Ltd to undertake a programme of archaeological recording and post-excavation work on an archaeological evaluation undertaken by Channel 4's 'Time Team' at the site of Wayneflete's Tower, Pelhams Walk, Esher, Surrey (hereafter the 'Site') (**Figure 1**).

1.1.2 This report documents the results of archaeological survey and evaluation undertaken by Time Team, and presents an assessment of the results of these works.

1.2 Description of the Site

1.2.1 The Site is approximately centred on NGR 513080 165100 with Esher bounded by the parishes of East Molesey to the north, Thames Ditton to the east, Cobham to the south and by Walton-on-Thames to the west. Esher is situated on the only major elevation of Bagshot Sand which rises east of the Mole valley, with the underlying geology of the Site comprising Kempton Park Gravel, a Thames River Terrace deposit. The area closest to the River Mole which runs to the west of the Site is located on Alluvium. The approximate height of the Site is 14m aOD (Videotext 2005, 2; BGS1982).

1.2.2 The site includes the extant Grade I listed building and Scheduled Monument (Surrey 212), now known as Wayneflete Tower. This former gatehouse is a remnant of the 15th century Palace of Esher, built by William Wayneflete, Bishop of Winchester on the site of an earlier manor, with a documentary history dating back to the time of Edward the Confessor. The four-storey brick tower has been restored and is currently used as a family home.

1.2.3 The evaluation was concentrated in the garden of Wayneflete Tower (61 Pelhams Walk); with further work being carried out in a number of neighbouring properties along Pelhams Walk and Wayneflete Tower Avenue.

1.3 Historical Background

Early medieval history

1.3.1 Esher was first recorded as *Aescaeron* in 1005, with later references as *Esshere* (1062), *Esser* (1229), and *Assere* (1242). It was referred to in the 13th and 14th centuries as *Eschere* and as *Asher* in the 16th century (Videotext 2005, 2; VCH, 447).

1.3.2 The Domesday Book recorded Esher as *Aissela* or *Aissele* in the county sub division of Elmbridge Hundred. The first recorded history of the Site states it was held by Tovi on behalf of Edward the Confessor in the 1040s when the area was known as the *Esher Episcopi*. Following the accession of William the Conqueror, he gave the *Esher Episcopi* to the Abbey of Croix St. Leufroy (St.Leufroy's Cross) in Normandy. The gift was given on the condition that the Abbot provided two priests to say mass at the manor of Esher for the souls of his predecessors. The manor was held by the monks of Croix St. Leufroy until it was bought by Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester (1205-1238) and guardian of the young king, Henry III (1216-1272). Des Roches gave the manor to the Abbot of the newly royal patronised Place of St.Edward Abbey at Netley in Hampshire (VCH, 448).

1.3.3 In 1245 the Abbot of Netley sold the manor to William Raleigh, Bishop of Winchester (1240-1260) and it remained a possession of the see of Winchester until it was given to Henry VIII in 1538 by Bishop Stephen Gardiner, to be incorporated into the lands of Hampton Court (VCH, 448).

1.3.4 The bishops of Winchester are likely to have been responsible for the first major structures constructed on the Site as it proved a convenient stopping point between the Bishop's palace at Southwark and Winchester Cathedral. The earliest structure was possibly a lodge and chapel constructed by either Peter des Roches or William Raleigh. The residence was only ever used as a temporary accommodation between the two more important establishments.

1.3.5 During the episcopate of Bishop John de Pontoise (1282-1305), King Edward I (1272-1307) stayed at the lodge on two occasions, in 1289 and 1303 whilst travelling from Odiham to Windsor (Hutchins 2001, 14; Stevens1966).

1.3.6 The manor remained an important temporary residence under Bishop Henry Woodlock (1305-1316), though at the death of Bishop John Sandale in 1319 only a small residence was recorded. This small residence was enlarged during the episcopate of Bishop John Stratford (1323-33), who built the first manor house around 1331, which was later used by Bishop William of Wykeham (1366-1404) for the site of ordinations (Floyer 1919-20, 73; Hutchins 2001, 14).

William of Wayneflete (1398-1486)

1.3.7 In 1447 William of Wayneflete became Bishop of Winchester. Born in 1398 in Wainfleet in Lincolnshire, he had already been appointed Master of Winchester College in 1429 and Provost of Eton in 1443. At Eton he had assumed responsibility for the finances, endowments and administration, and took charge of the building programme of the new college patronised by Henry VI. Wayneflete represented Eton in Parliament and was present at the wedding of Henry and Margaret of Anjou and her subsequent coronation. Wayneflete would make frequent visits to London and Windsor to report to the King on the development and building progress at Eton and was rewarded for his dedication by being appointed to the King's Council in 1447. Later the same year he was appointed Bishop of Winchester following the King's recommendation to the Pope.

1.3.8 Wayneflete continued to use the Manor at Esher in a similar vein to the previous Bishops as a temporary residence while his concentration turned to his appointment as Chancellor of England by Henry VI in 1456 and his later founding of Magdalen College Oxford in 1458. However, his power and influence within England was short-lived due to his siding with Henry VI during the War of the Roses, which led to his resignation from the Chancellorship, though not his loss of the see of Winchester (www.magd.ox.ac.uk/history/ww.shtml).

1.3.9 Towards the end of his life Wayneflete turned his attention to the manor at Esher, perhaps following the completion of the building of the chapel at Eton in 1461. The date for the beginning of work at Esher by Wayneflete has led to much discussion, with Felix Palmer suggesting a date as early as 1460 though most authors suggest a date of *c*.1475-80 (Brodie 1994, 2).

1.3.10 The extent of the palace built by Wayneflete can be seen from the cartographic evidence and written descriptions which exist. A map by Ralph Tresswell dated 1606 (**Figure 2**) reveals that the existing Wayneflete Tower was the main entrance into the palace from the east. The palace consisted of a central courtyard with the gatehouse on the eastern side with a range of narrow buildings along the northern perimeter. Positioned in the north east corner of the courtyard was a keep-like structure, of a similar design to the gatehouse. The keep appears to have been almost identical to the gatehouse, though considerably larger in size; however this may just be the perspective of the map.

1.3.11 On the south side of the keep was a series of buildings extending to the south. The entrance to these buildings was directly opposite the main entrance through the gatehouse, which implies that these buildings include the Great Hall and the residential areas of the palace.

1.3.12 The southern perimeter consisted of a long east-west aligned structure, separated from the main courtyard by a dividing wall. This building was possibly the manor chapel (Floyer 1919-20, 74; J. Foyle *pers. comm*.).

1.3.13 Analysis of the 1606 map provides information concerning the size and scale of the palace at Esher, with further details being provided by John Aubrey who visited the palace in 1673. Aubrey's sketches and written description were compiled in his *Perambulations in Surrey*, which were incorporated into the *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey* published by Richard Rawlinson in 1719 (www.bartleby.co/219/1321.html). This shows that only a few alterations to the palace occurred in the intervening years from 1606 to 1673.

1.3.14 In Aubrey's sketch plan (**Figure 3**) the position of the gatehouse is clear, and annotated as *'(a)gatehouse with portcullis and hollow battlements'*. A north-south aligned *'terrace'* is identified extending from the north side of the gatehouse to the east-west aligned building forming the northern perimeter of the palace, and annotated as *'timber built lodgings'*. The *'terrace'* is shown as having a solid back wall with archways opening out into the central courtyard, with the *'timber built lodgings'* butting the eastern wall of the

keep. The Aubrey sketch shows the keep as a similar size in plan to the gatehouse and is annotated as *'a kind of keep – 4 stories – where are the best rooms* and *a kind of castle like but not as high as (a)'* (the gatehouse).

1.3.15 The Aubrey sketch plan is conspicuous by the lack of buildings recorded compared to the 1606 map, and therefore a number of buildings are likely to have been demolished during the 67 year intervening period. The Great Hall is annotated as *'2 storey'*, though it no longer appears to have an entrance way directly opposite the main entrance through the gatehouse. Instead the sketch plan appears to show a path leading to a *'little court'* on the west side of the Great Hall annotated adjacent to the River Mole. The 1606 map shows buildings on the west side of the Great Hall on the banks of the river with no *'little court'*. South of the *'Hall'* is a building annotated as *'Buttery'* and an indecipherable word, possibly *'Kitchen'*. It would have been practical to keep the kitchens and bake-houses away from the main residential area because of the risk of fire.

1.3.16 Aubrey described the palace at Esher as *'a stately brick mansion, a noble house built of the best burnt brick that I ever sawe, with a stately gatehouse and hall'*, with the work of the Great Hall described not unlike that at Westminster, thus suggesting a hammer-beam roof construction, *'decorated with several angels, carved in wood, sustaining escocheons* (scutcheon or escutcheon) *on two of which are scrolls bearing the inscription 'Tibi Christie''* (Christ be with you) (Floyer1919-20, 72).

1.3.17 John Harvey in his work *English Medieval Architects* (1987) suggests that the mason responsible for the period of construction at Esher during Wayneflete's episcopate was John Cowper (*floruit* 1453-84). The mason is first mentioned as having worked at Eton on buildings paid for by Wayneflete and following the end of work there in 1461 may have been re-employed by Wayneflete. Cowper is recorded at Winchester College in 1466-67 and again in Winchester in 1477, and at Tattershall in Lincolnshire, working on Wayneflete's collegiate church, in 1480. Cowper is recorded as being involved with projects directly funded and organised by Wayneflete and it is very likely he was responsible for the work at Esher.

1.3.18 The carpentry work at Esher was attributed by Harvey to Henry Alsebroke (*floruit* 1482-6) who was working at Tattershall in 1482 and in 1484 was contracted to build a combined ceiling and floor for the chapel and school at Wainfleet in Lincolnshire (the birth-place of Bishop Wayneflete), which was to be like the one at Esher, implying he had also been working at Esher (Brodie 1994, 3).

1.3.19 The construction of such a castle-like structure at Esher by Wayneflete was a symbol the Bishop's power and authority and that of the Church. However, it was also constructed against the back-drop of turbulent times within England following the End of the Hundred Years War and the War of the Roses, and so could also be viewed as a defensive structure.

1.3.20 The manor of the *Esher Episcopi* had until the time of Wayneflete been a manor of relative unimportance, a stopping point between the Bishop's

palace at Southwark and Wolvesey in Winchester. It was now one of the first major brick built structures within England and possibly the inspiration for some of the later great buildings of England including Richmond Palace and Hampton Court.

The late medieval palace after Wayneflete

1.3.21 Following the death of Bishop Wayneflete in April 1486, Bishop Peter Courtney (1487-1493) and subsequently Bishop Thomas Langton (1493-1501) were responsible for the maintenance of the palace at Esher, but it was not until the episcopate of Bishop Richard Fox (1501-1529) that Esher would take centre stage again.

1.3.22 Fox had been living at Esher for some time when Thomas Wolsey bought the site of Hampton court in 1514 and took up residence there as the new Archbishop of York. A year later he became Cardinal and began trying to obtain Esher for himself by bribing Fox with a pension to let him have it. Wolsey wanted Esher in order to oversee the work at nearby Hampton Court. Bishop Fox agreed that Cardinal Wolsey could stay at Esher, informing him in 1519 that *'Would God, that the poor lodging at Esher did content your Grace as much as it rejoiceth me that it can please you to use it. Use it in all ways as long and as often as it shall please you, right as your own, and make it a cell of Hampton Court'* (Floyer1919-20, 74).

1.3.23 Wolsey became Bishop of Winchester in 1529 and gained Esher rightfully for himself but in the same year he fell out of favour with the King over his foreign policy and the failed attempt to gain a divorce for Henry from his first wife Catherine of Aragon. The Bishop retreated to Esher following the forfeiting of all his lands including Hampton Court to the King.

1.3.24 A number of alterations were carried out at Esher by Wolsey but his plans were never followed through. His time at Esher had been one of disgrace which saw his alterations deliberately targeted by Henry VIII. His newly constructed Gallery was dismantled by the orders of the King's Council and moved to Westminster, and after only a few months in residence complaining of the bitter cold and damp, he left Esher, to die a few months later in Leicester Abbey in 1530 (Brodie 1994, 3).

1.3.25 Henry VIII having already visited Esher in 1517 would later use the palace in 1538, while under the care of Bishop Stephen Gardiner, to escape Hampton Court when plague swept through the palace and the Queen was sick.

1.3.26 The Palace of Esher was finally lost to the Bishops of Winchester when it was incorporated into the lands of Hampton Court to create a Royal Chase, as Henry VIII's increasing size prevented him from easily travelling to Windsor to hunt (Floyer1919-20, 76; Brodie 1994, 3).

1.3.27 When Henry VIII died in 1547, the throne passed to his nine-year-old son Edward, who would be crowned Edward VI. The King passed the *Esher Episcopi* to John, Earl of Warwick in 1550, who gave it back to the Crown a few months later. It remained in the hands of the Crown until 1554 when in the reign of Queen Mary it was briefly handed back to the Bishops of

Winchester, who were to lose it again in 1582 when Queen Elizabeth gave it to Lord Howard of Effingham (Hutchins 2001, 20). Effingham sold the palace at Esher a year later in 1583 to Richard Drake, equerry to Queen Elizabeth and cousin of Sir Francis Drake (Floyer 1919-20, 76).

1.3.28 In 1588, following Drake's attack on Cadiz the previous year in the assault known as the *singeing of the King of Spain's Beard*, Spain launched its Armada against England. Following the disastrous attack over 300 high ranking Spanish officers were taken prisoner, along with their servants. It was customary for such high ranking prisoners to be held in accommodation fitting of their rank, and so it was that three Spanish admirals, Don Pedro de Valdez, Don Vasco de Mendoza and Don Alonzo de Cayas, and an entourage of some 450 people were held in Esher in the house of Richard Drake. In 1593, the prisoners were exchanged for captured Englishmen and Drake received over £2000 in ransom for holding the Spaniards (Hutchins 2001, 21). The *Esher Episcopi* remained in the hands of the Drake family until 1636.

Late 17th and early 18th century: Esher Place

1.3.29 The ownership of Esher Palace subsequently passed through a number of hands including Thomas Lynch, the lieutenant governor of Jamaica, who bought it in 1671. Sir Thomas Lynch's daughter Philadelphia by his first wife married Sir Thomas Cotton who sold the manor to John Latton. Latton in around 1721 sold the manor and the manor house separately and the house became known as Esher Place (Hutchins 2001, 27, 32-3).

