

Excavations at Sheffield Manor Lodge 1968-80

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with a foreword by Pauline Beswick



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EXCAVATIONS AT SHEFFIELD MANOR LODGE 1968-80

Foreword

In 1968 few archaeological excavations had taken place on ruined manor house sites. Looking back, these excavations at Manor Lodge by Sheffield City Museums from 1968 to 1980 were pioneering in national terms and for Sheffield they were unique. No previous archaeological work in the city had been done on this scale, nor had it had such a wide public involvement. Scores of schoolchildren, students, members of local societies and individuals took part as volunteers.

From a two week season the annual 'dig' soon became a month, such was the demand, and the spectacular results far exceeded early expectations. So much so that by 1980 it was clear that over-stretched museum resources and a shoe-string budget were inadequate to the task and excavation had to cease.

Important discoveries include significant evidence for a medieval building together with several subsequent building phases which both precede

and extend considerably the ruins visible above-ground; a multitude of objects of all periods left by the people who lived and worked there; and the only pottery kiln discovered and excavated in Sheffield, which had been built into the ruins in the early eighteenth century.

Despite repeated efforts over the last 30 years, sadly resources were not found to fund the detailed work of analysis and publication needed to realise the full potential of these discoveries to unravel the site's long and complex history and give much greater insight into the inhabitants' lives.

This initiative from the Department of Archaeology at the University of Sheffield is especially welcome because many of their students took part in the excavations both as volunteers and supervisors. The hope is that by highlighting the significance of these excavations further resources can be found to unlock this missing chapter of Sheffield's history.

Pauline Beswick 5.3.11



Fig. 1 – Open Day during the excavations at Manor Lodge in 1980

Excavations at Sheffield Manor Lodge 1968-80

Between 1968 and 1980 staff from Sheffield City Museums, assisted by local volunteers and students, undertook excavations at Sheffield Manor Lodge, the location of the remains of a hunting lodge dating back to the sixteenth century (fig. 4). The principal aims of these excavations were to gain a better understanding of the history of the hunting lodge and to investigate its archaeology prior to development of the site and restoration for presentation to the public. Unfortunately, resources for publication were not forthcoming and the results of these important excavations for the understanding of the early history of Sheffield have never been able to be made accessible to the public. This booklet represents a first step in disseminating the results of the excavations, and has been funded by a grant from the Higher Education Innovation Fund to the Department of Archaeology at the University of Sheffield.

The archival material relating to the 1968-80 excavations was collated by Lauren McIntyre and Sam Kinsey (University of Sheffield), with assistance from Ann Chumbley and Bret Gaunt (Museums Sheffield) and Louisa Matthews (South Yorkshire Archaeology Service). The relevant material included an excavation strategy document, unpublished interim reports, site notebooks and an unpublished project outline (Beswick 2002). A number of brief published summaries from local archaeological journals have also been consulted during the production of this booklet, and are listed in the bibliography. Summaries of the annual excavations were initially prepared by Deborah Harlan (University of Sheffield), and they form the basis of this booklet. They can be accessed via the project website: <http://manor-lodge.dept.shef.ac.uk>.



Fig. 2 – Excavation in the outer courtyard in 1972



Fig. 3 – Steel engraving from c.1860 of Manor Lodge as it appeared in 1793 (drawn by H. Warren and engraved by H. Adlard)

We are grateful to Museums Sheffield, Chris Cumberpatch and Pauline Beswick for their help and advice during the production of this booklet. Editorial support was provided by Vicky Crewe. Copyright on all images belongs to Museums Sheffield, unless otherwise stated. The excavation photographs used throughout this report have been scanned from the site archive held by Museums Sheffield.

Dawn Hadley and Deborah Harlan (University of Sheffield)



Fig. 4 – Plan of the location of the excavations undertaken between 1968 and 1980 (copyright: University of Sheffield)

1. Aims of the Excavations, 1968-80

The excavations undertaken between 1968 and 1980 were intended to throw important new light on the visible remains at Manor Lodge. Over the course of 12 years the excavations focussed on the western range of buildings of the hunting lodge, the long gallery and the tower at its northern end, and both the inner and outer courtyard (fig. 4). In each season one of these areas was tackled, with a specific set of questions about the development of the site in mind. It was observed at the start of the excavations that each area presented its own problems for interpretation, which it was hoped that archaeological investigation would answer. A phased plan of excavation was devised beginning with a known area and proceeding into areas where little information was available. The excavations were initially directed by Alan Butterworth, and from 1971 by Pauline Beswick.

2. The West Front

Between 1968 and 1970 the main focus of investigation was the range of buildings on the western side of the hunting lodge complex (fig. 5). Particular attention was placed on identifying the location and form of the two towers known to have flanked the entranceway into this range of buildings:

Between it [the Turret House] and the main body of the buildings rose two lofty octagonal towers about sixty feet apart, built of stone but cased with brick, and in later times finely mantled in ivy. Between these was the principal entrance to the court, where a noble flight of steps led to the door which opened into what was called the great gallery. The last of these towers fell in the great storm in the night of March 2nd 1793 (Hunter 1819: 191).



Fig. 5 – Photograph of the west range of buildings taken in 1969 (looking east)

The tower that collapsed in 1793 is depicted on two eighteenth-century images of the site (figs. 6 and 7). Knowledge of the recent presence of this

tower, combined with the existence of these earlier artworks, led to it appearing in a number of nineteenth-century sketches and paintings, long after it had collapsed (fig. 3).



Fig. 6 – Watercolour of the long gallery and surviving tower by David Martin (1795)

Writing in the early nineteenth century, Joseph Hunter had asserted that the two towers that flanked the main entrance into the hunting lodge were located 60 feet apart (see above), and in order to test this claim the first two trenches dug in 1968 were placed over the visible remains of a tower (Trench II) and 60 feet to the south (Trench I). No traces of a tower were found in Trench I, so another trench (Trench III) was placed 60 feet to the north of Trench II. Again, however, no traces of a tower were found; rather, Trench III encountered a nineteenth-century field wall running parallel to the long gallery, which sealed a destruction layer containing a great deal of mortar. More of this nineteenth-century wall was encountered in a small trench placed further north (Trench V). Having once again failed to locate the second tower, a trench (Trench IV) was placed between Trenches I and II and the remains of the second tower were finally encountered (fig. 9).



