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'To Clapham's I go': a mid-late 18th-century Cambridge coffeehouse assemblage --Manuscript Draft--

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Corresponding Author:	Craig Cessford, M.Litt Cambridge Archaeological Unit, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge Cambridge, Cambridgeshire UNITED KINGDOM
Corresponding Author Secondary Information:	
Corresponding Author's Institution:	Cambridge Archaeological Unit, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge
Corresponding Author's Secondary Institution:	
First Author:	Craig Cessford, M.Litt
First Author Secondary Information:	
Order of Authors:	Craig Cessford, M.Litt Andy Hall Vicki Herring Richard Newman
Order of Authors Secondary Information:	
Abstract:	The recovery of a large closely dated assemblage that can be unambiguously associated with a mid-late 18th-century Cambridge coffeehouse provides the first opportunity for a detailed consideration of material associated with these significant institutions. A cellar in Cambridge, England, backfilled c. 1775-80 produced a substantial assemblage of over 500 items; principally ceramics, but also including vessel glass, clay tobacco pipes, animal bone and other material. Marked items and assemblage composition allows this material to be unambiguously associated with Clapham's coffeehouse, run by William and Jane Clapham c. 1746/48-79. There were a substantial number of ceramics associated with tea drinking, coffee drinking vessels were frequent but less common and there was relatively little evidence for chocolate drinking. A range of alcoholic drinks were also consumed and dining was common, with a particular emphasis on snacks, whilst smoking appears to have been uncommon. The assemblage is compared with other groups associated with coffeehouses, a series of groups from earlier inns in the vicinity and broadly contemporary domestic assemblages from Cambridge and inn groups from England. The archaeological evidence indicates that the materialities of coffeehouses were not significantly different from inns and challenges some currently held views of coffeehouses.
Additional Information:	
Question	Response
Author Comments:	The vast majority of the changes that I have made relate directly to the reviewers/editors comments. I have also corrected a few minor typos/errors that I spotted and added a few things that I have come across in the last few months. The latter includes material from Chapman and Kostro 2016 and my article 'Throwing Away Everything but the Kitchen Sink?: Large Assemblages, Depositional Practice and Post-Medieval Households in Cambridge', which I feel it is now appropriate to reference as it

has been formally accepted by Post-Medieval Archaeology.

There are a few instances where I have not followed the reviewers/editors comments:

1) Changing 'Manganese mottled' to 'Staffordshire-type mottled ware'. I have found the former term more common and don't think the ware is particularly closely associated with Staffordshire. I would prefer to stick with the current term, unless there is some official PMA policy.

2) The dating of Manganese mottled ware. I am not aware of any good discussions of this topic, the information is derived from a whole range of publications and websites. Given the relative lack of the material in this assemblage I don't feel it appropriate to go into this in depth that would be required.

3) The term 'Bell shaped' tankard and 'making up names for vessel shapes'. This is a fairly widely used term and as far as I know and there is other more common term.

4) Fig 38.1: I can see why it looks Notts/Derby type stoneware in the photo, but the fabric clearly isn't.

5) Describing some of the tin-glazed earthenware as 'dark blue on light blue' etc.. I find this difficult as there is a range of shades covered by 'light blue' on these vessels. I'm not convinced to what extent they are deliberate in some cases, but have tried my best. I don't think this is very common practice and have my doubts about it.

6) Discussing all 3 beverages as one: 'Reference examples of where archaeologists have ignored this distinction'. This is common practice and I think it is invidious and unnecessary to single out one or two specific publications.

7) Documentary sources suggest that in comparison to inns/taverns dining was relatively uncommon at many coffeehouses, although food was served on a limited scale. The references to this would be the standard list of the main publications on coffeehouse. I wanted to avoid simply repeating this list throughout the references.

8) 'the idea that the deposition of substantia assemblages is linked to women is an interesting one and I think would be worth expanding upon'. Whilst I agree I think that this is too wide-ranging a topic to address succinctly and feel it would be inappropriate to include a discussion of the necessary length in this already long article.

9) An additional chart showing cellar finds versus yard midden finds would be welcome here. The totals from the yard deposits are so low that I think a chart would lend them more authority and a level of unwarranted precision.

10) 'smoking ws relatively unfashionable among members of the University' needs a citation. This is covered by the next sentence, which I think is clear enough.

11) The "Domestic Cambridge Groups" is an important comparison for purposes of defining the Clapham's assemblage as belonging to a coffeehouse, and I would recommend expanding this section. I have done this a bit, but feel that to be meaningful this would end up being quite a substantial addition.

12) More references. I have done this where it seems appropriate, however I have tried to avoid constantly listing the general works on coffeehouses too much.

13) Standard nomenclature, I agree but wish it existed. I am slightly wary about importing MPRG terms (even though I do own a copy) as I'm not convinced they are necessarily appropriate in later contexts.

14) Table 3 had unfortunately omitted 1 fabric (manganese mottled), this has had a lot of minor knock on effects

15) Utility vs wine bottles terminology. The glass specialist prefers the term utility bottle as these bottles could contain a range of liquids and informs me this is a widely used term. I have made some alterations to the text to take the reviewers comments into

	<p>account.</p> <p>16) I have added a new table (Table 4) as addressing completeness and brokenness made table 3 too large.</p> <p>17) I made a range of minor changes based upon the proofs for another article in PMA that I received.</p> <p>18) Some of my figures exceeded the permitted file size. I have reduced these and they are indicated by the suffix smaller. If wished I can resupply the larger versions of these by some other means</p> <p>19) I found the phrasing in the earlier Funding Information section a bit confusing. There is no funding for publication so I selected 'Funding Information is not available' assuming this is correct. A further field 'No Funding' would be clearer.</p>
Funding Information:	

PRELIMINARY PAGE

Title: 'To Clapham's I go': a mid-late 18th-century Cambridge coffeehouse assemblage

Authors: Craig Cessford, Andy Hall, Vicki Herring & Richard Newman

Institutional affiliation: Cambridge Archaeological Unit, University of Cambridge

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Craig Cessford

Cambridge Archaeological Unit

Department of Archaeology and Anthropology

University of Cambridge

Downing Street, Cambridge

CB2 3DZ

UK

cc250@cam.ac.uk

‘To Clapham’s I go’: a mid–late 18th-century Cambridge coffeehouse assemblage

By CRAIG CESSFORD, ANDY HALL, VICKI HERRING & RICHARD NEWMAN

Incorporating material from JEN HARLAND (fish bone), LORRAIN HIGBEE (animal bone) &
ANNE DE VAREILLES (environmental remains)

SUMMARY: The recovery of a large closely dated assemblage that can be unambiguously associated with a mid–late 18th-century Cambridge coffeehouse provides the first opportunity for a detailed consideration of material associated with these significant institutions. A cellar located off All Saints’ Passage in Cambridge, England, backfilled c. 1775–80 produced a substantial assemblage of over 500 objects; principally ceramics, but also including vessel glass, clay tobacco pipes, animal bone and other material. Marked items and assemblage composition allows this material to be unambiguously associated with Clapham’s coffeehouse, run by William and Jane Clapham c. 1746/48–79. Relatively few archaeological assemblages related to these important 18th-century socio-economic institutions have been recovered and the material associated with Clapham’s coffeehouse possesses a distinctive ‘signature’, albeit one that is not necessarily generally applicable to other coffeehouses. There were a substantial number of ceramics associated with tea drinking, coffee drinking vessels were frequent but less common and there was relatively little evidence for chocolate drinking. A range of alcoholic drinks were also consumed and dining was common, with a particular emphasis on snacks, whilst smoking appears to have been uncommon. The assemblage is compared with other groups associated with coffeehouses, a series of groups from earlier inns in the vicinity and broadly contemporary domestic assemblages from Cambridge and inn groups from England. The archaeological evidence indicates that the materialities of coffeehouses were not significantly different from other establishments such as inns and challenges some currently held views of coffeehouses derived from documentary sources.

INTRODUCTION

Coffee drinking began in the mid 15th century, reaching England in the 16th century and becoming increasingly popular in the 17th century. By the 1650s, coffeehouses were being established in major English cities and by 1675 there were more than 3,000 in England. These institutions played an important role in mid 17th–late 18th-century social, political and economic life; although by the mid 18th century tea had overtaken coffee in importance in England, becoming the ‘national drink’. In particular they were identified by Habermas as crucial institutions in terms of a developing public sphere, an area in social life where individuals can freely come together to discuss issues, which is defined by its inclusivity, disregard of status and role as a domain of ‘common concern’.ⁱ Although Habermas ideas have been challenged in certain respects coffeehouses continue to be regarded as important institutions.ⁱⁱ Despite the recent surge of interest in the social and literary histories of 17th–18th-century coffeehouses, little attention has been directed towards material aspects of these establishments. Documentary evidence, such as inventories, seldom provides detailed information, pictorial representations of interiors are infrequent and non-specific, there is little material in museum collections and archaeological discoveries are rare.ⁱⁱⁱ This is despite the fact that coffee consumption has numerous material impacts and correlates, as recognised by contemporary authors such as John Houghton who noted that ‘Coffee hath greatly increased the Trade of Tobacco and Pipes, Earthen dishes, Tin wares, News-Papers, Coals, Candles, Sugar, Tea, Chocolate, and what not’.^{iv}

In 2005–12 the Cambridge Archaeological Unit conducted a series of archaeological interventions on behalf of St John’s College, Cambridge, within the street block situated directly opposite the college entrance and bounded by Bridge Street, St John’s Street and All Saints’ Passage (Fig. 1–03). During one phase of investigation quantities of ceramics and glass were observed being disturbed by work outside the areas scheduled for archaeological excavation. Brief investigations revealed that this was a substantial assemblage deposited within a cellar, and a decision was made to ‘rescue’ the material.^v It rapidly became apparent that the material derived from a coffeehouse.

The documentary history of Cambridge coffeehouses has also attracted little serious attention and only brief, outdated summaries exist.^{vi} The earliest Cambridge coffeehouse was founded c. 1660. By the 1680s several had been established and they were reputedly much more popular than inns. By the mid 18th century there were at least eight or nine in existence at any point in time and potentially rather more, while several inns also contained coffee rooms. This meant that the coffeehouses were no more than about two minutes' walk apart. In the mid 18th century Cambridge coffeehouses catered to different clienteles and some larger establishments were divided internally, with separate rooms fulfilling distinct roles. Although there are no detailed contemporary descriptions of Cambridge coffeehouses, an advert of 1763 for Delaport's provides the best evidence. It served harmless 'Tea, Lacedemonian [Spartan] Broth, and invigorating Chocolate, comforting Cakes with cooling Tarts and Jellies ... Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, Jellys, Syllabubs, Tarts, Cakes, etc.' whilst 'Wine, Punch, or Ale shall be sent for to such Tavern or House as the Company shall direct'.^{vii}

Traditionally the mid-late 18th century has been seen as a period of decline for coffeehouses, which has led to relative scholarly neglect. More recently this has been challenged and it has been argued that although coffeehouses changed from public spaces of open communal activity and collective debate to semi-private spaces where individuals or small groups could indulge in relatively tranquil quiet contemplation and unguarded relaxation they nonetheless remained socially significant.^{viii} This decline in 'performative publicity' and its replacement by a more inward-looking, self-reflective sense of self is reflected spatially, as open rooms with large central tables were sub-divided into separate booths and might also have other material culture correlates. Due to the Licensing Act of 1753, from 1755 onwards there are reliable records of Cambridge coffeehouses licensed to sell alcohol (Table 1: Fig. 4). Although these numbers exclude coffeehouses that did not sell alcohol — at least two of which existed — as well as coffee rooms located in inns, the licences suggest that coffeehouse numbers peaked around 1760. Their subsequent rapid decline matches broader national trends and is similar to the pattern in Oxford^{ix};

by the end of the century, only two coffeehouses remained in Cambridge.^x Whilst a number of new coffeehouses were established during the 19th century, these were markedly different businesses that bore little resemblance to their earlier counterparts.

The aims of this publication are to categorise and quantify the material from the assemblage and to consider what insight it provides into the role of coffeehouses, both in Cambridge and more generally. In part this will be done by comparing the material to that from other assemblages; including other coffeehouse groups, earlier inn groups from the vicinity, broadly contemporary domestic assemblages from Cambridge and inn groups from England more generally.^{xi}

CLAPHAM'S COFFEEHOUSE

Whilst a coffeehouse may have been located in the vicinity since *c.* 1718, the documentary evidence for this is at best circumstantial (Table 2). Neither William Clapham nor his wife Jane Heron appear to have had any familial connections with Cambridgeshire and both are described as being of Romford, Essex, when they married in late 1746 in London. By 1748 — and possibly as early as 1746 as the records for 1746–47 do not survive — William Clapham obtained a victualling license in Cambridge for his coffeehouse. In 1751 the coffeehouse is mentioned in a poem called ‘The Lownger’ in *The Student or Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany II*, where a footnote describes it and another establishment as ‘Noted coffee-houses in Cambridge’:

*I rise about nine, get to breakfast by ten,
Blow a tune on my Flute, or perhaps make a Bow;
Read a play till eleven, or cock my lac'd hat,
Then step to my Neighb'rs till Dinner to chat.
Dinner over, to Tom's or to **Clapham's** I go
The news of the town so impatient to know
...
From the Coffee-house then I to Tennis away^{xii}*

William renewed his victualling license annually until 1762, when he ‘left & was succeeded by Mary and Elizabeth Sproson’.^{xiii} The Clapham’s appear never to have had children and William Clapham of Chesterton near Cambridge was buried at Chesterton in 1765, leaving the bulk of his estate, provisionally valued at well over £1000, to his wife Jane (Fig. 5). In 1769 the property was described as ‘then or lately used for several years’ as a coffeehouse, with an un-tenanted cellar, occupied by Mrs Jane Clapham or her under-tenants. In 1779 when she died Jane Clapham was living in Clerkenwell, London, and her closest living relative was her brother John Heron, who was living in Holborn. Jane wanted to be interred beside William and was buried in Chesterton. There is no evidence from Jane’s will that she was still involved in running the coffeehouse by 1779; the majority of the named beneficiaries had no connection to Cambridgeshire, although there were minor bequests to two local women.

The earliest evidence for Mary Sproson in Cambridge is when she obtained a victualling license for a coffeehouse in Great St Mary’s parish in 1757 and in 1759 her sister Elizabeth became co-licensee in 1759. This coffeehouse appears to have closed when they took over as licensees to Clapham’s in 1762. Elizabeth apparently left the business in 1763, while Mary remained the licensee of Clapham’s until 1774. As no license was issued from 1775 onwards the coffeehouse must have stopped selling alcohol. Both sisters continued to live in Cambridge, with Elizabeth marrying in 1779 and dying in 1815 whilst Mary died in 1808.

By 1782 the property was called the Union Coffee House, and was run by Francis/Frank Smith. The clientele of Union Coffee House is described in a set of Tripos verses in 1788, whilst this depiction is unlikely to be entirely representative, it provides an impression of the range of individuals who may have frequented Clapham’s a few years earlier.^{xiv} These included a parson looking in the newspapers for a position, a ‘fast’ riding man interested in horses, two sportsmen discussing night-time otter hunting in the fens, a ‘questionist’ (student preparing for their final examinations) sketching mathematical diagrams on the table with a wet spill or match and a loungeur in a huge powdered wig. The Union Coffee House has been described as a ‘general rendezvous of

all the young nobility and fellow commoners', these were the wealthier students who were prepared to pay extra for certain privileges and typically had little interest in academic activities.^{xv} The Union Coffee House closed *c.* 1815 and the associated buildings were demolished at approximately the same date.

THE CELLAR

The sub-rectangular cellar containing the material measured >2.75m by 2.25m in extent and >1.4m deep; it had a crushed mortar floor along with stone- and brick-built walls (Fig. 6). It appears to have been built at the same time as, or just after, a wall that ran alongside it; this appears to have been an external wall belonging to a structure that fronted onto All Saints' Passage. The coffeehouse was therefore not located on a main thoroughfare, but rather on a minor side street albeit one that was relatively centrally located. Deposits associated with the construction of this wall contained Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware, indicating that the wall and cellar were built after *c.* 1720. Indeed, the cellar may well have been constructed specifically for the coffeehouse. As it was too small and shallow for activities to have taken place within it, it most likely functioned as a storage area where items could be kept cool and dry. To the west of the cellar was an associated open yard area with a brick-lined well, located *c.* 2.5m from the cellar. Not all properties in this densely packed street block possessed their own well; however, a coffeehouse would have required significant quantities of water for making drinks, washing dishes *etc.* Indeed, the form of the well and the types of bricks that were used to construct it indicate that its construction was contemporary with the presence of the coffeehouse. Several test pits were excavated in the yard area. Within these, a number of broadly contemporary pits and yard surfaces were investigated, although they produced little material culture that might be associated with the coffeehouse. The sole exception comprised most of a large Staffordshire-type slipware cup probably for possets of a *c.* 1750–1800 date that was recovered from a pit in the yard (Fig. 7). The rim of the cup was heavily damaged, which may explain why it was discarded, and no trace of the associated lid was recovered. An association with

the coffeehouse seems likely, this is intriguing that no closely comparable items were discovered within the cellar assemblage itself.

The cellar was backfilled with a 1.3m thick deposit of dark greyish brown loose silty sand, with numerous lenses and tips ranging in colour from dark greyish black to dark red to mid-purple. The bulk of the fill consists of ash from fireplaces, plus brick and tile fragments whose presence indicates the complete or partial demolition of some structure. Also present were substantial quantities of ceramics, plus less frequent vessel glass, animal bone, oyster shell and coal fragments (Fig. 8). The form of this deposit, with certain types of material occurring in discrete clusters, indicates that it was created by a rapid sequence of numerous individual dump events, possibly representing individual basket/bucket loads. Approximately six cubic metres of artefact rich material was deposited into the cellar; this would equate to *c.* 600 bucket loads holding around ten litres apiece, indicating a repeated and relatively protracted process spanning hours if not days. Above this was a *c.* 0.2m thick capping deposit composed of mixed mid greyish brown clayey silt, with occasional inclusions of crushed mortar and fragments of brick and tile. Overlying the capping deposit was a >0.3m thick banded deposit of mid-greyish brown clayey silt with lenses of crushed mortar. This was much more extensive than the footprint of the cellar and it appears to represent a construction-related levelling deposit. The investigated portion of the deposit contained a small quantity of ceramics; this material consisted of the same ware types as the cellar backfilling and was dominated by creamware (principally plates with a range of rim patterns, all paralleled in the cellar group) and Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware (including one sherd from a coffee can and one from a patty/tart pan). These ceramics were almost certainly derived from the same source as the main assemblage, indicating that not all of the coffeehouse material was deposited in the cellar. After the levelling material was deposited a wall was constructed, incorporating one of the cellar walls. The backfilling of the cellar was apparently part of a more general re-modelling of the premises with which it was associated, although it appears that the remaining buildings continued in use after this event.

The less than ideal circumstances of investigation mean that some material was probably removed prior to discovery — although given the presence of the relatively sterile capping deposit, this is likely to have comprised only a small proportion of the assemblage — and as the deposit was not sieved small items and fragments are likely to have been missed. An eight litre soil-sample — constituting *c.* 2% of the overall backfilling deposit — was processed for finds using a 4mm mesh, with one litre examined for plant remains. Analysis of the soil-sample indicates that the loss in terms of the main material types is likely to have been minor and has not significantly impacted upon the results. More significantly, however, some types of material were overlooked entirely in the field — notably glass beads, pins and textile fragments — and these are therefore represented only by material from the sample.

MATERIAL

The ceramic assemblage (Table 3) dwarfs all other mid–late 18th-century assemblages previously recovered from Cambridge and that a number of vessels are marked with the names and initials of several individuals and establishments. The latter allow the material to be unambiguously linked to Clapham's (Fig. 9–10), making the assemblage particularly significant as it can be firmly associated with a coffeehouse. Moreover, although coffeehouses were important institutions, this appears to represent the first significant assemblage unequivocally recovered from an English example. The condition of the material indicates that it was deposited rapidly and that many of the vessels were complete or semi-complete. Of particular significance is the recovery of animal bone, whose character indicates that it was associated with the coffeehouse. The bone was all in good condition with no evidence of any dog or rodent gnawing, indicating that it was rapidly covered or buried. As it is unlikely that animal bone would have been stored for any length of time, this indicates that the assemblage derived from an active or recently active coffeehouse.

The assemblage was almost certainly deposited *c.* 1770–80 and probably *c.* 1775–80. One of the named individuals, Jacob Brittain, did not obtain his license until late 1769, while some of the

ceramics such as items of soft-paste porcelain produced in Worcester were not produced until c. 1770, with pieces dated c. 1775–85 (see Fig. 16.9) and c. 1780 (see Fig. 17.2). Similarly, many of the glass bottles are no earlier than c. 1770. No items were present that definitely date to after c. 1780 and pearlware, which was introduced c. 1775 and is present on American Revolutionary War sites of 1778–79,^{xvi} is absent, again suggesting that the group is unlikely to be later than c. 1780. If one of the clay pipes does commemorate an event in 1776 then this would provide a *terminus post quem*, but this is not definite. Possible contexts for the disposal of the material are the non-renewal of the victualling license (1775), the death of the owner of the property (1777) and the death of Jane Clapham (1779) or her retirement and movement to London prior to this. The death or retirement of Jane Clapham is perhaps the most likely, as the deposition of substantial assemblages of material is often linked to the end of life-cycle of households headed by women.^{xvii}

There are a number of issues that need to be borne in mind when interpreting the assemblage, as they impact upon how its completeness and representativeness are viewed. None of these invalidate its significance — indeed, some are common to most archaeological assemblages of the period — but mean that it cannot be regarded as pristine. The recovery process was hurried and imperfect and there is evidence that some material was deposited outside the cellar in contexts that were not fully excavated. Although the bulk of the assemblage is characteristic of primary discard, a small proportion derives from another source, probably a midden/garden soil deposit. The clearest evidence for this are ten ceramic sherds that display evidence of being burnt, in some instances post-breakage, prior to entering the cellar. There are also a number of vessels where only a small proportion of the vessel is present. If the latter are taken into account, then the number of items that may be derived from the midden/garden soil deposit rises to around 30 MNI. Many of these are, however, identical in fabric and form to vessels where a much higher proportion of the items are present. The only material that need pre-date c. 1740 are a few pieces of Chinese porcelain that may be as early as c. 1720, which fits with broader patterns as ceramic tableware from domestic contexts of the period typically has a lifespan from production to discard of 15–25 years, although some

items do survive for over 30 years.^{xviii} Other items that presumably derive from the putative midden include a clay tobacco pipe bowl of *c.* 1680–1710 and a fragment from a ‘bladder onion’ type glass wine bottle of *c.* 1730–40. Whilst this material will be included in the following analysis, the presence of material that apparently derives from the midden/garden soil deposit will be noted where appropriate.

It is likely that valuable material was not deposited in the cellar, either continuing in use at the Union Coffee House or else being sold. Documentary evidence indicates that pewter was a significant component of coffeehouse material culture, yet it is entirely absent from this group, as is the case for most archaeological assemblages, since it could be recycled.^{xix} Many contemporary coffee-pots were made of pewter and an 18th-century cesspit from London contained a pewter tankard with an inscription.^{xx} As Clapham’s coffeehouse continued as the Union Coffee House after the assemblage was deposited, it is possible that still-fashionable ceramics and glassware continued in use and that the assemblage consists principally of old-fashioned and damaged material. Although the Clapham’s lived in the nearby village of Chesterton, it is possible that some members of staff and servants lived at the coffeehouse premises so the assemblage may contain a domestic element. It is also possible that Clapham’s accommodated visitors, in 1767 Christopher Hull who was visiting St John’s College stayed at an unnamed coffeehouse because the college was completely full; whilst it is uncertain where Hull stayed this raises the possibility that Clapham’s may have provided accommodation and this may also have had an impact upon the material recovered.^{xxi} Only by comparing the Clapham’s assemblage to domestic groups of the period can it be suggested what material relates specifically to the business of the coffeehouse.

The material has been quantified by fragment count, weight and minimum number of items (MNI), the ceramics have also been quantified by estimated vessel equivalent (EVE) based upon the percentages of rims present.^{xxii} Both the completeness (EVE/MNI) and brokenness (sherd count/EVE) of the ceramics to be calculated by fabric type (Table 4).^{xxiii} In some instances, particularly where there is only a small quantity of a fabric these are somewhat misleading,

principally because some otherwise nearly complete vessels have a very low rim EVE. Nonetheless the various values provide a useful set of comparative measures. All of the various approaches to ceramic quantification produce different results. Although MNI counts represent the most time consuming method they facilitate the comparison of different types of material, as they can be applied to ceramics, vessel glass, clay tobacco pipes and a range of other materials. Other categories of material such as animal bone are more problematic, but it is possible to produce figures that at least permit inter-assemblage comparisons.^{xxiv} Unless otherwise stated all figures relate to MNI counts. The material will be discussed in terms of functional categories; hot beverages, alcohol, dining, hygiene, smoking and other activities (Table 5).^{xxv} This is slightly problematic, as objects could be used for more than one purpose and might be used for functions other than those originally intended.^{xxvi} Nonetheless, there is no evidence to suggest that most items in the assemblage were used for anything other than functions commonly intended at the point of manufacture, although some items may have primarily been intended for display. The most likely candidates for this are some of the tin-glazed earthenware plates; these may have spent most if not all of their time as display items rather than being used for dining. If this is correct then it is possible that a wide range of other items, particularly those that are relatively rare within the assemblage and/or expensive, may also have been for display. There is also the issue of polyfunctionality, which affects several types of object in the assemblage such as bottles that may have contained either alcoholic liqueurs or sauces for food. Additionally, a number of vessels (25 MNI/5.8% of all ceramics) represented by small fragments cannot be definitely identified to form or function. Nevertheless this integrated, function-based approach allows a consideration of the experience of drinking and dining at the coffeehouse.^{xxvii}

HOT BEVERAGES

The single largest category of material relates to the consumption of hot beverages (214 MNI);

including coffee, tea and chocolate all of which were commonly consumed at coffeehouses (Fig. 11–22).^{xxviii} Documentary and pictorial evidence indicates that different types of vessels were used for different beverages.^{xxix} Archaeologists have typically ignored this distinction, discussing all three hot beverages as a single group. Distinguishing vessels used to consume different beverages is problematic for several reasons. Much of the terminology utilised by archaeologists — such as ‘tea bowls’ — need not necessarily be accurate, as it is possible that the usage of vessel types varied temporally and spatially and it is debatable whether conventions were always scrupulously followed. Nonetheless, to simply lump all hot beverage consumption together represents an interpretive failure, particularly in the case of a coffeehouse.