1.3.30 Cartographic evidence from the early 1700s shows that significant alterations occurred to the palace in the intervening years since Wayneflete's residence, though it was recorded that it was not until the 18th century that the Great Hall, the keep, the main body of the house and the north and south sides of the quadrangle were demolished (*Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 1919-20, 76-7).

1.3.31 This cartographic evidence consists of an aerial view of Esher Place, drawn by L. Knyff and engraved by Johannes Kip during the residence of Thomas Cotton (**Figure 4**). The engraving shows that the main gatehouse had now become the focus of Esher Place with ornamental gardens to the west and a small building hanging over the river directly in line with the main entrance through the gatehouse.

1.3.32 The land of the manor was subsequently bought by Thomas Pelham, later the Duke of Newcastle who incorporated the lands into his Claremont estate. On Latton's death the manor house was sold to Peter Delaporte, Director of the South Sea Company, but following the bursting of the 'South Sea Bubble' in an attempt to recoup losses and compensate shareholders Delaporte was forced to sell to Denis Bond in 1724. In 1729 Bond sold the estate to Henry Pelham (Hutchins 2001, 27, 32-3).

Henry Pelham's early 18th century alterations

1.3.33 Henry Pelham (1694-1754), brother of the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary at War and Privy Councillor bought Esher Place in 1729, with the obvious

attraction of it being close to his brother's manor of Claremont. Pelham, who would later become the Prime Minister in 1743, set about modernising the medieval buildings and altering the formal layout of the gardens of Esher Place as shown in the Kip and Knyff engraving with the aid of the leading architect and gardener William Kent (www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page172.asp; Hutchins 2001, 33; Symes 1988, 19).

1.3.34 Kent pulled down all the buildings within the estate apart from the gatehouse itself, to which he added two massive three-storey wings in a pseudo-gothic style, with the addition of an entrance porch, and three quartrefoil mouldings, two on the top floors of the turret and one on the second floor above the porch. Another alteration of Kent's was to move the courtyard from the west of the gatehouse to the east, so that the front of the gatehouse opened onto the courtyard (**Figure 5**). Not everyone accepted the quality of Kent's work or the taste of Pelham. Horace Walpole (1717-97), the architect and son of Pelham's great friend Sir Robert Walpole, on visiting Esher noted that the alterations *'were proof* of *how little he conceived either the principles or graces of the Gothic architecture'*, although by 1748 Walpole would comment *'Esher I have seen again twice and prefer it to all the villas'* (Stevens 1966). Kent's work within the garden was to alter it from the geometric French style to a natural landscape of sweeping hills, with trees and water features and temples and follies (Hutchins 2001, 33).

Later history

1.3.35 Esher Place remained in the Pelham family following Henry's death in 1754, when it was passed to his nephew Lewis Thomas, Lord Sondes who sold the estate in 1805 to the first non-titled owner of the property, stockbroker John Spicer. Spicer pulled down most of Kent's work, and left only the gatehouse itself, the materials being used for the building of a larger Palladian style house which stayed in the Spicer family until it was bought by Sir Edgar Vincent, later Lord D'Abernon, in 1893. D'Abernon built the current building at Esher Place incorporating Spicer's house into the south-east wing sometime between 1893 and 1895.

1.3.36 The D'Abernons left Esher in 1934, leaving the property to the Shaftesbury Society for the use as a girls school, with the majority of the land of Esher Place including the gatehouse being sold to Wayneflete Holdings Ltd, which developed the area as a housing estate.

1.3.37 The gatehouse was scheduled in 1925, but despite this, in 1938 proposals were put forward to demolish the Tower. The Council of the Surrey Archaeological Society attempted to buy the Tower from Wayneflete Holdings Ltd, but the outbreak of the Second World War interrupted the discussions, although in 1941 the Tower was purchased by a leading singer and actress of the day, Francis Day, who carried out much needed restoration work

1.3.38 The only surviving structure from the site of the palace of Esher is the former gatehouse to the complex, now known as Wayneflete Tower. The Tower is a four-storey brick gate tower with decorative diaper brick patterns on its front and rear faces, with octagonal towers on each corner. The main features of

the Tower date to Wayneflete's construction although later additions and alterations are present. These include the addition of a porch on the eastern entrance into the building positioned between the two towers, and all the external window and door mouldings which date to Kent's alterations for Pelham.

1.3.39 The walls of the gatehouse show evidence of the medieval structures which were joined to the structure with an opening on the northern elevation between the ground and first floor. This may have led to the wall walk or terrace which extended from the gatehouse to the accommodation of the northern range. The remains of the perimeter walls are clear extending from the building on the south side also. Later scars are visible which relate to the addition of the two large three-storey wings constructed by Kent and later demolished by Spicer. No other structures are extant (Brodie 1994, 4-5).

1.3.40 Wayneflete Tower is currently owned by Penny Rainbow and her family who have carried out a great deal of restoration work and modernisation while still retaining many of the moulded decoration and internal fittings from Kent's alterations.

1.4 Previous Archaeological Work

1.4.1 The Project Design (Videotext 2005) contains details of the previous archaeological work. A brief summary is provided here.

1.4.2 A number of investigations of the Site have taken place, with the earliest recorded occurring in 1912 and undertaken by the then owners the D'Abernons. The excavations took place to the north of the tower in an attempt to locate the moat, following recent successful excavations at Hampton Court where a moat had been discovered. The excavated area was located beneath the neighbouring properties to the north and the excavation was successful in identifying a number of structural features relating to Esher Place, though no moat was ever discovered.

1.4.3 The results of the excavation were described by the Reverend J.K Floyer as *'a range of rooms with an upper storey approached by a newel staircase at the river end. The windows face the court, and there was a fireplace at the back. The building which was brick may have been a bachelor's lodging. When opening up the foundations of the wall connecting the north side of the gatehouse with the end of this range of buildings, it was discovered that the foundation cut across an older stone wall'* (Floyer 1919-20, 70) (**Figure 6**).

1.4.4 The rooms identified in 1912 are potentially the remains of the *'timber built lodging'* identified on Aubrey's 1673 sketch plan (**Figure 3**) with the connecting wall that of the terrace, but as the north side of the gatehouse has seen much alteration with the addition of, and subsequent demolition of, wings and perimeter walls it is unclear from what phase the identified walls derive. The earlier stone footing has been interpreted as potentially associated with either Bishop Des Roches' or Bishop Raleigh's earlier construction.

1.4.5 Development to the south of the gatehouse in what is now the neighbouring properties revealed the south wing of the quadrangle, or the possible chapel identified on the 1606 map.

1.4.6 In 1980 the local Archaeological Society oversaw a dive aimed at locating evidence of the bridge associated with Esher Palace identified on the 1606 map (**Figure 2**), in advance of the River Mole improvements scheme. The dive located a number of red bricks, an area of standing brickwork on the eastern bank and a large piece of hardwood timber decorated with bronze pins.

1.4.7 In 1982, a watching brief during development at 59 Pelhams Walk and the property to the south revealed structures interpreted as part of the palace complex.

1.4.8 All the archaeological work carried out on the site save for the 1912 excavation has been piecemeal and in advance of development.

2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

2.1.1 A project design for the work was compiled by Videotext Communications (2005), providing full details of the research aims and methods. A brief summary is provided here.

2.1.2 The project aimed to ascertain the location, date, character, condition and extent of the underlying archaeology, using a multi-disciplinary approach of historical document research, geophysical survey and archaeological evaluation. Investigation of the upstanding tower itself occurred with a dendrochronological survey of the timbers taking place.

2.1.3 The project provided the opportunity to investigate the extent of the 13th century buildings of Bishop Des Roches or Bishop Raleigh prior to their demolition by Wayneflete and investigate the location and function of the manor buildings occupied in the late 1400s by Bishop Wayneflete.

2.1.4 The project aimed to answer some specific research questions:

1) What is the state of preservation of the archaeology in the grounds of Wayneflete Tower and the neighbouring gardens?

2) Can the Episcopal boundary of the Bishop's estate be identified?

3) What is the extent of the complex of buildings which made up the Bishop Wayneflete's Palace?

4) Can any specific buildings be identified such as the Great Hall or the Keep?

5) What activities were located in the various buildings of the estate?

3 METHODS

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 The Project Design identified a number of areas of investigation around Wayneflete Tower which were available for geophysical survey but not for the excavation of archaeological evaluation trenches. Once on site it was decided that just two areas would be investigated through the excavation of trenches due to time constraints, and because the aims of the Project Design could well be addressed within these two areas. The first area of investigation was the garden of Wayneflete Tower itself (61 Pelhams Walk) and the second the garden of 57 Pelhams Walk to the south of the Tower.

3.2 Dendrochronological Survey

3.2.1 Six timbers were sampled from what appeared to be the primary construction phase of the Tower, five of which proved suitable for processing.

3.3 Geophysical Survey

3.3.1 Prior to the excavation of evaluation trenches, a geophysical survey was carried out across the Site using a combination of resistance survey, Ground Penetrating Radar and magnetic survey. Several locations around Wayneflete Tower and in the vicinity were investigated. The survey grid was set out by Dr Henry Chapman and tied in to the Ordnance Survey grid using a Trimble real time differential GPS system.

3.3.2 Ground conditions were generally good for data collection; most of the areas comprised short grass, although iron railings at the bottom of Area 2 hindered data collection.

3.4 Evaluation Trenches

3.4.1 Eight evaluation trenches of varying sizes were excavated after consultation between the on-site director Mick Aston and other associated specialists. Their precise locations were determined as to investigate geophysical anomalies in order to answer the specific aims and objectives of the project design. Trenches 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8 were located within the garden of Wayneflete Tower with Trench 6 positioned in the garden of 57 Pelhams Walk (**Figure 7**).

3.4.2 The trenches were excavated using a combination of machine and hand digging. All machine trenches were excavated under constant archaeological supervision and ceased at the identification of significant archaeological remains, or where natural geology was encountered first. When machine excavation had ceased all trenches were cleaned by hand and archaeological deposits investigated.

3.4.3 The excavated up-cast was scanned by metal detector, using detectorists recommended by the Finds Liaison Officer, Portable Antiquities Scheme, Surrey.

3.4.4 All archaeological deposits were recorded using Wessex Archaeology's *pro forma* record sheets with a unique numbering system for individual contexts. Trenches were located using a Trimble Real Time Differential GPS survey system. All archaeological features and deposits were planned at a scale of 1:20 with sections drawn at 1:10. All principal strata and features were related to the Ordnance Survey datum.

3.4.5 A full photographic record of the investigations and individual features was maintained, utilising colour transparencies, black and white negatives (on 35mm film) and digital images. The photographic record illustrated both the detail and general context of the archaeology revealed and the Site as a whole.

3.4.6 At the completion of the work, all trenches were reinstated using the excavated soil and relaid turf, apart from Trench 7 which remained open as the landowner, after discussion with English Heritage, wished to leave the exposed archaeology on display and incorporate it into her garden.

3.4.7 A unique site code (WAY 05) was agreed prior to the commencement of works. The work was carried out on the 27th – 30th September 2005. The archive and all artefacts were subsequently transported to the offices of Wessex Archaeology in Salisbury where they were processed and assessed for this report.

4 RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Details of individual excavated contexts and features, the full geophysical report (GSB 2005), the full dendrochronological report (Worthington and Miles 2005), and details of artefactual and environmental assessments, are retained in the archive. Summaries of the excavated sequences can be found in **Appendix 1**.

4.2 Dendrochronological survey

4.2.1 The five sampled timbers which were suitable for processing were found to cross-match and were combined to form the site master WAYNEFLT, spanning the years 1392-1450 (see **Table 1**). As none of the samples retained complete sapwood, estimated felling date ranges were produced. By taking the mean heartwood/sapwood boundary date for the group of five samples, a felling date range of 1457-89 was produced using the empirical sapwood estimate of 9-41 years (Miles 1997). To help the interpretation of the building, this sapwood range was reduced to 1462-72 using OxCal (Miles and Bronk Ramsey in prep.).

4.3 Geophysical Survey

Area 1: Front garden, Wayneflete Tower

4.3.1 A gradiometer survey was carried out in the hope of identifying a possible moat feature thought to cross the lawn to the north-east of the Tower.

4.3.2 The results were very 'noisy', in part reflecting the underlying rubble but also due to the nearby presence of a sewer pipe and electrical services. It was not possible to see a moat feature in the data.

4.3.3 The resistance survey was also unclear (**Figure 7**). While high resistance readings clearly relate to foundations of structures originally attached to the Tower the interpretation of low readings is more puzzling. They could theoretically indicate the wetter fill of a moat ditch, but it is more likely that the results are associated with landscaping/consolidation of the gardens.

Area 2: Back garden, Wayneflete Tower

4.3.4 The resistance survey identified a number of areas of high and low resistance (**Figure 7**). The south-east quadrant of the survey area has low readings throughout, either because of a large soil build-up in this area or, more probably, because no rubble or foundations are buried at this point. The north-east quadrant has a spread of high resistance readings which have a similar alignment to the Tower. While some of the high readings may be due to the presence of a tree in this area, the suggested rectilinearity in the data is more indicative of archaeological deposits. Subsequent excavation (see below: Trench 5) revealed a compacted surface partly made up of rubble.

4.3.5 The north-west quadrant produced the clearest results. Several high resistance readings (**Figure 7**: highlighted as 1-3) have a rectangular form, and it was initially believed that (3) was the site of the Great Hall, with (1) and (2) respectively seen as a wall and a series of rooms to the side of the Hall, and (4) an open area between the other features. Subsequent excavation, however (see below), proved that (1), (2) and (3) are all part of the same building, i.e. the Great Hall, with (4) as the interior. (5) could then be seen as the north-west corner of the Hall and (6) representing the rooms beyond the Hall running down to the river's edge. This interpretation fits extremely well with the 1606 map evidence. Using the cartographic evidence, the high readings at (7) could then be seen as indicating the south-east corner of the Keep, lying north and north-east of the Great Hall, later confirmed by excavation.

4.3.6 In the south-west quadrant a number of high readings were associated with the palace complex. The readings at (8) indicate further wall foundations (later excavated: Trench 8).

4.3.7 Investigation of the area of the Great Hall with GPR proved disappointing, mainly due to the clayey soils; very little depth penetration could be achieved.