Fig. 7 – Ink on paper drawing from 1785 by an anonymous artist



Fig. 8 – Trench II with remains of Tower A, which had a rectangular exterior and a circular interior staircase

From this first season of excavation in 1968 important information about the two towers emerged. It was discovered that the tower that was visible on the surface in Trench II (dubbed 'Tower A') – and which seemed to be the one that is depicted in earlier paintings and sketches – had been excavated previously, although there are no written records of this. The remains of this tower had then been overlaid with protective paving stones. The mortared stone foundations of this tower were externally rectangular but with a circular interior, which would have housed a staircase (fig. 8). Traces of paving remained on the original floor level, and outside the tower five stone-packed post-holes were found, which were interpreted as deriving from the scaffolding that would have been required during construction of the tower (fig. 10). The remains of the second tower ('Tower B') excavated in Trench IV were found beneath two destruction layers. The remains of this tower comprised three sides of a massive octagonal structure of mortared stone (fig. 9).



Fig. 9 – The rectangular foundations of Tower B (upper right), with part of the cobblestone entranceway that crossed the outer courtyard and a stone step to the entrance into the hunting lodge

During the 1969 season, further work was conducted on Trench III, where the nineteenth-century field wall had been exposed in the previous year. This wall sealed a destruction layer, beneath which was a cobbled surface. Further investigation revealed that the wall of the long gallery was superimposed on a layer of charcoal, coal and stone chippings, and that it had been supported by a massive buttress. Successive layers of cobbles had been laid around the buttress. Domestic refuse had accumulated between the cobbled layers, and finds included an eighteenth-century jetton, a worn silver penny (possibly from the reign of Edward III), an iron hunting arrowhead, pottery sherds and glass of the sixteenth century, and various bronze objects.



Fig. 10 – One of the post-holes excavated outside Tower A, and thought to have derived from scaffolding used during construction of the tower

A priority for the 1969 season was to explore further Tower B, which had been partially exposed in Trench IV in the previous season. An extension to this trench (Trench VI) was positioned to the south in order to explore the rest of Tower B and the entrance into the hunting lodge. It was discovered that this tower was internally rectangular, unlike Tower A which was internally circular. It was also discovered that one flight of stone steps survived at the entrance, which was approached from across the outer courtyard by a kerbed and cobbled pathway (fig. 9).

A number of small trenches were placed along the west front during 1969 (Trenches VII, VIII, IX, XI and XII). The most important discoveries came from Trench XII, which was placed behind Tower A and permitted the investigation of two rooms of the hunting lodge, one of which had plastered walls and a window onto the inner courtyard. These rooms contained a great deal of demolition rubble, which was linked to the demolition of parts of the site initiated by the 8th Duke of Norfolk in

1709. This deduction was supported by the presence of large amounts of kiln waste and pottery fragments which were found above the rubble layer, and which derived from the pottery kiln of John Fox, known from documentary evidence to have occupied the ruins of the hunting lodge in the years following the duke's partial demolition of the site. One notable find from Trench XII was the pottery base of a 'Dutch Oven', which would have been set before a fire and used to reheat food. It was manufactured in a pink/cream earthenware fabric with a mottled brown glaze, and inscribed I.E.F. 1715 (figs. 11 and 12). This artefact can be firmly associated with the kiln of John Fox, as it bears his initials (the 'I' represents a 'J'), and it is now on display in Weston Park Museum.

Further work on Trench XII was conducted in 1970, uncovering more of the two rooms, including a well in the second room behind the tower, in which was found leather and bones (fig. 14). The date of this well was unclear, but it produced a coin dated to the 1550s.



Fig. 11 – The Dutch oven found in a room behind Tower A



Fig. 12 – The base of the Dutch Oven with the letters I.E.F and the date 1715



Fig. 13 – Excavation of the rooms behind Tower A in 1970

The first room behind Tower A had a southern doorway, which was first identified in 1969. In the following year's excavation a trench (Trench XII) was placed to the south in order to uncover the room into which the doorway gave access. This third room behind Tower A was large (5.9m long by 7.9m wide) and had two windows looking out into the inner courtyard. It contained debris similar to that found in the first two rooms excavated in 1969, including a massive amount of rubble from the early eighteenth-century demolition along with a deep deposit of ash, saggars (kiln furniture) and kiln wasters (including mis-fired pottery). A stone-lined drain continued under the dividing wall into a fourth room (fig. 32).



Fig. 14 – The second room behind Tower A in which a well was excavated (visible on the right-hand side)

The first seasons of excavation provided new insights into the construction, appearance and destruction of the west front of the hunting lodge. It became apparent that the two towers of the original Tudor hunting lodge were 20 feet (c. 6 metres) apart with an entranceway in between, and not 60 feet apart as reported by Hunter. Each tower was 15 feet (c. 5 metres) in diameter. Excavation of Tower B demonstrated that this

tower, at least, was externally octagonal in shape, as was represented in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century imagery. A series of rooms excavated to the rear of Tower A appeared to be contemporary with the west front entrance. The deposits within these rooms provided evidence for destruction of the buildings in this range, initiated by the 8th Duke of Norfolk in the early eighteenth century. The large amount of kiln waste and pottery fragments dating to the eighteenth century, and particularly the fragment with an inscription bearing the date of 1715, confirmed the re-use of the site for a pottery kiln that was recorded in documentary evidence, although the precise location of this kiln was not clear after the first three seasons of excavation.

3. The North-West ('Wolsey') Tower

In 1971, attention turned to the rooms at the north end of the long gallery, in the so-called 'Wolsey Tower'. The tower had long been popularly associated with the visit of Cardinal Wolsey to Manor Lodge in 1530, when he is said by his usher, George Cavendish, to have stayed in 'a fair chamber at the end of a goodly gallery, within a new tower' (Singer 1825: 295). The stone mason who was based at Manor Lodge in the 1970s had removed modern debris from the hexagonal room at the northern end of the long gallery and had encountered quantities of saggars, kiln waste and burnt brick. This suggested that a kiln had once been located in the near vicinity, and excavation was targeted at exploring this possibility. Excavation duly revealed the foundations of a large, circular, multi-flued kiln within this room (figs. 15 and 16) (this trench was dubbed 'Site XX').