Vessels are most frequently linked to tea (154 MNI) followed by coffee (23 MNI) and chocolate (3 MNI), with a tea to coffee ratio of 1:0.15 (Fig. 11). This is somewhat misleading, with tea effectively over-represented as there are more ancillary vessels linked to its consumption. If the comparison is limited solely to vessels that actually held liquids at the point of consumption, then tea bowls are around three times as common as coffee cans and cups (67:23 or 1:0.34). Of the triumvirate of imported hot beverages tea was the least expensive, produced the most liquid per pound of material and was the least complex to prepare, whilst chocolate was the opposite.^{xxx} Over time tea increasingly came to dominate consumption. Unfortunately, trying to determine the relative consumption of coffee, tea and chocolate in the late 17th and 18th centuries is hampered by the fact that taxation rates and concomitant smuggling means that official values are highly unreliable. Following Pitt’s Commutation Act of 1784, which reduced the tax on tea from 119% to 12.5% and effectively ending tea smuggling, figures become more reliable, although there are still issues of strong annual fluctuations and re-exportation. At this time net imports of tea were seventeen times those of coffee; since tea produced *c.* 3.5 times as much liquid per pound than coffee its consumption was effectively around 60 times as common.^{xxxi} Viewed against this, the fact that tea vessels are only three times as common as those for coffee is striking.

Tea consumption items consist of tea bowls (67 MNI), saucers (26 MNI, although a few of

these may relate to chocolate), teapots (38 MNI), and teapot lids (sixteen MNI) (Fig. 12–18). Whilst it is possible that coffee was also drunk from some of these bowls this seems unlikely; they are only 40–45mm tall, whereas based upon contemporary illustrations bowls for coffee would probably have been rather taller. Tea bowls are around 2.6 times as common as saucers; such discrepancies are common in assemblages of the period.^{xxxii} Coffee cans and cups never had associated saucers whilst chocolate cups probably did have saucers, although these are impossible to distinguish and given the low number of chocolate cups this would only potentially make saucers around 2.9 times as common as tea bowls and chocolate cups. In general, there are frequently around 1.5 times as many tea bowls/cups as saucers in assemblages, although in a few groups saucers are more common.^{xxxiii} This suggests that tea bowls were damaged more frequently, with undamaged saucers retained for future use. There is no evidence that tea cups with handles were used at the coffeehouse. Handled vessels were more expensive and prone to breakage during shipping; they were also probably more prone to breakage during use. Two unusual Chinese porcelain tea bowls (and a slops bowl) have relatively wide unglazed foot rings; these appear to be Jingdezhen products and are otherwise unremarkable (Fig. 14.4). This would have created a significantly lower centre of gravity and there are Dutch records of cups and saucers for coffeehouses made ‘of very thick porcelain’ suggesting that these may be specialised vessels.^{xxxiv}

The majority of the teapots would have held *c.* 200ml if completely full, although 160ml is a more realistic estimate of capacity, indicating that they were for individual usage. The tea bowls that were filled from these would have held *c.* 90–100ml. There were also three larger teapots; a Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware example held *c.* 600ml (Fig. 12.4) and two creamware examples would have held *c.* 400ml (Fig. 12.5–6). The larger, later creamware examples compared to the smaller sized earlier Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware ones, may relate to tea becoming cheaper over time and capacities of teapots increasing. The larger Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware item is probably contemporary with the similar smaller examples and probably relates to the distinction between ‘one-dish’ and ‘two-dish’ teapots

mentioned in documents.^{xxxv} Alternatively it may be a punch pot, these were a mid 18th century development which exactly followed the form of contemporary teapots but were typically larger. The preponderance of ‘one-dish’ sized teapots, suggests that consumption was very much an individual choice at the coffeehouse and that groups drinking together might well be drinking different beverages.

One of the finest vessels within the assemblage is a dry-bodied red stoneware teapot of *c.* 1760–70 with sprig-moulded decoration, a crab-stock handle and a reeded spout (Fig. 12.7). Red-bodied stoneware vessels are generally rare in assemblages of this period and it seems likely that this teapot was either for personal use by the individual(s) running the coffeehouse, reserved for customers of higher status or a display item.^{xxxvi} One notable distinction is between the plain rounded-body Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware teapots and the vertical-sided creamware teapots with moulded decoration, suggesting a major shift in form. As with bowls and saucers there is a discrepancy — again common to other assemblages of the period — between teapots and teapot lids, with teapots around 2.4 times more common (Fig. 13). All the lids are of Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware, with no creamware or red-bodied stoneware lids; suggesting that the majority of the discarded teapots relate to items whose lid had broken; the associated undamaged teapots were then retained for potential future use until ultimately discarded in the cellar. The discarding of still functional Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware teapots and lids may be down to a combination of factors. By the time of discard these were relatively old-fashioned and presumably no longer wanted by the coffeehouse, perhaps because the increase in teapot size rendered them redundant. They also probably possessed a limited resale potential as small ‘one-dish’ teapots are not present in contemporary domestic assemblages from Cambridge, which have exclusively produced ‘two-dish’ sized teapots.

There were 21 coffee cans and two coffee cups, which would have held *c.* 100–120ml (Fig. 19), but no coffee-pots. It seems likely that the coffee-pots used at the coffeehouse were made of metal and not discarded. Four English soft-paste porcelain coffee cups or cans from the Bow factory

in London are much more thickly potted than the rest of the English porcelain (Fig. 19.5–7), like the Chinese porcelain tea bowls mentioned already these would also have had a significantly lower centre of gravity and may be specialised vessels.

The only evidence for chocolate drinking are three Chinese porcelain cups (Fig. 20). As chocolate was served with a frothy, foamy head these cups are markedly taller than vessels for tea and coffee consumption at 70–75 mm tall (Fig. 20).^{xxxvii} Records indicate that Chinese porcelain cups imported into the Dutch Republic came in both handled and handle-less forms; those with handles were slightly more expensive and more common after 1757.^{xxxviii} The chocolate cups probably had associated saucers, but it is impossible to distinguish these from those used with tea bowls. The chocolate cups would have held *c.* 150ml, suggesting that their effective capacity was similar to the tea bowls and coffee cans/cups.

There were a number of slops or sugar bowls (eight) (Fig. 21) and milk/cream jugs (seven, probably five larger examples for milk and two smaller examples for cream), which might be linked to either coffee or tea drinking (Fig. 22). The milk was obtained from dairies located around the town; archaeological investigations at the Grand Arcade site in Cambridge revealed a group of pits of *c.* 1680–1720 containing the bodies of six cows.^{xxxix} These were dairy cattle that appear to have suffered from ‘milk fever’ and probably relate to an urban dairy in the vicinity.

The evidence for the drinking of hot beverages — and this parallels the material linked to alcohol consumption and dining — is for the existence of small sets of three or four near-identical vessels, but no larger groups. In total 94 vessels that held hot beverages were recovered; there is no way to determine what proportion of the coffeehouse stock this would have represented, although there are documentary references to other coffeehouses having ‘enough coffee dishes, mugs and glasses to serve ninety customers’ and ‘350 China Tea & Chocolate Cups’.^{xl} The material involved with tea and coffee drinking was markedly different. This would have rendered the two activities rather different experiences and indeed this may have been done deliberately. Drinking tea involved the use of a handle-less bowl on a saucer, whilst coffee was consumed from a cup or can without a

saucer. Clients would have poured their own tea from a teapot sitting on the table, whereas coffee would have been poured by a member of staff from a large metal coffee-pot. Chocolate drinking would have been more akin to coffee drinking than tea drinking.

ALCOHOL

Many coffeehouses possessed victualing licences and served alcohol,^{xli} whilst at others alcohol could be ordered from other establishments. The quantity of material linked to alcohol consumption (Fig. 23–24), the presence of marked tankards associated with William Clapham and the possession of a victualing license all demonstrate that Clapham's sold alcohol as well as hot beverages. The 44 (MNI) ceramic vessels linked to alcohol drinking come in two principal forms. The most common are tankards or cylindrical mugs (29 MNI; Fig. 23.1–5); these are mainly 120–130mm tall with most holding three-quarters of a pint. There was also one smaller example, which would have held half a pint (Fig. 23.3), but no larger quart-sized examples were present (although these could have been made of pewter). None of the tankards bore ale measure marks, as prescribed by the 1700 Act for ascertaining the Measures for retailing Ale and Beer, covering vessels of up to a quart capacity used in inns and other commercial establishments.^{xlii} Three Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware tankards were marked with the initials WC — denoting William Clapham — in brown glaze on the underside of their bases (Fig. 9.1–3). There is also a similarly marked closed form vessel that may be a large posset cup and several plates (see below). Although the majority of the tankards are relatively standardised there are some more distinctive items; including a Westerwald stoneware tankard bearing a moulded 'GR' (for Georgius Rex) medallion (Fig. 23.11) and a scratch-blue probably 'bell-shaped' tankard (Fig. 23.12). Such a range of distinctive vessels is not paralleled for other functions. Whilst it is possible that such vessels were more common, but not disposed of for some reason, it is more likely that some individual patrons of the coffeehouse had their own favoured tankards reserved for their use. There were also fourteen or fifteen large one or two handled cups (Fig. 23.6–10), the possible example being marked with the initials WC (Fig. 9.4). It

is possible that the tankards were used for the consumption of ale and the large cups for possets, a drink of milk curdled with wine or ale, which was often spiced. There were two manganese-mottled cups (Fig. 23.10); this ware was produced *c.* 1680–1780 or even potentially *c.* 1660–1800, but its main popularity was *c.* 1680–1730 and it was uncommon after *c.* 1750. These cups do not appear to be curated heirlooms, but were instead relatively contemporary pieces that would nonetheless have appeared distinctly old-fashioned. They may have been acquired for older clients with traditional tastes. Also present is a distinctive large tin-glazed earthenware punch bowl with manganese and blue ‘cracked ice’ decoration (Fig. 23.13).^{xliii}

Glass vessels linked to alcohol consumption consisted of utility bottles which may have contained a wide range of liquids but were probably predominantly for wine (28 MNI; Fig. 24.1–3), wine or cordial glasses (two MNI; Fig. 24.4) and some possible liqueur bottles (fifteen MNI). The utility bottles included sixteen of ‘squat cylindrical’ type with two complete examples (*c.* 1750–80), eight of ‘cylindrical’ form (*c.* 1770–1810) and three ‘flat octagonal’ (*c.* 1770–1820).^{xliiv} It is unclear why these bottles were discarded; one possibility is that they were already damaged, as inventories mention the presence of such bottles.^{xliv} There were also some tall, slim, cylindrical bottles of varying sizes with sharply-angled shoulders and long funnel-shaped necks gently widening out towards plain, smoothed off lips (fifteen). Such bottles were a common mid/late 18th–early 19th century form for liquids such as oils, balsams, liqueurs and cologne.^{xlvi} The two most likely contents in a coffeehouse context are either alcoholic liqueurs or sauces linked to dining. The two wine or cordial glasses (*c.* 1740–60) were relatively plain; one had a plain conical bowl, plain stem and domed non-folded foot whilst the other has a possibly faceted ‘ogee’ bowl.

The non-renewal of Clapham’s victualing license in 1775 suggests that alcohol ceased to be served at this time, which would have rendered the material linked to this surplus to requirements. This could have led to alcohol-related material being over-represented in the assemblage in comparison to its actual consumption, due to its cessation.

FOOD STORAGE AND PREPARATION

There is some evidence for ceramic vessels linked to food storage and preparation (27 MNI), principally large bowls for mixing ingredients (eleven MNI) and jars for storage (ten MNI), although it appears that over a third of these vessels probably derive from the midden/garden soil-derived component. Less common vessel types include jugs (two MNI), jugs or jars (two MNI), a drainer/stand, a strainer and a bottle. These vessels were principally locally produced glazed red earthenware, probably all manufactured in Ely, or Nottinghamshire/Derbyshire-type stoneware, plus a single imported Frechen stoneware bottle.

DINING

Documentary sources suggest that in comparison to inns/taverns dining was relatively uncommon at many coffeehouses, although food was served on a limited scale. The archaeological evidence suggests that at Clapham's dining was a major part of the activities and included both main courses and deserts (Figs. 09.5–9, 10, 25–31). Dining-related ceramics were dominated by plates (77 MNI); these were of 6–12in diameter with the most common size 9½in. The next most common forms were bowls (fourteen MNI) and dishes (nine MNI), with smaller numbers of serving/meat dishes (four MNI), sauceboats (three MNI), a meat dish or tureen stand (one MNI) and a dish lid (one MNI). There is also one fine small pickle or sweetmeat dish (Fig. 29.3) of lighter coloured fabric than the rest of the Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware, the fact that only a single condiment dish was present may be because some patty/tart pans were used for this purpose (see below). It is also possible that bottled sauces were common, although this is uncertain (see above). The plates are a highly heterogeneous group, with a wide range of variation (Fig. 25–27). The precise number of patterns represented is debatable, as this depends upon whether minor variations constitute different patterns and whether octagonal and circular plates with the same decorative motif constitute different patterns. The number of patterns represented is *c.* 22; however, ten patterns are only represented by a single vessel and four of these bear the names or initials of

establishments or individuals other than Clapham's (Fig. 27). The most common pattern — creamware with a royal pattern rim — is represented by eleven vessels. The maximum number of plates associated with any other pattern is six and groups of three or four are most common. In contrast to the large number of plates no bone knife or fork handles were present, despite these being relatively common in 18th-century assemblages. This absence is difficult to explain, it might indicate that either all of the coffeehouse cutlery was retained for future use or that patrons at the coffeehouse supplied their own cutlery.

There are a number of vessels that can be linked directly to both William and Jane Clapham (Fig. 9–10). The initials WC — denoting William Clapham — which are also represented on three tankards (see above) and a closed form vessel are present on six Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware dining vessels; four 7inch diameter plates, one 9inch diameter plate and one bowl (Fig. 9.4–9). The five plates — plus one other incomplete example that lacks lettering — are all extremely similar in terms of form and fabric and are of noticeably poor quality, with numerous kiln-furniture marks.^{xlvi} The three tankards are also extremely similar in terms of form and fabric, suggesting that all the vessels marked WC represent a single order from a manufacturer. In all instances, the initials would not have been visible when the vessels were in use. One explanation is that their function was to facilitate the return of vessels when particular items of food or drink were ordered from Clapham's by patrons at other establishments, in effect making these items analogous to the plates from other establishments present in this assemblage (see below). This would explain the relatively low proportion of marked vessels, if their use was restricted to such external orders.

Three tin-glazed earthenware plates bear the name of Jane Clapham; these are so similar that they must also represent a single order (Fig. 10). Tin-glazed earthenware plates are prone to chipping, particularly around the rim, and the glaze wearing through, so it is intriguing that this fabric was chosen in contrast to the more robust Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware. These plates show few signs of damage or use and it is possible that they were intended primarily for display^{xlvi}, or were reserved for particularly favoured customers. Jane Clapham was never the

coffeehouse licensee, but the presence of her name on the plates suggests that she was closely involved in its running. It is unclear if she commissioned these plates after her husband's death, or whether they pertain to distinctions within the establishment during their joint occupation.

There are four other plates with names and initials on them, each represented by a single example. A Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware plate has the incised text *Jacob Brittan / Sun's Coffe Room* (Fig. 27.1). This was an establishment located c. 120m away on Trinity Street. Jacob Brittain became the licensed proprietor of The Sun tavern in 1769, he continued to run it until at least 1783 and he was buried in 1788 at Holy Sepulchre. A Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware plate with a bead and reel rim has the moulded word Rose and a depiction of a rose (Fig. 27.3). Moulded names are much rarer than incised or under-glaze examples, as they required the creation of expensive moulds. Only a single other example is known from Cambridge, this relates to Bartholomew Fuller the cook of Trinity College who died in 1770,^{xlix} and their use suggests a large volume order to justify the creation of the mould. The Rose Tavern — located c. 250m away, on the corner of Market Place and Trinity Street — was one of the largest and most significant 18th-century inns in Cambridge. It had forty-two furnished rooms plus garrets and was regularly frequented by the aldermen and common council men of the town corporation. One or more rooms were set aside for coffee drinking and the establishment is sometimes referred to as the Rose Inn and Coffee Tavern. The presence of plates linked to The Sun's and The Rose probably relates to the practice of patrons 'ordering out' for particular favourite items of food and drink from other establishments. Additionally, a creamware plate with a royal pattern rim has the under-glaze initials IW (Fig. 27.4), whilst a Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware plate has the incised initials SG (Fig. 27.2).¹ There were no vessels from the Dolphin Inn, one of Cambridge's largest establishments located just across All Saints' Passage from Clapham's. This could indicate an antagonistic relationship between neighbouring establishments; alternatively, their proximity may have meant that plates were more conscientiously returned.

There are also nine Staffordshire-type slipware dishes with piecrust rims (Fig. 28). These

largely have combed or feathered decoration although there is one example with more ornate applied trailed decoration (Fig. 28.6). Unlike at other sites, none of these dishes show signs of external soot-blackening, so there is no evidence that they were used for warming or cooking food.^{li} Whilst they may have been used as serving dishes there are no plates deep enough to be soup dishes in the assemblage and it is possible that these slipware dishes were used for soups or stews.

The presence of a small number of sauce boats (Fig. 29.1–2) and a pickle dish (Fig. 29.3) indicates that sauces and accompaniments were an aspect of dining at the coffeehouse, although not necessarily a major one. There are a large number of Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware small shallow bowls, with slightly everted rims 80–120mm in diameter (41; Fig. 30). These appear to be patty or tart pans, vessels in which meat or fish patties or pastries and fruit tarts were baked and served.^{lii} Given the paucity of pickle dishes and similar vessels they may well also have been used to serve side garnishes, condiments or appetizers such as nuts, olives *etc.* Documented and surviving examples in both Chinese porcelain and English soft-paste porcelain are known, although none was present in the assemblage. Although clear parallels for these vessels are lacking in major studies of Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware,^{liii} a number of other examples have been published, although their specific function has not previously been recognised.^{liv}

These patty/tart pans represent the consumption of relatively small snacks or desserts, or a mixture of both. The serving of desserts is also represented in the glassware, with eighteen jelly or small dessert glasses (Fig. 31).^{lv} These glasses would have been used for serving sweet or savoury jellies, syllabub's and other desserts. The jelly glasses include parts of several matching sets; with one group of four and three groups of three. All of the glasses were of a similar overall design, with slight decorative variations, and all have a flat conical foot, a basal knob (with the exception of one glass) and a waisted funnel bowl. Several of the glasses show early decorative features such as a wrythen knob and bowl in two of the sets of three glasses, and a teared knob in one individual example. They all have flat rather than folded feet, suggesting a date of *c.*1740–60.

There is some direct evidence for the consumption of food, and although the quantities

represented would not be exceptional for a domestic household the nature of some of the material suggests that a link to the coffeehouse is probable. Of the 223 animal bone fragments recovered, 76 could be identified and quantities of meat calculated (Table 6).^{lvi} These included feet bones (32 metapodia and five phalanges; Fig. 31) from at least nine immature cattle, probably from the production of calf's foot jelly; a relatively common dish served in jelly glasses. This dish was made by boiling calves' feet to extract gelatine, which was then purified and mixed with flavourings such as fruit juice and sugar. The bone suggests that calf's foot jelly produced on the premises may have been a speciality of Clapham's. The rest of the animal bone relates to sixteen meat joints; shoulders and legs of mutton (*c.* 34.7kg) were popular, followed by beef (*c.* 13.5kg) and pork (*c.* 4.7kg). Hare, rabbit, chicken and goose were also eaten and the fish bone consisted of eel, Atlantic herring, European anchovy, carp family, ray family and flatfish.^{lvii} Around a dozen oyster shells were present, whilst charred and mineralised seeds included raspberries (>100), strawberries (>100), figs (50–100), grapes (26), roses (eleven) and elder (nine). These are all common plant remains for the period and could represent a wide range of possible foods and drinks.^{lviii}

HYGIENE

Hygiene is a rather eclectic group which includes chamber pots (six), wash basins (four), water jugs (three) and phials (three). The chamber pots are predominantly plain Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware (see Fig. 8 rear centre) and creamware vessels, but include two distinctive Agate ware vessels (Fig. 32.1). Four plain white tin-glazed earthenware vessels with down-turned rims are probably wash basins, as they do not show the signs of wear that would probably be present if they had been used for other purposes such as food preparation (Fig. 32.2). Additionally at least three and possibly six large Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware and creamware vessels are probably water jugs. There were also three glass pharmaceutical phials (see Fig. 8 rear left); although it is notable that none of the common and distinctive tin glazed earthenware drug jars which are common in assemblages of the period were recovered. The numbers of hygiene related

vessels are relatively low; although slightly higher than the quantities found in contemporary domestic assemblages from Cambridge, they are lower than those where the provision of items such as chamber pots appears to be business-related.^{lix} One explanation is that as the hygiene related vessels are predominantly plain they were less subject to the vagaries of fashion, with only slightly damaged items being discarded and similar undamaged vessels continuing in use.

SMOKING

Excluding one residual example dated to *c.* 1680–1710, there were only five clay tobacco pipes of a *c.* 1730–80 (see Fig. 8 front).^{lx} At least four were manufactured by Samuel Wilkinson (*c.* 1762–87; Fig. 33.2).^{lxi} These pipes are of a relatively high standard, in terms of finish and other factors, and represent the best-quality pipes being produced in Cambridge at this time. One of the pipes bears the text PARKER / for ever, / Huzzah (Fig. 33.1). This is likely to be a commemorative or political slogan; one possibility is that it relates to Captain Peter Parker (1721–1811), who led a naval attack against the fortifications protecting Charleston, South Carolina and aided the capture of New York City, in 1776.^{lxii} In addition there were three plain sleeve-shaped vases (Fig. 33.3), although these could have served a range of functions they are probably spills vases for holding thin wooden sticks or rolled paper so that a flame could be transferred from a fireplace or candle to a pipe. The number of pipes is unexceptional, and would comfortably fit within the range associated with domestic households in Cambridge at this date. The quality of the pipes and the example bearing a slogan would, however, potentially support the idea of a direct link to the coffeehouse.

One explanation for the low number of pipes is that smoking was relatively unfashionable amongst members of the University. It is described as being in decline during the late 18th century; in 1786 it was ‘going out of fashion except for short pipes on the river of the evening’, whilst *c.* 1800 smoking ‘had no favour’ amongst undergraduates.^{lxiii} This may have been part of a wider phenomenon as in 1773 Samuel Johnson stated that ‘smoking has gone out’ and it appears that snuff

may have been favoured amongst the elite.^{lxiv} This goes against the accepted narrative as contemporary pictorial representations and descriptions suggest that smoking was a ubiquitous ‘natural complement’ to hot beverages in coffeehouses.^{lxv} The reasons for this association are complex and relate partially to contemporary conceptions of masculinity and vice, however at the heart of the relationship is the fact that both tobacco and coffee were commodities whose consumption were generally increasing significantly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Britain.

MISCELLANEOUS AND MINOR ACTIVITIES

As materials linked to other activities were found in low quantities it is difficult to determine if they relate directly to the coffeehouse or not, as the number of items represented falls within the range recovered from contemporary domestic assemblages in Cambridge. There were six flower pots, as the property had yards and gardens attached in 1782 these presumably represent horticultural pursuits broadly associated with the coffeehouse. This number of flower pots is typical of domestic assemblages from Cambridge,^{lxvi} and as each vessel is represented by less than 5% of the original item they probably derive from the midden/garden soil component. The flower pots are all in a fine yellow fabric that scientific analysis has confirmed was produced in Cambridge; these dominate assemblage in the town *c.* 1760–1820.^{lxvii}

Individual items include a copper-alloy vessel fragment, an iron blade, a whetstone, a bone button or gaming counter and a fragment of a mid 18th-century glass candlestick with a Silesian stem — three knops with teared decoration, along with a wrythen bowl — that is a relatively unusual find (Fig. 34.1). It would be tempting to link the glass candlestick to the lighting of the coffeehouse, as candles were ‘always on hand’,^{lxviii} but it might be a domestic item.

The sieved sample included five copper-alloy pins, ten glass beads and small fragments of finely woven undyed cotton and mineralised paper <2mm in size with text ‘m(c/o)...’ on it, probably from a newspaper. Two distinct glass bead types are present; there are six heavily oxidised

thin-walled ‘hollow’ beads *c.* 5mm in diameter and four solid examples *c.* 2.5–3mm in diameter (Fig. 34.2). The latter are a pinkish red (three) or blue (one) colour. These beads could represent either two items of jewellery, or a single piece with two bead types. It is probable that many more glass beads and copper-alloy pins were originally present in the assemblage. Whilst it would be tempting to suggest that the pins and beads might be directly related to the coffeehouse there is no inherent reason that they should be. The fragments of newspaper are particularly interesting as coffeehouses frequently provided newspapers and pamphlets and the 1788 description of the Union Coffee house mentions them.

OTHER COFFEEHOUSE ASSEMBLAGES

Relatively few 17th and 18th-century coffeehouse assemblages have been recovered archaeologically, none have been published from Britain and their under-representation in London, where they are ‘strangely elusive’, has been noted with only a few ‘questionable’ examples.^{lxi}

TOM’S COFFEEHOUSE, LONDON

The strongest candidate from London for a coffeehouse assemblage is from a *c.* 1.5m by 1.7m cesspit revealed in 1953 at 4–9 Wood Street,^{lxx} whose contents have been linked to Tom’s Coffee House of *c.* 1714–41 and its possible predecessor Ripley’s Coffee-house *c.* 1705–18.^{lxxi} The assemblage was recovered by Ivor Noël Hume of the Guildhall Museum (1949–57), who subsequently had a distinguished career in North America where he is recognised by some as the ‘father of historical archaeology’, but has never been published in detail although a summary was included in a survey of London coffeehouses.^{lxxii} Noël Hume first visited the site on 2 July 1953, when a new building was ‘in the first stage of construction and trial holes have been examined’. The site notebooks record that the cesspit was identified on a later undated visit, when ‘Directly beneath the basement floor of the blitzed (i.e. destroyed by bomb damage in the Second World War) building was found the top of an 18th-century cesspit measuring 5ft (*c.* 1.5m) by 5ft 6in (*c.* 1.65m)

and as it proved 5ft 6in (1.65m) depth. The deposit contained large quantities of porcelain, Delft, and salt-glazed wares along with coarse cooking pots, chamber pots etc.’ It was noted that there were a few residual 17th century items and that ‘A small number of objects are of a slightly later date, but these were recovered from a thick layer of brick and building rubble that partially filled the pit at the north end. This was clearly a later intrusion ... Based on the evidence of clay pipes, a wine bottle and glass seals it would be suggested that the group covers a period from about 1720–45 ... The presence of so large a quantity of broken cups and saucers, teapots etc. mixed with no less than 54 clay pipe bowls might suggest the presence of a coffee house or some similar meeting place. The absence of wine bottle fragments may be taken to rule out the possibility of there having been a tavern on the site’.