Area 3: Garden of 63 Pelhams Walk

4.3.8 Resistance survey was carried out over the lawn. It seems that high readings there (**Figure 7**: highlighted as 9) relate to those in Area 2, and represent the main block of the Keep. This is truncated by a low resistance linear anomaly, either a services trench, a garden path or possibly a road or track visible on the 1606 plan. High readings at (10) appear to relate to (6) in Area 2, belonging to buildings known to extend as far as the river frontage.

Area 4: Garden of 57 Pelhams Walk

4.3.9 Survey was carried out in the rear garden of 57 Pelhams Walk in the hope of identifying an outlying building visible on the 1606 map. The results were thought to indicate landscaping within the garden.

4.4 Evaluation Trenches

Trench 1

4.4.1 Trench 1 was 8.90m long by a maximum of 1.40m wide and 1.26m deep and orientated east-west. Trench 1 was excavated using a combination of machine and hand excavation and positioned in an attempt to locate the structures identified in the 1912 excavation (**Figures 7 & 8**).

4.4.2 Following the removal of the turf and topsoil (101) and a number of garden levelling deposits, significant archaeological remains were revealed. Several levelling deposits were identified. Directly below (101) was (102) a 0.13m thick deposit of mortar-rich silty clay. The mortar was identified as potentially 1730s in date (J. Foyle *pers. comm.*) and related to the phase of Pelham's rebuild, but the deposit is probably of more recent date. Directly below (102) was (103), a 0.38m thick deposit of sandy silt clay, containing post-medieval and modern pottery. The deposit is very loose and friable and potentially represents a deliberate deposit of earlier garden soils.

4.4.3 Following the removal of (103) a mortar-rich deposit concentrated at the eastern end of the trench was revealed (104), containing post-medieval pottery. This layer represents a single deliberate dump of waste material, very similar to (102).

4.4.4 A thin clay deposit was revealed below (104). (105) was a deliberate dump of redeposited natural alluvial clay, 0.04m thick, which sealed rubble rich deposit (106). (106) contained abundant fragments of ceramic building material (CBM) which have been tentatively dated to the 15th and 18th centuries, with material coming from both Wayneflete's and Pelham's constructions (J. Foyle *pers. comm.*).

4.4.5 Towards the western end of the trench were a number of deposits which did not appear at the eastern end. (109) lay directly below (103), was 0.30m thick, and was interpreted as a levelling deposit, which in turn overlay rubble deposit (110). (110) was 0.25m thick, rich in CBM and mortar, a potential demolition deposit which overlay *in situ* archaeology.

4.4.6 The first *in situ* feature exposed was structure (107), which was butted and partially overlain by clay deposit (108) at the eastern end of the trench. (107) was only partially revealed and so interpretation of the structure is uncertain; it was 1.40m wide and 0.38m long and comprised two brick courses (0.15m high), potentially aligned east-west. It was constructed of re-used bricks bonded in stretcher bond with lime mortar, and is possibly some kind of garden feature, although the date is unknown.

4.4.7 At the eastern end of the trench was a complicated multi-phase brick structure showing evidence of multiple re-builds and demolition, and which

appears partly to match the findings of the 1912 excavation in the north-east corner of the court (**Figure 6**). The earliest structure identified was (118), a possible north-south aligned wall revealed for a length of 0.95m, by 0.12m in width and by 0.08m in height. Only one clear course of stretchers survived, bonded with light yellow-grey compact mortar, with the individual bricks recorded as 0.24m by 0.12m by 0.06m.

4.4.8 The nature and function of the wall (118) was unclear though it is likely to be associated with a brick floor surface (119). (119) was a single course thick floor surface bonded with cream mortar and set into bedding layer (120). The bricks were of similar dimensions to (118). (118) and (119) potentially form a north-south aligned corridor which was later replaced.

4.4.9 Overlying and replacing wall (118) was brick wall (115). (115) was north-south aligned and was revealed for a length of 1.40m, 0.48m wide and 0.59m high, and constructed of bricks of size 0.25m by 0.12m by 0.06m in English bond with dark cream mortar. There are appears to be a small buttress bonded and keyed into (115) on the eastern side though the western side has been badly truncated, revealing the core of the wall to be constructed of brick rubble.

4.4.10 Wall (115) was partnered by a second north-south aligned wall positioned to the west of (115) creating a corridor. (116) overlay earlier floor surface (119) and walls aligned north-south, and was recorded for a length of 1.08m, by 0.78m wide by 0.54m high. The structure comprised eight brick courses with the foundation brick work consisting of three courses of worn re-used stretchers. Overlying the foundation was a two-course rectangular plinth 0.70m long by 0.60 wide, which was in turn built upon by a triangular plinth, each side 0.60m long. The triangular plinth may have been originally rectangular in shape and subsequently truncated.

4.4.11 Wall (115) and plinth line (116) are interpreted as forming a corridor with a solid wall to the east and open archways to the west, opening out into the courtyard, and this is likely to be the wall identified in the 1912 excavations. This interpretation of a corridor with open archways looking over the courtyard comes from the *in situ* archaeology and from analysis of the 1673 Aubrey sketch plan (**Figure 3**).

4.4.12 To the west of the archway was deposit (121), a possible levelling deposit which is overlain by (117), a possible bedding or levelling deposit.

Trench 2

4.4.13 Trench 2 was hand dug, 3.60m long by 2.25m wide by 0.41m deep, aligned east-west and targeted on geophysical anomalies (**Figures 7 & 9**).

4.4.14 Following the removal of the turf and topsoil, mortar rich levelling layer deposit (202) was revealed, 0.19m thick, under which a series of intercutting walls and wall foundations was identified.

4.4.15 The earliest structure identified in Trench 2 was north-south aligned wall foundation (206), which survived for 1m in length by 0.46m wide and 0.10m

in height and was a mixed structure of flint nodules and green sandstone blocks in lime mortar. It would appear that (206) was the foundation for a single-storey, timber-framed hall, possibly from the early to mid 13th century. Evidence of the construction for (206) has been destroyed by later construction cuts and robber trenches.

4.4.16 Wall foundation (206) was later altered and widened by the addition of structure (207) which would have allowed for the construction of a larger building. (207) was roughly linear in shape and survives for 1.20m in length, 0.95m wide and 0.15m in height and was constructed of flint and ironstone within compact mortar. (207) was constructed against the eastern side of (206) and was aligned north-south.

4.4.17 Prior to truncation by later structures, (207) and (206) formed a corner with east-west aligned and highly truncated wall foundation (210). (210) was constructed in the same fashion as (207) and together possibly formed the south-west corner of the mid to late 14th century structure. The 1606 map and Aubrey's 1673 sketch indicate a hall positioned directly east of the gatehouse, and the early nature of the construction of (206) and (207) suggest it pre-dates the period of Wayneflete's building. It is therefore possible that this is the south west corner of the Great Hall as indicated on Aubrey's map (**Figure 3**), which would suggest that Wayneflete did not demolish the 14th century structure but incorporated it into his palace complex.

4.4.18 There then followed a period of demolition and levelling when the superstructure and parts of (206), (207) and (210) were demolished, resulting in the deposition of layer (214). This occurred prior to the building of structure (205).

4.4.19 Structure (205) was an east-west aligned brick structure 1.95m long by 1m wide and 0.15m high, built of headers bonded with lime mortar which survived for at least two courses. It is unclear to what phase of building (205) relates, but if the flint and mortar foundation (206) and (207) was still extant during the episcopate of Wayneflete then (205) is unlikely to date to the 15th century. It is possibly part of a building located adjacent to the river on the early 18th century map of Knyff and Kip (**Figure 4**).

4.4.20 Cutting through (210) at the eastern end of the trench was (216), filled with (211), a partially exposed brick structure recorded for 0.80m in length by 0.26m wide and 0.25m in height. (211) was constructed of two courses of headers with lime mortar, in a similar style to (205); the two are therefore possibly contemporary.

4.4.21 Structures (210) and (205) were later dismantled and the material taken away. The robber cut for this activity is (203), filled with (204), a mixed deposit containing abundant mortar inclusions, the result of cleaning the brickwork in preparation for re-use.

Trench 3

4.4.22 Trench 3 was hand dug, 3.60m long by 1.00m wide and 1.32m deep, orientated east-west and positioned on a geophysical anomaly (**Figure 7**).

4.4.23 Following the removal of the turf and topsoil (301), a 0.68m thick rubble rich levelling deposit (302) was revealed. (302) contained abundant CBM fragments, the result of the discarding of unrecyclable material from demolished structures nearby. Following the removal of (302) natural alluvium was revealed.

4.4.24 No archaeological features were encountered in Trench 3.

Trench 4

4.4.25 Trench 4 was hand dug, 3m long by 1.60m wide and 0.70m deep, aligned east-west and targeted on a geophysical anomaly (**Figures 7 & 10**).

4.4.26 Following the removal of (401), the turf and topsoil, a 0.20m thick deposit (402) was revealed. (402) was a possible levelling deposit for the garden which sealed another levelling/demolition deposit (403), containing abundant fragments of lime mortar and small CBM fragments. (403) overlay *in situ* archaeology.

4.4.27 A north-south aligned wall foundation (404) was recorded for 1.60m in length, 0.60m wide and 0.13m in height, constructed of flint nodules and ironstone fragments bonded with lime mortar. This wall foundation appears to have been widened with the addition of (405) on its western side.

4.4.28 Foundation (405) was 1.60m long by 1.16m wide and 0.08m high and constructed of broken bricks and other CBM fragments bonded with lime mortar, creating a solid foundation. Together (404) and (405) provided a wide foundation for a substantial wall; it is, however, unclear what the function of this wall would have been.

4.4.29 Two walls were identified butting (404) on its eastern side: (406) and (410). Wall (406) was roughly east-west aligned although slightly curving towards the north. It was recorded for 1.00m in length, 0.30m wide, and constructed of re-used roofing tiles and flint nodules; no elevation was seen and so the height is unknown. Wall (410) also butted wall (404) on its eastern side and was only partially exposed in the trench, lost into the northern limit of excavation. Its true nature and dimensions are unknown but it appears to have been constructed of flint nodules and lime mortar. It is unclear what the date and function of the two butting walls are but they appear to be secondary additions to foundation (404)/(405).

4.4.30 To the south of wall (406) was (407), a deliberate possible levelling/make-up deposit against wall (406). To the north of (406) and south of (410) was a similar deposit, (408).

4.4.31 At the western end of the trench, deposit (409) either butted up against, or was cut through by the construction of wall (405).

Trench 5

4.4.32 Trench 5 was hand dug, 2.00m long by 1.60m wide and 0.85m deep, and aligned east-west (**Figure 7**).

4.4.33 Following the removal of the turf and topsoil (506) and a demolition layer (501), deposit (502) was revealed. (502) was a layer of sub-rounded and sub-angular flints which appeared to form a metalled surface. The deposit was only 0.06m thick and appeared badly truncated and may once have been part of the internal courtyard of the Palace complex. It contained a sherd of early post-medieval slip-coated earthenware.

4.4.34 This possible surface was removed in an attempt to recover dating evidence from beneath it, and to locate earlier structures, but only levelling deposits were revealed: (503), (504), and another levelling deposit of un-recyclable mortar.

4.4.35 No archaeological features were encountered.

Trench 6

4.4.36 Trench 6 was located in the garden of 57 Pelhams Walk, was hand dug and measured 2m in length by 1m wide and 0.55m deep. It was aligned east-west and targeted upon geophysical anomalies (**Figure 7**).

4.4.37 Following the removal the current turf and topsoil (601), a 0.25m thick deposit of garden make-up was revealed (602), which overlay the natural geology (603).

4.4.38 No archaeological features were identified in Trench 6.

Trench 7

4.4.39 Trench 7 was excavated using a combination of machine and hand digging. The trench was of an irregular shape due to its position partly in an avenue of trees and partly on the open lawn of the garden, with rough dimensions of 5.20m by 5.45m, excavated to a depth of 0.65m. The trench was positioned in an attempt to locate the southern wall of the Keep (**Figures 7 & 11**).

4.4.40 Following the removal of the turf and topsoil (701) and the pathway between the avenue of trees, a thick deposit of redeposited natural (702) was revealed, which extended across the whole trench. (702) overlay a 0.10m thick deposit (717) which in turn sealed (718), a rubble deposit sealing the *in-situ* archaeology.

4.4.41 The earliest deposit identified here was (704/716), a layer which was potentially either the natural geology or a layer of redeposited natural.

4.4.42 The earliest archaeological feature identified was a large construction cut (713) for the foundations for the southern east-west aligned wall (710), the eastern north-south wall (707) and the south-eastern octagonal tower (709) of the Keep. Foundation cut (713) cut deposit (704/716) and was probably excavated in a single event. The foundation structures (707), (709) and (710) were contemporary and would have been constructed at the same time; the same building style continues across the three structures.

4.4.43 Structure (710) was the foundation of the south-eastern corner tower of the Keep; it was partially revealed in plan and recorded for 4.10m in length and

1.70m in width. No elevation of the structure was exposed and so the depth of foundation is unknown. The interpretation of the construction of the structure comes from analysis of the upper exposed layer of the foundation, on which the upstanding walls of the tower would have been constructed.

4.4.44 The foundation was constructed of bricks (average size 0.23m by 0.11m, thickness not recorded) bonded with compact lime mortar, with the main body of the foundation predominantly in header bond, although there are occasional patches of stretcher and diagonal brick builds. The north-east and south-east facing elevations were of stretchers with the east facing constructed in header bond, which implies that the foundation was built in English bond.

4.4.45 Structure (710) was built right up against the edge of foundation cut (713) with no gap between the structure and cut; this would have helped to provide a strong foundation for the building.

4.4.46 It was clear that (710) was the upper layer of foundation as it was overlain by a mortar deposit (712), a 0.46m wide band which followed the octagonal shape of (710) at a distance of 0.18m from the edge of the structure. This was the first layer of mortar used to bond the upstanding wall to the foundation; the wall was clearly 0.46m wide or 18 inches, the length of two bricks and was built upon a stepped foundation just wider than the length of a single brick. It was clear from this that the walls of the tower of the Keep had been demolished to the upper levels of the foundation.