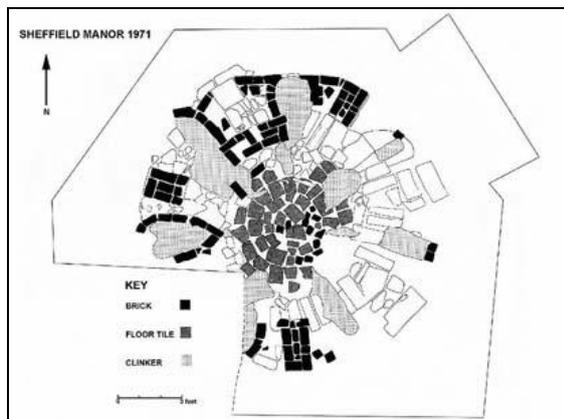


Fig. 15 – Plan of the floor of the kiln

The kiln had seven flues, principally constructed of brick. The foundation for the kiln – of stone, brick

and floor tile from the ruined buildings of the hunting lodge – was set into the original floor of the room (fig. 17). Clinker – a form of slag produced by the burning of coal – was also found over parts of the foundation. In some places, the kiln overlay fallen plasterwork from the partial demolition of the building in 1709, confirming that the kiln was constructed after this date.



Fig. 16 – The kiln base

The location of Fox's kiln would have been ideal for its successful operation, as the close confines of the room would have allowed control of both the draught through the kiln and the temperature to ensure successful firing. The clinker found on the kiln foundations indicated that the kiln was fuelled by coal, which is likely to have been locally sourced; certainly, coal sources are known to have been exploited within the medieval park (Jones 2009: 13). The kiln probably had a clay dome-shaped roof with vent holes, or possibly a chimney, to let the heat escape.



Fig. 17 – The excavated kiln; this photograph shows its position within the tower at the north end of the long gallery

According to documentary evidence dating to 1738 (Sheffield City Library Archives TC 573), the potter, John Fox (1682-1738), leased part of the

long gallery (referred to as the 'late gallery of the Manor') in the early eighteenth century. Prior to his activities in Sheffield, John Fox ran the glasshouse at Bolsterstone (Yorkshire), one of the largest and earliest glass-making establishments in the region, founded by his family in the seventeenth century (Ashurst 1987). Typical products of Fox's kiln at the Manor were tablewares such as tankards with ribbed and corrugated decoration, porringers, posset pots, dishes and plates (figs 18 and 19). He also produced utilitarian wares such as chamber pots. The evenly fired fabric is a pale, fine cream or pink, and grit filler is absent, allowing the bodies of the pottery to be very thin. The lead glaze produced a yellow-to-brown colour, while streaks of dark purple-brown were produced by the addition of manganese. The products of this kiln have become known locally as 'Manor Ware', but ceramics specialists prefer to use the term 'Manganese Mottled Ware' (Beswick 1978: 47; Cumberpatch 2002). There is documentary evidence for the existence of other kilns in the region of similar date (Lawrence 1974), and excavations have identified the products of these kilns at a range of sites. For example, John Fox's mother, Mary Blackburn, along with her second husband, was known to have set up potteries in Midhope (Yorkshire) in the 1720s, where slipwares, brown-glazed coarsewares and redwares were produced (Cumberpatch 2002).



Fig. 18 – A posset pot (left) and tankard (right) produced in the kiln at Manor Lodge

Manganese Mottled Ware is relatively common on eighteenth-century sites, but evidence for production is principally limited to Yorkshire and Staffordshire. The Manor Lodge kiln is the earliest from Yorkshire to have produced this fabric (Chris Cumberpatch, *pers. comm.*).

The other two rooms at the northern end of the long gallery were also excavated in 1971. Adjoining the hexagonal room in which the kiln had been found was a rectangular room (Site XXI) (fig. 21).



Fig. 19 – Porringer, cup and plate

The original floor of this room had not survived, and the room was sectioned through the fill, which contained building rubble and sixteenth-century pottery. The upper layers contained brick and coal, probably debris from the eighteenth-century kiln. Of particular importance, was the fact that excavation of this room provided evidence for the construction of the tower. The south wall was constructed on an edge of natural sandstone outcrop, while the north wall was three feet lower, and set in a shallow trench, resting on natural clay. There was no evidence of building activity prior to the sixteenth century.



Fig. 20 – Saggars excavated in 1971

The second rectangular room in the Wolsey Tower was termed Site XXII, and it was sectioned in the same manner as Site XXI. The wall foundations were similar to those in the adjacent room. In the northern half of the room there was a garderobe. The garderobe consisted of a dividing east-west wall with a load-bearing arch (fig. 22). Beyond the arch was a cavity 6 by 5 feet (c.2 x 1.7m) with a paved floor with sandstone flags. The cavity sloped towards an opening in the north wall through which there was a drain. The flagged floor had been partially replaced, and the area had

subsequently been filled with ash, wasters and other material from the pottery kiln.

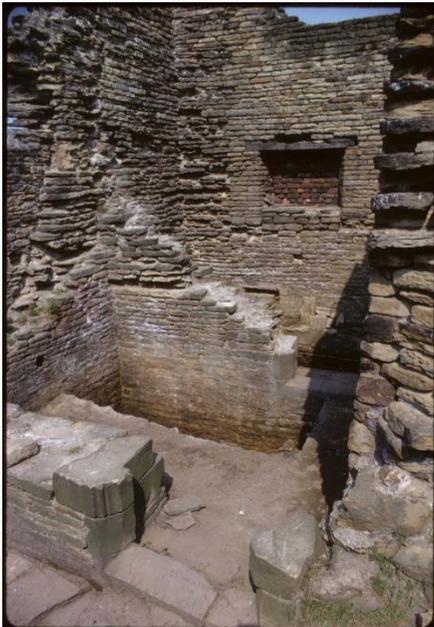


Fig. 21 – The two rectangular rooms in the ‘Wolsey Tower’



Fig. 22 – The garderobe in the ‘Wolsey Tower’; this was in the room on the far side in fig. 21

4. The Outer Courtyard

Before the next season of excavation began, over the winter of 1971/72, the Sheffield Estates Surveyor’s Department conducted a resistivity survey of the outer courtyard in advance of a landscaping proposal. The aim was to detect subsurface anomalies that might prove worthy of further investigation by excavation.