There are *c.* 130 items: ceramics (*c.* 66), clay pipes (54), glass (3) and others (7) and there appears to be have been a relatively good level of recovery with some quite small fragments present.^{lxxiii} This is not a particularly large group, apart from the number of clay pipes, the quantities of other materials suggest that not major clearance episode but instead some form of small-scale level of discard with most of the material associated with the putative coffeehouse continuing in use. The artefactual evidence appears to support a depositional date of *c.* 1740, the coffeehouse proprietor died in 1741 and the cesspit appears to have been backfilled prior to the construction of some mid 18th-century wine cellars,^{lxxiv} all supporting an association between the cesspit assemblage and Tom’s Coffee House. The ceramics include two near complete teapots, three tea bowls, fifteen saucers, one coffee cup, one coffee can, two near complete milk jugs and a near complete patty/tart pan.^{lxxv} Noël Hume recognised the importance of such a large group of clay tobacco pipes and brought them to the attention of Adrian Oswald, the leading scholar of these items in Britain at the time and Noël Hume’s predecessor and mentor at the Guildhall Museum.^{lxxvi} Noel Hume noted that one pipe was residual (Atkinson & Oswald type 15, *c.* 1660–80), 49 were of ‘much the same shape’ (Atkinson & Oswald type 25, *c.* 1700–70) and four ‘might have been thought to be somewhat later’ (Atkinson & Oswald type 26, *c.* 1740–70).^{lxxvii} The glass consisted of

two Piermont mineral water bottle seals and a phial, with a notable absence of any utility bottles which usually dominate assemblages of this period.^{lxxviii} There were also two bone cutlery handles, a bone comb, three wig curlers, and a lead artists' colour container. Animal bone was apparently not kept, apart from three cat skulls. A tile decorated with an Oriental scene may have originally been part of a decorative scheme for the premises, it has 'Oxhead'/foliate corner design type of 15 dating to the late 17th to mid 18th century.^{lxxix} Dated to *c.* 1740 on the basis of the clay pipes and therefore possibly linked to the end of Tom's Coffee House, many elements of the assemblage parallel those at Clapham's. The most significant difference are the absence of utility bottles, which probably predominantly contained wine, and presence of mineral water bottles, the large number of clay tobacco pipes and the presence of bone cutlery handles in the Tom's Coffee House assemblage.

VAN SWERINGEN'S COFFEEHOUSE, S^T MARY'S CITY

From North America there is material associated with a late 17th-century coffeehouse located at an outbuilding on the property of Garrett Van Sweringen in St Mary's City, Maryland.^{lxxx} By comparing middens associated with the Van Sweringen household and the coffeehouse it appears that the most distinctive coffee and tea drinking material, such as Chinese porcelain and two elaborately decorated Turkish tin-glazed coffee or tea cups, relates to the Van Sweringen household rather than the coffeehouse itself. The coffeehouse midden contained higher proportions of drinking-related vessels and clay tobacco pipes than the Van Sweringen household, and lower proportions of dining-related material and animal bone.

CHARLTON'S COFFEEHOUSE, WILLIAMSBURG

Significant quantities of material associated with a coffeehouse operated by Richard Charlton in Williamsburg, Virginia, *c.* 1765–71 have been recovered in several phases of investigation between 1996 and 2009, although these have not yet been fully analysed.^{lxxxi} The assemblage indicates that this coffeehouse material was in many respects similar to that used in contemporary inns. Although

there were a few coffee-related items — including a stoneware coffeepot, a cup, and a copper kettle spout — tea was apparently the favoured hot beverage, with much more material present. The dining-related ceramics comprised both the ‘latest table fashions’ and ‘less fashionable and less expensive vessels’ and included a number of patty/tart similar to those from Clapham’s.^{lxxxii} The jelly and syllabub glasses were quite elaborate and there was a glass pyramid for fancy deserts. There were substantial numbers of utility/wine bottles and the animal bone indicates high-status dining with evidence for animals being roasted whole and prized wild animals. Roasted lamb and mutton was common, calf’s head was apparently a house favourite and peacock was eaten. Overall, there appear to be numerous similarities between this broadly contemporary material and that from Clapham’s coffeehouse. One unusual discovery was of some human vertebrae with cut marks, these probably dissection rather than autopsy and indicate one of the unusual semi-private elite events that might take place as a coffeehouse.^{lxxxiii}

NEARBY EARLIER INN GROUPS

There were two inns in the same street block as the coffeehouse between the early 17th and 19th centuries. From at least 1629, and probably earlier, until the 1840s No. 70 Bridge Street, also known as the Flying Stag, was the site of an inn called the Wildman and later the Royal Oak. A small portion of the yard associated with this inn was investigated archaeologically and two main groups of material were recovered (Table 7). Neither assemblage was recovered in its entirety, with perhaps *c.* 50% of the material excavated. These groups are of interest principally due to their spatial proximity and the documentary evidence that both the inns and the coffeehouse catered to a mixture of members of St John’s College and local residents. The feature containing the earlier assemblage appears to be a refuse/cess pit, which contained material dumped *c.* 1600–10 (Fig. 35). Additional test-pits in the yard area identified further inn-related deposits of *c.* 1600–30. The later assemblage came from a series of at least six inter-cutting pits dug in the yard area over a relatively brief period

c. 1720–40; as material from earlier pits was re-deposited in the later pits they are treated as a single group (Fig. 35–39).

There is no evidence in the earlier inn group for the drinking of hot beverages; in contrast, tea and coffee wares are quite common in the later inn group (thirteen) (Fig. 37). The Chinese porcelain included a tea bowl and saucer decorated in over-glaze *famille verte* enamels (Fig. 37.1–2) and a fine *rouge de fer* saucer, which would have been expensive vessels. Another rare item is a single sherd from a Japanese tea bowl, made at Arita c. 1710–20. This falls towards the end of the notable Japanese export period of c. 1650–1730; the importation of Japanese porcelain was at its height c. 1700–20, early–mid 18th-century inventories mention ‘old Japan’ and although rare archaeologically in Britain Japanese porcelain is occasionally found.^{lxxxiv} The tin-glazed earthenware is probably largely from London and includes a sugar bowl (Fig. 37.3) that closely parallels London products from Vauxhall of c. 1720–30^{lxxxv} and a tea bowl (Fig. 37.4). There was also a small quantity of Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware including two coffee cups (Fig. 37.5), which at this time represented a relatively novel innovation rather than the well-established fabric that it was by the time of the Clapham’s assemblage.

The earlier inn group includes four Babylon ware tygs, two heavily worn English glass pedestal beakers and a possibly imported fluted beaker of clear soda glass, all probably linked to beer drinking. In addition a nearby feature contained at least six Frechen stoneware jugs, five of which were bellarmines. Parts of three seals were present; including one marked with the initials NR and the date 1616 (Fig. 35.2) and a second bearing the coat of arms of the City of Amsterdam. The distribution of such seals indicates that their usage was much more widespread than just Amsterdam itself and that they were long-lived, being in use c. 1583–1666.^{lxxxvi} Many of the ceramic vessels in the later inn group relate to alcohol consumption and English stoneware tankards and mugs of both pint and half-pint sizes are well represented (fifteen), although as with the Clapham’s assemblage no ale measure marks were present (Fig. 38.1–2). One Staffordshire-type slipware two-handled cup bears the text ‘...MILE...:171...’ (Fig. 38.3). The vessel glass in the later

inn group was dominated by utility/wine bottles (eleven), all of late 17th–early 18th-century onion/mallet form. Two bottles were almost complete (see Fig. 38 rera left and centre) and one was only missing a *c.* 35 mm diameter hole in the centre of its body, one side of which was smooth and displayed file marks (Fig. 38.6). The location and size of the hole suggests that a seal was deliberately removed from the bottle, although the reason for this is unclear. It may represent an attempt to conceal the provenance of an illegally obtained bottle, although since the bottle would have been rendered useless by this action, it is perhaps more likely that the seal was ‘collected’ after the bottle’s active use had ended. Alternatively, the process of applying the hot glass globule with the seal impression may have caused stresses in the glass which eventually led to the detaching of the glass and seal,^{lxxxvii} although this does not explain the subsequent filing of one side of the hole. The bottle from which the seal was removed is dated *c.* 1680–1710, there is no evidence that the Wildman/Royal Oak used sealed bottles and the only known Cambridge bottle seals of this date are marked RICHARD:CHURCH 1678 with a dolphin and EC CAMBRIDG 1684 with a dolphin.^{lxxxviii} The Dolphin Inn was the largest Cambridge inn at this time and was located on the other side of All Saints’ Passage. Five possible liqueur bottles and a single drinking glass are also present.

The earlier inn group contained a substantial assemblage of animal bone, with beef the most common meat followed by mutton and then pork (Fig. 41). Plant remains included numerous fig and raspberry seeds, plus a little elder. The most notable element in the pit were several thousand fish bones, largely from articulated cod skeletons with their heads removed and divided into sides (Fig. 35.1; Tables 8–9). Cut-marks indicate that the main body of the cod may have been split into left and right sides, but this was not done at the tail region: instead, at this point the chop angled to one side, stopping the division into sides, thus leaving the tail in one piece. This division was probably done during the preservation process, with the fish being separated into two halves to aid drying. Almost all of the bones were derived from large fish, at least 0.8m long, and the elements present consist almost exclusively of posterior vertebrae and appendicular elements. This pattern is found at sites where preserved cod processed elsewhere was consumed. The emphasis within this

group upon prepared, imported cod is almost without parallel in Britain except for the Mary Rose and other shipwrecks.^{lxxxix} The most plausible scenario is that a cask of cod had gone bad and its contents were dumped into the pit, although it is worth noting that a nearby property is recorded as possessing a 'fishehouse' in 1604–05

There were two bone implement handles, probably from cutlery; one was of plain 'pistol grip' form while the other is more ornate with decoration (Fig. 35.5). A Staffordshire-type slipware dish/charger from the later inn group had press-moulded decoration and is of an early 18th century style known as a 'gloves dish', with two central gloves and flour lions and fleur-de-lys around the edge (Fig. 39.1).^{xc} This is a highly decorative vessel of good quality; it originally bore a set of initials, but only the first of these, a W, survives. This could relate to several makers, with William Bird perhaps the strongest candidate.^{xcⁱ} Plates are entirely absent from the earlier inn assemblage, in the latter group there are some tin-glazed earthenware plates of *c.* 1715–25 that may be Lambeth products (Fig. 39.2–3). There was also a single sherd with a cherub's head, this is from a set of six 'Merryman plates', dated examples with this style of decoration span the period 1682–1704 whilst later simpler examples date to 1716–52 suggesting that this single small sherd may be residual (Fig. 39.4).^{xcⁱⁱ} Although well-known from surviving examples Merryman plates are rare archaeologically.^{xcⁱⁱⁱ} The animal bone in the later inn group relates principally to mutton, followed by beef and pork in roughly equal quantities, whilst plant remains included figs, raspberries, strawberries, elder and grape.

Clay tobacco pipe production did not begin in Cambridgeshire until the 1640s and all sixteen pipes from the earlier inn group were probably produced in London (Fig. 35.3–4). Pipes are generally rare in deposits of this date from Cambridge. It is unusual for a single feature to produce more than five and this group is exceptional. The 25 clay tobacco pipes from the later inn group are predominantly cruder and of poorer quality than is the norm in Cambridge during this period (see Fig. 36 front). Two bowls of *c.* 1730–80 have an incuse letter 'C' on the base of the heel (Fig. 38.4), whilst three other bowls of *c.* 1730–80 were marked TD on the sides of the heel (Fig. 38.5).^{xc^{iv}}

There is no known Cambridge maker of the appropriate date with these initials and for some poorly understood reason these particular initials were adopted by a significant number of makers from *c.* 1755 onwards.

In numerous respects the earlier inn groups are broadly similar to the Clapham's assemblage, with many aspects of dining and alcohol consumption apparently changing little. The rise of tea and coffee consumption that is demonstrated is indicative of much broader national trends, whilst the high level of smoking in both inn assemblages compared to the coffeehouse reflects changing local fashions. Evidence for reading is a consistent pattern throughout: the earlier inn group included a copper-alloy book clasp, whilst the later inn group contained an ivory book pointer and the Clapham's assemblage environmental sample produced fragments of newspaper. Whilst most of the material culture in all three groups is relatively standardised they do all possess a few more exclusive items, indicating that all catered to a mixture of clients with some of higher status. The meat consumed was broadly similar, although there is no evidence for calf's foot jelly at the inns, but the amounts represented in the inn groups are much higher, both in absolute terms (especially given that these assemblages were not fully recovered) and relative to the quantities of ceramic *etc.* that were recovered (Table 10).

From at least 1629 and probably earlier until *c.* 1811 No. 11 St John's Street was the site of an inn known as the Sign of the Swan (1629), The Tyger (1757) and The Merry Boys (1790). Only one group of material associated with this inn was recovered; it is broadly contemporary with the Clapham's assemblage as it was deposited *c.* 1760–80, but had unfortunately been heavily-disturbed and dispersed by later activity.^{xcv} This makes it of limited value, however, the ceramic fabrics and forms present were extremely similar to those from the coffeehouse and included creamware (30 sherds/ 8 MNI/ 537g), Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware (35 sherds/ 7 MNI/ 308g), Chinese porcelain (13 sherds/ 4 MNI/ 71g), tin-glazed earthenware (15 sherds/ 4 MNI/ 220g) and Westerwald stoneware (5 sherds/ 3 MNI/ 107g), but no pearlware. There were also four wine bottle bases and one clay tobacco pipe bowl.

ENGLISH INN GROUPS *c.* 1750–1800

As inns served tea and coffee and coffeehouses served alcoholic drinks it is useful to compare the two types of commercial establishment. Several English inn/tavern assemblages of *c.* 1750–1800 have been published; the best comparators are groups associated with the Saracen's Head and Abingdon Arms in Oxford and the King's Arms in Uxbridge, although the two Oxford groups cannot be quantified with complete accuracy and the Uxbridge assemblage is slightly later in date (Tables 11–13).^{x cvi} In general terms the inn assemblages are broadly comparable to the Clapham's assemblage, although the proportion of ceramics from the coffeehouse is at the upper end of the inn spectrum and clay pipes are at the lower end. The ceramic and glass vessel forms and fabrics are closely comparable between the inn assemblages and that from Clapham's, although the proportions are markedly different in certain respects indicating that smoking and alcohol consumption were both typically more common at inns. Whilst some inn assemblages have produced significant numbers of teapots others have produced relatively few. Seventeen teapots were present in the Saracen's Head assemblage, but only a single teapot lid, suggesting a similar practice of retention to that at Clapham's, whilst there were nine teapots associated with the Bowling Green public house, Leicester.^{x cvii} The inn related assemblages highlight absences from Clapham's assemblage, as there are several items that appear to be relatively common in most inn assemblages that are relatively rare in the Clapham's group. These include chamber pots which represent only 1.4% of the ceramics in the Clapham's assemblage but 2.4–5.3% in inn assemblages, with 28 in the Saracen's Head assemblage and 14 from the Abingdon Arms assemblage. Glass phials are also rare in the Clapham's assemblage and there are no pharmaceutical ceramics, whereas there were 31 in the Saracen's Head assemblage and 14 from the Abingdon Arms assemblage although there was only one from the King's Arms. There are also vessels associated with other inns from some of the assemblages, such as a tankard from The Red Lion and a bottle of The King's Head Tavern in the Saracen's Head assemblage, suggesting that 'ordering out' also applied here. There appears to be a

relative lack of emphasis upon desserts and snacks compared to main meals in most inn assemblages compared to Clapham's. Whilst the patty/tart pans that are such a notable element of the Clapham's assemblage are present in many groups associated with inns (see above), they are much less common. As coffee and tea act as temporary appetite suppressants, whereas alcohol generally stimulates the appetite, this may have led to coffeehouses having a greater focus on snacks and desserts than inns. The dining at some inns appears to show a greater emphasis on services; at The King's Arms the 30 creamware plates belong to only five services with 15 almost complete plates and two dessert plates 'all probably from the same factory'.^{xcviii} Beer may have been rather more common than wine at inns compared to the coffeehouse, although this is not particularly pronounced. Pipes were relatively uncommon at Clapham's compared to most inn assemblages, although this was not universal as it appears that no clay pipes were recovered from The Bowling Green public house assemblage.^{xcix} The overall impression is that the Clapham's assemblage whilst displaying certain differences from contemporary inn assemblages is best viewed not as distinct from them but as occupying a particular location within a broad continuum.

DOMESTIC CAMBRIDGE GROUPS *c.* 1760–1810

In terms of broadly contemporary local comparators from Cambridge, there are nine assemblages from the Grand Arcade and Eastern Gate Hotel sites of *c.* 1750–1800 (Table 7; Fig. 40).^c All apparently derive from domestic households, which can broadly be characterised as middle class. The Clapham's assemblage clearly differs from the domestic Cambridge groups in certain respects; the main distinction is the large number of ceramic and glass vessels associated with the coffeehouse, whereas the numbers of clay pipes and animal bones are not exceptional (Fig. 41). All of the vessel forms and ceramic fabrics represented in the coffeehouse material are known from other assemblages; the main distinction is in the numbers present. Domestic assemblages contain only one or two teapots 'one-dish' teapots and compared to the coffeehouse tea-related vessels are proportionally commoner than coffee-related vessels (63:4), with a ratio of 1:0.1 as opposed to

1:0.4 at the coffeehouse. There appear to be some differences in ceramic fabrics, although some of these may relate to the other assemblages potentially being generally slightly later in date. The liqueur or sauce bottles are more common at the coffeehouse than in domestic groups, as are the jelly or small dessert glasses and domestic groups have not produced evidence for calf's foot jelly. This suggests that some particular items were less likely to be consumed in a domestic setting; however, at a broad level the main types of meat consumed fall within the range represented in other groups. There is faunal evidence that a significant proportion of domestic households kept chickens, primarily adult female birds linked to egg production, whilst neonatal bones indicate that some also raised pigs. There is no evidence for such raising of birds or animals for the coffeehouse, presumably because its restricted yard space precluded this. A wide range of bird species is common in the domestic assemblages of the period, in comparison the range from the coffeehouse is relatively restricted and pigeon squabs which appear to have been frequently eaten are absent. There is no evidence for pets in the coffeehouse assemblage, whereas domestic groups of the period frequently include complete or semi-complete cat skeletons, in some instances up to four animals, and less commonly dogs. These domestic groups demonstrate clear evidence for the creation and maintenance of identical or near-identical ceramic services associated with the adoption of the ideas of domesticity and gentility.^{ci} In contrast, at the coffeehouse there is no suggestion of overall services, but the existence of smaller groups of a few vessels that would be enough for the needs of a particular group of patrons.

DISCUSSION

The patrons of Clapham's Coffeehouse appear to have sat in small groups of three or four individuals, drinking tea and to a lesser extent coffee with chocolate much less common. Alcoholic drinks such as beer, wine, punch and possibly liqueurs were also consumed on a considerable scale. The types of material culture used may have varied according to the status of the drinkers of both hot beverages (Fig. 12.7) and alcoholic drinks, and may have in some instances expressed their

individuality (Fig. 23.10–12). The customers frequently ate meals — with favourite dishes sometimes ordered in from other establishments, such as The Sun and The Rose (Fig. 27.1 and 27.3) — and desserts, including calf’s foot jelly which may have been a speciality of the house (Fig. 31). Smoking was relatively uncommon (Fig. 33). In many respects the activities that took place and the material culture employed barely differed from those at contemporary inns and it has been recognised that ‘coffeehouses did not look much different from taverns or alehouses on the outside, or even on the inside’.^{cii} Although the relative proportions of material were markedly different, it is in some respects perhaps better — especially given the current relative paucity of archaeological evidence for coffeehouses — to conceptualise coffeehouses not as a separate form of establishment but as the genteel end of a spectrum that ran from alehouse to tavern to inn to coffeehouse.

It is tempting to view such assemblages as snapshots of the material culture associated with a business, household or institution at a particular point in time. Yet this is in some respects misleading, as they are groups that built up over time (Fig. 42).^{ciii} Apart from material that apparently derives from a midden there are relatively few items that appear to pre-date the arrival of William and Jane Clapham in Cambridge c. 1746–48, the main exception being a few Chinese porcelain vessels. The items in the assemblage were acquired over time, the clearest example of this being that whilst some of the vessels relate to the period when William Clapham ran the coffeehouse others must be later. It is probable that during the years when the coffeehouse was in operation, and the material represented in the assemblage was being acquired, significant numbers of vessels were broken or otherwise discarded and are therefore archaeologically absent. As the coffeehouse continued in use after the assemblage was deposited it is also probable that a significant quantity of material was retained. Licensing documents suggest that in mid 18th-century Cambridge the licensees of coffeehouses changed proprietor relatively frequently, but that the same premises continued to be used and in some cases the existing name of the establishment was retained. The composition of the assemblage suggests that the material culture associated with the coffeehouse displayed similar continuity,

Any attempt to define the material culture pattern of a coffeehouse-related assemblage must take into account the fact that there is likely to be a great deal of temporal, spatial and social variability — just as there is for inns — and that the concept of a material culture pattern is inherently problematic.^{civ} Clapham's may well have been atypical of coffeehouses in some respects, such as the relatively low number of clay pipes. The Clapham's assemblage must therefore be viewed as representing only a tentative first stage in pattern recognition, although there are some possibilities that are suggested. The most fundamental is that, in common with other commercial establishments such as inns/taverns, coffeehouse assemblages should be significantly larger than domestic groups, probably with a combined total of over a hundred ceramic and glass vessels plus clay tobacco pipes. Additionally, there should be a significant number of tea/coffee drinking-related items, in excess of reasonable domestic requirements. This should be most easily recognisable by the numbers of teapots and teapot lids. Some factors that appear to distinguish coffeehouses from inns are:

- 1) There should be a predominance of tea/coffee drinking wares over those related to alcohol consumption. In some instances evidence for alcohol consumption may be entirely absent.
- 2) Coffee-related material should be relatively common in comparison to tea-related vessels (Fig. 11), although the relative proportion of coffee-related material probably declines over time.
- 3) There may be some specialised forms such as 'one-dish' teapots (Fig. 12.1–3) and tea bowls and coffee cans or cups with lower centres of gravity (Fig. 14.4 and 19.5–7).
- 4) Potentially a greater emphasis upon desserts and/or small snacks plus associated items such as patty/tart pans (Fig. 30) and jelly glasses (Fig. 31), relative to the plates *etc.* (Fig. 25) linked to the consumption of more substantial meat dishes.

Why was the assemblage deposited in the cellar? The material was effectively treated as hard-core during building works and this may well relate to the transition between Clapham's Coffeehouse

and its successor the Union Coffeehouse. The dating of this is uncertain; it may have occurred in the aftermath of Jane Clapham's death in 1779, but may well pre-date this as she had already moved to London. The question of who was responsible for the clearance is unclear. William and Jane Clapham are the most archaeologically prominent individuals in terms of marked ceramics in the assemblage, but William was long dead and Jane was either also dead or elderly and living in London. Their under-tenant and licensee Mary Sproson may still have been involved with the coffeehouse and it is also probable that the property owner was involved in some capacity. The most likely candidate is, however, Frank/Francis Smith, the proprietor of the Union Coffeehouse, who unfortunately remains a relatively shadowy figure. The reasons why particular items were discarded probably vary; some represent material from a midden that was inadvertently incorporated, whilst the animal bone and oyster shell are unwanted food leftovers. The lack of a victualling license meant that some items were no longer required due to a change in function and other items were presumably slightly damaged, such as teapots that lacked lids. Other items may simply have been old-fashioned. It is also possible that the new proprietor wanted to have uniform services of vessels for drinking hot beverages and eating food from, rather than the heterogeneous vessels that characterised Clapham's. These reasons do not explain why complete items were not re-sold on the second hand market, however, for whilst some items may have had limited value — because, for example, they were old-fashioned or in the case of small-sized teapots there was little domestic demand — overall the discarded material must represent a reasonable embedded monetary value.^{cv}

Historians have typically characterised coffeehouses as social places for conversation and commerce, whose relaxed atmosphere and relative cheapness led to them having a wide demographic and acting as democratic and inclusive institutions with at least a façade of equality.^{cvi} In contrast to inns and taverns, coffeehouse were viewed as places of civility and polite conversation where reasoned and sober debate could take place on a range of important topics and were closely linked to the dissemination of newspapers and pamphlets. Although there are exceptions, coffeehouses were predominantly masculine environments with women largely

excluded. The Clapham's assemblage can be interpreted as challenging certain aspects of this view. The material evidence suggests that coffeehouses were not particularly distinct from inns/taverns and there is considerable evidence for the consumption of alcohol. The reputation for civility may also not have been true, as a fellow of St John's was assaulted at its successor the Union Coffee House in 1788 (Table 2). The idea that coffeehouses were distinctive institutions is also challenged somewhat by the dominance of tea rather than coffee as a beverage. Although coffee was still apparently relatively more significant than in other contexts (Fig. 11), it raises the issue of how different coffeehouses were to tearooms. This dominance of tea means that Clapham's was in some senses one aspect of an archaeology of the Honourable East India Company, as this institution held a monopoly on tea imports.^{cvii} Although the Chinese porcelain is a tangible representation of international connections the vast majority of the ceramics and glass are in some sense archaeological proxies for the organic commodities — notably tea, coffee, chocolate, sugar and tobacco — that rarely survive but were the driving force behind coffeehouses and many other 18th-century institutions.