4.4.47 (710) was bonded and keyed into the southern end of the north-south aligned western wall of Keep (707). (707) was revealed in plan for a length of 1.20m and a width of 1.00m, but the height was not revealed as no elevation was exposed. It was constructed of bricks (with the same dimensions as (710)) in predominantly header bond with compact lime mortar. The east facing elevation comprised headers while the west elevation comprised stretchers, and was most likely constructed in English bond, as the Keep tower. (707) was also overlain by mortar deposit (712), and bonded and keyed into east-west aligned wall foundation (710).

4.4.48 (710) was partially revealed for a length of 2.60m by 0.18m wide and 0.36m in height. Six courses of bricks in English bond were recorded, bonded with lime mortar. The mortar was clearly unpointed and could be seen to have squeezed out between the bricks. The foundation had initially been constructed up against the edge of the foundation trench. The material through which the foundation trench was dug was removed at a later date following the building of the brick foundation.

4.4.49 Structures (709), (707) and (710) formed the initial foundation construction for the south-east corner of the Keep and the south-east tower, although were some later alterations to the structure. Following the building of (707) and (710), the material through which (713) had been dug was excavated from the internal area of the Keep. This was possibly for the construction of a cellar, although the base of the walls was not revealed, nor was the possible

floor of the cellar. After the digging of the possible cellar came the addition of a number of supporting structures at the junction of walls (707) and (710).

4.4.50 Supporting brick structure (711) was placed at the junction of (707) and (710); it was recorded as 0.60m long by 0.50m wide and 0.52m in height and comprised eight courses of bricks in English bond with compact lime mortar. The pointing of the bricks was flush indicating that the supporting buttress was to be visible. A second supporting buttress (719) was added at the junction of (711) and wall (710). This was recorded as 0.40m long by 0.23m wide and 0.52m in height and comprised eight courses in similar construction to (711).

4.4.51 It is unclear how long after the initial construction of (707), (709) and (710) that (711) and (712) were constructed, and why there was a need to support the foundation at this point. The construction style and materials are identical to that of the main foundations and so it is likely these additions were added soon after the initial construction.

4.4.52 Following the demolition of the upstanding walls of the Keep, the cellar was backfilled with a number of deliberate deposits. The earliest recorded was (720), an unexcavated redeposited natural deposit, overlain by deposit (708), also unexcavated. (708) was sealed by a thick deposit (703). Two clay pipe bowls from this layer are dated *c.*1580-1610, there are fragments of a tin-glazed floor tile of early 17th century date, and the pottery recovered comprises sherds of at least four early 17th century German stoneware jugs. It was clear that this deliberate dump of material utilised domestic waste and the remnants of un-recyclable material to backfill the now defunct cellar.

4.4.53 Two later cut features were identified within Trench 7. These were both unexcavated and were potentially the remains of tree throws from the ornamental gardens which were constructed following the demolition of the Keep. (705) was possibly oval in shape and cut through wall foundation (707). (714) was possibly oval in shape and cut through deposit (716) just to the east of (709).

Trench 8

4.4.54 Trench 8 was 2m long by 2m wide and 0.68m deep and was positioned to investigate potential structures in the south-west corner of the garden of Wayneflete Tower (**Figures 7 & 12**).

4.4.55 Following the removal of 0.36m of (801), the current top soil and turf of the garden, *in situ* archaeology was encountered.

4.4.56 Two heavily truncated walls were identified, the first being northeast-southwest aligned wall (806), which was recorded for a length of 0.80m, 0.30m wide and with a maximum height of 0.21m. The wall was constructed of re-used roof tile and ironstone fragments bonded with lime mortar and possibly supported a superstructure of wood. Possibly butting (806) on its eastern side was the heavily truncated wall (807). This had only the southern edge surviving and was constructed of ironstone and flint nodules bonded

with sandy lime mortar. The two walls formed a possible corner but the truncation was extensive.

4.4.57 (806) was truncated by east-west aligned robber cut (802) to the north and by east-west aligned robber cut (805) to the south. The two robber cuts were not fully excavated and it is unclear what they had removed.

4.4.58 To the north of wall (807) was deposit (811), a possible demolition dump of broken roof tile, and to the south of (807) and east of (806) was (809), a second demolition spread.

4.4.59 Butting up against (806) on its western side was (812), a possible later levelling deposit.

4.4.60 The nature of the structure which once stood here is unclear, due to the small size of the trench and the extensive truncation and robbing which has occurred. The 1673 sketch by Aubrey indicates a structure at this position within the garden, which is annotated as *'Buttery'*, indicating a possible kitchen building (J. Foyle *pers. comm.*).

5 FINDS

5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 Finds were recovered from all eight of the trenches excavated, although Trench 6 produced only a miminal quantity of finds. The assemblage ranges in date from medieval to post-medieval.

5.1.2 All finds have been quantified by material type within each context, and totals by material type and by trench are presented in **Table 2**. Subsequent to quantification, all finds have been at least visually scanned in order to gain an overall idea of the range of types present, their condition, and their potential date range. Spot dates have been recorded for selected material types as appropriate (pottery, ceramic building material, clay pipes). All finds data are currently held on an Access database.

5.1.3 This section presents an overview of the finds assemblage, on which is based an assessment of the potential of this assemblage to contribute to an understanding of the site in its local and regional context, with particular reference to the extent of the medieval structures on the site and the later medieval palace of the Bishops of Winchester.

5.2 Pottery

5.2.1 The pottery assemblage includes sherds of medieval and post-medieval date. Condition overall is good, with sherds relatively unabraded.

5.2.2 The whole assemblage has been quantified by ware type within each context, cross-referenced to the London type series for post-Roman pottery, and the presence of diagnostic sherds noted. Pottery totals by ware type are given in **Table 3**.

Medieval

5.2.3 The medieval assemblage, unsurprisingly, is dominated by products of the local Surrey whiteware industry, and includes products of the Kingston, Cheam and Surrey border kilns (Pearce and Vince 1988). The earliest of these are the Kingston-type wares, in production from the early 13th to late 14th century, and seen here in both coarseware (jar) and glazed fineware (jug) forms. Overlapping chronologically with these is Coarse Border ware (mid 14th to mid 15th century), of which only one sherd, probably from a jar, was identified here (trench 4 topsoil). Cheam wares, with a similar date range to Coarse Border ware, are confined here to six sherds from trench 5 topsoil.

5.2.4 Alongside the Surrey whitewares are one sherd from a London-type ware glazed jug (probably 13th century: layer 302), and a few sherds of miscellaneous sandy wares, of which at least some fall within the Limpsfield/South Hertfordshire greyware tradition of the 13th/14th century.

5.2.5 A single, highly abraded sherd, occurring residually in layer 103, has been tentatively identified as an early medieval shelly ware.

Post-medieval

5.2.6 The post-medieval wares comprise a fairly restricted range, most of which could fall within a date range of later 15th to 17th century. These include whitewares from the post-medieval Surrey Border industry, coarse redwares (some of which may also be products of the Border industry), a white-slipped redware of a type produced in Kingston in the late 15th/early 16th century (Hinton and Nelson 1980), and German stonewares characteristic of the Raeren and Cologne/Frechen production centres. Amongst the latter are sherds from at least four bottles of early 17th century type (three of them bearing *Bartmann* face masks) from cellar backfill 703.

5.3 Ceramic Building Material

5.3.1 The ceramic building material recovered is of medieval or post-medieval date and includes fragments of brick, flat roof (peg) tile, floor tile, pantile and drainpipe.

5.3.2 The bricks, all hand made, frequently in a coarse fabric and unfrogged, are all of similar size, with widths ranging from 100-119mm and depths of 50-60mm. No brick had a measurable length surviving (although other complete bricks were measured *in situ* on site: see above, Trench 1). All were fairly abraded with occasional evidence for re-use in the form of mortar across broken surfaces. A single brick, incomplete, in a cream-buff fabric (trench 5 topsoil) was also recovered.

5.3.3 Roof tile consists mostly of flat (peg) tile, with one pantile. One complete peg tile (278 x 166mm) came from layer 407 but otherwise the roof tile is fragmentary.

5.3.4 The floor tile consists mainly of plain, undecorated fragments, some of which are glazed. One tin-glazed floor tile was found (cellar backfill 703), decorated in blue and white and forming one quarter of a four-tile 'Tudor

Rose' design, one of the most popular designs painted on tin-glazed tiles made in London during the first half of the 17th century (Betts 1999, col. pl. 11).

5.4 Clay Pipe

5.4.1 Alongside plain stem fragments, the clay pipe includes two complete bowls (both cellar backfill 703) of a type dated *c.*1580-1610 (Oswald 1975, fig. 3,G, 3).

5.5 Stone

5.5.1 Of the four pieces of stone recovered, three are architectural fragments – one ashlar from robber cut 203 and two small mouldings from trench 3 topsoil, probably from a window mullion; all three are in a similar oolitic limestone. The fourth piece is a rounded, flattish pebble, worn but not obviously utilised (cellar backfill 703).

5.6 Glass

5.6.1 Glass from trench 1 comprises fragments of post-medieval green bottle glass (*c.*1650 or later). One small fragment of heavily oxidised window glass from trench 3 (context 302) is likely to be of early post-medieval date.

5.7 Slag

5.7.1 A small amount of slag was found in trench 2, all deriving from iron smithing. A further fragment from trench 4 (layer 402) appears to be an iron concretion, possibly forge debris, but is likely to be of relatively recent origin.

5.8 Coins

5.8.1 Three coins and a token were recovered. Two of the coins date to the medieval period. The first (trench 3 topsoil) is a cut quarter of a medieval silver groat. This is too worn to be closely identified to a particular ruler. Halving and quartering of silver coins was common practice in the medieval period, and was undertaken in order to provide smaller denomination pieces. The second (trench 5 topsoil) is a silver penny (an example of the 'Light Cross and Pellets' coinage) struck for Edward IV in *c.*1473-8 at the Dublin mint. This coinage was not officially current in England (it was light weight by English standards) but is found relatively commonly. The third coin is a farthing of George V, struck in 1933 (trench 5 topsoil).

5.8.2 The copper alloy token (trench 4 topsoil) was struck by Thomas Carter from Portsmouth in 1661. The hat engraved on the obverse suggests that he may have been a milliner. Tokens such as this were common in the mid to late 17th century. In the reigns of James I and Charles I, patents for the striking of small copper farthings were granted to a number of Royal favourites. Unfortunately, this led to problems, as the patterns rarely changed, and the coins were easy to forge. In response to this, Parliament suppressed these farthings in 1644. A new 'authorised' small coinage was intended, but was

not introduced due to the Civil War and from 1648 onwards, tradesmen, corporations and even private individuals struck their own tokens. No copper coinage was issued for the duration of the Commonwealth, and tokens effectively acted as the small change for the nation. It was not until 1672 when the crown started minting small coinage once again under Charles II that the use of these tokens became prohibited.

5.9 Metalwork

5.9.1 Other metalwork includes objects of copper alloy, iron and lead. Copper alloy objects comprise a thimble, a pin and a button (all of post-medieval date), and two unidentified objects.

5.9.2 Ironwork consists largely of nails and other probable structural items. The only other identifiable object is part of a large fork (garden implement) (cellar backfill 703).

5.9.3 Lead objects consist of waste pieces and offcuts, with seven came fragments, two shot, and one small fragment of openwork tracery, perhaps from a window grille or ventilator (trench 2 topsoil). The came fragments include both milled and cast examples.

5.10 Animal Bone

5.10.1 The faunal assemblage is small, but contains a relatively wide range of species, and is in fairly good condition. The wide range of species, large proportion of young animals and low proportion of non-food species suggests a fairly high status in keeping with that proposed for this site.

5.10.2 114 bones were hand-recovered and no sieving was carried out. All bones derive from mammals or birds. Most bones (81) come from cellar backfill 703. No bones from fish or amphibians were present. The date of the contexts ranges from medieval (13^{th}/14^{th} century) to post-medieval. A cattle bone and an unidentified bone came from an unstratified context and are excluded from this report.

Condition and Preservation

5.10.3 Most of the bone fragments were moderately well preserved, with only 3% in poor condition and no fragments in good condition. Just under half of the recovered material was not identified to species (**Table 4**).

5.10.4 Loose teeth were rare in samples, attesting to good condition but also to the very low proportion of mammal jaws present. Gnawing was rare, seen on only five bones, and this indicates that scavenger destruction was not a significant biasing factor. Noteworthy, is the fibula bone of a pig with massive rat gnawing traces.

Animal husbandry

5.10.5 Of the domestic mammals, sheep/goat, cattle and pig are all well represented, with a slightly lower proportion of sheep/goat and pig (**Table 5**), which are

nonetheless still fairly high. No horse or dog bones were observed. Four bones of rabbit were identified: two of adult(s) and two of sub-adult(s).

5.10.6 Bird bones were frequent and included domestic fowl, duck (Anas sp.), woodcock, magpie, goose and a yet unidentified medium-sized and small bird were also present.

5.10.7 A fair number of bones could be aged (29). The material includes cattle of >7-10 m, >20-24 month, <2-2.5 year, <3.5 year and <3.5-4 year. Context 703 contents some remains of a calf. Furthermore, the remains of 6-10 month, 10-12 month and 16-24 month old pigs were found as well as a fragmented juvenile pig skull (all cellar backfill 703). The material also contains the remains of sheep/goat <3-4 month, <3 year, >15-20 month and >3.5 years of age. The remains of juvenile domestic fowl and adult domestic fowl and an adult goose were also found.

5.10.8 The adult tarsometatarsus found in robber cut 203 derives from a hen. Bones with pathological traces were not found.

Consumption and deposition

5.10.9 Butchery marks were seen on 11 bones, and comprised chops to portion the carcass (domestic fowl and cattle) and filleting marks. Noteworthy are four proximal shafts of sub-adult cattle femora with chopping marks from removing the proximal joint and opening the shaft to extract marrow (cellar backfill 703). No bones were burnt

5.11 Marine Shell

5.11.1 This consists entirely of oyster, and includes both left and right valves, i.e. both preparation and consumption waste.

5.12 Potential and Further Recommendations

5.12.1 This is a relatively small finds assemblage, and much of the material derived from robber cuts, demolition levels and topsoil rather than being *in situ*; this is particularly true of the medieval finds. The use of datable material (coins and pottery) to date the stratigraphic sequence has therefore proved extremely limited. Further analysis is unlikely either to add to the chronological evidence, or to provide more details of the nature of medieval and early post-medieval activity on the site, beyond confirming its high status nature. Any publication text prepared could include data gathered as part of this assessment stage.