A total of 22, roughly north-south, traverses (or ‘lines’) were walked, beginning in the west and moving to the east (fig. 23). A standard 2 feet electrode separation employed by the Wenner

configuration was used. The resulting variations in apparent resistivity were presented in graphic form for each traverse (fig. 23). Peaks and troughs in the graph indicated marked irregularities. The observed profiles were then mapped on to the site plan, showing them *in situ*. Where anomalies were grouped together, they were bounded into ‘areas’. Four areas (A-D) were defined (fig. 27). Within these areas, at least 13 subsurface features were detected. The resistivity survey, therefore, recommended further investigation in the form of excavation, and the outer courtyard became the focus of the excavations conducted between 1972 and 1974.

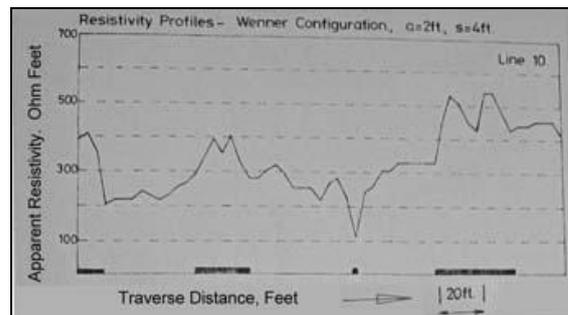


Fig. 23 – Graphic representation of the resistivity survey along lines 10 (top) and 20 (bottom)

The outer courtyard was termed ‘Site XXIII’, following on from the sequence begun in 1971. Three of the areas of anomalies detected by resistivity were investigated, each of which was sub-divided by trenches. It should be noted that in 1973, a new method of excavation was initiated, which saw the switch to a 10m square grid system (figs. 25 and 26).

Area A

In Area A, one test trench excavated in 1972 was set directly over an anomaly in line with the entrance to the hunting lodge. The entrance had been excavated in 1969, when part of the road surface across the outer courtyard had been identified (see above; fig. 9). In 1972, more of the original paved road surface, which was 2.5m wide, was located. It had edging stones, making the total width of the causeway 4.5m, with a drainage channel on the south side (fig. 24). Above this was

evidence for possible re-surfacing in the late eighteenth century, using eighteenth-century kiln debris for the foundations. The road, however, does not appear in a survey conducted in 1781 by William Fairbank (fig. 27) and it had presumably gone out of use by this time.



Fig. 24 – The entrance road that ran through the outer courtyard

In 1973, excavations in Area A aimed to establish the route of the entrance road. A series of test trenches were laid out to confirm the line of the road (fig. 24; see also upper fig. on back cover). Despite considerable disturbance from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century building activity near the Turret House that cut into the road surface, it was established that the road ran alongside the south wall of the house. In the south wall of the Turret House there were slots up to the level of the first string course, which suggested that a gate was formerly positioned across the road here. Historical evidence indicates that the Turret House was constructed in the last quarter of the sixteenth century: an account in a notebook of William Dickenson, the Earl of Shrewsbury's bailiff, dated to 1574, refers to payments for building work 'at the Turret', and the measurements given equate to the size of the standing remains (Wigfull 1924).

Area B

Four trenches were laid out in Area B in 1973 through a group of anomalies immediately south of the entrance road excavated in Area A. Numerous masonry wall footings and the flagged floor of two square structures were uncovered. At the east end, the footings of one of the square structures, a presumed tower, were located, with traces of walls extending both south and west. The wall running to the west terminated in a second square structure, which had a semi-circular addition to its south side (fig. 28). The footings for a masonry wall extended from this western 'tower' to the south.



Fig. 25 – Photograph of excavations in the outer courtyard in 1973, showing the grid system that was implemented that year

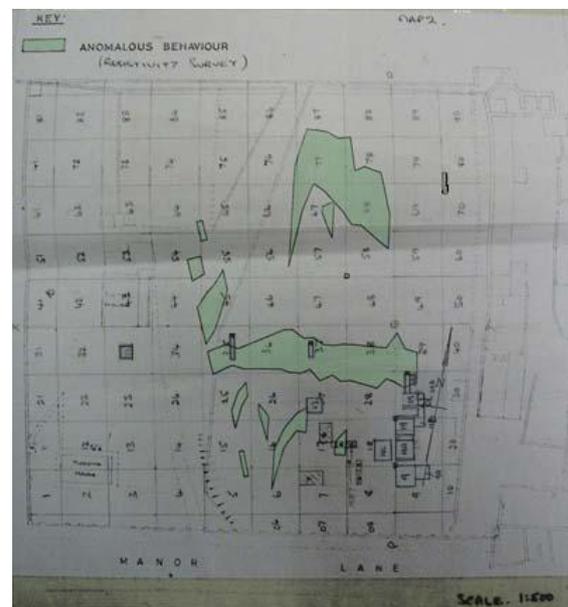


Fig. 26 – Plan of the grid system implemented for excavation in the outer courtyard, with anomalies identified by the resistivity survey highlighted