The range of vessel fabrics and types employed suggests at least the potential for some level of status differentiation that would challenge the idea of coffeehouse equality. This seems to have been common in coffeehouses. For example, the late 17th-century Short's coffeehouse in Oxford had four separate rooms. These comprised the Master's room, the Long room, the Bachelor's room and 'the shop', and were organized on a sliding social scale; the Master's Room contained fine Chippendale furniture and pewter serving ware, whilst 'the shop' provided only simple wooden benches and presumably utilitarian ceramic vessels.^{cviii}

It seems probable that the clientele of Clapham's was exclusively masculine, but Jane Clapham and the Sproson sisters were female. Indeed, of the twelve named Cambridge coffeehouse licensees in the period 1755–84, seven were female (58.3%). This contrasts markedly with the contemporary male to female ratio of inn licensees, where women appear infrequently and only became licensees as widows following their husband's death. If crude gender stereotypes are

rejected there is little of the material culture that is unambiguously male or female, although the glass beads almost certainly relate to female item(s) of jewellery. Newspapers and pamphlets are by their nature rarely preserved in the archaeological record, although a small fragment of newsprint was recovered. Indeed, the copper-alloy book clasp and ivory book pointer from the earlier inn groups mean that these assemblages contain more archaeologically tangible evidence for literacy and reading than the coffeehouse does. The Clapham's assemblage provides considerable insight into the materiality of one coffeehouse in mid-late 18th-century Cambridge and challenges a number of current ideas concerning such institutions. Hopefully, future study of other coffeehouse assemblages will build upon this beginning and improve our understanding of these establishments.

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FIGURES

Fig. 1: Location map; upper - sites mentioned in the text and sources of ceramics present in the assemblage, lower - location of Clapham's within Cambridge, other establishments represented in the assemblage and approximate locations of other coffeehouses in Cambridge in 1760.

Fig. 2: Street block with location of cellar that contained the assemblage, plus other features relevant to the coffeehouse and inn related material.

Fig. 3: Part of a map of Cambridge published by David Loggan in 1688, depicting the street block where Clapham's coffeehouse was located.

Fig. 4: Number of coffeehouses in Cambridge with victualling licenses 1755–84, with the period when the Clapham's assemblage was deposited highlighted, plus number of coffeehouses in Oxford (Oxford data from Aubertin-Potter & Bennett 1987, 43).

Fig. 5: Oblong slate tablet on the south wall of the chancel — a relatively prestigious location — of the parish church of St Andrew, Chesterton, bearing the inscription: WILLIAM CLAPHAM Gent, died / the 12th of Novr 1766, Aged 61 years. / Interr'd close to this wall. / Also Mrs JANE CLAPHAM / his Wife who died 21st Janry / 1779, Aged 68. This appears to give the wrong date of death for William, as the parish registers record his burial on 10 November 1765. This indicates that the tablet was erected after the death of Jane. It gives Jane the correct name, whereas the parish registers apparently wrongly give her name as Anne Clapham.

Fig. 6: Section of cellar that contained the Clapham's assemblage.

Fig. 7: Staffordshire-type slipware posset cup, with a rich brown slip and white trailed decoration.

Fig. 8: Selection of ceramics, glassware and clay tobacco pipes from the Clapham's assemblage; this image shows twenty-four items out of 502 ceramics, glassware and clay tobacco pipes or less than 5%.

Fig. 9: Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware vessels marked in brown glaze with the initials WC and linked to William Clapham, manufactured *c.* 1746–65.

1–3) Tankards.

4) Closed form, possibly a large cup for possets.

5–9) Plates, with details of kiln furniture marks.

Fig. 10: Tin-glazed earthenware plate, decorated in dark blue on light blue and linked to Jane Clapham, manufactured *c.* 1746–79. The name on the underside has been reconstructed from fragments of three plates.

Fig. 11: Relative proportions of tea, coffee and chocolate vessels compared to other assemblages from Cambridge, estimated levels of tea and coffee consumption in 1780s Britain and Chinese porcelain on the *Geldermalsen* which sank in 1752.

Fig. 12: Teapots and teapot lids.

1–3) Globular Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware teapots and lids.

4) Larger globular Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware teapot and lid.

5–6) Creamware straight sided teapots, no lids in this fabric were recovered.

7) Dry-bodied red stoneware teapot with sprig-moulded decoration, crab-stock handle and reeded spout, no lids in this fabric were recovered.

Fig. 13: Number teapots and teapot lids in different fabrics, indicating discrepancies between numbers recovered.

Fig. 14: Chinese porcelain tea bowls and saucers with blue and white decoration, of a *c.* 1740–60 date unless otherwise stated.

- 1) Base of a tea bowl with an unusual pattern of pre-depositional damage
- 2) Slightly fluted tea bowl with floral pattern.
- 3) Tea bowl with floral pattern and insect.
- 4) Slightly fluted tea bowl with a pavilion landscape scene with an atypically thick foot ring
- 5) Tea bowl with external panelled floral decoration with dancing boy and internal view of a pavilion landscape, *c.* 1730–50. Red coloured spots on exterior are where the glaze has not taken,
- 6–7) Matching good quality tea bowl and saucer with decoration including ‘long Eliza’ and ‘dancing boy, figures facing a caged bird hanging from a tree, *c.* 1720–50.
- 8) Yongzheng period (*c.* 1722–35) saucer showing a phoenix above two seated figures floating on a river.
- 9) Pavilion landscape tea bowl.
- 10) Press moulded saucer depicting ‘long Eliza’ and ‘dancing boy’ figures under a willow tree, *c.* 1730–50.
- 11) Floral pattern saucer with willow and peony.
- 12) Saucer depicting landscape with man and two deer under a willow tree that is rather higher quality than most of the other Chinese porcelain.
- 13) Saucer showing figure with basket under willow tree, *c.* 1730–50.
- 14) Saucer with seasonal flowers on a terrace pattern with interrupted trellis border.
- 15–17) Saucers with variants of the pavilion landscape pattern.

Fig. 15: Chinese porcelain tea bowls (1–3) and saucers (4–5) with Imari floral decoration. It is

possible that these saucers were used with chocolate cups rather than tea bowls.

Fig. 16: English soft-paste porcelain tea bowls and saucers, principally produced at the Worcester factory.

1–3) Mansfield pattern tea bowls, one with a crescent mark plus a W mark from a Mansfield pattern saucer that is not illustrated.

4) Cannonball pattern tea bowl.

5) Cannonball pattern tea bowl with a crescent mark, possibly from Liverpool or Isleworth.

6) Peony pattern tea bowl, with a 'workers' mark.

7) Rock Strata pattern saucer.

8) Transfer printed Fence pattern saucer.

9) Transfer printed Fruit and Wreath pattern saucer.

Fig. 17: English soft-paste porcelain tea bowls and saucer that are not from the Worcester factory.

1) Lowestoft tea bowl with Hughes style decoration.

2) Saucer with a Chinese river scene, probably Lowestoft

3) Tea bowl, factory uncertain possibly Liverpool.

Fig. 18: Hand-painted creamware tea bowl with oriental landscape.

Fig. 19: Coffee cups and cans.

1–2) Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware coffee cups.

3) English soft-paste porcelain coffee cup, probably Bow.

4) Sherds from an English soft-paste porcelain coffee cup, probably Lowestoft.

5–7) English soft-paste porcelain coffee cans, probably Bow.

8) English soft-paste porcelain coffee cup from the Worcester factory, with a 'workers mark'.

9) Chinese porcelain coffee cup with *famille rose* overglaze painting and *bianco sopra bianco* (white on white) painting.

Fig. 20: Chinese porcelain chocolate cups

1–2) Imari decoration of bamboo on terrace

3) Blue and white decoration of a standing figure on an island.

Fig. 21: Slops/sugar bowls

1) Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware.

2) Chinese export porcelain blue and white, exterior decorated with a band of six-sided 'honeycomb' cells broken by reserves of foliage around the rim and scrollwork. Probably a provincial piece.

3) Chinese export porcelain blue and white with exterior bands of blue trellis above and below *an hua* or 'hidden' decoration to exterior and an internal central floral roundel.

4) Chinese export porcelain Imari floral decoration with over-glaze clobbered flowers and butterflies.

5) Chinese porcelain crudely potted provincial piece with circle and colon rim border and simple foliage sprays.

6) English soft-paste porcelain with depiction of oriental fenced landscape with figure, possibly Worcester.

Fig. 22: Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware milk (1) and cream (2–3) jugs.

Fig. 23: Alcohol consumption related ceramics.

1–4) Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware tankards.

5) Staffordshire-type dipped white salt-glazed stoneware tankard with brown dipped rim

6–9) Staffordshire-type slipware two handled cup, plus sherds from rims of similar cups.

- 10) Manganese-mottled one handled cup.
- 11) Sherd from a Westerwald stoneware tankard, with GR monogram.
- 12) Sherds from a Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware with scratch blue decoration 'bell-shaped' tankard.
- 13) Tin-glazed earthenware punch bowl, with manganese and blue 'cracked ice' decoration.

Fig. 24: Glass utility/wine bottles (1–3) and wine or cordial glass (4).

Fig. 25: Dining plates.

- 1–3) Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware examples with panels of dot and diaper and star and diaper moulding interspersed with foliate cartouches (1), barley pattern (2) and dot and diaper and basket rims (3).
- 4–6) Creamware examples with foliate (4), diamond beaded (5) and Rococo style (6) rims.
- 7) Chinese porcelain plate with blue and white central pine trees and other plants, surrounded by trellis border with sprays of flowers and foliage around the marly.

Fig. 26: Tin-glazed earthenware dining plates.

- 1) Dark blue on white central sea scene with spouting whale and lines around the marly, probably London.
- 2) Dark blue on light blue central floral landscape with fence and floral pattern plus ochre line around the marly, probably Liverpool.
- 3) Dark blue on light blue central oriental landscape and floral pattern around the marly, probably London.
- 4) Dark blue on light blue circles within squares around the marly, probably London.
- 5) Dark blue on light blue Oriental landscape with figure covering both the centre and marly.

Fig. 27: Plates marked with names and initials.

- 1) Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware plate with plain scalloped rim and incised scratch-blue text *Jacob Brittan / Sun's Coffe Room*, manufactured c. 1769–80.
- 2) Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware plate with simple ridged rim and incised initials SG.
- 3) Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware plate with bead and reel rim plate and moulded word Rose and a depiction of a rose.
- 4) Creamware plate with royal pattern rim plate and under-glaze blue initials IW.

Fig. 28: Staffordshire-type press-moulded slipware dishes.

- 1–3) Typical circular dishes with combed decoration and piecrust rims.
- 4) Rectangular dish with combed decoration and plain rim.
- 5) Circular dish with combed decoration with marly and piecrust rim.
- 6) Circular dish with a rather more elaborate trailed decoration and pie crust rim.

Fig. 29: Miscellaneous dining related ceramics.

- 1) English soft-paste porcelain sauceboat from the Bow factory, with hand-painted Bow 'Desirable Residence' pattern.
- 2) Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware sauceboat.
- 3) Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware triangular pickle dish.

Fig. 30: Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware patty/tart pans with slightly everted rims, showing details of kiln furniture marks.

Fig. 31: Jelly glasses, plus a selection of animal bone associated with the production of calf's foot jelly.

Fig. 32: Hygiene related material.

- 1) Agate ware chamber pot, with cross-section showing the fabric.
- 2) Tin-glazed earthenware wash basin

Fig. 33: Smoking related material.

- 1) Clay tobacco pipe stem with decoration and text PARKER / for ever, / Huzzah.
- 2) Pipe with similarly decorated stem manufactured by Samuel Wilkinson of Cambridge *c.* 1762–87, from a broadly contemporary assemblage at the Grand Arcade site in Cambridge.
- 3) Photograph and draStaffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware spills vase.

Fig. 34: Miscellaneous items.

- 1) Glass candlestick with a Silesian stem.
- 2) Two types of glass beads.

Fig. 35: Selected material from inn assemblages deposited *c.* 1600–30.

- 1) In situ view of articulated cod skeleton from main group, *c.* 1600–10.
- 2) Medallion from a Frechen stoneware jug with inverted armorial with the initials NR and the date 1616, from a deposit in a test pit, *c.* 1616–30.
- 3–4) Clay tobacco pipes from main group, *c.* 1600–10.
- 5) Relatively ornate decorated bone implement handle from main group, *c.* 1600–10.

Fig. 36: Selection of ceramics, glassware and clay tobacco pipes from the *c.* 1720–40 inn assemblage; this image shows fourteen items out of 65 ceramics, glassware and clay tobacco pipes from the assemblage as a whole.

Fig. 37: Tea and coffee vessels from the c. 1720–40 inn assemblage.

- 1–2) Chinese porcelain tea bowl and saucer, decorated in over-glaze *famille verte* enamels.
- 3) Sherd from a a polychrome tin-glazed earthenware sugar bowl.
- 4) Sherds from a dark blue on light blue tin-glazed earthenware tea bowl with an imitation *cafe au lait* line on the rim.
- 5) Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware coffee cup.

Fig. 38: Alcohol and tobacco consumption related items from the c. 1720–40 inn assemblage.

- 1–2) Two English stoneware tankards.
- 3) Staffordshire-type slipware two-handled cup with incomplete name and date ‘... MILE...:171...’.
- 4) Clay tobacco pipe with incuse letter C on the base of the heel, bowl type 12 c. 1730–80.
- 5) Clay tobacco pipe with the letters T and D on the sides of the heel, bowl type 12 c. 1730–80.
- 6) Glass wine bottle of c. 1680–1710 with evidence for seal removal, plus contemporary seals from the nearby Dolphin Inn (seals of the Dolphin inn reproduced courtesy of Martin Biddle, drawings by Nicholas Griffiths; Biddle 2013, fig. 11.8–11.9).

Fig. 39: Dining related vessels from the c. 1720–40 inn assemblage.

- 1) Press moulded Staffordshire-type slipware 14 inch diameter dish/charger of ‘gloves dish’ style, with raised ornamentation depicting a pair of gloves (which would have had a square/diamond motif between them) surrounded by a border of four lions (facing sinister) and fleur-de-lys, plus enlarged detail of initial W.
- 2) Dark blue on white tin-glazed earthenware plate with depiction of sailing vessels.
- 3) Dark blue on white tin-glazed earthenware plate with floral decoration.
- 4) Dark blue on white tin-glazed earthenware sherd from a Merryman plate, with cherub’s head and part of text ‘Let him do **what he** can’, c. 1682–1704

Fig. 40: Quantities of ceramics, glass and clay tobacco pipes by MNI from the Clapham's assemblage compared to earlier nearby inn assemblages from the same street block and domestic Cambridge assemblages of *c.* 1760–1800 (GA - Grand Arcade site, EGN - Eastern Gate Hotel site).

Fig. 41: Estimated meat weights (kg) from the Clapham's assemblage compared to earlier nearby inn assemblages from the same street block and domestic Cambridge assemblages of *c.* 1760–1800.

Fig. 42: Time-line of Clapham's assemblage.

TABLES

Name	Victualling licence	Date	Licensees/proprietors	Parish
Thoms/Tom's	Y	c. 1742–82	Susanna Thoms	Little St Mary's
<i>Clapham's</i>	Y	c. 1746/48–74	<i>William Clapham (c. 1748–62)</i> <i>Mary & Elizabeth Sproson (1762–63)</i> <i>Mary Sproson (1763–74)</i>	<i>St Sepulchre</i>
Dockrill's/Jude's	Y	c. 1748–84	Robert Dockrill (c. 1748–75) Alexander Jude (1775–84)	St Edwards
Unk.*	Y	1753–58	Mary Flack	Holy Trinity
Unk.*	Y	1753–66	Sarah Flude (1753–64) Mary Johnson (1764–6)	Holy Trinity
Unk.	Y	1756–61	Ann Nutter (1756–60) John Armstrong (1760–1)	Chesterton
Unk.	Y	1756–69	Mary Edwards	St Clements
Unk.	Y	1757–62	Mary Sproson (1757–59) Mary & Elizabeth Sproson (1759–62)	Great St Mary's
Unk.	Y	1759–66	Mary Johnson (1759–1764) John James (1764–66)	St Andrew's
Unk.	Y	1761–64	John Berry	Holy Trinity
Delaport's	N	1763(+)	John Delaport	St Andrew's
The Union Coffee House	N	1782–1815	Frank/Francis Smith	St Sepulchre

Table 1: Cambridge coffeehouses c. 1750–1800, victualling licensees from UA T.I. 24 I–XXX. * – These two establishments were probably The Theatre Coffee House (1750+) and The Turk's Head (c. 1719–1804)

Date	Event
Early 1660s	Kirk's, the earliest known Cambridge coffeehouse
9 Nov. 1664	University statute against students going to coffeehouses without their tutors permission
1680s	Coffeehouses common in Cambridge and coffee begins to feature in St John's College accounts ^{cix}
c. 1705	William Clapham born; various candidates exist with the most likely perhaps the son of Thomas Clapham baptised on 19 Sept. 1705 at St Mary's, Lambeth
c. 1711	Jane Heron born; various candidates exist
1718–32	Playwright and author Mary Davys operated a coffeehouse in St Sepulchre's parish, apparently deriving much of its clientele from St John's College. ^{cx} There is no evidence for its precise location
c. 1725	Anecdote published in 1795 indicates that there was a coffeehouse opposite St John's College near All Saints' in the Jewry. ^{cxii} It is probable that this reflects the location of the Union Coffee House in the 1790s, rather than reality in the 1720s.
1733	Property part of a group acquired by Thomas Day, a brewer of Cambridge
15 June 1739	Mary Sproson daughter of Richard Sproson of Wybunbury, Cheshire, baptised
c. 1740	Reference to the Johnian Coffee-house in 'All Saints' Yard'. ^{cxiii} The source of this information is unclear and it seems likely that it is a development of the anecdote relating to a coffeehouse of c. 1725
6 Feb. 1743	Elizabeth Sproson daughter of Richard Sproson of Wybunbury, Cheshire, baptised
15 Dec. 1746	Marriage of William Clapham and Jane Heron, both of Romford, Essex, at St Benet's, Paul's Wharf, London. The church's proximity to Doctors' Commons, where several ecclesiastical courts sat, made it a popular venue for those from outside the parish marrying by licence
1748	William Clapham granted victualling license for coffeehouse in St Sepulchre's parish, Cambridge ^{cxiii}
1749–62	William Clapham renews victualling license
1749	Thomas Day bequeaths the property to his son in law, Henry Waterland
1751	Clapham's mentioned in poem as a 'noted coffeehouse'
1757	Mary Sproson obtains victualling license for coffeehouse in Great St Mary's parish, Cambridge
1759	Elizabeth Sproson names as co-licensee with her sister Mary of coffeehouse in Great St Mary's parish, Cambridge
21 June 1762	Victualling licenses record that William Clapham left and was succeeded by Mary and Elizabeth Sproson
1763–74	Mary Sproson renews victualling license as sole licensee
21 Oct. and 5 Dec. 1765	Will of William Clapham, Gentleman of Chesterton, Cambridgeshire, witnessed and proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury
10 Nov. 1765	William Clapham, gent., buried at St Andrew's, Chesterton near Cambridge
1769	Property described as 'then or lately used for several years as a coffeehouse, with an un-tenanted cellar, occupied by Mrs Jane Clapham or her under-tenants'
1775	No victualling license issued for Clapham's, only two licensed coffeehouses remain in Cambridge
1777	Henry Waterland dies, property including the coffeehouse divided between his descendants
21 Jan. 1779	Jane Clapham dies whilst living in Clerkenwell, London. She is buried at St Andrew's, Chesterton, on 2 February where her name was wrongly recorded as Ann
31 Oct. 1779	Elizabeth Sproson of St Sepulchre's parish marries Edward Hawkins at Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge
1782	The Union Coffee House, plus associated 'cellars, yards and gardens' occupied by Francis/Frank Smith.
1788	Union Coffee House is described in a set of Tripos verses ^{cxiv} and a fellow of St John's College is assaulted there ^{cxv}
24 Feb. 1808	Mary Sproson of St Michael's parish, Cambridge, dies
31 July 1815	Elizabeth Hawkins, nee Sproson, of Trinity Street buried at St Michael's, Cambridge
c. 1815	Premises demolished and Union Coffee House moves to a different location

Table 2: Chronological summary of documentary evidence relating to Clapham's and individuals associated with it

Fabric	No. of Sherds	Sherd %	Weight (g)	Weight %	MSW (g)	MNI	EVE
Dry-bodied red stoneware	8	0.3	225	0.3	28.1	1	0.28
Westerwald stoneware	9 (1)	0.3 (2.2)	300 (7)	0.4 (1.1)	33.3 (7.0)	1	0.28
Frechen stoneware	4	0.1	130	0.2	32.5	1	0.00
Agate ware	13	0.5	743	1.0	57.2	2	0.73
Manganese mottled	38	1.3	800	1.0	21.1	2	0.65
Staffordshire-type lead-glazed earthenware	38	1.3	830	1.1	21.8	3	0.97
Notts./Derbyshire-type stoneware	8 (2)	0.3 (4.4)	130 (9)	0.2 (1.4)	16.3 (4.5)	4	0.53
Unglazed earthenware	9	0.3	403	0.5	44.8	6	0.66
Tin-glazed earthenware	178 (1)	6.3 (2.2)	4186 (3)	5.4 (0.5)	23.5 (3.0)	13	6.41
Glazed red earthenware	183 (4)	6.5 (8.9)	18433 (292)	23.5 (44.8)	100.7 (73.0)	18	4.65
Glazed red earthenware (mottled)	6 (1)	0.2 (2.2)	503 (10)	0.6 (1.5)	83.8 (10.0)	1	0.33
Glazed red earthenware (slip decorated)	11	0.4	1284	1.6	116.7	1	0.82
Staffordshire-type slipware	142	5.0	8876	11.3	62.5	19	6.04
English soft-paste porcelain	62	2.2	1148	1.5	18.5	25	7.15
Creamware	571 (22)	20.2 (48.9)	9661 (228)	12.3 (35.0)	16.9 (10.4)	74	30.88
Chinese porcelain	376 (3)	13.3 (6.6)	4920 (5)	6.3 (0.8)	13.1 (1.7)	79	34.70
Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware	1160 (10)	41.0 (22.2)	25760 (89)	32.8 (13.7)	21.9 (8.9)	180*	112.30*
Staffordshire-type dipped white salt-glazed stoneware	5 (1)	0.2 (2.2)	193 (9)	0.2 (1.4)	38.6 (9.0)	2	0.82
Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware with scratch blue decoration	6	0.2	27	0.3	4.5	1	0.32
Total	2827 (45)		7868kg (652g)		27.8 (12.5)	433	208.52

Table 3: Ceramics from Clapham's assemblage by fabric, ordered by MNI frequency. Figures in brackets () represent additional material from the levelling deposit sealing the cellar. * - figure excludes sixteen teapot lids.

Fabric	Brokenness (sherd count/EVE)	Completeness (EVE/MNI)	Adjusted completeness (sherd count/EVE x 61.87)
Dry-bodied red stoneware	28.57	0.28	17.32
Westerwald stoneware	32.14	0.28	17.32
Frechen stoneware	0.00	0.00	0.00
Agate ware	17.81	0.36	22.27
Manganese mottled	58.46	0.32	19.80
Staffordshire-type lead-glazed earthenware	39.18	0.32	19.80
Notts./Derbyshire-type stoneware	15.09	0.13	8.04
Unglazed earthenware	13.64	0.11	6.81
Tin-glazed earthenware	27.77	0.49	30.32
Glazed red earthenware	39.35	0.26	16.09
Glazed red earthenware (mottled)	18.18	0.33	20.42
Glazed red earthenware (slip decorated)	13.41	0.82	50.73
Staffordshire-type slipware	23.51	0.32	19.80
English soft-paste porcelain	8.67	0.28	17.32
Creamware	18.49	0.42	25.99
Chinese porcelain	10.84	0.44	27.22
Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware	10.33	0.58	35.88
Staffordshire-type dipped white salt-glazed stoneware	6.10	0.41	25.37
Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware with scratch blue decoration	18.75	0.32	19.80
Total	13.56	0.48	13.56

Table 4: Brokenness and completeness of ceramics from Clapham's assemblage by fabric, ordered by MNI frequency. To calculate adjusted completeness the values for completeness have been multiplied by the appropriate factor to make them directly comparable to brokenness.