6 DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 The project at Wayneflete Tower offered an opportunity to investigate the location, character, condition and extent of the 15th century palace of the Bishops of Winchester, with an attempt to reveal evidence of any previous activity on the site and any later alterations which occurred. The previous

understanding of the history of Wayneflete Tower, and the *Esher Episcopi* had come from documentary and cartographic evidence and very limited archaeological excavation.

6.1.2 The project largely achieved its stated aims, providing a greater understanding of the layout of buildings within with the Bishops' palace, through excavation and by re-analysis of the historical documents and cartographic evidence, in conjunction with the *in situ* archaeology, and accompanied by the results of the dendrochronological survey, which was able to provide a potential date for the Tower's construction.

6.1.3 The geophysical work, in particular the resistance survey, produced a surprisingly clear picture of some of the foundations associated with the Palace buildings. The Great Hall and Keep were identified in the data and their existence confirmed by the evaluation trenches.

6.1.4 One of the aims of the project had been to assess the state of preservation of the underlying archaeology and it was clear that within the garden of Wayneflete Tower preservation was excellent. The earlier features had clearly been impacted upon by the later archaeology and, as less substantial structures, had suffered. The later structures which had been systematically demolished nevertheless survived well and showed that they had been carefully dismantled for the recycling of materials.

6.2 Medieval structures

6.2.1 The acquisition of the site at the beginning of the 13th century by the Bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, began a period of over 800 years of activity and building, with work still being carried out towards the end of the 20th century. Therefore, the possibility of the identification of structures and buildings dating to the 13th and 14th centuries was considered to be slim. However, structures interpreted as dating to the earliest major phases of building were located within Trench 2 in the form of truncated wall foundation (206). The construction of the foundations with a mix of flint nodules and green sandstone fragments are suggestive of an early medieval date, potentially 13th century. It is therefore possible that this structure relates either to the episcopate of Bishop des Roches or that of Bishop Raleigh between 1205 and 1260. The foundations suggest that they supported a single-storey timber super-structure, perhaps from a small lodge or chapel.

6.2.2 The foundations had clearly been widened and strengthened with the addition of (207), a flint and ironstone foundation bonded with limestone mortar, constructed in an identical manner to structure (210). This widening and strengthening potentially dates to the beginning of the 14th century when Bishop John Stratford constructed the first manor in house in 1331.

6.2.3 Trench 4 potentially also contained features dated to the beginning of the 14th century, and associated with the deposits within Trench 2. The identification of wall (404) constructed in a similar manner to (207) may indicate that it is part of the first manor house constructed by Bishop Stratford. The survival of

these 13th and 14th century foundations within Trench 4 is likely to have occurred because of their position in what was later developed into the open central courtyard. The area was therefore never heavily impacted upon by later construction from the 15th century onwards.

6.2.4 Foundation deposits (206), (207) and (210) are likely to form the south-west corner of the Great Hall of the palace as indicated on the 1673 map of Aubrey (**Figure 3**). Aubrey's map clearly shows the *Hall* slightly to the north of the pathway leading from the gatehouse. It is clear the foundations date from an earlier period and so it appears that the 14th century hall was incorporated into the 15th century complex of buildings constructed by the Bishop of Wayneflete.

6.3 Wayneflete's Palace

6.3.1 The episcopate of Bishop Wayneflete (1447-87) saw the greatest period of construction within the *Esher Epsicopi* and it is the survival of his 15th century gatehouse which led to this programme of work. An aim of the project had been to locate the extent of the complex of buildings and the boundary of the Episcopal manor, but it was clear from analysis of the cartographic evidence that the boundaries to the palace grounds lay well outside the confines of the garden of Wayneflete Tower. It was therefore clear that the full extent of the buildings would not be revealed within the trenches, although specific buildings were identified.

6.3.2 The only clearly identifiable structure identified was the Keep which was revealed in Trench 7. The dimensions of the south-east corner tower (709), the southern east-west wall (710) and the eastern north-south wall (707) showed the true scale of the structure which Wayneflete had constructed, and demonstrated that it was of a similar size and construction to the extant gatehouse. The two structures would have dominated the surrounding landscape until the building of Hampton Court.

6.3.3 The Keep had been demolished to the upper most level of the foundation, so removing all the upstanding walls, but the thickness of these walls was inferred from the remnants of the mortar used to bond them to the foundations. Mortar deposit (712) clearly showed that there was a stepped foundation onto which the wall had sat and that it was two bricks thick. The foundations for the eastern and southern walls of the Keep showed that they had been constructed within foundation trenches excavated into the natural, which had been later removed for the construction of a cellar, and two supporting buttresses.

6.3.4 The information known about the Keep prior to the current programme of work came from the Tresswell map of 1606 and the annotated sketch plan and elevation by Aubrey in 1673 (**Figures 2 & 3**). Both Tresswell's and Aubrey's accounts were very useful for approximating positions of buildings within the palace complex, and in showing the size and scale of the complex, but could not provide detailed information about the structures.

6.3.5 To the east of the Keep was identified the possible *'terrace'* identified on the 1673 sketch, adjoining the *'timber built lodgings'* which were potentially identified in the 1912 excavation (**Figure 6**). The small size of Trench 1 limited interpretation of the structures within it, but a north-south corridor was identified between a solid wall and a series of open archways.

6.3.6 The corridor is probably that which was identified in the 1912 excavation extending from the north side of the gatehouse, and seen in Aubrey's sketch. The *'terrace'* would have provided a sheltered corridor to walk from the gatehouse through to the residential accommodation and the Keep which formed the northern perimeter of the palace complex.

6.3.7 The structures which had been identified in Trenches 1 and 7 had been well constructed by master craftsmen with experience of large structures. The buildings were high status and were a visible display of wealth and power. Trench 8, however, revealed evidence of the more mundane domestic structures which would have been located within the palace complex. The remains of a highly truncated, poorly built structure were revealed here and interpreted as the remains of a possible kitchen, perhaps the structure identified as *'Buttery'* on the 1673 plan (**Figure 3**).

6.3.8 In Trench 2 it was clear that the earlier 13th and 14th century dated structures had been demolished and built on and truncated by later structures (205) and (211). These later structures were tentatively dated to the period after Wayneflete's episcopate, but this is by no means clear. The later structure in Trench 2 may possibly be associated with a building identified on the early 18th century map by Kip and Knyff (**Figure 4**). This structure is positioned directly in line with the entrance through the gatehouse and appears to partially overhang the edge of the river, perhaps some kind of garden feature.

6.3.9 One of the most debated issues about Wayneflete's palace has been the date at which work began on the structure. The consensus until now has been during the years 1475-80, although Felix Palmer suggested a date as early as 1460, which is supported by documentary evidence. In 1461 the man believed to be the master Mason, John Cowper, had just finished his work for Wayneflete on buildings at Eton, and he is recorded next in Winchester in 1466-67, before going on to work on other projects for the Bishop; the period 1461 to 1466 is unaccounted for. The dendrochronological survey undertaken within Wayneflete Tower took samples from original timbers within the building and obtained a felling date range of 1462-72, which would fit with Cowper's 'missing period' very well.

6.3.10 Analysis of the Pipe Rolls undertaken by Edward Roberts revealed that the Rolls from Michaelmas 1464 to Michaelmas 1467 showed no building expenses were accounted for during this period. Instead they were accounted for by the Bishop's cofferer; in other words, the keeper of the Bishop's own coffer was dealing with all building work during this period, and therefore the Bishop himself was financing some significant work at Esher (Worthington and Miles 2005, 4). It would therefore appear likely that the work began during a time of great upheaval following the outbreak of the War of the Roses in 1458 and Wayneflete's resignation as Chancellor.

Following the crowning of Edward VI Wayneflete was freed from his governmental duties and was therefore able to concentrate his time and efforts on other business, and the construction of the Palace at Esher appears to have occurred at this time.

7 RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1.1 A short article, probably between 4000 and 5000 words with five or six supporting illustrations, based on the results and discussion presented in this report, in the *Surrey Archaeological Collections* or *Medieval Archaeology* is suggested as an adequate level of publication. This would comprise a brief introduction detailing the circumstances of the project and aims and objectives; a results section detailing the structural remains recorded, with finds information integrated into the text as appropriate; and a brief discussion of the results, with reference to the original aims and objectives.

8 ARCHIVE

8.1.1 The excavated material and archive, including plans, photographs and written records, are currently held at the Wessex Archaeology offices under the project code 59463 and site code WAY 05. It is intended that the archive should ultimately be deposited with Elmbridge Museum, Surrey.

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Table 1: Summary of tree-ring dating of timbers sampled from Wayneflete's Tower

Sample number		Timber and position	Dates AD spanning	H/S bdry	Sapwood complement	No of rings	Mean width	Std devn	Mean sens	Felling date ranges (AD)		
							mm	mm	mm	Empirical	OxCalSap	% Agreement
wfto1a	c	Joist 4th from front north side 1st floor	1394-1440			47	1.63	0.56	0.287			
wfto1b	c	ditto	1394-1446	1446	H/S	53	2.24	0.65	0.266			
* **wfto1**		mean of **wfto1a** + **wfto1b**	1394-1446	1446	H/S	53	1.96	0.59	0.269	1455-87	1456-82	130.5
wfto2	c	Joist 5th from front north side 1st floor	Unsuitable for processing									
* **wfto3**	c	Joist 6 from front north side 1st floor	1410-1449	1449	H/S	40	2.73	0.62	0.241	1458-90	1458-81	130.0
* **wfto4**	c	Joist 7th from front north side 1st floor	1392-1446	1446	H/S	55	2.43	1.29	0.351	1455-87	1455-81	122.1
* **wfto5**	c	Longitudinal beam 2nd floor N side	1397-1448	1448	H/S	52	1.71	1.04	0.227	1457-89	1458-86	130.5
* **wfto6**	c	Joist 2nd from north 2nd floor landing	1404-1450	1449	1	47	1.70	0.75	0.285	1458-90	1459-87	125.3
*** = WAYNEFLT Site Master**			**1392-1450**	**1448**	**Avg H/S body**	**59**	**2.16**	**0.69**	**0.267**	**1457-89**	**1462-72**	**172.5**

Key: *: = sample included in site-master; c = core; H/S bdry = heartwood/sapwood boundary - last heartwood ring date; std devn = standard deviation; mean sens = mean sensitivity
Empirical sapwood estimate used 9 - 41 years (Miles 1997)

Table 2: Finds totals by material type and by trench/area (number / weight in grammes)

MATERIAL	Tr 1	Tr 2	Tr 3	Tr 4	Tr 5	Tr 6	Tr 7	Tr 8	Unstrat	TOTAL
Pottery	7/108	6/124	27/256	2/84	9/238	3/31	23/512	1/15	5/31	**83/1399**
Medieval	*1/1*	*4/90*	*21/172*	*2/84*	*7/26*	-	-	*1/15*	-	***36/388***
Post-medieval	*6/107*	*2/34*	*6/84*	-	*2/212*	*3/31*	*23/512*	-	*5/31*	***47/1011***
Ceramic Building Material	18/7277	61/11044	18/3678	24/6073	44/10456	4/1276	7/1731	10/1466	24/10816	**210/53817**
Mortar	3/247	1/7	3/103	2/195	3/1068	-	7/698	-	-	**19/2318**
Clay Pipe	-	1/7	2/3	3/12	2/5	-	6/33	2/4	1/3	**17/67**
Glass	2/4	-	1/1	-	-	-	-	-	-	**3/5**
Stone	-	1/632	2/519	-	-	-	1/185	-	-	**4/1336**
Flint	-	1/12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**1/12**
Slag	-	19/1404		1/1071	-	-	-		-	**20/2475**
Metalwork	8	39	23	6	7	-	11	6	-	**100**
Coins	-	-	*1*	*1*	*2*	-	-	-	-	***4***
Copper Alloy	*1*	*2*	-	*2*	-	-	-	-	-	***5***
Iron	*6*	*25*	*15*	*2*	*3*	-	*7*	*4*	-	***62***
Lead	*1*	*12*	*7*	*1*	*2*	-	*4*	*2*	-	***29***
Animal Bone	2/30	13/96	7/100	6/15	9/57	-	91/1762	6/87	2/194	**136/2341**
Marine Shell	-	4/34	3/18	-	-	-	7/90	1/22	-	**15/164**

Table 3: Chronological breakdown of pottery assemblage by ware type

Date Range	Ware Type	No. sherds	Weight (g)
MEDIEVAL	Early medieval shelly ware (EMS)	1	1
	Kingston-type ware (KING)	12	196
	Coarse Border ware (CBW)	1	82
	Cheam whiteware (CHEA)	6	24
	London-type ware (LOND)	1	25
	S Herts greyware (SHER)	12	54
	Import	2	4
	Misc. sandy ware	1	2
	sub-total medieval	***36***	***388***
POST-MEDIEVAL	Redware (PMR/RBOR)	13	230
	Border ware (BORD)	2	8
	White-slipped redware (PMSR)	1	60
	Cologne/Frechen stoneware (KOL FREC)	26	533
	Raeren stoneware (RAER)	2	161
	Modern English stoneware (SBLB)	1	7
	Refined whitewares	2	12
	sub-total post-medieval	***47***	***1011***
	OVERALL TOTAL	**83**	**1399**

Table 4: Bone condition and potential (% of total)

Unid.	Gnawed	Loose teeth	Burnt	Measure-able	Age-able	Butchered	Total number of fragments
54	4	6	-	19	26	10	112

Table 5: Species present as a percentage of identified fragments

Cattle	Sheep/ Goat	Pig	Rabbit	Bird	Identified Fragments
22	33	17	7	21	58

Appendix 1: Trench Summaries

Trench 1

	Max Depth: 1.26m	Length: 8.90m	Width: 1.40m
Context No.	Type	Description	
101	*Topsoil*	Mid to dark grey brown sandy silt current topsoil and turf of the garden.	
102	*Layer*	Light grey brown silty clay mortar rich deposit directly below (101). A recent dump of 1730s material.	
103	*Layer*	Mid grey brown sandy silt clay deposit of very loose garden soil.	
104	*Layer*	Light yellow brown silty clay, isolated dump of mortar rich material.	
105	*Layer*	Thin deposit of light yellow brown clay which overlies (106).	
106	*Layer*	Mid grey brown silty loam deliberate rubble deposit which overlies structure (107).	
107	*Structure*	Brick built structure, 2 courses thick, function unknown.	
108	*Layer*	Light to mid yellow clay which butts structure (107), dump of redeposited natural.	
109	*Layer*	Mid grey brown silty sand deliberate levelling deposit.	
110	*Layer*	Mid brown silty clay, deliberate rubble deposit, demolition material or levelling.	
111	*Layer*	Mid yellow brown silty clay compacted clay layer.	
112	*Structure*	Wall collapse deposit from wall (115).	
113	*Fill*	Mid yellow grey brown silty clay fill of drain cut (**114**) through wall (115)	
114	***Cut***	**Cut of possible drain through wall (115), only revealed in elevation.**	
115	*Structure*	Roughly north south aligned brick built wall, associated with archway structure (116).	
116	*Structure*	Roughly north south aligned brick wall and plinth associated with wall (115), part of archway.	
117	*Layer*	Light grey mortar deposit.	
118	*Structure*	Possible earlier brick structure or related to (115).	
119	*Structure*	Single layer of bricks possible floor surface of ailed corridor made from (115) and (116).	
120	*Layer*	Mid yellow grey sand bedding layer for (119).	