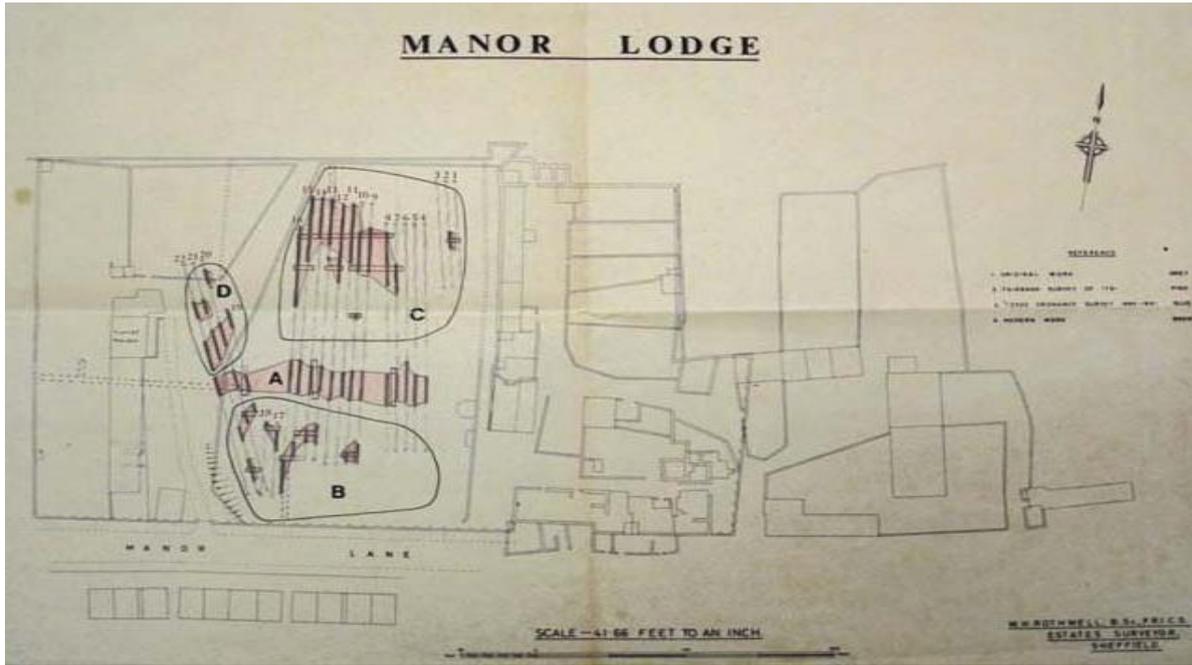


Fig. 27 – Resistivity survey results and the areas (A-D) defined by anomalies. This plan was based on the 1781 Fairbank survey

Finds consisted of window glass and pottery of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The building excavated in Area B was not on the same alignment as the surviving hunting lodge complex to the east (see fig. 4), and, thus, was thought to have been constructed earlier.

Excavation at the west end of Area B revealed the wall bounding the farm track that is shown in the 1781 survey (fig. 27). One of the aims of the 1973 season was to explore further both this area and the remains of what was believed to be an earlier phase of the hunting lodge. A series of trenches were laid out in 1973 in the grid to establish the character of the stone footings of the three walls and the two corner towers excavated in 1972 (fig. 25). The 4m-square tower on the north-eastern corner was found to be associated with a complex series of drains, the main one probably related to a garderobe. Drains and pipe channels that ran inside the structure from the tower may have been for distributing rainwater that fell from the roof (fig. 29). The semi-circular attachment to the north-west tower was shown to be a later addition during the excavations in 1973.

During the 1973 excavations it was discovered that the towers and the west wall only had two to three courses of stonework surviving, which suggested a careful and systematic demolition of the building. The other two walls excavated

consisted of mortar-filled robber trenches, demonstrating further the systematic nature of the removal of these walls. Roof slates associated



Fig. 28 – The tower at the north-west corner of the building in Area B, with the semi-circular addition to the south

with the demolition material and an exterior 'drip' channel along the southern portion of the east wall were thought to demonstrate that the structure was at one time roofed (but see below).

Excavation in the interior of the structure identified few features. A timber slot, parallel to the east wall and 2.5m away, was possibly the remains of an interior partition wall. At the south end of this slot there was another possible interior partition, consisting of a narrow stone wall. A large

pit dug into the clay subsoil was also discovered at the west end of the structure, which it was thought may have been dug to extract clay. The fill of the pit contained large amounts of brick – which differed from the demolition fill of the building. Associated finds from the pit suggested that it was dug only shortly after demolition and that it served as a depository for builder’s rubble when the later Tudor structure was being constructed to the east.



Fig. 29 – Drains and channels associated with the tower at the north-east corner of the building in Area B in the outer courtyard

The south wall of the building in Area B in the outer courtyard was not discovered during the excavations in either 1972 or 1973, and it was, accordingly, presumed to be under Manor Lane. In 1974, two trenches were cut into the high modern banking along Manor Lane in order to test this hypothesis. It was discovered that the footings of the west wall of the building continued uninterrupted under Manor Lane, indicating that the building was rectangular (over 25m long, N-S) and not square. No traces of the southern wall were detected nor were any interior features.

The interior of the building was investigated further in 1974. A second pit (5 x 12m and 1.5m deep) was discovered 1.5m away from the pit found in 1973. The fill was similar to that of the first pit – primarily building debris and sixteenth-century pottery. This indicated that both pits were deliberately (and probably quickly) filled. In addition, the presence of the second pit suggested that they may have been dug for something more

than simply the excavation of clay. It was accordingly suggested that they were large ‘soakaways’ or possibly trenches for ornamental watercourses.



Fig. 30 – Excavation in Area C in the outer courtyard

Trenches were also opened in 1974 in the area between the west front of the surviving hunting lodge complex and the east wall of the earlier building. It was hoped that the relationship between the two buildings could be established. Trenches were positioned to join up with Trench IX, excavated along the west front of the hunting lodge in 1969. It was shown that a small rectangular structure (3.5m x 2.5m) had been added to the main house in the middle of the sixteenth century. Associated with this were the sockets of a post-built timber fence. A damaged stone covering was found in between the ‘fence’ and the main house and a gap in the west front at this point suggested that there had been a porch with steps to an entrance and a fenced pathway. The ‘drip channel’ discovered in 1973 (see above) was demonstrated as being associated with this entrance to the surviving hunting lodge complex and not with the earlier building in the outer courtyard.

Area C

Excavation took place in 1972 in the area of a large anomaly to the west of the long gallery. This consisted of two long narrow trenches with a square trench at the west end (fig. 30). A number of padstones and a cobbled floor were uncovered, along with four square structures built of bricks with central sockets, which were located in a line, 2.2m apart (fig. 31). The cobbled floor and the brick structures were thought likely to have been elements of the same building. This putative building seems to have been aligned along the farm track recorded in the Fairbank survey of

1781, which ran diagonally across this part of the outer courtyard (fig. 27). Associated finds indicated that the structure was probably the remains of an eighteenth-century farm building.



Fig. 31 – Structures built of brick with central sockets, which were probably part of an eighteenth-century farm building (Area C of the outer courtyard)

5. Analysis of the Faunal Remains from 1971-1974

The animal bones excavated between 1971 and 1974 were the subject of a study undertaken c.1977-80 by J.M. Maltby, which is available in the archive of Museums Sheffield. Most of the material examined was from the southern half of the outer courtyard (Area B), excavated between 1972 and 1974. The remainder was a small amount of material from a sealed deposit in the garderobe shaft in the Wolsey Tower, which was associated with eighteenth-century domestic waste connected with the pottery kiln excavated in 1971.