Function	Ceramics	Glass	Other	Total
Hot beverages	214	–	–	214
Dining	111	18	Animal bone, plant remains	129
Alcohol	44	30	–	74
Food storage and preparation	27	–	–	27*
Hygiene/medicine	13	3	–	16
Smoking	3	–	5 clay pipes	8
Horticulture	6	–	–	6*

Table 5: Activities represented in the Clapham's assemblage by over five items (MNI), * - categories where a significant proportion of items appear to derive from the midden/garden soil component

Species	Joint	Total no. bones	MNBU	Estimated meat weight (kg)
Cattle	Calf's foot jelly	37	N/A	Unk.
	Neck and clod	1	1	13.5
Sheep	Leg	8	4	13.2
	Shoulder	7	5	21.5
Pig	Head	1	1	4.7
Hare	–	1	1	<i>c.</i> 2.5
Rabbit	–	1	1	<i>c.</i> 2.5
Chicken	–	9	2	<i>c.</i> 2.0
Goose	–	2	1	<i>c.</i> 3.0
Total		67	16	62.9

Table 6: Animal bone from Clapham's assemblage

Feature	Date	Ceramic MNI	Glass MNI	Clay Pipe MNI	Other items MNI	Total MNI	Bone count
Clapham's	1775–80	433	68	5	12	518	223
Inn group <i>c.</i> 1600–10	1600–10	48	3	16	7	72	1663
Inn group <i>c.</i> 1720–40	1720–40	71	21	25	8	129	102
Inn group <i>c.</i> 1760–80	1760–80	26	4	1	0	31	Unk.
GA planting beds 7–8	1770–90	75	10	8	3	96	246
GA planting bed 9	1760–80	11	34	6	8	59	52
GA planting bed 10	1760–80	27	0	1	0	28	197
GA pit 57	1760–80	18	0	1	0	19	0
GA planting bed 11	1770–90	34	5	2	3	44	286
GA soakaway 4	1780–90	11	2	0	0	13	6
GA cellar 6	1780–90	76	12	1	4	93	320
EGH cesspit F.63	1780– 1810	36	6	0	1	43	58
EGH planting bed F.159	1780– 1810	54	23	1	0	78	8
Other Cambridge assemblages total	1760– 1810	342	92	20	19	473	1173

Table 7: Comparison between the Clapham's assemblage and earlier inn assemblages from the same street block, plus domestic assemblages of *c.* 1750–1800 from Cambridge. GA – Grand Arcade site, EGH – Eastern Gate Hotel site

Taxa	Element	First fill, >2mm sieving	First fill, hand recovered	Second fill, hand recovered	Total
Eel	Cleithrum	1			1
	Abdominal Vertebra	12			12
	Caudal Vertebra	7			7
Atlantic Herring	Maxilla		1		1
	Preopercular			1	1
	Articular	1			1
	Hyomandibular	1			1
	Abdominal Vertebra	4			4
	Caudal Vertebra	12			12
	Carp Family	Opercular			1
Abdominal Vertebra		3			3
Caudal Vertebra		5			5
Caudal Vertebra Group 2			1		1
Tench	Infrapharyngeal	1			1
Cod Family	Branchiostegal	11			11
	Rib	2			2
Cod	Cleithrum	37	4	19	60
	Posttemporal	11	1	2	13
	Scapula	11		2	13
	Supracleithrum	14	2	8	24
	Caudal Vertebra Group 1	3	1	2	6
	Caudal Vertebra Group 2	144	24	19	183
	Penultimate Vertebra	3	1		4
	Ultimate Vertebra	3	1		4
Ling	Supracleithrum			1	1
	Pollack?			1	1
	Halibut Family			1	1
	Plaice			1	1
Perch	Abdominal Vertebra	1			1
Atlantic Mackerel	Vertebra	1			1
Plaice		1			1

Table 8: Fish bone element quantification from *c.* 1600–10 inn group

First fill	Unsize	<15cm	30–50cm	80–100cm	>100cm	Total
Eel	1					1
Herring	1					1
Carp Family	1					1
Tench		1				1
Cod Family	1					1
Cod				3	9	12
Gurnard Family	1					1
Perch	1					1
Atlantic Mackerel	1					1
Plaice			1			1
Second fill	Unsize	15–30cm	30–50cm	80–100cm	>100cm	Total
Herring		1				1
Carp Family		1				1
Pike			1			1
Cod				4	3	7
Ling					1	1
Pollack?	1					1
Halibut Family	1					1
Plaice		1				1

Table 9: Fish MNI quantification of *c.* 1600–10 inn group^{cxvi}

Species	Joint	Clapham's c. 1775–80	Inn group c. 1600–10	Inn group c. 1720–40
Cattle	Calf's foot jelly	Unk.		
	Leg		26.0	
	Neck and clod	13.5	13.5	13.5
	Shin		4.1	4.1
	Chuck and blade		59.1	
Sheep	Leg	13.2	19.8	13.2
	Shoulder	21.5	30.1	12.9
	Scrag		1.2	
	?Loin		3.9	
Pig	Shoulder/hand		5.8	6.8
	Head	4.7	6.0	
	Leg		4.6	10.7
Hare	–	3.6		
Rabbit	–	3.6	3.6	
Chicken	–	0.5	1.0	
Goose	–	0.75	0.75	
Duck	–		0.5	0.5
Pigeon	–		0.25	0.25
Total		52.9	180.2	61.95

Table 10: Comparison of estimated meat consumed (in kg) between Clapham's and earlier inns

Assemblage	Date	Ceramic MNI	Glass MNI	Clay Pipe MNI	Total MNI
Clapham's	<i>c.</i> 1775–80	433	68	5	506
Saracen's Head, Oxford	<i>c.</i> 1770–80	527	108	45	680
Abingdon Arms, Oxford	<i>c.</i> 1770–80	114	31+	59	204+
King's Arms, Uxbridge	<i>c.</i> 1785– 1800	210	56	75	341
Royal Oak, Eccleshall	<i>c.</i> 1800	49	21	3	73
Falcon Inn, Castle Hedingham	Mid 18th	160	48	4	212
White Hart, Kelvedon	Late 18th	49	21	3	73
Red Lion, Ansley	<i>c.</i> 1780	80	8	6	94

Table 11: Clapham's assemblage and comparative English inn/tavern assemblages *c.* 1750–1800

	Inn group, c. 1600–10	Inn group, c. 1720–40	Clapham’s, c. 1775–80	Saracen’s Head, Oxford, c. 1770– 80	Abingdon Arms, Oxford, c. 1770– 80	King’s Arms, Uxbridge, c. 1785–1800
Hot beverages	0	12	94	25	19	10
Dining	0	6	136	64	23	53
Alcohol	7	16	43	93	22	42
Smoking	16	25	5	75	59	75

Table 12: Vessels associated with various forms of ‘primary’ consumption from Clapham’s, the earlier nearby inns and other inns/taverns

	Clapham's c. 1775–80	Saracen's Head, Oxford c. 1770–80	Abingdon Arms, Oxford, c. 1770– 80	King's Arms, Uxbridge c. 1785–1800
Coffee drinking (coffee bowls, cans and cups)	23	6	4	1
Tea drinking (tea bowls and cups)	67	19	14	9
Chocolate drinking (chocolate cups)	3	0	1	0
Total hot beverage consumption	94	25	15	10
Beer, ale etc. drinking (mugs, cups)	43	91	19	25
Wine, spirits etc drinking (glasses)	12	2	7	17
Total alcohol consumption	55	93	26	42
Main meals (plates)	77	64	16	50
Desserts (dessert plates, jelly glasses)	18	0	0	3
Small dishes	41	0	3	0
Total dining	136	64	19	53
Total smoking (clay tobacco pipes)	5	75	59	75
Total	308	257	119	180

Table 13: Vessels associated with various forms of 'primary' consumption from Clapham's and broadly contemporary inns/taverns. In some instances the figures for the two Oxford assemblages are based upon estimates and are not entirely reliable.

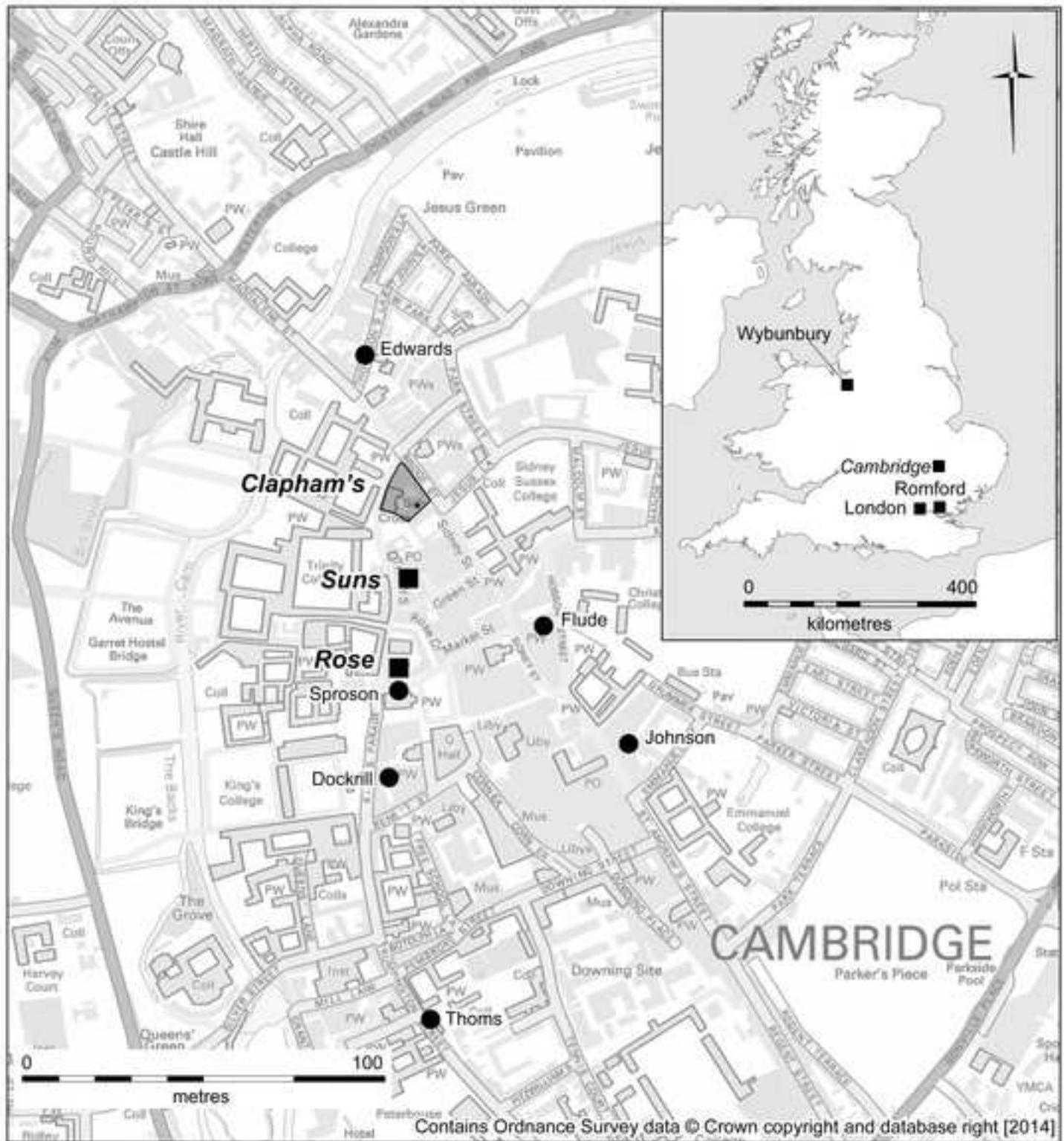
- i Habermas 1989; see also Calhoun 1992.
- ii Cowan 2005; Ellis 2006.
- iii Cowan 2005, 78–86; Ellis 2004, 129; Forsyth 2011, 185; Richards 1999, 133–37.
- iv Houghton 1699, 317.
- v Newman 2008. This grey literature report is accessible on-line via the OASIS (Online AccesS to the Index of archaeological investigationS) Project library of unpublished fieldwork reports hosted by the ADS (Archaeology Data Service) located at <http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/greylit/>.
- vi Atkinson 1897, 76; Ellis 1956, 185–89; Gray 1925, 150–51; Johnson 1928; Norrish & Webb 1973; Reeve 1935a; 1935b; 1935c; Porter 1968.
- vii Cooper 1852, 328–29; see also Norrish & Webb 1973.
- viii Cowan 2007.
- ix Aubertin-Potter & Bennett 1987, 43.
- x Bayne 1870, 43.
- xi On such 'clearance' assemblages in general see Cessford forthcoming.
- xii Anonymous 1751, 279.
- xiii University archives T.I.24 VII.
- xiv Wordsworth 1874, 141–42.
- xv Winstanley 1935, 208.
- xvi Miller & Hunter 2001; Seidel 1990.
- xvii Cessford 2014b; Wheeler 2000, 11–12.
- xviii Adams 2003.
- xix Martin 1989.
- xx J Main, St Johns Coffee house, Bermondsey Strt, <http://www.pre>

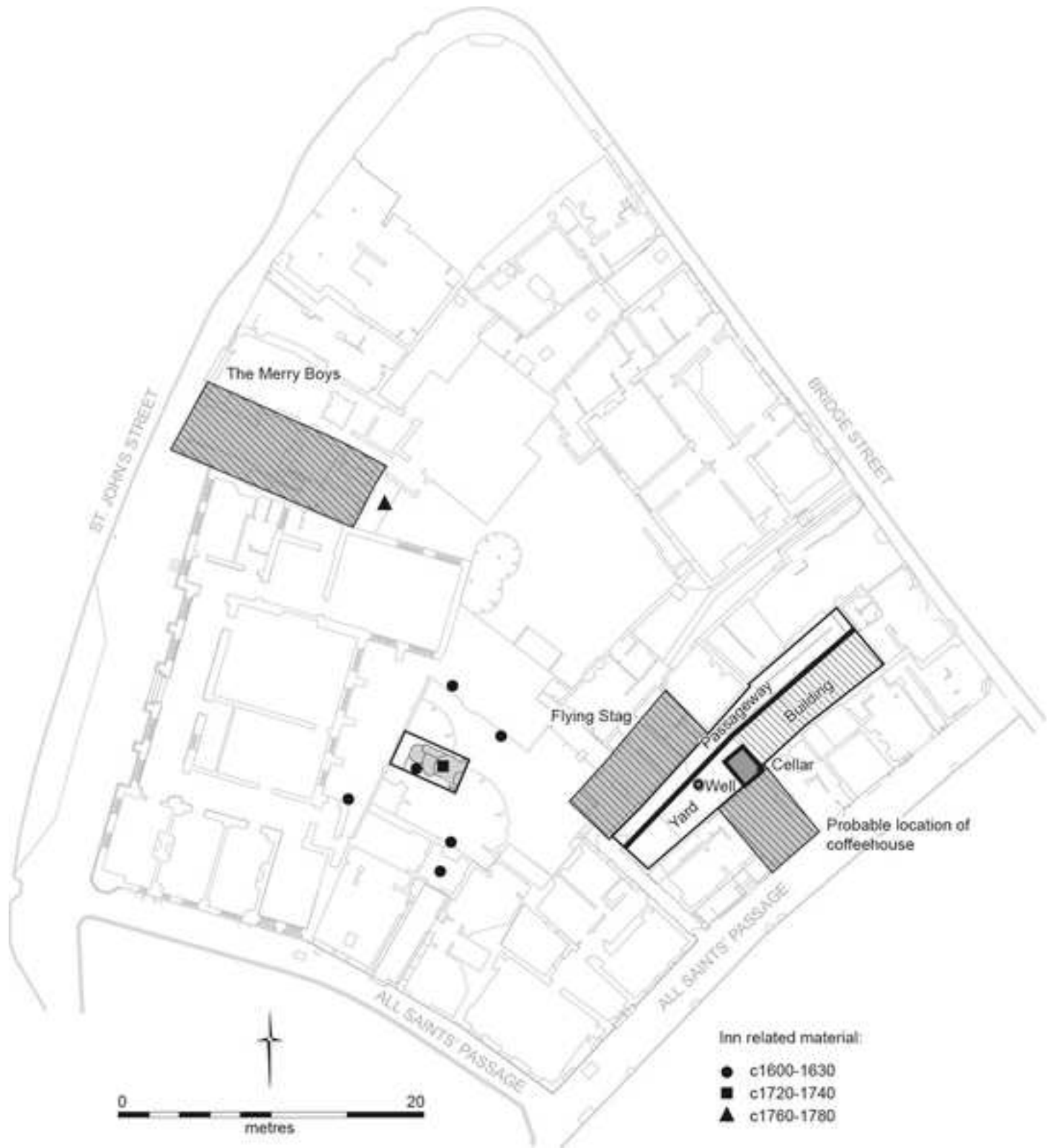
construct.com/Specials/London_Bdg_imp_wks.html, accessed 5-12-2013.

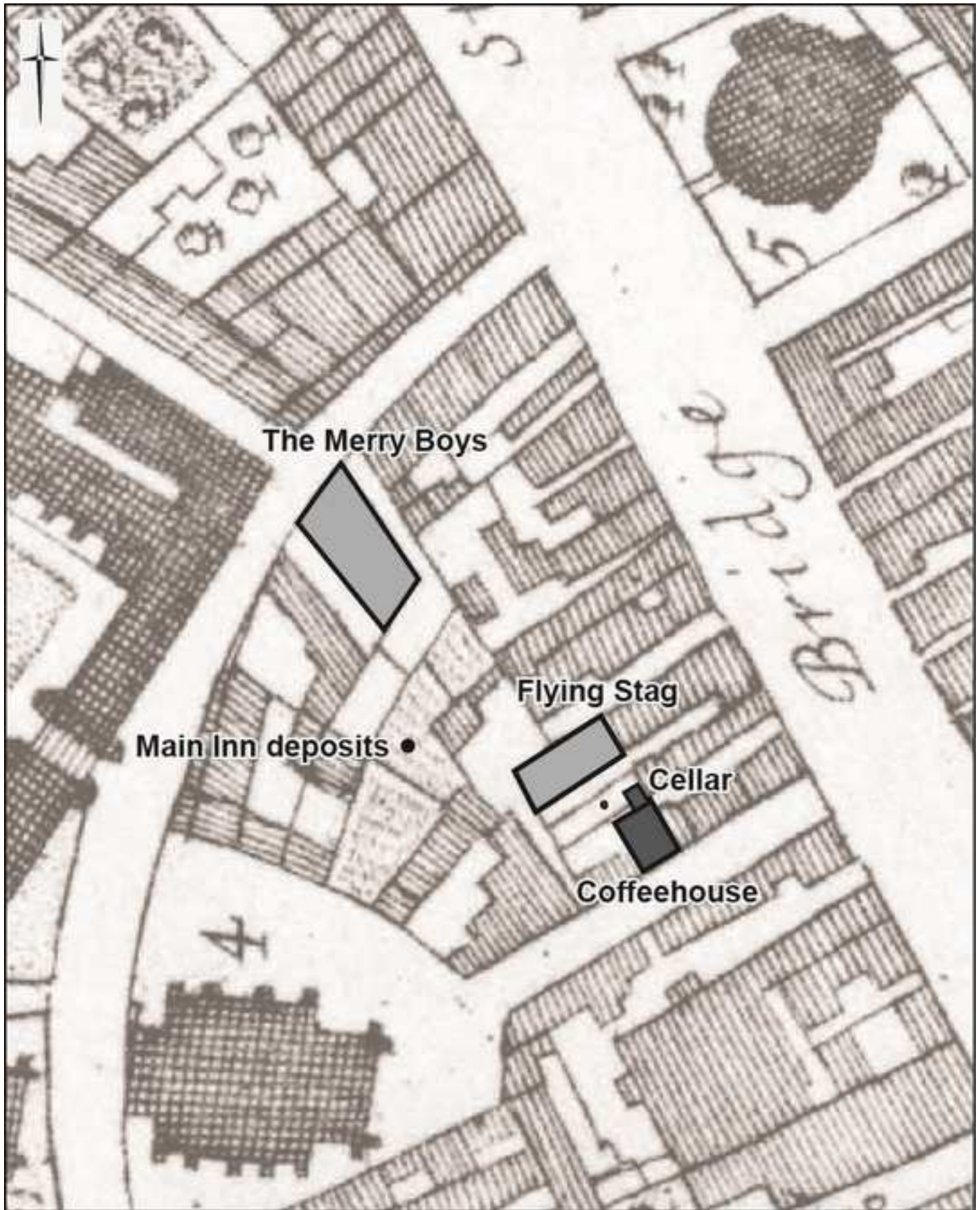
- xxi St John's College archives HU3/2.
- xxii Orton & Hughes 2013.
- xxiii Orton & Hughes 2013, 204–07.
- xxiv Using meat weight calculations from 18th–early 20th-century carcass weight data and the concept of the Minimum Number of Butchery Units (MNBU) it is possible to estimate the amount of meat represented: Lyman 1979; Turner *et al* 2001. Unfortunately, the MNBU — whilst useful for comparative purposes — substantially overestimates the actual amount of meat consumed. This is because the MNBU relates to wholesale units, whereas in 18th–19th century Western market economies the pieces of meat that are actually purchased from butchers or probable Retail Units of Acquisition (RUA) represented by animal bones are likely to have been much smaller. These are more difficult to calculate accurately, but the actual quantity of meat purchased may have been in the region of 25% of the MNBU value; Huelsbeck 1991, 69–70, table 2.
- xxv This approach does mean that certain aspects of the assemblage such as ceramic fabrics are largely ignored, although these have been discussed elsewhere: Cessford & Hall 2015, Hall & Cessford 2015.
- xxvi Brooks 2005; Scott 1997.
- xxvii For other integrated approaches see Beaudry 2008; Beaudry 2013.
- xxviii Cowan 2005, 80.
- xxix Jorg 1982, 164–66, 186–87.
- xxx Loveman 2013, 49.
- xxxi Loveman 2013, 46 note 78; Smith 1996, 184.
- xxxii Carstairs 2013.
- xxxiii Carstairs 2013.
- xxxiv Jorg 1982, 166.
- xxxv Mountford 1971, 58.
- xxxvi Jennings 1981, 230; Vince & Egan 1981, 164.
- xxxvii Pemberton 2009.
- xxxviii Jorg 1982, 164.
- xxxix Cessford 2007.
- xl Cowan 2005, 84; Forsyth 2011, 192.
- xli Cowan 2005, 82.
- xlii Bimson 1970
- xliii For a recent discussion see Harvey 2012.
- xliv Van den Bossche 2001.
- xlv Forsyth 2011, 191.
- xlvi Van den Bossche 2001.
- xlvii On kiln furniture marks see Barker 1998, 324–26
- xlviii Brooks 2003, 132, 148; Webster 1999.
- xlix Rackham 1935, 83, no.552.
- 1 Neither of these individuals can be conclusively identified; although SG may be either Samuel Goode, a Cambridge cook who died in 1793, or less plausibly Stephen Gurkin, baptised in 1753 and the cook at Jesus College by 1802 that died in 1811.
- li Pearce & Taylor 2013, 297.
- lii Darling 2005.
- liii Edwards & Hampson 2005; Mountford 1971.
- liv Cessford & Hall 2015, 201.
- lv Bickerton 2000.
- lvi Higbee 2009.
- lvii Harland 2009.
- lviii Giorgi 1997; Greig 1996; Harward *et al* 2015, 268–70.

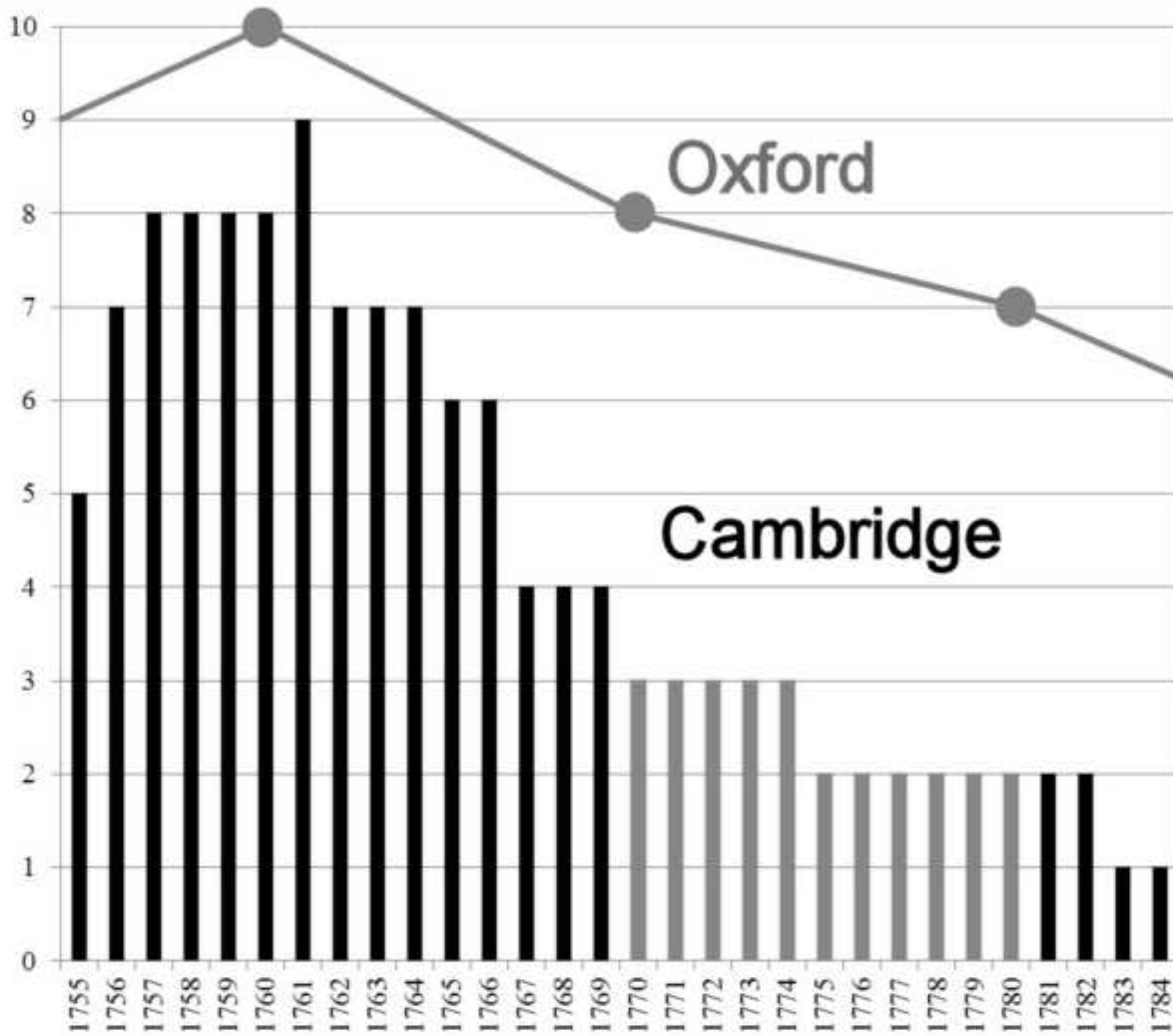
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- lix Eleven plus a stool pan associated with an inn and sixteen associated with a college butler; Cessford 2014a.
- lx Oswald 1975 general typology 9 and 22 respectively.
- lxi Cessford 2001.
- lxii Cessford 2014d.
- lxiii Bayne 1870, 51; Gunning 1854, 44.
- lxiv Boswell 1835, 56.
- lxv Cowan 2005, 82–83; see also Coulton 2012, footnote 84.
- lxvi Cessford 2014c.
- lxvii Cessford 2014c.
- lxviii Cowan 2005, 84
- lxix Jeffries *et al* 2014, footnote 105. See also Forsyth 2011, 186–87, note 16.
- lxx Initial excavation record ER74, later assigned site code GM162.
- lxxi Lillywhite 1963, no's 1078, 1363.
- lxxii Lillywhite 1963, 586–87.
- lxxiii The material is currently split between the LAARC general stores, LAARC Ceramics and Glass Collection, the LAARC clay pipe reference collection and material on display at the Museum of London in the Expanding City: 1666–1850s gallery. This makes it impractical to precisely calculate numbers of some items, additionally some material mentioned in earlier reports could not be located.
- lxxiv GLAAS 2005, 30.
- lxxv The ceramics include at least 23 coarseware vessels, these comprise cooking pots (two), pipkins (four), porringers (three), chamber pots (five, including two complete examples), jugs (five), dishes (two) and bowls (two). There is also Chinese export porcelain (twelve vessels: one bowl, one plate, two tea bowls, eight saucers), tin-glazed earthenware (twenty vessels: four matching plates, five bowls, six saucers, two jars, one drug jar, two unidentified), Staffordshire-type white salt-glazed stoneware (nine vessels: two near complete tea pots, one coffee cup, one coffee can, two near complete milk jugs, one tea bowl, one saucer, one near complete patty/tart pan) and red stoneware (two vessels: one mug, one dish/bowl).
- lxxvi Atkinson & Oswald 1969, 195; Atkinson & Oswald 1980, 364, 372, 376, 390.
- lxxvii A number of the type 25 examples are complete and include makers initials. Identifications, based principally upon Oswald 1975, include IG (one pipe, perhaps John German journeyman 1696, active 1749), WI (eight pipes, perhaps William Jackson apprenticed 1720), RM (one pipe, Richard Manby jnr. free 1729), HS (four or five pipes, probably Henry Skinner, free 1703 complete examples 13½ and 15¾ in long), IS (one to three pipes, unknown maker), MS (two pipes, Michael Simpson apprentice 1694, complete example 13 3/4in long), TI or TT (one pipe, various possibilities), WT (three pipes, probably William Tappin active in London c. 1692–1742, complete example 13¾ in long: Heard undated), WW (one pipe, possibly William Wilder 1717–63), one pipe with a crown and two complete unmarked examples 14¼ and 15¾ in. long. The four type 26 spurred examples include two with the arms of the Hanoverian Prince of Wales (1740–1800) and the initials RB (Richard Bryant, 1733–40) and one with the initials WS (various possibilities).
- lxxviii The two glass bottle seals are different, but both have the text Piermont Water around an eight pointed star. These would have held mineral water from the springs at Pymont a city in Lower Saxony, this was popularised in Britain after George I ascended to the British throne in 1714 (Hembry 1990, 111). By 1730 a Fleet Street druggist, Mr Burges was importing 64,375 three-pint bottles and 7,702 larger ones to London a year (over 27,000 gallons) and by 1733 it was being imported by three specialist London merchants, each with a warehouse (Hembry 1990, 176).
- lxxix Noël Hume 1982, 290–91, fig. 94.
- lxxx King & Miller 1987.
- lxxxi Chapman & Kostro 2016; Kostro *et al* 2008; Powell 2011.
- lxxxii Chapman & Kostro 2016, 67; M. Kostro pers.comm.