Trench 2

	Max Depth: 0.41m	Length: 3.60m	Width: 2.25m
Context No.	Type	Description	
201	*Topsoil*	Light to mid brown sandy silt current topsoil and turf layer of garden.	
202	*Layer*	Light to mid grey brown silty clay mortar dump below (201).	
203	***Cut***	**Cut of probable robber cut for removal of bricks of wall (205), filled with (204).**	
204	*Fill*	Fill of robber cut (**203**) mixed grey brown silty clay.	
205	*Structure*	East west aligned brick wall, headers, partly robbed by (**203**).	
206	*Structure*	Mixed foundation of flint, green sand stone and mortar. Probably mid 14th century.	
207	*Structure*	Widening deposit added to (206).	
208	*Deposit*	Deliberate dump of material derived from (206) and (207) used to pack around (205).	
209	*Layer*	Mid yellow brown sandy clay deposit either cut through by or butting wall (205).	
210	*Structure*	Wall foundation contemporary with (206) and (207).	
211	*Structure*	Brick structure within cut (**216**), contemporary with (205).	
212	*Layer*	Light grey-white lime mortar deposit, part of foundation (210), fill of (**312**).	
213	***Cut***	**Construction cut for (210).**	
214	*Layer*	Deposit derived from demolition of walls (206) and (207).	
215	***Cut***	**Construction cut for (205).**	
216	***Cut***	**Construction cut for (211).**	

Trench 3

	Max Depth 1.32m	Length: 3.60m	Width: 1.00m
Context	Type	Description	

No.		
301	*Topsoil*	Mid grey brown silty loam current topsoil and turf of garden.
302	*Layer*	Light brown rubbly silt layer below (301), possible levelling.
303	*Natural*	Natural alluvium fluvial deposit.

Trench 4

	Max Depth: 0.70m	Length: 3.00m	Width: 1.60m
Context No.	Type	Description	
401	*Topsoil*	Mid to dark grey brown sandy silt current topsoil and turf of garden.	
402	*Layer*	Light brown silty sand rubble rich deposit below (401). Probably garden make-up.	
403	*Layer*	Light yellow sand, containing lots of demolition material.	
404	*Structure*	North south aligned flint and mortar wall foundation.	
405	*Surface*	Possible widening or floor surface associated with (404).	
406	*Structure*	Narrow east west aligned wall foundation, of CBM.	
407	*Layer*	Dark yellow green sandy clay to south of (406).	
408	*Layer*	Deliberate deposit of dark yellow brown sandy clay, north of (406).	
409	*Layer*	Mid grey brown silty sand deposit located west of (405).	
410	*Structure*	Brick built wall identified in south facing section of Trench 4.	
411	*Layer*	Light green sand below (406).	

Trench 5

	Max Depth: 0.85m	Length: 2.00m	Width: 1.60m
Context No.	Type	Description	
501	*Layer*	Light grey brown silty loam, mix of demolition material and garden soil below (506).	
502	*Layer*	Yellow brown silty clay, with abundant flint grave, slumped deposit. Overlies (503) and is sealed by (501).	
503	*Layer*	Yellow light brown silt with angular flints overlies (504).	
504	*Layer*	Mixed mid brown and yellow silty clay deposit overlies (505).	
505	*Layer*	Light grey white, mixed chalk and mortar dump.	
506	*Topsoil*	Light grey brown silty loam, current topsoil and turf of garden.	

Trench 6

	Max Depth: 0.55m	Length: 2mm	Width: 1.00m
Context No.	Type	Description	
601	*Topsoil*	Mid brown humic clay, current topsoil and turf of garden.	
602	*Layer*	Deliberate dump of mid brown silty clay and brick rubble make-up deposit.	
603	*Natural*	Yellow brown silty clay, natural.	

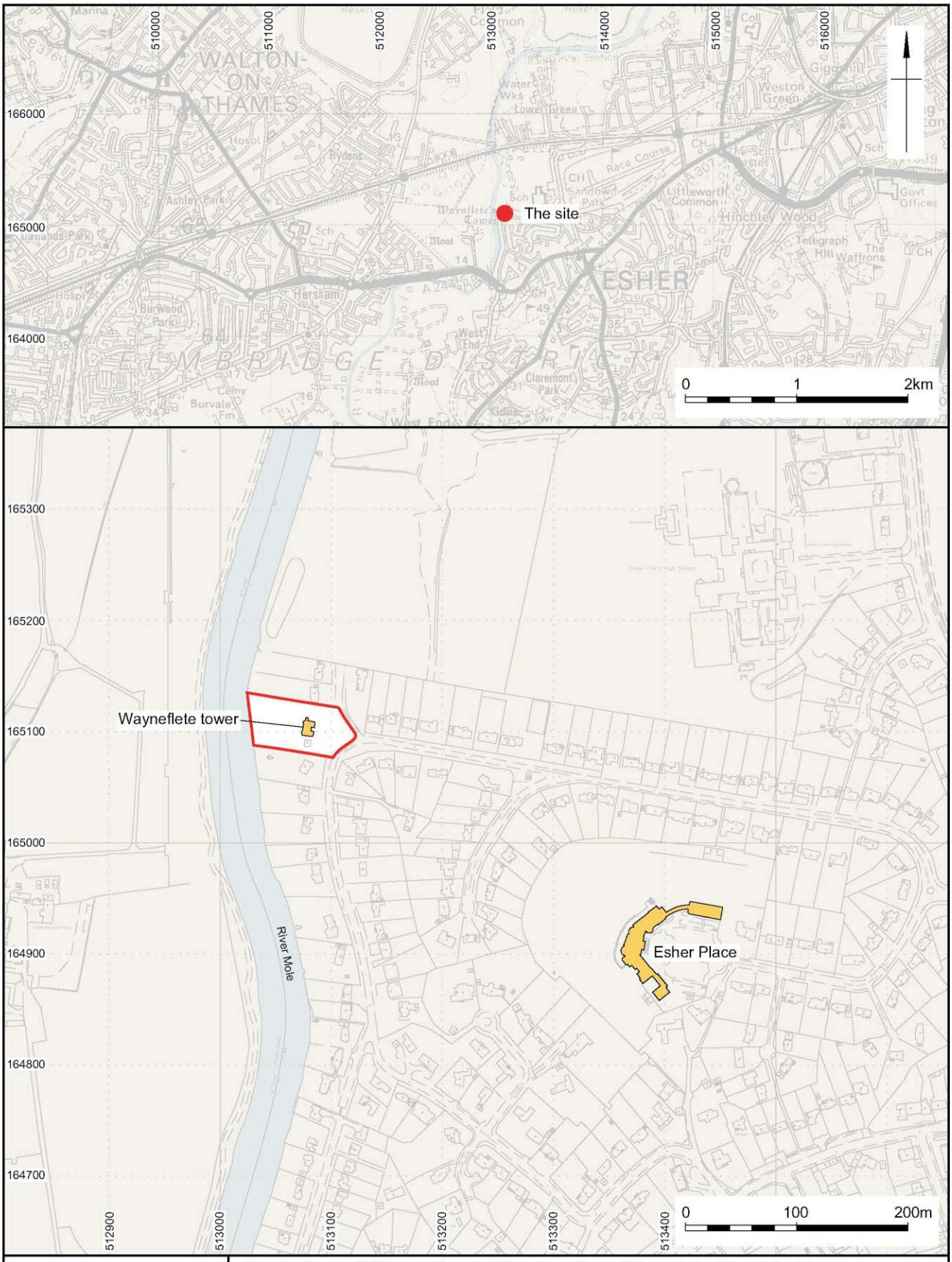
Trench 7

	Max Depth: not recorded	Length: 5.45m	Width: 5.20m
Context No.	Type	Description	
701	*Topsoil*	Very dark grey brown humic silt, current topsoil and turf and gravel path surface.	
702	*Layer*	Light yellow brown silty clay, very compact redeposited clay layer which seals archaeology.	
703	*Layer*	Mid grey brown black silty loam deposit concentrated against the northern edge of the southern east-west aligned wall of the Keep, deliberate backfill deposit of cellar.	
704	*Layer*	Dark grey brown and light yellow mixed deposit of redeposited natural concentrated at the eastern end of trench.	
705	***Cut***	**Cut of unexcavated irregular shaped feature, post dates demolition of the Keep.**	

706	*Fill*	Dark grey brown silty loam upper fill of (705).
707	*Structure*	Brick constructed eastern north-south aligned wall of the Keep.
708	*Layer*	Dark brown black silty clay, charcoal rich deposit which overlies dirty clay depsoit (720). Isolated deposit.
709	*Structure*	Large brick foundation for the south-east corner of the Keep.
710	*Structure*	Southern east-west aligned wall of the Keep.
711	*Structure*	Brick built strengthening buttress, where (707) is bonded to (710).
712	*Layer*	Lime mortar deposit, which is the remains of the mortar which would have held the upstanding wall of the Keep to the foundation structures.
713	***Cut***	**Construction cut for Keep foundation (709).**
714	***Cut***	**Unexcavated roughly rectangular shaped probable tree throw.**
715	*Fill*	Upper fill of (**714**), mid to dark brown silty clay.
716	*Layer*	Light yellow brown clay layer, possible natural of redeposited levelling deposit of natural.
717	*Layer*	Thin layer of dark grey brown silty clay rubbly material.
718	*Layer*	Thin layer of mortar which overlay 709, removed to expose bricks, possibly once held tiles.
719	*Structure*	Brick built strengthening buttress, which butts (711) at junction of (710) and (707).
720	*Layer*	Dump of light yellow silty clay redeposited natural below (708).
721	*Void*	VOID
722	***Cut***	**Construction cut for (707)**

Trench 8

	Max Depth: 0.68m	Length: 2.00m	Width: 2.00m
Context No.	Type	Description	
801	*Topsoil*	Mid to light grey brown silty loam, current topsoil and turf of garden.	
802	*Fill*	Mid yellow brown silty sand, deliberate backfill of robber cut (**803**).	
803	***Cut***	**Cut of robber trench.**	
804	*Fill*	Mid grey brown sandy silt clay, fill of robber cut (**805**).	
805	***Cut***	**Cut of robber trench.**	
806	*Structure*	Pale yellow mortar wall foundation, north east south west aligned.	
807	*Structure*	Flint and iron stone wall foundation, possibly formed corner with (806).	
808	*Subsoil*	Mid yellow brown subsoil deposit.	
809	*Layer*	Mid brown silty sand demolition spread.	
810	*Natural*	Pale yellow grey silty clay, natural.	
811	*Layer*	Possible wall foundation of mid orange brown silty sand.	
812	*Layer*	Dark yellow brown deposit against (806).	



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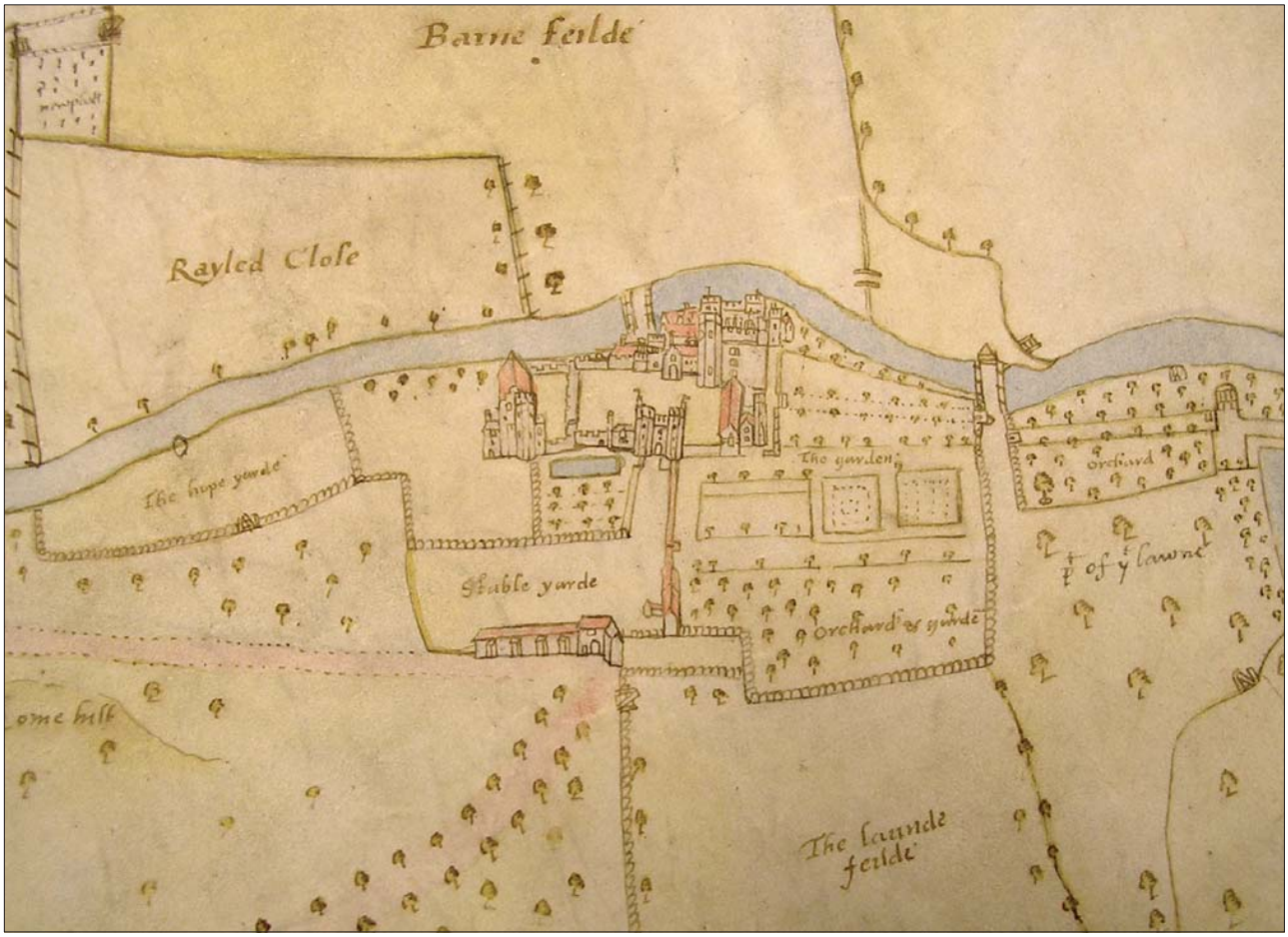
Wessex Archaeology