Of the material from the outer courtyard, only three deposits from Area B were from sealed, uncontaminated, deposits. One of these deposits was from the two large pits dug into the clay and probably filled in the late sixteenth century. There was also a large bone deposit in the northwest corner of the building in the outer courtyard, which was interpreted as an earlier phase of the hunting lodge. Another deposit consisted of material from individual features throughout the building, from post-holes, pipe channels, drains, floor deposits, probably dating to the early to mid-sixteenth century, with one feature from the seventeenth century. A fourth deposit associated with this building possibly dated to the sixteenth

century, but some contamination was thought possible due to site levelling. Most of the remaining deposits from the outer courtyard were in disturbed levels, and dates ranged from the sixteenth to nineteenth century.

Over five thousand bone fragments were studied in Maltby's analysis, of which about 90 were badly burnt. Otherwise, however, bone preservation was generally good. During excavation, sieving of deposits had not taken place, and this reduced significantly the possible recovery of smaller bones and bones of small animals such as birds and fish. Thus, the excavation technique favoured the recovery of the bones of larger mammals. In addition, it should be noted that the overall sample – for the range of dates – was small, limiting the conclusions that could be drawn from this material.

Two quantitative analysis methods were used: 1) count of each individual fragment; and 2) calculation of the minimum number of individuals represented by the fragments of each species. The first method favours large mammals as their butchered remains result in a larger number of fragments than smaller animals. The second method, minimum numbers, is not as effective with small samples, and since several of the deposits were quite small the effectiveness of this method was limited.

Altogether a total number of twelve species of mammals were identified. Sheep and goat, being difficult to distinguish from one another, were categorized together as caprine, although it is unlikely, in reality, that there were many goat bones. Unidentifiable ribs and vertebrae were separated into large and small categories. The large category comprised cattle, horse and red deer, while the small category comprised pig, caprine, fallow and roe deer. Cattle and caprine dominated the identifiable mammal groups and most of the unidentifiable large and small category bones might well have belonged to one of these two mammal groups. Using the largest deposits comparisons between the samples showed that there was a higher proportion of caprine in the later deposits, dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but more cattle in the earlier deposits, perhaps reflecting a change in dietary preference over time. A cultural explanation may account for the very low percentage of pig bones in all periods, in that people were choosing to have less pig in the diet than in other historical periods. Other domestic animals – horse, dog and cat – were also poorly represented among the sample.

Of the wild mammals, fallow and red deer represented between (approximately) 7.5% and 20% of the mammal fragments in sixteenth-century deposits, but they were completely absent in the later deposits. This was interpreted as reflecting the transition of the site from a hunting lodge, set amidst parkland in which deer were kept, to an industrial hamlet. A high percentage of the deer bones from sixteenth-century deposits were hind limb fragments, representing the highest status meat cut, and typical of a high-status residence. Other wild animals – roe deer, rabbit and pine marten – were found in small numbers in deposits dating from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries.

A total number of 153 fragments of bird bones were recovered during the 1971-1974 excavations. Domestic fowl predominated although a number of game birds were also identified, and these probably derived mainly from the period when the site was a hunting lodge. The fish bones were not, however, analysed.

Maltby finished his report with a caution that any conclusions drawn from such a small sample may be unreliable. However, the contrast between the sixteenth-century deposits of the hunting lodge in Area B and the later deposits from the garderobe shaft in the Wolsey Tower illustrated the diverse nature of the faunal samples. Maltby also pointed out that the assemblage from a high-status manor may not have been typical of domestic deposits in the surrounding area and, therefore, the material from Manor Lodge probably did not provide a good indication of general husbandry practices. For example, the proportion of deer in the deposits was quite high, which was an expected phenomenon for an active hunting lodge, but would not be expected on non-elite settlement sites.

6. The Inner Courtyard

The west front and associated rooms

The excavations from 1976 to 1980 sought to explore the main hunting lodge complex and focussed on the inner courtyard. A five-metre square grid system was set up in alignment with the features previously excavated. The numbering sequence of trenches (I-XII) begun in the 1968-70 excavations of the main entrance and west front of the hunting lodge was resumed (but now labelled as 'Sites' rather than 'Trenches').

What became labelled as Site XIII had initially been laid out in 1970, as a southern extension to Trench

XII. A third room had been partly discovered here, leading off the two rooms immediately behind Tower A, which had flanked the main entrance into the hunting lodge complex (see above). In 1976, this trench was re-opened and the room completely excavated. The room was 5.9m by 7.9m, with two window embrasures opening into the inner courtyard; the part of the wall containing the window embrasures survived to 2m in height. Kiln debris (saggars and wasters) of the eighteenth century was found in large amounts in the demolition layers.

To the south of this third room behind Tower A was a non-connecting fourth room; a stone-lined drain continued under the dividing wall between the third and fourth rooms (fig. 32). Evidence for a newel staircase was detected in the south-west corner of the room. Disturbance from the nineteenth century extended quite deeply into this fourth room, and little eighteenth-century kiln material was recovered. Given the absence of kiln debris and the large amount of nineteenth-century fill material, it was suggested that this room had remained in use into the eighteenth century.

Excavation in 1977 continued to investigate the third and fourth rooms behind Tower A. The window masonry found in the demolition debris of these two rooms suggested that they were bay window footings for lofty mullioned windows along the outer courtyard side. The large third room was fully excavated in this season and showed no evidence of a fireplace. Furthermore, a stone-lined tank was found in this room in the northwest corner by the door, which may have related to the room's usage. It became apparent that the drain that had previously been identified ran the entire length of both rooms. It was also discovered that the dividing wall found in the fourth room was a later addition, constructed of flat stones that had probably been the original floor slabs. To the south of this wall some original floor slabs survived *in situ*. Further evidence for the use of this room in the eighteenth century – after the demolition of much of the hunting lodge – was demonstrated by the discovery of an occupation deposit comprising over 100 bronze pins and early eighteenth-century pottery produced at Manor Lodge.

The absence of fireplaces in any of the four semi-basement rooms behind Tower A indicated that they had probably been used for storage. Historical and architectural evidence suggested that this range was constructed c.1525.