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- lxxxiii Chapman & Kostro 2016.
- lxxxiv e.g. Sweetman, 1981, 253.
- lxxxv Archer 1997, 355 H15, 224
- lxxxvi Gaimster 1997, 210, 361–62; Jeffries *et al* 2014, table 3.
- lxxxvii M. Biddle pers.comm.
- lxxxviii Biddle 2013, 144, figs. 11.8–11.9.
- lxxxix Coy *et al* 2005, 577–84.
- xc Cooper 1968, 112, figs. 268–70.
- xc1 Cooper 1968.
- xcii Lipski 1984.
- xciii Allan 1984, 75; Hurry 2005.
- xciv Cessford 2014b.
- xcv Cessford 2012, 95.
- xcvi Material associated with The Saracen’s Head, Oxford, deposited *c.* 1770–80 was recovered from pit F.45 at the Westgate site (Hassall *et al* 1985, 172, 204–07, figs. 28–29; fiche E13–F10). An assemblage of *c.* 1770–80 from cellar [3001] to the rear of No. 7 Market Street, Oxford (Taylor & Hull 2003), is probably associated with the Abingdon Arms. It has been argued that this material did not derive from the inn, principally because only a few of the tankards bore ale measure marks and a relative lack of brown stoneware tankards (Taylor & Hull 2003, 321, 323). In fact four of the fifteen tankards did bear ale measure marks (Taylor & Hull 2003, 324, fig. 14.62-64) and most tankards from other inn related groups of the period lack ale measure marks. It therefore appears likely that this assemblage largely derives from the Abingdon Arms. Material derived from The King’s Arms, Uxbridge, deposited *c.* 1785–1800 was recovered from a brick-lined cistern (Pearce 2000). Other less useful inn related assemblages include the Royal Oak, Eccleshall (Boothroyd & Higgins 2005) and the Red Lion, Ansley (Melton 2005). There are few local East Anglian comparators; the best are the Falcon Inn, Castle Hedingham (Walker 2002) and White Hart, Kelvedon (Walker 2004).
- xcvii Pearce 2000, 173.
- xcviii Pearce 2000, 148.
- xcix Pearce 2000, 173.
- c Cessford 2007; Newman 2012.
- ci Fitts 1999.
- cii Cowan, 2005, 79.
- ciii They can be considered ‘temporal palimpsests’ (Bailey 2007, 207) or ‘materialised temporalities’ (Cessford 2014a).
- civ Orser 1989.
- cv Especially as almost all material had some financial value (Harward *et al* 2015, 59).
- cvi Cowan 2005; Ellis 2004.
- cvii Evans 1990; Redknap & Smith 1990.
- cviii Aubertin-Potter & Bennett 1987, 27.
- cix Nicholls 2011, 161.
- cx McBurney 1959, 349.
- cx1 Urban 1795, 107–08.
- cxii Wordsworth 1874, 143; Ellis 1956, 188.
- cxiii The registers for 1746–47 do not survive.
- cxiv Wordsworth 1874, 141–42.
- cxv Cooper 1852, 432–33.
- cxvi These counts should be taken as approximations, given the inherent inaccuracies involved with fish MNI calculations

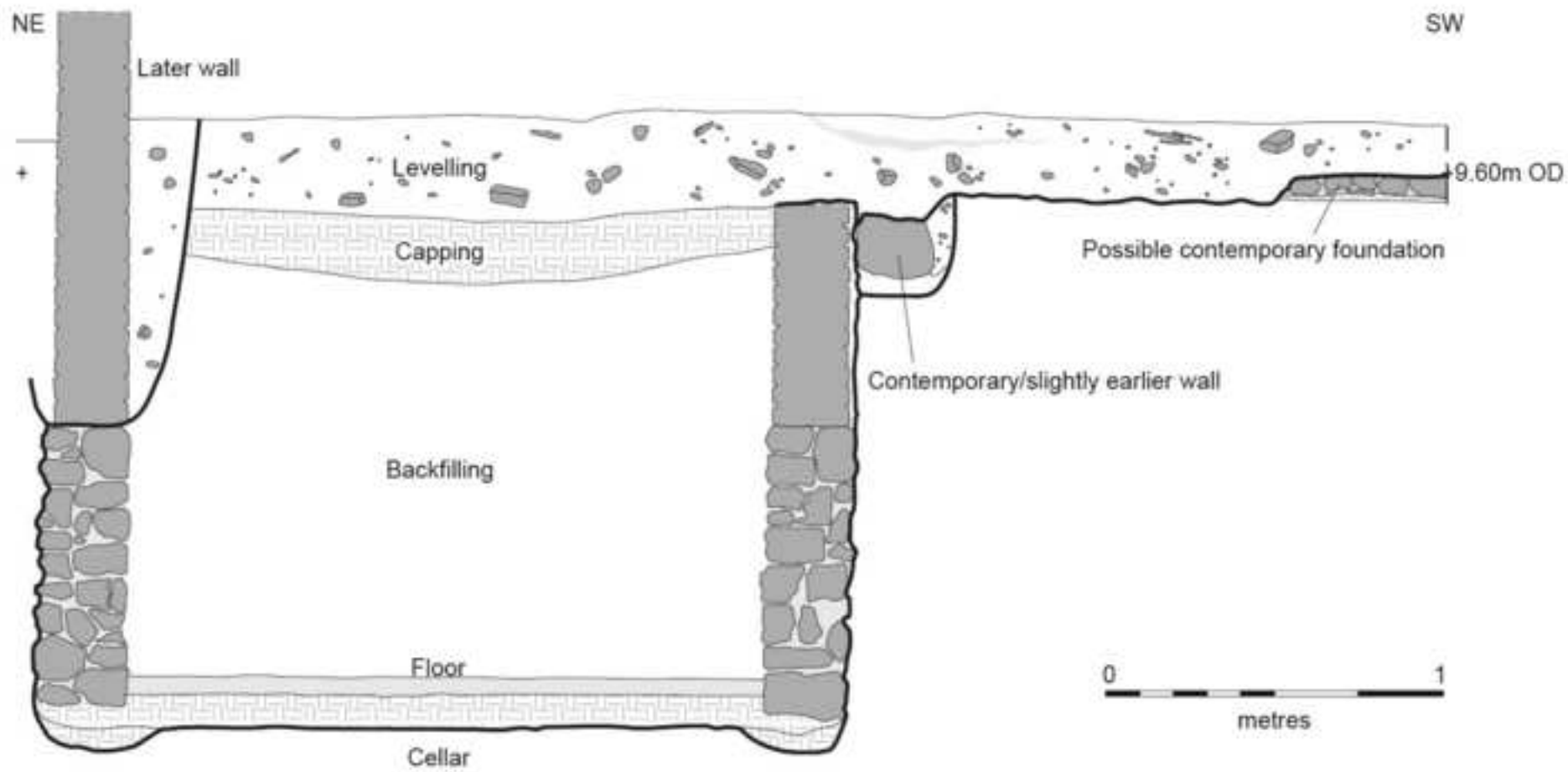






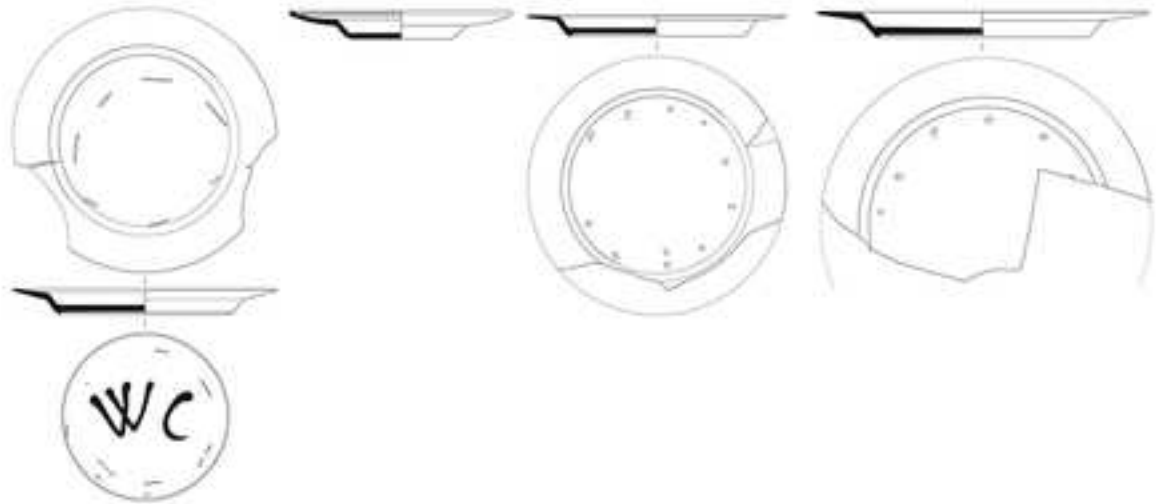


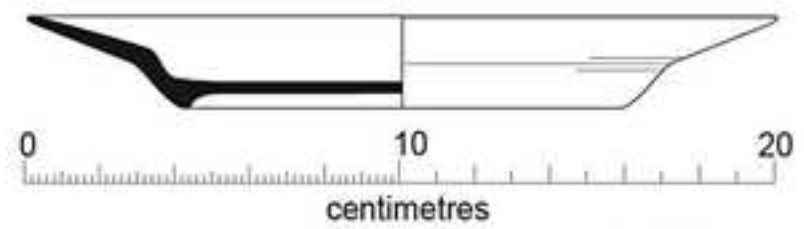
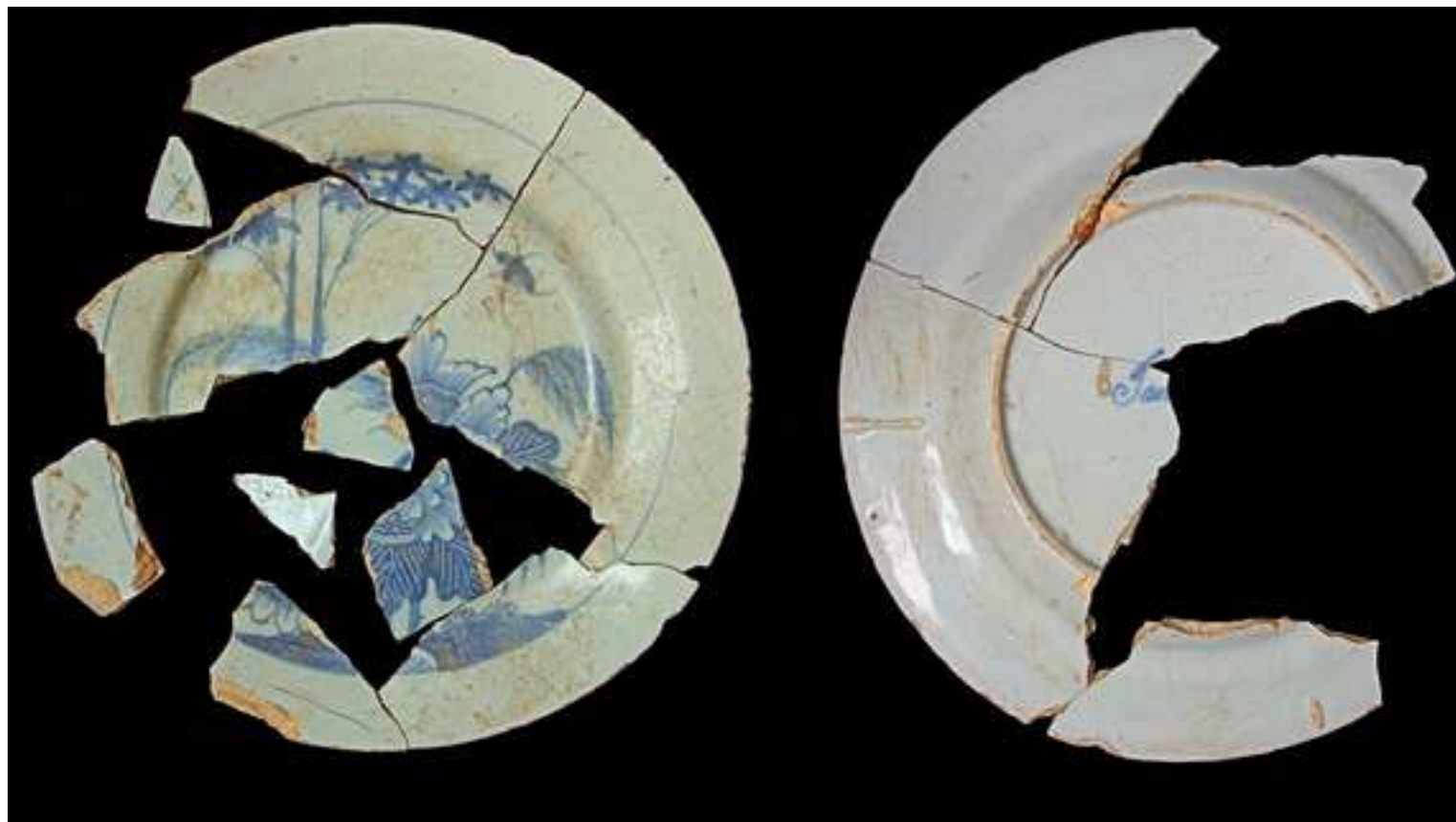


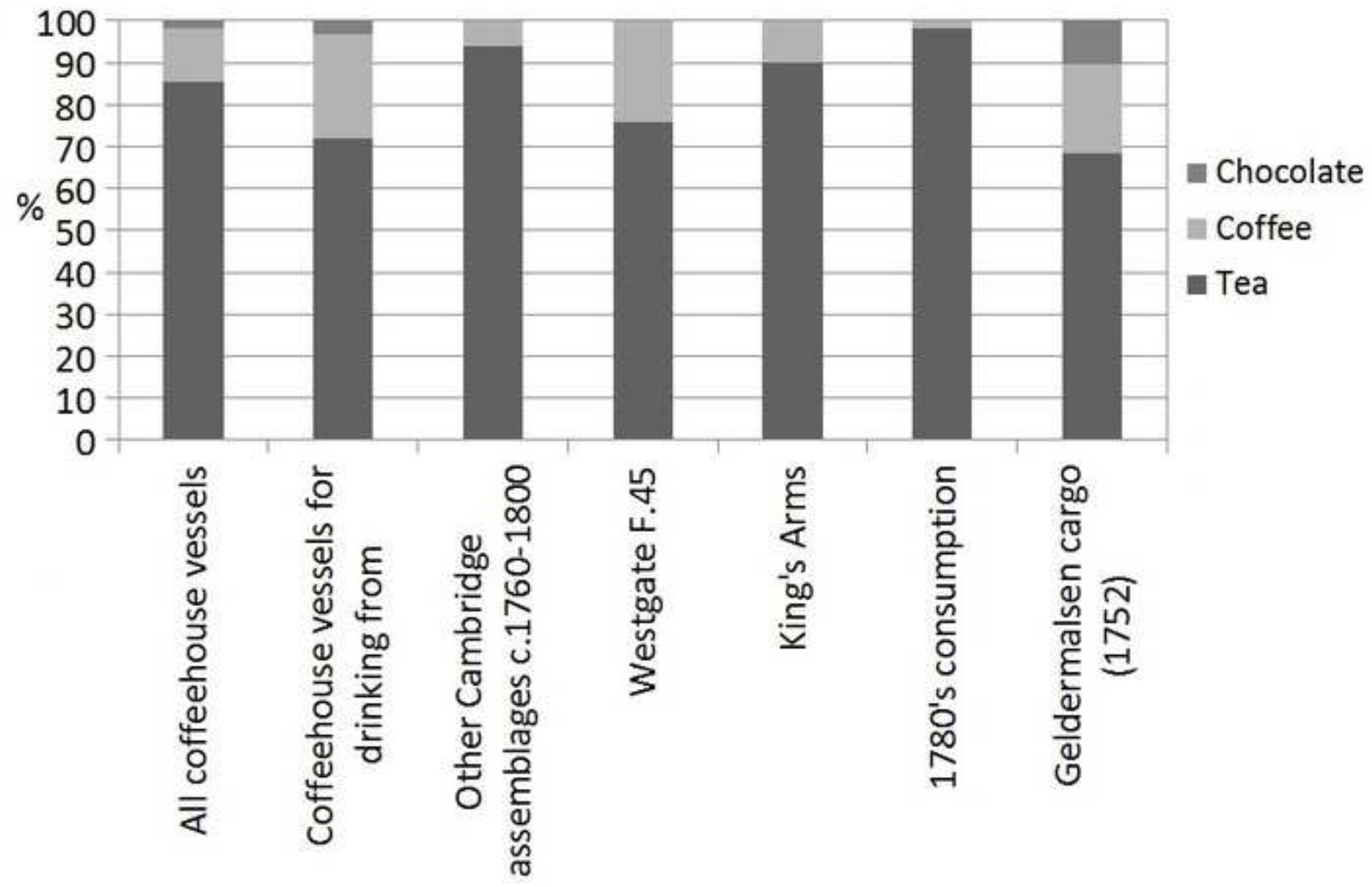


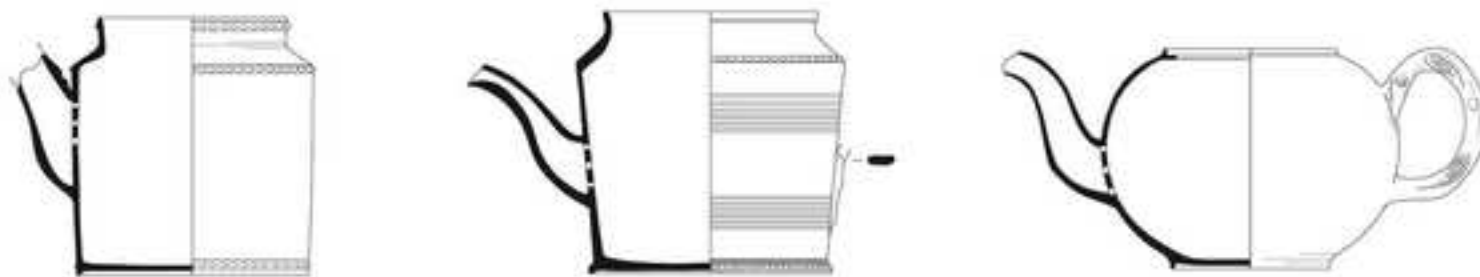
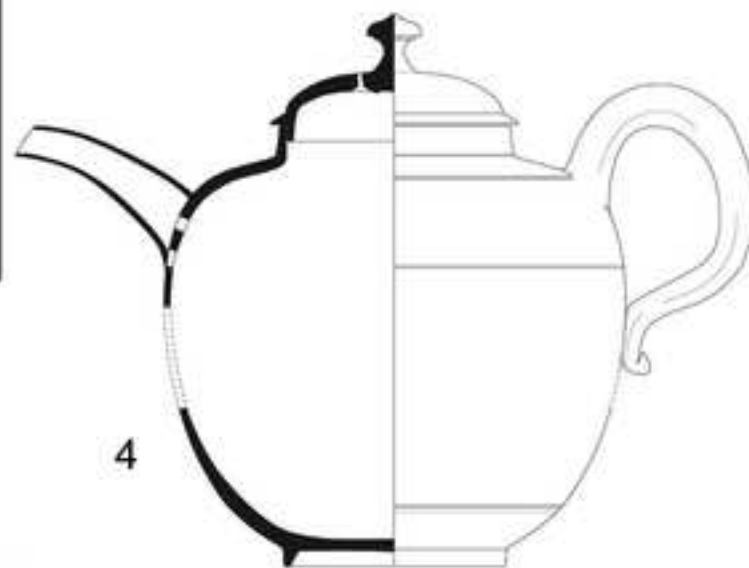
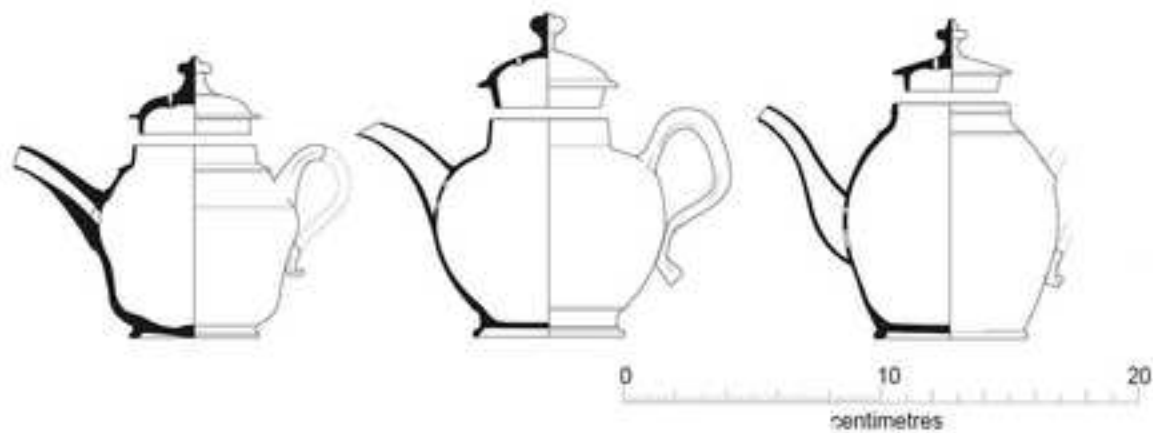