Site location plan

Figure 1



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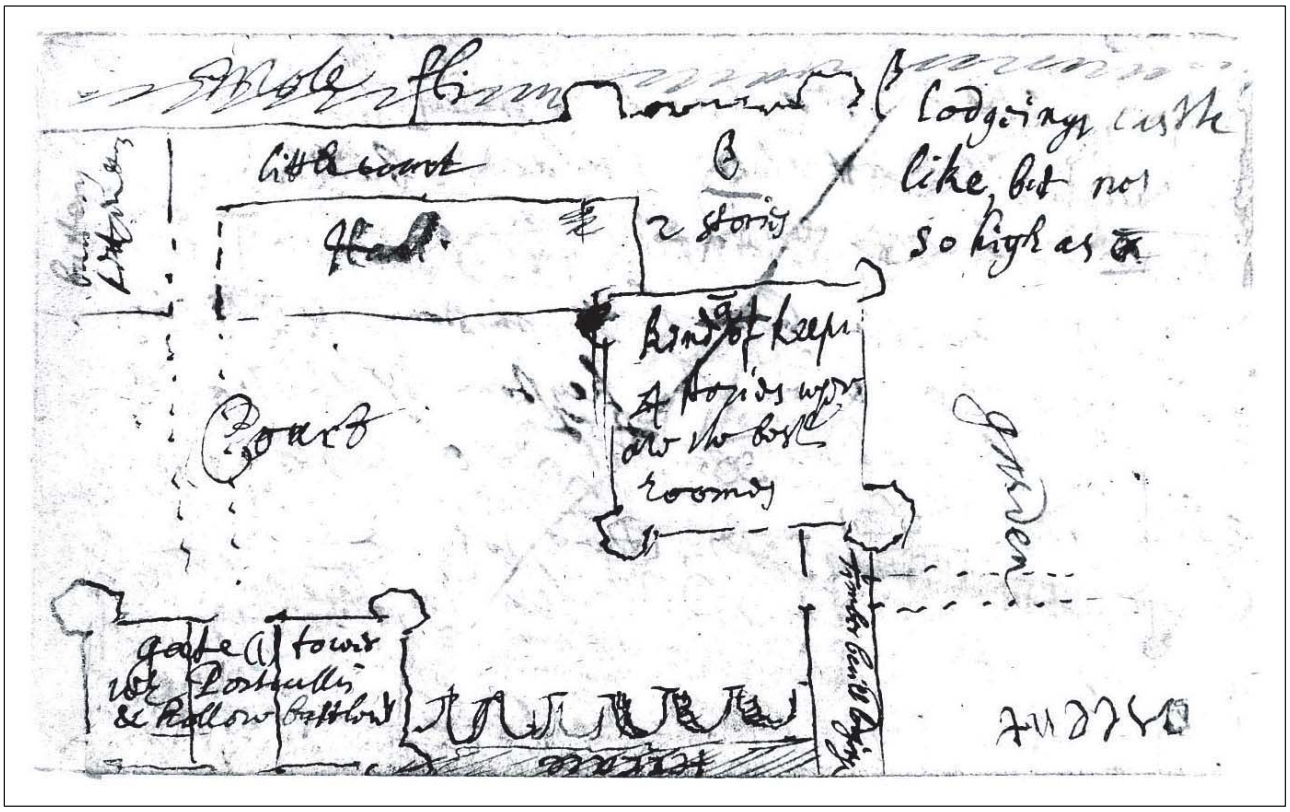
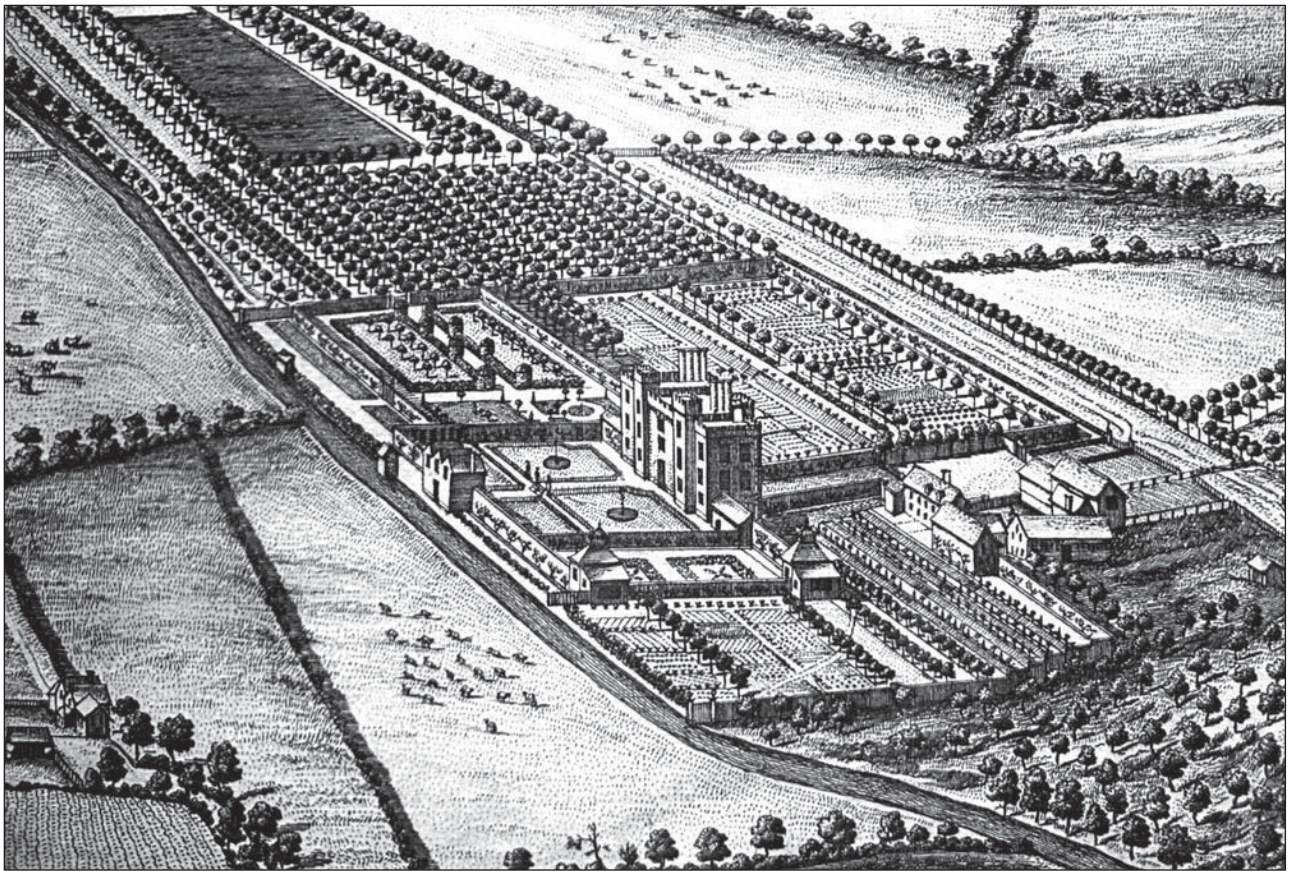
1606 Ralph Tresswell map of Wayneflete's palace (courtesy of the National Archive), view from east Figure 2



Wessex Archaeology	Date:	22/12/05	Revision Number:	0
	Scale:	NTS	Illustrator:	RG
	Path:	Y:\...\59472TT\...\...\asssessment\05_12_21\A4fig3.ai		

1673 John Aubrey's sketch of Wayneflete's palace, west at top
(courtesy of The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. MS Aubrey 4, fol. 45br.)

Figure 3



Wessex Archaeology	Date:	22/12/05	Revision Number:	0
	Scale:	NTS	Illustrator:	RG
	Path:	Y:\...\59472TT\...\...\asssessment\05_12_21\A4fig4.ai		

Esher Place from the south west, at the time of Thomas Cotton, drawn by L. Knyff and engraved by J. Kip, early 1700s. (In Hutchins 2001, 28-29.)

Figure 4

Wessex Archaeology	Date:	22/12/05	Revision Number:	0
	Scale:	NTS	Illustrator:	RG
	Path:	Y:\...\59472TT\...\...\asssessment\05_12_21\A4fig5.ai		

Henry Pelham's modernised building, early 18th century.
(In Hutchins, 2001, 34-35.)

Figure 5

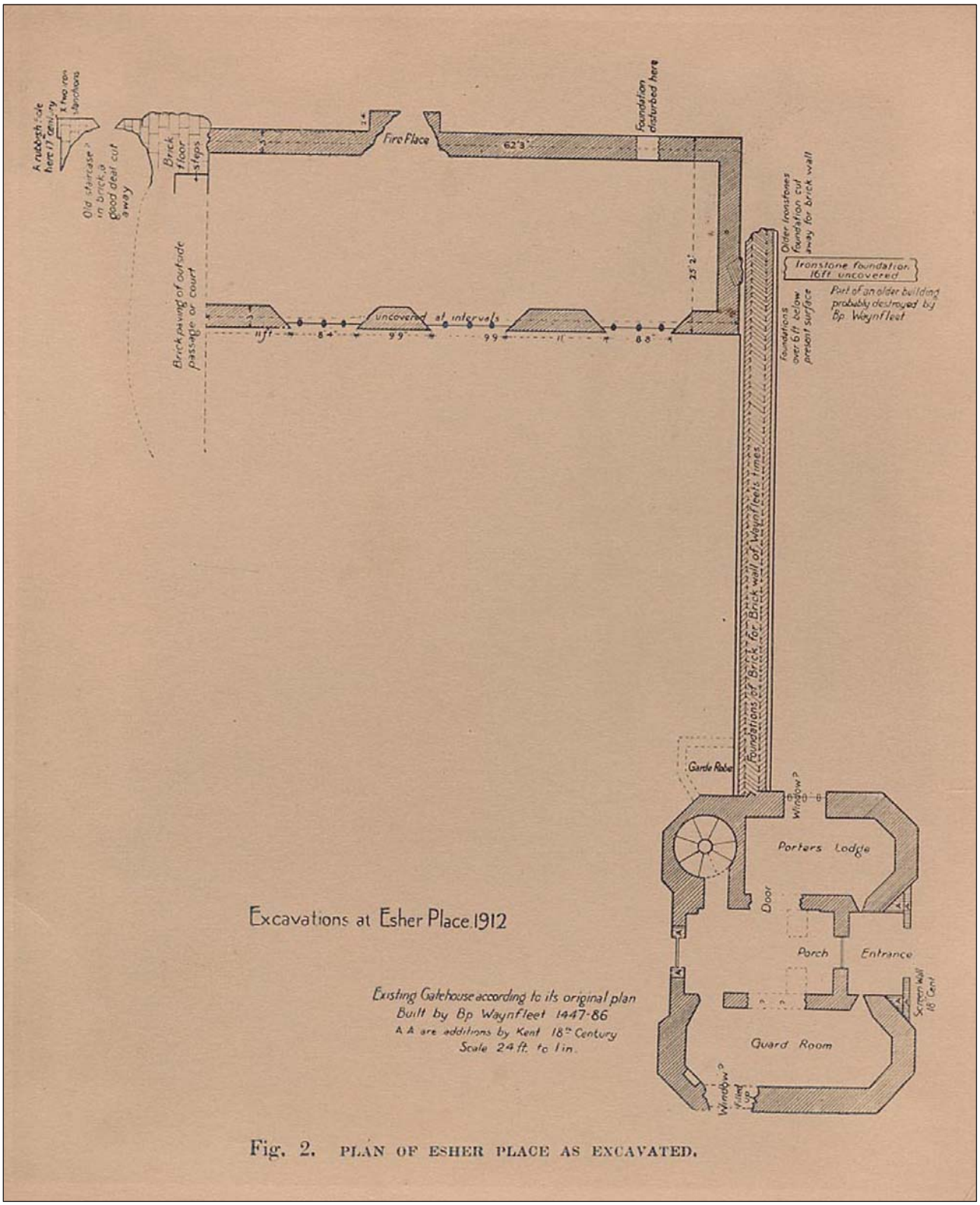


Fig. 2. PLAN OF ESHER PLACE AS EXCAVATED.

Wessex Archaeology	Date:	22/12/05	Revision Number:	0
	Scale:	NTS	Illustrator:	RG
	Path:	Y:\...\59472TT\...\...\asssessment\05_12_21\A4fig .ai		

1912 excavation plan.
(In Floyer 1919-20, facing page 72.)