Fig. 32 – The fourth room behind Tower A, with the stone-lined drain that ran into the non-connecting third room behind the tower

Site XVIII was situated over the entrance to the hunting lodge complex, originally flanked by two octagonal towers (fig. 33). Excavation in 1977 exposed a paved area in the inner courtyard directly opposite the entrance. In 1978 several other features were uncovered, including a section of wall footing, oriented north-south, which predated the entrance. The possible remains of a staircase were discovered in the south-east corner of the entrance 'lobby'. To the east of the paving, a square masonry block was set surrounded by stones on edge, possibly used as a base of some sort (fig. 34). A 3m wide potential walkway was located to the south of the paved area, possibly the start of a covered walkway. A deep cutting in the bedrock filled with clay was found in the south-east section of Site XVIII.



Fig. 33 – Site XVIII, inside the entrance into the hunting lodge (facing west)



Fig. 34 – Inside the main entrance to the hunting lodge, showing the interior paved area, the masonry block (centre) that was a possible base, and the circular end of what was interpreted as a fountain base (left)

The cross-wing

A trench (Site XIV) was situated in the inner courtyard near the southern end of the long gallery in 1976, in order to investigate the possibility of a cross-wing. Substantial masonry features, found beneath an eighteenth-century road surface, were the remains of at least two rooms in this possible east-west cross-wing (fig. 35). In the north wall the footings for a substantial fireplace were found. Several earlier clay-bonded stone footings for walls, on different alignments, were found beneath the mortared masonry features where the bedrock fell away. It was thought possible that these walls represented two earlier phases of construction, although no associated dating evidence was found. A number of nineteenth-century pits intruded into the north end of the cross-wing building. From under the baulk between Sites XVI and XVIII, evidence showed that a projection from the cross-wing was likely to have been a garderobe tower.

Sites XXVI and XXVII were situated next to each other in 1979, in order to investigate further the cross-wing. The design and structural history of the cross-wing proved to be very complex. A fragmentary wall of weathered boulders (running east-west) in Site XXVII was the earliest feature discovered (further traces of this building were also discovered in Site XVIII; see below). Traces of an associated clay floor lay to the south, which had been cut into by the south wall of the cross-wing.

Next to the room with the fireplace excavated in Site XIV in 1976 (fig. 35), was another smaller room with a similar floor make-up. Parallel with the north wall of the cross-wing was a line of four substantial post-holes cut into the bedrock. The fill indicated that they were contemporary with the sixteenth-century building. Because they were

more substantial than the scaffolding holes found in front of Tower A (see above), it was speculated that they may have held temporary buttressing for an unstable wall. The north wall showed indications that it had two different building phases, on slightly different alignments. Documentary evidence indicated that there had been earthquake activity in the Sheffield region in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and this was thought to have been a possible explanation for the rebuilding and instability of the walls.



Fig. 35 – Parts of two rooms of the cross-wing excavated near the southern end of the long gallery in Site XIV (looking south). The remnants of an internal wall can be seen on the left-hand side of the photograph, with pitched stonework on the bedrock to form an internal floor surface. The base of the fireplace is beneath the ranging pole

In the southern half of the cross-wing an extensive cellar was discovered, but only partly excavated. Cut into the bedrock, the walls survived up to 2m in height in places. A small stone sink with a drain hole and stone lid was uncovered in the north-east corner, set into the flagged floor (fig. 36). Remains of two staircases were identified: one in the south-west corner, which had been blocked by the later south wall; and the other in the east wall. The fill included demolition rubble – moulded plaster, carved stone and internal fittings of the sixteenth-

century house – as well as debris from the first half of the eighteenth century.



Fig. 36 – Stone sink found in one of the cellars of the cross-wing in 1979

The cross-wing cellar discovered in 1979 was fully excavated in 1980, revealing at least two, and probably three, rooms, each with its own staircase. The rooms had probably been added during different building phases. Room 1 was located in the north-east sector of Site XXVI. It had clay-grouted, rough-cut stone walls, and its staircase was in the north-east corner. Room 2 was situated in the north-west sector of Site XXVI and had ashlar masonry. The blocked staircase in the south-west corner discovered in 1979 belonged to this room. Room 3, at the south end of room 1, was the last to be added. Its staircase was on the west side and seemed to still have been in use when the building was demolished in 1709. The demolition fill contained many pieces of fine dressed masonry from sixteenth-century fireplaces and chimneys (fig. 37).



Fig. 37 – Dressed masonry pieces from a fireplace (left) and chimney (right) found in the demolition fill of the cellars in the cross-wing

Located south of Site XXVI, Site XXIX was opened in 1980 to discover more of the early clay floored structure distinguished by its rough boulder wall

footings found in Site XVII (see above). The north and east sides of the structure had been cut by the later cellars and their staircases. However, the south-east corner of the structure remained, along with evidence for an internal partition wall. Possible traces of a fireplace were suggested by burnt clay in the foundation. Post-holes in the corners of the building indicated a possible above-ground timber framed structure.



Fig. 38 – A room projecting from the cross-wing rooms into the northern inner courtyard. The substantial post-holes were thought to have provided support for an unstable wall

Site XXX was opened to the east of Site XXVI, and ran as far as the modern boundary wall. A return wall of the cross-wing was discovered north of the cellar, forming a projection into the northern courtyard (fig. 38). Further post-holes were found on the northern courtyard side of the projecting rooms, comparable to those found in the previous season. In the southern section of the trench, evidence for a series of complex internal room arrangements was traced, indicating that re-arrangements had been made on a number of occasions.

The southern part of the inner courtyard

Site XVIII was situated within the southern part of the inner courtyard in 1979. In the subsoil, a prehistoric (possible Mesolithic) flint scraper was found. It was suggested that there may have been a prehistoric site located here that was destroyed by the later medieval and post-medieval activity.

Evidence of two walls located in the north part of the trench, together with the weathered boulder wall discovered in Site XXVII (see above), constituted an earlier building. Architecturally it was distinct from other buildings, with the wall foundations comprised of weathered boulders and a floor of clay. The building was 5.5m wide, sealed below the sixteenth-century sandy under-flooring of the sixteenth-century flagged area. Dating

evidence was inconclusive, but a penny of Henry V (1420-22) was located nearby in a disturbed area.

The Tudor (i.e. sixteenth-century) courtyard level was sealed beneath deposits of soil and ash. The paved area uncovered in the previous two years was completely exposed in 1979. The paved area was opposite the main entrance and may have continued as a paved path around the north side of the courtyard. Further evidence for the covered portico or 'loggia' was detected, in some places making use of earlier wall footings.