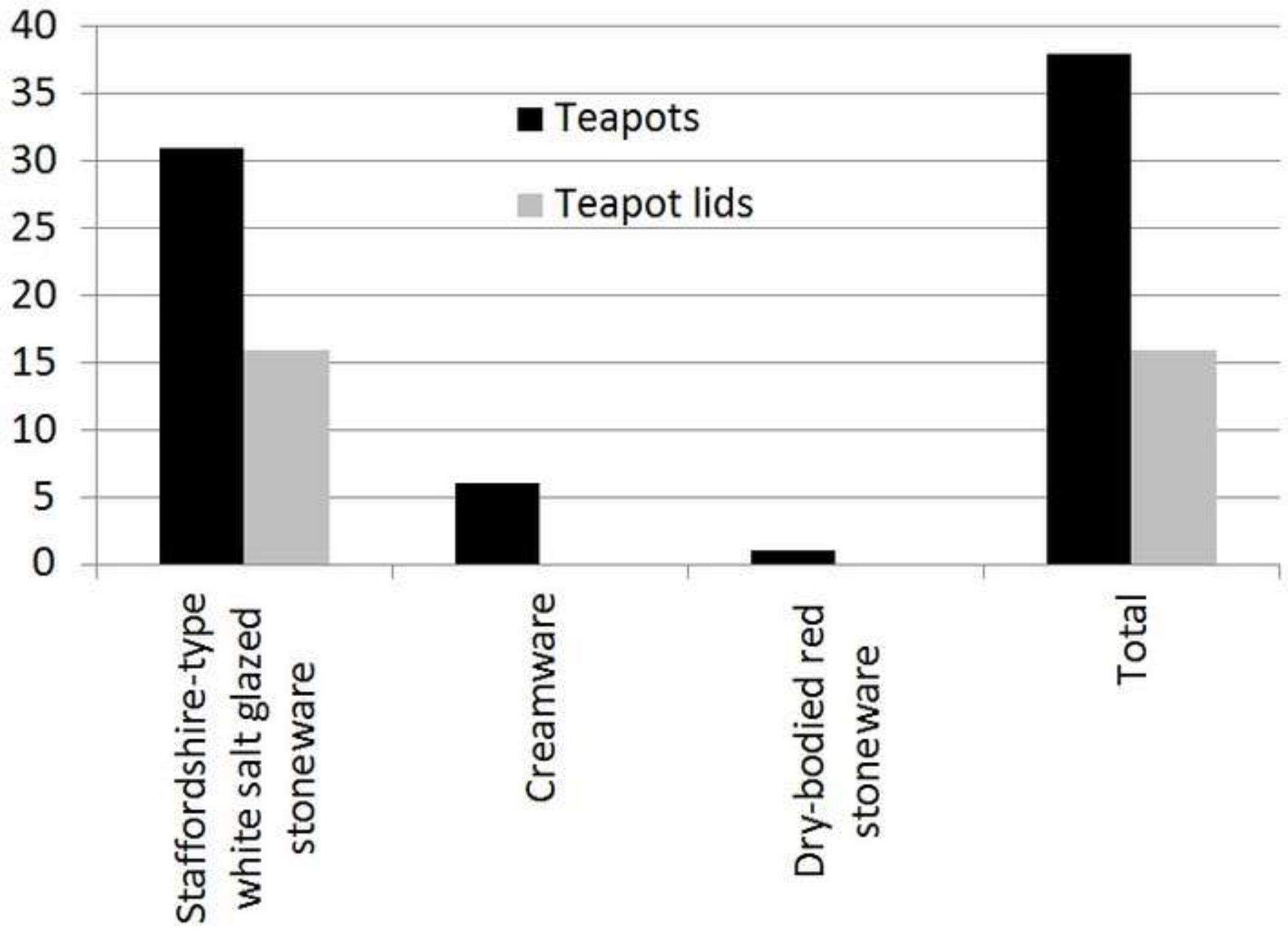
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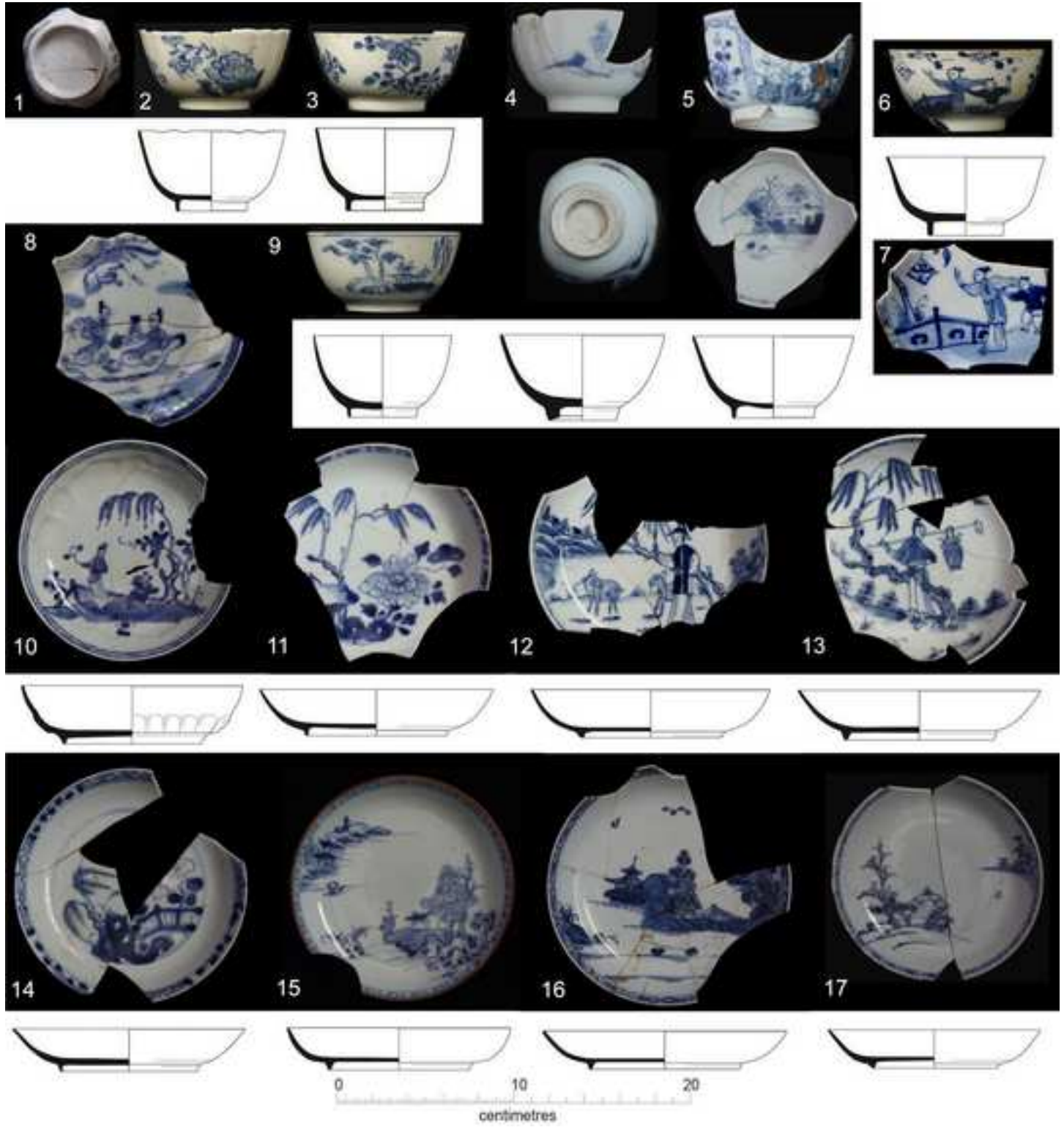


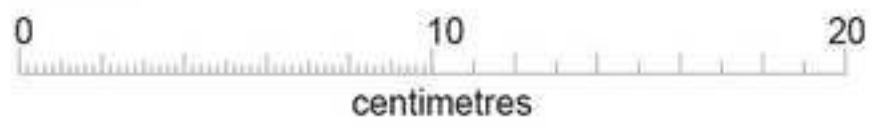
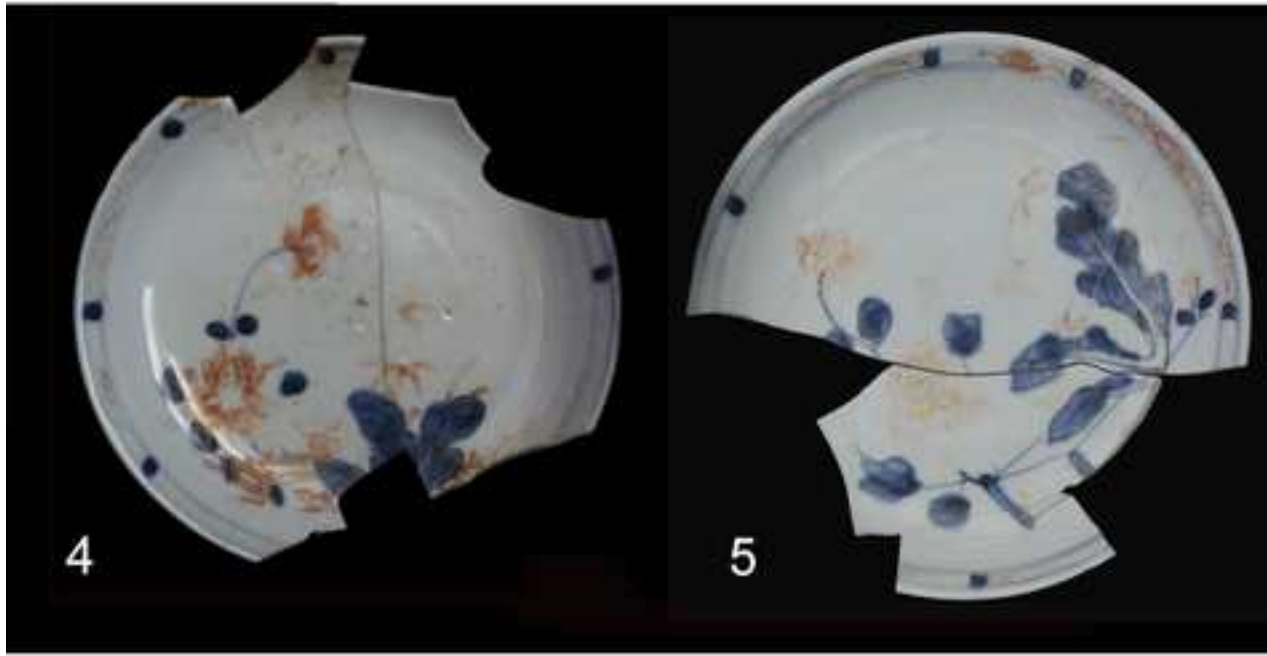
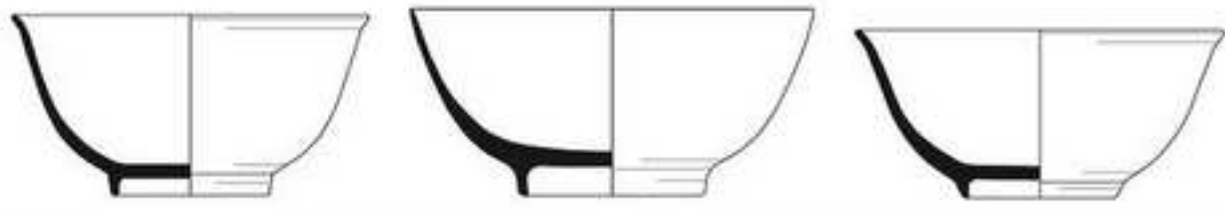


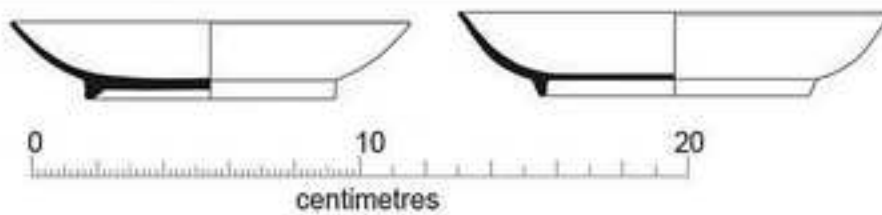


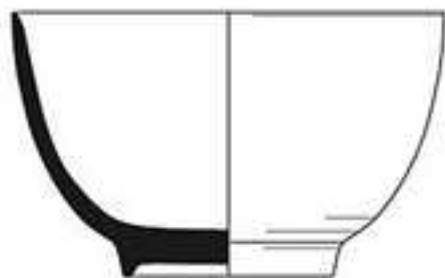




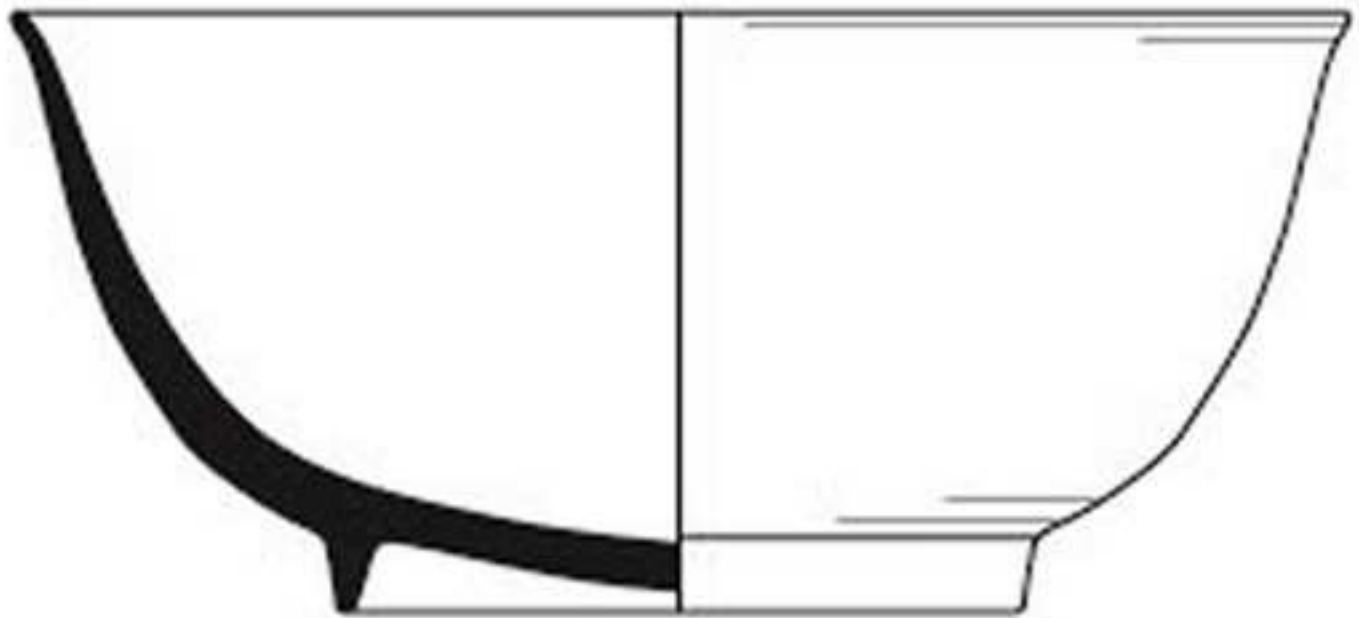




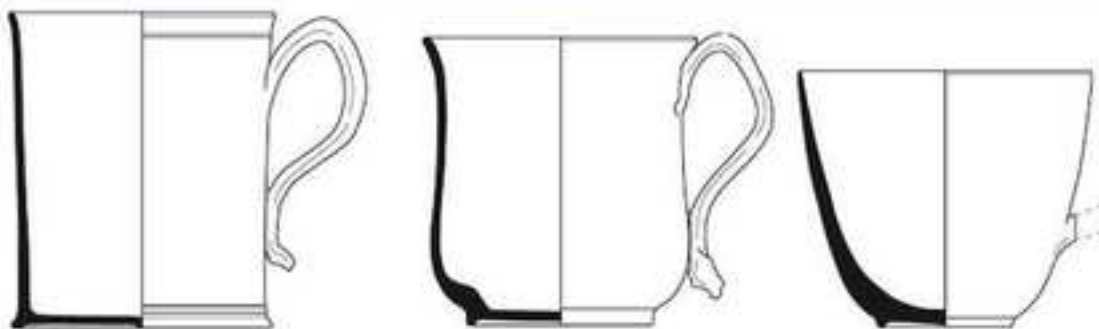


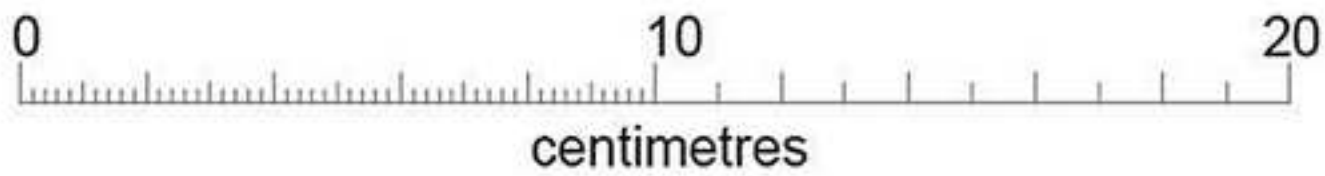
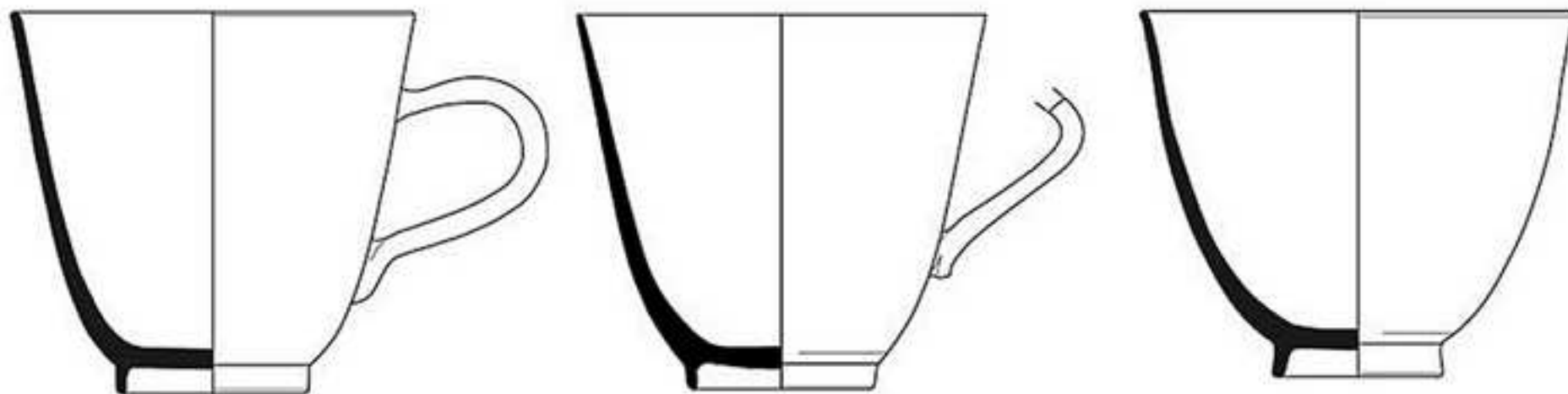


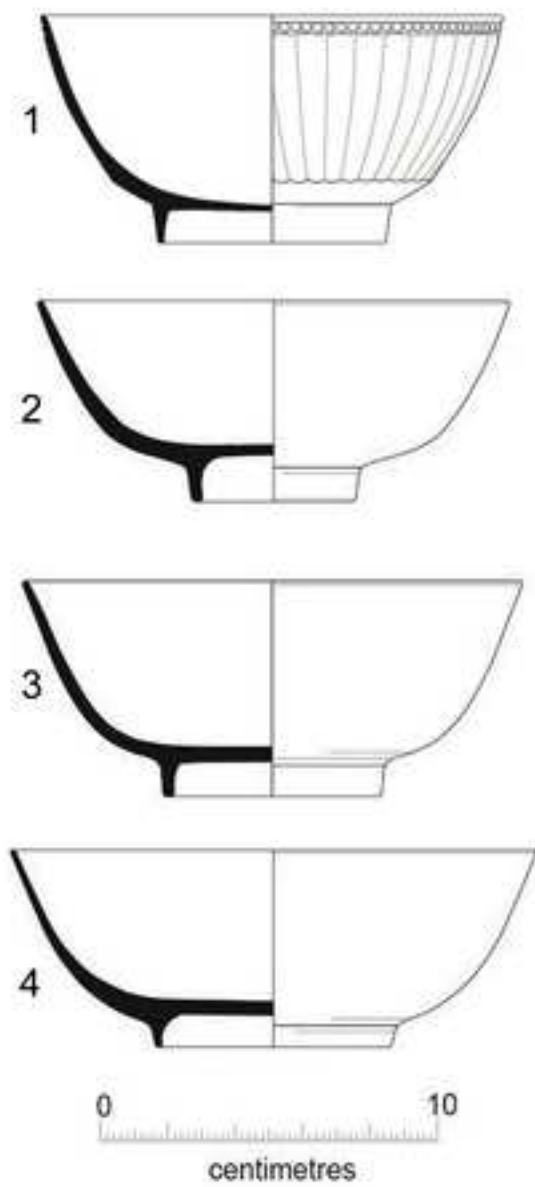
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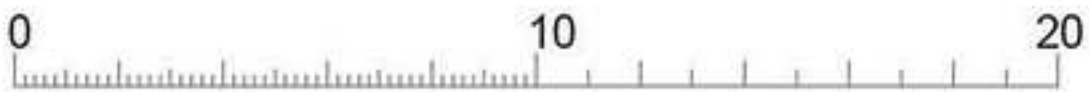
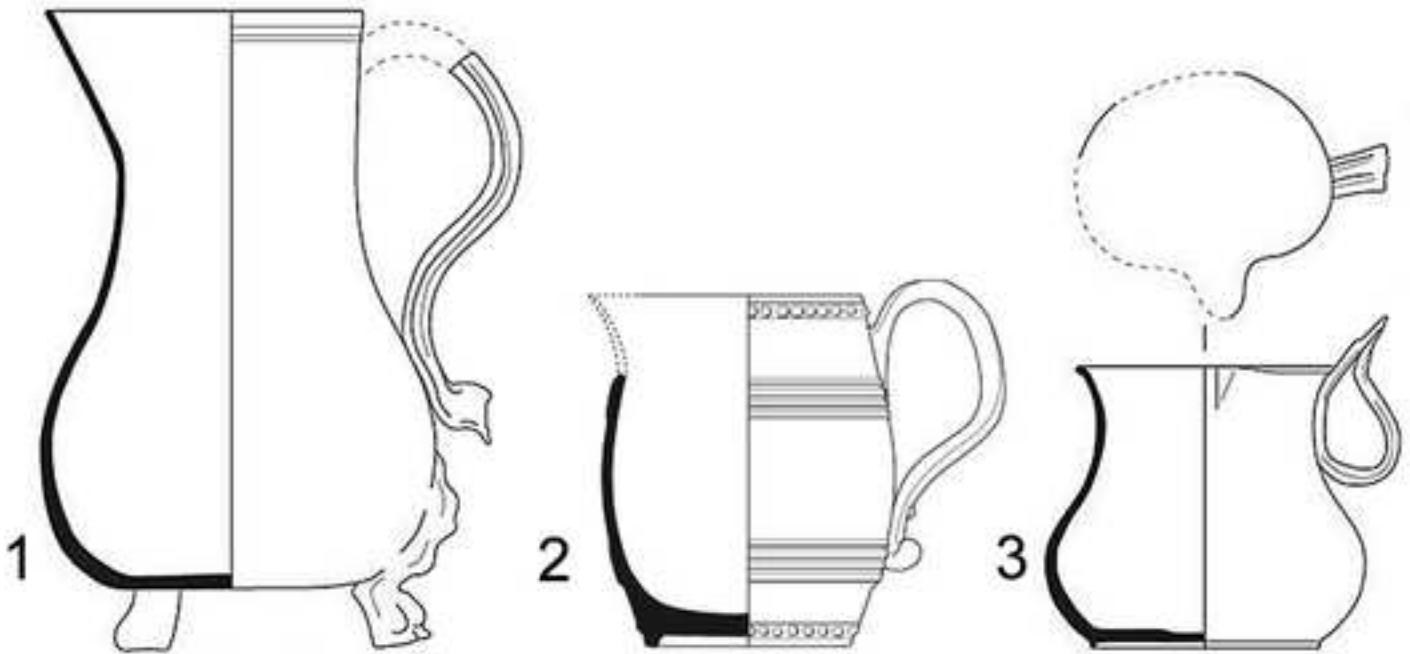


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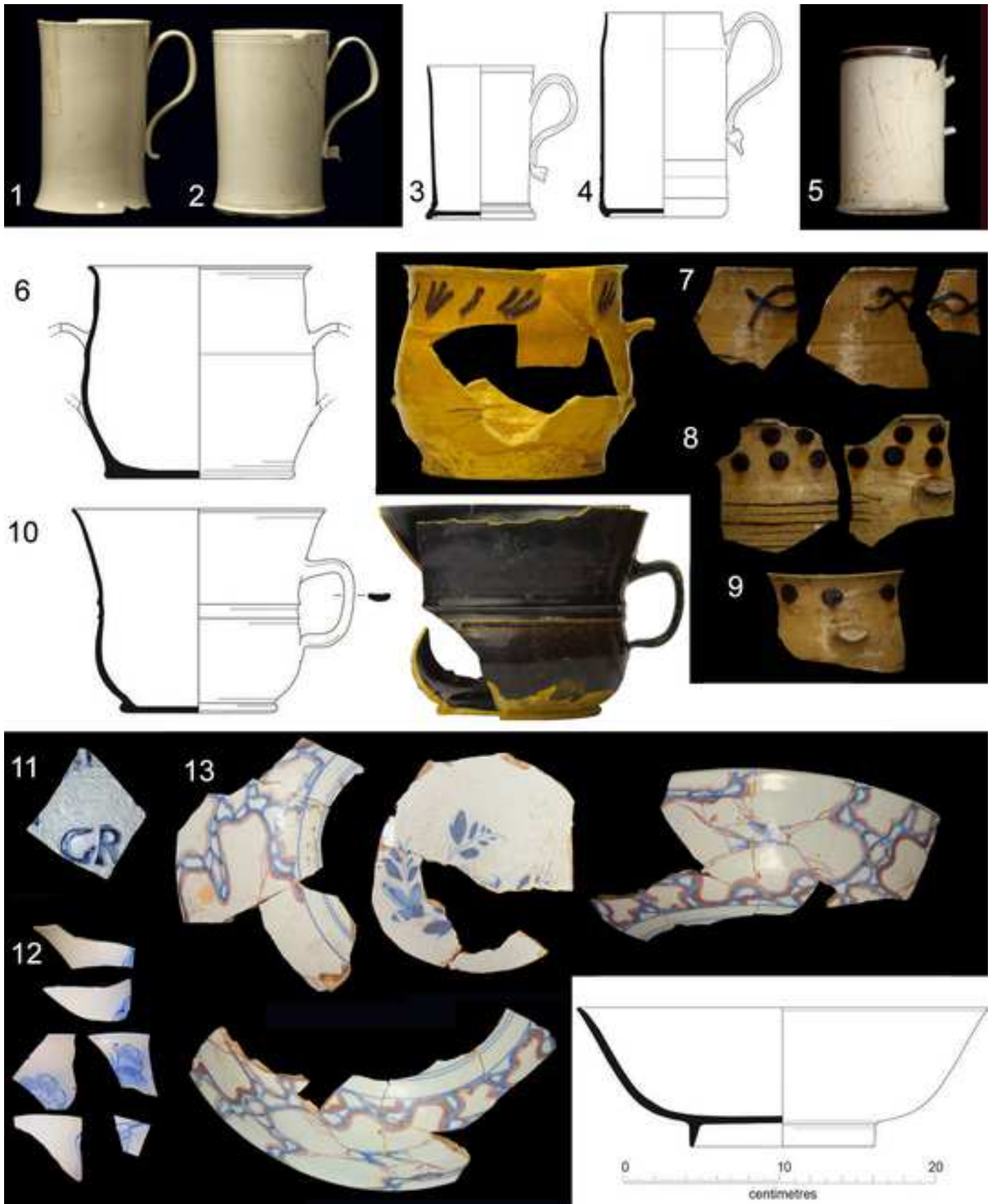