Figure 6

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Geophysical data courtesy of GSB Prospection Ltd

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Trench location plan, incorporating geophysical resistance interpretation (after GSB 2005)

Figure 7

Trench 1 viewed from the east (prior to extension)

Structure 116 viewed from the north

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e :
ric /tile
ortar
0 1m

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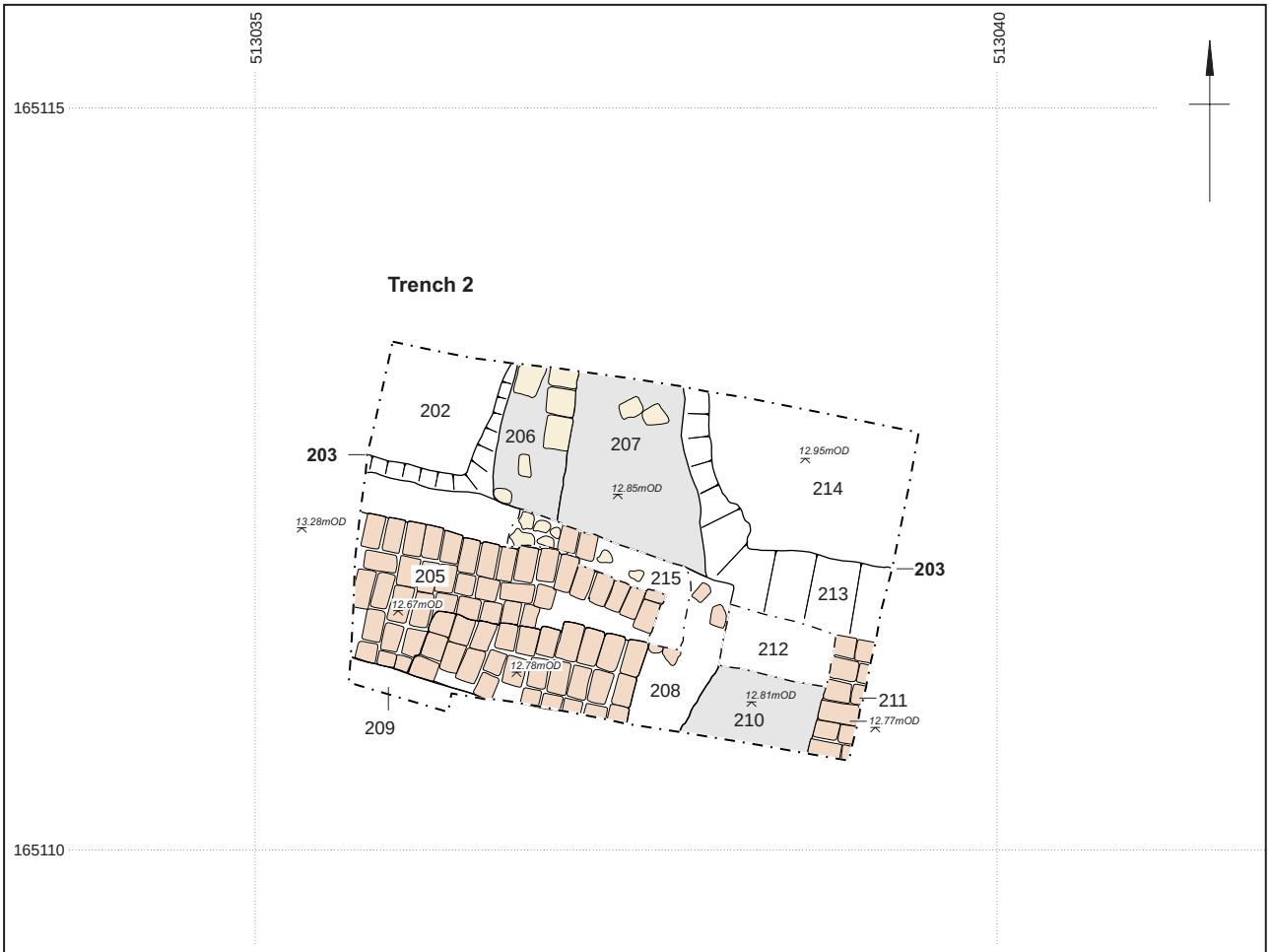

Trench 2 from the north

Key:
Brick/tile
Stone
Flint foundations

0 1m

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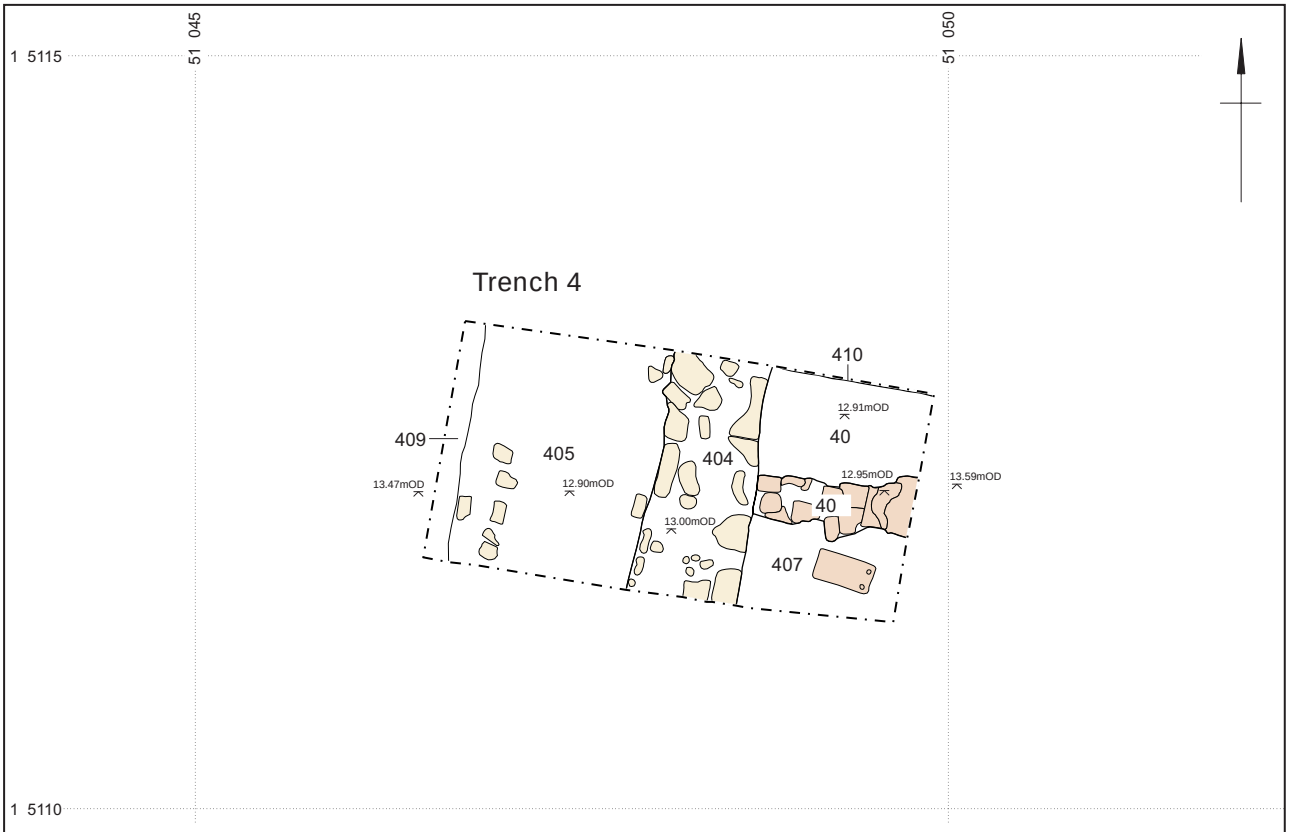
Trench 2, plan and plate

Figure 9



Trench 4 from the east

Date:	0 .01.0	Revision Number:	0
Scale:	Plan 1:50 A	Illustrator:	RG
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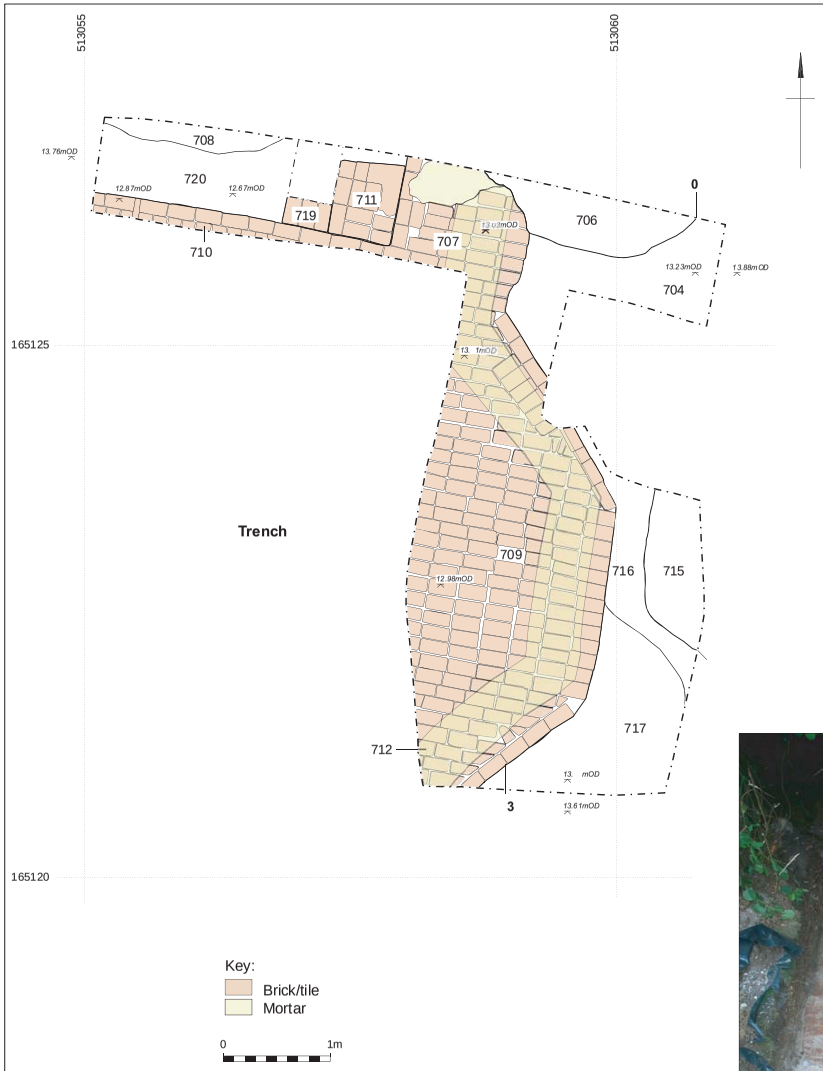
Trench 4, plan and plate

Figure 10



Trench 7 from the north

Trench 7 from the west

Trench 7 from the south

Trench 7 from the east

Wessex Archaeology

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Illustrator:	RG
Date:	03:01:06
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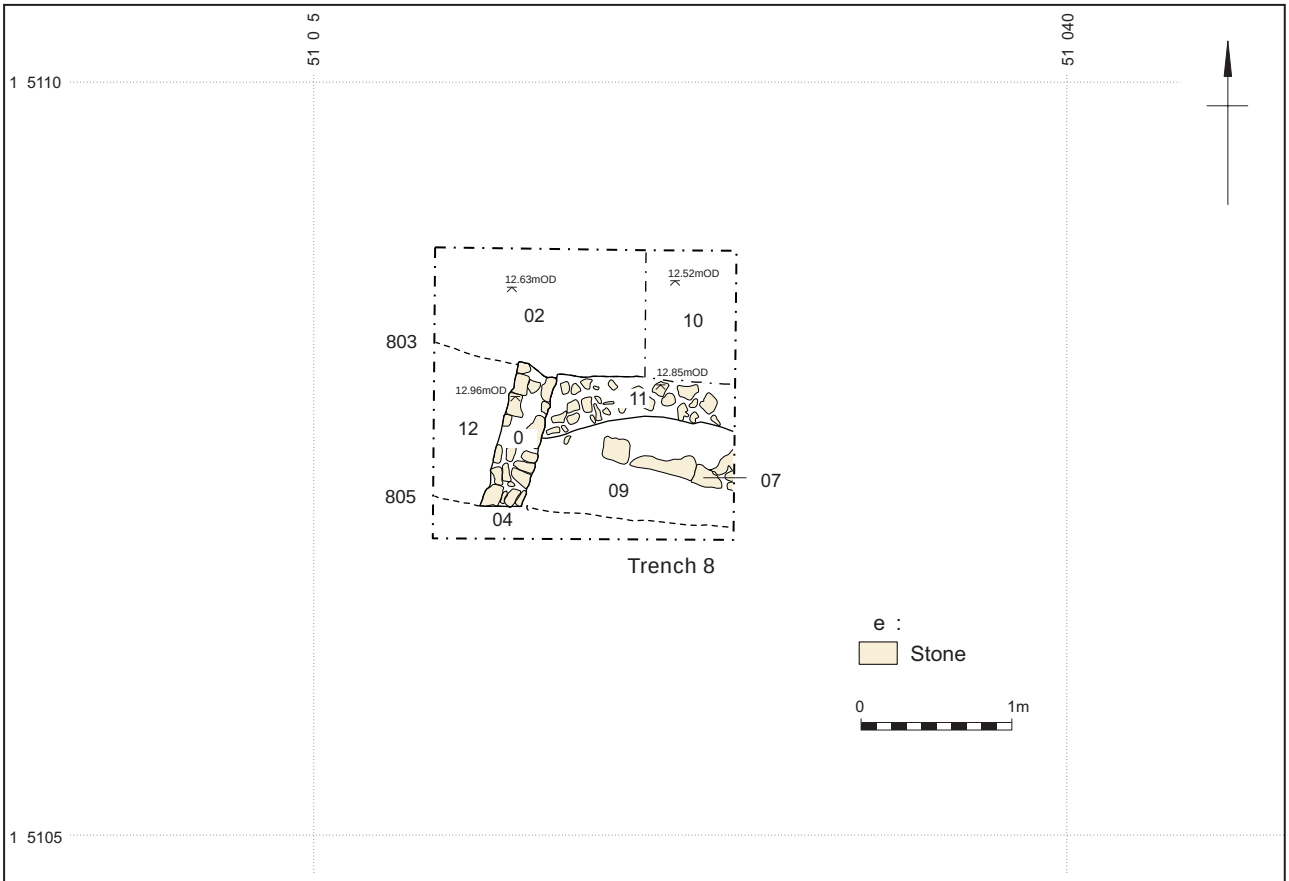
	\05_12_21\Fig11.ai

Trench 7, plan and plates

Figure 11



Trench from the est

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Scale:	Plan 1:50 A	Illustrator:	RG
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Trench 8, plan and plate

Figure 12

Penny Rainbow and Phil Harding cleaning south east corner of the keep

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