Beyond the possible portico was a 4m diameter rough paved apparently circular area. Three courses of clay-grouted sandstone slabs remained from the substantial footing (fig. 34). It was speculated that the circular courtyard feature may have been ornamental, possibly a fountain base, although no channels or drains were discovered. However, further excavations in 1980 demonstrated that this feature was not circular, as it had straight alignments on the south and west sides. A substantial stone-built drain was uncovered in the south-east corner and a shallow trench along the south side that might have held a water pipe, and this evidence, along with the thick clay grouting of the stones, supported the idea that the structure may have been a fountain base.

Site XV was a 19m long trial trench, 1m wide, situated on the eastern side of the southern inner courtyard to explore evidence for the extension of the east wing of the hunting lodge (fig. 4). A number of stone footings were detected, but much evidence had been destroyed by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century drains and activity associated with garden cultivation. It was speculated on the sparse evidence of one wall, 0.9m wide, that appeared to align with the 'porter's lodge' to the south and had no corresponding outer wall, that the east wing rooms did not continue. However, the trench was concluded to be too restricted to allow for full interpretation.

South of the long gallery

Site XVI was located at the southern end of the long gallery in 1977, between Site XIV excavated in 1976 and the area where the mortared walls of the cross-wing met the west front. The early walls, identified by clay-grouted footings, found on an alignment different from that of the cross-wing walls in 1976, were shown in this area to pre-date the front west wall as it now stands (fig. 39). A robber trench, sealed in a clay-grouted wall, contained Cistercian ware of the first half of the

sixteenth century. A brick-lined well was discovered in the area of the northern junction of the cross-wing. The well, which was partly excavated, was thought to date to the eighteenth century (fig. 40).



Fig. 39 – Site XVI (looking south) showing the clay-grouted wall (bottom of photograph) that pre-dated the west front of the hunting lodge

Further excavation of Site XVI took place in 1977, and it confirmed a number of developments at the site. It became clear, for example, that the cross-wing wall abutted the main west wall, but was not bonded into it. The early masonry wall of the west front, just to the south of the long gallery, was of roughly dressed rectangular blocks. Based on the short length of this rough masonry wall, it was speculated that it may have formed the gable end of a building on an east-west alignment; other traces of this putative building had probably been removed by the later building activity. A stone floor was found in the long gallery north of the cross-wing. This was similar to the eighteenth-century 'road surface' discovered in 1976 in Site XIV in the cross-wing.



Fig. 40 – Looking down the well found near to the south end of the long gallery

7. Discussion

The excavations conducted at Sheffield Manor Lodge between 1968 and 1980 revealed much about the development of the site. While the surviving fabric largely dated to the sixteenth century, evidence for earlier buildings was uncovered in both the inner and outer courtyard. In the inner courtyard, the remains of several structures were identified. The earliest phase was apparently the clay-floored structure with rough boulder wall footings which ran under the southern end of the cross-wing, although no dating evidence was found. Walls that were in alignment with the building excavated in the outer courtyard and a wall at right angles to the long gallery also appeared to pre-date the surviving range, as did the section of rough masonry wall located at the southern end of the long gallery. The lower part of the long gallery wall was also identified as belonging to an earlier building, and it was deduced that the eastern wall of that earlier structure may have been further east than the surviving east wall of the long gallery. The evidence of an entrance door from the south into the tower at the northern end of the long gallery was thought to have been an indication that the east wall of the gallery was once further east. In addition, it was deduced that the rectangular tower room may have pre-dated the construction of the hexagonal room, with a suggested date of the fifteenth century based on architectural evidence.

The upper part of the long gallery and the hexagonal room at the north end were thought to have probably been contemporary phases of construction, based on structural evidence. Documentary evidence indicates that they were 'newly built' in 1530. In the earliest phases of excavation it had been thought that the towers flanking the entranceway, together with the whole southern half of the west wing, had been added around 1525. However, it was later deduced that a date in the mid-sixteenth century was probably more likely given architectural evidence, particularly the combination of the towers and the footings for lofty bay windows discovered in the third and fourth rooms behind Tower A. This phase of construction probably also dates to the time of the demolition of the earlier structure in the outer courtyard. A new garden may have been simultaneously laid out in the inner courtyard, along the south front of the cross-wing, with paving and a possible loggia and fountain.

The excavations both confirmed the existence of a cross-wing in the hunting lodge, and also revealed

the complexity of this range of buildings. It was deduced that the earliest buildings on the site were to be found in the area of the cross-wing, and that these were evidently rebuilt on several occasions. It was apparent from the excavations of the cross-wing that understanding its construction and reconstruction would eventually hold the key to understanding the development of the whole site.



Fig. 41 – Excavations in the cross-wing in 1979 (looking north)

It was known from documentary evidence that by the early seventeenth century the dukes of Norfolk had inherited the manor of Sheffield, and from this point Manor Lodge ceased to be a major residence. Nonetheless, the dukes visited occasionally and they retained staff at Manor Lodge; a payment for ‘garden seeds sowne’ to the gardener Francis Baker is recorded in 1633 (Hunter 1819: 102). Renovations to the buildings are also known from this period: for example, payments for repair of a chimney, mending lead pipe, glazing, plastering, pointing, and rails to divide the courtyards are recorded in 1644 (Winder, 1919, 18). According to a survey undertaken by John Harrison in 1637, there were still over a thousand head of deer at that time, and the park was ‘2,461 acres 3 roods and 11 perches’, all within a ring-fence of eight miles in length (Scurfield 1986). Archaeological evidence was found for occupation during the seventeenth century. There was, for example, evidence of continued use of some of the cellars, in particular the large complex of cellars in the cross-wing and the southern half of the cellar off the west front, while fragments of wine bottles of this period were also found.

After demolition of some of the buildings in the early eighteenth century, use of Manor Lodge was recorded in many of the excavated areas. There was considerable disturbance to the original sixteenth- and seventeenth-century floor levels in the long gallery due to later eighteenth- and

nineteenth-century rebuilding. The area was probably used as a finishing place for the pottery manufactured in the early eighteenth century. Garden cultivation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the northern section of the inner courtyard had obliterated any earlier structures in that area.

The excavations conducted at Manor Lodge between 1968 and 1980 made a major contribution to understanding of the development of this important site in the history of Sheffield. This short booklet has gone some way to disseminating the results of these excavations, although a full post-excavation analysis still remains to be undertaken.

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