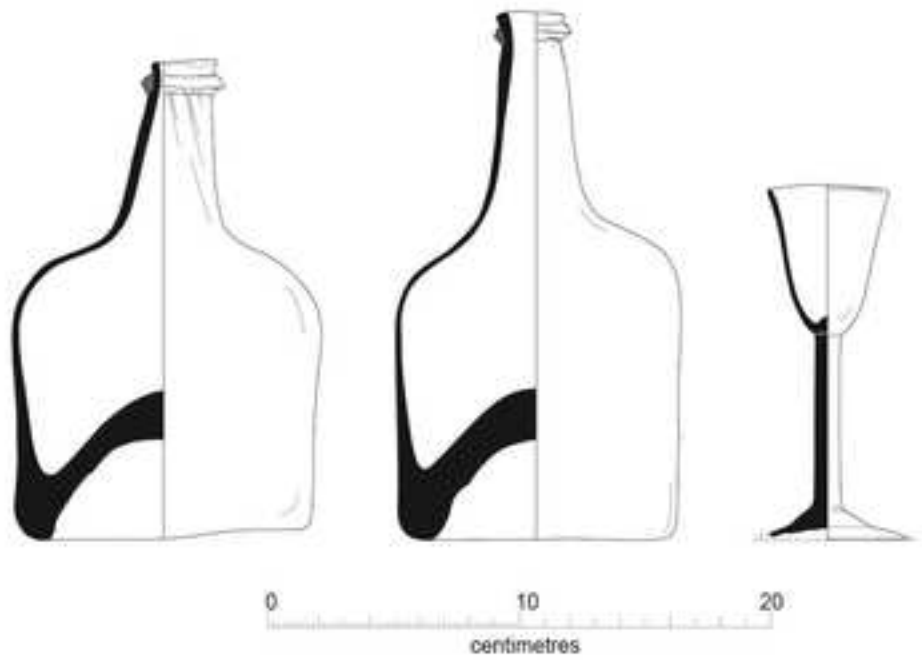




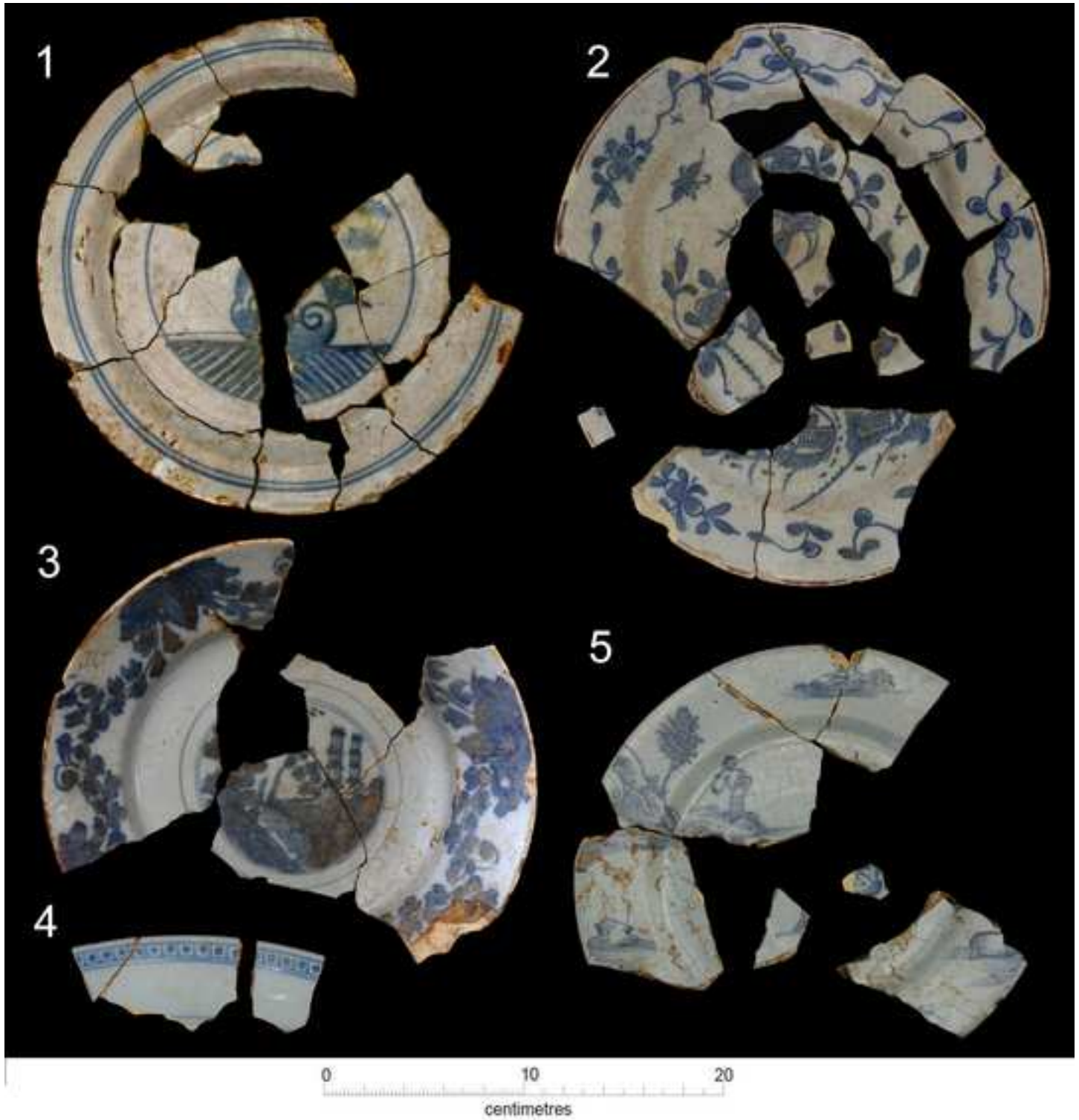


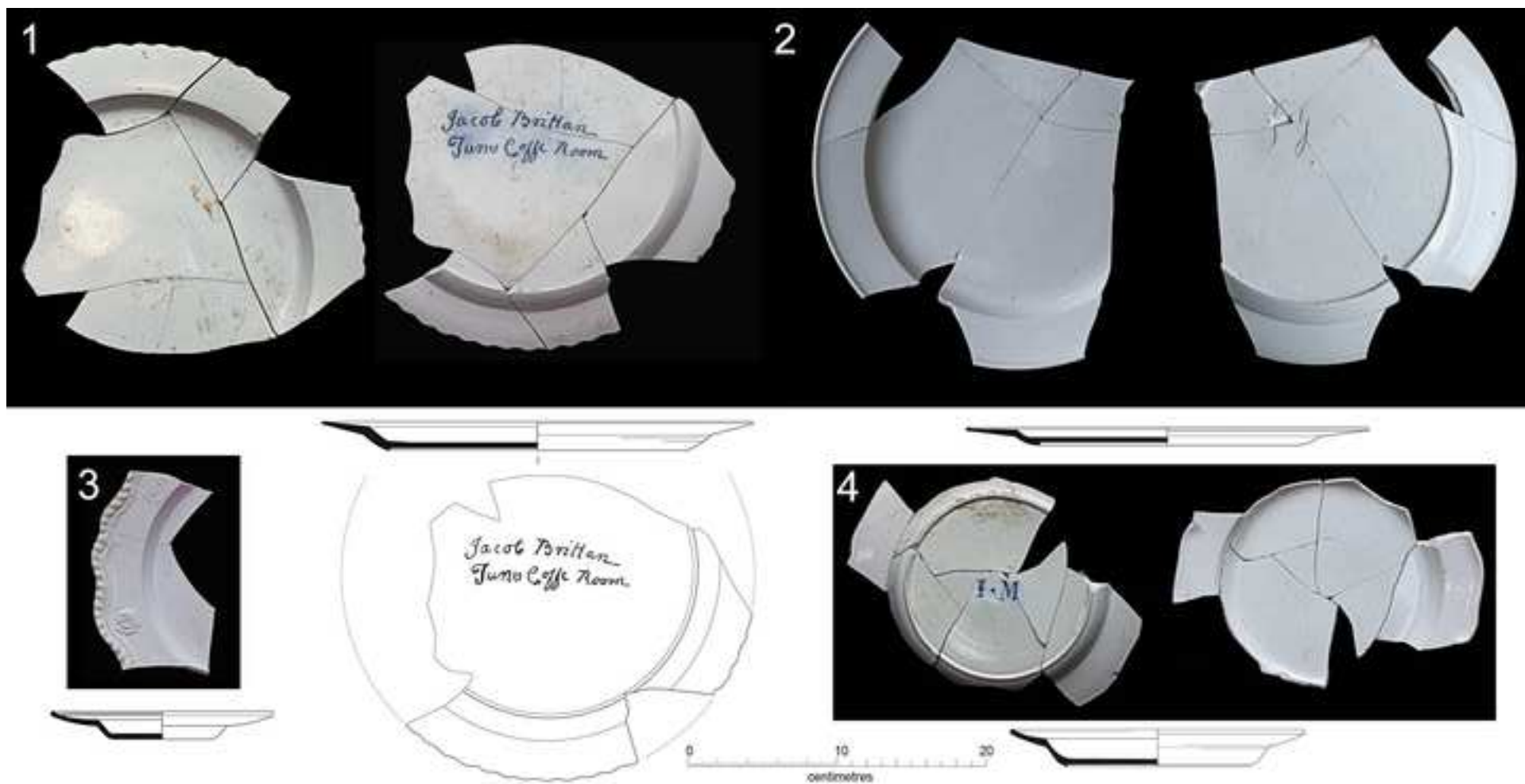
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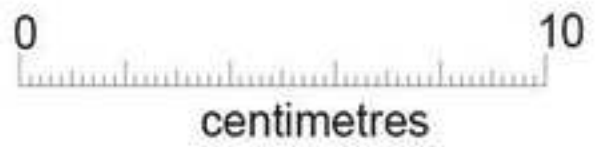
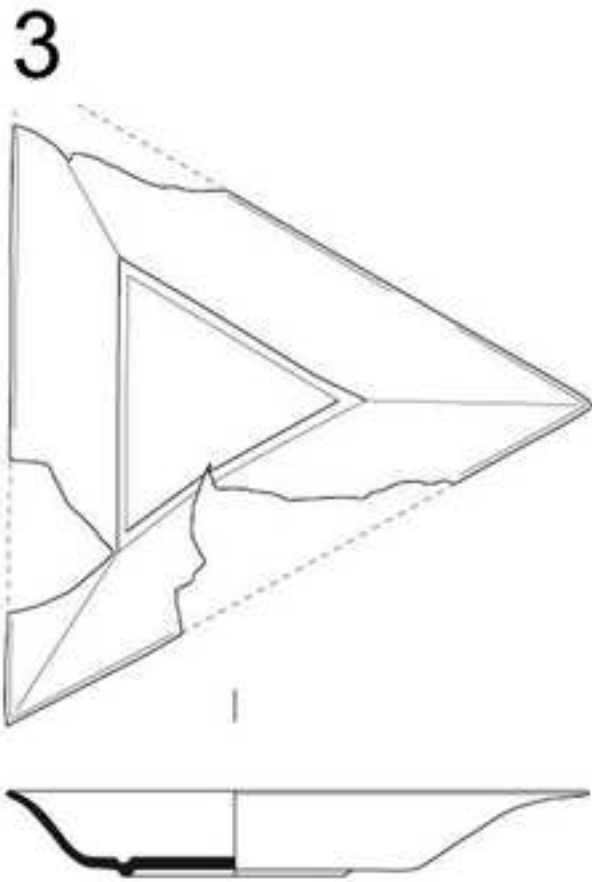
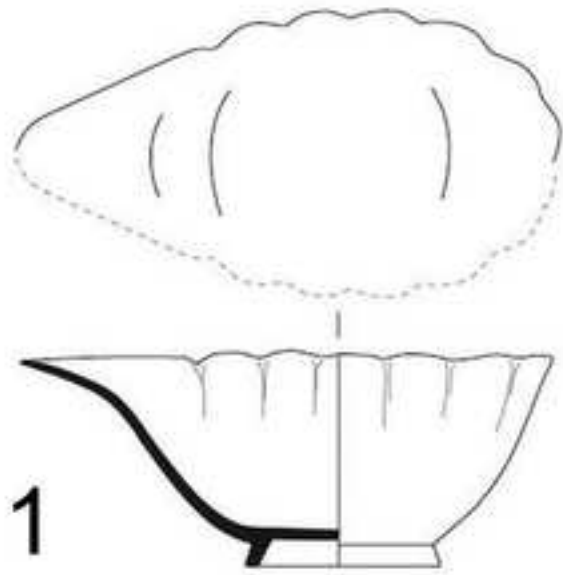




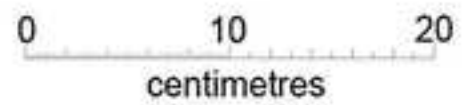
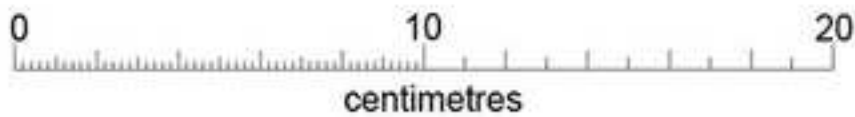


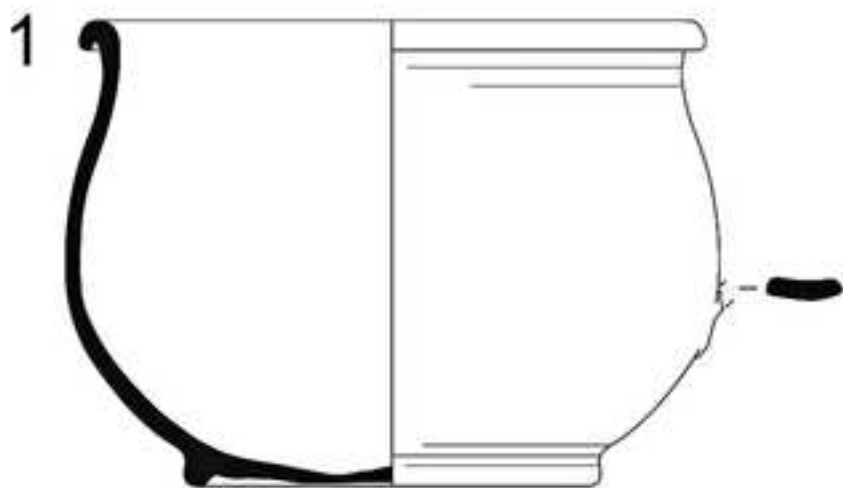


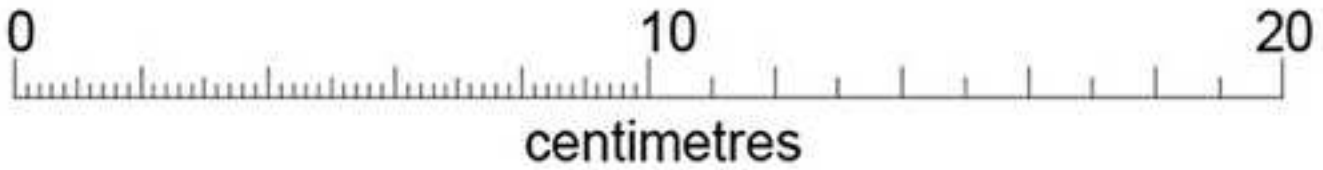
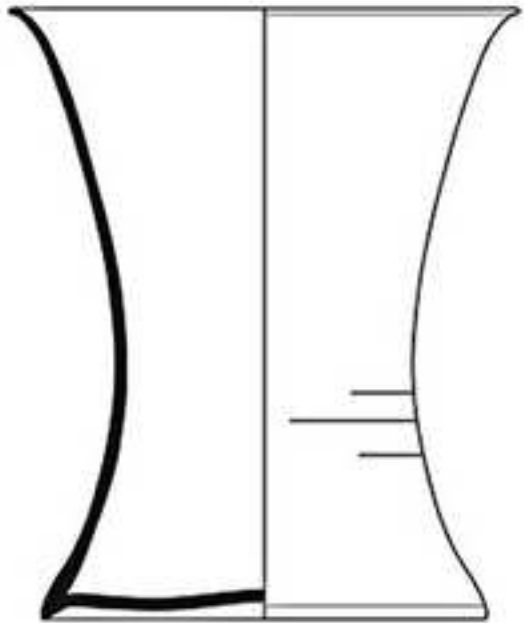
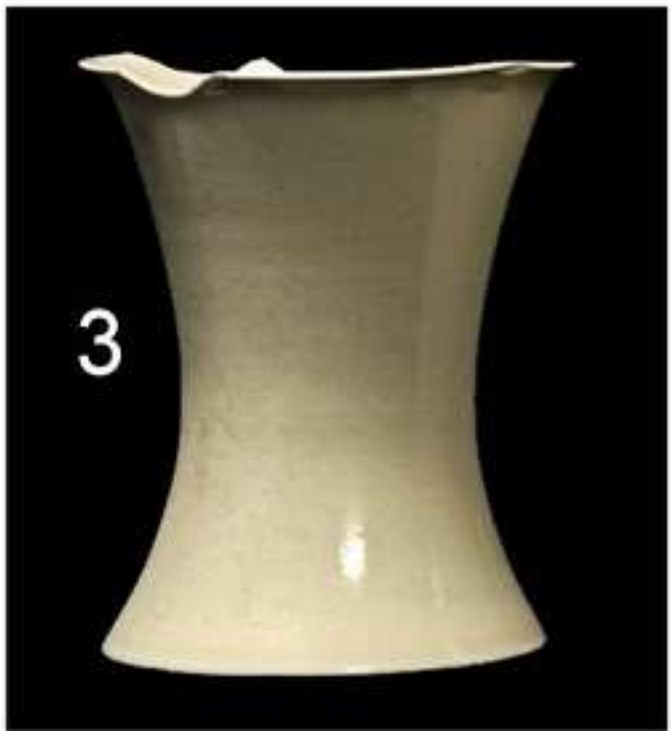
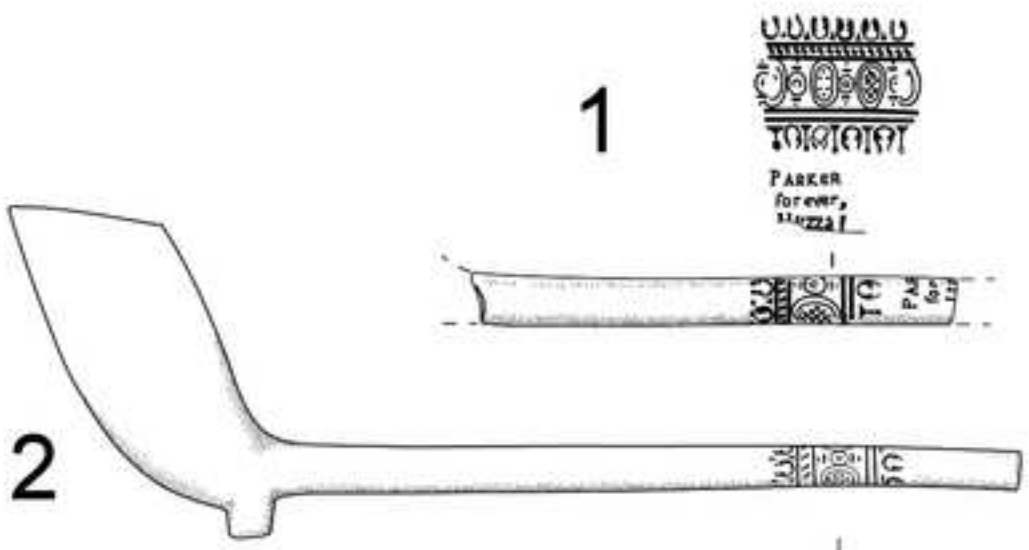


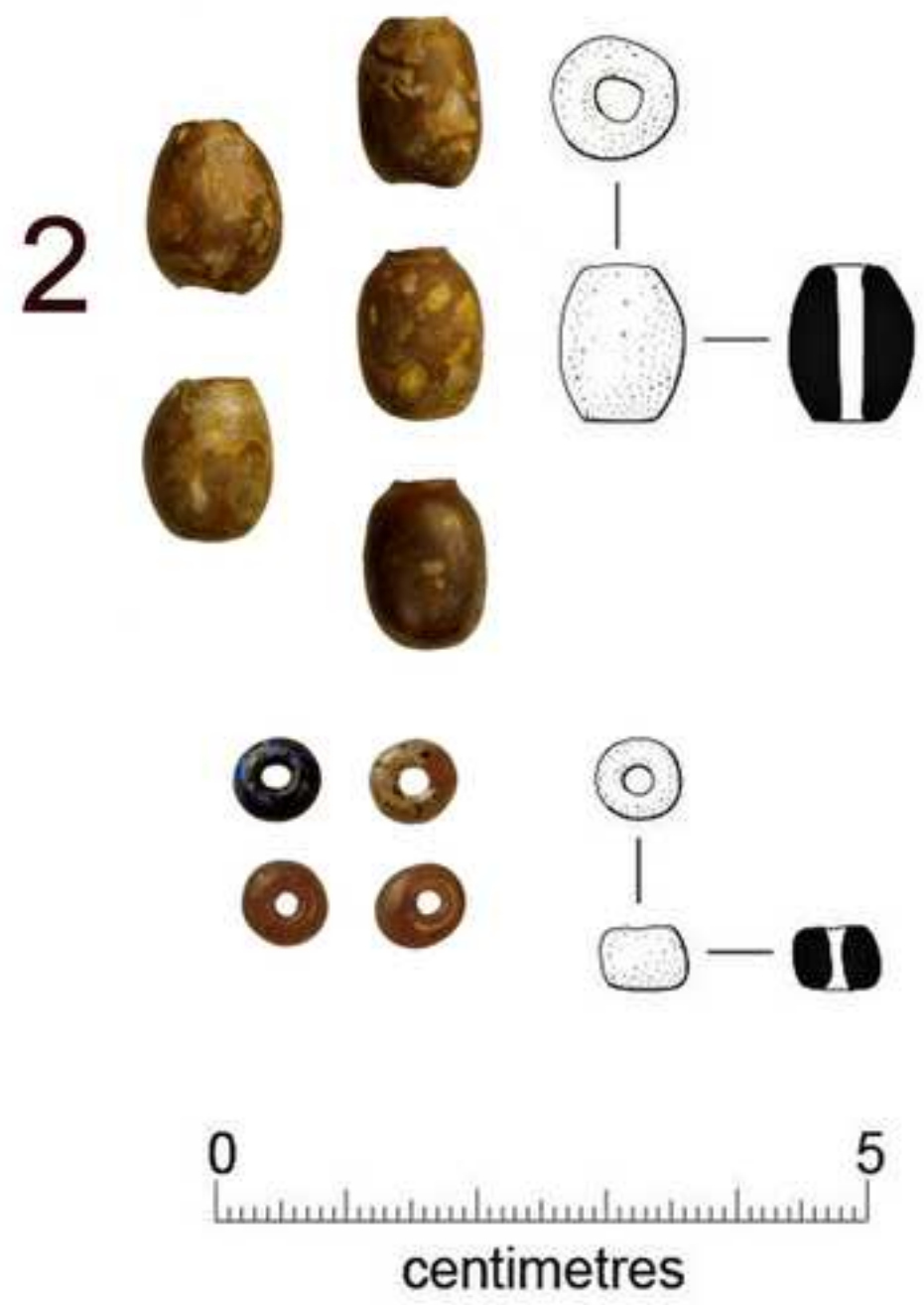
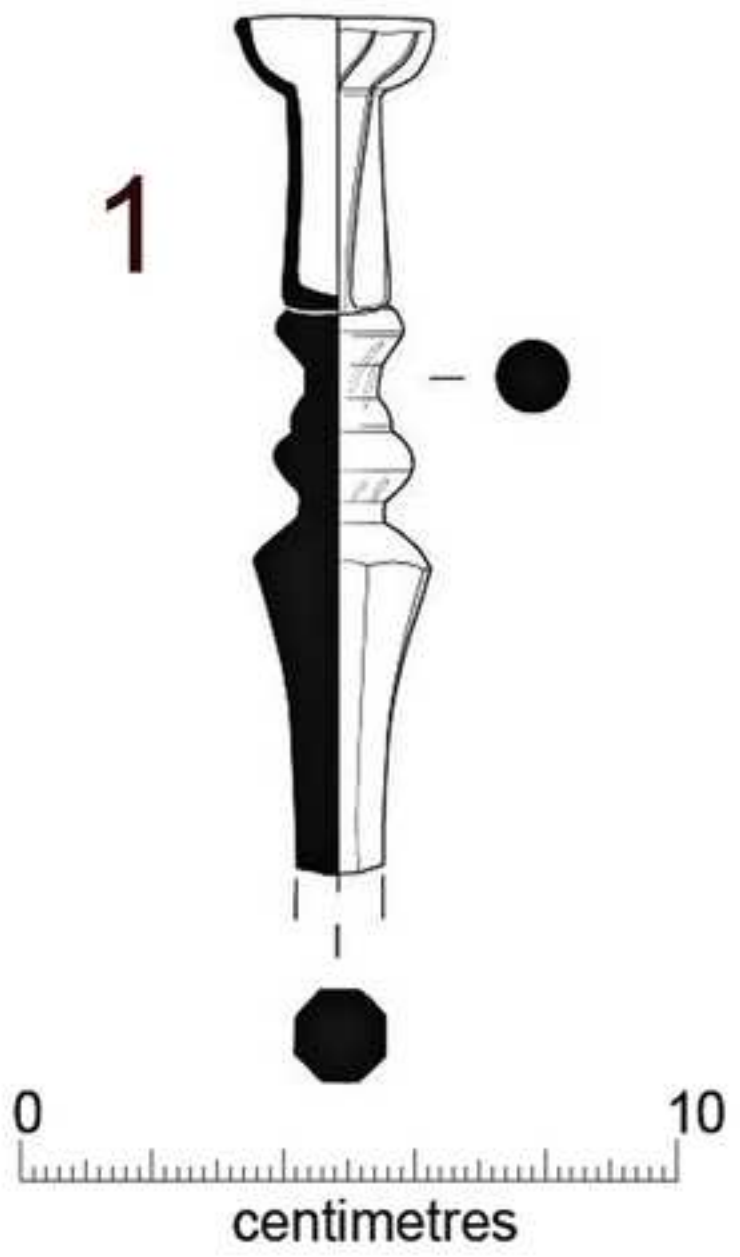














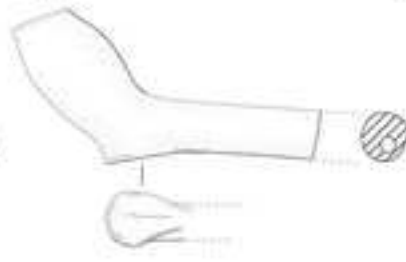
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